

MEDIOEVO ROMANZO

RIVISTA QUADRIMESTRALE

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VOLUME X · 1985

SOCIETA EDITRICE IL MULINO BOLOGNA

Another Occurrence of the Virgil Legends: Thomas III,
Marquis de Saluces' *Le Livre du Chevalier Errant*,
and Gossouin de Metz' *L'Image du Monde*

In his still useful, though now fifty-year old, book *Virgil the Necromancer*¹, John Webster Spargo traced the origins and development through medieval literatures of the various legends which became attached to the figure of the Roman poet making of him a Merlin-type character. Spargo recensed every occurrence of the legends through 1300 and thereafter through 1550 only the major ones, leaving aside the mere mentions in passing². He established a chronological «Table of Legends told about Virgil»³ to enable readers to locate rapidly the various recountings of the story and the elements included in each and to discover in a glance at which point and in which country various elements were first accrued.

Spargo was, however, apparently unfamiliar with the still unedited *Le Livre du Chevalier Errant* (herefter *LCE*)⁴. This rather lengthy, but little known work in Old French by Thomas III, marquis de Saluces, a text extant in only two manuscripts⁵, contains a fairly developed version of the Virgil Legend which occupies 144 lines of octosyllabic verse⁶. I provide

¹ John Webster Spargo, *Virgil the Necromancer: Studies in Virgilian Legends*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1934.

² Spargo, p. 60, n.

³ Spargo, pp. 60-8.

⁴ I have prepared a critical edition. See *Speculum* 57 (1982): 110-1, for the announcement: I hope it will eventually appear in print.

⁵ Paris. BN fr. 12559, a lavish work produced ca. 1403-1404 for the author by a Parisian workshop, and Torino BN MS. L.V.6, a smaller, less sumptuous and somewhat abridged work probably produced in the following decade, likewise in Paris. A third manuscript, said to be like the Paris ms in content, though without illustrations, and to contain corrections in the author's own hand, disappeared at the end of the 18th century after being in the hands, or perhaps the possession, of Vincenzo Malacarne. A thorough discussion of the manuscripts will appear in the Introduction to my edition. Because the Torino ms was severely damaged in the 1904 fire in the library, it is difficult, indeed nearly impossible, to ascertain anything concerning its production from internal evidence. For this same reason and also because the Turin ms is an abridgement, the Paris ms is the base ms for my edition.

⁶ I include as Appendix A the edited text.

below a summary description of this occurrence prepared in the same style as the entries in Spargo's «Table»:

Thomas III, marquis of Saluzzo. *Le Livre du Chevalier Errant*. 1394-95.

1. Virgil was an astrologer who performed many miracles. [Statements repeated after 10.]
2. Bronze fly.
3. Bronze horse heals sick horses.
4. City (un-named) founded on an egg.
5. Flying bridge.
6. Garden with wall of air.
7. Ever-burning lamp and two candles underground.
8. Prophesying head; Virgil's death through ambiguous oracle.
9. Burial in castle in direction of Sicily, one mile inland from sea.
10. Sea rises and floods castle when Virgil's bones are disturbed and recedes when bones are put back in place.
11. Virgil tests all languages.
12. Virgil was short and hunchbacked.
13. Fire extinguished in Rome in revenge for insult by emperor's daughter (She left him suspended by a rope in mid-air outside her tower half-way up to her window to be ridiculed by the people of Rome).

A rapid glance at the anterior versions of the legends catalogued by Spargo and entered into his «Table» reveals that Thomas' most likely source was Gossouin de Metz' *L'Image du Monde* (hereafter *IduM*) of 1245-46⁷. Such is indeed the case, as Egidio Gorra pointed out in 1892⁸, although two of the items of *IduM*, numbers 10 and 11, and an element of a third, the archer threatening the ever-burning lamp in number 7 of both entries, are absent from Thomas' retelling. Spargo explains in his text,⁹ however, that there were two versions of *IduM*, and that only the second includes the stories concerning the Hammermen and Saint Paul (*IduM* items 10 and 11). It would appear therefore that Thomas' source was a copy of the first version, since this is the only earlier recounting of the legend containing all of the elements and, with one exception, only those elements that he used.

This conclusion, however, requires some confirmation and

⁷ Spargo, p. 61.

⁸ Egidio Gorra, «Il cavaliere errante di Tommaso III di Saluzzo», in his *Studi di critica letteraria*, Bologna 1892, p. 102.

⁹ Spargo, pp. 19-21.

refinement. First, contrary to Spargo's statement, there is no archer threatening the ever-burning lamp, nor does the Hammermen episode appear in any redaction of *IduM*¹⁰. Consequently, their absence from *LCE* neither throws in doubt the source-derivate relationship nor suggests a selectivity of elements in reworking on Thomas' part. Secondly, within the first redaction of *IduM*, there are several distinct manuscript families, for this text was enormously popular. It should therefore be possible to be yet more precise about Thomas' source. And thirdly, no redaction of *IduM* contains Thomas' version or any other of the 'basket' episode, but rather, as Spargo points out¹¹, merely the Story of Virgil's revenge. The 'basket' episode must, therefore, as Gorra suggested, be either derived from another source or of original composition. Since, furthermore, the revenge episode is moved in *LCE* to the final position (it is 4th of 11 in *IduM*) to form a logical conclusion to the 'basket' story, it should be possible to analyze Thomas's techniques of composition to a certain degree and to draw some conclusions about them through a comparison of his text with his source.

