David A. Traill (ed.), Oxford Medieval Texts: Walter of Châtillon: The Shorter Poems: Christmas Hymns, Love Lyrics, and Moral-Satirical Verse

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## I. THE AUTHOR

WALTER OF CHÂTILLON is generally regarded as one of the greatest of medieval Latin poets. In his own day and for centuries after his death he was best known for his *Alexandreis*, an epic in the Virgilian tradition celebrating the life of Alexander the Great.[1] The more than two hundred surviving manuscripts indicate that in the Middle Ages it was almost certainly read by more readers than *Beowulf, El Cid, Niebelungenlied*, and *Chanson de Roland* combined. This was partly because of the enormous popularity of Alexander at the time but mainly because Walter's polished style and classical Latinity made it an ideal choice for a school text. Walter was almost equally well known for his lively satirical poems that pilloried the failings of the upper echelons of the ecclesiastical establishment. These shorter poems, unlike the *Alexandreis*, employ rhythm and rhyme rather than the traditional quantitative metres of classical Latin poetry. Along with these satirical poems, Walter's love poems, tinged as they usually are with irony, have been enjoying increasing popularity.

We know little about Walter's life. All his datable poems fall within the period 1160–80 but we can only guess when he was born and when he died. Apart from what little can be gleaned from his own writings, we have several brief *uitae* attached to some of the manuscripts of the *Alexandreis* but these are of doubtful value, tending to agree when they offer information that might have been inferred from Walter's writings but often diverging on other points. Texts and translations of three of the most important of these follow:[2]

### *Vita* 1 (Oxford, Exeter College 69, fo. 82$^{v}$, s. xiii$^{ex}$)

> In territorio igitur Insulensi uilla Roncinio quidam Galterus oriundus fuit, qui in litterarum scientia adeo claruit ut tantum eius sapientiam quidam mirabili breuitate collaudans dixerit:


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Quicquid gentiles potuerunt scire poete,
totum Galtero gratia summa dedit.[3]



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Hic ex eo quod apud Castellionem opidum Gallie scolas rexerit, Galterus de Castellione dictus est. Denique Guillermo Senonensi archiepiscopo cathedre Remensis dignitatem adepto idem Galterus apud eum notarii oratorisque fructus percipiens eiusque captans beniuolentiam, in honore illius gesta magni Alexandri eleganti stilo composuit, ea regula scilicet ut quot litteras hoc nomen Guillermus habet tot libros illud insigne uolumen optineret et eo ordine quo littere continentur eisdem litteris libri inciperent et sunt numero decem. Sed ut quod diximus elusceret, per principia librorum ostendamus: I'us Gesta ducis, II'us Victorem patrie, III'us Iam fragor, IIII'us Luridus et piceo, V'us Lege Nume regis, VI'us Ecce lues mundi, VII'us Restitit Hesperio, VIII'us Mennonis eterno, IX'us Vltima terribiles, X'us Sidereos uultus. Horum ergo principiorum si capitales litteras coniunxeris, hoc nomen Guillermus habebis.

(Walter was born in the district of Lille, in the village of Roncinium. He achieved such distinction in literature that someone praised his great knowledge with admirable brevity in the following words:

Divine grace bestowed on Walter
All the talent of the pagan poets.

Because he was in charge of the school at Châtillon, a town[4] in France, he was called Walter of Châtillon. Eventually, when William, archbishop of Sens, was appointed to the archbishopric of Reims, Walter was employed by him as notary and orator and, winning his way into the archbishop's good graces, composed *The Deeds of Alexander the Great* in elegant Latin in his honour. He so arranged it that his distinguished work comprised as many books as there are letters in the name Guillermus (William) and that the books begin with the letters of his name and in the same order. There are ten books in all. To clarify what I have said, let me show you the beginnings of each book: (1) **G**esta ducis (2) **V**ictorem patrie (3) **I**am fragor (4) **L**uridus et piceo (5) **L**ege Nume Regis (6) **E**cce lues mundi (7) **R**estitit Hesperio (8) **M**emnonis eterno (9) **U**ltima terribles (10) **S**idereos uultus. If you join together the initial letters of these opening words, you get the name Guillermus.)

### *Vita* 2 (Paris, BnF lat. 8359, fo. 75$^{v}$, s. xiii)

Actor iste siquidem de territorio Insulano extitit oriundus, Parisius autem studuit sub magistro Stephano Beluacensi. Deinde venit Castellionem ut superius habitum est. Quod ipse testatur:


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Insula me genuit, rapuit Castellio nomen,
perstrepuit modulis Gallia tota meis.

Hoc dicit quia apud Castellionem quedam ludicra composuit. Sed ipse postea, multum laboris et parum utilitatis in artibus liberalibus animaduertens, Boloniam se transtulit et ibi leges et decreta didicit. Reuersus ergo in familiaritate archiepiscopi Remensis receptus est, et gratiam eius in omnibus adeptus, prece ipsius hoc opus incepit eodem anno quo beatus Thomas martyr sanguinis sui testimonium pre#h#ibuit. Atque archipresulis precibus post hec Anbienensis ecclesie canonicus effectus est. Flagello lepre castigatus ibidem uitam terminauit.

(Though he was born in the region around Lille, the author studied in Paris under Master Stephen of Beauvais. Then he came to Châtillon as has been stated above.[5] He testifies to this himself:

Lille bore me, Châtillon took away my name,
All of France resounded with my songs.

He says this because he composed some short poems at Châtillon. Later, noticing that the liberal arts involved much labour and were of little practical use, he moved to Bologna and there learned civil and canon law. Accordingly, on his return he was admitted into the household of the archbishop of Reims and after gaining his favour in all things and in response to the archbishop's request, he started on this work[6] in the year in which blessed Thomas the martyr bore witness by shedding his blood. After this he was made, at the archbishop's request, a canon of Amiens. It was there that he died, afflicted by the scourge of leprosy.)

### *Vita* 3 (Laon, Bibliothèque municipale 401, p. 6, s. xiii)

Galterus nomen est actoris. De uita actoris breuiter transeamus. Insulanus iste fuit ut ait antequam istud opus perfecisset, #cum# mori timuisset:

Insula me genuit, rapuit Castellio nomen
perstrepuit modulis Gallia tota meis.
Gesta ducis Macedum scripsi, sed sincopa fati
Infectum clausit obice mortis opus.

Parisius et Remis sub magistro Stephano Beluacensi canonico studuit. Lau#du#ni scolas rexit. Deinde Castellionem se transtulit. Tandem multum


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laboris et parum utili#tatis in artibus liberalibus# uidens Boloniam se transtulit. R#e#u#e#rsus igitur familiaritatem Remensis archipresulis adeptus est, cuius rogatu hoc opus incepit eodem anno quo beatus Thomas martyr sui



sanguinis testimonium prehibuit, atque arciepiscopi Remensis interuentu Beluacensis ecclesie canonicus #factus est#. Ibi flagella lebre uitam terminauit.

(The author's name is Walter. Let us briefly go over the author's life. He was from Lille, as he says when he felt the fear of death before he had finished this work:[7]

Lille bore me, Châtillon took away my name,
All of France resounded with my songs.
I wrote *Gesta ducis Macedum*—but Fate cut things short,
Ending the work unfinished by causing death to intervene.

He studied in Paris and Reims under Master Stephen, canon of Beauvais. He was in charge of the school at Laon. Then he moved to Châtillon. Finally seeing that #the liberal arts involved# much work and were of little practical use, he moved to Bologna. When he returned he was admitted to the household of the archbishop of Reims, at whose request he began this work in the year in which blessed Thomas the martyr bore witness by the shedding of his blood. Thanks to the intervention of the archbishop of Reims he was made a canon of Beauvais. He died there from the scourge of leprosy.)

It will be seen that *Vitae* 2 and 3 are closely related. Both derive from the same tradition and appear to omit different segments of that tradition. Another version of the same tradition appears in a Vatican manuscript, which differs from *Vita* 3 only in the places where Walter studied (Paris and Orleans) and where he was given a canonry and died (Orleans).[8] The following attempt to reconstruct Walter's life is based on these rather dubious sources and what can reasonably be inferred from Walter's own writings.

Walter was born in Lille or in a small community nearby.[9] He studied under Stephen, canon of Beauvais. Since we have reason to believe that this Stephen was already teaching in Reims by 1148, Walter probably received his earlier education from him there and later followed him to Paris, where the large number of available teachers was better suited to advanced instruction.[10] In the early


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1160s we find both Walter and Stephen in Troyes, at the court of Henry the Liberal, count of Champagne.

It might be useful to pause at this point to indicate the often rather convoluted inferences we have to make to fill in the gaps in Walter's life. For instance, his *Eliconis rivulo* (poem 46) rather surprisingly expresses ambivalence on the issue of which pope to support during the schism (1159–77). Now the great majority of French nobility and ecclesiastics supported Alexander III, but before the Council of Tours (May 1163) Henry the Liberal, Count of Champagne, whose lands bordered the Empire, was reluctant to cast his lot with Alexander and so anger the German emperor, Frederick Barbarossa; besides, the antipope, Victor IV, was a relative of his.[11] Given that we know that several of Walter's poems were performed at Henry's court in Troyes, the ambivalence of *Eliconis riuulo* suggests that it too was performed at Troyes, that it dates before May 1163, and that Henry's patronage of Walter may therefore date from 1162 or even earlier. Stephen of Beauvais is attested as a clerk at Henry's court from 1161 onwards. A reasonable inference is that Stephen introduced his talented student to Henry's court in 1161 or possibly earlier.[12]

John Benton, speaking of the courts of the nobility as cultural centres in twelfth-century France, describes Henry's court at Troyes as follows:

> Among these centers the court of Henry the Liberal and Marie of Champagne was one of the most important, notable for the education and patronage of its count and countess, for the prominence of the many scholars and authors associated with it in one way or another, and for the quality of its literary remains.[13]

Since we now know that Walter reached Bologna before the death of Martin Gosia (d. 1164–6) and since he appears to have been in Besançon (en route to Bologna?) in the spring of 1164 (see introductory notes to the poem, §VII below), Henry's patronage of Walter probably extended from *c*.1161 (or earlier) to early 1164.

The major event of 1163 was the Council of Tours in May. We



have no evidence to suggest that Walter was in attendance. It is certain, however, that news of its decisions would have spread very rapidly as these had important ramifications for everyone, particularly the clergy. The fact that both England and France now clearly acknowledged Alexander as the true pope was an important development and a serious blow for Frederick Barbarossa and his antipope, Victor IV. Among the canons emanating from


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the council was a nullification of all ordinations made by Victor IV and 'other schismatics'.[14] This must have raised the prospect of a whole range of positions in the church opening up that would be filled by the new bishops approved by Alexander. We can see Walter's jubilant reaction to the decisions of the council in *Vetus error abiit* (poem 24).

We next find Walter performing poem 52 (*Ecce nectar roseum*) in Besançon on *Laetare* Sunday (29 March) 1164.[15] He was probably on his way to Bologna, where he took up the study of law under the distinguished jurist Martin Gosia.[16] He appears to have written *Si de fonte bibere* (1165–6?) in Bologna to honour Martin, who by this time may have been largely replaced by his son. After Martin's death (1165–6) Walter went to Rome seeking papal patronage (poem 55). Alexander III was in Rome from late November 1165 to July 1167 and it seems likely that poem 55 is to be dated to that period.[17]

Some scholars have stated that Walter spent some time in England in the service of King Henry II.[18] The evidence for this comes from several letters of John of Salisbury, including two specifically addressed to a 'Walterus de Insula' in 1166.[19] This particular Walter, although secretly sympathetic to Becket, held an important position in the household of Henry II, serving as assistant to chancellor Geoffrey Ridel until 1173 and continuing in royal service after Geoffrey's departure until 1176.[20] John of Salisbury, who was



fifteen to twenty-five years older than Walter of Châtillon, confesses to this Walter in 1166, 'I am under obligation to you as to a lord and master'. It is hard to see how the career of this Walter, a busy and important official, can be reconciled with that of the poet, whom we find performing before the Count of Champagne in Troyes in 1162, performing in Besançon in 1163 or 1164 on his way to Bologna to study law, and performing in Bologna before the death of Martin Gosia (d. 1164–6), and (probably) in Rome looking for a prebend *c*.1166. Moreover, it would surely have endangered the career, not to say the life, of such an official to write poem 16, in which Henry II is accused of murdering Becket and denounced in the most outspoken terms. Yet this Walter de Insula continued in Henry's service until 1176. Nothing in the writings of Walter of Châtillon or his *vitae* suggests that he spent any time in England. Just as there were certainly two contemporary Peters of Blois of some distinction, whom some scholars have sought to blend into one, so there appear to have been two contemporary Walters of Lille, one of whom came to be known as Walter of Châtillon, while the other worked in the service of Henry II.[21]

The *vitae* tell us that Walter taught in Laon and in Châtillon#-sur-Marne# but they do not tell us when. It seems likely that he was in Châtillon in 1176 (and perhaps for several years before), when William of the White Hands, Louis VII's brother-in-law, was appointed


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archbishop of Reims and brought Walter into his household. *Ver pacis aperit* (poem 30), celebrating the new archbishop, may have helped secure him this position. He was certainly in Châtillon when he wrote his only extant prose work, *Tractatus contra Iudaeos*, in collaboration with Baldwin, a canon of Braine.[22] It was in Châtillon

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too, Walter tells us, that he made a name for himself as a poet: 'Ille, quem Castellio latere non patitur'.[23] *Multiformis hominum* (poem 59), delivered in Trier before Folmar, who was archdeacon there from 1171, may reflect Walter's quest for patronage before he took up his teaching job at Châtillon.[24] His life must have changed dramatically in 1176, when he joined the archbishop's household as his *notarius* and *orator*. [25]

As his elder brother, Henry the Liberal, had done at Troyes, William brought to his court at Reims some of the leading intellectuals of his day.[26] Walter's adoption into William's circle presumably prompted him to dedicate his masterpiece, the *Alexandreis* (whether that was a work on which he had already embarked or was now just beginning[27]), to his new patron. Medieval sources provide us with some colourful, if rather unlikely, additional details:[28]

> Quidam dicunt quod hec fuit prim#a# causa subcepti operis uidelicet reintegratio amoris magistri Galteri ad dominum Guillermum archiepiscopum Remensem et odium quod circa eum incurrerat propter magistrum Berterum, quem dominus Guillermus archiepiscopus, si fas est dicere uerum, subagitabat,[29] et magister Galterus ei inuidebat. Siquidem quodam
>
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> tempore accidit quod archiepiscopus misit magistrum Berterum Romam, ut #causam?# suam pergeret, Magister Galterus, putans quod ibi aquireret aliquam dignitatem, sub specie dilectionis misit ei hos uersus in literis clausis, significans ei quod non frangeret sigillum donec esset in presentia domini pape, et factum est ita. Ecce uersus:

Roma caput rerum, que tanto turbine clerum
Inuoluis, miserum contemptorem mulierum,
Suscipe Berterum. Si fas est dicere uerum,
Sepe subegit erum, dum fleret adhuc ad Homerum,
Nec tantum tenerum sed quem iam barba seuerum
Reddidit et ueterum perfectio longa dierum.


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Hoc percepto ab archiepiscopo, magistrum Galterum a suo consortio disgregauit. Qui uero sciens se iram domini sui incurrisse, meditatus est quo modo posset amorem ipsius recuperare; ad cuius honorem et laudem hunc librum incepit et composuit, comparans probitates eius probitatibus Alexandri, et hec est causa quare potius tractauit de historiis Alexandri quam de alio nobili. Vt quidam dicunt, causa huius operis est quia magister Mathaeus Vindocinensis et magister Galterus altercati sunt quis eorum melius uersificaret et unus contra alium composuerunt Thobiam et Alexandreidem.

(Some say that the primary motive for undertaking this work was to win back the affection of William, archbishop of Reims, for Master Walter; there was also the enmity Walter had incurred with him over Master Berter, whom, if I may be permitted to speak the truth, the Lord Archbishop William was screwing, and Master Walter was jealous. At one point it happened that the archbishop sent Master Berter to Rome to conduct some business for him. Master Walter, thinking that he might win some position there, assumed a pretence of friendship and sent him these verses in a sealed letter, instructing him not to break the seal until he was in the presence of the pope. And that is what happened. Here are the verses:

Rome, capital of the world, who involve your clergy
in such turmoil, welcome poor Berter,
a despiser of women. If it is right to tell the truth,
he often sowed his seed[30] in his master when still weeping over Homer,
and not only when he[31] was just a boy, but when a beard
and the slow completion of days gone by made him stern.

When the archbishop learned of this, he removed Walter from his company. Knowing that he had incurred the anger of his master, Walter pondered how he could recover his affection. It was to honour and praise him that he began

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to compose this book, comparing his virtues to those of Alexander, and this is the reason why he chose to write about the history of Alexander rather than about some other nobleman.

According to some, the motive for this work is that Master Matthew of Vendôme and Master Walter quarrelled over which of them was the better


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writer of metrical verse and so they wrote the *Tobia*s and the *Alexandreis* in competition with one another.)

Walter probably accompanied William to the Third Lateran Council in Rome in 1179, at which William was made a cardinal and the traditional privilege of the archbishop of Reims to crown the king of France was confirmed. It was here on *Laetare* Sunday (11 March) that Walter seems to have performed the original version of the prosimetron *In Domino confido* (poem 62).[32]

The last years of Walter's life are particularly obscure. We do not know if he died as early as 1180 or survived into the thirteenth century. It seems likely, however, that he at least reached the age of 50.[33] We hear no more of him after 1180. Two of the *vitae*,[34] a note in John of Garland's *Equiuoca*, and a confused (and confusing) anecdote in an early thirteenth-century Erfurt manuscript[35] all indicate that Walter was afflicted with leprosy, though all this evidence could be based on what Francisco Rico has pointed out may be an unjustified inference from the opening of poem 66.[36] However, besides poem 67, which may well have been Walter's last, both poems 66 and 27 (which



has close connections with poem 66) indicate that Walter is sick. Moreover, Carsten Wollin has recently shown that John of Garland's note is a verbatim borrowing from a work by Walter's younger contemporary, Ralph of Longchamp. All of this makes the case for scepticism about leprosy rather hard to support.[37]

The Erfurt anecdote states that Walter had a concubine and several of his love poems would appear to support this. Poem 20, which is ostensibly autobiographical, implies he had a daughter. The *vitae* and Erfurt anecdote variously report that he was a canon of Reims, Amiens, Beauvais, or Orleans.

## Notes

[1] Walter of Châtillon, *Alexandreis*, ed. Colker; for English prose and verse translations, see Walter of Châtillon, *Alexandreis*, trans. Pritchard (1986) and trans. Townsend (1996).

[2] Colker, pp. xii–xiii, prints the Latin text of the first three of these *uitae* (which he numbers 1, 2, and 2a) and a fourth is found on pp. 493–4.

[3] Colker has 'summa gratia', which does not scan.

[4] Now a mere hamlet.


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[5] A version of *Vita* 1 precedes *Vita* 2 in the Paris manuscript.

[6] Since these *uitae* introduce texts of the *Alexandreis*, that is the work to which they refer.

[7] i.e. the *Alexandreis*.

[8] For details of this manuscript, see Colker, p. 489, and for the text, pp. 493–4.

[9] Walter, *Contra Iudaeos*, prologue (*PL* ccix. 424–5): 'ego Gualterus Tornacensis dioceseos oppido quod Insula dicitur oriundus (I, Walter, born in the town called Lille in the diocese of Tournai)'. *Vita* 1 more specifically mentions Roncinium, which might be either the district now called Roncq, some 14 km north of the centre of Lille, or Ronchin, about 4 km to the south-east.

[10] On Stephen of Beauvais, see J. Williams, 'The quest for the author', pp. 740–1 and Benton, 'The court of Champagne', pp. 558–60 (= Benton, *Culture, Power and Personality*, pp. 10–12).

[11] On Henry's relations with Frederick Barbarossa, see Pacaut, *Louis VII et son royaume*, pp. 24 and 73–4, and on his family connection to Victor IV, see Arbois de Jubainvillle, *Histoire des ducs et des comtes de Champagne*, iii. 47.

[12] Stephen may have been in attendance at court for some time before his name appears on an extant charter.

[13] Benton, 'The court of Champagne', p. 551 (= Benton, *Culture*, p. 3). Curiously, in his discussion of the literary figures at Henry's court Benton does not mention Walter, probably because the evidence for this is buried in Strecker's notes.

[14] See Somerville, *Pope Alexander III*, p. 50.

[15] See introductory notes to poem 52 below.

[16] For Walter's study under Martin, see poem 62. On Martin, see *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vi. 351 (*s.v.* Martinus Gosia).

[17] For a recent discussion of Alexander's 1165–7 stay in Rome see Doran, 'The Roman context of the Schism', pp. 74–8.


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[18] Several encyclopedia articles on Walter, including *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, ix. 1995–6, state this as fact. Despite Colker's dissenting voice (Colker, pp. xvi–xvii), distinguished authorities have also subscribed to this opinion; cf. Orlandi, 'San Brendano', p. 428, though with his usual caution, and Rigg, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature*, pp. 78 and 156.

[19] John of Salisbury, *Letters*, ed. Millor, Butler, and Brooke, ii. 192–7 and 254–6.

[20] *The Correspondence of Thomas Becket*, ed. Duggan, ii. 1391; John of Salisbury, *Letters*, ii. 77, n. 3; Williams, 'William of the White Hands', p. 375.

[21] The clerk of the archbishop of Reims named Galterus mentioned in another letter of 1166 (John of Salisbury, *Letters*, ii. 94–5) has a better chance of being the poet, but Walter was a very common name at this time and this Walter is not even identified as 'de Insula'. On the two Peters of Blois, see *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vi. 1963–4 and Southern, 'The necessity for two Peters of Blois'.

[22] For Walter's residence in Châtillon at the time, see his *Contra Iudaeos*, iii. 3 (*PL* ccix. 450): 'Est quidam apud nos Castellione Iudaeus.' The closeness of Châtillon-sur-Marne to both Reims (*c*.25 km) and Braine (*c*.40 km) and the well-attested presence of Jews there exclude any other Châtillon from serious consideration as the town where Walter taught; on Jews in Châtillon-sur-Marne, see Abulafia, 'Walter of Châtillon', p. 269. Walter's *Contra Iudaeos* may well have been commissioned by, or at least intended to impress, Agnes of Braine, the local heiress and wife of Robert of Dreux, brother of Louis VII. She appears to have felt strongly about the need to convert Jews to Christianity; see Caviness, *Sumptuous Arts*, pp. 67–8.

[23] Cf. poem 62, 8. 3, and the epitaph in *Vita* 2.

[24] For Folmar's archdeaconship, see *Regesta Imperii*, IV 2.3, nos. 1937 and 2096, and IV 4.2, no. 1224.

[25] *Vita* 1.

[26] On Henry's court, see Benton, 'The court of Champagne' (= Benton, *Culture*, pp. 3–43); on William's, see Williams, 'William of the White Hands'.

[27] There are good reasons for believing that Walter had begun the *Alexandreis* before 1176, as he indicates that he worked on it for four or five years ('opus quinquennio laboratum', *Alexandreis*, prologue 15) and a gloss on vii. 328–9 in a 13th-c. Vienna manuscript (Colker, p. 453) states that Walter began work on his poem in 1174. It seems to have been completed in 1178 or early 1179; see Traill, 'Walter of Châtillon's Prosimetrum', pp. 859–61. Dionisotti,


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'Walter of Châtillon and the Greeks', pp. 90–1, plausibly argues that lines i. 17–18, recording William's promotion to the see of Reims in 1176, look like a not wholly successful updating.

[28] The Latin text is based on that printed at Colker, pp. xv–xvi except for the poem, where I have followed the text (based on two manuscripts other than the single Paris manuscript used by Colker) of Wollin, 'Die Epigramme des Primas', p. 58. The main difference is the reading 'Suscipe Berterum', where Colker has 'Suscipe Galterum'. Note that despite the fact that Colker prints the text as twelve lines long, it is really six Leonine hexameters using the same rhyme throughout, at both the caesura and the end of the line. No poem known to be written by Walter is in Leonine hexameters. The use of the phrase 'si fas est dicere uerum' in both the prose and verse passages to apologize for employing the coarse, and very similar, verbs 'subagitare' and 'subigere' suggests that both prose and verse were written by the same author.

[29] One would expect the object of both 'subagitabat' and 'subegit' (below) to designate the partner in the passive position and that that partner would be same in both cases. However, that seems not to be the case; perhaps the term was used loosely.

[30] The Latin verb *subigere* can mean 'to instruct' and (coarsely) 'to screw'.

[31] i.e. William.

[32] See introductory notes to the poem in §VII below. Extant manuscript versions probably reflect later performances at Bologna and Reims.

[33] See on poem 66, 5. 4.

[34] See *Vitae* 2 and 3 above.

[35] Erfurt, Amplon. 8$^{o}$ 90: 'Kanonicus Remensis fuit et habuit concubinam, que compulsa fiebat a milite quod admitteret leprosum et immediate Galtherum. Hoc factum est et ita factus est leprosus. Accidit etiam Parisius ut magister bonus naturalis haberet iuuenem comitem discipulum spacientem cum eo circa uineta quod accederet ad talem mulierem. Cum redisset, dixit 'Tu infectus es per lepram. Veni subito, coi cum ea. Tunc sanus eris quia resumet a te quod susceperas.' (He was a canon of Reims and had a concubine, who was forced by a soldier to have sex with a leper immediately before having sex with Walter. This is what happened and this is the way he became infected with leprosy. In Paris it happened that the good master, a normal man, had a young companion, a student, walking with him near a vineyard, when he approached this woman. When he returned, #his companion# said, 'You are infected with leprosy. Quick! Have sex with her. Then you will be healthy because


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she will take back from you what you caught from her.') I have checked the confusing and probably corrupt Latin text (also in Colker, p. xvii) against a photo of the manuscript page. Colker correctly points out that there is a gap in the last sentence between 'sanus eris' and 'quia resumet'. However, the manuscript page has been torn and stitched back together. The scribe appears to have left the space to avoid the awkwardness of writing over the stitches. There are no grounds for assuming that the gap indicates missing text.

[36] Rico, *On Source, Meaning and Form*, p. 12.

[37] Wollin, '*Versa est in luctum cythara Waltheri*'.


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## ii. the poems in this collection

David A. Traill (ed.), Oxford Medieval Texts: Walter of Châtillon: The Shorter Poems: Christmas Hymns, Love Lyrics, and Moral-Satirical Verse

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# II. THE POEMS IN THIS COLLECTION

Karl Strecker's editions of Walter's shorter rhythmical poems form the basis for this collection.[38] These have been supplemented by a further fourteen poems that I believe should be added to the canon. The three rhythmical saints' lives similar in style to Walter's poems and recently attributed to him by Carsten Wollin vary in length from over 500 to over 1,000 lines and have not been included in this collection.[39]

## The St-Omer Poems (1–33)

In 1924 Strecker convincingly demonstrated what a number of scholars had earlier suspected, namely, that the thirty-three anonymous lyrics in St-Omer 351 were an anthology of poems by Walter of Châtillon.[40] His edition of these lyrics appeared the following year.[41] Like several of such anthologies, the poems are grouped by subject matter, though in this case there are only two main groups: Christmas hymns (1–15) and love poems (17–32). Though the two groupings are clear enough, there are some discrepancies, for a few moral-satirical poems (12, 14, 26, 27, and 29) occur towards the end of each group, as do two occasional poems (16 and 30).[42] Of the five moral-satirical



poems, 12 and 27 were among the most popular of all Walter's shorter poems and are found in many manuscripts. A Christmas hymn (33) closes the collection. These discrepancies make it clear that the arrangement is not authorial.

## Strecker's Moral-Satirical Collection

In 1929 Strecker published his second collection of Walter's shorter poems.[43] Unlike the St-Omer collection, these poems are not found all together in a single manuscript but are scattered over a large number of them, with individual manuscripts containing as many as nine of these poems or as few as one.


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Strecker laid down strict criteria for ascribing to Walter poems other than those found in the St-Omer manuscript.[44] He held that there had to be credible grounds both in the content of a given poem and in its manuscript tradition (such as explicit attribution or immediate proximity to poems known to be by Walter) to justify ascribing it to Walter. These criteria caused him to exclude from his *Moralisch-satirische Gedichte Walters von Châtillon* (1929) a number of poems that seem very similar in style, phrasing, and theme to poems known to be Walter's and found in manuscripts in close association with (though not usually immediately adjacent to) other poems by Walter.[45] These poems include *Cum declinent homines, Meum est propositum, Utar contra vitia*, and *Fas et Nefas ambulant* (CB 19). Strecker eventually became convinced, however, that *Cum declinent homines* was indeed by Walter and formally attributed it to him in 1930.[46]

## Wilmart's Attributions

In 1937 André Wilmart published a description of the contents of a twelfth-century Charleville manuscript (Charleville 190), unknown to Strecker, that contains an anthology of thirty poems including two



moral-satirical poems specifically attributed to 'Magister Gualterus Castellionensis'—*De nocte sicut noctua* and *Suscitauit dominus*—that are not found in Strecker's collections.[47] The manuscript also contains four poems *not* specifically attributed to Walter that *are* found in Strecker's collections, *Licet eger cum egrotis* (27), *Excitatur caritas* (8), *Dum contemplor animo* (58), and *Tanto viro locuturus* (55). In addition, *De nocte sicut noctua* is immediately preceded by a melange of stanzas drawn from poems 4–7 of Strecker's moral-satirical collection.[48] Wilmart went on to scrutinize the remaining poems to see if any more might have been written by Walter. Not surprisingly, he found quite a few. Given the overall importance of this manuscript for our understanding of Walter's oeuvre and the controversial nature of Wilmart's attributions, an ordered list of the poems in the relevant section of the manuscript (fos. $156^{v}$–$162^{r}$) follows:[49]

1 (fo. $156^{v}$) Salue mater saluatoris Adam of St-Victor

2 (fos. $156^{v}$–$156a^{r}$) Dum contemplor animo Walter of Châtillon (58)

3 (fo. $156a^{r–v}$) *Ecce mundus demundatur* Walter of Châtillon (41)

4 (fo. $156^{av}$) *Viri uenerabiles, uiri literati* Jordan Fantasma


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5 (fo. 157$^{r}$) *Respiciat Emmanuel*

6 (fo. 157$^{v}$) *Militantis decus ecclesie*

7 (fo. 158$^{r}$) *Tanto uiro locuturi* Walter of Châtillon (55)

8 (fo. 158$^{v}$) *Noui partus gaudium* Philip the Chancellor?

