

NOTES

Acknowledgments

1. Dabney Anderson Bankert, "Secularizing the Word: Conversion Models in Chaucer's 'Troilus and Criseyde,'" *Chaucer Review* 37 (2003), p. 218.
2. Robert R. Edwards, *The Flight from Desire: Augustine and Ovid to Chaucer*, The New Middle Ages (New York: Palgrave, 2006), p. 16.

Introduction

1. Discussion of Robertson's oeuvre coalesces around his magisterial *A Preface to Chaucer: Studies in Medieval Perspectives* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962). E. Talbot Donaldson, "Patristic Exegesis in the Criticism of Medieval Literature: The Opposition," *Speaking of Chaucer* (London: Athlone Press, 1970), pp. 134–53, is the seminal critique of Robertsonian criticism. Alan T. Gaylord, "Reflections on D. W. Robertson Jr., and 'Exegetical Criticism,'" *Chaucer Review* 40 (2006), pp. 311–12, 314–21, nimbly provides a short history of Robertsonian criticism and its discontents.
2. D. W. Robertson Jr., "The Doctrine of Charity in Mediaeval Literary Gardens: A Topical Approach through Symbolism and Allegory," *Speculum* 26 (1951), pp. 24–5, sketches a critical paradigm for medievalists based on this passage. The translation is taken from Saint Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine*, Library of Liberal Arts, trans. D. W. Robertson Jr. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1997), hereafter *OCD*.
3. This and all subsequent translations of the *Confessions* are taken from Augustine, *Confessions*, The World's Classics, trans. Henry Chadwick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).
4. Lee Patterson, *Negotiating the Past: The Historical Understanding of Medieval Literature* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), pp. 160, 201.
5. For recent commentary, see Eileen C. Sweeney, *Logic, Theology, and Poetry in Boethius, Abelard, and Alan of Lille: Words in the Absence of Things*, The New Middle Ages (New York: Palgrave, 2006), pp. 63–125; and Christopher J. Martin, "Denying Conditionals: Abaelard and the Failure of Boethius' Account of the Hypothetical Syllogism," *Vivarium* 45 (2007), pp. 153–68.
6. The portrait survives only in a preliminary sketch.

7. For recent discernment of Langland's influence on specific Chaucerian passages, see Frank Grady, "Chaucer Reading Langland: The House of Fame," *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 18 (1996), pp. 3–23; Joan Baker and Susan Signe Morrison, "The Luxury of Gender: *Piers Plowman* B.9 and *The Merchant's Tale*," *William Langland's Piers Plowman: A Book of Essays*, ed. Kathleen M. Hewett-Smith (New York: Routledge, 2001), pp. 41–67; and George D. Economou, "Chaucer and Langland: A Fellowship of Makers," *Reading Medieval Culture: Essays in Honor of Robert W. Hanning*, ed. Robert M. Stein and Sandra Pierson Prior (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), pp. 290–301.
8. Every author except the anonymous author of the *Stanzaic Morte* cites Augustine vigorously, whether in the text we examine here or in other works, and we can assume the anonymous author of the *Stanzaic Morte* knows Augustine as well. The *Stanzaic Morte's* attentiveness to ecclesiastical matters leads Richard Wertime, "The Theme and Structure of the *Stanzaic Morte Arthur*," *PMLA* 87 (1972), p. 1082, to speculate that he may have been a member of a religious order.
9. I owe this methodological formulation to David Aers, *Salvation and Sin: Augustine, Langland, and Fourteenth-Century Theology* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009), p. xi. It is the best phrase I know to access the kind of untraceable intellectual history that permits us to know so much more about (for instance) Derrida, Freud, Kant, and even Augustine himself than we have read, even if our knowledge is unsatisfactorily simplistic, in cultural caricature. These kinds of intellectual caricatures are often replicable, in the way I am describing, exactly because their oversimplification renders them accessibly schematic, without the messy and complicated details.
10. The medieval diagnosis of the Christian world as senescent derives from Augustinian parallels between microcosmic and macrocosmic history. After the high maturity of the world when Christ lived in it, the world is doddering or dwindling toward its apocalyptic end in death. James M. Dean, *The World Grown Old in Later Medieval Literature*, Medieval Academy of Books 101 (Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1997), surveys the topic in Jean de Meun, Dante, and Middle English literature and provides a catalogue of tropes. John M. Fyler, *Language and the Declining World in Chaucer, Dante, and Jean de Meun*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 63 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), links the medieval belief in the world's senescence with the problematic referentiality of its language. On the medieval influence of Augustine's microcosmic and macrocosmic parallels, as well as of other competing schemes in his and other writings, see J. A. Burrow, *The Ages of Man: A Study in Medieval Writing and Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986); Mary Dove, *The Perfect Age of Man's Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); and Elizabeth Sears, *The Ages of Man: Medieval Interpretations of the Life Cycle* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986).

11. For histories of conversion that cite Augustine as paradigm, see, for example, Karl Joachim Weintraub, *The Value of the Individual: Self and Circumstance in Autobiography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978); William C. Spengemann, *The Forms of Autobiography: Episodes in the History of a Literary Genre* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980); and Jerry Root, "Space to Speke": *The Confessional Subject in Medieval Literature*, American University Studies, Series II: Romance Languages and Literatures 225 (New York: Peter Lang, 1997).
12. Tertullian, *Apologetical Works*, Fathers of the Church, A New Translation 10, trans. Rudolph Arbesmann, Sister Emily Joseph Daly, and Edwin A. Quain (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1962), ch. 50.
13. Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Willard R. Trask (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), p. 80. See also R. W. Southern, *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1970), pp. 89–90, on conventions of the *consolatio* genre, including the comforting proportion between one's own suffering and the greater or lesser suffering of others.
14. The summary statement for an early Christian view of history is Heb. 1.1–2a: "God, who, at sundry times and in divers manners, spoke in times past to the fathers by the prophets, last of all, in these days hath spoken to us by his Son." The resolving word Christ embodies is last and best, the others no less genuine for it. Biblical quotations in English here and subsequently are from the Douay-Rheims version.
15. For important analyses of both scriptures as open narrative forms, see John Goldingay, *Israel's Gospel*, vol. 1 of *Old Testament Theology* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2003); and N. T. Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God*, Christian Origins and the Question of God 1 (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992).
16. Jessica Rosenfeld, *Ethics and Enjoyment in Late Medieval Poetry: Love after Aristotle*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 85 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 32, has drawn the only specific comparison between Augustinian and Boethian consolation I have found: "Augustine and Boethius together bequeath a model of reconciliation between love for earthly beauty and rejection of earthly mutability—this literary model allows praise for the world once one's conversion away from the world has been effected, and consolation that springs from both mutable fortune, recognized as such, and a knowledge that a life beyond fortune exists after death." That is, both Augustine and Boethius can praise the world from a perspective secured safely outside it. For Augustine, however, conversion and incarnation are historical events that paradoxically secure access to eternal meaning *at a temporal point*. That difference creates a distinctively Augustinian narrative form and ethical mandate, despite his common conviction with Boethius that temporal meaning inheres in an eternal God.

1 For the Time Being: Interpretive Consolation in Augustinian Time

1. See Christine O'Connell Baur, *Dante's Hermeneutics of Salvation: Passages to Freedom in the Divine Comedy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007); Robert McMahon, *Understanding the Medieval Meditative Ascent: Augustine, Anselm, Boethius, & Dante* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2006); Martha Nussbaum, "Augustine and Dante on the Ascent of Love," in *The Augustinian Tradition*, ed. Gareth B. Matthews (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), pp. 61–90; Phillip Cary, "The Weight of Love: Augustinian Metaphors of Movement in Dante's Souls," *Augustine and Literature*, *Augustine in Conversation: Tradition and Innovation*, ed. Robert P. Kennedy, Kim Paffenroth, and John Doody (Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2006), pp. 15–36; and, most importantly, the essays collected in John Freccero, *Dante: The Poetics of Conversion*, ed. Rachel Jacoff (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986).
2. Lee Patterson, *Negotiating the Past: The Historical Understanding of Medieval Literature* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), p. 160.
3. Plotinus's *Enneads* I.6, V.8, and VI.9 document the Neoplatonic path toward unity with the Divine.
4. Plotinus must admit to and address the philosopher's return to temporality after ecstatic earthly union with the Divine, but he says that the philosopher spends that subsequent time trying to reascend the height of vision once again (*Enneads* VI, 9.11). This shift in emphasis from the transtemporal intellectual vision to service within time is a fundamental difference between Neoplatonic and Augustinian narrative. As Gedaliahu G. Stroumsa, "Caro salutis cardo: Shaping the Person in Early Christian Thought," *History of Religions* 30 (1990), p. 28, explains, "Where Plotinus sought to reach the state of contemplation (*theōreisthai*), it is on the path of sustained effort leading to it (*quaerere*) that Augustine will insist most."
5. Paul Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, vol. 1, trans. Kathleen McLaughlin and David Pellauer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), pp. 5–30, argued that Augustine's placing time in the context of eternity made close attention to narrative plot impossible; Ricoeur had to resort to Aristotle for a classical theory of emplotment. I owe this characterization of Ricoeur's remarks to M. B. Pranger, "Time and Narrative in Augustine's *Confessions*," *The Journal of Religion* 81.3 (2001), p. 377. Viewed broadly enough, Augustine's history contextualizes time with eternity before creation and after apocalypse. But divine interventions within time are contextualized by time also.
6. See, for example, *Expositions of the Psalms* (hereafter *Expositions*) 61.13, 72.34, 142.15; and *Confessions* 8.6–8.
7. Peter Brown, *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography*, rev. ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), pp. 151–75. Catherine Conybeare, *The Irrational Augustine*, Oxford Early Christian Studies (Oxford: Oxford

University Press, 2006), traces in Augustine's Cassiciacum dialogues this process of disillusionment with Neoplatonic resources for Christian philosophy. Augustine wrote those dialogues in the gap between his conversion and the *Confessions*.

8. The major monograph on the subject is R. A. Markus, *Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology of St. Augustine*, rev. ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988). A programmatic statement occurs on pp. 20–21:

One of the fundamental themes of his [Augustine's] reflection on history: that since the coming of Christ, until the end of the world, all history is homogenous, that it cannot be mapped out in terms of a pattern drawn from sacred history, that it can no longer contain decisive turning-points endowed with a significance in sacred history. Every moment may have its unique and mysterious significance in the ultimate divine tableau of men's doings and sufferings; but it is a significance to which God's revelation does not supply the clues.

The coming of Christ served as the culmination of all prior history, but subsequent history is virtually unreadable. See Carol Harrison, *Augustine: Christian Truth and Fractured Humanity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 205, for a similar reading of Augustinian historiography as intractably ambiguous after the incarnation.

9. As Brian Stock has demonstrated, Augustine's theory of time intersects with his theory of reading and textuality to engender a theory of paraenetic interpretation. Repeated provisional readings of a story or a past that has not yet reached its end generate increasingly fruitful, if always still provisional, interpretations of that story, gradually accumulating its particular shape until a reader participating in that story may be able to project what comes next, and even what to do next. See Stock's *Augustine the Reader: Meditation, Self-Knowledge, and the Ethics of Interpretation* (Cambridge: Belknap, 1996), and *After Augustine: The Meditative Reader and the Text* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001).
10. For Augustine's historical place in the patristic discipline, see Erich Auerbach, "Figura," trans. Ralph Manheim, in *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature*, Theory and History of Literature 9 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), pp. 37–42; Frances M. Young, *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 289–94; and Curtis W. Freeman, "Figure and History: A Contemporary Reassessment of Augustine's Hermeneutic," *Augustine: Presbyter Factus Sum*, ed. Joseph T. Lienhard, Earl C. Muller, and Roland J. Teske, *Collectanea Augustiniana* 2 (New York: Peter Lang, 1993), pp. 319–29. For his influence on medieval and Renaissance figural reading, see Lisa Freinkel, *Reading Shakespeare's Will: The Theology of Figure from Augustine to the Sonnets* (New York: Columbia University

- Press, 2002); and Ephraim Radner, *The End of the Church: A Pneumatology of Christian Division in the West* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1998).
11. Auerbach, pp. 53–9, classifies *figura* as roughly synonymous with typology and sharply distinct from allegory. Typology or *figura* retains the historicity and value of a pre-Christian type (person or event) that pre-figures a Christian antitype in addition to its own historicity, while allegory flattens historicity into static abstract meaning.
 12. Oscar Cullman, *Christ and Time: The Primitive Christian Conception of Time and History*, rev. ed., trans. Floyd V. Filson (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1964), pp. 23, 32–3, identifies Christ's incarnation as the center, not the end, of the early Christian conception of time and history. Radner, p. 29, applies this concept of centrality to Christ's mediation between Israel and the church, the guarantor of what Radner calls figuralist exegesis.
 13. There are six ages of man and the world in *On Genesis against the Manichees* 1.23.35–25.43, and *On True Religion* 26.49–27.50 (a seventh, after death or apocalypse, is generally understood), while *Sermons* 259 gives eight ages to history; *Quaestion* 66 four ages to individual lives; and *Enchiridion* 118 four ages to history. Augustine does not settle upon one shared structure exclusively; that the parallel exists seems to be the crucial point.
 14. McMahon, *Understanding*, pp. 142, 147, and *Augustine's Prayerful Ascent: An Essay on the Literary Form of the Confessions* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1989).
 15. Paula Fredriksen, "Paul and Augustine: Conversion Narratives, Orthodox Traditions, and the Retrospective Self," *Journal of Theological Studies* 37 (1986), p. 3.
 16. Freccero, pp. 1–28.
 17. Freccero, p. 264.
 18. Stock does emphasize that the closure enabling autobiography is never final. Although Augustinian reading is a means to gain personal and ethical understanding, that understanding is always provisional, subject to rereading (*Augustine the Reader*, p. 111).
 19. Stock, *Augustine the Reader*, pp. 1–19. In *Augustine's Inner Dialogue: The Philosophical Soliloquy in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), a work that does not focus on the structure of the *Confessions*, Stock contains this three-stage linear process in a chiasmus. He retains the three stages from his earlier analysis (pp. 223–8) as aspects of what he calls "the West's first fully developed narrative philosophy" (p. 181). But he insists that Augustine's early "interest in the theme of personal progress is largely replaced by a concern with the way in which men and women deal with situations in which they do not in any sense 'progress'" (p. 12). The philosophy of narrative he discerns in Augustine exists in order to promote "the attainment of a contemplative and transcendent state of mind at the personal level through prayer

and self-examination, and at a non-personal level through the unfolding of sacred history, which will eventually re-establish the ideal state that mankind lost through sin in Eden: a state, needless to say, beyond time, language, and human understanding” (p. 16). The goal of both personal and sacred history is a return to divine origin, nonprogressive because retrospective and retrogressive.

20. This phrase summarizes *Confessions* 11.10.
21. McMahon, *Augustine's Prayerful Ascent*, p. 140, and *Understanding*, p. 41.
22. Cary, *Augustine's Invention of the Inner Self: The Legacy of a Christian Platonist* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), *Inner Grace: Augustine in the Traditions of Plato and Paul* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), and *Outward Signs: The Powerlessness of External Things in Augustine's Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
23. The concept is not uniquely Cary's; see Jean-Marie Le Blond, *Les Conversions de Saint Augustin*, Théologie Études Publiées Sous la Direction de la Faculté de Théologie S. J. De Lyon-Fourvière 17 (Paris: Aubier, 1950), pp. 89–171.
24. Spengemann, *The Forms of Autobiography*, pp. 8–32.
25. James J. O'Donnell, *Augustine: Confessions*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 1, p. xviii.
26. Gerard O'Daly, *Augustine's City of God: A Reader's Guide* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), pp. 160–95; and Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Mystery of Continuity: Time and History, Memory and Eternity in the Thought of Saint Augustine* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1986), pp. 34–51.
27. Denys Hay, *Annalists and Historians: Western Historiography from the Eighth to the Eighteenth Centuries* (London: Methuen, 1977), pp. 19–22.
28. Peter Brown, “Political Society,” *Augustine: A Collection of Critical Essays*, ed. R. A. Markus (Garden City, NY: Doubleday/Anchor, 1972), p. 322. The bulk of Markus's work on Augustine, in particular his *Saeculum and Conversion and Disenchantment in Augustine's Spiritual Career*, The Saint Augustine Lecture 1984 (Villanova, PA: Villanova University Press, 1989), expounds this general principle.
29. F. E. Cranz, “The Development of Augustine's Ideas on Society before the Donatist Controversy,” *Augustine: A Collection of Critical Essays*, pp. 336–403.
30. Oliver O'Donovan, “Augustine's *City of God* XIX and Western Political Thought,” *Dionysius* 11 (1987), pp. 105–6.
31. Harrison briefly aligns the two works thus: after an ordered beginning, just as Augustine then turns in *Confessions* 10 to examine his present life as a Christian in the sixth age of the world, and presents it very much as one wholly dependent upon God's grace, incapable of realizing the good or attaining the truth without it, so in Book 19 of *City of God* he turns to examine the lives of the members of the city of God in the present age, unable to realize true justice,

peace, love or order in this life but longing for their eschatological realization in the life to come. Both works also conclude with three books which anticipate the seventh age of eternal life in the life to come. (p. 206)

First she gives the linear progression, then the unsatisfactory and epistemologically compromised present time after it, then the eschatology. Her warrant is the “six ages of man” narrative model, although this model seems not to be a clearly marked structural principle in the *Confessions*, save for the conversionary fifth age and the anticlimactic sixth. Although her emphasis is on their climactic eschatologies as times of redemption, Marjorie Suchocki, “The Symbolic Structure of Augustine’s *Confessions*,” *The Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 50.3 (1982), pp. 365–78, also directly aligns the *Confessions* and *City of God* structurally: “Each uses its own distinctive mode to tell the same story” (p. 377).

32. All translations of the *City of God* are taken from Augustine, *The City of God against the Pagans*, ed. and trans. R. W. Dyson, Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). Michael Cameron, “The Christological Substructure of Augustine’s Figurative Exegesis,” *Augustine and the Bible*, ed. and trans. Pamela Bright, The Bible through the Ages 2 (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999), p. 91, restates this insight in terms of Augustine’s historiographical semiotics, or his semiotic historiography: “The distinguishing characteristic of the figurative prophetic sign is that it is both thing and sign, *both* literal *and* figurative (cf. [OCD] 3.12.20, 3.22.32).” The distinction between historiography and semiotics is porous enough in figural reading to be nearly meaningless.
33. Augustine believed that in the incarnation God added humanity to himself without his divinity being lessened by the finitude of humanity (e.g., OCD 1.13; *Letters* 137.3.10; *Sermons* 80.5).
34. Now they are reduced to bearing the Christian scriptures blindly (*Expositions*. 56.9). See Marcel Simon, *Verus Israel: A Study of the Relations between Christians and Jews in the Roman Empire (135–425)*, trans. H. McKeating, The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 71; and Jill Robbins, *Prodigal Son/Elder Brother: Interpretation and Alterity in Augustine, Petrarch, Kafka, Levinas, Religion and Postmodernism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), pp. 21–39, for readings of Augustine as anti-Semitic; and Paula Fredriksen, “*Secundum Carnem*: History and Israel in the Theology of St. Augustine,” *The Limits of Ancient Christianity: Essays on Late Antique Thought and Culture in Honor of R. A. Markus*, ed. William E. Klingshirn and Mark Vessey (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), pp. 24–41, for an argument that Augustine’s exegesis was too figural, thus too attentive to history, to slough the Jewish history and people off as literal, historical, and therefore unimportant.

35. Camille Bennett, "The Conversion of Vergil: The *Aeneid* in Augustine's *Confessions*," *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 34 (1988), pp. 47–69, argues that Augustine reads Vergil's pagan text spiritually as a figural pattern for his own narrative self-construction.
36. Cameron, "Christological Substructure," p. 74.
37. The Edenic symbolism is a critical commonplace, but for a detailed examination, see McMahon, "Autobiography as Text-Work: Augustine's Refiguring of Genesis 3 and Ovid's 'Narcissus' in His Conversion Account," *Exemplaria* 1.2 (1989), pp. 341–9. For resemblances to Paul's conversion, see Fredriksen, "Paul and Augustine," and Leo C. Ferrari, "Saint Augustine on the Road to Damascus," *Augustinian Studies* 13 (1982), pp. 151–70.
38. See Pierre Courcelle, *Recherches sur les Confessions de Saint Augustin* (Paris: Boccard, 1950), pp. 190ff; McMahon, "Autobiography," especially pp. 340, 359; Ferrari, "Saint Augustine on the Road to Damascus" and "Book Eight: Science and the Fictional Conversion Scene," *A Reader's Companion*, pp. 127–36; and Fredriksen, "Paul and Augustine." Most of these arguments assume that imposing retrospective structure, particularly literary, upon an historical experience compromises a real, unmediated encounter with its unstructured historicity. Symbols are fictional; history takes place outside signifying systems. In short, this debate hinges upon whether to read the Augustine in *Confessions* as an allegorical, nonliteral *sign* or an historical *figure*. Figural exegesis, however, reads literal history as text, the signifying system of God; the two categories are not mutually exclusive. It seems likely to me that Augustine intends the account in book 8 to be read as essentially historically accurate. For this view, see also Henry Chadwick, "History and Symbolism in the Garden at Milan," *From Augustine to Eriugena: Essays on Neoplatonism and Christianity in Honor of John O'Meara*, ed. F. X. Martin and J. A. Richmond (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1991), pp. 42–55.
39. Thomas J. Heffernan, *Sacred Biography: Saints and Their Biographers in the Middle Ages* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 20, 72–122.
40. See Freccero, especially pp. 1–28.
41. Augustine's semiotics holds together the necessity of transitory signs and the temporal dilation required for their interpretation. The present can never be seized upon; in time, events and their interpretations are continually passing away. Yet humans must experience phenomena in time and sequence in order to view their totality. Meaning making requires rumination, a process in which tentative interpretations are continually made and revised as phenomena appear until they cease to appear upon arrival at a meaningful end. Tentative and partial attributions of meaning are the only (pseudo-) closures available in time. In an influential essay, Rowan Williams, "Language, Reality and Desire in Augustine's *De Doctrina*," *Journal of Literature & Theology* 3.2 (1989), p. 140, argues that Augustine's identification of temporal signs as pointers

- toward an eternal God “entails that there is no finality, no ‘closure’, no settled or intrinsic meaning in the world we inhabit.” Augustine’s semiotics warns Christians against the false closures of pride, “the end of desire,” and Platonist untrammelled ecstasy; his “learning from Scripture is a *process*—not a triumphant moment of penetration and mastery, but an extended play of invitation and exploration” (p. 142). R. A. Markus, “Signs, Communication and Communities in Augustine’s *De doctrina christiana*,” *De doctrina christiana: A Classic of Western Culture*, ed. Duane W. H. Arnold and Pamela Bright, Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity 9 (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995), p. 101, also describes the cessation of desire with mere earthly enjoyment as “premature closure of the Christian life, a denial of the restlessness in the depth of the human heart.” Other useful accounts of Augustine’s semiotics include R. A. Markus, “St. Augustine on Signs,” *Augustine: A Collection of Critical Essays*, pp. 61–91; B. Darrell Jackson, “The Theory of Signs in St. Augustine’s *De Doctrina Christiana*,” *Augustine: A Collection of Critical Essays*, pp. 92–147; the essays collected in *De doctrina christiana: A Classic of Western Culture*; and Cary, *Outward Signs*.
42. Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, and Prudentius, *Contra Orationem Symmachi*, are notable exponents of this triumphalism. Although Augustine commissioned Orosius’s *Historiarum Adversum Paganos*, that work is primarily in the Eusebian tradition. See Markus, *Conversion and Disenchantment*, p. 38, for Augustine’s personal evolution away from his political triumphalism of the 390s, and Peter Brown, *Authority and the Sacred: Aspects of the Christianisation of the Roman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 3–26, for the early fifth century as a zone of competing Christian triumphalist and antitriumphalist historiographies.
 43. *OCD* 3.12.1–3 applies the same principles to shameful stories from the Old Testament: they must have figurative meaning, not literal.
 44. *City* 1.34, 18.49; see also *On the Literal Meaning of Genesis* 11, *Sermons* 80.8, *Expositions* 64, and *OCD* 3.32.
 45. The church itself has definitely grown, expanded outward from its initial base in Jerusalem. Augustine also explains that the whole world will receive the Christian gospel before Christ returns (*Letters* 199; *Expositions* 101.2.9). Such a goal provides an end toward which the church can advance and, presumably, mark its linear progress.
 46. Brown, *Augustine of Hippo*, pp. 139–50.
 47. Robert J. O’Connell, *St Augustine’s Confessions: The Odyssey of Soul*, 2nd ed. (New York: Fordham University Press, 1989), p. 54, sees in the *Confessions* “an Augustine whose eye was peering always [as storyteller] toward the philosophic haven of Cassiciacum, and past it, to the soaring heights of Ostia.” See also Paul Henry, *The Path to Transcendence: From Philosophy to Mysticism in Saint Augustine*, The Pittsburgh Theological Monograph Series 37, trans. Francis F. Burch (Pittsburgh: Pickwick

- Press, 1981); originally *La Vision d'Ostie, sa Place dans la Vie et L'oeuvre de Saint Augustin* (Paris: Vrin, 1938), p. 11, and Stock, *Augustine the Reader*, p. 112.
48. Similarly, Colin Starnes, "Augustine's Conversion and the Ninth Book of the *Confessions*," *Augustine: From Rhetor to Theologian*, ed. Joanne McWilliam (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1992), pp. 59, 61, points out that, in contrast to the vision of book 7, physical details ground the experience of Ostia in bodily reality. Cary, *Outward Signs*, p. 12, describes Ostia as a conversation between Augustine and Monica; the experience itself, because it was shared, included its own mediation and interpretation through words. Vessey, "The Great Conference: Augustine and His Fellow Readers," *Augustine and the Bible*, p. 65, holds the opposing view: that Ostia was a mystical, textless, hyper-Neoplatonic experience occurring in silence.
 49. See Lewis Ayres, "Into the Poem of the Universe: *Exempla*, Conversion, and Church in Augustine's *Confessions*," *Journal of Ancient Christianity* 13 (2009), pp. 263–81, on the genre of the *Confessions* as *exemplum* more fundamentally than autobiography. Annemaré Kotzé, *Augustine's Confessions: Communicative Purpose and Audience*, Supplements to *Vigiliae Christianae* 71 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), more fully expounds its protreptic nature.
 50. See Todd Breyfogle, "Memory and Imagination in Augustine's *Confessions*," *Literary Imagination, Ancient and Modern: Essays in Honor of David Grene*, ed. Todd Breyfogle (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), pp. 137–54; and Pamela Bright, "Singing the Psalms: Augustine and Athanasius on the Integration of the Self," *The Whole and the Divided Self*, ed. David E. Aune and John McCarthy (New York: Crossroad, 1997), pp. 118–22.
 51. See, for example, Brown, *Augustine of Hippo*, p. 503; Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), pp. 127–42; and Cary, *Augustine's Invention of the Inner Self*.
 52. Stock, *Augustine the Reader*, pp. 75–111, is a helpful account of the process.
 53. Werner Jaeger, *Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture*, 3 vols., trans. Gilbert Highet (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962–63).
 54. Frances M. Young chronicles this appropriation throughout her *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture*, although she emphasizes its effect on culture, not the self. Jaeger, *Early Christianity and Greek Paideia* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 1961), pp. 86–100, explicates Biblical self-formation in Gregory of Nyssa's thought as an exercise in *paideia*. Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), continues the story of the shift, until by Gregory I Roman culture had wholly converted to a strict Biblicism.
 55. See *Expositions* 136.3, as well as 127.15, in which the stages of time are like a succession of deaths, none of which bring a plenitude of being.

