

4 | Wine, women, and song? Reconsidering the *Carmina Burana*

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Introduction: blending popular views and scientific approaches

By choosing the catchy title *Carmina Burana* – ‘songs from Benediktbeuern’ – for his 1847 publication of all Latin and German poems from a thirteenth-century manuscript held at the Kurfürstliche Hof- und Staatsbibliothek Munich, a manuscript as exciting then as now, the librarian Johann Andreas Schmeller coined a term which, unto the present day, is generally held to denote secular music-making of the Middle Ages in paradigmatic manner.² The *Carmina Burana* may be numbered among the few cornerstones of medieval music history which are known, at least by name, to a broader public beyond the realms of musicology and medieval history, and which have evolved into a ‘living cultural heritage of the present’.³

Held today at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek under shelfmarks Clm 4660 and 4660a, and commonly known as the ‘Codex Buranus’, the manuscript – referred to in what follows as **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** – constitutes the largest anthology of secular lyrics in medieval Latin and counts among the most frequently studied manuscripts of the Middle Ages.⁴ Yet the entity most commonly associated with the title *Carmina Burana* has only little to do with the musical transmission of this manuscript. Carl Orff’s eponymous cantata of 1937, which quickly became one of the most famous choral works of the twentieth century, generally tops the list of associations. Orff’s cantata relates to **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** only in as much as it is based on a subjective selection of the texts edited by Schmeller; it does not claim to emulate the medieval melodies. The tremendous popularity of the *Carmina Burana* is thus nurtured not so much by a historically verified knowledge of the medieval repertory’s sound and context, but by its eclectic artistic reception by a composer

¹ Unless otherwise noted, all translations of quotations from German in this chapter are also by Henry Hope.

² Schmeller 1847.

³ Vollmann 1987, 905.

⁴ Drumbl 2003, 323.

who is likely to have been unaware of the musical notation of **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a**.⁵ Drawing on an obsolete image of the Middle Ages, in which itinerant scholars with unbounded sensuousness indulged excessively in wine, women, and song, Orff's setting – like its spectacular production and film adaptation by Jean Ponnelle in 1975 – offers a paradigmatic example of the modern usurpation of songs from **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** as a reflective space for romantic visions of the Middle Ages.⁶

From the beginning, the popular imagination and academic study of **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a**'s songs shared a fascination for this repertory of unique scope, content, and design, which as an 'inestimable monument of the Latin Middle Ages and its love of poetry and song' promised far-reaching insights into the non-liturgical musical life of the High Middle Ages.⁷ The remarkable combination of poems of a moralizing-satirical nature, criticism of the Church and Curia, blatant lovemaking, exuberant carousing, and pleasurable idleness soon after the manuscript's discovery earned **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** a reputation as 'the most famous and important collection of "vagrant poetry"'.⁸ In the context of a historically and philologically determined understanding of the Middle Ages in the nineteenth century, these features established the manuscript as infamous, especially since Schmeller's well-intended decision to suppress inappropriate passages from the texts and collate them on the final page of his edition helped to overemphasize the manuscript's frivolities.⁹ The owners, makers and performers of such explicit poetry, it was then believed, must have been socially marginalized groups – an itinerant class of scholars and eternal students opposed to the Church, whose promiscuous lifestyle

⁵ Since Orff is known to have worked exclusively with Schmeller's commentary-free edition – the only complete edition available in his day – he is unlikely to have been aware that neumatic notation existed for some of the texts he set to music; these were, in any case, irrelevant to his plans. More generally, Orff seems to have had only a vague idea of early thirteenth-century music, as a letter which he sent to his philological advisor Michel Hofmann during his work on *Carmina Burana* demonstrates: 'I want the text to be used in the truly *ancient* way. Double texts, including a mixture of Latin *and* German' (Frohmut Dangel-Hofmann, 1990, 19, original emphasis); Orff appears to be alluding to the later compositional practices of motets.

⁶ See Carl Orff, *Carmina Burana: Cantiones profanæ cantoribus et choris cantandæ comitantibus instrumentis atque imaginibus magicis*. Dir. Jean-Pierre Ponnelle. With Lucia Popp, Hermann Prey et al., Chor des Bayerischen Rundfunks, Tölzer Knabenchor, Münchner Rundfunkorchester, with Kurt Eichhorn (leader). Gerhard Reutter (producer). Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen, Bavaria Film- und Fernsehgesellschaft, 1975. DVD release: RCA Red Seal, 2002.

⁷ Bischoff 1970, 31. ⁸ Hilka and Schumann 1930–70, II.1, 82*.

⁹ Schmeller justified his censorship of a total of five songs with the notion of propriety, and recommended that his more sensitive readers cut out the final page of his edition, which contained the omitted passages in small print. See Dücking 2000.

of addictive gambling and drinking seemed to find vivid expression in the confession of the Archpoet contained in the **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** (*Estuans interius ira vehementi* (CB191)). The precipitous adoption of such texts for the alleged realities of their poets – and, occasionally, also for those of the scribes of **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a**, which thus even became a ‘vagrant’s song book’ – are the roots of the excessively Bohemian image of the *Carmina Burana* that cemented itself through the inclusion of its Latin drinking songs in student songbooks and other anthologies to be used for communal singing as early as the nineteenth century,¹⁰ and which continues to exert its influence through Orff’s adaptation.

The foundation for the academic scrutiny of the collection was laid in the 1930s by Otto Schumann with his comprehensive and critical complete edition of the *Carmina Burana* (encouraged by Alfons Hilka, and based on preliminary work by Wilhelm Meyer).¹¹ In contrast to the prevailing ideas of the *Carmina Burana*, Schumann critiqued the notion that the poets and users had been ‘people [...] for whom drinking, gambling, and idleness was a way of life’.¹² Since then, the parameters for an objective scrutiny of the *Carmina Burana* have changed significantly. Following the critique of the rigid polarization between ‘sacred’ and ‘secular’ prevalent in nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century historiography, it is no longer inconceivable to image the creation and performance of Latin poetry of bold content within the context of a monastery, an episcopal court, or a cathedral school.¹³ The concept of ‘vagrant poetry’ outside of any institutional context has also been brought into question: many of the alleged itinerants – among these, in all likelihood, even the Archpoet – are now known to have had at least temporary roles in reputable offices; and revision to the medieval concept of *vagantes* has shifted its focus from a notion of easy-going vagabonds to spotlight homeless or travelling clerics,

¹⁰ Hilka and Schumann 1930–70, II.1:72*. See also Hüsch 1985, 46–53.

¹¹ W. Meyer 1901 managed to connect seven bi-folios to the manuscript’s original corpus (**D-Mbs Clm 4660a**), and was crucial to the reconstruction of the original ordering of the leaves and gatherings (which had been obscured by Schmeller’s numerous additional errors). The first two volumes of Schumann’s edition, I.1 and II.1 were published in 1930; the second text volume (II.2) followed in 1941. The seminal text edition was concluded with volume I.3 only thirty years later by Bernhard Bischoff; see Bischoff 1970. The commentary associated with this editorial project remains unfinished.

¹² Hilka and Schumann 1930–70, II.1, 84.

¹³ See Dronke 1996, 27: ‘wherever a monastery or bishop’s court, or later a cathedral school or university, had any pretensions to musical culture, it admitted to a greater or lesser extent songs intended for entertainment and for cult, songs performed in hall rather than in church or oratory, which were thus far less restricted in their choice of themes’.

who were nevertheless firm in their faith and loyal to the Church.¹⁴ The ontology of *vagare* unquestionably implies neither the abandonment of social status and morals nor the membership of an hermetically sequestered group, making the inference of a certain stratum of poets from the content of the poems obsolete: the social layer referenced by the term 'vagrant' is ambiguous at best, and it cannot be determined whether an alleged piece of 'vagrant poetry' was composed by a vagrant or whether this lyrical perspective is a literary construct only. In contrast to the long-standing interpretation of the scurrilous, bawdy scenarios in the *Carmina Burana* as a kind of *Erlebnislyrik*, more recent scholars have proposed an approach which begins by understanding such texts as experimentation with diverse idioms, stylistic registers, and literary topoi.¹⁵

The continued application of labels such as 'vagrant poetry' or 'poetry of itinerant scholars' for the characterization of the *Carmina Burana*'s contents is, consequently, of limited use, and even misleading.¹⁶ Despite this anachronistic terminology, however, scholars have reached a broad consensus regarding the highly artificial construction and classical educational background of the poems: the sources from which the redactors of **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** drew their material and which include some of the most important poets of the Latin Middle Ages, such as Philip the Chancellor, Walter of Châtillon, Peter of Blois, Hilarius of Orléans, Godfrey of St Victor, and the Archpoet, circulated among cultivated clerics and university students.¹⁷

The large scope and elaborate preparation, including coloured initials and a number of pen drawings, point to a well-equipped scriptorium at a sacred centre for the production of **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a**, as do the sacred dramas in the final section of the manuscript, which escaped attention for a long time. In a recent study, the placement of the dramas CB227 and CB228 in the context of post-Christmas clerical celebrations as well as the observation of further features of the collection's contents led Johann Drumbl to what is currently the most tangible suggestion for the manuscript's localization: 'the *Codex Buranus* is designed for a user who was responsible for ascertaining the liturgical framework for a church, including the provision of texts for the *tripudia* of the sub-deacons'.¹⁸

¹⁴ See, among others, Naumann 1969, 69–105, and Moser 1998, 11f. A quick overview can be gained from Bernt 1999.