9 (fo. 158$^{v}$) *Veri floris sub figura* Philip the Chancellor?

10 (fo. 158$^{v}$) *Licet eger cum egrotis* Walter of Châtillon (27)

11 (fo. 158$^{v}$) *In nova fert animus, nos mutari uicia*

12 (fo. 159$^{r}$) *Hactenus inmerito* Philip the Chancellor?

13 (fo. 159$^{r}$) *Terris illabitur* Philip the Chancellor?

14 (fo. 159$^{r}$) *Amoris studio / Iesum colueram* Philip the Chancellor?

15 (fo. 159$^{r}$) *Gabrihele nuntio*

16 (fo. 159$^{r}$) *Beata uiscera* Philip the Chancellor

17 (fo. 159$^{v}$) *A longinquo cepit exilium*



18 (fo. 159$^{v}$) *Quid ultra tibi facere* Philip the Chancellor

19 (fo. 159$^{v}$) *Excitatur caritas* Walter of Châtillon (8)

20 (fo. 160$^{r}$) *Quam sit pium quod toleras*

21 (fo. 160$^{r}$) *O Maria / mater pia*

22 (fo. 160$^{v}$) *Dum rithmis lascivio* Walter of Châtillon (Appendix I)

23 (fo. 161$^{v}$) 'Item Magister Galterus Castellionensis agnomine' *De nocte sicut noctua* (37)


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24 (fos. 161$^{v}$–162$^{r}$) 'Item Magister Galterus' *Suscitaut dominus* (40)

25 (fo. 162$^{r}$) *Versus Origenis de tribus archis*

26 (fo. 162$^{r}$) *In Gedeonis area*

27 (fo. 162$^{r}$) *Est homo Matheus*

28 (fo. 162$^{r}$) *Clauditur hoc uase*

29 (fo. 162$^{r}$) *Rex sedet in cena*

30 (fo. 162$^{r}$) *Forma simplex*

Wilmart attributes to Walter all of the first nineteen items (except no. 18) and, in addition, items 22–4 and 26.[50] His article is certainly important but his attributions have not won the acceptance that he no doubt hoped for. This is largely due to his excessive (if understandable) zeal in attributing as many of the poems as possible to Walter without giving due weight to other considerations. For instance, both *Beata uiscera* (no. 16) and *Quid ultra tibi facere* (no. 18) are attributed to Philip the Chancellor in a Darmstadt manuscript (2774), where they are next to one another, securely 'nested' in a long string of poems by Philip.[51] A Leipzig manuscript attributes *Viri uenerabiles* (no. 4) to Jordan Fantasma, an attribution that Nikolaus Häring has confirmed in his recent edition.[52] Items 5, 6, and 26 are all concerned with the troubles at Grandmont, which came to a head in 1187.[53] Walter may have been alive and still writing poetry in 1187 but, as indicated above, he disappears from sight around 1180. Besides, all three of these poems use rhythmical patterns that would tend to point to Philip the Chancellor, a rising young poet in 1187, as a more likely candidate for authorship. In short, the widespread scepticism that greeted Wilmart's article was amply justified.[54]



Clearly, these thirty poems constitute an anthology of pieces by Walter, Philip the Chancellor, and probably several other poets. I see no sufficient reason to doubt Walter's authorship of the two poems that the manuscript explicitly attributes to him: *De nocte sicut noctua* and *Suscitauit dominus.* Both employ rhythmical patterns commonly used by Walter and both show the kind of wordplay that characterizes his style. *Ecce mundus demundatur* is also almost certainly by Walter. It is written in the same rhythm and in the same rollicking style that made his *Propter Sion non tacebo* so immensely popular and is filled with many


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instances of his favourite kinds of wordplay, as the opening stanza dramatically displays. The last stanza, with its reference to the feast of the *baculus* and the themes of *auaritia* and *largitas*, links it with several of Walter's poems.

Most of the remaining poems that Wilmart attributes to Walter are, however, more probably by Philip. For instance, in *Amoris studio*, the poet adopts the persona of Mary Magdalene to mourn the death of Christ. Composing an entire poem in the persona of another individual is an unusual procedure in twelfth-century Latin lyric. Unattested in Walter's work, this was a device favoured by Philip.[55] Several of his poems are written in the persona of Christ, while *Crux, de te uolo conqueror* takes the form of a dialogue between the Virgin Mary and the Cross, opening in the persona of Mary.[56] So I would assign *Amoris studio* to Philip. Also, *Hactenus inmerito* is almost certainly by Philip because in 'constat fenum corporis' (5. 7) the poet alludes to the biblical phrase 'omnis caro faenum' (Isa. 40: 6). This passage is nowhere alluded to in Walter's poems but turns up at least twice elsewhere in Philip.[57] In addition, the poem contains a surprising number of words not found in poems known to be by Walter.[58]



Generally speaking, it is extremely difficult to judge the authorship of anonymous Latin lyrics, especially short poems. *Novi partus gaudium* and *Veri floris sub figura* might well have been written by either Walter or Philip the Chancellor but I incline to Philip the Chancellor in both cases. The same holds true for the somewhat longer *Terris illabitur*, where the use of the imperative form *considera* points to Philip's authorship.[59] The hymn *Gabriehele nuntio* is written in pure goliardic stanzas, Walter's preferred medium for moralsatirical verse, often with an *auctoritas* substituted for the fourth line; as far as we know, he never used it for conventional hymns.[60]

As for the (incomplete?) poem *A longinquo cepit exsilium*, I would be reluctant to attribute it to either Walter or Philip. I was at first inclined to attribute *In nova fert animus* (no. 11) to Walter. As Wilmart points out, it laments the growing practice of assassinating bishops in the late twelfth century and is most plausibly dated soon after the murder of Robert d'Aire, bishop of Cambrai, in October 1174.[61] This seems very early for Philip;[62] Walter, on the other hand, deplores the murder of Robert d'Aire along with that of Becket (1170) in his *Alexandreis*.[63] However, as I examined *In nova fert animus* more closely, I came around to the view that it might be a very early piece by Philip.[64]

Wilmart appended to his article on Charleville 190 an analysis of the thirty-one poems known as the Pierre Daniel florilegium.[65] It contains three poems already known to be Walter's: *Sol sub nube latuit*


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(item 8, here 33), *Excitatur caritas* (item 20, here 8), and *Latebat in scriptura* (item 25, here 13). In addition to these, Wilmart would ascribe a further seventeen poems to Walter. I find most of these ascriptions unconvincing and, like Dronke, am inclined to accept only *Dies hec plus dedita* (item 29, here poem 36) as Walter's.[66]

## The Arundel Collection

The Arundel anthology contains two poems that are indisputably by Walter: Arundel 21 (*Latebat in scriptura*) and 24 (*Licet eger cum egrotis*), which correspond to poems 13 and 27 of the St-Omer manuscript respectively. It is widely agreed that Arundel 1–16 are by a single poet and that that poet is Peter of Blois.[67] This grouping of poems by a single author gives us reason to suspect that there may be similar single-author groupings elsewhere in the same anthology. The poems between *Latebat in scriptura* and *Licet eger cum egrotis*, namely Arundel 22 and 23, as well as Arundel 25 and 26, also appear to be by Walter.

*Vagit in presepio* (Arundel 22 = poem 34 below) has a rhythmical pattern that is a variant of Walter's beloved goliardic stanza. After the third goliardic line (or sixth half-line) an extra half-line (6p) has been added. The same variant is found in Walter's *Ecce torpet probitas*.[68] The closing lines in two of the stanzas (1 and 3) show the (virtual) quotation or *auctoritas* characteristic of much of Walter's goliardic verse.

*Anni renovacio* (Arundel 23 = poem 35 below) has a rhythmical pattern, which, though based on Walter's favorite line (7pp),[69] has no exact parallel in any poem known to be by him. It can, however, be regarded as a variant of the pattern used in poem 24 below, where five lines of 7pp are followed by a closing line of 6p. The pattern of Arundel 23 is the same except that the closing line has been split into



two half-lines of 3p, which precede and follow the last 7pp line. Though lines of 3p are rare in Walter, they are found in poems 4 and 28 below. Thus, rhythmically, *Anni renovacio* is perfectly compatible with Walter's practice. Also, familiar expressions (*sententiae*), virtual *auctoritates*, close stanzas 4 and 5, another characteristic of Walter's style.

*De grege pontificum* (Arundel 25 = poem 47 below) is a satirical poem very much in Walter's style, with a great deal of clever wordplay and several stanzas ending with a 'punchline'.[70] The basic rhythmical units are once again Walter's beloved 7pp followed by 6p, as in the goliardic stanza. However, instead of four lines of 7pp + 6p, here there are two units of 7pp followed by a single unit of 6p. This pattern is repeated to complete the six-line stanza: 2 × (2 × 7pp+ 6p).[71] Although Walter does not use this stanza per se elsewhere, he incorporates


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it into the more complex stanza he uses for poem 66: 4 × 6p + 2 × (2 × 7pp + 6p). While *De grege pontificum* departs from Walter's normal practice by attacking an individual bishop rather than bishops in general, the bishop in question, Manasses of Orleans, had caused considerable embarrassment to Henry the Liberal, Walter's patron, in 1162.[72]

*Si quis dicit,* '*Roma, vale*' (Arundel 26 = poem 63 below) is also in Walter's style. The theme (the denunciation of corruption in the Roman curia), the tone of indignation mixed with humour, the easy mastery of rhythm and rhyme, and the careful observance of normal word-accent are all characteristic of Walter and of few other poets. Even more telling is the rare rhythmical pattern, 4 × 8p + 3 × 7pp + 6p, which in the Arundel collection is found elsewhere only in Walter's *Licet eger cum egrotis*. Also, the reference to Pope Alexander III's chamberlain Franco and the hostile characterization of him link this poem very closely with Walter's *Propter Sion non tacebo* (poem 64).

## Other Attributions

If we think of willingness to attribute anonymous poems to Walter as a continuum, then Wilmart would be at one end and Strecker at the other. Strecker's 'School of Walter' label is, like 'Studio of Rembrandt', a useful category under which to list dubious works



reminiscent of the master but which, for one reason or another, do not meet the strict criteria for full recognition. Strecker's conservatism in assigning poems to Walter himself has been held in high regard and followed by most scholars. Thus Raby devotes one section of his chapter on 'The Latin Lyric' to 'The Songs of Walter of Châtillon' and another to the 'Poems of the School of Walter'.[73] Some eighty years later, however, it is clear that in some cases Strecker has been too strict. He recognized this himself a year after the publication of Walter's moral-satirical poems, when he acknowledged that *Cum declinent homines*, which he had excluded from his book because it failed to meet his criteria for inclusion, was indeed by Walter. Today Strecker's view that Walter did not draw *auctoritates* from medieval writers seems no longer tenable.[74] It was principally on this ground that he (very reluctantly) came to the conclusion that *Meum est propositum* (poem 53) could not be by Walter, for it has *auctoritates* taken from the *Pamphilus* and *Geta* (both twelfth-century comedies), not to mention Maximianus (sixth century) and Avianus (fourth–fifth centuries).[75] The opening words of the poem imply a familiarity with the Archpoet's *Confession*, which was delivered in Pavia in late 1163 and soon became enormously popular throughout Europe. Since Walter probably arrived in Bologna in 1164, it is not surprising that he quickly became acquainted with the Archpoet's poem. It would also not be surprising if the new world in which he found himself and the new library to which he had access prompted him to broaden the range of authors from which he drew *auctoritates.* Regarding *Utar contra vicia* and *Fas et nefas*, I


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have found myself in agreement with other scholars who have attributed these poems to Walter.[76]

Since the Charleville manuscript contains (in item 22) the same 'hotchpotch' of stanzas, drawn from poems 42, 43, 46, and 59 (Strecker's W4–7), as we find in the Hanover manuscript (*Ha*). I have treated it as a separate poem (Appendix I). The quite different



'hotchpotch' of the same poems in Harley 978, being unattested elsewhere, I have treated more cursorily, merely indicating the ordering of the stanzas (Appendix II). *Tanto viro locuturi* appears in two different versions in the manuscripts, the shorter one (which begins *Nostri moris esse solet*) addressed to the count of Champagne, and the longer one intended for the ears of the pope; so I have treated them as two separate poems (49 and 55). Finally, I have printed as two separate poems (38 and 39) what Strecker regarded as a single poem (W10). I have also included *Si de fonte bibere*, which Carsten Wollin has already convincingly attributed to Walter.[77]

## Arrangement of the Poems

When Strecker published the thirty-three poems of the St-Omer collection, it was natural and sensible to arrange them in the same order as they are found in the St-Omer manuscript. The great majority of the poems offer no clue as to their date of composition; only poems 16 (an impassioned reaction to the murder of Becket in December 1170), 24 (following the Council of Tours in May 1163), and 30 (celebrating the appointment of William of the White Hands as archbishop of Reims in 1176) can be dated with any precision. It would be foolish to alter the traditional arrangement of the St-Omer poems. Accordingly, I have retained this arrangement in the present edition.

The manuscript tradition of the remaining poems in this collection is quite different. No single manuscript contains all or even a third of these poems. Strecker's arrangement of them, which seems to have been based primarily on metrical considerations, is rather unsatisfactory in that it includes two quite separate poems (38 and 39) as a single poem (W10) and numbers two apparently unrelated poems (46 and 45) as W7 and W7a. While most of these poems offer few clues as to their date, it is possible to date several of them with certainty (but with varying precision) and quite a few more with considerable probability. The following core of datable poems emerges:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 46 | 1162 | *Eliconis riuulo* (Troyes) |
| 47 | 1162 | *De grege pontificum* (Troyes) |
| | 1163 | *Vetus error abiit* (poem 24) |


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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 52 | 1164 | *Ecce nectar roseum* (Besançon) |
| 54 | 1164–6 | *Si de fonte bibere* (Bologna) |



| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 55 | 1165–67[78] | *Tanto uiro locuturi* (Rome) |
| | 1171 | *Orba suo pontifice* (poem 16) |
| 58 | 1171–2 | *Dum contemplor* |
| 59 | 1171–6 | *Multiformis hominum* (Trier) |
| | 1176 | *Ver pacis aperit* (poem 30) |
| 61 | 1176–8 | *Quis furor, o ciues* |
| 62 | 1179 | *In Domino confido* (Rome) |
| 63 | 1179 | *Si quis dicit 'Roma, uale'* |
| 64 | 1179 | *Propter Sion non tacebo* |

Within and around this framework the rest of Walter's poems has been arranged as they seem to reflect this chronological development. Inevitably, the criteria used are subjective; they include similarity to the themes and phrases found in datable poems but also take into account location of performance and patron where known. Given that the earliest datable poem, *Eliconis riuulo*, already shows considerable sophistication, I have assumed that a fair number of the undatable poems must have preceded it, including the Arundel hymns and the two poems (*Captiuata largitas* and *Omni pene curia*) that Strecker combined as W10. Also, finding myself in agreement with Schmidt's argument that the origin of the goliardic stanza *cum auctoritate* probably lies in the satirical poems associated with the Feast of Fools rather than in *Ecclesia*'s lament over the schism, I have placed before *Eliconis riuulo* all the undatable poems that fall into this category. Further details are provided in the discussion of the individual poems.[79]

| | |
|---|---|
| 34 | *Vagit in presepio* |
| 35 | *Anni renouacio* |
| 36 | *Dies hec plus dedita* |
| 37 | *De nocte sicut noctua* |
| 38 | *Captiuata largitas* |
| 39 | *Omni pene curia* |


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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 40 | *Suscitauit Dominus* | |
| 41 | *Ecce mundus demundatur* | |
| 42 | *Missus sum in uineam* | |
| 43 | *Stulti cum prudentibus* | Troyes |
| 44 | *Cum declinent homines* | |



| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 45 | Inter curas hominum | |
| 46 | 1162 Eliconis riuulo | Troyes |
| 47 | 1162 *De grege pontificum* | Troyes |
| 48 | *Baculare sacramentum* | Troyes |
| 49 | *Nostri moris esse solet* | Troyes |
| 50 | 1161–2? *A la feste sui venuz* | Troyes |
| 51 | *Fas et Nefas* | |
| 1163 | *Vetus error abiit* (poem 24) | |
| 52 1164 | *Ecce nectar* | Besançon |
| 53 1164–6? | *Meum est propositum* | Bologna |
| 54 1164–6 | *Si de fonte bibere* | Bologna |
| 55 1166–7 | *Tanto uiro locuturi* | Rome |
| 56 1167–9? | *Vtar contra uitia* | |
| 57 *c.*1168? | *Dilatatur inpii* | |
| 1171 | *Orba suo pontifice* (poem 16) | |
| 58 1171–3 | *Dum contemplor animo* | |
| 59 1171–5 | *Multiformis hominum* | Trier |
| 60 1173–4 | *Fallax est et mobilis* | |
| 1176 | *Ver pacis aperit* (poem 30) | |
| 61 1176–7? | *Quis furor, o ciues* | |
| 62 1179 | *In Domino confido* | Rome, Bologna, Reims |
| 63 1179–80 | *Si quis dicit* '*Roma, uale*' | |
| 64 1179–80 | *Propter Sion non tacebo* | |


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| | |
|---|---|
| 65 | *Felix erat studium* |
| 66 | *Versa est in luctum* |
| 67 | *Dum Galterus egrotaret* |

## Notes

[38] *Die Lieder Walters von Châtillon*, ed. Strecker, and *Moralisch-satirische Gedichte Walters von Châtillon*, ed. Strecker.

[39] *Saints' Lives by Walter of Châtillon*, ed. Wollin (Toronto, 2002); a critical edition in the *CCCM* series is promised. In his review K. Bate doubts Walter's authorship.

[40] Strecker, 'Walter von Châtillon der Dichter'.

[41] Walter of Châtillon, *Lieder*, ed. Strecker.

[42] The hymn for the Feast of the Circumcision (poem 9) could perhaps be subsumed under a broad definition of the Christmas season. Less clear is whether this would be true in the 12th c. of the hymn to St Nicholas (poem 11), whose feast day is 6 Dec.

[43] Walter of Châtillon, *Moralisch-satirische Gedichte*, ed. Strecker.

[44] Ibid., pp. xv–xvi; for more detailed arguments, see Strecker, 'Walter von Châtillon und seine Schule' (hereafter Strecker, 'Schule I' and 'Schule II').

[45] Strecker, 'Schule II', pp. 170–1, 180–2, 187–8, and 'Schule I', pp. 115–17 respectively. Many of these poems are to be found in books edited by Thomas Wright: *The Latin Poems Commonly Attributed to Walter Mapes*; *The Political Songs of England*; and *Anecdota Literaria*.

[46] Strecker, 'Ein Gedicht Walters von Châtillon'. Strecker also wavered on *Vtar contra vitia*; at first he had no doubt that it was by Walter ('Schule I', p. 113) but later ('Schule II', pp. 187–8) he attributed it to an imitator. Similarly, he adduces a number of reasons why one might well be inclined to ascribe *Fas et nefas* to Walter ('Schule I', p. 116), but in the end he excluded it from his collection.

[47] Wilmart, 'Poèmes de Gautier de Châtillon'.


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[48] Poems 43, 42, 59, and 46 in this edition. This melange is virtually identical to that contained in the Hanover manuscript (*Ha*) and so this arrangement of stanzas has claim to be considered a poem in its own right; see Appendix I.

[49] Poets' names are added in bold where there is a scholarly consensus on authorship and without bold where such a consensus has yet to emerge.

[50] Wilmart, 'Poèmes de Gautier de Châtillon', pp. 131 and 134–5.

[51] See Dronke, 'The lyrical compositions of Philip the Chancellor', p. 589.

[52] Häring, 'Ein Lehrgedicht des Iordanus Fantasma'.

[53] See Meyer, 'De Scismate Grandimontorum'.

[54] Dronke, 'The lyrical compositions', pp. 563–4, comments on Wilmart's attributions: 'But only four of these songs, in my view, can be accepted as Walter's with the same confidence as those in Strecker's canon.' Dronke's four include one from the Pierre Daniel florilegium discussed in Appendix 2 of Wilmart's article. My findings coincide exactly with Dronke's.

[55] Dronke, 'The lyrical compositions', p. 569.

[56] Besides *Homo, vide que pro te patior*, mentioned by Dronke (ibid.), *Homo, quam sit pura* and *Homo, quid ultra tibi facere* (nos. 53 and 38 in Dronke's catalogue, ibid., pp. 588–92) are also written in the persona of Christ. *Crux de te uolo conqueror* is no. 54 in Dronke's catalogue.

[57] Cf. *Cum sit omnis caro foenum* (Dronke, 'The lyrical compositions', p. 589, no. 10) and 'Non vides . . . quod foenum carnis marceat . . .?' in *Homo, qui semper moreris* (Dronke's catalogue, no. 44), at 3. 1–3.

[58] These include *hactenus, interuallum, immature, clipeus, satio, decursum*, and *fenum* (note that the manuscript's enigmatic *fenum* at 66, 5. 3 has in this edition been corrected to *uenum*, following Rico).

[59] See the table at Traill, 'Philip the Chancellor and F10', p. 232, which indicates there are eight occurrences of *considera* in Philip and none in Walter; with the addition of *Fas et Nefas* to the canon, this has now to be corrected to one in Walter.


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[60] See the discussion below of poem 34, an apparent exception, which nonetheless proves the rule.

[61] Wilmart, 'Poèmes de Gautier de Châtillon', pp. 151–2.

[62] We do not know when Philip was born. He died in Dec. 1236, a year in which he was still fit enough to travel extensively in northern France; see Traill, 'Philip the Chancellor and the heresy inquisition', pp. 253–4. This makes it rather difficult, though not impossible, to assume a year of birth much earlier than about 1160. He was already writing sophisticated poems by 1181; see Traill, 'Philip the Chancellor and F10', p. 227.

[63] *Alexandreis*, vii. 328–30.

[64] Factors pointing to this conclusion are: (1) the three apostrophes in a mere thirty-five short lines, for Dronke, 'The lyrical compositions', p. 569, points out that apostrophe is Philip's 'most pervasive rhetorical figure', whereas the device is rare in Walter; (2) the locution 'a sanctuario prodeat' (cf. 'Verum a sanctuario / prodit illa malitia' in Philip's *Quid ultra tibi facere*, at 3. 1–2); (3) the use of *aurula*, found elsewhere in Philip but nowhere in Walter's corpus.

[65] The florilegium occupies fos. $83^{r}$ to $85^{r}$ of Paris, BnF latin 4880 (identified in this edition by the siglum *Pc*).

[66] It is a typical *baculus* poem for the Feast of Fools and its rhythmical pattern is identical to that of poem 24.

[67] While Carsten Wollin's edition of the poems of Peter of Blois (Turnhout, 1998) follows Dronke, 'Peter of Blois,' p. 219, in attributing Arundel 1–16 to the Peter of Blois of letter-writing fame, I believe that the canonist of the same name is the more likely author. The older view, central to Dronke's argument, that there was only one Peter of Blois at this time, has been decisively refuted; see Southern, 'Peters of Blois', pp. 103–18 and Traill, 'Walter of Châtillon's prosimetron', pp. 854–9, esp. 858–9; on Peter of Blois, canonist, see further *Dictionnaire de droit canonique*, vi. 1472 and *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vi. 1964.

[68] Poem 29, where stanza + refrain are rhythmically identical to each stanza of *Vagit in presepio*.

[69] The system of rhythmical notation is set out briefly in §III below.

[70] See the introductory notes to poem 43 below.


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[71] Walter uses a similar six-line structure for *Propter Sion non tacebo*: 2×(2×8p+7pp).

[72] See introductory notes to poem 47 in §VII below.

[73] Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry*, ii. 190–214.

[74] Cf. Strecker, 'Schule II', p. 180: 'ich kenne keines sicheres beispiel dafür, dass Walter auch moderne autoren heranzog', and Wollin, 'Das Festgedicht *Si de fonte bibere*', p. 252, n. 9: 'Streckers Einwand, daß Walter keine zeitgenössischen Autoren als *auctoritates* zitiere, läßt sich nach meinen neuesten Untersuchungen nicht mehr aufrecht erhalten.'

[75] Strecker, 'Schule II', pp. 180–2.

[76] Giesebrecht, 'Die Vaganten', pp. 376–7 (though he also identifies the Archpoet with Walter!); Schreiber, *Die Vagantenstrophe*, p. 35; *Carmina Burana*, ed. Vollmann, pp. 944 and 971.

[77] Wollin, 'Das Festgedicht'.

[78] More precisely, Dec. 1165–July 1167 (when Alexander III was in Rome).

[79] Datable poems are highlighted in bold.


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# Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

## iii . metre

David A. Traill (ed.), Oxford Medieval Texts: Walter of Châtillon: The Shorter Poems: Christmas Hymns, Love Lyrics, and Moral-Satirical Verse

**Published in print:** 2013 **Published online:** October 2019

# III . METRE

The metres of classical Latin poetry are based on the patterns formed by successive long and short syllables, *not*, as in English, on patterns formed by successive stressed and unstressed syllables. The metre of classical Latin poetry is therefore quantitative in nature, whereas that of English is rhythmical. In the medieval period Latin poetry, particularly in the more formal genres, such as epic, continued to be written in quantitative verse but in the more informal genres, including love poetry, satire, and even hymns, rhythmical verse was more common. Walter wrote his *Alexandreis*, in quantitative verse, in dactylic hexameters in the Virgilian manner, but all the poems in this



collection are basically rhythmical with a few quantitative verses appearing here and there.

Based as it is on the patterns formed by stressed and unstressed syllables, the scansion of Latin rhythmical poetry is more immediately accessible to English-speaking readers than that of classical Latin. The notation adopted here is that devised by Dag Norberg.[80] In this notation, numbers denote the number of syllables in a line (or section of a line) and 'pp' and 'p' are used to indicate whether the final stress falls on the antepenultimate ('pp') or penultimate ('p') syllable. Thus 7pp denotes a unit of seven syllables with stress falling on the antepenult, while 6p denotes a unit of 6 syllables, where the stress falls on the penult. So 4 × (7pp+6p) describes a four-line stanza with each line comprising two units, the first of seven syllables with stress on the antepenult and the second of six syllables with stress on the penult. Such a stanza usually has the same two-syllable rhyme at the end of each line and is known as the goliardic stanza.[81] The familiar carol 'Good King Wenceslas looked out (7pp) on the Feast of Stephen (6p)' follows this rhythmical pattern exactly so that English speakers should have little difficulty in reading Walter's goliardic stanzas in the proper rhythm.

