

“Translating Sufism in Medieval England: Chaucer and *The Conference of the Birds*”

Dr. Jonathan Fruoco

Writing about the similarities and differences of Geoffrey Chaucer’s *Parliament of Fowls* and Farid Ud-Din Attar’s *Conference of the Birds* is not an easy task. For although their similitudes can be striking to the reader, they cause a serious problem to scholars. Indeed, both poems present a formal meeting of birds gathered for a very specific quest that raises several problems settled during a complex discussion between the birds and their guide. Both poems use a similar setting and present birds living in a hierarchical society, yet Attar wrote in Persia during the XII<sup>th</sup> century (the *Conference* was probably written in 1187) while Chaucer composed his own poem in England two centuries later (between 1380 and 1383). In other words, what could possibly be the connection between a delicate Persian allegory combining the worldly with the spirituality of Sufism and a Christian poet celebrated as the “father” of English poetry?

While I was researching this paper, I have had several colleagues from both sides of the Atlantic telling me there was no way Chaucer had anything to do with Attar or Islam. There is a thematic connection between their works, but that is all. I should forget about it and move on to more serious research. Such a reaction is usually the norm when one studies the influence of the Arabo-Islamic world on European culture and literature. For our vision of the Middle Ages is in many ways a construct developed during the Renaissance and finalized during the XIX<sup>th</sup> century. As María Rosa Menocal states, “[w]e operate with a repository of assumptions, and knowledge based on those assumptions, that govern what concepts, propositions, and hypotheses we find tenable. The image we have of certain periods and cultures, the intellectual baggage we carry, is an inescapable determinant and shaper of what we are able to see in or imagine for those cultures or periods of time<sup>i</sup>.” From the moment we started thinking about our culture as “Western” we established a dichotomy between ourselves and the Orient, a relation marked by political and intellectual prejudices<sup>ii</sup>. Thus the very idea that an Arabic-Islamic component might have played a part in the development of our civilization is still difficult to accept for many people, despite the fact that Muslim armies conquered and administered a large part of southern Europe between the VIII<sup>th</sup> and XV<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>iii</sup>.

In 1928 Spanish Arabist Julián Ribera suggested in his *Disertaciones y opúsculos* that the word troubadour, whose etymology has long troubled philologists, may have come from the Arabic *taraba* (“to sing”). *Tarab* meant “song” and in Maghrebi speech, stress and intonation patterns would have caused it to be pronounced *trob*<sup>iv</sup>. The addition of the suffix –ar, which was a standard way for Romance languages to form a verb, would have given the word *trobar*. His proposal was based on the long interaction of Arabic and Romance cultures in Al-Andalus. This “Arabist theory” centered on the preexistence of an Arabic-Romance courtly lyric which could have influenced the poetry that arose in Provence during the XI<sup>th</sup> century and which later formed the European literary tradition. That was and still is not accepted by everybody, despite the fact that European culture did grow in the shadows of Arabic philosophy and sciences. The Renaissance of the XII<sup>th</sup> century, to quote Charles Homer Haskin’s famous book<sup>v</sup>, was based on the Arabic translations of Aristotle and Plato, but also on the work of Muslim and Jewish philosophers such as Ibn-Sīnā (Avicenna), Mūsā bin Maymūn (Maimonides) or Ibn Rushd (Averroes). When one look specifically at poetry, it becomes obvious that the first troubadour, William IX, Duke of Aquitaine, had long been in contact with the songs and traditions of the Arabic world. When William of Montreuil took Barbastro in 1063, he brought back a thousand slave-girls who flooded the courts of southern France with their language, culture, and songs. Al-Andalus and Sicily connected Europe to the Middle East. Thus when William IX joined the First Crusade in 1100, he had already been in contact for many years with the prestige of the Andalusian courts, which reinforced the well documented acculturation of the crusaders to the Palestinian ways, for as Menocal reminds us “ideology and conflict hardly preclude cultural absorption and ‘influence’<sup>vi</sup>.” The crusades expanded the area of contact with that world, full of mysteries and riches and revealed with even more strength the advantages possessed by the Muslim world. Back in Europe, Toledo became synonymous with the translations of Arabic texts; Peter the Venerable translated the Qur’an into Latin; even Gerbert of Aurillac, who later became Pope Sylvester II, spent three years in Catalonia, studying mathematics, astronomy, visiting the library of Córdoba and instantly recognized the advantages of the Arab numeral system. As soon as 854, Alvarus, bishop of Córdoba, lamented that Christian men were “intoxicated with Arab eloquence, they greedily handle, eagerly devour and zealously discuss the books of the Chaldeans and make them known by praising them with every flourish of rhetoric, knowing nothing of the beauty of the Church’s literature<sup>vii</sup>”. Eleanor of Aquitaine, William IX’s granddaughter, also had deep connections with the Arabo-Islamic world. She followed her first husband, Louis VII of France, during the Second Crusade (1146) – a journey during

