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The *Architrenius* is a vivacious and influential Latin satirical poem in nine books dating from 1184. It describes the journey of a young man (the "Arch-Weeper") on the threshold of maturity, confronting the ills of the church, the court, and the schools of late twelfth-century Europe. Dramatizing the human tendency towards vice and the vanity of worldly things, the poem is full of social commentary and flights of brilliant description. There are characteristic scenes in which a desire that combines prurience with frank sexuality is set against a quasi-religious idealism. The directness with which the poem engages social and psychological problems anticipates the work of the great vernacular writers Boccaccio and Chaucer. Winthrop Wetherbee's prose translation is presented alongside the original Latin, and augmented by an introduction and extensive notes.

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Cambridge Medieval Classics 3

Johannes de Hauvilla
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Johannes de Hauvilla
Architrenius

TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY

WINTHROP WETHERBEE

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Introduction

The poem and its author

The *Architrenius*, a narrative satire in nine books and 4361 lines of Latin hexameter, describes the journey of its hero through a world which represents panoramically the ills of Church, court, and schools in the later twelfth century, and offers a remedy for these ills in the form of moral philosophy. Architrenius (the "Arch-Weeper") is a young man on the threshold of maturity who is shocked to find that all his thoughts and impulses, and those of the world around him, tend to vice. Convinced that Nature must be at fault, he resolves to seek out the goddess and confront her with the spectacle of his hapless state. His quest leads him to the court of Venus, the house of Gluttony, the schools of Paris, the palace of Ambition, the mount of Presumption, and the unnamed site of a battle between the army of the generous (led by King Arthur and Sir Gawain) and the forces of Avarice. Eventually he arrives in Tylos, a natural paradise where he encounters the ancient philosophers and receives a long series of brief lectures on vice, the vanity of worldly things, and the need for self-discipline. Finally Nature appears, responds to Architrenius' complaint with a lecture on the order of things, and proposes to remedy his condition by giving him the beautiful maiden Moderation as a bride. The poem ends with the celebration of their marriage.

The *Architrenius* was something new when it appeared toward the end of the twelfth century, but its distinctive features show the effects of developments in western European society over the preceding hundred years. Urban culture, commercial and professional in outlook, had become a steadily more important counterweight to the traditional dominance of aristocratic wealth and privilege. The bureaucratization of government and administration in Church and state had opened new avenues for social advancement and created new functions for educated men. At the same time higher education in the liberal arts had become increasingly the province of cathedral schools located in urban centers. Out of the growing organization and specialization of students and

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masters was evolving the institution of the university, one of many indications of a new sense of identity associated with the possession of knowledge.[1] The intellectual had emerged as a social type, a professional class increasingly defined by its role in a secular society, alert to the opportunities for advancement that education made possible, and possessed of the artistic skill to express its new social awareness in a range of new literary forms.

It is "clerks" of this type who composed the first vernacular romances, celebratory though often covertly critical of the courtly–urban culture of France and England. They produced works like the *Moralium dogma philosophorum* (*c.* 1150) attributed to Guillaume de Conches and the *Policraticus* (1159) of John of Salisbury, works in which classical ethical and political thought are brought to bear on twelfth-century social and political institutions. And in a bewildering range of Latin poetry, ranging from adaptations of vernacular animal fable to the most sophisticated imitations of classical models, they maintained a steady barrage of satire, aimed not only at the venality and greed of the rich and powerful, but at the avarice and ambition of men whose training and horizons were often essentially their own.[2]

It is largely for and about such "new men" that the *Architrenius* was written, and its author, Johannes de Hauvilla, to judge from what little we know about him,[3] is in many ways a representative of the type. He was a *magister* in the important cathedral school of Rouen. The *Architrenius*, his only known work, was dedicated in 1184 to Walter of Coutances, who was about to be installed as Archbishop of Rouen, and it contains an array of elaborate compliments to one whom Johannes

[1] For a good brief account of these developments, see Jacques Le Goff, *Les intellectuels au Moyen Age* (2nd edn, Paris, 1985), pp. i–x, 1–69.
[2] See Alexander Murray, *Reason and Society in the Middle Ages* (2nd edn, Oxford, 1985), pp. 71–77; John A. Yunck, *The Lineage of Lady Meed: The Development of Medieval Venality Satire* (Notre Dame, 1963), pp. 47–187; Claus Uhlig, *Hofkritik im England des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Berlin, 1973), pp. 85–91.
[3] For the evidence regarding Johannes' life and career, see the introduction to the edition of Paul Gerhard Schmidt (Munich, 1974), pp. 18–26. The *Architrenius* was complete around the end of 1184 (see n. 4 below). Johannes was not yet old (1.85–87), and so his birth may be placed around 1150 or shortly after. He was evidently a Norman, perhaps from the village of Hauville near Rouen. In 1184 he was presumably already teaching at Rouen, where the grammarian Gervais of Melkley was his pupil toward the end of the century, and "Magister Iohannes de Havilla" is named as witness in a cathedral document of 1199. Gervais in his *Ars poetica* (ed. Hans-Jürgen Gräbener. Forschungen zur Romanischen Philologie 17, Münster Westphalen, 1965) often cites the *Architrenius*, but always refers to his old teacher in the past tense, and thus we may suppose that Johannes was no longer living when the *Ars poetica* appeared, probably between 1208 and 1216.

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doubtless viewed as a potentially valuable patron.[4] Much of the poem's satire engages themes already common in the Latin poetry of the period, and which often express the mere disgruntlement of what was becoming, in R. R. Bolgar's phrase, an "intellectual proletariat":[5] thus it has much to say about the lack of respect for scholarship among men of power, and the opportunism of those whose superficial learning gains them preferment in the schools or in the Church. But in the vast sweep of the *Architrenius* these become only the symptoms of larger problems and forces, for the most part only intuitively sensed and impressionistically rendered by the poet, but sufficiently recognizable to make plain his responsiveness to the fundamental transformations affecting his society. The thematic range of Johannes' narrative, and the persistence with which his satirist's instinct for detail reinforces his moral vision and counters the abstracting tendency of his allegory, show him effecting a difficult transition, redeploying the resources of "high" poetry, ancient and medieval, to focus with a new directness on the secular world of his own place and time. In both its occasional brilliance and its frequent awkwardness the *Architrenius* marks an important first step in the literary experiment that was eventually to produce the fully realized comic worlds of Jean de Meun, Boccaccio and Chaucer.

The *Architrenius*: form and theme

Moving as it does with disconcerting freedom between the worlds of visionary allegory and topical satire, the utopian peace of the ancient philosophers and the lower depths of Parisian student life, the *Architrenius* does not lend itself to categorization, and I will begin by trying to indicate what it is not. Despite its obvious debts to Bernardus Silvestris and Alan of Lille, it is not a philosophical or theological allegory, nor, though Hell and damnation are a recurring theme, and Architrenius is admonished by the philosophers of old concerning the fear and love of God, is it essentially religious. The gist of the *Architrenius* is in its social criticism, its representation of a world where the pursuit of wealth and

[4] See *Architrenius* 1.100–74, which place Walter's birth in the context of Trojan and British history, and announce his imminent elevation from Bishop of Lincoln to Archbishop of Rouen. Pope Lucius III approved the conferral of the archbishopric in September or October of 1184, and the installation occurred on 24 February, 1185, so that the poem must have been finished during this brief period; see Schmidt, pp. 16–17. Unlike most such gestures, Johannes' lavish praise of Walter and his lineage is not confined to the dedication, but recurs at considerable length in the course of the narrative (see 5.384–480, 6.311–16).
[5] *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries* (Cambridge, 1954), pp. 178–88.

