

ROUTLEDGE REVIVALS

The Love Songs of the Carmina Burana

Volume XLIX

E. D. Blodgett
Roy Arthur Swanson



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Carmina Burana**



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Carmina Burana**

**Translated by
E.D. Blodgett
and
Roy Arthur Swanson**

Volume 49
Series B



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Illustration from the original manuscript of the *Carmina Burana*, number 4a, folio 72 verso, showing an explication of love.

The Love Songs
of the
Carmina Burana

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for too long been closed to everyone except those with precise academic training, an area that is well worth study and reflection.

James J. Wilhelm
Rutgers University

Lowry Nelson, Jr.
Yale University

Introduction

Authorship

Inseparably associated with the *Carmina Burana* is the phrase "goliardic poetry," and the phrase is the subject of considerable speculation relative to the actual canon of verse so called and to the meaning of the term "goliard." Scholars continue in their attempts to determine whether all of the *Carmina Burana* is goliardic, which collections of poems apart from the *Carmina Burana* contribute to the canon, what authorships can be identified, and what precisely is the origin of the term "goliardic."

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries a group of forty-three poems, twenty-two of which had acquired the superscription "Goliard," were attributed to Walter Map (ca. 1137–ca. 1209).¹ "Goliard" is "Goliath," the Biblical giant, whose name served in the Middle Ages to denote the anti-Christ. Inasmuch as goliardic poetry was irreverent and at odds with doctrinaire Christianity, the name Goliard may have served the goliards both eponymously and etymologically. John Addington Symonds could "hardly avoid the conclusion that by Goliard Episcopus (Bishop Goliard), Primas, and Archpoeta one and the same person . . . was denoted" (p. 201). The researches of Wilhelm Meyer, J.M. Manly, Max Manitius, Karl Strecker, Helen Waddell, and Philip Schuyler Allen make it reasonably certain that the writers of goliardic poetry, large as their number may have been, did not include Walter Map in their company, that Goliard Episcopus was not the pseudonym of an actual person, that *two* poets of different generations were both known as "Primas," and that Archpoet, a real person, can be identified with neither Primas.

The first Primas was Hugo of Orleans (1093–ca. 1160). Twenty-three poems which can be attributed to him were culled from an Oxford manuscript Rawlinson G 109 ca. 1209 and analyzed by Wilhelm Meyer. Two of these poems are among those attributed to Walter Map. (1, 19, p. 85 and 1, 13, p. 64). Max Manitius took another poem, the famous "Confessio Goliardae" ("Confession of Goliard"), formerly attributed to Map, and ascertained it as one of a group of ten poems written by Archpoet (b. ca. 1130–fl. 1161–1165). The second Primas (fl. 1200) was confused with Archpoet by Salimbene in 1233. Salimbene later corrected his mistake. (Meyer, p. 11) Archpoet and Primas II were both from Cologne; but Archpoet had written his last poem in 1165, and Primas of Cologne (as he came to be called) lived in the thirteenth century.

The goliardic movement took place generally between the years 1140 and 1275.

¹Three of these forty-three poems appear in both British and continental MSS., viz., the Harleian ed., Wright and Schmeller, *Carmina Burana*; now superseded by Hilka and Schumann (utilizing initial work by Wilhelm Meyer): the "Goliard" poems, *Ut ar contra vitia* and *Aestuans intrinsecus*, and the non-"Goliard" poem, *Propter Sion non tacebo*.

Hugo of Orleans and Archpoet appear to have given the movement its inception. According to J.H. Hanford, "Goliath" owes his substance to these two. (p. 57) Yet, despite the paucity of goliard-like poetry² written before the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it is still debatable whether this movement had a personal impetus comparable to that of Jack Kerouac and Allen Ginsberg upon a generation of Beat writers. Also, those who would call this impetus "Goliath" must address the problems centered on the words "Goliath" and "goliard": for example, is the second derived from the first and, if not, what is the etymology of "goliard"? If there was such an impetus, it may well have been the person and personality of Peter Abelard (1079-1142);³ and a clue to the the Goliath-goliard terminology can be provided by attention to the actions of Abelard's illustrious opponent, Bernard of Clairvaux.

La Grande Encyclopédie states the possibility that Abelard gave the Goliath-mask to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The suggestion of this possibility is entertained by Olga Dogiache-Rojdesvsky (p. 37), F.A. Wright and T.A. Sinclair (p. 296), and Philip Schuyler Allen.⁴ There was, however, a goliard-like phenomenon in Europe long before Abelard's time. Boris I. Jarcho traces it back to Sedulius Scottus, a displaced Irish poet of the ninth century who knew of a *gens Goliae* (Goliath tribe), and claims that Sedulius is himself the "Carolingian goliard *par excellence*." (p. 524) From the ninth through the eleventh century goliard-like tendencies anticipate the major movement in all but the word "goliard" and the love lyric (*Liebeslied*) (cf. Allen, ch. 9). Abelard appears to have introduced the late medieval love lyric, a synthesis of spiritual and physical ardor, with, for example, the *Hebet sidus leti visus* (CB 169), which has been ascribed to him (Allen, p. 107 ff.). The attribution of this poem to Abelard hangs upon the phrase *cuius nomen a phebea/ luce renitet* (Her name is resplendent/ with the light of Phoebus). As a sun deity in Greek myth, Phoebus is the equivalent of Helios. If the poet did not wish to expose the name of his beloved Heloise, the anagram "Helios" implicit in "Phebea" would serve his discretion. This emphasis on a name withheld seems otherwise undue. Allen is inclined to accept this and, moreover, to attribute to Abelard seven other poems in the *Carmina Burana*, among them the *Dum Diane vitrea* (CB 62).

