

# A COSMOS OF DESIRE

STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN CIVILIZATION

Marvin B. Becker, General Editor

Charity and Children in Renaissance Florence: The Ospedale degli Innocenti,  
1410–1536 *Philip Gavitt*

Humanism in Crisis: The Decline of the French Renaissance  
*Philippe Desan, editor*

Upon My Husband's Death: Widows in the Literatures and Histories of  
Medieval Europe *Louise Mirrer, editor*

Wife and Widow in Medieval England *Sue Sheridan Walker, editor*

The Rhetorics of Life-Writing in Early Modern Europe: Forms of Biography  
from Cassandra Fedele to Louis XIV  
*Thomas F. Mayer and D. R. Woolf, editors*

Defining Dominion: The Discourses of Magic and Witchcraft in Early  
Modern France and Germany *Gerhild Scholz Williams*

Women, Jews, and Muslims in the Texts of Reconquest Castile  
*Louise Mirrer*

The Culture of Merit: Nobility, Royal Service, and the Making of Absolute  
Monarchy in France, 1600–1789 *Jay M. Smith*

Clean Hands and Rough Justice: An Investigating Magistrate in Renaissance  
Italy *David S. Chambers and Trevor Dean*

"Songes of Rechelesnesse": Langland and the Franciscans  
*Lawrence M. Clopper*

Godliness and Governance in Tudor Colchester *Laquita M. Higgs*

The Social Politics of Medieval Diplomacy: Anglo-German Relations  
(1066–1307) *Joseph P. Huffman*

The Strozzi of Florence: Widowhood and Family Solidarity in the  
Renaissance *Ann Crabb*

The Philosophers' Game: Rithmomachia in Medieval and Renaissance  
Europe with an Edition of Ralph Lever and William Fulke, *The Most  
Noble, Auncient, and Learned Playe* (1563) *Ann E. Moyer*

Illegitimacy in Renaissance Florence *Thomas Kuehn*

The Culture of San Sepolcro during the Youth of Piero della Francesca  
*James R. Banker*

Albrecht Dürer's Renaissance: Humanism, Reformation, and the Art of Faith  
*David Hotchkiss Price*

A Cosmos of Desire: The Medieval Latin Erotic Lyric in English Manuscripts  
*Thomas C. Moser Jr.*



A **Q**OSMOS OF **D**ESIRE

*The Medieval Latin Erotic Lyric  
in English Manuscripts*

THOMAS C. MOSER JR.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN PRESS  
*Ann Arbor*

Copyright © by the University of Michigan 2004  
All rights reserved  
Published in the United States of America by  
The University of Michigan Press  
Manufactured in the United States of America  
⊗ Printed on acid-free paper

2007 2006 2005 2004 4 3 2 1

No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored  
in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form  
or by any means, electronic, mechanical, or otherwise,  
without the written permission of the publisher.

*A CIP catalog record for this book is available from the British Library.*

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Moser, Thomas C., 1954–

A cosmos of desire : the medieval Latin erotic lyric in English  
manuscripts / Thomas C. Moser, Jr.

p. cm. — (Studies in medieval and early modern civilization)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-472-11379-8 (cloth : alk. paper)

1. Erotic poetry, Latin (Medieval and modern)—History and criticism.
2. Latin poetry, Medieval and modern—England—History and criticism.
3. Manuscripts, Latin (Medieval and modern)—England. 4. Manuscripts,  
Medieval—England. 5. Desire in literature. 6. Sex in literature.

I. Title. II. Series.

PA8065.E76M67 2004

874'03093538—dc22

2003026181

*For*  
C. A. B.  
M. D. M.  
T. C. M.

*et lirico*  
*sub cantico*  
*iam spiritum*  
*sollicitum*  
*remouit*



## Acknowledgments

**P**ERHAPS THE GREATEST pleasure in completing this book is the opportunity the occasion affords to thank the many friends and colleagues who have come to my aid in the long and uneven course of writing it. I am grateful to all of those who have so generously given of their time and effort on my behalf, and if I omit to mention anyone here, I hope they will forgive me. Some of these debts go back many years, and some of those to whom I am most grateful are no longer living. First of all I owe a great debt to my late mother, Mary Churchill Moser, who died while I was at work on the earliest phases of this project. Her love, her strength of character, her boundless enthusiasm, her balance and tenacity have been my support throughout my life. Also at the earliest phases of this project, Donald R. Howard offered me personal and intellectual help of the most useful sort. I will never forget his many kindnesses at a time near the end of his life when he was terribly oppressed with his own difficulties. And I am grateful to two Radcliffe deans for their early support. First a dear friend, Chaucerian, and medievalist of the old school, Wilma Kirby-Miller, was ever unflagging in her interest, kindness, and generosity. Second, my godmother, Kathleen O. Elliott, classicist, lover of Ovid, student of mythographers, wise administrator, and blithe spirit, was a constant source of enthusiastic encouragement and, at one stage

of the project, gave considerable time to vetting my translations of Gerald of Wales's poetry. I deeply regret that this project was not completed in time for them to see it.

I would also like to thank all those brave souls who, recently and not-so-recently, read through entire drafts of this book. Some of them will scarcely recognize the present offering as the work they once graciously sweated over. Early on, George Brown, Mary Wack, and Larry Ryan all provided thoughtful advice of many sorts. A later version benefited enormously from the scrupulous eyes of Theresa Coletti, Eugene Hammond, and James Wimsatt. Within this group of stalwarts, I would like particularly to thank my friend Steve Kruger, who gave copiously of his time and energy when he had little to spare, and, above all, Winthrop Wetherbee, a scholar uniquely qualified to judge both my discussion and the many lines of original translations from the Latin. Professor Wetherbee, alone among these critics, read through *two* complete drafts of this book. He gave me then the kind of incisive, detailed, terror-inspiring commentary for which he is justly famous. I know this last version will still not be fully up to his standards, but I hope it is enough of an improvement that he will not mind being associated with it. Last in this category, I need to thank the anonymous readers of the University of Michigan Press, especially Reader 1, whose careful "trawl" through the Latin alerted me to more errors than I care to think about.

A number of scholars, many of whom I know only through correspondence, have responded liberally and kindly over the years to queries of various kinds. Gregson Davis, Morgan Dickson, Peter Dronke, Paul Dutton, Stephen Gersh, Jill Mann, Christopher McDonough, A. G. Rigg, and Haijo Westra all provided very helpful advice on Latin texts and manuscripts. I will always be grateful to David Wallace, who once offered food, lodging, and a local's advice to a fearful soul, and has always, himself, been the soul of graciousness and generosity. Alexander Jones and Enrique Parra supplied much practical wisdom on things cosmological to one who descended on them out of the blue. Gerald Bond patiently read portions of an early draft and urged me to examine Baudri and his contemporaries more closely. Sara Myers scrutinized my translations of some of the most puzzling medieval poems and offered a classicist's insight into the workings of Ovidian poetics.

I owe a great debt to many librarians in this country and in Europe, most of them to me, alas, anonymous. Here at home, I have principally made use of Stanford's Green Library and my present institution's McKeldin Library. In both places the interlibrary loan staff have done great service on my behalf, working quickly when I was desperate and at times putting up with unbecoming

grumpiness on my part. To them I am grateful both for their expertise and their calm. Librarians at Lambeth Palace Library, the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, and the Vatican Library all responded quickly and kindly to requests for microfilms and photographs. Librarians at the Bodleian Library; the British Library; Cambridge University Library; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library; and Cambridge, Trinity College Library, in addition to providing microfilms and photographs, all welcomed me to their manuscript reading rooms and gently oversaw my perusal of the precious documents in their charge.

To Rodney Ast of the Classics Department at the University of Toronto I owe a particular and important debt. For the past several years he has served as advisor and corrector for all matters related to the English translations of the Latin texts used in this book. He has caught many a howler, of course, but he has also provided good advice and lore on a wide variety of topics. For better or worse, I simply could not have completed this project without him. I thank him especially for his kindness and cheer, and for his willingness to be followed across the globe by my neurotic email queries. For all errors and infelicities remaining in my translations, I take full responsibility. They are no doubt the result of my failure to follow Rodney's advice closely enough.

I would also like to thank some friends who may not have read the text of this book, but who have lived with its vexing presence and have contributed importantly to the author and his family's survival. Geoffrey Block has provided inspiration and the gift of song for many years. Paula McDowell and George Bridge provided boundless hospitality and, occasionally, adventure along the way. Bob and Rita Tilton empathized, listened, understood all, accepted all, and took on great responsibility with humor and grace. Willard Wyman's long instruction in burro wrangling, hitches, and rocky trails has saved my life on more than one occasion, and has provided something to think on when medieval Latin proved to be too much. Fredrika, Rick, and Lucy always pitched in when we really needed it, demonstrating again and again the importance of one's family.

I owe a large debt to my stepmother, Joyce Moser, first for her careful, enormously helpful reading of the final draft of the book and her many substantive and editorial suggestions, especially her relentless pursuit of the semicolon and the parenthesis. More importantly I thank her for her love, concern, and understanding on so many fronts, and for always keeping the home fires burning. I would like to thank my father, the unrepentant Freudian critic, who taught me that all criticism is autobiography before so much criticism became autobiography. He dragged me to Europe twice when I was young, where I watched him pursue his own literary passions. There I first felt the allure of the

old, the half-forgotten, the obscure. He also taught me to love and revere the written word. Whether he remembers it or not, he once helped me to write a high-school paper on Shakespeare's sonnets. I have never escaped the pleasures and pains of the worlds I discovered then in those little poems. For his quiet, unobtrusive support, his love and friendship over all these years, his unfailing sense of humor, his understanding of anxiety, his energetic engagement with life, and so much more, I am forever grateful.

My greatest debt is to my wife and children. Catherine Anne has borne the presence of this odd creature in our house for many years. It has never been a comfortable companion, and I thank her for her endurance, her patience, her interest, and most of all, for her unfailing love. In recent years this affection has helped bring us Polly and Toby, both sources of infinite joy. I fear their young lives have been blighted by this book, but I hope they will forgive and forget the time it has taken and what it has cost in terms of their papa's equanimity. I gratefully dedicate it to the three of them.

And finally I would like to thank a number of individuals and institutions for permission to reprint copyrighted materials. Extracts from Earl G. Schreiber and Thomas E. Maresca, *Commentary on the First Six Books of Virgil's Aeneid by Bernardus Silvestris* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979) courtesy of Thomas E. Maresca. Extracts from Julian Ward Jones and Elizabeth Frances Jones, eds., *The Commentary on the First Six Books of the Aeneid of Vergil Commonly Attributed to Bernardus Silvestris* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1977) courtesy of University of Nebraska Press. Extracts from Peter Dronke, ed., *Bernardus Silvestris Cosmographia* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978) courtesy of Brill Academic Publishers. Extracts from Peter Dronke, *Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love-Lyric*, 2d ed., 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968) are courtesy of Peter Dronke. Extracts from William Harris Stahl and Richard Johnson, eds. and trans., *Martianus Capella and the Seven Liberal Arts*, 2 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971) and Winthrop Wetherbee, trans., *The Cosmographia of Bernardus Silvestris* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973) reprinted with the permission of the publisher. Extracts from André Boutemy, "Le recueil poétique du manuscrit Additional 24199 du British Museum," *Latomus* 2 (1938): 30–52, courtesy of the Société d'Études Latines de Bruxelles. Arundel poems 1, 4, 5, 8, 15, and 16 are reprinted from C. J. McDonough, ed., *The Oxford Poems of Hugh Primas and the Arundel Lyrics*, Toronto Medieval Latin Texts 15 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1984), 74–99, by permission of the publisher. © 1984 by the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto. Poems 3, 43, and 52 (excerpts) from the Glasgow handbook are reprinted from Bruce Har-



bert, ed., *A Thirteenth-Century Anthology of Rhetorical Poems*, Toronto Medieval Latin Texts 4 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1975), 11–12, 54–68, by permission of the publisher. © 1975 by the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto. Excerpts reprinted from Alan of Lille, *The Complaint of Nature*, trans. James J. Sheridan, *Mediaeval Sources in Translation* 26 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1980), 98–216, are by permission of the publisher. © 1980 by the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto. Excerpts reprinted from *The Commentary on Martianus Capella's De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii Attributed to Bernardus Silvestris*, ed. Haijo Jan Westra, *Studies and Texts* 80 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1986), 47–240, are by permission of the publisher. © 1986 by the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto. Extracts from *carmina* 134, 148, 153, 154, and 200 in *Baldricus Burgulianus Carmina*, ed. Karlheinz Hilbert (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1979) courtesy of Universitätsverlag C. Winter. Two poems from Otto Schumann, “Die jüngere Cambriger Liedersammlung,” *Studi Medievali* n.s. 16 (1943–50): 48–85, reprinted courtesy of the Centro Italiano di Studi sull’Alto Medioevo. Extracts from Marvin L. Colker, ed., “Fvlcoii Belvacensis Epistulae,” *Traditio* 10 (1954): 191–273, courtesy of Fordham University Press. Extracts from Gerald A. Bond, *The Loving Subject: Desire, Eloquence, and Power in Romanesque France* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995) reprinted by permission of the University of Pennsylvania Press. Copyright © 1995 by the University of Pennsylvania Press. Extracts reprinted from Jan Öberg, ed., *Serlon de Wilton poèmes latins*, *Studia Latina Stockholmiensia* 14 (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1965) courtesy of Prof. Jan Öberg. Three poems from André Wilmart, “Le florilège mixte de Thomas Bekynton,” *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* 4 (1958): 35–90, by permission of Raymond Klibansky and the Warburg Institute. Photograph of Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.7.11, fol. 40v reproduced courtesy of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge. Photographs of Cambridge University Library MSS Ff.1.17(1), fols. 6<sup>r</sup> and 7<sup>r</sup>, and Gg.5.35, fol. 441<sup>v</sup>, reproduced by permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library. Photographs of Bodleian Library MS Additional A.44, fols. 70<sup>r</sup> and 71<sup>r</sup>, reproduced courtesy of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. Photographs of Bibliothèque Nationale fonds latin 3719, fol. 36<sup>r-v</sup>, reproduced courtesy of Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris. Photograph of Lambeth Palace Library MS 196, fol. ii<sup>r</sup>, reproduced courtesy of Lambeth Palace Library. Photographs of British Library MSS Additional 24199, fol. 80<sup>v</sup>, and Arundel 384, fol. 233<sup>v</sup>, reproduced by permission of the British Library.



# Contents

List of Figures    xv

Introduction    i

## PART ONE

*Adumbrations: Erotic Latin Lyric in the Eleventh Century*

### CHAPTER ONE

The Classicists of Northern France    17

### CHAPTER TWO

Erotic Lyrics in Two Early English Manuscripts    66

## PART TWO

*Eros and Poetry in the Anglo-Norman World*

### CHAPTER THREE

Contexts for the Erotic Latin Lyric in the Twelfth Century    99

### CHAPTER FOUR

Education, Myth, and Neoplatonism: The Idea of a New Man    122

CHAPTER FIVE

Between Grammar and Desire: Erotic School Poetry 149

PART THREE

*The Triumph of Erotic Latin Song*

CHAPTER SIX

The Rhythms of Eros (I) 195

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Rhythms of Eros (II) 241

CHAPTER EIGHT

Myth, Eros, and Lyric: An Invitation to Allegory 284

Appendix 331

Notes 359

Bibliography 449

Index 465

## Figures

Fig. 1.	Map of northern France about the year 1100	21
Fig. 2.	London, British Library MS Additional 24199, fol. 80 <sup>v</sup> “Heu quid peccaui” “Ergo nec ueram”	68
Fig. 3.	Cambridge University Library MS Gg.5.35, fol. 441 <sup>v</sup> “O admirabile ueneris” “Veni dilectissime”	88
Fig. 4.	Cambridge, Trinity College Library MS R.7.11, fol. 40 <sup>v</sup> “Fons erat irriguus”	175
Fig. 5.	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale fonds latin 3719, fol. 36 <sup>r-v</sup> “De terre gremio”	208
Fig. 6.	Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Additional A.44, fol. 71 <sup>r</sup> “De terre gremio” “Bruma, grandio, glacies”	217
Fig. 7.	Cambridge, University Library MS Ff.1.17(1), fol. 6 <sup>r</sup> “Dissoluta glatie”	232
Fig. 8.	London, British Library MS Arundel 384, fol. 233 <sup>v</sup> “A globo veteri”	262

- |          |  |     |
|----------|--|-----|
| Fig. 9.  | Map of the sky looking ENE from Paris on the morning of May 20, 1162 showing celestial objects mentioned in "Dionei sideris" | 277 |
| Fig. 10. | Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Additional A.44, fol. 70 <sup>r</sup><br>"Olim sudor herculis"                                   | 288 |
| Fig. 11. | Cambridge, University Library MS Ff.1.17(1), fol. 7 <sup>r</sup><br>"Olim sudor herculis"                                    | 289 |
| Fig. 12. | London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 196, fol. ii <sup>r</sup><br>"Inaspectam nube tectam"                                      | 310 |

## Introduction

**T**HIS IS A BOOK about the small body of medieval Latin erotic poetry now found in English manuscripts. In it I want to offer a vantage point from which modern readers may understand a bit better what medieval writers imagined when they wrote erotic Latin poetry and what their contemporary audiences thought when they heard or read such poems. As a part of this effort to read old poems better, I have described an intellectual and social context for the composition of erotic Latin verse in the twelfth century in France and England and have charted, to the extent possible, the participation of Anglo-Norman people and insular institutions in the production and dissemination of that literature. My book is thus, to a certain extent, an effort at intellectual archeology. Through attentive readings of lyrics written across a period of about 150 years, I want to show more fully than has been possible up to now what these poems might have meant to the clerics and well-educated aristocrats for whom they were first composed, parallel to, and in competition with, other forms of sung entertainment.

My interest in understanding these lyrics in English manuscripts on their own terms led me inevitably to consider the French schools in the twelfth century, as well as to consider some of the ideas and pedagogical methods being promulgated under the loose title of Neoplatonism. Twelfth-century Platonic

studies were linked to pedagogical theories that stressed the importance of a deep analysis of pagan literature and science, and in the stormy world of twelfth-century scholarship Platonism came to be associated with radical and potentially dangerous ideas about the nature of creation and mankind's place in that creation. Academic interest in classical Latin poetry grew in the period, an interest epitomized both by the elegant Ovidian imitations produced by northern French poets towards the end of the eleventh century, and by Ovidian commentaries written somewhat later in the same milieu. As part of their training in Latin letters all educated men read the classics—or at least bits of them—including, of course, Ovid and Virgil. The Neoplatonists, however, adopted a reverential attitude toward the contents of classical myth and poetry that struck many contemporary observers as a threat. Critics of the Neoplatonists—monastic conservatives like Bernard of Clairvaux or the narrow-minded grammarians and logicians derided by John of Salisbury—were right to worry. Many students of Neoplatonist theory and pagan literature were engaged in a project of what amounts to social engineering, an effort to define and create the “ideal man.” That is, from their wide readings they adopted a humanistic notion of perfectibility through education, trying to find an intellectual theory to justify the existence of a new type of man, the courtier-bureaucrat and secular cleric whose services would be increasingly important to the functioning of church and state during the course of the twelfth century.

In the same period that witnessed the codification of knighthood as an institution and the development of new, militant sorts of monastic life, Neoplatonist scholars were seeking to define the best place for the good and wise man in a complex cosmos. Just as the discussions of knighthood that appear in romances and vernacular lyrics speak centrally about the function of eros in the aristocratic male's life, just as monastic sermons and treatises examine the vexed relationship of human and divine love, so Neoplatonist theorizers wrote about the various manifestations of God's creative power in the universe, including human sexuality; some scholars even wrote playfully in Latin lyrics about the place of erotic longing in their own and their students' imagined lives. The erotic Latin verse that we find today in English manuscripts, poetry that must have circulated and found auditors in England in the twelfth century, and that continued to find readers there (though perhaps few of them) until at least the fourteenth century, thus appears at the confluence of many forces: social, political, poetical, intellectual. It is a heterogeneous body of poetry that ranges from simple schoolboy paraphrases, in Ovidian distiches, of snippets from the *Metamorphoses*, through more elaborate and philosophical



works still based on classical poetic models, to highly original rhymed, rhythmic verse, of a sort not seen before or since. In its own time, Latin erotic poetry must have had many different audiences and may have competed for a while, particularly in England, with other forms of court entertainment, such as the new songs of the *trouvères*. But it always remained a poetry about a particular sort of clerical experience of eros seen through the lens of Neoplatonism and colored by a humanistic understanding of the aims of an ambitious educational program.

Peter Dronke titled his great survey *Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love-Lyric*. Here I have chosen to avoid the complexities of the word *love* in favor of what I hope is a more limited and explicit set of words: *eros*, *erotic*, *erotica*. By eros I mean the powerful physical attraction one person may have for another, complicated though that feeling will be by other emotions and desires. Erotic desire itself is, of course, not simple, as Anne Carson points out:

Simultaneous pleasure and pain are its symptom. Lack is its fundamental animating constituent. As syntax it impresse[s] us as something of a subterfuge: properly a noun, eros acts everywhere like a verb. Its action is to reach, and the reach of desire involves every lover in an activity of the imagination.<sup>1</sup>

An imaginative and anxious reaching out to another person's physicality lies at the heart of most of the poems discussed here. In this book, almost all the works I consider are about male desire for a woman's body, though I also note a number of homoerotic, or possibly homoerotic, poems. A book truly about medieval Latin "love poetry" would require lengthy analysis of the many theological discussions concerning human and divine love and would have to take into account the vast body of medieval Latin religious love poetry. By focusing on eros, I have been able to avoid that path and have looked more narrowly at poems in which one person's explicitly sexual attraction to another person's physical body is one way or another of central concern.

In western Europe generally, erotic lyrics from before the late eleventh century are rare, highly various, and scattered. Many more survive from the twelfth century, and we can detect, if not perfectly describe, a qualitative difference between the new rhymed, rhythmic lyrics and earlier ones, "a common manner and idiom" for "the multitude of love-lyrics by twelfth-century clerics."<sup>2</sup> It may be useful to look briefly at one modest example of the sort of erotic song being composed in clerical circles in the second half of the twelfth century. A poem like the anonymous "Partu prodit arida," found in a battered

little manuscript written in England around 1200 or a bit later (Cambridge University Library Ff.1.17(1)), raises questions about the individual sense of self and the vision of the world lying behind the erotic longings it verbalizes. It is not the most interesting of the lyrics found in English manuscripts, but it provides a good example of clerkish effort in seven rhythmic, rhyming stanzas. "Partu prodit" announces itself from the outset a product of books and classrooms; the first four stanzas describe at once the beauties of spring (grass, flowers, trees, birds), evoke a broad sense of cosmic vivifying forces, and set the whole experience of eros in the context of the natural laws that govern the conduct of the universe:

1a

Partu prodit arida  
hyeme latente,  
que concepit grauida  
gremio tumente.

1b

5 Flatu fouet tepido  
uer noua creata,  
que fomento calido  
sunt uiuificata.

2a

Herbam tellus peperit,  
herba florem exerit,  
et flos spirat odorem.

2b

Dum uer nouum comperit,  
5 auis parem reperit,  
quam ciet in amorem.

3a

Prata florum uariata  
sunt colore uario,  
estque silua decorata  
fronde, flore, folio.

3b

5 Sunt iam cuncta renouata  
ac priuata tedio,

et amoris lex est data:  
quisque cedat studio.

4a

Sunt iam cuncta flore plena;  
que dum uidet tam amena,  
forme memor philomena<sup>3</sup>  
de iactura queritur.

4b

- 5 Iam amoris calet uena,  
iam amanti crescit pena,  
et amoris iam habena  
mens amantis stringitur.

[1a

*When parched Winter goes into hiding, she who, pregnant, has conceived  
with swelling womb comes forth with offspring.*

1b

*With a warm breeze Spring cherishes her new creations, which, with a warm  
touch, are brought to life.*

2a

*The earth has brought forth the plant, the plant puts forth the flower, the  
flower breathes forth its fragrance.*

2b

*While the new Spring learns, the bird finds its mate, whom he excites to love.*

3a

*The fields of flowers are varied with a varied hue and the wood is adorned  
with frond, flower, and leaf.*

3b

*Now all things are renewed and freed from weariness, and the law of love is  
given: let each one cease from study!*

4a

*Now all things are full of flowers; when she sees such beautiful things,  
Philomela, remembering [her earlier] form, laments her loss.*

4b

*Now the vessel of love grows warm, now the punishment for the lover  
increases, and now the mind of the lover is held fast by the rein of love.]*

Formally this is a fairly sophisticated example of a twelfth-century sequence made up of a series of two-part and, later in the poem, three-part stanzas of varying metrical structure. The Cambridge manuscript, the only one in which “Partu prodit” appears, contains blank staves above the lines of verse, reminding us, even in the absence of musical notation, that this lyric was conceived of as sung entertainment. The poem opens simply with a pretty elaboration of an erotic science of rebirth and regenerative immortality—a view of the world that permits seeing the speaker’s own case of academic spring fever as part of a natural sexual and cosmic cycle. The first two stanzas portray the seasonal period of intense renewal as an urgent sequence of causes: Spring displaces Winter, grows pregnant, gives birth, nurtures with a warm breeze; the earth pushes up plants; the plants produce flowers, the flowers odors, and birds mate.

For the speaker, his own struggle to ignore the pressure put on him by the universe works itself out in the remaining stanzas as a little psychomachia between two goddesses, a battle between Pallas and Venus, learning and eros, set in a spring hothouse where human sexual desire and natural productive processes are closely linked:

5a

Regnat proles per plateas  
Citheree regia,  
et inuitat hic choreas  
ad amoris studia.

5b

5 Parat ille suum martem,  
qui trihumphat omnia,  
et spernentes matris artem  
trahit ad supplicia.

5c

Iam lesum turba ruit  
10 trihumphatis<sup>4</sup> cetibus  
et contemptus penam luit,  
loris uincta grauibus.

6a

Dum predam rideo,  
sum preda factus;  
cum ceteris ruo  
subito captus.

6b

- 5 Capior, uincior  
loris amoris,  
mensque peruritur  
Igne furoris.

6c

- Dum rogo Palladem  
10 arma mouere,  
est dea Cipridem  
uisa pauere.

7a

Quero sorores septem adesse:  
est michi uisa nulla prodesse;  
flent Pegaseo milite capto,  
non satis arti Cipridis apto.

7b

- 5 Me Citherea reddit inultum  
et meo priuat sanguine uultum.  
dat michi notam pallor in ore,  
quod grauiter sum lesum amore.

[5a

*The royal offspring of Venus rules in the streets, and here invites the dancers to studies of love.*

5b

*He makes ready his martial power that conquers all, and he drags to torment all those who spurn his mother's art.*

5c

*Now the mob of the wounded falls in conquered crowds, and suffers the punishment of contempt, bound by grievous reins.*

6a

*While I ridicule the prey, I am made prey; I fall with the rest, suddenly captured.*

6b

*I am captured, I am bound by the reins of love and my mind is burned up by the fire of madness.*

6c

*While I beg Pallas to take up arms, the goddess seems to fear Venus.*

7a

*I ask that the seven sisters [i.e., the seven liberal arts] be near; none of them seems to be of use to me; they weep at the capture of the Pegasean soldier [i.e., the poet], who is inadequately suited for Venus's art.*

7b

*Venus returns me unavenged and deprives my face of blood. The pallor in my face gives me a mark showing that I have been gravely wounded by love.]<sup>5</sup>*

The *lex amoris* (Venus's power) demands the end of study in springtime and the exchange of the rigors of the intellectual *studium* for the *habena amoris* and the *amoris studia*. As one whose life it is to work with words and devote himself to study, the speaker feels the power of love as an *ars* like his *ars*, a *studium* like his *studium*, an entity with powers deeply ingrained in the universe, that at once opposes and complements his professional identity. He envisions himself a mighty student-warrior, borne high on the back of Pegasus, whose wings metaphorically represent the uplifting power of the cleric's knowledge. Yet he falls in the face of a greater force.

The poet populates his fantasy with the furnishings of a twelfth-century mind educated in the new schools, filling the spring with quick and repeated reference to figures from myth: Venus, Cupid, Mars, Pallas, Philomela, Pegasus, the "seven sisters." There is no direct object of the speaker's love—Cupid strikes him in the heart of spring, and so he suffers by nature, but not *for* anyone we can see. All the frantic activity we do observe plays itself out in the speaker's mind until he suffers, in the last stanza, the physical effects of lovesickness. No individual engages his passions; he is simply caught up in his own personal reverie. He observes a dangerous wildness in others, which a part of him wants to avoid, then finds himself ensnared like the rest of humanity.

The freedom and the inspiration to write an amusing, scholarly, sexy little lyric like "Partu prodit" were not entirely new to the twelfth century in western Europe, but were largely so. To understand how this lyric might have ended up in a turn-of-the-century English musical manuscript, we need to understand something of the social forces shaping clerical life in the course of the 1100s. To enter confidently into the imaginative world of such a poem, modern observers need to look beyond its confines to examine the contemporary understanding of the cosmos and of scholarly activity that made it possible for the lyric to come into being at all. John F. Benton has commented famously on the heightened "consciousness of self" in the twelfth century that marks writings in many fields—theology, history, science: "Whatever the causes, European authors . . . had a clearer sense of their own inner life and

their relations to others than their Carolingian predecessors.”<sup>6</sup> We can, I think, locate an intellectual imprimatur for erotic Latin verse in the poetic and philosophical sense of self, a persona of sorts, invented by writers and thinkers in the period. This clerical self-construct was an ironic mix of self-confidence and anxiety, which tried to incorporate eros and learning, busyness and contemplation, poetry and philosophy, classic and modern, into its broadly based sense of what an educated man should be.

Though they can be funny, raucous, and irreverent, the poems under discussion here are not a part of that body of medieval Latin poems loosely called “goliardic.” Critics since the nineteenth century have often indiscriminately lumped goliardic verse with Latin love poetry, but erotic lyric and goliard satire are distinct phenomena.<sup>7</sup> The myth of Goliath, of an antiecclesiastical “order” of gluttonous, vagrant poet-scholars under the authority of a bishop “Goliath,” emerged in the twelfth century from the association of disreputable clerics with Latin poetry that was considered inappropriate or risqué by the ecclesiastical authorities.<sup>8</sup> Soon after this first association of Goliath with satiric Latin verse, the name came to be “attached as putative author to an ever-widening variety of satirical and comic themes which provide no clue to the origin of the sobriquet ‘Goliath.’”<sup>9</sup> Goliardic poetry shares with some of the finest Latin erotic lyrics a common “wit, linguistic dexterity, and a fluency in rhyme and rhythm,” and what “Goliath” meant to a medieval scribe certainly depended on time, place, and circumstance. But in general, “love poems are almost entirely absent”<sup>10</sup> from the corpus of verse actually associated with Goliath by contemporaries. Erotic Latin lyric, though various in form and purpose, should be carefully distinguished from the parodic poems considered goliardic by the later Middle Ages.

As part of their school training, almost all educated men in the high Middle Ages learned to write classically inspired Latin verse, some of it based on the erotically charged material they encountered in their reading of Horace, Virgil, and especially Ovid. Poets of the eleventh and twelfth centuries commonly and regretfully refer to the *nugae* written in their youth and blame them on excessive exuberance and a wrongheaded urge to scholarly play. Bishop Marbod of Rennes’s (ca. 1035–1123) autobiographical criticism of the way poetry was taught offers us a vivid image of the schoolmaster beating immorality—the false stories of the gods—into boys who will desire to commit the same wicked acts they have read about:

Praetereo cunas, pannorum foeda relinquo;  
Infantum fletus, nutricum sperno labores.

Ad pueri propero lacrymas, quem verberare saevo  
 Iratus cogit dictata referre magister,  
 Dediscenda docens quae confinxere poetae,  
 Stupra nefanda Iovis, seu Martis adultera facta,  
 Lascivos recitans iuvenes, turpesque puellas,  
 Mutua quos iunxit sed detestanda voluptas.  
 Imbuit ad culpam similem rude fabula pectus,  
 Praeventusque puer vitii ferventis odore  
 Iam cupit exemplo committere foeda deorum.

*[I pass by the cradle, abandon the filth of swaddling clothes;  
 I reject the tears of infants, the efforts of nurses.  
 I move quickly to the tears of a boy, whom with harsh rod  
 The angry master forces to repeat his lessons,  
 Teaching things that ought to be forgotten which poets made up,  
 The abominable immoralities of Jove, or the adulterous deeds of Mars,  
 Reading about lascivious youths, and shameless girls,  
 Whom a mutual pleasure, but one deserving to be hated, joined.  
 A fabula inspires a young heart to similar sin,  
 And the boy, preceded by the odor of seething vice,  
 Now desires to undertake foul deeds in accordance with the example of the  
 gods.]*<sup>11</sup>

It is hard to know if this passage recalls Marbod's own early education at the cathedral school of Angers in the 1050s and 1060s, or if it records Marbod's reaction to what he thought education had become after the turn of the century. Such lines, coming from one of the most accomplished Latin poets of his age, suggest the uneasiness felt by many twelfth-century writers concerning their relationship to the poetry and the myths they grew up studying, and to the poems they themselves wrote as a consequence of their training. In his old age, Marbod formulaically rejected "the things I wrote in my youth" [quae juvenis scripsi], declaring: "let me propose neither to write foolish things nor to flatter the ears with the words of songs" [Ergo propositum mihi sit, neque ludicra quaedam / Scribere, nec verbis aures mulcere canoris].<sup>12</sup> Peter of Blois, the exemplar of a widely traveled bureaucrat and poet who ended up in England, seems to have been of two minds about his own *carmina*. Egbert Türk finds him oscillating between God and the world;<sup>13</sup> Dronke observes equivocality in the letters he wrote and in his love poems, and sees Peter as a man "who hates the lasciviousness of his youthful songs, and yet loves to return to



those songs as he grows older.”<sup>14</sup> Others have felt that Peter sincerely rejected his early *carmina lascivia* at some point in midlife and never went back.<sup>15</sup> Some poets apparently wrote *ludicra* all their lives without remorse; Walter of Châtillon “does not seem to have undergone any ‘conversion’: there is no way of assigning his ‘profanities’ to an earlier period, his spirituality to a later”;<sup>16</sup> as early as 1100 Baudri of Bourgueil (1046–1130) defended his erotic verse on the grounds that it gave innocent pleasure and his own life was blameless.<sup>17</sup>

Some twelfth-century poets did apparently experience a moment when they felt compelled to abjure what they had earlier composed: Serlo of Wilton became a model for preachers of the converted lascivious poet.<sup>18</sup> While a master at Paris in the 1160s he endured a vision of purgatory that drove him out of the schools into the Cistercian order and turned his poetry thereafter only to moral subjects.<sup>19</sup> Though Gerald of Wales, as far as we know, never wrote *rithmice*, he felt compelled to warn readers that his youthful works containing erotic material were long-abandoned products composed only in play. So in the preface to the *Symbolum Electorum* he apologizes for the very poems he preserves in the book:

Having taken much delight in these years of my youth, I had considered playing with these writings as much as generally treating serious matters as well, . . . [but] gradually I turned myself to more staid poetry and determined to devote my adult years to more mature studies and to more weighty compositions.<sup>20</sup>

This anxious pattern of vacillation and rejection fits with models of clerical life being expounded in the schools under the influence of Neoplatonic analyses of classical literature—especially the Aeneid. The ideal man should study grammar and poetry in his early years and compose poems himself; as he moves on to higher studies and to more responsibility in life he might feel that he should regret some things he had written as an enthusiastic adolescent.

Chapters 1 and 2, my part 1, provide necessary background to the following six chapters, and deal largely with the pseudoclassical erotica that emerged in northern France in the second half of the eleventh century. This is a type of poetry that, to my knowledge, manifests itself in Anglo-Latin manuscripts only in some extremely difficult poetry from British Library Additional MS 24199.<sup>21</sup> Chapter 1 looks at four important writers who produced erotic Latin poetry in northern France between about 1060 and 1120, all of whom, in different ways, sought to recuperate the classical poetic past for their own time and to create an heroic and quite philosophical poetic self. They recognized

eros as a dangerous and disruptive force, but also a part of the stuff of the cosmos, produced by a Natura who was God's handmaid. Their re-created Latin *vates* was a writer able to play with classical erotica and produce highly crafted Latin verse in a variety of classically inspired forms for wide circles of clerics and a few aristocrats who could appreciate such efforts. It is this medievalized figure of the classical poet who provides the most immediate precursor to the poetic self that would subsequently be worked out in the erotic lyrics of the mid- to late twelfth century by a new generation of courtier-clerics. Chapter 2 looks closely at the handful of erotic, Ovidian poems in Additional 24199 and at the small collection of older rhythmic erotica in Cambridge University Library MS Gg.5.35. The lyrics in Additional 24199 appear to date from the first half of the twelfth century. In form and content they are closely related to the works of classicizing northern French clerics, suggesting the possibility that these anonymous and probably Anglo-Latin poems emerged out of an insular social and intellectual situation very similar to that of northern France. The erotic poems in this collection show one path down which the impulse to schoolish Ovidianism traveled, one part of the struggle to absorb eros and myth. The rhythmic erotica in the Cambridge manuscript, all composed before the mid-eleventh century, show a different sort of school poetry, formally more like medieval hymns and in content an allusive pastiche of classical and biblical materials.

Chapters 3, 4, and 5 of this book, the second section, offer a necessarily compressed view of the social and intellectual context out of which emerged the erotic Latin poetry produced in the course of the twelfth century, and examine the twelfth-century classicizing erotica most closely related to the schools of the period. Chapter 3 looks at the close ties in the period between what would become France and England, at evidence for the influence of Henry II's court on Anglo-Norman literary culture, and at the level of latinity of Anglo-Norman aristocrats, in order to suggest that in the second half of the twelfth century writers of Latin erotic song might have hoped for a secular, as well as a clerical, audience. I chart briefly the process of self-definition occurring among the nobility in the later twelfth century, a process evident in stories and songs about a knight's ideal self in battle and in pursuit of a good marriage. Efforts by aristocrats to define themselves as a body parallel, in many ways, a process of social climbing through education and political maneuvering within what might be called the "clerical class." Ambitious clerics seeking good jobs and a measure of fame existed in an unsettled and anxiety-producing social situation; like their aristocratic contemporaries, they appreciated literary works reflective of their struggle for

self-identity. Chapter 4 analyzes what I see as a Neoplatonist “program” to develop the wise man for a new world, particularly the efforts of that program to understand the power of eros in the cosmos and in the lives of educated and ambitious men. To that end, I examine twelfth-century exegeses of some old myths illustrating the ideal course of education for the philosopher-poet of a new age; and I examine three new treatises (the *Cosmographia*, *De planctu naturae*, and *Anticlaudianus*), new myths, created by Neoplatonists in the mid-to-late twelfth century, that show how certain writers imagined a powerful clerical self whose erotic longings could be seen as a part of his craft as philosopher and poet, and as an aspect of the larger creative forces running from top to bottom through the cosmos. Chapter 5 deals with the classical and explicitly Ovidian poetry associated with the pedagogy of continental and insular schools, particularly the often anonymous illustrative poems found among the rhetorical treatises of Glasgow Hunterian MS V.8.14, and with the classical and Neoplatonist juvenilia of Gerald of Wales (from Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.7.11). In the former we find erotic poems that medievalize classical Latin verse under the guidance of Neoplatonic rhetoric, to produce mannered, pedantic play with poetic language and form that takes advantage of erotic situations for grammatical and rhetorical ends. In the latter we find much less verbal gaming; instead Gerald anxiously combines the poetic and rhetorical material codified in the *artes* with a Neoplatonic blueprint of the cosmos to think conservatively about the power of eros in the world.

The remaining three chapters, 6 through 8, focus on the great twelfth-century erotic Latin songs found today in identifiably English manuscripts. I begin this final segment, in chapter 6, with some of the erotic poems found in Oxford Bodleian MS Additional A.44 and Cambridge University Library MS Ff.1.17(1), as examples of the new sorts of rhymed, rhythmic verse produced in the wake of formal advances in song composition associated with the development of Parisian sequences and Aquitanian *versus*. In these erotic songs, through their playful and anxious rumination on eros and clerical life, we can begin to see the use of lyrics as a vehicle for the imaginative discussion of some of the philosophical issues facing a new generation of courtier clerics. Chapter 7 concentrates entirely on the vexed figure of Peter of Blois and on six of the brilliant poems found in British Library Arundel 384, poems in recent years assigned, perhaps erroneously, to that Anglo-Norman courtier and archdeacon of Bath. Composed by a single poet or not, they work throughout to examine a common set of ideas about the function of eros and the place of the cleric in a complex and beautiful cosmos. These are poems that point up the unre-

solvable and contradictory functioning of eros in the sublunar realm, especially the difficulties inherent in reading the truth of erotic experience. In several cases they focus closely on particular kinds of academic texts, working through their conventions to elucidate a clerical self whose erotic identity is in large part a creation of the texts themselves. Chapter 8, my final chapter, takes up three erotic poems from three different manuscripts that focus on figures from classical mythology: Orpheus, Hercules, and Leda. While all inherently funny and entertaining, these poems also offer the possibility of serious allegorical readings based on the integumental values assigned to the figures by contemporary mythographers, an understanding available to a fairly sophisticated audience possessed of a philosophical interest in the nature of eros and concerned with the craft of the cleric. Through allegory, they each ask the thoughtful clerical auditor to read himself and his life into the ancient stories retold and analyzed in the lyrics.

This book thus covers a period dating roughly from the mid-eleventh to the early thirteenth century, using manuscripts dating from about 1050 to the late fourteenth century, with the greatest emphasis on poems likely written between about 1150 and 1200. I discuss the lyrics of a number of major identifiable poets, both continental and insular, as well as many anonymous lyrics from more than half a dozen important Anglo-Latin manuscripts. I hope this book will at once make clearer the range of the Latin erotic lyrics in circulation in England and in the Anglo-Norman world during and after the twelfth century, and provide modern readers with a more solid understanding of just what these poems meant in their own time.

# Part One

## ADUMBRATIONS: EROTIC LATIN LYRIC IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY



## Chapter One

# The Classicists of Northern France

**T**HERE ARE ONLY two Anglo-Latin manuscripts containing erotic verse written before the second half of the twelfth century, and they are very different from each other. The older one, Cambridge University Library MS Gg.5.35, originally written at Canterbury around 1050, contains a large collection of secular and religious songs, many in nonclassical meters, including seven poems that might be called erotic. The other manuscript, British Library Additional MS 24199, was copied at the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds sometime in the first half of the twelfth century. It contains a significant collection of Latin poems composed by identifiable continental writers in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, as well as numerous unique and anonymous Latin poems in the same style, some of which are erotic. The poems found in Additional 24199 are largely composed in classical and pseudoclassical meters and are quite distinct in form and content from the older erotic poems found in Cambridge University Library Gg.5.35. In the next chapter I will discuss the erotica in these two manuscripts as an indication of what was available in insular intellectual circles before the second half of the twelfth century and before the great twelfth-century flowering of erotic

Latin verse that is the principal subject of this book. In this chapter, however, I will examine briefly the classicizing, often explicitly Ovidian, erotic poetry produced by four important poets in northern France: Fulcoius of Beauvais, Godfrey of Reims, Marbod of Rennes, and Baudri of Bourgueil. Such analysis is important because the works of these poets provide the most immediate intellectual and literary context for an understanding of the erotic poems contained in Additional 24199. Northern France in the later eleventh century, and through the whole of the twelfth century, remained the training ground for many of the clerics with careers in the Anglo-Norman church and state. In its modest way, Additional 24199 supplies evidence for significant insular interest in northern French Latin verse of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, and it shows clear insular participation in the production and circulation of verse of this sort, including erotic verse.

The four poets we will look at here were familiar with each other and participated together in the social, political, and educational world of the ecclesiastical elite in northern France in the later eleventh century.<sup>1</sup> All were products of the cathedral schools, all maintained a high profile throughout their careers, and all achieved important administrative positions in the church. Around 1080, a year when all four were actively writing, Fulcoius was an archdeacon, Godfrey and Marbod were chancellors of important cathedral schools, and Baudri was the abbot of a rich Benedictine abbey near Tours. The four shared, by and large, a common set of attitudes about classical poetry and about the writing of Latin verse. They saw themselves as the inheritors and transformers of a revered classical heritage, and Ovid was probably the single most important classical presence in their creative lives. As Hennig Brinkman pointed out many years ago, following the reentry of Ovid into the school curriculum in the eleventh century, his authority as a poet increased until, by the twelfth century, he had become one of the poets most quoted by medieval authors of *artes poeticae*, and the Ovidian elegiac line came to hold a preeminent place among verse forms.<sup>2</sup> For many clerics, part of being well educated came to mean being schooled in Ovid. While medieval Latin poets drew on other classical sources when they wrote about erotic experience, Ovid was the dominant archetype of the love poet, the name frequently singled out as a focus for all the regrets and anxieties voiced over lascivious love songs or wasted youth. Fulcoius, who fantasized about his role as a latter-day Virgil and wrote often in hexameters, is probably the least Ovidian of the group, and the most old-school; Baudri, who constructed a bucolic fantasy of his own position as a new Ovid of the Loire Valley and wrote largely in distiches, is certainly



the most devoted follower of the author of the *Amores*, *Heroides*, and the *Ars Amatoria*, and the most avant-garde of the group.<sup>3</sup>

If we look, then, to these four clerics, we will find them reinventing a classical past in order to construct a poetic self that adopts the figure of an imagined *vates*, a poet of wide experience and reading with a sacred calling and a unique place in society. The practice of producing classically based Latin poetry was central to their identities as teachers and ecclesiastical politicians, and a mark of their elite status. As a group they believed in the power and social value of poetry, believed in the special status and authority due to poet-philosophers, as they styled themselves. At times, they used their poems to confront difficult matters from a particular authorized, but daring, point of view. Not surprisingly for admirers of Ovid and Horace who were also teachers, they wrote about eros, recovering erotic material from the classics and analyzing the workings of eros in their own world. Imaginative play with classical myth and poetry provided them with one key to understanding eros in the life of the wise and educated man. They recognized the danger eros posed to an ordered and moral life, described the erotic power of male and female bodies, and observed the struggle between learning and erotic desire. Writing sophisticated but playful poems to their students and peers, they apparently imagined a clerical world in which erotic verse might have a cohesive social function.

For these ecclesiastics, composing pseudoclassical poetry was inevitably a political act that established their credentials as part of a high-culture elite; through poetic composition they showed their mastery of classical wisdom and art at the most sophisticated levels within that culture. The sort of vigorous intellectual identity they embody would later be elaborated and codified in the pedagogical program of humanist educators in Paris and elsewhere. The persona they established—one willing to admire Ovid, extol the classical *vates*, play freely with myth, and write erotic verse—would ultimately become common currency in certain clerical circles in the mid-to-late twelfth century. In their works, especially Baudri's, we can also begin to see what might be called an emerging cosmological perspective on eros—a sense of eros as a force running through the universe from top to bottom, potentially linking the sublunar to the divine, where male creativity and academic study may even be viewed as erotic activities in their own right. Like their persona, this perspective would be much more explicitly explored by poets in the twelfth century. But here, in the years around 1100, we can witness in these four clerics the early development of the much more radical poetic identities that would be so well represented later in Anglo-Latin manuscripts.

The verse produced by this loose coterie of authors reveals the extent to which classical poetry was absorbed in areas that would become part of the educational heartland for the Anglo-Norman intelligentsia.<sup>4</sup> The writers of Latin erotica who emerged in northern France in the second half of the eleventh century were part of what one recent writer has called a “textual community” of shared literary interests and attitudes, a little universe populated by latinate clerics, a few nuns, and probably some aristocrats, all trained in classical poetry, particularly the newly incorporated Ovidian corpus, who circulated poetry for their own satisfaction.<sup>5</sup> If this “subculture” was thus largely clerical, it did not exist in a political vacuum. The poetical works produced by these late-eleventh-century clerics were not, by and large, poems for entertainment in secular courts, but at times the clerical community did expand, and its works could be “sent in search of patronage outside the institutional confines to educated members of the secular world.”<sup>6</sup> Reto R. Bezola’s analysis of this literary milieu stresses the role of the court of Countess Adèle, daughter of William I of England and wife to Étienne, count of Blois-Chartres-Meaux. At Blois she supported a court that was not as important, perhaps, as the twelfth-century creation of Marie de Champagne, but still “an important and eminent cultural and literary center.”<sup>7</sup> Although none of the poets to be discussed in this chapter was formally attached to her court, Baudri wrote a long and learned poem to her. And there were clearly other courts in this milieu where adventurous pseudoclassical poetry might be appreciated: Baudri and Marbod both wrote praise-poems to Queen Matilda of England; Marbod cultivated Ermengard, countess of Rennes, who was reputed to encourage poets.<sup>8</sup> The episcopal court of Manasses of Reims, at least until about 1080, also seems to have supported, perhaps more directly, several poets.

The lyric erotica such writers composed was not so much a precursor to the poems of the Provençal troubadours as a parallel development at some geographic distance and in a somewhat different social milieu.<sup>9</sup> The first troubadour whose works have survived, William VII, count of Poitiers, ninth duke of Aquitaine, was from 1086 to 1126 ruler of an area with close political and social ties to the Loire. Most scholars agree that William must have been writing in a well-established vernacular tradition, and it is hard to imagine that there was no intellectual cross-fertilization between the powerful ecclesiastical literati north of the Loire and vernacular poets of the court of Aquitaine in the late eleventh century (fig. 1).<sup>10</sup> The audience for Duke William’s vernacular songs and the audience for the works of the northern French Latin poets were probably not that different: aristocrats and courtiers, men and women, with some education and a developing taste for sophisticated art forms. Certainly,

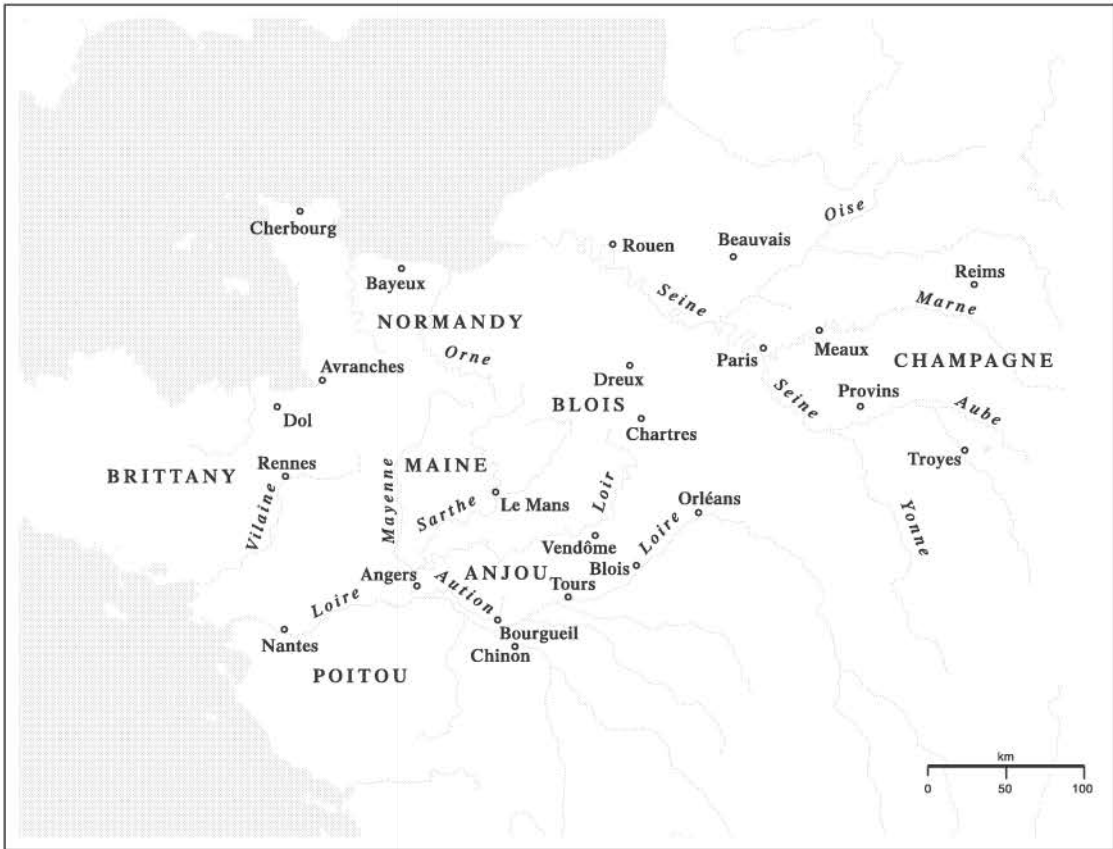


Fig. 1. Map of northern France about the year 1100. Fulcoius of Beauvais, archdeacon of Meaux, and Godfrey of Reims, chancellor of the cathedral school of Reims, were both attached to the court of Manasses I, archbishop of Reims 1069–1080. Marbod of Rennes and Baudri of Bourgueil both passed their careers in the orbit of the counts of Anjou.

as one of Marbod's poems strongly suggests,<sup>11</sup> vernacular love songs would have been performed in ecclesiastical courts, even if the dissemination of Latin songs and poems into more secular courts might have been less common. What we have, really, are two overlapping circles of interest, one ecclesiastical and highly latinate and the other secular and less well trained, to some degree separate but not isolated one from the other. In the twelfth century we will find, I think, increasing penetration of the secular court realm by clerics and a continuing interest on the part of educated men, cleric and noble, in Latin literary activity (including erotic lyrics). In northern France, in the years between about 1070 and 1120, we observe an early version of the educated, mixed courtly and clerical culture that provides the social matrix for the erotic lyric in the heart of the twelfth century.

FULCOIUS AND GODFREY:  
TWO POETS IN THE COURT OF REIMS

Two of the four northern French classicists under discussion here, Fulcoius of Beauvais and Godfrey of Reims, passed much of their careers in close association with Manasses I, archbishop of Reims from 1069 until Gregory VII removed him from office in 1080. Both poets held important posts under Manasses—Fulcoius was archdeacon of Meaux and Godfrey served as chancellor of the cathedral school in Reims—and they wrote sophisticated Latin poetry with the encouragement of the archbishop during his uneasy reign.<sup>12</sup> Fulcoius functioned as a sort of apologist for Manasses in his strained dealings with the pope and various secular magnates in the 1070s and 1080s; he seems to have sided consistently with the archbishop, writing letter-poems to him and on his behalf, and dedicating to him his *De nuptiis*, a long versified summary of the Bible.<sup>13</sup> Though Fulcoius never mentions Godfrey in any of his poems, Godfrey must have been a major figure in Fulcoius's poetic circle and in the intellectual world of northern France after 1050, with connections beyond Reims linking him to Marbod and Baudri.<sup>14</sup> Educated in Reims at midcentury, Godfrey became chancellor there in 1077; he appears from time to time in charters up through 1094, until replaced in the records by a new chancellor in 1095, presumably upon his death. Baudri called Godfrey Manasses' "calamus" and "Musa," suggesting strongly that he served in some capacity as a court poet.<sup>15</sup> Like Fulcoius, Godfrey probably owed his ecclesiastical position to Manasses; unlike Fulcoius, Godfrey must finally have sided with Gregorian reformers, surviving the political results of Manasses' fall and continuing on in his position in Reims after 1080.<sup>16</sup>

Fulcoius was not a self-consciously Ovidian poet, and most of his twenty-six surviving verse epistles are in hexameter, often leonine hexameters of the sort Marbod appreciated, though he occasionally wrote elegiac distiches, usually with internal rhyme. Evidently he exchanged poems with some of those to whom he wrote his verse epistles, suggesting the existence of circles of poetic exchange within the educated elite of the region. One poem closes with a plea to Manasses for poems in return—"Fac, precor, audenter mihi, carmina mitte frequenter" [I beg you, do it boldly for me, send poems frequently]—and a letter addressed to "matrona Ida" indicates that he expects her to write back in response to the poems he has sent her: "Ida, quod assignas, 'da,' produc, 'i,' precor, et 'da' / Qualemcunque dedi uersum, quem, cara, rogasti" [Ida, that which you assign, 'give,' bring forth, 'go,' I beg, and 'give' / (me) a verse such as I have given (you), which you requested, dear].<sup>17</sup> Like other ambitious poets in his

milieu, Fulcoius engaged in a project of self-construction that drew on the classical past and made room for eros in the well-educated cleric's life, but the idealized self-image Fulcoius offers in bits and pieces through his poems is more heroic and Virgilian than the poetic selves we will see crafted by the other three poets. So Fulcoius proclaims in an epistle to Emperor Henry IV: "Cesare Henrico redierunt aurea secla / Alter Virgilius redit alter et Octouianus" [Golden ages have returned with Emperor Henry / Another Virgil returns and another Caesar Augustus], and it is generally Virgil he holds up as the ideal classical poet.<sup>18</sup> In an explicit self-portrait he offers his services as knight-scholar to Manasses, riding a horse trained by the banks of the Marne and Thérain, his native rivers, and decorated with the cosmos: the seven planets on its head, the signs of the zodiac on its breast, the movements of the stars and the months and seasons on its saddle.<sup>19</sup> Pallas instructs the seven liberal arts to make Fulcoius's armor; Abraham gives him sandals; David gives him the helmet, sword, and spear of Goliath; and Moses provides a shield with the image of God on the boss and painted with the events of Genesis.<sup>20</sup> Thus he is carried along by the knowledge of the visible universe and armed by the classical heritage and biblical learning. In addition, as Fulcoius reminds his master in epistle 26, great poets can offer their patrons immortality:

Sic est in mundo Manases, sit tempore longo.  
 Heroes prisci uiuunt rebus bene gestis,  
 Et bene gesta quidem dumtaxat carmine uiuunt,  
 Carmina per uatem: Manases, tu carmine uate  
 Viues, mandatis istis geminis bene gestis.  
 Ergo scribatur tua gloria ne moriatur.

*[So the name "Manasses" is in the world, let it exist for a long time. Ancient heroes live on in their well-done deeds, and things well done live only in song, through the songs of bards. Manasses, you will live on in a song through a poet, since these twin commissions have been well accomplished. Therefore let your glory be written that it not die.]*<sup>21</sup>

Together Manasses and Henry are the inheritors of a tradition of laudatory song through which deeds are memorialized; like the "heroes prisci" of classical poetry, they live on through the agency of the latter-day *vates*.

For Fulcoius's heroic *vates* erotic desire is on the one hand a source of danger—sinful if wrongly directed and a distraction from the life of the mind—and, on the other hand, a pleasure associated with the other pleasures of God's

beautiful creation. In epistle 16, one of a small group of poems in elegiacs, also to Ida, Fulcoius admits his vulnerability to the madness of eros, and observes the conflict in the wise man's life between the power of Minerva and Venus. Earlier in the poem, Fulcoius declares his wish to write a poem that would be able to "tangere caelos" [touch the heavens];<sup>22</sup> now he worries about the threat to his ambition:

Sana, Cupidineis ne speres ignibus uri,  
 Insanire meum cum sit, amare tuum.  
 Femineas flammās dicatur nomine uero  
 Qui superat fortis, qui superatur homo.  
 Si libet, obserua. Faueat cui casta Minerua  
 Nec bona deficient nec mala conficient.  
 Cui Venus indulget specie cum ueste refulget.  
 Sed dolor est species, copia pauperies.

*[Sound of mind, may you not hope to be burned by Cupidinous fires, since it is for me to be mad, for you to love. Let the man who overcomes female fires be called by a true name, "strong," and the one who is overcome be called "mortal man." Observe, if you please: whomever chaste Minerva favors, good things will not fail him and misfortunes will not destroy him. He to whom Venus is kind in beauty glitters in (his) clothing; but beauty is sorrow, plenty is poverty.]*<sup>23</sup>

Ida is "sana" and knows how to love ("amare") without cupidinous burning, while Fulcoius risks becoming *insanus*; "femineae flammæ" threaten men who must be "forte" to resist erotic desire and its false promises. This implied contrast between weaker men and wise men of virtue is one that will recur with some regularity in later erotic verse and be metaphorically realized in the figure of Hercules. The man who allies himself with Venus is merely "homo," mortal man, linked to the unreliable goods of beauty and wealth, while the "strong" man, who is more than simply *homo*, benefits from the true goods available through the power of "casta Minerva."

Fulcoius's response to heteroerotic desire is more nuanced in a description of Bathsheba that occurs in epistle 10, a four-hundred-line poem addressed to Fulcrad, archdeacon of Laon. In the poem's obsessive depiction of the female body, condemnation of homoerotic relationships as a form of cosmic disorder, and hesitant advocacy of heterosexual eroticism, it anticipates by more than half a century the concerns of Neoplatonists like Alain de Lille, and Ovidian



rhetoricians like Matthew of Vendôme. Fulcoius voices real ambivalence about his own marriage (“Me pro coniugo, te plus pro crimine dampno” [I condemn myself for marriage, you more for a crime]),<sup>24</sup> but criticizes Fulcrad’s homosexual activity as a violation of the laws of nature:

Vxorem duxi, bene feci, non ego nupsi.  
 Duxi, non nupsi quia non sum femina, duxi.  
 Sic si quidem liquido naturae contulit ordo  
 Masculus ut faciat, patiatur femina, fiat.  
 Cur aries comitatur ouem uitulusque iuuencam,  
 Cur equus optat equam, queso, caper unde capellam,  
 Aut lupus unde lupam, leo concupit unde leenam?

*[I led a wife, I did well, I did not marry (lit.: veil myself for a husband). I led, I did not marry (veil myself), because I am not a woman, I led. Thus, indeed, if clearly the order of nature has assigned that the male should be active and the female passive, let it be so. Why does the ram accompany the ewe and the bull the heifer, why does the stallion choose the mare, I ask, whence the billy-goat the nanny-goat, or whence the he-wolf the she-wolf, whence the lion take the lioness?]*<sup>25</sup>

Clerical marriage, and sexual activity, if not the ideal, are still an appropriate response to the pressures of eros and confirm the male as one who leads by nature. By using *nubere* in this way, Fulcoius associates the female position with passivity and with being acted upon, and the male position with creative action (“Masculus ut faciat”); the male heterosexual is thus the “maker,” an idea taken up by poets and philosophers in the next century who will equate male heterosexual action with other clerical activity.

A long *effictio* of Bathsheba makes vivid the potential power of eros over the wise man, but also focuses on the natural pleasures of the body. Fulcoius notes early in the poem that human beings are caught in the world and participate in its temptations:

Nos homines, hominum carnalia pignora, uinum  
 Potamus uinum; portamus candida, linum;  
 Mitibus et Veneris uicibus, plerunque seueris,  
 Vtimur—utamur passi quo compatiatur.

*[We men, fleshly tokens of men, we drink wine; we wear bright things, linen; and the soft vicissitudes of Venus, frequently severe, we experience; let us experience (these things) by suffering so that we might feel compassion.]*<sup>26</sup>

The pleasure provided by beautiful things and the flesh is neither good nor evil, but a fact of life, and all who suffer under Venus need to show each other pity. Erotic power suffuses the world—at once a divine force and a disease that spares neither gender. As he stresses near the poem's conclusion:

Per bene res gestas si scires quanta potestas  
 Numinis est orbi, fieret compassio morbi.  
 Per coitus nexum non est discernere sexum.

*[If you knew through deeds well done how much power of divinity is in the world, compassion for the disease would have arisen. Under the connection of coitus no gender is distinguished.]*<sup>27</sup>

This tolerant sense of a cosmic eros undergirds what Fulcoius has to say about the attraction of Bathsheba for the prophet and poet David, a figure who must be seen as in some measure a stand-in for the eleventh-century poet himself. Epistle 10 devotes almost fifty lines to David's meeting with Bathsheba; most of these lines describe Bathsheba's body, a slow Latin striptease to counter the homoerotic impulses imputed to Fulcrad:

Deponit peplum, crines plus murice nigri  
 Apparent, quos nil metuens iubet ire solutos.  
 Exuit et uestes. Patuit corpus niuis instar.  
 Vt latet externo flos cortice tempore uerno;  
 Vtque latet, lente paulatim sole calente,  
 Exuuiis positis, patuit sic gratia Ditis  
 Forma Bethsabe, muliebre decus sine labe.

*[She takes off her robe, hair blacker than ink appears, which, fearing nothing, she allows to go free. She takes off her clothes. Her body is exposed, the image of snow. As the flower is concealed by its external covering in springtime, and so she lies hidden while the sun slowly warms, her clothing laid aside, thus is exposed the grace of God in the beauty of Bathsheba, feminine beauty without blemish.]*<sup>28</sup>

Her flesh is an absolute (her features are “redder than red, whiter than white, blacker than black”) transcending the beauties of the world (the rose, lily, and hyacinth) and surpassing “precious stones, gold, estates and farms” in value (ll. 158–65). This frank presentation of Bathsheba as an object of male desire leads



to a description of David's reaction that draws on some of the same language used in epistle 16, where the *homo fortis* was one who could resist Cupid's fire:

Ignē Cupidineo sic candet sicque liquescit.  
Soluitur hoc et homo calet et resolutus eodem  
Qui subcumbit; homo qui fert incendia fortis.  
Disputat ecce caro carnalis quanta uoluptas  
Et quid promittat, quid delectabile signet.

*[Thus he is hot with Cupid's fire and melts. The man who submits is melted by it and grows warm and is melted again by the same (heat); the man who endures flames is strong. Behold flesh deliberates how great carnal desire is and what it promises, what delightful thing it signifies.]*<sup>29</sup>

The heat generated by the king's sight of her makes him weak and inspires an internal disputation on the signification of desire: what does it promise? what does it mean? Fulcoius makes no effort to answer these questions directly, but does make clear that whatever the damage Bathsheba may cause, she is worth the disruption:

Tanta decens species regali digna corona,  
Regali sceptro, regis dignissima lecto.

*[So great is well-formed beauty, worthy of a royal crown, of a royal scepter, most worthy of the bed of a king.]*<sup>30</sup>

He moves on to the sort of detailed description of the face that becomes standard among the twelfth-century rhetoricians. Certain details speak specifically to Bathsheba's erotic power: the eyes "micant; 'coeamus' sunt quasi dicant" [sparkle; they are as if they say "let us go together"] and the mouth "os lactet, . . . corda per oscula mactet" [might allure (another) mouth, might overthrow the heart through kisses].<sup>31</sup> Whatever she is, Bathsheba came about through Nature's mediation:

Vt breuiter noscas totum qui noscere poscas:  
Hac nihil in forma natura dedit sine norma.  
Nil minimum, nichil est nimium per corpus. Ad imum,  
Cum magis attendas, in ea magis omnia pendas.  
Quod latet archanum corpus laudabile laudat.

[So that you might briefly learn, (you) who beg to learn everything: to this figure Nature gave nothing without rule. Nothing is least, nothing too much in the body. At last, when you consider more completely, in her you should esteem all things more greatly. The excellent body commends that which lies hidden.]<sup>32</sup>

Her at once maximal and moderate excellence reflects the divine rule that governs her physical form. At her center lies her *archanum*, the secret, invisible erotic core that the visible body shows will be praiseworthy and that David will soon be able to analyze. The poet manages to celebrate heteroerotic desire while remaining ambivalent about its place in the scheme of the cosmos; David the arch-poet and politico is perhaps unwise to take Bathsheba, but the impulse that moves him is a part of Nature's rule, and the wish to scrutinize the woman's body is not inappropriate.

Fulcoius's Chaucerian refusal to adopt a coherent position on eros is summarized in a moment from epistle 19, a letter in elegiacs addressed to Milo, dean of Paris ("decano parisiensi"), whom Fulcoius urges to marry so he will not commit worse sins.<sup>33</sup> Milo does not need to abandon heterosexual fornication, but to control his present sexual excesses, which have begun to interfere with his writing:

Instrumenta quid haec, stilus hic tabulaeque politae?

His studiis Maro non capit "Arma uirum."

Carmina nulla legi facient uel digna uideri.

.....

Ars percepta quidem non indiget ista magistro;

Non augeat precium non minuit studium.

[What are these instruments (to you), a stylus and polished tablets? By these efforts (i.e. sexual) Virgil does not conceive of the Aeneid. They will make no songs worthy to be read or seen. . . . Indeed, this learned art does not require a master; it does not increase recompense, nor reduce labor.]<sup>34</sup>

Virgil epitomizes the virtuous poet who disciplines himself to write for posterity. Milo's *culpa* is not his erotic desire, but the inappropriate ways he acts on it, which waste his forces and gain him nothing. Immediately after these lines, Fulcoius provides another ambiguous vision of eros, now with Dido as the subject:

Iure furit Dido: Venus urget, agitque Cupido.

Hinc deus, inde dea: sola resistet ea?

Est ueniale quidem cum sit bonus et malus idem.

Tela, uenena, dapes dant quoque lumen apes.

*[Dido rightly rages: Venus impels her and Cupid drives her. On this side a god, on that a goddess: alone will she resist? It is indeed a venial sin when good and evil are balanced. Bees give wounds, poisons, feasts, and also light.]*<sup>35</sup>

Contradictory divine forces relentlessly drive Dido into madness. Like Dido, the poet-cleric is threatened by an eros-inspired fury that seems irresistible. Even the wisest and strongest of men wrestle with the power of Venus and her son, one that balances “tela, venena, dapes . . . quoque lumen.”

In contrast to Fulcoius's work, in Godfrey of Reims's surviving poems, the Virgilian warrior and poet is replaced by something much more Ovidian. Indeed Baudri, himself such a self-conscious imitator of Ovid, admired Godfrey precisely because he seemed to him an Ovid reborn in France. Baudri apparently felt a special affinity with Godfrey and used the occasion of a long verse epistle to him to develop an elaborate defense of his own literary interests. Baudri saw in Godfrey one of the great contemporary poets of the older generation, a “magna . . . Musa,” a “sol alter,” a “clerique lucerna Latini” graced with the gifts of nature (“formam, diuitias, mores . . .”) whom a “lucida musa secundum / Nasoni peperit” [bright muse bore as another Ovid].<sup>36</sup> Godfrey himself likewise considered the ideal poet to be the embodiment of literary and personal values growing out of a study of old poetry.<sup>37</sup> In a poem Godfrey wrote to fellow poet Odo of Orléans, Godfrey praises Odo because he accepts the pleasures that ancient literature has to offer:

inglorius erret

Qui de mendaci religione tumet.

Exulet in siluis taciturnus amarus et asper

Et comes Hircanis tygribus esse uelit.

Par hiemi censendus erit Boreeque niuoso,

Gaudia qui dampnat tristitiamque probat.

*[Inglorious, the man would err who rages over a false religion. Let the taciturn, bitter, and austere man be an exile in the woods and let him wish to be a companion to Hyrcanian tigers. He will have to be adjudged like winter and snowy Boreas, he who condemns joys and esteems sadness.]*<sup>38</sup>

Odo banishes to the wintry woods those humorless contemporaries who reject the classical past for its religious errors. The grace and moderation Odo shows in his own character—his “*facies mitis*” and “*clemens*,” his “*forma modesta*”—are reflected in the style and content of *carmina* that avoid anything “*quod corda oneret, quod pregrauet aurem*” [that would oppress the heart, that would burden the ear]; permit neither “*aspera, difficilis obscenaque dictio*” [harsh, difficult, and obscene speech] nor the “*turpis hiatus*” [deformed hiatus]; and strive to flow “*lepido, facili, pronoque . . . lapsu*” [with a charming, gentle, and easy . . . fall]. Odo resurrects in life and art an antique tradition Godfrey longs for:

Postremo ueteri sic sunt impressa moneta  
 Vt sit uisa mihi uera poesis agi,  
 Vt rear antiquos nondum occubuisse poetas  
 Et superesse modo secula prisca putem.

[Finally they are marked thus with the old stamp so that true poetry seemed to me to be practiced, so that I thought ancient poets were not at rest, and I believe now that old times still exist.]<sup>39</sup>

Modern poetry carrying the *vetus moneta* of the classics brings back a *prisca secula* worth remembering and using in the present. The reward for writing this classicizing “vera poesis” is the immortality of *fama*, as Godfrey reminds Odo when he urges him to sing of Troy for the sake of Odo’s own immortality:

Hoc opus est eterna tibi quo fama paratur  
 Vitaeque post bustum non habitura modum.

[This is the work through which eternal fame is prepared for you, and life is destined to have no limit after the tomb.]<sup>40</sup>

Godfrey’s one surviving erotic poem, “Parce, precor, virgo,” reflects the same admiration for ancient poetry, and especially Ovid, that is evidenced in the “Sompnium Godefridi.”<sup>41</sup> “Parce, precor” was popular in its own time—directly or indirectly language from the poem appears in the works of a number of contemporary poets.<sup>42</sup> It is an extended piece of Ovidian gaming, with a speaker very different from Fulcoius’s bold cleric, who struggles with an oppressive and anxiety producing eros. Godfrey’s speaker playfully embraces the erotic urge that worried Fulcoius:

Non ego sum, pro quo te componendo labores,  
 Nec qui te talem non nisi cogar amem.  
 Pronus amo: non sum tenero qui pugnet amori,  
 Nec qui te roseam nolit amare deam.

*[I am not he for whom you need to labor in arranging yourself; nor he who would love you, so beautiful, only if compelled. I love by inclination: I am not he who would fight with tender love; nor he who wishes not to love you, rosy goddess.]*<sup>43</sup>

Predisposed by nature (“pronus”) to love, the speaker cannot ignore *tener amor* or the *rosea dea*. At the poem’s conclusion he amplifies his point—a human heart must be moved by something so clearly “divina” and “sollempnis”:

Corda gerit dura, quem tam divina figura  
 Vel tam purpuree non tetigere gene.  
 Robore vel scopulo genitum convincere possem,  
 Quem tam sollempnis forma movere nequit.

*[He has a hard heart whom such a divine form or such pink cheeks did not touch. I would be able to prove him born from oak or rock whom so sacred a form is unable to move.]*<sup>44</sup>

The speaker anatomizes the goddess for much of the poem’s first thirty lines, criticizing all her self-decoration as an effort to resist his gaze:

Contegis occulta candentes veste papillas,  
 Candida cum nolit veste papilla tegi.  
 Ne toga fluxa volet, reprimat tibi fascia corpus.  
 Cum corpus venerer, si toga fluxa volet.

*[You cover up (your) shining breasts with hidden clothing, although a white breast does not wish to be covered with clothing. Lest (your) toga fly loose, a girdle restrains your body, although I would worship your body if your toga were to fly loose.]*<sup>45</sup>

The observation that she appears best naked and otherwise undecorated (“Ornatu nullo potes exornatior esse” [By no ornament you are able to be more adorned]) leads to an elaborate discussion of her erotic power, represented metaphorically as a radiation she gives off through her eyes (which “radiis

certare Jovis . . . possent" [would have been able to compete with the beams of Jove]) and through her flesh (which shines "sole . . . melius splendidiusque" [better and more brightly than the sun]). A series of comparisons to other creations of Nature concludes by detailing her superiority to all the flora of the world: woods and meadows ("silve," "prati"), the white privet ("alba ligustra"), the lily, the rose, the violet all yield to a beauty more than terrestrial.

The last segment of the poem draws the shining, naked object of the speaker's desire into myth, making her fully a part of the ancient world out of which the poetic fantasies have grown. Godfrey focuses first on two mythological figures with linked stories illustrating the operation of eros in the world: Leda, who attracted and transformed Jupiter; and her daughter Helen, fathered by Jupiter, who inspired the Trojan War and reshaped the ancient world. Leda's beauty, the speaker reminds the woman, turned the god into a swan, but

Si magno conspecta Jovi de nube fuisses,  
Deposuisse deum non pudisset eum.

*[If you had been observed by great Jove from a cloud, the god would not have been ashamed to set it (his covering) aside.]*<sup>46</sup>

That is to say, the woman is so beautiful that Jupiter would have appeared to her not disguised, but in his true form. Later Helen's face ("Helene facies") and body ("opima potentia forme") would drive Paris to carry her off and the Greeks to pursue her, and, likewise,

Te tam conspicuam Phrygius si predo videret,  
Et te vel velo vel rapuisset equo,  
Grecia juraret populis te mille petendam.

*[If the Trojan robber had seen you, so remarkable, and had carried you off either by sail or by horse, Greece would have sworn to seek you with a thousand nations.]*<sup>47</sup>

Remarks about Leda and her semidivine daughter lead to the woman's final apotheosis, where she is given her own iconography as a new Diana:

Si succincta togam ritu pharetrata Diane  
Venatrix, toto crine soluta fores,  
Si Driadum comitata choro, si nuda lacertos,

Arcu fulmineos insequeris apros,  
 Te quicumque deus silvosa per antra vagantem  
 Conspiceret, veram crederet esse deam.

*[If you, a huntress, bearing a quiver like Diana, had put on a toga, with all your hair unbound, if you were accompanied by a chorus of dryads, if, with bare arms, with a bow, you followed flashing boars, any god who observed you wandering through woodsy grottos would have believed you to be a true goddess.]*<sup>48</sup>

In an unsurprising, but still amusing, conclusion, the poet ranges his goddess alongside the three classical goddesses at the Judgment of Paris (that is “de pretio forme . . . certamen”):

Pomaque si forme potiori danda fuerunt,  
 Hec potius forme danda fuere tue.

*[If apples had to be given to the one superior of beauty, they were better to be given for your beauty.]*<sup>49</sup>

So she emerges as the wonder of the natural world, the rival of Leda, Helen, Diana, Juno, Pallas, and Venus in a work of learned borrowing and humorous excess. In retrospect Godfrey’s long expression of male desire works with a playful sense of order toward a declaration of the cosmic power of eros, announcing at every moment its allegiance to Ovid and to classical myth as the proper vehicles for erotic expression.

Fulcoius, as we have seen, created for himself a poetic identity as a Virgilian poet-hero and political player in an archbishop’s court, cultivated a circle of well-educated *literati*, and criticized high-ranking ecclesiastics for their sexual failings. He saw himself armed with Scripture and astride the cosmos of his learning; he believed in the power of his poetry to move men, women, and the heavens, and to provide immortality for its subjects—heroes ancient and modern live forever in song. The poet himself, like all mortal men, is subject to eros and a victim of the struggle between learning and erotic desire, imagined as a struggle between Minerva and Venus. Eros may be a burning madness and disease, but it is also part of the beauty of the world, a force suffusing the cosmos, a part of creation and male creative activity, a part, perhaps, of the poetic act. David entranced by the naked Bathsheba stands as a type for Fulcoius himself—the wise man, ruler, knight, and poet in speculation before a desired object, responding anxiously to the force of eros in Nature’s realm. In



Godfrey's modest surviving body of poems, Fulcoius's Virgilian hero and Old Testament typology are replaced with something more cheerfully Ovidian and more mythologically motivated. The speaker looks to a beloved classical past for his poetic identity and for his immortality; the object of his erotic fantasy becomes a goddess whose power manifests itself as a power to move Jove or Paris; he understands his attraction to the woman as a force of nature that transcends the sublunar to link in poetry the erotic to the celestial and the human to the divine.

#### MARBOD AND BAUDRI: TWO ANGEVIN POETS

Marbod and Baudri are commonly referred to as Loire Valley poets, but it would be just as accurate to think of them as Angevin intellectuals.<sup>50</sup> By the last two decades of the eleventh century, when both had reached positions of some prominence, they were churchmen writing in a region—the combined counties of Maine, Anjou, and Touraine—where secular authority lay largely with the counts of Anjou. As socially important Angevins, they, along with their peers, negotiated the complex politics of a region with close ties to the Norman areas to the north. Throughout the second half of the eleventh and the first half of the twelfth century, Angevin and Norman interests remained deeply intertwined in a struggle over control of Maine and its chief city, Le Mans, until the duchy of Normandy and the counties of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine were formally united in 1144 under Geoffrey Plantagenet, duke of Normandy, count of Anjou, and father of the future Henry II, king of England.<sup>51</sup>

Especially later in their lives, when they each took church office in strongly Norman-influenced areas of eastern Brittany, both poets were part of the Anglo-Norman intellectual world. During the whole of their adult lives, Marbod and Baudri were almost certainly well aware of each other: Baudri wrote verse epistles to Marbod, praising his poetry and asking him to comment on Baudri's own work; Marbod is popularly reputed to have been Baudri's teacher. As the chancellor of the cathedral school in Angers, Marbod must have been a central figure in regional ecclesiastical circles during the last quarter of the eleventh century, at least until 1096, when he became bishop of Rennes, an event Baudri laments in his *carmen* 153.<sup>52</sup> Abbot of a prosperous monastery near Tours, Baudri remained intellectually well connected throughout his years in Bourgueil and after, with an epistolary circle that included recipients in Angers, Tours, Le Mans, Blois, and Normandy.<sup>53</sup> He was also not without political ambition. In 1098, two years after Marbod had become a bishop, Baudri tried without success to secure the episcopal see of



Orléans for himself; ten years later he at last left his monks at Bourgueil to become archbishop of Dol.

Like Fulcoius and Godfrey, the two Angevin poets made powerful use of the classical poetry they had so thoroughly absorbed. They believed in the social value of poetry and poets, and they manifested a willingness to play adventurously with the classical sources that inspired them. They also created for themselves bold poetic personas—part of the way they faced the world and furthered their careers and political connections. In different ways they both worked creatively with erotic material. Marbod appears today as the more medieval of the pair, with a preference for rhymed pseudoclassical verse. Baudri moved away from such leonine forms toward unrhymed hexameter or, especially, Ovidian distiches, the classical standard for school poetry in the twelfth century.<sup>54</sup>

Born around 1035, Marbod was educated in Angers, where he taught in the cathedral school from the mid-1060s until his departure for the see of Rennes in Brittany; he was bishop of Rennes until just before his death in 1123, when he retired to the Benedictine abbey of St. Aubin.<sup>55</sup> A great deal of Marbod's poetry survives, though many of the lyrics printed under his name in the *Patrologia Latina* have proved difficult to ascribe to him with complete confidence.<sup>56</sup> Like his contemporaries, Marbod wrote poems for influential secular figures<sup>57</sup> and was in poetic correspondence with various contemporaries in the church.<sup>58</sup> He also composed verses directed at young men and women who were probably his students in Angers.<sup>59</sup> He nurtured his own system of poetic connections in much the same milieu as Baudri, writing poems for many purposes as a part of his public life in teaching and ecclesiastical administration. Presumably he saw these works as a way to foster political connections and establish his own intellectual credentials within the educated elite of which he was a part.

In two poems to noble women, Marbod works with classical materials to make implicit claims about the social value of poetry, freely turning aristocrats into goddesses and using the women's physical beauty as a way to talk about their virtue and power.<sup>60</sup> Both poems must be relatively late works. One addressee, Queen Matilda of England, was the well-educated Anglo-Scottish wife of Henry I, whom he married in 1100, the year he came to the throne.<sup>61</sup> The other was Ermengard, the daughter of Foulques IV, count of Anjou, and the wife of Alain Fergant, count of Rennes and duke of Brittany (1084–1113).<sup>62</sup> Marbod had close ties to both after he became bishop of Rennes in 1096, and these two lyrics written by an elderly bishop to please politically important women are among the most purely courtly poems he pro-

duced.<sup>63</sup> To Matilda he offers the poet's ability to confer immortality through *fama*:

Vivet fama tui quantum mea carmina vivent,  
Et te cantabit, qui mea scripta leget.

*[Your fame will live as long as my poems will live,  
And he who will read my words will sing of you.]*<sup>64</sup>

Marbod recognizes above all the unique position Matilda occupies as the central female figure in an important court, and her special obligations as a queen to serve as social exemplar. Though Matilda conceals her body with modest clothing, she cannot suppress her natural brilliance, which dazzles an observer:

Reginam vidisse juvat, quam nulla decore  
Corporis ac vultus aequiparare queat.  
Quem tamen occultans laxae velamine vestis  
Sola pudore novo dissimulare cupit  
Sed nequit abscondi propria quod luce coruscat,  
Et vibrat radios nubila sol penetrans.

*[It causes pleasure to have seen the queen whom no woman  
Equals in beauty of body or of face,  
Hiding (her body), nevertheless, with a veil of loose clothing,  
She alone, with new modesty, wishes to conceal (it),  
but what gleams with its own light cannot be hidden,  
and the sun, penetrating the clouds, hurls his rays.]*<sup>65</sup>

Matilda is unique ("sola") among the members of her circle and follows her own moral sense ("pudore novo"). Lesser women of the court misunderstand Matilda's quasi-celestial power as a form of erotic attraction and try to imitate the queen by dressing immodestly and by artificially modifying what Nature assigned them:

Affectant aliae quod eis Natura negavit,  
Purpureas niveo pingere lacte genas;  
Fucatosque trahit facies medicata colores,  
Distinguendo notas artis adulterio.  
Comprimit exstantes quarumdam fascia mammas,  
Et longum fingit vestis adacta latus.

Hae partim retegunt laxosa fronte capillos,  
Et calamistrato crine placere volunt.

*[Others strive after what Nature denied them,  
to color pink cheeks with snowy milk;  
a dyed face takes on falsified colors,  
with the adulteration revealing the signs of art.  
A bandage compresses the prominent breasts of some women,  
and tight clothes mold a long body.  
With their faces exposed, these women partly uncover their locks,  
and they wish to please with curled hair.]*<sup>66</sup>

The poem thus neatly merges the erotic power present in Matilda's physical body with her political role. Marbod praises the queen for her virtuous reticence among the courtiers, while he criticizes courtly women for the way they use eros in the struggle for influence and prestige. Marbod understands—indeed stresses—the inevitably erotic aspect of the queen's function in the court, but urges careful control over it. In the poem he wrote for the countess Ermengard,<sup>67</sup> Marbod also focuses on the beauty of his recipient's body ("vultus formosus," "luce micans acies," "flavus crinis") only to undercut that interest with repeated reminders of human transience ("Sed tuus iste decor . . . / Transiet ut fumus" [But this your beauty . . . / Will pass away like smoke] (ll. 9–10). Ermengard's terrestrial form is a reflection of her piety as much as a reflection of her political power:

Filia Fulconis, decus Armoricae regionis,  
Pulchra, pudica, decens, candida, clara, recens,  
Si non passa fores thalamos, partusque labores,  
Posses esse meo Cynthia iudico. . . .  
In grege nuptarum credi potes una dearum,  
Prima vel in primis, o speciosa nimis! . . .  
At quod amas Christum, quod mundum despicias istum,  
Et quod pauperibus vestis es atque cibus,  
Hoc te formosam facit at Domino pretiosam.

*[Daughter of Fulco, glory of Brittany,  
Beautiful, pure, refined, bright, renowned, fresh,  
Had you not experienced the marriage bed, and birth pains,  
To my judgment you would be able to be Diana. . . .  
In the flock of brides, you may be thought one of the goddesses,*

*First even among the first, oh, most beautiful one! . . .  
 But because you love Christ, because you despise this world,  
 And because you are food and clothing to the poor,  
 This makes you beautiful and valuable to God.]*<sup>68</sup>

Such lines are the hybrid result of Marbod's efforts to renew ancient poetry: Ovidian distiches modernized by internal rhyme and a countess who combines the qualities of a Diana with the Christian virtues a cleric might imagine for a contemporary aristocratic woman. There is a curious self-contradictory quality to Marbod's work in a poem such as this one to Ermengard, the consequence of his struggle to appropriate a revered past while resolutely asserting his own modernity and underlining his essential conservatism. The poetic form is classical, but not classical because of the insistent rhyming. The woman appears to be a locus of erotic power, but her physical beauty is really spiritual—she looks like a goddess, but in fact is a married saint.

In these two poems, Marbod eroticizes a female body in order to use that body metaphorically as a way to talk about a subject of greater interest to him—the woman's exemplary probity in the use of her political position. At the same time, his attention to the women's bodies shows an appreciation for the actual sexual tensions that might arise in the context of social interactions within a court. Marbod wrote several other poems, probably some years before the pair just discussed, that also pay frank attention to the erotic force of bodies. These works seem to have their origins in anxieties engendered within the schools and appear to be a response to circumstances the author faced as a teacher and administrator. Four poems of this sort survive, all of which appear in Zurich MS C.58/275, a large collection of Latin poetry put together in the late twelfth century by a German cleric in France.<sup>69</sup> Marbod must have recognized the possibility of erotic desire arising among students and teachers in the schools, many of whom would not have been bound to celibacy and would have been in daily contact with women and girls. V. A. Kolve's thoughtful study of a late-twelfth-century St. Nicholas play describes the anxious recognition of the dangers posed by same-sex desire within a Benedictine monastic community, especially between young oblates and older men. For Kolve, the play represents a careful effort to diffuse that danger.<sup>70</sup> Marbod's situation at the cathedral school of Angers about a century earlier would have been very different from that of the author of the Fleury play, but the chancellor must have perceived the danger of eros to his own, perhaps more loosely defined, community.<sup>71</sup> As erotic subject matter arose naturally in the study of classical

poetry, Marbod must have felt it was important to confront the issue of it and to warn of its disruptive possibilities. The four poems all focus on older men and suggest their origins in the schools by persistent attention to eros as a literary and grammatical phenomenon.

"Strictus eram loris"<sup>72</sup> is a prayerful confession, not so different in motive from Horace's ode 1.5, in which the speaker regrets the madness of a recent love and vows henceforth to live chastely. Marbod uses the rhetorical device of the oxymoron to invoke the misery of a disordered existence, in particular desire's ability to cause the lover's wandering mind ("errabat mea mens") to experience things as their opposites: "quam decipit omnis amator! / Turpia pulchra putat, pro nigris candida mutat" [how every lover deceives! He considers foul things beautiful and exchanges white for black]. The speaker's understanding of love as a figure of speech leads him to consider his present desire as a sort of rereading of the once-loved face:

Ut rosa candorem miscens simul atque ruborem,  
Sic mihi tunc vultus qui nunc pallore sepultus.  
Non quia mutatus fit odor, vel vultus amatus,  
Sed mutatus ego, quondam mihi chara relego.

*[Like the rose, at once mixing white with red,  
Thus that face appeared to me then, the face now buried in deadly pallor.  
Not because the scent has changed or the beloved face,  
But because I have changed: I banish what was formerly dear to me.]*<sup>73</sup>

What was a flower is now something else. Cupid becomes the "auctor amoris," the writer who must be banished from the speaker's life, along with all the boys and girls he has loved ("ille" and "illa," "utrius sexus"), if he is to read the world rightly. In "Mens mea tristatur"<sup>74</sup> the speaker is acutely aware of the ruin desire has brought upon him and regrets a life still ruled by eros. The effect of habitual sin, reflected in the poem by self-contradictory rhetorical formulations, almost syntactic oxymorons, is the inability to cease sinning, even though the speaker knows what he ought to want:

Languéo quippe volens, medicinam flagito nolens.  
Rursum quero volens medicinam, languéo nolens.  
Sic quod nolo volo, rursum quoque quod volo nolo.  
In me divisus de me mihi concito risus,  
Risus exosos, risus tristes, lacrimosos.

*[Indeed I grow weak desiring a remedy; not wanting it, I demand it.  
On the other hand I willingly seek a remedy, and suffer not wanting it.  
But what I do not want, I want; and yet I also do not want what I want.  
Divided in myself, I make myself laugh at myself,  
Hateful laughter, sad laughter, weeping.]*<sup>75</sup>

In this poem, too, Marbod is concerned broadly with sexual desire and with the foolishness of any man who cannot control his desire:

*Dilexi multas parvas puer et vir adultas;  
Dilexi multos parvos puer et vir adultos.  
Quodquod dilexi, falso conamine flexi. . . .  
Nec bene, si cupiam, quod eram, tunc denuo fiam.  
Lascivum pectus non debet habere senectus  
Et contemptibilis solet esse libido senilis.*

*[As a boy I loved many girls, and as a man, women;  
As a boy I loved many boys, and as a man, men.  
Whatever I loved, I bent with my feigned striving. . . .  
And it would not be good, then, were I to desire it, to become once more  
what I was.  
An old man should not have a lustful heart;  
And an old man's desire is commonly considered contemptible.]*<sup>76</sup>

The voice of the old man looks back on both sorts of erotic attraction with equal anxiety ("Nec bene . . . quod eram"), part of a life spent "bending" ("falso conamine flexi") others to his self-destructive obsessions.

The speakers in "Strictus" and "Mens" are mature men who have felt desire for both boys and girls and regret the cost of that desire. "Egregium vultum"<sup>77</sup> describes the result of a situation in which homoerotic desire and heteroerotic desire coexist and collide. The poem begins with the compressed *effictio* ("sidereum visum . . . flammea labrorum . . . dentes candentes") of a girl who rejects the "puer insignis" who loves her and instead loves the speaker, an older man. The speaker, in turn, loves the boy "cujus decor est meus ignis." The result of this triangulated attraction and the speaker's personal "vesania" is a strange form of chastity: at one time the speaker would have responded to the girl's love; now his new "vice" (*vitium*) drives him to reject eros altogether. At the core of the speaker's decision is again the recognition of love's dangerous ambivalence: "o res digna nota! dat amor contraria vota" [Oh, thing wor-



thy of note: Love gives contrary offerings]. In a passage that presages some of the central interests of Alain de Lille's *De planctu naturae*, written more than fifty years later, Marbod notes desire's power to overturn the "normal" operating system of the cosmos:

Versa natura mutantur pristina jura,  
 si cibus impastum facit, et lascivia castum,  
 si metus audacem, si mens secunda fugacem.  
 Talis multa modi sunt hujus vincula nodi,  
 sed regnum Satanae vexat dissensio plane,  
 et se divellit dum culpam culpa repellit.

*[With Nature overthrown, former laws change,  
 If food makes a man hungry and wantonness makes him chaste,  
 If fear makes him bold and a carefree mind makes him timid.  
 Many things of this sort are the bonds of this knot,  
 But then clearly dissension shakes the kingdom of Satan  
 And it tears itself apart, while one sin drives back another.]*<sup>78</sup>

Marbod plays on love's polyvalent power to work through the sound of words ("verba cor intrans"), the feeling of kisses ("oscula cerno"), and the sight of physical beauty.<sup>79</sup> The multiple desires that began the poem produce a series of oxymoronic formulations, and these, in turn, become a knotted rope emblematic of the discord that is one of Satan's defining qualities. The speaker's illogically inspired chastity has led him to the "regnum virtutum," a "castrum" where "pax" reigns; the final message of the poem, and of all these poems, seems to be that the kingdom of peace only exists where eros is banished altogether.

"De puero quodam," finally, is quite different from the other three poems on similar subjects.<sup>80</sup> It is the most explicitly erotic, the most epistolary, and it provides a specific literary context for itself by citing a Horatian ode as its starting point, most likely ode 4.10, a warning to a beautiful boy that time will make him less attractive and that he should cultivate his "mens" before he is old. It is a particularly sophisticated example of the many school poems that summarize and critique classical poetic models. Marbod's eight-line source in Horace, though it fixes on the boy's physical beauty, is not pointedly homoerotic, but Marbod seems to have read it as an encouragement to the boy from a potential lover. Marbod's elaboration falls into three segments: a physical description of the boy, followed by a description of his cruel nature ("asper et

ingratus”), and then a final warning that time will pass and that he should share the “Flosculus aetatis” with lovers. The *effictio* mostly dwells on the face, dealing with the boy’s body with the same coyness we sometimes find in descriptions of women—“Qui corpus quaeret quod tectum veste lateret / Tale coaptet ei quod conveniat faciei” [whoever will seek the body that lay covered by clothing / would find it fitting, for the body suited the face]. The “assumpta persona” who speaks the poem is not afraid to assert his own experience of physical attraction:

Undabant illi per eburnea colla capilli,  
Plus auro flavi, quales ego semper amavi.

*[That hair overflowed across his ivory neck,  
More golden than gold, the sort I have always loved.]*<sup>81</sup>

The middle section of the poem criticizes the boy for withholding his love from those who desire him—a vice that mars his otherwise perfect beauty:

Impius ille quidem, crudelis et impius idem,  
Qui vitio morum corpus vetat esse decorum.

*[This one is indeed wicked, both cruel and wicked,  
Who by the corruption of customs keeps his body from being becoming.]*<sup>82</sup>

Later, while the speaker admonishes the youth about the effects of time, he insists on the boy’s fleshliness:

Haec caro tam levis, tam lactea, tam sine naevis,  
Tam bona, tam bella, tam lubrica, tamque tenella.  
Tempus adhuc veniet, cum turpis et hispida fiet:  
Cum fiet vilis caro chara caro puerilis.  
Ergo dum flores, maturos indue mores.

*[This flesh is now so fine, so milky, so unmarked,  
So good, so handsome, so smooth, and so tender.  
Still, the day will come when it will become foul and hairy,  
When this dear flesh, this youthful flesh, will become cheap.  
Therefore, while you bloom, put on a more mature character.]*<sup>83</sup>

The poem’s first line made clear that Marbod wants his readers to know he is engaged in a literary performance based on a specific classical source—“De



puero quodam composuit Horatius odam” [Horace composed an ode about a certain boy]. The poem’s last two verses underline the mode of the work as a personal epistle and hint at the speaker’s anxiety about how the world beyond the small group of elite readers might interpret the game:

Haec mandatorum, carissime, verba meorum  
Missa tibi soli multis ostendere noli!

[These words of my charge, dearest one,  
Sent to you alone, show them not to many others.]<sup>84</sup>

“De puero” shows that the urge to write about erotic subjects is bound up with reading of the classics and a part of the process of their absorption into the schools through playful reworking. The first three of these school poems are unambiguous in their warning about the power of erotic desire to disorder the educated mind and disrupt a man’s life. The last poem, so clearly marked as a literary exercise, suggests the schoolmaster and cleric could artfully imagine erotic experience, even same-sex attraction, without condemning it.

Marbod also wrote a small number of “amatory” verse-epistles to women, all surviving today only in the Rennes 1524 editio princeps.<sup>85</sup> Seven of these are printed as an unbroken series in the Rennes edition, all in distiches, six of them in leonine distiches. They are all fairly short, ranging from 12 to 26 lines, a total of 120 lines of poetry. Marbod’s use of the letter-poem, whether he was writing “real” epistles or not, links him to all the other letter writers of his milieu, especially Baudri. Unlike the far more personal verse epistles Baudri wrote to various named and identifiable women in his poetic circle, these poems mention no names or places. On the whole they give the impression that they were all written to a single individual and record a series of moments in an ongoing erotic relationship. They are philosophical in the sense that they examine the nature of heteroerotic attraction as it might be mediated through letters, but they are not moralistic and offer no clear criticism of eros of the sort we just observed in three of the four poems from the Zurich collection. Like “De puero,” they have the air of the schoolroom and the literary exercise about them. If, as critics have imagined, these epistles were actually sent to young women, the most likely recipients were women, not necessarily nuns, living at the convent of Le Ronceray in Angers during the time the poet taught in that city,<sup>86</sup> although there is no compelling reason to suppose these poems were composed for any individual. We might better imagine them written as examples of modernized classics to be performed before an audience of fellow clerics—a fragment of a medieval *Amores*.<sup>87</sup>

The first two poems in the group give a good sense of the main concerns of this little Ovidian sequence: to explore the particular literary possibilities created by an imagined exchange of love letters and to examine concretely a range of male responses to the effects of eros. In “A te missa” (Bulst 36) the male lover answers a missive he has just received from his beloved assuring him of her love. He rejoices to learn he has pleased her, calls her “most beautiful of things” [pulcherrima rerum], and tells his “carissima” that her love is worth more to him than power or wealth:

Si scirem verum quod ais, pulcherrima rerum,  
 Quam si rex fierem, letior inde forem.  
 Non facerem tanti thesauros Octauiani  
 Quam placuisse tibi, sicut habetur ibi.

*[If I knew what you say to be true, most beautiful of things,  
 I would be happier than if I became a king.  
 I would not regard the treasures of Augustus of such value,  
 As to have pleased you, just as it is uttered there.]*<sup>88</sup>

The rest of the poem plays interestingly, if not terribly imaginatively, with the material reality of the letter she sent him and with the meaning of its contents for the lovers and their relationship. The missive stands in for the absent woman, conquering the speaker, calling him “dulcem,” bringing kisses, stirring up his heart; he imagines the tablets and stylus to have been made “felix” by her right hand. If the letter seems a “messenger of life” [nuncia vite], the speaker’s life and death (“mea mors est et mea vita”) depend on the woman’s future actions:

Si das quod debes, michi vite munera prebes,  
 Si minus, immeritum tridis in interitum.  
 Viue memor memoris, preciosi gemma decoris,  
 Hisque nota ceris, qualia mente geris.

*[If you give what you owe, you offer me gifts of life;  
 If less, you push me, undeserving, toward death.  
 Live mindful of remembering, jewel of precious beauty,  
 And on these wax tablets record what kind of thoughts you carry in your  
 mind.]*<sup>89</sup>

The contractual language of the final lines of “A te missa,” urging the woman to love the speaker while threatening his death if she does not, recurs again at the conclusion of “Hec est votorum,” the second poem in the series. More emphatic, now that epistolary contact has been established, it has the added demand that the woman establish a time and place for their meeting.

Te michi da munus, quia si non, das mihi funus,  
Dic igitur, quando, dic, vbi quove modo.

*[Give yourself, a gift, to me, because if not, you give me a funeral;  
Say therefore, when, say, where or how.]*<sup>90</sup>

The demand suggests that this poem follows “A te missa” in a narrative sequence about the stages of heteroerotic desire. “Hec est votorum” serves as a compact catalog of formulas presented as the male lover’s rumination on the state of a secretive love relationship. In the poem’s first eight lines the speaker prays to be worthy of the woman’s love, recognizes the suffering she endures for him from her cruel parents, who must not approve of him, and proclaims his belief in the mutuality of their feelings:

Nam cur decredam nostram tua pectora flammam  
Vrere, cum tua me concremet assidue?

*[For why might I not believe our flame burns in your heart,  
When your (flame) burns me up continually?]*<sup>91</sup>

The common flame that burns them becomes in lines 9–18 the common wound they endure from “ille puer,” the “feriens deus” who in his playing has struck them both with his arrows:

Sic ego maioris sum vulnere lesum amoris,  
Sic ego plus pereo, plus feriente deo.  
Nam cibus et potus vix esse potest michi notus  
Nec dormire queo ludere nec valeo.

*[Thus I was injured by the wound of a greater love,  
Thus the more the god strikes, the more I am destroyed.  
For I am scarcely able to know food and drink,  
Nor am I able to sleep or well enough to play.]*<sup>92</sup>

She has become, he says, play, sleep, drink, and food. Along with Cupid's wound comes a deification of the woman and the lover's constant contemplation of her, "quod sine fine colo" [because I worship (you) without end], an admission that leads to a brief and modest *effictio* (ll. 21–24) and the final demand for physical contact quoted above. Some lines at the conclusion of poem 40, "Ploro cum ploras," remind us just how literary an activity all this epistolary eroticism is. The speaker chides the woman, who has hurt him in some way and now begs forgiveness with "supplex verbum," for having misled him:

Presertim multas simulat res docta facultas,  
 Dum mouet ingenium quodlibet ad studium.  
 Quod rogo ne facias neque rethor in hoc michi fias,  
 Ostendens alias, quid simulare scias.  
 Me non ex libris, sed totis dilige fibris,  
 Qua te mente colo, me cole, digna polo.

[An acquired skill above all feigns many things,  
 While it moves whatever nature you wish to devotion.  
 I beg that you not do (such things), nor that you become a rhetor in this to  
 me,  
 Showing other (qualities), anything you know how to imitate.  
 Love me not from books, but worship (me) with all your heart.  
 You, who are worthy of heaven, adore me with the (same) intent with  
 which I adore you.]<sup>93</sup>

These lines play with the language of the poem's social context: the world of books and schools. A sort of author, or text, herself, the woman uses her "docta facultas" to invent things that move the speaker's "ingenium" to "studium," at once devotion and study, while he fears that her love or perhaps her repentance is only a rhetor's act of literary creation. So he begs the woman "digna polo" to love him not "ex libris" but "totis fibris." Whatever else might be true about the erotic relationship implied in the poem, it can only be most fundamentally "ex libris," an elaborate and learned *ludus* that appropriates through study the *amatoria* of the past for a circle of contemporary literati.

As a prelude, then, to a discussion of the scant remains of Anglo-Latin erotic poetry traceable to the late eleventh or early twelfth century, we have pursued a set of concerns apparent among classicizing poets who wrote erotic verse in northern France from the mid-eleventh century to the first years of

the twelfth century. To varying degrees these poets show a strong interest in Roman poetry, especially in the works of Ovid; an admiring sense of the classical past and some measure of personal identification with it; a willingness to play thoughtfully and philosophically with classical erotica; an ability to write highly crafted Latin verse in classical and postclassical meters; and a nostalgia for a society that they imagined gave the poet special status and recognized his special powers of perception. This set of interests appears most fully and complexly in Baudri of Bourgueil, abbot of the prosperous Benedictine Abbey of Saint Peter of Bourgueil near Tours from about 1080 to 1107.<sup>94</sup> Like Marbod, Baudri cultivated a wide circle of poetic connections, including other major players within the ecclesiastical and political elite (e.g., Marbod, Hildebert, Godfrey of Reims, Countess Adèle of Blois) and educated women from the abbey of Le Ronceray in Angers, particularly Constance, whose godfather Baudri may have been, and Emma, probably the *magistra scholarum* of the convent.<sup>95</sup> Despite his ambition and his two important jobs—abbot in Bourgueil and later archbishop of Dol in Brittany—Baudri’s poetry seems to have disappeared almost without a trace after his death. With two minor exceptions, there are no extant copies of any of his 256 poems outside the unique edition that is MS Vaticanus reginensis latinus 1351.<sup>96</sup> Much of Baudri’s work consists of verse epistles and epitaphs, which we would assume were sent out into the world from the abbey, but they appear not to have entered into the great stream that caught up the poetry of some of his contemporaries.<sup>97</sup> Why Baudri’s work should have failed so completely to find an audience after his death remains a mystery.<sup>98</sup>

In recent years a number of scholars have shown the extent to which Baudri’s literary interests uniquely forecast the obsessions of many twelfth-century academics and poets: the reworking of Ovidian subjects in Ovidian verse; the recovery and interpretation of Greek myth as a kind of pagan ethical system worthy of serious study; and the analysis and elaboration of Neoplatonic texts, especially Martianus Capella, as scientific writings able to describe the fundamental organization of the cosmos. Of all the northern French poets writing in the years around 1100 Baudri most thoroughly predicts the direction the writing of erotic Latin poetry will take in the twelfth century. Baudri played wittily with Ovidian eroticism in his works, but asserts continually that it is all a game. For Jean-Yves Tilliette, a poem like Baudri’s *carmen* 200 “speaks . . . not about the experience of sexuality, but about the tension, in the imagination of its author, between licit and illicit love, between denied desire . . . and proclaimed law, between burnings of the flesh and the spiritual ideal.”<sup>99</sup> Lacanian Gerald Bond sees in Baudri’s poetry a political “play of desire” and the creation

of “multiple subjectivities founded on sexuality, eloquence and gender,” “mechanisms of resistance and subversion” that form a part of what he calls a “revolution in Romanesque secular culture.”<sup>100</sup>

In addition to his development of a peculiarly Romanesque Ovidianism, Baudri was also perhaps the earliest writer of the high Middle Ages, a generation before “Chartrian” Neoplatonists such as Bernardus Silvestris and William of Conches, to master thoroughly Martianus Capella’s *De nuptiis* and develop theories for the allegorical reading of mythological *fabulae*. Baudri’s *carmen* 154, which opens the second section of *Vaticanus reginensis latinus* 1351, is a long poetic revisioning of almost the whole of Fulgentius’s *Mythologies*,<sup>101</sup> while significant sections of *carmen* 134, the long poem to Countess Adèle of Blois, summarize the *De nuptiis*. These Neoplatonic interests, emerging in the Angevin realm near the turn of the century, demarcate an important threshold in the production of medieval Latin erotic poetry. As such texts were again taken seriously and became part of advanced school curriculum, the readers of a younger generation discovered fresh ways of imagining themselves, and they soon produced new readings of the old books—reimaginings of the cosmos like Bernardus Silvestris’s *Cosmographia*. Intellectual developments, social changes in the school population, and the adoption of new rhymed and rhythmical poetic forms in Latin verse would all soon contribute to the creation of distinctly twelfth-century forms of erotic discourse in poetry. The new self under construction in Baudri adumbrates the public and politically engaged new selves created among the clerical elite in schools and courts in the Anglo-Norman world.

In poems to two members of his poetic circle—one local and one more distant—Baudri took advantage of a receptive audience to define and defend his intellectual interests. *Carmen* 153, the poem to the nun Emma<sup>102</sup> with which Baudri chose to conclude the original core collection of his manuscript, provides a view of the writer’s poetic world and constructed self after 1096, the year Marbod left his position at the school in Angers to become bishop of Rennes. An earlier epistle to Godfrey of Reims, *carmen* 99, is reminiscent of the poem Godfrey composed for the poet Odo of Orléans, which, as we saw, praises Odo for his polished verse and embrace of “antiqui . . . poetae.” Emma of Le Ronceray must have been a familiar figure to both Baudri and Marbod, and she seems to have been a regular reader of Baudri’s poetry. It is to her and to her educated sisters that he submits for judgment his book (“totum nostrum . . . libellum”).<sup>103</sup> Emma is for Baudri the Sibyl returned to life (“Nobis, Emma, refers lingua sensuque Sibillam”), constituting with her sisters a gathering of philosophers in Angers (“Inter philosophos . . . collatio”) who will read, praise,



and correct his poetry.<sup>104</sup> Having handed his work over to this coterie of wise women, he describes the particular sort of translated classical muse of the woods and fields who inspires him:

Inuenies nullos flores in carmine nostro,  
 Flores urbani scilicet eloquii.  
 Rustica dicta michi, quia rusticus incola ruris  
 Magduni natus incolo Burgulium.  
 Burgulius locus est procul a Cicerone remotus,  
 Cui plus cepe placet quam stilus et tabule.  
 Attamen iste locus foret olim uatibus aptus,  
 Dum Muse siluas soliuage colerent.  
 Nam prope prata uirent illimibus humida riuis  
 Prataque gramineo flore fouent oculos; . . .  
 Hic me solatur tantummodo Cambio noster,  
 Cuius sepe undas intueor uitreas.

*[You will find no flowers in my poetry,  
 Flowers, that is to say, of urban eloquence.  
 My poems are rustic because I am a rustic inhabitant of the countryside.  
 Born in Meung, I live in Bourgueil.  
 Very far from Cicero is Bourgueil,  
 Which the onion pleases more than stylus and tablets.  
 But still this place was once suitable for poets,  
 While muses wandering alone guarded the woods.  
 For, nearby, the meadows are green, moist from the clear brooks,  
 And the meadows caress the eye with grassy flowers; . . .  
 Only here our Aution comforts me,  
 Whose glassy waters I often gaze upon.]*<sup>105</sup>

Baudri's self-definition as a *poeta rusticus*, enamored of the countryside, far removed from the urbanity of Cicero, and in touch with his own pastoral muse, but also intimately involved with a local convent of classically educated nuns, allows him to lament in a general way the poor treatment of poets and the loss of the classical ideal of the *vates* in quasi-mystical communion with his muse:

Sed uates siluas iamdudum deseruere,  
 Quos urbis perimit deliciosus amor.

Et dolor est ingens, quia uatum pectora frigent  
 Et quia dignantur tecta subire ducum.  
 Est dolor et doleo, quia gloria nulla poetis,  
 Quod, quia ditantur, promeruere sibi.  
 Sunt dii, non homines, quos lactat philosophia,  
 Nec deberent dii uiuere sicut homo.

*[But the poets have long since deserted the woods  
 Whom the delicious love of the city destroys.  
 And grief is great because the hearts of poets are cold,  
 And because they deign to enter the houses of lords.  
 It is a grief, and I sorrow because there is no glory for poets,  
 which (situation) they have merited for themselves, because they are made  
 rich.  
 Those whom philosophy nurses are gods, not men,  
 And gods should not live as a man does.]*<sup>106</sup>

By contrast, the politically powerful of church and state (“Presul, rex, consul, princeps, patriarcha, monarchus”) are beasts (“pecuales homines”) without learning, entangled by the world’s wealth. These remarks about poets—they are gods nursed by philosophy, who should live a special life and resist the temptations of wealth and power—become more pointed a few lines later when the immediate source of Baudri’s concern emerges, the loss of Marbod from the Angevin literary scene in 1096 to what Baudri evidently reads as a political appointment:

Quid modo Marbodus, uatum spectabile sidus?  
 Eclipsim luna, sol patitur tenebras.  
 Nunc est deflendus extinctus spiritus eius;  
 Nam non est lux, que luceat in tenebris.

*[What now Marbod, visible star of the poets?  
 The moon is eclipsed, the sun suffers shadows.  
 Now his extinguished breath should be mourned;  
 For no light exists to shine among shades.]*<sup>107</sup>

Presumably Marbod became rich and lost his “glory” when he entered “the houses of lords” by accepting the bishopric of Rennes. The poem—and the whole of the original collection—ends with a very subdued and valedictorian Baudri still handing his works to Emma for consideration:



Nunc, quia Musa deest et rauco pectine canto,  
Emma, meis saltem uersibus assideas.

*[Now because my muse fails and I sing with a harsh lyre,  
Emma, at least, attend to my verses.]*<sup>108</sup>

Sometime in the 1080s<sup>109</sup> Baudri wrote more than two hundred lines of distiches to Godfrey of Reims, praising him for his teaching and his poetry, in terms that link Godfrey to the classical past while giving him position in his own world:

Inter caelicolas deus esses alter Apollo,  
Si te fecissent fata benigna deum.  
Inter praecipuos cantores temporis huius,  
Venisti nobis Orpheus aut melior.  
Si te Roma suum quondam meruisset alumnum,  
Altior esset adhuc carmine Roma tuo.  
Ipse Iouem e celo deducere carmine posses  
Et faceres animam Caesaris esse Iouis.  
O utinam per te meruissem perpetuari  
Meque perennaret musa canendo tua;  
Me uelles utinam super astra locare beatum:  
Si uelles, inter astra locarer ego.

*[A god among the heavenly, you would be another Apollo,  
If a favorable fortune had made you a god.  
Among the chief singers of this age,  
You came to us an Orpheus or better.  
If Rome had long ago merited you as her offspring  
Rome would have been made even loftier by your song.  
You yourself would have been able to draw Jove down from heaven  
by your song,  
And you would have made the soul of Caesar into the soul of Jove.  
Oh, if only I would have merited to be made eternal by you,  
And your muse made me endure through singing;  
Would that you had wished to place me, blessed, among the stars;  
If you had wished, I would have been placed among the stars.]*<sup>110</sup>

As a poet divinely inspired by the Muses, Godfrey has the powers of an Orpheus and an Apollo, can command Jove himself, can even make others

into gods and bestow immortality. Through his songs Godfrey connects himself with the glory of ancient Rome and brings new glory to the present age, appropriating to his own verse the high value the classical world awarded to poetry. Baudri makes obvious his own conviction of poetry's inherent worth, its importance for its own sake, its power to ennoble, moving perhaps a step beyond Fulcoius, Godfrey, and Marbod in his level of identification with an imagined past. Together these two poems give a nice sense of some of the particulars of Baudri's poetic universe: his connection to Angers, Marbod, and the elite circle of poetic exchange they represent; the reverent attitude he adopts toward the place of the prophet-poet-god and Sibyl, writer, and reader—and of poetry in the world; his feeling for the natural world as the source of his inspiration; his sense of alienation from certain aspects of contemporary political life; and his close relationship to the sources of power in his world.

Baudri seems never to have attempted a sequence of Ovidian epistles of the sort found in the Rennes editio princeps of Marbod's verse, though he did write serious poems in imitation of the *Heroides* and *Tristia*.<sup>111</sup> Still, of the various northern French poets we have considered, Baudri most freely incorporated the classical language of eros into his verse; moreover, he left a large number of epistles in which he invokes Ovidian forms and sentiments in the construction of his personal relationship with the recipient. Baudri's letter-poems to women, though full of Ovidian allusions, tend not to be overtly erotic.<sup>112</sup> His letters to men and boys, the vast majority of his oeuvre, are also playful, but can be much more explicitly erotic and display a highly "complex conception of *amor*."<sup>113</sup> *Carmen* 3, for example, is basically one more Ganymede poem, but subtler than Hildebert's moralistic school-poems on the same subject.<sup>114</sup> Baudri lingers over the details of a boy's body, imagining the look and the feel of it, and the effect on the observer's emotions:

Forma placet, quia forma decet, quia forma uenusta est:  
Mala tenella placet, flauum caput osque modestum. . . .  
Cor pectusque meum tua uitrea lumina tangunt:  
Sidus enim geminum cristallina lumina credo.  
His bene respondet caro lactea, pectus eburnum;  
Alludit manibus niueo de corpore tactus.

[Your appearance is pleasing because it is proper and handsome;  
So too your delicate cheeks, blond hair, and modest mouth. . . .  
Your bright, clear eyes touch my breast and heart,  
For I believe those crystalline lights truly are a double star.

*Your milky flesh and ivory chest match them;  
The touch of your snow-white body sports with my hands.]*

Yet he commends the boy specifically for his sexual restraint, for not doing what he shows so manifestly:

Haec michi cuncta placent, haec et michi singula mando;  
Laudo Iouis quoniam Ganymedes esse refutas  
Et precor et laudo ne corrumparis amando.

*[All these please me: I commend each of them to myself,  
I praise them because you refuse to be Jove's Ganymede.  
And I pray and commend that you not be corrupted in loving.]*<sup>115</sup>

Like Marbod in "De puero," Baudri recognizes the power of same-sex physical desire, while he pulls back from the caresses he describes. On the other hand, in *carmen* 200, addressed to the nun Constance, Baudri tries to define the complicated yet chaste sort of *amor* he wants to express in his poetry to women.<sup>116</sup> The poem makes evident Baudri's ambivalent attitude toward the practice of Ovidian erotics, using that language while denying what it appears to denote. It is, he assures Constance, about "amor . . . et carmen amoris" [love and love poetry], but not dangerous, a bit of naked flesh that a nun may hold without fear:

Non timeas Ydram, noli dubitare Chymeram,  
Dum tanget nudum nuda manus folium.  
Ipsa potes nostram securo reuoluere cartam  
Inque tuo gremio ponere tuta potes.

*[Fear not the Hydra, waver not before the Chimaera  
As (your) bare hand touches the bare page.  
You yourself can safely open this letter,  
And you can safely put it in your lap.]*<sup>117</sup>

Tilliette finds ten citations from Ovid in the first thirty-eight lines of the poem, culminating in assurances that, however ardent, the speaker's love is chaste:

Crede michi credasque uolo credantque legentes:  
In te me nunquam foedus adegit amor

Nec lascivius amor nec amor petulantis amoris  
 Pro te subuertit corque iecurque meum;  
 In te sed nostrum mouit tua littera sensum  
 Et penitus iunxit me tua Musa tibi.

[Believe me (and I want both you and readers to believe):  
 A filthy love has never driven me to you.  
 Neither lascivious love nor a love of wanton love  
 Stirs up the depths of my heart on account of you.  
 Your learned writing has moved my feeling for you,  
 And your Muse has joined me to you deep within.]<sup>118</sup>

What he writes to Constance and his imagined wider readership (“legentes”) remains a “iocus in calamo” [a game of the pen] where anything said is subject to denial or rewriting. The *effictio* that takes up lines 55–72, declaring the nun could seduce Jove himself, does not truly reveal the speaker’s own desires:

Nec caro titillat pro te neque uiscera nostra;  
 Attamen absque dolo te uehementer amo.  
 Te uehementer amo, te totam totus amabo,  
 Te solam nostris implico uisceribus. . . .  
 Est spetialis amor, quem nec caro subcomitatur  
 Nec desiderium sauciat illicitum.

[Neither my flesh nor my heart itches for you;  
 But, nevertheless, I ardently love you without deceit.  
 I love you ardently, all of me will love all of you,  
 You alone do I enfold within my heart. . . .  
 It is a special love, which neither the flesh accompanies  
 Secretly nor illicit desire wounds.]<sup>119</sup>

The speaker loves “uehementer,” loves her totally, enfolds her within him, yet in this game of words the “spetialis amor” remains unsullied by the ticklings of the flesh, but deeply enmeshed in the form and the content of the old poetry it grows out of.

The complexity and ambivalence of the poet’s attitudes about human love and human eros are most evident in Baudri’s treatment in his poems of the *foedus amoris*, or “love contract.”<sup>120</sup> Baudri speaks often of the *foedus* binding him to the recipients of his letters, an ambiguous connection symbolized by the *pignus amoris* (“love token”) of the letter-poems themselves, as he stresses in a

short poem to Guitermus, who has asked for the loan of some writing tablets: “Has [tabulas] speciale mei fac tecum pignus amoris, / Donec colloquium cetera conficiat” [make this letter into a special pledge of my love for you until a meeting provides the rest].<sup>121</sup> The *foedus* leads eventually to the hoped-for *colloquium* or “meeting” with the beloved man or boy, an event as playfully defined as the original contract, ranging, in Bond’s terminology, from the “quasi-erotic” to a “chaste and joyful” encounter of friends. This “ludic” quality of Baudri’s poetic language, the “*iocus amoris*” found in so much of Baudri’s work, reflects the poetic influence of the “new Ovid” toward the end of the eleventh century, and a renewed philosophical concern with the force of eros in a divinely sanctioned creation.<sup>122</sup>

*Carmen* 200, probably one of Baudri’s later poems, written after the completion of the original core collection of the manuscripts and after his move to Dol, marks an important extension of the literary game of love to include the exegesis of classical myth. The game remains a game, but Baudri’s new purpose is quite serious—to recover the moral truths in erotic myth, rereading the ancient “*pagina vilis*” in ways appropriate and useful for himself and his poetic circle. He begins by reminding Constance that she is a part of the elite who know how to understand the wisdom of the ancients:

<I>nseritur metro gentilis pagina nostro,  
 <Vt> te de falsis gentibus amoueam,  
 Vt tibi gentilis sit gens et pagina uilis,  
 Que colit impuros semimaresque deos,  
 Qui meretricales potius coluere tabernas,  
 Rebus honestatis quam dederint operam.

[This pagan page is inserted in my poem  
 In order that I might distance you from false people,  
 So that for you that people might be pagan and that page base  
 Which worships the impure and half-male gods  
 Who frequented the whoring brothels, rather  
 Than give this service to virtuous matters.]<sup>123</sup>

“[F]alsae gentes” who exist among their contemporaries imitate the immoral actions of the old gods, not understanding the truths those stories contain behind their sometimes alarming surface. This intellectual process of transforming Greek fable into medieval truth is frequently a sort of erotic act itself, if only because it involves the manipulation of the cosmic sexual activity of

the gods into a moral text through literary interpretation. The imagined copulations of the gods, which cannot be credited as “real,” must point beyond themselves to an idea of something else:

Digna coaptatur d*e*s fabula siue deabus;  
 Nam tales talis mentio condecuit.  
 Ecce placet superis ardens commixtio carnis  
 Et superi superos sicut homo generant.  
 Est etenim <coi>sse deos aliquando deabus  
 Credere ridiculum magnaue perfidia.  
 Ergo alium sensum Grecorum fabula querit;  
 Dicit, non sentit Grecia ridiculum.

*[A fitting story is joined to gods or goddesses,  
 For such discussion befitted such gods.  
 Behold, the fiery mingling of the flesh pleases the gods,  
 And the gods generate gods just as man does.  
 For to believe the gods ever copulated with goddesses  
 Is a joke and a great falsehood.  
 Therefore a Greek tale demands another interpretation.  
 Greece speaks, but does not mean, foolishness.]*<sup>124</sup>

The “ardens commixtio carnis” that the gods enjoy in poetry becomes, in Baudri’s hands, not a record of actual occurrences in the world, or a model for human behavior, but a sign of something else that demands explication, an erotic symbol that requires the generation of something more in order to have meaning (“alium sensum”) for the reader. Toward the middle of *carmen* 200, Baudri offers Constance a place as his Diana and takes Hercules and Bellerophon as his own special emblems:

Ergo sepositis lenonibus et maculosis  
 Alterius partis aggrediamur iter.  
 Virtutum gradiamur iter, gradiamur ad astra;  
 Gentiles etiam sic properare monent.  
 Si mea uiuere uis, uiues mea, uiue Diana;  
 Alcidem uolo uel Bellorofonta sequi.

*[Therefore, let us put aside the perverse and foul men,  
 And undertake our journey in another direction.  
 Let us tread the path of virtues, let us walk to the stars;*

*Even pagans advise us to hasten thus.  
 If you wish to live as mine, you will live as mine; live (as) Diana!  
 I wish to imitate Alcidean Hercules or Bellerophon.]*<sup>125</sup>

The significance of these last two figures for Baudri's idea of himself as a poet and scholar is made clear in *carmen* 154, the long versification of Fulgentius's *Mythologies* alluded to earlier. Both characters are wise men who have overcome the temptations of the world and the flesh to rise to higher things; they are thus, through allegory, the male equivalents of the literally chaste goddess Diana. In extending his poetic gaming to include this sort of recuperative play with myth, Baudri begins a process of incorporating mythological allegoresis into poetry, a process much developed by later Christian Neoplatonists attempting to rationalize the biblical cosmos through their own poetic myth-making.<sup>126</sup>

In *carmen* 200 Baudri justifies his readings of classical tales as a part of the search for wisdom that begins in the study of sacred Scripture, but includes the examination of all texts. Like the Bible, classical literature contains examples of both good and evil, and these stories will yield to critical analysis:

*Vt sunt in ueterum libris exempla malorum,  
 <S>ic bona, que facias, sunt in eis posita.  
 Laudatur propria pro uirginitate Diana;  
 Portenti uictor Perseus exprimitur;  
 Alcidis uirtus per multos panditur actus;  
 Omnia, si nosti, talia mistica sunt.*

*[Just as there are examples of old evils in books,  
 So too are good deeds placed in them which you might do.  
 Diana is praised for her proper virginity;  
 Perseus is exalted as the victor of the monster.  
 The might of Alcidean Hercules is revealed through many acts;  
 All such things, if you know them, are allegorical.]*<sup>127</sup>

Read properly for its wisdom, Baudri is saying, myth can offer a path through allegory toward the divine. Baudri uses the same term for Greek mythological tales that he used to describe his own verse ("Grecas . . . nugae"), suggesting that *nugae*, or what look like *nugae*, have a right to be taken seriously, and may direct the questing spirit, through the medium of literary analysis, toward the same goals as Christian texts, along the "iter virtutum . . . ad astra." He sees his



project as a battle for the recovery of the word and the world, an effort to expand the range of things in the world that may bring understanding to humankind:

Quodsi de libris nostris exempla requiris,  
 Ipsa tot inuenies, quot uideas apices.  
 In nostris non unus apex, non linea libris,  
 Que nos non doceat alta sitire, uacat.  
 Sed uolui Grecas ideo pretendere nugas,  
 Vt queuis mundi littera nos doceat,  
 Vt totus mundus uelut unica lingua loquatur  
 Et nos erudiat omnis et omnis homo.  
 Captiuas ideo gentiles adueho nugas;  
 Letor captiuis uictor ego spoliis.

*[But if you require examples from my books,  
 You will find as many as you see tips (of letters).  
 Not one tip, not one stroke spends time in my books  
 That does not teach us to thirst for lofty things.  
 But I wanted to put forward the Greek trifles as proof  
 That every literature of the world teaches us,  
 That the whole world speaks as with one tongue  
 And that each and every man educates us.  
 I bring here the captive pagan trifles;  
 I, the victor, rejoice, in my captive spoils.]*<sup>128</sup>

The passage is slightly ambiguous—does Baudri mean by “libris nostris” his own writing or Scripture?—but the essential meaning, a paraphrase of Romans 15:4, is evident: everything is written to teach us. Through Fulgentius and his own imagination, Baudri becomes a conquering intellectual warrior, reminiscent of Fulcoius, bringing home to his monastery moral truths from distant lands:

Burgulii uictae nunc captiuantur Athenae,  
 Barbara nunc seruit Grecia Burgulio.  
 Hostili preda ditetur lingua Latina;  
 Grecus et Hebreus seruiat edomitus.  
 In nullis nobis desit doctrina legendi;  
 Lectio sit nobis et liber omne, quod est.



[Captive Athens is now being captured at Bourgueil,  
 Barbaric Greece now serves Bourgueil.  
 Let the Latin tongue be enriched by enemy booty;  
 Let the vanquished Greek and Hebrew serve.  
 Let us not miss reading's lesson in any (of them);  
 Let everything that is, be book and text for us.]<sup>129</sup>

Baudri's own version of classical humanism thus encompasses a projection of himself and his fellow poets and readers of poetry back to Rome, an absorption of what he saw as classical values into his own life, and an ambition to read ancient Latin texts with new eyes and to make them speak meaningfully through literary analysis. Along with the consistent "ludic" quality of his poetry, these elements allow him to take the attitudes he holds toward sacred Scripture and the methods he uses to interpret it and apply them to what he reads from the classics.<sup>130</sup> Greek trifles make up a part of the common language of humanity, and that part may be conquered by methodical reading and made to serve the abbot's desires.

Baudri's most ambitious single work is the long description (*carmen* 134) of the bedchamber of the countess Adèle (ca. 1066–1137) at Blois, much of it a paraphrase of material drawn from Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis*.<sup>131</sup> It ties together many of the issues under consideration here, particularly Baudri's interest in recuperating the classical past, in making use of classical myth, and in exploring the uses of erotic play in poetry. Daughter of William the Conqueror; wife of Étienne, count of Blois-Chartres-Meaux (1089–1102); and mother of Stephen, king of England, Adèle was often regent in her own realm, both for her husband during his two periods in the East and later for her sons.<sup>132</sup> From the 1080s until her retirement to the Benedictine Abbey of Marcigny in 1120, her court served as a major literary center, perhaps the first such institution in the medieval West dominated by a woman.<sup>133</sup> Family history and political geography—her lands lay immediately east of Anjou and effectively surrounded the French royal domain—forced her into ceaseless negotiations with the Angevins and the Capetians and placed her in the heart of the intellectual world of the French poets we have been examining in this chapter.<sup>134</sup>

Like Marbod's turn-of-the-century poems to Matilda and Ermengard, *carmen* 134 invokes the potential eroticism of the court in interesting ways that prefigure the classic situation of courtly love; it also attempts to please an important patron by eulogizing her father and praising her own literary and intellectual interests. That Baudri chose to pursue the favor of the countess of

Blois-Chartres-Meaux with a poem that is largely a paraphrase of Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis* suggests he took seriously Adèle's apparent interest in the contents of a long, Neoplatonic work about education and the structure and workings of the cosmos. By 1100 there must have been renewed attention to the *De nuptiis* in northern France, particularly in the orbit of Chartres during the reign of Bishop Ivo (1090–1115), with whom Adèle retained cordial relations, and in the early years of the great teacher Bernard of Chartres, master of the cathedral school of Chartres after 1117.<sup>135</sup> Baudri clearly had access to a copy, along with the copy of Fulgentius he used in writing *carmen* 154. In the poem, Adèle is both patron and goddess, with Baudri the mortal dazzled by her brilliance:

Gorgone conspecta quamplures destituuntur  
 Taliter a propriis protinus officiis  
 Et coram Circe sic multi diriguere;  
 Non etenim poterant lumina ferre dee.  
 Vix ideo uidi; uidisse tamen reminiscor,  
 Vt reminiscor ego somnia uisa michi.  
 Sic me sepe nouam lunam uidisse recordor  
 Vel, cum uix uideo, meue uidere puto.  
 Vix ipsam uidi; sed sicut et ipse recordor,  
 Diane species anteferenda sua est.

[In the same way very many abandoned their proper duties  
 On the spot, once having gazed upon the Gorgon,  
 And many stiffened thus before Circe;  
 For they could not tolerate the goddess's majesty.  
 I scarcely saw her then, yet I remember having seen her,  
 I remember having seen her as I remember having seen dreams.  
 Thus I recall often having seen the new moon or,  
 When I barely see it, think I am seeing it.  
 I scarcely saw her; but as even I recall,  
 Her beauty is to be preferred to that of Diana.]<sup>136</sup>

Was Adèle amused to find herself compared, almost in one breath, to Circe and Gorgon and Diana? The erotic tension present in Baudri's construction of himself as the suppliant male paying court to the goddess/*domina* is heightened in these allusions to powerful and seductive women of mythology and played out more emphatically in a passage that invokes the court setting Baudri imag-

ines for Adèle. He is only one of many men drawn to the countess, and he suggests there is a potentially erotic component to that attraction:

Sunt tamen et multi, quos commendare puellis  
 Et decus et probitas et sua forma queat,  
 Hanc qui temptassent; sed quid temptasse iuuaret?  
 Seruat pacta sui non uiolanda thori.  
 Hanc decor insolitus et inequiperanda uenustas  
 Commendatque simul gratia colloquii.  
 Sed quis tam duram silicem mollire ualeret?  
 Inspiciunt sine re; sed iuuat inspicere.  
 Premia magna putant, dum spe pascuntur inani,  
 Irritantque suos hanc inhiando oculos.  
 Nec mirum, quoniam species sua tanta refulget,  
 Debeat ut cunctis prefore uirginibus.

