Ovid, Medieval Latin and the Pastourelle

Generally speaking, when the Medieval Latin Pastourelle is mentioned in connection with its vernacular counterparts – French, Provençal, Spanish, or even English [1] – the discussion is one of origins. The question asked is 'Which came first, the Latin or the vernacular?' That the Pastourelle is essentially a vernacular genre has been argued (rightly, in my opinion) by scholars such as Jones [2], Bec [3], Zink [4], Köhler [5], and Dronke [6]. The theory of Latin priority has been most strongly argued by Faral [7], Delbouille [8], Brinkmann [9], and more recently by Paden [10]. A somewhat strange, hybrid view is proposed by Biella [11], who seems to see a vernacular form filled by Latin themes. In the course of this article I shall attempt to show what is wrong with the Latin theory and then how the use of Ovid in two Medieval Latin Pastourelles argues for a theory of vernacular origins. To start with, we need some sort of working definition of a Pastourelle.

Perhaps it is true to say that some of the arguments have arisen because scholars do not always have the same views on what constitutes a Pastourelle. They attempt to define the genre in such a way as to produce an acceptable 'ur'-form – an unlikely achievement in a genre of vernacular lyric – a form, moreover, based on certain usually unstated assumptions about the original story-line. Even the view that there was a story-line is based on the assumption that the genre was originally narrative. Unfortunately, in our attempted definition of the genre we cannot turn to music for help. If some medieval genres of lyric are defined by their musical form, as opposed to their content or style, this is not the case for the Pastourelle. [12] As far as one can tell, the Pastourelle needed borrowed musical forms, e.g. rotrouenge. [13] This may well be the explanation for the use of the same tune for the Pastourelle 'Exiit diluculo' from the Carmina Burana and the religious 'Surrexit de tumulo' from the Las Huelgas codex. [14] It does appear from the last three lines of each work:

(a)	scolarem sedere	(b)	pangat
	quid tu facis, domine?		alleluya
	veni mecum ludere.		alleluya

that not only was music not the defining characteristic of the genre but that syllable count was not all that important either, i.e. there was no dominant verse structure. From Bec's account one sees that if the more learned Pastourelles, Provençal or French, use a structure similar to that of the canso, others use completely different structures. [15] Although this is not clear in Bec's discussion, where he appears to confuse musical form, e.g. rotrouenge and content, e.g. reverdie, the Pastourelle not only borrowed other genre's musical forms, it also lent some of its motifs to other genres.

In other words, the interférence régistrale is widespread, adding even more confusion to our attempts to pin down the genre. The two Medieval treatises on the poetic arts which deal with the Pastourelle, the Doctrina de Compondre Dictats of Jofre de Foixà [16] and the Leys d'Amor of Guillaume Molinier [17], offer little solid help. Jofre tells us: 'If you want to write a Pastourelle you must write of love in the way that I will teach you, that is to say: you meet a shepherdess and you want to greet her or ask her for her love or have a chat or court her or have a discussion on some topic. You can give her a designation other than shepherdess according to the type of animal she is looking after. This genre is fairly simple to understand and you can write it in six or eight verses with new music or else a tune already in use.' In Guillaume we find: 'Definition of a Pastourelle: Pastourelle is a poem which can have six or eight or ten verses, or more, that is, as many as the poet wants, but not more than thirty. It must deal with mockery to produce amusement. And it is particularly in this genre - because sin is more prevalent here than in other genres - that the poet must avoid dirty words or ugly expressions and not recount any evil deed, because it is possible for a man and woman to tease and mock each other without saying or doing anything dirty or unpleasant. The Pastourelle always needs a new melody, pleasant and happy, not so long as for a vers or canso, but one which has a lively, quick sound. On similar lines are Pastourelles about keepers of cows, girls in orchards, keepers of pigs, of geese, of goats, gardeners, nuns and the like.'

Zink's discussion of these two texts is very interesting but a trifle misleading. [18] Firstly, although Jofre (Zink's Raimon Vidal) does say it is a poem about love, it is obvious that his emphasis on chat and discussion of a topic means that he does not see the genre wholly as a requête d'amour. In fact it is only one of the options open to the poet. Secondly, although it is true that medieval genres did suffer, as I have pointed out, interférences régistrales, we need not take Guillaume's list of variants too much at face value: the case of 'L'autrier un lundi matin' [19], in which a nun is sitting in a garden, was probably very rare for a Pastourelle. If one is able to conflate these two medieval definitions, which are relatively late (after 1250 Jofre, 14th-c. Guillaume) and fairly restricted geographically (Catalonia and Provence), what elements can be discerned? The most important seem to be (a) the presence of the shepherdess, vouched for by both treatises, and (b) the poet as the other main protagonist. Further, (c) the subject of love or sex; (d) the poem contains dialogue (Guillaume) or at least monologue (Jofre), i.e. it is not purely narrative; (e) the treatment could be a little risqué at times, but need not be (indeed, should not be, according to Guillaume, and most of the Provençal Pastourelles lack the crudity of the northern versions).