Walter is credited with being the first to modify the four-line goliardic stanza by substituting for the fourth line a hexameter (or pentameter) from a classical Latin poet, which would have been scanned and read according to the rules of classical Latin poetry. This type of


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stanza, known as the goliardic stanza *cum auctoritate* was imitated by a number of his contemporaries and successors.[82]

Of the thirty-four poems in the second part of this collection, ten are composed in pure goliardic stanzas and eight in goliardic stanzas *cum auctoritate.* Poems 34 and 51 are essentially pure goliardic stanzas that add a short line (of 6p or 5pp) before the fourth line and so can be added to the list as variants. This means that twenty of the thirty-four poems in the second part are based on the goliardic stanza. The rhythmic patterns of the first thirty-three poems are considerably more varied, as can be seen from the following list:



Part I

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 *A patre genitus* | 8 × 6pp. Ref.: 4 × 6pp |
| 2 *Nutante mundi cardine* | 7 × 8pp |
| 3 *Prima nostri generis* | 8 × 7pp. Ref.: 3 × 7pp |
| 4 *Festa dies agitur* | 2 × 7pp. Ref.: 2 × (6p + 3p) |
| 5 *Obtinente monarchiam* | 4 × (8p + 6p). Ref.: 4 × 7pp |
| 6 *In profundo senectutis* | 2 × (8p + 7pp)+2 × (6pp + 6p) |
| 7 *Dei prudentia* | 8 × 6pp. Ref.: 4 × 6pp (=1) |
| 8 *Excitatur caritas* | 2 × (7pp + 4pp)+2 × (5pp + 4pp + 6pp) |
| 9 *Templi ueri Salomonis* | 4 × (8p + 7pp). Ref.: 3 × 7pp |
| 10 *Aue, mater, stella maris* | 4 × 8p. Ref.: 3 × 7pp |
| 11 *Adest dies annua* | 2 × (7pp + 7pp)+2 × (7pp + 6p) |
| 12 *Frigescente caritatis* | 2 × (8p + 7pp)+7pp + 8p + 7pp. Ref.: 6 × 7pp |
| 13 *Latebat in scriptura* | 2 × 7p + 2 × 6pp + 7p + 6pp + 7p. Ref.: 2 × (8pp + 7p) |
| 14 *Vetustatis in profundo* | 8p + 2 × 6p + 8p + 6p. Ref.: 2 × (7pp + 6p) |
| 15 *Vergente mundi vespere* | 3 × 8pp. Ref.: 2 × 9p |
| 16 *Orba sua pontifice* | 8 × 8pp. Ref.: 4pp + 8pp |
| 17 *Declinante frigore* | 7 × 7pp |
| 18 *Inportuna Veneri* | 6 × 7pp. Ref.: 2 × 7pp |


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| | |
|---|---|
| 19 *Inperio eya* | 2 × 6pp + 2 × (4pp + 6p) |
| 20 *Verna redit temperies* | 6 × 8pp |
| 21 *Autumnali frigore* | 7 × 7pp + 4pp |
| 22 *Dum queritur* | 4 × (4pp + 6pp)+2 × (4pp + 3 × 6pp) |
| 23 *Dum flosculum tenera* | 6 × 7pp |
| 24 *Vetus error abiit* | 5 × 7pp + 6p |
| 25 *Dulcis aure temperies* | 4 × 8pp |
| 26 *Anno reuertente* | 2 × (6p + 2 × 7p + 6pp). Ref.: 6p + 2 × 7p + 6pp |
| 27 *Licet eger cum egrotis* | 4 × 8p + 3 × 7pp + 6p |
| 28 *Ver prodiens in uirore* | 2 × 8p + 2 × 4pp + 3p + 2 × (3pp + 4pp + 7p) |
| 29 *Ecce torpet probitas* | 3 × (7pp + 6p). Ref.: 6p + 7pp + 6p |
| 30 *Ver pacis aperit* | 8 × 6pp (cf. 1) |
| 31 *Redit estas preoptata* | 4 × (8p + 6p). Ref.: 2 × (8p + 7pp) |
| 32 *Sole regente lora* | 3 × 7p + 4pp + 6pp + 2 × 4pp + 6pp |
| 33 *Sol sub nube latuit* | 8 × 7pp. Ref.: 6p + 2 × 7pp + 6p |



Part II

| | |
|---|---|
| 34 *Vagit in presepio* | 3 × (7pp + 6p) + 6p + 7pp + 6p |
| 35 *Anni renovacio* | 4 × 7pp + 3p + 7pp + 3p |
| 36 *Dies hec plus dedita* | 5 × 7pp + 6p |
| 37 *De nocte sicut noctua* | 7 × 8pp |
| 38 *Captivata largitas* | 4 × (7pp + 6p). Ref.: 2 × (8p + 7pp) |
| 39 *Omni pene curia* | 4 × (7pp + 7pp) |
| 40 *Suscitauit Dominus* | 4 × (7pp + 6p) |
| 41 *Ecce mundus demundatur* | 2 × (2 × 8p + 7pp) |
| 42 *Missus sum in uineam* | 3 × (7pp + 6p) + *auctoritas* |
| 43 *Stulti cum prudentibus* | 3 × (7pp + 6p) + *auctoritas* |


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| | |
|---|---|
| 44 *Cum declinent homines* | 3 × (7pp + 6p) + *auctoritas* |
| 45 *Inter curas hominum* | 3 × (7pp + 6p) + *auctoritas* |
| 46 *Eliconis rivulo* | 3 × (7pp + 6p) + *auctoritas* |
| 47 *De grege pontificum* | 2 × (2 × 7pp + 6p) |
| 48 *Baculare sacramentum* | 2 × (2 × 8p + 7pp) |
| 49 *Nostri moris esse solet* | 2 × (2 × 8p + 7pp) |
| 50 *A la feste sui venuz* | 4 × (7pp + 6p) |
| 51 *Fas et nefas* | 3 × (7pp + 6p) + 5pp + 7pp + 6p |
| 52 *Ecce nectar* | 4 × (7pp + 6p) |
| 53 *Meum est propositum* | 3 × (7pp + 6p) + *auctoritas* |
| 54 *Si de fonte bibere* | 4 × (7pp + 6p) |
| 55 *Tanto viro locuturi* | 2 × (2 × 8p + 7pp) |
| 56 *Utar contra vitia* | 3 × (7pp + 6p) + *auctoritas* |
| 57 *Dilatatur inpii* | 4 × (7pp + 6p) |
| 58 *Dum contemplor animo* | 4 × (7pp + 6p) |
| 59 *Multiformis hominum* | 3 × (7pp + 6p) + *auctoritas* |
| 60 *Fallax est et mobilis* | 4 × (7pp + 6p) |
| 61 *Quis furor, o cives* | prosimetron, mainly 4 × (7pp + 6p) |
| 62 *In Domino confido* | prosimetron, mainly 8 × 7pp |
| 63 *Si quis dicit* '*Roma, vale*' | 4 × 8p + 3 × 7pp + 6p |
| 64 *Propter Sion non tacebo* | 2 × (2 × 8p + 7pp) |
| 65 *Felix erat studium* | 4 × (7pp + 6p) |
| 66 *Versa est in luctum* | 4 × 6p. + 2 × (7pp + 7pp + 6p). Ref.: 6p + 2 × 7p + 6p |
| 67 *Dum Galterus egrotaret* | 2 × (2 × 8p + 7pp) |

Walter shows a marked preference for rhythmical units of 7pp and 6p, which is perhaps exaggerated by his fondness for the goliardic stanza, though these patterns also predominate, but to a lesser degree,

in the St-Omer poems, where there are no goliardic stanzas.[83] The following list indicates the number of poems in which each pattern occurs at least once (no account being taken of the frequency of a given rhythmical pattern in a given poem). The first number refers to poems 1–33, the second to poems 34–67.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **9pp** 0, 0; **9p** 1, 0 | **8pp** 6, 1; **8p** 9, 8 | **7pp** 19, 33; **7p** 4, 1 |
| **6pp** 10, 0; **6p** 12, 24 | **5pp** 1, 1; **5p** 0, 0 | **4pp** 7, 0; **4p** 0,0 |
| **3pp** 1, 0; **3p** 2, 1 | | |

## Notes

[80] Dag Norberg, *Introduction à l'étude de la versification latine* (Stockholm, 1958). Subsequent references are to the English translation: *An Introduction to the Study of Medieval Latin Versification*, trans. Roti and Skubly.

[81] It is sometimes written as an eight-line stanza, with each unit constituting a line.

[82] See the following list for the eight poems in which Walter employs this stanza and Schmidt, 'The Quotation', pp. 49–55, for later imitators.

[83] Poems 11 and 29, however, may be regarded as variants of the goliardic stanza.


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## iv . manuscripts and editorial policy

David A. Traill (ed.), Oxford Medieval Texts: Walter of Châtillon: The Shorter Poems: Christmas Hymns, Love Lyrics, and Moral-Satirical Verse

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## IV . MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITORIAL POLICY

The issues faced by the editor of Walter's shorter poems are rather different from those confronting the editors of most other works in this series. Consider the following:

1. The sixty-seven poems collected in this edition are scattered over more than seventy manuscripts.[84]

2. Apart from the St-Omer manuscript (*Om*), which contains poems 1–33, no single manuscript contains more than nine of them.

3. About half (34) of the manuscripts contain only one of these poems and a further twenty-one contain only two, three, or four.

These facts present considerable difficulties, for without a sufficient amount of shared content that can reveal significant deviations between manuscripts, it impossible to determine the relationships between them. The problem is especially acute in poems 1–33, where the quantity of shared content is minimal. Only eight of these short poems are found in manuscripts other than *Om*. The three most popular poems, 12, 27, 33, found in ten, nine, and six manuscripts respectively (in addition to *Om*), vividly illustrate the problem. Only one of the manuscripts (*O*) contains all three poems and no other manuscript contains even two of them.[85]

In the second part of the collection (poems 34–67), the Charleville manuscript (*Ch*), unknown to Strecker, has made important contributions to the number of poems we can, with reasonable certainty,



assign to Walter, while the readings in the Lambeth Palace manuscript (*Lp*), also unknown to Strecker, have resolved some textual problems in poem 62 and helped clarify some aspects of Walter's life.[86] Here too, the large number of manuscripts over which poems 34–67 are


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scattered presents us with serious problems.[87] However, the poems are generally much longer and the quantity of shared content is accordingly greater than in poems 1–33. In *Stulti cum prudentibus* (43), *Missus sum in uineam* (42), *Eliconis rivulo* (46), and *Multiformis hominum* (59) a considerable amount of content is shared by *F*, *S*, *L*, *P*, *B*, and *D*, and, to a lesser extent, by *Sl*, *Hr*, *A*, and *G*. (See Tables 1–4.)

TABLE 1. *Sequence of stanzas in poem 42*

| | ***F*** | ***S*** | ***L*** | ***Hr*** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Missus sum | 1 | 1 | | 1 |
| | Eliconis | | | 1 | |
| 2 | Rithmis | 2 | | 2 | 2 |
| | Accusator | | | 3 | |
| 3 | Licet | 3 | 2 | | 3 |
| 4 | Cur sequi | 4 | 3 | 4 | 4 |
| 5 | Qui uirtutes | 5 | 4 | | 5 |
| 6 | Hec est | 6 | 5 | 6 | 6 |
| 7 | Adora | 7 | 6 | 5 | 7 |
| 8 | Disputet | 8 | 7 | 7 | 8 |
| 9 | Sciat artes | 9 | 8 | 8 | 9 |
| 10 | Illud est | 10 | 9 | | 10 |
| 11 | Si Ioseph | 12 | 11 | 10 | 12 |
| 12 | Quid ad rem | 13 | 12 | 11 | 13 |
| 13 | Quidam | 11 | 10 | 9 | 11 |
| 14 | Idcirco | 14 | 13 | | 14 |
| 15 | Si pauper | 15 | 14 | 12 | 15 |
| 16 | Heu quid | 16 | 15 | 14 | 16 |
| 17 | Semper | 17 | | | 17 |
| 18 | Adde | 18 | | | 18 |
| 19 | Sit pauper | 19 | | 13 | 19 |
| 20 | Audi qui | 20 | | | 20 |


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TABLE 2. *Sequence of stanzas in poem 43*

| | *F* | *S* | *L* | *Db* | *P* | *B* | *D* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Stulti/ Multi | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| | Missus sum | | | 1 | | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 2 | Quando | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| 3 | Facilis | 3 | | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| 4 | Cum uideam | 4 | | 4 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| 5 | Spargat | 5 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| 6 | Ecce sponsi | 6 | 4 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| 7 | Iam prorsus | 7 | 5 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 |
| 8 | Studet presul | 8 | 6 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 |
| 9 | Vis decanus | 9 | 7 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 8 |
| 10 | Inquo | 10 | | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| 11 | Ut Iudeis | 11 | 8 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 |
| 12 | Omnes auaritia | 12 | | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 |
| 13 | A prelatis | 13 | | 13 | 13 | 13 | 13 | 13 |
| 14 | Vos ergo | 14 | | 15 | 14 | 15 | 15 | 15 |
| 15 | Parochiam | 15 | 9 | 14 | 19 | 14 | 14 | 14 |
| 16 | Sed neque | 16 | 10 | | 20 | | | |


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| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 17 | Mundus | 17 | 11 | 16 | 18 | 17 | 17 | 17 |
| 18 | Quanto | 18 | 12 | 17 | 15 | 16 | 16 | 16 |
| 19 | Nullus | | | 18 | 17 | 18 | 18 | 18 |
| 20 | Florebant | | | 19 | 16 | 19 | 19 | 19 |
| 21 | Nescit mundus | | 13 | 20 | 21 | 20 | 20 | 20 |
| 22 | Axis | 19 | 14 | 21 | 22 | 21 | 21 | 21 |
| 23 | Senes | 20 | | 22 | 23 | 22 | 22 | 22 |
| 24 | Si recte | 21 | 15 | 23 | 24 | 23 | 23 | 23 |
| 25 | Hec idcirco | 22 | 16 | 24 | 25 | 24 | 24 | 24 |
| 26 | Filii | 23 | 17 | 25 | 26 | 25 | 25 | 25 |
| 27 | Mores habet | | | 26 | 27 | 26 | 26 | 26 |
| 28 | Et quia | 24 | 18 | 27 | 28 | 27 | 27 | 27 |
| 29 | Unum est | 25 | | | 29 | | | |
| 30 | Esto fur | | | | 30 | | | |

From these tables the close relationship of *P*, *B*, *D* can readily be seen, since they all omit 42 and the sequence of the stanzas in the remaining three poems is identical.[88] *L* is also clearly related to this



TABLE 3. *Sequence of stanzas in poem 46*

| | ***F*** | ***Sl*** | ***Hr*** | ***P*** | ***B*** | ***D*** | ***G*** | ***A*** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Eliconis | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| | Rithmis | | | | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| 2 | Accusator | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| 3 | Dicta fuit | 3 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 |


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| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4 | Ecce papas | 4 | | | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| 5 | Fortassis | 5 | | | | | | | |
| 6 | A Christo | 6 | | | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| 7 | Suam Christus | 7 | 4 | 4 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 |
| 8 | Sponsa | 8 | 5 | 5 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 |
| 9 | Hinc me | 9 | | | | | | | |
| 10 | Se uerum | 10 | 6 | 6 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 |
| 11 | Non erat | 11 | | | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| 12 | Illi per | 12 | | | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 |
| | Nemo iuste | | | | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 |
| 13 | Mea gens | 13 | 7 | 7 | 13 | 13 | 13 | 13 | 13 |
| 14 | Iam casura | 14 | 8 | 8 | 14 | 14 | 14 | 14 | 14 |
| 15 | Sed ne uos | 16 | 9 | 9 | 15 | 15 | 15 | 15 | 15 |
| 16 | Veni | 15 | | | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 |
| 17 | Me desertam | 17 | 10 | 10 | 17 | 17 | 17 | 17 | 17 |

group, but not quite so closely, as it includes 42 and omits 46.[89] *A* and *G* both contain 46 with a sequence of stanzas that clearly aligns them with *P*, *B*, and *D* against the tradition represented by *F*, *Sl*, and *Hr*. Strecker groups *P*, *B*, *D*, *A*, *G*, and *L* together as Y. That *F*, *S* (and *Sl*), and *Hr* are linked and aligned against the testimony of *P*, *B*, and *D* is borne out by the sequence of stanzas in 42 and 43. Poem 59 is not found in *F* or *Hr* but is found twice in *S* (the second version being *Sl*). Here *S* offers, as usual, a shorter version than that found in *P*, *B*, and *D*, while *Sl* seems to have had access to a longer version and supplements *S* with some of the missing stanzas. Strecker groups *F*, *S*, *Sl*, *Hr* together as X.[90]


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TABLE 4. *Sequence of stanzas in poem 59*

| | | | S | Sl | L | Db | P | B | D |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Multiformis | 1 | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 2 | Luxus | 2 | | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | |
| 3 | Tot sordes | 2 | | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| 4 | Cum mundum | | | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| 5 | In primis | 3 | | | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| 6 | Heu quam | 4 | | 5 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| | Si uerum (46, 10) | | | | 7 | | | | |
| 7 | Dic papa | | | 6 | 8 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 |
| 8 | Roma datis | | | 7 | 9 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 |
| 9 | Roma soluit | | | 8 | 10 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 |
| 10 | Roma metit | 5 | | 9 | 11 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| 11 | Eligendi | | | 6 | 12 | 17 | 11 | 11 | 11 |
| 12 | Proh si | | | 13 | 11 | 12 | 12 | 12 | |
| 13 | Coenobita | 7 | | | 14 | 12 | 13 | 13 | 13 |
| 14 | Iam plus | | | | 15 | 13 | 14 | 14 | 14 |
| 15 | Quis nunc | 8 | | | 16 | 14 | 15 | 15 | 15 |


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| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 16 | Clerus qui | 9 | | 17 | 15 | 16 | 16 | 16 |
| 17 | Qui sunt | | 18 | | 16 | 17 | 17 | 17 |
| 18 | Clamabat | 10 | | 19 | 18 | 18 | 18 | 18 |
| 19 | Quid mirum | 10 | 20 | 19 | | 9 | 19 | 19 |
| 20 | Si uis | | | 21 | 20 | 20 | 20 | 20 |
| 21 | Diuites | 12 | | | | | | |
| 22 | Cum se | 13 | | | | | | |
| 23 | De futura | 14 | | | | | | |
| 24 | Set ne uos | | 11 | 22 | 21 | 21 | 21 | 21 |
| 25 | Ab istis | 22 | | | | | | |
| 26 | Mos Fulmari | 23 | | | | | | |
| 17 | Ergo manu | 24 | | | | | | |

*Db* shows affinities with both X and Y.[91] It also shows independence from both groups in that it alone preserves the last three stanzas of 59 and is the sole source for *A la feste sui venuz* (50) and the complete version of *Nostri moris esse solet* (49).

**pg xli**

The long prosimetron *In Domino confido* (62) is preserved in five manuscripts: *P*, *B*, *D*, *Dg*, and *Lp*. Rubrics in *Dg*, *P*, and *B* indicate that the piece was performed in Rome (*Dg*) and Bologna (*P* and *B*) and it seems likely that it was also performed in Reims. *Dg* and *Lp* alone preserve the prose passage (§23), which pokes fun at legal scholars and may have been added for the performance at Bologna. In addition, *Dg* and *Lp* are united against *P*, *B*, and *D* in frequently sharing other substantial divergences from the consensus of *P*, *B*, and *D*.[92] In this poem, as elsewhere, *D* and *B* are often united in error against *P*.[93] The above facts suggest the following stemmata for the tradition of the prosimetron 62.[94]


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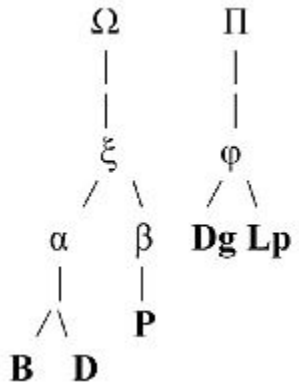


The great variation in the number of manuscripts in which individual poems in this collection survive poses editorial difficulties when it comes to recording the variants in the apparatus criticus. Of the sixty-seven poems, thirty-eight survive in only one manuscript. For these poems it is merely a matter of indicating the manuscript's erroneous reading and the editor who first made the emendation adopted. Almost invariably, the accompanying apparatus is very limited. On the other hand, fifteen poems are found in five or more manuscripts, including several in eight or nine, one in eleven, and another in fifteen manuscripts. In these cases, if the editor does not adopt a selective attitude to variants, the apparatus can easily fill at least as much space on the page as the corresponding section of text, as happens frequently in Strecker's edition of the moral-satirical poems. Besides disfiguring the page, an extensive apparatus tends to



obscure the really significant variants among the clutter of common scribal errors. To reduce the clutter I have not listed the varied (mis)spellings of proper names (e.g. silla, sylla, cilla, scilla for Scylla) or unusual words (bitalassus, bitallissus, uidi lapsus, bica lapsus, vita lassus, for bithalassus). In such cases, I have usually adopted the reading closest to the accepted spelling. Nor have I normally included the ubiquitous variants caused by the confusion between ci and ti, collocations that were difficult for medieval scribes to distinguish, whether by ear or eye, and therefore usually insignificant. Even with these and similar omissions the apparatus accompanying a number of poems is considerably more extensive than is the norm for texts in this series.[95]

The following editorial policy has been adopted for the apparatus. When a poem is attested in two or three manuscripts with divergent readings, the apparatus usually records the source(s) of the chosen reading and the variant(s) in the other manuscript(s). When there


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are four or more manuscripts, the apparatus records the significant variants. If no source is given for the chosen reading, then it can be assumed that it is the reading of all or the majority of the remaining manuscripts.

## Notes

[84] I have not followed Strecker in including among the testimonia early printed texts of some of Walter's poems, such as those found in the works of Nicolas de Clémanges and Matthias Flacius Illyricus. Their deviant readings contribute little or nothing of substance and are in any case suspect due to their authors' polemical zeal for contemporary church reform.

[85] For a detailed description of *O* see Wilmart, 'Le Florilège mixte'.

[86] A transcription of *Lp*'s version of the poem is published in James, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, pp. 549–53.

[87] No fewer than fifty-eight manuscripts are involved but twenty-two of them contain only one of these poems and a further eleven have only two. If we look at the problem from another perspective, fourteen of the thirty-four poems are found in only a single manuscript.

[88] The close relationship of *P*, *B*, and *D* is also apparent from their remarkably similar ordering of the poems. These are found in the following (uninterrupted) succession: *P* 43, 59, 60, 61, 46, 58, 55, 62, 67; *B* 65, 43, 59, 52, 55, 61, 62, 64, 46, 48; *D* 43, 59, 52, 62, 55, 61, 46, 48, 58. For a detailed description of *B* and *D* (with comparisons made to *P*), see Rigg, 'Medieval Latin poetic anthologies (III)'.

[89] In addition, *L*'*s* ordering of the stanzas in the other two poems, while close to that of *P*, *B*, and *D*, is not identical.

[90] Strecker also includes *H* and *Ha* in this group. *H* is a jumbled mix of seventy-one stanzas drawn from four poems; for details of the sequence of the stanzas, see Appendix I. Stanzas 38–52 and 53–60, however, closely reflect the sequence of stanzas of poems 42 and 59 and in both cases are closest to *Hr* and therefore to X. Its readings for individual stanzas are recorded at the appropriate places in the apparatus criticus of poems 42, 43, 46, and 59. The arrangement of stanzas in *Ha* is an even more jumbled mixture that includes a substantial number of stanzas from poems 42, 43, and 59, one stanza from 46, and nine stanzas not found elsewhere. Unlike *H*, it is hard to align it with any other manuscript for any of these four poems. However, its inclusion of most of the stanzas from poem 42 suggests alignment with X rather than Y. Since this same 'gallimaufry' of *Ha* is also found in the Charleville manuscript (*Ch*) I have treated it as a separate poem (Appendix I).


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[91] It shows affinities with X in poem 43 in its opening stanza and by including stanzas 16 and 29, and with Y by recording *Baculare sacramentum* (48) along with *B* and *D*, and by its full version of 59, which is only partially represented in *S* and *Sl* and completely absent from *F* and *Hr*.

[92] Notably, in their version of §5 and in adding an extra stanza between §§18 and 19.

[93] Cf. 3, 14. 1 secundus *P Dg Lp*; facundus *B D*; 3, 9. 7 Baelardi sanctio *P Dg Lp*; Baelard sacracio *B D*; 46, 7. 2 uorat *P*; uocat *B D*.

[94] The textual evidence presented by the manuscripts themselves and the consideration that there were almost certainly multiple performances suggest that it is reasonable to suppose two different archetypes for 62.

[95] Readers seeking a fuller apparatus are advised to consult Strecker's editions.


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# Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

## v. recurring themes

David A. Traill (ed.), Oxford Medieval Texts: Walter of Châtillon: The Shorter Poems: Christmas Hymns, Love Lyrics, and Moral-Satirical Verse

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## V. RECURRING THEMES

### The Feast of Fools

A surprising number of Walter's poems seem to have been performed at one or other of the lively festivals held between Christmas and the Feast of Circumcision (1 January) or Epiphany (6 January). On these occasions different groups of the clergy were allowed to officiate at ceremonies normally reserved for the higher ranks. Thus on the Feast of St Stephen (26 December), the deacons took the lead; on the Feast of St John the Evangelist (27 December), the priests were in charge; on the Feast of the Innocents (28 December), it was the turn of the choirboys; finally, on the Feast of the Circumcision (or in some localities, at Epiphany) the subdeacons took over.[96] The term 'Feast



of Fools' strictly applies to the celebrations on the Feast of Circumcision (or Epiphany), which appear to have been the rowdiest and provoked the most reaction from ecclesiastical authorities, but was frequently applied collectively to all four feasts. Inevitably, the actual form that these celebrations took must have varied from place to place and over time. Generally speaking, they took place in cathedral towns and at abbeys and seem to have been more prevalent in France, particularly northern France, than elsewhere. That these celebrations, with role-reversal at their core, were to some extent a survival of the pagan rites associated with the Roman Saturnalia was already acknowledged in the Middle Ages.

Leading the festivities was a 'boy-bishop' or 'boy-cantor', who acted as bishop (or cantor) for the day and carried a *baculus* (mock crozier/baton) as his symbol of office; hence the festival was frequently called 'festum baculi'. However, there must have been some individual or group of individuals who sponsored these events. From Walter's poems it appears that one individual assumed a major part of these expenses. Walter calls him the *baculifer* ('*baculus*-bearer') and singles him out for praise.[97] Despite the name, this can hardly be the boy who is playing the role of the mock-bishop or mock-cantor for the day. Presumably, the sponsor played some honorary role in the festivities, perhaps presenting the *baculus* to the


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boy at the beginning of the procession or holding it for him when the boy had some task to perform for which he needed both hands. Our sources simply do not give us all the relevant details.

There seem to have been a number of hymns performed on these occasions, in which the *baculus* was praised and references made to Christ's circumcision and its significance for Christians. Other poems were recited, however, in which the sins of the higher ranks of the clergy were excoriated with an enigmatic mixture of vituperation and



lightheartedness.[98] The sins were usually of a generic kind (avarice, simony, gluttony, sexual misconduct) and attributed to a class (usually bishops) rather than an identifiable individual, and this perhaps made the outspoken criticism acceptable. It also must have helped that canons repeatedly issued by contemporary church councils acknowledged these sins to be a problem among the clergy and sought to correct them; so, in a sense, satirists could argue that they were merely enunciating church doctrine in a form appropriate to the occasion. The poems that seem to have been associated with the Feast of Fools are the following: 9, 26, 35, 36, 42, 43, 45, 48, 49, 50, 59. In his study on the goliardic strophe *cum auctoritate*, Paul G. Schmidt argues that Walter first used the strophe in poems performed at the Feast of Fools.[99]

## *Auaritia/ Largitas*

*Auaritia* ('avarice'), as one of the seven deadly sins, was frequently castigated in medieval literature. The corresponding virtue was *largitas* ('generosity' or 'liberality'), a quality associated with and much prized by the nobility. Not surprisingly, we see the two nouns (and their related verbs, adjectives, and adverbs) cropping up in the same poem, as the poet urges his audience or readers to avoid *auaritia* and to practise *largitas.* One of Walter's poems, *Baculare sacramentum* (poem 48), whose subject matter is the allegorical interpretation of *baculus* (and *lignum*) in the Bible, is particularly rich in these words. The number of occurrences for *auaritia, parcitas* ('meanness'),[100] and *largitas* and their cognates in the 134 (short) lines of that poem are as follows: *auaritia* (5), *parcitas* (3), *largitas* (12). Comparison with the much longer prosimetron (poem 62) is instructive. There are no instances in it of either *auaritia* or *parcitas* or their cognate verbs or adjectives and only one instance of the *largitas* group and, interestingly, it refers to Christ's *largitas*[101] (in giving his life for us) rather than the financially focused *largitas* that prevails in the Feast of Fools poems.

Lampooning the *auaritia* of the higher ranks of the clergy and pleas for *largitas* on the part of the sponsor(s) were certainly regular


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features of poems written for performance at the Feast of Fools. However, the *largitas/ auaritia* (*parcitas*) dichotomy also crops up in poems that no one has linked to these festivals, namely, in *Inperio eya* (19), *Ecce torpet probitas* (29), and *Captiuata largitas* (38). This means that we should be on our guard against assuming too readily that the presence of the theme is a good indication that a given poem was intended for performance at a Feast of Fools. Naturally, poets liked to be recompensed for their efforts; so sometimes a reference to *largitas* is simply a way of reminding patrons of this. An explicit example of this is found in the last two lines of poem 54, where Walter advises his patron not to let his *largitas* give everything away to others but to keep something for his bard. One may also wonder if the references to Christ's *largitas* at the end of *In Domino confido* (62) and *Ecce nectar roseum* (52) are not merely more discreet ways of reminding patrons of their duty to their bard.

## Notes

[96] For a contemporary account of these feasts, see Ioannes Belethus, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, 70–7 (*PL* ccii. 77–9). For modern discussions, see Dreves, 'Zur Geschichte der fête des fous'; Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, i. 275–335, still the most useful source; and Schmidt, 'The quotation'. The usefulness of a study by Heers, *Fêtes des fous et carnavals*, is severely restricted by its lack of an index and footnotes. The most recent work on the subject, Harris, *Sacred Folly*, provides a welcome book-length study. Unfortunately, it is not without serious errors. For instance, he dismisses poem 43 (*Stulti cum prudentibus*) from consideration on the grounds that with the words 'Festis bacularibus interesse minimus / uolo, quia nequeo magnus, maior, maximus' (43, 3. 1–2) Walter mentions the festivals 'only to deny the least desire to participate in them' (p. 71). His attempts to demonstrate that these festivals were far less disorderly than has generally been believed are unconvincing. They are refuted explicitly by the words of Eudes de Sully, bishop of Paris, in his new arrangements (1198) designed 'in statum canonicum reuocare quod in scandalum ecclesie temere noscitur pullulasse'—see *Cartulaire de l'église de Notre Dame de Paris*, ed. Guérard, p. 74—and, some two decades earlier, by the implicit evidence presented by Walter's poem 26 below.

[97] See, in particular, 50. 5–6, where Walter addresses the *baculifer* and urges him to be generous and celebrate the festive day with gifts.

[98] On the juxtaposition of jest and earnest in medieval literature, see Curtius, *European Literature*, pp. 417–35.

[99] Schmidt, 'The quotation'.


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[100] Often used by Walter as a rhythmically convenient synonym for *auaritia*.

[101] It occurs at the end of the concluding long sentence: 'hereditatem . . . nobis . . . largiri dignetur'.


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# Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

## vi. note on texts and translations

David A. Traill (ed.), Oxford Medieval Texts: Walter of Châtillon: The Shorter Poems: Christmas Hymns, Love Lyrics, and Moral-Satirical Verse

**Published in print:** 2013 **Published online:** October 2019

## VI. NOTE ON TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

The text of many of Walter's poems, particularly his most popular ones (if we may judge their popularity by the number of manuscripts in which they survive), often varies considerably from manuscript to manuscript. Many of these variations are due to the usual vagaries of scribes. Other factors, however, also seem to be at work. Unlike the *Alexandreis*, these poems are written in stanzas and these stanzas are usually complete in themselves so that they can often be omitted or rearranged and still leave a poem that makes sense and is reasonably satisfactory. A striking example of this is to be found in the version of the satire *Propter Sion non tacebo* recorded in the *Carmina Burana* manuscript, which, though it omits only three stanzas from the full version of the poem, has its stanzas arranged in an order that differs drastically from the norm.[102] The manuscripts of the two most popular poems of the St-Omer collection, poems 12 and 27 (both satirical pieces), also show considerable variation in the number and ordering of the stanzas. Besides the stanzaic form, another factor appears to have contributed to the variations in the manuscript tradition of these three poems, namely, that they were all almost certainly performed by Walter on several occasions and before a variety of audiences. It



would be natural for him to omit or add stanzas or rearrange the stanzas as he thought appropriate for any given occasion. Some of the differences in the manuscript tradition may reflect different performances. The performance factor is particularly evident in poem 62 (*In Domino confido*), which one manuscript (*Dg*) tells us was performed in Rome while another (*P*) names Bologna as the venue. There is good reason for believing that it was also performed in Reims. As indicated above, the five manuscripts that contain the poem fall into two distinct groups, of which one (*P*, *B*, *D*) omits §23 and the other (*Dg*, *Lp*) omits §35. Other significant differences between the two groups suggest that the different traditions probably go back to different performances.

