

# The Bavarian Commentary and Ovid

ROBIN WAHLSTEN BÖCKERMAN

**Q**um multa possint inquiri i ca  
pice unicuiq. libri moderni  
qda gaudentes bntate. tria pn  
cipalit ingrenda statuere. idest  
materia. intentione. & cui par  
ti philosophie supponat. Cu di  
ximus parti. estat philosophia  
aliqua totu ee unde partes possit  
preede. Hc pmo agamus de ethi  
mologia ipsius uocabuli. Oim so  
phi id sapientes dicebant. s. pika  
goras hoc uidens nimis arrogans  
apposuit qdda remediũ. i. sopho.  
qd e amor. inde philosophia ama  
tor sapientie. Huc usq. egunt de  
ethimologia ipsi uocabuli. Hc aut  
dicant qd sit ipsa res. Philosophia  
e ars t naturalis t artificialis. na  
turalis e que omibz in e. ut abula  
re. loqui. Artificialis que ama  
gistro docet & ad discipulo discit.  
& hec eade artificialis diuidit in  
duas partes. scilicet in literale q.  
literalem. In literalis est. ut scire.  
arare. Literalis que pote dici uera  
philosophia diuidit in tria. scil in  
phsica loqua ethica. Phisic gce.  
latine natura. Inde phsica natura  
lis. que diuidit in. iiii. partes sci  
licet geometria arithmetica. musi  
ca. astronomia. Ge. eni gce. lat  
terra. ometria. dicit mfsura. in de  
geometria mfsura terre. A res. gce.

t uirt. methica numerus. in de  
arithmetica uirt numeri. Olosin  
gce. hebraice aq. inde musica aq.  
tica dr. qa omis uox ab humore &  
aeris repercussione chit. astrono  
mia. i. astrorum scientia. Logi  
ca diuidit in. iiii. scil. grammatice.  
rethorica. dialectica. Grama eni g  
ce. lat littera. in de grammatice li  
terat. Rethor gce. lat orator.  
Dia gce. lat duo. logos sermo in  
de dialectica. sermo duox. Ethica  
diuidit in duo scil in bonos mo  
res & malos. Ethic eni gce. lat  
mores. inde ethica moralis. Omis  
auctor. t pragmatice. t eregrina  
rice. t cinomice. Pragmaticon.  
ide fabulosu. & est ubi in trodus  
re psonę locunt ut terentiu. Ex  
agematico. ide enarratiuũ. ubi  
auctor loquit priscian. Terciu  
geni poematis e. Cinematicon. i.  
comune. ut ovidius iste scribit.  
**Q**uidā philosophi fuerunt qui  
mundũ de nichilo deũ fecisse  
crederunt. Quidā uero alii ex  
athomis. & in auitate. que duo  
semp fuerunt. dicit dñm mundũ  
fecisse. Alii aut philosophi. sicut  
ovidius & con similes. tria ee semp  
dixer. scil. dñi. & .iii. elementa isimal  
compta. & formas omniũ rerũ i men  
te di existentes. i. ideas. hoc e disse

Iste liber e Monasterij Benedictenperoren



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### 3. Situating the Commentary

The previous chapter examined the fate of Ovid leading up to the period relevant for clm 4610. In the following chapter we will turn to the commentaries and seek to provide some context to give the anonymous text some flesh. We know for a fact that the commentaries were later kept at the Bavarian monastery Benediktbeuern, and on paleographical grounds it also seems likely that the commentary was written somewhere in southern Germany. With this in mind, the following section will expand on Bavaria as a setting and its educational institutions.

#### Bavaria and the Holy Roman Empire<sup>77</sup>

In the context of cultural history, we are at the beginning of ‘the long twelfth century,’ which is an extension of the concept of the renaissance of the twelfth century first famously formulated by C. H. Haskins in the first part of the last century.<sup>78</sup> The long twelfth century extends this renaissance a few decades on both sides of the century (e.g. 1095-1229 by Cotts and 1050-1215 by Noble and Van Engen).<sup>79</sup> Much of the research on the twelfth century focuses on France and Norman England, but as far as the German lands and the renaissance are concerned, Rodney Thomson points out that it is not so much a new renaissance as an intensifying of the Ottonian renaissance of the late tenth century, which, among other things, entailed the continued copying and studying of the ancient authors, while the early

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<sup>77</sup> A good overview of the period is found in Hanna Vollrath, ‘The Western Empire Under the Salians’ and Benjamin Arnold, ‘The Western Empire, 1125-1197’, in *The New Cambridge Medieval History Volume 4:2 c.1024–c.1198*, ed. D. Luscombe and J. Riley-Smith. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), <https://doi.org/10.1017/CHOL9780521414104>. See also A. Haverkamp, *Medieval Germany, 1056-1273* (translated by H. Braun and R. Mortimer), (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

<sup>78</sup> Charles H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Harvard University Press, 1927).

<sup>79</sup> John D. Cotts, *Europe’s Long Twelfth Century: Order, Anxiety, and Adaptation, 1095-1229* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Thomas F. X. Noble, John Van Engen (ed.), *European Transformations: The Long Twelfth Century* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012).

scholasticism that was gaining momentum in France did not attract attention in many places in the German lands.<sup>80</sup>

The Holy Roman Empire provides the macro setting. The empire was not one centrally controlled kingdom, but rather a conglomerate of duchies and bishoprics, all of which struggled for power in relationship to their neighbours, the emperor and the pope; armed conflicts and sometimes all-out civil war were frequent results. In the period studied here, the empire consisted of three large units: the kingdoms of Germany, Burgundy and Italy. The German king and emperor (the first title was given through election by the German dukes, the second by the pope) had no fixed residence, but instead travelled the empire and held court in different locations, such as Cologne, Worms and Regensburg, where the lords gathered and gave council.

