

# The *Metamorphosis Goliae Episcopi*: A Revised Edition, Translation, and Notes

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The *Metamorphosis Goliae Episcopi* (cited hereafter as *MGE*) is almost unique among the many “Goliardic” poems of the twelfth century,<sup>1</sup> in that it can be grounded with some certainty in the place and time of its composition.<sup>2</sup> It is steeped in the culture of the schools of the mid-century, and its anonymous author was a partisan in the cultural debates of the time. The poem’s movement is disjointed, and though it begins as an elaborate treatment of the marriage of Philology and Mercury, based on the allegory of Martianus Capella,<sup>3</sup> the ceremony is repeatedly interrupted, and the poem ends with the marriage still unrealized. At times it can seem to be an abortive *Streitgedicht*.<sup>4</sup>

The poem’s setting, described at length, is important. The marriage is to be celebrated in the palace of Jupiter, a building so richly and variously adorned by Vulcan that it constitutes a universe in itself (*MGE*, lines 49–52), its imagery charged with meaning. Jupiter, Juno, Pallas-Minerva, Mercury, the Muses and the Graces are introduced, and their roles are glossed in mythographic terms which endow them with a significance that at times encroaches on Christian theology. The scene and its

<sup>1</sup> The term “Goliard,” pseudo-etymologically linked to *Golias* or Goliath, was used of a body of twelfth-century scholar-poets who produced much of the finest medieval love-lyric, but were best known for their satirical poetry, often in the stanza of four 13-syllable lines in feminine rhyme used by the *Metamorphosis* poet. Golias was a name to conjure with in this clerical sub-culture, and several satires on the religious establishment were attributed to him. On this tradition, see A.G. Rigg, “Golias and Other Pseudonyms,” *Studi medievali*, ser. 3, 18 (1977), 65–109; Jill Mann, “Satiric Subject and Satiric Object in Goliard Literature,” *Mittelalterliches Jahrbuch* 15 (1980), 63–86.

<sup>2</sup> The poem must have been written either shortly after the condemnation of Abelard’s theology at the Council of Sens in 1141, or shortly after his death in 1142.

<sup>3</sup> *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, ed. James Willis (Leipzig, 1983) the standard edition. There is also a good edition of the first two books of the *De nuptiis* in *Martiani Capellae De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, ed. Lucio Cristante (Hildesheim, 2011).

<sup>4</sup> The *Metamorphosis* is not mentioned in Hans Walther, *Das Streitgedicht in der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1920), but has clear affinities with debates such as those of Phyllis and Flora or Ganymede and Helen.

interpretation amount to an idealization of the project of those twelfth-century scholars who sought with the aid of the liberal arts and mythography to discover profound meaning in the order of the universe.

The marriage is first interrupted by a band of Satyrs, then by Venus, who exerts her power over a number of the assembled deities. She is resisted to little effect by Pallas. The poet tells us that a debate then arises among proponents of differing ways of life as to the relative merits of Venus and Pallas, but we are shown only the effects of Venus's power.

The wedding guests include ancient poets and philosophers, as in Martianus's *De nuptiis*, and also a number of scholars prominent in the twelfth-century schools, champions of the study of the liberal arts. They represent an intellectual humanism which it is the poem's main purpose to affirm and defend. A number of these scholars are said to be disciples of Abelard, and while Abelard himself is absent, the plot of the poem finally turns on his brilliance and his misfortunes. All is finally in readiness for the wedding ceremony when the bride, Philology, not seeing Abelard among the guests, laments his absence in lines that hint at his identification with her own divinely illuminated knowledge (*MGE*, lines 213–16). Her outpouring brings to mind the figure of Heloise,<sup>5</sup> and recalls Abelard's own *Planctus*,<sup>6</sup> poems in which Dinah, Samson and other figures from the Hebrew Bible give expression to suffering close to that of Abelard and Heloise in the course of their "history of calamity."<sup>7</sup> The scholars respond to her lament with an outcry against Bernard of Clairvaux and the Cistercians, who have destroyed Abelard's career, and the poem ends with the gods' decree banishing the monks from the schools.

The twelfth-century scholars named in the *Metamorphosis Goliae* do not represent a single school of thought, and were by no means unanimous in their view of Abelard, but nearly all helped to give the liberal arts and secular learning an increasingly

<sup>5</sup> In terms of the poem's allegory the *nupta* is of course Philology. In my *Platonism and Poetry in the Twelfth Century* (Princeton, 1972), p. 133, I suggested that we are invited to think also of Abelard's own learned *nupta*, Heloise, and I was sharply rebuked by John F. Benton, who at that time considered the affair of Abelard and Heloise a fiction: "Philology's Search for Abelard," *Speculum* 50 (1975), 199–217. My suggestion was supported by Peter Dronke, *Intellectuals and Poets in Medieval Europe*, *Storia e Letteratura* 183 (Rome, 1992), p. 262, and more recently by Huygens (see below, n. 18).

<sup>6</sup> I "Planctus." *Introd., testo critico, trascrizioni musicali*, ed. Giuseppe Vecchi (Modena, 1951).

<sup>7</sup> Peter Abelard, *Historia calamitatum*, ed. Jacques Monfrin (Paris, 1959); trans. Betty Radice, *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise* (London, 1974). See also, *The Letter Collection of Peter Abelard and Heloise*, ed. David Luscombe, trans. Betty Radice, rev. trans. David Luscombe, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 2013) and *Peter Abelard: Historia calamitatum. Edited from Troyes, Médiathèque du Grand Troyes, MS 802*, ed. Alexander Andrée, Toronto Medieval Latin Texts 32 (Toronto, 2015).

important role in the work of the schools, and to that extent they share the humanistic concerns of the poet. The poem's recurring suggestion that its myth and cosmology harbor a theological meaning is in the spirit of the scholars associated with the School of Chartres, whose "philosophical" treatment of ancient texts, largely a combination of rudimentary science and literary criticism, gave rise to controversy like that provoked by similar exploration in the work of Abelard. Abelard's claim that Plato's *Timaeus* showed him to have discovered an adumbration of the Trinity,<sup>8</sup> and the identification of Plato's world soul with the *Spiritus Sanctus* by William of Conches and others,<sup>9</sup> were attacked by William of St. Thierry,<sup>10</sup> whose treatise on the purported heresies in Abelard's theological teachings was of crucial importance to the case against him presented at the Council of Sens and subsequently sent to Innocent II.<sup>11</sup> The Cistercian rebuked both authors for their claim to have discovered *involucra* in their reading of the ancient *auctores*, and he would no doubt have condemned the *Metamorphosis Goliae* on the same grounds, even if the concluding attack on his order were absent.

A lyric in a thirteenth-century French manuscript returns to the conflict between Venus and Pallas which our poem had left unresolved.<sup>12</sup> The poet seems to have known the *Metamorphosis*; if not, he spoke the same mythographic language. In a spring setting, as Satyrs dance to the song of Philomena, Venus and Pallas Minerva suddenly join battle. Despite her menacing Gorgon-shield, and the support of the Fates, the Muses, and the tetrarchs who govern the four elements, Pallas is quickly routed by the forces of Venus, which include Ceres and Bacchus. Apollo and Janus are taken captive. All seems lost, but the poem's final lines set the debate in a larger perspective:<sup>13</sup>

<sup>8</sup> David Luscombe, *The School of Peter Abelard* (Cambridge, 1969), pp. 123–26; Wetherbee, *Platonism and Poetry*, pp. 38–43.