Several of the poems in goliardic stanza *cum auctoritate* open with two or three preliminary stanzas, in which Wallter identifies himself as a satirist. These opening stanzas are accordingly interchangeable. A glance at the sequence of stanzas in poem 42 (Table 1


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above), shows that the first three stanzas in *F* and *Hr* are those beginning *Missus sum, Rithmis*, and *Licet*, while *L* opens with the stanzas beginning with *Eliconis, Rithmis*, and *Accusator*. Similar variations in the manuscripts can be observed in the opening stanzas of poems 43 and 46. The two long poems comprising different mixtures of stanzas drawn from poems 42, 43, 46, and 59 (see Appendices I and I) both begin with a half dozen of these introductory stanzas. It is hard to imagine any occasion that would call for quite so many introductory stanzas and one wonders if these medley poems perhaps functioned as repositories of satirical stanzas for Walter to draw on for future performances at Feasts of Fools.

Translations, though helpful, are nearly always unsatisfactory in a number of ways. Puns are notoriously difficult to deal with because it is usually hard, if not impossible, to find a word in English with the same ambiguities or overtones as are to be found in the original Latin word. Walter is extremely fond of punning as well as other forms of wordplay that are almost as difficult to translate. I have sometimes tried to reproduce these puns in translation —inevitably they sound more forced in English than they do in Latin—but usually have just had to draw attention to these puns or other forms of wordplay in the accompanying notes.

A major difference between Latin and English is the ease with which a Latin writer (whether classical or medieval), when describing actions set in the past, will switch to verbs in the present tense for the sake of vividness. We use similar 'historic presents' in English ('I was crossing



the street when suddenly a car comes whizzing round the corner') but much more readily in colloquial usage than in standard prose. It is also true, however, that English hymns, especially perhaps Christmas hymns, sometimes use verbs in the present tense, as, for example, in *Hark the Herald angels sing* to conjure up for the congregation a scene in the distant past with a vividness that cannot be achieved by the use of past tenses. However, while it is true that English can and does use historic presents in standard prose and also in hymns, it remains true that English is much more constrained in its use of such presents than Latin and is particularly leery of mixing past and present tenses when both are intended to refer to the same time. For these reasons I have tended for the most part to translate what appear to me to be historic presents by regular past tenses in English.

## Notes

[102] This norm is closely followed by all ten of the remaining manuscripts even when they omit stanzas amounting to half of the poem; see the list of manuscripts in the apparatus criticus to poem 64.


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# Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

## vii. introductory notes to individual poems

David A. Traill (ed.), Oxford Medieval Texts: Walter of Châtillon: The Shorter Poems: Christmas Hymns, Love Lyrics, and Moral-Satirical Verse

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## VII. INTRODUCTORY NOTES TO INDIVIDUAL POEMS

### Poems 1–16

Poems 1–10, 13, and 15 are all Christmas hymns if we interpret Christmas broadly to mean the week from 25 December to 1 January. The appearance of a hymn about St Nicholas (11) is rather curious, as his association with Christmas was a later development. Perhaps the date of his feast day (6 December) may have facilitated its inclusion here. Poems 12 and 14 are moral-satirical in content while 16 (on the murder of Becket) is an occasional poem.

The Christmas hymns are not easy for the modern reader to understand or appreciate. This is partly because some themes popular in the twelfth century, such as wonder at divinity made incarnate and the virgin birth—not to mention the wrongheadedness of Jews—play a less prominent role in Christmas hymns commonly sung today but more particularly because these hymns are filled with allusive language reflecting biblical interpretations that are no longer in vogue. Medieval theologians commonly used allegory as an interpretative tool. This allowed them to view much of the Old Testament as foreshadowing or, more precisely, prefiguring later events, concepts, groups, or individuals. Thus in poem 1 the ram that Abraham found and sacrificed instead of Isaac was held to prefigure Christ and his sacrifice on the cross. Also, the prodigal son forgiven by his father was held to be a forerunner or 'type' of the repentant Christian, while the elder brother's refusal to join in the festivities celebrating his brother's return was thought to prefigure Jewish refusal to accept



the new religion. While the prodigal son as a symbol for the repentant Christian is still a familiar concept, the other allegorical interpretations I have mentioned are for the most part alien to today's readers but were commonplace in Walter's day and certainly well known to the intended audience, which was largely ecclesiastical.

Medieval theologians found justification for this allegorical approach in Paul's famous dictum: 'littera enim occidit, spiritus autem uiuicat' (2 Cor. 3: 6). Many believed that the literal meaning of some passages, particularly in the Old Testament, was misleading and that their true significance could only be reached by the allegorical method. This view lies behind the


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second stanza in poem 2, where Christ's birth, life, and death, and the hope for salvation that they brought are held to have allowed the 'true' (i.e. allegorical) meaning of such passages to emerge 'from the smoke and darkness' of the literal interpretation.

Walter's remarks about the failure of Jews to adopt Christianity (seen in his *Tractatus contra Iudaeos* and in many of his short poems) seem to be driven more by a desire to convert them (and a general insensitivity to their feelings in the matter) than by what we usually mean by anti-Semitism, though certainly by today's standards his observations would be judged offensive. Walter is drawing on a long tradition of allegorical interpretation that goes back to Augustine, which incorporated a fairly persistent anti-Judaic strain.[103]

*Poem 1*

Christ was born to change the old ways. Just as Abraham's sacrifice of the ram prefigures Christ's sacrifice on the cross, so Christ's role as cornerstone implies the union of Jews and gentiles in one faith.

The clothing given the Prodigal Son was thought to symbolize the *stola innocentiae* (i.e. 'birthday suit') of Adam and Eve before the Fall—and hence the regaining of eternal life—while his reinstatement prefigures the forgiveness of the repentant Christian. His elder brother's refusal to join the feast symbolizes the Jews' adherence to the Law and their rejection of the new religion. This allegorical interpretation of the parable goes back to Augustine.[104] The fatted calf (like Abraham's ram) sacrificed for the feast prefigures Christ.[105]



*Poem 2*

Christ's birth renewed the hope for eternal life that Adam and Eve destroyed. Faith and drinking the wine of the Eucharist (Christ's blood) assure us a place in heaven. The limping of Jacob (Israel) after he wrestles with the stranger symbolizes the failure of the Jews to recognize Christ as the Messiah. The Queen of Sheba's arrival in Jerusalem to hear Solomon's wisdom prefigures the Gentiles who came to hear Christ's wisdom, while the spices she brought were the 'virtutes et bona opera' proffered by the Church.[106]

Miriam ('she who envied Moses') and Aaron criticized their brother Moses ('legislator') for marrying a Cushite. For this insolence God struck Miriam with leprosy and isolated her from the camp for seven days (Num. 12: 1–16). Theologians saw Miriam as symbolizing 'the synagogue' (Judaism) and Moses as prefiguring Christ.[107]

*Poem 5*


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Elijah summons rain (Holy Spirit) to end the drought. The land (Mary) thus irrigated prepares the way to eternal life through its young shoot (Christ). Since *virga* ('rod') was well established as prefiguring Mary (Isa. 11: 1), the *virgula* ('column of smoke' in S. of S. 3: 6) was similarly interpreted. Mary acted as a storehouse (*horreum*) for the divinity (honey) and the grace (wine and oil) of the Holy Spirit.

Christians revere Christmas, when God became man. Abraham longed for the birth of the son that God promised would be father of a host of nations. Since his son, Isaac, was a type of Christ ('verus Isaac'), Abraham longed for Christmas Day. The Jews, however, who knew about the coming of the Messiah, did not recognize the truth.

Christ (the watchman) heals the wounded. By partaking of the Eucharist we escape the fires of hell. The Law held out no prospect of eternal life and its hell fostered demons.

*Poem 8*

Love (i.e. Christ) was born into a sinful world[108] and thus, equally paradoxically, the Trinity was formed out of a single entity. The 'true Jacob' is Christ; so Jacob's exile in Mesopotamia prefigures the spread of Christianity to the Gentiles, while the removal of the well's cover



(*lapis*) symbolizes Christ's revelation of the spiritual meaning of the Law concealed under the literal.[109]

A new farmer (Christ) has been assigned to the vineyard (the faithful). Christianity, as Paul explains, is as dependent on Judaism as a wild olive branch depends on the cultivated olive on to which it has been grafted. On the other hand, Jews who reject Christ (manna) are like the barren fig-tree cursed by Christ since they fail to separate the wheat from the chaff.[110]

Humans, doomed to mortality by Adam's sin, have been redeemed by Christ's sacrifice on the cross. It was the son of God that the Holy Spirit engendered in Mary's womb. Those who, shackled by the literal (the Letter), cannot see beyond it, fail to see the prophecies hidden in the text of the Old Testament, which are revealed by allegorical interpretation; cf. the allegorical interpretations of poem 5, stanza 1 and the refrain above.

*Poem 9*

The first two lines are particularly puzzling. Christ is often designated the 'true Solomon' but which temple of his 'is being dedicated today'? Since the chorus and the remaining stanzas focus on the staff (*baculus*), the pre-eminent symbol of the Feast of Fools, the opening lines are likely to have something to do with the activities of 1 January. The answer lies in Paul's observation: 'Surely you know that you are God's temple' (1 Cor. 3: 16). Each individual


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Christian is the Lord's temple. Christians, of course, shunned physical circumcision, for Paul wrote that it was of no value if the circumcised individual did not keep the Law. 'True circumcision', he maintained, 'is of the heart' (Rom. 2: 29). Ivo of Chartres elaborated on this: 'The true circumcision is not when we strip off the skin of our flesh with flint knives, but when we become reconciled to Christ and put aside "the old man", that is, the semblance of the old man, together with his actions.'[111] Here Ivo is adapting Eph. 4: 20–4. The opening lines of this poem can be seen to refer to this 'circumcision of the heart', when Christians resolve to become 'new men'. Compare the opening stanzas of poems 35 and 36, where the same thoughts about the



New Year and the opportunity for the 'circumcision of vice' and the 'beginning of virtue' are made more explicit. Since poem 9 was no doubt originally performed in the context of Feast of the Circumcision celebrations, the opening lines would not have posed the difficulties for their audience that they do for us. A brief summary follows.

Today Christians dedicate themselves anew. God has enriched humanity with three helpful gifts: faith, love, and hope. The Annunciation gave the promise of eternal life to the world thanks to Christ's sacrifice on the cross. The festival staff has a long history and considerable spiritual significance. It was the wood that Moses placed in the river Marah to soften the harshness of the Law and so prefiguring the cross. Elisha's servant, Gehazi, sent ahead with Elisha's staff, fails to revive the dead child of the Shunammite woman. Elisha, however, arriving later, succeeds. The widow of Zarephath in preparing a meal for Elisha gathers two sticks to make a fire. The two sticks symbolize the cross and the widow's action means that she was ready to acknowledge the new religion ('verbi dei susceptura poculum').

This poem is clearly influenced by two hymns that have been attributed to Adam of St-Victor. The opening recalls Adam's *Rex Salomon fecit templum*[112] and the last line of the refrain echoes the last line of Adam's first stanza: 'mediante gratia'. Adam's poem also refers (stanza 3) to faith, hope, and charity, which he sees symbolically in the temple's length, breadth, and height, and to the Trinity (stanza 4), which he sees in its lower, upper, and middle sections. From the hymn *Laudes Crucis attollamus* (sometimes attributed to Adam),[113] Walter has drawn on 'Non sunt noua sacramenta / nec recenter est inuenta' (stanza 6) in his second stanza, and on its accounts of Moses and the miracle at the river Marah (stanza 6) and the conversion of the widow of Zarephath (stanza 8) for his second and third stanzas.

*Poem 11*


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St Nicholas appears to have been a bishop of Myra in Lycia (3rd or 4th century BC). The *Legenda Aurea* relates that he rescued an impoverished man's three daughters, who were to be sold for prostitution, by tossing a bag of gold on each of three nights in



through the window of their house. Even as an infant he showed remarkable self-control, accepting milk from his mother's breast only once a day on Wednesdays and Fridays. When an assembly was called to appoint a new bishop of Myra, a leading bishop heard a voice telling him that the first man to come to the church in the morning whose name was Nicholas should be their choice. Nicholas was the first to appear and was duly appointed. On hearing that three men had been wrongfully imprisoned, Nicholas hurried to the prison and rescued them from the executioner's axe.

*Poem 12*

There are abundant signs of the iniquity that is to herald the coming of the Antichrist. These signs are particularly marked in the behaviour of ecclesiastics, whose overriding concern is making money. The 'lapides' of Lam. 4: 1 were interpreted as priests and the 'caput platearum' as *cupiditas*, which has scattered the stones, 'because it makes some who wear the habit and have professed religious life abandon the quiet of the monastery and become involved in the concerns of the world'.[114] 'Caput viarum' (starting place of measured routes) may well suggest Rome, to and from which all roads led.

The standard medieval view, clearly parodied in stanza 4, was that Martha symbolized the active Christian life of those concerned to do 'good works', while Mary represented the withdrawn, contemplative life (hence 'contemplatur nummos et pecuniam').[115] The last two lines in stanza 4 derive from God's denunciation (Isa. 1: 22) of the corruption of the leaders of Judah. Rupert of Deutz paraphrases: 'you have destroyed God's silver for the sake of the dross of the Pharisees'.[116] Walter apparently substituted 'aurum' for 'argentum' to meet rhythmical requirements.

Walter uses the familiar tag about Rome gnawing at hands (that feed it) to imply it is well named ('Ro(dens) ma(nus)') and cites a Roman solution to the vexed problem of squaring the circle. There are puns on 'solidantur', which suggests *solidus*, a valuable Roman coin, on 'quadratura', which suggests *quadrans*, a coin of little value, and on 'usura', which can mean both the use of something and the interest charged for such use. In this context the 'squaring of the



circle' can mean, on the one hand, the act of putting a round coin into a purse, and, on the other, the changing of valuable round coins into comparatively valueless square ones.


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The opening of Adam of St-Victor's famous sequence *Zima uetus expurgetur*, parodied in stanza 8, reflects 1 Cor. 5: 7, which Walter has just quoted. The rhyming triplet 'Impinguatur', 'dilatatur', and 'fermentatur', besides echoing Deut. 32: 15, also recalls Adam of St-Victor's *optimistic* words about the growth of the Church 'Botrus Cypri reflorescit / dilatatur et excrescit'.[117]

The arrangement of the stanzas varies in the manuscripts and the refrain is preserved only in ***Om***. These discrepancies may be at least partly attributable to different performances.

*Poem 14*

The 'old age' of the opening line does not refer to the physical age of the world but to its morality.[118] Christians have failed to discard the qualities of the 'old man' so as to take on those of the 'new man' as prescribed by Paul's teaching.[119] In lines 3–5 Walter appears to be thinking of an ongoing (or, more probably, imminent) Church council from which he does not hold out high hopes for real reform. The most likely candidate is the Council of Tours (May 1163). The earlier attempt at reform implicit in 'secundo' probably refers to the Second Lateran Council (1139), whose first two canons were directed against simony.[120] That simony and its adverse effects on his prospects for advancement are Walter's main concern is clear from the last two stanzas. The contrast between the pessimism of this poem and the enthusiasm of poem 24 (dated shortly after the Council of Tours) can be explained by the actions taken by the Council. Of the ten canons it issued, at least four were concerned with suppressing simony and similar abuses.[121] Even more important perhaps for Walter's prospects was the ninth canon, which declared all ordinations made by Victor IV, the antipope, null and void. This held out the prospect of a whole series of new bishops and supporting staff.

The addressee identified only as 'pater' (stanza 3) is presumably the pope, Alexander III, who lived in exile in France from 1162 to



1165 and presided over the Council of Tours. For similar imagery, compare 61, stanzas 4–5, where the ark is explicitly identified with the church and Noah with the pope. Gehazi of stanza 4 was the servant of Elisha. When Elisha refused payment for curing Naaman of leprosy, Gehazi ran after Naaman and took money in Elisha's name. For this he was afflicted with leprosy. He was often cited as an example of simony.[122] Jonah, ordered by God to denounce the people of Nineveh for their sinful ways, tried to escape by sailing away. In a storm he was thrown overboard by the ship's crew, spent three days in the body of a whale, and then was spewed out. Jonah did eventually denounce the people of Nineveh, who repented, and God spared them (Jonah 3: 4–10). Because Christ compares his three days


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in the tomb to Jonah's three days in the whale (Matt. 12: 40–2), Jonah was seen as a type of Christ.[123] Since Nineveh was thought to prefigure the Church, its inhabitants prefigured Christians in general.[124] Walter is therefore saying that contemporary Christians do not deserve redemption.

*Poem 16*

Apparently written shortly after the murder of Becket in Canterbury cathedral on 29 December 1170, this poem is a vigorous denunciation of Henry II.[125] The use of 'canonice' (1. 6) provocatively alludes to the major issue between the king and the archbishop, namely Henry's attempt to extend royal jurisdiction in England to areas that had previously been governed by canon law. As for Henry's actual epitaph (refrain), unsurprisingly, it makes no mention of the murder of Becket. It is modelled on a description of Alexander the Great's tomb, taken, ironically enough, from Walter's *Alexandreis*.[126]

At their meeting in Montmartre on 18 November 1169, reconciliation of the differences between Henry and Thomas seems to have



been achieved on all substantive issues when Thomas asked that their agreement be sealed with the customary 'kiss of peace'. Henry refused on the grounds that he had sworn publicly that he would never give Thomas the kiss of peace. But Thomas insisted and negotiations broke down.[127]

The reference to Phrygia (4. 4) is explained by the fact that in the Middle Ages, many European nations, including France and England, followed the Roman example and traced their origins back to Trojan refugees fleeing from their sacked city.[128]

**Poems 17–33**

Walter's love poems (17–23, 25, 28, 31, 32) are much more accessible to the modern reader than the Christmas hymns and some are particularly engaging. Their range is considerable: a hymn to Amor (25); a group of three poems chronicling the ups and downs of Walter's love for Niobe (21–3); his shifts in loyalty from Venus to Minerva (28) and back again (31); and two pastourelles (17 and 32). Perhaps most characteristic are the poems in which Walter notes that his feelings of desire are not in harmony with nature, for the pangs of love burn for him just as fiercely in winter (18), while in spring (20) he can only curse the day when his love-making made him a father, though he hopes that his daughter will look after him in his old age.


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Poems 21–3 are all linked by their focus on an affair between Walter (or at least the 'ego' of the poems) and a courtesan called Niobe. Clearly, Ovid's *Amores* is a major influence on these poems as on practically all medieval Latin love poetry, though Niobe seems closer to the grittier courtesans of Horace and Latin comedy than to Ovid's Corinna. Given the prevalence of prostitution in medieval life in general and of concubinage among the lower ranks of the clergy in the twelfth century, it is not unlikely that poets drew on real-life experiences as much as on pagan models for the women in their love poetry. Though Niobe is not named in poem 20, it seems reasonable to conclude from both its juxtaposition to the Niobe poems and its similarity to poem 21 in its blending of the philosophical with the erotic that the poet's unnamed love is indeed Niobe.

Besides the expected and pervasive influence of Ovid, there are also occasional reminiscences of Horace's *Odes.* This can be seen in the self-deprecating tone that appears from time to time and in the



specific echoes of *Odes*, ii. 13. 1 in poem 20 and of *Odes*, iii. 9. 4 in poems 21, 23, and 31.

*Poem 17*

Despite the complexities of the debate over the origin of the pastourelle, there can be little doubt that Walter's two examples (poems 17 and 32) provide an important link between the earlier Provençal examples (e.g. Marcabru's *L'autrier jost' una sebissa*) and what we tend to see as the standard versions of the genre in the work of the thirteenth-century French *trouvères*.[129] In these later pastourelles the narrator, a knight, describes his encounter with a shepherdess in the country. Poem 17 is particularly interesting because it seems to imply that this 'standard' form of the genre, well exemplified by poem 32, was sufficiently familiar by the time of Walter's productive years (1160–80) that he felt he could amuse his audience by parodying it, or perhaps by adapting it, no doubt with a tinge of irony, to a different locale and a different social setting. Instead of an encounter between two strangers in the countryside, we have an encounter between two people known to one another, apparently a courtesan and her client, the poet-narrator. The courtesan's urban dress suggests that the setting, though sylvan, is probably to be thought of as just outside the city walls. The last stanza draws on the analogy, commonly made at this time, between sexual and grammatical terms.[130] In grammar, the subject (e.g. 'Socrates') is subject to (i.e. under the control of) the predicate ('is wise/foolish'). Similarly, in sexual relationships the woman should be subject to the control of the man (the predicate).[131] The man in the pastourelle usually wins over the girl and that appears to be the case here. However, the woman's eagerness suggests that she also gets what she wants and has really been in control all along; hence *predicatus uincitur.* Walter is also playing with another meaning of *predicatus*, 'the man who has been


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proclaimed (victor)', and a well-known proverbial expression, 'victorem a victo superari saepe videmus' ('we often see the victor vanquished by the one he has defeated').[132]



*Poem 20*

This unusual poem starts off as a conventional love poem with the signs of spring. The second stanza sounds a different note with the intrusion of philosophical language in the reference to two contraries. The third stanza focuses on the poet himself and his sad love life but ends, surprisingly, by returning to philosophical language with the pun on 'relativum'. Besides denoting one human being as related to another ('relation' = 'relative'), 'relativum' can refer to the corresponding abstract concept ('relation' = 'relationship'). The status of this concept and its relevance for the understanding of the relationship between Father and Son in the Trinity was debated in the schools: was it a 'thing' or 'essence' in itself or merely an accident of something?[133]

Even more unusual than the play with philosophical language are the last two stanzas, which seem to give the poem a touch of realism. However, the preceding play with the language of the schools and the Horatian echo in the fourth stanza render the tone enigmatic.

*Poem 21*

The final stanza raises the question of Walter's relationship with Niobe if indeed a real person lies behind this name. By 'iugum Veneris' (5. 2) Walter seems to be thinking of the bond imposed by love (cf. poem 23, 5. 2) rather than some more formal tie such as concubinage, though in the later twelfth century concubinage was common among the clergy and, for the minor orders, marriage was not forbidden. When concubinage was permanent and involved 'marital affection', it could be considered a marriage.[134] Walter's exact position in the ecclesiastical hierarchy is unknown but marriage (or concubinage) with a prostitute, such as Niobe appears to be (see, in particular, poem 22), would almost certainly incur *infamia* and hurt his chances for advancement.

*Poem 22*

This is a verbal tour de force. Each stanza employs only two rhymes with ten instances of the first rhyme and six of the second. In addition, nowhere else does Walter make such flamboyant use of



alliteration and *annominatio* as in 'si manum miseri muniunt munera. / Si pretio preditus ueniam, / inuenio Veneris ueniam' (2. 10 and 3. 1–2) or 'non utar utero, / quia non lavero


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luteum laterem' (4. 9–10). This virtuosity has a humorous effect. That the tone is light, despite the opening stanza and the overall drift of the 'Niobe cycle', is confirmed by the jibe against the *curia* (3. 10) and the racy puns in the final stanza.

*Poem 23*

The first two stanzas recall the opening of poem 17 while stanza 5 closely follows poem 21. 4. We learn (stanza 5) that the relationship with Niobe is not going well.[135] It seems to be a stock situation in medieval Latin love songs: the poet objects to his lover seeing other clients, especially clients richer than himself. In this case the other lover is a knight. The final two stanzas exploit the ambiguity of *miles*, which in medieval Latin often means 'knight' (rather than 'soldier', the meaning it has in classical Latin, as in the quotation from Ovid) and *equitare*, which can refer to a mode of sexual intercourse as well as riding on horseback.[136] As Niobe's lover, the poet is, according to Ovid's famous dictum, a *miles.* It follows therefore that love for Niobe, so far from bringing him *infamia* (21, 5. 4), has ennobled him (23, 6. 2) by making him a knight. However, the *miles* in 6. 1 might equally well refer to a knight who is a rival for Niobe's affections. The final stanza further exploits the ambiguity of *miles* and *eques*.

*Poem 24*

The biblical phrase 'Vetus error abiit' ('The old error is passed away') from Isa. 26: 3 was interpreted by Christians as prophesying that the coming of Christ would expose the error of the old religion (Judaism). Elsewhere Walter associates these words with Isa. 25: 4–5: 'Deus ipse ueniet, et saluabit nos. Tunc aperientur oculi caecorum, et aures surdorum patebunt.'[137] Here the banishment of *error* is associated



with the month of May and the need to respect roses, which is somehow linked with *largitas*. Taken together these themes strongly suggest a date for poem 24 shortly after the Council of Tours in May 1163. Pope Alexander III assembled the council to validate his claim to be the true pope, to pass a series of reforms, and to denounce the antipope Victor IV (supported by the German emperor). Confirmation of this dating is suggested by the pope's presentation of the golden rose to Louis VII in March 1163 and by the explicit quotation of lines 3. 5–6 in poem 52 (dated to the spring of 1164).[138] The 'error' then in the opening line in the context of the Council of Tours refers to the recognition of Victor as pope. The council made clear the strong support of the kings and ecclesiastical hierarchy of both England and France for Alexander and encouraged the belief that the schism might soon be over. The nullification of the antipope's appointments must have sparked hopes of new job opportunities throughout Western Christendom.[139] It would have been natural for Walter to share these hopes—


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though they proved illusory, for the schism lasted for another fourteen years—and indeed this poem seems to brim with ebullient optimism.

*Poem 25*

A spring opening leads into a hymn to Love, in which the poet first reflects on various aspects of Amor and then addresses the god, focusing on his contradictory qualities, and concludes (stanza 8) that the subject matter is inexhaustible. From the careful structure and from the self-imposed restriction to use only two rhymes (-ies and - ium) throughout, it would appear that this was the end of the poem as originally conceived. The manuscript, however, offers two more stanzas devoted to *exempla* that illustrate the extremes of violence and folly to which Love can drive mortals. These additional stanzas introduce new rhymes (-uit and -ine) and deprive the poem of its natural conclusion (stanza 8). Strecker thought these additional stanzas to be unquestionably also by Walter but doubts remain.

Both here at 7. 3, by linking *series* with 'ludus', and at 52, 12. 3, by juxtaposing it with 'iocose', Walter treats *series*, perhaps humorously, as if it meant 'serious matter'—a meaning so far unattested in dictionaries—rather than 'series'. In this poem, though hardly in



52, Walter could be playing on both meanings, for Love's game frequently turns serial, but it is the meaning 'serious matter' that the context here requires, as the following line makes clear.

Strecker draws attention to the fact that 'materies' is used to form the rhyme in both stanzas 4 and 8. It is true that Walter usually avoids this phenomenon unless the two uses are significantly different, as in 55, stanza 2, where 'iudicem' (noun) rhymes with 'iudicem' (verb). Here the difference between 'materies' (nom. sing.) and 'materies' (acc. pl.) seems less striking. However, 'materies' as a plural form is extraordinarily rare and possibly unparalleled in Latin literature. This makes its use here exotic and even perverse and so perhaps acceptable as a repeated rhyme.

The use of the Horatian tag (stanza 2) links this poem to William of Blois's *Alda* (dated 1167–70), where the same tag is used at line 481 in a similarly erotic context. It seems likely that one author provided inspiration for the other but since we cannot date Walter's poem, we cannot be certain which is the earlier.

*Poem 26*

This is clearly not a love poem. It celebrates the activities of the Feast of Fools (see §V above), as Dronke has suggested,[140] though this fact has been partially obscured by a textual corruption in the opening line.[141] Though this poem cannot be dated more precisely


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than 1160–80, it provides good early evidence for the expectation in northern France of the kind of rowdy behaviour at the post-Christmas festivals that Innocent III deplores, including, specifically, feigned madness and obscene gestures.[142] The phrase 'nec deferas persone' (3. 6) is doubly ambiguous, for besides 'don't defer to any personage' it can mean 'don't spare the mask'. Admittedly, the meaning 'mask' virtually died out in ordinary medieval Latin before the rapid advance of the meaning 'person'. However, Walter was so steeped in Classical Latin that it would certainly have that meaning for him. Also, Eudes de Sully, bishop of Paris, in his orders to control the unruliness of the Feast of Fools, forbids the use of *personae*, which seem clearly to be masks (more commonly called *laruae* by this time).[143]



*Poem 27*

One of Walter's best-known satires, this poem is found in about a dozen manuscripts, in which the number and order of the stanzas varies considerably, though the text of each stanza remains remarkably consistent. Stanzas 2 and 8, found only in ***Cb*** and ***Ca***, should be regarded with some suspicion. Stanza 2 seems intrusive, interrupting the natural flow of stanzas 1, 3, 4. Stanza 8 seems rather anti-climactic after the brilliance of stanza 7 and awkwardly introduces the topic of gluttony to a poem otherwise concerned only with the twin vices (5. 5–6) of avarice and lust. On the other hand, it does having a summing-up quality to it that stanza 7 lacks and it can be argued that the *conuiuia* are to be seen as part of the would-be bishop's plan to advance himself and therefore connected with his *auaritia*.

*Poem 28*

This poem begins and ends with two standard topoi of medieval Latin love poetry: the spring opening and the conflicting demands of Venus and Minerva. Stanza 3 is devoted to the story of Callisto. This exemplum is prepared for by the picture of Venus concocting mischief at the end of stanza 2. The precise meaning of *stipulari* (2. 7), however, is unclear. Here it seems to mean simply 'bind'. It is usually a legal word used in contracts 'to exact a solemn promise or guarantee in response to a formal question' (*OLD*). However, the word is etymologically connected to *stipula*, a stem or stalk, and it is surely significant that Venus is playing with 'frondibus et floribus' (2. 4). Perhaps we are to think of Venus playing some game similar to 'He loves me, he loves me not', which will determine the liaisons of certain gods and mortals; alternatively, she could be making a wreath. The intrusion of legal language into the description of Venus' play is certainly incongruous and probably humorous.[144]

The story of Callisto (Ovid, *Met.*, ii. 409–530) is here told allusively with no regard for the sequence of events. Callisto,[145] a follower of Diana, was raped by Jupiter. Eventually, her pregnancy


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showed and Diana dismissed her from her company. She bore a son, Arcas. Juno turned her rival into a bear but when Arcas, now a youth, was about to shoot his mother unawares, Jupiter turned them both into constellations (the Great Bear and Boötes). Juno complained to Tethys (*Met*., ii. 512–13) that her place as queen of heaven had been usurped by Callisto, who now occupied the place of honour close to the North Star.