¹⁵ Another monograph of interest for this issue (though focused on a later period) is Irrgang 2002.

¹⁶ See, for example, Vollmann 1995, 457.

¹⁷ Among more recent publications, see Duggan 2000.

¹⁸ Drumbl 2003, 353–5, 336.

Provenance and dating

The manuscript's comparatively secure dating to the first third of the thirteenth century (with individual additions over the course of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries) is generally accepted, as is the acknowledgement that the 'Codex Buranus' is very unlikely to originate from the Benedictine monastery at Benediktbeuern (Latin, 'Buria'), as had been assumed for a long time, and which led to Schmeller's labelling, which is still used today, its known inaccuracy notwithstanding.¹⁹ It remains unclear when and how the manuscript came to Benediktbeuern, where it was found in 1803 when the monastery was dissolved. Linguistic idiosyncrasies and scribal traits point to a creation in the southern areas of the Upper German language region. At first, Carinthia or Styria were considered likely locales: Bernhard Bischoff and Walther Lipphardt suggested the Augustinian canons at the Styrian city of Seckau or the episcopal court at Seckau because of concordances with the contents of manuscripts from Seckau.²⁰ More recently, the South Tyrolian community of Augustinian canons at Neustift/Novacella near Brixen/Bressanone has been considered the 'favourite in the competition for the provenance of the *Codex Buranus*'.²¹ Johann Drumbl has even more recently suggested a possible provenance at Trento, in the circles of Emperor Friedrich II; he combines this assertion with a potential designation of the codex for a church in Sicily, but concedes that, ultimately, 'all hypotheses regarding the provenance of the *Codex Buranus* were established by inference from external criteria' and leaves it to later studies to judge arguments for and against his theory.²²

It is certain, however, that **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** originated at a cultural nexus which guaranteed access to song repertories from across Europe. The collection's internationality – with songs coming from German, Austrian, French, Northern Italian, and Spanish traditions – and the extent to which the redactors interwove the most diverse repertories with each other became strikingly apparent in Schumann's edition. Thus, **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** shares concordances with the large-scale Notre-Dame

¹⁹ A seminal contribution to issues of dating is Dronke 1962. Newer publications which continue to assume the origin of the collection at Benediktbeuern in this respect reflect scholarly opinions of the 1960s; see, for example, Gillingham 2004, 105; or Galvez 2012, 20.

²⁰ Bischoff 1970; Lipphardt 1982.

²¹ Knapp 1998, 300. A Brixen/Bressanone origin is supported in particular by the numerous indications of Italian influence outlined in a meticulously documented and interpreted linguistic study by Sayce 1992.

²² Drumbl 2003, 353–5.

manuscripts, as well as with the St Martial repertory, the younger Cambridge Song Book (**GB-Cu Ff.I.17**), **GB-Ob Add. A.44**, **CH-SGs 383**, and the Stuttgart Cantatorium (**D-Sl HB I 95**), to name but a few of the most prominent. Moreover, the codex contains individual stanzas by the Marner, Walther von der Vogelweide, Reinmar der Alte, Neidhart, Dietmar von Aist, Otto von Botenlauben, and Heinrich von Morungen. Some of these stanzas feature neumatic notation or are added to a notated Latin poem with the same poetic form, making them the earliest layer of musical transmission of German *Minnesang*.²³

Ways into the music

By including the neumes contained in **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a**, Schumann's seminal edition finally also provided the material for a consideration and evaluation of the manuscript as a 'song book'.²⁴ In addition to a separate chapter on the manuscript's music scribes in the commentary, the critical apparatus not only lists the – complete and incomplete – examples of notation for 50 of the 254 pieces, but also indicates spaced syllables or red placeholders – indicators of the musical connotation of pieces which were not furnished with neumes in **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a**.²⁵ Schumann collated the concordances for all of the texts and melodies, allowing for a musical contextualization even of those pieces not notated in the manuscript. For those songs with neumes, his work provides a comparative framework that bears much potential information: among the musical concordances, there are numerous diastematically notated pieces, which give valuable evidence for the interpretation of the adiastematic neumes of the German repertory, and can at times even guide the reconstruction of such melodies.

Using a combination of concordances and the assertion of contrafacture on the basis of parallel poetic structures, Walther Lipphardt proposed melodies for nineteen partly notated, partly unnotated songs in **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a**.²⁶ By 1979, René Clemencic and Michael Korth had

²³ Vollmann 1995, 457.

²⁴ The first to take on the challenge of studying **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** from a specifically music historical perspective was Spanke 1930–31.

²⁵ Hilka and Schumann 1930–70, II.1, 63*f.

²⁶ Lipphardt 1955, 122–42, and Lipphardt 1961, 101–25.

increased the number of reconstructable melodies to forty-five.²⁷ Both are meritorious, pioneering attempts which undoubtedly contributed to generating an awareness for the ‘original medieval melodies’, as Ulrich Müller provisionally termed the notations in **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** in order to distinguish them from Orff’s omnipresent composition.²⁸ As apparent, however, are the problems associated with both methodologies. Lipphardt’s diastematic, tonal, and rhythmical interpretations can be justified by the neumes only in part. This critique holds true even more strikingly for the transcriptions of notated songs provided by Bryan Gillingham in his *Anthology of Secular Medieval Song* (1993). His interpretations of the neumes by far surpass those of Lipphardt in their generosity, to the extent that they resemble new compositions inspired by source material.²⁹ The edition by Clemencic and Korth, in turn, intended for ‘practical use’ by non-musicologists, consciously refrains from any form of grounding in academic discourse. Its positivistic attitude and the resulting simplifications lead to a popularization of the repertory akin to nineteenth-century traditions, rather than to an understanding of the medieval transmission.³⁰

Lipphardt, Clemencic and Korth, and Gillingham are united in seeing the reconstruction of the melodies as the ultimate and only goal of their endeavours. The central concern is the establishment of readable editions, not the specific evidence and context of the manuscript. In the case of Clemencic and Korth, the concentration on this ‘reconstruction of the melodies’ leads to an almost complete neglect of the neumatic variants in **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a**: relying on the musical appearance of the consulted concordant witnesses, their edition presents as ‘*Carmina Burana*’ even rhythmicized, polyphonic settings without further comment.³¹

The habit of neglecting the genuine transmission of **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** in the light of more easily usable concordant sources is already latent in Schumann’s text edition. In contrast to what the choice of *Carmina Burana* as the title of Schumann’s edition might suggest, he prints the texts not in their variants from **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** – the *Codex Buranus* – but conjectures from a broad selection of concordances

²⁷ Clemencic and Korth 1979. It is not impossible that the three-voice setting of *Potatoes exquisiti* (CB202) contained in **GB-Lbl Egerton 3307** might be based on an earlier monophonic version, even if Bryan Gillingham sees no way ‘to reconstruct the original melody of the thirteenth-century original’ (Gillingham 2004, 115).

²⁸ U. Müller 1988. ²⁹ Gillingham 1993.

³⁰ Clemencic and Korth 1979, 174; see also the review of this edition in Planchart 1991.

³¹ Clemencic and Korth 1979.

a version which, according to his comprehensive philological experience, comes as close as possible to the 'original' wording. Although Schumann's meticulous commentary of variants documents the text versions of all manuscript witnesses, the setting found in **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** can be distilled from these variants only with great effort, especially in the case of widely concordant texts.³²

Schumann's editorial practice rests on the traditional philological assumption that every deviation from a manuscript witness that has been classified as authoritative must be the result of corrupted transmission, a poor exemplar, or grave copying errors. Even today, assertions akin to Schumann's critique of the 'text's poor state' or references to 'better versions' in the concordant sources count among the stock features of almost every description of **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a**.³³ It is beyond question that numerous pieces in **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** have obvious mistakes or show traits of corrupted texts. The rigid emendation of all deviations in favour of the reconstruction of alleged archetypes, however, obstructs the possibility of understanding idiosyncratic features in the transmission as the result of deliberate editorial decisions made by those responsible for **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** or its exemplars.