<sup>9</sup> Tullio Gregory, *Anima mundi: La filosofia di Guglielmo di Conches e la Scuola di Chartres* (Florence, 1955), pp. 133–54. As Gregory shows, *Platonismo medievale: studi e ricerche* (Rome, 1958), pp. 100–34, William rejected this idea in his later writings.

<sup>10</sup> *De erroribus Guillelmi de Conchis* (PL 180:333–40); *Disputatio altera adversus Abaelardum* (PL 180:283–328).

<sup>11</sup> Luscombe, *School of Peter Abelard*, pp. 106–8.

<sup>12</sup> Peter Dronke, *Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love-Lyric*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1968), 2:367–69. The manuscript is Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, MS Edil. 197. The translation is Dronke's.

<sup>13</sup> I assume that these are the poem's concluding lines, though Dronke, *Medieval Latin*, p. 369, questions this.

4a Fles tu, o Dia            4b casus Limitanae.  
     Philologia,            Catenato Pane  
     Flesque, Thalia,        rides, Volicane.

4a You weep, Goddess Philology, and you, Thalia, weep  
 4b at the calamities of Diana of the Crossways. You laugh, Vulcan, because Pan is chained.

The appearance of Philology and Vulcan's fettering of Pan take us back to the *locus universitatis* of the *Metamorphosis*, where Philology's apotheosis and marriage are the organizing motif, and the artistry lavished by Vulcan on the palace of Jove defines the setting as the ordered universe created by divine benevolence. The survey of Vulcan's work ends with his representation of the entrapment of Mars and Venus (*MGE*, line 48), an implicit comment on the relation of sexual desire to the order represented by the *locus universitatis*.<sup>14</sup> The final chaining of Pan in the later lyric is a counterpart to this myth, imposing on physical nature generally the power emblemized by Vulcan's artistry, the controlling power of the cosmic order.

### *Sources and Style of the Metamorphosis Goliae*

More than two thirds of the poem's content is based on the *De nuptiis* of Martianus Capella. The catalogue of philosophers and that of the poets and their lovers (*MGE*, lines 169–80) are largely drawn from the letters of Sidonius Apollinaris, and Huygens in his edition of the poem detects occasional faint echoes of Ovid in the description of the court of Jove and its setting. The final twelve stanzas are presumably original.

The poet has the technical skill of the learned Goliard; he deals deftly with the terminology of music (*MGE*, lines 9–28) and poetics (*MGE*, lines 185–88), and his treatment of the rich mythology of Martianus's *De nuptiis* is comprehensive and concise. The radical shift to the world of the twelfth-century schools (*MGE*, lines 189–212) is startlingly abrupt, but the brief characterizations of individual scholars have the precision and suggestiveness of those in the later *Metalogicon* of John of Salisbury,<sup>15</sup> and convey the same values.

### *The Present Edition, Translation, and Notes*

The *Metamorphosis Goliae Episcopi* survives in two manuscripts: **H** = London, British Library, MS Harley 978 (post 1260) and **O** = St. Omer, Bibiotheque Municipale, MS 710 (saec. XIV). Harley 987 is a miscellany which includes scientific treatises and a

<sup>14</sup> Thus I cannot agree with Dronke that the Venus who "holds sway in heaven" (*tenet aethera*, 3a.3) is "the goddess of 'ethereal' love, *Venus caelestis*" (*Medieval Latin*, p. 369). Her power, which captures Apollo and Janus, is the power of desire, as in *MGE*, and its effect in heaven indicates the scope of her potentially disruptive influence.

<sup>15</sup> *Metalogicon*, ed. J.B. Hall, CCCM 98 (Turnhout, 1991).

large collection of Goliardic verse; it ends with the fullest collection of the *Lais* of Marie de France. The *Metamorphosis* is copied on fols. 100v–102v. **O** includes a life of St. Thomas of Canterbury and the *Historia regum Britanniae* of Geoffrey of Monmouth, followed by a miscellany of homilies, legends, moralizing poetry, and a long treatise on the conduct of different types of religious service. The *Metamorphosis* appears on fols. 122v–124r between a collection of brief proverbs drawn from ancient authors and a poem against women.

The poem's title, which appears only in **H**, bears no clear relation to what follows; it may refer to the transformation of the poem's setting from the court of Jove to twelfth-century Paris,<sup>16</sup> but it is perhaps only a joking response to what may seem the Goliardic irreverence of the poem. The manuscripts, which differ at many points, are roughly equal in the number of good and bad readings they preserve; obvious errors in either can be corrected from the other.<sup>17</sup>

Wright's edition of 1841 is based on **H**. In 1962 Huygens published an edition based on both **H** and **O**, and in 2000 a second edition with notes and a fuller critical apparatus.<sup>18</sup> My text is that of this edition, with several changes in punctuation and a few emendations, which are explained in the Notes to the Edition.

The translation is intended to convey the meaning of the *Metamorphosis Goliae* in clear prose. Though I have tried to preserve something of the poem's vigor, I have made no attempt to recreate its meter and rhyme. The notes to the translation are for the most part devoted to sources and the interpretation of particular lines, but I have also drawn together the research that makes it possible to identify most of the twelfth-century scholars named in stanzas 48–53, whose presence is the most remarkable feature of the poem, bringing together the idealized intellectual universe of Martianus and the world of scholars who are enacting the marriage of Philology and Mercury in practical terms.

<sup>16</sup> See John R. Clark, "Metamorphosis in the Twelfth-Century 'Metamorphosis Golye Episcopi,'" in *Classical Texts and their Traditions. Studies in Honor of C.R. Trahman*, ed. David F. Bright and Edwin S. Ramage (Chico, CA, 1984), pp. 7–12.

<sup>17</sup> Hennig Brinkmann, "Die Metamorphosis Goliae und das Streitgedicht Phyllis und Flora," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 62 (1925), 27–36, at pp. 27–28, claims to have found little to correct in the Harley text, and considers the St. Omer text "quite worthless." Karl Strecker, "Kritisches zu mittellateinischen Texten," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 63 (1926), 111–15, offers a corrective review.

<sup>18</sup> "Metamorphosis Goliae Episcopi," ed. Thomas Wright, in *Latin Poems Commonly Attributed to Walter Mapes* (London, 1841), pp. 21–39; ed. R.B.C. Huygens, in "Mitteilungen aus Handschriften," *Studi Medievali* 3 (1962), 764–72; and idem, in *Serta mediaevalia: textus varii saeculorum x–xiii*, CCCM 171 and 171A (Turnhout, 2000), 171A, pp. 803–15.