Although several scholars have announced that they intended to prepare, were working on, or had established a critical edition of *IduM*¹², no complete text has yet been made public. Two scholars, Carl Fant and Ernest-Daniel Grand, simultaneously and independently of each other, studied the manuscript tradition and published their findings in the late nineteenth century¹³. Two of the thirty-eight passages which Grand used to determine

¹⁰ Appendix B presents an edited text. Although not all mss have been seen, there is no reason to believe that any of those not consulted contain this element.

¹¹ Spargo, pp. 153-4.

¹² The most recent of these is Chantal Connochie-Bourgne, «L'Orient, réalité et discours, dans *L'Image du Monde*», in *Images et Signes de l'Orient dans l'Occident médiéval (littérature et civilisation)*, Aix-en-Provence 1982 (Senefiance, 11), p. 11.

¹³ Carl Fant, «*L'Image du Monde*, poème inédit du milieu du XIII^e siècle, étudié dans ses diverses rédactions françaises d'après les manuscrits des bibliothèques de Paris et de Stockholm», Diss. Uppsala 1886, and Ernest-Daniel Grand, «*L'Image du Monde*, poème didactique du XIII^e siècle: Recherches sur le classement des manuscrits de la première rédaction», *Revue des langues romanes* 37 (1893-94): 5-58. Although published later, this latter was also a diss., Ecole des Chartes, 1886: see *Paris: Ecole nationale des Chartes, Positions des thèses soutenues par les élèves de la promotion de 1886 pour obtenir le diplôme d'archiviste-paléographe*, 37 (1886): 83-7, for the abstract.

the best manuscripts were taken from the chapter devoted to Virgil (Part III, Ch. 11). Fant studied this story thoroughly and pointed out all the differences among the two verse and the one prose redactions¹⁴. The latter is essentially a de-versification of a good copy of the first redaction; it can occasionally be of some use in recovering the original in places where extant manuscripts of the verse version are corrupt or lack lines¹⁵. Since all of the interpolations added in the second verse redaction that were pointed out by Fant, including a ten-line episode concerning a magic book written by Virgil about the seven arts that is never mentioned by Spargo, are absent from Thomas' retelling, there is no doubt that his source was a manuscript of the first redaction.

A comparison of the text of *LCE* with that of Paris BN fr. 1548 of *IduM*, one of the two manuscripts closest to the original according to Fant and one of the twelve best according to Grand, suggests that the copy Thomas had before him was a later, corrupt version, however. Attention is directed especially to lines 56, 75, 83, 84, 89, 95, 98, 102, 204 of *LCE* and their equivalents, lines 70, 89, 97, 98, 103, 109, 112, 116, 118 respectively of *IduM* together with the variants to the latter in the accompanying apparatus. Although these examples are not exhaustive, they are sufficient to suggest that Thomas' exemplar was probably a manuscript belonging to Fant's α family to which BN fr. 2176 belongs, and which is the family furthest removed from the original. The near identity of many other lines is also sufficient to prove, however, that the exemplar was indeed a verse version and not a prose one which Thomas re-turned to verse. Compare, for example, *LCE* 10-30 with *IduM* 6-26, *LCE* 31-53 with *IduM* 43-65, and *LCE* 54-106 with *IduM* 69-120.

This last comparison shows at the same time that while Thomas borrowed many lines verbatim from his source, he was not transporting another text into his own in purely scribal fashion. In addition to the moving of the lines mentioned above (*IduM* 31-42 become *LCE* 133-44), some are reworked rather extensively (*IduM* 1-5 become *LCE* 1-9; 31-42 are reworked as well as moved), and others are omitted altogether (*IduM* 27-30,

¹⁴ Grand, pp. 50-51 and Fant, pp. 24-5, 43-5.

¹⁵ The prose redaction has been edited: Oliver Herbert Prior, «*L'Image du Monde*» de Maître Gossouin. *Rédaction en prose*, Lausanne-Paris 1913).

66-8, 121-88). Yet others in *LCE* seem to have been invented by Thomas (107-32, 145-56) since they do not appear in *IduM*.

Many earlier scholars, however, have tended to under-rate Thomas III, suggesting that he was capable only of borrowing but not of composing: indeed, Legrand d'Aussy referred to *LCE* as «un tas de fumier» which Thomas amassed¹⁶. This does not seem either a fair or a reasonable judgement: since no earlier version of the basket episode as an independent story is known in Old French, and since other Old French works which contain it are far too different from *LCE* to have served Thomas even as a secondary source, he must have composed the verses of this episode himself even if he did not invent the plot. It is true, however, that Thomas does not seem to have a good control of octosyllabic meter: numerous lines are hyper- or hypometric (see, for example, 4-6, 21, 27-8, 32-3, 38, 116, 117, 121, 123, 125, 137, 139), and one couplet lacks rhyme (7-8). This is probably the result of his living in a region remote from Paris which was rapidly being drawn towards the sphere of Gallo-Italian; however, as a member of the aristocracy and with a mother who spoke French as her native language, he probably learned this as his native tongue. Furthermore, Thomas was clearly an amateur rather than a professional author. He wrote his work to help time pass while he was imprisoned as he says himself in his conclusion. Hence, his text lacks a professional polish.