56. In the final book of the *City of God*, Augustine abruptly reverses his characterization of posthistory by elaborating its radical beauties available in time. The times are still bad, he assumes, but their consolations are magnificent enough to justify emphasis and even comparison to the afterlife: "All these things are only the solace of the wretched and condemned, not the rewards of the blessed! What, then, will those rewards be, if the consolations are so many and so great?" (*City* 22.24).
57. *City* 4.29, *Expositions* 102.6, *Sermons* 227.
58. Christine Mason Sutherland, "Love as Rhetorical Principle: The Relationship between Content and Style in the Rhetoric of St. Augustine," *Grace, Politics and Desire: Essays on Augustine*, ed. Hugo A. Meynell (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1990), pp. 140–4; and Calvin Troup, *Temporality, Eternity, and Wisdom: The Rhetoric of Augustine's Confessions* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1999), pp. 1–10, argue that Augustine aims his criticisms of rhetoric at the subdiscipline of Second Sophistic rhetoric, giving him room to practice his own, redeemed version. For further arguments that Augustine makes rhetoric a central part of his Christian vocation, see Marcia Colish, *The Mirror of Language: A Study in the Medieval Theory of Knowledge*, rev. ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983); Sarah Spence, *Rhetorics of Reason and Desire* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988), pp. 55–102; John C. Cavadini, "The Sweetness of the Word: Salvation and Rhetoric in Augustine's *De doctrina christiana*," *De doctrina christiana: A Classic of Western Culture*, pp. 164–81; and the essays collected in *The Rhetoric of St. Augustine of Hippo: De Doctrina Christiana and the Search for a Distinctly Christian Rhetoric*, Studies in Rhetoric and Religion 7, ed. Richard Leo Enos and Roger Thompson et al. (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2008), pp. 187–314. Robert W. Bernard, "The Rhetoric of God in the Figurative Exegesis of Augustine," *Biblical Hermeneutics in Historical Perspective: Studies in Honor of Karlfried Froehlich on His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. Mark S. Burrows and Paul Rorem (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1991), pp. 88–99, suggests that for Augustine figural reading was the titular divine rhetoric.
59. His oft-cited statement on the subject is *OCD* 2.18: even in pagan literature or mores, "every good and true Christian should understand that wherever he may find truth, it is his Lord's."
60. Cavadini, pp. 164–81.
61. Like a spring, "the text of your attendant, though meted out in few words, sends out a strong stream of truth through many expositors, each drawing this truth or that according to his capacity, for dissemination in longer and more circuitous language" (*Confessions* 12.37).
62. The belief that eternal truth condescended into the vicissitudes of time and space in order to become a sign gave Augustine room to address many cultural data in his attempt to decode the spiritual meaning from the literal appearance (*OCD* 3.12–22; *Confessions* 3.13–14, 13.27; *Letters* 138.1.2).

63. To Augustine, exegesis even of the literal sense of Genesis, characterized by questions and appeals to a wide range of interpretive approaches and authorities, functions to open and not close off meaning. See M. Fiedrowicz, "Introduction [to *The Literal Meaning of Genesis*]," trans. Matthew O'Connell, *On Genesis: On Genesis: A Refutation of the Manichees, Unfinished Literal Commentary on Genesis, The Literal Meaning of Genesis*, The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century, vol. 13, ed. John E. Rotelle and trans. Edmund Hill, Augustinian Heritage Institute (Hyde Park, NY: New City Press, 2002), p. 165.
64. Charles T. Mathewes, "The Liberation of Questioning in Augustine's *Confessions*," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 70 (2002), pp. 539–40. The entire article, pp. 539–60, is a wonderful reading of the *Confessions* as an open text, following the open invitation of its last word.
65. According to this definition, it is not entirely clear that charity as such would be possible in an Augustinian heaven. One could praise, adore, be oriented toward God, but one could not *move* toward God. For this reason, Augustine insists that emotions are appropriate in this life and apathy inappropriate, although in heaven the reverse will be true (*City* 14.9). In heaven, there would be no need for the motion that emotions enable. Charity, and its attendant emotions, would have arrived.
66. On Boethius's influence in the Middle Ages, see Alastair Minnis, "Aspects of the Medieval French and English Traditions of Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae*," in *Boethius: His Life, Thought and Influence*, ed. M. T. Gibson (Oxford: Blackwell, 1981), pp. 312–61; *The Medieval Boethius: Studies in the Vernacular Translations of De Consolatione Philosophiae*, ed. A. J. Minnis (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1987); Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 11 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 151–78; and *Chaucer's 'Boece' and the Medieval Tradition of Boethius*, ed. A. J. Minnis, Chaucer Studies 18 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1993).
67. On these commentaries, see the first three essays in *Boethius in the Middle Ages: Latin and Vernacular Traditions of the Consolatio philosophiae*, ed. Maarten J. F. M. Hoenen and Lodi Nauta, Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters 58 (Leiden: Brill, 1997).
68. This is fortunate, because, facing the closure of his own execution, Boethius could not return to history even if he had wanted to. Wendy Raudenbush Olmstead, "Philosophical Inquiry and Religious Transformation in Boethius's *The Consolation of Philosophy* and Augustine's *Confessions*," *The Journal of Religion* 69 (1989), p. 35, identifies Boethius's isolation and passivity as key distinctions between his situation and Augustine's: Boethius's "sphere of action is gone; his chance to effect the course of the world is gone." Augustine in the *Confessions*, his church in the *City of God*, have a long way to go.

2 “Quanto minorem consideras”: Abelard’s Proportional Consolation

1. See Stephen G. Nichols Jr., *Romanesque Signs: Early Medieval Narrative and Iconography* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), for typological architecture and texts in the early medieval period.
2. Thomas J. Heffernan, *Sacred Biography: Saints and Their Biographers in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 5.
3. Colin Morris began the intensive study of the twelfth-century autobiographical impulse with his *The Discovery of the Individual, 1050–1200* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972). Caroline Walker Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages*, Publications of the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, UCLA 16 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), pp. 82–109, is an important corrective to Morris. See also Sarah Spence, *Texts and the Self in the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 30 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Willemien Otten, “The Bible and the Self in Medieval Autobiography: Otloh of St. Emmeram (1010–1070) and Peter Abelard (1079–1142),” in *The Whole and the Divided Self*, ed. David E. Aune and John McCarthy (New York: Crossroad, 1997), pp. 130–57; Bonnie Wheeler, ed., *Listening to Heloise: The Voice of a Twelfth-Century Woman*, The New Middle Ages (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2000); and Jay Rubenstein, “Biography and Autobiography in the Middle Ages,” *Writing Medieval History*, ed. Nancy Partner, Writing History (London: Hodder, 2005), pp. 28–35.
4. Robert W. Hanning, *The Individual in Twelfth-Century Romance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), pp. 22–34; see Abelard’s claim to *ingenium* as the organizing principle of his conception of himself. His *ingenium* gave his life meaning. Without its fecundity and expression, he was impotent; without the *agon* it generated between him and uncritical slaves to authority, his life was without narrative.
5. Readers since Heloise have been skeptical that a history of Abelard’s calamities can truly console. Heloise’s complaint is structural: the *Historia* ends badly. M. T. Clanchy, *Abelard: A Medieval Life* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), p. 128, concurs, claiming that the author’s miserable circumstances sit uneasily at the end of a triumphal narrative: “Abelard’s ‘history of calamities’ comes close to denying the integrity of his experiences. He purports to confess that his prowess in scholarship was no more than overbearing pride and that his joy in Heloise was lust, and yet he finishes up confused and directionless.” See also Evelyn Birge Vitz’s argument in *Medieval Narrative and Modern Narratology: Subjects and Objects of Desire*, New York University Studies in French Culture and Civilization (New York: New York University Press, 1989), p. 29, that the *Historia* is compartmentalized into episodes that do not illuminate or build upon each other.

6. For his castration as climactic, see Vitz, pp. 28–9. For his integration of desire into a monastic lifestyle as climactic, see Robert R. Edwards, *The Flight from Desire: From Augustine and Ovid to Chaucer*, *The New Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), pp. 59–60; and Karl Joachim Weintraub, *The Value of the Individual: Self and Circumstance in Autobiography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), pp. 81, 91. For the Paraclete as climactic, see n. 66.
7. Eric Hicks, *La vie et les epistres: Pierres Abaelart et Heloys sa fame*, vol. 1, *Nouvelle Bibliothèque du Moyen Âge* 16 (Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1991), pp. 3, 43. Latin citations of the *Historia* are taken from this edition. English citations from the *Historia* are taken from the translation in Betty Radice, *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise* (London: Penguin Books, 1974). According to R. W. Southern, *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1970), pp. 89–90, proportionality is a well-known feature of the *consolatio* genre, and authorial innovation manifests not in the presence of that feature but in variations on its practice.
8. Abelard is highly unusual in the range, variety, and use of these allusions. Medieval preachers used biblical *exempla* to recommend particular moral action. Historical narrative could construct an exemplary figure out of allusions to Christ or another biblical character; saints' lives could conform a saint to Christ or, intertextually, to another saint's life. But Abelard does not try to repeat only Christ's example, or only one of these others. The staggering variety of his allusions to historical characters suggests, rather, that he has a difficult time associating himself definitively with any of them.
9. G. R. Evans, *Old Arts and New Theology: The Beginnings of Theology as an Academic Discipline* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), p. 53, explains that although analogies were typically the province of rhetoricians, fluidity between the disciplines permitted dialecticians to use them. Clanchy, *Abelard*, p. 115, sees Abelard's theological use of *similitudines* as dialectical.
10. Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), p. 384. Words conjure mental images of that which is already absent (p. 379).
11. Nancy A. Jones, "By Woman's Tears Redeemed: Female Lament in St. Augustine's *Confessions* and the Correspondence of Abelard and Heloise," *Sex and Gender in Medieval and Renaissance Texts: The Latin Tradition*, ed. Barbara K. Gold, Paul Allen Miller, and Charles Platter, *SUNY Series in Medieval Studies* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1997), pp. 15–39; Jane Chance, "Classical Myth and Gender in the Letters of 'Abelard' and 'Heloise': Gloss, Glossed, Glossator," *Listening to Heloise: The Voice of a Twelfth-Century Woman*, *The New Middle Ages*, ed. Bonnie Wheeler (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), pp. 161–78; and Joseph

- Pucci, *The Full-Knowing Reader: Allusion and the Power of the Reader in the Western Literary Tradition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), pp. 178–98, confine themselves chiefly to classical allusions. Donald Frank, “Abelard as Imitator of Christ,” *Viator* 1 (1970), pp. 106–13, catalogues the allusions to Christ. Clanchy, “Documenting the Self: Abelard and the Individual in History,” *Historical Research* 76 (2003), p. 308, notes the shift from classical to Christian allusions. Winthrop Wetherbee, *Platonism and Poetry in the Twelfth-Century: The Literary Influence of the School of Chartres* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), p. 134, observes that Biblical allusions in the *Historia* appear to be “quasi-topological.”
12. Jeffrey E. Brower, “Abelard’s Theory of Relations: Reductionism and the Aristotelian Tradition,” *The Review of Metaphysics* 51 (1998), pp. 605–31.
 13. Abelard uses *logica* and *dialectica* interchangeably. To him a study of things would be physics. Maria Teresa Beonio-Brocchieri Fumagalli, *The Logic of Abelard*, trans. Simon Pleasance (Dordrecht: Reidel, 1969), p. 17, identifies two crucial differences for Abelard between the disciplines of logic and rhetoric that occupy the same *topos*: language. The first is methodological: logic requires rational, not psychological, criteria to judge a discourse. The second is purposive: rhetoric persuades toward an orator’s preconceived end, while logic inquires and explores, oriented toward an end that emerges out of the argumentative process.
 14. For his logical treatment in particular, see *Logica “Ingredientibus”* in *Peter Abaelards Philosophische Schriften* I, ed. Bernhard Geyer, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und der Theologie des Mittelalters 21 (Münster, Germany: Aschendorff, 1933), pp. 200–23, and *Dialectica*, ed. Lambert M. de Rijk (Assen, The Netherlands: Koninklijke Van Gorcum, 1970), pp. 83–8.
 15. For example, *Theologica Christiana* 1.104; 3.167–68, 170; 4.82–85, 155 and *Theologia “Scholarium”* 2.166.
 16. Evans, *The Language and Logic of the Bible: The Earlier Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 101–2. Her broader discussion of *similitudo* in medieval theological method occurs on pp. 101–5. Peter Dronke, *Fabula: Explorations into the Uses of Myth in Medieval Platonism*, *Mittellateinische Studien und Texte* 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1974), pp. 32–45, gives a helpful background of the term’s history in classical and early medieval rhetoric and hermeneutics. In addition to Evans, see also Dronke, *Fabula*, pp. 66–7, and Jean Jolivet, *Arts du Langage et Théologie chez Abélard*, *Études de Philosophie Médiévale* 57 (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1982), pp. 300–6, for Abelard’s use of *similitudo* in his theology.
 17. See John Marenbon, *The Philosophy of Peter Abelard* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 57–61, on Abelard’s revision of the *Theologia Summi Boni* into later forms such as the *Theologia Christiana* and the *Theologia Scholarium*. Marenbon notes Abelard’s increasingly

- deferential tone, subject to correction by church authorities, although Abelard's claims that reason could achieve some, necessarily limited, knowledge of the Trinity did not substantially alter.
18. Päivi Hannele Jussilla, *Peter Abelard on Imagery: Theory and Practice with Special Reference to His Hymns* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1995), pp. 114–15, 128. Clanchy, *Abelard*, pp. 106–7, underscores that Abelard did not conceptualize his dialectical theology as applying to God, only to language about God, its proper purview.
 19. Eileen C. Sweeney, *Logic, Theology, and Poetry in Boethius, Abelard, and Alan of Lille: Words in the Absence of Things*, The New Middle Ages (New York: Palgrave, 2006), pp. 63–125.
 20. Abelard was not always deferent in exercising his reason. In the *Historia calamitatum*, he characterizes the method of his *Theologia summi boni* as “by analogy with human reason [...] for the use of my students who were asking for human and logical reasons on this subject, and demanded something intelligible rather than mere words” (p. 78). This treatise, employing a relatively orthodox method, was later condemned as heretical, in part for three reasons evident here. The similitudes rely heavily upon logic, the treatise's audience and author antagonize its contemporary theological context, and Abelard's personal attitude showed few external signs of humility before *aenigmata*, although the treatise itself includes careful caveats.
 21. Evans, *Language and Logic*, p. 1, identifies the epistemological incapability of humans after the Fall as a presupposition undergirding all medieval exegesis.
 22. Stock, *Implications of Literacy*, p. 531, argues that, for Abelard, texts reveal *relatio* as a way of knowing. Thus he could separate epistemology from ontology, knower from known, experience from ratiocination. Elsewhere, Stock, “Medieval Literacy, Linguistic Theory, and Social Organization,” *New Literary History* 16 (1984), p. 15, extends his characterization of Abelard's semiotics: Abelard saw that language permits language to be studied, operative as both subject and object.
 23. This is another way of putting Sweeney's key insight—both throughout her *Logic, Theology, and Poetry* and her “Abelard's *Historia Calamitatum* and Letters: Self as Search and Struggle,” *Poetics Today* 28 (2007), pp. 303–6—that Abelard is much better at taking apart failed arguments and assertions than he is at constructing positive and stable ones of his own.
 24. See Constant J. Mews, “Faith as Existimatio Rerum non Apparentium: Intellect, Imagination and Faith in the Philosophy of Peter Abelard,” *Intellect and Imagination in Medieval Philosophy: Actes du XI^e Congrès International de Philosophie Médiévale de la Société Internationale pour l'Étude de la Philosophie Médiévale (S.I.E.P.M.), Porto, du 26 au 31 août 2002*, *Rencontres de philosophie médiévale* 11 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 920–6, on the ontological uncertainties inherent in Abelard's practice of dialectic and rhetoric.

25. That Abelard remarks that logic and rhetoric do not cover the same material (*Logica "Ingredientibus"* p. 273.37–39) has puzzled commentators who rightly note that his logical and rhetorical work repeatedly encroach upon each other's territory. See Constant J. Mews, "Peter Abelard on Dialectic, Rhetoric, and the Principles of Argument," *Rhetoric and Renewal in the Latin West 1100–1540: Essays in Honour of John O. Ward*, ed. Constant J. Mews, Cary J. Nederman, and Rodney M. Thomson (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 37–53, on Abelard's use of logic in the service of Scriptural and patristic rhetorical exegesis, and von Moos, "Literary Aesthetics in the Latin Middle Ages: The Rhetorical Theology of Peter Abelard," *Rhetoric and Renewal*, pp. 81–97, for Abelard's use of rhetoric in the service of a *logica Christiana*. Although von Moos mentions Abelard's *planctus* composition, both essays focus more on Abelard's dialectics with reference to rhetorical Scripture than they do his rhetorical practice in the *Historia*.
26. According to Stock, *Implications of Literacy*, p. 4, increasing textuality means that experience gets edited and that people begin to live out texts overtly. He further, in "Medieval Literacy," p. 17, characterizes the eleventh and twelfth centuries as reviving old textual models for purposes of self-construction.
27. For a comparison between Abelard's *Historia* and Otloh, see Otten, "The Bible and the Self," pp. 130–57. For comparisons between the *Historia* and Guibert's *Monodiae*, see Morris, pp. 83–6; Chris Ferguson, "Autobiography as Therapy: Guibert de Nogent, Peter Abelard, and the Making of Medieval Autobiography," *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 13 (1983), pp. 187–212; Rubenstein, pp. 28–35; Spence, pp. 55–83; and Mary M. McLaughlin, "Abelard as Autobiographer: The Motives and Meaning of his 'Story of Calamities,'" *Speculum* 42 (1967), pp. 486–7.
28. Bynum, *Jesus as Mother*, pp. 82–109. Bynum refutes the self-determining individual of Morris's *The Discovery of the Individual*, successfully in my view.
29. Perhaps the most persuasive case is Southern, p. 91, and Edwards, pp. 62–3, that Abelard eventually settles upon the identity of Jerome. This "settling" is more likely to occur definitively in the fuller correspondence with Heloise, however, as their epistolary relation to each other increasingly resembles Jerome's and Marcella's. See also Katherine Kong, *Lettering the Self in Medieval and Early Modern France*, Gallica (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2010), pp. 78–91; and Alcuin Blamires, "No Outlet for Incontinence: Heloise and the Question of Consolation," in Wheeler, pp. 288–9, 296–7.
30. Thus Spence, p. 14: self cannot exist when trying to fit a mold (scriptural or otherwise), only when recognizing difference from it. That self exists in the recognition of difference from previous models. I concur that that

is at least one of the ways one of the kinds of self comes into cognizance. Spence does not, however, address the resources prior models can give a self in its exploration of difference from them.

31. Roscelin and Bernard of Clairvaux, respectively, quoted in Catherine Brown, *Contrary Things: Exegesis, Dialectic, and the Poetics of Didacticism*, *Figurae: Reading Medieval Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), pp. 65, 78.
32. Brown, p. 65. She thinks the reconciliation fails and that his opposing identities never meet each other (pp. 63–90). Spence, p. 76, argues the opposite: that he tries to maintain dialectical oppositions within himself but cannot.
33. Dronke, *Fabula*, pp. 66–7.
34. Hicks, pp. 19–20.
35. For the Aristotle allusion, see Mews, *Abelard and Heloise*, *Great Medieval Thinkers* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 45. Abelard directly associates his dialectical practice with the Christ-child in the temple at *Sic et non* prol. pp. 340–3.
36. See Clanchy, “Documenting the Self,” p. 305, on its frequency and on Abelard’s deliberate establishment of the Palatine half of the name in the *Historia*.
37. See Luscombe, “Peter Abelard and the Poets,” *Poetry and Philosophy in the Middle Ages: A Festschrift for Peter Dronke*, ed. John Marenbon (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 164–8, on Abelard’s penchant for combining classical with Christian references.
38. Hicks, p. 7. The quotation is from Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* 13.89–90.
39. Abelard is the only medieval writer to quote this passage from Ovid; much less use it to describe himself.
40. All Latin biblical citations are taken from *Biblia Sacra: Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994). Abelard’s statement reduces the involved parties from three—Christ, the disciples, and the stones—to two: Abelard himself and the facts. If Abelard were silent, from false humility, the facts would self-reflexively clamor about the end of themselves.
41. In their ensuing correspondence, Heloise (“*si omnes taceant, res ipsa clamat*”) will ironically echo Abelard here straightforwardly echoing Christ. On her allusion to Abelard, Peter Godman, *Paradoxes of Conscience in the High Middle Ages: Abelard, Heloise, and the Archpoet*, *Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature* 75 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 133, comments that Heloise “transforms the egotism of his pseudo-objectivity into an appeal to public opinion against him.”
42. Hicks, p. 7.
43. *Ibid.*
44. Abelard quotes from Lucan, *Pharsalia* 1.135–36.
45. Vitz, pp. 13, 15.
46. Hicks, p. 9.

47. Mews, *Abelard*, p. 60.
48. Pucci, pp. 185–92. Chance, p. 169, also discusses the inappropriateness of Ajax.
49. John Freccero, *Dante: The Poetics of Conversion*, ed. Rachel Jacoff (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986), pp. 1–28; see also Nichols, p. 5.
50. Hicks, p. 9.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
52. Edwards, pp. 64–70, elucidates Abelard’s careful narrative structuring of the Heloise section to correspond to the stages of winning and losing a lover in Ovid’s *Ars amatoria*.
53. Etienne Gilson, *Heloise and Abelard*, trans. L. K. Shook (Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1951), pp. 10–36, explains that Abelard’s marriage would have harmed his academic or clerical career much less than it compromised his freedom to devote his life to philosophy, an ideal both he and Heloise claimed vigorously for himself. Marriage, although permitted to a cleric and a teacher, was regularized incontinence. Gilson diagnoses it, as such, in terms of the Fall: according to Abelard, “The marriage state very much resembled a fall from grace [...] There is no reason to suppose that he wanted to keep the marriage secret because it would have been illicit, but everything points toward that ‘loss of glory’ which he dreaded in himself” (12–13).
54. Hicks, pp. 11–12.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
56. It is possible to see Abelard’s intentionalist ethics as a repudiation of certain semantic ranges of “original sin,” particularly because, in his *Peter Abelard’s Ethics*, ed. and trans. D. E. Luscombe (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), pp. 54, 56, 62, he carefully distinguishes between sin and ignorance when his contemporaries were inclined to subcategorize ignorance under original sin (Luscombe, Introduction, *Ethics*, p. xxxv). Jerry Root, “Space to Speke”: *The Confessional Subject in Medieval Literature*, American University Studies, Series II: Romance Languages and Literatures 225 (New York: Peter Lang, 1997), p. 35, argues: “With his focus on knowing consent, Abelard can dismiss the ‘deep shadow’ (*Confessions* VIII, ix) of Adam and the Fall that weighed so heavily on Augustine.” Abelard does however, in *Ethics*, extend the influence of Adam’s original sin to “posteritatem . . . totam” (p. 80) and attribute some kind of “originale peccatum” to little children (p. 56). For Abelard, the Fall is still the necessary historical basis for any discussion of sin, which remains intrinsic.
57. Frank, p. 111. The article assembles allusions to Christ from both Abelard and Heloise throughout their correspondence.
58. Abelard’s *Commentaria in epistolam Pauli ad Romanos* describes Christ’s incarnation as in large part the provision of an exemplary divine shape for human behavior.
59. Hicks, p. 17.

60. *Ibid.*, pp. 9–10.
61. Hicks, p. 24, cf. John 12.19 and 11.50, respectively.
62. *Ibid.*, p. 22. The allusion is to Deut. 32.31. New Testament claims that Christ's passion fulfills Hebrew prophecy include Matt. 26.54; Luke 21.22, 22.37, 24.44; John 13.18, 17.12; Acts 1.16.
63. Abelard reads "*Ecce nunc palam loquitur, et nemo in eum aliquid dicit*" (Hicks, p. 22), and the Vulgate "*ecce palam loquitur et nihil ei dicunt*" (John 7.26). Hicks and Radice mark only the first half of the quotation as direct allusion, but similarities between the second halves of these sentences are strong enough to call the rest of Abelard's use allusive as well.
64. Hicks, p. 24.
65. Unless they (perhaps rightly) refuse to take him at his word and assume that he is *not* a better man.
66. For identifications of the Paraclete as this climax or center, see Wetherbee, "Literary Works," p. 24; Otten, "The Bible and the Self," p. 141.
67. According to McLaughlin, "Peter Abelard and the Dignity of Women: Twelfth Century 'Feminism' in Theory and Practice," *Pierre Abélard Pierre le Vénéralbe: Les Courants Philosophiques, Littéraires et Artistiques en Occident au Milieu du xii^e Siècle*, Colloques Internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique 546, ed. Cluny (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1975), pp. 315, 320–1, 331–2, the *Historia* defends his role as founder of the Paraclete and demonstrates how the site embodies the content of his spiritual idealism.
68. Hicks, pp. 30–1.
69. According to Abelard, the Holy Spirit is a better sponsor of a shrine than any other member of the Trinity because its function is most appropriate to the spatial category of temple or shrine: the New Testament calls the body the "shrine of the indwelling Holy Spirit" (p. 92, a quotation of I Cor 6.17; Hicks, p. 33). Nichols, p. 19, notes that in eleventh century thought theosis could occur to a site, not merely to a person.
70. Mews, *Abelard*, p. 185, identifies "the theological tension that runs through the *Historia calamitatum*" as "that somebody who is driven by envy or greed can be an instrument of divine providence." This tension does not merely appear with reference to Abelard's enemies, but also to Abelard himself.
71. Annelies Maria Wouters, "The Meaning of Formal Structure in Peter Abelard's *Collationes*" (PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 2003), pp. 108–11, sees one of the notoriously egoistic Abelard's rather paradoxical characteristics as humility, demonstrated within his theological *Collationes* by his careful ontological distinction from Christ and by the epistemological irresolution of his open-ended dialogue. She briefly extends it also to include his narrative handling of the Paraclete in the *Historia*.
72. It may appear in Heloise's writing as well. In describing the Paraclete as Abelard's vineyard in her first letter, Heloise may not only be alluding to 1 Cor. 3, but also to the Christ of John 15, who, after introducing the

concept of the Paraclete, elaborates a neat logical proportion: Christ : vine :: disciples : branches. The abbey itself would likely have been familiar with passages mentioning the divine sponsor in whom their identity was grounded, particularly when appealing to Abelard as their own sponsor, father, and teacher.

