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'GOLIAS' AND GOLIARDIC POETRY

THERE has been considerable discussion about the etymology of the word *goliardus*; of the various possibilities which have been canvassed, the view which has attracted the strongest support has been that which connects the word with Goliath, the giant slain by David.¹ What has not been exhaustively examined is the historical reason why this label was attached at a particular era in the xii century to versifiers who handled not only themes descriptive of a disreputable social round, but also satire directed at moral perversion within the Church.

The Latin word seems to have emerged in the xii century as the Latinization of a French form. Many French coinages with the suffix *-ard*, *-art* make their appearance at this time. Mildred Pope suggests that the formation of these nouns was prompted by such German names as Einhard, Reinhard; and Alfred Ewert notes that such words have a regularly pejorative sense.² Hence *goliart* begins its life in the company of *bastart*, *coart*, *richart*, and similar formulations in the xii century, as a term of abuse.

The story of how David killed the giant Goliath (I Kings xvii) had exercised great influence on patristic exegetes, who were addicted to moral and mystical interpretation of Old Testament figures. Since David was a type of Christ, Goliath duly became a type of Satan. Augustine's *First Discourse on Psalm 33* states: 'David is the type of Christ as Goliath is of the devil, and in David's striking down Goliath, Christ destroys the devil'. Cassiodorus' influential *Expositio in Psalmos* adumbrates the image:

We are to remember that this struggle of David was placed in its prior position to point forward to the struggle of the Lord Christ. Just as David laid low Goliath by fighting him with the weapon of a rock, so the strength of the devil was to be overcome by the rock which is the Lord Christ... Goliath is to be identified with the devil and his agents, David with the entire Christian people, which as we know has overcome its powerful enemy by the solidity of the rock.

Another very important contribution to the developing sense of Goliath is that of Gregory the Great, who in his *Moralia* states: 'David is a type of Christ, whereas Goliath denotes the pride of heretics'. Scholars have pointed to further statements

of a similar tenor in Cæsarius of Arles and in Bede, and it would be easy to compile from the indices of the *Patrologia Latina* a much longer inventory of such descriptions.³

So 'Goliath' (as Goliath is known in Gregory and in Cassiodorus, as earlier in Ambrose) passes into the early mediaeval consciousness as a type of the devil, a foe of the Christian people, and as a title of the heretic. In the Carolingian period his presence is documented in the polite poetry of Sedulius Scotus, whose description of a cattle-thief begins: 'quidam latro fuit nequam de gente Goliae'.⁴ The phrase has reopened the vexed question of the genuineness of the statutes of the Council of Sens, presided over by Walter of Sens in 913: 'We have decreed that ribald clerics, especially those labelled the *retinue of Goliath*, should be ordered to be shorn and even shaved by bishops, archdeacons, officials and deacons so that their clerical tonsure does not remain...'. Grave historical difficulties still attend this text, but not on the score of the words *de familia Goliae*, in view of Sedulius' use of a similar phrase.⁵ By the Carolingian period, then, the terms *Goliath*, *familia Goliae* were familiar as descriptions of socially undesirable characters and aberrant clerics, but not as yet of versifiers.

The birth of the versifying 'Goliath' can be allotted to the decade 1140-50; two major pieces of evidence document him. The first is the well-known passage from **Giraldus Cambrensis**:

item parasitus quidam, Goliath nomine, gulositate pariter et leccacitate famosissimus, qui Gulias melius quia gulae et crapulae per omnia deditus dici potuit, literatus tamen affatim sed non bene morigeratus nec bonis disciplinis informatus, in papam et curiam Romanam carmina famosa pluries et plurima, tam metrica quam ridicula, non minus impudenter quam imprudenter evomit. de quibus invectionem ridiculam temere nimis et indiscrete compositam casualiter incidens clausulas aliquot inde, ad detestandum quidem et condemnandum, non approbandum aut imitandum, has scilicet hic apposui...⁶

