The word Goliardic — itself not a medieval adjective — is used freely by modern scholars to describe a loosely-defined corpus of Medieval Latin poetry (usually rhymed), including satire, personal invective, drinking songs, and other apparently student-like concerns (1). The imprecision of the term is no greater than that involved with, say, epic, lyric, romance, or tragedy, but critics and their readers do need to be reminded occasionally that the term is imprecise. I describe here some of the ways in which the term is, and has been used, in order to clear the air a little and to establish a context for the use of the word Goliardic. By the end of the article the reader may be forgiven for wondering if anything is to be gained by replacing the imprecision of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by the imprecision of the Middle Ages. Yet perhaps it is of some value to realize that medieval critical terminology was often no more firmly based than our own.

My approach is through the fictions of medieval attributions — Archipoeta, Primas, Golias, and the less obviously pseudonymous Gauterus. We are in the realm of ghosts. Meyer observed that the character Primas walked "wie Gespenst" through scholarly literature (2); Dobiache-Rojdesvensky referred to "le fantôme inconstant de Golias" (3); Crescini observed "che Golias fu
un simbolico nome, un mitico fantasma... non punto persona in carne ed ossa» (4). Their lack of material substance, however, has been a feature of these poets since their appearance at the end of the twelfth century. The ghosts are, of course, of (medieval) human making: in many cases modern research has stripped away the disguises, like the stage ghost's white sheet, to reveal the original authors – Hugh of Orléans, Walter of Châtillon, and so on. It is certainly not my contention that the canons of works of these poets, established with careful and imaginative scholarship, are to be rejected: in most cases they rest on internal references and stylistic considerations. Nevertheless, the fact remains that during the Middle Ages, up to the fifteenth century, the ghosts had more reality than the works of modern critics and historians. Investigation has taken centuries had ascribed them either to pseudonyms or to an author a whole body of poems simply because scribes and scholars over four centuries had attributed them either to pseudonyms or to an author (Walter Mapes) who could not possibly have written them, they began to disentangle the works (6). In 1843 Grimm investigated the Göttingen manuscript of the poems of the Archdeacon of Oxford, Giraldus (below, p. 82) clearly distinguishes Goliath of whom he disapproved, from Walter Mapes, a personal friend. The friendship between the two has been disputed by A. K. Rate, in Latomus 31 (1972), pp. 899-875, but one would still expect Giraldus to know what Mapes had written.

(4) V. Creseci, Appunti su etimologia di 'gollardo', in Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto, 79 (1920), pp. 1073-1216. I am not concerned here with the etymology of the word Goliath, but generally I would agree with Creseci's conclusions, that the words gola and Goliath interacted on each other via the form gollardo. (5) Pace A. Wilmart, Les épigrammes latins d'Henrici Primat et d'Hildebert, in Revue Bénédictine, 47 (1935), pp. 175-180, who, after agreeing that the role of the vangantes should not be exaggerated, adds (p. 180 n. 1) 'd’autre part, il est bien vrai que les chantres ambulants ne sont pas des personnages mythiques, témoin Primat. Certainly Hugh existed, but I doubt if mostscribes were so certain. (6) Thomas Wright, Poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes, Camden Soc., London, 1841.
and epigrams of Sarlo de Wilton. The remaining poems, those attributed to Golias, the ghost par excellence, have been pushed into a corner (more politely described as the school of Walter of Châtillon) and generally neglected (20).

The other line of investigation, what one might call socioliterary, has been that of the anthologists. Working from a vague sense of what a goliardus must have been like (on the evidence of the documents and of poems on the ordo vagorum) (21) — educated, discontented, unbeneficed, possibly amorous (and probably drunken), and above all witty — the anthologists, more than anyone else, have shaped the prevailing sense of Goliardic poetry.

The logic of this approach is sometimes doubtful: the Cambridge Songs collection is labelled by Breul a Goliard's songbook simply because it is a collection of verse dominated by rhythm rather than quantity and because sacred and profane are juxtaposed (22). There is nothing to support the association of an eleventh-century anthology with Goliard or goliardus, words which do not emerge until the end of the twelfth century, still less for equating this large collection, in which satire, love-poems and drinking songs mingle so spontaneously (without, as it happens, a mention of the words Golias or Goliardus anywhere in the manuscript), helped to identify the goliard as (as noted above) discontented, amorous and bibulous.

Not surprisingly, the temptation for modern editors to produce their own little codices burani has been too great, and it is safe to say that anything which now calls itself Goliardic will contain a fair sample of satire, love, and wine (23).

The complexities involving the identities of the poets and the loose use of the word Goliardic as a critical term have produced a minor side-effect: because some of their poems appear (often anonymously) in the medieval anthologies, some identifiable poets — notably Philip the Chancellor and Walter of Châtillon — have themselves been subsumed under the heading Goliardic, though it is a sobriquet that one imagines the Chancellor of the University of Paris at least would have resented (24).

None of this critical vagueness has done much harm, nor is it misleading except in the most minor details. No doubt much of the poetry labelled Goliardic by modern editors would have been so labelled by medieval scribes if they had thought of doing so, or if textual tradition had allowed it. Nevertheless, there is a lot to be said for bringing the investigation back to its starting-point where Thomas Wright left it, namely, with the ascriptions and colophons of the manuscripts themselves. Eventually I hope to provide a study of the poems based on associations made in the manuscripts; the regular association of certain poems and types of poem may help to base «genre study» on a foundation laid out for us by the compilers of the medieval anthologies themselves. The study of medieval Latin verse has hitherto concentrated on the composition of the poems, on their authors and the period in which they were written: the alternative approach is through their distribution. By this approach, for example, we can see that the fifteenth century was as absorbed in reading satirical poems as the thirteenth century had been in writing them. Lehmann suggested the influence of English satirical writing on the spread of parody in Hussite Bohemia, and a study of the English and Bohemian fifteenth-century anthologies supports this inter-ac-


(21) Documents concerning the goliard and vagantes are collected by Helen Waddell, The Wandering Scholars, 6th ed., London, 1922; see also CRESCINI, op. cit. The classic poem on the ordo vagorum is Carmina Burana no. 219 Cum in orbe universum; two others are printed from Bodleian MS Digby 165 by K. Strecker, Zeitschrift für deutsches Philologen, 51 (1930), pp. 117-119, and 52 (1927), p. 396 (neither poem, nisi per mundi clienta, nor Tris sunt officia, mentions the word goliardus: the first could possibly refer to men at large, who beg and demand those who will not give them money; the second refers precisely to monks, the genus monachorum quorumagam, but both are Goliards in the sense of the documents).


(23) The first full edition was by J. A. SCHM ILLER, Stuttgart, 1847 (and four reprints); the standard edition is by A. HILKA, O. Schumann, and B. Bischoff, I, I-3, 11, 1, Heidelberg, 1930-70, cited in this article as CB.


(25) Cfr. Dobrice-Rojdesvensky e.t., pp. 50-53 and passim, and others. I do not wish to imply that these scholars themselves defined Goliardic so loosely: Dobrice-Rojdesvensky discusses the whole matter with great care. Their influence, nevertheless, has been to give an impression of Goliardic poetry that is both too narrow and too wide in its scope.
tion (26). Groups of manuscript collections at specific periods and in specific countries present distinctive associations of material: I have detected, for example, groups such as a Hildesbert model (characterized by some of the minor poems of Hildesbert, Marbod, Gualo, Roger of Caen, etc.), an «Anglo-Continental model» of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, and a «Later English model» of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (characterized especially by historical and political poems).

The manuscript study, however, must wait; for the moment I intend to concentrate on the minimum area, those poems specifically ascribed to Golias and the other pseudonyms, and those manuscripts which make a point of naming the poets. I argue that the names Golias and Primas became almost interchangeable and were used not to indicate the identity of the author but the genre of the poem. I suggest also that the substitution of Walter Mapes for Golias was parallel to that of Golias for Primas; I offer some reason for the choice of Walter Mapes, which was of such importance for Bale and Leyser and (through them) for the tenets of modern literary history.

THE AUTHORS

1. Archipoeta. — The pseudonym archipoeta still hides from us the identity of the famous poet of Cologne (28). It is used by the scribe of Göttingen MS Philol. 170 (German, s. xi/xii) in the margin against eight poems intimately concerned with Cologne and Rainald of Dassel, Nos. I-VIII in Watenphul-Krefeld (29). Modern scholars have added two more poems, including the Confession (see below). The poet's biography, summarized by Watenphul-Krefeld, has been inferred entirely from the poems. The one piece of external testimony unearthed by Grimm illustrates the spread of the term archpoet and has no biographical significance: Caesarius of Heisterbach, writing in 1222, tells the story of a certain Nicholas (30):

(27) See Watenphul-Krefeld (n. 10 above) for a full discussion.
(28) The heading is not found against No. 1: it was presumably cut away in the binding process (Watenphul-Krefeld cit., p. 19).
(29) Caesarius of Heisterbach, Dialogus Miraculorum, Dist. 11, xv, ed. Joseph Strange, 2 vols., Cologne, 1851, 1, pp. 83-84. The passage was first cited by Grimm (n. 8 above).

ano praeterito apud Bonam vicum diocesis Coloniensis, vagus quidam clericus, Nicholaus nomine, quem vocant archipoetam, in acutis gravioribus laboravit, et cum mori timent, tam per se ipsum quam per canonicos eiusdem ecclesiae, ut in ordinem suscipertur apud abbatem nostrum obtinuit. Quid plurum? cum multa, ut nobis videbatur, contritione tunicam induit, quam facta crisi celerius exuit, et cum quadam irrisione projiciens aufugit.

If the present tense vocant and the setting anno praeterito mean anything, the anecdote cannot refer to the Archpoet who wrote in the 1160s. The opportunism of the conversion and especially the mocking rejection of the tunica are reminiscent of the mantellus poems ascribed to Primas, in which the poet scorns the poor quality of the cloak provided by his protector. Caesarius tells another similar story (not previously noticed) of a false conversion (30):

Venit ad nos adolescens quidam canonicus in Colonis, magis, ut postea rei exitus probavit, ex quaedam levitate mente, quam devotione consensit. Qui mox eadem via, qua venit, rediit, nee aliquando postea aliquid conversionis mentionem fecit.

Strange interprets delusisset as in suo perdisset (and certainly offers a good supporting passage), but if we take it to mean mocked» the story has clear affinities with the earlier one. I suspect that both stories are reflections of the same piece of folklore about an inconstant cleric (and poet) who mocked the tunic provided for him and left the order. The initial departure from the order would be parallel to the poet's self-accusation in «Dives eram et dilectus», ascribed to Primas. The stories could, in fact, have been derived from the poems. If this view is correct, Caesarius is, with the usual raconteur's style, retelling as recent events what is in fact an old story.

In this case, we can view the word archipoeta as the German equivalent (used by Caesarius and the scribe of the Göttingen manuscript) of Primas. The term may have been coined by the

(30) Ibid., Dist. i, xi, ed. Strange cit., i, p. 18; compare the Richard of Poitiers story, below, p. 73.
Archpoet as a play on the titles of his patron Rainald, archiepiscopus, archicancellarius, and reinforced by his own description of himself as vates vatum (31). As far as I know, the term archi-poeta is never used of any of the poems in the Primas-Golias corpus. Michael of Cornwall uses it scornfully of his opponent Henry of Avranches to whom he addresses his poem « Archipoeta vide » (Walther 1432) (32).