Abelard and the profoundly influential Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) were two of the most important writers in Europe at the time when the goliard movement was

²The Cambridge songs are noteworthy forerunners of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century goliardic poems. This miscellany of love poems, religious and secular verse, and passages from Classical authors was collected probably during the mid-tenth century. See Karl Strecker's edition: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica 40: Carmina Cantabrigiensia (Die Cambridge Lieder)*.

³This is the traditional spelling. For evidence that "Abailard" is the correct spelling, see the note by Reginald Lane Poole note 1 to chapter 5 (p. 116 of the Dover reprint). See also, J. G. Sikes, *Peter Abailard*.

⁴Allen, p. 105: Still, if it is no longer necessary to believe with Giesbrecht that the goliard movement actually originated in the schools of France during the twelfth century, it was there and at that time that the movement gained its greatest impetus. Cf. "And peer of any spark in wit and elegance was Abelard . . ." (p. 106).

just beginning. It is not difficult to believe that the movement, which was ultimately terminated around 1300 by the spirit and tradition of the orthodox Bernard, was initially inspired by the spirit of the independent and contentious Abelard, himself deflected by Bernard at the Council of Sens in 1141 (Wright and Sinclair, p. 216).

Abelard's secular poetry would have aggravated Bernard's hostility. We do not have an extant corpus of Abelard's love poems, but we do know that he wrote such: in the narrative of his misfortunes he says that, when he was permitted to compose, his songs were about love and not about philosophical mysteries.⁵ Wright and Sinclair argue that some of Abelard's love lyrics appear in the *Carmina Burana*; likewise, Philip Schuyler Allen (p. 107 ff and p. 204).

In the course of their conflict Bernard, in a letter to Pope Innocent II, called Abelard a "Goliath": "He advances, the new Goliath . . . behind his squire, Arnold of Brescia . . ." (Migne, 182, col. 355). By the twelfth century the term had come clearly to mean "Devil's man" or "Devil incarnate" (even "anti-Christ"), just as "David" had come to mean "Christ's man." "Goliath" was a standard denunciation of ribald students, and its use as representative of the Devil can be traced to Bede and St. Augustine.⁶ It was a general term of censure when Bernard of Clairvaux, the Pope's man, made his dramatic use of it against the very popular teacher Abelard. This name-calling would not have fallen lightly upon the minds of Bernard's and Abelard's respective followers. Ordinarily judiciary churchmen had reserved this form of reproach for wayward inferiors; but Bernard and Abelard were academic and ecclesiastical peers. It is after this event, and very possible in consequence of it, that poets of secular inclinations came both to suffer and to enjoy association with the name "Goliath." The first of these is a younger contemporary of Abelard, one Hugo of Orleans, who was studying in Paris during the year of Abelard's death (Hanford, p. 49).

Sources and Influences

The name "Goliath" is quite simply a form of "Goliath"; but the word "goliard" is

⁵Migne, 178, col. 128: . . . et si qua invenire liceret, carmina essent amatoria, non philosophiae secreta.

⁶See Manly, The claim that the phrase "familia Goliac" was used under the council of Walter of Sens (887-923) in 913 is generally rejected. R. Génestal, p. 165 and Waddell *The Wandering Scholars* (1st ed., p. 270; Doubleday rpt., p. 2) consider it spurious on the basis of its date. Allen, p. 26 accepts the claim on the evidence provided by J. W. Thompson; Dobiache-Rojdesvensky p. 21, n. 1 rejects it. The questionable statement, which Génestal would assign to the thirteenth instead of the tenth century, is as follows: "Statuimus quod clerici ribaldi, maxime qui vulgo dicuntur de familia Goliae per episcopos, archidiaconos, officiales et decanos Christianitatis tonderi praeceptantur vel etiam radi, ita quod eis non remaneat tonsura clericalis; ita tamen quod sine periculo et scandalo ita fiant."

quite another matter. We do not know if it was anterior to, derived from, or ultimately conjoined with and identified with "Golias." Drawing upon the earlier formulations of Manly and Thompson, some of the theories are as follows:

1. Jakob Grimm traces the word to Provençal *gualiar* (to deceive) through the form *gualiator* (deceiver).
2. Wright says it is anterior to "Golias," being derived from Latin *gula* (gullet; gluttony).
3. Manly entertains the claim that it is posterior to the phrase *familia Goliae*.
4. Thompson argues that it can be traced to Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiarum* 10, 114, wherein *glutto* is explained as being derived *a gula, id est gulosus* (from *gula*, that is "gluttonous"); one of the synonyms for *glutto* in the scholium to this statement is *ardalio* (classical Latin *ardelio*, as in Martial's *Epigrammata* 2, 7 and 3, 79, and in Phaedrus 2, 5, 1 f.), which means "busy-body, meddler, trifler"; *gula* prefixed to *ardeliones* (the plural of *ardelio*) produced the form *goliardenses* or *goliardi* busy-bodies or devotees in gluttony). Thompson also relates this term to "goliere," "By Goles," "cole," and "Old King Cole."
5. Dobiache-Rojdesvensky elaborates upon Wright's theory: the pre-1170 forms *-golar*, *goliart*, *guliart* – develop as *goliardus* by a process of re-Latinization. She insists, however, that there was no initial connection between "Golias/Goliath" and "goliardi." Her opinion is that "goliardi" originally denoted "guzzlers" and "foul-mouthed men" and, later, poor clerks who earned their living in minstrel fashion as singers, readers, clowns. Her distinction between *Goliae* and *goliardi* was earlier drawn by S. Santangelo.⁷
6. Edward G. Fichtner traces the stem *goli-* to the Primitive Germanic verb *goljan* (ultimately connotative of singing, greeting, or intoning magical incantations) and the suffix *-(h)ard* to the final element in French names like Richard, Bernard, and Girard and in common nouns like *fuyard* and *vieillard*: "The word *goliard*," he says, "probably originated in the medieval German dialects of the Rhine as a derogatory term for wandering clerics who constituted part of the floating population of 'Spicelleute' and minstrels." (p. 233)

Fichtner's theory of the *-ard* suffix is perhaps to be preferred to Thompson's. The entry in the Oxford English Dictionary may be adduced in favor of Fichtner: *-ard*, suffix, a. OF *-ard*, *-art*, a. German *-hart*, *-hard*, 'hardy,' often forming part of personal names as OHG. *Regin- hart Raynard*, *Ebur-hart Everard*; also in MHG. and Dutch a formative of common nouns, generally pejorative, whence adopted in the Rom. langs. Used in Fr. as masculine formative, intensive, augmentative, and often pejorative, cf. *bastard*, *couard*, *canard*, *mallard*, *mouchard*, *vieillard*. It . . . became at length a living formative of English derivatives, as in *wizard*, *drunkard*, *laggard*, *sluggard*, with sense of 'one who does to excess, or who does what is discreditable.'

As the ending for proper nouns, *-ard* is laudative, or, at worst, positive, while for

⁷Setting up Abailard as Golias incarnate, Dobiache-Rojdesvensky lists the most notable of his Golias-successors as Hugo of Orleans, Archpoet, Serlon of Wilton, Walter of Châtillon, and Chancellor Philip of Notre Dame (fl. 1211-1219).

common nouns it is generally pejorative. "Bernard" meant originally "bear-strong."⁸ As a common noun goliard" could have meant "one steeped in the habits of a glutton." Both "Goliath" and "gula" are derogatory, and the -ard suffix could appear to have been unified by homophony and synonymy. Men like Giraldus Cambrensis could and did make puns upon the obvious resemblance; e.g., "a parasite . . . named Goliath . . . who could more rightly be called Gulas . . ." Just as "lollard" in the fourteenth century was taken from the word "lollen" (to mutter, mumble) as a name of contempt for the followers of Wyclif, so it would seem that "goliard" had currency earlier as a term of contempt for the multiplying Goliath-disciples—disciples, or adherents, who became increasingly repugnant to orthodox clergy and conservative laity.

We can posit a speculative progression. The first Goliath poets—Hugo of Orleans, Archpoet, and Primas of Cologne—were, like the eponymous "Bishop Goliath" (Abelard?), troubled intellectuals of great talent. They were succeeded by the Goliath-goliards, discontented clerics and vagabond scholars of great skill in the types of song-composition that are presented in this text. A third group can be identified as the goliath-goliards: minstrels and actors with the physical appetites but not the poetic aptitude of the first two groups. In varying degrees all three groups contributed to the corpus of goliardic poetry; but it is the first two that have had the most to contribute to the *Cammina Burana: Liebeslieder*.

Artistic Achievement

The dominant themes of goliardic poetry are (1) the joys and sorrows of secular love, (2) the satisfaction of every kind of physical appetite, and (3) physical and moral insufficiency. Where men like Bernard denied and contemned the flesh, the goliards openly, although anonymously, upheld the satisfaction of its demands. The goliardic poetry of the *Cammina Burana* is, at one extreme, a great-minded revolt against abnegation, hypocrisy, and papal corruption and, at the other, the self-indulgent reaction of eroticists and malcontents to established moral standards. As Allen sums it up, the poetry of the goliards included "blasphemous parody of sacred hymn and mass, sodomitic odes, pederastic paeans, apostrophe of sexual intercourse, interminable listing of private feminine parts, sodden and even filthy tale, scoffing at

⁸ Cf. Gerard, "spear-strong" or "spear-hard"; Richard, "king-strong" or "a veritable king," etc. Analogically, the misspelling, Abelard, would be "Abel-strong" or "a veritable Abel." The name "Abailard" (from "Abiel," "Abael"?) presumably could refer to strength derived from one's father, God.