Aware of these issues, Benedikt Vollmann's 1987 edition of the *Carmina Burana* is the only complete edition to present the poems 'in the extent, form, order, and text of the Munich manuscript'.³⁴ Even in the short commentaries on the individual texts, Vollmann demonstrates the value of an approach that anticipates the intention on the part of the manuscript's redactors, 'to achieve new poetic meaning by collating poems which were originally unrelated'; his approach points out a new way of understanding the collection, which has so far been embarked upon only partially.³⁵

The traditional philological denigration of the text variants in **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** is matched by the musicological classification of the source's musical transmission as 'defective' or 'atavistic'. One reason for this assessment is found in the notation of German neumes, which remained indeterminate in both diastematic and rhythmic terms, when the notation of complex polyphonic music with fixed pitch and rhythm

³² Without doubting Schumann's 'magisterial feat of textual criticism', Vollmann 1987, 916ff. also criticizes the lost opportunity to make immediately apparent the 'often idiosyncratic and interesting' variants of **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a**.

³³ Hilka and Schumann 1930–70, II.1, 73*–77*; Galvez 2012, 23.

³⁴ Vollmann 1987, 917. ³⁵ Vollmann 1987, 916.

had long been established in the West. It is, moreover, strengthened by the discrepancy between the monophonic or entirely lacking musical transmission in **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** compared to the artful two- and three-voice polyphonic concordances from the Notre-Dame repertory. As Lipphardt demonstrated, the lower parts of the latter more or less match the neumatic melodies in **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a**, so that the melodies of **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** are commonly viewed as ‘reduced’ versions, pruned back to the tenor voice. Such terminology not only evokes a clear directionality of the process of reception, but also a lessening of competence. On the one hand, this view correlates with the overarching music historical narrative of the ‘atavistic nature’ of the German-speaking countries, which sought to copy with limited musical and notational means those rays of artistry which shone through to the most provincial of ‘peripheries’ from the ‘centre’ of Paris. To propose this manuscript being ‘most closely related to vagrants’ as an additional reason for the monophonic layer of transmission in **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** paradigmatically demonstrates the dense conflation of several antiquated historiographical concepts, persistent catchphrases, and unquestioned premises that confront the scholarly history of the *Carmina Burana*.³⁶

Barriers to understanding generated by the neumatic notation and the alleged lack of musical complexity, artistry, and philological soundness of **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** may provide the reason that its songs have, to date, become the object of in-depth musicological studies in only the most rudimentary of manners. Although **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** is generally appraised as the most famous songbook of the thirteenth century, there is still no comprehensive study of the manuscript from a musical vantage point, which fully takes into account the specific textual and musical transmission of the manuscript without prejudice.³⁷

Fundamentally new perspectives have been opened up for an assessment and evaluation of the songs of **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** by the ideas of the New Philology, which raised the awareness of phenomena such as ‘mouvance’ and ‘variance’ in medieval text transmission, and by the ideas of cultural transfer developed in cultural studies. The consideration of performative contexts suggested by Paul Zumthor’s concept of ‘mouvance’, and Bernard Cerquiglini’s understanding of variance as the

³⁶ Quotation from Flotzinger 1981, 102.

³⁷ See David Fallows (with Thomas B. Payne), ‘Sources, MS, §III: Secular Monophony, 2. Latin’ via GMO. The first attempt at a comprehensive study of the entire musical notation in **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a**, Lammers 2000, remains unpublished.

‘mobilité incessante et joyeuse de l’écriture médiévale’ (joyous and incessant mobility of medieval writing), make divergent transmissions of a song comprehensible as the result of an inherent flexibility, and ‘not, in fact, as the result of a deficient transmission of a fixed text’.³⁸ This approach engenders neither a smoothing out of all variants nor a complete disregard for textual and philological criticism, but a methodology which takes seriously the specifics of any given transmission and seeks to understand these in the context of their transmitting medium.

Such an approach also ties in with the concept of ‘cultural transfer’ developed by cultural studies in order to shift the attention from potential loss, lack of skill, or misunderstandings of a transmission process to a consideration of changes to objects of reception as deliberate, and as results of the recipients’ needs.³⁹ In the case of the *Carmina Burana*, this approach means substituting an immediate judgement against the Notre-Dame repertory with a study that interprets the notation of **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** from within its specific situatedness, and considers nuanced processes of acquisition, adaptation, and re-contextualization.⁴⁰

The insights of such approaches to the *Carmina Burana* can be demonstrated in an example which is as simple as it is striking, and which in essence goes back to an observation made by Friedrich Ludwig, although the interpretative potential inherent in his observation has not yet been exploited.⁴¹ This example is *Gaude. Cur gaudeas vide* (CB22; f.2r),⁴² which was not furnished with neumes in the manuscript, and whose text-layout does not suggest that the song was intended to be notated.⁴³ The song’s musical concordances point to the Notre-Dame repertory: a monophonic setting in **E-Mn 20468**, a two-voice motet setting in **D-W Guelf.1099 Helmst.**, and three-voice motets in **D-W Guelf.1099 Helmst.** and **I-FI Plut.29.1**.⁴⁴ As the text given in Figure 4.1 shows, all concordances share the text *Homo, quo vigeas vide*; **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** alone features the variant incipit *Gaude. Cur gaudeas vide*.

³⁸ First quotation Cerquiglini 1989, 114; second quotation Haug 2004, 67. See also Zumthor 1984.

³⁹ Middell 2001, 17.

⁴⁰ Initial studies of the conductus reception in the German-speaking countries, which scrutinized the continuation of a number of Parisian conducti in the form of Marian tropes, have suggested in what ways new insights into the motivations and competencies of transfer processes can be gained by such queries; see Bobeth 2012 and Bobeth 2002.

⁴¹ Ludwig 1910–61, 1:105.

⁴² http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/bsb00085130/image_7

⁴³ Yet Spanke 1930–31, 241 emphatically proposed that the unnotated lyric songs of the *Codex Buranus* were, without exception, intended for musical performance.

⁴⁴ Clemencic and Korth 1979, 26f. edit from **E-Mn 20468**.

D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a, f.2r**(punctuation/layout based on Vollmann 1987, 56ff.)**

GAUDE. – Cur gaudeas, uide!
 Dei fidei adhereas,
 in spe maneas
 et in fide intus ardeas,
 foris luceas;
 turturis retorqueas
 os ad cellas.

Docens ita
 uerbo, uita,
 oris uomere
 de cordibus fidelium
 euellas lolium.
 lilium insere rosae,
 ut alium per hec possis corripere.

Spetiose ualeas uirtuti,
 saluti omnium studeas,
 noxias delicias detesteris,
 opera considera;
 quae si non feceris, dampnaberis.

Hac in uia milita gratiae,
 et premia cogita patriae,
 et sic tuum cor,
 in perpetuum gaudebit.

Notre-Dame sources**(punctuation from Hilka and Schumann 1930-1970, I.1, 42f., lineated differently)**

Homo, quo vigeas uide!
 Dei fidei adhereas,
 in spe gaudeas,
 et in fide intus ardeas,
 foris luceas,
 turturis retorqueas
 os ad ascellas.

docens ita
 verbo, vita
 oris vomere
 de cordibus fidelium
 evellas lolium,
 lilium insere rose,
 ut alium per hoc corripere

speciose valeas. Virtuti,
 saluti omnium studeas,
 noxias delicias detesteris,
 opera considera,
 que si non feceris, damnaberis.

Hac in via milita gratie
 et premia cogita patrie,
 et sic tuum cor
 in perpetuum gaudebit.

Motet/clausula tenor: ET GAUDEBIT

Figure 4.1: Text of *Gaude. Cur gaudeas, uide* (CB22) compared to the textual transmission of the Notre-Dame repertory

The motets are based on a clausula on the passage ‘et gaudebit’ from the *Alleluia V. Non vos relinquam*. The eschatological promise ‘et gaudebit cor vestrum’ made in the alleluia verse text is mirrored almost verbatim at the end of the text of *Homo, quo vigeas uide*, which is notated almost identically in all manuscript sources: ‘et sic tuum cor in perpetuum gaudebit’, here phrased as the promised reward for the Christian lifestyle to which the text has previously called its recipients in admonitory imperatives. Thus the text of *Homo, quo vigeas uide* closes with an idea which is present in the motet from the very beginning through the use of the *ET GAUDEBIT* tenor. Long before the upper voices make it explicit, the proclamation of salvation is inherent in the piece – the promise of joy (‘it [your heart] will rejoice’) accompanies the text’s numerous exhortations from the very

beginning. However, this particular mode of intertextual wit, typical of polyphonic motets, can hardly be conveyed in a monophonic version. By placing the words ‘Gaude. Cur gaudeas’ at the very beginning (instead of ‘Homo, quo vigeas’), however, the notion of joy is also present in **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** from the outset. Thus, this version generates a similar effect to the Notre-Dame renditions by remarkably simple, yet successful means.

A traditional perspective might consider the transmission of CB22, with its unique text incipit, as ‘apocryphal’, or as ‘reduced’ in light of the lack of explicitly musical notation. Yet the knowledge of performances of *Homo, quo vigeas* vide as a motet in Paris makes it seem much more likely that the opening variant of **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** is a deliberate reference to the tenor of the related motet. In the case of CB22, study of its purely textual transmission already illuminates far more facets of the reception process than the simplistic assumption of a ‘reduction’ from three-voice polyphony to monophony might suggest.