Even if Walter's lines were rearranged into their correct chronological sequence (1, 2, 6, 7, 4, 5, 3) they would still hardly tell a comprehensible story.[146] This implies that the story was sufficiently familiar to his audience that Walter could refer to it in this impressionistic manner. One reason for the distorted narrative appears to have been a desire to end the stanza with 'concubina', which would have had considerable resonance with his largely clerical audience. Stephen of Tournai held that 'clerics in minor orders who had not taken vows of celibacy may keep concubines'.[147] Clerical concubinage was still widespread in the late twelfth century despite general disapproval and even prohibition by church authorities. Arnulf, bishop of Lisieux (1141–81), reports banishing 'no less than seventeen concubines from the chambers of his cathedral canons in a single day'.[148] In the next stanza the rhymes in '-erva' lead up to the similarly climactic 'enerva', which, besides meaning 'weaken', also means 'castrate', no doubt evoking for many the fate of Abelard.[149] The final stanza also ends with a double entendre. The green crown that a young follower of Pallas might be expected to hope for is the wreath (or rather the glory that the wreath symbolizes) so often celebrated by the pagan poets.[150] However, by rhyming the final word 'corone' with 'in agone' Walter evokes the words of St Paul: 'omnis autem qui in agone contendit, ab omnibus se abstinet, et illi quidem ut corruptibilem coronam accipiant, nos autem incorruptam' (1 Cor. 9: 25) and probably also 'percipietis immarcescibilem gloriae coronam' (1 Pet. 5: 4).[151] When we recall that the end of the first stanza extols the creative power of nature while parodying hymnic language,



it is clear that the end of each stanza is calculated to have resonance for both the pagan and contemporary Christian worlds and that the tension between the two creates a kind of punch line. This tension is characteristic of much of Walter's poetry and is most cogently exemplified by his use of the goliardic stanza *cum auctoritate*.

*Poem 30*

This is an occasional poem but the occasion that it celebrates has usually been misrepresented as the coronation of Philip Augustus on 1 November 1179.[152] Though reference is made to Philip's coronation in the poem, it is viewed as a future event. The


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poem's actual occasion is the transfer of Louis VII's brother-in-law, William of the White Hands, from the archdiocese of Sens to the archdiocese of Reims. Since Henry of France, the king's brother, who had been the previous archbishop of Reims (1161–75), died in late 1175 and William was consecrated as archbishop of Reims in 1176, the poem should be dated to 1176, not 1179. Although by the early thirteenth century Reims was the undisputed choice for the coronation of Capetian kings, this was not true in the twelfth. Louis VII himself was crowned in Orleans by the archbishop of Sens. By moving his brother-in-law from Sens to Reims in 1176 Louis was clearly signalling that his own son would be crowned there. In the spring of 1179 Alexander III confirmed the traditional right of the archbishop of Reims to crown the king of France.The first stanza emphasizes the peace that the new archbishop will bring. His predecessor had had a turbulent career. The citizens of Reims resented Archbishop Henry's rule and revolted in 1166–7. He quarrelled with his chapter, and disputes with the minor nobility and the count of Champagne led to armed conflict and bloodshed.[153] The two swords mentioned at 1. 3 refer to the two swords that the disciples show Jesus at Luke 22: 38. These were interpreted from the time of Ambrose onwards to symbolize temporal and spiritual power. This biblical passage and its interpretation were central to the power struggles between the papacy and secular authorities during the Gregorian reform movement.[154] Two swords are appropriate here because the archbishop of Reims was not only the leading ecclesiastic



in France, endowed with the authority to consecrate kings, but also a significant temporal power with extensive land holdings in and around Reims itself. It was in recognition of this temporal power that Louis VII made the archbishop of Reims a duke and the leading figure in the newly created college of the twelve Peers of France.[155] So Peter (1. 3) refers not to the pope, as Strecker suggests, but to the pope's deputy in Reims, the archbishop.

The second stanza elaborates a line from the hymn *Sanctorum meritis* to sing the praises of the new archbishop. The praise continues in the third stanza, where the spread of William's benevolence is compared to the flooding waters of a river. The fourth stanza focuses on the important implication of this move: Philip will be crowned by his uncle at Reims. The fifth stanza, which portrays the wretched plight of Sens now that it has lost the leadership of its archbishop, is perhaps best viewed as the bantering exaggeration common in circumstances when one city is in a position to crow over its rival. Fierce intercity sporting rivalries provide modern parallels.

*Poem 32*

This poem fills a gap in our knowledge of the development of the pastourelle between the early examples in the troubadour poet Marcabru and those of the later trouvères.[156]


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It exhibits many of the characteristics of the later, classic French pastourelle. It also demonstrates very clearly Walter's use of contemporary vernacular poets as models. Given his indebtedness here to Marcabru's '*L'autrier jost' una sebissa*, it is natural to assume that he is also drawing on other contemporary vernacular poems (now lost) for other features, notably for the topos of the angry mother ready to beat the young shepherdess.

As Vincent Moleta has pointed out, Walter has followed Marcabru in organizing the first stanza around the shepherdess.[157] The focus is on the heavens in the opening lines, on the tree and its shadow at the end, and on the shepherdess at the centre.[158] Walter has also followed Marcabru in making the centre line(s) rhyme with the last line, using



the rhyme -ula in every stanza.[159] Marcabru, however, went a step further, placing the peasant girl (*villana*) as the rhyme word at the centre of every stanza. It would appear that Walter tried to emulate Marcabru in this, using 'virguncula', 'puellula', and 'parvula' all in the central position in stanzas 1, 3, and 4 respectively, but found the device too constraining.

Moleta's observations on the varying tone of the exchanges between the knight and shepherdess are sensitive and helpful.[160] Here I would underline the extraordinary nature of the latter's 'vide Tytana' (5. 2). The use of *Tytan/ Titan* as a synonym for 'sol' is, of course, a mark of elevated style. Ovid so uses it eleven times but only in the nominative singular. *Alexandreis* has it five times, again only in the nominative. Here, where it is uttered by a down-to-earth young shepherdess *and* in the exotic Greek accusative form, the effect is particularly striking. Perhaps we should see it as an attempt to put the shepherdess on the same level as the knight by capping his learned Greek genitive ('Dyones').[161] That this is the intent is suggested by her use (only here) of the second person singular form.[162] Such scholarly knowledge on the part of a shepherdess is, of course, unrealistic. But social realism is not Walter's concern. Typically in these encounters, the shepherdess is able to give as good as she gets. Also, there is considerable humour in the contrast between the elevation of 'vide Tytana' and the bathos of her concerns in the following lines. Sexual double entendres play an important role in the pastourelle and it is easy to see one in the knight's reference to his 'munuscula' (6. 7).[163] After the shepherdess gives her reply, osten-



sibly rejecting the knight's advances (stanza 7), coupling follows with remarkable swiftness and, the knight assures us, the sex was consensual. The bridge to this surprising denouement is provided by the knight's admiring comment on her spirited reply: 'quam mire simulantem'. The question arises 'How did the knight know that she was pretending?' Of course, one could say that since the knight is the narrator, this is just his own justification for


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what was in reality a rape. Again, one could argue that he perceived by her body language that she was just being coy. But both of these explanations exclude the reader. Since the knight was persuaded that she did not mean what her words appeared to say, the reader should also be able to reach the same conclusion; so we are invited to examine the shepherdess's reply closely to see if it has a possible subtext that could give the lie to the surface meaning. 'I'll not break the gate of my chastity' could be interpreted as an admission that she was no longer a virgin. *Fistula* was used to refer to a multitude of pipe-shaped items and in a sexually charged situation such as we have here, it is not hard to see a reference to the penis.[164] Also, since 'decipere' can mean 'disappoint' as well as 'deceive', 'Non . . . decipiet' could mean 'Your *fistula* will not disappoint me', while 'nec . . . fabula', besides meaning 'there will be no gossip about us' (implying a refusal) could just as easily mean 'we won't say a word about it'. So reading between the lines, the knight could find in the shepherdess's reply the encouragement he was looking for.

*Poem 33*

This Christmas hymn, which closes the St-Omer collection, is filled with the usual allegorical language. It is remarkable primarily for the first half of stanza 3. In an extended use of this language Walter seems to be describing the role of the sun, clouds, and the earth in the production of food, whereas allegorically the words refer to the birth of Christ and its consequences for the world.

## Poems 34–67

These poems are arranged as far as possible in chronological order; see §II, Arrangement of the Poems.



*Poem 34*

This is an unusual poem. At first it appears to be a straightforward Christmas hymn as it starts with the infant Christ in the manger. However, it is written in a variant of the goliardic stanza.[165] Elsewhere Walter uses goliardic rhythms only in moral-satirical poems, not in religious hymns; the rhythm may perhaps have cued the audience that this poem is not so straightforward as it seems. In describing the Christ child, Walter has combined elements from Paul's famous descriptions (Heb. 2: 7 and 9) of man '(Minuisti eum paulo minus ab angelis') and Christ incarnate 'modico quam angeli minoratus'.[166] Here, however, the context suggests that it is not the angels, but the animals, with whom the Christ child is compared. Accordingly, the audience, recognizing the line as a recasting of the familiar phrases in Hebrews 2, could have understood it to imply that the child was not merely 'a little dwarfed' by the animals but also even 'a little lower (in status)' than them.


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In the second stanza Walter plays humorously with the familiar identification of Christ with the cornerstone, suggesting that in this capacity the infant Christ ameliorated the draughty realities of his birthplace. The picture is inherently amusing but Walter has added an irreverent touch. By choosing 'expellit' (he drove out) to go with 'uentum' rather than the more natural 'repellit' (he kept out) he has suggested the meaning 'broke wind'.[167] The last two stanzas, however, are a vivid and moving tribute to Christ's sacrifice on the cross to win eternal life for mankind. By combining mischievous frivolity with traditional piety, this poem would perhaps have been suitable for performance at one of the post-Christmas festivals.

*Poems 35 and 36*

Both these poems, like poem 9, were written for performance at the Feast of the Circumcision. On the connection made between circumcision and the elimination of vice see introductory notes to poem 9.

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*Poem 37*

The attack on the vices of the higher clergy that constitutes the bulk of this poem and the echo (stanza 2) of the opening of the introit for the Sunday within the octave of Christmas might suggest a performance at one of the lively festivals at that period. However, the pervasive gloom suggests otherwise. With the general lawlessness described in the second stanza, compare poem 14, stanza 2 and much of poem 44.

*Poems 38 and 39*

Strecker found *Omni pene curie* (39) in only the two closely associated Cambridge manuscripts ***C*** and ***Cu***, in both of which it follows *Captiuata largitas* (38) without a break and with no indication that a new poem begins; so, somewhat tentatively, he printed the two poems as one. He answered the obvious objection that *Omni pene curie* is in a different metre from *Captiuata largitas* by correctly pointing out that Walter is not averse to changing his metre within a given poem, citing 43, stanzas 3–5, where the basic metre changes from 7pp + 6p to 2 × 7pp, as here. Since then, *Omni pene curie* has been found in five other manuscripts, in none of which is it associated with *Captiuata largitas.* It seems best therefore to regard them as two poems.


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The subject matter of *Omni pene curie* is the corruption of the system of justice. The poor in particular are seen as the principal victims. The wealthy can and do buy their way out of trouble with the law. From the reference to *angarii* (bailiffs) and the general lack of reference to church officials, it seems clear that Walter is talking about the secular courts.

*Captiuata largitas* is very similar in theme to *Ecce torpet probitas* (29), but the latter poem shows a lighter and surer touch. *Captiuata largitas* is probably an early piece.[168] Walter's apparent borrowing from Alan of Lille (in the refrain) is interesting and may suggest that Alan's *De Planctu Naturae* was published closer to 1160 than 1170. Walter laments the prevalence of *auaritia* and the general lack of *largitas*, observing that the bishops' purse-strings are kept tightly drawn. In the closing stanza, however, he seems to exploit the twin meanings of *bursa* ('purse' and 'scrotum').[169] The respectable meaning of the last line is



'the communal purse is dispensed to everyone communally'. This, however, does not fulfil the implied promise to single out an *individual* ('unus'), whose *bursa* receives different treatment. So a considerably less respectable (though grammatically more correct) interpretation inevitably suggests itself: 'the *bursa* of the common (male) prostitute is disbursed to all'.[170]

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**Poems 40–46**

These poems have been grouped together because they are written in goliardic stanzas and cannot be dated. Poems 44–6 are in goliardic stanzas *cum auctoritate*.

*Poem 40*

With its attacks on the clergy this poem may seem similar to those generally believed to have been delivered at the Feast of Fools. There are significant differences, however. It is written in stanzas of four goliardic lines rather than the three goliardic lines and *auctoritas* that characterize the goliardic poems of the Feast of Fools. Also, the serious tone here does not seem mixed with the irreverence and humour that we find in satires associated with the Feast of Fools. Poem 40 is therefore more similar to poem 60. The allusions in both poems are overwhelmingly to biblical (or hagiographical) sources rather than to pagan authors.[171] The main body comprises ten stanzas beginning with 'Ve', clearly modelled on Matt. 23: 13–16. These stanzas are followed by six beginning with 'Christus'.[172] The favourable remarks about



monastic ideals, which are then contrasted with the excesses of the secular clergy, perhaps suggest that this poem was written for performance before a monastic audience.

Instead of identifying himself as a satirist in the opening stanza with an allusion to Juvenal, as in *Stulti cum prudentibus* (43), Walter does so by likening himself to Balaam's ass, which was beaten for trying to stop Balaam from acting against God's wishes; she finally spoke to Balaam rebuking him (Num. 22: 7–25). Stanza 16 marks the transition between the 'Ve' stanzas and those beginning with 'Christus'. The deceivers of 16. 4. 4 ('seductores isti') are identified collectively with the Antichrist at 2 John 1: 7 and with heretics by Abelard, *Liber adversus haereses*, cap. 7 (*PL* clxxviii. 1829).

*Poem 41*


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The closing stanza makes clear that this poem was composed for delivery at the Feast of the *baculus*, probably 1 January. Walter laments the continuing sinfulness of mankind (stanzas 1–7). Surprisingly, however, it is not the higher echelons of the church that constitute the focus of his criticism here but rather the secular elite—those that flatter and bribe their way into high office (8), hypocrites (9), lawyers (10), and magnates (11–12).[173] Their sins, however, are more venial than *auaritia*. The climactic denunciation is of avarice and the poem concludes with a rejection of *auari* from the feast. The reference to Otto in stanza 16 is a little surprising but is presumably to Otto I, 'the Great' (912–73), the first Holy Roman Emperor. It suggests that this poem, like *Multiformis hominum* (59), was performed at a venue within the Empire. Perhaps the tradition at this venue was less tolerant of attacks on the clergy at their Feast of Fools.

*Poem 42*

The subject matter is the importance of money for living a full life and the futility of study if it does not bring significant financial rewards. Though Schmidt considers this poem composed for performance at the Feast of Fools,[174] it lacks any explicit reference to that feast and the subject matter, ostensibly at least, is very different from what we find in other poems more definitively associated with it, where the pursuit of money is generally viewed as the besetting sin of



the higher ranks of the clergy and *auaritia* is roundly condemned. Of course, it is possible that this poem is to be seen as ironical. The best indication of this is stanza 6, where money is depicted as playing a crucial role in the election of bishops. On the other hand, the chief focus of the poem is on the pointlessness of achieving academic excellence if it does not lead to a comfortable career. From what we know of Walter's life it is clear that, despite his impressive talents, finding a secure and reasonably remunerated position proved for the most part elusive. This makes it difficult to view the poem as primarily ironic. Presumably, Walter's contemporaries would have been equally puzzled. In fact, it would have been natural for the better-educated members of the audience to view the poem as an awkward and somewhat bitter plea for a comfortable job.[175] Walter ends the poem on a more moderate note: strive for the golden mean. The uncertainty of tone, however, makes this poem, despite its flashes of brilliance, one of Walter's less successful satires. Spanke sees the bulk of the poem as a witty response to attacks made on Walter by his enemies in Count Henry's court for his misuse of poetry by trying to earn money out of it, but this is to intrude an anachronistically romantic view of poetry into a medieval setting.[176] More probably, it may reflect Walter's decision to abandon his hopes for a career in Henry's court and go to Bologna to study law instead.[177] In short, while there is no need to understand the literal interpretation of this satire as an accurate indication of Walter's own values, it may well


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suggest disappointment that his years of study have not led to secure and well-remunerated employment.

The first three *auctoritates* are from the opening poems of the three great Latin satirists, Juvenal, Persius, and Horace,[178] whom Walter clearly regarded as his models. The fourth is from Ovid, who was no satirist but whose lines often have a satirical edge and were cited by Walter more often than those of any other ancient poet. The



programmatic nature of the opening and the focus on the value of higher education suggest that this might be one of the earliest of Walter's poems of the goliardic stanza *cum auctoritate* type.

*Poem 43*

Stanza 3 shows this poem was intended for delivery at a *Festum baculi.* Stanzas 5–7 describe the sins of the clergy with the primary focus on *auaritia* and simony, though lust and gluttony are also briefly mentioned (stanza 11). Stanzas 17–23 deal with avarice in the secular world and the decline in the financial remuneration for teachers. An attack on women (stanzas 24–5) is followed by a condemnation of the increasing prevalence of homosexuality (26–7). The poem concludes with the observations that wealth and generosity do not mix and that if you want to be admired, then 'be a thief or a traitor' and eschew virtue.

*Poem 44*

Contemplating man's sinfulness, Walter sets out to examine varying pursuits that dominate men's lives.[179] He considers the pursuit of money (stanzas 2–13) and glory (14–19) at some length but then more cursorily deals with other pleasures: theatrical performances, gluttony, drinking. These indulgences tend to lead to sexual promiscuity among the young and, more reprehensibly, among the clergy. The poem ends (27–32) with a denunciation of avarice as it manifests itself in the clergy in the form of simony. Of particular interest is the negative characterization of Elisha and his employment of Gehazi in stanza 31 and for the light this throws on Walter's attitude to Alexander III at 64, stanza 29 below.

*Poem 45*

Walter's focus here is on virtue, a path he considers often adopted by the ancients, though largely untried by his contemporaries, who seem set on going down to Avernus. They are particularly prone to the sins of the flesh, drink, and sex, but fraud and the pursuit of glory find followers too. Earth's pleasures are transitory. Death is eternal and comes to us all.


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The only solution is to pursue virtue, as Walter himself hopes to be able to do. To those who complain that he does not practise what he preaches, he answers with Apollo's words: 'The



skills that benefit everyone else do not benefit their owner.' Good advice is not to be despised, no matter from what source it comes. The poem concludes with the warning that death may come at any moment and everyone should try to avoid sinfulness.

*Poem 46*

After four stanzas, in which Walter bemoans the schism, saying in essence 'A plague on both your houses!', the bulk of this poem is devoted to a lament by a personified Ecclesia about how she is being ravaged by the warring parties. In view of the ambivalent attitude expressed towards both popes (Alexander III and Victor IV), this poem must be earlier than the Council of Tours (May 1163). As suggested above, the poem was probably delivered at Troyes before Henry the Liberal in 1162.[180] The reference in stanza 17 to Rome's loss of its king and patron appears to refer to Alexander's absence from Rome, which began in late June 1161 and did not end until November 1165, most of the intervening time being spent in exile in France. The surprising reference to the Ruthénois (people of Rodez) in stanza 18 has puzzled commentators but consideration of the contemporary situation in southern France suggests that this reference also supports dating the poem to 1162.

The rivalry between Toulouse and Barcelona for dominance in southern France reached a peak in 1162. Near the end of 1161 Raymond Berenger IV, count of Barcelona 1131–62, and his nephew, the count of Provence (also called Raymond Berenger), signed a treaty with Frederick Barbarossa to the effect that they would recognize Victor IV as the legitimate pope and that in return Frederick would withdraw his support from the House of Les Baux (between Avignon and Arles), which controlled seventy-nine towns in the region. This posed a major threat to Toulouse, the French crown, and Alexander III, as it threatened to create a great swathe of territory from Barcelona to the French Alps that would be aligned with Frederick, Barcelona, and Victor IV, for the rulers of Narbonne, Béziers, Carcassonne, Montpellier, and Rodez at this time were allied with the count of Barcelona against Raymond V of Toulouse.[181] In February 1162 Raymond IV (of Barcelona) began



an ultimately successful siege of Les Baux. He was accompanied by most of his allies. The count of Rodez, however, declined to participate, for although hostile to the count of Toulouse, he, like the bishop of Rodez, was anxious not to upset his amicable relations with Louis.[182] Raymond Berenger IV died in August 1162, shortly after his success at Les Baux. He is probably to be identified with the enemy, whose removal encourages Ecclesia in the


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final stanza. In short, the political circumstances seem to point to a date in 1162 for the poem.

*Poem 47*

This poem is an attack on Manasses, bishop of Orleans 1146–85. Though he is never so named, the final stanza, in which he is called 'Forgetful' (the meaning of the name Manasses), could leave little doubt in the minds of the presumably well-educated audience, as he was the only bishop in France called Manasses in 1162, when the poem seems to have been written and performed.[183] Though Walter himself may or may not have had his own grounds for animosity towards Manasses, it is clear that by the autumn of 1162, his patron, Henry the Liberal, did.

The contested papal election of 1159 resulted in two claimants to be the legitimate pope, Victor IV, supported by Frederick Barbarossa, and Alexander III, who was naturally eager to gain the support of the two other leading monarchs, Louis VII of France and Henry II of England. As late as 1162, however, neither Louis nor Henry had made a clear-cut decision for Alexander III, who had been forced to leave Italy and was now in exile in France, protected by the French king. Louis instructed Bishop Manasses to negotiate with Frederick on the issue with the assistance of Henry the Liberal, who, like Manasses, was inclined to support Victor IV. Louis's letter to Henry appointing him to this mission, which received its final redaction from Manasses, gave Henry full powers to negotiate on Louis's behalf and promised to ratify whatever arrangements he made.[184]

Henry the Liberal and Frederick reached an agreement, whereby Louis and the emperor were to meet at St Jean-de-Losne on 22 September with the two claimants for the papacy and a large retinue



of bishops and nobles. A committee was to be established to decide there and then which of the claimants was to be made pope. Alexander, however, holding that he had been duly elected pope, refused to attend. Louis arrived at the bridge at St-Jean-de-Losne in the morning of the 22nd. Finding Frederick's chancellor there, Rainald of Dassel, archbishop of Cologne, but not Frederick himself, Louis pointed out that the German emperor had failed to comply with the terms of the agreement and rode off. Though Frederick arrived at St-Jean-de-Losne later that day, no meeting took place to resolve the issue of the contested papacy.[185]

The clause in Louis's letter to Henry giving him full powers to act on the king's behalf and the promise that Louis would abide by whatever arrangement Henry reached with Frederick seem to have been added by Manasses without the king's knowledge or permission.[186]


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Henry, convinced that he could bring about the meeting on Frederick's terms, had sworn an oath that if he failed to do so, he would become Frederick's prisoner and would hold his lands as a vassal of Frederick rather than of Louis.[187] Since the meeting had failed to take place, Henry became Frederick's prisoner and was released only after acknowledging that he was Frederick's liegeman for nine of his castles.[188] It is not hard to see how this humiliation could have soured Henry's relations with Manasses and prompted Walter to write this poem.[189]

The first stanza is confusing because of the irony that begins with the opening words. *Grex*, properly used of a group of animals, was also applied to a group of people, often, though not always, disparagingly. In a Christian context it referred to the community of Christians under the charge of a priest or bishop. 'De grege pontificum' is therefore both paradoxical and pejorative in that it



brings the bishops down to the level of their flocks. *Grex* was also especially used of a troupe of actors and, given their status in ancient and medieval society, disparaging overtones would seldom, if ever, be absent from this usage.[190] It is clear from the opening of the second stanza that Walter is making this unflattering equation of bishops with actors. The point therefore of 'uix est preter unicum / dignitate dignus' (1. 2–3) is that while there are a number of bishops that can be regarded as actors there is only one who *really* deserves that designation.

Stanza 16 is also rather difficult. Clearly the bishop's zealous behaviour at the domestic table is contrasted with his negligence at the Lord's table, that is, when he is officiating at mass. The last two lines translate: 'He does not perceive how his depraved behaviour is sacrificing a Holy Innocent.' In other words, instead of performing mass (the sacrifice of the body of Christ) his depravity has turned him into a Herod murdering a Holy Innocent. The unusual, non-biblical phrase 'sacrum innocentem' must refer to Christ; but it does so in terms that identify him with the Holy Innocents, thereby neatly turning the bishop into Herod.

### Poems 48–50

These three poems occur together in this order in *Db* and seem to be closely connected. *Baculare sacramentum* (poem 48) celebrates the *baculus* and must have been composed for a Feast of Fools. *Nostri moris* (poem 49) was performed in Troyes (19. 1) in the presence of Henry the Liberal, Count of Champagne (5. 1), on the occasion of a festival (1. 2), probably in the period 1161–4.[191] In attendance were ordinary people (1. 2) and the clergy of Troyes (19. 1–3). The promise (3. 1–6) to include some words in the vernacular is fulfilled not in


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*Nostri moris* itself but in *A la feste* (poem 50), which immediately follows in *Db* and with which it seems to be closely connected.[192] Since *A la feste* was performed at a Feast of Fools (cf. the references to *baculifer* in stanzas 4 and 5), this will be the festival referred to in *Nostri*



*moris*. Given that the play with *probus* and *reprobus* and related nouns and verbs (poem 48, 22. 1–2) links *Baculare sacramentum* with *A la feste* (1. 3), it is tempting to infer that all three poems were performed at the same festival. The quotation (49, 14. 6) from the Introit for the Feast of St Stephen (26 December) suggests that this may have been the occasion.[193] Also, since Walter seems to have left Troyes in 1163 or early in 1164 to study law in Bologna (with a stopover in Besançon), it is probable that when he speaks of the declining value of a literary education, he is not just mouthing a contemporary cliché but speaking from personal experience.[194]

All three poems are also linked by the hostility expressed towards the *leccatores* (*lechers* in poem 50). It would be interesting to know exactly who these people were. Unfortunately, as with many terms of abuse, the meaning of *leccator* seems to have been rather imprecise: 'glutton, lecher, wanton person' (*DMLBS*, *s.v.*). Their behaviour, as described in poem 48, amounts to an extreme case of bad table manners. They could be local louts getting drunk and boisterous on a festive occasion. In poem 49 Walter again describes them as irritating (18. 1–3) but also, more specifically, attributes homosexual behaviour (18. 4) to them and, turning to the clerics of Troyes, asks them to get rid of them. Clearly, then the *leccatores* are not just local louts. Probably, they are the perceived rivals for the patron's largesse, whether these are rival poets, as Spanke suggests, or flatterers at the count's court.[195]

*Poem 48*

In this poem Walter focuses on biblical passages in which the *baculus* figures prominently and, drawing on their allegorical interpretations, points out the significance of the *baculus* for the Feast of Fools. The opening lines are taken from poem 9, stanza 2.

When Moses, urged by an angel, extends his staff ('uirga') over the Red Sea, the Israelites are able to walk across while the parted waters tower up on either side like a wall ('quasi murus'). The allegorical interpretation Walter gives in stanza 6 to the harshness and subsequent sweetness of the River Marah's waters has caused difficulties



because elsewhere he seems to follow the standard interpretation that the harsh water symbolizes the Law, the stick Christ's cross, and the sweet water the promise of eternal life


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brought about by Christ's sacrifice.[196] However, Walter's goal here is not biblical exegesis but rather to find scriptural precedent for different aspects of the Feast of Fools festivities, among which praise for a patron's *largitas*, often accompanied with disparagement of the corresponding vice of *auaritia*, held a prominent place. So Walter sees *largitas* in the sweet water (symbolizing Christ's sacrifice) and *auaritia* in the harsh water (symbolizing the Law).

When the Israelites complained in the desert, God sent snakes to punish them and many Israelites died. When they repented, Moses set up a bronze snake on a stake, as God had instructed, so that those who had been bitten could look on it and be healed (Num. 21: 5–9). Theologians, taking their cue from John 3: 14, interpreted this incident as prefiguring the crucifixion and resurrection of Christ.

Rebecca, learning that Esau had threatened to kill Jacob, urged Jacob to go and live with her brother Laban in Harran until she sent for him (Gen. 27: 41–5). Later (Gen. 32: 10) Jacob said that he crossed the Jordan with only his staff in his hand ('in baculo').

The son of a Shunammite woman died and could not be resuscitated by Elisha's staff when wielded by his assistant Gehazi. Isidore interprets the staff as Moses, Elisha as Christ, Gehazi as the Law, and the dead boy as the sinning human race.[197] The Law and Moses could not by themselves save humankind; the personal intervention of Christ was needed. Whereas Isidore characterizes human sinfulness generically ('in peccatis'), Walter, to suit his theme, focuses on *auaritia*.

Judah promised Tamar, who was posing as a prostitute, a kid-goat in return for sexual favours. She asked for the staff and bracelet to ensure that he would keep his promise. Tamar was revered by Christians as the ancestor of the line of kings from which Christ himself was descended and was variously interpreted as prefiguring the church and the Virgin Mary.[198] She does not m, however, to have been equated with *probitas*. The equation is presumably Walter's own to prepare for the conclusion that the sponsor who would be



generous should seek public prominence and not wallow in obscurity. To reach this conclusion Walter parodies the process of figural interpretation and suggests that his sponsor (the count) should imitate the open-air sex of Judah and Tamar—but on an allegorical level, of course!

The Bible describes no such scene as Walter depicts in stanza 17. He has developed it from Exod. 8: 26–31, where Moses indicates that he needs to go into the desert to sacrifice to the Lord. Walter uses the scene to lead into his culminating description of the gross behaviour at the festivities of the *leccatores*, whom he likens to flies. The sponsor should not favour them with largesse.


