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Wings: A Comparative Study of Franciscan Characteristics in Boccaccio's *Decameron*, Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* and Marguerite de Navarre's *Heptameron*

by

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INTRODUCTION

In his overview of medieval Franciscan literature entitled *An Introduction to the Franciscan Literature of the Middle Ages*, John V. Fleming has argued that the stylistic shift that occurred in the late Middle Ages was due to the Franciscan presence in Western Europe which gave "a new spiritual emphasis, a new style . . . and a new audience of which it was part creature and part creator (114)." His study is an anthology of the major and minor authors of the Franciscan movement of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries who wrote poetry, fiction, sermons, songs, popular works and imaginative pieces, rather than the scholastic documents that have been the focus of traditional Franciscan studies. Noting the confluence of the advent of mendicancy with the advent of vernacular literature, and pointing to Franciscan evangelical techniques that "explicitly addressed the vernacular cultures among which they lived (16)," he explores the Franciscan "challenge," which he sees as social, political, psychological and stylistic. It is to style that he addresses himself.

Fleming defines the Franciscan stylistic characteristic as "radically incarnational," which might be understood as "radically literal."[1] He notices a willingness "to visualize concrete, verbal images" and an interest in finding "a language of literal objectification for all kinds of spiritual experience (250-1)." This radical literality can be traced to Francis. There is also, he says, "a marked tendency to press metaphoric language as far as it can go, and to advance significant claims for the letter of metaphor (253)." He believes the impulse toward the transumptive image to be a legacy of the miracle of Francis' stigmata, and notes a resulting desire on the part of the friars to keep the crucified Christ before the mind of man. In the sense that the literal and the allegorical

face one another as the concrete to the fictive, radical opposition can also be traced to Francis. We will examine first the stylistic characteristics of the radically literal and the radically oppositional in the person and writing of Francis, and then will notice how Bonaventure reinterprets and synthesizes them, introducing them into exegetical patternings as a double-sided pun.

The centerpiece for any study of Franciscan literature is the work of Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, a scholastic theologian whose writings are at the heart of the Franciscan movement. Knowledgeable in the traditional exegetical patterning of Scripture, which he both used and discussed, he applied the structure in gross and in fine, as he inherited it from Hugh of St. Victor, in one of his most well-known works, the *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum*. In addition, he seems to have been responsible for the secular expression of the structure, and for the introduction of the "oxymoronic word," a kind of antonymic pun, used to switch levels of the structure. Since the pun is the essential rhetorical figure in this new development, we will discuss it briefly.

Jonathan Culler sets the pun, which he calls "an exemplary product of language or mind," as "the foundation of letters, in that the exploitation of formal resemblance to establish connections of meaning seems the basic activity of literature (4)." The pun is an analogy, whose double meanings are "evoked by various similarities of sounds and letters," which might generally be defined as "a paradigm for the play of language (5)." It is in this broad sense that we shall use the term pun, so that it can embrace its parent in classical rhetoric, ***paronomasia***, as well as ***antanaclasis***, ***syllepsis***, ***zeugma***, anagrams, repetitions, run-on letters and other more narrowly defined similarities.

Although the word "pun" seems to have first appeared in English in a Royalist pamphlet published in Oxford in 1644 (Bates 425), the crafting of the figure seems to be as old as language itself. "Its primary use was not for humor but in earnest, in the form of names of double import, as in Sanskrit, Hebrew, [and] Greek (Shipley 330)." Christ used the pun in this way when he established his Church on the "rock" of Peter. The Roman authors Terence and Plutarch wrote puns, and Quintilian commented on them.

In his humorous "*Ars Pun-ica*," Jonathan Swift credits Pythagoras with bringing the art of punning from Egypt to Greece "together with some arcana of philosophy," because "philosophy and punning were a mutual assistance to each other (411)." He reports that Pythagoras looked upon puns as sacred, and forbade his disciples to eat beans "because they were called in Greek *πυννοι*," a vegetable which Pythagoras said, "'on account of its name, not only brings an honour to our country, but, as it disperses its effluvia in the air, may also, by a secret impulse, prepare the soul for punning, which I esteem the first and great felicity of life.'" This great Punic stink, which of course is the heavenly odor of the plant, has given the pun "bad press" ever since. Catherine Bates points out that "literary criticism still operates as if puns were on one side and the critic's language of explication (or most of it anyway) were on the other (427)," suggesting that the discomfort has to do more with the fact that "puns destabilize [the] neat formulation (424)" of signifier and signified. They show meaning to be approximate. "It is because it ambiguates meaning that the pun disturbs the system of communication," she says.

In "The Semantics of Metaphor," the second chapter of *The Role of the Reader*, his widely-read text on semiotics, the theorist Umberto Eco examines the nature of the pun. Describing it as "an unusual metaphor (86)" and "the inventive metaphor," he notes

its distinguishing characteristic as the "relationship of mutual substitution (73)," and points out that, because of the resemblance of signifiers (one, of course, being imaginary), "each term is at the same time vehicle and tenor, while the entire pun is a multiple metaphor." It causes "an internal disturbance of semiosis (86)," because factual judgment usually draws "data *from the exterior of language*," while the ordinary metaphor draws "the idea of possible connection *from the interior* of the circle of unlimited semiosis." The difference between the ordinary metaphor and the pun, he seems to be saying, may be found in "the amount of time spent in order to produce knowledge." The implication is that the pun, with its smaller range of possibility, can act as a short-cut, producing "new semiotic judgments" quickly. These judgments, we might add, are compact and durable, as the pun has the advantage of deciding "the fate of future reciprocal substitutions affecting the two terms," because we tend to remember the inventiveness of a clever formulation. Rather than putting the pun at the bottom of the rhetorical scale, Eco recognizes its value in causing language to function in a creative and formative direction. With that precise potential in mind, we will take as a second focus the rhetorical figure of the pun, beginning with Bonaventure's "oxymoronic word," as a subjacent, but essential, factor in the traditional Scriptural exegetical structure (which will be examined at length). We will identify innovative stylistic, rhetorical and structural characteristics in Bonaventure's *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum* in order to deduce that which is artistically "Franciscan."

A word needs to be said about the symbolic value of the Seraph, which has been so closely identified with Francis as to cause his order to be called the Seraphic Order, and Bonaventure to be known as "the Seraphic Doctor." The Seraph that appeared to

Francis on Mount La Verna in the form of the Crucified is of the order of angels known in the Old Testament as the *seraphim*, "the fiery ones." They are probably the same angels as the "winged creatures" of 1 Kings 8:6-7, who "spread their wings over the place where the ark stood, forming a canopy over the ark and its shafts" in the Debir of Solomon's Temple, i. e. the Holy of Holies, an association which we will see made by Bonaventure. They are specifically named only in Isaiah's description of his call to the prophetical life, which occurred in 740 B. C.:

> In the year of King Uzziah's death I saw the Lord seated on a high and lofty throne;
> his train filled the sanctuary. Above him stood seraphs, each one with six wings:
> two to cover its face, two to cover its feet and two for flying; and they were shouting
> these words to each other:
>
> Holy, holy, holy is Yahweh Sabaoth.
> His glory fills the whole earth.
>
> The door-posts shook at the sound of their shouting, and the Temple was full of smoke.
> (6:1-4)[2]

When Isaiah protested his uncleanness, one of the seraphs flew to him:

> ...holding in its hand a live coal which it had taken from the altar with a pair of tongs.
> With this it touched my mouth and said:
>
> 'Look, this has touched your lips,
> your guilt has been removed
> and your sin forgiven.'
>
> I then heard the voice of the Lord saying: 'Whom shall I send? Who will go for us?'
> And I said, 'Here am I, send me.'
> (6:6-8)

All that Sacred Scripture reveals concerning Yahweh's highest servants, the *seraphim*, whose task is to minister to Him and to proclaim his glory, may be inferred from this description. In the vision of Ezekiel, who prophesized in Babylon between 593 and 571 B. C., the "four living creatures" are similar to the *seraphim* in that they have faces, hands and wings, but their feet are hooves, their coals give off lightening and they have wheels within wheels beside them.

After Francis' experience of the Seraph on La Verna and death, Brother Thomas of Celano was commissioned by Pope Gregory IX to write the first *Vita* of Francis

(1228), in which he reports the miracle of the event, as we will see presently. Several paragraphs later, he interprets the marking of the stigmata as placing Francis in the order of *seraphim*, and then incorporates the Seraph metaphorically into a prescription for personal holiness modeled after Francis' example:

> . . .O wonderful and loveable disposition of God, which, that no suspicion might arise concerning this mew miracle, first mercifully displayed in him who *descended from heaven* what a little later was to be wonderfully wrought in him who dwelt upon earth! And indeed the true Father of mercies wanted to show how great a re/ward he is worthy of who tried to love him with all his heart, namely, to be placed in the highest order of celestial spirits and indeed in the order nearest to himself.
>
> We can without a doubt attain this reward, if, after the manner of the seraphim, we extend two wings above our heads, that is, if we have, after the example of the blessed Francis, a pure intention in all our works and if our actions are upright, and if, directing these to God, we strive tirelessly to please him alone in all our works. These two wings must be joined together to cover the head, because the Father of lights will by no means accept either the uprightness of a word without purity of intention or vice versa, . . . The feathers of these wings are love of the Father, who saves us in his mercy, and fear of the Lord, who judges us terribly. These feathers must raise the souls of the elect from earthly things by repressing evil impulses and properly ordering chaste affections. With two wings for flying one is to extend a twofold charity to one's neighbor, namely, by refreshing his soul with the word of God and by sustaining his body with earthly help. These two wings, however, are rarely joined together, for both can hardly be fulfilled by anyone. The feathers of these wings are the various works which must be shown to one's neighbor to advise and help him. Lastly, with two wings the body that is bare of merits must be covered, and this is properly done when as often as sin has/ intervened it is again clothed with innocence through contrition and confession. The feathers of these wings are the many various affections which are born of hatred for sin and hunger for justice.
>
> 115 These things the most blessed father Francis fulfilled most perfectly; he bore the image and form of a seraph and, persevering upon the cross, merited to rise to the ranks of the heavenly spirits.
>
> (I Cel II, IX, 114-5, 327-9)[3]

As Placid Hermann has noticed in his notes, Celano explains Francis' experience of the Seraph in allegorical fashion in Isaian terms (Habig n. 129, 581). This artistic impulse will be continued by Bonaventure in the *Itinerarium*, where the Way of Perfection is held by the various wings and fitted to the traditional exegetical pattern. The wings will come to represent both the spiritual senses of the exegetical pattern and Franciscan spirituality, and the union (wings joined above the head), separation (wings for flying) and crossing (wings covering the body) of the two.

The question must be posed: What is Franciscan about Giovanni Boccaccio's *Decameron*, Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* and Marguerite de Navarre's *Heptameron*? The answer, hidden right under our noses, is Giovanni di Pietro di Bernardone, otherwise known as Francis of Assisi, a presence in all three of these works.

Any discussion about things Franciscan must begin with Francis, the gentle saint whose vision penetrated deeply into the mystery of creation, and whose graced will to live his own life in close conformity to Christ's was acknowledged by the gift of the stigmata. Francis is the root of all that is Franciscan. We will consider first two characteristics that seem to represent the man, his actions and his poetry: an urge to radical opposition and an urge to radical literality.

Francis' eminent biographer is also a saint. A friar who followed Francis as Minister General of the Order of Friars Minor, Bonaventure is widely recognized for the philosophical and theological writings that have merited for him the title of Doctor of the Church. His artistic contributions, although less well-known, are no less significant. We will look briefly at his life and thought, placing his most significant spiritual work in the continuum of traditional exegesis, and examining closely the structural, stylistic and rhetorical innovations that can truly be called Franciscan, and that continued to serve as a model for writers of the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

[1] In descriptions of the levels of patristic exegesis, the literal level is also referred to as the "carnal level."

[2] I have used *The New Jerusalem Bible*, Reader's Edition (NY: Doubleday, 1990) for biblical quotations.

[3] "O mira et amabilis dispositio Dei, quae, ut nulla de miraculi novitate posset oriri suspicio, primo misericorditer ostendit in eo qui *de caelis erat*, quod mirabiliter paulo post facturus erat in eo qui degebat *in terris*! Et quidem indicare voluit verus *Pater misericordiarum*, quanto praemio dignus sit, qui eum *diligere* studuerit *toto corde*, ut in superiore scilicet ac sibi viciniore supercaelestium spirituum ordine collocetur.

Quod utique indubitanter adipisci poterimus, si more Seraphim *duas alas extenderimus supra caput*, haben-/tes videlicet, beati Francisci exemplo, in omni opere bono intentionem puram et operationem rectam, et his directis ad Deum, soli sibi placere in omnibus infatigabiliter studuerimus. Quae ad *velandum* caput necessario coniunguntur, quia rectitudinem operis absque puritate intentionis et e converso *Pater luminum* minime acceptabit, ipso dicente: *Si oculus tuus fuerit simplex, totum corpus tuum lucidum erit, si autem nequam fuerit, totum corpus tenebrosum erit. Oculus* namque *simplex* non est qui non videt quod est videndum, cognitione veritatis carens, aut quod non videndum fuerit intuetur, intentionem puram non habens. In primo non *simplicem* sed caecum, in secundo *nequam* ipsum aperta ratio iudicabit. *Pennae* harum *alarum* sunt amor Patris salvantis misericorditer, et *timor Domini* iudicantis terribiliter, quae animos electorum, malos reprimendo motus et castos ordinando affectus, debent suspendere a terrenis. *Duabus* quoque *alis volandum* est ad impendendam duplicem proximo charitatem, reficiendo videlicet animam *verbo Dei*, et corpus terreno subsidio sustentando. Quae *alae* rarissime *coniunguntur*, quia vix utrumque valet ab aliquo adimpleri. *Pennae* harum diversa sunt opera, quae ad consilium et auxilium requiruntur, proximo exhibenda. *Duabus* denique alis *tegendum* est *corpus* nudum meritis, quod tunc ordinate impletur, cum scilicet, quoties peccato interveniente fuerit denudatum, contritionis atque confessionis innocentia revestitur. *Pennae* harum multimodae affectiones sunt, quae ex peccatorum exsecratione et appetitu iustutuae procreantur./

115. Haec omnia beatissimus pater Franciscus perfectissime adimplevit, qui Seraphim imaginem tenuit atque formam, et in cruce perseverans ad sublimium spirituum gradum meruit advolare (I Cel II, IX, 114-115, 127-128)."

CHAPTER ONE

FRANCISCAN BEGINNINGS

> Thus it is established by convincing evidence that these sacred marks were imprinted on him by the power of the One who purifies, illumines and inflames through the action of the Seraphim.
> (*Legenda Maior* XIII, 7, 309)[1]

Francis

Saint Francis was a poet and a man who embodied contradiction. Born in Assisi c.1181, he spent his young years in worldliness, but later repented his excesses, renounced his inheritance, and turned to God. Embracing a life of poverty, he preached the love of God and of Scripture, and founded three religious orders. He had a great devotion to Christ crucified and continually preached this devotion. In the year 1224, while Francis was praying and fasting on Mount Alverna, Christ imprinted the marks of his passion on the saint's body. He died two years later.[2]

Of the accounts of the stigmata, the most well-known was written by Saint Bonaventure in Part One, Chapter XIII of the first *Legenda Sancti Francisci*, known as the *Legenda Maior*:

> . . . quodam mane circa festum Exaltationis sanctae Crucis, dum oraret in latere montis, vidit Seraph unum sex alas habentem tam ignitas quam/ splendidas de caelorum sublimitate descendere. Cumque volatu celerrimo pervenisset ad aëris locum viro Dei propinquum, apparuit inter alas effigies hominis crucifixi, in modum crucis manus et pedes extensos habentis et cruci affixos. Duae alae super caput ipsius elevabantur, duae ad volandum extendebantur, duae vero totum velabant corpus. Hoc videns, vehementer obstupuit, mixtumque moerore gaudium cor eius incurrit. Laetabatur quidem in gratioso aspectu, quo a Christo sub specie Seraph cernebat se conspici, sed crucis affixio compassivi doloris gladio ipsius animam pertransibat. . . . Disparens igitur visio mirabilem in corde ipsius reliquit ardorem, sed et in carne non minus mirabilem signorum impressit effigiem. Statim namque in manibus eius et pedibus apparere coeperunt signa clavorum, quemadmodum paulo ante in effigie illa viri crucifixi conspexerat.
>
> (3, 542-543)

> On a certain morning about the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, while Francis was praying on the mountainside, he saw a Seraph with six fiery and shining wings descend from the height of heaven. And when in swift flight the Seraph had reached the spot in the air near the man of God, there appeared between the wings the figure of a man crucified, with his hands and feet extended in the form of a cross and fastened to a cross. Two of the wings were lifted above his head, two were extended for flight and two covered his whole body. When Francis saw this, he was overwhelmed and his heart was flooded with a mixture of joy and sorrow. He rejoiced because of the gracious way Christ looked upon him under that appearance of the Seraph, but the fact that he was fastened to a cross pierced his soul with a sword of compassionate sorrow.. . . As the vision disappeared, it left in his heart a marvelous ardor and imprinted on his body markings that were no less marvelous. Immediately the marks of nails began to appear in his hands and feet just as he had seen a little before in the figure of the man crucified.
> (Cousins 305-306)

It is noteworthy that both Bonaventure and Thomas of Celano, Francis' first biographer, report an emotional coincidence of opposites within the heart of Francis at the very moment of the impressing of the stigmata. Thomas says, "And so he arose. . .sorrowful and joyful, and joy and grief were in him alternately (I Cel II, III, 94, 309)."[3]

This tendency to support polarities was all pervasive in Francis, as it is evident in his relationship to society, in his confrontation with his father, in his spiritual life, and even in his art. Certainly his espousal of Lady Poverty in the face of the extravagant customs of thirteenth century Assisi, and his assumption of gentle means and humble personal ways were countercultural. They challenged the overweening pride and rampant brutality of the day. Francis' use of simplicity and restraint, however, belie any alienation. For him, simplicity seems to have facilitated clarity of vision, and restraint seems to have generated a synergy useful in meeting societal needs, i. e. to assist the poor, to preach and to pray. These actions give evidence of great love and a full recognition of his place as a member of that very society to which he stood in opposition.

In the famous scene with his father, Pietro di Bernadone, who sought to compel him to return what he had and renounce his inheritance before Bishop Guido of Assisi, Francis was radical in resolve and in deed (*L. M.* II, 4, 508-9). Having no interest in

worldly goods, he was in agreement with his father's wishes, but his call to perfect obedience required that he express fidelity to God the Father in the face of Bernadone's selfish perspective. Both Bonaventure and Thomas (II Cel I, VII, 12, 18) report that he stripped himself naked in front of the assembled crowd and returned everything to his father, even his clothes.

Personally, too, as his spiritual life unfolded, he stood with and in opposition to himself. As he worked to become more virtuous, he repulsed the ways of the callous youth that he had been. Bonaventure relates how, having always felt sick at the sight of lepers, he was able to overcome his disgust and kiss a leper whom he encountered on the plain below Assisi (I, 5, 507). Later, he graciously tended the lepers of the hospital of Gubbio, often kissing their wounds (II, 6, 509).

In his famous *lauda*, the *Cantico delle creature*,[4] composed toward the end of 1225 (Robinson 150) and thought to be the oldest extant poem in any modern language (Habig 128), he opposes a set of figurations. The work begins with several o illustrations anchored in a series of puns: *so le*, *solo*, that lead to *lo frate sole*, "Brother Sun." These meet their complementary opposite in *Laudate*, as "lauda te," an interlingual pun on the letter t heard in the French of the Troubadours as "tay." A final series of *te* figures[5] ends *cum grande humilitate*, "with great humility," an oxymoronic pun that as "gran de humilitate," suggests that the great comes from both humility and from the humble letter t, a representation of the cross. It is fitting that this *lauda* was composed at San Diamiano where Francis heard the cross speak to him.

In summary, as we can see from his art, it was in keeping with Francis' character to juxtapose opposites: to stand with and in opposition to society, with and in opposition

to his father, and with and in opposition to himself, which is the posture of mankind, and of Christ.

It was also characteristic of Francis to be radically literal. Both Thomas and Bonaventure tell how, early in his spiritual journey, while praying before the crucifix in the chapel of San Damiano, he heard a voice that said, "Francisce, vade et repara domum meam, quae, ut cernis, tota destruitur (*L. M.* II, 1, 508)," "Francis, go and repair my house which, as you see, is falling completely into ruin (191)."[6] Francis began by furnishing money and supplies for San Damiano, and then by physically carrying stones to rebuild it and other churches in the area. This was a literal response. In reality, the church that was collapsing was the Roman Church, which he was being called to renew.

This bodily reliance on the literal is consistent with what is known of Francis' approach to Scripture,[7] which he quoted often, along with the Liturgy, the Missal and the Breviary (Robinson xv). The opening section of *The Rule of 1221* which was approved by Pope Innocent III, makes it clear that Francis intends for his friars to live in accordance with a literal interpretation of Christ's words:

> *Chapter* I. *The friars are to live in obedience, without property, and in chastity*
>
> The Rule and life of the friars is to live in obedience, in chastity and without property, following the teaching and the footsteps of our Lord Jesus Christ who says, *If thou wilt be perfect, go, sell what thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come, follow me* (Mt. 19: 21) ; and, *If anyone wishes to come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me* (Mt. 16: 24). Elsewhere he says, *If anyone comes to me and does not hate his father and mother, and wife and children, and brothers and sisters, yes, and even his own life, he cannot be my disciple* (Lk. 14: 26). *And everyone who has left house, or brothers, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my name's/ sake, shall receive a hundredfold, and shall possess life everlasting* (Mt. 19: 29)
>
> (Habig, "Writings" 31)[8]

The basis on which the Order of Friars Minor was founded was a literal interpretation of Christ and his words. The practice of prayer and fasting likewise followed just such an interpretation:

> *Chapter 3. The Divine Office and fasting*
>
> Our Lord tells us in the Gospel, *This kind* [of evil spirits] *can be cast out in no way except by prayer and fasting* (Mk 9: 28), and in another place, *When you fast, do not look gloomy like the hypocrites* (Mt. 6: 16). And so all the friars, both clerics and lay brothers, must say the Divine Office with the praises and prayers, as they are obliged to.. . .
>
> All the friars without exception must fast from the feast of All Saints until Christmas, and from Epiphany, when our Lord began his fast, until Easter. The friars are not bound by the Rule to fast at other times, except on Friday. In obedience to the Gospel, they may eat any food put before them (cf. Lk. 10:8). (Habig, "Writings" 33-4)[9]

Fleming has noticed that for Francis "the very *words* of Scripture have a sacramental character," and points to his Letter *De reverentia corporis Domini et de munditia altaris* where he reminds the priests of the Church that all that man possesses of God are "his Body and Blood, his name and his words," and his *Admonitio*, "De Corpore Christi" where he insists that God's name and his written words "should be picked up, if they are found lying in the dirt, and put in a suitable place (22-23)."

Francis' notion of creation's role as God's song was literal as well. Thomas tells the story of a tree cricket that would sing sweetly whenever Francis touched it and said, "Sing, my sister cricket, and praise your Creator/ with a joyful song (II Celano, II, CXXX, 171, 499-500),"[10] and stop whenever he commanded. When Francis gave it leave to go permanently, it left.

This approach to creation as coequal is apparent in Francis' art, where a radical literalizing of letters like *o* and *t*, is accompanied by an equally beautiful brotherhood of creation in the fatherhood of God. In the *Cantico*, Francis sees that praise is offered through all creatures, and its service as conduit gives dignity to creation. He confers that dignity in the respectfully personified naming of *messor lo frate sole, sora luna, frate*

vento, sor aqua, frate focu, and *sora nostra matre terra* so typical of Troubadour courtesy.[11] Even the figure of death, *sora nostra morte corporale*, is realized as giving praise because, even though she brings woe to some, she brings joy and eternal life. Death here seems to function as the locus for both the radically literal and the radically oppositional characteristics that we have identified in Francis. In carrying praise, death becomes the ultimate countercultural portrait, since society generally fears the extinction of carnal life.

It might be useful to point out that in Francis the tendency to the literal seems to have given rise to the oppositional. That is, in applying Christ's words so faithfully, he placed in relief all that contravened them, which in turn generated the need for reflection and action. Such was the pattern that the Order of Friars Minor developed—a complementary mixture of the polarities of contemplation and action—for which there was a great need in the first quarter of the thirteenth century.[12] It was not a new idea. The Order of Preachers, the Augustinian Hermits and the Carmelites had recognized the need for social interaction. The "friars' image of themselves was not one of monkish scribes, let alone flagpole hermits, but of plenipotentiary practitioners of the 'apostolic life': evangelists, missionaries, doctors of the spirit." (Fleming 15) They entered the language and the customs of the people whom they served and, by the example of their own response to the gospel, challenged the societal forms of feudalism and commercialism, as Roggen's study has shown.

In the years following Francis' death, the friars spread throughout Western Europe, their rapid progress facilitated by Pope Innocent III's desire to restore the Church, which he expressed at the Fourth Lateral Council (1215) (*Sermo I*, col. 969),

and by the tenth decretal of that same Council, which directed overburdened bishops to name suitable men *ad sanctae praedicationis officium* (col. 998), "to the office of holy preaching." Their struggle to reconcile the ideal vision of their founder with cultural demands led them through the multi-facetted "poverty debate," eventually resulting in a splintering of the community, which will be considered in the next chapter.

In 1228, Pope Gregory IX, who as Cardinal Hugolino had supported Francis and the friars, and who believed in their mixed contemplative/active charism,[13] imposed studies. The following year, Robert Grosseteste (c. 1165-1253) began lectures to the Oxford Franciscans.[14] Beryl Smalley, in her comprehensive *Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, notes Eccleston's comment that, under Grosseteste "they made incalculable progress in questions and in subtle moralities suitable to preaching (266)." In 1231, the friars opened their house of studies in Paris, and evidence shows that both the Dominicans and the Franciscans were lecturing on Scripture at the time, in contrast to the secular masters who had moved toward speculative theology (269).[15] In the succeeding years, the Dominicans, led by Hugh of St. Cher and Guerric of St. Quentin, expended their cooperative energies on Scriptural concordances, *correctoria*, and postills, as well as individual lectures on Scripture. (270, 274) The Franciscans, however, from the evidence of a lecture on *Leviticus* (c1248) and a postill on the Lesser Prophets by William of Middleton, and a postill on Ecclesiastes by Bonaventure, both authors examined by Smalley, seem to have followed traditional Bible study. William's lecture distinguishes between the literal and spiritual senses of *Leviticus*, with reference to a mid-twelfth century monastic commentary,[16] and his postill follows in the tradition of St. Gregory. Smalley comments that "he seems to have reacted against the external, satirical trope

which was favored by university lecturers (286)." Bonaventure's postill avoids scholastic argument, only taking up questions that arise "directly from the text (276)." For the most part, the Franciscan scholars continued in what Grosseteste had taught was "the traditional practice of our fathers and elders and the custom of the regent masters at Paris," that is, of the biblical moral school and of the Victorines (276). In 1266/7, Roger Bacon records the passing of the custom of men like Grosseteste who "labored much in languages (in Hailperin 130)," who "had many helpers [in translating Greek and Hebrew] (130)," and who "attached their theological teaching to Scripture and did not use any other textbook (Smalley 279-80)." It seems clear that the Franciscan scholarly attitude at the time of Bonaventure was simple, traditional, and close to the original sources, especially Hebrew. As Bacon notes of Jewish exegesis at his time, "They have both the true letter and their own ancient expositions according to . . . [perhaps Rashi, the master eleventh century commentator][17] and of other men of wisdom as much as the literal exposition requires, and in general as much as it requires for the spiritual sense (in Hailperin 130)."[18] Bacon's disciple, the English friar William de Mara (*fl.* 1282), read in Hebrew, Greek and Latin, and "knew the Rabbis and Rashi" so well "that one can correct the received texts of Rashi by reference to the excerpts from Rashi which appear in the writings of de Mara (Hailperin 131)." This interesting confluence of the reading of the Scriptures in the original language with the exegetical method of interpretation seems to follow a line that includes "ancient" Hebrew expositions, the Victorines, and the Franciscans.

Bonaventure

In 1248, Bonaventure began to lecture on the Bible at the University of Paris. He was in his early thirties, and had studied under the English Franciscan Alexander of Hales. Little is known of his early life. His date of birth is generally thought to be 1217,[19] and he probably received his early education at the Franciscan friary in the small town of Bagnoregio where he lived. He would have been nine when Francis died and eleven when Francis was canonized by Pope Gregory IX. He recalls in the Prologue to the *Legenda Maior* how he was saved from a serious illness by the intercession of St. Francis.

When he was seventeen, he was sent to the University of Paris to study in the faculty of arts. He followed the courses of the *trivium* and the *quadrivium* and studied Scripture. In 1243, after having received the degree of Master of Arts, he entered the Franciscan Order. He was instructed by Alexander and his disciples, Jean de La Rochelle, William of Middleton and Eudes Rigaud, from whom he learned the scholastic system and technique of the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, which Alexander had made the theological textbook at Paris. He may also have assisted them in the great Franciscan project of the *Summa*, known as the *Summa fratris Alexandri*, which Alexander directed until his death in 1245, and which was completed by his disciples thereafter until 1260/70. (Bougerol 15)

Bonaventure's theological formation progressed rapidly, and in 1248, he was licensed as a bachelor of Scripture. From 1250 to 1252, he lectured on Lombard's *Sentences*, and after 1253 gave at least three disputed questions, which indicates that he

probably became a master in theology in 1253 or 1254. (Cousins 6) He left the university in 1257 to become Minister General of the Franciscan Order, an office that he held until 1273. His generalate was characterized by moderation. He encouraged personal spirituality and learning among the friars, and was noted for his ability to reconcile opposing parties. Named cardinal bishop of Albano by Pope Gregory X, whom he accompanied to the Second Council of Lyons, he was instrumental in effecting a reunification of the Latin and Greek Churches. On May 28, 1274, after the arrival of a letter from the Greek ambassadors, he preached at an extraordinary session of the Council. He preached again in the actual presence of the Greeks on June 29. "He probably presided at several meetings between the Greek delegates and the Latins." (Brady 659) After his unexpected death on July 15, however, the reunification evaporated. He was canonized by Pope Sixtus IV in 1482, and declared a Doctor of the Universal Church by Pope Sixtus V in 1588.[20]

Bonaventure's thought is significant in three areas: philosophy, theology, and aesthetics. His philosophy is akin to that of Augustine and Anselm in its relentless probing of the First Cause or Principle, and to that of Francis in its profound appreciation for the goodness of creation. The first Principle is the supreme Being, the Exemplar, or the Reason of things, the beginning and the end, manifested in sensible matter as a sign. All creatures include the Exemplar within their matter, and are themselves exemplars that direct back to the first Principle. The goodness of creation is derived from this function. Whereas Francis sang of the goodness of creation in its ontological capacity for divine praise, Bonaventure teaches its goodness in the spiritually functional character of that capacity: all creation praises, and in its praising raises, and is raised, to the first Principle.

This is an extension of the Platonic notion of exemplary causality (ideas) that had entered Christian thought through the formulation of Augustine, who had made it the psychological bases of his Trinitarian theology: the Father begot his Son, the Word as consubstantial image (exemplar), who then produces the world which participates in this eternal Image. Viewed philosophically, the first Cause begot his Mind in which man participates eternally. Bonaventure's philosophy, always articulated within the domain of faith, notices creational and psychological causality and function. Its "exemplarism describes the nature and rôle of the divine ideas only to show us more clearly how creation is brought about (Gilson 391)."

Bonaventure was above all a theologian. His works are firmly centered in Christ and rest on the authority of Scripture and traditional doctrine. They reveal a profound love for the mystery of the Trinity. In a discussion of Bonaventure's trinitatian view, Zachary Hayes, O. F. M., concludes that the Trinity "is a fundamental structural component of his thought both in its broader vision and in its smaller units, and even conditions the choice of language and phraseology (30)."

Bonaventure's thought on the Trinity appears in five works: *Commentarius in I librum Sententiarum* (1250-1252), *Quaestiones disputatae de mysterio Trinitatis* (1253-1257), *Breviloquium* (c. 1257), *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum* (c. 1259) and *Collationes in Hexaemeron* (which was left unfinished). Briefly, he wove together several strains of thought: the Augustinian notions of person (as exemplary image of God) and of soul (as tending to its source), the Dionysian concept of the self-diffusive good,[21] the Victorine sense that the fullness of charity requires relation (14-17), and Franciscan love.[22] The resulting trinitarian theology sees the fecundity of the first Principle (the Father)

overflowing in a double procession: through nature in the generation of the Word (the Son), and through will in the spiration of Love (the Holy Spirit). All creation issues forth from the Word; it reflects him as exemplar, and returns to him. As Ewert Cousins has observed, "in generating the Son, the Father produces in the Son the exemplar and pattern of all that can be created. Hence the Son is his Art through which he creates the universe, and the universe is by its very nature a theophany (94)."

This Exemplar-exemplary image relationship is repeated in the soul: "Le rapport d'exemplaire à image sert à préciser non plus seulement le rôle du Verbe dans la création, mais les relations de l'homme avec la Personne du Père et du Saint-Esprit (Ampe col. 1876)." The Trinity of the Father, Word and Love is analogically replicated within the soul as the triad *memoria*, *intelligentia* and *voluntas* of Augustine's *De Trinitate* (Books IX-XV), which Bonaventure reworks as *mens generans*, *verbum* and *amor* in the *Itinerarium*:

> See, therefore, how close the soul is to God, and how, in their operations, the memory leads to eternity, the understanding to truth and the power of choice to the highest good.
>
> 5. These powers lead us to the most blessed Trinity itself in view of their order, origin and interrelatedness. From memory, intelligence comes forth as its offspring, since we understand when a likeness which is in the memory leaps into the eye of the intellect in the form of a word. From memory and intelligence love is breathed forth as their mutual bond. These three—the generating mind, the word and love—are in the soul as memory, understanding, and will, which are consubstantial, coequal and coeval, and interpenetrate each other. If, then, God is a perfect spirit, he has memory, understanding and will; and he has the Word generated and Love breathed forth, which are necessarily distinct since one is produced by the other—not in the order of essence, not in the order of accident, therefore in the order of persons.
>
> When, therefore, the soul considers itself, it rises through itself as through a mirror to behold the blessed Trinity of the Father, the Word and Love: three persons, coeternal, coequal and consubstantial. Thus each one dwells in each of the others; nevertheless one is not the other but the three are one God.
>
> 6. When the soul considers its Triune Principle through the trinity of its powers, by which it is an image of God, it is aided by the lights of the sciences which perfect and inform it and represent the most blessed Trinity in a threefold way. For all philosophy is either natural or rational or moral. The first deals with the cause of being and therefore leads to the power of the Father; the second deals with the basis of understanding and therefore leads to the wisdom of the Word; the third deals with the order of living and therefore leads to the goodness of the Holy Spirit.
>
> (Cousins 84-5)[23]

The Trinity is not only mirrored within man, but also represented by the sciences, which the author divides into another triad. This same Augustinian triad, which had strongly influenced Trinitarian speculation in the West (Hayes 15), had earlier appeared in the *Quaestiones disputatae de mysterio Trinitatis*:

> Therefore it follows that eternal life consists in this alone, that the rational spirit, which emanates from the most blessed trinity and is a likeness of the trinity, should return after the manner of a certain intelligible circle—through memory, intelligence and will—to the most blessed trinity by God-conforming glory.
>
> (Hayes 27)[24]

To translate this theological statement into philosophical terms, the exemplar that emanates from the first Principle, processed through the *mens* of the human person, directs back to the first Principle. For Bonaventure, "The creation of the world is a kind of book in which the Trinity shines forth, is represented and found as the fabricator of the universe in three modes of expression . . .. (*Breviloquium* II, XII [V 230])."[25]

The exemplaristic character of Bonaventure's philosophy and trinitarian theology is continued in his aesthetics, particularly in his exploration of semiotics and art, in his use of opposition, and in his style of presentation. In the *Itinerarium*, "Bonaventure's principle aesthetic text (von Balthasar 340)," he follows Augustine's attention to the sign as signifier (*De Doctrina Christiana* II, I, 1) by setting all creation as signs and exemplars of Christ, the eternal Art:

> For these creatures are shadows, echoes and pictures of that first, most powerful, most wise and most perfect Principle,...of that efficient, exemplary and ordering Art. They are...signs divinely given so that we can see God. These creatures, I say, are exemplars or rather exemplifications presented to souls still untrained and immersed in sensible things so that through sensible things which they see they will be carried over to intelligible things which they do not see as through signs to what is signified.
>
> 12. The creatures of the sense world signify *the invisible attributes of God*, partly because God is the origin, exemplar and end of every creature, and every effect is the sign of its cause, the exemplification of its exemplar and the path to the end, to which it leads.
>
> (Cousins 76)[26]

He is very clear: exemplars picture God and his Art. A few lines later, he states that the mind has the capacity for inference because the necessity "comes from its exemplarity in the Eternal Art, according to which things are mutually oriented and related to one another because they are represented in the Eternal Art (82-3)."[27] Man's creative thought participates in an interconnection of divine relationships in the Eternal Art. These connections can be signs that are specifically indicative of divine realities, like the union *quae est inter signatum et signum*, "which is between the thing signified and the sign," specifically destined, *et modo et origine*, "in style and origin," to express it. (*Breviloquium* I, V [V, 214])[28] The eternal laws by which we judge sensible things exist in the Eternal Art, the form that produces, conserves, distinguishes and sustains all things. (*Itinerarium* II, 9, 302)

In his study of Bonaventure's thought, Ewert Cousins analyzes the nature of opposition in his works: "For Bonaventure," he says, "all types of coincidence of opposites—whether in the Trinity or in the world—are opposites of mutually affirming complementarity." In the real opposition that occurs, there is coincidence in an internal relationship: "the opposites interpenetrate and by this interpenetration intensify their uniqueness (250)." He points to Bonaventure's doctrine of exemplarism in Christ (the Word), in whom the infinite and the finite coincide" (248), and identifies Bonaventure as the interpreter of Francis (247), the little, poor man who imitated Christ, and whose stigmata identified with "the concrete particularities of Christ's humanity" and participated in "his suffering and death (273)." In Christ, he says, "man's lost center" is relocated (144) and "all opposites are held in tension (139)." He quotes from Bonaventure's *Hexaemeron*: "For when the center of a circle has been lost, it can be

found only by two lines intersecting at right angles (I, 24 [V, 333])."[29] This is a description of the cross--the vestige, image, similitude and symbol of the crucified Christ, and the sign of opposition.

Signs and opposition work on many levels, because, as Augustine teaches, signs can be literal or figurative (X, 15). In the *Itinerarium*, Bonaventure explains that creatures signify God in four ways: "partly by their own proper representation, partly from prophetic prefiguration, partly from angelic operation, partly from [superadded] institution (Cousins 77)."[30] This is a classification that is similar to one used in the *Breviloquium*, where the sign was useful in four ways "as a representation from natural similitude, as a signification from adjoined institution, as a sanctification from superadded blessing and as a preparation toward grace, through which our soul is healed and cured (Pars VI, c.1, 265b)."[31] The sign has a potential that corresponds generally to the "four senses" of the hermeneutic construct literal-allegorical-tropological-anagogical which was the Scriptural exegetical pattern of the Middle Ages. In the *Itinerarium*, Bonaventure presumes the literal, and speaks of a three-fold *intelligentiam spiritualem*, "spiritual understanding" which he lists in inverse order as

> ...*tropologicam*, quae purgat ad honestatem vitae;
> *allegoricam*, quae illuminat ad claritatem intelligentiae;
> *anagogicam*, quae perficit per excessus mentales et sapientiae perceptiones suavissimas.
> (IV, 6, 307)

> ...the tropological, which purifies one for an upright life;
> the allegorical, which illumines one for clarity of understanding;
> and the anagogical, which perfects through spiritual ecstacies and sweet perceptions of wisdom.
> (Cousins 91)

As we begin the study of the *Itinerarium* as a new expression of traditional Scriptural exegesis, it would be useful to have a sense of the history, characteristics and critical discussion of these modes.

Medieval Exegesis

For more than a thousand years, scholars who sought to uncover the meaning of a passage of sacred Scripture did so by considering first the literal and then the allegorical, or several allegorical, senses of the text. As early as the third century A. D., the allegorical senses had been enumerated and identified, and by the late Middle Ages—just about the time of the *Itinerarium*—were addressed by Thomas Aquinas in the first question of his *Summa*, as part of his consideration on the Nature and Extent of Sacred Doctrine:

> *Objection* 1. It seems that in Holy Writ a word cannot have several senses, historical or literal, allegorical, tropological or moral, and anagogical. For many different senses in one text produce confusion...
>
> *I answer that*, The author of Holy Writ is God, in whose power it is to signify His meaning, not by words only (as man also can do), but also by things themselves. So, whereas in every other science things are signified by words, this science has the property, that the things signified by the words have themselves also a signification. Therefore that first signification whereby words signify things belongs to the first sense, the historical or literal. That signification whereby things signified by words have themselves also a signification is called the spiritual sense, which is based on the literal, and presupposes it. Now this spiritual sense has a threefold division. For as the Apostle says (Heb. X. 1) the Old Law is a figure of the New Law, and Dionysius says (*Cael. Hier.* i) *the New Law itself is a figure of future glory*. Again, in the New Law, whatever our Head has done is a type of what we ought to do. Therefore, so far as the things of the Old Law signify the things of the New Law, there is the allegorical sense; so far as the things done in Christ, or so far as the things which signify Christ, are types of what we ought to do, there is the moral sense. But so far as they signify what relates to eternal glory, there is the anagogical sense. Since the literal sense is that which the author intends, and since the author of Holy Writ is God, Who by one act comprehends all things by His intellect, it is not unfitting, as Augustine says (*Confess.* xii), if, even according to the literal sense, one word in Holy Writ should have several senses.
>
> (Pt. 1, Q. 1, Art. 10)[32]

In an attempt to simplify Thomas' response for popular consumption, a Dominican named Augustine of Dacia (de Lubac I, 23) reduced the "senses" to a little couplet:

> Littera gesta docet, quid credas allegoria,
> Moralis quid agas, quo tendas anagogia.
>
> The letter teaches the deed; what you believe, allegory;
> What you do, the moral; where you tend, anagogy.

The verses of the couplet, popularized by the Franciscan Nicholas de Lira in the fourteenth century, became so universally known by the fifteenth century, after the publication of Balbi's *Catholicon*, that they were described as "verses of a little Latin, that everyone knows by heart (24)."

In his famous "Letter to Can Grande Della Scala," Dante has given an example of the practical application of the exegetical scheme:

> [7] For the clarity of what is to be said, one must realize that the meaning of this work is not simple, but is rather to be called polysemous, that is, having many meanings. The first meaning is the one obtained through the letter; the second is the one obtained through the things signified by the letter. The first is called literal, the second allegorical or moral or anagogical. In order that this manner of treatment may appear more clearly, it may be applied to the following verses: "When Israel went out of Egypt, the house of Jacob from a people of strange language, Judah was his sanctuary and Israel his dominion." For if we look to the letter alone, the departure of the children of Israel from Egypt in the time of Moses is indicated to us; if to the allegory, our redemption accomplished by Christ is indicated to us; if to the moral sense, the conversion of the soul from the woe and misery of sin to a state of grace is indicated to us; if to the anagogical sense, the departure of the consecrated soul from the slavery of this corruption to the liberty of eternal glory is indicated. And though these mystic senses may be called by various names, they can all generally be spoken of as allegorical, since they are diverse from the literal or historical.
> (Gilbert 202-3)[33]

Dante is speaking of his own use of the "senses" in creating the *Paradiso*, and he is using an example previously set forth with more complexity in Bonaventure's *Itinerarium*:

> Thus we shall be true Hebrews passing over from Egypt to the land promised to their Fathers (Exod. 13:3ff.); we shall also be Christians passing over with Christ *from this world to the Father* (John 13:1); we shall be lovers of wisdom, which calls and says: *Pass over to me all who long for me and be filled with my fruits* (Ecclus. 24:26).
> (Cousins 63)[34]

Here Bonaventure is applying the scheme to a Scriptural base, and "we," that is, souls on pilgrimage, are the moral level of his construct.

Bonaventure and Dante are representing an ancient pattern. Opinion differs about its genesis. H. A. Wolfson attempted to place its beginnings in Philo by pointing to his three-fold settings of literal, moral and physical/cosmic (63), but he has been refuted by Henri de Lubac who notes that, while Philo actually recognized four senses in *On the*

Migration of Abraham, they are not classified and he did not practice them on any one text (I, 206). He supports J. Daniélou's conclusion that Philo's senses are separate systems of interpretation (119-42). De Lubac offers Origen for consideration, stating that by his third sense "l'exégèse juive en général, n'est pas seulement <modifiée>: elle est, grâce à l'entrée en jeu d'un nouveau principe qui ne lui doit absolument rien, réellement dépassée (207)."[35] Biblical scholars, notably William Barclay, have pointed to the four-fold way of interpretation among the Jews of the later Middle Ages, identifying four levels that anagramatically spell the Hebrew word for Paradise.[36] Rabbi Herman Hailperin, in his work on the great eleventh century French Rabbi Shelomo Izhaki (called Rashi, or simply Solomon), credits the Christians with the creation of the four-fold way of exegesis, but believes that they "found it implicit in the inheritance common to Jews and to Christians (258)," noting that the Talmud knows and speaks of *peshat*, the "primary literal (127)" sense, and *derash*, "a mystical deeper meaning or an allegorical use (34)," and "also projects in solution all the categories that might be derived from these two basic and general ways of interpretation (259)." As Rabbi Rashi states in his preface to the Song of Songs:

> "*Once* God has spoken; *twice* have I heard this" [Psalm 62:12]. This means: one scriptural passage can issue in several different interpretations. But in the final analysis, a passage cannot lose its *peshat* and literal meaning. And although the prophets spoke their words allegorically, it is necessary to organize these allegories properly and in sequence just as the (biblical) passages themselves are ordered, one after the other.
>
> (in Hailperin 241)

Christian exegesis seems to have begun with a Jew, Saul of the tribe of Benjamin, whose emphasis on the allegorical[37] most clearly can be seen in 2 *Cor.* 3:6, where he strongly condemns slavish adherence to the literal reading of Scripture with the words "written text kills," and in 1 *Cor.* 10:6, 11 where the Hebrews in the desert are *typoi hemon*, "figures of ourselves." Early exegetical scholars who followed Paul seem to have been centered in the cosmopolitan city of Alexandria, where there was ample opportunity for Hebrew, Egyptian and Christian cultural exchange. Towards the end of the second century, the Christian community there began to set a new direction for ecclesiastical literature. No longer exclusively devoted to apologetic and anti-heretical argument (Quasten 5-6), Church thought moved in the direction of the abstract and the allegorical, incorporating Neoplatonic and Hermetic ideas (Copenhaver xxxiii), and beginning to develop a system of belief. The earliest of the new exegetical thinkers seems to have been Pantaenus, the first rector of what later became known as the School of Alexandria; but it was Clement (c. 150-215), the pioneer scholar, who saw the value of incorporating into Christian thought those notions of classical literature—both philosophical and fictive—that were useful in the articulation of Christian belief and in the evangelizing work of the Church.

The son of pagan parents who lived somewhere in the Greco-Roman world, Clement traveled "through all the Greek-speaking provinces of the Empire, from Asia Minor and Syria to lower Italy and Egypt" (von Campenhausen 30) seeking an education. He settled in Alexandria assisting Pantaenus, whom he succeeded as head of the School c. 200 A. D. Nothing further is known of him, except that he fled during the persecution of Septimus Severus and sought refuge in Cappodocia (Quasten 5).

Known as a Christian gnostic, Clement demonstrates his extensive learning in his four major works, especially in the *Logos o Protreptikos pros Ellenas*, "A Word of Exhortation to the Greeks," in which he uses his knowledge of classical literature to draw men from paganism. His method of presentation is designed to attract learned men. In choosing the *protreptikos* as his genre, he was placing his work in the tradition of Plato and Aristotle: Plato was known to have written at least three protreptic discourses—that of the *Phaedo* being considered a model of the type (Festugiere 10)—and Aristotle wrote a work entitled *Protreptikos* (110). A rhetorical exhortation, this form was used to fill readers with enthusiasm for something, in this case Christianity.

The work opens with the legend of Eunomos the Lokrian and the Grasshopper, which prefigures Clement's treatment of classical *eisegesis*; it presents the "pre-existent Word;" it notices pagan typology; and it employs Homer against pagan practices. Significantly, it offers multiple interpretations of meaning built around a Scriptural text in the following passage:

> Then is it not monstrous, my friends, that, while God is ever exhorting us to virtue, we on our part shrink from accepting the benefit and put off our salvation? Do you not know that John also invites us to salvation and becomes wholly a voice of exhortation? Let us then inquire of him. "Who and whence art thou?" He will say he is not Elijah; he will deny that he is Christ; but he will confess "a voice crying in the desert." Who then is John? Allow us to say, in a figure, that he is a voice of the Word, raising his cry of exhortation in the desert. What dost thou cry, O voice? "Tell us also." "Make straight the ways of the Lord." John is a forerunner, and the voice is a forerunner of the Word. It is a voice of encouragement that makes ready for the coming salvation, a voice that exhorts to a heavenly inheritance; and by reason of this voice, the barren and desolate is fruitless no longer.
>
> (23)[38]

Clement does not identify the four levels apparent in this passage; however, they seem to prefigure the literal-allegorical-tropological-anagogical patterning that will develop. Like Bonaventure, Clement (or Klement as he wrote it) enters his scheme on the tropological level with the Scriptural quotation "a voice crying in the desert [wilderness]" (John 1:20-

23 from Isaiah 40:1-4) as the implied voice of the soul of mankind called to be prophet. "Who is John?" the reader is asked, recognizing the literal man, John the Baptist, as the last of the Hebrew prophets, in the line of Elijah. He is a *phone*, a voice--in fact, several voices. He is allegorically the voice of the Logos. He is also the voice *parakletike* "that makes ready for the coming salvation," an anagogical movement to eternal glory, that holds the Paraklete within it.

As the *phone tou logou protreptike*, "the voice of the word *protreptike*," and the one who exhorts to a ***kleronomian***,[39] "an inheritance," Klement, acknowledges his authorial voice with several tiny abbreviations of his name within the passage. He also whispers it in Homer 's voice[40] in answer to "What does thou cry, O voice? '*eipe kai emin*,'" ("Tell us also"), and the reader might just be able to hear the pun *kai emin* (Klément). So we have many voices: the voice of John (literal); of the Logos (allegorical); of the soul of man (tropological); and of the ***paraklet–e*** that leads to eternal glory (anagogical).[41]

There is clearly no attempt here to classify or arrange these voices as I have done. Nevertheless, this teacher of Origen seems to have a firm grasp on the "spiritual senses," and perhaps there is a slight foretaste of Dionysian opposition in the denial of Elijah and of Christ, and in the reverse letter pun on Homer's name in the word ***eremo***, "desert."

In his extensive study of the subject of medieval exegesis, Henri de Lubac has shown that the patterning of the four senses is not always regular, nor is it always four.[42] Augustine's *De utilitate credendi*, for instance, speaks of Scripture as being handed on *quadrifaria*, "in the fourfold way," listing *historiam*, *aetiologiam*, *analogiam*, and *allegoriam* (PL 42: 68), which many theologians, including Alexander of Hales saw as

only a literal (the first three) and a spiritual sense (*Summa* in deLubac I, 124). In *De genesi ad litteram imperfectus liber*, however, Augustine calles them the *quatuor modi*, "four modes," noting that it is important to know *quomodo congruat evangelio*, "in what mode it agrees with the Gospel (PL 34: 222)."

For most of the early scholars, the senses were customarily understood as *modi*. The terminology was used by Gregory (*Moralia*), Bede (*De tab.*), Boethius (*De fide*), Cassiodorus (*sex modis intelligentiae—De institutiones divin. litt.*), Isidore (*Differentiae*), Chrysostom (*In ps. 9*), the *Libri carolini*, Honorius (*In ps. Sel*), William of Auvergne (*De legibus*), Hugh of St. Victor (*De arca Noe Morali)*, Alexander of Hales (*modus Scripturae—Summa*), and Bonaventure (*Brevil.* and *In Hex.*) among others.[43]

The early history of the mode was dominated by Origen who explained the literal in Paul as "corporal" and the allegorical as "spiritual," connecting the text to the body, mind and spirit of man (de Lubac I, 379, 390), and Pope St. Gregory (c. 540-604) who clearly described the mode and added a dimension of spiritual gain (*In Ez.*) (185). In the Middle Ages, Rabanus Maurus (776-856) saw the mode as a "sign of faith," and much of its popularity is due to him, as well as the duality of fourfold and threefold (158-9). John Scotus Erigena linked the mode to the poetical art through Christ the fountainhead (76), describing creation and Scripture as "the feet of the Word" (122) and the mode as the colors of a peacock's tail (123). St. Anselm trained his students in it (140); and Hugh of St. Victor (1141+) systematized it for preaching (113). Guy of Bazoches (c. 1180) compared it to the Faculties of art, law and theology (115, n. 7).[44] Sometimes it was referred to very simply as the "senses," and sometimes very formally as Pope Innocent III's *quatuor theologicos intellectus*, "four theological understandings (169)."