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preferment is an all-consuming concern. The arrogance of power, its flaunting of wealth and abuse of patronage, and the ambition, greed and hypocrisy of the aspiring courtier or cleric are what bring Johannes' verse to life, and most of the lessons he seeks to teach center on the values that govern conduct in the secular world.

Much of Johannes' finest poetry is devoted to describing the material fabric of the life of those who have attained the heights of power in this careerist society. We learn at length of their elaborate style of dress (2.90–164; 4.284–300), their sumptuous and endlessly varied diet (2.184–263), and the lavishness of the construction and decoration of their homes (4.179–90, 214–321). Much of this description, considered in isolation, is seemingly admiring. The decoration of the Palace of Ambition includes costly materials of all sorts, and Johannes notes the way in which nature conspires with art to produce its splendor:

> fecunda bonorum
> Luxuriem largitur humus mundique nefandis
> Obsequitur votis, rerum tellure ministra
> Edificat securus homo; nam terra paratum
> Iurat in auxilium, quidvis Natura potentis
> Expedit ad nutum: lapides et ligna ligandis
> Edibus et, quicquid preciosior exigit usus.
> Exibet et gemmas, quarum fulgore diescit
> Sole suo contenta domus . . .

> The very earth, so productive of good things, bestows luxury, serving the base desires of the world; man builds confidently, when earth herself provides the means. And indeed she pledges her ready assistance. At the great man's nod, Nature delivers whatever he wishes, stone and beams for framing houses, and whatever else a more lavish undertaking may require. She proffers gems, in whose splendor the palace basks, content with its own sun . . . (*Architrenius* 4.182–90)

This passage has a rich literary tradition behind it. It clearly invokes the theme of *homo microcosmus*, dear to Bernardus and Alan: Nature will appeal to Architrenius in similar terms at the end of the poem, declaring that the universe at large exists to mirror and fulfill the capacities of mankind. The lines express the aspirations of human art as Baudri of Bourgueil had expressed them a century earlier, in a long poem in which the bed-chamber of the Countess Adela of Blois, daughter of William the Conqueror, with its tapestries, painted ceiling, and intricately paved floor surrounding the elaborately carved bed, becomes an image of the universe, world history, and the arts which comprise

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philosophy.[6] The scope and grandeur of Baudri's project suggest a new sense of larger possibilities for medieval culture, and for the poetry that celebrates this culture. It marks the early stirring of the desire to integrate the role of the poet as celebrant of urban or courtly culture with the traditional ideal of the universally learned *poeta platonicus*, an ambition perceptible in Bernardus Silvestris and Alan of Lille, and central to the project of their contemporaries, the vernacular poets who produced the first romances.[7]

For Johannes, however, though he duly acknowledges the beauty and dignity of the artistry involved,[8] the magnificence he describes is suspect from the outset. Wealth and material splendor are consistently presented in the *Architrenius* as the object or reward of ambition or sheer greed, illusory in their appeal and treacherous to those who obtain them. The inveighings of Cato, Democritus, Pliny and Pythagoras against the excess and moral weakness to which wealth gives rise are already implicit in Johannes' tableaux of court life. There is no indication that the sumptuousness described is a code, a symbolic manifestation of coherent cultural or political achievement, or an idealized rendering of the life and prerogatives proper to nobility.[9]

Indeed one of the most striking features of the poem is the limited role played by the values of aristocratic society. The lines in which Johannes discusses kinship as a ground for preferment (3.454–62) suggest a grudging acknowledgment of aristocratic prerogative, and largesse in the form of *noblesse oblige* appears fleetingly in Sir Gawain's self-portrayal as one who has never withheld what he might bestow (6.4–8). The need for unstinting and enlightened patronage is a recurring theme of the long survey of the hardships of student life, and Democritus later centers on enlightened giving as the one really noble use to which riches may be put (6.286–316). But Johannes is concerned less with the occasions patronage affords for noble gestures than with its abuses, its function as part of the complex network of bribery and favoritism that organizes the careerist society of the poem. This is

[6] Baudri of Bourgueil, *Carmina*, ed. Karlheinz Hilbert (Heidelberg, 1979), No. 134, ed. Hilbert, pp. 149–85; see Gerald A. Bond, "'Iocus Amoris': The Poetry of Baudri of Bourgueil and the Formation of an Ovidian Subculture," *Traditio* 42 (1986), pp. 143–93.
[7] See Alfred Adler, "The *Roman de Thèbes*, a '*Consolatio Philosophiae*'," *Romanische Forschungen* 72 (1960), pp. 257–76; Johan Huizinga, "Über die Verknüpfung des Poetischen mit dem Theologischen bei Alanus de Insulis," in *Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen. Amsterdam* 74B, no. 6 (1932), pp. 154–59.
[8] See especially 4.272–81, and below, pp. xx–xxi.
[9] On the literary use of such codes see Jacques Le Goff, "Vestimentary and Alimentary Codes in *Erec et Enide*," in *The Medieval Imagination* (Chicago, 1988), pp. 132–50.

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the "real" world of the *Architrenius*: Gawain and the traditional heroism he embodies exist on their own plane, at an uncertain remove from the main action of the poem.[10]

To the extent that a coherent rationale can be discerned for this displacement of traditional values, one of the most important factors is the role of money, at once the means and the all-consuming object of advancement for the *curiales* who infest the world of the poem. The desire for wealth is obsessive, to the point at which Johannes, here as so often taking his cue from Juvenal,[11] makes his gluttons literally consume the very gold that enables their indulgence and constitutes the basis for the claim to social status of which their feasting is the visible sign (2.248–56). Queen Money and her "ennobling" power were an established theme for satire by Johannes' day,[12] but it would be hard to find a text in which the coercive power of wealth and the horror of greed are expressed more powerfully than in the *Architrenius*, or one which makes clearer the degree to which they render social relations artificial and ambiguous. In the Palace of Ambition "an artful Liberality spreads its riches about; Money's cornucopia pours forth friendship; Pledges are sold into mutual bondage" (4.95–98). The courtier "bends the laws at every opportunity for gain, takes on whatever sort of work will make the purse grow fat, and trades his right to cast his vote for a cash reward" (4.340–43). The power of money seems to transcend human relations altogether: "They serve not at the bidding of men, but of wealth. It is from wealth that men's authority is drawn . . . " (4.445–46). The Palace of Ambition, the Hill of Presumption, the rich man's hall infested by the Furies express Johannes' nightmarish sense that a larger force, rather than individuals and political functions, is the controlling factor in the court world he describes, and a series of lurid tableaux make plain its transformative power: When Presumption comes to court,

regina Pecunia iuri
Preminet, ausa suis astringere legibus orbem
Quas racio nescit. sed ei devincta cupido
Dictat et indicit avidi facundia questus
Et loculos ardens discincte audacia lingue:
Census censura fiunt iniuria iura,
Pura minus pura, sacra littera sacra litura.

