

A GOLIARD WITNESS:

THE *DE NUPTIIS PHILOLOGIAE ET MERCURII*
OF MARTIANUS CAPELLA IN THE
METHAMORPHOSIS GOLYE EPISCOPI

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The tradition of the Latin classics since Renaissance times has not granted high rank to the *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* by the fifth-century African, Martianus Capella.¹ This was not the case in the twelfth century. Martianus counted then as an "authority" on the liberal arts and his work was read with eagerness as one of the precious witnesses from antiquity on what ought to constitute a course in those seven arts. Around 1176 Godfrey of Saint Victor paired Martianus with Macrobius and named them both just after his mention of Plato, Aristotle, and Boethius in his *Fons Philosophiae*:

Adest Macrobius, adest Marcianus:

Huic placet Mercurius, illi Affricanus.²e ancora Macrobio e Marziano
a quasto piace Mercurio, a quello l'Africano

Another twelfth-century poem in the same goliardic metre as the two lines just cited, the *Methamorphosis golye episcopi*,³ goes far beyond this passing mention of Martianus and makes a most unexpected use of the *De Nuptiis*. For the work of Martianus was not used by "Bishop Goliath"⁴ as a mine from which to dig lore on the liberal arts. The last seven books of the *De Nuptiis*, each dedicated to one of the seven arts, are hardly used,⁵ whereas the first two are mined for the image of a celestial wedding. In that marriage Eloquence (Mercury-Cyllenius) was joined to the Love of Learning (Philologia) with the approval of the gods and human

notables. Martianus held that the three *artes sermocinales* of the trivium must be "married" to the four *artes reales* of the quadrivium. The first forty-seven of the fifty-nine stanzas that our twelfth-century poem comprises re-say, with many omissions and with not a few expansions, the burden of the first two books by Martianus Capella. Both Bishop Goliath and Martianus were sure that the marriage of trivium with quadrivium was a "marriage made in heaven."⁶

The title, *Methamorphosis*, "transformation," *golye episcopi*, ascribes these verses to the fictitious "Bishop Goliath" whose name has been given to a large body of mediaeval Latin verse, that of the "goliards." The "Bishop's" name combines in a felicitous way the vernacular term "goliard" (glutton, trickster) with the name of that evil and boorish giant, Goliath⁷ of Gath, who reviled the Chosen People until David appeared on the scene with his sling and five smooth stones (1 Sam. 17.1-58). For goliardic verse is marked by irreverence and ridicule; it satirizes those in authority, extols wine, women, and -- simply by being what it is -- song as well. It is a mass of raillery produced by students who knew their Latin and their society to the point that they could grind out catchy Latin verses to pillory the clerical establishment of the day.

If this accounts for the ascription of the poem to "Bishop Goliath," the term "transformation" remains enigmatic; the content of the poem holds nothing that can be understood as a "transformation." The most plausible suggestion is that the word echoes indirectly the title of a work by an earlier African author, the well-known *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius. There the adventures of a young rascal are recounted: transformed by magic into an ass, he was transformed finally into a young human rascal once more, thanks to eating roses. This work is the source from which Martianus drew for *Psyche* and *Cupid*, both of whom figure in Goliath's poem. Since Martianus Capella depended upon the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius and since Bishop Goliath depended upon Apuleius for details not grounded in Martianus (e.g. the name of Pudentilla, see *The Transformation* 46.3), it is not without reason that the work of Goliath was termed *Methamorphosis*.⁸ Beyond these considerations, the twelfth-century author has "transformed" for his own purposes, as will be seen, the allegorical marriage described by Martianus.

Bishop Goliath, like Martianus, began by taking his hearers into a wooded grove and provided them with a rough date in the mediaeval mode. It was spring, for the sun was proceeding from the "house of Aries" into that of "Taurus:"

- 1 Sole post Arietem Taurum subintrante,
 novo terre faciem flore picturante,
 pinu sub florigera nuper pullulante
 membra sompno foveram paulo fessus ante.⁹

According to the convention of the poem, the speaker on wakening entered a charming grove:

- 2 Nemus michi videor quoddam subintrare
 cuius ramus ceperat omnis flosculare,
 quod nequivit hyemis albor deturpare
 nec a sui decoris statu declinare.

Breezes moved both leaves and branches, thus setting up a combination of harmonious sounds. The poet developed this theme through a series of stanzas which alluded to the mathematical nature of musical relations and which added to the harmonies produced by wind through the woods the chirping of birds. Melodies from both sources conspired to parallel and to symbolize the "music of the spheres" that Martianus, and before him Cicero, had transmitted to the middle ages:

- 8 Hic auditur avium vox dulcicanarum,
 quarum nemus sonuit voce querelarum,
 set illa diversitas consonanciarum
 prefigurat ordinem septem planetarum.

Having established this natural setting, the poet went on to describe a palace in the midst of the musical grove, built and decorated by the god Vulcan for Jove himself, king of men and of gods:

- 10 Stat ibidem regia columnis elata,
 cuius substat iaspide basis solidata,

paries iacinctinus, tecta deaurata,
intus et exterius tota picturata.