Before the middle of the thirteenth century, the mode had four significant characteristics: it had a Scriptural base; the base was allegorized on several levels; Old Testament/New Testament typology was present; and the mystical level pointed to eternal glory. The Scriptural base was usually a recognizable passage of a few words or the recalling of an event, like the Exodus where the Hebrews passed from Egypt to the Promised Land, or a person, like the woman of the Canticle of Canticles, or a thing like Noah's ark. The passage, person or event might be expounded at length or merely mentioned.

The passage was allegorized—but not in any particular order. Sometimes the literal-allegorical-tropological-anagogical order was maintained, but not necessarily. In the case of the Exodus, the allegorical order is Hebrews = Christians, and Promised Land = Heaven. Additionally, the names for the levels might differ. The literal was also called the historical or carnal level; the allegorical was called the spiritual; the tropological, the moral; and the anagogical, the mystical. Old Testament figures were presented as types of New Testament events, people and things, but not always in the order of Old to New.

The moral allegory moved from outside to inside the event or person, often the soul of man, or of a particular man or woman: Hebrews = soul/person, and Promised Land = virtue. The moral transitus from Egypt to the Promised Land could be expressed in degrees: from pagan to believer; from sin to virtue; from mediocre to spiritually diligent (571). A fourth allegory might expose love within the soul and the way to eternal glory: Hebrews = love in the soul, and the Promised Land = God's Love. The pattern is recognizable. There may be additional parallels.

Critical discussion about the mode has centered on the extent of its influence and on the nature of typology. Robert Kaske and D. W. Robertson have argued that Biblical parallels are the contextual *sine qua non* for the comprehension of medieval literature, with Kaske dubbing the exegetical tradition "a sort of massive index" to the "meanings and associations of most medieval Christian imagery (28)." In discussing Middle English poetry, E. Talbot Donaldson, however, disagrees, stating that patristic influence contributes only "occasional symbols" that are called into use by their contexts (2).

Following in the vein of Northrop Frye's book on the Bible, *The Great Code*, recent discussion on typology has dealt with the interdependence of provisional and definitive meanings in a form that is "governed by the logic of similitude," but has "no laws to legislate what constitutes 'the similar (Schwartz 42).'" Regina Schwartz notes that Frye and Eric Auerbach see the typological approach as pointing to "transcending time" and dismisses Michael Walzer's argument that "'Exodus thinking' implies future revolutions and future redemptions" with no difinitive conclusion in the pattern. She offers the Old Testament story of Joseph's loss and redemption as definitive, with all of "the varieties of repression that these texts suffer (46)," quoting J. Derrida's "What is success when the possibility of failure continues to constitute its structure? (324)," and pointing to Joseph, the interpreter, who sees that interpreting is re-creation (48). In many ways the discussion begs the question, since typology is allegory—whether in a positive complement (success) or a negative complement (failure)—and its boundaries defy definition.

The history, characteristics and critical thought that have surrounded the thousand-year-old mode of patristic exegesis bear witness to a vital, analogic,

contemporary and sacred structure of interpretation, which by the late Middle Ages had become the accepted way of understanding the revealed word of God. It is this way of thinking about the texts of Sacred Scripture that Bonaventure learned, and he carried it over to non-Scriptural writing.

Itinerarium Mentis in Deum

Bonaventure's *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum*, "The Journey of the Mind to God," which is also entitled *Speculatio pauperis in deserto*, "The Meditation of the Poor Man in the Desert," has been called "*the* classic work of Franciscan literature—a book that one learned man of the fifteenth century said was worth all the books that had ever been written in the history of writing (Fleming, *Bellini* 30)." It was written sometime after September/October 1259, when Bonaventure made a pilgrimage to Mount LaVerna, *tanquam ad locum quietum amore*, "as to a quiet place in love," seeking peace. He had been Minister General of the Order of Friars Minor for two and a half years. He thought of Francis and the miracle that had taken place there:

> ...ibique existens, dum mente tractarem aliquas mentales ascensiones in Deum, inter alia occurrit illud miraculum, quod in praedicto loco contigit ipsi beato Francisco, de visione scilicet Seraph alati ad instar Crucifixi. In cuius consideratione statim visum est mihi, quod visio illa praetenderet ipsius patris suspensionem in contemplando et viam, per quam pervenitur ad eam.
>
> (*Prologus*, 295)

> ...While I was there reflecting on various ways by which the soul ascends to God, there came to mind, among other things, the miracle which had occurred to blessed Francis in this very place: the vision of a winged Seraph in the form of the Crucified. While reflecting on this, I saw at once that th[at] vision represented our father's [suspension] in contemplation and the road by which [it] is reached.
>
> (Cousins 54)[45]

Since Bonaventure will establish parallels between the wings of the Seraph set forth here, the stages of ascent on the Way of Perfection, and his own creative process,[46] it is useful to consider this passage briefly. First, the diction is creatively ambiguous: although the vision was a miracle, the major miracle at LaVerna was the gift of God's love for Francis revealed by the stigmata, which is not stated until the next section. Second, the vision of the winged Seraph in the form of the Crucified represents for Bonaventure a *patris suspensionem in contemplando*, "a suspension of the father

contemplating." And third, the vision is also seen as the Way *per quam pervenitur ad eam*, "by which it comes to it," perhaps as the way "by which Bonaventura (*pervenitur ad)* comes to God," "ad Deum," a pun on *ad eam*. In this passage, it seems as though "the other" is evident: the other vision and the other meaning, with the result that the creation *patris suspensionem* is allowed to join with the vision of "the six-winged Seraph," as part of the central image of the work, an addition that is perhaps verified by the author's signature. I will argue that it supplies the content that is covered by the wings of the Seraph's multiplex structure of exegetical modes.

The *Itinerarium* is a work in which architectural analogy is used to portray the spiritual. A good example of this type of allegory is Robert Grosseteste's *Templum Dei*, a work of pastoral theology written in the mid-thirteenth century, which makes the Pauline equation between the temple and members of the Church. Intended to educate the clergy for the hearing of confession, the work uses the structure of the Temple in a multiple allegory. Its basis is a quotation from 1 *Cor.* 3:17: "God's temple is holy; and you are that temple." The Temple is corporal and spiritual: the corporal is the human body; the spiritual is a spiritual Temple with foundation, walls and roof. The three parts—foundation, walls and roof—are the three divisions of the soul, and the three theological virtues—Faith, Hope and Love. The virtues each contribute parts of the Temple: Faith has twelve articles of faith as foundation stones; Hope's four walls are further divided. (Goering "Intro." 10-11) Love is the roof:

> Love is the spiritual temple's roof, and its structure is the most complex. In itself, love has three divisions (*dilectio, caritas, amor*). It is also divided according to the object loved (God, self, neighbor), and these, further, according to the subject loving (mind, soul, heart), thus constituting a twelve-part covering [3 + (3x3)] for the temple. This roof of Love also incorporates the ten precepts of the Decalogue (the ten commandments) and the 'evangelical precepts'..." (11)

Temple maintenance is done by confession, and the confessor is taught how to conduct confessions according to the structure of the Temple (11). Grosseteste's work was enormously popular. There are more than ninety MSS of it dated from the 13th to the 15th centuries, and it was translated into French and German (8).

A twelfth century version of architectural analogy can be seen in the *De arca Noe morali* of Hugh of St. Victor. The central image of this work is Noah's ark,[47] which is also both corporal and spiritual. The corporal is Christ's body, and the spiritual is *Ecclesia*, "the Church (625),"[48] *arcam in nobis*, "the ark in us (626)," and "una charitate quam mater gratia operatur in nobis ex confœderatione multarum virtutum in una charitate," (626) "what the gratious mother works in us from a gathering of many virtues in one charity."[49] Framed by the words *quodam modo* [50] and *postmodum*, the following passage lists the four levels, with charity at the fourth level, the one that leads to eternal glory:

> Quodammodo tamen una ubique arca est, quia unica ubique similitudo est, et non discrepare debet in nomine, quod non discrepat in proprietate, una est forma, diversa materia, quia quod est in ligno, hoc est in populo, et quod est in mente, idem est in charitate. Nos tamen specialiter de arca sapientiae loqui suscepimus, et idcirco reliquarum trium expositionem breviter transcurremus, ut in explanatione hujus postmodum liberius morari valeamus. (626)

> In a certain manner, however, one ark is ubiquitous, because the similitude is singular and everywhere, and ought not differ in name, that differs not in property. It is one in form, diverse in matter, because what is in the wood, this is in the people, and what is in the soul, the same is in love. We, however, arise to speak specially from the ark of wisdom, and on that account we briefly hurry across an exposition of three relics, that later we take leave to delight more boldly in an explanation of this.

We are offered the wood (the ark), the people (allegorical Church), the soul, and love—as well as the ark of wisdom. The ark is an analogic *modi* complex, figuratively transformed from the body of Christ, which is partially concealed by the wings of a pair of seraphim.

Hugh's seraphim are presented between allegories of the Temple[51] and the ark, and are drawn from *Isaiah* 6:1: "Above him stood seraphs, each one with six wings: two to cover its face, two to cover its feet and two for flying." They signify sacred Scripture:

> Et pulchre seraphim, quod interpretatur *ardens*, divinam Scripturam significat, quæ eos quos per cognitionem prius illuminaverit per amorem postmodum fortiter ardere facit.
>
> (623)

> And the beautiful seraphim, which means "afire," signify divine Scripture, which will illuminate beforehand those who by understanding afterwards strongly intensify through love.

They might be called the art of divine Scripture. They do not sit; they stand above the seat (*super solium* 624) of God because scriptural proficiency comes with labor. They have six paired wings: the first pair may/may not cover the body of the lord; the second pair may/may not extend from head to foot of the Lord; and the third pair may/may not fly toward each other:

> *Sex alæ uni, et sex alæ alteri* (*Isa.* VI), id est utrumque sex alas habebat, quæ juncta binæ et binæ tria paria alarum faciunt. Utrumque *duabus* (*Ibid.*) corpus suum tegit non domini, hoc est primum par. Utrumque duas extendit, alteram ad tegendum caput non suum sed Domini, alteram ad tegendos pedes non suos sed Domini, hoc est secundum par. Utrumque duabus volat alter ad alterum, hoc est tertium par. Si ergo seraphim Scripturam sacram significat, tria paria alarum tres sunt intellectus ejusdem Scripturæ, id est historia, allegoria, tropologia, quæ singula idcirco bina sunt, quia singula ad dilectionem Dei et proximi legentium animos accedunt.
>
> (624)

> The six wings [are] one and the six wings [are] other. (Isa. 6) It is whether or not it will support six wings, which joined two by two make three pairs of wings; whether or not by two it hides the body of the lord—this is the first pair; whether or not it extends two, one hiding the head of the Lord, the other hiding his feet—this is the second pair; whether or not the one flies by two toward the other—this is the third pair. Therefore, if the seraphim signify sacred Scripture, three pair of wings are three understandings of the same Scripture: history, allegory, tropology, a single one of which therefore are two, because the single one approaches the delight of God and those nearby approach the souls of readers.

The wings are the *modi* of Scripture, and seem to be either three or four, because an unstated anagogy is included with tropology, "of which the single are however two."[52] The wings are distinguished by the complementary description *uni* and *alteri*, "one" and

"other," and the ambiguous *utrumque...non*, "whether or not." We are told a little further on that they cover God's face *quod caput Domini*, "which is the head of the Lord (625)," and his feet (of which there are two), but not his body, because the head is the past, the feet are the future and the body is the present.[53] This positioning must be reconciled with the wings in an earlier presentation:

> Duæ alæ, quæ corpus seraphim tegunt, historia est, quæ per velamen litteræ mysticos tegit intellectus. Duæ alæ, quæ usque ad caput et pedes Domini extenduntur, allegoria est; quia cum mystica divinæ Scripturæ discimus, usque ad ipsius divinitatis agnitionem, quæ ante omnia, et post omnia est, per illuminationem mentis penetramus. ...Istæ duæ alæ, quibus volabant seraphim, tropologiam significant, quia dum per lectionem divinæ Scripturæ ad bona opera instruimur, quasi quibusdam alis ad alta sublevamur.
>
> (624-5)

> The two wings that cover the *corpus seraphim* [Old and New Testaments] are history, which conceals the mystic understanding with a veil of letters. The two wings that are extended right [from/to] head to foot of the Lord are allegory, because when we speak of the mystery of divine Scripture, we penetrate by the illumination of the mind right to the recognition of divinity itself, which is before and after all....
> The two wings by which the seraphim fly signify tropology, because through the reading of divine Scripture we are instructed to good works, as if we were raised/lowered by some kind of wings to the high/deep.

The literal *corpus seraphim* is historical and conceals its figurative meaning, while the figurative "bodies of the seraphim" are concealed by the literal meaning *corpus seraphim*. This is a rather subtle literal level. The allegorical level is no less clever: allegory extends from the beginning to the end of sacred Scripture, and so *from* the head (past) to the foot (future) of the Lord; but it also goes *ad caput*, "*to* the head," which St. Paul allegorically names Christ in the Canticle of the Epistle to the Colossians 1:18: "and he is the Head of the Body, that is, the Church."[54] To recognize the Christliness of the body is to penetrate "to the recognition of divinity itself." Finally, the tropological flight to good works, not only offers a double *modi* structure, but incorporates words that hold opposing meanings, recalling the opening "whether or not." This is pervasive ambiguity: the literal is also figurative; the allegorical also runs backwards, and the tropological

means its opposite. In the *De arca Noe morali*, each pair of seraph wings, clearly the *modi*, seem to be composed of a "one" and an "other," which both conceal and reveal sacred Scripture, and enclose the testaments, Christ and his Church. In these two examples, the *Templum Dei* and the *De arca Noe morali*, a physical structure was assigned to carry spiritual meaning. The *Itinerarium* does this as well, but it extends the analogy to the form of the work. Fleming has called the Seraph the "structuring metaphor of the entire work (203)." It is an architectonic work, i. e. the text is analogically and structurally configured to the Seraph, which not only holds the Way of Perfection, and the exegetical *modi*, but also the shape, with the vision of *patris suspensionem* holding the content. Since the Way of Perfection is clearly assigned to the wings by the literal exposition of the text (*Prol.*, 3, 295) and is the stated *modi* (IV, 6, 307), this study will focus on the functional ways that the Seraph and its wings structure the work, noting stylistic characteristics that are also evident in the work of Hugh of St. Victor, and bringing the actual exegetical *modi* to the fore, while giving definition to the anagogical mode.[55] It will offer various interpretations of *patris suspensionem* as the subject matter for each exegetical level. It will examine a passage in Chapter One that demonstrates Bonaventure's skill as the craftsman of the oxymoronic pun, a *double entendre* that is a coincidence of opposites. And finally, it will demonstrate how the work is radically incarnational.

The Wings

The *Itinerarium*, a contemplative pilgrimage to God, is called a tract, and divided into a Prologue and seven chapters. The notion of chapter division was a new one,[56] and Bonaventure describes his plan: "Placuit autem distinguere tractatum in septem capitula, praemittendo titulos ad faciliorem intelligentiam dicendorum (*Pro.* 296)," "It seemed good to divide this work into seven chapters, giving each a title for a better understanding of the contents (Cousins 56)." There is a Table of Contents. Of the seven chapters, two are described within the text as paired sets, one is an implied paired set, and the seventh connects to the Prologue as the literal ground, making a circular text. The assignment of the paired chapters to the wings of the Seraph are first noticed near the end of Chapter Two:

> 11. Ex his duobus gradibus primis, quibus manuducimur ad speculandum Deum in vestigiis quasi ad modum duarum alarum descendentium circa pedes, colligere possumus, quod omnes creaturae istius sensibilis mundi animum contemplantis et sapientis ducunt in Deum aeternum, . . .
>
> (302)

> 11. From the first two stages in which we are led to behold God in vestiges,
> like the two wings covering the Seraph's feet, we can gather
> that all the creatures of the sense world lead the mind of the contemplative and wise man to the eternal God.
>
> (75-6)

Chapters One and Two, the "first two stages" on the Way of Perfection, consider God in creation. They are the first pair of wings. The second pair appears near the end of Chapter Four:

> 7. Ex his autem duobus gradibus mediis, per quos ingredimur ad contemplandum Deum *intra nos* tanquam in speculis imaginum creaturarum, et hoc quasi ad modum alarum expansarum ad volandum, quae tenebant medium locum, intelligere possumus, . . .
>
> (307)

> 7. These two middle stages, through which we enter into the contemplation of God within us as in mirrors of created images, are like the two middle wings of the Seraph spread out for flight.
>
> (92)

The "two middle stages," Chapters Three and Four, consider God within man. The third pair, which covers Chapters Five and Six, is found near the end of Chapter Six, but instead of the two wings of a Seraph, there are the four wings of a pair of Cherubim. It is clear that these two, perhaps the "winged creatures" at the Ark of the Covenant of 1 Kings 8:6-7, are seraphim, however, because they are at the Mercy Seat and they are mystical:

> 4. For the Cherubim who faced each other also signify this. The fact that they faced each other, *with their faces turned toward the Mercy Seat*, is not without mystical meaning...
> 5. For if you are the Cherub contemplating God's essential attributes and if you are amazed because the divine Being is both first and last...supremely one and yet all-inclusive [omnimodum,]...if you are this Cherub, look at the Mercy Seat and wonder that in him there is joined the First Principle with the last, God with man, who was formed on the sixth day...the most perfect and immense with the lowly [cum modico], the supreme and all-inclusive [et omnimodum] one with a composite individual distinct from others, that is, the man Jesus Christ.
> 6. But if you are the other Cherub contemplating the properties [propria]of the [p]ersons, and you are amazed that communicability exists with individuality...if you are this Cherub, look at the Mercy Seat and wonder that in Christ personal union exists with a trinity of substances and a duality of natures; that complete agreement [*omnimoda consensio*] exists with a plurality of wills;...that codomination exists with a plurality of powers.
>
> (106-8)[57]

The section is preceded by a passage near the beginning of Chapter Five which links the Cherubim with "the third way," the mystical subject matter, and the *modi* of Hugh of St. Victor. It begins by locating the Cherubim in the *sancta sanctorum*:[58]

> ...those practiced in the third way enter with the high priest into the Holy of Holies where the Cherubim of glory stand over the ark [supra arcam] overshadowing the Mercy Seat. By these Cherubim we understand the two modes or stages of contemplating [duos modos seu gradus contemplandi] the invisible and eternal things of God: one is concerned with the essential attributes of God and the other with those proper [alius vero circa propria] to the [p]ersons.
> 2. The first method [modus] fixes the gaze [first] and principally on [b]eing itself [in ipsum *esse*], saying that God's [first] name is *He who is*. The second method [modus] fixes the gaze on the Good [in ipsum *bonum*] itself saying that this is God's [first] name. The first looks chiefly to the Old Testament, which proclaims most of all the unity of the divine essence. Hence Moses was told: *I am who am*.
>
> (94)[59]

The Cherubim/seraphim stand above[60] the ark, perhaps both the ark of the Covenant and the "other" ark of Noah. They seem to be a second generation of Hugh's *modi* seraphim because the text not only says, "By these Cherubim we understand two *modos seu*," which might be heard as the pun "modus Hugh,"[61] but also offers the Christian Neoplatonic thought of Victorinus, "wherein *esse* or *be-ing* was the most accurate name for God the Father (Clark 108)." Subsequent hints about "first name" seem to affirm the assumption of "Hugh,"[62] as do several other indications of intertextuality between the *Itinerarium* and the *De arca* which include: the use of the same genre—the tract; the union of the *modi* with Christ, which Bonaventure affects as the *omnimodum* (311); and biblical allusions to Solomon and Moses. The Cherubim, it seems, stand for two stylistic techniques used by Hugh that Bonaventure imitates: the pun, often as a coincidence of opposites, and the double *modi*. In fact, the Cherubim are transformed into the latter.

The pun can best be approached by a play on the word in*vicem* that is first presented by Hugh, and then re-presented in miniature by Bonaventure. *Invicem* means "mutually," but it can also be heard as *in vicem*, "in alteration," or "by alteration." Hugh's pun occurs where the seraphim wings are assigned to tropology. We find a series of words with double meanings: "quasi quibusdam alis ad alta sublevamur. Quibus eitam volamus alter ad alterum, dum per studium bonæ operationis nos invicem exhortamur . . .(625)," "as if by some wings we are raised (lowered) to the height (deep), by which we still fly one to the other, while we are mutually (by alteration) encouraged to (discouraged from) the study of good works. . .." Although the pun also plays on the word *alter*, its importance rests in the special insight it gives into the contradictory functioning of the "one" and "other" wings. The meanings of the words *alta* and

sublevamur simultaneously point in opposite directions. The words *invicem* and *exhortamur* can do likewise with the help of auditory analogy, because they can be heard as *in vicem* and *ex hortamur*, "we are discouraged from." They are inherently oxymoronic. The essence of this passage, it seems, lies in its duplicity, and the word *invicem*, whose root is *vic*, "change", might stand as its emblem.

Bonaventure's work replays this pun in Chapter Six: ". . .dum haec ad invicem confers, habes unde in admirationem altissimam suspendaris (311)," "...when you compare them to [*invicem*], you have [the place from which *in*] to be lifted up [lowered] in the highest [lowest] wonder." It urges that "these things should be considered together (106)." Marked by the emblematic *invicem*, which needs to be read as the word, the text suggests that the prefix *in* is the place from which the duplicity in *invicem* arises, and adds the word *suspendaris*, which means both "to hang" and "to relieve," as a contribution to the list of oxymoronic words. The importance of *suspendaris* will be noted in a consideration of *patris suspensionem*. It is sufficient to recognize the presence of the contradictory alternative as an essential characteristic of the wings of the "third stages" that is offered in Chapters Five and Six. In the first instance, the Cherubim that stand like mirrored images on either side of the Mercy Seat seem to represent the *double entendre* as a coincidence of opposites.

They also represent the double *modi*, a structural technique that conceals one mode within another, which has been previously noticed in Hugh, who divides one of three *modi* to make four. Bonaventure seems to have used this technique as well, because it is by the Cherubim of the *sancta sanctorum*, and coincidentally by their wings, that "we understand the two modes or stages of contemplating the invisible and eternal things

of God" (94) that are present in "the third way." The modes and the stages are entangled. The mode that responds to "the eternal things of God" is anagogy, and its stages (Chapters Five and Six) are linked by "the essential attributes of God" to "the Cherub contemplating God's essential attributes (106)." The "other" mode concerned with *propria personarum*, "the properties of the persons (94)," is governed by "the other Cherub contemplating the properties of the persons (107)." Bonaventure named *propria*, the "literal," as one of the threefold modes of theology (I, 7, 298), and its application here suggests the literal as the other mode, which could only be assigned to the remainder Chapter Seven and the Prologue. In addition to the *double entendre* as a coincidence of opposites, the Cherubim and their wings can be seen to include the anagogical and the literal exegetical *modi*. The order is important. With Chapters Five and Six as the anagogical and Chapter Seven and the Prologue as the literal, logic would set Chapters One and Two as the allegorical, and Chapters Three and Four as the tropological. A consideration of the content of the chapter sets supports this hypothesis, as they seem to be multiple allegories of the vision *patris suspensionem*.

Patris suspensionem

At the introduction of the memory of Francis and the Seraph in the Prologue, the six-winged Seraph is joined to *patris suspensionem in contemplando* by verbal ambiguity, with the phrase serving as a basis for the subject matter of the sets of chapters that are congruent with the *modi*. In Chapters One and Two, which are *duobus gradibus primis* (302), "the first two stages," as we have seen, the reader is led *ad speculandum Deum in vestigiis quasi ad modum* (302), "to behold God in vestiges [as if in the *modum*] (75)," an assertion about vestiges that is repeated with an addition at the beginning of Chapter Three:

> 1. Quoniam autem duo gradus praedicti, ducendo nos in Deum per *vestigia* sua, per quae in cunctis creaturis relucet, . . .
>
> (303)
>
> 1. The two previous stages, by leading us into God through his vestiges, through which he shines forth in all creatures....
>
> (79)

It is recalled at the opening of Chapter Five, where the vestiges are *extra nos* (308), "outside us (94)," and in Chapter Seven where a recapitulation states that "mens nostra contuita est Deum *extra se* per vestigia et in vestigiis (312)," "our mind has beheld God outside itself/ through his vestiges and in his vestiges . . .(110-1)." If Chapters One and Two are the allegorical level, then *patris suspensionem in contemplando* might be a figure of God the Father suspended in creation, the *Patrem scilicet eternum* (295), "the Eternal Father (53)" of the Prologue.

The two stages of Chapters Three and Four ought to be the tropological level, and here the reader is led to reenter the self, *in mentem scilicet nostram, in qua divina relucet imago* (303), "that is, into our mind/[soul], where the divine image shines forth (79)," for these stages are like the middle wings,

> . . . quod in divina manuducimur per ipsius animae rationalis potentias *naturaliter insitas*. . .. Manuducimur etiam per ipsius animae potentias *reformatas*, et hoc gratuitis *virtutibus*, *sensibus* spiritualibus et mentalibus *excessibus*; . . .
>
> (307)

> . . . Through them we can understand that we are led to divine things through the rational soul's naturally implanted faculties...Likewise, we are led through the reformed faculties of the soul, that is, through the infused virtues, spiritual senses and mystical ecstasies...,
>
> (92)

and we are led to behold God *per imaginem et in imagine* (312), "through his image and in his image (111)." This level sees the mind/soul as a suspension of the image of God within man, and in this way is a *patris suspensionem* within the contemplative person, a typical tropological figure. It is on this level that we are able to use the Way of Perfection with Sacred Scripture to lead through the hierarchies of the soul (308/92).

The anagogical Cherub is responsible for Chapters Five and Six, where we contemplate God *supra nos* (308), "above us (94)" through *lumen Veritatis aeternae*, "the light of Eternal Truth." We were led there by *hierarchicas operationes* (308), "hierarchical operations (92)," a *double entendre* meaning both the order of the text and the hierarchy of angels, specifically cherubim which outrank seraphim.[63] Chapters Five and Six are concerned with unity (through *esse*) and Trinity (in *bonum*). The former's discussion of the *essentialia* of God treats of two things at once: the essentials of God, and *esse*, not only as ontological theology, but as an aesthetic coincidence of opposites held within the oxymoronic pictograph *esse*. In the first, God is *esse*; it is his name (308/95), and all the attributes of Being, some of them contradictory, belong to him. At the Mercy Seat, these attributes are assigned to Christ who, by his duality of natures, draws opposition into his unity. In the second, the word *esse* is "*carens omnino non-esse* (309)," "completely lacking nonbeing," but, like "omne possibile aliquo modo," "every potential being," has "aliquid de *non-esse*," "something of nonbeing (97)." It can be seen

and heard as *es se*, the "one" that is *es*, and the contradictory "other," *se*. The text does not point this out here, but the attributes of the figure *esse* are demonstrated in Chapter Three where Bonaventure speaks about inference:

> Huiusmodi igitur *illationis necessitas* non venit ab existentia rei in *materia*, quia est contingens, nec ab existentia rei in *anima*, quia tunc esset fictio, si non esset in re: venit igitur ab exemplaritate in arte aeterna, secundum quam res habent aptitudinem et habitudinem ad invicem secundum illius aeternae artis *repraesentationem*.
>
> (304)

> The necessity, therefore, of this inference does not come from the existence of the thing in matter since it is contingent; nor from the existence of the thing in the soul because that would be a fiction if the thing did not exist in reality. Therefore the necessity of such an/ inference comes from its exemplarity in the Eternal Art, according to which things are mutually oriented and related to one another because they are represented in the Eternal Art.
>
> (82-3)

The figure *esse* is not set out "in matter," but heard in the word *necessitas* and in the *ss* sound of the words of the first line which lead to *est contingens*, which it is, both as sound and in the word *est*. The text states that the inference (both the stated one and the unstated *esse*) does not come from the existence of things *in anima* (heard as *inanima*), the words, *quia tunc esset fictio*, "because then it would be fiction." The phrase *esset fictio* seems to hold both *esse* and the letter *t* in the sound of *esset*, suggesting "to be +," or "is the cross." In the phrase which follows, *si non esset in re*, the words *si non* need to be read as a coincidence of the opposites "yes no," because the true and the untrue are crossed in fiction: "yes/no are the cross in the thing [fiction]." The inference of the figure *esse t* comes from its *exemplaritate in arte aeterna*, where "things have. . . the habit of *invicem*," perhaps the emblem of the Victorine oxymoronic pun, "according to their re-presentation in this eternal art." The emphasis on the eternal recalls the anagogical Cherub, whose *essentialia* can be reduced to the *esse* of God and Christ on the one hand, and to the aesthetic *esse* and the cross on the other. There seems to be a hint that this inference is correct in the phrase *exemplaritate in arte aeterna* which not only

incorporates suggestions of the word *pater*, and a few lines later the assertion *Ex quo manifesto apparet, quod coniunctus sit intellectus noster*. . .(304), "From which it is obvious that our intellect is joined. . .(82)" which conceals *pater noster*, but also juxtaposes the "eternal," the mystic level of anagogy as the content of the wings, *ptera*.

Chapter Five's *essentalia* include God as *esse* and Christ, and art as the contradictory *esse* and the cross, overseen by the anagogical Cherub. At the *sancta sanctorum* there is another clue to these contradictory properties of the anagogical mode, because this Cherub is *versatur circa essentialia*, literally "turned around the essential/[alia = other]." This can be read as "turned around" or as "turned against" the "other" as complement or opposite as in the figure *esse*, but also concretely turned around the center of the word *essentialia*.

To review the spiritual senses: the allegorical is concerned with God in creation described as *patris suspensionem in contemplando* (two Seraph wings). The tropological is concerned with God in the soul of his creation, man, described as *patris suspensionem* (two Seraph wings). The anagogical is concerned with the *aeterna*, the mystical God, and also with man's creation, art, described as a suspension of the + in the word *pater* (two Cherub wings). At each level, the vision has been reduced: from four words, to two words, to one word and to one letter.

The other Cherub, the *propria* Cherub is responsible for Chapter Seven and the Prologue. The two are connected by the image of Francis and the six-winged Seraph that is offered in one and retold in the other. Both sections mention the First Principle, and the words *pater* and *contemplation*. In Chapter Seven, the Seraph is described as *in cruce confixus*, "pierced on the cross," a slight alteration of Celano's description:

> ...vidit *in visione Dei* virum unum, quasi *Seraphim sex alas* habentem, /*stantem supra* se, *manibus extensis* ac *pedibus coniunctis*, cruci affixum. *Duae alae supra caput* elevabantur, *duae* ad *volandum* extendebantur, *duae* denique totum velabant *corpus*.
>
> (101-2)

> ...he saw *in the vision of God* a man standing above him, like a seraph with six wings, his hands extended and his feet joined together and fixed to a cross. Two of the wings were extended above his head, two were extended as if for flight, and two were wrapped around the whole body.
>
> (309)

This slight alteration needs to be coupled with an alteration of the *corpus* hidden by the wings, which Bonaventure changed to "feet," in the Prologue. The one detail draws attention to the other. The joined feet *in cruce confixus* might also be read as *incruce confixus*, "pierced but not on the cross," a coincidence of opposites that includes Francis in its purview, and therefore the literal mode of *patris suspensionem* because Francis was known as *pater noster Franciscus*. This is the literal wing that is offered by Chapter Seven.

The other literal wing covers the opening of the *Itinerarium* and the journey of the "father" Bonaventure to LaVerna where he drew the verbal picture of Francis and the Seraph as *patris suspensionem*. Since Hugh of St. Victor characterized the wings as "whether" and "or not," perhaps this circular text begins with Chapter Seven as the "whether" and proceeds to the "or not" Prologue where the first *patris suspensionem in contemplando* is Father Bonaventure contemplating *pater noster Franciscus*. Including the two literal wings, the total number—both seraphic and cherubic—has increased from six to eight.

The ninth wing is the Way, a *patris suspensionem in contemplando* that obtains from the word *suspensionem* in its alternate meaning of "a relief from," since this

figuration suspends the word *patris*. The Way is the Son as the "wing" that covers humanity, whom the Seraph is representing with feet *in cruce confixus*. This final wing of the *Crucifixi* completes the icon of Francis and the *Seraph alati*, with 9 wings, an in *verso* 6, which are anagramatically signified as *alati*:

Allegorical	*patris suspensionem in contemplando*	creation	(2 wings)
Tropological	*patris suspensionem*	the soul	(2 wings)
Anagogical	pa+er and *aeterna*	art and eternity	(2 wings)
Literal	*patris suspensionem*	Francis and Bonaventure	(2 wings)
Iesu	*patris suspensionem*	the Way	(1 wing).

This is the Seraph as scripture and his wings and the Way, fashioned in the circular text of the *Itinerarium*. It is a new expression of traditional exegesis in its application of the *modi* technique of Hugh of St. Victor to a non-Scriptural base.

Bonaventure's description of Francis and the Seraph as *patris suspensionem*, as has been noticed, was followed by the words *et viam, per quam pervenitur ad eam*, "and the way, through which he comes to it," a "signed" phrase which, presents *ad eam* as a pun for "ad Deum," "to God." The phrase also offers *ad eam* for "Adam." Perhaps the way "Adam," i. e. man, comes to God is through the Way. Bonaventure seems to be pointing to Jesus Christ, "the Way, the Truth and the Life," and he seems to do so in a smaller *modi* structure within this elaborate outer structure. This beautiful inner construct, which he calls *commutabile bonum*, seems to be the real heart of the work.

Commutabile Bonum

Bonaventure's skill in the use of the *modi* is most evident in a passage that is structured to accommodate several levels, and has the potential to be fully commutable. It relies on the pun as the rhetorical device that effects commutability, especially the oxymoronic word, which can effect *verso* readings. Perhaps described as an extended coincidence of opposites, the passage begins by recalling that God placed man *in paradiso*, which we have suggested as a Hebrew "name" for traditional exegesis:

> Sed avertens se a vero lumine ad/ commutabile bonum, incurvatus est ipse per culpam propriam, et totum genus suum per originale peccatum, quod dupliciter infecit humanam naturam, scilicet *ignorantia* mentem et *concupiscentia* carnem; ita quod *excaecatus* homo et *incurvatus* in tenebris sedet et caeli lumen non videt, nisi succurrat gratia cum iustitia contra *concupiscentiam*, et scientia cum sapientia contra *ignorantiam*. Quod totum fit per Iesum Christum...
>
> (I, 7, 297-8)

> But turning from the true light to changeable good, man was bent over by his own fault, and the entire human race by original sin, which infected human nature in two ways: the mind with ignorance and the flesh with concupiscence. As a result, man, blinded and bent over, sits in darkness and does not see the light of heaven unless grace with justice come to his aid against concupiscence and unless knowledge with wisdom come to his aid against ignorance. All this is done through Jesus Christ...
>
> (Cousins 62)

The literal meaning highlights man's fall due to original sin, but commutable words like *incurvatus*, and *infecit*, create another reading. The word *incurvatus* means "bent" (*incurvare*), but can be also be heard as "not bent" (*in*, "not" and *curvavi*); and *infecit* means "infected," but can also be heard as *in fecit*, "made in." The "other" reading, or readings, of this text can have meaning when the reader turns from "a true light [the literal] to a changeable good [allegory]," allowing the series of puns to be read in relation to one another, which creates three complete allegorical readings. The first of these possibilities changes the picture of sinful, or "bent," man into a portrait of Christ, the

"unbent" man, who expiates sin, and is named at the end. The following puns must be recognized in order to effect this change:

- *Incurvatus*, "bent," as "in curvatus," "unbent,"
- *quod dupliciter*, "which doubly," as "quo dupliciter," "in whom doubly,"
- *infecit*, "infected," as "in fecit," "made in," and attached to *humanam naturam*, allowing it to be read as both "made in human nature" and "made inhuman nature,"
- *ignorantia mentem et* elided as "ignorantiam mentem emit," "he redeems the ignorant mind,"
- *concupiscentia carnem; ita* as "concupiscentia carnem emit a..." "he redeems the flesh from concupiscence,"

so that the first part of the passage reads as follows:

> But turning from the true light to changeable good, a man unbent by his own fault and that of the entire human race because of original sin, in whom doubly was made human nature (and inhuman nature), certainly redeems the ignorant mind and the flesh from concupiscence.

Then follows *quod*, "accordingly,"

> the man, blind and bent sits in darkness, and sees not the Light of Heaven,
> unless grace with justice comes to his aid against concupiscence and knowledge
> with wisdom against ignorance. All this is done through Jesus Christ....

As a consequence of his desire to redeem man, Jesus "sits" *in tenebris*, at the moment of the death of his human nature and the graced rescue of mankind. He "sits" because the early Fathers described the cross as having a little seat on which the Crucified was seated for support (Marucchi 520). Tertullian called it *sedilis excessus* (*Ad. Nat.*, I, xii).[64] In this moment of Christ's death on the cross, when he "descended into Hell," and therefore "sees not the Light of Heaven, unless . . ." (here is a pun *nisi s* for "nisus," "supported"), a hint to *sedilis excessus*. This hint recalls a caution at the opening of the work: *ad quem nemo intrat recte **nisi per Crucifixum*** (Pro, 3, 295), "whom no one rightly enters except through the Crucified (55)," which may suggest that the word *nisi* is necessary in order to uncover a true understanding of the Crucified in this work. The phrase also brings in divine assistance in the form of grace and knowledge. This section, beginning with the

word *quod* was all done by Jesus, which the next sentence reminds us of, beginning with the word *quod*. This reading, some of it crafted of oxymoronic puns, might be the allegorical level reading of this passage.

An unusually beautiful tropological rendering can be seen when the opening is interpreted literally by recognizing that the prefix *a* of *avertens* is separate from the preposition *a*, so that the line reads "But turning from *from the true light to changeable good*." If the reader turns from *from the true light to changeable good*, a sort of double negative, the line can be changed to "from changeable good to the true Light," and man can be "unbent" from sin that infects the "soul," an alternate translation for *mentem*. The following oxymoronic puns must be noticed:

- *excaecatus*, "blind," as "ex caecatus," "sighted,"
- *incurvatus*, "bent," as "in curvatus," "unbent,"

as well as the term "light of heaven" as the sun, in order to complete the portrait of the noble soul:

> man, sighted and unbent, sits *in Tenebris* and does not see the sun, unless grace with Justice come to his aid against concupiscence and unless knowledge with Wisdom come to his aid against ignorance.

This may be the religious soul, who follows the liturgy for the Passion of Christ by sitting "in the shadows" with Him in the ancient celebration of Tenebrae, until the moment for the lighting of the pascal fires, and the coming of the man called Justice and Wisdom.

An anagogical reading of the passage seems to explain the art of exegesis, and the eternal. The former begins by regarding *incurvatus* as the word *incurvatus*, and *propriam* in its alternative meaning, "literal," so that the discussion is about hermeneutics: "But turning from the true light (literal) to changeable good (allegorical), *incurvatus* has its

meaning through the fault of literalization, and the whole *genus* from the original *e peccatum* (here is a complex aural pun, "*e pic*[tura] *at* am[or]," "from the picture and love"). The text here illuminates[65] (pictures) figures within the words *ignorantia* and *concupiscentia*, which point to their own opposites, stressing that as the result of this type of double, "the blind, bent soul sits in darkness," or, if a graced reader wills, "the sighted, unbent soul sits in the light," voluntarily switching *tenebris* to *lumen* to see the [*illumenatio*] and the "light of heaven."

A great abstract *tour de force*! The *modi* are offered on four levels at once, in such a way as to picture sinful man (Adam), his Redeemer (the Way), his soul, and his artistic method—all leading to the eternal, while affording the reader the opportunity to participate in the redemption of the text by the free act of changing *tenebris* to *lucem*. Perhaps Bonaventure has signed this structure with his own name as the *commutabile bonum*, and by that signature connected it to the other signed phrase, *et viam, per quam pervenitur ad eam*. This even smaller structure presents in the microcosm of *ad eam* the same figurations on all of the exegetical levels: the literal Adam (*ad eam* as the pun "Adam"), the allegorical Redeemer (*ad eam* incorporating its antecedent *viam*, the Way), the tropological soul (tending *ad eam* as the pun "*ad Deum*," "to God"), and the anagogical Eternal Art which includes the preceding letter (*r ad eam* as "*ra de am*[or]," or "*ar*[s] from love").

In the *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum*, Bonaventure applies traditional exegesis to the non-Scriptural icon of Francis and the Seraph, fashioning his text as wings, both structurally as the *modi* themselves, and concretely as the sections of the work. He creates a portrait of Jesus Christ as the "other" side of a portrait of fallen man, his soul

and his art, raising the humble pun to rhetorical heights by employing it in *recto* and in *verso* simultaneously, and offering a miniature version. Stylistically, he continues the methodology of Francis, whose poetry has been noticed as both radically oppositional and radically literal.

Bonaventure's way of using the exegetical method to built a structure, with its component rhetorical device of the double word (pun), was carried on by various Franciscans in the years that followed his death. Next we shall consider the state of traditional exegesis in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and consider briefly two authors who left their mark on the structure: Dante Alighieri, who was perhaps a Third Order Franciscan,[66] and whose *Divine Comedy* celebrates both Francis and Bonaventure, and Frater Nicolas de Lira (c.1270-1349), who used a fluid or "double literal" with textual centering.

[1] "Certis itaque constat indiciis, sacra illa signacula illius impressa fuisse virtute, qui operatione seraphica purgat, illuminat et inflammat (*Legenda Maior*, I, XIII, 7, 544)." I have used the Quaracchi edition of the *Legenda Maior* (c. 1263) hereafter abbreviated to *L. M.*, with the translation of Ewert Cousins.

[2] The earliest biographies of Francis are Thomas of Celano's *Vita prima* (written before 1229) and *Vita secunda* (written between 1244 and 1247). They have been published by the fathers of the College of Saint Bonaventure (Quaracchi, 1926), which I have used here, and are available in translation in *St. Francis of Assisi, Writings and Early Biographies: English Omnibus of the Sources.*

For discussion of the medieval biographies of Francis, see Fleming, Chapter 2. Modern lives of St. Francis have been written by Johannes Jörgensen (Trans. Sloane, NY, 1912), Paul Sabatier (the definitive edition, Paris, 1931), John R. H. Moorman (London, 1950), and O. Englebert, 2nd English edition (Chicago, 1965).

[3] "Sicque surrexit, ut ita dicatur, tristis et laetus, et gaudium atque moeror suas in ipso alternabant vices (I Cel II, III, 94, 102)."

[4] Accepted as authentic, the original Italian text is in Assisi MS 338. For a critical bibliography, see Habig 1716-8.

[5] The series includes some *et* figures as well.

[6] See also II Cel I, VI, 10, 16.

[7] Smalley underscores Francis' strict literal understanding of Scripture (*Bible* 285).

[8] "[Cap. I: Quod fratres debent vivere sine proprio et in castitate et obedientia]
Regula et vita istorum fratrum haec est, scilicet vivere in obedientia, in castitate et sine proprio, et Domini nostri Jesu Christi doctrinam et vestigia sequi, qui dicit: ≪*Si vis perfectus esse, vade* (Mt 19, 21)et *vende* omnia (cfr. Lc 18, 22), *quae habes, et da pauperibus et habebis thesaurum in caelo; et veni, sequere me* (Mt 19, 21). Et: ≪*Si quis vult post me venire, abneget semetipsum et tollat crucem suam et sequatur me* (Mt 16,/ 24). Item: ≪*Si quis vult venire ad me et non odit patrem et matrem et uxorem et filios et fratres et sorores, adhuc autem et animam suam, non potest meus esse discipulus*≫ (Lc 14, 26). Et: ≪*Omnis, qui reliquerit* patrem aut matrem, fratres aut sorores, uxorem aut filios, domos aut agros propter me, *centuplum accipiet et vitam aeternam possidebit*≫ (cfr. Mt 19, 29; Mc 10, 29; Lc 18, 29)." (Esser *Opuscula* 242-3)

[9] "[Cap. III: De divino officio et ieiunio]
Dicit Dominus: *Hoc genus* daemoniorum *non potest exire nisi in* ieiunio et oratione (cfr. Mc 9, 28); et iterum: ≪Cum ieiunatis nolite fieri sicut hypocritae tristes≫ (mt 6, 16).
Propter hoc omnes fratres sive clerici sive laici faciant divinum officium, laudes et orationes, secundum quod debend facere... .
Et similiter omnes fratres ieiunent a festo Omnium Sanctorum usque ad Natale et ab Epiphania, quando Dominus noster Jesus Christus incepit ieiunare usque ad Pascha. Aliis autem temporibus non teneantur secundum hanc vitam nisi sexta feria ieiunare. Et liceat eis manducare de omnibus cibis, qui apponuntur eis, secundum evangelium (cfr. Lc 10, 8)." (Esser *Opuscula* 246 and 248)

[10] "Canta, soror mea cicada, et Dominum creatorem tuum iubilo lauda! (II Cel II, CXXX, 171, 170)."

[11] On the Troubadour influence, see Görres, *Der hl. Franciscus von Assisi, ein Troubadour*, Ratisbon, 1879.

12 Smalley notes Anselm of Havelberg's defense of the white canon's mixed life of action and contemplation in *Epistola ad Egbertum* (PL 183). Anselm argues that such a life served a pressing need. The work was written sometime before the middle of the twelfth century (*Thought* 108).

13 In a letter of March 1227 to Frederic II, Gregory speaks of the "two faces of the soul," or the *virtus motiva* and the *virtus comprehensiva*. Smalley has discussed these as deriving from the the *virtus activa* and *virtus contemplativa* of Avicenna's *De anima*.

14 For biographical information on Grosseteste, see Francis Seymour Stevenson, *Robert Grosseteste: Bishop of Lincoln*, London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1899, reprinted by Wm. C. Brown, Dubuque, IA, 1967; D. A. Callus, O. P., *Robert Grosseteste, Scholar and Bishop*, Oxford, 1955; James McEvoy, *The Philosophy of Robert Grosseteste*, Oxford, 1982 and *Robert Grosseteste: Exegete and Philosopher*, Aldershot, Eng.: Variorum, 1994.

15 Smalley cites the moralization of a gospel story of the disciples picking corn on the Sabbath by Hugh of St. Cher, written towards 1235. The cornfield is the Scriptures; the disciples are *fratres studentes* who are "very intent on the study of Scripture; the Pharisees are *reprehensores*, the critics of the friars (269).

16 The commentary by Ralph of St. Germer of Flaix had become a standard textbook (Smalley *Thought* 123).

17 Hailperin suggests that Rashi's name has been expunged from the original text here.

18 Hailperin cites J. H. Bridges, *The 'Opus Majus' of Roger Bacon*, Supplementary Volume (London, 1900), pp. 120f, for the omission of the name in the MS.

19 Cousins cites the work of Giuseppe Abate, "Per la storia e la cronologia di S. Bonaventura, O. Min.," *Miscellanea francescana* 49 (1949): 534-568; 50 (1950): 97-130.

20 The definitive biography of Bonaventure has not yet been written. For studies of his life, cf. Étienne Gilson, *The Philosophy of St. Bonaventure*, trans. Dom Illtyd Trethowan and F. J. Sheed, (NY: Sheed and Ward, 1938), 1–86; Éphrem Longpré, O. F. M., in *Dictionaire de Spiritualité*, T. I, s. v. "Bonaventure," (Paris: Beauchesne, 1961), cols. 1768-1770; Jacques Guy Bougerol, O. F. M., *Saint Bonaventure: un maître de sagesse* (Paris: Editions franciscaines, 1966); Ignatius C. Brady, O. F. M. in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. II, s. v. "Bonaventure, St.," (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), 658-664.

21 De Regnon's study of the history of trinitarian thought contrasts the tradition which led to Aquinas' formulation (Augustine»Anselm»Lombard»Albert»Aquinas) to that which Bonaventure drew from the *Summa fratris Alexandri* (Dionysius»Richard of St.Victor»William of Auvergn»William of Auxerre»Alexander of Hales»Bonaventure) (in Hayes 17).

22 Cf. Olegario Gonzalez, *Misterio Trinitario y existencia humana: estudio historico teologico en torno a san Buenaventura* (Madrid, 1966).

23 "Vide igitur, quomodo anima Deo est propinqua, et quomodo memoria in aeternitatem, intelligentia in veritatem, electiva potentia ducit in bonitatem summam secundum operationes suas.

5. Secundum autem harum potentiarum *ordinem* et *originem* et *habitudinem* ducit in ipsam beatissimam Trinitatem. –Nam ex memoria *oritur* intelligentia ut ipsius proles, quia tunc intelligimus, cum similitudo, quae est in memoria, resultat in acie intellectus, quae nihil aliud est quam verbum; ex memoria et intelligentia spiratur amor tanquam nexus amborum. Haec tria scilicet *mens generans*, *verbum* et *amor*, sunt in anima quoad memoriam, intelligentiam et voluntatem, quae sunt consubstantiales, coaequales et coaevae, se invicem circumincedentes. Si

igitur Deus perfectus est spiritus, habet *memoriam, intelligentiam* et *voluntatem*, habet et *Verbum* genitum et *Amorem* spiratum, qui necessario distinguuntur, cum unus ab altero producatur, non *essentialiter*, non *accidentaliter*, ergo *personaliter*.

Dum igitur mens se ipsam considerat, per se tanquam per speculum consurgit ad speculandam Trinitatem beatam, Patris, Verbi et Amoris, trium personarum coaeternarum, coaequalium et consubstantialium, ita quod quilibet in quolibet est aliorum, unus tamen non est alius, sed ipsi tres sunt unus Deus.

6. Ad hanc speculationem, quam habet anima de suo principio trino et uno per trinitatem suarum potentiarum, per quas est imago Dei, *iuvatur* per lumina scientiarum, quae ipsam perficiunt et informant et beatissimam tripliciter repraesentant. –Nam omnis philosophia aut est *naturalis*, aut *rationalis*, aut *moralis*. Prima agit de causa essendi, et ideo ducit in *potentiam Patris*; secunda de ratione intelligendi, et ideo ducit in *sapientiam Verbi*; tertia de ordine vivendi, et ideo ducit in *bonitatem Spiritus sancti* (III, 6, 305)."

24 "Hinc est, quod *vita aeterna* haec sola est, ut spiritus rationalis, qui manat a beatissima Trinitate et est imago Trinitatis, per modum cuiusdam circuli intelligibilis redeat per memoriam, intelligentiam et voluntatem, per deiformitatem gloriae in beatissimam Trinitatem (*Quaestiones Disputatae*: *de Mysterio Trinitatis*, Q VIII, Conclusio, 7 [V, 115])."

25 ". . .creatura mundi est quasi quidam *liber*, in quo relucet, repraesentatur et legitur Trinitas fabricatrix secundum triplicem gradum expressionis, scilicet per modum *vestigii*. . . (*Breviloquium* II, XII [V, 230])."

26 "Pro eo quod illius primi principii potentissimi, sapientissimi et optimi, illius aeternae originis, lucis et plentitudinis, illius, inquam, artis efficientis, exemplantis et ordinantis sunt *umbrae*, *resonantiae* et *picturae*, sunt *vestigia*, *simulacra* et *spectacula* nobis ad contuendum Deum proposita et *signa* divinitus data; quae, inquam, sunt *exemplaria* vel potius *exemplata*, proposita mentibus adhuc rudibus et sensibilibus, ut per sensibilia, quae vident, transferantur ad intelligibilia, quae non vident, tanquam per signa ad signata.

12. Significant autem huiusmodi creaturae huius mundi sensibilis *invisibilia Dei*, partim quia Deus/ est omnis creaturae *origo*, *exemplar* et *finis*, et omnis effectus est signum causae, et exemplatum exemplaris, et via finis, ad quem ducit (II, 11, 302-3)."

27 "...venit igitur ab exemplaritate in arte aeterna, secundum quam res habent aptitudinem et habitudinem ad invicem secundum illius aeternae artis *repraesentationem* (III, 3, 304)."

28 "...hoc non est propter novum vinculum, vel effectum specialem; sed propter unionem, quae est inter signatum et signum sibi specialiter et modo et origine deputatum (*Breviloquium* I, V [V, 214])."

29 "Medium enim, cum amissum est in circulo, inveniri non potest nisi per duas lineas se orthogonaliter intersecantes (*In Hexaëmeron* I, 24 [V, 333])."

30 "...partim ex *propria repraesentatione*; partim ex *prophetica praefiguratione*; partim ex *angelica operatione*; partim ex superaddita *institutione* (II, 12, 303)."

31 "...ut sic ex naturali similitudine repraesentantia, ex adiuncta institutione significantia, ex superaddita benedictione sanctificantia et ad gratiam praeparantia, per quam sanetur et curetur anima nostra (*Brevil.* Pars VI, c. 1, 265B)."

32 "Ad decimum sic proceditur: 1. Videtur quod sacra Scriptura sub una littera non habeat plures sensus, qui sunt historicus vel litteralis, allegoricus, tropologicus sive moralis, et anagogicus. Multiplicitas enim sensuum in una Scriptura parit confusionem. . .
RESPONSIO: Dicendum quod auctor sacrae Scripturae est Deus, in cuius potestate est ut non solum voces ad significandum accommodet (quod etiam homo facere potest) sed etiam res ipsas. Et ideo, cum in omnibus scientiis voces significent, hoc habet proprium ista scientia quod ipsae res

significatæ per voces etiam significant aliquid. Illa ergo prima significatio qua voces significant res pertinet ad primum sensum, qui est sensus historicus/ vel litteralis. Illa vero significatio qua res significatæ per voces iterum res alias significant dicitur sensus spiritualis; qui super litteralem fundatur et cum supponit.