However, it would be surprising if a medieval person were to define anything in a way that would leave us with no remarks to make or questions to ask. Even the Latin artes poeticae which inform us at length about the

writing of poems omit some of the most important details. [20]   Modern critics,
after looking at the poems generally accepted as Pastourelles, have been led
to formulate their own definitions, of which I give the most important.
Piguet called it 'une chanson dialoguée dans laquelle un galant d'une classe
élevée tente, avec ou sans succès, de séduire une bergère.' [21]   In a very
lengthy definition Delbouille described the hero as a 'chevalier-poète' [22]
and, like Faral [23] and G. Paris [24], admitted the existence of a variant tra-
dition in which the poet was present at a discussion between shepherds and
shepherdesses, or else discussed affairs with a shepherd.   Zumthor saw it as
'un chant narratif de Rencontre, caractérisé par la dénomination de l'objet,
pastoure ou touse, ou leurs diminutifs, rarement un autre terme de même sens,
ou un prénom à connotation paysanne, selon le registre de la bonne vie. Le
sujet je est en général référé au terme chevalier; exceptionellement, à un
désignatif masculin à même connotation régistrale que pastoure'. [25]   Zink
thought of it as 'la requête d'amour d'un chevalier à une bergère, l'échange
de propos moqueurs et piquants, et le dénouement favorable ou non au
séducteur qui s'en suivent, le tout raconté sur le mode plaisant par le chevalier
lui-même'. [26]   Jeanroy saw three elements in the poem: (a) debate, (b)
seduction, (c) boast, [27] while Bec, agreeing that there are three constituents,
felt them to be (a)'rencontre amoureuse', (b)'débat amoureux', (c)'plainte
amoureuse', with differing emphasis possible, noting that the setting was open-
air, the tone light, so as to remove 'le heurt psychologique des deux person-
nages'. [28]

What can be accepted or rejected in these definitions?   Firstly, the
emphasis on debate by Bec, Jeanroy, Piguet and Zink, not shared by Zumthor,
is valid for the majority of Pastourelles, but its absence in Faral's type III,
e.g. 'Par le tens bel' [29] and type IV, e.g. 'Ay main par un ajornant' [30] where
there is dialogue but not debate, as well as in Pastourelles of the so-called
'classical' type accepted by all scholars, e.g. Huitaces de Fontaine's song
'Hier matin quant je chevauchoie' [31], shows that it is not an indispensable
feature.   Secondly, Jeanroy's 'boast' and Bec's 'plainte amoureuse' are too
restrictive.   The former suggests that the poet must always be successful,
while the latter suggests that further to this, the shepherdess should always
regret what happens.   Yet in most of the examples of rape she does not
complain!   Zink's definition applies only to the 'classical' type, and even
then, not to all examples of it.   Positive points to arise from the modern defi-
nitions are the open-air setting and the difference in social level between the
poet and the country people (though often no real use is made of this social
difference – it is merely a convention of the genre).   However misguided
Faral's views on the origins of the Pastourelle may be, his recognition of dif-
ferent types does seem to coincide to a large extent with Jofre de Foixà's
definition.   To sum up then: there are various types of Pastourelle:

(a)   'classical', which contains some of the following elements: requête d'amour by poet, monologue/dialogue/ debate, boast/complainte amoureuse/ admission of defeat/ending left to our imagination;

(b)   love-discussion among country people with poet as witness;

(c)   love-discussion between poet and shepherd.

Common to all types are the rencontre, the open-air setting, the difference in social class of poet and country people, the love theme, the lack of serious tone, the poet's first-person persona.

A look at the Latin poems which have been adduced, particularly by Delbouille, [32] to explain the genesis of the genre reveals that they actually have little or nothing in common with the definitions proposed.

1.   'Iam dulcis amica venito' [33]

This tenth-century rythmical poem contains no rencontre in the normal meaning of the word - that is, one person moving to where another is sitting or standing. The setting is urban, with an invitation to dinner accompanied by musical entertainment and followed by love-making. The girl refuses the invitation (or at least she appears to, if verse 8 is to be assigned to her, as Raby suggests, although Vuolo gives this verse to the man). The Paris version (BN Lat. 1118) may be construed as an acceptance on her part if we accept Raby's view on the speaker in that verse, ego fui sola in silva, but none of the changes is important for our discussion, for this verse does not state that she is a country girl. It only provides an excuse for her declining his invitation. The different versions that are extant, with their varied number and order of verses, simply allow for it to be sung as a monologue or a dialogue.

2.   Versus Eporedienses (author Wido of Ivrea?) [34]

'Cum secus ora vadi placeat mihi ludere Padi
fors et velle dedit flumine nympha redit', etc.