⁹ From the *Speculum Ecclesiae* of Giraldus Cambrensis, cited by Wright, 1968, p. xxxviii: "Item parasitus quidam, Goliath nomine, nostris diebus gulositate pariter et lecacitate famosissimus, qui Gulas melius, quia gule et crapule per omnia deditus, dici poterit . . ." (*Opera*, 4, *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptoris*, 21 [London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1873], 291-92).

calendared saints, riotous drinking round, and macaronic ditty with the nastier half in the vernacular tongue (p. 110). The *Carmina Burana: Liebeslieder* include examples of almost all of these types of poetry, particularly, but not mostly, the macaronic ditty (verse composed in a combination of Latin and either German or French): *CB* 118 combines Latin and French; *CB* 149, 177, 180, 184, and 185 combine Latin and German; forty-two units are composed entirely in German, however, and accordingly are not macaronic. Allen errs in stating that the "nastier half" is limited to the vernacular. There is nothing "nasty" in 149; there is only slight suggestivity in the German lines of 177 and in the Latin lines of 180; and, while the "nastier" part of 184 is in German, the reverse is true for 185.

The goliardic poets parodied and even profaned sacred subjects. They turned hymns into drinking songs and adoration of Corpus Christi into celebration of Glutton's Stomach. The effects would be similar to that of changing "Hail, Mary, full of grace" to "Hail, sherry full of grapes." One goliardic poet went so far as to parody the above-mentioned *Dum Diane vitrea* *CB* 62):

1. Dum Dianae vitrea
 sero lampas oritur,
 et a fratris rosea
 luce dum succenditur,
 dulcis aura zephyri,
 spirant omnes etheri,
 nubes tollit;
 sic emollit
 vi chordarum pectora,
 et inmutat
 cor, quod nutat
 ad amoris pignora

.....

3. O quam felix est
 antidotum soporis . . .

.....

1. Dum domus lapidea
 foro sita cernitur,
 et a fratris rosea
 visus dum allicitur,
 "dulcis," ferunt socii,
 "locus hic est hospitii,
 Bacchus tollat,
 Venus molliat
 vi bursarum pectora,
 et inmutet
 et computet
 vestes in pignora "

.....

2. Heu quam felix est
 iam vita potatoris . . .

.....

The parodic verses appear in *Die Trink- und Spielerlieder* [The Drinking and Gambling Songs, 1, pt. 3 (*CB* 197)]. Their sense is as follows: "While the stone house [= tavern] in the market-place is still visible and inviting in its attraction at twilight, and when friends get together and it is a place of hospitality, then let Bacchus [= wine] lift, and Venus [= love] soften, hearts for a price; and let garments be used as exchange . . . Ah, how happy is the drinker's life now . . ."

The Hilka/Schumann division of the *Carmina Burana* into Love Songs and Drinking and Gambling Songs is indicative of the goliardic outlook. (The Moral-Satiric Poems are directed against ecclesiastical and political abuses and are quite consistent with goliardism. The Spiritual Dramas are serious and reverent and not at all goliardic.) The goliardism of the Love, Drinking, and Gambling Songs evokes a phrase which must now be consigned to the closets of male chauvinism, "wine,

women, and song." The phrase has been attributed both to Martin Luther and to J. H. Voss. It was a popular epithet of the libertine in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Symonds, who with William Makepeace Thackeray accredited the phrase to Luther, used it as the title of the collection of goliardic verse which he translated in 1884.¹⁰

Symonds was the first to translate examples of the *Liebeslieder* into English. His work is sprightly and inventive but lacking in the intricacy that separates the *Carmina Burana* from second-rate verse. Here, for example, is his translation of CB 183:

When a young man, passion-laden,
In a chamber meets a maiden,
Then felicitous communion,
By love's strain between the twain,
Grows from forth their union;
For the game, it hath no name,
Of lips, arms, and hidden charms.

Symonds missed the poet's subtleties. *Succrescente*, which he translated simply as "grows," means literally "a rising or growing up from below" (*sub* + *crescere*), a rising and expanding, like the movement of warm air, or in this case love's warmth issuing from the loins and filling the small room (*cellula*). Symonds also extracontextually describes the young man as "passion-laden" before the passion is even developed. Edwin H. Zeydel does better by translating *amore succrescente* into "As mutual love increases" but transforms the felicitous joy of the first union of any young couple into the glad reunion of Meg and Harry. (p. 136) The most recent and best rhymed translation of this deceptively simple poem is Partlett's, although his rhyme scheme compels him to mistranslate *tedio* (boredom, dullness) as "timidity." (p. 146)

The sonantal intricacies of goliardic verse are appreciable in Carl Orff's musical rendition of the original Latin of a representative selection of poems from the *Carmina Burana*. The intellectual intricacies have yet to survive translation into rhymed English. We have sacrificed rhyme, and therewith considerable musical or lyrical effect, in our efforts to reflect the sophistication of goliardic poetry. We have been guided by the idea that the Goliath mask of the poetry is a medieval equivalent of the Mask of Apollo. The rubric *Carmina Burana* refers to a clerical establishment, the monastery in which the collection of goliardic poems was shelved or stored; the better rubric, referent to the educated poets (clerics and scholars) who produced their work in the shadows of the Church, which both supported and repressed them, would be *Carmina Goliardica*; this would be a better title at least for the Drinking, Gambling, and Love Songs.