The Confession, « Estuans intrinsecus », is ascribed in manuscripts and by other witnesses sometimes to Golias, sometimes to Primas, but never to archi-poeta. This does not imply that it is not the work of the Archpoet of Cologne; internal stylistic features support the attribution, and the poem is addressed in stanza 24 to « Electe Colonie », i.e. Rainald of Dassell (33). This reading is, in fact, preserved in very few manuscripts, but is almost certainly genuine and has been accepted by all editors: it is supported by MS Digby 166 (Electe colonice), a manuscript which is in other respects textually independent, in a family of related English manuscripts. The substitution of addressees of the Confession (to Presul counterintium, O dilecte domine, etc.) illustrates the instability of this kind of poem. Faced with anonymous or pseudonymous poems, the scribes seem to have preferred to remove puzzling local and topical references, or to replace them with their own local names. Considerable textual variation – at times, wholesale rewriting – is a characteristic of a great number of poems in the Goliardic corpus. The main point about the Confession, however, is that it was not collected with the other works of the Archpoet in the Göttingen manuscript, and that it was ascribed not to the Archpoet but to the more popular pseudonyms Golias and Primas. Even Salimbene (below), whose text preserves the reading Electe Colonie, ascribed the poem to Primas.

2. Primas. – Testimonies to the existence and writings of Hugh Prima of Orléans are embarrassingly frequent, from chroniclers, poets and scribes (34). His biography and the canons of his writings have been so carefully established by the researches of Delisle, Haureau, Meyer and Lehmann, that it seems churlish to say that he did write them? It is rash to trust witnesses on all points except where we know that they are wrong, especially if we can demonstrate a tendency towards Primas-ascription among scribes. Scepticism of this order takes one even further: can one trust the poets themselves when they name themselves Primas to be the one and only Hugh of Orléans?

a) Authorities which link Hugh + Primas + Orléans. – The first witness is the addition of MS C of Richard of Poiters’ Chronicle, written ca. 1171. Under the year 1154 it writes (35):

His etenim diebus vixit apud Parisiis quidam scolasticus, Hugo nomine, a conscolastica Primases cognominatus, persona quidem vilis, valuit deformis. Hic a primo etate litteris secolarii instructus in metris ita facundus atque recognovit, ut sequentibus versibus omnibus adiunctus caxammonventibus declaratur, quos de paupere mantello sibi a quodam presule moventibus declaratur, quos de paupere mantello sibi a quodam presule dato declamatorie composuit: De Hugone lo Primat Aurelianensi (sic): «Hoc indumentum tibi quis dedit? An fuit emptum?».

The poem (part of Pontificum spuma) is also ascribed to Golias (below, p. 98). Secondly, the poem « Dives eram et dilectus », which is signed Primas internally, is headed in Florence MS Laurentiana Strozzi 88, fol. 157: « Opus Hugonis aurelianensiis primatis de expulsione propria » (36).

b) Authorities which link Primas + Orléans. – Primas, without the name Hugh, is linked with Or-

(33) The fullest edition of the Confession is by BISCHOFF, CB No. 191 (2, S, pp. 6-21).
(34) For a summary of Primas scholarship, see M. MÜLLER, Geschichte des lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters, III, München, 1931, pp. 973-978; see also LANGOSCH cit. (n. 16 above), pp. 292-298.
(35) Text in M.G.H. Scriptores, 26, 81; first noticed by DELISLE cit. (1870); see n. 11.
(36) Cited by DELISLE, ibid. The same heading is found in Paris, B. N. lat. 16208, cited by HAUERAU, cit., Hist. litt., 30, p. 291.
leans by several writers. First we have the alteration made to Salimbene's Chronicle (before 1233) (37):

De Primato trutanno [et de versibus suis et rithmis. Nota quot Primas Aurelianensis fuit]. Fuit his temporibus Primas canonicus Colonensis magnus trutannus et magnus trutator et maximus versificator et velox qui si dedisset cor suum ad diligendum Deum magnus venereo id est de luxuria, et de ludo, et de taberna. Et excusavit se hodie et alia scripta plura mas Aurelianensis fuit]. Fuit his temporibus Primas canonicus Colonensis habitus est eximius et excellens, cuius exstant opera mira. Quod

That Primas was a canon of Cologne may have been inferred from the Confession, which, in Salimbene's text, has the stanza addressed to electe Colonie. The added information, however, that Primas came from Orléans, must have come from an outside source. John of Salisbury wrote (38):

Claditur archivis Remorum, Belgica prima hunc dedit, et Primas Aurelianus habet.

Henri d'Andeli referred to « Primas Aurelianensis » (39). Matthew of Vendôme wrote (40):

mibi dulcis alumnas
Tempore Primatis, Aurelianus, ave.

Richard de Fournival, whose connections with Orléans have recently been shown (41), itemizes versus Primatis Aurelianensis.

Primas is linked with Orléans in an important anecdote in Francisco Pippin's Chronicle (42):

Primas versificator egregius fuisse his temporibus traditur, scilicet imperante Frederico I et maxime, dum Lucius huius nominis III papa Romanus sederit (1181-1186). Huius ingenium fuit ultra humanum versificari elegantius et repente. Ex quo inter ceteros versificatos vix ipse illustris habitus est eximius et excellens, cuisse exstant opera mira. Quod

autem temporibus Lucii papae fuert, appareat, quod, dum ipse Primas canonicus esset Aurelianensis et idem papa fuisse in Gallia, rogavit eum Primas super obtentu unius benefici. Quem cum abaudidentem (non?) invenisset, invenit his versibus contra eum:

Lucius est piscis rex et tyrannus aquarum, a quo discordat etc.

Quod iam superius descripta habentur ubi agitur de Lucio papa (i.e. I, II, where the full verse is given, cited by Meyer). Furtur quoque quod dum in curia Romana super eius in arte versificandi ingenio, an religiosus praece- leret, quasio verteteret, dictum est alium esse qui longe eo in arte ipsa praece- leret. Damque inter multos praecladis et illefoatos viros de pluralitate et excellentia amborum amica tamen contentio verteteret, tamen (tandem?) ad hec socianda data fuit materia per collegium cardinalium papae mandato, ut super eo ambo versificari deberent. Erat autem materia breve scilicet comprehendit novi et veteris testamenti; qui igitur pau- cioribus eam comprehenderet versibus, ille haberetur eximius. Primas daoibus, alius quiauer eam comprehendere versiculi. Hi autem fuerant Primatis versus, qui intercalares dicantur:

Quos anguis tristi virus maledine pavit:
Hos saevis Christi miser dulcedine lavit.
Illi vero quatro versus non quam reperi vel adivi.

The authenticity of the story, which conflicts with the other dates associated with Primas, was doubted by Meyer. Marti has suggested that it should refer instead to Pope Lucius II (43); on the other hand Giraldus (who ascribes the poem « Lucius est piscis » to an anonymous satirist) also has Lucius III.

Tours MS 468 (s. xv, numbered 205 by Delisle) contains a late thirteenth-century collection of preaching exempla (44), among which there is one mentioning Primas as author of « Canonici cur canonicum » and « Res est archana »; this tale goes on to relate that when Primas was in Orléans (« faciens moram Aurelianis » he was challenged to complete unfinished verses, namely « Istud jumentum cauda caret » and « Claudiae hoc animal » , which he ended respectively « Or la lia ton » and « quia sentit labore pedi mal ».

(c) Authorities which link Hugo + Primas. — Hugo is surnamed Primas in three sources, without

{37} Text in Discovery, CB No. 101 (1, 3, p. 19).
{39} Cited by DELISLE cit. (1869): see n. 11.
{40} Cited by HAUREAU, 1860.
{41} R. H. ROUX, Manuscripts belonging to Richard de Fournival, in Revue d'Histoire des textes, 3 (1973), pp. 255-269; I am grateful to Dr. Rouse for advice on Fournival.
{42} Cited by DELISLE cit. (1869); I use the text printed by MAYER, pp. 4-6 (78-79).
reference to Orléans. Alexander Neckam, in the Corrogationes Promethei, wrote (45):

Dicendum est item comedum, -donis pro vorace, sicut pro leccatore nebulou, -onis. Unde Hugo Primas, Hugo dat Hugo, nebulov nebulonis nebuloni.

In the first quarter of the thirteenth century an anonymous Cistercian wrote a collection entitled Distinctiones monasticae et Morales, parts of which are also cited in the Clausis S. Melitoni, to which there are three separate references (48): a) III. 422 Hugo, Primas cognomine, quum in Anglia constitutus . . . Est labor hic; b) II. 326 his versibus Hugonis qui Primas cognominatus est, Non peto castellum; c) II. 295 Hugo cognomine Primas de quibusdam scolasticis . . . Filii burgensium. Finally, a unique poem in Paris, B.N. lat. 152 (Hoc vinum putre) is headed Hugo Primas priori de Campis Sancti Martini (47).

d) Primas alone. Testimonies to the name Primas alone are common. Neckam wrote (48):

Cum vinum poto faciem lavo corpore toto, tum fundo lacerimas, tum versificor quasi Primas.

On Primas' deficiencies as a logician the Summa Recreatorum has a verse (49):

Urba bona Parisius Brunello chitisturam
Efficeret deius quam de Primate sophistam.

(45) First cited by P. Meyer, Notice sur les Corrogationes Promethei d'Alexandre Neckam, in Notices et Extraits, 35, 1 (1856), pp. 641-643; see also M. Esposito, On some unpublished poems attributed to Alexander Neckam, in English Historical Review, 30, (1915), pp. 459-471. The dialogue Non invitatus venio (48) is ascribed to Primas in one manuscript, Vespasian B. XII (see below, pp. 90-91), but in Quillas by Neckam and other manuscripts. Wilmart, in Les epigrammes latins (n. 5 above), believes that Primas is the correct reading and that Neckam must have had a manuscript that read Quillas here or supposed the name of his friend.


(47) First noticed by Delisle cit. (1850). Paris, M.S. B.N., lat. 152 is a collection of fragments: f. 35 (perhaps originally a flyleaf) contains several short verses in different hands of the thirteenth century.

(48) See n. 49 above.


At the beginning of the thirteenth century Thomas of Capua distinguished three kinds of writing: dictaminum tria genera: prosaicum ut Cassiodori, metricum ut Virgillii, rithmicum ut Primatis (49).

Directly or indirectly, these authorities had inherited a tradition of a skilled and witty versifier named Primas, Hugh Primas, Primas of Orléans, or Hugh Primas of Orléans, and they knew various anecdotes about him. There is no reason to doubt his existence, though some of the stories seem solely designed to introduce the verses that go with his name. What seems to me questionable is their testimony to specific verses. Hugh Primas of Orléans in the twelfth century certainly did not write the Confection or the Apocalypse, as Salimbene claimed. Did these writers have some direct knowledge, did they rely on scribal ascriptions, or did they simply lump the name of Primas as a catch-all for a certain kind of poem or epigram? As may be seen from the Index (below), the scribes were prolific in Primas ascriptions.