It seems quite probable furthermore, in light of the facts that Thomas makes no mention of a basket, but merely a rope, and that the unspecified city (*IduM* 31) has become Rome (*LCE* 118, 130, 136) in his version, that he had a recollection of this episode in his head rather than a specific text before his eyes. If a further conjecture may be permitted as justification, it seems unlikely that any author would seek out a text to copy for twenty-two lines of verse in order to tell a story known to him and related to the subject he was treating but not found in the text from which he was working as his base. If the story were «in the air» at the time as Spargo suggests¹⁷, then Thomas would surely have

¹⁶ Pierre Jean Baptiste Legrand d'Aussy, «Notice De l'ouvrage manuscrit, intitulé *Le Chevalier Errant*, par Thomas, Marquis de Saluces, III^e du nom, mort en 1416», *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques*, 5 (An VII [1799]): 566. A survey of such criticism is not appropriate here. A complete bibliography will appear in the Introduction to my edition.

¹⁷ Spargo, p. 157.

heard it in view of his station, his ties to the French court, and his obviously encyclopedic learning. Indeed, Thomas' rendering of it may serve as a confirmation of Spargo's statement, though this reasoning may appear circular. Since Spargo mentions no version where only a rope is used to raise up Virgil, Thomas' omission or 'error' may well be the result of the inaccurate remembering of a detail in a story he had heard or encountered in reading «a version now lost»¹⁷, perhaps in another language¹⁸. In any case, it seems clear that he composed from memory, and this alone seems sufficient to suggest that the story was indeed current.

Most of Thomas' other alterations to the text of *IduM* are readily explainable as adaptations to make the story fit into its context and suit his purpose in relating it. The Virgil story occurs in the second section of the work which takes place in the realm of Dame Fortune. It is told to the eponymous hero of *LCE* by the antifeminist Reason the Philosopher as an *exemplum* of the consequences of trusting too much in women and in an attempt to persuade him not to be so downcast over the loss of his lady since she may be cheating on him anyway. It is the last in a series of stories of men, including Soloman, Absalom, Samson, and Merlin, who were betrayed by women. The reworking of *IduM* 1-5 into *LCE* 1-9 forms the link with the preceding material, and the addition of *LCE* 145-56 makes explicit the moral of the story and the speaker's reason for telling it to the hero.

It is logical and stylistically desirable that the insult and revenge episodes be the culmination and climax, the ones to which all others lead, in order to better fulfill the didactic purpose. These episodes, intended to be seen as the major cause of the downfall of Virgil and to serve as a striking lesson to the listener, are placed at the end of the story at the expense of being out of logical sequence in the chronology of Virgil's 'biography', since they are now related after the legends concerning his death and burial and the consequences of the disturbing of his remains. It must also be stated that the revenge episode in fact somewhat undermines the value of the story as a lesson in this particular instance since Virgil has, in the end, through

¹⁸ Thomas probably knew some Italian since he quotes some contemporaries in that language; he surely knew Latin well as some of his other sources were in that language.

magic, gained the upper hand. The hero of *LCE* will have no chance for revenge, if it is indeed deserved, since he is separated from his lady and is, in any event, not endowed with magical powers.

The relocation of the «extinguished fires» episode and the addition of the 'basket' story providing Virgil with motivation for revenge necessitate the reworking and reordering of the original lines: *IduM* 36-37 must be eliminated because they have already been used in the 'basket' episode (*LCE* 117, 131-2, respectively), and «une fame» (*IduM* 35) must become «celle dame» (*LCE* 139) because it is a specific woman previously mentioned, for example. In order to make the relationship between these two episodes perfectly clear, Thomas introduces the second with a linking couplet which states that the 'extinguished fires' are Virgil's revenge for his 'basket' humiliation (*LCE* 133-44). Once he has begun working from his base text again, he either forgets that he has already given this information when he encounters it there (*IduM* 42), being carried along by the 'scribe-like' activity, or he deliberately repeats it as an emphatic conclusion (*LCE* 143-4). Since Thomas also repeats in the link which he composes to join the 'basket' episode to the preceding ones (*LCE* 105-8) information he has already given in the introduction to the Virgil story as a whole (*LCE* 5-8), the latter explanation seems more likely.

Thomas' major omission can also be readily explained: *IduM* 121-88 adds no new biographical details concerning Virgil and is totally unrelated to Thomas' purpose for including the story in his text. These lines concern Virgil's powers of thought and magic and the reaction of others when confronted with them. They are abstract and thus in sharp contrast with the concrete examples found in the earlier portion of the story, and would only serve to slow the pace of Thomas' narrative. Their general tone is, in fact, better suited to that of the third section of *LCE* where Dame Congnoissance instructs the hero in the traditional Christian moral doctrines, and, although he does not use them there, Thomas wisely eliminates this lengthy passage here. The other two omissions may be accounted for in one of two ways. Thomas may have left out *IduM* 27-30 and 66-8 because he did not understand the sense of these passages. On the other hand, these lines are frequently corrupt in surviving manuscripts; Thomas' copy may have been corrupt at these points and he

consequently may have chosen to omit the lines because of his inability to clarify them. They may also have been absent from his exemplar¹⁹.