Gerald then cites **two examples** of the kind of writing he describes. The first (*Roma mundi caput est, sed nil capit mundum*) is part of the well-known satirical composition **Utar contra vitia**, which appears in the *Carmina Burana*;⁷ the second is a part of the **Archpoet's Confession**.⁸ Gerald believes, then, that a historical character with the sobriquet Goliath existed a generation or two earlier;⁹ in his morals he is a parasite, a glutton and a lecher in the tradition of the Carolingian *gens Goliae*, but the novel feature is that he is also a witty and well-read poet, to whom is attributed not only the Archpoet's *Confession* but also a satirical indictment of the Pope and the Curia, composed in the manner of Walter of Châtillon.¹⁰

The second testimony of the activities of *Goliath* is a group of poems collected and published by **Thomas Wright in 1841**.¹¹ Wright gathered these twenty pieces from both MS and printed sources. Most of them contain an ascription to 'Goliath' in one or more MSS, but in a few cases Wright has merely reproduced the *tituli* as they appear in printed collections, without investigation of their provenance. It will therefore be prudent to take account only of compositions where the MSS make

the attribution to 'Goliath'. In some of these poems 'Goliath' acquires a more serious persona than the description by Giraldus Cambrensis intimates; one may speak without exaggeration of evidence of a deep religious concern which stands in the greatest contrast both to Gerald's commentary and to the condemnations of the ecclesiastical councils.

In short, 'Goliath' becomes a literary composite, and the poems ascribed to him cover a disconcerting range. They include the Archpoet's *Confession*; the well-known autobiographical poem of Hugo Primas of Orléans, *Dives eram et dilectus*;¹² pieces strongly reminiscent of Walter of Châtillon (not only *Utar contra vitia* already mentioned, but also another poem, *Nostris moris esse solet*,¹³ which in metre, rhymes and verbal associations claims a close kinship to *Propter Sion non tacebo*); and other poems which must be reviewed in greater detail.

The best known of these other poems is entitled *Metamorphosis Goliae Episcopi* in one MS; Peter Dronke has suggested of this author that 'Bishop Goliath is the subversive mock-bishop of the Feast of Fools, who while the feast lasts can sanction even outrageous criticism of the church's establishment'.¹⁴ Such speculation about the light-hearted occasion of publication should not distract us from the *saeva indignatio* with which the poem is written. Initially the action is dominated by Philology and Mercury (the influence of Martianus Capella and of Bernardus Silvestris' commentary on the *De nuptiis* has been demonstrated);¹⁵ but Venus and Cupid then burst in upon the scene, and a confrontation follows between Pallas Athene and Venus. This *disputatio* between the deities of learning and of love is attended by ancient philosophers and by the great literary figures of ancient Rome accompanied by their lovers or spouses; also present are a dozen leading xii-century teachers, including Peter Lombard and Gilbert de la Porrée.¹⁶ The bride Philologia laments the absence of her Abelard, 'whom she had cherished at her breasts', and there ensues a bitter denunciation of Bernard of Clairvaux and his fellow monks by the followers of Abelard crying in unison.¹⁷ The contest between Athene and Venus is thus superseded by a bout between the followers of Bernard and those of Abelard, and the final adjudication decrees the humiliation of the monks and their expulsion from the philosophical schools.

Clearly this poem is an ambitious apologia for the career of Abelard — his eminence in the world of learning, his love-encounter with Heloise, his being silenced at the Council of Sens in 1140 through the attacks of Bernard of Clairvaux. The author of the poem, 'Goliath episcopus', clearly ranges himself with the supporters of Abelard, and a date for the poem of about 1143/4 is indicated.¹⁸ It is important to realize how extensively Abelard's writings dominated theological and philosophical discussion in the schools at this time, and how fervent was the support which he generated. The author of *Metamorphosis Goliae* is one of a large band of pupils (they include future popes, bishops, abbots) who made Abelard's name, in the words of Peter the Venerable, 'toto pene orbe terrarum notus et ubique famosus'.¹⁹ The abusive attack on Bernard in the poem is reminiscent of

Berengar of Poitiers's *Apologeticus*, which describes the judges of the Council of Sens as drunk, the proceedings as an orgy, and Bernard himself as a heretic and as the author of shameless verses.²⁰ If, as seems overwhelmingly probable, 'Goliath' the xii-century versifier first emerges with the publication of *Metamorphosis Goliae*, his *début* is closely connected with the humiliation of Abelard at the hands of Bernard of Clairvaux.