The main corpus of Primas poems is supplied, if we accept Meyer's arguments, by Bodleian MS Rawlinson G. 109 (s. xii/xiii), "Die Oxforder Gedichte" (48). There are no headings or colophons in this section of the manuscript, but Meyer argues that the first twenty-three poems are a single bloc of Primas poems. Eight of them are signed "Primas" internally: No. 1 "Hospes erat" (signed n. 26); No. 2 "Pontificum spuma" (signed in line 20, a line present only in Rg, in Paris B.N. lat. 8433, and in Poitiers' text) (50); No. 11 "Primas pontifici"; No. 15 "Vir pietais inops" (42, 91); No. 16 "Iniaris contumelis" (100, 136); No. 18 "Ambianis urbs predives" (20, 21); No. 21 "A cubibus Primas"; No. 22 "Dives eram" (21, 64, 168). There is external testimony for Nos. 22 "Res erit archana" and 14 "In cratere meo" (50). The group must stop at No. 23 because although there is no sign of a break in the ma-

(50) Quoted frequently, e.g. by Delisle cit. (1870).
nuscript, the next two poems are by Hildebert. Meyer’s argument is in principle sound: as there are no colophons the scribe would have had no reason for grouping these poems together and separating them from the adjacent Hildebert group, unless he was drawing on a collection of works by one author. If he had been relying on the internal signatures, he would surely have isolated simply the signed poems: that short poems often started out together, only to be separated into anonymity later, is amply shown by Strecker’s study of the manuscript tradition of the minor poems of Walter of Châtillon (54). On the other hand, the scribe of Rg probably may have been copying a set of poems collected by someone else on quite different principles.

Two other poems have internal signatures, ‘Primas in scampoo’ and (from Digby 53) ‘Primas Serloni’. The value of these internal signatures is open to question. Although he accepts internal signatures, Hauréau observed that ‘plusieurs poètes burlesques ont pris ce nom de Primat; c’est pourquoi l’on ne sait pas toujours auquel d’entre eux tels ou tels vers doivent être attribués’ (54). Poets quite probably assumed to themselves the name of an illustrious wit. None of the poems with internal signatures is signed ‘Hugo’, and they have no more association with Orléans than with anywhere else.

The alternation of Primas with Golias may be seen frequently on the chart. Most notable, perhaps, is the poem ‘Pontificum spuma’, which in Vespasian B. xiii (in the fourteenth-century section) is marginally ascribed both to Primas and to Golias. The same manuscript, in its thirteenth-century section, ascribes the dialogue ‘Non invitatus chart. Most notable, perhaps, is the poem ‘Pontificum spuma’ which Wilton (58).

(54) See n. 17 above.
(56) See n. 45 above.
(57) For an account of the lost Herdringen MS, see A. BiiMER, Eine Vagantenliedersammlung des 14. Jahrhunderts in der Schlossbibliothek zu Herdringen, in Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum, 49, N. F. 37 (1907), pp. 191-238; see also Strecker cit. (n. 17 above).
(58) See Hauréau, Hist. iii, 31 (1830), pp. 16-17; the text is in a Graecismus, and Amplonius’ notice may be of a gloss. For Serlio’s poem ‘Dactile quid latitas’, see ÖBERG’s edition (p. 10 above). Another Graecismus gloss ascribes to Primas the poem ‘Mors alienis morane’ (Paris, B.N. lat. 1513 f. 38; see HAUEREAU, Notices et Extraits, IV, Paris, 1892, p. 286).

Two references indicate Primas as the author of poems on Troy. Richard de Fournival’s Bibliothemia, his library catalogue, itemizes: ‘Phrigii Daretis Yliados historia prosaice deinde metrica. Item Mononi Heremius libellus Yliados, et versus Primatius Aurelianensis de eodem’ (54). Similarly, Amplonius’ cataologue of a now fragmentary Erfurt manuscript lists: ‘Me­tra quemam nigrae agregii poeto Primatis de excidio et hystersia Troys optima’. There is no way of telling what these referred to: Meyer naturally wanted them to refer to two poems in the Rawlinson manuscript, No. 9 ‘Urbs erat illustris’ and No. 10 ‘Post rabiem rixse’. On the other hand, a collation version of the well-known ‘Pergama fieri volo’ and Pet­er of Saintes’ ‘Viribus arte minis’ is described in MS Vienna 883 as an exclamaciones super multis Troyianis edite per Primatem egregium versificatorem (54). It may be to this that Fournival and Amplonius are referring. The same attribution may be intended by the corrupt explicit ‘Pergama flera’ in a Krakau MS: ‘finis imprimitis’ (58). A similar tradition may lie behind the colophon of Digby 166 (and perhaps the Longeat MS) on the same poem: ‘Planctus Hugonis priores de Monte Acuto’. Thus, Fournival and Amplonius may, however erroneously, have been ascribing ‘Pergama flera’ and ‘Viribus arte minis’ to Primas.

Similar problems surround the attribution of the Wine-Water debates. The short ‘In cratere meo’ is ascribed to Primas in many manuscripts and scholar authorities (54). The very popular debate on the subject, ‘Cum tenerent omnia’, is ascribed to Primas in two manuscripts, Prag N U B VIII C. 13 and Venice S. Marc. lat. class. XIV r.8 (the former also gives him the Confession, the latter the De contes non discus) (58). Limbou, however, describes the debate ‘Denudata veritate’ (59) as tractatus Primatis de non miscenda aqua volo; against this attribution is the beginning of stanza 29, Ego Petrus disputator (referring to the poet). Petrus is the reading of only one manuscript, Paris B.N. lat. 11867 (presens in two MSS, quidem in Salimbene, stanza omitted in the codex Barauras). Two
explanations (at least) are possible: that Salimbene confused this poem with «In cratere meo» (which he, as many other authorities, ascribed to Primas), an explanation which might also account for the ascription of «Cum teneunt omnia» to Primas in the Prag and Venice MSS; or, that by Petrus the scribe of the Paris MS meant Peter of Blois, who takes the side of wine against beer in a debate series in Cambridge Univ. Lib. MS Gg. 6.42. (65)

A similar textual crux affects the poem «In nova fert animus... Ego dixi dei estis» (66). This poem may be referred to in CB No. 220a «Nullus ista parces», where at 10/1-2 the codex Buranus reads (67):

Hoc Galtherus subprior ‘iubet’ in decretis
Ne mantellores veteres referantur.

At this point the Florence MS Laurentiana 36. 34 reads:
Primas in Remensisbus inserat decretis
Ne mantellores vos renovaretis.

Meyer addsuces the Florentine reading in support of Primas' authorship of «Ego dixi dei estis», Primas, however, may be no more than a poetic fiction, and there is no reason to identify him here with Hugh of Orléans. The Primas-Galtherus alternation, as it happens, points to another substitution that we see later, when the name of Walter Mapes begins to appear.

Scepticism, of course, is easy: one must readily agree that editors have been careful to take into account other evidence besides scribal ascriptions (68). Nevertheless, it is important to recognize that Hugh Primas of Orléans could not possibly have written all the poems ascribed to him by scribes and medieval authorities, even those relatively close in date. There is a danger in the biographers' tendency to prefer a reading (or scribal ascription) to Primas simply because we have a historical person that answers to the name. In order to deal with the problems of dat-

(65) The suggestion is not entirely fanciful. B. N. lat. 11897, a full collection of Goliardic poems (amongst other things), is possibly of English origin, and is closely related to the Cambridge manuscript; see L. HERVEUX, Les fabulistes latins, 111, Paris, 1894, pp. 222-234. The Cambridge MS (s. xv) is also an important source for the works of Alexander Neckam: see EXPOSITIO cit. (n. 45 above) and R. W. HUNT'S unpublished dissertation, Oxford, 1937. On B. N. lat. 11897, see also (among others) K. HAMPS, in Neues Archiv, 23 (1899), pp. 601-605.

(66) See MEYER cit., p. 13 (p. 57).

(67) Ed. BISCHOFF, 1, 3, pp. 78-80. In the codex Buranus the poem is preceded (with no sign of a break) by four stanzas (inc. «Sepe de miseria») taken from the Archpoet's poem «Archiciannelacis viri discretus mentis»; the result is a single poem. See also below, p. 88 and n. 91.

(68) Primas has been proposed as the author of «Laudes celiis attollamus», a sequence usually ascribed to manuscripts to Adam of St. Victor. No medieval manuscript gives it to Primas but there is some circumstantial evidence: see N. WIZNINGU, in Revue de l'Age Latin, 3 (1947), pp. 5-26. I have not seen Dr. Weisbain's doctoral dissertation on Hugh Primas, Paris, 1945.

Golias and other Pseudonyms

ing, Hauréau (69) conjectured that there were two poets called Primas, one who lived in the twelfth century (i.e. Hugh of Orléans), the other identical with the Archpoet of Cologne, who could therefore be identified with the Primas of Salimbene and the Golias of Giraldus (below) and be credited not only with the Confession but also with the Apocalypsis and other later poems; even so, he has to assume that Salimbene blended two poets, as «In cratere meo» is given by most authorities to the earlier Orléans poet. Hauréau's analysis is painstaking and ingenious, but he does not seem to have accepted the logic of his own argument – that the pseudonyms do not permit factual biographies of the poets that lie behind them.

3. Golias. – Golias has not been subjected to the same kind of biographical scrutiny as Primas. As no identifiable historical person has been found to answer to his name, scholars have been content to treat the word Golias in a different semantic category from the names Primas and Archipoet. Flacius Illyricus clearly treats the word as the poetic persona of Walter Mapes: «Apocalypsis Goliae pontificis... edita rhythmis facetis per Gualtherum Mapes» (61). Bale and Wolff state that Mapes used the name of his jester as a pseudonym: «Habebat Oxonii scurrum seu bomolochum doctum, sub cuinis nomine et umbra quaedam edidit» (70). A similar distinction between author and poetic persona is implied by the colophon of one manuscript of the De coniuge non ducenda, B. M. Addit. 21244 (s. xv, Kenilworth); in this version, as in many others, the dreamer’s name is Gawain. The colophon reads:


Unless it is conflating two colophons, this heading implies that the author may be Gawain or Bonaventure, and that the dreamer


(70) FLACIUS ILLYRICUS, Varia doctorum piorumque virorum de corrupto Ecclesiae statu poemata, Basel, 1577, sig. 13r.

(71) These are Wolff’s words (1600), cited by Hauréau cit. (see n. 69), p. 254 n. 2. Wolff was following Bale, who wrote (of Gualtherus Mapes): «sed fictis nominibus luxut, ut Goliæ pontificius, ut Ioannis de Abbatia, ut Ioannis de Carbone, ut Gualteri de Hybernia, ac similibus, Habebatque oxoniæ scurrum seu bomolochum, doctum tamen, qui libenter usus est consulto, in tabellam se facieturum ac rhythmorum mortem esse parentem». Both Bale and Flacius (and dependent bibliographers) attribute to Walter Mapes poems which they also specify as the work of Golias.