*[And yet there are many whose glory and worth  
 And beauty can commend them to young women and who  
 Might have tried for her—but what would it help to have tried?  
 She holds her marriage agreement to be inviolate.  
 Her unusual honor and unequaled beauty commend her,  
 As does the grace of her conversation.  
 But who would be able to soften such hard granite?  
 They gaze without cause; but it is pleasing to gaze.  
 They think of great rewards when they feed on empty hope,  
 And by gaping at her they irritate their eyes.  
 This is not surprising, because her beauty shines forth  
 So much that she ought to surpass all other young women.]*<sup>137</sup>

The countess's devotion to letters and her moral probity are matched by a physical presence that inspires some in attendance on her to hope for sexual rewards.<sup>138</sup> Baudri distances himself from this aristocratic gaming, but records the ignorant courtiers drawn to the lady. He mixes the erotic and the political, the countess's physical body and her social position, making Adèle the object of complex impulses.<sup>139</sup> Whatever the courtly situation in Blois at the turn of the century, Baudri feels free in his play with classical Ovidiana and classical wisdom—in a poem designed to compliment the lady for her pedigree, her morals, her learning, and her literary sensibilities—to turn the countess into

an eroticized object of male desire at the same time that he creates her as an icon of human understanding.

Baudri's very original gesture in *carmen* 134 is to take Martianus Capella's cosmological vision and place the countess at the center of it as the exemplar of the well-furnished mind. He depicts her wisdom and learning through her own bedroom, an ecphrastic representation of the lady's own idealized consciousness, where she appears like a figure of Lady Philosophy surrounded by the icons of history and science.<sup>140</sup> The tapestries she and her ladies have made cover the four walls of the chamber: two walls show Old Testament history; the third, the ancient world—Greek myth, the fall of Troy, and the history of Rome—and the fourth and most elaborate depicts the conquest of England by the countess's father. The ceiling of the room shows constellations and planets; the floor a map of the world. The bed itself is a chart of education: at the foot of it, clusters of statues representing the quadrivium, trivium, and medicine; at the head, a statue of philosophy. The fantastic room, which is the countess herself, becomes a kind of memory chamber for Martianus's book and the history of the world, both linking Baudri and the countess as members of the sophisticated elite who understand such things and excluding the hoards of courtiers who do not have their understanding. The poem as a whole defines a metaphorical locus, a world of wisdom in which the poet and the lady come together in the potentially erotic, but also very public, space of her bedchamber, producing new identities for them both:

Dum tibi desudo, dum sudans, Adela, nugor,  
 Depinxi pulcrum carminibus thalamum.  
 Tu uero nostre fabelle digna repende. . . .  
 Ecce coaptauit thalamum tibi pagina nostra  
 Inque tui laudem sollicitata fuit.  
 Nempe decet talem talis thalamus comitissam;  
 At plus, quod decuit, quam quod erat, cecini.

[While I work hard for you, while sweating, Adela, I talk nonsense,  
 I painted a beautiful bedchamber in verses.  
 You, indeed, repay (us with) things worthy of our little tale. . . .  
 Behold our text has fitted the bedchamber to you,  
 It was inspired in praise of you.  
 Of course such a bedchamber befits such a countess;  
 And I have sung more that which was fitting than that which (actually)  
 was.]<sup>141</sup>

As Baudri notes in these lines, his description is only an imaginative representation of the bedroom, but the representation is appropriate to the poem's recipient. *Carmen* 134 intertwines the political, the erotic, and the philosophical to create a courtly Latin poem of some power, bringing to bear not only Baudri's considerable understanding of classical poetry, but also a newer interest in particularly Neoplatonic ways of understanding one's place in the universe. As Tilliette points out, clearly Baudri expected the countess and his larger audience to recognize his source texts and understand what he was about. In this long effort to impress the countess, Baudri takes up a consideration of the nature of wisdom and the structure of the cosmos, as if to locate the countess and the peculiar sorts of desire she generates within a broad understanding of the forces, including erotic forces, that organize the world.

We have examined fragments from a body of erotic poetry produced by four poets writing largely in the second half of the eleventh century. These poets all held significant posts in the church and wrote their poetry for an elite audience of well-educated men and women, mostly fellow ecclesiastics, but also including a handful of secular aristocrats. Marbod's surviving *erotica* suggests he was less overtly concerned than Fulcoius, Godfrey, or Baudri with the creation of a poetic self in the mold of a latter-day classical *vates*, though in the two quasi-erotic encomiums to aristocratic ladies he implicitly sets himself up as a moral and political force in the court and a conduit for the eternal fame of his patrons, and in his school *erotica* he engages in daring modernizations of Horace and Ovid for an academic public. Marbod was evidently willing to use the eroticized body of either gender for his own programmatic purposes. In his secular court poetry he describes aristocratic female bodies as places where political and erotic power intersect, associating powerful ladies with classical goddesses to suggest their power and beauty, their desirability as dual sexual and political entities. He also endows them with Christian virtues that balance the possibly dangerous comparisons with ancient figures from classical poetry and myth. Most of what we have identified here as Marbod's erotic lyrics must have been written during the poet's long career as a schoolmaster in Angers. His poems were a form of public utterance, an influential schoolmaster's contribution to the circulation of sophisticated entertainment among the literate elites of the period. In them he created a poetic self who could write about the dangers of eros in some poems, while in others he could thoughtfully imagine the workings of both homosexual and heterosexual desire.<sup>142</sup> In these lyrics, Marbod could adopt a wide range of voices to explore the force of eros in the cosmos and its many manifestations in human affairs. Often Marbod seems more schoolteacher than *vates*. But he was still, as we

have seen, in elaborate and self-conscious dialogue with the classics, updating distiches and hexameter with rhyme, elaborating Horace, and bringing the love lore of the *Amores* into the last years of the eleventh century in a sequence of amorous epistles that codify literate heteroerotic desire for the schools.

Baudri's complex of playful impulses, as Bezzola claimed, at once looks to Provence and the aristocratic forms of amorous literary courtliness being worked out there, and to the schools, particularly Chartres and Paris, where Neoplatonic texts, such as Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis*, and mythological tracts, such as Fulgentius's *Mythologies*, were being studied again. These texts would in a few years provide the basis for a uniquely clerical working out of the implications of desire in the cosmos, and provide one foundation for the poetic erotica of the next century. In *carmen* 153, to the nun he calls "domina Emma," and 99, to fellow poet Godfrey of Reims, we see Baudri's elaborate construction of a classical poetic self remade to suit the situation of the abbot of Bourgueil: a wise rustic, happy with his simple life, but nostalgic for a golden age when poets received the deference due to them and convinced of poetry's power to turn its practitioners into gods. The vision he offers us of the poet as another Apollo or Orpheus whose singing places himself and his subjects *super astra* is one that will reappear, often humorously, throughout the twelfth century. Poems like *carmen* 3, another of the many Ganymede poems produced in this milieu, or *carmen* 200, to the learned nun Constance, show Baudri engaged in poetic gaming with erotic language in ways similar to those of other poets writing in northern France in the later eleventh century. Baudri, however, develops these impulses into something more systematic and elegant through his notion of the poetic *foedus amoris*, which binds him to the other members of his elite circle who are not *homines pecuales*, and of the *pignus amoris*, the letter-poem itself, the stand-in for the male body that cannot present itself *nuda* to the recipient like the *nudum folium* to be caressed by the *nuda manus*. Baudri's interest in the myths central to Ovid's poetry (most evident in *carmina* 200, 154, and 134) has led him to a deeper study of that myth through the most important texts available to him. His project to recuperate the past for his own present has moved him to a playful reinvention of Ovidian erotics and a study of the gods that will allow him to transmute the "ardens commixtio carnis" of the pagan deities into a part of the philosopher's own "iter virtutum ad astra." In a poem such as *carmen* 200, we observe Baudri's creation of a literate elite, an "in group," who understand the nature of his poetic play with classical eroticism and the importance of the virtuous exegesis of classical myth for that program of recuperation. Within the Latinate

poetic circles of the Loire Valley, the abbot of Bourgueil slides smoothly from a love of Ovid and the creation of a new sort of erotic poetry into a desire for deeper understanding of the past and its intellectual projects, a desire to make use of this ancient wisdom in his own present, always in the context of sophisticated literary gaming. Baudri marks the early phases of a project that would obsess some of the most creative and well-educated minds of the twelfth century. It would produce new sorts of erotic poetry under changed political and social circumstances and the influence of new poetic forms, and evoke continued philosophical effort in the schools to understand the force of eros in the complex Neoplatonic cosmos.



## Chapter Two

# Erotic Lyrics in Two Early English Manuscripts

BRITISH LIBRARY MS ADDITIONAL 24199

**I**N THE DECADES around the year 1100 there were undoubtedly clerics living in England who were well aware of the classicizing poetry being produced in northern France and who could write ambitious Latin poetry themselves. The prolific writer Reginald of Canterbury, who came to St. Augustine's from France in the late eleventh century, is probably the best example of a serious and wide-ranging poet in the immediate post-Conquest period. Reginald wrote nothing that might be considered erotic, but around the turn of the century he did produce an enormous epic saint's life, in 3,344 rhyming hexameters of various sorts, the *Malchus*, which he sent to friends on the continent, including Hildebert of Lavardin in Le Mans and Stephen, abbot of Reginald's former monastery in Noyers. He also wrote short poems (many to accompany copies of the *Malchus*), verse epistles, and poems about saints and bishops; he adopted Thalia as his personal muse, and experimented with unusual rhyming hexameters and elegiacs; he clearly thought of himself as a part of the poetic circles operating on the continent.<sup>1</sup> A. G. Rigg is able



to list, besides Reginald, half a dozen Anglo-Latin poets who were roughly contemporaneous with Marbod and Baudri. Most of the poetry that survives from the period is religious or political—saints' lives, epitaphs, epigrams, historical verse—most of this in hexameter or elegiac couplets, often rhymed.<sup>2</sup> Nonetheless, a very few explicitly Ovidian erotic poems do exist that may be of insular origin and seem to belong to this early stratum of erotic verse. They appear in a single manuscript given over principally to the poetry of Marbod and Hildebert, British Library Additional 24199 (fig. 2).<sup>3</sup> Though never rubricated, it is a big, handsome, readable folio text, likely a product of the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds and possibly written in the abbey scriptorium late in the reign of Abbot Anselm (1121–48), a man of wide education and extensive continental connections. Anselm was largely responsible for the rapid development of the abbey's library in the years before 1150 and could theoretically have been the author of some of the poems unique to the collection.<sup>4</sup> Additional 24199 is among the oldest surviving insular collections of the poetry of Marbod and Hildebert, written, that is, within two decades of the latter's death.<sup>5</sup> The anonymous Latin poetry the manuscript contains is all distinctly "old-style" compared to later twelfth-century verse, like the poetry of Marbod and Hildebert the sort of classicizing (often leonine) verse that went out of fashion well before the middle of the twelfth century.<sup>6</sup> Except for the poetry of the eleventh-century Canterbury songbook, which we will discuss at the end of this chapter for its handful of rhythmic erotic lyrics, the poems in the Bury manuscript are the oldest surviving examples of insular Latin erotica. What we find here reflects the more formal line of development that existed alongside the less classical type of erotic poetry represented in the Canterbury collection. As with the Canterbury manuscript, much of the contents of Additional 24199 is continental, and it is hard to know if unattributed works are insular or not.

The structure of the manuscript itself gives us a pretty clear sense of just how indebted such classicizing verse was to the work of the poets of northern France. As it is bound today, the manuscript has in its first thirty-eight folios a tenth-century copy of Prudentius's *Psychomachia*; this is followed (fols. 39–89) by the large, twelfth-century collection of poetry of interest to us. Folios 39–89 fall into four natural divisions that probably reflect the source material from which the scribe developed the manuscript: (1) from folios 39 to 56 an uninterrupted series of thirty-three poems attributed to Hildebert;<sup>7</sup> (2) from folios 56 to 68 an uninterrupted series of seventeen poems attributed to Marbod;<sup>8</sup> (3) from folios 68 to 81 a collection of fifty-four poems, five attributable to Marbod, two to Hildebert (though A. Brian Scott would now reject these),

en qd peccau uel qd potui meruisse  
 Qd n illa dui ē passio nra luit  
 Quid tua fax in me lūc crebera luendū  
 V el qūdo potui dicere: nē te pco  
 E ce molūm graui dūmo res firmissima  
 V rē in cēsu pect' amore meli  
 H onne sac' luerā secul' sub amore solue  
 E t si cūdel facta luenda forent  
 Y udel inx cemen' ēuerece dectū  
 d ulus: dūmā p'at' enē manū  
 I ple cū candē pacata mūmū nra  
 E regit uite tēpora: pace tua  
 E s de prenta tuo cū marte subindice febo  
 V tao mouit cū. ungo peccenda deo  
 P ace tua ficeat. si me manet utao talis  
 I ple tuas nra cōmeruisse uelim  
 E t p'ci si n' cādē sententia cūctos  
 I nduac sacra q' tua cūq' uoluit  
 Q uippe tuos tua fax facit insanire. nean  
 A ndor' expten quē facit ipsa senil  
 A t q' hīs amat tuus hostis: amore fūit  
 C rimnag: inmerito ulao iusta luer  
 S i culpa febi cū marte repta finit  
 L eucore infena: cur luit acta dei  
 L eucore dūci d' hostis: amore potat  
 I lla: sui patris semina patat  
 A t fortasse ē facio conuicia uana  
 O bioq: dea crimen mane tibi  
 H a naq: leucorwen d' ut nra aduut  
 I oraq: leucorwen fabula fallā fuit  
 H ee pat' hanc inhumū sup'p'it facianecilla  
 O mēre dūmo thurea unga fuit  
 S cū tam nob' h' tradit lectio uatū  
 V atib: & scis: ē. adhibenda fidel  
 S ic te puatē cognouim' a ioue natū  
 S ic dea puatē nōm' amoris habet  
 V atib: & fide si demas: nec ioue nata  
 H ee dea: nec teneri mat' amas' crū  
 Ergo nec uerā nec fictā muto saluē  
 Quare res phibet fingere nullus amor

E t cur res phibet uerā nūllisse: docebo  
 C onfite enī qm' fallē: nescit amor  
 V era salus res est: s. uer' amor tuus. h' est  
 V et' amor qd sit nō uen' alma doceat  
 R es q' phibet uerā nūllisse saluē m  
 O mēre quā carat: nē ē nemo potest  
 V at: uelim partē. ut cū ē mūtē totū  
 H ee ē part' mēre nec ē tota potest  
 H āq: qd ē. mūmū si possit dicere totū  
 H ū salus mūmū. nec mū. & potest  
 V iare nec partē presūmet nē sine toto  
 R es in me totū nulla salus habet  
 E rgo nec partē nec possū mūtē totū  
 H ee part' nec totū. ē. sic mea parua salus  
 P arua salus. dū parua tu nec carūm iūo  
 P art' in parua dat' o in sola salus  
 S ola in. si tota salus. dū me ē totū  
 P art' donata in uendicat una cū  
 S ū totū totū res equa dedisset  
 T ē in sola salus. ē. in tota salus  
 H on tuū qm' meo possit bñ part' tua totū  
 H ā tua q' p'cio part' bene possit cū  
 S ed pot' mea mēnt dūmo tota motū  
 I nmoderata peccat' nescit habere modū  
 C oncessitq: semel iā iā si sentit habenas  
 S ed rapit & dūm & data frena sumit  
 H ee rapit in tuū. s. in alta cūmna mōtū  
 A c uelut in glū me male sana uelut  
 E t cū uir p'niū possit conscendē dūmū  
 Q d graui accessit arduitasq: uerant  
 A d sumū cūm capientiū mōm' anhelat  
 P arnati aut' magn' hic nōm' olip' habet  
 C ūi apert' & me diffidentē mūat  
 P receptet casus arduitate sua  
 S ed diffidentē in mōm' casusq: uerant  
 A tq: recusant q' uelut unda sequi  
 P refert. me multas sua despecto tollit  
 P refert. audientē sor'q: uenulq: nuant  
 E rgo ne despectū me despecto tollat  
 I am mōm' ē. qd si mēnt mea concipiat  
 A ut mū audientē ne me dea desolat aut  
 A udeo. sor' & uer' alma uiuent

FPO

Fig. 2. London, British Library MS Additional 24199, fol. 80<sup>v</sup>. Twelfth century, perhaps as early as midcentury. Originally from the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds. The manuscript contains one of the oldest surviving insular collections of the poetry of Marbod and Hildebert, as well as anonymous poems likely composed in England. "Heu quid peccaui" begins at the top of the first column; "Ergo nec ueram" begins at the bottom of the same column. Space has been left for large initial letters which were never added. (Reproduced by permission of the British Library.)



eight to other known poets, and thirty-nine anonymous poems (twenty-seven of these apparently unique to this manuscript);<sup>9</sup> and finally (4) a series of eleven poems, nine attributable to Marbod and two anonymous.<sup>10</sup> The shape of the manuscript's contents thus suggests that some of the unique anonymous poems represent the work of local school-trained clerics working in conscious emulation of the poetry being produced on the continent. If Anselm himself wrote any of the poems (and he does seem to have composed poetry in his youth), he would offer an intriguing, younger parallel to a figure like Baudri.<sup>11</sup> At the very least, whatever the sources of the anonymous poems now found in the Bury manuscript, the abbey must have been a place in the first half of the twelfth century where contemporary pseudoclassical poetry was taken seriously and a communal effort made to preserve it.

The fifty-four poems of the third segment of the Bury manuscript (fols. 68<sup>v</sup>–81<sup>r</sup>) offer a hodgepodge of works of varying lengths and genres that may supply something like a representative sample of what was in circulation among the insular literati before midcentury. Of the first nineteen poems in the series of fifty-four, sixteen are found also in Cotton Vitellius A.xii, and of these, nine seem to have circulated widely. Some are obviously continental, for example four poems by Marbod and a poem by Ausonius, while others are on topics of more insular interest, for example a poem in praise of William the Conqueror and a poem in praise of the empress Matilda. There is a pair of long poems on St. Andrew and St. Agnes, short poems on the first seven days of the world and the ten plagues of Egypt, a poem in twelve stanzas of twelve lines each on the twelve sons of Jacob, a poem critical of homosexuality that compares Jove's rape of Semele to his abduction of Ganymede, the Old Testament story of Amnon and Tamar, a moral tale, a ribald tale, invective, complaint, and lament. The first dozen poems are almost all in hexameter, much of it leonine, followed by a series in distiches. The very heterogeneity of the poems' subject matter might suggest that they were collected as formal and rhetorical models.

The remaining thirty-five works in this third group are all anonymous and unique to the Bury manuscript, with the exception of three poems (44, 45, 54) found also in Cotton Vitellius A.xii (25, 26, 40), five poems (nos. 24–28, which are in reality a single poem of 107 lines divided into segments by the scribe) by Patrick of Dublin, bishop there from 1074 to 1084, and two poems by Marbod—his epistle to Samson, bishop of Worcester (33),<sup>12</sup> and book 10 of the *Liber decem capitulorum* (36). Some of these works that we have posited are local efforts written at the monastery seem to be clustered here loosely by topic: poems 20–23 all concern God's power over the world; the erotica are all

gathered together at 46–52. The remaining poems (29–45) appear to be clustered only by meter: six in distiches (29–34), followed by eight in rhyming hexameters of various sorts (35–42), then a string of poems in distiches (43–51) that includes all the erotica but the last, a three-line verse in leonine hexameter (52).<sup>13</sup>

Although this collection—framed in the manuscript by Hildebert and Marbod—does not supply the same strong sense of an epistolary community, united through affection for the classics and each other, that defines so much of the continental poetry we examined earlier, there is, nonetheless, a little evidence here to indicate insular participation in similar poetic circles. Epistolary poems such as the letter to Bishop Samson noted above show links between the continent and the island, and a number of poems in the Bury collection hint at an active exchange of poems and verse epistles among intellectuals. A letter, written about 1100, from the exiled Hildebert to the English nun Muriel of Wilton is only one of several surviving works by continental poets addressed to her.<sup>14</sup> Hildebert talks about the nun as a new goddess and *vates* figure who, through her poetry, brings to modern times (“*presentia secula*”) “certain communications of the gods” [*quedam commercia divum*]:

quicquid enim spiras est immortale, tuumque  
tanquam divinum mundus adorat opus.  
deprimis ingenio vates celebresque poetas.

[For whatever you breathe out is immortal,  
and the world adores your work as if it were divine.  
You silence with your genius bards and famous poets.]<sup>15</sup>

At some point before 1095, Baudri also wrote a poem to Muriel that he must have composed early in both their careers because he claims it is his first to a woman; in it he proposes an exchange of *carmina*.<sup>16</sup> Serlo of Bayeux wrote a long work for her when she was still a young girl and not yet cloistered, encouraging her to avoid marriage; it is possible that he alludes in it to Baudri and suggests that she and Baudri had a long-standing correspondence.<sup>17</sup> All the writers indicate she was a serious poet who could judge their poetry and participate in the circulation of verse epistles.

Further evidence for the existence of insular poetic communities is provided in the manuscript by the poem “Constet quantus honos” by Patrick of Dublin. Recorded in the Bury manuscript as poems 24–28 by Boutemy,<sup>18</sup> it supplies a connection to the cathedral school of Worcester under Wulfstan,

bishop of Worcester 1062–95, a connection also hinted at by the poem Marbod wrote to Samson of Bayeux, Wulfstan's successor as bishop, 1096–1112.<sup>19</sup> As a young man, Patrick left Ireland to join the Benedictine monks in Worcester, before returning to his homeland to serve as bishop for eleven years, and he clearly kept up his relationship with Wulfstan and other members of the monastic community there while he was bishop. The most recent editor of Patrick's works conjectures that two of Patrick's five extant poems, including "Constet quantus," were written while he was still at the school in Worcester, before 1074, and that a lost manuscript containing some of the bishop's poems along with the *De tribus habitaculis* was present at Worcester after Patrick's death.<sup>20</sup>

Before we turn to survey the erotic poems found at the end of part 3 of the Bury manuscript, it is worth noting that many of the nonerotic poems of the group of fifty-four just outlined ruminate over the same intellectual and social concerns we saw being explored among the writers of continental erotica. The powerful impulse to compare the present to the classical past or the Christian cosmos to the pagan is evident, for example, in poem 18 on folio 76<sup>v</sup> (also found in Cotton Vitellius A.xii). The anonymous poet implicitly places the empress Matilda within the constellation of deified Roman rulers by praising her in terms as appropriate for a pagan as for a Christian queen, a star who "stands out in the highest circle of heaven" [*in summo praeminet orbe poli*] and a god who "shines among the gods" [*fulget apud superos*].<sup>21</sup> In eighteen lines of Ovidian distiches, poem 23 wittily compares the aftermath of the Flood as told in Genesis to the version in *Metamorphoses* 1.313–415, the story of Deucalion and Pyrrha. So the poet has the sea god calm the waves:

Mitior aether erat, sol indulgentior orbi  
Neptunusque uagas iam reuocabat aquas.

[*The air was softer, the sun kinder to the world,  
and Neptune was now calling back the vagrant waters.*]<sup>22</sup>

He makes clear that the earth was replenished not by a magical tossing of the bones of mother earth, but by human intercourse:

Languidus ergo Noe fessusque senilibus annis  
Innumerasque domos reddidit una domus.  
Nec lapidum iactu consumpta floruit aetas,  
Sed de carne caro, prodiit omnis homo.

*[Therefore Noah (was) weak and tired with extreme old age,  
and one house restored countless houses.  
Nor did the worn out age flourish by the throw of stones,  
but every man came forth flesh from flesh.]*<sup>23</sup>

In a remarkable longer poem (no. 32), narrated in the voice of a woman, probably a nun,<sup>24</sup> the speaker expresses frustration—frequently voiced, as we have seen, by the continental writers—that poets are not given the position and rewards they formerly were in ancient times, and responds to a personal attack from a contemporary critic who has evidently read her work and criticized it. The speaker punctuates her complaint with a repeated appeal to the Muse of history for help: “Clio, fida comes, pellimur, egredere!” [Clio, faithful companion, depart (with me), we are banished]. Her devotion to Clio and her passing reference to the content of her own work (“Carminibus recitare nouis bene uel male gesta: / Iste fuit noster, si tamen error erat” [To recite good or bad deeds in new verses: that was my task, even if, nevertheless, it was a mistake])<sup>25</sup> suggest she sees herself as a writer of narratives, more than, say, of epistles or lyrics, but it is also clear from the poem that she was a part of a general circulation of classicizing Latin poetry among the educated. While she defends herself vigorously against her presumably male critic, she displays an interestingly complex attitude toward the poetry she loves:

Nostris principium dat littera nostra furoris,  
Nostris nulla placent carmina principibus.  
Accusor sed enim quo praecedente reatu?  
Ars mihi si quaeras crimen et ingenium.  
Grande mihi crimen genuit mea littera grandis.  
*[My learned writing provides a source of rage to ours,  
No poems please our princes.  
I am indicted, but in fact for what foregoing misdeed?  
If you want to know: my art is my crime, and my imagination.  
My great learned writing gave birth to my great crime.]*<sup>26</sup>

She sees herself as a participant in a poetic furor brought on by her “littera”—either her learning in general or, more specifically, her reading of literature—but this is not a passion shared by those in power. Her study has, she admits for the moment, caused her to sin, though what she participates in is at once “crimen” and “ingenium.” As she goes on to stress a little later, her study and poetry do not keep her from her faith:

Esse bonum non me prohibebit littera multa;  
 Dat mihi, non prohibet, littera nosse deum.  
 Credimus et ratione deum cognoscimus esse,  
 Hoc quoque quod facimus non prohibere deum.

*[Great learned writing will not prohibit me from being good,  
 Learned writing does not prohibit, but allows me to know God.  
 I believe and know rationally that God exists  
 And also that what I do God does not prohibit.]*<sup>27</sup>

Thus she seems to say her “crimen” is not strictly speaking a sin; indeed, her studies and her poetry offer her a way to better understand God. She concludes by accusing her critic, her “lacerator carminis,” of cowardice and willful ignorance:

Carmina componas, lacerator carminis, ut te  
 Posse quidem sed te fingere nolle putem.  
 Et tibi grata forem, si littera grata fuisset:  
 Par solet ingenium conciliare duos!

*[Compose verses, you slanderer of verse, so that I may think  
 That you of course can create (poetry), but do not want to.  
 I would be acceptable even to you if my learned writing were acceptable:  
 Equal genius usually reconciles two people!]*<sup>28</sup>

The struggle for a poetic identity and for an audience within a world that sometimes resists the circulation of classicizing verse is apparent also a few poems later in a praise-poem directed to an otherwise unknown patron named Rannulfus.<sup>29</sup> The speaker begins again with the familiar contrast between the honor poets enjoyed in the old days and the miserable present they now endure:

Tunc musae celebres et erant in honore poetae,  
 Nunc isti uiles, illaeque silent quasi spretae.  
 Tunc clari reges et eorum gloria multa,  
 Nunc est istorum cum uita fama sepulta.

*[Then the Muses were famous and the poets were honored;  
 now the latter are worthless, and the former are silent as if rejected.  
 Then kings were renowned and their glory great;  
 now their fame is buried along with their lives.]*<sup>30</sup>

He concludes, however, with the observation that there is at least one who understands the value of poetry:

Et tamen est expers istius criminis unus,  
Debetur doctis magnum quo iudice munus.  
Ad cuius nomen musas reuocate poetae!  
Illae Rannulfi uenient ad nomina laetae.

*[And yet one is free from that sin;  
with him as judge a great reward is owed to learned men.  
To whose name, O poets, call back the Muses!  
They will come joyfully to the names of Rannulfus.]*<sup>31</sup>

Poems such as the last two, assuming they are insular products from the first half of twelfth century collected at Bury St. Edmunds, seem to me further confirmation of the existence in England of something like the poetic circles evident in northern France after the middle of the eleventh century, with poets praising and blaming each other and justifying their passions in poetry at once classical and clearly medieval. The short poem (no. 38), also in rhymed hexameters, immediately following the one just cited, speaks directly of the exchange of verse:

Quid misisse tibi me scripta putas aliena?  
Ex propria tibi iuro polos haec esse camena.

*[Why do you think that I have sent you another's writings?  
I swear to you by the heavens these are from my own poetry.]*<sup>32</sup>

In another poem (no. 43) the writer, who begs pardon for his tardiness and poor style, makes clear that he is specifically writing an epistle, that the "littera" he refers to in the second line is his letter:

[Haec] tandem nostram quamuis tardata salutem  
Affert, sed timide, littera nostra tibi.  
Rusticus obtusus timet aulam regis inire,  
Littera nostra tuam non bene culta timet.

*[This our letter, although delayed, finally brings  
our greeting to you, but timidly.  
The dull rustic fears to enter the palace of the king;  
our letter, not well refined, fears (to enter) yours.]*<sup>33</sup>



He goes on to say, disingenuously given the rhetorical self-consciousness of the missive, that the poem comes dressed in bare simplicity:

Nam nihil est in ea, nisi quadam lege sub uno  
 Nuda quidem numero uerba coacta simul.  
 Ergo nec ista bono uenit huc ornata colore,  
 Nec pater ornatus, quos dare posset, habet.

*[For nothing is in it, except, indeed, naked words  
 collected together in one meter by a certain law.  
 Therefore neither does this come hither decorated with good color,  
 nor does the father have the decorations that he could have given.]*<sup>34</sup>

Though the social situation implied by the poem is far from clear, what we have sounds like the voice of a courtier-cleric who plays the “rusticus” like Baudri and belittles his own powers as a poet, pleading to the master and patron (the “rex” of line 3) he has neglected or who has banished him for one reason or another. He ends the poem begging that both the writer and the letter be accepted:

Et, nobis parcens, tutos promitte recursus,  
 Forsitan haec melius culta redibit adhuc.

*[Sparing us, promise safe returns,  
 and perhaps this will return, then, better dressed.]*<sup>35</sup>

If the anonymous poems of Additional 24199 are not a clot of continental verses imported with the works Hildebert and Marbod, then the collection implies that some pseudoclassical Latin poetry circulated in England under circumstances not unlike those existing in northern France in the late eleventh and early twelfth century. As we have seen here and in the previous chapter, Marbod, Hildebert, and Baudri all extended their circles of poetic correspondence to include insular recipients, and the Bury manuscript itself speaks to insular interest in poetic developments across the channel. It would be particularly gratifying if we could say with greater assurance that the manuscript was produced at Bury under Abbot Anselm and that the many anonymous works it contains were composed in England by authors roughly contemporaneous with the northern French classicists. Though there is circumstantial evidence to suggest that this is the case, we cannot be certain. It is fair to say that in general there is a high likelihood that many of the

unique, anonymous poems found in Additional 24199 are insular in origin and that their presence indicates insular interest in such classicizing poetry in the first half of the century. Writers connected to England's cathedral schools and monasteries were no doubt at the periphery of the poetic developments taking place in northern France, but they were aware of the adventurous new poetry being produced there, participated in the circles of poetic exchange, and engaged in the careful, ardent, and sometimes anxious study of Latin classical poets.

The little cluster of erotica found in the Bury manuscript appears almost at the end of the collection of "local" poems, numbers 46–52 of the fifty-four-poem series. Boutemy prints 46 and 47 as separate poems, but it seems likely, given their subject matter and the absence of a space for a large initial letter in 47, that they are pieces of the same work, perhaps with some lines missing in the middle; we are thus talking about six poems from the whole collection of over one hundred works. The last two of these are both quite short, but they reflect the sort of rhetorical obsessiveness that characterizes all the erotic poems here. Indeed, the erotic poems stand out both from the works of Marbod and Baudri and other identifiable poets and from the mass of anonymous poems in the Bury manuscript<sup>36</sup> by their evident attraction to rhetorical play that leads, in the longer ones, to confusion and opacity. As we shall see in a later chapter, this sort of schoolish wordplay becomes more common in classicizing verse of the later twelfth century—an aspect of "Baroque Ovidianism" in the words of one critic—and these poems may, in fact, come from a period somewhat later than the poetry of Patrick, Marbod, and Hildebert. Poems 51 and 52 are, nonetheless, fairly straightforward, but they rely heavily on verbal manipulation for whatever interest they have. The former gives a critique of the iconography of Cupid in four lines of distiches in which the first phrase of the hexameter is recycled in the pentameter following:<sup>37</sup>

Pingitur ales amor sub causa mobilitatis;  
 Mobilis est, iuste pingitur ales amor.  
 Pingitur et nudus, designans quod sit apertus,  
 Iniuste nudus pingitur omnis amor!

*[Love is portrayed with wings because of his mobility;  
 He is mobile, and rightly Love is portrayed with wings.  
 Moreover, he is portrayed nude, showing that he is open;  
 Not rightly is all love portrayed nude.]*<sup>38</sup>

The latter, three lines of leonine hexameter with a single rhyme (*unisoni*), plays at once with the common scheme of the five stages of erotic attraction<sup>39</sup> and with fourth-declension nouns:

O utinam tactu reddam data basia nutu,  
Grata magis nutu tua sunt quam caetera tactu;  
Gratior et uisu quam sit mihi quelibet usu.

*[If only I might return by touch the kisses given by a hint;  
yours are more pleasant hinted at than the rest (are) by touch,  
and (you) more pleasant even from sight than anyone might be to me from  
experience.]*<sup>40</sup>

Boutemy's poem 48 records in twelve lines of distiches a contextless fragment of dialogue between two aristocratic women, one unmarried and one married. The scribe clearly indicates the exchange in line 3, where he has inserted a bracketed, majuscule R to denote that what follows is a response to the first two and a half lines. The unmarried woman opens by urging her friend to cheer up because she has what she desires ("nam tua uota tenes"); in the response, the friend seems to voice concern about the lover ("amator" / "ille tuus") the younger woman has chosen and about another young man (simply "ille"), both of whom are "crinitus" [long-haired] with "muliebri crine" [womanly hair]. Though the exact dramatic situation remains obscure, the second woman apparently goes on to suggest that either man would be appropriate for the first woman if he were an "elegant and beautiful youth" [comptamque leuemque iuuentam], since the woman is "compta leuisque" and "vis similis similem quaerere parque parem" [Being similar, you wish to seek someone similar, an equal (seeking) an equal]. In the last four lines the second woman warns the first not to trust someone who uses art ("ars"), presumably an allusion to the long hair affected by the young men, and to beware of mistresses and rivals.<sup>41</sup> This poem too, like the short poems 51 and 52, has the air of a rhetorical model, though perhaps it would be less annoying if we had a clearer sense of the narrative context. The point of the poem, beyond the moralizing about like seeking like and the untrustworthiness of art, seems to be the verbal play with "crinitus" and "comptus" in the descriptions of the two men and the parallel grammatical structures created with *similis* and *par*.

The remaining three poems in the collection, if we count poems 46 and 47 as a single work, are epistolary, like so many of the northern French poems we

have observed. They all have in common with “Ecce tenes” (no. 48) a frustrating obscurity, born in part from straining after rhetorical effects and in part from a refusal to provide a coherent context for the situations implied in the poems. All three focus on the instability, ambiguity, and danger of erotic attraction, themes that are reflected in the confusions and vigor of the language of the poems themselves. In poem 46/47, the shortest of the three, the male speaker addresses his beloved Matilda (“Cara Matildis”), praising her for her faithfulness while he criticizes the unstable affections of another, unnamed, woman, to whom he seems to have been attracted, but now scorns. The first segment of the poem (printed as poem 46 by Boutemy) contrasts the two women using metaphorical language that was no doubt a cliché for Ovid as it would be for Wyatt<sup>42</sup>—the stable Matilda (“virtus . . . tua mobilitate caret”) opposed to the flighty other:

Aequus enim labor est auras retinere uel illam,  
 Quae sola stabilis in leuitate manet.  
 Et maneat dum nulla tibi, leuitas manet huius.

*[It is an equal labor to hold the breezes or that woman,  
 who only remains stable in her inconstancy.  
 And while, for you, no (inconstancy) remains, her inconstancy remains.]*<sup>43</sup>

The second half (Boutemy’s 47) links the unfaithful woman first to the snake in Eden and then, after some verbal acrobatics, to the classical Proteus and again to the wind:

Nam quotiens illam melius confido tenere,  
 Labitur angue magis lubrica lapsa mihi.  
 Nunc calet haec, nunc ecce tepet, quandoque putatur  
 Ipsa tepere calet, quando calere, tepet.  
 Nunc probat hunc, illum reprobatur, rursus reprobatum  
 Approbat et reprobatur quem prius ipsa probat.  
 Inconstans aequare sua mutabilitate,  
 Prothea uel ventos mobilitate potest.

*[For as often as I am confident that I have a better hold of her,  
 she, having slid from me, slips away more slippery than a snake.  
 Now she grows hot, now she grows cool; whenever she herself  
 seems to cool off she becomes hot, whenever to grow hot, she cools off.]*

*Now she approves of this man, condemns that one, but in turn she  
approves of  
the reproved man and reproves the man she earlier approves.  
Inconstant, she is able in her changeability to equal  
Proteus or the winds in her mobility.]*<sup>44</sup>

This is the sort of lumpy and inelegant verse that has always given medieval Latin poetry a bad name with classicists, but one can appreciate the pedantic concerns driving it. Here, the syntax and the verbal repetitions of the central four lines (ll. 3–6) embody the shiftiness and shape-changing of the woman who is their subject, in the first distich through the intertwining iterations of the verbs *calere* and *tepere*, and in the second through the insistent revisions of the root verb *probare*. Thus the actual traits of the woman who is the poem's subject become reified verbally in the grammatical manipulation that is the poem's true concern, much more of a concern than the banal moral message that women can be tricky.

The two longest poems of the little group, poems 49 and 50, are the most developed and philosophical; they represent the kind of early Ovidian experimentation that flowed from a scholarly, somewhat nervous interest in classical love poetry and mythology. Both works deal with the power of erotic desire particularly as it manifests itself through books and poetry, and in a cleric's own psychic struggles. In this sense they have much in common with the school poetry that will be written later in the century and with the northern French erotica we have examined already. Each work falls into two parts: an opening segment that describes an erotically charged situation and a conclusion that locates that desire within the dangerous experience of reading classical literature. For the poet, the struggle with old poetry and myths, that intellectual sort of desiring, finally merges with the explicitly sexual desires expressed by the speakers in the poems, without ever relieving the poet's anxiety about love and learning.<sup>45</sup>

The first of the pair, "Heu quid peccauī," is a petition to Venus for relief from long suffering in love. The speaker, an old man like the speaker in Horace's ode 4.1 and in some of Marbod's most anxious erotic poetry, imagines the pain he has endured and continues to endure in love as a punishment for some unknown sin he committed against the goddess:

Heu quid peccauī uel quid potui meruisse,  
Quod non illa diu [est] passio nostra luat?

Quid tua fax in me liquit, Cytherea, luendum,  
 Vel quando potui dicere: "Nunc tepeo"?  
 Ecce malum grauius diuino, res furibunda,  
 Vritur incensum pectus amore meum.  
 Nonne satis lueram seuos sub amores olim,  
 Etsi Tydides facta luenda forent?

*[Alas, what sin have I committed (and) what could I have merited,  
 that this our suffering for so long should not atone (for it)?  
 What has your torch left in me, O Venus, that must be expiated,  
 even now when I was able to say: "Now I grow cool"?  
 Behold, an evil more severe than the divine, a thing of madness;  
 my breast burns, inflamed with love.  
 Would I not have atoned enough long since under (the power of) fierce  
 love,  
 though it had been the deeds of Diomedes that were to be expiated?]*<sup>46</sup>

What he feels, his "passio," makes him a "res furibunda," a maddened thing, who suffers desire in mysterious atonement. The speaker then invokes two mythic figures, Diomedes ("Tydides") and Apollo, the one a man and the other a god, who each deserved Venus's anger but were allowed finally to escape punishment. Diomedes fought on the Greek side at Troy, wounding Venus when she intervened to save Aeneas from him, yet he lived a long life.<sup>47</sup> Apollo caught Venus trysting with Mars and reported this to her husband, Vulcan; in revenge Venus caused Apollo to fall in love with Leucothoë, daughter of Orchanus, the ruler of Persia, who buried her alive when he discovered the god had seduced her. Apollo failed to bring her back from death, but turned her body into a frankincense bush.<sup>48</sup> The latter episode leads the speaker to consider why Venus sometimes permits the guilty to escape and also punishes the innocent by driving them mad with love:

Quippe tuos tua fax facit insanire [nean]  
 Ardorem expleri, quem facis ipsa, sinis.  
 Atqui si quis amat tuus hostis amore fruetur  
 Criminaque inmeritus ultio iusta luet?  
 Si culpa Phoebi cum Marte reperta fuisti,  
 Leucothoe misera cur luit acta dei?  
 Leucothoe dulci deus hostis amore potitur,  
 Illa sui patris seuiciam patitur.

*[Indeed your torch drives your devotees insane (for why)  
do you (not) permit that ardor which you yourself create to be satisfied?  
And yet, if any enemy of yours loves, will he undeserving  
enjoy love and will just vengeance atone for his crimes?  
If you through Apollo's fault were discovered with Mars,  
why did poor Leucothoë pay for the deeds of a god?  
The hostile god takes possession of Leucothoë in sweet love,  
(and) she endures the savagery of her own father.]*<sup>49</sup>

The speaker fancies himself a victim of love, a quasi-mythical figure, tossed by the gods, a character from the *Metamorphoses* like Diomedes and Leucothoë, abused by an irrational Venus who creates desire, then turns that desire into its own punishment.

This is Ovidiana without the aesthetic appeal of Ovid's own smooth verse, or Baudri's, an overwrought urn and a highly learned art written for an audience able to appreciate its dense allusiveness. The last third of the poem shows just how much the speaker's struggle with eros is also a struggle with books and old poets. If he loves, or at least would cast himself as a victim of the gods, he does so through the mediation of classical texts; if Leucothoë and Venus have any truth and power, they have it only by virtue of "vates sancti" [holy poets], and their "existence" for the writer is problematic:

At fortasse tibi facio conuicia uana,  
Obiicioque, dea, crimen inane tibi,  
Nam neque Leucothoen deus, ut mentimur, adiuit,  
Totaque Leucothoes fabula falsa fuit.  
Nec pater hanc in humum suppressit, facta nec illa  
Munere diuino thurea uirga fuit.  
Sancta tamen nobis haec tradit lectio uatum,  
Vatibus et sanctis est adhibenda fides.  
Sic te per uates cognouimus a Ioue natam,  
Sic, dea, per uates nomen amoris habes.  
Vatibus ergo fidem si demas, nec Ioue nata,  
Nec dea, nec teneri mater amoris eris.

*[Or perhaps I make vain protests to you,  
and I bring an empty charge against you, O goddess.  
For the god, as we falsely claim, did not approach Leucothoë,  
and the whole fable of Leucothoë was false.]*



*Her father did not bury her in the ground, nor was she,  
 by a divine gift, turned into a branch of frankincense.  
 The holy text of the poets, nevertheless, hands down these tales to us,  
 and faith must be given to holy poets.  
 Thus through poets we know that you were born of Jove;  
 thus, goddess, from poets you have the name of love.  
 If, therefore, you take away faith in the poets, you will be neither born of  
 Jove,  
 nor a goddess, nor the mother of tender love.]<sup>50</sup>*

The fable of Leucothoë is only a false story, but it comes to the speaker by the “lectio uatum” and by an act of “fides.” The same faith in old writers makes Venus live and establishes her anxious relationship with the twelfth-century writer. On the one hand he is willing to pose as a classical lover praying to a goddess for pity; on the other he feels compelled to undercut her power, take it back to himself as the one who chooses to believe, for the moment, in the old poets and their stories. Thus he moves the lyric from a love poem to a purer and more overt act of confrontation with sources of influence. Though “falsi,” poets and the text are also “sancti” and thus demand interpretation and absorption. Whatever the speaker’s own perceived experience of erotic desire, it becomes irrelevant in the sense that the first two-thirds of the poem are now seen as written under cancellation. Venus exists only through an act of faith that may be withheld at any time; yet the twelfth-century writer is compulsively drawn to the old poetry and stories and uses what he finds there as a way to think imaginatively about the forces he discovers in his own world.

“Ergo nec ueram,” Boutemy’s poem 50 in the Bury St. Edmunds collection, is a love letter likely inspired by verse epistles such as Ovid’s *Heroides*. Though the overall aim of the poem is clear, the wordplay of the first twenty-four lines makes the work almost impenetrable for long stretches. “Ergo nec” might be a clerical poem *à clef*, solvable somehow if we knew the code better. As it stands we can only say that in its second half it seems to be a poem about the power of love to overthrow the mind and that the verbal confusion of the first section reflects the intellectual disorder described in lines 25–46. In this tendency to mirror content with rhetorical effects, “Ergo nec” has something in common with “Cara Matildis,” discussed a moment ago. The syntax of the first part presents relatively few problems—the poem’s difficulty arises from the repeated use of a series of suggestive words:



Ergo nec ueram, nec fictam mitto salutem,  
 Mittere res prohibet, fingere nullus amor.  
 Et cur res prohibet ueram misisse docebo;  
 Constat enim quoniam fallere nescit amor.  
 Vera salus res est sed uerus amor tuus haec est,  
 Verus amor quid sit nos Venus alma docet.

*[I send, therefore, neither a true nor a false greeting;  
 the thing prevents (me) from sending, (but) no love prohibits (me) from  
 imagining.  
 And why the thing prevents (me) from having sent a true greeting, I shall  
 tell (you);  
 for it is indeed agreed that love knows not how to deceive.  
 This thing is a true greeting, but this is your true love.  
 Nurturing Venus teaches us what true love is.]*<sup>51</sup>

What is the “res” that prevents the poet from sending the “truth”? “Res” (“the thing”) begins by sounding like “affairs” or “business,” but by line 5 seems to refer to some concrete object, perhaps the love the speaker hopes to attain.<sup>52</sup> What does “salus” imply in its various appearances? Why “fictam” in apposition to “ueram,” and not, for instance, “falsam”? “Alma Venus” teaches what “amor uerus” is, but the poem’s confusion suggests that what Venus teaches is not easily mastered. Is “uera salus” the same as “uerus amor?” The convolutions deepen following an “igitur” that seems to claim that something has been proved:

Res igitur prohibet ueram misisse salutem;  
 Mittere qua careat rem tibi nemo potest.  
 Vtque uelim partem uel eam tibi mittere totam,  
 Nec tibi pars mitti, nec tibi tota potest.  
 Namque quod est minimum non possis dicere totum.  
 Nostra salus minima, nec minus esse potest.  
 Dicere nec partem presumes rem sine toto  
 Res in me totum nulla salutis habet.  
 Ergo nec partem nec possum mittere totum;  
 Nec pars nec totum est sic mea parua salus.

*[The thing therefore prevents (me) from having sent a true greeting.  
 No one is able to send a thing that (he) lacks;*

*and while I might wish to send a part or the whole to you,  
 neither the part, nor the whole is able to be sent to you.  
 For you would not be able to state the whole of a thing that is smallest.  
 Our well-being is very small, nor could it be smaller.  
 Nor will you presume to state the part of a thing without the whole;  
 there is no thing in me that has complete health.  
 Therefore am I able to send neither a part nor the whole.  
 My small greeting is thus neither a part nor the whole.]<sup>53</sup>*

A kind of mad logic operates here—the speaker would send a “ueram salutem” if he could, but he cannot because he does not have it. “Salus” seems to have shifted from the straightforward “greeting” of line 1 to “health” or “well-being”—which the speaker lacks because he suffers from love? Indeed both players have minimal “salus,” only a part of what they should, and, we are told, you cannot tell about the part of the thing without the whole. The final four distiches of this first section create a chaotic swirl of bits and pieces: “sola,” “salus,” “tota,” “pars,” “parua,” “res.”

*Parua salus dum parua tui nec ea tamen uso  
 Pars mihi parua datur, o mihi sola salus!  
 Sola mihi, non tota salus, dum me tibi totum  
 Pars donata mihi uendicat una tui.  
 Si uero totam toti res equa dedisses,  
 Tunc mihi sola salus, tunc mihi tota salus.  
 Non tamen empta meo possit bene pars tua toto,  
 Nam tua quo pretio pars bene possit emi?*

*[(A) small greeting, while it (is) small,  
 your small part is given to me, not, nevertheless to use it, O my sole  
 well-being!  
 Solely for me, not complete well-being, while one single part of you,  
 given to me, lays claim to all of me for you.  
 If in fact you, a thing equal to the whole, would have given the whole,  
 then (you would be) sole well-being to me, then complete well-being to me.  
 Nevertheless, your part could not have been easily purchased by my whole,  
 for at what price could your part be easily purchased?]<sup>54</sup>*

At this point “pars” and “res” seem to be sliding toward the concrete and the concretely sexual. Both words were used classically for the male and female

genitalia, and it is possible that the poet is trying to invoke those meanings here.<sup>55</sup> Is he interested in her “parua pars” as his “sola salus,” or is he merely saying something like he wishes he could see her in person instead of communicating by letter?

The sudden shift from the abstract verbal wildness of the first section to the imagery of the unreined mind in the second part suggests that the opacity of the first twenty-four lines might indeed be seen as a poetic display of intelligence unhinged by love:

Sed potius mea mens diuino concita motu,  
 Inmoderata petens, nescit habere modum,  
 Concessasque semel iam iam non sentit habenas,  
 Sed rapit et dominum et data frena simul.

*[But rather my mind, stirred up by a divine motion,  
 seeking immoderately, does not know how to set a limit,  
 and time and again does not feel the loosened reins,  
 but seizes both the master and the released bridle at the same time.]*<sup>56</sup>

Like “Heu quid peccaui,” this lyric’s heart lies in an exploration of Venus’s place in a cleric’s life. The common metaphor of the runaway horse as an uncontrolled mind leads to the ascent of a mountain at once sexual and intellectual. Venus makes the speaker mad, but urges him to the home of the gods:

Ad summum culmen capiendum montis anhelat,  
 Parnassi aut magis hic nomen Olympus habet,  
 Cuius apex igitur, me diffidente, minatur  
 Precipites casus arduitate sua.

*[(The mind) pants to seize the very top of the mountain,  
 of Parnassus, or even greater, this has the name Olympus.  
 Whose peak, therefore, while I remain despairing, threatens  
 a headlong fall because of its steepness.]*<sup>57</sup>

Venus works her will through a dangerous and unruly *divinus motus* that has close connections to the author’s function as writer and poet. The mind can conceive of anything, and in some mysterious way Venus and the process of intellectual discovery are bound up together:

Ergo ne quicquam me desperatio tollat,  
 Iam nichil est, quod non mens mea concipiat,  
 Aut minus audentem ne me dea deferat aut[em]  
 Audeo; sors igitur et Venus alma iuuent!

*[Therefore, let not desperation at all destroy me;  
 for there is nothing which my mind does not conceive,  
 or, rather, lest the goddess bring me down because I dare too little,  
 I dare; therefore may Fate and nourishing Venus aid me!]<sup>58</sup>*

Like the old man of the previous poem, this speaker is moved by a desire he cannot shake, though he claims he would like to. He loves a woman, whom he experiences in transmitted bits and pieces, a disparate and incoherent *res*, almost as if she were herself the epistles that create the connection between them. Like Sidney's four hundred years later, the speaker's desire drives him to Parnassus and Olympus, where his search for erotic fulfillment becomes the search for the gods and for wisdom, and also threatens his downfall.

It is difficult to know how to respond to poems like these that offer such odd reading, that feel graceless and pedantic next to the Ovid that inspired them or next to Baudri's verse or the more accessible distich and rhythmic erotic verses of a slightly later period. They constitute one path down which the late-eleventh- and early-twelfth-century impulse to schoolish Ovidiana traveled, one aspect of the ludic struggle to absorb eros and myth through Ovid and poetry; they play awkwardly at the intersection of learning and desire. The Bury anthology probably reflects the poetic interests of sophisticated Latin readers in the first half of the century, interests closely paralleling the interests and habits of thought we have seen among poets in northern France. The size and quality of the manuscript suggests that the "local" erotic poems it enshrines were taken seriously by the collection's compilers in the middle of the twelfth century, while the presence in the manuscript of large numbers of poems attributable to Hildebert and Marbod shows the penetration of the poetry of the Angevin intellectuals into England. We have seen at least some evidence to suggest the existence of insular poetic circles, much like their French counterparts, operating in places like Bury St. Edmunds, Wilton, and Worcester. In the poems just examined we find Anglo-Latin poets writing pseudoclassical verse epistles, praying to the Muses, invoking the gods, assuming the role of classical *vates*, looking to an admired literary past, and writing playful erotic verse in anxious confrontation with those classical sources.

## CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY MS GG.5.35

This classicizing poetry produced by an earlier generation of intellectuals working in France and England lies behind the remarkable development of rhythmic erotic Latin verse that began in the first half of the twelfth century. Such rhythmic erotica has a strong tradition in English manuscripts and will occupy our attention in the final three chapters of this book. If the classicizing erotica of the northern French poets was one body of work that made twelfth-century lyrics possible, there was also a second tradition of “love poetry” in western Europe, one older and more heterogeneous than the poetry of the northern French classicists. Represented in England by a single manuscript from Canterbury, this poetic stratum consists of a small body of erotic poetry written over several hundred years, whose members have little in common except that they are in Latin, are written in nonclassical meters, deal in some way with human sexual desire, and draw frequently on biblical and classical sources for their verbal details. The collection of poems found on folios 432<sup>r</sup>–443<sup>v</sup> of Cambridge University Library MS Gg.5.35 contains a small cross-section of such early rhythmic erotica in European circulation, the shadowy base of song texts formally most like the rhymed and rhythmic poetry of the twelfth century (fig. 3). The Canterbury codex is the sole English manuscript surviving today that preserves Latin erotic poetry clearly written before 1100, a total of seven poems that appear to have erotic content. Most of the manuscript as a whole was written by two Anglo-Saxon scribes working closely together at the monastery of St. Augustine in Canterbury a few years before the Norman Conquest. Overall, the collection seems to have been compiled as an encyclopedia of materials for the teaching of Christian Latin poetry: the first three sections offer a graded series of mostly verse texts, often heavily glossed, that would be useful in the classroom. To this original set of core works one of the scribes added, following a different page layout, a fourth section on two quires—what has long been referred to as the “Cambridge Songs.” These quires contain eighty-three poems or fragments of verse, a sort of appendix of additional poetic items, unglossed and without commentary.<sup>59</sup>

Though there are about thirty classical and late antique texts among the eighty-three poems in the Cambridge Songs collection (including verse by Venantius Fortunatus, Statius, Horace, and Boethius), this concluding section of the manuscript focuses on more recent compositions in postclassical meters, a number of them datable to the first half of the eleventh century. The frequent presence of neumes—early musical notation—in this section of the manuscript implies the compilers’ interest in these pieces as songs and under-



**C**ordas tango melos pango cithra  
sonabili tumagist ea lira fac sonare  
dulcet. & tu cantor insublime uocem  
cui enge abo simul adiuncta carra-  
lene misce. Ouuilleme deo pulchru  
aspectu ornatu qd ei claru pmanistia cu  
tus assidue. qd poat ia ee tam potensiope  
pe reges quos uixet amastices chrysmate.  
psules. aut plures minor amstici culmine  
ututq; scus nq; uiri atq; femina ta  
nobili exatue se cupibant flecte omis  
choru angloz tabulon subthite magne  
marat uilano pillo mcedo.

**H**ec clara dies claru dara dierum.  
hec sca dies searu sca dierum.

**N**obile nobilum ruciant diadema dieru  
**Q**uid hoc tu dure quiuo manet pectore.

**A**maruq; ductu animu deitu nobis dure  
manet mol morseus & ipsa mors e recogni

**N**re queda abiere sepulchra nufere celi  
aues illu unu dicunt ia regnare.

**S**alue festa dies. salue resurreccio sca salue  
semp aue lyx hodierna uale.

**R**ata modor arte psonemus musica quib;  
ut his estans gratulez anima ut afa  
bri clarus didice pythagoras malleis  
cum qtorior depndit. consonantia. septe  
lanetaru fecit msticia quaru sic ce  
lestis musica numeroz normula fert  
ut archimetea. aucto dant pncipia. rex  
munde puto hiron nos reget psta.

**M**oraru nec amori dare ludu neq; dulci  
lumo lauere. ut ex animal meuen

**M**erue uerba lingue. **I**ntar ebn.  
quid quid aubare puerale e telas opa seq.

**Q**uoniam fludu auferre ne obule lipare  
quoniam tibi humeros laur undis

**U**nde melior bellora fonte neq; pugno  
unde uetus pede.

**U**nde pugi fugientes agreato grege

ceruos iaculare. celerr alto. laccant  
frugi. rectu exipe aprum.

**P**ulchra alia planctu magno rachel  
plorans pignora querit. unq; conso  
lari quos neauit impba. dolor. plange  
crines scindit obsorans crimina. uxor  
sine macula casta seruans. uiscera  
elxe uirgo do cura & dilecta femina  
circu circa uolendo floro pascua  
querit lustrat pseruatoz pduerli  
dimittit anfr ouis pcha digna  
spondens pma.

**S**plendor eius splendor solis mane  
dantis lumina. sic lunaris andgr  
ide foret. inter sidera.

**O** admirabile ueneris. idoli. cuius  
matie enim e fructu. areat de  
pog. te. qui stellis & polu scito &  
maria condidit. & soluin fuis in  
genio. nfercias. doli. doto te  
diliget. que baiolat colum.

**S**aluo pueru non eipocem. sed  
himo pectore depeor. laphesin.

**S**ororis aropos. ne curer. heresin  
neptunim. comicein. habetis & egin.  
cu ueris. fueris. pflantiu. resim. quo  
fugis amabo. cu te dilexerim. miser  
quid faciam. cu te n uiderim.

**D**ura matres ex matris ossib; creant  
hoies iacos lapidib; exq; unus e iste  
puerulus. qui lacrimabiles ncurat  
gemitus. cum tristis fuero gaude  
bit emulus. ut corua rugo cufugit  
humulus.

**FPO**

Fig. 3. Cambridge University Library MS Gg.5.35, fol. 441<sup>v</sup>. Mid-eleventh century. Originally from the monastery of St. Augustine in Canterbury; most of the contents is continental. "O admirabile ueneris" begins halfway down the second column. Note neumes above the lines of text. Farther down the second column appear the defaced remains of "Veni dilectissime." (Reproduced by permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.)

lines the fact that such poems, whether classical or medieval, were imagined as the verbal components of musical compositions.<sup>60</sup> The first forty-nine poems in the song collection fall into two groups (1–33 and 34–49).<sup>61</sup> All seven of the poems that modern critics have called erotic appear among these forty-nine works—three in the first group (14A, 27, and 28) and four in the second (39, 40, 48, and 49). Early commentators assumed that the entire run of forty-nine poems came verbatim from a single German exemplar; more recent critics have stressed the pan-European origins of the works in the collection. Certainly most of the first thirty-three poems were likely copied from a single booklet that migrated from Germany to Canterbury sometime after 1039, the latest date that can be extracted from topical references in the poems.<sup>62</sup> Poems 35–49 form a cluster separate from the thirty-three lyrics preceding them. (Poem 34 is a short extract from the *Aeneid*.) They are formally distinct and, with few exceptions, have nothing in their contents to connect them with Germany or anywhere else. Examination of the poems' textual traditions and rhyme patterns suggest that most of these fifteen poems originated in France, though whether they came to Canterbury attached to the German group or independently remains unclear.<sup>63</sup>

Whatever its sources, the Canterbury manuscript shows the variety of extraliturgical lyric forms in circulation even in the eleventh century as well as the wide range of subject matter set to music, taught in school, and sung at a major English episcopal court. It also hints at the relative insularity of England in the history of the European lyric, particularly the erotic lyric. Though there are a number of Anglo-Latin writers represented in the Canterbury manuscript (e.g., Aldhelm, Bede, Tatwine, Alcuin, and Boniface), there is nothing to suggest that any of the songs, erotic or otherwise, in the final section of the manuscript are local products. The Canterbury collection reveals an interest in Latin lyric of many sorts by some Anglo-Saxon clerics and a wide European circulation for those songs, but it provides no unequivocal evidence for an early contemporary native tradition of erotic Latin lyric composition.

Among the narratives in verse, praise-poems, laments, hymns, and classical extracts of Gg.5.35, then, are seven lyrics from the eclectic substratum of learned Latin erotic verse that circulated before the twelfth century and before the classical revival represented in the work of the French poets discussed in chapter 1.<sup>64</sup> As Peter Dronke has noted, the tiny number of extant "love-lyrics" from the tenth and eleventh centuries "are not only remarkably different from one another but in many ways different from almost anything to be found in the twelfth century." Four of the seven lyrics (27, 28, 39, 49) have been defaced—the only deliberately damaged poems in the manuscript.<sup>65</sup> Five

of the seven are unique to the manuscript; two are found elsewhere.<sup>66</sup> Though they are composed in a variety of postclassical verse forms, they are all strophic in structure, make use of rhyme, and generally employ an accentual meter. In these qualities, the seven poems are less like the pseudoclassical verse produced by Baudri and his contemporaries in northern France and more like hymns or early sequences, forms developed in the Middle Ages and used for both liturgical and extraliturgical singing. Formally, they are the most direct precursors of the rhymed, rhythmic, strophic lyrics that will appear in the course of the twelfth century. John Stevens would call the lyrics “Latin art-songs” or *cantios*, works that grew out of old traditions of musical composition for religious services, but also existed as an extraliturgical genre “intended . . . for festive occasions” as entertainment for clerics—teachers and students, monks, ecclesiastical functionaries—who would have the Latin training to appreciate them.<sup>67</sup> Adumbrated here are many of the recurring obsessions in clerical erotica: male longing; seduction; the erotic force of nature’s recurring cycles; and the influence of the larger cosmos on the individual, an influence worked through the agency of classical gods.

The first of the seven in the Canterbury manuscript, “*Nam languens*” (14A), illustrates in miniature two of the essential features of all these poems—a nonclassical verse form and the creative use of an amalgam of poetic source materials. It consists of a single stanza interpolated between stanzas in the midst of an unrelated poem.<sup>68</sup> The fragment records a brief episode drawn from the events of a larger narrative: a woman arises at first light to walk through the snow to where she can look out over the ocean for the sight of a ship carrying her beloved. The vignette could be part of almost any story of trial and separation and is as reminiscent of the Anglo-Saxon “*Wife’s Lament*” as it is of well-known classical narratives, such as the story of Ariadne and Theseus. Beginning with the evocative “*languens*” of the first line, the poem echoes the language of the Song of Songs in several places, invoking those moments when the Song’s bride searches for the approaching bridegroom.<sup>69</sup> Like the other erotic poems in the collection, it remains enigmatic, a mix of biblical and classical materials in a rhyming, rhythmic verse form.

The other erotic lyrics in the manuscript occur as three pairs spaced evenly among the last twenty poems of the collection. In each case at least one poem of the pair has been effaced, and for each pair there seems to be a loose relationship between its halves: “*Iam dulcis amica*” (no. 27) and “*Suauissima nunna*” (no. 28) are both dialogues between a man and a woman; “[. . .] *Nosti flores*” (no. 39) and “*Leuis exsurgit*” (no. 40) both invoke the cyclical power



of spring to upset the mind and emotions;<sup>70</sup> “O admirabile ueneris” (no. 48) and “Veni, dilectissime” (no. 49) are both about the experience of longing and explicitly invoke Venus.

Of all early medieval Latin erotic poetry, “Iam dulcis amica” has probably generated the most commentary thanks to its learned stew of biblical and classical echoes (the Song of Songs, Virgil, Horace, Propertius, Ovid) and because it exists in two other medieval renderings—one in a tenth-century German collection (with neumes) and in an eleventh-century French troparium and prosarium (also with neumes) from the library of the abbey of Saint-Martial in Limoges.<sup>71</sup> It is built of simple stanzas of four lines, rhyming monosyllabically *aabb*, and varying in length from eight to ten syllables; overall the poem appears to be a variation on the Ambrosian hymn-form of four-line stanzas with individual lines of four iambic feet.<sup>72</sup> The poem’s ambivalent language, dependent on the Song of Songs<sup>73</sup> and on more classical traditions of poetry, places “Iam dulcis” at the crossing of erotic and religious desire: it could be read allegorically in the manner of the Song of Songs, for example as a dialogue between Christ and the soul, though the censor who defaced the poem clearly found it objectionable.<sup>74</sup> “Iam dulcis” had a considerable life in its own time, and its multiple versions provide evidence of multiple audiences and of complex attitudes toward it. Such activity reveals the wide circulation of some Latin songs and the sophisticated lyric play with classical and biblical texts possible in rhythmic verse long before the twelfth century. “Iam dulcis” may well have suffered from its position in the Canterbury manuscript next to the German-Latin macaronic poem “Suauissima nunna.” Dronke’s tentative reconstruction of the latter makes clear the close thematic relationship it bears to “Iam dulcis”: it records a conversation between a nun and a man, probably a cleric, in spring, that leads to the woman’s seduction. Perhaps the censor felt that in the shadow of the second poem “Iam dulcis” could only be read erotically. Assuming Dronke’s version of “Suauissima nunna” is close to the original poem, the medieval poet has his clerical seducer compare the sexual attraction he feels for the nun with the love of God experienced by both their souls. In effect the poet plays on the familiar parallel between sexual and religious love that the two possible readings of “Iam dulcis” grow out of. The two poems thus belong together in the manuscript not only because they record the dialogue between lovers, but because they share a common interest in the ambiguities of human desire.

The second pair of erotic lyrics, poems 39 and 40 in the collection, forms an enigmatic cluster in its own right. The first of these has been almost utterly effaced; only the large initial letter *V* survives along with a small number of

other individual letters and word fragments. What remains implies a poem of six four-line strophes, the same form as poem 40.<sup>75</sup> We can make out just enough to determine that poem 39 began with allusions to flowers and garlands and moved by the fifth stanza to a discussion of some sort of *studium*, perhaps a scholar's work from which the spring and a woman drew him. Poem 40, by contrast, is complete and intact at the beginning of folio 44r; like "V . . .," "Luis exurgit" is unique to the Canterbury manuscript. Also like "V . . ." it is structurally simple, a pure Ambrosian hymn of six four-line strophes, rhyming *aabb*, each line with four iambic feet. The poem has generated a good deal of modern commentary, and in the absence of a narrative context for the situation it relates, it will remain enigmatic. The essential details are simple: a woman observes the warmth, beauty, and fecundity of a spring landscape, yet sits alone and feels sad and ill at ease, distanced from the joys surrounding her. In the final stanza, she addresses an unidentified someone ("Tu") and seems to contrast that other's position with her own. Donald Howard wondered if we are "touched by it for the wrong reason," that is to say, because its context has been lost and a mystery produced; the temporal distance, the sense of loss, move us in ways not imaginable to any medieval audience.<sup>76</sup> Can we even know that it was "erotic" to the clerics of Canterbury? Evidently the Canterbury censor thought it unobjectionable. Howard suggests three more or less allegorical readings, then notes the range of available realist interpretations for the woman's mood.<sup>77</sup> Even if we could recover contemporary "social significance" in some convincing way, we would still be left wondering what a particular contemporary audience might have made of such a poem. Lexical ambiguities in the final stanza might even make us wonder if the poem is not in some way deliberately multivalent. In the last stanza—

Tu, saltim ue[r]is gratia, exaudi et considera  
Fronde[s], flores, et gramina; nam mea languet anima.

*[You, at least for the sake of spring, listen and ponder  
the leaves, flowers, and grass—for my heart is ailing.]*<sup>78</sup>

—what is the precise sense of "nam mea languet anima," which Howard translates "for me, my spirit languishes" and Jan Ziolkowski renders "for my heart is ailing"? The "Tu" addressed in first line of the stanza ("Tu saltim ueris gratia") remains a mystery: is that "Tu" the "grace of Spring" (whatever that means) or is "ueris gratia" better translated "for the sake of spring"?<sup>79</sup> Like "Iam, dulcis amica" and the reconstituted "Suauissima nunna," this lyric seems to play with

the ambiguous language and the complex content of human desire. In this case we have special sort of difficulty in deciding to what extent that ambiguity is in us as modern readers of a very old poem or in the work itself in a way that would have been available to medieval readers.

The final pair of erotic lyrics, poems 48 and 49, are also the last two poems before a long run of lyrics from Boethius's *Consolation* (poems 50–76). The second of these, “Veni, dilectissime,” has been scraped by the censor, but less thoroughly than the other poems, and three of its four short, rhythmic, rhyming strophes, punctuated by a refrain (“et a et o”) repeated every line, have been reconstructed.<sup>80</sup> Like “Nam languens” and “Luis exsurgit,” it depends for its meaning on the force of *languere*, in this case used substantively and without much ambiguity as *languor*; the sense of the line “in languore pereō” is fairly explicit in conjunction with the one following: “uenerem desidero.” The poem’s concluding strophe (“Si cum clauē ueneris, . . . mox intrare poteris”) has been rendered both more literally as “If you come with the key / . . . You will soon be able to enter” and more metaphorically as “If [you come] with Venus’ key / you will get in soon.”<sup>81</sup> However unequivocally erotic this little lyric may seem, like “Iam, dulcis amica” its opening verb recalls the amorous imperatives from the Song of Songs (“surge,” “propera,” “veni” from 2:10); the reiterated cries “et a et o” have even been seen by one critic as an allusion to God, longed for by the speaker in the poem, as alpha and omega.<sup>82</sup> One is inclined to read the whole as an expression of “sexual desire pure and simple,”<sup>83</sup> yet the playful and allusive language tends to keep open the door to allegorical readings in which the desire expressed, while perhaps eroticized, is not explicitly erotic.

“O admirabile Veneris,” poem 48, left untouched in the manuscript, raises its own set of questions and resists attempts to make it pronounce how it was heard by its first audiences. Like most of the other potentially erotic poems in the manuscript its form is strophic, rhythmic, and relatively simple: three stanzas of six twelve-syllable lines with an extra line in the second stanza. Each stanza is monorhymed; each alexandrine has a strong caesura after the sixth syllable. Like “Iam dulcis” a learned work, though far more pedantic in its insistent references to classical myth, it may have been written in tenth-century Verona.<sup>84</sup> F. J. E. Raby once warned of the lyric’s “moral perversion”; John Boswell called the poem an unequivocal piece of “gay eroticism,” a product of sophisticated urban life in northern Italy and the record of an “explicitly erotic relationship.”<sup>85</sup> Whatever one thinks of the context scholars have worked up from the poem’s content and its appearance in an eleventh-century Italian manuscript, the compiler of the Cambridge Songs was moved to collect

it, and the censor who scraped away the four apparently heteroerotic poems left it intact. Read one way, the poem forms a very appropriate addition to a “classbook” for students at Canterbury—it takes up with some imagination the language of the educated to talk about the relationship between master and pupil. The speaker in “O admirabile” makes good-humored use of school talk (e.g., the Greek terms “archos” and “haeresis,” a phrase like “non per ypothesim,” or an allusion to the boy’s “materia”) and heaps up mythological references (to Clotho, Lachesis, Atropos, Neptune, Thetis, the story of Deucalion and Pyrrha) to complain to a youth about perhaps no more than his defection to a teacher in another town. The erotic value such learned speech encodes is very difficult for us to sort out. If Boswell’s notions about shifting medieval attitudes toward homosexuality are correct, we might imagine that the poem is an example of a tenth-century Italian *paidikon* that survived a much later English censor who could only read it in a way that precluded homoerotic desire.<sup>86</sup>

Arguably, two of these poems from the Canterbury collection (27 and 40) anticipate the twelfth-century fascination with the spring landscape as an emblem for sexual longing, and with the power of the ceaseless cosmic clock to upset the balance of a human life. “O admirabile” underlines the fact that medieval Latin erotic poetry was a poetry of the schools and of clerics trained in classical lore. We also witness in these works the potential for multiple meanings, for inherent ambiguity, which we will observe in later rhythmic Latin erotic poetry. If in formal terms these poems tend to be simple, rhythmic, strophic constructions, they frequently show a verbal sophistication and playfulness that depends in part on a recognition by the reader of their indebtedness to biblical and classical texts. Though they can seem quite frank in their evocation of human eros in a beautiful world, at the same time, because of the existence of the Song of Songs—that ubiquitous text which perfectly superimposes the spiritual on the erotic—in some of these poems it may be hard to distinguish erotic desire from the desire for God. The various versions of “Iam dulcis,” if nothing else, suggest clerical writers who were conscious of the multivalence of the language they used and of the complexity of human desire. “O admirabile” recalls emphatically what we have to consider for all these poems that may seem to us to talk about human erotic attraction: who heard or read this and how? As a group the Cambridge Songs reveal the tenuous presence of erotic Latin lyric in England before the later eleventh century. Damaged as they are, geographically diverse, various in style and level of sophistication, they remind us how much of the history of the medieval lyric has been lost. However thoroughly we canvas and analyze the remains of

medieval poetry surviving today, there are rich traditions of clerical and popular song that we can never recover.

The interests and anxieties shared by earlier writers of erotic Latin poetry will, unsurprisingly, continue to define the adventurous erotic Latin poetry of the mid-to-late twelfth century. Northern French classicizing poets, as we have seen, believed passionately in the social value of poets and poetry and were willing to engage imaginatively with erotic material in what they wrote. They used the classical language of eros in political poetry to aristocratic women and in amorous Ovidian verse of various sorts. They participated in poetic exchanges within elite circles of educated clerics, where erotic gaming and role-playing were possible, if dangerous. They also used their poetry to address their legitimate anxieties about the place of eros in their lives as teachers and ecclesiastical functionaries. Caught between Ovid and the Song of Songs, between love of the classics and Christian morality, they struggled with the force of eros in verse; in the twelfth century, under somewhat different circumstances, clerical writers continued that struggle. Changes in the social and professional situation created a new environment for the development of poetic identity, while the revived study of Neoplatonism, early evident in Baudri's most ambitious verse, offered new ways for teachers and courtier bureaucrats to imagine philosophically the place of eros in the well-lived life. In the twelfth century, at least in the context of erotic verse, the heroic *vates* figure, so familiar in the late eleventh century, will lose its currency. He will be replaced by a new sort of poet-hero, the clerical "new man," a creature imagined and promulgated largely by Neoplatonist theorizers.

The popularity of more complex, nonclassical, rhymed, rhythmic Latin verse forms grew in the twelfth century, as the older, rhymed, classical forms favored by the likes of Hildebert and Marbod fall out of favor. They will offer exciting new vehicles for verbal expression, creating a new version of the old division between classical and rhythmic erotica, seen in the divide between the poems of Additional 24199 and those in the Canterbury manuscript. Latin verse erotica remains loosely segregated into two classes: one was explicitly Ovidian and associated with school pedagogy, baroque grammatical play, and school exercises in the reworking of classical myth; the other, immediately obvious as medieval in its formal concerns, was far more innovative and adventurous, perhaps written for wider performance, and in direct competition with sophisticated vernacular verse. This latter poetry will take up, to a greater or lesser extent, the language and ideas of Neoplatonist thinkers as tools for analyzing the play of eros in the life of a new sort of man.

The next two chapters (3 and 4) are designed to serve as prolegomena to



the last four, which consist largely of a very deliberately organized and sequenced reading of twelfth-century erotic Latin poems from insular manuscripts. Chapter 3 touches on three related subjects bearing on the erotic Latin poetry under discussion here: first, the possible existence of an insular audience for erotic Latin verse, particularly a lay aristocratic audience; second, the growth in the twelfth century of the idea of the knight-courtier and the cultural and literary transformations associated with that development; and third, the parallel and closely related growth of the idea of the courtier-cleric, the professionally trained, ecclesiastical counterpart to the knight, in a similar way seeking security and identity in a complex world. Such men, like their brothers the knights, supported poetic productions that explained their lives to them. Chapter 4, then, looks more closely at the schools producing the courtier-clerics who flooded the secular and ecclesiastical marketplace in the twelfth century and at the ongoing philosophical discussions about the nature of the good and wise man, as a way to understand the particular sort of ideal clerical self we find constructed in many erotic Latin poems of the mid-to-late twelfth century. My analysis of humanist concerns about clerical self-identity in chapter 4 concludes with a detailed discussion of three central Neoplatonist texts composed at midcentury, to see what they can tell us about the attitudes of certain clerics to the power of eros in the cosmos, and about their understanding of the relationship between erotic and intellectual desire, between sexuality and poetry.

# Part Two

EROS AND POETRY  
IN THE  
ANGLO-NORMAN WORLD





### Chapter Three

## Contexts for the Erotic Latin Lyric in the Twelfth Century

IN THE WORLD of Baudri of Bourgueil and his eleventh-century contemporaries erotic lyrics were part of an artful cult of friendship that survived through the circulation of poems among the intellectual and political elite of northern France and, by extension, of the Anglo-Norman world. Men and women who participated in poetic exchanges were largely associated with episcopal courts (e.g., Fulcoius) and monasteries (e.g., Baudri and perhaps the Bury poet), but included educated, nonclerical aristocrats such as Adèle of Blois. As we have seen, writers forged for themselves a kind of heroic, quasi-divine identity as *vates* based on classical reading and their mastery of Latin verse, an identity that struggled to understand the effects of eros in the lives of clerics and pedagogues. They used the poetry in a peculiar process of self-definition and self-promotion, making themselves members of circles of aficionados who appreciated such intellectual activities. The circumstances for the production of erotic Latin poetry after this initial period were rather different. In England and France in the mid-to-late twelfth cen-

tury, the efflorescence of new sorts of erotic Latin poetry was made possible by a constellation of changes in social structures, educational programs, intellectual attitudes, musical forms, and linguistic and aesthetic possibilities. Schools in western Europe changed radically in the early twelfth century, developing new forms of instruction, expanding the range of philosophical texts studied, and increasing the emphasis (in some circles at least) on rhetoric and on the study and imitation of Roman poets, especially Ovid. In the same period aristocratic culture became, if not more complex, then complex in new ways as increasingly powerful secular and ecclesiastical courts expanded the range of their bureaucratic functions and the chivalric class sought to define itself in changing times.

The sheer number of poems that might be called erotic and that appear in English manuscripts increases dramatically in the twelfth century. Most twelfth-century Latin erotic lyrics surviving today in insular manuscripts or associated in some way with the Anglo-Norman sphere clearly originated in the intellectual life of twelfth-century French schools. Written by young men learning theology, philosophy, and classical Latin poetry, they passed into wide circulation throughout western Europe, continuing to be read and recopied for many years after the initial period of their flourishing. As the educational system evolved in the early twelfth century and as social and political opportunities for well-educated young men changed, "new men" of the period continued to use poetry, including erotic poetry, as part of a process of self-definition in an increasingly sophisticated and wealthy world.<sup>1</sup>

In this chapter I want to examine some salient aspects of the cultural context within which twelfth-century erotic Latin poetry was composed and first circulated in England and northern France. The first part of the chapter provides an overview of the performance situation in England after midcentury, offering evidence for the possible existence of a mixed aristocratic and clerical audience for Latin erotic song. Though the so-called goliard lyrics of the period suggest at least some writers of Latin lyrics thought they would be rewarded in courts for their versifying,<sup>2</sup> it is hard to imagine that any of the authors of Latin erotic poetry saw what they did as their main professional activity. Like their predecessors, they must have written for themselves and for a limited circle of interested, largely clerical, and perhaps influential friends. But it is possible that erotic lyrics in Latin served a more courtly and secular function and might have been appreciated both within the circle of career clerics and in the broader world of lay and ecclesiastical courts. For the most part, we cannot prove who listened to such poems or to what extent poems found in English manuscripts were composed in England and not on the con-

continent, nor can we know to what extent there was a “public” market for them in the twelfth century. What small evidence there is suggests that for some time beginning about 1150, school-trained poets in England might have thought there was enthusiasm for a kind of Latin song that could compete with the works of the troubadours and the earliest writers of love songs in French. While we know of no writer of Latin lyrics in England who was given court patronage for writing erotic songs, there were certainly sophisticated ecclesiastical courts where such poetry might have found favor with educated men and women, and perhaps also courts of lay magnates, with their own clerics, where the level of latinity among the aristocrats may have been quite high.

In the somewhat longer second part of this chapter, I imagine broadly and simply a social context for the highly educated clerics who composed erotic Latin verse in twelfth-century Anglo-Norman society. I suggest that there are certain common features to the lives of young knights and clerics in the period and that, for the clerics, erotic Latin lyrics served a social and educational function very similar to that of courtly vernacular songs and stories for the knights. I conclude with a brief discussion of what I see as twelfth-century Neoplatonism’s central role in the development of clerical erotica. Baudri’s play with Ovidian poetic language and his late fascination with classical myth and Martianus Capella forecast the direction much erotic Latin verse would take. For well-educated clerics one of the key sources of ideas about the self and eros can be located in the revived study of Neoplatonism. As will become evident in this chapter and in chapter 4, we must look closely at the new commentaries and imaginative works produced by humanist clerics in the twelfth century if we are to understand the intellectual underpinnings of the most innovative erotic lyrics.

#### PERFORMANCE AND AUDIENCE

When considering the Anglo-Norman and French clerical world that produced erotic Latin lyrics in the twelfth century it is of course misleading to speak of France and England as if they were neatly separable entities. Though the two kingdoms had individual political identities, closely linked through a network of shifting feudal relationships, for most of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the culture of Latin letters in England and France was remarkably united. Historians have long stressed the ties of the English ecclesiastical establishment and educated Englishmen in general to the continent; ambitious English clerics sought education and preferment in France, particularly in the schools of Paris, but elsewhere as well. Beginning in the late eleventh

century, young men with ambition and means left England to go to Paris and other French academic centers for study and advancement—such journeys were an essential part of almost any successful man's education. Some returned, but many remained and made their careers on the continent.<sup>3</sup> For all of the twelfth century, and for some time after, it remains difficult to decide where the Gallo-Latin intellectual world ends and the Anglo-Latin one begins. Though there has been a tendency among historians, such as Richard Southern,<sup>4</sup> to emphasize England's backwardness and isolation before the thirteenth century, such an assessment at once undervalues the work of English intellectuals and draws too sharp a demarcation between England and France, creating a boundary that for many educated and powerful people must scarcely have existed. Twelfth-century Anglo-Norman aristocrats, especially the royal family, spoke French and held property on both sides of the channel; ecclesiastics took positions as they could find them. A strong sense of regional identity at some levels did separate England from continental areas,<sup>5</sup> but among academics and high-level ecclesiastical functionaries regionalism was tempered by the desire to travel for education, friendship, and in search of good employment.<sup>6</sup> If much of the best academic work in the twelfth-century was done at centers in northern France, teachers and students, many of them with insular backgrounds, dispersed new ideas widely.<sup>7</sup> England in the twelfth century lacked an educational center to rival Paris, but men born into the Anglo-Norman polity made themselves part of a large and vibrant intellectual universe.

### *The Court of Henry II*

Anglo-Norman kings of the first half of the twelfth century, Henry I and Stephen, were neither intellectuals themselves nor serious promoters of the arts, and their courts do not seem to have attracted or especially encouraged educators or poets. One suspects that the audience for Latin erotica and the occasions for its performance or other transmission would have been restricted early in the century. After about midcentury, however, with the end of the anarchy and the accession of Henry II, in 1154, the situation surely improved for intellectuals and poets. Henry II was by most accounts a well-schooled monarch, and his court proved a powerful attraction for educated men seeking to make good. Taught in Normandy at his father the duke's court and in England at the court of his uncle, Robert of Gloucester, by men such as William of Conches and Adelard of Bath, Henry spoke and wrote French and Latin and "had a knowledge," says Walter Map, of all the languages used between

“the French Sea and the Jordan.”<sup>8</sup> Peter of Blois speaks enthusiastically of the time Henry devoted daily to study and intellectual conversation.<sup>9</sup> During the thirty-five years of his rule, his court was perhaps the most important and powerful in the western world. He and Queen Eleanor seem to have made a conscious decision to patronize French and Latin letters, drawing into service educated men from the whole of the Anglo-French cultural sphere, men who frequently occupied important administrative posts and dedicated their works to the king. The most commonly associated names include Adelard of Bath, Gerald of Wales, Walter Map, John of Salisbury, Marie de France, Walter of Châtillon, Joseph of Exeter, and Peter of Blois. As one scholar has summarized: “Henry and Eleanor were the recipients and ideal audience of an astounding range of literary works, vernacular and Latin. . . . What is beyond doubt is that the Angevin and Norman court milieu harboured much of the most brilliant poetry of the mid-twelfth century.”<sup>10</sup> It was a place where courtiers and clerics met and wrote in both the old literary language and the new.

Aside from some Old French romances and *lais* possibly written at the behest of Eleanor, along with a few Provençal lyrics associated with the court, the literary “blossoming” that took place in the Anglo-Norman court under Henry and Eleanor’s patronage was largely confined to less literary works that served to further the king’s political purposes. Henry patronized mathematicians and natural scientists; he also supported works on administration and legislation (e.g., the *Dialogus de scaccario*) and encouraged clerks who went to Rome and Bologna to study law.<sup>11</sup> The king’s interests lay in histories and chronicles, written in Latin or French by clerks who “exalted . . . his exploits and those of his ancestors” back to the fall of Troy.<sup>12</sup> Eleanor’s various continental courts no doubt provided important patronage for vernacular writers before 1174, when she was placed under house arrest in England, but her relationship with Anglo-Norman writers is less clear.

Still, the long-term presence at the court of serious writers of Latin poetry implies an audience there for courtly Latin poetry.<sup>13</sup> Whatever Henry and Eleanor and their aristocratic cohort could or did actually read or hear performed, the royal court offered encouragement to hopeful *literati*. For more than a generation a powerful Anglo-Angevin monarchy, headed by a peripatetic *rex litteratus* and supported by the services of a large, well-educated, and various group of clerics and lay nobles, provided a very public venue for the performance of Latin secular song, if not also an inspiration to lesser courts, secular and ecclesiastical. Many of the secular Latin lyrics composed in the midst of the twelfth century are by their nature as much court poems as

any of the contemporaneous works by Provençal troubadours and the newly emerging northern French trouvères; the likelihood of the presence and popularity of such poetry in the literate and clerical world of the royal court and (hypothetically) at a few other major baronial or ecclesiastical settings is very high.<sup>14</sup>

*A Secular Audience for Latin Eros in England?*

For a while it must have seemed to Latin writers of poetry that there was a wider audience for their more accessible works. In England, at least, the status of each of the three dominant languages remained in question throughout the century.<sup>15</sup> Though educated contemporaries would have ranked Latin first in importance, the precise position of Latin relative to the two vernaculars was not yet obvious, nor were the roles of French and English relative to each other. As a written language, French only began to compete successfully with Latin in the thirteenth century;<sup>16</sup> written English survived the Conquest, but in a subordinate way. Henry's court was one in which Latin and French writings came before a heterogeneous audience, a literate courtly environment still dominated by Latin, but moving toward a preference for the vernacular in many areas. Walter Map, Peter of Blois, and Gerald of Wales all took note of the linguistic struggle going on in their lifetimes between Latin and the two main insular vulgar tongues.<sup>17</sup> In England, the general increase in the lay audience for Latin works that George Duby finds, must have been supported by the presence of Parisian magistri and by the existence of insular schools.<sup>18</sup> Youths of varying social ranks had to be trained in the Latin they would need to become teachers or government figures or simply to function most effectively in an increasingly bureaucratic society. The earliest of the twelfth-century schools in England grew up around the cathedrals and in London,<sup>19</sup> but throughout the period records indicate the existence of institutions in other major urban centers. For the thirteenth century, one scholar is able to list a dozen major schools and over fifty minor ones.<sup>20</sup> If many of these were primitive, teaching only reading and singing, the larger schools provided instruction in higher studies.<sup>21</sup> And well-trained teachers could be found outside the main centers: Geoffrey of Vinsauf, poet and author of the *Poetria nova*, and Daniel Morley, who had studied Arabic learning in Toledo, were both teaching in Northampton in the 1180s.<sup>22</sup>

Conditions that had been unfavorable for the education of the nobility in the eleventh century had changed by the middle of the twelfth.<sup>23</sup> H. G.



Richardson and G. O. Sayles, elaborating together on work begun by J. W. Thompson and V. H. Galbraith, suggest how widespread some knowledge of Latin must have been among the upper classes in England by 1150 or so: “without rashly generalizing . . . it may fairly be said that [the cases cited] create a presumption that a man of noble birth will in his youth have had the opportunity of learning something of Latin letters.”<sup>24</sup> Ralph V. Turner, writing on the English *miles literatus* in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, notes the range of educational opportunities available to noble children. Even those who did not take clerical orders but still aspired to careers as royal servants would need Latin letters to carry out their duties: “those who did the day-to-day work that made the Angevin government so effective were largely laymen, and they came chiefly from the knightly class, not the *bourgeoisie*.”<sup>25</sup> Medieval terminology masks many literate laymen recorded in government and other accounts under the omnibus title of *clericus*; to be educated in the twelfth century did not mean one was bound to lifelong service in the church.<sup>26</sup> Offspring of the nobility might also be taught letters in court, outside the system of cathedral and monastery schools.<sup>27</sup> Henry II’s court, in fact, included schoolmasters for the royal children and the various aristocratic youths sent to the king for education and training.<sup>28</sup> For children of lower rank there were private tutors and the local schools, as well as “less formal” opportunities to study Latin with “parish priests, the priests’ assistants, parish clerks, or their own mothers.”<sup>29</sup>

Whoever heard or read Latin erotic lyrics, such poems in an English court might well have competed with or supplemented native English song and the vernacular and often erotic songs of the troubadours and the early trouvères. As we have noted, much erotic verse, including nearly all that survives in classical meters, was no doubt written for a restricted audience of educated men who shared a common grounding in the classical Latin taught at major schools. However, other Latin erotic poems, equally classical in their dependence on mythology and poetry, but composed in rhymed and rhythmic meters and sometimes found set to music, invite comparison with the vernacular erotica developing in the same century. Partly as a result of pressure from vernacular texts, some members of this last group of Latin lyrics may be purposefully liminal texts, texts that attempt to conquer what Walter J. Ong has called medieval “cultural diglossia”—the use of Latin as a “high” language and the vernacular as a “low” language.<sup>30</sup> The second half of the century was a moment of truth for Latin as a potential popular, high-culture medium of entertainment, a time when poets could have thought they had a broad aris-

tocratic and clerical market for poetry in Latin, perhaps especially in England, where indigenous French poetry was relatively weak and in competition with native Middle English traditions.

Twelfth-century Latin erotic song may well have been imagined for oral presentation to a mixed audience of clerics and knights, many of whom might have no deep understanding of the texts—biblical, philosophical, classical—that provided the language and ideas out of which the lyrics grew. As we shall see when we examine certain poems closely in subsequent chapters, some erotic lyrics—as a result of their subject matter and philosophical origin—would have offered up the possibility of multiple interpretations to a certain sort of clerical audience. They would have asked to be read at different levels according to the same rules as the *Metamorphoses* or the *Aeneid* or the Song of Songs or any other piece of writing considered worthy of careful attention. Such lyrics can be a multiplicitous and playful art, marked by an attractive surface of story and image that is often underlain by what amounts to an allusive and ironic analysis of the courtier-cleric's place in the grand hierarchy of being.

Such multiplicity had ancient and powerful antecedents. Classicists, indeed, have suggested reading certain of Ovid's *Amores* as poetry consciously constructed to appeal to a double audience, to an "in-group" of specialists as well as to a more general public: "The unobtrusiveness of the sophistication [of Ovid's verse] . . . explains why it appealed both to the *docti* and to a wider readership. The uninitiated could enjoy the *Amores* untouched by any suspicions of their own limitation as reader, while the *docti* will have enjoyed probing beneath the glittering surface."<sup>31</sup> K. Sara Myers thus shows how the birds of Ovid's *Amores* 2.6 "function programmatically" to announce the poet's "Alexandrian affiliations and the literary allegiances that his amatory poetry owed to his Roman predecessors." In other words they are part of the writer's process of poetic self-definition. To enjoy the poem, auditors and readers did not need to recognize Ovid's literary statement of his "credentials as a *doctus poeta*," but some surely would have.<sup>32</sup> Myers thus distinguishes between two sets of native readers of Latin, one more poetically sophisticated than the other. In the case of twelfth-century Latin erotic poetry, some of it could have had a similarly dualized programmatic function—created at once to please a general lay and clerical audience of modest latinity and at the same time to speak to the better educated about their philosophical and literary "allegiances." Those experiencing the poetry, as read or sung, did not need to see beyond the more literal surface, but classical myths and the complex idea of eros could hardly be invoked in that world without inviting allegoresis.

Medieval Latin love lyrics sung in court occupy an especially ambiguous place in medieval verbal experience, triangulated somewhere in the space between vanished oral popular culture, the originally oral but increasingly literary court culture of the twelfth century, and the highly literate and literary clerical experience that created them. If Latin lyric erotica was first and foremost a specialized part of clerical culture, there is certainly a likelihood that some of what was in circulation, especially in England, was aimed for a broader courtly audience as it existed in the second half of the twelfth century.

#### THE SOCIAL WORLD OF CLERICAL POETS

In the next three sections of this chapter, I will sketch some of the “social context” for clerical poets writing Latin eros, give an overview of the relevant changes taking place in clerical and aristocratic culture in the twelfth century, and look briefly at the particular Anglo-Norman milieu for Latin erotica. As a number of social historians and literary critics have pointed out over the years, the social and intellectual revolution taking place in the twelfth century within the ranks of the aristocracy produced the idea of the chivalric knight and the genre we call chivalric literature. Composed in Latin and in vernacular languages, the long narratives and lyrics of this body of writing explore the nature of chivalric identity and, most centrally, explore the relationship between the man’s role as feudal warrior and his role as an erotically inspired lover of women and breeder of further generations of aristocrats. Here is my point. This same process of change produced parallel developments within the clerical class: to match the idea of the knight, the idea of the “new man.” This concept was partly the outgrowth of eleventh-century ideas about the power and worthiness of the poet intellectual, but it was also truly new given the new roles available to courtier clerics and the increased competition for places in the expanding bureaucratic hierarchy. There were supporting texts that dealt, in their own ways, with the same issues that were important to the knights, the clerics’ chivalric brothers: what it means to be a good man and how to reconcile the urgings of eros with the idealized vision of one’s place in the world. It is helpful, then, to think of works like Bernardus Silvestris’s *Cosmographia* and Alain de Lille’s *De planctu naturae* as narratives functioning like the contemporary romances of Chrétien de Troyes, and to think of the erotic lyrics that are our principal subject here as equal participants in the ongoing discussions about clerical identity and the power of eros. Erotic Latin songs from the twelfth century, taken as a group, are best understood as literary fragments produced by professional teachers, philosophers, and bureaucrats who

identified themselves, in varying degrees, with a highly philosophized program for education and social change. Well-educated clerics who identified themselves as “new men,” occupying a unique and increasingly important niche in the secular and ecclesiastical administration of the Capetian and Anglo-Angevin realms, developed a highly intellectual literary aesthetic based on classical Latin poetry and ancient philosophy within which erotic Latin verse might flourish.

Ambitious young men traveled to centers of education in northern France to study letters and philosophy. They took minor clerical orders in order to be students; they studied grammar and read Latin translations of Plato and Aristotle. When they finished their studies, some became teachers, while others looked about for the security of an ecclesiastical benefice and, often, a position as part of the curia of a lay or ecclesiastical court. They sought to become professional courtiers and bureaucrats who sold their talents to wealthy and influential patrons throughout Europe. They came from and operated within the same worlds as the more secular members of the courts, and they aspired largely to the same things—wealth and influence and a sense of personal worth and self-identity, a sense of their significance in the social fabric. In the words of Maurice Keen, the reigning expert on medieval European chivalry: “Knights and clerks sprang from the same stock and understood each other’s worlds, better than is often allowed for.”<sup>33</sup> If the suggestions made earlier about the level of latinity of Anglo-Norman courtiers are at all accurate, it may well be that in the second half of the twelfth century, in Anglo-Norman courts, erotic Latin songs formed an active part of the courtly conversation about aristocratic male identity and eros.

### *Chivalry as Social Climbing*

The twelfth century was the century that produced both the first great body of Latin and vernacular court literature in the medieval West and the codification and acceptance of a chivalric ethic throughout much of western Europe. At the same time, changes in political and social structure in French and Anglo-Norman territories transformed the nature of what it meant to be a fighter on horseback; the number of men who considered themselves knights decreased, collapsing a two-tiered system of high nobility and simple mounted warriors into a single chivalric aristocracy united by a shared ideology. Though large differences in wealth and power remained among men who called themselves *milites*, the new ideology created a unique and increasingly exclusive sense of self-identity in those who aspired to knighthood—an iden-

tity that was both political and sexual, bound about by ritual, explained and scrutinized in an imaginative literature that told aristocratic men and women about their ideal selves. It was also an identity that crossed geographical boundaries. In both English and French territory, knighthood was a path to social advancement, and before the loss of most continental holdings in the early thirteenth century, many of those possessing land from the English king would have had property on both sides of the channel.<sup>34</sup>

Up to the middle of the twelfth century, knights in England appear similar in type to knights found in northeast France: they tend to be “of lowly or even unfree origin and in possession of minuscule fiefs and rents.”<sup>35</sup> Around the time of the accession of Henry II in 1154, following the chaos of Stephen’s reign, the social position of the mounted warrior in England began to change significantly. Continuing subinfeudation—the subdividing of landholdings with each generation—meant that knights’ property generally became smaller and smaller in the years after the Conquest; knight service tended to be more and more often commuted for cash, or a group of minor landholders, each of whom owed some fraction of a knight’s fee, would become collectively responsible for his services. English kings demanded increasing periods of service abroad and found it simpler and more reliable to pay wages to mercenary knights than to enforce personal performance of feudal obligations. Moreover, toward the end of the century agricultural prices rose for animals and fodder while at the same time the equipment of a mounted warrior increased in sophistication and cost. As a result fewer men were willing to declare themselves knights.<sup>36</sup> The old-fashioned feudal host had become an anachronism; the simple “vavassor” knight disappears from the picture to be replaced by a more august figure.<sup>37</sup>

Chivalric literature of the period shows aristocratic ideology evolving in tandem with changes in the status and function of the mounted warrior. The knights in the romances of Chrétien de Troyes or the *lais* of Marie de France, those imagined by William of Malmesbury or the author of the Anglo-Norman *Roland*, were the twelfth-century literary projections, as rendered by clerical authors, of a heterogeneous class of men whose cultural identity and social status were evolving and becoming codified in the course of only a few generations. Narratives from earlier in the century, such as *Le Charroi de Nîmes* (ca. 1135) and the *Roland*, before midcentury, work to “enculturate” the knightly class in social values useful to monarchs and princes attempting to shore up the processes of centralization of political control, and, in the words of John F. Benton, to train young fighters to “prefer honorable death to shameful flight, group loyalty to limited personal advantage, and in the process build stronger



governments and assure peace and stability.”<sup>38</sup> These poems express the aristocratic “hopes and fears” of the first half of the century while seeking to educate the rambunctious *juvenes* in their proper social functions as devoted followers of their feudal seigneurs.<sup>39</sup> Jean Flori’s studies of the vocabulary of French romances and epics in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries have led him to locate a shift in the concept of chivalry, around the year 1180, that confirms the pattern of knightly evolution developed by historians using non-literary sources.<sup>40</sup> The chansons de geste, which often focus on the careers of eager youths in search of glory and land, reflect the anxious lives of aspirant knights or bachelors—Duby’s *juvenes*—“the agonies or the dreams of these young people entering a society on the way to stabilizing in the twelfth century, and who fear they will never find their place in it.”<sup>41</sup> For Flori, the romances of Chrétien de Troyes, written after midcentury but before 1180, show chivalry at a turning point. Before the appearance of Chrétien’s works,<sup>42</sup> Latin and vernacular sources use the verb *adouber* almost exclusively as a synonym for *armer*, that is, the act of giving a man the expensive weapons and equipment he will need to prepare for combat. Beginning with Chrétien and increasingly toward the end of the century, *adouber* takes on the “professional” or “promotional” sense of *faire chevalier*, to “create” a knight.<sup>43</sup> The knight acquires his own unique sense of identity, and chivalry acquires an “ethic to justify its own existence.”<sup>44</sup>

These changes in the institution of knighthood, both in England and on the continent after the middle of the century, suggest the kind of social turmoil that must have lain behind the portrayals of courtly aristocratic society that appear in contemporary histories, romances, and lyrics. As a class, aristocrats patronized clerical writers who told them who they were and laid out for them a process by which they could most fully realize their self-worth as human beings operating in a difficult world. The locus for this self-analysis was the court; it was there the literature was supported and promulgated, and there that the cultural fantasies elaborated in the songs and poems played themselves out to whatever extent they could. For the whole of the twelfth century, young men from even middling backgrounds might aspire to distinguished careers in church or secular courts, and the great courts of the Anglo-Norman realm were among the most attractive. The practice of knighthood offered one glamorous and proven route to success.

Despite somewhat different courses of aristocratic evolution and social structure between England and the great principalities of France, the life of the aspirant knight must have been similar and similarly uneasy in the two kingdoms. Younger sons of even the wealthiest aristocrats on both sides of the

channel faced a straitened existence because they could not expect to inherit much from the family patrimony. In this sense, they were in much the same situation as young men from much more modest knightly backgrounds. Many such youths became clerics or monks: the castellan Henry of Bourbourg had seven sons who ended up in ecclesiastical careers.<sup>45</sup> Gerald of Wales had three brothers; the eldest inherited the patrimony, a second died young in battle, a third sought his fortune in the conquest of Ireland, and Gerald got a Paris education and entered the church.<sup>46</sup> Those who wished to avoid the church or the ignominy of a small holding by choosing a military life sought to attach themselves to a court and a patron, as William Marshall, fourth son of John Fitzgilbert, did to the court of his cousin the count of Tankerville.<sup>47</sup> The itinerant life these men led was as potentially glorious as it was absolutely insecure—a constant scramble for money and arms, military success, social and political prestige at court, and with luck a rich marriage.

Aspiring knights wanted to learn about the workings of eros. The courtly triangle of lord, wife, and bachelor knight evident in some lyrics and romances can be explained at one level as a response to the common situation of a court full of eager young men in pursuit of socially prominent wives. Literature and “real life” play off against each other in this analysis—social patterns may inspire a literature that creates expectations that in turn influence behavior. The literary fantasies of that world and its actual inhabitants share a powerfully sublimated sexuality—the unmarried knight errant spends his long youth in a martial show dedicated to an erotic and political end, to marriage and social advancement. At the same time he listens to stories that tell on the one hand of the realized fantasy of erotic attachment to his lord’s wife (e.g., *Tristan* or *Lancelot*) and on the other of sexual energy sublimated in the quest for virtue, self-realization, and power (e.g., *Percival* and *Erec*).

Such a highly psychologized picture of courtly evolution in the twelfth century asks to be criticized as a fantasy itself, a projection by modern historians of the desires apparently expressed in medieval romances and pseudohistories. It is hard to know to what extent this reconstruction of court life out of literary artifacts corresponds to the experience of daily existence for aristocrats in France and England or to know how much aristocratic life in England differed from that in France. Clearly Duby and Keen have in mind a world inhabited by only a small fraction of society’s highest elite. Other historians continue to draw a sharp distinction between the imaginative creations offered up by clerical writers for an aristocratic audience and the grubby pragmatics of survival for men and women even of the highest social ranks. Edmond Faral’s remark from early in the last century that “the amorous knight is a literary



invention of the cleric," has more recently been reemphasized in important studies by Joachim Bumke and C. Stephen Jaeger.<sup>48</sup> For the latter, if the chivalric ethos was not "fabricated from thin air," it was the conscious creation of "civilizing clerics" in Germany in the tenth and eleventh centuries whose ideals traveled very slowly west. In his view, courtliness did not penetrate the aristocracy even in France, where the ideals were most fully adopted by nonclerical aristocrats, until the very end of the twelfth century.

For Jaeger, historians like Duby and Keen have not fully understood the nature of twelfth-century patronage. In his view, the great narrative projects in the period—national histories, family chronicles, and romances—were not by and large written at the command of aristocratic patrons to reflect their lives and ideals, but were composed by ambitious clerics motivated to "correct and instruct" the secular nobility in a set of civilized values already internalized in clerical culture:

The clerical poets who created the romances of antiquity and the Arthurian romances did not appear before great lords as petitioners or as hired scribes, but as teachers. They rode a large wave, a wave pushed up to educate the laity, suffusing traditional warrior values with the courtly ideals of the learned clergy.<sup>49</sup>

Nobles gradually came to accept the package of ethics preached in the stories the churchmen told, but to Jaeger's mind courtly behavior among lay aristocrats in France and England in the twelfth century remained the unrealized hope of reformers and not yet a pattern of behavior to which aristocratic society expected its members to conform. Still, by whatever timetable codified "courtliness" worked its way into the aristocratic consciousness, the period produced a remarkable series of literary texts whose purpose encompassed entertaining the court and educating its members in new ways of understanding each other and society.

The uncertainty among historians evidenced in their different visions of how court culture spread and how thoroughly and rapidly the knightly ethos came to define the elite culture of the West reflects, I think, the genuine complexity of aristocratic existence in the twelfth century. It was a complexity reflected in such elements as the development of romance out of epic traditions, the rise of the tournament as a form of social interaction, and the growth of powerful monarchs and monarch-like aristocrats who set up elaborate bureaucracies to manage their sprawling territories. The aristocracy of western Europe was engaged in a great project that centered on defining the

values of one subset within the whole mass of the relatively well-to-do, landed population.

### *Education as Social Climbing*

The new formulations of aristocratic sensibility that we have just surveyed had their counterpart in the well-documented development of new ideals of monastic life and monastic self-identity that emerged in the course of the twelfth century. Monasteries before the twelfth century largely recruited children, often the offspring of aristocrats, to fill their institutions; new orders, most notably the Cistercians, did away with the system of oblates and sought their recruits among adults who were able to choose their vocation more or less freely.<sup>50</sup> Many members of the new monastic orders, male and female, came from the *nobiles* and had long experience of secular aristocratic life outside the cloister; some were widowers or widows, many of the men had been students at the schools or the university; and some had even been knighted. M. T. Clanchy speaks of the growing numbers of monks in the reforming monastic orders and their newly militant attitude toward their profession, a militancy most vividly codified in the crusading order of the Knights Templar.<sup>51</sup> Though the new orders sought to redefine and supplant traditional Benedictine monasticism, they remained, like the older institutions, enclaves of elitism whose “virtues of poverty, chastity and obedience were attractive only to aristocrats.”<sup>52</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux himself came to his vocation relatively late, at the age of twenty-two, from “a family of noble knights,” and was accused by one medieval critic of writing “mocking and alluring tunes and profane melodies” in his youth.<sup>53</sup> His many writings on love, most notably his long series of sermon-commentaries on the Song of Songs, chronicle Bernard’s own translation of secular eros into Christian caritas for an audience that understood both. For as long as they identified themselves with the clerical enterprise of self-formation, humanist clerics of the period who authored the erotic verse that is our subject here existed somewhere between the monasteries and the tournaments, as an uncloistered, militant, politically self-important group, part of a continuum of essentially upper-class experience.

The same changes that helped shape the careers of knights and other aristocrats in court also created more positions for clerics in secular and ecclesiastical bureaucracies. Hand in hand with this, changes in the educational system in France created new opportunities for intellectual training and employment and created a new atmosphere in higher education. The first half of the century saw the eclipse of the monastery schools (e.g., those of Bec and Cluny) as

the primary centers for formal intellectual training and their replacement by a variety of urban schools, frequently associated with cathedrals. In these new schools, increasing numbers of students sought advanced education in specialized fields as a way to personal development and professional success.<sup>54</sup> Great teachers developed devoted followings and were sometimes rewarded by ecclesiastical promotion; students of varying backgrounds turned their educations into teaching positions and administrative jobs.<sup>55</sup>

Peter Abelard's early career reflects the unsettled state of advanced scholarship in the first half of the century as well as the militant aggressiveness evident in intellectual life: he spent his first years as a student wandering from school to school ("like a true peripatetic philosopher, wherever I heard there was a keen interest in the art of dialectic") before settling for a while in Paris, around 1100, to study with William of Champeaux. When he determined to set up a school of his own to rival William's, Abelard went first to Melun and then, in order to be closer to Paris, to Corbeil, then returned to Melun, before establishing himself finally at Mont Sainte-Geneviève, just outside the city, "in order to lay siege to" a competing teacher who had been established there by William.<sup>56</sup> Not long after this, he gave up teaching for a while in order to study theology with Anslem of Laon, whose position he soon challenged.<sup>57</sup> Having signed away his rights as the eldest son of minor Breton nobility when he determined on a clerical life, Abelard sought the fame that comes from successful academic debate and the financial reward of having many pupils.<sup>58</sup>

I renounced the glory of a soldier's life, made over my inheritance and rights of the eldest son to my brothers, and withdrew from the court of Mars in order to kneel at the feet of Minerva. I preferred the weapons of dialectic to all the other teachings of philosophy, and armed with these I chose the conflicts of disputation instead of the trophies of war.<sup>59</sup>

When he thought about his own early life, he thought about it in terms of military metaphors of struggle and conquest; he saw himself as the academic equivalent of the knight errant.

Peter Abelard is only the best-known example of those who devoted their lives to quasi-militant academic peregrinations. As time went on it became increasingly clear to other scholars as well that Paris was the most exciting place to be for the battles of advanced education. Philosophical struggles, the squabbles over students and the location of schools, disputes about the precise details of a theory of universals, the public inaugural lecture and disputation of

a new master—these were the tournaments of the clerics. The rewards were the same for them as for the *milites*: “pecunia et laus.”<sup>60</sup> Hastings Rashdall commented long ago that the investiture ceremonies for university masters that developed in the later years of the twelfth century had much in common with the ceremonies of induction for new knights, dubbing rituals, that were evolving in the same period.<sup>61</sup> Such men saw their lives, metaphorically at least, in the same terms as did their brothers in chivalry; their intellectual and political battles for prestige and patronage at school and in the curia were as important to their careers as the activities of court and field were to the knights.

So, in the same period that we find some young men working their way into careers of aristocratic service through the practices of knighthood, some of their brothers found positions in the same courts through higher education.<sup>62</sup> Increasing numbers of students went to Paris and other schools to make good, to gain skills and academic prestige, and the system responded to demand.<sup>63</sup> An analysis of the social status and careers of some of the masters of theology who taught at Paris in the later years of the century tends to confirm the value of an advanced education for the socially ambitious. Of the Parisian masters in evidence between 1179 and 1215 whose geographic origins can be determined—forty-seven in all—about a quarter of them came from lands in or near the French royal domain and 38 percent from England. Though social origins of masters are less well documented, John Baldwin finds that such men tended not to be from the higher aristocracy and that for them “teaching was . . . a vehicle of upward social mobility to improve [their] standing in society.” Regent masters often did go on to high positions within the church—38 to 46 percent of Baldwin’s sample continued their careers after Paris as prelates.<sup>64</sup> All this is only circumstantial evidence for the lives of the thousands of less successful clerics who never became masters but sought education and advancement through study. Nonetheless, such figures suggest the courtly international and professional careers many young men of middling class and of high aspiration might have aimed for through education. Powerful teachers in Paris and elsewhere who developed constituencies of students gave their names to schools of thought and to the physical schools where teacher and pupil met for lessons.<sup>65</sup> Schools sought to attract students and to assert the superiority of their pedagogical methods and materials. In the area of speculative grammar, Karen Fredborg cites “schools” associated with the work contained in the anonymous *Glosule* and built on the work of William of Conches, Ralph of Beauvais, and Gilbert of Poitiers.<sup>66</sup> A number of schools of logic coalesced, in part gravitating to oppose or refine claims made by Abelard:

the Montani, students of Alberic, who replaced Abelard, at Mont Sainte-Geneviève in 1137; the Melidunenses, students of Robert of Melun; the Parvipontani, followers of Adam of Balsham, who established a school on or near the Petit-Pont in Paris; the Porretani, followers of the Gilbert of Poitiers just mentioned.<sup>67</sup> Theologians, such as Peter the Chanter, Anselm of Laon, Peter Lombard, Hugh of St. Victor (and later Victorines) also created schools.<sup>68</sup>

### *The Neoplatonist Enterprise*

Within this confusion of camps were many northern French scholars who made it their particular business to pursue the study of Plato's *Timaeus*, along with Calcidius's commentary and a handful of other classical and postclassical Neoplatonic texts. The *Timaeus* had great attraction for medieval readers because, in Richard Southern's words, "Plato's work was, until the discovery of Aristotle's *Physics*, the sole known independent account of Creation outside the Bible."<sup>69</sup> To twelfth century scholars Plato meant essentially the first half of the *Timaeus* in Latin translation, along with Calcidius's fourth-century commentary. It consisted of about half the original material, up to section 53C in modern editions; that is, some introductory material on the ideal society and the myth of Atlantis, followed by much cosmological theory.<sup>70</sup> This core was supplemented principally by three other texts and commentaries that drew on Platonic thought—Macrobius's commentary on Cicero's *Somnium scipionis*, Boethius's *De consolazione philosophiae*, and Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis philologiae et mercurii*. The cosmological speculations that originated in the *Timaeus* spawned a mass of later theorizing—Greek and Latin, pagan and Christian—that incorporated previous systems and offered new interpretations of older texts. The existence of this intractable complex of reworkings, whose texts were often available only in fragmentary form to the Middle Ages, enormously complicated twelfth-century efforts to sort out Calcidius's translation and commentary.<sup>71</sup>

Traditionally, modern historians have linked eleventh- and twelfth-century academics with Neoplatonic interests to the cathedral school at Chartres, but it has become clear to most scholars working in the field today that it is misleading to claim that a uniquely "Chartrian" school of Neoplatonic philosophy ever existed. Southern sees a much broader effort at work in northern France through the middle of the twelfth century that incorporated Neoplatonic texts as part of a conscious program to "create a single complete and unified field of knowledge" that "covered the whole area of the natural world



and its relationship with the supernatural universe.”<sup>72</sup> There was, of course, infighting among the proponents of this “scholastic humanism,” and considerable monastic sniping directed by Cistercians like Bernard of Clairvaux and William of St. Thierry against Abelard, William of Conches, Gilbert of Poitiers, and others whose philosophical speculations seemed to undermine the authority of Christian faith.<sup>73</sup> Operating under a very different set of guiding attitudes than the subsequent humanism of the Renaissance, “scientific” humanism appropriated classical texts for its own ends.<sup>74</sup> Its two principal aims, again according to Southern, were (1) to regather as much as possible the knowledge lost as a consequence of the Fall, and (2) to “understand the principles of the organization of nature” that, in turn, would give “human minds access to the divine purpose in the Creation.”<sup>75</sup> Southern’s scholastic humanism, with its very strong Neoplatonic element, was a dominant force in the schools for much of the twelfth century. Scholars like William of Conches and Bernardus Silvestris were part of a “phase of European studies rather than a narrowly localized form of humanism.” Nonetheless, it is in Neoplatonic commentaries that we discover the attitudes, the particular ways of looking at mankind in the cosmos that contributed the immediate academic context for the most avant-garde and sophisticated erotic Latin lyrics in the twelfth century. In the competitive world of the schools Neoplatonist commentators created a pedagogy and a sense of self-identity that—in conjunction with a deep Ovidianism—provided the metaphorical language and intellectual machinery for their erotic academic fantasies.

In the period roughly between Boethius and the mid–eleventh century, the *Timaeus* itself became “a largely forgotten book,” only to be rediscovered and, increasingly commented on until it passed from vogue before 1200.<sup>76</sup> For about fifty years, however, in the heart of the twelfth century, a reborn tradition of Platonic thought made claim to a crucial position within the scholarly world of northern France. This revival manifested itself in a number of ways among those most committed: in the creation of new commentaries on the *Timaeus*; in Platonist commentaries on a wide variety of other works, including the Bible, with whose depiction of God and the world they attempted to reconcile Plato’s text;<sup>77</sup> in the writing of original cosmological mythologies loosely modeled on Boethius and Martianus;<sup>78</sup> in the elaboration of a theory of the allegorical reading of mythological texts through *integumentum*; in the development of a difficult pedagogy designed to facilitate the understanding of the *Timaeus* and other Platonist works; in the simultaneous development of a theory of the ideal philosopher and citizen;<sup>79</sup> and, finally, in the writing of the erotic lyric poetry. The Platonists were, by and large, humanists—with their

scientific interest in recovering and understanding Platonic cosmology went a quite distinct vision of humanity, an idea of individual human possibility based on education and books, on learning to read the word and the world in order to become a person better and more useful to oneself and to society.

It was amid this combination of new philosophical speculation, competing schools and ideologies, political wrangling, mixed social classes, and anxious intellectual social climbing, that erotic Latin lyrics were produced. Almost all of the Latin erotic verse that appears in the twelfth century in the Anglo-Norman sphere is saturated with the language and the philosophical concerns of the French schools. There is a close verbal and thematic connection between one sort of poetry and a set of intellectual interests epitomized in the works of Alain de Lille and Bernardus Silvestris, between erotic lyrics and the writings of a cluster of cosmologers and interpreters of classical myth. This closeness encourages us to imagine these poems as a fragment of the much larger Neoplatonic exploration of desire and of a person's relationship through desire to nature and the Creator. The search after self-definition that defines the *Cosmographia*, the *De planctu naturae*, and many mythographic commentaries sees the same desire that moves God and Natura to their creative acts moving mankind to the crafts of writer, poet, and philosopher.

By the middle of the twelfth century a courtly audience for Latin love poetry, composed of both educated nobles and liberal churchmen, might have seemed a real possibility to a contemporary writer. Peter Dronke, discussing the lyric "Olim sudor Herculis," states simply that poems like it "will have been performed not only at Henry and Eleanor's court but also . . . as entertainment in the scholastic world, in the more sophisticated cathedral schools."<sup>80</sup> Hilka and Schumann have suggested that the *Carmina Burana* collection was compiled for the court of a great Bavarian ecclesiastical magnate and an audience of educated churchmen, perhaps in the vicinity of a school. Yet, as we have observed, there is little direct evidence for the sorts of songs sung at court entertainments in England. We know from Peter of Blois's correspondence that his nephew and an old friend, both clerics, apparently kept collections of Peter's *rithmice* for their own amusement, but in general rhymed, rhythmic Latin verse, like its contemporary vernacular counterparts, belonged to the ephemera of works that existed primarily as they were sung in public performance.

The surviving English manuscripts of erotic Latin lyrics give a mixed and tenuous impression of the cultural place of such poetry and its circulation. Much of what survives probably moved about very little in its own time. The *progymnasmata* found in a manuscript like Glasgow Hunterian MS V.8.14, a



rhetorical handbook for poets; Gerald of Wales's youthful works in Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.7.11; the unique, anonymous Ovidian erotica of the Bury St. Edmunds collection—these poems in classical meters are lucky survivals of works that never entered the main currents of distribution. As the overlap of the lyric contents of French, German, and English manuscript collections makes clear, other erotic Latin poems, especially rhythmic poems and especially the ones Peter Dronke has ascribed to Peter of Blois, became part of a European circulation of lyric poetry. Most such verse must have traveled in unbound pamphlets (e.g., the songbook surviving as Cambridge University Library Ff.1.17(1)), and the evidence we have for censorship suggests the problems erotic poetry had in finding a secure place between covers in a library. Yet the copying of twelfth-century poetry in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries points up the continued interest in Latin erotic lyric long after it ceased to be seriously composed.

To judge from the scanty record in English manuscripts, Latin erotic lyric was at least as popular in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as erotic lyrics in the vernaculars. Unlike the continent, in England there are no manuscripts from the twelfth century of erotic lyrics in any language but Latin, a very few in Latin and Anglo-Norman in the thirteenth, and only a handful in Anglo-Norman, Middle English, and Latin from the fourteenth. When we begin to tally total numbers of erotic lyrics for the entire period of the twelfth to the fourteenth century, Anglo-Norman and Latin lyrics appear in very nearly equal numbers, with Middle English a distant and peculiar third.<sup>81</sup> England may simply not have been a terribly congenial place for composers of erotic lyrics in any language;<sup>82</sup> nothing like the continental cult of the troubadour and the trouvère appears there in the twelfth or early thirteenth century. While there is evidence for a strong and continuous tradition of popular minstrelsy and court singing in England,<sup>83</sup> we know of not a single court lyric poet in England in a period when dozens are recorded by name in northern and southern France and in Germany. There is no equivalent mythology to the *vidas* of the troubadours, no equivalent to the manuscript collections of secular verse, no clear equivalent to the continental municipal and aristocratic support for singers and composers of love songs.<sup>84</sup> It is just possible that Marcabru visited London in the reign of Henry I, and also Bernart de Ventadorn, perhaps in 1155 to help celebrate the coronation of Henry II.<sup>85</sup> Other troubadours make grateful allusions to the generosity of Henry II and his sons; Richard I apparently composed lyrics himself. But as far as any surviving records show, aristocratic and municipal patronage seems to be largely a continental phenomenon.

Yet we can be reasonably sure that poets sang love songs in three languages at insular aristocratic and ecclesiastical courts. Despite all our caveats, England, with its weaker tradition of vernacular love poetry, its strong continental ties, its educated clerical and aristocratic courtier-bureaucrats, could have provided a place where sophisticated modern Latin love songs found an audience and the opportunity for performance. It may be that there was a vogue for them for a while, perhaps most vigorously after the coronation of Henry II, and they may, in the most sophisticated circles, have competed successfully with love songs in the vernacular. Part of the beauty of some of the best Latin love songs, as I have suggested and as I will show in detail, is that they can be appreciated at a fairly simple verbal level—for sound and rhythm and image and the “story” they tell—and also at a deeper level for the kinds of intellectual, associative webs they spin, for the verbal, sexual, and philosophical ideas they call into play. But at this distance in time and given the nature of surviving sources of information, all we can do is speculate about who heard these poems, and when and where. What those early auditors might have thought they were hearing will be the subject of later chapters.

The roots of this poetry are complex, and as Dronke has shown so well, they extend continuously back through the medieval centuries and across all of the Mediterranean basin. The precise relationship of clerical Latin love poetry and the troubadour poems of the south remains to be explained, though it is clear the two are not isolated phenomena. Whoever may have listened to or read Latin love poetry in the twelfth century in England and encouraged its production, the poetry blossomed as a part of the revival of classical learning going on in the schools of France. From Chartres and Paris and elsewhere in northern France, especially in the long works of Bernardus Silvestris and Alain de Lille, came an often poetic attempt to synthesize Plato’s cosmology with a theological understanding of creation and the universe. Bernardus’s *Cosmographia* and Alain’s *De planctu naturae* and *Anticlaudianus* together represent a literary and philosophical ideal for cleric poets trained in the French schools and writing in the heart of the twelfth century. At the same time, Bernardus, William of Conches, and others were reinterpreting the mythological heritage of Rome in the form of learned commentaries on earlier Neoplatonic texts.

The next chapter will examine, first, how certain “platonizing” clerics constructed models for the life and education of the wise man, and will then look in some detail at what the three major mythographic works of the century and certain contemporary mythographic commentaries say about the ways some

intellectuals looked at themselves and their art and nervously found place for erotic poetry. The Latin love poems now surviving in English manuscripts and circulating in the Anglo-Norman world are pieces of a larger phenomenon, and were made possible by the development of new notions of clerical self-consciousness and by a sophisticated interest in classical poetry, myth, and science.

## Chapter Four

# Education, Myth, and Neoplatonism: The Idea of a New Man

**C**ERTAIN CLERICAL WRITERS in the twelfth century whom we may refer to broadly as humanists or Platonists, men like William of Conches, John of Salisbury, or Bernardus Silvestris, make clear that the great aim of education is to raise up a wise man, the *philosophus* or *vir sapiens*. This is a man both contemplative and active: he will use his reason and his knowledge of terrestrial things and the visible cosmos to see beyond the world to God, and he will also use his intellectual powers and his understanding in the world of day-to-day affairs. Theorists in the period repeatedly emphasize that the good and wise man does not just know, but also engages himself politically, using his powers to analyze, to persuade, and to act. The school lectures that most of the surviving academic documents represent were aimed at the “new men,” the clerics who hoped their education would bring them advancement in the courts and careers of power and influence. Where Baudri of Bourgueil had imagined an essentially monastic world of classical wisdom and poetry, twelfth-century theorists developed a much more aggressive and worldly notion of the clerical and poetic self. While the humanists of

the period were “not primarily political thinkers,” they were concerned to discover intellectual models to aid their understanding of nature and humanity’s place in it. In the words of Paul Dutton, “they saw themselves as philosophers of man in his entirety: his soul, his participation in the macrocosm, his physical and anatomical realities, and his social nature all came under their scrutinizing eyes.”<sup>1</sup> Dutton shows twelfth-century writers and glossators playing with the metaphor of the triform city-state—imagined by Calcidius to be composed of *sapientes*, *militares*, and *vulgares*—in experimental reformulations of an ideal social structure that placed “wise men,” the *principales* and *sapientes*, those most in possession of “ratio,” at the head of an urban body politic. Beginning quite early in the century, scholars worked to develop systems of study and schemes of philosophy to give coherence to a project of social engineering through education. Central to most of these formal plans was the study of poetry, a subject of concern for the theorists, who located it in various places in their schemes. Erotic lyrics written in the twelfth century and growing out of a long tradition of classical study and imitation were fundamentally informed by this pedagogical project to create a new man for a new world.

This chapter has three closely related parts that together seek to flesh out this idea of the new man. In the first section I look briefly at the educational ideals espoused by humanist thinkers in the early to mid-twelfth century, their vision of a lifelong program to produce new men for their age. In the second section, I examine some scholarly interpretations of classical myth in order to show more precisely the ways certain writers imagined the personal qualities and social function of their ideal cleric, and found an important place for poetry in his intellectual life. Finally, in the longest part of the chapter, I look at the three major Neoplatonist cosmologies produced in the twelfth century: the *Cosmographia*, the *De planctu naturae*, and the *Anticlaudianus*. As a group the three works explore the figure of the new man and anxiously seek to understand the operation of creative desire throughout the cosmos. For these clerics in northern France, education was a project that channeled desire into the wide-ranging study of an eroticized cosmos: education itself—the pursuit of Lady Philosophy—could even be envisioned metaphorically as an erotic activity. When twelfth-century poets wrote erotic poems, when they talked about love and desire, they drew on Neoplatonist theorizing about the place of a man in the larger cosmos, theorizing that idealized the wise man and placed him at the heart of a cosmos defined and bound up by the power of desire. For the humanist imagination, the act of study became a sexually charged struggle, followed over the years in pursuit of a wisdom that could never be fully attained, but lay always like a virgin in her bed eager for the desiring man.

## EDUCATING THE "NEW MAN"

Humanists at work in the midst of the academic turmoil of the early twelfth century share the feeling that they are threatened either by those who objected to their philosophical doctrines or by those students and teachers who rejected the long course of philosophical, literary, and scientific study the humanists advocated. This opposition gave them a sense of being an enlightened minority, faced with institutional opposition from the church and from the educational establishment as it transformed itself. William of Conches, for one example, saw himself in a grand process of reconstructing the past and in a battle with those who would resist the truths made available by human reason. He recreates himself in his *Philosophia mundi* as a warrior-intellectual and builder:

Although we know that many pursue the adornment of words, while few seek the knowledge of truth, we alone, glorying not in the [judgment of the] multitude, but in the approval of the few, strive for the truth. We have chosen indeed to present naked truth rather than clothed falsehood. . . . For can any room for adornment possibly remain when it is necessary to think about what and how we read, and then by selecting to set it forth, to declaim against the false in disputations, to judge concerning the ideas of others, to sharpen the tongue against the detractions of enemies, so that in us may be fulfilled that [which was written] about the sons of Israel, who while rebuilding the Temple were holding a sword in one hand and a stone in the other?<sup>2</sup>

Old Testament patriarch and classical philosopher, William rebuilds the temple of true knowledge while standing armed against the threat of attack by the foolish; soldier and architect, he restores the rubble of ancient learning to reveal the truth of things in dangerous times. In his commentary on Cicero's *De inventione*, William's contemporary, Thierry of Chartres, castigates the schools of his time for their politics and venality, casting himself as a man who has sacrificed much—in fact “prostituted” himself—for a few worthy students amid a multitude of pretenders:

As Petronius says, we lonely masters will be abandoned in schools unless we flatter many and build traps for the ears. Not so in my case. Indeed, by the god of Truth, for the sake of a few I have prostituted my wares to many. Thus, however, have I accomplished my purpose, so

that I might shut out the profane crowd and the butting medley of the school. For the simulators of genius (who hate study), and the teachers of home study (who pretend to be masters), and the play-actors in scholastic disputes, armed for battles of inane words, such, indeed, head for my camp. But [let them stay] outside my palace, those whom the mere aura of my name brings here so that in their own regions, in their eagerness for enticement, they may lie about Thierry.<sup>3</sup>

In an extension of the metaphor of intellectual as warrior, Thierry imagines a large and quarrelsome world full of men seeking power through him. He is a scholarly lord; those who seek him out are mostly fools and pretenders;<sup>4</sup> his wisdom goes only to a worthy elite among the many who listen to him. Where William of Conches metaphorically styles himself a simple builder and fighter and part of a great communal enterprise, Thierry makes himself lord of *castrum* and *palatium*, already in possession of a completed edifice of learning. He offers a concrete vision of a man active and useful in the world through his education, while he implicitly shows himself anxious and beset by a sea of troubles. John of Salisbury called his intellectual opponents “Cornificians” and saw them as a threat not only to good education, but to society as a whole. Taking up the central trope of the *De nuptiis*, John asserts that Prudence, sister of Truth, married her daughter Philology (the “Love of Reasoning and Knowledge [*scientia*]”) to Mercury, so that Philology “would acquire fertility and luster from Eloquence”—that is to say, so that knowledge might become productive and beautiful through the mediation of the verbal arts.<sup>5</sup> Cornifician attacks on rigorous education attempt to divorce wisdom and eloquence. By ignoring the necessary unity of the arts in the creation of the wise man, Cornificius in effect “assails the whole structure of philosophy, tears to shreds humanity’s social contract, and destroys the means of brotherly charity and reciprocal interchange of services.”<sup>6</sup> John’s good and wise man, the properly educated man, will fight against Cornificius and uphold the social order.

Along with authority, the right course of study offers tangible rewards, particularly for the young and ambitious who are able to harness their learning:

while eloquence both illumines and adorns men of whatever age, it especially becomes the young. For youth is in a way to attract favor so that it may make good the potentialities of its natural talent. Who are the most prosperous and wealthy among our fellow citizens? Who the most powerful and successful in all their enterprises? Is it not the eloquent?<sup>7</sup>



The wise man's ability to express his thoughts effectively is of great "general use" to a man in the world "in acquiring wealth . . . for winning favor . . . for gaining fame."<sup>8</sup> Implicitly recalling Thierry of Chartres's discussion of the wise man a generation before, John claims that the liberal arts can have the same pragmatic value they had for the ancients—to free a person from anxieties:

More often than not [the liberal arts] liberate us from cares incompatible with wisdom. They often even free us from worry about [material] necessities, so that the mind may have still greater liberty to apply itself to philosophy.<sup>9</sup>

John's notions of good pedagogy and of the right role of the educated man came to him through his masters, most directly, he says, through William of Conches and Richard the Bishop, who both followed the method of Bernard of Chartres.<sup>10</sup> John emphasizes not only the importance of all the disciplines for the understanding of poetry and of poetry for the acquisition of knowledge, but the essential interrelationship among the fields of human philosophy. Great poets, writers, and philosophers understood thoroughly all branches of the arts: first the linked subjects of grammar and poetry, then also logic, rhetoric, mathematics and the rest of the quadrivium, physical philosophy (*phisica*), and ethics:

one will more fully perceive and more lucidly explain the charming elegance of the authors in proportion to the breadth and thoroughness of his knowledge of various disciplines. The authors . . . would so copiously embellish [their works] by the various branches of knowledge, in such charming style, with such pleasing ornament, that their finished masterpiece would seem to image all the arts. . . . Carefully examine the works of Vergil or Lucan, and no matter what your philosophy, you will find therein its seed or seasoning.<sup>11</sup>

John imagines philosophy as a unified schema incorporating all of human knowledge, a wide sort of liberal education within which the study of poetry holds a crucial place.