A second poem attributed to 'Goliath' achieved enormous popularity in the xiii and xiv centuries; this is the *Apocalypse*, and here again the author is dignified with the rank of *episcopus*.²¹ The joking title of bishop may have been passed on from the *Metamorphosis*, but the preferment gives this character of fantasy the status of reforming leader within the *respublica clericorum* rather than that of an outsider. This long composition of 440 verses broadens 'Goliath's' satirical attack to encompass the seven hierarchical levels within the Church, from pope to cleric and finally to monk. The poet, in a dream or waking vision, is conducted by Pythagoras into the limbo of classical learning, where he observes the great poets, philosophers and scientists of antiquity. From there he is conducted by an angel to the upper heavens, where in the footsteps of the Evangelist John he experiences a revelation. It has often been observed that the 'Goliath' poems have a strong connection with England,²² and in some MSS of the poem 'Goliath' is bidden to divulge his vision to the seven churches of England ('septem ecclesiis que sunt in Anglia'), just as John the Evangelist addressed his apocalypse to the seven churches of Asia. Other MSS, however, read 'in Neustria' rather than 'in Anglia', and it is by no means clear which reading, 'Normandy' or 'England', is to be preferred. In general, however, the Englishness or otherwise of 'Goliath' and his followers is not a significant issue, because his alleged headquarters are certainly in France, and the English connection is merely the result of the large influx of English students at this period into Paris and Chartres. The important factor to be noted in the *Apocalypse* is that the culminating 70 lines of the poem are directed against the gluttony, lechery and drunkenness allegedly rife in monastic institutions. This attack on the monks provides a close to the *Apocalypse* similar to that of the *Metamorphosis*. When we note that yet another poem in Wright's collection, attributed by MS authority to 'a disciple of bishop Goliath',²³ constitutes a sharp attack on the Grey Monks or Cistercians, the Order of Bernard of Clairvaux, it becomes clear that alleged abuses in the monasteries are a leading preoccupation of 'Goliath' and his followers.

The name 'Goliath' appears also in the MSS of poems which attack worldly bishops, or priests who rise from a strumpet's bed to say mass, or the petty thief who has filched the poet's cap; to him also are ascribed compositions on the importance of not taking a wife, and on the relative merits of wine and water. Clearly the name 'Goliath' is being attached as putative author to an ever-widening variety of satirical and comic themes which provide no clue to the origin of the sobriquet 'Goliath'. The search must be narrowed to the history of Abelard and his dispute with Bernard and the Cistercians.

In a famous letter written at the time of the **Council of Sens**, Bernard warns Pope **Innocent II** of the dangers which confront Christian orthodoxy from the widespread diffusion of Abelard's works. Bernard claims that they are propounding a new faith. Having first identified Abelard with Satan ('You have escaped the lion [i.e. the antipope Peter Leonis] only to fall victim to the dragon'), he uses the image of Goliath in the sense of heretic familiar from the interpretation of Gregory the Great: 'procedit Goliath procero corpore, nobili illo suo bellico apparatu circummunitus, antecedente quoque ipsum eius armigero Arnaldo de Brixia...'. Bernard continues with the image by describing 'Goliath' as standing with his squire between the two armies, crying out to the troops of Israel at the top of his voice, and taunting the forces of holy men 'all the more boldly because there is no David to oppose him'.²⁴

This celebrated comparison of Abelard to Goliath is not an isolated case. In the **Vita Goswini**, attributed to Alexander, who succeeded Goswin as Abbot of Anchin, we read how the young Goswin impulsively marched up to Mont Ste Geneviève to challenge Abelard to debate, 'quasi David cum Goliath duello conflicturus'. The identification is sustained throughout the description of the confrontation. When Goswin began to speak, Abelard 'turned his frowning gaze upon him; and since he was aware that he himself had been a warrior (*bellatorem*) from his youth, whereas he saw Goswin to be still a stripling (*pubescere incipientem*), he despised him in his heart, almost as much perhaps as that Philistine bastard despised holy David'.²⁵ Abelard is stigmatized as Goliath here both as intellectual giant and as purveyor of heresies.²⁶

It is clear that the sobriquet 'Goliath' was foisted on Abelard by his critics, and it seems a plausible suggestion that the *Metamorphosis Goliae*, a poetic apologia for Abelard's career, is so called because the title Goliath was appropriated by, or ascribed to, the follower of Abelard who defended his teacher's activities in the realms of love and learning. After its close connection with the condemnation of Bernard and his fellow monks, the sobriquet could subsequently have achieved a wider currency in xii-century satirical poetry.