73. Edwards, p. 60.
74. This shift from orality to textuality contradicts the suggestion by McLaughlin, "Abelard as Autobiographer," p. 468, that Abelard wrote the *Historia* to rehabilitate his public reputation so that he could return to teaching, orally of course, in Parisian schools.
75. Hicks, p. 37.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 36. Rather than ventriloquizing the *improperia* liturgy from Good Friday rites in which Christ reproaches the Jews through the authority of his innocence, Abelard deserves reproaches.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
78. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
80. *Ibid.*
81. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
82. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
83. *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 43.
84. "But *now* Satan has put so many obstacles in my path that I can find nowhere to rest or even to live; a fugitive and wanderer, I carry everywhere the curse of Cain" (p. 102, italics added; Hicks, p. 41). This outburst interrupts a story about abuse from his subordinate monks. After three sentences in the present tense, he recalls his narrative purpose enough to finish the story of this particular escape, but after that word, "now," Abelard escapes the past for good into a present no more congenial: "I am still in danger, and every day I imagine a sword hanging over my head, so that at meals I can scarcely breathe. . . . This is my experience all the time" (p. 104; Hicks, p. 43).
85. See Sweeney, "Self as Search," pp. 323–5. She also describes in *Logic, Theology, and Poetry*, p. 65, the irresolution of this ending as a primary difference between Abelard's *Historia* and the model of Christian autobiography it would be expected to emulate: Augustine's *Confessions*. Whereas Augustine's narrative carries virtually no suspense, containing the restlessness of its protagonist within the acknowledgment of God's good governance at beginning and end of the book, Abelard's restlessness is uncontained, negative, "a kind of flight from the false rather than a journey toward the true."
86. Hicks, p. 41.
87. Similarly, in his Old Testament *planctus* Abelard locates his internal sense of self in the Old Testament because he does not perceive himself as living in the "redeemed time" a Christian should. See Otten, "Poetics of Biblical Tragedy," pp. 259–60.

88. Aaron Gurevich, *The Origins of European Individualism*, trans. Katharine Judelson, *The Making of Europe* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), pp. 139–42, implies that Abelard's loneliness and isolation are related to an egotistical incapacity or indifference to love.
89. Sweeney, "Self as Search," pp. 306–7, 321–3, 331.
90. von Moos, "Literary Aesthetics," p. 86.
91. *Ibid.*, p. 87. See Peter Abelard, "Letter XIII," *Peter Abelard: Letters IX-XIV*, ed. Edmé Renno Smits (Gronigen: Rijksuniversiteit, 1983), pp. 275–6, on Pentecost enabling dialectic. Smits, p. 188, claims that Letter XIII exemplifies a development of Abelard's thought concerning the source of a dialectician's knowledge: "In his earlier writings the origin is *ingenium*; later it is a gift granted by the grace of God and finally a gift from the Holy Spirit." On this continuum, knowledge moves from intrinsic to extrinsic, possessed to given.
92. *Ibid.*, p. 87.
93. Jussilla, p. 196.
94. Brown, p. 28. See also Evans, *Language and Logic*, p. 164, on the discursive practice of biblical exegesis. Stock, *Implications of Literacy*, p. 375, describes Abelard's semiotic understanding as necessarily narratival and Boethian but in terms highly reminiscent of Augustine's account of understanding a psalm. Sweeney, "Rewriting the Narrative of Scripture: Twelfth-Century Debates over Reason and Theological Form," *Medieval Philosophy and Theology* 3 (1993), pp. 20–1, 25, argues the opposite: Abelard rejects the narrative form of understanding and demands immediate interpretive closure, getting disillusioned when it is not available. Sweeney's analysis in this instance depends heavily upon the *Sic et non*. Abelard's poetic practice and his exegesis of Romans (in which he wanders onto the paths of his own interests, not Paul's) seem to be more orthodox than the *Sic et non*, although that may signify only that he more richly explores the dimensions of meaning's poverty.
95. McLaughlin, "Abelard as Autobiographer," p. 469; Sweeney, "Self as Search," p. 305.
96. Hicks, p. 63.
97. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

3 Three Figures of the Church: *Piers Plowman* and the Quest for Consolation

1. Mention of cardinals who "presumed in hem a pope to make / To han [þe] power þat Peter hadde" (Prol.107–8) may refer to aspects of this schism. See Andrew Galloway, *C Prologue-Passus 4; B Prologue-Passus 4; A Prologue-Passus 4*, vol. 1 of *The Penn Commentary on Piers Plowman* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), p. 112, for an assessment of the evidence.

2. James Simpson, *Piers Plowman: An Introduction*, 2nd ed. (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2007), pp. 211–14.
3. Simpson, *Introduction*, pp. 38–44; and Mary Carruthers, *The Search for St. Truth: A Study of Meaning in Piers Plowman* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1973), p. 167, on Meed and Conscience, respectively.
4. Sarah Tolmie, “Langland, Wittgenstein, and the End of Language,” *The Yearbook of Langland Studies* 20 (2006), p. 121.
5. Carruthers, *Search*, pp. 107–43. She links this figural sense of time throughout the poem with Augustine (pp. 66–7, 78).
6. Simpson, *Introduction*, p. 1.
7. That *Piers Plowman* contains both an individual and a broader sacred narrative is widely understood. Some critics have already seen the narratives as synonymous or at least integrally related; for example, Barbara Raw, “Piers and the Image of God in Man,” in *Piers Plowman: Critical Approaches*, ed. S. S. Hussey (London: Methuen, 1969), pp. 143–79; and Mary Carruthers, “Time, Apocalypse, and the Plot of Piers Plowman,” *Acts of Interpretation: The Text in its Contexts, 700–1600: Essays on Medieval and Renaissance Literature in Honor of E. Talbot Donaldson*, ed. Mary J. Carruthers and Elizabeth D. Kirk (Norman, OK: Pilgrim Books, 1982), p. 175. Carruthers, p. 178, makes a crucial link between this equivalence of narrative form and Augustine’s *Confessions*, though not *City of God*.
8. The “kynde knowyng” (1.138) of which Will is famously in quest seems to be affective and intuitive as opposed to cognitive and what we would call rational. Holy Church locates it “in þyn herte” (1.143). See Carruthers, *Search*, pp. 107–47, and James Simpson, “From Reason to Affective Knowledge: Modes of Thought and Poetic Form in *Piers Plowman*,” *Medium Ævum* 55 (1986), pp. 1–23.
9. Pamela Raabe, *Imitating God: The Allegory of Faith in Piers Plowman B* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990). This line of criticism descends from D. W. Robertson and Bernard F. Huppe, *Piers Plowman and Scriptural Tradition*, Princeton Studies in English 31 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951).
10. Carruthers, *Search*, pp. 147–73.
11. David Lawton, “The Subject of *Piers Plowman*,” *The Yearbook of Langland Studies* 1 (1987), pp. 1–30; and Sarah Tolmie, “Langland, Wittgenstein,” pp. 115–39.
12. The diagnosis on the basis of multiple genres comes from Morton W. Bloomfield, *Piers Plowman as a Fourteenth-Century Apocalypse* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1962), pp. 20, 39. According to John Bowers, *The Crisis of Will in Piers Plowman* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1986), p. 26, the poem’s structural irregularity accurately reflects Langland’s chaotic world. John Lawlor, “The Imaginative Unity of *Piers Plowman*,” *Style and Symbolism in Piers Plowman: A Modern Critical Anthology*, ed. Robert J. Blanch (Knoxville:

- University of Tennessee Press, 1969), p. 113; and Malcolm Godden, *The Making of Piers Plowman* (London: Longman, 1990), p. 206, assert that the poetry adheres to “the facts of particular experience” or “the real world,” respectively. Burt Kimmelman, *The Poetics of Authorship in the Later Middle Ages: The Emergence of the Modern Literary Persona*, Studies in the Humanities: Literature—Politics—Society 21 (New York: Peter Lang, 1996), p. 226, argues that the poem is “an allegory about the failure of allegory to express the truth”; Nicolette Zeeman, *Piers Plowman and the Medieval Discourse of Desire*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 59 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), that it is about the failure of ideology to contain desire; Carruthers, *Search*, that it is about the failure of language. Commonly, then, the poem is understood either to fail or to be about the failure of something that medieval thought generally identified as reliable.
13. Joseph Wittig, “*Piers Plowman B*, Passus IX–XII: Elements in the Design of the Inward Journey,” *Traditio* 28 (1972), pp. 211–80, and *William Langland Revisited*, Twayne’s English Author Series 537 (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1997); Simpson, “From Reason to Affective Knowledge,” and “Desire and the Scriptural Text: Will as Reader in *Piers Plowman*,” *Criticism and Dissent in the Middle Ages*, ed. Rita Copeland (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 215–43; and Carruthers, *Search*, pp. 107–47.
 14. Carruthers, “Time,” pp. 184–5, links *Piers Plowman* to an Augustinian sacred history that does not resolve and correctly affirms that narrative meaning in such a structure resides in the middle. J. A. Burrow, *Langland’s Fictions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 26–7, similarly argues that the poem is a circular structure whose center (Piers) is absent from its beginning and end. This chapter will argue that the consolatory purpose for such a structure resides at the end of the narrative, its quandary demanding interpretation of a meaningful past and consolation in a meaning-deprived present.
 15. If the narrative contains a surprise at all, it is that Christ’s triumph over the forces of evil in passus 18 was so complete, in spite of what we have known about Christian society since the beginning of the poem. The potency of sacred history as a contemporary solution evidently was a novelty to Langland also. Sacred history is virtually absent from the A text; Langland’s discovery of its resources evidently helped to motivate his revision of A to B.
 16. All citations of *Piers Plowman B* are taken from *Piers Plowman: The B Version: Will’s Visions of Piers Plowman, Do-Well, Do-Better and Do-Best*, rev. ed., ed. George Kane and E. Talbot Donaldson (London: The Athlone Press and Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988). I use the B version throughout, and C and A for comparison purposes only. My argument places great emphasis on the last two passūs, and only in B can we be relatively sure that the poet integrated those passūs into a

- conceptual whole. They do not exist in A, and the poet's revision of C for whatever reason did not reach them.
17. Robert Adams, "Langland's Theology," *A Companion to Piers Plowman*, ed. John A. Alford (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), pp. 103–4, sees the disappointed surprise that Piers's arduous pardon brings to readers as a trap to make us see that we want its grace to come cheaply, without commitment to personal reform: "Langland will have none of this empty triumphalism" (p. 104). See also Wittig, *Langland*, p. 29.
 18. Carruthers, *Search*, pp. 50–52; Simpson, *Introduction*, pp. 38–54.
 19. Bloomfield, p. 20, and Britton J. Harwood, "*Piers Plowman*" and the *Problem of Belief* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), p. 27, respectively. These are phrases comparing Holy Church and Will to their Boethian counterparts.
 20. David C. Fowler, *The Bible in Middle English Literature* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1984), p. 235. See also R. H. Bowers, "*Piers Plowman* and the Literary Historians," *College English* 21 (1959), pp. 2–4.
 21. Ruth M. Ames, *The Fulfillment of the Scriptures: Abraham, Moses, and Piers* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1979), p. 79, suggests that, if all we had of *Piers Plowman* ended at passus 1, we would think it a finished didactic poem. Lawton, p. 15, points out that some kind of monologic discourse like Holy Church's should end an allegorical poem, but such discourse would abort the development of the narrative. Thus he in a way commends *Piers Plowman* for refusing the pre-emptive closure Holy Church threatens in passus 1.
 22. David Aers, *Piers Plowman and Christian Allegory* (London: Edward Arnold, 1975), pp. 63–5, describes Langland's allegory as a "disclosure model" that uses the poetic process as its search for truth. Elizabeth D. Kirk, "Langland's Narrative Christology," in *Art and Context in Late Medieval English Narrative: Studies in Honor of Robert Worth Frank, Jr.*, ed. Robert R. Edwards (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1994), p. 31, notes that the dreamer defends poetry writing as a heuristic process. William Elford Rogers, *Interpretation in Piers Plowman* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2002), p. 124, sees the dreamer's quest as a poem-long "quest for a viable hermeneutic" after he realizes that Holy Church, "the custodian of propositional truth," is merely an interpreter, not a conveyor of absolute truth. Harwood, p. 4, and Carruthers, *Search*, p. 25, agree that Langland wrote *Piers Plowman* in order to discover truth for himself, not primarily to teach truth at which he had already arrived. Gillian Rudd, *Managing Language in Piers Plowman*, *Piers Plowman Studies IX* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1994), pp. 223–30, properly emphasizes the creative potential of plurality and polyvalence explored through interpretations and revisions in *Piers Plowman*, but goes too far, I think, in asserting that the processes of questioning and revision become the true subject of the poem, not any supposed referent outside its language. James Simpson, *Piers Plowman: An Introduction*,

- p. 217, is more cautious: "The manner of the search for charity becomes as much the subject of the poem as charity itself." All reflective pilgrims will interest themselves in the dynamics of the search; that does not imply that they must lose interest in the goal, however distant.
23. Zeeman sees cycles of deprivation and desire (p. 16) or "failure, rebuke, and renewal" (p. 19) throughout the poem. Anne Middleton, "Narration and the Invention of Experience: Episodic Form in *Piers Plowman*," *The Wisdom of Poetry: Essays in Early English Literature in Honor of Morton W. Bloomfield*, ed. Larry D. Benson and Siegfried Wenzel (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1982), pp. 91–122, describes the titular episodes as clashes for power over knowledge and admits into that cycle of combat an unachieved desire for resolution.
 24. Jean-Luc Marion, "Resting, Moving, Loving: The Access to the Self according to Saint Augustine," *The Journal of Religion* 91 (2011), pp. 34–42, gives the classical background to Augustine's weightlike-ness of love (or, as Marion reframes it, the lovelikeness of weight) and explains how it rewrites Aristotelian physics. Cristina Maria Cervone, "Langland and the Truelove Tradition," *Yearbook of Langland Studies* 22 (2008), p. 44, provides some potential mediating sources accessible to Langland: "the Advent liturgy . . . and Gregory's gravitational pull of the universe toward God." Phillip Cary, "The Weight of Love: Augustinian Metaphors of Movement in Dante's Souls," *Augustine and Literature*, ed. Robert Peter Kennedy, Kim Paffenroth, and John Doody (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2006), pp. 15–36, elucidates Dante's Infernal landscape as another medieval literary adaptation of the Augustinian physics of the loving soul. See also P. M. Kean, "Langland on the Incarnation," *The Review of English Studies* 16 (1965), pp. 360–62, on Aristotelian and Augustinian origins and medieval applications of the weight of desire. She identifies as inherently paradoxical Langland's use of the concept to describe Christ's incarnation: "Not only is love carried 'downwards,' though its *pondus* would naturally carry it upwards; through its association with flesh it is carried even *in terram*, and into death and dissolution" (p. 361).
 25. Margaret E. Goldsmith, *The Figure of Piers Plowman: The Image on the Coin*, *Piers Plowman Studies II* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1981), and Raabe. Raabe, pp. 64, 68, 71–2, 79–80, reads the poem as essentially antinarrative, akin to an Augustinian emphasis on punctiliar understanding.
 26. Stephanie L. Batkie, "'Thanne artow inparfit': Learning to Read in *Piers Plowman*," *Chaucer Review* 45 (2010), p. 192.
 27. Laurie A. Finke, "Truth's Treasure: Allegory and Meaning in *Piers Plowman*," in *Medieval Texts and Contemporary Readers*, ed. Laurie A. Finke and Martin B. Shichtman (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987), pp. 67–8.
 28. Aers, *Salvation and Sin: Augustine, Langland, and Fourteenth-Century Theology* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009), pp. 1–24, 62, 146.

29. Augustine links rhetorical persuasion via the passions with this description of charity as affective movement. Rhetoric, when legitimately used, engages charity. For this Augustinian affective emphasis as an influence on kynde knowynge in *Piers Plowman*, see Goldsmith, p. 17; Simpson, "From Reason to Affective Knowledge"; and Madeleine Kasten, *In Search of "Kynde Knowynge": Piers Plowman and the Origin of Allegory*, Costerus, New Series 168 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), pp. 196–8. Zeeman, pp. 30–1, helpfully couches the discussion in terms of gaps: affect measures the gap between the soul and its object of desire.
30. Galloway, p. 207, associates these passages from Augustine and Langland but does not explicate their contrasts. Like Aers, *Salvation*, p. xi, I am not interested in proving direct Augustinian influence here, but assume the likelihood of "complex mediations" between Augustine and Langland.
31. *Piers Plowman: The C Version*, ed. George Russell and George Kane (London: Athlone Press; Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997).
32. Carruthers, *Search*, is the standard work on Augustinian figuralism in *Piers Plowman*. Elizabeth Salter, "Medieval Poetry and the Figural View of Reality," Sir Israel Gollancz Memorial Lecture, British Academy, *Proceedings of the British Academy* 54 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 73–92, is an early overview of figuralism in medieval poetry, including *Piers Plowman*. See Stephen A. Barney, *Allegories of History, Allegories of Love* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1979), pp. 30–34, for a compendious theorization of typological practice (his titular allegory of history) and pp. 82–104 for the application of that theory, as modeled in Augustine's *Confessions*, to *Piers Plowman*. Barney argues that "in the Middle Ages typology was both the theological response to the meaning of history and the chief literary response to the need for form" (p. 86). Kirk, *The Dream Thought of Piers Plowman*, Yale Studies in English 178 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), pp. 10–14, brilliantly describes the phenomena of figural narrative without naming it as such. The juxtaposition of individual and sacred narrative "enacts, as no other work of art does, the attempt of human nature both to think and to embody a pattern adequate to the universe" (p. 14). Elsewhere, Kirk, "Langland's Narrative Christology," links the narrative movement of the "plante of pees" passage with the figuralism of passus 18. Christ becomes the knower Will must emulate: "Just so in history, for God as well as man, the Fall, the Incarnation, and the Atonement are the means of knowing kyndely" (p. 35).
33. Daniel Maher Murtaugh, *Piers Plowman and the Image of God* (Gainesville: The University Presses of Florida, 1978), pp. 8–10, notes Holy Church's association of moral knowledge with redemptive history. If truth's only authentic expression in good works follows the pattern of the incarnation, then truth has a "double aspect . . . as the goal and the impetus toward the goal" (p. 10).

34. Wittig, *Langland*, pp. 122, 128, sees passus 16 as Will's entry into a common story of sacred history, joining the momentum of all humanity struggling toward salvation. Rogers, pp. 253–5, argues that at the Tree of Charity and its aftermath Will has finally surrendered himself to the Gospel metanarrative, letting it master him rather than the other way round. That is what reading charitably means: being caught up in the movement of the text.
35. Work on Holy Church's rhetorical failure often sees her and Will as inhabiting separate linguistic registers. Carruthers, *Search*, p. 5, identifies the registers as *allegoria* and *littera*, respectively, while Rudd, pp. 12–14, 199, calls them deductive and affective, or redeemed and human. Here I add that Holy Church is conscious of historical context, but Will is not.
36. John Bowers, p. 140, reads Will's habitual sleeping as at least in some cases negative, an expression of the vice of acedia. While this sleep that leads to dream visions is obviously productive, not unequivocally negative, the allusive context of the gospel story does imply that sleep can be a way to elide the necessary process of waiting.
37. For the biblical context, see Mark 14.32–42, Matt 26.36–46, and Luke 22.40–46. The C text follows this formula even more closely, naming Will as Christ named Simon: "Wille, slepestou?"
38. An important general theoretical statement is Joel Fineman, "The Structure of Allegorical Desire," in *The Subjectivity Effect in Western Literary Tradition: Essays Toward the Release of Shakespeare's Will*, October Books (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1991), pp. 3–31. Kasten is a recent application of this principle to *Piers Plowman*. Zeeman, pp. 1–37, emphasizes the creative power of this desire continually disappointed and redirected.
39. Rare among *Piers Plowman* critics, Wittig, *William Langland Revisited*, pp. 31–2, insists that Langland primarily wants to move his audience to do good deeds. For Wittig it is better to characterize Langland's aims as ethical, not epistemological, if a choice must be made between them.
40. Holy Church in the C text does not defer to Christ specifically, here, but does acknowledge that she leaves without completing her informative mission: "Lette may y no lengore / To lere the what loue is" (1.203–4).
41. For an account of the Donatist controversy and its ecclesial implications for Augustine's career and thought, see Peter Brown, *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography*, rev. ed. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000), pp. 207–39. Donatists emphasized visible separation of the church from its surrounding culture, this clear and adversarial identity formed by centuries of persecution.
42. For example, Augustine, *City* 20.9.
43. See Quilligan, *The Language of Allegory: Defining the Genre* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1979), pp. 285–90, on the mass as presence that allegory seeks.

44. Barney, *C Passūs 20–22; B Passūs 18–20*, vol. 5 of *The Penn Commentary on Piers Plowman* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), pp. 105, 107, locates Will's falling asleep at the precise occasion of the mass offertory and notes how the rest of the mass, including consecration of the elements, appears in altered form within Will's unbroken dream. Will does not participate in those events, however, nor is their connection with events in the waking world at all clear.
45. Carruthers, *Search*, pp. 147–73, argues that the triumph of passus 18 contains the seeds of its own failure in passūs 19 and 20 by demonstrating that truth is only communicable within divine, not human, language, and so impossible to realize on earth. As Wittig, *Langland*, pp. 31–2, points out, this kind of argument is marred by an assumption that *Piers Plowman* aims at understanding through the processes of cognition and not performative interpretation. Passus 18 is, and is meant to be taken as, a successful communication from heaven to earth. Passus 19 and 20 explain the problems surrounding its availability and practice but do not erode its authority and effectiveness. See Aers, *Piers Plowman*, p. 105, Simpson, *Introduction*, p. 184, and Kasten, p. 199. Ames, p. 188, claims that a theological harmony persists over the last two passūs despite a moral discord; Raabe, p. 5, detaches form from content, saying that the evident anxiety within *Piers Plowman* stems from its allegorical poetics and not from any perceived threat to its informing ideas.
46. Rogers, p. 68, argues that the poem may even conflate the soils of scripture and soul in order to identify the textuality of the soul; it ought to be interpreted and known using standard hermeneutical rules. This may be true; I would merely suggest that the progression from scriptural text to soul is meaningful as well.
47. Quilligan, p. 104.
48. See Adams, "Some Versions of Apocalypse: Learned and Popular Eschatology in *Piers Plowman*," *The Popular Literature of Medieval England*, Tennessee Studies in Literature 28, ed. Thomas J. Heffernan (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1985), p. 200. He notes that hope grounded in an event that has already happened distinguishes Langland's eschatology from the apocalyptic thought and influence of Joachim of Fiore, who looked resolutely forward to a third, discontinuous, innovative age of history inaugurated by the Holy Spirit.
49. Harwood, p. 132, argues that Unity is an institution intended to carry on certain functions "in the absence of belief." While this adequately describes the defensive Unity of passus 20, it does not account for the optimistic motivation of Unity's construction. We had better get this barn built, Piers tells Grace, because the harvest is coming and we will need a place to put it (19.317–20). They built Unity in faith, not fear. It was built to carry on certain functions in the absences not of belief but of Grace and Piers.
50. Carruthers, *Search*, p. 163, sees Antichrist as a perversion of the figural mode of understanding so successful that it irrevocably corrupts that

- mode. But the figure of Antichrist had been predicted by the mode's practitioners, notably Grace.
51. Thus leaving Unity does not necessarily entail leaving the institutional Church, contra Aers, *Faith, Ethics and Church: Writing in England, 1360–1409* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000), p. 75, and Simpson, *Introduction*, pp. 212–14. As Mary Clemente Davlin, *The Place of God in Piers Plowman and Medieval Art* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 136–7, points out, the concluding passūs contain several other figures for the church.
 52. Christ's blood is its mortar; Christ's suffering its walls; the textualization of Christ's presence in Holy Writ its roof, the finishing touch (19.321–8).
 53. Rudd, p. xiii, sees in these passūs a warning that when movement toward perfection stops, bad things happen precisely because perfection on earth is impossible, and the human mandate is to keep trying to draw closer, collapse the gap.
 54. For Piers as identical with or figure of Holy Church or Christ's body, see Davlin, "Petrus, id est, Christus: Piers the Plowman as 'The Whole Christ,'" *Chaucer Review* 6 (1972), pp. 280–92; and Margaret Jennings, "Piers Plowman and Holychurch," *Viator* 9 (1978), pp. 367–74. Davlin relies helpfully on the Augustinian doctrine of the church as the whole body of Christ.
 55. I have not yet seen a good answer as to why Piers leaves Unity. The departure seems unmotivated. Perhaps the poem's lack of exposition reveals an uncertainty in Langland's own mind. Evidently, in his society, the vital life of the church was missing. He evolves a complex moral response to the situation, but its historical causes remained a mystery on which he hardly speculates in the poem.
 56. See Kathleen M. Hewett-Smith, "'Nede ne hath no lawe': Poverty and the De-stabilization of Allegory in the Final Visions of *Piers Plowman*," *William Langland's Piers Plowman: A Book of Essays*, Medieval Casebooks 30, ed. Kathleen M. Hewett-Smith (New York: Routledge, 2001), pp. 233–53, Rogers, pp. 144–62, and Zeeman, p. 279.
 57. Adams, "Some Versions," p. 229. His fuller discussion is on pp. 227–9. For the Davidic typology, see Thomas D. Hill, "Davidic Typology and the Characterization of Christ: 'Piers Plowman' B.XIX.95–103," *Notes and Queries* n.s. 23 (1976), pp. 291–4.
 58. Aers, *Salvation*, insists that Langland, emulating Augustine, sees salvation as a process that is never complete on earth. 19.22 does not distinguish whether solace or salvation is punctiliar or continuous. This concept of salvation as a process is provocatively analogous to the current critical consensus that knowledge and interpretation in the poem only come through process.
 59. Aers, *Piers*, pp. 93–4, 128.
 60. Bloomfield, p. 107, calls him "the way and goal of Christian perfection," an eschatological figure. To Robert Worth Frank Jr., *Piers Plowman and*

the Scheme of Salvation: An Interpretation of Dowel, Dobet, and Dobest, Yale Studies in English 136 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957), p. 15, Piers is the "suprahuman or divine element in human nature," proof that humans can be saved. Goldsmith, p. 26, calls him the image of God. See also Howard William Troyer, "Who Is Piers Plowman?" *Style and Symbolism*, pp. 156–73; Kirk, *Dream Thought*, pp. 170–1; and Murtaugh, p. 115.