If the scenario outlined for *Gaude. Cur gaudeas* (CB 22) holds true, it would lead to the conclusion that those responsible for the textual variant in **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** were familiar with a musical performance of the polyphonic version. On the basis of a written exemplar of the motet alone – the disposition of which has the tenor *follow* the upper voices – the crucial simultaneous performance of the *ET GAUDEBIT* tenor and the text of the upper voices would have likely been missed by users from the German-speaking areas, unfamiliar with this form of notational layout. The assumption that ‘a Notre-Dame manuscript containing musical notation was one of the models for the *Codex Buranus*’, voiced by Bischoff in the commentary to his facsimile edition of **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a**, would need to be extended in order to include an additional, performative dimension of transmission.⁴⁵

Structure and content

One should assume the additional, *sounding* presence of transmitted materials also in the case of the other collections likely to have been used for the compilation of **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a**. It has long been accepted that the redactors drew their materials not from songs circulating

⁴⁵ Bischoff 1970, 26.

individually, but from pre-existing manuscripts or *libelli*. This is suggested not only by the partially identical or similar ordering of numerous songs in concordant sources such as **D-Sl HB I 95** or **GB-Ob Add. A.44**, but also by the presence of ‘text clusters’ by certain poets.⁴⁶ In light of the carefully planned design of **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a**, it is apparent that the aim was not simply to collect and copy haphazard sources for conservational purposes. Instead, the placement of the individual pieces within a remarkable overarching thematic design, unique in its extent, needs to be considered an original achievement of the responsible redactors of **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a**.

The clarification of the main collection’s overarching design is among the central merits of the codicological studies undertaken by Wilhelm Meyer and Otto Schumann.⁴⁷ There is a wide consensus about the main tenets of the manuscript’s four thematic sections: the opening group (CB1–55) of moralistic-satirical songs, transmitted incompletely at the beginning, is followed by a second (CB56–186), containing love songs, which, in turn, is followed by a section of drinking and gambling songs (CB187–226). Two extensive sacred dramas (CB227–228) close the main collection. Further possible subgroupings and thematic differentiations were discussed at length in earlier scholarship, though not always with unanimous conclusions.⁴⁸ In addition to considerations of content, formal criteria also played a role in the well-thought-out design of the manuscript (for example, the separation of sequences, strophic songs, and refrain songs), and verses in quantitative metres were inserted in order to structure the collection and to provide a layer of commentary. Introduced by rubrics as *versus* and generally interpreted as unsung elements within the otherwise rhythmic-accentual poetry aligned with sung performance, these sententious insertions constitute a ‘*unicum* in literary history’, which additionally underlines the original design envisaged by the redactors of the *Carmina Burana*.⁴⁹

Philologists have recently also considered whether the musical notation of selected pieces provided a further means for the redactors to demarcate thematic links or generate emphasis.⁵⁰ This consideration overlooks the various individual forms of neumatic notation in **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a**, which counter such claims: almost all notators involved make use of a

⁴⁶ See Vollmann, 1987, 902ff. and Traill 2006.

⁴⁷ W. Meyer 1901; Hilka and Schumann 1930–70, II.1, 31*ff., 41*ff.

⁴⁸ Hilka and Schumann 1930–70, II.1, 31*ff., 41*ff. Vollmann 1987, 907–9 suggests a modified structuring.

⁴⁹ Vollmann 1987, 911. ⁵⁰ Drumbly 2003, 336–40.

wide range of types, from the detailed notation of only the opening melisma, the notation of single lines and stanzas, to the complete notation of multi-stanzaic texts.⁵¹ These varying notations all appear to be the result of specific reasons related to the differing needs for written presentation of these particular melodies, and thus propose an explicitly musical interpretation. Such an interpretation does not exclude a particular estimation of a given song having prompted the insertion of neumes. But considering the specific conditions of neumatic transmission, the effectiveness of which requires an additional oral transmission of the music, the lack of neumatic notation does not necessarily allow the reciprocal assumption of little value for unnotated songs, but might instead be a result of the wide-spread fame and firm knowledge of any particular song making its written transmission superfluous.

Varying areas of responsibility can be made out between the different notators of **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a**.⁵² In the manuscript's main corpus, Schumann distinguished a total of four main notators – labelled n1 to n4 by him – and considered whether n1 and n2 might be identical to the two main text scribes (h1 and h2).⁵³ The most clearly demarcated areas of responsibility can be discerned for n2 and n4: while n2 notated a majority of the songs in the first section which have polyphonic concordances in the Notre-Dame repertory, the bulk of notation for the Latin songs which conclude with an additional German stanza in the second section was provided by n4. Further songs with an additional German stanza, and individual other songs in the first two sections, were notated by n3. Notator n1, in turn, was responsible for a number of laments in the second section, for some drinking and gambling songs in the third section, and for the sacred drama CB227.

All notated songs of **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a**, as well as those songs for which musical concordances have been found, are listed in the [Tables 4.1](#) and [4.2](#): [Table 4.1](#) covers the main corpus of the manuscript, while [Table 4.2](#) outlines the musical items among the later additions. In addition to the indication of musical notation, the tables also reference concordances, contrafacta, and include further remarks relevant to the songs' music historical contextualization.

The numbering of the *Carmina Burana* follows the edition by Benedikt Vollmann. It is largely identical to the numbering established by Hilka and Schumann, but does not emulate the common separation of German

⁵¹ An exception is Schumann's notator 'n2', who is the only one to always notate all stanzas of a given song.

⁵² A similar conclusion is also reached in Lammers 2004, 78ff.

⁵³ Hilka and Schumann 1930–70, II.1:63*–65*.

Table 4.1 The main corpus of **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a**

CB	Incipit	Folio	Comments	Musical concordances
3	<i>Ecce torpet probitas</i>	43r	not neumed	GB-Cu Ff.I.17 , 2v–3r [foliation according to J. Stevens 2005]
8	<i>Licet eger cum egrotis</i>	45r–v	not neumed	F-EV lat.2 , 4v–5r
12	<i>Procurans odium</i>	47v	not neumed	D-Mbs Clm 5539 , 37r E-Mn 20486 , 124r–v GB-Cjec QB 1 , 1ar I-Fl Plut.29.1 , 226r–v
14	<i>O varium Fortune lubricum</i>	47v–48r	fully neumed	F-Pn fr.146 , 3v I-Fl Plut.29.1 , 351v
15	<i>Celum non animum</i>	48r–v	stanzas 1–2 neumed	D-W Guelf.628 Helmst. , 15r (11r)–15v (11v) I-Fl Plut.29.1 , 223v–224r
19	<i>Fas et nefas ambulant</i>	1r	fully neumed	GB-Cjec QB 1 , 1av I-Fl Plut.29.1 , 225r–v
21	<i>Veritas veritatum</i>	2r	not neumed	I-Fl Plut.29.1 , 423v–424r
22	<i>Gaude. Cur gaudeas vide</i>	2r	not neumed	D-W Guelf.1099 Helmst. , 127r (3-part motet), 148v–149r (2-part motet) E-Mn 20486 , 126r–v I-Fl Plut.29.1 , 386v–387r (3-part motet)
26	<i>Ad cor tuum revertere</i>	3r	not neumed	D-Mbs Clm 18190 , 1r E-BULh , 161v and 167r I-Fl Plut.29.1 , 420v–421v I-Rss XIV L3 , 141r
27	<i>Bonum est confidere</i>	3r–v	not neumed	E-BULh , 157r–v E-SAu 226 , 100v GB-Ob Auct. 6Q3.17 , 15ext.a I-Fl Plut.29.1 , 430r–v
30	<i>Dum iuventus floruit</i>	4r	fully neumed	unicum
31	<i>Vite perditte me legi</i>	4r–v	fully neumed	F-Pn fr.844 (with French text <i>A l'entrant du tens salvage</i> by trouvère Huc de St. Quentin), 81v F-Pn fr.12615 (with French text <i>A l'entrant du tens salvage</i> by trouvère Huc de St. Quentin), 43r I-Fl Plut.29.1 , 356r I-Ma R71 sup. (with Occitan text <i>Per dan que d'amor m'aveigna</i> by troubadour Peirol), 46r–v

Table 4.1 (*cont.*)