The Love Songs (*Liebeslieder*) of the *Carmina Burana* are for the most part just

¹⁰Forty-five of the sixty translated poems are from the *Carmina Burana*. Symonds used as the epigraphy to his work the full couplet, "Wer liebt nicht Wein, Weib und Gesang,/ Der bleibt ein Narr sein Lebenslang" (He who dislikes wine, women, and song/ Remains a fool his [whole] life long).

that, songs (i.e., poems) whose themes are love, lovemaking, love in springtime, or disappointed love (e.g., the *Liebesklage* or *Mädchensklage*). Some of the poems are simple celebrations of springtime, however, and others are laments or expressions of grief unrelated to heterosexual love. A few, incidentally, carry intimations of homosexuality. *CB* 119 may be called a poem of farewell, although it includes a strain of love-suffering. About ten of the poems are identifiable as pastorals. Derivative from the pastoral mode is the *Streitgedicht* (Contest Song, a lyrical debate), exemplified among the *Liebeslieder* by *CB* 59, 82, 89, and 92. The *CB* Love Songs volume also includes poems of the vagabond life, the wandering-student life, and the frustrations of poverty. There are poems that rehearse classical myths and about a dozen poems of the moralistic-satiric type. Finally, there are included among the Love Songs four didactic poems (*CB* 64 [ascribed to the 4th-century Latin poet Ausonius], 66, 133 [a catalogue of birds], and 134 [a bestiary]).

The considerable variety of the *Liebeslieder* is marked by erudition and compositional genius that tends to be overlooked by those who are too intent upon rhyme schemes, love themes, and bawdy lyrics. There are, to be sure, elements that lack merit, such as strained rhymes, occasional tastelessness, and formulaic phrasology. With respect to the last, the reader of the *Liebeslieder* notices expressions that become hackneyed through recurrence: expressions of the undesirability of winter, the loveliness of springtime with its flowers and blooming meadows, the sweetness of birdsong, the beauty of the beloved, the pain of unrequited love, and the like. Still any body of poetry ultimately exhibits its peculiar poetic diction, and that diction becomes one of the features by which the body is recognized.

The recognition of the creators of the *Liebeslieder*, the poets themselves, is quite another matter. The qualification "almost" is justified by the attribution of a smattering of the poems to specific writers, most of whom were noblemen, courtiers, writers of repute, or even, as would be the case with Abelard, ecclesiastical officials. The attributions in the *Liebeslieder* include Dietmar von Eist (113a), Heinrich von Morungen (150a), Neidhart von Reuenthal (168a), Otloh von Emmeram (125), Peter of Blois (63, 67, 72, 83, 84, 108), Philip the Chancellor (131, 131a), Reinmar (143a, 147a, 166a), Walter of Châtillon (123), and Walther von der Vogelweide (135a, 151a, 169a). None of these lyricists would be called a goliard in his own time or in any later time; yet if the attributions are correct, they attest the extent to which goliardism permeated the European learned world of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, just as to a much greater extent, proportionally, the *carmina goliardica* permeate the *Carmina Burana*.

The *Carmina Burana* comprises the best and most representative products of goliardism and remains the definitive manifestation of the goliardic movement. Here is a probable summary of that movement. Ribald clerics and sensual lyricists were included, according to Manly and Jarcho, in the *familia Goliae* at least from the ninth century until near the middle of the twelfth century. At this time, Bernard of Clairvaux dramatized the appellative "Goliath" by using it as epithet for the renowned poet, philosopher, and teacher, Abelard. Abelard's contemporaries may well have been familiar with his love lyrics; but, even apart from these, his rebellious and questioning spirit would have touched the imagination of men like Hugo of Orleans

(Primas I) and Archpoet, who allowed the temperament of "Goliath" to inform their own unorthodox lyricism. The successors of Hugo and Archpoet were poets like Primas [III] of Cologne, Serlon of Wilton, and Walter of Châtillon. Among the Goliath poets and their imitators there arose the icon of an eponymous saint, "Goliath Episcopus." The mythical Bishop, whose adumbration was both the irreverent poetry of the preceding three centuries and the longstanding spectre of a Goliath-AntiChrist, became the Genius of subsequent generations of discontented, irresponsible, crotic, licentious, and bibulous students and wandering scholars. "Goliath" became the persona of anti-asceticism and of reaction against the ecclesiastical establishment. The Goliath-disciples came to be called goliards. The term became linked to the word *gula* and served orthodox clergy and stern citizenry as a catchword of contempt. Then, slowly but inexorably the establishment contained and defeated goliardism. In 1227 the Council of Trèves ordered priests to prohibit participation by goliards in the chanting of the service.¹¹ Two years later goliards staged demonstrations at the University of Paris against the Pope. In 1289 there was an order against clerics acting as jongleurs, goliards, or buffoons. In 1300 at Cologne they were denied the privileges of preaching and indulgence-traffic. Finally, in 1310 the Council at Mainz denied them the privileges of clergy; and secular enforcement of the edict proved to be very effective. The goliardic movement and its poetic product continued, but only erratically and underground.