Bernardus Silvestris's commentaries on the *Aeneid* and the *De nuptiis* also envision an ideal course of academic study and the place of the *philosophus* in society. Both imply the singular importance of the *vir sapiens*, one who understands the secret workings of the cosmos and his own unique role in it, and who possesses an enlightened sense of the material universe and of human

nature that comes from a hard-won ability to read and interpret books and the world.<sup>12</sup> As Bernardus notes in his introduction to the *De nuptiis*, Martianus's book, the *Aeneid*, and the *Consolation of Philosophy* all treat the same subject: the ascent of man through the things of the world to the transcendent world of philosophy.<sup>13</sup> Bernardus's analysis of the best course of education makes three important observations that help us to understand the imagined ideal selves of these philosophers engaged in the project of wisdom within a pragmatic world of schools and courts. First, at the root of all education lies the need for each wise person to "marry" wisdom and eloquence in himself, if education is to have any meaning beyond the person of the scholar. That is the central message read out of the *De nuptiis* and Cicero's *De inventione*: "in the introduction to the *De inventione* Cicero asserts that eloquence without wisdom is frequently harmful, and wisdom without eloquence does very little good."<sup>14</sup> The wise man masters a wide-ranging *scientia* in the hope of supplying some remedy for humanity's postlapsarian condition. His activity in the world is essentially redemptive, he aims through wise and virtuous speech and action to compensate for the evil in the world and to support the good.<sup>15</sup>

Second, within this theory of philosophical compensation, poetry holds a crucial place. *Poesis* is a sort of *scientia* "locking up weighty and important speech in meter," ontologically on the same plane with eloquence and *sapientia* in the scheme of education, and possessing the important duty of teaching through narrative exempla such virtues as "endurance of labors" and "contempt of fortune." Thus its various species (*fabula*, *historia*, and *argumentum*), though they may depict things that are not literally true, have high moral value: "a poem offers examples of good and evil . . . [Its purpose] is to eradicate vice and to instill virtues."<sup>16</sup> Poetry must be mastered first, and then always remains the nourishment to the process of acquiring wisdom:

It should be noted that among the disciplines a determined order is established. . . . Poetry ought to support the first rudiments of study, so that with respect to Greek, or Latin, or Hebrew, or whatever, let us be taught chosen poems and prepared for the grasping of higher things. Whence Macrobius calls the writings of the poets "mother's milk."<sup>17</sup>

From poetry, the student progresses through eloquence to practical (or active) philosophy and then theoretical (or contemplative) philosophy, of which the highest study is theology. Poetry continues to be central to the whole course of education and of life, providing the aesthetic and moral base that supports all intellectual activity.

Third, the philosopher's involvement in the world places him inevitably in a dangerous position vis-à-vis the material universe as a whole and the smaller materialist world of court and career. Bernardus illustrates this point through a reading of the story of Ulysses and Circe. Circe stands for temporal wealth; Ulysses stands for Martianus, the wise poet; and Ulysses' companions on his voyage, who drink the potion from Circe's cup and turn into animals, are failed men:

Circe . . . is the word for temporal wealth. For accordingly we say men have labored well when we see the earth rich with fruits. Who else is Ulysses . . . than the one who claims a knowledge of all things for himself, namely the philosopher? To this man Circe teaches philosophy, while wealth moves him to investigate the nature of things. Because of the cup, the others cast aside human form when, by drinking of temporal good, they lose the use of reason. They are debased with the appearance of a wild animal when they are corrupted by irrationality.<sup>18</sup>

The courtly setting of this story—the female ruler with her cup before an audience of suppliant men—is an apt one for a lesson about the wise man's place in the world; the ambiguities of Bernardus's analysis make evident the writer's uneasiness and anxiety about the subject matter. The philosopher finds himself in the difficult position of needing the things of the world—the result of laboring well—for his own survival and as the raw material for his understanding of “things as they are”; at the same time, he must hold them deeply suspect. Circe is at once dangerous and a source of wisdom who allegorically supplies the philosopher with his worldly needs and with the knowledge of the world that he also must have.<sup>19</sup> Rational and mortal man chooses between a virtuous path that leads to his transformation into a rational and *immortal* creature, and a path that transforms men into mortal and *irrational* beasts. The two choices create three human possibilities:

Philosophy does not at all consider the external composition of the body instead of the internal; it judges in some degree a substance to be a man or god or beast. It considers man to be rational [and] mortal, judging [someone to be] not rational [who] lacks the use of reason.<sup>20</sup>

The wise man cannot and should not divorce himself from the realities of the day-to-day world; he needs to survive, and he needs to use the world to rise to the understanding of higher things. The reward for Ulysses' refusal of Circe's

cup while he was still living in the world is that he will not become a beast, but by most fully using his reason he may become a god.<sup>21</sup> Bernardus's reading of the story of Circe reinterprets Boethius's version of the episode in *Consolation* book 4, *metrum* 3 ("Vela Neritii ducis") where the point is that Circe's magic has power only over the bodies of the men, not their minds.<sup>22</sup> Bernardus follows very closely, however, Boethius's assertion in the preceding prose (book 4, *prosa* 3) that "the reward of good men . . . is to become gods" [est igitur praemium bonorum . . . deos fieri]. The right course of study confers a unique status on the lovers of wisdom: one who attains wisdom fulfills most completely his human nature and becomes transformed into something greater than he was, metaphorically a god on earth.<sup>23</sup> This is, of course, a more philosophical version of the same impulse to self-deification already so evident among the poets we examined earlier.

Education defines, at least ideally, a lifetime process, an intellectual progress intimately related to the life of the person pursuing wisdom. The schema, however it is drawn, is a life map for those able to internalize an ambitious vision of human possibility and responsibility.<sup>24</sup> As William of Conches put it, "adolescence is the right time to begin study. . . . Study ends at death."<sup>25</sup> Twelfth-century humanists were an anxious if vituperative group, academics who hoped to have an impact on the way the social order was run and who expected to do that through education; they saw themselves as a beleaguered few training a new sort of man in the broadest sort of wisdom. At their boldest, they could imagine this new man as a sort of god set to enter into court and politics; they placed a high value on the study of poetry, and they could imagine their educational program in heroic and, as we will see more clearly in a moment, implicitly eroticized terms.

#### REREADING OLD MYTHS

Certain twelfth-century clerics imagined for themselves a humanist identity based on a broad curriculum of classical studies, a curriculum that insisted on the importance of poetry to the intellectual development of the good and wise man. Such scholars and bureaucrats were also concerned, in a limited way, with theorizing the structure of the social order and, in particular, with envisioning the role of the properly educated man within society. As part of their program to recover the past usefully for their own time, they became adventurous interpreters of the ancient myths and stories that came down to the Middle Ages. Scholars made the whole of classical mythology their own, writing themselves and their lives into the old stories they read. The tales of gods,

goddesses, and heroes that scholars inherited from Virgil, Ovid, and Horace, or found in the commentaries of later scholars like Servius, Fulgentius, and Remigius of Auxerre, came to occupy an important place in the metaphoric thinking of well-educated men in the period. Teachers used the myths as a way to talk about the structure of the physical world and the function of human society and individuals within that cosmos. They also used myths to show how the Roman poets they admired discussed the same issues that concerned medieval clerics. Their commentaries define a program of life and education designed to produce a learned hero, gifted in eloquence and wisdom, able to act intelligently in the world and to use worldly things as necessary stepping-stones to higher studies and to a moral life. The educational program, as we shall see, could sometimes be viewed as an erotic process practiced by men destined for worldly careers. The uniquely clerical activities of scientific analysis and the creative manipulation of words could also be imagined as essentially erotic and parallel to God's creative acts. This appropriation and interpretation of classical mythology is powerfully evident in erotic Latin verse of the period, and the myths in such poetry can only be fully appreciated against the rich background of mythographic commentary being produced throughout the twelfth century.

Bernardus Silvestris's reading of Aeneas's underworld journey in book 6 of the *Aeneid* uses what modern critics term "integumental" analysis of the myth as a way to talk about good education and the course of a wise man's life. The process of Aeneas's transit from the mortal world to the lower one becomes a series of stages on the way to wisdom, an orderly passage through the various branches of *scientia*, and Aeneas himself, the hero of Rome's foundation myth, figures the cleric. His rational spirit, controlling desire with reason—the rudder of his ship—takes Aeneas to shore at the grove of Trivia and the golden roofs ("aurea tecta"). These represent respectively, in Bernardus's analysis, the trivium and quadrivium, first the three arts of eloquence and then the four of mathematics (a branch of *sapientia*). Somewhat later, as Aeneas reaches the Hesperian shore, Bernardus makes clearer the three branches of *scientia* as they are approached through the "steps of discipline":<sup>26</sup>

Hesper is the clearest star, of such brightness (as Martianus says) that its rays are more brilliant than those of any other heavenly body, except the sun or moon. . . . For it is bright, the moon is brighter, and the sun is most bright. Therefore, understand that star as poetics, which is bright when compared with mechanics, just as Hesper is bright when compared with others. Eloquence is brighter than poetics; philosophy is



the brightest. Therefore, in this book understand that bright star to be bright poetry, the brighter moon to be brighter eloquence, the brightest Phoebus to be brightest philosophy. The Hesperian shore, therefore, is the beginning of poetic study.<sup>27</sup>

Poetic studies (1) lead to eloquence (2), in turn leading to the several categories of *sapientia* (3). Though ordered, the path can be tortuous, like the labyrinth, etymologized by Bernardus as “interior labor.”<sup>28</sup> Bernardus consistently stresses the danger and the necessity of what he calls the “descent to the temporal.” Within each person, “the rational spirit seeks nothing except to know the Creator through knowledge of creatures.”<sup>29</sup> To gain understanding one must engage one’s mind fully with the things of the world, since they point beyond themselves to greater truths, but one should not remain caught forever on the *iter in silvam*, even as one should earlier have been prepared to pass beyond the joys of the trivium and quadrivium. The *laboriosa vita* in the world must in turn yield to the *quieta vita* or *vita philosophica*, a notion represented in the poem by the passage over Acheron—the annoyances of the active life—in Charon’s boat. The philosophical life of the “purged person,” figured by the mud—soil and water—of the far shore, has a “great utility,” born of the “solidity of virtue and the moisture of instruction.”<sup>30</sup>

Bernardus’s *vita laboriosa* and *vita philosophica* reappear alongside a third sort of life in the analysis of another classical myth, the story of Paris’s choice among Venus, Athena, and Juno, a tripartite vision of the life choices facing the intellectual and bureaucrat.<sup>31</sup> While the twelfth-century commentators always reject a life given over to sensual pleasures and make clear that quiet philosophical contemplation remains the highest human goal, they usually avoid an out-of-hand condemnation of the *vita practica* (or *actio*). In William of Conches’s analysis of the *pi* and *theta* passage from the *Consolation*, there are in fact two kinds of *sapientia*: either in contemplation or in action (“vel in contemplando vel in agendo”).<sup>32</sup> Hence, he says, certain philosophers who were free for pure contemplation used to be called “otiosi” and others, who studied for the public good (“circa rem publicam exercebantur”), were called “negotiosi.” William probably drew the distinction from Macrobius’s *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, 1.8.6–8 and 2.17, where Macrobius discusses the two ways of serving the public good that will lead to the heavenly reward of stellification:

In an early part of this work we noted that men of leisure possessed some virtues and men of affairs others, that the former virtues befitted

philosophers and the latter the leaders in public welfare, and that the exercise of both made one blessed. These virtues are sometimes separated, but they are occasionally combined if a man by disposition and training is found to have a capacity for both.<sup>33</sup>

From time to time a man appears distinguished in both sorts of virtue, such as Romulus or the younger Scipio, who served the public good first as soldiers and then as philosophers. In contrast to those who devote themselves to the commonwealth either actively or contemplatively are those, Cicero says, "who have surrendered themselves to bodily pleasures" and who, Macrobius comments, must spend "countless ages . . . before . . . [they] can quit their round of torment" in the "lower regions."<sup>34</sup>

Humanist scholars felt the tension between the ideal of the contemplative life and the practical necessity for the new man to engage in the world. The path they advocated for most of their audience was one of a lifetime of study that included an unspecified period of *practica* leading inevitably to withdrawal and devotion to *theoretica*. Bernardus lays out his vision of the three modes of life in a comment on an allusion to Pallas in the *De nuptiis*,<sup>35</sup> which leads him to a long discussion of the contest among the three goddesses:

Similarly a contest arises among the three goddesses because it is unclear which of the three modes of life is most excellent. These three are the practical life, the theoretic, the philargic. The practical life is, however, the same as the active because it consists of affairs of the world. The theoretic life is the same as the contemplative: it is the removal of the soul from terrestrial concerns coupled with the investigation of the mysteries of nature; the philargic life is the voluptuous life, the carnal appetite of corruption without the reputation of honesty. Those in power practice the first, philosophers the second, Epicureans the third.<sup>36</sup>

Pallas represents the philosopher's life of contemplation, removed from the things of the world; opposite her is Venus, the Epicurean life of devotion to carnal desire; between them stands Juno, the "prelate's" life of "business." Etymologically, Bernardus goes on, Juno derives from "iuvat novos" [she assists new men], and it is with her that a man ought to begin. Paris picks Venus over Pallas and Juno because "sensualitas voluptatem, contemplatione et accione neglectis, eligit" [with action and contemplation shunned, man chooses plea-



tures instead].<sup>37</sup> Bernardus's explication emphasizes that the final goal of the wise man remains contemplation of the divine and an ascent above mere *temporalia*, but that wisdom first demands involvement in the practical world of daily experience, of words, of science, and of human conduct. Integumentally man's way to wisdom requires the rejection of one woman's favors in return for a sequence of favors from two others.

Later in his commentary on Martianus's allegory, Bernardus imports a story about two Old Testament sisters to help distinguish the *vita activa* and the *vita contemplativa* and to give *actio* its own dignity. At the point in the *De nuptiis* when Mercury and Apollo are turned into planets as they rise up to heaven, the two gods take with them all the Muses except Thalia, patroness of flowers and comedy, who remains alone "in ubere campi."<sup>38</sup> Bernardus explains that Thalia represents the person who remains in the flat fields of the practical life without ever moving on to the mountains of contemplation:

Just as the *fabula* signifies contemplatives by means of the word "mountains," so, by means of the word "plains," it signifies those who live a practical life, [that is,] those who in lower places hurl themselves down and produce more fruit than the contemplatives.<sup>39</sup>

From this observation, he moves to compare the two stages to Laban's two daughters, Leah and Rachel: the first blind, but able to bear children; the second sighted, but barren.<sup>40</sup>

There was indeed Rachel with sharp vision, but sterile; Leah, however, was blind and fruitful. Rachel, who is interpreted as "seeing first things," is the theoretic life by which God, the end and beginning of all things, is seen. She contemplates acutely, but she does not produce because she sees the invisible, but she does [not] bestow suitable things of the world on us. Leah, however, who is interpreted as the laborious life, does not see celestial things, but however much she engages in appropriate affairs of the world, so many children has she.<sup>41</sup>

Leah, the "laboriosa," practical life, does not see the heavens, but produces appropriate things of this earth ("temporalia commoda"), while Rachel, the contemplative life, sees the invisible acutely, but does not involve herself materially in the world. Rachel is superior, but neither is condemned. Thalia functions as an equivalent to the active man; chained to the things of the

earth, she is separated from the fully wise who merely pass through the *vita activa*. Though Thalia ultimately wastes her life by delaying too long in “wealth-producing business,” virtue can come from that life:

*In the bosom therefore of the field* Thalia delays because the virtue of an active man is doubled in affairs (*in negotiis*) of wealth. Those who in these affairs conducted themselves wisely by experience and by training gather virtues upon virtues.<sup>42</sup>

Though Bernardus never makes clear the range of meaning he intends for *negotium*, he stresses that any person’s human worth grows with wise involvement in the temporal, with experience and training, though at last one sees God most fully in this sublunar life when one “ab accione ad contemplationem se convertet.”<sup>43</sup> In this version of the discussion, the erotic level of human experience (Venus in the story of Paris) is subsumed in the literal level of the Bible story, which points, at the allegorical level, to the other two-thirds of the trio—a transformation of the erotic into the intellectual. Jacob lusts after Rachel, serves Rachel’s father for twice seven years for the right to lie with her, and is finally given her only after he first takes her sister. That initial, literal experience of human desire, that fact—God’s writing in history—spawns the story and the exegesis that interprets Leah and Rachel as a sequence of two life stages. Jacob is the wise man who will ultimately be called “Israel” (Gen. 32:28), that is, “seeing God,” when he moves from action to contemplation.<sup>44</sup> Bernardus’s main point is simply that active participation in the affairs of the world should ideally yield to a more philosophical life. The human soul by its nature fears the journey it ought to take and tends to remain earthbound, like the Muse Thalia unable to follow Mercury and Apollo to the heavens.<sup>45</sup> But if pleasures must be left, Bernardus comes close to asserting that even erotic desires might constitute a first step in the ascent to God.<sup>46</sup>

#### MAKING NEW MYTHS

Three cosmological works written in the twelfth century, Bernardus Silvestris’s *Cosmographia* (ca. 1147–48) and Alain de Lille’s *De planctu naturae* (ca. 1160–65) and *Anticlaudianus* (ca. 1181–84),<sup>47</sup> provide access to a set of philosophical attitudes that also found expression in erotic Latin lyrics. All these books expose the anxious and ambiguous feelings with which humanist clerics might contemplate themselves and the poetry they read and wrote. They make evident the complex relationship their authors understood to exist

between words and the natural world those words can embody, between verbal and erotic activity, between a philosopher-poet's craft as a writer and his human sexuality.

As did the commentaries we just touched upon, humanist cosmographies processed Neoplatonic philosophy and literary history and served as the intellectual filter through which earlier works were passed. Only a few erotic lyrics from the twelfth century depend verbally on the longer works, but these three allegories do offer an elaborate and philosophized discussion of many of the same issues that concern the Latin erotic poets.<sup>48</sup> All three interest themselves in the erotic, in the way human desire and the creative urge function to define a man's place in the universe. Each of them lays out in its own way the difficult chain of causes that links God's unfathomable and atemporal unity to the divinely ordered multiplicity of the sublunar, a series of stages that begins before creation and ends in the time-bound material reality of which mankind forms the most important part. Such a hierarchical, intelligible sequence of hypostases—God and his Neoplatonic emanations—provided theorists with a way to imagine the transmission of God's originary creative impulse through the cosmos. This system, at once ridiculously concrete and hopelessly abstract, formed one basis for contemporary poetic constructions of humanity's own desire.

Bernardus Silvestris divides his midcentury epic of creation into two sections: the "Megacosmos," or "Greater Universe," describing the "ordered disposition of the elements" [*ornatus elementorum*] and the "Microcosmos," or "Lesser Universe," concerning the formation of man as the completion of the cosmic plan, a unique creature existing between animal and God.<sup>49</sup> The "Megacosmos" begins with the conjunction made between *Natura* and *Noys* in order to convert the primal chaos of *Silva*, or *Hyle*, to peace, love, law, and order ("pax," "amor," "lex," "ordo"), all qualities *Silva* lacks, but naturally longs for.<sup>50</sup> *Noys*, the second hypostasis and the direct emanation of pure divinity, is the "unfathomable mind" of the universe ("*mens profunda*"), the "supreme image" [*ymago prima*], the "goddess born of God" [*deus orta deo*],<sup>51</sup> the "wisdom of God" [*sapientia dei*].<sup>52</sup> *Endelechia*, the third hypostasis and the point of conjunction between the material and the spiritual, is in turn produced from *Noys* "by a sort of emanation" [*quadam velud emanatione*],<sup>53</sup> and constitutes the "soul" of the cosmos ("*Anima*"),<sup>54</sup> destined to be married to the world spawned of *Hyle/Silva*. Parallel to, but lower down on the chain than, *Endelechia* is *Natura*, also the offspring of *Noys* ("*uteri mei beata fecunditas*," *Noys* says to *Natura*),<sup>55</sup> who seeks to cultivate and make beautiful the universe. Lower still, the hazy figure of *Imarmene* "disposes, joins together,

and rejoins" [disponit, textit, et retexit]<sup>56</sup> the things of the universe in temporal sequence; she constitutes the final intelligible level above the sensible manifestations of individual, sublunar creatures. Bernardus seems to have a sequence of hypostases like this in mind:

First Hypostasis	Second Hypostasis	Third Hypostasis	Fourth Hypostasis	Fifth Hypostasis
God→	Noys→	Endelechia/ Natura→	Imarmene→	Actualia

He splits the third hypostasis into two "complementary phases" to account for the awkward moment when Ideas begin to assume some sort of material being, in line with a similar division found in Macrobius.<sup>57</sup> Working under the will of God, Noys and Natura bring about the transformation of Hyle/Silva, who despite her newly ordered form remains a difficult character in the drama.

Continuity in the sublunar realm is preserved through the constant recreation of plant and animal life under the auspices of Nature, so that

Coniugis in gremium Love descendente novetur  
 Mundus, et in partu turgat omnis humus, . . .  
 In silvis volucres, pisces generentur in undis,  
 Floreat omnis ager, frondeat omne nemus.

*[when Jove descends into the lap of his spouse, the world is renewed, and all the earth swells with new life; . . . that birds may be engendered in the forest, fish in the seas, that all the fields may flower, and all the groves put forth new leaves.]*<sup>58</sup>

The final creation of man himself takes place in "Gramision,"<sup>59</sup> an Edenic garden of perpetual spring located at the eastern limit of the world, filled with "whatever pleasurably arouses sensual desire, be it tree, grass, or herb" [quicquid deliciosos voluptate sensus irritat—plantas, herbas, odoramenta, species],<sup>60</sup> a purified nursery for the birth of an ideal man. Within this world of sensual productivity, Noys recites an elegiac poem to man's unique place in the scheme of creation that leaves us with a vision of a creature "in harmony with the dual principles of his existence" [sic principiis congruus esse suis]. Thus man "may at once cherish things divine and have charge of earthly life" [ut divina colat, pariter terrena capessat],<sup>61</sup> understanding all the mysteries of the created world and patterning the course of his life after the ordered revolutions of the cosmos. His eternal and spiritual part returns ultimately to the

spheres, while his material part dies and takes part in the cycle of reproductive activity. In his ideal form man stands at the heart of natural animal fecundity and intellectual understanding—a microcosm of the original creative impulse in the divine mind of God.

In two poems in elegiacs at the end of the work, Bernardus champions human sexual activity as essential to the fulfillment of the divine plan. Both poems are part of the final book of the *Cosmographia*, a scientific overview of man as he was created by God.<sup>62</sup> Bernardus surveys man's form through the senses, beginning with sight, in decreasing order of importance. Sight and hearing get the bulk of his attention;<sup>63</sup> last and most lethargic, touch follows after taste and smell:

Tardior est tactus quam qui diiudicat escas,  
 Quam qui captato sensus odore venit.  
 Militat in thalamis, tenero quoque servit amori  
 Tactus, et argute sepe probare solet  
 Aut castigato planum sub pectora ventrem,  
 Aut in virgineo corpore molle femur.

*[The touch is yet more sluggish than the sense which judges food, or that which comes into play when a scent is drawn in. Touch campaigns in bed, serves the cause of tender love, and is given to exploring slyly the smooth belly below the tender breast, or the soft virginal thigh.]*<sup>64</sup>

If the military language makes us suspect Bernardus of an attempt at Ovidian humor, the brief moment remains strikingly erotic and uncritical, invoking the whole world of the *Ars Amatoria* and the *Amores* and evocative not just of reproduction for the cold purpose of meeting Nature's quotas, but of genuine sexual pleasure as part of a post-Edenic existence. After the senses, Bernardus moves on to discuss the mutual interactions of the major organs of the body, some of which likewise contribute to erotic enjoyment. The liver, the final organ he deals with, receives blood cleaned by the spleen "so that the sensual appetites of its master are served only by healthy fluids and pure blood" [Ut veris succis et tantum sanguine puro / Pascatur domini deliciosa fames]. It also functions as the dwelling place of physical delight: "for natural desire dwells in the region of the liver, and love is indeed a fell tyrant over our flesh" [Insidet has epatis partes innata voluptas / Et gravis in nostra carne tyrannus amor].<sup>65</sup>

A note of warning marks the transition to the concluding section of the poem—a description of the proper use of the "wanton loins" [lascivum . . .

inguen]—where the same military metaphor used for touch reappears. Though the process of procreation must be carefully hedged around with order, Bernardus stresses that the act itself is a noble, even heroic one: “enjoyable and profitable, so long as the time, the manner, and the extent are suitable” [locundusque tamen et eorum commodus usus / Siquando, qualis, quantus oportet erit].<sup>66</sup> Two tutelary *genii*, armed with the *mentula*, and fighting “unconquered against death with their life-giving weapons” [Cum morte invicti pugnant, genialibus armis] wage a perennial battle against the Fates in order to assure the constant renewal of the human species.<sup>67</sup> Bernardus recalls here, in a human medical parallel to the divine originary act, the production of sperm in the brain, their transmission by blood, and their shaping by the hand of Natura.<sup>68</sup> Sex guarantees the survival of sublunar species. It is a creative force, limited and material, but part of the power that first created the universe:

Secula ne pereant, descisaque cesset origo  
 Et repetat primum massa soluta chaos,  
 Ad Genios Fetura duos concessit—et olim  
 Commissum geminis fratribus—illud opus.  
 Cum morte invicti pugnant, genialibus armis:  
 Naturam reparant, perpetuantque genus.

*[Lest earthly life pass away, and the process of generation be cut off, and material existence, dissolved, return to primordial chaos, propagation was made the charge of two genii, and the act itself assigned to twin brothers. They fight unconquered against death with their life-giving weapons, renew our nature, and perpetuate our kind.]*<sup>69</sup>

The materiality of sexual reproduction makes it a worrisome process for Bernardus, but the act must occur to fulfill a divine purpose and partakes of the divine idea that orders the cosmos and creates man’s unique double place in it. At his most optimistic, Bernardus offers an idealized but erotic vision of man’s participation in the joyful and ordered work of Natura, bringing out, as Winthrop Wetherbee puts it, “the implications of divinity” suggested by the “animal act.”<sup>70</sup>

As a whole, the *Cosmographia* constitutes a quite startling attempt to define a powerful clerical self, at once philosophical and broadly fecund. Bernardus glorifies human male sexual activity as the noble means to continue God’s originary plan in the sublunar. Writing, the cleric’s essential craft,



comes to be seen implicitly as a reflection of supratemporal ideas. Bernardus's play with the metaphor of the book of the world in the "Microcosmos" section of the *Cosmographia* fashions a complex representation of three stages of the chain of intermediary causes sketched above linking man and all sublunar creation to the divine will.<sup>71</sup> Noys appears before Physis, who is sitting in the Eden of Gramision with Natura and Urania; these last two have just joined Physis after their own journey through the spheres. Noys announces to them the "final object of her will," the creation of man in a three-part process:

This task imposes an obligation on each of you, for it is threefold: the composition of soul from Endelechia and the edifying power of the virtues; the composition of a body by the conditioning of matter; and the formative uniting of the two, soul and body, through emulation of the order of the heavens. The first task plainly belongs to Urania, the second to Physis, the third, O Nature, to you.<sup>72</sup>

Noys gives each of the goddesses an aid in the formulation of the complete human being: (1) to Urania, the Mirror of Providence ("providencie speculum"); (2) to Natura, the Table of Destiny ("tabula fati"); and (3) to Physis, the Book of Memory ("liber recordationis"). In the first, made of glass and infinite,

there lived ideas and exemplars, not born in time and destined not to pass away in time. . . . [It is] the eternal mind, in which resides that unfathomable understanding.

The second, made from wood, huge, but finite, shows "products of the temporal order" [temporales . . . eventus], and is "the sequence of those things which come to pass by the decrees of fate" [eorum que geruntur series, decretis fatalibus circumscripta]. It reveals the "long chain of fate and history" [longa longis hystoriis fatorum series] that proceeds from the first man and it shows how ceaselessly over time:

species and form come together with substance, and the marvelous means whereby they receive the impress of divine ideas.

The third aid, a book, and a poor brief thing "compressed into a few scant pages" [pagina pauciore contentus], is



written not in ordinary letters, but rather in signs and symbols, . . . [and] is nothing else but the intellect applying itself to the study of creation, and committing to memory its reasoning, based often upon fact, but more often upon probable conjecture.<sup>73</sup>

These three objects represent three succeeding stages in the ultimate manifestation of the divine will in the sublunar world, with God above all as the implied first stage. In Bernardus's ontology, each step marks both a contraction of vision (from "infinite" to "vast" to "a few scant pages") and an increasing murkiness and coarseness in the form of communication ("glass" to "wood" to "vellum"; perfected images, to cruder images, to symbols).<sup>74</sup> The third stage seems to represent something like the human soul or mind properly at work in its continuous attempt to understand the material world:

<i>First Hypostasis</i>	<i>Second Hypostasis</i>	<i>Third Hypostasis</i>	<i>Fourth Hypostasis</i>	<i>Fifth Hypostasis</i>
God→	Noys→	Endelechia/ Natura→	Imarmene→	Actualia
	(Mirror)	(Table)	(Book)	(Human Writing)

The metaphors of mirror, table, and book, which in the introductory summary Bernardus calls "three kinds of speculative knowledge" [*ternae speculationes*],<sup>75</sup> may result from an elaboration of the discussion of mirrors in *Timaeus* 46A–C. Whatever their source, they reproduce the three middle hypostases, that is, those accessible to human thought. The Mirror of Providence shows the eternal mind of Noys, the Table of Destiny shows creations subject to temporality—Nature's realm—and the Book of Memory shows, in an interesting fusion, human thought and the work of Imarmene. The unspoken final stage in Bernardus's sequence would be the retranscription and interpretation of the Book of Memory from its abstruse and mysterious symbols of intellection into the things of the world and into actual writing, words of "ordinary letters," the physical manifestation of clerkly *auctoritas*, such as Bernardus's own book about the world and man. At each stage of the three-part sequence (mirror, table, book) a kind of writing takes place, and the last of these three elevates the literal pen and vellum to a metaphor for thought and so contains the unexpressed final stage. Like procreation, human thought and writing are reified fragments of what was a unitary act of creation in the divine mind. Human writing clearly occupies a special place in the chain of causes if only because it manifests in the world the activity of transcription imagined for the hypostases ranged above it.

Along with the works of Bernardus Silvestris, Alain de Lille's also provide good evidence of the philosophical discussions going on behind the most sophisticated erotic lyrics produced in the mid-to-late twelfth century, and they give us a road map of the anxieties and attitudes school-trained clerics might have about their own sexuality. Alain's *De planctu naturae*, composed ten to fifteen years or so after the *Cosmographia*, defines even more explicitly a clerical self that might find a reflex in the erotic lyric, and which might in theory justify such writing as a natural part of intellectual life or a creative exercise in line with the productive demands of the universe. In a massive elaboration of the book of the world topos we saw deployed in Bernardus, Alain describes God's visible ordering of the cosmos as a grammar, written with actions, but as grammatical and regular as human language. Man participates in God's order through all his acts, but especially through his writing, and he is the only part of creation capable of breaking that order, causing a "general rupture of the bond of divine love. . . . The grammatical *vitium* of man stands for a greater *vitium* that breaks the chain of divine love uniting man to God and the cosmos."<sup>76</sup> Alain suggests that the energy that holds the great cosmic chain together is simultaneously emotional, intellectual, and sexual, a single multivalent force. The complex of interrelationships among an infinity of parts can reveal itself metaphorically through language, and in some fundamental albeit inexplicable way the universe operates from top to bottom as a linguistic entity. Grammar occupies one terminus in a procreative chain beginning in the mind of God.<sup>77</sup> Human *verbal* grammar and human *sexual* grammar are ontologically equivalent in Alain's system of descent from God, as they were also implicitly in the *Cosmographia*. A man's writing and his sexual activity are not just metaphorically related, but equivalent in some "real" way; as ontologically parallel manifestations of God's originary idea both activities implicitly participate to the same extent in God's divinity.

A long, prose *effictio* of Natura follows the opening complaint in the *De planctu*, and its details hint at Alain's fundamental ambivalence about even correctly ordered sexuality. Natura is a figure at once erotically desirable, yet like Diana perpetually chaste; her dress, an *imago mundi*, displays the perfect order of the cosmos, except in the place where man has marred it with his disobedience.<sup>78</sup> In the portion of the *ecphrasis* that shows mankind's rightful function, the dress has been torn across a section where "man, divesting himself of the indolence of self-indulgence, tried to run a straight course through the secrets of the heavens with reason as charioteer."<sup>79</sup> This passage points up Alain's general concern about disordered love of any sort, and the human tendency to become intoxicated by materiality ("*sensualitatis . . . debriatus*")<sup>80</sup> at



useful in his portrait of Desire are only a part of the larger pattern of metaphorical circumlocution alluded to earlier: he uses grammatical play to suggest connections, through the chain of Neoplatonic intermediate causes, between all human creative activity and divine creation.

As the work progresses, the trope grows in importance and comes to occupy a central place in the scheme of the allegory. The metaphorical equation of grammar and sexual activity has a long history, and in some ways for Alain the grammatical metaphor is just gilding, ornamentation, a playful shorthand.<sup>84</sup> Certainly the language of grammar provided a vehicle for lascivious jokes and learned erotic foolery through its vocabulary of sexual double-entendre; of copulations and subordinations; passives and actives; male, female, and neuter; genitives and datives; declension and barbarism. In the *De planctu*, we see the surface of the figure worked over a good deal, but at the same time find evidence of its deeper significance. Alain's fullest development of the grammatical metaphor begins in *prosa* 4 with the introduction of a "solecistic" Venus who injures Natura at man's request ("Homo . . . in me soloecistice Veneris armat iniuriam"). Deaf to the "modulated strains" of Natura's cithern, man alone of all creation follows "mad Orpheus' lyre" [*delirantis Orphei lira delirat*] and introduces barbarisms of gender into his writing: "Abandoning in his deviation the true script of Venus, he is proved to be a sophistic pseudographer" [*A Veneris ergo orthographia deuiando recedens sophista falsigraphus inuenitur*].<sup>85</sup> Alain goes on to recall the ways of God's regulation of the sublunar that he touched on earlier:

It was His will that by a mutually related cycle of birth and death, transitory things should be given stability by instability, endlessness by endings, eternity by temporariness and that the series of things should ever be knit by successive renewals of birth.<sup>86</sup>

At this point of wide cosmic perspective the fuller ramifications of the grammatical metaphor appear, and the metaphor merges fully into the allegory and ceases to be ornamentation. Natura, as depicted in Alain's *prosa* 2, is a writer, visible in her most iconographic representation as a "star-like beauty" with slate tablets and a reed pen, sketching images that fade and are constantly redrawn, giving them continuity rather than permanence.<sup>87</sup> God moves her writing directly: "for," she says, "my writing-reed would instantly go off course if it were not guided by the finger of the superintendent on high."<sup>88</sup> Natura, in turn, makes use of Venus as an artisan subdelegate, who puts the finishing touches onto the species of things with the help of Hymenaeus and Cupid.

Venus, too, has a pen and should write according to all the grammar she has learned from her teacher Natura:

I also had bestowed on her an unusually powerful writing-pen for her work so that she might trace the classes of things . . . on suitable pages . . . so that she might not suffer the same pen to wander in the smallest degree from the path of proper delineation into the byways of pseudography.<sup>89</sup>

Venus's good name is established by the rule of Natura and remains intact only so long as she follows the artistic and aesthetic precepts of her mistress. By abandoning true writing for "pseudography," the impure Venus infects the world in an almost "universal conflagration"<sup>90</sup> and inspires the spread of all the other vices (the subject of *prosa* 6).

Natura's other subdelegate emerges near the end of the work (*prosa* 9 and 10) when she summons Genius, her priest, to read the excommunication of lawbreakers and remove them from the "things of Nature." A *senex puer*,<sup>91</sup> Genius writes on vellum with a reed pen:

On this, with the help of the obedient pen, he endowed with the life of their species images of things that kept changing from the shadowy outline of a picture to the realism of their actual being. As these were laid to rest in the annihilation of death, he called others to life in a new birth and beginning.<sup>92</sup>

When he writes with the right hand, men and women blessed with ideal qualities (beauty, strength, etc.) are portrayed; when he switches to the left hand, from "orthography to pseudography," darker images appear (lust, cowardice, etc.).<sup>93</sup> Genius is morally neutral in himself, near the bottom of the chain of creators, able to produce creatures of all mixtures of vice and virtue, according to the effects of one Venus or the other.

In this representation of the intermediate stages between the divine idea and the physical materiality of the book of the world, Alain only roughly follows Bernardus Silvestris. Where Bernardus expresses his vision in a cluster of three discrete images (mirror, table, book) that hints at the literary nature of creative activity, Alain sees every stage from God's first idea of creation to the copulation of individual creatures as a form of writing, with each stage below the originary moment mimicking the divine in its literariness. Alain focuses

most carefully on the lower levels of the chain of causes, between Natura and the realm of man and *actualia*. Noys, who was so central to the *Cosmographia*, appears only incidentally in the *De planctu*; her presence in the chain of causes is reduced to that of the “finger” of God guiding Natura’s pen.<sup>94</sup> Endelechia appears not at all, giving Natura the whole of the third hypostasis to herself. In the ontological fourth position, below Natura and in place of Imarmene, Alain allows a proliferation of figures—Venus, Hymenaeus, Genius, Desire, and Sport—dominated by the two writers, Venus and Genius, who make up the “complementary phases” of this complex hypostasis. Thus:

First Hypostasis	Second Hypostasis	Third Hypostasis	Fourth Hypostasis	Fifth Hypostasis
God→	Noys→	Natura→	Venus/Genius→	Actualia
	(Finger?)	(Pen)	(Pen/Pen)	

This version of the Neoplatonic chain makes literary the third and fourth hypostases (Alain’s three images are, so to speak, a notch lower than Bernardus’s), with Venus and Genius representing different aspects of Bernardus’s Book of Memory.<sup>95</sup> Genius stands on the lowest, overtly expressed rung of the allegory’s ontological *scala*, a multifaceted figure, literary and sexual. His transitory drawings, showing a mixture of good and evil, correspond to something like “imagination,” while at the same time Alain’s figure bears a close relationship to the odd pair of *genii* who oversee human reproductive activity in the *Cosmographia*.<sup>96</sup> Again we have an implied fivefold system with God at the top and materiality at the bottom. The unspoken lowest ontological level in the *De planctu*, as in the *Cosmographia*, consists of the actual man writing the actual book in the actual world and, implicitly, sexually procreating. Here, below the multiple layers of the allegory rising above it, the piece of philosophical literature that is the *De planctu* ties itself into the world of experience. For God, thinking, writing, and creating constitute a single ineffable and eternal act. But as we descend into the material, to our own limited perspective, that superessential unity fragments and becomes confused, so that Natura has to transcribe God’s ideas into pictures and establish rules of cosmic grammar. Below these figures stands the poet-philosopher, urged on by desire and sexual *genii*, endowed with an acquired rational understanding of the world. With one pen he transcribes his own intellectual creations, and with a different sort of pen he inscribes his own small contributions onto the book of the world. Viewed from above, writing and (hetero)sexual activity are the same; viewed from below, God’s unitary creative act and thought becomes a kind of cosmic



copulation. Alain could hardly have done more to exalt the position of the secular cleric than to have sketched such clear ties between what God does and what men, with their different pens, try to do in the sublunar.

We know and they knew pens are penises and writing is a form of sexual behavior and an expression of phallic power.<sup>97</sup> The *De planctu* shows in one more way what various scholars have pointed out are salient characteristics of progressive intellectuals in the period, before the disintegration of the twelfth-century Neoplatonic synthesis: buoyant self-confidence, a sense that science and poetry together constituted the best means of revealing what can be said about the world, and an exaltation of the role of the clerical *magister* in the world and in pursuit of higher truths.<sup>98</sup> In addition, in their own cosmological terms, clerics understood that the love that binds the great chain of being was a very sensual love indeed. Alain worries about misdirected erotic energy, but he could not help but see the phallic power inherent in the clerk's role in the world and see metaphorically, through the vehicle of the language of grammar, how the clerk's literary function and sexual energy were both fragmentary, temporal reflections of the originary act of Creation and the flow of Ideas from the divine mind.

Alain de Lille's *Anticlaudianus*, the third great Neoplatonic cosmology of the twelfth century, serves as a continuation of the *De planctu*, supplying a remedy to the deterioration depicted in the earlier work by showing the steps necessary for the creation of the perfect man, the author's *novus homo*. From one perspective it is essentially a late and complex elaboration of the pedagogical discussion we touched on at the start of this chapter. Of all the works produced in the twelfth-century French schools, the *Anticlaudianus* most completely codifies the humanist program of self-creation. In its own laborious, pedantic, and moralistic way it lays out the qualities that define the new man, the man whose triumph over vice will bring about the apocalyptic return of a Golden Age, a new and perpetual spring when the "earth vies with heaven, . . . the world clothes itself in heavenly splendour, . . . the Olympians bedeck the earth."<sup>99</sup> An odd and daring figure, Alain's *novus homo* is one peculiar expression of the ideal clerk; not "God and man," as Sheridan translates "sic homo sicque deus" in one passage, but "a god and a man," a fully realized human being made a god through the cultivation of his understanding, Boethius's deified philosopher and legislator.<sup>100</sup> Alain largely does away with any complex representation of the Neoplatonic cosmos. God and Noys work together here to instruct a Natura who works unencumbered by the fragmented hypostases evident in the *De planctu* to bring the new man into physical being. The power and danger of eros scarcely emerges as a subject of discussion. Cupid



never appears as a character. The new man is a chaste creature who puts Venus to flight in the apocalyptic psychomachia of the work's conclusion.

After Natura forms the new man's body and yokes the soul to it (in book 7), a series of figures bestow such gifts of character and mind on him as laughter, chastity, modesty, use of reason, and honesty. Central to all these are the gifts of Sophia in the form of the seven liberal arts: first the trivium that he might write faultless prose and poetry (grammar), fight the battle of reason (logic), and ornament his discourse (rhetoric); then the quadrivium that he might understand the earth and the skies. To these she adds "the divine science of heaven" (theology) to create a sequence of study in loose parallel to the various schemes of education alluded to earlier.<sup>101</sup> Piety, Faithfulness, and Generosity follow, teaching what amount to social virtues—how to help others and to be a good friend. Last in the series comes Nobility, daughter of Fortune, whose valuable if pragmatic offerings "shine with less splendour when placed side by side with the previous ones" [*huius dona minore / Luce micant donis adiuncta prioribus*]. For the sake of the *novus homo*, Fortune willingly overcomes her natural fickleness to allow Nobility to bestow the gifts of good birth: "impressive nobility, illustrious lineage, free-born parents, unrestricted liberty . . ." [*Nobilitas augusta, genus presigne, parentes / Ingenui, libertas libera . . .*].<sup>102</sup> Nobility's wealth and status come from an accident of birth and may be lost through an act of Fortune, but in the real world Alain knows one is better off, better able to fulfill one's intellectual and spiritual obligations, if blessed with a certain social and economic status. The matter crops up again in the psychomachia<sup>103</sup> where Alain makes Poverty and her cohorts Pain, Toil, Thirst, Hunger, and Fasting enemies of *novus homo*. In other contexts these could well be the essential companions of a Christian spiritual life, but Alain rejects them, as no doubt would William of Conches and Bernardus Silvestris, because they interfere with the serious pursuit of a scholarly and bureaucratic career. All this finally amounts to a pragmatic reassertion of much of what we found in the *De planctu* and elsewhere—an arrogant faith in the clerk and the power of his intellectual and moral vision to transform the world. However, here in the 1180s Alain has backed away from the optimism of his earlier work and toward a far more suspicious attitude about human sexuality.

As a series of attempts to talk about the world, the three allegories show a vigorous, if anxious, perception of man's integral place in the machinery of the cosmos and of the important and complex function of the urge to understand and create in the lives of men trained in Neoplatonic and humanist studies. If we want to locate one philosophical source for an interest in writing erotic

lyrics in the twelfth century, we can find it in the ideas developed by Bernardus and Alain. Their notions must have contributed to an appreciation among the educated for a mythologically based erotic verse. While the schoolmen were nervous about the place of eros in the cosmos, they sought to incorporate desire into their lives and came to view their lives and professions as driven by erotic forces. In the commentaries examined earlier, we find a concerted effort to visualize the ideal life of a wise man. The good life is a life of change. Like Aeneas, a man should pass through various stages on the way to wisdom, and that passage should include a deep immersion in and appreciation for the things of the world on the way to an ultimate contemplation of the divine. Different sorts of intellectual activities ought properly to engage a person at different times of his life. Humanists rejected Paris's choice of Venus—the life devoted to sensual pleasures—as they worked to accommodate Juno and Thalia and the active life of service in the world. Still, in both the story of Paris and the parallel biblical story of Leah and Rachel, we see the choices of activity and contemplation metaphorically fueled by the erotic desire of a man for a woman.

The *Cosmographia* places a high value on male sexuality and the procreative urge. The *De planctu*, though it condemns nonheterosexual relations, elaborates grammatical metaphors and the fivefold system of Neoplatonic stages, and implicitly equates sexual activity and writing as sublunar reflections of the divine creative process. By the 1180s as represented in the *Anticlaudianus* Alain's reservations about the force of eros dominated his thinking. But we can observe in his work ten or fifteen years earlier the potential for a powerful justification of erotic poetry and the secular cleric's life as an act of creation parallel to the cosmic copulation that began the universe. From all this mythologizing we emerge with the vision of clerics broadly educated and at play with a great variety of texts, involved in the world, philosophically aware of the formidable and necessary power of eros in the universe, convinced of the value of their own sexuality and of their function as writers and creators. For them, at an allegorical level at least, erotic and intellectual desire become the same thing and a reflection of the same impulse that made God make the world; the cleric's choice of career, in this light, is itself an act of eros.

## Chapter Five

---

### Between Grammar and Desire: Erotic School Poetry

**A**BOUT THE YEAR 1225, someone living in England, perhaps a schoolmaster from the East Midlands, put together a handbook on the art of composition containing six treatises by three different authors. Whoever compiled the manuscript had a particular interest in the art of writing Latin poetry: interspersed among the instructional works he included about fifty Latin poems to serve as illustrations for the rhetorical and grammatical principles discussed in the treatises. A number of these poems deal with erotic subjects. Surviving today as Glasgow Hunterian MS V.8.14, the handbook offers us a window into the methods and materials of basic poetic instruction in the mid-to-late twelfth century. It shows how the ways of teaching grammar and poetry practiced by someone like Bernard of Chartres in the first half of the century could be later formalized, and suggests what pedagogical theorists like William of Conches or Bernardus Silvestris meant when they advocated early training in the art of *poesis*.<sup>1</sup> The six treatises include the three major contemporary works available in 1225 offering rules for the construction of Latin verse: Matthew of Vendôme's *Ars versificatoria* (written ca. 1175), Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Poetria nova* (ca. 1202–15), and Ger-

vase of Melkley's *Ars poetica* (ca. 1220–25). Most of the lyrics found with the treatises are also from the twelfth or early thirteenth century, many of them in classical distiches; some are lyrics we know were written by the authors of the treatises, others were likely selected from among student compositions. Such exercises in the writing of poetry provided the practical grounding in literary technique behind all the Latin lyric erotica produced in the period; it is this “school poetry” that I will look at here. But before turning to the erotic lyrics in the Glasgow handbook, I will touch briefly on the quirky erotic poetry of Serlo of Wilton, a mid-twelfth-century English schoolmaster and grammarian. Serlo's tightly crafted poetry occupies a place between the work of an earlier schoolmaster like Marbod of Rennes and that of the rhetoricians in the Glasgow manuscript. His long career in England and on the continent serves as a useful reminder of how easily scholars and writers might move about the Anglo-Norman world. The last portion of this chapter focuses on the Ovidian and Neoplatonist juvenilia of Gerald of Wales, poems, he tells us, written during his student days in France (roughly ca. 1165–75), and preserved today uniquely in Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.7.11 (fig. 4). Gerald's schoolish verse illustrates particularly well one route down which the Ovidian impulses of eleventh-century schoolmasters subsequently traveled.

In the treatises on composition themselves, and in certain of the poems attached to them, we may observe the considerable freedom young clerics and their teachers felt to play with erotic material—either to construct their own verse about the loves of the gods and heroes of antiquity, or to imagine a poetic persona in an erotically charged situation. This poetry continues the old tradition of Ovidian culture in the northern France, while participating tangentially in the Neoplatonists' humanist experiment in the creation of the ideal man, and in the development of a particular sort of clerical self at the confluence of wisdom and poetry. As one moves further from this classicizing poetry of classroom instruction, a transit marked at its center by the shift from classical meters to rhymed, rhythmic verse, which is not taught in the Glasgow treatises, one finds an increasing sophistication in the treatment of mythological material and in the play with ideas about eros and self-identity in the great scheme of the cosmos.<sup>2</sup> Some examples of this last sort of most ludic and most mythographic poetry will be the subject of our final chapters; here I will examine the pseudoclassical erotic poetry lying toward the other end of the scale—the school exercises of exemplary students and the mannered Ovidiana of their masters. Because the Glasgow manuscript holds teaching texts written over a period of close to fifty years, it offers a rare opportunity to look back in time from the insular educational scene of the first quar-

ter of the thirteenth century to the middle of the previous century, when the French Neoplatonists and other scholars sympathetic to broad training in classical literature and science were most ambitiously pursuing their educational projects.

Jean-Yves Tilliette characterizes the sort of poetry advocated by the instructional treatises in the Glasgow manuscript as an “art of patchwork,” a mode of poetic expression created by an in-group of highly educated *docti*, driven by an aesthetic that values the intensive recycling of classical allusion in a stiffly metrical framework. For Tilliette, Geoffrey of Vinsauf’s *Poetria nova* constitutes the “chef d’oeuvre of Latin metrical poetry of the twelfth century,” since it both “announces the norms and puts into practice those same norms” of poetic expression.<sup>3</sup> The poetic model enunciated in the school texts codifies literary values worked out during the late eleventh and twelfth centuries by practicing Latin poets. It is, in Tilliette’s words, a model “mannerist” in its neurotic attention to verbal detail and “baroque” in its predilection for obscurity and for the heaping-on of decorative detail.<sup>4</sup> The “beautiful machine” of the scholarly game (*ludere arte metrica*) grinds out a literary product whose existence primarily furthers the institutional identity of its practitioners. Tilliette’s rather bleak view of metrical Latin poetry after the mid-twelfth century somewhat exaggerates the intellectual sterility of the poetry represented in manuscripts like the Glasgow handbook, but accurately depicts the aesthetic problems postmedieval readers have had when confronted with this verse.<sup>5</sup>

Not all twelfth-century writers of classically based verse, of course, can be simply lumped with Matthew and Geoffrey. Poets and philosophers like Bernardus Silvestris and Alain de Lille, while products of the French schools and certainly mannerist and baroque in their own right, may in fact be seen as rebelling against the “ossifying” tendencies of the treatises. Peter Godman, at least, finds in Bernardus a poet who at midcentury rejects the “polished and sterilized” classicism of Hildebert and the Loire poets for a less technically elegant poetry. Bernardus developed an “experimental classicism,” in opposition to the dominant “conventional mannerism,” which might serve a philosophical purpose by justifying the importance given to the study of *poesis* in some of the schemes of study we looked at in chapter 4. His aesthetic, “Boethian but with a pronounced ‘Chartrian’ flavour,” sought to combine a more restrained rhetoric of poetry with real philosophical content. As Godman shows, even contemporary admirers of Bernardus, such as Gervase of Melkley, who quotes him extensively, failed to grasp the full extent of Bernardus’s intellectual achievement in combining form and content into a meaningful whole, creating a “baroque eloquence” in the service of philosophy.<sup>6</sup> All the works exam-



ined in this chapter are representative of mainstream school-teaching in the second half of the twelfth century: Serlo writes with the verbal obsessiveness of a grammarian; the Glasgow manuscript is a textbook full of poetic models; Gerald's poetry is the explicit product of his school days in France. All are basically conservative in their outlook, restrained in the sorts of claims they make for the poetic self and persistent in their retreat into moralistic responses to the power of eros, even if, like Gerald, they may show some awareness of larger philosophical issues. At the same time the works are distinguishable by their origins and inspiration: Serlo's poems and the exemplary lyrics of the Glasgow manuscript are by and large the mannered exercises of the *docti*, either reworkings of classical moments or "patchwork" set pieces; Gerald's poems, however, in their own way exercises in patchwork and baroque Ovidianism, hang directly on the verse of Bernardus Silvestris and the Neoplatonists. In a limited sense, they participate in the "rebellion" against poetic ossification described by Godman. We might look, then, at the works discussed here as roughly contemporaneous examples of the range of school poetry that would have circulated in elite insular circles in the period 1150–1200.

#### SERLO OF WILTON

The Glasgow handbook was, as we noted, probably copied in the third decade of the thirteenth century, and its earliest preceptive work dates to about fifty years before that. Since Matthew of Vendôme's *Ars* almost certainly represents the distillation of its author's experience as a teacher between 1150 and 1175, we may reasonably consider much of what we find in the Glasgow manuscript as exemplary of the pedagogical ideas being worked out soon after mid-century. The early works of the famous Anglo-Norman schoolteacher, poet, and grammarian Serlo of Wilton also suggest strongly that the sort of poetry found in the handbook was being written for the schools soon after 1150, no doubt in the wake of Bernardus Silvestris's *Mathematicus* and *Cosmographia* (both ca. 1145–50). Serlo's work may serve, then, as an example of the avant-garde classicizing poetry the schools could produce early in the second half of the twelfth century. Serlo himself belongs to a somewhat earlier generation than any of the writers found in the Glasgow handbook, bridging the gap stylistically between late-eleventh-century leonine neoclassicism and the more baroque precepts of later pedagogues. Though he was apparently born and reared in England, as a young man he left home for the schools of Paris and seems to have spent most of his subsequent career in France. His *amatoria* exist



today only in a northern French manuscript of the late twelfth century (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 6765) and may not have had insular circulation. By contrast, his many proverbs and some of his instructional poems circulated widely on the continent and in England.<sup>7</sup> His surviving poems show relatively early evidence of the verbal and grammatical playfulness found in the instructional treatises, and while they look back to the rhyming classical meters popular in the later eleventh century, they also look forward to the mannerist obsessiveness and verbal obscurity found in later classicizing school poetry. Even if his erotic poems themselves do not survive in the insular manuscript tradition, the poet was a prominent member of the Anglo-Norman literati, and his works, many of which must date from the 1150s or before, underline how soon poems in the manner of those found in the Glasgow manuscript were in circulation.

Serlo's career as student and teacher, bureaucrat, and finally a monk in the Anglo-Norman world, models the lives, one supposes, of many educated young men in the middle of the twelfth century. Born around 1110, he was probably in France by the early 1130s, studied at Parisian schools and apparently, like Matthew of Vendôme, knew Hugh Primas, with whom he exchanged epigrams.<sup>8</sup> He may have worked as a cleric in the English royal court in the late 1130s, siding with the empress Matilda and her brother Robert of Gloucester in the civil war, before being exiled from England after Robert's death in 1147; he seems to have been back in Paris and teaching grammar, rhetoric, and poetry there by the 1150s. Serlo was well enough known that about 1167 he was called to Oxford by Henry II, where he briefly taught before becoming a monk. Gerald of Wales writes of meeting him twice in England, once when Gerald was a youth studying in Gloucester and Serlo a Cluniac at La Charité-sur-Loire, and again after Serlo had become abbot of the Cistercian Abbey of L'Aumône in Normandy (by 1171).<sup>9</sup> At the first encounter he met a "carnosus" Serlo who quoted Ovid's *Amores* and spoke fondly of his school days "both in England and France"; at the second, a thin and penitent man "weeping past sins."<sup>10</sup> According to abbey annals, Serlo died at Waverley, England's oldest Cistercian foundation, in 1181.

All of Serlo's lyric erotica, as we just noted, survives only in a single, northern French manuscript of the late twelfth century, consisting of about a dozen works, the majority in either leonine hexameter or unrhymed distiches.<sup>11</sup> They are eccentric Tinkertoy constructions, the learned wordplay of a schoolmaster, presumably composed for the amusement and edification of his peers and pupils over years of teaching. When Serlo writes erotica, the erotic subject generally serves as an engaging topic for a display of technical virtuosity. His

poems have about them an individuality absent from most of the set pieces and mythological reworkings that dominate the Glasgow handbook, in part because he often uses a poetic “ego,” sometimes naming himself, and in part because of the particularly high level of formal and rhetorical wit found in his verse. Ironically, at the same time, Serlo’s work is so resolutely bookish and unpersonal that the erotic desires voiced by his speakers seem safely distanced from the poet himself. Like the erotic poems in the Glasgow manuscript, Serlo’s poems are not largely concerned with eros as a philosophical issue for the cleric, but take it up rather as a convenient subject for the illustration of poetic and grammatical ideas. If ever there was a medieval poet who wrote risqué verse to serve as a “rhetorical model,” it was Serlo. At the same time, it is clear that Serlo, as a gifted poet and grammarian, is, like Bernardus and Alain, acutely aware of the instability and the indeterminacy of language, of the power of eros to disrupt both clerical lives and the rules of language, and, at least by implication, of the relationship between the structures of grammar and the structures of the cosmos.

Three poems found adjacent to one another in Bibliothèque Nationale MS latin 6765 provide a sense of the peculiar verbal interests that define Serlo’s most academic erotica.<sup>12</sup> “Cipre, timent dii” (Öberg 18) is his longest erotic poem—at once a first-person prayer to Venus, a complaint to the speaker’s mistress, and a catalog of the clichés of medieval pseudoclassical love poetry. The speaker begs Venus to inspire passion in his maiden, begs the maiden to make him a god by her love, curses the wounds and sickness he suffers, recalls the erotic follies of the gods, and complains of his approaching death. What drives the work and gives it coherence is not so much the content as the virtuosity of the leonine hexameter rhyming, which both calls up and parodies the excesses of the antiquated form even as it parodies Serlo’s own instructional “Versus de differentiis,” with its long alphabetical series of easily confused word-pairs. So, for example, in the concluding lines the speaker announces his hope for success in love:

Liberor **a morte**: mea, iam meus urit **amor te**.  
 Mors retrahit **morsum**, quia dicis “Non tibi **mors sum**.”  
 Qui meus est, **noster** fit amor: beat hoc ita **nos ter**.  
 Summo digna **statu**, tibi sum, tibi sto—michi **sta tu**!

*[I am freed from death: my own, now my love burns you.  
 Death withdraws his sting because you say, “I am no death for you.”  
 The love that is mine becomes ours: then it blesses us three times.]*

*You who are worthy of the highest rank, I exist for you, I rest in you. Rest in me!]*<sup>13</sup>

Serlo's agenda here is both the large-scale send-up of erotic conventions and their academic reception and some small-scale play with the minutiae of Latin poetic instruction. Another poem, "Pronus erat Veneri Naso" (Öberg 20), invokes Ovid and Venus in its opening line and takes Ovid's unrhymed distich for its meter. Its subject matter is the gap between the speaker's omnivorous sexual appetite and his limited ability to copulate. He loves a thousand girls, but cannot settle on just one and cannot satisfy them all sexually, an excuse for a rumination about the act of coitus that becomes a showcase for examples of rhetorical play with parallel or repetitive sentence structure:

Infestare quidem non cessat oves lupus, hostes  
 Miles, aves nisis, dentibus, ense, pede.  
 Non lupus esuriens una satiabitur agna,  
 Non eques hoste ferus, non ave nisis atrox.

*[Indeed the wolf never ceases to attack sheep with his teeth,  
 nor the soldier to attack enemies with his sword, nor the sparrow hawk to  
 attack birds with his claw.  
 The starving wolf will not be satisfied with a single lamb,  
 Nor the cruel knight with one enemy, nor the fierce sparrow hawk with  
 one bird.]*

On a smaller scale, Serlo plays also with the repetition of words in different forms (e.g., here *placere* and *spes/sperare*):

Opto placere tamen michi dum placet ulla, sed a me  
 Nondum tacta placet—tacta, placere placet.  
 Spe tantum primi coitus amo; spe satiatus  
 Ultra quid sperem? Spe nichil ulterius.

*[Yet as long as any girl pleases me, I want to please her, but  
 She who is not yet touched by me pleases me; once touched, it pleases me to  
 please her.  
 In the hope of a first joining, my love is strong; satisfied in that hope,  
 What more might I hope for? There is nothing more than the hope.]*<sup>14</sup>

The speaker's habits of mind in this poem—desiring, not desiring, desiring again—thus find themselves reflected in the repetitions and parallelisms of the poem's language, the repeated and parallel act of coitus re-created in verbal repetitions. This sort of fooling with repetition and variation over larger and smaller rhetorical units seen in the passages just quoted from "Pronus erat" is intensified somewhat in the opening lines of a poem (Öberg 29) about the speaker's seduction of a virgin that shows triple repetitions of *quidam* and *solus* squeezed into a single distich:

Quadam nocte, loco quodam, cum virgine quadam  
Solus eram, soli sola maligna fuit.

*[On a certain night in a certain place with a certain girl,  
I was alone—though alone with me alone, she was obstinate.]*<sup>15</sup>

Serlo's iterative impulse reaches a peak in "Flos floris flori" (Öberg 19), four lines of leonine hexameter, where the denotative sense of the words dissipates before the verbal play and the poem becomes a weird textbook, declining flowers and spring into an absurdity of words and shifting forms:

Flos floris, flori, florem, flos, flore liquori  
Es nitor equalis—michi das, michi plus specialis.  
Ver veris, veri, ver, o ver, vere videri  
Vis, mea flos pares; spumis rutilas, mage clares.

*[The flower of flowers says to the flower: "O flower, in your blossom  
You are a splendor equal to flowing water. You, who are so very special to  
me, are giving me a flower."*

*The spring of the spring says to the spring, "Spring, O spring, you wish to  
appear in the spring.*

*O my flower, you appear: you are red in the froth, you shine more  
clearly."]*<sup>16</sup>

Such a poem is far more about grammatical forms, the ambiguities of syntax, and the shifting meaning of signs than it is about any objective subject matter. Who speaks first? The "flower of flowers" [flos floris] or the flower to the "flower of flowers" [floris flori], as Dronke would have it? Should "liquori" be taken as a proper noun or a verb? Is the "flos floris" the Virgin Mary? Is she Venus rising from the waves? Is it, perhaps, a flower? Or a flower of rhetoric? How many

speakers are there, and is any of them male? What does it mean that one is given, perhaps, the flower's flower ("florem . . . mihi das")? Would any contemporary reader have experienced this poem as potentially erotic? The poem's verbal density, its lapidary quality, invites multivalent interpretation and plays with the special confusions possible in the poetry of a highly inflected language. The reader might wish for guidance, but the poet cheerfully provides no key to his very odd landscape. Whether or not these poems were well known to the Anglo-Norman academic community, they illustrate the tendencies evident in scholarly, pedagogical poetry after midcentury. Serlo's affection for rhymed hexameter suggests some allegiance to earlier Loire poets, but his works in classical distiches and his interest in strong verbal effects link him to the academic erotic verse that would continue to be produced for the rest of the century and would find a less manic continuity in works like those of Matthew of Vendôme.

#### EROTIC POEMS FROM THE GLASGOW HANDBOOK

The *Ars versificatoria*, the earliest of the three major preceptive works contained in the Glasgow manuscript, was probably composed in Paris as a distillation of Matthew's experience teaching poetry in the schools at Orléans.<sup>17</sup> Matthew of Vendôme, Geoffrey of Vinsauf, Eberhard the German, John of Garland, Alexander Neckam, and Henri d'Andeli all attest to the reputation of twelfth-century Orléans as a center for study of the classics. It was not only a place where boys learned Latin versification, but a major conduit for the survival and dissemination of classical poetry in northern France.<sup>18</sup> Between about 1150 and 1175 two important collections of excerpts from classical and postclassical works, the *Florilegium angelicum* and the *Florilegium gallicum*, emerged from the orbit of Orléans; their wide-ranging contents are evidence of the wealth of literary resources available in the Loire Valley.<sup>19</sup> Matthew's contemporary in Orléans, Arnulf, commented extensively on Lucan's *Pharsalia* and likely also on Ovid's *Fasti*, *Ars Amatoria*, *Remedia*, *Metamorphoses*, *Heroides*, and the *Tristia*.<sup>20</sup> In his glossing Arnulf draws on old Neoplatonic texts—Macrobius, Calcidius, Martianus Capella—to answer scientific questions about the nature of the world and the cosmos, and he cites the contemporary scientific thought of William of Conches's *Philosophia mundi*.<sup>21</sup> He was also versed in the interpretation of classical myth, producing explications that agree closely with the Third Vatican Mythographer and with William.<sup>22</sup> Arnulf's impulse to rescrutinize and rehabilitate classical

poems through intense scholarship complements Matthew's equally aggressive urge to take up and transform classical verse into something newly useful and attractive for his age.

Matthew's *Ars versificatoria* consists largely of examples of distich verse written by the author or drawn from classical authors, most notably Horace, whose *Ars poetica* he quotes frequently, as well as Ovid (fifty-six quotations), Lucan (forty), Virgil (twenty-nine), Statius (twenty-seven), and Juvenal (twelve).<sup>23</sup> Matthew's immediate interest was in the problems faced by beginning students who were learning to compose Latin verse from materials provided by the teacher. His *Ars* aims to help the student of Latin verse move beyond metrics to achieve "the elegant joining of utterances. . . , the expression of distinctive features and respect for the designation of each and every thing"; he was only secondarily concerned with poetry as a medium for philosophical discourse.<sup>24</sup> Among his own poems in the *Ars versificatoria*, Matthew includes a series of verse descriptions of the seasons, of various types of people, of a *locus amoenus*, and so on. These set pieces embedded in a schoolbook codify a tradition of such descriptions that worked its way through ancient authors to Boethius and Martianus and into Bernardus and Alain de Lille. Here, however, they appear without the more philosophical context that produced their prototypes and have essentially devolved into versified collections of attributes.<sup>25</sup> Wetherbee calls the treatise evidence of the "decadence of the Chartrian tradition in the schools."<sup>26</sup> One might say just as fairly that the *Ars versificatoria* shows the continuing currency of a long tradition, and suggests the extent to which a renewed form of that tradition was part of the school curriculum soon after the middle of the century, when Alain de Lille was writing his most important poems. If Matthew's text isn't "philosophical" in the manner of Boethius or Alain, its author was serious about the place of his pedagogy in the production of the wise and good man. As he notes in one of the descriptive poems in the first book of the *Ars*, the poet and scholar takes his place as the "glory of the world . . . exemplar of virtue . . . way to honor," one surrounded by "praise" and "fame" who stands "above all men in character."<sup>27</sup>

Matthew's appropriation of the erotic and sexual is offhand and incidental; he tosses into the stream of his discourse sexual allusions, obscene insults aimed largely at Arnulf, whom he refers to as "Rufus," and eroticized descriptions, without directly addressing either narrow questions of literary propriety or the broader issue of the role of male erotic desire in the world and the schools. Matthew is freely playful with, but not deeply thoughtful about, eros and poetry. Occasionally he uses metaphors that link writing and sexual desire—Davus's erect penis and swollen testicles become an exploding dactyl,



Helen's beautiful face is a page written with words—and at one point he illustrates the concept of periphrasis with two circumlocutions for “concubitus.”<sup>28</sup> Certain of Matthew's descriptive set pieces dwell on the flesh of women. A *descriptio membrorum* of physical ugliness details the corruption of a female body down to the excretions of each orifice;<sup>29</sup> he terms a short description of female beauty an expression of his own personal preferences. In the latter, Matthew attends to face, limbs, and character of the woman, but especially to her sexual aspect, which he points to in language reminiscent of Alain and Bernardus, drawing attention to her “festive” house where Venus, Nature, and human touch come together:

Artatur laterum descensus ad ylia, donec  
 Surgat ventriculo luxuriante tumor.  
 Proxima festivat loca cella pudoris, amica  
 Nature, Veneris deliciosa domus.  
 Que latet in regno Veneris dulcedo saporis,  
 Iudex contactus esse propheta potest.

[Her sides narrow at her waist up to the place where  
 The luscious little belly rises.  
 The abode of modesty makes festive adjoining areas,  
 Friend of Nature and sweet home of Venus.  
 The sweetness of savor that lies hid in the realm of Venus  
 The judging touch can foretell.]

After this foreplay, he concludes the *effictio* with a mythological moment that recalls Helen of Troy's power to destroy cities and bring down rulers, leaving his students with something close to a vision of the teacher's own erect member:

Hec facit ad Venerem, mihi tales eligo, tales  
 Describit quales Vindocinensis amat.  
 Hoc precio Frigios lesit Ledea, rapina  
 Priamide, Troie flamma, ruina ducum.  
 Cur hanc Priamides rapuit si Grecia querit,  
 Illic Ypolitum pone, Priapus erit.

[She contributes to loving; such are my choices.  
 The one from Vendôme describes such as he loves.  
 With such a gift were the Trojans wounded by the daughter of Leda,

*The booty of Paris, the burning of Troy, the fall of princes.  
If the Greeks ask why the son of Priam abducted Helen,  
Set down a Hippolytus there, he will become a Priapus.]*<sup>30</sup>

Like so much else in the *Ars versificatoria* this act of authorial self-projection into the treatise feels very flippant. Matthew took his role as mentor to future poets seriously, but he went about his business with a self-assuredness that allowed him latitude in the way he taught and in the use he made of his classical sources. He assumes a posture that is at the same time vulgar and oddly reticent, personal but distanced through the artificiality of an extremely self-conscious verse. He is contradictory, full of himself, amused, fascinated with the fleshliness of bodies and how that flesh may become words.

A longish poem (Harbert 3) following immediately after the text of the *Ars versificatoria* is a little tale in the manner of a courtly pastourelle and not rooted in classical myth. Modern editors have long recognized that “*Pauca loquar*” provides a mine of rhetorical examples for the classroom.<sup>31</sup> Like the two poems about Pyramus and Thisbe that we will turn to shortly, it takes up the idea of heterosexual eros as an opportunity for poetic gymnastics. “*Pauca loquar*” uses the subject matter of erotic desire as a vehicle for display and experimentation while it parades a clerical self eager to show off its intellectual virility. In its play with grammar and sex, it is very reminiscent of the *De planctu*. The poem describes what amounts to a rape, justifying the attack with the old excuse that women want to be overpowered by men. Here, as is often the case in pastourelles, the force used is in the first place verbal, a mix of logical sparring and biblical quotation, until the final, physical contact in a rush of conjugation. The poem makes the equation of verbal power with erotic power, bringing back together at the lowest ontological level, through poetry, forces that are identical at the origins of the cosmos. Assuming it was he who circulated “*Pauca loquar*” with the *Ars versificatoria*, Matthew probably thought the poem an amusing way to interest his students in poetic method. If we accept the poem for what it is, the classroom humor of an educated, anxious, self-aggrandizing, male, intellectual elite, we will find in “*Pauca loquar*,” besides a rich field of rhetoric, a comic commentary on the clerical and scholastic preoccupation with the sexual power inherent in the substance of grammar and of words.

The poem’s first eight lines define the terms that unify its structure and content. Though the opening distich is obscure, the poet is clearly working to link truths about love with rhetorical truths, and to highlight the fact that his poem will deal with the way words exist and how they “say” things:

Pauca loquar, sed uera loquar, sed fixa loquar, nam  
 que loquar immotum constat habere locum.  
 Dum recolo quid amor, quid amoris opus, quid amoris  
 sit finis, uideo quod furit omnis amans.

*[I will speak few words, but I will speak true words, and I will speak "fixed"*  
*words; for*

*The words I speak are known to have an immovable place.*

*When I call to mind what love is, what the function of love is, what*

*The goal of love is, I see that every lover rages.]*<sup>32</sup>

At one level he is simply stating that he will now speak briefly and faithfully about love, but like Alain de Lille he finds in the language of grammar a terminology for erotic expression. The terms *fixum*, *locus*, and *immutum* or *immobile* are all drawn from a technical vocabulary familiar to anyone who had studied grammar in the schools. Geoffrey of Vinsauf uses them when he discusses rhetorical "conversions," that is, the change of nouns, verbs, and indeclinable Latin forms into other forms "to promote variety of vocabulary and of forms of expression and to help solve metrical difficulties."<sup>33</sup> Each of these groups he terms a *locus*:

Tria tantum sunt loca: primus,  
 Dictio flexibilis per tempora; proximus illi,  
 Dictio per solos casus inflexa; supremus,  
 Dictio persistens immota.

*[There are only three places: first, a word inflected by tense; secondly, a word inflected by case; finally, a word that remains unchanged.]*<sup>34</sup>

When Geoffrey comes later to elaborate on the third and last group of words, he notes that

Vocum quae flecti nequeunt immobile vulgus,  
 In sermone licet tolerabile, tollitur apte.

*[The unchanging array of words which do not admit of inflection, although permissible in prose, are well set aside.]*

and goes on to say that in poetry such inflexible words ought to be replaced by new forms using verbs or nouns:

Forma sit ista:  
 Inspice quid talis vox innuat; exprime tandem  
 Nomine vel verbo rem quam notat, ut nova forma  
 Prodeat et melior quam prima.

[The new form should be this: see what such a word signifies, then express by a noun or a verb the concept signified, so that a new verbal structure results, more effective than the original one.]<sup>35</sup>

Through some punning circumlocutions, the poet of “*Pauca loquar*” appears to equate the conversion of an indeclinable grammatical form into a noun or a verb, with the conversion of an indeclinable *virgo* into something more flexible. From a clerkish point of view, as the poet goes on to show, both operations are an equivalent matter of using rhetoric to achieve a desired end. Though he finally has a serious point to make, the speaker hedges everything he says by admitting, in a little scholastic catechism, that the poem is written under the influence of permitted madness: “*Nam quid amor? furor est. quid opus? disperdere mentes. / quis finis? luctus perpetuusque dolor*” [For what is love? It is madness. What is its function? To ruin minds. What is its end? Sorrow and perpetual sadness]. He excuses his actions as an attempt to know his enemy: “*male namque cauetur / hostis qui uultum pacis habere solet*” [for a foe is badly guarded against who customarily has a peaceful face];<sup>36</sup> so, in the drama that unfolds, the speaker plays a victorious warrior-cleric who has returned to tell the tale of a sexual conquest. The poet knows that eros is a potentially destructive power; here, instead of analyzing it, he treats it as a joke and the woman as something to be worked over even as the poet works words to gain what he wants. The speaker recounts his efforts to gain a “*pignus amoris*” from what turns out to be a forceful and initially immovable *virgo*. She does not trust him (“*iuras omnia—fallar ego*” [you promise everything, so that I will be deceived]), resists him (“*subsannat uirgo mea mecum*” [my maiden mocks me in my presence]), and at first she succeeds in fighting her pursuer off (“*obicit, et superat hac ratione meam*” [with this reasoning she overthrows and conquers my reasoning]). When his words and *ratio* fail him, the speaker offers her gifts, which she rejects on the grounds that her *virginitas* is a far greater gift than any he can offer, a “*uitiorum / consumptrix, carnis pax, animique quies*” [destroyer of vices, peace to the flesh, quiet to the spirit]. What finally moves her to submit is the argument, in language that hints of the Song of Songs and echoes by inversion the praise of the Virgin, that a woman needs a man to achieve fulfillment:

uiro femina iuncta preest.  
 Flos marcens, ramus sterilis, fons aridus, [h]ortus  
 deficiens—sic est nescia uirgo uiri.

*[a woman joined to a man is above others.  
 A withered flower, a sterile branch, a dry fountain, a garden  
 Abandoned—thus is a maiden who does not know a man.]*<sup>37</sup>

Perhaps it is too much to suggest that when the poet alludes in the next distich to the blasted fig tree of Matt. 21:19–22,

Cum Dominus iubeat scindi ficum sine flore,  
 nonne rogata cadet femina fruge carens?

*[When the Lord orders the fig tree without flowers to be cut down,  
 Will not the woman, once entreated, fall without fruit?]*<sup>38</sup>

he has equal interest in the flowers of rhetoric and female “flowers,” and wants to insist on the need for men to convert words to make them flower rhetorically. The allusion to biblical authority finally stops the woman’s protests (“studet ac stupet; horret at heret / pallida” [she studies and is amazed; pale, she shudders and stands transfixed]), and the inevitable conclusion follows in an accelerating tumble of bodies that leaves double entendre behind. By their very animal silliness the last lines emphasize the fun the poet thinks he is having. Between lines 45 and 50 no phrase contains more than three words and of the forty-one words in the section, twenty-two are verbs:

Frons rubet—ecce pudor; lux fulgurat—ecce calor; sed  
 os silet—ecce furor; me premit—ecce rogat.  
 Blandior, accedit; do basia, suscipit; apto  
 complexus, nectit brachia; tango, fauet.  
 Hanc resupino, iacet; uestes leuo, subtrahit; intus  
 crura patent—futuo, gannit; hanelo, probat.

*[Her brow grows red—behold modesty; the eye flashes—behold passion;  
 but  
 The mouth is silent—behold madness; she hugs me—behold, she entreats.  
 I coax, she comes near; I give kisses, she accepts; I furnish  
 Embraces, she weaves arms together; I touch, she favors me.  
 I lay her down, she lies flat; I lift up (my) clothes, she removes (hers);*

*within, the legs lie open—  
I enter her, she growls; I pant, she approves.]*<sup>39</sup>

The *reductio ad absurdum* of the penultimate distich, the abrupt phrases, and the animal noise and action make light both of the “real” situation described and of the clerical battle with words. The poet concludes with a piece of male self-justification that shares in the sentiments of large tracts of clerical antifeminist writings:

Mos mulieris hic est—uult cogi, uult superari;  
uult uinci minimo, uult superata pati.

*[This is the nature of a woman—she wishes to be compelled, she wishes to  
be overcome;  
She wishes at the least to be conquered; overcome, she wishes to submit.]*<sup>40</sup>

But in this case, anyway, we need simultaneously to read “*mos verbi*” for “*mos mulieris*”; the word, too, like the victimized woman in the poem, from one clerical point of view, struggles to be overcome.

Two anonymous poems in the Glasgow manuscript offer academic revisions of the story of Pyramus and Thisbe found in *Metamorphoses* 4.55–166.<sup>41</sup> They are perhaps the most elaborate erotic poems in the collection—pedantic ruminations, fueled directly by Ovid’s own text, on the grammaticality of eros. Advanced versions of school exercises in poetic composition, they combine Ovidian paraphrase with the rhetorical display evident in “*Pauca loquar*,” part of the business of mastering Ovid and the old myths, and molding that heritage into something meaningful to clerical experience. Alain de Lille, as we saw, said he engaged in “jests and jokes” in order to make the erotic subject matter of the *De planctu* palatable for his learned audience; in this textbook, poetry, verbal jests, and jokes help make Ovidian eros safe for students. One of the poems, “*Consulte teneros*” (Harbert 43), follows immediately after Gervase of Melkeley’s treatise, and he quotes from it freely.<sup>42</sup> The other, “*A cunis mens*” (Harbert 52), also follows Gervase’s *Ars poetica*, but somewhat later in the manuscript as part of a cluster of mythological poems that present abbreviated versions of stories recounted in *Metamorphoses*.

Like all the erotica we have examined so far in this chapter, these medieval versions of Pyramus and Thisbe use the material of an erotically charged situation to show students how new rhetorical ideals might be applied to a classical poem: the incomplete “*Consulte teneros*” expands Ovid to 186 lines with-



out finishing the tale; “A cunis mens” reduces Ovid’s 111 lines to 70.<sup>43</sup> Both works make the complete mutuality of the lovers into their central trope: they explore the particular verbal possibilities created by joined entities of opposite genders who are equal and superlative, two individuals who are singular in their uniting passion. Ovid himself played up the lovers’ emotional intertwining, but did not give the nature of their relationship anything like the emphasis found in the medieval poems. He opens his version with the suggestion of the lovers’ equivalence:

Pyramus et Thisbe, iuvenum pulcherrimus alter,  
altera, quas Oriens habuit, praelata puellis,  
contiguas tenere domos.

*[Pyramus and Thisbe—he, the most beautiful youth, and she, loveliest maid of all the East—dwelt in houses side by side.]*<sup>44</sup>

He then stresses their equality in death through the syntax of Pyramus’s remarks before his own suicide:

Pyramus, ut vero vestem quoque sanguine tinctam  
repperit, “una duos” inquit “nox perdet amantes,  
e quibus illa fuit longa dignissima vita;  
nostra nocens anima est.”

*[But when he saw the cloak too, smeared with blood, he cried: “One night shall bring two lovers to death. But she of the two was more worthy of long life; on my head lies all the guilt.”]*<sup>45</sup>

Such hints become the heart of the twelfth-century poems: in these retellings, the erotic situation invites linguistic manipulation, and erotic energy becomes grammatical energy.

“Consulte teneros” takes each step of Ovid’s story and builds out from it, using, for example, twelve lines to account for Ovid’s first four, laying heavy weight on the parallelism of parent and offspring:

Sunt ibi conciues conuictu, moribus, euo,  
consiliis, opibus, coniugiisque pares.  
Nascitur hinc uirgo, puer hinc, redduntque parentes,  
quamuis in sexu dispare prole, pares.

*[In that place are fellow citizens in association, in customs, in age,  
In counsel, in wealth, in marriages, equal.  
From the one a maiden is born, from the other a boy; the parents reproduce  
equals,  
Although not the same in gender.]*<sup>46</sup>

The mention of Thisbe's beauty breeds a long *effictio* (ll. 13–54) that Gervase draws on extensively, quoting eleven of the forty-two lines in the course of his treatise. Like Alain's Lady Natura, this poet's Thisbe is a modest, yet overtly sexual creature, whose "secret place" is concealed, but made prominent by the poet's diction, and linked in the *effictio*'s concluding distiches to Thisbe's intellectual qualities:

Qualis ad ingenium mens callida floreat intus,  
edocet eloquio lingua faceta foris.  
Pectora, mamma, latus, uenter, femur, ilia, lumbi,  
brachia, spina, genu, crura pedesque latent,  
secretusque locus uteri, sua mollis Amoris  
regia metropolis imperiique tronus.  
Larga tamen uel in hiis Nature dextra notari  
argumentosa calliditate potest.

*[What sort of clever mind flourishes within, in accordance with intelligence,  
An elegant tongue teaches by its eloquence outside.  
Chest, breasts, side, stomach, thigh, groin, loins,  
Arms, back, knee, legs, and feet lie concealed,  
And the place of the womb is secret, her royal city  
Of gentle Love and the throne of empire.  
Abounding even in these things, the right hand of Nature  
Can be marked by her argumentative skill.]*<sup>47</sup>

Love's power seems natural and inevitable in this pedantic working out of Ovidian eroticism, the descriptive details carrying on the praise of heterosexual attraction evident in the *De planctu* and *Cosmographia* as part of the broader observations in those works of the way the cosmos functions. The abrupt lists of body parts make Thisbe, despite her strong mind and skill in speech, a thing of shattered and isolated constituent pieces, a worthy but mechanistic bit of the universe to be conquered by male desire. The very secrecy of Thisbe's sexuality suggests the arcana of academic study, and espe-

cially the literary study out of which she emerges—she becomes like a strange book, a place of secret knowledge to be mastered in intellectual struggle.

When the two children grow up and fall in love, the perfect equality they shared changes into perfect identity, expanding the hints present in Ovid's opening lines:

Nodus amoris eos constrinxit, et altera Tysbe  
 Piramus, et Tysbe Piramus alter erat.  
 Incinerata diu tandem prorumpit amoris  
 flamma, nec ulterius delituisse potest.

*[The knot of love bound them together and Pyramus became  
 Another Thisbe and Thisbe another Pyramus.  
 Alight for a long time, at last love's flame bursts forth,  
 And can no longer be concealed.]*<sup>48</sup>

Their secretive nods and whispers across the *rimula* become the occasion for equating verbal and visual communication, eloquence with words and eloquence with physical gestures:

Hic loquitur tacito digiti facundia motu,  
 et lingue tractat eloquique uices.  
 Garrulitas capitis, uerbose simia lingue,  
 motu mentis erat expositiua suo.  
 Angulus hic clausi loquitur contractus occelli,  
 et tacitas audet scribere ruga preces.

*[Here eloquence speaks with the silent motion of a finger,  
 And carries on interchanges of tongue and of word.  
 The talkativeness of the head, ape of the verbose tongue,  
 Was expositive of the mind by its motion.  
 The contracted corner of the closed eye speaks here,  
 And a wrinkle dares to write silent entreaties.]*<sup>49</sup>

These three distiches take Ovid's simple comment on their secret intercourse ("nutu signisque loquuntur") and tease them out into a scholarly meditation on the epistemology of visual signs.<sup>50</sup> This sort of academic fooling with the implications of a classical original is what most intrigues the poet, though the imagery produced—of wiggling fingers, bobbing heads, blinking eyes, and prayerful wrinkles—seems close to ludicrous.

In his *Ars*, Gervase draws heavily on a passage from “*Consulte teneros*” that expands the brief supplication made by the lovers to the wall that separates them.<sup>51</sup> Where Ovid has his characters wish simply for the wall to open wider, and thank it pathetically for having an opening at all, the author of “*Consulte teneros*” uses the apostrophe as a rhetorical opportunity. He begins with several sentences that play with repeated words and sounds and reduplicated ideas, and moves to a long string of oxymoronic constructions:

Cede, precor, paries, ad amantum blanda recede  
uerba—det amotus murus amoris opem.

Inuide, dum teneris non cedis amantibus, ambos  
cedis, et illicito cedis amore furis.

lunge relatiua quos nodat gratia, fedus  
copulat alternum, mutuus unit amor.

Parce relative miseris: nocuisse superbum  
non erit inocuis quos grauis urit amor.

Exhaurit miseros pax bellica, gloria tristis,  
dulcor amarus, egens copia, dirus amor,

Scilla placens, blande Syrenes, leta Caribdis,  
felapidum, uirus mulcebre, suavis amor,

falsa fides, odium mansuetum, dira uoluptas,  
ira benigna, nocens gratia, pena placens.

Sic solatur amor, urunt solacia, lenit  
ustio, lenimen angit, et angor alit.

*[Yield, I pray, wall, withdraw before the caressing words of the lovers—  
Let the removed barrier allow the aid of love.]*

*O envious one, as long as you do not yield to the young lovers, you give up  
both,*

*And through unlawful love you give them up to madness.*

*Join those whom a reciprocal grace binds,*

*A pact joins them mutually, a mutual love unites them.*

*Spare, in return, the sufferers:*

*It will be no source of pride to have harmed the  
innocent whom painful love burns.*

*A hostile peace exhausts the poor lovers, sad glory,*

*A bitter sweetness, deficient abundance, cruel love,*

*Pleasing Scylla, charming Sirens, happy Charybdis,*

*Savory bitterness, sweet poison, agreeable love,*

*False faith, gentle hatred, cruel delight,  
Affable anger, harmful favor, pleasing punishment.  
Thus love consoles, relief inflames, burning  
Soothes, comfort distresses, and anguish nourishes.]*<sup>52</sup>

The voices of the lovers fade, to be replaced by a distanced commentary on the situation, given as if through their mouths, reiterating familiar formulations about love's confusions and dangers. Whatever erotic tension the original story offered is defused by the poem's ostentatiousness and overriding moralism; "Consulte teneros" allows for the presence of a powerful heterosexual eros in line with the theorizing of the *De planctu*, evident in the enthusiastic vision of Thisbe that opens the poem, while it warns students of the dangers created by human passion. Though the poet looks to Alain de Lille for inspiration, he is not engaged in the kind of sexual and linguistic exploration that that writer was. Rather, he parades his familiarity with a certain way of looking at the world and at words, making use of the tale because it permits varieties of verbal acrobatics perhaps not so immediately possible with other subject matter. When the poet comes to the myth's mulberry tree, he pauses again to remind his students that this is a *fabula*, a human invention:

*Que tamen admissis mendaces narrat habenis  
fabula rumores, candida mora facit.  
Candida cerussant nigrum mendatia uerum,  
Nasonemque sapit mixtio falsa uirum.*

*[But the fable, which once its reins are loosened spreads  
Lies and rumors, turns the mulberry white.  
White lies paint the black truth white,  
And this false mixing smacks of Ovid the man.]*<sup>53</sup>

From a more sophisticated writer, like Baudri or Bernardus accustomed to integumental critical theory, this warning might be accompanied by a claim for the philosophical value of ancient myths. In the restricted context of a handbook of poetic technique, we get only a warning—the classical poet is no god, however worthy of emulation, but merely a man and one given to telling lies at that. The "truth" of interest here is the truth of verbal gaming, that the relationship between signs and the things the signs point to is complex and shifting and possibly erotic.

The high level of rhetorical self-consciousness evident in "Consulte ten-

eros" is even more visible in its companion poem, "A cunis mens," though the latter contains none of the extended set-pieces that dominate the former. The greater compression of "A cunis mens" and the fact that it is complete help to make it feel more sophisticated; it condescends less to the reader by allowing the Ovidian metamorphosis to stand uncriticized at the conclusion. Even more than "Consulte teneros," "A cunis mens" builds on the notion of the lovers' complete mutuality, reducing the amount of narrative while elaborating the rhetorical details, so that the lovers come to appear as manipulated ciphers and to exist as parts of speech subject to purely rhetorical rules. Here again there is little concern for the cosmological implications of human sexuality, but desire does create a powerful set of grammatical circumstances.

"A cunis mens" opens by developing the "una duos" trope used in Ovid with repetitions of "utrumque" and an emphasis on the "marks" and "signs" ("notae" and "nutus") by which the lovers communicate:

A cunis mens una duos, amor unus utrumque  
 complicat, et patribus nutus utrumque notat.  
 Pectoris interpres nutus denudat utrumque  
 pectus, et obstructum nota reformat iter.  
 Invidus utrique paries distinguit utrumque,  
 quo magis obstruitur et magis urit amor.  
 Dum uetitum cassatur iter, solatur utrumque  
 rima, quibus reduci limite uerba refert.  
 Voces alternant, alternaque uota retractant,  
 et furantur eis mutua uerba diem.

*[Since the cradle, one mind (enfolds) two;  
 One love enfolds both, and a nod from the fathers marks them both.  
 A nod, interpreter of the heart, lays bare both  
 Hearts, and the sign reaffirms the obstructed path.  
 Envious of both, a wall marks off each from the other,  
 So that the more it is obstructed the more love burns.  
 As long as the forbidden path is brought to naught, a crack  
 Comforts them both, to whom it brings words back through the boundary.  
 Their voices alternate and treat repeatedly their alternating vows,  
 And mutual words steal the day from them.]*<sup>54</sup>

Double, yet single from birth, they experience everything equally; they exchange voices, vows, words across the wall that divides them. They are



interchangeable signs of different gender, marked out by their fathers, signs who exchange signs that are identical. As love drives them together and they take up mutual words to form their plan for a physical meeting, they seem less like the human beings their written signs ought to point toward and more like the pure signs themselves:

Concludunt gressum loca pacta: moratur amator,  
 et cunctatur eum desidiosus amor.  
 Dum sedet absque suo, sibi displicet: exulat a se:  
 querit mente suum, nec redit absque suo.  
 "Alter" abest, sed "neuter" adest, quia cum sit "uterque"  
 quod reliquum, neuter solus abesse potest.  
 Cum sit idem "Tysbe" quod "Pyramus," "illa" quod "ille,"  
 non habet hunc numerus, non habet ordo locum.  
 Sed quid hic faciunt hec nomina, "neuter" et "alter,"  
 "primus" et "extremus"? fas sibi uerba petunt.

*[The place agreed upon concludes her walk: her lover is late,  
 And idleness-causing love delays him.  
 While she sits away from her (beloved), it makes her unhappy: she is ban-  
 ished from herself:  
 She seeks him in (her) mind, and she does not return without him.  
 The "other" is absent, but "neither" is present, because when "both"  
 Is what remains, "neither" can be absent and alone.  
 When Thisbe is the same as Pyramus, "she" as "he,"  
 Neither "number" nor "order" has this "place."  
 But what are these nouns doing here, "neither" and "either,"  
 "First" and "last"? Verbs seek rights for themselves.]*<sup>55</sup>

The effect worked out here accomplishes on a broader canvas some of what Serlo's "Flos floris" achieved—the destabilization of the meaning of words. In the course of Thisbe's rumination on her lover, the "locus" of their planned tryst (l. 25) becomes an abstract grammatical "locus" (l. 32) and their names become nouns ("nomina") and various pronouns and adjectives ("alter," "neuter," "ille," "illa," "primus," "extremus") to fill the empty "locus": to paraphrase William Faulkner, words to fill a lack of clear denotation. Love, breaking grammatical rules, makes them strange parts of speech, singular and plural, genderless yet masculine and feminine, different yet identical. The concluding "fas sibi uerba petunt," which, as Harbert points out, means literally that the

poet will now return to the action of the narrative, points up how much Pyramus and Thisbe are just nouns and their *amor* a way to construct tropes out of the parts of speech.

As in Ovid, the lovers' equality demands an equal death for both, so after fourteen lines of lament for Thisbe, Pyramus kills himself:

Ne pereat par absque pari, par finis utrumque  
claudit, et unanimes obruit una dies.

*[Lest like perish without like, a like end cuts off both,  
And one day destroys the united spirits.]*<sup>56</sup>

Thisbe's death uses the oxymoronic nature of their equality to inspire an oxymoron that implicitly compares the mysteries of grammar and eros to the Christian mystery of salvation.<sup>57</sup> The grammatical status of the lovers, their unity in duplicity, turns death into life, and they are united in death as they were in birth:

Mors inuitat eam: quid agat? cupit anxia mortem  
morte sequi—mors est uiuere, uita mori.  
Vt sit principio par exitus, arripit ensem,  
et par transmigrat spiritus ense pari.  
Testaturque necem morus mutata colorem,  
et nigra facta dolet morus utrumque mori.

*[Death summons her: what is she to do? Distraught, she wishes to follow  
death  
With death—it is death to live, life to die.  
So that the end might be like a beginning, she snatches the sword,  
And like spirit migrates by like sword.  
Changed in color, the mulberry bears witness to the death,  
And, made black, the mulberry grieves that both are dead.]*<sup>58</sup>

This anonymous poet, like Alain de Lille, uses grammar to talk about sexual matters in pedantic play. The lovers in "A cunis mens" are not violators of Nature's laws, not "pseudographers" in the manner of those in the *De planctu* who live ungrammatically. The power of desire brings Pyramus and Thisbe together in a way that creates a new sort of grammatical relationship, confounding order and number and gender, but not threatening the structure of the cosmos. In a sense the poem functions as a single, giant oxymoron, demon-

strating the power of eros to confuse the ordinary rules of difference. "A cunis mens" reminds the reader that eros may drive the human mind into creative activity, impossibly unifying opposites at the ontological level of the intellect. When it turns things into signs available to be reconceived, the human mind shows itself most like the divine mind at loving play with the ideas that will be clothed in the material stuff of creation.

The erotic poems of the Glasgow manuscript medievalize classical Latin verse under the guidance of Neoplatonic theory, to produce mannered, pedantic play with poetic language and form that takes advantage of erotic situations for grammatical and rhetorical ends. The grammaticized poetical eros we find in Glasgow Hunterian V.8.14 is a pale institutional reflection of the Neoplatonic vision of a sexualized cosmos and the power of poetry evident in the works of Alain and Bernardus and others. These are, of course, only instructional handbooks for students, and while they show some awareness of the humanist pedagogical agenda, work energetically to refashion classical poetry for the new age, and play complicated verbal games with erotic material, they are not concerned with the more profoundly philosophical aspects of eros or with the broad promotion of the humanists' vision of the ideal man.

#### GERALD OF WALES'S EROTIC POETRY

The poems Gerald of Wales chose to preserve in his *Symbolum Electorum* are also academic exercises, surviving today in a single English manuscript from the thirteenth century.<sup>59</sup> They are examples of a sort of classicizing school poetry, one less controlled by mythological models and less driven by rhetorical and grammatical obsessions than the poems in Glasgow Hunterian V.8.14. They reflect Gerald's training in ancient authors and in Ovidian imitation, and they share some of the mannerist and baroque tendencies common to the school poetry of the period, but they are not nearly as self-consciously ludic as the instructional works just examined. The four poems under consideration here from Cambridge Trinity College MS R.7.11 are in large part a consequence of the writer's admiration for Bernardus Silvestris. They represent Gerald's own version of what humanist scholars prized in metrical Latin poetry in the period: a summary of Bernardus's *Cosmographia*; an *effictio* of the ideal woman—a female companion for the man of the "Microcosmos"; a lyric that plays with the *nomen/omen* issue raised in Bernardus's *Mathematicus*; and a voyeuristic piece on the dangers of erotic fantasy for the cleric, linked to what might be a lyric précis of the *De planctu*. Though they are all highly derivative, at least they attempt to move beyond the decorative set-pieces of the Glasgow

handbook to something a bit more expressly philosophical. They are reductive compared to Bernardus, but more ambitious than most of what we find in or associated with the rhetorical treatises. In his introduction to the *Symbolum* Gerald indicates some reservations about the poems, but he evidently thought of them as works of an earlier self for which he would like to be remembered, the record of something a mature and ambitious courtier-cleric of the later twelfth century thought appropriate for a good student.

Gerald was a product of the same literary and philosophical world that created Bernardus Silvestris, Alain de Lille, and Matthew of Vendôme. Since he was in Paris for much of the period from 1165 to 1179, Gerald's school poetry most likely postdates the *Cosmographia* and is roughly contemporary with the *De planctu* and with the *Ars versificatoria*. His early poetry reflects a mix of conservative moral tendencies combined with a scholarly interest in the beauty of the material world and a strong concern for the verbal arts as promulgated by the humanists of the period. His own "Cosmographia" and the four erotic lyrics that accompany it effectively hold a dialogue with the didactic work produced by Bernardus and Alain.<sup>60</sup> Gerald understands the naturally eroticized cosmos of the Neoplatonists and recognizes the inherent textuality of human desire, but always retreats from a heterosexual eros he finds threatening to the divine *ratio* in which humankind, alone among the terrestrial animals, participates.

Gerald's "Cosmographia" is a 266-line distich summary of a contemporary work along the lines of the Ovidian paraphrases recorded in the Glasgow rhetoric,<sup>61</sup> but it is larger in scope, essentially a series of linked set-pieces about different aspects of the cosmos. Like its model, the poem describes the order of the universe as it results from God's original creative act and locates man in that divine order. Eros is not really at issue: it exists as the progenitive force implicitly required by the structure of creation to maintain the sublunar, appearing most fully in a set piece on the joys of spring (ll. 163–210). Gerald's opening eight lines suggest the reductionist vision he has of his enterprise. Acutely aware of his own inadequacy and weakness in the face of the complexities of the universe—the result of original sin? of the corruption inherent in materiality?—the speaker envisions his search into the workings of the cosmos as an attempt to understand the antagonistic mixture of spirit and body:

Instaurare solent solatia sera dolorem,  
Et renovare magis quam remove malum.  
Contractum vulnus jam coeperat esse cicatrix  
Et mihi languorem sera medela novat.

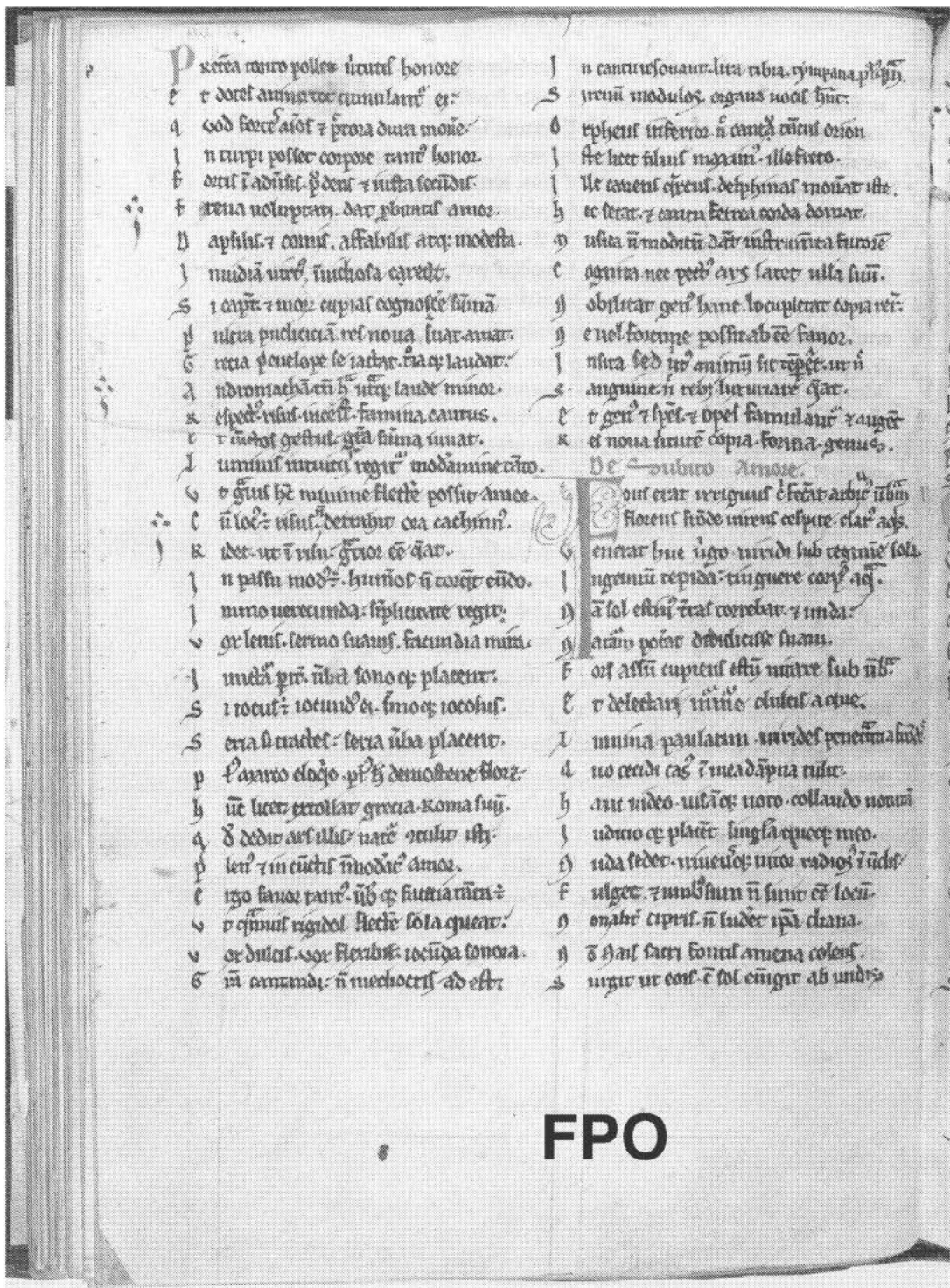


Fig. 4. Cambridge, Trinity College Library MS R.7.11, fol. 40v. This thirteenth-century manuscript contains the only surviving copy of Gerald of Wales' collection of juvenilia, the *Symbolum Electorum*. "Fons erat irriguus," entitled "De subito amore" in the manuscript, begins halfway down the second column. (Reproduced by permission of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College Cambridge.)



Quid mundus, quis vultus yles, quae causa creantis,  
 Quae series rebus, quis sit in orbe status,  
 Quo studio cum mente caro, cum corpore pugnet  
 Spiritus, et curas musa memento meas.

*[Relief come too late usually revives sadness,  
 And renews rather than removes evil.  
 The wound that was incurred had already begun to be a scar,  
 And relief too late renews weakness in me.  
 Muse, recall why the universe exists; what countenance belongs to Hyle,  
 what cause belongs to the one who creates,  
 What sequence exists in things, what form exists in the universe;  
 With what eagerness the flesh fights with the mind, and the body  
 With the spirit; and things that are a concern to me.]*<sup>62</sup>

Whatever is alluded to by the “wound” and “scar” mentioned in the first four lines—perhaps Gerald is simply complaining about how long the poem took him to complete—the story of the first moments of creation, and the heroic struggle of the ordered cosmos to be born out of a resistant chaos begins the ongoing story of the human mind’s struggle to master the flesh. Gerald’s poem is an appreciative summary of Bernardus’s work, overlaid with some of Alain’s anxieties about human impulses. Where Bernardus sets out the detailed sequence of Neoplatonic hypostases, their interrelations, and the complex nature of human existence in the chain of being, Gerald quickly turns to describe the ordered beauty of God’s creation, almost as an antidote to the Manichaeian fears he expresses in the opening lines. In a thirty-two-line introductory passage (ll. 9–40) about the unseen forms and processes of early creation, he imports isolated fragments of the philosophical machinery he inherited from the Neoplatonists: moved by “pietas,” the “naturae genitor” and “princeps . . . deorum” gives *forma* to Hyle through the power of *Mens* and *ratio*, turning *Ydeas* into material reality. Making his way from God’s first transformation of chaos into the elements, through the structure of the heavens and the harmony of celestial motions, to earth with its seasons, its geographic zones, and its plants and animals, Gerald manufactures a vigorous cosmic *effictio*, concluding:

Est igitur mundus rerum concretio concors,  
 Consona congeries, cunctitenensque locus.  
 Massa nitens, stellata strues, digestus acervus,  
 Mobilitas stabilis, officiosa quies.



Nobilitas operis auctori gloria magna est,  
 Plus auctore tamen glorificatur opus.

*[The world, therefore, is a harmonious mass of things,  
 A concordant mass, and an all-holding place.  
 A shining mass, a starry heap, an arranged pile,  
 Stable mobility, dutiful peace.  
 The nobility of the work is a great glory to the author;  
 More than the author, however, the work is glorified.]*<sup>63</sup>

The poet shifts from the macrocosm to the creation of the human microcosm through a set piece on the beauties of that initial spring when the world came into existence. Last created but first among terrestrial creations, “microcosmos homo” appears at an Edenic moment, though in Gerald’s telling without the assistance of the lower hypostases evident in Bernardus and Alain—that is, without the aid of Natura or Venus.<sup>64</sup> The eroticism of the season is captured metaphorically both in Jove’s longing for Juno and in the fecundity of earth’s hot, moist bosom:

Aetheris igne calet aer, Junonis ab alto  
 Labitur in gremium captus amore Tonans.  
 Laxat terra sinum mixtumque madore calorem  
 Accipit, et vario germine plena tumet.

*[The air grows warm with ether’s fire; from on high  
 The thunderer falls into the lap of Juno, captured by love.  
 The earth loosens her bosom and accepts heat mixed with  
 Moisture, and full with various seeds becomes swollen.]*

To a lesser extent, this eroticism is also evident in Flora’s extravagant and colorful play with earth-mother Rhea after Jove has been satisfied:

Tunc Jovis egreditur reserato carcere risus,  
 Et vario pingit schemate Flora Ream.

*[Then, with the prison opened, the laughter of Jove goes forth,  
 And with various forms Flora decorates Rhea.]*<sup>65</sup>

This ur-spring draws Mens to contemplate the sweetness of all creation, and moves him to the final part of the originary drama. The sexualized landscape and the allusion to the *mira dulcedo* that excites the cosmic Mind, and, by

extension, human reason, is the closest Gerald comes to allowing something like the potentially disruptive power of Venus into his cosmography:

Mens igitur mira capitur dulcedine, et in se  
 Nescio quo trahitur exhilarata modo.  
 Perfecto plus quam nihil est perfectius orbe,  
 Herba viret, tellus germinat, unda fluit.  
 Mons pecudes, et silva feras, et sidera coelum,  
 Aer quod volitat, quod natat unda tenet.  
 Succedit microcosmus homo, formatio rerum  
 Ultima, mente tamen et ratione prior.

*[Mind therefore is captured by amazing sweetness,  
 And, invigorated, it is drawn into itself in some way.  
 Once perfected, there is nothing more perfect than the globe;  
 The grass flourishes, the earth sprouts, water flows.  
 The mountain holds cattle, the forest beasts, and heaven stars,  
 The air that which flies, the water that which swims.  
 Microcosmic man comes next, the last creation of  
 Things, however first in mind and reason.]*<sup>66</sup>

Gerald's "microcosmus homo," distinguished most by his participation in the divine *Mens* and *ratio* of creation, finds his erotic impulse in ecstatic appreciation for the natural world and in his apprehension of the cosmos. His body the perfect agglomeration of the four elements, and passing through the four seasons in the course of a lifetime, he takes his reason, spirit, and genius from the divine. From his place between heaven and earth, he looks to the stars and to nature for understanding:

Os sublimat homo, vultumque ad sidera tollit,  
 Et propriam sedem regna superna videt.  
 Colligit ergo duplex, unum natura fatetur,  
 Corpus humum spondet, mens ratioque polum. . . .  
 Naturae secreta videt, rerumque tenores  
 Cogitat et causas, ingeniosus homo, . . .  
 Sic terras habitat, sic coelum pectore gestat,  
 Incola terrarum corpore, mente poli.  
 Quod trahit ex terra corruptio terminat, et quod  
 Contrahit a coeli parte perenne manet.

Vertitur in terram quod terrae est, spirat ad astra  
 Spiritus et propriam quaerit utrumque suam.

*[Man raises his face, and lifts his gaze to the stars,  
 And sees his own seat, the celestial kingdoms.  
 Therefore a twofold nature binds him and acknowledges him as one.  
 Body binds itself to earth, the mind and reason to heaven. . . .  
 He sees the secrets of nature, and he ponders the courses  
 Of things and the causes, ingenious man. . . .  
 Thus he inhabits the lands, thus he bears heaven in his heart,  
 Inhabitant of earth in body, of heaven in mind.  
 Corruption ends that which he draws from the earth,  
 And that which he collects from part of heaven remains forever.  
 What is of earth returns to the earth, the spirit aims  
 For the stars and each seeks its own.]*<sup>67</sup>

This Neoplatonic Adam has little to do with the sublunar creative processes by which the things of the world perpetuate their types. Nowhere does the poem confront or celebrate human participation in reproductive biology. The work, especially the conclusion, gives the impression of a certain placidity, a result of its compression and the poet's lack of interest in philosophical intricacies. Gerald's academic *homo*, his chaste clerical ideal of a man, seeks the scientific causes of things, but exists in a tentatively sexualized cosmos where the worrisome consequences of materiality and the complex linkages between God's creative act and man's various forms of reproductive activity are by and large suppressed.

Following the "Cosmographia" in the manuscript, a shorter exercise in Ovidian poetics confronts some of the major issues deferred from that poem: the operations of Natura and Venus in the sublunar and the effect of eros in human existence. "Mundus ut insignis" gives a highly specific *effictio* of the ideal woman, a female parallel to the idealized rational male described at the conclusion to Gerald's "Cosmographia."<sup>68</sup> Gerald's ideal is not Eve; rather she is the culmination of Natura's long creative experience, a *puella* whose beauty makes her the source of an erotic tension at once threatening, and yet embedded in the order of the cosmos. In the context of the other poems of the chapter, "Mundus ut" may be seen as a sort of literary challenge to the descriptive set-pieces provided in the Glasgow treatises, taken up to provide a figure missing from Bernardus's cosmology to show how a set piece might be given philo-

sophical weight. The opening makes evident the *nova puella*'s position as the particular concern of *Natura*, not *Mens*:

Mundus ut insignis cunctis ornatibus exstat  
 Tempora labuntur, praetereuntque dies.  
 Fatali serie nunc res ducuntur ad esse  
 Nunc pereunt ortae conditione gravi.  
 Feminum decus et specimen, natura puellam  
 Edidit, egregiae nobilitatis opus.  
 Invigilavit ei desudans Cura creatrix,  
 Et quia posse probans experiendo suum.

*[While the world, distinguished with every decoration, exists,  
 The seasons pass, and the days go by.  
 At one time by preordained succession things are led to being;  
 At another, once they have come forth, they perish on account of  
 harsh condition.  
 Feminine beauty and an ideal, Nature brought forth a  
 Girl, a work of amazing nobility.  
 Care, her sweating creatrix, watched over her  
 Because she was testing her own powers by experience.]*<sup>69</sup>

Though in some ways clearly the companion to the male of the "Cosmographia," this woman is a contemporary figure, most akin to the "novus homo" of the *Anticlaudianus*. Unlike Gerald's "microcosmus homo," whose sexuality is never addressed and whose visible physical features are never discussed, the girl has a strongly erotic aspect revealed in the course of the detailed description of her face and body. Her beauty excites the male eye and touch, offering kisses, smooth thighs and *pudenda*. What we don't see is the priapic male author Matthew of Vendôme showed his students at the conclusion of his *effictio* of the ideal woman. Her "renes" guard the "region of Venus," which attracts in order to perform its necessary function:

Mollia labra rubent, os ornat eburneus ordo,  
 Oscula mel sapiunt, nectaris exit odor.  
 Dens ebur, os roseum, labra mollia, succus in illis  
 Dulce sapit, sapiunt oscula pressa favum. . . .  
 Subsistunt renes, et se moderamine quodam  
 Amplificant, subeunt ilia pube tenus.

Plena pudore latent Veneris regione pudenda,  
 Munere naturae digna favore suae.  
 Invitat femorum caro lactea, lubrica, mollis,  
 Lumina, lac, glacies, mollitiesque manus.

*[Her soft lips are pink, an ivory row decorates her mouth,  
 Her kisses taste of honey, the smell of nectar issues forth.  
 Ivory teeth, rosy face, soft lips, flavor in these things  
 Tastes sweetly, her lips pressed with a kiss taste of the honeycomb. . . .  
 The loins stand firm, and, with a certain moderation,  
 Extend themselves; the flanks go down as far as the pubic region.  
 Full of modesty, the pudenda lurk in the region of Venus,  
 In service worthy of the favor of their nature.  
 The soft, smooth, milky flesh of the thighs invites  
 The eyes; milk, ice, and softness (invite) the hands.]*<sup>70</sup>

Gerald compares this creation to a series of classical women—Helen, Hippodamia, Penelope, Andromache—all of whom she surpasses in her ability to inspire love.<sup>71</sup> Natura's greatest achievement and an earthly end of the Neoplatonic chain of causes, the *puella* takes part in Natura's system of sublunar reproduction, but remains controlled and moderated at every point, immune to Venus and most like Lady Philosophy in her combined beauty and chastity. It is her moral qualities, her natural restraint and virtue, that finally define her, not merely the perfect face and body:

Praeterea tanto pollet virtutis honore,  
 Et dotes animae tot cumulavit ei,  
 Quod fortes animos, et pectora dura movere  
 In turpi posset corpore tantus honor.  
 Fortis in adversis, prudens et justa secundis,  
 Fraena voluptati dat probitatis amor.

*[Moreover, she prevails in such honor of virtue,  
 And she has gathered to her so many gifts of spirit,  
 That strong souls and hard hearts such honor,  
 Even in a deformed body, would be able to move.  
 Strong amid adversities, prudent and just amid good fortunes,  
 Love of virtue gives reins to pleasure.]*<sup>72</sup>

She rules herself so that love has no power over her and virtue breeds delight. At the same time, she moves others through a Ciceronian eloquence and Orphic song that are the gifts of Natura, not artificial in the manner of ordinary human communication:

Plus Marco eloquio, plus haec Demosthene floret,  
 Hunc licet extollat Graecia, Roma suum.  
 Quod dedit ars illis, naturae contulit isti  
 Plenus et in cunctis immoderatus amor. . . .  
 Orpheus inferior, nec cantu tantus Arion,  
 Iste licet silvis maximus, ille freto.  
 Ille canens quercus, delphinas moverat iste,  
 Haec secatur et cantu ferrea corda domat.

*[More than Cicero, more than Demosthenes, is she distinguished by  
 her eloquence.*

*Even if Greece praises the latter, and Rome praises her own,  
 What art gave to them, Nature's full and in all things  
 Immoderate love granted to her. . . .  
 Orpheus was less, nor Arion so great in song,  
 Even if the former was greatest in the woods, the latter in waters.  
 By singing, that one had moved oak trees, this one had moved dolphins;  
 This woman wounds and with song conquers iron hearts.]*<sup>73</sup>

The godlike power of Gerald's *homo* lies in the *ratio* he enjoys from his participation in the cosmic *Mens*. Gerald's ideal woman, though surely also a participant in the divine *ratio*, seems to draw her power less from *Mens* than from the lower hypostasis of *Natura*. She becomes quasi-divine herself through *Natura*'s "immoderatus amor"; charged with enormous verbal and musical potential, she uses that power to move "iron hearts." Since, like Alain's "novus homo," she is a creature of the twelfth century, she is equipped by Nature and Fortune with the beauty and wealth she needs to flourish in the social world Gerald knows and inhabits:

Nobilitat genus hanc, locupletat copia rerum,  
 Ne vel fortunae possit abesse favor.  
 Insita sed virtus animum sic temperat, ut nec  
 Sanguine nec rebus luxuriare queat.  
 Et genus et species et opes famulantur et augent,  
 Res nova, virtutum copia, forma, genus.



[Family ennobles her, a wealth of things enriches her,  
 So that not even the favor of fortune can be absent.  
 But innate virtue thus tempers the soul, so that  
 Neither on account of her descent nor on account of her property does she  
     run riot.  
 Lineage and appearance and wealth serve and magnify (her),  
 A new creation, copious of virtues, a form, a type.]<sup>74</sup>

She has her being as the model of a divine idea, unrealizable in the sublunar, an impossible and noble *res nova* against whom other women are measured. In her contemporaneity, she has something in common with the noble women praised in the poems of an earlier generation of poets. Her power over eros allows her to retain her sexual potential, but she finally owes her fealty to Natura, not to Venus, bypassing at least that hypostasis. Gerald does not permit her to retreat into the sublimation offered by the pursuit of wisdom, to the ideal of the celibate clerical male proposed in the *Anticlaudianus*. She exists in a state of tension between her status as an Idea and her function as a player within the system of erotic power that permits the continuity of species.

Of the four erotic poems that follow Gerald's "Cosmographia," the last, "Quicquid amor jussit," comes closest to the obsessive verbal play with erotic situations found in Serlo's work and in the *Pyramus* and *Thisbe* poems from the Glasgow manuscript. Gerald's short lyric may owe its inspiration to Bernardus Silvestris's *Mathematicus*, with which it shares a concern for "the ambiguity of poetic and rhetorical language."<sup>75</sup> Bernardus took pseudo-Quintilian's fourth major declamation as a starting place for his long poem in distiches about a boy named "Patricida" who is predestined from birth to be the cause of his father's death. Bernardus announces his interest in how words denote things in a manner that recalls what Peter Godman terms "the etymological principle *ex re nomen habet*":

Nomen in ambiguo; sed Patricida vocetur  
 Praecipit arcana sedulitate parens,  
 Ut juvenis tantumque nefas tantumque furorem  
     Horreat, audito nomine saepe suo.

[His name is in doubt; but that he is to be called "Patricida"  
 His parent warns him with secret zeal,  
 So that the youth might often dread as much the evil deed  
 (itself) as the mad desire, as often as his name is heard.]<sup>76</sup>

Gerald need not have had the *Mathematicus* in mind when he wrote “Quicquid amor.” The Platonic notion of the “intricate and necessary relationship between words and things”<sup>77</sup> is commonplace, but it would be surprising if Gerald were not following Bernardus’s lead in writing a short lyric epistle that both plays the *nomen/omen* word game and reacts to a classical source. “Quicquid amor” begins with one and a half lines of quotation from early in *Heroides* 4, an epistle from Phaedra to her stepson Hippolytus in which she attempts to justify her erotic attachment to him:

qua licet et sequitur, pudor est miscendus amor;  
dicere quae puduit, **scribere iussit amor.**  
**quidquid Amor iussit, non est contemnere tutum;**  
regnat et in dominos ius habet ille deos.

[Wherever modesty may attend on love, love should not lack in it; with me, what modesty forbade to say, **love has commanded me to write. Whatever Love commands, it is not safe to hold for naught; his throne and law are over even the gods who are lords of all.**]<sup>78</sup>

Phaedra uses such language as part of a pattern of excuses, blaming the power of Amor and Venus for her late-blossoming but inappropriate affections. The poetic “I” in Gerald’s poem, who is not ashamed of what he has to relate (that is, *non eum puduit dicere*), uses the same words to open the courtship of a woman in a licit relationship, offering *verus amor* and *vera gaudia*, not the false passion of Phaedra. The speaker addresses a woman who has the “nomen Laetitiae” but not the “omen,” and his letter-poem is the writer’s attempt both to correct that lack of correspondence between word and deed, and to respond to the *falsus amor* of his Ovidian model:

Cum tibi Laetitiae sit nomen laetior esto,  
Laetitiaque simul nomen et omen habe.

[Since your name is Joy, be in the future more joyful,  
And have at once the name and the sign of Joy.]<sup>79</sup>

Laetitia’s failure to be what she ought, her failure to correspond to her sign, may be corrected through love, since true love leads to true joy:

Si te verus amor vero conjungit amanti  
Percipies animo gaudia vera tuo.

[If true love unites you to a true lover,  
You will perceive true joy in your soul.]<sup>80</sup>

Lurking behind Gerald's rumination on the power of *amor* to create a correct relationship between *nomen* and *omen* is the dramatic situation of *Heroides* 4. Phaedra, recognizing that any erotic attachment she and her stepson have will appear immoral, cites Jove's various affairs as license for her own desire for an incestuous and adulterous relationship:

ista vetus pietas, aevo moritura futuro,  
rustica Saturno regna tenente fuit.  
Iuppiter esse pium statuit, quodcumque iuvaret,  
et fas omne facit fratre marita soror.

[Such old-fashioned regard for virtue was rustic even in Saturn's reign, and doomed to die in the age to come. Jove fixed that virtue was to be in whatever brought us pleasure; and naught is wrong before the gods since sister was made wife by brother.]<sup>81</sup>

Phaedra worries in the *Heroides* epistle about what her illicit passion will do to her own *fama* and *nobilitas*—her good name—but cannot resist Love's pressure to ignore what is right, and she calls what others might say "empty names":

Nec, quia privigno videar coitura noverca,  
terruerint animos nomina vana tuos.

[And, should you think of me as a stepdame who would mate with her husband's son, let empty names fright not your soul.]<sup>82</sup>

Gerald thus sets up his play with *nomen/omen* as a critique of the "amor gravius" that Phaedra admits to in *Heroides* 4.19, insisting that *nomina* are not *vana*. The love his speaker offers will not result in the disintegration of the self that we will see in the last of Gerald's erotic poems ("De subito amore"); rather it will create a fuller integration:

Si cupias igitur cum re tibi nomen adesse  
Elige quem cupias quem tuus urat amor.  
Sum tibi verus amans, verum si quaeris amantem,  
Si quaeris, "quis amet?," sum tibi verus amans.

[If, therefore, you desire your name to be present with the thing,  
 Choose whom you desire, for whom your love burns.  
 I am a true lover to you; if you seek a true lover,  
 If you ask, "Who may love me?", I am your true lover.]<sup>83</sup>

For Gerald, *vera gaudia* and *verus amor*, whatever they may consist of, are linked; the goal of his verbally playful *suasio amoris* is to win a girl, who is herself more *nomen* than *res*. As the poem's rubric suggests, she is a *puella litterata*, a literary sort of girl, lettered and made of letters, the kind of *puella* with whom the speaker feels most at ease.

Gerald's most explicitly erotic lyric, "Fons erat irriguus," also concerns an overtly "literary" female, one constructed out of the rhetorical training of the schools and out of an undisciplined clerical *ratio*. It continues with the poetic "ego" absent from the first two poems discussed, while retreating deeper into moralism. "Fons erat" looks at the force of a semipornographic and highly literary erotic image in the male intellectual's life, drawing once again on contemporary Ovidian descriptions and apparently continuing from a moment in the *Ars versificatoria*, the "descriptio loci" (1.111), that depicts the natural beauty of a spring landscape. Matthew's "descriptio" concludes with a fountain whose "gratia" stimulates the five senses and with a mysterious *virgo*:

Sensus quinque loci predicti gracia pascit,  
 Si collative queque notata notes.  
 Unda iuvat tactum, gustum sapor, auris amica  
 Est volucris, visus gratia, naris odor.  
 Non elementa vacant, quia tellus concipit, aer  
 Blanditur, fervor suscitatur, humor alit.  
 Predicti sibi fontis aquam, sibi floris amicat  
 Blandicias, genii virgo, studentis opus.

[The beauty of the mentioned place feeds the five senses were  
 You to note all the marked points together.  
 The water delights the touch, flavor the taste, the bird is  
 The friend to the ear, and grace to sight, scent to the nose.  
 The elements are not absent: the earth conceives, the air  
 Caresses, heat awakens, moisture nourishes.  
 A maiden, the masterpiece of a solicitous spirit, flatterer  
 Of flowers, befriends the water of the mentioned fount.]<sup>84</sup>

Gerald's narrative proceeds from this point to what is not so much a set piece *effictio* of the maiden herself, as a description of the impression she makes on the hidden observer, followed by an analysis of the narrator's reaction to what he sees. In a quasi-allegorical moment of escape from light into shadow, the observer discovers the girl bathing naked in the stream on a warm day:

Fons erat irriguus cui fecerat arbutus umbram,  
 Florens fronde, virens cespite, clarus aquis.  
 Venerat huc virgo viridi sub tegmine sola,  
 Ingenuum tepida tingueret corpus aqua.  
 Nam sol aestivus terras torrebat, et unda  
 Naturam poterat dedidicisse suam.  
 Fors assum cupiens aestum vitare sub umbra,  
 Et delectari murmure dulcis aquae.  
 Lumina paulatim virides penetrantia frondes  
 Quo cecidi casus in mea damna tulit.

*[The fount was well watered on which the arbutus had made a shadow,  
 Blooming with foliage, green with grass, clear in its waters.  
 To this place a maiden had come alone beneath the green cover,  
 To dip her noble body in warm water.  
 For the summer sun was scorching the earth, and the water  
 Could have forgotten its nature.  
 I happened to be present, desiring in the shade to avoid the roasting heat  
 And to be delighted by the murmur of the pleasant water.  
 The mischance bore my eyes, as they gradually penetrated  
 The green branches, to my misfortune.]*<sup>85</sup>

The sensuous delights of the place, the maiden's physical beauty, the details of her clothes and jewels as she dresses, occupy the pastoral first half of the poem. The speaker stays silent and unobserved by her; she does not speak, but remains a distant figure, a mix of Venus, Diana, and the water nymph Nais:

Nuda sedet, niveusque nitor radiosus in undis  
 Fulget, et umbrosum non sinit esse locum.  
 Non aliter Cypris, non luderet ipsa Diana,  
 Non Naïs sacri fontis amoena colens.

*[She sits naked; her snowy and radiant beauty in the waters  
Shines, and does not allow the place to be shadowy.  
Just as Venus or Diana herself would play,  
Or Nais who protects the pleasant places of the sacred fount.]*<sup>86</sup>

It is hard to know how much significance to give to the three mythological figures alluded to here; the power of the maiden's beauty is at least ambiguous, a natural force with potential in a number of directions growing out of classical poetry. Between the two halves of the poem the representation of male erotic experience moves from the reconception and development of a literary moment to the subsequent effects of the recollection. The woman he saw becomes a source of anxiety to the speaker that upsets the poet's epistemological sense of security, leads him to mistrust mind and eye:

Pingitur in vultu pallor ruborque vicissim,  
Et timet et sperat mens in utroque levis.  
Nulla fides animo, constantia nulla colori;  
Mens sibi mentitur et male fida gena est.

*[Paleness is painted in the face and redness in turn,  
And the mind both fears and hopes, fickle in both.  
No faith in spirit, no constancy to complexion,  
The mind lies to itself and the cheek is unfaithful.]*<sup>87</sup>

She is not the perfect product of Natura described in "Mundus ut insignis," but something ontologically lower, a more human construction.

If Gerald's "Cosmographia" is a poem about the higher-level workings of the "pius pater deorum" and the cosmic Mens, and "Mundus ut" concerns itself with the workings of Natura and her Neoplatonic subdelegate, Venus, then both "Quicquid amor" and "Fons erat" should be seen as analyses of the workings of eros at the level of the human mind and the words it uses to make sense of the world. The pattern of Neoplatonic descent evident in this group of poems is made more evident when one considers, in addition, Gerald's short piece "Omnia jam novitate," also found in the poetic section of the *Symbolum Electorum*, immediately after "Fons erat." "Fons erat," as we have seen, takes us down the hypostatic chain of causes to the physical effects of eros on the clerical male, a "mira . . . novitas" and "nova calor" that sets him aflame with desire, deflecting his mind down an unfamiliar path away from reason. In "Omnia jam" the poet packs into four distiches most of the sequence of per-



sonified Neoplatonic causes. Now, for the first time in his little collection, Gerald introduces the figure of Cupid, here as Alain's evil "antiphrastic" double of the "good" Cupid, that useful figure most immediately responsible for sublunar procreation:

Omnia jam novitate juvant, nova grata voluptas,  
 Et naturalis inveterata Venus.  
 Arte minus natura placet, consumitur usus  
 In reprobos Ratio jam Ratione carens.  
 Vis Genitiva gemit violata Cupidinis arte,  
 Et violans vindex publicat Ira scelus.  
 Pandit enim Natura nephas proditque pudorem  
 Criminis infandi prodigiosa creans.

*[All things now please through (their) novelty, a new delightful pleasure  
 And a deep-seated Venus created by Natura.  
 Nature pleases less than art; Reason,  
 Now without reason, is wasted on condemned practices.  
 The Generative Power laments, violated by Cupid's art,  
 And vengeful Anger makes violent wickedness public.  
 Natura, indeed, reveals the sin and brings forth Shame,  
 Creating freaks of unspeakable crime.]*<sup>88</sup>

This is essentially a summary of the situation in the *De planctu naturae*, where Nature's handmaid Venus has gone bad and unleashed her own subdelegate Cupid, or his evil half-brother, Jocus, who has, in turn, run amok, overthrowing Ratio and violating the commands of the Vis Genitiva at the top of the chain. The *novitas* afflicting the speaker in "Fons erat" becomes something even more dangerous in "Omnia jam," and the balance between art and nature struck by the bathing maiden has been unbalanced in favor of art. There is no ambiguity in "Omnia jam" about the potential effects of eros—the "prodigiosa" Nature produces in response to the cosmic disorder prove that it opposes the plans of the creator. As a sequence, the four poems, each shorter than the last, give an increasingly dark and diminished picture of the eroticized Neoplatonic cosmos, which in effect moves from the general optimism of Bernardus to the relative gloom of Alain de Lille.

To return now to "Fons erat," here the *virgo's* erotic mixing in herself of art and nature recalls Horace's comment on the need for both in a "praiseworthy poem,"<sup>89</sup> and reminds the reader of her existence as a mere literary artifact, the

poet's willful creation, built out of the twelfth-century school-training that makes the poet's peculiar consciousness of her possible. Like good poetry itself, she pleases through a combination of natural and human means:

Procedit plus natura minus arte polita,  
Naturam quamvis ars bona saepe juvet.  
Plus artem natura juvat, minus arte juvatur,  
Sed pariter junctis gratia major inest.

*[She goes polished more by Nature, less by art,  
However good art often may aid Nature.  
Nature aids art more, is aided less by art,  
But a greater charm is in them when equally joined.]*<sup>90</sup>

The speaker's desire for her, this particular attachment to terrestrial beauty, leads to danger, to dislocation of the spirit and to intellectual disorder. In language that probably draws on Maximian's *Elegies*, Virgil's *Georgics*, and especially Ovid's *Amores* and *Heroides*,<sup>91</sup> the narrator describes the sense of ill ease that envelopes him, the heat, the pounding heart, the changes in color, the sighs that afflict him, and of his inability to resist the blinding image that dominates his mind:

Sic sedit, sic nuda fuit, sic lusit in undis,  
Sic niveo nitidis corpore fulsit aquis.  
Sic vultu praeclara nitens, sic nobilis, omni  
Gratia naturae clarior arte fuit.

*[Thus she sat, thus naked she was, thus she frolicked in the waters.  
Thus with snowy body she glittered in the shining waters.  
In visage thus splendidly shining, so noble,  
The grace of Nature was more brilliant than every art.]*<sup>92</sup>

At this point the notion of the woman as the "grace of Nature," which earlier in the poem might have been positive, becomes ironic or at least ambiguous. The mental image the observer retains of female beauty becomes a threat, turns the voyeur against himself mentally and physically, and in an onanistic gesture drives him away from others and into himself:

Erumpunt subito tenui suspiria tractu,  
Et licet ore parum pectore multa loquor.

Deserto juvat ire loco longeque remoto,  
 Ut sibi mens soli tota vacare queat.

*[Sighs suddenly erupt in feeble inhalation,  
 And many things I say with the breast, though little with my mouth.  
 It pleases me to travel where the region is deserted and far removed  
 So that the entire mind can be free for itself alone.]*<sup>93</sup>

Unable to sleep or think, he is made an old man by his all-consuming love for a literary fantasy arising out of poetic study; he becomes thin, wrinkled, pale, and tired from all his foolish suffering. Such obsession turns him away from *ratio* and *studium* and toward the hope of a *gaudia falsa*:

Poena pudicitiae, praedo pudoris amor!  
 Vincitur et semper graviter vincitur amator  
 Semper amans amens, semper amarus amor.

*[Love, punishment for modesty and plunderer of decency.  
 The lover is conquered and always harmfully overcome,  
 Always the lover is mad, always love is bitter.]*<sup>94</sup>

The poem's variety of sources and intellectual motives suggests how an earnest and philosophically inclined student in the twelfth-century French schools turned the objects of his studies into poetry about eros. The literary product of other literary products, the woman is a visual and verbal icon of male fantasy, a collage of classical poetic language standing for the yoked danger and beauty of erotic verse to a truer *studium*, and for the threat to clerical male *ratio* posed by female beauty. The poem observes the attractive eroticism in the pseudo-classical examples of a teacher like Matthew of Vendôme and rejects them even as it creates itself out of them. Gerald criticizes the schoolmasters while he shows how much he has learned from them, writing erotic distiches while he damns them as a false joy:

Nox tenebrosa die jam gratior et quia vera  
 Me semper fugiunt gaudia falsa juvant.