Since the total poem is allegory, the poet allowed himself some remarks on symbols beneath symbols, for even the decoration of the symbolic palace introduced new symbols:

11 Coniectare ceperam ex visa pictura
quod divina fuerat illa celatura:
hoc Vulcanus fecerat speciali cura,
totum sub involucro, totum sub figura.

Love appeared, for, just after mentioning the Nine Muses, Goliath went on to the amorous gods. Adonis had been wooed by Venus herself; Gradivus (Mars) had been trapped in a net of chain with Dionē (Venus) by her husband, Vulcan. In the words of Goliath:

12 Hic sorores pinxerat novem Elyconis
et celestis circulos omnes regionis
et cum hiis et aliis eventum Adonis
et Gradivi vincula et sue Dyonis.

In the palace was discovered a concourse of divinities, all the way from Jove himself through figures of myth to ancient heroes of learning. Here Goliath thought it worth noting that gods as well as humans in most cases followed Venus, divinity of love, rather than Pallas Athēnē, the divinity who presided over wisdom:

36 Horum parti maxime Venus dominatur,
iste sibi supplicat, ille famulatur,
hanc de more filius suus comitatur,
nudus cecus puer est, facies alatur.

Cupid's four attributes earned him four lines of verse:

37 Nudus, nam propositum nequid sepelire,
cecus, quia ratio nequid hunc lenire,
puer, nam plus puero solet lascivire,

alatur, dum facile solet preterire.

His bow caused havoc among both gods and humans:

38 Illius vibrabile telum est auratum
et in summa cuspidē modice curvatum,
telum invitabile, telum formidatum,
nam qui hoc percutitur, pellit celibatum.

Our poem followed the lead of Martianus in introducing a number of ancient philosophers, the "gowned people," *palliatorum populus*, in the words of the African author, at the wedding and in some cases employed an identical term to identify a given philosopher:¹⁰

43 Aderant philosophi, Tales udus stabat,
Crisippus cum numeris, Zeno ponderabat,
ardebat Eraclius, Perdix circinabat,
totum ille Samius proporcionabat.

44 Implicabat Cicero, explicabat Plato,
hinc dissuadet Apicius, hinc persuadet Cato,
vacuus Archelias tenuit pro rato
esse quod inceperat undique locato.

The next category of human wedding guests is that of the Latin love poets; but without a brilliant emendation suggested by S.T. Collins¹¹ Ovid would be missing, for the two manuscripts on which our editions are based give substantially the same words for 45.1:

Secum suam duxerat Cetam Ysopullus,

and then go on to name Propertius, Tibullus, and Catullus, each in company with his beloved, respectively: Cynthia, Delia, and Lesbia. To these three the poet added Cicero with his wife Terentia; perhaps the mediaeval poet did not know that the orator had divorced Terentia and married his ward, Publilia. He cannot have been ignorant of the fact that any list of Latin love poets without Ovid is incomplete. Hence, for Cetam Collins would have us read Getam, "Gothic lady," and for

Ysopullus substitute *Naso* (P. Naso Ovidius) and *pullus*, "sad." For indeed, Ovid was exiled and it is to his melancholy state that we owe his *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto*; in Pontus the native people were Goths. Ovid is known to have learned their language and may be assumed to have replaced his lost Roman wives with a Gothic mistress. Departing, therefore, from manuscripts and printings we shall read:

45 *Secum suam duxerat Getam Naso pullus,
Cynthiam Propertius, Delyam Tibullus,
Tullius Terenciam, Lesbiam Catullus,
vates huc convenerant, sine sua nullus.*

Pliny and Apuleius, the second not mentioned by Martianus, were in the same boat as Cicero and the love poets, men whose accomplishments in the liberal arts, however, had by no means been diminished by their notorious devotion to Venus:

46 *Queque suo suus est ardor et favilla,
Plinium Calpurnie succendit scintilla,
urit Apuleium sua Pudentilla,
hunc et hunc amplexibus tenet hec et illa.*

With these names recorded, Goliath took his leave of antiquity and proceeded to twelve stanzas that introduced some of his own contemporaries as well as some of his biases in their regard. Thus far he had taken his lead from Martianus, and the additions he made are intelligible as grounding what he was to say about love and learning in his own time and place. In so doing, Goliath has provided us with one of three lists of twelfth-century Masters, transmitted from within the scholastic ambience of the day. One list can be put together from the *Metalogicon* by John of Salisbury¹² and the third, the edition of which we owe to the editor of the *Methamorphosis*, R.B.C. Huygens, is in a long-lost chapter of the *Historia* by William of Tyre.¹³

With a naive directness, not without charm, Goliath represented his contemporaries as assisting at the wedding which justified their scholastic achievements: to a man they had linked eloquence and learning.