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*Poem 49*

Performed in Troyes, probably in the period 1161–4 and probably on 26 December,[199] this poem is framed by six opening stanzas and three closing stanzas that clearly situate its performance in Troyes at the court of Henry, count of Champagne. The central stanzas constitute a spirited attack on the *auaritia* of the bishops. Particularly notable is the clever, truncated quotation in stanza 14 of Psalm 118 (119): 1 ('beati inmaculati sunt') as 'beati in macula', which completely reverses its meaning. Also, besides meaning 'blessed by sin', given that it refers to pimps, the meaning 'made rich by sin' would also be understood.

At 15. 4 the Charleville manuscript alone preserves the correct reading ('luto'), which resolves the textual problems caused by the variant readings of 15. 4–5; see Appendix III. At 15. 6 Walter quotes Ps. 44 (45): 3, 'diffusa est gratia in labiis tuis',[200] words that are included in the gradual for the Sunday within the octave of Christmas. Line 15. 5, besides meaning 'because on their lips', could also be understood to mean 'because on the lips of a pig'. Since grace and the lips of pigs do not sit well together and given that 'gratia' would have been pronounced 'gratsia', Walter's audience would readily also have understood 'grassia', a vulgar form meaning 'grease' (cf. French *graisse*).[201] The presence of 'lenones' (stanzas 14–15) and 'leccatores' (18–20) as corrupting influences at court seems to have been a contemporary topos.[202]



The concluding allusion (20. 2–3) to the heirs of Isaac and Ishmael is based on Gal. 4: 21–6, where Paul gives an allegorical interpretation of the story of Abraham's two sons, the elder, Ishmael (by Sarah's handmaid Hagar), and the younger, Isaac (by Sarah). He sees Hagar and Ishmael as representing the Jewish tradition and Sarah and Isaac as representing the Christian tradition.

*Poem 50*

This macaronic poem appears to fulfil the promise made in poem 49 to use the vernacular. Walter devotes the opening stanzas, as often in these poems, to identifying himself as a satirist and describing, in humorous terms, how he sees his role. Next (stanza 4) he addresses the *baculifer*, the primary sponsor of the feast, to remind him of his duty to avoid the sin of *auaritia*. He then turns his attention to the *lenones* and *leccatores* (here *lechers*) and with rather bawdy humour, refers to their homosexual activities that corrupt the youth. The *baculifer* is urged not to give money to such men, for whom Walter hopes the fires of hell are waiting, but rather to the poor. After a fairly perfunctory attack on the simony of the ecclesiastical establishment, he laments that providing sexual favours seems to be a better guarantor of success than a good education.[203] He ends on what seems a rather bitter note


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complaining that merit is not sufficiently rewarded. The tone at the close is rather similar to that of poem 42 and one cannot help feeling that Walter has already decided that there is no future for him at Troyes and that he will be leaving shortly to take up the study of law in Bologna.

## Poems 51–67

*Poem 51*

This poem offers the following advice to a man who seeks to enhance his reputation by kindly words and generosity to all and sundry: give wisely by first checking out the character of the person concerned. The surprise comes in the final stanza. The person addressed is very poor. All he can give are his warm words and smiles, which he



dispenses freely and indeed indiscriminately. This makes him spiritually rich and therefore rich in everything important.

*Poem 52*

*Ecce nectar roseum* was performed in Besançon after May 1163 and before Walter reached Bologna, probably in 1164. Two different occasions have been proposed for the performance: Holy Innocents' Day (1163) by Allan Hood and *Laetare* Sunday (1164) by Hans Spanke.[204] Spanke argues that 'Letare, Crisopolis' (1. 3) evokes the opening ('Laetare, Ierusalem') of the introit for the fourth Sunday in Lent (*Laetare* Sunday), the likely occasion for the performance. He points out that the subject matter—the red of the rose, Christ's blood spilled at the cross, the *largitas* of his sacrifice—is very suitable for a poem delivered in Lent. Schmidt follows Spanke in excluding *Ecce nectar roseum* from his list of poems associated with the Feast of Fools.[205]

Hood maintains that 'Letare, Crysopolis' alludes not to the day of performance but to the *Laetare* Sunday of 1163, when the pope gave the golden rose (traditionally awarded on this day for services to the pope) to Louis VII. Following up on Strecker's suggestion that the injunction not to be parsimonious (2. 3) is characteristic of poems performed at the Feast of Fools, Hood describes how the lower clergy celebrated the Feast of the Holy Innocents (28 December) in Besançon in the thirteenth century.[206] They elected a 'pope' from among their number and this 'pope', accompanied by his 'cardinals', rode around town *carrying a golden rose*. Hood makes the reasonable assumption that this ritual was already being practised in the twelfth century. This then is the way in which the golden rose links France and Besançon. Hood's careful elucidation neatly explains the allusive language of the last line of the first stanza. While Hood concedes he cannot identify the principal addressee, Peter (3. 1), he


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concludes that the poem was written 'for performance at the post-Christmas festivities at Besançon, most probably at the cathedral of St Stephen on Holy Innocents' Day'.[207]



The reference to *Laetare* Sunday in the opening stanza is best understood as indicating the date of performance—in 1164 this would have been 29 March. There is a close parallel in the first stanza of *In Domino confido* (poem 62), where it clearly has this function.[208] It seems to have been common practice to have some kind of break from the tedium of Lent on *Laetare* Sunday. This practice is acknowledged and endorsed by Innocent III in his sermon on the subject, where he points out that in times of stress our bodies need relief; accordingly, 'so that the faithful do not falter in the prolonged stress due to the rigours of Lenten abstinence, there is an interlude of some form of comforting recreation on this the middle Sunday in Lent, so that our stress ('anxietas') may be relieved and borne with a lighter heart'.[209] The references to the Holy Innocents' Day activities are quite natural in a poem delivered on *Laetare* Sunday that seeks to flatter its audience by putting Besançon on a par with France (1. 4) for it was the curious Besançon custom featuring a golden rose on Holy Innocents' Day that forged that link. The opening line suggests an occasion when the audience was drinking wine; so perhaps we are to think of Walter delivering the poem after a somewhat less Lenten meal as part of the after-dinner *recreatio*.

As for the addressee named Peter, Hood indicates that in 1163 there was a high-ranking ecclesiastic in Besançon named Peter, who was both precentor and chancellor of St Stephen's cathedral.[210] It is tempting to imagine that Walter sent him a copy of poem 24 shortly after the Council of Tours (May 1163) in the expectation that Peter would be a likely candidate for the then vacant archbishopric of Besançon and, if elected, be in a position to provide him with a prebend.[211] This is made all the more likely by the presumption (2. 4–5) that Peter was familiar with the poem.[212] Perhaps Peter was the one who invited Walter to deliver a poem suitable for *Laetare* Sunday. At any rate Walter had reason to believe that Peter wanted to be *rosarius*, presumably at the next Holy Innocents' Day festival. So he cleverly



combines the need for *largitas* in that role with the immediate need to show *largitas* to the poet. The concluding reference to Christ's *largitas* heightens the tone but at the same time obliquely reminds Peter of his obligations to the performer.

The references to the 'rose baiuli' and 'rosarii', which appear to refer to the same group, are a little puzzling. Hood believes that the *rosarius* 'is the equivalent of the *baculifer* elsewhere in France'.[213] In *A la feste* (46) the *baculifer* appears to be the rich man sponsoring the


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festivities rather than the mock-bishop (see §V above on the Feast of Fools). The *rosarius* would have had a similar role to play for the 'pope'. Both were traditionally responsible for meeting most of the costs of the festival. The *rose baiuli/rosarii* of stanza 8 are those who have fulfilled this role in the past and whose ranks Peter apparently wants to join.

The preoccupation with *largitas* in the poem, which Hood maintains 'supports the hypothesis of performance at the Feast of Fools',[214] in my view does something rather different. It certainly indicates an association with the Feast of Fools. However, rather than implying that Walter is actually performing at the Feast of Fools, it seems calculated to remind Peter of the obligations that any potential *rosarius* is liable to incur and of the need to show his fitness for holding that office in the future by being discriminating in his largesse in the here and now.[215] Stanzas 9–11 offer Peter traditional advice on this score. This advice concludes (after 'it is rather outrageous') with the humorous ambiguity of 11. 4, which can mean both 'that someone who is better than myself should receive an inferior gift/position' and 'that someone less good than myself should receive a gift/position.'[216]

*Poem 53*

The opening words clearly echo one of the most famous lines of medieval poetry, 'Meum est propositum in taberna mori' ('It is my goal to die in a tavern'). The line is found in the Archpoet's masterpiece *Estuans intrinsecus* (*CB* 193). Strecker held that Walter



did not quote his contemporaries and it was primarily for this reason that he attributed this poem, which he conceded to be very much in Walter's style, to an imitator.[217] This view has now been overturned, for Carsten Wollin has convincingly shown that *Si de fonte bibere* (poem 54), which concludes with a quotation of a line by the Archpoet, must be by Walter.[218] It should therefore be no surprise that a poem that shows clear evidence of Walter's exposure to legal studies in Bologna opens with a quotation from the Archpoet's most famous poem. Since *Estuans intrinsecus* was almost certainly composed and first performed in Pavia in 1163, this fits well with the view that Walter arrived in Bologna in 1164.[219] The frequent and favourable references to law suggest a legal audience for poem 53 and probable performance in Bologna.

The subject matter of the poem is somewhat surprising. Walter professes to be ready to provide the uninitiated with an education in the arts but most of the poem is devoted to pointing out the folly of studying the arts, especially logic, rather than law, where the money is to be made. Here, as in poem 38, it is not hard to see irony but here too the irony is not clear-cut. It cannot seriously undermine the surface meaning for, clearly, Walter went to Bologna to study law under Martin Gosia because he saw expertise in law as more


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marketable than his knowledge of the liberal arts. We do not know how Walter supported himself during what appears to have been a comparatively brief stay in Bologna—perhaps two years but probably less—but this poem suggests that he may have found some sort of position teaching liberal arts. It is not unlikely that Martin was helpful in finding this source of income for him. On Martin's death (1166?), this opportunity may have disappeared, causing him to leave Bologna to try his luck in Rome (poem 55).

The *Liber Pauperum* (14. 3) was a handy summary of the main issues in the Justinian Code written by the Bologna scholar Vacarius before he left for England around 1143.[220] He seems to have been a student of Martin.[221] It is no surprise that Walter, as a student of Martin, was familiar with the work.



The fallacies (16. 1) are those described in Aristotle's *De Sophisticis Elenchis*, a textbook widely used for instruction in dialectic in the twelfth century. Proving Socrates ('Sortes') was a goat (an ass, etc.) was a popular exercise in the instruction of logic. Alexander of Neckham demonstrates the absurdity of simultaneously holding two mutually contradictory propositions as follows: 'ergo si Sortes est homo, et Sortes non est homo, Sortes est lapis. Consimili deductione probabitur quod si Sortes est homo et Sortes non est homo, Sortes est capra.'[222] 'Conversion' (17. 2) refers to the convertibility of a proposition, that is, its potential to have its predicate and subject reversed without altering its validity. For instance, 'all women are human' is not convertible, as 'all humans are women' is not valid. Aristotle discusses these issues in his *Prior Analytics*, i. 2.

If the dating to 1164–6 is correct, then the concluding line is first attested here. The earliest datable use elsewhere of this famous line occurs (*c*.1180–1200) in a gloss by Stephen Langton, where it is followed by 'ex aliis paleas, ex istis collige grana' ('glean straw from the other fields but grain from these').[223] However, since Walter probably wrote this poem in Bologna, it may well have been a tag already in common currency there that he adopted as an *auctoritas* here. For a later formulation of the same concept, see poem 62, 20. 3–4.[224]

*Poem 54*

*Si de fonte bibere* is found in only one manuscript (***Pa***), largely devoted to legal writings. Carsten Wollin has recently attributed it to Walter with arguments that seem to me persuasive.[225] His article includes a careful edition of the poem with a detailed commentary. The poem honours the famous Bologna jurist Martin Gosia, who is clearly still alive.[226] Since it is unlikely that Walter reached Bologna before the summer of 1164, the virtually certain attribution of this poem to him means that Martin must have died in the period 1164–


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6.[227] The last four stanzas addressed to Martin's son William make it clear that it is the son who has commissioned the poem.[228] It also seems likely that by this time Martin was in semi-retirement, perhaps even ill, and that for some time his son had assumed a growing number of his father's duties.

*Poem 55*

This is a longer version of poem 45, modified for delivery before Pope Alexander III. Since it contains the same stanzas attacking the bishops that are found in poem 49, including the line 'Beati in macula' (in stanza 12), it seems likely that Walter envisaged a post-Christmas presentation, perhaps specifically again on the Feast of St Stephen.[229] Walter eliminated the first three and last three stanzas, which address the court of Count Henry in Troyes, and added stanzas 16–24 to display his knowledge of allegorical interpretations of biblical passages and his skill at versifying them. The story (16. 5–6) of Gideon's fleece being moistened by the dew while the surrounding ground remained dry was held to symbolize the impregnation of Mary by the Holy Spirit.[230] In stanza 18, Walter seems to have combined Isa. 6: 6–7, where an angel brings a 'calculus', which he had taken from an altar with a pair of tongs ('forcipe') and touched Isaiah's lips with it, thereby cleansing him of his sins, and Rev. 2: 17, where the 'calculus candidus' to be given to the victor was held to be Christ.[231]

Stanza 19 refers to the allegorical interpretations of the incident at Marah[232] and Jacob's blessing of the sons of Joseph, crossing his arms ('commutans manus') as he placed a hand on the head of each.[233]

The first half of stanza 20 refers to the incident in the desert when the disgruntled Israelites complained and God sent snakes to punish



them. Many died. When the Israelites repented, Moses set up a bronze snake on a stake, as God had instructed, so that those who had been bitten could look on it and be healed (cf. 48. 7). The second half offers the allegorical interpretation that this incident prefigures the crucifixion and resurrection of Christ.[234] The first part of stanza 21 recalls the story of the widow of Zarephath. When Elijah saw her gathering sticks he asked her to bring him some food and drink. She replied that she had so little food left that she was gathering two sticks to cook it for herself and her son to eat before dying. Elijah insisted, however, promising that her food would last until the rains came.[235] The second half deals with the story of Abraham and Isaac. God told Abraham to take Isaac and sacrifice him on a mountain. Abraham brought wood for the sacrificial fire, which he had Isaac carry up the mountain.


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Since Isaac prefigures Christ, the wood he had to carry was seen to prefigure the cross that Christ carried to Calvary.[236]

Stanza 22 adduces biblical passages that prefigure the Trinity. Stanza 23 indicates that the New Testament lies hidden in the Old in the form of allegory. Thus, when Joseph flees from Potiphar's wife (Gen. 39: 12), leaving his cloak in her hands, this should be interpreted allegorically as follows: Christ (Joseph) escapes from the Synagogue (Judaism) with his life-giving *spirit* intact, leaving behind in the hands of the Synagogue only the *letter* (or literal meaning) that kills.[237] The sense of stanza 24 appears to be that the Christian ('gentilis') finds sustenance and support in his journey through life because intelligent allegorical interpretation has revealed the beneficent workings of the Holy Spirit in the Old Testament. Stanza 25 marks the transition from allegorical interpretation to the concluding plea for financial support.

The second half of stanza 26 has been interpreted to imply that this was not Walter's first visit to Rome. However, *reuertor* can mean 'to turn to someone for help',[238] a meaning that exactly fits the context here.

The request for financial support to continue his studies suggests a



comparatively early date. Though pope for twenty-two years, Alexander III spent less than three years in Rome itself. Between July 1161 and August 1178 the pope was actually present in Rome only from November 1165 till August 1167.[239] This poem most probably dates from this short period. With 'oppressis' and the last three lines of the stanza Walter indicates that he is half-quoting the well-known *capitulum* in Gratian's *Decretum* regarding appeals to the pope: 'Appeals should be made to the Church of Rome by everyone but especially by the oppressed, and they should have recourse to it as to a mother in order to be nourished at her breast, defended by her authority, and relieved from their oppression, because a mother cannot and should not forget her child.'[240]

*Poem 56*

Strecker wavered over assigning this poem to Walter, remarking at one point that he had no doubt that it was by him but later relegating it merely to his 'school'.[241] His dilemma, as well as the rigour of his method, finds vivid expression when he remarks that he believes that the poem is by Walter but can find no evidence to support this belief. He then goes on to cite a number of striking phrases that seem to link *Utar contra vitia* with poems known to be by Walter but then undercuts this evidence by arguing that these phrases belonged to the *koine* of contemporary satire.[242] Besides the similarities to Walter's poems, the manuscript


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tradition offers some support for Walter's authorship. Though nowhere flanked on both sides by poems known to be by Walter, *Utar contra vitia* is found next to *Propter Sion non tacebo* (poem 64) in *Carmina Burana* and close to several poems by Walter in ***D*** and ***F***.[243]

The poem is remarkable not only for its sustained attack on the Roman curia, which is extraordinarily well done, but also for its explicit condemnation of the pope (stanzas 12–14).[244] No doubt what Walter chose to say about the pope would vary according to his



assessment of the views of his audience and we seldom have any information on where and when a given poem was performed. The fact that there were two popes for most of the time Walter was writing satires and that he performed his poems at different venues in France, Italy, and Germany further complicates matters. It seems clear that his request for a prebend from Alexander III in 1165 or 1166 was unsuccessful. It would be only natural if Walter's feelings about him were coloured by this experience. The poem also seems to reflect a heightened awareness of legal concepts. For instance, 'Ubi nummus loquitur, et lex omnis tacet' (9. 4) parodies a legal principle, first laid down in 1010 in the *Consuetudini* of Amalfi, that came to be universally recognized in the Middle Ages: 'ubi consuetudo loquitur, lex omnis tacet'.[245] This principle effectively rendered null and void any provision of Roman law that ran counter to a prevailing local custom.

There are two memorable images at 18. 4. Christian writers frequently employed the image of a gem in a dunghill to justify their study of pagan authors, for 'gems' were to be found there amidst the 'dung'.[246] The 'picture in the mud' may be Walter's own contribution. Nigel of Canterbury later took it up and he in turn was the source for Geoffrey of Vinsauf.[247]

*Poem 57*

The opening stanza depends for its meaning on a series of allegorical interpretations. The first two lines represent a reversal of the concept of 'the spoiling of the Egyptians'. The Pharaoh was interpreted figuratively as the devil; so it is the devil's realm that is expanding.[248] The 'spoiling of the Egyptians' by the Hebrews as they left Egypt (Exod. 12: 36) was often taken allegorically to justify the appropriation by Christians of what they found useful in the Graeco-Roman heritage.[249] Here, however, the situation is reversed and it is the Hebrew (i.e. Christian) *plebs* that is being despoiled by the Egyptians (i.e. the followers of Satan), who turn out to be the bishops. As for



Saul's angry reaction to the musical celebration of David's victory over the enemy in stanza 1, the *Glossa Ordinaria* likens that to the reaction of the Jews to the success of Christianity


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after Christ's death.[250] Aaron, who takes delight in his gifts, represents contemporary bishops.[251] This leads into the main theme of the poem: a vigorous attack on the bishops.

In the second stanza the bishops are called the 'seed of Canaan'. When Ham saw the 'nakedness' of his father Noah, who had become drunk and fallen asleep, he informed his brothers. To punish Ham, Noah cursed his son Canaan to be a servant of Shem.[252] The preoccupation with the plight of poor students (stanza 7) links this poem with *Tanto viro locuturi* (poem 55) and suggests a date close to 1166.

*Poem 58*

This is one of Walter's finest poems. It combines a vivid picture of the Antichrist, ready to burst out of hell, with spirited condemnations of Frederick Barbarossa, Henry II, and the ecclesiastical establishment. Like the contemporary *Ludus de Antichristo*, it seems to have been inspired by Adso's popular essay on the Antichrist, but Claudian's *In Rufinum* was also an important model, suggesting the lurid underworld setting and the impassioned speeches by the two Furies. The poem was composed after Becket's murder (29 December 1170) but probably before his canonization in 1173, which receives no mention.[253]

*Poem 59*

Though there is remarkable agreement among the manuscripts about the ordering of the stanzas (see Table 4 above), some stanzas are omitted in *S* and *Sl*, and different endings are offered by *S*, *Db*, and the group *L*, *P*, *B*, *D*. It looks as if *Db* preserves the original version, for *B* bears a superscription ('Treviris in capitulo') that indicates the poem was performed in the chapter house of Trier cathedral but contains no stanzas that would lead to this inference. In *Db*, however, the concluding stanzas are addressed to Fulmar (Folmar), almost certainly the archdeacon of Trier, who was consecrated archbishop in 1186 by Pope Lucius III in the crisis precipitated by the disputed



election of 1183.[254] However, since there is no reference to his status as archbishop or the crisis, this poem must date from his archdeaconate (*c*.1171–83).[255] Since William of the White Hands was Walter's patron from about 1176, Walter probably wrote and performed the poem during his search for patronage before then. The 'Fulmar' stanzas (21–4) could have been omitted in later recopying of the poem as being of little interest to succeeding generations. The alternative stanzas in ***S*** (21a–24a) may reflect Walter's reuse of the poem before a different audience.


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The surprisingly heated attack on the pope in stanza 7 has two possible explanations. Walter often speaks well of Alexander III, but it is as well to remember that poets usually attune what they say to the inclinations of their audience and more particularly their sponsors. After his apparent failure to win a prebend from Alexander in 1165 or 1166, it would not surprising if Walter made disparaging remarks about him before audiences whose allegiance, as at Trier, was to the antipope, Callistus III. Alternatively, since we do not know where Fulmar's real sympathies lay, it could refer to Callistus. Walter elsewhere (at 61, 7. 2) appears to call Callistus III a *paelex*, which is certainly unflattering and could suggest effeminacy. Since the poem was performed in Trier, the pope would naturally be understood to refer to Callistus. Perhaps Walter had ascertained that Callistus was not held in high regard among the clergy in Trier.

The curious phrase 'gloria macelli' in 2.1 refers to the glory derived from providing guests with sumptuous fare; contrast the insults levelled at a free-spending host by a potential guest who was *not* invited: 'pernicies, et tempestas barathrumque macelli'.[256] In stanza 14 the two pairs of sisters, Martha and Mary and Rachel and Leah, are parallel allegories of the active and contemplative lives.[257]

*Poem 60*

Though these stanzas consist of four goliardic hexameters, the fourth line usually contains a biblical *auctoritas*, practically always from the Psalms.[258] This structure finds its closest parallel in *A la feste sui*



*venuz*, which, however, unlike poem 56, is a macaronic poem and was intended for delivery at a Feast of Fools. The reference (5. 2) to the ubiquitous presence of war suggests a date in the summer of 1174. By that time the rebellion of Henry II's sons against their father (begun in May 1173) had stirred up war in France and England. Though the most serious fighting was in Normandy, Richard the Lionheart was fomenting rebellion in Aquitaine, and England had been invaded in the south by Philip, count of Flanders, and in the north by William the Lion, king of Scotland.[259] Meanwhile the continued successes of the Saracen forces in the Middle East had prompted the pope in late December 1173 to call on the Western leaders to send troops to assist the Christians in the kingdom of Jerusalem and Egypt.[260] In northern Italy, the Lombard League was increasingly thumbing its nose at its German overlord and it was becoming clear that Frederick would soon embark on a campaign to punish them, as indeed he did in September 1174.

The *auctoritas* of stanza 6 is a curious reversal of 'Beatus qui tenebit et allidet parvulos tuos ad petram'.[261] Augustine, commenting on this passage (*CCSL* xl. 1977–8), reads


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'elidet infantes' for 'allidet parvulos', and sees the 'infantes' as 'nascentes malae cupiditates' ('nascent evil desires') that must be dashed against the rock (Christ). Augustine's interpretation was incorporated into the *Glossa Ordinaria*: 'iuvenes, data agnitione Dei, parvulos Babylonis elidunt, id est nascentes cupiditates, antequam robur accipiant.'[262] Walter is saying that the reverse has happened: the 'children' (evil desires) have overcome grown men in their prime. The *auctoritas* of stanza 10 would suggest that the old men hound others with their sharp tongues. However, the immediate context implies that here 'gladius' = penis.[263]

It would appear that Walter had recently been reading Gregory's *Dialogues*, as the lives of all the saints mentioned in stanzas 15 and 16 are found in that work. St Paulinus of Nola was born into a wealthy



family of Bordeaux and educated by Ausonius. He became a Christian and was made bishop of Nola in Campania. He soon exhausted his wealth distributing it to the needy. When a widow asked him for money to ransom her son from a Vandal prince, he offered to become her slave. The Vandal prince agreed to exchange the woman's son for Paulinus when he indicated that he was a good gardener.[264] St Benedict (*c*.480–550), was the founder of Benedictine monasticism and author of its rule and founder and abbot of Monte Cassino. Gregory devotes the second book of his *Dialogues* to his biography. St Fortunatus, bishop of Todi (*c*.528–41), had a gift for casting out unclean spirits. Among many other good works, he rescued two children from Goth marauders.[265] During the wars with the Lombards, Sanctulus, a priest of Nursia, asked for custody of a deacon held captive by the Lombards. This was granted on condition that if the deacon escaped, Sanctulus would die in his place. Sanctulus urged the deacon to escape but when the Lombard executioner raised his sword to decapitate Sanctulus, a prayer to St John ensured that the executioner's arm remained aloft; so Sanctulus' life was saved.[266]

*Poem 61*

This poem is mostly written in four-line stanzas of goliardic hexameters. Stanzas 1 and 7, however, are in elegiac metre, while section 2 is in prose. Technically, then, this is a prosimetron, though the niggardly use of prose and the lack of metrical variety seem to suggest it is only a half-hearted attempt at the genre.[267] There was a revival of interest in the prosimetron in the twelfth century, particularly of the philosophical-allegorical variety, which harks back to Boethius' *De consolatione Philosophiae*, Alan of Lille's *De Planctu Naturae* (*c*.1170?) being the last major example.[268] The subject matter of our poem is one side of a *disputatio*, in which Walter adduces arguments to show that the pope outranks the emperor. It was


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probably the subject matter that nudged Walter in the direction of the prosimetron, for Balint, in her summary of the genre's characteristics, notes: 'each [prosimetron writer] recognizes some chaos, disturbance, or imbalance in the micro- or macrocosm; each expresses the desire to harmonize, order and improve upon it'. The schism was an immensely destabilizing fact of life in Europe from 1159 to 1177 and Walter (and practically everyone else) wanted to see it brought to a close. In this poem Walter bluntly proposes a solution to the disorder: the emperor needs to pay homage to the pope.

The elements of the prosimetron (sometimes simply called *satira* or *satura*) are clear if meagre. The opening elegiacs followed by a prose prologue align the poem with the openings of the prosimetra of Boethius, Martianus Capella, and Alan of Lille. In their first prose passages both Boethius and Martianus comment self-consciously on the act of composition, with Boethius mentioning his pen and Martianus naming *Satura* as the source of his inspiration. Walter also mentions his pen but by using the biblical phrase 'lingue calamum' he signals that he is supposedly participating in a disputation. He also mentions *satira*, perhaps ironically, saying he wants to avoid giving the impression of employing it, for he is eager to turn to invective (signalled by the goliardic hexameters?) and get on with making his case against the emperor.

It is difficult to grasp the precise setting for the poem. In the opening elegiacs Walter complains that the issue ('thesis') is being heard before an unjust judge, who may perhaps block his ears. It would appear, from what follows, that the judge is none other than the German emperor himself, for Walter addresses Frederick in stanza 7 and his supporters in 14, giving the impression that he is addressing the emperor's court. At the close, he calls on another speaker to take the floor. Herkenrath is right to draw attention to the 'here-and-now' feel of the scene.[269] This sense of actuality is probably why *B* has a superscription 'Controversia habita coram imperatore' (Debate delivered before the emperor)—an observation Strecker rightly dismisses.[270] Walter's skill at evoking a scene should not be taken as proof that such an improbable scene ever took place. Here too we might see some signs of generic influence, for Balint sees as characteristic of the prosimetra 'the use of a fantastic, mythical setting



in which to investigate philosophical questions'.[271] While transporting his audience in their imagination (from Champagne?) to the court of the German emperor is not fantasy in the same way as the apparitions of Philosophia or Natura are, it is perhaps similar enough to have persuaded Walter that consciously mimicking the genre was an appropriate way to begin his poem.


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The two *defensatores* of the emperor's cause (§2), Girard and Robert, have not been identified. It is possible, however, that Girard is the count of Mâcon and Vienne, long a supporter of the emperor and a thorn in the flesh of Louis VII because of his persistent depredations on the property of the king's supporters in the region.[272] In 1171 he was forced to submit to Louis.[273]

Walter explains elsewhere the curious prejudice against the number two (10. 7): 'Two is a notorious number. Since it admits of division, it signifies the discord of schism.'[274] 'Seed of Canaan' and 'Seed of Ismael' (14. 1) are (from a Judaeo-Christian viewpoint) unflattering ways of referring to the peoples of the Middle East, who, by Walter's day, were largely Muslim. Canaan was cursed by God to be a slave.[275] His descendants populated the lands at the eastern end of the Mediterranean (Gen. 10: 15–20). Similarly, Ishmael, the son of the slave-woman Hagar by Abraham, was cursed by an angel to be 'a wild man; his hand will be against all men, and all men's hands against him' (Gen. 16: 12). Many Arab tribes claim descent from Ishmael (cf. Gen. 25: 12–18) and he is an honoured figure in Islam, though not in the Judaeo-Christian tradition. While ostensibly appealing to Muslims (who were presumably neutral on the issue) for their views on the comparative ranking of the emperor and St Peter, Walter is really addressing the emperor in terms that equate him with these peoples. This becomes clear in the last line.

Stanza 21 dates the poem to the papacy of the emperor's third antipope, Callistus III (1168–78), and perhaps, given Walter's confidence that Callistus' days are numbered, even after Frederick's defeat at Legnano (May 1176).

The reference to the three victories of Alexander the Great (18. 1–2) probably reflects the fact that in the mid-1170s, Walter was



working on his *Alexandreis* (completed in 1178–9).[276] Walter does not explicitly indicate which three papal victories he has in mind. Herkenrath suggests (1) the Council of Tours, (2) the plague that devastated Frederick's army in 1167 and forced the emperor to flee from Italy, and (3) the humiliating abandonment of the failed siege of Alessandria in 1175.[277] But there is nothing in the text to suggest any of these victories to the reader. Strecker is certainly right to see the pope's victories in the deaths of the first two of the emperor's antipopes and the imminent demise of the third.