1.	Sole post Arietem Taurum subintrante, nouo terre faciem flore picturante, pinu sub florigera nuper pullulante membra sompno foveram, paulo fessus ante.	
2.	Nemus michi videor quoddam subintrare cuius ramus ceperat omnis floscolare; quod nequivit hyemis albor deturpare, nec a sui decoris statu declinare.	5
3.	Circa ima nemoris aura susurrabat, cuius crebro flamine nemus consonabat; et ibidem gravitas rauca crepitabat, sed appulsu <sup>a</sup> melico tota resultabat.	10
4.	Circa partis medie medium ramorum, quasi multitudinem fingens tympanorum, personabat melicum quiddam et canorum, et extremo carmine dulcius olorum.	15
5.	Epytrita, sexcupla, dupla iunctione fit concentus consona modulacione, et, ut a canentibus fit in Elycone, totum nemus resonat in proporcione.	20
6.	Nam ramorum medium flabro quaciente, et pulsu continuo ramos inpellente, mixtim semitonio interveniente, sonat dyatessaron, sonat dyapente.	
7.	Set in parte nemoris eminenciore resonabat sonitu vox acuciore, ut pars summa medie cum inferiore responderet mutuo concordie tenore.	25
8.	Hic auditur avium vox dulcicanarum, quarum nemus sonuit voce querelarum; sed illa diversitas consonanciarum prefiguratur ordinem septem planetarum.	30

*English Translation*

1. The Sun had left Aries and was entering Taurus,<sup>1</sup> and new flowers were adorning the face of the earth. Earlier, grown rather weary, I had granted my body sleep, under a flowering pine,<sup>2</sup> newly in bloom.
2. It seemed to me that I was entering a grove {5} where every bough had begun to blossom, a grove which the chill of winter could not defile, or alter from its beautiful state.
3. Low in the grove the wind murmured, and to its continual stirrings the grove answered in harmony.<sup>3</sup> {10} Rough, low tones rumbled forth there, but every resonance arose from a musical impulse.
4. Amid the middle branches in the midst of the grove there resounded something melodious and harmonious that seemed like the sound of many drums, {15} yet was sweeter than the last song of the swan.<sup>4</sup>
5. Joined at the fourth, the fifth, and the octave, a consonance arose, harmonious in its measure, and as happens when there is singing on Helicon,<sup>5</sup> the whole grove resounded in musical proportion. {20}
6. For as the wind beat at the middle branches, and its constant impulse stirred them, the fourth was heard, and the fifth, mixed with the intermingled semi-tones.<sup>6</sup>
7. But in the higher part of the grove {25} a voice with a higher pitch was heard, so that the higher, together with the lower, corresponded to the middle in mutual concord.
8. Here were heard the voices of sweetly singing birds, and the grove rang with the sound of their plaintive warbling. {30} But this diversity of consonant music prefigures the order of the seven planets.<sup>7</sup>







9. In the midst of the grove a broad lawn spread forth, colored with violets and other flowers, at whose fragrant scent {35} I seemed to myself to be born anew.

10. There stood a palace raised on columns; its floor was solidly laid in jasper;<sup>8</sup> its walls were sapphire, its roof covered with gold, and it was wholly covered with images, within and without.<sup>9</sup> {40}

11. I began to realize from the decoration I saw that the engraving had been the work of a god. Vulcan had performed it with special care: everything had a veiled meaning, everything was allegorical.<sup>10</sup>

12. Here he had painted the nine sisters of Helicon, {45} and all the spheres of the heavenly region, and, among these and other themes, the fate of Adonis, and the bonds of Gradivus and his Dione.<sup>11</sup>

13. This house contains the universe itself; it contains the forms of created life, and creatures endowed with form,<sup>12</sup> {50} which that best creator who exists before creation made and ordered as an expression of his goodness.

14. Within I heard a harmony of many kinds of music, such that I could imagine a meeting of goddesses taking place. For instruments of every kind {55} sang out, and created a joyful message.

15. The clamor of voices that I heard there is the proportioned concord of created life. For the instruments' voices are harmonious, and the same musical bond exists among creatures. {60}

16. Within I saw the king, seated on high, leaning on his scepter in a kingly manner, and his wife, close by his side; both he and she were administering the world below.

17. Through the king is signified the heat infused into created life,<sup>13</sup> {65} though here he also signifies something else.<sup>14</sup> Through her the whole structure of the universe is kept in balance; trees put forth fruit, the earth is made fertile.<sup>15</sup>

18. Innuba de vertice regis Pallas exit,  
 quam sibi collaterans firmo nexu nexit; 70  
 illa peplo faciem circumquaque textit,  
 nec nisi ad patrios visus se detexit.
19. Hec mens est Altissimi, mens divinitatis,  
 que nature legibus imperat et fatis;  
 incomprehensibilis res est deitatis, 75  
 nam fugit angustias nostre parvitas.
20. Video Cyllennium, superum legatum,  
 a predicti numinis sinistris locatum,  
 ut nubentem decuit totum purpuratum,  
 quadam pube tenera faciem umbratum. 80
21. In hoc quod est nuncius, volo designare  
 eloquendi gratiam multos copulare.  
 Eius dixi faciem pubem obumbrare:  
 sic sermonem lepide debes colorare.
22. Nupta sibi comes est de stirpe divina, 85  
 vestis de cyndalio, partim hyalina.  
 Vultus rutilancior rosa matutina,  
 quam nec sol decoxerat, nec lesit pruina.
23. Nisi sapientie sermo copuletur,  
 vagus, dissolutus est, infirmus habetur; 90  
 et cum parum proficit, parum promeretur;  
 eget ut remigio eius gubernetur.
24. Hanc donavit Fronesis dono speciali,  
 in conventu numinum die nupciali;  
 capiti inposuit sertum virginali, 95  
 cuius domus<sup>c</sup> rutilat gemma mediali.
25. Per sertum significo circumductionem,  
 ut agendo habeas circumspectionem;  
 gemma serti media signat rationem,  
 cuius prevenire est omnem actionem. 100
26. Sol sublimis capite suum gerit sertum,  
 hinc et hinc innumeris radiis refertum;  
 nichil huic absconditum, nichil inexpertum,  
 set quid hoc significet satis est apertum.

18. Pallas, never to marry, came forth from the head of the king;<sup>16</sup> he held her close beside him with a firm bond. {70} She covered her face all around with a veil, and did not unveil herself except to the eyes of her father.

19. She is the mind of the most high, the mind of the divinity which controls the laws of nature and fate. The reality of godhead is incomprehensible, {75} for it flees the limits of our puny understanding.

20. I see Mercury,<sup>17</sup> the messenger of the gods, placed to the left of the aforementioned deity, clad wholly in purple, as befitted a bridegroom, his face shadowed by a light pubescent growth. {80}

21. By his role as messenger I wish to signify that the grace of eloquence brings many people together. I have said that the growth of puberty shadows his face: so should one gracefully adorn one's speech.

22. His bridal partner is of divine lineage; {85} her silken robe<sup>18</sup> is partly sea-green. Her face glows brighter than the morning rose, which the sun has not withered nor frost blighted.<sup>19</sup>

23. If speech is not united with wisdom it is random, uncontrolled, deemed worthless; {90} and since it does no good it earns no reward; it lacks that which might guide its course.

24. Phronesis<sup>20</sup> endowed the bride with a special gift, in the presence of the gods, on her wedding day: she placed on the maiden's head a garland; {95} the palace was illumined by the gem at its center.