Hic autem sensus spiritualis trifariam dividitur. Sicut enim dicit Apostolus *ad Hebr. Lex vetus figura est novæ legis*, et ipsa nova lex, ut Dionysius dicit, est *figura futuræ gloriæ*. In nova etiam lege ea quæ in capite sunt gesta sunt signa eorum quæ nos agere debemus.

Secundum ergo quod ea quæ sunt veteris legis significant ea quæ sunt novæ legis est sensus allegoricus; secundum vero quod ea quæ in Christo sunt facta vel in his quæ Christum significant sunt signa eorum quæ nos agere debemus est sensus moralis; prout vero Significant ea quæ sunt in æterna gloria est sensus anagogicus.

Quia vero sensus litteralis est quem auctor intendit, auctor autem sacræ Scripturæ Deus est qui omnia simul suo intellectu comprehendit, non est inconveniens, ut Augustinus dicit XII *Confess.* si etiam secundum litteralem sensum in una littera Scripturæ plures sint sensus. (*Summa Theologiæ*, Ia. I, 10, 36, 38)."

33 "[7]. Ad evidentiam itaque dicendorum sciendum est quod istius operis non est simplex sensus, ymo dici potest polisemos, hoc est plurium sensuum; nam primus sensus est qui habetur per litteram, alius est qui habetur per significata per litteram. Et primus dicitur litteralis, secundus vero allegoricus sive moralis sive anagogicus. Qui modus tractandi, ut melius pateat, potest considerari in hiis versibus: «In exitu Israel de Egipto, domus Iacob de populo barbaro, facta est Iudea sanctificatio **eius**, Israel potestas **eius**». Nam si ad litteram solam inspiciamus, significatur nobis exitus filiorum Israel de Egipto, tempore Moysis; si ad allegoriam, nobis significatur nostra redemptio facta per Christum; si ad moralem sensum, significatur nobis conversio anime de luctu et miseria peccati, ad statum gratie; si ad anagogicum, significatur exitus anime ab huius corruptionis servitute ad eterne glorie libertatem. Et quanquam isti sensus mistici variis appellentur nominibus, generaliter omnes dici possunt allegorici, cum sint a litterali sive historiali diversi (*Cani Grandi de la Scala*, 862)." Notice how the "sense which is had through the letter," the concrete letter, another kind of "literal sense," works in complement with the voice of the text. The letters *eius* and *s eius*, which are set within this text in significant spots, spell "Iesu" and "Iesus" respectively, and, therefore, are *per se* an allegorical rendering in letters of "our redemption through Christ."

34 "...ut simus veri Hebraei transeuntes de Aegypto ad terram Patribus repromissam, simus etiam Christiani cum Christo transeuntes *ex hoc mundo ad Patrem*, simus et sapientiae amatores, quae vocat et dicit: *Transite ad me omnes, qui concupiscitis me et a generationibus meis adimplemini* (I, 9, 298)."

35 "...Jewish exegesis in general, is not only 'modified,' but really surpassed thanks to the entrance into play of a new principle which owes it absolutely nothing."

36 "First, there is *Peshat*, the simple literal meaning. Second, there is *Remez*, the meaning by allusion, the meaning which the student can arrive at when he treats a passage not just as a straightforward narrative but as an allegory. Third, there is *Derash*, which means the homiletic application of the passage after it has been studied with all the aids to study available. And fourth there is *Sod*, which is the inner meaning, the meaning to which only the spiritual expert can penetrate. *P*eshat, *R*emez, *D*erash, *S*od—note the initial letters of the words—P R D S. Hebrew has no vowels, only consonants; the vowels have to [be] specially inserted, and PRDS are the consonants of the Hebrew word for Paradise, and so the ancient scholars claimed that, if a student penetrated fully into these four meanings, he would be here and now in Paradise! (94)"

37 De Lubac notes that the word *allegoroumena*, "allegorically," was new in Paul's time, perhaps having been first used by Phidomene of Gadara to indicate the grammatical

or stylistic figure, and here he quotes Cicero: "qui consiste à dire une chose pour en faire entendre une autre (II, 373)."

38 "Ειτ ουκ ατοπον, ω φιλοι, τον μεν θεὸν αεὶ προτρεπειν ημας επ αρετην, ημας δε αναδυεσθαι την ωφελεαν και αναβαλλεσθαι την σωτηριαν; η γαρ ουχι και Ιωαννης επι σωτηραν παρακλει και το παν γινεται φωνη προτρεπτικε; πυθωμεθα τοινυν αυτο· "τις πόθεν εις ανδρων;" 'Ηλιας μεν ουκ ερει, Χριστὸς δε ειναι αρνησεται· φωνη δε ομολογησει εν ερημω βοωσα. τις ουν εστιν 'Ιωαννης; ως τυπω λαβειν, εξεστω επειν, φωνη του λογου προτρεπτικη εν ερημω βοωσα. τι βοας, ω φωνη; "επε και ημιν." "ευθειας ποιειτε τας οδους κυριου." προδρομος 'Ιωαννης και η φωνη προδρομος του λογου, φωνη παρακλητικη, προετοιμαζουσα εις σωτηριαν, φωνη προτρεπουσα εις κληρονομιαν ουρανων· δι' ην η στειρα και ερημος αγονος ουκετι (Clement of Alexandria 22)."

39 The hint "name" is held by the nomial part of the word.

40 The Loeb notes identify these words as those of Odysseus (I, 10). The question "Who and whence are thou," also from *The Odyssey* (I, 170), prepare the reader for this small Homeric response.

41 There is actually one more voice: it is the physical voice that is the forerunner of the word.

42 "Cette manière de compter soit par trois soit par quatre se rencontre ...dès le commencement et tout au long du moyen âge (I, 141)."

43 *Moralia* (PG 75:1132B); *De tab.* (PL 91:410); *De fide* (Peiper, 178); *De institutiones divin. litt.* (PL 70:1122-3); *Differentiae* (PL 83:94-5); *In ps. 9* (PG 55:208-9); *Libri carolini* (PL 98:1044-5); *In ps. Sel* (PL 172:273C); *De legibus* (Ch. 17, *Opera omnia* [Paris], 1674, 48-9); *De arca Noe Morali* (PL 176:678); *Summa* (Q1, 10-1); *Breviloquium* (V, 214a), *In Hex.* (V, 388 4do). See also Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram imperfectus liber* (PL 34:222); and Geoffrey of Vinsauf, *De Modo et arte Dictandi et Versificandi* [Milwaukee], 1968.

44 Guy of Bazoches' paralleling is not unlike the Platonic division of philosophy which de Lubac noted had been done by the monk Eucher of Lerins (c. 449) (193).

45 I have replaced the more interpretive word "rapture" with its literal meaning, and eliminated it where it did not exist. "This" should be "that."

46 I am indebted to Dr. Penn Szittya of Georgetown University for pointing out to me that William Anderson, in his book *Dante, the Maker*, has noticed a convergence of Bonaventure's stages of ascent on the Way of Perfection in the *Itinerarium* and Dante's structuring of his characters (321), revalued by "the fourfold method of interpretation (329)."

47 De Lubac notes that Origen listed Noah as a type of the just man; and Augustine made the ark a type of the Church and Noah one of the heads of the Church (I, 571).

48 Christ's body is the Church: "This is the ark, about which we propose to speak (625)."

49 Its length, width and altitude are history, allegory and tropology (678).

50 This is a more correct version of *quodammodo*.

51 The Temple is allegorized as the intellective capacity, time and eternity.

[52] The tropological can be divided between the one that delights God (unstated anagogical) and the one that approaches readers (tropological). This would make eight wings. (It is recalled that the section opens with *utrumque sex alas habebat*.) Hugh also incorporates the anagogical into the tropological where he identifies the *modi* of the ark as longitude, latitude and altitude: "Possuemus adhuc, si volumus, aliter altitudinem arcae distinguere, ut doctrina multiplex," "We can [possumus] besides, if we wish, distinguish otherwise the altitude of the ark, as a multiplex doctrina (678)." Aquinas notes that Hugh "includes the anagogical under the allegorical sense" in *Sacram.* iv. 4 *Prolog* (P. I, Q. 1, Art. 10, Rep. Obj. 2). This quotation also suggests the figure *alt* as multiplex.

[53] Only the body is revealed because the head is *quod fuit ante constitutionem hujus mundi*, "what was before the making of this world;" the feet are *quod futurum est post consummationem sæculi*, "what will be after the consummation of the ages;" and the body *quod inter principium et finem medium est spatium temporis*, "what is the middle space of time between the beginning and the end." The hidden head and the feet touch, "because we can not investigate the first and the newest (625)."

[54] See also the Epistle to the Ephesians 4:15-16: ". . .we shall grow completely into Christ, who is the head, by whom the whole body is fitted and joined together. . .So the body grows until it has built itself up in love."

[55] William Anderson has noticed that Bonaventure defers to Hugh of St. Victor as the master of the exegetical *modi* in *De reductione artium ad theologiam*, 5, Quaracchi Vol. V, 321. See also de Lubac (1959-64), Part 2, Vol. II, 269.

[56] Smalley credits Peter the Chancellor with standardizing chapters and bringing it into common usage about 1225 (*Bible* 333).

[57] "4. Nam et Cherubim hoc designant, quae se mutuo aspiciebant. Nec hoc vacat a mysterio, quod respiciebant *se versis vultibus in propitiatorium*, . . .
5. Si enim Cherub es *essentialia* Dei contemplando, et miraris, quia simul est divinum *esse primum* et novissimum, . . . *summe unum*, et tamen omnimodum, . . .; respice ad *propitiatorium* et mirare, quod in ipso principium primum iunctum est com postremo, *Deus* cum homine sexto die formato, . . . *perfectissimum* et immensum cum modico, *summe unum* et *omnimodum* cum individuo composito et a ceteris distincto, homine scilicet Iesu Christo.
6. Si autem alter Cherub es *personarum propria* contemplando, et miraris, *communicabilitatem* esse cum proprietate, . . .; respice in propitiatorium et mirare, quia in Christo stat *personalis unio* cum trinitate substantiarum et naturarum dualitate; stat *omnimoda consensio* cum pluralitate voluntatum, . . . stat *condominatio* cum pluralitate potestatum (311-12)."

[58] The Isaian seraphim shout "Holy, holy, holy (6:3)." The Victorine seraphim shout *Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus* (625). These cherubim are preceded by the words *sancta...sancta sanctorum* (308).

[59] ". . . qui autem in tertio, intrant cum summo Pontifice in *sancta sanctorum*; ubi supra arcam sunt Cherubim gloriae obumbrantia propitiatorium; per quae intelligimus duos modos seu gradus contemplandi Dei invisibilia et aeterna, quorum unus versatur circa essentialia Dei, alius vero circa propria personarum.
2. Primus modus primo et principaliter defigit aspectum in ipsum *esse*, dicens, quod *qui est* est primum nomen Dei. Secundus modus defigit aspectum in ipsum *bonum*, dicens, hoc esse primum nomen Dei. Primum spectat potissime ad *vetus* testamentum, quod maxime praedicat divinae essentiae unitatem; unde dictum est Moysi: *Ego sum qui sum*; . . .(308)."

[60] In Daniel 3:55, the cherubim are under the throne of the Lord: "Blessed are you who fathom the abyss, enthroned on the winged creatures [cherubim]."

[61] The word *seu* also appears in the title of one of Hugh's works: *De meditando seu meditandi artificio*. The work opens with the words *Meditatio est frequens cogitatio modum*, and uses as an example the text *Declina a malo, et fac bonum*, explaining that unless evil recedes, *non adveniunt bona*, and that evil needs to be eradicated *Quia in itinere occurrunt*. It defines meditation in reading as threefold, according to *historiam*, *allegoriam*, *tropologiam*, with the third teaching, among other things, *formam vivendi ad iter virtutis* (993-4).
Bonaventure may be forecasting *modos seu* in Chapter One when he describes the stages of ascent into God, ending with the *apex mentis seu synderesis scintilla* (I, 6, 297), "the summit of the mind or the spark of conscience (62)," and recalling it in Chapter Five just after the quotation from Aristotle's *Metaphysics* about the blind bat, *quia assuefactus...videtur sibi nihil videre* (4, 309).

[62] A second first name might be "the Good," *Bon*[aventure].

[63] In the order of the *Te Deum*, cherubim come before seraphim. The *Te Deum* is a rhymic prose hymn to the Father and Son that has been recited as part of Church liturgy since before the Rules of St. Caesarius of Arles (c. 470-542) and St. Benedict (c. 540) in which it appears. (Cross 1343) It is a *lauda* from creation to its God which articulates the prephilosophical argument for the existence of God from the visible effects of creation. It predates other discussions of the angelic hierarchy, notably St. Bernard's to which Bonaventure alludes.

[64] St. Justin (*Dialogus cum Tryphone*, xci) and St. Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* II, xxiv) also describe it.

[65] It is not the purpose of this dissertation to examine the illuminations in this illustrated text. It would be a disservice to the text, however, if some indication of the beauty within it were not indicated, and so I have included a short sampling in Appendix A.

[66] See Pacificus Kennedy, "Dante the Franciscan," *Friar* 24 (July 1965): 52-9.

CHAPTER TWO

AFTER BONAVENTURE

> È da sapere che in tre modi si chiamano propriamente le genti che vanno al servigio de l'Altissimo: chiamansi *palmieri*, in quanto vanno oltremare, là onde molte volte recano la palma; chiamansi *peregrini*, in quanto vanno alla casa di Galizia, però che la sepoltura di sa' Jacopo fue più lontana de la sua patria che d'alcuno altro apostolo; chiamansi *romei*, in quanto vanno a Roma.
>
> Dante Alighieri, *La Vita Nuova*

> People who go to serve the most High can be properly called in three ways: *palmieri*, those who go overseas to Jerusalem and often carry a palm; *peregrini*, those who go to the house of Galizia where St. James of Compostela is buried, further away from his country than any of the other Apostles; and *Romei*, those who go to Rome.
>
> Gualtiero Bellucci et al, *Pellegrini*

Franciscans after Bonaventure

When Francis developed the Order of Friars Minor, it was to be "a deliberate imitation of the way of life of Christ and his Apostles as described in the Gospels (Brown 1272)," and, as we have seen in the *Rule*, a literal application that emphasized poverty, fasting and prayer. Even during his lifetime, not all Francis' followers grasped the ideal, and Cardinal Hugolino was called upon to propose an adaptation for the good of the education and missionary apostolates. In a study entitled *Reform and Division in the Franciscan Order*, Duncan Nimmo explains that in the early years after Francis' death, the friars became divided between the suburban brothers, who worked in the town by day and retired to their *loci*, "places," at night for prayer and contemplation, and the more isolated brothers of the mountain retreats. The former gradually became more urbanized and clericized as they assumed ecclesiastical duties and focused on pastoral care. They went to the universities for preparation and established friaries and "convents" in cities. The latter assumed a more contemplative style that emphasized begging, silence and

prayer. Hence the problem arose of how to interpret the *Rule*, since Francis had commanded them to follow it, but also instructed Brother Leo to do whatever he thought would please God in following him in poverty, which some interpreted as "do what you will."

Three groups began to evolve: the moderates, who felt that apostolic tasks could be performed with a minimum of adaptation of the *Rule*; the relaxed, who abandoned Franciscan poverty; and the Spirituals, many of whom were Joachimist rigorists, who held to the letter of the *Rule*. The struggle lasted for many years. From the time of Bonaventure onward, a division in the Order was evident between those in "convents," later called Conventuals, who allowed some modernization of the *Rule*, and the Observants, also known as Zoccolanti, who wanted no change. It was the beginning of a continuous stream of friars seeking to resist the secularization of an order whose mission lies with secular society: John of Parma, Hugh of Digne, Hubert of Casale, Peter John Olivi, Angelo Clareno, Gentile of Spoleto, Paolo Trinci, St. Bernardine of Siena, Matteo di Bassi, Stefano Molina, and in our own day, Benedict Groeschel. The most successful of these was the popular Observant friar, Bernadine of Siena, who was received into the Order in 1402, "and by his death. . . had founded three hundred friaries, containing some four thousand Observant friars. Ten years after his death in 1444, the Observants numbered some twenty thousand (Short 58)." They could be recognized by their gray habits.

The Apostolic Brief *Ad statum* of 1430, which allowed friars to possess property and receive fixed revenues, heightened the separation between the two groups. The Observants refused to use these concessions. After an attempt at unity in 1517, Pope Leo

X issued the bull *Ite vos* which divided the order into the Order of Friars Minor and the Order of Friars Minor Conventual. But division continued to plague the Franciscans, and an attempt at uniform legislation disintegrated into a nationalistic struggle between the Ultramontanes (the Spanish and French) and the Cismontanes (the Italians). Meanwhile in Spain, Juan de la Puebla received permission in 1487 to found the *retiros*, a group with a more contemplative bent (which eventually became the Spanish Discalced Reform of Peter of Alcantara), that was exported back to Italy in 1518 (64). Opposition to this group led to the establishment of the Friars of the Eremitical Life (Capuchins), the Italian Observants splitting into two groups after the reform of Matteo di Bassi resulted in Clement VII's Bull *Religionis zellus* which allowed them to separate into a new order. Distinguished by its pointed hood, the Friars Minor of the Order of St. Francis, Capuchin was established in 1528. They are the third branch of "first" Order Franciscans. All three branches exist today: the Conventuals, the Friars Minor (Observants) and the Capuchins.

The struggle between the Conventuals and the Observants has a bearing on the history of exegetical patterning as it developed during the period immediately prior to 1300 until the mid-sixteenth century. The emergence of the Observant reform led to a revival of interest in the issue of poverty that had first ignited the Spirituals. The Observants wanted a return to the *usus pauper* where communities lived on alms, and did not hold property or handle money. The Conventuals gradually moved away from this practice. Late in the period we are considering, both Thomas More and Erasmus satirize the Conventuals, seeing them as having abandoned the spirituality whose functional principle is the forfeiture of ownership. As Dominic Baker-Smith concludes in his study

of More and the Franciscans, "In terms of St. Francis's original ideals the Conventuals offer a Lucianic caricature of evangelical poverty, one in which outward signs become a substitute for spiritual vision (44)." Citing sections of *Utopia* and Erasmus' use of Plato's adage that "Emonge frendes al thinges be common" in the *Adagia, Amicorum communia omnia* of 1508—expanded in 1515, he suggests that both More and Erasmus implied a theological background to the world's "customs" that they satirized, and that that background is the simple, holy nature of man, "the ground of authentic value (48)," which St. Francis sought to bring forth in the "shared structures of social life (50)." Pointing to the influence of Franciscan practices on More and Erasmus, which include both the communal life and Observant poverty, he notes Erasmus' view of the negative impact of the custom of applying "the whole of Artisotle" to theology, saying explicitly that "from him [Aristotle] we have learnt that a state cannot flourish where all things are held in common," and criticizing those who would "combine all his doctrines with the teaching of Christ (46)."[1] Erasmus sees such an effort as trying to mix "water and fire." The accommodation needed to reconcile Christ's teachings with Aristotle's on a wholesale scale, he seems to be implying by the metaphor, sometimes extinguishes the inspired word. A phenomenon similar to this seems to occur in the field of Scriptural exegesis.

As we have seen, in the mid-thirteenth century, those friars who lived in the houses of study near the universities were almost exclusively attentive to Holy Scripture. Smalley has argued that Thomas Aquinas' application of the Aristotelian notion that "substance could only be known through its sensible manifestations (292)," i. e. the soul through the bodily senses, was transferred to the domain of Scriptural studies as the spirit

through the letter, with the spirit being "something not hidden behind or added on to, but expressed by the text (293)." Soon Scripture began to seem "less like a mirror of universal truth and more like a collection of works whose authors had intended to teach particular truths; so exegesis was bound to resolve itself into the scientific study of these authors." The differentiation of theology as a speculative science, which proceeds from premises of Revelation and finds reason in the literal sense, from exegesis, which proceeds from premises of Revelation and interprets the literal sense for the development of allegorical applications to the human person, had the effect of weakening Scriptural exegesis. The literal became privileged. The Old Testament became the subject of scientific study as Aristotle's *Libri naturales* was used in explications. (Bonaventure's scientific naturalism is evident in his postills.) Material from political and ethical thought, the classical authors and even the courtly life of John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* were used by postillators, some of them Franciscans, like John of Wales and Thomas Docking (325). Roger Bacon attempted to stabilize Scriptural scholarly work by drawing up rules for the study of original sources and the restoration of Latin, by making Greek and Hebrew grammars, and by compiling lists of errors (332). The Franciscans William de la Mare (335) and Brother Gerard of Huy produced glosses (336).

These friars set the seed for a change in literary attitude that begins to flower in a group of fourteenth century friars, mostly Dominican, who championed the literal, but called it allegorical. Interested in utilizing ethical values found in the works of Ovid, Alberic and Boethius in their writing and preaching (Allen 37-8, 41), they pushed "a developed literary tradition (the *auctores*, interpreted literally as ethics) into the mainstream of a developing religious tradition (mendicant preaching) (52)." J. B. Allen,

whose work extends Beryl Smalley's study of the English friars in the early fourteenth century,[2] credits these "classicizing friars (30)" with creating "the spiritual sense of fiction (13)," pointing out that they claimed that what they were doing was literal, and that therefore "there are two kinds of allegory, the spiritual and the literal (27)." The discussion of the literal as it embraces the moral effect of the work was the interest of Dante Alighieri, a writer who stands between these Dominicans and the earlier Franciscans, an author whose orientation seems to have been Franciscan.[3]

Dante

In *Epistle XIII* addressed to Can Grande della Scala (c. 1316-19),[4] to which we have referred earlier, Dante tells us that his *Comedia*[5] employs the *modi* structure; but it seems that he does more than that. He shows us how he uses it. The *Epistle* seems to be a practicum that begins in the middle, identifies its method and offers an exemplum.

The midpoint of the *Epistle* is located between paragraphs sixteen and seventeen.[6] On one side of the space between them is a quotation from Aristotle's *Metaphysics* about practical men speculating *ad aliquid et nunc*, "now and then" and *aliquando*, "somewhat," and on the other is the *expositionem littere*, "interpretation of the letter," which is described as "revealing the form of the work." The reader needs to apply the one to the other, i. e. to speculate about the *expositionem littere*, and how it is the form of the work. In doing so, the reader actively engages with the work in its form, because the work is constructed like a diptych, with one side functioning as a complement to the other. The center, on the "inside" of the two paragraphs, joins the idea of speculation with the phrase *expositionem littere*, a graphic pun that exposes the word *littere*, and its "*x* position." The letter *x* is another pun, albeit a tiny one, for the letter *t*. The *t*'s are in a double position, and it is this doubling that is the form of the work. Let us examine how this is so.

Working from the center, paragraph sixteen holds on the "outside" the word pairs *toto/parte*, "whole/part," and *totum/pars*, "whole/part," and paragraph seventeen holds on its "outside" the pairs *prologum/partem*, "prologue/part," and *pars/surgit*, "part/it rises [sun]."[7] In the next paragraph (eighteen), it is said that the two parts of the *prologus* are both *Apollo*. Since the *surgit* is the sun, or Apollo,[8] the word *Apollo* can replace both

prologum and *surgit*. This yields "Apollo"/*partem* and *pars*/"Apollo." "Apollo" needs to be reduced still further to the pun "*apo olo*," or more commonly "*ap olo*," the Greek prefixes for "from" and "whole,"[9] or an abbreviated form of "from the whole." In this way, paragraph seventeen's pairs complement paragraph sixteen's pairs, with one in *verso*. One is *toto/parte* and *totum/pars* and the other is "*ap olo*"/*partem* and *pars*/"*ap olo*."

The paragraphs on the "outside" of sixteen and seventeen, i. e. fifteen and eighteen, offer more complex versions of the same thing. Paragraph fifteen holds the pair *totius/partis*, "whole/part," and *totius/partis*, and the clue *posset et multiplex*, "may be manifold." Paragraph eighteen holds the pair *parte/exordium*, followed by manifold equivalents for *exordium* that include *prologus*, *proemium*, *preludium*, and *prenuntiatio*, which is composed *aliter* by poets and *aliter* by rhetoricians. Since the equivalent *prologum* has already been replaced by "Apollo" and thereby "from the whole," so can *exordium* be replaced by *prologum*, and thereby "Apollo" and "from the whole." The fact that it is in the reversed *parte/exordium* position, is covered by the hint *cum aliquid contra comunem modum*, "when something against the common *modus* [literal translation]." The second pair is held in the elliptic statement that *in secunda invocatur Apollo*, "in the second [part] Apollo is invoked," which can reduce to [part]/"*ap olo*." So again we have the complementary pairs of opposing "whole/part" figures.

The paragraphs on the "outside" of fifteen and eighteen, i. e. fourteen and nineteen, offer even more complex versions of the same thing. Paragraph fourteen holds the number three, the phrase *de aliis*, and the pairs *pars/toto* and *totius/partis*. Paragraph nineteen holds the number three and the *primam partem/exordii sive prologi* and *prime*

partis/prologi. The substitutions can be made again, but the second pair must be reversed, without any clue from the text. This is the secret of the text: complementary pairs are interchangeable. When this fact is recognized, the exercise of the practicum is finished: "Viso igitur de bonitate ac perfectione prime partis prologi, ad litteram accedatur," "Having then observed the excellence and perfection of the first part of the Prologue, let us enter on the interpretation of the letter," but not before noticing the word *Paradisi* followed by three forms of the word "heaven:" *celestis*, *celo*, and *celesti*.

In the next paragraphs, thirteen and twenty "part" and "whole" are present, but not as the exercise, only to assist in solving the exercise. In thirteen, the *totius* is the *Comedia*, and the *partis* is what he calls the *Paradisus*; but since we have learned that "whole" and "part" are an interchangeable pair, *Paradisus* can in some way be thought to be the "whole," at least for this exercise. In twenty, the quote *in omnibus partibus universi*, "in every corner of the universe," is discussing the glory of God, but *in aliqua parte magis, et in aliqua minus*, "in one part more and in another less," may be pointing to the *Paradisus* part of the universe and of the *Comedia*, while continuing a series of hints that suggest a pun on Bonaventure's "wings," at least one of the crafting methods being taught in the practicum, as we will see presently.

Paragraphs twelve to six on one side and twenty-one to twenty-seven on the other side are the heart of the work, with the latter presenting a continuous stream of hints to *Paradisus* and its equivalents, to *Paradisus* as representing the whole *Comedia*, and to the function of the dyptich. We will only note the series of *Paradisus* and its equivalents, principally "heaven," which seems to be validated as a circumlocution for *Paradisus* by a statement that begins paragraph twenty-four:

> Et postquam premisit hanc veritatem, prosequitur ab ea circumloquens Paradisum; et dicit quod fuit in cello illo . . .
>
> And after he hath premised this truth, he proceedeth to speak of Paradise, by circumlocution, and saith that *he was within that heaven* . . .,

and one that ends paragraph twenty-six:

> Sic ergo patet: cum dicit 'in illo celo, quod plus de luce Dei recipit', intelligit circumloqui Paradisum, sive celum empyreum.
>
> Thus therefore it is evident that when he saith, *Within that heacen which most His light receives*, he purposeth to speak of Paradise or the Empyrean Heaven.

The *Paradisus* equivalents include: *Celesti* (¶ 21), "celestial;" *Celum* (¶ 22), "heaven" and *in celum*, "into heaven;" *de celo* (¶ 23), "to the heavens;" *circumloquens Paradisum* (¶ 24), "Paradise, by circumlocution," *in celo*, "*within that heaven*," *illud celum*, "[that] heaven," *celum*, "heaven," *empyreum*, "Empyrean," and *celum*, "heaven;" *primum celum* (¶25), " first heaven," (a pointed circumlocution for *Paradisus*, which was the first word given for heaven in this letter) and *illud celum*, "that heaven;" *celum* (¶26), "heaven," *de celo*, "of the heaven," *Illud igitur celum*, "Therefore that heaven," *celum primum*, "First Heaven," *in illo celo*, "within that heaven," *Paradisum*, "Paradise," *celum empyreum*, "Empyrean Heaven;" *De Celo* (¶27), "*On the Heavens*," *celum*, "heaven," *super omnes celos*, "far above all heavens," *celum*, "heaven," *Paradisi*, "paradise."[10]

On the other side of the dyptich, paragraphs twelve to six are discussing the *modi* structure. The seven paragraphs in this group might be seen as a unit, as the *Paradisus/celum* words seem to imply by their constancy. Let us consider this part of the whole *Epistle* as an interior part, within the exterior whole. The paragraphs complement each other.

The unit is framed by paragraphs twelve and six. In order to understand the discussion, we need to remember what we have learned in the first exercise: *pars* and

totum are interchangeable complements. Paragraph twelve begins by admitting that it is obviously about *forma partis*, "the form of the part," (which, applying the complement for "part" might be "the form of the whole") through *formam assignatam totius*, "that assigned to the whole" (perhaps "that given to the part"). In this type of reading, the Letter could be speaking about the *Comedia* through the form of the word *Paradisus*, and about the *Paradiso* through the form of the word *Comedia*. This interpretation seems to be supported by the complementary paragraph six, a paragraph that emphasizes "whole/part" several times (which incidentally is the way that this section is functioning within the whole Letter), and emphasizes as a part the *ali* figure that we have been noting as emblematic of the *modi*: "Volentes igitur aliqualem introductionem tradere de parte operis alicuius, oportet aliquam notitiam tradere de toto cuius est pars," "To those, then, who wish to give any introduction to a part of any work whatsoever, it is necessary to give some conception of the whole of which it is a part." It also mentions the *Comedia* as the one *supra nominata*, "above named," perhaps actually *Paradiso*, so that there would be a pair of paragraphs speaking to one another about "whole/part" and "*Comedia*/*Paradisus*," as it were.

Within them eleven and ten are matched with seven and eight. In eleven and ten, the subject is *status animarum post mortem*, "the state of souls after death" and "man." We are also told that the smelly goat of tragedy has its complement *Comedia*, ending with the Horacian quotation that places the Bonaventuran pun *licentiat*[11] next to the Bonaventuran hint *ali*: ***licentiat aliquando comicos ut tragedos loqui, et sic e converso***, "he concedeth that sometimes comedians speak like tragedians and conversely," which is echoed in the smelly *Inferno* and its complement *Paradiso*. In a like way, seven and

eight's subject is *status animarum post mortem* and "man." We are also told that the *Comedia* is *polisemos*,[12] "polysemous," being made of the letter and what it signifies (including allegorical, moral and anagogical) senses, and that "isti sensus mistici variis appellentur nominibus, generaliter omnes dici possunt allegorici, cum sint a litterali sive historiali diversi," "these mystical meanings are called by various names, they can in general all be said to be allegorical, since they differ from the literal or historic."[13] Although Psalm 113:1-2 is given in detail as an exemplum of the exegetical structure, as noted earlier,[14] it is disguising the essential complementarity between the literal/allegorical being discussed in paragraphs seven and eight and the tragedy/comedy and *Infernus/Paradisus* discussion of ten and eleven. When one side is applied to the other, the implication is that in some way, *Infernus* is the literal and *Paradisus* its allegory.

The central paragraph of this group is paragraph nine, Dante's favorite number. It seems to be responding to the *expositionem littere* in the center of the Letter that is "revealing the form of the work," which we suggested as the double, represented by the double letters *t*.[15] The paragraph begins with the statement *Forma vero est duplex*, "The *form* then is double," and seems to be referring to the *Comedia* as the "work," with *Paradiso* as a possibility, because the "whole work" is mentioned twice as an antecedent in paragraph eight, and the "part" *Paradiso* is its complement. Here is the paragraph:

> Forma vero est duplex: forma tractatus et forma tractandi. Forma tractatus est triplex, secundum triplicem divisionem. Prima divisio est, qua totum opus dividitur in tres canticas. Secunda, qua quelibet cantica dividitur in cantus. Tertia, qua quilibet cantus dividitur in rithimos. Forma sive modus tractandi est poeticus, fictivus,/ descriptivus, digressivus, transumptivus, et com hoc diffinitivus, divisivus, probativus, improbativus, et exemplorum positivus.

> The *form* is double: the form of the treatise, and the form of treating it. The form of the treatise is triple, according to its threefold division. The first division is where the whole work is divided into three canticles; the second is where each canticle is divided into cantos; the third is where each canto is divided into rhythms. The form or [*modus*] of treating is *poetic, figurative, descriptive, digressive, transumptive,* and in addition, *explanatory, divisible, probative, condemnatory,* and *explicit in examples.*

The distinction is between *tractatus*, the *Comedia*, and *tractandi*, the treating of it. The *Comedia* is triple, according to its division, presumably into *Inferno, Purgatorio,* and *Paradiso*. The *tractandi* could be a pun for "*tract anti*." It is also called a *modus*, and is described as "poetic" and "fictive," but significantly it is also described as *exemplorum positivus*, which might also be reversed to "negative of examples." The "first," "second" and "third" divisions of the *Comedia* can be seen as allegory, tropology and anagogy, since the allegory is itself divided into three *canticas*, the *cantica* into a *cantus* (see "*sanctu*"), and the *cantus* into the pun *rithimos*, or "*rith imos*," or "bottom rhythm." Perhaps the *Comedia* itself is crafted with the *Inferno* in the *anti* mode, the *Purgatorio* in the "holy" mode and the *Paradiso* also in the *anti* mode. For purposes of this dissertation, we will refer to the *anti* or negative allegorical mode as the "fictive."

The rest of the paragraphs of the Letter, five to the Salutation on one side (perhaps what he refers to as the Invocation) and twenty-eight to thirty-three on the other, offer an *exemplum* of the multiplex crafting of the *modi* structure through textual hints and a mention of the "wings." We will not develop this part here, because the method can be seen more clearly in Boccaccio's *Decameron*.

The *Epistle* to Can Grande, then, seems to offer a "fictive" level of oppositional allegory to the exegetical *modi* through pairs of complementary figures, and a technique that begins in the middle, perhaps seen in the title *Co media*, of the work that opens with the words *nel mezzo*, "in the middle." We will see Boccaccio repeat Dante's innovations in a more radical way, informed by the interim work of Nicolas de Lira.

Nicolas de Lira

A major new development in the formulation of the exegetical *modi* appeared in the fourteenth century that set the pattern for exegetes and secular authors of the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance. In the prologues to his literal and moral exposition of the *Glossa Ordinaria*, the Franciscan Nicolas de Lira (c. 1270-1349) introduced three novel ideas: a reformulation of the famous verses *Littera gesta docet* for which he is famous, and which was firmly established by Paul of Burgos (1351-1435) in his *Additiones*,[16] an understanding of the meaning of Scripture as "outer" and "inner," with the "outer" determined by the author (as any one of the senses), and a unique centering technique that highlights a particular figuration. The famous verses are the least significant of the three, but they were reduced to an emblem by which Nicolas was recognized for several centuries.

In the discursive matter immediately preceding the "Prologus" and the "Prologus in Moralitates Bibliorum," Nicolas describes the *modi* in the traditional way, except for anagogy, which he labels *ea quæ sunt speranda in beatitudine futura* (col. 28), "what they are hoping for in the blessed future" in the "Prologus," and *[pertineat] ad speranda in beatitudine futura* (col. 33), "[it pertains] to hoping in the blessed future" in the "Prologus in Moralitates Bibliorum." Each time, however, he cites the verses as traditionally given, including *quo tendas anagogia*, "where you are tending, anagogy." He is suggesting *speres*, but actually quoting *tendas*. Henri de Lubac has noticed that he gives *tendas* in his *Postilla* on the Letter to the Galatians (4, 3 in de Lubac [1]). Nicolas is consistent in his citation. It is rather, Paul de Burgos who changed the last hemistitch of the verses in his *Additiones*:

> Per sensum anagogicum, quæ sunt speranda, quod pertinet ad spem; . . .
> Patet per versum allegatum in prologo postillæ, et est communis sententia expositorum, *in quo versu dicitur*:
>
> Littera gesta docet, quid credas allegoria,
> Tropologia quid agas, quid speres, anagogia.
> (col. 38)
>
> Through the anagogical sense, what they are hoping, which pertains to hope; . . .
> It appears through the alleged verse in the prologue of the *Postilla*, and it is the general way of thinking of explanations, in which verse it is said:
>
> The letter teaches the deed; what you believe, allegory;
> What you do, the moral; what you hope, anagogy.

Somehow both the verses and the alteration were attributed to Nicolas, as we will see in later chapters. In fact, the verses were written by Augustine of Dacia (de Lubac 1) and the *speres* by Paul de Burgos.

Nicolas de Lira is responsible, however, for a fundamental change in Christian exegesis that he learned from Rabbi Shelomo (Solomon), known as Rashi. In Hebrew exegesis, the literal level, or *peshat*, is not exactly the same as the evident meaning of the words, but rather something more fluid. In his comparative study of Rashi and de Lira, *Rashi and the Christian Scholars*, Rabbi Hailperin explains *peshat* as "the sense in which the first author used it—whether his intention was to make the word or words speak concretely, allegorically, parabolically, etc. This kind of meaning is the one which Rashi contended should never be lost from interpretation (32)." The notion is recast by Nicolas at the beginning of the "Prologus Secundus de Intentione Auctoris et Modo Procedendi," where he distinguishes between the *exterius* (literal) and *interius* (mystical/spiritual) senses (col. 29), allowing that Scripture may *sub quolibet membro*, "under any part," multiply meanings, and asserting *sensum litteralem tanquam fundamentum*, "the literal sense as the foundation." The strength of emphasis on the literal sense here recalls Rashi's talmudic maxim "A biblical passage can never [in the final analysis] lose its *peshat* meaning (Hailperin 36-7)." Nicolas states his intention clearly. He says, "Intendi

circa litteralem sensum insistere (col. 30)," "I intend to insist on the literal sense," and also "intendo non solum dicta doctorum catholicorum, sed etiam Hebraicorum maxime Rabbi Salomonis, qui inter doctores Hebræos locutus est rationabilius declarationem sensus litteralis inducere," "I intend not only to include the *dicta* of the Catholic doctors, but also of the Hebrews, mostly Rabbi Solomon, who among the Hebrew doctors has spoken a declaration of the literal sense most reasonably."

He expands his discussion of the literal in the third of seven rules (*claves*, "keys") for the explanation of Scripture, which he attributes to Isidore's *De Summo Bono*, Book I, Chapter 20. Preus has noticed that the rule in question, the third rule of Tyconius-Augustine, is the traditional explanation of *de spiritu et littera* (70). It is followed by Nicolas' innovation of the double-literal sense:

> Potest etiam aliter exponi, ut referatur ad sensum litteralem tantum sicut et aliæ. Circa quod considerandum quod eadem littera aliquando habet duplicem sensum litteralem; verbi gratia, primi Paral. xvii dicit Dominus de Salomone: ≪Ego ero illi in patrem et ipse erit mihi in filium.≫ Et intelligitur de Salomone ad litteram, . . . (col. 31-2)

> So that it can apply to a [second] literal sense which is just as literal as the first. In the light of this, one should consider that the same letter at times has a double literal sense. For example in I Chron. 17, the Lord says of Solomon: "I will be a father to him, and he will be like a son to me." And this is understood as speaking of Solomon literally . . . (Preus 68)

It is a commonplace to point out that Nicolas' double literal sense gives New Testament citations of Old Testament words a meaning that referred to Christ and one that referred to Hebrew history. But it seems that Nicolas is doing more than that: in this passage he is doubling the literal meaning of the name Solomon, as Solomon here refers to the biblical Solomon, but also to Rashi, Rabbi Solomon. The method used here is perhaps Rashi's own way of interpreting the literal, and it seems as though Nicolas is casting the Rabbi in the role of "exegetical father." After discussing Paul's application of the passage to

Christ as *major angelis*, "greater than the angels," which he says cannot be made in the mystical sense, he concludes:

> Prædicta enim auctoritas impleta fuit ad litteram in Salomone, minus tamen perfecte, quia fuit Dei filius per gratiam solum, in Christo autem perfectius, qui est Dei Filius per naturam. Licet autem utraque expositio sit litteralis simpliciter, secunda tamen, quæ est de Christo, spiritualis et mystica est secundum quid, inquantum Salomon fuit figura Christi.
>
> (col. 32)

> The aforesaid authority, then, was fulfilled literally in Solomon, yet less perfectly because he was a son of God by grace only; but in Christ [it is fulfilled] more perfectly, because he is son of God by nature. Now, although each exposition is literal simply speaking, still the second one, which concerns Christ, is [also] spiritual and mystical in a derived sense, in that Solomon was a figure of Christ.
>
> (Preus 68)

The second voice is saying that the discussion of the double literal is fulfilled in the doubling of Solomon as the Jew Solomon (Rashi), who, as a Jew, is the son of God by grace only, but, because of Christ's passion, becomes a son of God by nature as well. And although each exposition (of Solomon and Solomon) is literal, that of Christ is spiritual in that Solomon, like all men, is a figure of Christ. The passage contains a pun on *secunda*, "second," as *secundum*, "following," and on *expositio* as "*x positio*," a graphically literal figure of Christ, which the text says can be applied to the Solomons in a derived sense. It is in this way, I believe, that Nicolas sees the literal sense as the foundation of Scripture. It is the way of *peshat*, which provides for the intention of the author, as Hailperin has explained: "If the author chose to express an idea under allegorical, anagogical, or any other language form, this form, if it be recognized to be the original intention of the author, is to be denominated the literal or historical sense (257)."

There is one other figure of Christ that is evident here in the reversal of the father-son relationship. The quotation sets the Lord as father and Solomon as son; but the second literal suggests Rabbi Solomon as father and Nicolas as son, which permits a

reversal of father-son within Solomon. This *verso* form seems to be allowable, and is perhaps assisted by the reference to Paul, which "lifts up" the Son to be "greater than the angels," or the Father. The text then points out that Solomon is the son of God, and since Christ is the Son of God, by analogy Solomon is a figure of Christ. In many ways, this passage presents the fluid literal level, while it also seems to ratify the *verso* figuration as a valid literal alternative.

Nicolas de Lira's third novelty is a centering technique used to focus attention on the figure of "wings," which is generated from the title of the work as given before the first "Prologus:" *De Commendatione Sacræ Scripturæ in Generali*, "A Commentary on Sacred Scripture in General." The figure *ali* is a pun for the word *alæ*, which is hinted by the presence of two *æ* endings in close proximity, perhaps suggested a few lines later by the phrase *per viam naturæ, quæ dependet ex phantasmate* (col. 25), "through the way of nature [*æ*] which [*æ*] depends from the imagination." Perhaps the word *phantasmate* is used with the same implications of "vivid representation" that Longinus gave the word *phantasia* in *Peri Hypsous*, because immediately after the title, the *ali* figure acts concretely as a kind of copulative in the quotation ≪*Hæc omnia liber vitæ*≫, "All this is the book of life," which is framed by a pair of *æ* figures. Then it suggests its own temporality in comparison with its *peshat* literal form *alae* in the quotation ≪*Temporalis vita, æternæ vitæ comparata . . .*≫, "The temporal life compared to eternal life," which concretely compares the temporal [*ali*] life (with a single *a* ending on *vita*), to eternal life (with a trio of *æ* forms). The temporary form is presented in the statement that *in hac temporali vita tantumodo naturaliter consequendum*, "in this life temporal things follow only naturally," and comes to rest in Scripture, *qui nomine generali Biblia dicitur*, "which

is generally called by the name Bible," which graphically places the temporary wings on either side of Scripture, in much the same way as it was described by Hugh of St. Victor.

The centering of the "wings" occurs in the "Prologus Secundus" within the seven "keys" of Isidore, which are described as *regulis seu clavibus exponendi sacram Scripturam* (34), "rules or keys explaining sacred Scripture," and which hold Bonaventure's pun (*modos seu*) in *regulis seu* for Hugh.[17] In a nutshell, the rules present the following:

1. Jesus' body as the Church (like Hugh)
2. The Church as having *malos permixtos cum bonis*, "bad mixed with good,"
3. An explanation *de spiritu et littera*
4. A presentation *de specie et genere*, "about species and genus,"
5. Four *modi* of time: through synecdoche, minutes of time, time computed from before and after, speaking of the future through the past
6. An explanation *de recapitulatione et anticipatione*, "about recapitulation and anticipation,
7. Lucifer's body.

The importance of the "rules" lies in the way that they offset each other: Jesus' body/Lucifer's body; bad and good/before and after; spirit and letter/four *modi*. The pairs serve to center the fourth rule, which is about synecdoche, a common biblical figure of speech:

> Quarta regula est de specie et genere, sive de parte ac toto, cum de uno transit ad aliud, et e converso, sicut Isa. xiii. Primo contra Babylonem specialiter, cum dicitur: ≪Onus Babylonis,≫ etc., et transit ad intelligendum verbum de toto mundo generaliter, per hoc quod subditur: ≪A summitate cœli Dominus, et vasa furoris ejus, ut disperdat omnem terram.≫ Postea revertitur ad loquendum contra Babylonem specialiter, cum dicitur: ≪Ecce ego suscitabo super vos Medos, qui argentum non quærant,≫ etc., quia Darius Medus cum Cyro nepote suo cepit Babyloniam, et interfecit Balthasar regem Babylonis, ut habetur Danielis quinto.
>
> (col. 32)

> The fourth rule is about species and genus, or the part and the whole, when it is transferred from one to the other, and in reverse, just as in Isaiah 13:1 especially against the Babylonians, when he says: "The burden of Babylon," etc. and transfers to the comprehended word [Babylon] the whole world generally, through this which substitutes [for it]: "From the height of heaven, the Lord dispersed vessels of his fury [on] all the earth." Afterward he reverts to speaking against Babylon particularly, when he says: "Look. I raise you above the Medes, who do not seek money," etc., because Darius the Mede with Cyrus his nephew seized Babylon and killed Balthasar king of Babylon, as is told in the fifth [chapter] of Daniel.

This rule is immediately preceded by the last sentence of the previous rule, which is about the two Solomons cited above, and holds the discussion of the double literal, two figures of *ali* and the name Solomon. This passage presents a frame within it:

Quarta regula est de specie et genere, sive de parte ac toto, cum de uno transit ad aliud, et e converso,

with the figures *e et* and *et e* forming the exterior limits, and the word *converso* noting the reversal in figure placement.[18] The words immediately within these frames are *genere* and *aliud*, which, if acted upon by the interior line *sive de parte ac toto, cum de uno transit ad*, "or from part and whole, when it transfers from one to," can be joined to make *gener* and *ali*, or the title word *Generali*, out of the parts. This is not synecdoche, but rather a second literal reading for *de parte ac toto*, which seems to be verified by *generaliter* a few words later. What is remarkable here is not the letterplay, but rather the way the figure is centered, and the fact that it returns to the beginning.

The ubiquitous figure *ali* is sprinkled throughout Nicolas' prologues, often in places where it attains a double literal meaning, like *sensus litteralis, a quo est incipiendum* (col. 29), "the literal sense [*ali*], from which is a beginning," which points to the opening *Generali*, or where it operates in *verso*, like *breves expositiones mysticas aliquando interponere, licet raro* (col. 30), "when [*ali* is] placed between short, mystical explanations, which is rare," which, of course, it isn't. These temporary figurations of the wings, *alae*, are offered in a novel way that acknowledges its heritage from Hugh of St. Victor, through Bonaventure.

Nicolas de Lira's development of the double literal seems to be a continuation of Bonaventure's double-sided craftsmanship, refined by Rashi's *peshat*, but the centering technique seems to be his own invention. His influence, as measured by overt citations, was extensive, lasting into the eighteenth century (Hailperin 263), but his subtle

influence, as discovered in letter puns on his name and in the emblem *speres*, may be the more surprising, as we will see next in Boccaccio's *Decameron*.

[1] The translation is Margaret Mann Phillips' in *The 'Adages' of Erasmus*, Cambridge, 1964, 331 in Baker-Smith (46).

[2] He focuses on Robert Holkot, John Ridewall, Thomas Waleys, Thomas Ringstead and John Lathbury, among others.

[3] Dorothy Sayers notes that some scholars hold that Dante became a member of the Franciscan Order (n. 140-141, *Paradise* 167). See also Pacificus Kennedy's "Dante the Franciscan," *Friar* 24 (1965):52-9. Recent studies on Dante and Franciscan thought have included Raoul Manselli's "Dante e gli spirituali francescani," *Letture Classensi* 11 (1982):47-61; Neil J. O'Connell's "The Franciscan Element: Dante and Aesthetical Ideals," *Prr* 4 (2) (May 1984):43-55; Ilona Klein's "Dante and the Franciscan Movement," *Thought*, 65 (256) (1990):7-16; and Nicholas Havely's "'Io stava come 'l frate': The Franciscanism of Inferno XIX," *Dante Studies* 110 (1992):95-106.

[4] There has been considerable discussion about whether Dante actually wrote this letter. Recent studies argue that he did (Gilbert, "Introduction," 199-200). For an opposing view, see O. B. Hardison, Jr. et al, *Medieval Literary Criticism: Translations and Interpretations*, NY: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1974, 145.

[5] Dante writes at paragraph 10: *Libri titulus est: 'Incipit Comedia Dantis Alagherii . .* (863). There is only one *m*.

[6] For the Letter to Can Grande, I am using the text edited by Fredi Chiappelli in *Tutte le Opere*, and the standard paragraph numbering. The translation is that of Charles Allen Dinsmore in *Aids to the Study of Dante*. In figuring the center, the salutation offsets paragraph 33.

[7] The quotation *Surgit mortalibus per diversas fauces* is referring to Apollo, the sun. (See *Paradiso* Canto I, 1-13.) Dorothy Sayers has pointed out that the *Epistle* "contains an exposition of the first part of the first canto of *Paradiso* ("Introduction" to *Paradise*, 40)."

[8] In *The Life of Dante*, Boccaccio dismisses the explanation that laurel was used to crown poets because Daphne was loved by Phoebus (Apollo), who was the first writer and patron of poets.

[9] William Anderson tells us that "Dante knew no Greek (n. 48, 452), however it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that he knew some prefixes that were in common usage then, and even today, like *apo* or *olo*.

[10] Even after the *paradisus* paragraphs, the first line of paragraph twenty-eight notes its place in its opening words *Et postquam dixit quod fuit in loco illo Paradisi per suam circumlocutionem*, "And after he said that he was in this place of paradise through his circumlocution."

[11] Both Bonaventure and Aquinas had difficulty receiving the licentiate from the University of Paris.

[12] Perhaps this is a pun for "*polis imus*."

[13] In *De Reductione artium ad theologiam*, Bonaventure employs the hint *ali* in the same way, making a pun for the word *generaliter*:

> Videamus igitur, qualitur aliae illuminationes cognitionum reducie habent ad lumen sacrae Scripturae. Et primo videamus in illuminatione cognitionis *sensitivae*, quae tota versatur circa cognitionem sensibilium, ubi tria est considerare: cognoscendi *medium*, cognoscendi *exercitium*, cognoscendi *oblectamentum*. – Si consideremus *medium* cognoscendi, intuebimur ibi Verbum aeternaliter generatum et ex tempore incarnatum.

> Nullum enim sensibile movet potentiam cognitivam, nisi mediante similitudine, quae egreditur ab obiecto, sicut proles a parente; et hoc generaliter, realiter, vel exemplariter est necesse in omni sensu.
>
> (Healy 48)

> Let us see, therefore, how the other illuminations of knowledge are to be reduced to the light of Sacred Scripture. First of all, let us consider the illumination of *sense* perception, which is concerned exclusively with the cognition of sensible objects, a process in which three phases are to be considered: namely, the *medium* of perception, the *exercise* of perception, and the *delight* of perception. If we consider the *medium* of perception, we shall see therein the Word begotten from all eternity and made man in time. Indeed a sensible object can make an impression upon a cognitive faculty only through the medium of a likeness which proceeds from the object as an offspring from its parent, and in every sensation, this likeness must be present either generically, specifically, or symbolically.
>
> (49)

The pun has its place in the literal discussion when it is "read" as the wings of allegory.

[14] Boccaccio seems to recognize the exegetical structure as integral to Dante's work by placing the vision of Dante's mother at the end of *The Life of Dante*. In the vision, Dante transforms into the peacock "after his death (60)," which suggests John Scotus Erigena's description of the *modi* as the colors of the peacock's tail (de Lubac 123). Boccaccio lists the attributes of the peacock as follows:

1. "angelic plumage" with feathers as "the beauty of the unique narrative which appears on the literal surface of the *Comedy* (59);"
2. "terrible" voice that "terrifies the good and mortifies the evil (60);"
3. "ugly feet and silent step" with the "whole body supported" and the vernacular propping up "every part of the *Comedy* (59);"
4. "sweet smelling and incorruptible flesh" like truth, "whether you give a moral or theological meaning to any part of the book (58)."

[15] Both *tractatus* and *tractandi* sport *t*'s.

[16] Paul of Burgos "had been a Jew, Solomon Halevi, and was Bishop of Burgos, Spain, after his conversion (Hailperin 2)." He wrote the *Additiones*, which objected to Nicolas' abundant use of Rashi.

[17] The pun also occurs earlier in the author's statement that because he is not so skilled in Hebrew as in Latin, "nihil intendo dicere assertive, seu determinative (31)," "I intend to say nothing [*seu*] determinative," "nisi quantum ad ea quae manifeste determinata sunt per sacram Scripturam vel Ecclesiæ auctoritatem," "unless to the extent that they are determined manifestly through the authority of Sacred Scripture or Church authority." Hugh, of course, manifested both, as well as his name in the figure *sue*.