More speculatively, a **connection** may similarly be suggested between the term **goliardus** and the name **Abelardus**. Little weight could be attached to the jingle *goliard/Abelard* were it not for the fact that the name Abelard did become a focus of joking prompted by the proliferation of comic *-ard* forms in his time. There is an anonymous biography of Abelard composed before 1165, which recounts how a certain *magister* Tirricus (who may be Thierry of Chartres) gave secret lessons in mathematics to Abelard, who had never formally studied the *quadrivium*. When Abelard found the going difficult, his teacher gave him the sobriquet *baiolardus*, which the biographer interprets as 'lard-licker' (*baiare lardum*) on the grounds that Peter was failing to get his teeth into the meat of the subject; but Abelard rejected this title, awarding himself instead the nickname 'Habelardus'.²⁷

By the later xii century 'Goliath' has come to bear the sense of a witty poet who

challenges the religious establishment, and who is accorded the honorific titles of *Golias magister*, *Golias episcopus*, *Golias poeta*. (It must not be forgotten that Abelard enjoyed a high reputation as a composer of both religious and secular verses.) Thereafter 'Golias' rapidly achieves his legendary status as head of an imaginary sect or order; in this role his permissiveness rather than his satirical protestations is emphasized. In Wright's collection there is an amusing piece written by a self-styled English *goliardus*, whose poem is an application for membership of the Order, and who asks that the bearer of the application may be royally received and entertained:²⁸

omnibus in Gallia Anglus goliardus,
 obediens et humilis frater non bastardus,
Goliae discipulis, dolens quod tam tardus
 mandat salutem fratribus, nomine Ricardus.

scribo vobis timide, tamquam vir ignotus,
 qui tamen dum vixero, vester ero totus.
 deprecor attentius, supplex et devotus
goliardus fieri, non vilis harlotus...

The poem goes on to describe this imaginary establishment of 'Golias' and its way of life, which is the exact opposite of the daily routine in a monastery of strict observance like Clairvaux. Drinking, abhorrence of a vegetarian diet, the presence of a maid or two, dalliance with a high-born lady — this comic portrayal of the régime established by 'Golias' is at a far remove from the scathing attacks on ecclesiastical abuses which mark the earlier 'Golias' poems.

Yet the connection with the satirical tradition is visible for all to see. In that earlier poetry the most prominent target is the life of the monastic orders; the later compositions describing the imaginary routine of 'Golias' and his sect are an extension of these attacks. This becomes crystal clear from a scrutiny of a poem in the *Carmina Burana*, *Cum in orbem universum*.²⁹ 'Golias' is not specifically mentioned there, but his Order is described with details of membership, food, daily round and hospitality.

The poem is clearly a running complaint against the ungracious and meagre hospitality offered by many monasteries. It is impossible not to feel some sympathy for the resident monks when one recalls from the account of Helen Waddell in *The Wandering Scholars* the flood of unscrupulous visitors for ever appearing at monastic gates;³⁰ the scale of the problem experienced by communities of monks is best appreciated by scrutiny of xii- and xiii-century conciliar edicts, in which the labels *vagi*, *goliardi*, *familia Goliae* are interchangeably used to describe the army of *vagantes* on the move through Northern Europe. The cult of the hippies of a few years ago, with their internationally recognized gathering-places such as the steps of Sacré-Cœur in Paris, offers a suggestive parallel, and perhaps helps us to understand why the label *secta vagantium* could be attached to such groups.