Thomas' method of composing, then, seems to have been something of a cross between, or a mixture of, what we perceive as the tasks of a scribe, an editor and an author. When working from other texts to develop his own, he copies some portions verbatim, revises and/or rearranges others, omits yet others, and invents and adds other material to relate the existing elements to each other and to adapt them to his own purpose. While Thomas' romance is a highly derivative text borrowing many stories from Greek mythology, Roman history, chivalric epic and romance, allegorical romance, fabliaux, tales, religious writings, and contemporary historical events and documents, the frame he has imagined in which to place these elements and the way in which he has strung them together are of his own invention. The work is essentially a *Bildungsroman*, the search by the author for knowledge and understanding in order to be able to deal with the problems of life and the contemporary world and to face death. Thomas has, however, created an anonymous hero to represent himself²⁰ and thus be able to write in the third person through an «omniscient» narrator²¹. He has constructed the work on the pattern of quest narratives such as *La Queste del Saint Graal*²², and into the fabric of this quest, he has woven the strands of the other stories from his various sources, no two of them alike, but often related to each other in one pattern or

¹⁹ The first of these is the second of the passages whose variants Grand studied. See n. 13 and corresponding text, above. If the state of the *LCE* mss can be used as evidence, Thomas' exemplar of *IduM* may have been like the one which Grand hypothesized as the source of a corrupt reading found in others such as BN fr. 2176, i.e. lacking lines 27-8; lines 29-30 being thus incomprehensible, Thomas omitted them and attached line 26 to the preceding sentence.

²⁰ That this is the case is clear when the Griselda story is told to the hero because it involves one of his ancestors, legendary though she be. Her husband, it will be remembered, was Gautier (Walter), marquis of Saluzzo, also legendary of course.

²¹ Occasionally Thomas is overwhelmed by the complications of the structure he has created and is inconsistent in observing the distinction between the narrator and the hero.

²² As in the *Queste*, the hero meets various hermits and other characters along his route who explain to him the significance of things which have happened to him or events which he has observed, though only at the end do these explanations have a religious or moral nature.

another, as we have seen to be the case with the Virgil legends. The ratio of borrowing to original invention, the location and the manner of incorporation vary according to the nature of the material and the purpose it is intended to serve within the romance as a whole²³. The work is, consequently, a planned composition; it is not a simple compilation or compendium.

On the other hand, within the context of the development of the Virgil legends, Thomas was neither the first to invent or to incorporate any of the elements which he used nor the first to perceive the connection between the insult and revenge episodes. This distinction apparently belongs to Jansen Enikel in his *Welt-kronik*, ca. 1280²⁴. Nor was Thomas the first author to use the Virgil legends as a means to another end. His purpose is akin, although not identical, to Juan Ruiz' use of the legends «after the manner of *exempla*, to point a warning against the deadly sin of lechery» in his *El Libro de buen amor*, ca. 1343²⁵. Thomas' retelling is, nevertheless, as individualized as any of the others; it is not merely a reproduction of another version. Its extent, its reordering of the elements in relation to its source, and its date would lead one to expect its inclusion in Spargo's survey. This undoubtedly inadvertant *lacune* in his book can now be filled.

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²³ For the beginnings of an analysis of Thomas' method of composition see Lauren W. Yoder, «*Le Chevalier Errant*, by Thomas of Saluzzo: A study», Diss. Univ. of Iowa, 1973, esp. pp. 71, 111-67, 205-6 on his adaptation of stories to his frame.

²⁴ Spargo, p. 62. Since all other elements in this work are different from those in *LCE*, and since, as far as is known, Thomas did not speak or read German, this work could not have been his source for this idea.

²⁵ Spargo, pp. 35-6, 64. This work could not, however, have possibly been a source for Thomas since only the insult and revenge episode is common to both. Furthermore, while both use the incident as an *exemplum*, the lesson to be learned is quite different, indeed. There is no question of lechery in the Chevalier Errant's pining over the loss of his lady. There is also no evidence that Thomas spoke or read Spanish.

APPENDIX A

Critical text of the Virgil legend from Thomas III, marquis de Saluces' *Le Livre du Chevalier Errant* *.

Encore parle Rayson le philozophe au Chevalier Errant. viij^{xx}xj

[P 111c]	De un autre je te diray Que ja je ne l'oublieray. N'en oïz tu oncquez nommer Virgile qui tant fist a louer,	4
	Qui tout temps usa sa vie En l'art de astrologie? Si en faisoit mainte merveille Qui aux gens sembloit impossible	8
	Dont par cest art tout de certain Il fist une mouche d'arain; Quant la dreçoit en une place Si faisoit des autres tel chace	12
	Que nulle autre mouche qui feust Vers elle approuchier ne peust De deux arpens trestout entour Que ne morut sanz nul retour,	16
	Tout maintenant qu'elle passoit La borne qu'elle lui mectoit. Si refist d'arain un cheval Qui garissoit de chascun mal	20
[T 157d]	Les chevaulz qui maladez estoient Maintenant que veü l'avoient. Si fonda une grant cité	

1, 2. P - je 5. P + en sa 6. P - En 7. mainz merveillez ~ m. m. 8. P sem-
bloient impossiblez ~ s. i. 9. P Et p. ceste a. voirement 11. T + Que 13. T
Q. m. n. q. f. 15. P - tres; T arches ~ a. 16. P - nul; T sejour ~ r. 18. P
bone ~ b., - lui 22. T Si trestost ~ M.

* The base ms for the text is the Paris ms. Foliation is given for both mss. The Turin foliation is the original foliation prior to the 1904 fire. The leaves currently bear the numbers 152c-153d. No illustration accompanies the story in either ms. The chapter title is from the Turin ms. Variants are recorded from the Turin ms insofar as it is legible. Where the Turin reading is clearly preferable to that of the Paris ms, it is silently incorporated with the rejected Paris reading indicated in the accompanying textual notes. Minor spelling differences, tense differences and differences of word order which do not affect the meaning are not included.