The word "goliard" persisted as a synonym for "jongleur," "minstrel," and "brothel-keeper." In *Handlyng Synne* (= *Manual on Sin*) by Robert Mannyng of Brunne (1260-1340) we find "A mynstralle, a gulardous,/ Come onys to a bysshopes hous" (4704). The following appears in *Piers Plowman*: "Thanne greved hym a goliardeis,/ A gloton of wordes,/ And to the aungel an heigh/ Answerde after:/ Dum rex a regere/ Dicataur nomen habere . . ." (B, Prologue 139). [The Latin is an etymology, deriving *rex* (king) from *regere* (to rule).] Chaucer's Miller is "a jangler, and a goliardeis,/ And that was most of sinne and harlotries" (*The Canterbury Tales*, General Prologue, 560-61). We learn from one of the religious pieces in the Thornton MS. (1867) 35 that "It es a foule lychery for to delyte be in rymes and slyke gulyardy." And William Caxton (1422-1492) writes, "They goon every day as goliardes in habyte shynnyng and ryall apparayll" (*Gold. Leg.* 35b/2).

Whatever its origins or ultimate nature, goliardism must be recognized as a factor of contribution to the *Liebeslieder* and to much of the *Carmina Burana*. The identifiable twelfth- and thirteenth-century contributors to the *Liebeslieder* may not have been identified as goliards *per se*, any more than the American poet Eugene Field has been, despite his *Only a Boy*, identified as a pornographer or the British novelist William Golding, despite his *Poems* (1934), as a poet. Poets like Peter of Blois and Reinmar represent, not an exception to the anonymity of the *Liebeslieder*, but a respectable emergence from the mass of anonymity—the mass itself of the anonymously written poems now warranting the respect that is due to all veritable poetry.

¹¹For a comprehensive list of the "councils relating to the *clericus vagus* or *joculator*," see Waddell, *The Wandering Scholars*, Doubleday rpt., pp. 269-99.

The Manuscript and the Text

The collection of poems that we now call the *Carmina* was given its name by Schmeller in 1847. The subtitle of his edition was *Lateinische und Deutsche Lieder und Gedichte einer Handschrift des XIII. Jahrhunderts aus Benedictbeuern* (Latin and German Songs and Poems of a thirteenth century manuscript from Benedictbeuern). He observes in his *Vorerinnerung* that its presence in the monastery of Benedictbeuern was recorded by the director of the Court and Central Library at Munich, Baron Christoph von Aretin. He then goes on to remark that "[i]n the catalogue of the cloister itself it is nowhere noted, and, apparently, because of its not wholly unembarrassing content, kept especially under lock and key."¹² We may assume, I think, that Schmeller's use of the term "unverfänglich," which may also mean "harmless," not to speak of his scholar's prose, carefully negates so as to urge upon us its positive meanings of "insidious," "artful," and "deceitful," which are meant to underscore what we attribute to the Goliard poets, namely, their attraction for the unofficial character of medieval society. The term is, however, insidious in another way, for the manuscript itself raises a number of questions in respect of its history that only in the last few decades have appeared to be resolved.

The codex itself possesses the more modest name of *Latinus Monacensis* 4660. It has the merit of being, however, "[t]he most famous and extensive collection of medieval Latin songs and poems (Raby, 2, 256)." One might assume that because of the length of time between its initial "discovery" and its first edition, as well as the even greater length of time between that edition and the one now in use, that its worth went all but unnoticed by only a few dedicated medieval philologists. This has not prevented some of its poems from gracing the English translations of Symonds, Waddell, Whicher, and Zeydel, but the immense variety of the collection remains inaccessible in English still. Furthermore, more than one scholar is dissatisfied with the current text, and that fact alone should make one aware of the insidious character of the manuscript.

The value of the current text is that it has restored the original order of the poems, and hence it allows us to perceive both the larger groupings, as well as the various sequences within these groupings. Thus the first grouping is known thematically as poems of a moral and satiric character. The second grouping, which provides the text of this translation, are, for the most part, love songs. The final grouping consists of drinking and gaming pieces, as well as religious drama (see Schumann's commentary, 2, pt. 2, 41-54). The Love Songs begin following a clearly marked rubric in red ink announcing the beginning of songs of joy (*Incipiunt iubili*). The initial sequence contains for the most part of sequences and *lais*, and they consist of the poems that compose numbers 56-73. A large number of these initial pieces may be called "art-

¹²Schmeller, p. iii. Waddell's version is somewhat more sensational: "it had never appeared in the library catalogue, but seems to have lived a kind of stowaway existence, hidden to save it from the censor's gall" (*Medieval Latin Lyrics*, p. 340).

songs," (Dronke, *Medieval Latin*, 2, 300) and they may be contrasted, for example, with such a group as poems 97-102, which is a series of *planctus* (laments) based on classical themes. They contrast even more sharply with the final group (135-86) which consist not only of a number of poems that are followed by German stanzas with many points of similarity with the Latin, but which are also characterized by the fact that most of them are dance songs. Evidently the patron that sponsored the composition of the manuscript did not intend a mere miscellany but desired a collection that would display the poems by their interrelationships to their best advantage.