61. Aers, *Piers*, p. 79, says that Piers "appears and acts toward all men as the saving agent appropriate to their own perception," an appearance and activity that must vary as the particular members of his audience vary. Rogers, pp. 29, 175, characterizes Piers as the space between God and failed interpretations of God. His character marks both the human epistemological futility and a reality beyond it. See also Alford, "The Design of the Poem," *A Companion to Piers Plowman*, ed. John A. Alford (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), p. 55.
62. Carruthers, *Search*, pp. 73–80, 131, 169–71. Her Piers is one of a number of possible figures of charity in the poem who becomes the best and clearest. Through the exercise of his will he is able to improve his figural representation.
63. See Howard H. Schless, "Fourteenth Century *Imitatio* and *Piers Plowman*," *Intellectuals and Writers in Fourteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Piero Boitani and Anna Torti, The J. A. W. Bennett Memorial Lectures (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1986), p. 175, on this sequence of pilgrims (reader, Will, Piers, Christ—he does not include Conscience) each a step behind the other, which he explains not as typology but as medieval *imitatio*.
64. On Joachism in *Piers Plowman* the fountainhead of discussion is Bloomfield, pp. 98–126. See also Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, *Reformist Apocalypticism and Piers Plowman*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 7 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 162–200. Adams, "Some Versions," p. 200, explains that Langland is simply too Christocentric to be aligned with the Joachite movement in any significant way.
65. Adams, "Some Versions," pp. 194–236, and Kerby-Fulton, pp. 1–25, 201–3. Carruthers, "Time," p. 187, points out that classically symmetrical plot resolution for a fierce Biblicist like Langland would ring false and fictive, since Christian stories never develop past their middle, but keep repeating it, over and over. Here the narrative canons of Biblicism resemble those of irreducible realism, conceptual worlds to which Langland seems equally to belong.
66. Thus the poem includes the reader within its process of meaning making. See Deborah L. Madsen, *Rereading Allegory: A Narrative Approach to Genre* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), p. 88, and Quilligan, p. 227.
67. The most comprehensive essay on the term "kynde knowyng" is Davlin, "Kynde Knowyng as a Major Theme in *Piers Plowman B*," *Review of English Studies* n.s. 22 (1971), pp. 1–19. She argues that the poem defines it as "a personal, loving, deep knowledge of Truth or

Christ or God: in other words, as divine wisdom, *gnosis*, or *sapientia*" (p. 2). Will's epistemological development that Simpson, "From Reason to Affective Knowledge," identifies in his title he links to the term "kynde" loosely in pp. 1, 2, 7. Zeeman calls kynde "both a 'good' and yet also a site of potential deprivation, a place of 'having' and 'not having'" (p. 157), a notion confirmed by the interim nature of its operations in the poem.

68. Lawton, "Lollardy and the *Piers Plowman* Tradition," *Modern Language Review* 76 (1981), pp. 780–93; and Anne Hudson, *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), pp. 398–408, both posit a one-way path of influence from Langland to Lollardy. In an aphorism: "Lollards had Langlandian sympathies" (Lawton, "Lollardy," p. 793). Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, "Langland and the Bibliographic Ego," *Written Work: Langland, Labor, and Authorship*, ed. Steven Justice and Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), pp. 67–143, argues that Langland revised from B to C to keep him from looking like the rebels and heretics whose subsequent enthusiasm for certain interpretations of his own poem made him seem unorthodox and put his person at risk.

4 Augustine and Arthur: The Stanzaic Morte and the Consolation of Elegy

1. Jacques Le Goff, *Medieval Civilization 400–1500*, trans. Julia Barrow (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988), p. 171, traces the concept of *translatio imperii* to Orosius's fifth-century exegesis of Nebuchadnezzar's vision in the book of Daniel; its origins are, remotely, biblical. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, trans. Lewis Thorpe (London: Penguin, 1966), pp. 74–87, carefully provides a series of Biblical cross-references for relevant events in his British history; for instance, Brutus wrote his law code while Eli was judging Judea (p. 74). Even the papal office constructed its own version of the *translatio imperii* upon the Donation of Constantine, in which Constantine allegedly conferred temporal power over Rome to its bishops; see J. G. A. Pocock, *The First Decline and Fall*, vol. 3 of *Barbarism and Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 127–30.
2. Sarah Kay, *Courtly Contradictions: The Emergence of the Literary Object in the Twelfth Century*, *Figurae: Reading Medieval Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), p. 306, links the "gradual erosion of the categories of 'religious' and 'secular'" in twelfth-century romance and hagiography to the Western-wide "gradual humanization and secularization of culture" ever since. R. Howard Bloch, *Medieval Misogyny and the Invention of Western Romantic Love* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), p. 10, identifies as one of his monograph's central claims that passion

heretofore reserved for God becomes secularized in the High Middle Ages.

3. Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), pp. 59–63, argues that the *Queste* Christianizes the bellicosity of Arthurian knighthood, but Keen does not extend that argument to the knightly love of women, a justifiable omission in my view.
4. On how the term “secular” changes from describing “the world under God in space and time” to describing “a conceptual space where religion is absent or disempowered,” a transition in which the Middle Ages participates, see Charles Taylor’s magisterial *A Secular Age* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2007).
5. R. A. Markus, *Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology of St. Augustine*, rev. ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), for example, pp. 133, 178–86; and *Christianity and the Secular*, Blessed Pope John XXIII Lecture Series in Theology and Culture (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006). For a notable rejoinder to Markus that Augustine cleared no such secular space, see Oliver O’Donovan, “Augustine’s *City of God* XIX and Western Political Thought.” *Dionysius* 11 (1987): 89–110. Stanley P. Rosenberg, “Forming the Saeculum: The Desacralization of Nature and the Ability to Understand it in Augustine,” *God’s Bounty? The Churches and the Natural World*, ed. Peter Clarke and Tony Claydon, *Studies in Church History* 46 (Rochester, NY: Boydell & Brewer, 2010), pp. 1–14, reviews the scholarship since Markus’s *Saeculum* and uses Augustine’s late understanding that nature and human reason are in important ways conceptually distinct from the divine to explain his late understanding of a similarly distinct political space.
6. Representative passages include *City of God* 10.14, *Confessions* 2.10–14, and *On Christian Doctrine* 3.10.
7. I have never seen an argument for dating the *Stanzaic Morte*, only unexplained assertions. Brian Stone in *King Arthur’s Death: Alliterative Morte Arthure and Stanzaic Le Morte Arthur*, trans. Brian Stone (London: Penguin, 1988), p. 169, says it “was probably written in about 1350.” Edward Donald Kennedy, “The Stanzaic *Morte Arthur*: The Adaptation of a French Romance for an English Audience,” in *Culture and the King: The Social Implications of the Arthurian Legend: Essays in Honor of Valerie M. Lagorio*, ed. Martin B. Shichtman and James P. Carley, *SUNY Series in Medieval Studies* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1994), p. 91, calls it “late fourteenth-century.” Patricia Clare Ingham, *Sovereign Fantasies: Arthurian Romance and the Making of Britain*, *The Middle Ages Series* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), p. 5, assumes a date after 1380. Helen Cooper, “The *Lancelot-Grail Cycle* in England: Malory and His Predecessors,” *A Companion to the Lancelot-Grail Cycle*, ed. Carol Dover, *Arthurian Studies* 54 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003), p. 151, believes “probably around 1400.” Its authoritative editor, Larry Benson, in *King Arthur’s Death: The Middle English Stanzaic Morte Arthur and Alliterative Morte Arthure*, ed. Larry D. Benson

and Edward E. Foster, *The Middle English Text Series* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1994), p. 4, dates it to mid-century but calls that date a guess. Understandably the lack of consensus on dating makes the poem difficult to historicize, perhaps one reason why commentary on it remains scarce.

8. The *Stanzaic Morte* carries what we would today call an elegiac tone, but it is not an elegy, at least not in literary-historical or generic terms. Jamie C. Fumo, "The Consolations of Philosophy: Later Medieval Elegy," *The Oxford Handbook of the Elegy*, ed. Karen Weisman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 120, denies the existence of a medieval elegiac genre and points out, "According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the word 'elegy' is not recorded in English until 1514." James Simpson, *1350–1547: Reform and Cultural Revolution*, *Oxford English Literary History 2* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 121–90, identifies a medieval elegiac subject matter based upon an Ovidian "unfulfilled lover turn[ing] away from public affairs" (p. 121) and experiencing a tragic break with the past: "The self-divided complainant of elegy is, by virtue of being divided from himself, equally and painfully cut off from a remembered but irrecuperable history" (p. 148). The *Stanzaic Morte* is elegiac but not tragic; Lancelot's and Guinevere's final rituals of memory recall the love they shared, the court they embodied, and the king they respected, retaining some contact with the past. The emphasis in this poem is on a redemptive continuity, not a tragic division; what remains, not what has been irrecuperably lost.
9. Robert H. Wilson, "Malory, the *Stanzaic Morte Arthur*, and the *Mort Artu*," *Modern Philology* 37 (1939), pp. 125–38, is an early argument for this sequence of the story's transmission. Wilfred L. Guerin, "The Tale of the Death of Arthur: Catastrophe and Resolution," *Malory's Originality*, ed. R. M. Lumiansky (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1964), pp. 240–4, is an authoritative treatment.
10. K. S. Whetter, "The *Stanzaic Morte Arthur* and Medieval Tragedy," *Reading Medieval Studies* 28 (2002), p. 101.
11. John B. Beston and Rose Marie Beston, "The Parting of Lancelot and Guinevere in the *Stanzaic 'Le Morte Arthur'*," *AUMLA: Journal of the Australasian Universities Language and Literature Association* 40 (1973), pp. 252–3, 255.
12. Beston and Beston, "Parting," p. 255.
13. Stone, p. 174.
14. Dieter Mehl, *The Middle English Romances of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (London: Routledge, 1968), p. 189.
15. Quoted in Whetter, p. 110.
16. Carole Weinberg, "The *Stanzaic Morte Arthur*," *The Arthur of the English*, ed. W. R. J. Barron (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1999), p. 103.
17. Velma Bourgeois Richmond, *The Popularity of Middle English Romance* (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green University Press, 1975), pp. 132–3, 139–40.

18. Flora M. Alexander, "'The Treson of Launcelote du Lake': Irony in the Stanzaic *Morte Arthur*," *The Legend of Arthur in the Middle Ages: Studies Presented to A. H. Diverres by Colleagues, Pupils, and Friends*, ed. P. B. Grout et al. (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1983), pp. 26–7.
19. Lee C. Ramsey, *Chivalric Romances: Popular Literature in Medieval England* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1983), pp. 127, 130.
20. Early critical derision of the *Stanzaic Morte*'s aesthetic qualities kept independent criticism of the poem to a minimum. Subsequent scholarship on the poem, including the works cited in this paragraph, has frequently felt the need to defend its artistic merit. See Richmond, pp. 223–4, for a recapitulation of the negative views with an eye toward defending the poem against them; she explicitly grounds her defence in narrative qualities other than style (p. 16).
21. Jennifer Sutherland, "Rhyming Patterns and Structures in the Stanzaic *Morte Arthur*," *Arthuriana* 12 (2002), pp. 1–24. Her programmatic statement is on p. 3: "Rhyme in the Stanzaic *Morte* functions as a structuring device . . . mnemonically preserving all of the meanings associated with each rhyme set at the same time as it thrusts the narrative forward through interlocking echoes and expectations." The temporal vocabulary of "interlocking echoes and expectations" recalls the shape of figural form in artistic time, reaching backward and forward, repeating the past with a difference. Not all of Sutherland's analyses of individual rhyme sets are convincing, but she helpfully draws our attention to the repetition of rhyme sets as a significant formal phenomenon, not an accident of incompetent minstrelsy.
22. Roger Dalrymple, *Language and Piety in Middle English Romance* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000), pp. 82–102.
23. Sharon L. Jansen Jaech, "The Parting of Lancelot and Gaynor: The Effect of Repetition in the Stanzaic *Morte Arthur*," *Interpretations* 15 (1984), p. 60; the wider argument occupies, pp. 59–67.
24. Sherron E. Knopp, "Artistic Design in the *Stanzaic Morte Arthur*," *ELH* 45 (1978), p. 566.
25. Valerie Lagorio, "The Apocalyptic Mode in the Vulgate Cycle of Arthurian Romances," *Philological Quarterly* 57 (1978), p. 2; Douglas Kelly, "Interlace and the Cyclic Imagination," *A Companion to the Lancelot-Grail Cycle*, p. 63.
26. Lagorio, p. 12, and before her Frederick W. Locke, *The Quest for the Holy Grail: A Literary Study of a Thirteenth-Century French Romance*, Stanford Studies in Language and Literature 21 (New York: AMS Press, 1967, c. 1960), pp. 33–9, 43–64, see Galahad as a Messianic figure fully implicated in figural patterns of expectation and fulfilment. Elspeth Kennedy, "The Figure of Lancelot in the *Lancelot-Graal*," *Lancelot and Guinevere: A Casebook*, ed. Lori J. Walters, Arthurian Characters and Themes (New York: Garland, 1996), p. 87, describes Galahad's relationship to his father, Lancelot, as one of supersession. The *Mort* directly compares Lancelot to

- Christ (p. 67). All citations from the French *Mort* are taken from *The Death of Arthur*, trans. Norris J. Lacy, *Lancelot-Grail: The Old French Arthurian Vulgate and Post-Vulgate in Translation 7* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2010), and will appear parenthetically within the text.
27. E. Jane Burns, *Arthurian Fictions: Rereading the Vulgate Cycle* (Columbus, OH: The Ohio State University Press, 1985), pp. 55–77, characterizes the *Queste* as treating “the biblical epoch, the era of Joseph in Britain, and the time of Arthur . . . as thematic analogues” (p. 61) and interpreting events on one of these historical planes in terms of another, not in terms of allegorical abstraction.
 28. Lisa Lampert-Weissig, “‘Why Is this Knight Different from All Other Knights?’ Jews, Anti-Semitism, and the Old French Grail Narratives,” *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 106 (2007), p. 246.
 29. The quest does still bring adventures to an end (pp. 11–12).
 30. This Augustine acknowledges: “It seems, however, that from father Abraham down to the time of the kings of Israel, where we brought the sixteenth book to an end, and from then down to the coming of the Saviour in the flesh, which we reached at the end of the seventeenth book, my pen has dealt only with the City of God” (*City* 18.1). He hastily clarifies, however, that the City of Man was operative then as well, and that Israel is not synonymous with the City of God, but “until the revelation of the new covenant, the City of God ran its course not in the light, but in shadow” (18.1), the carnal shadow forms of Jewish politics.
 31. Amnon Linder, “Jews and Judaism in the Eyes of Christian Thinkers of the Middle Ages: The Destruction of Jerusalem in Medieval Christian Liturgy,” *From Witness to Witchcraft: Jews and Judaism in Medieval Christian Thought*, ed. Jeremy Cohen, *Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter-Studien* 11 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996), p. 115, reminds us that “‘Jerusalem’ was a theme frequently used by medieval exegetes to illustrate the four-fold [exegetical] system.”
 32. Unlike many medieval Arthurian tales, this poem makes sure to lodge Arthur in the grave and prove it with a funerary inscription (3548–53).
 33. Current scholarship is less unanimous on how widespread and consistent was medieval Christian hostility toward Jews in practice. Jonathan M. Elukin, *Living Together, Living Apart: Rethinking Jewish-Christian Relations in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), is an important revisionist account.
 34. Jeremy Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999). For patristic background, see also Paula Fredriksen, *Augustine and the Jews: A Christian Defense of Jews and Judaism* (New York: Doubleday, 2008), pp. 226–31, 261–2, 272–5, 314, who argues that early Christian writings *contra Iudaeos* aimed at rhetorical constructs of Jewishness for theological purposes, not directly at the Jews who may or may not have been physically their neighbors; Augustine increasingly valued the materiality of the Jews, the

- secularity they represented, but his own invective stands also in this rhetorical and theological tradition.
35. Wertime, "Theme," p. 1082, speculates that the author of the *Stanzaic* is a member of a religious order himself.
 36. Ingham, p. 83, uses the falsehood of the chapel's inscription to contrast the comparative inaccuracy of official texts with the truth-claim of the poem itself, which claims to know more than the official record and, in effect, to be setting that record straight. According to Ingham, the poet is elevating the epistemological reliability of the romance genre over staid officialdom, particularly in evaluating the complexities of court politics. In a parallel case, however, later in the poem both Bedivere and the poet accept the testimony of Arthur's chapel tomb.
 37. Burns, pp. 158–9, notes that the Vulgate Cycle often corrects the written with the verbal. Here in the *Stanzaic Morte* such correction of the written takes only the physicality of trial by combat, rendered unproblematic here (Lancelot successfully and justly defends her).
 38. Sutherland, "Rhyming," p. 14, notes that Gaynor is misinterpreted as guilty in part because of her conformity to the Biblical image of Eve handing the poisoned apple to Adam, a false judgment natural enough for a chapel to reinforce. It is difficult to ground a system of political justice upon typological interpretations of the evidence.
 39. Knopp, p. 567, characterizes the threats to the Arthurian court in the first half of the poem as primarily external.
 40. The Scotsman (though still a Round Table knight) in the French *Mort* is instead the passerby who clarifies for Mador that the inscription is true.
 41. The victim's brother "fand the name of the Scottish knight" (900) on the inscription, but the poem does not read the name for us.
 42. Mehl, *Middle English Romances*, p. 188.
 43. Christianity has also failed to exercise its own supernatural attribute of foreknowledge. Gawain relayed a message warning against a battle, but not against the snake that caused the battle. Some earthbound causation has slipped past the clear sight of prophecy.
 44. Benson, *King Arthur's Death*, p. 125, suggests that although "Cross on Rood" appears frequently in the poem, that expression is best read as a metathesis of "Cors on Rood," which does occur once in the poem, at line 2880.
 45. One French manuscript, Palatinus Latinus 1967, does relate a meeting between Lancelot and Guinevere, but even in this version the lovers do not speak of their spiritual vocations in language that recalls their earthly love for each other. Instead, both read their holy lives as a radical break from their former sins. In any case, the accounts in Palatinus Latinus 1967 and the *Stanzaic Morte* resemble each other so little that it has been difficult to confirm any relationship between them. See Jean Frappier, "Sur un remaniement de *La Mort Artu* dans un manuscrit du XIV^e siècle: Le Palatinus Latinus 1967," *Romania* 57 (1931), pp. 219–22, and Beston and Beston, pp. 256–7.

46. Malory follows hard after the *Stanzaic Morte*, throughout the scene between Lancelot and Guinevere and the subsequent community of Arthurian knights-cum-hermits at Arthur's grave; to it he owes his work's own elegiac mood, although he returns the narrative to the wider context of the Grail Quest and its agon between religious and secular values. R. M. Lumiansky, "'The Tale of Lancelot and Guenevere': Suspense," in *Malory's Originality: A Critical Study of Le Morte Darthur*, ed. R. M. Lumiansky (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1964), p. 217, definitively describes what Malory owes to the *Stanzaic Morte*'s streamlining of the French plot.
47. Why the hermit did not read the inscription for himself is somewhat mysterious; it is unlikely that he, as a former archbishop, is illiterate.
48. Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996), pp. 71–2, aptly indicates the instrumental nature of tombs, meant to inspire the good work of continual intercession for the dead, a good work that accrues to the spiritual well-being of the praying survivor also.
49. She tells Lancelot: "My lord is slain...for sorrow I died ner, / As soon as I ever gan him see" (3642, 3644–5). In her mind she has passed perilously close to death vicariously. As we do not see Arthur dead, it is unclear when she saw his corpse. She may have been one of the ladies who escorted him to his tomb.
50. This remorse is much clearer in the *Stanzaic* than in the French *Mort*; see Edward Donald Kennedy, "Adaptation," p. 102.
51. Wertime, "Theme," p. 1076, emphasizes the social construction of characters in the *Stanzaic Morte* at the expense of their individuality and self-awareness. Gaynor appears to be exercising a social conscience more than a personal one here, an option made possible by the *Stanzaic*'s lack of an individualizing Grail Quest. See Michael Masi, "King Arthur, the Grail Quest, and Late Medieval Spirituality," *Cithara: Essays in the Judeo-Christian Tradition* 23 (1984), pp. 16–17, for a narrative of how the Grail Quest participated in the individualization of late medieval piety. Gaynor's specifically social expression of guilt has led Beston and Beston, "Parting," p. 253, and W. J. Barron, *Medieval English Romance*, Longman Literature in English Series (London: Longman, 1987), p. 146, to believe that even at this apex of spiritual commitment Gaynor does not repent of her love for Lancelot, only of its consequences.
52. Wertime, "Theme," p. 1076.
53. Lancelot's frequent mentions of God in his resolve for penance contradict the insistence of Whetter, "Medieval Tragedy," p. 100, that Lancelot's motives are entirely secular throughout his scene with Gaynor. Soon afterward, once Lancelot finds Arthur's tomb, the archbishop "shrove him there of his sin, / As clene as he had never done none" (3791–2). This particularly good and effective confession implies the necessary element of true contrition on the penitent's part; see Thomas N. Tentler,

Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977), pp. 104, 120.

54. Whetter, p. 104, believes that this community is secular and earthly instead of spiritual; while his evidence, “the prominence of Arthur’s tomb and the motives of Bors and his fellows in rejoining Lancelot,” does not prove that the community is merely or exclusively secular, he does identify significant points of continuity between Arthur’s secular court and this new spiritual courtlike community. Wertime, p. 1081, suggests that “England itself, cleansed by catastrophe, becomes in effect that ‘holy londe’” to which Lancelot had earlier offered to devote the rest of his life. At the least, these sacred spaces become holy land for Lancelot. Sutherland, p. 18, refers to the poem’s final spiritual fellowship as eternal, calling the earlier Round Table “an imperfect copy, after all, of celestial wholeness.”
55. To Sutherland, p. 20, the conclusion “gather[s] and preserv[es] every loveliness of earthly company in the final ‘masse full merry’ offering its shared vision of the bliss of heaven.”

5 Chaucer’s *Knight’s Tale*: Consolations at War

1. R. James Goldstein, “Future Perfect: The Augustinian Theology of Perfection and the *Canterbury Tales*,” *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 29 (2007), pp. 87–140.
2. Important assessments of Chaucer’s refraction of ethical and philosophical questions through a classical past include John M. Fyler, *Chaucer and Ovid* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979); John P. McCall, *Chaucer among the Gods: The Poetics of Classical Myth* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1979); A. J. Minnis, *Chaucer and Pagan Antiquity*, *Chaucer Studies* 8 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1982); and Lisa J. Kiser, *Telling Classical Tales: Chaucer and the Legend of Good Women* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983).
3. All citations of Chaucer are from *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3rd ed., ed. Larry D. Benson (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987), and will appear parenthetically within the text.
4. While not repudiating the world as antithetical to heavenly order, as *Troilus and Criseyde* seems to, Chaucer’s other major series of classical narratives—the *Legend of Good Women*—conceptualizes the cosmos as indifferent at best, malign at worst. The titular good women are suffering women, whose cries for help go unheeded by man or gods.
5. Charles Muscatine, “Form, Texture, and Meaning in Chaucer’s ‘Knight’s Tale,’” *PMLA* 65 (1950), pp. 911–29, and *Chaucer and the French Tradition: A Study in Style and Meaning* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957), pp. 175–90.
6. Statius begins the *Thebaid* with “fraternas acies” (1.1), or “fraternal strife.” The concept is central to medieval readings and retellings of Theban

history. Chaucer's revisions of the *Teseida* heighten tension and fraternal strife where Boccaccio minimizes it; see, for example, David Anderson, "Theban Genealogy in the Knight's Tale," *Chaucer Review* 21 (1987), p. 315; Robert R. Edwards, *Chaucer and Boccaccio: Antiquity and Modernity* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), pp. 32–43; and Dominique Battles, *The Medieval Tradition of Thebes: History and Narrative in the OF Roman de Thèbes, Boccaccio, Chaucer, and Lydgate*, *Studies in Medieval History and Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2004), pp. 85–111. For example, Battles, p. 103, notes "the very different outcomes of the scene in the parallel prison scenes in the *Teseida* and the *Knight's Tale*: where Boccaccio uses the prison cell to lay the groundwork for reconciliation between the Theban cousins, Chaucer uses it to foster further conflict in the Theban style." All citations of Statius are from *Statius II* and *Statius III*, ed. and trans. D. Shackleton Bailey, LCL 207 and 498 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003).

7. Anderson, *Before the Knight's Tale: Imitation of Classical Epic in Boccaccio's Teseida*, Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), pp. 166–74, identifies this aspect of difference as key to medieval typology and explains its implications for Arcite's death in the *Teseida*. See Hayden White, "Auerbach's Literary History: Figural Causation and Modernist Historicism," *Literary History and the Challenge of Philology: The Legacy of Erich Auerbach*, ed. Seth Lerer, *Figurae: Reading Medieval Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), p. 128, for its importance within figural reading in general.
8. See Donald R. Howard, *The Idea of the Canterbury Tales* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), p. 111, on the senescence Chaucer and Gower saw in their world and how it could be resisted by institutions. The medieval diagnosis of the Christian world as senescent derives from Augustinian parallels between microcosmic and macrocosmic history. After the high maturity of the world when Christ lived in it, the world is doddering or dwindling toward its apocalyptic end in death. James M. Dean, *The World Grown Old in Later Medieval Literature*, *Medieval Academy of Books* 101 (Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1997), surveys the topic in Jean de Meun, Dante, and Middle English literature, and provides a catalogue of tropes.
9. Robert W. Hanning, "'The Struggle between Noble Designs and Chaos': The Literary Tradition of Chaucer's Knight's Tale," *Literary Review* 23 (1980), pp. 534–40.
10. H. Marshall Leicester Jr., *The Disenchanted Self: Representing the Subject in the Canterbury Tales* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 27, 221–382.
11. Lee Patterson, *Chaucer and the Subject of History* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), pp. 165–230. Each of these critics reads the tale as dramatizing the consciousness of the Knight, at least to some extent. I hold with Derek Pearsall, *The Canterbury Tales*, Unwin Critical Library

(London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1985), pp. 116–17, that of all the tales this one (previously written and lightly revised) is the least likely to dramatize the consciousness of its purported speaker. Nevertheless, the points these scholars make about the troubled chivalric consciousness (or lack thereof) in general remain valid.