There is indeed a meeting, but by the river Po. The girl has nothing of the rustic about her: her origins are noble and Trojan. The poet offers her gifts galore which he describes in detail. He then thinks she might prefer to live in a city, so he describes city life, finishing with the offer to immortalise her in poetry if she is willing to yield to him. The poem is metrical, 300 lines long and is largely a learned catalogue. Its only claims to the world of the Pastourelle are its outdoor setting, its requête d'amour, and its first-person narrator.   The girl is high-born and we have no reason to believe that the

poet is of a different class. [35] The poem is not lyrical, nor is it light in tone. There may be some significance too in the fact that, like 'Iam dulcis amica venito', it is Italian, and Italy does not appear to have cultivated the genre.

Other poems, such as the De Somnio, also adduced by Delbouille,[36] can be ruled out not only on the grounds of genre (it belongs to the world of dream poetry), royal heroine, lack of light tone, etc., but also on chronological grounds. It was written some fifty years after Marcabru's famous Pastourelle 'L'autrier jost una sebissa'.

An attempt by Paden [37] to marry Delbouille's Medieval Latin origins thesis with Faral's Vergilian Eclogue theory, via such texts as the 'Dum transirem Danubium' [38] and the Ecloga Theoduli [39] fails to convince. As I have indicated, Delbouille's thesis is more than suspect, while Faral's is universally rejected. To graft one on to the other does not make for strength. The presence of high-born heroines also militates against Paden's theory. Moreover, the chances of survival of a Latin work in the eleventh and twelfth centuries were far greater than those of a vernacular, so it would be more than surprising to find Marcabru's text extant and not the supposed earlier Latin ones.

The poems in Latin that have some claim to the title of Pastourelle are the following:[40]

1.   'Declinante frigore' by Walter of Châtillon
2.   'Sole regente lora' by Walter of Châtillon
3.   'Estivali sub fervore'   CB 79
4.   'Exiit diluculo'   CB 90
5.   'Lucis orto sidere'   CB 157
6.   'Vere dulci mediante' CB 158

As Dronke has already extensively discussed 4. and 5. [41] and as they contain little or nothing of the Classical world, no further discussion of them here is relevant. Walter of Châtillon's 'Sole regente lora', despite its references to Classical mythology, is really an attempt to 'copy' a vernacular form.

1. Sole regente lora
   poli per altiora,
   quedam satis decora
   vircungula
   sub ulmo patula
   consederat, nam dederat
   arbor umbracula.

2. Quam solam ut attendi
   sub arbore, descendi
   et Veneris ostendi
   mox iacula,
   dum noto singula,
   cesariem et faciem,
   pectus et oscula.

3. 'Quid' (inquam) 'absque pari
   placet hic spaciari,
   Dyones apta lari
   puellula?
   nos nulla vincula,
   si pateris, a Veneris
   disiungent copula.'

4. Virgo decenter satis
   subintulit illatis:
   'hec, precor, obmittatis
   ridicula;
   sum adhuc parvula,
   non nubilis, nec habilis
   ad hec opuscula.

5. Hora meridiana
   transit, vide Tytana.
   mater est inhumana.
   iam pabula
   spernit ovicula.
   regrediar, ne feriar
   materna virgula.'

6. 'Signa, puella, poli
   considerare noli.
   restant immensa soli
   curricula;
   placebit morula,
   ni temere vis spernere
   mea munuscula.'

7. 'Muneribus oblatis
   me flecti ne credatis,
   non frangam castitatis
   repagula.
   non hec me fistula
   decipiet nec exiet
   a nobis fabula.'

8. Quam mire simulantem
   ovesque congregantem
   pressi nil reluctantem
   sub pennula;
   flores et herbula
   prebent cubicula.

The structure of the first verse, as demonstrated by Moleta, [42] is most un-Roman and un-Latin, namely, the organisation of motifs each side of a central feature. The <u>virguncula</u> of the first verse and <u>puellula</u> of the third give the impression that Walter was inspired by, but unable to match, Marcabru's <u>vilana</u> which occupies the middle position of all of the verses of his 'L'autrier jost una sebissa'. It is a technique of the Provençal poet, Bernart de Ventadour, who uses the mirror as a central device in the third verse of 'Can vei la lauzeta mover'. Surprisingly, Moleta did not extend his observations on the first verse to the other verses of the poem, for even if Walter seemed unable to repeat this technique to perfection, it is obvious that he attempted to do so. 1. The girl is between heaven (first 3 lines) and earth (last 3); 2. the darts of love (<u>iacula</u>) are between poet and girl; 3. the girl is the link between

Venus as the concept of love and Venus as the practice of love;   4. and 5. the system does not appear to operate; 6. time seems to separate (or link?) the ideas of 'don't look at the stars – look at my "gifts"'; 7. her chastity is assailed on both sides by gifts and his fistula (persuasive talk and a phallic image); 8. (which I have deliberately left as a 6-line verse) the link idea is necessarily absent and the image is now three lines of the girl and three lines of the earth as bed.   From her sitting position in the first verse she has changed to the horizontal in the last.