6
whose name is Gawain in the text may be called Golias as well.

The only medieval account of Golias is by Giraldus Cambrensis (7):

**Item parasitus quidam Golias nomine nostris diebus gulositate pariter et leccitate famosissimus, qui Golias (MS Golias) melius quia gule et capu­
pel per omnium deditus dici poterit. Litteratus tamen affirmit set non bene morigeratus nec bonus disciplinis infornatus in papam et curiam Roma­
nam carmina famosa pluries et plurima tam metrica quam ridicula non
minus inpudenter quam imprudenter euomuit. De quibus inquisitionem
ridicam temere nimis et indiscrete compositam casualiter incid ens clausu­
approbandum aut imitandum, has scilicet, apposui:**

In a passage immediately preceding the one just cited he

"geret, dignus iste non suspendio solum utrum etiam incendio foret. Set

him from the Golias

minus inpudenter quam imprudenter euomuit. De quibus inuectionem

morigeratus nee bonis disciplinis informatus in papam et curiam Roma­

whose name is Gawain in the text may be called Golias in the text.

Giraldus also distinguishes Golias from other medieval satirists:

"Aliis quomodo male scribendo letterisque suis mordaciter abutendo deferre
demoriter hyatu? Si curia Romana corpora lemm delinquentibus penam infli­
dignum duxit.

In the Speeculum Giraldus tells several anecdotes about Walter

Mapes; whether he knew him well or not (7), he distinguishes
him from the Golias to whom he attributes here the Confession
and a short version of "Ut contra vicia". We have seen how

Neckam makes a similar distinction between Primas and satirists.

Giraldu also distinguishes Golias from other medieval satirists: in

a passage immediately preceding the one just cited he attributes
to these unnamed satirists "Romana manus rodit", the couplet "Ni feret argu­mentum", and the poem against Lucius III (agree­
ing with Pippin, above p. 75) "Lucius est piscis".

Forms of the name vary between Gol- and Gul-, reflecting

Anglo-Norman o/ou variation, as in golart, goulart, but the Gul­

forms may also show the influence of gula (a pun made explicit
in the passage from Giraldus above) (74); cfr. also the prose parody

"Missa Gulonis" in B.M. MS Harley 285r (where there may also be

a pun on the name of the poet Gualo).

There is good evidence from the poems and ascriptions to

support the distinction between the proper name Golias and the
generic noun goliardus (a goliard), a distinction implied also by
the documents which mention goliardi but the familia Goliae (7).

The poet of "Omnibus in Gallia" (75) names himself Richard but re­
fers to himself as "Anglus goliardus"; he also recommends his friend Wil­

liam goliardus optimus to the "discipulis Goliae" and proposes the health of

the "pueros Goliae". The Herdringen MS uses the plural form goliardi.

Only B. M. Titus A. xx (s. xiv) treats the words indifferently, heading the

Apocalypsis "Apocalypsis Goliae" but in the colophon calling it "Apoca­

lypisis episcopi Goliae". Each scribe is usually consistent in ascribing
poems either to the proper name or the generic noun: Harley 2857 heads
its first item "Ritchmus Gulieardi" and all subsequent poems "item Gul."

The eight poems of Harley 978 are ascribed to Golias; a later addition,

the poem "Omnibus in Gallia" (above) is headed "dicta cuindam goliardi anglici", a title derived from the poem itself. Vespasian A. xix distinguishes
some poems which it attributes to Golias from one ("Sompno et silen­
cio") by a "discipulus Golie" (76). Several scribes and antiquarians give
Golias the title "episcopus" or "pontifex"; this may refer to a mock sect
of ordo vagantium (perhaps with a hint of the Feast of Fools and the Boy
Bishop), but may also represent a shift from the secular meaning of Pri­
mas "leader" to the ecclesiastical primate in cases where the name Golias
has been substituted for that of Primas.

Some pieces ascribed to Golias, etc., survive in unique copies and may
be listed summarily: 3590 "Cum sint plures ordinis" (Golias epicopus);

5099 "Ecce homo sine domo" (dictum Goliardi); 3553 "Est acer hic petus" (Goliardi vituperans eulum); 5864 "Exo menor verbi" (Golias); "I cito
pergo viam" (Golias); 13306 "Omnibus in Gallia" (Anglus Goliardi); 15499
"Qui iacet hie plenus" (no heading; signed "nomen Gulie"); 17476 "Sei­
gnor volüs oir" (item = dictum Goliardi, after 5099); 18442 "Sompno et silen­cio" (discipulus Golie); prose "Magister Golays de quodam abbate".

The chart below shows that the name Golias alternates very
frequently with Primas. It is most common in English manus­
cripts; one exception is Rome, MS Vatican reg. lat. 344 (s. xiii,
provenance disputed), which assigns two items to "episcopus Guli­
ae". The generic noun goliardus is used in the Herdringen MS
and in Paris, B.N. n.a. 1544. Despite the casual use of the adjec­tive
Goliardic as a term of literary criticism, the eponymous (bisc­
hop) Golias has been generally neglected; works under his name

(72) Text from HELGA-SCHUMANN, CB No. 42, 1, 1, p. 79.
(73) See n. 7 above.
(74) See CRESCINT cit., (n. 4 above).
(75) Cfr. HELEN WADDELL’S citations in The Wandering Scholars (n. 21 above) from the
Councils of Rouen and Chateau Gonthier in 1231.
(76) Ed. WRIGHT, Maps cit., pp. 69-70.
(77) CRESCINT, s. 15 above) thought this might refer to Walter Mapes.
never have been mentioned by Giraldus Cambrensis. He certainly wrote the prose De Nugis Curialium, ascribed to him in the manuscript (9). Lehmann has established a list of poems which he probably wrote (9), none of which are part of the Goliardic corpus:

194 • Abiit qui clero • (Distinctiones monasticæ III 472: Waltherus cognomen Maph);
2719 • Christe tu calicis • (Dist. mon. II 486: Waltherus Map);
6799 • Fortes fideles • (in the De Nugis);
7102 • Gaudo quod sanus es • (Digby 53: the first line is proper;
10101 • Lancea Longinis (cited by Bothewald in an attack on Mapes);
11480 • Munera si vitae • (in the De Nugis);
20236 • Versibus imparibus • (cited by Giraldus).

How then, did Mapes come to be credited with the large number of Golias poems? On one level, of course, the question is easily answered. Editors and publishers – and fifteenth-century scribes acted in both capacities – do not like the label anonymous; the nascent antiquarians of the late Middle Ages preferred that poems should be assigned to an author, preferably a famous one. Dream-visions, especially those concerning Love, were put to Chaucer’s credit (or debit) within a generation of his death; vernacular devotional works were assigned, with little or no discrimination, to Richard Rolle, in the same way that earlier ages had attached the name of Augustine to theological treatises. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries collections of the most puerile jokes were dumped at the doors of Skogan and Skelton. Walter Mapes, through Giraldus’ account of him and possibly through knowledge of the De Nugis, had acquired a reputation as a wit and poet of strong anti-Cistercian views: what more likely author could there be for these anti-ecclesiastical satires now suffering the indignity of anonymity? But the Middle Ages had had other satirical Latin poets (Serlo, Bernard, and others) whose names were still well known. Why specifically Walter Mapes?

I think the reason lies in the name Walter itself. Gauterus, I shall argue, had come to occupy the same semantic area as Go-

(80) See n. 69 above.
(81) Ed. M. R. James, Oxford, 1914 (Anecdota Oxoniensia, Mediaeval and Modern Ser. 19). The unique MS, Bodley 851 (s. xiv ex.), is an important repository of Goliardic poems: see below, p. 87. A story in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, MS 32 (s. xiii), f. 94v, is said to be • ex dicula W. Map •; it is not in the De Nugis.
(82) See n. 15 above. Lehmann rightly rejects • I cito pergo viam • (Golias).
Itas, that is, as an appropriate pseudonym for a particular kind of poetry and satire. There are several circumstances from which such a development could have arisen:

1) the most famous author of short satirical poems was Walter of Châlons. A chronicle cited by his biographers reads:

In territorio Insulensi, villa Rossiano, quidam Gualterus nomine oriundus fuit, qui in litterarum scientia et ingenii subtilitate adeo claruit ut tantam eius sapientiam quidam mirabili brevitate collaudans dixerit:

Quicquid gentiles potuerunt scire poetae
Totum Galtero gratia summa dedit.

Usually his poems are anonymous in the manuscripts, but occasionally he is named:

in Bodley MS Digby 168 (s. xii/xiii) three of his poems (Nos. 3, 1 and 2) appear under the name « Magister Walterius de Castellione ». In the Rehdigeranus MS (MS) Nos. 1 and 18 are headed « Galterus de Castellione », No. 2 simply « Galterus ». In MS Charleville 190 (s. XII ex.) (86) there is a large number of poems, including many which are in fact Walter's but are here without names (« Tanto viro », « Dum contemptor animo »); two, however, are named: f. 161v Item Magister Galterus Castellionensis agnonime, « De nocte sicut noctua », f. 161v Item Magister Galterus, « Suscipiat dominus ». In Paris, B.N. lat. 3424 (s. xvi) a group of his poems, together with the Apocalypsis, is assigned to « Galterus ab Insula » (86). Both names are appropriate, as he was born in Lille but moved to Châlons, where he became detached from the surname, a tradition could have arisen associating a Walter with satirical poems.

Two of Walter of Châlons' poems are signed internally simply with the name Walter:

MSG No. 17 (preserved only in the codex Duraeus) begins: « Versa est in lectum cythara Waltheri » in four of the eight manuscripts which preserve MSG No. 18 the opening stanza is omitted; the other four (B.N. lat. 11867, B.N. lat. 3245, Bodley Rehdigeranus 130, Vienna Stadtshibl. 4458) all begin: « Dum Galterus (Phalterus) egrotaret ».

The association of Walter of Châlons's poems with the Apocalypsis is seen in several manuscripts:

in Digby 166 (s. xiv) it immediately precedes a bloc of Walter's minor poems (unascribed in this MS); it is mixed up with them in B.N. lat. 3245, where, as we have seen, they are ascribed to « Galterus ab Insula », and is present in five other manuscripts of the minor poems, Bodley Add. A. 44 (A), Bodley 57 (s. xiv), Harley 978 (H), Herdringen (H), and B.N. lat. 11867. As the Apocalypsis is commonly ascribed to Golias, an equation Golias = Walter may well have developed.

2) The less known Walter of Wimborne may also have contributed to a Walter-ascription pattern (78). He wrote in the latter half of the thirteenth century; his themes are devotional and satirical, and his metres varied (Leonines, asclepiads, and the Stabat mater stanza). He puts his name Gauterus to two poems, but otherwise drops out of literary history. By an odd coincidence, a shortened version of his long Marian poem (inc. « Pone scribendum ») is ascribed to « G. Map » by a later hand in Titus A. XX.

