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D.J. Fitton

SANSON DE NANTUIL'S 'ANGLO - NORMAN' VERSE TRANSLATION
OF THE PROVERBS OF SOLOMON - A CRITICAL REPERTORY.

M.A. Thesis, 1980.

ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

The present study is intended to review critically previous scholarship on Sanson de Nantuil's Proverbs of Solomon, and tries to shed some new light on the interpretation of the poem.

Volume I begins with a summary description of the distinguishing features of the manuscript, and this is followed by a brief explanation of the method adopted in transcribing the text. In order to situate the text historically, details of the author's suggested background are reviewed, as is evidence relating to the author's source material. The central portion of the thesis concentrates largely on textual exegesis, and deals with both literary and linguistic points of interest. This is followed by a general examination of the language, bearing more particularly on criteria for dating and localising the poem. A list of hypermetric lines and an index of proper names, both intended to aid further study, complete the first volume.

Volume II of the thesis contains a diplomatic transcription of the Anglo - Norman copy of Sanson de Nantuil's text, and is meant to provide a reliable starting - point for enquiry.

D. J. FITTON

SANSON DE NANTUIL'S 'ANGLO - NORMAN'
VERSE TRANSLATION OF THE PROVERBS OF
SOLOMON - A CRITICAL REPERTORY.

2 VOLUMES

Thesis presented for the degree of M.A.
in the University of Durham, 1980.

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14. MAY 1984

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List of abbreviations

For further details concerning the works mentioned here,
see the Select bibliography (pp. 148 - 154).

<u>A.N. Litt.</u>	<u>M.D. Legge, Anglo - Norman literature and its background.</u>
<u>A.N.T.S.</u>	<u>Anglo - Norman text society.</u>
<u>Bede</u>	<u>The Complete Works of the Venerable Bede, ed. Rev. J.A. Giles, vol. 10.</u>
<u>Béroutl</u>	<u>Béroutl, The Romance of Tristan, ed. A. Ewert.</u>
<u>Bestiaire</u>	<u>Philippe de Thaun, Le Bestiaire, ed. E. Walberg.</u>
<u>Brendan</u>	<u>Benedeit, The Anglo - Norman voyage of St. Brendan, ed. E.G.R. Waters.</u>
<u>C.C. Isoz</u>	<u>C.C. Isoz, A Critical edition of the Proverbs of Solomon.</u>
<u>C.F.M.A.</u>	<u>Classiques français du moyen âge.</u>
<u>Etym.</u>	<u>Isidore of Seville, Etymologiarum sive originum libri.</u>
<u>F.E.W.</u>	<u>W. von Wartburg, Französische etymologisches Wörterbuch.</u>
<u>Foulet</u>	<u>L. Foulet, Petite syntaxe de l'ancien français.</u>
<u>Gaimar</u>	<u>L'Estoire des Engleis by Geffrei Gaimar, ed. A. Bell.</u>
<u>Glossa Ordinaria</u>	<u>Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria, vol. 5.</u>
<u>Godefroy</u>	<u>F. Godefroy, Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes.</u>
<u>S. Hilgers</u>	<u>S. Hilgers, Der Lautstand in den Proverbia Salomonis von Sanson von Mantuil.</u>
<u>Morawski</u>	<u>J. Morawski, Proverbes français antérieurs au XV^e siècle.</u>

<u>N.E.D.</u>	<u>A New English dictionary</u> , ed. A.H. Murray.
<u>Pope</u>	M.K. Pope, <u>From Latin to Modern French</u> .
<u>Proverbs</u>	Sanson de Nantuil's text of the <u>Book of Proverbs</u> in 11,852 lines.
<u>Reg. Ant.</u>	<u>Registrum antiquissimum of the cathedral church of Lincoln</u> , ed. C.W. Foster.
<u>Roland</u>	<u>La Chanson de Roland</u> , ed. F. Whitehead.
<u>S.A.T.F.</u>	<u>Société des anciens textes français</u> .
<u>Tobl. Lom.</u>	A. Tobler and E. Lommatzsch, <u>Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch</u> .
<u>Z.F.S.L.</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur</u> .

The parts of the verb are numbered : 1 - 6.

Introduction

Sanson de Nantuil's translation of and commentary on the Book of Proverbs is a work consisting of 11,852 lines written in octosyllabic rhyming couplets and containing, within the French text, the Vulgate text of the Book of Proverbs as far as Chapter XIX, 27. The poem is divided into three sections - Prologue, Argumentum and the translation and commentary proper.

A number of studies have reproduced small sections of the text, but until the presentation of Dr. Isoz's doctoral thesis, no attempt to establish a complete critical text had been made and no comprehensive study of the poem existed.

The aim of the present study is to review critically all available scholarship on the Proverbs and to present, as scrupulously as possible, and in the form of a diplomatic transcription, the text itself.

Volume I of the thesis is concerned with all aspects of the poem, linguistic and literary, and is meant to epitomize, critically, all information readily available on the Proverbs. A summary study of the manuscript (B.M. Harley 4388), as an introduction to the text, was felt to be necessary, since knowledge of scribal practice can contribute to the solution of many of the problems posed by the text. A review of Sanson's personal testimony and of the suggested background to the work was felt to be equally necessary as providing more solid evidence for dating and provenance than can purely linguistic

criteria, however vital. A summary of the latter is naturally included in the volume. A more subjective study of salient points arising from a study of the whole text has been put forward in order to clarify, where possible, peculiarities and difficulties which can shed some light on the poem and its background.

Volume II of the thesis, the diplomatic transcription, is meant to make readily accessible to the reader the exact text of what has given rise to discussion and to present him with the purely objective data from which further study must proceed.

Chapter I

Details of the manuscript Harley 4388.

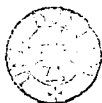
In the past, critics have failed to agree on the date of the manuscript Harley 4388. On the one hand, T. Wright and H. Suchier suggest a date in the second half of the 12th century¹, whereas A. Gabrielson, E. Stengel and F. Michel all favour a date after the turn of the 13th century².

Francisque Michel's brief summary of the contents of the manuscript describes it as: 'bien conservé et orné'³, and until the submission of C.C. Isoz's recent thesis⁴, no detailed description of Harley 4388 existed.

The description given by Dr Isoz is a comprehensive one, and the following summary will necessarily repeat some of her remarks, though the intention of the present chapter is to concentrate specifically on that part of the manuscript containing the Proverbs (folios 1 - 86).

The complete manuscript has 119 folios, and our text occupies folios 1a - 86c. Folios 87a - 119d contain the following works: Le sermun de Guischart de Beaulieu (87a - 99c); Le chastoïement d'un fils (99d - 115c); and Katun en romanz by Hélie de Guincestre (115d - 119a).

1 T. Wright, Biographia Britannica Literaria, London, 1846, p. 130; and H. Suchier (ed.), Reimpredigt (Bibliotheca Normannica, I), Halle, 1879, p. xv. 2 A. Gabrielson (ed.), Le Sermon de Guischart de Beaulieu, Uppsala, 1909, p. 1; E. Stengel (ed.), Katun en romanz in Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der romanischen Philologie, Marburg, vol 47 (1886), p. 107; and F. Michel, Rapports au ministre, Paris, 1838, p. 86. 3 Op. Cit., p. 86.
4 C.C. Isoz; see pp. 8 - 41 for a description of the manuscript.



According to Dr. Isoz¹, the binding belongs to the 1880's, although the British Museum, where the manuscript is now housed, has no record of this. The superintendent of the manuscripts room at the British Museum agreed with this dating, having compared the binding of the manuscript with similar bindings.

The fly-leaf contains the Harley press mark: 128. A. 6. and also the figures $\frac{8}{1}$ D which appear in other Harley manuscripts².

The vellum is, not uncharacteristically, holed and patched in places, and since these blemishes have been avoided by the scribe, they clearly antedate the moment the scribe began his copy.

The relevant measurements are as follows: the maximum leaf size is 280 mm x 190 mm. The Proverbs have been written in two columns per page and the maximum column size is 215 mm x 65 mm. The maximum area of written space is 220 mm x 67 mm: these measurements take account of ascenders and descenders. At points, the Latin portions of the text extend outside the width of the column.

The ruling, in lead, extends to the outer edges of the leaf at the top and bottom. 'Pricking' is found only in the outer margin. This is in the form of a small cut rather than a point, perhaps indicating the use of a knife or some similar instrument.

Coloured initials in our text vary from a height of eight-line dimension to one. There is one eight-line initial at the start of the Book of Proverbs in Latin (immediately after l. 346). Five-line initials occur twice in our text: one at the beginning of the poem and the second at l. 219, the beginning of the Argumentum. Two-line

1 C.C. Isoz, p. 12. 2 It is also possible to read this mark as: $\frac{8}{1}$ 8 but its significance is unclear.

initials are found at the beginning of the individual translations and commentaries (indicated respectively by the words Glose and Litera, in rubric)¹, and one-line initials are found within these sections to mark a change of theme or a new development². The colours red, green and blue are used in different combinations. The one-line initials are in monochrome, the two-line initials, which are often flourished, are in combinations of two colours, and the larger initials, always flourished, are finished in three colours.

In the margins to the text, words other than Glose and Litera are found in rubric. No catchwords are visible, and presumably these were cut away when the leaves were trimmed to size. In most cases, folio numbering is in Arabic and quire numbering in Roman numerals. As Dr. Isoz points out³, the folio numbering is also in two hands, the change occurring after the end of our text. Quires 1 - 10 are numbered I - X and quires 12 - 15 are numbered I - XIV, in a different hand. (The last leaf of quire 11 is missing, and a quire of 8 leaves is missing between folios 110 and 111.)

Dr. Isoz says the fourth leaf of quire 8 is missing and there is a corresponding gap in Sanson's commentary⁴, but examination of the manuscript reveals no trace of a 'stub' in the place of the missing leaf. The gap in the text occurs after folio 59, but as the binding thread is visible between folios 60 and 61 (and not between folios 59 and 60, as we should expect), it is probable that the present folio 60 has been bound into the quire in the place of the missing folio, so that if the

1 See folio 3b, l. 361. 2 See folio 3c, l. 395. 3 C.C. Isoz, pp. 12 - 13. 4 Ibid., p. 15.

quire is opened at the centre, the 'stub' of the missing leaf lies to the right of the thread, and folio 60 to the left.

The missing leaf after folio 86 was probably blank, as there is a gap between the end of the Proverbs (folio 86c), and the start of Le sermun de Guischart (folio 87a).

The separate quire numbering at the beginning of Le sermun de Guischart, and the worn appearance of the first page of this text, leads Dr. Isoz to suggest that the text of the Proverbs was transcribed separately, and bound in later with the others¹. Her theory is supported by the fact that, in the last three works, nearly all the corrections are made by the principal scribe, whereas many of the corrections in our text are in a different hand. Nevertheless it is clear that all four works are in the hand of the same principal scribe, and it would be reasonable to suggest that they all date from the same period. Furthermore, the decoration appears to be by the same person throughout the manuscript.

In the margins the use of the nota bene sign is common, usually in the form of the word Nota, elongated to cover the length of the section of text referred to². Occasionally, however, a small cross is placed at the side of the lines to be noted³. (A similar sign is often used to mark the place of omitted lines.)

Other examples of marginalia are in later hands. The name Jacobus Ravenscrofte appears at the head of folio 1a, and at the foot of folio 69, recto, are found, in what Dr. Isoz describes as 'a not

1 Ibid., p. 15. 2 See folio 33b. 3 See ll. 79 - 80.

dissimilar hand'¹, the words: Jacobus Dei Angliae. Dr Isoz suggests this may be the work of a child, since, in her opinion, the phrase is meaningless. If the phrase is 'a play on the new king's name' as she suggests¹, then it may have some vague meaning such as 'James of God and England'.

There is more scribbling in the central margin of folio 28, recto. Here the writing is in a 15th century English hand and, in this case, is mostly illegible. The words next to l. 3799 may read: 'Of lov f ber', though I cannot relate this to anything of significance in the text².

Dating of the manuscript is difficult, as a large number of factors must be taken into account. The following is a selection of relevant features. The Latin script is slightly larger than the French, the Latin majuscles being touched with red ink. Hyphens are used at the end of the line in Latin, and a number of upright d's still survive in the Latin sections only.

There are a number of suprascript e's attached to uncial d; st ligature is common and ct ligature is occasionally found; d in the French text is sometimes barred (this form is used in the transcription, see vol.II); the abbreviation for et is still either 7 or 7; Latin e (<ae) has no cedilla; and examples of 'biting', though rare, do occur³.

Pricking (found on both the inside and outside of the leaf in the early 13th century) is found only on the outer edges, and the writing

1 C.C. Isoz, p. 22; I am grateful also to Dr. A.I. Doyle, keeper of rare books at the university library in Durham, who describes this hand as a '17th century English hand'. 2 Once again, I am grateful to Dr. Doyle for his help in the dating of this hand. 3 See folio 2a, l. 161: plaidor.

is above the top-line of the ruled frame. (In the 13th century writing inside the ruled frame only, became standard.)¹.

If we take into account the characteristics of late 12th century hands as described by N.R. Ker², it is clear that certain features of ms. Harley 4388 contradict each other. The letter a, with its undeveloped loop, for example, is an early 12th century feature, whereas the occasional examples of 'biting' of de suggest a date nearer to the beginning of the next century. Therefore, any date suggested for the manuscript must be approximate. The turn of the 13th century is an obvious suggestion, for the features belonging to an earlier period can be explained as the results of the scribe's former education, whereas the more 'modern' features can be attributed to the influence of the next generation.

Although all four works in the manuscript have strong connections with England, its provenance has not been traced. Its more recent history, however, is rather better documented³.

The introduction to the Diary of Humphrey Wanley informs us that the manuscripts 2408 - 5709 of the Harley collection were catalogued between the years 1733 - 1736⁴, but the date of their acquisition may have been much earlier than this. Information concerning the previous owner of Harley 4388, James Ravenscroft, is given in the Pontes Harleiani⁵. The manuscript was in his possession before 1680 (the date of his death). His name appears at the top of folio 1, as has

1 See N.R. Ker, English mss. in the century after the Norman conquest, Oxford, 1960, pp. 37 - 40. Ker gives examples of e without a cedilla and of 'biting' of de as early as 1174 and 1186. 2 Ibid., pp. 37 - 40. 3 A fuller account is given in C.C. Ioz, pp. 21 - 23. 4 The Diary of Humphrey Wanley, 1715 - 1726, ed. C.E. Wright and R.C. Wright, vol. I (1715 - 23), London, 1966, p. lxxxii. 5 Pontes Harleiani, ed. C.E. Wright, London, 1972, pp. 281 - 2.

been mentioned, and the name Jacobus is written at the bottom of folio 69. The same signature is found in other Harleian manuscripts: folios 304 and 341 (this contains the date 1619) of Harley 4711, and folios 1 and 3 of Harley 3111 (known to have been in his possession in 1656)¹.

The name at the bottom of folio 69 of our manuscript may be the work of a child as Dr. Isoz suggests, and James Ravenscroft would have been 8 years old in 1603 (the date of the new king's ascension to the throne), but this dating cannot be guaranteed.

C.E. Wright, in the Fontes Harleiani, shows that a Mr. James Ravenscroft sold in July 1716, for the sum of one pound, 'one book printed upon velum' to Humphrey Wanley, the librarian of the Harleian collection². It is likely that the book in question is our manuscript for, though James Ravenscroft and his son James died in 1680 and 1703 respectively, a grandson named James was alive at the time, and his inheritance included the family estate at Fould Park near Chipping Barnett³. Significantly, his father, John Ravenscroft, died in 1716, just before the sale of the book.

Dr. Isoz suggests, in her critical edition of the Proverbs, that our manuscript is 'a copy of a copy'⁴. In her view, the scribe is too meticulous to have committed the errors at ll. 507, 4201, and 10949 (see the transcription, vol. 2), and this means that, unless the corruptions were present in the original, he must have been working from a copy. Nor does he impose his own spelling: o (<late Latin tonic close o) is predominantly spelt o in the Proverbs and u in the other three texts.

1 Ibid., p. 282. 2 Ibid., p. 282. 3 Ibid., p. 282.

4 C.C. Isoz, pp. 18 - 19.

Whichever scribe was responsible for the corruptions, there is no doubt that he was happier writing in Latin than in French, since errors are extremely rare in the Latin sections of the poem.

Chapter 2

Treatment of the text

The Proverbs of Solomon, translated into French by Sanson de Nantuil, contain 11,852 lines of verse and a number of Latin sections in prose. The numbering varies from that of J. Vising¹, S. Hilgers², and H. Hilgers³, due to the numbering method followed at ll. 7711 - 22. At this point I have followed the practice adopted by Dr. Isoz. in her critical edition of the Proverbs: the 12 lines after l. 7710 are numbered 7711a - 7722a, and the numbering then continues as normal: 7711, 7722, etc. The possibility of confusion implicit in this numbering-process is discussed more fully in Chapter 4 of this study (see pp. 90 - 91), but it is felt that the practice adopted will facilitate the large number of cross-references between the present study and Dr. Isoz's thesis⁴.

In general, the prose and verse sections are separated in this transcription by a space of one line; this space being occasionally filled by the words Glose and Litera, where they appear in the manuscript.

All coloured initials in the manuscript are inset one space in the transcription, regardless of their size, and the manuscript practice of separating the initial letter of each line from the rest of the line, has not been reproduced.

The constant aim in producing a diplomatic transcription has been to reproduce the manuscript text as closely as possible. For example,

1 J. Vising, Anglo - Norman language and literature, Connecticut, 1970. 2 S. Hilgers (see List of abbreviations, p.v). 3 H. Hilgers, Die Wortstellung in Sanson von Nantails altfranzösischer Bearbeitung der Proverbia Salomonis, Halle, 1910. 4 See C.C.Isoz, pp. 863 - 4.

capital letters are used wherever they are found in the manuscript, and all manuscript corrections have been adopted in the text of the transcription. Punctuation is reproduced as it is found in the manuscript and further discussion, when necessary, is reserved for Chapter 4.

The letters used in the transcription are, in general, those found in the manuscript: thus the recurring use of ǣ is duly recorded. However, in the case of s, the alternative forms, ſ and ʃ have been generalised as s.

Abbreviations have been expanded in italics (see below), and word division, even if erroneous, is observed as closely as possible in the transcription. For example, the word enmanantiz (l. 117) is reproduced as found in the manuscript: en manantiz, and conversely, a single-syllable preposition is often conjoined with the following word when the sense of the line obviously requires two separate words: afeblesce - a feblesce (l. 4), is reproduced thus conjoined.

In a number of places a syllable has been omitted by the scribe, or a syllable added: pretonic e is frequently omitted (see l. 42), or as in the case of espirit (l. 21), a syllable has been added. Such peculiarities are reproduced as closely as possible in the transcription.

Where a line is found to be a syllable short, or to contain extra syllables, a solution, such as the employment of hiatus or the use of a double form (e.g. com/come) is often apparent, and in such cases no comment is felt to be necessary. On other occasions, however, suggestions have been put forward either in the critical apparatus or in Chapter 4, depending on the length of the comments made¹.

¹ See also the List of hypermetric lines, pp. 130 - 142.

The critical apparatus at the foot of each page contains all information not available from the transcription itself, and includes information on the use of accents, added letters, corrections, erasures, superscript letters, and - occasionally - comments on scribal practice or alternative readings. When such comments are followed by the sign (I), this is an indication that the matter is dealt with more fully by Dr. Isoz, and the reader is referred to her thesis.

Matters concerning the French and dealt with in the critical apparatus are indicated by line references at the foot of the page, and separated by a vertical space from matters concerning the Latin portions of the texts. The latter are dealt with in the order in which they occur.

In general, discussion of corrupt scribal readings is kept to a minimum in the critical apparatus, the aim being to avoid duplicating matters that can be discussed more fully in Chapter 4.

Omissions, of initial letters for instance, are indicated by square brackets in the body of the transcription, and if the solution is clear, it is offered in the critical apparatus.

In a number of places, the Latin text of the manuscript does not correspond to the Vulgate version of the Book of Proverbs and unless Sanson's translation supports the variant, the Vulgate version is provided in the critical apparatus.

Abbreviations are expanded in italics in as consistent a manner as possible, but variations do occur. When an abbreviation sign has obviously been omitted by the scribe, comment is made, in brackets, in the critical apparatus.

There are, in the Proverbs, a number of common abbreviations:

<u>dc</u>	:	<u>david</u> (l. 7845)
<u>d't</u>	:	<u>dunt</u>
<u>c'</u>	:	<u>com</u>
<u>E'</u>	:	<u>Est</u>
<u>ē</u>	:	<u>est</u>
<u>ml't</u>	:	<u>molt</u>
<u>s't</u>	:	<u>sunt</u>
<u>f't</u>	:	<u>funt</u>
<u>n</u>	:	<u>par, per</u>
<u>p</u>	:	<u>pro</u>
<u>p̃</u>	:	<u>pur</u> as a single word, and
	:	<u>por</u> when part of a word
		(porvers).
<u>n⁹</u>	:	<u>nus</u>
<u>u⁹</u>	:	<u>uus</u>
<u>9</u>	:	<u>con</u>
<u>q</u>	:	<u>que</u>
<u>q̃</u>	:	<u>que</u>
<u>q̃</u>	:	<u>que</u>
<u>q̃</u>	:	<u>que</u>
<u>q̃</u>	:	<u>que</u>
<u>~ , ~</u>	:	<u>n, m, un</u>
<u>ũ</u>	:	<u>un</u>
<u>õ</u>	:	<u>on</u>
<u>ũs</u>	:	<u>uns</u>

The nasal titulus ~ is occasionally used to represent en.

The abbreviation ~ is expanded as re or er (contre, terre).

Nomina sacra are almost always abbreviated:

<u>d's</u>	:	<u>deus</u>
<u>dns</u>	:	<u>dominus</u>

and these include a number of learned words such as anl'e - anostele.

Such forms are always expanded fully in the transcription, since the hypermetric form, anostele, is used more frequently by the scribe.

There are also a number of instances of superfluous abbreviation:
estr'e (l. 191); el's (l. 156); mol't (ll. 8810, 8827); malmetre'
 (l. 9537); estre' (l. 10899).

Finally, the scribe uses superscript letters to abbreviate:

<u>i</u>	:	<u>ui</u> , <u>ri</u> , <u>ir</u>
<u>a</u>	:	<u>ua</u> , <u>ra</u>
<u>e</u>	:	<u>ue</u>

There is an isolated form devinⁱ (l. 8670) where Dr. Isoz believes the suprascript letter may simply be an aid to the reader¹. Indeed it is difficult to envisage an expansion of the suprascript i, and no doubt the scribe has added it to ensure the reading devin and not deum, which would result from confusion of the minims in the ending -uin.

1 C.C. Isoz, p. 26.

Chapter 3

A) Background to the poem

'Entendez dunc a cest romanz
 Qu'al loënge damne deu
 E a s'enor at translaté
 Sanson de Nantuil ki sovient
 De sa dame qu'il aime e creient,
 Ki mainte feiz l'en out pried
 Que li desclarast cel traitied' (ll. 192 - 8).

This excerpt from the Prologue to the Proverbs is the only proof of the author's identity, and recent critics, when examining the question of authorship, have discussed at length Sanson's patroness Aëliz de Cundé (named at l. 201). Indeed, to ignore this mention of his patroness would be to ignore the motivating force of the poem, and it is hoped that details concerning Aëliz de Cundé and her family will allow an approximate dating and localisation of the Proverbs of Solomon.

Details of the Condé family are discussed thoroughly in the critical edition of the Proverbs by Dr. Isoz¹, and a descriptive study is beyond the scope of the present work. However, a summary of relevant details will offer a clearer picture of the author's background.

It is not certain that Aëliz de Cundé was Sanson's patroness in the modern sense of the word, i.e. that she requested the work as an act of patronage - much depends on the value of the word sovient (l. 195) - but it is clear that he knew the lady well.

Nevertheless, the mention of her name (l. 201) is not enough to identify the lady beyond all doubt, despite the evidence for her lineage given by Canon C.W. Foster².

1 C.C. Isoz, pp. 563 - 574.

2 Reg. Ant., I, pp. 277 - 297.

The ledger book of Barlings Abbey quoted by Canon Foster¹ and by Dr. Isoz² refers to her as the daughter of William de Casneto, though in the face of a stronger hypothesis, this single piece of evidence has been passed over. The alternative hypothesis of Canon Foster and Dr Isoz proposes that Alice de Condet is none other than the daughter of Rannulf le Meschin, first earl of Chester, and the lady commonly referred to as Alice de Clare.

Dr Isoz's evidence in support of this argument³ includes documents and charters of Alice de Condet and her son Roger, relating to the Church of St Mary Magdalene in Hertsholme in Shellingthorpe⁴, and to Merton Priory in Surrey⁵, both of which were connected with the Clare family. Of greater significance is the famous charter of the reign of King Stephen - often referred to as the 'Stephen/Rannulf Charter' - in which the king bought the adherence of the infamous Rannulf de Gernon, son of the first earl of Chester and supposed brother of Alice de Condet.

The 'Stephen/Rannulf Charter' offers much to support this supposition, as it contains Stephen's restoration of lands to Alice in return for Rannulf's support⁶.

1 Reg. Ant., I, p. 282. 2 C.C. Isoz, p. 564. 3 Ibid., pp. 563 - 574. 4 Ibid., p. 565; and Reg. Ant., I, pp. 285 - 6.

5 C.C. Isoz, p. 564; and Records of Merton Priory, ed. A.C. Heales, London, 1898. 6 This charter only remains in an abbreviated 14th century copy in Regesta Regum Anglo-Normanorum, 1066 - 1154, vol III, (1135 - 54), ed. H.A. Cronne and R.H.C. Davis, Oxford, 1968, no 178:

'Et pretera pro amore dict(i) comit(is)
Rannulf(i) idem rex reddidit Adelid(i) de
Condia totam terram suam sicut illa
finit, scilicet Horncastriam quando
castrum illum prostratum fuit, Et idem
rex reddidit ei totam diam terram suam.