25. By the garland I signify examining all sides of a question; that in acting you may possess foresight; the gem in the center of the garland stands for reason, whose duty it is to prepare for every action. {100}

26. The Sun on high wears a garland of his own, equipped with countless rays extending this way and that; nothing is hidden from him, nothing unexamined -- but what this signifies has been sufficiently revealed.<sup>21</sup>

27. Huius erat facies mille specierum, 105  
 diadema capitis clarum et sincerum;  
 hic est mundi oculus, et causa dierum,  
 et vitalis spiritus, et fomentum rerum.
28. Ante deum quatuor erant urne stantes, 110  
 elementis omnium rerum redundantes;  
 diversorum generum era imitantes,  
 hee sunt partes quatuor anni designantes.
29. Sua Elyconides tenent instrumenta,  
 ut perfecta gaudii fiant complementa;  
 et applaudunt organis inter sacramenta, 115  
 queque rei mystice prebent argumenta.
30. Novem sunt in ordine, novem cecinere,  
 novem novas manibus liras tenuere,  
 et diversos pollice nervos tetigere;  
 sed tamen concorditer sibi respondere. 120
31. Quid designent, dicere grande non est onus:  
 novem orbes opifex fecit ille bonus;  
 octo sibi consonant, sono caret nonus,  
 nam non habet fieri sine motu sonus.
32. Vel sunt dotes, opifex quas Sychi largitur, 125  
 quibus circumcingitur, quibus investitur,  
 et quibus per circulos labens insignitur,  
 cum carnis hospicium fragile aditur.
33. Tres astabant virgines versus Iovem verse,  
 stabant firme digitis connexis inter se; 130  
 sunt aversa corpora, facies averse,<sup>d</sup>  
 sunt excelsi numinis proles universe.
34. Donum Dei largitas esse deputatur,  
 siquis quicquam dederit, mox restituatur,  
 et dati memoria firme teneatur, 135  
 ut si simplex fuerit, duplex revertatur.
35. Hinc cum bombis strepitus sonat crotallorum,<sup>e</sup>  
 a Sylleno ducitur agmen satyrorum.  
 Temulentus titubat, et precedit chorum,  
 atque risus excitat singulis deorum. 140

27. The face of this power possessed a thousand forms; {105} his diadem shone with a clear, pure light. He is the eye of the universe, bringer of day, the vital spirit, the nourisher of created life.

28. Before the god there stood four urns, filled with the elements of all things; {110} imitating the climates proper to different kinds of life, they designate the four parts of the year.<sup>22</sup>

29. The Sisters of Helicon ready their instruments, that the joy of the occasion may be complete; amid the ceremony they give voice to their music, {115} affirming each message of the mystical rite.

30. There are nine in their company, nine sang, nine held new lyres in their hands, and touched the different strings with their fingers; yet they responded to one another in concord. {120}

31. It is no great task to say what this signifies: The good creator created nine spheres; eight sing in harmony, the ninth lacks a song; for sound cannot come to exist without motion.

32. Or they are the gifts which the creator bestowed on Psyche, {125} with which she is girded about, with which she is invested, and which she bears as a seal, when she descends through the spheres and enters the hospice of the frail fleshly body.<sup>23</sup>

33. Three maidens were standing, turned toward Jove; they stood with their fingers firmly interlaced.<sup>24</sup> {130} Their bodies are turned away, their faces look back. They are children of the all-embracing heavenly power.<sup>25</sup>

34. Generosity is deemed a gift of God. If someone has given something, let it be quickly repaid, and let the memory of the gift be kept firmly in mind: {135} though it was simple, let it be doubly repaid.

35. Now amid drumbeats resounds the noise of rattles;<sup>26</sup> a band of Satyrs is led in by Silenus. He teeters drunkenly, and outdoes the chorus, provoking the laughter of all the gods. {140}

36. Horum parti maxime Venus dominatur;  
iste sibi supplicat, ille famulatur.  
Hanc de more filius suus comitatur,  
nudus, cecus, puer est facies, alatur.
37. Nudus, nam propositum nequid sepelire; 145  
cecus, quia ratio nequid hunc lenire;  
puer, nam plus puero solet lascivire;  
alatus,<sup>f</sup> dum<sup>g</sup> facile solet preterire.
38. Illius vibrabile telum est auratum,  
et in summa cuspidē modice curvatum; 150  
telum invitabile, telum formidatum;  
nam qui hoc percutitur pellit celibatum.
39. Sola soli Veneri Pallas adversatur,  
et pro totis viribus usque novercatur;  
nam quod placet Veneri Pallas aspernatur. 155  
Venus pudiciam raro comitatur.
40. Hic diversi militant, et diverse vite,  
qui ab usu solito dissident invite,  
quibus an plus valeat Pallas Afrodite,  
adhuc est sub pendulo, adhuc est sub lite. 160
41. Nexibus Cupidinis Syche detinetur;  
Mars Nerine coniugis ignibus torretur;  
Ianus ab Argiona disiungi veretur,  
Sol a<sup>h</sup> prole Pronoes diligi meretur.
42. Syche per illecebras carnis captivatur, 165  
sors in Marte fluctuat, Nereus vagatur,  
opifex in opere suo gloriatur;  
quid fiat in posterum Deo scire datur.
43. Aderant philosophi; Tales udus stabat,  
Crisippus cum numeris, Zeno ponderabat; 170  
ardebat Eraclius, Perdix circinabat;  
motus ille Samius proportionabat.
44. Hinc dissuadet Appius, hinc persuadet Cato;  
implicabat Socrates, explicabat Plato;  
vacuum<sup>i</sup> Archesilas tenuit pro rato, 175  
esse quod inceperat undique locato.

36. Venus rules over the greater portion of the company: one implores her aid, another is her slave. As is customary her son accompanies her: he is naked, blind, his face that of a boy, winged.

37. He is naked, for he cannot conceal his purposes; {145} blind, in that reason cannot mollify him; a boy, for he acts more wantonly than any boy; winged, since he eludes one so easily.

38. The weapon he brandishes is gilded, and at its very point slightly curved. {150} It is an unavoidable weapon, a weapon to be feared, for he who is struck by it abandons celibacy.

39. Pallas stands opposed to Venus, one against one; for all her strength she is made to play the stepmother;<sup>27</sup> for Pallas scorns what is pleasing to Venus: {155} Venus is rarely the friend of chastity.