which she is rumored to have taken young Saladin as her lover. One of Eleanor's daughters later married the Norman king of Sicily, which was still strongly arabized, while her second daughter, also called Eleanor, married Alfonso VIII of Castile. The knowledge and culture of her country, of Toledo, was accordingly brought back to northern Europe. It is consequently reasonable to state that the "modes of thinking, writing, and teaching of the Muslims were no longer unknown, and they certainly were not alien<sup>viii</sup>."

All of this brings us back to our initial question: what could possibly be the relation between Chaucer and a Muslim poet? Of course, Attar never set foot in Europe. He was not an Arab, lived all of his life in the province of Khorasan and wrote in Persian. One must, therefore, be aware that Islam and Arabic were not necessarily identical: a lot of Muslims did not speak Arabic, but many Christians and Jews spoke the prestige language of philosophy and sciences. Attar was a Persian Muslim and clearly did not consider himself as an Arab, although his poetry spread in the Arab world. Nevertheless, it is highly probable that Chaucer never heard of him, although a copy of his *Conference* could well have found its way to the great library of Córdoba. Chaucer is directly indebted to Jean de Condé and Othon de Grandson in this particular case, but as we have seen the troubadour tradition was very probably influenced by Arabo-Islamic poetry. William IX was not, after all, the last troubadour to visit the courts of Al-Andalus, which also welcomed Guiraut de Borneil, Arnaut Daniel, Peire Vidal, Marcabru, Raimbaut d'Orange, or even Peire d'Auvergne. Or it could have been one of the texts collected by Frederick II, whose Sicilian court rivaled Toledo as a translating center and whose patronage and encouragement allowed the development of the *scuola siciliana* and of poetry in the Italian vernacular. No need to state once more the importance of transalpine influence on Chaucer's poetry.

As a result, even if Chaucer never read Attar's poem, it would be ridiculous to state that he could not possibly have been touched by the Arabo-Islamic world<sup>ix</sup>. Cultural influence is "not necessarily a straightforward process by which one copies something from someone else<sup>x</sup>" and it is indeed remarkable how close Attar's poetry is "in tone and technique to latter medieval European classics<sup>xi</sup>." Both Attar and Chaucer delight in presenting us with "quick character sketches and brief vignettes of quotidian life," while playing with differing "tones and subjects, from the scatological to the exalted to the pathetic<sup>xii</sup>." No need to imagine Chaucer having on his desk a copy of *The Conference of the Birds* to suggest that this particular story could have been first voiced in Persian. Oral transmission has always surpassed language and cultural barriers and Chaucer loved nothing more than a good story.

Birds can represent different things according to periods and poets. As Susan Crane reminded us during the 2006 Biennial Chaucer Lecture, in the Middle Ages alone, a swan could be seen as an ancestor represented in a crest, a good omen for sailors or... a dish<sup>xiii</sup>. But despite linguistic and cultural differences, it seems most civilizations agree that the singing of birds is related to the divine. Yet if birds can indeed communicate with the gods, they also easily lend themselves to anthropomorphic representations, turning them into highly ambivalent creatures. And that ambivalence is particularly interesting in Chaucer's treatment of Attar's *Conference of the Birds* since the interweaving of animal and human languages reinforces this ambivalence and Chaucer's folklorization of the motif of birds.