[18] The *verso* can also be seen in the words "in reverse" which precede the reference to Isaiah 13, which is a very powerful passage predicting the fall of Babylon, and Isaiah 31, which is another very powerful passage describing God's protection of the Jews against the Egyptian and Assyrian. It ends with the placing of Yahweh's *furnace, in Jerusalem* (31:9), a climactic quotation in Bonaventure's *Itinerarium*.

CHAPTER THREE

THE *DECAMERON*

> And so when people extolled the merits of his holiness, he [Francis] commanded one of the friars to do the opposite and to impress upon his ears insulting words. When that friar, although unwilling, called him boorish and mercenary, unskilled and useless, he would reply with inner joy shining on his face: "May the Lord bless you, my beloved son, for it is you that speak the very truth and what the son of Peter Bernardone should hear."
> (*Legenda Maior* VI, 1, 229)[1]

Boccaccio

The allegorist Giovanni Boccaccio knew the traditional four-fold exegetical structure. He employs it in the early books of the *Genealogy of the Gods* (I-XIII) to interpret myths, and he recognizes it as the form of writing common to poetry and theology in *The Life of Dante* (X, 41), pointing to subject matter as the defining element between them, poetry being false, and sometimes against the Christian religion, on the literal level, because poets hide the truth "under many details which seem contrary to it" when they produce fiction (X, 40). In the *Genealogy of the Gods*, he expands his notion of fiction, beginning with Bonaventure's pun on Hugh of St. Victor's name:

> Fabula est exemplaris seu demonstrativa sub figmento locutio, cuius amoto cortice, patet intentio fabulantis. Et sic, si sub velamento fabuloso sapidum comperiatur aliquid, non erit supervacaneum fabulas edidisse. Quarum quatruplicem fore speciem credo; et harum prima omnino veritate caret in cortice,...Secunda autem species in superficie non nunquam veritati fabulosa conmiscet,...Species vero tercia potius hystorie quam fabule similis est. ...Quarta quidem species nil penitus in superficie nec in abscondito veritatis habet, cum sit delirantium vetularum inventio.
> (XIV, 9, 706-7)

> Fiction is a form of discourse, which, under guise of invention, illustrates or proves an idea; and, as its superficial aspect is removed, the meaning of the author is clear. If, then, sense is revealed from under the veil of fiction, the composition of fiction is not idle nonsense. Of fiction I distinguish four kinds: The first superficially lacks all appearance of truth; . . . The second kind at times superficially mingles fiction with truth, . . . The third kind is more like history than fiction, . . . The fourth kind contains no truth at all, either superficial or hidden, since it consists only of old wives' tales.
> (Osgood 202)

The four are indeed the *modi*, presented in reverse order, with a fictive level inserted before the literal level, and the tropological as part of the allegorical level: i. e., anagogical, allegorical, literal (historical), fictive. (The fictive level incorporates a corraborating pun on the name *de Lira* in *delira*.) Boccaccio cites the fable of the trees as evidence in defense of anagogy, later pointing out that theologians have assigned the name "figure" to the fable. He finds evidence for the allegorical in the Old Testament and in the writings of the poets. He points to "the form" Christ used *dum esset in carne* (708), "while he was in the flesh," and the parable *non nulli exemplum dicunt*, "every one said to be an *exemplum*" in defense of the literal (historical); and to a congruence *a nullo*, literally "from nothing" (both *nullo* and *a nullo*), in defense of the fictive, "since it proceeds from no consistent principle." It should be noticed that the pun on *de Lira* is followed by the letters *anti*, "against," which may suggest a negative mode. Hollander has observed that "Boccaccio inherited a long Christian tradition of the same things being capable of antithetic valence, either *in bono* or *in malo* (n. 51, 181)," and has dubbed Boccaccio "the ironic master (*Teseida* 175)."

The *modi* levels are apparent in the stories of the *Decameron*, with the inconsistent fictive level seeming often, but not always, to be crafted as a reversal of the literal level, which may obtain here. The term "nothing," which describes the fourth form of fiction, might also be "something," an *exemplum*, or, more precisely, an *exemplum* of an *exemplum* in a refashioned exegetical structure.

The *Proemio* of Boccaccio's *Decameron* opens with the confession of an *altissimo e nobile amore* (1), "a most high and noble love (1),"[2] that is held *a questo tempo oltre modo* (1), literally, "until this time in another mode." The love is endured

with a *grandissima* difficulty, not caused by the cruelty of his *donna amata*, "lady-love," but by his *mente*, "mind." The figure *donna amata* seems to be a *double entendre* that draws into itself nearby hints. Boccaccio relishes the *double entendre* as McWilliam has noticed in comments on the translation of the *Decameron* (n. 13, 844), as well as the pun, which Hollander points out in his work on the *Teseida* (171). The opening *double entendre* on *donna amata*, who may be Fiammetta, daughter of Robert of Naples, can also be heard as "Don Amato," or "Don *Ameto*," which is significant because the feminine word *donna* would also be serving as the masculine *don*. Don Amato, as an "other," functioning at another *modi* level, could be anyone, including the pilgrim of the *Ameto*, who Bergin sees as *ipse auctor* (141). Several hints, however, beginning with the initial *grandissima* that holds both the signal *grand* of the *Cantico delle creature* and the letter-pun *issima* for Assisi, suggest Francis of Assisi as well. The hints seem to point to Bonaventure and his works, the *Itinerarium* and the *Legenda Maior*, and include *incommutabile* (1), *per avventura* (2), *buona ventura* (2), *maggiore* (2), *Fortuna* (3), and *fortunosi avvenimenti* (3)—the word *fortuna* being a synonym for *bon aventura*. This is not the only instance where Francis may be a hidden referent.

In a section of the *Genealogy of the Gods* that seeks to prove that poets conceal meaning *sub cortice fabularum* (XIV, 10, 709), "beneath the surface of their fictions (204), Boccaccio gives the example of *preclarissimum virum atque christianissimum, Franciscum Petrarcam* (710), "that most distinguished Christian gentleman, Francis Petrarch (205)" whose life he has beheld *omni sanctitate laudabiles*, "so laudable in all sanctity," who wrote *Buccolici*, "bucholic verse," was described as *labentis athomos*, eating "every crumb," and devoting *expendisse tot vigilias, tot sacras meditationes, tot*

horas, dies et annos, "all those watches of the night, all those holy seasons of meditation, all those hours and days and years." Perhaps "beneath the surface" of Francis Petrarch lies a second Francis, who also wrote a ***soluto stilo in libro Solitarie vite***, "prose treatise on the solitary life," that incorporates puns on the figure *sol*. Francis of Assisi, "so laudable in all sanctity," had a vision in which he saved every crumb of bread, and then heard a voice from heaven telling him, "Francis, make one host out of all these crumbs and give it to those who want to eat it (*L. M.* IV, 11, 216)."[3] The section closes with a reference to Petrarch's *De Remediis utriusque Fortune*, "On the Remedies for all Fortunes," and a final series of suggestive words (***delirantem***, ***huiusmodi***, ***modici***) that end in *aut saltem fortune vires ostendere* (711), "or at least show the power of Fortune (205)."

This chapter will seek to pick up the crumbs of bread dropped by Boccaccio, in order to uncover the character of Francis of Assisi, an *exemplum* in the *modi* structure of three *novelli*: first, by identifying him as a positive allegorical referent in the story of Gianni and Restituta (V, 6); second, by noticing him as a *verso* allegorical referent in the story of Frate Cipolla (VI, 10); and finally by uncovering him as a negative/positive referent in the story of Cepparello da Prato (I, 1). It will begin by recognizing the *Decameron* as Boccaccio's gift, written as he says *in cambio di ciò che io ricevetti* (2), "in. . . restitution for what I have received (2)," and by proceeding to the middle of the work to consider a characterization of restitution, Restituta of Ischia.

Gianni and Restituta

The novella of Gianni and beautiful Restituta is found in the very center of the *Decameron*,[4] a significant positioning, as studies by Kirkham (131-171) and Smarr (Chapter on *Decameron*) have shown, and Hollander has attested, "Boccaccio was intensely aware of the precise mid-point of his fictions (*Teseida* 169)." Pampinea tells this story about a pair of *giovani*. When Restituta is captured by *certi giovani ciciliani* (476), "a number of young Sicilians (406)" and given to Federigo *re di Cicilia*, who places her *in certe case bellissime*, "in a sumptuous villa," called La Cuba, Gianni hires a *fregata* and *discorsa* the sea looking for her—after *sappiendo verso*, "having ascertained the direction." Just about to give up hope of seeing her again,

> . . . ma pur, da amore ritenuto, mandatane la fregata, veggendo che da niun conosciuto v'era, si stette; e sovente dalla Cuba passando, gliele venne per ventura veduta un di ad una finestra, ed ella vide lui; di che ciascun fu contento assai. E veggendo Gianni che il luogo era solingo, accostatosi come poté, le parlò, e da lei informato della maniera che a tenere avesse se più dappresso le volesse parlar, si partì, avendo prima per tutto considerata la disposizione del luogo: e aspettata la notte, e di quella lasciata andar buona parte, là se ne tornò, e aggrappatosi per parti che non vi si sarebbono appiccati i picchi, nel giardin se n'entrò, e in quello trovata una antennetta, alla finestra dalla giovane insegnatagli l'appoggiò, e per quella assai leggiermente se ne salì. La giovane, parendole il suo onore avere omai perduto, per la guardia del quale ella gli era alquanto nel passato stata salvatichetta, pensando a niuna persona più degnamente che a costui potersi donare e avvisando di poterlo inducere a portarla via, seco aveva preso di compiacergli in ogni suo disidero, e perciò aveva la finestra lasciata aperta, acciò che egli prestamente dentro potesse passare.
>
> (477)

> . . . nevertheless, sustained by Love, he sent away the frigate and remained [there], for it was clear that nobody in those parts knew who he was. He frequently walked past La Cuba, and one day, to the great joy both of himself and the girl, they caught sight of each other as she was standing at a window. Seeing that the street was deserted, Gianni got as near to her as he could manage, spoke to her, and was told by the girl of the means he would have to adopt if he wanted to talk to her in greater privacy. He then went away, having first surveyed with care the surrounding area. Biding his time till long after darkness had fallen, he returned to the spot, and by climbing over a wall that would not have afforded a perch to a woodpecker, he made his way into the garden. There he found a long pole, and having, in accordance with the girl's instructions, propped it against a window, he hauled himself up to it without any trouble.
>
> Feeling that her honor was by now as good as lost, the girl, who in the past had

> treated him rather cruelly in her determination to preserve it, had made up her mind to gratify his every desire, for she could think of no man who had a greater right to possess her, and moreover she was hopeful of persuading him to effect her release; she had therefore left the window open, to ensure that he had immediate access to her. (407)

The King discovers them in each other's arms and, *in tanta ira*, "in great anger," orders them to stand naked at *un palo*, "a stake," in the *piazza*. The *sventurati amanti*, "happless lovers," are assisted by Ruggier de Loria who, moving *più verso*, "a little nearer," turns the lovers face to face, and then asks the King: *di che t'hanno offeso i due giovani li quali laggiù nella piazza hai comandato che arsi sieno?* (480) "What injury have you suffered from the two young people you have sentenced to be burnt down there in the square? (410)," and reminds him that *cosi i benefici meritan guiderdone*, "good deeds require a reward." Finally, after the words *color sieno*, de Loria (de Lira?) recites the pedigrees of the *giovani*, and reminds the King how unwise it is *de ll'ira transportare*, to "be carried away by your anger."

The novella seems to be *dell'ira transportare*, "carried away by de Lira," or at least by the *modi* of the famous couplet by which he became known, and appears to be a multi-level structure of allegory that rests primarily on the polyvalence of Gianni and Restituta, and secondarily on that of the King, La Cuba, de Loria and the *palo*. The *giovani* Gianni and Restituta carry the broad outline of the account of Francis' act of restitution to his angry father in the *piazza* of Assisi. Indications that support this allegorical rendering include the following:

- the location in the *piazza*,
- Gianni's search for Restituta, which begins *dalla Minerva* (476), the name of the first century Corinthian style Temple of Minerva in the *piazza* at Assisi,
- the name Gianni, the word *giovani*, and the figure *benefici meritan guiderdone* which might identify Giovanni di Pietro di Bernardone, Francis' given name,

- the allegorical figure Restituta, which names the act of restitution to his father which Francis was making, and her later imprisonment in La Cuba, which might be a description of the Portiuncula,
- the description of Gianni's literally naked body with Restituta's figurative one, which recalls Francis' stripping naked as he made restitution,
- the wealthy Federigo di Cicilia in anger, who resembles the rich father Pietro di Bernadone in anger,
- the rescuing character de Loria, an analog for the rescuing Bishop Guido I, also included in the figure *guiderdone*,
- the place name Assisi apparent in the figures *arsi si* (478), *che arsi sieno* (480), *certi giovani ciciliani* (477), *re di Cicilia, in certe case bellissime, assai*, which subvert the named location of Palermo,
- the appearance of several forms of *guard*, particularly *la guardia*, "the guardian," which suggest Francis' title of Guardian within the Order of Friars Minor,
- and the *palo* as a figure of the cross of poverty which Francis was assuming at that moment.

Taken together, these hints point to "*giovani Bene/done* naked in the *piazza* of *Arsi/si* making restitution to an angry rich man and rescued by *Guid/o*" as an allegorical interpretation.

A more subtle series of figures in the novella links Francis to Bonaventure, the biographer who described the scene of restitution in the *piazza*, and to the work in which it was described. They include the following:

- the rescue from burning: the *Legenda Maior* was approved as the definitive text of Francis' life in 1263, and in 1266, "was prescribed as the only canonical, definitive, and exclusive text, with the order that all earlier biographies be burned (Habig 615)," and so was the only *Vita* rescued from burning,
- the name Gianni, the word *giovani*, the figures *buona* and *ventura*, as well as the figure *bono a*, and *benefici*, which might identify Giovanni Fidanza, Bonaventure's given name,
- the figures *sventurati amanti* and *due giovani* (Francis and Bonaventure),
- the setting of the word *prima* near to the figure *bono parte*, the setting of the word *prima* within a context of surveyal, Gianni's words *la mia vita* (480), and finally the inclusion of the word *maggior* in a statement about the embrase of the greatest love--all hint at the First Part of the first *Vita* of Bonaventure known as the *Legenda Maior*, which includes the story of Francis' restitution,
- the story of Gianni's entrance by *una finestra*, which recalls Bonaventure's account of one of Francis' miracles that occurred when Giovanni of Lerida, whose arm had been cut off, recovered after he prayed to Francis, and "a man dressed in the habit of the Friars Minor entered by the window and stood beside him," assuring him that "God will save you (Habig 750),"
- and the figure of *un palo* as a suggestion of Bonaventure's statement that "If you want to understand Paul; you must put on the heart of Paul (622)."

These indications of Bonaventure's presence within the text, coupled with an insistence on *i due giovani*, could posit a second allegorical interpretation that would cast Bonaventure and the text of Francis as Gianni and Restituta, since the text might be seen as a restitution of Francis' *Vita* rescued from the flames. La Cuba could be imagined as the codex that encloses the textual restitution although there is no suggestion for this, and the rescuing friend might be Francis himself, as he was the rescuer in the miracle story.

If Gianni and Restituta are allegorically presented as Francis making his public restitution in the first instance, and Bonaventure and the *Legenda Maior* in the second, then a third interpretation is possible drawn from traces of another Bonaventure work: Giovanni Boccaccio and the *Itinerarium*. Indications that the author might have assigned such a role to himself include the following:

- the word *strabocchevoli*, "excessive (475)," in the introduction, juxtaposed to *che*,
- the *offeso i due giovani*, which may be that there are three,
- the word *certe* applied to the *giovani ciciliani*, perhaps because another Giovanni is one of the *certaldese*,
- and the *palo* (perhaps a visual pun for Certaldo) that would include Boccaccio in the *piazza*.

and traces of the *Itinerarium*, however slight, are four:

- the presence of traces of the title *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum* joined to **la** at the very end of the story: in the word *intera la*, and *mentis* and *in* in the series *onorevolmente*, *consentimento*, and *lungamente in...in...insieme*,
- a suggestion of the seraph's wings at the meeting of Gianni and Restituta where a plethora of *alla* figures surround the window and the phrase *per tutto considerata la disposizione del luogo*, leading to Restituta's important act of leaving the window open: *aveva la finestra lasciata aperta*,
- the word *compensare* (481), a synonym for *restituta*, that holds the figure *pen* within it [the importance of the figure *pen* will be considered in the story of Frate Cipolla],
- an emphasis on Love coupled with a hint to the exegetical structure found in a pun on the name de Lira repeated (backwards) as the reason "that brought [Gianni] to such a pass," explained as *Amore, e l'ira del re*.

This tenuous allegorical reading seems to continue a trend toward reduction begun in the move from the act of restitution to the text about the act, and from the text to the word and figure.

There are two more levels to the *modi* construct of this novella. The tropological understanding of the soul's resolve to make restitution for sin, seems to be carried in the *verso* by Restituta as Christ and Gianni as man. This is indicated by Restituta's stop *in Calavria pervenuti* (476), where Christ was naked (hear *nudi*) on the cross, and by the expression *assai cruccioso* (478) which later describe the King's emotions. The soul views its God as *di* in a *double entendre* at first sighting *un di ad una finestra* of La Cuba, which might be the tabernacle, because it is there that Gianni holds Restituta in his arms (hands?). The King *di Cicilia* sees them and is angry (in *verso* delighted), and they are offered in public (almost aflame with love). They are (not) rescued, an inverse, which is indicated by de Loria's "moving *più verso* (479)." Many of the figures of this level must be cast in *verso* in order to achieve congruence,[5] which, since this is the moral level, has the effect of radically secularizing the *novella*.

The story approaches its anagogical responsibility through the *speres* of Nicolas de Lira. When the King regards the sleeping lovers, he says of Restituta, "Che ti par di questa rea femina, in cui io già la mia speranza aveva posta? (478)," "What do you think of this shameless hussy, in whom I once reposed my hopes (408)?" The inverse hussy *femina* is a man. In the first instance she is Restituta as Christ; but in the second, she is the author to whom Boccaccio is responding intertextually and stylistically, and whom he encapsulates as [*ä*] *la mia speranza*, "my hope," again working *in verso*, because "hope"

must be turned to "faith" in order to craft "my Fidanza" right next to the feathers of a wing.

The artistic Restituta of the anagogical level seems to be inversion, a stylistic characteristic necessary for the crafting of multiple levels of allegory into a cube, but the absence of the "eternal" as the essence of the fourth mode again moves the work away from the moral and toward the secular.

In summary, the story of Gianni and Restituta seems to be an allegory that offers the outline of Francis and Restituta in the *piazza* before the Temple of Minerva in Assisi as the first level, and adds two successive levels of allegory that include Bonaventure and his *Legenda Maior* and Boccaccio's reincorporation of Bonaventure's *Itinerarium*. The structure also holds the tropological presentation of Gianni's search for Restituta (Christ) and the anagogically aesthetic level of inversion.

From an allegory of Francis, we turn our attention to a reverse allegory of Francis found in the character of Frate Cipolla, the mendacious friar of the Florentine countryside who, rather than giving alms to the poor, fraudulently takes money from them.

Frate Cipolla

The *novella* of Frate Cipolla, told by Dioneo, is the last story of the sixth day. In it, a fast-talking Friar Onion neatly turns the tables on *due giovani* who try to trick him in front of the people of Certaldo. The friar has been sent by his superior to collect alms, which he usually does by preaching and accepting donations for the privilege of seeing a relic which he advertises a few hours ahead of time—this time a feather from the angel Gabriel. The two *giovani* steal the feather and replace it with coal, which the friar only discovers at the climactic moment when he opens the relic box in front of the assembled citizenry. His cover-up narrative is masterful: he tells of a pilgrimage to the Holy Land where he was given several relics, including the feather and coal from the roasting of St. Lawrence that he keeps in similar boxes. He has inadvertently taken the wrong box, he says, convincing the people to line up, as he uses the coal to mark them with the sign of the cross.

Jonathan Usher has argued that this story offers a comic view of the *sermo modernus*, a late Middle Ages form of religious rhetoric that communicated *per similitudines*. He sees this type of rhetoric in tension with its "*written* subtext," with the result that the audience is conscious of a discrepancy between "what [the speaker] says and what has been written . . . in spiritual texts (324)." He continues:

> Indeed, the very art of *double entendre* which Cipolla so ably demonstrates is but an extreme example of the model of religious discourse, with its insistence on polysemy and its reliance on parable distinctions between literal, allegorical and anagogical. What is different (and this is fundamental) is that *normal* religious utterance works by starting out from an uncontested terrestrial truth and tries to extrapolate or extract higher or more difficult spiritual meanings. Cipolla, on the other hand, so exercises his listeners with his *dilatatio* that their real task is to try to establish, behind the spiritualistic suggestion, a possible literal level or levels of meaning.
>
> (329)

For Usher, Cipolla's *sermo* is not the literal level. Grounded as it is in falsehood, this *sermo* needs to have its fiction redefined in order for the "uncontested terrestrial truth" to be revealed. He cites "Cipolla's reversal of literal and allegorical polysemy," which seems to strike at the heart of the matter. The friar's mendacious discourse—and indeed his character—stands in opposition to a spiritually beneficial subtext, as an allegorical complement in opposition to its literal referent, which I believe is Francis,[6] and several allegorical formulations, including Bonaventure. Let us test this hypothesis by sketching the broad outline of the character Frate Cipolla and constructing a negative persona as a "metatextual proposition," to use Umberto Eco's terminology (16):

> The friar of St. Anthony goes to Certaldo, famous for producing onions, to collect alms for his superior. He receives a warm welcome due to his name. The friar is a small man, with red hair and a merry face (*lieto nel viso*), very sociable and illiterate, but a great rhetorician (*gran retorico*). He is a friend to all. One Sunday in August, with everyone at Mass, he preaches.

Noting that Dioneo introduces the *novella* by assuring the *donne* that he will not depart from the topic that they *tutte avete assai acconsiamente parlato* (556), "all have spoken so appositely (469)," and recalling that in the story of Gianni and Restituta, the word *certi* is associated with Assisi by way of the phrase *certi giovani ciciliani*, let us propose Assisi as a tentative complemetary opposite for Certaldo, and the Order of Friars Minor for the Friars of St. Anthony:[7]

> The friar of the Order of Friars Minor lived in Assisi, *produca cipolle famose*, where he gave alms. He was unwelcome there due to his name.

The friar's complementary name might be "Capolla," a rank heard within the pun *produca cipolle* (556), which suggests the leadership names *duc*, "leader," and *capo*,[8] "head," and contrasts with the *baron messer Santo Antonio*. Francis was the "head" of the Order of Friars Minor. Rather than come to Assisi from somewhere else, Francis lived there[9] in the town famous--not for onions, but for olives and also for reliquary

boxes.[10] He was once unwelcome there due to his name, Bernardone.[11] Instead of collecting alms from the well-to-do, he gave alms to the poor.[12] His complementary description might be as follows:

> He was a person of average size, with black hair, and sorrow in his *viso*, no longer overly sociable; literate, and a *grande* poet. He was a lover of God.

Although Francis was called a poverello, "a little poor man," it was in reference to his humility of spirit. Bonaventure makes no reference to his physical size, but Celano reports him to be average in stature.[13] He had black hair, not red,[14] and sorrow in his—here is a pun: *visio*, "vision," for *viso*, perhaps an allusion to the vision at LaVerna. Although sociable as a youth,[15] he was of sober disposition,[16] and often retreated from the world for prayer.[17] Capable of composing fine poetry like the *Cantico delle Creature*,[18] he was a *grande* poet (i. e., a poet who highlighted the word *grande* in the *Cantico*), but also the opposite, "a humble poet." He was known to have given simple,[19] unpretentious sermons.[20] He was not just amiable; he ardently loved Christ and his fellow man.[21] The opening presentation and description of Friar Onion might be regarded as the brownish outer layer of an onion, a negative characterization, which encloses a white layer beneath it.

After the description, Dioneo suggests a "second" Francis-like person by means of a series of textual hints that begin with the pun *secondo la sua usanza* (557), "during one of his regular annual visits (470)," which includes an abbreviation of Bonaventure's name, Fidanza. This is followed by the words *buoni, innanzi* and *usanza è di*, all of which are in accord with the *novella*'s opening description of Certaldo as having *buona pastura*. *Bonaventura* may have become a second complementary opposite for Cipolla.

A "triplex" Friar Onion preaches at Mass one Sunday in August. His persona Francis prays on Mount LaVerna in September, on the occasion of the stigmata, as reported by Bonaventure (XIII, 1-3, 729). The opposition of praying and preaching was of great concern to Francis. Bonaventure records at length Francis' juxtaposing of the two:

> "What do you think, brothers, what do you judge better? That I should spend my time in prayer, or that I should go about preaching? I am a poor little man, simple and *unskilled in speech*; I have received a greater grace of prayer than of apeaking." (XII, 1, 291)[22]

While the first persona prays, the second persona, Bonaventure, writes—especially in September, on Mount LaVerna, on the occasion of the composition of the *Itinerarium*. The opposition of preaching and writing was characteristic of Bonaventure, since he did both with great skill. The actions of both Francis and Bonaventure are done in silence, which may be the true complement to Cipolla's speech.

Cipolla speaks briefly in the guise of Bonaventure:

> He reminds the people that they should give so that St. Anthony will bless their animals,

which seems to infer Francis, rather than Anthony as Vittore Branca suggests (n. 19, 1067), because it includes the words *vi sia guardia*, perhaps "visi [l]a Guardia," "see the Guardian," a title shared by both Francis and Bonaventure. In the *Legenda Maior*, Bonaventure reports many incidents of Francis' special relationship to animals.

At this point in the preaching, Cipolla's words suggest a third formulation within the phrase *e oltre a ciò*, "and besides that," that contains the small signal *tre* for *terza* and the emblematic word *ciò*. The figure "three," positioned as it is just before the words *a ciò*, might stand for the three letters *B*, *o*, and *c* that begin the name Boccaccio and balance the three letters that end it.[23] This back-end abbreviation *ciò* first appears as an emblem in Dioneo's introduction, accompanied by the disclaimer *oggi io non intendo*, "I

do not intend," (within is a pun: Giiononi for Giovanni), which holds its own reversal as "Giovanni intends." The pun is followed by the phrase *perché io, per ben dire la novella compiuta* . . . (556), "and if I . . .to tell the whole story as it should be told . . . (469)," which implicates *io* in the pun "per che *iò*" while suggesting "per ciò." The phrase *e per ciò* in the next sentence seems to be a confirmation of the letter computation of his name, particularly as it is set in a narratological discussion; and a later formulation. *le sue bisacce, per ciò* (559), "his saddlebags which (472)," also suggests it. In this abstract way, the author might be inserting himself as the third in the list.

Cipolla's persona Boccacio preaches in *verso*. He urges those in the company to pay/receive their *debito* (here is a pun: *de [a]bito* for "habit")[24] which things he is to collect/give *dal mio maggiore*, "from my Superior,"(here is a pun: *maggiore* for *Legenda Maior*), which may also identify both Francis and Bonaventure as the Superior. Is Boccaccio implying that, like the other Giovanni, he has a habit and a Superior?[25]

Cipolla says that his Superior, *messer l'abate*, has sent him (*stato manda to, e per ciò*), and when they hear (*quando udirete*) the sound of the bells, they should come to the church. Although the textual hints have become increasingly abstract, the careful eye can find the "fourth" (*qua*[rta]) name "Dante" twice and a fragment that indicates that he is also Cipolla's "superior." This is very slim evidence, and can only be discovered after Francis has been perceived as Cipolla's opposite, Bonaventure noticed as a concealed analog, and [Bocca]*ciò* computed, because only then does it become clear that this is a catalogue of authorial referents. In addition, as he states in the *The Life of Dante* (34), Boccaccio was known to have considered Dante to be worthy of the title "poet laureate" which he never received (Rossi), and therefore might have been thought of by Boccaccio

as his "superior." As we have noted, Dante may have been a Third Order Franciscan, which might also make this a very tenuous roster of Franciscans, all deserving the name "friar," which is explained in the story of the married Friar Puccio (III, 4) who, *si fece bizzoco di quegli di san Francesco, e fu chiamato frate Puccio* (256), "on reaching a certain age, became a tertiary in the Franciscan Order, assuming the name of Friar Puccio (216)." The distant pun on ***bizzoco . . .Puccio*** notwithstanding.

The quintiplex Cipolla promises that *per ciò*, Boccaccio, with the blessing of *Dio*[neo],[26]

> ...he will preach ***al modo usato***; the people will kiss ***la croce***, and he will show them the ***bella reliquia, la***...which is *una penne dello agnolo Gabriello* (557-8).

The reversal changes the tense to past,

> ...he has written *a la modi*; the people were kissed by the cross, and he showed the beautiful relic *a la*...as a feather of the angel Gabriel;

so that the author is saying that he has written an exegetical structure, where the people were kissed (marked) by the cross, and used *a la*, a French term of analogy, to make a "wing" into a "feather."

And through Boccaccio, the Bonaventure persona, with the blessing of *Dio*,

> ...has written an *ala modi*; a person (Francis) was "kissed" by the cross; and he showed the beautiful relic *ala*...which was the wing of the Seraph.

The interpretation of the wing of the Seraph is made possible by the opposition of the angel and Christ (before his birth, at the Annunciation) to the angel and Christ (after his death, on Mount LaVerna).

The Dante persona, with the blessing of *Dio*,

> ...has written the *ala modi*; a person (the reader) was kissed by the cross; and he showed the beautiful relic *ala*...which was "the bird of God."

In Canto XV of the *Paradiso*, Dante speaks to one of the stars, a topaz that detaches itself from the constellation of stars in the Heaven of Mars. The stars are arranged in the shape of a cross, and this one, ***che parve foco dietro ad alabastro*** (24, 419), "like a flame behind an alabaster screen (186)," is the soul of Cacciaguida, Dante's great great-grandfather, who also seems to represent Bonaventure, because he shows Dante *i cantor del cielo artista* (XVIII, 51, 507), "his art of heavenly minstrelsy (215)" which becomes evident in the sixth planet's letter *M*, the eagle. Like Bonaventure's Seraph, the eagle seems to be an analog for multivalence. First encountered as *l'uccel di Dio* (VI, 4, 160), "the bird of God (97)," the eagle sets in progress a series of analogous transformations: *e sotto l'ombra de le sacre penne/governò 'l mondo lì di mano in mano,/ e, sì cangiando, in su la mia pervenne.* (7-9, 160), "Thence ruled the world, as line succeeded line/Under the sacred wings' o'ershadowing span,/ And passed from hand to hand to light on mine (97)," becoming ***al sacrosanto segno*** (32, 164), "emblem sacrosanct (98)," ***la soccorse*** (96, 174), "the winged triumph (100)," ***questa picciola stella*** (112, 176), "this little star (100)," and ***a la presente margarita*** (127, 178), "in this self-same pearl (101)." According to Cacciaguida, Beatrice has given Dante *l'alto volo ti vestì le piume* (XV, 54, 424), "wings to soar to such a height" (187):

> Tu credi che a me tuo pensier mei
> Da quel ch'è primo, cosi come raia
> Da l'un, se si conosce, il cinque e 'l sei;
> (55-6, 424)

> Thy thought flows into mine, thou deemest, clear
> From the First Thought, as (once we've grasped it) flow
> The five and six from the first integer.
> (187)

The eagle, a metaphor that Bonaventure reports was applied to Francis' theology,[27] also seems to represent Bonaventure's Seraph, appearing ***dinanzi a me con l'ali aperte/ la***

bella image (1-2, 527), "grandly before me, with its wings displayed,/ the image . . . (224)." It speaks--more precisely, Dante *udi' parlar lo rostro* (10, 528), "heard the beak discourse (224)," which *non portò voce mai, né scrisse incostro* (8), "n'er with ink/Written, nor told in speech." This last statement needs to be read three ways: first as the author's claim of discovery; second, as a concrete presentation of the wing *ala* speaking within the text; and third, in *verso*, as a literal identification of an event best told by the next persona.

The Francis persona, with the *Benedizion di Leo[ne]*,

> ...has prayed to *Alla* simply, was spoken to by the cross; and showed the beautiful relic *Alla*...which had the wings of a Seraph;

but also

> ...has written *a la modi*; a person (Brother Leo) was kissed by the *tau* cross; and he showed the beautiful relic *a la* [*tau*]...which was the feather (pen) of Francis.

The relationship between the *Benedizion* for Brother Leo and the Seraph can be found on the reverse side of Francis' *Praises*, which he autographed for Brother Leo with words of personal blessing and a *tau* signature in between the letters of the name *Leo*.[28] In the upper margin of this page is a notation in red ink. Written by Brother Leo, the notation is probably the oldest and most accurate record of the stigmata, because Brother Leo is the friar most likely to have accompanied Francis on the LaVerna retreat. After recording the place and time of year, he wrote:

> And the hand of the Lord was laid upon him; after the vision and speech of the Seraph and the impression of the stigmata of Christ in his body, he made and wrote with his own hand the *Praises* written on the other side of this sheet, giving thanks to the Lord for the benefits conferred upon him.
>
> (Habig 124)[29]

The account is remarkable because it says that the Seraph spoke to Francis. Neither Celano nor Bonaventure report this. Dante seem to have been the first to discover it, and, Boccaccio alludes to the discovery in the phrase *e bella reliquia, la quale io medesimo*,

"the beautiful relic, which I myself," that contains a deformed copy of *Leto*, the way Francis signed the *tau* within Brother Leo's name on the *Benedizion*. The letter *i*, just a fragment of the letter *t*, is a relic; and since it is a significant clue to the Seraph's speech, Boccaccio precedes it with the phrase that introduces his own exegetical level, *oltre a ciò*, the mention of a kiss, and three *t*'s suggestive of the missing letter *t*: *e bascerete la croce; e oltre a ciò, per ciò che divotissimi tutti*. . . (557), "and kiss the cross. But in addition to this, since I know how deeply devoted you all are. . . (470);" and he follows it with a suggestion that the relic *quale io* came from Dante, because he says he received it *dalle sante terre*, from . . .the Holy Land." This last identifies the author (Dante) and the spot in the text of the *Divina Commedia* where the discovery was made (*terre*), because the eagle says:

> ...Per esser giusto e pio
> son io qui essaltato a quella gloria
> che non si lascia vincere a disio;
>
> e in terra lasciai la mia memoria
> si fatta, che le genti li malvage
> commendan lei, ma non siguon la storia.
>
> Cosi un sol calor di molte brage...
> (XIX, 13-19)

> ...Justice and piety
> Raised me up here, where no desire of glory
> Can e'er outrun the great reality
>
> 'Twas mine to leave, in every territory,
> Such a memorial as base men are bound
> To praise, though they continue not the story.
>
> As many coals are felt to shed all round
> One glow of heat...
> (224)

The words *in terra lasciai la*, heard as "inter alas sci Aila," or "between the wings know Alla," a punning reflexive construction that refers to Bonaventure's Francis and the

Seraph, collapsing the word *Itinerarium* into *in terra*. This is Dante's memorial, but he does not continue *la storia*, choosing to replace it with the metaphor of coals.

In this opening sermon, Frair Onion peels his outer skin to reveal (1) an underskin as Francis, and numbered inner layers as (2) *secondo la sua usanza* (Bonaventure), (3) *oltre a ciò* (Boccaccio), and (4) *quando udirete* (Dante). The character will carry these layers with him as the narration continues:

> While the friar is having a hearty breakfast with a friend, *due giovani* take out the feather and put in coals. The friar takes a nap, rising after nones.

Cipolla's feather (*ala*) is taken by two *giovani*. It is, we learn, a *pappagallo* feather, perhaps a polysemous pun because Pappa Gallo could be Father Francis, the Parisian scholar Father Bonaventure, or even the bastard son of a Parisian woman and a bachelor from Certaldo, Boccaccio del fu Chellino (MacManus 22)[30] who wrote in French. But in *verso*, the Giovanni put in the feather (*ala*) and removed the coals:

> While he was fasting alone, *giovani* took out the coals and put in a *pappagallo* feather (*Alla*). The friar got little sleep, rising before matins.

The coals might stand for many things, among them the fire of Francis' love *quasi carbo ignitus* (*L. M.* IX, 1, 530), "like a glowing coal (262)," Bonaventure's love (*car boni*), and the figures *o*. In the *Paradiso*, however, the speech of the eagle/Seraph is immediately followed by the simile of coals that are combined with the *sol* pun: *Così un sol calor di molte brage/si fa sentir, come di molti amori/usciva solo un suon di quella image* (529), "As many coals are felt to shed all round/One glow of heat, so from that image went,/Blended of many loves, a single sound. (XIX, 19-21)." By the juxtaposition of this simile, Dante has made the coals both a pictogramic relic of the *sol* and an analog for the wings of the Seraph. Boccaccio recognizes this because the coals are found *in un*

canto della camera (561), "a corner of the room (473)," which contains the exact address XIX, 19 in *n un* which holds the suggestion of *nona*, 9, and the sound of "1."

At this point the story moves to the complex character of Guccio. Although it is not within the scope of this paper to investigate the many levels of Guccio, it would be useful to point out that he is in the radical negative, and that on the topic of his deficiencies, silence is recommended. Of his activities, one is remarkable: he promises Nuta to *ridurla in isperanza di miglior fortuna, e altre cose assai*, "give her something to look forward to at any rate (472)," which encloses "f/id/anza" and the suggestion of Assisi that has been previously noticed, with the word *fortuna*, a synonym for *bona ventura*. Returning to Cipolla, now incorporating the personae of Francis, Bonaventure, Boccaccio and Dante:

> He harangues his audience, and recites the *Confiteor*.
> Discovering the theft of the *pappagallo* feather, he closes the *cassetta*,
> and turns to the people with his fiction.

This might be converted to

> He was silent, and prayed the *Our Father*.[31]
> Having discovered the presence of the feather (*Alla*), he opened *a la cassetta, e al*
> and turned from the people to the quiet Truth.

All the Giovanni's[32] were silent, prayed the *Pater noster*, discovered *Alla*, and opened the *cassetta* (reliquary, book, coffer, casement window/*casa*, casket) and turned from the people to quiet Truth.

Meanwhile, Cipolla relates his pilgrimage to the Holy Land, the place where the Franciscan *abito* can be found protecting the holy places.[33] It is clearly a humorous non-pilgrimage that Branca has shown includes the neighborhoods of Florence (1069-1070). This journey seems to be the other side of Francis' pilgrimage to Rome to receive permission from Pope Innocent III to establish his order. The stop in *terra di Menzogna*,

"the land of Falsehood," where *trouvai assai* of our friars and of other religious orders "all of whom were forsaking a life of discomfort for the love of God . . . (474)," is significant because in *verso* it aligns the Truth with friars who espouse a life of discomfort, like Francis, as it whispers Assisi. It also may be connected to Bonaventure's account of two friars from Terra di Lavoro, one of whom Francis instructed to «*Cave, Frater, ne sub humilitatis specie mentiaris; . . .*» (*L. M.* XI, 13, 538), "Be careful, brother, not to tell a lie under the pretext of humility (289)."

After the arrival in Jerusalem (Rome), the connection to St. Anthony develops from an account of Francis' meeting with Pope Innocent III. The Holy Father was walking in the Mirror Hall of the Lateran palace when Francis was presented to him. Knowing nothing about the saint, the Holy Father dismissed him. The next morning, after a vision, *et mane sequenti mandavit per suos famulos per Urbem dictum pauperem quaeri. Quem inventum iuxta Lateranum in hospitali sancti Antonii, ante conspectum suum celeriter iussit adduci. Cumque* (*L. M.* III, 9, n. 2, 512), "he commanded his servants to search the city for the poor man. When they found him near the Lateran at St. Anthony's hospice, he ordered him brought to his presence without delay (204)."[34] The answer Francis received in the Mirror Hall stands in opposition to the answer the Pope gave to "the friar of St. Anthony" the next day—like a reversed reflection.

The many relics of the Holy Land are shown to Cipolla by a *venerabile padre messer* with a silly French name (not unlike the Italian *pappagallo*), who in reverence for his habit, shows more of all *le sante reliquie* than he can *contare*, "count," with a pun on *contrare*. The relics seem to be references. They begin *a capo* (perhaps from Francis), and may include Bonaventure's *Itinerarium* and Boccaccio's Restituta. They are literally

disturbing, which is probably the reason that the Council of Trent condemned this story (Lee 181). From the *Itinerarium* comes the relic of *il ciuffetto del Serafino che apparve a San Francesco* (564), "a forelock of the Seraph that appeared to Saint Francis," and the relic of *una dell'unghie de' Gherubini*, "one of the fingernails of the Cherubim." From the *novella* of Restituta can be found the relic of *una delle coste del Verbum-Caro-fatti-alle-finestre*, "one of the sides of the Word-Made-Flesh at the window," perhaps a suggestion of the figure *al* beside Restituta's window, and the relic of *il dito dello Spirito Santo cosi intero e saldo come fu mai*, "the finger of the Holy Ghost as straight and firm as it ever was," with Restituta's forms *di* and *palo* enclosed within it.

One relic, one of the *zoccoli* of the hermit Saint Gherardo da Villamagna (Butler II, 378), is not only Franciscan, because Gherardo was one of the earliest followers of Francis (McWilliam 844), but also Observant, because they were known as the Zoccolanti (Cuthbert III, 320). The relic was passed on to Gherardo di Bonsi, perhaps a pun on Bonaventure's word *si*, which has been noticed at the important mention of *fictio* in the *Itinerarium*.

Cipolla concludes his sermon with a wonderful display of narrative dexterity: he promises that whoever is touched by the *carboni* in the sign of the cross can live assured for a year that *fuoco nol cocerà che non si senta* (565), "he will never be touched by fire without getting burnt (476)," an obvious truth made to sound like a unique miracle. The sermon having ended, Cipolla as Francis alone returns in *verso*, a balance to the beginning of the *novella*:

> The friar sings a *laude* of St. Lawrence, opens the *cassetta* and shows *i carboni*. He takes the coal in his hand and marks crosses on the people's clothing, including the *veli delle donne*, until he had crossed the Certaldesi. His feather is returned.

> The friar wrote the *lauda* of Creatures, closed the *cassetta* and showed his *penne* (feather pen). He took the feather in his hand and marked a cross (the tau) on the people's brows, including the [here is a pun: *veli* for the Latin *velli*, writing parchment] of the *don* [Brother Leo], until he had crossed the people of Assisi. His coals were returned.

Hollander has pointed out that *penne* could mean both "feather" and "writing instrument ("Boccaccio's Dante" 194-5). Since Francis is believed to have written the second part of the *Cantico della Creature* to reconcile the people of Assisi who were in a dispute (Habig 128-9), the inference here might be that his signature *tau*,[35] written into the *t*'s of the *Cantico* unified the people of Assisi. The *tau* is in a reliquary in the Basilica of San Francesco, and, like the body of Francis that lies in a *cassetta*, "casket (473)," at San Francesco, is one of Assisi's relics. Brother Leo wrote the following: *Et simili modo fecit istud signum Thau cum capite manu sua* (*Benedizione* 4), "In a like manner he made this sign *Tau* together with the head in his own hand (Habig 124)." The head, a capital letter *o*, but here *capite*, is a sign of Francis (the *capo*), and the story concludes with Cipolla's request to the *figliuoli benedetto*, "blessed sons," to *trarretevi i cappucci*, "remove the *capuche*," the Franciscan friar's hood, a request made by Francis to a disobedient friar (2 Celano II, CXIV, 154, 486), which would reveal the head and its tonsure, a pair of *o*'s.

In summary, the picture of Cipolla in reverse seems to touch upon the life of Francis: his description, his visit to LaVerna, the Seraph's conversation, the composition of the *Cantico delle Creature*, and his autographing of the *Benedizion*. It seems to incorporate Francis's major biographer, Bonaventure, the author, Boccaccio, and the author's "superior," Dante. The pilgrimage Cipolla relates seems to touche the Franciscan domain and the *Legenda Maior*; and the relics that are described may give evidence of intertextuality with the *Itinerarium* and the *novella* of Gianni and Restituta.

In the fictive story of Frate Cipolla the reader seems to be allowed to see just enough of the "other" to be able to surmise his identity, and, assisted by punning clues, to be able to move to concurrent levels that infer the presence of parallel allegorical personae. The resulting complexified character and the tale he tells is not only the substance of the novella—so the complexification yields a fecundity of words, but its complexity appeals to the curiosity of the reader, drawing him/her into the mystery of its manifold depths made outwardly attractive by the *verso* and inwardly rich by associations to the personae. This multi-layered structuring of characters and events can be seen throughout the *Decameron*.

LaVerna

Dioneo's story of Friar Cipolla is interpenetrated by and framed by silence. When Cipolla first advertises his *bella reliquia, la* as a feather, but before the feather is stolen, there is an immediate silence: *si tacque e ritornossi alla messa* (558), "he ended his homily [literally "was silent"] and returned to the Mass (470)." The silence is set between the relic *ala* and its re-presentation as *alla* (also *Alla* next to *messa*). When Guccio's "little silences" are described, they are *taccherelle con queste, che si taccion per lo migliore* (559), "foibles, that are best passed over in silence (471)," which is what we have done in this study.

The frame presents silence in the beginning, and again near the end. The narrative voice says that Dioneo *imposto silenzio* (556) on the *brigata* who had been discussing the climactic moment of the previous story that depended on an understanding of the word *casa*, "house," as "tomb" (554), an interesting prelude to Dioneo's own presentation which centers the word *cassetta*, "reliquary" and also "casket." Dioneo asks for silence so that he can speak.

Near the end of the frame discussion, Dioneo discusses speech and the absence of speech in a lengthy response that underscores the high moral character of the *brigata*, and offers aural and visual hints of Assisi and Bonaventure:

> "Oltre a questo la nostra brigata, dal primo dì infino a questa ora stata onestissima, per cosa che detta **ciaisia** non mi pare che in atto alcuno **sisia** maculata né si maculerà con lo aiuto di Dio. Appresso, chi è colui che non conosca la vostra onestà? La quale non che i ragionamenti sollazzevoli, ma il terrore dilla morte non credo che potesse smagare. E a dirvi il vero, chi sapesse che voi vi cessaste da queste ciance ragionare alcuna colta, forse suspicherebbe che voi in ciò non foste colpevoli, e per ciò ragionare non ne voleste. Senza che voi mi fareste un bello onore, essendo io stato ubbidente a tutti, e ora avendomi vostro re fatto, mi voleste la legge porre in mano, e di quello non dire che io avessi imposto. Lasciate adunque questa suspizione più atta a' cattivi animi che a' vostri, e con **la buona ventura** pensi ciascuna di dirla bella."
> (568)

> 'Besides, it seems to me that this company of ours has comported itself impeccably from the first day to this, despite all that we have heard, and with God's help it will continue to do so. Furthermore, everybody knows that you are all highly virtuous, and I doubt whether even the fear of dying could make you any less so, to say nothing of a little pleasurable discourse.
>
> 'But the real point is this, that if anyone were to discover that you had refrained at any time from discussing these little peccadilloes, he might well suspect that you had a guilty conscience about them, and that this was why you were so reluctant to talk about them. Apart from which, you would be paying me a nice compliment if, having elected me as your king and law-giver, you were to refuse to speak on the subject I prescribe, especially when you consider how obedient I was to all of you. Set aside these scruples, then, which ill become such healthy minds as your own, and let each of you put her best foot forward and think of some entertaining story to relate,'
>
> (479)

The last line might be recast to read "and with Bonaventura think of some beautiful story to relate," like the *Legenda Maior*, or the *Itinerarium*. The suppressed "little peccadilloes" might be the small hints that point to Francis. Some of these that appear in the *brigata* discussion include:

- the words *grandissimo*, *massimamente*, *pellegrinaggio*,and *reliquie* in close proximity (566), linking the sound of Assisi with the notions of pilgrimage and relic, the two topics about which Cipolla preaches: Francis was granted a plenary indulgence for those who made a pilgrimage to Assisi; the basilica of San Francesco was designed to receive pilgrims; and one of the most famous relics in all Italy was the body of Francis,
- Elissa's placing the crown *in capo* of Dioneo, combining the title *capo* with something like a tonsure (566),
- hints about Francis being applied to Dioneo: he rules and guides the brigata, and in the end *abbiamo a lodare* (566), "we will have to praise,"
- Dioneo's response which begins with the word *Assai*, and continues *per certo* followed by talk of obedience (567),
- Dioneo's raising the topic of virginity (in the negative because *queste parole* are dismissed) (567),
- and Dioneo's linking of obedience with *un bello onore* (568), "the nice honor," which recalls Francis' obedience to Pope Honorius .[36]

If these are the silent peccadilloes, what might be the beautiful Bonaventurean story? For the answer, we must consider an event that occurs in the frame, Elissa's excursion to the *Valle delle donne* (568). Let us examine the trip, which seems to progress through several *modi* levels and visit a structure of Mount LaVerna. There are *verso* readings.

Elissa proposes going to a place *in parte assai vicina* (568), which holds an aural pun on Assisi, and hints within the text seem to support Assisi as the departure point for the journey, including:

- the mountain [Subasio] which descends *i gradi*, "in terraces," *come ne' teatri*, "like the tiers of an amphitheatre" which recalls the remains of a Roman amphitheater located at Assisi (569),
- words that suggest the temple *di Minerva* in the *piazza*: *di menarvi, tempo da potervi quivi menare, di venirvi vi piace* (568-9),
- words from the *Cantico*: *il sol, il sole, messo*, and *grande* (568-9),
- the series *chiamate, chiamavisi, chiamata* which recalls Francis' follower, *Chiara*, St. Clare (568-9),
- and the trees planted on the mid-day side with vines, olives, almonds, cherries, figs, *d'altre maniere assai d'alberi fruttiferi piene*, "and many other species of fruit trees" (569).

As the *donne* move to the valley, the hints seem to indicate the Spoleto plain, including the initial entry containing fragments that suggest "Parti/un/c/ula" and "Spolett-"(569) as well as topical indicators:

- the hints within *dentro alla quale per una via assai stretta, dall'una delle parti della q uale correva un chiarissimo fiumicello* (569), "they entered by way of a very narrow path, along one side of which there flowed a beautifully clear stream (479-80),"[37] which together place the Portiuncula in the marshy plain,
- the *chairissimo* stream which could serve the dual purpose of suggesting *Chiara* and the *Chiascio*, a river on the Spoletto plain (569),
- the place which was *dilettevole, e spezialmente*, "delectable, especially..." since it was *caldo grande, quanto più si potesse divisare*, "so hot as could possibly be imagined," (with a hint to "divide") (569),
- the designation of *piano*, "the plain," in the valley (569), which in Francis' time was where the poor lived,
- the trees of the plain where the *donne* entered: *pieno d'abeti, di cipressi, d'allori e d'alcuni pini si ben composti* (569), "filled with firs, cypresses, bay-trees, and a number of pines all of which were so neatly arranged (480)" not unlike those that even today surround San Damiano,
- the plain as naturally surrounded by *sei montagnette di non troppa altezza*, "by half-a-dozen hills, all comparatively low-lying (569),"
- on the summit of which is a *castelletto* (569),
- and the path on the plain *quella donde le donne venute v'erano* near the cypress trees (569).

In the thirteenth century, the Spoleto plain was ringed by the castles of Sassorosso, Montemoro, Poggio, Bassano, the Rocca of Assisi (Attanasio 8), and the town of Perugia only twelve miles away.[38]

In the middle of the description of the trees that grow on the slopes, the venue seems to shift to Mount LaVerna, with pointers that include a suggestion of the name La Ver--:

- the oaks, ash *e d'altri alberi verdissimi* that grow straight (569),

and of Cipolla, who is again Francis in the negative:

- *fra essi poco sole*...(570), "and when the sun was overhead few..."(480), and *suolo* (570), [the friar was (Cipo.) not a little in the sun, he is in the shade of the trees],
- with two streams that divide the mountain and cascade over *di pietra viva* (570), [the *chiarissimo fiumicello* (which suggests both *Chiara* and Francis) unites in the valley and rises within *pietra viva* which recall Thomas of Celano's description of Clare's "Order of Holy Virgins" as "a polished mass of living stones" which was to be brought to the Portiuncula (2 Celano I, CLV, 204, 525)],
- *al piccol pian pervenia* (570), "reaching the [plain] (480)," which holds within it "Cipolla," [coming to Francis' mountain],
- *un picciol laghetto*, "a tiny lake," in the middle of the plain, which holds within it a "Cipolla ghetto," both "neighborhood" and (here is a pun: *ghetto* for *grotto*), [Francis' *grotto* on a mountain],
- the description of the *laghetto* as constructed *per modo di* (570), "in the style of *Dio*," with fish [in the *modi* of *Dio* with a bird, or Seraph],
- and the gravel at the bottom giving way to *a, la qual tutta*, or "*al aqua l'*" (wing/water/wing) [as "wing/air/wing" before *tutta*, reinforced by *L'acqua la quale alla*, or "wing/air/wing/air/Alla"].

The three locations that can be noticed within the frame journey to the *Valle delle donne*—Assisi, the Spoleto plain and the LaVerna *grotto*—might serve to sketch the progress of Francis' life from the confrontation with his father in the *piazza*, to the founding of the Order, to the stigmata. They complement the picture of Francis that is presented in *verso* in the *novella*. In the frame, the Assisi hints probably refer back to the

novella because they occur at the announcement and preparation for the journey, but they also serve to locate the referent for the valley: the *piano* (and, in *verso*, the mountain).