Cum in orbem universum describes how the order of 'Goliath' gives welcome to all 'whom the devoted monks put out of doors' — tonsured monk, priest with his matron, master with his charges; persons of each and every race, class and shape (§§4–5). In contrast to the harsh vegetarian diet of the Cistercians, the *ordo vagorum* enjoys the rich fare of roast meat (§9: '...quos delectat amplius pinguis assatura, /severa quam faciat hordei mensura'). Its members are forbidden to rise for matins; when they do struggle out, they make straight for the delights of the tavern. Likewise the injunctions on clothing (§12) are in deliberate contrast to monastic practice. In short, the whole poem is a derisive commentary on the life of the monks.

In summary, the xii-century coinage *goliardus* means 'follower of Goliath', and until shortly before the middle of the xii century 'Goliath' and his retinue are the incarnation of antisocial *mores* and of heretical beliefs. But under the stimulus of the career of Peter Abelard, 'Goliath' acquires at that date a new and more sympathetic personality as influential and satirical critic of ecclesiastical abuses. Because many of Abelard's followers find common cause in hostility to Bernard and to the stricter monastic observances, it is a short step to the jocose creation of a new 'Order' headed by the permissive 'Goliath'. From the new base of membership of this *secta*, the *goliardus* develops the extended roles traced by Du Cange (s.v. GOLIARDUS (IV, 85)). When Matthew Paris describes the disorders caused by the visit of the papal legate to the University of Paris in 1229, the scholars' attendants, 'qui versus ridiculos componebant', are called *goliardi* or *goliardenses*; the French equivalent, *goliardois*, is used for minstrels or entertainers at the courts of princes or barons.³¹ In *Piers Plowman* the *goliardeis* speaks in Latin rhymes, and Chaucer's miller is a jangler and a *goliardeis*, which must mean a declaimer or reciter of (scurrilous) tales.

It is therefore easy to appreciate why 'goliardic' became a label covering different kinds of verse. As the poetry written by and for goliards, it describes their wanderings, drinking, love-interests and social ambience; *goliardus* becomes virtually synonymous with *vagus* or *vagans*. But when satirical poetry such as that of Walter of Châtillon, directed at ecclesiastical abuses, is called 'goliardic', this must be attributed to the particular xii-century circumstances in which the word was coined. It is a reasonable speculation that the labelling of Abelard with the name of Goliath, and his condemnation at Sens, are the *point de départ*; that Abelard's followers made the label 'Goliath' a title of honour; and that from this beginning a tradition of poetry developed which was initially directed against monastic severities and irregularities, but which subsequently broadened its satirical and comic scope.

NOTES

¹ Earlier views are assembled by J. W. Thompson, 'The origin of the word goliardi', *Studies in Philology*, XX (1923), 83-98. Thompson himself tries to develop the oldest thesis of derivation from *gula* (Roquefort) by the improbable suggestion, prompted by a gloss in Isidore's *Etymologies*, that the word is an abbreviation of *gulae ardeliones*, 'busy-bodies in gluttony'. The difficulty with the suggested connections with *gula* and again with Provençal *gualiator*, 'deceiver' (Grimm) is that the **goliard is not primarily either a glutton** or a figure who works by stealth or subterfuge. The persuasive thesis of W. Giesebrecht, that the goliard is a follower of Goliath, is suggestively taken further by J. M. Manly, 'Familia Goliae', *Modern Philology*, V (1907/8), 201ff. E. G. Fichtner ('The etymology of goliard', *Neophilologus*, LI (1967), 230-7) claims that *goli-* is the stem of the PrGmc verb **goljan*, but that those who used the word goliard in the Middle Ages consciously derived it from both *gula* and Goliath.

² Mildred Pope, *From Latin to French* (Manchester, 1934), p. 14; Alfred Ewert, *The French Language* (London, 1933), p. 312.

³ Augustine, *Enarr. in Ps. 33.4* (*Corpus Christianorum*, XXXVIII, 276); Cassiodorus, *Exp. in Ps. 143* (CC, XCVIII, 1281); Gregory, *Mor.* 18.14, (*PL*, LXXVI, col. 50). Cf. also Ambrose *Exp. in Ps. 118.11* (*PL*, XV, col. 1583): 'sicut David abstulit Goliae gladium, et ipsius gladio caput eius exsecuit, sic versus David, humilis atque mansuetus Dominus Iesus, intelligibilis Goliae caput armis ipsius amputavit'. Manly (cf. n. 1 above) provides further patristic citations.