40. Now different groups join battle, those of diverse ways of life, who depart reluctantly from their accustomed practice; for whom it is uncertain, still to be determined, whether Pallas or Aphrodite has the stronger claim. {160}

41. Psyche is caught in the net of Cupid; Mars burns in fiery love of his wife Nerina; Janus fears being pulled apart by Argione; the Sun earns the love of the daughter of Pronoia.<sup>28</sup>

42. Psyche falls prey to the temptations of the flesh; {165} the fortunes of war ebb and flow like the sea;<sup>29</sup> the creator glories in his creation;<sup>30</sup> to know what will happen in later time is the gift of God.<sup>31</sup>

43. The philosophers too were present:<sup>32</sup> Thales stood dripping,<sup>33</sup> Chrysippus was busy with numbers;<sup>34</sup> Zeno was weighing;<sup>35</sup> {170} Heraclitus burned;<sup>36</sup> Perdix drew circles;<sup>37</sup> the Samian set all in due proportion.<sup>38</sup>

44. Socrates wove arguments, Plato unravelled them; Appius dissuaded on one side, Cato persuaded on the other;<sup>39</sup> Arcesilas held it as a universal law {175} that whatever had had a beginning was void.<sup>40</sup>



45. Secum suam duxerat Getam Naso pullus;<sup>j</sup>  
 Cynthiam Propertius, Delyam Tibullus;  
 Tullius Terenciam, Lesbiam Catullus;  
 vates huc convenerat sine sua nullus. 180
46. Queque suo suus est ardor et favilla;  
 Plinium Calpurnie succendit scintilla;  
 urit Apuleium sua Pudentilla;  
 hunc et hunc amplexibus tenet hec et illa.
47. Versus fingunt varie metra variantes, 185  
 coturnatos, lubricos, enodes, crepantes;  
 hos endecasillabos, illos recursantes,  
 totum dicunt lepide, nichil rusticantes.
48. Ibi doctor cernitur ille Carnotensis,  
 cuius lingua vehemens truncat velud ensis; 190  
 et hic presul presulum stat Pictaviensis,  
 proprius nubencium miles et castrensis.
49. Inter hos et alios in parte remota,  
 Parvi Pontis incola, non loquor ignota,  
 disputabat digitis directis in iota, 195  
 et quecumque dixerat erant per se nota.
50. Celebrem theologum vidimus Lombardum;  
 cum Yvone, Helyam Petrum, et Bernardum,  
 quorum opobalsamum spirat os, et nardum,  
 et professi plurimi sunt Abaelardum. 200
51. Reginaldus monachus clamose contendit,  
 et obliquis singulos verbis reprehendit;  
 hos et hos redarguit, nec in se descendit,  
 qui nostrum Porphyrium laqueo suspendit.
52. Robertus theologus corde vivens mundo 205  
 adest, et Manerius quem nulli secundo,  
 alto loquens spiritu et ore profundo,  
 quo quidem subtilior nullus est in mundo.
53. Hinc et Bartholomaeus faciem acutus,  
 retor, dyaleticus, sermone astutus; 210  
 et Robertus Amiclas simile secutus,  
 cum hiis quos pretereo, populus minutus.

45. Mournful Ovid had brought with him his Thracian lady, Propertius his Cynthia, Tibullus Delia, Cicero Terentia, Catullus Lesbia. None of the poets had come without his love. {180}

46. Each lady arouses the heat of passion in her man: the spark of Calpurnia inflames Pliny; his Pudentilla makes Apuleius burn;<sup>41</sup> the two women hold the men in their embrace.

47. The poets fashion verses of various kinds, varying the meters: {185} lofty, smooth, soft, harsh; now in hendecasyllables, now with refrain; all that they utter is graceful, never rough.

48. Here is seen the doctor from Chartres,<sup>42</sup> whose severe tongue cuts like a sword; {190} here too the chief priest of the priests of Poitiers,<sup>43</sup> a soldier devoted to the service of the bride and groom.<sup>44</sup>

49. Along with these and others, in a separate place, he who taught at the Petit-Pont<sup>45</sup> – I do not speak of something unknown – was disputing, his fingers emphasizing his point, {195} and whatever he had said was noteworthy.

50. We saw the celebrated Lombard theologian,<sup>46</sup> with Ivo, Peter Helias, and Bernard;<sup>47</sup> their lips exude the essence of balsam and nard, and all teach the doctrines of Abelard. {200}

51. The monk Reginald argues loudly, and contests every point with subtle words; challenging this person and that, he never withdraws into himself, he who suspended our Porphyry from a noose.<sup>48</sup>

52. The theologian Robert, living pure in heart, {205} is at hand,<sup>49</sup> and Manerius, whom I rank second to none, whose profound words bespeak a lofty spirit; there is surely no one in the world more clever than he.<sup>50</sup>

53. Next is Bartholemew, rhetor and dialectician, alertly observing and subtle in speech;<sup>51</sup> {210} and Robert Amiclas comes as well,<sup>52</sup> with others, an insignificant group whom I pass over.

54. Nupta querit ubi sit suus Palatinus,  
cuius totus extitit spiritus divinus;  
querit cur se subtrahat quasi peregrinus, 215  
quem ad sua ubera foverat et sinus.
55. Clamant a philosopho plures educati:  
“Cucullatus populi primas cucullati,  
et ut cepe tunicis tribus tunicati,  
imponi silentium fecit tanto vati. 220
56. Grex est hic nequicie, grex perdicionis,  
impius et pessimus heres Pharaonis,  
speciem exterius dans religionis,  
sed subest scintillula supersticionis.
57. Gentis gens quisquilia, gens hec infrunita, 225  
cuius est cupiditas mentis infinita.  
Istos ergo fugias, et istos devita,  
et hiis ne respondeas, ‘non est *sic* vel *ita*.’”
58. Dii decernunt super hoc, et placet decretum  
ut a suo subtrahant hunc a cetu<sup>k</sup> cetum. 230  
et ne philosophicum audiat secretum,  
studii mechanici teneat oletum.
59. Quicquid tante curie sanctione datur  
non cedat in irritum, ratum habeatur;  
cucullatus igitur grex vilipendatur, 235  
et a philosophicis scholis expellatur. AMEN

54. The bride asks where her Palatine can be,<sup>53</sup> whose spirit is wholly divine; she asks why he has withdrawn himself like a stranger, {215} he whom she had clasped to her bosom and nursed at her breasts.

55. The many scholars trained by the philosopher cry out: “The hooded primate of the hooded tribe,<sup>54</sup> robed in three tunics like an onion, has caused silence to be imposed on this great master. {220}

56. This is the mob of evil ones, the mob of the damned, the ungodly and most wicked heirs of Pharaoh; they show outwardly the appearance of religiousness, but within is the flame of superstition.

57. This race is the refuse of humanity, a race without sense; {225} the cupidity of their minds is infinite. Flee from them, then, shun them, and do not answer them with ‘it is not so,’ or ‘thus.’”<sup>55</sup>

58. The gods deliberate about this matter, and their decision is welcome: that group must be removed from this company, {230} and lest they be privy to the mysteries of philosophy, they must keep to the dungheap of the mechanical sciences.

59. Whatever is delivered with the authority of such a court may not be disregarded; it must be considered decisive. So let the hooded tribe be despised, {235} and banished from the schools of the philosophers. AMEN

### Notes to the Edition

<sup>a</sup> Both manuscripts read *a pulsu*. Most editors read *appulsu* in the corresponding passage of Martianus, *De nuptiis*, 1.11. Karl Strecker, “Kritisches zu mittellateinischen Texten,” p. 113 (see Introduction, n. 17), takes *appulsu* as the correct reading, but Huygens retains *a pulsu*, and notes that this is the reading of an important tenth-century manuscript of the *De nuptiis*, Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 56b. All references to Huygens in these notes are to his second edition of the poem (see Introduction, n. 18).

<sup>b</sup> *per hunc*, the reading of **O**, is preferable to the *eo* of **H**, adopted by Huygens, given the presence of *hunc* and *hanc* in lines 65 and 67, and *innuatur* suggests better than *designatur* the implicitly semi-mystical reading of Jove.