The *itinerarium* to the *Valle* is a double presentation: it contains the visit of Elissa and the *donne* to the *piano* and their swim, and the visit of Dioneo and the *giovani* and their swim. The men's visit is very short: they praise the *luogo*, as *una delle belle cose del mondo* (571), "one of the loveliest sights in the world (482)," swim and dress promptly because it is *troppo tardi*, "very late," a pun that suggests an interpretation of this group as a tropological rendering of the soul seeking cleansing. Since Dioneo seems to have been given hints of Francis, perhaps at this moment he represents Francis and his friars bathing (spiritually cleansing themselves).

Elissa and the *donne* venturing forth to the *Valle*, could be the complement to Francis and the friars, and the allegorical equivalent would be *Chiara* and her *donne*. That this double view of the *brigata* could obtain at this place in the frame is suggested by a phrase that describes the *piano* as having no other entrance than that *quella donde le donne venute v'erano* (569), "which the ladies had entered (480)." This phrase is a pun that can be heard as "que la *don* de le *donne* venute v'erano," or "that the *don* came from the *donne*." The importance of this polysemous phrase is highlighted by the fact that it is framed by two parts of the word "LaVerna": *quella donde le donne venute v'erano*. Among other things it can infer that the *donne* can be allegorized as *la don* (the female friar, *Chiara*) who "entered" Francis' order on Palm Sunday, 1212, or that the *donne* (female plural) can be allegorized in *verso* as the *don* (masculine singular), perhaps Francis. If Dioneo and the *giovani* can represent Francis and also the soul, it seems as though Elissa, *la don*, and the *donne* might represent *Chiara*, and Francis and the soul.

At the LaVerna part of the journey, the *donne* seem to represent Francis as Cipolla (*picciol la*) to indicate the *verso*. The climax of the visit occurs at the discovery of ***un picciol laghetto*** (570), "a tiny lake (480)," that is not very *profondo*, "deep," but is *chiarissimo*. The lake needs to be converted from *laghetto* to *La grotto* (the *La* [Verna] *grotto*) that is "very profound" and very Francis. The phrase ***e senza avere in sé mistura*** at this spot seems to hint at *aventura* in small pieces, and Fidanza in ***senza***. The suggestion that the referent is Bonaventure's account of Francis at LaVerna is given assistance by the words *speranza*, *fidanza*, and *usanza* in Elissa's song at the end of the day's activities. The words are positioned just before the narrative voice's comment that "everyone puzzled over the words (483)," and before his description of the king as *in buona tempera*, and the request that everyone *danze* (573).

The description of *laghetto* is found at the end of a series of diminishing frames. The frames begin at a reference to the entrance of the *piano*. The trees there have been *piantati*, "planted" (Francis called Clare his *pianticella*, "little plant" [Armstrong 35]) by someone who practices the best *artefice* (570), and they seem to stand as a metaphor for textual framing. The trees are symetrically disposed like the words that bracket the center of the lake. These words, strategically placed in pairs, serve to narrow the focussed area. The first of these pairs is a combination of *suolo* and *prato* that can be found repeated twenty lines later; within this framing pair can be found the pair *dilettevole* and *diletto* thirteen lines apart; within these, *profondo* and *fondo* five lines apart; and within these *avere* and *avrebbe* three lines apart, with the word *avere* beginning the *aventura* passage just cited, and the word *avrebbe* anchoring a series of *av* fragments that balance *aventura*, and could be described as "gravel, every fragment of

which could have been counted (480)," what the *av* text is saying. These two Bonaventure references frame a significant line that holds three *chiara* fragments, one quite minute:

> ...**chiarissimo** il suo fondo mostrava esser d'una minutissima **ghiaia**, la qual tutta, **chi** si...(570)
> ...its bed showed up vividly as a stretch of very fine gravel, every fragment of which...(480).

Within this line, just after the words "most minute gravel," there is a phrase that offers *ala* as *a la* followed by two fragmentary wings:

> ...a, la qual tutta, chi si...

that frame the words

> ...tutta, chi

which hold another frame in a pair of crosses—the letter *t* and the Greek *chi*—which frame the group of letters *utta* [*c*], which looks like *utta* (perhaps *gutta*, "throat") and sounds like "ut tacque," "as silence." Perhaps both speech and silence can be found at the center of the lake, and at Francis' *grotto*.

The center of the *laghetto/grotto*, *utta*, seems to hold within it both an aesthetic and a Franciscan commentary. The figure combines *ut*, "as," going one way, and *at*, "and," going the other. The Latin sign of analogy, *ut*, could signify the essential tool of fiction, just as *at*, the Latin sign of inclusion, could represent the essential tool of evangelization. Together they center the double *tt*, perhaps a miniature picture of the stigmatized Francis[39] and the crucified Seraph.

The interpretation of the double *t* as Francis and the Seraph as described by Bonaventure is given the support of several Franciscan hints very close to the passage, including:

- the juxtaposition of *ala* figures and water [air] which simulates the flapping of wings,

- the word *acqua* in *L'acqua la quale alla* and *un altro canaletto* (570) (an analog for *castelletto* [569]): the friars Matthew Aquasparta and Ubertino of Casale, opposing parties in the Franciscan struggle concerning the open and narrow interpretations of the Rule, are mentioned by the character Bonaventure in Canto XII of Dante's *Paradiso*, just before he introduces himself as "surnamed Bagnoreggio (124-128),

- the statement that *le giovani donne...per tutto riguardate*, "gazed all around," which contains both *giovani* and *guard* (an abbreviation for *guardia* which Bonaventure was called when he went to LaVerna), and centers *tutta* as a vehicle for the double *t*,

- the fact that the *donne* decided *bagnare*, "to bathe" or "swim," which is a pun on Bonaventure's Bagnoreggio, "the king's bath,"

- that they *comandato alla lor fante* (570), "ordered their maid (481) recalling a previous servant reference, *lor fanti senza farne alcuna cosa sentire a' giovani, si misero in via* (569), which includes the letters of Fran-is within the word *fanti*[40] and Bonaventure in the word *senza*,

- the assignment to watch *via per la quale quivi s'entrava*, "the path by which they had entered," which echos an important line in the *Itinerarium*: *patris suspensionem in contemplando et viam, per quam pervenitur ad eam*,

- and which is followed by *venisse e loro* which *facesse sentire, tutte e sette*, a suggestion within *e loro* of the addition of Brother Leo and "loro," maybe Laura, to the five who entered to make all seven.

This, then, is the bottom of the lake, or the top of LaVerna, and the five *donne* commend the *luogo*, "place," a term used by Francis to designate the spots where he and his friars had worked and prayed (Habig 1274), and bathe:

> In questo adunque venute le giovani donne, poi che per tutto riguardato ebbero e molto commendato il luogo, essendo il caldo grande e vedendosi il pelaghetto chiaro davanti e senza alcun sospetto d'esser vedute, diliberaron di volersi bagnare; e comandato alla lor fante che sopra la via per la quale quivi s'entrava dimorasse e guardasse se alcun venisse e loro il facesse sentire, tutte e sette si spogliarono ed entrarono in esso, il qual non altrimenti li lor corpi candidi nascondeva, che farebbe una/ vermiglia rosa un sottil vetro. Le quali essendo in quello, né per ciò niuna turbazion d'acqua nascendone, cominciarono come potevano ad andare in qua in là di dietro a' pesci, I quali male avevan dove nascondersi, e a volerne con esso le mani pigliare.
>
> (570-1)

> This, then, was the place to which the young ladies came; and after they had gazed all around and extolled its marvellous beauty, seeing the limpid pool shimmering there before them they made up their minds, since it was very hot and they were in no danger of being observed, to go for a swim. And having ordered their maid to go back and keep watch along the path by which they had entered the valley, and bring them warning if anyone should come, all seven of them undressed and took to the water, which concealed their chaste white bodies no better than a thin sheet of glass would conceal a pink rose. And when they were in the water, which remained as crystal-clear as before, they began as best they could to swim hither and thither in pursuit of the fishes, which had nowhere to hide, and tried to seize hold of them with their hands.
>
> (481)

The seven *donne* bathe,[41] perhaps Francis, *Chiara*, Bonaventure, Boccaccio, Dante, Brother Leo, and *loro* seen twice on pilgrimage: the first time in India Pastinaca where "I swear by this habit I am wearing that I saw the feathers flying (475)," and the other time as the *patriarca* of Jerusalem, who "out of deference for the habit of the Lord Saint Anthony[42] which I have always worn, desired that I should see [*tutte*] the holy relics (475)." Shall we suggest Boccaccio's good friend Petrarch? and a habit? All the *donne* bathe (cleanse their souls, and/or are exposed to Bagnoreggio).

The multiplex structure seems to be complete, including:

Literal	Cipolla	preaches	marks crosses
Allegorical 1 (negative)	Francis	prays	cross marks him
	---Brother Leo	writes	cross speaks
Allegorical 2 (other)	Bonaventure	writes	shows cross
Allegorical 3 (other)	Boccaccio	writes	shows cross
Allegorical 4 (other)	Dante	writes	shows cross
	---Petrarch	writes	follows cross
Tropological	Dioneo and the *giovani* ---*Chiara*	bathe	follow the cross
Anagogical	*tutta*	bathe	shows cross

nine layers of Boccaccio's onion, sliced in half, might change the tickles of feathers into *o*'s, tears.

In summary, the polyvalent character of Frate Cipolla functions in radical opposition to the figurations that he holds. The figurations are metagraphic and numbered. They are attached to Cipolla by accretion. They can shift. They interact with the literal text, never being overtly articulated, but establishing their validity by the quality and the quantity of hints that appear as puns, hidden names or other connections. Once attached, they are carried outside of the *novella* by the group of letters that make up the name Cipolla, and associated with another scenario. It is through this movement that the two halves of an onion are united.

As the seven *donne* bathe on Mount LaVerna, the simile of the rose is applied to their bodies in the *acqua* [souls in the air]:

> ...il qual non altrimenti li lor corpi candidi nascondeva, che farebbe una/ vermiglia rosa un sottil vetro. Le quali essendo in quello, né per ciò niuna turbazion d'acqua nascendone, cominciarono come potevano, ad andare in qua in là di dietro a' pesci...
> (570-1)

> ...which concealed their chaste white bodies no better than a thin sheet of glass would conceal a [vermillion] rose. And when they were in the water, which remained as crystal-clear as before, they began as best they could to swim hither and thither in pursuit of the fishes...
> (481)

with the word *castitas* implied for *candidi*, as McWilliam has done, suggested a few lines later by the unveiled hint *tornar verso casa*, "to make their way back." The vermiglian rose and the white bodies might be seen as the chaste souls (in *recto*) and Dante's white rose (in *verso*); but they also describe Francis' stigmatized body, as it was described by Bonaventure after his death:

> Erat autem similitudo clavorum nigra quasi ferrum, vulnus autem lateris rubeum et ad orbicularitatem quandam carnis contractione reductum rosa quaedam pulcherrima videbatur. Caro vero ipsius reliqua, quae prius tam ex infirmitate quam ex natura ad nigredinem declinabat, candore/ nimio renitescens, illius secundae stolae pulcritudinem praetendebat.
> (*L. M.* XV, 2, 547-8)

> The nails were black like iron; the wound in his side was red, and because it was drawn into a kind of circle by the contraction of the flesh looked like a most beautiful rose. The rest of his skin, which before was inclined to be dark both naturally and from his illness, now shone with a dazzling whiteness, prefiguring the beauty of that glorious second stole.
> (322)

The red (*recto*) and the white (*verso*) rose, the literal and the fictive, the *don* and the *donne*, such is Boccaccio's exegetical structure. Its seeming secular exterior belies a Franciscan interior that leads upward—up Mount LaVerna and upward in the reader's own spiritual ascent, because each time that the reader successfully converts a *verso* figure into its *recto* corrolary he/she "perfects" his/her own soul by choosing the best reading. Successive conversions can inculcate the habit looking at the world in the way

that Christ might see it. Thus the fictive text offers the reader the opportunity to grow spiritually as he/she unravels the hidden personae.

Memory is an important tool for the complete reading of Boccaccio's texts because the puns that identify characters can reappear as the sole connection to the previous construction, and therefore to their referent. The creative structure of Frate Cipolla, for instance, identified by the single word *piccola*,[43] will be used as the basis on which another novella, that of Cepparello da Prato and the Confessor, will be built, not unlike the structure of the Florentine church of Santa Maria del Fiori on the foundation of Santa Reparata.

Cepparello da Prato and the Confessor

In the first story of the first day, Panfilo introduces Musciatto Franzesi, merchant and cavalier, who, needing to go to Tuscany and finding his affairs *intralciati*, "entangled," decides to commit them *a più persone* (33), "to a number of different people (25)," one of whom is Cepparello da Prato. A merchant himself whose father was wealthy (40), Cepparello is described as *piccolo* (34) and admits to having been overpaid by *quattro piccioli più*, "four small pence" for cloth, which is deemed a *piccola cosa* (42), "a trivial matter (32)." He frequents *in contrario le taverne* (35). His great delight is to give *testimonianze false*, especially in *Francia* (34), and his other *modo* of pleasure is to stir up trouble between *persona mali* [here is a pun: *persona mali* for "personam alae"] (35). He gets angry *per ogni piccola cosa* (35), "on the tiniest pretext (26)," but is protected by the *potenzia* (35), "powers (27)," of Musciatto, so that he is treated as *private persone* (35). Musciatto[44] sends him to the *riottosi* Burgundians (34). He stays at the house of *due fratelli* (36), "two brothers;" but falls sick. When he is near death, they call a confessor. The focus of the story is his confession, which Panfilo characterizes as false, but which is accepted by the confessor as true. After death, through the actions and words of the confessor, Cepparello is honored as a saint.

In the most elementary sense of the terminology, the character Cepparello da Prato is a sylleptic symbol, whose meaning both draws from and opposes the context in which he appears, and who yokes several divergent constructions. The context provides hints to assist in assigning these constructions and their opposites. Cepparello's defining adjective is *piccolo* (like Cipolla in the *novella* of Frate Cipolla). He gives false

testimony in *Francia* (perhaps Francis), enjoys the *modi*, and is protected by *potenzia* (a reach, perhaps Fidanza). He seems to incorporate Cipolla, Francis, Bonaventure and the other personae that were held within Cipolla, with the hints to these personae somewhat "entangled." As we have seen in the previous *novelli*, they begin with the location, here *ragionasi* (perhaps a combination of Reggio and *nasi*, "born"). After several pointers to Francis (Musciatto Franzesi, *mercatante*, *Francia*, and *cavalier*),[45] they center Bonaventure (Fidanza), as the predominant persona: **Franzesi** is traveling with Carlo **Senza**terra, *fratello* . . ., at the request of Pope (Cardinal) **Boni**face. The description of Cepparello gives hints to Cipolla and to Bonaventure, with an intratextual relationship established by the position of the word *piccolo* (34) immediately after his name—almost as an alternative name. It is offered *per ciò*, and repeated in a discussion about the error which the French make with his name: *per ciò che piccolo era come dicemmo, non Ciappello* . . .(34), "and because as we have said he was a [*piccolo*], . . .not **Ciappello** . . .(25). The confluence of the French language, the discussion of "name" and the French root *appell*, "to name" with the letters that form "de Cipolla" within Ciappello, hint strongly at Cipolla, who fits Musciatto Franzesi's desire to assign his work to "a number of different people (25)." In addition, the pun "ap pello" or "from *palo*," pulls in the story of Gianni and Restituta, suggesting a sequence of three interrelated *novelli*.

Cepparello is the man in whom Franzesi puts his *fidanza* (34), and he loves to give *testimonianze false*, becoming annoyed when anyone takes his work to be *altro che falso* (34), "other than false (25)." When the name "fi[]anza" is noticed within *testimonianze false*, the whole phrase *testimonianze false . . .richiesto e non richiesto*, "false confession . . .whether asked for it or not," becomes both true and false, since it is

also the confession of Fidanza of Bagnoreggio. It should be noted that Cepparello is described as *e **peggiorando senza modo*** (45), " and, failing rapidly (35)," and the confessor commends his ***usanza*** (39), "practice (29)." In the end Panfilo concedes that *in su l'estremo aver sì fatta contrizione che per avventura . . .* (47), "it is possible that at the eleventh hour he was so sincerely repentant . . .(36)," suggesting that the contrition came through Bonaventure.

The other personae of Cipolla are also evident in Cepparello. His death, funeral, eulogy and canonization are not unlike Bonaventure's report of the death, funeral, eulogy and canonization of Francis. He admits to a special devotion *al vostro Ordine. E per ciò . . .*(44), "to your Order. So when . . . (34)," which suggests that the devotion is *per* [Boccac]*ciò.* His weeping, held *un grandissimo pezzo* (43), "a very long time on tenderhooks (33)," seems to offer a pun which recalls Dante's famous *puzzo*, "stink (*Paradiso* XVI, 55, 453)," located close to a reference to Certaldo. Two details would have been readily noticed by a medieval audience: the *fratelli* eavesdrop on the confession (45), and the confessor reveals Cepparello's ***maggior peccato*** (46), "his greatest sin (36)," a phrase which combines the letters for the name "Prato," the pun "Raggio" for Reggio, and perhaps an allusion to the *Legenda Maior.*

It is not my purpose to reconstruct the character of Cepparello da Prato here, but rather to show how Boccaccio recycles Cipolla and his attached referents as Cepparello, and to establish the beginning of the *Decameron* in the middle of the work, at the story of Gianni and Restituta. An orderly process needs to move from Gianni and Restituta, a *novella* that is predominantly an allegory, to Frate Cipolla, a *novella* that is predominantly a negative allegory, to Cepparello da Prato and the Confessor, a *novella*

that is a mixture of both, so that the reader can acquire the proper clues at each story. The connection between the first two is held in the *ala* figure, and the connection between the second in the word *prato*, "lawn (V, 9, 570)," which frames the beginning of the ascent of Mount LaVerna, identifies Cepparello, and also serves as the connection to the next *novella* in succession, the story of Madonna Filippa (VI, 7). When the reader enters the work at the *novella* of Cepparello da Prato and the Confessor, it is as difficult to uncover Cepparello's preset configuration, as it is to decipher the intertextual allusions to the works of Bonaventure,[46] Dante,[47] Francis,[48] Petrarch[49] and Hugh of St. Victor,[50] among others that have been reduced to abbreviations. A few words will sketch the setting forth of Cepparello's confessor.

Franzesi knows Cepparello because he often visits his house *in Parigi* (34), "in Paris (25)." The word for Paris and the language confusion involving the name Cepparello contain clues to the identity of the other character in this story, the holy confessor, who seems to be an oppositional allegorical formulation of Saint Patrick. *Parig* is the Irish pronounciation of the name *Padrig*, Patrick.[51] In a clause framed by the emblem *ciò*, it is explained that the French think the name Cepparello signifies *cappello*, "chapel or church," *cioè «ghirlanda», secondo il loro volgare a dir venisse, per ciò* (34), "which in their language means (here is a pun: *ghirlanda* for "Ireland") (25)."[52] When Cepparello requests a *santo e valente frate* (38), "the holiest and ablest friar, (28), the brothers actually ask for a *santo e savio uomo* (38), "a wise and holy man," from *una religione di frati* (38), not from "a friary" as McWilliam has translated it, but from "a religion of the friars." This is a pun: Patrick is of the same religion, and originally of the same region, being of Romano-British origin (Butler I, 612).[53] The mention of exile

twice in the frame applies to mankind, especially Francis,[54] to Dante, and to Patrick, but the most compelling clue is the focus on confession, as the saint's most well-known work is his Latin *Confessio*.[55] The word *confessio* and its forms appear more than twenty-two times in this story.[56]

Throughout Cepparello's confession, the holy confessor is called a *frate*, which is related to the structure of this story: the merchant requests a *frate*; the *fratelli* ask for an *uomo*; but they are given *un frate antico di santa e di buona vita* (38), "an ancient friar of good and holy ways (28)," and here is a triple pun: the *frate* is *anti codi*, running against the *modi* (he is not a multiplex configuration); the *frate* is *anti codi*, running against the codification of *frate* which belongs to *buona vita* (Bonaventure); and the *frate* is *anti codi*, running against the literal codification because Patrick wrote a true confession, which here seems to have been converted to "Benignus heard a false/true confession." As Patrick's disciple, Benignus could serve as his complementary opposite. The holy confessor begins hearing the confession *benignamente* (38), "with kindly/ words (28-9)."

The suggestion of Benignus also appears in the beginning and the end of the frame: first hinting at the *propria*, literal, level in *sua propia benignità mossa* (32), "set in motion by His own loving-kindness (24)," and then noticing the reversal factor in *la benignità di Dio cognoscere verso noi* (47), "we may recognize . . .God's loving-kindness toward us (36-7)." Both connect the root *benign* with God, and the former is set near to an abbreviated form *bene* that is spoken repeatedly by the confessor in various forms, as *benedetto* (39), *bere* (40), *Bene* (41), *benedetto* (41), *Or bene* (42), *bene* (42), *benedetta* (44), and by Panfilo's narration as *la sua benedizione* (44) and *Bene* (44). Taken together, these hints might suggest Benignus.

And finally, the frame of the next *novella* seems to function as a kind of "answer key." It offers the word *benignità* twice: the first time when Neifile deduces the essence of Panfilo's story as *la benignità di Dio non guardare a' nostri errori* (48), "God's loving-kindness . . .unaffected by our errors (37);" and the second time when *benignità* is shown by those who, with *le parole vera testimonianza* (48), literally "the words of true testimonianza," are *contrario operando* (48), "behav[ing] in a precisely contrary fashion (37)." By positioning the root of Benignus near "not" and before the "Francis" root *guard*, the former suggests that the character of Benignus is not Francis, and by incorporating the letters *ianza* and the pun *le vera* (LaVerna), the latter suggests that the confession is that of both Francis and Fidanza. The opening line of the next story completes the circle by reintroducing *ragio*, the root of the opening word, and part of Cepparello's "sin," and by repeating Parigi: *Si come io, graziose donne, già udii ragione, in Parigi* . . .(48), "As I was once informed, fair ladies, there lived in Paris . . .(37)." The "answer key" summarizes the previous story of Bagnoreggio and Parig with puns for *Guardia* and *reggio*.

In summary, the construction of Frate Cipolla, reconfigured as Cepparello da Prato, becomes the central character in a new story. He puts forth two of his components as the primary personae (Francis and Bonaventure), so that his confession is that of both, but primarily the true confession of Francis. He holds diologue with a newly introduced character presented as a complementary opposite, so that the literal story of Cepparello da Prato and the Confessor flies on the allegorical level with both positive and negative wings.

This chapter has considered three *novelli* of the *Decameron* to demonstrate how the exegetical *modi* structure, as it continues to be applied to a non-Scriptural base, acquires new characteristics. It began by considering the story of Gianni and Restituta in the middle of the work, because the *Decameron* operates on a principle of "significant centering," which, as Hollander suggests, is true of "a good deal of medieval literature, which may have not yet been observed in this light (*Teseida* 169)." This story seems to me to be the beginning of the work. As an allegory, Gianni and Restituta affords an opportunity to discern the base on which the fictive structure rests, the *Vita* of Francis, as set forth in the scene of Francis and his restitution in the *piazza* of Assisi, as well as the textual hints that establish three other allegorical levels. Its tropological level offers man's search for Christ, who is presented as a woman, which is the anagogical factor (inversion).

The use of inversion is the most significant characteristic of the story of Frate Cipolla, who is crafted as the opposite of Francis, making this *novella* a negative allegory. The work comprehends the whole of Francis' *Vita*, which is presented in two parts, like a sliced onion, incorporating five other allegories and three sites, all established by textual hints. Two views of the tropological level are offered, both in the frame. The anagogical component places a pictograph double *tt* at the summit of Mount LaVerna (its *verso* being the coals, a double *o*). Interestingly, a series of word frames are used to focus the reader's attention inward as a simulation of the ascent of Mount LaVerna. In *toto*, the summit is reached by way of the *Decameron* frame, which holds the *novella* frame, which holds the story of Frate Cipolla and Elissa's song as a frame for the *itineraria* to the *Valle delle donne*, which holds the *prato* pair, which holds the *diletto*

pair, which holds the *fondo* pair, which holds the *avere* pair, which holds the *chiar* pair, which holds the *al* pair, which holds the *t* and *x* pair. Ten frames center the pictogram *tt*, a miniature of Francis and the Seraph.

The character of Cipolla with its referents reappeared again as Cepparello in the story of Cepparello da Prato and the Confessor, demonstrating the sustaining power of the exegetical structure. Textual hints established the primacy of the Francis and Bonaventure personae as the major components of the story, and a new negative allegory was introduced in the character of the Confessor as Patrick.

All three *novelli* rested on the base of the *Vita* of Francis; all three included other authorial referents; and all three were distinguished by the stylistic characteristics of the radically oppositional and the radically incarnational (literal). In addition, all three validate Jonathan Usher's suspicion that in the works of Boccaccio the literal and the allegorical are often reversed.

A final word by the authorial persona draws together the beginning and the end of the *Decameron*. In the *novella* of Gianni and Restituta, Restituta lives on the island of Ischia, very near Naples, and Gianni often swims over to Ischia at night from his neighboring island of Procida, a name which could convert to *do Capri*, "I give Capri," the actual island next to Ischia. The figure of night that seems to mask the concealed name of Capri, which means "goats," also holds an abbreviated figuration of Francis as *cap*. "Capri" connects to the end of the work, where the author's persona responds to criticism that he has taken too many liberties with his writing. In his own defense he points to *le prediche fatte da' frati*, "sermons preached by friars" that are filled *di motti*

(947), "with jests (801)," which gives an *exemplum* of the pun in *fatte da' frati*, and offers one in *di motti*. He immediately presents his own "jest:"

> E chi starà in pensiero che si quelle ancor non si truovino che diranno che io abbia mala lingua e velenosa, per ciò che in alcun luogo scrivo il ver de' frati? A queste che così diranno si vuol perdonare, per ciò che non è da credere che altro che giusta cagione le muova, per ciò che i frati son buone persone e fuggono il disagio per l'amor di Dio, e macinano a raccolta e nol ridicono; e se non/ che di tutti un poco viene del caprino, troppo sarebbe più piacevole il piato loro. Confesso nondimeno le cose di questo mondo non avere stabilità alcuna, ma sempre essere in mutamento, e così potrebbe dilla mia lingua essere intervenuto;
>
> (947-8)

> There may also be those among you who will say that I have an evil and venomous tongue, because in certain places I write the truth about the friars. But who cares? I can readily forgive you for saying such things, for doubtless you are prompted by the purest of motives, friars being decent fellows, who forsake a life of discomfort for the love of God, who do their grinding when the millpond's full, and say no more about it. Except for the fact that they all smell a little of the billy-goat, their company would offer the greatest of pleasure.
>
> I will grant you, however, that the things of this world have no stability, but are subject to constant change, and this may well have happened to my tongue.
>
> (802)

Since the reader knows that friars do not forsake a life of *disagio*, "discomfort," for the love of God—a reversal that has already appeared in the pilgrimage of Frate Cipolla—the reader can spot both the *verso* and the "jest:" the pun "*di modi*" for *di motti*. A small, but significant "dim[inished] *modi*," offered within the insult to the friars who *viene del caprino, troppo . . .*, "smell . . .of the billy-goat . . .," is both the connection to Capri and to the *modi*. The attachment of *troppo*, which sounds like "tropo," seems to assist in identifying *caprino* as a one-word *modi* structure, and to suggest a tropological level: if the friar's bodies have the odor of the goat on the literal level, as the friars from Capri probably did, their souls have the odor of the (in *verso*) "Lamb," on the tropological. On the anagogical level, the metagraphic figure, like Francis' *o* (*capite*) or his *t* (*tau*), might be called a *caprichos*, "an etching," while on the allegorical level, perhaps three intratextual connections obtain: the first to Gianni and Restituta's island of Capri, the second to *il re di Cipri* (80), "the king of Cyprus (62)," who, in *novella* I, 9, is rebuked by

a pilgrim returning from the Holy Land with the words *in sodisfacimento*, "by way of reparation," and the third to *Frate Cipolla* whose primary persona, Francis the *capo*, went to LaVerna for prayer and penance, or restitution.

An attention to restitution appears often in these stories, from the unobstrusive allusion to *Santa Reparata*, the church that preceded *Santa Maria del Fiore*, in *novella* VI, 9, just a few lines before the beginning of the novella of Frate Cipolla, to a dramatic finale when *Sicurano da Finale* orchestrates the appearance of the merchant *Bernabò* before the Sultan, accompanied by the words *fidanza* and *restituzione* (II, 9, 207), not unlike Bernado(ne's) appearance before the Sultan which Bonaventure reports:

> Cum autem processissent ulterius, occurrerunt ei satellites Saraceni, qui tanquam lupi celerius accurrentes ad oves, . . . attritos ad Soldanum, divina disponente providentia, iuxta viri Dei desiderium perduxerunt.
>
> (*L M.* IX, 8, 532)

> When they proceeded farther, the Saracen sentries fell upon them like wolves swiftly overtaking sheep, . . . exhausted, by divine providence they were led to the Soldan, just as the man of God wished.
>
> (269)

This great "sultan" hint, obvious to anyone who is familiar with the life of Francis, seems to be a "dead give-away" to the person of Francis hidden within the work. Its signal word is *restituzione*. The *Decameron* is about Francis and about restitution. It is about Francis' restitution in the *piazza* of Assisi, and about his stigmata of Christ's restitution on the cross. It is about the restitution of the text from its fictive *modi* level and punning constructions. Importantly, it is about the restitution of virtue by the practice of positive reading, a habit cultivated by continuous attention to the good in all things. This text affords such practice. It seems to me that Boccaccio, in his reworking of Bonaventure's Francis and his reconfiguration of the *modi* with a greatly reduced tropological responsibility—both of which cause the *Decameron* to smell "a little of the billy-goat"

like the friars it satirizes, has taken on as his mission the reconstruction of the reader's soul. A deft craftsman, he is the early developer of the interactive text, whose work was continued by his contemporary across the English Channel, Geoffrey Chaucer.

1 "Et idea saepe cum populi merita in eo sanctitatis extollerent, praecipiebat alicui Fratri, ut in contrarium verba ipsum vilificantia suis auribus inculcando proferret. Cumque Frater ille, licet invitus, eum rusticum et mercenarium imperitum et inutilem diceret; exhilaratus tam mente quam facie respondebat: ≪Benedicat tibi Dominus, fili carissime, quia tu verissima loqueris, et talia filium Petri Bernardonis decet audire≫ (*L. M.* VI, 1, 520)."

2 I have used the Quaglio edition of the *Decameron* with the McWilliam translation.

3 "≪Francisce, unam de micis omnibus hostiam facito et manducare volentibus tribue≫." (*L. M.* IV, 11, 516)

4 Since the Author's Conclusion is included within the tenth day, and provides a balance for the Proem, the central day of the *Decameron* is Day Five. The central story of Day Five is Story Six, because on that day an introduction is offset by a song, and Story One by a conclusion.

5 Augustine suggests the reader's alteration of the text in *De Doctrina Christiana* II, 12-13 when he suggests that a text which contains a word like *ὀξύς*, which can mean both "swift" (positive) and "sharp" (negative), be corrected, and that faulty interpretations be emended.

6 In his "Introduction" to *The Life of Dante*, Bollettino describes Boccaccio's *Life* as a "secularization of the lives of these saints (xxviii)" from the *Acta Sanctorum* and oral tradition, stating that "Boccaccio was profoundly aware of the parallel that exists between the lives of the saints in the Middle Ages, who were viewed by most people as personalities to be emulated, and that of Dante (xxix)." Perhaps the inversion of Francis can be seen as is a radical secularization.

7 Branca notes Dante's denunciation of the *frati di sant'Antonio* (n. 8, 1066). Gloria Allaire argues that the description of Cipolla continues this view, which may be true on one level. Her negative assessment of St. Anthony of the Desert and his first followers, however, does not seem to be historically accurate (394). In fact, the Church had so much trouble with clerics becoming desert monks because they thought it to be a holier life that a synod held at Saragossa, Spain c. 380 issued Canon No. 6 prescribing that "a cleric who out of pride turns monk, supposing this to be a better observance of the law, shall be excommunicated (Myer n. 226, 126)."

8 Bonaventure addresses Francis as *dux in militia Christi futurus* (XIII, 10, 545), "you would be a captain in the army of Christ (312)."

9 Bonaventure begins "Vir erat in civitate Assisii, Franciscus nomine, . . .(*L. M.* I, 1, 505)," "*There was a man in* the town of Assisi, Francis *by name*, . . . (185)."

10 Several Assisi reliquaries from the late Middle Ages were among the items on exhibition in "St. Francis at the Met," Metropolitan Museum of Art, NYC in the Spring of 1999. The collection was from Assisi, and stated that Assisi was known for its relic boxes.

11 "Quem cum cives cernerent facie squalidum et mente mutatum, ac per hoc alienatum putarent a sensu, luto platearum et lapidibus impetebant . . ..Cumque clamorem huiusmodi pater audisset, statim accurrens, non ad liberandum eum, sed potius ad perdendum; . . .(*L. M.* II, 2, 508)."

"When the townspeople saw his unkempt face and his changed mentality, they thought that he had gone out of his senses. They threw filth from the streets and stones at him . . .. When his father heard/ the shouting, he ran to him at once, not to save him but to destroy him (192-3)."

12 Bonaventure reports: "Omni proponeret se petenti tribuere (*L. M.* I, 1, 506)," "he determined *to give to everyone who begged*. . . (186);" and "verum etiam, ac si illorum propria essent, indicabat esse reddenda (VIII, 5, 527)," "he believed that these [the poor] should be given them [alms] as if theirs by right (254)."

13 "Statura mediocris parvitati vicinior...(ICel I, XXIX, 83, 88)," "He was of medium height, closer to shortness (298), and "*Servus Dei* Franciscus, persona *modicus*, mente *humilis*. . .(II Cel I, XII, 18, 24)," "The servant of God Francis, a person of ordinary size, humble in mind . . .(my translation)."

14 The description includes "fusci capilli (I Cel I, XXIX, 83, 88)," "his hair was black, (298);" and "barba nigra (88), "his beard black (298)."

15 Francis had spent time socializing: "cum inter vanos fuerit hominum filios (*L. M.* I, 1, 506), "...among *worldly sons of men*. . . (185)."

16 "Mente serenus, animo dulcis, *spiritu sobrius*, contemplatione suspensus, . . .(ICel I, XXIX, 83, 87-88), "He was serene of mind, sweet of disposition, sober in spirit, raised up in contemplation. . .(298). "

17 Bonaventure reports: "Cum autem ex frequenti orationis usu flamma desiderii caelestis in eo vehementer succresceret (*L. M.* I, 4, 506)," "The flame of heavenly desire was fanned in him by his frequent prayer (188)," and "Solitaria proinde loca quaerebat, amica moeroribus, in quibus dum *gemitibus inenarrabilibus* incessanter intenderet (5, 507)," "After that he began to seek out solitary places, well suited for sorrow; and there he prayed incessantlu with *unutterable groanings* (189)."

18 Both Celano—"sicque de subito tanta eloquentia replebatur, ut in admirationem converteret ani/mos auditorum (I Cel I, XXVII, 72, 76-77)" and "Erat enim rivus eloquentiae (74, 78)" (speaking before Pope Honorius)—and Bonaventure (XII, 7, 540) report his eloquence.

19 Bonaventure tells us "quamvis non habuerit sacrarum litterarum peritiam per doctrinam (*L. M.* XI, 1, 536)," "although he had no skill in Sacred Scripture acquired through study (280)," and " Nec absonum, si vir sanctus Scripturarum a Deo intellectum acceperat (*L. M.* XI, 2, 536)," "Nor should it sound odd that the holy man should have received from God an understanding of the Scriptures (281)."

20 Francis "praeferendum huic dicebat Fratrem simplicem et elinguem, qui bono exemplo alios provocaret ad bonum, (*L. M.* VIII, 2, 526)," "said that the simple tongue-tied friar should be preferred to such a preacher because he called others to good/ by his good example (251-2)."

21 Francis "vocem divini expressivam amoris audire vix unquam sine cordis immutatione valebat (I, 1, 506)," "he could scarcely ever hear any mention of the love of God without being deeply moved in his heart (186);" "Cum igitur animarum salutem viscerosa pietate appeteret et fervida aemulatione zelaret (*L. M.* VIII, 3, 526)," "He longed with heartfelt piety and burned with ardent zeal for the salvation of souls (252)."

22 "≪Quid , inquit, Fratres, consulitis, quid laudatis? An quod orationi vacem, an quod praedicando discurram? Siquidem ego parvulus, simplex et *imperitus sermone* maiorem orandi accepi gratiam quam loquendi. . ≫." (*L. M.* XII, 1, 539)

23 There may be a connection here to the response of Messer Forese to Giotto in Story VI, V: "Sir, I think he would believe it if, after taking a look at you, he gave you credit for knowing your ABC." It is followed by the words *error* and *erano* (459).

24 Certaldo is *abitato* (556), and Cipolla is shown the relics *per reverenzia dello abita* (564), not only because he wears a habit, but because he has the habit of positive reading.

[25] At his death, Boccaccio left his relics to the friars of the Monastery of Mary of the Holy Sepulchre. There were also two images of Our Lady, and vestments. His books, "all of them except the Breviary," were given to Fra Martino da Signa, an Augustinian (MacManus 292).

[26] See the figure *on di* before the word *Dio*, which suggests Dioneo.

[27] To Francis' explication of a difficult theological question "vehementer stuperet vir ille peritus et cum admiratione referret: «Vere theologia sancti Patris istius, puritate ac contemplatione tanquam alis in altum subvecta, est aquila volans (*L. M.* XI, 2, 536)," "the learned man was absolutely dumbfounded and responded with admiration: "Truly the theology of this holy father, borne aloft, as it were, on the wings of purity and contemplation, is a soaring eagle (281)."

[28] Bonaventure reports that Francis "portari namque sibi iussit a Fratre praedicto atramentum et chartam landesque Domini iuxta Fratris desiderium propria manu scripsit et ultimo benedictionem ipsius, dicens: «Accipe/ tibi chartulam istam et usque ad diem mortis tuae custodias diligenter». Accipit Frater donum illud optatum, et statim omnis illa tentatio effugatur. Servatur littera, et cum in posterum miranda effecerit, virtatum Francisci testimonium fuit (*L. M.* XI, 9, 537-8), "ordered this previously mentioned friar [presumably Brother Leo] to bring him some ink and paper; and he wrote down the Praises of the Lord in his own hand as the friar desired and, finally, a blessing for him, saying: "Take this slip of paper and guard it carefully until the day of your death." The friar took the gift he had so much desired immediately his temptation was put to flight. The writing was preserved and, since it later worked miracles, it became a witness to the power of Francis. (286-7)."

[29] ". . .et facta est super eum manus Domini; post visionem et allocutionem Seraphim et impressionem stigmatum Christi in corpore suo fecit has laudes ex alio latere chartulae scriptas et manu sua scripsit gratias agens Deo de beneficio sibi collato (Esser 136)."

[30] The critical history concerning Boccaccio's birthplace is extensive. MacManus offers the notion of a Parisian origin based on the writer's autobiographical works. Vittore Branca (*Cultura* 20-28), however, suggests Certaldo as the strongest candidate, although no definitive documentation exists.

[31] Francis taught the Our Father: "Rogantibus autem Fratribus, ut eos doceret orare, dixit: «*Cum orabitis, dicite: Pater noster*, et: Adoramus te, Christe, ad omnes ecclesias tuas, quae sunt in toto mundi, et benedicimus tibi, quia per sanctam crucem tuam redemisti mundum» (*L. M.* IV, 3, 513)," "When the friars asked him to teach them to pray, he said: 'When you pray, say *Our Father* . . . and 'We adore you, O Christ, in all your churches in the whole world and we bless you because by your holy cross you have redeemed the world (208)."

[32] Dante's link to the name Giovanni comes through his great great grandfather who was named at the *Baptistry* of San Giovanni in Florence. Dante is making an *in verso* analog.

[33] Franciscans have protected the holy places in the Holy Land since 1342, according to Father Kevin Treston, FHL of the Franciscan Monastery of the Holy Land, 1400 Quincy St. N. E., Washington, D. C.

[34] The Quaracchi notes say that this part was not in Bonaventure's original text, but was added by Jerome of Ascoli, his successor in the generalate 1274-79. Jerome later became Pope Nicholas IV.

[35] Bonaventure reports: "Hoc quippe signum vir sanctus magno venerabatur affectu, frequenti commendabat eloquio et in eis quas dirigebat litterulis manu propria subscribebat, tanquam si omne ipsius studium foret *signare thau* iuxta dictum propheticum *super frontes virorum gementium et dolentium*, ad Christum Iesum veraciter conversorum (*L. M.* IV, 9, 515), "The holy man venerated this symbol with great affection, often spoke highly of it and signed it

with his own hand at the end of the letters which he sent, as if his whole desire were *to mark with a Tau the foreheads of men* who have been truly converted to Jesis Christ and *who moan and grieve*, according to the text of the Prophet (214)."

36 "Brother Francis promises obedience to His Holiness Pope Honorius... (Rule of 1223, c.1, 57 repeated by Bonaventure in *Expositio super Regulam Fratrum Minorum*, c. 1, n. 11, *Opera Omnia*, VIII, 396 excerpted in Habig, 844)."

37 The scattered letters seem to be supported by the action of the stream which is described as "sprizzando pareva da lungi ariento vivo che l'alcuna cosa premuta minutamente sprizzassse (570)," "issuing forth under pressure in a powdery spray of fine quicksilver (480)."

38 Branca posits the Villa Schifanoia, surrounded by five hills, each crowned with a castle, but concludes that it is a figurative *locus amoenus* (n. 19, 1072).

39 "Resultabat revera in eo forma crucis. . . .(ICel II, IX, 112, 125)," "For in truth there appeared in him a true image of the cross . . . (325)."

40 This coincidence is significant for the study of the servants Guccio and Nuta who are not included in the scope of this study.

41 Branca has noticed Boccaccio's fascination with the feminine figure bathing in *Caccia*, II; *Rime*, I; *Ameto*, III 13 ss; and *Ninfale*, 234 ss (n. 38, 1073).

42 Perhaps St. Anthony of the Desert is also inferred here, as he was the Patriarch of Alexandria.

43 Bollettino notes that Boccaccio regarded poetry as "the *piccioletta barca* (little bark) that can lead to the realm of God (xxxix), and in the *Life*, Boccaccio seems to make a translingual pun on that bark when he says that poets have "a very finely embellished eloquence that is apparent in the bark and the leaves of their discourse (IX, 41)." It is noticeable that the word *barca* also holds Hugh of St. Victor's *Arca*.

44 The name Musciatto may convert to Giotto, because the complementary opposite of "musica" is "art" and that would be followed by *tto*. The name is preceded by the word *giudico* (33), and the contextual meaning "All of which can clearly be/seen in the tale I propose to relate; and I say clearly because it is concerned, not with the judgement of God, but with that of men (25)." Also the Burgundians are described as *borgognoni uomini riottosi* (34). Boccaccio does include Giotto as a personage in novella VI. 5.

45 The funniest hint is *dubbio . . .dubbio* (33-4) perhaps for Gubbio, a town near Assisi associated with Francis' taming of the wolf.

46 The *Legenda Maior* and the *Itinerarium* appear as the *vita* in *Era questo Ciappelletto di questa vita* (34).

47 The *esselio . . .esselio* (33) of man from God is also Dante's exile.

48 Brother Leo's *benedizione* (44).

49 Petrarch is again *loro* (34).

50 Hugh of St. Victor is referred to as *più* (33).

51 In modern Irish, Patrick is Padraig (Dineen 850).

[52] In Irish, the word for "chapel or church," *teac* (*pobail*) (Dineen 850), sounds like the vernacular *tacque*, "silent," the final word of this story in *E qui si tacque* (47). It is typical of Persian literary works of the Middle Ages, as exemplified in the poetry of Jalal al din Rumi, to expect the reader to transpose whole sets of complementary opposites. Conspicuous among them is the set of the "tavern" and the "church." *Capello* might also be a name for Francis who lived at the *Capella della Portiuncula.*

[53] Patrick was born at Bannavem Taberniae which may be suggested in the description of Cepparello's frequenting *taverne* (35).

[54] "Mundum quasi peregrinationis exsilium exire festinans, iuvabatur felix iste viator. . . (II Cel II, CXXIV, 165, 163)," "Hurrying to leave this world in as much as it is the place of exile of our pilgrimage, this blessed traveler [Francis] . . .(494)."

[55] The oldest copy extant is contained in the ninth century MS, the "Book of Armagh."

[56] Although Bergin notes that Boccaccio knew the Augustinian, Dionigi di Borgo San Sepolcro, who gave Petrarch the *Confessions* of St. Augustine, and believes this to be the volume that the "singer of Vaucluse carried with him on the ascent of Mount Ventoux (38)," it seems that the textual hints indicate that these *Confessions* are those of Patrick. It is possible that Boccaccio is including both Patrick and Augustine here, because Augustine's father's name was Patrick, and in the Italian method of naming he would have been *di Patricius.*

CHAPTER FOUR

THE *CANTERBURY TALES*

> The friars must be very careful not to accept churches or poor dwellings for themselves, or anything else built for them, unless they are in harmony with the poverty which we have promised in the Rule; and they should occupy these places only as strangers and pilgrims.
>
> (Francis, *Testament* in Habig 68)

> Once on an Easter Sunday he was staying at a hermitage that was so far from any houses that he could not conveniently go begging. And so in remembrance of him who appeared that very day in the guise of a pilgrim to his disciples on the road to Emmaus, Francis then begged alms from the friars themselves, like a pilgrim and beggar. When he had received it humbly, he informed them with holy eloquence that they should pass through the desert of the world like *pilgrims and strangers* and like true Hebrews continually celebrate in poverty of spirit the Lord's Pasch, that is his passing over *from this world to the Father.*
>
> (*L. M.*, VII, 9, 246)[1]

Chaucer

Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* is the great pilgrimage story, the *itinerarium* that actuates the metaphor of Israel's journey from Egypt to Jerusalem, of man's return to his God. "The whole of the Christian life is like a great pilgrimage to the house of the Father," says Pope John Paul II in his apostolic letter "Tertio Millennio Adveniente," "This pilgrimage takes place in the heart of each person, extends to the believing community, and then reaches to the whole of humanity (49)." And so the *Canterbury Tales.*

Of all the souls on pilgrimage in the *Tales*, no one tells more tales that the Monk, especially since his seventeen *de casibus* tragedies, modeled on Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum illustrium*,[2] seem to have the capacity to hold various levels of the *modi* structure at once, perhaps making concrete his boast of *an hundred in my celle* (1972). His use of the genre, and the insertion of "modern instances" as Boccaccio had done, added to

internal evidence of Boccaccian reversal and framing, as well as intertextuality between the tale and the *novella* of Frate Cipolla seem to mark this tale with the brand of Bonaventure, Dante and Boccaccio.[3] David Wallace, in commenting on the breakthrough of contemporary history into the sequence of ancient tragedies in the *Tale*, has noticed the double-sided density of this work:

> Chaucer shares with his Italian contemporaries a vivid sense that the whole meaning of a man's life is rewritten as he falls. And he shares with some of them a willingness to suggest that such renarration is always imminent; that it may be already in progress.
>
> (300)

Richaed Neuse also has seen "the Monk's re-creative commentary" at work in the tragedies, as the human image "becomes most ambiguous, for at the very moment that it seems utterly degraded it is likely to appear in unexpectedly exalted forms (14)."

Indeed the *Monk's Tale* is a tale of renarration and recreation, and its progress begins in the *General Prologue*, leads to the tale, and from thence into the "modern instances," in particular the Tale of Petro of Spain in the center of the work. Along the way, the tale is rewritten by a *dronk*, a monkey and several friars. The *dronk* and the monkey, we will see, are puns for the Monk and his punning reversal art respectively, and the friars are part of the complex construction that is the Chaucer's monk.

The Monkey's Tail

Although the complete sequence of the *Canterbury Tales* is not known, a pun[4] on the word *dronk* seems to suggest the Monk as the actual commencement narrator, rather than the Knight who draws the *cut* (845), and who, we are told by the Host, tells his tale *by foreward and by composicioun* (848). The word *foreward* is significant, because by the time the reader has reached it, he has gone foreward too far, and passed the position of the key word which unlocks the door to the work. In the *Decameron*, we have seen that the single word *cambio* (restitution) holds the "*cam* position" pointing to Restituta at the center of the text. In the *Tales*, the pun *dronk* for "monk" seems to perform the same function.

First appearing in the *General Prologue* description of the Prioresse, prior to the introduction of the Monk, the *dronk* key occurs at the end of the *General Prologue* when the Host proposes storytelling, offering to serve as judge and guide. He asks those who agree to accept his proposal to

> Tel me anon, withouten wordes mo,
> And I wol erly shape me therfore.
> (808-9)
>
> Tell me straightway, without any more words,
> And therefore I will get ready early.
> (Translation using Riverside notes)

This seems to be a punning riddle with many solutions, two of which seem to be the most useful. Both are translingual. The first recognizes the word *non* as the root of the Latin word for "monk," *nonnus*: "Tel me a *non*[nus], withouten wordes *mo*," perhaps *mo*[nk], which might be read as "Tel me a *nonnus*, without using the word *monk*." The second employs the Latin interrogative adverb *nonne* as an oxymoronic pun: "Tel me a *nonne*, withouten wordes *mo*," perhaps *mo*[re], or "Tel me 'Not? Yes.'" Since the word *nonne*

says "not?" expecting the answer "yes," this solution can be applied to the first: "Is that not [a monk]? Yes." The figure *anon* at the heart of this riddle also has the capacity to direct attention to the future, *anon*, while perhaps pointing at both a "monk" and "not a monk." As a monk, the riddle suggests the monk who tells the *Monk's Tale*. As "not a monk" it admits of unlimited possibilities, three of which we will pursue: the pun *dronk*, which appears as *dronken* (820) a few lines later, concretely saying "monk," without using the word "monk;" the monkey, which is suggested in this passage by the word *shape*, and developed through illustration and puns as the text progresses; and the friar—actually three friars—who seem to be a part of the *modi* structure of the Monk. It should be pointed out here that this riddle of the "monk who is/is not a monk" is accompanied by the first of four numbered "Dan/te" figures, concealed in fragments at the beginning of the lines, as the letters *Te* in *Tell* and the word *And*. The figure seems to be "counted" by the letter *I* (which can also be the Roman numeral I).

Chaucer the Pilgrim continues the narration:

> We dronken, and to reste wente echon,
> Withouten any lenger taryynge.
> (820-21)

The word *dronken* responds to the riddle, and is followed by another pun on the words *and to reste*, which can mean both "and to bed" and "and to the rest of the *Canterbury Tales*," a sending forth into the text *withouten any lenger taryynge*. Additionally, the group *dronken, and to* holds the second "Dante" figure entangled with the pun *dronk*. It is held in the group *en, and to*, and counted by the word *to* (as its homophone "two").

The third and fourth "Dante" figures can be found in the Prologue to the *Monk's Tale*, where the Host selects the Monk to narrate his tale. The numbering provides an identifiable connection between the exit near the end of the *General Prologue* and the

entrance into the Prologue to the *Monk's Tale*. The third figure can be found in the line *Loo, Rouchestre stant heer faste by!* (1926). It is an aural pun, held in the sound of the group *tre stant heer* which sounds like "*tre*'s Dant here," counting *tre* as "three." The fourth figure involves the French letter *t*, pronounced "tay," and appears as ***daun Thomas*** (1930) after the punning exhortation *Ryde forth* . . .(1927) that counts the fourth figure. The sequence can only be completed when the reader moves directly from the *General Prologue* word ***dronken***, entangled with the first "Dante" figuration, to the introduction of the Monk in the Prologue of the *Monk's Tale*.

If the reader misses the textual hinting, and continues to read, there is a corrective a few lines later when the host gives his horse *areste*, "a rest," both a reference to the previous instruction *to reste*, and a pun on the Norman word *arreste*, "stop!"

> And seyde, "Lordynges, herkneth, if you leste.
> Ye woot youre foreward, and I it yow recorde.
> If even-song and morwe-song accorde,
> Lat se now who shal telle the firste tale.
> As ever mote I drynke wyn or ale,
> Whoso be rebel to my juggement
> Shal paye for al that by the wey is spent.
> Now draweth cut, er that we ferrer twynne;
> He which that hath the shorteste shal bigynne.
> (828-36)

The reader, perhaps addressed as one of the pilgrim company, is too far forward (*Ye woot youre foreward*) and is being told so by the text (*I it yow recorde*), perhaps to effect a return to ***dronken***. Additionally, with the pun *leste*, heard as "last," the text is identifying its radically oppositional style: "Lordynges, herkneth, if you [last]./Ye woot youre foreward," a rendering of the Scriptural "and the last shall be first." The equation of evening with morning in the next line extends the last/first equivalence, and is followed by a balancing of the pun ***Lat se now*** with *who shal telle the firste tale*, which emphasizes "last" and "first." This "last" is another riddle, because the phrase *Lat se **now*** also holds

the clues "Latin," "see" and "snow," which the reader can "see." The puns *Latin* (in ***Lat se now***) and *snow* (in *Lat se* ***now***) are entangled. Since the Latin word for "snow" is *nix*, the reader might infer the Roman numeral *ix*, the "last" in a decinomial system, and recognize it as the oppositional complement of *firste*. The recast line would then read "Nine *shal telle the firste tale*." The ninth pilgrim described in the *General Prologue* is the Monk. Additionally, the connection of Latin with the first tale points to the *Monk's Tale* because it is the only tale that begins with a Latin subtitle, *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium* (*Concerning the Falls of Illustious Men*), which is borrowed from Boccaccio, who also crafted a work that begins its tales *in medias res*.