(Canon Foster suggests that Horncastriam may be a corrupt reading of Thorngate).

Thus, if we accept Canon Foster's hypothesis, the details surrounding Aeliz de Cundé can be more easily determined¹.

Through her mother's marriage to Roger fitz Gerald de Roumare, Alice de Condet would be the half-sister of William de Roumare, earl of Lincoln. Her own marriage to Richard fitz Gilbert of Clare, ended when her husband was killed in the Welsh rising of 1136², the marriage having produced two sons and two daughters. Charters of the time of her husband's death refer to her without exception as the sister of Rannulf de Gernon³.

Her second marriage was to Robert de Condet of Lincolnshire, though he too was dead by the 10th October 1145, and probably earlier⁴. It is from this point that many of the complications surrounding Alice de Condet arise. Both the 'Stephen/Rannulf Charter' and a writ from Stephen granting the wardship of Alice's son Roger, to the bishop of Lincoln, help in ascertaining the year of Robert's death, but the issue remains unclear. It is not certain whether the writ came before or after the 'Stephen/Rannulf Charter', nor how long either of these came after the death of Robert de Condet. It would seem that Robert held Lincoln between 1141 and 1146 and presumably the writ must be dated earlier or later than this period (i.e. when Stephen held

1 For a more detailed history of Alice de Condet see C.C. Isoz, pp. 563 - 576. 2 *Gesta Stephani* - The Deeds of Stephen, ed. with translation by K.R. Potter, London, 1955, pp. 10 - 12. 3 *Historia Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae*, I, ed. W.H. Hart, London, 1863, nos. CLVll, CLlX, CCCXLVll. 4 Robert de Condet's death is recorded in the 12th century obituary of Lincoln Cathedral; see *Giraldus Cambrensis*, VII, ed. J.F. Dimoch, London, 1877, p. 161. The 10th October alone is given, but his burial is mentioned in a Papal bull of 1146.

Lincoln). The charter too must come before or after this period, at a time when Stephen had the means to purchase Rannulf's adherence. The critics have placed the writ immediately after the death of Robert in 1140, and the charter in 1146, when Lincoln was again in the hands of the king¹.

Whatever the date of the charter, the writ, and indeed of Robert de Condet's death, the significant information remains the same:

'that the king, in an attempt to placate the arch rebel Rannulf, thought that he would be influenced by the return of lands to Alice de Condet, thus indicating some close tie between them'².

The date of Alice's death is unknown. After her husband's death, she and Roger made a number of grants, recorded in the Registrum Antiquissimum³, to the abbey of Liques in northern France⁴ and to Rufford Abbey⁵ in 1154, and a charter of Roger⁶, confirms a grant by Alice and Roger to the church of Lincoln, dated as 1163⁷. If this dating is correct and Alice was still alive in 1163, then it is clear that Sanson could have been writing for her at this late date.

Unfortunately, the details of the poet himself offer little to confirm or contradict this possibility. Linguistic dating criteria will be discussed elsewhere (see Chapter 5) but the intention of the present chapter is to examine the possible area and period of composition relying on details of the author's background.

1 Stephen held Lincoln until 2nd February 1141 and later, between 1146 and February 1148; see J.H. Round, English Historical Review, X (1895), pp. 87 - 91; and C.C. Isoz, pp. 569 - 74. 2 C.C. Isoz, p. 572. 3 Reg. Ant., I, pp. 282 - 5. 4 Ibid., pp. 282 - 4. 5 Ibid., p. 285; and Rufford Charters, II, ed. C.J. Holdsworth, Nottingham, 1974, p. 422, no. 787. 6 Reg. Ant., IV, no. 1102; Miss K. Major dates this c 1160 - 65, ibid., p. 1. 7 Reg. Ant., I, no. 252 (dated 1146), p. 200; and no. 255 (dated 1163), p. 207.

It would seem reasonable to suggest that the author was writing in England. If, as he claims, he was writing for Alice de Condet, we may assume that he worked in or near Lincoln, though whether he was writing in the cloister, or whether he was more closely attached to the Condet family, it is impossible to judge.

Miss Legge supposes that he may have been chaplain to the Condet family¹, though nothing in the poem leads us to that conclusion. This theory is based on the assumption that the Proverbs were written for Alice's son Roger as a 'moral textbook'². Their value as a moral guide is not in doubt, but no contemporary figure other than the author and patroness, is mentioned in the poem.

If Sanson was not chaplain to the Condet family, he was almost certainly an ecclesiastic. He demonstrates an excellent knowledge of Latin and a thorough understanding of the Scriptures. Moreover, he is, according to the abbé de la Rue:

'Un homme versé dans la connaissance des auteurs de la belle latinité'³.

Dr. Isoz remains sceptical as to our author's knowledge of classical texts⁴, and it is true that the poem shows his interests to be religious rather than literary.

In his method of commentary and gloss, Sanson perhaps reveals his concern for his fellow ecclesiastics. Kluge's thesis on the sources of the Proverbs⁵, mentions the various types of commentary used by our author, and one of the more common is his use of the

1 A.N. Litt., p. 40: 'There is no mention of Sanson de Nantuil in any of the charters of Alice de Condet, but he was probably her chaplain'. 2 Ibid., p. 41. 3 Abbé G. de la Rue, Essais historiques sur les bardes, Caen, 1834, p. 132. 4 C.C. Isoz, p. 576. 5 F. Kluge, Ueber die von Sanson de Nantails benützten Werke, Halle, 1885.

text to offer advice to members of the clergy. His interpretation of the text continually follows this line, perhaps revealing his own clerical education.

He shows an interest also, in the role of the doctor - a role which he repeatedly compares with that of the priest. It is true that this is a common metaphor for him, but his knowledge of medicine, though elementary, perhaps betrays a particular interest of our author.

The conditions of patronage make it highly likely that the poem was composed in England, and probably near Lincoln. Miss Legge assumes this to be the case, though from the author's name, she deduces a strong connection with the continent¹. It is more likely, however, that the name de Nantuil was used as a means of differentiation in the manner of other medieval authors (Philippe de Thäun, Chrétien de Troyes).

Dr. Isoz describes any insular characteristics in the language as 'negligible'², and, in her discussion of the poem's provenance, she mentions ll. 9 - 10, which, if we accept her interpretation, would seem to substantiate the theory of English origin: 'He who suffers great deprivation has no need to search in France'³. Sanson is apparently saying that his reader need look no further than the Proverbs for the spiritual food he seeks. That is to say we have no need to turn to writers on the continent. However, the reference to France may, as Dr. Isoz suggests, mean the 'Ile de France'⁴, and given that interpretation, we can only assume that the work is provincial, and probably from the west of France (see Chapter 5).

1 A.N. Litt., p. 37: 'a member of a family which still prided itself on its continental connexions'. 2 C.C. Isoz, p. 575.
 3 Ibid., p. 576. 4 Ibid., p. 576.

The 'continental connexions' suggested by the name Sanson de Nantuil could indicate his birthplace, or on the other hand, his place of education. An examination of the Repertoire des abbayes et prieurés en France¹ reveals ten possible Nanteuils, where Sanson may have been educated, but, once more, the facts remain inconclusive. Since the Chesters, the Clares, and probably the Condets, originated from the Normandy and Manche areas, the Benedictine abbey at St. Marcouf, near Bayeux, formerly known as Nanteuil, seems a highly likely possibility. However, in Dr. Isoz's opinion, the linguistic features of the poem suggest a region further south. In a foot - note she mentions the Benedictine abbey at Nanteuil - en - vallée which would fulfill the requirements².

From the facts available, it is extremely difficult to ascribe a date to the Proverbs. The abbé de la Rue seems certain that Sanson was writing during the reign of King Stephen³, though he offers no evidence to support this view. T. Wright agrees⁴, suggesting a link between Sanson and Rufford Abbey, to which Alice de Condet and her son made donations in 1148⁵.

Miss Legge's evidence for dating is based on her assumption that Sanson was chaplain to the Condet family, and that the Proverbs were written for the boy Roger. He was knighted between 1160

1 L.H. Cottineau, Repertoire topo - bibliographique des abbayes et prieurés en France, vol. 2, Mâcon, 1939. 2 C.C. Isoz, p. 575.

3 Op. cit., p. 134. 4 T. Wright, Biographia Britannica

litteratura, vol. 2, London, 1846, p. 130. 5 Reg. Ant., I, p. 285.

and 1166¹, and Miss Legge supposes that the Proverbs were

'perhaps written while Roger was still a page of 12 years old or so, which would make them of about 1150...'².

Dr. Isoz, in her examination of the documents concerning Alice de Condet and her family³, has found only one reference to the name Sanson. This is in a charter of William de Roumare, son of Earl William and the half - brother of Alice de Condet, confirming a gift to bishop Alexander and the chapter of Lincoln c 1140 - 47. The name Sampsone Canonico is included in the list of witnesses⁴.

Furthermore, a copy of Peter Comestor's Historia Scholastica was left to Lincoln Cathedral in the name Samsonis canonici⁵, though the fact that the book was not written until the third quarter of the 12th century leads Dr. Isoz to distinguish between this man and our author. However, we should not underestimate the rapidity with which medieval works were disseminated, and a date between 1136 (after the death of Alice de Condet's first husband) and 1163 (when she was possibly still alive), for the composition of the Proverbs, does not rule out the possibility that the Sanson mentioned in these documents is our author. Furthermore, due to the vagueness of the word sovient (l. 195) in Sanson's prologue, it is not inconceivable that the Proverbs were written as a memorial to Alice de Condet, dedicated to her after her

1 Ibid., p. 290. 2 A.N. Litt., p. 41, 3 C.C. Isoz, pp. 563 - 576. 4 Reg. Ant., I, pp. 79 - 80, no. 132.

5 Giraldus Cambrensis, VII, op. cit., p. 168: 'De dono Samsonis canonici, Historia magistri petri manducatoris'.

death. This would bring forward the Terminus ad quem in the dating of the work, and allow us to identify more easily, the author of the Proverbs with the canon of Lincoln Cathedral.

Chapter 3

B) Sources

It is clear from Sanson's commentary on the Book of Proverbs that the work is based on that of other glossers, and, although he occasionally names his source, as with David or St. Paul,¹ the source usually remains anonymous. Walberg's remarks on the matter are unspecific:

'La traduction en couplets de vers octosyllabiques est habile; le commentaire paraît être basé sur différents théologiens latins'².

Only two critics have discussed the sources of the Proverbs in any detail. F. Kluge suggests three major sources in his thesis on the subject³: Rede, the Glossa Ordinaria, and In Parabolas Salomonis expositio mystica by Saloni⁴.

Dr. Isoz, in her critical edition of the text, prefers to see a broader range of source material on which Sanson might have drawn, and, although she accepts the three sources put forward by Kluge, she has reservations as to the extent to which Sanson referred to the Glossa Ordinaria. She feels that additional works such as medieval bestiaries and other encyclopaedical treatises might have played a part in the formation of Sanson's commentary⁵.

1 See ll. 3699 and 2665. 2 E.M. Walberg, Quelques aspects de la littérature anglo-normande, Paris, 1936. 3 F. Kluge, Ueber die von Sanson de Nantuis benützten Werke, Halle, 1885.
4 Saloni⁴, In Parabolas Salomonis expositio mystica, in Patrologiae Latinae, vol. LIII, ed. J.P. Migne, Paris, 1865, cols. 967 - 994. 5 C.C. Isoz, pp. 577 - 614.

There is no doubt in the mind of either critic however, that Bede is the most important source, and it is the relationship of this work to the others quoted, that has caused Dr. Isoz to look more closely at this relative influence, and to search for possible alternatives.

In certain passages, where the Glossa Ordinaria is merely an abbreviation of Bede, it is clear that our author is nearer to Bede¹. However, in other parts of the text, Sanson's commentary has no parallel in Bede and would seem to be closer to the Glossa Ordinaria. The introduction to the poem (ll. 1 - 346) provides such an example: Both Bede and the Glossa Ordinaria have a general introduction in their gloss on Proverbs, I, although this is expanded in the Glossa Ordinaria. Sanson has a separate, and much expanded introduction, which is closer to the additional material of the Glossa Ordinaria than to Bede.

The Glossa Ordinaria, which was formerly attributed to Walafrid Strabo², has now been proved to be the work of Anselm of Laön, who wrote in the period c1100 - 1130³, and on the basis of this evidence, Dr. Isoz rejects Kluge's claim that Sanson must have known the work. Sanson, supposedly writing in or near 1150, may have had access to the Glossa Ordinaria⁴, but in the opinion of Dr. Isoz, this is highly

1 C.C. Isoz, p. 580, gives ll. 7497 - 7502 as an example: 'ad perfectiora semper accrescens'. This is omitted in the Glossa Ordinaria but not in the Proverbs. 2 It is so attested in Patrologiae Latinae, vol. CXVIII, ed. J.P. Migne, Paris, 1852.

3 See B. Smalley, The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages, Oxford, 1952. 4 C.C. Isoz, p. 583.

unlikely¹.

Much more likely, in her opinion², is the possibility that Sanson's introduction, in particular lines 137 - 176, is based on St. Jerome's preface to the Bible:

'... interpretationem vidilicet trium
Solomonis voluminem, masloth, quas
Hebraei Parabolas, vulgata editio Proverbia
vocat, Coeleth, quem graece Ecclesiasten,
latine contionatorum possumus dicere,
Sir Assirim, quod in nostram linguam
vertitur canticum canticorum'³.

Indeed, Sanson acknowledges his debt to St. Jerome twice in the introduction:

'Si cum sainz Jerommes retrait' (l. 140),

'Cist Jerommes dunt nus parlum,
Ki d'Eusebe ot le surnum,
Fud des proverbes molt priet
Ainz qu'en translatast le traitet.
Dui evesque l'en unt requis
Qu'il nos numet, ço m'est vis:
Li uns ad num Cromatius
E li altre Heliodorus.' (ll. 169 - 176).

1 C.C. Isoz, pp. 582 -3; Dr. Isoz is tempted to see Sanson as exemplifying the rivalry between the glossers of the 'Ile de France' and those of the rest of France, or between the Laon - Paris - Auxerre region, where most of the Glossa Ordinaria was produced, and the rest of the French - speaking areas. In her view, the lines:

'Pur nent irreit conquere en France
Ki suffraite at en habundance.' (ll. 9 - 10)

may be proof of this. 2 Ibid., pp. 584 - 7. 3 Piblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria etc., Antwerp, 1617, vol. 5, cols. 1595 - 96.

This resembles the preface of St. Jerome very closely¹, and is also similar to a number of titles found in various medieval manuscripts of the 12th century, eg.

'Liber Salomonis, id est, Parabolas ejus secundum Hebraicam veritatem translatae ad Eusebio Hieronymus presbytero, petante Chromatio et Eliodoro episcopo'².

Although ll. 169 - 76 seem to resemble St. Jerome's preface more closely than the Glossa Ordinaria or the Book of Proverbs, it is perhaps worth noting that the Glossa Ordinaria, in its introduction to the the Song of Songs³, does contain much of the information given by St. Jerome, including other material used by Sanson in his introduction⁴.

Furthermore, ll. 181 - 90 of the Proverbs have no counterpart in Bede:

'Mais mielz lor covent a enquerre,
Kar come l'or est quis en terre,
E come le Noël de noiz
Ki a manger est bon e doiz,
U de la chastaine herdue
Ki d'une schale est sorvestue,
Tot ensement de couverture
Fut reposte ceste escripture.
Enquerre i deit lum ensement
Le devin sens plus haltement.'

1 In the Bible, op. cit., col. 1595, the preface of St. Jerome begins:

Epistola sancti Hieronymi praesbyteri ad
Chromatium et Heliodorum episcopis de libris
Salomonis.'

2 See Patrologiae Latinae, op. cit., vol. XXVII, col. 1241 (quoted by C.C. Isoz, p. 586). 3 Glossa Ordinaria, cols. 1817 - 1818.

4 Ibid., col. 1817: 'Salomon, id est pacificus...'

but a significantly similar passage can be found in the Glossa Ordinaria:

'sed quasi in terra aurum, in nuce
nucleus, in hirsutis castanearum operculis
absconditus fructus inquiritur: ita in eis
divinus sensus altius est inquirendus'¹.

In view of these facts, it is possible that the Glossa Ordinaria is just as likely a source as St. Jerome's Preface, despite the 'chronological difficulties' referred to by Dr. Isoz², and if, as she suggests, both Sanson and the compiler of the Glossa Ordinaria were working from a common source³, then such difficulties would no longer arise.

Kluge names Salonius⁴ as the third major source for the Proverbs, though the evidence for this is less than convincing. For each of the three sections of the Proverbs attributable to Salonius, Dr. Isoz has found an alternative source⁵. The passages in question are as follows:

1. 'Sis nuns par ethimologie
Paisible Deu nus senefie' (ll. 79 - 80)⁶.
2. 'De Salemon le rei entent
Deu le saint pere omnipotent,
De ki tote escience vent,
Kar tot criat e tot content.

1 Glossa Ordinaria, col. 1959 (quoted by C.C. Isoz, p. 587).

2 C.C. Isoz, p. 587. 3 Ibid., p. 587: for example, an identical annotation in St. Jerome manuscripts used by Sanson and the author of the Glossa Ordinaria. 4 Op. cit., p. 10. 5 C.C. Isoz, pp. 588 - 90. 6 The corresponding passage is in Salonius, op. cit., col. 967 (see C.C. Isoz, p. 588).

Par son cher fiz qu'il nus tramist
 Pais entr'angeles e homes fist.
 A celx de bone volunté
 Mist pais en terre le filz Dé;
 Par Jesu Crist, son filz demeine,
 Ki de lui servir nos enseigne.
 Sis pere en lui ad tot ovré
 Si'n est sapience numé.' (ll. 231 - 242)¹.

3. 'A devine cognition
 Sapience seneffion.
 A temporel chose ordener
 Devuns escience noter.' (ll. 363 - 36)².

The first example may, according to Dr. Isoz³, be based on a passage from Isidore of Seville:

'Salomon tribus nominibus fuisse
 perhibetur. Primum vocabulum eius Salomon
 dicitur, id est pacificus, eo quod in regno
 eius pax finerit'⁴.

Dr. Isoz sees the second example as part of the 'common store of medieval theological knowledge'⁵, though more specifically she cites St. Augustine as a possible source.

In the third example, Sanson is once again 'much closer to Augustine than to Salonius'⁶, but as in the previous cases, there is nothing to contradict the possibility that Sanson is relying on no specific source other than his own general knowledge.

1 The corresponding passage is in Salonius, op. cit., col. 967 (see C.C. Isoz, p. 589). 2 The corresponding passage is in Salonius, op. cit., col. 968 (see C.C. Isoz, p. 589). 3 C.C. Isoz, p. 588; Dr. Isoz gives other possible sources, such as St. Augustine or St. Jerome. The Glossa Ordinaria also has the interlinear entry: Pacifici for Salomonis (cols. 1599 - 1600). 4 Isidore of Seville, Etym., VII, vi, 65. 5 C.C. Isoz, p. 589. See also St. Augustine, Ennaratio in Psalmo CXXVI, in Corpus Christianorum, series latina XL, Brepols, 1956, p. 1857. 6 C.C. Isoz, p. 590. See also St. Augustine, De Trinitate, in Corpus Christianorum, series latina I, Brepols, 1968, p. 379.

In all three examples, it may be wrong to search for a specific source, or to prefer one alternative to another, but in the Proverbs as a whole, Sanson draws heavily on one work: Bede. On this point the critics agree: his connection with his principal source is regarded as so slavish that the Old French gloss can only be seen as a versification of Bede's commentary¹.

A freer adaptation of Bede is less frequently found than might be expected, and deviation from the principal source is extremely rare. Dr. Isoz, in an attempt to classify the ways in which Sanson treats his major source, sees 'a general tendency for pruning of his source, and for the addition of extra glosses...'².

Sanson's provision of additional material is often an attempt to give a more picturesque explanation of the text, or to simplify Bede's words. The gloss on Proverbs, III, 16 is an example of the former: after translating Bede's gloss, Sanson adds the story of Martha and Mary Magdalene (ll. 2675 - 2716)³. The use of biblical stories is much - favoured by our author, and shows his thorough knowledge of the Scriptures. In addition, the constant attempts at simplification may be thought to lend some support to Miss Legge's theory that the poem was written for a young boy⁴. Only rarely does Sanson's explanation of a text produce fine visual imagery, though occasionally we see glimpses of a slightly ironic style, which is refreshing to the reader⁵.

1 See F. Kluge, op. cit., p. 11. 2 C.C. Isoz, p. 591.

3 For further examples, see C.C. Isoz, pp. 591 - 602.

4 A.N. Litt., pp. 36 - 42, where Miss Legge suggests that the Proverbs may have been written for Roger de Condet (see Chapter 3, p. 18).

5 See ll. 6349 - 62.

Sanson's commentaries on verses not glossed by Bede are less frequent, and usually only amount to very small additions.

One of the more interesting aspects of Sanson's treatment of his source material, is the recurrence of certain major themes which seem to reflect the author's personal interests¹. These are not additions to the text, since the material is taken, directly or indirectly, from Bede, but Sanson's insistence on certain interpretations is not without significance. Perhaps of special significance is his view of the role of preachers and prelates. He constantly rebukes the idle, and has words of encouragement for those who carry out their Christian duties well:

'Cil ki d'almes unt garde e core,
E prent en lor forfaiture,
Gardent que d'euls amonester
Traiter par dreit e doctriener
Ne seient de ren pereços
Kil en sereient coreços' (ll. 4039-44).

In such cases, our author reveals his own personality as he addresses his fellow clergymen in a direct and forceful manner. But his words of rebuke and encouragement extend beyond the clergy when he directs his warnings to sinners and heretics, and describes in vivid detail the torments of Hell:

'Si com enfern trangle toz vis
Celx ki n'unt liu en paraïs,
E tot enter el lac descent
Pesme e horrible de torment' (ll. 669 - 672).

¹ See C.C. Isoz, pp. 605 - 610; and F. Kluge, op. cit., pp. 14 - 37.

Sanson also shows his interest in what, according to B. Smalley, was a popular debate in the 12th century - on the respective merits of an active Christian life and passive contemplation¹. He makes his own position clear on a number of occasions:

'Ne tent pas fei ki n'ovret bien
Kar fei senz ovre est morte ren' (ll. 581 - 2).

Another recurring theme in the Proverbs is the recourse to etymology to explain names:

'Daim est en griu dorcas nomez
De veeir est cist num formez' (ll. 4049 - 50),

but amongst such examples are found a number of what Dr. Isoz terms 'fanciful etymologies'². These may or may not be Sanson's own invention:

'Noter redevuns de Leõn
Ke de laver formet sun num,
Kar Jesus Crist tot eslevat
Quant le pechié del monde ostad' (ll. 11643 - 6).

Once again, it is possible that Sanson was drawing on common knowledge available, perhaps, in bestiaries and encyclopaedical works of the time.

He occasionally uses terms such as l'expositor or la glose referring back to his source material, but Dr. Isoz's investigation of their use shows no recognisable pattern³, and the only Church authorities referred to directly are St. Jerome, St. Augustine and St. Gregory (see Index of proper names for line - numbers).

Finally, therefore, it is clear that the major part of Sanson's commentary is taken from Bede, although this does not rule out the use of other works for isolated glosses and explanations. However,

1 B. Smalley, op. cit., pp. 249ff. 2 C.C. Isoz, p. 614, where other examples are given. 3 Ibid., pp. 611 - 13.

despite this heavy reliance on the works of other glossers, Sanson has managed to project his own personality into his poem, not through any striking originality, but rather by his insistence on, and expansion of, those parts of his source material which reflect his own interests.

Chapter 4

Analysis of the text

The present chapter is intended to be an epitome of linguistic and literary points worthy of comment in the Proverbs. Line references are to the diplomatic transcription of the poem (vol.II).

The poem is divided into three sections: Prologue, Argumentum and the Proverbs proper. In the case of the latter, Sanson has given the text of the Vulgate, to which he has added his own translation, followed by a commentary on the section of Latin translated.

The division of the present chapter into sections corresponding to Biblical chapters is purely arbitrary, since Sanson's Latin text does not always conveniently break off at the end of a chapter. However, the method used is intended to facilitate cross - reference to the principal source - Pede (page references to Pede are given at the beginning of each Biblical chapter).

PROLOGUE (ll. 1 - 218).

The Prologue outlines the history and purpose of the Book of Proverbs, and Sanson's role in uncovering it for the reader. Sanson names the three books of Solomon, and explains their meaning before indicating the method in which this book should be read. Finally, he completes his introduction with the dedication to Aéliz de Cundé.

- 1.1 'A tort se lait murir de faim
Ki asez at e ble e pain.' (ll. 1 - 2).

The beginning of the poem is typical of the 'style presque toujours sententieux' referred to by the abbé de la Rue¹. These lines make an

1 Abbé G. de la Rue, Essais historiques sur les bardes, Caen, 1834, p. 134.

appropriately striking introduction to a work such as the Proverbs: Sanson is exploiting, for the first time, the recurring metaphor of bodily food as spiritual sustenance.

- 1.8 Ki al mulin muerent de sei: Sanson frequently draws on contemporary proverbs to emphasise his point. The same image is found in Morawski:

'Qui mielz aime autrui que soi
au moulin fu morz de suef'¹.

- 11.9 - 10 en France: The author is no doubt making it clear that his readers need not depart for France to satisfy their needs: neither he nor the readers he envisages, therefore, live in France. Since it is not certain that Sanson was writing specifically for Alice de Condet, one is tempted to ask the question: for whom was this hypothetical canon of Lincoln writing c1150? His insistence on uprightness in the clergy, suggests a link with the cloister schools.
- 1.22 golis: Dr. Isoz has interpreted this difficult word as 'pleasure seeker' - jolis², but, since the word occurs in the second line of a couplet, one would expect the sense to continue from the preceding line. It is possible that the form golis is scribal for gois, a common variant of jois, jouis. This could then be interpreted as 'the deprived is abundantly gratified'.
- 1.38 Dr. Isoz has interpreted this line as '...of which the better part was in my country'³. If this interpretation is to prove sound, it might be added to other evidence of composition outside France (see 11.9 - 10). However, the function of de mielz, the tense of ert, and

1 Morawski, no. 1922.

2 C.C. Isoz, p. 755.

3 Ibid., p. 755.

the interpretation of a ma contree, are all open to question. Taken in conjunction with ll. 35 - 37, this line seems to refer to the discovery of riches and wisdom, hidden in the obscurity of Latin and Hebrew. de mielz may be a partitive, subject to the future form ert, or, alternatively, de mielz could have a vague adverbial meaning: 'the better'¹. In either case, a ma contree would appear to be scribal for a m'encontree: 'I have found a large part of it, and thus it will be the better for my having discovered it'.