Who this patron was, where and when he might have lived, remains a matter of speculation. Schumann conjectured that he was "a bishop, an abbot or prelate of noble birth whose joy in chivalric love-song was as great as that in clerical poetry," (2, pt. 2, 73). He conjectured furthermore, that it originated in the same monastery in which it was subsequently found. Finally, as he argues elsewhere, the manuscript may be thought to be dated as late thirteenth century (Schumann, "Die Deutschen Strophen"). Despite Wilhelm Meyer's paleographical evidence that the manuscript ought to be dated around 1225 (2, 257), Raby (2, 257), not to speak of Waddell (*Medieval Latin Lyrics*, 1968, p. 340, and *The Wandering Scholars*, 1961, p. 225), Whicher (p. 141), and Zeydel (p. 38), have all preferred Schumann's position which is based upon his critical assessment of three of the German poems in the collection. The limitations of Schumann's skill as a literary critic have been fairly scrutinized by Peter Dronke ("A Critical Note"), and scholarly judgement has now sought a date earlier in the century. Bernhard Bischoff has argued that the hand suggests a date no later than 1230, and this has been strongly corroborated by the evidence of art history (Bischoff, p.20; Cf. Dronke: "A Critical Note," p. 181). A *terminus a quo* would range somewhere between the years 1208-19, based on internal evidence. Moreover, paleographical evidence also suggests the presence of an Italian influence, which has led Paul Lehmann to posit the southern Tyrol as its origin, while Bischoff believes, rather, that somewhere in southern Carinthia would be closer to its true provenance (Lehmann, 4, 5; cf. Bischoff, p.28). Benedictbeuern appears now to be the end, not the beginning of its journey, despite the fact that Bavaria is its homeland. Finally, that the Latin poems are contemporaneous with the German poems makes it difficult to state which was a version of the other. This raises a host of questions that bear upon the character of both "courtly" and "popular" song.¹³

Part of the difficulty of dating the manuscript arises from a readily understandable fact: a manuscript is not published; it belongs, rather, to the *glissage* of history. Hence, the year 1230 appears a plausible point of departure for a manuscript that continued to acquire new additions of poems and drawings that carried it into the fourteenth century. In effect, Clm 4660 was a great repository, and the poems it contains were drawn either in whole groups from other manuscripts or singly, depending on the predilections of the collector(s). Hence, the additions of the poems

¹³Dronke, "A Critical Note," p. 183. The point is argued more extensively in the first section, "The Unity of Popular and Courtly Lyric," of *Medieval Latin* vol. 1. Cf. Günter Bernt's *Nachwort* to the German translation by Fischer and Kuhn, pp. 840-41.

of the Marner has assisted in assigning the collection to southern Carinthia and suggest additions around 1250. Thus, it is even possible to speculate that the provost Henry of Maria Saal was among its patrons (Bischoff, p.29).

We have referred to many of the poems in the section translated as love songs, and it is well to remember that this text was in many instances a song-book. It includes, in effect, a large number of poems drawn from "a cleric's songbook, that is, from an essentially practical compilation." (Dronke, "A Critical Note," p.182) This means that the manuscript in many ways is, as Bischoff remarks, "an eminent counterpart to the great German *Liederhandschriften* and Provençal *chansonniers*" (Bischoff, p.31). Nine of the songs in this translation are provided with neumes (CB 98, 99, 108, 109, 119, 128, 131a, 187, 189), not to speak of the Gamblers' Mass (CB 205) and the Christmas play (CB 227). Neumes for other poems have been recovered from the *Fragmenta* (CB 111), and still others from other manuscripts. We now possess the music for some 46 of the poems, transcribed and fully accessible in Rene Clemencic's edition which provides an excellent introduction the problems of transcription and playing.¹⁴

Not only the manuscript, but also the text now in use pose a certain number of questions. Perhaps speaking for all who have used it – "without ingratitude," as Dronke remarks – one has the impression that "some of the swiftest and lightest poetry of Europe has been enclosed in one of the heaviest fortresses that scholarship has ever erected" ("Poetic Meaning," p.116) The text of Hilka and Schumann is the basis for the present translation, and whenever we have deviated from it we have so indicated.¹⁵ In two instances (CB 62 and 90) we have provided both poems in full, rather than leaving some stanzas in the notes, and it could be argued that several other poems should have been treated in the same manner. It is evident that a new addition would be useful, but this translation is designed to be used with the current edition in hand. Thus the manuscript still remains in some respects "not wholly unembarrassing," but, perhaps, somewhat more accessible to the English reader than it has been.

¹⁴ CB 88a is not included in Clemencic's edition. See Walter Lipphardt, "Unbekannte Weisen zu den Carmina Burana," pp. 126-27. It should be noted that because we are not providing a new edition of the manuscript, our Textual Notes do not contain references to the various manuscript sources of the music. We recommend consultation of Clemencic and Lipphardt.