⁴ Ed. by L. Traube (*Poetae aevi Carolini*, III, MGH (Berlin, 1896)), I, xvi, 11. (See the splendid article by B. I. Jarcho, 'Die Vorläufer des Goliath', *Speculum*, III (1928), 523-79, which documents Sedulius as a goliard *de ses jours*. But it is important to stress that the titles 'Goliath', 'goliardus' are never attached to the poet himself.) In the same volume of the MGH, Engelmodus (*Carm.* 3 (*Ad Rathbertum abbatem*), 154) writes: 'semiferum facili prosternis caede Goliath'. Cf. also Sedulius, II, viii, 25f.

⁵ For a fuller discussion of the text of the statute (Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum ... Collectio*, XVIII, col. 324 (Cap. xiii), see Thompson (cf. n. 1 above). The problem lies in the condemnation in identical words in a xiii-century Council (Mansi, XXIII, col. 215).

⁶ *Speculum Ecclesiae*, IV, xv, dateable to shortly after 1215 from IV, xix (Lateran Synod). There are interesting comments on the tone of Giraldus's condemnation in Jill Mann, 'Satiric subject and satiric object in goliardic literature', *Mittellat. Jahrb.*, XV (1980), 63-86, (esp. p. 65).

⁷ No. 42; text and commentary in *Carmina Burana*, ed. by A. Hilka and O. Schumann, 2 vols (Heidelberg, 1930), I, 1, 76; II, 1, 80-6.

⁸ Archipoeta, x, 11ff. (*Die Gedichte des Archipoeta*, ed. by H. Watenphul and H. Krefeld (Heidelberg, 1958), p. 74).

⁹ The Archpoet's *Confession* is dated to 1162/3.

¹⁰ Giesebrecht ascribes *Utar contra vitia* to Walter, Strecker to a poet of Walter's school; see F. E. Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry*, 2nd edn, 2 vols (Oxford, 1957), II, 206.

¹¹ Thomas Wright, *The Latin Poems Commonly Attributed to Walter Mapes*, Camden Society (London, 1841); for discussion of the poems, see J. H. Hanford, 'The progenitors of Goliath', *Speculum*, I (1926), 38ff. A. G. Rigg ('Goliath and other pseudonyms', *Studi medievali*, XVIII (1977), 65-109) has begun systematic study of this vast and neglected area. He rightly regards the 'Goliath' problem as being primarily not one of identity, but of the cultural diffusion of a mythological figure. He is accordingly studying the presence of 'Goliath' ascriptions in the *tituli* of MSS (see esp. p. 83, pp. 89ff. of his article). The present writer has the much more modest aim of supporting the likely explanation for the origin of the name 'Goliath'.

¹² Rigg (cf. n. 11 above) shows that the titles 'Primas', 'Archipoeta', 'Goliath' became almost interchangeable, being used not to identify a poet but to indicate the genre of a poem.

¹³ Wright, p. 57.

¹⁴ The version of *Metamorphosis Goliae* printed by Wright (p. 21) is now superseded by that of R. B. C. Huygens in 'Mitteilungen aus Handschriften', *Studi medievali*, III (1962), 764ff.; for the comment of Dronke, see his *Abelard and Heloise in Medieval Testimonies* (Glasgow, 1976), p. 18. For compositions composed for the Feast of Fools, see R. M. Thomson, 'The origins of Latin satire in twelfth century Europe', *Mittellat. Jahrb.*, XIII (1978), 81, and references there.

¹⁵ See W. Wetherbee, *Platonism and Poetry in the Twelfth Century* (Princeton, 1972), pp. 128-34 (esp. nn. 9, 15).

¹⁶ It has been noted that the catalogue of teachers is closely similar to the list of John of Salisbury's

professors between 1136 and 1147, and to that of William of Tyre's teachers. See R. L. Poole, 'The masters of the schools at Paris and Chartres in John of Salisbury's time', *EHR*, XXXV (1920), 321-42; R. B. C. Huygens, 'Guillaume de Tyre étudiant', *Latomus*, XXI (1962), 814f., 822ff. Abelard does not appear in William's list.

¹⁷ In Huygens's greatly improved text, lines 218-28 should be enclosed within quotation marks to make the spokesmen clear.