11.79 - 80 par ethimologie: The etymological significance of names, for which the Middle Ages had a marked predilection, is a recurring feature of Sanson's commentary (see Chapter 3, p. 31).

1.119 prodes: The apparently feminine adjective, prodes, qualifying clers, appears to be scribal, and is allowed for metrical reasons. The author may have intended pro(d)os.

1.121 firent : descristrent: The rhyme -irent : -istrent is not found elsewhere in our text, but firent is commonly attested in rhyme, perhaps suggesting the existence of the form descriment. However, this latter is not attested until the late 12th century, and the original rhyme was no doubt fistrent : descristrent.

11.147 - 54 Referring to these lines, Dr. Isoz says:

'The villain was frequently cited as the authority for all popular wisdom in Old French literature, and the term does not necessarily indicate that a saying belongs to the collection known as the *Proverbes al vilain*'².

It is perhaps interesting to note that there is a

1 See Tobl. Lom., vol. 6, opls. 31 - 32. 2 C.C. Isoz, p. 757.

similar reference to the villain in the prologue to Chrétien de Troyes' Erec¹.

- 11.182-190 Similies such as the ones found here, are rare in the Proverbs and, in most cases, are merely elaborations of the source material: at this point, of the Glossa Ordinaria² (see Chapter 3, p. 36). The image of the chestnut is also used by Chrétien, author of Guillaume d'Angleterre:

'Ne savés vos que la castenge
Douce, plaisans, ist de la boisse
Aspre, poignans de grant angoisse?' (11. 1172 - 4)³.

- 1.183: noiz : doiz: The rhyme is an example of praeconsonantal d being simplified to j (see Pope, § 384, p. 154; and § 1327, p. 504).
1.185 herdue: Walberg, in his edition of the Bestiaire, suggests the meaning pointu for this word⁴, although he notes that Godefroy translates the same word by rude⁵. The former is supported by our Latin source: 'in hirsutis castanearum operculis absconditus fructus inquiritur'⁶, where the sense of 'prickly' seems to impose itself. Dr. Isoz has adopted the interpretation pointu, meaning 'bristling', at l. 6033.

- 11.192 - 218 Miss Legge cites the prologue to the Proverbs as proof that Sanson was 'a writer in the courtly tradition'⁷, although little in the rest of the text of the poem bears this out. According to Miss Legge, there are similarities between these lines and the prologue of Chrétien de Troyes' Le Chevalier de

1 Chrétien de Troyes, Erec et Enide, in Les Romans de Chrétien de Troyes (C.F.M.A.), vol. I, ed. M. Roques, Paris, 1958, ll. 1 - 23.
2 Glossa Ordinaria, col. 1600. 3 Chrétien, Guillaume d'Angleterre, ed. W. Foerster, Halle, 1911. 4 Bestiaire, p. XCV.
5 Godefroy, vol. I, p. 385b. 6 Glossa Ordinaria, col. 1959.
7 A.N. Litt., p. 37.

la charrete¹.

- 1.195 souvient : creient: S. Hilgers sees this rhyme as a scribal alteration of the second verb creint to fit the rhyme². The original rhyme, however, was clearly in -ient, and thus the verb orient is required.

ARGUMENTUM (11. 219 - 346).

The Argumentum sets out to explain the value and significance of science and sapience, and concludes by summarising the various methods of giving a work its title.

- 11.259 - 60 The meaning of these lines is unclear. Dr. Isoz translates them as: 'who would not be any more knowledgeable or well disposed if he were just to listen to himself', whilst admitting that it is possible to read sot in place of s'ot (1. 260)³. However, it is more likely that these lines form a question: '(Where is the man) who would not be better able to understand for listening readily and of his own accord?'.
 11.313 - 4 The second line of this couplet has a space of about 8 mm. after comencet, where a word may have been omitted. Dr. Isoz reads:
 'Les proverbes de Salemon
 Comencet, ço hi liesun.'
 and she translates the lines as 'It begins "The Proverbs of Solomon": this we read in it'⁴.

It must be noted that the couplet follows on after the two

1 M.D. Legge, La Préciosité de la littérature anglo-normande in Cahiers de civilisation medievale, vol. 8, (1965), p. 328; see Chrétien de Troyes, Le Chevalier de la charette in Les Romans de Chrétien de Troyes (C.F.M.A.), vol. III, ed. M. Roques, Paris, 1952, ll. 1 - 8. 2 S. Hilgers, p. 32. 3 C.C. Isoz, p. 759. 4 Ibid., p. 759.

preceding lines:

'Oï avez l'utilité,
Vëez dun est intitulé' (ll. 311 - 12).

It is possible to place a colon after intitulé, and continue as Dr. Isoz has done: 'It begins "The Proverbs of Solomon"', or, alternatively, to continue the sense from l. 312 to l. 313:

'Now see whence it is entitled "The Proverbs of Solomon"'. In either case, l. 314 causes most difficulty. The form liesun is a normal south - western form of lisun(s) (see Pope, § 1327, i, p. 503) and so Dr. Isoz's interpretation is perfectly acceptable, providing the h of hi is there merely to indicate hiatus of the vowel preceding it.

However this may be, the space in l. 314 clearly indicates that the scribe could make no sense of what immediately followed comencet. The manner in which the scribe has written hiliesun suggests that he may have understood this as the second part of the phrase Kyrie eleison, used here metaphorically as a word of introduction: 'Kyrie eleison begins (or Let Kyrie eleison begin) the Proverbs of Solomon'.

Furthermore, the word go in the manuscript is written unusually, with the two letters joined together, giving the impression of 'biting'. This may suggest that the scribe started to write something else, and modified it to go. This modified letter may have been an incomplete g from an original reading: 'Comencet si que hi liesun'. The scribe, understanding hi liesun as eleison (4 syllables), would find it necessary to remove a syllable from the line, and make what sense he could of the remaining que.

One final point worth noting is that the unusual form of go may represent a deformed m which, when added to hiliesun, may represent an

attempted reproduction of the Hebrew Mihlsle - 'Proverbs':
mhiliesun. However that may be, the line must mean contextually
 that the work had, at the beginning, the words Proverbia
Salomonis.

11.316 - 40 Sanson mentions the better known poets, biblical
 writers and philosophers of the past, and, as the abbé de la
 Rue says:

'Il paraît surtout faire ses délices des traités
 philosophiques laissés par les anciens, et
 principalement de ceux de Cicéron et de Boèce'¹.

Sanson is referring, in these lines, specifically to Cicero's
De Amicitia and to Boethius' De Consolatione Philosophiae, and
 it is clear from the text of the Proverbs that he made use of
 both these works.

CHAPTER I (11. 347 - 1638; Bede, pp. 53 + 63).

1.380 Dr. Isoz suggests that ki stands for cui, with saint esprit
 as the subject of the verb². But this use of ki for cui
 referring to an abstract noun and not a person, is open to
 question. It is perhaps more sensible to see ki as an error for
ke relative to cointise, and direct object of ovret. However, the
 line as it stands makes good sense if ki is subject of the verb
ovret and relative to cointise: 'the knowledge which sets the
 Holy Spirit working in them'. Alternatively, it is possible
 to see in ovret the omission of a nasal titulus from an original
ovrent: 'I understand that knowledge (which is found) in those
 who set to work the Holy Spirit in themselves'. This
 interpretation removes the problem of finding a referent for cels.

1 Op. cit., p. 132.

2 C.C. Isoz, p. 760.

- 1.443 I, Kings, X. (I)
- 1.447 Exodus, XLIII, 19 - 24. (I)
- 1.449 I, Corinthians, XLII, 9 - 10. (I)
- 1.460 mirrors: E. Curtius, quoted in this context by Dr. Isoz, points out that the mirror was a much-favoured metaphor in the Middle Ages, especially for the human mind¹. However, it is open to question as to whether our author is using the same metaphor here. It is perhaps more appropriate to translate mirrors here by 'model' or 'example'.
- 1.465 Psalms, CX, 10.
- 1.473 Although Sanson does not name his source, trovunescriz clearly refers to Bede². In the majority of cases Sanson's sources remain anonymous: he neither names them nor acknowledges his indebtedness to a written source.
- 1.483 I, John, IV, 18. (I)
- 1.493 I, Corinthians, XLII. (I)
- 1.494 John, XVII, 3. (I)
- 1.497 The initial letter of this line is missing. The line can only make sense if we supply D. Similar constructions involving De and retent are found at ll. 655, 1997, 8165, and in each case the meaning of the verb-form retent causes difficulty. If the r was intended by the author, then it presumably represented the prefix r(e); and the following -etent would be scribal for entent. The prefix, meaning

1 E.R. Curtius: European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages (trans. W.R. Trask), London, 1953, p. 336. 2 Bede, p. 55.

'in turn', 'and now', or 'again', was no doubt used to avoid the recurrence of entent. However, although the omission of an abbreviatory nasal symbol was common in medieval copies before a stroked t, such an omission in each of the four examples quoted (see above), where the construction De + retent is used, is unlikely. The meaning of the verb in all four examples is near to 'gloss', but no comparable meaning seems to be attested for the verb retendre. The form retent in this line can be explained as a corruption of i'entent, induced by the final i of ici (l. 497), and the form retent at l. 1997 may be a corruption of entent, again induced by the final letter of the preceding word: in this case char, but, in the absence of a consistent solution for all four examples, any explanation will remain unconvincing.

11.507 - 8 Cume me deicst: These words are clearly a corruption of what was no doubt originally cume de c'st. For Dr. Isoz, a first copyist has misinterpreted and misplaced suprascript i¹. If we adopt the original reading, the lines can then be translated as: 'Just as the Pharisees scorned the word and deed of Christ'.

1.560 escergier: This word, meaning 'scrutinize', is commonly written in the Proverbs with the spelling g (Ƿ < Ǻ). The form encergier is found at l. 701.

1.563 estros : mors: S. Hilgers sees this rhyme as an example of metathesis, and a rhyme in -ors². But no doubt the r in mors was simply not pronounced³ (see also l. 5202⁴).

1 C.C. Isoz, p. 763. 2 S. Hilgers, p. 72. 3 See Pope, § 396, pp. 156 - 7; and § 1184, p. 450. 4 See Bérout, ll. 1455 and 2051 for examples in -ors, and l. 3847 for examples in -ers.

- 1.568 vist: This verb is probably, as S. Hilgers suggests, the imperfect subjunctive of veefir¹. The line as it stands is a syllable short, but Quel may be scribal for Qu'ele. (No similar examples of ei > i are attested in the poem).
- 1.582 James, II, 26. (I); The line epitomizes Sanson's conviction of the value of active works as a necessary complement to the contemplative life (see Chapter 3, Sources, p. 31).
- 1.593 conjecture: The meaning of this word is unclear. Presumably cil refers to Solomon, and qu'il represents que il (i.e. his son), but Dr. Isoz's translation of conjecture as 'connection of ideas'², is unhelpful. However, the line makes sense if cil refers to the boy: 'He (the boy) divines that he should believe what his father and mother enjoin on him, because he (Solomon) asks him to flee...' Nevertheless, it is perhaps more normal to expect the subject of ruevet to be the same as that of fait conjecture. The normal meaning of this expression is 'to surmise' or 'presume' - a meaning which seems out of place here.
- 11.608 - 9 entendre de faire: Dr. Isoz, in referring to these lines, comments on the supposed expression entendre de + infinitive, which she has not found attested elsewhere³. De faire may be scribal for Ne faire, but it is likely that we are not dealing here with the expression referred to by Dr. Isoz. The context indicates that Sanson means: 'thereafter, the pursuit of evil keeps him in a state comparable to a child who has not learned to understand with respect to doing what it is told'.

1 S. Hilgers, p. 43. 2 C.C. Isoz, p. 764. 3 Ibid., p. 765.

- 11.615 - 6 Sanson once again makes explicit the parallel between popular and biblical wisdom. The nearest equivalent quoted by Morawski is: 'Qui ne creit son pere creie son parastre.'¹.
- 11.633 - 4 The meaning here is difficult to determine, and the corrupt Latin: 'sortem mittamus nobiscum' offers little help. Dr. Isoz sees these lines as an attempt by our author 'to make what he could of a corrupt text', because of confusion with the casting of lots for Christ's garment (ll. 689 onwards)². A possible translation of the lines is: 'Let us cast lots to see to whom the spoil will fall.'
- 11.681 - 2 Mark, XII, 7; and Luke, XX, 14. (I)
- 689 - 728 John, XIX, 23 - 24; Luke, XXI, 34; Mark, XV, 24; and Matthew, XXVII, 35. (I)
- 1.694 els: Here, as at l. 820, the strong form els has replaced the nominative plural il (see Foulet, § 207, pp. 152 - 3). On the assumption that the hiatus with que is purely orthographic, there is no way of knowing whether els was the author's form, or merely scribal.
- 11.701 - 2 In this line and at l. 769, the negative particle pas is used without ne. In both cases the sense of the line is negative, and here le is perhaps corrupt for nel, while at l. 769 sel may be corrupt for Nel (see note to l. 769).
- 1.726 The line as it stands is nonsensical. de seems to serve both cote and costëure, and la before costëure has been added by a corrector, giving a nine-syllable line. Dr Isoz suggests replacing la by senz, or altering Quel to Ouel³. This latter is supported by

1 Morawski, no. 7020. 2 C.C. Isoz, p. 765. 3 Ibid., p. 766.

her emendation of Quel to Ouel at l. 6411, and the corruption of Q to Q for paleographical reasons is not difficult to imagine. Godafroy, amongst the many forms (< aequalem), gives the form equal, but not the form quel, found here¹. Perhaps a solution to the problem is to see Quel as a corruption of Quer (= kar). The spelling ker is found at l. 6803, and queor at l. 10436, and if this is the word intended here, the meaning of ll. 725 - 28 would be: 'They did not know the true nature of it, for, concerning the stitching of Christ's garment, they set their minds to casting lots as to whether this grace came from God.' A similar emendation could be made at l. 6411 (see note).

1.767 le peisible Salomon: Here Sanson uses the epithet as elsewhere in the Proverbs, to exemplify the **etymological** explanation at ll. 79 - 80.

11.769 - 72 a busoig: The manuscript reading is no doubt scribal for abuson. Dr Isoz's alternative a besoin leaves the line a syllable short. Sel is perhaps scribal for Nel, in which case l. 769 would represent a statement of fact followed by the reason why (ll. 770 - 2): 'No man in our time believes him: this is caused by lack of sense and worldly ambition, which are forever with us.'

1.752 Quel sil: According to Dr Isoz this expression is used here with the subjunctive, to mean 'as though'². However, since this is not found elsewhere in the Proverbs, we may be dealing with a corruption of Que si meaning 'no more than if'. The expression en nule ren has the same absolute sense as 'no more than', and the poet may here be

1 Godafroy, vol. 4, p. 619c. 2 C.C. Isoz, p. 768.

allowing himself this syntactical licence: 'We do not avoid them any more than if they had performed good everywhere.'

- 1.815 tot l'or de sezure: No other examples of this phrase are attested, but similar expressions are found throughout medieval literature. It is interesting to note that in our manuscript, the second text, Le Sermon de Guischart, contains the phrase: trestut l'or de frise (l. 1535). Sezure is no doubt a variant of Sezile (Sicily).
- 11.869 - 72 Moses is not the source here but Isaiah, IX, 8. (I)
- 1.885 The original reading es mez has been corrected to hypermetric esmerez e. At best this would mean: 'Let us the purified, together with God ...'. However, it is possible to interpret the correction as simply esmerez, without the final e, meaning: 'Let us the purified of God ...'. However, the line makes better sense if we accept the original reading es mez. The spelling mez meaning 'harvest' is attested at ll. 4123, 4231, 6010, and ll. 883 - 888 must mean: 'The fact that it takes the form of a cloud signifies such a meaning to us that at the time of God's harvest we give back dew, for it is burnt up in the fire of the world, so that through doctrine, it may have moisture again and retain the greenery of faith.' The subject of rait (l. 887) is either monde or mez, and doctrine (l. 887) is the equivalent of rosée (l. 885). Here, as elsewhere, Sanson's metaphors seem confusing.
- 1.902 preome: The spelling eo is one of a number of ways (i, ie, e, eo) of rendering the sound ue (see Pope, § 1229, p. 459). The rhyme meisme: preome may represent a rhyme in e (meesme: pr(u)esme), or may simply represent the fairly normal western French and Anglo-Norman

rhyme i : ui. The rhyming value of meisme is somewhat uncertain, eg. abisme : meisme (l. 2791), baptisme : meisme (l. 11125).

11.921 - 6 Matthew, XXVII, 25. (I)

1.935 trichent : trebuchent: The rhyme is noteworthy. Vising, in his study of the Anglo - Norman dialect, attributes the confusion of the sounds i and ü to the influence of the continent in general¹, but Miss Pope seems to suggest an Old English influence behind the confusion². For our author the source of the peculiarity is unclear, and there are no other examples of the rhyme in the Proverbs.

11.947 - 50 In general, each section of translation and commentary is treated as a separate entity by our author, but, at this point, the end of his treatment of Proverbs, I, 18 serves as an introduction to Proverbs, I, 19.

11.956 - 60 consentent: The plural verb in l. 959 seems incongruous, as the other verbs in the passage are in the singular. Dr. Isoz suggests that the couplet should be interpreted as an aside with molt being the nominative plural 'many people'³, but it would be preferable to see consentent as an error for consentant - a present participle used as an adjective qualifying quers... ententis, in which case molt would be the adverb.

11.959 - 70 Matthew, VI, 21. (I)

1.991 menconces: The word makes little sense here, especially as it translates Latin imprudentes. Dr. Isoz sees it as a corruption of

1 J. Vising, Etude sur le dialecte anglo - normand du XII^e siècle, Uppsala, 1882, p. 73. 2 Pope, § 1142, pp. 439 - 40. 3 C.C. Isoz, p. 771.

nientcoingtes which is paleographically acceptable given that the t of nient may have been missing¹. The word mescoingtes may alternatively have been the original form, though compound forms with nient are far more common (see l. 1145). The gloss has: 'E cil ki prod cointes ne sunt' (l. 1113).

l.992 E science: In conjunction with the corruption in l. 991, and when taken out of context, the reading E science seems to make sense. There seems, however, little doubt that our author intended Escience, the corruption being aided by the space after the initial letter, and by the tyronian et sign in the previous line. However, there is a slight possibility that in ll. 989 - 992, Sanson is only loosely translating the Latin, and that E mençonges (l. 991) makes sense, complementing nuisableté and justifying the plural Go ke... sunt. In this case Escience (l. 992) is the only reading acceptable, and the lines should be edited as follows:

'E fol cum ben coveiterunt
Go ke nuisableté lor sunt
E mençonges? Tressi qu'a quant
Escience irrunt haissant?' (ll. 989 - 92).

11.996 - 7 Dr. Isoz refers to the distinction between the words mestier (< ministerium) and mestier (< mysterium) saying that in l. 996 we are probably dealing with the latter and in l. 997 with the former². However, by the mid - 12th century, the form mystere (< mysteria) was well attested and mestier (< mysterium) is not common. In view of this fact, therefore, it seems likely that mestier (< ministerium), which has a variety of attested

1 Ibid., p. 771. 2 Ibid., p. 772.

meanings, is the form used in both cases. In l. 996, the meaning is near to 'undeniable fact' and in l. 997 'necessary service'.

11.995 - 1044 These lines are a summary of the life of Christ, drawn from the biblical accounts. Such elaboration is characteristic of Sanson's commentaries (see Chapter 3, Sources, p.29).

1.1060 n'erent: The correction suggested by Dr. Isoz to n'eret (see Transcription of the text, vol. II) is necessary to complete the sense, but, since the form eret is not common for our author, we may see the verb-form as a corruption of nen ert which is explainable on paleographic grounds.

1.1061 noiz: This word is presumably a scribal error for voiz. The confusion between n and u in our manuscript, as in many others, is to be found throughout.

1069 - 70 Psalms, XI, 12. (I)

11.1085 - 6 Matthew, XI, 12.

1.1094 Dr. Isoz translates these lines as: 'for those who disputed with such men and argued with them were in the greater church'¹. Alternatively, maior can be interpreted as an attributive adjective or noun agreeing with precheor: 'and the other preachers being the elders of the Church, who disputed and argued with them ...'.

11.1131 - 2 Glose: The word Glose is in the wrong place. The sense of the lines seems to require it to be placed after line 1130.

11.1131 - 2 We should perhaps understand de at the beginning of l. 1132, in which case lor may have been added after de was omitted. However,

1 Ibid., p. 775.

coveitable is not normally used in the absolute sense meaning 'desirous', but rather with the sole meaning 'desirable'. In this case, ki (l. 1132) must stand for cui, with go ki lor est mal and go ki lor est... nuisable as the dual subject of the plural verb sunt (l. 1131).

11.1139 - 40 Dr. Isoz translates these lines as 'a fool does not think they are laughing save at the wisdom that he speaks'¹, though the subjunctive verb seems to imply '... such wisdom as he might speak'. In either case, it is difficult to understand the point our author is making, and a better translation might be: 'a fool does not believe that one will laugh (at him) if what he says is not born of wisdom'. But even this is suspect, since saveir is not the usual noun employed to mean 'wisdom' - sapiencie is much more common - and saveir is possibly the infinitive: 'a fool does not believe that people will laugh (at him) unless it is to discover what he will say.'.

1.1155 The line is no doubt corrupt, but much depends on the value of the abbreviation q^ul which presumably represents either quel or quil. Dr. Isoz's hypothesis that quel net is a corruption of qu'eluet (< *excludare, meaning 'delude') prompts the translation: 'concerning those whom I speak of here as deluded...'². However, the reference to the Jews as 'deluded' is confusing, and her translation takes no account of the the subjunctive die. This subjunctive suggests the presence of the conjunction or interrogative pronoun que in the line, unless die is a first person singular optative without que (as in the first person plural). This latter

1 Ibid., p. 776. 2 Ibid., p. 777.

is highly unlikely, and seems to rule out the possibility that net is a contraction of a plural verb such as rie(n)t, ve(en)t. On the other hand, a scribe may have misread an original form queneluec mistaking ue and following ne as a dittography: Des felons ci, qu'e(n) (e)lluec die. The line would then read as a question: 'Concerning the felons here, what am I to say of them on that account?'.

1.1177 nus: plus: The rhyme shows that praeconsonantal l was no longer pronounced at the time of our author. A similar example is found at l. 3933: repuls: sus, where repuls would seem to be a learned borrowing. According to Miss Pope, the praeconsonantal l was beginning to disappear in pronunciation before the middle of the 12th century¹.

1.1207 Exodus, XV, 10. (I)

1.1213 Job, IV, 9. (I)

1.1219 - 36 These lines are typical of the way Sanson uses his commentary on various parts of the Proverbs to offer words of encouragement to his fellow preachers (see Chapter 3, Sources, p.30).

1.1234 II, Timothy, IV, 2. (I)

1.1237 - 9 Dr. Isoz suggests that, at the start of l. 1239, there is ellipsis of a verb with the meaning 'signifies'². However the tautological use of parler with paroles seems unusual, and we may choose to see the line as a scribal error for: Ses paroles guide i parer
or Ses paroles guide i parier meaning
'What he promises to reveal to them, he expects his words to prepare for.'. Alternatively, we may accept the line as it stands in the

¹ Pope, § 383, p. 154. ² C.C. Isoz, p. 779.

manuscript, with the following alterations: ses paroles qu'i dei parier: 'What he promises to reveal to them, let him give his mind to fitting his words to it.'

- 1.1249 demeiment: This word, supplied by a corrector, is not attested elsewhere, although Dr. Isoz suggests it may have the same meanings as de mesmes or meimement¹. However, since Sanson has used the adverbs premerement and ensement in previous lines, the original reading is likely to have been derrainement. The word demeinement, as used at ll. 1759, 9730 and 11441, is a possible alternative.
- 1.1273 Matthew, III, 2. (I)
- 11.1285 - 7 John, III, 18. (I)
- 1.1289 Matthew, XXIII, 13; and Luke, XI, 52. (I)
- 1.1295 ensanglanterat: Sanson has mistranslated the Latin subsannabo ('I shall mock') by ensanglanterat. As Dr. Isoz explains, he probably interpreted the verb as a form based on the root sanna 'fang' and translated it as 'to savage with one's teeth'². It is also possible that the verb subsannabo suggested to our author the word sang.
- 1.1321 - 40 John, XVIII, 1 - 6. (I)
- 11.1341 - 2 Dr. Isoz confines her observations on these lines to the meaning of the word estre which she translates by 'against'³, but we should perhaps take l. 1341 as a question: 'And so, could not this be his laugh - the very one to be heard at their death, as I have told you?'