Thierry of Chartres, Bishop Gilbert of Poitiers, Peter Lombard, Ivo of Chartres, Peter Helias, another Peter, likely Peter Comestor, Bernard of Chartres, a monk named "Reginald" whose identity is not certain,¹⁴ two theologians named "Robert," surely Robert of Melun and Robert Pullen, and a "Bartholomew" who well may be a future Bishop of Exeter, are all named as present, and even the ill-tempered Reginald was taken seriously. Goliath judged the absence of Peter Abelard a grievous gap in the census of the wedding guests. The bride, he wrote, searched for him in vain, but Goliath could note, after naming a number of the Masters listed:

50.4 et professi plurimi sunt Abaelardum.

He had no sympathy for those who opposed the missing sage -- first the monk Reginald:

51 Reginaldus monachus clamose contendit
et obliquis singulos verbis reprehendit,
hos et hos redarguit nec in se descendit,
qui nostrum Porphyrium laqueo suspendit.

Porphyry's name evokes the celebrated quarrel on universals which that disciple of Plotinos had raised in his *Introduction (Isagoge)* to the *Categories* of Aristotle and which had divided mediaeval philosophers into warring schools of "realists" and "nominalists." Abelard had made his name by refuting the "nominalist" Master Roscelin and then, in his turn, the "realist" Master William of Champeaux on precisely the problem of universals. For a public who knew the problem thanks to Porphyry and who knew the magistral refutations of the two leading contenders for the honour of solving it, the man who had defeated the chief logicians of the day earned the soubriquet "our Porphyry;" he can be none other than Abelard. The stanza that recounts the fruitless search by the "bride" for "her Palatine" requires a closer look:

54 Nupta querit ubi sit suus Palatinus,
cuius totus extitit spiritus divinus,
querit cur se subtrahat quasi peregrinus,
quem ad sua ubera foverat et sinus.

First, the translation provided below of the second line is no translation but rather a gloss on the first line: twelfth-century readers would have caught the pun of *Palatinus*, a "native of Le Pallet," or a "palace official," in this case, the palace of Jove where Eloquence and Learning are joined in wedlock. Second, there is no unanimity among scholars as to the identity of the "bride," *nupta*. It has been argued that the *nupta* is Heloise,¹⁵ that she is Philologia,¹⁶ or that the primary referent is Philologia and the secondary referent is Heloise,¹⁷ the position to which I should like to subscribe.

If the monk named Reginald has been reviled for his opposition to Abelard, Bernard of Clairvaux has been more roughly handled by Goliath:

55 Clamant a philosopho plures educati:
 cucullatus populi Primas cucullati
 et ut cepe tunicis tribus tunicati,
 imponi silentium fecit tanto vati.

For Bernard is the "Primate" of that "hooded" or "cowled people" whose Cistercian choir gowns over their tunics and underclothes gave them an "onion-like" layered look that Goliath found ridiculous. It was Bernard who had responded to warnings from William of Saint Thierry that Abelard taught heresy; owing to Bernard's attack, Abelard was condemned and silenced by the Council of Sens. Only an appeal to the Pope offered Peter Abelard some hope. On his way, a combination of age and infirmity forced him to take refuge at Cluny. Abbot Peter (the Venerable) arranged a reconciliation with Bernard to which our poem does not refer; perhaps it had not occurred at the moment of writing.

In the next century the Dominican historian, Vincent of Beauvais, would recount Cistercian assaults on Gilbert of Poitiers as well as on Abelard; he would note the counter-attacks by their partisans.¹⁸ This may date our poem. Abelard was in trouble in 1140/42; Gilbert in 1147/48. Between these extreme dates we can place the composition of the *Methamorphosis* which registered indignation on the Abelard attacks but is content simply to note that there was an eminent Bishop at Poitiers:

48. 3, 4: et hic presul presulum stat Pictaviensis,

proprius nubencium miles et castrensis.

Is it possible that Goliath would have neglected to add verses on the controversy that involved Gilbert when he thought it right to devote five stanzas to the distress he felt over Bernard's action against Abelard?

It is in those last five stanzas that Goliath reveals the intent of his work. Abelard had been silenced partly because a clerical establishment had been outraged by his affair with Heloise. Yet the example of the ancients was there to show that human love is not incompatible with a life of learning and of eloquence. Celibate clerks cannot claim a monopoly of the schools, although to be sure, Goliath's complimentary remarks about Parisian and Chartrian theologians of his day imply that celibacy need not exclude one from scholastic accomplishment. By a paradox, no one wrote with more eloquence in favour of a hard line on behalf of celibacy for academics than did Heloise herself.¹⁹ True, the correspondence with Abelard in which she did so has been adjudged inauthentic; without conceding the point, we should not wish to go quite so far as did Gilson's monk who thought the correspondence attributed to Heloise and Abelard "too beautiful" to be inauthentic!²⁰ In any case, we are safe in saying that not even the fevered imagination of Martianus Capella could have permitted him to foresee the use that would be made in twelfth-century Christendom of his fantasy on Eloquence incarnate in a young groom and on Learning incarnate in a bride.

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NOTES

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¹ *Martianus Capella*. Edited Adolfus Dick; addenda adiecit Jean Pr  aux (Leipzig 1969).