The Duchy of Bavaria had many different rulers during the eleventh century but was, for most of the twelfth century, controlled by the Welf family. The secular ruler of Bavaria had his equals in the mighty bishops and abbots of the many cathedrals and monasteries that existed in the duchy, many of which date back to the time of Charlemagne. The most important cities in Bavaria at this time were Regensburg, Freising, Passau and Salzburg (then part of Bavaria). All of these cities were bishoprics (Salzburg was the seat of the archbishop) and thus housed cathedrals, which, in turn, housed cathedral schools and libraries. Besides the cathedrals, both the cities and the countryside that surrounded them housed many monasteries, which usually adhered to the rule of Benedict. At this point in time and all over Europe, the Benedictine monasteries, by far the most numerous among the different religious communities that existed, made up a network of independent units. However, other orders, for instance the Carthusians (founded in 1084), were also present throughout the empire.<sup>81</sup>

The monasteries and cathedrals were not the only institutions influencing cultural development at this time. The itinerant royal court had a well-functioning chancery, which was staffed by clerics and supervised by a chancellor, who was formally under obedience to the

<sup>80</sup> Rodney Thomson, 'The Place of Germany in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance', in *Manuscripts and Monastic Culture: Reform and Renewal in Twelfth-Century Germany* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), p. 22, <https://doi.org/10.1484/M.MCS-EB.3.3543>.

<sup>81</sup> For an overview of religious life during this period see Giles Constable, 'Religious communities, 1024–1215' in *The New Cambridge Medieval History Volume 4:1 c.1024–c.1198*, ed. D. Luscombe, J. Riley-Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 335–368.

archbishop of Mainz.<sup>82</sup> We do not know if there was any room for literature or formal schooling at the itinerant court, but we do know that there was a dynamic interaction between court, cathedral and monastery, which affected the intellectual life of the period.<sup>83</sup>

## Monasteries and Cathedrals

In this section we will look closer at the cathedrals and monasteries of Bavaria, many of which date from Carolingian times, and many of which suffered during the Hungarian raids in the tenth century and were then re-established. In order to get a picture of what went on in these institutions of learning, some information can be gleaned from contemporary or near-contemporary library lists, letters and other such documents.

In general, it seems like both books and lists of books from monasteries have been much better preserved than those from cathedrals—in fact, it is difficult to track down information from any of the Bavarian cathedrals. In those cases where there is some evidence, there do not seem to be many traces of the pagan authors. The cathedral library in Würzburg serves as an example. Here we have a book list from the year 1000 in which not a single pagan author appears on a list that stretches to almost four printed pages.<sup>84</sup> It seems unlikely that such a library would not at least contain a copy of Virgil, which makes it possible that the list does not include the ‘school-authors’. Another list has been preserved from the Augustinerchorherrenstift, St Nikolau in Passau; this fairly long document from the middle of the twelfth century again contains no pagan authors.<sup>85</sup> However, from the cathedral in eleventh-century Freising two short notes survive, one of which mentions Terence and the other Ovid. The one that mentions Ovid is phrased in such a way

<sup>82</sup> Luscombe 2004, p. 399.

<sup>83</sup> For more on court and school during the Carolingian and Ottonian period see Jaeger 1994, pp. 21–53.

<sup>84</sup> Bernhard Bischoff, Günter Glauche, and Hermann Knaus, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands Und Der Schweiz. Bd 4, Bistümer Passau, Regensburg, Freising, Würzburg* (München, 1979), pp. 985–88. None of the other lists for this library mentions pagan authors either, cf. pp. 977–994.

<sup>85</sup> Bernhard Bischoff and Elizabeth Ineichen-Eder, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands Und Der Schweiz. Bd 4, Bistümer Passau, Regensburg, Freising, Würzburg* (München, 1977), pp. 53–55.

that it might imply a list of donations or a lending list.<sup>86</sup> Finally, in this short discussion of cathedral libraries it may benefit us to look at an eleventh-century list from an unknown library, but which may stem from either the cathedral or the Michelsberg monastery in Bamberg. This list, in contrast to the first two mentioned above, consists entirely of pagan authors and philosophy. It does not mention Ovid, but is still relevant since it mentions many commentaries, some of them by known authors, as for example 'Donatus's commentary on Virgil' (*commentum Donati super Virgilium*).<sup>87</sup>

We will now turn to four monasteries connected to the revival of Ovid: Benediktbeuern and Tegernsee, close to the modern border to Austria, St Emmeram in Regensburg and St Peter's Abbey in Salzburg. Neither clm 4610 nor any of the manuscripts from the Bavarian B family carries a contemporary library or owner's mark. We know, however, that they were, at a later date, stored in Benediktbeuern (clm 4610), St Emmeram (clm 14482 and clm 14809 from the Bavarian B family) and Salzburg (Salzburg AV4 from the Bavarian B family). Even though none of the commentaries can conclusively be tied to Tegernsee, this monastery is nevertheless included in the survey since we know that it was an important centre of text production and associated with the three other monasteries mentioned here. It is also the location where one of the earliest *Metamorphoses* manuscripts is believed to have been copied.<sup>88</sup>

### St Emmeram, Regensburg

St Emmeram, founded in the eight century, had been an Imperial abbey since 972. It was originally located outside of the city of Regensburg, but by the tenth century the city had grown to surround the monastery. St Emmeram was also the Bavarian centre for the Gorze reform, which, like the Cluny reform, strived for a stronger adherence to the rule of St Benedict, although in contrast to Cluny, it was not associated with centralised authority. It was under the influence of this reform that the library at St Emmeram was built in the

<sup>86</sup> Gustav Becker, *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui: Collegit Gustavus Becker. 1. Catalogi Sæculo 13. Vetustiores. 2. Catalogus Catalogorum Posterioris Ætatis* (Bonnæ, 1885), p. 148: *Chunradus Ovidium & Salustium* (Chonradus [has borrowed/donated] Ovid and Sallust.)