There follow three more clues that identify the *Monk's Tale* as the *first* tale: first, the equivalence of *even-song* and *morwe-song*, realized in the planet Venus,[5] which is known as both the "evening-star" and the "morning-star," and called Lucifer,[6] points to the example of Lucifer, the first tale in the *Monk's Tale*; second, the list of words ***mote***, *drynke* and *wyn* in the same line (suggesting the earlier *mo*, *dronken* and *wyn*), framed by the "wings" [t]*ale* and *ale*, suggest an allegorical relationship between *mo*[nk]and *dronk* that not only points to the Monk, but also may identify the Monk as a *modi* structure; and third, the statement that *he which that hath the shortest shal bigynne* proximate to *Sire Knyght*, while seeming to indicate the shortest [lot], may actually mean the shortest [tales], which are the sixty-one word *tales* (1968) of Petro, King of Cyprus and Barnabo of Lumbardy at the center of the *Monk's Tale*.[7] Their oppositional complement would be the longest tale, which is the *Knight's Tale*.

The exclusion of the Knight as the prime narrator seems to be effected by the fact that he gets the *cut*, perhaps removal. A miniature verification of this replacement can be

found in the Monk's tale of Holofernes, whose death occurs when *Amydde his hoost he dronke lay a-nyght* (2568), an intertextual reminder of Homer's Doloneia and Vergil's nighttime foray of Nisus and Euryalus, that suggests the pun *lay* for "slay," implying that in the Host's dialogue, the Monk slayed the Knight, but realizes another pun on the word *lay* as "to tell a lay," or story, which actuates the preferment of the *Monk's Tale* over the *Knight's Tale* as the first tale. Another more telling confirmation is found in the Prologue of the *Monk's Tale* when the Host says *And out at dore anon I moot me dighte,/Or elles I am but lost* (1914-5), which connects *anon* and *mo* with the door, or else he is *lost*, another pun for "last." The single *dronk* key, with its synonyms *non*[nus] and *mo*[nk], seems to have opened the *dore* of the *Monk's Tale.*

A collection of tales within a collection of tales, the *Monk's Tale* structurally foreshadows the entire work, its discrete units appearing on a proportionally reduced scale, in much the same way that the episodes of the Telemachy preview Homer's *Odyssey.*[8] Chaucer's tale is structurally mimetic, a characteristic that may suggest a pun on *the Monkes tale* (before 1991) as "The Monkey's Tail," that is born out in figures *som bifore and som bihynde* (1988) the tale—first in the Prologue to the *Monk's Tale* and then in the Prologue to the *Nun's Priest's Tale.* In the former, the word *ape* (1910) appears prior to the introduction of the Monk, who is told to be merry *For ye shul telle a tale trewely* (1925), a phrase that incorporates the letter *y* (perhaps a graphic representation of a tail) with a pun on *tale* as "tail." This illustration of the monkey's tail as *y* is repeated in a series of line-ending *y*-words (*assaye, paye, pleye, seye*) that precede *This worthy Monk* (1965). In the opening passage of the latter, the text comments on the *y* illustrations, both by sight and by sound:[9]

"Hoo!" quod the Knyght, "good sire, namoore of this!
That ye han seyd is right ynough, ywis,
And muchel moore; for litel hevynesse
Is right ynough to muche folk, I guesse.
I seye for me, it is a greet disese,
Whereas men han been in greet welthe and ese,
To heeren of hire sodeyn fal, allas!
And the contrarie is joye and greet solas,
.....
"Ye," quod oure Hooste, "by Seint Poules belle!
Ye seye right sooth; this Monk he clappeth lowde.
(2767-81)

The emphasis on the figure *y* that appears here in bold type seems to lead directly to the aural pun *Monk he* for "monkey," and a clapping monkey at that, that is mirrored in *Heere stynteth the Knyght the Monk of his tail* (after 2766). Additionally, the minute series of *al* wings in *fal, allas* in front of *And the contrarie* might suggest the *y* as a graphic allegory with the capacity for negative formulation. The Host continues the *y* figures, aligning *tragedie* with both the tail *y* and the figure *no*:

...and als of a tragedie
Right now ye herde, and pardee, no remedie
It is for to biwaille ne compleyne
That that is doon, and als it is a peyne,
As ye han seyd, to heere of hevynesse.
"Sire Monk, namoore of this, so God yow blesse!
Youre tale anoyeth all this compaignye.
Swich talking is nat worth a boterflye,
For therinne is ther no desport ne game.
(2783-91)

It is important to notice that the identification of *tragedie* with *no*, and with the monkey's tale (*y*) in this place, seems to suggest that *tragedie* can be converted to "comedie," a fiction reinforced by the presence of the words ***remedie*** and ***compleyne*** which follow. If this is true, the stories of the *Monk's Tale*, all framed by *tragedie*, could be reversible, with the examples of sorrow also holding one or more of joy. This would permit an universalized allegory with tropological potential that could support the *modi* structure, like an *ape,/That wol been overlad with every wight* (1910-11).

The Monk himself seems to be a structure that is overlaid with everyman and several personae. Like the reader, he is bound by the host's instruction to *herkneth for the beste* (788)—perhaps the "best" interpretation of a line or a word, but also the *beste* interpretation of a pun (demonstrated here by the pun *beste* for "beast"). In order to understand better the *modi* structure of the Monk, let us consider him first as "not a monk," then as a composite of personae, and finally as one predominant persona. This pattern replicates the structure of the character Frate Cipolla, who was considered in Chapter Two. Cipolla was recognized as "not Cipolla," when revealed as a *verso* Francis, then as a composite that included Francis, Bonaventure, Dante, Boccaccio and Brother Leo, among others, and finally as the predominant Bonaventure persona in Cepparello da Prato.

If the Monk is "not a monk" when he is the pun *dronk* and the pun *Monk he*, then he is also "not a monk" when he is a *frere*, a title appended immediately behind (remember *som bifore and som bihynde*) the last line of the description of the Monk in the *General Prologue*: *His palfrey was as broun as is a berye./A Frere ther was* . . . (207-8). The designation seems to apply before and behind, because the clue *broun*, emphasized by the simile which holds the hint *as is a*, is the identifying color of the Franciscan. It should not escape our notice that the words *His palfrey* hold the pun "His spell *frey*," a possible suggestion of the author's name, Geoffrey, in a position close to the Franciscan clues *broun*, *as is a* and *Frere*.[10]

Since the common definition of a monk is "a cloistered religious," this Monk is "not a monk," as distinguished from the "faulty Monk" pictured by White and others, when he is described in the Prologue of the *Monk's Tale* as *no povre cloysterer* (1939),

and in the *General Prologue* as not considering *a monk out of his cloystre* (181), who is *recchelees* (179), to be like a fish out of water. He is not a Monk when he is especially conscious of poverty, as he is when the word *recchelees* is heard as a pun for *recheles*, a peculiarly Franciscan term referring to "perfect poverty" that Lawrence Clopper has discussed in relation to William Langland's *Piers Plowman*. Its presence suggests that of *alle the ordres foure* (210) that Chaucer the Pilgrim attests are in England, this Monk chooses the Friars Minor by process of elimination: he is not a Benedictine, who would be cloistered, or a Dominican or Augustinian who would happily follow the Rule of Augustine (187-88), which he emphatically dislikes. Only a Franciscan could aptly be described as "a monk out of his cloister," because the Franciscan charism emphasizes integration with the laity; and only a Franciscan would be interested in "perfect poverty." Perhaps the Monk's fondness for "hunting" may really identify his love of "hinting" or punning.

Other Franciscan characteristics noticed include the *hood* (195) and the *balled* head (198). The Monk has the tonsure of the Franciscan as he is *shorn ful hye upon his pan* (1952), a wonderful line that includes the Eucharistic *panis*, "bread."

If the Monk is a friar, then he appears to be made up of several friars. Among his personae there seem to be three that are also incorporated into pilgrim characters: the Knight (Bonaventure), the Prioresse (Dante) and the Pardoner (Boccaccio). The Knight associates himself with the *Sentences* when, in the Prologue of the *Nun's Priest's Tale*, he cautions the monk about losing his audience, ending with the statement that *Noght helpeth it to tellen his sentence* (2801), perhaps a punning allusion to the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, commented on by both Bonaventure and Aquinas. When he adds *And*

well I woot the substance is in me,/If any thyng shal wel reported be (2802-4), he suggests both the Dominican Aquinas in the word *substance*[11] and the Franciscan Bonaventure in the pun *be* as the letter *B* for Bonaventure. Although both friars seem to be held within the Knight, we will only consider the persona of Bonaventure here.

Present at the beginning of the *General Prologue* in the words *bathed* (3) and *by aventure* (25), traces of Bonaventure can be noticed in the description of the *verray, parfit gentil knyght* (72)[12] whose horse was *goode* (74)—in French *bon*—and who wears a *fustian* (75), "coarse," tunic[13] that is *bismotered*—twice a pun on *mother*, the Blessed Mother of God, and Bonaventure's mother whose vow to Francis snatched her son "from the jaws of death (*L. M.* Prol. 3, 183)."[14] He has late come from his *viage* (77), "itinerary," and is now on pilgrimage. Hints can be noticed toward the end of the *General Prologue*, when the host requests that the tales told on pilgrimage be tales *of aventures* (795) and *of best sentence* (798), and when Chaucer the pilgrim, who knows how to *telle a tale after a man* (731), i. e., long after the man (Knight) has been described, attaches a description that could fit Bonaventure to the end of the description of the Pardoner:[15]

> But trewely to tellen atte laste,
> He was in chirche a noble ecclesiaste.
> Wel koude he rede a lessoun or a storie,
> But alderbest he song an offertorie;
> For wel he wiste, whan that song was songe,
> He moste preche and wel affile his tonge
> To wynne silver, as he ful wel koude.
> (707-13)

The passage has two significant puns: one on the *Song of Songs*, with which Bonaventure lavishly enriched the *Legenda Maior* (Habig 622), and the other on the interlingual oxymoronic phrase *wynne silver* as "wyn *ne* silver," or "win not silver." Also, after Chaucer the pilgrim has mentioned *the weye* six times (771, 774, 780, 791,

806, 834, perhaps an allusion to the well-known *De Triplici Via*), and related how *by aventure* (844) the cut fell to the knight, he describes him as a *goode man* (850), *wys* and *obedient* (851), who gave his *assent* (777, 817, 852). Clues to the persona of Bonaventure seem to be plentiful.

The Prioresse might be identified in the *General Prologue* through an interlingual pun on *gretteste ooth* (120), "greatest oath," as "greatest tooth." In French, the word "tooth" is *dente*, a visual pun on the name Dante, which appears backwards after the Prioresse's oath, *Seinte Loy;/And* (121). There are traces of the Divine Comedy as well. The Prioresse's name, *Madam Eglentyne* (121), recalls the eagle that was formed from the letter *m* in Canto XVIII of the *Paradiso*, and after the hint *grece* (135), we are told that she weeps at the sight of a *mous* (144), a pun on the Greek word for the letters *m*.[16] She sings the *service dyvyne* (122) which suggests the *Divine Comedy*, intoning well in her *nose* (123), a pun for "rose," and there are hidden in the text the words *hounde[s]* (146) and *greye* (152), or "greyhound," the Savior image of Canto I of the *Inferno*.

The description of the Pardoner is immediately preceded by the words *girles* (664) and *gerland* (666), *heed* (666), and *stake* (667), that suggest three distinguishing words in the *Decameron*: Cepparello's ‹*ghirlanda*›, Cipolla's *capo* and Gianni and Restituta's *palo*. The Pardoner is described like Cipolla speaks: he rides bareheaded, *save his cappe* (683). He has sewn *A vernycle* on his *cappe* (685), a suggestion of LaVerna in addition to a reference to the pilgrim's "Veronica," and his *voys* is that of a *goot* (688), perhaps a pun on "vice" that recalls the *Decameron* narrative voice's jest about the "smell of the billy-goat." He is the best at *his craft* (692) which is dealing in *relikes* (701), like Cipolla; and when he found a *povre person* (702), perhaps Francis or

the character in the *Pardoner's Tale*, he *gat hym moore moneye* (703) than the person got in *tweye monthes* (704). Typical of Cipolla-talk, the text seems to be talking out of "two mouths," saying both that he "got money from" the poor person, and that he *gat hym moore moneye*, "got [for] him more money." The word *moneye* probably holds a pun on "monkey" because it is followed by the word *apes* (706). A second meaning seems to be that the Pardoner did "monkey business" to the poor man, perhaps by casting him *in verso*, as Boccaccio did to Francis when he crafted Frate Cipolla.

That these three personae—Bonaventure, Dante and Boccaccio—would make up the character of the Monk seems to be consistent with the mimetic characteristic of the *Monk's Tale*, which, as a miniature *Canterbury Tales*, requires a narrator that represents all of the pilgrim narrators, including the Knight, the Prioresse and the Pardoner. This composite make-up is signaled by the Host's assigning three names to him: he is *daun John* (1929), perhaps Giovanni Boccaccio; he is *daun Thomas* (1930), perhaps Dante, as we have seen; *or elles daun Albon* (1930), perhaps Bonaventure, the cardinal-bishop of Albano. Very briefly, the Bonaventure persona of the Monk is suggested in the description of the Monk in the General Prologue by *This ilke Monk* (175), or "this silk Monk" because he wore a cardinal's silk baretta, his *good* opinion (183), and his description as *a fair prelaat* (204); and in the Prologue of the *Monk's Tale*, in the words *pasture* (1933) which was used of him by Boccaccio, *feith* (1935) which translates to *fidanza*, and *bones* (1941), and the phrases *thou art a maister* (1938), *no novys,/But a governour* (1939-40), *a wel farynge persone for the nones* (1942) because he gave talks to nuns all over Europe (Longpré III, 12).

The Dante persona can be inferred from a pun and the *an* abbreviation in the description of the Monk in the *General Prologue* as *A **manly man**, to been **an** abbot able./Ful **many** a deyntee hors hadde in stable,/**And*** (167-9), with the series of *an* figures pointing to the pun *deyntee* and the *And* as Dan[te]; in the word *belle* (171) that is significant because his grandfather was named Bellincione, and both his grand-uncle and his uncle were named Bello (Sayers III, 192, 397); and in the word *greyhoundes* (190) which might be *greyhound es*. In the Prologue of the *Monk's Tale* attention is given to *youre fader kyn* (1931), his promise to tell a tragedy that has been *versified communely* (1978), a pun on "Comedy;" in a word for "meter" that holds a "three"—*in meetre in many a sondry wyse* (1981), and his demurring to tell of *popes, emperours, or kynges,/After hir ages* (1986-7).

And finally the Boccaccio persona has both the author and his creation Frate Cipolla as referents. In the *General Prologue*, the author can be recognized in the Monk's love of the hunt, perhaps an allusion to the *Caccia di Diana*, and the pun *venerie* (166) heard as *Venere*,[17] "of Venus," in Book VII of the *Teseida*, as well as in *the rule of Seint Maure or of Seint Beneit* (173) which practically names Benoit de Sainte Maure, the author of the *Roman de Troie*, a source for Boccaccio's *Filostrato* (Krapp ii) that could be described as *old and somdel streit* (172). In the Prologue of the *Monk's Tale*, it is the Boccaccio persona who points *hyderward* (1969), perhaps *in verso*:

> To telle yow a tale, or two, or three.
> And if yow list to herkne hyderward,
> I wol yow seyn the lyf of Seint Edward; [Saint Francis]
> Or ellis, first, tragedies wol I telle, [comedies]
> Of whiche I have an hundred in my celle.
> Tragedie is to seyn a certeyn storie, [Comedy...Certaldo]
> As olde bookes maken us memorie, [new] [also "as sold"]
> Of hym that stood in greet prosperitee, [humble poverty][18]

And is yfallen out of heigh degree [risen from humility]
Into myserie, and endeth wrecchedly. [happiness...gloriously]
(1968-77)

There is added later the phrase *in prose* (1980).

The outrageous "pilgrim" Frate Cipolla seems to be present in the *General Prologue*'s description of the Monk and the Prologue of the *Monk's Tale*. He has a *ful fair skyn* (1932), and a good *opinion* (183), perhaps puns for "friar" and "onion." As an *outridere* (166), he is *certeinly* a *fair prelaat* (204), maybe Certaldo's friar prelate. Identified as a *sexteyn* (1936), or keeper of the vestry and relics, he is also a *celerer* (1936), perhaps a pun on "one who sells." Significantly, with a pun on the word *ordre*, he admits that he *by ordre telle nat thise thynges* (1985), a recognition of religious authority that is not unlike Cipolla's statement that his superior has *non ha sofferto che io l'abbia mostrate, infino a tanto che certificato . . .per certi . . .certo . . .* (564-5), "has never previously allowed me to exhibit [the relics], until such time as their authenticity was established . . .by virtue of certain . . .convinced . . . (476). The series of *cert* figures seems to establish the authenticity of Cipolla's goods, and so it is remarkable that the Monk includes the phrase *for certein* (1995) in the opening of his tale.

I have tried to assemble a few textual clues and puns to show that the Monk seems to be a composite character like Cipolla, and indeed, that he holds traces of Cipolla within him, along with hints of Bonaventure, Dante, Boccaccio. Perhaps the presence of so many different "pieces" of his portrait accounts for the difficulty that critics have encountered in evaluating his costume. Most have been condemnatory,[19] although Laura Hodges has pronounced his attire "on the whole, acceptable when judged by varying dress regulations for religious orders of the period (133)." Two problematic items, the wearing of *sleves purfiled at the hond/With grys, and that the fyneste of a lond* (194) and

the *love-knotte* (197), might be reevaluated as puns. The former would transform the pelt of a Baltic squirrel into the Norman word for "grey" as part of the phrase *hond/With grys*, or "with greyhound" placed just before some "Dante" letters. The reference would point to the *Divine Comedy*. The latter might imply that the Monk loves the "not," or the negative, and it does seem clear that negative figurations like those of Boccaccio abound in Chaucer's text. With these possibilities in mind, let us consider the *Monk's Tale*, as a fictive construction not unlike that of Frate Cipolla.

The *Monk's Tale*

In a one-stanza introduction to his tale, the Monk announces a plan to *biwaille in manere of tragedie* (1991) the harm of those who felt there was no remedy for *adversitee*. Critics have examined extensively the question of the discrepancy between the portrait of the Monk that is given in the *General Prologue* and his selection of *de casibus* tragedy for his tale. Most of them extend Kittredge's notion that the tales further reveal the teller's character (435-67), by identifying specific character traits, among them the reactive response (Howard), self-mastery (Bronson), idle curiosity (Olsson), and *acedia* (Berndt), as well as his possible official role (Beichner). Recently Siegfried Wenzel has argued that the "*Tale* sounds an authentically monastic view" because "laments against Fortune, with specific examples taken from ancient as well as contemporary history, were currently used in monastic preaching (267)." He cites three monastic sermons and the *Fasciculus morum*, the Franciscan preachers' handbook (264). His findings underscore Douglas Wurtele's conclusion that the Monk's mishandling of the *exempla*, particularly the three Bible stories, and his choice of "pagan *Fortuna*" rather than Boethian Fortune, which critics have disputed,[20] can be regarded as the "work of an errant mind (203)." I will argue that the Monk's *exempla*, like his own multi-faceted character, display a poly-sided density that permits his *de casibus* tragedy to be read as comedy.

An examination of the Monk's statements to the Host at the end of the Prologue of the *Monk's Tale*, suggests that his intention is to offer the reversible *tale*:

- he promises to do his diligence *As fer as sowneth into honestee* (1967), a punning line that can be reread several ways, among them "As far as one is in two honesty" perhaps indicating that many stories are twice-told,
- he urges the Host to *list to herkne hyderward* (1969) just before the assertion that he has a hundred *tragedies* in his cell, which I have suggested may imply Boccaccio's *Decameron* "comedies;" a reversal that may be "certified" in Cipolla's own terms with the word *certeyn* (1973), and connected to

Dante by his name and the title of the *Divine Comedy* suggested in the line ***And they ben versified communely*** (1978),

- he says to *herkneth . . .for to heere* (1983), which can be the pun "listen to hear two," and also "listen to hear *for to* (Fortune)," perhaps Bonaventure's art of the *double entendre* imitated "here,"
- he asserts that the narrator *telle nat thise thynges* (1985), that is "tell these things 'not,'" i. e. in the negative,
- and, he confesses that he *tellen hem som bifore and some bihynde*, with a repetition of the combination *for to* (1983) in the word *bifore* (with *bi* as the pun "twice," or "two"), again a connection to Fortune.

Each of these hints suggest either doubling or opposition, as does the Monk's parodic introduction to the tale, which emphasizes the prefix *bi* ("be") a pun for another prefix *bi* ("twice"): *I wol biwaille in manere of tragedie* (1991). The significant word *biwaille*, positioned at the end of a series of *bi* words[21] that draw attention to it, seems directed toward *tragedie*, which, if twice-told as comedy, would bring the characters *out of hir adversitee* (1994). An interesting remedy is suggested by the oxymoronic phrase *nas no remedie* (1993), which presents a double negative with a word that we have suggested might be punned as "comedy." so that the remedy could both be and not be "comedy." That this ambiguity is connected to the word Fortune can be inferred by a graphic "list" that runs up the edge of the text to form the pun *For To An*, or "For tu na," as if to enclose the text of those three lines within it, including the words *Fortune list to flee*. These are the very lines that discuss the remedy. They conclude with a comment about Fortune:

> **And...**
> **To...**
> **For certein, whan that Fortune list to flee,**
> **Ther may no man the cours of hire withholde.**
> **(1993-6)**

Like the clue ***dronk*** near the end of the *General Prologue* that directed the reader to the *Monk's Tale*, the word *flee* in these lines directs the reader to "flee" from the Introduction to the heart of the work. The word "flee" needs to be considered in conjunction with the

pun *no man* for "Norman" and the interlingual *cours* for "*cuers*," "hearts" (*Dictionnaire* A-C, 808) in the next line that is related to it, and might assert that "There may the Norman behold the hearts of [Fortune]," when the visual pun *withholde* for "*be* with *hold*," is noticed as "behold." The hearts of Fortune can be seen there at the verb "to flee," because the Norman word for "to flee" is *escaper* (OED V, 386), which can be punned as *es cap P*, "is capital P." The implication of these lines is that Fortune's hearts can be seen where she lists the capital P. Presently there is the warning to *Be war by thise ensamples*, not unlike the imperative *a reste* when the reader has passed the site of the word *dronk*.

In the list of exemplary stories told by the Monk, two begin with the capital letter *P*: the shortest tales of Petro, King of Spain, and Petro, King of Cyprus. That they begin with the same name is significant, as they are one of several oppositional pairs that lead the reader to the heart of the work, just like the pairs that lead to the summit of La Verna in the *Decameron*. The many frames scope inward, beginning with the pilgrim's frame story which holds the Prologue to the *Monk's Tale* and its complement, the Prologue to the *Nun's Priest's Tale*. Within that, the *Monk's Tale* begins with an introductory stanza on the subject of tragedy that is balanced by a closing stanza about the same subject.[22] These two stanzas each contain three miniatures that identify three authors that can be found at the center of the work: the former presents *Fortune* for Bonaventure, ***The*** above ***And*** for Dante, and *certein* for Boccaccio, and the latter recapitulates more obscurely *Fortune* for Bonaventure, ***faille And*** for Dante, which announces its own failure, and a ***face with a clowde***, a pun for "clown face," for Bocca's smile. Within these stanzas on tragedy, six tales precede the account of Cenobia, which is grounded in a work of

Boccaccio, and six tales follow the account of Hugelino of Pisa, which is grounded in a work of Dante. These tales seem to be reversible tales, and a brief consideration of the Tale of Lucifer will serve as an example of their double-density.[23]

Prefigured in Venus' capacity to be both the morning star and the evening star, Lucifer, whose name tells of light, has the capacity to be converted to a brighter Light, "the real light/that gives light to everyone (John 1: 9)," Jesus Christ. The conversion depends on the pun *an angel* in the first line, which can be heard as "a nangel," or "a non-angel." This self-contradiction makes a riddle of the first two lines:

> At Lucifer, though he an angel were
> And nat a man, at hym wol I bigynne.
> (1999-2000)

The "non-angel" Lucifer is also *nat a man*. That only leaves God, a possibility particularized as Jesus by the pun *nat a man* heard as "nata man," or "born a man." The last word *bigynne*, not only recalls the opening *I wol biwaille*, with its *wol I*, but seems to be a more appropriate word for *biwaille*'s spot, which is at the beginning. An exchange of words, perhaps suggested by *I wol* and *wol I*, would cause the opening of the *Tale* to begin with "I wol bigynne in manere of tragedie," and the riddle to *biwaille* both Lucifer's fall and Jesus' death. Such a switch would allow the two words to pun each other, a situation that is duplicated within two lines by *his synne* and *is inne*, which can become "his in" and "is sin" respectively. The second switch may be validating the first.

The Tale continues the pun on *n angel* as Jesus:

> For though Fortune may noon angel dere,
> From heigh degree yet fel he for his synne
> Doun into helle, where he yet is inne.
> (2001-3)

The re-reading states Jesus' inaccessibility to Fortune, and his inner desire to descend into hell where he "became sin," to use St. Paul's words (2 *Cor* 5: 21). There, in hell, he encounters Lucifer as the Greek word for "death," *than*[atos]:

> O Lucifer, brightest of angels alle,
> Now artow Sathanas, that mayst nat twynne
> Out of miserie, in which that thou art falle.
> (2004-2006)

The artistic arrangement of Satan's name as *Sathanas* seems to be signaled as a double and reversal by the pun *artow*, or "art two," a process that is effected in the *Sa* and *as* of *Sathanas*. When these two are noticed as the word *as*, Lucifer's status as "death" is revealed, a device that Chaucer may have noticed in *Piers Plowman*'s Harrowing of Hell where, at Jesus' arrival *Thanne syked Sathan* (271). Both texts seem to be saying that Satan is "death," but in the Tale of Lucifer, he is both "death" and its complementary opposite, Jesus, "the Way, the Truth and the Life (John 14: 6)." In this Lucifer, death is life. He may not escape out of—not *miserie*, but "my serie[s]," the author's series of tales, emphasized by the homophone *art*. That series of tales ends with the Tale of Cresus (a pun for Jesus) who is *Anhanged* (see *an ange*), in both rhetorical and structural terms, the perfect complement for the Tale of Lucifer, which begins with *an angel*.

It would seem that when the pilgrims *liketh for to heere* (1983), or "Fortu[ne] hear" and "for two hear," they experience Bonaventure's art of the *double entendre*, a conclusion supported by a line in the Tale of Alexander about False Fortune: *The whiche two of al this wo I wyte?* (2670), with a pun for "write," and an imitation of *wol I*. It would also seem that the six twice-told tales are matched by six other twice-told tales as complementary pairings. In the center between them can be found the tales of the two Petro kings and that of Barnabo of Lumbardy, three of the four "modern instances."

If we accept the placement of the "modern instances" in the middle of the *Tale*, as most editors do,[24] then counting by stanzas, the actual center of the *Monk's Tale* occurs in the space between the last line of the first stanza and the first line of the last stanza of the tale of Petro of Spain. The stanzas that precede this spot seem to point toward it, beginning with the recommendation to go to Petrarch, the alliance to be in *pees* (2334), and the dress of Cenobia's sons, *the kynges habit* (2343), along with the word *flee* (2356), which also appears in the Tale of Petro of Spain itself (2378). Additionally, preceding the spot are hints to friars—the son's names in *Arabyen* (2339), not Persian, mean "father" and "brothers" (2345), and to Bonaventure—*Fortune* (2347, 2349) and *mysaventure* (2350), that lead to several lines about Dante that run from the end of the Tale of Cenobia and through the tales of the Petros. They are introduced by the words ***-e a vitremyte;/And*** (2372) or "my three *Vitae* of Dante," presumably these three tales, that begin in the last stanza of the Tale of Cenobia:

> And she that bar the ceptre ful of floures
> Shal bere a distaf, hire cost for to quyte.
>
> *De Petro Rege Ispannie*
>
> O noble, O worthy Petro, glory of Spayne,
> Whom Fortune heeld so hye in magestee,
> Wel oghten men thy pitous deeth complayne!
> Out of thy land thy brother made thee flee,
> And after, at a seege, by subtiltee,
> Thou were bitraysed and lad unto his tente, . . .
> (2373-80)

The passage incorporates several puns: *bar* as "barred," *ceptre* as "sepulcre," *bere* perhaps as "bury," and *tente* as "intent," seeming to offer an allegorical presentation of Florence (*she*) and Dante's exile.[25] It may be a miniature encomium for Dante, not unlike those that Boccaccio reports were made by poets at the request of Guido da

Polenta after Dante's death (24), matched across the center by the literary recognition of Francis, Boccaccio and the *Chanson de Roland.*

Working from the Tale of Hugelino of Pisa toward the center, the hints to Francis include the name Hugelino[26] as a possible pun for Cardinal Hugolino, the good friend of Francis who became Pope Gregory IX[27]; and in the Tale of Barnabo of Lumbardy, the words *brother sone* (2403), *his prisoun* (2405), which could recall Francis' imprisonment in Perugia for a year after the Battle of the Bridge of San Giovanni in 1202 (2 Cel I, I, 4, 364; note 11, 587), and the name *Barnabo*, perhaps a pun for Bernardone, like the name of Bernabo, the Francis character in *Decameron* II, 9 who was brought before the Sultan. In the tale of Petro of Cyprus,[28] who was King of Cyprus and Jerusalem, the hints seem to be directed toward Boccaccio:

> O worthy Petro, kyng of **Cipre**, **also**
> That **Alisandre** wan by heigh maistrie,
> Ful many an hethen wroghtestow ful wo,
> Of which thyne owene liges hadde **envie**,
> **And**...
>
> (after 2390-5)

Besides Cipolla, there is a suggestion of Boccaccio's high mastery of Dante, his *Life of Dante* (in the pun *envie* as the Norman phrase *en vie*, and *And*), and the *Decameron* I, 9 story of the first *re di Cipri* (80) after the conquest of the Holy Land by *Gottifré* who responded to a pilgrim's request for *sodisfacimento* (80) with alacrity. On this side is the allusion to the *Chanson de Roland* entangled with a topical reference. The two sides of the center, then, seem to interweave tokens of great authors: the one holding forth Petrarch, Bonaventure and Dante, and the other presenting Francis, Boccaccio and the writer of the *Chanson*.

As we approach the center of the *Tale*, the markers and hints become smaller. The three lines on either side of the central space are framed by the figure *sed*, appearing in *bitraysed* (2380) and *cursednesse* (2385). The former suggests more readings if it is read as "*bi* said *tre*,"[29] or "two said three," which could alter the original *biwaille* to "tre waille." The latter may be a pun for "cussednesse," or the propensity to *cusse*, "kiss,"[30] a mirrored act. Within these "reading notes" can be found the signals *as . . .with* and *with . . .as* on opposing lines, which may hold very subtle intertextual references to a trio of authors from the British Isles[31] that lead to the central lines and the *rente*, which can be punned as a "break" or "tear" exactly at the midpoint space between:

> Succedynge in thy regne **and** in thy rente.
>
> The feeld of snow, with th'egle of blak therinne,
> Caught with the lymrod coloured as the gleede,
> (2382-4)

If the word *Succedynge* is punned as *sic cedynge*, "thus ceding," the text seems to be yielding its kingdom and rent, i. e., paying homage, not to Dante, whose name is encoded here and in the two previous lines, and whose *egle* is apparent, or to Boccaccio, whose reconfiguration of Dante's *egle* into coal in the *novella* of Frate Cipolla is reflected in the incorporation of the *egle* in *the gleede*, "coal," in the next line, but to Bonaventure's report of Francis which holds the *egle* as a metaphor for his theology, the *coal* as a simile, and the account of his rolling *naked in the deep snow* to avoid the temptation of desire:

> Then with handfuls of snow he began to form seven snowmen, which he presented to himself, saying to his body: "Look, this larger one is your wife; those four are your two sons and two daughters; the other two are a servant and a maid whom you should have to serve you. Hurry, then, and clothe them since they are dying of cold. But if it is too much for you to care for so many, then take care to serve one Master!" At that the tempter went away conquered, and the holy man returned to his cell in victory. While he froze outwardly for penance's sake, he so quenched the fire of passion within that he hardly felt anything of that sort from that time on. A certain friar who was praying at the time saw in the bright moonlight everything that happened. When the man of God discovered that the friar had seen all of this that night,

> he gave him an account of the temptation and commanded him to tell no living person what he had seen as long as Francis himself lived.
> (*L. M.* V, 4, 221)[32]

The account is one of the most memorable in the *Legenda Maior*, certainly to celibate men and women, but there is one detail that is problematic for our argument: Bonaventure reports that Francis went *in hortum* (517), "into the garden," not into a *feeld*. The alteration in the tale is significant, not only because of its inaccuracy, but also because the word *garden* in Middle English would have been a pun for Francis as the "Guardian." The alteration could be deliberate, because it is immediately preceded by *thy rente*, which, besides being a pun for "tear," could also be a pun for "thy Erin," with the word ***therinne*** beneath it. (The clue "Erin" could suggest a *verso* reading, Ireland being geographically opposite to England.) The *verso* reading could alter the *feeld*, and also the *te* end of *rente* to *et*, so that there would be a pair of *t*'s straddling the *rente*, similar to Boccaccio's double *t* on La Verna.

Why the alteration, then? There seem to be two possibilities. First, the omission of the word "garden" draws attention to it, as well as to The Garden, The Garden of Eden, and to the *rente* in the text that separates *te* and *The*, "you and The[os]," as the sin of Adam did, and which can also be read in Anglo-Norman as "*The* (letter) *te*," "the letter *t*," the cross, which redeemed that sin. This might be the tropological reading at the center of the tale that recalls Bonaventure's *Commutabile Bonum* in its combination of the Fall and the Redemption. Second, the words *feeld of* create the pun "feel dove," a Holy Spirit symbol for the Trinity.[33] And third, the word *feeld* can be noticed as one of three "egle" figures: the ***feeld*** (with a reversal of *d* to *g* in eelg/egle) ***of snow*** written by Bonaventure about the "eagle" Francis; the *egle* as the Seraph described by Dante, and the ***gleede***, "coal," memorialized by Boccaccio's Frate Cipolla, perhaps suggested by

Dante's simile—all expressed the fearful symmetry of the opposing letter formations eeld-egle-glee.

The central image of this trio is the *egle of blak therinne*, which might be the "Monk," we have not spoken of here, a friar who wears the black robes of a Dominican, and whose name is a pun for Dante's *aquila*, the eagle Thomas Aquinas. In the *Paradiso*, Aquinas, who tells the story of Francis, is the complementary opposite of Bonaventure, who tells of Dominic; so *therinne* might also effect a switch from Aquinas to Bonaventure, suggesting the presence of both of them. The figures *feeld of* and *gleede* (which holds a translated *de*, "of") are both figures of the central *egle of*, and by framing it, they point to it, and might be thought to collapse into it.

The figure *egle of* is the structural center of the *Monk's Tale*. Here we find three possible key formations. First, in *le of*, which puns Francis' *le ro* signature for Brother Leo, we see a suggestion of the first written record of Francis and the Seraph, and an intimation of the midpoint letter *T* of *The* as the figural center of the work. Second, in the words *egle of* we see a suggestion of Francis the *egle* and the Crucified as the pun *le of* for "Love" confronting each other, and perhaps even held in the one figure *egle*, as *egle of*, can be punned as "angel Love," the Crucified in the form of the Seraph. This pun on *egle* as "angel" seems to connect to the first pun *an angel* (1999) in the first Tale of Lucifer, and to the last pun *Anhanged* (2759) in the last Tale of Cresus, which makes a circular work. And finally, in the words *egle of* we see the author's signature and title, because the figure *egle of blak* seems to hold a pun on *blak* as "blank," which is suggested by the pun on *therinne* as "there *n*," which adds the letter *n* to *blak* to make "blank." The rest of the figure holds the letters of the name "Geof" entwined around the

remaining letters *El*, which, when influenced by the punning hints *He brew* and *Caught* (see the letters *C*, *h*, *au* of Chaucer), might be telling of the love of a friar for his God, because the "blank" can be filled by the missing letters "frey," a pun for the Spanish word *Fray*, "Friar."

With these figures of Francis, Bonaventure, Aquinas, Dante, Boccaccio and his Frate Cipolla, and himself—all centered in the cross, Chaucer has converted *de casibus* tragedy into another divine comedy with a double center: the figure *T* as the structural center, and the figure *egle of* as the rhetorical center. The two can be combined to form "eglet," which perhaps identifies a spiritual descendent of the *egle*.

Like Boccaccio, Chaucer moves his reader's attention inward, gradually narrowing the focus to a few words in a single tale, and finally to a few letters. The process here, however, is almost mathematical in its precision. In fact, one would be hard-pressed to find words and letters that mirror one other more accurately that the creation "eeld-egle-glee," whose central *egle* could be punned as "le eg[g]" out of which grows the tale.

Leviathan

This chapter has investigated the *Monk's Tale* as an example of Chaucer's participation in the continuing development of the exegetical structure. It has suggested that the Monk is figured allegorically to be "not a monk," when he is the pun *dronk*, the beast monkey, and several friars, among them Francis, Bonaventure, Dante, Boccaccio and perhaps the author himself as Fray Geof. It has proposed a tropological rendering as *te* and *The*, and an anagogical/aesthetic picture of the double *t*.

Chaucer's debt to Boccaccio seems to be structural and rhetorical, and to Dante, figural. The work bears the marks of the *Decameron*, in that it sets signal words to lead from the frame to a tale, and within that tale, from an introduction to three central tales. It seems to feature reversible characters, and employ reductive framing in the same way as the *Decameron* to focus on a small area of text which is crafted minutely, with attention to every letter, sound and possible combination. It is translingual.

Although this paper has not examined the *Divine Comedy*, from our consideration of the *Monk's Tale*, it seems clear that Chaucer regards Dante with the great respect that he accords Francis and Bonaventure. He has centered the *egle* as his premier figure, next to the cross,[34] has identified it with the *egle* of the *Divine Comedy*, and shown its incorporation into the Frate Cipolla story in the *Decameron*, in a passage that is limited by frames. In a tale that has noticed many other authors, he has lauded Dante's greatness overtly by naming him *the grete poete of Ytaille*, covertly by his many "Dante" figures like *that highte Dant*, and formally by his twice-told encomium.

Perhaps Chaucer's contribution to traditional exegetical writing is, as Wallace and Neuse have suggested, to recognize it as a process of renarration and re-creation that is

continually in progress, and, I would add—and this is his special genius, that has the potential for absolute symmetry. From Bonaventure on, the process has engaged with what I have called the oxymoronic word, which seems to develop into a language of dis-ontology, not unlike apophatic discourse, which Michael Sells has traced to Plato's *Parmenides* "where the hypothesis of 'the one' results in a plethora of *coincidentia oppositorum* (22)." Like apophatic discourse, the process enters the mystery that exists "only in the interstices of the text, in the tension between the saying and the unsaying," between the literal and the allegorical. It sustains parallel stories in the literal, that is "said," and in the imagination, that is "unsaid." It leaves to the reader the task of recognizing the *beste*, in the case of the *Monk's Tale*, the best beast, found, not in the monkey, but in the whale from the word *biwaille*, or "be whale." Let us propose Leviathan, in Greco-Norman "La Vie a than[atos]," "Life has death," or "Life is death," and in *verso* as the Christian paradox, "Death is life." This suitable image for a process that privileges the *coincidentia oppositorum* can be discovered in the Prologue of the *Monk's Tale* (remember *som bifore and som bihynde*) when, in a series of letter puns, the Host speaks of his wife:

> "This is my lif, but if that I wol fighte;
> And out at dore anon I moot me dighte,
> Or elles I am but lost, but if that I
> Be lik a wilde leoun, fool-hardy.
> I woot wel she wol do me slee som day
> Som neighebor, and thanne go my way;
> For I am perilous with knyf in honde,
> (1913-19)

with the words *thanne go my way* seeming to include "than" and "La via," or Leviathan, the Host may be suggesting that the author with his pen can kill (in *verso* give life to) the image of Leviathan as "Death is life" by introducing the *way*,[35] having given the proper word (*bifore*) in *This is my lif*. Such is the intricately woven fabric of puns and doubles

in this work. It is the process of Leviathan, which holds within its image the distance between complementary opposites, between the thought and its transreferential imitation, between unsaying and saying. Sells describes apophatic discourse as "a form of dialectical logic that plays against and upon the linear logic of delimited reference (21)," which could be a description of the pun, especially the *verso* pun.

Perhaps it is best to conclude, therefore, that the *Monk's Tale* isn't just a *Monk's Tale* or a monkey's tail: it is a "whale of a tale," and even a "whale's tail," and a "Wales tale," but probably really a friar's tale. It will be one hundred and fifty years before the framed tale collection will again rise to such a ***heigh degree.***

[1] "Unde cum semel die sancto Paschae moram faceret in eremitorio quodam adeo ab hominum habitatione remoto, quod commode mendicare non posset; memor illius qui discipulis euntibus in Emmaus ipso die in specie peregrini apparuit, ab ipsis Fratribus eleemosynam petiit ut peregrinus et pauper. Quam cum accepisset humiliter, sacris eos informavit eloquiis, quod transeuntes per mundi desertum tanquam peregrini et advenae verique Hebraei *Pascha Domini*, hoc est transitum *ex hoc mundo ad Patrem* (*L. M.* VII, 9, 525)."

[2] Petrarch's *De viris illustribus* preceded Boccaccio's *De casibus*.

[3] R. A. Shoaf has shown Chaucer to be a "great interpreter of Dante (*Dante, Chaucer and the Currency of the Word: Money, Image, Reference in Late Medieval Poetry*, Norman, Okla.: Pilgrim Books, 1983, 8)." His grasp of Boccaccio has been recorded by countless studies (some 73 entries on Boccaccio and Chaucer in Joseph P. Consoli's *Giovanni Boccaccio: An Annotated Bibliography*, NY: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1992), and the *Riverside* edition refers to Boccaccio as "his favorite Italian poet (3)," although the issue of his knowledge of the *Decameron* remains unsettled. I have been unable, however, to discovered any work on Chaucer and Bonaventure.

[4] Many critics have studied Chaucer's puns, among them Steven Owley's "Chaucer's 'The Pardoner's Tale,'" *Explicator* 49(4) (1991):204; Robert Emmett Finnegan's "Bovine (E)sc(h)atology: Papal Bulles Assoiling in The Pardoner's Prologue and Tale," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 93(3-4) (1992):303-12; and Patricia Grimaldi Pizzorno's "Chauntecleer's Bad Latin," *Exemplaria* 4(2) (Fall 1992):387-409.

[5] The verification of this association may be given in the pun *mowe* for *morwe* in the Host's joshing about Venus payments in the Prologue of the *Monk's Tale*: "for ye mowe bettre paye/Of Venus paiementz than mowe we (1960-1)."

[6] Chaucer calls Lucifer "the messenger of the day" in Book III of *Troilus and Cressida*.

[7] Manly and Rickert's (4: 508) placement of the "modern instances" in the middle of the *Monk's Tale* seems to be the accepted arrangement. An opposing view has been advanced by Donald Fry who argues for the Ellesmere placement at the end. See n. 21.

[8] That Chaucer was familiar with Homer's *Odyssey* is apparent in an allusion to Charybdis in *Troilus and Cressida*, although it is problematic because the monster is confused with Scylla.

[9] The passage also offers a hint to draw attention to spelling in the punning oath *by Seint Poules belle/Ye* as "by [the way that] Seint Poul is spelled Y."

[10] This important pun also holds the figure *pal*, perhaps Boccaccio's *palo*. The figure *y* is the tail end of the name Geoffrey.

[11] Aquinas was celebrated for his distinction between substance and accident in defining creation and distinguishing it from alteration. See Pt. 1, Q. 45, Art. 1, Reply Obj. 2.

[12] Celano tells of Francis' vision of shields and lances (I Cel I, II, 5, 9-10) and refers to Francis as "fortissimus miles Christi (I Cel I, XV, 36, 40)," "the most valiant knight of Christ" (258) and his friars as "obedientissimi milites (I Cel I, XV, 39, 43)," "these most obedient knights" (261)). Bonaventure reports the vision of "palatium speciosum et magnum cum militaribus armis (I, 3, 506)," "a large and splendid palace full of military weapons (187)" that was "fore militumque suorum," "for him and his knights," and says Francis had to conquer himself "si vellet effici Christi miles (I, 5, 507)," "if he wanted to become a knight of Christ (5, 189)" when he kissed the leper. Francis' original name for the order was *Ordinem Fratrum de poenitentia* (IV, 6, 514), "the Order of the Brothers of Penance (210)."

Bonaventure was noted for his perfection of life: "Such was the innocence and purity in which

Brother Bonaventure lived, that Alexander of Hales used to say of him that he 'seemed not to have sinned in Adam (Thurston III, 96).'"

13 Franciscans wore a coarse, brown tunic.

14 Bonaventure expression is "a mortis faucibus erutus (*L. M. Pro.* 3, 505)."

15 His description ends at the word *apes*.

16 The notion of the capital letter is reinforced by the capital letter *A* on the prioresses' *brooch* (161).

17 This interpretation of *venerie* that implicates the Temple of Venus may find its verification in the host's *pleye* about *Venus paiementz* (1961).

18 The conversion of *prosperitee* to "poverty" seems to be reinforced in lines (2774-77) of the Prologue of the Nun's Priest's Tale:

> And the contrarie is joye and greet solas,
> As what a man hath been in povre estaat,
> And clymbeth up and wexeth fortunat,
> And there abideth in prosperitee.

19 Condemnatory views include Paul Beichner's idea that the costume is necessarily "expensive," in "Daun Piers, Monk and Business Administrator," *Speculum* 34 (1959): 611-19; Isaac Sequeira's notion that his attire is evidence of a disregard for the vows and church regulations in "Clerical Satire in the Portrait of the Monk and the Prologue to the *Monk's Tale*," *Literary Studies: Homage to Dr. A. Sivaramasubramonia Aiyer*, eds. K. P. Menon et al, Trivandrum: St. Joseph's Press, 1973; and Jill Mann's comparison to costumes in estates satires in *Chaucer and Medieval Estates Satire: The Literature of Social Classes and the "General Prologue" to the "Canterbury Tales,"* Cambridge: Cambridge Univ P, 1973.

20 For a discussion of the Monk's omission of Boethius, see J. B. Oruch's "Chaucer's Worldly Monk," *Criticism* 8 (1966): 280-88, which is disputed by D. L. Lepley in "The Monk's Boethian Tale," *Chaucer Review* 12 (1978): 162-70. Kurt Olsson believes Boethius is "parodied in the *Monk's Tale* (8), especially in the tales of Nero, Holofernes and Antiochus (10).

21 The words are *biseeke*, *bifore*, *bihynde*, and *bigynneth*.

22 The Knight's words, said to be an interruption, are also an affirmation of the central image of the work, because the words *na-moore* seem to have been "code words" in the debate about "perfect poverty." Clopper has shown that Langland uses the term when Nede is setting criteria for accepting alms: *And pow nome na moore pan nede pee tauzte?* (Passus xx, 9) (65) Boccaccio uses the term, as *nol*, in the insult to the friars at the end of the *Decameron*.

23 It is worth noticing that Boccaccio says that what impelled him to write *de casibus* tragedy was a recognition of the corrupt desire of the powerful that was setting an *execrable example*, and when he saw this, he *snatched up* [his] *pen to write against such men* (*De casibus virorum illustrium*, ed. Pier Giorgio Ricci and Vittorio Zaccaria, in Boccaccio, *Tutte le opere*, ed. Branca, vol. 9, I.I-2, 1983 in Wallace, 303). Reversible writing does just that, writes "against."

24 There has been extensive discussion of the placement of the "modern instances," primarily because two of the manuscripts, Ellesmere and Hengwrt, have them at the end. (See Donald Fry "The Ending of the *Monk's Tale*," *JEGP* 71 (1972): 355-68.) Wallace, however, notes that editors usually decide on medial placement because the Monk's comments on tragedy at the end of the

Tale of Cresus brings the *Tale* "full circle to the Monk's opening remarks (314)," and because the Host's repetition of the words *with a clowde* from the last line of the Tale of Cresus would be separated too far from its original (n. 56, 476). These seem to be two compelling reasons. It might also be observed that the "stinting" is reversed because it is the Monk who actually *stynteth the Knyght . . .of his tale* (after 2766), by taking first place as a storyteller from the Knight. This switch is suggested by a repetition of the pun on "monkey," this time reversed in *the Monk of his tale* (read "tail").

25 Boccaccio may have written a similar twice-told piece in the ninth book of *De casibus* where Dante urges the poet to speak of those who brought shame to Florence, describing Walter, Duke of Athens, "an everlasting blot on the name of Florence (9.23.9 in *De casibus* in Wallace 304)."

26 Wallace has pointed to Ugolino as "*the* Dantean signature piece for English poets (314)."

27 As a Cardinal, Hugolino was appointed "protector and advisor to the Franciscans (Thurston IV, 28)," and as Pope Gregory IX, he canonized Francis on July 16, 1228 in Assisi. (*L. M.* I, I, XV, 7, 745)

28 Wallace informs us that in Chaucer's time, Petro of Cyprus was thought of as "the model Christian campaigner," for the crusading society, the Order of the Passion of Jesus Christ. John of Gaunt and Sir Lewis Clifford, "one of Chaucer's closest friends," belonged to it. (316)

29 The translation of *sed* to "said," rather than the Latin "but," seems to be indicated by the fact that the word *but* appears a few lines later with the traitor Ganelon in *but of Armorike/Genylon-Olyver* (2388-9).

30 Langland uses *cusse*, "kiss," in *Piers Plowman*, Passus xviii, 432; Francis' kiss to the leper was very famous (*L. M.* I, 5, 507).

31 The authors from the British Isles are Langland, the author of the *Auraicept na n'Eces* and the author of *Owein*. For a full explanation, see Appendix B.

32 ". . .septem ex ea plenis manibus coepit compingere massas, quas sibi proponens, suo sic exteriori homini loquebatur: ≪Edde, inquit, haec maior uxor tua est, quatuor istae duo filii et duae filiae, reliquae duae servus et ancilla, quos ad serviendum habere oportet. Festina igitur omnes induere, quoniam frigore moriuntur. Si vero eorum multiplex sollicitudo molestat, uni Domino sollicite servi≫. Illixo tentator victus abscessit, et vir sanctus in cellam cum victoria rediit, quia dum bene poenaliter alsit foris, ardorem interius sec exstinxit libidinis, ut deinceps tale aliquid minime sentiret. Quidam autem Frater, qui tunc orationi vacabat, haec omnia, luna clarius incedente, prospexit. Comperto vir Dei, quod haec ille nocte vidisset, reserans ei tentationis processum, praecepit, ut, quamdiu ipse viveret, nulli viventi rem, quam viderat, propalaret."
(*L. M.* V, 4, 517)

33 The *feeld of* admits *of* as a pun for the "dove" of the Trinity, especially before *snow* (which colors it white), and sets it next to the *egle*, heard as the "aeg El," pictured as an egg after El, or *Elo*[him] of *blak*, a pun for "blank," also influenced by *therinne* as "there *n*." This pun might be suggested by the pun *He brew* (2385) which follows. The *egle* is caught with *the lymrod*, perhaps "elm rod," the cross. It is possible to see three persons of the Trinity in these three figures: Elo[him] (Father), the cross (Son), and the dove (Holy Spirit).

34 The *egle*, of course, is the central symbol of the *Hous of Fame*.

35 Notice that *thanne go my way* is preceded by the pun *neighbor*, perhaps "nay."

CHAPTER FIVE

THE *HEPTAMERON*

Custume fu as ancïens,
Ceo testimoine Precïens,
Es livres ke jadis feseient,
Assez oscurement diseient
Pur ceus ki a venir esteient,
E ki aprendre les deveient,
K'i peüssent gloser la lettre
E de lur sen le surplus mettre.
(Marie de France, *Les Lais*, Prologue 9-16)

The custom among the ancients—
as Priscian testifies—
was to speak quite obscurely
in the books they wrote,
so that those who were to come after
and study them
might gloss the letter
and supply its significance from their own wisdom.
(Hanning-Ferrante 28)

Marguerite de Navarre

Les Nouvelles de la reyne de Navarre, called the *Heptameron* and attributed to Marguerite de Navarre (1492-1549),[1] Duchess of Alençon, brings the exegetical tradition into the Renaissance, clearly announcing its relationship to Franciscans, in particular the Observant friars, and giving evidence of a structure ready to accommodate the *verso* fictive level. A consideration of a short section from one of Marguerite's letters, which has been noticed by Ullrich Langer in his study of the thirty-third novella, will serve to demonstrate Marguerite's grasp of the Boccaccian style exegetical *modi*, and perhaps to contribute a small piece of evidence toward the verification of her authorship of *Les Nouvelles*:

> Assy est-il de l'Escripture Saincte, qui est couverte d'argent, c'est à dire intelligence litterale qui est belle, plaisante et attraiante et ne semble à gens qui sont loing de l'esperit qu'il y ayt aultre intelligence que litterale, mais qui s'approche de la pomme d'or qui est caschée et peu visible, tant elle attire l'esperit qu'il laisse l'argent et descouvre la pomme.
>
> (Letter of January 16, 1523, 2: 14)

> Thus it is from Holy Scripture, which is covered in silver, i. e. a literal understanding that is beautiful, pleasing and attractive, and it does not seem to people who are far from the sense (of it) that there should be another understanding than the literal, but who in drawing near to the golden apple which is hidden and hardly visible, are so attracted by the spirit that they leave the silver and discovers the apple.