MS Bodley 821 (s. xiv ex., Ramsey) presents an intriguing problem. The first part of the manuscript contains the De Nigis, assigned correctly to « Gauterus Mahap ». The second part, quite separate but by the same hand, lacks its opening quire: it begins in the middle of Walter of Wimborne's poem « Ave Virgo » (in which he signs himself « Gauterus »), followed immediately by the De coniuge non ducenda; the latter lacks a heading, but the dreamer is addressed as « Gauterus » (86). The proximity of three works, one by Walter Mapes, the next by a Gauterus, and the third addressed to a Gauterus, would increase the notion of a Walter as a general name for a poet. The scribe may have deliberately juxtaposed three « Walter » works.

3) A small and textually related group of manuscripts names the dreamer of the De coniuge non ducenda « Walter »; this may have arisen from the fact that Andreas Capellanus's De amore (in the last analysis an anti-marriage treatise) is also addressed
to a Walter. In Prag MS NUB VIII G 4 (s. xiv/xv) the De amore
is entitled « Guaiteri Liber de arte amandi » and is followed im­
mEDIATELY by the De coniuge non ducenda, in a truncated text
lacking the name of the dreamer (99). Moreover, Dist. IV, ch.
iii of Walter Mapes' De Nugas is the famous Epistola Valerii ad
Rufinum, another famous anti-marriage treatise (which circulat­
ed separately and widely) (99). The association of the name Wal­
ter with antifeminist satire is abundantly clear.

4) We have already mentioned CB No. 220a « Nullus ita
parcus » (above), in which the two manuscripts vary between
« Primas » and « Galtherus subprior » (99). This may be an early
example of the substitution of Walter as the author of a man­
tellus-type lyric.

It would be otiose to go on listing Medieval Latin poets na­
named Walter, but two others may briefly be mentioned: an ap­
parently famous twelfth-century poet who was a friend of Marbod (99)
and the author (a « presul ») of a poem in the Goliardic stanza ad­
dressed to the Virgin, preserved in Peterhouse College, Cambridge
MS 239 (s. xiv). Enough has been said to indicate that circum­
cstances (in addition to the initial consonant correspondence of Gol­
lias and Galtherus) favoured the adoption of the name Walter as an
equivalent, or alternative, to Goliias as author of a certain kind
of poem. Once this is accepted, it is easy to see why Walter Mapes
was selected as primate and arch-Goliias.

PATTERN OF ASCRITIONS

This section is a kind of commentary on the accompanying chart. The chart is designed to illustrate graphically (a) the prac­
tice of individual scribes in assigning poems, and (b) the variety
of ascriptions given to each poem; the former may be seen by a
horizontal reading, the latter vertically. Where a poem is
present in a manuscript but is not given a title or author it is mar­
ked sine titulo, sine auctore: the omission of a title or author is
often significant, if the scribe is accustomed to provide them. The
chart does not, of course, give all the poems in each manuscript,
nor all the manuscripts of specific poems. It is designed only
to illustrate variation in ascription. For this reason, and to save
space, I have omitted:

1) MSS of the Doctrinale of Alexander de Villa-Dei and the Gracie­
mus of Evard de Béthun, even where the glosses carry Primas as­critions (94)
collections of epigrams (a common home for short poems like « In cratere
neo ») such as Munich clm. 10751 (see Aneiseiger, 15, 1668), clm. 17212 (Ane­
seiger, 20, 1673, p. 99 ff.), Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 236; Trinity
College, Cambridge, o.3.31; B.N. lat. 8433, lat. 3848; flyleaf groups of
poems such as in Munich clm. 22227 (Neues Archiv, 6, p. 537).
2) Poems ascribed to Golias, Primas, Walter Mapes and Walter of
Châtillon that do not vary in ascription: these are discussed elsewhere or
are in the Index.
3) Clare College, Cambridge, Kk. 4.1, which identifies « In cratere
neo » as « Questus Primatis », but leaves « Ve tibi mi ciate » and « Lucius
est piscis » without authors.
4) B. N. lat. 3745 and Digby 168, which are discussed above.

Some of the most important repositories of Goliardic poems
make no attempt to identify authors and consequently are omit­
ted from the chart. They include: Oxford, Bodley 603 and Digby
166; Cambridge, Trinity College, o.2.45; Paris, B.N. lat. 11867;
Munich clm. 416; Leningrad O XIV Nr. 11; Zurich C 58/275, and
many others (99). There are short Goliardic poems in the Summa
Recreatorum, but they are not ascribed to an author (99).

I. Manuscripts

Ti Trinity College, Oxford, 34 (s. xii ex., Kingswood, Gloz.). Verse
fillers, probably by the main hand, occupy the last four leaves of the
first part of the manuscript. They include: f. 136r a Rithmus epi­
cosi Guliash de incarnatione domini coram universo clero oxonic « Multis & con­
tratribus » (mention of Oxford reminds one of Walter Mapes); f. 137v a Ver­
sus eiusdem « Meum est propositum » (single drinking stanza from the Con­

(90) In Munich MS clm. 416 (s. xiv), however, which also contains the De amore and
the De coniuge non ducenda, the addressee of the latter is « Caline » (for Galatines).
(91) See n. 81 above.
(92) See n. 49 above.

91} See above, p. 89 and notes 69 and 67. This « subprior » decretist is mentioned also
in a poem in Harley 978 (below, pp. 91-92) « Quis potest capere » (ed. Watson, Mapes clm.,
pp. 169-170, 107): in suis subprior decretis asserti. See also Lehmann, Parole, 2nd ed.
(n. 26 above), pp. 157-158.
(93) See M. Delhouille, Un mysterieux ami de Marbode : le « redoutable poète » Gauiier,
In Le Moyen Age, 57 (1951), pp. 205-240.
Cambridge Bibliographical Society,

has been crossed through by another hand (s. xi-xiii; in Bridlington a s. xv). Several hands collaborated in the compilation of this complicated verse anthology (96). Parts I and II, written by two scribes in close cooperation, include hundreds of short verse pieces, including: f. 10v Versus domini Primatis in cratere meo; f. 11r Versus canonicum tum canonicum (assigned to Serlo if the rubric refers to the main text); Öberg takes it to refer to the marginal entry "Nostri canonicii" (97); f. 17r Pontificium spuma (without author); f. 17r Indigio bobus (without author); f. 15v Versus Primatis Primas Serloni.

In Part III another hand (which had also entered some of the poems in Part II) wrote two prose parodies, the first on f. 27v: Magister Golya de quodam abate. On a separate bifolium this hand has also written:

f. 3or Pergama flere (without ascription). In blanks between Parts II and III another hand has written two Walter of Chartres poems, "Propter Syon" and "Tanto viro" (both without ascription) (98). On f. 33r is: Walterus mapa hamelino clerico regis (assigned to Serlo if the same hand). In a single bloc, beginning on p. 426, are written: Exorcatio archiepiscopi Cant. ad sacerdotes "Viri venerabiles literati
tacito Ricardi archiepiscopi ad sacerdotes "Viri venerabiles literati"

The fullest account of the contents (but not of the organization of the manuscript) is by C. L. Kingsford, Song of Lewis, Oxford, 1890.

GULIAS AND OTHER PSEUDONYMS

Goliardic section, that the scribe was certain Gulias ac fortasse Normannus. This is an important early anthology of secular verse, including:

f. 26vb Planctus Troiane destructionis Pergama flere
f. 31ra Ridmas episcopi Gulis Estuans intrinsecus
f. 31rb Excunicato (sic) eiusdem episcopi Raptor mei pilis
f. 31ra Apocalypsis A tauro torrida.

Hl Harley 2851 (s. xiii). There are several verse books, but only Part I has ascriptions: a single bloc of four poems begins on f. 12v with: Rithmus Gulardi de pillo furato... Raptor mei pilis; f. 13r Item Gul. de uite sue... Estuans intrinsecus; f. 14r Item Gul. de equo pontificis Pontificialis equus; f. 15r Item Gul. de... et primo de papa... Est Leo pontifex (part of the Apocalypsis). In Part IV we find the Missa Galonis.

Ce Corpus Christi College, Cambridge 48 (s. xiii), written continuously by the same hand. In a single bloc, beginning on p. 426, are written: Exorcatio archiepiscopi Cant. ad sacerdotes "Viri venerabiles sacerdotes dei" (ascribed by Bole and Flaccus to Gulias); Sermo Gulis "Viri venerabiles viri literati" (st. 2 of "Multis a contrabrubis"); Apocalypsis Gulies "A tauro torrida"; and finally "Noctis crepusculo" (without title).

Hl Harley 978 (after 1264; additions ca. 1300; Reading, Berks.) (100). Part V (ff. 75-117) consists entirely of satirical and Goliardic poems; the first seven entries are:

f. 75r Apocalypsis Golies episcopi A tauro torrida
f. 78r Confesio eiusdem Estuans intrinsecus
f. 78v Gol. In nova fert animus... Ego dixi dei estis
f. 79v Gol. "Dives eram et dilectus"

(96) There is no full description of the manuscript: see the works by FRIEND, Öberg and Strecker in notes 17-19 above. A later hand has collated the Walter of Chartres poems with the texts in Digby 4 and Digby 108.

(97) Öberg, No. 74, p. 120.

(98) A later hand (s. xii) has written: Guliarius Malap Archidioecasis Osmoniae; this has been crossed through by another hand (s. xiv-xv), which wrote: "magister Walterus de Castillon... est versus another horum versuum apud Romanum in presentia pape" and repeated Waverus de Castillone est versus author horum versuum apud Romanum in presentia pape in 1320.


(101) The fullest account of the contents (but not of the organization of the manuscript) is by C. L. Kingsford, Song of Lewis, Oxford, 1890.
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Separately in the same booklet, we find: f. 100v Methamorphosis Goliya Episcopi « Soli post arietem ». The following poems, however, are not given authors: f. 87r Invectio contra avariciam Ulter contra vicia; f. 92r a conflation of a confinum of Walter of Châtillon poems « Missus sum in vineam » and « Elviconis rivulo » (see MSG Nos. 4-7); f. 99v De summa trinitate et de incarnacione domini « Multis a contraribus »; f. 104v De tribus angelis qui retraxerunt a nupciis « Sit deo gloria » (| De oenage non descenda). Thus, even this scribe, the most prolific of all in Goliardic ascriptions, has excluded some poems which other scribes include in the Goliardic corpus.

In blanks at the end of Part III a later hand, ca. 1300, has added « Omnibus in Gallia », to which a slightly later hand has provided a title: Dicta cuisdam goliardi anglici (derived from the text of the poem).

Va Cotton, Vespasian A. XIX, ff. 55-60 (s. xii-xiv). A single booklet of satirical poems, among which are: f. 55rb Confessio Golie « Estuans intrinsecus »; f. 55vb Golias episcopus de prelatis « Cum sint plures ordines »; f. 56ra Discipulus Golie de Grisis Monachis « Somnus et silencio »; f. 56va « A tauro torrida » (= Apocalypsis, unassigned); f. 59ra Walther 16808 (unassigned); f. 59vb De veneranda rustitia romana curie « Ulter contra vicia ». Thus, both the Apocalypsis and « Utter contra vicia » are left unassigned in a manuscript which has a Goliardic ascription tendency.

C Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 430 (ca. 1320, Durham) (129). Part II (pp. 53-79) is a booklet of poems, the first seven of which are:

p. 53a Apocalipsis Golie Episcopi de ordinibus cleri « A tauro torrida » (129)

p. 55a De contagio « Sit deo gloria »

p. 61a « Si dederis vestes » (part of « Non invitatus »)

« Exiterant simul frateres » (Walther 6140)

« Qui lacet hic plenus » (epigraph of Golias, line 4)

Rithmus confessiones « Estuans intrinsecus »

p. 62a De curia romana « Ulter contra vicia »

The grouping of Goliard/Primas poems is striking, but the scribe has not supplied authors for most of them: he may have felt that the authorship of the De contagio and the Rithmus confessiones was implied by the items that precede them. Later in the manuscript, at the end of Part VI (pp. 191-200), he has added several verse fillers, the first five of which are:

p. 191 « Excommunicacio Golie « Raptor mei pilei »

p. 192 « Pergama flere volo »


(103) A librarian's hand ascribes to Walter Mapes, on the authority of Bale,
The contents list these titles. Note that in the thirteenth-century collection no names are provided, as in many such collections (above, p. 25).

Q Erfurt, Amplonius Q 345 (s. xiv, first half), a collection of mathematical pieces, prose and verse (106). On f. 37 is a large group of short poems, including: Primas ad episcopum <<Pontificum struma>>; Primas ad man­tellum <<Pauper mantele>> (with the mantellus reply); <<Luceus est piscis>> is left unassigned.

Rx Cotton, Titus A. XX (s. xiv, after 1367) (107). Compiled by two or more scribes working in collaboration; the contents are very similar to those of Rb (below), to which Tx is closely related, but the order is less systematic. Among the relevant entries are:

f. 66ra Disputacio inter aquam et vinum <<Cum tenerent omnia>>

f. 156ra Apocalipsis Goliardi <<A tauro torrida>> (f. 156rb: Iste est apocalipsis episcopi Golio)

f. 163vb De monachis <<Notices sub silencio>>

f. 165ra Disputatio inter corpus et animam <<Notices sub silencio>>

f. 170vb «Multis a contratribus».

The original hands assign only the Apocalipsis and the De comiuit non ascenda, making no distinction between Goliard and Goliardus (108).

Rb Bodley, Rawlinson B. 214 (s. xv, after 1469; scribe John Wilde); a large collection of historical, political and satirical poems, and mythographical material (109). Wilde attempted to keep the satirical poems together, but sometimes miscalculated. Included are:

f. 159r Apocalipsis Anglorum <<A tauro torrida>> (f. 165v Explicit Apocalipsis Anglie secondum magistrum Walterum Mape)

f. 167r Apocalipsis castra trium <<Notices crepusculo>>

f. 168v «Meum est propositum gentis imperite» (Walther 19988)

f. 170v Naufragium hibucum secundum Goliam <<Sit deo gloria» (f. 173r Explicit Apocalipsis Golio de Naufragio Nubendi)

f. 173v Epilogus apocalipsium precedencium <<Totum regit seculum>> (W. 19938)

f. 177v Apocalipsis Bachi inter Lyeum et Thetidem <<Cum tenerent omnia».

Thus, Wilde has tried to keep together the dream-visions (epocalipses); he has named two authors, Maps and Goliad.

Ty Trinity College, Cambridge, 0.9.38 (s. xv, Glastonbury) (109), compiled by one scribe. The first quire is a booklet of satire, but other satirical poems occur elsewhere in the manuscript:

f. 2r Apocalipsis <<A tauro torrida>>

f. 7r «Sit deo gloria» Explicit Magister Walterus Mape de Pena conungi

f. 9r «Notices crepusculo»

f. 12v «Dum tenerent omnia»

f. 145v «Tempus acceptabile».

The name Goliad does not appear; the original scribe assigns only one poem to Mapses.

By Bodley 496 (s. xv; compiler and main hand Thomas Graunt). A poetic collection similar in style to TxRb. Only one of the Goliardic poems is given an author: f. 137v Apocalipsis Magistri Walteri Mahapp ... «A tauro torrida». Also in the collection, without authors, are: f. 13v «Tempus acceptabile»; f. 227v Disputacio inter vinum et aquam <<Cum tenerent omnia»; f. 230r Disputacio in consilio nubendi «Sit deo gloria».

Ar B.M. Arundel 334 (s. xv). Among brief verses at the beginning of the manuscript is the dialogue «Non invitatus», here divided between «Goliardus» and «episcopus».

Ph Prag, NUB VIII C. 13 (s. xv; Bohemian), a humanistic collection, including: f. 54r Contencio aquae et vini per Primatem <<Cum tenerent omnia>>; f. 55v Super his confessio Primatis «Estuans intrinsecus». There is little else of a Goliardic nature.

Bn Paris, B.N. lat. 1344 (s. xv), a collection of proverbs, notable, and verse (110). The only assigned items are: f. 69v Dictum Goliardi <<Ecce homo sine domo>>; Item, «Seigneur volez oir de patre decio» (both unique). The manuscript also contains: f. 87v Ad papam causa alicquid obtinendi «Tanto viro» (Walter of Chatillon), and f. 103v «Quasi leo rugiens» (st. 2 of «Tempus acceptabile»), neither assigned to authors.

Vn Venice, S. Marcii lat. class. XIV No. 128 (s. xv). I have no information on this manuscript except that it contains: Versus Primatis presbiteris «Cum tenerent omnia» (Wine-Water debate); Concilium Primatis de noxore non ducenda «Sit deo gloria» (109).

The variety of ascription patterns is striking; not only is there considerable variation between scribes (who assign to Primas,
Goliard, the goliardi, Walter Mapes, or leave unassigned texts which are elsewhere given authors), but even individual scribes alternate between Primas/Goliard, Primas/goliardi, or Goliard/Walter Mapes. Habits vary even between closely related texts such as Tx and Rb. Any one scribe may have been following a textual tradition, but this simply puts the fluidity of ascription one stage back in textual history: ascription to Goliard, etc., seems to depend on a remembered (rather than a written) tradition, combined with a literary judgment on what is appropriately to be placed in the Goliard canon.

2. Poems

The horizontal reading of the chart illustrated the practices of individual scribes; a vertical reading shows the variation in ascriptions of specific poems. This section discusses a few of the more important or illustrative ascription variations: the remainder are listed in the Index below.

1) 91 A tauro torrida. Only Salimbene gives the *Apocryphal Gospels* to Primas; three early MSS (VpVtVd) and one late (Ty) leave it unassigned; the remainder give it to Goliard(s) and later to Walter Mapes. A textually related group of continental MSS (outside the traditions discussed here) ascribe it to Alain de Lille. B.M. Add. 11619 (s. xiv), which has one Goliard poem (<i>Esto memor</i>), leaves it unassigned. For its close association with poems by Walter of Châtillon (to whom it is implicitly ascribed in B.N. lat. 3445), see above, p. 87.

2) 627 Estuans intrinsecus. The *Confession* is now given to the Archpoet of Cologne, on the evidence of the reading *Eliete Colonie*, which links it to Rainald of Dassell (above, p. 72); it is not in the Gottingen MS of the Archpoet's poems. Salimbene and two Prag MSS (Pn and NUB XIV G. 45) give it to Primas; Vp leaves it unassigned; otherwise it is given to Goliard. In C, where it lacks a heading, Goliard's authorship may be implied by the preceding item, which is an epitaph of Goliard.

3) 3834 Cum tenerent omnia. This debate between Wine and Water is not usually given an author. PuVn ascribe it to Primas, perhaps because of the traditional association of Primas with *In craterem meos*. An antiquarian hand (Bale) in Tx calls it *Goli dialogus*.

(114) Ed. K. STRECKER cit. (n. 80 above). Other authors mentioned in manuscripts include: Martinus Goliard, John of Salisbury, Joannes de abbacia, Joannes de Corborio.

(115) CB No. 191, 1, 3, pp. 6-21.

(116) See n. 63 above.
4) 4254 Denudata veritate. Salimbene also ascribes this Wine-Water debate to Primas, again perhaps because of the association with «In craterae meo»; on the textual problems (and the possibility that one MS intended to indicate Peter of Blois as author), see above, pp. 79-80.

5) 4619 Dives eram et dilectus. This is present in Rg and is signed Primas internally; two MSS specifically name Hugh Primas of Orleans as author. It is assigned to Primas by Hr, but Hr’s description (Conquestio Primatis expulsi de domo leprosorum) suggests a confusion with Walter of Châtillon. H, according to its usual practice, assigns to Golias.

6) 5264 Ego dixi dei estis. Ascribed by H to Golias. On the textual variant in CB No. 220a which seems to suggest Primas’ authorship, see above, p. 80.

7) 8870 In craterae meo. Ascribed very frequently to Primas: in MSS (Avranches 104 (66), Lübben, Munich clm. 13921, Digby 53, Clare College, Cambridge, Kk. 4.1), by Salimbene, and (beginning at «Mitititur in disco») in a commentary on the Doctrinale. Two MSS (Klosterneuberg 740 and B.N. lat. 5848) head it «Primas ad cenam Salczeburgensis archeipiscopi». Only Tf (Golias) varies from this, showing an early example of the English preference for the name Golias.

8) 11395 Multa a confratribus. Tf and Co, both early MSS, ascribe to Golias, unlike H (normally prolific with Golias ascriptions) and Tx. Wright, following Bale and Leyser, calls it «Praedicatio Goliae». It is interesting that Golias was credited with a purely theological poem; one may compare Walter of Wimborne and Walter of Châtillon’s Sermon (MSG No. 3).

9) 11944 Noctis sub silentio. According to Wright, the Debate between Body and Soul (Visio Philiberti) is often ascribed to Mapes, but I have not seen it so ascribed in any of the manuscripts I have examined. As far as I know, it is never given to Golias.

10) 12084 Non invitaturo venio. This dialogue with a bishop is given by H to Golias, Ar to a Goliardus; Neckam describes it as «Golias ingerens se mensa Hildeberti Cenomanensis»; Vp alone ascribes it to Primas: «Primas cennomanensi episcopo» (there is no ascription pattern for this particular scribe in Vp). Wilmart regarded the Vp ascription as a genuine reference to Hugh Primas of Orleans, but Neckam, who elsewhere ascribes poems to Primas, shows no knowledge of (Wilmart suggests «sup-
unpublished Habilitationsschrift of the late Binghamton
by Professor Paul
Golias, Flacius Illyricus (and the first corrector of Di) to
Hr ascribes to
Chatillon, and is assigned to him in several
amorous problems.
rectly) to be the original reading, an interesting early t e stimony to Gawain's
dreamer have some form of Gawain, which Walther takes {probably cor­
mer
newly discovered Binghamton
alone in naming him Golias) call the dreamer
a group of six English
it has line
245); to Golias by the related pair TxRb; and to
Primas, Golias, etc.: even H, which has a strong tendency to ascribe
to Golias, assigns only eight poems to him. The list is of the
total aggregate of Golias/Mapes/Primas ascriptions from the twelf­
th to the seventeenth century. It has no historical status as
the basis for an anthology of Goliardic poems. The poems of
Walter of Châtillon and the Archpoet of Cologne are listed only if they
are ascribed to Primas, Golias, or Mapes. All poems in Nos. 1-23
of Rawlinson G. 109 (Rg) are included, even if they are unsigned and
not elsewhere attributed to Primas. Manuscripts are not
usually mentioned unless they contain ascriptions; editions and
secondary references are not usually given, unless the entry in
Walther's Initia is incomplete or unclear. For manuscript sigla
besides Rg, see above, pp. 89-95; for the Tours MS, see above, p. 75.
For Salimbene and Pippin, see above, pp. 74-75. For the follow­
ing abbreviations, etc., see the appropriate footnote: Delisle r868
(Rg) are included, even if they are unsigned
with the Golias poems, but this is the only one ever ascribed to Golias.
16) 19017 Utar contra vicia(388). No manuscript supports Giraldus
(above, p. 82) in ascribing this poem to Golias: his text, as some others,
starts at « Roma mundi caput »; even H and Va are reticent on it. Bale,
however, and implicitly Flacius attribute it to Golias.