*The Parliament of Fowls* starts just like so many of Chaucer's poems, namely as a dream vision whose narrator is once more a rather unqualified lover, admitting in the first few lines: "I knowe nat Love in dede, / Ne wot how that he quiteth folk here hyre" (1.8-9). He begins to tell us about his reading of Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* then falls asleep and is visited in dreams by Scipio himself who leads him through the temple of Venus to a garden in which Nature is convening an assembly of birds for Valentine's Day. The first part of the poem is accordingly rather similar to *The House of Fame* and mainly adapts French and Italian poetry. Yet, it rather quickly becomes obvious that Chaucer's passive narrator, who never takes part in the action, will be the gateway to a carnivalistic rendition of the themes of the poem. And indeed, Chaucer presents his own version of the third Canto of the *Inferno*. When Dante and Virgil reach the gates of Hell, Dante discovers an inscription "di colore oscuro" (III. 1.10) warning travelers of the dangers they are about to encounter (1.1-9). Crossing the threshold is always significant especially since it symbolizes the penetration of the narrator inside mother Earth. This topographic journey, associated with Hell, binds together the earth (the grave), the body (belly) and the mind (sin) and allows Dante's resurrection and extraction from his human condition. Only then is he able to reach out for the divine. Chaucer, on the other hand, uses a form of grotesque realism – whose essential principle is the lowering of all that is abstract, spiritual, noble and ideal to the material level – in order to turn the situation upside down. When his narrator faces the gates of the garden, he notices a double inscription "of gold and blak" (1.141), with some lines describing the eternal beauty of the garden and others strangely reminding us of Dante's *Inferno*:

Thorgh me men gon, [...]  
 Unto the mortal strokes of the spere  
 Of which Disdayn and Daunger is the gyde,

Ther nevere tre shal fruyt ne leves bere.  
This strem yow ledeth to the sorweful were  
There as the fish in prysoun is al drye;  
Th'eschewing is only the remedye! (l. 134-140)

The association of a courtly garden with Hell might seem slightly excessive, but it allows Chaucer to insist on the discrepancy between the narrator and the world of love. He is terrified by that inscription and cannot move, but while Virgil comforts Dante by holding his hand, Scipio brutally pushes the narrator across the threshold and reminds him that his role in that story is minor: “Yit that thow canst not do, yit mayst thow se.” (l.163) The narrator is not here to serve love and has consequently nothing to fear, Scipio merely led him to the garden to show him “mater of to wryte” (l.168). And Chaucer seems to enjoy writing about this garden. He elegantly adapts several stanzas of Boccaccio’s *Teseida*<sup>xiv</sup> but never loses sight of his carnivalistic guiding principle. The garden is as beautiful as in the *Romance of the Rose*, but when the narrator steps in the temple of Venus he is faced with a sudden lowering of the sublime: he sees god Priapus standing “in sovereyn place” (l.254), placed as when the ass brayed, thus preventing him from raping Hestia. He is immortalized in this position, “with hys sceptre in honde” (l.256) while men desperately try to crown him with garlands of fresh flowers. As D.S. Brewer remarked, Chaucer’s narrator is, in the *Parliament of Fowls*, nothing more than a pair of eyes<sup>xv</sup>. The narrator crosses the garden and is in fact never threatened by the arrows of the god of love. Scipio has told him he was here to watch and when he notices that Venus is laying on her bed “naked from the brest unto the hed” (l.269) with only “a subtyl coverchef of Valence” (l.272) to cover her body, the passivity of the narrator turns into a form of voyeurism that distances us from the Italian elegance and subtlety. By this use of grotesque realism, Chaucer turns his herald into the witness of a wonderful cacophony and of a dialogue between foreign and contradictory voices, especially when he finally enters the parliament of birds.

Attar’s poem is thus, in appearance, very different from Chaucer’s. While *The Parliament of Fowls* plays with the conventions of French and Italian courtly poetry and guides us through the garden before reaching the birds, Attar chooses to go straight to the point. He does not lose time describing the place but starts *in medias res* with a surprising “Dear hoopoe, welcome! You will be our guide<sup>xvi</sup>”, which separates the poem from temporal and spatial contexts. Attar tells us nothing about the origins of this assembly, which serves his problematic. *The Conferences of the Birds* is indeed the allegory of a Sufi’s spiritual journey.