² Godefroy de Saint-Victor. *Fons Philosophiae*. Texte publié et annoté par Pierre Michaud-Quantin (Namur/Louvain/Lille 1956) [*Analecta Mediaevalia Namurcensia* 8] 43, lines 241 and 242; in English: "With Macrobius must be Martianus reckoned, / 'African' the first likes best, Mercury the second;" see *The Fountain of Philosophy. A translation of the Twelfth-Century Fons Philosophiae of Godfrey of Saint Victor*, trans. E.A. Synan (Toronto 1972) 48.

³ Extant in two MSS, British Library Harleian 978, fols. 100^v a-102^v a, xiii saec. and Saint Omer 710, fols. 122^v b-124^r a, xiv saec.; the first was edited by Thomas Wright, *The Latin Poems Commonly Attributed to Walter Mapes* (London: Camden Society 1841) 21-30; both MSS ground the edition by Robert B.C. Huygens, "Mitteilungen aus Handschriften: III. Die Metamorphose des Goliath," *Studi medievali*, serie terza, 3 (1962) 764-72.

⁴ "Golia" is a form of "Goliath" with scriptural warrant in the Vulgate: see Ben Sirah (Ecclesiasticus) 47.5: "In tollendo manum, saxo fundae dejecit exultationem Goliae."

⁵ Although "hardly used" there are verbal echoes from Book 8.804 (ed. cit. p. 423, 1.5-p.424, 1.9), where an episode from Martianus is put differently by Goliath; see Appendix III, last entry.

⁶ In *Metalogicon* 1.1, John arraigned the separation of eloquence from learning as under the gospel admonition (Matt. 19.6, Mk. 10.9) forbidding the separation of a married couple who had been joined by the Lord; see the edition by C.C.J. Webb (Oxford 1929) 7, lines 17-24.

⁷ Thus the literary convention by which such verse was ascribed to "Bishop Goliath" and the verse termed "goliardic."

⁸ Only the term "metamorphosis" occurs in Martianus: see ed. cit. p. 20, lines 13-16: "atque ita metamorphosi supera pulchriores per Geminis proprietate quadam signi familiaris invecti augusto refulsere caelo ac mox Tonantis palatium petiverunt."

⁹ Since an isometric English translation of the whole *Methamorphosis* follows these remarks, individual stanzas or lines are cited in the Latin of the Huygens edition.

¹⁰ See below, Appendix II.

¹¹ S.T. Collins, "Who Was Ysopullus?" *Speculum* 23 (1948) 112.

¹² *Metalogicon* 2.10 (ed. cit. pp. 77-83).

¹³ R.B.C. Huygens, "Guillaume de Tyre étudiant. Un chapitre (XIX.12) de son 'Histoire' retrouvé," *Latomus* 12 (1962) 822-3.

¹⁴ My suggestion that Goliath's anti-Abelardian monk named "Reginald" is the understandably surly religious who figures in *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall (Oxford 1969) Book III, t. 2, pp. 127-9, has not been welcomed by competent historians.

¹⁵ Thus N. Häring, "Chartres and Paris Revisited," *Essays in Honour of Anton Charles Pegis*, ed. J. Reginald O'Donnell (Toronto 1974) 323.

¹⁶ Against the identification of the *nupta* as Heloise, J.F. Benton, "Philology's Search for Abelard in the *Metamorphosis Goliae*," *Speculum* 50 (1975) 215, n. 47.

¹⁷ The less polarized position has been proposed by W. Wetherbee, *Platonism and Poetry in the Twelfth Century: The Literary Influence of the School of Chartres* (Princeton 1972) 127-34.

¹⁸ *Speculum Quadruplex sive Maius; Naturale, Doctrinale, Morale, Historiale*, Duaci: B. Bellerus, 1624; in Vincent's *Historiale*, lib. 26, cap. 86, sub anno 1148: "Horum duorum magistrorum Petri videlicet Abaelardi, et Gilberti Porretae quidam discipuli nimium zelantes pro ipsis, beato Bernardo et toti Cisterciensi ordini postea detrahere coeperunt."

¹⁹ See P. Delhaye, "Le dossier anti-matrimonial de l'*Adversus Jovinianum* et son influence sur quelques écrits latins du XII^e siècle," *Mediaeval Studies* 13 (1951) 65-86.

²⁰ See E. Gilson, *Heloise and Abelard*, trans. L.K. Shook (Chicago 1951) xv: "'It is impossible for that to be unauthentic. It is too beautiful.' Neither of us took this judgment for a proof, but we knew very well that it was true."

APPENDICES

The three Appendices that follow set out synoptically verbal coincidences that guarantee Goliath's knowledge and use of the *De Nuptiis*; the first (I) is a relatively extended passage on the musical grove, the second (II) on philosophers in attendance at the wedding, and the third (III) other locations where the *Methamorphosis* echoes the terminology of Martianus.

Citations of the *De Nuptiis* are indicated by N, followed by an Arabic numeral to indicate the Book and another to indicate the marginal section number in the critical edition, Dick-Préaux, and finally, the page and line; references to the *Methamorphosis* are indicated by M, followed by the number of the stanza and line.