INDEX OF ATTRIBUTED POEMS AND WORKS

This list does not represent a medieval consensus on a canon of
Goliardic poetry. Each scribe or compiler has his own list and
often leaves unassigned poems which other scribes attribute to
Primas, Golias, etc.: even H, which has a strong tendency to ascribe
to Golias, assigns only eight poems to him. The list is of the
total aggregate of Golias/Mapes/Primas ascriptions from the twelfth
to the seventeenth century. It has no historical status as
the basis for an anthology of Goliardic poems. The poems of
Walter of Châtillon and the Archpoet of Cologne are listed only if they
are ascribed to Primas, Golias, or Mapes. All poems in Nos. 1-23
of Rawlinson G. 109 (Rg) are included, even if they are unsigned and
not elsewhere attributed to Primas. Manuscripts are not usually
mentioned unless they contain ascriptions; editions and
secondary references are not usually given, unless the entry in
Walther's Initia is incomplete or unclear. For manuscript sigla
besides Rg, see above, pp. 89-95; for the Tours MS, see above, p. 75.
For Salimbene and Pippin, see above, pp. 74-75. For the following
abbreviations, etc., see the appropriate footnote: Delisle r868
(Rg) are included, even if they are unsigned
with the Golias poems, but this is the only one ever ascribed to Golias.

1) 13985 Pergama fiero voslo (389). On possible ascriptions to
Primas (never to Golias) by scribes and Fournival and Amplonius, see above,
p. 79.
12) 14240 Pontificis equus. Ascribed to Guleardus by Hl, to
Primas by a Doctrinale gloss, and left unassigned by Vp (in the section
where the fourteenth-century hand gives some poems to Primas/Golias).
13) 14664 Pontificum spuma (389). Richard of Poitiers
(beginning at « Hoc indumentum ») ascribes to Primas, as do Q, B.N. lat. 8433
and the Graecismus gloss in B.N. lat. 8427 (inc. « Pauper mantelle »). Vp,
emphasizing the equivalence of the names, heads it « Versus Gulie » but in
the margin notes « Tunc Primas mantello »: The poem is in Rg and is si­
gned internally in those MSS that have line 20; Vp does not, in fact, have
line 20 but begins with another line indicating Primas as author (« Pergo
prior Primas »); Meyer did not use B.N. lat. 8427 and I do not know if
it has line 20 (which is in Rg, Poitiers, Q, and B.N. lat. 8433).
14) 18362 Sit deo gloria (390). The De consilio non ducte­ma is ascribed
Primas by two Venico MSS (Vn and S. Mardi lat. class. XIV No. 245); to
Golias by the related pair TxRb; and to Walter Mapes by TyA.
As mentioned above (pp. 87-88), the dreamer is named twice in the poem:
a group of six English MSS (TxRbTyA, Vespasian E. xxi, and Bodley 851)
is closely related textually - all of these texts (except TxRb, which is
alone in naming him Golias) call the dreamer Walter (in some form), and
perhaps thus account for the ascription in TyA to Walter Mapes.
The newly discovered Binghamton MS (s. xv, French?) also names the
dreamer Walter. In C the address is » W », in By » Gilbertus », and in
Gonville and Caius 385 (s. xiii) Willelmus ». Most of the other MSS that name
the dreamer have some form of Gawain, which Walther takes (probably cor­
crrectly) to be the original reading, an interesting early testimony to Gawain's
amorous problems. On the ascription in B.M. Add. 21243, which apparently
treats Golias almost as a generic name, see above, p. 81.
15) 19018 Tanto vire locuturi (391). This properly belongs to
Walter of Châtillon, and is assigned to him in several MSS. H and Bale
ascribe to Golias, Flacius Illyricus (and the first corrector of Di) to Walter Mapes.
Hr ascribes to Primas, distinguishing it from (a) the poems of the « go­
press) Primas' authorship. As I regard Primas as just as much a pseudo­

(121) See n. 45 above.
(122) CB No. 101, 1, 2, pp. 139-160.
(123) See MEYER's edition, pp. 49-51 (pp. 119-120).
(124) For information on the texts of the De consilio non ducte­ma I have made use of the
unpublished Habilitationsschrift of the late HANS WALTHE, Göttingen, 1930, kindly sent to
me by Professor Paul G. Schmidt; I have myself transcribed the texts of the English MS.
I am grateful to Professor Saul Levin of the State University of New York for showing me the
Binghamton MS. On the ascription to Primas, see n. 63 above.
(125) Ed. STRECKER, MSQ cit., No. 1.
(126) CB No. 48, 1, 1, pp. 70-83.

GOLIARDS AND OTHER PSEUDONYMS
Hoc vinum putre. B.N. lat. I 52 << Hugo Primas

Hoc indumentum. See I4264.

His vaccis parcam. Salimbene << Primas

Filii burgensium. Salimbene

Fertur in convivio. Salimbene

Est labor hie esse. Ascribed to << Primas; by Salimbene and many MSS (see above, p. 97).

Est acer hie potus. Bodley 233 << Guliardus vituperans cibum

Ego dixi dei estis. H << Golyas

Dives eram et dilectus. Rg: signed << Primas

(NE , V , p. 47), and the poem does not appear to be in B.M. Royal 15 C.V.

(late hand (Bale) in Tx << Golie dialogus

Cur ultra studeam. Hr << Primas )); Haureau

Cum sint plures ordines. (Hist. litt., 30, 192);

Cum labor hic essc. Dist. mon. III 472 << Hugo Primas cognominet

Estuans intrinsecus

B. M. Add. 11619 (see above, p. 90).

B. M. Add. 11619 (see above, p. 90).

Assigned most commonly to Golias.


Est labor hic potus. Bodley 233 (see above, p. 73) roll

Hugo Aurelianensis Primas, Hr << Primas; H << Golyas; Meyer No. 23.

Hugo dat Hugoni . Neckam << Hugo Primas

Ni spernas munus. Salimbene << Primas

9586 Iussa lupanari. Rg.: no signature. Meyer No. 3.

5563 Hoc vindictum. See 14264.

Hoc vinum putre. B.N. lat. 152 << Hugo Primas.

GOLIARD AND OTHER PSEUDONYMS

8460 Hospes erat michi. Rg: signed << Primas; Meyer No. 1.

8521 Hugo dat Hugo. Neckam << Hugo Primas (above, p. 76).


8655 Idibus his Mai. Rg.: no signature. Meyer No. 6.

8870 In crateres meos. Ascribed to << Primas; by Salimbene and many MSS (see above, p. 97).

9278 Indigebus. Salimbene << Primas

9355 Inurius contumeliosus. Rg: signed << Primas; Meyer No. 16.

9444 Inter acrimonias is described by Walther << Goliardorum versus, but the heading is not in the Soissons MS (Moyen Age, V, p. 147), and the poem does not appear to be in B.M. Royal 15 C.V.

9645 Iustum iumentum. Tours 468 << Primas; Delisle (1868).

9986 Iussa lupanari. Rg.: no signature. Meyer No. 8.

10101 Laness Longini. Attributed to Mapes by Bothewald (Wright Mapes). etc.


10431 Lucius est piscis. Fippin << Primas; see above, p. 75.


11136 Mittitur in disco. Doctrinale gloss << Primas (Hist. litt., 30, 192); follows Primas poems in Vp.

11231 Mors alios morde. Graecismus gloss << Primas (NE , IV, 284).

11395 Maltia a contratribus. Tf episcopus Gulias; Cc Gulias; Bale Mapes and Praedicatio Golioul (inc. Viri venerabiles).

11480 Munera si vitas. Walter Mapes in the De Nugas (above, p. 85).

11670 Ni spernas munus. Salimbene << Primas

12084 Non invitatnos venio. H << Gulias; Ar << Goliardus; Neckam << Goliardas ingerens se mense Hildeberti Cenomanensis, Vp << Primas cennomanensis episcopo (see above, p. 78 and n. 45).

12133 Non peto castellum. Dist. mon. II 326 (see above, p. 85).

12548 Oiuflivias anas. Doctrinale gloss << Primas (Hist. litt., 30, 192); follows Primas/Gulias poems in Vp.

13306 Omnibus in Gallia. Signed << goliardus ... Ricardus, H << goliardus

13493 Orpheus Euridice. Rg: no signature. Meyer No. 3.
GOLIAS AND OTHER PSEUDONYMS

19595 Ulceribus plenus. Rg: no signature. Meyer No. 5.
19971 Utar contra vicia. Giraldus (inc. Roma mundi caput) » Goliæ; Bale » Mapes », » Goliæ » (both incipits are given for each author); Flacusius (both incipits) sine auctore, but implies Goliæ.
20236 Versibus imparibus. Giraldus ascribes to Walter Mapes (above, p. 85)
20470 Vir pietatis inops. Rg: signed » Primas ». Meyer No. 15.
20580 Viri venerables viri literati. = st. 2 of 11395.
Prose De quodam abbatte. Di » Magister Golyas ». Ed. Wright Mapes pp. XL–XXIV.
Prose Introibo ad altare Bachi. Hi » Missa Gulonis ». Ed. Lehmann Parodie No. 16.
Prose De Nugis Curialium. Bodley 851 » Gauerus Mahap ».

THE BIBLIOGRAPHERS

The shift towards Walter Mapes ascription that we saw in the last section (pp. 84–88) was completed in the sixteenth century. In his Summarium (1548) Bale had not mentioned either Mapes or Goliæ (29), but he made good the omission in his Index and his Catalogus (1557) (29). He reconciled the divergent ascriptions to Goliæ and to Mapes by proposing that Walter Mapes wrote under the pseudonym of his Oxford jester (29); consequently, in the list that follows, I have conflated Bale’s three separate entries, that of the Catalogus (which is under the heading » Gualterus Maps » but also lists three poems with » Goliæ » ascriptions), and those of the Index, under the names of Goliæ (from a lost Oriel College MS and the account in Giraldus) (29) and Mapes. Also in 1557 Fla-

(127) Illustrium Maioris Britanniae Scriptorium, Summarium, Basel, 1548.
(129) See above, p. 81; for Pits’ modification of the story, see below, p. 108, and n. 137.
(130) For Giraldus’ account of Goliæ, see above, p. 82; Bale subtly altered the wording to » vir affatin litteratis ac bonis disciplinis informatus » and for » impudenter quam imprudenter » substituted » erudite quam vere », thus suggesting that Giraldus approved of Goliæ’ anticleerical poems.
ius Illyricus published a full collection of Goliardic poems (121); he acknowledged Bale's work, and does not, in fact, add any poems to the canon, but his titles and ascriptions to Goliad differ somewhat from those of Bale — he seems to have distinguished Maps from Goliads. I have therefore added references to Flacius' titles. I have re-organised the list alphabetically; an asterisk indicates that a poem is new to the canon (i.e. is not in the list given above, pp. 99-103).