CB	Incipit	Folio	Comments	Musical concordances
33	<i>Non te lusisse pudeat</i>	5r–v	fully neumed	I-Fl Plut.29.1 , 435r–v
34	<i>Deduc Sion uberrimas</i>	5v	not neumed	D-W Guelf.628 Helmst. , 159v (150v)–161r (152r) D-W Guelf.1099 Helmst. , 93r–96r E-Mn 20486 , 83r–85v F-Pn lat.15139 , 280v GB-Cjec QB 1 , Dv (22v) I-Fl Plut.29.1 , 336r–337r
36	<i>Nulli beneficium</i>	6r	not neumed	D-W Guelf.628 Helmst. , 117v (108v)–118v (109v) E-Mn 20486 , 63r–65r F-Pn fr.146 , 7v I-Fl Plut.29.1 , 334r–335r
37	<i>In Gedeonis area</i>	6r–v	not neumed	E-Bac Ripoll 116 , 101r
47	<i>Crucifigat omnes</i>	13r–v	not neumed	D-Sl HB I 95 , 31r D-W Guelf.628 Helmst. , 78v (71v)–79r (72r) D-W Guelf.1099 Helmst. , 46v and 138v–139v E-BUlh , 97r–v GB-Cjec QB 1 , 1Cr–1Cv I-Fl Plut.29.1 , 231v–232r
48	<i>Quod spiritu David precinuit</i>	13v–14r	neumed except for German final stanza	unicum
52	<i>Nomen a sollemnibus</i>	17r	not neumed	F-Pn lat.3549 , 164r–v F-Pn lat.3719 , 41r–42r
63	<i>Olim sudor Herculis</i>	23v–24r	not neumed	GB-Cu Ff.I.17 , 5r [foliation according to J. Stevens 2005] GB-Ob Auct. 6Q3.17 , 16ext.b, 19ext.a, 21ext.a (fragments) I-Fl Plut.29.1 , 417r–v
67	<i>E globo veteri</i>	26r–v	not neumed	I-Fl Plut.29.1 , 446v
71	<i>Axe phebus aureo</i>	28r–v	not neumed	D-EF Amplon. Oct. 32 , 89v, r [sic]
73	<i>Clausus Chronos et serato</i>	29r–v	not neumed	CH-SGs 383 , pp.158–62 F-Pn lat.1139 , 47v
79	<i>Estivali sub fervore</i>	34r–v	stanzas 1–3 neumed	unicum
80	<i>Estivali gaudio tellus</i>	34v	(=228.1)	unicum
85	<i>Veris dulcis in tempore</i>	36v	not neumed; copied again as CB159 (with neumes)	E-E Z.II.2 , 287r
88	<i>Ludo cum Cecilia</i>	37r–38r	not neumed	F-Pn lat.3719 (stanzas 9, 10, 13, 14), 28v

Table 4.1 (*cont.*)

CB	Incipit	Folio	Comments	Musical concordances
90	<i>Exiit diluculo</i>	38v	not neumed	D-Mbs Clm 5539 , 35r–v E-BULh , 93r
98	<i>Troie post excidium</i>	73v–74r	only incipit neumed	unicum
99	<i>Superbi paradisi</i>	74r–75r	first stanza neumed	unicum
100	<i>O decus o Libie regnum</i>	75r–v	not neumed	D-Mbs Clm 4598 (fully neumed), 61r
108	<i>Vacillantibus trutine</i>	80r	fully neumed	GB-Cu Ff.I.17 , 2r–v [foliation according to J. Stevens 2005]
109	<i>Multiformi succedente Veneris</i>	80r–v	fully neumed	unicum
111	<i>O comes amoris</i>	80v–81r	not neumed (neumed as CB8*)	unicum
116	<i>Sic mea fata canendo solor</i>	82r–v	not neumed	F-Pn lat.3719 , 88r
119	<i>Dulce solum natalis patrie</i>	50r	fully neumed up to the last word of each stanza	A-LIs 324 , 83r–v F-CHRM 223 , 66v
128	<i>Remigabat naufragus</i>	53r–v	fully neumed	unicum
131	<i>Dic Christi veritas</i> (alternating with <i>Bulla fulminante</i>)	54r–v	neumed (without closing melismas in the <i>Dic Christi</i> stanzas; first stanza of <i>Bulla</i> neumed)	CH-EN 1003 , 114v D-F Fragm.lat.VI.41 , Ar–v D-Sl HB I Asc. 95 , 31v–32r D-W Guelf. 628 Helmst. , 73r (66r)–73v (66v) E-Mn 20486 , 114r–115r E-SAu 226 , 100v GB-Lbl Egerton 2615 , 88v–89r I-Fl Plut.29.1 , 203r–204r
140	<i>Terra iam pandit</i>	58r–v	only beginning of first stanza neumed	unicum
142	<i>Tempus adest floridum</i>	58v–59r	only beginning of first stanza neumed	unicum
143	<i>Ecce gratum et optatum</i>	59r–v	first stanza and end of the German final stanza neumed	unicum
146	<i>Tellus flore vario vestitur</i>	60r	first stanza and German final stanza neumed	unicum
147	<i>Si de more</i>	60r–v	last Latin stanza and closing German stanza neumed	unicum

Table 4.1 (cont.)

CB	Incipit	Folio	Comments	Musical concordances
150	<i>Redivivo vernat flore</i>	61r	beginnings of both the first stanza and the German final stanza neumed	unicum
151	<i>Virent prata hiemata</i>	61r–v	stanzas 1–2 and the beginning of the German final stanza neumed	possible contrafact of <i>Quant je voi l'erbe</i> by trouvère Gautier d'Espinau in F-Pn fr.20050 , 51r [suggested in Clemencic and Korth 1979]
153	<i>Tempus transit gelidum</i>	61v–62r	first stanza neumed	formal contrafact (that is, shares strophic form) of <i>Fulget dies celebris</i> (F-Pn lat.3719 , 27r)
159	<i>Veris dulcis in tempore (=85)</i>	64r	fully neumed	E-E Z.II.2 , 287r
160	<i>Dum estas inchoatur</i>	64r	fully neumed	unicum
161	<i>Ab estatis foribus (=228.II)</i>	65r	fully neumed	unicum
162	<i>O consocii quid vobis videtur</i>	65r–v	first stanza neumed	unicum
164	<i>Ob amoris pressuram</i>	66r–v	stanzas 1–2 and the beginning of the German final stanza neumed	unicum
165	<i>Amor telum est insignis</i>	66v–67r	first stanza neumed	unicum
166	<i>Iam dudum amoris militem</i>	67r–v	first stanza neumed	unicum
167	<i>Laboris remedium</i>	67v	first stanza neumed	unicum
168	<i>Anno novali mea</i>	67v–68r	first stanza neumed	unicum
169	<i>Hebet sydus</i>	68r	not neumed; similar versification to CB151	possible contrafact of <i>Quant je voi l'erbe</i> by trouvère Gautier d'Espinau in F-Pn fr.20050 [suggested in Clemencic and Korth 1979]
179	<i>Tempus est iocundum o virgines</i>	70v	stanzas 1–2 neumed	unicum
180	<i>O mi dilectissima</i>	71r	first stanza and refrain neumed	unicum
185	<i>Ich was ein chint</i>	72r–v	not neumed	unicum; possible contrafact of <i>Ecce tempus gaudii</i> (I-FI Plut.29.1 , 468r) [suggested in Clemencic and Korth 1979]

Table 4.1 (*cont.*)

CB	Incipit	Folio	Comments	Musical concordances
187	<i>O curas hominum</i>	83r	only beginning neumed	I-FI Plut.29.1 , 424v
189	<i>Aristipe quamvis sero</i>	83r–v	only first word neumed	F-Pn fr.146 , 29r GB-Ob Auct. 6Q3.17 , 12ext.a (fragment) I-FI Plut.29.1 , 416r–417r
196	<i>In taberna quando sumus</i>	87v–88r	not neumed	possible contrafact of conductus <i>Congaudentes celebremus</i> from the <i>Ludus Danielis</i> (GB-Lbl Egerton 2615 , 103r–104r) [suggested in Clemencic and Korth 1979]
200	<i>Bacche bene venies</i>	89r	not neumed	Contrafact of conductus <i>Jubilemus regi nostro</i> from the <i>Ludus Danielis</i> (GB-Lbl Egerton 2615 , 95v)
202	<i>Potatores exquisiti</i>	89v–90r	not neumed	GB-Lbl Egerton 3307 , 72v–74r (in 3 parts; connection to CB version unclear)
203	<i>Hiemali tempore</i>	90r–v	not neumed	D-Ju El.f.100 , 143r (<i>Eckenlied-Melodie</i> (Bernerton))
211	<i>Alte clamat Epicurus</i>	92v	not neumed	D-MÜsa ms.VII 51 , 1r–v (Palästina-Lied (Walther von der Vogelweide))
215	<i>Lugeamus omnes (Officium lusorum)</i>	93v–94v	extensively neumed	unicum
227	<i>Ecce virgo pariet (Benediktbeurer Weihnachtsspiel)</i>	99r–104v	fully neumed to f.102r; f.104r partially neumed	unicum

stanzas from the Latin songs to which they are attached by adding an ‘a’. Instead, a piece made up of Latin and German stanzas is referenced by a single song number. This practice mirrors the visual presentation of the manuscript, in that the latter’s use of initials, line breaks, and rubrics such as ‘Item de eodem’, ‘unde supra’, and similar suggest that the redactors of the songs wished these cases to be understood as coherent wholes, and transmitted them as such.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ See U. Müller 1981, especially 88 and 95.