<sup>87</sup> Becker 1885, p. 147. This list is found in the philosophical miscellanea manuscript Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 14436, 61v, and has been digitised: <https://daten.digitalesammlungen.de/0003/bsb00033074/images/index.html?id=00033074&groesser=&fip=ewqeayaxdsydenqrsqrsdxsdewqfsdr&no=13&seite=126>

<sup>88</sup> The fragments Harley 2610 (London, British Library) and clm 29208 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek).



late tenth century and later became the most important library in the area during the next century.<sup>89</sup> All three monasteries mentioned below were reformed during the eleventh century by monks from St Emmeram.<sup>90</sup> William of Hirsau had his training in St Emmeram before he left for the monastery he is named after in 1079, and where he instituted the Hirsau reform. This reform was then quickly established back in St Emmeram.<sup>91</sup> The Hirsau reform has itself been associated with a huge increase in book production and also with the copying of the classical authors.<sup>92</sup>

As far as manuscripts are concerned, we seem to have quite a large production in the monastery around the year 1000. A list from that time primarily contains Christian authors, but also several different grammars, two commentaries by Remigius (on Martianus and on Sedulius) and a gloss on Virgil.<sup>93</sup>

Together with Cologne, Regensburg had been one of the biggest cities in the German lands ever since the Carolingian period, and was also an important and renowned place for scholarship, as illustrated here by an exclamation by an excited eleventh-century writer:<sup>94</sup>

*Ratispona vere secunda Athene, aequae studiis florida, sed verioris philosophiae fructibus cumulata.*<sup>95</sup>

Regensburg is truly a second Athens, equally blooming with learning, but [in Regensburg] there has also been gathered the fruits of the truer philosophy.

Regensburg is one of the oldest bishoprics in Bavaria and the See was connected with St Emmeran in such a way that the bishop was chosen

<sup>89</sup> Joseph D. Kyle, 'The Monastery Library at St. Emmeram (Regensburg)', *The Journal of Library History*, 1980.15:1 (1980), 1–21, pp. 6–13.

<sup>90</sup> Kyle 1980, p. 13.

<sup>91</sup> Martin Schubert, *Schreiborte Des Deutschen Mittelalters* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), p. 463, <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110217933>.

<sup>92</sup> Alison Beach, *Women as Scribes: Book Production and Monastic Reform in Twelfth-Century Bavaria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 128.

<sup>93</sup> *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands Und Der Schweiz. Bd 4, Bistümer Passau, Regensburg, Freising, Würzburg*, ed. Bernhard Bischoff and Elizabeth Ineichen-Eder (München, 1977), p. 146–147, l. 72–81.

<sup>94</sup> Schubert 2013, p. 459.

<sup>95</sup> David Sheffler, *Schools and Schooling in Late Medieval Germany: Regensburg, 1250–1500*, Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, v. 33 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2008), p. 16, <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004166646.i-417>.

alternately from the ranks of the Canon Regulars and from the monks.<sup>96</sup>

In addition to St Emmeran there were several other monasteries in the city and its vicinity, among them an important Irish *Schottenkloster* (founded in the late eleventh century), where Honorius Augustodunensis was active during the first part of the twelfth century.<sup>97</sup> Besides the monasteries, the city also contained canonical houses (though most seem to be of a later date), most notably St Peter. Regensburg had a curious system where the bishop was chosen alternately from the monks and the canon regulars. This speaks to the power wielded by the monastery. In addition, there were three houses for women founded in the ninth and tenth centuries (Ober-, Nieder- and Mittelmünster). These institutions, together with the other orders that arrived in the city during later centuries, handled all schooling in the city until the beginning of the sixteenth century.<sup>98</sup> The book production in these monasteries also made Regensburg, together with Salzburg, the most important scribal centres in the south-eastern German lands during the twelfth century.<sup>99</sup>

### Tegernsee

Tegernsee, founded in the middle of the eighth century, holds a place of pre-eminence among the Bavarian monasteries where the production of manuscripts is concerned. The majority of the earliest surviving witnesses to the texts of many of the ancient authors seem to stem from this monastery. Abbots were chosen from far and wide, as were schoolmasters, which would have created a dynamic environment. Monks were also sent out to establish and re-establish monasteries.<sup>100</sup>

During the early eleventh century, brother Froumund was active at the monastery, teaching, copying and writing both letters and poems. His letter collection gives us a glimpse of the intellectual life of the time (although it is limited where teaching is concerned) and it also shows the connections between Tegernsee, Cologne, Regensburg and Augsburg. Christine Eder has investigated the scribal activity at the monastery during the tenth and eleventh centuries and, through her research, it is clear that the production volume in the scriptorium was

<sup>96</sup> Bischoff and Ineichen-Eder 1977, p. 99.

<sup>97</sup> Schubert 2013, p. 464.

<sup>98</sup> Sheffler 2008, pp. 18-21.

<sup>99</sup> Schubert 2013, p. 472.

<sup>100</sup> C. E. Eder, *Die Schule Des Klosters Tegernsee in Frühen Mittelalter Im Spiegel Der Tegernseer Handschriften* (München: Ardeo-Gesellschaft, 1972), p. 52.



high and that many grammatical texts and classical authors were copied (although still a minority compared to the religious texts).

Not all manuscripts were produced in Tegernsee. Eder has identified different groups of manuscripts in the Tegernsee collection with other origins. These manuscripts from the tenth and eleventh centuries are often school texts and among them are authors such as Cicero, Sallust, Virgil and Fulgentius, as well as commentaries on Terence and Statius. The provenance is, in many cases, other parts of the German realm, but often unknown.<sup>101</sup>

When we turn to the twelfth century, one of the most important historical sources for this period is the Tegernsee letter collection, which, among other things, gives us a glimpse of how manuscripts were passed around between monasteries. In the following extract from a letter, the monk B writes to his friend and relative W in Tegernsee and asks for a copy of two commentaries:

*Quapropter obsecratione efflagito, karissime, ut glosas super Macrobiū mihi per aliquem fidelem transmittere non graveris et, si quae super Georgica apud vos sint, cognatum meum O., quatenus mihi transmittat, rogo, depreceris.*<sup>102</sup>

My dear friend, I beseech you that you will not be reluctant to send me the commentary on Macrobius with a loyal servant, and, if you have any commentaries on the Georgica, that you would please send them to me with my relative O.