*[Shadowy night now is more pleasing than the day, and because  
 True joys always flee me, false joys delight.]*<sup>95</sup>

Eros leads to disaster; in the end Gerald invokes classical and Platonic eroticism to express doubts about the implications of that sort of language and thinking for men like him trying to live in the world.

Gerald knew intimately the training in poetic analysis and composition being offered by men like Matthew of Vendôme, and he studied and admired the work of Neoplatonist adventurers such as Bernardus Silvestris. While his own youthful efforts to digest and absorb his school training—as evidenced by these works preserved in the *Symbolum Electorum*—are neither wildly original nor great poetry, they show one talented student thinking about the power of eros in poetry. Gerald's training, his wide exposure to classical literature and to the modern philosophy of his mentors, provided him with the intellectual means and poetic methods to confront at some level the human desire that was part of the ordered, Neoplatonic universe he described affectionately in his "Cosmographia" and in "Mundus ut." With the minor exception of "Quicquid amor," the lyrics of the *Symbolum Electorum* do not show Gerald taking up erotic subjects as an excuse for elaborate verbal gaming in the manner of Serlo or of some of the poets of the Glasgow manuscript. However derivative the results of his experimentation, in these poems Gerald sought to incorporate the Ovidian techniques he had learned along with the Neoplatonists' philosophical scrutiny of the workings of eros. Gerald had absorbed and largely understood the blueprint of the Neoplatonic cosmos, and he used that blueprint as a guide to his thinking about a man's place in the world. He had also mastered the poetic and rhetorical material codified in such works as Matthew's *Ars*. His response to this training is ultimately conservative, poems made up of exuberantly detailed set-pieces that celebrate the beauty of creation and recognize the necessity for eros in the larger cosmos, but consistently see the ontologically lowest manifestations of that eros—that is, heteroerotic attraction—as a disruptive power and a threat to male *ratio*, the cleric's link to a divine *Mens*.

# Part Three

THE TRIUMPH OF  
EROTIC LATIN SONG





## Chapter Six

---

### The Rhythms of Eros (I)

**A**S THE RHYMED, pseudoclassical meters used by earlier Angevin poets like Marbod and Hildebert fell out of fashion after the turn of the century, they were largely superseded by two other forms. One was the more nearly classical verse taught in the schools. The other was a new sort of rhymed, rhythmic poetry with its roots in the postclassical meters of Christian Latin hymns. In the last chapter we examined a collection of erotic poems for the most part written in distiches and surviving in Anglo-Latin manuscripts, which we can associate with the poetic pedagogy practiced in French and English schools of the second half of the twelfth century. That poetry, not surprisingly, reveals its connection to contemporary academia through its manuscript context—in a schoolbook or among the juvenilia of a Paris-trained scholar—and in its concern with Ovidian imitation, Neoplatonic cosmology, and self-conscious grammatical and rhetorical play. It manifests a ludic and schoolish eroticism that simultaneously flaunts its interest in the force of eros and retreats nervously to a moralism that finds clerical *studium* threatened by its own intellectual obsessions. In this present chapter I will look at twelfth-century erotic lyrics that have abandoned classical meters and

have moved away from some of the formal and thematic concerns of the classroom. These poems have two qualities that link them closely: (1) the substitution of rhythmic verse for classical meters and (2) a sophisticated, playful incorporation of classical myth and frequently Neoplatonic exegesis into the fabric of the lyric. The “common idiom” Peter Dronke has observed in many of the surviving rhythmic erotic Latin lyrics of the twelfth century is ultimately a result of their common origins in the humanist clerical culture of the period. As a group, the poems reflect the interests and anxieties of a particular class of men trained in the schools of northern France under the influence of medieval Neoplatonism and classical poetry. They are the lyrics to songs, with all that implies. It is this sort of sung poetry that may most fully qualify as a “duplicitous” art in the sense alluded to earlier in this book—works that present a charming surface, suitable for performance in court, of interest to those with any decent background in Latin, and that at the same time play with complex academic traditions of mythographic interpretation and Neoplatonic observation of an eroticized cosmos. I will begin this chapter by looking at some early erotic songs composed by Hilary of Orléans, an Angevin schoolmaster and poet, once erroneously known to scholars as Hilarius Anglicis because he addressed a number of his poems to English recipients. Hilary’s work, which antedates by a generation all the rhythmic poems surviving in English manuscripts, is worth examining because it so neatly marks the transition, in form and content, from the more formally classical erotica of earlier northern French poets to something new and different. There are no comparable poems from this period extant in an English source, and Hilary’s small collection of verse is the best example we have of erotic song that might have circulated in the Anglo-Angevin realm before midcentury. I will then look broadly at some revolutionary developments in songwriting that came about during the first half of the twelfth century, developments associated with two Parisian religious institutions and with the Aquitanian abbey of St. Martial. The sacred “new song” first produced in northern France around these sites offered a sophisticated musical and poetic vehicle for clerics who wrote avant-garde secular song in the second half of the century. Such religious song—groundbreaking in form and content like Hilary’s poems—must have inspired many Latin poets at midcentury. Finally, in the second half of this chapter, I will focus on four twelfth-century songs from two important Anglo-Latin manuscripts: Bodleian Additional MS A.44 and Cambridge University Library MS Ff.1.17(1). These are all lyrics that take up the new rhythmic song forms, but still show clearly their close relationship to the academic school exercises in classical composition examined in the last chapter. The four

poems will help set the stage for discussion of more adventurous rhythmic erotica in the last two chapters of this book.

#### HILARY OF ORLÉANS

The early-twelfth-century poems written by the Angevin schoolmaster Hilary of Orléans give a good indication of the direction avant-garde erotic Latin poetry would take in the course of the century. Hilary, who spent most of his career in Orléans and Angers, left only about a dozen short poems and three verse dramas, along with a small collection of prose letters. What he wrote, despite his professional connections stretching across central and western France, seems not to have circulated, surviving today, with one exception, only in a single French manuscript, Bibliothèque Nationale latin 11331. Formally Hilary's poems are part of an impulse to look to postclassical meters for inspiration, drawing on old hymn composers, such as Venantius Fortunatus, but updating those poems with a more consistent and insistent use of rhyme. In his interest in heavily rhymed and very regular rhythmic meters, Hilary was working along the same lines as his contemporary Abelard. At least one and possibly two of Hilary's extant poems were directed to Abelard (*carmen* 6, "Lingua serui," and *carmina* 14, "Papa summus"),<sup>1</sup> and he makes use in *carmen* 13 of the same rhythmic verse form (four eight-syllable lines in a monorhymed stanza) apparently first "systematically introduced" to medieval Latin poetry by Abelard.<sup>2</sup> Hans Spanke credits Hilary himself with the introduction of a modified version of this meter (four ten-syllable lines in a monorhymed stanza) in *carmen* 8 and *carmen* 10.<sup>3</sup> Five of the twelve independent lyrics in the Paris manuscript, as Therese Latzke notes, use almost the same verse form as Venantius Fortunatus's sixth-century "Pange, lingua," substituting rhythmic trochees for classical meters, with the addition of regular end-rhyme and, in two cases, internal rhyme.<sup>4</sup> If the subject matter of Hilary's poetry were different, we might well speak (to steal a phrase from Gerald Bond) of his experimentation in the "formal art of monastic hymnody."<sup>5</sup> Hilary's decision to use radically postclassical forms of Latin poetry, with their ties to the songs of the church and their emphasis on ritual performance, distinguishes him from the older poets in his milieu. While still at home with the poetry of Virgil and Ovid, and influenced by his more classically minded contemporaries, Hilary's erotic literary games, played largely in the immediate context of the small ecclesiastical schools of Angers, look ahead to the poetry of the second half of the twelfth century with its strong interest in rhythmic meters and increased attention to the philosophical basis of eros. A number of his poems are episto-

lary, with named recipients, and thus continue the poetic circulation of love and friendship among the literati of northern France cultivated so assiduously by Baudri of Bourgueil.<sup>6</sup> There is no concrete evidence that Hilary knew Baudri, who was perhaps thirty years his senior, but it is hard to imagine that a teacher, monk, and poet like Hilary, educated in the Loire Valley and working there, would not have been familiar with most of the major figures examined earlier.<sup>7</sup>

Charters from the Abbey of Le Ronceray and Hilary's prose letters show him thoroughly enmeshed in the schools and religious institutions of the Loire Valley between about 1115 and 1140, and an active participant in a wider Anglo-Angevin circulation of poetry. Settled in Angers as a canon of Le Ronceray by 1116, he was *magister scholarum* there after a period in the household of the bishop of Orléans, and in contact with the recluse Hervaeus and with various bishops, schoolmasters, friends, and students.<sup>8</sup> Hilary's *carmen* 6 ("Lingua serui") has been used to connect him with Abelard's activity at the Paraclete near Troyes around 1125 and earlier in Paris;<sup>9</sup> Arnulf of Orléans, writing in the second half of the century, cites Hilary as an early teacher (*primus pater*) of the *auctores* in Orléans and calls him "magistro nostro Hylario";<sup>10</sup> William of Tyre hints that Hilary was still teaching after 1145.<sup>11</sup> The necrology of the Abbey of St. Victor in Paris indicates, without giving a year, that he may have died there, leaving the monastery a glossed psalter.<sup>12</sup> The only one of Hilary's poems not contained in Bibliothèque Nationale latin 11331, "Erat Brisesarte scusa," is found in a charter from the Abbey of Le Ronceray in Angers and records, in rhymed, rhythmic verse, a legal proceeding involving the convent that took place in 1121.<sup>13</sup> As Latzke has demonstrated, the poem's careful list of the participants at the hearing reveals, by the participants' names, the mixed Frankish, English, and Norman social milieu in Angers, and hints, by the participants' titles, at the kind of ecclesiastical and secular audience available for Hilary's work.<sup>14</sup> Others of Hilary's poems further remind us of Anglo-Norman connections to the region: Eva, the recluse eulogized in *carmen* 1 ("Veni, dator omnis"), was originally a nun from Wilton before her migration to Angers;<sup>15</sup> the nun Rosea (in *carmen* 5) is "telluris Anglice"; two of his poems are specifically directed "ad puerum Anglicum" (*carmen* 9 and *carmen* 13), and a third (*carmen* 10) is to "William of Anfonia," whom he also calls "telluris Anglice." Where Baudri's earlier poetic circle was the distinctly Ovidian, pseudoclassical, and nostalgic creation of a rural monastic, Hilary's writing is that of an urban schoolmaster using trendy verse forms to address an in-group of local literati. His poems are a form of academic, intellectual play, an aspect of a

particular textual community made possible by the schools and other ecclesiastical establishments.

Bibliothèque Nationale latin 11331 preserves four poems Hilary wrote to nuns of Le Ronceray and four he wrote to boys. Most of these establish a relationship between the writer and the recipient that we might construe as erotic. Hilary's lyrics for the nuns of Le Ronceray are in general epistolary; the poems to boys are not. He asks the women for letters in return, "siue prosa, siue rithmo, siue uelis metrice" [whether you wish in prose, or in rhythmic poetry, or in metrical poetry], but he never looks back to the wistfully classical persona developed by Baudri in his much larger body of epistolary poetry.<sup>16</sup> With the nuns, Hilary is at once courtly and ironic. When he asks Superba (in *carmen* 3) to make him a new girdle, he flatters her in the exaggerated and potentially erotic language we saw employed earlier in Angevin poems to great ladies: she is "speciosa femina," "mea domina," "cunctarum . . . puellarum gloria," and the particular favorite of Natura. In the more elaborate *carmen* 5, the nun Rosea is likewise "speciosa femina," "splendor puellarum," and the favorite of Natura, as well as "sidus occidentis, sidus lucis unice" and "gemma micans." Hilary might invoke her body ("corpus decens"), but having raised the issue, comments only on the "splendor uisus orisque modestia / Et uenustus ille risus carensque lasciuiā" [brilliance of your gaze and the discretion of your face / And that charming smile without wantonness]. The speaker in *carmen* 5 makes himself into something of a courtly flatterer who seeks favor and submits to his lady's will; in the process, she becomes his sanctified intercessor:

7  
Cum sis potens et benigna,  
50 sicut esse sentio,  
Nunc submitto, uirgo digna,  
me tuo seruitio,  
Corpus meum et res meas  
iam tibi subicio,  
55 Me defendas et res eas,  
mea sis protectio.

8  
Iam securus ego uiuam  
ad cuncta temptamina,  
Tutus ero, cum te diuam

60 habeam pro domina.  
 Sume mea, uirgo decens,  
 benigne precamina,  
 Vt te laudet forma recens  
 mea semper pagina.

[7

*Since you are powerful and kind,*  
 50 *just as I feel you are,*  
*Now I submit myself, worthy maiden,*  
*to your servitude;*  
*My body and my things*  
*now I subject to you;*  
 55 *May you defend me and these things,*  
*may you be my protection.*

8

*Now I am to live safe*  
*from all trials;*  
*I will be secure, since I have you,*  
 60 *divine one, as my lady.*  
*Kindly accept my prayers, beautiful maiden,*  
*So that always my page,*  
*fresh in design, may praise you.]<sup>17</sup>*

In these various poetic epistles to nuns, Theresa Latzke sees Hilary refashioning the old genre of the praise-poem into something lightly comic, using elevated language for a quotidian situation, somewhat in the manner of Pope's "Rape of the Lock," making great ladies and saints out of young women who were perhaps nobles, but probably his spiritual or pedagogical charges. Such poetry was part of a sophisticated entertainment "program" of the educated elite, in which it was possible to play with accepted literary forms and invoke a sort of limited, humorous erotic tension.<sup>18</sup> Though no music survives for any of Hilary's verse, we know from stage directions that the three plays Hilary wrote for his students were intended to be sung; it is likely his poetic epistles were songs designed for semipublic performance.

Latzke imagines Hilary's four lyrics addressed to boys as daring occasional pieces, presented dramatically, to impress an audience with the handling of risky material.<sup>19</sup> These "Ganymede" poems are much less epistolary than the poems to nuns since Hilary names only one of the four recipients and the



poems contain no obvious indications, such as requests for a letter or poem in return, that they are part of a continuing system of literary exchange. In “Puer pulcher” (*carmen* 7, “Ad Puerum Andegavensem”), Hilary presents himself as a tearful, lovesick suppliant (“tuus supplex”), begging for mercy from a reluctant boy:

1

Puer pulcher et puer unice  
Que mittuntur a tuo supplice  
Scripta, precor, benignus inspice,  
Vide, lege lectaque perface.

2

5 Ego tuis affusus genibus  
Genu flexo iunctisque manibus  
Vt de tuis unus supplicibus  
Et lacrimis utor et precibus.

[1

*O handsome boy, unique boy,  
The letters sent by your suppliant,  
I beg you, look over kindly;  
View, read, and carry out what you have read.*

2

5 *Having thrown myself at your knees,  
With knee bent and hands joined,  
As one of your suppliants,  
I employ both tears and prayers.]*<sup>20</sup>

The speaker’s love is a disease (“*morbus*”) that he now feels compelled to confess; the boy is his doctor (“*medicus*”) who has his only bandage (“*emplastrum unicum*”). His love is also a prison (“*gravis carcer*”) that he regrets he cannot escape by bribery, though he is grateful that the boy refuses such business (“*tale commercium*”). This leads to a concluding complaint that the boy should be less reticent:

8

Certe, puer, hoc est inscitia,  
30 Quod <est> tibi tanta durtia



< . . . . . >

Qui sis pulchris ex pudicitia.

9

Castitatis graue propositum

Condemnauit pulchrum Ipolitum.

35 Pene Ioseph uenit ad obitum,

Dum regine contempsit libitum.

[8

Surely, boy, this is inexperience,

30 Because you are so hard

. . . . .

So that you exist on account of modesty for the beautiful.

9

The serious intention of chastity

Condemned beautiful Hippolytus;

35 Joseph almost came to his ruin,

When he defied the will of a queen.]<sup>21</sup>

The two *exempla* in the final stanza, one mythological and one biblical, provide instances of men who suffered to preserve their chastity. Though both stories remind the audience of what was presumably the morally correct position, I suspect they carry the humorous implication that the boy would do well to be warned by them and to give in to the poet's entreaties. Latzke sees the letter-poems of Baudri as the inspiration for *carmen* 7, but also notes the influence of Ovid's *Heroides* 16, 17, and 20, Horace's odes 3.10 and 4.10, Virgil's second eclogue, and the sixth-century poet Maximian. Whether or not one finds as much in the lyric as Latzke would claim, "Puer pulcher" is a scholar's poem that wears its learning lightly as it parodies and modernizes older models.<sup>22</sup>

Hilary's "Puer decens" (*carmen* 13, "Ad Puerum Anglicum"), to cite one further example, presents a less ostentatiously tearful, but still desperate speaker. Latzke believes the poem part of a poetic competition (*Carmina Burana* 95, possibly by Abelard, is another surviving entry in the same context) in which the poet assumes the role of the rustic Corydon from Virgil's second eclogue. Few critics would, I think, go as far as Latzke in imagining the real-world details of the game, but her suggestion provides a useful sense of literary context for Hilary's poetic play and a specific mask for the writer.<sup>23</sup> He builds the opening stanza from a string of descriptive tags: the beloved "puer decens" is "decor floris," "gemma micans" and, for the speaker, a "fax amoris."

The speaker's frustration arises not because the boy is reluctant, but because the speaker fears the anger of a woman:

2  
5 Vt te uidi, mox Cupido  
me percussit, sed diffido;  
nam me tenet mea Dido,  
cuius iram reformido.

3  
O quam felix ego forem,  
10 si per nouum successorem  
assuetum iuxta morem  
declinarem hunc amorem.

[2  
5 *When I saw you, suddenly Cupid*  
*shot me, but I despair;*  
*for my Dido holds me,*  
*whose anger I dread.*

3  
O how happy I would be,  
10 if through a new favorite,  
as is the usual practice,  
I might avoid this love.]<sup>24</sup>

Dido's peculiar presence makes the speaker into a sort of odd Aeneas, and alerts the auditor to Virgil's role as a source for the poetic game. If we read the poem as one coherent joke, then we should probably understand lines 10–12 as an ironic commentary on Hilary's own times, a dig at the loose sexual habits of clerics. In the fourth stanza he fools wittily with the words *praeda*, *ae* (f.): booty, prey and *praedo*, *onis* (m.): robber, offering himself as the feminine spoils and making the boy the masculine robber, before he formally invokes the story of Ganymede to conclude the poem:

5  
Nam et rector superorum,  
raptor olim puerorum,  
si nunc esset, tam decorum  
20 ad celestem ferret torum.

6

Aula tandem in superna  
 satis promptus ad alterna  
 nunc in toro nunc pincerna  
 Ioui fores gratus uerna.

[5

*For even the ruler of gods,  
 once a snatcher of boys,  
 if he were to exist now, so beautiful (a boy)  
 20 he would carry to his celestial bed.*

6

*Finally in the heavenly palace,  
 ready enough for either,  
 whether in bed, or as a cup-bearer,  
 you would be a pleasing slave to Jove.]<sup>25</sup>*

Articulating one of the period's great fears about the unhealthy influence of classical literature, the speaker offers Jove as a model for his own behavior; he would no doubt like to steal the "puer decens" away himself, but he also draws back from the brink. Jove doesn't do such things anymore, only "olim," and the "si nunc esset" of line nineteen emphasizes the fantasy of the erotic situation: if the gods *were* still with us, then Jove would take you to heaven, but, of course, they are not. The speaker certainly desires to possess the boy, but recognizes that he looks back on the days of the gods from a very different time and plays the game of poetry by a new set of rules.

Where John Boswell and others have wanted to read these works as historical evidence for the social tolerance of homoerotic feeling, if not sexual practice, Latzke, somewhat reconceiving the critical view of such "pederastic" verse as rhetorical exercises, maintains that they cannot be read as a record of uncloseted sexual desire. She sees them as brilliant display pieces, rich in classical and biblical allusion, that gave the poet the opportunity to put on a certain sort of modernized classical mask otherwise unacceptable in his milieu. Although she refuses to allow for the possibility that genuine homoerotic feeling might be freely displayed in the early decades of the twelfth century in western Europe, Latzke is convincing, I think, when she sees such poems as part of an intellectual elite's play with dangerous poetic material in a complex and ultimately humorous way.<sup>26</sup> Just as classical poets sometimes adopted voices in their works through which they expressed homoerotic desire, the

speaker in these poems in effect plays a role that must have been of genuine concern to twelfth-century teachers, that of a schoolmaster erotically attracted to his male pupils. Trying to reconstruct from the dry husk of the poem's text a contemporary audience's experience of a possibly scandalous work like "Puer decens" is not a straightforward task. We can, however, with Latzke, attempt to imagine some interesting moments in Angers in the 1120s, when Hilary sang smart and racy songs, perhaps with the aid of some of his students, to the town's latinate elite. Presumably some of them could appreciate the juncture of modern poetic form with classical allusion, the daring use of a hymnlike meter in pursuit of eros, and the amused play with words and ideas. Hilary's light but sophisticated Angevin school poetry usefully defines a developmental moment on the way to some of the grander and more ambitious songs produced later in the century.

#### NEW SONG FOR NEW TIMES

It is not surprising that in the decades immediately after 1100 Hilary and his mentor Abelard should have been experimenting with song form. Within the lifetimes of the various classicizing French poets discussed in chapter 1, that is to say, between the middle of the eleventh century and the middle of the twelfth, accentual Latin poetry underwent a profound development. Until the eleventh century, with the exception of hymns, sacred Latin poetry was only rarely written in rhythmic forms; after 1000 we witness an increasing interest in nonquantitative religious verse, an interest attested to by the metrically mixed contents of an English manuscript like Cambridge University Library Gg.5.35. Over half of the poems surviving in that collection from Canterbury are nonquantitative. In some cases the intended verse-form is obvious, for example Ambrosian hymns; in other cases the form is more ambiguous, though most poems tend to be strophic. Rhyme appears frequently, but its use is often irregular within a particular poem. "Iam dulcis amica" (*Carmina Cantabrigiensia* [CC] 27), for example, appears at first glance to be composed in rhythmic, rhymed couplets, but shows enough variation in line length and accentuation that some have wondered if it might not, in fact, be quantitative. "Leuis exsurgit" (CC40), however, constructed as a hymn of six irregularly rhymed Ambrosian strophes, is almost surely nonquantitative.<sup>27</sup> Broadly speaking, the relative simplicity of the old Ambrosian hymn (four lines of eight syllables with occasional use of rhyme)<sup>28</sup> and the relative looseness of early sequences (made up of identical pairs of strophes of highly various line-length with irregular attention to rhyme patterns),<sup>29</sup> tend to give way through

the century to more regular verse forms and to more complexly structured patterns of line length, rhythm, and rhyme.<sup>30</sup> The church continued to preserve and use the old songs both as part of the liturgy and outside of regular services, but when new works were written, they often took up the challenge of the newer, more formally demanding varieties of verse.<sup>31</sup>

In the twelfth-century West, the two great loci for the development of sophisticated Latin song were Paris, at the Cathedral of Notre Dame and at the Abbey of St. Victor, and Aquitaine, in the sphere of the Benedictine Abbey of St. Martial in Limoges. Sequences produced at St. Victor served as part of an extensive effort by the Augustinian canons to reform and remake their institution. In them, Hugh of St. Victor and his monastic supporters developed a musical vehicle able to serve their religious ideals, setting philosophically complex lyrics into an expansive song form suitable for incorporation into church services.<sup>32</sup> Victorine sequence texts served as “poetic versions of liturgical commentaries” in which “clerics were to find both the understanding and the inspiration necessary to carry out their duties fervently.”<sup>33</sup> While the theological aims of the Victorines were not widely achieved, they redefined the nature of the sequence and gave it new status. The style of sequence that emerged, the Victorine sequence, was a kind of hybrid, influenced by the regularity of the Ambrosian hymn in its *verse* form, but retaining the *musical* variety of the older sequences.<sup>34</sup> Thus the “classic” Victorine sequence written in the twelfth century, although it was “through-composed,” with new music for each succeeding stanza or pair of half-stanzas, consisted of a series of identical strophes of six lines rhyming *aabccb* with syllable count 887887, for example:

1a

Lux iocunda, lux insignis  
qua de throno missus ignis  
in christi discipulos;

1b

Corda replet linguas didat  
ad concordes nos inuitat  
cordis lingue modulos.

2a

Christus misit quem promisit  
pignus sponse quam reusit  
die quinquagesima;

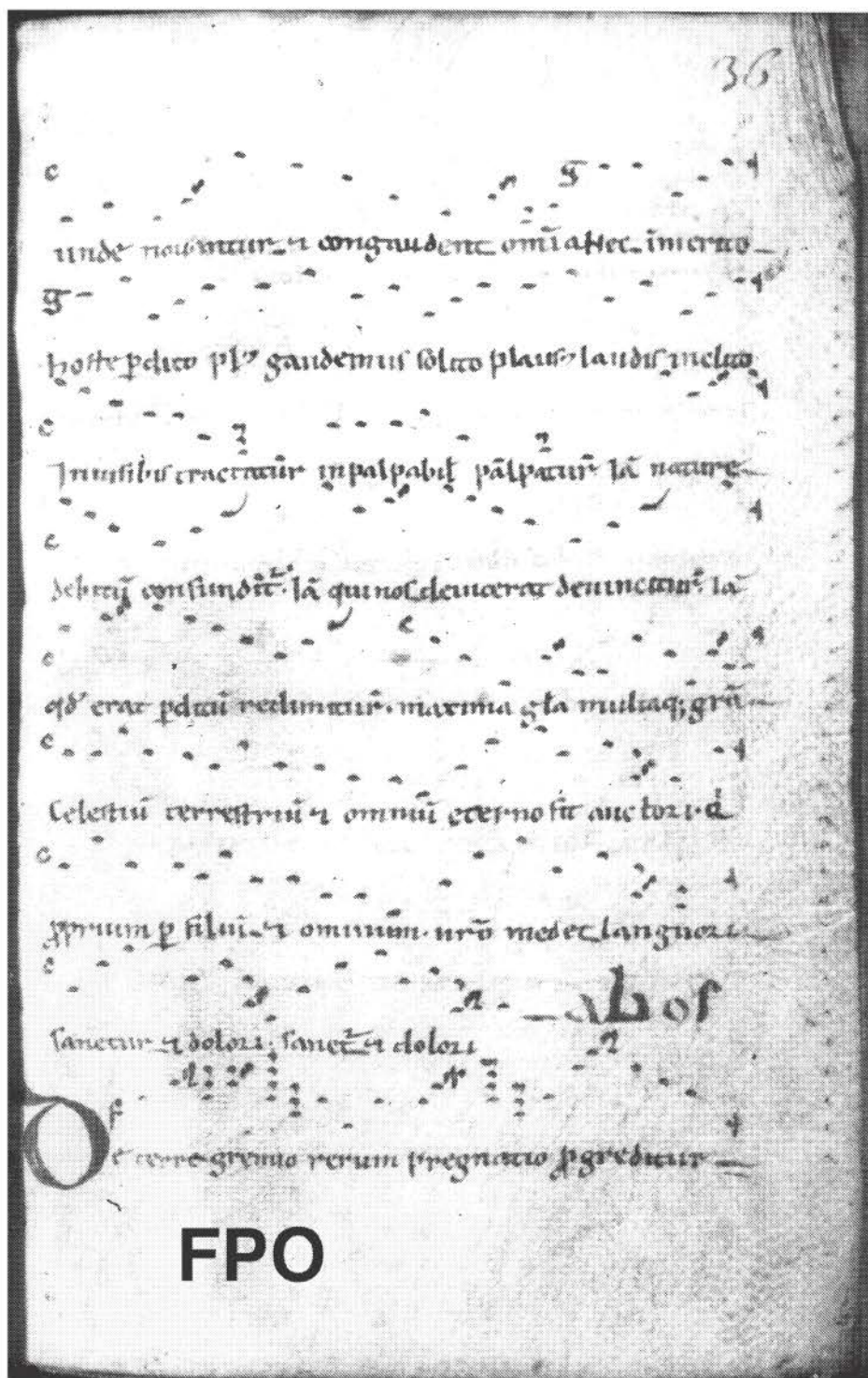
2b

Post dulcorem melleum  
 petra fudit oleum  
 petra iam firmissima.<sup>35</sup>

Other strophic patterns are found with different numbers of lines, and different rhyme schemes and lines of greater or lesser length, but all have in common the combination of the metrical regularity of the hymn with the musical scope of the early sequence. In the words of a recent critic, “the interaction between strophic poetry and sequence form which took place beginning in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries was a musical event of great consequence,” a fusion that produced in the late sequence a through-composed work of considerable length, “a tightly controlled structure of vast proportions.”<sup>36</sup>

In roughly the same period that the late sequence was evolving in Paris, that is, not too long after the turn of the century, we find another sort of new song associated with St. Martial in Limoges.<sup>37</sup> What survives today as an indication of the changes in Latin song form in southern France in the twelfth century is a collection of nine discrete *libelli*, or booklets, in four codices. At least three of the four codices were evidently in the possession of a St. Martial librarian, Bernard Itier (1163–1225), in the first quarter of the thirteenth century.<sup>38</sup> One of the four manuscripts, Bibliothèque Nationale latin 3719, a composite codex of four *libelli* all from the twelfth century, was most likely put together as a unit by Itier around 1210 (fig. 5). It is of particular interest because two of its constituent *libelli* contain erotic Latin songs in a new style—the *versus*—that may be dated to the middle of the century.<sup>39</sup> *Versus* is the term used most commonly in the Aquitanian manuscripts themselves, though it is not obvious exactly what the term meant to its original audience.<sup>40</sup> A hybrid of earlier poetic and musical forms, the new Aquitanian *versus* show complex patterns of rhythm and rhyme and are often, but not always, stanzaic, sometimes with refrains.<sup>41</sup> The new Parisian sequence repertory provided songs for very specific moments in the liturgy;<sup>42</sup> the *versus* found in the Aquitanian manuscripts, though largely devotional, are not formally tied to specific liturgical ceremonies.<sup>43</sup> This “new song,” while often composed on subjects commonly found in the corpus of tropes for the Mass (e.g., for the Nativity), had no established place in the liturgy and no formal link to preexisting texts; it was thus not only new in form, but less restrained in the material it could treat and unrestricted by a specified liturgical context.<sup>44</sup> Like the massive sequences of the Parisian Victorines, with their philosophically complex texts, Aquitanian *versus* offered composers what amounted to a new medium of





FPO

Fig. 5. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale fonds latin 3719, fol. 36<sup>v</sup>. The manuscript is a composite codex of four *libelli* all from the twelfth century, likely put together as a unit around 1210 by Bernard Itier (1163–1225), librarian of the Benedictine abbey of St. Martial in Limoges. Some of the manuscript's contents may date to the middle of the twelfth century. "De terre gremio" (with music) begins on the bottom line of 36<sup>r</sup> and continues on 36<sup>v</sup>, following the Nativity versus "Virginis in gremio," which appears immediately before it. (Reproduced by permission of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.)

f. . . . .  
et in partem solutim: multisque colore. Nam recet

c. . . . .  
leni fauoris sic recet: ne flos nouus peat: traici

c. . . . .  
origore. Erbu' aduc teneris e blanditu: ceteru'

c. . . . .  
tempus: ruder ceter facies: multiplex colore. Er.

c. . . . .  
ba plene: flos odorem odor flora: ros unguis ge

c. . . . .  
nrat: generat: generat materia: Semina

c. . . . .  
redunt: reddunt: cuncta frugis: multa spm

FPO



expression, an artistic space that invited creativity and the stretching of boundaries. James Grier believes this creative development in songwriting played itself out in Aquitaine before an audience of regular clergy who wanted sophisticated but accessible extraliturgical musical entertainment. The pieces as a whole, words and music, were “a vehicle to discuss . . . fundamental issues of Christian belief in an informal environment.”<sup>45</sup>

Importantly for our purposes, not all the surviving Aquitanian *versus* deal with religious subjects. Two of the nine *versaria*, which make up the four manuscripts alluded to above, contain copies of the new, rhythmic erotic song that would become the “common idiom” for the twelfth century. These are folios 23<sup>r</sup>–32<sup>v</sup> and folios 33<sup>r</sup>–44<sup>v</sup> of Bibliothèque Nationale fonds latin 3719 (i.e., *versarium* 3719b and *versarium* 3719c in Grier’s terminology). Although brought together in the early thirteenth century, the two postcard-size booklets have no relationship to each other beyond their general participation in the transmission of the twelfth-century Aquitanian *versus* repertory and some interesting overlap in their contents. *Versarium* 3719c is the more coherent and simpler of the two manuscripts. Apparently a personal collection, and written by a single scribe at midcentury, it contains nineteen items, most with music, all but one monophonic, including five secular songs interspersed among the religious pieces. In contrast to this relatively neat accumulation of works that one musically literate cleric thought worth preserving at a particular moment, *versarium* 3719b is a ragged compilation produced by eight scribes over perhaps fifty years. Its inelegant form suggests how a booklet might grow, be mangled, serve many masters, and preserve an eclectic range of material for a local repertory. Though 3719b is at core a damaged collection of religious songs begun around 1100, it has a number of secular appendages, including three erotic lyrics on folio 23<sup>r-v</sup>, added by two scribes at approximately mid-century. Two of these, “De terre gremio” and “Ex ungue primo teneram,” also appear in 3719c—the former in a somewhat different version—suggesting that these poems were in circulation in Aquitaine by about 1150 where they attracted the interest of several contemporary clerics.<sup>46</sup> The third of the erotic lyrics appearing on folio 23<sup>r-v</sup> of 3719b, a two-line fragment of “Quam velim virginum,” appears complete alongside the other two lyrics in the thirteenth-century manuscript Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 228 as part of a collection of six poems neatly written at the end of a volume devoted to the works of the fourth- and fifth-century Latin poet Claudian. All three works seem to have been popular and well traveled over the years: “Ex ungue” and “Quam velim” appear close to each other in Auxerre MS 243 (folio 18<sup>r-v</sup>); “Quam velim” is also found in British Library MS Arundel 384; and “De terre”

in Oxford, Bodley MS Additional A.44 and the late-twelfth-century Zurich MS C58/275.<sup>47</sup> (See table 1.)

These poems are among the earliest examples of the rhythmic erotica that circulated in the Anglo-Norman world and formed part of an avant-garde European song repertory in the mid- to late twelfth century. They are the sort of poems, first composed at midcentury, that will occupy our attention for the rest of this book—lyrics inspired by the complex form and intellectually demanding content of new liturgical and extraliturgical church songs. Grier's analysis of the music and text of "De terre" in 3719c along with the music and text of the Nativity *versus* "Virginis in gremio," which appears immediately before it, emphasizes that these erotic Latin lyrics were sung art of a very high level and that they were intimately related to the most advanced religious song available at the time. Grier, indeed, concludes that, except for the content of the verbal texts, "Virginis in gremio" is "indistinguishable from the secular example" following it in the manuscript.<sup>48</sup> One is tempted to imagine that the single compiler of 3719c was moved to place the two pieces side by side not just because their incipits both contain the word *gremium*. He must have felt that the secular piece, another poem about a *virgo formosa*, with its celebration of the earth's natural cyclical renewal through new birth in spring, irreverently complemented the celebration of the Virgin's participation in the renewal of humankind through Christ's birth.

Though neither is a spectacular example of its type, together "De terre" and "Ex ungue" offer both a sense of the range of subject matter taken up by writers in these new verse forms a generation or two after Hilary and a sense of the poetry's formal variety and complexity. "De terre" is at bottom a modest

TABLE

Poem/MS	CCC 228	Auxerre 243	Add.A.44	BN 3719b	BN 3719c
Predantur oculos	f.129r	f.18r			
Ver prope florigerum	f.129r	f.18r	f.70v		
De terre gremio	f.129r		f.71r	f.23v	f.36v
Ex ungue primo	f.129r	f.18r		f.23r	f.37v
Blandus aure spiritus	f.129v				
Quam velim virginum	f.129v	f.18r		f.23r	

clerical reverie on the pleasures of spring and youth, very similar in form and content to the lyric "Partu prodit arida" from Cambridge University Library MS Ff.1.17(1) discussed in the introduction. Structurally it is a sixty-three-line-long sequence consisting of five stanza pairs, with an odd single stanza following the first pair; line length varies from three to seven syllables and stanza length from three to nine lines.<sup>49</sup> As with all true sequences, the work is through-composed: for each stanza pair there is new music, with the b-stanza of each pair repeating, usually with some variation, the music of the a-stanza. Most of the poem is given over to what German scholars early in the last century loved to call a *Natureingang*, an opening invocation of the natural world, usually in spring, usually with classical decoration; here there are allusions to Favonius and to the story of Philomela and a loosely Neoplatonic sense of a personified nature's operation in the sublunar ("sic imperat Natura"). The long opening is followed by two concluding stanza pairs. Imagining love as a military venture or labor, in the same way we observed the struggle for intellectual success imagined using those old metaphors in chapter 3, they remark on the appropriateness of sexual love to the young and on the ridiculousness of old men who continue to fight Venus's battles:

5a  
 Vere suo  
 45 adolescens mutuo  
     respondeat amori.  
 5b  
     creber erit,  
     nec defessus cesserit  
     uenerio labori.  
 6a  
 50 Veneris  
     in asperis  
     castris, nolo militem  
     qui iuuenta limitem  
     transierit,  
 55 perdiderit  
     calorem.  
 6b  
     rideo  
     dum uideo  
     uirum longi temporis

60 qui ad annos Nestoris  
ingreditur  
et sequitur  
amorem.

[5a

*In his own spring, let a young man respond to a mutual love.*

5b

*He will love repeatedly, nor out of fatigue will he have ceased from Venus' labor.*

6a

*In Venus' harsh camp, I do not want a soldier who has crossed the boundary of youth, who has lost his ardor.*

6b

*I laugh when I see a long-lived man who commences the years of Nestor and still follows love.]<sup>50</sup>*

These are trite but amusing Ovidian observations about old age and youth and the struggles and pleasures of love, told in the voice of a young man who lies on the grass by a river with a maiden ("dum iaceo / gramineo / sub arbore frondosa / riparum margine / cum uirgine formosa" [while I lie under a leafy tree on the grassy margin of the river with a fair maiden]).<sup>51</sup> Like many a fine love song from our own time, this one does not possess a single original thought, but still manages to be neat and charming, "simplex munditiis" as Horace might say. Its verbal interest lies mostly in its witty and insistent rhyming and in the carefully organized urgency conveyed by a stanza such as this:

3a

Erba florem,  
flos odorem;  
odor floris,  
ros umoris

20 generat materiam.

[3a

*The plant (generates) the flower, the flower (generates) the scent, the scent of the flower (and) the moisture of dew generate the material.]<sup>52</sup>*

*Erba, flos, odor, ros, materia* are packed in tight rhymes, using case variations in ways impossible to duplicate in modern English, though imagists such as

H.D. come inevitably to mind as one reads. Ten acoustically lively words, driven by a vigor worthy of Cole Porter, to describe the energetic thrust of new life in springtime. In the 3719c version of this piece, the word “generat” in line 20 is actually written to be sung three times in succession, despite the metrical rupture this causes, and each time with fewer notes—that is, each time less melodramatically—to produce increasing emphasis on the three syllables of what is probably the most important word of the poem.<sup>53</sup> “De terre” is a philosophically straightforward song, with an artful, elegant, complex, and forward-looking form, whose music constitutes an integral part of its identity. What we can tell of its cultural context suggests it circulated by midcentury south of the Loire as sophisticated ecclesiastical entertainment; by the end of the century it was present without music in England and Germany.

“Ex ungue primo teneram,” the other complete erotic poem of the collection with likely Anglo-Norman circulation, follows immediately after “De terre” in 3719c; its speaker could be the man of Nestor’s years, derided at the end of “De terre,” who still pursues love despite his inappropriate age. Like “De terre,” it is formally an elaborate late sequence, through-composed, in this case with three pairs of very different stanzas and a total of forty-two lines, varying in length from four to ten syllables.<sup>54</sup> “Ex ungue” is more daring erotica than “De terre,” a heterosexual fantasy on a risky topic in line with the homoerotic works of Hilary and perhaps, like certain of Hilary’s poems, the reworking and development of a moment from classical verse. Dronke, at any rate, finds the lyric’s origins in a passage from Horace’s ode 3.6, “Dilecta maiorum,” a complaint about the times and the immorality of youth:

motus doceri gaudet Ionicos  
innupta virgo et fingitur artibus  
iam nunc **et incestos amores**  
**de tenero meditatur ungui.**

*[The unmarried maiden rejoices to be taught Ionian dances, and is trained in arts even now, and practices sinful loves from earliest childhood.]*<sup>55</sup>

Kept “ex ungue primo” [from earliest childhood] with the expectation that the speaker would eventually get her “primitias pudoris” [first offerings of modesty], the girl surprises the speaker by selling her body to other men from the age of seven (“septennis adhuc fueras”): “corpus adhuc impube / tenerum / furtim vendis, migrans / adulterum” [A body still young and delicate, you stealthily sell, violating it, unchaste].<sup>56</sup> Modern critics who have responded to its sub-



ject matter with ritual horror have failed, like some readers of Nabokov, to catch the humor of the speaker's lamentation about his failure to seduce a very young girl, but it is hard for us today to imagine this poem as after-dinner entertainment in an Aquitanian monastery.<sup>57</sup> As with "De terre," much of the poem's attraction comes from its verbal dexterity and lively use of rhyme, its recycling of classical language in a modern form. It is also funny for the sense of frustrated self it conjures up in the speaker, whom we might see as a corrupt Roman extricated from Horace's complaint, a stuffy leech hoist by his own feeble sense of morality and thinking in clichés of legal and military language. He writes himself a "legem inguini[s]" [a law of the groin] requiring that he not have intercourse with the girl ("nec molestum virgini / profundius intraret") until she is older, only to discover that the "audax virguncula" has already accepted bigger spears than his: "maiora multo iacula / suscipere decrevit" [who was determined to receive far greater javelins].<sup>58</sup> The speaker's self-serving effort to create his own law is easily superseded by Nature's more powerful urges, and he is made a fool.

Neither "De terre" nor "Ex ungue" manifests the anxious attitude about the power of eros, the ambivalence, the impulse to retreat into moralism that we have regularly observed in more classical lyrics. Though they differ greatly in tone, the two midcentury works have in common a witty and unapologetic attitude toward their subject matter. If formally they grew out of new forms of ecclesiastical vocal music, philosophically they have at least some of their roots in Neoplatonism. This is perhaps less evident in "De terre" and "Ex ungue" than in some of the lyrics to be discussed shortly. In a general way, though, the rumination on Nature's powers and cycles that dominates the former and the frank heteroeroticism of the latter suggest the flexibility some writers in the period felt to address in Latin verse the issue of eros in the life of the cleric. The vestigial epistolary trappings of Hilary's rhythmic poems for the nuns of Le Ronceray, with their associated suggestion of letter exchange within a local intellectual circle, are gone: "De terre" offers instead a traditional lyric moment and "Ex ungue" a generalized complaint, even if directed at a particular person.

Artful songs such as the two just discussed can be imagined in direct competition for status as European prestige entertainment with the erotic lyrics being produced contemporaneously in Provençal and Old French. To judge from the manuscript record and from contemporary comments, such Latin lyrics circulated widely in the Anglo-Norman world throughout the second half of the twelfth century. Whether we class them today as sequences or hymns or *conductus* or *versus*, the poems in the manuscripts were the words to

songs modeled on the most current and sophisticated monophonic and polyphonic music of the church. They were pieces created for public, sung performance, perhaps before the liberal and largely clerical audience present at a bishop's court or in certain monasteries, but also, as we suggested earlier, before a more mixed audience at a predominately secular court, where nonecclesiastics with sufficient latinity to appreciate the song might be present. In the rest of this chapter, I will begin an analysis of this twelfth-century Anglo-Latin erotic song by examining four relatively simple lyrics found in two English manuscripts—Bodley Additional A.44 and Cambridge University Library Ff.1.17(1). Though simple, the four lyrics illustrate that the new erotic song shares many of the concerns we associate with the more classical school poetry examined in the last chapter. At the same time, such songs provided a place for play with complex and problematical Neoplatonic ideas about the meaning of classical myth and the operation of eros in the life of the wise man.

#### NEW SONG IN TWO ANGLO-LATIN MANUSCRIPTS

##### *Three Poems from Bodleian MS Additional A.44*

About the year 1200 a new type of Latin poetic florilegium appears in England that absorbed the flow of lyric poetry composed in the mid-to-late twelfth century and superseded older models such as the twelfth-century anthology British Library Additional 24199 discussed in chapter 2. The major example of such a manuscript in England is Bodleian manuscript Additional A.44 (fig. 6), an eclectic mix of poetry and prose written in several very early thirteenth-century hands, making it more or less contemporary with the Glasgow handbook (Glasgow Hunterian V.8.14) discussed in chapter 5. Though the poetic interests of the compilers of the Bodley manuscript lean heavily toward the newer forms of rhythmic poetry, the manuscript includes an extract from the *Poetria nova* and recent pieces in classical meters like those used as models by the authors of the Glasgow manuscript, including works by Bernardus Silvestris, John of Hauville, and Matthew of Vendôme.<sup>59</sup> A number of the more political pieces (e.g., 43, 85, 103, 108) dealing with the Angevin royal family suggest the Anglo-Norman interests of the compilers and might be insular products. The Bodley manuscript's close relationship to the slightly younger, German *Carmina Burana* collection and the Parisian collection Florence, Laurenziana Plutarchus 29.1—it shares fifteen lyrics with the former and thirty-two with the latter—hints at a strong insular participation in the circulation of the new rhythmic repertory in the second half of the twelfth century.<sup>60</sup>

Simile ē de p̄tu veris; et solatio citius temperis.

**D**e terre gremio rram p̄gnatio progredit. et in partu soluit.  
 unifico calore. Hata recessus lenis famomus sic recen.  
 ne flos nouus percat. Precio rigore. Herbil ad huc teneris oban  
 dunt. ceteris temperet. ruder terre facies multiplex colore. Omis  
 Arbor foliis decet. Arbor flos et metula pennet. fulgens aure.  
 Dulci gaudet canore. Herba flos. flos humore. humor flos.  
 flos humori genat matram. Sident prata nobis grata.  
 redunt culta. fruge multa. et promittunt copiam. hortae  
 sub arbore florentia teret. dum meminit non desinit. sic  
 ingrat natura. Wens effertur letior. oblectatu glorioz.  
 Tu iacet gramineo sub arbore frondosa. ripariū margine.  
 cum uirgine formosa. Iuuentutis h'et erit iuuentis. qui  
 subiacet amori. Creber erit ne defessus cesserit. uenero  
 labori. Ueneris in alpis castris nolo milite. qui iuuent  
 limitem. cū h'et. p̄didero calorem. Aideo dum uideo. ut  
 longa t̄p̄as qui ad annos nestoz. p̄gredir. et sequit amoz.

**B**ruma grando glacies n̄e rigor hiemalis. cadunt. redit  
 h'et et decet et h'et n̄e rigoz hiemalis. cadunt. redit  
 h'et. Uentis in auram uertitur. maris p̄cella sternit nauis  
 a nauta regitur. Securus fletu. Aer aura salubrior. ma  
 rina relucet sic unda purior. qui in nō amat. ferro dunt  
 et. Sicut lūp̄es t̄ene h'et. sua uide h'et n̄e matia.  
 rep̄bi t̄ep̄et blanditur proceat. n̄e matia h'et p̄guit.  
 in partum t̄ra soluitur de flore fructus p̄ditur. matia f̄e  
 renus et. / Sminet planities campoz cœqual. natalis series.  
 nō artificial. unius est maties antifer h'et. ant divine  
 lūguit qd flos de spina nascit. de flore fructus p̄ditur.  
 suauis. Serenis. Leniescit. Abies et ego reuiesco. et uat  
 meridies nō ob hoc calefco. uirginis effigies fert solem q  
 repleo. me uen. ingit. Asia. me uirgo tangit. regia. me q

ca. p̄b. /  
 f̄e n̄e p̄.  
 m̄ula ē au  
 a h'et p̄tel.

Reverē cōgi de uerū  
 uictura.

xlvj.  
 Ad huc t̄ile. et  
 recessu rigū  
 h'et n̄e.

FPO

Fig. 6. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Additional A.44, fol. 71r. An eclectic mix of poetry and prose written in several very early thirteenth-century hands, the collection has no musical notation of any kind. Thomas Bekynton, bishop of Bath and Wells, 1443–1465, added titles, a more comprehensive table of contents and several new items when he owned the manuscript. “De terre gremio” appears at the top of the page; “Bruma, grando, glacies” begins halfway down. (Reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.)

Unlike the smaller and younger Cambridge songbook (Cambridge University Library Ff.1.17(1)), to be discussed later in this chapter, the Bodley collection has no musical notation of any kind. In the fifteenth century the core manuscript was expanded somewhat by Thomas Bekynton, bishop of Bath and Wells, 1443–65, who added titles, a more comprehensive table of contents, and several new items, and ultimately passed the volume on to a friend.<sup>61</sup>

The six erotic lyrics in Bishop Bekynton's plump book are all found in what must have been at one stage a separate booklet of six identical, eight-folio quires (now fols. 25–71) copied entirely in the hand of a single scribe.<sup>62</sup> With few exceptions the longer works with known authors in this section can be assigned to the mid-to-late twelfth century;<sup>63</sup> shorter works also reveal their roots in the second half of the century. Karl Strecker would assign five of the booklet's poems to Walter of Châtillon (33, 35–37, 40); four poems are certainly attributable to Peter of Blois since they appear in his Epistle 57 (23, 41 [two poems], and 42).<sup>64</sup> Of the booklet's forty-six total items, thirty-six are rhymed, rhythmic poems, a dozen of which appear in Laurenziana Plutarchus 29.1 (24–30, 32–33, 37, 41, 45), while ten pieces, including six of the twelve poems in the Florence manuscript, appear in the *Carmina Burana* (26–29, 32, 34–35, 40, 45, 49). All of these lyrics cluster together in the last two quires (9 and 10) of the booklet. Though the bulk of the lyrics contained in the booklet are found also in other continental and English manuscripts, nine pieces appear to be unique; some, no doubt, are of local origin. The volume is, as A. G. Rigg notes, "the anthology par excellence of this . . . period of Anglo-Latin," a striking indication of insular interest in new modes of Latin song.<sup>65</sup>

In the first half of the booklet, this turn-of-the-century collection includes on either side of Bernardus Silvestris's *Mathematicus* (fols. 30<sup>v</sup>–44<sup>v</sup>) two rhythmic poems having much in common with the "erotic" progymnasmata in distiches found associated with the Glasgow rhetoric. They hold a modest place between pseudoclassical school exercises and the sequences we will examine in chapters 7 and 8. Like the *Mathematicus*, they take their cue directly from classical sources. Both lyrics are self-consciously academic and rhetorical, more or less moralistic, and concerned with the disruptive power of Venus in men's lives. Both are formally sequences. One, "Anna soror" (Wilmart 7), is found elsewhere only in the fifteenth-century manuscript Wien CV 208,<sup>66</sup> a perfectly regular series of paired half-stanzas until the end, when the regularity is upset by three short stanzas (5a, 5b, 5c) with no metrical relationship to each other. The second poem, "Ridere solitus" (Wilmart 9), unique to this manuscript, consists of a regular series of paired half-stanzas with a short

refrain, except for the two opening stanzas, which have no metrical relationship to each other.<sup>67</sup>

Like a number of the poems in distiches in the Glasgow handbook, "Anna soror" feels a good deal like a classroom assignment, a summary and reworking of the complaints Dido utters before her death in *Aeneid* 4.<sup>68</sup> It works up bits of a classical love story, but does so with more sympathy and less ponderousness than do most progymnasmata. Dido speaks to her sister in the lyric on two main subjects: her own life as a kind of death now that she has been abandoned, and Aeneas's outward goodness in contrast with his inward faithlessness. The poem opens with verbal play on *mors*, *mori*, and *moror* that elaborates the first theme:

1a  
 Anna soror  
 ut quid mori  
 tandem moror?  
 cui dolori  
 reseruor misera?  
 5 O ha nimis aspera  
 uite conditio!  
 Mortis dilatio  
 michi mors altera.

[1a  
*Anna, my sister, why do I delay at last to die? For what affliction am I, miserable one, being preserved? O, how very harsh a condition of life! Delay of death is to me another death.*]<sup>69</sup>

Later Dido shows how Aeneas's broken promises make him a liar despite his beauty and his lineage, how the outer figure belies the inner deceit:

3a  
 Quid, Enea,  
 natum dea  
 te iactas Cipride?  
 Ha perfide,  
 5 genus quid iactitas?  
 Vultus quos astruit  
 illa redarguit

mentis atrocitas.

Parentem serenissimo

10 uultu promittis Cipridem;  
sed matrem tibi tigridem  
teste fateris animo.

[3a

*Why, Aeneas, do you boast that you were born of the goddess Venus? O, faithless one, why do you brag about your lineage? Your brutality of mind contradicts the looks that she furnishes. By your most beautiful visage, you claim Venus as your parent; but by the testimony of your spirit, you betray the fact that your mother is a tigress.]<sup>70</sup>*

Venus's son, like her other famous son, Cupid, shows an attractive face to fool the unwary; the inner and outer man do not correspond. From Dido's point of view, Aeneas's mother is the same misleading, schismatic Venus we will observe in "Ridere solitus" whose influence threatens what Dido has built and maintained with such effort against her enemies. Venus's power disorders the careful political world that Dido stands for, displeasing the citizens of Carthage and spreading rumors.

4a

An expectem destru<i>  
que statui  
urbis noue menia?

Nos odia

5 dire cingunt Libies.  
Hinc Yarbas emulus  
Numadumque populus,  
inde fratris rabies  
nos odiis

10 et preliis  
infestat.

4b

Meos quoque Tirios  
iam dubios,  
iam offensos uideo;  
displiceo

5 meis ipsis ciuibus.



Vrbe tota canitur:  
 “Dido spreta linquitur  
 suis ab hospitibus;  
 de Frigio  
 10 suffragio  
 nil restat.”

[4a

*Am I to wait for the new city's walls, which I established, to be destroyed?  
 The hatred of cruel Libya surrounds us. From this side envious Iarbas and the  
 Numidian people, from that side the fury of a brother afflicts us with hatred  
 and battle.*

4b

*Also I see my Tyrians now doubting, now offended; I displease my very own  
 citizens. It is sung in the whole town: “Spurned Dido is abandoned by her  
 own guests; nothing is left because of the Trojan decision.”]*

In this imaginative summarizing, the poet gives Dido a voice while refusing to invoke interpretations of her death that excuse Aeneas's behavior. He could have emphasized the traditional story of the man with a political duty who rejects love to found Rome, or harped on the more fully integumental reading of the episode as the tale of the man who puts aside temptations of the flesh in the pursuit of wisdom. Instead we get a revision of the story from the spurned woman's perspective, as if to remind a scholarly audience of the *littera* of the text. Ultimately the moral of both “Anna soror” and “Ridere solitus” is nearly the same: become involved with Venus at your own peril. But “Anna soror” is more than that warning. In Virgil, Dido goes eagerly to the sword and the pyre; here, by asking Anna to kill her, she resists a little. The rewriting gives Dido an unclassical sense of guilt about her suicide and about her own victimization by Venus, and it sympathetically underscores her suffering:

5a

Ipsa me peridi:  
 quid Friges arguo?  
 Merori subdidi  
 uitam perpetuo.  
 5 Heü me miseram  
 igni credideram;  
 hunc uri metuo.

5b

Quanta sit sencio  
 michi condicio  
 suplicii,  
 ni gladii

5 fruar obsequio.

5c

O luce clarior  
 Anna pars anime,  
 his quibus crucior  
 me malis adime.

5 Quousque paciar?

Ne semper moriar  
 me semel perime.

[5a

*I ruined myself: why do I accuse the Trojans? I have subjugated my life to perpetual sadness. Alas, I had consigned my miserable self to the fire; I am afraid that it is to be burned.*

5b

*I feel how great the term of punishment is to me, unless I enjoy yielding to the sword.*

5c

*O, brighter than light, Anna, part of my soul, take me away from these evils by which I suffer. How long must I suffer? Lest I die perpetually, slay me once and for all.]*

In this version of the story of Dido, Aeneas almost comes to stand in for his disruptive half-brother as a source of suffering and chaos. Playing in ways reminiscent of the much more intense verbal gymnastics of “Pyramus and Thisbe,” the poet has Dido turn to a female “pars animi” for release from the pain of failed love with a treacherous man. The language of the final seven lines (stanza 5c) almost invites us to see the queen as a proto-Christian martyr to love, praying to a purified Anne, “brighter than light,” for salvation from the evils that “crucify” her and from the pain of eternal death in life. “Anna soror” takes an academic exercise in paraphrase and compression as its starting point, then, in a series of neat, energetic, imaginative stanzas, creates something vigorously new from it.

“Ridere solitus,” the companion piece to “Anna soror,” found on the other side of the *Mathematicus* in Bodley Additional A.44, recalls a series of Greek myths to show that different earthly desires all lead finally to the same result. Though it includes eros as only one among a number of dangerous appetites, it emphasizes Venus’s special place by making her the concluding character in the mythographic sequence and by giving her more attention than any other figure. Like “Anna soror,” “Ridere” is at one level simply another example of schoolroom paraphrase. The larger inspiration for the lyric comes out of Neoplatonist exegesis of myth, here a collection of *integumenta* showing how the good life should be led. The poem is almost a catalog of interpreted myth, an amusing Boethian mnemonic to remind an audience of the dangers threatening the wise man. The two unlinked stanzas that begin “Ridere” first summon up a pair of Greek philosophers—one who laughed and the other who wept over the errors of humankind<sup>71</sup>—and then point out the delusive happiness we achieve when we attain a false desire:

1

Ridere solitus

Democritus

ad occursum singulos,

late uidens populos

5 erroribus feruere,

modo risum non frenaret,

dolioque non cessaret

Diogenes lugere.

Ref.

Varia

per deuia

discurritur.

2

Felix tamen creditur

qui fruitur

quo ducitur

affectu.

5 Felix enim dicitur

animi respectu.

Voluntur studiis

contrariis

hominum circuitus.

- 10 Par est tamen exitus;  
par finis hos expectat.  
Errat suo quisque more;  
suo felix est errore,  
dum tenet quod affectat.  
Ref. Varia et c(etera).

[1

*Democritus, who habitually laughed at each and every meeting, seeing people bustling widely in error, would not now restrain his smile, and Diogenes would not cease to mourn in his wine barrel.*

Ref. One is sent wandering down many a wrong road.

2

*Nevertheless, he believes himself happy who enjoys a passion by which he is led. Indeed, he is called happy with regard to the soul. The lives of men are revolved by conflicting desires. The end, however, is the same; the same conclusion awaits them. Each one wanders in his own way; he is happy in his error as long as he has what he desires.*

Ref. One is sent. . . .]<sup>72</sup>

This invocation of Greek stories leads to a theoretical discussion of the value of such materials: the critical attitude toward Ovid and the stories of the *Metamorphoses*, evident in the Glasgow handbook in a poem like "Consulte teneros," is replaced by a scholarly tolerance and interest. The myths the Greeks told are lies ("mistica mendacia"), but modern wise men have learned to interpret them correctly and can now teach the truth of fables in their new commentaries:

3a

Mistica mendacia,  
que Grecia  
finxit ludens fabulis,  
dissolutis nebulis,

- 5 in euentus exeunt,  
et in lucem prodeunt  
commenta fabulosa.  
Ref. Varia et c(etera).

[Obscure fictions, which Greece playfully contrived in made-up stories, now that the clouds have been dispersed, are issuing out and coming into the light as ingenious explanations.

Ref. One is sent. . . .]

The little *exempla* that make up the core of the lyric, stories left by the ancient Greeks, illustrate the importance of staying on the right path to wisdom and the dangers to those who pursue an intellectual and political life in the world. One tends to return endlessly to error because

Voluuntur studiis  
Contrariis  
hominum circuitus.

[The lives of men are revolved by conflicting desires.]

A person's life (the "circuitus") is turned about ("voluuntur") by all the ambiguous things, or studies, one seeks after ("studiis"), and so different people may fall into the traps described in old stories: Tantalus desired riches, and Daedalus was caught by "ambicio nodosa" [knotty ambition] when he made his labyrinth; Ixion was "inconstans dissonis uotis" [inconstant in confused wishes]; Tityos sees his liver eaten every day, as the overcurious person consumes himself without discovering himself in the search for "the arcane nature of things by laborious study."<sup>73</sup> Licaon, like the wolf he became in the story, wanted too much wealth ("rapinis opes cumulat"), and Proteus, who took on false forms, with lies "sese nodis elicit" [entices himself by means of knots]; Midas grew ass's ears because he believed the flattery he heard.<sup>74</sup> These are, of course, all errors to which the courtier-cleric may be particularly prone—rapacious intellectual or political overreaching, greed, duplicitous behavior, a credulous belief in flattery—and the figures invoked in shorthand here are particularly well suited to describe men whose lives are deep in "studiis contrariis." Kings Licaon and Tantalus each tested Zeus's divinity by seeing if he could detect the human flesh they served him; to the mythographers they seem to represent the sort of greed that aspires beyond what is appropriate for mortals.<sup>75</sup> Daedalus, Ixion, Tityos, and Proteus are each, in slightly different ways, models for the man who seeks wisdom, but becomes entangled in the multiplicity and circularity of his own efforts.

Stanzas 5b and 6a look mythographically at two sides of sexual desire,

another force at work in this dangerous universe; divisive Venus afflicts many, driving some to licit unions and others to ignore the “public laws”:

5b  
 Scisma Venus etiam  
 multiforme patitur;  
 in diuersa spargitur  
 fusa multiphariam.  
 5 Gaudet hic iuuenculis,  
 hic uetulis;  
 hic nuptarum copulis  
 letatur,  
 hic sectatur uiduas,  
 10 ille circa ianuas  
 uirginum uenatur.  
 Ref. Varia et c(etera).

6a  
 Scismatizant alii  
 Venerii  
 iuris ad iniuriam,  
 dum in contumeliam  
 5 iuris olim publici  
 scismatici  
 conspirant  
 Orpheique lirici  
 lira tracti temere  
 10 sub Venere  
 delirant.  
 Ref. Varia et c(etera).

[5b  
*Venus indeed suffers divisions in many forms; spread out in different directions, she is scattered and multifarious. One man rejoices in the young, another in the old; still another delights in copulations with married women; this man chases widows while that man hunts around the doors of virgins.*  
 Ref. One is sent. . . .

6a  
*Others among Venus's [followers] divide to the injury of the law, while they, schismatics, conspire at times in insult to the public laws, and, drawn by the*



poetry of Orpheus with his lyre, they rashly run wild under the power of Venus.

Ref. One is sent. . . . ]<sup>76</sup>

This Venus is neither an unblemished subdelegate of God's creative urge nor quite the antiphrastic double that haunts the *De planctu*, but a duplicitous and potentially disruptive figure like the Venus who is Paris's wrong choice in the myth of the Three Modes of Life. Here the poet links her to the lyric power of Orpheus to upset proper (sexual) order, in words that echo closely complaints in the *De planctu*: "Solus homo, mee modulationis citharam aspernatus, et sub delirantis Orphei lyra delirat" [Man alone turns with scorn from the modulated strains of my cithern and runs deranged to the notes of mad Orpheus' lyre.]<sup>77</sup> The Venus of "Ridere solitus" is sexual and poetic, the generalized danger set loose through the power of Orpheus's lyre, an icon that neatly symbolizes the fusion of eros and writing. The poet might have in mind the specific sorts of sexual "deviance" listed by Alain, but mostly he appears anxious about the many ordinary distractions from correct *studium* in the life of a cleric, forces that contrive to make even a wise man forget Boethius's admonition at the end of book 4 of the *Consolation*: "Superata tellus / Sidera donat" [the conquered earth yields (one) the stars].

"Anna soror" and "Ridere solitus" show how the academic impulse to poetic paraphrase of the classics and to integumental analysis of old stories might be thoughtfully worked into rhythmic song. A unique short poem found in the same Bodleian manuscript as these two poems takes up another academic matter in a love song—the Neoplatonist anxiety over the relationship between human desire and the creative urge embedded in the world. "Bruma, grando, glacies" (Wilmart 48) is one of four erotic lyrics clustered together on the last two folios of the booklet (fols. 70–71). One of these, "De terre gremio" (Wilmart 47), we examined in our discussion earlier in this chapter of the St. Martial manuscript Bibliothèque Nationale latin 3719 where it also appears; another, "Olim sudor Herculis" (Wilmart 45), one of the most widely copied poems of this type, will be considered at length in chapter 8.<sup>78</sup>

"Bruma, grando" is almost a commentary on the idea of the *Natureingang*—its "nature opening" takes up three-fourths of the work. Three half-stanzas of spring rebirth lead to a final half-stanza in which the speaker confronts the rebirth of his own sexual desire in the spring, inserting himself, not an abstracted *homo*, in the world of natural longing. As a whole, the poem is a beautifully constructed, compressed little sequence with a relatively long refrain, moving from image to image and idea to idea in careful order. The first

pair of half-stanzas present the seasonal yielding of rigor to beauty, and sketch the shift from the cold and violent disorder of winter to the calm and warmth of spring:

- 1a  
 Bruma, grando, glacies,  
 nix, rigor hiemalis  
 cedunt; redit species  
 et decor estivalis;  
 5 mitigatur rabies  
 plage meridialis.  
 Ventus in auram uertitur,  
 maris procella sternitur,  
 nauis a nauta regitur  
 10 securior.  
*Ref.*  
 Serenus est aer,  
 aura salubrior;  
 marina resident,  
 fit unda purior;  
 5 qui modo non amet  
 est ferro durior.
- 1b  
 Ridet superficies  
 terrene facultatis;  
 sua redit species  
 rebus materiatis;  
 5 Zephiri temperies  
 blanditur procreatis.  
 Ros matutinus spargitur,  
 in partum terra soluitur,  
 <pregnacio progreditur>  
 10 maturior.  
*Ref.* Serenus est. . . .

[1a

*Winter, hail, ice, snow, wintry fierceness give ground; the beauty and grace of summer return; the raging of the southern zone is appeased. The wind is turned to a breeze; the squall of the ocean is made calm, the ship is ruled more surely by the sailor.*

Ref.

*The air is calm, the breeze more healthful; the seas stay in place, the water becomes purer; he who does not love now is harder than iron.*

1b

*The surface of earthly abundance laughs; her beauty returns to material things. The warmth of Zephyrus is alluring to begotten creatures. Morning dew is sprinkled; the earth is unlocked into birth, <pregnancy proceeds> more quickly.*

Ref. *The air is calm. . . .*<sup>79</sup>

The ocean imagery of the first half-stanza apparently inspires the refrain—calm breezes and the warmth of spring make it a good season for sailors when the *nauta* can more safely guide his *navis*. Though one might not guess at once that this was a love poem, the refrain announces that fact before it is made evident in the last half-stanza. The temperateness of the season leads to heat and the anxiety of *amor* in a man; spring, however beneficial to sailors, is not a good time for the calm of the male spirit. As beauty and color return to the world, as wind and wave grow quiet, the earth gives birth. *Terra*'s potential for fecundity, her *facultas*, realizes itself in the material that constitutes her ("rebus materiatis"); warm wind and dew (Zephyrus and the "ros matutinus") create a sensual, inseminating conjunction that unlocks the earth in an advancing pregnancy. Stanza 2a provides a philosophical commentary on the process described in the first two sections:

2a

*Eminet planities  
camporum coequalis,  
naturalis series,  
non artificialis,*

5

*uirtus est materies,  
artifex spiritalis.  
Arti diuine linquitur  
quod flos de spina nascitur,  
de flore fructus proditur*

10

*suauior.*

Ref. *Serenus est. . . .*

[2a

*The level plane of the fields erupts, a natural succession, not artificial, the vigor is material, the artificer spiritual. That a flower is born from a thorn-*

*bush and a sweeter fruit is produced from a flower is left to divine art.*  
 Ref. *The air is calm. . . .*]

The flat field, sterile in winter, suddenly puts forth life, as it does every year in orderly series. Starting from this sensual mystery, the poet sets up a contrast between the material and the spiritual that corresponds roughly to the contrast between Hyle/Silva and Noys that opens the *Cosmographia*; between chaos and the divine idea behind the order in the created universe; or, more simply, between the earth itself and Natura in the course of each year's cycle. Fields renew themselves in a natural sequence, through the reproductive "virtus" entering into the material. Over terrestrial materiality rules an *ars divina* that governs how the *virtus* functions and reveals its existence through the sequence it directs—"spina" to "flos" to "fructus," all *suauiores*. In a sense, the first three half-stanzas reenact the "Megacosmos" of the *Cosmographia*, creating a context for the microcosmic last half-stanza. As if to signal this division, the rhyme pattern shifts from the consistent *-ies*, *-is*, and *-tur* of the preceding stanzas to *-ies*, *-esco*, and *-ia* in half-stanza 2b:

- 2b  
 Reuirescit abies  
 et ego reuiresco;  
 estuat meridies,  
 set non ob hoc calesco;  
 5 uirginis effigies  
 fert solem quo tepesco.  
 Me Venus angit anxia;  
 me uirgo tangit regia,  
 me qui non noui talia:  
 10 heu pacior.  
 Ref. Serenus est. . . .

[2b  
*The fir becomes green again and I become green again; the midday sun burns, but I do not grow warm from that; the image of a maiden bears the sun which warms me. Anxious Venus troubles me; a regal maiden touches me, who have not known such things: alas, I suffer.*  
 Ref. *The air is calm. . . .*]

Natura's "naturalis series" in stanza 2a gives way to the activities of Venus, who afflicts mankind as part of the cosmic process described in the first three

half-stanzas. The trees respond to Natura, growing green in the spring as they experience the sun's warmth; a man "regreens" metaphorically in response to something he experiences physically and intellectually, the heat of a sun carried by an "effigies uirginis," the image and likeness of a maiden. Even in admitting what moves him, the speaker distances the source of his desire. The maiden is an image in the speaker's mind, an idea, like Gerald of Wales's vision of the nude bather, that troubles him with new emotions, brought by an "anxia Venus," not by Natura. Once again, the macrocosmic sequence of the first part of the poem has led into the sublunar and the realm of human eros, Venus and a "regia virgo." In this short lyric, neither the goddess nor the vision of the woman is criticized, but they bring anxiety to the wise man, despite all the evidence that they are part of a well-ordered cosmos.

*A Poem from Cambridge University  
Library MS Ff.1.17(1)*

Love's power as an anxiety-producing seasonal disorder, ironically central to Nature's cyclical order through time, emerges also in "Dissoluta glatie," an interesting lyric from an early-thirteenth-century Cambridge manuscript. The scrappy booklet of eight leaves now designated Cambridge University Library Ff.1.17(1) (fig. 7), Otto Schumann's "jüngere Cambridger Liedersammlung,"<sup>80</sup> was for hundreds of years bound as the cover pages of an unrelated manuscript. Damaged by wear and moisture, disordered when bound, it is the only surviving insular musical booklet containing twelfth-century erotic Latin lyrics.<sup>81</sup> Schumann speaks of these sixteen pages as the work of a community of some sort, "perhaps from the older pupils of a cathedral or monastery school"; the generally untidy appearance of the manuscript suggests something put together for short-term use and simple preservation.<sup>82</sup> Bryan Gillingham, the most recent editor, stresses the manuscript's close connection to continental song collections, such as the St. Martial manuscript Bibliothèque Nationale latin 3719 discussed earlier in this chapter, and the "very cosmopolitan . . . outlook" of the scribes who, he feels, must have been "in touch with international musical pipelines." For him, "the overall impression is that of an eclectic compilation (almost a travel memento) dating from the second half of the twelfth century."<sup>83</sup> Schumann's observation that the sequence of songs in the manuscript is determined by the number of vocal parts each piece contains—songs for a single voice are followed by songs for multiple voices—suggests that the primary reason for the manuscript's existence was musical rather than poetic. Whoever organized the compilation never saw it to com-

*Cat. sic urgente puo q dnt dnat  
n pntur pma lpe uenire.*

Fig. 7. Cambridge, University Library MS Ff.1.17(1), fol. 6<sup>r</sup>. Early thirteenth century. The manuscript consists of a single booklet of eight leaves, for hundreds of years bound as the cover pages of an unrelated manuscript. It is the only surviving insular musical manuscript containing twelfth-century erotic Latin lyrics and bears a close relationship to several important continental song collections of the same period, such as the St. Martial manuscript shown in figure 5. “Dissoluta glatie” begins halfway down the page. Space has been left for musical notation which was never added. (Reproduced by permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.)



pletion, for a number of poems either lack staves or have staff lines, but no musical notation.<sup>84</sup> Most of the collection's lyrics are straightforwardly religious and have to do with identifiable church festivals. Near the center of the anthology, however, we find interspersed with the religious songs a broken series of four erotic lyrics and three moral/satirical pieces, all written for one voice. Two of the erotic songs are known from the *Carmina Burana*; the other two appear to be unique and anonymous.<sup>85</sup>

Like all the other poems in the songbook, "Dissoluta glatie" (Schumann 15/16) is transcribed with spaces left for staves and music, but it is one of a number of pieces in the collection never provided with either.<sup>86</sup> The poem consists of eight identical eight-line stanzas, 7a6b7a6b7a6b7a6b, followed by a ninth eight-line stanza with a different metrical pattern, 7a7a7a8b8b8b7a8b.<sup>87</sup> The poem could be sung strophically, like a hymn, but the arrangement of the lines on the manuscript page makes it clear that the compilers of the songbook imagined the poem as a through-composed sequence of four pairs of half-stanzas followed by a fifth, independent, stanza. In the relative simplicity of its metrical structure, "Dissoluta glatie" is reminiscent of a number of the hymnlike, rhythmic poems of Hilary of Orléans, such as *carmina* 2, 3, and 5 and of some of the very regular Victorine sequences with which it is presumably contemporary.

"Dissoluta glatie" in a sense takes up as "Bruma, grando" leaves off. Where the latter is dominated by a compact vision of the natural machine in spring that briefly absorbs the speaker into an anxious vegetative embrace, "Dissoluta glatie" begins with a spring landscape, then moves on to consider at greater length the implications of natural cyclicity for the human experience of eros. The poem ruminates on the appropriateness of the oxymoron as a way to talk about human sexual desire, a trope that verbally mimics the natural processes of which eros is a part. The poem points out that by its oppositional and self-contradictory quality the oxymoron, that most clichéd figure of speech in love poetry, appropriately mirrors the seasonal variation that gives rise to the sub-lunar experience of eros. The initial pair of stanzas records the yielding of winter's cold to new warmth, but continues beyond that first moment of awakening to the vernal equinox, to summer, and to the ripe productivity of the fall:

1a

Dissoluta glatie,  
gelu temperato,  
temporis primicie  
uere renouato

5 aplaudunt temperie

tempori iam nato,  
grata rerum serie  
flore pullulato.

1b

Tum, quicquid conceperat  
humor iemalis,  
quod uis augmentauerat  
equinoctialis,

- 5 parturit, ut pariat,  
hoc tepor uernalis,  
estas nutrit, purpurat  
color autumpnalis.

[1a

*When the ice has melted, the cold grown mild, the first fruits of the season,  
when the spring has been renewed, applaud the warmth, the season now  
born, the welcome succession of things when the flower has sprouted.*

1b

*Then, whatever winter's moisture had conceived, which the power of the  
equinox had increased, spring's warmth carries in order to give birth; the  
summer nourishes it, and autumnal color dyes it purple.]<sup>88</sup>*

Following the two half-stanzas of *Natureingang*, stanza 2a extends the notion of seasonal rebirth to include the rebirth of love:

2a

Tunc videtur conspicui  
rediuiua Dido,  
respondere Biblidi  
Caunus: "me tibi do!"

- 5 mentes face uigili  
suscitat Cupido,  
cuius factum missili  
uulnus reformido.

[2a

*Then, behold, Dido seems to be reborn, and Caunus replies to Biblis: "I give  
myself to you!" Cupid stirs up minds with his ever-burning torch, whose  
wound, made with a dart, I dread.]*

The brief spring introduction has invoked the “*gratia rerum serie*” [the welcome succession of things] revealed in the emergence of the “*temporis primicie*” [the first fruits of the year]; now Dido comes back from the dead to be admired for her beauty, while Caunus throws herself again at her love. These two odd illustrations of love’s activity—one relationship leading to suicide, another to incest—contrast strikingly with the enthusiastic record of spring’s generative force contained in stanza 1, but suggest the ability of eros to cancel death. Cupid’s power takes on a double quality—part of nature, yet dreadful—and this natural duplicity felt of love begins breeding oxymorons. As the lyric progresses, the natural seasonal alternation through time, felt in the movement from cold to warm and from sterility to fecundity, comes to serve as a kind of metaphor for the simultaneous contradictions of love. Stanza 2b introduces the image of the “*gratulantium uinculum*” as if to stress the point:

2b

Tunc Amoris uinculum  
tenet irretita  
corda gratulantium  
uice repetita.

5

lex uicissitudinum  
sic eis blandita  
mouet corda uirginum  
dulcore lenita.

[2b

*Then the fetter of Love holds bound the hearts of those who, in return, repeatedly give thanks. The law of changes thus moves the charmed hearts of maidens made soft by them with sweetness.]*

Whatever this stanza means precisely, it is clear that the law of love, like that of the seasons, is the law of change and repetition. A cyclical submission to the forces of nature creates the joyful fetters, and, as a human part of this pattern, maidens are moved to love by the power of these changes. From the effect of seasonal variation on *virgines*, the poet shifts to a rumination on Cupid’s power over humankind:

3a

Mens egra mortifero  
uulnere sanatur

et dolore tenero  
mox redintegratur.

- 5 metu, desiderio  
dolor duplicatur,  
sic iubente puero,  
qui diis dominatur.

3b  
Gemitus, suspiria  
rident in amore,  
qui colorat gaudia  
proprio colore

- 5 nec mutat consilia:  
consueto more  
nunc promittit premia  
spe iocundiore.

[3a

*The mind sick with a mortal wound is healed and with tender sadness is soon made whole. With fear, with longing, sadness is doubled; so it is when the boy who rules the gods gives commands.*

3b

*Groans and Sighs laugh with Love, who colors joys in his own color, and does not change his intentions: in his usual way he now promises rewards with more delightful expectation.]*

Through these two half-stanzas we move steadily closer to a fully elaborated oxymoron. Love wounds and heals in a series of ironies—sadness does the curing, and, having cured, the sadness worsens; the cause of all this suffering is a mere boy who yet is more powerful than any other god. In half-stanza 3b semipersonified Groans and Sighs laugh, and Joy takes on a strange coloration as the “primicie” [first fruits] of the first half-stanza become “praemia” [rewards]: the vegetable changes to the human and sexual. Love’s very nature is to offer hope of satisfaction while threatening denial, to seem to be two opposed possibilities in one personified entity. Love’s ambivalence, this vacillation between hope and fear, in the realm of speech and logic leads to disruption and contradiction:

4a

Nunc dat spem credibilem,  
nunc suspicionem,

nunc uoti fallibilem  
 executionem;  
 5 nimis disputabilem  
 mouet questionem  
 in totam probabilem  
 contradictionem.

4b  
 Libere decipere  
 conceditur amanti,  
 tenere consulere  
 consilium roganti;  
 5 licitum illicitum  
 indesideranti,  
 libitum illibitum  
 amore[m]<sup>89</sup> reuocanti.

[4a  
 Now he gives a credible hope, now suspicion, now the false performance of a  
 promise; he turns a highly disputable argument into an entirely probable  
 counter-argument.

4b  
 It is permitted to the lover to deceive freely, and to the suppliant to deliberate  
 tenderly; the permitted is not permitted to one who does not love, and what is  
 pleasing is not pleasing for one who calls for love's return.]

Stanza 4a's alternation of rhymes in *-ilem* and *-ionem* creates a visual and aural parallel to the back-and-forth bouncing of the lover's mind, as do the "licitum illicitum" and "libitum illibitum" of the next stanza. Together, 4a and 4b bring in the language of scholastic disputation and of the law courts in order to declare such efforts futile in the face of Cupid's power. Love makes for logical improbabilities, for lies, for confusions of verbal order, just as it confuses the mind of the lover. This stress on the purely verbal introduces the more full-blown oxymoronic formulations and near blasphemy of the last lines:

5  
 Mitis furor amor est,  
 cuius dulcis dolor est.  
 comes risus meror est  
 et tristicie gaudium,

- 5 doloris seminarium  
et finis et principium.  
pigritari pudor est  
ad amoris tripudium.

[5

*Love is a mild madness, whose sadness is sweet. The companion of laughter is mourning, and of sadness joy, the seedbed of sorrow is both end and beginning. It is proper to be slow to the dance of love.]*

Relentlessly alternating rhymes yield to an emphatic series of three a-rhymes and three b-rhymes and emphatic definitional statements. “Mitis furor,” “dulcis dolor,” “comes risus meror,” “tristicie gaudium”—all these recall Alain de Lille’s “jokes and jests” in the *De planctu* while they summarize the contradictions of the rest of the lyric. The last lines glance back to the fecundity of the *Natureingang*, where “amor” inspired, along with spring, the successive generation of terrestrial things in the *seminarium* of the earth. But for the poet, as a man, this love is also a *seminarium doloris*, part of the fabric of the universe, like God both an end and a beginning, the cause of a wound and the healing of it, whose oxymoronic movement back and forth becomes a long cosmic *tripudium* and a man’s comic jiggling.

In the course of this chapter, I have tried to show that the appearance of a new type of adventurous, rhythmic, erotic lyric in the second half of the twelfth century was intimately related to slightly earlier developments in religious song that took place in northern France and Aquitaine. Early in the century, Hilary of Orléans, perhaps under the influence of both Baudri of Bourgueil and Abelard, continued an Angevin tradition of erotic lyric composition, but abandoned classically based meters and instead wrote what were, in form, essentially updated hymns: rhymed, rhythmic, stanzaic songs. His erotic lyrics—epistolary poems to nuns, songs in praise of beautiful boys—are daring early examples of the sort of sung entertainment in Latin that a new generation of highly trained clerics could produce. Also in the first half of the twelfth century, Parisian Victorines developed an elaborate new type of song in tandem with efforts at religious reform. Margot Fassler’s analysis of this monastic program points up the connection between the philosophical content of the new Victorine sequences and the Victorine community’s particular theological concerns. Likewise, Grier’s study of the changes in song form and performance context in Aquitaine in the first half of the twelfth century points toward a growing interest in extraliturgical song dealing with important



theological issues. In a similar way—though certainly less centralized or organized in doing so—poets writing erotic Latin songs in the new verse forms developing in the century used their lyrics as a vehicle for an imaginative discussion of some of the philosophical issues facing highly educated courtier-clerics in France and England. Even the four relatively simple poems just examined suggest ties between the types of concerns voiced in the lyrics, and the renewed interest both in the exegesis of classical myth and in scientific analysis of the cosmos as practiced most prominently by the Neoplatonists, who were operating in the same geographical area in which the new song forms were developing.

The four Anglo-Latin poems we have just looked at and the two early-thirteenth-century manuscripts that contain them suggest the likelihood of a vigorous insular participation in the circulation of avant-garde song, including erotic lyrics, after the middle of the twelfth century. Oxford Bodleian Additional A.44 provides a parallel to the major French and German collections of the period containing erotic lyrics; and Cambridge University Library Ff.1.17(1), comparable in many ways to the much more extensive St. Martial *libelli*, reminds us once more that erotic Latin poems in their own time circulated as musical entertainment for elite audiences. In these manuscripts we find erotic Latin lyrics in the new verse forms preserved unapologetically alongside their religious and satirical siblings of a similar poetic and musical type. Both the Oxford and the Cambridge manuscripts, each put together by numerous scribes, suggest the efforts of a community to preserve these songs about a generation after their composition. If we cannot pinpoint a specific urban, intellectual, mixed ecclesiastical and secular audience in England of the sort we have imagined for someone like Hilary or for the St. Martial repertory, it is safe to imagine the existence of similar communities in England after midcentury for whom erotic Latin lyrics would have formed part of the regular program of sophisticated entertainment. If the *seminarium* of the new songs was the intellectually explosive area stretching south from Paris through the heart of France into Aquitaine, we know insular communities maintained close contacts with these areas and participated actively in the circulation of avant-garde song.

I have discussed the four Anglo-Latin lyrics in an order designed first to show the continuity between the school exercises in classical meters of the sort found in the Glasgow handbook and then to suggest the kinds of playful rumination possible and evident in the new lyric forms. “Anna soror” and “Ridere solitus” both reveal a fascination with myth. Both reveal clerical anxieties about the divisive power of Venus, invoking more or less overtly the

schismatic Venus of the *De planctu*. And both show a certain imaginative sympathy with the human suffering caused by eros, a sympathy that goes beyond the simple moralizing one might expect to find in such poems. “Anna soror” actually works against the reading of Virgil’s text that forgives Aeneas’s cruelty in the name of manifest destiny or in the name of putting aside the things of the world, by imaginatively rewriting a defining moment in the *Aeneid*. “Ridere solitus” elaborates a methodology of reading myths to make them useful to the courtier-cleric in his thinking about his own life, making evident the dangerous link between the lyric power of Orpheus, the special province of the cleric, and the disruptiveness of Venus. “Bruma, grando” concretely locates the cleric’s erotic anxiety in a cosmographical setting, contrasting the calm order of the macrocosm with the disorder felt by the individual intellectual in love. “Dissoluta glatie” adds to the discussion begun in “Bruma” by examining eros as a force acting in the macrocosm and on the microcosm and as a kind of verbal construct, an aspect of rhetorical theory functioning as a reified figure of speech in the life of the cleric. In the next chapter, we will look at half a dozen poems from a single manuscript, British Library Arundel 384, possibly by a single author, to see more fully how the rhythmic erotic Latin lyric might emerge as an appropriate playground for ideas about the place of the cleric in the world and the meaning of the power of eros.

## Chapter Seven

---

### The Rhythms of Eros (II)

THE LARGEST INSULAR collection of medieval Latin erotic songs survives today in a booklet of twenty folios attached to British Library MS Arundel 384. Written as prose in a late-fourteenth-century English hand are twenty-eight rhythmic Latin poems all apparently composed in the twelfth century. Of these, seventeen are erotic—twelve unique to this manuscript—and seven are Nativity poems; the remaining four praise or blame a variety of ecclesiastical figures and practices.<sup>1</sup> The booklet's entire contents—part 3 of the pseudo-Ovidian *De vetula*, with commentary, the twenty-eight twelfth-century lyrics, excerpts from Cicero's *De officiis*, a treatise on the astrolabe, and an alphabetical index to Boethius's *Consolation*—are united by an almost Chaucerian vision of the world that integrates Christianity, pagan philosophy and cosmology. The position of the lyrics within these pages may indicate something about their position in the mind of the compiler. On one side of the song collection is the late-thirteenth-century *De vetula*, attributed now to Richard Fournival.<sup>2</sup> A medieval attempt to Christianize Ovid, the poem describes the writer's rescue by philosophy from the disappointments of love and concludes with a long astrological section that

compares the six ages of religion to the six planets and gathers astrological proofs and ancient prophecies of Christ's birth. On the other side of the lyrics are a collection of moral extracts from one of Cicero's late works<sup>3</sup> and two documents useful to anyone interested in thoughtful study of the heavens and the operation of fate in the world. The inclusion of the lyrics must have made sense to the compiler because of their focus on the cosmological and mythological machinery of the world and on the workings of desire in that cosmos. These final twenty folios of the Arundel manuscript balance the extravagance of the medieval erotic lyrics with the Christian passion of the Nativity poems, with the classical, prose *moralitas* of the Ciceronian selections, and with a repentant medieval Ovid. Rather than try to account here for all the erotic poems in this rich collection, I have selected six of the manuscript's seventeen erotic lyrics for discussion. As will become clear, they are poems that speak well to each other, and the thematic, structural, and verbal parallels I note in passing will implicitly suggest my belief that most or all of them are the product of a single mind. This is a consciousness creating, if not deliberately a coherent whole in the manner of a Renaissance sonnet sequence, then at least clusters of poems related in various ways and examining throughout a common set of ideas about the function of eros and the place of the cleric in a complex and beautiful cosmos.

#### PETER OF BLOIS: AUTHOR OF THE ARUNDEL LYRICS?

If we could confidently ascribe some or all of the Arundel poems to a single identifiable writer, we would be in a better position to understand their place in Anglo-Latin clerical and aristocratic culture. They remain stubbornly anonymous, but the sense of stylistic and intellectual coherence presented by the collection has for a long time encouraged scholars to search for an author. In a 1976 article Peter Dronke, building on suggestions made by Otto Schumann, Hans Spanke, André Wilmart, and F. J. E. Raby years earlier, proposed assigning some fifty poems, including nineteen of the twenty-eight in the Arundel collection, to the prolific letter-writer and well-connected courtier-cleric Peter of Blois.<sup>4</sup> Of all the lyrics attributed to Peter in Dronke's article, only six can be definitively assigned to the letter writer because they appear as Peter's in one of his collected letters (Epistle 57); three others are ascribed to him in medieval manuscripts. The remaining poems Dronke assigns based on formal and verbal similarities and on the presence of an acrostic PETRI in Arundel 7 and a possible play on the word *blesensis* in Arundel 15.<sup>5</sup> Peter him-

self suggests he wrote lyrics in his youth: in Epistle 12 he requests from his nephew copies of the “*versus et ludicra*” that he wrote at Tours as a student, poems conceivably erotic and of the same general sort as are found in Epistle 57.<sup>6</sup>

A well-placed, much-traveled, Paris-educated new man of the age, one of the more visible of the courtier intellectuals at work in the Anglo-Angevin sphere after midcentury, Peter of Blois is an appealing and natural suspect for the author of many of the Arundel poems. He has the right academic background, the right career history, and seemingly the right attitudes—as revealed in some of his letters—to be the author of avant-garde Latin poems in insular circulation. Born around 1130 in Blois, the son of exiled low nobility from Brittany, he studied first at Tours and later in Paris and Bologna (1145–47 and 1150), and was tutor to William II at the Sicilian court from 1167 to 1169, before attaching himself to Angevin court circles beginning about 1170.<sup>7</sup> Between 1170 and 1180 he apparently sought a prebend in Salisbury after failing to secure a preferable living at Chartres. At some point he became chancellor to Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury, whose business he took care of at Rome and at the court of Henry II. Peter was made archdeacon of Bath—the highest post he obtained—and a member of the royal court, where he served as secretary and seems to have represented the king on a variety of missions.<sup>8</sup> In 1190 he was with Archbishop Baldwin at the siege of Acre during the Third Crusade, returning to England late the next year.<sup>9</sup> Peter also served in the courts of Eleanor of Aquitaine and Richard I, and was attached at different times to the bishops of Worcester and Durham after the death of Henry II in 1189. In 1205–6 he lost his appointment as archdeacon of Bath; ultimately arrangements were made for his support through the bishop of Ely, and he lived on until 1211 or 1212.<sup>10</sup>

Some years after the appearance of Dronke’s important article, R. W. Southern, warning of “the dangers of any [poetic] attributions made only on stylistic grounds,” demonstrated the existence of a second Peter of Blois, a contemporary and close acquaintance of the letter writer, who also wrote lyric poetry.<sup>11</sup> Southern’s argument hinges on his reading of a letter, Epistle 76, first appearing in one of the later editions of Peter’s letter collection (ca. 1198), addressed to a Master Peter of Blois, and probably written after 1192. Dronke, following R. R. Bezzola, read Epistle 76 as a self-analytical piece directed by the author to himself, in which he criticizes himself for writing inappropriate sorts of poetry. The key passages from the letter have been much quoted in critical discussion:

Quid tibi ad vanitates et insanias falsas? Quid tibi ad deorum gentilium fabulosos amores, qui debueras esse organum veritatis? . . . Et quae insania est de Hercule et Jove canere fabulosa, et a Deo qui est via, veritas et vita, recedere? . . . In fabulis paganorum, in philosophorum studiis, tandem in iure civili dies tuos usque in senium expendisti et . . . sacram theologiae paginam damnabiliter horruisti. . . . Quid tibi ad Jovem et ad Herculem? . . . Ego quidem nugis et cantibus venereis quandoque operam dedi, sed . . . reieci haec omnia a primo limine iuventutis. . . . Omitte penitus cantus inutiles et aniles fabulas et naenias pueriles.

*[What do such vanities and false insanities matter to you? What are the fabled loves of the pagan gods to you, who were supposed to be the instrument of truth? . . . And what insanity is it to sing fables about Hercules and Jove and to withdraw from God who is the way, the truth, and the life? . . . You have spent your days until you were old on pagan fables, on philosophical studies and, lastly, on civil law and . . . you have damnably feared the sacred page of theology. . . . What to you (are) Jove and Hercules? . . . I, too, once gave attention to the trifles and songs of Venus, but . . . I rejected all those things from the start of my maturity. . . . Give up completely useless songs and the fables of old women and puerile ditties.]*<sup>12</sup>

Southern's reexamination of Epistle 76 and reconsideration of what is known about the life of Peter-of-Blois-the-letter-writer makes clear that Dronke's and Bezzola's claim that Peter wrote Epistle 76 to himself is untenable and that there must be a second Peter of Blois, who passed most of his career in France and who was himself a writer of rhythmic Latin verse. Southern identifies this Peter as a canon at Chartres who was also the archdeacon of Dreux and author of the *Speculum iuris canonici*, composed between about 1175 and 1190.<sup>13</sup> Complaints the archdeacon voices in the preface to his *Speculum* about his oppressive professional life at Chartres and his need to escape into classical studies lead Southern to propose this second Peter of Blois as a better candidate for the authorship of Latin *cantus* about Jove and Hercules and the "deorum . . . fabulosos amores" than the more conventional Peter who wrote Epistle 76. Southern's conservative approach to attribution permits him to assign only a handful of poems to Peter-the-letter-writer, none of them erotic and none contained in the Arundel collection.<sup>14</sup> We are left, finally, with one Peter of Blois, archdeacon of Bath and famous for his letter collections, to whom a few rhythmic but not erotic poems may be confidently assigned, and a second Peter of Blois, the archdeacon of Dreux, who is accused of writing



erotica, but to whom we cannot assign any poems at all. Looking at a manuscript like Arundel 384, it may be safer to imagine that it contains simply a cross-section of the sort of song that both Peters, and others, were capable of writing. Whoever wrote such "Peter-type" songs, as a class of lyric verse from the second half of the twelfth century they are particularly well represented in English manuscripts. By far the largest collection of poems ascribed by Dronke to Peter of Blois is the group of nineteen poems in Arundel 384, followed by the thirteen poems in Oxford Bodley Additional A.44; the German *Carmina Burana* manuscript contains ten.<sup>15</sup>

#### SIX SONGS FROM BRITISH LIBRARY MS ARUNDEL 384

##### *Introduction*

Let us look, then, at six songs, probably all by a single author who might be one of the two Peters just discussed, but is certainly a highly educated cleric writing early in the second half of the twelfth century for a northern French and Anglo-Norman audience. I have organized the sequence of poems here into two groups of three poems—not according to the order of the poems in the manuscript, which may have its own inherent logic, but according to my own sense of intellectual coherence. I hope the discussion of the first cluster will prepare for what seem to me the more complex poems of the second group of three. The points I have to make in this present chapter could certainly have been made with another series of poems, but these six have seemed the most interesting and useful for my purposes. I begin each discussion with some analysis of the form of the poems—they are all rhymed, rhythmic, and stanzaic—but I have avoided elaborate commentary on metrical effects, beyond pointing out from time to time the difficulty and complexity of this verse, the significant demands made on the poet by the many short lines and the heavy use of rhyme, and the opportunities such insistent meter provides for the emphasis of certain words and phrases. As I suggested in the previous chapter, poetry like this is probably best compared to some of the wittiest and most formally perfect songs in English of the twentieth century, those of the American musical theater as practiced by great artists like Cole Porter, Oscar Hammerstein, and Stephen Sondheim, a form of sung entertainment at once accessible to a large and varied audience while also a rich resource for more complex analysis.<sup>16</sup>

Three lyrics from Arundel 384 (McDonough nos. 16, 15, and 5, all unique to the manuscript) have strong formal and thematic similarities that make

them useful to discuss as a group. They are all stanzaic poems with refrains and, like other poems in the Arundel collection, written in the precisely rhymed, strongly rhythmic meters that mark them as products of the revolution in songwriting techniques that occurred during the twelfth century. (See chapter 6.) They are all centrally concerned with the issues we have seen evidenced repeatedly: the cleric's deep ambivalence about his place as a man in an eroticized cosmos and the anxious relationship he feels between his professional identity as a philosopher and a poet and his complex human desires. The three poems follow a similar structural pattern; each begins with an astrological description of a season, a setting of the stage in a concrete cosmological moment, exploring the nature of the disorder created in the cleric's experience by the eruption of eros at different periods of the year: March–April, April–May, and June. Together the three songs form three sequential pieces in a zodiac of eros, a series of works that, playing off the traditional location of lovers in a spring landscape, explores the effects of eros on a cleric's mind at different seasonal moments as defined by the sun's celestial motion. Each poem, to a greater or lesser extent, examines eros as an illness, whose particular manifestations may be tied to the astrological situation at the time of the disease. Each poem underscores in its refrain ideas explored in the rest of the poem, pointing up the unresolvable and contradictory functioning of eros in the sublunar realm, particularly the difficulties inherent in reading the truth of erotic experience.

*"Partu recenti frondium"*

Arundel 16, "Partu recenti frondium," records the earliest moment in the three-poem sequence. It strikes me as a close companion piece to Arundel 15, another poem about a woman named Flora and another lyric with four identical stanzas punctuated by a formally elaborate refrain with repeated rhymes in *-ia*. The two-stanza opening segment is more complicated than what we will see in either Arundel 15 or 5, but it is still essentially a cosmic clock, set to the coolest sign of the zodiacal spring, Aries, the "Phrixian sheep." Where Arundel 5 invokes the summer solstice by reference to Apollo's position in the heavens, Arundel 16 locates its moment of contemplation at the vernal equinox, a place of celestial transition and equilibrium, when Natura "nocti diem equilibrat" as Apollo moves into Aries in late March to begin the spring. Perhaps as a result of the setting in this moment of balance and beginning, in a cooler month, there is little emphasis on the erotic heat that we will observe

in the other two poems. We find, rather, a more cerebral observation of the pull of Venerian law, set loose by the motion of the cosmos:

1

Partu recenti frondium  
et graminum fetura  
terre fecundat gremium  
clemencior natura.

5 nocti diem equilibrat  
dum sullimes equos vibrat  
oue sol Phrixea.  
Aquilone mansueto  
elementa nexu leto

10 colunt hymenea.

*Refrain*

Ha! Quam grauia  
michi sunt imperia  
veneria,  
cum nequeant deponi.

5 lex amoris anxia  
lex <est> legum nescia,  
lex obuia  
legum rationi.

2

Florem dampnarat Aquilo  
sub ruga nouercali,  
quem dulcis aure sibilo  
cum nectare vernali

5 delibutum reddit vite  
suo carens Abderite  
Rea parens rerum;  
solum pingit et deaurat,  
dum iacturam sol restaurat

10 breuium dierum.

*Ref.* Ha, quam grauia, etc.

[1

*A more compassionate Nature makes fruitful the lap of the earth with the recent birth of leaves and the breeding of grass. She makes equal the day with the night,*

*while the sun, in the Phrixian sheep (i.e., Aries), stirs the sublime horses. With the North Wind tamed, the wedded elements dwell in a joyful knot.*

Ref.

*Ha! How heavy to me are the commands of Venus, since they cannot be set aside. Love's law is anxious, a law ignorant of laws, a law opposed to the rationale of laws.*

2

*Aquilo had sentenced the flower under the wrinkle of a stepmother, whom (= the flower) Rhea, parent of all things, free from her Saturn, has given back to life steeped in vernal nectar, with the blowing of sweet air; she (Rhea) paints and gilds the earth, while the sun restores what was lost in the short days (of winter).*

Ref. *Ha! How heavy, etc.*<sup>17</sup>

Natura, as judge of the sublunar, makes equal night and day, tames the North Wind, joins the unbalanced elements in a renewed "nexu leto" of marriage. At the same time, she frees the flower from its cold annual punishment and releases Rhea from Saturn so that she can rise to provide the earth with new life. This familiar depiction of Neoplatonic natural order contrasts with the poet's own reaction against what he feels as Venus's erotic law, a disruptive force amid the life-giving harmony of spring. Her commands to the speaker to love seem to him antiphrastic, a law that knows no law, a "lex anxia amoris" that ignores reason and produces a lover who is "morbo felix infelici" (stanza 3), part and parcel of the anxiety that spawned the two Venuses in the *De planctu* and led Alain to the oxymoronic excesses of *metrum* 5. Venus's law is at once a part of the cyclical ordering principle evoked so well in the first two stanzas, and an oxymoronic law that overthrows the mind's own ideal order and destroys the truth of what is seen.

Stanzas 3 and 4 take up one aspect of that overthrow of reason, that descent to "vain things," an obsessive consideration of the material world brought about by the beauty of spring and of the beloved. The speaker as philosopher knows that the order of the cosmos may be read from the beauty and structure of the visible world, but, as lover, he finds the beautiful signs he reads deceptive and destructive. In one stanza of rumination, the poet manages to combine the old and familiar metaphors of the soldier in Venus's camp and the disease and wound of love, with passing allusion to the *quinque linea amoris* ("osculo vel risu" in 3.10) and the idea of alienation from the self we will observe in the other two lyrics of this group:

3

Castra sequendo Veneris  
ad vana mens declinat;  
ipsis Cupido superis  
insaniam propinat.

5 morbo felix infelici  
renatiue cicatrici  
toto mentis nisu  
suffragabar: set prudentem  
alienat Flora mentem  
10 osculo vel risu.  
Ref. Ha, quam grauia, etc.

4

Fallax interpretis animi  
frons et sophista vultus  
certant non posse reprimi  
Cupidinis insultus.

5 voto michi non respondet,  
voluntatem tamen spondet  
facies alternam.  
spe distractus infelici  
nil expecto nisi dici  
10 "requiem eternam."  
Ref. Ha, quam grauia, etc.

[3

*By attending on the camps of Venus the mind declines into vain things; Cupid gives madness to the gods themselves to drink. I, happy, was favorable to the unhappy disease, the reborn wound, with every effort of (my) mind: but Flora banishes the foreseeing mind with a kiss or a smile.*

Ref. Ha! How heavy, etc.

4

*Deceptive interpreter of the soul, the brow, and the lying face, make it clear that Cupid's onslaughts cannot be checked. She does not respond to my prayer, yet her face promises mutual inclinations. Distracted by an unhappy hope I look forward to nothing but the declaration of "eternal rest."*

Ref. Ha! How heavy, etc.]

By choosing to become a soldier in Venus's camp, the speaker chooses the wound, the disease, and the madness of the gods. Flora, who appears surprisingly at a time before Natura's own flowers have emerged, achieves her own apotheosis when she becomes the unresponsive object of the speaker's *votum*. The sight of her, her kiss, her smile alienates ("alienat") the lover from the rational self, his "prudenter . . . mentem." The "frons" and the "vultus," which ought to be the accurate texts of Flora's soul, do not read true. The result is psychic disorder leading to exhaustion and to a prayer for peace from all that the eruption of Venus's law has stirred up. The object of desire, Flora, the product of God's nurturing subdelegate Natura and the natural cycles of *mater* Rhea, turns out to be a text liable to misreading despite the cleric's hermeneutic skills. She threatens the speaker's clerical identity even though he knows philosophically that the desire he feels is a central part of how the universe rightly is ordered and moved.

"Spoliatum flore"

Arundel 15, "Spoliatum flore," is a poem that draws efficiently on the Bible and classical myth, and, I would say, directly on the sort of rhetorical and erotic play codified in Alain de Lille. Like its companion piece, Arundel 16, "Spoliatum" is a stanzaic song with refrain, hymnlike in structure, though presumably imagined as a through-composed sequence, with a twelve-line stanza that is more complex and more demanding of rhymes (three d- and three e-rhymes), and with four four-syllable lines added to a pattern of six- and seven-syllable lines. Also like Arundel 16, "Spoliatum" opens with an astrological clock, this time set for midspring, when Jupiter moves the sun into the sign of the bull, that is, in late April.<sup>18</sup> In Arundel 16, "Partu recenti," Natura inspired *frondes* and *gramina*; now as the earth warms, flowerless fields reflower and the speaker burns with a fire caused by an enigmatic Flora, who might, in stanza 1, be the flower personified, or a woman, or the goddess of spring.<sup>19</sup> Jupiter and Apollo together suppress the north wind, as they also release Venus's power on the world, causing a new wound, imagined by the speaker as a sort of brand burned into him by the maiden that marks him as Venus's own:

1  
Spoliatum  
f<l>ore pratum,  
dum seuiret Aquilo,  
ver colorat



- 5 et refflorat,  
 leui fauens sibilo.  
 Tauro Phebum Iupiter  
 suscipit benigne.  
 fero Iesus nouiter  
 10 Veneris insigne;  
 felix infeliciter  
 Flore succendor igne.

[1

*Spring colors and reflowers the meadow indulging it with a soft breeze after it was stripped of its blossom while Aquilo was raging. Jupiter benignly raises up Phoebus in Taurus. Newly wounded, I bear the mark of Venus; unhappily happy, I am set on fire by the fire of Flora.]*

The six-line refrain, with its emphatic series of four four-syllable lines rhyming in *-ia*, in its first three lines repeats the hope of “*dulcia . . . gaudia*” expressed in the first half of stanza 1, then refashions the “*Flore . . . igne*” of the stanza’s conclusion into the “*incendia blesencia*” of a flattering voice:

- Ha! quam dulcia  
 sunt gaudia  
 fideliter amantis!  
 incendia  
 5 blesencia  
 <sunt> voces adulantis.

*[Ha! How sweet are the joys of the faithful lover! The flatterer’s words (are) murmuring fires.]*<sup>20</sup>

It is not obvious at first reading just how we are to understand these lines. Presumably the speaker refers to himself as the “faithful lover,” but who is the “flatterer”? A male rival, perhaps? Very quickly it becomes clear that the *adulans* is, in fact, the woman who sets men on fire and misleads with false words, just as Flora in Arundel 16 misled the speaker with *frons* and *vultus*. Stanza 2, as C. J. McDonough notes,<sup>21</sup> probably makes reference to Psalm 54 (“Exaudi, Deus”), a prayer for deliverance from the false accusations of enemies that returns constantly to the power of the enemy’s words, to God’s verbal power to overcome the enemy, and to the suppliant’s powers of prayer. The Psalm opens with a plea for relief from the threat of a voice:

Exaudi Deus orationem meam,  
 et ne despexeris deprecationem meam;  
 intende mihi, et exaudi me.  
 contristatus sum in exercitatione mea;  
 et conturbatus sum  
 a voce inimici et a tribulatione peccatoris.

*[Hear, O God, my prayer, and despise not my supplication: be attentive to me and hear me. I am grieved in my exercise; and am troubled, at the voice of the enemy, and at the tribulation of the sinner.]*<sup>22</sup>

It concludes with the hope that God's words might heal the righteous and destroy the wicked:

divisi sunt ab ira vultus eius;  
 et adpropinquavit cor illius.  
 molliti sunt sermones eius super oleum;  
 et ipsi sunt iacula  
 iacta super Dominum curam tuam, et ipse te enutriet;  
 non dabit in aeternum fluctuationem iusto.  
 tu vero, Deus, deduces eos in puteum interitus.

*[they are divided by the wrath of his countenance,  
 and his heart hath drawn near.  
 His words are smoother than oil, and the same are darts.  
 Cast thy care upon the Lord, and he shall sustain thee:  
 he shall not suffer the just to waver forever.  
 But thou, O God, shalt bring them down into the pit of destruction.]*<sup>23</sup>

In "Spoliatum flore," God's *sermones molliti* become the delusive, Protean voice of a lover, able to take on many forms, to create false stories and mislead with sophistical kisses that function tangibly as the sounds of words do aurally:

2  
 Expolitus  
 et mollitus  
 sermo super oleum  
 me seducit,  
 5 dum inducit  
 multiformem Protheum.

vanis lactat fabulis  
 et, vt remorbescat  
 mentis dolor exulis,  
 10 vt in mortem crescat,  
 infelicem osculis  
 sophisticis inescat.  
 Ref. Ha, quam dulcia, etc.

[2

*Speech that is polished and smoother than oil seduces me, while it introduces  
 multiformed Proteus. It allures with vain fables, and, so that the anguish of  
 the mind of the exile become sick again, so that it grow into death, it entices  
 the unhappy man with sophistical kisses.*

Ref. Ha! How sweet, etc.]

Flora banished the speaker's "prudentem . . . mentem" with lies of her "osculo vel risu" in Arundel 16; now the speaker is sick and delusional from the false things he sees and hears. Shape-changing words lead the lover to death in the same way God's words in the Psalm are expected to kill the unrighteous. The poem links the experience of sexual desire to the clerical experience of texts, specifically to the myths whose substance lies behind the lyric itself (*vanae fabulae*), and to the Bible, the great text against which all others must be measured. In the third stanza the poet sets up an elaborate erotic situation that in the last stanza will permit a tour de force conclusion constructed out of rhetorical terms. Like kisses and like words, the beautiful smile unsettles the mind it affects:

3  
 Adulando  
 risu blando  
 mollit et effeminat,  
 depredatur  
 5 et furatur  
 mentes quas infascinat.  
 pauperis alloquium  
 cauet et declinat;  
 copiose dancium  
 10 votis se supinat,  
 faui stillicidium

in osculo propinat.

Ref. Ha, quam dulcia, etc.

[3

By flattering with an alluring smile (such language) makes soft and effeminate, plunders and pillages the minds that it bewitches. The speech of a poor man she guards against and declines: she lies on her back at the vows of ones giving generously, she gives drink, a drop of honey in (her) kiss.

Ref. Ha! How sweet, etc.]

At this point the poet is developing his obsession with words while playing again with the familiar system of the *quinque lineae amoris*.<sup>24</sup> That is, he moves through the stanza from *risus* to *alloquium* to *osculum* while emphasizing that it is the words of the suppliant that Flora accepts or rejects. Even her responses to their *alloquia* and *vota* are rhetorical—the poor poet she “declinat” (“refuses” or “declines” as a noun), but, for the lover who gives generously, she “supinat” (“lies on the back” or “becomes a gerund”). The last lines of the lyric hark back to the sexual grammar of the *De planctu*:

4

Hiis deuota  
mente tota,  
nichil dantes abdicat.  
in crumenam

5 nummis plenam

dulces dolos fabricat.  
blandi studet vrere  
risus incentiuo;  
spreto transit paupere,

10 dum adquisitiuo

construendi genere  
se copulat datiuo.

Ref. Ha, quam dulcia, etc.

[4

Devoted to these (ones who give) with her whole mind, she rejects those giving nothing; against a purse filled with money she contrives sweet deceits. She hastens to set (them) aflame with the allure of her flattering laughter; with the poor man having been rejected, she passes by, while, in the acquisitive manner of heaping up, she joins herself to one who gives.

Ref. Ha! How sweet, etc.]

The woman as source of desire, rejecting the one who has nothing, becomes a sort of figure of speech or part of speech herself, a verbal noun in conjunction with a dative, a fabricator of lies out of the money she gets from the "copiose dancium." The poet's contrast between the giver and the nongiver permits a shaggy-dog finish, the untranslatable agglomeration of grammatical terms that makes the sexual copulation of the woman with a male giver into a rhetorical act at the same time it completes the movement from the cosmic to the corporeal through the verbal. Though the narrative content of the poem is slight—a rich lover overcomes a poor one—we can see in this brief lyric an almost casual recycling of biblical and Neoplatonic study and a continuing reflection on the parallel status of verbal and sexual activity in the clerical mind, even if the poet experiences the sexual component of his desire as "mentis dolor exulis" [the anguish of the mind of the exile] and the woman's body as a locus of desire and source of confusion.

"Estivali Clarius"

"Estivali Clarius," Arundel 5, completes the three-part transit through the spring quarter of the year, from the vernal equinox to the summer solstice, when Apollo rides highest in the sky ("estuat vicinius") in his "Estivali rota." The cosmological machinery and the details of the spring landscape that dominated the opening stanzas of Arundel 16 and 15 are replaced in Arundel 5 by the single icon of the burning sun, which is immediately compared to the interior heat of erotic desire. The poem shares with "Spoliatum flore" a concern for the lover's alienation from the self and an interest in the peculiarly linguistic qualities of sexual desire. But here the grammaticized woman's body, desired object and playground for the anxious *studium* of the clerical speaker, has been transformed into a dream vision of the maiden:

1

Estivali Clarius  
sublimatus rota  
estuat vicinius  
vi caloris tota.

5

flamme vis alterius  
michi non ignota  
vrit me propinquius,  
licet plus remota.

Ref.

Flammis volens ingeri

minus vri sicio;  
 minus vrar veteri  
 traditus incendio.

2

Intimi profunditas  
 estuat ardoris,  
 vires agens tacitas  
 nec apparens foris.

- 5 mira flamme nouitas,  
 noua vis caloris:  
 minuit propinquitas  
 flamme vim feruoris.  
 Ref. Flammis, etc.

[1

*Apollo, raised high in his summer chariot, burns very near with all the power of his heat. The power of another flame, not unknown to me, burns me more closely, although further away.*

Ref.

*Wishing to be hurled into the flames, I thirst to be burned less; having been handed over to the old fire, may I burn less.*

2

*The depth of inmost passion seethes, driving silent forces, not appearing outside. Wondrous is the newness of the flame, new is the power of the heat: the nearness of the flame reduces the intensity of the fever.*

Ref. *Into the flames, etc.*<sup>25</sup>

Formally, the poem is the simplest of the three in this first group of Arundel lyrics; it is reminiscent of the works of Hilary of Orléans: a hymnlike song built of eight identical eight-line stanzas of alternating seven- and six-syllable lines, with four a- and four b-rhymes in each stanza, and followed by a refrain of four seven-syllable lines. The refrain makes clear the oxymoronic quality of what the speaker experiences: he wants to be burned, but doesn't; he has been thrown into the fire, but hopes he will thus burn less. The *vetus incendium* he struggles with suggests at once the ancient erotic power suffusing the universe, the literal and recurrent heat of the summer sun, and the return of his own immediate erotic feelings. The opening allusion to the nearness of Apollo moves swiftly to a comparison of that natural heat to the heat the speaker feels



from a different, more distant fire. Yet, in an oxymoronic formulation, the closer the source of that other heat to him, the less extreme his interior combustion. Similarly, despite the “old fire” that burns him, what he experiences, at least in stanza 2, is a “*flamme nouitas*” and “*noua vis*.” Repetitions in the first two stanzas of the word *vis* in shifting cases and numbers (*vis*, *vi*, *vim*, *vires*) underline the poem’s concern with the shifting forms of erotic power in circulation through the fabric of the cosmos, descending from the superlunar to the terrestrial.

The description of the speaker’s mind as *aegra* (“sick, infirm”) in 3.1 hints that we should translate the *fervor* of 2.8 as a “fever,” not just heat, a summer sickness. His only relief from this complicated immolation comes in dreams where he escapes the world and his body, to find his maiden in his imagination. As a clerical fantasy of seduction, the lyric has a good deal in common with the Leda poem we will discuss in the next chapter, even if their tones are completely different. In “Leda,” the mythographic fantasizing about the capture of a celestial maiden is cheerfully intellectual and ludic; “Estivali,” a bit like the two early poems discussed from B.L.Add. 24199 or Gerald of Wales’s vision of the bathing maiden, tries to suggest something of the psychic and moral cost of erotic desire. Here, the heat of eros, along with the speaker’s pain, creates a nexus for myth, sex, and writing. The speaker’s sexual anxiety breeds dreams, and through his dreams he transcends the physical manifestations of things into a dubious other world, a form of exile from the true self:

3

Egra mens absenciam  
sustinet inuita,  
sompnii per gratiam  
plurimum lenita:

5

reparat presenciam,  
volat expedita,  
exulat in patriam,  
corporis oblita.  
Ref. Flammis volens, etc.

4

Felix in exilium  
mens peregrinatur.  
sompni per obsequium  
misere beatur.

- 5 nam dum sic colloquium  
 virginis venatur,  
 cassum sopor gaudium  
 fugat, dum fugatur.  
 Ref. Flammis, etc.

[3

*The sick mind unwillingly endures absence, soothed very much by the grace of a dream: (the mind) restores presence, flies unhampered, lives as an exile in its homeland, forgetful of the body.*

Ref. *Into the flames, wishing, etc.*

4

*The mind gladly wanders off into exile, it is made happy sadly by its submission to sleep. For while thus it hunts a meeting with the maiden, sleep drives away the hollow joy, until [sleep itself] is driven away.*

Ref. *Into the flames, etc.]*

The “sadly happy” alienation from the body and from the self of the diseased mind is also an escape from the “prison” made by the laws of the mind or, perhaps, from the rational organizing structures of the cosmos that ought to prevent such madness. The dreams he escapes to over the wall are, like fictions and myths, not themselves true:

5

Carceris inpaciens,  
 sui facta iuris,  
 euolat mens nesciens  
 cohiberi muris.

- 5 sompniorum blandiens  
 sibi coniecturis,  
 ouat, spem concipiens  
 letam de futuris.  
 Ref. Flammis, etc.

6

Dulcibus mens sompniis  
 languens recreatur.  
 suis se deliciis  
 frui contemplatur.

- 5 verbis, risu, basiis

vane gloriatur  
et sibi ficticiis  
lusibus nugatur.  
Ref. Flammis volens, etc.

[5

*The mind, impatient of the prison made by its own laws, flies away, not knowing how to be confined by walls. Flattering itself with interpretations of dreams, it rejoices, conceiving a joyful hope for the future.*

Ref. Into the flames, etc.

6

*The mind languishing in sweet dreams is restored. It sees itself enjoying its delights. It boasts idly with words, laughter, kisses, and, in deceitful games, tells trifles to itself.*

Ref. Into the flames, etc.]

The generative and imaginative power of the human mind seduces the speaker. The dreams he makes, while momentarily satisfying, are only a *ficticius lusus* created out of the “*egra mens*” and producing *coniecturae*, yet like the mirrors and books of the cosmologies they have epistemological importance, they “mean” something; at some level they exist and affect one’s life. The final stanzas voice a wish for the reification of the imagined *nugae*:

7

O si sic euenerit!  
o si res futura  
sompno fidem dederit,  
o factorum cura!

5 o si sic predixerit,  
que si<n>t euentura,  
mistica promiserit  
sompnii figura!  
Ref. Flammis, etc.

8

Regibus preuehere  
vel equare stellis,  
dulcibus eruere  
potest me procellis:

5 si de labris carpere

detur fauum mellis,  
 os dilecte lambere  
 roseum labellis.  
 Ref. Flammis, etc.

[7

*○ if thus it would have happened! ○ if a future event had given its assurance to sleep, ○ concern of the Fates! ○ if thus it had predicted what would happen, what the mystic figura of a dream promised.*

Ref. *Into the flames, etc.*

8

*(My mind) is able to carry me before kings, to make me equal to the stars, to destroy me with sweet storms: if (only) it were given (to me) to pluck the honeycomb from (her) lips, to lick the rosy mouth of the beloved with my lips.*

Ref. *Into the flames, etc.]*

Is the unexpressed subject of the first two lines of stanza 8 the speaker's *mens* or the desired *puella*?<sup>26</sup> Such suppression suggests the equivalence of the two regenerative powers, desire and the mind itself. In a fevered dream, the mind fashions a "mistica figura" that might speak of events to come, but its truth is uncertain, whatever the speaker wishes or imagines; through the mysterious power of eros and the intellect, a cleric can surpass kings and equal the gods—or be destroyed. The speaker's ability to interpret and understand, his hermeneutic power to read the world, his imagination, and his ambitions, all are intimately connected with his sexual passion. By the mind's power he can achieve greatness, but that same power also leads him to the passionate need for physical union expressed in the last graphic couplet, a copulation that is also like an act of interpretation.

The zodiac of eros that unites these three Arundel lyrics has also proved to be an erotic rhetoric of false reading. After locating representation of erotic experience in a fairly specific, astrologically determined seasonal moment, each of the three poems focuses closely on the linguistic qualities of sexual desire, playing up the parallel status of intellectual and sexual *studium*, portraying eros as something empowering and unsettling, a form of divine, textual madness. Together they describe the anxious relationship between the philosopher poet's social function within the intellectual elite and his natural place in an eroticized cosmos. They explore again the cleric's ambivalence about the power of eros embedded in the structure of the world, a force, like *scientia*, that can make the cleric a god, but which is also disruptive, deceitful,

alienating, and dangerous to his intellectual aspirations. Eros both makes him who he is and threatens his hard-won sense of self.

Other erotic lyrics from the Arundel collection take up even more directly the materials of a twelfth-century humanist education, playing with stories from classical mythology, the paradigms of cosmic structure available in Neoplatonism, habits of female description codified in rhetorical handbooks, and the academic vision of the philosopher poet's place among the deified intelligentsia. The last three poems I would like to consider in this section (McDonough nos. 4, 8, and 1), while not linked quite as neatly as the three just examined, all focus closely on particular kinds of academic texts, working through their conventions to elucidate a clerical self whose erotic identity is in large part a creation of the texts themselves. The first of the three, "A globo veteri" (Arundel 4), might be called the signature piece of the Arundel collection (fig. 8). It is the most explicit enunciation of the intellectual allegiances of the poet or poets responsible for these works, combining quotation from the *Cosmographia* with extensive allusion to academic descriptions of female beauty. The second, "Seuit aure spiritus" (Arundel 8), also takes up the *effictio* as taught in the schools, but rapidly moves beyond that text, creating a new sort of female description with powerful metaphorical implications. The third, "Dionei sideris" (Arundel 1), paraphrases Martianus Capella in a highly mythological description of a spring moment, inviting the reader to consider the lyric as a sort of personal application of the *De nuptiis* and its exegesis to clerical erotic experience. These three poems, but particularly Arundel 1, will prepare for the rather long analysis, in the last chapter, of three final poems. Each of the poems in chapter 8 meditates extensively on a figure from classical mythology; because of their careful focus on mythological characters and events, these poems would, I believe, have asked a contemporary, clerical audience to understand them in light of twelfth-century Neoplatonic exegesis of the myths they consider; they would have invited a thoughtful clerical auditor or reader to consider the poems allegorically and to read himself and his life into the ancient stories retold in the lyrics.

### "A globo veteri"

A full-blown sequence of five elaborate stanza-pairs without refrain, Arundel 4 is also found in the *Carmina Burana* and, with music, in the thirteenth-century Parisian manuscript Florence, Laurenziana Plutarchus 29.1.<sup>27</sup> The poem quotes seminal academic texts to bring the generalized erotic anxiety evident in Neoplatonic cosmologies to something like the level of individual experi-







ence. Half-stanza 1a quotes the first lines of Bernardus Silvestris's "Megacosmos," and half-stanza 1b quotes an important moment near the beginning of the "Microcosmos."<sup>28</sup> Most of the poem, stanzas 3a–5a, consists of a truncated *effictio* that closely echoes Gerald of Wales's "Descriptio cuiusdam puellae," the sort of schoolish description ultimately codified, as Peter Godman points out, in the description of Helen in Matthew of Vendôme's *Ars versificatoria*. At the end of the poem, in the second half of the final stanza, the speaker calls up the ambivalent male self created from these philosophical and rhetorical texts.<sup>29</sup> At base a pastiche of academic set pieces, Arundel 4's juxtaposition of the fragments of a mid-twelfth-century humanist education makes more concrete the implications of those texts for the lives of the clerics who studied and lived them.

In place of a descriptive spring opening or the cosmological clock we saw in the first three Arundel poems, "A globo" moves from the spring as an always available metaphor for the first creation, to the actual Creation as elaborated in Neoplatonic mythography, and to a Natura who does not simply paint the earth, but who makes manifest the ideas in the divine mind. The gods, through the "rerum faciem," impose order on chaos by an almost literary act of organization ("texuit" and "explicuit"), in language that echoes the concluding sentence of Bernardus's "Megacosmos," where Imarmene "disponit, textit et retexit que complectitur universa" [disposes, joins together and rejoins the universe of things thus comprised].<sup>30</sup> This opening places in the broadest possible perspective the description that follows, pointedly setting that description in parallel to the description of the new man that is the "Microcosmos," and, most important, supplying what is missing in the Neoplatonic text, a companion female to the male subject:

1a  
A globo veteri  
cum rerum faciem  
traxissent superi,  
mundi que seriem  
5 prudens explicuit  
et texuit,  
Natura  
iam preconceperat,  
quod fuerat  
10 factura.

1b  
 Que causas machine  
 mundane suscitans,  
 de nostra virgine  
 iam dudum cogitans,  
 5 plus hanc excoluit,  
 plus prebuit  
 honoris,  
 dans priuilegium  
 et precium  
 10 laboris.

2a  
 In hac pre ceteris  
 tocius operis  
 Nature lucet opera.  
 tot munera  
 5 nulli fauoris contulit,  
 set extulit  
 hanc vltra cetera.

[1a  
*When, from the ancient mass, the gods had drawn out the form of things and, foreknowing, unfolded and interwove the order of the cosmos, Natura had already planned out what she was going to do.*<sup>31</sup>

1b  
*Natura, stirring up the causes of the world machine, for a long time already thinking about our maiden, the more she perfected her, the more she furnished her with honors, giving special favor and the gift of her labor.*

2a  
*In her, when compared with the rest of the entire work, Natura's effort shines forth. She conferred on no other so many gifts of grace, but praised this one above all the rest.]*<sup>32</sup>

The neat literary sequence mapped out in stanza 1—the opening and the conclusion to the “Megacosmos” followed by an allusion to the opening of the “Microcosmos” that in turn moves from Bernardus’s cosmological treatise to a version of the Ovidiana being taught in the schools—extracts philosophy and rhetoric from the prose and distiches of their original forms, and reworks them into Latin song. Out of the whirring of the “world machine” and the first

process of earthly cultivation comes a *puella*, not just the abstracted perfection that Gerald described or the arch-beauty of Matthew, but *nostra virgo*. She is an ideal who is the speaker's own woman, the cosmically sanctioned female companion for the deified cleric missing from the "Microcosmos," the woman inscribed in the cosmos since chaos was first brought to order by the *labor* of the gods. Her beauty, the culmination of all the efforts of the third hypostasis, inspires those who love, and what the lover reads in her face promises a cure for desire:

3b

Omnes amancium  
trahit in se visus,  
spondens remedium  
verecunda risus

5

lasciuia.  
arcus supercilia  
discriminant gemelli.

[3b

*Her appearance attracts to itself all lovers, the smile in bashful playfulness promising a remedy. Twin arches divide the eyebrows.]*<sup>33</sup>

This ontologically superior woman appears to present a reliable image to her observer, not the false readings the more terrestrial Flora offered in Arundel 15 and 16. Her eyes ("simplices ocelli") shine with a light ("syderea luce") that makes clear the *virgo*'s celestial origins, as does the luminescence of her flesh (in stanza 5a). Her face has the geometrical balance of a perfect moderation:

4a

Ab vtriusque luminis  
confinio  
moderati libraminis  
indicio

5

naris eminencia  
producitur venuste.  
quadam temperancia  
nec nimis erigitur  
nec premitur

10 iniuste.

4b  
 Allicit verbis dulcibus  
 et osculis,  
 castigate tumentibus  
 labellulis,  
 5 roseo nectareus  
 odor infusus ori.  
 pariter eburneus  
 sedet ordo dencium  
 par niuium  
 10 candori.

[4a  
*From the border of both eyes, with the mark of a balanced scale the rise of the nose is prettily produced. By a certain moderation neither is it raised up too much nor is it inappropriately pressed down.*

4b  
*The honey-sweet odor infused in a rosy mouth attracts with sweet words and kisses, and with lips swelling modestly. In like manner sits the ivory order of the teeth, as white as snow.]*

Stanza 5a describes the “gracior mixtura” of rose and lily that is the maiden’s skin, but the poet has no interest in the details of her body, erotic or otherwise, once he has located her existence so firmly in the mannerist Ovidian poetry of the schools.<sup>34</sup> As Godman notes, this sort of description was hackneyed by the second half of the twelfth century and already the subject of parody. Here the poet incorporates the *Ars versificatoria*, or texts like it, as the basis for the description of female because it is so explicitly textual. While it is entirely unoriginal, except for the compressed presentation and for the translation from classical meter to rhymed verse, it does distill contemporary teaching of classical literary methods. Coronis epitomizes the eroticized female body as a text taught to men in the schools, a figure standing for the intellectual and sexual anxieties of the clerical class. The maiden’s name, mentioned for the only time in stanza 5b, appropriately marks an object of literary and erotic interest for a self-deifying cleric.<sup>35</sup> Coronis of Larissa, the most beautiful maiden in Thessaly, is the beloved of Apollo in *Metamorphoses* 2.542–632, whom he kills when he discovers, thanks to the “garrula” crow, that she has been unfaithful. Thus the source of the medieval poet’s distress is the female consort of a god, enshrined in a mythographic Ovidian text, who betrays the

god sexually and dies as the result of too much talk.<sup>36</sup> The medieval Coronis is a celestial *virgo* who teaches the speaker to be what he is and takes him from himself.

5b  
 Rapit michi me Coronis,  
 priuilegiata donis  
 et Gratiarum flosculis.  
 nam Natura, dulcioris  
 5 alimenta dans erroris,  
 dum in stuporem populis  
 hanc omnibus ostendit,  
 in risu blando retia  
 veneria  
 10 tetendit.

[5b  
 Coronis, privileged with (these) gifts and the flowers of the Graces, steals me from myself; for Nature, giving the food of a sweeter error, when, as a wonder, she showed off this woman to all the world, stretched out, with an alluring smile, Venus's nets.]

She receives her gift of beauty from Natura and from her handmaidens, the Graces, yet that gift is an ironic "alimenta erroris." Despite the Neoplatonic machinery of the opening stanza, which implicitly makes her the equal of the male described in the "Microcosmos," and despite the long lesson of the *effictio*, which places her in the literary tradition of Ovidian poetics as manifested in current pedagogy, she remains a snare to the cleric. The ambiguous phrase "in stuporem" of 5b.6 ("as a wonder") may convey something of the mixture of amazement and stupefaction her presence brings.

"Seuit aure spiritus"

"Seuit aure spiritus" (Arundel 8) also appears, lacking various stanzas, in the *Carmina Burana* collection (where it is CB 83) and in an early-thirteenth-century French manuscript now in the Vatican (Vat.reg.lat. 344).<sup>37</sup> Like the first three poems discussed in this chapter, Arundel 5, 15, and 16, it is built from a series of identical stanzas with refrain. Here the stanzas are ten lines long, from four to seven syllables per line, with the added demand of five b-rhymes in

each stanza (7a4b7a4b 7b8c7b8c 7b6d); the final anomalous d-rhyme (-ore) links each stanza to the others. Since the song lacks music in all three manuscripts, we cannot know if it was intended to be sung as a hymn or if it was through-composed in the manner of a sequence. Like Arundel 5, 15, and 16, "Seuit" opens with a seasonal setting for the action of the lyric, though the opening is less astrologically detailed than we find elsewhere. As in Arundel 15 and 16, the female object of the speaker's desire is named Flora, a name that, as we have suggested, must have struck the author as particularly appropriate for works that explore the sublunar and material manifestations of eros in the context of a carefully constructed cosmological moment.

Arundel 8 continues and elaborates certain features of "A globo veteri," and at the same time it can be linked to the three lyrics—5, 15, and 16—alluded to a moment ago. Where Arundel 4 appropriated some of the verbal details of an idealized face from Ovidian poetic pedagogy, the *effictio* in "Seuit" rejects that literary model and concentrates with much greater originality on the outspread body of the *virgo*. The poem's most recent critic sees the author in conscious competition with, and "reaction against," more "verbose and conventional" versifiers such as Matthew of Vendôme, "simplifying and refashioning Matthew's flawed model . . . [to] focus upon the sensual features of the idealized nude" and avoiding the "veiled euphemism" with which Matthew passes over erotic details.<sup>38</sup> It is absolutely true that the author of Arundel 8 achieves a much greater intensity of focus on the material physicality of the naked female body than Matthew ever does. Nevertheless, and to no reader's surprise by this point, my impulse would be to see that effort directed to heightening the erotic impact of the piece while also fashioning a work that implicitly sets up the body of the woman as an object of exploration and discovery in line with the philosophical exploration of the cosmos. Assuming there is, in fact, some connection among the erotic poems in Arundel, the move from the restricted and literary Coronis of Ovid in Arundel 4 to Flora<sup>39</sup> may signal a movement away from a construction of the beloved as a Neoplatonic and rhetorical artifact to an analysis of the female body as a part of the larger cosmos. In some ways the work foreshadows a poem like Donne's *Elegy XIX*, "To His Mistress Going to Bed," in which the speaker imagines himself exploring the woman's body as a seventeenth-century adventurer explores the world:

License my roving hands, and let them go  
Before, behind, between, above, below.  
O my America! my new-found-land,



My kingdom, safeliest when with one man manned,  
 My mine of precious stones, my empery,  
 How blest am I in this discovering thee!<sup>40</sup>

Less anachronistically, one might imagine Arundel 8 as an erotic commentary on a work like the *Somnium Scipionis*, with the woman's body both the cosmological reward for long public service envisioned in that text and the cosmos itself, laid out for scrutiny before the younger Scipio by his grandfather.