<sup>c</sup> Huygens considers *modus* preferable to *domus*, but the reference is surely to the palace of Jove, already referred to as *domus* in line 49, where the bestowal of the gem takes place.

<sup>d</sup> I have adopted the *aversa ... averse* of **H**, in preference to *a<d>versa ... adverse*, Huygens’s modified reading of **O**; I think the line represents a confused attempt to introduce another iconographic convention, whereby one Grace turns her face away, while two turn their faces toward the viewer, to show, as the *Metamorphosis* poet explains in the following quatrain, that a gracious act is “simple” as it leaves the giver, but two-fold as it is returned: Servius, *ad Aen.* 1.720; Fulgentius, *Mit.* 2.1; *Mythogr.* 2.36; *Mythogr.* 3.11.2.

<sup>e</sup> Huygens gives *cercellorum*, the reading of **H**, but **O**’s *crotallorum* echoes the use of the same term in the corresponding passage of Martianus, *De nuptiis*.

<sup>f</sup> *alatus*, the reading of **H**, is preferable to **O**’s *alatur*, adopted by Huygens, since it completes the sequence of modifiers, *nudus, cecus, puer*.

<sup>g</sup> Huygens opts for *nam*, but I prefer *dum* which is the reading of **H**. This, however, is a tiny point, since in this context *nam* and *dum* seem more or less interchangeable.

<sup>h</sup> Both manuscripts read *sola*, but the poet is clearly recalling Martianus’s reference to the love of Apollo and Mantice, the spirit of Prophecy, daughter of Pronoia (Providence), and *Sol* refers to Apollo.

<sup>i</sup> I find lines 175–76 untranslatable as they stand in the manuscripts, and I can venture a tentative translation only by emending *vacuus* to *vacuum*.

<sup>j</sup> The manuscripts give the names in this line as *Cetam* (**H**) *Tecam* (**O**) and *Ysopullus*, but I accept the emendation of S.T. Collins, “Who Was Ysopullus?,” *Speculum* 23 (1948), 112, for whom *Naso* (Ovid) is *pullus* (“mournful”) because exiled among the *Getae* in Thrace. Huygens, considering that a name as familiar as *Naso* was unlikely to become corrupted, emends *Cetam/Tecam* to <G>*recam*, and suggests that *Ysopullus*

refers to Aesop, whose name, often as *Ysopus*, was familiar from Latin collections of beast-fables. But *Naso* is the obvious leader for a company of Latin love poets, and Aesop seems out of place among them. In the letter of Sidonius from which the rest of this catalogue is drawn *Naso* is paired with *Corinna*, and Aesop is not mentioned. That Ovid is here exiled and unhappy may invite comparison with the fate of Abelard, which provokes the outrage of the poem's concluding stanzas.

<sup>k</sup> I preserve the reading of **H** rather than adopt Huygens's conjectural *accessu*, though the redundant *a* (*a suo ... a cetu*) is awkward.

### Notes to the Translation

<sup>1</sup> The Sun enters Taurus around 12 April. Here and in line 5 my translation ignores the suggestion of stealth or secrecy in *subintro*.

<sup>2</sup> Neither *florigera* nor *pullulante* seems appropriate to a pine tree; the incongruity is perhaps intended to suggest the divine hyperfertility of a *locus amoenus*; see John R. Clark, "Love and Learning in the 'Metamorphosis Golye Episcopi,'" *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 21 (1986), 158–59. Gédéon Huet, "Sur l'origine du poème de Phyllide et Flora," *Romania* 22 (1893), 536–38, cites several Old French examples of pines in similar contexts.

<sup>3</sup> The language and musical detail of lines 9–28 closely follow Martianus, *De nuptiis* 1.11, on the grove of Cyrrha, sacred to Apollo, where "susurrantibus flabris, canora modulatio melico quodam crepitabat appulsu. Nam eminentiora prolixarum arborum culmina, perindeque distenta, acuto sonitu resultabant; quicquid uero terrae confine ac propinquum, ramis acclinibus, fuerat, grauitas rauca quatiebat. At media ratis per annexa succentibus duplis et sesquialteris nec non etiam sesquiteritiis, sesquioctauis etiam, sine discretione iuncturis, licet interuenirent limmata, concinebant. Ita fiebat ut nemus illud harmoniam totam superumque carmen modulationum congruentia personaret" – "as the breeze whispered, a songlike modulation issued forth with a kind of musical vibration. For the higher crests of the tall trees, bent by the same breeze, resonated with a high sound, while those that were close to the earth, with branches sloping downward, vibrated with a rough and heavy sound. But those of medium size sang together, joined in the ordered harmonies of the octave, the fifth, the fourth also, and even the whole tone, joined without discrimination, although half-tones came between. The result was that by virtue of its corresponding modulations, the grove resounded with complete harmony and divine song."

<sup>4</sup> According to Ovid, *Her.* 7.2 and Bernardus Silvestris, *Cosmographia* 1.3.449–50, the swan was supposed to sing beautifully at the time of its death. Pliny, *Nat. hist.* 10.23.63, is skeptical.

<sup>5</sup> Mt. Helicon in Boeotia, sacred to Apollo, was the traditional home of the Muses.

<sup>6</sup> *Diatesseron* and *diapente*, or fourth and fifth, are defined in Martianus, *De nuptiis* 9.933–34.

<sup>7</sup> Martianus, *De nuptiis* 1.12: “etiam in caelo orbes parili ratione aut concentus edere aut succentibus conuenire. Nec mirum quod Apollinis silua ita rata modificatione congrueret, cum caeli quoque orbes idem Delius moduletur in sole” – “in heaven, too, the spheres, by a similar design, either produce harmony or adapt to intervals. Nor was it strange that the grove of Apollo should conform to so careful a scheme of modulation, since the same Delian God, as the Sun, orders the planets.”

<sup>8</sup> *basis* could denote the pedestal of a column, but the singular, and the presence of *paries* and *tecta* in the following line, seem to indicate that it refers to the floor of the palace.

<sup>9</sup> The splendid palace and the cosmic scope of the art of Vulcan recall Ovid, *Met.* 2.1–18.

<sup>10</sup> As used by twelfth-century scholars, *involucrum*, and the related term *integumentum*, denote a veil or covering of language which conceals, but figuratively represents, an underlying truth. They were understood to play a role in the work of secular *auctores* comparable to that of allegory in biblical texts. See Edouard Jeuneau, “L’usage de la notion d’*integumentum* à travers les gloses de Guillaume de Conches,” *Archives d’histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 32 (1957), 35–100; Peter Dronke, *Fabula: Explorations into the Uses of Myth in Medieval Platonism*. Mittellateinische Studien und Texte 9 (Leiden and Cologne, 1974), pp. 13–78.

<sup>11</sup> *Gradivus* is one of the several titles of Mars, perhaps derived from *gradior* and associated with marching. Dione is the mother of Venus, but her name is often, and in Medieval Latin poetry regularly, used of Venus herself. The “bonds” are those fashioned by Vulcan to trap Mars and Venus in adultery: Homer, *Odyssey* 8.266–366; Ovid, *Ars Am.* 2.561–88.