In addition to letters, book inventories and lists of book donations are other important sources of information about the intellectual life at the monasteries. A list from the second part of the eleventh century mentions that a brother Reginfrid has donated almost forty books to Tegernsee. Among the ancient Roman authors, we notice Virgil, Horace, Ovid and Martianus Capella. The list also mentions Calcidius's commentary on Plato's *Timaeus* and a commentary on Lucan, as well as Fulgentius' commentary on Virgil, Boethius on Cicero's *Topics* and many other grammatical, philosophical and

<sup>101</sup> Eder 1972, p. 132–148.

<sup>102</sup> *Die Tegernseer Briefsammlung des 12. Jahrhunderts*, ed. H. Plechl (Hannover: Hahn, 2002), p. 221.

mythological texts.<sup>103</sup> The list gives us a glimpse into the type of texts to which the monks had access, and, since it is a list of donations, it is all the more interesting as it invites us to speculate about the motives behind this large donation. Did it perhaps stem from a request to supplant the library's existing texts with new or newly needed texts? We notice, for instance, that this list includes a commentary on Lucan, but no text of Lucan, which probably indicates that the library already contained a copy of Lucan. The list also includes three texts by Ovid, which is more than any other author on the list.

### Benediktbeuern

Benediktbeuern was founded around 750 and had been an Imperial Abbey since Carolingian times, with a large scriptorium and library that has produced large amounts of glossed manuscripts.<sup>104</sup> The monastery was destroyed by the Hungarians at the end of the tenth century, but the books were saved from destruction and the monastery was rebuilt, repopulated and restocked with monks and books from the monastery of Tegernsee in 1031.<sup>105</sup> Although there is no documented evidence of a school at Benediktbeuern in the early centuries, there must have been some kind of institutionalised teaching as the monastery accepted oblates: boys as young as six or seven who needed to be taught and trained. Abbot Ellinger, who was sent from Tegernsee to renew the monastery after the Hungarian destruction,

<sup>103</sup> *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, 4:2 Bistum Freising & Bistum Würzburg, ed. G. Glauche, H. Knaus (München 1979), p. 750: *Hos libros quidam frater Reginfridus Deo ac sancto Quiryno Tegirinse tradidit.*

*Bibliothecam. Librum christiani. Librum Virgilii. Librum Oratii. Librum Platonis cum Calcidio. Commentum in Lucanum. Librum in Donati. Librum Aratoris. Rethoricam cum Victorino et Grillo. Librum Smaraddi abbatis. Librum Egesippi. Librum Sybille. Commentum in perhieramias. Librum Ovidii metamorfoseos. Librum Ovidii de remedio et de amore. Librum Martiani. Librum de computo. Duo psalteria, unum glosatum et alterum cum ymnario et officiale. Dicta Alexandri cum quodam Dindimo. Librum Virgiliane continentie. Vitas quorundam sanctorum in duobus corporibus. Sermones Chrisostomi. Librum gradalem cum sequentiis et tropis. Topica Tullii cum commentis Boetii et librum differentiarum et divisionum et multa de rethorica et de sillogismis in uno corpore. Duas mappas mundi. Librum super donatum. Librum centimeter. Librum Daretis de excidio Troie. Gesta Alexandri Magni. Librum fabularum. Librum de abaco et de minutis. De divisione et coacervatione numerorum. De partibus loice. Unum librum evangeliorum et unum librum epistolarum.*

<sup>104</sup> Schubert 2013, p. 22.

<sup>105</sup> *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschland und der Schweiz*, 3:1 Bistum Augsburg, ed. P. Ruf (München: Beck, 1932), p. 63–64; *Das Bistum Augsburg.1, Die Benediktinerabtei Benediktbeuern*, ed. J. Hemmerle (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1991), p. 270.

had been taught by the abovementioned brother Froumund and that is probably also true for his successor, Gotahelm, who modelled the Benediktbeuern system for schooling on that of Tegernsee. The teaching in Benediktbeuern, as in most monasteries at this time, was closely connected to the copying activities in the library.<sup>106</sup>

This first stock of library books consisted of only the Rule of St Benedict and some books of hymns and other books related to the sacral needs of the monastery.<sup>107</sup> From 1052, we have another brief list with mostly sacral books. However, the last sentence mentions: 'Books of the authors Boethius, Sedulius, Prosper [of Aquitaine] and another sixty.'<sup>108</sup>

What these other sixty books contained, we cannot know, but we notice that the library has grown and that it now includes poetry, philosophy and theology.

The next inventory is from the thirteenth century. It is a long list of books that contains many of the classical authors and a significant number of grammatical works, commentaries and glosses. As far as Ovid is concerned, the list mentions two manuscripts that each contain *Heroides*, *Epistulae ex Ponto*, *Ars amandi*, and besides this a 'part of glosses on the *Ovidius magnus*' is also mentioned, but not the *Metamorphoses* itself.<sup>109</sup> In comparison many of the other classical authors are mentioned with glosses, e.g. 'A glossed Horace. A very old Virgil [...] glosses on Lucan'.<sup>110</sup>

At this point in time, we see that the library contains many of Ovid's works, but it is unclear if they had an actual copy of the *Ovidius magnus*, i.e. the *Metamorphoses*. It is also interesting to note that the phrase 'part of glosses on the *Ovidius magnus*' suggests an unfinished commentary or a fragment.

### St Peter, Salzburg

The Benedictine monastery of St Peter in Salzburg was founded around year 700. Here, as in St Emmeram, the monks and canons formed one congregation. Salzburg was the See of the Archbishop of Bavaria. Both the city and the monastery appear in letters and chronicles from our period, but there does not seem to be much

<sup>106</sup> Hemmerle 1991, pp. 265–266 and 436–438.

<sup>107</sup> Ruf 1932, p. 73.