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GOLIAS AND OTHER PSEUDONYMS 105

11395 Multis a contratribus. Cat. "Maps" and (under Viri venerabiles viri literati) "Prædicatio Goliæ".

11891 * Noctis crepusculum. Cat. "Maps" (as later hand (James) in Tx).

11894 * Noctis sub silencio. Index "Maps".

12337 * Nonus (read Nouis) rumor anglicus. Cat. "Maps".

13348 * Omnium caro peccaverat. Cat. "Maps".

13878 * Pauertate melior. Index "Maps".

14232 * Pone scribentium. Cat. "Maps" (as later hand in Tx) (Walter of Wimborne = 10699).

16413 Raptor mei pilcri. Cat. "Maps", Index "Goliads"; Flacius "Goliads".

Roma mundi caput. See 19917 below.

18302 Sit deo gloria. Cat. "Maps".

Suscitavit dominus. See 40 above.

19018 Tanto vio locuturi. Cat. "Maps", Index "Goliad... dictamen magistri Gualtheri loco lectionis; Flacius "Maps" (Walter of Châtillon, MSG No. 1).

19171 Tempus acceptabile. Cat. "Maps", Index "Goliad... praedicatione; Flacius "Prædicatio Goliæ".

Tertio capitule. See 627 above.

19338 * Totum regnat seculum. Index "Maps".

19917 Utar contra vitia. Cat. "Maps" (repeated under Roma mundi caput). Index "Goliad" (again repeated under Roma mundi caput, citing Châtillon directly); Flacius "sine auctore" but he uses Bale's title, and separately heads Roma mundi caput "sine auctore," implying Goliad.

20572 * Viri beatissimi sacerdotes dei. Cat. "Maps"; Flacius "Goliads" (but see "exortatio Ricardi").

Viri venerabiles. See 11395 above.

In the Catalogus Bale also ascribed to Maps two poems without incipits, Commentationes Givaldi and In Cistercienses monachos, and in the Index adds three prose works: Gidalisi distinctiones (same as above?), Relationem dormientium, and a commentary in opera quedam Senecae.

Bale's list is unreliable: the Index section, for example, includes two poems dealing with events of about a hundred years after Maps' death. Elsewhere Bale himself ascribes some of these poems to authors other than Maps (e.g. to Robert Basset). On the other hand, he may have been following the colophon and ascriptions of manuscripts now lost, such as the Oriel College one (119); he ascribes to Maps two poems, "Dilatatur impii..."

(121) FLACIUS ILLYRICUS, Varia doctorum pluraque virorum de corrupta Ecclesiae statu poema, Basel, 1557. Flacius' list is much shorter than Bale's; only three of the poems are new to the canon. Flacius leaves sine auctore a great number of items traditionally found in Goliardic manuscripts, including "Cur ultim studem".


(133) For a lost Clare College MS which contained the Apocalypsis, the De consilio non descendendo and the Norfolk poem "Edictum exit", and which was known to Bale, see my thesis II, pp. 195, 357.
and *Pone scribentium*, which are in fact by writers named Walter (the first of Chatillon, the second of Wimborne); neither poem is signed internally (unlike Wimborne's *Multi mortuum i*), so Bale may have seen texts with Walter ascriptions. Although he may have attributed some of the poems to Mapes on stylistic grounds (most of the poems are in the Goliardic metre), he may also be a witness to a lost tradition of Mapes ascriptions. In any case, his list was of immense importance for subsequent literary history.

In 1600 Wolff (134) took his biography of Mapes directly from Bale, but his list of poems comes from Flacius Illyricus' edition. John Pits' survey of English writers was published posthumously in 1619 (135); Pits, a fervent catholic, would not acknowledge his Protestant antecedents, but his list of poems under *Gualterus Mapes* is taken directly from Bale's *Catalogus*. Of the first nineteen poems on his list, eighteen correspond to Nos. 1-18 in Bale, with two slight changes of order; his last ten correspond exactly to Bale's 19-28. He would not accept Nos. 1-18 (which he claimed to have seen in a MS at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge) (136) as Mapes' own work (he have plerque meliore richmo quam ratione dicta suspicar esse supposititis), but that of the *scerra* Golias (137). Pits' one addition to Bale's list is a poem *de susanna*: Peter Riga's *Haecentus arrisit*, is a common poem in early Goliardic manuscripts, so Pits' testimony may in this case be useful.

Leyes's list is a conflation (with acknowledgments) of those of Bale, Flacius, Wolf, and Pits (138). He examined several manuscripts, and refers directly to Titus A. xx, Vespasian E. xii, and the lost Vitellius D. viii; it was presumably from this last manuscript that he took his one addition to the canon, a poem *de S. Edmundo* (139).

Repetitions of these lists continue to appear in literary histories until 1841, when Thomas Wright published his collection of poems *commonly attributed to Walter Mapes*. Wright based his collection on Bale's *Catalogus* list, omitting only *Complan-

(134) JOHANNES WOLFF, Lecitum memoriae.., Levinge, 1600, 1, pp. 429-443, 11, p. 710.
(136) His reference, *MS Cantabriagiae In Collegio S. Benedicti*, is given for the first seven items in his list only; these are not in Bale's order, and the last (*de susanna*) is not in Bale's list at all, so it is just possible that Pits had seen another manuscript. The remaining entries, however, follow Bale's order exactly, and all his titles correspond to Bale's.
(137) Pits' text of Geraldas is accurate and does not show Bale's alterations (n. 130 above) in this at least he is independent. Of the *scerra*, however, he says *Hemolocum aliqui vovant*, which must come from Bale or Wolff.
(138) POLYCARE LEYSER, Historia postorum et poematum medi et aevi, Haile, 1721, pp. 716-788.
(139) The manuscript was burnt in the Cotton fire. According to Smith's *Catalogue* of 1669, the 9th item included: Versus Gualleri Mapes de cleris et alis, de S. Edmundo, de S. Maria Virgine, etc. See above, p. 84 and n. 80.

**CONCLUSIONS**

For over a hundred and thirty years scholars have been engaged in distributing the poems in the Golias corpus to one or another *real* person, separating Hugh of Orleáns from the Archpoet of Cologne, and distinguishing between Walter Mapes, Walter of Chatillon, and (in my own case) Walter of Wimborne. In this essay I have not been trying to belittle or cast doubts on any of these attempts (least of all on my own). Real poets, with real (and often identifiable) biographies, wrote the poems: they have been, and still can be, discovered hiding beneath the pseudonyms which they themselves and their scribes imposed on them. We may ask whether the scribes regarded the pseudonyms as real people: are medieval ascriptions to *archipoeta*, *Primas*, *Golias*, *Gauterus* in the same grammatical and semantic category? When a scribe wrote *Golias* above a poem, was he saying (as he might of Vergil) *there was a man called Golias: Golias wrote this poem*? Or was he making a literary judgment, saying simply *this is a Goliardic poem*? The question is interesting and important, but I do not think it can be answered in quite these terms.

Throughout this analysis I have frequently used the word *myth*. The name of the hero of the myth changes; in Germany he is the Archpoet, in France he is Primas, in England he is Golias (and later Walter Mapes). The exploits of the hero are lite-

(140) Wright, Mapes cit., Introduction p. XXI.
rary: they consist of poems of a distinct, but changing, character. When the myth began, the poems were witty, epigrammatic, and personal; by the fifteenth century the canon embraced more socially directed poems. In the early period the poems are often rhymed and rhymed, but also include Leonine hexameters; by the end of the period the dominant form is the quatrains, in either the Goliardic or the asclepiadic line. The changing canon of poems can be compared to the accretive nature of all myths: just as the Arthurian cycle attracted to itself stories of many different origins, so the Golias corpus drew in appropriate poems written in different places by different people over a long period of time. No one is free to change a myth arbitrarily: a scribe would not, I believe, willfully attach the name "Primas" or "Golias" to a poem that he knew was by someone else. On the other hand, he could respond to the myth by incorporating into it a poem which he felt belonged there and for which he had no other author. Scribes were limited by tradition, even if it was only a remembered, rather than a textual, tradition; several poems, such as the Confession or "Raptor mei pillei", remained part of the tradition from the beginning to the end. In this way, the question of the scribes' perception of the reality of Golias or Primas ceases to be a problem. I have already proposed the analogy of Santa Claus or Father Christmas: the name of the former, like Primas, once belonged to a real person; the latter, like Golias, has always been recognized as pseudonymous. Both names are used as an attractive and elegant explanation – or perhaps justification – for the custom of Christmas gifts; similarly, I believe, the various names of the poet-hero of the literary myth were accepted as convenient authors of a recognized, if fluctuating, canon of poems.

This limited corpus of poems should, perhaps, restrict the modern concept of Goliardic as a literary genre. Anthologists have been prone to include all (or their own selection of) the poems of Hugh of Orléans, or Walter of Châtillon, or choices from the Carmina Burana, and to label them Goliardic. The Index and the supplementary list from Bale restrict the corpus to those poems that have been ascribed to one of the main names in the tradition. Even this restriction, of course, is too wide: the corpus varies from place to place and from time to time, and, as we have seen, individual scribes often fail to provide ascriptions for poems which other scribes attribute to Golias, Primas, etc. The question "What, in the Middle Ages, would have been labelled Goliardic?" must be answered by the unsatisfying demand for a qualification: "It depends on the country, the year, and the preferences of the scribe." A wider choice could be provided, as I have suggested, by the collocations and selections made for us in the medieval poetic anthologies themselves; the poems that keep company with the Golias corpus have some claim to membership in the genre.

On the basis of the restricted corpus, some negative points can be made. First, none of the poems was composed before the end of the twelfth century (eliminating collections such as the Cambridge Songs). Second, love poems are almost entirely absent: three poems in Rawlinson G. 109 (Meyer Nos. 6-8) concern a mistress or prostitute, but none of them are signed "Primas", unless one accepts some improbable puns. Third, while wine is a common topic, none of the poems could be called a drinking-song. Fourth, neither content nor form suggest anything to do with minstrels. Fifth, some of the poems are religious (e.g. "Multis a confratribus"). There is no common denominator for all the poems, except for wit, linguistic dexterity, and a fluency in rhyme and rhythm (none of which are features confined to Goliardic poetry). Some of the most durable preconceptions about the nature of Goliardic verse need to be re-examined and, in many cases, entirely abandoned.

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