Symbols used in the textual notes: + = addition; - = omission; ~ = substitution; - l., ll. = entire line(s) lacking; + ↑ = addition above line.

	Sur un oëf par tel posté	24
	Que quant aucun l'oëf mouvoit	
	Toute la cité en crolloit,	
	Et plus fort le crolloit on	
	Tant crolloit plus environ	28
	La cité en hault et en plain,	
	La mousche et le cheval d'arain.	
	Il fist sus une riviere un pont	
	Le plus grant qui fut ou mond,	32
	Ne sçay de pierre ou de fust,	
	Mais nul ouvrier tant subtil feust;	
	Maçon ne aucun (?) charpentier	
	Tant y peüssent (?) bien chercher	36
	Dedens eaue, ne dedens terre,	
[P 111d]	Qu'ilz puissent raison enquerre	
	Comment cellui pont faiz estoit,	
	Ne comment il se soustenoit,	40
	En nul lieu, ne ou chief, ne en my,	
	Et passoit on bien tout par my.	
	Un jardin fist tout cloz entour	
	De l'air sanz plus d'autre atour	44
	Espesement comme une nue,	
	De terre moult haulte et tendue.	
	Deux ciergez fist toudiz ardant	
	Et une lampe a feu dedens,	48
	Qui toudiz sanz estaindre ardoient,	
	Ne de riens ne amenuisoient;	
[T 158a]	Ces trois englout il si soubz terre	
	Que nul ne trovast pour enquerre	52
	Jusquez atant qu'il deust faillir	
	Et de ce monde deppartir.	
	Si fist une teste parlant	
	Qui respondoit tout en romant	56
	De tout ce que on lui demandoit	
	Et que en terre avenir estoit	
	Tant que une foys lui demanda	
	D'un sien affaire ou il ala;	60
	Mais elle lui dist une chose	
	Dont il n'entendi pas la glose,	
	Que se il gardoit sa teste bien	
	Il n'y avenroit fors que bien;	64
	Lors s'en ala il seurement,	
	Mais le souleil qui chaleur rent	
	Le cervel tant lui eschaufa	
	Dont point garde ne s'en donna,	68

27. P, T croilloit ~ c. 34. P ouvrez ~ o., soutil ~ s. 35. P C. m. ne ouvrier
36. P - l. 36. P cil ~ c. 41. T le ~ l. 42. P - tout 49. T - Q. 52. P un
ne le ~ n. ne 54. T cest ~ ce 56. P - tout 65. P - il 67. P - tant 68. P -
point

	Que une maladie le prinst Dont il morut si com on dist. Quant il parla a celle teste N'entendi mie de sa teste;	72
[P 112a]	De la teste qui a lui parloit Entendi se il bien gardoit; Mais mieulz avenist toutevoye Qu'il eust bien gardé la soye.	76
[T 158b]	Quant il morut, se fist porter Hors de Romme pour enterrer En un chastel devers Cecile Pres de la mer a une mile;	80
	Encore sont les os de lui Que on garde mieulz que les autrui. Quant on les souloit remuer Et lui en char hault eslever.	84
	Si s'emfloit la mer maintenant Et venoit au chastel courant, Et quant plus le levoit on hault Tant croissoit la mer plus hault	88
	Et tout le chastel tost noiaist Se bientost ne le posast, Et quant en son droit lieu estoit En presnt la mer s'appaisoit	92
	Ainsi comme elle estoit devant, Ce a on prouvé bien souvant; Encore endure la vertu, Ce dient ceulz qui l'ont veü.	96
	Subtilz fu Virgilez et sagez, Et vult prouver tous les langaigez De clergié en son pouoir Tant comme plus en pot savoir.	100
	Et fu de petite estature, Le doz assez court par nature. Et aloit la teste baissant Et vers la terre regardant.	104
	Maintes merveillez fist Virgilez Que les gens tendroient a guilez; Ces chosez par astrologie fist, Certainement si comme on dist.	108
[T 158c]	Or te diray que lui avint Et quoy et comment se contint: Une haulte femme il ama, Celle grant amour lui monstra;	112
	Dont elle li va ordonner	

69. T + une ↑ 71. P feste ~ t. 72. T ceste ~ t. P soue ~ s. 78. P - pour
79. T Sezile ~ C. 81. P encor ~ e. 84. P lever ~ e. 87. P + en h. 90. P en ~
b., lez ~ le; T + on ne 92. P se ~ s' 94. P - bien 99. T a ~ en 102. P -
assez 104. P - la 107. P + Toutes 108. P Voirement ~ C. 110. P - q. et, + il
se 111. T - il 113. P - li; T ala ~ va