¹⁸ Gilbert de la Porrée, described as *praesul Pictavensis* at line 191, became bishop of Poitiers in 1142, and Poole (cf. n. 16 above) suggests a date 'not much later than 1142'; Huygens and Dronke concur. The angry tone of the poem suggests that it is composed in the heat of indignation shortly after the Council of Sens.

¹⁹ *Ep.* 115 (ed. by G. Constable, I, 307).

²⁰ The text is now published by R. M. Thomson, 'The satirical works of Berengar of Poitiers', *Mediaeval Studies*, XLII (1980), 89-138 (esp. p. 111ff.); see also D. E. Luscombe, *The School of Peter Abelard* (Cambridge, 1970), p. 30ff.

²¹ Text in K. Strecker, *Die Apokalypse des Golias* (Rome; Leipzig, 1928); discussion in Raby, II, 215ff. Rigg (cf. n. 11 above) suggests that *episcopus* may 'represent a shift from the secular meaning of Primas... in cases where the name Golias has been substituted for that of Primas' (p. 83).

²² See, e.g., Olga Dobiache-Rojdesvensky, *Les poésies des goliards* (Paris, 1931), p. 25.

²³ 'Discipulus Goliae episcopi de gris monachibus': T. Wright (ed.), *The Latin Poems Commonly Attributed to Walter Mapes*, Camden Society (London, 1841), p. 54ff.

²⁴ *Ep.* 189 (*PL*, CLXXXII, col. 355). It was on the basis of this denunciation of Abelard by Bernard that G. Paris (*Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes*, L (1889), 258ff.) first proposed that **Abelard fathered the goliards**. This paper seeks to substantiate that suggestion.

²⁵ 'Fortè non multo minus quam David sanctum spurius Philistaeus'. See M. Bouquet, *Recueil des historiens des Gauls et de la France*, XIV (Paris, 1877), p. 442f.

²⁶ Ironically enough, Abelard depicted his own role in the *Theologia summi boni*, II, prologue (ed. by H. Ostlender, BGTMA, 35:2/3 (Münster i. W., 1939), p. 35f.) as that of a David fighting the folly of Goliath. (I owe this reference to Dr Michael Clanchy.) Abelard repeatedly takes up the theme of the typological Goliath in his hymns; see Joseph Szöfferfy, *Peter Abelard's Hymnarius Paraclitensis*, II (Albany, N.Y., 1975), nos. 57, 60. Szöfferfy well cites as parallel Abelard's *Theol. Christ.* II, ii (ed. by Buytaert, CC, *Cont. Med.*, XII, 132): 'didicerat enim a vero David extorquere de manibus hostium gladium, et Goliae superbissimi caput proprio mucrone truncare'.

²⁷ Alas, I cannot understand the joke; for details of the anecdote, see Luscombe (cf. n. 20 above), p. 58. One wonders if the biographer has misinterpreted. Tirricus (?Thierry) may have coined *baiularus* from *baiularde* (commonly used of donkeys and beasts of burden, and thus denoting 'stupid ass'), and Abelard's riposte may have been 'habilarus sum' (from *habilis/habile*, 'dexterous' or 'clever').

²⁸ Wright, pp. 69ff.

²⁹ No. 219; text in *Carmina Burana*, ed. by O. Schumann and B. Bischoff, I (Heidelberg, 1970), 71. A commentary on this poem is included in my *Thirty Poems from the Carmina Burana* (Reading, 1976); see also R. Schieffer, in *Mittel. des Inst. f. österreich. Geschichtsforsch.*, LXXXII (1974), 412ff. For other poems describing the activities of Golias and his sect, see K. Strecker, in *Zeitschr. f. deutsche Phil.*, LI (1926), 117ff.; LII (1927), 396.

³⁰ H. Waddell, *The Wandering Scholars*, 6th edn (London, 1932), Chap. viii.

³¹ On this topic, see Du Cange (*s.v.* GOLIARDUS), as always, the source of much modern commentary. It is worth noting that the *Vita Goswini* (cf. n. 25 above) characterizes Abelard as one who 'plus vices agere ioculatoris quam doctoris' (Chap. iv).