<sup>12</sup> These lines recall the court of Jove in Martianus, *De nuptiis* 1.36, where Jove and Juno contemplate a sphere inscribed with “whatever universal nature can conceivably contain,” and thus “the image and the idea of the universe.” The motif appears also in Chrétien de Troyes, *Erec et Enide*, 6812–19, where Erec is given a scepter made of a single emerald inscribed with the *propre ymage* of every creature in the universe.

<sup>13</sup> Servius, *ad Aen.* 1.47; Fulgentius, *Mit.* 1.3.

<sup>14</sup> See *The Commentary on Martianus Capella’s “De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii” Attributed to Bernardus Silvestris*, ed. Haijo Jan Westra, Studies and Texts 80 (Toronto, 1986), pp. 246–47, on the alternate interpretations of Jove, Juno, and Pallas, mythographical and allegorical (in which they become an *integumentum* of the persons of the Trinity).

<sup>15</sup> Servius, *ad Aen.* 1.47; Fulgentius, *Mit.* 1.3.



<sup>16</sup> The allusion to Pallas/Athena's birth from the forehead of Zeus is evidently intended to suggest the intimate connection of these two divine "persons." In the corresponding passage of Martianus, *De nuptiis* (1.39) Pallas descends from a place of "purgatoris vibratorisque luminis" – "purer and more sparkling light."

<sup>17</sup> *Cyllenius*, from Mt. Cyllene in Arcadia, sacred to Mercury, who was supposed to have been born there.

<sup>18</sup> *sindalium* is a silken fabric resembling taffeta.

<sup>19</sup> Lines 85–88 are omitted in **O**.

<sup>20</sup> *Phronesis* is Wisdom, the mother of Philology.

<sup>21</sup> In the "Bernardus" commentary on Martianus, *De nuptiis*, Apollo, the Sun, is twice glossed as divine wisdom; see *The Commentary on Martianus Capella's De nuptiis*, ed. Westra, pp. 56 and 139.

<sup>22</sup> These lines are based on Martianus, *De nuptiis* 1.16–18, where the four urns are rather confusingly described as both containing the elements and generating the meteorological phenomena associated with them.

<sup>23</sup> The gifts bestowed on Psyche recall those bestowed by the gods in Martianus, *De nuptiis* 1.7. These include the mirror of Urania, in which Psyche may recognize herself and discover her origin; and Vulcan's gift of fires which cannot be extinguished, lest she be overcome by dark night.

<sup>24</sup> The three maidens are the *Charites* or Graces, who appear in Martianus, *De nuptiis* 2.132, also with their hands interlaced. Seneca, *De ben.* 1.3, explains this detail as representing the good deed which one person bestows on another, but which nevertheless returns to the original benefactor.

<sup>25</sup> I take *universe* as indicating that the principle of generosity embodied in the Graces is acknowledged by all.

<sup>26</sup> In Martianus, *De nuptiis* 2.133, the appearance of the Graces is also followed by the noise of rattles, but there they serve to introduce the goddess *Athanasia*, or Immortality, who completes the process of preparing Philology for marriage to a god. My translation of *precedit* in line 139 assumes that the noisy entry of Silenus and his troupe, like the outburst that greets Athanasia, overwhelms the chorus of the Muses. In the *De nuptiis* the amusement provoked by Silenus's drunkenness occurs at 8.804.

<sup>27</sup> Stepmothers are always viewed negatively in Medieval Latin poetry. We are to see Pallas here as having been reduced to a nagging, unwelcome presence in an atmosphere dominated by Venus.

<sup>28</sup> The four "marriages" are drawn from Martianus, *De nuptiis* 1.4, 6, and 7. Line 161 alludes to Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 6. Janus's fear is explained by the fact that according to Martianus he somehow gazes on his bride with both of his two faces. In

the following stanza the four marriages are read as *involucra*.

<sup>29</sup> The poet evidently associates the name of the wife of Mars, which for him is *Nerina*, with *Nereus* and the sea. The line echoes the song in which Apollo tells Mercury of Philology, *De nuptiis* 1.21.2 and 22.12.

<sup>30</sup> The “Bernardus” commentator glosses Janus, god of beginnings, as “exemplar of generative powers” or “archetypal universe,” and explains his gazing upon his bride Argione as the contemplation of the sensible universe by the archetypal; see *The Commentary on Martianus Capella’s De nuptiis*, ed. Westra, pp. 122–23.

<sup>31</sup> See lines 101–4 and n. 21.

<sup>32</sup> Much of lines 169–74 is drawn more or less verbatim from a catalogue of practitioners of the arts in Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistulae*, 4.3.5–6.

<sup>33</sup> Thales is *udus* as having considered water the principle of all things.

<sup>34</sup> Chrysippus was a Stoic philosopher best known as a logician, but identified with “numbers” by Sidonius.

<sup>35</sup> *Zeno* is a corruption of *Zeto*; Zethus, brother of Amphion is associated by Sidonius with *pondera*. *Sidoine Apollinaire: Lettres*, ed. André Loyen (Paris, 1960), 2.226, suggests that Zetho’s *pondera* were the stones with which Amphion built the walls of Thebes, but in a catalogue of philosophers (and if the *Metamorphosis* poet is thinking of Zeno) *ponderabat* may refer to deliberation. In *De inv.* 1.50.94, in *De or.* 2.37.155, and in *De rep.* 1.18.30 Cicero refers to a lost play of Pacuvius in which Zethus and Amphion debate the value of philosophy. In the list of ancient representatives of the arts in Alain of Lille, *Anticlaudianus* 2.349, which also draws on Sidonius, *Zetus* “balances” weights, perhaps in the sense of weighing alternatives.

<sup>36</sup> “Burning” Heraclitus claimed fire as the archetypal form of matter.

<sup>37</sup> Perdix is said by Sidonius to have invented the paired compasses (*circinus*).

<sup>38</sup> *Samius* is Pythagoras, born on the island of Samos.

<sup>39</sup> Appius is probably the Appius Claudius Caecus who dissuaded the Roman Senate from accepting peace on the terms offered by Pyrrhus after the battle of Heraclea in 278/279 B.C.E.: Cicero, *Brutus* 14.55. Cato is M. Porcius Cato the younger, the fiercely moral Stoic and opponent of Caesar, persuasive, perhaps, because of the eloquence he displays in Lucan.

<sup>40</sup> Arcesilas or Arcesilaus was a philosophical sceptic, head of the Academy at Athens in the mid-third century. He appears in Martianus, *De nuptiis* 2.21 examining the neck of a dove, an allusion to a proof reported by Cicero, *Acad.* 2.79, of the untrustworthiness of the senses: we see many colors in the dove’s feathers, when there is in fact only one. According to Cicero Arcesilaus claimed that nothing can be truly known, perceived or understood: *Nat. D.* 1.25.70; *Acad.* 1.12.45; 2.24.76–77.

<sup>41</sup> The catalogue of ancient *auctores* and their ladies in lines 177–83 is based on Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistulae* 2.10.5–6.

<sup>42</sup> The doctor is Thierry, master and Chancellor of the cathedral school at Chartres, recalled by his pupil John of Salisbury as “artium studiosissimus investigator” – “most studious investigator of the arts” (*Metalogicon* 1.5, 2.10). He may be the *Terricus* whom Abelard depicts as having openly criticized the judges at Abelard’s trial in Soissons in 1121.