APPENDIX I

N 1.11 (p. 10, line 23 - p. 11, line 9):

. . . cursus [motus] nemorum etiam susurrantibus flabris canora modulatio melico quodam crepitabat appulsu. nam eminentiora prolixarum arborum culmina perindeque distenta acuto sonitu resultabant; quidquid vero terrae confine ac propinquum ramis acclinibus fuerat, gravitas rauca quatiebat. at media ratis . . . concinebant. ita fiebat, ut nemus illud harmoniam totam superumque carmen modulationum congruentia personaret.

M 3.1-4: Ima circa nemoris aura susurrabat,
cuius crebro flamine nemus consonebat,
et ibidem gravitas rauca crepitabat,
sed a pulsu melico tota resultabat.

4.1,3: Circa partis medie ramorum
personabat melicum quiddam et canorum

5.2,3: fit concentus consona modulacione
et ut a canentibus fit in Elycone (v. infra N 1.10)

6.1,2: Nam ramorum medium flabro quaciente
et pulsu continuo ramos inpellente

7.1,2: Set in parte nemoris eminenciore
resonabat sonitu vox acuciore

N 1.10 (p. 10, lines 6 and 7):

item eum in Helicona . . . (v. supra M 5.3)

APPENDIX II

N 2.212 (p. 78, lines 13-21):

. . . ardebat Heraclitus, udus Thales . . . Samius Pythagoras . . .
Zeno . . . Arcesilias . . . multusque praeterea palliatorum populus . . .

4.327 (p. 151, line 9):

Chrysippus . . .

M 43.1-4: Aderant philosophi, Tales udus stabat,
Crisippus cum numeris, Zeno ponderabat,
ardebat Eraclius, Perdex circinabat,
totum ille Samius proporcionabat.

44.3: vacuus Archelias tenuit pro rato

APPENDIX III

N 1.4 (p. 5, lines 19 and 20):

. . . certumque esse Gradium Nerienis Neriae coniugis amore torreri

M 41.2: Mars Nerine coniugis ignibus torretur,

N 1.4 (p. 6 line 1):

. . . (Ianusque †Argionam utraque miratur effigie);

M 41.3: Ianus ab Argyone disiungi veretur

N 1.5 (p. 6, line 17):

. . . constituit pellere caelibatum.

M 38.4: nam qui hoc percutitur, pellit celibatum.

N 1.6 (p. 7, lines 5-7):

. . . nam et nobilitas generis illam (quippe Pronoees maior est filiarum) . . .

M 41.4: sol a prole Pronoes diligere meretur.

N 1.7 (p. 7, lines 13-15):

Iuppiter quippe diadema . . . capiti eius apposuit.

M 24.3: capiti inposuit sertum virginali,

N 1.7 (p. 8, line 19 - p. 9, line 2):

. . . _____ . . . captivamque adamantinis nexibus a Cupidine detineri

M 41.1 Nexibus Cupidinis Syche detinetur,

N 1.16 (p. 14, lines 2-4 and 7-9):

. . . quattuor urnulas adopertas vicissim atque alternis inspectionibus enudare, quas diversa specie metallisque formatae . . . singula autem rerum quaedam semina elementaque gestabant.

M 28.1-3: Ante deum quattuor erant urne stantes

elementis omnium rerum redundates,

diversorum generum era imitantes:

N 1.21 (p. 15, lines 20 and 21):

. . . fluctuat incertis aut sors ignota futuris
consultet mortale genus, quodque indiga veri . . .

M 42.2, 4: sors in Marte fluctuat, Nereus vagatur,
quid fiat in posterum deo scire datur.

N 1.22 (p. 16, line 12):

. . . fluctigena spectans qualis sub gurgite Nereus

v. supra M 42.2.

N 1.30 (p. 20, line 18):

. . . consortio patrem Iunonis haerentem . . .

M 16.3: et ipsius lateri coniugem herentem,

N 1.39 (p. 24, lines 13-15):

. . . allapsa sensim Pallas corusca descendit atque ita ut videbatur
vertici Ioviali inhaerere . . .

M 18.1, 2: Innuba de vertice regis Pallas exit,
quam sibi collaterans firmo nexu nexit;

N 1.40 (p. 25, lines 6-8):

. . . tunc Pallas aliquanto summissior ac virginalis pudoris rubore
suffusa oculosque peplo, quod rutilum circum caput gestabat . . .

M 18.3, 4: illa peplo faciem circumque texit
nec nisi ad patrios visus se detexit.

N 1.66 (p. 30, lines 12-25):

. . . tunc Iuppiter . . . apponit primum vertici regalis serti flamman-
tem coronam . . .

M 26.1, 2: Sol sublimis capite suum gerit sertum,
hinc et hinc innumeris radiis refertum;

N 1.67 (p. 31, lines 14 and 15):

. . . vestis eius hyalina, sed peplum fuerat caligosum . . .

M 22.2: vestis de cyndalio, partim hyalina,

M 18.3: illa peplo faciem circumque texit

N 1.74, 75 (p. 34, lines 5-9):

. . . gemmarum luce resplendens . . . fulgens corona . . . flammis igni-
torum lapidum fulgorabat . . .