1 Ibid., p. 779. 2 Ibid., p. 780. 3 Ibid., p. 781.

- 1.1343 cest: Dr Isoz has interpreted cest as a neuter pronoun, and faire + a + infinitive as 'to be meet': 'It is certainly meet in this matter to admit the truth of this'¹. However, the use of faire + à with a subject and infinitive is attested, meaning 'to deserve'²: 'And so this deserves belief, and I can also give it another gloss' (ll. 1343 - 4).
- 1.1374 furent: morirent: The rhyme may be an example of u:i (see 1. 935), but it is more likely that morirent is a scribal variant of morurent.
- 11.1378 - 81 Matthew, XXVII, 22. (I)
- 11.1389 - 90 John, XI, 48. (I)
- 11.1392 - 1424 The Avenging of the Saviour, quoted by Dr. Isoz, may have been our author's source here: 'Some were slain, some crucified head downwards, or pierced with lances, sold, cast lots upon and divided into four parts, and the rest sold at thirty for a penny'³.
- 1.1423 de: Although Dr. Isoz says de meaning 'in order to' is rare in the 12th century⁴, its use is attested by Godefroy⁵, and such a meaning seems acceptable here.
- 11.1471 - 4 Psalms, XXXV, 1.
- 1.1499 saol: sol: The rhyme has been commented on by S. Hilgers⁶ and C.C. Isoz⁷ as a rhyme in open and close o. But it seems preferable to

1 Ibid., p. 781. 2 See Le Jeu de Saint Nicolas, de Jehan Bodel, ed. A. Henry, Paris, 1962, l. 1021: 'Tés hom fait bien a recevoir.'
 3 The Apocryphal New Testament, trans. M.R. James, Oxford, 1924, pp. 159 - 60. 4 C.C. Isoz, p. 782. 5 Godefroy, 2, p. 429b.
 6 S. Hilgers, p. 7. 7 C.C. Isoz, p. 645.

interpret un sol (l. 1500) as 'a single one' (un seul) : 'not a single one will be excepted'.

11.1515 - 16 These lines have their counterparts in popular medieval proverbs:

'Qui ne fait quant il peut ne fait quant il veut'¹,
'Ki pot e ne vout ne fra quant voudra'².

Sanson's elaboration is his own:

'De beivre vin ad lum delit
E del ivresce est hom despit' (11. 1517 - 19).

1.1567 These lines too, are part of the stock of medieval proverbs:

'Qui de glaive vit, de glaive deit morir'³.

1.1569 aversion: This word does not seem to be attested elsewhere in Old French. It is Sanson's interpretation of the Latin adversio, which he has also translated by l'aversement (l. 1554) and li contraires (l. 1528).

1.1589 I. Corinthians, III, 19. (I)

11.1627 - 8 Matthew, X, 28. (I)

CHAPTER II (11. 1639 - 2152, Bede, pp. 63 - 68).

1.1653 Matthew, XIII, 3 - 23. (I)

1.1669 Psalms, CXVIII, 11. (I)

1.1686 Matthew, XI, 25; and Luke, X, 21. (I)

11.1708 - 10 Al envochant: These words mean: 'to him who calls out for wisdom', but the difficulty arises in 11. 1709 - 10 where it would seem that the first ke is scribal for ki. This being so,

1 Morawski, no. 2026. 2 Ibid., no. 2107. 3 Ibid., no. 1891.

we can translate the lines as follows: 'Whosoever despises Christ in his heart, Let Him come and inhabit that heart'.

11.1711 - 12 John, XVII, 5. (I)

1.1735 Psalms, XVIIII, 8. (I)

1.1739 Colossians, II, 3. (I)

1.1744 Isaiah, LVIII, 14. (I)

1.1783 cist: This would seem to be a scribal error for crist with a possible ellipsis of the direct object. Alternatively, and perhaps more convincingly, the hypothesis that maintenir is being used absolutely, or that lor atente is the object of both this verb and of fait (l. 1784), suggests itself.

1.1789 - 90 II, Peter, II, 9. See also I, Corinthians, X, 15; and Revelations, III, 10. (I)

1.1793 s'entendrat: This expression (< entendre en sei) does not seem to be attested elsewhere, and the most likely explanation is that the line should read: lors entendrat apertement.

1.1797 It is clear that this line is corrupt. Dr. Isoz suggests reading respons as respous (present indicative, 1, of re + poeir): 'Here I can in my turn, give the following gloss about this'. As she admits, however, this would mean accepting scribal s before p, and the ending -ous in place of -us. Although she further suggests reading oi in place of ci - the construction oir + infinitive is very common in the first lines of the gloss (see l. 3874) - the meaning remains obscure¹.

1 C.C. Isoz, p. 788.

It may be that ci is an error for crei and the line originally read com(e) respons crei denoter, but it seems more likely that the original reading come poons was misread by the scribe as con re poons with the result that he thought he was dealing with the noun re(s)pons.

- 1.1821 plaise:aise The rhyme is noteworthy as it shows our author was using two forms of the present subjunctive of the verb plaisir. The alternative form: place (l. 2229) is also attested by the rhyme¹.
- 1.1840 The conjunction queque is normally used with the subjunctive (see Foulet, § 426, p. 290), but as Dr. Isoz hints, 'the mood used, may at times, be a matter of habit'². However, one could argue that at all moments of the language, the indicative has been preferable if a matter of fact, however vague, is intended.
- 1.1855 retort le: The placing of the unstressed direct object le is odd in this line, and the form retort (< subjunctive of retourner?) is perhaps suspect. Moreover, the form retort (present indicative of retordre) is not suitable in the context, and we are led to believe that the author intended retorne, without the direct object, which is implicit.
- 1.1859 E de home: The preposition de is connected to the verb ert osté (l. 1858), with the result that de male veie (l. 1855), de mal faire (l. 1857) and de home ki dit ... (l. 1859) are all dependent on the verb ert osté (l. 1859).
- 1.1861 enperrant : enperrant: It is possible that this rhyme is totally corrupt, although the verbs in question may be enpeirant

1 See Pope, § 950, p. 359. 2 C.C. Isoz, p. 706.

(< enpirier) and emparer (< en + parer 'to prepare') respectively.

In this case en (l. 1862) would refer to bones mors (l. 1861). Alternatively, enperrant here may be an error for aparant.

The apparent incongruity between the singular and plural verbs in ll. 1860 and 1861 is resolved when we accept that the subject of ki (l. 1861) is male veie (l. 1855) mal faire (l. 1857) and home ki dit ... (l. 1859).

11.1863 - 4 I, Corinthians, XV, 33. (I)

1.1879 The source is not St Paul but John, III, 20. (I)

1.1892 seum en: Dr. Isoz has rightly rejected the corrector's addition of en as it gives the line nine syllables¹. She prefers to interpret seum as 'form', but this would be more usual with a following de (estre de + cumpaignie). It seems more likely, therefore, that seum should read seuun - the last minim having been omitted by a confused scribe.

1.1903 - 5 par ki: The construction par ki is difficult to relate to the rest of the passage, and since ki after a preposition normally refers to a person only², both context and structure (ki repeated) seem to indicate the use here of a constructio ad sensum: 'And now he (Solomon) demonstrates that who speaks of such (evil) is a counsel of the evil one (i.e. plays devil's advocate), and he demonstrates that by the same agent he (le pervers) can deceive the more ...' However, an alternative interpretation cannot be ruled out: 'And now he who speaks of such (evil) demonstrates the counselling of the evil one and by that same (evil one) he can deceive the more ...'.

1 C.C. Isoz, p. 790. 2 Foulet, § 255 - 6, pp. 181 - 2.

- 1.1931 Psalms, LV, 22. (I)
- 1.1935 qui: nului: The rhyme demonstrates the loss of a final supported dental in the speech of our author. Referring to this phenomenon, Miss Pope uses the example of masculine vui to show the influence on Anglo-Norman of the language of the south-west¹ (see also vuie l. 8139).
- 1.1940 Sanson's use of the metaphor of the bow and arrow in the description of the seduction of the simple is interesting. There is an obvious parallel with the bow and arrow of Cupid.
- 1.1984 Dr. Isoz has translated this difficult line as follows: 'the whore and the man defiled by jealousy'², but Putain avoiltre is simply the attributive compliment of felonie (l. 1983): 'In exactly the same way their felony, in the practice of heresy, is a whoring adulteress.'
- 1.1991 queors: enferns: The rhyme shows the loss of n before s, and, more importantly in the word queors, the diphthong ue has opened to ɛ and rhymes with ɛ in enferns. Examples in Pope show that the development ue > ɛ was most common before r or l, and represent either a shift of stress from the first to the second element, or a loss of the first element altogether³. The loss of the u is perhaps more likely after ou.
- 11.2003 - 4 These lines as they stand make very little sense, and Dr. Isoz suggests a correction to A mort lor queors, or a complete

1 Pope, § 1197, p. 452. p. 203.

2 C.C. Isoz, p. 791.

3 Pope, § 553,

rejection of a¹ (l. 2003). However, in the former case it is difficult to see how the error might have arisen, and the latter would leave the line a syllable short. It is difficult to justify the agreement of felonie (l. 2001) with encliné (l. 2003), since the form required would be enclinée, and the only possible explanation seems to be that a is a misreading of en, and that queors est is a corruption of queor + the abbreviation s't (= sunt): 'And in their hearts they are inclined towards hell'.

1.2009 Eresie: This is glossed by Sanson as liepre de felonie and, somewhat similarly, he makes the connection between doctors and priests elsewhere. The metaphor is perhaps borrowed from Boethius' De Consolatione Philosophiae (see l. 8831).

1.2037 reelment: This adverb makes little sense here and, though Dr. Isoz suggests the substitution of rerement in its place², a suitable alternative is the adverb leëlment.

1.2087 confaitement: The adverb, meaning 'how', is used here in a hybrid construction with continuelment: '... the text tells how one can ... and, in continuation, that one can ...'

1.2101 - 2 John, XIV, 6.

1.2103 sere: This word has been discussed at length by Dr. Isoz³. It occurs in our text 11 times but does not seem to be attested elsewhere. Dr. Isoz understands the word as 'sacred text', which has developed as a feminine singular from the neuter plural sacra. This

1 C.C. Isoz, p. 792. 2 Ibid., p. 793. 3 Ibid., pp. 635 - 6.

would normally have given saire, and no other examples in our text suggest the development ai > ē (except in the case of maistre, where this was common from an early date). Moreover, the Proverbs contain no rhyme of ē : e (<a) as would appear to be the case with sere, eg. sere: pere (<patrem) (ll. 2103 - 4). The rhyme e (<ai):e (<a) is found in Gaimar (l. 985), but Dr. Isoz remains sceptical as to whether such a rhyme is acceptable for our text.

As a possible solution, Dr. Isoz suggests that sacra, being a loan-word, may have begun its development late, causing the k to have palatalised and dropped out without forming a diphthong. The a would then presumably have developed as free¹. The sense of the word sere is clearly imposed by the context as 'text' or perhaps 'sacred text' as Dr. Isoz says: Sanson uses sere to refer to the Latin text of the Proverbs which he is translating or explaining, and from this it seems clear that the word means either the section of Latin he has just given, or the whole of Solomon's text. Whichever is the case, Godefroy² and Tobl. Lom.³ both give examples of the word serre with the meaning 'series', 'order', 'text' or 'work'. Unfortunately, though the sense of this word would fit the context perfectly, the rhyme in $\epsilon : e$ remains unexplained.

- 1.2134 depart: The form is not attested as a past participle, and, although Dr. Isoz prefers to see the word as a past participle of

1 Ibid., p. 636. 2 Godefroy, vol. 7 , p. 398(a):
 'che qui chi est escrit en serre' (Miracle de Saint Eloi, n. 109).
 3 Tobl. Lom., vol. 9, p. 547: 'Mais ne vos vueil pas enoier,
 Quar il me covient repairier
 A la serre (variant l'estoire, ceste
 ovre) continuer'
 (Roman de Troie, l. 16501); 'Repairier vout a na matere
 Dont je laissai ore la serre' (Miracle
 de Saint Eloi, p. 114).

despandre admitting that 'this would mean accepting an analogical past participle depart instead of despars'¹, the solution to the problem perhaps lies in l. 2132. If at is a scribal error for et (par raisun being an emphatic afterthought) then depart is explained as a present indicative form. This suggestion is supported by the present form part, at l. 2137.

- 1.2135 Ne: It seems likely that Ne is an error for ke, induced by Ne in the following line.

CHAPTER III (ll. 2153 - 3204; Bede, pp. 68 - 75).

- 11.2157 - 60 Sanson has translated misericordia et veritas of Proverbs III, 3, as the subject of both annonent and deserent, whereas in the Vulgate Lex and praecepta are the subjects of the first verb. Put in his own gloss (ll. 2185 - 90 and 2207 - 9), where he is no doubt following Bede, Sanson is faithful to the Vulgate.

- 1.2341 Ezekiel, XLIV, 30? (I)

- 1.2360 chai: Dr. Isoz translates chai by 'fell to his lot' or as an alternative, 'which has lapsed' (i.e. remains unpaid)². The latter seems preferable, although rather than 'remaining unpaid', the amount needs to be renewed, and thus chai is perhaps better rendered by 'run out'.

- 1.2373 rendeit: This is no doubt a scribal error for rendent.

- 1.2375 Isidore, Etym, V, 26, 12. (I)

- 1.2379 Malachi, III, 8 - 9? (I)

- 1.2381 umbre: It seems likely that this is a scribal error for numbre.

1 C.C. Isoz, p. 796. 2 Ibid., p. 798.

- 1.2383 The line is a syllable short. This has no doubt been caused by an eliminated dittography nos (co) covent.
- 1.2388 forment: Dr. Isoz thinks forment is 'really', an adverb of degree (<fortemente)¹. In fact the line only makes proper sense if forment (<froment) means 'sustenance': 'We must, as is right, give up the tenth part and understand/expect our sustenance from the nine parts (remaining)'.
- 1.2395 The source here may be St Caesarius of Arles and not St Gregory. (I).
- 1.2405 Matthew, VI, 20. (I)
- 1.2415 Psalms, XVI, 15. (I)
- 1.2442 John, VI, 35. See also Revelations, VII, 16; and John, VII, 37. (I)
- 11.2502 - 3 These words are found in the Old French proverb:
'Buer a son verjant qui (en) chastie son enfant'².
- 1.2579 This line too, shows Sanson's knowledge of popular proverbs:
'Mieuz vaut mestier que esprevier'³.
- 1.2594 Dr. Isoz suggests the correction of la quierent to l'aquierent⁴, but this would leave the previous line unconnected. The difficulty in translating this line is undoubtedly due to a corruption in the line, and we should perhaps correct sanz to sainz ('saintly people') and la quierent to requierent. In this case, the accusative sainz is being used in place of the nominative. An alternative, and perhaps

1 Ibid., p. 799. 2 Morawski, no. 309. 3 Ibid., no. 1270.

4 C.C. Isoz, p. 800.

more likely, correction of la quierent, in view of the verb s'aquierent at l. 2584, would be a correction to s'aquierent.

11.2603 - 4 Ecclesiastes, l, 25. (I)

11.2619 - 21 Matthew, XXV, 34. (I)

11.2623 - 41 Luke, XV, 11 - 32. (I)

1.2663 Ki quert: This is no doubt scribal for Ke quert.

1.2665 Psalms, LXXII, 25. (I)

1.2673 de quel: The function of de quel is difficult in this line, but it is unlikely to mean 'whose' as Dr. Isoz suggests¹. Perhaps there is an ellipsis of the verb: 'He is highly desirous of seeing of what spiritual nature (God is).'

11.2729 - 30 Dr. Isoz sees de veie as the complement of adrecement:

'the making straight of the way that a man is to use is called his path'². However, given that the scribe has just copied veies (l. 2722), veie here is perhaps an error for vie, and if so, the couplet would mean 'The path of life that a man is to cover is called rectitude.'

11.2743 - 4 Genesis, II, 9. (I)

1.2752 In preference to Dr. Isoz's interpretation of the reading as:

'Go est la liance que hom per non', with per being the present indicative,³ of perdre³, it is possible to read pernun as the meta-thesised form of premun, or indeed as a scribal error for parum 'we prepare'. Alternatively, que hom per non may be a corruption of

1 Ibid., p. 801. 2 Ibid., p. 802. 3 Ibid., p. 802.

qu(e) em pernun where the scribe read em as om and regularised the spelling to hom.

1.2766 The line is too vague to allow us to attribute it to a particular Psalm.

1.2789 Genesis, VII, 11. (I)

1.2818 Sanson frequently uses the word allegorie to signal that he is following Bede's spiritual commentary. Here he attempts an explanation of the use of 'example' and 'allegory' in the preacher's sermon:

'Esample donet des menors
Allegorie des greignors' (ll. 2825 - 6).

1.2840 Dr. Isoz has corrected totes to tes since the line has nine syllables¹. The spelling joie, also used at ll. 2864, 2876, 2887, as a variant of joue, is not attested elsewhere. One might note, however, that joue is not a very sound translation of faucibus, and the presence of i in joies may indicate that Sanson is using the word joie(r)s - 'the lower cheeks' - which is a closer rendering of faucibus. Thus, a form joies seems defensible².

1.2855 Matthew, XIX, 21. (I)

1.2883 Psalms, CXVIII, 103. (I)

1.2867 corruption: If, as Dr. Isoz says, this word is a scribal error for either correption or correction, then the former seems preferable in view of Bede's text, which has correptionis³.

1 Ibid., p. 804. 2 It is interesting to note that middle English jow(e) is not from joue but from a possible root *chowe (see N.E.D., p. 560: 'The spelling with j may have been influenced by association with French joue 'cheek'...'). 3 Bede, p. 73; quoted by C.C. Isoz, p. 804.

11.2895 - 98 Psalms, XXXIII, 9. (I)

1.2901 I, Thessalonians, V, 21. (I)

1.2905 enflez: Sanson's use of inpinguet, in place of the Vulgate inpinget, may be a spelling variant, but his translation: enflez seems to be based on the Latin pinguis meaning 'fat'. Therefore, Dr. Isoz's claim that this, together with his use of hurtez in the previous line, suggests that our author was trying to cover the meaning of both impingere and impinguare, seems justified¹.

1.2911 Co est: This is presumably an error for Qu'est: 'It remains to be explained what is walking securely on one's path'.

1.2919 Romans, VIII, 28. (I)

11.2919 - 22 The apparent confusion of singular and plural verbs here merits closer attention. The plural il (1. 2919) may represent a constructio ad sensum after temptation (1. 2915). This latter is the subject (understood) of nel pot damager and advers nel frat, and it is possible that by il we are meant to understand 'temptors', ie. the perpetrators of temptation. It seems more likely, however, that il (1. 2919) represents the three substantival verbs: manacer, prametre and bel lôer. The plural verb in 1. 2922 is less easily explained, the only possible solution being that lur is a scribal error for la, and that original vet was confused for vôt (> vont).

1.2947 li quel: The use of this relative with a dependent subjunctive is not incongruous with its earlier use governing

1 C.C. Isoz, p. 805.

the indicative (l. 2872), since the earlier example contains the verb pot (<poeir) which has built - in subjunctive force.

- 11.3001 - 2 The sense of these lines is determined by the preceding couplet, where both retoched and regrette govern the dependent clause: ke de mierz faire.... Regret in l. 3001 is translated by Dr. Isoz as 'entreaty': 'Entreaty is nothing but admonishing a thing which is inclined to be forgotten'¹, but it seems unwise to divorce the meaning of Regret from that of regrette (l. 2999): 'deplore [in order to preclude a repetition]'. In view of this fact, 11. 3001 - 2 seem to mean: 'There is no deploring save the warning of what is leading to oblivion'. Subsequently, mais (l. 3003) introduces a positive statement: 'But [this deploring] concerns compassion which he should show to his neighbour...' Go requeort is no doubt a scribal error for com requeort or come requeort.

- 1.3039 This proverb has counterparts in Morawski:

'Bel promettre e nient doner fait fol conforter'²; and

'Prometre sanz dower est a fol conforter'³.

- 11.3047 - 8 John, XV, 14. (I)

- 1.3079 The translation 'God and the peaceful Solomon', suggested by Dr. Isoz⁴, seems doubtful, and were it not for the order of words, it would be preferable to see, in this line, a reference to the definition of the name Solomon (see l. 80): 'Solomon the peaceful god'. Because of the word - order, we should read

1 Ibid., p. 807. 2 Morawski, no. 230. 3 Ibid., no. 1726.
4 C.C. Isoz, p. 808.

Deus as D'eus: 'The peaceful Solomon frequently gives us warnings about these people (ie. the seducers)'.

1.3095 Matthew, XVIII, 15. (I)

1.3097 Psalms, IV, 5. (I)

1.3152 Ki est: A correction to K(e) est would produce an eight - syllable line, and clarify the sense.

1.3153 rapareillast: Dr. Isoz translates the subjunctive by 'would have restored...'¹. The lines probably refer to Christ's purging of the temple: Matthew, XXI, 12; Mark, XI, 15; Luke, XIX, 45; John, II, 14. (I)

1.3169 Luke, XVI, 24. (I)

1.3195 I, Peter, V. (I)

11.3197 - 8 James, IV, 6. (I)

11.3201 - 2 Luke, XIV, 11. (I)

CHAPTER IV (11. 3205 - 3544; Bede, pp. 75 - 77).

Proverbs, IV, 5: The Latin text in the manuscript is corrupt.

The Vulgate reads: 'Posside sapientiam, posside prudentiam ne obliviscaris neque declines a verbis oris mei'. In our manuscript, the original reading was no doubt: posside sapientiam ne obliviscaris... subsequently corrected to: posside prudentiam ne obliviscaris... with the original sa remaining unexpunctuated - hence saprudentiam. A revisor has then presumably tried to alter the form saprudentiam to

1 Ibid., p. 810.

sapientiam in the following way: interlinear e has been added after r (which has been altered to give i), and u has been altered to n. t has been added after this n, followed by the addition of interlinear ia, which may or may not have a nasal titulus. Thus, at this stage of revision, the manuscript read as follows:

'...posside sapientia[m]
dentia [m]'.

Finally, the words posside pru have been added in the left - hand margin before dentia[m] (originally entia[m]).

11.3281 - 2 III, Kings, III. (I)

11.3283 - 4 Matthew, XIII, 45 - 46. (I) The reference to a king is Sanson's own.

1.3355 Ten: This is clearly an error for Ta.

11.3356 - 8 The sense of these lines depends on the punctuation adopted. Dr. Isoz's interpretation assumes a stop after 1. 3357: 'For your way is henceforth in [her] paths'¹, but it seems preferable to place the stop after est:

'Garde la, si t'aurat mestier
Kar ta veie est: mais es chemins
Ne te delitier od malins'.

Moreover, the conjunction mais - 'but' - cannot be ruled out in 1. 3357, especially if we translate es chemins by 'en route': 'keep to it and it will be of service to you, for that is your path; but, en route, do not dally with evil people.

1.3401 meimement: It seems likely that this word is derived from *metipsimamente as Dr. Isoz suggests, and not from her

1 Ibid., p. 812.

alternative suggestion *maximamente, meaning 'especially',¹.

11.3403 - 4 Psalms, CXVIII, 60. (I)

11.3413 - 4 Matthew, VII, 13. (I)

11.3415 - 6 Sanson has chosen to add his own words of warning to those of his source in Bede (p. 76) and Matthew, VII, 13, and in doing so, he has been able to continue his use of the much - favoured medical metaphor:

'Mais de cele as veire mecine
Se ben vols tenir ma doctrine' (11. 3415 - 6)².

1.3427 pot: Dr. Isoz has corrected pot to poënt³, and indeed, there is an example at l. 10829 of a nasal titulus representing en (the omission of such a titulus explaining the error in our case), but it is also true that queor may be the singular subject of pot.

1.3430 U: We may be dealing here with the conjunction 'or', as at l. 3429, but is more likely, as Dr. Isoz explains, that this U (1. 3430) is a relative, meaning 'to which', or 'in which': '..in which their thought is absolutely intent'.⁴

11.3441 - 4 I, John II, 11? (I)

1.3446 Diable el tient: This is the first example in the Proverbs of an enclitic pronoun used after words of two or more syllables -

1 Ibid., p. 812. 2 See also 11. 2009 and 8831.

3 C.C. Isoz, p. 813. 4 Ibid., p. 813.

a feature which Dr. Isoz has attributed to the influence of the south western dialect¹ (see Chapter 5, p.124).

11.3448 - 9 mas: The unusual spelling mas, due no doubt to the scribe, is characteristic of Anglo - Norman orthography which remained, as is no doubt the case here, subject to the influence of Latin.²

1.3467 sentier : desevrer: The rhyme is an example of the rhyme ie : e discussed at length by S. Hilgers³ and J. Vising⁴. However, a number of examples they have given, have since been disproven by Dr. Isoz⁵ (see Chapter 5, pp. 108 - 110).

11.3507 - 8 Dr. Isoz tries to explain the difficulty in these lines as being due to a lacuna, although she admits that the repetition of Des oilz may be a scribal error, and that espeir may mean 'appreciation'.⁶ However, the subject of dit seems to be Solomon, and the expression mun espeir is no doubt being used adverbially, to mean 'in my judgement': 'Concerning the eyes which should look straight ahead, he is, in my judgement, speaking of the eyes of the heart'.

1.3509 deivent : mesveient: The rhyme indicates the loss of intervocalic y in the speech of our author. This phenomenon is found also in Brendan: deient : veient (l. 672), where the editor attributes it to an analogy with seient and veient.⁷

1 Ibid., pp. 628 - 33; see also C.C. Isoz, Enclisis after paroxytones in Sanson de Nantuil's Proverbs of Solomon, in Reading medieval studies, IV (1976), pp. 56 - 69.

2 Pope, § 1219, p. 457.

3 S. Hilgers, pp. 19 - 20.

4 J. Vising,

Die E - Laute im Reime der angelnormannischen Dichter des XII Jahrhunderts, in Z.F.S.L., vol. XXXIX (1912), pp. 1 - 17.

5 C.C. Isoz, pp. 637 - 40.

6 Ibid., p. 814.

7 Brendan, p.

clxxii.

- 1.3523 le gete: Dr. Isoz has corrected le gete to legerté, a suggestion supported by the source material in Bede (p. 77): levitate mentis¹. It is possible, however, that le gete is a scribal misreading of legerece, where the re abbreviation was missing, and the c was misread as t.

CHAPTER V (ll. 3545 - 3966; Bede, pp. 77 - 81).