[10] Le Goff discusses this displacement of the traditional status of chivalry, "Warriors and Conquering Bourgeois: The Image of the City in Twelfth-Century French Literature," *Medieval Imagination*, pp. 151–76.
[11] Glossing this passage, Schmidt aptly cites Juvenal, *Sat.* 11.14–16.
[12] See Murray, *Reason and Society*, pp. 71–77.

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> Queen Money, the teeming mother of vice, dominating the throne itself with her oppressive yoke, takes precedence over justice, for she has boldly subjected the world to laws of her own, unknown to reason. Property performs the office of judgment, injustice does the work of justice, purity grows less pure, and and sacred tradition gives way to sanctifying forgery. (5.95–101)

Later Architrenius encounters the monster Cupidity,

> Mater Avaricie, sompni ieiuna Cupido,
> Eternam dampnata sitim producere, nullis
> Exsaciata bonis, lucri studiosa, rapinis
> Artifices factura manus, visura recessus
> Antipodum noctisque dies umbrasque sinistras,
> Ardentis secreta sinus . . .
> . . . plena est discordia. questus
> Ardor ubi pugnat, studio concurritur omni
> Ad loculos; nam sola potest reverencia nummi
> Quodlibet ad libitum mundano quolibet uti.
> Hec vaga commutat solidis, quadrata rotundis . . .

> the mother of Avarice, the fantasy of hungering Greed, condemned to produce an endless thirst that no material good can satisfy . . . her eyes see into the depth of night's Antipodes, the sinister shadows, the secret places of the heart's desire . . . She is full of discord. When the desire for profit asserts itself, all rush eagerly to man the money-bags; for only when money is revered can one enjoy whatever one wants as much as one wants and wherever one wants. She can change fluids to solids, make square things round . . . (5.244–49, 260–64)

The cumulative effect of such declamations is to make the workings of money appear as something organic, dominating and transforming human life. Finally this becomes explicit:

> Heret in ere sitis, habitis furit ardor habendi,
> Pullulat in questu questus amor. omnia nullum
> Pondus habent, nisi sint unum simul omnia pondus.

> The thirst is inherent in the money itself, the fever of possession rages in the things possessed, the process of acquisition only spreads the love of acquiring. Nothing has value unless all things can be possessed at once. (5.289–91)

Money of course is only the catalyst of social process. The *Architrenius* could serve as a text-book illustration of the thesis by which Alexander Murray has explained the effect on European society of the development of a money economy. Money facilitates social mobility: the relations among and within classes and estates become "liquefied," and

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as traditional hierarchies and relationships dissolve, power, like cash value, is abstracted from individuals to institutions.[13] New social conditions generate new mental habits, and Murray singles out two such habits as fundamental:

> One was the habit of desiring more and more money, which medieval theologians usually called avarice. The other was the habit of desiring that power and dignity which society concentrates in its institutions. Despite some confusion, this usually went under the name of ambition.[14]

Johannes is the poet *par excellence* of the capitalist–careerist mentality Murray here defines. It would of course have been impossible for him or any contemporary observer to achieve so clear an analysis of the forces at work, and the traditional conception of service as a relationship between one man and another must have made even the growth of bureaucracy difficult to recognize as such,[15] but the quasi-monstrous powers whose inexorable and all-involving influence controls the world of Johannes' courtiers clearly embody the new forces that were transforming the workings of social power in his time.

It is the same sense of the court as a focus of strange, dark forces that emerges from the opening pages of the *De nugis curialium* of Walter Map, who probably began his compilation during the very years when Johannes was at work on the *Architrenius*,[16] and who opens it with a series of bizarre images aimed at capturing the effect of the new institution. The court is in a state of constant flux, in that its human components come and go, yet it is "constant in change," like Boethius' *Fortuna*. It is a giant with a hundred hands, clumsy but impossible for any Hercules to wholly subdue. Its populace is in one sense united in service to a single lord, yet their true "sovereign mistress" is Avarice, and their environment is a kind of hell, where their desperate pursuit of favor and position recalls the yearnings and strivings of Tantalus, Sisyphus, and Ixion.[17]

The *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury (1159), in broadest outline a treatise on statesmanship, also deals with the experience of the courtier, and has much to say about the pernicious effects of avarice, gluttony,

[13] Murray, *Reason and Society*, pp. 59–61, 81–109. For a brief, lucid account of the social context of this process in twelfth-century France and England, see Jean Dunbabin, *France in the Making* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 277–86.

[14] *Reason and Society*, p. 60.

[15] See Dunbabin, *France in the Making*, pp. 329–30.

[16] Much of the material in the *De nugis*, which was evidently completed in 1191, can be dated as early as 1181–82; see the introduction to the Brook-Mynors revision of the M. R. James edition (Oxford, 1983), pp. xxiv–xxxii.

[17] *De nugis* I. 1–5.

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and especially the practice of flattery and adulation, which both alienate the courtier from his own individual character and destroy self-knowledge in his patron.[18] John is deeply troubled by the perversion of learning that results from the use of education as a stepping-stone to preferment,[19] and the *Policraticus* includes as well a long, powerful account of the forms and circumstances in which ambition manifests itself in civil and ecclesiastical contexts.[20] Like Johannes, John is capable of recognizing a certain pragmatic necessity for ambition in public life,[21] and he is willing to condone even flattery if it serves to combat the unjust authority of a tyrant,[22] but in the main his argument has less to do with practical politics than with the political and theological principles to which the ambition of unscrupulous men poses a threat. He is acutely aware also of the psychological aspect of ambition. His analysis begins *ab ovo* with the human susceptibility to cupidity, "the fountain of all evils," and shows how this leads to a false sense of freedom, pride, and the lust for power and glory. He conveys eloquently the attractive power of wealth and position and the terrible delusions to which they lead; and his discussion makes frequent reference to the divine power which the ambitious in their perversity ignore, the constant threat of divine judgment.

At such moments the *Policraticus* anticipates the many passages in the *Architrenius* that set the workings of ambition and presumption in an infernal or apocalyptic perspective. For both authors what is most terrible about greed and ambition is their power to blind and pervert human aspiration, driving their victims to submit themselves to a kind of self-damnation. The emphasis is clear in the following lines from the opening of the *Policraticus*, a passage that would not be out of place in the discourse of one of the ancient philosophers of Johannes' Tylos:

[18] On avarice, *Policraticus* 7.16–17; 8.3–4, 13, 15; on gluttony, 8.6–7; on flattery, 3.4–7, 14–15.
[19] The *Metalogicon* was written largely to reaffirm the true purpose of learning against such encroachments, and the *Entheticus maior* touches many of the same themes (see esp. the long speech which John puts into the mouth of an ambitious logician, 58–108); cp. *Architrenius* 3.401–30.
[20] *Policraticus* 7.17–21.
[21] See *Policraticus* 7.17, where the intolerability of the selling of preferment in the Church is contrasted with the relative openness of public life; in general, of course, John's ideal is the statesman who has no ambition for power, but lives his life in such a way as to be worthy of it (see *Policraticus* 5.1). For Johannes' view of the potential value of ambition, see *Architrenius* 4.111–45, esp. 133–37 (where, however, there is perhaps a measure of irony).
[22] See *Policraticus* 7.15.