	Qu'il venist a elle parler;	
[P 112b]	Et tout de nuit bien quoiement,	
	Car n'y pourroit aler autrement.	116
	La fille l'empereur qui ce fu	
	Qui a Romme estoit la geü	
	Va a Virgilez ordonner	
	Que elle le feroit tirer	120
	A une corde suz son donjon	
	'Ainsi ensemble nous seron'.	
	Et quant la nuit fu venue	
	Et les gens partis de la rue	124
	Virgilez fist son commandement	
	Car de s'avour avoir s'attent.	
	Et quant il fu bien hault tiréz	
	Ou millieu de la tour adéz,	128
	Elle le fist la atachier	
	Pour a ceux de Romme regarder.	
	Ainsi fu Virgilez honiz	
	Et par ses amours malbailliz.	132
	Mais après bien il s'en venga	
	De celle qui le hony la,	
	Car il fist tout presentement	
	Qu'a Romme n'ot de feu neant,	136
	Ne riens ne lui pouoit on porter,	
[T 158d]	Ainz failloit chascun y aler	
	Pour feu avoir vers celle dame	
	Chandoille prendre en sa game:	140
	L'un ne pouoit a l'autre donner;	
	Ainsi y failloit chascun aler.	
	Ainsi fu Virgilez vengié	
	De celle qui l'ot si honté.	144
	Or t'ay dit et monstre raison	
	Et pour quelle mesprison	
	Homs ne doit son cuër fermer	
	A ce que ne le seult amer.	148
	Car maintez ont legiers couragez	
	Et en font souvent grans muagez.	
	Et se t'amie triché t'a	
	Tu ne t'en dois merveillier ja,	152
[P 112c]	Car les plus vaillanz furent trichéz	
	Et pour leur amour ahontéz;	
	Et qui bien y avisera,	
	A telle follie n'entendra».	156

116. P Dont de n. q. 118. P ja ~ la 119. P + Si 123. P - Et, sera ~ fu
 126. P C. de s'a. se tient certain 127. P - Et, - bien 129. P + Adonc, cachier ~
 a.; T La le f. e. a. 130. T + a ↑ 133. P trop ~ a. 134. T + de la 135. P C.
 il en f. tellement 136. P Que ~ Qu' 138. P - y 140. P Chandoile a p. a sa be-
 soingne 141. P Et l'un a l'a. n'en p. d. 144. T ledangie ~ si h. 145. P Or t'ay
 je d. la r. 146. T La cause et la m. 147. T Comment nulz h. ne d. f. 148. T
 Son cuer en ce q. ne le s. a. 149. P + m. amies 150. P - grans; T - en, re-
 muagez ~ m. 154. P hontéz ~ a.

APPENDIX B

Text of the Virgil legend from Gossouin de Metz' *L'Image du Monde* * as found in BN fr. 1548 with variants from BN fr. 2176 and B. Ars. 3167 **.

[39a, l. 6]	Devant Jhesucriz fu Virgiles Qui les arz ne tint pas a guiles; Ainz y usa toute sa vie Tant qu'il fist par astronomie	4
	Maintes granz merveilles a plain. Il fist une mousche d'arain: Quant la dreçoit en une place Si fesoit des autres tel chace	8
	Que nule autre mouche qui fust Vers lui aprochier ne peust De .ij. archiées loing entour Que ne mourust sans nul retour.	12
	Tout maintenant qu'ele passoit La bonne qui la compassoit. Si refist d'arain .j. cheval Qui guerissoit de chascun mal	16
	Les chevaus qui malade estoient	

11. BN fr. 2176 and BArS 3167 tout ~ l. 12. BN fr. 2176 Qu'ele ~ Q.; BArS 3176 – l.
14. BN fr. 2176 bonde qu'il li ~ b. q. la 16. BArS 3167 tous meshains ~ c. m.

* Although forms of this text have been published before, it is not readily accessible in a complete version. Previous appearances, in chronological order with indications of mss used and appropriate comments, are:

Edélestand Du Ménil, *Mélanges archéologiques et littéraires*, Paris 1850, pp. 427-35. ll. 1-118. MSS: Base Paris, BN fr. 2176; variants BN fr. 1553, BN fr. 2175. Includes as well 10 lines added between ll. 68 and 69 in the second redaction; but does not give ms. source: it may have been BN fr. 2174.

Domenico Comparetti, *Virgilio nel Medio Evo*, Firenze 1982, II, pp. 179-82. Prints Du Ménil's text. This work has seen a second edition in 1895, and several translations, not all of which include texts. It also prints the «St. Paul» episode from the second redaction (MS BN fr. 2174) referring to it as a «Briefer version».

Edouard Lidforss, *Choix d'anciens textes français*, Lund 1877, pp. 78-80. ll. 1-188. Ms Stockholm, Kungliga Bibliotheket, fr. 45.

** Variant spellings and alternate word orders are not deemed significant variants for present purposes. The same symbol system is used as in Appendix A.

	Maintenant qu'il le veoient.	
	Si fonda une grant cité	
	Sor .j. oef par tel poesté	20
	Que quant aucuns l'uef remuoit	
	Toute la cité en trambloit;	
	Et com plus fort le crolloit on	
	Tant plus fort trambloit environ.	24
	La ville et en haut et em plain.	
	La mouche et li cheval d'arain	
	Et la cage ou li oes estoit	
	Sont a Naples que on les voit;	28
	Ce dient cil qu'en sont venu	
	Que aucune foiz l'ont veü.	
	En une cité faillir fist	
	Tout le feu ainsi com on dist	32
	Que nul point avoit n'en pooit	
	Se la chandoile n'alumoit	
	A la naissance d'une fame	
[39b]	Fille d'empereur moult dame	36
	Qui li ot fet aucun anui;	
	Ne cil n'en pooit a autrui	
	Point donner, ainz lor couvenoit	
	Chascun feu prendre la endroit	40
	Qui a cele pas n'abeli;	
	Ainsi se venja de celi.	
	Si fist parmi une eaue .j. pont	
	Le plus grant c'onques fust au mont;	44
	Ne sai ou de pierre ou de fust.	
	Mes nul ouvriers tant soutil fust,	
	Charpentier, maçon, manouvrier,	
	Ne seussent tant en cerchier	48
	Dedens eaue ne dedens terre	
	Qu'il peussent reson enquerre	
	En quel point cil ponz fez estoit	
	Ne comment il se soustenoit:	52
	En milieu n'ot chief ne en mi,	
	Et passoit l'en bien tout par mi.	
	.J. jardin fist tout clos entour	
	De l'air sanz pluz autre atour,	56
	Espesement com une nue,	
	De terre moult haut estendue.	
	.Ij. cierges fist trestouz ardanz,	