12. On the medieval reception and popularity of the *Consolation* among those who had political or social power at stake, see *The Erotics of Consolation: Desire and Distance in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Catherine E. Légall and Stephen J. Milner, New Middle Ages (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008).
13. Patterson, *Chaucer*, pp. 200–1, does not provide an extensively formalist reading of the tale but does note that Athens attempts to use its linear model of narrative to redeem or save Thebes from its own self-replication.
14. Statius's *Thebaid* ends here, although with a welter of pyres and groans and tears and grim stories, the particular species of closure that is destruction by a conqueror.
15. Both terms can mean either “objective” or “termination.” I take Theseus to be identifying the tournament as the objective of Arcite and Palamon's erotic desire—they must pass through war to get to love—and the formal termination to Theban strife that threatens him. It proves to be, of course and ironically, the end of Arcite in death.
16. See Merle Fiffeld, “The *Knight's Tale*: Incident, Idea, Incorporation,” *Chaucer Review* 3 (1968), p. 98, on Theseus learning from his failure to control the tournament. Theseus learns from Egeus also, but much expands and improves Egeus's cursory notes toward consolation.
17. Peter Elbow, *Oppositions in Chaucer* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1975), pp. 82–7. He notes that Theseus's changes of mind always move in the direction of mercy.
18. The elements of self-correction and internal reflection are absent from the corresponding passages in the *Teseida*. Theseus's attitude toward the weeping widows changes entirely in reaction to their story (2.26–36); he does change his mind about freeing Arcite and Palamon, but without the aid of an internal monologue (5.91–98); and the rule changes on the day of the tournament are additions or clarifications of previous arrangements, not reversals (7.131–32).
19. Patterson, *Chaucer*, p. 202, calls the speech “an explanation of how closure is possible within the historical world.” This is an odd thing to say with reference to a Boethian speech, although the oddity is from Theseus and not Patterson. The consolation Boethius offers is precisely not that of a closed system of worldly causality. In Boethian metaphysics, closure is possible within the historical world only by appealing to meaning and function outside it in the eternal divine.
20. Muscatine, *Chaucer*, pp. 183–5.
21. Chaucer moves much of this material from Boccaccio into Egeus's consolatory speech to Theseus (2835–52), which supplies the natural facts

- Theseus can amplify into a much more sophisticated philosophical performance. Egeus is inspiration and enabler to Theseus's much superior expansion, a ground off which he can lift.
22. The speech is Boethian at beginning and end of its philosophical portion (2987–3016, 3035–40). The intervening material, mostly from the *Teseida*, seems to many critics incompatible with its bracketing Boethian claims. See Pearsall, pp. 124–5, and Jill Mann, “Chance and Destiny in *Troilus and Criseyde* and the *Knight's Tale*,” *The Cambridge Companion to Chaucer*, 2nd ed., ed. Piero Boitani and Jill Mann (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 93–111, for two of the more judicious accounts of the speech's self-contradictions. The speech may fail internally as argument in addition to its external failure as narrative resolution. Muscatine, *Chaucer and the French Tradition*, p. 183, describes its movement as “logical and orderly,” but reduces the non-Boethian lines 3017–34 to a passing mention (p. 184).
 23. See Pearsall, *ibid.*, on the nearly impossible demands on the speech by its structural context, and Elizabeth Salter, *Fourteenth-Century English Poetry: Contexts and Readings* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), pp. 171–2, for those demands contrasted to the lower philosophical stakes in the *Teseida*.
 24. With reference to the accident itself, Boccaccio mentions only that the saddle crushed Arcite's chest, causing great pain (IX.8, 13) and that he had “internal fractures, both lengthwise and transversely” that were obviously fatal (X.13). Boccaccio's remarks about Arcite's subsequent decline and death omit suffering entirely: “all his strength was ebbing and . . . he would die without fail,” growing “worse each day” (X.16). Translations from the *Teseida* are taken from *The Book of Theseus*, trans. Bernadette Marie McCoy (New York: Medieval Text Association, 1974).
 25. For the physical details of the death as Saturnine, see Salter, *Fourteenth-Century English Poetry*, pp. 169–70; and Edward C. Schweitzer, “Fate and Freedom in *The Knight's Tale*,” *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 3 (1981), pp. 23–30, who enlists its obvious link with Saturn for the purposes of moral allegory, not pathos.
 26. David Aers, *Chaucer, Langland and the Creative Imagination* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), pp. 183–5, 188–93, provides a blistering critique of Theseus. For the unanswerability of Arcite's pain, see also Mark Miller, *Philosophical Chaucer: Love, Sex, and Agency in the Canterbury Tales*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 55 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 104; Robert B. Burlin, *Chaucerian Fiction* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), p. 106; and Georgia Ronan Crampton, *The Condition of Creatures: Suffering and Action in Chaucer and Spenser* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), p. 71.
 27. Nor is it a materialistic end. The earthly felicity of the equivalent marriage in the *Teseida* coheres with the closed system of nature Teseo offered as consolatory explanation. It is natural that Arcite die sometime; it is

- natural that a wedding should follow after a discreet interval. Earthly ends require earthly beginnings, after all. Chaucer's addition of a Boethian perspective to Teseo's speech removes this correspondence between earthly consolation and earthly resolution.
28. On this tale's evasion of Boethian antimaterialism and prioritization of the eternal, see F. Anne Payne, *Chaucer and Menippean Satire* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1981), p. 223; Elbow, pp. 133–4; and Schweitzer, p. 44.
 29. Bernard L. Jefferson, *Chaucer and the Consolation of Boethius* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1917), p. 71, identifies a number of Chaucerian passages addressing issues of theodicy in the tradition of Boethian inquiry but refusing to arrive at answers, leaving “the matter for clerks to decide.” Burlin, p. 80; Joerg O. Fichte, *Chaucer's 'Art Poetical': A Study in Chaucerian Poetics*, Studies & Texts in English 1 (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag Tübingen, 1980), p. 111; and Miller, pp. 30–1, agree that when Chaucer handles philosophical material he cares less about the ideas themselves and more about how they appear in and shape existential experience—how the abstract is made concrete and literal. Fichte, pp. 88, 111, and Anne Payne, pp. 232–58, link Chaucer's preference for lived metaphysics with his penchant for antiteleological closure.
 30. When he argued against cyclical models of history, two of Augustine's three proofs that history is linear—Christ's incarnation (*City* 18.54) and the redemption of any given soul (12.14)—depend upon revelation in Christ. The other, creation (11.4), would not convince the cyclical pagan thinkers who believed that the world was eternal. From an early Christian point of view, even the Old Testament sacrificial system was fruitlessly recursive without the power of the Christ to which it pointed. The entire book of Hebrews is emphatic on this point; for example, 10.11–2, 14: “And every priest indeed standeth daily ministering, and often offering the same sacrifices, which can never take away sins. But this man offering one sacrifice for sins, for ever sitteth on the right hand of God. . . . For by one oblation he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified.”
 31. See Anderson, *Before the Knight's Tale*, pp. 214–17, 173, 190. Battles, p. 63, characterizes the Augustinian historiographical model relevant to Thebes as “history as destructive repetition.”
 32. John Lydgate, *John Lydgate: The Siege of Thebes*, ed. Robert R. Edwards (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2001), gives the history of Thebes up through Eteocles and Polynices explicitly in response to the *Knight's Tale*.
 33. Patterson, p. 200, is the magisterial description of Theban narrative pattern. See also Robert S. Haller, “The *Knight's Tale* and the Epic Tradition,” *Chaucer Review* 1 (1966), pp. 67–84; Battles; McCall, pp. 89–92; Edwards, *Chaucer and Boccaccio*, pp. 20–1, 29; James Simpson, “Chaucer's Presence

- and Absence, 1400–1550,” *The Cambridge Companion to Chaucer*, 2nd ed., ed. Piero Boitani and Jill Mann (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 259; and Winthrop Wetherbee, *Chaucer and the Poets: An Essay on Troilus & Criseyde* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1984), pp. 111–44.
34. Tydeus has (false) hope that Polynices will break the pattern: “The source deceives: you [Eteocles] alone came of Oedipus” (2.129).
 35. From this perspective, the consolatory emphasis of Boccaccio, Egeus, and Theseus on natural cycles sounds like irony.
 36. If Muscatine establishes the critical position that the *Knight’s Tale* is an eventual triumph of order containing disorder, Aers, pp. 174–95, occupies the opposite critical pole, contending that disorder is irreducible in the tale, and that the theodicy attempted by Theseus fails feebly. Like Muscatine, however, Aers does not locate the forces of disorder primarily in Thebes, but in what he calls “individual identity or the particulars of misery” (p. 183).
 37. Muscatine, *Chaucer*, pp. 175–90, reads Arcite and Palamon as principles of order, allied with Theseus against Saturn who is “disorder, nothing more nor less” (190). Not surprisingly, he virtually ignores that the two lovers are Theban, mentioning the fact only on the first and last pages of his *Knight’s Tale* discussion.
 38. Leicester, p. 9.
 39. Nevertheless, Palamon can still use Theban resources to accomplish his erotic goals. Theban “nercotikes and opie” (1472) spring him from prison; he is headed for Thebes to raise an army when he meets Arcite in the grove.
 40. Palamon does admit that “our lynage . . . is so lowe ybrought by tyrannye” (1111); he does not specify whether he is referring to Theban, divine, or Thesean tyranny. See Miller, p. 103, on their internally consistent, rational, but wrongheaded self-assessment, requiring an outside perspective they never gain. A historical, typological consciousness—awareness of themselves not merely as creatures of present desire but as Theban types with a proclivity toward familial violence—would have alerted them to their true danger. They need a historical perspective because they are constructed of prior material.
 41. Anderson, “Theban Genealogy,” pp. 311–20.
 42. See Battles, pp. 87, 109–11.
 43. Not once during the tournament in *Teseida* 8 does Boccaccio mention Thebes or call Arcita or Palamon Thebans.
 44. Leicester, pp. 358–9.
 45. Anderson, *Before the Knight’s Tale*, pp. 204–7, observes that the motivation of disproportionate love within Theban narrative is as old as Statius (*Thebaid* 1.53), although in the *Thebaid* it is love for an overvalued city. See also Haller on the substitution of erotic for political epic motivation.

46. Peggy A. Knapp, *Chaucerian Aesthetics*, The New Middle Ages (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 103, points out that the tale never actually condemns love for Emelye.
47. Augustine demands a similarly reduced allegiance of Christians, only for the things of God: "Two cities, then, have been created by two loves: that is, the earthly by love of self extending to contempt of God, and the heavenly by love of God extending to contempt of self" (*City* 14.28). See also *OCD* 1.3–5.
48. The Theban tragedy is that such discord between loves appears inevitable. Cadmian soldiers had to kill each other to remain true to their own violent natures. Laius could not love his life and his infant son at the same time. Oedipus cannot reconcile his filial and erotic loves of Jocasta to each other, himself, or his children and city. Eteocles and Polynices cannot share Thebes with each other. Arcite cannot conceive of loving Emelye without alienating Palamon. Palamon, on the other hand, began to love Emelye without alienating Arcite; should there be hope for Theban love, it would be for his.
49. This immediate and adversarial pessimism differs from the onset of love in the *Teseida*, during which the two youths actually comfort each other and experience the pangs of love's woe together (3.26–46).
50. There are two kinds of closure possible to the fated Theban: despair and death. Patterson, *Chaucer*, p. 229, sees Palamon's plea for Theseus to kill him and Arcite both (1715–22) as a longing for the closure of death to put an end to his despairing, empty existence within the Theban cycle of chivalric violence. Certainly death as a physical fact of closure would be preferable to existing in a continual emotional closure of perpetual despair. But Palamon seeks death only here, when it is virtually certain even without his cooperation, and he seeks death for Arcite also. It seems to me that, acclimated to Theban pessimism, he is simply trying to make the best of a death he sees as certain.
51. The seminal discussion of the metaphoric and metonymic poles of poetry is Roman Jakobson and Morris Halle, *Fundamentals of Language*, *Janua Linguarum* 1 ('s-Gravenhage: Mouton, 1956), pp. 76–82. Derek Brewer, *Chaucer: The Poet as Storyteller* (London: Macmillan, 1984), pp. 37–53, identifies the poetic character of Chaucer's work as metonymic, not metaphoric; the distinction is between mere abstract similarities and "associations, notably of contiguity" (p. 40). Typology is metonymic, positing intrinsic associations. Boitani, "Style, Iconography and Narrative: The Lesson of the *Teseida*," *Chaucer and the Italian Trecento*, ed. Piero Boitani (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 197–8, makes a similar distinction between metonymy as internal association and metaphor as external association (the artificial relationship most often cited as the abuses of allegory). In Boitani's account, Boccaccio is metaphorical, Chaucer metonymic.

52. John Lydgate followed suit by reading the *Knight's Tale* as directly relevant to England's political situation. For Lydgate's interpretation, see Simpson on its warning against English civil war, and Paul A. Olson, *The Canterbury Tales and the Good Society* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), p. 51, on its analogy to the 1420 peace treaty incorporating France into England by means of royal marriage.
53. Wetherbee, pp. 112–14, 138–41, 145. He sees a similar individualizing influence on Chaucer's *Troilus*.
54. Battles, p. 8.
55. Anderson, *Before the Knight's Tale*, p. 219.
56. Pace the suggestions compiled by W. A. Davenport, *Chaucer: Complaint and Narrative*, Chaucer Studies 14 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1988), pp. 106–7, 110.
57. Miller, pp. 136–7.
58. Goldstein provides a major reconsideration of the intersection between Augustinian theology and Chaucerian narrative. He distinguishes between narratives of transcendence and amelioration, calls Augustinian narrative ameliorative, and concludes that Augustine gives very little guidance for how that amelioration occurs within time after conversion. Chaucer provides precisely the "detailed road map" (p. 135) that Augustine ignores, in typical medieval fashion fulfilling a lacuna left by an authority. But both authors see the earthly pilgrimage as an in-between place, middle ground "between the conversion of the will and the final perseverance" (p. 101).
59. Judith Ferster, *Chaucer on Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 38, sees Arcite's isolation from worldly concerns at the moment of death as the key to his freedom for compassion. Her discussion of interpretation within the *Knight's Tale* concentrates on Arcite's and Palamon's self-centered and erroneous interpretations of each other's motives; it is less concerned with the characters' interpretation of the past.
60. Typically in the *Canterbury Tales*, "freedom" within a list of chivalric virtues or otherwise in a chivalric context denotes generosity, being free with one's goods (*Monk's Tale* 2642; *Manciple's Tale* 126). It is in fact an attribute of the Knight in the *General Prologue* (p. 46). But the importance of imprisonment in the *Knight's Tale*, and its Boethian emphasis on determinism, confirms the aspect of liberty within the term's semantic range in the tale. Cf. Chaucer's *Boece* 5pr3–4. The Aristotelian virtue of generosity is *liberalità* in Italian.
61. Elizabeth Fowler, "The Afterlife of the Civil Dead: Conquest in the Knight's Tale," *Critical Essays on Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. Thomas C. Stillinger, *Critical Essays on British Literature* (New York: G. K. Hall & Co., 1998), p. 73.
62. For views of the marriage as insufficient closure to the tale, see Aers, p. 194; Anne Payne, p. 255; and Leicester, pp. 375–6. Even Helen Cooper,

- The Structure of the Canterbury Tales* (London: Duckworth, 1983), who reads the ending as a Christian analogy, admits, "It is hard to reconcile the ending fully with what has gone before" (p. 105). Patterson, *Chaucer*, p. 209, sees all the structural repetitions as undermining the sense of progress. This misses the typological point; progress occurs by means of subtly differentiated repetition.
63. Boitani, *Chaucer and Boccaccio*, Medium Ævum Monographs New Series VIII (Oxford: Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature, 1977), p. 48.
 64. Curtius, pp. 89–91, argues that poetry cannot end with recapitulation of argument, the default ending of a classical oration. Without the guidance of rhetorical convention, medieval poetry tends to end abruptly, generally in weariness expressed or unexpressed. This explanation does not account for endings that continue well past a clear narrative climax, but does establish weariness as a topos of conclusion.
 65. Haller, pp. 78, 83.
 66. Elizabeth B. Edwards, "Chaucer's *Knight's Tale* and the Work of Mourning," *Exemplaria* 20 (2008), p. 381, believing that Theseus's generalized speech is the primary consolation the tale offers, sees that consolation as depending on "the annihilation of the perspective of the singular." Because its final event is the appropriate fulfillment of Palamon's long-cherished desire, I am arguing that the tale ends exactly in the perspective of the singular.
 67. See Robert Edwards, *Chaucer and Boccaccio*, pp. 39–43, for the ways in which Chaucer affirms the moral and ethical value of choice despite inevitably partial human understanding.
 68. Repetition is the mode of consolation in the Psalms, which repeat the same narrative refrain: God was faithful during these crucial events in Israel's history, and will be faithful again, though it may appear presently that he is absent. And it is the mode of redemption in both Christian typological and sacramental traditions: the incarnate Christ was present to fulfill what came before, and is present now in the Eucharist to save.

6 The Tower and the Turks: More's Meditative Consolation

1. Holbein's famous sketch of the More household includes a copy of the *Consolation* on a sideboard; for commentary on its inclusion, see Gerard B. Wegemer, *Young Thomas More and the Arts of Liberty* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 170–1. Wegemer analyzes the sketch as an example of the Mores' "civic humanism" (p. 162). Louis L. Martz, *Thomas More: The Search for the Inner Man* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990), p. 14, mentions a letter that More wrote home to his family school on March 23, 1521: in Lent "that

beautiful and holy poem of Boethius keeps singing in your ears, teaching you to raise your mind also to heaven, lest the soul look downwards to the earth, after the manner of brutes, while the body is raised aloft" (Martz's translation of the Latin).

2. See K. J. Wilson, *Incomplete Fictions: The Formation of English Renaissance Dialogue* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1985), p. 160, for the link of "therapeutic conversation," and A. D. Cousins, "Role-Play and Self-Portrayal in Thomas More's *A Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation*," *Christianity and Literature* 52 (2003), pp. 462–4, for a discussion of Antony as Boethian teacher, although Cousins concludes that Antony's situation is more like Augustine's in *De Doctrina Christiana*, accommodating divine truth to the reader (p. 468n12). The problem with considering the *Dialogue* a Boethian dialogue, as Cousins also notes, is that More, who needs comfort, resembles not Vincent but Antony the authoritative teacher and comforter—elderly, about to die. Unlike Lady Philosophy in Boethius's *Consolation*, no speaker in More's *Dialogue* comes from outside the system of suffering.
3. Frank Manley, "The Argument of the Book" and "Audience," *Introduction to A Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation*, vol. 12 of The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St. Thomas More, ed. Louis L. Martz and Frank Manley (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1976), pp. xc, cxvii–cxix.
4. All citations of the *Dialogue* are taken from the Yale edition. The first number in each citation is the page number; the following numbers are line numbers.
5. Tantalizingly, More lectured on the *City of God* at St. Lawrence's Jewry, circa 1501. No record of his lectures remains except the assurance of an early biographer, Thomas Stapleton, *The Life of Sir Thomas More*, ed. E. E. Reynolds, trans. Philip E. Hallett (Bronx, NY: Fordham University Press, 1966), pp. 7–8, that they emphasized the historical and philosophical more than the theological.
6. Aside from the striking general similarities of threat toward Catholicism and Catholics, Peter Ackroyd, *The Life of Thomas More* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1998), p. 362, points out that More in describing the Great Turk as leonine evokes both the devil, who prowls like a hungry lion according to 1 Peter 5.8, and Henry VIII, who had adopted the lion as a personal emblem.
7. Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), pp. 11–73, influentially argues that More enjoys the ephemerality of political performance but longs to dissolve his private, tortured self into a public role in which he can believe (e.g., martyr for the church after Christ's example). Cousins, pp. 457–70, further discusses More's role-playing through *imitatio Christi*. Ackroyd, pp. 52, 90, explores this principle of

- role-playing in More's early life and writings. John Guy, *Thomas More, Reputations* (London: Arnold, 2000), faults More, Erasmus, and all subsequent biographers for irretrievably hiding More's true self (whatever it was) behind carefully wrought personae and encomia. Seth Lerer, *Courtly Letters in the Age of Henry VIII: Literary Culture and the Arts of Deceit*, Cambridge Studies in Renaissance Literature and Culture 18 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), examines the rise of a literary private self (voyeuristic, transgressive, secret) within and in tension with the court of Henry VIII, noted for its emphasis on dramatic performance by king and courtiers. Ruth Ahnert, "Writing in the Tower of London during the Reformation, ca. 1530–1558," *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 72 (2009), pp. 186–92, discusses how More carefully withholds autobiographical details from the *Dialogue* to preserve for it a more general audience and application, writing himself and his book out of prison.
8. For a background on the Turkish threat to Hungary and Christendom, and More's sustained and frequent interest in it during his later political career, see Manley, pp. cxxii–cxxxv.
 9. More knew and appreciated both the *Imitation of Christ* and Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*, declaring his belief in *The Confutation of Tyndale's Answer*, vol. 8 of The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St. Thomas More, ed. Louis A. Schuster, Richard C. Marius, and James P. Lusardi (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1973), p. 37, that they "norysshe and encrease deuocyon."
 10. More's polemical writings are notoriously vitriolic and scatological. Francis Atterbury in the eighteenth century is particularly quotable on the subject, calling his answer to Luther "the greatest heap of nasty language that perhaps ever was put together" and claiming that on its basis More was reputed to have "the best knack of any man in Europe at calling bad names in good Latin" (*The Miscellaneous Works of Bishop Atterbury*, vol. 4 [London: J. Nichols, 1790], p. 64). Martz, *More*, p. 23, holds a minority view: that More's abuse piled on Protestants is infamous not because it was unusually toxic or vindictive but because it was so wittily effective.
 11. See Tyndale's blunt, paradoxical "Thou shalt understand therefore that the scripture hath but one sense which is the literal sense. And that literal sense is the root and ground of all" (p. 156) and subsequent exposition, under the heading "The four senses of the scripture," in *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, ed. David Daniell (London: Penguin, 2000), pp. 156–70.
 12. Romuald I. Lakowski, "Thomas More, Protestants, and Turks: Persecution and Martyrdom in *A Dialogue of Comfort*," *Ben Jonson Journal* 7 (2000), pp. 203–4.
 13. Leland Miles, "The Literary Artistry of Thomas More: *The Dialogue of Comfort*," *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* (1966), p. 14.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 14–8; the quotations are on p. 16. Miles echoes his claims about Anthony and Vincent in “More’s *Dialogue of Comfort* as a First Draft,” *Studies in Philology* 63 (1966), p. 131.
15. Richard Marius, *Thomas More: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984), p. 477. The biography, though brilliantly and insightfully written, is a 520-page exercise in refusing to give More the benefit of the doubt on practically every issue, including the possibility that charity, not hostility, primarily motivated the *Dialogue*. Peter Iver Kaufman, *Incorrectly Political: Augustine and Thomas More* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007), p. 216, gently corrects Marius: “Perhaps the *Dialogue* is about consolation rather than contention.”
16. Wilson, p. 146.
17. More’s early biographer, Harpsfield, makes the identification (Manley, p. 416). See Greenblatt, pp. 11–13, for a famous reading of the scene.
18. Miles, “The ‘Dialogue of Comfort’ and More’s Execution: Some Comments on Literary Purpose,” *The Modern Language Review* 61 (1966), pp. 556–60. Marius, *Thomas More*, pp. 473–4, 477–8, similarly speculates about More’s gravitation toward suicide and aversion toward bodily pain.
19. p. 219.
20. Judith P. Jones, *Thomas More*, Twayne’s English Authors Series 247 (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1979), pp. 122–3.
21. Manley, p. cxxxiv.
22. Ackroyd, p. 314.
23. *Thomas More’s Prayer Book: A Facsimile Reproduction of the Annotated Pages*, trans. Martz and Richard S. Sylvester, The Elizabethan Club Series 4 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1969), pp. xxxv–xxxvi, gives instances.
24. Cf. Gerry E. Haupt, Introduction, *Treatise on the Passion, Treatise on the Blessed Body, Instructions and Prayers*, vol. 13 of The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of Thomas More (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), p. clxxx:

From at least the time of Burckhardt the Renaissance has frequently been associated with individualism. But, particularly in thinking about northern humanism, a stress on individualism must be replaced with some notion of an individual and personal encounter with the impersonal, represented by tradition, the church, and the state . . . [More] embodies and lives out this kind of humanism: in his late works the profoundly experienced personal element is subsumed within and transcended by an ultimate emphasis upon universal Christian experience.
25. Greenblatt, p. 62.
26. Rogers, pp. 506, 525–6, 528, 558.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 528.

28. Fruitlessness is itself a closure. Like Langland in *Piers Plowman*, More condemns false closures like worldly goods (frequently), wanhope and impatience (pp. 14–15), suicide (pp. 122–57), and even dualistic philosophy's contempt for the world (pp. 9–12) that illegitimately truncate the human condition of pilgrimage and waiting.
29. *Expositions* 90.1.6, although Augustine calls all four temptations persecutions and distinguishes the fourth one by its ferocity, or heat. Martz and Manley, ed., *Dialogue*, p. 413, trace this tradition through Cassiodorus, Pseudo-Bede, and others, calling it the standard gloss. Another tradition, descended from Jerome through mystics like Bernard of Clairvaux and Hilton, identifies the fourth temptation as heresy or false light. More seems to know this tradition as well; a particular heretical pamphlet is a business in the darkness he wants to make plain like a noonday devil (*Confutation* p. 5/850). The ascetic tradition associates the noonday devil with *acedia*, when the heat and prospect of a long day make the solitary life particularly hard to bear. See Rudolph Arbesmann, "The 'Daemonium Meridianum' and Greek and Latin Patristic Exegesis," *Traditio* 14 (1958), pp. 17–31; Ernest N. Kaulbach, "Noonday Demon," *A Dictionary of Biblical Tradition in English Literature*, ed. David Lyle Jeffrey (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1992), pp. 553–4; and, on the *acedia* tradition, Siegfried Wenzel, *The Sin of Sloth: Acedia in Medieval Thought and Literature* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960), pp. 5, 7, 9, 16–17, 19.
30. Miles, "Literary Artistry," pp. 11–12, argues that More's foreshadowing but delaying a discussion of physical suffering skillfully increases tension throughout the *Dialogue*, making it "like a lengthy piece of adhesive tape pulled slowly off the skin" (p. 12).
31. Perpetuating the work's cavalier attitude toward patterns of time, Antony determines to expound on the *midday* demon after dinner, in the *afternoon* (p. 165/27, 29). Compare Walter Hilton's suggestion in *Qui Habitat* that the temptations occur in consecutive stages of the Christian life. More certainly knew Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection* and possibly knew *Qui Habitat*, Hilton's exposition of Psalm 90; see Seymour Baker House, "The Field Is Won": An Introduction to the Tower Works," *A Companion to Thomas More*, ed. A. D. Cousins and Damian Grace (Madison, WI: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2009), p. 232. In Hilton, the night's fear haunts an intimidated new believer, the arrow flying in the day aims for an overconfident believer whose developing spirituality makes him prosperous, the business of the darkness distracts a diligent believer into the things of this world, and the midday devil illumines the mature believer with the subtly false light of the devil. See *An Exposition of Qui Habitat and Bonum Est in English*, ed. Björn Wallner, Lund Studies in English 23 (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup; Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1954), pp. 15–22.
32. Alistair Fox, *Thomas More, History and Providence* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982), pp. 146, 199–222.