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> Success, implacable foe of virtue, applauds its devotees only to harm them, and with its ill-starred prosperity escorts them on their joyous way to bring about their ultimate fall by first pledging them in cups of sweet wine and, when they are intoxicated thereby, mixing in the draught of deadly poison or anything conceivably worse. The more brilliant the success the denser the clouds that gather around their dazzled eyes. As the darkness thickens the truth vanishes, virtue withers with severed roots, and a crop of vices sprouts. The light of reason is extinguished, and the whole being is carried headlong into the abyss of destruction.[23]

It is in much the same tone that Johannes, having dwelt at length on the workings of presumption, reflects that wealth and power become a kind of hell for those who give themselves to them too completely:

> Tartareus iam civis homo, Stygis incola, mortis
> Non expectato laqueo venit, illa supremo
> Vis rapitur fato: mavult precedere liber
> Fatorum quam iussa sequi, iam tramite ceco
> Ad Styga rumpit iter, vivus venisse laborat,
> Quo defunctus eat . . .

> For man is even now a citizen of Tartarus, and dwells in Stygian darkness. Hither he comes, seized by the unsuspected snare of death, his strength taken from him by all-powerful fate. He thinks to pursue freedom, rather than submit to the bidding of the Fates, but already, in blind career, he is forcing a path to the Stygian shore: it is his life's labor to arrive at the place whence he will depart when dead . . . (*Architrenius* 4.164–69)

The great exemplar of this folly is Lucifer, whose fall is described at length (5.177–219); Cato later provides a vivid account of the damnation of the rich man, beset by the Furies and demons of his own obsessive greed:

> . . . surgit cum divitibus factura Megera
> Colloquium notaque diu cum prole susurrat
> Et iacit amplexus et plaudit et oscula miscet,
> Incautoque doli ridenti arridet alumpno.
> Interdum Stygias attencius edocet artes
> Sollicitumque minus intorto verberat idro,
> Effusumque iacit Stygium per viscera virus,
> Quo nequeat non velle nefas scelerumque soporem
> Nesciat et numquam facinus succumbat honesto.

[23] *Policraticus* 1.1.19, tr. Joseph B. Pike, *Frivolities of Courtiers and Footprints of Philosophers* (Minneapolis, 1938), p. 11.

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> Megaera emerges to commune with the wealthy, whispers with her long-cherished progeny, bestows embraces and praise mixed with kisses, and smiles on the smiling pupil unmindful of her guile. As she carefully instructs him in her Stygian arts, she strikes him all unawares with a writhing serpent. Its bite spreads through his body a hellish poison, so that he is unable not to will evil; he knows no rest from wrongdoing, and honor cannot overcome his wickedness. (6.136–44)

Architrenius himself later provides the fullest and most eloquent expression of this overpowering worldliness, which has left him "dwelling inwardly in the darkness of night," haunted by images of hell (7.229–76). Repeatedly Johannes sounds the trumpet of apocalypse to warn of the judgment awaiting those whose power and wealth has driven them irresistibly to abuse these gifts and bred in them a false sense of self-sufficiency (5.164–76, 232–35; 6.180–96).

But while *Architrenius* and *Policraticus* are often strikingly close in tone and theme, the similarity is potentially misleading. John of Salisbury is a religious moralist. His political ideals are grounded in biblical and patristic injunction, as well as in the classical precepts and *exempla* on which his reputation as a humanist is founded. From the outset the message of the *Policraticus* is charged with reminders that our worldly conduct will ultimately be scrutinized by "the Angel of the Great Judgment,"[24] and that only divine grace can protect us from the consequences of our errors. He is concerned with the causes of these errors: the attainment of the right reason that he enjoins on his ideal statesman, like the *sapientia* which crowns human learning in the *Didascalicon* of Hugh of St. Victor, is repeatedly shown to depend on the recovery, enabled by grace, of the image of the Creator within ourselves which we have darkened and distorted through sin.[25]

There is nothing like this systematic religious purpose in the *Architrenius*. Though doubtless expressive of real conviction, Johannes' religious rhetoric, with its apocalyptic and infernal emphases, is more significantly part of his repertory as a satirist, and shows him concerned less with the causes of sin than with dramatizing its effects as vividly as possible. Throughout the poem the boundaries demarcating the earthly plane of the poem's action from its paradisal and infernal extensions are readily permeable: hell lurks in the depths of the rich man's household, and Elysium is an outward expression of the tranquillity of the philosopher. And though it seems to me to be going too far to suggest, as

[24] *Policraticus* 1. Prol. 18.

[25] See *Policraticus* 1.1, 2.20, 3.1. The theme recurs in John's writings on philosophy; see *Metalogicon* 1.23; 4.17, 40; *Entheticus maior* 219–324.

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Jean-Charles Payen has done, that Johannes is simply unconcerned with questions of sin, grace, and *contemptus carnis*,[26] it is certainly the case that these tend to be dealt with as ethical, rather than religious issues. Even before Nature has introduced the sanctions of her own *religio nativa* as the remedy for Architrenius' misfortunes (9.242–49), the religious dimension of the poem has been largely reduced to questions of conduct. Christ is the prototype of generosity (5.68),[27] or of a "gentleness" which is explicitly discussed in both secular and religious terms (8.45–52). And this secular note grows steadily stronger as the poem approaches its conclusion, the wedding of Architrenius and Moderation, which is an unambiguously earthly affair from beginning to end. While attendants like "Reasonable Expenditure" (*expense ratio*, 9.441) bustle about, Fortune smiles on a union hallowed above all by practical good sense, and the poet ends with the wish that the divine limit imposed on their feasting may remain far off.

Humanism: the *Architrenius* and the ancient world

In addition to its prevailingly secular emphasis, there are moments when the *Architrenius* seems to set its satirical purpose to one side, and dwell on the merely human, rather than the moral significance of the worldly behavior it describes. A concern with what in another context would have to be called the tragic aspect of human life can surface unexpectedly. Thus in the course of his account of the Palace of Ambition, primarily an indictment of vanity and luxury, Johannes describes a tapestry beautifully worked with scenes from the fall of Troy. As he contemplates the death of Hector, the tears of Helen, Priam pleading before Achilles, he seems, like Vergil's Aeneas in the Carthaginian temple, to become distracted by the beauty of the stories depicted, and reflects that "it is sweet to feel sorrow at the sorrows of men, to grieve at their grief, to repay tears with tears, lamentation with lamen-

26 Payen, "L'utopie chez les Chartrains," *Le Moyen Age* 90 (1984), pp. 390–93. It is only just to note that the late Professor Payen, for his part, considered me to have slighted the utopian aspect of the poems of Johannes and Alan of Lille in my *Platonism and Poetry in the Twelfth Century* (Princeton, 1972); see "L'utopie chez les Chartrains," p. 400.
27 See also 7.328–31, where generosity is discussed in conspicuously Christlike terms, though Christ is not named. John of Salisbury cites Christ as an *exemplum* of secular virtue ("liberalissimus et civilissimus aut facetissimus paterfamilias"), *Policraticus* 8.9; see Peter von Moos, "The use of *exempla* in the *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury," in *The world of John of Salisbury*, ed. Michael Wilks (Studies in Church History: Subsidia 3, Oxford, 1984), pp. 251–54.