Table 4.2 The musical items among the later additions to **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a**

CB	Incipit	Folio	Remarks	Musical concordances
4*	<i>Flete fideles anime</i>	55r	fully neumed; also part of the Passion play CB16*	D-DO A.III.22 , 2v–3r D-SI HB I 95 , 23r–24v I-CFm Cod.CI , 74r–76v I-Pc C55 , 31v–36v I-Pc C56 , 32r–36v
5*	<i>Furibundi cum acceto</i>	100v	fully neumed	unicum
8*	<i>O comes amoris dolor</i>	Iv	fully neumed; = CB111 (not neumed)	unicum
9*	<i>Mundus finem properans</i>	IIr	stanza 1 neumed	unicum
11*	<i>Ave nobilis venerabilis Maria</i>	IIIr	fully neumed	D-DO 882 , 175v–177v [MS lost] F-LG 2 (17) , 282v–283r F-Pa 3517 , 13v–14r I-Fl Plut.29.1 , 363v–364r
12*	<i>Christi sponsa Katherina</i>	IIIr	fully neumed	unicum
14*	<i>Planctus ante nescia</i>	IVr	fully neumed; as incipit, also part of the Passion play CB16*	F-EV lat.2 , 3v–4v D-Mbs Cgm 716 , 150r F-AL 26 , 113r–113v F-EV lat.39 , 1v–2r F-Pm 942 , 234r (235r)–237r; F-ROU 666 (A 506) , 94r–96v
15*	<i>Ludus Dominice resurrectionis</i>	Vr–VIv	fully neumed	many concordances with the Klosterneuburg Easter play, on which it is largely based
16*	<i>Passionsspiel (Primitus producatur Pilatus et uxor sua...)</i>	107r–110r	fully neumed	unicum (= <i>Großes Benediktbeurer Passionsspiel</i>)
19*	<i>Katerine collaudemus</i>	111v	not neumed	CH-EN 102 , 149v and others (compare AH 52, 220ff.)
20*	<i>Pange lingua gloriose</i>	111v	not neumed	(compare AH 52, 224, 226)
21*	<i>Presens dies expendatur</i>	112r	not neumed	(compare AH 52, 224f.)
22*	<i>Hac in die laudes pie</i>	112r	fully neumed	(compare AH 55, 226f.)
23*	<i>Iesus, von gotlicher art (Cantus Ioseph ab Arimathia)</i>	112v	fully neumed	unicum

Table 4.2 (*cont.*)

CB	Incipit	Folio	Remarks	Musical concordances
26*	<i>Exemplum apparacionis Domini discipulis suis</i>	VIIr-v	fully neumed	unicum

* = *addenda* with musical transmission

Roman numerals for isolated individual folios now under the shelfmark **D-Mbs Clm 4660a**, whose link to the medieval state of **D-Mbs Clm 4660** was shown in Meyer 1901.

The phenomenon of the roughly 50 Latin songs contained in **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** which are concluded by one – or, in a few cases, a number of – Middle High German stanza(s) has been much discussed particularly by Germanists, without however reaching any consensus beyond the most general issues.⁵⁵ Were the appended German stanzas, which include some from poems by famous *Minnesänger*, used as models for the preceding Latin ones, or are the German stanzas contrafacta of the Latin ones? Did the side-by-side presentation of Latin and German stanzas, unattested outside **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a**, function merely as the visualization of formal similarities, or did it imply a specific performance practice? Can the musical identity of the Latin and Middle High German stanzas be assumed in all cases?

Only an in-depth interdisciplinary scrutiny of the entire Latin-German transmission in **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** could shed light on these questions. The multi-layered material suggests that one will need to expect various different answers. Thus, previous case studies of individual songs have been able to suggest convincingly both that Latin stanzas were generated as contrafacta of a German stanza as well as the inverted relationship of a Latin model for a secondary German stanza.⁵⁶ Concerning the possible motivations of **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a**'s redactors for the combination of Latin and German stanzas, earlier scholarship in particular proposed that the German stanzas were primarily used to facilitate

⁵⁵ A list of all songs with appended German stanzas (alongside further songs which feature linguistic mixtures) can be found in U. Müller 1981, 88–91; the entire Middle High German material contained in **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a**, including glosses, individual verses, and so on, is listed in Edwards 2000, 68–70.

⁵⁶ The former is argued explicitly on the basis of the notated melodies in Beatie 1965. For the latter, see, for example, Vollmann 1987, 136, 138f., 141, 170, 181.

understanding by recipients with insufficient Latin skills.⁵⁷ This notion is starkly contradicted by the localization of the manuscript within a genuinely multi-lingual context, accepted by current scholars.⁵⁸ More recent commentators have understood the German stanzas as indicators of formal parallels or as pointers to the melodies which are to be underlaid to the Latin texts.⁵⁹

Even today, however, it is still rarely considered that the transmission of Latin and German stanzas in **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** might have been intended and performed as a single coherent song. An exception to this is Ulrich Müller, who has argued for a performance of the stanzas in the order transmitted by the manuscript, understanding ‘the clearly marked units [...] as coherent songs or song versions’.⁶⁰ The montage of (newly created) Latin and (familiar) Middle High German stanzas into a new whole, based on the principle of barbarolexis, he argues, ‘engendered a comic effect to the knowledgeable listener’.⁶¹ The argument used against this suggestion, that the conjoined performance of stanzas in different languages would have left ‘the change of language without function and the relation of content unconvincing’, fails to take account of the additional semantic level provided by the music.⁶² To take up one of Müller’s central examples, if the Latin praise of an Epicurean lifestyle, gluttony, and drunkenness voiced in CB211 *Alte clamat epicurus* were sung to the melody of Walther von der Vogelweide’s *Palästinalied* from the very beginning, such a grotesque re-contextualization of the familiar melody may indeed have had comic effect, which found its apex in the concluding performance of the actual German stanza – the content of which is then shifted from a pilgrim’s perspective to that of the *venter satur* (sated belly).

It is obvious that this parodic technique can be applied only if the model German song was widely disseminated and familiar; it provides no explanation for pieces in which the concluding German stanza is a contrafact of the preceding Latin one. It is just as apparent, however, that the unusualness of a joint performance of Latin and German stanzas of differing origin in itself is not sufficient justification to discard such a possibility outright.

⁵⁷ See Spanke 1930–31, 246. See also Sayce 1982, 234–64.

⁵⁸ See Drumbl 2003, 349 and Sayce 1992.

⁵⁹ See, for example, Heinzle 1978, 160, or Wachinger 1985 2:300.

⁶⁰ U. Müller 1981, 95. ⁶¹ U. Müller 1981, 97 and U. Müller 1980, 108ff.

⁶² Wachinger 1985, 299.

These observations notwithstanding, the crucial importance of performance considerations for the redactors of **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** is demonstrated, for example, by the neumatic notation of pieces such as *Si de more* (CB147). This song combines two topically contrasting texts (the German stanza is by Reinmar der Alte). While notator n4 usually provides neumes for the *first* Latin stanza, for *Si de more* it is the *last* Latin stanza and the immediately following German stanza that are furnished with neumes.⁶³ As the versification structures of the two combined texts in this rare example are not entirely congruent and their melodies can thus not have been exactly identical, it appears to have been a particular concern to securely ascertain the melodic adaptations to the differing texts by making them visible in direct comparison (the provision of neumes for the first Latin stanza and the German stanza would have required a page turn in order to compare the text settings directly). This observation need not necessarily indicate that the Latin stanzas and the additional German stanza were intended to be performed together, but at the very least it documents the concern for a careful coordination of text and music.

Case studies

The combination of stanzas from different pieces in **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** is not limited to songs with an appended German stanza. A revealing example of the combination of two Latin songs can be found in *Dic Christi veritas* (CB131; see Figure 4.2). The three stanzas of Philip the Chancellor's *Dic Christi veritas* are presented in alternation with the three first stanzas of *Bulla fulminante*, another piece by Philip (see Figure 4.3).⁶⁴ All stanzas of *Dic Christi* are notated with neumes, but only the first of *Bulla*.

Beyond **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a**, *Dic Christi veritas* is transmitted as a three-voice conductus in all large-scale Notre-Dame manuscripts (**I-Fl Plut.29.1**, **D-W Guelf.628 Helmst.**, **D-W Guelf.1099 Helmst.**, **E-Mn 20468**), as well as in **GB-Lbl Egerton 2615**; *Bulla fulminante*, in contrast, is contained in a monophonic version in the French songbook **GB-Lbl Egerton 274**.⁶⁵ Both pieces are musically related insofar as they are among those conductus melodies which derive from the final melisma of a

⁶³ See f.60v. ⁶⁴ http://daten.digitalle-sammlungen.de/bsb00085130/image_111.