The closing stanza is addressed to his opposite number, who is expected to present the emperor's side of the argument. The remarks are clearly taunting (e.g. 'Quid tam diu struis?') in tone; so Walter's participation in the *disputatio* cannot be part of a plan by friends of the emperor to 'free' him from 'his errors'.[278] But if so, what can line 3 mean? *Liberare*, when


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used in a legal context, can mean 'acquit' or 'absolve' of a charge.[279] Walter is playing on both meanings of the verb. So in the last two lines what he is saying is that his opponent will be accounted a great advocate, whether he can acquit Frederick of the 'errors' Walter has just charged him with, or, acknowledging the unanswerable nature of Walter's case, he persuades the emperor of the error of his ways.

*Poem 62*

The introductory superscript in *Dg* indicates that this prosimetron was performed before the pope in Rome; similar superscripts in *P* and *B* indicate a performance before scholars in Bologna.[280] All three rubrics may be right (because it was probably performed on several occasions) but it is equally possible that they may be based on nothing more than inferences from the text. There is fairly good evidence to suggest, however, that it was indeed performed in Rome and quite probably in the presence of the pope himself. The evidence for this comes partly from the text of 62 itself and partly from the text and dating of *Propter Sion non tacebo* (poem 64), where Walter gives a devastating satirical picture of the corruption in the Roman curia. The visit to Rome that that poem appears to reflect very probably



happened in 1179, when Walter's employer, William, archbishop of Reims, was attending the Third Lateran Council. We do not know that Walter was part of his entourage then but it seems very likely.[281]

*In Domino confido* was performed on *Laetare* Sunday, as is clear from §§2 and 3. Section 2 dovetails well with the view that the poem was performed in Rome before the pope in the course of the Third Lateran Council. The first line refers to the assembling of the delegates ('membra') with their head, the pope. The last line is the opening of the introit for *Laetare* Sunday (the fourth Sunday in Lent). Section 3 refers to the traditional custom of having some light entertainment on that day to to relieve the tedium of Lent.[282] In 1179 *Laetare* Sunday was 11 March. The Third Lateran Council opened on 5 March with two further public sessions on either March 7 and 19 or March 12 and 23.[283] William, archbishop of Reims, attended the Council, where he was made a cardinal.[284] Walter, as William's *notarius*, probably accompanied the archbishop to Rome. As a successful poet, who had just completed his *Alexandreis*, which was quickly recognized as a masterpiece, he may well have been called upon to regale the delegates with some light entertainment appropriate to the more relaxed attitude of *Laetare* Sunday.

A prosimetron gave Walter the opportunity of displaying his talents in writing prose and a variety of poetic metres. It also allowed him to incorporate a suitable segment from his


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*Alexandreis* (§14) and one of his best hymns (§35), and demonstrate his knowledge of figural interpretation of biblical passages. By expanding the venerable theme of the seven liberal arts to include the more advanced studies of theology, law, and medicine, he could transform it into a discourse on God's bequest to mankind of the House of Wisdom, thus providing a suitably religious framework for a prosimetron lightly tinged with satire and touches of humour. The emphasis on theology and law in comparison with the brief mention of medicine is appropriate for a performance at the Lateran Council, where both these fields would be strongly represented among the participants. Such a performance would naturally be viewed by Walter as an opportunity to be rewarded with the offer of a prebend or some other form of papal largesse.

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The prosimetron could also have been performed at Bologna on the return trip from Rome to Reims as the superscription in *P* indicates, but if so, it could hardly have been performed there 'in dominica Letare Ierusalem' (*B*), because William (and no doubt his entourage) returned to France shortly after the Lateran conference to crown Louis's son Philip in August 1179.[285] It also seems likely that Walter delivered a version of the prosimetron after William returned to Reims. This emerges from the list of four French poets singled out for praise in §§7 and 8. Strecker himself wonders what interest such a list could arouse in a Bolognese audience.[286] One might well ask the same about an audience in Rome. It is worth examining this list of poets more closely because it throws important light not only on the dating of both the prosimetron and the *Alexandreis* but also on the milieu in which Walter lived and worked.[287]

Stephen of Orleans (or Tournai) was born in Orleans, where he served as abbot of St Euverte. He became abbot of Ste-Geneviève in Paris in 1176 and bishop of Tournai in 1192. He was a close friend of William of the White Hands, who set aside the choice of the local chapter at Tournai and made Stephen bishop there. Among the small number of poems from his pen that survive is one of particular interest.[288] It too is largely focused on the liberal arts and professional education and was apparently performed at Bologna. It shows competence but no great talent. Strecker points out that the epithet Walter applies to him, 'flos Aurelianensium' (7. 6), fits with dating the prosimetron to *c*.1174 and implies that the epithet would no longer be appropriate after his transfer to Paris in 1176.[289] However, the implication is unjustified. Since Stephen was born in Orleans he could always be called *Aurelianensis*. In fact, the Vatican manuscript that contains his poem along with a collection of his letters has the

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rubric 'Incipiunt epistole magistri Stephani Aurelianensis, Tornacensis episcopi'.


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The Peter of Blois (7. 7) is not, as Strecker indicates and practically all scholars have assumed, the famed letter writer and archdeacon of Bath but rather his contemporary and namesake, who wrote a *Speculum iuris canonici* and whose erotic lyrics evoked the letter writer's admiration for their style and disapproval of their racy content. Unlike the letter writer, this Peter of Blois was an expert in canon law and a member of Archbishop William's entourage in the early 1180s and probably earlier.[290]

Berter of Orleans was the author of the poem *Iuxta Threnos Ieremiae*, a vigorous call to join the Third Crusade.[291] On the scurrilous anecdote that links Archbishop William sexually with both Berter and Walter, see §I above. Whatever the truth of the anecdote, it certainly places Berter in William's circle. In addition, an Amiens charter records a 'Magister Berteers' in the archbishop's entourage in 1181.[292]

Not only were all three of these poets and Walter himself French, they all had close ties with the court of William of the White Hands. Accordingly, it looks very much as if 7. 4–7 and 8 were written specially for a performance at Reims.

*In Domino confido* opens with a fairly traditional prose preface, in which Walter runs through a number of standard topoi—apprehension that he is not up to the task before him due to lack of eloquence and inadequate knowledge, his fear of detractors, refutation of the charge of presumption on the grounds that others imposed this task on him, and the need for brevity.[293] The opening words 'In Domino confido' refer in the biblical source to God but in the context of an actual performance could also be taken as a flattering reference to the pope or to Walter's employer, the archbishop of Reims.

The outer frame of the prosimetron, the *paterfamilias* leasing out the house to three of his heirs, is loosely based on the story of the *paterfamilias* who leases out his vineyard (Matt. 21: 33–44), supple-



mented by some elements taken from the immediately preceding story of the vineyard owner with the two sons. Walter has drawn on his knowledge of the Roman law of wills to create his version: the vineyard has become the House of Wisdom, of which the testator has made a special legacy to three of his heirs.

As noted above, the language of stanza 2 reflects the *Laetare* Sunday setting. This language is continued in 3. 3, which, however, like stanza 2, Walter could easily have omitted if inappropriate for a given performance. *Legum domini* and *magistri artium* would naturally be prominent in the audience in Rome and Bologna but also in Reims, where the archbishop was an experienced judge with important juridical powers and members of his entourage


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at this time included at least two significant legal scholars in Peter of Blois (canonist) and Stephen of Orleans.[294]

There is clearly some wordplay in stanza 6 involving 'gram(m)aticos', 'Garamantes', and 'Garamanticos', though the exact point remains unclear. At this time *Garamantes* was used as a term of abuse meaning 'reprobates' or 'perverts' and was often applied, with a touch of humour, to teachers.[295] The practice presumably originated among students. The adjective form 'Garamantici' seems not to have been so used. Perhaps the punch in the punchline here lies in the fact that by pronouncing 'Garamantici' with French pronunciation (with the *n* partially nasalized) Walter is making the identification with 'Grammatici' even stronger. 'Secundum Italicos' seems to be part of the joke too. As Strecker himself points out, the phrase is an odd one to use when addressing an Italian audience. Probably these lines, like much of what follows in 7 and 8, belong to the version delivered at Reims.

In §§7–10, as in Martianus' *De Nuptiis* (Bks. iii, iv, and v respectively), Grammar, Logic, and Rhetoric are all personified female figures. Walter presents them in the same order but Martianus' Dialectic has become Logic. Strecker's dating of the prosimetron to *c*.1174, i.e. earlier than the *Alexandreis*, prompted attempts to see in §8 ('Alexander legitur') a reference to some work on Alexander by Walter prior to 1174.[296] Bernard Bischoff's discovery that the



Lambeth Palace manuscript (*Lp*) makes clear that the bishop of Tours referred to is not the recently deceased Joscius (1157–73), as *Dg*'s text seemed to suggest, but rather St Martin himself (371–97).[297] The elimination of Joscius from the text has also eliminated the only grounds for dating the prosimetron to 1174. Hence there is no longer any reason to reject the natural conclusion that the last line of §8 refers to Walter's *Alexandreis*. The sole remaining criterion for dating the prosimetron is its relationship to the *Alexandreis*. Dionisotti's argument that the prosimetrum's excerpt from the *Alexandreis* (§14 incorporates *Alexandreis*, iii. 142–53) must be the later version has met with general acceptance.[298] Scholarly opinion now seems to have focused on a date within the period from late 1177 to early 1179 for the publication of the *Alexandreis*.[299]

In §§15–17 it becomes clear that Walter has a fairly sophisticated knowledge of legal terms. Though *sanctio* acquired a specialized sense under the Dominate, *imperatoriae sanctiones* here seems to refer to Roman law in general, as embodied in the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*.[300] The *Lex Aquilia* provided that if one man caused a loss to another, the injured party was entitled to compensation at the highest value of the property in the preceding thirty days.[301] The *Lex Falcidia* applied to legacies stipulated in wills, which were an obligation of the heir(s). Sometimes the value of these legacies exceeded the value of the estate, thereby


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discouraging heir(s) from entering into the estate. The *Lex Falcidia* provided that if the legacies amounted to more than threequarters of the value of the estate, they had to be reduced proportionally to ensure that at least one quarter of the estate went to the heir(s).[302] Besides their usual meanings, *utilis* and *necessarius* (15. 3) had technical, legal usages relevant to the laws mentioned in §17. An *actio utilis* was a suit for damages brought under the general



intent, rather than the specific terms, of the *Lex Aquilia*.[303] A *heres necessarius* was a slave freed in his master's will and named as an heir.[304] Clearly then, Walter is punning on the ambiguity of these words and this undercuts the seriousness of what at first seems to be criticism of law in general in 15. 5.

In §16 we again find the verb and noun forms *iudicem* used as rhymes.[305] There also seems to be the same deliberate ambiguity over the identity of the *dominus/iudex* that we encountered at the beginning of the prose preface. He could be the pope (when the prosimetrum was performed in Rome) or Archbishop William (when performed anywhere). But he could also be Christ and as we move on, it becomes clear that he is indeed Christ and that line 4 refers to the Last Judgement, for it is taken almost verbatim from the *Libera me, domine* section of the *Missa pro defunctis*.[306]

Section 31 draws on the allegorical interpretation of Joseph's escape from the clutches of Potiphar's wife. This was held to suggest the crucifixion, when Christ left his human life behind (as Joseph left his *pallium*), while his divinity was unimpaired. Traditional exegesis argued that by restricting themselves to the literal interpretation of this passage Jews failed to grasp Christ's divinity.[307]

Section 34 lays the groundwork for the transition to Walter's hymn *Dum medium silentium*. The hymn opens with reflection on the time when the Old Testament remained silent, for only the literal interpretation was available. But when God sent his son, in whom kingship and the priesthood were combined, the sun (= both enlightenment and Christ) came forth from the darkness of *historia* (i.e. the literal interpretation). Theologians from Augustine onwards interpreted David's eating of bread reserved for priests at 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 21: 6 as prefiguring the unification of temporal and religious authority ('regnum et sacerdotium') in the persona of Christ.[308]

In the fourth stanza of the hymn, Christ's incarnation in Mary's womb is likened to a potter enclosed within his pot. The imagery is




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borrowed from Isa. 45: 9–12, where God's work as creator is compared with that of a potter (*figulus*). Since creation includes men and women, God's incarnation can be likened allegorically to a potter enclosing himself within his pot.[309]

In the sixth stanza 'the wheel within the wheel' (Ezek. 1: 16) was taken to refer to the figural meaning of the Old Testament. Abelard tells Héloise, 'Christ resolved as it were the wheel within the wheel and turned the water of the Law into the wine of the Gospel'.[310] The punning reference to Aristotle (*ille philosophus*) as author of the *Prior Analytics* asserts the role of Aristotelian logic in revealing the true meaning of biblical passages through allegorical interpretation.

In §36 the reference to the two robes worn in the general resurrection is explained by the two robes enjoyed by the *domestici* at Prov. 31: 21. Many theologians held that these symbolized the eternal happiness in both body and soul of the blessed in heaven.[311]

*Poem 63*

This poem is very similar in theme and content to the more famous *Propter Sion non tacebo* (poem 64) and seems to have been prompted by the same visit to Rome in 1179.[312] There is a difficulty over the enigmatic reference to Avignon (9. 7). The manuscript has Avinioñ, which, as Meyer observes, is an unusual abbreviation.[313] Usually the bar over a letter is an abbreviation for an n or m. However, since both letters are impossible here, Meyer, followed by McDonough, assumes it signals an e.[314] Meyer also supposes that the antecedent of 'qui' (9. 6) is 'cardinales', who, he infers, are in Avignon, from where they have sent out their messengers with their request for bribes.[315] If the cardinals are in Avignon, then this dates the poem after 1309, though



Meyer was aware that this conflicts with the name Franco, which points to a date in the late twelfth century. To resolve the problem, Meyer suggests that a later poet may have taken the name Franco from *Propter Sion non tacebo.* But we are told (stanza 1) that the corruption is in Rome, not Avignon and that that is where the cardinals seem to be (stanza 2). Also, if the seat of papal power is now in Avignon, what is the petitioner doing in Rome?

If we understand the abbreviated form to be 'Auinionem' and 'uestros aduersarios' to be the antecedent of 'qui', we have the *petitioner's adversaries* sending messengers *to* Avignon for cash to bribe the cardinals (in Rome). This is Franco's 'ficcio polita'. The subtext is that the adversaries cannot raise the needed cash in Rome and have had to send messengers back home for it. Also, it is clearly implied that if the petitioner can come up with enough money before these messengers return, the cardinals will find in his favour. Reading 'Auinionem'


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then does away with the twin problems of dating the poem to the fourteenth century and having to explain why the petitioner has come to Rome when the papal curia is in Avignon.

*Poem 64*

This is perhaps Walter's best satire. The large number of manuscripts in which it is preserved attests to its popularity in the Middle Ages. It has usually been dated to 1172–5, when Peter of Pavia was bishop-elect of Meaux, an office he seems to hold in stanza 27. But this dating raises a serious problem. In the poem Walter claims to have visited Rome and there seen Pope Alexander III, Peter of Pavia, cardinal-priest of San Crisogono, and Franco, the papal chamberlain. The problem is that not one of these three people was in Rome at any time during this period. The pope was absent from Rome throughout the 1170s until April 1178. He left again in August and returned next February only to leave in July 1179. He never saw Rome again. He died in August 1181 in Città Castellana some 65 km north of Rome.[316] Peter of Pavia, a close adviser of the pope, served as papal legate in France 1174–8. He rejoined the curia in Tusculum in November 1178 and was certainly in Rome during the Third Lateran Council (5–19 or 23 March 1179).[317] Franco was a member of Alexander III's household and no doubt followed the pope in his



movements. He served as his chamberlain from 1174 to 1179.[318] It follows that the only time when these three people were all in Rome at the same time in the 1170s, was February–July 1179. *In Domino confido* (poem 58) appears to have been performed by Walter in Rome on 11 March (*Laetare Sunday*) 1179.[319] It seems likely therefore that whatever autobiographical reality there might be in *Propter Sion non tacebo* reflects Walter's experiences in the course of his stay in Rome for the Third Lateran Council in March 1179.

There remains the matter of Peter of Pavia as bishop-elect of Meaux. The problematic lines in stanza 27 run as follows:

Petrus enim est Papiensis,
qui electus est Meldensis.

The second line has generally been taken to mean 'who is the bishop-elect of Meaux', which was an accurate description of Peter from 1171 till 1175, when he resigned from the post.[320] It was certainly not accurate in 1179. However, the Latin could equally well mean 'who was elected bishop of Meaux', which was just as true in 1179 as it was in 1171. So while these lines provide a date *post quem*, they do not necessarily provide a date *ante quem*. In 1179 the pope made Peter cardinal-bishop of Tusculum. It would have been more meaningful, however, for an audience in Champagne, when Walter was regaling them with his amusing


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account of the shenanigans in Rome, to be reminded that the one cardinal who helped him was once bishop-elect of Meaux.[321]

Walter uses a rich variety of marine metaphors throughout the poem to describe the dangers (mainly in the form of officials seeking bribes) confronting the petitioner who seeks an audience with the pope. Walter does not seek consistency in the imagery of his extended metaphor. The cardinals, pirates in stanza 4, soon become Syrtes and Sirens (13–17). The principal targets of the satire are Franco and the cardinals. However, Peter of Pavia is singled out for praise. Less clear is Walter's attitude to the pope, who is effusively praised in stanza 28 and the first half of 29 but this praise is seriously undercut in the



second half of 29, where, because of the corrupt entourage the pope has chosen, he falls short of being a 'true worshipper of God'.[322] The disparagement of Elisha at 44, stanza 31 above confirms that lines 4–6 are critical of Alexander. Also, the opening stanza, in which Walter laments the lack of justice in general and, more specifically, the lack of a just man in the church, is hardly flattering to its head. Finally, since the pirates are the cardinals, one would expect the pirate chief, called Pilate (21. 2), to be the pope. It is perhaps for this reason that the stanza has been omitted from half of the manuscripts, though Strecker suggests that it was because the reference was not understood.[323] No doubt Walter would have included or excluded certain stanzas depending on how he judged the sympathies of his audience.[324]

In stanza 14, the readings of *R* and *Pr* suggest that their scribes were seeing (already corrupted) Old French in their archetypes. Strecker's emended version, followed here, restores the presumed original. Most manuscripts have standard Latin, which, however, fails to capture the feigned camaraderie of the attempt at French. The cardinals are trying to ingratiate themselves with their victim by recalling the warm reception they received at the Council of Tours.[325] When the cardinals boast of their power over kings (stanza 16), contemporaries would probably think of the penances the pope imposed in 1172 on Henry II for the murder of Becket and on Frederick Barbarossa in 1177 for causing the schism of 1159–77.



*Poem 65*

Walter muses on the difference between ancient values and those of contemporary Christian society, particularly with regard to the disinterested pursuit of knowledge. Much of the surviving poem—it is incomplete—focuses on the famous confrontation between Alexander and Diogenes, whose philosophical outlook is here filtered through a very Christian lens.


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There is no such encounter in the *Alexandreis*, where the task of advising the young Alexander is given to Aristotle. It is clear, however, that Walter was impressed by the austere but down-to-earth philosopher and it is tempting to see this tribute to him as an attempt to make up for not including him in the *Alexandreis*. At any rate, it seems very likely that this poem was prompted by his study of the sources for Alexander's life and should accordingly be dated close to the date of the publication of the *Alexandreis*.

*Poem 66*

In his excellent study of this poem Francisco Rico argues that its darkly brooding nature derives not from Walter's bitterness over his personal circumstances, as most editors have assumed (despite Walter's denial), but from his model, the *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum*, wrongly attributed by medieval writers to John Chrysostom.[326] Since Rico's study was published in a small booklet, which had very limited distribution, it will be helpful to summarize here some of the principal points he makes. Rico begins by observing that the opening stanza can be interpreted in two different ways: (1) Like Job, Walter is grief-stricken, has a vile disease, and has been excluded from the society of his peers; (2) Like Job, Walter is grief-stricken but, unlike Job, he does not have a vile disease and has not been excluded from the society of his peers. Rico points out that the assertion that Walter had leprosy made by John of Garland and some of the *vitae* may derive from a misinterpretation of the opening stanza.[327] However, Rico does not reject the view that Walter is sick but believes that there must be a relationship between the opening stanza and the rest of the poem. He suggests the following: 'Walter,



outside the "official" Church, physically ill, denounces those who, spiritually ill, continue to abuse the Church from within.'[328] For everyone darkness is coming, 'the culmination of both illnesses', along with the 'Antichristi framea' and the 'finis improvisus orbi'.

Rico's most important contribution is his discovery that much of the poem is closely modelled on the following passage from the *Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum*:

> In duodecima hora sumus. Unde putas quia candor iustitiae iam recessit de mundo et sol radios gratiarum suarum in se colligens reuocauit et totam terram nigredo iniquitatum uel mendaciorum quasi nox fusca cooperuit, nisi quia iam et ipsa duodecima hora finiatur? Ubique tenebras uides et dubitas diem transisse? Prius etenim in uallibus fit obscuritas, die declinante ad occasum. Quando ergo colles uideris obscurari, quis dubitat quin iam nox est? Sic primum in saecularibus et laicis Christianis incipit praevalere obscuritas peccatorum. Nunc autem quando iam uides quod sacerdotes positos in summo uertice spiritualium dignitatum, qui montes et colles


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> dicuntur, apprehenderit iniquitas tenebrosa, quomodo dubitetur quia finis est mundi?[329] (*PG* , lvi. 818)

It can be readily seen that stanzas 2–4 are an inspired recasting, in poetic language, of the latter part of the above passage (beginning 'Prius etenim'). In stanza 3, however, Walter may also be inspired by Adso, *De ortu et tempore Antichristi*, 'Reges autem et principes primum ad se conuertet #Antichristus#',[330] and may be thinking specifically of Henry II (for his involvement in the murder of Becket) and Frederick Barbarossa (for causing the papal schism).[331]

In stanza 4 Walter apparently follows the *Opus imperfectum* and Alan of Lille in identifying the mountains as the higher echelons of the ecclesiastical establishment. The strange phrase 'scripturarum fontes' in apposition to 'Christi sacerdotes' is perhaps Walter's attempt to embrace also the alternative allegorical significance of



mountains recorded by Rabanus Maurus: the Old and New Testaments. In stanza 5, however, Walter blames the 'hills' for advancing *molles* over better-qualified *senes*; so it is clear that he is talking about bishops. Accordingly it seems best to suppose that the 'mountains' are the Old and New Testaments and the 'hills' denote the priesthood in general, as in poem 16, where Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, is described as *sacerdotum flos* (16. 4).

Rico's correction of *Cb*'s reading in 5. 2 (prompted by a closely related passage in *Opus Imperfectum*[332] makes clear that once again Walter sees simony as one of the leading forms of corruption in the Church. Elsewhere he calls this sin 'lepra Syri' in reference to Elisha's servant, Gehazi, who sought to appropriate for himself a fee that his master had refused for curing a Syrian and was punished with the cured man's disease, leprosy.[333] So this moral sickness of the clergy is linked to the theme of leprosy, with which the poem began.[334]

*Poem 67*

The subject matter—a confession and a plea for salvation—and especially the dramatic opening with its reference to Walter's sickness and his thoughts of impending death, have inevitably led to this poem being considered his last. It is a remarkably skilful reworking of Psalm 50 (51), with each verse of the Vulgate paraphrased in its proper order. As can be seen from the side-by-side arrangement of poem and psalm, Walter has expanded the third verse of the Vulgate (really the opening of the psalm) to three stanzas but thereafter has devoted only one stanza to each verse. Walter fills out each stanza by drawing on other biblical passages and by occasional references to such non-biblical concepts as 'free will'. He has even added two stanzas (7 and 8) that cannot be said to reflect anything in the psalm.


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While much of the language is conventional in Christian hymns, Walter has incorporated some striking new imagery. For instance, the enigmatic 'fallax equus' (7. 2) of Psalm 32 (33) is not found anywhere in *Analecta Hymnica*. Alan of Lille glosses it as an allegory for 'earthly power'.[335]



Walter has taken pains to begin each stanza with the opening word (or words) of the verse he is paraphrasing. Sometimes, for rhythmical reasons, he has had to modify the word slightly, as in stanzas 14, 18, 19, 22, and 23.[336] This practice accounts for the unusual use of the pleonastic *quoniam* in stanza 21, which has the virtue of clarifying the causal force of the ablative absolute.

It is instructive to consider what Walter has *not* attempted to render in his paraphrase of the psalm: the exultation of the bones that have been humbled (10), the conversion of the impious (15), and the holocausts and slaughtered calves (21). For the dancing bones Walter has substituted a more edifying scene: a vision of heaven bathed in radiant light. Since Walter's focus is on his own salvation and his need to reform his ways, he passes over the reference to converting others. Animal sacrifice, distasteful and characteristically 'pagan' to Christians, was a practice of the 'old (i.e. Judaic) dispensation' (21. 3). Christians preferred to offer God the kind of 'sacrifice' described in stanza 19 of the psalm: 'a broken spirit and a contrite heart'. Accordingly, the offerings of holocausts and slaughtered calves with which the psalm ends are omitted.

This poem demonstrates perhaps more clearly than any other of his shorter poems Walter's remarkable ability to recast a prose original in the metre or rhythmic pattern of his choice. What is so unusual about Walter's practice in this regard is his ability to stick very close not just to the meaning but to the very words of his source. This characteristic of his poetry has long been noted with regard to his *Alexandreis*.[337]


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# NOTES

[103] On this topic, see further Hegener, *Studien zur 'zweiten Sprache',* esp. pp. 142–6; Lafferty, ' "Limping Jacob"'; Abulafia, 'Jews'.

[104] See Lafferty, '"Limping Jacob"', p. 140.

[105] Cf. Alan of Lille, *Distinctiones, s.v.* (*PL* ccx. 1008).

[106] See Hugh of St-Victor (?), *Allegoriae in Vetus Testamentum*, vii. 2 (*PL* clxxii. 705A).

[107] For further discussion of this poem, see Traill, 'Biblical exegesis', pp. 330–2.

[108] Jericho, thought to be etymologically connected with 'moon', was regarded as symbolic of the mutability and especially the failings (*defectus*) of humanity

[109] Much of this interpretation is taken from *Distinctiones Monasticae*, in Pitra, *Spicilegium Solesmense*, ii. 331, where stanza 1 is quoted and discussed at pp. 372–3.

[110] So *Distinctiones Monasticae*, ii. 372, where the author quotes and discusses stanza 2.

[111] 'Haec eadem est vera circumcisio, per quam non cutem carnis petrinis cultris exspoliamus, sed veterem hominem, id est veteris hominis similitudinem, Christo conformati, cum suis actibus deponimus' (*Sermo* 9, *PL* clxii. 573).

[112] Grosfillier, *Les Séquences d'Adam de Saint-Victor*, pp. 353–6 and 671–80.

[113] Ibid., pp. 475–8; this sequence is no longer thought to be by Adam; see ibid., p. 868.

[114] *Distinctiones Monasticae*, ii. 331.

[115] For further details on medieval views of Mary and Martha, see Constable, *Three Studies*, pp. 3–141.

[116] Rupert of Deutz, *In Isaiam*, i. 7 (*PL* cclxvii. 1279).

[117] See *Zima uetus expurgetur*, 11. 5–6, at Grosfillier, Séq*uences*, p. 324.

[118] On the arrangement of the lines in this stanza, see Appendix III.


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[119] Col. 3: 9 and Eph. 4: 24.

[120] See *Les Conciles oecuméniques*, ed. G. Alberigo *et al*., ii, pt. 1, pp. 432–3.

[121] Somerville, *Pope Alexander III*, pp. 49–53.

[122] Cf. poem 27, 2. 8, and 48, 13. 1.

[123] Cf. Rupert of Deutz, *In Ionam*, prol. (*PL* clxviii. 400); cf. also Adam of St-Victor, *Zima uetus expurgetur*, 11. 1–3: 'Cetus Ionam fugitiuum / ueri Ione signitiuum / post tres dies reddit uiuum' (Grosfillier, *Séquences*, p. 324).

[124] See Zeno, *Tractatus* 12 (*De Iona*), 3 (*PL* xi. 449): 'Ninive imaginem portat Ecclesie'.

[125] It is therefore most unlikely that our Walter is to be identified with the Walter of Lille who served Henry II; see Life above. For the events leading up to and following the murder of Thomas Becket, see Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, pp. 198–275.

[126] For the epitaph's indebtedness to the *Alexandreis*, *s*ee Christensen, *Das Alexanderlied*, p. 10 and Colker, p. xix. Henry's epitaph begins 'Sufficit hic tumulus, cui non suffecerat orbis'. Cf. Walter's 'Cui non suffecerat orbis / Sufficit . . . / Quinque pedum fabricata domus' (*Alexandreis*, x. 448–50). The epitaph also contains the lines 'Cui satis ad votum non essent omnia terrrae / Climata, terra modo sufficit octo pedum'.

[127] See Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, pp. 193–4.

[128] See Albu, *The Normans*, p. 13, and Beaune, 'The political uses of the Trojan myth'.

[129] For a brief overview of the problem and an indication of the more important bibliography prior to 1989, see Bate, 'Ovid, medieval Latin and the pastourelle', pp. 16–20, and for a more recent update, see Smith, *The Medieval French Pastourelle Tradition*, pp. 7–10.

[130] See Alford, 'The grammatical metaphor', and Ziolkowski, *Alan of Lille's Grammar of Sex*.

[131] Ziolkowski, ibid., p. 15.

[132] *Dicta Catonis*, ii. 10. 2; cf. poem 48, 21. 6.

[133] For a discussion of how Abelard wrestled with this problem, see Marenbon, *The Philosophy of Peter Abelard*, pp. 155–60.


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[134] See Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society*, p. 297.

[135] Strecker prints the stanzas in the order in which they are found in the St-Omer manuscript, that is, with stanza 5 intervening between stanzas 3 and 4, while pointing out that this unduly breaks the natural flow of the poem. Given that in the Basel manuscript (which omits stanza 4 entirely) stanza 3 is immediately followed by stanza 5, it seemed sensible to adopt this order and put the address to Cupid in its natural position after stanza 4.