"Seuit" sets its lyric moment in fall or winter, though without the astronomical details that invite the reader of other Arundel lyrics to locate the activities of those poems around certain fairly precise dates. In Arundel 8 we are initially reminded of the season by changes in the natural world—cold, wind, silent birds, falling leaves—not by an elaborate cosmological clock. The speaker notes a peculiarity of the human erotic experience that, like the possession of reason, distinguishes man from beast: animal creation feels the heat of eros only in spring, while a human being may love in any season, "semper amans" not according to "bestiale more."<sup>41</sup> The short insistent lines of the refrain introduce Flora in double contrast to the beasts of the first stanza and to the exterior cold that prevents other sorts of plants from blooming. She is his *gaudium* and also his *stipendium*. These ideas are elaborated in stanza 2, where the speaker exults that his long *obsequium* has been rewarded with a noble *stipendium* in this woman and that his mind hasn't the power to fully conceive the joy she brings him. The heavily connotative language of the stanza invokes both Ovidian language of love service (e.g., the use of *obsequium* in *Ars amatoria* 2.179, 181, 183 to indicate the compliance appropriate to a lover) and the language of public and intellectual service that dominates the *Somnium Scipionis*: long devotion and labor deserve a noble reward and glory among the stars. Like the woman in "Pyramus and Thisbe," Flora speaks wordlessly with a *loquax supercilium*; she can be read by an act of the speaker's intellect, but not with complete success:

1  
 Seuit aure spiritus  
 et arborum  
 come fluunt penitus  
 vi frigorum;  
 5 silent cantus nemorum.  
 nunc torpescit vere solo  
 feruens amor pecorum;

semper amans sequi nolo  
 nouas vices temporum  
 10 bestiali more.

*Refrain:*

Quam dulcia  
 stipendia  
 et gaudia  
 felicia  
 sunt hec hore  
 nostre Flore.<sup>42</sup>

2

Nec de longo conqueror  
 obsequio;  
 nobili remuneror  
 stipendio;  
 5 leto letor premio.  
 dum salutat me loquaci  
 Flora supercilio,  
 mente satis non capaci  
 gaudia concipio,  
 10 glorior labore.  
*Ref. Quam dulcia, etc.*

[1

*The spirit of the wind rages and the leaves of the trees flow down through the very power of the frost; the songs of the groves are silent. Now the love of the beasts grows listless, burning only in spring; I, loving always, do not wish to follow the renewed changes of seasons according to the customs of beasts.*

*Ref. What sweet payment and happy joys are these hours of our Flora.*

2

*I do not complain about long service; I am repaid with a noble reward; I rejoice in a joyful prize. As long as Flora greets me with a talkative eyebrow, I, with a mind not great enough (to imagine adequately), conceive of joys; I delight in my labor.*

*Ref. What sweet, etc.]]<sup>43</sup>*

These joys are part of a game played (“luditur”) with the help of Venus in a “secreta camera,” the literal interior space set aside for studious labor of any

sort and also the “secret chamber” of Flora’s own body where the speaker hopes finally to play:

3  
 Michi sors obsequitur  
 non aspera.  
 dum secreta luditur  
 in camera,  
 5 fauet Venus prospera.  
 nudam fouet Floram lectus;  
 caro candet tenera;  
 virginale lucet pectus,  
 parum surgunt vbera  
 10 modico tumore.  
 Ref. Quam dulcia, etc.

13  
*A not-unkind fate yields to me. When the game is played out in the secret chamber, favorable Venus lends her support. A bed warms naked Flora; her soft flesh shines white; her maidenly bosom glows, her breasts rise a little in a modest swelling.*  
 Ref. *What sweet, etc.]*

The lover’s *obsequium* of stanza 2.2 is echoed by the verb *obsequor* in 3.1, as Venus and Fate give the speaker access to his vegetable love, his flower in winter, whom he imagines, in the most astrological moment of the poem, as naked, warm, and glowing in bed, giving off her own radiance under the influence of a “prospera” planet. From 3.6 to 6.10 “Seuit” lingers over the woman’s body, describing her not simply as she might be seen with the eyes, but as the topography of the flesh is experienced by an aroused man’s moving hand. As a celestial object she “shines white” [*candet*], but what glows is also felt, her “soft flesh” [*caro . . . tenera*] in 3.7; just as her “*crus . . . tenerum*” will be observed, finally, “radians candore” in 6.6–10.

Stanza 4, which Meyer wanted erroneously to translate to a position just before stanza 7, begins with a gesture we have seen many times in the writings of twelfth-century humanists, but a gesture that is not empty despite its conventionality.<sup>44</sup> The speaker achieves glory, transcends the human condition, and “numbers” himself among the heaven-dwellers when he “investigates” the flower’s body across a long, curving trajectory:

- 4  
 Hominem transgredior  
 et superum  
 sullimari gloriior  
 ad numerum,  
 5 sinum tractans tenerum  
 cursu vago dum beata  
 manus it et vberum  
 regionem peruagata  
 descendit ad vterum  
 10 tactu leuiore.  
 Ref. Quam dulcia, etc.

[4

*I surpass man and I delight in being raised to the ranks of the gods, while my blessed hand, investigating the soft curve in a wandering course, journeys and, having ranged through the region of the breasts, descends to the belly with a lighter touch.*

Ref. *What sweet, etc.*]

The *cursus vagus* of the speaker's "blessed hand" through the hidden "regionem" suggests both the eroticized act of writing with a wandering pen and the exploration of an erotic landscape demarcated into geographical areas and possessing paths and direction. The descriptive language of the following stanza reinforces our impression of the body as a diminutive world (the five b-rhymes in stanza 5 are on *-ulo*) to be explored by following the woman's "latera" across the boundary of the *cingulum* to the center of the land at her "umbilicum":

- 5  
 A tenello tenera  
 pectusculo  
 distenduntur latera  
 pro modulo;  
 5 caro carens scrupulo  
 leuem tactum non offendit.  
 gracilis sub cingulo  
 vmbilicum preextendit  
 paululum ventriculo

10 tumescenciore.

Ref. Quam dulcia, etc.

6

Vota blando stimulat  
lenimine  
pubes, que vix pullulat  
in virgine

5 tenui lanugine.

crus vestitum moderata  
tenerum pinguedine  
leuigatur occultata  
neruorum compagine

10 radians candore.

Ref. Quam dulcia, etc.

15

*From the delicate little breast the tender sides are extended in measured moderation; the flesh being without anxiety takes no offense at the light touch. Below her girdle, the slim (girl) extends forth her middle with the belly swelling only slightly.*

Ref. What sweet, etc.

6

*Her pubic hair, which scarcely sprouts on the virgin in fine down, arouses desires by its alluring softness. Her soft leg, clothed in a moderate amount of flesh, is made smooth by the hidden structure of the sinews, gleaming with whiteness.*

Ref. What sweet, etc.]

The speaker's exploration of this "new-found-land," his writing of her through his perpetual human desire, his almost clinical appreciation of her body's hidden structures as well as its tactile surface suggest little of the ambivalence that marked the first group of three lyrics we looked at from Arundel 384. The flesh of the woman's body accepts the man's hand without anxiety, "caro carens scrupulo," as vellum might accept the pen. The speaker's anxiety about the situation emerges only in his fear that Jupiter, a god greater even than he, will try to usurp his place with the maiden. The same emotions he feels for the young girl also fire Jupiter, whose history of self-transformation in pursuit of erotic passion concludes the lyric:

- 7  
 O si forte Iupiter  
 hanc videat,  
 timeo, ne pariter  
 incaleat  
 5 et ad fraudes redeat,  
 siue Danes pluens aurum  
 ymbre dulci mulceat  
 vel Europes intret taurum  
 vel Ledeo candeat  
 10 rursus in olore.  
 Ref. Quam dulcia, etc.

[7

O! if by chance Jupiter should see her, I fear lest he grow equally hot and return to his tricks, whether caressing her with a sweet shower, raining down the gold of Danae, entering Europa's bull, or by shining again white as Leda's swan.

Ref. *What sweet, etc.*]

However we read the god in this context, the man's erotic desire for the secret and solitary control of the woman's body becomes part of the motion of the cosmos as a whole and part of the cleric's exploratory task. In the secret chamber of "Seuit aure," human desire is defined as something beyond the annual coupling of the beasts, beyond the sublunar realm of seasonal change. Its divinity is proved by its ceaseless presence and by its metaphorical identity with the intellectual activities that define the life of the cleric.

*"Dionei sideris"*

I will end this chapter by considering a song that I hope will provide a suitable transition to chapter 8 with its focus on three poems and their relationship to the Neoplatonic tradition of mythographic commentary in the twelfth century. Like "A globo veteri," "Dionei sideris" (Arundel 1) opens with a quotation from a Neoplatonist school text. Also like Arundel 5, 15, and 16, it locates its consideration of the power of eros in a more or less carefully defined cosmological moment. "Dionei sideris" is unique to the Arundel manuscript, another stanzaic poem, this one without refrain, but with particularly long and complex stanzas of sixteen lines varying in length from three to eight syllables.



The stanzas, while not especially rich in rhyme, are carefully organized, like sonnets with a superfluous couplet (the two h-rhymes) in what ought to be the sestet: 7a6b7a6b 8c6d8c6d 7e6f7e8g4g7h4h3f. In terms of content, the six stanzas appear to fall into three distinct segments: a two-stanza quotation and elaboration of a moment from the *De nuptiis*; a three-stanza exploration of the power of eros as metaphorically represented by Venus and Cupid; and a one-stanza conclusion in which the poet applies the discussion of the first five stanzas to the speaker's own relationship to Coronis. Though the lyric is certainly one more allusive, seasonal song of male love-longing and intellectual anxiety, "Dionei sideris," more than the other poems we have looked at in this chapter, invites reading in light of the wealth of twelfth-century commentary on Martianus. These complicating ways of seeing the poem are neither compulsory nor self-evident, but they were available to anyone familiar with recent commentary tradition. "Dionei sideris" flutters on the margins of allegory—a lyric "about" erotic passion in spring that uses Neoplatonic exegesis of philosophical texts to link that discussion of eros to clerical theorizing about the good life and the pursuit of wisdom.

The elaborate opening astrological segment of the song, built out of material from *De nuptiis* 1.26–30 and invoking in two stanzas all the planets except the moon and Mars,<sup>45</sup> describes the conjunction in midspring of four celestial bodies: the three moving bodies of Venus, the sun, and Mercury; and the fixed star Maia, brightest of the Pleiades and close companion of the zodiacal constellation Taurus:

- I  
Dionei sideris  
fauor elucessit<sup>46</sup>  
et amantum teneris  
votis allubescit.  
5 dum assistit non remota  
sibi stacione,  
celsiore fulget rota  
filius Latone,  
cuius aura graciam  
10 spondet non minorem.  
dum salutat Maiam,  
hiis introcedens medius  
Mercurius

deuotus obtemperat  
 15 et aggerat  
 fauorem.

[1

*The goodwill of Venus's star shines forth and is pleasing to the tender vows of lovers. While he (Apollo) stands by in a station not remote from her, the son of Latona blazes in his more lofty chariot, whose aura promises a grace not less (than Venus's). In the middle, entering between them, Mercury, while he greets Maia, faithfully submits to and increases goodwill.]<sup>47</sup>*

As the days grow longer in spring, the chariot of the sun rides higher and higher in the sky, and Venus, the morning or evening star, appears with the warming sun and looks with increasing favor on lovers. Mercury, by astronomical necessity, follows the sun and Venus closely, at times appearing in alignment between the two brighter bodies ("introducens medius") (fig. 9). As the sun moves into the constellation Taurus every April, Mercury returns with it to greet, more or less closely from year to year, his mother Maia in her seat among the adjacent Pleiades.<sup>48</sup> Having outlined a recurrent celestial situation in the first stanza, once again setting a cosmic clock, the poet looks in stanza 2 at the seasonal changes occurring on the earth under the influence of the planetary configurations evolving above:

2  
 Renittenti pallio  
 Cybele vestita  
 flore comam vario  
 vernat redimita.  
 5 ridet aula Iouialis,  
 ether expolitur;  
 senectutis Saturnalis  
 torpor sepelitur,  
 dum respirat tenere  
 10 gratus odor florum.  
 florentis in vbere  
 campi canora residet  
 nec inuidet  
 Talia sororibus  
 15 nec sedibus  
 sororum.

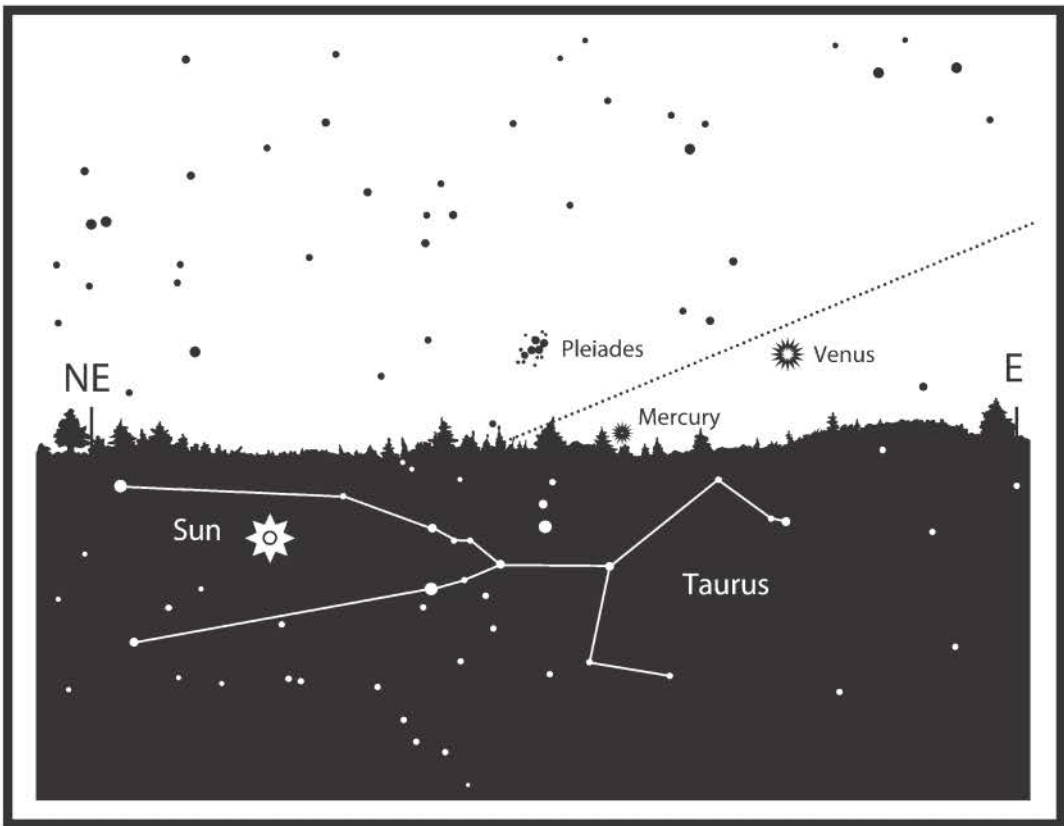


Fig. 9. Map of the sky looking ENE from Paris on the morning of May 20, 1162 showing the celestial objects described in the opening stanza of “Dionei sideris.” In this view, the sun is just below the horizon in the constellation Taurus. Mercury, Venus and the Pleiades are all slightly above the horizon. The slanted, dotted line shows the path of the sun along the ecliptic. My thanks to Enrique Para for preparing this map.

[2

*Dressed in a beaming cloak and wreathed in her hair with many flowers, Cybele blossoms. The court of Jove smiles, heaven is polished; the Saturnian sloth of old age is laid to rest as long as the sweet odor of flowers breathes tenderly. In the bosom of flowery fields melodious Thalia remains and does not envy her sisters or the abodes of her sisters.]*

In spring, the earth (Cybele)<sup>49</sup> puts on fresh flowers and foliage, and Jupiter “smiles” to celebrate the cyclical overthrow of his wintry father Saturn; Thalia, one of the nine Muses, stays happily in the spring meadows while her eight sisters rise to take their places amid the spheres. This last detail is quoted almost verbatim from the *De nuptiis*, but in fact *all* this introductory material

in Arundel 1 has its origin in the first half of book 1 of that work, which covers the early stages of Mercury's effort to gain approval from the other gods—especially his father Jupiter—for his marriage with Philology. In the *De nuptiis*, we witness Mercury seeking his mother's advice about marriage when he comes to visit her on his annual journey near the Pleiades; we see Apollo dispensing the seasons from four jars and are told that spring is called "Jove's Smile" [risum Iovis] and winter "Saturn's Ruin" [saturni . . . exitium]; we are instructed in the close celestial relationship between Mercury and Apollo.<sup>50</sup> The single event in the *De nuptiis* that most informs these two stanzas occurs in 1.26–30 when Mercury and Apollo rise together to Jove's court, accompanied by all the Muses except Thalia, in order to persuade the *summus deus* to permit the marriage of Mercury and Philology. As they ascend, their combined presence inspires the earth to leap into spring:

Mercury began to go forward, with his winged hat and sandals propelling him; but as Phoebus mounted the chariot, the escort of Muses who closely attended him was carried by a gleaming white swan melodiously singing. Then the whole world could be seen joining in celebration, for Tellus had seen Mercury the god of Spring flying upward, and was bright with flowers, and the region of Air shone without clouds in the sight of Apollo. The upper spheres and the seven planetary spheres produced a symphony of the harmonious notes of each, a sweeter song than usually heard; indeed they had sensed the approach of the Muses, each of whom, after traversing the spheres, took her position where she recognized the pitch that was familiar to her. . . . only Thalia was left sitting on earth's flowery bosom, because the swan which was to carry her was indisposed to carry its burden or even to fly upward and had gone to find the lakes which were its home.<sup>51</sup>

The mythological details of the lyric, and especially the inclusion of Thalia in this invocation of spring, point strongly at Martianus's allegory, though Thalia's complacent attitude—her happiness in terrestrial fields while her sisters ride singing swans into the heavens—seems to be the poet's invention.

The lyric's opening cosmological machinery, originating as it does in Martianus's well-worn text, comes freighted with twelfth-century analysis, most accessible to us now through the commentary on the *De nuptiis* attributed to Bernardus Silvestris. Readers will remember earlier allusions to this text in chapter 4 as part of a discussion of the three modes of life and the conflict between the *vita activa* and the *vita contemplativa*. There we noted Bernardus's

broad interpretation of the swan-less Thalia as a figure for the “active man” involved in the day-to-day affairs of the world, not inherently bad, but one whose experience “in negotiis” will never provide true wisdom. In his commentary on the *De nuptiis* 1.26–30, Bernardus’s interpretation of Mercury, Maia, and their relationship turns Martianus’s episode about family cosmology into a lesson on the need for the union of rhetoric and speech:

Maia is called first of the Pleiades because she is greater than the rest. Maia is called as if “meie,” that is “great.” Maia is also rhetoric. Since grammar is the foundation of eloquence, dialectic the advancement, this one is the completion. . . . Mercury we said to be speech, whose name we fitted to his nature in [our previous] exposition [of it].<sup>52</sup>

Mercury’s father is appropriately Jupiter, because the study of the trivium is a divine gift; Mercury greets his mother in spring because spring is the best time for study:

Mercury therefore is the son of Jupiter because speech, like other good things, is a gift of the creator; he is the son of Maia because [speech] is shaped by rhetorical precept. . . . Visible in this place [where Mercury and Maia meet in the *De nuptiis*] is the description of springtime, which is, in fact, an advantageous time for study. At that time we are not oppressed with the violence of summer’s heat or of winter’s cold or of autumn’s disease. In these three seasons, that is to say autumn, winter, summer, poets were resting on account of the intemperate weather. . . . Taurus receives the sun in April, which is a vernal month. Mercury is at that moment also received since he is the companion of the sun.<sup>53</sup>

In Bernardus’s analysis, the ascent of the two gods and Thalia’s refusal to cast off the beauties of the earth become an allegory of the mind’s struggle to ascend to true understanding, set in spring (perhaps with a little humor) because spring is most conducive to study and to poetry. Commenting on Mercury’s designation as god of spring and his association here with Apollo, Bernardus calls the two companions eloquence and wisdom united to aid the soul:

*As for the god of spring:* of warmth. Eloquence indeed calms our nature by persuasion. Because the earth perceives Mercury flying with the sun she is brightened with *flowers*, that is to say, because she senses elo-

quence advancing with wisdom, our flesh is adorned with natural powers; for otherwise they would have given no adornment to it. *And of Apollo*. Just as indeed the earth figures the flesh, so, too, the air [figures] the invisible soul, mobile, burning with virtue, gleaming with wisdom. . . . Waters are thrust into the air when wisdom is established in the soul. . . . The sense, however, is this: Mercury adorns the Earth and the sun adorns the air because, when these three goods are joined, eloquence both recalls the flesh from every foul practice and summons it to honest things by persuasion, and wisdom illuminates the mind with teachings.<sup>54</sup>

If Thalia stands for the soul or mind unable to free itself from terrestrial attractions, then the poet's mythological opening of *Arundel 1* invokes the spring as the season of love and poetry. At the same time, it places that discussion within the larger discussion of the soul's need to transcend involvement with the earthly. He plays with the Neoplatonic associations of the verbal and the sexual, linking them through the integumental vision of Mercury, his mother Maia, and Apollo: personifications of eloquence and rhetoric, bits of clerical *scientia*, and celestial bodies whose annual motions make them pieces of a seasonal erotic convulsion.

The central segment of the lyric, stanzas 3–6, moves from a broad view of the cosmic situation in spring as an allegorically interpretable event, to a narrower discussion of different manifestations of the vernal force in the sublunar. Stanza 3 details the beneficent effects of gentle “*veneria inperia*” on the natural world in the reborn year: warm breezes, the earth's freshly painted face, the unknotting rosebud. Stanza 4 focuses on the more violent activity of Venus's armed son; Cupid banishes “wintry tyranny” and overthrows the gods, forcing Mercury, Bacchus, and even Jupiter to serve him.<sup>55</sup> Six emphatic verbs in the first quatrain of stanza 5 summarize the erotic tension at the heart of the lyric, a tension set loose by the astrological configurations of the opening two stanzas and manifested in the contrast between the behavior of mother and son seen in stanzas 3 and 4: Venus “softens” and Cupid “wounds.”

5

Ledit, vrget, vulnerat  
 puer Cythereus.  
 lenit, mulcet, temperat  
 fauor Dioneus.

5 suo quemque donat pare



duo nectens diua,  
 duos gaudet inflammare  
 face relatiua;  
 quo se nullus explicet,  
 10 implicat amplexu.  
 et amor ne claudicet  
 ignem bipertit nexibus  
 duplicibus.  
 bino nodus firmior  
 15 et cercior  
 fit nexu.

[5

*The Cytherean boy injures, urges, wounds. The goodwill of Venus soothes, softens, warms. The goddess, joining two, gives each one to its like; she rejoices to inflame two (lovers) with a reciprocal torch; (the goddess) entangles with an embrace from which no one may explicate himself. And love, lest it be insufficient, divides the fire into a double knot. The bond becomes more firm and certain with a twin knot.]*

“Dionei sideris” thus follows a pattern similar to that of “A globo,” which began with quotation from an identifiable Neoplatonic school text, the *Cosmographia*, and then moved on to employ language from another area of interest in contemporary rhetorical pedagogy (in that case the *effictio*). Arundel 1 uses Martianus for two stanzas and then in stanza 5 draws on the language of logical discourse in a sort of learned fooling we have seen in Alain de Lille and in some of the Ovidian erotica discussed in earlier chapters.<sup>56</sup> The apparently irreconcilable qualities of the two major allegorical representations of human eros from classical mythology and Neoplatonic exegesis, Venus and Cupid, are nonetheless inextricably knotted together in a fiery embrace, just as lovers are knotted together by their mutual desire. Mother and son in the first quatrain of the stanza are exchanged for the lovers Venus joins with each other in the rest of stanza 5. Heterosexual erotic attraction appears again as an event of cosmological significance and as a rhetorical act, the two ways of seeing symbolized in an inexplicable knot of celestial flame, an illogical impossibility expressed both humorously and profoundly in the language of schoolboy logic. The act of interpretation we are implicitly asked to perform on Martianus’s difficult text at the beginning of the poem prepares us for the confusions of the conclusion. These confusions once again ask the reader to imagine erotic

experience as an act of interpretation in parallel with all the other ways of coming to understand the cosmos, while at the same time reminding the reader, through the iconography of Thalia, of the potential dangers of attachment to the things of the world. Like texts too complicated to understand, or sentences too convoluted to analyze, love ties lovers into knots too difficult to loosen. The circularity of the seasons impels a circularity of logic and of language, knots of repeated ideas and reiterated related words: *amplexus*, *explico*, *implico*; *binus*, *bipertio*, *duplex*; *nullus*, *nodus*, *nexus*; *ambio*, *ambitus*, *aditus*, *ambitio*. In her role as a sexual lady *grammatica*, Venus joins lovers appropriately, giving like to like with a *face relativa* and a *bino nexu*, avoiding deficiencies (“*amor ne claudicet*”) in love as in rhetoric. Only in the ambiguous final stanza does the speaker formally inject himself as Coronis’s unsuccessful lover. He places his own experience in the midst of all the cosmological and rhetorical activity of the preceding lines, recalling the twin forces outlined in stanzas 3 and 4 by opening stanza 6 with Cupid’s golden arrow and concluding it with Venus’s *favor*:

- 6  
 In me telum miserat  
 Ciprius auratum;  
 igne ceco clauserat  
 pectus sauciatum.  
 5 ambiebam prece, donis,  
 ambitu beato:  
 nil profeci, dum Choroni<s>  
 aditu negato  
 me procul excluserat  
 10 mente, domo, thoris.  
 et cui nil profuerat  
 illa felix ambicio,  
 nunc sencio  
 Dionei nimiam  
 15 clemenciam  
 fauoris.

[6

*The Cyprian boy had sent a gilded arrow at me; he had bolted my wounded breast with blind fire. I kept entreating him with prayer, gifts, with rich bribery: I made no progress, while Coronis—access denied—had excluded*

*me far from mind, home, bed. And I, whom that happy striving had  
advanced not at all, now feel the very great compassion of Venus's goodwill.]*

Love's natural and necessary urge to union has, paradoxically, left him separated from home and sleep and his own intellect. Like the ambivalent allegory that opens the lyric, like lovers, love itself is doubleness, too, a *fax relativa*. But it is also an *ignis caecus* that perhaps blinds the speaker to his need to abandon Thalia and Coronis, and to join Mercury and Apollo in their ascent to Jove. The six concluding lines could announce the speaker's final sexual success, or they may be ironic: how can Venus be favoring him if Coronis keeps him at bay? Would access to Coronis resolve the speaker's anxieties? The *clemencia* of Venus, in the end, apparently amounts only to alienation from the victim's true self, from "mente, domo, thoris."

These last three lyrics, while working with more or less the same set of core ideas as the first three discussed in this chapter, can be directly tied to major Neoplatonic texts and to the rhetorical and poetical pedagogy of the schools. They show, not surprisingly, a clerical self being fashioned out of school texts and anxieties about eros being explored in current pedagogy. Arundel 4, a more compact and sophisticated version of Gerald of Wales's female *effictio*, presents its own ideal woman to match the microcosmic male of the *Cosmographia*, a female culmination of Natura's efforts who is both cosmologically sanctioned and a danger to the ideal male. Arundel 8 elaborates the female *effictio* taught in the schools, playing with the idea of the woman's body as a text to be read and studied by the intellectual male, a study that defines the male while it creates anxiety. Arundel 1 ventures into new territory by invoking a very specific cosmological moment that in turn invokes a key Neoplatonic text and its exegesis. Twelfth-century commentary on Martianus enriches our understanding of what is at stake in such a poem—the cleric's struggle to reconcile the study of the world and the power of sublunar eros with the philosopher poet's need to transcend the material. In the next chapter we will consider three final poems that, like "Dionei sideris," all invoke mythological figures and Neoplatonic analysis of those figures as part of an ongoing exploration of the stellified cleric's place in the cosmos.

## Chapter Eight

### Myth, Eros, and Lyric: An Invitation to Allegory

**I**N EARLIER CHAPTERS we have seen how medieval poets and scholars analyzed ancient myths and composed their own imaginative works based on their classical studies. As we have further seen, twelfth-century Neoplatonist philosophers like William of Conches, Alain de Lille, and Bernardus Silvestris sought to define the ideal course of life for the well-educated man in the world. The myth-based fictions medieval humanists wrote and the integumental interpretations of old stories they developed suggest how these scholars and “new men” felt about themselves as philosophers and authors in God’s cosmos. They also show how their thinking about writing and the world made a place for human sexual desire and erotic poetry. Despite the self-confidence they manifested in their educational program, our own reading (in chapter 4) of Alain de Lille’s two cosmological works and of contemporary analyses of certain myths has made evident the anxiety the Neoplatonists felt. They were anxious about their ideal of active involvement in the world and the profound study of the cosmos, and about their own male sexuality and their acts of writing and interpretation. As we have finally seen in the last several chapters, such an intertwined complex of issues naturally

worked its way into the erotic lyrics composed by men raised in so vigorous an educational milieu. The reflex to think mythologically was much more than just an effort to imitate Ovid, it was part of how twelfth-century humanists learned to think about the world. The deepest human truths lay hidden in classical myth and, for mere men, such truths could best be expressed in new mythologies. When twelfth-century scholars wrote erotic lyrics, to varying degrees those poems came out couched in mythological terms.

This chapter picks up where the previous chapter left off—with an examination of myth-based lyrics—and continues the discussion that began in chapter 4 of some myths that tell stories about the wise person and the best course of human existence. In particular, we will see how some of those stories as interpreted by contemporary theorists, lurk behind three wonderful twelfth-century erotic poems appearing in English manuscripts. The writers of the mythographic commentaries and poems knew classical myths well, and they were not afraid to analyze them in ways similar to biblical exegesis. Examples of crosscutting between biblical stories and myths, such as the motion between the Old Testament figures of Leah and Rachel and the goddesses Juno and Pallas that we saw earlier, make this clear. Nor were poets afraid to identify themselves with mythological heroes whom they saw as models of the wise man. Spurred by the love of wisdom, they traced a path always headed toward the celestial, but first descending to a deep study of the created world, even when they felt compelled finally to reject that world. Running steadily through most of the twelfth-century integumental analyses of the old stories is the same ambiguous, two-branched current of sexual desire and desire for intellectual and literary creativity that was so important in the cosmologies of Alain de Lille and Bernardus Silvestris. That the *vita activa* looms so large in their thinking merely demonstrates that many of these clerics had pragmatic expectations of employment in either ecclesiastical or secular bureaucracies. And one could, of course, even be recalled from the contemplative life, if necessary, for the public good.

As we observed earlier, sophisticated Latin erotica designed to be sung as court entertainment came into being through the preexistence of many academic texts. But these erotic lyrics must have been imagined for presentation before a mixed audience, perhaps of clerics and knights, or at any rate an audience with many people who had no deep understanding of the works—biblical, philosophical, classical—that provided the language and ideas out of which the lyrics grew. As a result of their subject matter and philosophical origin, lyrics such as the three to be discussed in this chapter would have offered up the possibility of an allegorical reading, to be read at multiple levels by a

certain sort of clerical audience. At the same time, to provide good entertainment, such songs needed to remain sufficiently accessible that they could be enjoyed by anyone with enough Latin to understand them on the most literal level of meaning. In this chapter, two short lyrics and a longer twelfth-century poem will show how the Neoplatonic vision of the ideal clerical self and the Neoplatonists' integumental understanding of classical myth might manifest themselves most complexly in erotic poetry.<sup>1</sup> The three poems concern three different mythological figures: Hercules, Orpheus, and Leda. All three poems are about eros and all three are also about the clerical sense of self and craft. The first two fall together naturally because the two mythological figures they discuss could both stand for the type of the ideal man. By contrast, Leda, who was neither a god nor a hero, represents not an ideal person, but rather something like the naturally inquiring intellect, or the mind that seeks understanding, or even wisdom itself.

Though a number of characters from classical myth were allegorized in the Middle Ages into figures for the wise man struggling to lead a good life, Orpheus and Hercules seem to have been the most prominent. Perseus and Theseus, for example, could both be "taken as emblems of the power of the intellect to conquer the monsters of vice and ignorance" by Bernardus Silvestris in his commentary on the *Aeneid*.<sup>2</sup> However, for Bernardus, the key to the importance of Orpheus and Hercules lay in their separate descents *ad inferos*, into Hades. Like Aeneas, they took their virtue and pursued knowledge in the world; unlike him, they were fully mythological figures. In classical and postclassical literature, they appear memorably in two important places, the *Metamorphoses* and the *Consolation of Philosophy*, a fact of literary history that must have given them a special status and made them worthy of special attention.<sup>3</sup> Leda occupied a niche distinct from that of Orpheus and Hercules: not a type of the ideal person, not one who had made the descent to Hades and returned, not one canonized by Boethius or to any great extent by Ovid. She was a mortal who had congress with the *summus deus* and produced three remarkable offspring: Helen, Castor, and Pollux. As the victim of one of Jupiter's assaults, and the mother of a zodiacal constellation and of the woman who inspired the Trojan War, Leda possessed a high mythological status among commentators. Fulgentius discusses her in the *Mythologies* and Martianus Capella makes what seemed to Bernardus Silvestris an important allusion to her twin sons early in the *De nuptiis*. In the poem to be considered here, Leda appears as an object of clerical desire, a figure through which the cleric can satisfy simultaneously his intellectual and erotic aims.



## HERCULES

Of the two *fabulae* with male heroes, Hercules' story is the less problematic because the central figure's character and motivations and the details of his underworld journey are all much more straightforward than what we find in the story of Orpheus. Around the year 1100 Baudri of Bourgueil, who might well have looked to Orpheus the singer and poet for a classical emblem, took Hercules as a personal symbol for the wise man who lives a life of perpetual striving after wisdom.<sup>4</sup> The twelfth-century song "Olim sudor Herculis" provides a funny and fairly direct recounting of the hero's fame, labors, and ultimate downfall. But the tone, the play with language, and the author's careful use of mythic material suggest that the lyric is at heart a comic commentary on the Neoplatonic vision of the educated man's ideal place in the cosmos. The poem had a wide circulation, and it exists complete today in at least four manuscripts: Oxford, Bodleian Library Additional A.44; the *Carmina Burana*; and Florence, Laurenziana Plutarchus 29.1; as well as Cambridge University Library Ff.1.17(1), where it occupies the whole of folio 7<sup>r</sup>, appearing, with music, between a song for the Purification of the Virgin and a song for St. Thomas à Becket.<sup>5</sup>

As we noted in chapter 6, this Cambridge songbook, a messy group of lyrics put together about the year 1200 or a little later, is the English manuscript containing erotic Latin lyrics that is most closely related in style and content to a St. Martial manuscript such as B.N.lat. 3719b.<sup>6</sup> The Cambridge manuscript is roughly contemporary with, or slightly earlier than, other insular collections of mid- to late-twelfth-century erotic verse of various sorts: that is, Bodleian Additional A.44 (fig. 10); Glasgow Hunterian V.8.14; and Gerald of Wales's juvenilia in Cambridge, Trinity College R.7.11. In Cambridge University Library Ff.1.17(1) "Olim sudor" comes toward the end of the monophonic section of the manuscript, one of four sequences, one of two with a refrain (fig. 11). The song's eight half-stanzas vary in length from ten to twelve lines, the lines from three to eight syllables; the eight-line refrain is an intensely rhymed series of mostly short lines with three three-syllable b-rhymes, three four-syllable c-rhymes, and two seven-syllable a-rhymes. The words to each metrically identical half-stanza (e.g., 1a and 1b) are written under the same music so that there is no variation between half-stanzas, unlike what one finds sometimes, for instance, in Parisian Victorine sequences, where subtle variations in the music written for pairs of half-stanzas provide some of the aural and intellectual interest of the piece. On the whole,

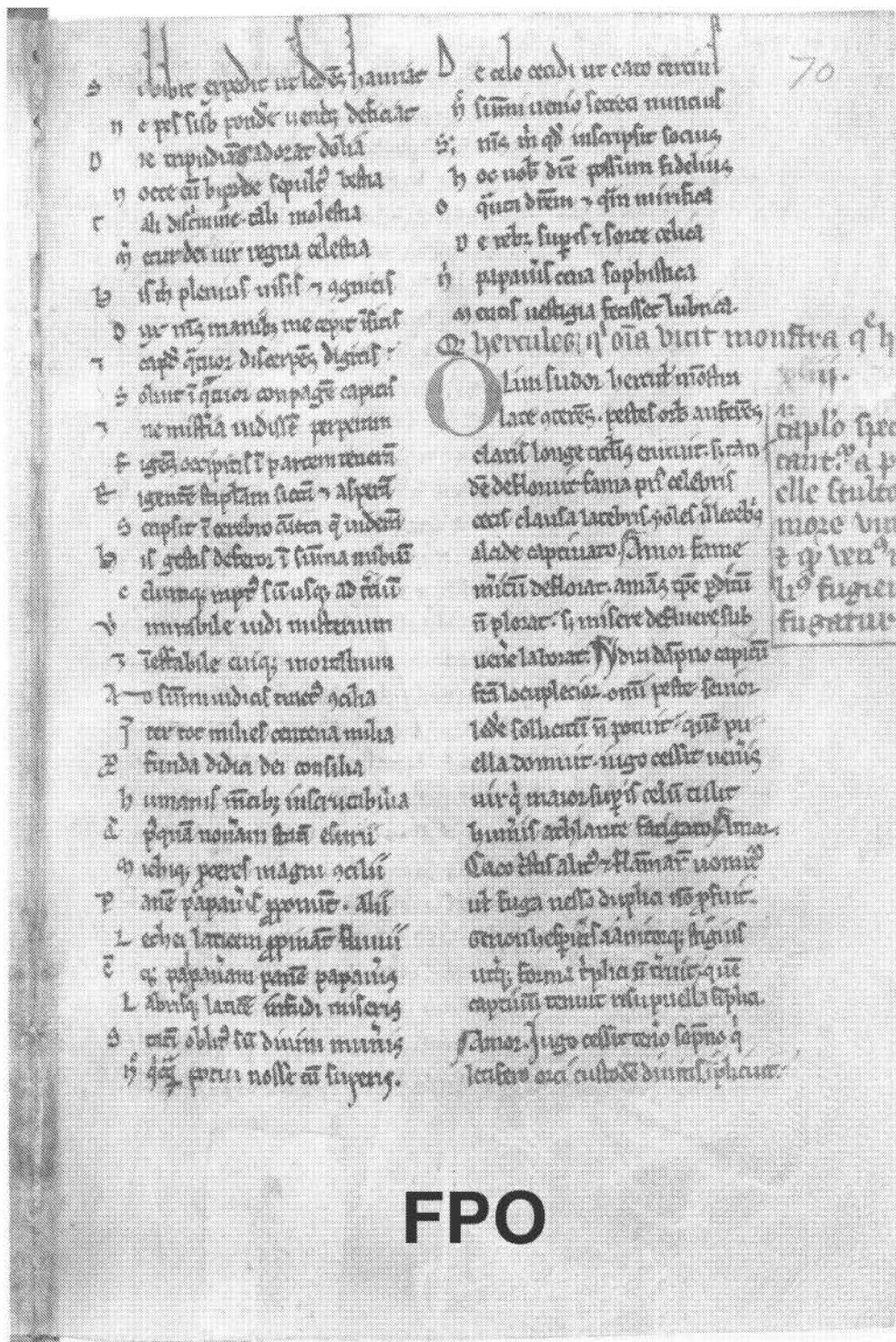
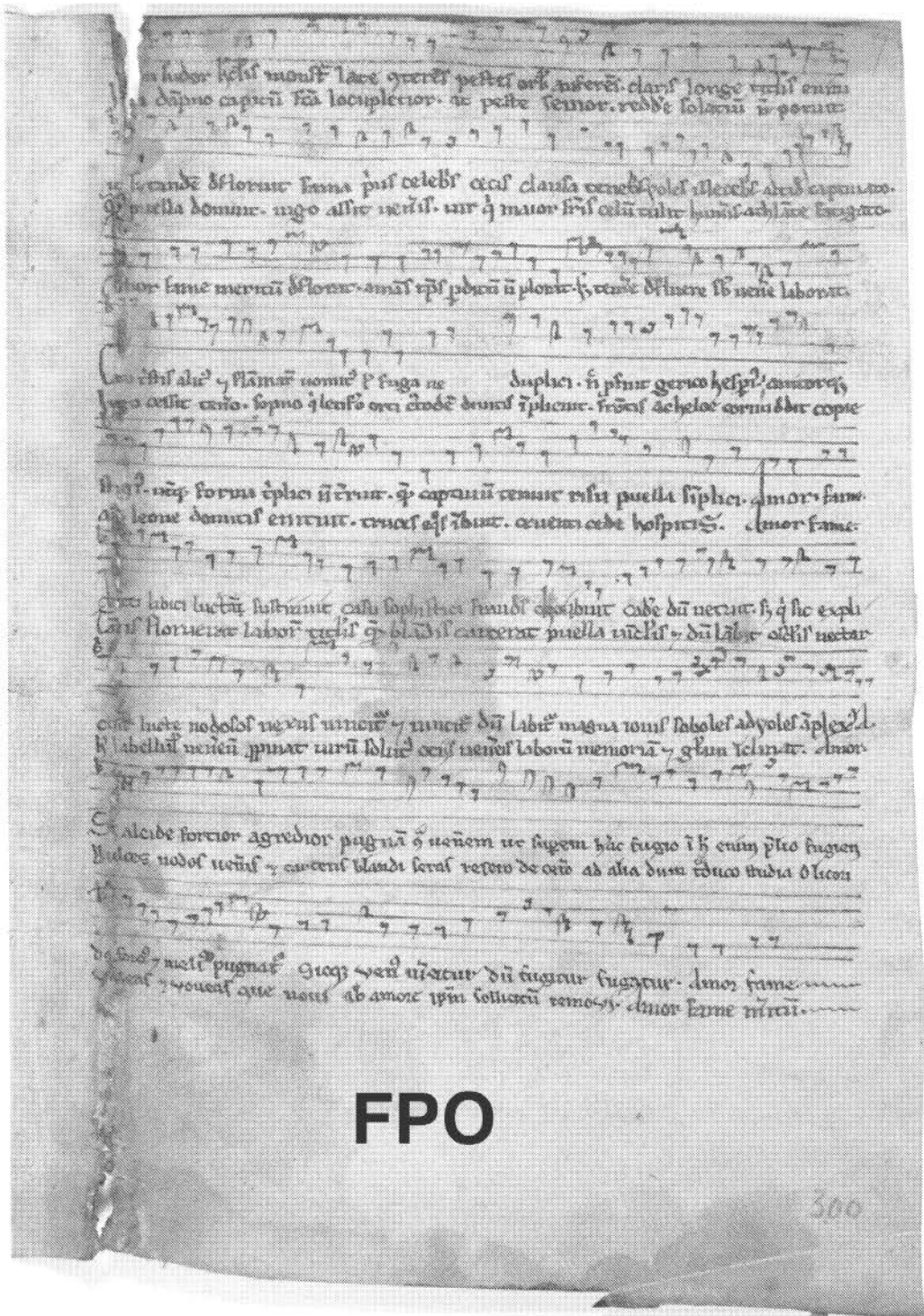


Fig. 10. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Additional A.44, fol. 70r. "Olim sudor herculis" begins part way down the second column. The refrain, beginning "Amor fame," is repeated after each half-stanza of the sequence, an unusual feature of this poem. There are at least four manuscripts containing "Olim sudor," including the Carmina Burana collection and Cambridge, University Library MS Ff.1.17(1). See Figure 11. (Reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.)



FPO

Fig. 11. Cambridge, University Library MS Ff.1.17(1), fol. 7r. Early thirteenth century. This page contains the whole of "Olim sudor herculis" with music. The third set of staves shows the music for the refrain. The two halves of each stanza are sung to the same music. (Reproduced by permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.)

nonetheless, "Olim sudor" is an artful, careful, and rigorously structured work that attracted the attention of numerous compilers in its own time.

The lyric grows out of the central irony of Hercules' death: the hero who performed so many feats was in the end brought down by his love for Iole and the jealousy of his wife Deianeira, who unintentionally killed her husband when she gave him a cloak stained in the blood of the centaur Nessus.<sup>7</sup> Hercules' medieval stature as an heroic figure had a double justification.<sup>8</sup> He is a demigod, son of Jupiter and Alcmena, and his long series of labors detailed in the ninth book of the *Metamorphoses* offered rich material for allegorical interpretation; his final apotheosis was seen as a just reward for a lifetime of striving. Ovid points up Hercules' nature as man and god, and the inviolability of his immortal fraction, when he has Jove look down on his son's funeral pyre and intone:

aeternum est a me quod traxit, et expers  
atque immune necis, nullaue domabile flamma.  
idque ego defunctum terra caelestibus oris  
accipiam, cunctisque meum laetabile factum  
dis fore confido. . . .

*[Immortal is the part which he (Hercules) took from me, and that is safe and beyond the power of death, and tameable by no flame. And when this is done with earth, I shall receive it on the heavenly shores, and I trust that this act of mine will be pleasing to all the gods.]*<sup>9</sup>

When all the mortal half has been burned away, Jove stellifies him:

sic ubi mortales Tirynthius exuit artus,  
parte sui meliore viget, maiorque videri  
coepit et augusta fieri gravitate verendus.  
quem pater omnipotens inter cava nubila raptum  
quadriiugo curru radiantibus intulit astris.

*[so when the Tirynthian (i.e., Hercules) put off his mortal frame, he gained new vigor in his better part, began to seem of more heroic size, and to become awful in his godlike dignity. Him the Almighty Father sped through the hollow clouds with his team of four, and set him amid the glittering stars.]*<sup>10</sup>

Hercules' violent apotheosis and the special favor shown him by Jupiter, the "pater omnipotens," laid the groundwork for the figurative use made of the



myth by later writers. Boethius cites Hercules as the type of the great man who struggles against Fortune, “neither despairing in the face of misfortune nor becoming corrupt in the enjoyment of prosperity.”<sup>11</sup> In the *metrum* that concludes book 4 of the *Consolation*, Hercules stands alongside Agamemnon and Ulysses, fellow strivers against adversity. Boethius lists most of his labors and concludes:

Vltimus caelum labor inreflexo  
 Sustulit collo pretiumque rursus  
 Vltimi caelum meruit laboris.  
 Ite nunc fortes ubi celsa magni  
 Ducit exempli uia! Cur inertes  
 Terga nudatis? Superata tellus  
 Sidera donat.

[For his last labor he bore heaven on his strong neck, and for this he won again the prize of heaven. Go now, strong men, follow the high road of great example. Why slack off and turn your backs? When you overcome the earth, the stars will be yours.]<sup>12</sup>

In this way Boethius transforms Hercules' classical stellification as a ceaseless laborer and the son of Zeus into a general, spiritual reward, given to those who hold a steady course in the great work of resisting Fortune. Hercules' prize has here become verbally associated with his final labor of bearing the earth on his shoulders, and also dependent on it: for his last labor he held up heaven (“ultimus caelum labor . . . sustulit”) and therefore merits to have heaven after death (“ultimi caelum meruit laboris”). Through the acquisition of a Boethian wisdom that knows to reject the terrestrial and look to the sky, Hercules becomes a god.

Writing roughly in the same period as Boethius, Fulgentius takes the metaphoric use of the Hercules *fabula* a step further, reading Hercules' story as an overtly allegorical battle of the virtuous wise man against various temptations. In *Mythologies* 2.2–4, Hercules' love for Omphale shows how lust can conquer virtue; his battle with Antaeus, who “was born of the earth because lust alone is conceived of the flesh” [de terra natus, quia sola libido de carne concipitur], reveals virtue holding “aloft the whole mind” [mentem . . . in altum] and denying “it the sight of the flesh” [carnalibus eam . . . aspectibus]; and his battle with Cacus shows virtue conquering evil in general.<sup>13</sup> In chapter 20 of his *Exposition of the Contents of Virgil*, Fulgentius more precisely

defines Hercules' strength as an educated *virtus* revealed in his theft of the four golden apples from the garden of the Hesperides; they represent "study, intellect, memory, and eloquence" [studium, intellectus, memoria et facundia] that together comprise "the golden jewel of learning" [ornatum aureum studii].<sup>14</sup> In a similar way, several centuries later, the Second Vatican Mythographer (Remigius of Auxerre) tells his readers that "wiser men" [prudenteriores] consider Hercules' power to be strength of mind rather than physical strength ("magis mente quam corpore"). He stands for "ratio" overcoming "cupiditates" when he goes below and conquers Cerberus; he conquers "malum" by overcoming Cacus; when he joins Apollo to aid King Admetus, they are respectively *sapientia* and *virtus*.<sup>15</sup>

Twelfth-century Neoplatonist commentators and mythographers fleshed out the interpretations they received directly from Boethius, Fulgentius, and others while drawing on whatever bits of mythological lore were in circulation in the writings of the major classical authors. Bernardus Silvestris and the Third Vatican Mythographer (Alberic of London) both left significant tracts on Hercules, which stressed Hercules' favored place among mythological heroes and the special reverence due him for his many great deeds.<sup>16</sup> In his explication of *Aeneid* 6, Bernardus describes three Herculean adventures that together give a sense of the range of qualities possessed by his ideal type. Later in the century, Alberic will go further by making Hercules a divine and priestly figure. On the whole, Hercules comes off as something of an Abelard, the wise and active man who cuts his way through the world with a sharp mind and tongue.

The first two of the adventures just alluded to appear in Bernardus's commentary on lines 287 and 289 of *Aeneid* 6, a point at which Aeneas encounters in the underworld a small host of slain monsters from myth. For Bernardus, the etymology of Hercules' name signifies "gloria litis," or "the glory of dispute."<sup>17</sup> He sees Hercules as one who overcomes intellectual problems by force of mind, and his struggle with the Hydra—the "multi-headed serpentine monster" [monstrum tortuosum multiceps]—represents the struggle of wisdom with ignorance. Beset with infinite ambiguities, like Hydra's heads, the wise man

burns up the Hydra, that is, seeing his study insufficiently useful, he burns up ignorance with the most vigorous fire of the mind when he investigates ignorance with the fervor of inquiry and illuminates it with the splendor of knowledge.<sup>18</sup>



Three monsters later, in the story of the Harpies, Bernardus shows another role for the *philosophus*, this time as a poet-satirist who criticizes rapacity and who must himself resist the threat that greed brings to one so important and revered. The Harpies episode offers a counterpoint to the earlier depiction of Hercules' intellectual glory, a glory that makes him admirable, but also threatens him morally. Phineas and the three female Harpies collectively represent greed, which he opposes with two helpers, Zetes and Calais, the sons of Boreas. Hercules kills the maidens with his arrows as "the wise man argues against greed with sharp rebukes," but his two assistants contribute as well.<sup>19</sup> Quoting Horace, Bernardus notes that Boreas is "glory," as Hercules was, more or less, and his two sons are etymologically "emulatio" (Zetes = "zelus" = "emulatio") and "bonum" (Calais = "calon" = "bonum"). Emulation in this case, he goes on, is the same as imitation, and imitation (citing the *Timaeus* and listing Horace, Juvenal, Statius, and Virgil as authorities) is poetry; "bonum," more simply, means the example provided by good works. Bernardus's syllogistic effort gives poetry as a powerful weapon to the wise man and asserts the legitimacy of glory as a motivation to right action. Philosophically, the exegesis takes the notion that the study of *poesis* is, as we have seen, a crucial early stage in the acquisition of knowledge, and links it to a consideration of glory in the wise man's life:

Boreas is the father of Zetes and Calais since glory is the cause of poetry and of great works. For many place the fruit of virtue in glory. Indeed, poets greatly seek glory. . . . Zetes and Calais help kill the Harpies—poets and satirists and the examples of good work take away the capacity of avarice.<sup>20</sup>

Bernardus thus looks to a past that offers an ideal for the present. Opposing the monsters of human ignorance and the desire for wealth and power, Hercules uses good example along with the more strictly scholarly tools of understanding and verbal sophistication: invective, poetry, and satire. That all this may be inspired by the desire for glory seems appropriate to Bernardus: in Hercules, he remarks, "strength denotes virtue and beauty denotes glory."<sup>21</sup> The hero's round-trip journey to Hades was possible "since he was a demi-god, that is rational and immortal in spirit, irrational and mortal in body,"<sup>22</sup> a good and educated man compounded of soul and flesh. The elevation of the wise man to demigod underscores at once the Neoplatonists' tendency to self-deification, and their approval of the search for temporal as well as celestial glory.

Alberic of London offers an elaborate version of Hercules' deeds and their meaning with the addition of a sacerdotal role for the hero that goes beyond anything Bernardus holds for him: his Hercules is hero and priest and god.<sup>23</sup> Alberic follows Servius in asserting that Hercules and his works have more to do with the prudent mind than with the strong body; like Fulgentius, he sees Hercules' virtue overcoming libido and allying itself with a very active sort of wisdom. Hercules the wise man, later the constellation, is fundamentally bound up with the stars, for his twelve labors exactly record the number of signs of the zodiac; he is also an astronomer who learned the secrets of the heavens when he held up the earth for Atlas, as Boethius had suggested. Hercules is rightly called a philosopher since philosophy "is said to have conquered all monsters"; when he dragged Cerberus up from hell, he showed that, like a true philosopher, "he despised and vanquished every form of greed and all the earthly vices."<sup>24</sup> In the final two sections of his chapter on Hercules, Alberic describes the origin of the god's cult in order to show how much he deserves veneration. He recalls that following the hero's tenth labor, fetching the cattle of Geryon, Hercules travels through Italy, where he is received by King Evander near the Tiber River; during the night the three-headed monster Cacus steals some of Hercules' herd, and in revenge Hercules kills him.<sup>25</sup> In thanks to Jove for his victory, Hercules builds a great altar and on it makes sacrifice of one of his own cattle; this sacrificial act then becomes the origin of the worship of Hercules himself:<sup>26</sup>

So, too, arriving in Italy with the herd of defeated Geryon and having been received in the end by Evander, who was ruling at that time, after he [Hercules] had told him that he was also the son of Jove and had proved his virtue by the death of Cacus, Hercules is said to have been accepted as divine and to have earned the altar that was called the Greatest Altar, which the Delphic Apollo had earlier predicted for him in Italy . . . And when he had given [a bull] from his herd for his own sacrifice, to two elders, Pinarius and Potitius, he declared how he wished to be worshipped, and he ordered that sacrifices be made for him in the morning and the evening.<sup>27</sup>

At the same time, Hercules was responsible for bringing a sacred cup into Italy for use in religious ceremonies:

We read also in old books that Hercules brought with him a large wooden cup that he used in religious rites; which lest it be consumed by decay was conserved by being smeared with pitch.<sup>28</sup>

Alberic awards Hercules a double status in the world of sacred ritual, as a priest figure making sacrifice to his father Jupiter and as the object of his own cult. Wise man, rhetorician, poet, astronomer, and finally priest-god, the mythological figure is an ideal model of the intellectual laborer. He is revered for his hard work, celebrated by men, justly given a place among the stars, and fit subject for a twelfth-century poem about eros and clerics.

"Olim sudor," the song about Hercules' love and fall, spells out little of the grand scholarly vision of Hercules, but seen against all the details of interpretation, its clever allusiveness appears more fully and enigmatically. The speaker of the lyric takes Hercules as a kind of alter ego, infinitely worthy and, like the cleric, subject to the dangers of desire, with the difference that the speaker hopes to conquer the love that was his model's ruin. He structures the lyric as a list of Hercules' labors, introduced by and punctuated with allusions to the hero's affair with Iole and concluding with a comparison of Hercules' life and love to the speaker's own. He naturally stresses only the portion of the story that serves to make his limited point, and a certain amount of the lyric's irony comes from what he chooses to leave out. Though the most immediate source for the outline of the story was doubtless book 9 of the *Metamorphoses* and for the sequence of labors Boethius's *Consolation* 4, *metrum* 7, the poet has organized his own list for his own purposes.<sup>29</sup>

Stanza 1a establishes the contrast that controls the movement of the whole work: Hercules was a great hero and earned a bright fame overcoming *monstra* and *pestes* until his love for Iole blinded him and he was captured. The refrain, beginning "Amor fame" and concluding "sub Venere laborat," lays out the opposition between laboring and loving, between the work of deserving *fama* and the threat of laboring for Venus. As Dronke notes, the speaker's concern is not with his soul, but with the earthly fame that *labor* may bring and that love will make impossible because of the time it wastes.<sup>30</sup> Given what Bernardus had to say about fame and poetry, this should not come as a surprise: poets traditionally seek terrestrial glory, and this drives them to virtuous works in the world of men. The second half-stanza (1b) cites two stories crucial to the definition of Hercules' heroic character that together suggest the poet's play with the commentary tradition. The victories over Hydra and Atlas stand for something like the alpha and the omega of Hercules' experiences. The former, as Bernardus Silvestris commented, is an example of the dialectical struggle of reason with ignorance or of the mind with intellectual ambiguities, and the latter, as Alberic of London stressed, shows Hercules' essential link to the cosmos as a bearer of astronomical wisdom. The paired episodes stand as icons for the power to reason, on the one hand, and, on the other, the strength of

broad human knowledge. Caught between the two labors is the *puella* more formidable than either task, who overcomes the conqueror of Hydra and yokes him to her own task ("Iugo cessit Veneris").

After the introductory material and the invocation of Atlas and Hydra, the second pair of stanzas consists of a witty reorganizing of Boethius's and Ovid's lists of labors. In a bit of verbal and numerological play, the first two objects of Hercules' striving, Cacus and Nessus, are both half-men, half-beasts ("Nesso duplici");<sup>31</sup> and the second pair, as the poet points out, both triple-formed ("uterque forma triplici"); then these multiple evils become as nothing before the simple laugh of one woman ("risu puella simplici"). Thus the poet sets up the stanza's three key rhymes "duplici . . . triplici . . . simplici," the first two to be read as literal descriptions of shape, the third literally and metaphorically: Iole's smile may actually be *simplex*, but she is far more complex than *monstra* or *pestes*. Stanza 2b continues the train of monsters, playing, I think, with the notion of the "iugum Veneris" introduced in 1b. The references here are all to terrible beasts mastered by Hercules in the course of his adventures: Ladon, the dragon guarding the garden of the Hesperides; the god Acelous in the form of a bull; the Erymanthian boar; the Nemean lion; the Thracian horses. Like Ulysses' men before Circe's magic, love turns Hercules into an animal less powerful than the ones he conquered, in his case a beast of burden laboring under a tender yoke.

The poet devotes the whole of stanza 3a to his hero's wrestling match with the giant Antaeus—more space than he devotes to any other monster. In allegorical terms, the battle with Antaeus was one of several Hercules had with lust, this one won at last by lifting the giant above the earth—his mother and the source of his strength—until he weakened. The poet uses the episode as a metaphoric vehicle to illustrate most explicitly, and humorously, the interconnection he feels between sexual desire and language, the same sort of deep Neoplatonic connectedness of the intellectual and the sexual creative urges elaborated in Alain de Lille. Fulgentius early called the giant "modus libidinis," and Alberic followed this interpretation in the twelfth century: "Antaeus is established as a figure for libido."<sup>32</sup> In this light the battle in "Olim sudor" stanza 3a becomes a sexual struggle, or an intellectual struggle with the power of desire, in parallel with what happens in 3b when Hercules submits to Iole; the *lucta* becomes a word struggle. The physical knots of Hercules' wrestling with the Earth-giant merge with the emotional knots of love ("sed qui sic explicuit / lucte nodosos nexus / vincitur . . ."), which in turn become the punning verbal knots of the stanza's own language.

Stanza 3, with its compact wordplay, operates very much within the world

of Neoplatonic sexual wordplay and manifests many of the same concerns we saw in the *De planctu*. In 3a Hercules “casus sophistici / fraudes cohibuit / cadere dum vetuit,” which following Dronke and the literal sense of the episode we may translate: “he restrained the false falls of the sophistical one [i.e., Antaeus] while he prohibited him from falling.” At the same time, taking the grammatical sense of *casus* as “case ending” and of *cadere* as “to end a word or clause,” and putting *casus* with *sophistici*, the sentence might also punningly read “[Hercules] prevented the deception of a false case ending when he forbade [the word] to end.” When the poet then immediately calls the *lucta* a “nodosus nexus” and puns with “labitur” on the different meanings of *labor* as a verb (“to fall”) and noun (“work”), I would say he is concocting a string of small verbal jokes about the elusiveness of meaning in words and the pervasive power of human sexual desire, jokes that culminate in the exchange of the giant’s allegorical love embrace, which Hercules overcomes, for the *amplexus* of Iole, which conquers him, as the poet asks us to conflate the intellectual and verbal wrestling in stanza 3a with the literal love struggle of 3b. In 3b, the most overtly erotic moment in the lyric, the poet begins by stressing in the first line how Hercules’ fame “flowered” [floruerat], then he deflowers his hero in his mistress’s chains, as Hercules sinks into *otium* and away from the “glory and memory” of his labors. The refrain makes repeatedly clear that the pursuit of temporal renown deeply concerns the speaker and makes his own comparison with Hercules so apt. If Hercules is “maior superis,” then the speaker imagines himself “Alcide fortior” at the outset of stanza 4a, a “new man” self-stellified in a new myth. Hercules understands literally and allegorically how to overcome “sophistical” giants and “fraudes casus,” even as the poet has nearly mastered wrestling the truth out of words and the manipulation of words to create his own mythographic truth. Desire, as the great cosmological fact, both fires the wrestling after truth and opposes it.

By stanza 4a, the sophistical complexity of the *nexus* of 3a becomes a simple *proelium* against Venus, but at one level it is also a purely verbal matter, a battle fought oxymoronically by retreating. Here again the poet may be drawing on Alain, if not formally invoking him, this time from the conclusion to *De planctu*, *metrum* 5, Lady Natura’s *descriptio cupidinis*. As we have noted on more than one occasion, Alain retrospectively calls the whole description “jests and jokes,” a poem “fit for the naïveté” of his narrator, a mass of grammatical wordplay and oxymorons.<sup>33</sup> The grammatical power of love to make oxymorons of all its victims is overcome by the inverse of battle; stanza 4a ends curiously with a pair of verbs closely related in sound and meaning: *fugio*, *fugere* (“to flee or escape”) and *fugo*, *fugare* (“to drive away or banish”). The



poet uses both in the passive voice, though classically the first verb normally has none, as if to assert once more Venus's power to make the active passive, even when that transformation is against the rules.<sup>34</sup> The last half stanza begins with a deliberate series of verbal ambiguities and ends with somewhat ambiguous wish. *Resero, reserare*, which Dronke translates first as "loosen" and then as "open," also contains the military sense of "to take by storm" or the suggestive meaning of "disclose" or "reveal." Forcibly taking or revealing or opening the "sweet knots of Venus" or the "bolts of [Venus'] soft prison" could mean getting *in* as well as getting *out*. The "de cetero / ad alia/ dum traducor studia" that follows begs the question of what *ceterum* refers to—"sex" for Dronke—and by its ambiguous reference puts whatever it is on the same ontological level as "alia studia." If the *ceterum* is love or sexual activity, then it still constitutes one sort of *studium*, one sort of study or desire, grammatically equivalent to its other half. That said, the poet may be using the phrase "de cetero" simply as an idiomatic expression meaning "for the future," underlining the speaker's intention henceforth to give up love. Dronke is probably right to translate the gist of the passage as he does, but the poet's compressed and suggestive language in a world of puns and other verbal play undercuts what seems to be the most likely reading of the lyric. When the poet leaves his auditor with a final wish—"O Lycoris,<sup>35</sup> farewell, and may you wish what I wished: [that] I removed [my? our? an? the?] anxious spirit from love"—he may well be saying *he* wishes to be released from love, and hopes his mistress will wish the same for him, or he may be wishing simply that love were not quite such a struggle and not quite such a philosophical problem.

If in its minutiae "Olim sudor" constitutes a mosaic of verbal and mythological playfulness, one great irony arches over the lyric as a whole and places everything in it under the rubric of "jokes and jests." Hercules *was* overcome by Iole and indeed met his death because of her: Deianeira's jealousy moved her to send the blood-soaked cloak that burned away her husband's flesh. Yet all that merely ensured Hercules' fame by starting the machinery of his apotheosis—he was still made a god and his renown did not suffer from the magnificent death he merits in the *Metamorphoses*. Hercules would not have been the subject of the lyric at all if he were not, allegorically speaking, the very model of a wise man in love.

#### ORPHEUS

The sequence "Predantur oculos" was first published in 1949 as part of André Vernet's reexamination of the mid-fourteenth-century Parisian manuscript



Auxerre 243, where the poem appears on folio 18r, without music and along with half a dozen other erotic lyrics, in the midst of a collection of some of the major works of Bernardus Silvestris and Alain de Lille.<sup>36</sup> This was the only source for the poem for more than thirty years until Rudolf Lenzen's report in 1973 of the small collection of lyrics, again without music, found at the end of a thirteenth-century manuscript, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 228.<sup>37</sup> These two manuscripts also share copies of "Ex ungue primo" and "Quam uelim uirginum," both found in Paris, B.N.lat. 3719b.<sup>38</sup> Table 1 (in chapter 6), showing occurrences of the six poems (including an interpolated fragment of "Ver prope") from Corpus 228 in four other manuscripts, suggests that five of these poems may have circulated as a group. The appearance of three of the five as a cluster in Paris, B.N.lat. 3719b puts them in circulation very likely by early in the third quarter of the twelfth century. Even if "Predantur oculos" does not survive today in as many manuscripts as "Olim sudor," nor do the two appear together, circumstantial evidence indicates that "Predantur," too, had relatively wide circulation. Up to its 129th folio, Corpus 228 consists entirely of the poetic works of Claudian, followed in the same hand on the last two leaves by the six poems and part of the *summa operis* for the "Megacosmos" of Bernardus Silvestris.<sup>39</sup> The coincidence of twelfth-century rhythmic erotica with the *Megacosmos* in Corpus 228 underscores the sort of intellectual relationship we have tried to trace between Neoplatonist thought and contemporary erotic song, the same sort of connection implied more dramatically by the contents of Auxerre 243. The erotica of Corpus 228 are clearly filler after the Claudian poetry, but it seems likely they were related in the mind of the copyist to a now detached, or never attached, "Megacosmos." The modern verse both complements the classical poetry preceding it and leads thematically into the contemporary Neoplatonic philosophy that might have been destined to follow.

In the twelfth-century panoply of mythological figures, Orpheus occupies much the same place as Hercules. A demigod like Hercules, Orpheus, too, made the round trip *ad inferos*, typifying the wise man who armed himself with the weapons of eloquence, descended to contemplation of the terrestrial, and returned the wiser for it.<sup>40</sup> The details of Orpheus's story, however, particularly the sexual details, make Orpheus a more difficult figure than Hercules. Hercules fights his battles in neat sequence, and the two contests with lust, Omphale and Antaeus, form discrete units, separate from the journey to the underworld; that journey itself has a simple goal—capturing Cerberus—that Hercules easily achieves. The case of Orpheus is complicated. Because he had a long reputation as a singer and love poet, as well as a wise man and warrior; because the purpose of his underworld journey was not to conquer a monster,

but to rescue his dead wife; and, most important, because that journey failed to achieve its aim, exegetes of his *fabula* long struggled to make a coherent whole out of all the details. The ambiguities we find in twelfth-century treatments of the tale reflect at once the tale's history in interpretation before the twelfth century and, again, a good deal of the Neoplatonists' own half-expressed anxieties about themselves and their art and science. Following the work of Boethius, Fulgentius, and Servius, later mythographers and poets used the figure of Orpheus for many purposes, rewriting the myth over time in a process that culminated in quite daring readings by William of Conches and Bernardus Silvestris around the middle of the century.

The twelfth-century lyric about Orpheus, "Predantur oculos," found in Auxerre 243 and in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 228, records only a fragment of the Orpheus story—the moment when the hero falls in love with and wins Eurydice—and thus avoids all the complexities of the *descensus ad inferos* and of Orpheus's personal history subsequent to his great failure.<sup>41</sup> The poem is not obviously allegorical and offers a consistent and aesthetically attractive surface that makes it easy to read simply as a straightforward love lyric, a song about how the mighty Orpheus was bowled over by Eurydice. In "Olim sudor Herculis" the auditor/reader was continually pressured by the text to equate Hercules with the type of the wise man in intellectual and moral struggle, to see the love personified in Iole as the opponent of wisdom, and to hold in the mind the allegorical meanings of the different labors alluded to in the poem. In "Predantur oculos," while allegorical potential exists, it obtrudes less forcefully. Nonetheless, the short poem offers a wonderfully dense interweaving of words and ideas, parts that draw together a labyrinthine whole that reaches out allusively to enfold, moment to moment, the surrounding twin worlds of Neoplatonist cosmology and the Neoplatonist reading of classical myth.<sup>42</sup> "Predantur oculos" shows little of the overtly grammatical play evident in "Olim sudor"; it works through other means to address poetically the philosophical issue of the interrelationship of study and art and human sexuality in an ordered cosmos.<sup>43</sup>

Boethius's poem about Orpheus in *Consolation* 3, *metrum* 12 lies at the heart of all twelfth-century conceptions of the figure. In it already appear most of the tensions that are found in later Neoplatonist discussions of the story, and through it the twelfth century must have come to see all the classical allusions to Orpheus.<sup>44</sup> Boethius invokes the bard as an example of how difficult it is to escape the earth and look only on the divine. He begins his poem almost with a warning:

Felix qui potuit boni  
 Fontem uisere lucidum,  
 Felix qui potuit grauis  
 Terrae soluere uincula.

*[Happy is he who can look into the shining spring of good; happy is he who can break the chains of heavy earth.]*<sup>45</sup>

By virtue of his mother's songs and the music of the lyre given him by Apollo, Orpheus had the power to return postlapsarian nature to its Edenic state, to reverse natural order, to freeze the denizens of Hades and move Pluto to tears, yet not the power, Boethius continues, to stay his own grief or to conquer the love he felt for Eurydice. Because "love is a stronger law unto itself" [*maior lex amor est sibi*] Orpheus violates the one condition set for him in the underworld and loses all. Boethius keeps the feeling of the poem metaphorical, telling the story in a straightforward way by piling up details of Orpheus's power on earth and in hell, details that he doubtless got from Ovid and Virgil, but he also supplies a concrete moral ending that recalls the admonitory opening four lines and leaves the poem near the edge of allegory.<sup>46</sup> Once you have set your eyes on heaven, Boethius concludes, do not look back:

Vos haec fabula respicit  
 Quicumque in superum diem  
 Mentem ducere quaeritis.  
 Nam qui Tartareum in specus  
 Victus lumina flexerit,  
 Quidquid praecipuum trahit  
 Perdit, dum uidet inferos.

*[This fable applies to all of you who seek to raise your minds to sovereign day. For whoever is conquered and turns his eyes to the pit of hell, looking into the inferno, loses all the excellence he has gained.]*<sup>47</sup>

Fulgentius saw the myth largely as a story about the mysteries and complexities of music, and as a warning to those who would seek to learn too much.<sup>48</sup> Servius is most interested in Orpheus as a priest-philosopher and bringer of civilization to primitive man, a function Horace alludes to in the *Ars poetica*.<sup>49</sup> Commenting on Orpheus's presence in the "blissful groves" of Hades in the *Aeneid* ("amoena virecta / fortunatorum nemorum sedesque beatas"), Servius

explains why Virgil depicts him there as the “long-robed Thracian priest” playing his lyre.<sup>50</sup> Offspring of Calliope and of the river god Oeagrus, Orpheus is called “sacerdos,” Servius says, because he was a “theologus” who first established religious rituals (“orgia”) among men. Orpheus’s ability to move trees and stones with his music means that he was able to lead men away from “wild and hard” lives (“feris et duris”). The story also illustrates the natural connections among music, celestial harmony, and the harmony of an idealized human civilization, for as a result of his astrological study of the circling spheres Orpheus was the first to understand musical harmony and first to recognize the seven chords:

Orpheus . . . first established religious ritual, first understood harmony, that is, the sound of the circling spheres. . . . He is called “priest,” moreover, because he both was a theologian and first established religious ritual. Also he brought men from a wild and hard life: whence he is said to have moved trees and stones, as we said earlier.<sup>51</sup>

The story that Boethius uses to conclude the third book of the *Consolation*, then, brought to the twelfth century a complex central figure, a priestly demigod who could play a variety of roles. All three early interpreters of the story agree that his descent to the underworld was an educative one. Boethius makes the journey a somewhat vague rejection of the (physical?) temptations found in hell in favor of the purer (intellectual?) light of day; but Orpheus’s descent and what he does below are evidently part of the journey to true wisdom that is the *Consolation*’s theme. In Fulgentius and Servius, the singer’s ability to charm the shades is only the most vivid example of his talent for bringing harmony to the world and for revealing audible music as a reflection of the larger harmony present in God’s ordered cosmos. As a musician, Orpheus plays Apollo’s lyre and moves Nature, as a priest he brings order to the world of men, and as an astronomer he understands the meaning behind the ordered motions of the spheres.

Orpheus was thus a fluid figure, and his story was not always easy for later mythographers to explicate satisfactorily. The long discussion of the *fabula* by the Erfurt anonymous offers what might be called the conservative base of twelfth-century allegoresis that William of Conches and Bernardus Silvestris worked beyond when they created more daring readings of the story.<sup>52</sup> Commenting on the opening lines of *Consolation* 3, *metrum* 12 (“Felix qui potuit boni / Fontem uisere lucidum”), the Erfurt anonymous moves the Boethian

metaphor toward allegory, while keeping the idea behind the interpretation unchanged:

This song is a fable and it praises above all others those who, stripped of carnal desires, raise themselves to an understanding of the light of true blessedness. And this fable warns us that no one should look backward after he once finds the place where the true good is situated, and after finding the highest good.<sup>53</sup>

What is new here in the twelfth century are the specifically sexual overtones, not fully articulated in earlier commentaries, that creep into the discussion. Musician Orpheus, the “citharista,” masters his *carnalia desideria* to rise to the contemplation of the “summum bonum”; he loses his wife because he looked backward to “saeculi desideria” of which she is implicitly a part. Orpheus the “theologus” is one because he led men from a wild existence to civilized life. The Erfurt commentary vacillates between consistent allegory and a simple report of the story because, however the author feels about the myth’s message, he assigns no explicit values to most of the central characters—to Eurydice, Orpheus, the snake, Aristaeus, or the gods of the underworld. At the same time, the author’s glossing of Tityos as “libido” and Ixion as the “cupidi mundi” a few lines later encourages the reader’s sense that, allegorically speaking, the wrongs involved in the hell Orpheus tries to conquer are in part sexual. For this glossator, the Fulgentian option of a musical allegory has become secondary to a morality tale growing out of the Boethian *metrum* and to which has been added an allusion to Aristaeus from *Georgics* 4. If the logical details of the exegesis remain unresolved and unappreciated (e.g., is Eurydice a good or a bad thing in herself, and why should Orpheus make the descent at all?), the moral seems clear and Boethian: avoid the sexual temptations of the earth and, having fled them, do not look back.<sup>54</sup>

Two Neoplatonist analyses of the Orpheus myth, one from William of Conches’s commentary on Boethius’s *Consolation* and the other from Bernardus Silvestris’s commentary on the *Aeneid*, were written in the first half of the twelfth century. William’s commentary seems the earlier of the two; it is also the more vituperative and less allegorically complete.<sup>55</sup> Bernardus Silvestris, in his later version, tries hard to account for all the figures in the story, to make everything fit smoothly and coherently, to produce a synthesis that leads logically to a vision of the life of the wise man. Together the two commentaries appear to be a programmatic side-branch in the development of the myth,

rather than the core of the tradition. In William's analysis, each piece of the tale takes on a new complexity as part of an expansion and completion of the outline Boethius left. Orpheus, William says, is called "oreaphone," that is "optima vox," as in Fulgentius, because he is the wise man, the one who stands for wisdom and eloquence. Eurydice he etymologizes as "boni iudicatio" (a variation on Fulgentius's "profunda diiudicatio"), "judgment of the good," not the unfathomable intellectual process allegorized in Fulgentius's analysis of music, but "naturalis concupiscentia" or simply, quoting Horace, "genius": the inborn, morally neutral human desire to seek whatever one perceives as good. Eurydice wanders through the fields, that is, over the earth in all its temporality, which may be either green or dry.<sup>56</sup> Aristaeus ("optimus" in Fulgentius) becomes "virtus" for William, that is, virtue or excellence, which naturally seeks Eurydice because virtue wants to raise *genius* up from earthly things. She rejects Aristaeus, and her death marks her willful descent to terrestrial pleasures, pleasures that could be sexual, but that William seems to see quite generally as any earthly distractions. Orpheus mourns for his wife—and for his own failing:

because when a wise man sees his attention and pleasure controlled by *temporalia*, he is displeased. Though he conquered all by his music, he did not conquer his grief for his lost wife, because however much a wise man overcomes the vices of others by his wisdom and eloquence, he cannot withdraw his own desires from the grasp of *temporalia*, and for this reason Orpheus greatly mourned.<sup>57</sup>

The wise man's powers to correct others through wisdom and eloquence (Orpheus's music) do not guarantee him freedom from temptations. Yet if the lure of the terrestrial makes the wise man sad, William demonstrates an ambivalence when he comes to explain Orpheus's descent to seek his wife: on the one hand, the *vir sapiens* must finally withdraw his mind from the terrestrial, but on the other, the knowledge of *temporalia* remains something that needs to be experienced and understood before it is abandoned. So Orpheus went down

to the underworld in order to bring back his wife, just as the wise man descends to a knowledge of earthly things in order to see that there is nothing of value in them before he can free himself from human desire.<sup>58</sup>



William concludes with a quotation from Luke 9:62 warning against backsliders in the ascent to contemplation of the divine:

nemo mittens manum suam ad aratrum et respiciens  
retro aptus est regno Dei.

[No man putting his hand to the plough, and  
looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God.]

(Douay-Rheims)

Despite its ambiguous final message, the little psychomachia leaves the clear impression that even the best-directed wisdom and eloquence must inevitably become involved in the world before rising above it.

Bernardus Silvestris's commentary on the *Aeneid* gives a fuller version of the Orphic process of involvement with the things of the world, carrying further the liberal logic of the allegory, spelling out its details more explicitly. The consistent overlap of particular details and terminology make clear that the two Neoplatonist analyses of the myth are intimately related, while the nature of Bernardus's additions and deletions suggests strongly that he was using William as a base. Where William says that Orpheus represents "sapientia et eloquentia," Bernardus notes the same and adds that this is appropriate because his parents were Apollo, who has now been substituted for the classical Oeagrus, and Calliope. Bernardus also adds that the lyre of Orpheus represents rhetoric, for the diverse colors of rhetoric are like the instrument's diverse strings, and that the snake that bites Eurydice represents "temporale bonum." Where William without elaboration calls Aristaeus "pastor" and "virtus," Bernardus defines him more precisely as "virtus divina"—the divine spark each person possesses—and a "pastor gregis," a sort of moral guardian of the flock of each person's "thoughts, words, and deeds." Aristaeus becomes less the abstraction he was and something more like modern "conscience."<sup>59</sup>

Toward the end of his explication of the fable, Bernardus diverges from William in a number of instances that signal his intention not just to complete the puzzle started by William but to alter its tone and outlines, focusing his attention much less on Orpheus's failure to reach his goal than on the nature of the journey and its causes. His Orpheus does not weep for his inability to "withdraw his own desires from the grasp of *temporalia*," but is simply and more humanly "moved by desire for his wife." Bernardus also drops the initial *moralitas* that sets the tone in William's version, removes the quotation from Luke

9, and neglects to reiterate that Orpheus did, in fact, look back and lose Eurydice. Bernardus adds two notions that give his version a concrete relationship to actual circumstances in the world that is lacking in William's more abstract analysis. When Orpheus descends to hell, Bernardus tells us:

He charms the lords of the shades, that is, the possessors of temporal good. After he has sung for a while, that is after he has there exercised wisdom and eloquence, he regains his wife, that is he removes appetite from earthly matters, with the stipulation that he will lose her if he looks back, that is if he thinks again about the temporal.<sup>60</sup>

It is a small moment, but one that confirms our impression of pragmatic thinking behind the scholarly interpretations of myth. Wise men practicing their instructive craft for those in power are like Orpheus, demigods who have to make a living and must reconcile their moral sense and their intellectual training with day-to-day life among the aristocratic powers. This little nod toward the world explains a good deal. Bernardus's excision of the hero's self-criticism and of some of the myth's *moralitas* makes the descent seem tolerable and implicitly draws the descent closer to the threefold process of life and education we observed in the fable of Paris. Eurydice's fall into earthly desires offers a parallel to the voluptuary life Venus stood for, while Orpheus's descent and return follows the pattern of the journey from Juno to Minerva, from activity to contemplation. William says in conclusion to his reading that Orpheus's trip to hell reveals "nothing of good" in the things of the world ("nichil boni in eis"); Bernardus takes a more moderate stand, saying only that after being wise and eloquent for a while before the possessors of temporal good, one learns the "fragility" of *temporalia* and withdraws one's appetite from them. Broadly speaking, these mythological commentaries make evident, first, the difficulty of the Orpheus figure and, second, the wide compass of his possible functions, from arch-rhetor to cosmologer to singer and lover. When a sophisticated poet built a love lyric on such a figure, he had at hand an enormous allusive context to work with, a possible range of reference that gives to any poetic use of the character a great metaphorical and allegorical potential. As was the case with "Olim sudor Herculis," when the poet takes up the figure he absorbs only a fragment of the whole story into his lyric, but he does so in a way to evoke much beyond the brief episode he employs.

The Orpheus lyric found in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 228 and Auxerre 243 is a tidy, highly compressed sequence of six half-strophes without refrain. Line length varies from three to seven syllables and the half-stanzas

from six to ten lines; rhymes are somewhat less intense than in "Olim sudor," with an unrhymed couplet beginning 1a and 1b and no instances of triple rhymes in any half-stanza. This lapidary little song casts Orpheus in the double role of musician and student of the stars and establishes the natural connection, through numbers, between those studies. He is "vocalis Orpheus," the singer who before he met Eurydice used to examine or pry into ("rimari") the "noted" flight (punning on "nota" as any mark or a specifically musical notation) of "siderum" moved "per numerum," as Dronke translates: "the numerically established courses of the stars." Eurydice plunders his eyes and captures his mind or heart, the same organs he used first to embrace the universe. Caught between the lovers, the ambivalent "siderei" of stanza 1a, line 4, points equally to both: either "Orphei siderei" or her "siderei vultus." Eurydice thus constitutes the cosmos itself in her own way, a worthy distraction for a cosmologist—her starry face (if we take "siderei" with "vultus"), her "simplices risus," like a half moon, and her innate menstrual nature are placed in opposition to the "solis annuos" and "lune menstruos circuitus" of Orpheus's cosmological observations. Orpheus's connection to sun and moon are particularly apt if we believe, with Bernardus, that Orpheus's father was Apollo. He exchanges one sort of study for another, but the humorous implication is that the two *opera* or *studii* are identical as Orpheus sings about embracing her ("de amplexu loquitur") instead of about the "fugam siderum" and follows her ("sequitur amatam") instead of the "circuitus lune."

In stanza 1b the lyric looks toward the interior life of this interpreted Orpheus. Eurydice's existence first silences the famous harp ("tacente cithara") and the *philosophus* burns with passion. The allusion to Mt. Ismara draws on one part of Orpheus's philosophical function for its effectiveness—there in Thrace, in the "Ismarius vallis," Orpheus tamed the animals with his harp and thus brought the harmony of civilization to a "wild and hard" mankind. Now, the poet says, the music is stilled and all Thrace is stupefied; now it is Orpheus's turn to suffer an uncivilized disquiet, to go up in flames ("abiit in flammam"), to endure a "spiritum sollicitum." At the same time the poet plays with another aspect of Orphic character—Orpheus as priest and founder of the first religious rituals (the *orgia* of the commentaries) who here himself becomes the sacred fire onto which Eurydice as sacrifice is poured. In a reversal of the courtly cliché of unrequited love driving a lover to song, Orpheus's unconsummated desire has quieted his music and at first renders his rhetoric impotent. Eurydice wants nothing from this suppliant ("de suplice"), he wastes his prayers ("perdat preces vacuas") at the altar of her "ianuas pudoris" and her "gremium" until she grants him sudden access ("pervium") to

“discursibus” (both “running about” and verbal “discourse” in Late Latin) and to “lusibus” (“playing” and “jests” like the poem itself). Orpheus’s art, Orpheus’s existence as a poet and scholar, now depends on this sexual consummation, and it is achieved through the mediation of his priestly function. Dronke renders lines 1–2 of stanza 3b not incorrectly as “taking the first fruits of her maidenhead,” but it is important also to realize that *libamen* is a standard classical and Vulgate term for libation, for a drink offering to the gods, and, moreover, that *sumere* contains the more physical sense of “consume” or “eat.” After his prayers, Orpheus “sucks” her up as an offering at the fire, and that act of self-assertion, of male artistic and intellectual power, gives him back his lute. It also allows him to make the rhyming equation of “fidicen” (“lutenist” or “lyric poet”) and “Eurydicen,” so that he at last “knows” [*cognovit*] her in both senses of the word, or rather reveals the innate truth for him of a word that classically and biblically means “to investigate” and “to have sexual intercourse with.”<sup>61</sup>

As Dronke notes, the “*spiritum sollicitum*” of stanza 3b, lines 8–9, surely refers to Orpheus;<sup>62</sup> the “anxious spirit” that silenced his harp in 1b, lines 3–4, has been quieted by union with his beloved, banished “under a lyric song” [*lirico / sub cantico*]. In “*Olim sudor*” the implied equation of sexual love with study, the poetic conflation of sexual wrestling with word wrestling, apparently spawns a wish to deny the equation and reject love in favor of a different *studium* (“*ab amore spiritum / sollicitum removi*”). But in “*Predantur oculos*,” consummation removes the *solicitude* and restores the poet’s creative power. In this lyric there is no poetic “ego,” only the alter ego of Orpheus as omniscient wise man, through whom it may be easier for the poet to take such a position.

Orpheus’s many functions stand as part of the greater belief, evident in William of Conches and Alain de Lille, that all the pieces of terrestrial wisdom were within the grasp of the properly educated person and that a fundamental web of interconnection united all the parts. The identification, made in the lyric’s opening lines, of love object and cosmos, of intellectual desire and sexual desire, thus concludes the poem, too, with the poet’s sexual fulfillment after stasis and uncertainty, making the identification complete. Allegorically speaking the two *studia*, the two results of desire, are completely identical: by achieving Eurydice, Orpheus and the speaker achieve wisdom. The integumental notion of the eroticized Eurydice as “deep wisdom” and “musical knowledge” hovers unavoidably about the lyric. The wise man, the poet and philosopher, must play many roles in a lifetime of striving and edu-

cation, passing from a profound study of the world and of humankind to eventual contemplation of the celestial. The commentaries point up in a terse and fragmented way the many things Orpheus represented to the twelfth-century Neoplatonists. What the author of “Predantur oculos” accomplishes here is a sophisticated integration of those many parts, possible so completely and allusively only in poetry, only “lirico, sub cantico.”

#### LEDA AND THE CLERIC

The mythological figure of Leda, one of Jupiter’s most prominent victims, is the subject of a long, rhythmic erotic poem from the second half of the twelfth century. Discovered in an English manuscript, Lambeth Palace 196, and published by Wilhelm Meyer early in the last century under the title “Die moderne Leda,” the poem sums up parodically many of the concerns that emerge in the mythographic writings of Neoplatonist cosmologers.<sup>63</sup> We know nothing about the circumstances of the composition of “Leda,” only that it appears in a single manuscript, a fine twelfth-century volume of Priscian’s grammar, written as prose on the two inner pages (i<sup>v</sup>—ii<sup>r</sup>) of the flyleaves (fig. 12). Judging from the inscription on ii<sup>v</sup> in a fourteenth-century hand, the volume was formerly at the Augustinian priory at Llanthony near Gloucester and very early had the “Leda” poem attached.<sup>64</sup> The association of the poem with a grammar book reflects the natural relationship we have many times observed between the ribald, clerical foolery of a poem like “Leda” and what went on in the schoolroom. As a rhyming, mythographic parody of works like the *Consolation of Philosophy* and the *De planctu* in which a celestial woman descends to educate and console a troubled man, “Leda” uniquely bridges the intellectual and rhetorical space between the long Neoplatonic works and numerous mythologically based erotic lyrics.

Since no music survives for “Leda”—and we thus have no way of knowing whether it was through-composed or used repeated music for each stanza—we can say only that it could be either a hymn without refrain or an extremely long and regular sequence. The poem consists of fifty-two metrically identical stanzas (4a4a7b4c4c7b), a compressed version of one of the most common twelfth-century sequence stanza forms (8a8a7b8c8c7b), used by Adam of St. Victor and Alain de Lille among many others.<sup>65</sup> This form is a relative of the older fifteen-syllable lines with end-rhyme and a strong caesura after the eighth syllable that we saw Hilary of Orléans use in four-line, monorhymed stanzas in his *carmina* 9 and 18.<sup>66</sup> The effect in “Leda” of the intensified den-



In aspectu nube tectam fero archem mirantem. dum miraretur & resideret  
nubes esse remansit. Ecce quidam fuisse letam sese uocant nomine.  
pulchra tecta totis data credo deum munus. forma cui mundi huius  
nil ualere gloriæ argueret & premebat nitarum superbiam. Quā diu  
nil flauis crinis linteus odoribus decorabat & singulis cetera aromantibus;  
Huius pfectum ad aspectum huius dici poterat. simplex uultus huius incultus. nubes rosas  
strauit. uenustabat & micabat utriusque acies oculorum splendidos. tanta erat  
spes. Os & nares genae pariter mentis guttur pectora & limba & formata ut  
ebur aut maris moza. Lacerat digitorum mira coposio. lacerat femorat absque  
omni uicio. Pedes tales sunt quales utriusque laudabile. quorum gressus ac regressus  
cuiusquid mirabile. uel semita ut pignora quā sunt uicinia. redolent & decet  
nisi gestu omnia. Esse deam tacuit eam sicut erat. rubens nec equalem nā mortale  
memet in habuit. Quā benigne sese dignē in hunc modū adiecit. ne timere sed gau  
dere & me dextera pericula. pmerentem nā pudentē. basio dignata ē. morhee  
uerba huius superba pinde locuta ē. Dea quidem non sic pōdem in iouis munus.  
nomine idē qd & pōdem. Ista uocor nomine. tunc puella in stella nauis; pōria.  
quē cur oancur nam sedantur me fulgentis maria. Tanti munus deus unius  
ipse summus omnium michi dedit. cui cedit. cuius ferit ipsum. cui soli plaga poli  
subditur & syda. nunc cui huius huius eunt quoque cetera. is quē dea natus ira ex  
sacris pepit. qui in creta adhuc loca clauis miratus est uerit; cui nūm fecit flauis  
uisa mea facie. meo pssit. id q; gessit olus in ipse; dum dolorem atq; florē spoli  
ata uirginem. sū paca & solata ab ipse in hominem. sic querit. si mater eis  
polluit. & castus. quid solo mox in polo. uas monstrat. epous; dabit quidē partē  
idem helena pulcher rima. quā dum sospes raptor hospes parē uiuet. magi  
mam ueli causam. gress clauis infra seruet. etiam qd p totū orbem. nocuit  
tibi sic ad gloriā. ut pōdit. ratiū firm. nam gemellos pepit. & formosam plūq;  
rosant. inuidiam ueneri. Quā uel rapta. sed inuicta pma uice reddita. est formo  
sa plūq; rosa toti mundo habita. Illam ante nulla tamq; uixit. pulcherrima ac  
nunc quēdam quē sic edam. Alboris nomen uirginis. est nigellē. cui puelle. omis  
a principio. quē fuerit. sunt & erunt usq; in iudicio. inuiderent. si uiderent. non  
id mirra. nam deoy supnoy tota laudat curia; Hollem ame natam. fane can  
tum deus pōdit. sed nec mouit uerbis deum. incertam resistere; Ad te q; des pgo.  
quē sic scire cupio. hoc puella. de nigella nāte ortū audio. facta p te. et ta. certe  
dile quod pectus. Corde uone ora moue. poscent. si fraudaberis. sic placet. semel dē  
gemit. uir uas. eripit. & quadrauit. instat. mellis dulcia. Cum sic ego. de te  
lego. dē in auctorib; sed quā legi & relegi. forma laucam omib; & cum hē. tam non  
credebam uariū poematib; ac nunc credo & concedo fidem esse omib; post quā talē  
est pater. relegi. aspicio. cuius usus & subitus est michi mēdo. &

FPO

Fig. 12. London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 196, fol. ii<sup>r</sup>. A twelfth-century volume of Priscian, perhaps from the middle of the century, formerly at the Augustinian priory at Llanthony near Gloucester. "Inaspectam nube tectam" appears written as prose on the two inner pages (i<sup>v</sup>-ii<sup>r</sup>) of the fly-leaves, also in a twelfth-century hand. The poem is unique to this manuscript. (Reproduced by permission of Lambeth Palace Library.)



sity of rhyme is to create an even more imperative forward movement of the lines, offering both a challenge for the poet and an opportunity for the witty use of repeated sounds.

Though the basic outline of Leda's story was not in dispute in the Middle Ages, the classical myth of the queen and her children came down to the twelfth century in several versions.<sup>67</sup> Analysts agreed that Leda, wife of King Tyndareus of Sparta, was raped by Zeus in the form of a swan and that she produced three children: Helen of Troy and the twins Castor and Pollux, either all from a single egg or segregated in two eggs by gender. Some sources contended that all three had Zeus for a father, but more often Castor was called the son of Tyndareus and thus a mortal. The twins became great warriors for Sparta, and when Castor died in battle, Pollux refused his own immortality and begged Zeus not to separate them. In recognition of their attachment to each other Zeus made them both gods, requiring them to spend half their time in the heavens and half under the earth; at the same time he set the twin stars of Gemini in the heavens to honor them.

The myth of Leda, though of interest to early commentators, does not have the same long history of detailed interpretation and reinterpretation that we observed for the stories of Hercules and Orpheus. In Fulgentius's analysis Jove stands for "power" (*modum potentiae*), appearing as a bird noted for being "filled with reviling" [*conviciis . . . plenam*]; Leda stands for "insult" (*iniuria aut conuicium*), etymologizing the Greek *lide*; and their offspring represent the impurity of great power that stoops to abuse. So Helen is a "seedbed of scandal and strife" [*seminarium scandali et discordiae*], whose adultery "shatters both worlds with grief" [*geminum luctu concussit . . . mundum*]; her stellified brothers become symbols ("signa") of destruction at sea and destruction of people, Fulgentius explains, for

they say that both of them rise up and fall down alternately, because pride sometimes commands but sometimes falls.<sup>68</sup>

Noting the etymology of the twins' Greek names, he concludes his explication:

In Greek, Pollux is *apo tu apollin*, that is seeking to destroy, and Castor is for *cacon steron*, that is, final evil.<sup>69</sup>

Alberic of London once more offers a good summary of later-twelfth-century opinion on the story of Leda and Zeus. Working to reconcile the limited ear-

lier testimony with common sense and his knowledge of myth, Alberic tries to make coherent the interpretations he inherited from Fulgentius by noting what “physiologi” have to say about the nature of the swan and by showing why it is appropriate to see the product of “iniuria” and “convicium” as an egg:

Truly [Zeus is transformed] into a swan, because natural philosophers report that this bird is filled with reviling, to the extent that when this bird calls out, the rest of the birds who were nearby become silent. Thus also whenever a noble and powerful man hastens to bring injury to others, declining from a position of restraint, he is not ashamed to use invective. But that which is born of this is an egg, that is a shell full of a thick, muddy, and viscous humor.<sup>70</sup>

Thus the three products of the egg, or eggs, all represent evil in various forms. At the same time Alberic finds it hard to understand the alternate rising and falling described by Fulgentius for the two stars of Gemini, and he has trouble seeing the brothers as astral signs of ill omen:

As for the fact that, indeed, as the one rises, the other falls, and as the one falls, the other rises, as it is customarily claimed by many, on no account is it possible to be true since their stars are both contiguous and make up the same [astrological] sign, which we call Gemini.<sup>71</sup>

Alberic considers the star assigned to Helen as a bad sign, but not the two stars Zeus awarded to Castor and Pollux in recognition of their fidelity to each other. Whether or not she was really to blame and despite her immortality, Alberic implies, Helen did contribute to the causes of the Trojan War, while her brothers lived relatively exemplary lives:

Finally, according to deeper knowledge or opinion, Helen’s star is considered injurious and the creator of storms, while, indeed, those of her brothers [are considered] propitious. Whence it is not inconsistent to see Helen as having been the cause of evil.<sup>72</sup>

The same sense of a scholarly mind sorting and organizing that we find in Alberic appears in the more radical analysis provided by Bernardus Silvestris. When Bernardus comes to explicate the constellation of Gemini in the course of his commentary on the *De nuptiis*, Fulgentius’s old analysis provides most of the terminology he adapts. Bernardus examines Leda when he comes to

explain why Apollo and Mercury are so dramatically transformed as they rise toward Jupiter's court and why they pass through the "kindred" sign of Gemini on their way up. Martianus describes the transit beyond the region of the air as a metamorphosis from a form human and terrestrial into one fiery and celestial in preparation for the meeting with Jupiter:

Meanwhile Phoebus had gone beyond the airy regions, when suddenly his headband was transformed into rays of light, the laurel which he was carrying in his right hand burst into a glow of cosmic splendor; and the birds which were drawing the Delian chariot turned into swift jets of flame. In the guise of the sun he shone forth brightly, his mantle gleaming red, the threshold of the starry heavens open. The Cyllenian, too, was transformed into a glimmering constellation and star. Thus enhanced by this transformation into celestial bodies, they were carried through Gemini, a sign kindred to them, and they shone forth in the majestic sky.<sup>73</sup>

Bernardus's manipulation of the essential ideas he has received from Fulgentius produces an elaborate exegesis of Fulgentius's exegesis. Because Martianus discusses only Gemini at this point in the *De nuptiis*, Helen falls out of Bernardus's analysis and he focuses exclusively on the twins and their different qualities. Only one of them, Pollux, was immortal and born of Jupiter, and the other was born of a human father, Leda's husband, King Tyndareus, though Bernardus does not mention him by name. Taking on the challenge of Fulgentius's etymologies, he continues:

It is known that Leda should be interpreted either as zeal or jealousy, Pollux as damnation, Castor as extreme evil. Indeed a human mind seeking happiness with good zeal [is] not undeservedly called Leda, that is, zeal. In her Jupiter begets Pollux when she herself, by the love of God, takes the contemplative life for herself. In this same woman, by a mortal, Castor is begotten when she embraces the active (life) in carnal love.<sup>74</sup>

In Bernardus's reformulation, Leda becomes "zelus" or "invidia," the second of these only a small shift from Fulgentius's original "iniuria," the first a more significant variation. He modifies Pollux very slightly to "perditio" (Fulgentius called him "perdendum"); Castor remains "malum extremum." On the subject of Leda, Bernardus spends all his time with his initial integumental reading of

her as “zeal”—the human soul seeking happiness “with good zeal”—giving her this much in common with Eurydice, whom we saw portrayed as “boni iudicatio” or “genius” by William and Bernardus in their discussions of Orpheus. This morally neutral quest leads Leda to produce her two sons through two different sorts of love: the love of God, which results in the immortal and contemplative Pollux, and carnal love, which results in the mortal and active Castor. Having recast Leda, Bernardus also rehabilitates the twins. Remarking on the descent to the things of the earth, he explains that the “perditio” (strictly speaking “loss” or “ruin” or “perdition”) of Pollux means giving up terrestrial goods and “losing” one’s soul so that one becomes worthy to find the soul again, that is, to discover the contemplative life.<sup>75</sup> Bernardus justifies Fulgentius’s etymology of Castor as “extreme evil” because the active life can be seen as the goal or end (“terminus”) of corporeal desire (“corporee voluptatis”). When human desire becomes immobilized in the activity of the world, it is bad, but, he goes on, *actio* holds a midposition between the life of the voluptuary and the life of contemplation; driven by the zeal for happiness, a person engaged in the active life has the potential to go in either direction, and crucially the *vita activa* may confer immortality if it is used as a passage and not as an end in itself. Thus Pollux makes Castor a god:

Pollux (is called) the contemplative life, that is he is called damnation, because by giving up these [terrestrial] goods he loses his soul so that he might deserve to find it [again]. The active life is called extreme evil because it is said to be the end of corporeal desire. Intermediate between desire and contemplation, however, is action. That this one is immortal is shown because contemplation is not bounded by corporeal death as is action. Whence God says that Mary chose that part which will not be taken away from her. Pollux confers deity on Castor because action moving to contemplation gains immortality. *Through Gemini* thus Apollo and Mercury go to the gods because from desire through action and afterwards through contemplation they ascend to divine wisdom and eloquence.<sup>76</sup>

The initially jarring analogy between this myth and the biblical story about Mary’s acceptance of the Incarnation works because from a certain point of view the Virgin received God much as Leda received Jupiter. Twelfth-century analysts provide numerous Christianized readings for the figure of Jupiter himself. These flow naturally from his position as highest god, the offspring of the

primordial Rhea and Saturn. In the *De nuptiis* commentary Bernardus describes Jupiter as possessing six *integumenta*:

We find that the name of Jove is equally applicable to six *integumenta*: as the highest god, as the higher element, as a planet, as the world soul, as the soul of man, as the world itself,

plus the titles “lovem omnipotentem” and “universam potenciam,” and the paternal functions of creator and lawgiver.<sup>77</sup> With this sort of exegetical weight behind Jupiter, Leda’s rape by the *summus deus* gets a good deal of explication from Bernardus. Because of her “love of God,” Leda possessed the love of the contemplative life, which manifested itself in her immortal and deified son (Pollux). That superior offspring was then able to confer his immortality on his inferior brother Castor with the result that both could be brought into heaven. Bernardus sees Mary’s desire for God leading to the active choice of her role as Jesus’ mother, and thence to her contemplative near-divinity. His syncretistic aside about Mary explicitly equates the “decision” Leda made in accepting Jupiter’s embraces with Mary’s active acceptance of the Holy Spirit and of her part in the Christian drama, an act that placed her beyond time and beyond death, even as Leda’s act, some say, resulted in her stellification. Leda shares certain qualities with Mary, while Jupiter manifests God’s aspects of creator and mover; in philosophical terms the whole experience of the rape and its results are integumentally parallel to the Annunciation and birth of Christ. Thus, Bernardus concludes, desire may lead through action to contemplation and thence to “divine wisdom and eloquence.”<sup>78</sup>

The three distinct life choices that we saw in Fulgentius’s discussion of Paris—the voluptuary, the active, and the contemplative—have been softened by Bernardus into a smooth series beginning in desire. The technical details of the analytical system—the scope of the three categories, how one measures the process of transition among them, how *voluptas* is defined and functions—remain far from clear in the version of the Leda *fabula* Bernardus tells. The intellectual premises underlying it, however, are fairly explicit and by now familiar: a sense of life as constant advancement, an interest in the affairs of the world and in the world of nature, a recognition of the power and importance of human desire, an understanding that even intellectual desire is essentially erotic. At moments here, as in other treatises, we catch sight of how mythological theory intersected with the real lives of theorists and stu-

dents, how theorizing about the gods provided scholars with a way to think about the shape of their own day-to-day existence. Discussing the same journey of Apollo and Mercury to the court of Jupiter that sparks the consideration of Gemini, Bernardus notes the practical relationship between the contiguous worlds of *actio* and *contemplatio*:

Wisdom and eloquence are sometimes in the lower region, sometimes they go beyond it and then they undergo a metamorphosis. They inhabit the lower region when wisdom is involved in the administration of the affairs of temporal things, and [when] eloquence [is involved] in questions about the interpretation of them [those affairs].<sup>79</sup>

Wisdom and eloquence have a place in two spheres of human existence and in each have their separate functions. The one is concerned with visible things and the other with invisible: "just as in the practical life one has before all else the care of visible things, so in the contemplative one has before all else the clear conception of invisible things."<sup>80</sup> So the same individual may pass between realms and change his function as he reformulates his desires:

Therefore the birds held below change into puffing horses above because, with those considerations having been trained in action, burning desire for eternal things in contemplation follows. Indeed, he who by reason and intellect distinguished in temporal affairs what ought to be done and what not, this same one, having put aside action for contemplation, gapes at invisible things with the ardor of longings.<sup>81</sup>

At one point, finally, in the course of this analysis, Bernardus presents his students with a double icon that gives a useful idea of the constant symbiotic intercourse he imagines between realms of human experience. It occurs in the *De nuptiis* commentary as part of the interpretation of a list of trees found in Isaiah 41:19. Of the fir and the elm he notes:

The fir, although rising from the earth, yet extending itself to the heights, is contemplation ascending from the temporal to the eternal. The elm, sterile but bearing a fruitful vine, is occupation in the world supplying the necessities for the contemplative life.<sup>82</sup>



Each person has to choose where he directs the course of his life, but one realm may lead to the next and each depends ultimately on the other. The power that drives the movement through the schema is desire, and desire makes up the first level of human activity in the system—the natural desire for the good, for wisdom and understanding, which is, in a sense, desire for the life of a cleric. At the same time, the orderly transit in life and in study from desire through activity to contemplation can be perceived integumentally as two forms of sexual intercourse, one marital and terrestrial (Leda and Tyndareus), the other a divine rape (Leda and Jupiter), that together find themselves compared to the Virgin's free act of accepting God and hence of achieving divine wisdom. Literarily such ideas, such ways of making intellectual connections, invest a figure like Leda with great potential significance and they open the door to wicked parody.

Built around a central joke that finally makes the whole work verge on an allegory—but never quite become one—the “Leda” poem from Lambeth Palace 196 explores clerical attitudes toward love, myth, cosmological science, and scholarly attempts to explicate the world and the written word. Though a subversive parody of the establishment, “Leda” makes its critique from well within the system it questions, linking Plato and Ovid in a send-up of all Boethian philosophical visitations and of the mythographic transformations that define the *Metamorphoses*.<sup>83</sup> The poem opens with the narrator looking for the constellations Ursa Major and Ursa Minor (“Arcton”) on a night obscured by clouds. He never finds the stars, but his desire to study the cosmos leads him to observe something bright descend from above, calling itself Leda. She glitters and gleams, and immediately the poet makes a little joke about the slight value of *temporalia*, very reminiscent of the serious remarks made by William of Conches and Bernardus Silvestris when they worry about involvement in the world:

Forma cuius  
mundi huius  
nil valere gloriam  
arguebat  
et premebat  
nostrarum superbiam.

[Her form declared the glory of this world to be worthless, and it humbled the pride of our women.]<sup>84</sup>

Following along the same lines as Alain and so many other academic writers of the period, the poet describes her beauty in quick detail:

Nil perfectum  
ad aspectum  
huius dici poterat.  
Simplex vultus  
haut incultus  
nives rosis straverat.

Venustabat  
et micabat  
utriusque acies  
oculorum  
splendidorum;  
tanta erat species.

Os et nares  
gene pares  
mentum guttur pectora  
elimata  
et formata  
ut ebur aut marmora.

*[Nothing could be said about the perfection of her appearance; her pure face, not at all slovenly, had strewn the snow with roses. The keenness of each of her splendid eyes sparkled and made her lovely, such was her beauty. Mouth and nose, both cheeks, chin, neck, breasts, polished and formed like ivory or marble.]*<sup>85</sup>

And so on down to the feet:

Pedes tales,  
sure quales:  
utrumque laudabile.  
Quorum gressus  
ac regressus  
visu quid mirabile.

*[Her feet, were like her calves: both praiseworthy; their coming and going was marvelous to behold.]*<sup>86</sup>

As she greets him with handclasp and kiss and tells him not to fear, he decides she must be a goddess. "I am, indeed, a goddess now," Leda assures him, "made a star by the power of Jupiter and able to calm the sea." She recounts her meeting with the god when he was in the form of a swan, her rape, and his promises that all was for the best because she would give birth to important offspring: Castor and Pollux and their sister Helen, all of whom would gain eternal glory. Leda is particularly pleased with her last child, because no one has ever equaled Helen for beauty. She continues (in verse 26, the midpoint of the poem) to confess that she knows of a dark woman ("nigella"), named Albors, who is praised by the gods as most beautiful and is closely connected to the narrator.<sup>87</sup> What precisely the phrase "te ortum" in verse 30 means is not entirely self-evident ("de nigella / nam te ortum audio"), but the lines suggest that the narrator somehow has his origin in Albors or is, perhaps, her offspring. Certainly he is not her lover, as Meyer supposed, but rather he stands in the same relationship to this dark lady as Helen stands to Leda. Leda's curiosity is aroused because she does not want Helen's reputation for beauty diminished by this newcomer, so she asks the narrator to tell her about Albors, kissing him and promising him anything he wants in return. The speaker decides that though he did not formerly believe what poetic *auctores* had to say about the goddess, he now does, and glowingly describes Leda again, this time to her face, with special attention to her swanlike whiteness. Then he tells her his wish, to have her love, promises to tell her what she wants to know afterward, and then seizes her ("ultro eam rapui"). When she has been "captured" the poet sings a song of victory, twice, in fact, praising his own cleverness and exulting in the conquest of a goddess by his art, whereas mighty Jupiter with all his power could only take a mortal girl.

The structure of the poem, as we have noted, parallels that of the *Consolation* and the *De planctu naturae*—a superterrestrial female appears to a troubled man, is described, explains who she is, and discusses or conveys matters of philosophical interest. The light tone and rhythmic meter, however, mark the "Leda" poem as a different sort of philosophy, as the clerkish narrator drags his audience into a complicated web of mythographic allusion spun out of the stuff of the twelfth-century schools.<sup>88</sup> "Leda" sketches a tortuous passage through the mind of a well-educated cleric who tacks together his own myth out of his wide learning and a strong sense of his intellectual and sexual self-worth. Play with words and things in "Leda" operates at a number of levels, and not consistently—nor I suspect is the poet aiming for a consistent allegory or "meaning." But deep within the poem's whirling structure of biblical, mythological, sexual, and literary interests lies a fundamental hermeneutic

preoccupation with writing of all sorts and the craft of the clerk as recorder and interpreter of the physical world and the written word through time. This clerk, subject and author of his verse and of himself, searches the sky for meaning, reads old books of myths, is a master of rhetoric, fashions a beautiful woman, and, of course, writes poetry.

From the start he warns us that things are unlikely to be very clear—the night is cloudy, it is late, and the stars he is looking for are obscured when Leda flashes out of the sky, apparently calling out her own name:

Inaspectam  
 nube tectam  
 sero arcton intuens  
 dum mirarer  
 et testarer  
 nubes esse renuens.  
 Ecce quedam  
 fulsit Ledam  
 sese vocans nomine  
 nube lata,  
 terris data  
 credo deum numine.

*[Gazing late upon unseen Arcton, hidden by a cloud, as I wondered and concluded that the cloud was refusing (to let me see), behold someone flashed, calling herself Leda by name, borne from the cloud, given to the earth, I believe, by the power of the gods.]*<sup>89</sup>

The narrator has cast himself in the role of Boethius at the start of the *Consolation*, the man with a dark and clouded mind who “used to explore and reveal Nature’s secret causes,” but who now lies “bound down by heavy chains, the light of his mind gone out.”<sup>90</sup> Lady Philosophy’s first promise to Boethius was to “wipe the dark cloud of material things from your mind,” after which he rejoices in verse that the storm clouds will no longer cover the stars.<sup>91</sup> The “Leda” narrator has been trying to see Ursa Major and Ursa Minor, who were once according to Ovid the nymph Callisto and her son Arcas, but made into animals and then stars after Jupiter raped the nymph.<sup>92</sup> Instead, another of Jupiter’s conquests discovers him. For all the details of the visitant’s form and mythic roots, Leda turns out to be difficult to pin down—a figure that shifts

from star to woman to goddess to lyric love object. There are moments, too, of biblical association that recall the syncretism of the commentaries and in particular Bernardus Silvestris's equation of Leda's rape with the Annunciation. Leda's first spoken greeting to the poet, coming immediately after the initial *effictio*, sounds like that of the angel to the shepherds in Luke 2:10:

Que benigne  
sese digne  
in hunc modum edidit:  
ne timeto,  
sed gaudeto,  
et me dextra prendidit.

*[Courteously and fitly, she announced herself in this way: "Fear not, but rejoice," and took me by the right hand.]*<sup>93</sup>

while Jupiter's reassurances to her following his assault—that her three offspring will all be famous—give him a role parallel to Gabriel's before the Virgin (Luke 1:30–32):

Ne quereris!  
mater eris  
Pollucis et Castoris,  
qui de solo  
mox in polo  
vias monstrent equoris.

Dabit quidem  
partus idem  
Helenam pulcherrimam.

*[Do not complain! You will be mother of Pollux and Castor, who after earth, once they are in the sky, are going to show the paths of the sea. This same birth will in fact produce the most beautiful Helen.]*<sup>94</sup>

The swan is put in blasphemous correspondence to the Holy Spirit as dove. Like Mary, whose name was taken etymologically to mean "maris stella," the stellified Leda is a star of the sea, and able to calm the waves.<sup>95</sup> Her small powers come directly from her seducer's much greater, indeed infinite, cosmic

power. Jupiter, "summus omnium," controls the heavens through the exercise of his will,<sup>96</sup> and his own birth, which Leda merges into the story of her rape, helps explain the source of his omnipotence:

Is quem dea  
mater Rea  
ex Saturno peperit,  
qui in Creta  
adhuc leta  
clam nutritus creverit.

Cuius numen  
secus flumen  
visa mea facie  
me oppressit  
idque gessit  
oloris in specie.

*[it is he whom the goddess-mother Rhea bore from Saturn, who in Crete, at a time when it was still prosperous, secretly had grown up as a suckling. Whose power, by the riverside, when my face had been seen, overcame me and did (the act) in the shape of a swan.]*<sup>97</sup>

All this makes sport of more serious twelfth-century efforts to wrest meaning out of classical myth. Jupiter in the "Leda" poem is like God, but not a *lot* like God, with his own parents and nursing on Crete; and his attack on Leda, while a sort of ultimately creative annunciation, was hardly a sunbeam passing through glass.

The exegesis we examined a moment ago of this knot of mythological figures suggests the sorts of meaning they could be expected to carry into a witty, vigorous, and learned poem like "Leda." The poet has a profound concern with desire and sexual activity as they help define his professional status in the world. The "meaning" of the poem will be found when we begin to see the relationship, for the writer, of his own place and function in the cosmos and that of the gods whose history he knows so well. In "Leda" he creates a new myth to remake the cosmos according to his deepest intellectual and sexual fantasies; in the process of poetic remaking he again establishes the close association of sexual and intellectual activity that runs through Neoplatonic thought. He demonstrates how erotic desire and the desire to know and understand the cosmos become identical for him and how, in terms of the myth he



creates, the sex act and the act of coming to know merge completely, as they did at the conclusion to “Predantur oculos.”

Jupiter’s visit, besides giving Leda her personal rewards, also results in two sons, Castor and Pollux, who will help mark the path of the sun through the heavens, and in a famous daughter who will be the cause of the Trojan War:

Dabit quidem  
partus idem  
Helenam pulcherrimam,  
quam, dum sospes  
raptor hospes  
Paris vivet, maximam  
Belli causam  
Grecis clausam  
infra servet Troiam.  
Quod per totum  
orbem notum  
tibi sit ad gloriam.

*[This same birth will in fact produce the most beautiful Helen, whom, as the greatest cause of war, as long as the stealing guest Paris lives safe, he will keep within Troy encircled by the Greeks. All this, known through the whole world, is to be your glory.]*<sup>98</sup>

The stellified twins are found inscribed in the book of the heavens, guiding sailors over the spring ocean, while Leda’s “world famous” [orbem notum] daughter “writes” by her own ravishing the most important piece of epic history for the Middle Ages. Their mother, thanks to Jupiter’s intervention, becomes a semidivine, Neoplatonic intermediary, a segment in the hermeneutic pathway between the scholar and his major sources of wisdom, old books and the book of the world. Since here the poet is really interested only in the women of the myth, Leda and Helen, and in his own *puella*, he allows most of the details of the Castor and Pollux story to remain unexpressed while he concentrates on the beauty of his celestial visitor and on the most concrete results of Jupiter’s creative activity for the poet-cleric’s own life. As far as I know, we have little classical or medieval evidence for the deification of Leda herself, though Alberic of London gives stars to all three of her children. The “Leda” poet effectively spreads the attributes of the ignored twins around—making a star of the mother and giving her the ability to calm the seas—while he

ignores the question of the three children's paternity by attributing all of them to Jupiter.

The relationship between narrator and parvenue goddess reaches its climax after the pair have made their pact and warmly embraced. Leda hates to hear her daughter's fame disparaged, but is eager to know about this challenger to Helen's beauty:

Nollem a me  
 natam fame  
 tantum decus perdere.  
 Sed nec meum  
 verbis deum  
 incertam resistere.  
 Ad te ergo  
 dea pergo;  
 que sit, scire cupio  
 hec puella;  
 de nigella  
 nam te ortum audio.  
 Facta per te  
 certa, certe  
 dabo, quod petieris.  
 Corde vove,  
 ora move;  
 poscens non fraudaberis.

*[I would not want a woman (Helen) born of me to lose such glory of fame, but neither (is it) for me, uncertain, to resist the words of the gods. As a goddess, therefore, I proceed to you; who is, I wish to know, this girl? For I hear that you arise from the dark girl. Having been informed by you, certainly I will give you whatever you will request. Vow with your heart, move your lips; asking, you will not be cheated.]*<sup>99</sup>

Her many kisses, "instar mellis dulcia," make the narrator ready to believe in her existence and to believe in all the things written about her by the poets:

Cui sic ego:  
 de te lego,  
 dea, in auctoribus.

Sed quam legi  
 et relegi  
 forma lautam, omnibus,  
 dum legebam,  
 non credebam  
 vatum poematibus,  
 at nunc credo  
 et concedo  
 fidem esse omnibus,  
 Postquam talem  
 esse, qualem  
 te legi, aspicio,  
 cuius visus  
 et subrisus  
 est michi incendio.

*[To whom thus I speak: "I read about you goddess, in authorities, but as long as I read and reread about your elegant beauty, while I was reading, I did not put faith in all the poems of the poets, but now I believe and concede the truth in all of them; after I see you to be such as I read of you, whose sight and smile is a flame to me."]*<sup>100</sup>

The pagan *auctores* told him how Jupiter as a swan visited Leda: now the narrator, in a gender-reversal of the old story, is visited himself by a deified swan-woman,

cuius color  
 qualis olor,  
 ubi iam percreverit,  
 albus ales  
 naturales  
 ex quo plumas sumpserit.

*[whose color is like a swan once it has grown up, a white bird, after it has dressed itself in natural feathers.]*<sup>101</sup>

In his cosmic vision of Leda, the world of old texts and the world of experience converge—what was bookish intellectual abstraction becomes physical reality; what was a story to be analyzed and interpreted and manipulated for meaning becomes a woman to be manipulated and acted upon. The speaker's heavy

breathing over Leda's beauty and his excitement about the revealed intellectual truth of the *auctores* combine into a single response, and at the same time he comes to say, in effect, "if I can now believe the stories of the old poets, you (the reader) can certainly believe me." He understands Jupiter's proprietary interest in her "by right":

Ergo iure  
fuit cure  
tua Jovi facies,  
quem velavit  
et celavit  
olorina species.

*[Therefore by right your face was of concern to Jove, whom a swanlike appearance wrapped and concealed.]*<sup>102</sup>

And how wonderful it would be for a mere "little man" [*homuntio*] if he could possess (again the ambivalent *noscere*) her as well:

O si posset  
ut te nosset  
semel hic homuntio!  
O quam letus  
et repletus  
esset omni gaudio!

*[O if it were possible that this little man might but once know you! O how happy and filled with all joy he would be!]*<sup>103</sup>

What he *really* wants comes true (and he even tells us twice, at vv. 47 and 52); by the vigorous implementation of his "art" he wins the goddess and so becomes the "alter ego" of a god, indeed of the *summus deus*.

Ore loquax  
visu procax  
ultro eam rapui;  
quod optabam,  
quod flagrabam,  
voti compos tenui.

Ergo letor  
 et reletor  
 victurus perenniter,  
 arte mea  
 capta dea  
 alter ego Jupiter.

*[Talkative of mouth and brash of sight, I seized her of my own accord. That which I wished for, that which I burned for, I, my wish fulfilled, possessed. Therefore I rejoice and rejoice again since I will be victorious forever. By my art a goddess captured, I another Jupiter.]*<sup>104</sup>

The first four of these lines echo the description of Orpheus in “Predantur oculos”—the narrator is cleric as god, quick of tongue and eye, aflame with desire (“flagrabam”), praying for consummation, choosing to act boldly (“optabam”). Like Hercules in erotic struggle with Antaeus or Omphale, the poet’s relationship is adversarial and he succeeds by conquest (“victurus perenniter”).

In some tightly wound verses near the poem’s conclusion, using language that recalls his earlier description of the place Castor and Pollux hold in the cosmos, the poet emphasizes syntactically Leda’s intimate position with him (“homo deam, Ledam deam homo”), reiterates his overriding concern with what is written and with stories, and makes evident his huge pleasure:

Nam nec scriptum  
 nec est fictum  
 quem fecisse taliter.  
 Homo deam,  
 Ledam deam  
 homo ut compresserit,  
 seu in solo  
 seu in polo  
 quis me preter gesserit?

*[For it was never written or imagined that anyone did such a thing, that a man could embrace a goddess, the goddess Leda. Who on earth or in heaven has accomplished this besides me?]*<sup>105</sup>

Nowhere has it been written, he rejoices, that a man has ever reached such heights before, been so uplifted, accomplished what Jupiter himself took such

pains to achieve. His claim amounts to a self-stellification or deification in parallel to Castor and Pollux, and in parallel to Orpheus and Hercules. So he presents to his audience a parodic version of the grandiose philosophical and poetic claims for the clerical self implicit in the writings of the Neoplatonic cosmologers. The series of creative steps, beginning in Jupiter and running through Leda to the old book about Troy and the cosmic book of the world and then to the twelfth-century writer-interpreter, forms an irregular parallel to the complex Neoplatonist mediation from Prime Mover to man. Jupiter inscribes the heavens with the stellified gods, writes the history of Troy with his divine phallus, sets in motion the myths that are the *integumenta* of pagan philosophy; the "Leda" poet aspires to the same by his art, mimicking the *summus deus* in the conquest of a deified once-mortal beauty about whom he has only read before, and then by writing her myth. By jumping Leda, as if Alain de Lille had seduced Natura or Boethius Lady Philosophy, he seeks to short-circuit the integumental system and in one move justify the truth and efficacy of all his laborious reading and writing. The poet's playful use of the syncretistic mythologizing techniques of the Neoplatonic commentators serves to elevate the myths *he* constructs, in the manner of the pagan *auctores*, to the level of scriptural truth at the same time that it parodically reduces everything those philosopher-poets stood for. And not only does he construct a myth as had Boethius and Alain de Lille, but he, like them, claims to have lived it.

Having set out the foregoing, I would like to conclude with an attempt to solve a problem raised by Meyer when he edited the poem almost a century ago—the identity of the rival to Helen introduced exactly at midpoem, but never described. The solution to this problem at the center once again suggests that to some twelfth-century scholars and poets at least, intellectual and sexual desire had their roots in the same cosmic force, so that love and work, sex and writing might merge at the level of Neoplatonic ideas. Judging the manuscript to be English or Anglo-Norman, as I have also assumed, Meyer went to some lengths to determine the etymology of the "Albors" mentioned in verse 54, producing evidence that the name is a romanized version of the Anglo-Saxon *Aethelburg*, "most likely just homage to a beloved maiden."<sup>106</sup> As Meyer admits, however, the poem does seem an odd compliment to a female lover.

Given what I've seen as the poet's preoccupation with love and sex, with myth, *integumentum*, and writing, I suspect that the real point of this name is to make a small joke, closely connected to the rest of the work's concerns. Though Leda herself rates two descriptions, one on either side of the intro-



duction of Albors, we learn very little about the latter. She possesses a sort of eternal beauty that would make all girls from Creation to the Last Judgment jealous (“a principio . . . usque in iudicio . . .”); she is praised by the whole court of the gods; we are told twice (vv.27 and 30), she is a “puella . . . nigella”; and we learn that the speaker in the poem owes his rise or birth or origin (“ortum”) somehow to her. Meyer took the postclassical “nigella” to mean that Albors was a woman with dark hair, in contrast to the “flavus crinis” of Leda. Interestingly, the “Leda” poet has reversed the coloration attributed to Leda by Ovid in the *Amores*:

seu pendent nivea pulli cervice capilli,  
 Leda fuit nigra conspicienda coma;  
 seu flavent, placuit croceis Aurora capillis.  
 omnibus historiis se meus aptat amor.

*[Do dark locks hang on a neck of snow—Leda was fair to look upon for her black locks; are they of golden hue—Aurora pleased with saffron locks. To all the old tales my love can fit itself.]*<sup>107</sup>

It may be the poet was trying to make a point about her color, or he could have simply followed the more frequent *effictio* pattern of preferring blonds. But the play with coloration is significant here, I believe. In the brief entry for *nigella* in Lewis and Short, the authors cite Ausonius, *Epistle* 4, 74, who refers to the letters of the alphabet as “Cadmi nigellae filiae.” If the name Albors by itself suggests whiteness, it also constitutes a simple anagram of the word “Labors.” I suspect the poet has inserted his vocation, here, in the guise of a beautiful girl who created him: the *labor* of writing texts in black and white. Of course she is hard to describe and of course she is more beautiful than Helen—or Leda for that matter—because she contains them all and because they could not exist for the twelfth-century poet without her. The poet’s two loves—Leda and Albors—are, in effect, just what we would expect, wisdom and eloquence, or perhaps divine knowledge and the means to convey it.

The philosopher-poets at work in the heart of the twelfth century were, for an important moment, cocksure of themselves, pushy to the point of arrogance, eager to promote the scientific philosophy they were rediscovering, but anxious and unresolved in the important matter of sex and artistic creativity, of the role of desire in their own ambitious lives. Their reworking of the old Fulgentian myths—restoring Juno to respectability, tempering their criticism

of Venus, encouraging a descent into the world with all its risks—can stand as a paradigm for this internal struggle. Starting in the first quarter of the twelfth century the Neoplatonists were at the center of an academic world that made possible for a while a sort of complex erotic poetry never seen before or since. Though they were not the first to write erotic Latin verse in the Middle Ages, they were the most prolific and the most adventurous. In love with poetry and astounded at the intellectual wealth of the classical past, they re-created themselves through their studies and through their art.

# Appendix

## PART I: POEMS FROM GERALD OF WALES'S *Symbolum Electorum* DISCUSSED IN CHAPTER 5

Latin text from J. S. Brewer, ed., *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, Rolls Series, vol. 21.1 (London: Longman, 1861), 349–57. Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.7.11.

### No. 2. *Descriptio cujusdam puellae*

Mundus ut insignis cunctis ornatibus exstat

Tempora labuntur, praetereuntque dies.

Fatali serie nunc res ducuntur ad esse

Nunc pereunt ortae conditione gravi.

Femineum decus et specimen, natura puellam

5

Edidit, egregiae nobilitatis opus.

Invigilavit ei desudans Cura creatrix,

Et quia posse probans experiendo suum.

Vix affectari sic possent singula sicut

Omnia complentur omnacreante manu.

10

Aurea cesaries, frons libera, prodit in arcum

Forma supercilii, res sine voce loquens.

Lucida sidereas praetendunt lumina gemmas

Et gena purpureas dat rubicunda rosas.  
 Naris naturae vultum supereminet arte, 15  
 Nec trahit hanc modicam, nec nimis in vitium.  
 Lilia puniceo vernant comitata rubore,  
 Cum niveo roseus certat in ore color.  
 Mollia labra rubent, os ornat eburneus ordo,  
 Oscula mel sapiunt, nectaris exit odor. 20  
 Dens ebur, os roseum, labra mollia, succus in illis  
 Dulce sapit, sapiunt oscula pressa favum.  
 Terminus inferior capitis producitur apte  
 Mentum, concludens omnia fine bono.  
 Colli forma teres et longa decenter et ampla 25  
 Sustinet hoc tanquam fida columna caput.  
 Demissi pendent humeri, custodia cordis  
 Quadratur pectus; parva mamilla tumet.  
 Parturiunt humeri procerae brachia formae,  
 Producunt niveas brachia longa manus. 30  
 Plana superficies ventris succingitur, et nec  
 Contrahitur macie, nec sine lege tumet.  
 Subsistunt renes, et se moderamine quodam  
 Amplificant, subeunt ilia pube tenus.  
 Plena pudore latent Veneris regione pudenda, 35  
 Munere naturae digna favore suae.  
 Invitat femorum caro lactea, lubrica, mollis,  
 Lumina, lac, glacies, mollitiesque manus.  
 Corporis egregii geminae<sup>1</sup> stant crura columnae,  
 Mobile fundamen pes brevis ima tenet. 40  
 Staturae modus hic, major mediocribus exstat  
 Et minor elatis inter utrumque placet.  
 Sic hanc excoluit, sic hanc natura beavit,  
 Ut pariter livor laudet et hostis amet,  
 Nam quae natura est naturae gratia parca 45  
 Istius in dotes prodiga pene fuit.  
 Si semel hanc Paridis vidissent lumina, starent  
 Pergama, nec tanti Tyndaris esset ei.  
 Cognita majori si forte fuisset Atridae,  
 Aeacidae ut fuerat Briseis esset amor. 50  
 Si semel hanc Zeusis vidisses quinque relictis,  
 Esset ad exemplar haec tibi sola satis.  
 Praeterea tanto pollet virtutis honore,  
 Et dotes animae tot cumulavit ei,

Quod fortes animos, et pectora dura movere	55
In turpi posset corpore tantus honor.	
Fortis in adversis, prudens et justa secundis,	
Fraena voluptati dat probitatis amor.	
Dapsilis et comes, affabilis atque modesta,	
Invidiam virtus invidiosa creat.	60
Si caput et morum cupias cognoscere summam,	
Pulchra pudicitiam res nova servat, amat.	
Graecia Penelope se jactat, Trojaque laudat	
Andromacham, tamen hac utraque laude minor.	
Respectus, risus, incessus, famina, cantus,	65
Et cunctos gestus gratia summa juvat.	
Luminis intuitus regitur moderamine tanto	
Ut gravis hanc minime flectere possit amor.	
Cum locus est risus non detrahit ora cachinnus,	
Ridet, ut in risu gratior esse queat.	70
In passu modus est, humeros non torquet eundo,	
Immo verecunda simplicitate regit.	
Vox lenis, sermo suavis, facundia mira,	
Junctura pariter verba sonoque placent.	
Si jocus est jocundus ei sermo jocosus,	75
Seria si tractes seria verba placent.	
Plus Marco eloquio, plus haec Demosthene floret,	
Hunc licet extollat Graecia, Roma suum.	
Quod dedit ars illis, naturae contulit isti	
Plenus et in cunctis immoderatus amor.	80
Ergo favor tantus verbisque facetia tanta est,	
Ut quamvis rigidos flectere sola queat.	
Vox dulcis, vox flexibilis, jocunda, sonora,	
Gratia cantandi non mediocris adest.	
In cantu resonant lyra, tibia, tympana, plusquam	85
Sirenum modulos organa vocis habent.	
Orpheus inferior, nec cantu tantus Arion, <sup>2</sup>	
Iste licet silvis maximus, ille freto.	
Ille canens quercus, delphinas moverat iste,	
Haec secat et cantu ferrea corda domat.	90
Musica non modicum dant instrumenta furorem,	
Cognita nec pectus ars latet ulla suum.	
Nobilitat genus hanc, <sup>3</sup> locupletat copia rerum,	
Ne vel fortunae possit abesse favor.	
Insita sed virtus animum sic temperat, ut nec	95

Sanguine nec rebus luxuriare queat.  
 Et genus et species et opes famulantur et augent,  
 Res nova, virtutum<sup>4</sup> copia, forma, genus.