18. BN fr. 2176 veü l'avoient ~ le v.; BArs 3167 la venoient ~ le v. 22. BN fr. 2176 and BArs 3167 croloit ~ t. 24. BN fr. 2176 and BArs 3167 T. croloit p. tout e. 27. BN fr. 2176 Et la cité que l'en jouit 28. BN fr. 2176 Qui sor .j. oef si se seoit 37. BN fr. 2176 + ot ot 38. BN fr. 2176 ne ~ n'en 41. BN fr. 2176 Et ~ Q. 42. BN fr. 2176 vencha cil de li ~ v. de c. 43. BN fr. 2176 Et ~ Si 47. BN fr. 2176 ne ouvrier ~ m. 48. BArs 3167 chier ~ c.; BN fr. 2176 Tant s. bien en c. 52. BN fr. 2176 contenoit ~ s. 53. BN fr. 2176 ou ~ n'ot; BArs 3167 au ~ n'ot, n'en ~ ne 56. BN fr. 2176 + tout s., - n.; BArs 3167 - n. 59. BN fr. 2176 and BArs 3167 tozjorz ~ t.

	Et une lampe et feu dedenz	60
	Qui touzjors sanz estaindre ardoient	
	Ne de riens ne s'amenuisoient.	
	Ces .iij. enclot il dedens terre	
	C'on ne les pot trouver por querre	64
	Jusqu'a tant qu'il devroit faillir.	
	Ne sai s'on i porroit venir,	
	Mes qui autant com cil sauroit	
	Ou ceuls ou autres bien auroit.	68
	Si fist une teste parlant	
	Qui li respondoit maintenant	
	De tout ce qui li demandoit	
	Qui en terre avenir pooit,	72
	Tant c'une foiz li demanda	
	D'un sien afere ou il ala;	
	Mes ele li dist une chose	
[39c]	Dont n'entendi pas bien la glose:	76
	Que s'il gardoit sa teste bien	
	Il ne l'en avendrait fors bien.	
	Lors s'en ala seurement,	
	Mes li solaus qui cholor rent	80
	Le cervel si li eschauffa,	
	Dont pas garde ne se donna	
	C'une maladie le prist	
	Dont il morust si com on dist.	84
	Quant il parla a cele teste	
	N'entendi pas la soie teste;	
	De la teste q'a lui parloit	
	Entendi se bien la gardoit;	88
	Mes miex le vausist toutevoie	
	Qu'il eust bien gardé la soie.	
	Quant morust si se fist porter	
	Hors de Romme por enterrer	92
	A .j. chastel devers Sezille	
	Pres de la mer a une mille;	
	Encore i sont les os de lui	
	C'on garde mieux que les autrui.	96
	Quant on vouloit les remuer	
	Ou bien en haut en l'air lever,	
	Si s'enffloit la mer maintenant	
	Et venoit au chastel courant.	100
	Et quant pluz le levoit on haut,	

62. BN fr. 2176 N'onques ~ Ne, n'a. ~ ne s'a. 63. BN fr. 2176 si sous ~ d.; BArS 3167 ensi sous ~ il d. 64. BN fr. 2176 and BArS 3167 nes ~ ne l. 67. BN fr. 2176 and BArS 3167 il ~ cil 68. BN fr. 2176 rauroit ~ a. 70. BN fr. 2176 en roumant ~ m. 71. BN fr. 2176 qu'il ~ q. 76. BN fr. 2176. + D. il, - b. 77. BArS 3167 la ~ sa 83. BN fr. 2176 and BArS 3167 l'en ~ le 89. BN fr. 2176 avenist ~ le v. 92. BN fr. 2176 and BArS 3167 Fors ~ H. 97. BN fr. 2176 and BArS 3167 les soloit ~ v. les 98. BN fr. 2176 lui ~ b., en char ~ en l'a.; BArS 3167 eus ~ b. 101. BN fr. 2176 com ~ q.; BArS 3167 Tant p., l'en l. en h.