Sufism is a Muslim doctrine which states that only God truly exists and that religion must be a way to help men reach an eternal truth. Man's distinctions between "good and evil have no meaning for God, who knows only Unity; the soul is trapped within the cage of the body but can, by looking inward, recognize its essential affinity with God; the awakened soul, guided by God's grace, can progress along a Way which leads to annihilation in God<sup>xvii</sup>." Mysticism tells us that the meaning of things must be searched for, and that quest is the true purpose of a Sufi's life. Attar accordingly develops a timeless setting that inscribes the gathering of birds in an introspective journey. While Chaucer develops his narration on a horizontal plane of events, Attar – like Dante – favors the otherworldly vertical principle. A horizontal narration, with its progressive dimension and its openness to what was and might be, tends to be less monological than a vertical one. And indeed, as J.R.R. Tolkien famously remarked, an allegory resides "in the purposed domination of the author<sup>xviii</sup>", that is to say in a monological discourse imposing a vision to the reader. The allegory developed by Attar represents an elevation of the self, a liberation from the human condition. Whereas Chaucer keeps his feet firmly on the ground, Attar turns the birds into what Gaston Bachelard called a "force soulevante<sup>xix</sup>", thus expressing the dissolution of the material being in the eternal infinite<sup>xx</sup>:

Be nothing first! And then you will exist,  
 You cannot live whilst life and Self persist –  
 Till you reach Nothingness you cannot see  
 The Life you long for in eternity<sup>xxi</sup>.

Attar's heuristic journey in the poem is closely related to this elevation and the birds must understand the very nature of their pilgrimage and the meaning of their quest for their king, the Simorgh. Once they grasp the significance of their search, they can all leave together, not before. But the beginning of the pilgrimage, the very act of leaving, is deeply symbolic for it implies the acceptance of the disappearance of the Self and the affirmation of God's presence:

When you perceive His hidden secrets, give  
 Your life to God's affairs and truly live –  
 At last, made perfect in reality,  
 You will be gone, and only God will be<sup>xxii</sup>.

In the *Parliament of Fowls*, Chaucer presents things differently however and favors, once again, a carnivalistic vision of the world and of a spirituality that he refuses to treat poetically

like a theological absolute. His birds gather and break up once their transaction with Nature is over. The fact that Chaucer sets this gathering during Valentine's Day associates this bird society with the human calendar<sup>xxiii</sup>: the birds have come to find a mate and procreate, thus reinforcing their association with the natural order of things. They wish to carry on living through their offspring, while Attar's birds will live because they have accepted to die to the flesh<sup>xxiv</sup>.

In this context, Chaucer's authorial voice is dissolved and merely remains present as one of the elements allowing polyphony to appear. Chaucer's narrator is faced with a multitude of birds making "so huge a noyse" (l.312) that it takes physical form, leaving him no place to stand. The Persian birds, on the other hand, receive in turn their chance to "show off their loquacious ignorance<sup>xxv</sup>"; when the nightingale starts speaking, for instance, he is welcomed by a "hushed silence<sup>xxvi</sup>" and when the birds have to all speak at the same time to the hoopoe, they talk "with one voice<sup>xxvii</sup>". Unity prevails. Attar's text is accordingly perfectly ordered and its dialogism is disciplined. Such rhetoric reflects, according to Martine Yvernault, "the Sufi ideal, spiritual harmony through adherence, consented self-abandonment and fusion in a great whole represented by the journey undertaken by the birds<sup>xxviii</sup>." The notion of self-abandonment consequently annihilates the potential dialogical strength of such a gathering since the individual voice of each bird has little importance.

Attar, therefore, focuses on the communion of all beings through a "conference" – a misleading translation for the Persian title of the poem, *Manṭiq-ut-Ṭayr*, is a direct reference to the sixteenth verse of the Surat An-Naml in the *Qur'an*: "And Solomon inherited David. He said, 'O people, we have been taught the *language of birds*, and we have been given from all things. Indeed, this is evident bounty'" (27:16). Chaucer however consciously defines his assembly as a parliament, and the political aspect, with its chaos and its utter lack of discipline, reminds us of a human assembly. Forget about self-abandonment in this context, for the presence of the birds is both visible and audible in Chaucer's poem. His parliament produces a sense of emergency, an urgent need for negotiation that reflects the political chaos Chaucer experienced in his lifetime and which is completely opposite to Attar's introspective silence. Chaucer throws us in the marketplace and literally confronts us with the economical and political world of the end of the fourteenth century. It is the world Chaucer faced every day, in the heart of London, far from the chivalry and courtly values of the court – even though these same values are indeed represented by some of his birds. And in fact the very language used by some of the birds reflects their social classes<sup>xxix</sup>. All of the species present are placed according to their nobility and function, with the birds of prey perching obviously