In the long catalogue of twelfth-century scholars which follows, the identities of several of the scholars named remain uncertain, but the discovery of a lost chapter of the Chronicle of William of Tyre, which describes his education in the schools of Paris, enabled Huygens, “Guillaume de Tyr étudiant. Un chapitre (XIX, 12) de son ‘Histoire’ retrouvé,” *Latomus* 21 (1962), 811–29, at pp. 825–29, to make a number of reasonably sure identifications. Further light is shed by Reginald L. Poole, “The Masters of the Schools at Paris and Chartres in John of Salisbury’s Time,” *The English Historical Review* 35 (1920), 321–42; and Nikolaus Häring, “Chartres and Paris Revisited,” in *Essays in Honour of Anton Charles Pegis*, ed. J. Reginald O’Donnell (Toronto, 1974), pp. 313–28.

<sup>43</sup> Gilbert, also a teacher of John of Salisbury (*Metalogicon* 2.10), was a pioneering theologian, and Thierry’s predecessor as Chancellor at Chartres; he became bishop of Poitiers in 1142. As Stephen C. Ferruolo notes, *The Origins of the University: the Schools of Paris and Their Critics, 1100–1215* (Stanford, CA, 1985), pp. 61–64, at the Council of Rheims in 1148 Bernard of Clairvaux attempted unsuccessfully to have Gilbert censured for the theology expounded in his commentary on Boethius, *De Trinitate*.

<sup>44</sup> *Prius et*, the reading of **H**, would suggest that Gilbert had been a champion of the humanities at an earlier time, presumably before his installation as bishop; see Benton, “Philology’s Search,” p. 207.

<sup>45</sup> Adam du Petit-Pont was a teacher of logic admired by John of Salisbury (*Metalogicon* 2.10).

<sup>46</sup> Peter Lombard compiled the four books of *Sentences* (*Libri sententiarum*) which became the single most widely used text for the teaching of theology in the universities of the later Middle Ages. On his use of the theological writings of Abelard, see David E. Luscombe, *The School of Peter Abelard* (Cambridge, 1969), 263–80.

<sup>47</sup> Yvo, a deacon at Chartres, was a disciple of Gilbert, in defense of whose orthodoxy he testified at Rheims in 1148. Peter Helias, who also taught John of Salisbury (*Metalogicon* 2.10), was famous as a grammarian and commentator on Priscian. Bernard is Bernard of Moëlan, theologian, successor to Thierry as Chancellor at Chartres, and later Bishop of Quimper. Yvo, Peter, and Bernard are mentioned together by William of Tyre as having studied under Thierry for a long time, *per multa*

*tempora* (Huygens, “Guillaume de Tyr,” p. 822; Häring, “Paris and Chartres,” p. 319), and the linking of their names here seems to acknowledge an affinity.

<sup>48</sup> Reginald the monk has not been identified. “Our Porphyry” is Abelard, who in dealing with the question of universals had refuted both the nominalism of Roscelin and the realism of William of Champeaux. Line 204 may refer to Reginald’s having collaborated in the condemnation of Abelard’s teachings at the Council of Sens in 1140.

<sup>49</sup> Robert the theologian has not been clearly identified. Huygens suggests Robert of Melun, for whose teaching of logic John of Salisbury has high praise (*Metalogicon* 2.10). Häring, “Paris and Chartres,” p. 324, suggests Robert of Melun or Robert Pulleyn or Pullen, yet another of John’s teachers (*Metalogicon* 2.10), praised also for his teaching by Bernard of Clairvaux (*The Metalogicon of John of Salisbury: A Twelfth-Century Defense of the Verbal and Logical Arts*, trans. Daniel D. McGarry [Berkeley, CA, 1955], p. 23, n. 83). On Robert of Melun, who taught in France until 1160, and died in 1167 as bishop of Hereford, see Luscombe, *School of Peter Abelard*, pp. 281–98. On Robert Pullen as a champion of education, Ferruolo, *The Origins of the University*, pp. 267–69.

<sup>50</sup> Gerald of Wales, *Speculum Ecclesiae* 1, Proemium, praises Mainerius or Meinerius as “principalem Petri Abelardi discipulum et rhetorem incomparabiliter eximium” – “the chief disciple of Peter Abelard and an incomparably excellent rhetorician.”

<sup>51</sup> Poole, “Masters of the Schools,” p. 244, identifies Bartholemew as a Breton who became bishop of Exeter in 1162, and whom Walter Map, *De nugis curialium: Courtiers’ Trifles*, ed. M.R. James (Oxford, 1983), 1.12, considered witty.

<sup>52</sup> Rodney M. Thomson identifies Robert Amiclas as having been a master in the Paris schools in the early 1140s: “Robert Amiclas: A Twelfth-Century Parisian Master and his Books,” *Scriptorium* 49 (1995), 238–43; repr. in Thompson, *England and the 12th-Century Renaissance*, no. III (Aldershot and Brookfield, VT, 1998). Poole, “Masters of the Schools,” pp. 244–46, identifies him, on elaborate philological grounds, with Robert Pulleyn (see above, n. 49).

<sup>53</sup> *Palatinus* plays on both the name of Abelard’s birthplace, Le Pallet in Brittany, and his high standing in the court of Philology.

<sup>54</sup> The “hooded tribe” are the Cistercians, and their primate is Bernard of Clairvaux, who ensured that Abelard was silenced at the Council of Sens in 1140.

<sup>55</sup> I.e. do not engage in disputation with them.

## ABSTRACT

The *Metamorphosis Goliae Episcopi*, unlike most twelfth-century “Goliardic” poems, can be grounded in place and time. It was written in the early 1140s, shortly before or after the death of Peter Abelard, and aims to vindicate the secular element in the intellectual culture of the cathedral schools of Paris and northern France. The action is framed by the allegory of Martianus Capella’s *De nuptiis*, which presents the liberal arts curriculum in an idealized form, and the large cast includes a number of *magistri* of the time renowned for their mastery of the liberal arts. The poem builds toward a condemnation of Bernard of Clairvaux and the Cistercians, whose role in suppressing Abelard’s theological writings is made to epitomize the hostility of the religious establishment to liberal and innovative scholarship.

## RÉSUMÉ

Contrairement à la plupart des poèmes goliardiques du douzième siècle, la *Metamorphosis Goliae Episcopi*, peut être située à la fois dans le temps et l’espace. L’œuvre fut écrite au début des années 1140, peu avant ou après la mort de Pierre Abélard, et cherche à légitimer l’élément séculier qu’on retrouve dans la culture intellectuelle des écoles-cathédrales de Paris et du nord de la France. L’action prend pour décor une allégorie provenant du *De nuptiis* de Martianus Capella, qui évoque une forme idéalisée du cursus des arts libéraux, et la distribution des personnages inclut nombre des *magistri* de l’époque, reconnus pour leur maîtrise des arts libéraux. Le poème aboutit sur une critique de Bernard de Clairvaux et des Cisterciens, dont le rôle dans la censure des écrits théologiques d’Abélard est présenté comme l’exemple même de l’hostilité de la classe religieuse contre une pensée audacieuse et novatrice.

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