The passage asserts, as Langer has explained," that "the true meaning of the Word of God is hidden under the literal meaning of the Scriptures (59)." However, it also presents a second reading made possible by the positioning of *ne . . . que*, "only," which converts "it does not seem" to "it only seems." This oxymoronic sentence structure occurs in a discussion of exegesis and hidden meaning, and exemplifies its own discussion. While the former construction ("does not seem") seems to be the literal level, because the sentence is acknowledging an outer literal and an inner allegorical meaning, it is actually the *verso* allegorical level, working like Boccaccio's Cipolla on the outside of Francis. The construction "does not seem" is presented as a kind of "silver" coating, a complementary opposite to the "gold" interior ("only seems"), which is not so readily perceived. (This confrontation is pictured metagraphically by a series of figures in ***belle, plaisante et attraiante et*** which illustrate the juxtaposition of opposites.)

The latter construction ("only seems") is actually the literal level that "only seems . . . as an other understanding than the literal," that is, only seems to be the allegorical, but is actually the literal. Thus, the word *esperit* read on the silver level as "sense," or "spirit," can be heard as *Esperit*,[2] the Holy Spirit, and carry a true meaning on the "gold" level that implicates another ***intelligence que litterale***, a spiritual Intelligence. This

would place the "silver," or fictive, as the received meaning, and the "gold," or true literal, as the meaning perceived by those in the Spirit, which would include Marguerite.

The word *intelligence* is a *modi* construct of its own here. On the silver level, it seems to refer to an exegetical "understanding," i. e., one of the *modi*. On the gold level, it offers an *aultre intelligence que litterale*,[3] not just "another understanding than the literal," but "another Intelligence than the literal word *intelligence*," which would be a recognition of God, and a complement to *Esperit*. Additionally, the idea of *intelligence* as a personal "intelligence," or soul, raises the structuring to the tropological level, while underscoring the importance of not being fooled by a false seeming *l'Escripture* that is able to encompass all *l'escripture*. Finally, the *aultre intelligence* might be a pun. The word ***intelligence*** sounds like "intelli gens," with the figure *gence* a punning, anagogical reference to the preceding *d'argent*, or "*d'ar gens*," "man's art," perhaps verified by the phrase *ne semble à gens*. In this pun, "silver" becomes an analog for the whole exegetical structure, and points to the "silver" meaning of *intelligence* as the *modi* structure itself.

Like Boccaccio and Chaucer, Marguerite seems to be drawn to the pun and *double entendre*. Marcel Tetel has observed her puns in the *Comédie des quatre femmes* (142) and in the *Heptameron* (201) as one of several dialogue techniques that "conceal much more than they reveal:"

> Marguerite, then, explores, in the tales themselves, several dialogue techniques always related to the many faces of truth and falsity. When a sparsity of dialogue prevails, the occurrence of a single word or sentence in direct discourse makes its calculated presence all the more dramatic and underscores its irony and double-entendre or its momentary validity. An identical effect results from a slightly extended dialogue...
>
> (148)

The single word *intelligence*, because it holds four levels of meaning, and because it is located within a double sentence structure, has the ability to transform an entire passage into four levels: a silver level (the literal meaning of Scripture conceals its true meaning),

a gold level (the literal meaning of scripture attracts man to the Holy Spirit), a tropological level (the literal meaning of scripture attracts man's soul to the Holy Spirit), and an artistic anagogical level (the figure *d'argent* punned as "*d'ar gens*," but also punning the tail end of the word *intelligence*, attracts man to God), so that the literal meaning of scripture has come to be man's art. The complex crafting of the text that appears in this small passage of a letter written by Marguerite demonstrates great exegetical technique, and militates against those who do not think that she had the ability to author the *Heptameron*. We will return to this letter at another point in the discussion of the thirty-third novella.

The Franciscan friar appears throughout the stories of the *Heptameron*. He is not the non-specific *frate* that is found in the *Decameron*, nor the *frere* of the *Canterbury Taies*, which terms can also encompass all mendicants, but very clearly named as *Cordelier*, Franciscan. He is ubiquitous, appearing significantly in Stories 5, 11, 19, 23, 31, 34, 35, 41, 44, 46, and 48, and is usually promiscuous. In this regard, Marguerite seems to be continuing the popular portrait of the Franciscan that was in evidence in fictive literature from the thirteenth through the sixteenth centuries, which Nicole Cazauran has demonstrated with examples from Rutebœuf (c. 1285), *Le Roman de la Rose*, and the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* (259-60). As we have noticed here, the Franciscan is a morally "slippery character" in the works of Boccaccio and Chaucer, as he is also in the writings of Rabelais, Erasmus and even Thomas More.[4] A conspicuous exception to this rule appears to be Marguerite's nineteenth novella, where a gentleman in the service of the Marquis of Mantua falls in love with Poline, and she with him.

When they are prevented from marrying, he becomes an Observant novice and she enters the convent of St. Clare. We will examine this story first.

I would like to suggest, however, that it is no accident that in the stories of Boccaccio, Chaucer, and Marguerite de Navarre, the friar is very often pictured in the negative, because in the works of these authors, when the stories are crafted with the negative fictive coating on the outside, good people must be portrayed as scalawags. Since the hallmark of the Franciscan friar is his chastity, poverty, and obedience, proclaimed by the three knots on his cord, he must become promiscuous, or rich, or troublesome, or exhibit some other trait that opposes true Franciscan virtue when drawn in a negative allegory.[5] In the eleventh novella about Madame de Roncex, for example, the well-known Franciscan reputation for hospitality, cleanliness and modesty is inverted to appear as careless filth in a tawdry scene of dirty latrines and violated privacy.

Relief from the "bad press" of the negative allegory applied to Franciscans can not always be found in positive allegorical presentations either. Many do not identify the characters as Franciscan: neither Boccaccio's Gianni, nor his Cepparello da Prato, for instance, show themselves to be Francis figurations overtly. In fact, when a "good" character is identified as a Franciscan, he is probably not a Franciscan, but rather a complementary opposite. Why then the Franciscan? Perhaps the answer lies in the genius of the proto-craftsman Bonaventure, who combined the talents of the hagiographer, exegete and artist in such a way as to initiate a "new" tradition grounded in the saint who had been graced with God's mark of approval, the stigmata; or perhaps because subsequent writers seem to know themselves to be "eglets," participating in a tradition connecting Francis, through Bonaventure, to the Florentines and beyond; or

perhaps because these writers have loved and perhaps followed the charism of Francis; but probably because, secure in the knowledge of the goodness of their fellow Franciscans, these authors are freed to laugh at the ironic portraits they craft, as they offer opportunities to advance in goodness.

Marguerite continues the tradition. A spiritually acute woman, she seems to have possessed an astonishing capacity to hold in tension many parallel structural levels simultaneously in a very small space. Her tales are often short, which puts an enormous burden on her many-faceted puns. She conceals her punning artifice more surely than do either Boccaccio or Chaucer, although she clearly reveals the Franciscan factor. The opportunity to "redeem" the text is often an opportunity to redeem a Franciscan character. We will consider three of her *nouvelles*: "The Gentleman and Poline" (19), "The Virgin of Cherves" (33), and " The Gentleman of Perigord and his Wife" (23).

The Gentleman and Poline

Marguerite's notable exception to the custom of scurrilous friars is the nineteenth novella, where two lovers become Franciscans, after they have been prevented from marrying. The novella seems to be sketching the lover Francis and his Poline, a polyvalent character who holds both Lady Poverty and the *colline*, "hill," that is Assisi. The lovers discover one another, but are told that if they marry, they will be *les plus pauvres miserables de toute l'Itallye* (143), "the poorest and most miserable wretches in the whole of Italy (220)."[6] The gentleman seems to have many of the characteristics of Francis, and his situation seems to reflect Francis' position with regard to Lady Poverty. The following are some examples:

- because of war, the gentleman is imprisoned (143),
- when he desires to "marry," he is prevented from doing so (144),
- because of his previous life, he is thought to be unfit for religious life (144),
- he writes a song (146-8),
- the lovers are united in their vocation as Franciscan (149),
- and the marriage is ultimately with Him *qui est immortel et invisible* (150).

The hints to Francis' poverty are fairly obvious. The gentleman is described as *pauvre* and *gentil* (143), and the rejoinder to his proposal to marry is that they would have to live in *la pauvreté* (144). As a novice, the gentleman is described twice as *son pauvre serviteur* (149).

The hints to Poline as a pun for the *colline* of Assisi are many,[7] and include:

- the fact that Poline, who had been *assez rigoureuse* throws her arms around the gentleman's *col*, "neck" (145),
- the gentleman as a novice, seeing Poline, *fut si saisy* (149), "was so overwhelmed (226) [near Assisi],

- the couple would live in poverty *et aussy* (144),
- the gentleman begins his goodbye speech: *Puis que ainsy est, Poline, que le ciel et la terre sont contre nous* (144), "Since thus it is [another pun for Assisi], Poline [*colline*], that the sky and the earth are against us," a statement that is literally true of a hill—it is against the sky and the earth,
- the song is Italian and *assez commun* (146),
- *le tresor du monde estoit en Poline* (143), "the treasure of the world was on [again a pun for *colline*], as Francis' relic, his body, was buried on the hill,
- the Marquis and Marchioness hoped that the *fantaisie* would vanish (144),
- the Marquis and Marchioness are not so scrupulous that they prevent *assez* (144),
- and in the end it is expected that God will transport the couple to *lieu où la recompense passe tous les merites des hommes* (151), "the place where the recompenses surpass all human merits (228)," perhaps a reference to Assisi's pilgrimage indulgence.

In a departure from convention, the Francis character is named in this novella. He is the imprisoned Italian gentleman, and also the gentleman's cellmate, *le Françoys*, an allegory for both his heart and for Assisi, which is made clear in the line *Et Confessa le Françoys, que son cueur estoit ainsy* (143), "And the Frenchman/Francis confessed that his heart was thus [Assisi]."[8] François Paré has related *la fusion du Même*, "the fusion of the Self," in Marguerite's works, to the homologic figure of the *frère, personnage omniprésent dans les nouvelles* (105),[9] "an omnipresent character in the stories," and, as Marguerite does in the following passage, offers a pun that implicates the sound of the words *moines*, "monks," and *moins*, "less." He observes that *moines sont des frères institutionnalisés* (107),[10] "monks are institutionalized friars," perhaps also suggesting the *moins*, Lesser Brothers, or Minors. Marguerite describes *François* as only being *moins* amorous in France than in Italy, and as discovering his secrets to his companion *de leurs fortunes*:

> ...ce gentil homme fut prins prisonnier avec ung François qui n'estoit moins amoureux en France que luy en Itaillie. Et quant ilz se trouverent compaignons de leurs fortunes, ilz commencerent à descouvrir leurs secretz l'un à l'autre. Et confessa le Françoys, que

> son cueur estoit ainsy que le sien prisonnier, sans luy nommer le lieu. Mais, pour estre tous deux au service du marquis de Mantoue, sçavoit bien ce gentil homme françois, que son compaignon aymoit Poline, et, pour l'amitié qu'il avoit en son bien et proffict, luy conseilloit d'en oster sa fantaisie. Ce que le gentil homme italien juroit n'estre en sa puissance; et que, si le/ marquis de Mantoue, pour recompense de sa prison et des bons services qu'il luy avoit faict, ne luy donnoit s'amye, il se iroit rendre Cordelier et ne serviroit jamais maistre que Dieu.
>
> (143-4)

> ...the gentleman was taken prisoner along with a Frenchman, who had left his love at home in France, just as he had left his in Italy. Finding that they were companions in the same misfortune, the two men began to tell one another their secrets. The Frenchman confessed that his heart too was captive, though he did not name its captor. He knew already that his comrade was in love with Paulina, for he too was in the service of the Marquis, and he urged him, as a friend concerned for his interests and well-being, to abandon this infatuation. The Italian gentleman of course swore that it was not within his power to do so. He said that if the Marchioness did not let him marry his beloved in recompense for his sufferings in captivity and all his other services, then he would become a Franciscan friar and serve no other master than/ God.
>
> (220-1)

If the character's name is given in a translingual pun,[11] so is his address given in several puns which seem to presume the reader's familiarity with Boccaccio's series of *issa* puns on Assisi, because they are held in a less obvious way in the words *ainsy* and *fantaisie*. It will be remembered that Francis was imprisoned in Perugia, and there is an emphasis in this novella on recompense for suffering.

That the gentleman enters an order of Observant friars is curious, as it seems to follow a suggestive line of emphasis on the more primitive observance of the Franciscan *Rule* that might begin with Dante's greyhound, continue in Boccaccio's *castelletto* (569), a punning reference to Ubertino of Casale, who favored the primitive observance, and extend to Chaucer's *gris* fur lining on the sleeves of the Monk.[12] In this story, the gentleman's song seems to admit its Franciscan connection in the words *mais j'en ay voulu traduire les motz en françoys le plus près qu'il m'a esté possible* (146), "but I have wished to translate the words in French/Francis as closely as possible." He urges his lover: *Ne crains à prendre,/ L'habit de cendre* (148), "don't be afraid to take the habit of ashes," because *De sa cendre fault que sorte/ Le phoenix qui durera*, "from its ashes rises

the phoenix which endures." The habit of ashes is the gray Observant habit, but it is also a punning metaphor for the Franciscan emphasis on penance and humility. Ashes are an ancient sign of restitution,[13] and in this context, a reminder of one of the particular methods of penance used by both Francis and Clare. Francis regarded ashes as a sign of humility. Celano reports him to have illustrated the importance of making restitution for Clare and her nuns in a homily given at San Damiano:

> He then commanded ashes to be brought to him and he made a circle with them around himself on the pavement and sprinkled the rest of them on his head. But when they waited for him to begin and the blessed father remained standing in the circle in silence, no small astonishment arose in their hearts. The saint then suddenly rose and to the amazement of the nuns recited the *Miserere mei Deus* in place of a sermon. When he was finished, he quickly left... . By his actions he taught them that they should regard themselves as ashes and that there was noth-/ing in his heart concerning them but what was fitting this consideration.
>
> (II Cel II, CLVII, 207, 527-8)[14]

The homily shows great humility. The lovers to whom it is addressed are Francis' sisters, who, Celano reports, covered their heads with ashes as they prayed for the liberation of Assisi from the infidel under Vitale d'Aversa. In the novella, the song urges rejection of the world and its goods in favor of the habit of ashes, *sa cendre*, which can also be a pun for the word *ascendre*, "to ascend," the French equivalent for the Italian *Ascesi*, which Dante uses as the ancient name for Assisi (*Paradiso* XI). The gentleman gives the song to Poline, a metaphor for Assisi.

There is a metagraphic basis for assuming familiarity with Boccaccio's "Assisi" figures in the *Heptameron*. Near the end of the Prologue,[15] when Parlemente suggests a *sort du jeu*, "kind of game," which is the telling of tales, her diction, and its interaction with the literal meaning of the text, reveals another game: the hiding of letter figures. The game leads to the discovery of hints to Francis and, surprisingly, to Chaucer, within a literal context that is discussing Boccaccio.

The figures begin with the Assisi puns *ainsy: Si* and *aussy s*, and move to the phrase *mais, congnoissant mon sçavoir et ma puissance*, "but being cognizant of my knowledge and power," which incorporate the *issa* of Boccaccio, his favorite abbreviated Assisi figure, and end with *desja satisfaict*, or "*de sjas at is faict*, which "makes" its own "Assisi" figure:

> Parlemente, voiant que le sort du jeu estoit tombé sur elle, leur dist **ainsy**: «Si je me sentois **aussy** suffisante que les antiens, qui ont trouvé les arts, je inventerois quelque passetemps ou jeu pour satisfaire à la charge que me donnez; **mais, congnoissant mon sçavoir et ma puissance**, qui à peine peult rememorer les choses bien faictes, je me tiendrois bien heureuse d'ensuivre de près ceulx qui ont **desja satisfaict** à vostre demande. Entre autres, je croy qu'il n'y a nulle de vous qui n'ait leu les cent Nouvelles de Bocace, nouvellement traduictes d'ytalien en françois, que le roy François premier de son nom, monseigneur le Daulphin, madame la Daulohine, madame Marguerite, font tant de cas, que so Bocace, du lieu où il estoit, les eut peu oyr, il debvoit resusciter à la louange de telles personnes. Et, à l'heure, j'oy les deux dames dessus nommées, avecq plusieurs autres de la court, qui se delibererent d'en faire autant, sinon en une chose differente de Bocace: c'est de n'escripre nulle nouvelle qui ne soit veritable histoire.
>
> (9)

> Parlamente, seeing that it had fallen to her to make the choice, addressed them all as follows.
>
> 'If I felt myself to be as capable as the ancients, by whom the arts were discovered, then I would invent some pastime myself that would meet the requirements you have laid down for me. However, I know what lies within the scope of my own knowledge and ability—I can hardly even remember the clever things other people have invented, let alone invent new things myself. So I shall be quite content to follow closely in the footsteps of other people who have already provided for your needs. For example, I don't think there's one of us who hasn't read the hundred tales by Boccaccio, which have recently been translated from Italian into French, and which are so highly thought of by the [most Christian] King Francis I, by Monseigneur the Dauphin, Madame the Dauphine and Madame Marguerite. If Boccaccio could have heard how highly these illustrious people praised him, it would have been enough to raise him from the grave. As a matter of fact, the two ladies I've mentioned, along with other people at the court, made up their minds to do the same as Boccaccio. There was to be one difference—that they should not write any story that was not [true history].
>
> (68)

In addition to the "Assisi" figures, there are included here two other important series: the *roi*, "king," which leads to a *de cas*[ibus] figure and to Francis, and the *rente*, Chaucer's term found at the very center of the tale of Petro of Spain.

The *roi* series begins with several *oi* figures (*voiant, estoit, je me sentois*, and *qui ont trouvé les arts*) before the admission *je inventerois*, "I would invent [*rois*] kings," (which are *quelque passetemps*, not only "some pastime," but also punned as "some past-time kings") and is echoed in *je me tiendrois*, "I shall hold [*rois*] kings." Parlemente says that she is happily following closely those (notice the plural *ceulx*) who have already done this. A singular king appears in *je croy* and leads to the important group *traduictes d'ytalien en françois, que le roy François, premier de son nom . . .*, which can also be read as "translated from Italian into French/Francis, that the king Francis, the first of his name/*son homme* . . .." The doubling of King Francis I and Francis (the "king" of Italian saints) is pictured graphically, first in [*d'ytali*]*en en*, and then in a mini translation within *le roy*, which has the French *roy* going forward and the Italian *re* going backward. A great punning jest perhaps directed toward both Boccaccio and Chaucer follows the inclusion of Francis I, the Dauphin, the Dauphine and Marguerite, who *font tant de cas*, both "make so much of" and "make so much *de cas*[ibus tragedy]," *que si Bocace, du lieu où il estoit, les eut peu oyr*, "that if Boccaccio, from the place where he is, could hear/*roy* them," *il debvoit resusciter à la louange de telles personnes*, "he would raise up [see the letter pun *Jesus C*] to the praise/ "*ou l'ange*" of such characters." The word *louange*, preceded by an *ala* figure, suggests both the conversion of *de casibus* characters to angelic persons, as we saw in Chaucer's *Monk's Tale*, and the wings of the Seraph angel that presented Jesus C. at La Verna, which we saw at the heart of Boccaccio's novella of Frate Cipolla.

The other series, Chaucer's *rente*, begins gently within the name *Parlemente*, but establishes itself with the scrambled figures *je inventerois* and *Entre autres*, before a

concentrated section that mentions the court, and contains the translingual pun "*de liber erent*," "is *rente* from the book:"

> ...avecq plusieurs autres de la court, qui se delibererent d'en faire autant, sinon en une chose differente de Bocace...

which it is, because the *rente* figure is from Chaucer. After the appearance of the word *digne*, "worthy," an adjective Chaucer applied to the Monk and to his *de casibus* kings, there is a concentration of *rente* figures at the mention of the King of England:

> Mais les grandz affaires survenuz au Roy depuis, aussy la paix d'entre luy et le roy D'Angleterre, l'acouchement de madame la Daulphine et plusieurs autres choses dignes d'empescher toute la court, a faict mectre en obly tout ceste entreprinse,...
> (9)

> A number of things led to the project being completely forgotten—the major affairs of state that subsequently overtook the King, the peace treaty between him and the King of England, the confinement of Madame the Daulphine and several other events of sufficient importance to keep the court otherwise occupied.
> (69)

The *rente* figures are accompanied by the pun *depuis, assy* for Assisi that suggest Francis. They are set near to another *dignes*, as well as the term *acouchement*, "confinement to bed," which could be a pun on *couchon*, "pig," suggesting the chaucer, or keeper of pigs. They lead to a brace of *tout* figures, the equivalent of the Italian *tutta* found at the bottom of Boccaccio's lake (or the top of La Verna) in the frame of the novella of Frate Cipolla. The questions need to be asked: Is it just coincidence that a pun for *tutt*, a figure that marks the graphic heart of the *Decameron*'s ascent of La Verna, and the pun for *rente*, the word that stands at the graphic center of Chaucer's *Monk's Tale*, are placed within a discussion of the crafting of Marguerite's *Nouvelles* and their Boccaccian model? Is it only happenstance that a series of "Assisi" figures accompany the name *François*? or that it is discovered to be in the same spot with the Boccaccio and Chaucer figures? or that that spot incorporates the words *ytalien, françois* and *Angleterre*, and the concern of Monseigneur the Dauphin "que la beaulté de la rethoricque feit tort en quelque partye à la

verité de l'histoire," "that the beauty of the rhetoric would twist in some part the truth of the history," which holds the figure *La Ver-a* ("truth") and La Verna with its missing letter *n* foreshadowed in the sound of *en*? or that the word *tort* might suggest *tutt* to say "that the beauty of the rhetoric would make *tutt* in some part the truth of the story?" The questions underscore an unusual gathering of hints that point to Chaucer and Boccaccio, and suggest that, by revealing some of her inheritance, Marguerite is delineating her literary ancestors. Nowhere in the *Heptameron* does she demonstrate how well she has absorbed their lessons than in the novella of the Virgin of Cherves, where her exegetical technique sparkles. To it we now turn.

The Virgin of Cherves

The thirty-third novella is undoubtedly the most scandalous story in the *Heptameron*. Narrated by Simontaut, it concerns an extraordinarily virtuous girl in the village of Cherves who is found to be pregnant, but says that she does not know how it happened, unless by the Holy Spirit. The people believe this to be a miracle. The *frere* in this story is literally her brother, the holy *curé*. He is so rigorous that he has enclosed her in a house, which has made the villagers unhappy. The situation is brought to the attention of the Count of Angoulême, who sends two investigators. They are asked by the *curé* to assist him in a verification process.

The next day at Mass, as the *curé* offers the girl the Holy Eucharist, she swears to her damnation "if ever a man touched me any more than you." Even the Count's witnesses are abashed, but the Count thinks that this means that the brother has made her pregnant, and has the *curé* taken prisoner. He confesses, and says that he counseled his sister to use ambiguity. After the girl has delivered a handsome boy, the brother and sister are burned.

There has been very little critical attention to this novella. In his essay on fraternal incest in the *Heptameron*, François Paré notes that in this symbolic story everything rests on the power of the term *frère*, which, as a polymorph, assumes *toutes les formes* (113), "all the forms." He seems to mean the forms of real brother and priestly father, as well as figurative father and mother with authority over the person of the virgin, but he does not develop this point. Ullrich Langer's thoughtful consideration of the novella places it in the hermeneutic arena as "a complex staging of the interpretive act

(58)," focusing on the seemingly theological, but really literal, interpretation of the virgin's oath made by the Count, and the "relentless ambiguity (61)" caused by a multiplicity of referents. He describes the novella as an "allegory of the emergence of criticism (64)."

François Cornilliat has continued this approach, but places the story in the context of miracles. He points out that the frame setting of the Abbey of Sarrance, famous for its cult of the Virgin Mary (79), stands in contrast to the secular stories told there, which he describes as "anti-miracles (80)," and holds up the thirty-third novella as an example. In this story, he says, the sister is passing for *une nouvelle Vierge Marie*; the narrator is observing that the faith of the *bon Conte* has not been "vaincue par signes ne miracles exterieurs (249)," "conquered, by either signs or exterior miracles;" and the audience is supposed to be believing "in toutes les Nouvelles que l'on vous vient compter (246)," "in all the Novelli that you are told," and expecting to hear *racompter ung miracle*. Without specifically drawing attention to the pun on *Conte* as such, Cornilliat concludes that the miracle in this story "c'est la ⩽nouvelle⩾ par excellence (80)." He sees the story as having a *vertu pédagogique*, "pedagogical virtue," and connects it to the twenty-second novella and the seventy-second novella.

The twenty-second novella presents Sister Marie Heroet's defense of her virginity against a *prieur* (176), who finally, in a clever juxtaposition of sentences and a pun on the marguerite as a pearl, declares her to be "une perle d'honneur et de virginité. La Royne de Navarre . . .(185)," "a pearl of honor and of virginity. The Queen of Navarre . . .." The final novella is about a *pauvre fille* (425) who lives with a *prieur* and *prieure*, but is unable to defend her virginity against an austere religious one night while attending a

corpse, and realizes her loss when she prays to the Virgin Mary. The dénouement of this story seems to be cleverly studded with puns, with the *meschant moyne*[16] (perhaps a pun for "merchant moins,") speaking always of God, while the narrrative voice says he ***paracheva avecq elle*** *l'oeuvre* . . .(425), "achieved with her the work . . .," achieving *par* with *elle* as "*perle*," (illustrated by the *l'o* of the following word *l'oeuvre*). In both of these stories where the pearl is found, the nun is assisted by Marguerite herself, which is noticed by Cornilliat, and there is the presence of Mary (Marie). In the seventy-second novella, however, the nun confesses her *secret* (427) after the Duchess says "that she had found what she asked for," "qu'elle avoit trouvé **ce qu'elle** demandoit," which seems to offer a translingual pun *ce qu'elle* for "circle." The secret that *la pauvre femme* tells the Duchess is "ce que vous avez ouy de sa pauvreté," "what you have heard of her poverty." Both stories, like the novella of the Virgin of Cherves, seem to point to the Virgin Mary, to Franciscan poverty, and to the Marguerite.

The virgin is the significant character in the novella of the Virgin of Cherves. A polyvalent creation, called *une fille vierge*, "a virgin daughter," *sa seur*, "his sister," or simply *la fille*, she seems to incorporate a figuration of the Virgin Mary and eight other virginal figurations, among them the Franciscan St. Clare, the thirteenth century author Marie de France, the fourteenth century St. Joan of Arc, Marguerite herself, the soul of man, and the art of writing. We will try to identify the marks of each of these levels of this structure, beginning with the silver coating. The virgin is thought to be holy from infancy. She is *trouvée grosse* (247), "found pregnant," which she believes to be the work of the Holy Spirit. She is tested in the presence of the Holy Eucharist and responds. She is determined by the Count to have allowed the *frere* to have made *cest enffant* (248),

"this baby," which determination was made by the literal interpretation of verbal ambiguity and by the *frere*'s incarceration. She delivers a handsome *filz*, and she and the *frere* are burned. This is the fictive level, given as a kind of negative allegory.

The true literal referent is the Virgin Mary, regarded in France as Our Lady of Sorrows since the institution of the feast of the Commemoration of the Distress and Sorrow of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Cologne sometime in the fifteenth century (Thurston III, 554). Named in the story as an analog for the fictive virgin, the *Vierge Marie* was thought to be wise from infancy, had no sign of worldliness, always attended church services, fasted and was enclosed in a *maison.*[17] The people thought her pregnancy to be a miracle of the Holy Spirit, and the [sine]*cure* was her "brother," the Son. (This is pictured translingually three times as *son frere* [248].) The Virgin herself is seen as the abbreviated *V* in a pun on *trouvée grosse*, "true capital letter V," in an initial letter that is still used to decorate church altars.

In the Middle Ages there was a popular devotion to the "five joys of Mary" that was complemented by five sorrows, and eventually expanded to the Seven Sorrows as we know them today. The Servite friars (founded in 1304), who have a particular devotion to Mary, commemorated the Seven Sorrows sometime before 1668 (Thurston)[18] and in early documents refer to their order as "the pearl of great price (*Monumenta Ord. Serv. B. Mariae Virginis* 71). The sorrows, hinted to be seven in the words *la sepmaine à sa devotion*, were enumerated by the responsories at Matins, and seem to be hidden in the text of this novella, as miniature riddles, beginning with a pun on *sinon*:

1.	The prophecy of holy Simeon	le cas luy estoit advenu, sinon (247) "the case had come to him, that"
2.	The flight into Egypt	ung seul signe de mondanité "a single sign of worldliness"
3.	The three days' disappearance of the boy Jesus	service en l'eglise "service in the church"
4.	The painful progress to Calvary	qui luy povoit toucher la robbe "who could touch his/her robe"
5.	The crucifixion	le *Corpus Domini* (248) "the Body of the Lord"
6.	The taking down from the cross	receut le corps de Nostre Seigneur "received the body of Our Lord"
7.	The entombment	mectez le curé en prison "put the curé in prison"

This last was done not without great *remontrances pour le scandalle qu'ilz faisoient à cest homme de bien* (248), "remonstrances for the scandal that it made to this good man," which hides a "pour el," a pearl, and the word *filz*, in the letters *ilz f*. The pearl seems to be the *filz*, Jesus Christ. On this level, the burning of the "brother" and virgin must be taken metaphorically as Christ and Mary's ardent love of God.

Thus the second level of this novella, that of the Virgin Mary, conceals her Seven Sorrows (perhaps imagined as pearlized tears) and the pearl that is her Son, the *grosse* central gem in a graduated pearl necklace of great price. The adjacent pearl in the strand seems to be Clare of Assisi, a precious gem of Franciscan spirituality, whom the reader can perceive by doubling the fundamental characteristics of the Blessed Virgin Mary, because they are also common to Clare, and incorporating several punning hints that suggest people and attributes peculiar to Clare.

Clare of Assisi

The third level of the virgin's characterization seems to be the Franciscan nun Clare of Assisi. Figuratively a second *Vierge Marie*, she was thought to be wise from infancy, had no sign of worldliness, always attended church services, fasted and was enclosed in a *maison*. In this novella her "pregnancy" is a punning reference to an historical event. The narrative voice says the virgin was living *si austerement* (247), "so austerely," a reminder of Clare's aceticism, and that she was *trouvée grosse. Ce que elle . . .*, literally "found big [the pun for "circle"]." The circle might be the Holy Eucharist that is *grosse* because it is enhanced by being placed in a monstrance,[19] which Clare holds in her hands. The monstrance is the attribute that usually accompanies Clare in artistic representations of her, as we can see in Hans Suess von Kulmback's *The Heavenly Rosary* in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Museum, Madrid (dated c. 1510) (Morris i). Celano tells how, in 1244, the infidel under Frederick II ravaged the Spoleto Valley, and assaulted San Damiano. Fearing rape[20] and murder, Clare caused the Holy Eucharist to be displayed in the sight of the enemy and, with her sisters, prayed for deliverance (Peterson 222-224) and for Our Lord "to protect those whom I am not able to protect (Thurston, III, 311)." Then she heard a voice saying, "I will have them always in my care [Latin *cura*]." The enemy fled, and Clare is credited with saving the city of Assisi.[21] In the novella the occasion of the showing of the monstrance is seen in the following passage:

> et asseuroit tout le peuple que jamais elle n'avoit congneu homme et qu'elle ne sçavoit comme le cas luy estoit advenu, sinon que ce fut œuvre Sainct Esperit; ce que le peuple croyoit facillement, et la tenoient et reputoient entre eulx comme pour une seconde Vierge Marie,...
>
> (247)

> **assuring everyone that she had never known man and that she had no idea how it happened, if it was not the working of the Holy Spirit. The local people believed this without question and treated her as a second Virgin Mary,...**
> (337)

Because the virgins had not been raped nor the people attacked, "sa vie estoit si estimée de tout le commun, que chacun par miracle la venoit veoir (247)," "her life was so honored by the whole *commun* [the political division in which Assisi is located is called a commune] that each came to see it as a miracle." The *curé de la parroisse estoit son frere*, "the *curé* of the parish was her *frere*,"perhaps Francis, who was older than she, led a *bien austere vie*, "very austere life," and was loved by his parishioners as a *sainct homme*. He was so *rigoreux* that he put her in a *maison*, perhaps San Damiano.

The hints surrounding the *frere* and *seur* seem to point to Francis and Clare:

- the people see a laudable and holy a life under *detestable vice*, perhaps a pun for "*de Testament* voice," suggesting both Francis' *Testament* which affirms the centrality of the Holy Eucharist in the affairs of the Order of Friars Minor, and Clare's *Testament* (Armstrong 34-5),
- the *frere* had *prins ung pain*, "taken a bread," a translingual pun for "imprinted a pain," perhaps an allusion to the stigmata,
- he is described as *si meschant* (249), "so naughty," perhaps a pun for "merchant," and is incarcerated,
- he counsels his sister *de tenir les propos qu'elle tenoit*, "to hold the tenets that she held," as Francis counseled Clare, especially *pro po*[verta]s,
- he prays the inspectors *d'assister à la veriffication* (247), "to help in the veriffication," which could be a hint to Assisi, a pun on the English word *sister* and a pun on La Verna in *à la veri--*,
- at Mass, *sa seur assista* (248), "his sister assisted," which, besides being a hint to Assisi, seems to be a verification of the translinguality of "*sa seur* as sister;"
- the virgin says that the grace of the Holy Spirit does in her what pleases him *mais, si*,
- the people see under so holy a coat, a *monstre si horrible*, "horrible monster," a pun for an "*or i ble* monstrance," or "a gold and wheat monstrance," a gold monstrance containing the Bread of Life,
- and the *frere* and *seur* are *bruslez*, "burned," (with love of Christ).

The responses that the virgin gives at the end of Mass are congruent with those that are given for the tropological level of the story, and will be given there. The details listed here, however, should serve to indicate the presence of Clare and the miracle of the monstrance that conquered the infidel. They are supported by Simontaut's remarks prior to the story that "Aussy, sous telles especes de miracles, y a souvent abbuz (246)," "Thus, under such sorts of miracles there are often (this is a pun: "an abbess" for *abbuz*—Clare's office)," a little after the word *monstrer*; and also after the story in his juxtaposition of *Consummatum est, a monstré* (249), "*Consummatum est*, has shown," after the word *miracles*. In addition, in the frame story after the next novella (which is about two Franciscans of Nyort who can not exit a room in which they are enclosed without passing by the *hoste* [251]), the discussion of the writings of *Pol*, "Paul," (remember *Poline/colline*) hold several clues, including:

- Parlemente's interior *infelicité* (254) that is covered in *miracles*, perhaps a pun that incorporates the "infidel's city" of Assisi with the oxymononic pun "*in felicité*," or "in happiness,"
- Longarine's confession that
  - *si la parolle de Dieu ne eous monstre par la foy*, "if the word of God does not show us by faith," which does show the puns *parolle* and *par la* for "pearl" and *monstre* for "monstrance,"
  - the *lepre d'infidelité*, "the leprosy of infidelity," perhaps a repeat pun that might suggest both "*le pre*," the field of the "infidel's city" and Francis' ministrations to the lepers of Gubbio,
  - and *clairement*, "clearly," which seems to point to Clare.

This "pearl" of God who showed the monstrance (in what the infidel hoped would be his city) is described by Celano as the precious stone in a structure of pearls. He is considering San Damiano in the field outside of the walls of Assisi:

> This is the blessed and holy place, where the glorious religion and most excellent order of Poor Ladies and holy virgins had its blessed origin about six years after the conversion of St. Francis and through that same blessed man. Of it, the Lady Clare, a native of the city of Assisi, the most precious and the firmest stone of the whole structure, was the foundation. For when, after the beginning of the Order of Brothers, the said lady was converted to God through the counsel of the holy man, she lived unto the advantage of many and as an example to a countless multitude. She was of noble parentage, but she was more noble by grace; she was a virgin in body, most

> chaste in mind; a youth in age, but mature in spirit; steadfast in purpose and most ardent in her desire for divine love; endowed with wisdom and excelling in humility; Clare by name, brighter in life, and brightest in character.
> 19 Over her arose a noble structure of most precious pearls, whose *praise is not from men but from God*, since neither is our limited understanding sufficient to imagine it, nor our scanty vocabulary to utter it.
>
> (I Cel I, VIII, 18-19, 244)[22]

In the *Heptameron* frame, Longarine concludes: "Et bien heureux sont ceulx que la foy a tant humilliez . . .," "And blessed are they whom faith has so humbled . . .(344)," which seems to be a direct commentary on Clare's presence in the interior of the text.

There are then three levels to the character of the Virgin of Cherves: the fictive virgin, the referent Virgin Mary and her analog, Clare of Assisi. The virgin is adorned with a necklace of pearls that has on one side the tears of the Seven Sorrows, in the center the Body of Christ, and on the other side Clare. There is an air of sanctity about this necklace, and, at first glance, it seems improbable that the next "pearl" should be placed on the strand. We shall see, however, that the next pearl is a black pearl, which, like Cipolla's onion, has a white interior. The pearl belongs to Marie de France.

Marie de France

The next figuration of the virgin of Cherves is the author Marie de France, about whom nothing is known conclusively.[23] The writer Denis Piramus mentions her in *La vie seint Edmund le rei*, assuring his readers that, although Dame Marie's verses, which he calls "lays," were not in the least true, they were enjoyed by *cunte, barun, e chivaler* (35-48), "count, baron and knight." She is famous for these enormously popular romances, but she also is believed to have translated animal fables from English, and the *Espurgatoire Saint Patriz* from Latin. Composing in the French of northern France, which was also the language of the English court, she signed herself *Marie* in the "Lay of Guigemar," and also at the end of both the *Fables* and *Patriz*." Rychner underscores both her learning—she knew the matter of Britain, the *Aeneid*, Ovid and Priscien—and her appreciation of the vernacular legend (xvii), and Mickel notes the scholarly discussion of Marie's use of titles and explanation of words in more than one language as evidence of bi-lingual narratives and a bi-lingual audience (n. 25, 157). Beyond that information, France's first poetess remains simply Marie de France.

She chose to call the short narrative that she wrote the *lai*,[24] and Mickel has attempted to reduce its essence to *contes d'aventures et d'amour* (62), "tales of adventure and love," the simplest part of Gaston Paris' longer definition, eschewing both location in time (the remote past), because Hoepffner has shown borrowing from Wace's *Brut* and Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae* as well as the popular Breton material, and place (Brittany), because the tales are also set elsewhere. Donovan sees the interior unity of the *lai* as focused around the development of a courtly theme, and

Baader argues for no uniform definition, regarding the tales as discrete entities. A particularly singular tale is "The Lay of Bisclavret."

Set in Brittany, the story concerns a baron who is a werewolf. Betrayed by his wife and a knight, he is robbed of his clothes and has to remain a werewolf, naked in the forest. One day he is discovered by the king, who, impressed by his humility, brings him home, requiring everyone to see that he is richly fed. Later, when the king is again hunting in the forest and the wife comes to offer a rich present, Bisclavret attacks her and bites off her nose. When questioned, the wife admits having *sa despoille li toli* (268), "taken away his clothes." After the king has the clothes returned, Bisclavret goes into the king's chamber to put them on, and is later discovered to be a sleeping *chevalier* (299). Critics generally have thought that the story retains the features of the traditional werewolf of Greco-Roman literature (Mickel 80), and Battaglia has specified two separate parts of Pliny's *Historia naturalis* as a probable source. I would like to suggest another possibility—that Marie is also drawing upon a traditional story about St. Francis that was current in early thirteenth century France. The story is about Francis and the wolf of Gubbio.

In its final form, the legend appears in Chapter XXI of *I Fioretti di San Francesco*, "The Little Flowers of St. Francis," which is itself based on the early fourteenth century *Actus Beati Francisci et Sociorum Ejus*, "The Deeds of St. Francis and his Companions."[25] The latter was "one of the most popular documents of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Brown 26)."[26] The story tells how Francis confronted a large and fierce wolf that had been terrorizing the town of Gubbio by devouring its animals and even human beings. The people tried to dissuade Francis, saying "lupus qui jam multos

devoravit penitus te occidet (Sabatier 78)," "the wolf which has already devoured many people will kill your inmost part!"[27] but Francis went out to where the wolf lived. The wolf came running with its mouth open toward Francis. Francis made the Sign of the Cross toward him,[28] and called, "Veni ad me, frater/ lupe, et ex parte Christi tibi præcipio quod nec mihi nec alteri noceas (78-9)," "Come to me, Brother Wolf. In the name of Christ, I command you not to hurt me or others." (Francis might have said *Frère* Wolf, a possibility relevant to Marie de France's *Bisclavret*.) Brother Wolf stopped running, lowered its head and lay down at Francis' feet like a lamb. Francis spoke again to him, citing his crimes, directing him to make peace, and promising that *nec homines, nec canes* (79), "neither men nor dogs," would pursue him any more. The wolf showed "gestibus corporis et caudæ et aurium et capitis inclinatione," "by gestures of its body and tail and ears and by the nodding of his head" that he accepted what Francis had said. Then Francis assured him that the people would supply his needs, if he promised never to hurt any animal or man. He nodded his head in agreement, placed his paw in Francis' hand as a sign of his pledge, and walked along beside Francis like a gentle lamb. When the news spread throughout the town, everyone assembled in the market place:

> Congregata igitur populi maxima multitudine, surgnes sanctus Franciscus fecit illis mirabilem prædicationem, dicens inter alia quomodo propter peccata tales pestilentiæ permittuntur, 24. Et quantum sit periculosior vorans flamma gehennæ, quæ habet in æternum devorare damnatos, quam rabies lupi quæ non potest occidere nisi corpus; 25. Et quantum sit pavendum in barathrum infernale demergi, quando tantam multitudinem unum parvum animal in tanto pavore et periculo detinebat.
>
> (Sabatier 80)

> When, therefore, a great crowd had gathered, Saint Francis rose and preached a wonderful sermon, saying among other things that such dreadful things were permitted because of sins, and how much more perilous are the consuming flames of Gehenna, which the damned have to devoured for eternity, than the raging of a wolf which can only kill the body. And how much should be feared to be cast down into the infernal abyss, when one little animal could keep such a multitude in fear and danger.

"Return, therefore, dear people," he said, "to the Lord, and do fitting penance, and God will free you from the wolf in the present and from the devouring fire of hell in the future."[29]

And having said that, he added: "Listen, dear people, Brother Wolf, who is here standing face to face with you, has promised me and has given me his pledge that he will make peace with you and will never hurt one or another of you, if, then, you promise to give *expensas* [i. e. food] to him daily. And I name myself as bondsman for Brother Wolf that he will faithfully observe this peace pact."[30]

The people promised, and the wolf knelt down and "nodded his head, and by gestures of his body and tail and ears"[31] showed his agreement, and again gave his paw to Francis in pledge. The people were amazed at the miracle. The wolf kept the pact, going door-to-door for food. "He was nourished by the people. And it is very much a wonder that never any dog barked at him."[32] When the wolf grew old and died, the people were sorry because whenever he went through the town his peacefulness, kindness and patience "recalled to memory the virtue and wondrous sanctity of Saint Francis."[33] In the end, the wolf became almost a metaphor for Francis.

Brown identifies the first clear reference to this legend as French, dating from about 1290, and contained in the third edition of the Latin *Legenda Sancti Francisci Versificata* by the poet Henri d'Avranches: "It is said that through his influence one wolf especially was tamed and made peace with a town (322)."

There is an earlier entry in the mid-thirteenth century chronicle of the Benedictine monastery of San Verecondo at Vellingegno, which lies between Gubbio and Perugia, that places Francis in the area of wolves, notices his bravery with regard to them, reports

that he addressed the wolf as Brother Wolf, and that he went unharmed. The account says that, while riding a donkey alone on the San Verecondo road, Francis was warned by farm workers of fierce wolves that would devour him and his donkey. He responded, "I have not done any harm to Brother Wolf that he should dare to devour our Brother Donkey (Brown 321)."[34] He then went on his way and was not hurt. Brown also mentions that "the Franciscan Custody of Gubbio adopted the figure of a wolf on its seal perhaps as early as the thirteenth century (322)." These are the concrete traces. The event, however, in whatever form it actually occurred, probably took place anytime between 1206, when Francis was in Gubbio nursing the victims of leprosy (Habig xi), and the decline of his eyesight in March of 1225.

We do not know when Marie was writing. "The very century in which she lived has been a matter of dispute (Mason viii);" and although early scholars proposed the reign of Henry III (Abbé de la Rue) and that of Henry II (Gaston Paris), all that is known for sure is that the date of composition of her translation, the *Espurgatoire Saint Patriz*, depends on its Latin original, Henry Saltrey's *Tractatus de purgatorio sancti Patricii*, which has been dated no earlier than 1208 (Dembowski 136), and possibly as late as 1215 (Mickel 12). There is no agreement as to the order of composition of the *Patriz*, *Fables* and *Lais* (Donovan n. 23, 13).

Marie's character of Bisclavret seems to be structured in the same way that I have been arguing Boccaccio, Chaucer and Marguerite structured their characters—with a negative fictive exterior holding the true literal and several allegorical levels within it. Marguerite may have included Marie as a part of "The Virgin of Cherves" because Marie

was a very early crafter of multi-level characters. Let us examine here the character Bisclavret.

We have already summarized the fictive story of the werewolf. The story seems to reverse the legend of Francis and the wolf of Gubbio, where a man overcomes a wolf. In Bisclavret, the wolf overcomes the man, a transformation that seems to take place when he is robbed of his clothes. The total divesting of clothes recalls another famous episode in the life of Francis, the ceding of his clothes to his father, Pietro di Bernardone, and standing calmly naked in the *piazza* of Assisi. This seems to be the opposite of being robbed of them and running wildly naked in the forest. Those are the broad outlines of the reversal: the good man and the evil werewolf.

Before and after the taking of the clothes, Bisclavret is described as a *chevalier*, a term that Francis applied to himself and his friars, and that Thomas of Celano assigned to Francis in his first *Vita*, "fortissimus miles Dei (I, XXVII, 72, 76)," because Francis was, in fact, a knight who fought and was captured in battle. There are several details that suggest him and the story of the wolf of Gubbio, including:

- his retreat for periods of time in the woods,
- the king's recognition of the werewolf's *humilie* (153),
- the werewolf's running to his master for pity and grace, and using his paws,
- the king's direction that the Court (opposite of the people) should see that he is richly fed,
- the pun on the taking of clothes as *despoille li toli*, heard as "despoille l'Italie," or "the spoils of Italy,"
- and several strategically placed cue words: *grant* (288, 291), *carceri* (160) [the name of Francis' retreat], *garde* (279), and *païs* (272) [no one, other than Jesus, is associated more closely with peace].

The character of the wife seems to be a negative figuration of Lady Poverty (an analog for Francis' ascetic soul), whom Francis "married" in the *piazza*. The wife betrays

Bisclavret; Lady Poverty was faithful to Francis. The wife brings a rich present; Lady Poverty is poor. Bisclavret bites off the wife's nose; Francis figuratively "kissed" poverty's mouth, since he and his friars begged for food. The adulterous knight whom the wife marries could be a negative figuration of the chaste Jesus, whom Lady Poverty accompanied to the cross.

The tropological level of this story may relate to Francis' sermon at Gubbio, where he states that the "wolf in this world," which "is standing here before you" will make peace if he is fed every day. The medieval audience would be able to understand this in terms of man's inner self, and his daily need for spiritual nourishment, in order to fend off his own wolfishness, a sense which Francis' reminder of the "fire of hell" seems to reinforce. Similarly "The Lay of Bisclavret" presents a recognizable allegory of the soul, which Hanning and Ferrante have described as "an image of human nature capable of nobility, but also of irrationality and bestiality (102)."

The last level of this general survey of the structure of the story is the anagogical level, which we have traced in our study of traditional exegesis, noting its separation into that which tends toward eternity, and that which is a graphic intextual representation of what tends toward eternity. In Marie's story, the graphics can be seen to do two things: to offer hints that support a reading of Francis as Bisclavret, and to assist in a discussion about the nature of the literary art. The former can be noticed in two examples,

- a description of Bisclavret with the name Francis concealed within it: *Tant esteit francs e deboneire* (179), "he was so frank and debonair,"
- and the noseless descendents of the wife (Lady Poverty) who appear in the figure *n assez*, perhaps a pun for "in Assisi," and *Enfanz en ad asez e ü*, "she had several children," perhaps punned as "in France and in Assisi,"

and seem to be a continuation of two puns in the Prologue of the *Lais* that suggest the hidden figure of Assisi:

- the words *asses oscurement* (12), "obscurely enough,"
- and the sentence *Nes voil laissier no oblier* (40), "I would not wish to leave [Assisi] forgotten."

The nature of the literary art seems to be entangled with the clothes, which are mentioned five times in this story. The first time occurs when the wife asks Bisclavret whether he went *despuille u vet vestuz* (69), "despoiled of his clothes," a grouping that presents five *v* figures (remembering that the letter *u* often appears as *v* in Latin script). The equivalence between the letter *u* and the letter *v* is held by the sound of the word *vestuz*, "clothes," as "*v est u*." This emphasis on the letter *v* is heard at the next occurrence of the clothes as *despuille l'enveia* (124), "to spoil his vesture," where there is a pun on *envei* as "in the" letter *v*. The same thing obtains in the third occurrence of the clothes in the pun *aveit trahi* (267), "was stolen," and also in the fourth occurrence where the king *demande la despoille:/ U* (275-6), "demanded the spoils/ *u*." In the final *despoille*, the clever counselor advises that the clothes be *porter/ U* (290-1), "carried *u*," which extends to *une grant piece l'i laissums*, "leave him one great piece." The grouping offers several possibilities, among them a pun on *piece* as the English word "peace," and puns on *lai ssums* as a Latinized "I am the *lai*" and "Assisi." It seems clear, however, that the five figures of *v* or *u* lead to the word *une*, "one," and that, in artistic terms, it is the clothing of singularity that was stolen from Bisclavret by the wife's duplicity.

The structure of the work is no less subtle. It seems to be a dyptich, with one half mirroring the other. There are ten key elements:

1. Bisclavret is a knight.
2. He undresses in secret.
3. His wife steals his clothes.
4. He is discovered in the forest.
5. He attacks the knight.
6. He attacks his wife.
7. His wife/knight relationship is discovered in the castle.

8. His wife returns his clothes.
9. He dresses in secret.
10. Bisclavret is a sleeping knight.

The pattern has five mirrored levels. The first and the tenth, or the beginning and the end of the story, present the conjoined fictive level (Bisclavret the knight) and the literal level (Bisclavret the sleeping knight), the latter suggesting Francis the visionary who saw the trappings of the knight in a dream (2 Cel I, II, 6, 365 and *L. M.* I, 3, 506). This is recognized by a graphic letter pun at the moment that Bisclavret is discovered on the *lit al rei* (298), "king's bed." The letters spell "*lit* er *al*," with one digraph reversed, and may indicate the beginning of the work, i. e. that the *lai* must be read backwards and in reverse. If we begin at the end, the first event is the dressing in secret. Its opposite would be Francis' disrobing in the *piazza* in public, and the pattern would be as follows:

10.	Bisclavret is a sleeping knight	1.	Francis is a sleeping knight [visionary].
9.	He dresses in secret.	2.	He disrobes in public at the *piazza*.
8.	His wife returns his clothes.	3.	He cedes his clothes.
7.	His wife/knight relationship is discovered in the castle	4.	His soul/Jesus relationship is discovered in the forest of La Verna
6.	He attacks his wife	5.	He embraces Lady Poverty.
5.	He attacks the knight.	6.	He embraces Jesus.
4.	He is discovered naked in the forest.	7.	His body is discovered naked in the castle [Portiuncula].
3.	His wife steals the clothes.	8.	Lady Poverty provides the clothes.
2.	He undresses in secret.	9.	He puts on a tunic in public.
1.	Bisclavret is a knight.	10.	Francis is called a knight by Bonaventure.[35]

The levels of the exegetical structure can be identified clearly once this pattern is matched to itself;

1 and 10	fictive/literal	knight
2 and 9	allegorical	man reputiating excessive material goods, and assuming necessary goods
3 and 8	tropological	the ascetic soul divesting itself of sin, and accepting grace
4 and 7	allegorical	man attaining purity of soul and body
5 and 6	anagogical	poverty and Jesus as the way to the eternal

The story is centered in the anagogical level, precisely between the attack on the knight and the attack on the wife, at the line midway between the two attacks: *Que li bisclavret*

asailli (217), "whom Bisclavret had attacked (98)." The center of this line is the word *bisclavret*, but it requires assistance from the appearance of the word *bisclavret* at the restoration of the clothes for full comprehension. The sentence *Al bisclavret la fist doner* (278), "he caused it to be spread before Bisclavret (89)," holds the translingual hint "*la f ist doner*," or "the letter *f* is given." If the letter *f* replaces the letter *l* in the name *Bisclavret*, the name can be read as "Fravcis *et b*," which brings the circle back to "Francis and *bis* Cla v r (*et* sounds like the name of the English letter *a*)." The suggestion makes *Clara*, or Lady Clare, a complementary analog for Francis, as she also disrobed (donned a habit), retreated to the forest, and embraced poverty and Jesus. In the final analysis Bisclavret seems to be a doubling of Francis, as Francis and Clare, "*la vrai b is c*."