¹⁵ Deviations are indicated by the following abbreviations: CB – the general reference to the numbering of the edition made by Hilka and Schumann; B – the manuscript Clm 4660; Schm – Schmeller's edition; F/K – the edition and translation of Carl Fischer and Hugo Kuhn. Finally, we use H/S for the edition of Alfons Hilka and Otto Schumann. It could be argued that the edition of the Love Songs, as the final responsibility of Schumann, was his exclusive responsibility. As he indicates in the introduction to that volume, Hilka continued until 1939 with research on the volume, and for that reason we continue to recognize his contribution in our abbreviation. CB represent the numbering given in H/S. Finally, *MF* is an abbreviation for *Des Minnesangs Frühling*, and *AH* stands for *Analectica Hymnica*.

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Edmonton, Alta., Canada
Milwaukee, Wisc.

E.D.B.
R.A.S.



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The Love Songs of the Carmina Burana



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56. IANUS ANNUM CIRCINAT

1. Janus brings the year full circle,
spring heralds summer,
Phoebus strikes his hoof
as he wends into Taurus
beyond the confines of Aries. 5
Refr. Love conquers all,
Love penetrates the hardest matter.
2. Away with everything
sad!
Sweet 10
joys
let the schools of Venus consecrate!
It's right to make merry
for all who happen to serve
in Dione's shrine. 15
Refr. Love conquers all,
Love penetrates the hardest matter.
3. Once while a student of Pallas Athena²
I entered the school
of Cytherea, among a host 20
of elegant girls
I saw one alone
with the face
of Helen
and second only 25
to Venus,
full of elegance
and rather shy.
Refr. Love conquers all,
Love penetrates the hardest matter. 30

4. Different from all
 is the one I love in my different way.
 A new fire rages in me
 and burns
 unremittingly 35
 No more noble,
 supple,
 beautiful or lovable,
 no less fickle,
 unpredictable, 40
 foolish girl can be found
 or one that can be trusted less.
 Her happiness
 is my joy.
 If I were worthy of her love, 45
 it would be a blessing for me.
Refr. Love conquers all,⁴
 Love governs all.
5. Spare me, boy, a mere boy!
 Help me, Venus, a raw youth, 50
 stirring the fire,
 feeding the fire,
 to keep it from dying that I might live,
 to keep from being Daphne to Phoebus,⁵
 to whom I have offered myself! 55
 Once a recruit of Pallas,
 now I yield to your law.
Refr. Love conquers all,
 Love governs all.

¹That is, Venus.

²That is, Minerva, the goddess of the arts and sciences.

³That is, Venus.

⁴Cf. Virgil, *Eclogues* 10, 69.

⁵Cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 1, 452 ff. (noted by F/K). The reference is to the myth in which Apollo once pursued the nymph Daphne, daughter of the river-god Peneus.

57. BRUMA, VERIS EMULA

1. "Winter, rival of spring,
laments that its bonds
are now being loosened;
it commands February
not to allow itself to be
rubbed out by the sun's ray[s]. 5

2. The whole bonding of the elements
feels the mild jaw of love.
But Hymen¹ prepares
their marriage-bed, 10
gratifying the wishes of the holy
gods.

3. But the north-wind, with the rage
of a ravager,
hinders the elements 15
from producing offspring, and yet fails in this.
But Hymen stands against
its blast;
in this they devote
themselves to Dione's² divinity. 20

4. Confident in her rewards
Dione rejoices to exalt
all in her service with joys.
Those who do not refuse to yield
freely to her yoke – 25
how greatly she wants them to live
for a blessed recompense!

5. Thetis³ longs
for a lulling breeze,
so she may lift up her head beneath the sky 30
and bring forth her abundance.
Ceres⁴ too runs forever along the shore
and importunes the gloomy
deities of Hell
for abducted Proserpina. 35

6. The elements above
and those below conjoin.
So the words
attributed to the former are masculine;
to those below feminine indeed 40
are the names appropriately assigned,
for the seeds of things
conceive as does a woman.
7. The sun, because he reigns in celestial
Pisces, 45
gives full
abundance
for catching fish,
restoring beauty to turbulent Juno."⁵
- 8a. This Phrison used to sing 50
to the king's daughter,
who feigned to be sick
when she set out
- 8b. To be wed. But a dwarf
took note of this and restor'd her to her groom. 55
Thereupon he was mutilated,⁶ as befits a wicked man.
In the end he brought her back to the groom.

¹Hymen: the God of marriage.

²That is, Venus.

³Thetis: a sea-goddess, wife of Peleus and mother of Achilles.

⁴Ceres: goddess of the corn and mother of Proserpina who was carried off to the underworld by Pluto. Proserpina's annual return marks the return of spring.

⁵Juno may be considered to be the goddess of the "lower" elements, i.e. water and earth. See Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum* 8, 1, 69 (noted in F/K).

⁶"Mutilated" or: "cut off." It may mean the dwarf was decapitated, which is the translation suggested by F/K. On the final eight lines, see Textual Notes.