M 24.4: cuius domus rutilat gemma mediali.

N 1.94 (p. 40, lines 19 and 20):

. . . omnis deorum senatus in suffragium concitatur . . .

M 58.1: Dii decernunt super hoc, et placet decretum, (cf. N 1.96 [p. 41,
line 7]: . . . superi senatus consultum . . .; N 1.97 [p. 41, lines 10
and 11]: . . . omnis ille deorum senatus in palatia . . .)

N 1.92 (p. 39, line 15):

interpresque meae mentis, ὃ νοῦς sacer.

M 19.1: Hec mens est Altissimi, mens divinitatis,

N 2.114 (p. 47, line 21, p. 48, lines 10 and 11):

. . . repente Phronesis mater irrupit . . . medialis gemmae lumine prae-
nitebat . . .

M 24.1: Hanc donavit Fronesis dono speciali:

3: capiti inposuit sertum virginali,

4: cuius domus rutilat gemma mediali.

N 2.132 (p. 57, line 21 - p. 58, line 1):

. . . tres puellae . . . religatae invicem manus . . .

M 33.1: Tres astabant virgines versus Iovem verse,

2: stabant firme digitis connexis inter se;

N 8.804 (p. 423, line 5 - p. 424, line 9):

. . . Silenus . . . poculis turgens . . . repente clanculum stertens
ranae sonitum desorbentis increpuit . . . crapulae exsudatione conspecta
risus circumstantium . . . alacer Cupido . . . risum velut etiam per-
missum paene omnibus suscitavit.

M 35.1-4: Hinc cum bombis strepitus sonat cercellorum,

a Sylleno ducitur agmen satyrorum,

temulentus titubat et precedit chorum

atque risus excitat singulis deorum.

TRANSLATION

Some modifications of the readings given in the critical edition of Huygens underlie certain lines in translation. Thus, M 22.4 is read as: "quam nec nox," not as: "quam nec sox," an emendation noted, but not made, by the critical editor. The editor's emendation at 33.3 of: "sunt avera corpora" to: "sunt a<l>versa corpora" is not accepted; 41.4: "sola prole Pronoēs" is read as: "sol a prole Pronoēs" (see Wetherbee, op. cit. p. 131, n. 14, who there refers to Strecker "Kritisches zu mittellateinischen Texten," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 63 [1926] 111-5). Finally, as mentioned above, 54.2 is not translated; the sentiment: "cuius totus extitit spiritus divinus" did not seem as pressing as a gloss that would clarify the pun on "Palatinus" in 54.1.

THE TRANSFORMATION: BY BISHOP GOLIATH

- 1 From the "Ram" into the "Bull" Sun transfers his bower,
 Decorates the face of Earth with the new spring flower;
 While beneath a budding pine (recent at that hour)
 Sleep my lately tired limbs there restored to power.

- 2 I myself, it seemed to me, in a grove was going;
 Each branch there had put out leaves, blossoms new were showing;
 Chill of winter could not kill beauty by storms' blowing
 Nor distort the lovely state of what there was growing.

- 3 Rustlings deep within that grove a breeze was supplying;
 To its frequent impulse the grove itself replying,
 There a throaty bass note too, with that rustle vying,
 But the sweep of music both in one whole was tying.

- 4 Somewhere near the centre of wood's ramification,
 Something like a tambourine -- vast multiplication --
 Music made and melody, vibrant resonance;
 Sweeter was it than the swans' song at expiration.

- 5 Sevens, sixes, doubles too, notes together clinging,
 Modulation regular as in choral singing,
 Just as from Mount Helicon, chanted measures ringing,
 To this grove proportional measures they were bringing.

- 6 For the branches' middle part (which the blast was shaking
 And with a compelling force all those branches raking,
 Chiming in with half-tones that the full scale are making)
 Sounds the fourth and sounds the fifth -- "wood-wind" music making.

- 7 But that grove was far from flat; where the high ground rounded
 Shriller was the note from there, high pitch thence resounded;
 So that top and middle parts from below rebounded --
 In this way a concord was mutually grounded.

- 8 Here too something else is heard: birds are singing sweetly;
 With the noise of their laments grove resounds completely,
 But, no matter how diverse, their sounds mix discreetly:
 Figure forth the order of planets seven neatly.
- 9 In the centre of that grove a broad lea is lying;
 Purple violets and buds meadow beautifying;
 To their fragrant odors I with my sense replying
 Seemed to feel a true new birth: opposite of dying!
- 10 Royal house on columns firm there is situated,
 Jasper its foundation stones, solidly substrated;
 Walls of turquoise and the roof -- why, it's aureated;
 Pictured inside, outside too: all is decorated.
- 11 On those pictures I'd begun certain speculations:
 Hidden their intent divine, their signification;
 Vulcan had with special care (in my estimation)
 Put his whole point under wraps, under figuration.
- 12 Sisters nine of Helicon here he had been painting,
 Heaven's circles with his brush all who gaze acquainting;
 Others too: how down to death went Adonis, fainting
 Gradivus, Dionē chained . . . (hardly fit for sainting!).
- 13 Palace of the Universe, all parts coinciding,
 Here the things that stem from Forms and those Forms residing;
 Best of Makers over all creatures is presiding,
 Goodness prompts the governance which he is providing.
- 14 Here I choral music hear from those deep recesses;
 Goddesses hold council there? Not the worst of guesses!
 Instruments, each in its kind, notes and beats and stresses,
 Testimony give to joy -- musical successes!
- 15 There, too, what beneath that sound I was scrutinizing
 (Concord real, proportional) merits emphasizing;