higher than those eating worms, and waterfowls. Nature, therefore, grants the male eagle, “[t]he foul royal, above yow in degre, / The wyse and worthi, secre, trewe as stel” (1.394-395) the chance to be the first to choose his mate. He promptly starts his plea, declaring his love for a particular bird, but when everything seems settled another eagle, of lesser rank, declares that he loves that female more than him. And then a third bird joins the dance, provoking discussions lasting “from the morwe [...] Tyl downward went the sonne wonder faste” (1.489-490). Yet, the narrator swears he has never heard “[s]o gentil ple in love or other thyng” (1.485), and just as Chaucer’s audience expects the crisis to resolve itself courteously, the rest of the fowls start crying so loud that the narrator thinks the wood had shivered to pieces. This noble Valentine’s Day gathering thus begins to look increasingly like an authentic parliamentary discussion. Respect and the values of courtly love cannot last longer than the patience of the members of the parliament, who start screaming “Have don, and lat us wende!” (1.492) and “Whan shal youre cursede pletynge have an ende?” (1.495) while fowls of less nobility merely join the current cacophony as best as they can:

The goos, the cokkow, and the doke also  
 So cryede, “Kek kek! kokkow! quek quek!” hye,  
 That though myne eres the noyse wente tho. (1.498-500)

Nature has consequently no other choice but to ask each group to elect a representative that will speak for them. Chaucer continues his parody of the political world and presents us with elected representatives who cannot either communicate calmly. Waterfowls, who were until then shouting, pronounce “large golee” (1.556) and by mutual assent elect the goose for her eloquence. Yet when the goose starts talking, the sparrow-hawk interrupts her twice and tell the parliament “Never mot she thee!” (1.569), which obviously provokes “[t]he laughter [...] of gentil foules alle” (1.575). In effect, each representative is then insulted or ridiculed one after the other in an increasingly growing confusion. The noblest eagle thus judges that the words of the duck come “[o]ut of the donghil” (1.597), while the merlin suggests to the cuckoo that the extinction of his species would not be a bad thing (1.615). Nature then closes the debate by giving the female the right to choose her mate.

The duck, the goose, and the cuckoo consequently have the noisiest exchanges of them all and advocate a form of love that is negotiable and linked to supply and demand. If the female eagle cannot decide which mate to pick, she must choose another one. They are the perfect representation of a market economy<sup>xxx</sup>. In other words, Chaucer’s birds are noisy, feed on



each other or eat worms, they evoke a carnivalistic image of desire and good food and remind us constantly of the materiality of the body. Attar's mystical vision suggests, on the other hand, that, to find God, the body has to disappear through an almost alchemical purification process:

The Self is like a mail coat – melt this steel  
To pliant wax with David's holy zeal,  
And when its metal melts, like David you  
Will melt with love and bid the Self adieu<sup>xxxii</sup>.

In the end, although both Chaucer and Attar start with the same topic, they develop two different yet complementary visions that can be reconnected if we forget our assumptions about our European medieval past. And indeed, what would our perceptions of medieval narrative be – or of the world we currently live in – “if we did not have a simplistic notion [...] of the complex phenomena of problematic cultural interaction and influence?<sup>xxxiii</sup>” *The Parliament of Fowls* whether it owes anything or not to *The Conference of the Birds* is a translation since, as its etymology suggests, translating is not only turning from one language to another but also carrying over from one place to another. It is a form of transfer. Chaucer's carnivalistic vision of French and Italian poetry, his contrast of courtly and bourgeois attitudes balances Attar's sublime mystical vision. Chaucer's spirituality has always been deeply connected with the world he lived in, with the different people he met on his Way. And is it not also what Sufism is about? For if Chaucer found God on this “little Earth”, full of sounds and physical sensations, Attar reached out and, just like Dante, looked for the Divine in the celestial spheres.

---

<sup>i</sup> María Rosa Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History: A Forgotten Heritage* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 3.

<sup>ii</sup> See Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon, 1978).