'Estivali sub fervore', (3), with the occasional classical reference, is no more than a Latinised version of the type of Pastourelle categorised as Northern French (Faral's type I), [43] where the Latin text, uniform in style, cannot echo the different linguistic registers of the vernacular chevalier and bergère.   The girl's final retort: 'parce nunc in hora!', is but a shadow of some of the vernacular expressions used to send the knight packing.

That leaves two texts which show a remarkable use of classical litera- ture, Walter of Châtillon's 'Declinante frigore' and the anonymous 'Vere dulci mediante' (CB 158), which I will discuss in detail.

Declinante frigore

1. Declinante frigore,
    picto terre corpore
    tellus sibi credita
    multo reddit fenore.
    eo surgens tempore
    nocte iam emerita
    resedi sub arbore

2. Desub ulmo patula
    manat unda garrula,
    ver ministrat gramine
    fontibus umbracula,
    qui per loca singula
    profluunt aspergine
    virgultorum pendula.

3. Dum concentus avium
    et susurri fontium
    garriente rivulo
    per convexa montium
    removerunt tedium,
    vidi sinu patulo
    venire Glycerium.

4. Clamis multiphario
    nitens artificio
    dependebat vertice
    cotulata vario.
    vestis erat Tyrio
    colorata murice
    opere plumario.

5. Frons illius adzima,
    labia tenerrima.
    'ades' inquam 'omnium
    michi dilectissima,
    cor meum et anima,
    cuius forme lilium
    mea pascit intima.

6. In te semper oscito,
    vix ardorem domito;
    a me quicquid agitur,
    lego sive scriptito,
    crucior et merito,
    ni frui conceditur
    quod constanter optito.'

7. Ad hec illa frangitur,
    humi sedit igitur,
    et sub fronde tenera,
    dum vix moram patitur,
    subici compellitur.
    sed quis nescit cetera?
    predicatus vincitur.

Walter wrote the poem with the same attention to formal perfection that characterises the work of the Provençal poets. There are seven verses of seven lines, each of seven syllables. Two-syllable rhymes form the pattern aabaaba, ccdccdc, etc. The only rhymes that are repeated are in different positions within a verse, that is on one occasion 'major', the other 'minor': eefeefe (3) iieiiei (5), ijkjjkj (6) kklkklk (7). The music, which has not survived, may have attenuated such repetitions, e.g. by giving three notes to the final two syllables of a line, stressing the first in the 'major' position (i-i-um), the second in the 'minor' (i-u-um). [44] Walter's recognised ability generally, and his close attention to form in this particular poem, entitle us to look carefully at the words. As Moleta says: 'the more conventional a medieval genre lyric may seem, the more carefully it must be read'. [45]

In the first verse we find the normal spring opening. The poet goes out and sits under a tree. The Latin Pastourelle, which prefers the cleric-poet to the chevalier-poète of the vernacular, as might be expected, often has the shepherdess coming to the poet (cf. 'Estivali sub fervore', 'Exiit diluculo'). The second verse, with its 'desub ulmo patula', recalls the Virgilian Arcadia of the first Eclogue, setting up doubts in the mind of the listener/reader. Is this going to be one of those Pastourelles that ends without any definite conclusion? Despite some scholars' belief that no such type existed, it is evident that 'Lucis orto sidere' and 'Exiit diluculo' are both complete Pastourelles, despite their inconclusiveness. [46] In the third verse the Arcadian image is abruptly destroyed as the ulmo patula is replaced by the sinu patulo. The poet sees (vidi sinu patulo/venire Glycerium) a large pair of breasts, recognising them as belonging to Glycerium. The order of the words, as well as the repetition of the adjective patulus with its further connotation of sexual availability (cf. patere Ovid, Met. XIV, 133, Babio 217) is very pointed. The big breasts indicate that she is a country girl, that she does not have the almost imperceptible breasts prescribed in the canons of courtliness. The name Glycerium itself carries more connotations of sexuality. The pregnant heroine of Terence's Andria was well known in the Middle Ages and obviously regarded as far more dissolute than Terence's text would allow us to imagine. Liudprand of Cremona (Antapodosis II, 48) likened Theodora to her: 'Theodorae autem Glycerii mens perversa, ne amasii sui, ducentorum miliariorum interpositione ... rarissimo concubitu potiretur ...' Glycerium is also the

easy heroine of the twelfth-century comedy <u>Pamphilus, Glycerium et Birria</u>[47]; she is mentioned by Baudri of Bourgueil (poem 207):