- For, as instrumental sound is self-harmonizing,
So in things is music's bond also equalizing.
- 16 Inside there's a King, I see: his throne's elevated;
To the royal sceptre he's well habituated;
At his side a consort clings, to him dedicated,
By them both all subject things are well regulated.
- 17 He (to speak in figures) is inborn heat implying
Even though there is much else that he's signifying;
She all cosmic working too, tempers, mollifying --
Thus through her a tree bears fruit, Earth's with seed supplying.
- 18 Unwed Pallas from the brow of that King advances,
At his side with his firm bond he her state enhances;
With her peplum-robe her face veiling she entrances
Us who guess -- she's open to his paternal glances.
- 19 She's the Mind of the Most High, a divine extension;
Now by law and now by Fates ordains his intention,
Nature thus by her is ruled -- how? No comprehension!
Deity goes far beyond tiny man's dimension.
- 20 I Cyllenius spy there at his "ready station;"
Godhead's left he often leaves on the gods' legation;
Purple, fitting for a groom, his robes' coloration
And his cheek showed tender down: manhood's adumbration.
- 21 True, he is a messenger; here's what I am noting:
Charm of language as a link among men promoting;
Down that shadows his fair face (and his youth denoting)
Shows you ought to "colour" speech -- for this I am voting.
- 22 His companion is his bride, from the gods descended,
Linen garments, fine of weave, to be sheer intended;
Countenance more rosy than morning rose well-tended;
Night and frost in vain assault roses thus defended.

- 23 Wisdom: she must Eloquence join and render knowing
 Else he wanders, dissolute, sickens as he's going;
 To advances that are small small rewards are owing;
 He needs all her piloting for some worth-while rowing!
- 24 Phronēsis (or "Prudence") has made her a donation,
 Day of wedding thus marked by gods in consultation:
 Wreath upon her virgin brow, fitting coronation,
 From a centred gem ablaze -- house-wide radiation!
- 25 With that wreath I'd like to make here a close connection
 So that in all doings you may show circumspection:
 Reason's what you should draw from centred gem's inspection;
 Reason? Think before you act: thought first, *then* election.
- 26 Sun on high, upon his head, his wreath too is wearing;
 From it rays we cannot count here and there are flaring;
 From him nothing hidden is, no trial is he sparing;
 Still, the meaning of all this easily we're baring.
- 27 His was the appearance of many special classes;
 Diadem upon his head, clearer than all glasses;
 He's the eye of all the world, of each day that passes
 Cause and vital spirit that nurtures things in masses.
- 28 Before god four were the urns that were there located,
 With the elements of things truly they're surfeited;
 Of each single general class its stuff imitated:
 Thus, four seasons of the year these have designated.
- 29 Heliconers' instruments (soon be far from stilling!)
 Their joy's aspirations will shortly be fulfilling,
 Any boredom in the rites expertly be killing;
 Mystically make the points? They are more than willing.
- 30 Nine in order, nine in song (equal numeration)
 New lyres nine the Nine hold fast for manipulation,
 Since with thumbs they stroke the strings whose good calibration

- Lets them sound concordantly: true harmonization.
- 31 No great task to read their signs! They're to this redounding;
 That good Maker made them all -- nine spheres he was rounding;
 Eight sound forth in harmony, but one is not sounding
 For the ninth (that motion lacks) cannot be resounding.
- 32 Or they count as Psychē's gifts; Maker them bestowing
 (Gifts with which she's girded round, garments lightly flowing
 And with which she is adorned, through those circles going);
 Fleshly guest house fragile? Yes -- strength in weakness sowing.
- 33 Virgins three were standing there, to great Jove adverted;
 Fingers linked, they firmly stood not to be diverted;
 Visages (but bodies not) are to him converted,
 Children they, to godhead high their blood-lines reverted.
- 34 Gift of god Largesse must be in true estimation;
 Something's given? Right away there's full compensation
 And in Memory the gift has commemoration;
 Where is only something one, there's reduplication!
- 35 Barrel-hoops erupt in noise (with it much wind-breaking)
 Satyrs by Silenus led, regiment that's quaking;
 Tipsy, yes, and staggering, he's the first place taking --
 All the gods dissolve in mirth: Laughter has them shaking!
- 36 Venus rules the bulk of them, on this they're decided!
 "Suppliants" or "servants" they might well be derided;
 Custom puts her son with her, their paths coincided --
 Naked, blind, a little boy, he's with wings provided.
- 37 "Naked" for his purpose he is poor at concealing,
 "Blind" since Reason never can soften his fierce feeling,
 "Boy" because he's worse than most boys at wanton dealing,
 "Winged" to let him soar with ease through the wide world wheeling.
- 38 He a gilded weapon wields, fearsome its vibration
 Curving slightly at each tip, at each termination;

Weapon inescapable, all feel trepidation:

Hit by it? A celibate? Quick repudiation!