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tation" (4.252–53). Later a remarkable passage in a similar vein compares the fallen Lucifer to Ovid's Narcissus:

> felix, nisi se tot fonte bonorum
> Lucifer agnosset! alter Narcisus et oris
> Dotibus et fati lacrimis. solacia concors
> Prebeat eventus, communis sarcina dampni
> Pondus utrumque levet. miser ille, sed ille, quod ultra,
> Quam liceat, temere speciem, quam vidit, amavit.

> Happy Lucifer, had he not beheld his image in a well of such bounty! He was a Narcissus, in the rich beauty of his face, and in his tearful fate. Let their consonant ending be a source of solace, and the shared onus of self-destruction ease the burden for both. One is utterly miserable, but the other is so because he foolishly loved beyond measure the beauty he beheld in himself. (5.214–19)

What we see at such moments, I think, is a remarkable intuitive feeling for the humane element in classical Latin poetry, a sense of the *lacrimae rerum* capable of temporarily subordinating the impulses of the satiric moralist. At times the effect can be incongruous, as when Johannes makes Pittacus bestow on the fallen Lucifer a gentle Horatian valediction that associates him with the early kings of Rome (8.36–37), but it is clearly the result of intense and appreciative study, and it expresses itself both in the appropriation of themes and motifs and in the fidelity with which Johannes recreates the style of his chosen *auctores*. Predictably, Ovid is the source of far more borrowed phrases and formulae than any other author, and the influence of the *Metamorphoses* pervades Johannes' mythological and world-historical vision, but he is closer in spirit to Horace and especially Juvenal. Like any good satirist he is fascinated by temperament and idiosyncrasy: he can sketch a Terentian parasite in a few brief strokes (4.376–86), and his philosophers are not mere names linked to set speeches, but show themselves as angry and abrupt (Cato, 6.123ff.), self-absorbed (Crates, 6.396ff.), obsessive (Xenocrates, 7.146ff.), or avuncular (Thales, 7.277ff.). Stylistically, Lucan and Juvenal are his preferred models, though his "imitations" of them often involve expanding a pithy formulation to several times its original length.[28] Even when he achieves brevity he is all too apt to dilute it with repetition. But at his best he is capable of catching the tone of his *auctores* with a fidelity few twelfth-century poets can match. His survey of the workings of ambition in Roman history

[28] See Schmidt, pp. 54–55, for an analysis of Johannes' eleven-line recreation of Juvenal, *Sat.* 8.139–40, and a list of similar elaborations on formulae from Horace.

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(4.116–31) has Lucan's biting energy, and like Juvenal he is capable of fantastic invention on the themes of wealth and greed, as when he shows his gluttons debating learnedly on sauces and modes of cooking (2.184–231), or describes their richly decorated goblets (4.307–17). Like Juvenal, too, he is unfailingly responsive to poverty, and aroused by the spectacle of its coexistence with great wealth. His inventory of the furnishings and cuisine of a student's lodgings (3.55–80) is vivid, precisely detailed, and unusually free of the mannerisms of school-poetry; and he can capture the giddiness of a poor man's wine-induced fantasy of status:

> Sortemque beatam
> Pauperis esse iubes et, qui servire steterunt,
> Consedere duces et Bacchi stante corona
> Surgit ad hos patere dominus septemplicis Aiax
> Anglicus . . .

You [Bacchus] decree that the poor man's lot shall become a happy one. Those who have stood in attendance sit at the feast like lords; for so long as they are crowned with the garland of Bacchus, the English Ajax himself, the lord of the sevenfold bowl, rushes to obey their orders . . . (2.300–5)

Johannes' engagement with the ancient world appears also in his frequent use of *exempla*, short historical narratives that illustrate a particular aspect of human conduct. Here again John of Salisbury was an important precedent: for both authors, stories drawn from compilations like that of Valerius Maximus, and designed originally to provide illustrative material for budding orators,[29] are an important means of incorporating ancient ethical ideas into their texts, and by this means making good the deficiencies of Christian and biblical tradition as a source of social and political wisdom.[30] They express the same impulse that leads Johannes to introduce ancient philosophers as characters in his poem, and to fill the discourse of these sages with doctrines drawn from Cicero and Seneca.

In general, it is clear that for Johannes, as for John of Salisbury, ancient literature is the repository of universal truths, good and bad,[31]

[29] See Hans Liebeschütz, *Medieval Humanism in the Life and Writings of John of Salisbury*, Studies of the Warburg Institute 17 (London, 1950), pp. 67–73, and von Moos, "The use of *exempla* in the *Policraticus*."
[30] See von Moos, "The use of *exempla* in the *Policraticus*," pp. 247–57.
[31] Johannes' view of the ancient world was not one-sided. Schmidt can speak of his "almost unlimited reverence" for the "nobler culture" of antiquity (p. 52), but as the disciple of Juvenal and Lucan, he draws negative as well as positive *exempla* from his classical sources. Just as the barriers between earth and hell are often hard to define in

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concerning the basic tendencies of human nature and human history, and that the recovery of direct contact with the classical authors is an essential aspect of his project in the *Architrenius*. It is probably true as well that Johannes' devotion to pagan thought and literature as a unique and indispensable educational resource – the conviction expressed in Johannes' "omne bonum veterum labiis distillat" (8.1) – coexists, as it unquestionably does in John of Salisbury, with an orthodox conviction of the sole sufficiency of Christian truth. But where John deliberately and systematically juxtaposes pagan and Christian ideas, asserting the value of the one while maintaining the ultimate authority of the other, Johannes introduces Christianity only intermittently and seemingly at random. Christ and Christian ideals are unexpectedly invoked by the pagan moralists (e.g. 7.328–31; 8.41–44), but they remain loose ends, and are never placed in a coherent relation to the *religio nativa* of Nature. The vast body of moral teaching digested in the later books of the *Architrenius* has none of the consistency of that "praeter-Christian" perspective, complementary to the Christian vision but deliberately presented in philosophical rather than religious terms, that John of Salisbury had admired in Boethius;[32] and though the long exemplary tale of Polemo's renunciation of dissipation for philosophy (8.251–85) has a certain recapitulatory function and heralds the appearance of Nature, the conversion it portends never issues in a spiritual perspective on Architrenius' career.