33. Peter Iver Kaufman's recent monograph on the similarities between Augustine's and More's political thought, *Incorrectly Political: Augustine and Thomas More* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007), sees both thinkers placing secondary value on the earthly polis, as if it did not carry essential meaning. Greenblatt, p. 15, declares that the political world was both absurd and opaque to More, clouding and not clarifying access to the absolute truth in which he believed so strongly.
34. Fox, *Thomas More*, p. 5.
35. Fox, *Politics and Literature in the Reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), pp. 108–27. Fox sees More's *The History of King Richard III* as ironic, subverting More's historiographic project.
36. Vincent will slip and mention "the Turkes cruell incursion" (p. 33/12) before Antony reminds him to wait till the end. Antony maps out the four-fold temptation, two-verse structure of the rest of the book at p. 105/11–6. A story about war with the Turks pops up on pp. 109–11. Turks and Saracens appear as God's enemies in p. 183/20–1.
37. James Simpson, *Burning to Read: English Fundamentalism and its Reformation Opponents* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2007), pp. 257–8, argues that More conceives of scriptural revelation itself as evolving and progressing, because rhetorical and culturally contingent.
38. Elsewhere, as we shall see, he gives physical pain an unusual amount of attention.
39. Fox, *More*, p. 228.
40. Compare More's assertion in *De Tristitia Christi*, vol 14, part 1 of The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of Thomas More, ed. and trans. Clarence H. Miller (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), pp. 554–7, that the hour of the devil is the present, but of momentary duration between past and future.
41. Fantastical fear is one of Antony's infernal trinity—"fantastical feare, false fayth, false flatteryng hope" (p. 297/25–6)—that leads to apostasy. Fearful imagination and fantasy are a major part of temptation generally, and temptation accordingly diminishes to the extent that fear does (p. 154/10–28). Fantasy can in fact shape conscience, "now drawyng yt narrow now strechyng it in bredth after the maner of a cheuerell poynt" (p. 120/3–5), and cause suicide (p. 122/18). The extended digression on suicide—according to Paul D. Green, "Suicide, Martyrdom, and Thomas More," *Studies in the Renaissance* 19 (1972), p. 143, "the first significant discussion of suicide in the English language"—chiefly explains how one might convince a prospective suicide of the folly into which his imagination has led him.
42. More, *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, part 1: *The Text*, ed. Thomas Lawler, Germain Marc'hadour, and Richard Marius, The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of Thomas More 6 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), pp. 398–402. Subsequent citations will appear abbreviated as *DCH*.

43. Greenblatt, p. 13, argues that one of the *Dialogue's* great and repeated insights is that the political world moves from fantasy to fantasy, the movement created and caused by power "whose quintessential sign is the ability to impose one's fictions upon the world: the more outrageous the fiction, the more impressive the manifestation of power." As will become evident, I think this reading of the *Dialogue* is inaccurate chiefly in its incompleteness or its subtle shift of emphasis. More is not content to let the matter rest, whether to condemn the fantasies of power or to perform within them, both of which Greenblatt implies. More contends that plain signs exist and that the personal imagination can perceive and use them to create a self performed but not invented. The power to impose fantasies exists for More but is not as interesting to think about as the power to see truly. Greenblatt returns to the Tower Works on pp. 72–3 to suggest that the role-playing Morean self is finally and with relief swallowed up in a totalizing God, institution (church), and way of knowing.
44. More famously hid his penance in the form of a hair shirt under his official finery.
45. Marius, "Thomas More and the Early Church Fathers," *Traditio* 24 (1968), p. 390. The comparison of Tyndale's hermeneutics with encountering Turks is Tyndale's own.
46. pp. 227, 229–33, 240–2.
47. Brian Gogan, *The Common Corps of Christendom: Ecclesiological Themes in the Writings of Sir Thomas More*, Studies in the History of Christian Thought 26 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1982), pp. 232–3. In *DCH* 122–8 More gives a slightly different list of catalysts for understanding scripture: virtue, prayer, natural reason (informed by secular literature), patristic commentaries, and articles of the Catholic church preserved in and by that church.
48. Haupt, pp. lxxi–lxxiii.
49. In Augustine's *Conf.* 13.37, the scriptural stream sends out rivulets of patristic interpretation. This diffusion produces multiplicity of meaning. In More, readers must appropriate patristic guidance to steady themselves against the stream, lest they drown in its mysteries (*DCH*, pp. 138, 152). More seems to have gotten the stream imagery from the saying about the wading mouse and drowning elephant, which Erasmus attributes (except that it is a lamb and not a mouse) to Gregory; see the commentary on *DCH* in vol. 6, part II of *The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of Sir Thomas More* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), p. 649.
50. Meaning has to travel a long way in More's works as well. His longwindedness in polemical works and the *Dialogue* is related to an interpretive or at least a performative plenitude. Martz, *More*, pp. 34, 37–8, 51, characterizes More's style as teleologically digressive and exploratory at the same time, in the manner of Augustine who could ramble on, blazing a circuitous trail toward an endpoint he knew was coming.

51. More follows suit in places like p. 184/10–5. Aiming for a specific audience who requires consolation and not something else like cure or counsel, he shapes his discourse a certain way, while acknowledging that if his audience were different, so would be his interpretation and his presentation.
52. In *DCH*, p. 343, More goes so (remarkably) far as to suggest that spiritual directors assign certain scriptures to certain readers but prohibit them from reading others. One fellow might get Matthew, Mark, and Luke but not John; another Acts but not the Apocalypse; a third Paul's readily accessible and applicable Ephesians but not the high difficulty of Romans. Take that, Luther.
53. *Treatise*, pp. 112–13; *Tristitia*, p. 445; *DCH*, p. 304, respectively.
54. Gogan, p. 12, argues that More believes church authority is pneumatic not papal, dependent on Spirit-led church councils not papal declarations. Gogan, pp. 267–380, further explores More's conception of the church as a pneumatic community.
55. Augustine and More both think that the Bible is secondary revelation, derived from a more authoritative oral record. See Brian Stock, *After Augustine: The Meditative Reader and the Text*, Material Texts (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), pp. 93–4, on Augustine's view of oral revelation; on More's, see *Treatise of the Passion*, p. 171; Thomas M. C. Lawler, "A General View of the *Dialogue*: An Anatomy of Heresy," in *DCH*, part II, p. 448; and Guy, p. 117. So these are God's words directly because the gospels are quoting Jesus. More does posit the Holy Spirit's control over biblical place names in *Tristitia*, pp. 11–21.
56. Specifically, the Holy Spirit will not let the church fall into damnable error, although the church may make lesser errors, like attributing sainthood to someone unworthy (*DCH*, p. 239; see also p. 254; Elizabeth Frances Rogers, ed. *The Correspondence of Sir Thomas More* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947], p. 206).
57. The term "rehearsal" is from Dale B. Billingsley, "'Imagination' in *A Dialogue of Comfort*," *Moreana* 19 (1982), p. 62. Brad S. Gregory, *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe*, Harvard Historical Studies 134 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), p. 129, compares this diligent imaginative exercise ahead of martyrdom to "athletes committed to staying in top competitive form." This discipline ahead of martyrdom is a logical extension of the common late medieval discipline ahead of death, for example, Thomas á Kempis, *The Imitation of Christ*, trans. Leo Sherley-Price, Penguin Classics (London: Penguin Books, 1952): "Blessed is the man who keeps the hour of his death always in mind, and daily prepares himself to die" (p. 1.23). More himself composed a meditation on *The Four Last Things* (1522), although that meditation never got past the first last thing.
58. This Morean emphasis on the rightly ordered imagination affecting the will is predictably Augustinian. More provides a brief sketch of how

- affections imprint the human mind: either through the bodily senses or through reason, which both orders the impressions of the bodily senses and receives its own spiritual cues direct from God (pp. 281/25–282/25). Augustine's faculty psychology credits the passions as spiritually beneficial to the will when ordered by the reason, a process A. D. Cousins, "Role-Play," pp. 61, 65, calls "sanctification and thereby stabilization of the *phantasia*" before arguing that More attempts a similar process. Augustine's influence on the Renaissance encouraged the efflorescence of a passionate sacred literary style, for instance; see Debora K. Shuger, *Sacred Rhetoric: The Christian Grand Style in the English Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988). More's "right Imagynacion" (p. 308/16, 28, 30) is entirely spiritual, in opposition to carnal hearts and fantasies; it piques desire for huge heavenly joys.
59. Sir Walter Raleigh, in "The Passionate Mans Pilgrimage," expresses a similar wish when meditating upon his own imminent beheading: "Just at the stroke when my vaines start and spred / Set on my soule an everlasting head." The head is not so clearly Christ's, however, and Raleigh seems intent that the new head arrive as soon as possible, as if the important point is that no Raleigh would be spilt. Less than a century later than More (1618), Raleigh is trying to preserve his well-burnished early modern individuality. The quotation is from *The Metaphysical Poets*, rev. ed., ed. Helen Gardner, Penguin Classics (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1972), p. 34.
 60. See, for example, *Tristitia*, pp. 55, 101–9, although Christ suffering to leave weak humans an example of how to triumph over emotional vulnerability is perhaps the unifying insight of the entire meditation. House, p. 237, sketches a dispute between John Colet and Erasmus about the suffering Christ in the garden, Colet believing that Christ (functioning primarily as God) mourned the coming fall of Jerusalem and plights of the Jews but Erasmus believing that he as human mourned his own fate. As House indicates, More on the whole opts for Erasmus's opinion.
 61. To illustrate this absurdity on the fringes of wisdom, Antony tells of a man who determined to crucify himself one Easter in imitation of Christ. Antony approves thoroughly of the wife's canny dissuasions, all in the direction of verisimilitude. She pointed out that Christ did not crucify himself, and her husband gladly agreed that she should perform the deed instead. But first, she said, Christ was bound to a pillar, scourged, and crowned with thorns. She had gotten through the binding and the (vigorous) scourging parts, and was just ready to jam a crown of thorns on his head, when the man "said / he thought this was inough for that yere" (p. 144/18–19).
 62. *Salvation at Stake*, pp. 250–71.
 63. Vincent adds an intent to translate it into German (p. 320/11–16), a stream of transmission about which More's fiction mentions nothing further.

64. From Latin to French to English would have been a natural route for such a book to travel; see *Dialogue*, p. 331, note to p. 3/2–6.

Conclusion

1. Unmoored from history and belief into the trackless bayous of symbolism, retrospective repetition becomes the ontologically dubious Christ-figures of modern Western literature.
2. Frank Kermode, *The Sense of an Ending: Studies in the Theory of Fiction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 6–14, 67–74, provides an authoritative statement on how apocalyptic ending is endemic to Christian fiction.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources and Translations

- Abelard, Peter. *La vie et les epistres: Pierres Abaelart et Heloys sa fame*. Ed. Eric Hicks. Nouvelle Bibliothèque du Moyen Âge 16. Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1991.
- . *Dialectica*. Ed. Lambert M. de Rijk. Assen, The Netherlands: Koninklijke Van Gorcum, 1970.
- . *Logica 'Ingredientibus.'* *Peter Abaelards Philosophische Schriften* I. Ed. Bernhard Geyer. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und der Theologie des Mittelalters 21. Münster, Germany: Aschendorff, 1933.
- . *Peter Abelard: Letters IX–XIV*. Ed. Edmé Renno Smits. Groningen: Rijksuniversitet, 1983.
- . *Peter Abelard's Ethics*. Ed. and trans. D. E. Luscombe. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971.
- Augustine. *The City of God against the Pagans*. Ed. and trans. R. W. Dyson. Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- . *Confessions*. The World's Classics. Trans. Henry Chadwick. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- . *Confessionum Libri XIII*. Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 27. Ed. L. Verheijen. Turnhout: Brepols, 1981.
- . *De Civitate Dei*. Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 47–48. Ed. B. Dombart and A. Kalb. Turnhout: Brepols, 1955.
- . *On Christian Doctrine*. Library of Liberal Arts. Trans. D. W. Robertson Jr. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1997.
- Benson, Larry, and Edward E. Foster, eds. *King Arthur's Death: The Middle English Stanzaic Morte Arthur and Alliterative Morte Arthure*. The Middle English Text Series. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1994.
- Biblia Sacra: Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994.
- Boccaccio, Giovanni. *The Book of Theseus*. Trans. Bernadette Marie McCoy. New York: Medieval Text Association, 1974.
- Chaucer, Geoffrey. *The Riverside Chaucer*. Gen. ed. Larry D. Benson. 3rd ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987.
- Gardner, Helen, ed. *The Metaphysical Poets*. Rev. ed. Penguin Classics. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1972.

- Geoffrey of Monmouth. *The History of the Kings of Britain*. Trans. Lewis Thorpe. London: Penguin, 1966.
- Hilton, Walter. *An Exposition of Qui Habitat and Bonum Est in English*. Ed. Björn Wallner. Lund Studies in English 23. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup; Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1954.
- Kempis, Thomas á. *The Imitation of Christ*. Trans. Leo Sherley-Price. Penguin Classics. London: Penguin Books, 1952.
- Lacy, Norris J. *The Death of Arthur*. Vol. 7 of *Lancelot-Grail: The Old French Arthurian Vulgate and Post-Vulgate in Translation*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2010.
- Langland, William. *Piers Plowman: The B Version: Will's Visions of Piers Plowman, Do-Well, Do-Better and Do-Best*. Rev. ed. Ed. George Kane and E. Talbot Donaldson. London: The Athlone Press and Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1988.
- . *Piers Plowman: The C Version*. Ed. George Russell and George Kane. London: Athlone Press, 1997.
- Lydgate, John. *John Lydgate: The Siege of Thebes*. Ed. Robert R. Edwards. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2001.
- More, Thomas. *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963–97.
- . *The Correspondence of Sir Thomas More*. Ed. Elizabeth Frances Rogers. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947.
- . *Thomas More's Prayer Book: A Facsimile Reproduction of The Annotated Pages*. Trans. Louis L. Martz and Richard S. Sylvester. The Elizabethan Club Series 4. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1969.
- Plotinus. *The Enneads*. Trans. Stephen MacKenna. 3rd ed. Rev. by B. S. Page. London: Faber & Faber, 1962.
- Radice, Betty, trans. *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise*. London: Penguin Books, 1974.
- Statius. *Thebaid. Statius II and Statius III*. Ed. and trans. D. Shackleton Bailey. LCL 207 and 498. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003.
- Tertullian. *Apologetical Works*. Fathers of the Church, A New Translation 10. Trans. Rudolph Arbesmann, Sister Emily Joseph Daly, and Edwin A. Quain. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1962.
- Tyndale, William. *The Obedience of a Christian Man*. Ed. David Daniell. London: Penguin, 2000.

Secondary Sources

- Ackroyd, Peter. *The Life of Thomas More*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1998.
- Adams, Robert. "Langland's Theology." *A Companion to Piers Plowman*. Ed. John A. Alford. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988. 87–114.
- . "Some Versions of Apocalypse: Learned and Popular Eschatology in *Piers Plowman*." *The Popular Literature of Medieval England*. Tennessee Studies in Literature 28. Ed. Thomas J. Heffernan. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1985. 194–236.

- Aers, David. *Chaucer, Langland, and the Creative Imagination*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980.
- . *Faith, Ethics and Church: Writing in England, 1360–1409*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000.
- . *Piers Plowman and Christian Allegory*. London: Edward Arnold, 1975.
- . *Salvation and Sin: Augustine, Langland, and Fourteenth-Century Theology*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009.
- Ahnert, Ruth. "Writing in the Tower of London during the Reformation, ca. 1530–1558." *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 72 (2009): 168–92.
- Alexander, Flora M. "'The Treson of Launcelote du Lake': Irony in the Stanzaic *Morte Arthur*." *The Legend of Arthur in the Middle Ages: Studies Presented to A. H. Diverres by Colleagues, Pupils, and Friends*. Ed. P. B. Grout et al. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1983. 15–27.
- Alford, John. "The Design of the Poem." *A Companion to Piers Plowman*. Ed. John A. Alford. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988. 29–65.
- Ames, Ruth M. *The Fulfillment of the Scriptures: Abraham, Moses, and Piers*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1979.
- Anderson, David. *Before the Knight's Tale: Imitation of Classical Epic in Boccaccio's Teseida*. Middle Ages Series. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988.
- . "Theban Genealogy in the Knight's Tale." *Chaucer Review* 21 (1987): 311–20.
- Arbesmann, Rudolph. "The 'Daemonium Meridianum' and Greek and Latin Patristic Exegesis." *Traditio* 14 (1958): 17–31.
- Atterbury, Francis. *The Miscellaneous Works of Bishop Atterbury*. 5 vols. London: J. Nichols, 1790.
- Auerbach, Erich. "Figura." Trans. Ralph Manheim. *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature*. Theory and History of Literature 9. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984. 11–76.
- Ayres, Lewis. "Into the Poem of the Universe: *Exempla*, Conversion, and Church in Augustine's *Confessions*." *Journal of Ancient Christianity* 13 (2009): 263–81.
- Baker, Joan, and Susan Signe Morrison. "The Luxury of Gender: *Piers Plowman* B.9 and *The Merchant's Tale*." *William Langland's Piers Plowman: A Book of Essays*. Ed. Kathleen M. Hewett-Smith. New York: Routledge, 2001. 41–67.
- Bankert, Dabney Anderson. "Secularizing the Word: Conversion Models in Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*." *Chaucer Review* 37 (2003): 196–218.
- Barney, Stephen A. *Allegories of History, Allegories of Love*. Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1979.
- . *C Passūs 20–22; B Passūs 18–20*. Vol. 5 of *The Penn Commentary on Piers Plowman*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006.
- Barron, W. J. *Medieval English Romance*. Longman Literature in English Series. London: Longman, 1987.
- Batkie, Stephanie L. "'Thanne artow inparfit': Learning to Read in *Piers Plowman*." *Chaucer Review* 45 (2010): 169–93.

- Battles, Dominique. *The Medieval Tradition of Thebes: History and Narrative in the OF Roman de Thèbes, Boccaccio, Chaucer, and Lydgate*. Studies in Medieval History and Culture. New York: Routledge, 2004.
- Baur, Christine O'Connell. *Dante's Hermeneutics of Salvation: Passages to Freedom in the Divine Comedy*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007.
- Bennett, Camille. "The Conversion of Vergil: The *Aeneid* in Augustine's *Confessions*." *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 34 (1988): 47–69.
- Bernard, Robert W. "The Rhetoric of God in the Figurative Exegesis of Augustine." *Biblical Hermeneutics in Historical Perspective: Studies in Honor of Karlfried Froehlich on His Sixtieth Birthday*. Ed. Mark S. Burrows and Paul Rorem. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1991. 88–99.
- Beston, John B., and Rose Marie Beston. "The Parting of Lancelot and Guinevere in the Stanzaic 'Le Morte Arthur.'" *AUMLA: Journal of the Australasian Universities Language and Literature Association* 40 (1973): 249–59.
- Billingsley, Dale B. "'Imagination' in *A Dialogue of Comfort*." *Moreana* 19 (1982): 57–63.
- Binski, Paul. *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996.
- Blamires, Alcuin. "No Outlet for Incontinence: Heloise and the Question of Consolation." *Listening to Heloise: The Voice of a Twelfth-Century Woman*. The New Middle Ages. Ed. Bonnie Wheeler. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000. 287–301.
- Bloch, R. Howard. *Medieval Misogyny and the Invention of Western Romantic Love*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Bloomfield, Morton W. *Piers Plowman as a Fourteenth-Century Apocalypse*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1962.
- Boitani, Piero, and Jill Mann, eds. *The Cambridge Companion to Chaucer*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- . *Chaucer and Boccaccio*. Medium Ævum Monographs New Series VIII. Oxford: Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature, 1977.
- . "Style, Iconography and Narrative: The Lesson of the *Teseida*." *Chaucer and the Italian Trecento*. Ed. Piero Boitani. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983. 185–99.
- Bowers, John. *The Crisis of Will in Piers Plowman*. Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1986.
- Bowers, R. H. "Piers Plowman and the Literary Historians." *College English* 21 (1959): 2–4.
- Breyfogle, Todd. "Memory and Imagination in Augustine's *Confessions*." *Literary Imagination, Ancient and Modern: Essays in Honor of David Grene*. Ed. Todd Breyfogle. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1999. 137–54.
- Brewer, Derek. *Chaucer: The Poet as Storyteller*. London: Macmillan, 1984.
- Bright, Pamela. "Singing the Psalms: Augustine and Athanasius on the Integration of the Self." *The Whole and the Divided Self*. Ed. David E. Aune and John McCarthy. New York: Crossroad, 1997. 115–29.

- Brower, Jeffrey E. "Abelard's Theory of Relations: Reductionism and the Aristotelian Tradition." *The Review of Metaphysics* 51 (1998): 605–31.
- Brown, Catherine. *Contrary Things: Exegesis, Dialectic, and the Poetics of Didacticism*. *Figurae: Reading Medieval Culture*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998.
- Brown, Peter. *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography*. Rev. ed. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.
- . *Authority and the Sacred: Aspects of the Christianisation of the Roman World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- . "Political Society." *Augustine: A Collection of Critical Essays*. Ed. R. A. Markus. Garden City, NY: Doubleday/Anchor, 1972. 311–35.
- Burlin, Robert B. *Chaucerian Fiction*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977.
- Burns, E. Jane. *Arthurian Fictions: Rereading the Vulgate Cycle*. Columbus, OH: The Ohio State University Press, 1985.
- Burrow, J. A. *The Ages of Man: A Study in Medieval Writing and Thought*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986.
- . *Langland's Fictions*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.
- Bynum, Caroline Walker. *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages*. Publications of the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, UCLA 16. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982.
- Cameron, Michael. "The Christological Substructure of Augustine's Figurative Exegesis." *Augustine and the Bible*. Ed. and trans. Pamela Bright. The Bible through the Ages 2. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999. 74–103.
- Carruthers, Mary. *The Search for St. Truth: A Study of Meaning in Piers Plowman*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1973.
- . "Time, Apocalypse, and the Plot of *Piers Plowman*." *Acts of Interpretation: The Text in its Contexts, 700–1600: Essays on Medieval and Renaissance Literature in Honor of E. Talbot Donaldson*. Ed. Mary J. Carruthers and Elizabeth D. Kirk. Norman, OK: Pilgrim Books, 1982. 175–88.
- Cary, Phillip. *Augustine's Invention of the Inner Self: The Legacy of a Christian Platonist*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- . *Inner Grace: Augustine in the Traditions of Plato and Paul*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- . *Outward Signs: The Powerlessness of External Things in Augustine's Thought*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- . "The Weight of Love: Augustinian Metaphors of Movement in Dante's Souls." *Augustine and Literature*. *Augustine in Conversation: Tradition and Innovation*. Ed. Robert P. Kennedy, Kim Paffenroth, and John Doody. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2006. 15–36.
- Cavadini, John C. "The Sweetness of the Word: Salvation and Rhetoric in Augustine's *De doctrina christiana*." *De doctrina christiana: A Classic of Western Culture*. Ed. Duane W. H. Arnold and Pamela Bright. Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity 9. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995. 164–81.

- Cervone, Cristina Maria. "Langland and the Truelove Tradition." *Yearbook of Langland Studies* 22 (2008): 27–55.
- Chadwick, Henry. "History and Symbolism in the Garden at Milan." *From Augustine to Eriugena: Essays on Neoplatonism and Christianity in Honor of John O'Meara*. Ed. F. X. Martin and J. A. Richmond. Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1991. 42–55.
- Chance, Jane. "Classical Myth and Gender in the Letters of 'Abelard' and 'Heloise': Gloss, Glossed, Glossator." *Listening to Heloise: The Voice of a Twelfth-Century Woman*. The New Middle Ages. Ed. Bonnie Wheeler. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000. 161–85.
- Clanchy, M. T. *Abelard: A Medieval Life*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1997.
- . "Documenting the Self: Abelard and the Individual in History." *Historical Research* 76 (2003): 293–309.
- Cohen, Jeremy. *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.
- Colish, Marcia L. *The Mirror of Language: A Study in the Medieval Theory of Knowledge*. Rev. ed. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983.
- Conybeare, Catherine. *The Irrational Augustine*. Oxford Early Christian Studies. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Cooper, Helen. "The Lancelot-Grail Cycle in England: Malory and his Predecessors." *A Companion to the Lancelot-Grail Cycle*. Ed. Carol Dover. Arthurian Studies 54. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003. 147–62.
- . *The Structure of the Canterbury Tales*. London: Duckworth, 1983.
- Copeland, Rita. *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts*. Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 11. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Courcelle, Pierre. *Recherches sur les Confessions de Saint Augustin*. Paris: De Boccard, 1950.
- Cousins, A. D. "Role-Play and Self-Portrayal in Thomas More's *A Dialogue of Comfort Against Tribulation*." *Christianity and Literature* 52 (2003): 457–70.
- Crampton, Georgia Ronan. *The Condition of Creatures: Suffering and Action in Chaucer and Spenser*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974.
- Cranz, F. E. "The Development of Augustine's Ideas on Society before the Donatist Controversy." *Augustine: A Collection of Critical Essays*. Ed. R. A. Markus. Garden City, NY: Doubleday/Anchor, 1972. 336–403.
- Cullman, Oscar. *Christ and Time: The Primitive Christian Conception of Time and History*. Rev. ed. Trans. Floyd V. Filson. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1964.
- Curtius, Ernst Robert. *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*. Trans. Willard R. Trask. New York: Harper & Row, 1963.
- Dalrymple, Roger. *Language and Piety in Middle English Romance*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000.
- Davenport, W. A. *Chaucer: Complaint and Narrative*. Chaucer Studies 14. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1988.
- Davlin, Mary Clemente. "Kynde Knowyng as a Major Theme in Piers Plowman B." *Review of English Studies* n. s. 22 (1971): 1–19.

- . “Petrus, id est, Christus: Piers the Plowman as ‘The Whole Christ.’” *Chaucer Review* 6 (1972): 280–92.
- . *The Place of God in Piers Plowman and Medieval Art*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2001.
- Dean, James M. *The World Grown Old in Later Medieval Literature*. Medieval Academy Books 101. Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1997.
- Donaldson, E. Talbot. “Patristic Exegesis in the Criticism of Medieval Literature: The Opposition.” *Speaking of Chaucer*. London: Athlone Press, 1970. 134–53.
- Dove, Mary. *The Perfect Age of Man’s Life*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Dronke, Peter. *Fabula: Explorations into the Uses of Myth in Medieval Platonism*. *Mittellateinische Studien und Texte* 9. Leiden: Brill, 1974.
- Edwards, Elizabeth B. “Chaucer’s *Knight’s Tale* and the Work of Mourning.” *Exemplaria* 20 (2008): 361–84.
- Edwards, Robert R. *Chaucer and Boccaccio: Antiquity and Modernity*. New York: Palgrave, 2002.
- . *The Flight from Desire: Augustine and Ovid to Chaucer*. *The New Middle Ages*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.
- . “Medieval Literary Careers: The Theban Track.” *European Literary Careers: The Author from Antiquity to the Renaissance*. Ed. Patrick Cheney and Frederick A. de Armas. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002.
- Elbow, Peter. *Oppositions in Chaucer*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1975.
- Elukin, Jonathan M. *Living Together, Living Apart: Rethinking Jewish-Christian Relations in the Middle Ages*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007.
- Enos, Richard Leo and Roger Thompson et al. *The Rhetoric of St. Augustine of Hippo: De Doctrina Christiana and the Search for a Distinctly Christian Rhetoric*. *Studies in Rhetoric and Religion* 7. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2008.
- Evans, G. R. *The Language and Logic of the Bible: The Earlier Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- . *Old Arts and New Theology: The Beginnings of Theology as an Academic Discipline*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980.
- Ferguson, Chris. “Autobiography as Therapy: Guibert de Nogent, Peter Abelard, and the Making of Medieval Autobiography.” *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 13 (1983): 187–212.
- Ferrari, Leo C. “Book Eight: Science and the Fictional Conversion Scene.” *A Reader’s Companion to Augustine’s Confessions*. Ed. Kim Paffenroth and Robert P. Kennedy. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2003. 127–36.
- . “Saint Augustine on the Road to Damascus.” *Augustinian Studies* 13 (1982): 151–70.
- Ferster, Judith. *Chaucer on Interpretation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Fichte, Joerg O. *Chaucer’s ‘Art Poetical’: A Study in Chaucerian Poetics*. *Studies & Texts in English* 1. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag Tübingen, 1980.