[136] See Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary*, pp. 165–6. In the classical period, the man was seen as the horse, but here the man is clearly the rider.

[137] *Contra Iudaeos*, 1. 3 (*PL* ccix. 428b).

[138] See introductory notes to poem 52.

[139] For the nullification of Victor's ordinations, see Somerville, *Pope Alexander III*, p. 50 (canon 9).

[140] Dronke, *Medieval Latin*, ii. 579.

[141] For this and other textual problems in this poem, see Appendix III.

[142] See his letter of 1202 to the archbishop of Gniezo (Poland) in *PL* ccxv. 1070–1: 'insaniae suae ludibria exercentes, per gesticulationum suarum debacchationes obscenas'.

[143] See *Cartulaire*, ed. Guérard, p. 74 ('rimos, personas . . . fieri prohibemus') and *PL* ccxii. 71.

[144] Conceivably, the vows taken by bride and bridegroom at a medieval wedding would have constituted a *stipulatio*.

[145] Ovid, *Met.* ii. 409 refers to Callisto as 'Nonacrina' (literally, a female inhabitant of Nonacris in NE Arcadia). She hunts on Mt Maenalus, which Pliny, *Nat. Hist*., iv. 10, lists as a separate mountain from Nonacris. Perhaps this (besides the rhyme and the humorously inappropriate contemporary meaning of 'pilgrim') is why Walter calls her 'peregrina' (i.e. travelling outside of her home area). He may not have realized that Ovid was using 'Nonacrina' by synecdoche for 'Arcadian'.

[146] It is noteworthy that none of the leading protagonists (Callisto, Jupiter, Diana) is named.


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[147] See Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Society*, p. 316.

[148] Ibid., pp. 314–15.

[149] On this meaning of *enervare*, see Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary*, p. 38.

[150] For instance, at Horace, *Odes*, iii. 30. 15–16.

[151] 'And every one that strives for the mastery refrains himself from all things. And they indeed that they may receive a corruptible crown: but we an incorruptible one' (1 Cor. 9: 25). 'You shall receive a never fading crown of glory' (1 Pet. 5: 4).

[152] So Strecker and, most recently, Abulafia, 'Jews', p. 267.

[153] See Desportes, *Reims et les Rémois*, pp. 82–5 and Remy, *Histoire de Châtillon-sur-Marne*, p. 83.

[154] See Robinson, *The Papacy 1073–1198*, pp. 296–9.

[155] See Desportes, *Diocèse de Reims*, p. 151 and 'Les Pairs de France et la couronne', esp. pp. 305–22. Many others argue, however, that the college of the peers of France was not created until later.

[156] See introductory notes to poem 17.

[157] Moleta, 'Style and meaning', p. 22.

[158] Bate, 'Ovid, medieval Latin and the pastourelle', pp. 21–2, points out that this mirroring effect of the central line is a feature of other Provenc¸al poems, and finds Walter's further use of it here in stanzas 2, 3, 6, and 7.

[159] Walter actually has two -ula lines at the centre, a short line and a longer one. If we regard these two lines as one and the two short lines following them as two, then Walter's rhyme scheme (aaabccb) follows Marcabru's (aaabaab) very closely.

[160] Moleta, 'Style and meaning', pp. 228–31.

[161] For a similar Greek genitive, cf. *CB* 72. 4b. 10: 'regia / Diones reseratur'. Students were routinely taught the proper case endings of Greek nouns; see Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis*, iii. 279, 291, etc.


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[162] In *L'autrier jost' una sebissa* and in pastourelles in general both shepherdess and knight address each other using the polite second person plural. In this pastourelle the shepherdess uses the polite plural (except at 5. 2) but the knight uses only singular forms, perhaps in view of contemporary vernacular usage, the polite plural might have seemed incongruous, given the knight's higher status.

[163] So Moleta, 'Style and meaning', p. 229, who sees it as a reference to his penis, apparently followed by Bate, 'Ovid, medieval Latin and the pastourelle', p. 22. Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary*, p. 164, lends some support but there the sexual meaning is documented only in an extended sense of 'duty, service'. However, a sexual meaning could easily have developed from the sense of 'gift' too. A continuation into medieval Latin of Adams's useful studies is sorely needed.

[164] *OLD* lists 'catheter', 'metal punch', and 'urethra' among its many meanings. Bate, 'Ovid, medieval Latin and the pastourelle', p. 22, sees 'fistula' here as a phallic image.

[165] An extra half line of 6p is added before the last line; cf. *Ecce torpet probitas* (poem 29), where Walter uses the same rhythmic pattern if the refrain is viewed as part of the stanza.

[166] Both phrases are traditionally translated as 'a little lower than the angels'.

[167] For *ventus* referring to intestinal wind, see *OLD*, *s.v*. 4b.

[168] It is perhaps significant that Walter uses the verb *principari* only twice elsewhere, both times also in the form *principatur* and both in early poems (52 and 55).

[169] Cf. the closing stanza of poem 22.

[170] Understanding 'pueri' with 'communis'; cf. *communis* (with *mulier*) in the sense of prostitute (*DMLBS*, *s.v*., 8b). One might also understand 'servi' here, as *servus communis* is a concept that receives detailed treatment in Roman law and was certainly a reality in medieval Europe. Slavery had declined considerably by the late 12th c., however, particularly in northern Europe, being largely replaced by serfdom. Since monasteries usually owned lands to which serfs were tied and since 'servus' was used to designate serfs as well as slaves, it seems likely that a monastic audience would readily understand '(servus) communis' as referring to a serf working on monastic lands. For similar double entendres with both *loculus* and *bursa*, see poem 22, stanza 5.

[171] The only pagan quotation I have noticed in 40 is 'intus et in cute' (22. 4=Persius, 3. 30).


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[172] The ordering of the stanzas, which varies from manuscript to manuscript, is given in summary form in the apparatus criticus accompanying the text below and in tabular form by Wilmart, 'Poèmes de Gautier', pp. 336–7. I have followed the order of stanzas adopted by Wilmart in his edition of the text (ibid., pp. 329–33).The two most significant divergences in the manuscripts are the following: (1) *Oc* adds two stanzas after stanza 25 that are found in no other manuscript; (2) instead of stanzas 24–5 *Ve* has two other stanzas found in no other manuscript. These four, probably spurious, stanzas are recorded by Wilmart, ibid. p. 333.

[173] Stanzas 8–11 are all introduced by 'Sunt qui'; cf. the similar use of 'Ve qui' in the centre of poem 40.

[174] Schmidt, 'The quotation', p. 46, n. 18.

[175] That this is the more likely interpretation is strongly indicated by poem 55, where, with an explicit plea for financial support and no suggestion of irony, Walter points out the futility of acquiring abstruse theological knowledge if it does not lead to adequate remuneration.

[176] Spanke, 'Zu den Gedichten', pp. 215–16.

[177] In 1157 Henry built the chapel of Saint-Étienne next to his palace in Troyes and endowed it with a chapter of secular canons, which functioned as his chancery; see Evergates, *The Aristocracy in the County of Champagne*, p. 16. This no doubt eliminated any need for Henry to employ Walter's more practical talents on a permanent basis.

[178] The Horatian quotation is from *Epistles*, i. 1 (rather than *Satires*, i. 1) but medieval writers seem to have regarded the *Epistles* as satires under a different name.

[179] For Strecker's edition of this poem, see Strecker, 'Ein Gedicht', pp. 47–55.

[180] See §1 above.

[181] The threat to Alexander III's interests was particularly acute. Forced to leave Italy for France in Mar. 1162, it was not until the Council of Tours in May 1163 that he was really sure that he was recognized as pope in both England and France.

[182] See Pacaut, *Louis VII*, p. 99 and Bousquet, *Le Rouergue*, p. 157.

[183] On grounds for identifying this Manasses with the bishop of Orleans, see Bischoff, 'Vagantenlieder', pp. 92–3.


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[184] Arbois de Jubainville, *Comtes de Champagne*, iii. 47–9.

[185] This is a shortened and much simplified version of the complicated series of events surrounding the failed meeting. For a fuller version, see Arbois de Jubainville, *Comtes de Champagne*, iii. 49–63, and, for a more recent discussion, Pacaut, *Louis VII*, p. 74.

[186] Arbois de Jubainville, *Comtes de Champagne*, iii. 57.

[187] Ibid., 50.

[188] Ibid. 62–3. Henry seems to have been released fairly promptly, as charters attest to his presence in Champagne by the spring of 1163.

[189] Though he does not discuss Manasses's role in the St-Jean-de-Losne affair, Bischoff, 'Vagantenlieder', pp. 92–3 shows that his reprehensible behaviour within his diocese reached the ears of the pope and was mentioned in the pope's letters to Louis dated 11 Jan. 1161 and 14 July 1162 (*PL* cc. 99–100 and 162–3). See also the letter of complaint sent to Alexander by a group of Orleans canons at *Sacrorum concilorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. Mansi, xxi. 1029–30.

[190] On pre-Christian usages of *grex*, see *OLD*, *s.v.*, esp. 3b (troupe of actors).

[191] See §1 above.

[192] The juxtaposition of poems 49 and 50 in *Db* is reminiscent of two poems, similarly juxtaposed, that are associated with a celebration of the Feast of Fools at Chartres *c*.1180; see Bischoff, 'Vagantenlieder', pp. 78–81. In the first of these poems the poet introduces himself as a satirist (as in poem 9), and towards the end heralds the next poem by announcing he will change the metre. As here, a macaronic poem (with a few lines in Old French) in a different metre follows immediately.

[193] Spanke, 'Zu den Gedichten', p. 214.

[194] One can readily imagine he had hopes of an appointment in the count's chancery, which were subsequently dashed when he saw others with legal training being preferred.

[195] Spanke, 'Zu den Gedichten', pp. 212–13. Blaise, *Lexicon*, p. 528, gives the meanings 'adulateur, séducteur'.

[196] Cf. *Glossa* (*PL* cxiii. 233).


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[197] Isidore, *Quaestiones*, *PL* lxxxiii. 420; cf. Peter of Riga, *Aurora*, 4 Reg., 109–10.

[198] Isidore, *Quaestiones*, *PL* lxxxiii. 270 (church); Godfrey of Admont, *Homily* 77, *PL* clxxiv. 1023 (Virgin Mary).

[199] See remarks on poems 48–50 above. Walter later made an altered version (55) of this poem as a request to the pope for a prebend.

[200] Cf. also 50, 14. 3 and 61, 23. 4.

[201] See Körting, *Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch*, 312. 2572.

[202] Cf. Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Chibnall, iii. 106: 'spurcisque lenonibus aliisque lecatoribus distribuet'.

[203] This observation should be viewed as generic in nature rather than an oblique reference to the story cited above of the rivalry between Walter and Berter for the affections of William of the White Hands. If there were any truth to the story, the last thing one would expect would be for Walter to make even a veiled allusion to it in public, even if he were bitter and determined to leave Troyes.

[204] Hood, 'The golden rose', and Spanke, 'Zu den Gedichten', p. 217.

[205] Schmidt, 'The quotation', p. 46, n. 18.

[206] *Moralisch-satirische Gedichte*, ed. Strecker, p. 127; Hood, 'The golden rose', p. 208. Relevant sections of the 13th-c. ordinal cited by Hood are found in Castan, *Le Forum de Vesontio*, pp. 14–16.

[207] Hood, 'The golden rose', pp. 210 and 216.

[208] See note on poem 62, stanza 2.

[209] Innocent III, Sermon 18 (*PL* ccxvii. 395): 'Ne ergo fidelis populus propter asperitatem quadragesimalis abstinentiae sub continuo labore deficeret, in hac mediana Dominica quoddam recreationis solatium interponitur, ut anxietas temperata levius sufferatur.'

[210] Hood, 'The golden rose', p. 209.


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[211] In the event, the emperor chose Herbert, a loyal German, to be archbishop of Besançon; see Mariotte, *Le Comté de Besançon*, p. 89.

[212] The addressee is a little ambiguous. Up to this point it has been Besançon itself, but in the next line (3. 1) Peter himself is addressed.

[213] Hood, 'The golden rose', p. 208.

[214] Ibid.

[215] See especially 'In eo, qui titulum rose uult sortiri' (9. 1), which seems to imply that the *rosarius* has yet to be determined.

[216] While the rules of classical grammar support the first interpretation, the position of 'minus', after the natural break in the line and next to 'melior', support the second. For *minus* modifying a comparative, see Blaise, *Handbook*, p. 87, §125.

[217] Strecker, 'Quid dant artes'.

[218] Wollin, 'Das Festgedicht', p. 252, n. 9.

[219] On the date of the Archpoet's *Confession*, see *Die Gedichte des Archipoeta*, ed. Krefeld, p. 140.

[220] See Southern, 'Master Vacarius', esp. p. 259. More recently, Anne Duggan (Becket, *Correspondence*, ii. 1390–1) has suggested that the *Liber Pauperum* was probably written in Lincoln *c*.1149. If so, it was clearly well known in Bologna in the early 1160s.

[221] Brundage, *The Medieval Origins*, p. 92.

[222] 'So if Socrates is human and Socrates is not human, Socrates is a stone. By similar deduction it will be shown that if Socrates is human and Socrates is not human, Socrates is a goat.' Alexander of Neckham, *De naturis rerum*, ed. Wright, p. 289.

[223] See Kuttner, 'Dat Galienus', pp. 240–1.

[224] Strecker, 'Quid dant artes', p. 391.

[225] Wollin, 'Das Festgedicht'. The *editio princeps* of the poem is found in Acher, 'Une chanson en l'honneur du glossateur Martin'.


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[226] On Martin Gosia, see Brundage, *The Medieval Origins*, pp. 85–9 and *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vi. 351.

[227] The *Lexikon des Mittelalters* dates his death to 1158–66.

[228] Wollin, 'Das Festgedicht', p. 253.

[229] Cf. Introductory notes to poem 49 above.

[230] Cf. Judg. 6: 37–8; Rupert of Deutz, *In Iudices*, 10 (*CCCM*, xxii. 1163–4); and Rabanus Maurus, *Allegoriae*, *PL* cxii. 1075. Ps. 71 (72): 6: 'Descendet sicut pluuia in uellus' was often cited in connection with this story and was similarly interpreted.

[231] Cf. Alcuin, *In Apocalypsin*, ii. Rev. 2. 17: 'Quid itaque per calculum candidum nisi Christus Iesus designatur?' (*PL* c. 1106A).

[232] See on poem 3, 5.1–4.

[233] Gen. 48: 14. Walter's 'manibus cancellatis' reflects the language of the commentators on this passage; cf. Isidore, *Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum: In Genesin*, 31. 3 (*PL* lxxxiii. 276): 'At ille cancellatis manibus crucis mysterium praefigurans, translata in minorem dextera, maiori sinistram figuraliter superposuit.'

[234] Num. 21: 5–9; allegorical interpretation inspired by John 3: 14.

[235] 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 17: 8–16; cf. Rabanus Maurus, *In Libros IV Regum*, iii. 17 (*PL* cix. 207), comments: 'The cross is signified here not merely by the mention of wood but by the number of pieces of wood.'

[236] Gen. 22: 1–14; see Rupert of Deutz, *In Genesim*, vi. 31 (*CCCM* xxi. 408).

[237] Gen. 39: 12; for interpretation see Rupert of Deutz, *In Genesim*, viii. 34 (*CCCM* xxi. 522).

[238] *OLD*, *s.v.* 4.

[239] See *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. Jaffé *et al.* (Leipzig, 1885–8), ii. 153–95.

[240] 'Ad Romanam ecclesiam ab omnibus, maxime tamen ab oppressis, est appellandum, et concurrendum quasi ad matrem, ut eius uberibus nutriantur, auctoritate defendantur, a suis


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obpressionibus releuentur, quia non potest nec debet mater obliuisci filium suum' (Gratian, *Decretum*, C. 2 q. 6. c. 8).

[241] Strecker, 'Schule I', p. 113 and 'Schule II', pp. 187–8.

[242] Srecker, 'Schule II', p. 187.

[243] Strecker, 'Schule I', pp. 104–6 and 109.

[244] *Propter Sion* (poem 64), by contrast, singles out the pope for praise, though the barb in the second half of stanza 29 tends to be overlooked.

[245] See *The Black Book of the Admiralty*, ed. Twiss, iv, p. xciv.

[246] See further in Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis*, trans. Seanc, i. 409.

[247] Nigel of Canterbury, *Speculum Stultorum*, 47–8; Geoffrey of Vinsauf, *Poetria Nova*, 743 (Faral, *Les Arts poétiques*, p. 220).

[248] As in Gregory the Great, *In Librum I Regum*, iii. 4. 8 (on 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 6: 6): 'Et quid in Pharaone Aegypti rege, nisi ipse tenebrarum auctor diabolus, designatur?' (*PL* lxxix. 187).

[249] *Glossa Ordinaria*, *PL* cxii. 220.

[250] *PL* cxiii. 558.

[251] Philip de Harveng, *De institutione clericorum tractatus*, i. 2 (*PL* cciii. 669).

[252] Gen. 9: 25–6.

[253] See on 50, 18. 2.

[254] On the crisis see, Heydenrich, *Die Metropolitangewalt*, pp. 75–6 and *Regesta Imperii*, iv. 4. 4, n. 1224 and n. 1565.

[255] Cf. *Regesta Imperii*, iv. 2. 3, n. 1937, where Folmar, archdeacon of Trier, witnesses a document.

[256] Horace, *Epistles* i. 15. 31; cf. also poem 44, 21. 2: 'gloria cibi delicati'.


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[257] See Constable, *Three Studies*, pp. 1–141, esp. pp. 10–11.

[258] Exceptions are stanzas 7 (John), 14 (1 Cor.), 16 (Ovid), 19 (Matt.), and 15 (no *auctoritas*).

[259] See the summary of the war in Warren, *Henry II*, pp. 125–36.

[260] Alexander III, *Epistulae*, no. 1047 (*PL* cc. 927–8); Phillips, *The Crusades*, p. 128, reckons this a 'formal crusade appeal'.

[261] Ps. 136 (137): 9: 'Blessed be he that shall take and dash thy little ones against the rock.'

[262] *PL* cxiii. 1057–8: 'young men who have come to acknowledge God smite the children of Babylon, that is, their nascent desires, before they can gain strength.'

[263] See Ziolkowski, *Jezebel*, p. 127; cf. Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary*, pp. 20 and 21.

[264] Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, ed. Vogüé, iii. 1–8 (*PL* lxxvii. 216–20).

[265] Gregory, *Dialogues*, i. 10. 1–20 (*PL* lxxvii. 200–9).

[266] On Sanctulus, see Gregory, *Dialogues*, iii. 37. 1–20 (*PL* lxxvii. 305–16).

[267] In the prose section (see below), he even seems ('ne satiram . . . tractare videamur') to abandon the idea of writing in the genre in his eagerness to move on to his invective. See poem 62 for a more developed prosimetron.

[268] In her interesting and useful study, Balint, *Ordering Chaos*, p. 6, calls Alan's *De Planctu Naturae* 'the last of the twelfth-century prosimetra', which is rather misleading, even if Walter's two modest, but certainly later, prosimetra fall outside of the focus of her attention.

[269] Herkenrath, *Gedichte*, pp. 866–7. He is surely wrong, however, to conclude that this scene actually took place.

[270] Strecker, in *Moralisch-satirische Gedichte*, p. 133, calls it 'sicherlich Phantasie'.

[271] Balint, *Ordering Chaos*, p. 8.

[272] Pacaut, *Louis VII*, p. 190.

[273] Ibid.


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[274] *Contra Iudaeos*, iii. 5 (*PL* ccix. 45): 'binarius autem infamis est numerus. Cum enim divisionem recipiat, schismatis discordiam signat'.

[275] For the cursing of Canaan, see introductory notes to poem 57 above.

[276] See Traill, 'Walter of Châtillon's prosimetron', pp. 859–61.

[277] Herkenrath, *Gedichte*, p. 867.

[278] So Herkenrath, ibid.

[279] *OLD*, *s.v*. 5a and *DMLBS*, *s.v*. 4.

[280] 'Incipit sermo magistri Walteri de Castellione apud Romam in presentia domini pape' (*Dg*); 'Galterus de Insula predicans scolaribus Bononiensibus in reditu suo a curia Romana' (*P*); 'Sermo recitatus Bononie coram episcopo et scolaribus in dominica Letare Jerusalem' (*B*).

[281] See also introductory notes to poem 64 below.

[282] See further in introductory notes to poem 52 above.

[283] Hughes, *The Church in Crisis*, p. 205.

[284] William was appointed cardinal-priest of St Sabina; see Mathorez, *Guillaume aux Blanches Mains*, pp. 207–8.

[285] In the event, the coronation was postponed till November because of Philip's illness; see Bradbury, *Philip Augustus*, pp. 38–9.

[286] *Moralisch-satirische Gedichte*, ed. Strecker, p. 34.

[287] For a more detailed treatment of these poets and the chronological implications of this passage, see Traill, 'Walter of Châtillon's prosimentron', pp. 857–61.

[288] See Auvray, 'Un poème rhythmique', pp. 279–91.

[289] *Moralisch-satirische Gedichte*, ed. Strecker, p. 37. Strecker's belief that the poem is to be dated to *c*.1174 was based primarily on his reading of the last sentence of §23, which, since he was unaware of the existence of the Lambeth Palace manuscript (*Lp*), reflects the clearly


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corrupt text of *Dg*. He interpreted the *Dg* text to imply a reference to a recently deceased bishop of Tours, namely Joscius (1157–73/4). *Lp*'s reading makes clear the reference is to St Martin, bishop of Tours 371–97, and through him to Walter's teacher at Bologna, Martin Gosia; see Bischoff, 'Poetisches', pp. 193–4; on Martin, see poem 54.

[290] For further information on the two Peters, who have often been confused, see *Lexicon des Mittelalters*, vi. 1963–4; Southern, 'The necessity for two Peters'; Traill, 'Walter of Châtillon's prosimetrum', p. 858.

[291] Text in *The Oxford Book of Medieval Latin Verse*, ed. Raby, pp. 297–300.

[292] For more details on Berter's career, see Williams, 'William of the White Hands', 372–4 and 368, n. 20 (Amiens charter).

[293] On these and other topoi in late antique and medieval prose prefaces, see Simon, 'Untersuchungen zur Topik' and Janson, *Latin Prose Prefaces*, pp. 113–48.

[294] For a detailed discussion of the archbishop's circle of friends, see Williams, 'William of the White Hands'.

[295] For examples, see *Moralisch-satirische Gedichte*, ed. Strecker, p. 53 and Strecker, 'Schule II', pp. 162–3.

[296] The recent attribution of the *Vita Sancti Brendani* to Walter by Bernard Bischoff, Giovanni Orlandi, and Carsten Wollin is a direct result of these attempts; see Orlandi, 'San Brendano', pp. 425–33 and *Saints' Lives*, ed. Wollin, pp. 1–2. Good arguments have been adduced by the late and much lamented Giovanni Orlandi for crediting the attribution. It is to be hoped that Carsten Wollin will be able to put the case beyond dispute.

[297] On the text of this passage see further in Appendix III.

[298] Dionisotti, 'Walter and the Greeks', pp. 94–6. She points out, for instance, that the prosimetron's line 14. 5 is an improvement over *Alexandreis*, iii. 146, 'quid dedit autumpno maturis cingier uuis', and therefore later.

[299] See Orlandi, 'San Brendano', p. 436, and Traill, 'Walter of Châtillon's prosimetrum', pp. 859–61.

[300] Under the Dominate *Sanctiones pragmaticae* contained the responses of the emperor's jurists to petitions on a variety of legal issues. They seem to have had application beyond


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the specific case. They replaced the earlier *rescripta* as a source of Roman law; see Tellegen-Couperus, *A Short History of Roman Law*, p. 126.

[301] Nicholas, *An Introduction to Roman Law*, pp. 218–22.

[302] Ibid., p. 266.

[303] Ibid., p. 219.

[304] Ibid., pp. 239–40.

[305] Cf. poem 55, stanza 2; there is a similar play with *iudices* in §35, 1 below.

[306] 'Quid ergo miserrimus, quid dicam vel quid faciam, / dum nil boni perferam ante tantum iudicem?'

[307] So Gregory, *Moralia in Job*, ii. 36 (*CCSL* cxliii. 96–7), repeated in *Glossa Ordinaria*, *PL* cxiii. 169.

[308] Cf. Augustine, *Contra Faustum Manichaeum*, xii. 33 (*PL* xlii. 271): 'Nonne ipse David, cum panes propositionis manducavit, quos non licebat manducare nisi solis sacerdotibus, in una persona utrumque futurum, id est, in uno Iesu Christo regnum et sacerdotium figuravit?'

[309] For another example of this conceit, cf. *Relegentur ab area*, 2.1 (*AH*, xx. 85).

[310] Abelard's *solutio* to Héloise, *Problemata*, No. 7: 'et #Christus# quasi rotam in rota conclusit, et aquam legis in vinum Evangelii convertit' (*PL* clxxviii. 689B).

[311] So St Anselm, *Meditatio* 17: 'Exspectant felices donec impleatur numerus fratrum suorum, ut in die resurrectionis duplici stola, scilicet corporis et animae perpetua felicitate fruantur' (*PL* clviii. 795–6).

[312] Reasons for attributing this poem to Walter are given in §II (The Arundel Collection) above.

[313] *Die Arundel Sammlung*, ed. Meyer, p. 47.

[314] McDonough, *Arundel*[1], p. 114. In McDonough, *Arundel*[2], p. 126, however, he obolizes 'Auinione', and (p. 246) follows Holtzmann, 'Propter Sion', p. 172, in holding that the line has


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one syllable too many, but this objection is groundless, for already in the 12th c. 'Auinio' was no doubt pronounced as three syllables, like the modern 'Avignon', not four.

[315] *Arundel Sammlung*, ed. Meyer, p. 48.

[316] For Alexander's movements, see *Regesta*, ed. Jaffé, ii. 229–352.

[317] On Peter of Pavia, see Janssen, *Die päpstlichen Legaten*, pp. 92–108 and Becket, *Correspondence*, ii. 1380–1.

[318] On Franco, see Becket, *Correspondence*, ii. 1368–9.

[319] See introductory notes to poem 62 above.

[320] So, for instance, *Moralisch-satirische Gedichte*, ed. Strecker, p. 33; *Carmina Burana*, ed. Hilka, Schumann, and Bischoff, ii, pt. 1, pp. 78–9; Holtzmann, 'Propter Sion', p. 170; *Carmina Burana*, ed. Vollmann, p. 970.

[321] Despite his name, Peter was himself French, as many in the audience would doubtless have known; see Becket, *Correspondence*, ii. 1380.

[322] On the chronic shortage of papal funds during Alexander's pontificate, which probably hampered any attempts at curbing corruption, see Robinson, *The Papacy*, 28, 42, 167, 168, 247, 258–9, 268–9, 289.

[323] See *Moralisch-satirische Gedichte*, ed. Strecker, p. 32 and *Carmina Burana*, ed. Hilka, Schumann, and Bischoff, ii, pt. 1, p. 77.

[324] The curious substitution of Pope Urban III (1185–7) for Alexander in the Wrocław manuscript would prove that Walter was still alive in 1185 if we could be sure that Walter himself made this change. However, since the substitution occurs only in *R*, this seems unlikely. Probably, the change was made by a later performer to make the poem more contemporary. A more puzzling problem occurs with the names Hyacinth (Bobo) and William of Pavia, who oust Peter of Pavia from stanza 27 in the Oxford manuscript *Oc*. Hyacinth, who became Pope Celestine III (1191–8), served as a cardinal from 1144 onwards. William was made a cardinal in 1158. The problem is that he died in Jan. 1178. However, here again, since these names occur in only one manuscript out of eleven, they can scarcely be attributed to Walter. On these men's careers, see Brixius, *Die Mitglieder des Kardinalkollegiums*, pp. 52 and 104 (Hyacinth) and 60 and 118–19 (William), and Robinson,


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*The Papacy, passim* (see index under Celestine and William, cardinal-priest of San Pietro in Vincoli).

[325] From 1162 till 1165 the pope and his entourage were in exile in France, where the Council of Tours was held in May 1163.

[326] Rico, *On Source*, pp. 17–27. The *Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum* is printed in *PG* lvi, where the most relevant passage (quoted by Rico) is to be found in Homily 34 at 818.

[327] This view, though still possible, has been rendered much less likely by the discovery that John of Garland's source was in fact Walter's younger contemporary, Radulfus de Longo Campo, not our poem; seesee Wollin, '*Versa est in luctum*', esp. pp. 307–12.

[328] Rico, *On Source*, p. 13.

[329] 'We are at the twelfth hour. Why do you think that the shining light of justice has retreated from the world and the sun has gathered and recalled the rays of its pleasant warmth, and the blackness of iniquity and lies has covered the entire earth like a dark night, if not because even the twelfth hour is now coming also to its end? You see darkness everywhere and you doubt that the day has passed? Earlier there was darkness in the valleys, as the day was sinking at sunset. When you see hills are dark, who doubts that it is already night? In the same way the darkness of sin begins to be prevalent, first among secular and lay Christians. But now, when you see that dark iniquity has taken hold of priests, who are called mountains and hills, placed on the very summits of ecclesiastical office, how can it be doubted that it is the end of the world?'

[330] Adso, *De Antichristo, CCCL* xlv, p. 24, line 61.

[331] Cf. poem 54, where both are explicitly attacked in stanzas 17 and 24.

[332] *PG* lvi. 819: 'Forum est iste mundus, ubi omnia uenalia sunt.'

[333] See note at 27, 2. 8.

[334] Job's affliction, with which Walter compares (or contrasts) his own plight, was generally held to be leprosy.

[335] Alan of Lille, *Distinctiones* (*PL* ccx. 780), '*Equus*: . . . dicitur potentia terrena, unde in Psalmo: *Fallax equus ad salutem* #Ps. 32 (33): 17#; *et alibi Dormitauerunt qui ascenderunt*


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*equos* #Ps. 75 (76): 7#, id est in mortem animae mentem a ueritatis luce clauserunt qui in presentis uitae honore confisi sunt.'

[336] In stanza 23 he chose to begin with a form of *bonus* rather than the rhythmically awkward *benigne*.

[337] Christensen, *Das Alexanderlied*, pp. 102–3.


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