> Ebria Glycerium, tibi Pamphilus omnis hiator
>   qui tibi cumque placet, mox tibi Pamphilus est. Sed tamen
> Nec tibi sufficiunt Cenomanni vel Redonenses
>   Nec tibi mille unum sufficeret iuvenum. Sed tamen
> vel prece vel pretio vel vi conducis amantes
>   integra corpore sed vaga pectore. [48]

In poem 226 of the <u>Carmina Burana</u>, 'Mundus est in varium sepe variatus', she is mentioned along with another whore, Thais, as the object of clerics' attentions. [49]

    But it is not only her name that is significant; the mere fact of naming her is important, since, as Foulon remarks, 'le devoir d'un bon trouveur de pastourelles est, si l'on en croit les arts poétiques, de nommer de façon précise les bergers et les bergères'. [50] There is another reason too, which I will deal with later. The fourth verse, in which her dress is described, has caused problems for scholars. Zink notes 'mais la jeune fille n'est certes pas une <u>vilaine</u>, si l'on juge par son vêtement'. [51] W.T.H. Jackson says 'The girl is dressed in a fashion which can only be regarded as absurd in the country setting. Such a description can be regarded only as ironical when the girl's probable social status is considered'. [52] She is indeed dressed as a <u>dame</u>, but the reason for this coincides neither with Zink's nor Jackson's views. She is not a <u>dame</u> and this is not an ironic statement implying satire. She is dressed like a courtly lady because Walter is continuing the joke of the previous verse, and also because he has another idea in his head which will become clear later. It may also not be too fanciful to suggest that by <u>clamis multiphario/nitens artificio</u> Walter wants his audience to think of the Old Testament Joseph and his coat of many colours. Joseph is glossed <u>augmentum</u> by Jerome, [53] a gloss that was obviously understood in the twelfth century. Julian of Vézelay's eighth sermon is full of it, [54] and the text of Joseph of Exeter's <u>Bellum Trojanum</u> in MS Cambridge C.C. 406 is prefaced with the words

> Cresce Ioseph, nomen augmenti moribus imple.
> ....
> auctus es.

This derives ultimately of course from the Book of Genesis where Joesph's story is told. That Glycerium is an 'increase-Joseph' figure is true to the extent that she is pregnant in Terence's <u>Andria</u>. The 'identification' assumes a further dimension when we realise that the remark in Genesis 47, 27 'auctusque

est et multiplicatus nimis' refers to sheep.' (Cf. also 45, 10 'oves tuae, armenta tua et universa quae possides'). In the fifth verse Walter gives a physical description of Glycerium, and the Biblical 'adzima' of the first line makes us think twice about the banality of 'omnium michi dilectissima'. Not only is this a common 'chatting-up' phrase, it is also a clever variation here of Genesis 37, 4 where Joseph's brothers say of him 'plus cunctis liberis pater amabat' and this while he 'pascat gregem' (37, 2). That Joseph is a Christ figure adds further piquancy to our Pastourelle, as does the use of lilium with its connotations of chastity. In the sixth verse, the requête d'amour (which shows that Glycerium is well known to the poet/narrator) continues the image of the previous verse but with a change of target. The phrase 'crucior et merito' referring to the lover has the added dimension of Christ's suffering on the cross with the Joseph/Christ figure now being the poet, not Glycerium. [55]

The final verse shows the poet's easy achieval of his aim. The line 'dum vix moram patitur' shows that Glycerium was not against the idea of making love in the first place. There is no violence, and the love-making is not described plainly but metaphorically by the use of grammatical terminology: she is the subiecta (subject) to which predicatus vincitur (the predicate is linked). [56] But is the 'sed quis nescit cetera' recalling the 'cetera quis nescit' of Ovid Amores I, 5, 25 merely the banal statement to be found in so many erotic poems of the Middle Ages? A closer study reveals that there is more in it than immediately meets the eye. The whole lyric has been ingeniously built on Ovid's famous poem, and 'sed quis nescit cetera' was a clue. The first line 'declinante frigore' is a modification of Ovid's opening 'aestus erat'. In both poems the poet is in situ, and although Ovid is indoors ('adposui medio membra levanda toro'), while Walter is outdoors ('resedi sub arbore'), nevertheless Ovid has the window half-open 'quale fere silvae lumen habere solent'. Even the time of day has been borrowed: 'nocte iam emerita' being based on Ovid's 'ubi nox abiit'. A known woman appears on the scene in both poems: 'vidi sinu patulo/venire Glycerium' says Walter, while Ovid had 'ecce, Corinna venit'. Moreover Ovid compares her to two women well known for their sexuality – Lais and Semiramis – so Walter's choice of name for his girl is influenced by Ovid even if he has chosen one from Terence. Corinna is not dressed for the part she pretends to be playing. If she really did not intend to make love, why did she go to Ovid's bed 'tunica velata recincta'? In fact, as Ovid remarks 'nec multum rara nocebat'. She fought to keep her flimsy garment on, but '...pugnaret tamquam quae vincere nollet. Victa est non aegre proditione sua'. As Walter says of Glycerium who is not dressed for the role she pretends to be playing: 'ad illa frangitur/humi sedit igitur/ ... dum vix moram patitur'. Even Ovid's explicit 'et nudam pressi corpus ad usque meum' is transformed into the grammatical joke of subject and predicate.