Johannes de Hauvilla as a medieval poet

If the *Architrenius* testifies to the capacity of medieval humanism for appreciating the distinctive features of ancient culture, it is also a product of its place and time. For every line in which we hear the voice of Lucan, Horace or Juvenal there are dozens that could only have been produced by a twelfth-century rhetorician, a virtuoso practitioner of the *ornatus difficilis*. No moment is too solemn to afford an occasion for such virtuosity, which frequently disrupts the very passages in which Johannes comes closest to attaining a sort of classical gravity. There is a certain flamboyant charm in a paean which, perhaps briefly recalling the hymns of Ambrose, declares Bacchus to be more stellar than a star, or brighter than light ("sidus plus sidere, luxque / lucis . . ." 2.270–71).

Johannes' poetic universe, so past and present form a continuous historical reality, with no clear evidence of progress or decline.

[32] See *Policraticus* 7.15; and von Moos, "The use of *exempla* in the *Policraticus*," pp. 247–50, 254–56.

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And at times the compulsive word-play has a certain blocky dignity of its own, as in the lines which describe the transformation of the Athenian rake Polemo by the teaching of Xenocrates:

> Succedente mora succedit gracia morum,
> Inque dies cedit Venus accedente venusto,
> Rectificatque virum declivem regula virtus,
> Philosophumque facit facundia philosophantis . . .

> As his resistance gives way, the appeal of morality takes its place, and Venus yields, day by day, as its charm gains the ascendancy. The rule of virtue rectifies the fallen man, the charm of philosophizing makes him a philosopher . . . (*Architrenius* 8.281–84)

But even here we could certainly spare the last line, and too often such passages convey only a kind of stylistic hyperactivity. It is hard to see why so admirably concise a formulation as "ardua tollit / cras ruiturus homo" (4.201–02) should be followed immediately by four separate variations on the paradox expressed in *tollit* / *ruiturus*, or why, after Pliny has brought his grim account of a ruined life to the *optata quies* of death (6.382), he should be forced to add that in death "vulnus curatur vulnere, pena / pena, dolore dolor" (385–86).

But it is such passages as these, for many modern readers the least attractive feature of this type of poetry, that gained the *Architrenius* its great reputation. Johannes was famous above all as a stylist, a master in the deployment of the rhetorical figures prescribed by the *artes poeticae*. No less an authority than Geoffrey of Vinsauf could declare that the *Architrenius* surpassed all works of modern times in its use of complex figurative language (*tropicae locutiones*).[33] Gervais of Melkley, who complains of the poem's *durissimae translationes* (i.e. difficult metaphors), and cites examples that seem to him excessive,[34] nonetheless admired the *Architrenius* sufficiently to declare that to study the poem carefully was an education in itself.[35] (One thinks of Bede's gentle censure of the excessive parallelisms in the writings of his beloved Gregory.) Judgments regarding style, he acknowledges, are a matter of taste, and he cites a "man of discernment" who had declared that the

[33] Traugott Lawler, ed. *The "Parisiana Poetria" of John of Garland* (New Haven, 1974), prints excerpts from the longer version of Geoffrey's *Documentum de modo et arte dictandi et versificandi*, pp. 327–32; for Geoffrey's judgment on the *Architrenius*, p. 329.
[34] See *Ars poetica*, ed. Gräbener, pp. 8, 17, 84, 136–37.
[35] "Cuius quidem libelli sola sufficit inspectio rudem animum informare," *Ars poetica*, p. 3.

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style of the *Architrenius* was *too* perfect – flawed (*vitiosum*) only in that its lines were wholly free of *vitia*.[36]

Among earlier medieval poems, Johannes clearly knew well the *Alexandreis* of Walter of Châtillon, which he frequently echoes, and perhaps also the *Frigii Daretis Ylias* of Joseph of Exeter. And it is clear that the intellectual content of the *Architrenius*, its extensive treatment of cosmological questions and the prominent role played by the goddess Nature, owe a great deal to the great allegorical poems of Bernardus Silvestris and Alan of Lille. Traces of Bernardus' *Cosmographia* (1147) and Alan's *De planctu naturae* (1160–70) and *Anticlaudianus*[37] (1182–83) appear on virtually every page of the *Architrenius*, and Schmidt considers the influence of the *De planctu naturae*, with its central motif of Nature confronting the fact of human sin, stronger than that of any other medieval text.[38] But Johannes' poem, as Marc-René Jung observes in comparing it with the *Anticlaudianus*, is of another kind.[39] Bernardus and Alan are philosophical and religious poets: cosmology and its theological implications, problems of language and epistemology, and the substance of the Liberal Arts are fundamental to the structure and meaning of their poems. Johannes is aware of these concerns,[40] but they do not inform his poem at a fundamental level. When he introduces "a few themes of each of the Liberal Arts" (3.137–76), they serve only to lend an authenticating touch to his account of Parisian student life. Later Nature herself spends some 300 lines discoursing to Architrenius, as to the dreamer-poet of Alan's *De planctu*, on celestial motion and the order of the universe (8.335–9.148). But her discourse in no way transforms or enhances the facts and formulae of the treatise from which the bulk of it is borrowed, the *Differentie* of the ninth-century Arab astronomer Al-Farghani, and it conveys none of the alertness of Alan's goddess to the moral and spiritual implications of her theme.

Even on the thematic level, the clear debt of the *Architrenius* to these forebears must be qualified. It is certainly true, as Schmidt argues, that Johannes owes to Alan his view of Nature as cosmic power and moral guide, and Schmidt sees in Johannes' narrative only a "further develop-

[36] *Ars poetica*, p. 8.
[37] In what follows I assume that Alan's *Anticlaudianus* predates the *Architrenius*, for reasons given in the Appendix to this Introduction.
[38] Schmidt, pp. 80–81.
[39] See Marc-René Jung, *Études sur le poème allégorique en France au Moyen Age* (Bern, 1971), p. 113.
[40] See, for example, 3.325–33, which summarize the vision vouchsafed by the Muses of scholarship in terms worthy of Bernardus Silvestris himself.

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ment'' (*Weiterentwicklung*) of the plot of the *De planctu naturae*, whereby Architrenius becomes the complainant and Nature is allowed to resolve the crisis posed by human sinfulness, which the *De planctu* had left unresolved. It seems to me, however, that the role of Johannes' Nature is less a development than a contradiction of the implication of Alan's use of the goddess. The *De planctu naturae* ends by emphasizing the *limits* of Nature's power to regulate the life of man, and the necessity for the intervention of a higher power, a project which provides the plot of the *Anticlaudianus*. In both of Alan's poems the crisis is finally theological in its implications. The *Architrenius*, by contrast, shows a remarkable unconcern with the theological implications of human sinfulness. That his Nature is able to resolve the crisis posed by Architrenius' dilemma is clear confirmation of Johannes' commitment to the ethical view of life.