- 1.3577 Isidore, Etym., VIII, v. (I)
- 11.3637 - 8 Matthew, X, 28. (I)
- 11.3699 - 3700 I, Corinthians, VI, 18. (I)
- 11.3700 - 2 The meaning of these lines depends on how we choose to punctuate. Dr. Isoz suggests a colon after eresie, or, alternatively, a comma after the same word². The latter seems preferable if there is a full - stop after fornication (l. 3700). Thus, we can translate ll. 3701 - 2 as follows: 'Concerning every pursuance of heresy, he warns us to eschew them'. The plural les (l. 3702) is no doubt suggested by tote in the previous line.
- 1.3707 doneison: Dr. Isoz sees this word as a corruption of donon³, but it is difficult to see how such a corruption would arise. It seems likely that doneison represents the 1st person plural, imperfect subjunctive of doner, used here optatively. The standard form donisson(s)/donissien(s) was, as Miss Pope remarks, occasionally found alongside forms in which the inter-tonic vowel i was replaced by a syncope e in the first and second persons of the plural in the first conjugation⁴. If this is the case here, then doneison may be a scribal error for

¹ C.C. Isoz, p. 815. ² Ibid., p. 817. ³ Ibid., p. 817.
⁴ Ibid., § 1044, pp. 283 - 4.

donesson where the first s was confused for an i (perhaps aided by the form donisson).

1.3721 Genesis, I, 26 - 27. (I)

1.3729 sis: The word is probably a scribal error for sil (si + le), since it refers back directly to 1. 3725.

1.3749 pot celestre: Dr. Isoz translates: 'perhaps he would still remain there (in folly) were it not that the world abandons him (ie. he is approaching death)'¹. We are dealing, clearly, in this line, with the expression puet cel estre, meaning 'it (ie. what has been stated) may well mean...'. Thus, in our context, a translation such as the one proposed by Dr. Isoz is justified. What is not clear, however, is the meaning of secle le guerpist, since there is no indication, either in what has gone before, or in what follows, that rejection by the world is a condition of repentance. It is more likely that secle le guerpist is a scribal error for le secle guerpist: 'that may well mean that he would remain there (in pursuit of folly) were it not for the fact that he is abandoning the things of this world'.

1.3762 Par tant: Although Dr. Isoz suggests a correction to Por tant², we are perhaps dealing with the expression par tant... que meaning in this context: 'Nonetheless he can receive salvation if he does not fall into despair, provided that he is repentant and makes his confession...'.

1.3813 el meistre: The original verb in this line, garder, has been corrected to guaiter, which appears to make little sense

1 C.C. Isoz, p. 819. 2 Ibid., p. 819.

when taken with el meistre. Perhaps the simplest solution is to see el meistre as a corruption of li meistre, especially since the obvious elision of S(e) el meistre would make the line a syllable too short.

1.3822 en monlz: Dr. Isoz sees the word monlz as a scribal misreading of moulz - 'many people'¹, but the adverbial phrase en moulz meaning 'abundantly' is perhaps to be preferred.

1.3846 juenkele: It seems clear that the scribe wrote juenvle which was altered to juonele and then to juenkele. The phrase a noncier makes no sense, and is no doubt the result of a superfluous nasal titulus over original a nocier. Dr. Isoz prefers the emendation to al nocier, since the phrase prendre a nocier is not attested elsewhere. She also suggests, less convincingly, that a noncier may be connected with the crying of banns².

1.3872 decœu: The scribal non-agreement of vie and decœu is also found in the gloss at l. 3960, where it is equally suspect.

11.3883 - 92 These lines have their equivalent in the Bestiaire (11. 721 - 54), but in medieval bestiaries it is more usual for the stag to kill the snake, symbolising the destruction of the devil by Christ. Here, we have the hind, representing the Church, killing her traditional enemy the snake, symbolising heresy.

1.3936 atapist: The expression atapir a quelqu'un, meaning 'to hide from someone', is not attested elsewhere, and there seems no doubt that the subject of the verb atapist is God (i.e. He

1 Ibid., p. 820. 2 Ibid., p. 821.

who created everything): ' who let nothing remain hidden (in the course of that creation) '.

11.3951 - 2 Matthew, VII, 2. (I)

CHAPTER VI (11. 3967 - 4584; Bede, pp. 81 - 85).

1.3972 est lachié: The scribe seems to have bungled Sanson's est enlacié (taking en for a dittography of est, and lacié for lachié). The rhyme must be feminine -iée, or reduced south - western feminine -ié, and main ki must be the subject of est enlacié (see the author's gloss at l. 3995, where the form used is enlacié). The Latin in our manuscript reads illaquatus est (Proverbs, VI, 2) in place of the Vulgate illaquatus es, and Sanson seems to be translating somewhat freely.

11.3991 - 3 Dr. Isoz suggests these lines mean: ' A friend's trickery is no excuse for one to sin'¹, but the function of de, governing both ami and tricher is suspect, nor can ami be the subject of tricher after de. In any case, 'friend's trickery' makes no sense in the context. The sense of the Biblical text seems to be that if you have struck your hand in with a stranger, then you have walked into a trap. Thus, in his commentary here, Sanson is saying that there is no justification for sinning on the grounds of cheating a friend, ie. on the grounds that one would be cheating a friend if one did not sin.

1.4001 solunc allegorie: The words solunc allegorie draw attention to the fact that Sanson intends to use the spiritual gloss from Bede. The literal gloss is found at ll. 3985 - 4000.

1 Ibid., p. 823.

1.4040 As Dr. Isoz suggests, this difficult line seems to mean:

'and who take some responsibility for their wrongdoing'¹.

11.4049 - 55 According to Dr. Isoz, the information found here is given in most medieval bestiaries under the heading caper 'the goat' or caprea 'the roe or fallow deer'. She has been unable to find a source for l. 4051. Chaldeen is often used for 'Aramaic', but as Dr. Isoz explains, the Aramaic for dorcas is tabitha (see Acts, IX, 36)². The Bestiaire has the following lines:

'Dorcon en griu est nuns
Que nus chievre apeluns' (11. 581 - 2).

Perhaps l. 4051 of the Proverbs is an example of what Dr. Isoz refers to as 'fanciful etymologies'³, but Sanson may have had access to sources which are not apparent.

11.4083 - 4126 There is a similar passage in the Bestiaire:

'Iço dit Salemun
Del furmi par raisun
Di "va, om pareçus
Ki atenz les bels jurz
Ne seiez escharni
Esguarde le furmi" ' (11.851 - 6).

Sanson, in his gloss, has expanded Solomon's text and adopted a more familiar tone, notably at 11. 4105 - 4116.

1.4101 Que: At the beginning of this line, Que seems dependent on Tant in l. 4098, and the comma that Dr. Isoz places after si, in her edition of the text, needs to be placed after l'at:
'... until he has gathered it together, then he stores each of the grains...'. The use of tant que with the indicative is less surprising in view of the temporal connotations.

1 Ibid., p. 826. 2 Ibid., p. 826. 3 Ibid., p. 614.

1.4108 somuiller: This is no doubt a scribal error for somniller.

1.4112 Friper des pailles: It is not clear what sense Sanson intended here. It seems that the scribe understood friper des followed by another word containing pa and then i erased, and finally lles. No doubt a revisor is responsible for the erasure of the i, understanding friper d'espalles, but in any case, the exact meaning of the expression friper de is unclear¹. Dr. Isoz suggests retaining friper des pailles, which she understands as 'fiddle with the sheets'². The word paille (< pallium) can mean 'cover', but the use of des in this context is suspect. In view of the unusual (for our author) picturesqueness of a waking man's reactions here, a list ending with 'hunching one's shoulders' and 'rubbing one's hands' seems more plausible than 'rumpling the sheets or bed - covers'.

11.4171 - 6 Matthew, XXII, 37 - 40. (I)

1.4191 al loinz corre: Dr. Isoz translates: 'But everyone believes there is a long path ahead', though, at the same time, suggesting that al loinz corre might have some connection with the English expression 'in the long run'³. However, it is quite clear that the expression al loinz corre refers to the subject, ie. 'he who runs away', and so: 'everyone believes that, by running away, they might put things right in a little while (but not immediately)'.

1.4193 Sanson's introduction of direct speech heightens the dramatic impact of the passage. Improvisation of this sort is

1 The function of de causes difficulty, especially since we cannot be sure what word the author placed after it. 2 C.C. Isoz, p. 827. 3 Ibid., p. 829.

uncommon in our text.

11.4231 - 4 Matthew, XIX, 29. (I)

1.4239 replenie : joie: The rhyme is corrupt, and the second line hypermetric. No doubt the original rhyme was in masculine iz : iz (see 11. 7449 - 50: repleni : goi), and the -ie ending is probably a scribal misreading of iz. Once this error has been established, it is easy to see how e de before joiz would have been added, conditioned by e de before deliz. The original reading was presumably:

'D'enor e de deliz joiz'.

1.4239 Proverbs, VI, 16 - 19 appear in a fourteenth century manuscript, formerly part of the Phillipps Collection¹. The short text is the second of seven in the manuscript, and is published by P. Meyer under the title Les sept choses que Dieu hait². However, there are no demonstrable similarities between this text and our poem, and Sanson de Nantuil was no doubt unknown to the anonymous author of the later work.

11.4319 - 20 Isaiah, I, 4. (I)

11.4347 - 52 The seven crimes mentioned at 1. 4349 do not offer a particularly apt parallel with the seven things God hates, since Mary was not guilty of the seventh. The source is Luke, VII, 21. (I)

1.4361 acunt: The verb - form is either present indicative, 1: 'I reckon', or present subjunctive, 3: 'Let one reckon', the former

¹ Formerly housed in the Phillipps Library, Cheltenham: Phillipps no. 25970. It has not been possible to trace the present whereabouts of the manuscript. ² See Romania, XXXVII (1908), pp. 210 - 15.

being preferred, since the author frequently reserves his personal comments for the end of a section of commentary, as here.

11.4429 - 30 Dr. Isoz's translation: 'For he who admonishes by frequently repeating an utterance...' seems perfectly sound, provided that de means a force de¹. However, her desire to resort to representet in place of representer seems unnecessary, and requires us to consider d'un dit as the complement of amonestement.

1.4454 esgartrat: This verb - form would appear to be the future,³ of a verb esgarir as Dr. Isoz suggests², but this verb does not seem to be attested elsewhere. The verb esgarer meaning 'separate oneself' would make sense here, but this would mean interpreting the form esgartrat as a past tense of the verb.

1.4515 Ezekiel, XVI, 46 - 52. (I)

1.4529 Lamentations, IV, 6? (I)

11.4535 - 8 Dr. Isoz's translation seems acceptable: 'There were [already] decrees concerning larceny in olden times, and, in order to avoid killing the thief, they decided that if he were caught, he should make restitution sevenfold and should forfeit all he possessed'³. A case, though not too apposite in context, could be made for the following translation of 1. 4537: 'in order to discourage [a more serious crime such as] homicide' - homicide being understood as a typical serious crime.

1 C.C. Isoz, p. 832. 2 Ibid., p. 833. 3 Ibid., p. 834.

CHAPTER VII (11.4585 - 5023; Bede. pp. 85 - 87).

1.4697 Psalms, XIII, 2. (I)

1.4719 lor errant: In preference to Dr. Isoz's translation of lor as alors and errant as the adverb 'straightaway'¹, we should translate lor errant by 'their wayfarer', ie. the man who walks along the mistaken ways of the world. Sanson uses the word in the same sense at 1. 4118².

1.4802 male: This word, which should agree with the masculine sacrefise, is perhaps a scribal error. Dr. Isoz offers the following suggestions: masle; meslé; mal e³, but it is worth noting that Eéroul has the word malé meaning 'maltreated', 'tormented' (1. 3029) - a meaning which would be most suitable here.

1.4808 Isaiah, I, 11 - 14? (I)

1.4877 II, Corinthians, II, 15. (I)

1.4845 Ehnuci: Dr. Isoz can find no source for the connection between Ehnuci and Ehsna, but the connection between Mount Etna and Hell was well known⁴. This may be another of Sanson's fanciful etymologies (see Chapter 3, p.31) occasioned by the similarity of the words.

1.4863 Sanson's supposed connection between Egypt and boisdie is no doubt a result of his own interpretation of Bede (p. 86);

'In tapetibus vero pictis ex Aegypto, ornatus eloquentiae et versutia dialecticae artis, quae ab ethnicis originem sumpsit, intelligitur,'.

1 Ibid., p. 835. 2 See also Le Roman de Rou de Wace, ed. A.J. Holden, S.A.T.F., Paris, 1970, vol. 1, part 3, l. 3003: 'que fors fussent tuit li errant'. 3 C.C. Isoz, p. 836.

4 Ibid., p. 837; See also Virgil, Aeneid, VII - VIII, ed. J.D. Christie, Oxford, book VIII, l. 419, p. 40; and the commentary on ll. 416 by C.J. Fordyce in the same volume, p. 252.

1.4938 Ki is obviously required after lune to complete the sense.
The adjective defiesable is not found elsewhere, and Tobl. Lom.
quotes the example found here, with the meaning 'on the wane'¹.

1.5014 Matthew, VIII, 12. (I)

CHAPTER VIII (11 5023 - 5384; Bede, pp. 87 - 90).

1.5069 John, XIV, 6. (I)

1.5083 II, John, XII, 1.

1.5093 congïe : maisnie: This is the only proven example in the
Proverbs of the reduction of the feminine ending -iée to -ie
(see Pope, § 513, p. 193).

1.5097 John, VII, 37. (I)

1.5131 John, IV, 10 - 11. (I)

1.5153 viez: S. Hilgers explains this form as a development of
vetus and not the more usual vetulus² (see Pope, §795, p. 310).

1.5175 Matthew, XVI, 26. (I)

1.5183 Matthew, VI, 24. (I)

1.5245 Psalms, CIII, 24.(I)

1.5250 Isaiah, XI, 2. (I)

1.5253 Matthew, XVIII, 20. (I)

1.5313 John, XV, 5. (I)

1.5315 John, XIV, 21. (I)

1.5339 veieir : preisier: The apparent change in conjugation
indicated by the rhyme is normally considered to be a development

1 Tobl. Lom., vol. 2, p. 1288. 2 S. Hilgers, p. 39.

of the late 12th century (see Pope, § 1309, p. 478), and thus, we may be dealing here with the western French development of the diphthong ei through ei to e, and hence a rhyme in e : e (see Pope, § 1326, vi, p. 502).

1.5349 II, Peter, III, 13. (I)

1.5388 crollat: It seems most likely, as Dr. Isoz suggests, that Sanson's translation crollat indicates that he mistook librabat for liberabat¹.

1.5438 faimes: This form is described by Miss Pope as an archaism characteristic of Anglo - Norman. The modern form began to replace faimes in the course of the 12th century². Unfortunately we cannot know whether the form we have is that of the author or the scribe.

1.5439 Genesis, I, 26. (I)

1.5441 John, I, 1 - 2? (I)

1.5449 conut: Bede (p. 89) has caritas patrem nominat, and Sanson's translation suggests he had before him a variant: novit. It is interesting to note, as Dr. Isoz has done³, that the form novit does in fact appear in the manuscript of Bede/Raban Maur in Patrologiae Latinae, vol. CXI⁴, and also in the Glossa Ordinaria⁵.

1.5516 K'a: The nominative ki has been replaced by an elided feminine ke in this line. According to Foulet, this is most common before a vowel in eastern texts⁶, though Miss Pope describes it as an 'early' phenomenon of Anglo - Norman⁷.

1 C.C. Isoz, p. 842. 2 Pope, §1270, p. 469. 3 C.C. Isoz, p. 842. 4 ed. J.P. Migne, Paris, 1864, col. 709.
5 Glossa Ordinaria, col. 1639. 6 Foulet, § 247, p. 176.
7 Pope, § 1262, p. 467.

CHAPTER IX (ll. 5585 - 5924; Bede, pp. 90 - 92).

1.5741 quie : maistrie: The rhyme shows the reduction of ui to i - a development most common after q (see Pope, § 516, p. 194), but this development was not complete in the speech of our author, as the rhyme quit : soduit (l. 3997) testifies.

11.5755 - 6 These lines have a vague counterpart in the Old French proverb:

'Lerres n'amra ja celui qui le respite des fourches',¹

and also in Bérout:

'Sire, molt dist voir Salemon:
Qui de forches raient larron,
Ja pus nel amera nul jor.' (ll. 41 - 43).

There is an obvious connection between the sentiments of the three texts.²

1.5757 Mark, VI, 14 - 28. (I)

1.5841 Galatians, VI, 5. (I)

1.5885 Sanson confirms the frequency with which Solomon's proverbs are reflected in popular usage, though the proverb he refers to here does not seem to be attested elsewhere (see also ll. 6065 - 6).

1.5922 Line missing.

CHAPTER X (ll. 5925 - 6408; 6433 - 6490³; Bede, pp. 92 - 96).

1.5931 John, VI, 35 and 48? (I)

1.5937 ad pece: Dr. Isoz has translated this phrase by 'after

1 Morawski, no. 1048. 2 See also T.B.W. Reid, The Tristan of Bérout, op. cit., p. 10. 3 From this point onwards, Sanson no longer keeps the biblical chapters separate in the Latin, with the result that the translation of one chapter begins before the gloss on the previous chapter is complete.

a long time', but would prefer to read it as belonging to the verb apiecer, which Godefroy translates as joindre, coudre¹. However, since the line is a syllable short, it looks as though the scribe may have had proëce before his eyes, and perhaps failed to take in the ro abbreviation. Thus we can translate: 'And the hand of God, which manifests its skill, stores up joy'.

11.5955 - 6 The sense of the lines seems to be : 'what matters to us is God's joy and anger; that I do not doubt at all'.

1.5961 Matthew, V, 8. (I)

1.5987 Psalms, XXXVI, 25. (I)

1.6019 Matthew, III, 12. (I)

1.6075 Luke, XVI, 19 - 25. (I)

1.6099 Psalms, XXVI, 1. (I)

1.6112 nes: If this represents enclisis of the reflexive pronoun, a phenomenon which Dr. Isoz says 'is generally found only in very early texts'², then it is indeed unusual, but the structure of the sentence leads us to suspect that nes is a corruption of nel (ne + le).

1.6137 nient : veint. The word indicates a reduction of en to e before n. There are many examples of this in the Proverbes, eg. nient : desseins (ll. 11707); crisfene : peine (ll. 801). Dr. Isoz quotes a similar example from Genève meaning lens (ll. 1809)³.

1.6178 glaue. Dr. Isoz's reading of this word as glaue is sharp.

¹ Godefroy, vol. 1, p. 339. ² O.C. 1902, p. 62.
³ Genève, p. 649; see also Genève, §467, p. 179.

The word giens is common in the 12th century, when used with a negative to mean 'thing', but its use in the affirmative is rare. Dr. Isoz quotes three examples from Tobl. Lom., but admits, finally, that 'the fact that, even in Old Provençal, giens is rare in the sense of 'thing', makes its use here in the Proverbs suspect, and we should perhaps correct to riens'¹. In fact the reading gieus is preferable, and makes perfect sense if translated as 'game' or 'jest'².

11.6191 - 2 Dr. Isoz feels that the parallel here with a sick man is inappropriate, since Sanson seems to be implying that laziness to a lazy man is just as unpleasant as a cough is to a sick man, whereas in fact laziness is presumed to be pleasant to a lazy man³. The problem is resolved if en (1. 6195) refers to tanz travailz etc. (1. 6191), and thus it is the 'hard work' of awakening that is unpleasant to a lazy man.

1.6221 Ecclesiastes, III, 1ff. (I)

11.6349 - 52 These lines are referred to in the discussion of Sanson's personal development of his sources (see Chapter 3, p.29). Passages such as this, where the author reveals traces of an ironic style, are rare in the Proverbs, and when they do occur, the author's aim is to rebuke those who have failed to carry out their Christian duties. The author's own experience is his main source here, eg.

'[De] pereços dunt je vos dis
Vos gloserai que m'est avis' (11. 7787 - 8).

1 C.C. Isoz, p. 848.
3. C.C. Isoz, p. 848.

2 See Roland, 1. 677: giu - 'sport'.

1.6362 en lor contrée: This seems to be a corruption, as it makes no sense in the context. It is likely that the original reading was a l'encontrée meaning 'in the event'¹.

1.6411 Quel pais: Dr. Isoz corrects Quel to Ouel, to help both the sense and the syllable - count². pais is an error for peis - 'weight'.

1.6473 II, Peter, III^f, 13; and Apocalypse, XXI, 1. (I)

1.6477 estate: The meaning of this word is no doubt 'weight'. Godefroy glosses estate as ce qui est posé en échange³, and Tobl. Lom. gives estaterre - 'weight'⁴.

1.6487 espairst: In an attempt to explain the apparent present subjunctive form (found also at l. 10781), Dr. Isoz suggests an infinitive *esparer and a connection with Old English sparian, which 'must ultimately go back to Old High German sparōn'⁵. However, a more usual verb meaning 'spare' is espargnier, and it is possible that espairst is a scribal error for esparnt (or the reduced form espart).

CHAPTER XI (ll. 6409 - 32; 6491 - 7042; 7053 - 7172; Bede, pp.96 - 101).

11.6501 - 10 Matthew, XXIII, 4. (I)

1.6513 Matthew, XI, 30. (I)

11.6531 - 2 The theme contained in these lines:

'Les justes garrat lor justice;
Les felons dampnerat lor vice'

runs as a leit - motiv of encouragement and warning throughout

1 Tobl. Lom., vol. 3, col. 236.

2 C.C. Isoz, p. 850.

3 Godefroy, vol. 3, p. 602a.

4 Tobl. Lom., vol. 5, col. 1364.

5 C.C. Isoz, p. 851.

the Proverbs.

1.6541 Matthew, X, 16? (I)

1.6600 esdevient: Dr. Isoz translates esdevient as 'by chance', having found four examples with this meaning in Partonopeu de Blois¹. Despite this, she feels that perhaps a correction to se devient or s'esdevient might be required. It seems more likely, however, that esdevient, the impersonal verb meaning 'it happens', is required here: 'Whence it happens that he did not remember what is...'. The change from plural (1. 6595) to singular (11. 6600 - 01) can be compared with similar changes throughout the Proverbs, eg. 11. 8001 - 4 (see also Chapter 5, p.120).

1.6647 enseignant: This is a correction of original seignant, which is clearly a corruption of feignant, as the text of Bede (p. 97) proves:

'Haeriticus simulans doctrinam catholicam,
decipit auditorem suum'.

Hence our scribe's confusion, and eagerness to correct the text.

11.6691 - 6718 These lines, on the value of friendship, are perhaps based on Sanson's knowledge of Cicero's De Amicitia, mentioned in the Prologue (11. 316 - 40).

1.6737 Matthew, XVIII, 15 - 17. (I)

1.6777 edefi: If this were the adjective meaning 'elevated', we should expect it to agree with the feminine amistied, and thus, it seems clear that, here, we are dealing with the adverbial expression e de fi - 'assuredly', used here parenthetically:

1 ed. J. Gildea, Villanova University Press, 1970; quoted by C.C. Isoz, p. 853.

'and of that be assured'.

11.6783 - 88 The meaning of these lines is: 'Whoever professes surety for a felon, if he sees that [the felon] has been indulging in feigned penitence in order to mix freely with people, then, when it comes to the day of judgement, he (ie. the guarantor) will be pardoned for his folly...'.
 1.6803 I, Corinthians, XV, 33. (I)

1.6893 pleites: This adjective does not seem to be attested else - where. The Vulgate has manus in manu, and Bede (p. 98) has Qui manum jungit in manu, both of which would lead us to expect an adjective such as pleites meaning 'folded'. Dr. Isoz suggests the word may be derived from plicitum¹, but there is nothing to support this. In the absence of such evidence, therefore, we should perhaps see the word as a corruption of plates. The word pleites occurs again, in the same context, at 1. 9223.

1.6955 Luke, VI, 38. (I)

1.6969 Ki: The stressed pronoun cui is used here with a double function - as accusative (1. 6969), and nominative (1. 6970).

1.6987 Isaiah, LVIII, 1. (I)

11.7001 - 19 Matthew, XXV, 30. (I)

1.7020 Luke, XIX, 17. (I)

1.7098 contre: In a similar context, Godefroy translates contre by environ², but Dr. Isoz's translation: 'in preparation for' or 'at the approach of' is more acceptable here³.

1 C.C. Isoz, pp. 856 - 7. 2 Godefroy, vol. 2, p. 544b.
 3 C.C. Isoz, p. 858.

- 1.7125 Sanson glosses fol as 'the Jew'. This is not drawn specifically from Bede, and is perhaps characteristic of the 12th century anti - semitism referred to by F. Heer¹. The Jews were expelled from England and other European countries in the 13th century.
- 1.7137 Revelations, II, 7; and Revelations, XXII, 2 and 14. (I)
- 1.7174 I, Thessalonians, V, 14. (I)
- 1.7158 The first letter of the line has been obliterated due to damage to the manuscript, but the addition of qⁱ, as Dr. Isoz suggests², is paleographically acceptable. The line would still remain a syllable short, and although a correction of pited to piëted is possible, the word poësté mentioned at l. 7153 is more plausible in view of en at l. 7155.
- 1.7163 I, Peter, IV, 18. (I)
- 1.7168 de sa garde: We should accept the translation of this phrase as given by Dr. Isoz: 'of those in his care'.³
- 1.7171 Matthew, XI, 12. (I)

CHAPTER XII (ll. 7043 - 52; 7173 - 7608; 7621 - 7732; Bede, pp. 101 - 104).

- 1.7206 cels : dols: dols here no doubt represents duels, and thus, we have a rhyme in open e. The development from close e to open e in cels is aided by the following l (see Pope, § 492, p. 186).

1 F. Heer, The Medieval world - Europe from 1100 to 1350, London, 1974, p. 19. 2 C.C. Isoz, p. 858. 3 Ibid., p. 859.

11.7237 - 40 These lines should perhaps be omitted, as they occur again at 11. 7267 - 70. If we accept the first half of 1. 7237 as being correct, then Dr. Isoz's explanation of the mistake is to be accepted:

'It is possible that the eye of the scribe jumped first to 1. 7249 and then on again to 1. 7267, then having copied the next three lines, he realised his error and returned to the right point without, however, crossing out the additional lines. The error may well have been in the exemplar of our ms.'¹.