In this poem Walter had updated Ovid to the twelfth century in a very subtle manner while at the same time playing with Virgil, Terence, the

Bible and the teaching of grammar. Moreover he has convincingly written a
Pastourelle by sleight of hand – that is by not mentioning a shepherdess or
sheep.   He has even disguised the shepherdess so that we won't recognise her –
and yet we know we are reading a Pastourelle. He does not mention the sheep,
but they are there if one knows where to look!   What Walter has done is to
draw on his reader/listeners' intelligence and knowledge of the Pastourelle
genre to make them 'recognise' a Pastourelle.   This confirms Walter's reputa-
tion as a genre-poet, but more importantly it shows that here, in one of the
earliest Latin Pastourelles, the conventions of the genre were already well
known, and this can only be through the vernacular. [57]

Vere dulci mediante

1.   Vere dulci mediante,
       non in Maio, paulo ante,
       luce solis radiante,
       virgo vultu elegante
       fronde stabat sub vernante
         canens cum cicuta.

2.   Illuc veni fato dante.
       nympha non est forme tante,
       equipollens eius plante!
       que me viso festinante
       grege fugit cum balante,
         metu dissoluta.

3.   Clamans tendit ad ovile.
       hanc sequendo precor: 'sile!
       nihil timeas hostile!'
       preces spernit, et monile
       quod ostendi tenet vile
         virgo, sic locuta:

4.   'Munus vestrum' inquit 'nolo,
       quia pleni estis dolo!'
       et se sic defendit colo.
       comprehensam ieci solo:
       clarior non est sub polo
         vilibus induta!

5.   Satis illi fuit grave,
       mihi gratum et suave.
       'quid fecisti' inquit 'prave!
       ve ve tibi! tamen ave!
       ne reveles ulli cave,
         ut sim domi tuta!

6.   Si senserit meus pater
       vel Martinus maior frater,
       erit mihi dies ater;
       vel si sciret mea mater,
       cum sit angue peior quater,
         virgis sum tributa!'

This song of six six-line verses would appear to be a retrouenge.   Its pattern
is that of the two rotrouenges attributed to Richard I of England, one in
Provençal, [58] the other in French. [59]   The rhyme-pattern at the beginning,
aaaaab, aaaaab, ccccb, with the series of vers orphelins is identical to
Richard's, but the Latin poet is unable to sustain the coblas doblas and omits
the tornadas.   Lacking Walter's ability, the author gives us a straightforward,
unvarnished narrative.   There are no Biblical allusions, no playing with
names.   His skill lies in using a well-known narrative, the story of Daphne
and Apollo as related by Ovid. [60] This Pastourelle is of a fairly rare type,
one that involves a chase.   The example in Bartsch (II, 75) of uncertain date,
is 'unclassical', but it is difficult to know whether a 'classical' model ever

existed.   In the Bartsch example it is the shepherdess who chases the poor
chevalier, catches and rapes him. It is a parody of the genre, almost.   Our
Latin example represents a hypothetical 'classical' model in that the chevalier-
poète forces the girl to yield to him.   That the Latin poet took his inspiration
from Ovid is perhaps more easily demonstrated than in Walter's case, as the
type of borrowing is more straightforward and recognisable.   The virgo of I, 4
comes from virgo (539) though Ovid has already prepared us for this word with

> impatiens expersque viri nemora avia lustrat
> nec quid Hymen quid sint connubia curat (479/80).

In 2, 2 our poet says 'nympha non est forme tante': Ovid refers to Daphne
three times as 'nympha' (472, 504, 505).   The words 'fugit' (2, 5) and 'metu'
(2, 6) come from Ovid's 'fugit' (526) and 'timori' (539).   The third verse is
made up of elements from Ovid 503-05:

> ... neque ad haec revocantis verba resistit:
> 'nympha, precor, Penei, mane: non insequor hostis:
> nympha, mane':

where 'sile' replaces 'mane', 'sequendo' 'sequor', 'hostile' 'hostis': 'precor'
remains identical.

That the girl is a shepherdess is evident from four of the six verses: that the
narrator is not a shepherd would be obvious to the audience from Ovid's lines
512-14 which the poet omits:

> .... non incola montis,
> non ego sum pastor, non hic armenta gregesque
> horridus observo.