One of the possible sources for information about Francis that Marie may known is Bonaventure's *Legenda Maior*, which, if the signs are being correctly interpreted, would necessitate a much later dating of her work. The Prologue promises to speak with *bone eloquence* (2), "good eloquence," to make *bone estoire* (29), "a good history," and includes the phrase *aventures k'oïz aveie* (36), "adventures that I had heard," which seem to pun Bonaventure's name and his *vie* of Francis. The *lai* itself seems to combine Francis and Bonaventure in *Tant esteit francs e deboneire* (179), and sets the word *aventure* in the beginning (99), middle (269) and end (315), with the middle occurrence a reflexive *L'aventure qu'il li cunta,/ E que devint e u ala* (269-70), "the adventure that he recounted, and what became [of him] and where he went," ending in the emblem *ala*. This is followed a few lines later with a flutter of wings when the clothes are returned to Bisclavret:

Ariere la fet aporter,
Al bisclavret la fist doner.
(277-8)

When the raiment was brought him,
he caused it to be spread before Bisclavret.
(89)

The clothes, which we have seen accompanied by the letter *v* and the sound of *vie*, are *doner*, perhaps a pun for *Bon*[aventu]*re*, which would be in keeping with John Fowles comment in the Foreword to the Hanning-Ferrante translation that Marie ought to be awarded high praise for "what she chooses to leave out (xii)." Perhaps Marie gives us the clearest clue to the Francis within her *lai* in the statement *M'entremis des lais assembler/ Par rime faire e reconter* (47-8), "I have assembled these lays [that are] made and told in rime," where the letter pun "de Assisi" and the aural hint "*as sembler*" are entangled with the word *lais*.

This analysis of the structure and puns of "The Lay of Bisclavret," because it places the work posterior to the established canon of Franciscan literature, calls into question the received dating of Marie's *corpus*. Perhaps a date closer to 1300 would be within the realm of probability. It seem likely, however, that Marguerite de Navarre recognized the analogy between Marie's were-wolf and Francis, because she fits Marie's persona to *trouvée grosse. Ce qu elle* in such a way as to acknowledge the letter *v* that is the wife's nose and its complementary opposite, the mouth of Lady Poverty, which might be drawn as a circle as round as a pearl. Let us consider the tracings within her text.

The Virgin and the Wolf

In Marguerite de Navarre's thirty-third novella, the character of the virgin of Cherves, who, as we have seen, holds the Virgin Mary and Clare of Assisi, incorporates Marie de France through characteristics found in "The Lay of Bisclavret." The opening description of the novella is replete with the letters *v* and *u*: *en ung village . . .une fille vierge vivant* (247), which also privileges *une*, the sign of singularity related to the clothes in "Bisclavret." The virgin's pregnancy, stated as *trouvée grosse*, utilizes the sound of the letter *v* in the same way that Marie does. Although the capital *v* in the word *Veraie* (316), in the final lines of Marie's lay, seems to identify the "true" *Vie* of Francis in the Latinized puzzle pun "*V* era *ie*," or "*V* will be *ie*," or "*Vie*," it also seems to signify the unity of the work as the letter *v* is collapsed into the letter *u* in the line *U li bisclavret fu trouvez* (223), "*U* Bisclavret was found [*v*]."

Other details that connect Marguerite's novella to "The Lay of Bisclavret" include:

- the oath *à ma damnation*, which includes Dame Marie and France in its scope,
- the statement that she never wanted to be *maryée*, "married," punned as "Marie est," or "it is Marie," because then her craft would have been discovered,
- the oath that *jamais homme m'a toucha non plus que vous*," never has man touched me more than you," which recalls the wise counselor's reminder that Bisclavret had been peaceful, *unke mes humme ne tucha* (245), "nor has touched any man,"
- the brother *curé*, perhaps a reference to Marie's punning the French word *cure*, "intention," twice in the lay at lines 164 and 182, and the word *oscurement* in the Prologue,
- the question *si tu es Vierge* (248), "if you are a virgin," which might be punned as the Latin *situ*, "in the place," which suggests Vergi, the venu of *La Chastelaine de Vergi*, which Marie retold in "The Lay of Sir Launfal," and which Marguerite remade in the seventieth novella,[36]
- the virgin's statement that she can render an *autre raison*, "other reason," perhaps a pun for *vraison*, "truth," and for "*vrai son*," "true son," to suggest Marie's substitution of *enfant* for *filz*,
- the witnesses of M. *le Conte*, a pun for "story," the other word for *lai*,

- and the concluding *ung monstre si horrible, et soubz une vie tant louable et saincte* (249),"a monster (*loup*, "wolf") so horrible, and under a life so laudable and holy," which could be combining the wolf of Gubbio and the *Vie* of Francis, or the letter *v* of "Bisclavret."

The frame discussion after the story also contributes clues that point to Marie's *lai*:

- Simontaut begins with *Voylà, mes dames* (249), perhaps punned as "*Voy la me Dame*,"
- Oisille speaks of *des vraiz chrestiens*, "of true christians," repeating the pun from the name Bisclavret,
- Hircan, includes the word *aussi*, and mentions *nudz* people, making their *nudité, ordure et villenye* (*vie en ne*) *trouvée plus layde*, both a pun on the letter *v* and the *lai*,
- and Nomerfide continues the pun on "wolf" in the phrase *beaucoup de mal*, "a great deal of evil," which seems to conceal a "handsome wolf" as part of a sentence that holds puns on *vie* and *monstrer*.

Taken together these suggest that Marguerite was familiar with Marie de France's "The Lay of Bisclavret," and may have noticed that the author chose to have Bisclavret *D'une verge le manaça* (202), "threatened with a stick," after he attacked the knight. If attacking the knight is reversed to its complement "loving Jesus," it may be that Bisclavret was really "gifted with a (this is a pun: *verge* for *vierge*)," that is the virgin Jesus.

Marguerite's incorporation of Marie's work into the structure of the virgin of Cherves adds another pearl that fits quite nicely next to Clare of Assisi, since the actual pearl of "The Lay of Bisclavret" would be the mouth of Lady Poverty, a highly spiritual, personified metonomy symbolic of Francis' asceticism. This pearl also draws to it the virgin Jesus and the virgin Francis, and is suitably complemented by the next pearl in succession, Joan of Arc.

Joan of Arc

Joan of Arc is the next figuration within the character of the virgin of Cherves. Called St. Jeanne la Pucelle, or St. Joan the Virgin, she is the famous virgin saint of France, who lived about a hundred years before Marguerite. She was wise beyond her twenty years,[37] fasted, attended church services, and *sa vie* was *si estimée de tout la commun* (247), "her life was highly esteemed by all the community." She shares with Marie the designation *de France*, which can be found in *dés son enfance*. The people believed her to be a miracle, and were happy to touch her male clothes. She was found to be *grosse*, this time translated as "famous," and followed by the hint ***ce que elle***, a visual pun for *pucelle* that depends on the inversion of the letter *q* to a letter *p*.

Interrogated about her "voices" by a learned body of theologians at Poitiers in 1428, she might well have responded, *la grace du Sainct Esperit, qui faict en moy ce qu'il lui plaist* (248), "the grace of the Holy Spirit does in me what he pleases." Her standard bore the words "Jesus : Maria," both found in this text,[38] and she had a male friend who "touched" her once. He was *le duc d'Alençon*, ancestor of Marguerite de Navarre's husband, Charles. He undertook a short campaign on the Loire with Joan that was a splendid success and ended with a victory at Patay. Later, when her attack on Paris failed, he rescued her: "During the action Joan was wounded in the thigh by an arrow and had to be almost dragged into safety by Alençon (Thurston 429)." He has been called "one of her best friends (428)," and for his *cure*, "care," she could quite rightly swear ***à ma damnation***, punned as the Latin *ama*, "love," the word *dam* for *Notre Dame*'s nation of France, that ***jamais homme m'a toucha no plus que vous***.

Although Joan was honored by all the world (*honorez de tout le monde* [249]), she was shut up in a cell in the castle of Rouen, and betrayed by Peter Cauchon, who denounced her at the University of Paris, and who may be suggested by the word *accouchée*, "brought to bed," before she was burned, *bruslez*, in the marketplace of Rouen in 1431. The final lines of Marguerite's novella recall Joan's production of the Son (*filz*), Jesus, held on a crucifix before her eyes as she died, the implication that Christ died with her as her "brother" in the Holy Eucharist (a "monstrance of gold and wheat"), and that in her holy life there was a *detestable vice*, punned as "*de testable* voice," a voice in her head:"

> . . . furent bruslez le frere et la seur ensemble, don't tout le peuple eut ung merveilleux esbahissement, . . .
>
> (249)

> . . . they burnt her and her brother together. The local people were extremely shocked . . .
>
> (339)

The figure of Joan of Arc as the virgin of Cherves allows the reader to *veu cella* (248), "seen her," which can be heard as the pun *pucella*, and to know her friend *Alençon*, a member of Marguerite's family.

We have moved from the Virgin Mary to Clare, to Marie to Joan—each time moving closer in geography, in time and in relationship to the author, and so it is not surprising that the next pearl on the strand is a marguerite.

Marguerite de Navarre

The sixth level to this *modi* structure is the sage author herself, Marguerite de Navarre, who was not swayed by worldliness, attended church services, fasted, and whose *curé* (caretaker) was her brother King Francis I, the *curé de la parroisse* (247), perhaps a pun for the "caretaker of Paris." In 1533, Francis actively protected Marguerite against Noël Beda and the Sorbonne, annuling their verdict against the *Miroir de l'âme pécheresse*, and again in 1534 in the *Affaire des placards*, after which she retired to the country. On her own level of allegory in the story, the diction seems to incorporate the *Affaire* with a pun on *affaire* and a pun for the English word *sister*: the Count's men find the *curé* to be "ennuyé de cest affaire, qu'il les pria d'assister . . .," "upset by the whole affair, that he begged them to [*assister*] . . .(337). In 1545, during the period when she was writing the *Heptameron*, she was cloistered in a *maison*, the monastery of Tusson, for prayer and meditation after the death of her brother, and, except for the engagement and marriage of her daughter Jeanne[39] (which event is incorporated into the twenty-second novella), stayed in the Pyrenees until her death.[40] Like the virgin of Cherves, she is pregnant with a virgin soul, which she describes as a *toutesfois estoit trouvée grosse. Ce que elle*, punned as "at all times was found to be a big circle," which could be a description of Marguerite, the pearl of France.

The presentation of the author as a circle seems to implicate her artistic method as well, because she uses the circular apple to symbolize analogy, as the *pomme* is a pun (an analog) for the word *comme*, "as or how," a word of analogy like Marie's *ut*. She develops this in the Letter of January 16, 1523, where it will be remembered that Marguerite teaches that Holy Scripture leads people to the *pomme d'or*, and where she

crafts a clever puzzle that includes three apples—a French *pomme*, and English *appel*, and a Latin *malum*—and the pictogram O, within the text.

In the novella of the Virgin of Cherves, the word ***homme*** is the pun for the copulative *comme*. It is the key word in the virgin's oath that never had she known ***homme***, and that she did not know *comme* the case to her had *advenu* (*come*, in English);[41] that the people held her *comme* a second Virgin Mary; and that the people made such a noise that "comme je vous ay dict, les nouvelles en vindrent . . .," "as I have said, the news of it had *come* . . .." The *curé* juxtaposes *comme* to the word *vierge* and surrounds it with forms of *tu*, the *verso* of *ut*. He asks "si **tu** es vierge, **comme tu** m'as **tous**jours asseuré (248)," "whether you be a virgin, as you have always assured me (338)." The virgin swears that never ***homme m'a toucha***, "man has touched me," attributing to the Holy Spirit the grace *de me conserver vierge*, "to keep myself a virgin (338)," with letter *v* puns on the words *conserver* and *vierge* as "*conser v*" and "*v* urge." At the end, the narrative voice returns to bemoan *une vie tant louable*. The emphasis seems to be on the compositional use of allegory.

On the theological plane, this discussion of metaphor at the moment of the presentation of the Holy Eucharist seems to suggest Marguerite as orthodox in her beliefs. The *curé*'s question "si tu es vierge, comme tu m'as tousjours asseuré" can be interpreted as asking whether the host is the virgin as the Church professes, i. e. the real presence of Jesus Christ. The virgin of Cherves' response that never *homme m'a toucha* could then be a punning assurance that "never *comme* has touched me," or metaphor, attributing to the Holy Spirit the grace *de me conserver vierge*. Then the pun "*de me conser v*" takes on the character of a hint to "*demi conser v*," which leaves the "*vie urge*,"

the urge for "life," both that of fecund creation and that of Christ's live body in the Eucharist.

Marguerite's virgin soul is one of many souls on the seventh, or tropological level of this work.[42] In response to the question of how it is possible that she is *grosse* (translated as "distasteful" or "sinful," but also implying that she has once been *grosse*, "pregnant") and lives as a virgin, the virgin of Cherves replies:

> "Je n'en puis randre autre raison, sinon que ce soit la grace du Sainct Esperit, qui faict en moy ce qu'il lui plaist; mais, si ne puis-je nyer la grace que Dieu m'a faicte, de me conserver vierge; et n'euz jamais volunté d'estre maryée."
> (248)

> "I cannot explain it unless it be the grace of the Holy Spirit who performs in me what he pleases. But neither can I deny the grace which God has granted me to keep myself a virgin. Nor did I ever have any desire to marry."
> (338)

The sense of the passage is that the grace of the Holy Spirit through the agency of her own will is responsible for keeping her virginity (of soul), in spite of never having set out to be [like] *maryée*, perhaps a pun for "Mary," i. e. to seek spiritual perfection. The Holy Spirit does in her *qu'il lui plaist*, "what it pleases her," recreating the virgin soul (perhaps the true pearl) in all who desire it. The major pun on this level is discovered between *le curé en*, punned as "the cure est *n*" and *-a la ver*, which is La Verna minus *n*, at the point where the Conte decides that the *curé* will confess when he is put into prison: "et mectez le **curé** en prison. Je suis **seur** qu'il confessera la verité (248)," "and throw him into prison! I am sure he will confess the truth (338)." Between the proffered letter *n* and the rest of La Verna, i. e., the La Verna frame, can be found *prison. Je suis seur qu'il confesse*, a confession of the pun "son. Jesus," but also perhaps Marguerite's confession *Je suis seur*, "I am a sister," since she holds the pregnant virgin soul of one who has been seeded with a burning love of Christ.

Marguerite seems to draw her fictive *vierge* with the "lives" of many allegorical virgins, including Jesus as the real presence, the Virgin Mary, Clare, Marie de France, Joan of Arc, Marguerite herself, and the soul of every man and woman. She also adds her craft as an allegory of allegory. She covers this with negative allegory, which she uses on the fictive level: the virgin pregnant by her priest brother. She does this in a way that is similar to the transfiguration of the sinful soul into the virgin soul: with a confidence that the necessary qualities are always there, even when they appear to be in opposition, that they are there in abundance, and that they always point to the One.

The anagogical level of this novella might be found in the phrase *trouvée grosse. Ce que elle*, which draws the circle of this tale to a close when the word *grosse* (near the beginning) is connected to a *de testable vice* (at the end). The referent could be Robert Grosseteste, exegete and teacher of Franciscans, and the pun *ce que elle* actualized when it is drawn as a head (*teste*), just after the word *grosse*. This *trouvée grosse. Ce que elle* (Grosseteste) would connect Marguerite to a Franciscan literary heritage.

We have examined *trouvée grosse. Ce que elle* from several perspectives. We have seen it emphasize the letter *v* in the Virgin Mary's monogram, and as Marie de France's sign of analogy, and emphasize the circle as Clare's monstrance, as *Jeanne La Pucelle*'s name, and as the head of Robert Grosseteste. These referents, however, like the tears of the Seven Sorrows, can all be imagined to be pearls in Marguerite's necklace, which centers Christ as the *grosse. Ce que elle*, and Clare of Assisi, Marguerite herself, and the many souls of mankind as smaller pearls ranged along the strand like a beautiful rosary.

Marguerite seems to be continuing the *modi* structure used by Boccaccio, with a fictive silver coating over a multi-leveled interior, accompanied by complex puns and graphic hinting. Her structure permits as many as nine characterizations to emerge. Although she is open in recognizing Boccaccio's *Decameron* as her model, her references to Chaucer, as we have seen, are oblique. What do we make of her these hints which seem to indicate that she had read the *Canterbury Tales* and grasped its hidden meaning? In the next story of The Gentleman of Perigord and his Wife we will examine some pointed and generous puns that seem to identify Geoffrey Chaucer.

The Gentleman of Perigord and his Wife

The twenty-third novella, as told by Oisille, is the story of a happily married man who invites his brother-in-law to dinner to celebrate the birth of a son. A Franciscan joins the group for dinner, and later manages to substitute himself for the husband in the wife's bed and escape. When the husband and wife discover this, the husband pursues the Franciscan, and the wife hangs herself in despair, suffocating her son as she dies. When the brother-in-law discovers his sister dead, he suspects the husband and sets out after him. He fights with the husband, mortally wounding him; but upon learning the truth, he confesses to the family and receives a pardon from King Francis I.

Although it is not within the scope of this paper to develop the allegorical structure of this story, it needs to be regarded in a very superficial way because it contains puns and hints that support an intertextual reference to Chaucer, the *Canterbury Tales*, and especially *The Monk's Tale*. The most conspicuous word in the story is *coucher* in various forms, which can be found ten times in six pages. We have already noticed this word as a punning interlingual allusion to the chaucer, or "keeper of pigs."

Other hints begin in the frame discussion leading to the story when Oisille mentions ***l'ange Sathan se transforme en ange de lumiere*** (186), "Satan transforms himself into an angel of light (266)," which could point to the "Tale of Lucifer" within *The Monk's Tale*, not only in its comment about transforming into an angel, but also its spelling of *Sathan*, and its choice of diction, *l'ange* punning "Angle," Englishman.

The gentleman of Perigord is devoted to Francis, and honors the Franciscan habit as saintly. He maintains a room and a *garderobe* for Franciscans at his home, and follows their *conseil* (186,187), which could suggest a Third Order Council. The

gentleman hides no secrets from the Franciscan, his spiritual father. The Franciscan's appearance and his words, on the other hand, are *toute contraire à son cueur* (187), "all contrary to his heart."

The significant clues in this story occur at the hanging of the wife, who is variously named as *femme* (187), *dame* (190) and *damoiselle* (190). When she is told that she has slept with *nostre pere confesseur* (190), "our father confessor," which suggests Francis in *nostre pere*, she is in *desespoir*, not only "despair," but also punned as Nicolas de Lira's "*des espoir*," "of hope." Considering *le cas horrible*, "the horrible case," which might suggest both *de cas*[ibus] tragedy and the *monstre si horrible* of the thirty-third novella, she takes a *corde de son lict* (here is a pun: *corde de son lict*, "bedcord" for "Cordelier") *et de ses propres mains s'estrangla* (191), "and strangles herself with her own hands." The prepositional phrase *propres mains s'estrangla* could be an interlingual pun for "proper man *est* Anglo," perhaps the Englishman Chaucer. It is followed by the *femme, qui couchoit en la chambre*, "woman who slept in the bedroom," an ambiguous[43] description that encompasses both the wife and the chambermaid in its purview—finding her *estranglée à la corde du lict*, perhaps "est *Anglais*, the Cordelier," or "the Franciscan is English." She discovers the *enfant estouffé*, "suffocated baby," but perhaps the "*en fant est ouffé*," "fantasy is [Ge]offrey," and, rushes—*toute effrayée*, "very frightened," a pun that might be recognizing Chaucer's punning association with the Franciscan Order as a *fray*, which we have discussed in the last chapter. It will be remembered that the pun *fray* for the last part of "Geoffrey," was the missing piece of the central image of *The Monk's Tale*, which actually held *egle of*. The word *fray* was left out, and could only be determined by solving the puzzle of the name "Geoffrey." The technique is oxymoronic

because it is distinguished by the revelation of important information in its omission. The *femme* goes to the room *du frere de sa maistresse*, "of the *frere* of her mistress," with a pun on the Latinized *maistre esse*, "is the master." The brother-in-law, believing the husband to have committed *le cas* (191), asks about the *cause de leur debat* (192), "the cause of their quarrel," which can encompass the whole of the *Heptameron*, whose frame is structured like a *débat*, which Tetel calls "the mode proper to Marguerite (144)."[44] (By applying the previous *cas* as a substitution for the word *cause*, the question can be made to ask about *de cas*[ibus] of the *Heptameron*.) The dying husband accuses the *beau frere* of having hung and *estranglée à la corde de vostre lict*, again perhaps "is *Anglais*, the Cordelier," and then asks whether he found his sister *en l'estat*, "in the country [of England]." In the end the *mechant Cordelier*, "naughty Franciscan," perhaps punned as "the merchant Franciscan" slips away, and the *beau frere* is pardoned through the graces of the *chancellier de France*, "Chancellor of France," but maybe through the graces of Chaucer's Chaunticleer.

In the frame succeeding the novella, Oisille thinks that all of the group will *pense deux fois* (192), "think twice," before lodging *telz pelerins*, "that sort of pilgrim;" Gerburon believes that people fear the *beaux peres*, "good fathers," more than *advanturiers*, "highwaymen," a possible pun on Bonaventure; Simontaut notices that Franciscans do the opposite: by performing the marriages *nous luent aux femmes*, "they tie us to women," while they *nous en eslier*, "untie us," by their *meschanceté*; and Oisille recommends that they be *brusler tout en vye*, "burned alive," perhaps also punned as "to burn all the *Life* [of Francis]." Taken together, these puns seem to suggest not only Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, but also his relationship to the Franciscan Order as a *fray*,

and his position in a continuum of Franciscan literary production that is tied to Bonaventure, and that writes in *verso*. As Tetel has concluded about Marguerite's crafting of this novella and its frame, "Every human act or thought has a multi-dimensional purpose and effect, perhaps contradictory on the surface, but basically complementary (113)."

In this chapter we have looked at Marguerite de Navarre's continuation of Boccaccio and Chaucer's type of exegetical structuring, which sets a silver exterior on a complex of allegorical levels. We have noted her frequent use of the pun and graphic letter forms; her inclusion of the Franciscan character, including the Observant friar; her incorporation of Francis and Clare into the sophisticated structure of the thirty-third novella; her intertextuality with Bonaventure, Marie de France, Boccaccio and Chaucer, particularly in subtle re-presentations of the central graphic figures of their works; and her imitation of Chaucer's prototypical missing figure *frey* as a type of the figure that has been left out..

In the theological domain, Marguerite's comprehension of the capacity of the soul to become virgin at will, in response to and because of Christ's sacrifice on the cross, and her vision of the potential of every soul to be a pregnant virgin, seeded with the love of Christ in the Holy Eucharist, by the Holy Spirit and through the agency of a priest, cannot pass without comment, even in a literary analysis. It is a profound understanding, and one that she probably came to know more fully as she prayed among the consecrated religious of the monastery of Tusson. This *intelligence* is Marguerite's pearl.

[1] The question of authorship of the *Heptameron* has been a thorny one as Marguerite died in 1549, but her name was not associated with the work until 1559, and then in an editor's notation that her name had been omitted from the first edition of the work that had appeared in 1558. Both Pierre Jourda (*Marguerite d'Angoulême. Étude biographique et littéraire*, Vol 2, Paris: Champion, 1930) and Lucien Febvre (*Autour de l'Heptaméron: Amour sacré, amour profane*, Paris: Gallimard, 1944) rejected Charles Nodier's theory that Bonaventure Des Périers was the actual author ("Bonaventure Desperiers," *Revue des deux mondes* 20, 4e série [1839]: 329-51). Chilton thinks the evidence for Marguerite's authorship "is at best circumstantial ("Introduction," 7)," but current scholarship prefers to accept Marguerite as the author, while acknowledging that there is no definitive proof to substantiate this claim. See Dora Polachek's "Introduction."

[2] Marguerite uses the spelling *Saint Esperit* in Story 33, whereas she spells it *Saint Esprit* in the Letter of June 14, 1523 (Martineau et al, 2:47).

[3] The phrase *aultre intelligence que litterale* can also be read as "an other intelligence as *littera le*," with the sound of *le* as "El."

[4] Rabelais seems to have an interesting echo of Chaucer's Monk in Frère Jean, who is both a friar and a monk, both confined to the Abbey close and exclaustrated on his travels. Baker-Smith has noticed Erasmus' satire of Franciscan internal troubles in the *Encomium Moriae*, pointing out that the dispute over habit color and girdle differentiated Observants from Conventuals, and recognizing a 1514 addition of two pairs of gloves to the friar who avoids all contact with money as directed toward Franciscans (39). His essay is concerned with Franciscan influence on More's *Utopia*.

[5] Cazauran has perceived that the Franciscans who emphasize the importance of work are denounced *de paresse, de débauche et d'hypocrisie* (259), "for laziness, debauchery and hypocrisy."

[6] Citations are from Michel François's edition of the *Heptaméron*, with P. A. Chilton's English translation where indicated by a page number.

[7] The figure Poline also appears in the tenth novella. In a displacement of the letter *c* of *coline*, the figure is first *Ceste Poline* (61), whom Amadour encourages, thinking that *en luy faisant acroyre une mensonge, il luy couvrirait la verité* (62). Later, *c'est Poline*, who *a prins ung si grand* love to Floride, and when he misinterprets *ceste parolle* (65), he speaks *en collere* (65), leaves, and does not return until *sa grande collere* has subsided.

[8] Our examination of the thirty-third novella will suggest a conversion of the word *cueur* here to *seur*, which would suggest that Poline as Assisi is also Clare.

[9] In his study of the *frère* in three stories of the *Heptameron*, Paré sees a possible psychological referent in Francis I, but also, citing Emile Telle's *L'œuvre de Marguerite d'Angoulême, reine de Navarre et la Querelle des Femmes*, rééd. de 1937 (Genève: Slatkine, 1968) on the sixteenth century usage of the word *frère* to identify a multitude of relations, he sees the word as including "celui qui s'appelle ou que l'on appelle <frère>," "he who calls himself or whom one calls 'brother'," "qu'il soit véritablement frère, beau-frère, fils, Cordelier, ou même désigné comme tel par la sœur elle-même (108)," "as he should truly be a brother, best friend, son, Franciscan or even designated as such by the sister herself."

[10] Paré may be making both a pun on "Minor" and on *moines*, "monks" who are *frères* "lisez in stitutionna," or "read in substitution."

[11] Hampton has described Navarre as a "small multilingual kingdom (517)."

12 Baker-Smith has argued that More's imaginative description of himself in a Franciscan habit pictures the habit of the Observant friar (38, 40).

13 Sackcloth and ashes were the Old Testament sign of penitence. Jonah's visit to Nineveh, for example, was followed by the king's putting on sackcloth and sitting down in ashes (3: 6).

14 "Cinerem proinde sibi deferri iubet, de quo circa se in pavimento circulum fecit, reliquum *super* proprium *caput imponens*. Exspectantibus illis beatum patrem intra cinereum circu/lum cum silentio persistentem, stupor in earum cordibus non parvus oboritur. Surgit subito sanctus, et illis attonitis, *Miserere mei Deus* recitat pro sermone. Quo finito, celeriter *foras egreditur*. . .Opere docuit illas se *cinerem* reputare, nihilque cordi eius aliud approximare de ipsis, nisi hac reputatione *condignum* (II Cel II, CLVII, 207, 202-3)."

15 There has been extensive discussion of the relationship between the the Prologue of the *Heptameron* and that of the *Decameron*, including Margaret W. Ferguson's, "Recreating the Rules of the Game," in *Creative Imitation: New Essays on Renaissance Literature in Honor of Thomas M. Greene*, ed. David Quint et al., Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 95 (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1992), 153-88; Cazauran, Part 1, Chapter 3, 69-102; Krystyna Kasprzyk, "Marguerite de Navarre, lecteur du Décaméron," *Studi francesi* 34 (1990): 1-11; and Tetel, Chapter 5, esp. 151-165.

16 This punning conversion seems to be duplicated in Story 33 where the Count suspects that the *curé* covered his *meschanceté* with a *grande* dissimulation (248), the *curé* confesses his *meschanceté*, and, confronted by the fact that he had been so *meschant* as to take Christ's body (249).

17 The word *maison* is a pictogram that encloses Mary (as *Mai*) and the Son.

18 The Order of Servites of the Blessed Virgin Mary seem to accompany the seven sorrows of Mary hidden here in three hints: the phrase *sepmaine à sa devotion* (247), because the order was founded in 1304 by seven Florentines devoted to the Virgin Mary; the word *service* (247) as a pun for Servite; and the statement that the virgin's *vie estoit si estimée de tout le commun, que chacun par miracle la venoit veoir* (247), "life was so estimed by the whole community that each came to see her by a miracle." An account of the origin of the Servite Order tells that they "belonged to the merchant class and engaged in buying and selling the goods of this world. But once they found the pearl of great price, our order, they not only gave all they had to the poor but cheerfully offered themselves to God and our Lady in true and loyal service." (*Monumenta Ord. Serv. B. Mariae Virginis*, 1, 3. 5. 6. 9. 11.:pp. 71ss in *The Liturgy of the Hours* II NY: Catholic Book Publishing Co., 1976, 1679)

19 The monstrance is defined as "the vessel used for exposing the Eucharistic Host for veneration. In its modern form it consists of a frame of gold or silver rays in the center of which is a receptacle with a glass window through which the Host may be seen (Livingstone 344)." It is usually, but not always, fashioned as a circle.

20 The miracle is that they had not been raped. This contrasts sharply with what Cholakian has described as "the universal mistrust of a despised group," pointing out that the *divisants* only accept innocence in a woman when the perpetrator of the rape is a Franciscan (165). On the subject of rape see also Carla Freccero's entry on Marguerite de Navarre in *A New History of French Literature*, ed. Denis Hollier, with R. Howard Bloch et al. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ P, 1989), 145-7.

21 I have been unable to consult Celano's *La Leggenda di Santa Chiara*.

22 "Hic est locus ille beatus et sanctus, in quo gloriosa religio et excellentissimus ordo pauperum Dominarum et sanctarum virginum, a conversione beati Francisci fere sex annorum spatio iam elapso, per eumdem beatum virum felix exordium sumpsit; in quo domina Clara, civitate Assisii oriunda, lapis pretiosissimus atque fortissimus caeterorum superpositorum lapidum exstitit fundamentum. Nam, cum post initiationem ordinis Fratrum, dicta domina sancti viri monitis ad Deum conversa fuisset, multis exstitit ad profectum et innumeris ad exemplum. Nobilis parentela sed nobilior gratia; virgo carne, mente castissima; aetate iuvencula sed animo cana; constans proposito et in divino amore ardentissima desiderio; sapientia praedita et humilitate praecipua: Clara nomine, vita clarior, clarissima moribus.

19. Super hanc quoque pretiosissimarum margaritarum nobilis structura surrexit, quarum *laus non ex hominibus sed ex Deo est*, cum nec angusta meditatio eam cogitare sufficiat, nec brevis locutio explicare (I Cel I, VIII, 18-19, 22)."

23 Important works on Marie de France include: Horst Baader's *Die Lais: zur Geschichte einer Gattung der altfranzösischen Kurzerzählungen*, Frankfurt: Klostermann (Analecta Romanica, 16), 1966; Léon Fleuriot's "Les Lais bretons," *Histoire littéraire et culturelle de la Bretagne*, Ed. J. Balcou and Y. Le Gallo, 3 vols., Paris and Geneva: Champion-Slatkine, 1987, vol. 1, 131-38; Lucien Foulet's "Marie de France et les lais bretons," Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie 29 (1905), 19-56, 293-322; Jean-Charles Payen's "Lai, fabliau, *exemplum*, roman court: pour une typologie du récit bref aux XII[e] et XIII[e] siècles," *Le Récit bref au Moyen Age: actes du colloque des 27, 28 et 29 avril 1979*, ed. D. Buschinger, Amiens: Université de Picardie: Centre d'Etudes Médiévales/Paris: Champion, 1980, 7-23, and also *Le Lai narratif*, Turnhout: Brepols (Typologie des sources du Moyen Age occidental, faxc. 13), 1975, 33-63. There are two valuable annotated bibliographies both by Glyn S. Burgess: *Marie de France: an Analytical Bibliography*, London: Grant and Cutler, 1986, and *The Old French Narrative Lay: an Analytical Bibliography*, Cambridge and Rochester, NY: D. S. Brewer, 1995, reprint 1997.

24 Baum argues that the term *lai* is derived from the Latin *laicus*, rather than the Celtic etymology (68-78). This seems to conform to Marie's interest in writing for the laity, as she notes in the *Espurgatoire*: "qu'il seit entendables a laie gent e covenables (in Donovan 13)."

25 Brown gives the author of the *Actus*, the Latin original of the *Fioretti*, as Brother Ugolino Boniscambi de Monte Santa Maria, whose "active career therefore spans the crucial period 1270-1340 (1276)." The work has been edited by Paul Sabatier. For references to the wolf legend, see also Jörgensen's listing of Arthur's *Martyrlogium Franciscanum* and Wadding (n. 7, 305).

26 Brown reports that "over eighty fifteenth-century manuscripts of the Italian translation are extant (Habig 1282)."

27 The translation of the *Actus* is my own.

28 The wolf is referred to a *eum* near the end of the story (Sabatier 81).

29 "Revertimini igitur, carissimi, ad Dominum et facite pœnitentiam dignam, et a lupo liberabit vos Deus in præsenti, et in futuro ab ignis barathro devorantis (Sabatier 80)."

30 "≪Audite, carissimi, frater lupus, qui hic coram vobis adstat, promisit mihi, et de promissione fidem exhibuit, facere pacem vobiscum; 28. Et nunquam vos in aliquo lædere, si tamen vos promittitis sibi quotidie expensas dare. Et ego pro fratre lupo fidejubeo quod pactum pacis firmiter observabit.≫ (Sabatier 80)."

31 ". . .inclinatione capitis, et gestibus corporis et caudæ, et aurium (Sabatier 81)."

[32] ". . . fuit curialiter enutritus. 36. Et mirum est valde quod nunquam latrabat canis aliquis contra eum (Sabatier 81)."

[33] ". . .sancti Francisci virtutem et sanctitatem mirificam in memoriam revocabat (Sabatier 81)."

[34] I have been unable to secure a copy of the original text of this chronicle or of the works of Henri d'Avranches.

[35] Bonaventure addresses Francis as *miles Christi* (*L. M.* XIII, 9, 544), "knight of Christ (311)," and calls the stigmata *arma invictissimi Ducis*, "the arms of your unconquerable Leader," which fulfill the vision that Francis saw, *videlicet quod dux in militia Christi futurus* (10, 545), "namely that you would be a captain in the army of Christ (312)."

[36] Tetel calls the seventieth novella "one of the better-known stories, since it is an amplified *rifacimento* of the widely diffused medieval tale, *La Chastelaine de Vergi* (40)."

[37] The deformation of *trente* to *trante* (248), may not be due to a period or regional change, but rather to an effort on Marguerite's part to indicate an "*anti*" thirty age. She faced the difficult task of reducting the ages of several people to one number.

[38] Jesus is hidden in the words *le corps de Nostre Seigneur pour la faire jurer dessus* (249), and Maria is *Maryée* (248).

[39] It is interesting to notice that a woman who admired Jeanne d'Arc chose the name Jeanne for her daughter.

[40] Tetel has stated that "the queen did retire into a monastery during the last year of her life (5)."

[41] Notice also the letter *u* as *v*.

[42] Here we mean the souls of all of mankind, reflecting the *Canticle of Jeremiah*:

> Let my eyes stream with tears
> day and night, without rest,
> over the great destruction which overwhelms
> the virgin daughter of my people,
> over her incurable wound.
> (14:17)

[43] Tetel, following Henri Coulet ("Marguerite de Navarre" in *Le Roman jusqu'à la révolution*, Collection U, Paris: Colin, 1967, 121-8), notices that "Marguerite creates ambiguity in her novellas (111)," locating it in the story images and the "commentators' opinions (108)." He discusses it as it is revealed on the fictive level, analagous to the ambiguity of the works of Rabelais (especially the *Tiers Livre*) and Montaigne, pointing to its "relativistic judgment (109)" and the expression of "the opposite of absoluteness (109)," and notes that "the commentators find themselves unable to concur because the purpose of the novellas is not to settle matters but to decipher them (109)"—not the matters, I would add, the novellas. It seems to me that ambiguity is an absolute technical necessity in a work that has to juggle several layers of meaning with graphic displays.

[44] In a recent paper, given at a Conference on Medieval and Renaissance women writers, Janet Smarr has pointed to dialogue writing as "a female tradition" in sixteenth century France. (*Strong Voices, Weak History? Medieval and Renaissance Women in their Literary Canons* England, France, Italy, given at the University of Pennsylvania, March 3, 2000.)

CONCLUSION

In his essay "La Mentalite Symbolique,"[1] Père Marie-Dominique Chenu, O. P. focuses on Augustine's "seed" as it was recast by Alain de Lîlle:

> In superficiali litterae cortice falsum resonat lyra poetica, sed interius auditoribus secretum intelligentiae altioris eloquitur, ut exteriore falsitatis abjecto putamine, dulciorem nucleum veritatis secrete intus lector inveniat.
> (*De planctu naturae*, PL CCX, 451C)

> The poetic lyre resonates falsehood in the husk of the superficial literal, but inside it tells the listeners a secret of profound intelligence. The inside reader, in thinking of casting away the exterior of falsehood, enters secretly into the sweet nucleus of truth.

The passage is a concrete example of the chiasmic type of writing we have been examining. A complementary pair truth/falsehood is evident, and the reader must apply the "best" one of the two for each occurrence. Since the passage is also a miniature of the centered patterning that we have been unfolding, it begins in the middle with the hint *ut exteriore falsitatis abjecto*, "casting away the exterior of falsehood." When the reader replaces the exterior "falsehood" (the first instance) with "truth," (s)he must reread the passage:

> The poetic lyre resonates [truth] in the husk of the superficial literal, but inside it tells the listeners a secret of profound intelligence. The inside reader, in thinking of casting away the exterior of falsehood, enters secretly into the sweet nucleus of truth.

The recast passage "speaks to" and applauds the concrete experience of replacing "falsehood" with "truth." It also asserts that poetry holds [truth] in the *superficiali* literal, but the reader knows that [truth] was preceded by *falsum*, which continues to be present as the fictive form; so the adjective *superficiali* "carries" both the imaginary literal [truth] and its fictive allegory *falsum*, the *alae*, or positive and negative wings of exegesis. The reader who "casts away the exterior of falsehood" not only reaches the truth of this

passage, but of all passages so written. The reader knows that the operations are correct, because the passage "validates" itself in a circular pattern that returns to the beginning.

Chenu sees Alain de Lîlle's conception as "une vision du monde se dèveloppant sur un double registre, don't le second, en profondeur, devient accessible par une transposition, par une ≪métaphore≫ du premier (160)," "a vision of the world developing itself in a double register, of which the profound second becomes accessible by transposition, by a metaphor of the first." He is describing the truth/falsehood transposition, and at the same time recognizing its "deeper" analogy in life, where (wo)man attains "≪par delà l'écorce, le noyau savoureux de la vérité≫," "'by means of the shell, the savory kernel of truth.'" In art as in life, he seems to be saying, a transformation of the literal, or carnal, offers access to "profound intelligence," indeed profound "Intelligence," to use Marguerite's term. In this way, says Chenu, "La poésie est au service de la sagesse, philosophique ou théologique," "Poetry is in the service of wisdom—philosophical or theological."

It is this transformation, in its aesthetic formulation, which we have been considering—a transformation of the literal, which Bonaventure accomplished by the use of the "oxymoronic word," Boccaccio incorporated into the radical fictive level, Chaucer extended into a well-balanced structure and Marguerite built into a densely worked composite. It is a transformation that seems to have been fueled by the great thirst for allegory characteristic of the Middle Ages, becoming incorporated into its symbolic hermeneutic and moving with traditional exegesis into the realm of secular letters as it passed into the Renaissance.

In essence we have been examining two literary factors: one rhetorical—the double-sided pun, and the other structural—the wings of scriptural exegesis. The former seems to show us a photographic picture, both the negative and the developed copy of a (wo)man. The latter presents alternative ways of considering that (wo)man, all held one within the other: the world (Israel as mankind), a given people within the world (Israel), a given person within the people within the world (Israel), a given soul within the person within the people within the world, and a graphic representation within the soul within the person within the people within the world. Since the centered level of this structure, the given person Israel, typologically represents Jesus Christ, we can understand how the medieval mind saw the structure as representing the Christians and Jews of the whole world. Perhaps this, too, is Chenu's *vision du monde*. But the (wo)man, as we have seen, was reprinted several times from the original negative, with each successive copy slightly "touched up" to give it the glow of a different person. Bonaventure's was the first. His archetypal copy of the man Christ was Francis, whose stigmata attested to his similarity. Boccaccio, mediated by Dante, imitated Bonaventure's Francis, and added Bonaventure, Dante, Petrarch and himself. Chaucer made the structure international by setting in the men of the British Isles tangential to the Italian core. Marguerite contributed France, but she did more: she corrected the structure to recognize the Virgin Mary as the actual archetypal copy of Christ,[2] placing her before Francis and Clare, Joan of Arc, Marie de France and herself. She also presented the theologically innovative notion that the Redemption freed the contrite soul to recover its virginity, and she brought to the fore the Franciscan spiritual strain, represented by the Observant friar. She and her predecessors developed many pictures of the same (wo)man.

In answer to the question first inspired by Fleming's *Introduction*, What is Franciscan about Giovanni Boccaccio's *Decameron*, Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* and Marguerite de Navarre's *Heptameron*?, we might suggest the fictive exegetical pattern, represented symbolically by Hugh of St. Victor's wings of the *seraphim*. These wings Alain de Lîlle has pictured within the "seed" of *superficiali litterae*, literally "the superficial letter." For Alanus, Augustine's "seed" seems to be three things: the literal level, the letter and Hugh's wings, which he repeats graphically, incorporating Hugh's signal oxymoronic form *alt* with the wings as the *secretum intelligentiae altioris*, "secret of profound intelligence."

Both the letter and the symbolic *alae* point back to Hugh's creative method, which we would like to examine just enough to suggest a direction for further study of the fictive exegetical pattern. Chenu offers a passage with a concrete demonstration in Hugh's definition of the symbol:

> ≪Symbolum, dit Hugues de Saint-Victor, est collatio, idest coaptatio visibilium formarum ad demonstrationem rei invisibilis propositarum≫
> (*Expos. In Hier. cæl.*, *P. L.* 175, 960)
>
> "The symbol," says Hugh of St. Victor, "is a *collatio*, i. e., an accommodation of proposed visible forms to a demonstration of the thing *invisibilis*."

Hugh is offering a sentence with multiple puns. The first is a pun on the word *collatio*, "juxtaposition," which, as *co*, "with," and *latio*, "proposition," offers an invisible "proposition" which is later met by a the visible word *propositarum*, "proposition." But the adjectives are in reverse placement, with *visibilium* seeming to refer to *collatio* and *invisibilis* modifying *propositarum*. This is where the notion of "juxtaposition" enters: the group "*io visibilium*" (a pun for "invisible") is an invisible accommodation, and so is *invisibilis* (a pun for "in visible things"). When the puns are discovered, the adjectives

work in the proper way. Hugh is pointing to the pun *co latio*, created by juxtaposition, by offering the visible letters of the word *propositum* within the word *propositarum* in an unlikely syntax, so that it will be noticed. This is his *ar*, the remaining letters, perhaps for *ars* or *Arca*. There are, then, two pun pairs. The first, *collatio/propositarum*, is synonymic, and the second, *io visibilium/invisibilis*, is antonymic, and approaches Bonaventure's "oxymoronic word." The restructured statement would read:

> "The symbol," says Hugh of St. Victor, "is a *collatio*, i. e., an accommodation of proposed invisible forms to a demonstration of the thing in visible [forms]."

The quotation has more puns, however, which become evident when the word *collatio* is reconsidered and the line is reduced. The *io* of the word *coaptatio*, used as a substitution for *in* in the figure *io visibilium*, might be repeated in the *io* of *collatio* to construct *co Latin*. This adjustment reduces the definition to "the symbol is with Latin." And finally, if *co Latin* is divided into the figure "co *lat* in," or "with/in *lat*," and the root *lat* expanded to one of its forms, *lat[era]*," the figure can read "with/in the wing," as Caesar used *latus*. That this may have been Hugh's intention seems plausible, because, not only are the wings used as an analog for Sacred Scripture as we saw in Chapter One, but they also seem to be punned in the title *De Arca Noe Morali*, and in the body of the work, where Hugh used them as part of the way "*iter* of the ark of wisdom:" "Nos tamen specialiter de arca sapientiae loqui suscepimus (626)," "We, however, arise to speak specially from the ark of wisdom." Hugh's way (both *iter* and *litera*) centers the *arca sapienti*, "ark house," or tabernacle, with one part of the wings suggesting *al[legoria]* and the other, *aeloqu[entia]*, "equal speech," perhaps an expression for the pun. An examination of Hugh's use of the pun (*eloquentia*) in *De Arca Noe Morali* would be useful for a complete study of the development of analogic writing.

Boccaccio may be alluding to Hugh's ark in the principle pun of the story of Frate Cipolla. Framed by the sound of *ello* (perhaps an abbreviated *eloquentia*), the *penne dello agnolo Gabriello* centers the angel as the figure *agnolo Gabri*, which insists on the addition of the prefix *Arch* in order to correct the title to "Archangel" for Gabriel. The *Arch* can be punned as *Arc*, or "ark." In addition, the helpful hint *ello*, for *eloquentia*, seems to indicate the transfer of the name *Gabri* to its lateral complement Micha (for Michael). The latter is similar to the name of the Old Testament prophet Micah whose short Book is distinguished by a radical preference for *paronomasia*.[3] Perhaps Boccaccio is saluting both Hugh of St. Victor and the prophet Micah as artistic ancestors. It would be good to determine the pun's place in ancient Hebrew exegesis, perhaps through the writings of medieval scholars like Rashi.

In his reference to Hugh, Boccaccio was probably following Dante, who mentions Hugh near to a description of *primi scalzi poverelli* (*Paradiso* XII, 131), "the first barefoot Franciscans," who took the *capestro a Dio*, literally "the cord to God." Within this phrase is held the abbreviated signature *cap* (*capite*) which Brother Leo gave as a sign of Francis. The phrase also holds the sentence *capra*, "she goat," *est*, "is," and *oDio*, with the letter *o* perhaps as a space standing for "in." Since the Lamb, the complementary opposite of the goat, is in God, the pun might be connecting the goat/lamb to the sign of the Franciscan appropriately since Francis, the Poverello, described himself and his followers as "lambs" before confronting the Sultan. The figure, however, suggests something further: Francis' complement would be Clare, whose name in Latin is *Clara*, perhaps "Ca_ra," with the letter *l* acting as a blank to hold the invisible letter *p* of *capra*. In this way, the Franciscan cord leads *capra* to Francis to

Clara. The lines that hold these figures are also remarkable for three *elli* figures that surround the name of Hugh of St. Victor. If the *elli* figures are hints to Hugh's *aeloq*[*uentia*], there ought to be three equivalencies for the *primi scalzi poverelli*: perhaps Francis (the Poverello)and his "other," *Clara* (*capra*), and her "other," her sister Beatrice, a Franciscan whose name also suggests the Blessed Trinity. Beatrice and Clare, their sister Agnes (Lamb) and their mother were among the earliest followers of Francis. In this way, Dante may be connecting his own *eloquentia* to that of Hugh, and granting Hugh a position near to the Poverello and the long cord of the Franciscan.

That cord reaches from Francis to Bonaventure, from Bonaventure to Dante and Nicolas de Lira, from Dante to Boccaccio to Chaucer to Marguerite de Navarre and into the Renaissance and beyond. Perhaps the happiest example of the punning fictive exegetical pattern can be found in the work of the Franciscan François Rabelais, whose character *Frère Jean* enters *Gargantua* with the pun *service du vin*, "service of wine," in response to the Prior's *service divin*, "divine service," i. e. Mass (XXVII, 84), and who suggests to Gargantua and that they do the opposite of the maxim that "matins begins with coughing and supper with drinking," by "commençons maintenant noz matines par boyre, et de soir, à l'entrée de souper, nous tousserons à qui mieulx mieulx (XLI, 121)," "let's now begin our matins with drinking; and this evening, to start supper, we'll see who can cough the best (Frame 95)," as he proffers the sound *meow, meow* suggestive of a cat.[4] It is my hope that this paper has served in some way to "bell the cat," and that it will serve as an introduction to the study of Franciscan characteristics in the works of Rabelais.

[1] Although the page headings have an accute accent over the letter *t* of *Mentalité*, the title of the essay does not.

[2] Bonaventure had done this graphically and with the word *evangelizavit* in the opening of the *Itinerarium*, but it was not fully developed.

[3] The prophet Micah made puns of the names of towns like Shaphir: "Sound the horn (*shophar*), inhabitants of Shaphir!" (1: 11).

[4] Perhaps the cry of the cat is an English pun for the Greek prefix *cata*, "down" to indicate a movement into a *verso* mode.

Appendix A

Illuminating the text

The word *carnem*, which points to the Incarnation of Christ, is also a term used to describe the literal level of traditional exegesis, and Bonaventure is radically literal, or radically incarnational, in the beginning of the *Itinerarium*. It is there that he draws his illuminations, a sampling of which are highlighted here:

> 1. In principio primum principium, a quo cunctae illuminationes descendunt tanquam a Patre *luminum*, a quo est *onme datum optimum et omne donum per perfectum*, Patrem scilicet aeternum, invoco per Filium eius, dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, ut intercessione sanctissimae Virginis Mariae, genitricis eiusdem Dei et domini nostri Iesu Christi, et beati Francisci, ducis et patris nostri, *det illuminatos oculos* mentis nostrae *ad dirigendos pedes nostros in viam pacis* illius, *quae exsuperat omnem sensum;* quam pacem evangelizavit....
>
> (295)

Framed by the words *illuminationes* and *illuminatos* are four illustrations of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit: **am a Patre**, **eius**, **ess**, and *genitricis eiusdem Dei*.

The first, **am a Patre**, begins with the root *am*, "love," and incorporates a suggestion of *mater* beginning on one side of *ap* and slides it into the word *Patre*, a graphic rendering of "from mother/Father," a highly sensitive recognition of the masculine and feminine characteristics of the Godhead that is surprising for the Middle Ages.

The second is the name *Iesu* with inverted letters, **eius**, followed by the name correctly presented in ***Iesum Christum***. The presence of the name Jesus suggests the Incarnation.

The third is an aural illustration, the *ss* sound of the abbreviation of the word *esse*, which is reduced to *ss* and to *s*, and might re-present the Spirit as the breath of life, which was present at the Incarnation, and which was called *ruah* in the Old Testament.

Finally, the Incarnation is offered graphically with the Trinity (*tri*) present in *genitricis eiusdem Dei*, which shows the mother-father Godhead as "genitor" and *Dei*, the Son issuing forth from the end of the word *genitricis* as *genitricis eius*, and the Holy Spirit in the series of *s* sounds. Christ, "the same God," is the figure **seius** with his name framed by the letter *s*, like a pair of wings set sideways, in a work which concretely figures Francis and the Seraph.

Appendix B

The authors from the British Isles are the Midland Englishman William Langland, the Irish author of the *Auraicept na n'Eces* and the Welsh author of *Owein*. The three lines are just outside of the central pair. The first, *Where as he with his owene hand slow thee* (2381), which refers to Petro's brother on the literal level, could also recall Longinus' piercing of Jesus in Langland's scene of Christ's Harrowing of Hell (Passus xviii in the B Text): *Ac there cam forth a knyghte . with a kene spere ygrounde./Highte Longeus, as the lettre telleth . and longe had lore his sighte* (81-2). (Notice the possible signature pun "Longland" and the pun *the lettre telleth* for "the letter spelleth.") The knight took *the spere in his honde* (85) and *bar hym* [Jesus] *through the herte* (88). His *spere* might suggest Nicolas de Lira's *speres*, perhaps an indication of the application of the *modi* in *Piers Plowman*.

In the Tale of Petro of Spain, the "land" (which can also be "lang" with the *d* inverted) figures are entwined with the "Dante" figures:

> ...and lad unto his tente,
> Where as he with his owene hand slow thee,
> Succedynge in thy regne and in thy rente.
>
> The feeld of snow...
>
> (2380-3)

The presence of the *feeld* in this spot does echo *Piers Plowman*'s opening line.

On the opposing side of the center of the Tale, the tag end of the middle line presents *therinne*, perhaps "the Erin," followed by *the lymrod*, a suggestion of Nimrod, whose tower is a defining image of the *Auraicept na n'Eces*. And finally there is the single word *owene*, which never would be assigned the task of picturing the early twelfth century *Owein*, except for the company it keeps, and perhaps for the imagined shift from

biwaille to "trewaille," which might be a pun on Wales with its patronymic prefix *Tre*. These are the best of Chaucer's land, and he may be offering them at the center of the *Monk's Tale*, as a complement to *the grete poet of Ytaille/That highte Dant* (2460-1), with the sound of *aille* as "wings."

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