1.7242 This line gives an example of the concessive construction: tot + subjunctive. The more usual construction for our author is coment que (see also 1. 10371).

1.7295 James, V, 16. (I)

1.7325 trove : manuevre: Although S. Hilgers describes the rhyme as a rare example of assonance in our text², the lines no doubt show an approximate rhyme aided by popular elimination of r in the group vre³.

1.7393 nostre : apostle: Vising, in his study of the Anglo - Norman dialect, comments on the confusion of r and l, which is exemplified here⁴. The phenomenon is not specifically Anglo - Norman, however, and is explained more clearly by Fouché who speaks of the assimilation of l to r⁵.

1 Ibid., p. 859. 2 S. Hilgers, p. 72. 3 P. Fouché, Phonétique historique du français, Paris, 1961, vol. 3, p. 732.

4 J. Vising, Étude sur le dialecte anglo - normand du XII^e siècle, Uppsala, 1882, pp. 77 and 87. 5 Op. cit., pp. 831 - 2.

1.7393 I, John, III, 16; Matthew, XX, 28; Mark, X, 45. (I)

11.7399 - 7400 These lines can be compared with the following

Old French proverb:

'Qui veut la guarison du mire
Y lui convient son meshain dire',¹.

Sanson's source for this metaphor, used consistently throughout the Proverbs, may have been Boethius' De Consolatione Philosophiae, which is mentioned in the Prologue (ll. 316 - 340):
'If you want the doctor's help, you must reveal the wound',².

1.7411 Matthew, V, 13. (I)

1.7420 Mark, IX, 43 - 47. (I)

1.7441 moment: Sanson has translated the Latin noun momentum by moment, which Dr. Isoz suggests may mean 'impulse',³.
moment is well attested in Old French, but not with the meaning 'impulse',⁴, and the matter is further complicated by the fact that the Vulgate has a different reading altogether: munimentum.
It seems likely that Sanson has simply rendered corrupt momentum by its Old French equivalent, but nothing allows us to know what he meant by this.

11.7513 - 4 We should no doubt translate these lines as: 'That which a fool desires is (ie. takes the place of) for him his straight path', and not, as Dr. Isoz suggests, 'That which a fool desires, for him his path is straight',⁵.

11.7519 - 20 Dr. Isoz prefers a correction of pris to pis, which

1 Morawski, no. 2192. 2 Boethius, De Consolatione Philosophiae, ed. and trans. V.E. Watts, Harmondsworth, 1969, p. 40.

3 C.C. Isoz, p. 861. 4 A more usual translation of moment would be 'moment in time' or 'importance'. 5 C.C. Isoz, p. 861.

she explains by a scribal misreading of a suprascript i¹.

However, the line as it stands makes better sense: 'He does nothing, in his opinion, but can be imputed to his credit.'.

11.7523 - 4 These lines make better sense before the preceding couplet and immediately after l. 7520.

1.7539 The source is not John but Wisdom, I, 11. (I)

1.7596 Ceilet: Sanson's insertion of this word is understandable given that provocat is missing, in his version of the Vulgate, after insipientium. The sense of the line is not too clear, but, as it stands, it seems to mean: '..hides folly when it is not heard by it (ie. by the heart)', or alternatively '..hides folly when it is not disseminated by its agency'.

1.7625 Matthew, VII, 6. (I)

1.7650 il: There is no antecedent for il, and it seems that the construction has simply changed from the hand, to the man to whom the hand belongs.

1.7685 Mark, X, 21; and Luke, XVIII, 22. (I)

11.7710 - 22 It is clear that a number of lines have been repeated here. Dr. Isoz omits 12 lines after l. 7710, and numbers them 7711a - 7722a². I have adopted the same practice. The transcript used by S. Hilgers, H. Hilgers³ and J. Vising⁴ omits only 10 lines here (11. 7713 - 7722). Dr. Isoz believes that ki de vertuz (l. 7711a) is an error for De totes vertuz

1 Ibid., p. 861. 2 Ibid., pp. 863 - 4. 3 H. Hilgers, Die Wortstellung in Sanson von Nantua's altfranzösischer Bearbeitung der Proverbia Salomonis, Halle, 1910. 4 J. Vising, Die E - laute im Reime der anglo - normannischen Dichter des XII Jahrhunderts, op. cit., pp. 1 - 17.

(l. 7711), aided by the presence of Ki de vertuz (l. 7718. and l. 7718a), or by E ki de vertuz (l. 7721 and l. 7721a, where E is missing). Furthermore, s'enmanantist (l. 7711a) may be an error for s'enrichist (l. 7711), influenced by manant (l. 7721 and l. 7721a). Although we cannot be sure how the error arose, it seems likely that the scribe's eye was drawn back over a series of lines, giving rise to the repetition. Certainly l. 7711 makes better sense after l. 7710 than does l. 7711a, and the numbering adopted in the present transcription (see Volume II) is intended to aid cross - reference between this study and the text of Dr. Isoz's edition.

1.7726 pus: Dr. Isoz has interpreted pus as 'then', since she feels it cannot be the present indicative, l of poeir¹. She reads the line as follows:

'Ne pus aver tuz comperer'

which has the vague sense that money cannot buy everything.

In view of the context however, the manuscript reading should be interpreted as:

'Ne pus a vertuz comparer'

which, in conjunction with the preceding line, would mean: 'None - theless, I cannot compare secular wealth with virtue'.

CHAPTER XIII (ll. 7609 - 7620; 7733 - 8102; 8117 - 8124;

Bede, pp. 104 - 108).

11.7789 - 7810 These lines are typical of what Dr. Isoz calls 'the lightly ironic style Sanson adopts on the rare occasions

1 C.C. Isoz, p. 865.

when he allows himself free rein'¹.

11.7809 - 10 desdmout: Dr. Isoz has rejected the corrected manuscript reading desdmout in favour of original desmout (< diesmer < *decimare), meaning 'to raise the tithe', but she feels that en l'esté - 'in Summer', makes little sense². Perhaps, as she suggests, the phrase is a corruption of enlessé (< enlaissier). This would give a rhyme in é : ie, but this is not uncommon in our text (see Chapter 5, pp. 108 - 110). On the whole, desmout, meaning 'strip' or 'decimate', makes good sense, particularly if fust en l'esté is a scribal bungling of fust enlessé or of en fust lessé, with crient used parenthetically.

1.7813 James, I, 8; and Ecclesiastes, II, 14. (I)

1.7819 Psalms, LXII, 6. (I)

1.7829 Matthew, VII, 2; Mark, IV, 24; Luke, VI, 38. (I)

1.7845 Psalms, LXXV, 6. (I)

1.7849 Luke, XVI, 19 - 25. (I)

1.7869 Matthew, XVI, 26. (I)

1.7909 A two - line, coloured initial usually marks the beginning of a new section of gloss, but the one at the beginning of this , line is obviously due to an error, since the sense continues from the preceding line. A comparison of this section with the source material has led Dr. Isoz to suggest a lacuna after l. 7910³.

1 Ibid., p. 866; see also 11. 6191 - 6 . 2 Ibid., p. 866.

3 Ibid., p. 868.

1.7915 In general, the word nient only rhymes with the ending -ent (which in some cases is the result of the reduction eint > ent¹). This rhyme vient : nient is the sole exception in our text (see S. Hilgers, pp. 31 - 32).

1.7938 Once again Sanson is drawing on popular folklore. This proverb is well attested:

'Nul duel sordoleir, ne neule joye surjoyr'².

1.7965 Dr. Isoz's translation of this line seems to be correct:

'The soul delights in what it has accomplished: they (ie. its deeds) are wont to be its delight'³, but Sanson's translation of the Latin is unnecessarily complicated: either li or ses is used pleonastically.

1.8023 siut : chiut: As Dr. Isoz points out, this rhyme and the ones at ll. 71 and 8101 are amongst the earliest examples of u from vocalised i rhyming with u from other sources⁴ (see Pope, § 390, p. 155). If the original rhyme was in ieu, then the form found here may be the work of an Anglo - Norman scribe, since the development to iu is described by Miss Pope as a characteristic which Anglo - Norman has in common with the speech of the north⁵.

1.8093 noveltez: This word, translating novalibus, is not attested in Godefroy or Tobl. Lom., but Dr. Isoz quotes F.E.W., which gives the example novalés: 'terre nouvellement défrichée et mise en labour'⁶.

1 See note to 1. 6137. 2 Morawski, no. 1403. 3 C.C. Isoz, p. 868. 4 Ibid., p. 653. 5 Pope, § 1168, p. 446.
6 C.C. Isoz, p. 869; and F.E.W., vol. 7, p. 201.

11.8095 - 6 These lines seem to mean: 'They accrue to these others in such a way that they do not get them by judgement'. eos (l. 8095) is no doubt a scribal error for ces.

CHAPTER XIV (11. 8103 - 8116; 8125 - 8516; 8526 - 8664; Fede, pp. 108 - 112).

11.8105 - 8 Sanson has not translated Proverbs, XIV, 2 in the accepted manner. Our manuscript has no comma after dominum as in the Vulgate proper, and so despicitur ab eo is translated with the first half of the verse (11. 8105 - 6). The second half makes sense only by the addition of spurious deridetur.

1.8151 III, Kings, XVIII, 10 - 16. (I)

11.8173 - 8 Sanson's unusual translation is once again due to the incorrect punctuation of the Latin text he was using. His text has a full - stop after labia (Proverbs, XIV, 7), and after sapientia (Proverbs, XIV, 8), instead of the more usual stop after prudentiae, at the end of the seventh verse.

1.8199 Dr. Isoz quotes Isidore's Etym. as the source for this explanation of the word martir:

'Martyres Graeca lingua, Latine testes dicuntur, unde et testimonia Graece martyria nuncupantur. Testes autem ideo vocati sunt, quia propter testimonium Christi passiones sustinuerunt, et usque ad mortem pro veritate certaverunt'¹.

1.8217 James, X, 30. (I)

1.8238 Arius: Arius was condemned at the Council of Nicaea in 325 A.D. for teaching that Christ was of the same divine nature as God.

1 Etym., VII, xi; and C.C. Isoz, p. 871.

1.8288 The whole of this line has been supplied by a revisor, but the end of the line has been lost in the trimming of the leaf. Dr. Isoz has suggested a possible ending based on the Latin, and the need for a rhyme with folie:

'De enrewre humme het [l'um la vie]',¹.

11.8310 - 11 The meaning of these lines must be: 'Out of ignorance, he becomes involved in evil and becomes so lazy in such involvement, and so waylaid by it...'

1.8329 I, John, IV, 1. (I)

1.8333 I, Thessalonians, V, 21. (I)

11.8335 - 6 veisdie : vie: The rhyme is interesting. In the Vulgate, vita and via are used as mutual variants, and although it is possible that we are dealing with vie (<vita) here, Sanson is translating the Latin egressus (Proverbs, XIV, 15), and we should expect veie (<via). Two similar examples are found in rhyme with the ending -ie in the Proverbs: vie (<gressus) : folie (1.8802); and vie (<viam) : folie (1. 9539). Dr. Isoz, in her remarks on this phenomenon, quotes a similar example: list (<licet) : orguillist (1. 11270), where Latin tonic free ī has become i instead of ei².

11.8383 - 4 ne verrunt: Dr. Isoz has queried the function of this verb, since the expression verrunt as bons seems highly unusual³. She suggests that verrunt may be a northern French, future form of the verb venir, but no other northern forms

1 C.C. Isoz, p. 872.

2 Ibid., p. 643.

3 Ibid., p. 874.

appear in our text. The context seems to require that the separation of the evil from the good allows no contact between them, though they will be able to contemplate the glory of the good (see ll. 8379 - 80). If this is the case, then it is possible to argue that ne verrunt is scribal for n'enterrunt, or nen irrunt, or nen + the reduced future of errer. The following line suggests that 'the evil' are still the subject of the verb, and are still able to see the good 'in glory'. Thus a would seem to be scribal for en, and ses for les, although s'esgarderunt (si + les) is not impossible .

1.8458 This proverb is well attested in Old French:

'Vieulz pechiez fet novele honte',¹.

1.8486 avers de pel: Sanson has glossed the word versipellis as avers de pel (l. 8486) and pel d'aversaire (l. 8535), neither of which render well the speciousness of the deceitful. Dr. Isoz feels he may have been influenced by Bede (p. 110), who glosses the word as 'the devil',². In any case, the skin - changing notion of versi - seems to have been readily associated by Sanson with the mediocre meanings of avers and aversier.

1.8517³ This proverb is well attested in Old French:

'Doulce parole fraint grant ire',⁴.

11.8517 - 8³ ire : forsenerie: This rhyme is unusual since the form forsenire is not attested. However, we may be dealing here with the south - western form forseneire (see Pope, § 1327, 1, p. 503) which Sanson is rhyming with ire (see remarks on veie/vie ll. 8335 - 6).

1 Morawski, no. 2481. 2 C.C. Isoz, p. 875. 3 These lines occur in Proverbs, XV, 1 - 4, which Sanson translates before his gloss on Proverbs, XIV, 25 - 35. 4 Morawski, no. 603.

- 1.8632 Dr. Isoz sees this line as corrupt, and makes the point that three adjectives would make better sense. Her translation of the line as it stands is: 'They have in their turn a beggarly inheritance'¹. Raient, however, is not part of the verb ravoir, but present indicative, 3 of raembre - 'redeem', and the meaning of the passage is: 'the beggar redeems the disinherited'.
- 1.8635 flaier: Dr. Isoz suggests the root of this strange verb may be in the Germanic *flaxan meaning 'flay'², but the context seems to require the meaning 'scourge', and no doubt the verb is a scribal error for flaëler.
- 11.8649 50 Cel: The function of Cel in this line is difficult to determine, and, indeed, the whole couplet seems to destroy the flow of the argument. However, if the lines have been misplaced, and Cel is scribal for Cil, then the passage would make perfect sense, by replacing these lines after 1. 8652.
- 1.8655 Matthew, XXV, 21 - 23. (I)
- CHAPTER XV (11. 8517 - 8524; 8665 - 8992; 9000 - 9206;
Bede, pp. 112 - 115)
- 11.8675 - 6 These lines are perhaps a veiled expression of our author's vanity, as he must count himself amongst the Christian glossers he refers to.
- 1.8749 ovrir : acomplir: The rhyme demonstrates the confusion between ovrir and overer. The sense here requires the latter verb and, in fact, the form acompler, which would be needed for
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- 1 C.C. Isoz, p. 876. 2 Ibid., p. 876.

the rhyme, is attested at l. 8056. Thus, we have a rhyme in -er,

1.8771 enfern  : This verb is not found elsewhere in Old French, but Dr. Isoz has found the word attested in Old Proven  al meaning 'damn'¹.

11.8805 - 6 Our manuscript has confirmatur (Proverbs, XV, 22) in place of the Vulgate confirmantur, and, as Dr. Isoz points out, the subject of a singular form could be consilium². Sanson's translation offers no help in deciding which version he used.

11.8831 - 2 Sanson's continued use of medical metaphors leads one to think he might have had dealings with, or interest in, the world of medicine (see ll. 9173 and 9417).

11.8885 - 6 Sanson's familiarity with monks' diet may be a further indication of a clerical background.

1.8905 Hosea, VI, 6; Matthew, IX, 13 ; and Matthew, XII, 7. (I)

1.9084 espeir: Dr. Isoz translates this word by 'perhaps', or 'I hope'³. The latter seems preferable.

1.9090 pladier: The original reading plai  r has been corrected to pladier (in error for plaid  r?), but Dr. Isoz has rejected the correction. The loss of a supported dental is common in south - western texts (see Pope,    1327, viii, p. 504), and she feels that, in view of the other south - western features in the Proverbs, the form plai  r (< *placitare) is justified.

1 Ibid., p. 877. 2 Ibid., p. 877. 3 Ibid., p. 878.

In support of this theory, Dr. Isoz points out a similar correction of plaiēros to plaideros (l. 10496), and the presence of guie (l. 5741) and vuie (l. 8139)¹. Of course the verb plaier (< plagare) existed in Old French, but the meaning 'hurt' would make no sense here.

11.9157 - 8 These lines are similar to the following Old French proverb:

'Nature passe norreture'².

1.9198 John, XV, 5. (I)

CHAPTER XVI (ll 8993 - 8998; 9207 - 9870; 9887 - 9916;
Bede, pp. 115 - 120).

11.9231 - 2 These lines are similar to the following Old French proverb:

'Mielz valt bons petiz que grant mauvais'³.

1.9269 faie: Dr. Isoz suggests that the word faie is either an error for faite, or represents a development similar to that of laie (< laide) at l. 3374, in which the supported dental is missing⁴. However, the word faie, meaning 'hostility', is attested⁵ (see l. 9799). In any case, the past participle faite hardly makes sense with benüeré, after the fall. It seems more likely, therefore, that faie is scribal for s'aie - 'the help of God', the form aie being perhaps a south - western form of central French aie (see Pope, § 1327, viii, p. 504).

1 Ibid., pp. 878 - 9. 2 Morawski, no. 1328. 3 Ibid., no. 1252.
4 C.C. Isoz, p. 880. 5 See Bérout, Purgatoire de Saint Patrice,
ed. M. Mörner, Lund, 1917, l. 220; the word faye is not
identified by the editor.

- 1.9329 Matthew, XIX, 24; Mark, X, 25; and Luke, XVIII, 25. (I)
- 1.9335 Matthew, V, 3; and Luke, VI, 20; and not Ezekiel as Sanson indicates. (I)
- 1.9389 I, Peter, II, 5. (I)
- 1.9398 beitier: This verb, found also at l. 10643, has caused some difficulty to Dr. Isoz, who translates it by 'steer' - the meaning attested in Brendan (l. 233), and spelt in the same way¹. Godefroy glosses the verb baater (presumably from the same source) as regarder au loin², a meaning which would fit the context here, and our verb beitier is clearly a variant meaning, more precisely, 'watch against'.
- 1.9412 Mark, XVII, 17. (I)
- 1.9431 The reference is to Herod Antipas and Julian the Apostate. (I)
- 1.9466 Isaiah, XXX, 23? (I)
- 11.9509 - 12 It is significant that Sanson refers to his own teachers here, for the first and only time, since the passage he is glossing is not dealt with by Bede³.
- 1.9618 Psalms, LXXX, 11. (I)
- 1.9621 Psalms, LXXXIV, 9. (I)
- 11.9645 - 54 The parallel between doctor and preacher is effectively drawn in this admonition to the clergy (see also 11. 8831 - 2).

1 C.C. Isoz, p. 881. 2 Godefroy, vol. 1, p. 544b; see also Tob1. Lom., vol. 1, col. 788. 3 The verses in question are Proverbs, XVI, 16 - 24.

1.9709 Genesis, III, 17 - 19. (I)

1.9756 retraiz: We should no doubt translate this word by 'recounted', and not 'contorted' as Dr. Isoz suggests¹.

1.9799 faie : deplaie: Dr. Isoz translates faie by 'hostility' - a variant of faide from Frankish fehde². The rhyme demonstrates clearly that we are dealing with the verb deplaiier - 'hurt', 'wound', used more or less tautologically with mordre, and not with the verb depleiier. This seems to be confirmed by the example faye in Bérout's Purgatoire de Saint Patrice (see note to l. 9269), which shows that in the stanza containing faye, all the rhyme - words are rhymed in original -ai³.

CHAPTER XVII (ll. 9871 - 9886; 9917 - 10574; 10591 - 10640; Bede, pp. 120 - 121).

1.9929 John, VI, 41, 35, 55. (I)

1.9943 Le nos: The function and meaning of Le is difficult to determine, and the line, as it stands, is no doubt corrupt. Solomon is clearly the subject of denote, and the original reading could have been Lei nos, L'enor, or Loier.

1.10103 confessor : or: In general, in the Proverbs, open and close o are not found in rhyme. However, the present example is explained by the final r in confessor, which, according to Miss Pope, had an opening influence on preceding close o or e⁴ (see also l. 1499).

1 C.C. Isoz, p. 884. 2 Ibid., p. 884. 3 Bérout, Purgatoire de Saint Patrice, op. cit., l. 220. 4 Pope, SS 491 - 499, pp. 186 - 8.



1.10112 seante: The final analogical e of seante was presumably not intended by Sanson, as the line is a syllable too long.

1.10115 deu mescrit: The line seems to make little sense, particularly with what seems to be an unusual past participle form mescrit. The answer is no doubt that deu mescrit is scribal for devin escrit.

11.10191 - 4 The meaning of these lines has caused trouble. Dr. Isoz is not sure whether to translate amors as 'bitten' (a mors) or 'in the behaviour' (a moeurs)¹. In the context, both seem unlikely, and a better translation would be: 'love', 'attachements'. Thus, we can translate: 'In these attachments to vain things, those who are practised in the art of concealing are [well] loved by man and woman [alike] by virtue of the fact that they are not the sort to brag about it'.

1.10334 There seems to be no other recorded trace of this proverb in Old French. Dr. Isoz has found an Old English version recorded in 1573, and she feels Sanson may have translated it from the English². On the evidence available, the ultimate provenance must remain in doubt.

1.10512 John, I, 3ff. (I)

11.10549 - 54 Dr. Isoz quotes a passage from the Acts of Pilate, which may have provided the source material for these lines:

' Jesus hath broken the strong depths of the prisons, and let out the prisoners, and loosed them that were bound'³.

1 C.C. Isoz, p. 886. 2 Ibid., p. 887. 3 ed. M.R. James, Oxford, 1924, p. 136; quoted by C.C. Isoz, p. 887.

- 1.10597 The line seems to be an indication that, although Sanson dedicates the Proverbs to Aëliz de Cundé, he was writing for a wider public.
- 11.10603 - 4 These lines have been added by a corrector, at the foot of the page. The first word of the couplet appears to read Duitrene, followed by an unclear sign. Dr. Isoz has taken the word as a form of doctrinëor meaning 'man of learning', and has edited it as Duitreneres. She translates: 'In his turn, he is, because of it (ie. the knowledge he has gained from moderation in speech) a man of wise learning, and he has reached this position through experience'¹. However, l'ad enquis seems to refer to something specific, and we are perhaps justified in asking whether Duitrene may be a scribal corruption of D'us terrien, and the following unclear abbreviation the dittography en; thus:
- 'D'us terrien en en rest apri'.
- 1.10617 James, II, 20. (I)
- CHAPTER XVIII (11. 10575 - 10590; 10641 - 11026; 11037 - 11240; Bede, pp. 122 - 123).
- 11.10684 - 93 Matthew, XXVII, 3; and also the Apocryphal acts of Andrew and Paul². (I)
- 11.10730 - 2 Dr. Isoz believes a couplet may be missing after 1. 10730 or 1. 10731, since Proverbs, XVIII, 5 is not fully translated³.
- 1.10745 molinges: This word, translating mollis, is not attested

1 C.C. Isoz, p. 888. 2 ed. M.R. James, op. cit., p. 472.

3 C.C. Isoz, p. 889.

elsewhere, and we are perhaps dealing with a scribal error for maligne, although this does not convey the sense of the Latin mollis.

1.10817 Ki: The couplet makes better sense if Ki is corrected to Ke: 'A man who betrays the man he simply flatters, has a double tongue'.

1.10867 Matthew, XIX, 24. (I)

1.10892 nul dorre: Dr. Isoz suggests the root of dorre may be in Celtic durnos, normally giving dor in Old French¹. Godefroy gives dource and doire as variants of dor², and dorre could be a misreading of the latter of these.

1.10933 Matthew, II, 16. (I)

1.10960 According to Dr. Isoz, the sense of the line is: 'with a touch of hypocrisy'³, an unusual interpretation of the word menbre. It seems clear, in fact, that 1. 10958 is being referred to here: 'There are in turn generous people in this life, of whom hypocrisy is a [constituent] part'.

1.11009 vinneiz: The word is unattested elsewhere. It translates the Latin genimina, and Dr. Isoz suggests it may be based on the root vinum, meaning 'vine'⁴. However, it is equally likely to be from the root vimen - 'shoot', and the collective viminetum would give vinnei in Old French. Sanson seems to be

1 Ibid., p. 892. 2 Godefroy, vol. 2, p. 748c.

3 C.C. Isoz, p. 892. 4 Ibid., p. 893.

confusing genimina with vimina.

- 1.11055 The crucifixion of Andrew by Egeas is told in the Apocryphal acts of Andrew¹. (I)
- 1.11057 The reference is to Flavius Claudius Julianus, Roman Emperor c 331 - 363, and nephew of Constantine the Great. He was given the name 'apostate' for having renounced the Christian faith, and attempting to re - establish paganism. (I)
- 1.11151 Matthew, V, 3. (I)
- 1.11159 The line is a syllable short, and clearly ki is missing from the beginning.
- 1.11160 neciére: The word is not attested in Old French, and we can only assume, with Dr. Isoz, that Sanson is using the Old Provençal word neceire, meaning manque².
- 1.11170 lor: The form lor is possibly scribal for alors, but, as Miss Pope says, lor in Anglo - Norman commonly stood for les³, and if this is the case here, the change is probably scribal.
- 1.11179 Luke, XVIII, 9 - 13. (I)
- 1.11180 Diversité: The reading of this line is suspect, and the most obvious solution is to correct Diversité to D'aversité or to De diversité, in the latter case omitting un.
- 1.11205 The source is Isidore's Etym.:
- 'Nam Phariseu ex Hebraeco in Latinum interpretantur Divisi...' ⁴. (I)

1 Op. cit., p.349. 2 C.C. Isoz, p. 894; see also Petit dictionnaire Provençal - Français, ed. E. Levy, Heidelberg, 1909.

3 Pope, § 1251, pp. 464 - 5. 4 Etym., VIII, iv, 3.

- 1.11207 It is not clear which ancient language the verb Pharan is meant to represent.
- 1.11217 Scisma: This is no doubt a development of the ecclesiastical Greek skhisma. (I)
- CHAPTER XIX (11.11027 - 11036; 11241 - 11852; Bede, pp. 123- 127).
- 1.11367 Neis: Dr. Isoz explains that Neis, meaning 'not even', would make no sense, and, meaning 'even', would contradict scriptural authority¹. However, in the absence of any clear solution, it does seem as if Sanson is allowing for the bestowing of ill - gotten gain on the needy, and Neis should be translated by 'even'.
- 1.11423 As Dr. Isoz shows, the connection between saulus and lou, though not found in Bede, was commonly attested at the time². Possible sources are Tertullian³ and Saint Augustine⁴.
- 11.11613 - 4 Mençonge: It would appear that Sanson's Latin had the word mendatium - 'lie' in place of the Vulgate mandatum - 'commandment', explaining his translation mençonge (see also 1. 11753).
- 1.11621 Sanson's translation of Proverbs, XIX, 18 reveals that he has taken ne desperes with the second half of the verse, due to incorrect punctuation of the Latin text in front of him.