But the poet is also making sure that the outcome will be in some doubt by not
allowing the reader to infer it from his knowledge of Ovid.   Whereas in
Ovid the male Apollo is the musician, here it is the shepherdess. Moreover,
the pursuer offers gifts (a frequent ploy in Pastourelles), whereas Apollo simply
tries to convince Daphne that she does not recognise him. If she did, then
she would stop and accept his advances.   Thus the listener/reader is perhaps
not fully ready for the rape in the fourth verse since his knowledge of Ovid
would tend to lead him to think that the girl might escape as Daphne did and
as the shepherdess does in some Pastourelles. [61]   And the irony is completed
in the final verse in which the shepherdess does not want her father to know
what has happened, yet in Ovid the father actually wanted his daughter to
lose her virginity!

> saepe pater dixit: 'generum mihi, filia, debes.'
> saepe pater dixit: 'debes mihi, nata, nepotes.'   (481-82)

Although the possible punishment meted out to the <u>bergère</u> by her father or mother is not sufficiently frequent in vernacular Pastourelles for it to be possible to talk of a convention, there are a few examples of it in French.   The mother appears in Bartsch II, 3:

> por ma meire Perenelle
> ke sovent me bat le dos   (32-33)

In II, 65 we find:

> je n'os por mon pere
> ne por ma marastre   (13-14)

In Latin there are at least two examples, one in the Pastourelle 'Estivali sub fervore' (CB 79):

> sunt parentes michi sevi
> mater longioris evi
> irascetur pro re levi.   (6, 3-5)

the other in the <u>De Nuntio Sagaci</u> or <u>Ovidius Puellarum</u>:[62]

> si mater sciret, manibus lacerata perirem
> nec non cognatos timeo michi perdere gratos   (166-67)

As with the previous song, it is the reader's knowledge of Ovid which is being counted on in the context of the conventions of a well-defined vernacular genre.   A further irony at the end depends on the reader's knowledge of the vernacular, for our poet makes the girl unhappy at being raped.   According to Faral, 'jamais, quand le chevalier a employé la violence, la bergère ne lui en sait mauvais gré, bien au contraire: la volupté a retourné son coeur'. [63]

The three preceding Pastourelles all show their reliance on the vernacular tradition.   The debt to Ovid in the last two is of the kind one might expect in the twelfth century, that is, verbal and intellectual sophistication to accompany the undoubted sophistication of the vernacular musical form.

KEITH BATE
UNIVERSITY OF READING

NOTES

1. If indeed we allow that 'As I me rode this endre day' is a pastourelle as claimed by P. Dronke, 'Poetic meaning in the Carmina Burana', Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch, 10, 1975, 122-23.

2. W.P. Jones, The Pastourelle, New York 1973^2.

3. P. Bec, La Lyrique française, 2 vols., Paris 1977.

4. M. Zink, La Pastourelle, Paris 1972.

5. E. Köhler, 'La Pastourelle dans la poésie des Troubadours' in Mélanges Félix Lecoy, Paris 1973, pp.279-92.

6. P. Dronke, 'Poetic meaning', and The Medieval Lyric, London 1968.

7. E. Faral, 'La Pastourelle', Romania, 49, 1923, 204-59.

8. M. Delbouille, Les Origines de la Pastourelle, Bruxelles 1926.

9. H. Brinkmann, Geschichte der lateinischen Liebesdichtung im Mittelalter, Tübingen 1979^2.

10. W. Paden, 'The literary background of the Pastourelle' in Acta Conventus Neolatini Lovaniensis, Louvain 1973, pp.467-73.

11. A. Biella, 'Considerazioni sull'origine e sulla diffusione della "pastorella"', Cultura Neolatina, 25, 1965, 236-67.

12. Cf. the great difference between e.g. 'Exiit diluculo' (CB 90) and Walter of Châtillon's 'Sole regente lora', and Bec I for discussion of genres.

13. Bec II, no.48.

14. Dronke, 'Poetic meaning', 120.

15. Bec I, p.123.

16. Text in J.H. Marshall, The 'Razos de Trobar' of Raimon Vidal and associated texts, Durham 1972. Zink, p.26, wrongly attributes the text to Raimon.

17.   Guillaume's definition is cited by Zink, p.26.

18.   Zink, p.27.

19.   Bec II, no.49.

20.   That is they assume a large amount of knowledge has already been acquired.

21.   E. Piguet, L'Evolution de la Pastourelle du XIIe siècle à nos jours, Bâle 1927, p.9.

22.   Delbouille, p.4.

23.   Faral, types III and IV.

24.   G. Paris, Mélanges de littérature française au Moyen-Age, ed. M. Roques, Paris 1912, pp.539-615.

25.   P. Zumthor, Essai de poétique médiévale, Paris 1972, p.302.

26.   Zink, p.29.

27.   A. Jeanroy, Origines de la poésie lyrique en France au Moyen-Age, Paris 1889.

28.   Bec I, p.120.

29.   Romances et Pastourelles françaises des XIIe et XIIIe siècles, ed. K. Bartsch, Darmstadt 1967², II, 58.

30.   Bartsch, III, 2.

31.   Ibid., 13.

32.   Delbouille, p.19.

33.   Edited and discussed by E.P. Vuolo, Cultura Neolatina, 10, 1950, 5-25. Cf. also F.J.E. Raby, Secular Latin Poetry, 2 vols., Oxford 1957², I, 303-04, Delbouille, pp.37-39.