*Description of a Certain Girl*

While the world, distinguished with every decoration, exists,  
 The seasons pass, and the days go by.  
 At one time by preordained succession things are led to being;  
 At another, once they have come forth, they perish on account of harsh condition.  
 Feminine beauty and an ideal, Nature brought forth a 5  
 Girl, a work of amazing nobility.  
 Care, her sweating creatrix, watched over her  
 Because she was testing her own powers by experience.  
 Thus each individual thing would scarcely be able to be grasped as  
 All things are completed by the all-creating hand. 10  
 Golden hair, an unrestrained face, the form of the eyebrow appears  
 In an arc, a thing, without voice, speaking.  
 Bright eyes simulate starry gems,  
 And rosy cheeks yield red roses.  
 The nose, by the skill of Nature, tops the face; 15  
 [The face] neither takes on a puny nose, nor one excessive to the point of blemish.  
 Lilies bloom, attended by a pink blush,  
 A rosy color contends with snow in [her] face.  
 Her soft lips are pink, an ivory row decorates her mouth,  
 Her kisses taste of honey, the smell of nectar issues forth. 20  
 Ivory teeth, rosy face, soft lips, flavor in these things  
 Tastes sweetly, her lips pressed with a kiss taste of the honeycomb.  
 The lower end of the head is fittingly brought forth  
 As the chin, concluding all in a fine finish.  
 The smooth form of the neck, properly both long and strong, 25  
 Just like a faithful column, holds up the head.  
 The drooping shoulders hang below; the chest, custodian of the heart,  
 Is perfected; the small breast swells up.  
 The shoulders bring forth arms of noble beauty;  
 The long arms produce snow-white hands. 30  
 The flat surface of the belly is tucked in, and neither  
 Is it drawn in by thinness, nor does it bulge lawlessly.  
 The loins stand firm, and, with a certain moderation,  
 Extend themselves; the flanks go down as far as the pubic region.  
 Full of modesty, the pudenda lurk in the region of Venus, 35  
 In service worthy of the favor of their nature.  
 The soft, smooth, milky flesh of the thighs invites



The eyes; milk, ice, and softness invite the hands.  
 The legs stand, twin columns of the exceptional body;  
 The mobile foundation, the short foot, holds the lower place. 40  
 This is the manner of her stature: it extends greater than the middling  
 And less than the tall; between both it is pleasing.  
 Thus Nature cultivated her, thus Nature blessed her,  
 So that equally envy might praise and the enemy might love.  
 For the grace of Nature, which is naturally sparing, 45  
 In the dowers of this one was almost prodigal.  
 If once the eyes of Paris had seen of her, Troy would  
 Still be standing, nor would Helen have been of such value to him.  
 If perhaps she had been known to the elder son of Atreus,  
 As Briseis had been to Achilles, love might have been. 50  
 If you, Zeuxis, had ever seen her, with five others left aside,  
 She alone would have been sufficient to be your model.  
 Moreover she prevails in such honor of virtue,  
 And she has gathered to her so many gifts of spirit,  
 That strong souls and hard hearts such honor, 55  
 Even in a deformed body, would be able to move.  
 Strong amid adversities, prudent and just amid good fortunes,  
 Love of virtue gives reins to pleasure.  
 And a bountiful companion, both friendly and modest,  
 Envied virtue creates envy. 60  
 If you desire to know the head and sum of morals,  
 The beautiful new creature preserves and loves modesty.  
 Greece boasts Penelope, and Troy praises  
 Andromache, however both are less praiseworthy compared to this one.  
 Her way of looking, laughter, gait, speech, singing, 65  
 And the rest of her gestures, the highest grace assists.  
 The gaze of her eye is ruled by so much moderation  
 That a troublesome love is scarcely able to move her.  
 When it is time for laughing, a loud laugh does not disparage her lips,  
 She smiles so that in her smile she might be more pleasing. 70  
 In step she is measured, she does not twist her shoulders in going,  
 Indeed she governs [her pace] with modest simplicity.  
 A soft voice, pleasant speaking, marvelous eloquence,  
 In combination as much as in sound her words are pleasing.  
 If a joke is agreeable to her, her speech is humorous; 75  
 If you would discuss serious things, serious words please.  
 More than Cicero, more than Demosthenes, is she distinguished by her eloquence.  
 Even if Greece praises the latter, and Rome praises her own,  
 What art gave to them, Nature's full and in all things

Immoderate love granted to her. 80  
 Therefore so much favor and so much wit exists in her words,  
 That she alone is able to bend men however inflexible they are.  
 Sweet voice, voice able to bend, good humored, sonorous,  
 A talent for singing which is not mediocre is present in her.  
 In song the lyre, flute, and drums resound; 85  
 More than [these], the instruments of [her] voice possess the melodies of the Sirens.  
 Orpheus was less, nor Arion so great in song,  
 Even if the former was greatest in the woods, the latter in waters.  
 By singing, that one had moved oak trees, this one had moved dolphins;  
 This woman wounds and with song conquers iron hearts. 90  
 Musical instruments give much inspired frenzy,  
 Nor does any art acquired through learning lie hidden in her heart.  
 Family ennobles her, a wealth of things enriches her,  
 So that not even the favor of fortune can be absent.  
 But innate virtue thus tempers the soul, so that 95  
 Neither on account of her descent nor on account of her property does she run riot.  
 Lineage and appearance and wealth serve and magnify (her),  
 A new creation, copious of virtues, a form, a type.

No. 3. *De subito amore*

Fons erat irriguus cui fecerat arbutus umbram,  
 Florens fronde, virens cespite, clarus aquis.  
 Venerat huc virgo viridi sub tegmine sola,  
 Ingenuum tepida tinguere corpus aqua.  
 Nam sol aestivus terras torrebat, et unda 5  
 Naturam poterat dedidicisse suam.  
 Fors assum cupiens aestum vitare sub umbra,  
 Et delectari murmure dulcis aquae.  
 Lumina paulatim virides penetrantia frondes  
 Quo cecidi casus in mea damna tulit. 10  
 Hanc video visamque noto, collaudo notatam,  
 Iudicioque placent singula quaeque meo.  
 Nuda sedet, niveusque nitor radiosus in undis  
 Fulget, et umbrosum non sinit esse locum.  
 Non aliter Cypris, non luderet ipsa Diana, 15  
 Non Naïs sacri fontis amoena colens.  
 Surgit ut Eois cum sol emergit ab undis,  
 Ut premit astra dies, sic premit illa diem.  
 Vestibus ornatur sed plus ornatibus addit,  
 Ornatus ornat portio magna sui. 20

Interulae fluxus moderatur zona ligatrix  
 Ut sic liberius carpere possit iter.  
 Purpuream stricto pallam sibi fibulat auro  
 Perque humeros flavas projicit illa comas.  
 Gemma manus ornat, ornantur inauribus aures, 25  
 Torquis colla, caput aurea fila tenent.  
 Colligit et claudit munitque monile monetque  
 Pectus in insigni corpore signa gerens.  
 Procedit plus natura minus arte polita,  
 Naturam quamvis ars bona saepe juvet. 30  
 Plus artem natura juvat, minus arte juvatur,  
 Sed pariter junctis gratia major inest.  
 Continuo novus ossa calor nova flamma medullas  
 Occupat et penetrat pectoris ima mei.  
 Virginis et vultu cor palpitat, haeret ocellus, 35  
 Et pergunt una mens oculusque via.  
 Mira quidem novitas vultus et pectora mutat,  
 Cor stupet et facies hinc calet inde riget.  
 Pingitur in vultu pallor ruborque vicissim,  
 Et timet et sperat mens in utroque levis. 40  
 Nulla fides animo, constantia nulla colori;  
 Mens sibi mentitur et male fida gena est.  
 Erumpunt subito tenui suspiria tractu,  
 Et licet ore parum pectore multa loquor.  
 Deserto juvat ire loco longaque remoto, 45  
 Ut sibi mens soli tota vacare queat.  
 Illius ergo mihi semper succurrit imago,  
 Et quasi praesentem lumina mentis habent.  
 Sic sedit, sic nuda fuit, sic lusit in undis,  
 Sic niveo nitidis corpore fulsit aquis. 50  
 Sic vultu praeclara nitens, sic nobilis, omni  
 Gratia naturae clarior arte fuit.  
 Ha! quotiens vigilem fallunt insomnia mentem,  
 Et procera mihi brachia colla premunt!  
 Vix sibi vel minimam dant lumina nocte quietem, 55  
 Est illis requiem non habuisse quies.  
 Surripit si quando sopor, sopor omnis in illa est,  
 Quae mihi non soli sola placere potest.  
 Nox tenebrosa die jam gratior et quia vera  
 Me semper fugiunt gaudia falsa juvant. 60  
 Ad studium ratio si quando revertitur, haec se  
 Ingerit, et toto pectore sola sedet.

Jamque ori vix ulla placent alimenta superbo,  
 Est illi sapidus absque sapore cibus.  
 Insomnes oculi, mens pervigil, arcta dieta 65  
 Attenuant corpus annihilantque fere.  
 Crispatur cutis in rugas, formaeque novercans  
 Jam mihi perpetuus pallor in ore sedet.  
 Haec decor, haec studium, cibus et sopor omnia sola est,  
 Qua sine nil animus nil sibi corpus amat. 70  
 Quam male nota lues, quam pectoris intimus hostis!  
 Poena pudicitiae, praedo pudoris amor!  
 Vincitur et semper graviter vincitur amator  
 Semper amans amens, semper amarus amor.

*Concerning a Sudden Love*

The fount was well watered on which the arbutus had made a shadow,  
 Blooming with foliage, green with grass, clear in its waters.  
 To this place a maiden had come alone beneath the green cover,  
 To dip her noble body in warm water.  
 For the summer sun was scorching the earth, and the water 5  
 Could have forgotten its nature.  
 I happened to be present, desiring in the shade to avoid the roasting heat  
 And to be delighted by the murmur of the pleasant water.  
 The mischance bore my eyes, as they gradually penetrated  
 The green branches, to my misfortune. 10  
 I see her and, having seen her, I note her, and, once noted, I praise her highly,  
 And every single thing is pleasing to my judgment.  
 She sits naked; her snowy and radiant beauty in the waters  
 Shines, and does not allow the place to be shadowy.  
 Just as Venus or Diana herself would play, 15  
 Or Nais who protects the pleasant places of the sacred fount.  
 She rises as when the sun emerges from the eastern waters,  
 As the day conceals the stars, so she conceals the day.  
 She is adorned with clothing, but she adds more to the ornaments,  
 A large part of herself adorns the adornment. 20  
 A tying belt restrains the flow of her undergarment  
 So that thus more freely she can take her way.  
 She fastens her purple robe with a gold pin,  
 And over her shoulders she throws her yellow hair.  
 A gem adorns her hand, her ears are adorned with earrings, 25  
 A necklace adorns her neck, golden threads hold her head.  
 The necklace gathers, closes, defends, and gives notice of  
 The breast, bearing its distinguishing signs on an outstanding body.

She goes polished more by Nature, less by art,  
 However good art often may aid Nature. 30  
 Nature aids art more, is aided less by art,  
 But a greater charm is in them when equally joined.  
 Immediately a new heat takes over my bones, a new flame  
 My marrow, and penetrates the depths of my breast.  
 [My] heart throbs at the [sight of] the face of the maiden, [my] eye clings [to her], 35  
 And mind and eye continue on one road.  
 A marvelous newness, indeed, alters countenance and feelings,  
 The heart is stunned; and the face is at one moment warm, and at another cold.  
 Paleness is painted in the face and redness in turn,  
 And the mind both fears and hopes, fickle in both. 40  
 No faith in spirit, no constancy to complexion,  
 The mind lies to itself and the cheek is unfaithful.  
 Sighs suddenly erupt in feeble inhalation,  
 And many things I say with the breast, though little with my mouth.  
 It pleases me to travel where the region is deserted and far removed 45  
 So that the entire mind can be free for itself alone.  
 Therefore the image of this one constantly enters my mind,  
 And the lights of the mind hold it as if it is present.  
 Thus she sat, thus naked she was, thus she frolicked in the waters.  
 Thus with snowy body she glittered in the shining waters. 50  
 In visage thus splendidly shining, so noble,  
 The grace of Nature was more brilliant than every art.  
 Ha! how many times dreams deceive the alert mind,  
 And her long arms embrace my neck!  
 Hardly do the eyes give even a little rest to themselves at night. 55  
 For them, not to have had rest is repose.  
 If ever sleep snatches [me], all sleep is [spent] on her  
 Who alone can please me when not alone.  
 Shadowy night now is more pleasing than the day, and because  
 True joys always flee me, false joys delight. 60  
 If ever reason turns back to study, she  
 Rushes in and settles alone upon my entire heart.  
 And moreover any food is hardly pleasing to a fastidious mouth;  
 Tasty food is to it without flavor.  
 Sleepless eyes, the mind ever vigilant, scanty diet, 65  
 They weaken the body and they almost annihilate it.  
 The skin is curled in wrinkles, and, unflattering to its beauty,  
 For me a perpetual pallor now settles on my face.  
 She is beauty; she is my study, my food and my rest; she alone is all things,  
 Without whom the soul, the body love nothing for themselves. 70

*How infamous is this plague, how deep is the enemy of the heart.  
 Love, punishment for modesty and plunderer of decency.  
 The lover is conquered and always harmfully overcome,  
 Always the lover is mad, always love is bitter.*

*No 8. Ad quandam puellam litteratam nomen habentem  
 Laetitia sed non omen, sub amatoris sui specie.*

Quicquid amor jussit non est contemnere tutum,  
 Me tibi quae scribo scribere jussit amor.  
 Laetitiam sine laetitia dolet esse Dovinus<sup>5</sup>  
 Laetitiaequē dolor causa doloris ei.  
 Languet amans quotiens audit languere quod optat, 5  
 Si fugiunt quod amat gaudia languet amans.  
 Parcius ergo dole, pariter tibi parce tuoque,  
 Et tibi si non vis parcere, parce tuo.  
 Cum tibi Laetitia sit nomen laetior esto,  
 Laetitiaequē simul nomen et omen habe. 10  
 Re sine nomen habent et rem sine nomine multi,  
 Fac per se neutrum, sed sit utrumque tuum.  
 Si tamen alterutrum tibi quaeris abesse duorum,  
 Utilius quam rem nomen abesse puto.  
 Tristitiam vultus spondet tibi gaudia nomen, 15  
 Quae vultus prohibet gaudia nomen habet.  
 Quam bene Laetitia posset res laeta vocari  
 Tam male vox tristi convenit ista rei.  
 Quod commune fuit proprium sit nomen amanti;  
 Res utinam votis appropriata foret. 20  
 Si te verus amor vero conjungit amanti  
 Percipies animo gaudia vera tuo.  
 Pectore verus amor quo regnat vix habet illo  
 Vel dolor hospitium vel gravis ira locum.  
 Si cupias igitur cum re tibi nomen adesse 25  
 Elige quem cupias quem tuus urat amor.  
 Sum tibi verus amans, verum si quaeris amantem,  
 Si quaeris, "quis amet?", sum tibi verus amans.  
 Ecce recedit amans sed non ab amore recedit  
 Pectoris in thalamo fortius ille furit. 30

*To a Certain Literary Girl Having the Name of "Joy" but Not the Sign,  
 under the Guise of Her Lover.*

*Whatever love ordered is not safe to disregard;  
 The things I write to you, love commanded me to write.*



Dóvinus mourns that Joy is without joy,  
 And Joy's sadness is the cause of his sorrow.  
 The lover suffers as often as he hears that the object of his desire suffers. 5  
 If joys flee that which he loves, the lover suffers.  
 Suffer, therefore, more sparingly and spare equally yourself and yours,  
 And if you do not wish to spare yourself, spare your own.  
 Since your name is Joy, be in the future more joyful,  
 And have at once the name and the sign of Joy. 10  
 Many have the name without the thing and the thing without the name,  
 Make it so that neither exists by itself, but let both be yours.  
 If, however, you seek for yourself that either of the two be gone,  
 I believe that it is more useful for the name to be absent than the thing.  
 Your face promises sadness to you, your name joys; 15  
 Your name possesses the joys which your expression forbids.  
 Just as a joyful thing can fittingly be called Joy,  
 The name badly suits a sad thing.  
 Let that which has been the universal characteristic be the lover's name.  
 If only the reality were in accord with the wishes. 20  
 If true love unites you to a true lover,  
 You will perceive true joy in your soul.  
 In a heart where true love reigns,  
 Sadness is hardly welcome and great anger hardly has place.  
 If, therefore, you desire your name to be present with the thing, 25  
 Choose whom you desire, for whom your love burns.  
 I am a true lover to you; if you seek a true lover,  
 If you ask, "Who may love me?", I am your true lover.  
 Behold the lover goes away, but he doesn't abandon love,  
 This burns more strongly in the chamber of his heart. 30

## PART 2: THREE POEMS DISCUSSED IN CHAPTER 8

*"Olim sudor Herculis"*

Latin text based primarily on Cambridge University Library MS Ff.1.17(1); translation mine. Peter Dronke edits and translates the poem in the liner notes to the audio recording *Spielmann und Kleriker (um 1200)*, Ensemble Sequentia, EMI CDC 7 49704 2 (CD), 1981. The song is performed by the Clemencic Consort on *Carmina Burana*, Harmonia Mundi 190336.38 (CD), 1990. Carsten Wollin, ed., *Petri Blesensis Carmina* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), 344–56, also edits the poem.

1a

Olim sudor Herculis,  
 monstra late conterens,

- pestes orbis auferens,  
claris longe titulis
- 5 enituit;  
sed tandem defloruit  
fama prius celebris,  
cecis clausa tenebris,  
loles illecebris
- 10 Alcide captivato.  
*Refrain*  
Amor fame meritum  
deflorat:  
amans tempus perditum  
non plorat,
- 5 sed temere  
diffluere  
sub Venere  
laborat.
- 1b  
Hydra, dampno capitum  
facta locupletior,  
omni peste seuior,  
reddere sollicitum
- 5 non potuit  
quem puella domuit.  
Iugo cessit Veneris  
vir, qui maior superis  
celum tulit humeris
- 10 Athlante fatigato.  
*Ref. Amor fame meritum . . .*
- 2a  
Caco tristis halitus  
et flammaram vomitus,  
vel fuga Nesso duplici  
non profuit;
- 5 Geryon Hesperius  
ianitorque Stygius—  
uterque forma triplici—  
non terruit,  
quem captivum tenuit
- 10 risu puella simplici.  
*Ref. Amor fame meritum . . .*

2b

Jugo cessit tenero,  
sompno qui letifero  
horti custodem divitis  
implicuit,

5 frontis Acheloie  
cornu dedit Copie,  
apro, leone domitis  
enituit,  
Thraces equos imbuit

10 cruenti cede hospititis.

*Ref. Amor fame meritum . . .*

3a

Anthei Libici  
luctam sustinuit:  
casus sophistici  
fraudes cohibuit,

5 cadere dum vetuit;  
sed qui sic explicuit  
lucte nodosos nexus,  
vincitur et vincitur,  
dum labitur

10 magna Iovis soboles  
ad Ioles  
amplexus.

*Ref. Amor fame meritum . . .*

3b

Tantis floruerat  
laborum titulis,  
quem blandis carcerat  
puella vinculis;

5 et dum lambit osculis,  
nectar huic labellulis  
Venereum propinat.

Vir, solutus otiiis  
Venereis,

10 laborum memoriam  
et gloriam  
inclinat.

*Ref. Amor fame meritum . . .*

4a

Sed Alcide fortior  
agredior  
pugnam contra Venerem.  
Ut superem

- 5 hanc fugio,  
in hoc enim prelio  
fugiendo fortius  
et melius  
pugnatur,  
10 sicque Venus vincitur:  
dum fugitur,  
fugatur.

*Ref. Amor fame meritum . . .*

4b

Dulces nodos Veneris  
et carceris  
blandi seras resero,  
de cetero

- 5 ad alia  
dum traducor studia.  
O Licori, valeas  
et voveas,  
quod vovi:  
10 ab amore spiritum  
sollicitum  
removi.

*Ref. Amor fame meritum . . .*

1a

*Once the labor of Hercules, crushing monsters far and wide, destroying the plagues of the world, shone for a long time with bright renown; but at last the fame, celebrated before, faded, locked in gloomy darkness, when Hercules was captured by the allurements of Iole.*

*Refrain*

*Love fades the worth of fame: a lover does not bemoan lost time, but labors blindly to melt away under the power of Venus.*

1b

*Hydra, increased by the loss of her heads, fiercer than every plague, could not render him anxious whom a girl has conquered. He yielded to the yoke of Venus, a man, greater than the gods, who bore heaven on his shoulders when Atlas grew tired.*

*Ref. Love fades the worth. . . .*

2a

Harsh breath and a vomit of flames were of no use to Cacus, nor was flight to duplicitous Nessus; Geryon of Spain and the guardian of the Styx—both in triple form—did not terrify him whom a girl with a simple laugh held captive.

Ref. Love fades the worth. . . .

2b

He yielded to the tender yoke, he who enfolded the guardian of the rich garden in deadly sleep, who gave to Copia the horn from the brow of Achelous, who shone, once the boar and lion were tamed, who soaked the Thracian horses with the gore of his cruel host.

Ref. Love fades the worth. . . .

3a

He sustained the wrestling with Antaeus of Libya: he restrained the false falls of the sophisticated one while he prohibited him from falling; but he who thus disentangled the knotty folds of wrestling is conquered, and conquered when he, the great offspring of Jove, slides into the embrace of Iole.

Ref. Love fades the worth. . . .

3b

He had flourished with so much renown for his labors, he whom a girl imprisoned with pleasant chains; and while she caresses him with kisses, she delivers Venus's nectar to his lips. The man, soothed by Venus's pleasures, yields up the memory and glory of his labors.

Ref. Love fades the worth. . . .

4a

But, stronger than Hercules, I engage Venus in battle. So that I might overcome her, I flee, because, by fleeing, this battle is harder and better fought, and thus Venus is conquered: when she is fled from, she is put to flight.

Ref. Love fades the worth. . . .

4b

I open the sweet knots of Venus and the bolts of [her] soft prison, whenever I am led from the rest to another study. O Lycoris, farewell, and may you wish what I wished: that I removed the anxious spirit from love.

Ref. Love fades the worth. . . .

"Predantur oculos"

Latin text based on Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 228; my translation. Peter Dronke edits and translates the poem, based on the version found in Auxerre MS 243, in *Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love-Lyric*, 2d ed. 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 403–5. Wollin, *Petri Blesensis Carmina*, 593–6, also edits the poem.

1a

Predantur oculos  
captivant animum  
vocalis Orphei  
siderei

- 5 vultus et simplices  
risus Euridices.

2a

Qui solis annuos  
luneque menstruos  
rimari solitus  
circuitus,

- 5 celo fugam siderum  
per numerum  
notatam,<sup>6</sup>

2b

Iam nunc ad alteram  
traductus operam,  
mutato studio,  
de basio,  
5 de amplexu loquitur,  
et sequitur  
amatam.

1b

In flammam abiit  
totus philosophus.  
Amantis spiritum  
solicitem

- 5 tacente cithara  
stupebant Ismara.

3a

Non vult Euridice  
de suplice;  
perdat preces vacuas,  
sed ianuas

- 5 pudoris  
et gremium  
dat pervium  
discursibus  
et lusibus

- 10 amoris.



3b  
 Sumpto libamine  
 de virgine,  
 suam tandem fidicen  
 Euridicen  
 5 cognovit,  
 et lirico  
 sub cantico  
 iam spiritum  
 sollicitum  
 10 removit.

1a

*The heavenly appearance and simple laughter of Eurydice plunder the eyes, capture the mind of the singer Orpheus.*

2a

*He who used to explore the annual cycles of the sun and the monthly courses of the moon, the flight of the stars in heaven, recorded in their number,*

2b

*even now led to another labor, his study transformed, he speaks of a kiss, an embrace, and he follows his beloved.*

1b

*The whole of the philosopher went up in a flame; Mt. Ismarus was amazed at the anxious spirit of the lover, his lute [now] silent.*

3a

*Eurydice wishes nothing from her suppliant; he would waste his prayers in vain, but she yields the doors of her modesty and her accessible lap to the discourses and games of love.*

3b

*With the first fruits consumed from the maiden, at last the lutanist learned about Eurydice, under a lyric song he soon set aside his anxious spirit.*

*"Inaspectam nube tectam"*

Latin text from Wilhelm Meyer, "Die Moderne Leda," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 50 (1908): 289–96; my translation. London, Lambeth Palace MS 196, fols i<sup>v</sup>–ii<sup>r</sup>.

1 Inaspectam  
 nube tectam  
 sero arcton intuens  
 dum mirarer

- et testarer  
nubes esse renuens.
- 2 Ecce quedam  
fulsit Ledam  
sese vocans nomine  
nube lata,  
terris data  
credo deum numine.
- 3 Forma cuius  
mundi huius  
nil valere gloriam  
arguebat  
et premebat  
nostrarum superbiam.
- 4 Quam divinis  
flavus crinis  
linitus odoribus,  
decorabat  
et flagrabat  
citri aromatibus.
- 5 Nil perfectum  
ad aspectum  
huius dici poterat.  
Simplex vultus  
haut incultus  
nives rosis straverat.
- 6 Venustabat  
et micabat  
utriusque acies  
oculorum  
splendorum;  
tanta erat species.
- 7 Os et nares  
gene pares  
mentum guttur pectora  
elimata  
et formata  
ut ebur aut marmora.
- 8 Lacertorum  
digitorum  
viva compositio,  
lateralis

- femoralis  
absque omni vicio.
- 9 Pedes tales,  
sure quales:  
utrumque laudabile.  
Quorum gressus  
ac regressus  
visu quid mirabile.
- 10 Vestimenta  
ut pigmenta,  
quando sunt recentia,  
redolebant,  
et decebant  
ipso gestu omnia.
- 11 Esse deam  
ratus eam  
sicut erat, rubui.  
Nec equalem  
nam mortalem  
semet michi habui.
- 12 Que benigne  
sese digne  
in hunc modum edidit:  
ne timeto,  
sed gaudeto,  
et me dextra prendidit.
- 13 Promerentem  
nam pudentem  
basio dignata est.  
Mox hec verba  
haut superba  
perinde locuta est:
- 14 Dea quidem  
non sic pridem  
modo Jovis numine,  
nomen idem,  
quod et pridem:  
Leda vocor nomine.
- 15 Tunc puella,  
modo stella  
navibus propicia  
que turbantur;

- nam sedantur  
me fulgente maria.
- 16 Tantum munus  
deus unus,  
ipse summus omnium,  
michi dedit,  
cui cedit,  
cuius fert imperium,
- 17 Cui soli  
plaga poli  
subditur, et sydera  
nutu cuius  
orbis huius  
eunt quoque cetera;
- 18 Is quem dea  
mater Rea  
ex Saturno peperit,  
qui in Creta  
adhuc leta  
clam nutritus creverit.
- 19 Cuius numen  
secus flumen  
visa mea facie  
me oppressit  
idque gessit  
oloris in specie.
- 20 Dum dolerem  
atque flerem  
spoliata virgine,  
sum pacata  
et solata  
ab ipso in homine:
- 21 Ne quereris!  
mater eris  
Pollucis et Castoris,  
qui de solo  
mox in polo  
vias monstrent equoris.
- 22 Dabit quidem  
partus idem  
Helenam pulcherrimam,  
quam, dum sospes

- raptor hospes  
Paris vivet, maximam
- 23 Belli causam  
Grecis clausam  
infra servet Troiam.  
Quod per totum  
orbem notum  
tibi sit ad gloriam.
- 24 Ut predixit,  
ratum fixit:  
nam gemellos peperit  
et formosam  
plus quam rosam,  
invidendam Veneri,
- 25 que bis rapta,  
sed intacta  
prima vice reddita,  
est formosa  
plus quam rosa  
toti mundo habita.
- 26 Illam ante  
nulla tante  
vixit pulchritudinis.  
At nunc quedam.  
que sit, edam.  
Albors nomen virginis
- 27 Est nigelle,  
cui puelle  
omnes, a principio  
que fuerunt  
sunt et erunt  
usque in iudicio,
- 28 Inviderent,  
si viderent,  
neque id iniuria;  
nam deorum,  
supernorum  
tota laudat curia.
- 29 Nollem a me  
natam fame  
tantum decus perdere.  
Sed nec meum

- verbis deum  
incertam resistere.
- 30 Ad te ergo  
dea pergo;  
que sit, scire cupio  
hec puella;  
de nigella  
nam te ortum audio.
- 31 Facta per te  
certa, certe  
dabo, quod petieris.  
Corde vove,  
ora move;  
poscens non fraudaberis.
- 32 Sic prefata  
semel data  
geminavit basia,  
triplicavit  
et quadravit  
instar mellis dulcia.
- 33 Cui sic ego:  
de te lego,  
dea, in auctoribus.  
Sed quam legi  
et relegi  
forma lautam, omnibus,  
34 dum legebam,  
non credebam  
vatum poematibus,  
at nunc credo  
et concedo  
fidem esse omnibus,
- 35 Postquam talem  
esse, qualem  
te legi, aspicio,  
cuius visus  
et subrisus  
est michi incendio;
- 36 Cuius color  
qualis olor,  
ubi iam percreeverit,  
albus ales

- naturales  
ex quo plumas sumpserit;  
37 Cui pendent  
et resplendent  
ab utroque humero  
crines tales  
Phebo quales  
non credam, ni videro;  
38 Cuius ora  
dulciora  
melle prebent basia,  
quod probavi,  
dum libavi  
positus in gloria;  
39 Cuius sono  
dulci bono  
sedarentur omnia,  
quamvis flarent  
et turbarent  
venti omnes, maria;  
40 Cuius mentum  
ut argentum,  
frons et cervix lactea  
formatura  
vultus pura,  
in candore rosea.  
41 Ergo iure  
fuit cure  
tua Jovi facies,  
quem velavit  
et celavit  
olorina species.  
42 Promisisti  
et dixisti,  
si quesita dicerem,  
mox haberem  
quod voverem,  
quicquid ego peterem.  
43 O si posset  
ut te nosset  
semel hic homuntio!  
O quam letus



- et repletus  
esset omni gaudio!
- 44 Tali acto  
tecum pacto,  
dea es in homine.  
Edocebo  
nec tacebo  
de quesita virgine.
- 45 Quo prolato,  
risu dato  
blande a se reppulit;  
sic pellendo  
et ridendo  
spem votorum contulit.
- 46 Ore loquax  
visu procax  
ultro eam rapui;  
quod optabam,  
quod flagrabam,  
voti compos tenui.
- 47 Ergo letor  
et reletor  
victurus perenniter,  
arte mea  
capta dea  
alter ego Jupiter.
- 48 Sed et maior  
et premaior  
multo mea gloria,  
qui allexi  
et pellexi  
hominis in propria
- 49 Forma deam  
(at quam deam!):  
ille deus hominem  
(at quis deus!)  
summus deus  
inscientem virginem.
- 50 Ergo ego  
solus dego  
hac in laude Jupiter.  
Nam nec scriptum

nec est fictum  
quem fecisse taliter.

- 51 Homo deam,  
Leda deam  
homo ut compresserit,  
seu in solo  
seu in polo  
quis me preter gesserit?  
52 Ergo letor  
et reletor  
victurus perenniter;  
arte mea  
capta dea  
solus in hoc Jupiter.

- 1 Gazing late upon unseen Arcton, hidden by a cloud, as I wondered and concluded  
that the cloud was refusing [to let me see],  
2 behold someone flashed, calling herself Leda by name, borne from the cloud, given to  
the earth, I believe, by the power of the gods.  
3 Her form declared the glory of this world to be worthless, and it humbled the pride of  
our women.  
4 Her blond hair, anointed as with divine fragrances, adorned her and was ablaze with  
the aroma of citrus!  
5 Nothing could be said about the perfection of her appearance; her pure face, not at  
all slovenly, had strewn the snow with roses.  
6 The keenness of each of her splendid eyes sparkled and made her lovely, such was her  
beauty.  
7 Mouth and nose, both cheeks, chin, neck, breasts, polished and formed like ivory or  
marble.  
8 A lively arrangement of arms and fingers, without any fault in sides or legs.  
9 Her feet, were like her calves: both praiseworthy; their coming and going was mar-  
velous to behold.  
10 Her clothes, like paints when they are fresh, were redolent, and everything was con-  
sonant with her very gait.  
11 Having reckoned that she was a goddess, as she was, I blushed. For I did not con-  
sider her to be a mortal equal to me.  
12 Courteously and fitly, she announced herself in this way: "Fear not, but rejoice,"  
and took me by the right hand.  
13 She considered me worthy of a kiss—deserving because I had proper modesty. She  
soon spoke these words, not at all haughty, in the same way:  
14 [Leda:] "Indeed I am goddess, though not like this for long, but only recently by the  
power of Jove; although the name is the same as it was before: I am called by the  
name Leda."

- 15 Then I was a girl, lately a star propitious to ships that are tossed about; for when I  
shine, the seas are calmed.
- 16 Such a gift did one god, himself highest of all things, give me, to whom he yielded the  
power he wields,
- 17 to whom alone the region of the pole is subjected and by whose will the remaining stars  
of this orb also go;
- 18 it is he whom the goddess-mother Rhea bore from Saturn, who in Crete, at a time  
when it was still prosperous, secretly had grown up as a suckling.
- 19 Whose power, by the riverside, when my face had been seen, overcame me and did  
(the act) in the shape of a swan.
- 20 When, as a virgin despoiled, I wept and cried, I was soothed and consoled by him in  
human form:  
[Jove as quoted by Leda]
- 21 'Do not complain! You will be mother of Pollux and Castor, who after earth, once  
they are in the sky, are going to show the paths of the sea.
- 22 This same birth will in fact produce the most beautiful Helen, whom, as the greatest  
cause of war, as long as the stealing guest Paris lives safe,
- 23 he will keep within Troy encircled by the Greeks. All this, known through the whole  
world is to be your glory.'
- [Leda speaking for herself]
- 24 As he predicted, he fixed his decree: for twins I bore and the one more beautiful than  
a rose, to be envied by Venus,
- 25 who, twice ravished, but on the first occasion returned intact by Fate, is more beau-  
tiful than any rose kept in the whole world.
- 26 Before her no woman of such beauty lived. But now there is a certain woman, and  
who she is, I will tell, ALBORS is the name of the dark maiden,
- 27 whom all girls (who from the beginning were, are, and shall be until the judgment)
- 28 would envy, if they saw her, and not undeservedly; for the whole court of the super-  
nal gods praises her.
- 29 I would not want a woman (Helen) born of me to lose such glory of fame, but nei-  
ther (is it) for me, uncertain, to resist the words of the gods.
- 30 As a goddess, therefore, I proceed to you; who is, I wish to know, this girl? For I hear  
that you arise from the dark girl.
- 31 Having been informed by you, certainly I will give you whatever you will request.  
Vow with your heart, move your lips; asking, you will not be cheated.
- 32 Thus having said, she doubled the kisses that had been given once, and tripled and  
quadrupled them, sweet as honey.
- 33 To whom thus I [the narrator] speak: "I read about you, goddess, in authorities, but  
as long as I read and reread about your elegant beauty,
- 34 while I was reading, I did not put faith in all the poems of the poets, but now I believe  
and concede the truth in all of them;
- 35 after I see you to be such as I read of you, whose sight and smile is a flame to me;

- 36 whose color is like a swan once it has grown up, a white bird, after it has dressed itself  
in natural feathers.
- 37 On whom such hair hangs and shines from each shoulder as I would not believe on  
Phoebus, unless I saw it;
- 38 whose lips yield kisses sweeter than honey, which I tried, and I was in glory as I tast-  
ed them;
- 39 at the good, sweet sound of her all seas would be settled—however much all the winds  
would rage and blow;
- 40 whose chin is like silver, forehead and milky neck, the face rose-like in its radiance.
- 41 Therefore by right your face was of concern to Jove, whom a swanlike appearance  
wrapped and concealed.
- 42 You promised, and you said if I would answer your questions, soon I would have  
what I prayed for, whatever I would request.
- 43 O if it were possible that this little man might but once know you! O how happy and  
filled with all joy he would be!
- 44 With such an act having been agreed upon with you, you are a goddess in human  
form. I will teach you thoroughly and will not be silent concerning the maiden in  
question.
- 45 With this having been said, having given a smile, she gently pushed [me] from her; by  
thus pushing and by smiling she brought hope that my prayers might be fulfilled.
- 46 Talkative of mouth and brash of sight, I seized her of my own accord. That which I  
wished for, that which I burned for, I, my wish fulfilled, possessed.
- 47 Therefore I rejoice and rejoice again since I will be victorious forever. By my art a  
goddess captured, I another Jupiter.
- 48 And yet great and even much greater is my glory, I who, in the very form of a man,  
attracted and enticed
- 49 a goddess (and what a goddess!): [while] that god [enticed] a human being (and what  
a god!) the highest god [enticed] an ignorant maiden.
- 50 Therefore I alone, a Jupiter, live with this praise. For it was never written or imag-  
ined that anyone did such a thing,
- 51 that a man could embrace a goddess, the goddess Leda. Who on earth or in heaven  
has accomplished this besides me?
- 52 Therefore I rejoice and rejoice again, victorious forever; by my art a goddess cap-  
tured, I alone a Jupiter in this.



# Notes

## INTRODUCTION

1. Anne Carson, *Eros the Bittersweet: An Essay* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 63.

2. Peter Dronke, *Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love-Lyric*, 2d ed., 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 281.

3. The MS reads "philomena." In my translation I have assumed this is an error for *Philomela*.

4. This is my emendation; the manuscript reads "trihumphantis."

5. The text is from Otto Schumann, "Die jüngere Cambridger Liedersammlung," *Studi Medievali*, n.s. 16 (1943–50): 65–67. See also Bryan Gillingham, ed., *Cambridge, University Library, Ff.1.17(1)*, Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts no. 17 (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1989), for a different transcription and a facsimile of the manuscript. The translation is mine. The poem is one of the four erotic songs in Cambridge University Library MS Ff.i.17(1). For an analysis of some of the verbal elements of the *Natureingang* see Winfried Offermanns, *Die Wirkung Ovids auf die literarische Sprache der lateinischen Liebesdichtung des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts*, Beihefte zum Mittellateinischen Jahrbuch, vol. 4 (Wuppertal: A. Henn, 1970), 115–20.

6. John F. Benton, "Consciousness of Self and Perceptions of Individuality," in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), 284.

7. A considerable critical bibliography has been generated on the subject of Golias in the last 150 years, but it is only with the manuscript studies of A. G. Rigg that the problem has come to be addressed in any detailed and systematic manner: "Golias and Other Pseudonyms," *Studi Medievali*, 3d ser. 18 (1977): 65-109. For early, important studies of the question of Golias see John Matthews Manly, "Familia Goliae," *Modern Philology* 5 (1907): 201-9; James Westfall Thompson, "The Origin of the Word 'Goliardi,'" *Studies in Philology* 20 (1923): 83-98; James Holly Hanford, "The Progenitors of Golias," *Speculum* 1 (1926): 38-58; Boris I. Jarcho, "Die Vorläufer des Golias," *Speculum* 3 (1928): 523-79; Olga Dobiache-Rojdesvensky, *Les poésies des goliards* (Paris: Éditions Rieder, 1931), 25; George F. Whicher, "Sons of Goliath," *American Scholar* 16 (1947): 171-82; and, more recently, Edward G. Fichtner, "The Etymology of Goliard," *Neophilologus* 51 (1967): 230-37.

8. P. G. Walsh has proposed, very convincingly I think, that "the birth of the versifying 'Golias' myth can be allotted to the decade 1140-50" and has to do directly with the conflict between the humanist followers of Abelard and the monastic supporters of Bernard of Clairvaux ("'Golias' and Goliardic Poetry," 2).

9. Walsh, "'Golias' and Goliardic Poetry," 4. The particularly English associations with Golias and goliards began to be formed in the later twelfth century. Gerald of Wales's remarks in the *Symbolum Electorum* have long been pointed to as evidence for a Goliardic school of disreputable poets, and, in fact, they constitute the only "medieval account of Golias" (Rigg, "Golias and Other Pseudonyms," 82).

10. Rigg, "Golias and Other Pseudonyms," 109. Of all the poems associated with Golias that he examined, Rigg found only three works, all in Rawlinson G.109 (Meyer poems 6-8), that might be considered love poetry.

11. PL 171.1695; quoted in F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages*, 2d ed., 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1957), 1:335. My translation.

12. PL 171.1693A-B. These verses are contained in Marbod's *Liber decem capitulorum* from the first quarter of the twelfth century. My translation.

13. Egbert Türk, *Nugae Curialium: Le règne d'Henri II Plantagenet (1154-1189) et l'éthique politique*, Hautes Études médiévales et modernes, vol. 28 (Geneva: Droz, 1977), 128.

14. Peter Dronke, "Peter of Blois and Poetry at the Court of Henry II," *Mediaeval Studies* 38 (1976): 193. Peter's authorship of many of the poems ascribed to him by Dronke has been questioned. See chapter 7.

15. Türk and Raby each point to Epistle 57 as evidence for Peter's mature and sincere rejection of earlier trifles (Türk, *Nugae*, 130; Raby, *Secular Latin Poetry*, 2:323).

16. Dronke, "Peter of Blois," 190.

17. See F. J. E. Raby, *Christian Latin Poetry* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1953), 278-79, and chapter 1 here.

18. Raby, *Christian Latin Poetry*, 340-41.

19. In the following two centuries the exemplum was told frequently and even incorporated into the *Legenda Aurea*. The verses are item 78 in Jan Öberg, ed., *Serlon*



de Wilton *poèmes latins*, *Studia Latina Stockholmiensia* 14 (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1965), 121:

Linqo “coax” ranis, “cra” corvis vanaque vanis—  
Ad logicam pergo, que mortis non timet ergo.

[I leave “croak” to frogs, “caw” to ravens, and false things to the idle—  
I am proceeding to logic, which is thus not fearful of death.]

My translation.

20. [In his juvenilibus annis plurimum delectatus, tam in ipsis ludere, quam etiam seria plerumque tractare . . . reputaveram . . . paulatim ad prosaica carmina me converti, et maturioribus studiis gravioribusque stylis annos applicare statui maturiores.] J. S. Brewer, ed., *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, Rolls Series 21.1 (London: Longman, 1861), 200. My translation. Later, in the thirteenth century the pattern of rejection would become a true literary topos with the composition of the pseudo-Ovidian *De Vetula*. J. H. Mozeley, “Le De Vetula, poème pseudo-ovidien,” *Latomus* 2 (1938): 53–54, provisionally attributes the poem to Richard Fournival (d. 1260). Paul Klopsch, *Pseudo-Ovidius de Vetula* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967), 78–99, doubts the attribution, but can offer no better candidate.

21. Another collection of poems in a similar style and likely from an Anglo-Norman milieu may be found in Rome, Vat.reg.lat. 585, fols. 4–6 (twelfth century), and in Escorial O.III.2, fols. 98–102 (fourteenth century). These are noted by Dronke, *European Love-Lyric*, 2:448–50.

## CHAPTER I

1. Baudri wrote poems addressed to Marbod and Godfrey, although it is possible he never met Godfrey. Given Fulcoius’s high administrative position and large poetic output in the years roughly 1065–85, it is very unlikely that the other three poets had not at least heard of him. Fulcoius and Godfrey must have known each other fairly well since they were both closely connected to Manasses, archbishop of Reims, throughout their careers.

2. On Ovid in the Middle Ages see Hennig Brinkmann, *Geschichte der lateinischen Liebesdichtung im Mittelalter* (Halle a/S, 1925); Dronke, *European Love-Lyric*; Edmond Faral, *Recherches sur les sources latines des contes et romans courtois du Moyen Age* (Paris: Édouard Champion, 1913); Offermanns, *Die Wirkung Ovids*. On the *artes* see James J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1974), 167. See also Edmond Faral’s edition of Matthew of Vendôme’s *Ars versificatoria* (*Les arts poétiques du XIIe et du XIIIe siècle* [Paris: Honoré Champion, 1924]. Reprint, 1958), 106–93. Late in the twelfth century Matthew of Vendôme would take the distich for his own, calling it “Vindocinense metrum.” See Douglas Kelly, “The Scope of the Treatment of Composition in the 12th- and 13th-Century Arts of Poetry,” *Speculum* 41 (1966): 264 and n. 14.

3. To the best of my knowledge, none of the pseudoclassical verse produced by

the four northern French poets has survived with music. We know from the musical settings of Boethian *metra* and other pieces in classical verse forms that classical poetry was sung in the Middle Ages, but on the whole one gets the impression that the poetry circulated by these northern French clerics was fundamentally a written form of discourse, for private reading by an individual or for recitation before a small circle of literati. See Jan M. Ziolkowski, ed. and trans., *The Cambridge Songs* (*Carmina cantabrigiensia*) (New York: Garland, 1994), xxxix–lv.

4. As A. G. Rigg notes, both Marbod and his fellow Angevin poet Hildebert of Le Mans “formed the staple literary reading in Latin for many generations” and were well known in England in the twelfth century. A. G. Rigg, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature: 1066–1422* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 63.

5. “[T]o structure,” Gerald Bond says, “the internal behavior of the group’s members and to provide solidarity against the outside world.” Gerald A. Bond, “‘Iocus Amoris’: The Poetry of Baudri of Bourgueil and the Formation of the Ovidian Subculture,” *Traditio* 42 (1986): 189. Bond adopts the idea of a medieval “textual community” from Brian Stock’s *Implications of Literacy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983). The audience for this poetry consisted “mostly of the teachers and especially the students and pupils of the cathedral and monastic schools; it was also predominantly male and . . . it was strongly regional.” At the same time a larger audience was sought among noblewomen (largely nuns) and a few noblemen. I would like to thank Professor Bond for his advice and for sending me his article.

6. Bond, “Iocus Amoris,” 189.

7. Reto R. Bezzola, *Les Origines et la formation de la littérature courtoise en Occident* (500–1200) (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1967), 2:2.370.

8. On Ermengard and Marbod, see below.

9. On this point see Bezzola, *Origines et formation*, 2:2.381. Bezzola argues against Hennig Brinkmann’s contention that the Loire poets had a “strong influence” on the rise of the first troubadours.

10. Gerald Bond, ed. and trans., *The Poetry of William VII, Count of Poitiers, IX Duke of Aquitaine* (New York: Garland, 1982), lxi–lxii.

11. This is “Ad sonitum cithare,” printed in Walther Bulst, “Liebesbriefgedichte Marbods,” in Bernhard Bischoff, ed., *Liber Floridus* (Erzabtei St. Ottilien: Eos Verlag, 1950), 296, from the editio princeps published in Rennes, 1524; see Dronke, *European Love-Lyric*, 213ff. In it the speaker records his emotions when he hears a song about the lamentations of a woman for her dead lover, a knight.

12. On Manasses’ career and his association with Fulcoius of Beauvais see John R. Williams, “Archbishop Manasses I of Rheims and Pope Gregory VII,” *American Historical Review* 54 (1949): 804–24. On Fulcoius’s career and works see Marvin L. Colker, ed., “Fulcoii Belvacensis Epistulae,” *Traditio* 10 (1954): 191–273; and André Boutemy, “Essai de chronologie des poésies de Foulcoie de Beauvais,” *Annuaire de l’institut de philologie et d’histoire orientales et slaves* 9 (1951): 79–96. On Godfrey, see John R. Williams, “Godfrey of Rheims, a Humanist of the Eleventh Century,” *Speculum* 22

(1947): 29–45; and André Boutemy, “Autour de Godfroid de Reims,” *Latomus* 6 (1947): 231–55.

13. *De nuptiis*, pp. 37–39, and 7.1297–1307, 1451–54. Mary Isaac Jogues Rousseau, ed., *Fulcoii Belvacensis Utriusque de Nuptiis Christi et Ecclesiae Libri Septem* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1960). Fulcoius wrote to, among others, Emperor Henry IV; William the Conqueror; Popes Alexander II and Gregory VII; Richer, archbishop of Sens; and Gervais, archbishop of Reims. Fulcoius left over eleven thousand lines of poetry in three collections, including a series of saints’ lives, a verse summary of the Bible, forty-nine epitaphs, twenty-six letters, and, as the introduction to a manuscript of his works claims, “quaedam nugae” that have apparently disappeared. None of the manuscripts of his works contains the sort of lyrics usually called “nugae.” The introductory notice in Beauvais MS 11 reads in part: “Primum [volumen] simplex in epistolis, in titulis, in quibusdam quasi nugis, quod experientiae causa *Utrum* nominavit [Fulcoius].” M. H. Omont, “Épithes métriques en l’honneur de différents personnages du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle composées par Fulcoie de Beauvais, archidiacre de Meaux,” in *Mélanges Julien Havet: Recueil de travaux d’érudition dédiés à la mémoire de Julien Havet (1853–1893)* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1895), 214. The final two leaves of the manuscript (171–72), which contain the last of the epitaphs alluded to in the introductory notice, are badly damaged; presumably the *nugae* originally followed them and at some point were removed. Fulcoius’s Epistle 26.1–2 suggests he might have burned them: “Voui Vulcano quod scribsi carmine uano” [I have promised to Vulcan what I wrote in vain song]. Fulcoius must have been almost an exact contemporary of Marbod, though we know little about his early or later life. The subject matter of his collection of verse epitaphs suggests he lived until at least 1084 and possibly as late as 1108; epitaphs written after Fulcoius’s own death show he attained some renown as a poet in the orbit of Paris, Chartres, Orléans, Reims, and Beauvais. See Colker, “Fulcoii Belvacensis Epistulae,” 191–92.

14. As well as to Enguerrand de Coucy, archdeacon of Soissons (1077–1090s); Odo of Meung, chancellor of Orléans in the 1080s; and Hugh de Bar, bishop of Langres (1065–1084). Godfrey did write an epitaph for “Guido archidiaconus,” who was probably the same Wido addressed in one of Fulcoius’s poems. Godfrey studied with St. Bruno, founder of the Carthusians, who taught in the cathedral school of Reims about 1056–74 and was chancellor under Archbishop Manasses from 1074 to 1077.

15. Gervasio princeps, princeps tuus, ille Manasses,  
 Successit, qui te promouet ad studium.  
 Ipsius calamus, ipsius musa fuisti,  
 Hic ut cantares prodigus obtinuit.  
 Carmine, dum uixit, sua nomina nobilitasti  
 Et per te Remis nobilitata fuit.

[A bishop after Gervais, your bishop the well-known Manasses, followed, who advances you to study. You were his own pen and his own muse. Here he maintained

*you, so that you might sing lavishly. With song, while he lived, you made his name famous and through you Reims was ennobled.]*

Jean-Yves Tilliette, ed. and trans., *Baudri de Bourgueil: Poèmes*, vol. 1 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1998), *carmen* 99.105–10. See esp. ll. 87–112 and Tilliette's useful notes, 211–15. My translation.

16. About a thousand lines of Godfrey's own poetry survive—four epistles and three epitaphs. He wrote in distiches and hexameters, both leonine and classical. Almost half of Godfrey's surviving output is found in the (perhaps unfinished) poem *Godefridus ad Lingonensem Episcopum*. Williams ("Godfrey of Rheims," 37) calls it "wordy and frequently obscure." See also Boutemy, "Autour de Godefroid," 239 n. 1.

17. Colker, "Fvlcoii Belvacensis Epistulae," 26.89 and 17.4–5; my translation. See also 16.33–34.

18. Colker, "Fvlcoii Belvacensis Epistulae," 1.98–99; my translation. See also *epistulae* 12.11 and 19.102, and *De nuptiis* 1.23, 2.15, and 6.206.

19. The portrait occurs as a transition between the first five books of his *De nuptiis*, a summary of the Old Testament, and the last two books, a summary of the New Testament. Fulcoius transforms himself from a shipwrecked sailor (an allusion to Horace's ode 1.5) to a mounted warrior.

20. Fulcoius, *De nuptiis*, 5.316–90.

21. Colker, "Fvlcoii Belvacensis Epistulae," 26.13–18; my translation.

22. Sed tamen, Ida, melos quod possit tangere caelos,

Si non nutares, si tua sponsa dares,

Tale quid, Ida, darem quo te tigresque domarem.

*[But still, Ida, a song that might be able to touch the heavens, if you were not hesitating, if you were giving your pledges, such (a song), Ida, would I give by which I would tame you and tigers.]*

Colker, "Fvlcoii Belvacensis Epistulae," 16.13–15; my translation. Fulcoius is probably trying to associate himself here with Orpheus, who also tamed tigers. See Horace, *Ars poetica*, ll. 391–93 and the discussion of Orpheus in chapter 8. My thanks to Rodney Ast for pointing out the Orphic allusion.

23. Colker, "Fvlcoii Belvacensis Epistulae," 16.37–44; my translation.

24. Colker, "Fvlcoii Belvacensis Epistulae," 10.374; my translation.

25. Colker, "Fvlcoii Belvacensis Epistulae," 10.18–24; my translation.

26. Colker, "Fvlcoii Belvacensis Epistulae," 10.81–85; my translation.

27. Colker, "Fvlcoii Belvacensis Epistulae," 10.365–67; my translation.

28. Colker, "Fvlcoii Belvacensis Epistulae," 10.151–57; my translation. I have emended Colker's "lauet" in line 154 to read "latet" and have made two minor changes in his punctuation of these lines. My thanks to an anonymous reader who also notes that the phrase "exuuuii . . . positis" is Virgilian (*Aeneid*, 2.473), where it refers to a snake sloughing off its skin.

29. Colker, "Fvlcoii Belvacensis Epistulae," 10.168–72; my translation.

30. Colker, “Fvlcoii Belvacensis Epistulae,” 10.173–74; my translation.  
 31. Colker, “Fvlcoii Belvacensis Epistulae,” 10.181–84; my translation.  
 32. Colker, “Fvlcoii Belvacensis Epistulae,” 10.185–89; my translation.  
 33. If the addressee is the Milo of Paris who became archbishop of Benevento in 1074, then the title in the manuscript suggests the poem was written before that date. See Colker, “Fvlcoii Belvacensis Epistulae,” p. 256.

34. Colker, “Fvlcoii Belvacensis Epistulae,” 19.101–6; my translation.

35. Colker, “Fvlcoii Belvacensis Epistulae,” 19.109–12; my translation.

36. Tilliette, *Baudri de Bourgueil, carmina* 35.2–3, 36.5, 38.3, 39.3–4. These phrases are taken from the five epitaphs Baudri wrote for Godfrey (*carmina* 35–39). In addition to *carmen* 99, the long epistle, Baudri wrote a much shorter poem about a year later asking for a response to the first missive (*carmen* 100). These two poems can only be dated ante ca. 1095, when Godfrey likely died. Baudri twice mentions Godfrey’s name at the same time as Marbod’s (*carmina* 126.7 and 223.19).

37. According to Boutemy (“Autour de Godfroid,” 254), three of Godfrey’s four epistles can be dated to the years not long before 1085; one of the epitaphs may go back as far as 1063. Thus Godfrey was writing ambitious poems in the same seminal period as his contemporaries Marbod and Fulcoius, and the somewhat younger Baudri. The identity of the Odo of Orléans to whom “Abdiderat celerem sol” is addressed remains uncertain. The two main candidates are an Odo who became bishop of Cambrai in 1105 and died in 1113 and an Odo (usually called “of Meung,” which is very near Orléans) who was a poet and physician and who wrote the *De viribus herbarum*. There was a chancellor of Orléans named Odo in the 1080s. Meung-sur-Loire is Baudri’s birthplace. Williams, “Godfrey of Rheims,” 34–35. André Boutemy suggests in “Trois oeuvres inédites de Godefroid de Reims,” *Revue du Moyen Age latin* 3 (1947): 351, that the idea of the night visitor was inspired by Ovid’s *Ex Ponto* 3.3.

38. Boutemy, “Trois oeuvres,” 346, ll. 51–56; my translation.

39. Boutemy, “Trois oeuvres,” 347, ll. 107–10; my translation.

40. Boutemy, “Trois oeuvres,” 350, ll. 217–18; my translation.

41. Since it contains no names and no topical allusions, the poem cannot be dated; it is the most classicizing piece of the four epistles, last published by d’E. Reynaud in his *Poetae latini minores* in 1939, the sort of work that presumably encouraged Baudri’s own Ovidiana. The standard edition of “Parce, precor, virgo” is W. Wattenbach, “Lateinische Gedichte aus Frankreich im elften Jahrhundert,” *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* 1 (1891): 107–9. The poem’s opening line also echoes Horace’s ode 4.1, “Intermissa, Venus, diu”:

Intermissa, Venus, diu  
     rursus bella moves. parce, precor, precor.  
 non sum qualis eram bonae  
     sub regno Cinarae. . . .

Loeb text.



42. The first words of “Parce, precor” appear ten times in Ovid, and Ovidian formulas are common throughout, as Offermanns demonstrates (*Die Wirkung Ovids*, 137–40). Medieval poets who appear to have known the poem include Marbod, Gerald of Wales, and the poet of the Ripoll collection (*Die Wirkung Ovids*, 142, 151, 159). Gerald Bond, *The Loving Subject: Desire, Eloquence, and Power in Romanesque France* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 194–201, translates the entire poem.

43. Wattenbach, “Lateinische Gedichte,” 107, ll. 31–34; my translation.

44. Wattenbach, “Lateinische Gedichte,” 109, ll. 97–100; my translation.

45. Wattenbach, “Lateinische Gedichte,” 107, ll. 19–22; my translation.

46. Wattenbach, “Lateinische Gedichte,” 108, ll. 67–68; my translation.

47. Wattenbach, “Lateinische Gedichte,” 108, ll. 73–75; my translation.

48. Wattenbach, “Lateinische Gedichte,” 108, ll. 83–88; my translation.

49. Wattenbach, “Lateinische Gedichte,” 109, ll. 95–96; my translation.

50. For the sake of brevity, I have omitted here any significant discussion of the works of Hildebert of Lavardin (ca. 1056–1133), bishop of Le Mans, then archbishop of Tours, and the third great Angevin poet of this period. Hildebert touches on erotic matters in only a few short lyrics, all school poems concerned with the myth of Ganymede. On this subject see Peter Von Moos, *Hildebert von Lavardin* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1965), 234. Hildebert’s datable short poems fall in the period 1085–1118. See A. Brian Scott, ed., *Hildeberti Cenomannensis Episcopi Carmina Minora* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1969), xxxiii. His lyrics appear to have circulated widely in England and France, and a number of the most important early manuscripts of Hildebert’s lyrics (e.g. Trinity College, Dublin B.2.17; B.L.Add. 24199; and B.L. Cotton Cleopatra C.I.) were produced in the twelfth century by insular scriptoria. On the manuscripts see A. Brian Scott, “The Poems of Hildebert of Le Mans: A New Examination of the Canon,” *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* 6 (1968): 44–49. Hildebert’s lyrics often appear in the manuscripts in conjunction with Marbod’s poetry. See André Wilmart, “Le florilège de Saint-Gatien: Contribution à l’étude des poèmes d’Hildebert et de Marbode,” *Revue bénédictine* 52 (1936): 240–48. Three verse epistles to named individuals do show his reconstruction of the classical *vates* figure for his own time and illustrate his modestly transgressive use of classical poetry and myth to create a literary self-identity.

51. The political situation in Maine was particularly chaotic in the second half of the eleventh century. Under Foulques IV (le Rechin), count of Anjou 1068–1109, Maine, Anjou, and Touraine were periodically united, though William I, duke of Normandy and later king of England, gained control of Maine in 1063 and William’s eldest son, Robert Curthose, was made nominal count of Maine in 1073. Effective rule in the county, however, appears generally to have remained in Angevin hands, despite continuous tensions in the period. Hildebert, as the recently named bishop of Le Mans, was exiled to England in 1099–1100 by William II, who accused him of inciting violence against William’s castle in the episcopal city. See A. Dieudonné, *Hildebert de*

*Lavardin: Evêque du Mans, archevêque de Tours (1056–1133)* (Paris: Picard, 1898), 48–59.

52. Karlheinz Hilbert, *Baldricus Burgulianus Carmina* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1979), *carmina* 153.59–62. On Baudri's relationship with Marbod and Hildebert see Tilliette, *Baudri de Bourgueil*, xxxiv and n. 98, who suspects Baudri knew Marbod's work much better than he knew Hildebert's.

53. See Tilliette, *Baudri de Bourgueil*, xxxv.

54. Put another way, Baudri followed the route suggested by Godfrey's very Ovidian "Parce, precor" rather than his much more obviously medieval "Non renuenda peto." On *Godefridus ad Lingonensem Episcopum* (inc. "Non renuenda peto") see above. Over two-thirds of Baudri's 256 surviving poems are written in classical distiches. See Tilliette, *Baudri de Bourgueil*, xxxviii–xxx, who counts 176 poems in elegiacs and 72 in hexameter. Marbod, like Fulcoius, commonly wrote rhymed versions of classical quantitative meters. The most common of the hybrid verse forms are internally rhymed hexameter and distiches (so-called leonine forms); and caudati, which are end-rhymed hexameter. Raby disapproved (*Christian Latin Poetry*, 277; and *Secular Latin Poetry*, 1.337). André Wilmart is kinder: see his "Un nouveau poème de Marbode," *Revue bénédictine* 51 (1939): 169–81, especially 161–62 and n. 4, in which he analyzes Marbod's metrical habits and use of rhyme.

55. On Marbod's works see Max Manitius, *Geschichte der Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche, 1911–31), 719–30.

56. The PL volume is 171. See Wilmart, "Le florilège de Saint-Gatien," for a discussion of the dissemination of poems by Hildebert and Marbod, especially 6. Wilmart lists about a dozen major manuscripts containing Marbod's poems, three of them English (London, B.L.Add. 24199; London, B.L. Cotton Vitellius A.xii; Oxford, Bodley, Digby 65). PL 171 contains a very unreliable collection of both poets' works. On a poem ascribed incorrectly to Marbod ("Gaudia nimpharum") see Bulst, "Liebesbriefgedichte Marbods," 290; Dronke, *European Love-Lyric*, 213; M. Delbouille, "Un mystérieux ami de Marbode: Le 'redoutable poète' Gautier," *Le Moyen Age*, n.s. 5–6 (1950–51): 205–40; and Walther Bulst, *Carmina Leodiensia* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1975).

57. E.g., Queen Matilda, wife of Henry I of England; and Duchess Ermengard of Brittany (PL 171.1660 and 1659); see below.

58. E.g., Baudri and Hildebert; the bishops of Lincoln and Winchester; two named friends, Gautier and Rivallon. Marbod's poem to Hildebert is found in PL 171.1653, "Dum tua scripta." Wilmart accepts it as genuine ("Le Florilège de Saint-Gatien," 241). For the two English bishops see PL 171.1658 and 1717. Wilmart considers these authentic, though the poem to the bishop of Lincoln is not found in any manuscripts (this is true of a number of poems published by Beaugendre in the PL). See Wilmart, "Le florilège de Saint-Gatien," 249 n. 3. The poem to Samson appears only in the Bury manuscript, B.L.Add. 24199; see Wilmart, "Le florilège de Saint-Gatien,"



243. For Baudri, we have several poems he wrote either addressing Marbod or concerning him; see Hilbert, *Baldricus Burgulianus Carmina*, *carmina* 86, 126, 153, 223. On Rivallon see Wilmart, “Nouveau poème de Marbode”; on Gautier see Delbouille, “Mystérieux ami de Marbode”; and Bulst, *Carmina Leodiensia*.

59. One of Marbod’s most widely disseminated works, his *De ornamentis verborum*, which he probably wrote for his students at some point in his thirty years in Angers, is a verse paraphrase of a section from the *ad Herennium*. Manitius, *Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, 723–24.

60. The poems, “Filia Fulconis” and “Est operae pretium,” survive today only in the early-eighteenth-century printed edition upon which PL 171 is partly based. A. Beaugendre, *Hildeberti Opera . . . Acc. Marbodi Opuscula* (Paris, 1708). Wilmart, “Le florilège de Saint-Gatien,” 249 n. 3. PL 171.1659–60 = *Varia* 1.23–24. For a comprehensive survey of medieval Latin poems praising noble ladies, including poems by Hildebert, Marbod, Baudri, and Godfrey, see Therese Latzke’s important article “Der Fürstinnenpreis,” *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 14 (1979): 22–65, especially 48–63.

61. In addition to her position as queen, Matilda became duchess of Normandy in 1106 when Henry deposed his older brother Robert Curthose and took the ducal title for himself. Educated in England at the Abbey of Romsey where her maternal aunt Christina was abbess, she was the descendant of kings of England and Scotland and dukes of Normandy. She died in 1118. Since she is addressed as queen in “Est operae pretium,” the poem must have been written after 1100 and thus after Marbod became bishop of Rennes.

62. She must have been familiar to Marbod both when he was chancellor in Angers and later when he was bishop of Rennes since she was the daughter of Marbod’s most immediate feudal overlord before 1096 and wife of his most immediate feudal overlord after 1096. Since she is called “decus Armoricae regionis” in “Filia Fulconis,” she must have been countess of Rennes and duchess of Brittany by the time of the poem’s composition. It is, of course, possible that she was one of Marbod’s students in Angers.

63. William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum Anglorum*, 5.418) mentions that Queen Matilda attracted to her court learned men who could amuse her with the songs and poems they wrote. See Raby, *Secular Latin Poetry* 1:332 n. 2 and PL 179.1372.

64. “Est operae pretium,” ll. 29–30; PL 171.1660D; my translation.

65. “Est operae pretium,” ll. 3–8; PL 171.1660B–C; my translation.

66. “Est operae pretium,” ll. 11–18; PL 171.1660C; my translation.

67. “Filia Fulconis,” PL 171.1659C–60B. On Marbod and his debt to Ovid see Offermanns, *Die Wirkung Ovids*, 140ff.; and Raby, *Secular Latin Poetry*, 1:329–37. Wilmart, “Le florilège de Saint-Gatien,” does not find this work in the best manuscripts of Marbod’s poetry, but feels its “authenticity [is] pretty much assured” (249 n. 3).

68. “Filia Fulconis,” ll. 1–4, 7–8, 37–39; PL 171.1659C–60B; my translation.

69. Two related poems are of less interest in the present discussion. “Daemonis inventum” (found in the Zurich manuscript) describes in lurid detail the burning of the

body in hell, where, among other parts, “nec frigent coxae nec mentula conscia noxae” [the hips never cool nor the cock aware of (its) crime] and single-sex copulation is the sin punished most severely. “Si quid in urbe” (not found in the Zurich manuscript) is a short epistolary poem in which an older man asks a boy he loves to leave the “many enticements” [blanditiae . . . plures] of the city of Chalonnes and return to the “villa” where the speaker lives. The poem is affectionate, but not clearly sexual, focusing on the dangerous attractions of an urban court. The five poems in the Zurich manuscript are edited in Jakob Werner, *Beiträge zur Kunde der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Aarau: Sauerländer, 1905). They are no. 5 (“Demonis inventum”), no. 8 (“De puero quodam”), no. 198 (“Egregium vultum”), no. 199 (“Strictus eram loris”), no. 200 (“Demonis inventum” [no. 5 repeated with 7 additional lines]), no. 201 (“Mens mea tristatur”). The sixth poem, “Si quid in urbe,” is found in *PL* 171.1717, as *Varia* 2.3, as well as in two MSS (London, B.L.Add. 24199 and Berlin, Phillipps 1694). The four poems clustered together in the Zurich manuscript (Werner nos. 198–201) are written in leonine hexameter. Wilmart, “Le florilège de Saint-Gatien,” 239 n. 2 and 250–51, accepts all six as genuine poems of Marbod. The six are edited and translated by Thomas Stehling, *Medieval Latin Poems of Male Love and Friendship* (New York: Garland, 1984), 30–39, 88–91. Wilmart, “Le florilège de Saint-Gatien,” 243–45 notes that Zurich C.58/275 is perhaps the most important collection of Marbod’s poems after Tours 890, the Saint-Gatien manuscript. “Mens” is also found in the 1524 Rennes editio princeps. “Demonis” appears in B.L. Cotton Vitellius A.xii. In addition to “Si quid,” others of these poems made it into *PL* 171: “Egregium” (1655/*Varia* 1.16), “Strictus” (1655–56/*Varia* 1.17), “Demonis” (1669/*Varia* 1.33), “De puero” (1717–18/*Varia* 2.4).

70. V. A. Kolve, “Ganymede/Son of Getron: Medieval Monasticism and the Drama of Same-Sex Desire,” *Speculum* 73 (1998): 1041.

71. As Kolve points out in “Ganymede/Son of Getron,” 1041–43.

72. Poem 199 in the Zurich MS consists of the first eight lines. Text from *PL* 171.1655–56; my translation.

73. “Strictus eram loris,” ll. 17–20; my translation.

74. Poem 201 in the Zurich MS. I have silently emended the text from Werner, *Beiträge zur Kunde*, 89–90, with Bulst’s version (“Liebesbriefgedichte Marbods,” 297–98), which incorporates readings from the Rennes 1524 editio princeps. Not printed in *PL* 171.

75. “Mens mea tristatur,” ll. 14–17; my translation. Werner’s text lacks the second line of the passage quoted (i.e., “Rursum quero . . .”). See Bulst, “Liebesbriefgedichte Marbods,” 297.

76. “Mens mea tristatur,” ll. 22–24, 29–31; my translation.

77. Text from *PL* 171.1655; poem 198 in the Zurich MS. The Zurich MS text is different in many places from the version of the poem printed in the *PL*.

78. “Egregium vultum,” ll. 31–36; my translation.

79. The text of line 17 reads “verba cor intrantum,” which is difficult to construe. This may be an error for “verba cor intrans tum.”

80. Text from *PL* 171.1717-18 and from Werner, *Beiträge zur Kunde*, 5-6. It is poem 8 in the Zurich MS. Also in Berlin, Phillips 1694. To judge from the indications in Wilmart's "Le florilège de Saint-Gatien," the poem is not in the St-Gatien MS. It appears in the Zurich MS with the title "Satira in amatorem pueri sub assumpta persona."

81. "De puero quodam," ll. 3-4; my translation.

82. "De puero quodam," ll. 23-24; my translation.

83. "De puero quodam," ll. 29-33; my translation.

84. "De puero quodam," ll. 36-37; my translation.

85. The unique copy of the editio princeps survives now in the Bibliothèque Mazarine in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. p. Yc. 1533. This copy was used by Beaugendre for his 1708 edition of the works of Marbod and Hildebert, but he omitted seventeen poems, including all the *amatoria*. See Bulst, "Liebesbriefgedichte Marbods," who edits thirteen of the seventeen poems. Bulst numbers the erotica 24, 36-42, and 50 based on their placement in the editio princeps. The editors of the 1524 edition must have worked from a manuscript (or manuscripts) that are not known today, perhaps from papers left behind by Marbod three hundred years earlier when he retired from the bishopric and returned to Angers. Bulst no. 27, "Gaudia nimpharum," is probably not by Marbod. Fragments of at least two of Marbod's heteroerotic poems in the Rennes 1524 editio princeps do appear in Zürich C.58/275: ll. 15-16 of Bulst no. 37, "Hec est votorum," are printed as poem no. 202 in Werner, *Beiträge zur Kunde*; ll. 13-19 of Bulst no. 40, "Ploro cum ploras," are printed in Werner as nos. 203 and 204.

86. Some of these women might have been his students; as Bulst points out, the pool of young women who could read and write and appreciate such poetry must have been fairly small. Both Bulst ("Liebesbriefgedichte Marbods," 300) and Peter Dronke, *Women Writers of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 84-85, accept the notion that there was a "real" exchange of poetic epistles between Marbod and certain denizens of B. Mariae Caritatis Andegavensis. Dronke suggests the period 1060-80 for the poems; Bulst implies a somewhat later date. Even assuming these poems were composed for young women in Angers, there is no way to date them more precisely than sometime before 1096 when Marbod left for Rennes.

87. The poems are Bulst's nos. 36-42 found on pp. 15-17 of the Rennes edition. There are numerous verbal echoes of Ovid's poetry in the group. Offermanns, *Die Wirkung Ovids*, analyzes them and suggests that poems 39 and 40 were inspired by *Amores* 2.7 and 2.8. See especially pp. 92-94.

88. Poem no. 36. "A te missa," ll. 3-6; Bulst, "Liebesbriefgedichte Marbods," 290; my translation.

89. "A te missa," ll. 15-18; Bulst, "Liebesbriefgedichte Marbods," 291; my translation.

90. Poem no. 37. "Hec est votorum," ll. 25-26; Bulst, "Liebesbriefgedichte Marbods," 291; my translation.

91. "Hec est votorum," ll. 7-8; Bulst, "Liebesbriefgedichte Marbods," 291; my translation.

92. “Hec est votorum,” ll. 13–16; Bulst, “Liebesbriefgedichte Marbods,” 291; my translation.

93. Poem no. 40. “Ploro, cum ploras,” ll. 15–20; Bulst, “Liebesbriefgedichte Marbods,” 293; my translation.

94. The year when Baudri entered the abbey is not certain. He seems to have been named abbot sometime between 1078 and 1082. From 1107 until his death in 1130 Baudri was the archbishop of Dol in Brittany. He was born in Meung-sur-Loire, near Orléans, and seems to have attended school there. For a very useful summary of what is known of Baudri’s life from sources other than his poems, see Tilliette, *Baudri de Bourgueil*, v–x. Volume 1 of Tilliette’s edition of Baudri’s poems includes only poems 1–133. Volume 2 has yet to appear. Where possible I have used Tilliette’s text and French translation for the poems discussed here; otherwise, I have relied on Hilbert.

95. On Baudri’s association with the Abbey of Le Ronceray in Angers see Jean-Yves Tilliette, “Note sur le manuscrit des poèmes de Baudri de Bourgueil (Vatican, Reg. Lat. 1351),” *Scriptorium* 37 (1983): 244; Dronke, *Women Writers*, 84–85. In *carmen* 139.21 and 23, Baudri refers in passing to two companions of Emma at the abbey, Godehildis and Orieldis, and he directs *carmen* 137 to the nun Muriel, with whom he has exchanged poems. There are also two poems to Beatrice (*carmen* 140 and 141) and one to Agnes (*carmen* 138) who may also have been at Le Ronceray. Manitius, *Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, 888 n. 1, first pointed out that Baudri refers to himself as Constance’s godfather in *carmen* 142. Most of the poems to female recipients are found clustered on fols. 77–108 at the end of the main section of the manuscript.

96. The exceptions are two lines (which circulated in many manuscripts as Hildebert’s) carved in a tympanum of a church in Navarre and verses 749–946 of Baudri’s *carmen* 134 found in MS Paris B.N.lat. 4126 copied at York in the second half of the fourteenth century. See Patrick Gautier Dalché and Jean-Yves Tilliette, “Un nouveau document sur la tradition du poème de Baudri de Bourgueil à la comtesse Adèle,” *Bibliothèque de l’École des chartes* 144 (1986): 241 n. 3.; and Tilliette, *Baudri de Bourgueil*, xlv and the notes to *carmen* 125.

97. Hilbert and Tilliette both feel that Vat.reg.lat. 1351 was for the most part (fols. 5–108, *carmina* 1–153) written in an Angevin scriptorium under the direct supervision of the poet, perhaps around the time he left Bourgueil to take up his duties at Dol in 1107. See Hilbert, *Baldricus Burgulianus Carmina*, 306–11; and Tilliette, “Note sur le manuscrit.” Another section of the manuscript (fols. 148–51 and fols. 1–4, Hilbert *carmina* 207–56), roughly contemporary with fols. 5–108, but less carefully realized, suggests that the book may even have been in England for much of its early history (Tilliette, “Note sur le manuscrit,” 241–42 and n. 8). Tilliette, following Hilbert, divides Vat.reg.lat. 1351 into four distinct segments: (1) fols. 5–108 (*carmina* 1–153); (2) fols. 109–27, 152 (*carmen* 154); (3) fols. 128–47 (*carmina* 155–206); (4) fols. 150, 148, 149, 151, 1–4 (*carmina* 207–56). See also Tilliette, *Baudri de Bourgueil*, xxxviii–xlv.

98. Though F. J. E. Raby spoke confidently of the readership Baudri's poetry would have had in its own time, "not merely because it represents faithfully the achievement of the new humanism, but because it shows us the attractive figure of the man himself," in fact Baudri's work seems to have circulated little. All his extant poetry survives, after all, in a single manuscript, most of which was likely copied during Baudri's lifetime, and no strong evidence exists that his many epistles moved beyond the immediate circle of Angevin *literati*; to quote Gerald Bond, Baudri's Ovidian letters, unlike the poetry of Hildebert and Marbod, suffered from a "decided lack of poetic afterlife." Raby, *Secular Latin Poetry*, 1:348; Bond, "Iocus Amoris," 178. See also Tilliette, *Baudri de Bourgueil*, xxxiii–xxxviii.

99. Jean-Yves Tilliette, "Hermès amoureux, ou les métamorphoses de la chimère," in *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Moyen âge* 104 (1992): 155–56.

100. Bond, *The Loving Subject*, 42. In this chapter on Baudri (chap. 2, "The Play of Desire"), as throughout the book, Bond's analysis grows out of his reading of Louis Althusser; see especially 10–15.

101. In the manuscript *carmen* 154 lacks sixty-two lines at the beginning and concludes with *Mythologies* 3.4, thus leaving out books 3.5–3.12. Some of the internal portions of the poem have become displaced within the manuscript; Hilbert's edition reconstructs the poem as it was originally conceived. Tilliette, *Baudri de Bourgueil*, xl, concurs with Hilbert's reorganization of the manuscript.

102. This is the nun whom he calls "domina Emma" in one poem, probably the "Emma grammatica" who signed several charters of Le Ronceray between 1100 and 1120. See Tilliette, "Hermès Amoureux," 137.

103. Or (more likely) an earlier version of it. For the date of this poem and others see Phyllis Abrahams's now superseded *Les œuvres poétiques de Baudri de Bourgueil* (1046–1130) (Paris: Champion, 1926), xxii–xxiii. Tilliette, "Note sur le manuscrit," observes that all the datable poems on fols. 5–108 of Vat.reg.lat. 1351 were written before 1107, the year of Baudri's departure for Dol (243 n. 15). Baudri clearly thought 153 made an appropriate end to his collection, but to judge from the allusions to Marbod it seems likely it was actually written some years before 1107. *Carmen* 1, by contrast, must have been contemporary with the physical production of the extant manuscript, since it pretty clearly describes the surviving codex. *Carmen* 1 also plays with verbal echoes of 153 (e.g. 153.15 and 1.19–20).

104. Cf. Hildebert's poem to the nun Muriel of Wilton. Scott, *Carmina Minora*, "Ad M<uriele> litteratam," 26.11–13; also in *PL* 171.1445A–D.

105. Hilbert, *Baldricus Burgulianus Carmina*, *carmen* 153.29–38, 41–42; my translation. On "Cambio noster" see Abrahams, *Oeuvres poétiques de Baudri*, 372. The Aution, which is called "Changeon" for part of its course, passes by Bourgueil before flowing into the Loire. See also Tilliette, *Baudri de Bourgueil*, 146–47.

106. Hilbert, *Baldricus Burgulianus Carmina*, *carmen* 153.43–50; my translation. Cf. Hildebert's poem to Odo. Scott, *Carmina Minora*, "Ad Odonem," 17.1–8.

107. It is clear that *carmen* 153 was written before 1107 since Baudri was still abbot



of Bourgueil when he wrote it; Marbod lived until 1123 (so Baudri cannot be lamenting his death) and there is no other obvious event besides his move to Rennes that Baudri might be thinking of. Hilbert, *Baldricus Burgulianus Carmina*, *carmen* 153.59–62; my translation.

108. Hilbert, *Baldricus Burgulianus Carmina*, *carmen* 153.65–66; my translation.

109. On this date see Williams, “Godfrey of Rheims,” 29 n. 3. See above in this chapter for the five epitaphs Baudri wrote for Godfrey.

110. Tilliette, *Baudri de Bourgueil*, *carmen* 99.63–74; my translation. Jean-Yves Tilliette, “Culture classique et humanisme monastique: Les poèmes de Baudri de Bourgueil,” in *La Littérature angevine médiévale: Actes du Colloque du Samedi 22 Mars 1980* (Paris: Champion, 1980), 77–88, discusses Baudri’s “cultivation of poetry for its own sake” and the immortality it gives the author and those for whom the poem is written (84).

111. *Carmina* 7 and 8 are an exchange between Paris and Helen; *carmina* 97 and 98 are an exchange between the exiled Ovid and his friend Florus. On these poems see Gerald A. Bond, “Composing Yourself: Ovid’s *Heroides*, Baudri of Bourgueil, and the Problem of Persona,” *Mediaevalia* 13 (1987): 83–117.

112. Offermanns calls these epistles “love letters with spiritual intent” (*Die Wirkung Ovids*, 106–11). Bond claims that in all but one of Baudri’s epistles to women, *carmen* 200, “the erotic element remains suppressed.” Bond, “Iocus Amoris,” 168.

113. Bond, “Iocus Amoris,” 172.

114. The three poems are “Cum peteret puerum” (Scott, *Carmina Minora*, “<De transformatione Ianthes>,” 32), “Res male tuta” (Scott, *Carmina Minora*, “Ad S. nepotem,” 33), and “Lumina, colla, gene” (Scott, *Carmina Minora*, “<De Ganymede>,” 48); they are edited and translated in Stehling, *Medieval Latin Poems*, where they are nos. 66, 68, and 67 respectively.

115. Tilliette, *Baudri de Bourgueil*, *carmen* 3.7–8, 16–19, 23–25, “Cum michi nil”; Stehling, *Medieval Latin Poems*, 38–43; translation from Stehling. Bond, “Iocus Amoris,” 167, discusses this poem. Stehling translates fifteen of Baudri’s poems that he would consider homoerotic in some way; Bond, 167, points to a number of poems in which “homosexual love is . . . a potential meaning” and lists about twenty poems addressed to boys or youths (n. 70). Tilliette, *Baudri de Bourgueil*, 150, views these lines as part of a well-established literary convention and no evidence that Baudri himself was tolerant of a gay monastic subculture. He cites Marbod’s “De puero” (see above) as a poem in the same tradition and directs the reader to *carmina* 7 and 77 for Baudri’s “point de vue . . . sur l’homosexualité . . . en termes non ‘culturels,’ mais brutalement physiologiques.” C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950–1200* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), notes that *carmen* 3 “plays on the themes of homosexual love poetry,” but contends that “there can be no question of Baudri courting a desirable boy. He is plainly correcting his manners” (315); and see n. 59.

116. *Carmen* 200 appears in part 3 of the Vatican manuscript, a portion of the text

that was not revised by the author and thus seems to represent a later stage in the construction of the book than part 1 (*carmina* 1–153). The poems found here are probably later works completed at some point after Baudri left Bourgueil in 1107. See Tilliette, *Baudri de Bourgueil*, xl–xli. Constance's epitaph is *carmen* 213.

117. Hilbert, *Baldricus Burgulianus Carmina*, *carmen* 200.11–14; Bond, *The Loving Subject*, 171. All translations here of *carmen* 200 are taken from Bond, *The Loving Subject*.

118. Hilbert, *Baldricus Burgulianus Carmina*, *carmen* 200.47–52; Bond, *The Loving Subject*, 173.

119. Hilbert, *Baldricus Burgulianus Carmina*, *carmen* 200.73–76, 79–80; Bond, *The Loving Subject*, 175.

120. Bond, "Locus Amoris," 172. The following remarks are all based on Bond, "Locus Amoris," 172–75.

121. Hilbert, *Baldricus Burgulianus Carmina*, *carmen* 148.9–10; my translation.

122. Bond, "Locus Amoris," 170, 174.

123. Hilbert, *Baldricus Burgulianus Carmina*, *carmen* 200.89–94; Bond, *The Loving Subject*, 175.

124. Hilbert, *Baldricus Burgulianus Carmina*, *carmen* 154.827–34; my translation.

125. Hilbert, *Baldricus Burgulianus Carmina*, *carmen* 200.111–16; Bond, *The Loving Subject*, 177.

126. If *carmen* 154 is, in fact, from among the poems Baudri wrote after he left Bourgueil (it occupies the whole of part 2 of the Vatican manuscript), it would be roughly contemporary with early careers of the first generation of "Chartrians," e.g., Bernard and Thierry of Chartres.

127. Hilbert, *Baldricus Burgulianus Carmina*, *carmen* 200.105–10; Bond, *The Loving Subject*, 177.

128. Hilbert, *Baldricus Burgulianus Carmina*, *carmen* 200.117–26; Bond, *The Loving Subject*, 177.

129. Hilbert, *Baldricus Burgulianus Carmina*, *carmen* 200.129–34; Bond, *The Loving Subject*, 177.

130. On the multivalence of the humanist "subject" see Bond, *The Loving Subject*, 127–28.

131. Bond says lines 169–234 and 561–1342. See especially Tilliette's valuable study of the poem and its sources, "La chambre de la comtesse Adèle: Savoir scientifique et technique littéraire dans le c.CXCVI de Baudri de Bourgueil," *Romania* 102 (1981): 145–71. The poem was probably written about the year 1100, which would place it after Baudri's failed attempt to secure for himself the episcopal see of Orléans and before he moved to Dol. Abrahams, *Oeuvres poétiques de Baudri*, 233–34, would date the poem 1099–1102, a date Tilliette accepts ("La Chambre," 146).

132. Étienne died in 1102 on crusade in the Holy Land. Adèle's most notable son was Thibaut IV le Grand (1102–1152), count of Blois-Chartres-Meaux and later of Champagne.

133. Bond refutes Reto Bezzola's claim that Adèle "did not create a literary court"



(*The Loving Subject*, 136). Historical information about Adèle is largely drawn from Bond, *The Loving Subject*, chap. 5, who also provides bibliography. Ermengard, countess of Rennes and duchess of Brittany, as we noted above, seems also to have kept a literary court around the turn of the century or a bit earlier.

134. Whatever the causes, “no other woman attracted contemporary writers to such a degree and in such a way.” Bond, *The Loving Subject*, 130. Bond compiles an anthology of works in prose and verse addressed to the countess or describing her.

135. Bond, *The Loving Subject*, 130.

136. Hilbert, *Baldricus Burgulianus Carmina*, carmen 134.79–88; Bond, *The Loving Subject*, 149–50.

137. Hilbert, *Baldricus Burgulianus Carmina*, carmen 134.63–74; Bond, *The Loving Subject*, 132, 149.

138. By the time the poem was written, Adèle was no one’s *puella* and no *virgo*: she had been married twenty years and was the mother of nine children. See Chamber’s *Biographical Dictionary*, which gives Adèle’s dates as 1062?–1137. See also Bezzola, *Origines et formation*, 2:2.369.

139. Bezzola, *Origines et formation*, 2:2.373–74: “Voilà bien la femme capable de susciter les chants d’un désir inassouissable, comme ceux d’un Jaufré Rudel ou même d’un Guillaume IX. . . . Tel est, autour d’une Adèle de Blois, le climat dans lequel peut naître cet amour courtois, où l’amant doit se contenter d’aimer sans espoir d’être écouté.”

140. Abrahams, *Oeuvres poétiques de Baudri*, 233–34, provides some background on earlier Latin poems that involve elaborate descriptions of objects and buildings. Though the work has many antecedents, “before the twelfth century one finds no other example of such a length where so many objects are described and where so many details of the secular sciences are given.” Baudri’s main sources for the poem are Martianus Capella, Isidore, Ovid, Lucan, Claudian, and “certain contemporary historians.”

141. Hilbert, *Baldricus Burgulianus Carmina*, carmen 134.1343–45, 1351–54; my translation.

142. In addition to these poems to women, there are several poems published under Marbod’s name in praise of female virginity; some of these seem to be directed to particular individuals. See, e.g., the four poems in *PL* 171.1653–55. It is possible Marbod had second thoughts about his erotica. Bulst, “Liebesbriefgedichte Marbods,” 298, quotes the opening lines of Marbod’s *Liber decem capitulorum*, in which Marbod regrets some of his early writing:

Que iuuenis scripsi senior dum plura retracto,  
Penitet et quedam vel scripta vel edita nollem,  
Tum quia materies inhonesta leuisque videtur.  
Tum quia dicendi potuit modus aptior esse.

[Many things that I wrote as a youth, I now retract as a mature man;  
I am sorry, and would wish that certain things had neither been written  
nor published;

*On the one hand, because the material seems shameful and trifling,  
On the other, because the manner of expression might have been more fitting.]*

Text from Walther Bulst, ed., *Marbodi Episcopi Redonensis Liber Decem Capitulorum* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1947), 5.

## CHAPTER 2

1. Raby, *Christian Latin Poetry*, 333, mentions Reginald in passing, but has essentially nothing to say about Latin poetry in England before the twelfth century. For an excellent survey of Reginald's poetry, see Rigg, *Anglo-Latin Literature*, 24–30.

2. On Anglo-Latin poets in the period see Rigg, *Anglo-Latin Literature*, 9–66. On the Anglo-Norman clerics in the years on either side of 1100 see M. T. Clanchy, *England and Its Rulers: 1066–1272* (Totowa, N.J.: Barnes and Noble, 1983), 104ff.; and Austin Lane Poole, *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta: 1087–1216*, 2d ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), chap. 6, esp. 185ff.

3. Vatican MS reg.lat. 585, a collection of *membra disiecta* originally from the library of the abbey of Fleury in Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, has as its first element (fols. 1<sup>r</sup>–12<sup>v</sup>) a twelfth-century booklet of verse and prose including Proba's fourth-century Virgilian *cento* on the Old and New Testaments (fols. 1<sup>r</sup>–4<sup>r</sup>), Hildebert's "De querimonia et conflictu carnis et spiritus" (fols. 7<sup>r</sup>–9<sup>v</sup>) and "Cur deus homo" (fols. 9<sup>v</sup>–10<sup>r</sup>), and Simon Aurea Capra's *Ylias* (10<sup>r</sup>–12<sup>v</sup>). Fols. 4<sup>r</sup>–6<sup>r</sup> contain a series of approximately twenty-four poems in many ways very comparable to the classicizing verse of the eleventh- and twelfth-century poets discussed in this chapter and in chapter 1. Dronke, *European Love-Lyric*, notes that these poems "appear to be by one author who has affinities with the so-called 'school of Angers'" (578). Seven of these, he believes, "have love-themes," and he edits and translates two of them (448–50), noting that they "show a rhetorical mastery of a kind best paralleled in the secular poems of Hildebert, with which they seem to be contemporary." Winfried Offermanns, *Die Wirkung Ovids auf die literarische Sprache der lateinischen Liebesdichtung des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts*, Beihefte zum Mittellateinischen Jahrbuch, vol. 4 (Wuppertal: A. Henn, 1970), edits two additional poems from among these (172, 175–76). A full edition of the twenty-four lyrics is now available in Peter Orth, *Hildeberts Prosimetrum De Querimonia und die Gedichte eines Anonymus*. Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000. The same collection also appears in the fourteenth-century Escorial MS O.III.2, on fols. 97<sup>v</sup>–102<sup>v</sup> and in Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek MS Gl. kgl. Samlung 46 fol. on fols. 4<sup>v</sup>–6<sup>v</sup>. The ninth poem in the series is titled "Ab anglia in normanniam" (*inc.* "Si queras quid agam"), suggesting a possible Anglo-Norman connection for the collection as a whole. Wherever they were composed, initial indications suggest strongly the poems were part of the general circulation of classicizing poetry in the Loire Valley (and possibly England) during the late eleventh century or the relatively early twelfth century.

4. This has been suggested by Rodney M. Thomson, "The Library of Bury St

Edmunds Abbey in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries,” *Speculum* 47 (1972): 617–45: “At present it is not certain whether the MS is a scriptorium product. If this were so, then the question might be raised as to whether any of the anonymous pieces in it were composed locally. Abbot Anselm, for instance, is known to have had a taste for versifying as a young man” (640–41). A. Brian Scott is unambivalent about the manuscript’s provenance, though he would date it at the end of the century. See “Poems of Hildebert,” 46. André Boutemy, “Le recueil poétique du manuscrit Additional 24199 du British Museum,” *Latomus* 2 (1938): 30, says only that it is twelfth century.

5. On the manuscript’s dating see Thomson, “Library,” 640; on other manuscripts of Hildebert and Marbod’s poetry see Wilmart, “Le florilège de Saint-Gatien,” 164–76. For other collections of Hildebert’s poems, see Scott, “Poems of Hildebert,” 44–49.

6. Wilmart, “Le florilège de Saint-Gatien,” 10, discusses the changes in poetic taste that occurred after the early part of the twelfth century.

7. For detailed descriptions of B.L.Add. 24199 see Boutemy, “Additional 24199,” 31–34; and Wilmart, “Le florilège de Saint-Gatien,” 170, 243. For Cotton Vitellius A.xii, see André Boutemy, “Notice sur le recueil poétique du manuscrit Cotton Vitellius A xii, du British Museum,” *Latomus* 1 (1937): 278–313. Scott, “Poems of Hildebert,” 46, accepts all but two of these (“Femina perfida” [Misc. 108] and “Haec dicis laicis”) as genuinely by Hildebert. Two of the thirty-three poems (the *Vita Sanctae Mariae Egypticae* and “Prima rubens” [= Misc. 122]) are also found in British Library MS Cotton Vitellius A.xii (where they are nos. 10–11); see Boutemy, “Cotton,” 282. These poems are listed in Wilmart, “Le florilège de Saint-Gatien,” 169–71, who notes that “L’archétype du manuscrit de Bury provenait, sans doute, d’une maison normande” (171).

8. Wilmart, “Le florilège de Saint-Gatien,” 20–39, accepts all but two as genuine. The last ten of these are also found in Cotton Vitellius A.xii, where they are nos. 12–21; see Boutemy, “Cotton,” 282–83.

9. Another ten poems in this section of the manuscripts are found also only in Cotton Vitellius A.xii; one poem is anonymous but found widely; another is anonymous and found also in Digby 65. Of the works by Hildebert contained in part 1 of the manuscript, Wilmart remarks “aucune florilège n’a plus d’importance que cet ouvrage anglais, ni offre un meilleur choix de pièces” (170). For Cotton Vitellius A.xii see Boutemy, “Cotton.”

10. Wilmart accepts six of these as genuine poems of Marbod. Of the eleven, nine are found in Cotton Vitellius A.xii, where they are nos. 41–48, 51. It is clear that the compiler of the Bury manuscript and the compiler of the Cotton manuscript must have had access to closely related sources: Poems 10–48 and 51 in the Cotton manuscript (forty of the sixty-eight items listed in Boutemy’s description) all appear scattered through the Bury manuscript in roughly the same order as they follow in Cotton.

11. Anselm was born about 1080 in Lombardy and educated in Italy and France, before being sent to Canterbury around the turn of the century. He returned to the

continent for extended periods after 1109, traveling widely on papal business before being elected abbot of St. Edmunds about 1121. It is clear he continued to spend significant amounts of time abroad even after his election and had close contact with the court of the English king, Henry I. See E. W. Williamson, ed., *The Letters of Osbert of Clare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1929), 191-200.

12. This is apparently the unique manuscript copy of the work printed (from another source now lost) in PL 171 as *Varia* 1.21. See Wilmart, "Le florilège de Saint-Gatien," 249 n. 3.

13. Poem 53 is a two-line hexameter on the symbolism of the gifts of the Magi; 54 is a long complaint against a knight that Wilmart has attributed to Serlo of Bayeux.

14. Scott, *Carmina Minora*, no. 26, pp. 17-18. One might also cite a few poems at the end of Cotton Vitellius A.xii; see Boutemy, "Cotton," 288-89 and 309-13. "Tempora prisca" is found in at least eight sources, according to Scott. The rubric in Additional 24199 is the only place where she is named: "versus ad quamdam virginem scilicet muriel." On Muriel, see Scott, *Carmina Minora*, xxvii-xxviii.

15. Scott, *Carmina Minora*, "Ad M<uriele> litteratam," 26.11-13; also PL 171.1445A-D; my translation.

16. Hilbert, ed., *Baldricus Burgulianus Carmina*, 189-90; *carmen* 137.25-28 and 35-36.

17. Serlo of Bayeux lived ca. 1050-1113. On Serlo, Baudri, Hildebert, and Muriel see J. S. P. Tatlock, "Muriel: The Earliest English Poetess," *PMLA* 48 (1933): 317-21; J. S. P. Tatlock, "The English Journey of the Laon Canons," *Speculum* 8 (1933): 454-65; André Boutemy, "Muriel: Note sur deux poèmes de Baudri de Bourgueil et de Serlon de Bayeux," *Moyen Age* 45 (1935): 241-51; André Wilmart, "L'élégie d'Hildebert pour Muriel," *Revue bénédictine* 49 (1937): 376-80.

18. Boutemy realizes the five probably should be linked, "Additional 24199," 40. The full text is edited from the two manuscripts, Cotton Titus D.xxiv and Additional 24199, and translated in Aubrey Gwynn, *The Writings of Bishop Patrick: 1074-1084*, *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae*, vol. 1 (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1955), 72-77.

19. In contrast to the only known prose work of Bishop Patrick, the *De tribus habitaculis*, which survives in over a hundred manuscripts, only one other copy of "Constet quantos" exists, this in B.L. Cotton Titus D.xxiv, which also contains texts of the other four poems attributable to Patrick. Gwynn, *Writings of Bishop Patrick*, 14.

20. Gwynn, *Writings of Bishop Patrick*, 10-14, 22.

21. Boutemy, "Additional 24199," "Septem maiores," p. 31, poem 18. For the text: Boutemy, "Cotton," pp. 304-5, poem 38.4, 12.

22. Boutemy, "Additional 24199," "Montibus Armeniae finem," p. 37, poem 23.5-6; my translation.

23. Boutemy, "Additional 24199," 23.15-18; my translation.

24. Boutemy, "Additional 24199," "Laudis honor, probitas," pp. 42-44, poem 32. At one point the speaker rebukes her critic in a way that suggests she is a woman in holy

orders of some sort: “Non est sanctorum mulierum frangere uersus” [It is not (for you) to dash to pieces the poetry of holy women] (l. 45). This verse, as an anonymous reader notes, could also mean: “It is not characteristic of holy women to dash poetry to pieces.” There is, of course, at least a possibility that this is a surviving poem by Muriel of Wilton.

25. Boutemy, “Additional 24199,” 32.37–38; my translation.

26. Boutemy, “Additional 24199,” 32.17–21; translation from Bond, *The Loving Subject*, 167.

27. Boutemy, “Additional 24199,” 32.31–34; translation from Bond, *The Loving Subject*, 169.

28. Boutemy, “Additional 24199,” 32.55–58; translation from Bond, *The Loving Subject*, 169.

29. Boutemy, “Additional 24199,” “Principibus mundi residentibus,” pp. 45–46, poem 37. This item is incorrectly numbered 36 in Boutemy’s article.

30. Boutemy, “Additional 24199,” 37.7–10; my translation.

31. Boutemy, “Additional 24199,” 37.25–28; my translation.

32. Boutemy, “Additional 24199,” “Quid misisse tibi,” p. 46, poem 38.1–2; my translation.

33. Boutemy, “Additional 24199,” “[Haec] tandem nostram,” p. 48, poem 43.1–4; my translation.

34. Boutemy, “Additional 24199,” 43.7–10; my translation.

35. Boutemy, “Additional 24199,” 43.15–16; my translation.

36. Of all the poems in the manuscript, poem 43, “[Haec] tandem nostram,” just discussed, seems to me the most closely related to the erotic group.

37. A form of *repetitio* or epanadiplosis.

38. Boutemy, “Additional 24199,” “Pingitur ales amor,” p. 51, poem 51.1–4; my translation.

39. By the twelfth century a common list of the stages in a love affair, based on the classical *lineae Veneris*, had emerged in Latin writings: “visus, colloquium, contactus, et oscula, factum.” See Siegfried Wenzel, *Verses in Sermons: Fasciculus Morum and Its Middle English Poems* (Cambridge, Mass.: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1978), 69. See also the discussion of the lyric “Spoliatum flore” (Arundel 15) in chapter 7.

40. Boutemy, “Additional 24199,” “O utinam tactu,” p. 52, poem 52.1–3; my translation.

41. Boutemy, “Additional 24199,” “Ecce tenes quod,” p. 49, poem 48. The *paelex* of line 11 can refer either to a mistress or to a male prostitute. See Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, 1288.

42. I.e., Ovid, *Tristia* 5.8.18: “et tantum constans in levitate sua est”; and Wyatt’s “Whoso list to hunt”: “For in a net I seek to hold the wind.”

43. Boutemy, “Additional 24199,” “Cara Matildis, aue,” p. 48, poem 46.7–9; my translation.

44. Boutemy, “Additional 24199,” “Nam quotiens illam,” pp. 48–49, poem 47.1–8; my translation.

45. I would like to thank here two anonymous readers of these pages whose generous commentary on these poems proved enormously helpful.

46. Boutemy, "Additional 24199," pp. 49–50, poem 49.1–8; my translation. Offermanns, *Die Wirkung Ovids*, 44, thinks the poet is a woman. The manuscript reads unambiguously in line 7 "Nonne satis lueram saevos sub amore Solinae," which I have emended. Boutemy prints "Nonne satis lueram saevo sub amore Solinae." Whether or not there is a "Solina" does not change my reading of the poem.

47. There are allusions to this in *Metamorphoses*, 14.477 and 15.769, 806; the events are recounted in *Iliad* 5.311–51. Diomedes was in love with Helen before Venus awarded her to Paris. Lines 9–18 read:

Tidides in te temeram conuertere dextram  
 Ausus, diuinam perculit ense manum. 10  
 Ipse, tui tandem pacata numinis ira,  
 Exegit uite tempora pace tua.  
 Es deprensa tuo cum Marte, sub indice Febo;  
 Vltio mouit eum: uirgo petenda deo.  
 Pace tua fateor, si me manet ultio talis, 15  
 Ipse tuas iras commeruisse uelim!  
 Et peream si non eadem sententia cunctos  
 Inducet sacra qui tua cunque colunt.

[Diomedes dared to raise his bold right hand against you,  
 and struck down the divine hand with his sword. 10  
 This very man, when the anger of your divinity had been calmed,  
 lived out the period of his life with your blessing.  
 You were caught with your Mars, by Apollo the informer,  
 revenge moved him: the maiden had to be sought by the god.  
 I admit, by your leave, that if such vengeance awaits me 15  
 I myself would like to have deserved your anger.  
 And may I perish if the same sentiment will not move all those  
 who at any time worship your rites.]

My translation.

48. Ovid tells the story in *Metamorphoses*, 4.167–273, immediately following the story of Pyramus and Thisbe.

49. Boutemy, "Additional 24199," 49.19–26; my translation.

50. Boutemy, "Additional 24199," 49.27–38; my translation.

51. Boutemy, "Additional 24199," pp. 50–51, poem 50.1–6; my translation.

52. One anonymous reader of these pages calls the poem "a mare's nest," but ventures to suggest "that *res*, throughout, refers to love, or, more specifically, the imagined fulfillment of the speaker's loving desire—'the thing itself,' as it were."

53. Boutemy, "Additional 24199," 50.7–16; my translation.

54. Boutemy, "Additional 24199," 50.17–24; my translation.



55. On the sexual sense of these words see J. N. Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary* (London: Duckworth, 1982), chaps. 2 and 3.

56. Boutemy, "Additional 24199," 50.25–28; my translation. Lines 29–32 read:

Nec rapit in tutum, sed in alta culmina montis,  
 Ac uelut in celum me male sana uehit; 30  
 Et cum uix primum possit conscendere cliuum  
 Quod gravis accessus arduitasque uetant . . .

[Nor does it snatch me to safety, but to the lofty mountain peaks,  
 and as if into heaven my raving mind conveys me. 30  
 And when at first it could hardly ascend the slope,  
 because the severe approach and the height prohibit (it) . . .]

57. Boutemy, "Additional 24199," 50.33–36; my translation. Lines 37–40 read:

Sed diffidenti mihi mens casusque uerenci  
 Atque recusanti quo uehit unda sequi,  
 Prefert: me multis sua desperatio tollit,  
 Prefert: audentem sorsque Venusque iuuant. 40

[But when I despair and fear falling,  
 and refuse to follow where the wave draws me,  
 my mind guides; its boldness undoes me in many ways.  
 It guides: both Fate and Venus assist me while I dare.] 40

58. Boutemy, "Additional 24199," 50.41–44; my translation.

59. For a complete description of the manuscript and discussion of its contents see A. G. Rigg and G. R. Wieland, "A Canterbury Classbook of the Mid–Eleventh Century (the 'Cambridge Songs' Manuscript)," *Anglo-Saxon England* 4 (1975): 113–30. One might compare later teaching manuscripts such as the thirteenth-century Glasgow Hunterian V.8.14, a collection of poetic and rhetorical treatises with illustrative poems (though no music), or the slightly earlier Cambridge U.L. Ff.1.17(1), a much smaller collection of twelfth-century lyrics set to music. See also Raby, *Secular Latin Poetry*, 1:292; and Karl Strecker, *Die Cambridger Lieder*, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1926). The most recent edition of the "Cambridge Songs" section of the manuscript is Ziolkowski, *The Cambridge Songs*. My quotations, foliation, translations, and the numbering of the texts are based on Ziolkowski's edition, which supersedes all others. Karl Breul, *The Cambridge Songs: A Goliard's Song Book of the Eleventh Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1915; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1973) provides a facsimile of the first forty-nine lyrics with facing page transliteration. For further bibliography see Ziolkowski. Gaps in the fourteenth-century numbering of the folios reveal the loss of more than half a dozen leaves since the Middle Ages; one missing leaf was recovered from a German library a few years ago. See Rigg and Wieland, "Canterbury Classbook," and Ziolkowski, *The Cambridge Songs*, 286. The recently recovered missing leaf from quire 45 is described in M. T. Gibson, M.



Lapidge, and C. Page, “Neumed Boethian *Metra* from Canterbury: A Newly Recovered Leaf of Cambridge, University Library, Gg.5.35 (the ‘Cambridge Songs’ Manuscript),” *Anglo-Saxon England* 12 (1983): 141–52.

60. On this see Rigg and Wieland, “Canterbury Classbook,” 129–30; Ziolkowski, *The Cambridge Songs*, xxiii–xxiv and xliii–liii; and Bryan Gillingham, *A Critical Study of Secular Medieval Latin Song* (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1995), 31–32. Christopher Page comments in a discussion of a somewhat older Canterbury manuscript (Oxford, Bodley MS Auct.F.I.15) containing Boethius’s *Consolation* with neumed *metra*: “it is not so easy to picture a cantor rising from the study of a metrum to sing it for the enjoyment of his fellows in the cloister or refectory. Yet increasingly manuscripts are coming to light which reveal how often this must have happened” (“The Boethian Metrum ‘Bella bis quinis’: A New Song from Saxon Canterbury,” in *Boethius: His Life, Thought, and Influence*, ed. Margaret Gibson [Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981], 307).

61. See Werner Ross, “Die Liebesgedichte im Cambridger Liederbuch (CC). Das Problem des ‘Frauenliedes’ im Mittelalter,” *Der altsprachliche Unterricht* 20, no. 2 (1977): 55; quoted in Ziolkowski, *The Cambridge Songs*, xxxvii–xxxviii. See Ziolkowski, *The Cambridge Songs*, xxx–xxxix for a detailed analysis of the contents of this section of the manuscript.

62. See Rigg and Wieland, “Canterbury Classbook,” 119. The date is the death year of Emperor Conrad II.

63. Ziolkowski, *The Cambridge Songs*, xxxvi–xxxvii. On the provenance of the poems in the lyric collection and suggestions on how the collection got to Canterbury sometime between about 1040 and 1066, see Peter Dronke, Michael Lapidge, and Peter Stotz, “Die unveröffentlichten Gedichte der Cambridger Liederhandschrift (CUL Gg.5.35),” *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 17 (1982): 54–95. They would see the manuscript as a “reference work” (56) rather than a “class-book.”

64. The seven poems are numbers 14A (“*Nam languens*”), 27 (“*Iam dulcis amica venito*”), 28 (“*Suavissima nunna*”), 39 (“*[. . .] Nosti flores carpere*”), 40 (“*Levis exurgit Zephrus*”), 48 (“*O admirabile Veneris idolum*”), and 49 (“*Veni dilectissime*”) in Strecker’s edition.

65. Dronke, *European Love-Lyric*, offers reconstructions and translations of the canceled poems “*Suavissima nunna*” (Strecker no. 28) and “*Veni dilectissime*” (Strecker no. 49) and suggests that the visible fragments of “[. . .] *Nosti flores carpere*” (Strecker no. 39) appear “to point in the direction of a Latin *romance* or *pastourelle*” (277). When the damage occurred is hard to determine, but most scholars who have studied the manuscript seem to assume the censor was a medieval critic. See Ziolkowski, *The Cambridge Songs*, 289 and 310.

66. Dronke, *European Love-Lyric*, 281.

67. John Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance, and Drama, 1050–1350* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 63.

68. The poem is the “*Modus Liebinc*,” as it is called in an eleventh-century Ger-

man manuscript (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS. 3610, codex Augustanus 80 56.16), the story of the snow child. “Modus Liebinc” means “sequence to the Liebo tune,” but the reference is obscure. See Ziolkowski, *The Cambridge Songs*, 211ff. Dronke, *European Love-Lyric*, 275–76, edits and translates the piece. He suggests the lyric was inserted in the manuscript either because it was the source of the tune to which the “Modus Liebinc” was sung or because of similarities in subject matter: both poems are in a woman’s voice and both involve snow and ships.

69. On this see Ziolkowski, *The Cambridge Songs*, 216–17, who notes the popularity of the myth of Ariadne and Theseus in the Middle Ages and points out the relevant moments in the Song of Songs (2:5, 3:1–2, 5:5–6, 5:8).

70. My suggestion here that poems 39 and 40 form a pair is a bit misleading since poem 39 is incomplete at the bottom of the page and the following leaf, the final leaf in quire 44, was excised some time *before* foliation was added in the fourteenth century. This would imply that there was originally a folio’s worth of poems between the current poems 39 and 40. See Rigg and Wieland, “Canterbury Classbook,” 116.

71. “Iam dulcis amica” appears in Wien CV 116 and Paris B.N.lat. 1118. The dating of the latter manuscript is problematic. Part of the manuscript dates from 988–96, but the folio containing “Iam dulcis amica” is likely late eleventh century. B.N.lat. 1118 is found in the Saint-Martial library by the twelfth century, though it may have been written elsewhere. See Dronke, *European Love-Lyric*, 571 and Jacques Chailley, *L’école musicale de Saint-Martial de Limoges jusqu’à la fin du XIe siècle* (Paris: Les livres essentiels, 1960), 92. On the classical echoes see Dronke, *European Love-Lyric*, 271–72 and n. 3; Strecker, *Die Cambridger Lieder*, 69–73; Offermanns, *Die Wirkung*, 64 n. 2; and Ziolkowski, *The Cambridge Songs*, 256–59.

72. See Ziolkowski, *The Cambridge Songs*, 259–60, for the various meters proposed. Here the rhythmic pattern seems to be three-stress and dactylic or anapestic, a more lilting motion than that common to Ambrosian hymns. As John Stevens notes, “many early songs” in which regular accent is not a crucial characteristic “depend on the more subtle *armonia* of the modulated line.” Stevens scans two stanzas of “Iam dulcis,” giving the poem a somewhat irregular three-stress rhythm. Stevens, *Words and Music*, 68. The music of the song has been reconstructed from the two continental versions; they are not identical, but both seem to be through-composed, that is, the melody does not repeat in a regular pattern for each strophe. Gillingham, *Critical Study*, 74–75.

73. See especially Peter Dronke, “The Song of Songs and Medieval Love-Lyric,” in *The Bible and Medieval Culture*, ed. W. Lourdaux and D. Verhelst (Louvain: Leuven University Press, 1979), 236–62.

74. The Saint-Martial version truncates the conclusion and substitutes a stanza about the transition of the world from winter to spring, perhaps a gesture designed to defuse the eroticism. Dronke believes, at any rate, that in the French manuscript version “Iam dulcis” served a sacred function, in the other two a secular one. See Raby, *Secular Latin Poetry*, 1:303 n. 1, and Dronke, *European Love-Lyric*, 272 n. 2.

75. The last two lines of the last extant strophe of "V . . ." were on a leaf, the final leaf (fol. 440) of quire 44 in the manuscript, which was excised before the fourteenth-century foliation was added. "V . . ." may have been, thus, longer than six stanzas, and there were almost certainly, at some point, a number of poems between the current 39 and 40. See Breul, *The Cambridge Songs*, 24; Rigg and Wieland, "Canterbury Class-book," 116; and Ziolkowski, *The Cambridge Songs*, 286.

76. Donald R. Howard, "Medieval Poems and Medieval Society," *Medievalia et Humanistica* 3 (1972): 103; also his "Lexicography and the Silence of the Past," in *New Aspects of Lexicography*, ed. Howard D. Weinbrot (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1972), 3-16. See Ziolkowski, *The Cambridge Songs*, 288-89, for a review of critical responses; Philip Schuyler Allen's ruminations in "Mediaeval Latin Lyrics: Part II," *Modern Philology* 6 (1908-9): 6-7, are still of historical interest.

77. The poem that follows in the manuscript, number 41, "Gaudet polus," celebrates the return to health of an unnamed queen. Poem 40, read very literally, could be seen to complement 41. Ziolkowski, *The Cambridge Songs*, 290-91.

78. Text and translation from Ziolkowski, *The Cambridge Songs*, 116-17.

79. The manuscript in fact reads unambiguously "Tu saltim uelis grá," but critics have long given up on the original and accepted the emendation made by Paul Winterfeld in 1905. Paul Winterfeld, "Hrotsvits literarische Stellung," *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 114, n.s. 14 (1905): 26; cited in Ziolkowski, *The Cambridge Songs*, 290.

80. By Dronke, *European Love-Lyric*, 274.

81. The first is Ziolkowski, *The Cambridge Songs*, 127; the second Howard, "Lexicography and Silence," 10.

82. Ziolkowski, *The Cambridge Songs*, 310.

83. Howard, "Lexicography and Silence," 10.

84. "O admirabile ueneris" is also found in Rome Vat.lat. 3227, an eleventh-century Italian manuscript "in a Lombard hand" (Dronke, *European Love-Lyric*, 552).

85. Raby, *Secular Latin Poetry*, 1:290. Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Willard R. Trask, Bollingen Series 36 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953; reprinted 1990; German original: *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter*, Bern: Francke Verlag, 1948), 114; cited in Ziolkowski, *The Cambridge Songs*, 306. See Strecker, *Die Cambridger Lieder*, 105-7, for Cambridge text; and John Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 186-87, who suggests that the river mentioned in the second stanza ("tesim" in the Cambridge MS.) should read "Athesim" for the Adige near Verona. Boswell draws here on F. J. E. Raby's notes in *The Oxford Book of Medieval Latin Verse* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1959), 140, 142, 472-73. P. S. Allen, "Mediaeval Latin Lyrics: Part I," *Modern Philology* 5 (1908): 471, calls this "the first mediaeval example of any worth of the pederastic verse so popular in the Middle Ages." See the different renderings of the poem by Ziolkowski (*The Cambridge Songs*, 124-27),

Boswell (*Christianity, Social Tolerance*, 186–87), Stehling (*Medieval Latin Poems*, 22–23 and 147), and Allen, “Mediaeval Latin Lyrics: Part I,” 471–72.

86. For *paidikon*, see Ziolkowski, *The Cambridge Songs*, 306.

### CHAPTER 3

1. On this see R. W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, vol. 1, *Foundations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), 1 and 137.

2. The Archpoet’s “*Omnia tempus habent*,” for example, ca. 1159.

3. For a list of Englishmen associated with the schools of Paris in the twelfth century see Astrik L. Gabriel, “English Masters and Students during the Twelfth Century,” in *Garlandia: Studies in the History of the Medieval University* (Notre Dame, Ind.: Mediaeval Institute, 1969), 1–37, who supplies the names of more than two dozen scholars. See also John W. Baldwin, “Masters at Paris from 1179–1215: A Social Perspective,” in Benson and Constable, *Renaissance and Renewal*, 138–72; Baldwin cites Gabriel, 150.

4. For Southern, England in the twelfth century “was a colony of the French intellectual empire, important in its way and quite productive, but still subordinate.” R. W. Southern, “The Place of England in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance,” in *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1970), 158.

5. When William Marshall overcame Norman and Angevin knights in combat, a chronicler reports that some of the French *milites* were “humiliated” to be beaten by “*uns engleis*,” an episode cited in Robert Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales: 1146–1223* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 12.

6. On this subject see Rodney M. Thomson’s excellent essay, “England and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance,” *Past and Present* 101 (1983): 3–21.

7. Southern notes the role of English-born scholars in the search for Arab scientific writing and in the production of new sorts of historical narratives (Southern, *Medieval Humanism*, 171). Surviving manuscripts of the *Timaeus* show that text being read and absorbed very early in England. Indeed, by the end of his essay Southern admits “the inadequacy of our initial description of England as a colony of the French intellectual Empire” (Southern, *Medieval Humanism*, 180).

8. Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, ed. and trans. M. R. James, revised by C. N. L. Brooke and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon, 1983), 477. For the history of Henry II’s reign see Poole, *Domesday Book*. See also Reto R. Bezzola, *La cour d’Angleterre comme centre littéraire sous les rois Angevins (1154–1199)*, pt. 3, vol. 1 of *Littérature courtoise en occident*, 13–14.

9. The passage is from Peter of Blois’s Epistle 66: “*Semper in manibus ejus sunt, arcus, enses, venabula et sagittae; nisi sit in consiliis aut in libris. Quoties enim potest a curis et sollicitudinibus respirare, secreta se occupat lectione, aut in cuneo clericorum aliquem nodum quaestionis laborat evolvere. . . . Verumtamen apud dominum regem*

Anglorum quotidiana ejus schola est litteratissimorum conversatio jugis et discussio quaestionum" (PL 207.198B-C). Translated in James Westfall Thompson, *The Literacy of the Laity in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1939), 175: "When not busy with hunting or affairs of state, he is with his books. As often as he can relax from his cares, he occupies himself with reading in private, or seeks to work out some problem or other with his clerks. At the court of the English king there is school every day, constant conversation of the best scholars, and discussion of questions." For Henry II's education and his court as a literary center see William Stubbs, *Seventeen Lectures on the Study of Mediaeval and Modern History* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1900), chap. 6, "Learning and Literature at the Court of Henry II," 132-55; H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles, *The Governance of Mediaeval England from the Conquest to Magna Carta* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1963), chap. 15, "Statecraft and Learning," 265-84; Thompson, *Literacy of the Laity*, 174-82; and Bezzola, *Cour d'Angleterre*.

10. Dronke, "Peter of Blois," 185. Unlike the more secular courts of Provence "in England there existed no division between Church and court . . . rather a meeting of clerics who wrote Latin" with poets who wrote in French. Walter F. Schirmer and Ulrich Broich, *Studien zum literarischen Patronat im England des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1962), 11.

11. Bezzola, *Cour d'Angleterre*, 18-19.

12. Bezzola, *Cour d'Angleterre*, 5. See also Dronke, "Peter of Blois," 186; and Schirmer and Broich, *Studien zum literarischen Patronat*, 200.

13. Such as Joseph of Exeter, Nigel of Longchamps, Walter of Châtillon, and Peter of Blois, as noted above. Dronke, "Peter of Blois," 188-89. Also Alfons Hilka and Otto Schumann, eds., *Carmina Burana* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1961), vol. 2, pt. 1, 73\*.

14. John of Salisbury's criticism in *Policraticus*, book 1, of the singing of pastoral love songs ("amatoria bucolicorum") in court ("apud viros graves") makes no mention of the language of the songs, but we gather that such singing was common and officially an offense to the church. Joseph B. Pike, trans., *Frivolities of Courtiers and Footprints of Philosophers* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1938), 32. For the Latin see Clement C. J. Webb, ed., *Ioannis Saresberiensis . . . Policratici sive De nugis curialium et vestigiis philosophorum* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1909).

15. See M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record in England, 1066-1307* (London: Arnold, 1979), 169.

16. Clanchy, *Memory to Written Record*, 170, where he claims 1215.

17. Gerald of Wales seems to have sincerely imagined a body of influential, courtly auditors and readers for his prose works in Latin, even if he might have had trouble defining that group's precise extent. See Clanchy, *Memory to Written Record*, 157. Around 1190, in the introduction to the first version of his *Expugnatio Hibernica*, Gerald makes a point of stressing that he composed the work in a simple Latin style for the benefit of "laymen (*laicis*) and princes not too well grounded in letters" (Thompson, *Literacy of the Laity*, 181).



18. George Duby, "The Culture of the Knightly Class: Audience and Patronage," in Benson and Constable, *Renaissance and Renewal*, 259.

19. Nicholas Orme, *English Schools in the Middle Ages* (London: Methuen, 1973), 168.

20. Orme, *English Schools*, 171.

21. Orme, *English Schools*, 172.

22. H. G. Richardson, "The Schools of Northampton in the Twelfth Century," *English Historical Review* 56 (1941): 595–605.

23. On education in eleventh-century England see Frank Barlow, *William Rufus* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983), 18–22.

24. Richardson and Sayles, *Governance of Mediaeval England*, 273. Both Henry II's sons Richard and John were evidently at ease with Latin—Gerald of Wales even records a famous incident in which Richard I corrected the Latin grammar of the archbishop of Canterbury. Ralph V. Turner, "The Miles Literatus in Twelfth and Thirteenth-Century England: How Rare a Phenomenon?" *American Historical Review* 83 (1978): 935.

25. Turner, "Miles," 929.

26. Turner and others have made it clear that the term *clericus* was essentially synonymous with *literatus* and not indicative of any particular status in the church, designating simply "a person of some scholarly attainments, regardless of whether he was a churchman." See Clanchy, *Memory to Written Record*, 179.

27. Henry I saw to the education of a number of aristocratic children: his own illegitimate son; Brian fitz Count, lord of Wallingford; the twin brothers Waleran of Meulan, earl of Worcester, and Robert, earl of Leicester. He named a son of the earl of Chester as *tutor et paedagogus* to his court. See Turner, "Miles," 936.

28. Turner, "Miles," 941.

29. Turner, "Miles," 942.

30. See Walter J. Ong, "Orality, Literacy, and Medieval Textualization," *New Literary History* 16 (1984): 1–11: "Perhaps the most distinctive features of medieval orality-literacy relations were those associated with the state of Latin vis-à-vis the vernaculars. Because of the state of Latin, the European Middle Ages had a special relationship to writing, and consequently to orality, different from that of classical antiquity and of post medieval times. The Western European Middle Ages were marked by what can be styled cultural diglossia: they used for some purposes a 'high' language, learned Latin, and for other purposes 'low' languages, the vernaculars" (4–5).

31. J. C. McKeown, *Ovid: Amores: Text and Prolegomena* (Liverpool: F. Cairns, 1988), 61. Quoted in K. Sara Myers, "Ovid's *Tecta Ars: Amores* 2.6, Programmatics and the Parrot," *Classical Views* 34, n.s. 9 (1990): 367–68.

32. Myers, "Ovid's," 374.

33. Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 32.

34. On knighthood in England in the twelfth century see John Horace Round, *Feudal England* (London: S. Sonnenschein, 1895); Austin Lane Poole, *Obligations of*

*Society in the XII and XIII Centuries* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1946); Tony Hunt, "The Emergence of the Knight in France and England, 1000–1200," in *Knighthood in Medieval Literature*, ed. W. H. Jackson (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 1981), 1–22; Ralph V. Turner, *Men Raised from the Dust* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988); and Sally Harvey, "The Knight and the Knight's Fee in England," *Past and Present* 49 (1970): 3–43. Despite problems of terminology, it is possible to outline a remarkable rise in the social status of the knightly "class" through the twelfth century.

35. Harvey, "Knight," 27.

36. One historian has reckoned that by 1258 the king could have raised only 500 fighting knights, 1,250 actual knights, including all the highest aristocrats, from a total potential ("i.e., landowners of knightly wealth") of no more than 3,000, an amount between a quarter and a half of the estimates for the end of the eleventh century. The figures are from N. Denholm-Young, "Feudal Society in the Thirteenth Century: The Knights," *History* 29 (1944): 1–12, quoted by Hunt, "Emergence," 11. In 1205 approximately 4,000 knights avoided military service by the payment of scutage (the "shield tax") or a fine—money that went to hire paid professionals. See Poole, *Obligations of Society*, 52.

37. Tony Hunt summarizes the results of these changes: "The Norman soldier thus became a landed proprietor, part of the lesser nobility, a member of a military *corps d'élite*, the possessor of expensive equipment. . . , imbued with the ethos of the chivalric code and the spirit of appropriate ceremonial, apprised of new improvements in estate management" ("Emergence," 12).

38. John F. Benton, "Nostre Franceis n'unt talent de fuïr: *The Song of Roland* and the Enculturation of a Warrior Class," *Olifant* 6 (1978–79): 248–49.

39. Tony Hunt, "L'Inspiration idéologique du *Charroi de Nîmes*," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 56 (1978): 605–6.

40. For the contents of this paragraph see Jean Flori's articles: "La notion de chevalerie dans les chansons de geste du XIIe siècle: Etude historique de vocabulaire," *Moyen Age* 81 (1975): 211–44, 407–45; "Qu'est-ce qu'un *bachelor*? Étude historique de vocabulaire dans les chansons de geste du XIIe siècle," *Romania* 96 (1975): 289–314; and "Pour une histoire de la chevalerie: L'adoubement dans les romans de Chrétien de Troyes," *Romania* 100 (1979): 21–53.

41. Flori, "Qu'est-ce qu'un," 308–9.

42. Flori's study looks at four groups of works: (1) Latin sources, including annals, chronicles and didactic works; (2) chansons de geste written before Chrétien; (3) Chrétien's romances; (4) chansons de geste from the last quarter of the twelfth century.

43. For the statistics Flori compiles on the uses of the verb *adoubier* see "Pour une histoire," 25–26.

44. Flori, "Pour une histoire," 41. Concerning the evolution of the ritual of dubbing, Flori would even suggest that Chrétien had a direct "influence sur l'évolution de ce rite et de sa signification" (43).



45. Georges Duby, *The Chivalrous Society*, trans. Cynthia Postan (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977), 120.

46. Philip inherited family lands in Wales and Ireland; his brother Robert went to Ireland with Philip; Walter was probably killed in battle against the Welsh. Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, 20, 28.

47. On William Marshall's amazing career see Duby, *The Chivalrous Society*, 113, and Keen, *Chivalry*, 20–21.

48. See C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals*, 939–1210 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 208–10. Bumke claims that “the chivalric knight of courtly literature is not explainable in terms of shifts in the class structure. It is an educational ideal of great significance, and a phenomenon of intellectual rather than of social history. The reality of the nobility of around 1200 looked quite different. . . . Poets set the ideal of chivalric virtue against this harsh reality.” Quoted in Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness*, 208–9.

49. Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness*, 235. Jaeger cites examples of works produced in the courts of Champagne, Germany, and the Angevin empire that might appear to have been commissioned, but were more likely not the result of patronage (234).

50. See Jean Leclercq, *Monks and Love in Twelfth-Century France* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1979), 8–26. This paragraph draws heavily on Leclercq. The new orders consisted principally of the Carthusians, Cistercians, Augustinian Canons, Premonstratensians, and the canons of St. Victor in Paris (9).

51. “Monks were the aristocracy of the church just as the knights were of the state. The number of religious in this period [in England] was approximately the same as the number of knights. . . . Monastic life itself was becoming increasingly military in its organization.” Clanchy, *England and Its Rulers*, 104.

52. Clanchy, *England and Its Rulers*, 106.

53. Quoted in Leclercq, *Monks and Love*, 17. The accuser was “a certain Berengar,” an apologist for Abelard. On Bernard's family see Leclercq, 16–22.

54. R. W. Southern, “The Schools of Paris and the School of Chartres,” in Benson and Constable, *Renaissance and Renewal*, 115.

55. See Southern, *Medieval Humanism*, 167–68.

56. Betty Radice, ed. and trans., *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974), 11, 58–61.

57. Radice, *Letters*, 64–65.

58. Southern, “Schools of Paris,” 123.

59. Radice, *Letters*, 58. On this passage, see Jacques LeGoff, *Pour un autre Moyen Age* (Paris: Gallimard, 1977), 183–85. LeGoff contrasts Abelard's active life as a teacher and scholar, which he relished, with the “intolerable exile” of the monastic life to which he was subjected at various times. Abelard's “milieu was the urban milieu . . . that is the direction in which he, his disciples, his rivals were constantly pushed.”

60. LeGoff, *Un autre Moyen Age*, 185.

61. Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1936), 285–87. “Both of these great institutions arose from the transference to the military and the scholastic life respectively of one of the most characteristic social and political ideas of the age—the idea of a guild or sworn brotherhood of persons following a common occupation” (287).

62. It is not clear why the Anglo-Angevin government should have drawn on the services of *magistri* in greater numbers than the French government at the turn of the century, especially since most masters were being trained in France. For discussion of this topic see Baldwin, “Masters at Paris,” 157.

63. On the nature of university education in the twelfth century see Alan B. Cobban, *The Medieval English Universities: Oxford and Cambridge to c. 1500* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988).

64. Baldwin, “Masters at Paris,” 150–51.

65. On these various factions, Charles Homer Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science*, 2d ed. (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1927), chap. 5, “Some Twelfth-Century Writers on Astronomy,” contains a section on the school of Chartres that lists the earlier historians on the subject.

66. The *Glosule* may possibly be linked to William of Champeaux at St. Victor in Paris. See Karen Margareta Fredborg, “Speculative Grammar,” in *A History of Twelfth-Century Philosophy*, ed. Peter Dronke, 177–95 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 178–80.

67. On the various schools of logic, see Martin J. Tweedale, “Logic (i): From the Late Eleventh Century to the Time of Abelard,” and Klaus Jacobi, “Logic (ii): The Later Twelfth Century,” in Dronke, *Twelfth-Century Philosophy*, 196–226 and 227–51.

68. John Baldwin’s term for loose groups of readers and writers is, like Gerald Bond’s, “circles.” See *Masters, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and His Circle*, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), 1:47–48.

69. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism*, 97–98.

70. On translations of the *Timaeus* see Stephen Gersh, *Middle Platonism and Neoplatonism: The Latin Tradition*, 2 vols. (Notre Dame, Ind.: Notre Dame University Press, 1986), 9–14. See also Tullio Gregory, “The Platonic Inheritance,” in Dronke, *Twelfth-Century Philosophy*, 54–80.

71. Gregory, “Platonic,” 56, speaking of the many works involved in the Platonic tradition, summarizes: “These texts give twelfth-century Platonism a particular complexion, in which it would be misleading to attempt to distinguish between elements deriving directly from the *Timaeus* and those originating from other authors. . . : in reality, through the texts of Latin Neoplatonism the twelfth century absorbed in an original manner a complex philosophical experience. . . , enriched with diverse elements—Aristotelian, Stoic and the Neopythagorean, Middle- and Neo-Platonic, Gnostic and Hermetic, Jewish and Christian—to form a unique cultural *koinê*.” See also Gersh, *Middle Platonism and Neoplatonism*, 48–49, for a summary of middle-Pla-

tonic and Neoplatonic sources for the Middle Ages. Raymond Klibansky's *The Continuity of the Platonic Tradition during the Middle Ages* (London: Warburg Institute, 1939; Kraus reprint, 1982) remains a very helpful overview of the material. On the problem of the complex routes of transmission of classical cosmological theories growing out of Platonism, see Michael Lapidge, "Lucan's Imagery of Cosmic Dissolution," *Hermes* 107 (1979): 344–70; "A Stoic Metaphor in Late Latin Poetry: The Binding of the Cosmos," *Latomus* 39 (1980): 817–37; and "A Problem in Stoic Cosmology," *Phronesis* 18 (1973): 240–78. M. D. Chenu's statement of the problem of Plato in the twelfth century is worth recalling: "Precisely in the area of Plato's influence, the twelfth century furnished a spectacle of the clearest debt yet with the most tangled lines of descent; . . . it becomes impossible to lay out a complete intellectual map of the developments." *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 49.

72. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism*, 58.

73. A good overview of the controversies will be found in Stephen C. Ferruolo, *The Origins of the University* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), chaps. 3–7.

74. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism*, 20.

75. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism*, 22–23.

76. Paul Edward Dutton, ed., *Glosae Super Platonem* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1991), 3. Dutton observes four periods or cycles of interest in the text: classical, twelfth century, Renaissance, modern. See also Margaret Gibson, "The Study of the 'Timaeus' in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," *Pensamiento* 25 (1969): 183–94: "So the period in which the *Timaeus* was regarded as a central text in scholarly enquiry would be circa 1050–circa 1150: approximately a century. After the mid-twelfth century the *Timaeus* ceases to arouse the same interest, whether we judge by quotations or commentaries or manuscript distribution: and it is only at a much later time . . . that the interest revives" (190).

77. Twelfth-century Platonists produced elaborate sets of glosses on other works, classical and postclassical, pagan and Christian; such as Bernardus Silvestris's commentaries on the *De nuptiis* and the *Aeneid*; William of Conches's glosses on Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*, on Macrobius, Priscian, Juvenal; Thierry of Chartres's commentaries on Cicero, Genesis, and Boethius's theological treatises.

78. These are, of course, Bernardus Silvestris's *Cosmographia*, and Alain de Lille's *De planctu naturae* and *Anticlaudianus*.

79. See below. The locus classicus for discussions of teaching in the first half of the twelfth century is John of Salisbury's *Metalogicon*.

80. From the liner notes to *Spielmann und Kleriker (um 1200)*, performed by the Sequentia Ensemble for Medieval Music (EMI 067–99 921, 1981).