	Si croissoit la mer plus en haut, Que trestout le chastel noiaist Se on jus ne les ravalast.	104
	Et quant en son droit lieu estoit Tantost la mers se rabessoit Ainsi com elle estoit devant, Et ce a l'en prouvé souvent;	108
	Encore i dure la vertu, Ce dient cil qui l'ont veü. Soutil fu Virgiles et sages, Et vost prouver touz les usages	112
	De clergie atout som pooir De tant com plus em pot savoir. Et fu de petite estature,	
[39d]	Maigres et court nez par nature, Et la teste aloit abaissant, Touzjors la terre regardant. Maintes merveilles fist Virgiles Que les genz tenroient a guiles	116 120
	S'il les ooient raconter, Comment qu'il nè pueent penser Q'uns autres seult chose faire Qu'il ne porroit a chief atraire.	124
	Et quant de tiex affaires oient Ou d'autres k'aucunes foiz voient Dont riens ne sevent tantost dient, Com cil qui volentiers mesdient,	128
	Que ce est de par anemi Quant il sevent ouvrer ainsi, Et dient que si fait savoir Ne fait mie bon a savoir.	132
	Et s'il savoient la maniere Il la tenroient a legiere Et a droite oevre de nature Sanz mal et sanz autre figure.	136
	Mes quant il ne sevent la chose Si en dient la fole glose. Qui si lors estoupe lor ieux Qu'il ne sevent ne ce ne miex.	140
	Il n'est riens k'en cest monde soit K'astronomie bien sauroit,	

102. BN fr. 2176 Tant ~ Si; BArs 3167 venoit ~ c. 103. BN fr. 2176 – tres + tost n.; BArs 3167 tantost ~ t. 106. BN fr. 2176 ravaloit ~ r. 109. BN fr. 2176 endure ~ i d. 110 BN fr. 2176 and BArs 3167 (en) sont venu(s) ~ l'o. v. 112. BN fr. 2176 langages ~ u. 116. BN fr. 2176 Le dos c. j. peu p. n.; BArs 3167 Le dos corbe j. p. n. 118. BN fr. 2176 Et devers ~ t. la; BArs 3167 vers ~ la 124. BN fr. 2176 and BArs 3167 Dont riens ne scevent de l'afaire 125. BN fr. 2176 voient ~ o. 126. BArs 3167 quant chascune ~ d'a. k'a.; BN fr. 2176 oient ~ v. 127. BN fr. 2176 de l'afaire ~ t. d. 132. BN fr. 2176 + mout b., – a. 133. BArs 3167 cilz ~ s'il 135. BN fr. 2176 Adroit et mire de n. 139. BN fr. 2176 les euz ~ l. i.

	Dont querre n'en seult raison;	
	Et mainte chose feroit on	144
	Qui sambleroit miracle as genz	
	Qui ne sauroient de cel senz.	
	Je ne di pas que n'en peust	
	Fere mal qui tant en seust,	148
	Car il n'est si bonne science	
	C'on n'i puist entendre marrance,	
	Et c'on n'en puisse en mal ouvrer	
	Se li homs s'en vouloit pener.	152
	Diez ne fist onques Evangile	
	C'on ne peust torner a guile;	
	Il n'est nuls si bonne chose	
[40a]	C'on n'i puisse mettre tel glose	156
	Dont on se porroit bien dampner	
	Qui de mal se vorroit pener:	
	N'est pas mestrie de meffaire.	
	Li hom se puet bien a mal traire	160
	Ou a bien s'il en a vouloir,	
	Douquel qu'il veut a le pooir.	
	S'a bien pensé, Diex li amaine;	
	Et mal l'atrait a toute paine.	164
	Ja li mauvés ne dira bien	
	De ce dont ne puet savoir riens.	
	Et n'est nule art qui ne soit bonne	
	A savoir se li homs s'i donne.	168
	Mes que chose envers Dieu ne face	
	Dont il puise perdre sa grace.	
	L'en set tout par astronomie	
	Fors ice que Diex ne veut mie.	172
	Si en feroit meillor aprendre	
	Que cele por avoir aprendre	
	Quar qui a droit bien le sauroit	
	Quant qu'il voudroit en terre auroit,	176
	Car il ne li couvendroit rien	
	Qu'il n'eust encore plus de bien.	
	Mes il ont plus chier lor monnoie;	
	Et ne sevent ce qu'est monnoie	180
	Ne por coi ele fu trouvée.	
	Et si gist toute lor pensée,	

143. BN fr. 2176 D'ou ~ D.; BN fr. 2176 and BARS 3167 ne ~ n'en. 144. BN fr. 2176 - Et, + en f. 145. BN fr. 2176 and BARS 3167 grans ~ as g. 146. BN fr. 2176 Qu'il ~ Q.; BARS 3167 savoient ~ s. 150. BARS 3167 errance ~ m. 151. BN fr. 2176 n'i ~ n'en; BARS 3167 peust ~ p., - en 152. BN fr. 2176 and BARS 3167 se ~ s'en 155-56. BN fr. 2176 - ll. 155. BARS 3167 vraie ~ b. 161. BN fr. 2176 pooir ~ v.; BARS 3167 valoir ~ v. 162. BN fr. 2176 and BARS 3167 aura ~ v. a 164. BN fr. 2176 le tret ~ l'a. 166. BN fr. 2176 il ne saura ~ ne p. s. 167. BN fr. 2176 Il ~ Et; BARS 3167 - n. 169. BN fr. 2176 vers lui ~ e. D. 171. BN fr. 2176 p. t. ~ t. p. 172. BN fr. 2176 d'une ~ ce; BARS 3167 + F. que 174. BN fr. 2176 celi q'est ~ c., - a 177. BN fr. 2176 fauldrot ja ~ c. 179. BN fr. 2176 la ~ l. 180 BN fr. 2176 + Et si, qu'il menoie ~ ce q. m.

Mes il n'ont cure du savoir
Mes qu'assez en puissent avoir. 184
Et por ce ne lairons nous pas
Que nous n'en dions aucun cas
Por ceus qui ont talent d'apprendre;
Ci oient qui welent entendre. 188