<sup>iii</sup> The conquest of the Iberian Peninsula started in 711, and the Emirate of Córdoba was established in 756 under the authority of the Caliph of Damascus. It then became an independent Caliphate in 929. The *Reconquista* of the Peninsula by Christian kings ended in 1492. Sicily, on the other hand, was first invaded during the VII<sup>th</sup> century, and became an Emirate in 831. It was reconquered by the Normans at the end of the XI<sup>th</sup> century.

---

<sup>iv</sup> María Rosa Menocal, “The Etymology of Old Provençal *trabor*, *trobador*: A Return to the “Third Solution”,” *Romance Philology* 36, 1982, 146.

<sup>v</sup> See *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1927/1971).

<sup>vi</sup> María Rosa Menocal, “Pride and Prejudice in Medieval Studies: European and Oriental,” *Hispanic Review* 53, 1985, 72.

<sup>vii</sup> Quoted in W.M. Watt and Pierre Cachia, *A History of Islamic Spain* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1965), 56.

<sup>viii</sup> Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History*, 55.

<sup>ix</sup> Even if we choose to ignore the importance of Arabic philosophy, sciences and literature in Europe at the time, we cannot ignore that Petrus Alfonsi spent many years in England as court physician of Henry I, or that Michael Scot was an influential scholar at the service of Frederick II. Robert of Keaton was also one of a half dozen Englishmen who were instrumental in the diffusion of translations of Arabic texts in northern Europe. Chaucer himself went to Navarre in 1366 and the Black Prince led an expedition in Castille in 1367.

<sup>x</sup> Menocal, “Pride and Prejudice in Medieval Studies”, 73.

<sup>xi</sup> Farid Ud-Din Attar, *The Conference of the Birds*, trans. Afkham Darbandi and Dick Davis (London: Penguin Books, 2011), xix.

<sup>xii</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>xiii</sup> Suzanne Crane, “For the Birds,” *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 29, 2007, 23.

<sup>xiv</sup> More precisely VII. 1.50-66.

<sup>xv</sup> D.S. Brewer, *An Introduction to Chaucer* (London-New-York: Longman Group, 1984), 79.

<sup>xvi</sup> Attar, *The Conference of the Birds*, 39.

<sup>xvii</sup> *Ibid.*, xii.

<sup>xviii</sup> J.R.R. Tolkien, *The Fellowship of the Ring* (London: HarperCollins Publishers, 2005), xxii.

<sup>xix</sup> Gaston Bachelard, *L’Air et les songes. Essai sur l’imagination du mouvement* (Paris: José Corti, 1990), 85.

<sup>xx</sup> Martine Yvernault, “The Conference of the Birds de Farid ud-Din Attar et The Parliament of Fowls de Chaucer: similitudes, divergences et réécriture”, in *Translatio i Literatura* ed. by Anna Kukulka-Wojtasik (Warsaw: de l’Université de Varsovie, 2011), 374.

<sup>xxi</sup> Attar, *The Conference of the Birds*, 237.

<sup>xxii</sup> Attar, *The Conference of the Birds*, 42.

---

<sup>xxiii</sup> Birds tend to be associated with human society, with birdsongs filling up for human language. See Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966), 204-8.

<sup>xxiv</sup> Yvernault, “The Conference of the Birds de Farid ud-Din Attar et The Parliament of Fowls de Chaucer: similitudes, divergences et réécriture”, 376.

<sup>xxv</sup> Attar, *The Conference of the Birds*, 61.

<sup>xxvi</sup> Attar, *The Conference of the Birds*, 45.

<sup>xxvii</sup> *Ibid.*, 67.

<sup>xxviii</sup> Yvernault, “The Conference of the Birds de Farid ud-Din Attar et The Parliament of Fowls de Chaucer: similitudes, divergences et réécriture”, 378.

<sup>xxix</sup> Christopher Cannon, “Chaucer and the Language of London,” in *Chaucer and the City*, ed. by Ardis Butterfield (Cambridge, Boydell & Brewer, 2006), 88.

<sup>xxx</sup> John Scattergood, “London and Money: Chaucer’s Complaint to His Purse,” in *Chaucer and the City*, ed. by Ardis Butterfield (Cambridge, Boydell & Brewer, 2006), 164.

<sup>xxxi</sup> Attar, *The Conference of the Birds*, 40.

<sup>xxxii</sup> Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History*, xiv.