<sup>108</sup> Ruf 1932, p. 73: *Libri poetarum Boetii, Sedulii, Prosperii [sic] et alii LX.*

<sup>109</sup> Ruf 1932, p. 76, l. 19–27: *Ovidius epistolarum. Ovidius de Ponto. ... Ovidius epistolarum. ... Ovidius de ar<te> amandi. ... Pars glosarum Ovidii magni.*

<sup>110</sup> Ruf 1932, p. 76, l. 17–18: *Oracius glosatus. Vir<g>ilius valde vetustus. ... Item glose super Lucanum.*

modern research on the monastery. St Peter is the oldest continuously active monastery in Europe and still houses its own library, which may be the reason why there are not many modern catalogues available on its collection and also one reason for the lack of modern research.

When it comes to medieval catalogues, we have a long list from the twelfth century that begins *Hic est numerus librorum qui continentur in bibliothaeca Salzpurgensis eccelsie ad s. Petrum*.<sup>111</sup>

The first two pages of the transcription contain only Christian authors, but the third page (the last section of the list) shows us the collection of secular literature in the monastery. It is a solid collection of school authors and we immediately notice their collection of Ovid texts: *Metamorphoses*, *Heroides*, *De remedio* and in one volume *Amores*, *De remedio*, *Sine titulo* (*Amores*) and *Epistula ex Ponto*. Besides Ovid, the monastery is also stocked with Sallust, Juvenal (with commentary), Horace (with commentary), Terence, Martianus Capella (with commentary), Cicero's *De amicitia*, *De senectute* and the *Orationes in Catilinam* in one volume, two volumes with the works of Persius, two with Avianus's, three with Lucan's and three with Virgil's. Servius's commentary is listed as a separate work as are three further texts important for the readers and commentators on ancient literature (especially Ovid): Isidore, *Fabularius* (perhaps the work of Hyginus) and Homer (probably the epic *Illiad* themed poem *Ilias Latina*). The only author missing to make the list of school authors complete is Statius. Besides these, there are many philosophical and grammatical works (no less than six copies of Donatus) and Christian poetry.<sup>112</sup>

<sup>111</sup> *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs*, vol. 4 Salzburg, ed. G. Möser-Mersky and M. Mihaliuk (Wien 1966), p. 67.

<sup>112</sup> Möser-Mersky and Mihaliuk 1966, pp. 71-72: *Hii sunt scolares libri istius ecclesie. Boecii commentum super kathégorias. Gisilbertus super Boetium de s. trinitate. / Priscianus m. Boetius de s. trinitate. Boetius de consolatione.*

*Ovidius m(agnus). Ovidius epistolarum. Salustius. Iuvenalis et commentum super ipsum in uno volumine. Priscianus constructionem. Pergemenie Aristotilis et commentum supra, in uno volumine. Hortius et commentum super ipsum Terentius. Prudentius ymnorum et historiarum et siccomachie et contra Symachum in uno volumine. Duo Persii. Tres Lucani. Tres Virgiliani. Expositio super Donatum et Alzismus in uno volumine. Beda de arte metrica. Ars Foci grammatici. Prosper. Experimenta Ypocratis. Galienus. Duo Porphyrii. Oviidius de remedio amoris. Tres Sedulios. Geometria Euclidis. Heremannus Contractus super astrolabium. Abecedarium. Marcanus et commentum super ipsum. Ovidius de amore et de remedio amoris et sine titulo et de Ponto in uno volumine. Theodulus. Libellus de VII planetis. Tullius de amicitia et de senectute et invectivarium in uno volumine. Expositio super artem Euclidis. Servius. Ysidorus ethimologiarum. Homerus. Duo Aviani. Plato. Metaphisica et topica Aristotilis. Fabularius. Donati VI. Erchenbertus magister super Donatum. Dialectica Augustini. Tragedia. Grammatica*

Both the presence of a broad selection of literature and the presence of commentaries and multiple copies of texts are, in all probability, a sign of a large and active school in the monastery.

Finally, to end this discussion of medieval libraries and book lists, a word of warning may be in order. We know, of course, that the information available to us today is extremely limited due to the ravages of time and man, but it is important to remember that the human factor played as important a role in the high middle ages as it does now, as can be witnessed by this final phrase from a twelfth-century book list from another important monastery, Hirsau:

*...varii libri chronici et historici. et in summa valde multi libri, quorum titulos et auctores nolui huc scribere.*

(...various chronicles and books of history, and finally, a great number of books, whose titles and authors I do not care to write down here.)<sup>113</sup>

This little quotation reminds us that we can only get a glimpse, never the whole picture, of the historical context of the Ovid commentaries.

## The School Context

*Commentum Terentii, si sperare id liceat, velim, ut saltem per partes mihi transmittere dignemini. Non est, quod plura vobis pollicear vel de diligentia servandi vel de fide remittendi; id operam dabo, ne vos benignitatis vestre peniteat.*

If it is permitted to wish for this, I would like the commentary on Terence, if you at least deem it worthy to send it to me in parts. It is not the case that I promise too much regarding my care in preserving it or my trustworthiness in returning it. I will take great care so that you do not regret your kindness.<sup>114</sup>

These words are written by Meinhard of Bamberg to his former teacher in the mid-eleventh century. It is not easy to find traces of the commentaries in use, but there are a few scattered mentions like the one above that show that commentaries were precious commodities to

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*Euticentis. Plato. Scansiones metrorum. Alchorismus. Dialogus super Priscianum. Libellus de dialectica, qui sic incipit, 'Primo considerandum est in hac arte'.*

<sup>113</sup> Becker 1885, 220.

<sup>114</sup> MGH *Briefsammlungen der Zeit Heinrichs IV*, p. 112.

be asked for, and not necessarily lent out without restrictions. The ‘in parts’ (*per partes*) in the quotation above may be taken to be either just a modest restriction of the favour asked, or, more technically, that the commentary should be sent a quire at a time to minimise risk of loss of the complete work.

Ideally, we would like to have detailed letters like this describing the movement and use of individual Ovid commentaries. Sadly, that is not the case. This section will instead discuss the environment in which the commentaries may have been produced and used, starting with a brief bibliographical sketch.