1 C.C. Isoz, p. 897. 2 Ibid., p. 898. 3 Patrologiae Latinae, vol. II, ed. J.P. Migne, Paris, 1844, cols. 500 - 1.
 4 Patrologiae Latinae, vol. XXXIX, ed. J.P. Migne, Paris, 1865, col. 2098.

- 1.11641 This information is found in the Clossa Ordinaria on Revelations, V, 5: 'et nodo quem habet in caude vestigia delet'¹. (I)
- 1.11643 See Chapter 3, p. 31.
- 1.11651 Psalms, CXX, 4. (I)
- 1.11658 John, VIII, 59. (I)
1. 11666 John, XI, 1 - 44. (I)
- 1.11691 I, Thessalonians, V , 2. (I)
- 11.11725 - 6 These difficult lines have been translated in the following way by Dr. Isoz: 'In their pursuit of damnation they immediately distort the meaning of it (ie. sainte doctrine)². However, en (1. 11726) may refer to dampnation (1. 11725), with the meaning: 'They immediately distort the meaning of damnation' (ie. they misunderstand it).
- 1.11749 I, Timothy, VI, 10. (I)
- 1.11755 Not John, but Wisdom, I, 11. (I)
- 1.11771 Matthew, XXV, 34 - 40. (I)
- 11.11785 -96 The passage is confusing, but the general sense seems to be that the master, by his intolerance or impatience, makes his pupil worse. Dr. Isoz has translated 11. 11791 - 2 as follows: 'On account of the sin, he bears malice towards the master he loved'³. It is equally possible to translate: 'on account of the sin he loved....' and the line structure seems to favour the latter.

1 Patrologiae Latinae, vol. CXIV, ed. J.P. Migne, Paris, 1852, col. 720. 2 C.C. Isoz, p. 901. 3 Ibid., pp. 901 - 2.

1.11796 The second word in the line is unclear. Dr. Isoz has adopted the reading aviver, assuming that the manuscript reading aviv' has been wrongly expanded to avivre by a corrector¹. In fact, the corrector has clarified above the diacritic what, in his view, was the correct way of resolving it.

1.11823 Sanson would appear to have misunderstood the Latin of Proverbs, XIX, 25. His translation: 'There is none more foolish than an arrogant man beaten and swollen' takes no account of the ablative absolute construction: pestilente flagellato, and makes nonsense of the Latin.

¹ Ibid., p. 902.

Chapter 5

General characteristics of the poem

The aim of the preceding chapter has been to discuss isolated points of interest in the Proverbs, without examining more general features of language and style. It is the intention of the present chapter to review such features, in a selective rather than a comprehensive manner, with particular reference to points offering clues as to the date and provenance of the text. In general, subjects discussed in previous chapters have been omitted here.

I Phonology

Tonic blocked Latin a: As Dr. Isoz points out, this is found in rhyme with words ending in -al (< -alem)¹ - a characteristic of south - western texts (see Pope, § 1327, ii, p. 503). According to Dr. Isoz, this is also attested sporadically in 12th century Anglo-Norman texts. A typical example in the Proverbs is: espiritual:val (l. 5681).

Reduction of ie to e: Walberg describes the reduction of ie to e as a characteristic found in Anglo - Norman during the course of the 12th century:

'la confusion de ie avec e, à une époque où les dialectes du continent distinguaient encore ces deux sons, est un trait caractéristique de l'anglo - normand'²,

and much has been said to prove that such a development occurs in the Proverbs. Both S. Hilgers³ and J. Vising⁴ have shown eight examples

1 C.C. Isoz, p. 634. 2 Bestiaire, p. Li. 3 S.Hilgers, p. 19.
 4 J. Vising, Die E-Laute im Reime der anglonormannischen Dichter des XII Jahrhunderts, in Z.F.S.L., vol. ~~xxx~~ (1912), pp. 1-17.

of the rhyme in ie : e, but, as Dr. Isoz has since proved, four of these are misreadings¹. There are, in fact, six authentic examples of such a rhyme in the Proverbs: profiter : dreiturer (l. 1813); sentier : desevrer (l. 3467); lasset : pechet (l. 4473); veieir : preisier (l. 5339)²; conseiller : celer (l. 6761); garder : boitier (l. 9397) . In view of the number, admittedly small as one would expect, of attested rhymes in ie : e, it does not seem necessary to accept Dr. Isoz's suggestion that lasset (l. 4473) may be an error for lachiet. On the other hand, her explanation of the rhyme conseiller : celer (l. 6761) may be sound - traiter e celer (l. 6762) having been read the wrong way round, especially since celor is a rhyme - word in the preceding couplet³. The final example is far from clear. Dr. Isoz is not sure what the word boitier means, but feels that, since it appears in rhyme with entercer at l. 10643, it probably ends in -ier. The word is, in fact, attested in Godefroy and Tobl. Lom. (see Chapter 4, note to l. 9398), where it appears to be a variant of baater meaning 'to look on ahead', 'keep watch'. Unfortunately, the word is not attested elsewhere in rhyme, and so we cannot be sure that we are dealing with a rhyme in ie : e at l. 9397. If, however, garder : boitier (l. 9397) is simply a rhyme in e : e, then boitier : entercer (l. 10643) must be a rhyme in e : ie - the exclusion of one from the above list, calls for the inclusion of the other. There are eight possible examples of ie : e in Gaimar⁴; two doubtful examples in the Bestiaire⁵; and one doubtful example in Brendan⁶. Thus, our examples are not surprising.

1 C.C. Isoz, pp. 638 - 9. 2 veieir appears to represent a change in conjugation: veeir > veer, but , since this is a relatively late development (see Pope, § 1309, p. 478), we may be dealing with a rhyme in e (<ei):e, aided by the opening influence of following r (see Pope, § 1326, i and vi, pp. 501 - 2. 3 C.C. Isoz, p. 639.

4 Gaimar, pp. xxiv - xxv. 5 Bestiaire, p. Li. 6 Brendan, p. cxxxvii.

According to Miss Pope, in the case of the reduction of ie to e, 'the speech of the more southern region was in advance of the rest of France'¹, and its presence in our text is just as likely to prove that Sanson was influenced by the language of the south - west as by Anglo - Norman.

Latin blocked and free ō: Tonic blocked and free ō are found commonly in rhyme in our text, indicating, as Dr. Isoz points out, a western French development². Mot only rhymes with words in o from tonic close o in the Proverbs - again a feature pre - dominant in the south - west³. The form boche (<bucca) is occasionally found in rhyme with words in open o: boche : entosche (l. 8833); porvoche : boche (l. 10737). Similar rhymes are attested in Bérout⁴, and the rhyme boche : entosche is attested in Tobl. Lom.⁵.

Open o: Although this sound usually rhymes only with itself, Dr. Isoz has noted two examples of the rhyme o : o in the Proverbs: confessor : or (l. 10103); saol : sol (l. 1499). She explains both of these rhymes by the opening influence of the following r and l respectively (see Pope, § 491, p. 186)⁶. However, although this explanation is sound in the first example, the second is more easily explained as a rhyme in close o - the second word being sol (= seul), and not sol (<solidum), as Dr. Isoz suggests.

1 Pope, § 1199, p. 453. 2 C.C. Isoz, p. 640. 3 See Bérout, II, p. 11, note 1; and Bestiaire, pp. xlv - xlv. 4 Bérout, II, p. 11: desconfort : cort (l. 1211); loche : boche (l. 3821).
 5 Tobl. Lom., vol. 3, col. 616. 6 C.C. Isoz, p. 645.

Nasal vowels: an and en are not found in rhyme together, nor are ain and ein, though the feminine aine is found in rhyme with cine. There are eight examples in the Proverbs of such a rhyme, eg. mundaine : peine (l. 2939); vilaine : peine (l. 4005). There seems no reason why these diphthongs are found in rhyme before an intervocalic nasal and not before a final nasal, and one can only assume that the lack of masculine interrhyms in ain : ein is coincidental¹.

Nasal consonants: m and n are found together in rhyme, but the rhyme n : ŋ is attested only once in final position: son (< sonjum): ben (l. 4467)². The same rhyme is more common in intervocalic position, eg. ovraigne : humaine (l. 3419); enseigne : demeine (l. 6341), where the rhyme may be aided by the development of a palatal glide³.

l: The rhyme tels : Deus (ll. 2105 and 9353) seems to prove the vocalisation of praeconsonantal l in the language of our author, though Dr. Isoz feels this may be a rhyme in e from tonic free a, with the praeconsonantal l effaced⁴. In fact, the form Dé, used as a nominative, though attested⁵, is unusual.

s: The rhyme s : z is common in our text: guerpisse : eglise (l. 9029), as is the rhyme s : ʒ: saces : graces (l. 3313), though it is impossible to determine the value of the sound in rhyme⁶. It is perhaps worth noting in this context, that

1 See Bérout, II, p. 13 for examples of the rhyme ein : ain.

2 See Pope, § 406, p. 161. 3 See Pope, § 407, pp. 161 - 2, and § 1182, p. 450; see also Bérout, II, p. 15, where the interrhyms n : ŋ is explained by the fact that the words in ŋ are learned, and were commonly pronounced with n. 4 C.C. Isoz, p. 652.

5 See Bestiaire, p. xlv. 6 See Bérout, II, p. 16.

Miss Pope describes the occasional replacement of satſe by satse as a western characteristic¹.

The loss of s before t for our author is proved by a number of rhymes, eg. plaist : fait (l. 8909), but the example given by S. Hilgers: nait : fait (l. 1839)² should be corrected to vait : fait, which proves nothing.

The summary of phonological points covered above, reveals that, in a number of cases, Sanson's language shows the influence of the western part of continental France. Admittedly there are also a number of features common to the Anglo - Norman dialect, but none of them exclusively so.

II Morphology

Gender: The only noun in the Proverbs contradicting the rules of gender is masculine vice, found twice in the feminine (ll. 765 and 4306). Elsewhere, the word is masculine, eg. l. 737.

In the case of adjectives, the use in the Proverbs of the masculine forms malin (l. 10931) and benin (l. 6292) is remarkable, since Miss Pope describes these forms as post - medieval, analogical creations³. Dr. Isoz suggests they may be Sanson's own creation by analogy with such words as fin and enclin⁴. Normally, in Old French, the forms maligne and benigne served for both the masculine and feminine. In the case of third declension Latin adjectives, historical forms without final e, as well as analogical forms with e, are attested. Many of the more common adjectives are found with and without the e, eg. tele

1 Pope, § 957, p. 362. 2 S. Hilgers, p. 62. 3 Pope, § 781, p. 306. 4 C.C. Isoz, p. 661.

(l. 6504); tel (l. 1163), but of the less common adjectives, analogical quele (l. 2874) is noteworthy.

Possessive adjectives: The forms of possessive adjectives in our text vary a great deal. The western French forms mis, tis, sis predominate (see Pope, § 1260, p. 466), occasionally without the s: mi filz (l. 1639). The central French forms mes, tes, ses are attested much less frequently. In the feminine plural, examples of mas (ll. 3344, 3449 etc.) and tas (l. 3469) are occasionally found, and, but for the presence of mas diz (l. 3448), one might be tempted to see, in these forms, proof of a southern influence on the language of our author or scribe. Dr. Isoz feels it is unlikely that all examples of mas and tas are due to the scribe, and she prefers to explain mas diz (l. 3448) as a scribal error due to anticipation of mas paroles (l. 3449)¹.

Pronouns: Fluctuation between two forms is common for the third person feminine personal pronoun el/ele, though the western French and Anglo - Norman form, el, predominates. In the plural, els is found, but it is not as common as the more usual eles. This tallies with Miss Pope's remarks on pronouns in western French, where the shortening of the plural eles to els is far less common than the singular ele to el².

Flexional forms: As elsewhere in Old French, the use of accusative for nominative, especially when required for the rhyme, is quite frequent in our text, but, as Dr. Isoz remarks,

'while there is no doubt that the use of the case system is on the decline in the Proverbs, it is

1 Ibid., p. 663. 2 Pope, § 1326, xiv, p. 503.

certainly not in disarray, neither is the use of it haphazard for the most part¹.

In general, the nominative singular forms of imparisyllabic nouns remain unaltered by analogical reformation. Forms such as sire (l. 2479) and lerre (l. 11801) are guaranteed by the metre and only rare examples, such as duitre (l. 1913) for duitor, contradict this rule. However, in the case of duitre, the word may be a scribal error for duitor, caused by a misreading of an original or abbreviation. Less easily explained are the nominative forms standing for oblique cases, mentioned by Dr. Isoz: ancestre (l. 10544); prozhom (l. 8709)². Masculine nouns derived from Latin nouns ending in -er have no flexional s in the nominative singular (there are examples in Brendan³), and, in general, the same is true of adjectives in -er, although exceptions are found, eg. Povres (l. 6151). Nouns ending in -e from other sources, occasionally take an analogical s, eg. prophetes (l. 4808). In such cases, perhaps the s has been added as a device to prevent hiatus. The same can be said about the unusual nominative plural forms: humes e femes (l. 39) and omes e femmes (l. 102), although Dr. Isoz feels that the latter phrase, being a much - loved expression, might have been regarded as invariable⁴. Dr. Isoz also lists a number of words in our text which, though used extensively, are never inflected, eg. pain (l. 93), leon (l. 11665), pople (l. 8632); with one exception: li pueples (l. 145)⁵. As has already been stated, the replacement of nominative by accusative, in the singular and plural, is

1 C.C. Isoz, p. 674.

2 Ibid., p. 667.

3 Brendan, p. clxiv.

4 C.C. Isoz, p. 672.

5 Ibid., p. 672.

common, particularly when the rhyme requires such a change, but one interesting example is the word devin, at l. 119. Here the rhyme requires the accusative (: Latin), but the change has affected the accompanying adjective to give bon devin, instead of the grammatically correct bons devins.

Verbal nouns: A recurring feature of the Proverbs is the use of verbal nouns, eg. tricher (l. 3992), but in such cases the infinitive is never inflected. The nominative singular is never found with an analogical s at the rhyme, though suspect examples are found within the line.

Vocative: In vocative function, nominative forms are scrupulously observed. filz/fiz is the most common example, and, when accompanied by an adjective, this agrees with the noun, unless the rhyme imposes the accusative, eg. fil benurez (l. 2620).

III Verbs

Infinitive: The rhyme reveals only one example of apparent change in conjugation from -eir to -er : veieir : preisier (l. 5339). However, the development in western French of the diphthong ei through ei to e, means that we may be dealing here with a rhyme in e : e, and thus no change in conjugation¹.

Imperative: Dr. Isoz has discussed the unusual imperative oies (l. 3343 etc.) and would expect the more usual oiez or oz².

It is much more likely, however, that oies is the present subjunctive form being used optatively in our text. The imperative porsiet (< porseeir) may possibly represent the plural, due to

¹ See Pope, § 1326, vi, p. 502; and Pope, § 1309, p. 478.
² C.C. Isoz, p. 678.

a scribal confusion of -et and -ez, but, in view of the Latin posside (corresponding to l. 3243), a singular ending might be preferred. Thus, we may be dealing with the form possieθ, with the final dental simply retained in the spelling¹. The negative imperative is most commonly rendered by ne + infinitive, eg. ne guerpir (l. 512), though the negative subjunctive is also used.

Present indicative: In the present indicative, there is no evidence of analogical s in the first person singular, except for a few examples within the line, and, therefore, not necessarily belonging to the author, eg. rois (ll. 1792, 1909, etc.). In the case of rois, the analogical form is perhaps influenced by established ruis (< rover) and trois (l. 7315).

Present subjunctive: Verbs whose radicals end in l, n, or r commonly have the southern and western subjunctive forms in -ge: augent (l. 3464), menget (l. 394), retienne (l. 4990), sovenge (l. 4991), but this feature was also common in Anglo-Norman from an early date².

Imperfect indicative: In the first conjugation, the western French forms are used throughout, and the only occasion where the imperfect does not rhyme with itself is tensout : sot (l. 11659), where the imperfect is in rhyme with the preterite of saveir, in o³.

Future: The disappearance of pretonic g is metrically attested only once: frat (l. 2917), although there are many other examples which cannot be guaranteed by the metre. Dr. Ioz draws attention

1 See C.C. Isoz, p. 679. 2 Pope, § 1167, p. 446; and § 1277, p. 470. 3 Ibid., § 916, p. 346; and § 1025, p. 379.

to the form aorrat¹ (l. 2160), from the verb aoire (<*adaugere), since Miss Pope does not give the future form of this verb².

Preterite: The occurrence of weak preterites in -iet etc., whose radical ended in d or t, eg. estendiet (l. 1262) is in keeping with south and south - western practice³. Occasionally, such examples are also found in early Anglo - Norman texts⁴.

Past participles: In the case of unusual past participles, tolue (<tolir) is attested in rhyme only once (l. 2965), and the verb benēistre shows a double past participle form: ben[e]leit (l. 3157) and benesquie (ll. 3876 and 3850). This latter is no doubt an analogical remodelling on the preterite benesqui, as Dr. Isoz points out⁵, but, in any case, seems conditioned by similar preterites of verbs such as naistre, iraistre, vivre⁶.

From the summary study of verbal forms it is clear, once again, that nothing exclusively Anglo - Norman can be found in the Proverbs.

IV Syntax

Pronouns: The use of li in place of le is common. Dr. Isoz feels this may represent tonic lui placed before the verb for emphasis⁷, though it is also possible that li represents ellipsis of original le li. In the plural, Dr. Isoz notes two cases of the tonic pronoun replacing the weak form:

'Qu'elx detent doctrine en destresce' (l. 8409),
'De destreindre els e manacer' (l. 1230)⁸.

1 C.C. Isoz, p. 684. 2 Pope, § 1063, p. 406. 3 Ibid., § 1004, type iv, p. 374; and § 1327, xii, p. 504. 4 Ibid., § 1278, p. 470.
5 C.C. Isoz, pp. 688 - 9. 6 Pope, § 1038, p. 382.
7 C.C. Isoz, p. 693. 8 Ibid., p. 693.

In the second example, it is not impossible that the original reading was:

'D'els destreindre e manacer'.

However, in view of the other examples, in the Proverbs, of enclisis after polysyllabic words¹, it is likely that both these lines contain enclisis of the personal pronoun: Qu'es and destreindre'es.

Infinitive and present participle/gerund: A common construction in the Proverbs is the use of aler + gerund, not necessarily involving the notion of movement:

'Del petit humle vait notant' (l. 5675),
'Al frut de vie vunt manant' (l. 8699).

A similar construction involving estre + present participle is also common:

'Celx ki lor sens sunt entendant' (l. 8700).

Dr. Isoz quotes other texts where such constructions are found, but in these texts (Gaimar, Brendan, Bestiaire) too much emphasis on movement remains². In the Romance of Horn it is suggested that works in which the construction estre + present participle is used extensively may reveal a clerkly influence³.

Cum + subjunctive: In Dr. Isoz's opinion, the construction cum + subjunctive (ll. 800 and 914), used to express purpose, is unusual⁴, but a similar construction is attested in a number of texts, including the Sequence of Sainte Eulalia⁵, where cum suggests the means by which one might achieve the desired results.

1 See below, p.125. 2 C.C. Isoz, pp. 697 - 99. 3 ed. M.K. Pope and T.B.W. Reid, 2 vols., Oxford, 1964, vol. 2, pp. 89 - 90.
4 C.C. Isoz, pp. 768 and 770. 5 See Tobl. Lom., vol. 2, cols. 597 - 8.

V Style

Interchange of singular and plural verbs: One of the recurring features of Sanson's style is the apparent confusion of 3rd persons, singular and plural. At ll. 1469 - 70 the singular verbs seem out of place in the rest of the passage (ll. 1465 - 72), but the couplet in question can be seen as an impersonal statement, thus explaining the singular verbs. In other cases, the apparently incongruous plural verbs may have been suggested in the mind of the author by a plural word in the source material. This is the case at ll. 6595 - 6 where n'aurunt and voldrent have been suggested by sollicitorum of Proverbs, XI, 7. Occasionally, the sudden lapse into the singular from the plural, or vice versa, is explained by the omission of a nasal titulus, or the presence of a superfluous one, eg. conoisse(n)t (l. 1711), although in this example, the plural is likely to have been conditioned by cognoscent in the source: John, XVII, 5. Nonetheless, the frequency of such 'confusion' between singular and plural is so high as to suggest that Sanson was either extremely careless, or that he deliberately moved from one to the other, for reasons of rhetoric. If the latter, it is perhaps significant that a large number of such examples occur in those passages where Sanson is preaching to his reader, eg. ll. 6353 - 62.

Word order: At times, Sanson's word order causes difficulties in interpretation, and has been described by Dr. Isoz as 'clumsy'.¹ A complete study of word order in the Proverbs has been under -

1 C.C. Isoz, pp. 707 - 9.

taken by H. Hilgers¹, in which it is argued that much of the apparent clumsiness is due to the demands of the rhyme. It could be argued, of course, that features such as separation of two near synonyms are deliberate:

'Fors le fiz Deu ki de science
Est tresor e de sapience' (ll. 57 - 8)

- in this case to throw into striking relief the contrast between two separate, yet complementary, properties. And many of the instances of unusual word order in the text may be consciously contrived for rhetorical effect. *hyperbaton*

Language: Figurative language has its place in the Proverbs, but it must be remembered that Sanson's expression is largely dictated by his source material. His aim is, primarily, to teach, and, except for the importance attached to various passages, the subject matter reveals little about his creative personality. Whenever he does assert himself, his language is that of the preacher rather than the poet; what Gaston Paris, in his general description of the Norman spirit, called 'un génie plutôt oratoire que poétique'². Sanson has a predilection for a limited number of biblical metaphors - he sees himself in the double role of healer and provider. He dispenses le vif pain (l. 85) or les precieuses margarites (l. 89). The sickness he cures is sin:

'Mieres ne pot enferm guarir
S'a ses pudors ne volt partir' (ll. 7399 - 7400).

1 H. Hilgers, Die Wortstellung in Sanson von Mantuils altfranzösischer Bearbeitung der Proverbia Salomonis, Halle, 1910.
2 G. Paris, La littérature normande avant l'annexion (912 - 1204), Paris, 1899, p. 20.

The comparison between preacher and doctor is particularly apt, and continues the tradition of biblical and classical rhetoric. One is reminded of Seneca: 'Without wisdom the mind is sick'¹. Sanson's use of pictorial imagery, though rare, betrays a visual sensitivity which is not without effect:

'Si com li bevere ad delit
De beivre petit e petit
Tressi que tant s'est enivré
Ke de sun cors n'ad poësté.
Dunc est del tot pris e lacié
E aresté el vil peché' (ll. 4893 - 7).

Comments such as these, are all too rare in the Proverbs, and generally the author's choice of material is of greater significance than the way he adapts it.

VI Versification

Syllable count: The poem is written in octosyllabic rhyming couplets. Apparent exceptions are clearly scribal². For example, words ending in -arie, -irie, -erie, appear to give nine - syllable lines, since the spelling of the manuscript does not represent Sanson's pronunciation, where the respective endings would have been -aire, -ire, -eire. Lines of seven syllables are often due to scribal omission of pretonic g, eg. frai (l. 42), vigros (l. 64). Other apparent exceptions are attributable to a number of causes: The scribe's use of incorrect variant forms, eliminated dittographies, omission of words, etc. In examining the question of syllable-count, Dr. Isoz has listed twelve lines out of the first thousand in the poem, which she

1 Seneca, Letters from a stoic, ed. and trans. R. Campbell, Harmondsworth, 1969, p. 60. 2 See List of hypermetric lines, pp. 130 - 142.

is unable to account for metrically, and five others where she is uncertain about the solution she has suggested¹. Corrections to the manuscript, which leave the line a syllable short, or produce an extra syllable, have generally been rejected by Dr. Isoz. Double forms of common words are used as required by the author, eg. com/come, fera/fra, poverte/poverté. Alternative verb - forms such as apercevoir/aperceivre are also used where required, and both forms of the future and the imperfect indicative of estre are attested.

Verse construction: Most of the couplets conform to the early practice of making each line a phrase in itself, and a sentence regularly begins and ends within the two lines. Enjambement does occur, however:

'Soffraite e ennui ad ki laisse
Doctrine, e à mort s'abaisse' (ll. 7961 - 2).

A more complicated form of enjambement occurs when a sentence begins at the start of one couplet and ends half - way through the next:

'Tut cil l'en deivent bon gré rendre
Ki deliterat à entendre
La seinte escripture devine' (ll. 215 - 7),

and even less common is the sentence which begins part - way through one couplet and ends in the next:

'Enpres li oi ci enseigner:
Vers home à tort fiz ne tencer
Quant mal ne te fait n'estriver,
Ne sens achaison nel choser.' (ll. 3081 - 4).

1 C.C. Isoz, pp. 622 - 3; the twelve lines are: 44, 161, 200, 282, 340, 358, 368, 450, 524, 726, 727, 822; and the five doubtful ones are: 170, 285, 312, 314, 742; see List of hypermetric lines, pp. 130 - 142.