81. For an indication of the extent of the corpus of Anglo-Norman love lyrics see Johan Vising, *Anglo-Norman Language and Literature* (London: Oxford University Press, 1923), 61–63, 72; and M. Dominica Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature and Its Background* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1963), chap. 13. For a collection of fifty-two Anglo-Nor-

man lyrics with translations and commentary, see David L. Jeffrey and Brian J. Levy, eds., *The Anglo-Norman Lyric: An Anthology* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1990).

82. Old efforts to show the influence of continental troubadours on English poetry mostly demonstrated how modest was the court lyric tradition there. The two studies are H. J. Chaytor, *The Troubadours and England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1923) and Jean Audiau, *Les Troubadours et L'Angleterre* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1927).

83. Chaytor, *The Troubadours and England*, 1-33.

84. Records for the London Puy date from the thirteenth century (Chaytor, *The Troubadours and England*, 27). For the example of twelfth-century Toulouse as a city that "raised and trained" troubadours, see John Hine Mundy, "Urban Society and Culture: Toulouse and Its Region," in Benson and Constable, *Renaissance and Renewal*, 235-38.

85. Chaytor, *The Troubadours and England*, 34-37.

#### CHAPTER 4

1. Paul Dutton, "Illustre Civitatis et Populi Exemplum: Plato's *Timaeus* and the Transmission from Calcidius to the End of the Twelfth Century of a Tripartite Scheme of Society," *Mediaeval Studies* 45 (1983): 117-18.

2. [Sed quamvis multos ornatum verborum quaerere, paucos veritatem scientiae cognoscamus, nihil de multitudine, sed de paucorum probitate gloriantes soli veritati insudamus. Maluimus enim praetendere nudam veritatem quam palliatam falsitatem. . . . Quis enim ullus reliquus locus potest esse ornatui, cum oporteat, quid et qualiter legamus cogitare, deinde legendo exponere, in disputationibus contra falsa declamare, de aliorum inventis iudicare, contra invidorum detractationes linguam acuere, ut iam in nobis impletum sit illud de filiis Israelis, qui reaedificantes templum in una manu gladium, in alia lapidem habebant?] Gregor Maurach, ed., *Wilhelm von Conches Philosophia* (Pretoria: University of South Africa Press, 1980), 41. My translation. The passage William alludes to is from Neh. 4:17 (2 Ezra in Vulgate).

3. [Ut ait Petronius: nos magistri in scholis soli relinquemur nisi multos palpeus et insidias auribus fecerimus. Ego vero non ita. Nam medius fidiis paucorum gratia multis mea prostitui. Sic tamen consilium meum contraxi, ut vulgus profanum et faraginem scholae petulcam excluderem. Nam simulatores ingenii exsecrando studium et professores domestici studii dissimulando magistrum, tum etiam scholasticae disputationis histriones inanum verborum pugnis armati, tales quidem mea castra sequuntur, sed extra palatium, quos sola nominis detulit aura mei, ut in partibus suis studio pellaeciae Theodoricum mentiantur.] Karin Margareta Fredborg, ed., *The Latin Rhetorical Commentaries by Thierry of Chartres* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1988), 49. My translation. On these passages see Peter Dronke, "Thierry of

Chartres,” in Dronke, *Twelfth-Century Philosophy*, 358–85, whose translations are less literal than mine (362–63).

4. Most students are, that is, drawn by Thierry’s fame, hoping to join his camp for their own benefit; few will succeed in gaining a real understanding of what he has to offer. This is how I read Thierry’s remark that the students return home to their own regions and “lie” about him.

5. Daniel D. McGarry, trans., *The Metalogicon of John of Salisbury* (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1971), 2.3, pp. 78–79. Several commentaries on the *De nuptiis* survive from the twelfth century, including ones by Alexander Nequam (ca. 1177) and Bernardus Silvestris (ca. 1130–35); a commentary by William of Conches has apparently been lost. See Daniel D. McGarry, “Educational Theory in the *Metalogicon* of John of Salisbury,” *Speculum* 23 (1948): 659–75, esp. 662. At the time of the completion of the *Metalogicon*, John was secretary to Theobald and had, in fact, taken over most of the administrative responsibilities for the archbishop, who was in failing health. John lists the names of nearly a dozen of the most important intellectuals of the mid-twelfth century with whom he studied between 1136 and 1148: Peter Abelard, Alberic of Reims, the Englishman Robert of Melun, William of Conches, Richard the Bishop (of Avranches), Thierry of Chartres, Peter Helias, Adam of Petit-Pont, Gilbert de la Porrée, and Robert Pullen. See McGarry, *Metalogicon*, xvi–xvii and 1.5, 2.10 for all this information. Details of John’s studies have been the subject of some debate, especially the sequence of his teachers in the period 1141–46 and the location of the classes he attended that were offered by William of Conches. For a bibliography of the different positions and a summary see Olga Weijers, “The Chronology of John of Salisbury’s Studies in France (*Metalogicon*, II.10),” in *The World of John of Salisbury*, ed. Michael Wilks (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984), 109–16. The result of John’s broad training by masters of varying philosophical stripes was to create a man who got along philosophically, who could assert his huge admiration for nominalist Abelard and for realist Bernard of Chartres while using Bernard of Clairvaux’s political clout to land him a good job. McGarry, *Metalogicon*, xvii, 1.5, pp. 21–22.

6. McGarry, *Metalogicon*, 1.1, p. 11.

7. McGarry, *Metalogicon*, 1.7, p. 27.

8. McGarry, *Metalogicon*, 1.7, p. 26. Ferruolo, *Origins of the University*, 144, would read this statement “cynically,” but the context—a chapter devoted to the praise of eloquence and supported by unironic quotation from Cicero, Victorinus, and Horace—suggests strongly that John means what he says: eloquence is good and useful in a life of public service. Moderate wealth, fame, and favor are the necessary adjuncts of a successful life in the courts and the schools, however dangerous they may be from a strict moral standpoint.

9. McGarry, *Metalogicon*, 1.12, p. 37.

10. At the heart of Bernard’s teaching was the grammatical study of classical poetry, its rhythm and meter, the parts of speech used, what was normal and what



unusual or barbarous in the diction. In their own daily compositions, students imitated the poetry and prose they read; they recited from memory the lessons of the previous day, and were flogged when they failed to perform. Bernard was master of the cathedral school of Chartres in 1117 and chancellor in 1124. McGarry, *Metalogicon*, 1.24, p. 71. He died ca. 1130, half a dozen years before John got to Paris. John quotes from him on several occasions, most notably from his platonizing verse in *Metalogicon* 4.35. His work survives today only in the recently discovered glosses on the *Timaeus*. See Paul E. Dutton, “The Uncovering of the *Glosae Super Platonem* of Bernard of Chartres,” *Mediaeval Studies* 46 (1984): 192–221. Bernard of Chartres should not be confused with Bernardus Silvestris, author of the *Cosmographia* and several extant commentaries. As Paul Dutton points out in the introduction to his edition of Bernard’s commentary on the *Timaeus*, the *Glosae Super Platonem*, John’s report of Bernard’s teaching comes at the remove of a whole generation and is colored by John’s own sentimental vision of a better time fifty years earlier:

John seems to have thought that Bernard belonged to an age very different from his own, a quieter, less controversial time at the century’s beginning. There is more than a little nostalgia in the *Metalogicon* when John turns to his description of Bernard in confident control of his classroom, lecturing and enlightening even the dullest of his charges.

Dutton, *Glosae Super Platonem*, 45.

11. McGarry, *Metalogicon*, 1.24, pp. 66–67. McGarry, “Educational Theory,” 661–62, lists over sixty sources for the *Metalogicon*, including most major classical and late antique authors: “A full list of the sources of the *Metalogicon* reads much as might an index for a combined abridged edition of the Teubner series and the *Patrologiae . . . latina*” (661).

12. Written probably between 1125 and 1135; this is the range of dates suggested in Dronke, *Twelfth-Century Philosophy*, 446. Haijo Jan Westra, ed., *The Commentary on Martianus Capella’s De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii Attributed to Bernardus Silvestris* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1986), would allow a date as late as 1150 (17–20). Though there is still some question about the authorship of both works, Bernardus remains the best candidate.

13. “[This book] truly is the imitation of an author, because it imitates Virgil. Just as according to him Aeneas is led through infernal regions by his companion the Sibyl all the way to Anchises, so here Mercury is led through the regions of the earth by his companion Virtue to Jove. So, too, wherever in the book *The Consolation of Philosophy* Boethius ascends through false goods to the highest good with Philosophy as his guide” [Auctoris vero imitatio est, quia Maronem emulatur. Sicut enim apud illum ducitur Eneas per inferos comite Sibilla usque ad Anchisem, ita et hic Mercurius per mundi regiones Virtute comite ad Iovem. Ita quoque et in libro *De Consolatione* scandit Boetius per falsa bona ad summum bonum duce Philosophia]. Westra, *Commentary*, 2.114–18, p. 47; my translation.

14. [in prohemio *Rethoriconum* asserit Tullius eloquentiam sine sapientia multum obesse, sapientiam vero sine eloquentia parum prodesse.] Westra, *Commentary*, 2.125–27, p. 47; my translation.

15. In his introduction to study, Bernardus looks beyond the seven arts to a more complete scheme of human knowledge, invoking a little creation myth to explain how the four branches of *scientia* compensate for human inadequacies: “*Scientia* is the knowledge of intelligible things. . . . This is the reason why four disciplines suffice to divide [*scientia*]*—four evils infest our nature: ignorance, silence, vice, [physical] infirmity. Silence is the ignorance of speaking; vice is such things as lechery and greed; infirmity is such as to hunger, to thirst, to be cold. Against these four evils there are placed the same number of remedies: knowledge against ignorance, eloquence against silence, virtue against vice, well-being against infirmity. Wisdom was devised to wipe out evil and preserve the good. . . . Wisdom indeed puts ignorance to flight by creating knowledge. Eloquence fights silence establishing fluency [of speech]. Poetry wipes out vice and instills virtue. The mechanical arts repel infirmity by obtaining well-being*” [*Scientia est igitur rerum comprehensibilium agnitio. . . . Quare autem hee quatuor discipline eam sufficienter partiantur, hec ratio est. Naturam nostram quatuor infestant mala: ignorantia, silentium, viciu[m], defectus. Silentium autem dico imperitiam fandi; vitium vero ut luxuriam, avaritiam; defectum ut esurire, sitire, algere. His quatuor malis totidem remedia contrapposita sunt: ignorantie agnicio, silentio facundia, vitio virtus, defectui valitudo. Quia vero reperte sunt scientie pro malis exstirpandis et conservandis bonis. . . . Sapientia enim fugat ignorantiam formans agnitionem. Eloquentia pellit silentium comparans facundiam. Poesis extirpat viciu[m] inserens virtutem. Mecania amovet defectum assequens valitudinem*]. Westra, *Commentary*, 3.889–905, p. 78; my translation. *Sapientia* (of which the quadrivium is only a subset) fights ignorance; *eloquentia* (the trivium) opposes the silence created by an inability to communicate; *poesis* becomes the source of virtue (usurping for a moment the “practical” arts of ethics); mechanical arts foster physical well-being.

16. [Poesis vero est scientia claudens in metro orationem gravem et illustrem. . . . Universaliter autem poema bonorum malorumque exempla proponit. Unde poeseos est . . . vicia eradicare et virtutes inserere.] Westra, *Commentary*, 3.971–72, 3.982–85, pp. 80–81; my translation.

17. [Notandum est in disciplinis certum ordinem statutum esse. . . . Prima enim studii rudimenta poesis suscipere debet, ut etiam in genere lingue Grece, vel Latine, vel Hebraice, vel cuius erit, poemata proposita erudiamur et ad capienda altiora preparemur. Unde poetarum scripta “nutricinias” dicit Macrobius.] Westra, *Commentary*, 6.3–9, p. 130; my translation.

18. [Circe enim . . . temporalis opulentie vocabulum est. Tunc namque bene homines laborasse dicimus quando terram fructibus opulentam cernimus. Ulixes vero . . . quis alius est quam qui sibi omnium vendicat scientiam, scilicet philosophus? Hunc Circe philosophiam docet, dum eum opulentia . . . ad scrutandas rerum naturas promovet. Poculo alii humanam formam exuunt dum haustu temporalis boni usum ratio-



nis perdunt. Ferino vultu deturpantur dum irrationalitate corrumpuntur.] Westra, *Commentary*, 4.247–56, p. 92; my translation. For William of Conches's very similar analysis of the story based on his discussion of Boethius's *Consolation* 4, *metrum* 3, see A. J. Minnis and A. Brian Scott, eds., *Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism*, c.1100–c.1375 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988), 126–30.

19. Cf. Baudri of Bourgueil's comparison of the Countess Adèle of Blois to Circe in his *carmen* 134.81. Hilbert, *Baldricus Burgulianus Carmina*.

20. [Philosophia quidem exteriorem corporis nequaquam attendens compositionem pro interna natura hominem vel deum vel feram iudicat aliquam substantiam. Hominem enim reputat rationalem, mortalem, rationalem non iudicans usu rationis carentem.] Westra, *Commentary*, 4.257–61, p. 92; my translation.

21. This is essentially what is offered to the virtuous man in Macrobius's commentary on the *Dream of Scipio*: "At this point Scipio had almost put behind him his mortal nature and purged his mind; and now, finally prepared to assume his true nature, he is here clearly told to realize that he is a god. This is also the consummation of the present treatise: to make it clear that the soul is not only immortal but is a god." W. H. Stahl, ed. and trans., *Macrobius: Commentary on the Dream of Scipio* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), 223.

22. "But see how weak was the power of the goddess and her impotent herbs. She had power over the bodies of men, but could not change their hearts."

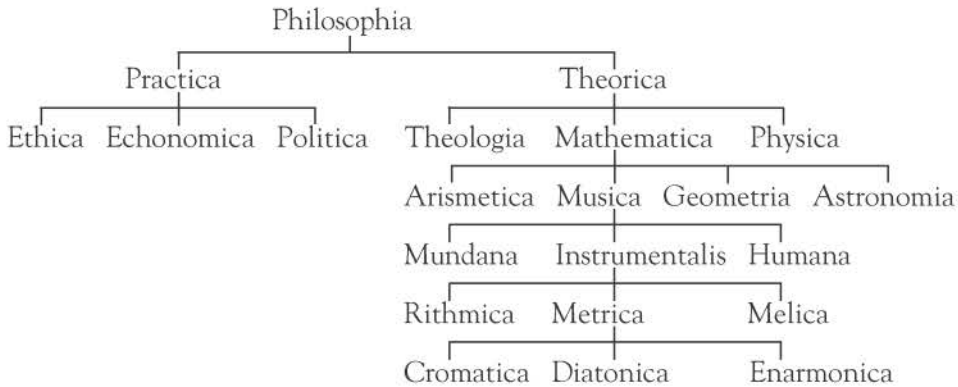
[O leuem nimium manum  
Nec potentia gramina,  
Membra quae ualeant licet,  
Corda uertere non ualent!]

Boethius, *Consolation of Philosophy*, trans. Richard Green (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1962), 83–84. Boethius, *De consolazione philosophiae*, bk. 4, *metrum* 3, ll. 29–32, H. F. Stewart and E. K. Rand, eds. and trans., *Boethius: The Theological Tractates and The Consolation of Philosophy*, Loeb Classical Library (1918).

23. Thierry of Chartres notes in his *Commentum super Boethii librum de Trinitate*, 2.6.68–69, that "those who are able to know things in their purity are to be counted gods among the rest of men" [Qui vero res in puritate sua intelligere possunt inter homines ceteros quasi dii reputandi sunt]. In Nikolaus M. Häring, ed., *Commentaries on Boethius by Thierry of Chartres and His School* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute, 1971), 70.

24. William of Conches also formulated an educational paradigm out of the oratorical theorizing of Cicero, the allegory of Martianus Capella, and the belletristic metaphors used by Abelard. Paraphrasing (in the prologue to the *Philosophia mundi*) the opening statement of Cicero's *De inventione*, William begins with a reminder that "eloquence without wisdom [*sapientia*] is harmful, but wisdom without eloquence is not enough." To separate the two dissolves "the marriage of Mercury and Philology, which was sought with such effort by Virtue and Apollo, and approved by the complete assembly of the gods; it is ever to sharpen a sword, but never to strike with it in battle."

Maurach, *Wilhelm von Conches Philosophia*, 17. In the prologue to his later glosses on the *Timaeus*, William fleshes out a scheme of philosophy that shows his close ties to Bernardus Silvestris's way of organizing human wisdom. William in this context ignores eloquence, but gives a full breakdown of the active and contemplative arts. He differs from Bernardus only in the terminology he uses for the division of *practica* and in his interest in musical subdisciplines:



The *Timaeus*, as probably the most important scientific text to survive from antiquity, covers all the areas of scientific study, and so a familiarity with all of them is necessary for an understanding of what Plato has to say (Édouard Jeuneau, ed., *Guillaume de Conches: Glosae Super Platonem* [Paris: J. Vrin, 1965], 60–62). See also Maurach, *Wilhelm von Conches Philosophia*, 115–16, where William discusses the correct order of study from grammar, through all the seven liberal arts, to theology.

25. [Principio vero doctrinae adolescentia est conveniens. . . . Terminus vero doctrinae est mors.] Maurach, *Wilhelm von Conches Philosophia*, 115; my translation. To which William adds the story of a nonagenarian philosopher who was asked on his deathbed if he was sad to die. “Yes,” he answered, “because I was just beginning to learn.”

26. Earl G. Schreiber and Thomas E. Maresca, trans., *Commentary on the First Six Books of Virgil's Aeneid by Bernardus Silvestris* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), 39.

27. [Hesperus est stella serenissima tanta claritate, ut ait Marcianus, alias excedens quod sola preter duo luminaria solis et lune fulgorem radiorum emittit. . . . Ipsa enim est clara, luna clarior, sol clarissimus. Per hanc ergo accipe poesim que ad comparisonem mechanie clara est, sicut illa stella comparatione aliarum. Clarior est eloquentia poesi, clarissima philosophia. Ita ergo in hoc libro per illam stellam claram intellige poesim claram, per lunam clariorem eloquentiam clariorem, per Phebum clarissimum philosophiam clarissimam. Litus ergo Hesperium est incoatio poetici studii.] For the English, Schreiber and Maresca, *Commentary*, 35–36; for the Latin, Julian Ward Jones and Elizabeth Frances Jones, eds., *The Commentary on the First Six Books of the Aeneid Commonly Attributed to Bernardus Silvestris* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1977), 33–34.

28. Schreiber and Maresca, *Commentary*, 39.

29. Schreiber and Maresca, *Commentary*, 51.

30. Schreiber and Maresca, *Commentary*, 85. The shift from labor to quietude parallels the shift from a concern with the study of *practica* to a concern with *theorica*. The wise man is one who finally "in taking up divine matters transcends temporal goods" (101), but who has already cultivated all "nine acres" of wisdom before advancing, i.e., "the nine sciences: three each of eloquence, theory, and practice" (103).

31. Such a conception is at least as old as Seneca's "Ad Serenum: De Otio," where they are called *voluptas*, *contemplatio*, and *actio*. "De Otio," 7.1. John W. Basore, ed. and trans., *Seneca: Moral Essays*, 3 vols., Loeb Classical Library (1965), 180-210. Seneca, unlike the medieval commentators, claims all three sorts of life have value. See also Ivan Illich, *In the Vineyard of the Text: A Commentary to Hugh's Didascalicon* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 62.

32. J. A. Weisheipl, "Classification of the Sciences in Medieval Thought," *Mediaeval Studies* 27 (1965): 54-90; see also Charles Jourdain, "Des commentaires inédits de Guillaume de Conches et Nicholas Triveth sur la *Consolation* de Boèce," *Notices et extraits* . . . 20, no. 2 (1862): 40-82, who prints William's commentary on bk. 1, *prosa* 1, on pages 72-74 in the appendix to the article. Alastair Minnis, "Aspects of Medieval French and English Traditions of the *De Consolatione Philosophiae*," in Gibson, *Boethius*, 320. Boethius, *Consolation* (Green, trans.), 4. Also Stewart and Rand, *Boethius*, Loeb Classical Library. Jourdain, "Des commentaires inédits," 73.

33. [in superiore huius operis parte diximus alias otiosas, alias negotiosas esse virtutes, et illas philosophis, has rerum publicarum rectoribus convenire, utrasque tamen exercentem facere beatum. hae virtutes interdum dividuntur, non numquam vero miscentur, cum utrarumque capax et natura et institutione animus invenitur.] For the English see Stahl, *Macrobius*, 244; for the Latin see James Willis, ed., *Ambrosii Theodosii Macrobii Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis*, vol. 2 of *Macrobius* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1970), 2.151.

34. Stahl, *Macrobius*, 244-45. When the Neoplatonists absorbed the three goddesses into their thinking, they did so under the influence of a related theoretical triad, that of the three ancient schools of thought—the Academic or Platonic, the Stoic, and the Epicurean—associated respectively with the philosophical, the active, and the lascivious life. This way of schematizing the possible forms of human conduct came, at least in part, through three major channels: (1) the works of Fulgentius; (2) Boethius's *Consolation*; and perhaps also (3) Cicero's *De finibus bonorum et malorum* and *De natura deorum*, which offer a good deal of information on all three schools. See John of Salisbury, *Frivolities of Courtiers*, bk. 7, 218-22, for John's support of Academic doubting and his view of the Academy's position as a moderate school of thought founded by Plato. Leslie George Whitbread, ed. and trans., *Fulgentius the Mythographer* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1971), 141-43, discusses these influences.

35. James Willis, ed., *Martianus Capella* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1983), 4.16-18; William Harris Stahl and Richard Johnson, eds. and trans., *Martianus Capella and the*

*Seven Liberal Arts*, 2 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), 2:7; Westra, *Commentary*, 6.66off., pp. 151ff.

36. [Ibidem inter tres deas certamen oritur quia in tribus vite generibus quid cui precellat, dubitatio habetur. Hec autem sunt: practica vita, theorica, filargica. Est autem practica idem quod activa quia in negotiis consistit. Theorica vero, id est contemplativa vita, est suspendium animi a terrenis coniunctum archanorum nature investigatione; filargica vero est voluptuosa vita, appetitus carnalis corruptele absque reputatione honesti. Primam exercent prelati, secundam philosophi, terciam Epicurei.] Westra, *Commentary*, 6.678–85, p. 151; my translation.

37. Westra, *Commentary*, 6.689–90, pp. 151–52. “Iuvat novos” could also mean simply “she assists the inexperienced.”

38. Stahl and Johnson, *Martianus Capella*, 2:16 n. 50.

39. [Sicut per montes contemplatores, ita per campos practicos significat fabula, qui in inferioribus se deiciunt et plures fructus quam theorici ferunt.] Westra, *Commentary*, 10.307–9, p. 234; my translation.

40. The story is from Gen. 29:16ff.

41. [Erat enim Rachel acute visionis set sterilis, Lia vero lipa et fecunda. Rachel enim, quod videns principium interpretatur, est theorica qua Deus omnium finis et initium videtur. Hec acute intuetur, set non parit, quia invisibilia videt, set temporalia commoda nobis <non> tribuit. Lia vero, que laboriosa interpretatur, celestia non videt, set quot commoda negotia, tot filios habet.] Westra, *Commentary*, 10.310–16, p. 234; my translation.

42. [In ubere itaque campi Talia moratur quia in opulenti negotiis activi virtus geminatur. Qui enim in his negociis sapienter se vexerant experimento et exercitio, virtutes virtutibus accumulunt.] Westra, *Commentary*, 10.316–19, p. 234; my translation.

43. Westra, *Commentary*, 10.321–22, p. 234.

44. [Hic demum Israel, id est “videns Deum” fiet, cum ab accione ad contemplationem se convertet.] Westra, *Commentary*, 10.321–22, p. 234; my translation.

45. Martianus says that Thalia can’t leave the earth because “uector eius cycnus impatiens oneris atque etiam subuolandi alumna stagna petierat” [the swan which was to carry her was indisposed to carry its burden or even to fly upward and had gone to find the lakes which were its home]. Stahl and Johnson, *Martianus Capella*, 2:16; Willis, *Martianus Capella*, 13.8–9. This, Bernardus explains as a conclusion to the Leah and Rachel digression, shows that the swan “est animus hominis qui ascensum ad celestia horrens ad pristinas voluptates refertur” [is the soul of man that, dreading the ascent to heavenly things, is brought back to previous pleasures]. Westra, *Commentary*, 10.323–24, p. 235; my translation.

46. Hugh of St Victor (*Didascalicon*, bk. 3, chap. 14), similarly, cites the story of David and Abisag the Sunamite woman to show that wisdom will keep the learned man warm in old age. Quoted in Illich, *Vineyard of the Text*, 53.

47. On the dates of the three works see Winthrop Wetherbee, trans., *The Cos-*

*mographia of Bernardus Silvestris* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973), 20; James J. Sheridan, trans., *Alan of Lille: The Plaint of Nature* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1980), 31–35; and *Alan of Lille: Anticlaudianus* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute, 1973), 24–25.

48. The *Cosmographia*, coming as it does before midcentury, may antedate much of the lyric poetry under discussion here, but it is unlikely that both of Alain de Lille's long poems were completed before the lyrics attributed to Peter of Blois. Peter Dronke, for instance, has suggested a date in the late 1150s for many of the latter's poems, though it seems possible that Peter was still writing love poetry a bit later, perhaps in the late 1160s. See R. W. Southern, "Peter of Blois: A Twelfth Century Humanist?" *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1970), 120–21. See chapter 7 of this book. The *Anticlaudianus* almost certainly postdates most of the poems of concern here, with the possible exception of some of the Ovidian rhetorical verses found in the big Glasgow handbook of rhetoric (Glasgow Hunterian V.8.14). In any event, establishing precedence is not crucial.

49. For the English, Wetherbee, *Cosmographia*, 66; for the Latin, Peter Dronke, ed., *Bernardus Silvestris Cosmographia* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978), 95.

50. Wetherbee, *Cosmographia*, 68; Dronke, *Bernardus Silvestris Cosmographia*, 98.

51. Wetherbee, *Cosmographia*, 67; Dronke, *Bernardus Silvestris Cosmographia*, 97.

52. Wetherbee, *Cosmographia*, 87; Dronke, *Bernardus Silvestris Cosmographia*, 117.

53. Wetherbee, *Cosmographia*, 74; Dronke, *Bernardus Silvestris Cosmographia*, 102.

54. Wetherbee, *Cosmographia*, 75; Dronke, *Bernardus Silvestris Cosmographia*, 103.

55. Wetherbee, *Cosmographia*, 69; Dronke, *Bernardus Silvestris Cosmographia*, 98–99.

56. "For as Noys is forever pregnant of the divine will, she in turn informs Endelechia with the images she conceives of the eternal patterns, Endelechia impresses them upon Nature, and Nature imparts to Imarmene what the well-being of the universe demands. Endelechia supplies the substance of souls, and Nature is the artisan who compounds bodies, the dwelling places of souls, out of the qualities and materials of the elements. Imarmene, who stands for temporal continuity, in its aspect as a principle of order, disposes, joins together, and rejoins the universe of things thus comprised" [Sicut enim divine voluntatis semper est pregnans, sic exemplis eternarum quas gestat imaginum Noys Endelichiam, Endelichia Naturam, Natura Imarmenen quid mundo debeat informavit. Substantiam animis Endelichia subministrat; habitaculum anime, corpus, artifex Natura de initiorum materiis et qualitate conponit; Imarmene, que continuatio temporis est, et ad ordinem constituta, disponit, textit et retextit que complectitur universa]. Wetherbee, *Cosmographia*, 90; Dronke, *Bernardus Silvestris Cosmographia*, 120.

57. On this point see Gersh, *Middle Platonism and Neoplatonism*, 562–64.

58. Wetherbee, *Cosmographia*, 109; Dronke, *Bernardus Silvestris Cosmographia*, 137.

59. Dronke, *Bernardus Silvestris Cosmographia*, 171. Dronke makes a good case for “Gramision” as preferable to the more commonly found “Granusion.”

60. Wetherbee, *Cosmographia*, 111; Dronke, *Bernardus Silvestris Cosmographia*, 138.

61. Wetherbee, *Cosmographia*, 113; Dronke, *Bernardus Silvestris Cosmographia*, 141.

62. “with masterly and prudent skill, the masterwork of powerful Nature” [artifici circumspectoque politu / Fabrica Nature primipotentis]. Wetherbee, *Cosmographia*, 123; Dronke, *Bernardus Silvestris Cosmographia*, 150.

63. “Just as the sun, the world’s eye, excels its companion stars and claims as its own all below the firmament, even so the sight overshadows the other senses in glory; the whole man is expressed in this sole light . . . [and] the wise and learned letter would perish if man existed with deaf ears.”

Sol, oculus mundi, quantum communibus astris  
 Preminet, et celum vindicat usque suum,  
 Non aliter sensus alios obscurat honore  
 Visus, et in solo lumine totus homo est. . .  
 . . . docilis prudensque periret  
 Littera, si surdis auribus esset homo.

Wetherbee, *Cosmographia*, 123–24. Dronke, *Bernardus Silvestris Cosmographia*, 151–52.

64. Wetherbee, *Cosmographia*, 125; Dronke, *Bernardus Silvestris Cosmographia*, 153.

65. Wetherbee, *Cosmographia*, 126; Dronke, *Bernardus Silvestris Cosmographia*, 154.

66. Wetherbee, *Cosmographia*, 126; Dronke, *Bernardus Silvestris Cosmographia*, 154.

67. Wetherbee, *Cosmographia*, 126; Dronke, *Bernardus Silvestris Cosmographia*, 154. On the *genii* see Wetherbee, *Cosmographia*, 44, and *Platonism and Poetry in the Twelfth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), 181–83. See also Brian Stock, *Myth and Science in the Twelfth Century: A Study of Bernard Silvester* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), 218–19.

68. See also the eighth book of the “Microcosmos” for a similar depiction of the sequences of life and death. Wetherbee, *Cosmographia*, 109–10; Dronke, *Bernardus Silvestris Cosmographia*, 137–38.

69. Wetherbee, *Cosmographia*, 126; Dronke, *Bernardus Silvestris Cosmographia*, 154.

70. Wetherbee, *Platonism and Poetry*, 184. Wetherbee, *Cosmographia*, 164 n. 108, cites several theories for the identity of the “duos Genios” referred to in the metrum: “tutelary spirits of marriage,” or the “masculine and feminine aspects of creativity



latent in man," or (Wetherbee's own notion) as a metaphor for the "all-pervading 'motus' toward fulfillment." From the syntax of the passage, it is not clear whether the "duos Genios" are exactly the same as the "geminis fratribus," or completely separate, or different aspects of the same thing. In the context of this detailed anatomical description, one is tempted to see the twin brothers simply as the testicles and the agents of the two *genii*. When Bernardus Silvestris alludes to Genius in his commentary on the *Aeneid* he does so in the singular and quotes Horace's *Epistles*: "No one is without natural concupiscence. Whence one reads in poems that there is a certain genius, a god of human nature, which is born and dies with a man, as Horace says: 'a god of mortal human nature in each head' (*Epistles* 2.2 188-89). We understand that to be the natural appetite which dominates human nature" [Nemo enim sine sua naturali concupiscentia est. Unde in poematibus legitur genium quendam, naturalem deum humane nature, esse qui nascitur cum homine et moritur, unde Horatius: "Nature deus humane mortalis in unum / Quodque capud." Quem intelligimus esse naturalem concupiscentiam que in humana natura dominatur]. Schreiber and Maresca, *Commentary*, 54; Jones and Jones, *Commentary*, 54. The full text of the citation from Horace suggests that Bernardus might have twinned Genius here in response (1) to the two testicles he is alluding to and (2) to the double nature ("white and black") of Genius in Horace's lines:

scit Genius, natale comes qui temperat astrum,  
 naturae deus humanae, mortalis in unum  
 quodque caput, vultu mutabilis, albus et ater.

[Why so, the Genius alone knows—that companion who rules our star of birth, the god of human nature, though mortal for each single life, and changing in countenance, white or black.]

H. Rushton Fairclough, ed. and trans., *Horace: Satires, Epistles, and Ars Poetica*, Loeb Classical Library (1926), 438-39.

71. See especially Wetherbee, *Cosmographia*, 90; Dronke, *Bernardus Silvestris Cosmographia*, 119-20.

72. [Trina igitur tribus superincunbit opera, cuique sua. Compositio anime: ex Endelichia, et virtutum edificatione; corporis, ex materie preparatione; utrorumque corporis et anime formativa concrecio, de celestis ordinis emulatione. Prior igitur ad Uraniam, secunda ad Physim, tertia ad te, o Natura, dinoscitur pertinere.] Wetherbee, *Cosmographia*, 114; Dronke, *Bernardus Silvestris Cosmographia*, 142.

73. [Vivebant ydee, vivebant exemplaria, rerum species, nullo nata tempore, nulloque in tempore desitura. . . . (Id est) mens eterna, in qua sensus ille profundissimus. . . . Illic unde species, unde forme substantiis obveniunt, et que quatinus miro quodam modo ydearum impressione signantur. . . . non communibus literis, verum caractere notisque conscriptus, . . . (et) non aliud quam qui de rebus se ingerit et compellat memoriam intellectus, ratione sepe veridica, sed probabili sepius coniectura.] Wetherbee, *Cosmographia*, 114-16; Dronke, *Bernardus Silvestris Cosmographia*, 142-44. This



marks a difficult moment in the *Cosmographia*, with a tangled critical history that it is not necessary to sort out in detail here. Wetherbee (*Cosmographia*, 162 n. 75) finds “the most likely source of this motif is the ‘speculum Uraniae’ (in most manuscripts ‘Aniae’) bestowed upon Psyche by Sophia in *De nuptiis* 1.7 (Willis, *Martianus Capella*, 4) which confers upon the soul the capacity for self-knowledge and the consequent desire to recover its original state. . . . The three gifts, the Mirror, the Table and the Book, may perhaps be taken as an ahistorical counterpart to the idea of the stages of revelation, natural, scriptural, and Christian as presented by Hugh of St. Victor in the *De Sacramentis*. . . . In *Laud Misc.* 515 they are glossed as theology, astronomy, and physics.” My view of them as stages in a Neoplatonic descent is, I think, supported by the hierarchy of studies given by the *Laud* gloss: divine, astral, earthly.

74. See Peter Dronke, *Fabula: Explorations into the Uses of Myth in Medieval Platonism* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974), 124–25.

75. Wetherbee, *Cosmographia*, 66; Dronke, *Bernardus Silvestris Cosmographia*, 95.

76. Jan Ziolkowski, *Alan of Lille’s Grammar of Sex: The Meaning of Grammar to a Twelfth-Century Intellectual* (Cambridge, Mass.: Medieval Academy of America, 1985), 42.

77. Ziolkowski, *Alan*, finds in the *De planctu* “an assumption that Alan leaves unspoken throughout [the work]: grammar, the ordering of human verbal expression, is a vital midpoint on a continuum leading ultimately to the word of God” (44).

78. *Natura* stands as a depiction of cosmological harmony and moderation—hair, face, figure, all reveal “harmonious mixture”; she glows, carrying the stars and planets as a crown. Though a virgin—“the key of Dione’s daughter had not opened the lock of her chastity” [non Dionea clausis eius sigillum reserauerat castitatis]—she is a sexual creature whose lips “challenged the recruits in Venus’ army to kiss them” [Veneris tirones inuitabant ad oscula], whose firm breasts showed her youth and whose “other things which an inner chamber hid from view, let a confident belief declare . . . were [even] more beautiful” [Cetera uero que thalamus secretior absentabat, meliora fides esse loquatur]. For the English see Sheridan, *The Complaint of Nature*, 75; for the Latin see Nikolaus M. Häring, “Alan of Lille, ‘De planctu naturae,’” *Studi Medievali*, 3d ser. 19 (1978): 809.

79. [homo, sensualitatis deponens segniciem, directa ratiocinationis aurigatione, celi penetrabat archana.] Sheridan, *The Complaint of Nature*, 98; Häring, “Alan of Lille,” 817.

80. Sheridan, *The Complaint of Nature*, 143; Häring, “Alan of Lille,” 839.

81. Sheridan, *The Complaint of Nature*, 163–64; Häring, “Alan of Lille,” 849. Sheridan translates *cupido* as “Desire.” George Economou, *The Goddess Natura in Medieval Literature* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972) notes that the idea of the two Venuses (*legitima* vs. *impudica* or *caelestis* vs. *scelestis*) was a commonplace by the mid-twelfth century, but makes much of Alain’s originality in attributing “both sets of qualities to one Venus,” combining “both senses of Venus as two dispositions within a single figure” (86). As Sheridan points out, the reasons for Venus’s perversion from

Natura's plan are never fully addressed. Sheridan, *The Complaint of Nature*, 147 n. 44. See also Winthrop Wetherbee, "The Literal and the Allegorical: Jean de Meun and the *De Planctu Naturae*," *Mediaeval Studies* 33 (1971): 264–91, esp. 273–74.

82. Sheridan, *The Complaint of Nature*, 148; Häring, "Alan of Lille," 842. Cupid is much like God in his indescribability. In book 5 of the *Anticlaudianus*, God is called "the just without justice, living without life, beginning without beginning . . . lasting without time, abiding without abode." Sheridan, *Anticlaudianus*, 141.

83. Sheridan, *The Complaint of Nature*, 149 and 149 n. 1; Häring, "Alan of Lille," 842.

84. A history stretching from Rome through "its heyday [in] the Middle Ages," as John Alford has noted: "Far from being a curiosity or the aberration of a few individual writers, the grammatical metaphor is—both as ornament and as argument—an important clue to the medieval mentality." John Alford, "The Grammatical Metaphor: A Survey of Its Use in the Middle Ages," *Speculum* 57 (1982): 760. For the history of the use of the grammatical metaphor see Alford; Sheridan, *The Complaint of Nature*, 68 n. 3; Paul Lehmann, *Die Parodie im Mittelalter*, 2d ed. (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1963), 107–10 and 223–24; and Ziolkowski, *Alan*. Alain's originality lies in his appropriation of the tradition and his development of it along lines suggested by the ideas and structure of the *Cosmographia*.

85. Sheridan, *The Complaint of Nature*, 131–34; Häring, "Alan of Lille," 833–34.

86. [uolens ut nascendi occidendique mutue relationis circuitu per instabilitatem stabilitas, per finem infinitas, per temporalitatem eternitas, rebus occiduis donaretur rerumque series seriata reciprocatione nascendi iugiter texeretur.] Sheridan, *The Complaint of Nature*, 145; Häring, "Alan of Lille," 840.

87. Sheridan, *The Complaint of Nature*, 108; Häring, "Alan of Lille," 821. As Sheridan notes (156 n. 7) the notion of *subvicaria* of the gods functioning as secretaries appears in Martianus, *De nuptiis*, 1.65. Stahl and Johnson, *Martianus Capella*, 2:24–25; Willis, *Martianus Capella*, 19.20–22. It is possible that Alain had something of that in mind when he developed his allegory.

88. [quia mee scripture calamus exorbitatione subita deuiaret, nisi supremi Dispensatoris digito regeretur.] Sheridan, *The Complaint of Nature*, 146; Häring, "Alan of Lille," 840.

89. [Ad officium etiam scripture calamum praepotentem eidem fueram elargita, ut in competentibus cedulis . . . rerum genera figuraret, ne a proprie descriptionis semita in falsigraphie deuia eumdem deuagari minime sustineret.] Sheridan, *The Complaint of Nature*, 156; Häring, "Alan of Lille," 845–46.

90. [totus orbis in natiue Veneris fere generali periclitatur incendio.] Sheridan, *The Complaint of Nature*, 169; Häring, "Alan of Lille," 852.

91. For this topos see Curtius, *European Literature*, 98–101.

92. [in qua stili obsequentis subsidio imagines rerum ab umbra picture ad ueritatem sue essentie transmigrantes, uita sui generis munerabat. Quibus delectionis morte sopitis, noue natiuitatis ortu alias reuocabat in uitam.] Sheridan, *The Complaint of Nature*, 216; Häring, "Alan of Lille," 876.

93. See Winthrop Wetherbee, “The Function of Poetry in the *De planctu naturae* of Alain de Lille,” *Traditio* 25 (1969): 115. Genius, operating at a higher ontological level than the human, decorates with images, not with written words.

94. Notably in *metrum* 4 where Natura is said to work “on the pure ideas of Noys” [Noys puras recolens ideas]. Sheridan, *The Complaint of Nature*, 128; Häring, “Alan of Lille,” 831.

95. The twin figures of Desire and Sport (who have an ontological status equivalent to Genius) suggest to me an attempt to realize metaphorically the disorder inherent in Hyle and to distance that disorder from Natura. It is interesting that Alain in effect turns *himself* into a sort of hypostasis (and god) who bypasses Venus and Genius when he calls Natura his “kinswoman” [cognatam] and has her embrace and kiss him at the start of *prosa* 3.

96. See Wetherbee, *Cosmographia*, 44–46, and *Platonism and Poetry*, 209.

97. Such an equation is by now common currency among critics of English literature at any rate. See, e.g., Carolyn Dinshaw, *Chaucer’s Sexual Poetics* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), on “the obvious and age-old association of the pen with the phallus”; she notes in passing “the thoroughness with which [the *De planctu*] makes the metaphorical identification between writing and male penetration of the female” (7).

98. Wetherbee, *Cosmographia*, 56.

99. [celo contendit humus, . . . terra nitorem / Induit ethereum, . . . terram uestit Olympus.] For the English see Sheridan, *Anticlaudianus*, 216; for the Latin see R. Bossuat, ed., *Alain de Lille: Anticlaudianus* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1955), 196. Sheridan has noted some possible antecedents to the *novus homo* character either in “Adam before the Fall or . . . Christ” or in “the young-old man topos” and also inconsistencies in all these models. Sheridan, *Anticlaudianus*, 31.

100. Sheridan, *Anticlaudianus*, 55; Bossuat, *Anticlaudianus*, 64. Bossuat’s text reads “Sic homo sicque Deus fiet”; and Sheridan translates, “Thus he will become God and man.”

101. On Sophia’s gifts, see Sheridan, *Anticlaudianus*, 180ff.; Bossuat, *Anticlaudianus*, 163ff. Of grammar and poetry, Alain says: “The introductory discipline of Grammar fulfils Sophia’s injunctions and comes down in her entirety to the youth. . . . To the youth’s endowment she contributes everything that her rules determine, . . . so that he may not coin words without regard for grammar or make mistakes in speech like a barbarian. . . . The band of poets, pouring nectar from the Pegasean spring over the man, teach him how to join words in metrical feet and compose a poem in pleasing rhythm.” Sheridan, *Anticlaudianus*, 181.

Gramatice doctrina prior precepta Sophye  
Complet et in iuuenem descendit tota, . . .  
Omne quod ipsius discernit regula, . . .  
In dotem iuuenis confert, ne uerba monetet

Citra gramaticam, ne uerbo barbarus erret. . . .  
 Perfundensque uirum Pegasei nectare fontis,  
 Turba poetarum docet illum uerba ligare  
 Metris et dulci carmen depingere rithmo.

Bossuat, *Anticlaudianus*, 164.

102. Sheridan, *Anticlaudianus*, 193; Bossuat, *Anticlaudianus*, 176.

103. In a description that worries Sheridan; see *Anticlaudianus*, 198 nn. 23 and 24; Bossuat, *Anticlaudianus*, 179-80.

## CHAPTER 5

1. For a description of Glasgow Hunterian V.8.14 (olim 511) see John Young, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of the Hunterian Museum in the University of Glasgow* (Glasgow: James Maclehose, 1908), 417-18, and the discussion in Bruce Harbert, ed., *A Thirteenth-Century Anthology of Rhetorical Poems* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1975), 1-6. Harbert estimates the manuscript was "put together after 1200 . . . [but] no later than 1230," by seven different scribes (Young sees only one hand at work) and suggests an East Midlands provenance because of allusions to Northampton and Norwich in two of the intercalated lyrics. Edmond Faral discusses the manuscript and its contents in *Les arts poétiques* and in "Le manuscrit 511 du 'Hunterian Museum' de Glasgow," *Studi Medievali* n.s. 9 (1936): 18-121. On Bernard of Chartres's teaching methods see John of Salisbury's *Metalogicon* 1.24 and above, chapter 4. The manuscript is arranged as follows: Matthew of Vendôme's *Ars versificatoria*, followed by six poems (Harbert nos. 2-7), the first three of which are likely by Matthew; Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Summa de coloribus rhetoricis*, followed by one poem (Harbert no. 9); Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Documentum de modo et arte dictandi et versificandi*, followed by eighteen poems (Harbert nos. 11-28), the first three of which are probably by Geoffrey; Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Poetria nova*, followed by five poems (Harbert nos. 30-34); Gervase of Melkley's treatise on *dicatamen*, followed by a poem and a letter; Gervase of Melkley's *Ars poetica*, followed by nineteen poems (Harbert nos. 39-57); in the treatise, Gervase quotes from four poems appearing early in the sequence of nineteen. In addition to the poems that follow the various treatises, the treatises themselves contain many poetic examples drawn from classical and contemporary works.

2. F. J. E. Raby over half a century ago observed that rhythmic verse was (ironically) the way out for poets of the *aetas Ovidiana*: "It is easy to see that all the advantage lay henceforth with the new rhythmical measures. For here was freedom instead of bondage to the rules of the text-book or to the supposed authority of the classics. In rhythmical verse lay the only hope of escape from the tyranny of the school-exercise" (*Secular Latin Poetry*, 2:35).

3. Jean-Yves Tilliette, "Un art du patchwork: La poésie métrique latine

(XIe–XIIe siècles),” in *Théories et pratiques de l’écriture au Moyen Age*, ed. Emmanuèle Baumgartner and Christine Marchello-Nizia, *Littérales: 1988 Cahiers du Département de Français*, Actes du Colloque: Palais du Luxembourg-Sénat, 5 et 6 mars 1987, 68.

4. Tilliette, “Un art du patchwork,” 66.

5. As Tilliette cogently notes: “[Such poetry] may be the object of study, certainly not the object of pleasure.” “Un art du Patchwork,” 59.

6. Godman emphasizes that one of Bernardus’s central themes, realized pointedly in the *Mathematicus*, is the inherent ambiguity of language; Bernardus sought to explore the fundamental “indeterminacy of meaning” while he “launched a well-directed attack on his manneristic precursors.” Peter Godman, “Ambiguity in the ‘Mathematicus’ of Bernardus Silvestris,” *Studi Medievali* 31 (1990): 589–95 and 642.

7. See Dronke, *European Love-Lyric*, 493–512. Dronke edits and translates a number of poems from Paris, B.N.lat. 6765 and, from other manuscripts, some poems with “‘Serlonian’ affinities.” For a description of the manuscript see Öberg, *Serlon de Wilton*, 16–22. A. C. Friend, “The Proverbs of Serlo of Wilton,” *Mediaeval Studies* 16 (1954): 179–218, discusses the manuscript tradition for the proverbs, especially in England.

8. Öberg, *Serlon*, discusses and prints these lines (62, 120). They are found in Oxford Bodleian Digby 53, fol.15. For a biography of Serlo’s youth, see A. C. Friend, “Serlo of Wilton: The Early Years,” *Bulletin du Cange* 24 (1954): 85–110. Friend points out the connection between Serlo and Hugh Primas, 86–87. Other biographical information may be found in Öberg’s “Einige Bemerkungen zu den Gedichten Serlos von Wilton,” *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 6 (1970): 98–100.

9. Brewer, *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, 104–10.

10. Rolls Series 21.4, 107. See also Harold Edgeworth Butler, ed. and trans., *The Autobiography of Geraldus Cambrensis* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1937), 77–81. Butler points out that it is unclear from the text whether Gerald actually met Serlo on the first occasion or merely had a detailed report of him.

11. Öberg, *Serlon*, edits all the poems he feels are Serlo’s from B.N.lat. 6765, fols. 56–71; his edition supersedes earlier, partial printings of some of these poems. See Öberg, *Serlon*, 70–72, for previous editions of some of the poems. Those with possible erotic content are Öberg nos. 7, 8, 14, 17–20, 22, 28–33. Dronke, *European Love-Lyric*, 493–509, translates most of these; Stehling, *Medieval Latin Poems*, 76–78, translates three he believes are homoerotic (8, 30, 33). There are a number of erotic poems (many of them versified proverbs) in the late-twelfth-century MS. Oxford, Digby 53, which are “Serlonian” in form and content. Dronke, *European Love-Lyric*, 510–11, translates four of these; Öberg, *Serlon*, edits five in his appendix 3 (A.2, 4, 5, 8, and B.2).

12. Öberg, *Serlon*, 96–100; poems 18, 20, and 19.

13. Text from Öberg, *Serlon*, 99; poem 18.103–6; translation and emphasis mine.

14. Text from Öberg, *Serlon*, 100; poem 20.7–14; my translation.

15. Text from Öberg, *Serlon*, 105; poem 29.1–2; my translation.



16. Text from Öberg, *Serlon*, 100; poem 19.1–4; my translation.

17. Matthew was likely born in Vendôme around 1130. He studied with Bernardus Silvestris in Tours, then made his way to Orléans, where he taught grammar for some time, moved on to Paris for ten years (ca. 1175–85), before returning to Tours, where he disappears from view. On Matthew's life and works see Faral, *Les Arts Poétiques*, 1–14; Raby, *Secular Latin Poetry*, 2:30–35; Bruce Harbert, "Matthew of Vendôme," *Medieval Aevum* 44 (1975): 225–37; Murphy, *Rhetoric*, 163–68. Winthrop Wetherbee suggests that the *Ars* is "best understood as an attempt to assimilate to the purposes of the classroom something of the new richness with which poets like Bernardus and Alain de Lille had imbued their allegories." *Platonism and Poetry* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), 147–48.

18. The seminal article for the study of the school of Orléans is Léopold Delisle, "Les Ecoles d'Orléans au XIIe et au XIIIe Siècle," *Annuaire Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France* 7 (1869): 139–47. See also Louis John Paetow, "The Arts Course at Medieval Universities with Special Reference to Grammar and Rhetoric," *University of Illinois Studies* 3 (1910): 503–22; and Berthe M. Marti, *Arnulfi Aurelianensis Glosule Super Lucanum* (Rome: American Academy, 1958), xv–xvii (especially n. 5), who gives a good bibliography of early work on the subject and quotes all the poets just listed. After 1200, Orléans's fame as a place to learn Latin poetry waned gradually.

19. "Only a cosmopolitan center of literary study could account for the variety and number of rare authors found in the two *florilegia* . . . and for the wide dispersal of these works." R. H. Rouse, "Florilegia and Latin Classical Authors in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Orléans," *Viator* 10 (1979): 155. See also R. H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, "The *Florilegium Angelicum*: Its Origin, Content, and Influence," in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson, 66–114 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976). Authors contained in the most complete manuscripts of the *Florilegium Angelicum*: Macrobius, Jerome, Apuleius, Pliny the Younger, Cicero, Sidonius, Seneca, Aulus Gellius, Ennodius, Martin of Braga, Censorinus. On the *Florilegium Gallicum* see B. L. Ullman, "Classical Authors in Certain Mediaeval *Florilegia*," *Classical Philology* 27 (1932): 3–42. Donatus's commentary on the Latin playwright Terence survives thanks to scholars in the Loire Valley who took an interest in such esoteric texts. M. D. Reeve and R. H. Rouse, "New Light on the Transmission of Donatus's 'Commentum Terentii,'" *Viator* 9 (1978): 235–49. Contemporary writers and poets such as William of Conches and Gerald of Wales, not normally connected with Orléans, used the material gathered and codified by scholars there in their own writings. William of Conches drew on the *Florilegium Gallicum* for his *Moralium dogma philosophorum*. (This would suggest a rather early date for the FG if the *Moralium* were completed before 1154.) Gerald of Wales culled repeatedly from the *Florilegium Angelicum* in a number of his works, including the *Descriptio Cambriae*, the *De principis instructione*, and the letters in the *Symbolum electorum*. Rouse, "Florilegia and Latin," 135; A. A. Goddu and R. H. Rouse, "Gerald of Wales and the *Florilegium Angelicum*," *Speculum* 52 (1977): 488–521.

20. He may also have written a life of Ovid. Marti, *Arnulfi*, xxiii–xxv; Fausto Ghisalberti, “Arnolfo d’Orléans, un cultore di Ovidio nel secolo XII,” *Memorie del R. Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere* 24 (1932): 157–234, and his “Mediaeval Biographies of Ovid,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 9 (1946): 10–59. He was probably the anonymous academic criticized by Alexander of Villedieu (in the prologue to his *Ecclesiastice*) for “perverting his scholars through his exposition of pagan authors.” See Marti, *Arnulfi*, xxv. The *Ecclesiastice* was written between 1199 and 1202. As Alexander put it, “the man from Orléans teaches us to sacrifice to the gods.”

21. The wealth of classical and postclassical material Arnulf draws on for his encyclopedic commentaries confirms the impression gained from the *florilegia* that the libraries of the Loire Valley possessed great resources for scholars. See Marti, *Arnulfi*, xxx ff. Much of Arnulf’s commentary on Lucan consists of what might loosely be called grammatical explications, remarks that help define obscure words or sort out difficult syntax, but he frequently goes beyond the simply verbal to expound on other sorts of topics.

22. Marti, *Arnulfi*, xlv–xlix.

23. Matthew quotes almost nothing that is not his own or from a classical source; the figures for the number of quotations are from Walter Bradbury Sedgwick, “The Style and Vocabulary of the Latin Arts of Poetry of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,” *Speculum* 3 (1928): 352–53. On the echoes (admittedly often rather faint) of Bernardus’s *Cosmographia* in one of Matthew’s own poetic examples in the *Ars versificatoria*, see Franco Munari, “Matteo di Vendôme, *Ars* 1,111,” *Studi Medievali*, 3d ser. 17 (1976): 299–305. Munari’s article supplies over one hundred lines of Matthew’s poetry missing from Faral’s edition of the *Ars versificatoria* owing to a lost leaf in the Glasgow manuscript (*Arts*, 148). Faral’s edition of the *Ars* has been superseded by that of Munari, *Mathei Vindocinensis Opera*, vol. 3, *Ars versificatoria*, *Storia e Letteratura: Raccolta di Studi e Testi* 171 (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1988).

24. Roger P. Parr, trans., *Matthew of Vendôme: Ars Versificatoria* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1981), 19. Munari, *Ars versificatoria*, 44: “elegans iunctura dictionum, expressio proprietatum et observatum uniuscuiusque rei epytetum.” See Kelly, “Scope of the Treatment,” 266–68. Unlike the later *Poetria nova*, which survives in scores of manuscripts, the *Ars versificatoria* is found today in only a handful of manuscripts, most of them English. Munari, *Ars versificatoria*, 38, lists six manuscripts containing complete copies of the *Ars versificatoria*. See also Susan Gallick, “Medieval Rhetorical Arts in England and the Manuscript Traditions,” *Manuscripta* 18 (1974): 71–72, which surveys the manuscripts of a number of rhetorical treatises in English and continental libraries.

25. Wetherbee, *Platonism*, 146–51.

26. Wetherbee, *Platonism*, 147.

27. Parr, *Matthew of Vendôme*, 36; Munari, *Ars versificatoria*, 79: “decus orbis, honesti / Exemplar, . . . honoris iter. . . . Moribus egrederis hominem.”

28. Parr, *Matthew of Vendôme*, 35, 37, 98; Munari, *Ars versificatoria*, 78, 83, 204–5.



29. This is the description of Beroe in Matthew, *Ars*, 1.58 (Parr, *Matthew of Vendôme*, 39; Munari, *Ars versificatoria*, 86–88).

30. Parr, *Matthew of Vendôme*, 38; Munari, *Ars versificatoria*, 85–86.

31. Faral, “Manuscrit 511,” 20, lists the rhetorical figures in “*Pauca loquar*.” Harbert’s list may be found in *Anthology of Rhetorical Poems*, 2. Poem 24 also develops a series of rhetorical figures. This was recognized by the fourteenth-century scribe who added the names of the figures in the margin. See Faral, “Manuscrit 511,” 34–36.

32. Harbert, *Anthology of Rhetorical Poems*, 11, ll. 1–4; my translation.

33. James J. Murphy, *Three Medieval Rhetorical Arts* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971), 89 n. 107.

34. Edmond Faral, *Les arts poétiques*, 246. Translation by Margaret F. Nims, *Poetria nova of Geoffrey of Vinsauf* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1967), 73.

35. Faral, *Les arts poétiques*, 249; Nims, *Poetria nova*, 77. I have slightly modified Nims’s translation.

36. Harbert, *Anthology of Rhetorical Poems*, 11, ll. 5–8; my translation.

37. Harbert, *Anthology of Rhetorical Poems*, 12, ll. 36–38; my translation.

38. Harbert, *Anthology of Rhetorical Poems*, 12, ll. 41–42; my translation.

39. Harbert, *Anthology of Rhetorical Poems*, 12, ll. 45–50; my translation.

40. Harbert, *Anthology of Rhetorical Poems*, 12, ll. 51–52; my translation.

41. Matthew of Vendôme’s poem about Pyramus and Thisbe survives uniquely in Cambridge MS Trinity 895, fols. 91<sup>v</sup>–93<sup>v</sup>, s.XIV or s.XV; it did not seem necessary to discuss it here. Ovid’s story tells of two children who grow up next door to each other, fall in love, and are forbidden to marry by their parents. They whisper to each other through a small crack in the wall between the two houses and plan to meet at night, outside the city walls near the tomb of Ninus. Thisbe arrives first at the appointed spot, under a mulberry tree, but seeing a lioness with bloody jaws, she flees, leaving her cloak. Pyramus comes soon after, spots the beast and the cloak, and, assuming his beloved is dead, stabs himself. The girl returns to find Pyramus dying and kills herself with the same sword; their spouting blood stains the white fruit of the mulberry deep purple.

42. Five anonymous poems (including “*Consulte teneros*”) follow immediately after Gervase’s treatise (the last tract in the manuscript); they are apparently companion pieces—Gervase quotes extensively from four—and for all we know, he may have been the author of one or more of them. Harbert, *Anthology of Rhetorical Poems*, 5, suggests Gervase is the author of the first two, “*Parmenidis rupes*” (no. 39) and “*Magnus Alexander*” (no. 40). For Gervase’s treatise see Hans-Jürgen Gräbener, ed., *Gervais von Melkley Ars poetica*, *Forschungen zur Romanischen Philologie* vol. 17 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1965).

43. “*Consulte*” ends at about *Metamorphoses* 4.92, just after Pyramus and Thisbe have made their plans to meet near Ninus’s tomb.

44. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. Frank Justus Miller, 3d ed., 2 vols., Loeb Classical Library (1977), 4.55–57.

45. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 4.107–10.

46. Harbert, *Anthology of Rhetorical Poems*, 54, ll. 5–8; my translation.

47. Harbert, *Anthology of Rhetorical Poems*, 56, ll. 49–56; my translation. A much shorter and more general discussion of Pyramus's manly qualities (ll. 57–64) follows.

48. Harbert, *Anthology of Rhetorical Poems*, 57, ll. 83–86; my translation. Gervase cites the first distich (ll. 83–84) several times: Gräbener, *Gervais*, 110, 111, 119.

49. Harbert, *Anthology of Rhetorical Poems*, 58, ll. 123–28; my translation.

50. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 4.63.

51. "invide" dicebant "paries, quid amantibus obstas?  
quantum erat, ut sineres toto nos corpore iungi  
aut, hoc si nimium est, vel ad oscula danda pateres?  
nec sumus ingrati: tibi nos debere fatemur,  
quod datus est verbis ad amicas transitus auris."

[*"O envious wall," they would say, "why do you stand between lovers? How small a thing 'twould be for you to permit us to embrace each other, or, if this be too much, to open for our kisses! But we are not ungrateful. We owe it to you, we admit, that a passage is allowed by which our words may go through to loving ears."*]

Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 4.73–77.

52. Harbert, *Anthology of Rhetorical Poems*, 58, ll. 133–48; my translation. For Gervase's discussion of the various lines in "Consulte teneros," see Gräbener, *Gervais*, 19.16, 40.17, 209.4, 36.26, 174.8, 174.12, 175.1, 176.13, 20.12.

53. Harbert, *Anthology of Rhetorical Poems*, 59, ll. 171–74; my translation.

54. Harbert, *Anthology of Rhetorical Poems*, 66, ll. 1–10; my translation.

55. Harbert, *Anthology of Rhetorical Poems*, 66–67, ll. 25–34; my translation.

56. Harbert, *Anthology of Rhetorical Poems*, 67–68, ll. 57–58; my translation.

57. Offermanns also makes this observation (*Die Wirkung Ovids*, 44).

58. Harbert, *Anthology of Rhetorical Poems*, 68, ll. 65–70; my translation.

59. The only edition of Gerald's poems from the *Symbolum Electorum* is in Brewer, *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, 341–64. Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, notes that Gerald "ascribed the . . . *Cosmographia* to his own *annis adolescentiae* and, elsewhere, to *anno aetatis nostrae quasi vicesimo*. . . . It is likely that *anno quasi vicesimo* means 'in my twenties'" (127 n. 16). He places Gerald's little "*Cosmographia*" in the years 1166–76: "this would correspond with Gerald's period of study in the arts at Paris (ca. 1165–72)" (127).

60. The four erotic poems that follow Gerald's "*Cosmographia*" in the Trinity manuscript are "*Mundus ut insignis*" (no. 2), "*Fons erat irriguus*" (no. 3), "*Omnia jam novitate*" (no. 4), and "*Quicquid amor jussit*" (no. 8).

61. Dronke, *Bernardus Silvestris Cosmographia*, 12, holds that "the *de mundi creatione* is little more than a plagiarism, a *cento* based on the *Cosmographia*." William Hatner Carnog, ed. and trans., "The *Anticlaudian* of Alain de Lille," Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1935, 42, points out the influence of Alan de Lille on the

poem. See also Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, 117, on the poem's relationship to the works of Bernardus Silvestris and Alain de Lille. Bartlett disagrees with Dronke's "extreme" view of Gerald's dependence on Bernard (128 n. 19), though he feels Gerald was not "a cosmographer in the same sense as . . . Bernard" (129). There are also Ovidian echoes, pointed out by Offermanns, *Die Wirkung Ovids*, 143–44.

62. Rolls Series 21.1, p. 341, ll. 1–8; my translation.

63. Rolls Series 21.1, pp. 345–46, ll. 157–62; my translation.

64. In Gerald's "Cosmographia" the word *natura* is used four times (ll. 11, 59, 65 and 241), but never as the personified creative agent. Gerald comes closest to using the word in this way in l. 11 when he refers to the Creator as "Naturae genitor." Venus is mentioned by name only in l. 93 and there as the planet.

65. Rolls Series 21.1, p. 346, ll. 185–88, 191–92; my translation.

66. Rolls Series 21.1, p. 347, ll. 209–16; my translation.

67. Rolls Series 21.1, pp. 348–49, ll. 235–38, 251–52, 261–66; my translation.

68. And also to the perfect man portrayed in the *Anticlaudianus*. Offermanns is right to stress the poem's general debt to the sketchier descriptions of female beauty in Ovid, Maximian, and Venantius Fortunatus (*Die Wirkung Ovids*, 145). See also pp. 129–34 for early history and Derek Brewer, "The Ideal of Feminine Beauty in Medieval Literature," *Modern Language Review* 50 (1955), 257–69. Offermanns could also have noted the contemporary material available in the writing of Alain, in whose *De planctu* the bits and pieces of ancient and more recent *effictii* come together most fully. In terms of the basic details of face and figure the *De planctu* and "Mundus ut insignis" are extremely close.

69. Rolls Series 21.1, p. 349, ll. 1–8; my translation.

70. Rolls Series 21.1, p. 349–50, ll. 19–22, 33–38; my translation.

71. Nam quae natura est naturae gratia parca

Istius in dotes prodiga pene fuit.

Si semel hanc Paridis vidissent lumina, starent

Pergama, nec tanti Tyndaris esset ei.

[For the grace of Nature, which is naturally sparing,

In the dowers of this one was almost prodigal.

If once the eyes of Paris had seen her, Troy would

Still be standing, nor would Helen have been of such value to him.]

Rolls Series 21.1, p. 350, ll. 45–48; my translation.

72. Rolls Series 21.1, p. 350, ll. 53–58; my translation.

73. Rolls Series 21.1, p. 351, ll. 77–80, 87–90; my translation. For Arion, see text of "Mundus ut insignis" in appendix.

74. Rolls Series 21.1, pp. 351–52, ll. 93–98; my translation.

75. As noted above. Godman, "Ambiguity," 610. For bibliographic information on pseudo-Quintilian see Godman, "Ambiguity," 597 n. 71. The *Mathematicus* is edited by Barthélemy Hauréau, *Le Mathematicus de Bernard Silvestris et la Passio Sanctae*

*Agnetis de Pierre Riga* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1895); there is an inferior edition in *PL* 171.1365–80. See Godman, “Ambiguity,” 587 n. 26.

76. Hauréau, *Mathematicus*, 18; cited in Godman, “Ambiguity,” 616; my translation.

77. The phrase is Jill Mann’s, from her article “Satiric Subject and Satiric Object in Goliardic Literature,” *Mittelaltinisches Jahrbuch* 15 (1980): 68. “Such a view,” she notes, “obviously tends towards a kind of primitive realism. It has resemblances with the traits dubbed ‘grammatical Platonism’ by Jean Jolivet, in his discussion of some early medieval writers who re-invented, as it were, a Platonic sense of the meaningful parallelism between words and things.” See Plato’s *Timaeus* 29b on the *omen/nomen* distinction.

78. *Heroides* 4, ll. 9–12. Text and translation from Ovid, *Heroides and Amores*, trans. Grant Showerman, Loeb Classical Library, 2d ed. (1977).

79. Rolls Series 21.1, p. 356, ll. 9–10; my translation.

80. Rolls Series 21.1, p. 357, ll. 21–22; my translation.

81. *Heroides*, 4.131–34.

82. *Heroides*, 4.129–30.

83. Rolls Series 21.1, p. 357, ll. 25–28; my translation.

84. Munari, *Ars versificatoria*, 125–26. The translation is from Parr, *Matthew of Vendôme*, 57. For another translation, see Aubrey E. Galyon, *Matthew of Vendôme: The Art of Versification* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1980), 60. Galyon, 120, believes the “virgo” is “Nature, the virgin goddess”; Wetherbee, *Platonism*, 150, calls the last distich “perversely obscure.” I would see the maiden as a maiden, the sort of thing Matthew would like to find in his garden. I realize, of course, that Gerald’s school poems may well antedate the completion or publication of Matthew’s *Ars* by a few years, but there is no reason to believe that bits of that work were not in circulation in the period 1150–75.

85. Rolls Series 21.1, p. 352, ll. 1–10; my translation.

86. Rolls Series 21.1, p. 352, ll. 13–16; my translation.

87. Rolls Series 21.1, p. 353, ll. 39–42; my translation.

88. Rolls Series 21.1, p. 354, ll. 1–8; my translation.

89. *Natura fieret laudabile carmen an arte,  
quaesitum est: ego nec studium sine divite vena,  
nec rude quid prosit video ingenium: alterius sic  
altera poscit opem res et coniurat amice.*

[Often it is asked whether a praiseworthy poem be due to Nature or to art. For my part, I do not see of what avail is either study, when not enriched by Nature’s vein, or native wit, if untrained; so truly does each claim the other’s aid, and make with it a friendly league.]

*Ars Poetica*, 408–11; Fairclough, *Horace*.

90. Rolls Series 21.1, p. 353, ll. 29–32; my translation.

91. Offermanns, *Die Wirkung Ovids*, 154–55.
92. Rolls Series 21.1, p. 353, ll. 49–52; my translation.
93. Rolls Series 21.1, p. 353, ll. 43–46; my translation.
94. Rolls Series 21.1, p. 354, ll. 72–74; my translation.
95. Rolls Series 21.1, p. 353, ll. 59–60; my translation.

## CHAPTER 6

1. “Lingua serui” has the title “Ad Petrum Abaelardum” in Paris B.N.lat. 11331; Theresa Latzke, “Zu dem Gedicht ‘De papa scolastico’ des Abaelardschülers Hilarius,” *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch* 13 (1978): 86–99, connects “Papa summus” to Abelard. Latzke goes on to suggest that *Carmina Burana* 95 and 117 were both composed by Abelard and related to Hilary’s *carmen* 14.

2. Theresa Latzke, “Die Ganymed-Episteln des Hilarius,” *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch* 18 (1983): 149, citing Ph. August Becker, “Die Anfänge der romanischen Verskunst,” *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 56 (1932): 310. This is the same verse form found in *Carmina Burana* 117.

3. Latzke, “Ganymed-Episteln des Hilarius,” 131, citing Hans Spanke’s review of Hilka and Schumann’s edition of *Carmina Burana*, vol. 1.2 in *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie* 64 (1943): 42.

4. Fortunatus’s hymn is written in tetrameter catalectic, which is eight metrical trochees, minus one syllable in the half-line following the strong caesura after the fourth foot. This yields a very regular line of eight syllables, ending in the caesura, followed by seven syllables, for a total of fifteen syllables. There is no regular use of rhyme. In “Pange, lingua” the lines are grouped by syntax into stanzas of three lines. Hilary’s version of this form consists of either (1) fifteen-syllable lines, markedly trochaic, with a strong caesura after the eighth syllable and grouped into four-line stanzas both by syntax and by the use of two-syllable end-rhyme (in *carmen* 1, *carmen* 2, and *carmen* 9); or (2) fifteen-syllable, trochaic lines, divided into two segments of eight and seven syllables, each segment ending in a two-syllable rhyme and the long lines grouped in stanzas of four lines. Thus, in the latter case, the stanzas might just as easily be considered eight-line (with lines of eight or seven syllables) as four-line (with lines of fifteen syllables and “internal” rhyme): 8a7b/8a7b/8c7d/8c7d (in *carmen* 3) or 8a7b/8a7b/8a7b/8a7b (in *carmen* 5).

5. Bond, *The Loving Subject*, lxxx.

6. The standard edition of all of Hilary’s works, prose and poetry, is now Walther Bulst and M. L. Bulst-Thiele, eds., *Hilarii Aurelianensis Versus et Ludi Epistolae Ludus Danielis Belouacensis* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1989). N. M Häring published the contents of the manuscript, along with considerable commentary, in “Die Gedichte und Mysterienspiele des Hilarius von Orléans,” *Studi Medievali* 17 (1976): 915–68, and published the letters in “Hilary of Orleans and His Letter Collection,” *Studi Medievali* 14 (1973): 1069–1122. These supersede the old editions of the poems and plays in J. J.

Champollion-Figeac, *Hilarii Versus et Ludi* (Paris, 1838) and John B. Fuller, *Hilarii Versus et Ludi* (New York: Holt, 1929). The four poems addressed to boys are translated based on the Champollion-Figeac edition in Stehling, *Medieval Latin Poems*, 68–75. Therese Latzke has written a series of six articles on various of Hilary's poems, all published in *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* between 1971 and 1984; for a full bibliography see Bulst and Bulst-Thiele, 117. This is the same Hilarius known to some critics of an earlier generation (including Raby, *Secular Latin Poetry*, 2:115–18) as "Hilary the Englishman," an error going back at least to Thomas Wright's *Biographia Britannica Literaria*, published in 1846. German scholars (e.g., Gneuss) sometimes refer to him as Hilarius von Angers. For a review of early discussions of Hilary's nationality see also Philip Schuyler Allen, "Medieval Latin Lyrics: Part II," 21 n. 3.

7. Therese Latzke, "Abaelard, Hilarius und das Gedicht 22 der Ripollsammlung," *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 8 (1973): 70–89, finds connections of various sorts between Hilary's poems and those of Baudri, Marbod, and Hildebert.

8. On the details of Hilary's life, see Häring, "Hilarius" and "Hilary," the introduction to Bulst and Bulst-Thiele, *Hilarii*.

9. See, e.g., Bulst and Bulst-Thiele, *Hilarii*, 15. Also Latzke, "Abaelard" and D. E. Luscombe, *The School of Peter Abelard* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 52–54.

10. Hugues-V. Shooner, "Les *Bursarii Ovidianorum* de Guillaume d'Orléans," *Mediaeval Studies* 43 (1981): 408 n. 10. See also Bruno Roy and Hugues Shooner, "Querelles de maîtres au XIIe siècle: Arnoul d'Orléans et son milieu," *Sandalion* 8–9 (1985–86): 325–26, who would place William of Tyre's association with Hilary around 1146–47. They also note (n. 36) the existence of a document from Bruges dated 1166 that mentions a "Magistrum Hilarium Aurelianensem."

11. R. B. C. Huygens, "Guillaume de Tyr étudiant: Un chapitre (XIX, 12) de son "Histoire" retrouvé," *Latomus* 21 (1962): 811–29; and Bulst and Bulst-Thiele, *Hilarii*, 15–16. On the intriguing possibility that Hilary is the author of an early *Expositio Hymnorum*, see Helmut Gneuss, *Hymnar und Hymnen im Englischen Mittelalter* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1968), 200.

12. Bulst and Bulst-Thiele, *Hilarii*, 18. Some of Hilary's letters also ended up in a manuscript of St. Victor, further suggesting his connection to that institution. See Häring, "Hilarius and Hilary," 1071.

13. The only one of Hilary's poems not found in the Paris manuscript, "Erat Brisesarte esclusa," was first printed by Paul Marchegay, "Charte en vers de l'an 1121, composée par Hilaire, disciple d'Abailard et chanoine du Ronceray d'Angers," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 37 (1876): 245–52; it is printed as *carmen* 18 in Bulst and Bulst-Thiele's edition. In the manuscript it appears under the title "Iudicium de calumnia molendini Brisesarte." See Therese Latzke, "Zum 'Iudicium de calumnia molendini Brisesarte' und zu den vier Nonnenepisteln des Hilarius," *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 16 (1981): 73.

14. Latzke, "Zum Iudicium," 84–85. Hilary names three brothers, local aristocrats, as complainants; a committee of five judges; seven nuns, including "Gosberta



magistra,” in addition to the abbess Tiburgas; three officials from the cathedral church of St. Mauritius of Angers; priests from four adjoining parishes; himself; and at least thirty-two local residents with connections to Ronceray.

15. Therese Latzke, “Robert von Arbrissel, Ermengard und Eva,” *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch* 19 (1984): 136ff., who notes (139–40) that Baudri, Marbod, and Hildebart all had poetic connections to the recluse community in Angers.

16. Bulst and Bulst-Thiele, *Hilarii*, 26; *carmen* 2.36. There are similar gestures in the final stanzas of *carmina* 3, 4, and 5. On poems in the *Carmina Burana* most similar to those of Hilary (i.e., CB 116–21) see Walther Lipphardt, “Unbekannte Weisen zu den CB,” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 12 (1955): 130–31; cited in Carsten Wollin, ed., *Petri Blesensis Carmina*, Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Mediaevalis 128 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), 132.

17. Bulst and Bulst-Thiele, *Hilarii*, 29; *carmen* 5; my translation.

18. Latzke, “Zum Iudicium,” 93.

19. Latzke, “Ganymed-Episteln des Hilarius,” 132. Unlike the poems to the nuns of Le Ronceray, the four poems to boys do not conclude with pleas for a response.

20. Text from Bulst and Bulst-Thiele, *Hilarii*, 31; *carmen* 7.1–8; my translation.

21. Text from Bulst and Bulst-Thiele, *Hilarii*, 32; *carmen* 7.29–36; my translation. Latzke, “Ganymed-Episteln des Hilarius,” 138 proposes a solution for *carmen* 7.31–32:

<Pecces quoque ex impericia,>

Que sit pulcris ex pudicia . . .

based on a line from Arundel 13. The MS. at *carmen* 7.32 reads “Qui sit pulcris ex pudicia.” Bulst and Bulst-Thiele, *Hilarii*, 72, acknowledge, but do not accept, Latzke’s suggestions.

22. Latzke, “Ganymed-Episteln des Hilarius,” 139–40.

23. Latzke, “Ganymed-Episteln des Hilarius,” 148–49.

24. Text from Bulst and Bulst-Thiele, *Hilarii*, 47; *carmen* 13.5–12; my translation. Cf. Ovid, *Remedia amoris*, 462: “successore novo vincitur omnis amor.”

25. Text from Bulst and Bulst-Thiele, *Hilarii*, 47; *carmen* 13.17–24; my translation.

26. John Boswell sees in Hilary’s homoerotic verses something “decidedly personal . . . such lines do not seem to be simply imitations of classical sources or idle exercises of a literary bent.” Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance*, 249. Latzke, “Ganymed-Episteln des Hilarius,” 132–33.

27. On the meters of the *Carmina Cantabrigiensia* see Ziolkowski, *The Cambridge Songs*. By my count, following Ziolkowski, of the eighty-six items included among the CC, forty-four are wholly accentual, thirty-eight are wholly metrical, and four are mixed or prose.

28. The hymns of Ambrose (ca. 340–97) and other early Latin writers were composed in metrical iambic dimeter (i.e., u- u- u- u-). By the time of Bede (eighth c.) and Aurelian (ninth c.) Ambrosian meter was being cited as an example of rhythmic, octosyllabic verse, probably because of the fixed number of syllables per line. See Margot E.

Fassler, "The Role of the Parisian Sequence in the Evolution of Notre-Dame Polyphony," *Speculum* 62 (1987): 345 n. 3.

29. A classic strophic pattern for the whole of an early sequence would be 1, 2a, 2b, 3a, 3b, 4a, 4b, where 1 is a unique introductory strophe and 2, 3, and 4 represent pairs of strophes (these are sometimes called pairs of half-strophes or half-versicles). Strophes 2a and 2b will have exactly the same metrical form as each other, but that form may differ radically in terms of the number of lines, the line lengths, and the rhyme scheme (if any) from the metrical form found in 3a and 3b or 4a and 4b.

30. Though both medieval hymns and sequences were strophic in verse form, they are always distinguishable from each other when music survives because the music for the medieval hymn (like the modern) is identical for each verse, while the music written for sequences was different for each pair of strophes. The music for each half of a pair of strophes did not actually have to be identical, but music for the second strophe of a pair tended to be either identical to or a conscious variation on the music for the first strophe.

31. Raby, *Christian Latin Poetry*, still provides a good overview of verse forms and their development. For Ambrose see pp. 28–41; for the sequence see pp. 210–29. More bibliography may be found in Fassler, "Role of Parisian," 345–74, and in her "Who Was Adam of St. Victor? The Evidence of the Sequence Manuscripts," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 38 (1984): 237–45.

32. Margot E. Fassler, *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 240. Fassler's beautiful book is essential reading for the history of the sequence in the twelfth century, especially 10, 40–43, 61, 69, 341.

33. Fassler, *Gothic Song*, 266.

34. "What keeps Victorine or late sequences from being hymns is their music. Unlike hymns, which have the same music for each successive strophe, late sequence melodies change with each successive strophe. In addition, melodies for individual strophes are divided into repeating halves, with two versicles of an individual strophe set to the same music." Fassler, *Gothic Song*, 73.

35. Fassler, *Gothic Song*, 275. Text transcribed from Paris, B.N.lat. 14819, fols. 81–83.

36. Fassler, *Gothic Song*, 74.

37. "Sequences in the new style were only in the experimental stage during the opening decades of the twelfth century." Fassler, *Gothic Song*, 97. Fassler constructs a very concrete social and political framework for the development of the Parisian sequence repertory and names specific composers and theologians who helped create and define the repertory. For the songs associated with St. Martial, the situation is far less clear, and it is not certain how much of the new Aquitanian repertory can be directly connected to St. Martial itself.

38. The four manuscripts are Bibliothèque Nationale latin 1139, 3549, and 3719; and British Library Additional 36881.

39. On fol. 115<sup>v</sup> of B.N.lat. 3719 Itier wrote "Hec scripsi anno mccc." The bibliography on Itier, the four Aquitanian *versaria*, and their music is huge. A seminal study of the "school" of St. Martial is Chailley, *L'école musicale*. The most valuable recent work is James Grier, "A New Voice in the Monastery: Tropes and *Versus* from Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Aquitaine," *Speculum* 69 (1994): 1023–69, which contains generous bibliography in the notes. Bryan Gillingham has edited facsimiles of all four of the *versaria* in the Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts series of the Institute of Mediaeval Music in Ottawa, Canada. Other important studies include Leo Treitler, "The Polyphony of St. Martial," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 17 (1964): 29–42; Sarah Fuller, "The Myth of 'Saint Martial' Polyphony: A Study of the Sources," *Musica Disciplina* 33 (1979): 5–26; Bryan Gillingham, "Saint-Martial Polyphony—a Catalogue Raisonné," in *Gordon Athol Anderson (1929–1981): In Memoriam* (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1984), 211–63; James Grier, "The Stemma of the Aquitanian *Versaria*," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 41 (1988): 250–88; and Grier, "Some Codicological Observations on the Aquitanian *Versaria*," *Musica Disciplina* 44 (1990): 5–56. On the dating of the erotic pieces, see below.

40. On the use of the word *versus* in the Middle Ages see Pascale Bourgain, "Qu'est-ce qu'un vers au Moyen Age?" *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 147 (1989): 231–82, who points out the wide variety of contexts in which the word appears. He notes that it can be used to signify an entire poem in the manner of the term *rhythmus* and that in St. Martial manuscripts both *versus* and *rhythmus* appear to be used rather haphazardly (pp. 248–49). On hybrid song forms in southern France, especially in the Aquitanian polyphonic repertory, see Bryan Gillingham, "A New Etymology and Etymology for the Conductus," in *Beyond the Moon: Festschrift Luther Dittmer*, ed. Bryan Gillingham and Paul Merkley (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1990), 100–117.

41. On the form of St. Martial tropes see Chailley, *L'Ecole*, 291–96; and Grier, "New Voice," 1029–32. On *versus* form see Grier, "New Voice," who cites the examples of "Ex Ade vicio," which is arranged in four identical, if complex, fifteen-line stanzas with the same music for each stanza, and "Virginis in gremio," which is constructed of unequal, nonrepeating segments and is through-composed (1033–47). Jacques Chailley, "Les premiers troubadours et les versus de l'école d'Aquitaine," *Romania* 76 (1955): 212–39, defines the *versus* as "a song in rhymed, accentual verses, sometimes strophic, of various metrical patterns, with or without refrains. . . . In short, the form reveals a variety and suppleness that leaves the door open to all sorts of evolutions and adaptations" (213–14).

42. See Fassler, *Gothic Song*, 40–43. For her the sequence is "a texted piece sung at the end of the Alleluia in the Mass" (43).

43. James Grier chronicles what he calls a "remarkable shift in the form that devotional expression assumed in Aquitanian monastic communities about the year 1100. In the eleventh century, tropes for the Proper of the Mass were the preferred sacred form of expression, but by 1100 the *versus* had taken the place of the trope" ("New Voice," 1023). Tropes are distinctly liturgical songs, closely related to chants

and tied to a preexisting “host” text, worked into celebrations of the Mass and some offices; “Proper” tropes (from Latin *proprium*: special, characteristic) are tropes composed for special church services, such as Christmas masses. Before the year 1100, in the surviving musical manuscripts from monastic communities in Aquitaine, Proper tropes are a major form of musical composition. After the beginning of the twelfth century, Proper tropes disappear entirely from the Aquitanian manuscript record, to be replaced by the *versus*.

44. Grier, “New Voice,” 1023–28. Although some of the Aquitanian *versus* appear to have been composed in Aquitaine (e.g. “Nomen a solemnibus” for the monastery of St. Pierre in Solignac) for most it is impossible to say where they originated. Grier, “New Voice,” 1025.

45. Grier, “New Voice,” 1047. Early *versus* appear in tandem with the songs of the earliest Provençal troubadours, and there has been much discussion about the relationship between the two repertoires. There are strong parallels between the verse forms and the music of early troubadour poet/composers and the *versus* found in twelfth-century St. Martial manuscripts, and the social, intellectual, and political context for the Aquitanian *versaria* extends well beyond a regional monastic circulation. The *loci classici* for this discussion are Hans Spanke, “Zu Formenkunst des ältesten Troubadours,” *Studi Medievali*, n.s. 7 (1934): 72–84; and Chailley, “Premiers Troubadours.” Bond, *Poetry of William VII*, gives a thoughtful overview of the subject in his introduction, especially pp. lxx–lxxi. He concludes: “It is likely that William’s forms represent the interaction of . . . [a] secular tradition with the musical and formal art of monastic hymnody in Aquitaine” (lxx).

46. The dating of the different *libelli* of B.N.lat. 3719 remains a vexed issue, particularly the later additions to 3719b. The dates I have suggested are drawn from the fairly tentative conclusions of Fuller, “Myth,” 10–13 and 21 n. 31; and Grier, “New Voice,” 1049ff. On the form of “De terre gremio,” see Grier’s excellent analysis, “New Voice,” 1049–52; Grier rejects, rightly I would say, two sets of spurious lines appearing in other versions of the poem.

47. On the manuscripts see Dronke, *European Love-Lyric* and “Peter of Blois.” Dronke assigns all three lyrics to Peter of Blois, whom we will discuss in chapter 7, but, as Grier notes, if 3719c and the relevant pieces of 3719b are really datable to midcentury, the attribution to Peter becomes problematic since he was only about fifteen in 1150 and had no special Aquitanian connections that would explain the early appearance of his works there. See Grier, “New Voice,” 1048–50. As I noted previously, the dating of the poems in 3719b and 3719c is quite tentative. If both texts are actually ten to fifteen years later than midcentury, Peter of Blois’s authorship of them would become much less problematic; they would still remain among the earliest copies of this type of poem.

48. Grier, “New Voice,” 1039–40. Grier is speaking largely about the music, which is the heart of his analysis. The two poems have rather different verse forms, though both are rhymed and rhythmic. “Virginis in gremio” uses rhyme heavily, but is

not constructed of repeated units; “De terre gremio” is a sequence, at least in verse form, built of pairs of complexly structured stanzas. Grier warns, however, that “although the repetitive structure of the sequence is used, the other principal characteristic of that genre is not, namely, the syllabic, or nearly syllabic, setting of the text” (1055).

49. See Grier, “New Voice,” 1052–53 for a complete metrical analysis. The odd stanza 2 following stanzas 1a and 1b is almost metrically identical with 1a and 1b, the only difference being a single additional syllable in each of the first two lines of stanza 2.

50. My translation.

51. Lines 37–43; my translation.

52. My translation. Cf. Gerald of Wales’s *Cosmographia*, ll. 189–90. Brewer, *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, 346.

53. Grier’s analysis of the relationship between the words and the music in “De terre” shows the very careful coordination between the two, particularly “the flexibility exploited by the composers and scribes of this repertory in the manipulation of repeated music.” Grier, “New Voice,” 1064.

54. In both 3719b and 3719c the b-stanza of the final pair (3b) is missing, but it can be supplied from both Auxerre 243 and Cambridge Corpus Christi College MS 228. The line count is approximate because of some oddities in the final lines of the third stanza-pair. Both 3719b and 3719c supply music for the complete text (sans 3b). The fact that the music is not the same in the two St. Martial *versaria* suggests the work might have come to the compilers simply as a poem and that the music is local even if the lyric text is not. Gillingham, *Critical Study*, 91, notes that “the two melodies in the St. Martial source . . . are noticeably different with distinctive melodic direction and variant positioning of melismata and other musical features.” He is reluctant to call “Ex ungue” a true sequence because “with the possible exceptions of versicles III and IV which clearly share melodic material, the characteristic musical format (viz., aa bb cc . . . xx) is not present here”; he would prefer the term “versiculated conductus,” 91.

55. Horace, *Odes*, 3.6.21–24; D. R. Shackleton Bailey, ed., *Q. Horati Flacci Opera* (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1985); my translation.

56. Text from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 228; my translation. Dronke, *European Love-Lyric*, 378–79, translates the whole poem. The name of the girl, Lyce, may be drawn from Horace’s ode 3.10, as Dronke notes, and ode 4.13.

57. Fleur Adcock’s lively (if loose) version in *The Virgin and the Nightingale* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Bloodaxe Books, 1983), 40–43, may capture something of the right tone. See Gillingham, *Critical Study*, 91–92, for a different attitude. Dronke, *European Love-Lyric*, 380, notes the poem’s “intellectual sophistication” and “imagines it meant for private performance among a small group of worldly and widely read young clerics.” Peter Godman wonders (“Literary Classicism and Latin Erotic Poetry of the Twelfth Century and the Renaissance,” in *Latin Poetry and the Classical Tradition*, ed. Peter



Godman and Oswyn Murray [Oxford: Clarendon, 1990], 149–82) if “Ex ungue” was “written as an antithesis” to *Carmina Burana* 88 (166).

58. Text from Dronke, *European Love-Lyric*, 378; my translation. “inguini” *sic* in text, for *inguinis*.

59. The volume measures only seven and one-quarter inches by five inches but contains 252 leaves. André Wilmart, “Le Florilège Mixte de Thomas Bekynton,” *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* 1 (1941): 41 n. 3. Wilmart believes three to six hands are distinguishable in the manuscript, though they are all “assez semblables.” According to him the manuscript originally contained “vingt-huit cahiers . . . plus ou moins réguliers.” For a discussion of its history and contents see C. L. Kingsford, “Some Political Poems of the Twelfth Century,” *English Historical Review* 5 (1890): 311–26. Rigg, *Anglo-Latin Literature*, 153, believes the Oxford manuscript “was originally compiled c. 1200 in six sections by nine hands (I–II by B; III–IV by C; V by D, E, F, and G, with additions by H and J; VI by J. It was finally assembled by A, who added a contents list). Nevertheless, each section that contains poetry or literary material is similar in type, indicating some uniformity of plan. . . . The most striking feature of Bekynton is its variety: it rivals the *Carmina Burana* in scope, and although there are fewer items than in the *Carmina Burana* their types and subjects are much more varied. A reading of the whole collection, in fact, would provide a student with a very solid basis in Medieval Latin literature.” See also Rigg’s “Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (III),” *Mediaeval Studies* 41 (1979): 504 n. 37.

60. The poems in common tend to appear in groups, which suggests they might have circulated in clusters. Subject matter also seems to play a role in dictating where the poems appear in the manuscript. For these concordances, see Wilmart, “Le Florilège Mixte,” 44 n. 4 and 45 n. 3.

61. Rigg, “Goliath and Other Pseudonyms,” 93.

62. Kingsford, “Some Political Poems,” 311. The scribe for this booklet would be Kingsford’s scribe “B.” Rigg’s discussion (*Anglo-Latin Literature*, 153) implies that this booklet corresponds to his section 4 by his scribe C.

63. For example, an excerpt from Walter Map’s *De nugis curialium*, Bernardus Silvestris’s *Mathematicus* (fols. 30v–44v), and Matthew of Vendôme’s comic *Miles Gloriosus* (fols. 47<sup>r</sup>–53<sup>r</sup>). An exception would be the well-known Theophrastus section from Jerome’s *Adversus Jovinianum* on fols. 29v–30r.

64. Peter Dronke would add seven more to these: 9, 10, 32, 43, and 45–47. Since Peter of Blois spent much of last third of the century in the orbit of the Anglo-Norman court (if not in England itself), his poetry must have been in general circulation for several decades before the compilation of the booklet.

65. Rigg, *Anglo-Latin Literature*, 152–53. For Walter of Châtillon see Karl Strecker, *Die Gedichte Walters von Chatillon* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1925) and *Moralisch-Satirische Gedichte Walters von Chatillon* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1929); for Peter of Blois see Dronke, “Peter of Blois.”



66. At fol. 113r; see Dronke, *European Love-Lyric*, 568.

67. It is possible these are an addition, like the introductory stanzas to “De terre gremio” rejected by Grier, which we noted earlier in this chapter. Dronke, “Peter of Blois,” 228, assigns “Ridere” to Peter of Blois (no. 41). Stanza 4a of “Ridere solitus,” which begins “Mide regis vicio,” is assigned a separate number by Dronke, “Peter of Blois,” 231–32 (no. 51). Dronke notes that this stanza is ascribed to “magister Petrus Blesensis archidiaconus” in the chronicle in which it appears. See also Wollin, *Petri Blesensis Carmina*, 72–73.

68. Most notably *Aeneid*, 4.305ff. and 365ff.

69. Text from Wilmart, “Le Florilège Mixte,” 35–37; my translation. The text of stanzas 1b, 2a and 2b reads:

1b

Vt exponat  
me tormentis,  
uela donat  
ille uentis;

5 non horret maria.  
O ha fides Frigia,  
O fides hospitis,  
que sic pro meritis  
rependit odia!

2a

Abit ille,  
querens Scille  
se uel Charibdi tradere.  
Aquiloni

5 quam Didoni  
magis elegit credere.  
Festinat classem soluere  
cum federe;  
nec date memor dextere  
10 dat temere  
uela fidemque uentis.

2b

Hospes abi:  
quid elabi  
furtiue fugam rapere?  
Quid laboras?

5 Dido moras  
nullas festinat nectere;  
sub brume tamen sidere

uult parcere  
 tibi proliquo tenere  
 10 nec tradere  
 uos Nerei tormentis.

[1b

*That one gives sails to the winds that he might abandon me to sufferings; he fears not the seas. O, Trojan trustworthiness, O, the faith of a guest, which thus for benefits repays with hatred.*

2a

*He goes away, seeking to surrender himself to Scylla or Charybdis. He chose to put faith in the north wind rather than in Dido. He hastens to launch his fleet and dissolve his agreement; unmindful of the pledge he made, he rashly gives sails and his faith to the winds.*

2b

*Leave, guest: why do you try to slip away, to take flight furtively? Why? Dido does not hasten to contrive any delays, but beneath the stars of winter she wishes to spare and preserve you and your offspring, not to hand you over to the torments of the ocean.]*

70. The text of stanza 3b reads:

3b  
 Set querelis  
 his crudelis  
 hospes non flectitur.  
 Quid igitur,  
 5 quid restat, misere?  
 Quid agam, misera?  
 Mors agat cetera.  
 Mors michi uiuere.  
 Mors uite claudat orbitam,  
 10 mors mali tollat cumulos.  
 Insignes ferat titulos,  
 qui sic delusit hospitam.

[3b

*But by these complaints the cruel guest is not swayed. What therefore, remains for me, miserable one that I am? What will I, miserable, do? Let Death do the rest. It is Death to me to live. Let Death bring to a close the circle of life; let Death remove the heaps of evil; let him who thus deluded his hostess bear away the distinguishing honors (he craves).]*

My translation.

71. Democritus (b. ca. 460 B.C.) was said to have ridiculed human folly and became known as the “laughing philosopher.” Diogenes the Cynic (b. ca. 412 B.C.) practiced an ascetic existence in Athens by (among other things) living in an earthenware jar. The poet seems to have conflated the latter with a third Greek philosopher, Heraclitus of Ephesus (active ca. 500 B.C.), whose gloomy vision of life’s transience led him to be called the “weeping philosopher” in contradistinction to Democritus.

72. Text in Wilmart, “Le Florilège Mixte,” 37–39; my translation.

73. Schreiber and Maresca, *Commentary*, 102–3. “Dicitur enim Ticius quasi tisiceos, id est consumptus anima. . . . Curiosus autem anima est consumptivus quia dum archanam rerum naturam vehementia laboriosi studii requirit. . . .” Jones and Jones, *Commentary*, 110. *Aeneid*, 6.595ff.

74. The text of stanzas 3b, 4a, 4b, 5a reads:

3b

Hic ad opes inhiat,  
ut siciat  
inter aquas Tantalus;  
ille quasi Dedalus  
5 laberinthum fabricat,  
cuius uias implicat  
ambicio nodosa.  
Ref. Varia et c(etera).

4a

Hic rota circumuoluitur  
anxia Yxionis,  
qui dissonis  
uotis inconstans rapitur;  
5 ille quasi Ticius  
renascenti iecore  
uultures [exsaciat],  
animus quem cruciat  
furens alto pectore,  
10 sibi male conscius.  
Ref. Varia et c(etera).

4b

Hic ut Licaon ululat,  
lupus cedis sitiens,  
qui seuiens  
rapinis opes cumulat;  
5 ille uultus Prothei  
multiformes induens

sese nodis elicit,  
 qui promissis allicit,  
 soluere non renuens  
 10 date nodos fidei.  
 Ref. Varia et c(etera).

5a  
 Mide regis uitio  
 gerunt aures asini  
 magni rerum domini,  
 quibus adulatio  
 5 palpat late patulas  
 auriculas  
 et humani bibulas  
 fauoris,  
 ausi de se credere  
 10 quicquid potest fundere  
 uox adulatoris.  
 Ref. Varia et c(etera).

[3b

*This one longs for wealth just as Tantalus thirsts while in the water; that one, like Daedalus, builds a labyrinth, the paths of which knotty ambition entangles.*

Ref. One is sent. . . .

4a

*This one is revolved on the anguishing wheel of Ixion, who, inconstant, is carried off by confused wishes; that one, just like Tityos, whom the soul tortures, satiates the vultures with his regenerating liver, burning deep in the breast, hardly conscious of himself.*

Ref. One is sent. . . .

4b

*This one howls like Lycaon, a wolf thirsting for carnage, who savagely heaps up wealth by pillage; that one, putting on the multiform faces of Proteus, drawing himself out in knots, attracts with promises, not refusing to loosen the knots of faith that have been pledged.*

Ref. One is sent. . . .

5a

*On account of the vice of King Midas, great lords bear the ears of an ass; (lords for whom) adulation widely caresses open ears and makes them fond of drinking in human flattery; they dared to believe about themselves whatever the voice of the flatterer was able to pour out.*

Ref. *One is sent*. . . .]

My translation. At stanza 4a, line 7 the MS reads “extisiat,” which has been corrected in the margin to read “exsiciat.” See Wilmart, “*Le Florilège Mixte*,” 38. The emended reading above seems to me to make more sense than either of the MS readings.

75. See Georg Heinrich Bode, *Scriptores Rerum Mythicarum Latini Tres Romae Nuper Reperti* (Celle, 1834; reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1968). On Tantalus see Westra, *Commentary*, 160: “Unde etiam nomen est avari Tantalus, id est ‘volens visionem,’ qui in mediis aquis sitit dum in media peccuniae affluentia peccuniam querit.”

76. Stanza 6b reads:

6b

Sic, dum uage uiuitur,

dum queritur

quid cuique sit dulcius

\* \* affert uariis

5 uoluptates, uariis

miseriis

corruptas;

tamen, dum deliciis

quisque suis fruitur

10 par sequitur

uoluptas.

Ref. *Varia et c(etera)*.

[6b

*Thus, as long as life is conducted far and wide, as long as it is asked what is sweeter for each, a changeable method brings pleasures corrupted by different miseries. Nevertheless, as long as each enjoys his own delights, equal pleasure follows.*

Ref. *One is sent*. . . .]

My translation.

77. For the Latin, Häring, “Alan of Lille,” 834.54–55; for the English, Sheridan, *The Complaint of Nature*, 133.

78. “Olim sudor” is found in the Bodley manuscript, Cambridge University Library Ff.1.17(1), *Carmina Burana*, Laurenziana Plutarchus 29.1, and Vat.reg.lat. 344. The fourth erotic lyric of the group, “Ver prope florigerum” (Wilmart 46), is also found in Auxerre 243 and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 228; Dronke edits and translates, *European Love-Lyric*, 374–78.

79. Text from Wilmart, “*Le Florilège Mixte*,” 64; my translation. Line 9 in stanza 1b is lacking in the manuscript; the suggested emendation is Wilmart’s.

80. Schumann, “Die jüngere Cambridger Liedersammlung.” For a facsimile and

complete transcription of the manuscript, including music, see Gillingham, *Cambridge Ff.i.17(1)*.

81. Rigg has suggested that some of the bound anthologies of Latin verse we now have originally existed and circulated in unbound pamphlets. See, in general, all his “Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies” articles; there is a particularly interesting discussion of Cotton Titus A.xx in “Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (I),” *Mediaeval Studies* 39 (1977): 287–91.

82. “etwa von älteren Schülern einer Dom- oder Klosterschule.” Schumann, “Die jüngere Cambridger Liedersammlung,” 51. In a recent discussion of the songbook, John Stevens confirms Schumann’s guess that the manuscript originated in a learned English community of teachers and students sometime in the early thirteenth century, and offers the Leicester area as one possible locale. Observing two fairly consistent scribes involved in the musical notation, he concludes that “in the absence of any systematic study of insular neumatic notations, it is impossible to generalize securely; however, there is nothing in the notation which contradicts the strong circumstantial evidence that the manuscript was written in England.” John Stevens, “University Library, MS Ff.i.17(1),” in *Cambridge Music Manuscripts, 900–1700*, ed. Iain Fenlon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 40–44. See also Stevens, *Words and Music*, 64–66, 72–73, 514, for discussion of some of the music in the manuscript.

83. Gillingham, *Cambridge Ff.i.17(1)*, ix and xi.

84. Schumann, “Die jüngere Cambridger Liedersammlung,” 48. “Die Schrift ist klein und . . . wenig schön,” the pages unrubricated and carelessly arranged (50). Schumann believes he can identify eleven separate, though similar, hands at work on the manuscript, each hand (with the exception of the third) appearing only once and sometimes breaking off in mid-song.

85. The erotic lyrics are nos. 9, 12, 15/16, and 19 in Schumann’s designation. No. 9 = *Carmina Burana* 108 and no. 19 = *Carmina Burana* 103. Peter Dronke, “Peter of Blois,” believes these were both composed by Peter of Blois. No. 9 = Dronke’s no. 45 and no. 19 = Dronke’s no. 27. The anonymous poems are Schumann’s 12 and 15/16.

86. Schumann numbers this poem 15/16 out of concern that the final (metrically distinct) stanza might constitute a separate poem. Gillingham, *Cambridge Ff.i.17(1)*, follows Schumann in making the division, but remains uncertain about the status of stanza 5 (xix). Since there is nothing in the arrangement of the manuscript page or in the contents of the poem to suggest that the last eight lines are not to be attached to the sixty-four lines preceding them, I have treated Schumann’s 15/16 as a single unit.

87. The eight stanzas are not without minor irregularities: l. 8 in 3a has an extra syllable, as do ll. 2, 4, and 8 in 4b. Half-stanza 4b also makes use of a c-rhyme in ll. 5 and 7.

88. Text from Schumann, “Die jüngere Cambridger Liedersammlung,” 69–70; my translation. Gillingham’s transcription in *Cambridge Ff.i.17(1)*, 45–46, differs in a number of places.



89. The manuscript clearly reads *amore*. Stanza 4 is admittedly difficult, as Schumann himself notes. In line 6 of 4b Schumann and Gillingham both print “indesideranti” as two words.

## CHAPTER 7

1. C. J. McDonough, *The Oxford Poems of Hugh Primas and the Arundel Lyrics* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1984), 10. The Arundel poems were first edited by Wilhelm Meyer, *Die Arundel Sammlung mittellateinischer Lieder* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1908). McDonough adopts Meyer’s numbering of the poems. Wollin, *Petri Blesensis Carmina*, 387–504, edits Arundel 1–18. Four of the erotic songs also occur in the *Carmina Burana* (4 = CB 67, 8 = CB 83, 10 = CB 72, 14 = CB 108); no. 12 occurs in Vaticana latina 4389; and fragments of no. 28 in Bibliothèque Nationale latin 3719 and Auxerre 243. See chapter 6. Prose pieces in the Arundel manuscript include a series of Sunday epistles, sermons on various Old and New Testament texts, and moral stories collected by Dominican theologian Robert Holcot. These works take up most of the volume to fol. 222 and indicate that the bulk of the current manuscript was put together as a Franciscan preaching manual. The booklet occupies fols. 223–42; the twenty-eight lyrics are on fols. 233<sup>r</sup>–238<sup>r</sup>. Judging from the change in layout and from the wear and tear on the recto of fol. 223, the final section of Arundel 384 circulated for some time separate and unbound.

2. Mozeley, “Le ‘De Vetula,’” 53.

3. The *De Officiis* was “save for the latter Philippics, [Cicero’s] last contribution to literature.” Walter Miller, trans., *Cicero: De Officiis*, Loeb Classical Library (1913), ix. For the Latin, see now M. Winterbottom, ed., *M. Tulli Ciceronis De officiis* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994).

4. In the course of his long career Peter held a variety of offices in Anglo-Norman secular and ecclesiastical courts. Several hundred manuscript copies of the several editions of his collection of epistles survive, many from the fifteenth century. Manuscripts of the letters are found in France and Germany, as well as England. Brought together at the request of Henry II himself (Peter claims), the collection has been called “a solid, learned, unspecialized book for anyone who could understand Latin and was interested in serious problems of conduct and human affairs” (Southern, “Peter of Blois,” 105).

5. Dronke, “Peter of Blois.” My summary is based on the useful summaries in McDonough, *Oxford Poems*, 12, and in R. W. Southern, “The Necessity of Two Peters of Blois,” in *Intellectual Life in the Middle Ages*, ed. Lesley Smith and Benedicta Ward (London: Hambledon Press, 1992), 103–18.

6. The letter to Peter’s nephew is Epistle 12 in *PL* 207.39B–C. In the Migne edition of Peter’s letters the poems in Epistle 57 appear as only two items; the second of these has been shown to be, in fact, five shorter poems. See Dronke, “Peter of Blois,” 191 n. 27 and 216.

7. For summaries of what is known of Peter's life see Gunnar Stollberg, *Die soziale Stellung der intellektuellen Oberschicht im England des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Lübeck: Matthiesen Verlag, 1973), 38–52; Türk, *Nugae Curialium*, 124–58; and Wollin, *Petri Blesensis Carmina*, 11–20. Of his own career, Peter notes in Epistle 139 (Migne, PL 207.415), “ab ineunte aetate semper in scholis aut in curiis militavi.”

8. Türk, *Nugae*, 142–45.

9. Richard Southern, “Peter of Blois and the Third Crusade,” in *Studies in Medieval History presented to R.H.C. Davis*, ed. Henry Mayr-Harting and R. I. Moore (London: Hambledon Press, 1985), 215.

10. Türk, *Nugae*, 157. He was nearly seventy when he was at last ordained a priest (Türk, *Nugae*, 145ff.). After losing his place at Bath, Peter refused the position of archdeacon of London because it provided insufficient support (Türk, *Nugae*, 131).

11. Southern, “Necessity of Two Peters,” 117. John R. Williams, “William of the White Hands and Men of Letters,” in *Anniversary Essays in Mediaeval History by Students of Charles Homer Haskins*, ed. C. H. Taylor (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1929), 365–87, deals with many of the same materials as Southern and prefigures some of his conclusions.

12. Text from PL 207.232B–C, 233A, 234A–B, 237A. Southern, “Necessity of Two Peters,” quotes all these with additional passages, 108; my translation.

13. The situation of the two Peters of Blois is confused in part because both were canons at Chartres. Peter-the-letter-writer, according to Southern, though technically a canon of Chartres, never had “a residential position at Chartres,” nor did his title “carr[y] with it any significant function or emolument” (110).

14. The poems are the six contained in Epistle 57 (Dronke 19, 26, 35, 37, 38, 40), two poems in praise of wine (12 and 42), and three poems from the *Carmina Burana* that seem to Southern “closely related in style and subject-matter to those attached to Epistle 57” (7, 18, and 49). Southern, “Necessity of Two Peters,” 117.

15. Along with all twenty-eight poems contained in Arundel 384, Dronke also assigns to Peter of Blois the *Carmina Burana* poems that Hilka and Schumann numbered 29, 30, 31, 33, 63, 67, 69, 72, 83, and 108; MS. Oxford Bodleian Additional A.44 contains poems numbered by Dronke 4, 6, 15, 19, 23, 27, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41, and 47.

16. See Geoffrey Block's groundbreaking study, *Enchanted Evenings: The Broadway Musical from Show Boat to Sondheim* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

17. Text from McDonough, *Oxford Poems*, 98–99; my translation.

18. It is not obvious in stanza 1.7–8 if the poet is speaking generally of Jupiter as the chief god who oversees the movements of all the planets or if he means to imply that Jupiter and the sun are in conjunction in Taurus. Given Jupiter's long orbital period, the planet would appear in Taurus with the sun approximately every twelve years. Prof. Alexander Jones of the Department of Classics at the University of Toronto informs me that in the second half of the twelfth century such conjunctions occurred in late April or early May 1146, 1158, 1170, 1182, and 1194. I am very grateful to Prof. Jones for his generous help in this and other matters (see below).

19. There are eight Flora/Florula poems in the Arundel collection: 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 14, 15, 16.

20. Text from McDonough, *Oxford Poems*, 97–98; my translation. McDonough points out (97n), following Dronke, a possible play on the Latin form of Peter of Blois's name (Petrus Blesensis) in the word "blesencia." I have rendered the refrain according to McDonough's suggestions.

21. See McDonough, *Oxford Poems*, 97.

22. Ps. 54:2–4. For the Vulgate text see Alberto Colunga and Laurentio Turrado, eds., *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Clementinam* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1965); for the Douay-Rheims text, *The Holy Bible Translated from the Latin Vulgate* (1899; Rockford, Ill.: Tan Books, 1971).

23. Ps. 54.22–24.

24. Bernardus Silvestris elaborates a version of this in his commentary on the *De nuptiis*: "Visus et alloquium, contactus et oscula, factum" [Sight and speech, touch and kiss, deed]; see Westra, *Commentary*, 75. See also Godman, "Literary Classicism," 162–65 for a discussion of this topos as it appears in Arundel 10, "Grates ago Veneri."

25. Text from McDonough, *Oxford Poems*, 82–83; my translation.

26. McDonough, *Oxford Poems*, 83, points out this ambiguity.

27. "A globo" is *Carmina Burana* 67. For the music from Florence, Laurenziana Plutarchus 29.1, which lacks stanza 5, see Gillingham, *Critical Study*, 98–99, and *Secular Medieval Latin Song: An Anthology* (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1993), 116–18. The song is through-composed, but only the text for half-stanzas 1a, 2a, 3a and 4a is recorded.

28. McDonough, *Oxford Poems*, 8onn, quotes the relevant passages from "Megacosmos" 1.1:

Congeries informis adhuc, cum Silva teneret  
Sub veteri confusa globo primordia rerum,  
Visa deo Natura queri. . . .

and "Microcosmos" 3.1:

Sed quoniam par est diligentem opificem claudentes partes operis digna consumatione finire, visum est michi in homine fortunam honoremque operis terminare. Inpensoribus eum beneficiis, inpensoribus eum impleam incrementis, ut universis a me factis animalibus quodam quasi dignitatis privilegio et singularitate concertet.

For a discussion of the relevance of these passages for an understanding of stanza 1 of "A globo" see David A. Traill, "Notes on 'Dum Diane vitrea' (CB 62) and 'A globo veteri' (CB 67)," *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch* 23 (1988): 149–51. Traill calls the poem an "elegant masterpiece" (149) and the poet "a man of refined education and unimpeachable Latinity" (150).

29. Munari, *Ars versificatoria*, at 2.56, pp. 82–84; cited in Godman, "Literary

Criticism,” 160–62. McDonough, *Oxford Poems*, 80–81, cites five instances of verbal parallels with Gerald’s poem and two passages parallel to the *Cosmographia*.

30. Dronke, *Bernardus Silvestris Cosmographia*, 120, “Megacosmos” 4.14; Wetherbee, *Cosmographia*, 90.

31. Traill’s analysis in “Notes,” 149–51, of the difficult stanza 1a of “A globo” in light of the opening of Bernardus’s *Cosmographia* produces an expanded translation that would read something like this: “When the gods [Noys and Natura] had drawn from the ancient mass [of unreformed Silva] the form of things [i.e. reformed Silva], which, once it had received its mind soul, unfolded and interwove the order of the cosmos, Nature had already . . .”

32. Text from McDonough, *Oxford Poems*, 80–82; my translation.

33. Stanzas 2b and 3a read:

2b

Et, que puellulis  
auara singulis  
solet partiri singula,  
huic sedula  
5 inpendit copiosius  
et plenius  
forme munuscula.

3a

Nature studio  
longe venustata,  
contendit lilio  
rugis non crispata  
5 frons niuea.  
simplices syderea  
luce micant ocelli.

[2b

*And who is greedy is accustomed to distribute single gifts to each of the little girls, on this one she diligently weighs out more fully and generously the little gifts of beauty.*

3a

*Made lovely at length by the devotion of Nature, the snowy brow, not creased with wrinkles, vies with the lily. The frank little eyes shine with a heavenly light.]*

My translation.

34. Stanza 5a reads:

5a

Certant niui, micant lene

- pectus, mentum, colla, gene;  
 set, ne candore nimio  
 euanescant in pallorem,  
 5 precastigat hunc candorem  
 rosam maritans lilio  
 prudencior Natura,  
 vt ex hiis fiat apcior  
 et gracior  
 10 mixtura.

[5a

*They vie with the snow, they glimmer gently: breast, chin, neck, cheeks; but, lest with too much whiteness they disappear into pallor, a more prudent Nature, marrying the rose with the lily, moderates in advance this whiteness, so that out of them there might be made a more apt and a more lovely mixture.]*

My translation.

35. Dronke believes the name Coronis is found in medieval Latin love poetry only in Arundel 1, 4, and 10 (“Peter of Blois,” 219).

36. This is the only Coronis cited in Lewis and Short; the story is perhaps most famously known to medievalists as the penultimate of Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales*, where it is told by the Manciple. There are other reasons, besides the Ovidian associations, that the name Coronis might have appealed to the author and might have seemed an appropriate name to distinguish this woman from the Flora of Arundel 15 and 16. On the one hand, a *coronis* is (to quote Lewis and Short) “the curved line or flourish formed with a pen, which writers or transcribers were accustomed to make at the end of a book or chapter,” thus a marker for a complete text. On the other hand, a *corona* is both a crown (such as the crown of poetic renown) and the constellation, the northern crown.

37. In *Carmina Burana* the stanzas are arranged 1 2 3 5 7; in the Vatican manuscript 1 2 5 4 7; the refrain is found only in CB. Meyer, *Arundel*, 20. In his edition, Meyer rearranges the stanzas as they are found in Arundel 384 to suit his own notions of coherence. McDonough, *Oxford Poems*, 86–87, retains the sequence of stanzas found in the manuscript, as does Wollin, *Petri Blesensis Carmina*, 430–39, who notes the different versions of the poem (431). None of the poem’s editors has suggested that the refrain is not original to Arundel 8, though, of course, its weak manuscript tradition increases the possibility that that is the case.

38. Godman, “Literary Classicism,” 162.

39. Flora was the goddess of flowers; her festival was celebrated in late April, “often with unbridled license” (Lewis and Short, 759).

40. Ll. 25–30; A. L. Clements, ed., *John Donne’s Poetry* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1966), 55.

41. Walter of Châtillon makes use of the same figure in “Autumnali frigore,”

poem 21 in Karl Strecker, ed., *Die Lieder Walters von Chatillon in der Handschrift 351 von St. Omer* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1925), 34:

Autumnali frigore  
marcescente lilio  
foris algens corpore  
flammas intus sentio.

Jan M. Ziolkowski brings attention to this passage in “The Humour of Logic and the Logic of Humour in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance,” *Journal of Medieval Latin* 3 (1993): 3.

42. This refrain is found only in *Carmina Burana*, where “Seuit aure” is CB 83; see McDonough, *Oxford Poems*, 86. The text for the refrain here follows Godman, “Literary Classicism,” 153–54.

43. Text from McDonough, *Oxford Poems*, 86–87; my translation.

44. See Godman, “Literary Classicism,” 156, who notes of stanzas 3 and 4 “the well-worn device of Venus’ inspiration” and the “equally conventional sense of heavenly power created by the lady’s reciprocated feeling.”

45. That is, in stanza 1: the sun, Mercury, Venus; and in stanza 2: the earth, Jupiter, Saturn. McDonough, *Oxford Poems*, 74–76nn, notes the relevant passages from Martianus.

46. Wollin, *Petri Blesensis Carmina*, reads “elucescit” (391).

47. Text from McDonough, *Oxford Poems*, 74–76; my translation.

48. Mercury’s own astrological “house” is in Gemini (along with Aries and Taurus one of the vernal constellations of the zodiac), and he was thus naturally associated with the spring. See Willis, *Martianus Capella*, 12.16ff. (*De nuptiis* 1.27) and Danuta Shanzer, *A Philosophical and Literary Commentary on Martianus Capella’s De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii Book 1* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986), 115–16. The situation described in the first stanza of “Dionei sideris” (Mercury entering between Maia and Venus) occurs occasionally, but not by any means annually. Prof. Jones informs me that the best examples of the conjunction of these celestial objects between 1150 and 1175 occurred on May 29, 1154, May 17, 1162 and May 25, 1168.

49. Cybele is the Phrygian goddess of nature, also called *Ops* or *Magna Mater*, worshipped at Rome. Bernardus Silvestris (Westra, *Commentary*, 121) equates her with *Terra* as well as with *Ops* and *Rhea*.

50. Willis, *Martianus Capella*, 3, 9, and 12; i.e. *De nuptiis* 1.5, 17, and 25.

51. [petaso autem ac talaribus concitatis coepit praeire Mercurius; sed scandente Phoebos Musarum pedisequs adhaerensque comitatus candenti canoraque alite vehebatur. tum vero conspiceres totius mundi gaudia convenire. nam et Tellus floribus luminata, quippe veris deum conspexerat subvolare Mercurium, et Apolline conspicato aëria Temperies sudis tractibus renidebat. superi autem globi orbesque septemplexes suavis cuiusdam melodiae harmonicis tinnitibus concinebant ac sono ultra solitum dul-



cioire, quippe Musas adventare praesenserant; quae quidem singillatim circulis quibusque metatis, ubi suae pulsum modulationis agnoverant, constiterunt. . . . sola vero, quod vector eius cycnus impatiens oneris atque etiam subvolandi alumna stagna petierat, Thalia derelicta in ipso florentis campi ubere residebat.] For the Latin text, Willis, *Martianus Capella*, 12–13; for the English, Stahl and Johnson, *Martianus Capella*, 2:15–16.

52. [Dicitur enim Maia una Pleiadum eo quod maior sit reliquis. Maia enim quasi “meie” dicitur, id est magnum. Maia quoque rhetorica est. Cum enim gramatica sit eloquentie principium, dialectica provectus, ipsa est perfectio. . . . Mercurium enim diximus esse sermonem, cui figure nomen in expositione aptavimus.] Westra, *Commentary*, 5.956–61, p. 125; my translation.

53. [Mercurius itaque filius Iovis quia sermo, ut alia bona, donum est creatoris; filius est Maie quia formatur rethorica preceptione. . . . Evidens hoc loco est descriptio verni temporis, quod quidem opportunum est ad studium. Tunc enim non gravamur violentia estivi caloris vel frigoris hiemalis vel autumpnalis morbi. His tribus temporibus, scilicet autumpno, hieme, estate pro intemperantia quiescebant poete. . . . Recipit autem Taurus solem in Aprili, qui mensis est vernalis. Recipitur et ibidem Mercurius cum sit comes solis.] Westra, *Commentary*, 5.969–97, p. 126; my translation.

54. [*Quippe deum veris*: Temperiei. Eloquentia enim mitigat persuasione naturam nostram. Quia cernit Mercurium cum sole volare, luminatur terra *floribus*, id est quia sentit iunctam cum sapientia incedere eloquentiam, exornatur caro nostra potentiis naturalibus; aliter enim nullum ei darent ornamentum. *Et Apolline*. Sicut enim terra figurat carnem, sic et aer animam invisibilem, mobilem, virtute ferventem, scientia coruscantem. . . . Aque in aerem exiguntur dum scientie in anima edificantur. . . . Sensus autem is est: et Mercurius terram et sol aerem exornat quia, dum illa tria bona sociantur, et eloquentia carnem ab omni turpi usu revocat et ad honesta persuasione invitat, et sapientia mentem disciplinis illustrat.] Westra, *Commentary*, 10.226–42, p. 232; my translation.

55. Stanzas 3 and 4 read:

- 3  
Exulat pars acrior  
anni renascentis.  
spirat aura gravior  
veris blandientis.
- 5 rose rubor suis audet  
nodis explicari,  
Aquilonem sibi gaudet  
iam non nouercari;  
anni triste senium
- 10 ver infans excludit.  
Aquilonis ocium

terre depingit faciem;  
 temperiem  
 dans aura veneriis  
 15 inperiis  
 alludit.

Wollin, *Petri Blesensis Carmina*, reads “imperiiis” in l. 15 (393).

4  
 Brumali tyrannide  
 longe relegata,  
 seuit puer cuspide  
 Cyprius armata,  
 5 vt nec Hermen caduceus  
 suus tueatur;  
 nec iam liber est Lieus:  
 nominis negatur  
 Bacho priuilegium;  
 10 stupet se seruire.  
 iactitat imperium  
 triumphans proles Veneris  
 de superis,  
 cum cogatur iterum  
 15 rex superum  
 mugire.

Wollin, *Petri Blesensis Carmina*, reads Liber in l. 7 (393). See McDonough, *Oxford Poems*, 75n, on this. “Liber” is one of Bacchus’s alternative names; when Bacchus is under the influence of Cupid, he is no longer “free” and therefore does not live up to his name. Lyaeus is one of Bacchus’s surnames.

[3  
*The harsher part of the year being reborn is in exile. The more lovely breeze of the alluring spring blows; the redness of the rose buds dares to be untangled from (its) knots. Now (the rose) rejoices to itself that the North Wind does not act like a step-mother; infant Spring excludes the sad old age of the year. The North Wind’s inactivity paints the face of the earth; the breeze, giving warmth, plays, in accordance with Venus’s orders.*

4  
*With the wintry tyranny banished far off, the Cyprian boy rages with his armed spear-point, so that Mercury’s own caduceus does not protect him; nor now is Lyaeus free: the prerogative of (his) name is denied to Bacchus; he is amazed that he serves. The triumphant offspring of Venus overthrows the power of the gods, when the king of the gods again is forced to bellow.*

56. McDonough, *Oxford Poems*, 76n, observes “the puns on logical terms.” See also Ziolkowski, “Humour of Logic,” 1–12, for a useful discussion of the teaching of logic in the schools of the twelfth century and of the ways in which logical language might be incorporated into humorous literature.

## CHAPTER 8

1. The two short lyrics have both been attributed to Peter of Blois by Dronke, “Peter of Blois.”

2. Wetherbee, *Cosmographia*, 22–23. In killing the Medusa with the aid of Pallas and Mercury, Perseus figures virtue’s ability to overcome evil with the help of wisdom and eloquence; see Schreiber and Maresca, *Commentary*, 69–70; Jones and Jones, *Commentary*, 72–73. Theseus is *deus bonus*, “the good god”: half mortal and half divine, he can be taken as “wisdom, which is divine in its theoretic part and human in its practical part.” Schreiber and Maresca, *Commentary*, 83; Jones and Jones, *Commentary*, 88. See also Édouard Jeuneau, “L’usage de la notion d’integumentum à travers les gloses de Guillaume de Conches,” *Archives d’histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 32 (1957): 40–41. Jeuneau notes that William of Conches, in his glosses on the *Consolation* of Boethius, etymologizes Ulysses as “omnium peregrinus,” a wise man who understands everything about the temporal (Troyes MS 1381, fol. 75<sup>r</sup> and Troyes MS 1101, fol. 13<sup>v</sup>).

3. Bernardus signals his interest in them as a pair closely linked to Aeneas by citing them together in a general discussion of the meaning of the descent *ad inferos* in *Aeneid* 6. He stresses in his integumental analysis that the underworld of the myths corresponds to the postlapsarian world of men, not the Christian hell. In particular, the human body is called the “lower region” [infernium] in which souls are trapped “as if in spiritual prisons” [a spiritibus carcerariis]; more generally, he says, people call the whole fallen lower region the “underworld” [inferos], that is, the whole world outside of the delights of Eden. Schreiber and Maresca, *Commentary*, 32; Jones and Jones, *Commentary*, 29.

4. See chapter 1 for Baudri; Hilbert, *Baldricus Burgulianus Carmina*, carmen 200.115–16; Bond, *The Loving Subject*, 170–81.

5. Old numeration fol. 300r. See the appendix for the text and translation of the poem. Schumann, “Die jüngere Cambridger Liedersammlung,” assigns “Olim sudor Herculis” no. 19. Poem no. 18 is a song about Simeon of Jerusalem (Luke 2:22–32) and poem no. 20 a song to St. Thomas, both unique to this manuscript, apparently. Schumann’s notes to *Carmina Burana* 63 cite five manuscripts containing “Olim sudor,” including Oxford Bodleian Library Additional A.44. Peter Dronke edits and translates the lyric in the liner notes to the recording *Spielmann und Kleriker (um 1200)* (Ensemble Sequentia, EMI CDC 7 49704 2 [CD], 1981). See Dag Norberg, *Introduction à l’étude de la versification latine médiévale* (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1958), 167–78. In structure, the poem is a classic sequence—a series of half-stanzas (strophe

and antistrophe), with each half-stanza matching its other half in form. Here each half-stanza seems to have been separated from the next by a repeated refrain—something not normally a sequence element.

6. See Gillingham, *Cambridge Ff.i.17(1)*, viii–xii.

7. Deianeira thought the cloak was a love charm. Peter Dronke characterizes “Olim sudor” as “light and elegant in its learning and its rejection of love” (Dronke, *European Love-Lyric*, 300), and has gone on to see the work more broadly as part of a characteristic wish of Peter of Blois to abandon love and “courtly frivolities” for scholarship and more serious concerns: “Peter loves repenting—and gazing back at what he is repenting of” (Dronke, *Spielmann und Kleriker*).

8. Seneca’s treatment of the story in *Hercules Furens* and *Hercules Oetaeus* may also have had some influence on late antique and medieval perceptions of the story. See especially l. 959 in *Hercules Furens*, where Jupiter promises divinity to his son, “astra promittit pater” (85 in the Loeb edition).

9. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 9.252–56. I have emended Miller’s text and translation slightly based on the Teubner edition.

10. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 9.268–72.

11. [Ne vos aut tristis opprimat aut iucunda corrumpat.] Boethius, *Consolation* 4, pr. 7 (Green, trans., 99). Also Stewart and Rand, *Boethius*, 360; 4, *prosa* 7.48–49. For a discussion of the whole of “Bella bis quinis” in its classical context see Gerard O’Daly, *The Poetry of Boethius* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 220–34.

12. Boethius, *Consolation* 4, *metrum* 7.29–35. Translation from Green, *Consolation*, 100; Stewart and Rand, *Boethius*, 362.

13. Whitbread, *Fulgentius the Mythographer*, 67–70; Rudolf Helm, ed., *Fabii Planciadii Fulgentii V.C. Opera* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1898), 41–43.

14. Whitbread, *Fulgentius the Mythographer*, 129; Helm, *Opera*, 97.

15. Péter Kulcsár, ed., *Mythographi Vaticani I et II*, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina vol. 91c (Turnhout: Brepols, 1987), 2.173–77, pp. 232–36. A commentary on Boethius’s *Consolation* by Remigius exists and has been published in part, but the published sections do not include either the Hercules segment (4, m. 7) or the Orpheus (3, m. 12). See Pierre Courcelle, “Étude critique sur les commentaires de la Consolation de Boèce (IX–XVe siècles),” *Archives d’histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 12 (1939): 5–140, who lists the manuscripts (121–23). Edmund Taite Silk, *Saeculi Noni Auctoris in Boetii Consolationem Philosophiae Commentarius*, Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, vol. 9 (Rome: American Academy, 1935), prints selections from the “Commentary of Remigius of Auxerre,” 305–43.

16. William of Conches in his commentary on Boethius’s *Consolation* also discusses Hercules. Courcelle, “Étude critique,” 129–31, lists thirteen complete manuscripts of William of Conches’s commentary on Boethius’s *Consolation*, the obvious source for William’s discussion of the Hercules myth.

17. This is not Fulgentius’s etymology, who says he is called *Heracles* after the

Greek *eroncleos*, "which in Latin we call the fame of strong men" [quod nos Latine uiro-  
rum fortium famam dicimus]; *Mythologies* 2.2; Whitbread, *Fulgentius the Mythographer*,  
68; Helm, *Opera*, 41.

18. [Ydram comburit, id est, videns sapiens studium suum parum utile, vivacis-  
simo igne mentis ignorantiam dissolvit cum fervore inquirendi eam investigat et splen-  
dore cognoscendi illustrat.] Schreiber and Maresca, *Commentary*, 69; Jones and Jones,  
*Commentary*, 71.

19. [rapacitatem acutis increpationibus arguit.] Schreiber and Maresca, *Commen-  
tary*, 71; Jones and Jones, *Commentary*, 74.

20. [Boreas Zeti et Calais pater est quia gloria poematis et egregii operis est causa.  
Virtutis enim fructum multi ponunt in gloria. Poete vero gloriam maxime querunt. . . .  
Auxilio Zeti et Calais Arpie necantur quia poeticis satiris et boni operis exemplis  
capacitates avaricie auferuntur.] Schreiber and Maresca, *Commentary*, 72; Jones and  
Jones, *Commentary*, 75.

21. [fortis notat virtutem, formosus gloriam.] Schreiber and Maresca, *Commen-  
tary*, 83; Jones and Jones, *Commentary*, 87.

22. [sed quia est semideus, id est rationalis et immortalis in anima, irrationabilis  
et in corpore mortalis.] Schreiber and Maresca, *Commentary*, 83; Jones and Jones,  
*Commentary*, 87.

23. Alberic very likely was writing after midcentury and well after Bernardus  
composed his *Aeneid* commentary (if we are right in identifying him with the Third  
Vatican Mythographer). The introductory section of Alberic's treatise that deals with  
the etymology of Hercules' name, as well as the Omphale and Cacus episodes, is essen-  
tially a reorganized paraphrase of material in the *Etymologies*. Section 1 is followed by  
seven more, all concerned with Hercules' labors and his eventual stellification. Section  
8 deals with the occasional confusion of the stars of Hercules and Mars in classical  
sources.

24. [Omnia monstra . . . vicisse dicatur . . . omnes cupiditates et cuncta vitia ter-  
rena contempsit et domuit.] Bode, *Scriptores*, 3.13.14.7-17, p. 248; my translation.

25. See Robert Graves, *The Greek Myths*, 2 vols. (1955; Harmondsworth: Pen-  
guin, 1984), 2:136-37, for a summary of this part of the fable.

26. Much of Alberic's material in sections 13.7-8, where he describes the  
founding of Hercules' cult and the rites performed for King Evander by Potitius and  
members of the Pinarian house, comes almost verbatim from Servius's *In Vergilii  
Aeneidos Librum Sextum Commentarius* (Georg Thilo and Hermann Hagen, eds.,  
*Servii grammatici qui feruntur in Vergillii carmina commentarii*, 4 vols. [Leipzig,  
1881-1902; reprint, Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1961], vol. 2.1, 233-37. Servius makes  
his remarks in comments on *Aeneid*, 8.268ff.; Alberic compresses his sprawling  
source to emphasize Hercules' two roles as the priest founder of a cult and as an  
object of veneration. The episode comes as a kind of finale to the material on Her-  
cules, as if to suggest that these functions summarize the meaning of Hercules' life.

See also James George Frazer, ed. and trans., *Ovid's Fasti*, Loeb Classical Library (1951), 1.461–586, for Hercules' victory over Cacus. On the establishment of his altar see ll. 579–82:

immolat ex illis taurum tibi, Iuppiter, unum  
victor et Evandrum ruricolaeque vocat,  
constituitque sibi, quae Maxima dicitur, aram,  
hic ubi pars urbis de bove nomen habet.

[Of the bulls the victor sacrificed one to thee, Jupiter, and invited Evander and the swains to the feast; and for himself he set up the altar that is called the Greatest at the spot where a part of the city takes its name from an ox.]

27. [Legitur etiam Hercules cum armentis devicti Geryonis in Italiam veniens, ab Evandro tunc regnante tandem susceptus, quum se et Jovis filium dixisset, et morte Caci virtutem suam probasset, pro numine habitus esse, et aram, quae ara maxima dicta est, meruisse, quam ei Delphicus Apollo in Italia fore praedixerat. . . . Quumque de suo armento ad sua sacrificia dedisset, duobus senibus Pinario et Potitio, qualiter se coli vellet, ostendit, et mane sibi ac vespere sacrificari iussit.] Bode, *Scriptores*, 3.13.7.29–39, p. 249; my translation.

28. [Legitur etiam in libris antiquis, secum Herculem ad Italiam ingens poculum ligneum attulisse, quo in sacris utebatur; quod ne carie consumeretur, pice oblitum conservabatur.] Bode, *Scriptores*, 3.13.7.8–11, p. 250; my translation.

29. *Metamorphoses*, 9.182–98, seems to mention all twelve labors, plus some additional feats. Boethius clearly mentions twelve separate tasks, but not all of them are strictly speaking part of the twelve labors. All mythological references in “Olim sudor” can be found in *Metamorphoses* 9, except the allusion to Cacus that Ovid dealt with at length in *Fasti*, 1.543–86 and Virgil in *Aeneid*, 8.184–305.

30. “Here he resolves to abandon love . . . not because God is displeased by a sensual way of life, but for a worldly reason: ‘Love deflowers fame’s merit,’ and Peter wants to become famous” (Dronke, *Spielmann und Kleriker*).