The topic of schools and education during this period has recently seen a surge in publications, with a complete volume dedicated to the twelfth-century schools and another entire volume about the abbey of Saint Victor in Paris having been published within the last few years.<sup>115</sup> In addition, new perspectives are also being added to the established ones, as can, for example, be seen in Laura Cleaver’s recent work *Education in Twelfth-Century Art and Architecture*, where the usual focus on the written sources gives way to the rich material to be found in images and architecture.<sup>116</sup> A classic in the field is Pierre Riché’s *Écoles et enseignement dans le Haut Moyen Age*, which covers the period up to the eleventh century.<sup>117</sup> Riché covers large parts of Europe, while much research often only covers France. For the German realm, Anna Grotan’s *Reading in Medieval St. Gall* is important, especially for the English speaking/reading audience.<sup>118</sup> For Italy, Robert Black’s *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy* together with Ronald Witt’s *The Two Latin Cultures of Medieval Italy* provide an

<sup>115</sup> *A Companion to Twelfth-Century Schools*, ed. Cédric Giraud and Ignacio Durán, Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition, volume 88 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2020); *A Companion to the Abbey of Saint Victor in Paris*, ed. Hugh Feiss and Juliet Mousseau (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2018), <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004351691>.

<sup>116</sup> Laura Cleaver, *Education in Twelfth-Century Art and Architecture: Images of Learning in Europe, c.1100-1220*, Boydell Studies in Medieval Art and Architecture (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK; Rochester, NY, USA: The Boydell Press, 2016).

<sup>117</sup> Pierre Riché, *Écoles et enseignement dans le Haut Moyen Age: fin du Ve siècle - milieu du XIe siècle*, 3. éd (Paris: Picard, 1999).

<sup>118</sup> A. Grotan, *Reading in Medieval St. Gall* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511483301>.

excellent overview and analysis.<sup>119</sup> These are only a few of the most important names that have contributed important research to the field. Where commentaries and Ovid are concerned, Ralph Hexter's *Ovid and Medieval Schooling* and Suzanne Reynold's *Medieval Reading: Grammar, Rhetoric and the Classical Text* must also be mentioned.<sup>120</sup>

## The Trivium and Quadrivium: The Foundations of the Medieval School

The framework for education during the Middle Ages was formed by the seven liberal arts, divided into the language-based *trivium* (grammar, dialectic and rhetoric), and the number-based *quadrivium* (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music). The liberal arts were described and enshrined in the works of the Late Antique and Early Medieval authors Martianus Capella, Boethius and Isidore of Seville, as well as in Cassiodorus's *Institutiones*.<sup>121</sup> As Anna Grotans observes, grammar often intersects with the other two members of the *trivium*, rhetoric and dialectics. The connection between grammar and rhetoric is quite easy to imagine. The third art, dialectic, intersects with grammar by providing a tool for syntax and general language analysis, which were not present in the ancient grammatical texts in a way that satisfied the needs of the medieval users.<sup>122</sup> Thus, all the arts of the *trivium* are applied when studying literature, or perhaps the other way around, literature is studied to learn the *trivium*.

Ever since Antiquity, elementary Latin education has started with the students learning the letters, then the syllables and, from there, moving on to words and phrases, which was usually accomplished by the student learning a text by heart. During Late Antiquity this first text was the aphorism collection *Disticha Catonis*, which in the Christian context, then gave way to the Psalter as the preferred first text (although the *Disticha Catonis* were still popular and widely

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<sup>119</sup> R. Black, *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Tradition and Innovation in Latin Schools from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511496684>. Ronald G. Witt, *The Two Latin Cultures and the Foundation of Renaissance Humanism in Medieval Italy* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511779299>.

<sup>120</sup> Suzanne Reynolds, *Medieval Reading: Grammar, Rhetoric and the Classical Text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511470356>.

<sup>121</sup> Luscombe 2004, p. 470.

<sup>122</sup> Grotans 2006, pp. 84-92.



disseminated).<sup>123</sup> After the students had mastered elementary reading, they moved on to grammar. The first step was to memorise Donatus's *Ars Minor*, which provided the students with a simple, but effective morphological knowledge of the Latin parts of speech.<sup>124</sup> Works of Latin grammar written when Latin was still a native tongue do not seem to concern themselves much with syntax. Instead, advanced grammars, e.g. Donatus's *Ars Maior*, deals with phonetics and figures of speech. For syntax, it was the grammatical works of Priscian, written in the Greek-speaking east that would come to be used. However, Priscian's work is extremely dense, which meant that it was often used as a reference work by schoolmasters who composed their own grammars.<sup>125</sup>

Besides the direct study of grammar in the works of different grammarians, the principle way of acquiring good Latin was for the student to immerse themselves in the ancient authors and to learn advanced vocabulary, grammar and style through them.<sup>126</sup> This means that the study of grammar after the elementary level is the study of ancient literature. This is repeated time and again in the *accessus* to the ancient authors, for instance in the following from the *accessus* to clm 4610:

*Prodest nobis et ad ostendendam pulchram dictionum  
compositionem.*

Ovid also benefits us by showing beautiful composition.

This manner of teaching and learning seems to have been in place for as long as Latinity, and was the privilege of only a small minority of the population, mainly in the monasteries and cathedrals.<sup>127</sup> Later on, with the advent of the universities, village schools and other institutions of teaching, the curriculum changed.

It should also be remembered that, although learning at this time made great use of ancient literature, both monastic and cathedral schools had at their core the study of the Bible and liturgical practice, for which the liberal arts worked as a supporting aid.<sup>128</sup> This is made perfectly clear in the following brief definition from an *accessus* to

<sup>123</sup> Black 2001, p. 37.

<sup>124</sup> Black 2001, p. 64.

<sup>125</sup> Black 2001, pp. 65-66.

<sup>126</sup> Black 2001, p. 67.

<sup>127</sup> Black 2001, p. 67.

<sup>128</sup> Luscombe 2004, p. 467.

Horace in Susanne Reynold's important study on glossing and reading in the Middle Ages:

*Quedam enim sciuntur ut sciantur sicut evangelia, quedam propter aliud, ut auctores.*<sup>129</sup>

'Moreover some things, like the Gospels, are known for their own sake, [whereas] others, like the authors, [are known] for the sake of something else.'