- Fiedrowicz, M. Introduction [to *The Literal Meaning of Genesis*]. Trans. Matthew O'Connell. *On Genesis: On Genesis: A Refutation of the Manichees, Unfinished Literal Commentary on Genesis, The Literal Meaning of Genesis*. The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century. Vol. 13. Ed. John E. Rotelle and trans. Edmund Hill. Augustinian Heritage Institute. Hyde Park, NY: New City Press, 2002. 155–66.
- Fifield, Merle. "The Knight's Tale: Incident, Idea, Incorporation." *Chaucer Review* 3 (1968): 95–106.
- Fineman, Joel. "The Structure of Allegorical Desire." *The Subjectivity Effect in Western Literary Tradition: Essays toward the Release of Shakespeare's Will*. October Books. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1991. 3–31.
- Finke, Laurie A. "Truth's Treasure: Allegory and Meaning in *Piers Plowman*." *Medieval Texts and Contemporary Readers*. Ed. Laurie A. Finke and Martin B. Shichtman. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987. 51–68.
- Fowler, David C. *The Bible in Middle English Literature*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1984.
- Fowler, Elizabeth. "The Afterlife of the Civil Dead: Conquest in the Knight's Tale." *Critical Essays on Geoffrey Chaucer*. Ed. Thomas C. Stillinger. Critical Essays on British Literature. New York: G. K. Hall & Co., 1998. 59–81.
- Fox, Alistair. *Politics and Literature in the Reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989.
- . *Thomas More: History and Providence*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983.
- Frank, Donald. "Abelard as Imitator of Christ." *Viator* 1 (1970): 106–13.
- Frank, Robert Worth Jr. *Piers Plowman and the Scheme of Salvation: An Interpretation of Dowel, Dobet, and Dobest*. Yale Studies in English 136. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957.
- Frappier, Jean. "Sur un remaniement de *La Mort Artu* dans un manuscrit du XIV^e siècle: Le Palatinus Latinus 1967." *Romania* 57 (1931): 214–22.
- Freccero, John. *Dante: The Poetics of Conversion*. Ed. Rachel Jacoff. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986.
- Fredriksen, Paula. *Augustine and the Jews: A Christian Defense of Jews and Judaism*. New York: Doubleday, 2008.
- . "Paul and Augustine: Conversion Narratives, Orthodox Traditions, and the Retrospective Self." *Journal of Theological Studies* 37.1 (1986): 3–34.
- . "*Secundum Carnem*: History and Israel in the Theology of St. Augustine." *The Limits of Ancient Christianity: Essays on Late Antique Thought and Culture in Honor of R. A. Markus*. Ed. William E. Klingshirn and Mark Vessey. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1999. 24–41.
- Freeman, Curtis W. "Figure and History: A Contemporary Reassessment of Augustine's Hermeneutic." *Augustine: Presbyter Factus Sum*. Ed. Joseph T. Lienhard, Earl C. Muller, and Roland J. Teske. Collectanea Augustiniana 2. New York: Peter Lang, 1990. 319–29.
- Freinkel, Lisa. *Reading Shakespeare's Will: The Theology of Figure from Augustine to the Sonnets*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.

- Fumagalli, Maria Teresa Beonio-Brocchieri. *The Logic of Abelard*. Trans. Simon Pleasance. Dordrecht: Reidel, 1969.
- Fumo, Jamie C. "The Consolations of Philosophy: Later Medieval Elegy." *The Oxford Handbook of the Elegy*. Ed. Karen Weisman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. 118–34.
- Fyler, John M. *Chaucer and Ovid*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979.
- . *Language and the Declining World in Chaucer, Dante, and Jean de Meun*. Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 63. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Galloway, Andrew. *C Prologue-Passus 4; B Prologue-Passus 4; A Prologue-Passus 4*. Vol. 1 of *The Penn Commentary on Piers Plowman*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006.
- Gaylord, Alan T. "Reflections on D. W. Robertson, Jr., and 'Exegetical Criticism.'" *Chaucer Review* 40 (2006): 311–33.
- Gilson, Etienne. *Heloise and Abelard*. Trans. L. K. Shook. Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1951.
- Godden, Malcolm. *The Making of Piers Plowman*. London: Longman, 1990.
- Godman, Peter. *Paradoxes of Conscience in the High Middle Ages: Abelard, Heloise, and the Archpoet*. Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 75. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Gogan, Brian. *The Common Corps of Christendom: Ecclesiological Themes in the Writings of Thomas More*. Studies in the History of Christian Thought 26. Leiden: Brill, 1982.
- Goldingay, John. *Israel's Gospel*. Vol. 1 of *Old Testament Theology*. Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2003.
- Goldsmith, Margaret E. *The Figure of Piers Plowman: The Image on the Coin*. Piers Plowman Studies II. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1981.
- Goldstein, R. James. "Future Perfect: The Augustinian Theology of Perfection and the *Canterbury Tales*." *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 29 (2007): 87–140.
- Grady, Frank. "Chaucer Reading Langland: The House of Fame." *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 18 (1996): 3–23.
- Green, Paul D. "Suicide, Martyrdom, and Thomas More." *Studies in the Renaissance* 19 (1972): 135–55.
- Greenblatt, Stephen. *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980.
- Gregory, Brad S. *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe*. Harvard Historical Studies 134. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999.
- Guerin, Wilfred L. "The Tale of the Death of Arthur: Catastrophe and Resolution." *Malory's Originality*. Ed. R. M. Lumiansky. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1964. 233–74.
- Gurevich, Aaron. *The Origins of European Individualism*. Trans. Katharine Judelson. The Making of Europe. Oxford: Blackwell, 1995.
- Guy, John. *Thomas More*. Reputations. London: Arnold, 2000.
- Haller, Robert S. "The *Knight's Tale* and the Epic Tradition." *Chaucer Review* 1 (1966): 67–84.

- Hanning, Robert W. *The Individual in Twelfth-Century Romance*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977.
- . “The Struggle between Noble Designs and Chaos: The Literary Tradition of Chaucer’s Knight’s Tale.” *Literary Review* 23 (1980): 519–41.
- Harrison, Carol. *Augustine: Christian Truth and Fractured Humanity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Harwood, Britton J. *Piers Plowman and the Problem of Belief*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992.
- Hay, Denys. *Annalists and Historians: Western Historiography from the Eighth to the Eighteenth Centuries*. London: Methuen, 1977.
- Heffernan, Thomas J. *Sacred Biography: Saints and their Biographers in the Middle Ages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Henry, Paul. *The Path to Transcendence: From Philosophy to Mysticism in Saint Augustine*. The Pittsburgh Theological Monograph Series 37. Trans. Francis F. Burch. Originally *La Vision d’Ostie, sa Place dans la Vie et L’oeuvre de Saint Augustin*. Paris: Vrin, 1938; Pittsburgh: Pickwick Press, 1981.
- Hewett-Smith, Kathleen M. “‘Nede ne hath no lawe’: Poverty and the De-stabilization of Allegory in the Final Visions of *Piers Plowman*.” *William Langland’s Piers Plowman: A Book of Essays*. Medieval Casebooks 30. Ed. Kathleen M. Hewett-Smith. New York: Routledge, 2001. 233–53.
- Hill, Thomas D. “Davidic Typology and the Characterization of Christ: ‘Piers Plowman’ B.XIX.95–103.” *Notes and Queries* n.s. 23 (1976): 291–4.
- Hoenen, Maarten J. F. M., and Lodi Nauta, eds. *Boethius in the Middle Ages: Latin and Vernacular Traditions of the Consolatio philosophiae*. Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters 58. Leiden: Brill, 1997.
- House, Seymour Baker. “‘The Field Is Won’: An Introduction to the Tower Works.” *A Companion to Thomas More*. Ed. A. D. Cousins and Damian Grace. Madison, WI: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2009. 225–42.
- Howard, Donald R. *The Idea of the Canterbury Tales*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976.
- Hudson, Anne. *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988.
- Ingham, Patricia Clare. *Sovereign Fantasies: Arthurian Romance and the Making of Britain*. The Middle Ages Series. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.
- Jackson, B. Darrell. “The Theory of Signs in St. Augustine’s *De Doctrina Christiana*.” *Augustine: A Collection of Critical Essays*. Ed. R. A. Markus. Garden City, NY: Doubleday/Anchor, 1972. 92–147.
- Jaech, Sharon L. Jansen. “The Parting of Lancelot and Gaynor: The Effect of Repetition in the Stanzaic *Morte Arthur*.” *Interpretations* 15 (1984): 59–69.
- Jaeger, Werner. *Early Christianity and Greek Paideia*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 1961.
- . *Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture*. 3 vols. Trans. Gilbert Highet. New York: Oxford University Press, 1962–3.
- Jakobson, Roman, and Morris Halle. *Fundamentals of Language*. Janua Linguarum 1. ‘s- Gravenhage: Mouton, 1956.

- Jennings, Margaret. "Piers Plowman and Holychurch." *Viator* 9 (1978): 367–74.
- Jefferson, Bernard L. *Chaucer and the Consolation of Boethius*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1917.
- Jolivet, Jean. *Arts du Langage et Théologie chez Abélard*. Études de Philosophie Médiévale 57. Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1982.
- Jones, Judith P. *Thomas More*. Twayne's English Authors Series 247. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1979.
- Jones, Nancy A. "By Woman's Tears Redeemed: Female Lament in St. Augustine's *Confessions* and the Correspondence of Abelard and Heloise." *Sex and Gender in Medieval and Renaissance Texts: The Latin Tradition*. Ed. Barbara K. Gold, Paul Allen Miller, and Charles Platter. SUNY Series in Medieval Studies. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1997. 15–39.
- Jussila, Päivi Hannele. *Peter Abelard on Imagery: Theory and Practice with Special Reference to His Hymns*. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1995.
- Kasten, Madeleine. *In Search of "Kynde Knowynge": Piers Plouman and the Origin of Allegory*. Costerus, New Series 168. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007.
- Kaulbach, Ernest N. "Noonday Demon." *A Dictionary of Biblical Tradition in English Literature*. Ed. David Lyle Jeffrey. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1992. 553–4.
- Kaufman, Peter Iver. *Incorrectly Political: Augustine and Thomas More*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007.
- Kay, Sarah. *Courtly Contradictions: The Emergence of the Literary Object in the Twelfth Century*. *Figurae: Reading Medieval Culture*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001.
- Kean, P. M. "Langland on the Incarnation." *The Review of English Studies* 16 (1965): 349–63.
- Keen, Maurice. *Chivalry*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984.
- Kelly, Douglas. "Interlace and the Cyclic Imagination." *A Companion to the Lancelot-Grail Cycle*. Ed. Carol Dover. *Arthurian Studies* 54. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003. 55–64.
- Kennedy, Edward Donald. "The Stanzaic *Morte Arthur*: The Adaptation of a French Romance for an English Audience." *Culture and the King: The Social Implications of the Arthurian Legend: Essays in Honor of Valerie M. Lagorio*. Ed. Martin B. Shichtman and James P. Carley. SUNY Series in Mediaeval Studies. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1994. 91–112.
- Kennedy, Elspeth. "The Figure of Lancelot in the *Lancelot-Graal*." *Lancelot and Guinevere: A Casebook*. Ed. Lori J. Walters. *Arthurian Characters and Themes*. New York: Garland, 1996. 79–104.
- Kerby-Fulton, Kathryn. "Langland and the Bibliographic Ego." *Written Work: Langland, Labor, and Authorship*. Ed. Steven Justice and Kathryn Kerby-Fulton. *The Middle Ages Series*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997. 67–143.
- . *Reformist Apocalypticism and Piers Plowman*. *Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature* 7. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Kermode, Frank. *The Sense of an Ending: Studies in the Theory of Fiction with a New Epilogue*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

- Kimmelman, Burt. *The Poetics of Authorship in the Later Middle Ages: The Emergence of the Modern Literary Persona*. Studies in the Humanities: Literature, Politics, Society 21. New York: Peter Lang, 1996.
- Kirk, Elizabeth D. *The Dream Thought of Piers Plowman*. Yale Studies in English 178. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972.
- . "Langland's Narrative Christology." *Art and Context in Late Medieval English Narrative: Studies in Honor of Robert Worth Frank, Jr.* Ed. Robert R. Edwards. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1994. 17–35.
- Kiser, Lisa J. *Telling Classical Tales: Chaucer and the Legend of Good Women*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983.
- Knapp, Peggy A. *Chaucerian Aesthetics*. The New Middle Ages. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.
- Knopp, Sherron E. "Artistic Design in the *Stanzaic Morte Arthur*." *ELH* 45 (1978): 563–82.
- Kong, Katherine. *Lettering the Self in Medieval and Early Modern France*. Gallica. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2010.
- Kotzé, Annemaré. *Augustine's Confessions: Communicative Purpose and Audience*. Supplements to *Vigiliae Christianae* 71. Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- Lagorio, Valerie. "The Apocalyptic Mode in the Vulgate Cycle of Arthurian Romances." *Philological Quarterly* 57 (1978): 1–22.
- Lakowski, Romuald I. "Thomas More, Protestants, and Turks: Persecution and Martyrdom in *A Dialogue of Comfort*." *Ben Jonson Journal* 7 (2000): 199–223.
- Lampert-Weissig, Lisa. "'Why is this Knight Different from All Other Knights?' Jews, Anti-Semitism, and the Old French Grail Narratives." *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 106 (2007): 224–47.
- Lawlor, John. "The Imaginative Unity of *Piers Plowman*." *Style and Symbolism in Piers Plowman: A Modern Critical Anthology*. Ed. Robert J. Blanch. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1969. 101–16.
- Lawton, David. "Lollardy and the *Piers Plowman* Tradition." *Modern Language Review* 76 (1981): 780–93.
- . "The Subject of *Piers Plowman*." *The Yearbook of Langland Studies* 1 (1987): 1–30.
- Le Blond, Jean-Marie. *Les Conversions de Saint Augustin*. Théologie Études Publiées Sous la Direction de la Faculté de Théologie S. J. De Lyon-Fourvière 17. Paris: Aubier, 1950.
- Léglu, Catherine E., and Stephen J. Milner, eds. *The Erotics of Consolation: Desire and Distance in the Late Middle Ages*. New Middle Ages. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008.
- Le Goff, Jacques. *Medieval Civilization 400–1500*. Trans. Julia Barrow. Oxford: Blackwell, 1988.
- Leicester, H. Marshall Jr. *The Disenchanted Self: Representing the Subject in the Canterbury Tales*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.
- Lerer, Seth. *Courtly Letters in the Age of Henry VIII: Literary Culture and the Arts of Deceit*. Cambridge Studies in Renaissance Literature and Culture 18. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

- Linder, Amnon. "Jews and Judaism in the Eyes of Christian Thinkers of the Middle Ages: The Destruction of Jerusalem in Medieval Christian Liturgy." *From Witness to Witchcraft: Jews and Judaism in Medieval Christian Thought*. Ed. Jeremy Cohen. Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter-Studien 11. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996. 113–23.
- Locke, Frederick W. *The Quest for the Holy Grail: A Literary Study of a Thirteenth-Century French Romance*. Stanford Studies in Language and Literature 21. New York: AMS Press, 1967, c. 1960.
- Lumiansky, R. M. "'The Tale of Lancelot and Guenevere': Suspense." *Malory's Originality: A Critical Study of Le Morte Darthur*. Ed. R. M. Lumiansky. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1964. 205–32.
- Luscombe, D. E. "Peter Abelard and the Poets." *Poetry and Philosophy in the Middle Ages: A Festschrift for Peter Dronke*. Ed. John Marenbon. Leiden: Brill, 2001. 155–71.
- Madsen, Deborah L. *Rereading Allegory: A Narrative Approach to Genre*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994.
- Mann, Jill. "Chance and Destiny in *Troilus and Criseyde* and the *Knight's Tale*." *The Cambridge Companion to Chaucer*. 2nd ed. Ed. Piero Boitani and Jill Mann. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. 93–111.
- Marenbon, John. *The Philosophy of Peter Abelard*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Marion, Jean-Luc. "Resting, Moving, Loving: The Access to the Self according to Saint Augustine." *The Journal of Religion* 91 (2011): 24–42.
- Marius, Richard. "Thomas More and the Early Church Fathers." *Traditio* 24 (1968): 379–407.
- . *Thomas More: A Biography*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984.
- Markus, R. A. *Christianity and the Secular*. Blessed Pope John XXIII Lecture Series in Theology and Culture. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006.
- . *Conversion and Disenchantment in Augustine's Spiritual Career*. Villanova, PA: Villanova University Press, 1989.
- . *The End of Ancient Christianity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- . *Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology of St. Augustine*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- . "Signs, Communication and Communities in Augustine's *De doctrina christiana*." *De doctrina christiana: A Classic of Western Culture*. Ed. Duane W. H. Arnold and Pamela Bright. Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity 9. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995. 97–108.
- . "St. Augustine on Signs." *Augustine: A Collection of Critical Essays*. Ed. R. A. Markus. Garden City, NY: Doubleday/Anchor, 1972. 61–91.
- Martin, Christopher J. "Denying Conditionals: Abaelard and the Failure of Boethius' Account of the Hypothetical Syllogism." *Vivarium* 45 (2007): 153–68.
- Martz, Louis L. *Thomas More: The Search for the Inner Man*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990.

- Masi, Michael. "King Arthur, the Grail Quest, and Late Medieval Spirituality." *Cithara: Essays in the Judeo-Christian Tradition* 23 (1984): 16–24.
- Mathewes, Charles T. "The Liberation of Questioning in Augustine's *Confessions*." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 70 (2002): 539–60.
- McCall, John P. *Chaucer among the Gods: The Poetics of Classical Myth*. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1979.
- McLaughlin, Mary M. "Abelard as Autobiographer: The Motives and Meaning of his 'Story of Calamities.'" *Speculum* 42 (1967): 463–88.
- . "Peter Abelard and the Dignity of Women: Twelfth Century 'Feminism' in Theory and Practice." *Pierre Abélard Pierre le Vénéralable: Les Courants Philosophiques, Littéraires et Artistiques en Occident au Milieu du xii^e Siècle*. Colloques Internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique 546. Ed. Cluny. Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1975. 287–333.
- McMahon, Robert P. *Augustine's Prayerful Ascent: An Essay on the Literary Form of the Confessions*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989.
- . "Autobiography as Text-Work: Augustine's Refiguring of Genesis 3 and Ovid's 'Narcissus' in His Conversion Account." *Exemplaria* 1.2 (1989): 337–66.
- . *Understanding the Medieval Meditative Ascent: Augustine, Anselm, Boethius, & Dante*. Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2006.
- Mehl, Dieter. *The Middle English Romances of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*. London: Routledge, 1968.
- Mews, Constant J. *Abelard and Heloise*. Great Medieval Thinkers. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- . "Faith as Existimatio Rerum non Apparentium: Intellect, Imagination and Faith in the Philosophy of Peter Abelard." *Intellect and Imagination in Medieval Philosophy: Actes du XI^e Congrès International de Philosophie Médiévale de la Société Internationale pour l'Étude de la Philosophie Médiévale (S.I.E.P.M.), Porto, du 26 au 31 août 2002*. Rencontres de philosophie médiévale 11. Turnhout: Brepols, 2006. 915–26.
- . "Peter Abelard on Dialectic, Rhetoric, and the Principles of Argument." *Rhetoric and Renewal in the Latin West 1100–1540: Essays in Honour of John O. Ward*. Ed. Constant J. Mews, Cary J. Nederman, and Rodney M. Thomson. Turnhout: Brepols, 2003. 37–53.
- Middleton, Anne. "Narration and the Invention of Experience: Episodic Form in *Piers Plowman*." *The Wisdom of Poetry: Essays in Early English Literature in Honor of Morton W. Bloomfield*. Ed. Larry D. Benson and Siegfried Wenzel. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1982. 91–122.
- Miles, Leland. "The 'Dialogue of Comfort' and More's Execution: Some Comments on Literary Purpose." *The Modern Language Review* 61 (1966): 556–60.
- . "The Literary Artistry of Thomas More: The *Dialogue of Comfort*." *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 6 (1966): 7–33.
- . "More's *Dialogue of Comfort* as a First Draft." *Studies in Philology* 63 (1966): 126–34.

- Miller, Mark. *Philosophical Chaucer: Love, Sex, and Agency in the Canterbury Tales*. Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 55. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Minnis, A. J. *Chaucer and Pagan Antiquity*. Chaucer Studies 8. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1982.
- , ed. *Chaucer's 'Boece' and the Medieval Tradition of Boethius*. Chaucer Studies 18. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1993.
- , ed. *The Medieval Boethius: Studies in the Vernacular Translations of De Consolatione Philosophiae*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1987.
- Minnis, Alastair. "Aspects of the Medieval French and English Traditions of Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae*." *Boethius: His Life, Thought and Influence*. Ed. M. T. Gibson. Oxford: Blackwell, 1981. 312–61.
- Morris, Colin. *The Discovery of the Individual, 1050–1200*. New York: Harper & Row, 1972.
- Murtaugh, Daniel M. *Piers Plowman and the Image of God*. Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1978.
- Muscatine, Charles. *Chaucer and the French Tradition: A Study in Style and Meaning*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957.
- . "Form, Texture, and Meaning in Chaucer's 'Knight's Tale.'" *PMLA* 65 (1950): 911–29.
- Nichols, Stephen G. Jr. *Romanesque Signs: Early Medieval Narrative and Iconography*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983.
- Nussbaum, Martha. "Augustine and Dante on the Ascent of Love." *The Augustinian Tradition*. Ed. Gareth B. Matthews. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999. 61–90.
- O'Connell, Robert J. *St Augustine's Confessions: The Odyssey of Soul*. 2nd ed. New York: Fordham University Press, 1989.
- O'Daly, Gerard. *Augustine's City of God: A Reader's Guide*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999.
- O'Donnell, James J. *Augustine: Confessions*. 3 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.
- O'Donovan, Oliver. "Augustine's *City of God* XIX and Western Political Thought." *Dionysius* 11 (1987): 89–110.
- Olmstead, Wendy Raudenbush. "Philosophical Inquiry and Religious Transformation in Boethius's *The Consolation of Philosophy* and Augustine's *Confessions*." *The Journal of Religion* 69 (1989): 14–35.
- Olson, Paul A. *The Canterbury Tales and the Good Society*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986.
- Otten, Willemien. "The Bible and the Self in Medieval Autobiography: Otloh of St. Emmeram (1010–1070) and Peter Abelard (1079–1142)." *The Whole and the Divided Self*. Ed. David E. Aune and John McCarthy. New York: Crossroad, 1997. 130–157.
- . "The Poetics of Biblical Tragedy in Abelard's *Planctus*." *Poetry and Exegesis in Premodern Latin Christianity: The Encounter between Classical and Christian Strategies of Interpretation*. Supplements to *Vigiliae Christianae* 87. Ed. Willemien Otten and Karla Pollman. Leiden: Brill, 2007. 245–61.

- Patterson, Lee. *Chaucer and the Subject of History*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991.
- . *Negotiating the Past: The Historical Understanding of Medieval Literature*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987.
- Payne, F. Anne. *Chaucer and Menippean Satire*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1981.
- Pearsall, Derek. *The Canterbury Tales*. Unwin Critical Library. London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1985.
- Pelikan, Jaroslav. *The Mystery of Continuity: Time and History, Memory and Eternity in the Thought of Saint Augustine*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1986.
- Pocock, J. G. A. *The First Decline and Fall*. Vol. 3 of *Barbarism and Religion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Pranger, M. B. "Time and Narrative in Augustine's *Confessions*." *The Journal of Religion* 81.3 (2001): 377–93.
- Pucci, Joseph. *The Full-Knowing Reader: Allusion and the Power of the Reader in the Western Literary Tradition*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.
- Quilligan, Maureen. *The Language of Allegory: Defining the Genre*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1979.
- Raabe, Pamela. *Imitating God: The Allegory of Faith in Piers Plowman B*. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1990.
- Radner, Ephraim. *The End of the Church: A Pneumatology of Christian Division in the West*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co, 1998.
- Ramsey, Lee C. *Chivalric Romances: Popular Literature in Medieval England*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1983.
- Raw, Barbara. "Piers and the Image of God in Man." *Piers Plowman: Critical Approaches*. Ed. S. S. Hussey. London: Methuen, 1969. 143–79.
- Richmond, Velma Bourgeois. *The Popularity of Middle English Romance*. Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green University Press, 1975.
- Ricoeur, Paul. *Time and Narrative*. Vol. 1. Trans. Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984.
- Robbins, Jill. *Prodigal Son/Elder Brother: Interpretation and Alterity in Augustine, Petrarch, Kafka, Levinas*. Religion and Postmodernism. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Robertson, D. W. Jr., and Bernard F. Huppe. *Piers Plowman and Scriptural Tradition*. Princeton Studies in English 31. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951.
- Rogers, William Elford. *Interpretation in Piers Plowman*. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2002.
- Root, Jerry. "Space to Speke": *The Confessional Subject in Medieval Literature*. American University Studies, Series II: Romance Languages and Literatures 225. New York: Peter Lang, 1997.
- Rosenberg, Stanley P. "Forming the Saeculum: The Desacralization of Nature and the Ability to Understand it in Augustine." *God's Bounty?: The Churches and the Natural World*. Ed. Peter Clarke and Tony Claydon. Studies in Church History 46. Rochester, NY: Boydell & Brewer, 2010. 1–14.

- Rosenfeld, Jessica. *Ethics and Enjoyment in Late Medieval Poetry: Love after Aristotle*. Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 85. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Rubenstein, Jay. "Biography and Autobiography in the Middle Ages." *Writing Medieval History*. Ed. Nancy Partner. Writing History. London: Hodder, 2005. 22–41.
- Rudd, Gillian. *Managing Language in Piers Plowman*. Piers Plowman Studies IX. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1994.
- Salter, Elizabeth. *Fourteenth-Century English Poetry: Contexts and Readings*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983.
- . "Medieval Poetry and the Figural View of Reality." Sir Israel Gollancz Memorial Lecture, British Academy. *Proceedings of the British Academy* 54 (1968): 73–92.
- Schless, Howard H. "Fourteenth Century *Imitatio* and *Piers Plowman*." *Intellectuals and Writers in Fourteenth-Century Europe*. Ed. Piero Boitani and Anna Torti. The J. A. W. Bennett Memorial Lectures. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1986. 164–77.
- Schrock, Chad. "The Proportion of His Purpose: Peter Abelard's *Historia calamitatum* as Sacred History." *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* 77 (2010): 29–46.
- . "She Came Down from Heaven: The Storied Propositions of *Piers Plowman*'s Holy Church." *Literature and Theology*. Advance Access published online September 29, 2014, doi:10.1093/litthe/fru056.
- Schweitzer, Edward C. "Fate and Freedom in *The Knight's Tale*." *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 3 (1981): 13–45.
- Sears, Elizabeth. *The Ages of Man: Medieval Interpretations of the Life Cycle*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986.
- Shuger, Debora K. *Sacred Rhetoric: The Christian Grand Style in the English Renaissance*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988.
- Simon, Marcel. *Verus Israel: A Study of the Relations between Christians and Jews in the Roman Empire (135–425)*. Trans. H. McKeating. The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Simpson, James. *1350–1547: Reform and Cultural Revolution*. Oxford English Literary History 2. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- . *Burning to Read: English Fundamentalism and its Reformation Opponents*. Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2007.
- . "Chaucer's Presence and Absence, 1400–1550." *The Cambridge Companion to Chaucer*. 2nd ed. Ed. Piero Boitani and Jill Mann. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. 251–69.
- . "Desire and the Scriptural Text: Will as Reader in *Piers Plowman*." *Criticism and Dissent in the Middle Ages*. Ed. Rita Copeland. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996. 215–43.
- . "From Reason to Affective Knowledge: Modes of Thought and Poetic Form in *Piers Plowman*." *Medium Aevum* 55 (1986): 1–23.
- . *Piers Plowman: An Introduction*. Rev. ed. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2007.