34.   Cf. Raby, I, 383-87, Delbouille, pp.32-35 and H. Dümmler, Anselm der Peripateker, Halle 1872, pp.93-102.

35. To suggest, as Paden (p.468), that a high-born dame can be the heroine of a Pastourelle seems to stretch the definition of the genre past the point of usefulness.

36. Delbouille, p.28. This is no.26 in the Ripoll collection.

37. Paden, op.cit.

38. Ed. W. Bulst, Carmina Leodiensia, Heidelberg 1975, pp.14-15; cf. also Raby, II, 318 and P. Dronke, Medieval Latin and the rise of European Love-Lyric, 2 vols., Oxford 1965-66, (I, 282ff.).

39. Ed. R.P.H. Green, Seven Versions of Carolingian Pastoral, Reading 1980, pp.26-35.

40. Other texts sometimes deemed to be Pastourelle (e.g. 'Crebro da mihi basia') have only tenuous points of contact with the genre. Cf. Zink, pp.36ff.

41. Dronke, 'Poetic meaning'. He too sees only four Pastourelles in the CB., as does Zink, pp.35ff. For (5) see also P.G. Walsh, Thirty Poems from the Carmina Burana, Reading 1976, pp.36, 101-102, together with his article 'Pastor and Pastoral in Medieval Latin poetry', ARCA, 2, 1977, 157-69.

42. V. Moleta, 'Style and meaning in three Pastourelles', Arcadia, 5, 1970, 225-41.

43. Faral, 209ff.

44. Cf. Dronke, 'Poetic meaning' re 'Exiit diluculo'.

45. Moleta, 226.

46. Cf. Dronke's amusing observations in 'Poetic meaning' on Schumann, who added endings to some of the Pastourelles in order to complete them. It is perhaps worth noting that vernacular writers fare no better. In his study L'Oeuvre de Jehan Bodel, Paris 1958, C. Foulon suggests that three of Bodel's five Pastourelles have lost their endings (pp.145ff.).

47. Ed. A. Savi in Commedie Latine del XII e XIII Secolo, I, Genoa 1976, 197-277.

48.   Ed. K. Hilbert, Baldricus Burgulianus: Carmina, Heidelberg 1979, p.280.

49.   Ed. A. Hilka, O. Schumann, B. Bischoff, Heidelberg 1970, I, 3, 86. Glycerium is also the name of the lecher's wife in Warnerius of Rouen's poem Moriuht, ed. H. Omont, Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France, 31, 1894, 197-210.

50.   Foulon, p.157. I am however unable to discover which artes poeticae he meant. It looks as though he has mis-remembered Guillaume Molinier's remarks about the different sorts of animal herdswomen. Nevertheless, it is a fact that named shepherds and shepherdesses do appear in many Pastourelles, as Bartsch's collection amply testifies. Cf. Zumthor's definition earlier.

51.   Zink, p.34.

52.   W.T.H. Jackson, 'The medieval Pastourelle as a satirical genre', Philological Quarterly, 31, 1952, 156-70 (161).

53.   Jerome, Liber de nominibus Hebraicis, Migne, P.L. 23, col.892.

54.   Julien de Vézelay: Sermons, ed. D. Vorreux, Paris 1972.

55.   Cf. P.G. Walsh's remarks on 'Lucis orto sidere' in 'Pastor and Pastoral'.

56.   Translations such as 'Description is surpassed' (F. Brittain, Penguin Book of Latin Verse, Harmondsworth 1962, p.213) or emendations of the text are mistaken. Cf. Dronke, 'Poetic meaning', note 22.

57.   There is no way of telling whether the words of 'Exiit diluculo' were actually written at the same time as, or after, the music that accompanies it and is dated c.1150 by Lipphardt. They do fit the music better than the fourteenth century 'Surrexit de tumulo', as Dronke points out, but the argument is not conclusive for the date of 'Exiit diluculo'. Jofre indicates that existing tunes can be used, so the date of the Pastourelle could be anywhere between 1150 and 1225.

58.   Ed. M. de Riquer, Los Trovadores, Barcelona 1975, II, 753.

59.   Ed. P. Bec, II, pp.124f.

60.   Ovid, Met. I, 452-567. Ovid's text was used as a set book in schools.

61.   E.g. Bartsch, II, 63. Faral (230) says there are five of this type.

62.   Ed. G. Rosetti in <u>Commedie Latine del XII e XIII Secolo</u>, II, Genoa 1980, 11-125.

63.   Faral, 228.