### The *Auctores*/the School Authors<sup>130</sup>

As stated, the study of the authors was the main method of grammar study, and grammar study was the first of the *trivium*, the entrance to learning. However, the selection of authors who were studied changed over time and a general fluctuation between the number of Christian authors compared to ancient authors can also be observed. During the Carolingian period, Christian authors were primarily read in schools, with only a few ancient authors like Virgil and Martianus Capella included, but by the eleventh and twelfth centuries this had changed, so that a great many of the ancients were now included.<sup>131</sup>

One of the most famous voices from this time is that of Conrad of Hirsau (c. 1070-1150) who divides the authors into minor and major in his *Dialogus super auctores*.<sup>132</sup> The minor authors, intended for elementary training, include Donatus, *Disticha Catonis* and the fables of Avianus and Aesop, as well as the Christian authors Sedulius, Juvenius, Prosper of Aquitaine and Theodulus. The major authors principally include the ancient Roman authors, for poetry: Virgil, Horace, Lucan, Persius, Juvenal, Statius and Ovid, as well as the Iliad-themed poem *Ilias Latina*, and for prose: Cicero and Sallust. Also included are Boethius and the Christian poets Prudentius and Arator.

The twelfth-century Tegernsee collection of prologues to the authors, known as *Accessus ad auctores*, gives us further insight into how the authors were studied just by the fact that this collection was constructed and disseminated as a collection with a particular selection of authors and a particular order in which they were arranged.<sup>133</sup>

<sup>129</sup> Reynolds 1996, p. 12. Translation S. Reynolds.

<sup>130</sup> For a thorough study of the authors in Medieval Italy and elsewhere, see Black 2001, pp. 173-273.

<sup>131</sup> Glauche 1970, pp. 83-101.

<sup>132</sup> Glauche 1970, pp. 108-109.

<sup>133</sup> Stephen Michael Wheeler, *Accessus Ad Auctores: Medieval Introductions to the Authors* (Codex Latinus Monacensis 19475) (Kalamazoo: Medieval institute publications, 2015).

## The School Institutions – Monastic and Cathedral Schools

When discussing schools and schooling during this time, we will focus on formal education in a monastery or cathedral school, between which there often existed a connection. This connection was usually the master or the student. Very few of the famous masters seem to have spent time in only one place. They were often from powerful families and moved between the realms of politics, religion and culture. There also existed a strong international tendency, where, for example, Southern Germany had a strong tie to Italy, but also a connection between Bavaria and France.<sup>134</sup>

This was a privilege that belonged to the few. There was, however, schooling in other settings and many ways in which informal education might have manifested itself. An example of the latter can be found in the childhood of the nobleman Guibert of Nogent who, as a boy, was sent to a grammarian employed in a nearby castle.<sup>135</sup> As far as teachers are concerned, many famous men of letters from this time were employed as instructors to wealthy men, for instance Adelard of Bath and William of Conches (both c. 1080-1150) were instructors to sons of the nobility.<sup>136</sup> The schools were, in turn, tied to wealthy patrons, especially the cathedral schools, which were often a pathway to employment at a court.<sup>137</sup>

In the case of St Gall, and possibly also the Bavarian monasteries, both oblates and future clerics, and possibly also laymen, were taught. However, it is uncertain if these 'interns' and 'externs' were taught by the same teachers or lived in the same building.<sup>138</sup> A synod in the ninth century prescribed that only future monks be taught in a monastery. If this were the case later on, the future clerics would have had their rudimentary training in an external school at the monastery and then had to move on to a cathedral school for advanced training.<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> Joachim Ehlers, 'Deutsche Scholaren in Frankreich während des 12. Jahrhunderts', *Vorträge und Forschungen*, 30 (1986), 97–120, <https://doi.org/10.11588/vuf.1986.0.15809>; *Schwaben und Italien im Hochmittelalter*, ed. Helmut Maurer and others, *Vorträge und Forschungen*, Bd. 52 (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2001).

<sup>135</sup> Luscombe 2004, p. 462.

<sup>136</sup> Luscombe 2004, p. 463.

<sup>137</sup> Luscombe 2004, p. 464.

<sup>138</sup> Grotans 2006, pp. 53-54.

<sup>139</sup> Grotans 2006, p. 58. However, in the late tenth century several noble boys, sons of beneficiaries, were accepted to the school in St Gall. These boys practiced falconry and other noble pursuits and did not appear to be meant to become monks. Cf. Grotans 2006, p. 59.

The primary education in St Gall was three years, from age seven to ten, after which the student was expected to know how to read Latin, perhaps write, and to have grasped some other skills. After this came secondary education for four to five years, which was dedicated to the liberal arts and to theology.<sup>140</sup> In the cathedral schools, the students started when they were nine or ten and could ask to leave when they were fifteen.<sup>141</sup>

Not only did the type of student change over time, but also the number of students. In the latter part of the eleventh century, the cathedral schools became more powerful and the Investiture controversy caused many monasteries to be stricter with whom they accepted as students; for example: Cluny, one of the biggest monasteries of the period, only accepted six oblates in its school during this time.<sup>142</sup> All of these circumstances can be interpreted as though the schools were, at least for some periods, mixed with regard to type of student and filled different roles for different types of students, which is important to keep in mind when trying to envisage the users of the commentary text in cdm 4610.

To illustrate school life during this period we have, for example, an idyllic description of eleventh-century life in Paderborn in the *Vita Meinweri Episcopi*: we learn that both youths and boys studied with the aim of taking monastic vows or the vows of the canon regulars (*claustralis disciplina*) as well as instruction in the arts. The church seems to have been non-monastic (*ecclesia publica*) and had a school, where music, dialectics, rhetoric and grammar were studied, as well as mathematics, astronomy, physics and geometry. The ancient authors the student came into contact with were Horace, Virgil, Sallust, and Statius. Everyone laboured over verses, composition, and song. This description is then contrasted with earlier days, when bishop Imadus tells of the stern upbringing he had at the monastery, where he was not allowed to see or even talk to his father.<sup>143</sup>

<sup>140</sup> Grotans 2006, pp. 71-76.