⁶⁵ On the last of these manuscripts, see Chapter 6 below. For further information on the sources of CB131, see <http://catalogue.conductus.ac.uk>.

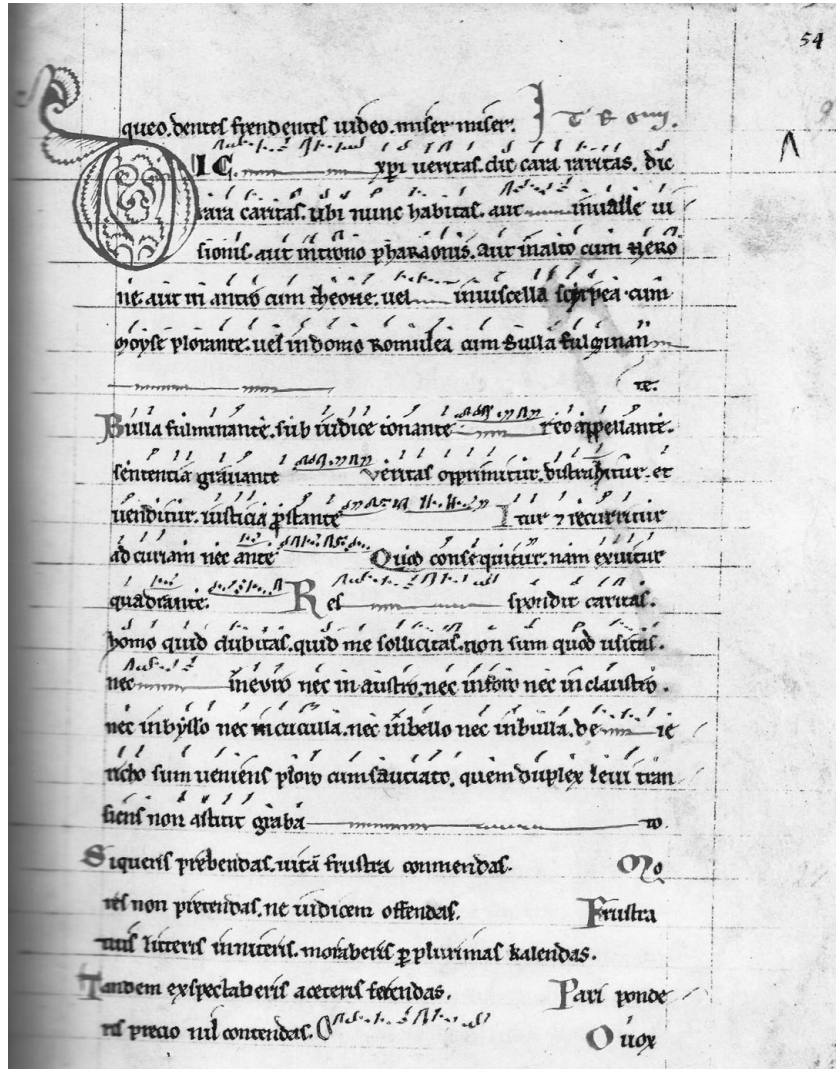


Figure 4.2: *Dic Christi veritas* (CB131) in D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a f.54r-v; by permission of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich

pre-existent conductus: the melody of *Bulla* is the tenor line of the final melisma of *Dic Christi*, which begins on the penultimate syllable of the concluding words ‘cum bulla fulminante’.⁶⁶ It appears that the text-only notation of *Bulla* in I-Fl Plut.29.1, where it follows directly after the three stanzas of *Dic Christi*, is a result of this relationship.

⁶⁶ See Payne 2007.

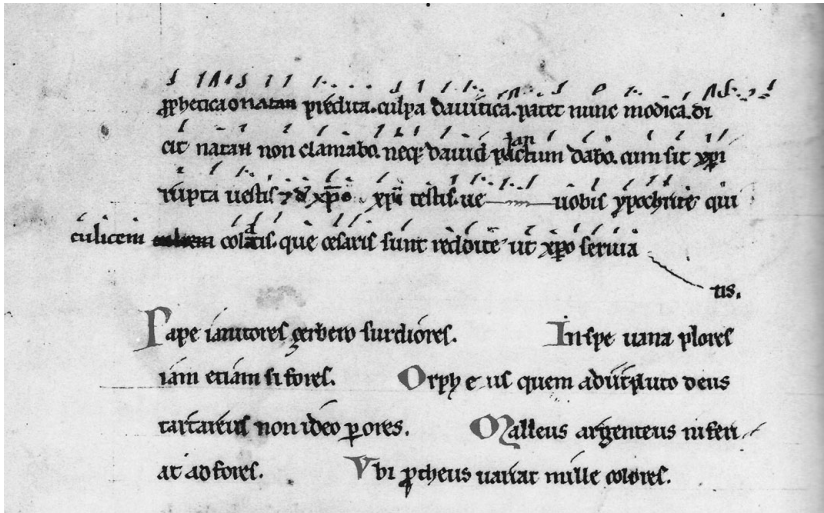


Figure 4.2: (cont.)

A consistent intermeshing of *Dic Christi* and *Bulla* with three stanzas each is found only in **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a**. Of the two other witnesses from the German-speaking areas, **D-Sl HB I 95** also combines notated versions of both pieces, but includes only two stanzas of *Dic Christi* with a single intervening *Bulla*-stanza; the text of the second *Bulla*-stanza was later added in the margin. A further notated setting in a manuscript from Engelberg (**CH-EN 1003**), which has so far largely escaped scholarly attention and which makes tangible a thread of early thirteenth-century reception of Parisian conducti, transmits only the first two stanzas of *Dic Christi*.⁶⁷

The *mise-en-page* of *Dic Christi veritas* (CB131) on f.54r-v unquestionably presents the combined stanzas of *Dic Christi* and *Bulla* as a coherent unit, emphasized by the rubric *Item* (which appears only at the beginning of the song), the size and decoration of the initial of *Dic* [*Christi*], and the following continuous disposition of the text, interrupted only by larger gaps for melismas.⁶⁸ For early scholars, it nevertheless appears to have been inconceivable that stanzas of two different songs with their own melodies and poetic structures could have been performed

⁶⁷ For more information on **CH-EN 1003**, which was rediscovered only in 1963, see the commentary to Arlt and Stauffacher 1986, 67.

⁶⁸ http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/bsb00085130/image_111 and http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/bsb00085130/image_112.

- I. [i.] »Dic, Christi ueritas,
 dic, cara raritas
 dic, rara caritas:
 ubi nunc habitas?
 aut in ualle uisionis,
 aut in trono Pharaonis,
 aut in alto cum Nerone,
 aut in antro cum Theone?
 uel in uiscella scyrpea
 cum Moyse plorante?
 uel in domo Romulea
 cum Bulla fulminante?«
- II. [1.] Bulla fulminante
 sub iudice tonante,
 reo appellante,
 sententia grauante
 veritas opprimitur,
 distrahitur et uenditur
 iusticia prostrante.
 Itur et recurritur
 ad curiam, nec ante
 Quid consequitur,
 quam exuitur quadrante.
- III. [ii.] Resspondit caritas:
 »homo, quid dubitas?
 quid me sollicitas?
 non sum, quod usitas,
 nec in evro nec in austro,
 nec in foro, nec in claustro,
 nec in bysso nec in cuculla,
 nec in bello nec in bulla:
 de Iericho sum ueniens,
 ploro cum sauciato,
 quem duplex Leui transiens
 non astitit grabato.«
- IV. [2.] Si queris prebendas,
 uitam frustra conendas.
 Mores non pretendas,
 ne iudicem offendas!
 Frustra tuis litteris
 inniteris: moraberis
 per plurimas kalendas.
 Tandem expectaueris
 a ceteris ferendas,
 Pari ponderis
 precio nisi contendas.
- V. [iii.] »O uox prophetica,
 o Natan, predica:

Figure 4.3: Three strophes of *Dic Christi veritas* (CB131) alternating with three strophes of *Bulla fulminante*

culpa Dauitica
 patet *non* modica.«
 dicit Natan: »non clamabo,
 neque Dauid planctum dabo,
 cum sit Christi rupta uestis
 et de Christo Christi testis!
 ue, uobis, ypochrite,
 qui culicem colatis!
 que Cesaris sunt, reddite,
 ut Christo seruiatis!«

VI. [3.] Pape ianitores
 cerbero surdiores!
 In spe uana plores,
 iam etiamsi fores
 Orpheus, quem audiit,
 Pluto, deus Tartareus,
 non ideo perores,
 Malleus argenteus
 ni fereat ad fores,
 Vbi Protheus
 uariat mille colores.

Large roman numerals denote the order of the stanzas in **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a**; small roman numerals in brackets give the order of the stanzas of *Dic Christi* as transmitted outside **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a**; arabic numerals in brackets give the order of the stanzas of *Bulla fulminante*.