- Southern, R. W. *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1970.
- Spence, Sarah. *Rhetorics of Reason and Desire*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988.
- . *Texts and the Self in the Twelfth Century*. Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 30. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Spengemann, William C. *The Forms of Autobiography: Episodes in the History of a Literary Genre*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980.
- Stapleton, Thomas. *The Life of Sir Thomas More*. Ed. E. E. Reynolds. Trans. Philip E. Hallett. Bronx, NY: Fordham University Press, 1966.
- Starnes, Colin. "Augustine's Conversion and the Ninth Book of the *Confessions*." *Augustine: From Rhetor to Theologian*. Ed. Joanne McWilliam. Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1992. 51–66.
- Stock, Brian. *After Augustine: The Meditative Reader and the Text*. Material Texts. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.
- . *Augustine the Reader: Meditation, Self-Knowledge, and the Ethics of Interpretation*. Cambridge: Belknap, 1996.
- . *Augustine's Inner Dialogue: The Philosophical Soliloquy in Late Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- . *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983.
- . "Medieval Literacy, Linguistic Theory, and Social Organization." *New Literary History* 16 (1984): 13–29.
- Stone, Brian, trans. *King Arthur's Death: Alliterative Morte Arthure and Stanzaic Le Morte Arthur*. London: Penguin, 1988.
- Stroumsa, Gedaliahu G. "Caro salutis cardo: Shaping the Person in Early Christian Thought." *History of Religions* 30 (1990): 25–50.
- Suchocki, Marjorie. "The Symbolic Structure of Augustine's *Confessions*." *The Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 50.3 (1982): 365–78.
- Sutherland, Christine Mason. "Love as Rhetorical Principle: The Relationship between Content and Style in the Rhetoric of St. Augustine." *Grace, Politics and Desire: Essays on Augustine*. Ed. Hugo A. Meynell. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1990. 139–56.
- Sutherland, Jennifer. "Rhyming Patterns and Structures in the Stanzaic *Morte Arthur*." *Arthuriana* 12 (2002): 1–24.
- Sweeney, Eileen C. "Abelard's *Historia Calamitatum* and Letters: Self as Search and Struggle." *Poetics Today* 28 (2007): 303–36.
- . *Logic, Theology, and Poetry in Boethius, Abelard, and Alan of Lille: Words in the Absence of Things*. The New Middle Ages. New York: Palgrave, 2006.
- . "Rewriting the Narrative of Scripture: Twelfth-Century Debates over Reason and Theological Form." *Medieval Philosophy and Theology* 3 (1993): 1–34.
- Taylor, Charles. *A Secular Age*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2007.
- . *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989.

- Tentler, Thomas N. *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977.
- Tolmie, Sarah. "Langland, Wittgenstein, and the End of Language." *The Yearbook of Langland Studies* 20 (2006): 115–39.
- Troup, Calvin L. *Temporality, Eternity, and Wisdom: The Rhetoric of Augustine's Confessions*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1999.
- Troyer, Howard William. "Who is Piers Plowman?" *Style and Symbolism in Piers Plowman: A Modern Critical Anthology*. Ed. Robert J. Blanch. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1969. 156–73.
- Vessey, Mark. "The Great Conference: Augustine and His Fellow Readers." *Augustine and the Bible*. Ed. and trans. Pamela Bright. The Bible through the Ages 2. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999. 52–73.
- Vitz, Evelyn Birge. *Medieval Narrative and Modern Narratology: Subjects and Objects of Desire*. New York University Studies in French Culture and Civilization. New York: New York University Press, 1989.
- von Moos, Peter. "Literary Aesthetics in the Latin Middle Ages: The Rhetorical Theology of Peter Abelard." *Rhetoric and Renewal in the Latin West 1100–1540: Essays in Honour of John O. Ward*. Ed. Constant J. Mews, Cary J. Nederman, and Rodney M. Thomson. Turnhout: Brepols, 2003. 81–97.
- Wegemer, Gerard B. *Young Thomas More and the Arts of Liberty*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Weinberg, Carole. "The Stanzaic *Morte Arthur*." *The Arthur of the English*. Ed. W. R. J. Barron. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1999. 100–11.
- Weintraub, Karl Joachim. *The Value of the Individual: Self and Circumstance in Autobiography*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978.
- Wenzel, Siegfried. *The Sin of Sloth: Acedia in Medieval Thought and Literature*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1960.
- Wertime, Richard. "The Theme and Structure of the Stanzaic *Morte Arthur*." *PMLA* 87 (1972): 1075–82.
- Wetherbee, Winthrop. *Chaucer and the Poets: An Essay on Troilus and Criseyde*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1984.
- . *Platonism and Poetry in the Twelfth-Century: The Literary Influence of the School of Chartres*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972.
- Wheeler, Bonnie, ed. *Listening to Heloise: The Voice of a Twelfth-Century Woman*. The New Middle Ages. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000.
- Whetter, K. S. "The Stanzaic *Morte Arthur* and Medieval Tragedy." *Reading Medieval Studies* 28 (2002): 87–111.
- White, Hayden. "Auerbach's Literary History: Figural Causation and Modernist Historicism." *Literary History and the Challenge of Philology: The Legacy of Erich Auerbach*. Ed. Seth Lerer. Figurae: Reading Medieval Culture. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996. 124–39.
- Williams, Rowan. "Language, Reality and Desire in Augustine's *De Doctrina*." *Journal of Literature & Theology* 3.2 (1989): 138–50.
- Wilson, K. J. *Incomplete Fictions: The Formation of English Renaissance Dialogue*. Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1985.

- Wilson, Robert H. "Malory, the Stanzaic *Morte Arthur*, and the *Mort Artu*." *Modern Philology* 37 (1939): 125–38.
- Wittig, Joseph. "Piers Plowman B, Passus IX–XII: Elements in the Design of the Inward Journey." *Traditio* 28 (1972): 211–80.
- . *William Langland Revisited*. Twayne's English Author Series 537. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1997.
- Wouters, Annelies Maria. "The Meaning of Formal Structure in Peter Abelard's *Collationes*." PhD Dissertation. Harvard University, 2003.
- Wright, N. T. *The New Testament and the People of God*. Christian Origins and the Question of God 1. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992.
- Young, Frances M. *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Zeeman, Nicolette. *Piers Plowman and the Medieval Discourse of Desire*. Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 59. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

INDEX

- Abelard, Peter, 2–3, 6, 35–57, 60,
129, 131, 155
castration, 35–7, 41, 45–8, 53
deference, 36–7, 39–40, 46–53
Dialectica, 39
heresy, 35, 41, 43, 47–8
Historia calamitatum, 3, 35–57, 83, 85
ingenium, 36–7, 42, 44, 55–6
Logica ingredientibus, 39
Sic et non, 38, 40, 43
De unitate et Trinitate divina, 43
- Acts, 30, 52, 56
- Adams, Robert, 79
- Aeneas, 85, 86, 105
- Aers, David, 66
- Agravain, 92, 100
- Ajax, 7, 38, 42–5
- Alexander, Flora M., 90
- allegory, 19, 22, 40–1, 55, 59, 65,
69–73, 76, 80–1, 83, 91–2,
120–2, 132–4
- allusion, practice of, 7, 29, 37, 38,
40–57, 69, 116–17
- Alypius, 26, 28
- Amazons, 107, 111, 117, 120
- Ambrose, 18, 24, 74
- Anderson, David, 121
- Antichrist, 60, 75–6, 81, 133
- apocalypse, 32, 62, 75, 82, 97–8, 116,
131–2, 154. *See* eschatology,
Last Judgment
- apocalypticism, 4, 81
- aporia, 13, 28, 112
- Aristotle, 24, 38, 43
- Arthur, 6, 7, 85–105, 154
court of, 6, 85–105, 129, 155
- Athanasius, 7, 38, 53
- Athens, 7, 52, 107, 109–27
- Augustine of Hippo, 9–33. *See also*
Augustinian narrative form
On Christian Doctrine, 1, 145, 154
City of God (see under *City of God*)
Confessions (see under *Confessions*)
Expositions on the Psalms, 12, 27,
30, 155
Letter 138, 145
Manicheanism, 18
Monica, 13, 19, 24–5
Retractions, 27, 28, 30
Sermons, 30
On the Trinity, 39
wheat and tares, 73, 122
- authority, 9, 11, 13, 15, 28, 30–2, 36,
40–4, 47–8, 56–7, 59–61, 65–6,
69–73, 85–6, 94–100
- authorship, 28, 52, 145, 150–1, 155.
See also invention
- autobiography, 9, 11–16, 20, 26–9, 33,
35, 36, 40, 45, 83, 130, 148
- Batiek, Stephanie, 66
- Bedivere, 88, 94, 101, 104
- Beston, John and Rose Marie, 89, 93
- Boccaccio, 114, 117
Teseida, 108, 114, 117, 121–2, 125–6
- Boethius, 2, 5–7, 31–3, 62, 65, 76,
108–9, 111–16, 120–2, 127, 130
Consolation of Philosophy, 2, 31–2,
62, 65, 130
- Lady Philosophy, 2, 7, 32, 65, 112,
115, 121
- Brown, Catherine, 41

- Brown, Peter, 10–11, 24
 Bynum, Caroline Walker, 40, 55
- Caesar (Augustus), 44–5
 Cameron, Michael, 18
 Carruthers, Mary, 80
 Cary, Phillip, 14
 Cassiciacum, 14, 24, 29
 Catholicism, 18, 21, 24, 26, 129–39,
 142, 145–6, 150. *See also* church,
 Christendom
 charity, 1, 31, 59, 62, 67–9, 72,
 73, 77, 79, 80, 90, 93, 118.
See also desire, love
 Chaucer, Geoffrey, 2–3, 32, 62.
See also *Knight's Tale*
 chivalry, 85–6, 88, 90–3, 102, 110,
 114, 120, 123, 127
 Christ, 7, 27, 37
 annunciation, 69
 birth, 69
 brings Holy Spirit, 49–51
 crucifixion and passion, 37, 46–8,
 52–3, 55–6, 61, 72, 79, 98–100,
 132, 139–40, 147–51, 154
 curses fig tree, 49–51
 Gethsemane, 70, 147–9
 Good Samaritan parable, 7, 81
 harrows Hell, 62, 72, 79
 incarnation, 1, 4, 6, 10–13, 15–18,
 21, 30, 32, 56, 60, 62, 65–72,
 75–8, 87, 139, 153–4
 miracles, 79–80
 Prodigal Son parable, 19
 resurrection, 13, 17, 72
 Christendom, 7, 11, 52, 54, 59,
 61, 130–9, 150–1. *See also*
 Catholicism, church
 church, 1, 4–5, 11–12, 14–16, 21,
 23, 27–8, 30, 37, 53–4, 59–83,
 87–8, 90, 92–100, 109, 144–6,
 149–51. *See also* Catholicism,
 Christendom
 Cicero, 14
Consolatio, 5
Hortensius, 18, 24
City of God, 9–13, 15–18, 20–4,
 26–7, 29–30, 60, 78, 86–7,
 92–3, 108, 116, 136–7, 142,
 150, 153–4
 City of Man, 86–7, 116, 118
 closure, 1–2, 7, 12, 35, 41–4,
 64–6, 73. *See also* narrative
 form
 Cohen, Jeremy
Living Letters of the Law, 93
Confessions, 1–7, 9–16, 18–21,
 24–9, 31, 60, 66, 83, 85, 136,
 154–5
 Constantine, 21–2
contemptus mundi, 90, 103
 conversion, 1, 4, 6, 10–21, 24–8,
 32–3, 35–6, 42–3, 46, 48, 55,
 59, 148
 Cranz, F. E., 15
 Creon, 111, 116
- Dalrymple, Roger, 91
 Dante, 121
Commedia, 9, 20
 desire, 13–14, 31, 44–8, 66–9, 71–2,
 78, 83, 85–7, 107, 109, 115,
 118–19, 122–4, 142, 146–7, 155.
See also charity, love
 dialogue, 3, 32, 50, 69, 130
*A Dialogue of Comfort against
 Tribulation*, 3, 129, 136,
 137, 154
 Antony, 130, 132–50
 fantasy, 141–4, 146
(see also imagination)
 Hungary, 130–4, 136–40, 150–1
 meditation, 132, 140, 146–51
 pain, 129, 130, 132, 133, 137–8,
 140–2, 146–51
 persecution, 131, 132, 134–43,
 146–51
 suicide, 130, 133, 145, 150
 Turks, 130–40, 143–4
 Vincent, 6, 130, 132–9, 143, 144,
 147, 150, 151
 dream vision, 3, 61, 70

- Edwards, Robert, 50
 elegy, 85, 88, 93–4, 154
 epistemology, 7, 13–33, 40, 60–1,
 65–6, 72, 139–40
 eschatology, 3–4, 10–11, 19–21,
 29–30, 37, 54, 73–4, 108, 137,
 150, 153. *See also* apocalypse,
 Last Judgment
 Eucharist, 27, 68, 74, 79
 Eusebius, 9, 11, 20–1
 Evans, G. R., 39
 exegesis, 21, 24, 28, 56, 91–3, 144–6,
 154–5. *See also* hermeneutics,
 interpretation
 figural, 2–4, 6, 11–12, 16–17,
 19, 33, 42, 92–3, 120
 (*see also* figural narrative form,
 typology)
 exile, 5, 11, 16, 36–8, 51–6, 77, 117, 119
- Finke, Laurie A., 66
 Fortune, 4, 45, 76, 120
 Fox, Alistair, 137, 140
 Frank, Donald, 46
 Freccero, John, 13
- Geoffrey of Monmouth, 85
 Gogan, Brian, 144
 Goldsmith, Margaret, 66
 Goldstein, R. James, 107
 Grail Quest, 86–9, 92
 Gregory, Brad S., 150
 Guibert of Nogent, 9, 35, 40
Monodiae, 9
- Hanning, Robert, 110
 Haupt, Garry E., 144
 Hebrew. *See* Jew
 Heloise, 36, 45–7, 49–51, 54–5, 57
 correspondence of, 36, 54, 57
 Henry VIII, 130, 132–4, 148
 hermeneutics, 6, 31, 38, 66, 92–3,
 131, 139, 140, 144–5. *See also*
 exegesis, interpretation
 historiography, 2, 5, 86, 92, 137, 139,
 150, 153
- history
 ecclesiastical, 9, 20, 37, 52–6,
 77–83, 94, 129
 pagan, 11, 15–18, 20–2, 30, 59,
 107–27
 political, 9, 85–90, 116, 137
 revisionist, 22, 27
 sacred, 1–7, 9–12, 15–20, 27–9, 30,
 33, 35–7, 40–57, 60–4, 68–74,
 81–3, 91, 108, 129–39, 153–4
 Holy Spirit, 37–9, 49–50, 54–5, 62,
 67–8, 74, 81, 139, 142, 144–5,
 147–8, 155
- imagination, 27–8, 120, 132, 135–47
 interpretation, 3–4, 11–13, 18, 26–32,
 38, 40, 55–7, 60–1, 65, 69–78,
 82, 91, 93, 96–7, 99, 123, 127,
 132–7, 139–47, 154–5. *See also*
 exegesis, hermeneutics
 invention, 3, 31, 155. *See also*
 authorship
 irony, 24, 42, 45, 49, 57, 70, 86, 90,
 98, 100, 107, 112, 114, 118,
 122, 148
 Islam, 52, 130, 133, 134
- Jansen Jaech, Sharon L., 91
 Jerome, 37, 52–3, 55, 74
 Jew, 1–2, 4–6, 11–12, 17, 18, 20, 28,
 47, 49, 74, 92–3, 153
 Joachim of Fiore, 81
 Jones, Judith P., 133
- Kasten, Madeleine, 71
 à Kempis, Thomas
The Imitation of Christ, 131
Knight's Tale, 2, 3, 107–27, 154
 Arcite, 6, 107–27, 129, 154
 Cadmus, 116, 117
 Emelye, 6, 107, 109, 111, 113–27
 Eteocles, 111, 116–17, 121
 First Mover speech, 2, 109–11,
 113–15, 120, 122, 125–7
 fratricide, 110, 116–18
 gentility, 122–5

- Knight's Tale*—Continued
 Oedipus, 111, 116–17
 Polynices, 111, 116–17, 121
 Thebes, 7, 107, 109–12, 116–27, 129
 Theseus, 2, 107, 109–22, 124–7
 Knopp, Sherron E., 91
- Lakowski, Romuald I., 133
 Lampert-Weissig, Lisa, 91
 Langland, William, 3, 59–62, 66–9, 83, 129, 131, 155. *See also* *Piers Plowman*
- Leicester, Marshall, 110, 120
 logic, 2, 43
 proportion, 35–42, 47–57, 91
 relation, 4, 37–9, 56
 love, 46, 62, 66–8, 71–2, 78, 80–3, 87–90, 92, 100, 102–4, 108, 112–19, 123–7. *See also* charity, desire
- Lucan, 44
 Pharsalia, 44
- Malory, Thomas, 88
 Manley, Frank, 133
 Marius, Richard, 133, 144
 Markus, R. A., 86–7
 marriage, 36, 55, 100–4, 107, 113–17, 123–7
 Mars, 7, 38, 45, 112, 122
 martyrdom, 4–5, 21, 35, 55, 147–50
 Mathewes, Charles T., 31
 McMahon, Robert, 12, 14
 Mehl, Dieter, 89, 93
 memory, 19–21, 26–9, 50–1, 70, 73, 82, 90, 100–5, 113, 146, 154
 metonymy, 92, 120, 133
 Miles, Leland, 132–3
 Miller, Mark, 121
 Mohács, battle of, 131
 monasticism, 20, 35, 36, 41, 42, 43, 44, 48, 52, 54, 55, 85, 87, 93, 100, 104
 von Moos, Peter, 55
 Mordred, 94, 97–101
- More, Thomas, 2, 3, 7, 129–51, 154
 The Confutation of Tyndale's Answer, 129
 A Dialogue Concerning Heresies, 129
 A Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation (*see* *A Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation*)
 Responsio ad Lutherum, 129
 De Tristitia Christi, 145, 149
- Muscatine, Charles, 109, 113
- narrative, Biblical
 Abraham, 7, 12, 60, 63
 Apostles, 37, 52–3
 Cain, 54–5, 116
 Christ (*see* Christ)
 Creation, 5, 17, 19
 Damascus road, 19
 Eden, 19, 121
 Exodus, 5
 Fall, 6, 10, 19, 37, 45–6, 54, 69, 99
 Last Judgment, 3, 23–4, 122, 139 (*see also* eschatology)
 Moses, 7, 31, 60, 91
 Paul, 19, 52
 Peter, 47, 70
- narrative form. *See also* closure
 Augustinian, 1–7, 9–33, 59, 60, 61, 62, 66–72, 85–8, 108–11, 116, 121–7, 129, 136–9, 153–5
 chiastic, 13–16, 125
 climax, 13–22, 26, 29, 30, 32, 36, 48–50, 108, 110, 114, 125–7, 153–4
 cyclical, 16–17, 59, 66, 104, 109–11, 116–21
 figural, 3–4, 12, 18–20, 36–8, 40–1, 60, 69, 77–83, 85, 87–93, 108–10, 116, 118, 122–7, 132–5, 139, 147–51, 153–5 (*see also* figural exegesis, typology)
 gap, inclusive of, 5, 16, 21, 24–6, 30, 38, 41–2, 45, 57, 64, 73–83, 148, 153
 illegible, 21–5, 33, 110–11

- linear, 1, 4–6, 11, 13–20, 60–1, 107–16, 137
- open, 3–6, 66–72, 153–5
- punctiliar, 19, 29
- stasis, 2–4, 10, 14–15, 24–5, 66–9, 73, 77, 112, 121–2, 136, 153
- Neoplatonism, 2, 3, 5, 6, 9–11, 13–16, 18, 24–6, 32, 65, 68, 114–15
- dualism, 16, 130
- vision, 2, 6, 10, 14–16, 24–7, 29, 32, 113, 148
- O'Connell, Robert J., 13
- St. Augustine's Confessions: The Odyssey of Soul*, 13
- O'Donnell, James, 14
- O'Donovan, Oliver, 15
- Origen, 7, 42, 52
- Orosius, 20
- Adversus paganos historiarum*, 20
- Ostia, 13, 14, 19, 25–7
- Otloh of St. Emmeram, 35, 40
- Paideia, 28
- Palamon, 6, 7, 107–27, 129, 155
- Paraclete, 36–8, 42–52, 54–7, 131.
- See also* Holy Spirit
- Patterson, Lee, 1, 9, 110, 120
- Chaucer and the Subject of History*, 110
- Negotiating the Past*, 1
- performance, 3, 6–7, 26, 28–32, 51, 52, 56, 62, 71–2, 74, 82, 83, 101, 109, 110, 122, 125–7, 130–1, 138–40, 147–51, 155
- Piers Plowman*, 3, 59–83, 85, 154:
- prologue, 60–1, 65, 71, 73, 75;
- passus 1, 60–3, 65–72; passus 18, 61–2, 72, 74; passus 19, 60–2, 64, 72–80; passus 20, 60–1, 64, 76–8, 80–3
- Conscience, 6, 59, 60, 61, 74, 76, 78–82
- Faith, 7, 63, 81
- Frere Flaterre, 76, 80, 81
- Grace, 61, 72–8, 80, 82, 83, 131
- Holy Church, 61, 62, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 77, 83
- Hope, 7, 81
- Kynde, 75, 80, 82–3
- Piers (Plowman)*, 6–7, 60–1, 63–4, 72–8, 80–3, 131
- Truth, 69, 72, 75, 76
- Unity, 61, 73–5, 76, 77, 78, 80, 82
- Will, 7, 59–83, 129
- pilgrimage, 60, 61, 75–8, 81–2, 108
- plainness, 23, 131–2, 138–40, 143–6, 149, 150
- Plato, 32, 43, 76
- Platonism. *See* Neoplatonism
- Plotinus, 6, 10, 32
- Pompey, 44–5, 55
- Porphyry, 6, 10, 32
- posthistory, 1–7, 20–30, 36, 48, 61, 71–83, 87–8, 93, 107, 109, 121–7, 131, 153–5
- Pratt, Karen, 89
- prison, 2, 111–12, 115, 117–19, 121, 123, 124, 130, 134, 141–4, 148, 149
- prophecy, 16–18, 24, 27, 30, 46–7, 52, 92, 112
- propositional language, 59, 61, 64–6, 69, 71–2
- Protestantism, 59, 129, 130, 132–3, 135, 139, 144–6, 150
- Pucci, Joseph, 45
- quest, 60, 61, 65–6, 68–9, 71–2, 76, 78, 81, 83, 94, 108
- Raabe, Pamela, 66
- Ramsey, Lee C., 90
- reading, 13, 24, 27–8, 63, 95, 101, 139–40, 142, 144, 145
- redemption, 17–19, 37, 54, 93, 108, 123. *See also* salvation
- Reformation, 59, 129, 137–8, 150
- regio dissimilitudinis*, 10, 16

- revelation, 1, 4, 7, 16–17, 20–1,
 65–75, 91–3, 109, 120–2, 144,
 153–4
 rhetoric, 30–2, 38, 40–1, 44, 46–8,
 55–6, 65, 70–2, 138, 143, 145
 Richmond, Velma Bourgeois, 90
 Robertson, Jr., D. W., 1–2
 romance, 3, 60, 90, 91, 118, 124
 Rome, 1, 4–5, 9, 11, 15, 17–18, 21–2,
 85–7, 99, 150, 153
 fall of, 1, 6, 11, 21, 22, 29,
 59, 137
 Romulus, 17–18
 Roper, Margaret, 133

saeculum, 10, 32, 63, 86, 87, 92,
 103, 107, 116, 122, 126.
 See also secular
 saints' lives, 3, 35, 149
 salvation, 10, 20, 64, 73, 80,
 99, 116, 123, 146.
 See also redemption
 Saturn, 107, 111, 112, 115, 122
 secular, 2, 43, 45, 85–105, 107–27,
 154. *See also saeculum*
 Seneca, 5, 22
 similitude, 38–42, 45, 48, 55–7
 Simpson, James, 59, 60, 144
 Spengemann, William C., 14
Stanzaic Morte, 3, 87–105, 107, 154.
 See also Arthur
 Archbishop of Canterbury, 94,
 97–9, 101
 Ector, 88, 100
 Galahad, 86, 100
 Gaynor, 6, 87–91, 94–105
 hermit, 81, 88, 91, 92, 94, 98, 100,
 101, 103, 104, 105
 Lancelot, 6–7, 86–97, 100–5, 129,
 154–5
 oaths, 98–100
 tombs, 95–6, 101, 104–5
 Stapleton, Thomas, 132
 Statius, 109, 120–1
 Thebaid, 109, 116
 Stock, Brian, 13, 40
 Stone, Brian, 89, 93
 supersession, 20, 88, 91–4
 Susanna, 7, 38, 55
 Sutherland, Jennifer, 90
 Sweeney, Eileen, 39, 55
 synecdoche, 92, 148

 Tertullian, 4, 39
 textuality, 10, 13, 25, 27–30, 38,
 40, 48–52, 55–7, 59, 74, 93–6,
 135, 144
 theodicy, 18, 108, 127
 Theodosius, 21–2
 Tolmie, Sarah, 59
 tragedy, 4, 45, 89–90, 137, 139
translatio imperii, 85, 153
 Tyndale, William, 131, 132,
 144, 146
 typology, 18, 19, 55, 79, 91, 107, 110,
 116–21, 125. *See also* figural
 exegesis, figural narrative form

 Venus, 45, 112, 122
 Vergil, 2, 9, 18, 138
 Aeneid, 86
 Vulgate Cycle, 87, 88, 91, 92
 Mort, 87–90, 92, 95–7, 99, 100
 Queste del Saint Graal, 86, 91, 92

 Weinberg, Carole, 90
 Whetter, K. S., 89, 90, 93
 Wilson, K. J., 133

 Zeeman, Nicolette, 71