<sup>141</sup> Riché 1979, p. 202. For more information regarding the students and their studies, see pp. 221-280.

<sup>142</sup> Riché 1979, p. 197.

<sup>143</sup> MGH SS 11, p. 140: *Studiorum multiplicia sub eo floruerunt exercitia; et bonae indolis iuvenes et pueri strenue instituebantur norma regulari, proficientes haud segniter in claustrali disciplina omniumque litterarum doctrina. Claruit hoc sub ipsius sororio Imado episcopo, sub quo in Patherbrunnensi ecclesia publica floruerunt studia; quando ibi musici fuerunt et dialectici, enituerunt rhetorici clarique grammatici; quando magistri artium exercebant trivium, quibus omne studium erat circa quadruium; ubi mathematici claruerunt et astronomici; habebantur phisici atque geometrici; vixit Oratius magnus et Virgilius, Crispus ac Salustius, et Urbanus Statius; ludusque fuit omnibus insudare versibus, et dictaminibus, iocundisque cantibus.*

So much for the students. When we turn to the masters, Riché informs us that an appointment as a teacher was normally a life-long assignment for a monk who was supposed to be at least twenty-five years old. The teacher would cover some or all of the liberal arts and also theology, depending on his skill. There existed also a lower-level teacher called a *semi-magister*, who could be younger than twenty-five and who took care of the more elementary instruction. Besides these, the cantor also filled an important role in teaching the students to sing the liturgy. The *magister* also often served as librarian and was responsible for the scriptorium, which seems to have been the case in Benediktbeuern.<sup>144</sup>

Where the cathedral schools, which rose to fame during this period, are concerned, the locus classicus is John of Salisbury and his report from his school days in Paris in the 1130s. Here a large number of masters, some of them freelance and some of them attached to a cathedral, provided instruction in the liberal arts. In this environment, both teachers and students moved around looking for the best offer. John describes, with many superlatives, Bernard of Chartres' teaching of grammar, rhetoric, and theology. What is even more interesting is that we learn something about the methods employed. Bernard expects his students to memorise material daily (a type of homework) to discuss (presumably with their fellow students) and to practice both prose and verse composition.<sup>145</sup> Besides the important information about teaching methods, what stands out in John's description is his explicit adoration for his teachers. We see here a (former) student with opinions on what good-quality teaching is, and, through his eyes, we also receive a picture of a superstar academic of the day. Stephen Jaeger defines this type of teaching as charisma-driven, where the highest goal is the *cultus virtutum* (the cultivation of virtues) so as to become a 'well-tuned, well-composed man'.<sup>146</sup> To achieve this goal, the study of letters, i.e. grammar, the first in the *trivium*, was prioritised before all others.

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*Quorum in scriptura et pictura iugis instantia claret multipliciter hodierna experientia, dum studium nobilium clericorum usu perpenditur utilium librorum. Praefatus quoque Imadus episcopus tempore suae pueritiae tanto disciplinae claustralis rigore ibidem est nutritus, ut numquam patrem suum videre extra conventum specialiter vel ei colloqui fuerit permissus, dicente episcopo, pueros et adolescentes cum districtione debere erudiri, et non nocivis blandimentis deliniri; quoniam audaciae et ferociae nutrimenta eis ministrarent blandimenta. Adolescebant quoque se cum in tirones militiae celestis Anno archiepiscopus Coloniensis, Frithericus Monasterienis, et perplures alii strenui postmodum in vinea Domini operarii.*

<sup>144</sup> Hemmerle 1991, p. 265.

<sup>145</sup> Luscombe 2004, p.469.

<sup>146</sup> Jaeger 1994, pp. 180–181.

However, not all students were as impressed by their teachers. For a decidedly more acerbic description we need only turn to Abelard and his account of his former teacher William of Champeaux.<sup>147</sup>

Monasteries and cathedral schools should not be regarded as isolated from each other, or as opposites. For, even though they might at times have been in competition with each other, the people involved would often move from one institution to another. There are many examples that could be cited here, Abelard being perhaps the most famous, and Manegold of Lautenbach also worthy of mention. In addition to these men, during the eleventh century there is Otloh of St Emmeram, who was first a student at Tegernsee, then at Hersfeld, after which he took up a position at the cathedral in Würzburg but disliked the people there and thus ended up becoming a monk at St Emmeram monastery in Regensburg.<sup>148</sup> During the twelfth century Adalbert II, later archbishop of Mainz (1138-1141), is worthy of mention. As a nephew of Adalbert I he was raised and received his early education in Mainz; he then went on to Hildesheim for schooling in the trivium. From there he went to Reims to continue studying the artes/trivium and also higher exegetics. Finally, Adalbert went to Paris to study rhetoric and dialectic with Theodoric, better known as Thierry of Chartres.<sup>149</sup>

This chapter has situated the commentary, based on its presumed provenance, in the teaching environment in a Bavarian cathedral or monastery. Bavaria has been shown to house a plenitude of institutions relevant to a commentary such as clm 4610, all of which have been proven to have had significant libraries and often also scriptoria. As far as the educational context is concerned, the commentary fits into a curriculum that focused on the trivium in general, and grammar in particular, which was often based on reading the ancient authors. However, the commentary need not necessarily have been used in the schoolroom itself, but in all likelihood, it is at least from the schoolroom. There were many masters and students who travelled between different people and institutions, crossing from one country to another while collecting knowledge. Judging by the later proliferation of the *Metamorphoses* commentaries, at some point in the twelfth century the commentaries started to travel around the German lands and France.

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<sup>147</sup> Peter Abelard, *Historia calamitatum: consolation to a friend*, ed. A. Andrée (Toronto: PIMS, 2015), pp. 28-34.

<sup>148</sup> Riché 1979, p. 209.

<sup>149</sup> Ehlers 1986, p. 51.