- 39 Venus only Pallas flouts, her alone won't dower,
 Playing the step-mother she musters all her power;
 Venus smiles? You may be sure Pallas there will glower --
 Modesty at Venus' side rarely comes to flower.
- 40 Here the warfare stems from this: that men live diversely,
 Custom makes them look upon any change adversely;
 Aphroditē -- cedes she to Pallas? Or conversely?
 "On the scales" or "still on trial" -- thus they put it tersely.
- 41 Psychē the god Cupid's bonds straitly are restraining;
 Mars his dear "wife" Nerina with her fire is paining;
 Janus fears lest union with Argyon be waning;
 Sun the love of Pronoēs' daughter's rightly gaining.
- 42 Psychē by the charms of flesh remains captivated;
 Lot of Mars? Of Nereus? These have fluctuated;
 Workman glories in his work -- mischief perpetrated!
 Know the end? Why that must be to god relegated.
- 43 Present were philosophers: Thales stood there dripping,
 Chrysippus his numbers held, Zeno scales was tipping;
 Burning Heracleitus too, Perdix compass gripping;
 Whole in parts "the Samian" equitably clipping!
- 44 Implication -- Cicero, Plato -- explication;
 Apius -- the negative, Cato -- affirmation;
 Empty Archelias held "beyond refutation:
 Being which begins to be fills up' each location."
- 45 Poor sad Naso brought his Goth (Love? Would Ovid gull us?)
 Cynthia, Propertius, Delia with Tibullus;
 Tully brought Terentia, Lesbia, Catullus;
 Not one seer came here alone: How girls' charms can pull us!

- 46 Fiery cinders for her man each girl was, we're learning:
 Pliny by Calpurnia's spark set on fire with yearning;
 Pudentilla did the same -- Apuleius burning;
 Their embraces (each his own) none of them is spurning.
- 47 Verses varied they contrive, metres rich enhancing:
 Agile, booted, beating feet in the sets advancing;
 Syllables eleven these, those "retreats" are dancing --
 Cleverly they say it all: here's no rustic prancing!
- 48 There that Chartrain doctor's seen: academic vision!
 Like a sword his cutting tongue makes a deep incision;
 Poitier's a Bishop who beats all competition --
 Spouses' knight and castle-guard, thanks to erudition.
- 49 Between these are others too, at no little distance,
 "Dweller on the Little Bridge" (my words? No resistance!)
 Fingers to iotas turned, argues with insistence;
 All he says must surely have evident existence!
- 50 Theologian Lombard's seen; he is celebrated;
 Ivo, Peter Helias we have contemplated;
 Peter, Bernard, perfumes sweet their mouths have spirated --
 Many, too, have Abelard's teaching promulgated.
- 51 Reginald, that noisy monk, with loud shouts contending,
 Each one with his snide remarks sharply reprehending;
 Contradicting right and left: (to himself descending?)
 No! He's our Porphyry by a noose suspending!
- 52 Theologian Robert's here, his life he lives sanely
 And Manerius does too -- seek a better? Vainly!
 He speaks from a lofty soul, deeply, but still plainly;
 No one subtler will you find though you search "mundanely."
- 53 Over here Bartholomew shows his penetration;
 Dialectic, rhetoric, skilled his presentation;

Robert Amiclas as well joins in emulation . . .
 Matched with these, the ones I skip? Small-fry population!

- 54 For her Palatine the bride her search is directing
 (*Le Pallet* and *le palais* "Palatine" connecting);
 Wonders now why, pilgrim-like, he should be rejecting
 Breasts and lap where him she had so long been refecting.
- 55 Those whom this philosopher gave an education
 Blame the Primate of that mob marked by "cucullation"
 (Wearing cowls) and, onion-like, threefold tunction --
 He's the reason that great seer quit vaticination.
- 56 That's the nerd of wickedness, herd of real perdition;
 Pharaoh's heir, his worst is their usual condition!
 Outwardly of course they wear an air of religion,
 But beneath there smolders on spark of superstition.
- 57 Race of rubbish, human scum, all fruit they're perverting,
 Boundless their cupidity, beyond controverting;
 Therefore, please keep clear of them (Do you need alerting?)
 "Thus? No? So?" Don't answer them! You they'll be subverting!
- 58 On this point the gods themselves rightly legislated:
 From their Council this cabal they've eliminated;
 Secrets philosophical heard and desecrated?
 Let them to Mechanic's filth remain dedicated!
- 59 All that this great Council has with grave sanction given,
 Ought it to be nullified? Its provisions riven?
 No! It rather ought to hold, cowed herd not be shriven;
 From the schools where Wisdom's loved let them all be driven!
- Amen!