31. Cacus is “semi-hominis” in *Aeneid*, 8.194; Nessus “biformis” in *Metamorphoses*, 9.121. “Nesso duplici” here, which Dronke renders “wily Nessus,” could just as easily be translated as “two-formed Nessus,” setting up a nice parallelism with the “forma triplici” that the phrase rhymes with later in the stanza.

32. [Antaeus itaque sub figura libidinis ponitur.] Bode, *Scriptores*, 3.13.2.11–12; p. 247.

33. Ipse tamen poteris istum frenare furorem,  
Si fugias potior potio nulla datur.  
Si uitare uelis Venerem, loca, tempora uita.  
Et locus et tempus pabula donat ei.  
Prosequitur, si tu sequeris. Fugiendo fugatur.  
Si cedis, cedit. Si fugis, illa fugit.



[You can by yourself, however, restrain this madness, if you but flee; no more powerful antidote is available. If you wish to avoid Venus, avoid her places and times. Both place and time add fuel to her fire. If you follow, she keeps up the pursuit. By your flight she is put to flight. If you give ground, she gives ground. If you flee, she flees.]

Sheridan, *The Complaint of Nature*, 153; Häring, “Alan of Lille,” 844.

34. The author of the poem may well have had in mind the passage quoted in the previous note. I would like to thank Gregson Davis of the Stanford University Department of Classics for his advice on these lines.

35. Dronke, “Peter of Blois,” believes Lycoris appears only in the poems Dronke attributes to Peter of Blois (218–20). The name refers to the famous mistress of the poet Gallus in Ovid, Virgil, Martial, and Propertius.

36. André Vernet, “Poésies latines des XIIe et XIIIe siècles (Auxerre 243)” in *Mélanges dédiés à la mémoire de Felix Grat*, 2 vols. (Paris: Pecquer-Grat, 1949), 2:251–75.

37. Rudolf Wilhelm Lenzen reported the discovery of these lyrics in his dissertation “Überlieferungsgeschichtliche und Verfasseruntersuchungen zur lateinischen Liebesdichtung Frankreichs im Hochmittelalter,” Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, 1973, 68–97. For Peter Dronke’s comments on Lenzen’s work see “Peter of Blois,” 215 n. 72, and, on the manuscript, 232–33. All six poems have been attributed to Peter of Blois by Dronke; they are (1) “Predantur oculos,” (2) “Ver prope florigerum” (a fragment embedded in “Predantur”), (3) “De terre gremio,” (4) “Ex ungue primo,” (5) “Blandus aure spiritus,” (6) “Quam uelim uirginum.” See also Wollin, *Petri Blesensis Carmina*, 124–32, 585–631 for commentary on Lenzen’s “Sammlung X” and editions of all these poems. The provenance of Corpus 228 is uncertain, but it may well be a northern French manuscript. See the evidence in M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912), 2:527–29.

38. Both copies of “Predantur oculos” have inserted, after the fourth half-stanza, three lines extracted from the lyric “Ver prope florigerum” (found complete on fol. 18 in Auxerre 243 and also in Bodleian Library Additional A.44); in both copies of “Predantur oculos,” for no apparent reason, half-stanza 1b follows half-stanza 2b; the Corpus 228 version omits the last three lines of half-stanza 2a.

39. James, *Corpus Christi*, 1.528, was led by this final collocation of texts to believe the verses were therefore part of Bernardus’s work.

40. Though Orpheus was not Jupiter’s son, but merely the offspring of the muse Calliope and the king of Thebes, Oeagrus, who is sometimes called a river or wine god. For summaries of the Orpheus story see Friedman, *Orpheus*, 6–10, and Graves, *Myths*, 1:111–15. Graves gives Orpheus’s father as the “Thracian King Oeagrus”; Friedman notes that while some said Orpheus’s father was Apollo, the “wine god Oeagrus” was the usual choice. Servius, commenting on *Aeneid*, 6.645 (Thilo and Hagen, *Servii*, 2.1, 89), says “Orpheus Calliopes musae et Oeagri fluminis filius fuit.” The First Vatican Mythographer (Kulcsár, *Mythographi Vaticani*, 1.76, p. 33) says somewhat obliquely:

“Orpheus, Oeagri et Caliope Muse filius, ut quidam putant, Apollinis filiam habuit uxorem Eurydicen.”

41. See the appendix for the text of the poem and translation. Text and translation may also be found in Dronke’s *European Love-Lyric*, 403–5. For a different translation see Adcock, *Virgin and Nightingale*, 56–59.

42. Dronke refers to the “allusive (perhaps bewildering) narrative concision” of the lyric that makes it as lapidary and complex in its own rhythmic way as an ode of Horace (*European Love-Lyric*, 405).

43. Peter Dronke has described four poems that touch on Orpheus and Eurydice (three from the period 1075–85 and one from the early twelfth century) in addition to “Predantur oculis” (Peter Dronke, “The Return of Eurydice,” *Classica et mediaevalia* 23 [1962]: 198–215). See also Dronke’s *European Love-Lyric*, 341–52 on the two versions of “Parce continuis.” These, together with other poems (e.g. “Ver prope florigerum,” also attributed to Peter of Blois, [Dronke, “Peter of Blois,” 229] and “Dum Diane vitrea” [Dronke, *European Love-Lyric*, 307–9]) suggest the widespread interest in the pair and the high status they held in the educated consciousness, like Pyramus and Thisbe, as ideal models of ancient lovers.

44. John Block Friedman’s *Orpheus in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970) provides an overview of the development of the Orpheus story up to the Renaissance; in this section I have taken frequent advantage of Friedman’s translations from the Latin. Another survey may be found in Patricia Vicari’s “Sparagmos: Orpheus among the Christians,” in *Orpheus: The Metamorphoses of a Myth*, ed. John Warden (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 63–83.

45. *Consolation* 3, *metrum* 12.1–4; translation from Green, *Consolation*, 73; Stewart and Rand, *Consolation*, 294.

46. See *Metamorphoses*, 10.1–85, 11.1–66; and *Georgics*, 4.453–527, H. Rushton Fairclough, trans., *Virgil*, 2 vols., Loeb Classical Library (1916).

47. *Consolation* 3, *metrum* 12, 52–58; Green, *Consolation*, 74; Stewart and Rand, *Consolation*, 296.

48. Fulgentius draws most directly on Virgil’s *Georgics*, 4.315–527. He offers the *fabula* as an “artis . . . musicae designatio,” a myth showing that science cannot explain the effect of music on the soul. Orpheus can bring his wife up to the world only if he refuses to examine her too closely; by seeking an explanation (by looking at her), he loses her. See *Mythologies*, 3.10; Whitbread, *Fulgentius the Mythographer*, 96–97; Helm, *Opera*, 77–78.

49. Silvestris homines sacer interpresque deorum  
caedibus et victu foedo deterruit Orpheus,  
dictus ob hoc lenire tigris rabidosque leones.

[While men still roamed the woods, Orpheus, the holy prophet of the gods, made them shrink from bloodshed and brutal living; hence the fable that he tamed tigers and ravening lions.]

Fairclough, *Horace*, ll. 391–93. See Graves, *Myths*, 1:112, sec. d.

50. *Aeneid*, 6.638-47.

51. [Orpheus . . . primus orgia instituit, primus etiam deprehendit harmoniam, id est circulorum mundanorum sonum. . . 'sacerdos' autem, quia et theologus fuit et orgia primus instituit. ipse etiam homines e feris et duris composuit: unde dicitur arbores et saxa movisse, ut diximus supra.] Thilo and Hagen, *Servii*, 2.1, pp. 89.23-90.2 and pp. 90.7-90.9; my translation.

52. Courcelle calls the commentary on Boethius's *Consolation* provided by the Erfurt anonymous a "pure compilation," the "work of a limited scribe, incapable of an original interpretation" ("Étude critique," 81). It is this work that Silk wrongly attributed to John the Scot in his *Saeculi Noni*. Courcelle, "Étude critique," 80-81, 132-33. Silk's *Seculi Noni* publishes a truncated version of Courcelle's anonymous Erfurt text (Erfurt MS in-40, fols. 1v-82v, thirteenth c.) that Silk found in Oxford Bodleian Library Digby 174 (fols. 75r-98v, twelfth c.).

53. [Hoc carmen est fabulosum; et ex toto beatificat illos qui exuti carnalibus desideriis erigunt se ad cernendam uerae beatitudinis claritatem. Et admonet haec fabula, ut nemo aspiciat retro postquam inuenit locum ueri boni ubi est situm et post inuentum summum bonum.] Friedman, *Orpheus*, 98; Silk, *Saeculi Noni*, 217.

54. Alberic of London also discusses the story of Orpheus in some detail. Probably from the second half of the twelfth century, his version of the story gives a literalist report of available material. Unlike the Erfurt anonymous, Alberic resists making the Boethian story sexual. Eurydice is not evil in herself, but a misdirected natural human inclination; Orpheus's descent is the unsuccessful attempt of the soul to right itself, just as many such efforts do not succeed in the face of the powerful allurements of the world. Bode, *Scriptores*, 3.8.19-21, pp. 211-13. In the early fifteenth century Thomas of Walsingham used the Third Vatican Mythographer almost verbatim in his *Archana deorum*. Friedman, *Orpheus*, 133-34, translates the Orpheus section of Walsingham.

55. Tullio Gregory, *Anima Mundi: La filosofia di Guglielmo di Conches e la scuola di Chartres* (Florence: G. C. Sansoni, 1955), 12, believes William of Conches's commentary on Boethius's *Consolation* is his earliest work, earlier even than the *Philosophia Mundi*; Courcelle, "Étude critique," 80, guesses 1125 for its composition. Though one cannot be sure, the odds seem to favor (1) about a ten- to twenty-year gap between the works and (2) the priority of William's commentary. See Wetherbee, *Cosmographia*, 135.

56. "prata modo virent modo sunt arida." This is a reference to a passage from Isa. 40:6-7 proving the transitoriness of the earthly:

omnis caro faenum et omnis gloria  
eius quasi flos agri  
exsiccatum est faenum et cecidit flos  
quia spiritus Domini sufflauit in eo  
vere faenum est populus.

All flesh is grass, and all the glory thereof  
 as the flower of the field.  
 The grass is withered, and the flower is fallen  
 because the spirit of the Lord hath blown upon  
 it. Indeed the people is grass.

(Douay-Rheims)

57. [quia cum sapiens videt intentionem suam et delectationem in temporalibus habitam displicet. Sed, cum cuncta modulationibus suis vincat, dolorem de amissa uxore non vincit quia, quamvis sapiens eloquentia et sapientia sua vicia aliorum superet, suam concupiscentiam non potest a temporalibus auferre: inde maxime dolet.] Friedman, *Orpheus*, 107; Jeaneau, "L'usage," 46.

58. [ad inferos descendit ut uxorem extrahat cum sapiens ad cognitionem terrenorum descendit ut, viso quod nichil boni in eis est, concupiscentiam inde extrahat.] Friedman, *Orpheus*, 107; Jeaneau, "L'usage," 46.

59. Schreiber and Maresca, *Commentary*, 53–55; Jones and Jones, *Commentary*, 53–54.

60. [Umbrarum dominos demulcet, id est temporalium possessores. Tandem postquam diu cantavit, id est sapientiam et eloquentiam diu ibi exercuit, uxorem recipit, id est concupiscentiam a terrenis extrahit, hac lege quod eam perdat si retro respiciat, id est si iterum ad temporalia se reflectat.] Schreiber and Maresca, *Commentary*, 55; Jones and Jones, *Commentary*, 55.

61. For the uses of *cognoscere* see J. N. Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary* (London: Duckworth, 1982), 190.

62. Dronke, *European Love-Lyric*, 405.

63. Wilhelm Meyer, "Die moderne Leda," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 50 (1908): 289–96. See the appendix for the text and translation of the poem.

64. The inscription reads: "Liber Lanthony iuxta Gloucestr. qui eum alienaverit anathema sit. Continentia huius vol. precianus magnus et precianus de construccione." For a description of the manuscript see M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932), 307–8. For Llanthony Priory see David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses, England and Wales*, 2d ed. (London: Longman, 1971), 141, 164–65. Wilhelm Meyer imagines a date for the poem closer to 1150 than 1200: "die schrift selbst ist sorgfältig, noch ohne gotische eigentümlichkeiten, und eher ca 1150 als um 1200 geschrieben" (Meyer, "Leda," 289). As for the meter: "die ganze technik passt gut für einen wolgeschulten dichter aus der mitte des 12 jahrhunderts" (293).

65. For examples of such verse, see Raby, *Christian Latin Poetry*, 353–55. For a discussion of the Victorine sequence, see chapter 6.

66. See Bulst and Bulst-Thiele, *Hilarii*, 33–34 and 61–64, and chapter 6 of this book.

67. The First Vatican Mythographer records in one place (Kulcsár, *Mythographi*

*Vaticani*, 1.77, p. 34) that Castor, Pollux, and Helen were produced from a single egg, all as a result of Leda's rape by Jove. Later he states (*Kulcsár, Mythographi Vaticani*, 1.201, p. 81) that two eggs came of the union, from one of which came Castor and Pollux, from the other Helen and Clytemnestra. It is not clear if he thinks Tyndareus fathered any of the offspring. The Second Vatican Mythographer says that Pollux and Helen were spawned of Jove, and Castor of Tyndareus; he seems particularly interested in showing that Helen was immortal, as her brother was (*Kulcsár, Mythographi Vaticani*, 2.155, p. 217). On the complexity of the Leda fabula in the Middle Ages, see B. L. Ullman, ed., *Colucii Salutati De Laboribus Herculis*, 2 vols. (Turin: Thesaurus Mundi, 1951), esp. 2:512. Remigius of Auxerre (ca. 904) says both sons were from Leda, but both were not from Jove (Cora E. Lutz, ed., *Remigii Autissiodorensis Commentum in Martianum Capellam*, 2 vols. [Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1962-65], 1:134), bk. 1, 36.12. See also the Third Vatican Mythographer (Bode, *Scriptores*, 3.3.7, p. 163), who gives a fairly straight account of the story and says Helen and Pollux were Zeus's children and Castor the offspring of Tyndareus. For more on the classical tradition of the twins or Diroscuri see Graves, *Myths*, 1:206-8 and 1:245-52; and Whitbread, *Fulgentius the Mythographer*, 79.

68. [ambos alternatim resurgere atque occidere dicunt, quod superbia nonnumquam iubet, nonnumquam occidat.] *Mythologies*, 2.13; Whitbread, *Fulgentius the Mythographer*, 78; Helm, *Opera*, 55.5-7.

69. [nam Grece Pollux *apo tu apollin*, id est a perdendo et Castor quasi *cacon steron*, id est malum extremum.] *Mythologies*, 2.13; Whitbread, *Fulgentius the Mythographer*, 79; Helm, *Opera*, 55.11-13.

70. [Ideo vero in cygnum, quia ferunt physiologi hanc avem conviciis plenam esse, adeo ut ipsa clamante reliquae aves, quae praesto fuerunt, taceant. Sic quoque quotiens nobilis vir et potens ad injuriam alienis importandam festinat, a statu modestiae descendens, convicia proferre non erubescit. Sed quod ex hac re concipitur, ovum est, id est testa humoris grossi turbidi et viscosi plena.] Bode, *Scriptores*, 3.3.6.9-16, p. 163; my translation.

71. [Quod enim altera occidente, altera oriatur, et altera oriente, altera occidat, ut a plerisque dici solet, verum nulla ratione esse potest, quum ipsorum stellae et contiguae sint, et idem signum faciant, quod Geminis appellamus.] Bode, *Scriptores*, 3.3.7.43-46, p. 163; my translation.

72. [Juxta altiore[m] denique scientiam vel opinionem stella Helenae deputata nociva tempestatumque procreatrix est, fratrum vero propitiae. Unde Helena non incongrue causa fuisse mali videtur.] Bode, *Scriptores*, 3.3.8.27-30, p. 164; my translation. Alberic may be referring to a tradition recorded in Pliny's *Natural History*, ed. and trans. H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library (1939), 2.xxxvii about the nature of what is today called St. Elmo's fire. See also Pierre Grimal, *Dictionnaire de la mythologie grecque et romane*, 3d ed. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1963), 128; and W. H. Roscher, ed., *Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*, 6 vols. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1884-90), 6:1163.



73. [interea tractus aërios iam Phoebus exierat, cum subito ei vitta crinalis immutatur in radios, laurusque, quam dextera retinebat, in lampadem mundani splendoris accenditur, fiuntque volucres, qui currum Delium subvehebant, anhelī flammantis lucis alipedes. atque idem pallio rutilante ac reserato stellantis poli limine Sol repente clarus emicuit. Cyllenius quoque in sidus vibrabile astrumque convertitur. atque ita metamorphosi supera pulchriores per Geminos proprietate quadam signi familiaris invecti Augusto refulserunt caelo.] For the English translation see Stahl and Johnson, *Martianus Capella*, 2:16–17; for the Latin see Willis, *Martianus Capella*, 13.10–17.

74. [Leda itaque sciendum est zelum vel invidiam interpretari, Pollucem perditionem, Castorem extremum malum. Mens quidem humana zelo bono felicitatem appetens non immerito Leda, id est zelus dicitur. In hac Iuppiter Pollucem gignit dum ipsa amore Dei contemplativam vitam in se capit. In eadem a mortali Castor generatur dum hec amore carnali activam amplectatur.] Westra, *Commentary*, 10.475–81, p. 240; my translation.

75. For an alternative explanation of Castor and Pollux, see Bernardus's *Commentary on the Aeneid*, 6.121, where he interprets them as soul and body respectively. Schreiber and Maresca, *Commentary*, 55; Jones and Jones, *Commentary*, 56. Bernardus also discusses the astronomical situation of the two stars in some detail here.

76. [Vita contemplativa Pollux, id est perditio dicitur, quia bona hec relinquendo animam suam perdit, ut eam invenire mereatur. Activa vita extremum malum dicitur quia terminus corporee voluptatis esse perhibetur. Inter voluptatem namque et contemplationem media est actio. Ille immortalis esse ex hoc monstratur, quia morte corporali non ita contemplatio ut accio terminatur. Unde Dominus dicit Mariam eam elegisse partem, que ab ea non auferetur. Castori Pollux confert deitatem, quia accio ad contemplationem transiens assequitur immortalitatem. *Per Geminos* itaque ad superos Apollo et Mercurius vadunt, quia de voluptatibus per actionem, post per contemplationem ad divinam sapientiam et eloquentiam scandunt.] Westra, *Commentary*, 10.481–92, p. 240; my translation. The biblical reference is to Luke 10:42. Bernardus Silvestris discusses a five-stage journey up the scale of being in his commentary on the *Aeneid*, 6.109 (Schreiber and Maresca, *Commentary*, 52; Jones and Jones, *Commentary*, 52), “per ordinem creaturarum,” from the inanimate rocks to the Creator.

77. [Iovis nomen ad sex integumenta equivocatum invenimus: ad summum deum, ad superius elementum, ad planetam, ad animam mundi, ad animam hominis, ad ipsum mundum.] Westra, *Commentary*, 5.136–45, p. 98; my translation. See Bernardus Silvestris's commentary on the *Aeneid*, 6.580–84 for a similar list of attributes. Schreiber and Maresca, *Commentary*, 101–2; Jones and Jones, *Commentary*, 108–9. Also see Wetherbee, *Platonism and Poetry*, 268.

78. Wetherbee, *Platonism and Poetry* (114) addresses the issue of the Neoplatonic melding of Bible story and myth when he calls attention to what he terms Bernardus's “mythological syncretism,” the philosopher's effort to draw classical myth and Christian Scripture together through allegoresis. The commentary's syncretizing activity suggests the congruence Bernardus felt to exist between the “divina pagina” (i.e. biblical)



and the “philosophica pagina” (i.e. certain classical and late antique texts) and so the belief that Christian philosophy and pagan myth work with nearly equal power toward the “same essential truth.”

79. [Sapientia et eloquentia aliquando sunt in inferiori regione, aliquando egrediuntur, et tunc metamorphosim patiuntur. In inferiori regione habitant quando versatur sapientia circa temporalium negotiorum amministrationem, et eloquentia in causis circa eorundem interpretationem.] Westra, *Commentary*, 10.405–9, p. 238; my translation.

80. [sicut in practica vita in summo habuit visibilium discretionem, sic in contemplativa in summo habet invisibilium lucidam notionem.] Westra, *Commentary*, 10.413–15, p. 238; my translation.

81. [Volucres ergo inferius habiti in anelos equos superius transeunt, quia illis considerationibus in accione exercitatis ardentia eternorum desideria in contemplatione succedunt. Qui enim ratione et intellectu in negotiis quid agendum sit et quid non distinguebat, idem postposita accione contemplationi ardore desideriorum invisibilibus inhiat.] Westra, *Commentary*, 10.443–48, p. 239; my translation.

82. [Abies, licet de terra surgens, tamen ad alta se extendens, est contemplatio a temporalibus ad eterna conscendens. Ulmus sterilis set vitem frugiferam gerens est secularium occupatio contemplationi necessaria prebens.] Westra, *Commentary*, 10.427–30, p. 238; my translation.

83. In many ways, the celestial visitor in “Leda” has as much to do with Chaucer’s pedantic eagle in the *House of Fame* as she does with Alain de Lille’s *Natura*. The poem marks, I suspect, a stage in the collapse of this kind of poem as a completely serious artistic genre, in line with Thomas Mann’s notion that “the love of a form of art, in the historical possibility of which one can believe no more, will inevitably beget parody.” From a letter written in 1921, quoted in Erich Heller, *Thomas Mann: The Ironic German* (South Bend, Ind.: Regenry/Gateway, 1979). My thanks to J. B. Close for bringing this quotation to my attention.

84. Meyer, “Leda,” v. 3.

85. Meyer, “Leda,” vv. 5–7.

86. Meyer, “Leda,” v. 9.

87. I have assigned vv. 26–28 to Leda, though it is also possible these are spoken by the narrator.

88. Meyer, “Leda,” 294, notes classical visitations such as Venus to Anchises.

89. Meyer, “Leda,” vv. 1–2. I would like particularly to thank Gerald Bond for his advice on this poem.

90. Boethius, *Consolation*, bk. 1, *metrum* 2.

91. Boethius, *Consolation*, bk. 1, *metrum* 3.

92. In *Metamorphoses*, 2.409–528 Ovid tells the story of the nymph Callisto’s rape by Jupiter and the resulting birth of her son Arcas. Mother and son were both turned into bears and stellified as the double constellation Arcton, the Great and Lesser Bears. Juno was furious at the honor given to her rival and made Oceanus

promise never to allow the constellation to set. Mythologically, then, Arcton represents the most prominent celestial evidence of one of Jupiter's seductions, and it is very appropriate that a failed effort to see the results of one of Jupiter's sexual assaults would lead to the observation of another. It is as if Leda's opening cries are a plea for equal recognition.

93. Meyer, "Leda," v. 12.
94. Meyer, "Leda," vv. 21–22.
95. Meyer, "Leda," vv. 14–15.
96. Meyer, "Leda," v. 16.
97. Meyer, "Leda," vv. 18–19. Jupiter is said to have found Leda beside the river Eurotas. Graves, *Myths*, 1:206.
98. Meyer, "Leda," v. 21, quoted above, and vv. 22–23.
99. Meyer, "Leda," vv. 29–31.
100. Meyer, "Leda," vv. 33–35.
101. Meyer, "Leda," v. 36.
102. Meyer, "Leda," v. 41.
103. Meyer, "Leda," v. 43.
104. Meyer, "Leda," vv. 46–47.
105. Meyer, "Leda," vv. 50–51.
106. Meyer, "Leda," 295: "höchst wahrscheinlich nur eine huldigung an ein geliebtes mädchen."
107. Ovid, *Amores*, 2.4.41–44. Grant Showerman, trans., *Ovid: Heroides and Amores*, 2d ed., Loeb Classical Library (1977). The bride in the Song of Songs refers to herself as "nigra . . . sed formosa" (1.4).

#### APPENDIX

1. "gemmae" in Rolls Series text.
2. The MS clearly reads "orion," but this must be an error for Arion, a cithara player mentioned in Ovid, *Fasti*, 2.79, and *Ars Amatoria*, 3.326. See Lewis and Short.
3. "hunc" in Rolls Series text.
4. "virtutem" in Rolls Series text.
5. Or perhaps "Dolinus" as the appropriate companion for Laetitia?
6. Stanza 2a, ll. 5–7 appear only in Auxerre 243.



## Bibliography

- Adams, J. N. *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary*. London: Duckworth, 1982.
- Adcock, Fleur. *The Virgin and the Nightingale*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Bloodaxe Books, 1983.
- Alain de Lille. "The *Anticlaudian* of Alain de Lille." Ed. and trans. William Hatner Carnog. Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1935.
- . *Anticlaudianus*. Ed. R. Bossuat. Paris: J. Vrin, 1955.
- . *Anticlaudianus*. Trans. James J. Sheridan. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1973.
- . "Alan of Lille, 'De planctu naturae.'" Ed. Nikolaus M. Häring. *Studi Medievali*, 3d ser. 19 (1978): 797–879.
- . *The Complaint of Nature*. Trans. James J. Sheridan. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1980.
- Alford, John. "The Grammatical Metaphor: A Survey of Its Use in the Middle Ages." *Speculum* 57 (1982): 728–60.
- Allen, Philip Schuyler. "Mediaeval Latin Lyrics: Part I." *Modern Philology* 5 (1908): 423–76.
- . "Mediaeval Latin Lyrics: Part II." *Modern Philology* 6 (1908–9): 3–43.
- Baldwin, John W. "Masters at Paris from 1179–1215: A Social Perspective." In *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable, 138–72. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982.

- . *Masters, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and His Circle*. 2 vols. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970.
- Barlow, Frank. *William Rufus*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983.
- Bartlett, Robert. *Gerald of Wales: 1146–1223*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1982.
- Baudri of Bourgueil. *Baldricus Burgulianus Carmina*. Ed. Karlheinz Hilbert. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1979.
- . *Les oeuvres poétiques de Baudri de Bourgueil (1046–1130)*. Ed. Phyllis Abrahams. Paris: Champion, 1926.
- . *Poèmes*. Ed. and trans. Jean-Yves Tilliette. Vol. 1. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1998.
- Beaugendre, A. *Hildeberti Opera . . . Acc. Marbodi Opuscula*. Paris, 1708.
- Becker, Ph. August. "Die Anfänge der romanischen Verskunst." *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 56 (1932): 257–323.
- Benton, John F. "Consciousness of Self and Perceptions of Individuality." In *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable, 263–95. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982.
- . "'Nostre Franceis n'unt talent de fuir': *The Song of Roland* and the Enculturation of a Warrior Class." *Olifant* 6 (1978–79): 237–58.
- Bernardus Silvestris. *Bernardus Silvestris Cosmographia*. Ed. Peter Dronke. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978.
- . *The Commentary on Martianus Capella's De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii Attributed to Bernardus Silvestris*. Ed. Haijo Jan Westra. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1986.
- . *The Commentary on the First Six Books of the Aeneid of Vergil Commonly Attributed to Bernardus Silvestris*. Ed. Julian Ward Jones and Elizabeth Frances Jones. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1977.
- . *Commentary on the First Six Books of Virgil's Aeneid by Bernardus Silvestris*. Trans. Earl G. Schreiber and Thomas E. Maresca. Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1979.
- . *The Cosmographia of Bernardus Silvestris*. Trans. Winthrop Wetherbee. New York: Columbia University Press, 1973.
- . *Le Mathematicus de Bernard Silvestris et la Passio Sanctae Agnetis de Pierre Riga*. Ed. Barthélemy Hauréau. Paris: Klincksieck, 1895.
- Bezzola, Reto R. *Les Origines et la formation de la littérature courtoise en occident (500–1200)*. Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études, vols. 286, 313, 319–20. Paris: Honoré Champion, 1967.
- Block, Geoffrey. *Enchanted Evenings: The Broadway Musical from Show Boat to Sondheim*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Bode, Georg Heinrich. *Scriptores Rerum Mythicarum Latini Tres Romae Nuper Reperti*. Celle, 1834. Reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1968.
- Boethius, Anicius Manlius Severinus. *Boethius: The Theological Tractates and the Con-*

- solation of Philosophy*. Ed. and trans. H. F. Stewart and E. K. Rand. Loeb Classical Library. 1918. Reprint, 1968.
- . *The Consolation of Philosophy*. Trans. Richard Green. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1962.
- Bond, Gerald A. "Composing Yourself: Ovid's *Heroides*, Baudri of Bourgueil, and the Problem of Persona." *Mediaevalia* 13 (1987): 83–117.
- . "Iocus Amoris: The Poetry of Baudri of Bourgueil and the Formation of the Ovidian Subculture." *Traditio* 42 (1986): 143–93.
- . *The Loving Subject: Desire, Eloquence, and Power in Romanesque France*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995.
- , ed. and trans. *The Poetry of William VII, Count of Poitiers, IX Duke of Aquitaine*. New York: Garland, 1982.
- Boswell, John. *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980.
- Bourgain, Pascale. "Qu'est-ce qu'un vers au Moyen Age?" *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 147 (1989): 231–82.
- Boutemy, André. "Autour de Godfroid de Reims." *Latomus* 6 (1947): 231–55.
- . "Essai de chronologie des poésies de Foulcoie de Beauvais." *Annuaire de l'institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves* 9 (1951): 79–96.
- . "Muriel: Note sur deux poèmes de Baudri de Bourgueil et de Serlon de Bayeux." *Moyen Age* 45 (1935): 241–51.
- . "Notice sur le recueil poétique du manuscrit Cotton Vitellius A xii, du British Museum." *Latomus* 1 (1937): 278–313.
- . "Le recueil poétique du manuscrit Additional 24199 du British Museum." *Latomus* 2 (1938): 30–52.
- . "Trois Oeuvres Inédites de Godefroid de Reims." *Revue du Moyen Age Latin* 3 (1947): 335–66.
- Breul, Karl. *The Cambridge Songs: A Goliard's Song Book of the Eleventh Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1915. Reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1973.
- Brewer, Derek. "The Ideal of Feminine Beauty in Medieval Literature." *Modern Language Review* 50 (1955): 257–69.
- Brinkmann, Hennig. *Geschichte der lateinischen Liebesdichtung im Mittelalter*. Halle a/S, 1925.
- Bulst, Walther. *Carmina Leodiensia*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1975.
- . "Liebesbriefgedichte Marbods." In *Liber Floridus*, ed. Bernhard Bischoff, 287–301. Erzabtei St. Ottilien: Eos Verlag, 1950.
- , ed. *Marbodi Episcopi Redonensis Liber Decem Capitulorum*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1947.
- Chailley, Jacques. *L'école musicale de Saint-Martial de Limoges jusqu'à la fin du XIe siècle*. Paris: Les livres essentiels, 1960.
- . "Les premiers troubadours et les versus de l'école d'Aquitaine." *Romania* 76 (1955): 212–39.



- Chenu, M.-D. *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968.
- Clanchy, M. T. *England and Its Rulers: 1066–1272*. Totowa, N.J.: Barnes and Noble, 1983.
- . *From Memory to Written Record in England, 1066–1307*. London: Arnold, 1979.
- Cobban, Alan B. *The Medieval English Universities: Oxford and Cambridge to c. 1500*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988.
- Colker, Marvin L., ed. "Fvlcoii Belvacensis Epistulae." *Traditio* 10 (1954): 191–273.
- Courcelle, Pierre. "Étude critique sur les commentaires de la *Consolation* de Boèce (IX–XVe siècles)." *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 12 (1939): 5–140.
- Curtius, Ernst Robert. *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*. Trans. Willard R. Trask. Bollingen Series 36. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953. Reprint, 1990.
- Dalché, Patrick Gautier, and Jean-Yves Tilliette. "Un nouveau document sur la tradition du poème de Baudri de Bourgueil à la Comtesse Adèle." *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 144 (1986): 241–57.
- Delbouille, M. "Un mystérieux ami de Marbode: Le 'redoutable poète' Gautier." *Le Moyen Age*, n.s. 5–6 (1950–51): 205–40.
- Delisle, Léopold. "Les écoles d'Orléans au XIIe et au XIIIe siècle." *Annuaire Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France* 7 (1869): 139–47.
- Denholm-Young, N. "Feudal Society in the Thirteenth Century: The Knights." *History* 29 (1944): 1–12.
- Dieudonné, A. *Hildebert de Lavardin: Evêque du Mans, archevêque de Tours (1056–1133)*. Paris: Picard, 1898.
- Dinshaw, Carolyn. *Chaucer's Sexual Poetics*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989.
- Dobiache-Rojdesvensky, Olga. *Les poésies des goliards*. Paris: Éditions Rieder, 1931.
- Dronke, Peter. *Fabula: Explorations into the Uses of Myth in Medieval Platonism*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974.
- . *Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love-Lyric*. 2d ed. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1968.
- . "Peter of Blois and Poetry at the Court of Henry II." *Mediaeval Studies* 38 (1976): 185–235.
- . "The Return of Eurydice." *Classica et mediaevalia* 23 (1962): 198–215.
- . "The Song of Songs and Medieval Love-Lyric." In *The Bible and Medieval Culture*, ed. W. Lourdaux and D. Verhelst, 236–62. Louvain: Leuven University Press, 1979.
- . *Spielmann und Kleriker (um 1200)*. Liner notes. Music performed by Sequentia Ensemble for Medieval music. EMI CDC 7 49704 2 (CD), 1981.

- . "Thierry of Chartres." In *A History of Twelfth-Century Philosophy*, ed. Peter Dronke, 358–85. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- . *Women Writers of the Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Dronke, Peter, Michael Lapidge, and Peter Stotz. "Die unveröffentlichten Gedichte der Cambriger Liederhandschrift (CUL Gg.5.35)." *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 17 (1982): 54–95.
- Duby, Georges. *The Chivalrous Society*. Trans. Cynthia Postan. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977.
- . "The Culture of the Knightly Class: Audience and Patronage." In *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable, 248–62. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982.
- Dutton, Paul Edward, ed. *Glosae Super Platonem*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1991.
- . "Illustre Civitatis et Populi Exemplum: Plato's *Timaeus* and the Transmission from Calcidius to the End of the Twelfth Century of a Tripartite Scheme of Society." *Mediaeval Studies* 45 (1983): 79–119.
- . "The Uncovering of the *Glosae Super Platonem* of Bernard of Chartres." *Mediaeval Studies* 46 (1984): 192–221.
- Economou, George. *The Goddess Natura in Medieval Literature*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972.
- Faral, Edmond. *Les arts poétiques du XIIe et du XIIIe siècle*. Paris: Honoré Champion, 1924. Reprint, 1958.
- . "Le manuscrit 511 du 'Hunterian Museum' de Glasgow." *Studi Medievali*, n.s. 9 (1936): 18–121.
- . *Recherches sur les sources latines des contes et romans courtois du moyen âge*. Paris: Édouard Champion, 1913.
- Fassler, Margot E. *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- . "The Role of the Parisian Sequence in the Evolution of Notre-Dame Polyphony." *Speculum* 62 (1987): 345–74.
- . "Who Was Adam of St. Victor? The Evidence of the Sequence Manuscripts." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 38 (1984): 237–45.
- Ferruolo, Stephen C. *The Origins of the University*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985.
- Fichtner, Edward G. "The Etymology of Goliard." *Neophilologus* 51 (1967): 230–37.
- Flori, Jean. "La notion de chevalerie dans les chansons de geste du XIIe siècle: Etude historique de vocabulaire." *Moyen Age* 81 (1975): 211–44, 407–45.
- . "Pour une histoire de la chevalerie: L'adoubement dans les romans de Chrétien de Troyes." *Romania* 100 (1979): 21–53.
- . "Qu'est-ce qu'un *bachelor*? Étude historique de vocabulaire dans les chansons de geste du XIIe siècle." *Romania* 96 (1975): 289–314.

- Fredborg, Karin Margareta, ed. *The Latin Rhetorical Commentaries by Thierry of Chartres*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1988.
- . "Speculative Grammar." In *A History of Twelfth-Century Philosophy*, ed. Peter Dronke, 177–95. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Friedman, John Block. *Orpheus in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970.
- Friend, A. C. "The Proverbs of Serlo of Wilton." *Mediaeval Studies* 16 (1954): 179–218.
- . "Serlo of Wilton: The Early Years." *Bulletin du Cange* 24 (1954): 85–110.
- Fulgentius, Fabius Planciades. *Fulgentius the Mythographer*. Trans. Leslie George Whitbread. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1971.
- . *Opera*. Ed. Rudolf Helm. Leipzig: Teubner, 1898.
- Fuller, Sarah. "The Myth of 'Saint Martial' Polyphony: A Study of the Sources." *Musica Disciplina* 33 (1979): 5–26.
- Gabriel, Astrik L. "English Masters and Students during the Twelfth Century." In *Garlandia: Studies in the History of the Medieval University*, 1–37. Notre Dame, Ind.: Mediaeval Institute, 1969.
- Gallick, Susan. "Medieval Rhetorical Arts in England and the Manuscript Traditions." *Manuscripta* 18 (1974): 67–95.
- Geoffrey of Vinsauf. *Poetria nova of Geoffrey of Vinsauf*. Trans. Margaret F. Nims. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1967.
- Gerald of Wales. *The Autobiography of Geraldus Cambrensis*. Ed. and trans. Harold Edgeworth Butler. London: Jonathan Cape, 1937.
- . *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*. Ed. J. S. Brewer. Rolls Series 21. London: Longman, 1861.
- Gersh, Stephen. *Middle Platonism and Neoplatonism: The Latin Tradition*. 2 vols. Notre Dame, Ind.: Notre Dame University Press, 1986.
- Gervase of Melkley. *Gervais von Melkley Ars poetica*. Ed. Hans-Jürgen Gräbener. *Forschungen zur Romanischen Philologie*, vol. 17. Münster: Aschendorff, 1965.
- Ghisalberti, Fausto. "Arnolfo d'Orléans, un cultore di Ovidio nel secolo XII." *Memorie del R. Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere* 24 (1932): 157–234.
- . "Mediaeval Biographies of Ovid." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 9 (1946): 10–59.
- Gibson, M. T., M. Lapidge, and C. Page. "Neumed Boethian Metra from Canterbury: A Newly Recovered Leaf of Cambridge, University Library, Gg.5.35 (the 'Cambridge Songs' Manuscript)." *Anglo-Saxon England* 12 (1983): 141–52.
- Gibson, Margaret. "The Study of the 'Timaeus' in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries." *Pensamiento* 25 (1969): 183–94.
- Gillingham, Bryan, ed. *Cambridge, University Library, Ff.i.17(1)*. *Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts*, No. 17. Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1989.
- . *A Critical Study of Secular Medieval Latin Song*. Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1995.
- . "A New Etymology and Etiology for the Conductus." In *Beyond the Moon*:

- Festschrift Luther Dittmer*, ed. Bryan Gillingham and Paul Merkley, 100–117. Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1990.
- . “Saint-Martial Polyphony—a Catalogue Raisonné.” In *Gordon Athol Anderson (1929–1981): In Memoriam*, 211–63. Henryville: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1984.
- . *Secular Medieval Latin Song: An Anthology*. Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1993.
- Gneuss, Helmut. *Hymnar und Hymnen im Englischen Mittelalter*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1968.
- Goddu, A. A., and R. H. Rouse. “Gerald of Wales and the *Florilegium Angelicum*.” *Speculum* 52 (1977): 488–521.
- Godman, Peter. “Ambiguity in the ‘Mathematicus’ of Bernardus Silvestris.” *Studi Medievali* 31 (1990): 583–648.
- . “Literary Classicism and Latin Erotic Poetry of the Twelfth Century and the Renaissance.” In *Latin Poetry and the Classical Tradition*, ed. Peter Godman and Oswyn Murray, 149–82. Oxford: Clarendon, 1990.
- Graves, Robert. *The Greek Myths*. 2 vols. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1984.
- Gregory, Tullio. *Anima Mundi: La filosofia di Guglielmo di Conches e la scuola di Chartres*. Florence: G. C. Sansoni, 1955.
- . “The Platonic Inheritance.” In *A History of Twelfth-Century Philosophy*, ed. Peter Dronke, 54–80. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Grier, James. “A New Voice in the Monastery: Tropes and Versus from Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Aquitaine.” *Speculum* 69 (1994): 1023–69.
- . “Some Codicological Observations on the Aquitanian Versaria.” *Musica Disciplina* 44 (1990): 5–56.
- . “The Stemma of the Aquitanian Versaria.” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 41 (1988): 250–88.
- Gwynn, Aubrey. *The Writings of Bishop Patrick: 1074–1084*. *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae*, vol. 1. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1955.
- Hanford, James Holly. “The Progenitors of Golias.” *Speculum* 1 (1926): 38–58.
- Harbert, Bruce. “Matthew of Vendôme.” *Medieval Aevum* 44 (1975): 225–37.
- , ed. *A Thirteenth-Century Anthology of Rhetorical Poems*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1975.
- Häring, Nikolaus M., ed. *Commentaries on Boethius by Thierry of Chartres and His School*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute, 1971.
- . “Die Gedichte und Mysterienspiele des Hilarius von Orléans.” *Studi Medievali* 17 (1976): 915–68.
- . “Hilary of Orleans and His Letter Collection.” *Studi Medievali* 14 (1973): 1069–1122.
- Harvey, Sally. “The Knight and the Knight’s Fee in England.” *Past and Present* 49 (1970): 3–43.

- Haskins, Charles Homer. *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science*. 2d ed. New York: Frederick Ungar, 1927.
- Hilary of Orléans. *Hilarii Aurelianensis Versus et Ludi Epistolae Ludus Danielis Belouacensis*. Ed. Walther Bulst and M. L. Bulst-Thiele. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1989.
- . *Hilarii Versus et Ludi*. Ed. J. J. Champollion-Figeac. Paris, 1838.
- . *Hilarii Versus et Ludi*. Ed. John B. Fuller. New York: Holt, 1929.
- Hilka, Alfons, and Otto Schumann, eds. *Carmina Burana*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1961.
- Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus). *Horace: Satires, Epistles, and Ars Poetica*. Trans. H. Rushton Fairclough. Loeb Classical Library. Rev. ed. 1932.
- . *Q. Horati Flacci Opera*. Ed. D. R. Shackleton Bailey. Stuttgart: Teubner, 1985.
- Howard, Donald R. "Lexicography and the Silence of the Past." In Howard D. Weinbrot, ed., *New Aspects of Lexicography*, 3–16. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1972.
- . "Medieval Poems and Medieval Society." *Medievalia et Humanistica* 3 (1972): 99–115.
- Hunt, Tony. "The Emergence of the Knight in France and England, 1000–1200." In *Knighthood in Medieval Literature*, ed. W. H. Jackson, 1–22. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 1981.
- . "L'Inspiration idéologique du Charroi de Nîmes." *Revue Belge de philologie et d'histoire* 56 (1978): 580–606.
- Huygens, R. B. C. "Guillaume de Tyr étudiant: Un chapitre (XIX, 12) de son "Histoire" retrouvé." *Latomus* 21 (1962): 811–29.
- Illich, Ivan. *In the Vineyard of the Text: A Commentary to Hugh's Didascalicon*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.
- Jacobi, Klaus Jacobi. "Logic (ii): The Later Twelfth Century." In *A History of Twelfth-Century Philosophy*, ed. Peter Dronke, 227–51. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Jaeger, C. Stephen. *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals, 939–1210*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985.
- . *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950–1200*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994.
- James, M. R. *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge*. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912.
- . *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932.
- Jarcho, Boris I. "Die Vorläufer des Golias." *Speculum* 3 (1928): 523–79.
- Jeauneau, Édouard. "L'usage de la notion d'integumentum à travers les gloses de Guillaume de Conches." *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, 32 (1957): 35–100.
- John of Salisbury. *Frivolities of Courtiers and Footprints of Philosophers*. Trans. Joseph B. Pike. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1938.

- . *The Metalogicon of John of Salisbury*. Trans. Daniel D. McGarry. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1971.
- . *Ioannis Saresberiensis . . . Policratici sive De nugis curialium et vestigiis philosophorum*. Ed. Clement C. J. Webb. Oxford: Clarendon, 1909.
- Jourdain, Charles. "Des commentaires inédits de Guillaume de Conches et Nicholas Triveth sur la *Consolation* de Boèce." *Notices et extraits* . . . 20, no. 2 (1862): 40–82.
- Keen, Maurice. *Chivalry*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984.
- Kelly, Douglas. "The Scope of the Treatment of Composition in the Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Arts of Poetry." *Speculum* 41 (1966): 261–78.
- Kingsford, C. L. "Some Political Poems of the Twelfth Century." *English Historical Review* 5 (1890): 311–26.
- Klibansky, Raymond. *The Continuity of the Platonic Tradition during the Middle Ages*. London: Warburg Institute, 1939. Kraus reprint, 1982.
- Klopsch, Paul. *Pseudo-Ovidius de Vetula*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967.
- Knowles, David, and R. Neville Hadcock. *Medieval Religious Houses, England and Wales*. 2d ed. London: Longman, 1971.
- Kolve, V. A. "Ganymede/Son of Getron: Medieval Monasticism and the Drama of Same-Sex Desire." *Speculum* 73 (1998): 1014–67.
- Kulcsár, Péter, ed. *Mythographi Vaticani I et II*. Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, vol. 91c. Turnhout: Brepols, 1987.
- Lapidge, Michael. "Lucan's Imagery of Cosmic Dissolution." *Hermes* 107 (1979): 344–70.
- . "A Problem in Stoic Cosmology." *Phronesis* 18 (1973): 240–78.
- . "A Stoic Metaphor in Late Latin Poetry: The Binding of the Cosmos." *Latomus* 39 (1980): 817–37.
- Latzke, Therese. "Abaelard, Hilarius und das Gedicht 22 der Ripollsammlung." *Mittel- lateinisches Jahrbuch* 8 (1973): 70–89.
- . "Der Fürstinnenpreis." *Mittel- lateinisches Jahrbuch* 14 (1979): 22–65.
- . "Die Ganymed-Episteln des Hilarius." *Mittel- lateinisches Jahrbuch* 18 (1983): 131–59.
- . "Robert von Arbrissel, Ermengard und Eva." *Mittel- lateinisches Jahrbuch* 19 (1984): 116–54.
- . "Zu dem Gedicht 'De papa scolastico' des Abaelardschülers Hilarius." *Mittel- lateinisches Jahrbuch* 13 (1978): 86–99.
- . "Zum 'Iudicium de calumnia molendini Brisesarte' und zu den vier Nonnenepisteln des Hilarius." *Mittel- lateinisches Jahrbuch* 16 (1981): 73–96.
- Leclercq, Jean. *Monks and Love in Twelfth-Century France*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1979.
- Legge, M. Dominica. *Anglo-Norman Literature and Its Background*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1963.
- LeGoff, Jacques. *Pour un autre Moyen Age*. Paris: Gallimard, 1977.
- Lehmann, Paul. *Die Parodie im Mittelalter*. 2d ed. Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1963.
- Lenzen, Rudolf Wilhelm. "Überlieferungsgeschichtliche und Verfasseruntersuchungen



- zur lateinischen Liebesdichtung Frankreichs im Hochmittelalter." Dissertation, Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, 1973.
- Lipphardt, Walther. "Unbekannte Weisen zu den CB." *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 12 (1955): 122-42.
- Luscombe, D. E. *The School of Peter Abelard*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969.
- Macrobius, Ambrosius Theodosius. *Ambrosii Theodosii Macrobi Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis*. Ed. James Willis. Vol. 2 of *Macrobius*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1970.
- . *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*. Ed. and trans. W. H. Stahl. New York: Columbia University Press, 1952.
- Manitius, Max. *Geschichte der Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*. Munich: C. H. Beck'sche, 1931.
- Manly, John Matthews. "Familia Goliae." *Modern Philology* 5 (1907): 201-9.
- Mann, Jill. "Satiric Subject and Satiric Object in Goliardic Literature." *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 15 (1980): 63-86.
- Map, Walter. *De Nugis Curialium*. Ed. and trans. M. R. James. Revised by C. N. L. Brooke and R. A. B. Mynors. Oxford: Clarendon, 1983.
- Marchegay, Paul. "Charte en vers de l'an 1121, composée par Hilaire, disciple d'Abailard et Chanoine du Ronceray d'Angers." *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 37 (1876): 245-52.
- Marti, Berthe M. *Arnulfi Aurelianensis Glosule Super Lucanum*. Rome: American Academy, 1958.
- Martianus Capella. *Martianus Capella*. Ed. James Willis. Leipzig: Teubner, 1983.
- . *Martianus Capella and the Seven Liberal Arts*. Ed. and trans. William Harris Stahl and Richard Johnson. 2 vols. New York: Columbia University Press, 1971.
- Matthew of Vendôme. *Ars Versificatoria*. Trans. Roger P. Parr. Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1981.
- . *The Art of Versification*. Trans. Aubrey E. Galyon. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1980.
- Maurach, Gregor, ed. *Wilhelm von Conches Philosophia*. Pretoria: University of South Africa Press, 1980.
- McDonough, C. J. *The Oxford Poems of Hugh Primas and the Arundel Lyrics*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1984.
- McGarry, Daniel D. "Educational Theory in the *Metalogicon* of John of Salisbury." *Speculum* 23 (1948): 659-75.
- McKeown, J. C. *Ovid: Amores: Text and Prolegomena*. Liverpool: F. Cairns, 1988.
- Meyer, Wilhelm. *Die Arundel Sammlung mittellateinischer Lieder*. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1908.
- . "Die moderne Leda." *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 50 (1908): 289-96.
- Minnis, A. J., and A. B. Scott, eds. *Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism, c.1100-c.1375*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1988.
- Minnis, Alastair. "Aspects of Medieval French and English Traditions of the *De Con-*



- solatione Philosophiae.*" In Boethius, ed. Margaret Gibson, 312–61. Oxford: Blackwell, 1981.
- Mozeley, J. H. "Le 'De Vetula,' poème pseudo-ovidien." *Latomus* 2 (1938): 53–72.
- Munari, Franco. *Mathei Vindocinensis Opera*. Vol. 3. *Ars versificatoria*. Storia e Letteratura: Raccolta di Studi e Testi 171. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1988.
- . "Matteo di Vendôme, Ars 1,111." *Studi Medievali*, 3d ser. 17 (1976): 293–305.
- Murphy, James J. *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1974.
- , ed. *Three Medieval Rhetorical Arts*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971.
- Myers, K. Sara. "Ovid's *Tecta Ars*: *Amores* 2.6, Programmatics, and the Parrot." *Classical Views* 34, n.s. 9 (1990): 367–74.
- Norberg, Dag. *Introduction a l'étude de la versification latine médiévale*. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1958.
- Öberg, Jan. "Einige Bemerkungen zu den Gedichten Serlos von Wilton." *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 6 (1970): 98–108.
- , ed. *Serlon de Wilton poèmes latins*. *Studia Latina Stockholmiensia* 14. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1965.
- O'Daly, Gerard. *The Poetry of Boethius*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991.
- Offermanns, Winfried. *Die Wirkung Ovids auf die literarische Sprache der lateinischen Liebesdichtung des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts*. Beihefte zum Mittellateinischen Jahrbuch, vol. 4. Wuppertal: A. Henn, 1970.
- Omont, M. H. "Épitaphs métriques en l'honneur de différents personnages du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle composées par Fulcoie de Beauvais, archidiacre de Meaux." In *Mélanges Julien Havet: Recueil de travaux d'erudition dédiés à la mémoire de Julien Havet (1853–1893)*, 211–35. Paris: E. Leroux, 1895.
- Ong, Walter J. "Orality, Literacy, and Medieval Textualization." *New Literary History* 16 (1984): 1–11.
- Orme, Nicholas. *English Schools in the Middle Ages*. London: Methuen, 1973.
- Orth, Peter. *Hildeberts Prosimetrum De Querimonia und die Gedichte eines Anonymus*. Wiener Studien, vol. 26. Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000.
- Ovid (Publius Ovidius Naso). *Ovid's Fasti*. Trans. James George Frazer. Loeb Classical Library. 1951.
- . *Heroides and Amores*. Trans. Grant Showerman. Loeb Classical Library. 2d ed. 1977.
- . *Metamorphoses*. Trans. Frank Justus Miller. 2 vols. 3d ed. Loeb Classical Library. 1977.
- Paetow, Louis John. "The Arts Course at Medieval Universities with Special Reference to Grammar and Rhetoric." *University of Illinois Studies* 3 (1910): 497–628.
- Page, Christopher. "The Boethian Metrum 'Bella bis quinis': A New Song from Saxon

- Canterbury." In *Boethius: His Life, Thought, and Influence*, ed. Margaret Gibson, 306–11. Oxford: Blackwell, 1981.
- Poole, Austin Lane. *Obligations of Society in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1946.
- . *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta: 1087–1216*. 2d ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1955.
- Raby, F. J. E. *Christian Latin Poetry*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1953.
- . *A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages*. 2d ed. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1957.
- . *The Oxford Book of Medieval Latin Verse*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1959.
- Radice, Betty, ed. and trans. *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1974.
- Rashdall, Hastings. *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*. 3 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1936.
- Reeve, M. D., and R. H. Rouse. "New Light on the Transmission of Donatus's 'Commentum Terentii.'" *Viator* 9 (1978): 235–49.
- Remigius of Auxerre. *Remigii Autissiodorensis Commentum in Martianum Capellam*. Ed. Cora E. Lutz. 2 vols. Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1962.
- Richardson, H. G., and G. O. Sayles. *The Governance of Mediaeval England from the Conquest to Magna Carta*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1963.
- Richardson, H. G. "The Schools of Northampton in the Twelfth Century." *English Historical Review* 56 (1941): 595–605.
- Rigg, A. G. "Goliath and Other Pseudonyms." *Studi Medievali*, 3d ser. 18 (1977): 65–109.
- . *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature: 1066–1422*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- . "Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (I)." *Mediaeval Studies* 39 (1977): 281–330.
- . "Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (II)." *Mediaeval Studies* 40 (1978): 387–407.
- . "Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (III)." *Mediaeval Studies* 41 (1979): 468–505.
- . "Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (IV)." *Mediaeval Studies* 43 (1981): 472–97.
- Rigg, A. G., and G. R. Wieland. "A Canterbury Classbook of the Mid-Eleventh Century (the 'Cambridge Songs' Manuscript)." *Anglo-Saxon England* 4 (1975): 113–30.
- Ross, Werner. "Die Liebesgedichte im Cambridger Liederbuch (CC). Das Problem des 'Frauenliedes' im Mittelalter." *Der altsprachliche Unterricht* 20, no. 2 (1977): 40–62.
- Round, John Horace. *Feudal England*. London: S. Sonnenschein, 1895.
- Rouse, R. H. "Florilegia and Latin Classical Authors in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Orléans." *Viator* 10 (1979): 131–60.
- Rouse, R. H., and Mary A. Rouse. "The *Florilegium Angelicum*: Its Origin, Content, and

- Influence." In *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson, 66–114. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976.
- Rousseau, Mary Isaac Jogues, ed. *Fulcoii Belvacensis Utriusque de Nuptiis Christi et Ecclesiae Libri Septem*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1960.
- Roy, Bruno, and Hugues-V. Shooner. "Querelles de maîtres au XIIe siècle: Arnoul d'Orléans et son milieu." *Sandalion* 8–9 (1985–86): 315–41.
- Schirmer, Walter F., and Ulrich Broich. *Studien zum literarischen Patronat im England des 12. Jahrhunderts*. Cologne: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1962.
- Schumann, Otto. "Die jüngere Cambridger Liedersammlung." *Studi Medievali*, n.s. 16 (1943–50): 48–85.
- Scott, A. Brian. "The Poems of Hildebert of Le Mans: A New Examination of the Canon." *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* 6 (1968): 42–83.
- , ed. *Hildeberti Cenomannensis Episcopi Carmina Minora*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1969.
- Sedgwick, Walter Bradbury. "The Style and Vocabulary of the Latin Arts of Poetry of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries." *Speculum* 3 (1928): 349–81.
- Servius. *Servii grammatici qui feruntur in Vergillii carmina commentarii*. Ed. Georg Thilo and Hermann Hagen. 4 vols. Leipzig, 1881–1902. Reprint, Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1961.
- Shanzer, Danuta. *A Philosophical and Literary Commentary on Martianus Capella's De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii Book 1*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986.
- Shooner, Hugues-V. "Les Bursarii Ovidianorum de Guillaume d'Orléans." *Mediaeval Studies* 43 (1981): 405–24.
- Silk, Edmund Taite. *Saeculi Noni Auctoris in Boetii Consolationem Philosophiae Commentarius*. Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, vol. 9. Rome: American Academy, 1935.
- Southern, R. W. "The Necessity of Two Peters of Blois." In *Intellectual Life in the Middle Ages*, ed. Lesley Smith and Benedicta Ward, 103–18. London: Hambledon Press, 1992.
- . "Peter of Blois and the Third Crusade." In *Studies in Medieval History presented to R. H. C. Davis*, ed. Henry Mayr-Harting and R. I. Moore, 207–18. London: Hambledon Press, 1985.
- . "Peter of Blois: A Twelfth Century Humanist?" In *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1970.
- . "The Place of England in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance." In *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1970.
- . *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*. Vol. 1, *Foundations*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1995.
- . "The Schools of Paris and the School of Chartres." In *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable, 113–37. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982.

- Spanke, Hans. "Zu Formenkunst des ältesten Troubadours." *Studi Medievali*, n.s. 7 (1934): 72-84.
- Stehling, Thomas. *Medieval Latin Poems of Male Love and Friendship*. New York: Garland, 1984.
- Stevens, John. "University Library, MS Ff.i.17(1)." In *Cambridge Music Manuscripts, 900-1700*, ed. Iain Fenlon, 40-44. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
- . *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance, and Drama, 1050-1350*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Stock, Brian. *Implications of Literacy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983.
- . *Myth and Science in the Twelfth Century: A Study of Bernard Silvester*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972.
- Stollberg, Gunnar. *Die soziale Stellung der intellektuellen Oberschicht im England des 12. Jahrhunderts*. Lübeck: Matthiesen Verlag, 1973.
- Strecker, Karl, ed. *Die Cambridger Lieder*. Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Berlin: Weidmann, 1926.
- , ed. *Die Gedichte Walters von Chatillon*. Berlin: Weidmann, 1925.
- , ed. *Die Lieder Walters von Chatillon in der Handschrift 351 von St. Omer*. Berlin: Weidmann, 1925.
- , ed. *Moralisch-Satirische Gedichte Walters von Chatillon*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1929.
- Stubbs, William. *Seventeen Lectures on the Study of Mediaeval and Modern History*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1900.
- Tatlock, J. S. P. "The English Journey of the Laon Canons." *Speculum* 8 (1933): 454-65.
- . "Muriel: The Earliest English Poetess." *PMLA* 48 (1933): 317-21.
- Thompson, James Westfall. *The Literacy of the Laity in the Middle Ages*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1939.
- . "The Origin of the Word 'Goliardi.'" *Studies in Philology* 20 (1923): 83-98.
- Thomson, Rodney M. "England and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance." *Past and Present* 101 (1983): 3-21.
- . "The Library of Bury St Edmunds Abbey in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries." *Speculum* 47 (1972): 617-45.
- Tilliette, Jean-Yves. "Un art du patchwork: La poésie métrique latine (XIe-XIIe siècles)." In *Théories et pratiques de l'écriture au Moyen Age*, ed. Emmanuèle Baumgartner and Christine Marchello-Nizia, 59-69. *Littérales: 1988 Cahiers du Département de Français*. Actes du Colloque: Palais du Luxembourg-Sénat, 5 et 6 mars 1987.
- . "La chambre de la comtesse Adèle: Savoir scientifique et technique littéraire dans le c.CXCVI de Baudri de Bourgueil." *Romania* 102 (1981): 145-71.
- . "Culture classique et humanisme monastique: Les poèmes de Baudri de Bour-

- gueil." In *La littérature angevine médiévale: Actes du Colloque du Samedi 22 Mars 1980*, 77–88. Paris: Champion, 1980.
- . "Hermès amoureux, ou les métamorphoses de la Chimère." *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Moyen âge* 104 (1992): 121–61.
- . "Note sur le manuscrit des poèmes de Baudri de Bourgueil (Vatican, Reg. Lat. 1351)." *Scriptorium* 37 (1983): 241–45.
- Traill, David A. "Notes on 'Dum Diane vitrea' (CB 62) and 'A globo veteri' (CB 67)." *Mittelaltinisches Jahrbuch* 23 (1988): 143–51.
- Treitler, Leo. "The Polyphony of St. Martial." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 17 (1964): 29–42.
- Türk, Egbert. *Nugae Curialium: Le règne d'Henri II Plantagenet (1154–1189) et l'éthique politique*. Hautes Études médiévales et modernes, vol. 28. Geneva: Droz, 1977.
- Turner, Ralph V. *Men Raised from the Dust*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988.
- . "The Miles Literatus in Twelfth and Thirteenth-Century England: How Rare a Phenomenon?" *American Historical Review* 83 (1978): 928–45.
- Tweedale, Martin J. "Logic (i): From the Late Eleventh Century to the Time of Abelard." In *A History of Twelfth-Century Philosophy*, ed. Peter Dronke, 196–226. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Ullman, B. L. "Classical Authors in Certain Mediaeval Florilegia." *Classical Philology* 27 (1932): 3–42.
- , ed. *Colucii Salutati De Laboribus Herculis*. 2 vols. Turin: Thesaurus Mundi, 1951.
- Vernet, André. "Poésies latines des XIIe et XIIIe siècles (Auxerre 243)." In *Mélanges dédiés à la mémoire de Felix Grat*, 2:251–75. Paris: Pecquer-Grat, 1949.
- Vicari, Patricia. "Sparagmos: Orpheus among the Christians." In *Orpheus: The Metamorphoses of a Myth*, ed. John Warden, 63–83. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982.
- Vising, Johan. *Anglo-Norman Language and Literature*. London: Oxford University Press, 1923.
- Von Moos, Peter. *Hildebert von Lavardin*. Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1965.
- Walsh, P. G. "'Golias' and Goliardic Poetry." *Medium Aevum* 52 (1983): 1–9.
- Wattenbach, W. "Lateinische Gedichte aus Frankreich im elften Jahrhundert." *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* 1 (1891): 97–114.
- Weijers, Olga. "The Chronology of John of Salisbury's Studies in France (Metalogicon, II.10)." In *The World of John of Salisbury*, ed. Michael Wilks, 109–16. Oxford: Blackwell, 1984.
- Weisheipl, J. A. "Classification of the Sciences in Medieval Thought." *Mediaeval Studies* 27 (1965): 54–90.
- Wenzel, Siegfried. *Verses in Sermons: Fasciculus Morum and Its Middle English Poems*. Cambridge, Mass.: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1978.

- Werner, Jakob. *Beiträge zur Kunde der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*. Aarau: Sauerländer, 1905.
- Wetherbee, Winthrop. "The Function of Poetry in the *De planctu naturae* of Alain de Lille." *Traditio* 25 (1969): 87–126.
- . "The Literal and the Allegorical: Jean de Meun and the *De Planctu Naturae*." *Mediaeval Studies* 33 (1971): 264–91.
- . *Platonism and Poetry in the Twelfth Century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972.
- Whicher, George F. "Sons of Goliath." *American Scholar* 16 (1947): 171–82.
- William of Conches. *Guillaume de Conches: Glosae Super Platonem*. Ed. Édouard Jeuneau. Paris: J. Vrin, 1965.
- Williams, John R. "Archbishop Manasses I of Rheims and Pope Gregory VII." *American Historical Review* 54 (1949): 804–24.
- . "Godfrey of Rheims, a Humanist of the Eleventh Century." *Speculum* 22 (1947): 29–45.
- . "William of the White Hands and Men of Letters." In *Anniversary Essays in Mediaeval History by Students of Charles Homer Haskins*, ed. C. H. Taylor, 365–87. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1929.
- Williamson, E. W. ed. *The Letters of Osbert of Clare*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1929.
- Wilmart, André. "L'Élégie d'Hildebert pour Muriel." *Revue Bénédictine* 49 (1937): 376–80.
- . "Le florilège de Saint-Gatien: Contribution à l'étude des poèmes d'Hildebert et de Marbode." *Revue Bénédictine* 52 (1936): 3–40, 147–81, 235–58.
- . "Le florilège mixte de Thomas Bekynton." *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* 1 (1941): 41–84 and 4 (1958): 35–90.
- . "Un nouveau poème de Marbode." *Revue Bénédictine* 51 (1939): 169–81.
- Winterfeld, Paul. "Hrotsvits literarische Stellung." *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 114, n.s. 14 (1905): 25–75.
- Wollin, Carsten, ed. *Petri Blesensis Carmina*. Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Mediaevalis 128. Turnhout: Brepols, 1998.
- Young, John. *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of the Hunterian Museum in the University of Glasgow*. Glasgow: James Maclehose, 1908.
- Ziolkowski, Jan M. *Alan of Lille's Grammar of Sex: The Meaning of Grammar to a Twelfth-Century Intellectual*. Cambridge, Mass.: Medieval Academy of America, 1985.
- . "The Humour of Logic and the Logic of Humour in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance." *Journal of Medieval Latin* 3 (1993): 1–26.
- , ed. and trans. *The Cambridge Songs (Carmina Cantabrigiensia)*. New York: Garland, 1994.



# Index

- “Abdiderat celerem sol pronus” (Godfrey of Reims), 29–30
- Abelard, Peter  
 attacks on, 117  
 and Hercules, 292  
 and Hilary of Orléans, 197–98, 202, 205, 238, 414n. 1  
 and logic, 115  
 poetry of, 197–98, 205, 414n. 1  
 and twelfth-century schools, 114–16, 389n. 59
- “Abscisis ipsum genuisse uirilibus” (Baudri of Bourgueil), 48, 57, 372n. 101, 374n. 126
- Acelous, 296
- actio*. See active life
- active life, 122, 133–34, 282, 285, 306, 315–17  
 in Bernardus Silvestris, 131, 398n. 30  
 and Juno, 148, 285, 306, 329  
 and Leda myth, 313–17  
 in London, British Library Arundel 384, 278–80  
 See also Leah; Thalia
- “A cunis mens una duos” (Harbert 52), 164, 170–73
- Adam of Balsham, 116
- Adam of St. Victor, 309
- Adelard of Bath, 102–3
- Adèle, countess of Blois  
 and Baudri of Bourgueil, 47–48, 59–63  
 court of, 20, 59, 99, 375nn. 133–34
- Admetus, king, 292
- Aeneas  
 in Hades, 130, 286, 436n. 3  
 in Hilary of Orléans, 203  
 and London, British Library Additional 24199, 80  
 as new man, 130, 148  
 and Oxford, Bodleian Additional A.44, 219–22, 240
- Aeneid* (Virgil), 126–29  
 and Cambridge University Library Gg.5.35, 89  
 commentary on, 126–30, 286, 292–93, 300, 305–7, 436nn. 2–3, 442n. 55  
 and Oxford, Bodleian Additional A.44, 219, 240

- Agamemnon, 291  
 "A globo veteri" (Arundel 4), 261–68, 274, 281  
 Agnes, St., 69  
 Alain de Lille, 24, 118, 120, 172–73, 296  
   *Anticlaudianus*, 13, 120, 123, 134, 146–48, 180–83, 284–85, 308  
   *De planctu naturae*, 12, 41, 107, 123, 134, 141–48, 164, 227, 238, 240, 248, 254, 284–85, 296–97, 308–9, 318–19  
   *effictio* in, 141, 318–19  
   and Gerald of Wales, 173–74, 176–77, 180–83, 188–89  
   and Glasgow, Hunterian V.8.14, 160–61, 166, 169  
   and grammar, 141–46, 148, 160–61, 172, 250, 254, 281–82, 297, 404n. 84  
   and London, British Library Arundel 384, 248, 250, 254, 281  
   and Matthew of Vendôme, 158  
   and Natura, 141–47, 166, 328  
   Orpheus in, 143  
   poetic style of, 151, 158, 309  
 Alain Fergant, count of Rennes, duke of Brittany, 35  
 Alberic (teacher at Mont Saint-Geneviève), 116  
 Alberic of London (Third Vatican Mythographer), 157, 292, 294–95, 296, 311–12, 438n. 26  
 Albors, 319, 328–29  
 Alcmena, 290  
 Alcuin, 89  
 Aldhelm, 89  
 Alexander II, pope, 363n. 13  
 allegory. *See* *integumentum*  
 Andrew, St., 69  
 Andromache, 181  
 Angers  
   and Hilary of Orléans, 197–99, 205  
   and Le Ronceray, abbey of, 43, 47–48, 52, 198–99, 215, 371n. 95  
   and Marbod of Rennes, 38  
   schools in, 10, 34–35, 38, 197–99  
 Angevin poets, 34, 86, 195–97, 199, 205, 238  
 Angevins, 216, 243  
 Anjou, county of, 34, 59, 366nn. 50–51  
 Anna (sister of Dido), 221–22  
 "Anna soror ut quid mori" (Wilmart 7), 218–23, 227, 239–40, 422n. 69, 423n. 70  
 Anselm, abbot of Bury St. Edmunds, 67, 69, 75  
 Anselm of Laon, 114, 116  
 Antaeus, 291, 296–97, 299, 327  
*Anticlaudianus* (Alain de Lille), 13, 120  
   and eros, 123, 134  
   and Gerald of Wales, 180–83  
   and new man, 123, 146–48, 284–85, 308  
 Apollo  
   in Baudri of Bourgueil, 51, 64  
   in Bernardus Silvestris, 133–34  
   and Hercules, 292, 294  
   and Leda, 313–14, 316  
   in London, British Library Additional 24199, 80, 380n. 47  
   in London, British Library Arundel 384, 246–48, 250–51, 255–56, 266, 275–80, 283, 429n. 18, 433n. 48  
   and Orpheus, 301–2, 305, 307  
 Aquilo, 247–48, 250–51, 434n. 55  
 Aquitanian *versus*. *See versus*  
 Arcas, 320, 446n. 92  
 Arcton, 317, 320  
 Ariadne, 90  
 Aries, 246–48  
 Arion, 182  
 Aristaeus, 303–5  
 Aristotle, 108, 116  
 Arnulf of Orléans, 157–58, 198, 409n. 21  
*Ars poetica* (Gervase of Melkley), 150, 164, 410n. 42  
*Ars versificatoria* (Matthew of Vendôme), 149, 152, 158, 409nn. 23–24  
   and Gerald of Wales, 174, 186, 191–92, 413n. 84

- and London, British Library Arundel  
384, 263, 265–66, 268  
“A te missa michi gaudens” (Marbod of  
Rennes), 44  
Athena, 6, 8, 33, 131–32, 285. *See also*  
Minerva  
Atlas, 294–96  
Atropos, 94  
audience  
and Baudri of Bourgueil, 34, 47, 52,  
54, 64, 75, 99, 198–99, 372n. 98  
contemporary medieval, 1, 3, 12,  
20–21, 73, 92, 99, 118, 231, 239,  
285–86, 319–20, 427n. 82  
and Fulcoius of Beauvais, 22, 33, 99  
and Gerald of Wales, 119, 173–74  
and Godfrey of Reims, 29–30  
and Hilary of Orléans, 198–99, 200,  
204–5, 239, 415n. 14  
insular, 96, 100–107, 119–20  
and London, British Library Addi-  
tional 24199, 72–73  
and London, British Library Arundel  
384, 245  
and Marbod of Rennes, 35, 38, 43, 75  
and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale  
latin 3719, 215–16  
and Serlo of Wilton, 153–54  
Augustinian canons, 206, 309–10  
Aurora, 329  
Ausonius, 69, 329  
Aution, river, 49, 372n. 105  
Auxerre 243, 210–11, 299–300, 306  
“Ave, puer speciose” (Hilary of Orléans),  
198, 309  
“Ave, sidus occidentis” (Hilary of  
Orléans), 198  
“Ave, splendor telluris Anglice” (Hilary  
of Orléans), 197–98  
Bacchus, 280, 434n. 55  
Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, 243  
Bath, 243  
Bathsheba, 25–28, 33  
Baudri of Bourgueil  
“Abscisio ipsum genuisse uirilibus,” 48,  
57, 372n. 101, 374n. 126  
Adèle, countess of Blois, 47–48, 59–63  
career of, 34–35, 47, 371n. 94  
“Carmines te nostro,” 22, 48, 51–52,  
64, 363n. 15  
and Constance (nun), 47, 53–59, 64,  
371n. 95  
“Constat te nostras adamasse,” 54–55  
and court poetry, 60, 64  
“Cum michi nil placeat,” 52–53, 64  
and *effictio*, 54  
and Emma (nun), 48, 64  
epistolary poems of, 29, 47–59, 64,  
202  
and eros, 18, 52, 54, 64, 76  
and Fulgentius, 48, 57–58, 372n. 101  
and Godfrey of Reims, 29, 47–48,  
51–52  
and Hilary of Orléans, 202, 238  
and Hildebert of Lavardin, 47  
“Hos apices donec oblitteret,” 29  
and insular contemporaries, 66–67  
“Iocundus magne thesaurus,” 29  
and Le Ronceray, abbey of, 47, 52,  
371n. 95  
and Marbod of Rennes, 34, 50, 52,  
372n. 107  
and Martianus Capella, 47, 59–63,  
101, 374n. 131  
and Muriel of Wilton, 70  
and myth, 51, 55–59, 64, 101, 169,  
287  
and Neoplatonism, 57, 59, 63, 65,  
374n. 126  
and new man, 48  
and *nugae*, 11, 57  
“Orbi deflendus tamen et,” 29  
and Ovid, 47, 52, 55, 61, 64, 86, 101  
“Perlege, perlectam caute,” 53–59, 64  
poetic circle of, 34, 47, 52, 54, 64, 75,  
99, 198–99, 372n. 98  
poetic meters used, 35, 367n. 54  
“Qualescumque meos uersus,” 34, 48,  
64  
“Vade manus multas subiturus,” 372n.  
103

Baudri of Bourgueil (*continued*)

"Vadis, ut insolitos uideas," 48, 59–63  
and *vates*-figure, 49–50, 52, 64, 75,

122

Beauvais 11, 363n. 13

Bec, monastery of, 113

Bede, the Venerable, 89

Bekynton, Thomas, bishop of Bath and  
Wells, 217–18

Bellerophon, 56–57

Benedictines, 113, 206, 208

Benton, John F., 8, 109

Berlin, Phillips 1694, 368n. 69

Bernard of Chartres, 60, 126, 149, 393n.  
10

Bernard of Clairvaux, 2, 113, 117

Bernardus Silvestris, 151, 169, 216,  
407n. 6

*Commentary on the Aeneid*, 126–30,  
286, 292–93, 295, 300, 303, 305–7,  
436nn. 2–3, 442n. 55

*Commentary on the De nuptiis*,  
126–29, 132–34, 278–80, 286,  
312–13, 315–17, 321, 393n. 5,  
395n. 15

*Cosmographia*, 13, 48, 107, 120, 123,  
134–41, 145, 148, 152, 173–74,  
176–79, 189, 192, 230, 261,  
263–65, 267, 281, 283, 400n. 48

and education, 122, 130, 149, 152

and eros, 118, 123, 134, 137, 148, 166,  
400n. 48

and Gerald of Wales, 173–74, 176–80,  
183–84, 188–89, 192

London, British Library Arundel 384,  
261, 263–65, 267, 281, 283

*Mathematicus*, 152, 173, 183–84, 218,  
223, 407n. 6

"Megacosmos," 135, 230, 263–64, 299

"Microcosmos," 135, 139, 173,  
263–64, 265, 267

and Neoplatonism, 13, 117, 120, 173

and new man, 123, 147

and self-identity, 138–39

Bernart de Ventadorn, 119

Bezzola, Reto R., 20, 243

Biblis, 234

"Blandus aure spiritus," 211, 440n. 37

Blois, 34, 243

Boethius

in Cambridge University Library

Gg.5.35, 87, 93

*Consolation of Philosophy*, 93, 116, 129,  
227, 241, 286, 291–92, 294–96,

300–304, 309, 317, 319–20

and Hercules, 286, 291, 294–96

and Matthew of Vendôme, 158

and Orpheus, 286, 300–304

and wise man, 223

Bologna, 243

Bond, Gerald, 47, 197

Boniface, 89

Boreas, 293

Boswell, John, 93, 204

Boutemy, André, 70, 76

Brinkman, Hennig, 18

Brittany, duchy of, 34, 114, 243

"Bruma, grando, glacies" (Wilmart 48),  
217, 227, 233, 240

Bruno, St., chancellor of Reims, 363n.  
14

Bulst, Walther, 44

Bumke, Joachim, 112

Bury St. Edmunds, abbey of, 17, 67–69,  
74–75, 86, 99, 119

Cacus, 292, 294, 296

Calais, 293

Calcidius, 116, 123, 157

Calliope, 302, 305

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 228

"Blandus aure spiritus," 211, 440n. 37  
contents of, 210–11, 299–300, 306,  
440n. 37

"De terre gremio" (Wilmart 47),  
208–15, 217, 227

"Ex ungue primo," 210–11, 214–15,  
299, 440nn. 37–38

"Predantur oculos," 298–300, 306–9,  
322–23, 327

"Quam uelim uirginum," 210–11, 299,  
419n. 47, 440nn. 37–38

- "Ver prope florigerum," 299, 440nn.  
 37-38  
 Cambridge, Trinity College R.7.11, 13,  
 119, 150, 173, 175, 287  
 Cambridge Songs. *See* Cambridge Uni-  
 versity Library Gg.5.35  
 Cambridge University Library Ff.1.17(1)  
 audience for, 119  
 contents of, 196, 231-33, 287-89,  
 381n. 59, 427n. 82  
 "Dissoluta glatie" (Schumann 15/16),  
 231-40, 427n. 86  
 "Olim sudor Herculis" (Wilmart 45;  
 Schumann 19), 118, 227, 287-90,  
 295-98, 300, 306-7  
 and Oxford, Bodleian Additional  
 A.44, 216, 218  
 "Partu prodit arida" (Schumann 12),  
 3-8, 212  
 Cambridge University Library Gg.5.35  
 contents of, 12, 17, 67, 87-90, 381n.  
 59  
 "Iam dulcis amica uenito" (CC 27),  
 90-91, 383n. 71  
 "Leuis exsurgit zephirus" (CC 40),  
 90-91, 205, 383n. 70  
 "Nam languens amore tuo" (CC 14A),  
 90  
 neumes in, 87-88  
 "[. . .] Nosti flores" (CC 39), 90-91,  
 383n. 70  
 "O admirabile ueneris idolum" (CC  
 48), 88, 91, 93-94, 384n. 84  
 poetic meters in, 90-93, 205, 416n. 27  
 song, erotic Latin, in, 87, 381n. 59  
 "Suauissima nunna" (CC 28), 90-91  
 "Veni, dilectissime" (CC 49), 88, 91,  
 93  
*cantio*, 90  
 Capetians, 59, 108  
 "Cara Matildis, aue" (Boutemy 46/47),  
 77-79  
*Carmina Burana*, 118, 216, 233, 245,  
 261, 267, 287-88  
*Carmina Cantabrigiensia*. *See* Cambridge  
 University Library Gg.5.35  
 "Carmine te nostro" (Baudri of Bour-  
 gueil), 22, 48, 51-52, 64, 363n. 15  
 Carson, Anne, 3  
 Castor, 286, 311-15, 319, 321, 323,  
 327-28, 443n. 67, 445n. 78  
*caudati*, 367n. 54  
 Caunus, 234-35  
 censorship, 89-91, 93-94, 382n. 65  
 Cerberus, 292, 294, 299  
 "Cesar, habes aditum famae" (Fulcoius of  
 Beauvais), 23  
*chanson de geste*, 110  
*Charroi de Nîmes, Le*, 109  
 Chartres, 116, 120, 243-44  
 Charybdis, 168, 422n. 69  
 Chimaera, 53  
 chivalry, 2, 12, 96, 107-13, 115  
 Chrétien de Troyes, 107, 109-10  
 Cicero, Marcus Tullius, 182  
     *De inventione*, 124, 127  
     *De officiis*, 241-42  
     *Somnium scipionis*, 116, 132, 269  
 "Cipre, timent dii" (Serlo of Wilton), 154  
 Circe, 60, 128-29, 296  
 Cistercians, 113, 117, 153  
 Clanchy, M. T., 113  
 Claudian, 210, 299  
 cleric. *See* courtier-cleric  
*clericus*, 105  
 Clio, 72  
 Clotho, 94  
 Cluny, 113, 153  
*Commentary on Boethius* (William of  
 Conches), 299, 302-5, 442n. 55  
*Commentary on the Aeneid* (Bernardus  
 Silvestris), 126-30, 286, 292-93,  
 295, 300, 303, 305-7, 436nn. 2-3,  
 442n. 55  
*Commentary on the De nuptiis* (Bernar-  
 dus Silvestris), 126-29, 132-34,  
 278-80, 286, 312-13, 315-17, 321,  
 393n. 5, 395n. 15  
*conductus*, 215  
*Consolation of Philosophy*. *See* Boethius  
 Constance (nun), 47, 53-59, 64, 371n.  
 95

- "Constat te nostras adamasse" (Baudri of Bourgueil), 54–55
- "Constet quantus honos humane" (Patrick of Dublin), 70–71
- "Consulte teneros non claudit" (Harbert 43), 164–69
- contemplative life, 122, 131, 133–34, 148, 278–80, 285, 306, 313–17, 398n. 30
- Corbeil, 114
- Cornificians, 125
- Coronis, 266–68, 282–83, 432n. 36
- Corydon, 202
- Cosmographia* (Bernardus Silvestris), 13, 48, 107, 120, 123, 134–41, 145, 148, 152, 173–74, 176–79, 189, 192, 230, 261, 263–65, 267, 281, 283, 400n. 48
- "Cosmographia" (Gerald of Wales), 174–80, 188, 192
- courtier-cleric, 75, 108, 115, 120, 146, 174, 225
- and eros, 246, 260, 274–75, 283–84, 295, 308–9, 315–17, 319–20, 322–23
- as god, 129, 260, 266, 271–72, 274, 283
- and self-identity, 99–101, 113, 122, 150, 261, 284–86, 315–17, 319–20, 322–23, 328–30
- social situation of, 8, 12, 107–8, 113–21
- and song, erotic Latin, 106, 134, 148, 150, 239–40
- twelfth-century development of, 2, 12, 96, 113, 122, 150, 285–86, 306, 308–9, 315–17, 319, 322, 328–30
- courtly love, 38, 59–64
- Crete, 322
- "Cum michi nil placeat" (Baudri of Bourgueil), 52–53, 64
- Cupid/Desire
- in Alain de Lille, 142–43, 145, 147
- in Cambridge University Library Ff.1.17(1), 7–8, 234–35
- in Gerald of Wales, 189
- in Hilary of Orléans, 203
- in London, British Library Additional 24199, 76
- in London, British Library Arundel 384, 249, 275, 280–82, 434n. 55
- in Marbod of Rennes, 39, 45
- in Oxford, Bodleian Additional A.44, 220
- Cybele, 276–77
- Daedalus, 225, 424n. 74
- Danae, 274
- David, 26–28, 33
- De consolatione philosophiae*. See Boethius
- Deianeira, 290, 298
- Democritus, 223–24, 424n. 71
- "Demonis inventum scelus sunt" (Marbod of Rennes), 368n. 69
- Demosthenes, 182
- De nuptiis philologiae et mercurii* (Martianus Capella), 48, 59–64, 116, 125, 127–29, 286, 312–13, 315
- and London, British Library Arundel 384, 261, 275, 277–79, 281, 283
- De planctu naturae* (Alain de Lille), 12–13, 41, 107, 120, 172, 254, 296–97, 309, 318–19
- and Cambridge University Library Ff.1.17 (1), 238
- and eros, 123, 134, 141, 148, 164, 166, 169
- and Gerald of Wales, 173, 181–83, 188–89
- and Glasgow, Hunterian V.8.14, 160–61
- and new man, 123, 141–48, 284–85, 308
- and Oxford, Bodleian Additional A.44, 227, 240
- and oxymoron, 142, 248
- "De puero quodam conponit" (Marbod of Rennes), 41–43, 368n. 69
- "De terre gremio" (Wilmart 47), 208–15, 217, 227, 419n. 48
- De tribus habitaculis* (Patrick of Dublin), 71



- Deucalion and Pyrrha, 71, 94  
*De vetula* (Richard Fournival), 241–42  
*Dialogus de scaccario*, 103  
 Diana, 32, 56–57, 60, 187–88  
 Dido, 28–29, 203, 219–22, 234–35, 422n. 69  
 Diogenes, 223–24, 424n. 71  
 Diomedes, 80–81, 380n. 47  
 “Dionei sideris” (Arundel 1), 261, 274–83  
 “Dissoluta glatie” (Schumann 15/16), 231–38, 240, 427n. 86  
 Donne, John, 268  
 Dronke, Peter, 3, 10, 89, 91, 118–20, 196, 214, 242–45, 295, 297–98, 308, 420n. 57, 421n. 64, 422n. 67  
 Dublin, Trinity College, B.2.17, 366n. 50  
 Duby, Georges, 104, 110–12  
 “Dum tua scripta legens” (Marbod of Rennes), 367n. 58  
 Durham, 243  
 Dutton, Paul, 123, 393n. 10  
 Eberhard the German, 157  
 “Ecce tenes quod amas” (Boutemy 48), 77  
 education. *See* schools  
*effictio*, 25, 31, 54, 166  
   in Alain de Lille, 141, 318–19  
   in Gerald of Wales, 173, 176–77, 179–83, 186–87  
   in London, British Library Arundel 384, 261, 265–68, 271, 283  
   in London, Lambeth Palace 196, 318–19, 321  
   in Marbod of Rennes, 42, 46  
   in Matthew of Vendôme, 158–60  
 “Egregium vultum, modica pinguedine” (Marbod of Rennes), 40–41, 368n. 69  
 Eleanor of Aquitaine, 103, 118, 243  
 Emma (nun), 47, 48, 64, 371n. 95, 372n. 102  
 Endelechia, 135, 139, 145  
 Enguerrand de Coucy, archdeacon of Soissons, 363n. 14  
 epistolary poetry  
   and Baudri of Bourgueil, 29, 47–59, 64  
   and Fulcoius of Beauvais, 22–29  
   and Hilary of Orléans, 197–200, 202, 215, 238  
   in London, British Library Additional 24199, 70–71, 77, 86  
   and Marbod of Rennes, 41–46  
   and Reginald of Canterbury, 66  
 “Erat Brisesarte sclusa” (Hilary of Orléans), 198, 309, 415n. 14  
 Erec, 111  
 Erfurt anonymous, 302–3  
 “Ergo nec ueram nec fictam” (Boutemy 50), 68, 82–86  
 Ermengard, countess of Rennes, 20, 35, 37, 59, 368n. 62  
 eros  
   in Alain de Lille, 123, 134, 141, 146–48, 164, 166, 169  
   in Baudri of Bourgueil, 18, 52, 54, 64, 76  
   in Bernardus Silvestris, 118, 123, 134, 137, 148, 166, 400n. 48  
   and courtier-clerics (or new man), 3, 106, 134, 148, 150, 215, 239–40, 246, 260, 274–75, 283–84, 295, 308–9, 315–17, 319–20, 322–23  
   and grammar, 143, 145–46, 148, 160–61, 250, 254, 281–82, 404n. 84  
   and Matthew of Vendôme, 158–60  
   and Neoplatonism, 122–48, 284–85, 296, 299–300, 308–9, 315–17, 319–20  
   in school poetry, 150–53  
 erotic, definition of, 3  
 erotic Latin song. *See* song, erotic Latin  
 Erymanthus, 296  
 “Est Beroe rerum scabies” (Matthew of Vendôme), 159  
 “Estivali Clarius” (Arundel 5), 246, 255–60, 267–68, 274  
 “Est operae pretium tentasse” (Marbod of Rennes), 36–37, 368n. 60

- Étienne, count of Blois, 20, 59  
 Europa, 274  
 Eurotas, river, 447n. 97  
 Eurydice, 301, 303–8  
 Eva (nun), 198  
 Evander, king, 294  
 “Ex ungue primo,” 210–11, 214–15, 299,  
 440nn. 37–38  
  
 “Fama mendax et Fama” (Hilary of  
 Orléans), 197  
 Faral, Edmund, 111  
 Fassler, Margot, 206–7, 238, 417nn. 34,  
 37  
 Faulkner, William, 171  
 Favonius, 212  
 “Filia Fulconis, decus Armoricae” (Mar-  
 bod of Rennes), 37–38, 368n. 60  
 Fitzgilbert, John, 111  
 five stages of love, 77, 248–49, 254,  
 379n. 39  
 Flora, 177, 246–47, 249–51, 253–54,  
 265, 268–71  
 Florence, Laurenziana Plutarchus 29.1,  
 216, 261, 287  
 Flori, Jean, 110  
*Florilegium angelicum*, 157, 408n. 19  
*Florilegium gallicum*, 157, 408n. 19  
 “Flos floris flori” (Serlo of Wilton),  
 156–57, 171  
*foedus amoris*, 64  
 “Fons erat irriguus” (Gerald of Wales),  
 175, 186–88, 231  
 and London, British Library Arundel  
 384, 257, 263, 265, 283  
 Fortuna, 182  
 Foulques IV (le Rechin), count of  
 Anjou, 35, 366n. 51  
 Fournival, Richard, 241–42  
 Fulcoius of Beauvais, archdeacon of  
 Meaux, 18, 363n. 13  
 “Cesar, habes aditum famae,” 23  
*De nuptiis*, 22–23  
 epistolary poems of, 22–29  
 “In Troiae silua, spaciosa,” 22  
 “Orpheus in pleno consessu,” 24  
  
 “Pocula diuersi miscet manus,” 24  
 poetic circle of, 22, 33, 99  
 “Rixas Lenniacas cur non,” 28–29  
 and Virgil, 23, 33  
 “Voui Vulcano quod scribsi,” 22–23,  
 363n. 13  
 Fulcrad, archdeacon of Laon, 24  
 Fulgentius, Fabius Planciades, 48, 130  
*Exposition of the Contents of Virgil*,  
 291–92, 294, 296  
*Mythologies*, 48, 57, 64, 286, 291–92,  
 294, 296, 300–304, 311–13, 315,  
 329, 372n. 101, 441n. 48  
  
 Gabriel, 321  
 Galbraith, V. H., 105  
 Ganymede, 64, 69, 200, 203  
 Gemini, 311–14, 316  
*genii*, 138, 145, 401n. 70  
 Genius, 144–45  
 Geoffrey of Vinsauf, 157  
*Poetria nova*, 104, 149, 151, 161–62,  
 216, 409n. 24  
 Geoffrey Plantagenet, duke of Nor-  
 mandy, count of Anjou, 34  
 Gerald of Wales, 103–4, 152–53, 386n.  
 17  
 audience of, 119, 173–74  
 career of, 111, 150, 389n. 46  
 “Cosmographia,” 174–80, 188, 192  
 “Fons erat irriguus,” 175, 186–88, 231,  
 257, 263, 265, 283  
 “Mundus ut insignis,” 179–83, 188,  
 192  
 “Omnia jam novitate,” 188–89  
 “Quicquid amor iussit,” 183–86, 188,  
 192  
*Symbolum electorum*, 11, 173–92,  
 287  
 Gervais, archbishop of Reims, 363nn.  
 13, 15  
 Gervase of Melkley, 150–51, 164, 410n.  
 42  
 Geryon, 294  
 Gilbert of Poitiers, 115–17  
 Gillingham, Bryan, 231

- Glasgow, Hunterian V.8.14, 13, 173  
 audience for, 118–19  
 and Cambridge, Trinity College  
   R.7.11, 173  
 and Cambridge University Library  
   Ff.1.17(1), 287  
 “Consulte teneros non claudit” (Harbert 43), 164–69  
 contents of, 149–50, 381n. 59, 406n. 1  
 and Gerald of Wales, 174, 179, 183, 192  
 and Oxford, Bodleian Additional  
   A.44, 216, 218–19, 224, 239  
 “Pauca loquar sed uera” (Harbert 3), 160–64  
 Gloucester, 153, 309–10  
 Godfrey of Reims, chancellor of Reims, 18, 22  
   “Abdiderat celerem sol pronus,” 29–30  
   and Baudri of Bourgueil, 29, 47–48, 51–52, 64  
   “Non renuenda peto,” 364n. 16  
   “Parce, precor, virgo, tociens,” 30–33  
   poetic circle of, 29–30  
   poetic meters used, 364n. 16  
 Godman, Peter, 151, 183, 263, 266  
 Goliardic poetry, 9  
 Gorgon, 60  
 Graces, Three, 267  
 Gramision, 136, 139, 401n. 59  
 grammar  
   in Alain de Lille, 141–46, 148, 160–61, 172, 250, 254, 281–82, 297, 404n. 84  
   and eros, 195, 250, 254, 281–82  
   in Geoffrey of Vinsauf, 161–62  
   and Neoplatonism, 296–98, 300, 309  
   and Serlo of Wilton, 152–57  
 Gregory VII, pope, 22, 363n. 13  
 Grier, James, 210, 238  
 Hades, 130, 286, 293, 299–306  
 “[Haec] tandem nostram quamuis” (Boutemy 43), 74  
 Hammerstein, Oscar, 245  
 Harbert, Bruce, 160, 171  
 Harpies, 293  
 H.D., 214  
 “Hec est votorum, carissima” (Marbod of Rennes), 45  
 Helen of Troy  
   in Gerald of Wales, 181  
   in Godfrey of Reims, 32  
   and Leda myth, 286, 311, 313, 319, 321, 323–24, 329, 443n. 67  
   in Matthew of Vendôme, 159–60, 263  
 Henri d’Andeli, 157  
 Henry I, king of England, 35, 102, 119  
 Henry II, king of England, 34, 109, 153  
   court of, 12, 102–4, 118, 120  
   education of, 101–2  
   as patron, 103, 119  
   and Peter of Blois, 103, 243  
 Henry IV, emperor, 363n. 13  
 Henry of Bourbourg, 111  
 Hercules, 14, 244  
   in Baudri of Bourgueil, 56–57  
   in Fulcoius of Beauvais, 24  
   myth and exegesis of, 286, 290–96, 299, 311, 327–28  
   as new man, 286–300, 328  
   *See also* “Olim sudor Herculis”  
 Hervaeus (recluse), 198  
 Hesperides, 292, 296  
 “Heu quid peccauī” (Boutemy 49), 68, 79  
 Hilarius Anglicis. *See* Hilary of Orléans  
 Hilary of Orléans  
   “Ave, puer speciose,” 198, 309  
   “Ave, sidus occidentis,” 198  
   “Ave, splendor telluris Anglice,” 197–98  
   and Baudri of Bourgueil, 202, 238  
   and Cambridge University Library  
     Ff.1.17(1), 233  
   career of, 197–98, 415n. 6  
   epistolary poetry of, 197–201, 215  
   “Erat Brisesarte sclusa,” 198, 309, 415n. 14  
   and eros, 196, 199–205, 214, 238  
   “Fama mendax et Fama,” 197  
   “Lingua serui, lingua,” 197–98

Hilary of Orléans (*continued*)

- "<O> Superba, nec superba," 199  
 "Papa summus, paparum," 197  
 poetic circle of, 198–99, 201, 239  
 poetic meters used, 196–97, 211, 256, 309  
 "Puer decens, decor," 197, 202–5  
 "Veni dator omnis," 198  
 Hildebert of Lavardin, bishop of Le Mans, 66, 70  
 and Baudri of Bourgueil, 47  
 career and poetry, 366–67nn. 50–52  
 and London, British Library Additional 24199, 67–68, 70, 75–76, 86  
 and Marbod of Rennes, 35, 367n. 58  
 poetic circle of, 75  
 poetic meters used, 95, 151, 195  
 "Tempora prisca decem," 70, 378n. 14  
 and *vates*-figure, 70, 366n. 50  
 Hilka, Alfons, 118  
 Hippodamia, 181  
 Hippolytus, 160, 184, 202  
 Holy Spirit, 315, 321, 445n. 78  
 homoerotic in poetry, 3  
 and Fulcoius of Beauvais, 24  
 and Hilary of Orléans, 199–205, 214, 238  
 and Marbod of Rennes, 63  
 and Serlo of Wilton, 407n. 11  
 Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus), 63, 87, 91, 130, 189, 202, 293, 304  
*Ars poetica*, 158, 301, 441n. 49  
 odes, 39, 41, 79, 202, 213–15  
 "Hos apices donec oblitteret" (Baudri of Bourgueil), 29  
 Howard, Donald R., 92  
 Hugh de Bar, bishop of Langres, 363n. 14  
 Hugh of St. Victor, 116, 206–7  
 Hugh Primas, 153  
 humanism, 59, 96  
 and education, 2–3, 122–29, 146–48, 196, 261, 281, 284–85  
 Hydra, 53, 292, 295–96  
 Hyle/Silva, 135–36, 176, 230  
 Hymenaeus, 143, 145

## hymn, Latin

- Ambrosian, 91–92, 205–6, 383n. 72, 416n. 28  
 and Cambridge University Library Gg.5.35, 90–92, 383n. 72  
 form of, 195, 197, 205–7, 215  
 and London, British Library Arundel 384, 256, 268  
 and London, Lambeth Palace 196, 309  
 hypostases, 265, 323, 328  
 in Alain de Lille, 142–46, 148  
 in Bernardus Silvestris, 135–36, 139–40, 144  
 defined, 135  
 in Gerald of Wales, 176–77, 188–89  
 "Iam dulcis amica uenito" (CC 27), 90–91, 205, 383n. 71  
 Iarbas, 220–21  
 ideal man. *See* new man  
 Imarmene, 135, 140, 263  
 "Inaspectam nube tectam," 309–30  
 "Instaurare solent solatia sera" (Gerald of Wales). *See* "Cosmographia" (Gerald of Wales)  
 integumentum, 117, 130, 133, 223, 275, 280, 284–86, 290, 297, 300, 308–9, 315–17, 319, 328  
 "In Troiae silua, spaciosa" (Fulcoius of Beauvais), 22  
 "Iocundus magne thesaurus" (Baudri of Bourgueil), 29  
 Iole, 290, 295–98  
 Ismara, Mt., 307  
 Itier, Bernard, 207–8, 417n. 39  
 Ivo, bishop of Chartres, 60  
 Ixion, 225, 303, 424n. 74  
 Jacob, 134  
 Jaeger, C. Stephen, 112  
 Jocus (Sport), 142, 189  
 John of Garland, 157  
 John of Hauville, 216  
 John of Salisbury, 2, 103, 122, 125–26, 393n. 5  
 Joseph, 202

- Joseph of Exeter, 103  
 Jove. *See* Jupiter  
 Judgment of Paris. *See* Paris, Judgment of  
 Juno  
   as active life, 148, 285, 306, 329  
   in Bernardus Silvestris, 131–32  
   in Fulcoius of Beauvais, 33  
   in Gerald of Wales, 177  
   and Leda, 446n. 92  
 Jupiter  
   in Bernardus Silvestris, 136  
   in Fulcoius of Beauvais, 32, 34  
   in Gerald of Wales, 177, 185  
   and Hercules, 290–91, 294–95  
   and Hilary of Orléans, 204  
   and Leda, 309, 311–17, 319–28, 443n.  
     67, 445n. 78  
   in London, British Library Additional  
     24199, 69, 82  
   in London, British Library Arundel  
     384, 250–51, 273, 276–80, 283,  
     429n. 18  
   and Marbod of Rennes, 10  
   Oxford, Bodleian Additional A.44,  
     225  
   and Peter of Blois, 244  
 Juvenal (Decimus Junius Juvenalis), 158,  
   293  
 Keen, Maurice, 108, 111–12  
 knighthood, 2, 12, 96, 107–13, 115  
 Knights Templar, 113  
 Kolve, V. A., 38  
 Laban, 133–34  
 La Charité-sur-Loire, abbey of, 153  
 Lachesis, 94  
 Lady Philosophy, 181, 320, 328  
 Laetitia, 184  
 Lancelot, 111  
 Larissa, 266  
 Latin song. *See* song, erotic Latin  
 Latzke, Theresa, 197–98, 200, 204  
 “*Laudis honor, probitatis amor*”  
   (Boutemy 32), 72  
 L’Aumone, abbey of, 153  
 Leah, 133–34, 148, 285  
 Leda, 14, 286  
   in Godfrey of Reims, 32  
   in London, British Library Arundel  
     384, 257, 274  
   myth and exegesis of, 309–30, 443n.  
     67, 445n. 78  
 Le Mans, 34, 366n. 51  
 Lenzen, Rudolf, 299  
 leonine verse, definition of, 367n. 54  
 Le Ronceray, abbey of, 47, 52, 198–99,  
   215, 371n. 95  
 Leucothoë, 80–81  
 “*Lewis exsurgit zephirus*” (CC 40),  
   90–91, 205, 383n. 70  
 Libya, 220–21  
 Licaon, 225, 424n. 74  
 Limoges, 207–8  
 “*Lingua serui, lingua*” (Hilary of  
   Orléans), 197–98  
 Llanthony Priory, 309–10  
 Loire Valley  
   poets of, 18, 34, 64–65, 151, 157, 214  
   schools in, 157, 198  
   *See also* Angers  
 Lombard, Peter, 116  
 London, British Library Additional  
   24199  
   “*Cara Matildis, aue*” (Boutemy 46/47),  
     77–79  
   contents of, 17, 67–70, 76  
   “*Ecce tenes quod amas*” (Boutemy 48),  
     77  
   epistolary poetry in, 70–71, 77, 86  
   “*Ergo nec ueram nec fictam*”  
     (Boutemy 50), 68, 82–86  
   “*[Haec] tandem nostram quamuis*”  
     (Boutemy 43), 74  
   “*Heu quid peccauit*” (Boutemy 49), 68,  
     79  
   and Hildebert of Lavardin, 67–68, 70,  
     75–76, 86, 366n. 50  
   “*Laudis honor, probitatis amor*”  
     (Boutemy 32), 72  
   and London, British Library Arundel  
     384, 257

- London, British Library Additional  
24199 (*continued*)  
and Marbod of Rennes, 67–70, 75–76,  
86, 367n. 56, 368n. 69  
“Montibus Armeniae finem”  
(Boutemy 26), 71–72  
“O utinam tactu reddam” (Boutemy  
52), 77  
and Ovid, 11–12, 71, 81, 119  
and Oxford, Bodleian Additional  
A.44, 216  
“Pingitur ales amor” (Boutemy 51), 76  
poetic circles in, 72, 74–76  
poetic meters in, 67, 69–70  
“Principibus mundi residentibus arce”  
(Boutemy 37), 73–74  
“Quid misisse tibi me scripta”  
(Boutemy 38), 74  
*vates*-figure in, 72–73, 75, 81, 86  
London, British Library Arundel 384, 13,  
210  
contents of, 241–42, 245, 262, 428n. 1  
“Dionei sideris” (Arundel 1), 261,  
274–83  
“Estivali Clarius” (Arundel 5), 246,  
255–60, 267–68, 274  
“Partu recenti frondium” (Arundel  
16), 246–51, 253, 255, 265, 267–68,  
274  
“Plaudit humus, Boree” (Arundel 7),  
242  
poetic meters in, 245  
“Seuit aure spiritus” (Arundel 8), 261,  
267–74, 432n. 37  
“Spoliatum f<l>ore pratum” (Arundel  
15), 242, 246, 250–55, 265, 267–68,  
274  
London, British Library Cotton Cleopa-  
tra C.1, 366n. 50  
London, British Library Cotton Vitellius  
A.12, 69, 71, 367n. 56, 368n. 69,  
377nn. 7, 9–10  
London, Lambeth Palace 196, 309–30  
love. *See* eros  
Lucan (Marcus Annaeus Lucanus),  
157–58  
Lyaeus, 434n. 55  
Lycoris, 298  
Macrobius, 116, 132, 136, 157, 275–76,  
279–80, 396n. 21, 433n. 48  
Maia, 279–80  
Maine, county of, 34, 366n. 51  
Malchus (Reginald of Canterbury), 66  
Manasses I, archbishop of Reims, 20, 22  
Map, Walter, 102, 103, 104  
Marbod of Rennes, bishop of Rennes,  
150  
“A te missa michi gaudens,” 44  
and Baudri of Bourgueil, 34, 47, 50,  
52, 372n. 107  
career of, 10, 34–35, 43, 63  
and court poetry, 35, 38, 63  
“Demonis inventum scelorum sunt,”  
368n. 69  
“De puero quodam conponit,” 41–43,  
368n. 69  
“Dum tua scripta legens,” 367n. 58  
and *effictio*, 42, 46  
“Egregium vultum, modica pingue-  
dine,” 40–41, 368n. 69  
epistolary poems of, 41–46, 52, 69,  
370n. 85  
and eros, 18, 63, 76  
“Est operae pretium tentasse,” 36–37,  
368n. 60  
“Filia Fulconis, decus Armoricae,”  
37–38, 368n. 60  
“Hec est votorum, carissima,” 45  
and Hildebert, 35, 367n. 58  
and insular contemporaries, 66–67  
and London, British Library Addi-  
tional 24199, 67–70, 75–76, 86  
“Mens mea tristatur,” 39–40,  
368n. 69  
and *nugae*, 9–10  
and Ovid, 43, 63–64, 368n. 67  
“Ploro, cum ploras, labor,” 46  
poetic circle of, 35, 43, 75  
poetic meters used, 35, 95, 195, 367n.  
54  
“Si quid in urbe colis,” 368n. 69

- "Strictus eram loris insani," 39, 368n.  
     69  
 Marcabru, 119  
 Marcigny, abbey of, 59  
 Marie de Champagne, 20  
 Marie de France, 103, 109  
 Mars, 8–10, 80, 114, 275, 380n. 47  
 Marshall, William, 111  
 Martianus Capella  
     and Arnulf of Orléans, 157  
     and Baudri of Bourgueil, 47, 59–63,  
     101, 374n. 131  
     *De nuptiis philologiae et mercurii*, 48,  
     59–64, 116, 125, 127–29, 261, 275,  
     277–79, 281, 283, 286, 312–13,  
     315  
 Mary, 314–15, 317, 321, 445n. 78  
 Mathematicus (Bernardus Silvestris), 152,  
     173, 183–84, 218, 223, 407n. 6  
 Matilda, queen of England, 20, 35, 59,  
     69, 71, 153, 368n. 61  
 Matthew of Vendôme, 25, 153  
     *Ars versificatoria*, 149, 152, 158, 174,  
     186, 191–92, 263, 265–66, 268,  
     409nn. 23–24, 413n. 84  
     career, 157, 408n. 17  
     "Est Beroe rerum scabies," 159  
     and Gerald of Wales, 174, 180  
     in Oxford, Bodleian Additional A.44,  
     216, 218  
     poetic style, 151  
     "Respondent ebori dentes," 159–60  
 Maximian, 190, 202  
 McDonough, C. J., 245, 251  
 "Megacosmos" (Bernardus Silvestris),  
     135, 230, 263–64, 299  
 Melidunenses, 116  
 Melun, 114  
 Mens, 176–78, 180, 182, 188, 192  
 "Mens mea tristatur" (Marbod of  
     Rennes), 39–40, 368n. 69  
 Mercury  
     in Bernardus Silvestris, 133–34  
     in John of Salisbury, 125  
     and Leda myth, 313–14, 316  
     in London, British Library Arundel  
     384, 275–80, 283, 433n. 48, 434n.  
     55  
     as speech, 279–80, 283  
 Meyer, Wilhelm, 271, 309, 319, 328–29  
 "Microcosmos" (Bernardus Silvestris),  
     135, 139, 173, 263–64, 265, 267  
 Midas, 225, 424n. 74  
*miles literatus*, 105  
*milites*. See knighthood  
 Milo, dean of Paris, 28  
 Mind. See Mens  
 Minerva, 24, 33, 114, 306. See also  
     Athena  
 Modus Liebinc, 382n. 68  
 monasticism, 2, 113  
 Montani, 116  
 "Montibus Armeniae finem" (Boutemy  
     26), 71–72  
 Mont Sainte-Geneviève, 114, 116  
 Morley, Daniel, 104  
 "Mundus ut insignis" (Gerald of Wales),  
     179–83, 188, 192  
 Muriel (nun), 371n. 95  
 Muriel of Wilton, 70, 378n. 14  
 Muses, 74, 86, 133, 277–78  
 Myers, K. Sara, 106  
 myth  
     in Baudri of Bourgueil, 55–59, 64, 101,  
     169, 287  
     exegesis of, 13–14, 123, 129–30, 150,  
     157, 164, 169, 196, 223–24,  
     239–40, 261, 266, 275, 281,  
     283–330  
     of Hercules (see Hercules)  
     of Leda (see Leda)  
     in London, British Library Arundel  
     384, 250, 261, 266, 275, 283  
     of Orpheus (see Orpheus)  
     of Paris (see Paris, Judgment of)  
     of Pyramus and Thisbe, 160–73, 222,  
     269, 410n. 41  
     of Ulysses and Circe, 128–29, 291–96  
 Mythologies (Fulgentius), 48, 57, 64, 286,  
     291–92, 294, 296, 300–304,  
     311–13, 315, 329, 372n. 101, 441n.  
     48



- Nabokov, Vladimir, 215  
 Nais, 187–88  
 “Nam languens amore tuo” (CC 14A), 90  
 Natura, 12, 27, 118, 166, 199  
   in Alain de Lille, 141–47, 328  
   in Bernardus Silvestris, 135–36, 138–40  
   in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 228, 302  
   in Cambridge University Library Ff.1.17(1), 297  
   *effictio* of, 141–42  
   in Gerald of Wales, 177, 179–83, 188–90  
   in London, British Library Arundel 384, 246–48, 250, 263–64, 267, 431nn. 33–34  
   in Oxford, Bodleian Additional A.44, 230–31  
   in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale latin 3719, 212, 215  
 Natureingang. *See* spring landscape  
 Neckam, Alexander, 157  
 Nemea, 296  
 Neoplatonism  
   and Chartres, 48, 116, 374n. 126  
   and education, 1, 95, 101, 108, 116–18, 122–30, 146–48, 195, 261, 283–87, 293, 306, 309, 315–17, 319–20, 329–30, 390n. 71, 405n. 101  
   and eros (*see* eros)  
   and grammar (*see* grammar)  
   and hypostases (*see* hypostases)  
   and London, British Library Arundel 384, 248, 255, 267, 275, 281, 283  
   and myth, 117, 130, 196, 216, 223, 239–40, 261, 263, 275, 281, 283–330  
   and new man, 2, 13, 95, 116–21, 123–48, 150, 216, 284–87, 293, 306, 308–9, 315–17, 319–20, 322–23, 328–30  
   and song, erotic Latin, 117–18, 123, 130, 135, 141, 147–48, 215, 285–86, 299, 319–20, 322–23, 328–30  
 Neptune, 94  
 Nessus, 290, 296  
 Nestor, 213–14  
 neumes, 87, 91  
 new man, 95, 100, 107–8, 122, 246  
   in Alain de Lille, 146–48  
   in Bernardus Silvestris, 147  
   and courtier-cleric (*see* courtier-cleric)  
   Gerald of Wales, 180, 182  
   as god, 127–29, 146–48, 261, 266, 293, 306, 326, 328–30, 396n. 21  
   as Hercules, 286–300, 328  
   in Matthew of Vendôme, 158  
   and Neoplatonism, 2, 13, 95, 116–21, 123–48, 150, 216, 284–87, 293, 306, 308–9, 315–17, 319–20, 322–23, 328–30  
   as Orpheus, 286–87, 299–300, 303–6, 308–9, 328, 440n. 40  
   and William of Conches, 147, 284, 300, 308, 317  
 new song. *See* *versus*  
 “Non renuenda peto” (Godfrey of Reims), 364n. 16  
 Normandy, duchy of, 34, 153  
 “[. . .] Nosti flores” (CC 39), 90–91, 383n. 70  
 Notre Dame, of Paris, 206  
*novus homo*. *See* new man  
 Noys, 135–36, 139–40, 145, 230  
*nugae*, 9–10, 57, 259, 363n. 13  
 Numidia, 220–21  
 “O admirabile ueneris idolum” (CC 48), 88, 91, 93–94, 384n. 84  
 Öberg, Jan, 154  
 Oceanus, 446n. 92  
 Odo of Orléans, 29–30, 48, 363n. 14, 365n. 37  
 Oeagrus, 302, 305  
 “Olim sudor Herculis” (Wilmart 45; Schumann 19), 118, 227, 287–90, 295–98, 300, 306–7  
 Olympus, Mt., 85–86

- "Omnia jam novitate" (Gerald of Wales), 188–89
- Omphale, 291, 299, 327
- Ong, Walter, 105
- "Orbi deflendus tamen" (Baudri of Bourgueil), 29
- Orchanus, 80
- Orléans, 157, 197–98
- Orpheus, 14, 24, 64  
in Alain de Lille, 143  
in Baudri of Bourgueil, 51  
in Gerald of Wales, 182  
myth and exegesis of, 286–87, 298–309, 311, 314, 327–28  
as new man, 286–87, 299–300, 303–6, 308–9, 328, 440n. 40  
in Oxford, Bodleian Additional A.44, 226–27, 240
- "Orpheus in pleno consessu" (Fulcoius of Beauvais), 24
- "<O> Superba, nec superba" (Hilary of Orléans), 199
- "O utinam tactu reddam" (Boutemy 52), 77
- Ovid (Publius Ovidius Naso), 2, 18, 20, 48, 76, 130, 301  
*Amores*, 19, 43, 64, 106, 137, 153, 190, 329  
*Ars amatoria*, 19, 137, 157  
and Baudri of Bourgueil, 47, 52, 64  
in Cambridge University Library Gg.5.35, 91  
*Fasti*, 157  
and Godfrey of Reims, 29–30  
*Heroides*, 19, 52, 157, 184–85, 190, 202, 373n. 111  
and Hilary of Orléans, 197, 202  
and London, British Library Additional 24199, 71, 81  
and London, British Library Arundel 384, 241–42, 264, 266  
and Marbod of Rennes, 43, 368n. 67  
and Matthew of Vendôme, 158  
*Metamorphoses*, 2, 71, 81, 106, 157, 164–73, 224, 266–68, 286, 290, 295–96, 298, 317, 320  
in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale latin 3719, 213  
*Remedia amoris*, 157  
in the schools, 13, 18, 63, 76, 79, 86, 95, 150, 195, 264, 266, 268, 281  
*Tristia*, 52, 157, 373n. 111
- Ovid, imitation of, 2, 9, 12, 67, 71, 95, 100, 150, 164–74, 186, 192, 198, 269, 281, 285
- Oxford, 153
- Oxford, Bodleian Additional A.44, 13, 245
- "Anna soror ut quid mori" (Wilmart 7), 218–23, 227, 239–40, 422n. 69, 423n. 70
- "Bruma, grando, glacies" (Wilmart 48), 217, 227, 233, 240
- contents of, 196, 216–19, 223, 239–40, 421n. 59
- "De terre gremio" (Wilmart 47), 208–15, 217, 227, 419n. 48
- "Olim sudor Herculis" (Wilmart 45; Schumann 19), 118, 227, 287–90, 295–98, 300, 306–7
- "Ridere solitus Democritus" (Wilmart 9), 219, 223–27, 239–40, 422n. 67, 424n. 74, 426n. 76
- Oxford, Bodleian Auct. F.I.15, 382n. 60
- Oxford, Bodleian Digby 53, 407nn. 8, 11
- Oxford, Bodleian Digby 65, 367n. 56
- oxymoron, 39, 41  
in Alain de Lille, 142, 248  
in Cambridge University Library Ff.1.17(1), 233, 236–38, 297–98  
in Glasgow, Hunterian V.8.14, 168–69  
in London, British Library Arundel 384, 248, 256–57
- Pallas Athena. *See* Athena
- "Pange lingua" (Venantius Fortunatus), 197, 414n. 4
- "Papa summus, paparum" (Hilary of Orléans), 197
- Paraclete, 198

- "Parce, precor, virgo, tociens" (Godfrey of Reims), 30–33  
 Paris, 153, 160, 198, 243  
     and Latin song, 206–7, 239  
     schools of, 101, 114, 120, 195  
 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale latin 1118, 383n. 71  
 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale latin 3719  
     and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 228, 299  
     and Cambridge University Library Ff.1.17(1), 231–32, 239, 287  
     contents of, 207–8, 210–11, 239  
     "De terre gremio" (Wilmart 47), 208–15, 217, 227, 419n. 48  
     "Ex ungue primo," 210–11, 214–15, 299, 440nn. 37–38  
     and Oxford, Bodleian Additional A.44, 227  
     "Quam velim virginum," 210–11, 299, 419n. 47, 440nn. 37–38  
     "Virginis in gremio," 208, 419n. 48  
 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale latin 6765, 153, 154, 407nn. 7–8, 11  
 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale latin 11331, 197–99  
 Paris, Judgment of, 32–34, 131–34, 148, 227, 306, 315, 323, 398n. 31  
 Parisian sequence. *See* Victorine sequence  
 Parnassus, Mt., 85–86  
 "Partu prodit arida" (Schumann 12), 3–8, 212  
 "Partu recenti frondium" (Arundel 16), 246–51, 253, 255, 265, 267–68, 274  
 Parvipontani, 116  
 Patricida, 183  
 Patrick of Dublin, 69, 76  
     "Constet quantus honos humane," 70–71  
     *De tribus habitaculis*, 71  
 patronage, 101, 119  
 "Pauca loquar sed uera" (Harbert 3), 160–64  
 Pegasus, 8  
 Penelope, 181  
 Percival, 111  
 "Perlege, perlectam caute" (Baudri of Bourgueil), 53–59, 64  
 Perseus, 286, 436n. 2  
 Peter of Blois, archdeacon of Bath, 13, 103–4  
     career of, 242–43, 428n. 4  
     and *nugae*, 10  
     in Oxford, Bodleian Additional A.44, 218, 421n. 64  
     as poet, 118–19, 242–45, 422n. 67  
 Peter of Blois, archdeacon of Dreux, 243–45, 429n. 13  
 Peter the Chanter, 116  
 Petit-Pont, 116  
 Phaedra, 184–85  
*Pharsalia* (Lucan), 157  
 philargic life. *See* sensual life  
 Philology, 125, 278  
 Philomela, 5, 8, 212  
*Philosophia mundi* (William of Conches), 124, 157  
*philosophus*. *See* new man  
 philosophy, 126–27, 396n. 24  
 Philosophy, Lady, 181, 320, 328  
 Phineas, 293  
 Phrixus, 246–48  
 Physis, 139  
 Pinarius, 294  
 "Pingitur ales amor" (Boutemy 51), 76  
 Plato, 108  
     *Timaeus*, 116–17, 140, 293, 317, 390n. 71, 391n. 76  
 Platonic. *See* Neoplatonism  
 Platonism. *See* Neoplatonism  
 "Plaudit humus, Boree" (Arundel 7), 242  
 Pleiades, 275–79  
 "Ploro, cum ploras, labor" (Marbod of Rennes), 46  
 Pluto, 301  
 "Pocula diuersi miscet manus" (Fulcoius of Beauvais), 24  
 poetic circles, 66  
     of Baudri of Bourgueil, 34, 47, 52, 54, 64, 75, 99, 198–99, 372n. 98  
     of Fulcoius of Beauvais, 22, 33, 99

- of Godfrey of Reims, 29–30  
 of Hilary of Orléans, 198–99, 201  
 of Hildebert, 75  
 insular, 70, 75–76, 86  
 and London, British Library Addi-  
     tional 24199, 72, 74–75  
 of Marbod, 35, 75  
 poetic meter  
     and Baudri of Bourgueil, 35, 367n. 54  
     in Cambridge University Library  
         Gg.5.35, 90–93, 205, 416n. 27  
     and Godfrey of Reims, 363n. 16  
     and Hilary of Orléans, 196–97, 256,  
         309  
     and Hildebert, 95, 151, 195  
     in London, British Library Additional  
         24199, 67, 69–70  
     in London, British Library Arundel  
         384, 245  
     and Marbod of Rennes, 35, 95, 195,  
         367n. 54  
     and Serlo of Wilton, 153  
     See also *caudati*; leonine verse;  
         sequence form; song; *versus*  
*Poetria nova* (Geoffrey of Vinsauf),  
     104, 149, 151, 161–62, 216,  
     409n. 24  
 Pollux, 286, 311–15, 319, 321, 323,  
     327–28, 443n. 67, 445n. 78  
 Pope, Alexander, 200  
 Porretani, 116  
 Porter, Cole, 214, 245  
 Potitius, 294  
 “Predantur oculos,” 298–300, 306–9,  
     322–23, 327  
 Priam, 160  
 Priapus, 160  
 “Principibus mundi residentibus arce”  
     (Boutemy 37), 73–74  
 Priscian, 309–10  
 “Pronus erat veneri Naso” (Serlo of  
     Wilton), 155–56  
 Propertius, 91  
 Proteus, 78–79, 225, 252, 424n. 74  
 Prudentius, *Psychomachia*, 67  
 pseudo-Quintillian, 183  
 “Puer decens, decor” (Hilary of Orléans),  
     197, 202–5  
 Pyramus and Thisbe, myth of, 160–73,  
     222, 269, 410n. 41  
 “Quadam nocte loco” (Serlo of Wilton),  
     156  
 quadrivium, 126, 130–31  
 “Qualescumque meos uersus” (Baudri of  
     Bourgueil), 34, 48, 64  
 “Quam velim virginum,” 210–11, 299,  
     419n. 47, 440nn. 37–38  
 “Que natura potens uix” (Baudri of Bour-  
     gueil), 29  
 “Quicquid amor jussit” (Gerald of  
     Wales), 183–86, 188, 192  
 “Quid misisse tibi me scripta” (Boutemy  
     38), 74  
*quinque gradus amoris*, 77, 248–49, 254,  
     379n. 39  
 Raby, F. J. E., 93, 242  
 Rachel, 133–34, 148, 285  
 Ralph of Beauvais, 115  
 Rannulfus, 73–74  
*ratio*, 176, 178, 182, 186, 191–92  
 Reginald of Canterbury, 66  
 Remigius of Auxerre (Second Vatican  
     Mythographer), 130, 292  
 “Respondent ebori dentes” (Matthew of  
     Vendôme), 159–60  
 Rhea, 177, 247–48, 250, 315, 322  
 rhythmic Latin lyric. See song, erotic  
     Latin  
 Richard I, king of England, 119, 243  
 Richardson, H. G., 105  
 Richard the Bishop, 126  
 Richer, archbishop of Sens, 363n. 13  
 “Ridere solitus Democritus” (Wilmart 9),  
     219, 223–27, 239–40, 422n. 67,  
     424n. 74, 426n. 76  
 Rigg, A. G., 66, 218, 421n. 59  
 “Rixas Lenniacas cur non” (Fulcoius of  
     Beauvais), 28–29  
 Robert Curthose, count of Maine, 366n.  
     51

- Robert of Gloucester, 102, 153  
 Robert of Melun, 116  
*Roland, Song of*, 109  
 Rome, 221, 243  
 Rome, Vaticanus reginensis latinus 344, 267  
 Rome, Vaticanus reginensis latinus 585, 376n. 3  
 Rome, Vaticanus reginensis latinus 1351, 47, 371n. 97  
 Romulus, 132  
 Rosea (nun), 198–200
- St. Aubin, abbey of, 35  
 St. Augustine, abbey of, 66, 87–88  
 St. Martial, abbey of, 91, 196, 206–8, 227, 231–32, 239, 287  
 St. Peter of Bourgueil, abbey of, 47, 371n. 94  
 St. Victor, abbey of, 198, 206–7  
 Salisbury, 243  
 Samson, bishop of Worcester, 69–71  
 Saturn, 185, 248, 276–78, 315, 322  
 Sayles, G. O., 105  
 schools  
   in England, 104–5  
   insular students at, 102  
   and poetry, 100, 126–27, 293  
   twelfth-century development of, 1, 100–101, 114, 120, 123, 127  
 Schumann, Otto, 118, 231, 242  
 Scipio the Younger, 132  
 Scott, A. Brian, 67  
 Scylla, 168, 422n. 69  
 Second Vatican Mythographer  
   (Remigius of Auxerre), 130, 292  
 self-identity, 96, 138–39, 152  
   and courtier-cleric (or new man), 99–101, 113, 122, 150, 261, 283–86, 315–17, 319–20, 322–23, 328–30  
 sensual life, 131, 306, 314–17, 329  
 sequence form  
   in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 228, 298–99, 306–7  
   in Cambridge University Library Ff.1.17(1), 6, 287  
   in Cambridge University Library Gg.5.35, 90  
   early, 90  
   in London, British Library Arundel 384, 250, 261, 268  
   in London, Lambeth Palace 196, 309  
   twelfth-century development of, 205–16, 417nn. 29–30, 34, 37  
   *See also* Victorine sequence  
 Serlo of Bayeux, 70  
 Serlo of Wilton, 11, 183, 192  
   career, 150–53  
   “Cipre, timent dii,” 154  
   “Flos floris flori,” 156–57, 171  
   poetic meters used, 153  
   “Pronus erat veneri Naso,” 155–56  
   “Quadam nocte loco,” 156  
   “Versus de differentiis,” 154  
 Servius, 130, 294, 300–302, 438n. 26  
 “Seuit aure spiritus” (Arundel 8), 261, 267–74, 432n. 37  
 seven sisters (seven liberal arts), 8  
 Sibyl, 48, 52  
 Sicily, 243  
 Sidney, Sir Philip, 86  
 Silva. *See* Hyle/Silva  
 “Si quid in urbe colis” (Marbod of Rennes), 368n. 69  
 Sirens, 168  
*Somnium scipionis* (Cicero), 116, 132, 269  
 Sondheim, Stephen, 245  
 song, erotic Latin  
   and classical meters, 150, 406n. 2  
   and courtier-cleric (new man) (*see* courtier-cleric)  
   early forms of, 87–89  
   insular, 1, 3, 89, 103–5  
   twelfth-century development of, 195–97, 205–16, 239, 246, 264  
   and vernacular song, 20–21, 95, 104–5, 120, 215  
   *See also* sequence form; *versus*  
*Song of Roland*, 109

- Song of Songs, 90–91, 94–95, 113, 116, 162
- Sophia, 147
- Southern, Richard, 116–17, 243–45
- Spanke, Hans, 197, 242
- Sparta, 311
- Speculum iuris canonici* (Peter of Blois, archdeacon of Dreux), 244
- “Spoliatum f<l>ore pratum” (Arundel 15), 242, 246, 250–55, 265, 267–68, 274
- Sport (Jocus), 142, 189
- spring landscape  
in Cambridge University Library  
Ff.1.17(1), 4–6, 233–35, 238  
in Cambridge University Library  
Gg.5.35, 94  
in London, British Library Arundel  
384, 246  
in Oxford, Bodleian Additional A.44, 227  
in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale latin  
3719, 212
- Statius, 87, 158, 293
- Stephen, abbot of Noyers, 66
- Stephen, king of England, 59, 102, 109
- Stevens, John, 90
- Strecker, Karl, 218
- “Strictus eram loris insani” (Marbod of Rennes), 39, 368n. 69
- “Suauissima nunna” (CC 28), 90–91
- Superba (nun), 199
- Symbolum electorum* (Gerald of Wales), 173–92
- Tankarville, count of, 111
- Tantalus, 225, 424n. 74
- Tatwine, 89
- Taurus, 251, 275–77, 279, 429n. 18
- Tellus, 278
- “Tempora prisca decem” (Hildebert of Lavardin), 70, 378n. 14
- Thalia, 66  
as active life, 148, 279–80, 282  
in Bernardus Silvestris, 133–34, 399n. 45
- in London, British Library Arundel  
384, 276–80, 282–83
- Theseus, 90, 286, 436n. 2
- Thessaly, 266
- Thetis, 94
- Thierry of Chartres, 124–26
- Third Crusade, 243
- Third Vatican Mythographer (Alberic of London) 157, 292, 294–95, 296, 311–12, 438n. 26
- Thompson, J. W., 105
- Thrace, 296, 302, 307
- Tiber River, 294
- Tilliette, Jean-Yves, 47, 53, 63, 151
- Timaeus* (Plato), 116–17, 140, 293, 317, 390n. 71, 391n. 76
- Tityos, 225, 303, 424n. 74
- Toledo, 104
- Touraine, county of, 34, 366n. 51
- tournaments, 112
- Tours, 243
- Tristan, 111
- trivium, 126, 130–31, 279
- tropes, 207, 418nn. 41, 43
- troubadours, 20–21, 103, 105, 119–20, 215, 419n. 45
- trouvères, 3, 105, 119, 215
- Troy, 221–22, 312, 323, 328
- Troyes, 198
- Türk, Egbert, 10
- Turner, Ralph V., 105
- Tyndareus, 311, 313, 317
- Tyre, 220–21
- Ulysses, 128–29, 291, 296
- Underworld, 130, 286, 293, 299–306
- Urania, 139
- Ursa Major, 317, 320
- Ursa Minor, 317, 320
- “Vade manus multas subiturus” (Baudri of Bourgueil), 372n. 103
- “Vadis, ut insolitos uideas” (Baudri of Bourgueil), 48, 59–63
- vates-figure  
in Baudri of Bourgueil, 49, 52, 64, 122

*vates-figure (continued)*

- in Fulcoius of Beauvais, 23
- in Hildebert of Lavardin, 70, 366n. 50
- in London, British Library Additional 24199, 72–73, 75, 81, 86
- re-creation of, 12, 19, 23, 63, 99
- Venantius Fortunatus, 87
  - “Pange lingua,” 197, 414n. 4
- “Veni, dilectissime” (CC 49), 88, 91, 93
- “Veni dator omnis” (Hilary of Orléans), 198
- Venus
  - in Alain de Lille, 142–45, 147–48
  - in Bernardus Silvestris, 131–32, 134
  - in Cambridge University Library Ff.1.17(1), 6, 8
  - in Cambridge University Library Gg.5.35, 93
  - in Fulcoius of Beauvais, 24, 33
  - in Gerald of Wales, 177, 179–81, 183–84, 187–89
  - and Hercules, 295–98
  - in London, British Library Additional 24199, 80–83, 85–86, 380n. 47, 381n. 57
  - in London, British Library Arundel 384, 247–51, 267, 270–71, 275–77, 280–83, 433n. 48, 434n. 55
  - in Oxford, Bodleian Additional A.44, 220–21, 223, 226–27, 231, 239–40
  - in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale latin 3719, 212–13
  - and Peter of Blois, 244
  - as sensual life, 306, 329
- Vernet, André, 298–99
- “Ver prope florigerum,” 299, 440nn. 37–38
- versus*, 13, 196, 206–11, 215, 238–339, 417nn. 37, 40, 41, 43, 419n. 45
- “Versus de differentiis” (Serlo of Wilton), 154
- Victorines, 116
- Victorine sequence, 13
  - and Cambridge University Library Ff.1.17(1), 233, 238, 287
  - and London, Lambeth Palace 196, 309

twelfth-century development of,  
206–7, 417nn. 34, 37

Virgil, 158, 197, 202–3

*Aeneid*, 89, 106, 126–30, 292–93,  
301–2

in Cambridge University Library  
Gg.5.35, 89, 91

*Eclogues*, 202

*Georgics*, 190, 303

in Oxford, Bodleian Additional A.44,  
240

See also Bernardus Silvestris, *Commentary on the Aeneid*

“Virginis in gremio,” 208, 419n. 48

*vir sapiens*. See courtier-cleric; new man

*vita activa*. See active life

*vita contemplativa*. See contemplative life

*vita filargica*. See sensual life

*vita laboriosa*. See active life

*vita philosophica*. See contemplative life

*vita practica*. See active life

*vita quieta*. See contemplative life

*vita voluptuosa*. See sensual life

voluptuary life. See sensual life

“Voui Vulcano quod scribsi” (Fulcoius of Beauvais), 22–23, 363n. 13

Vulcan, 80, 380n. 47

Walter of Châtillon, 11, 103, 218

Waverley, abbey of, 153

Wetherbee, Winthrop, 138, 158

Wien CV 116, 383n. 71

Wien CV 208, 218

“Wife’s Lament,” 90

William I, king of England, 59, 69, 363n.  
13, 366n. 51

William II, king of England, 366n. 51

William II, king of Sicily, 243

William VII, count of Poitiers, 20

William of Anfonía, 198

William of Conches, 102, 115, 117

*Commentary on Boethius*, 299, 302–5,  
442n. 55

and education, 122, 124–26, 129, 149,  
396n. 24

and Neoplatonism, 48, 120



- and new man, 147, 284, 300, 308, 317
- Philosophia mundi*, 124, 157
- William of Champeaux, 114
- William of Malmesbury, 109
- William of St. Thierry, 117
- William of Tyre, 198
- Wilmart, André, 242, 367nn. 54, 56, 58, 421n. 59
- Wilton, abbey of, 70, 86, 198
- wise man. *See* courtier-cleric; new man
- Worcester, 70, 86, 243
- Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester, 70
- Wyatt, Sir Thomas, 78, 379n. 42
- Zephyrus, 228–29
- Zetes, 293
- Zeus. *See* Jupiter
- Ziolkowski, Jan, 92, 416n. 27
- Zurich C.58/275, 38, 211, 368n. 69, 370n. 85