Elision: The author's use of elision reveals no particular pattern, and, except for a number of invariable cases, elision would appear to be optional. The feminine article la, the masculine accusative, singular le, and the pronouns me, te, se, always elide. By contrast, the masculine nominative, plural li, and the conjunction si (<sic) never elide. The preposition de normally elides, but Dr. Isoz quotes four 'dubious' exceptions¹. The dative pronoun li elides only before en, though Dr. Isoz argues for one exception at l. 5182²:

'A l'un des dous l'esteot tenir'.

However, it seems clear that, in this example, the impersonal construction l'esteot tenir, used intransitively, is followed by a direct object - in this case le - bearing out remarks made by P. Rickard³. According to Dr. Isoz, the nominative singular, masculine article, li, elides only before uninflected nouns⁴, but it seems likely that, in such cases, the accusative article le is being used, eg. l'actor (l. 6035).

Enclisis: Sanson's use of enclitic pronouns is of particular interest. Enclisis after tu, ci, and la (adverb) is occasionally found, in common with only a small number of texts⁵, but of greater significance is our author's use of enclitic pronouns after words of two or more syllables. Dr. Isoz has found five

1. C.C. Isoz, p. 626; the exceptions quoted are: ll. 170, 742, 1159, 2001. 2 Ibid., p. 626. 3 P. Rickard, in The French language: Studies presented to L.C. Harmer, London, 1970, pp. 65 - 92; see also T.B.W. Reid, The Tristan of Beroul, Oxford, 1972, p. 50, l. 1206; and D. Annear, A Complete glossary and descriptive classification of the vocabulary of Crestien's Guillaume d'Angleterre, M.A. Thesis, Durham, 1970, pp. 158 - 61. 4 C.C. Isoz, p. 626. 5 For example, see Brendan, l. 14.

examples of this phenomenon, which she sees as proof of a south - western influence in Sanson's language¹, and Miss Pope seems to confirm this: 'examples are rare in the 12th century, except in texts of the south - western region'². The lines in question are:

'Diable al tient kil fait dampner' (l. 3446),
 'Li juste el fait pur carité' (l. 5753),
 'Fel e pecchiere el deit molt plus' (l. 7041),
 'D'eve vive es ad abevrez' (l. 5133),
 'Itel largesce es dampnerat ' (l. 10965),

together with three possible examples, where the lines have nine syllables, and where a correction might require an enclitic pronoun:

'Sapience les deit gouverner' (l. 7886),
 'S'en trop grief penitence le met' (l. 10357),
 'Quant Judei le voldreient lapider' (l. 11658).

To these can be added a further example, mentioned earlier (see above, p. 118):

'De destreindre els e manacer' (l. 1230).

Before any further conclusions can be drawn, however, a closer look at this phenomenon, and its possible usage in other texts, is necessary.

1 C.C. Isoz, pp. 629 - 633; See also C.C. Isoz, Enclisis after paroxytones in Sanson de Nantuil's Proverbs of Solomon, in Reading medieval studies, IV (1978), pp. 56 - 69. 2 Pope, § 838, p. 323.

Conclusion

The research for the foregoing chapters was undertaken, as was the accompanying transcription, without reference to Dr. Isoz's work, but the findings of a preliminary study were not given final shape in the critical repertory until this had been collated with Dr. Isoz's study. Where, broadly speaking, this small thesis is in agreement with Dr. Isoz's views, such agreement has been underlined, and a special debt acknowledged wherever her discoveries and uncertainties could be profitably taken further. In any critical repertory of the scholarship on Sanson de Nantuil, pride of place must go to Dr. Isoz, but her views have not been accepted without question. It is hoped therefore, that the numerous differences between these and Dr. Isoz's findings may have some small contribution to make to the ongoing task of establishing Sanson de Nantuil's text.

The dating of the Proverbs of Solomon remains a problem. A terminus a quo is provided by the date of the death of Aëliz de Cundé's first husband in 1136, and a terminus ad quem by the fact that Aëliz was still alive during the period 1160 - 65. S. Hilgers attempted to date the work on purely linguistic grounds and proposed the period 1140 - 50¹, but the limited grounds for such a dating make the result largely inconclusive.

¹ S. Hilgers, pp. 78 - 9.

Miss Legge, basing her argument on the hypothesis that Sanson was probably Aëliz de Cundé's chaplain writing for the edification of her son Roger, proposed a date about 1150 'while Roger was still a page of twelve years old or so'¹. One might argue that Sanson's treatment of Solomon's advice to his son is clearly not meant for the particular education of an individual. Indeed, Sanson regularly appears to be addressing not just the laity but members of the clergy who have some responsibility for the cure of souls. Dr. Isoz settles, more prudently, for the period 1146 - 65, on the grounds that 'the turmoil in England during the late 1130's and 1140's was not conducive to literary production'². However that may be, the most one can conclude from the evidence available is that Sanson, in view of the suggestive sovient (l. 195), was writing some time after Aëliz's entreaties, and that, in view of aime e orient (l. 196), the latter was still alive, at least at the beginning of Sanson's undertaking. Two further points are worth noting: firstly, Sanson gives the impression of writing with the authority of some ecclesiastical standing and, presumably, the experience of age; secondly, his linguistic practice has many characteristics in common with those of other writers of the middle of the century (Gaimar, Benoit de Sainte - Maure). Therefore, there seems no reason for opposing a relatively late date around or after 1150.

The most interesting linguistic fact to emerge, both from Dr. Isoz's work and the present study is the frequency of linguistic features peculiar to the south - western region of

1 A.N. Litt., p. 41. 2 C.C. Isoz, pp. 750 - 1.

France. Amongst the western and south - western features listed by Dr. Isoz, perhaps the most significant is the late survival of enclisis after polysyllabic words. Dr. Isoz presents a number of examples¹, and one further case has emerged in the course of this study²; indeed other south - western features have also become apparent³. Moreover, the occasional presence of southern French words in Sanson's vocabulary⁴ argues for a linguistic practice characteristic of the more southerly part of western France, and suggests the identification of Nantuil with Nanteuil - en - vallée (see Chapter 3, p. 20). The absence in Sanson's usage of characteristics that are uniquely Anglo - Norman makes it clear that the author of the Proverbs made few concessions to insular French, however much the language of the scribe may reflect that dialect. But, if the language of Sanson's poem is continental rather than Anglo - Norman, it does not necessarily follow that Sanson was writing in France. In fact, since Aéliz de Cundé was resident in England, and since the sole manuscript containing Sanson's work is Anglo - Norman, it is reasonable to suppose that Sanson was writing in England. The interesting record of a bequest to Lincoln Cathedral in the name Samsonis canonici⁵ makes the identification of our author with this canon of Lincoln, if not irresistible, more than tempting.

Though a clearer identification of the author is not possible, it seems certain that he was a member of the clergy and that, at the moment of writing, he thought himself able to offer

1 Ibid., pp. 629 - 33. 2 See Chapter 5, p. 124. 3 For example see Chapter 5, p. 111, note 3. 4 For example nechiere, l.11160.
5 See Chapter 3, p. 21.

professional guidance. What is more, he is a distinguished scholar, his knowledge of Latin is exemplary, as is his familiarity with the biblical texts. His prologue gives some indication as to his knowledge of the standard Latin authors such as Cicero and Boethius. His style is, by definition, dogmatic, though, at times, the subtleness of his thinking shines through. In his treatment of his sources and models, he is, above all, selective, and clearly wishes to use the wisdom of the ages as a weapon with which to fight the temptations of evil. Despite the strictness of his thinking and the complexity of his expression in places, Sanson handles the octosyllabic couplet well, occasionally adding to the biblical wisdom familiar maxims of popular usage, and, less frequently, providing a fleeting insight into some moment of visual picturesqueness, eg. the sluggard awakening¹. Such rare moments of visual awareness compensate for the dogmatism inherent in his material, and remain in the memory.

¹ See ll. 4105 - 4116.

APPENDIX IList of hypermetric lines

The following list gives details of all lines in the diplomatic transcription (see Volume II) containing more or less than eight syllables. In most cases, a solution, which will give an eight syllable line, is suggested, but, in a number of cases, the problem has been dealt with more fully either in the critical apparatus to the transcription (see Volume II), or in the remarks on the line in question, in Chapter 4 of the present volume. Lines which appear to be hypermetric because the scribe's spelling does not show a required hiatus or elision, have not been included, nor have those lines where the spelling does not represent the correct pronunciation, eg. gainer for gäainer (l. 618), unless that pronunciation needs to be clarified.

1.42 frai - ferai.

1.44 nuls - něuls?

1.64 vigros - vigeros.

1.65 poëstis - poëstëis.

1.97 com - come.

1.111 ?

1.161 Plaideor - E plaideor.

1.200 fist - en fist.

1.219 Desore - Desor.

1.282 pas - mie?

1.319 entituler - entitler.

1.340 plus demorer - plus ci demorer or plus i demorer.

1.347 ici - ci.

- 1.355 Omit en.
- 1.358 aveir - a veeir.
- 1.368 vêl de tant - velt vus de tant¹.
- 1.401 jugement - A jugement.
- 1.411 corages - corage.
- 1.443 dun lisum - dun nus lisum.
- 1.458 Ki est - Ki li est.
- 1.524 Del garder - De li garder.
- 1.668 l'avereient - l'avreient.
- 1.707 s'eeren decœu - se erent ceu.
- 1.710 espontoënt - espoëntoënt.
- 1.726 Quel de la cote Crist la costure - Quer de la cote
Crist costure².
- 1.727 tornout - tornouent.
- 1.761 l'enfermeté - l'enferté.
- 1.822 en enfern - e en enfern.
- 1.910 ?
- 1.986 Omit serrez.
- 1.995 Alquanz - A alquanz.
- 1.1008 Omit mis.
- 1.1118 regulerelement - regulerment.
- 1.1136 tienget - Retienget or Le tienget.
- 1.1151 hange - haéngé.
- 1.1155 qu'il net die - qu'en eluec die³.
- 1.1158 ?
- 1.1163 Encore - Encor.

1 Perhaps due to confusion with l. 369, where vus is immediately underneath the missing vus in l. 368. 2 See Chapter 4, pp. 43 - 4. 3 See Chapter 4, pp. 49 - 50.

- 1.1168 ci - ici.
- 1.1182 asquanz - a asquanz.
- 1.1205 Omit de.
- 1.1206 sa puissance - de sa puissance.
- 1.1304 ai dit - ai ici dit or ai ci decrit.
- 1.1307 ris - rire.
- 1.1334 ?
- 1.1364 bons - bontez.
- 1.1402 sunt mort - sunt si mort.
- 1.1462 nent - nient.
- 1.1533 Ci - Ici.
- 1.1559 v oient - v il oient.
- 1.1619 science - escience.
- 1.1648 science - escience.
- 1.1675 entendance - en entendance.
- 1.1712 tramist - nus tramist.
- 1.1797 Con respons ci denoter - Co nus pöons ci denoter¹.
- 1.1881 les malx - la vie des malx.
- 1.1886 Word missing - bricun?
- 1.1887 escomengez - e escomengez.
- 1.1892 seum en - sevun.
- 1.1898 e lor faiz - e toz lor faiz
- 1.1925 E estrange - Estrange.
- 1.1991 a mort - a la mort?
- 1.2080 a mort - a la mort?
dampnation - lor dampnation.
- 1.2153 redit - dit.

¹ See Chapter 4, pp. 54 - 5.

- 1.2175 de lei - de la lei.
- 1.2289 sciënce - esciënce.
- 1.2329 Ki vent - Ki nus vent.
- 1.2366 Omit first sunt.
- 1.2383 nus covent - nus i covent.
- 1.2520 ne chéent - ne chéent pas.
- 1.2541 nent - nient.
- 1.2591 ren - nient.
- 1.2627 Purquant - Nepurquant.
- 1.2636 moralité - la moralité.
- 1.2637 Deit - Ki deit.
- 1.2638 maiment - meïsmement.
- 1.2752 que hom per non - qu'emp¹arum.
- 1.2754 la tendruns - la nus tendruns.
- 1.2778 senz lei - senz la lei.
- 1.2840 a totes - a tes.
- 1.2900 l'esgarder - li esgarder.
- 1.2931 dute - dut.
- 1.2944 sunge - nul sunge.
- 1.2977 lez ert - lez si ert?
- 1.3024 sorsist encombrer - sorsist nul encombrer.
- 1.3063 freit - fereit.
- 1.3091 Ci - Ici.
- 1.3094 evvangliez - evvangeliëz.
- 1.3121 gent - la gent.
- 1.3128 maners - maneres.

1 See Chapter 4, pp. 62 - 3.

- 1.3180 maiment - meismement.
- 1.3196 il erent - il en erent.
- 1.3233 fiz davi - fiz de davi?
- 1.3240 guard e beive - en guard e en beive.
- 1.3273 en sovent - en se sovent.
- 1.3307 Quant retrovuns - Quant ci retrovuns.
- 1.3349 de duelte - de uelté.
- 1.3404 com - come
psalter dist - psalter nus dist.
- 1.3427 pot - poënt.
- 1.3447 Ci - Ici.
- 1.3460 ne beivre - ne n'i beivre.
- 1.3540 atenir - tenir.
- 1.3543 ?
- 1.3560 que n'est - que est?
- 1.3567 nent - nient.
- 1.3605 Ci - Ici.
- 1.3651 nuls - nëuls?
- 1.3663 Ten enor - T'enor.
- 1.3685 Omit V.
- 1.3699 entendun - nus entendun?
- 1.3718 de gastun - gastun.
- 1.3719 Ne - Ke ne.
- 1.3759 recoverer - recovrer.
- 1.3772 ke prelaz - ke les prelaz.
- 1.3790 menteivre - amenteivre.
- 1.3808 ententive - molt ententive?
- 1.3835 Maisment - Meismement.

- 1.3846 juenecele - juenvle.
- 1.3850 sa - Ke sa.
- 1.3872 decëu - decëue.
- 1.3960 decëu - decëue.
- 1.3971 estranges - estrange.
- 1.3984 l'oiselers - li oisellers
- 1.4104 Omit first ne.
- 1.4105 come - com.
- 1.4133 li velt - li i velt.
- 1.4158 en iver ert - en iver li ert.
- 1.4198 serrai - jo serrai.
- 1.4240 D'enor e de deliz e de joie - D'enor e de deliz joîz¹.
- 1.4245 profit n'est - profit nen est.
- 1.4282 malice - vice.
- 1.4296 Add e pesme to the end of the line.
- 1.4303 ?
- 1.4325 ad numbrez - ad ci anumbrez.
- 1.4328 e malin - e plus malin.
- 1.4348 Deu - de Deu.
- 1.4412 a mort - a la mort?
- 1.4510 Omit first ne.
- 1.4566 il ferat - il les ferat.
- 1.4590 vivras - viveras.
- 1.4628 k'ele - k'el.
- 1.4679 Omit sa.
- 1.4824 maners - maneres.
- 1.4876 e malice - e lor malice.

¹ See Chapter 4, p. 76.

- 1.4938 lune est - lune ki est.
- 1.5041 veritet - vertet.
- 1.5152 com - come.
- 1.5167 dreiturer e - dreiturere e.
- 1.5307 Omit faiz.
- 1.5369 Ancienment - Ancienement.
- 1.5393 trespassent - trespassassent.
- 1.5410 tel - tele.
- 1.5412 escriz - les escriz.
- 1.5434 Moÿses - Moÿse.
- 1.5488 esclairé - esclairée.
- 1.5495 note - not.
- 1.5519 trespassasseit - trespassassent.
- 1.5574 cerchant - encerchant.
- 1.5602 bon - e bon.
- 1.5626 deus sun - deus ici sun.
- 1.5679 science - escience.
- 1.5748 nent - nient.
- 1.5823 En enfern - E en enfern.
- 1.5859 nent - nient.
- 1.5937 pece - proëce.
- 1.5984 dotance - nul dotance.
- 1.6063 ad espondre - ad a espondre.
- 1.6064 men estust - men rî estust.
- 1.6080 grant - grante.
- 1.6147 felonie - felon.
- 1.6296 nent - nient.

- 1.6318 prozdume - prozduem.
- 1.6319 scient - escient.
- 1.6367 garder - ben garder.
- 1.6411 Quel - Ovel?
- 1.6452 Mesconoiz - Mesconëuz.
- 1.6454 A prendre de science - A apprendre de escience.
- 1.6514 Omit first e.
- 1.6568 decharrat - charrat.
- 1.6569 redit - dit.
- 1.6598 sodeinement - sode.
- 1.6601 ne quitance - ne qu'est quitance.
- 1.6626 conconcorde - concorde.
- 1.6632 felons - fels.
- 1.6647 enseignant - seignant.
- 1.6777 ad plenté - i ad plenté.
- 1.7032 jor - e jor.
- 1.7059 ben - en ben?
- 1.7065 seinte - seint.
- 1.7152 pris - apris?
- 1.7158 pited - Kipoested.
- 1.7186 Ne cist - Ne que cist.
- 1.7367 nent - nient.
- 1.7430 mei - a mei.
- 1.7475 traveiller - le traveiller?
- 1.7481 science - escience.
- 1.7484 ert - erent.
- 1.7561 enpli - tut enpli.

- 1.7721a Ki de - E ki de.
- 1.7787 A el - Del.
- 1.7830 Soffrat - Soffirat.
- 1.7844 nent - nient.
- 1.7848 nent - nient.
- 1.7856 confort - nul confort.
- 1.8039 pechèors - prè(e)chèors.
- 1.8050 Ert en gloire - En gloire ert.
- 1.8078 receverat - recevrat.
- 1.8141 pechèors - prè(e)chèors.
- 1.8146 pechèors - prèchèors.
- 1.8180 maint - mainte.
- 1.8217 Fei - E fei?
- 1.8264 averunt - avrunt.
- 1.8285 Add la vie to the end of the line.
- 1.8295 povre procein - procein povre.
- 1.8340 mal - a mal.
- 1.8354 Add [Me]s to the beginning and [co]wre to the end of the line.
- 1.8364 fantil - enfantil.
- 1.8370 vers atraire - vers Deu atraire.
- 1.8372 Science - Escience.
- 1.8449 dotet - dotent
prent - prenent.
- 1.8536 raisun - la raisun or sa raisun.
- 1.8591 Carnel - Carnele.
- 1.8604 poëstis - poëstëis.

- 1.8656 ?
- 1.8657 les deit - les i deit.
- 1.8678 science - escience.
- 1.8711 Les uvres - Levres.
- 1.8778 maigrer - maigre.
- 1.8807 Ci - Ici.
- 1.8912 solent - soleient.
- 1.8914 n'ert - nen ert.
- 1.8920 perceverat - percevrat.
- 1.8969 avarice - a avarice.
- 1.9000 Rest - Restent.
- 1.9081 confort - nul confort.
- 1.9130 Omit a os.
- 1.9140 lor est - lor en est.
- 1.9159 lignage - li lignage.
- 1.9208 ?
- 1.9215 l'actor - li actor.
- 1.9259 le despisuns - nus le despisuns.
- 1.9273 tote - tot.
- 1.9300 siwerat - siwrat.
- 1.9340 receveront - recevront.
- 1.9369 nent - nient.
- 1.9448 Omit en.
- 1.9516 Add Est to the beginning of the line
- 1.9537 bons mors - bones mors.
- 1.9550 de quer - de vrai quer?
- 1.9555 Ki - E ki.?

- 1.9577 E sa doctrine - E en sa doctrine.
- 1.9658 dreiturelment - dreiturelement.
- 1.9689 ?
- 1.9703 Ci - Ici.
- 1.9761 come - com.
- 1.9762 Omit le.
- 1.9770 Omit sa.
- 1.9845 fiert - afiert.
- 1.9860 maurece - la maurece.
- 1.9863 Omit nos.
- 1.9899 atemprement - li atemprement.
- 1.9904 Ne - Ke ne.
- 1.9916 Come - Com.
- 1.9944 receverunt - recevrunt.
- 1.9960 com - come.
- 1.9989 come - com.
- 1.10115 deu mescrit - devin escrit.
- 1.10119 Coment volent - Coment que volent.
- 1.10121 telx - itelx.
- 1.10178 cuer - ovrer
- 1.10204 discoverir - descovrir.
- 1.10216 Ne pot malx - Ne pot il malx.
- 1.10307 angoisses - angoisse.
- 1.10345 veraiment - veraielement.
- 1.10480 come - com.
- 1.10500 aswent - asivent.
- 1.10553 poëstis - poëstëis.

- 1.10571 folx - folx hom.
- 1.10593 e somondre - e de somondre.
- 1.10603 Duitreners - D'us terrien.
- 1.10610 ici - ci.
- 1.10618 Austin - Augustin.
- 1.10633 clot - e clot.
- 1.10641 desevrer - sevrer.
- 1.10692 ke enfern - k'en enfern.
- 1.10779 felon - felonesse.
- 1.10791 ki - E ki?
- 1.10964 pris - apris.
- 1.11011 mort - e mort.
- 1.11013 manger - mangüer?
- 1.11091 Omit second de.
- 1.11102 Two words missing: ki del tot est [vile e] maligne?
- 1.11104 frat - ferat.
- 1.11150 merite - la merite or sa merite.
- 1.11169 estre - a estre.
- 1.11202 vent en - vent pus en?
- 1.11211 ? --
- 1.11215 Erites en - Erites ci en?
- 1.11253 En - E en.
- 1.11264 science - escience.
- 1.11321 N'aveient - N'avient.
- 1.11369 ?
- 1.11414 doneor - li doneor.
- 1.11464 a nent - a nient.
- 1.11466 ovrer - li ovrer.

- 1.11501 deit - ne deit.
- 1.11574 science - escience.
- 1.11624 Omit en or e.
- 1.11649 ad pelez - ad apelez.
- 1.11658 Omit judei?
- 1.11659 Omit en.
- 1.11676 cler - e cler.
- 1.11691 d'altre guise - d'altre tel guise.
- 1.11692 ?
- 1.11754 ?
- 1.11767 almones - almone.
- 1.11768 nent - nient.
- 1.11788 ke il at - k'at.
- 1.11797 pus - repus or póons.
- 1.11812 Misericors - E misericors?
- 1.11826 tendrat - entendrat.

APPENDIX IIIndex of Proper Names¹

Adam 70, 5116, 8421, 9637, 9707, 11280, 11842; premer ome
2513; nostre ancestre 10544 .

Aéliz de Cundé 201.

Andreu St. 11056.

Antecrist 3184, 9761.

Apocalipse 332.

Arrius 2139, 8033, 8227; Arien 4354.

Austin St. 10618.

Bersabée 3234 (= Bathsebe, mother of Solomon).

Bible 126.

Boëce 337.

Calvarie 10547.

Canticles 869.

Celeth 155.

Chaldé (n. pl.) 4051 (= Chaldeans).

Chaschons de Chaschons 166 (= Song of Songs).

Consolation 337 (= De Consolatione Philosophiae).

Cresme 3616 (= Chrism, consecrated oil).

Crist see Jesu.

Cromatius 175 (bishop of Aquileia in northern Italy, died 407).

Dannedeu see Dé.

¹ Unless otherwise stated, the index is exhaustive. When examples are too numerous to list them all, a selection only is given.

- David 52, 243, 351, 5001, etc.; Davit 2665, 2883, etc.;
Davi 348, 1750, 3233, etc.; Cist prophete 2896;
rei de Israel 359; le fort de main 353.
- Dé 238, 350, 450, etc.; Deu 57, 80, 265, 282, etc.; Deus 70,
 72, 2106, etc.; Damnede(u) 480, 525, 1367, etc.;
Damnedé 2619, etc.; Dampledé 7074; Damle Deu 103;
nostre sire 4698; le tot poant 10056; soverain engigneor
 5668.
- Denise 1092.
- Diable 705, 1267, 3444, etc.
- Donez 4354 (= Donatus, 4th bishop of Carthage and founder of
 the sect of 'Donatists' who believed themselves the only true
 heirs of the apostles).
- Ebreu 106, 120, etc.
- Egeas 11055.
- Egipte 4640, 4836, 4863.
- Ehnuci 4847, 4853, 6758; Ehnucis 4845.
- Ehsna 4847, 4849 (= Etna).
- Elye 8151, 8155 (= Elijah).
- Estace 322 (= Staius, Latin poet).
- Evangelie 5060, 5075, etc.; Evangele 5499; Awanglie 5313;
Euvangire 5175 (= Gospels).
- Eve 11293.
- Eufratem 11058.
- Ezechiél 2341, 9338.
- France 9.
- Genesim 332 ; Genesin 5434.
- Gregoire St. 2395.
- grezeise 157 (Greek).

Latin 112, 120, etc.; (= Roman) 4052.

Lazarom 11666 (= Lazarus, the resurrection of).

Lazarum 7857; Lazari 3169; Lazarus 7867 (= Lazarus and the rich man).

Luc 325.

Lucan 322.

Mam(m)oné 961, 963, 5186; Mammon 965 5187.

Marie 6852; la virgene 5455; la seinte virgine 1000;
la mère Deu 265.

Marie Magdaleine 2702; Marie 2693, 2711, Magdaleine 4347.

Marthe 2693, 2703, 2712.

Maslot 143.

Matheus 325.

Moyses 447, 869, etc; Moysi (possessive) 10329.

Nazareth (possessive) 1330.

Noé (possessive) 2790.

Orace 321.

Origene 205, 6621; Origenes 5003; Dam Origen 2077.

Paraclit 5511, 1032 (=Paraclite).

Paulus see Pol.

Pere, saint 7161; Perre, sainz 11555 (= Saint Peter).

Phariseu 508, 1283; Phariseus 3945, 9941 (= Pharisees).

Pilate 923.

Pol, saint 3699, 11049; Polx, sainz 449, 1092, 1234, etc.;

Pols, sainz 5842; Paulus 11422, 11429; Saulus 11419,
11423; l'apostle Dé 4877.

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Tuille 335 (= Cicero).

Vespasiën 1418.

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APPENDIX TO THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

During the completion of this study, the following thesis has been published, and, although it has not yet been possible to consult the work, it is felt that no bibliography, concerning Sanson de Nantuil's Proverbs of Solomon, would be complete without reference to it:

Durnford, T.J., A Critical study of Les Proverbes de Salemon, Connecticut University, Ph.D. Thesis, 1977.