But finally it is difficult to say how important even Nature is in Johannes' scheme. Though the hero's reunion with the goddess provides an obvious climax to the narrative, the episodes that lead up to it are disposed in no coherent order. It would seem reasonable to suppose that Architrenius' wanderings were in some sense intended to prepare him for the marriage which concludes his quest, and which apparently confirms his reconciliation with Nature, but I have been unable to discover evidence of any such systematic intention. Indeed it is difficult to know whether marriage with Moderantia is Architrenius' reward for having learned the lesson of his experiences or a last recourse on Nature's part, a final attempt to improve his otherwise desperate and incorrigible state. Even the climactic encounter with Nature herself has its anticlimactic aspect for a reader who comes to it with the work of Bernardus and Alan in mind. When Nature ends her cosmological discourse with a triumphant affirmation of her bounty, the arch-weeper's only response is that this was not what he wanted to learn: for him, and for Johannes, there is no longer a necessary connection between the lofty vision to which Nature had inspired the cosmological poets and the anxieties that have impelled him on his journey. What Johannes' Nature will refer to as *religio nativa* has been effectively reduced to a body of ethical precepts. It is as though the poet had introduced Nature and her cosmic lore only to dramatize the shift of emphasis that separates his work from its twelfth-century models.

Of Johannes' other medieval affinities, the most interesting is with Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*. The genealogy which links Walter of Coutances and his father Rainfroy to Geoffrey's mythical Trojan hero Corineus, the colonizer of Cornwall, must be at least partly based on family tradition of the sort that led other members of the

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Norman nobility to claim Trojan ancestry,[41] but Johannes' fulsome elaboration of it is very much in the spirit of Geoffrey's own inventions in the *Historia*. If Johannes is responsible for the specifically Galfridian linkage to Corineus, his invention was tacitly acknowledged as *ben trovato* by Giraldus Cambrensis,[42] and may have provided a precedent for similar Geoffreyesque inventions in the *De nugis curialium* of Walter Map.[43]

Fortunae

The *Architrenius*, like the poems of Bernardus, Alan, and Walter of Châtillon, seems to have been recognized as the medieval equivalent to a classic text almost from the time of its appearance. Johannes was incorporated into the canon of school-authors in the *Laborintus* of Everardus Alemannus,[44] and the dozen surviving thirteenth-century manuscripts, together with the number of manuscripts that contain extensive glosses,[45] make it plain both that the *Architrenius* was widely read, and that it was appreciated for its considerable learning as well as for its style. Further evidence for the "classic" status of the poem is *La Bataille des set ars* (*c.* 1240), by the French poet Henri d'Andeli, written in response to the changing intellectual milieu of the early thirteenth century and the increasing specialization of the university curriculum, which seemed to allow too little scope to the humanistic pursuits that had flourished (or were wistfully recalled as having flourished) in the

[41] See Bernard Guenée, *States and Rulers in Later Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 58–63.

[42] Giraldus Cambrensis, in the course of a brief account of the career of Walter of Coutances, declares that Walter was "de Corinei domo Cornubiaque natus, et nobili Britonum gente ac Trojana stirpe originaliter propagatus" (*Vita S. Remigii*, c. 25, in *Opera*, ed. J. S. Brewer, J. F. Dimock (Rolls Series 21), Vol. 7 (London, 1877), p. 38.

[43] See *De nugis curialium* 2.17–18; and the Brook-Mynors introduction, pp. xxxiv–xxxvi, xxxix–xlii.

[44] *Laborintus* 629–30: "Circuit et totum fricat Architrenius orbem, / Qualis sit vitii regio quaeque docet"; ed. Edmond Faral, *Les artes poétiques du xiie et du xiiie siècle* (Paris, 1962), p. 359. Everardus' treatise, which postdates the *Poetria nova* of Geoffrey of Vinsauf (*c.* 1208–13) and the *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villa Dei (1212), was surely produced in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. On the medieval conception of canonical authors, see E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (New York,1953), pp. 48–54; Elisabeth Gössmann, *Antiqui und Moderni im Mittelalter. Eine geschichtliche Standortsbestimmung* (Munich–Vienna, 1974), pp. 92–101.

[45] On the manuscripts see Schmidt, pp. 93–117. The two most extensively glossed manuscripts, both from the fifteenth century, are Oxford, Digby 64 (Schmidt's Q) and Rome, Vatican Reg. Lat. 1812 (X), cited as Q and X in my notes to the poem. I also cite glosses in Leiden, Rijksuniversiteit, Vulcanianus 94 (D) and Rome, Vatican Reg. Lat. 370 (V).

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twelfth-century schools. In the course of a strange battle in which an army of poets and sages including Plato, Ovid, Martianus Capella and Bernardus Silvestris is routed by the forces of logic, "mon seignor Architraine / Un des barons de Normandie" is slain by "Parealmaine" (Aristotle's *Peri Hermeneias* or "On Interpretation").[46]

It is harder to discover evidence for the influence of Johannes' poem in the work of later vernacular poets. Even Jean de Meun, though his portion of the *Roman de la Rose* is much closer in spirit to Johannes than to the poems of Alan of Lille which both poets employ as a foil to their own more worldly concerns, may not have known the *Architrenius*.[47] What seems clear is that the poem's career was largely confined to the work of teachers and commentators. The fourteenth-century mythographer John Ridewall, in his *Fulgentius metaforalis*, quotes at length from the description of Architrenius' encounter with the monster *Cupiditas* and other passages on greed,[48] and the poem is cited in both the marginal glosses and the later prose commentary to the anonymous fourteenth-century *Echecs amoureux*.[49] The English antiquary John Pits reports the story of Hugo Legat, a monk of St. Albans in the early fifteenth century, who was so impressed by his reading of the *Architrenius* that he renounced all other books and devoted himself entirely to a commentary on the poem.[50] But further evidence of its use outside the schoolroom remains to be discovered.

In 1373 the aging Petrarch was provoked to compose an *Apologia* in response to a tract in which a French friar, Jean de Hesdin, had extolled French culture at the expense of that of Italy. Jean had quoted at length from the encomium on Paris which concludes the second book of the

[46] *La Bataille des set ars* 282–84; ed. L. J. Paetow, *Memoirs of the University of California* 4.1 (1914), p. 53.
[47] Edmond Faral, "Le Roman de la Rose et la pensée française au xiiie siècle," *Revue des deux mondes* 35 (Sept. 1926), pp. 449–52, takes for granted Jean's familiarity with the *Architrenius*, but cites only the two poets' common habit of invoking classical dicta and exempla at every turn.
[48] *Fulgentius metaforalis. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der antiken Mythologie im Mittelalter*, ed. Hans Liebeschütz (Leipzig, 1926), pp. 105–06.
[49] See Schmidt, p. 10, n. 11.
[50] John Pits ("Johannes Pitseus"), *Relationum Historicarum de Rebus Anglicis Tomus Primus* (Paris, 1619), p. 568; see also Kuno Francke, "Der Architrenius des Johann von Anville," *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte* 20 (1880), pp. 475–76. As Francke notes, the glosses most likely to be Hugo's are those in Rome, Vatican Reg. Lat. 1812 (Schmidt's x). John Bale, *Index Britanniae Scriptorum* (c. 1560), quotes a passage, apparently from Legat's commentary, in praise of Johannes' poetry, "quem tot vestiuit figmentis poeticis, tantis antiquorum purpurauit historijs, et tam arduis inuoluit scientiarum difficultatibus, ut vix nostra florentes etate nudam ipsius faciem perspicue potuerint intueri ..." (*Index*, ed. R. L. Poole, Oxford, 1902, p. 215).

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Architrenius, and Petrarch's rejoinder includes a scathing attack on Johannes' poem as an impossibly tedious and laughably inept performance.[51] Later humanists were more charitable. Josse Badius Ascensius published the first edition of the *Architrenius* in 1517, though he did not hesitate to introduce new readings of his own in order to bring Johannes' grammar and prosody into conformity with humanist standards,[52] and Juan Luis Vives pronounced the poem exceptional for its age, the one bright spot in the dismal history of Latin poetry between Sidonius Apollinaris and Petrarch.[53] Konrad Gesner cited Vives' judgment approvingly, and Lilio Giraldi, though he complained of the barbarity of the *Architrenius*, considered it a poem one would regret not having read.[54] That is perhaps the appropriately grudging tone in which to praise the *Architrenius*, and it was virtually the last notice the poem would receive until the later nineteenth century, when Thomas Wright's edition and the appreciative study of Kuno Francke brought Johannes and his strange *summa* back to life.

The present edition

The Latin text which accompanies my translation is that of Paul Gerhard Schmidt. Here again, as in all aspects of this project, I owe a very great debt to Schmidt's excellent edition, and I have at least paid him a small portion of the tribute his tactful and astute editing deserves, in that there is no point at which I have found myself in disagreement with one of his readings. I have necessarily departed from strict fidelity to Johannes' Latin by reordering and redistributing phrases, turning participles to verbs, and other recourses aimed at obtaining coherent English equivalents for Johannes' syntax, but in all but one or two cases, duly noted, I have aimed to render the sense indicated by Schmidt's punctuation.

In the translation itself I have sought to offer coherent and reasonably graceful prose. I have not attempted to imitate Johannes at his own game, aside from an occasional bit of word-play or alliteration, and whatever *durissimae translationes* may have crept in are unintentional.

51 For the passages from both writers that cite the *Architrenius*, see Schmidt, pp. 307–08; on the controversy, see Ernest H. Wilkins, *Petrarch's Later Years* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), pp. 233–41.
52 See Schmidt, pp. 110–11.
53 *De tradendis disciplinis* 3.9: "Johannes Hantuillensis, qui *Architrenium* propter materiam scripsit, non omnino malus, certe melior quam pro seculo."
54 See Francke, "Der Architrenius," p. 476; Max Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, Vol. 3 (Munich, 1931), pp. 805–06.

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Reading such things in Latin can be bracing and even fun, but to translate them, though at first one may take a certain pride in one's sheer ingenuity, is eventually to develop a kind of loathing for John's virtuosity. Where he is literal, I have tried to be equally so. When he tells us, in so many Latin words, that a girl's ear was cleaned by the finger of Nature, I have gritted my teeth and said the same thing in so many English words. But at certain points (the point of the lady's chin in Book One, for example) I have found myself unable to give anything but a general impression of what is going on.

Appendix: Did Johannes know the *Anticlaudianus*?

Despite the thematic differences discussed above, there can be no questioning the close connection between the *Architrenius* and the *Anticlaudianus* of Alan of Lille. Similarities include not only the obvious correspondences of theme and motif in the two poems' use of the goddess Nature, but also common structural features, and a number of striking verbal correspondences that can hardly be explained by anything but the direct imitation of one poet by the other. The traditional assumption, understandable in view of Alan's great eminence, has been that the *Anticlaudianus* was the earlier work. The *Architrenius* can be clearly dated to the end of 1184, and the *Anticlaudianus*, which alludes plainly to the *Alexandreis* of Walter of Châtillon, and hence must postdate the appearance of that poem,[55] has usually been assigned to 1182–83. This dating is endorsed by Charles Hutchings, who discovers allusions to contemporary history in Alan's poem, and whose article on the subject remains the sole attempt to argue the question of priority seriously. I agree with Schmidt (pp. 84–86) in finding Hutchings' historical arguments unconvincing, in part because they seem to have been prompted to a great extent by the prior assumption that the *Anticlaudianus* had influenced the *Architrenius*, and hence could only be placed between 1182 and 1184.

Schmidt, writing in 1974, considered that the question of priority must be left open in the absence of further historical evidence. Recently such evidence seems to have surfaced in the form of the convincing argument of A. C. Dionisotti that Walter's *Alexandreis*, usually assumed to have appeared in 1181–82, "was largely complete before 1176 and

[55] "L'Anticlaudianus d'Alain de Lille. étude de chronologie," *Romania* 50, 1924, pp. 1–13.

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probably published in that year."[56] Alan's use of the opening words of the *Alexandreis* ("Gesta ducis Macedum," *Anticl.* 1.167) to identify the poem suggests that its appearance may have been a recent event, fresh in his readers' minds, and so a redating of Walter's poem would provide an argument for redating the *Anticlaudianus* as well, and strengthen the case for regarding it as a model for the *Architrenius*.

In any case I think that the internal evidence provided by the two poems, much of it pointed out by Schmidt, provides sufficient basis for assuming that Alan's poem is the earlier. Since this evidence bears on the literary character of the *Architrenius*, I would like to review some of its more significant features. Correspondences of phrasing provide an obvious point of comparison. In one of many passages that reveal his fascination with language, Alan praises the translations of Boethius, through which the *virtus* of logic forsakes its native language and "nostri peregrinat in usum" (*Anticlaudianus* 3.135), a phrase which evokes the theme of the *translatio studii* and the meditations on the shifting history of language in Horace's *Ars poetica*. When the same phrase appears in the *Architrenius*, it describes a gluttony which literally consumes gold, so that the metal itself grows soft and "epuli peregrinat in usum" (2.251). Again, when Alan's Prudentia returns from Heaven bearing the divine gift of a new soul for humankind, ". . . miratur in illo / Artificis Natura manum, munusque beatum / laudat" (*Anticl.* 6.486–88). Johannes, describing the luxury of the court, cites goblets so sumptuous that "miratur in illis / Artificis Natura manum, seseque minorem / Agnovisse pudet" (*Architr.* 4.303–305).

Many such contrasting examples can easily be discovered, but these will serve to suggest the essential contrast. In both cases, details which in the *Anticlaudianus* express an intellectual and spiritual coherence become, in the very different world of the *Architrenius*, symptoms of a bizarre and contentious materialism. The difference between the reverence of Alan's Natura and the envy that reduces Johannes' goddess to all-too-human size, or that between the translation of language and the transmutation of gold into food, seem to me to make far better sense if Johannes is seen as adapting to his own use motifs originally conceived by Alan, setting the selfishness and the shameless idolatry of his satiric

[56] A. C. Dionisotti, "Walter of Châtillon and the Greeks," in *Latin Poetry and the Classical Tradition*, eds. Peter Godman, Oswyn Murray (Oxford, 1990), pp. 90–96. For the traditional dating of the Alexandreis see Heinrich J. C. Christensen, Das Alexanderlied Walters von Châtillon (Halle, 1905), p. 10; Marvin L. Colker, ed. Galteri de Castellione Alexandreis (Padua, 1978), pp. xi–xv.

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