Figure 4.3: (cont.)

in alternation, thus combining them into a new whole. Hilka and Schumann, for example, present as CB131 only the three stanzas of *Dic Christi* as transmitted in the Notre-Dame repertory; the four stanzas of *Bulla* from **GB-Lbl Egerton 274** (with the texts from **I-Fl Plut.29.1**) follow as CB131a. But how can this explain the textual layout in the *Codex Buranus*? Could its sole purpose have been to demonstrate the musical dependency of *Bulla* on the final melisma of the *Dic Christi* stanza, by attaching the former to the latter? Should *Bulla* thus be understood merely as a ‘materialized’ final melisma, especially since the final melisma of *Dic Christi* itself was not notated despite space being left for it? Or might the combination of the two pieces result from a misunderstanding on the part of the *Carmina Burana* redactors, who came to the wrong conclusions on the basis of the songs’ musical relationship?

For a simple demonstration of the identity of the final melisma of *Dic Christi* and the melody of *Bulla*, it would have been sufficient to append *Bulla* as a whole to one of the *Dic Christi* stanzas, as is the case in

the text-only notation of *Bulla* in **I-Fl Plut.29.1**.⁶⁹ The notion of a misunderstanding of the relationship between *Dic Christi* and *Bulla*, in turn, is rendered unlikely by the careful presentation, which uniquely involved a collaboration between notators n1 and n2: while the neumes of *Dic Christi* were provided by n2, the *Bulla*-stanza was notated by n1. Considering the specialization of the notators across the rest of the manuscript, it seems probable that this sharing of responsibility was a concession to the notators' divergent knowledge of the repertoires: notator n2, who notated most of the pieces related to the Notre-Dame repertory in **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a**, was apparently more familiar with the melody of *Dic Christi*, whereas n1 was more familiar with *Bulla*. In any case, their respective notations suggest that they were very well aware of what they were doing: the neume patterns not only match the diastematically decipherable versions of *Dic Christi* (tenor part) and *Bulla* very closely, but also fit well with the neumatic practices seen in other manuscripts from the German-speaking countries, as the synoptic overview of neumatic notations in [Examples 4.1](#) and [4.2](#) demonstrates.⁷⁰

Large-scale agreement between the different versions of *Dic Christi* can be made out regarding melodic contours in the syllabic passages, cadential patterns at syntactic breaks, as well as the use of extensive melismas. The melismas themselves are less closely related, with **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** and **D-Sl HB I 95** on the whole featuring more elaborate variants than the other manuscript sources. In light of the correlation of the other features, however, one may assume that these variants are individual 'workings out' of a melodic framework, the central notes of which correspond between the different settings. The divergences from the Notre-Dame settings in the melismas of the manuscript witnesses from German-speaking lands may also be related to the fact that the crucial musical features of the former – such as voice exchange, voice crossing, and rhythmic correspondence between different voices – could not be transferred into the monophonic settings, and that the recipients consequently saw themselves challenged to devise their own, modified musical solutions.


In **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a**, the long melismas were already planned during the disposition of the texts, the notation of which was provided for both *Dic Christi* and *Bulla* by the main scribe, n2. The melisma which apparently required the largest amount of space – the final melisma of *Dic*


⁶⁹ Bernt 1979, whose texts are based on Hilka and Schumann 1930–1970, also employs this mode of presentation.


⁷⁰ See also the three-voice conductus version of *Dic Christi* in **D-W Guelf.628 Helmst.** f.73r; transcription in G. Anderson 1986, 1:50ff.

Example 4.1: Synoptic overview of neumatic notations of *Dic Christi veritas*.

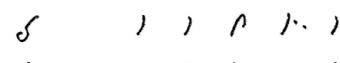
a) D-Sl HB I 95; b) D-Mbs Clm 4660; c) CH-EN 1003


a) 

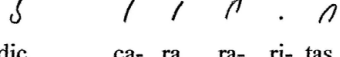
b) 

c) 

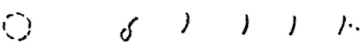
»Dic, Chri- sti ue- ri- tas,

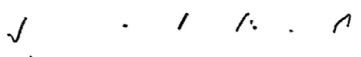
a) 

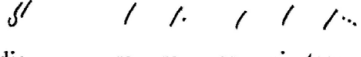
b) 

c) 

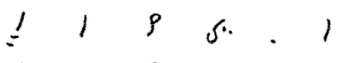
dic, ca- ra ra- ri- tas,

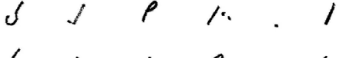
a) 

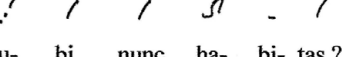
b) 

c) 


dic, ra- ra ca- ri- tas:

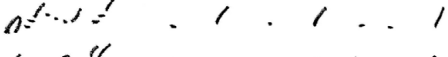
a) 

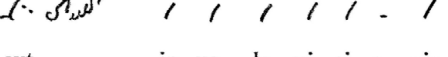
b) 

c) 

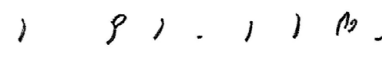
u- bi nunc ha- bi- tas ?

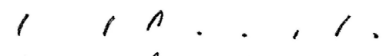
a) 

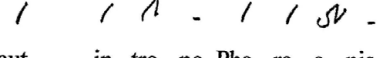
b) 

c) 

aut in ua- le ui- si- o- nis,

a) 

b) 

c) 

aut in tro- no Pha- ra- o- nis,

Example 4.1: (cont.)

- a)
- b)
- c)
- aut in al- to cum Ne- ro- ne,

- a)
- b)
- c)
- aut in an- tro cum The- o- ne?

- a)
- b)
- c)
- uel in uis- cel- la scyr- pe- a

- a)
- b)
- c)
- cum Moy- se plo- ran- te?


- a)
- b)
- c)
- uel in do- mo Ro- mu- le- a

- a)
- b)
- c)
- cum Bul- la ful- mi- nan- te?«

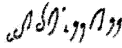
Example 4.2: Synoptic overview of neumatic notations of *Bulla fulminante*. a) D-Sl HB I 95; b) D-Mbs Clm 4660; c) GB-Lbl Egerton 274

a))) .)) .

b) / / . / p .

c) 
8 Bul - la ful - mi - nan - te


a) .))))) /

b) . / / / . p / 

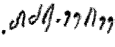
c) 
8 sub iu - di - ce to - nan - te,


a))) .)) .

b) . / . / p .

c) 
8 re - o ap - pel - lan - te,


a) .))))) .

b) . p / / / p / 

c) 
8 sen - ten - ti - a gra - uan - te


a) .))))) /

b) . / / / / / .

c) 
8 ue - ri - tas sub - pri - mi - tur,

a)))) .))) .

b) / / / p / p . .

c) 
8 dis - tra - hi - tur et uen - di - tur

Example 4.2: (cont.)

a)))) -))^u)

b) / / / . . p / *♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩*

c) 

ius - ti - ci - a pro - stran - te.

a)))) -)))


b) / / / - p / .

c) 

I - tur et re - cur - ri - tur

a)))) .)) -

b) / / / . . / *♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩*

c) 

ad cu - ri - am, nec an - te

a)))) -)^u

b) . / / . //

c) 

Quid con - se - qui - tur,

a) .))) p .)))

b) . / / / / / / *♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩*

c) 

quam ex - u - i - tur qua - dran - te.

Christi – was, however, never notated by n2, but indicated with no more than a red line which functions ‘in the text as a sign for the activity of the voice’, or a ‘melismatic placeholder’.⁷¹ More significantly, the scribe also left relatively large spaces after each pair of rhymes in *Bulla*, which were indeed used for notation by n1. Neither **GB-Lbl Egerton 274** nor **D-Sl HB I 95** features melismas following the rhymed verse endings ‘tonante’, ‘gravante’, ‘prostrante’, ‘nec ante’, and ‘quadrante’. Setting aside a few small melismas, *Bulla* is consistently syllabic in both manuscripts, adequately reflecting its creation through the texting of *Dic Christi*’s final melisma.

One possibility of understanding the internal melismas interpolated into *Bulla* in **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** is to suggest that they are the individual phrases from the final melisma of *Dic Christi* which remained unnotated: the latter was not notated in the space left for it, but was split into sections and added to the relevant phrases of *Bulla* instead. Such a procedure would have been comparable to the ‘synoptic *mise-en-page*’ typical of the older sequence type in the German-speaking areas, although this is commonly found in the margins.⁷² This scenario could also explain why the interpolated melismas in *Bulla* are found not on the final syllables of any particular word, but *after* the individual passages of text. The use of identical melismas following the melodically identical phrases for ll.1–2 (‘*Bulla fulminante/sub iudice tonante*’) and ll.3–4 (‘*reo apelante/sententia gravante*’) might be seen as further evidence for such an argument. The various melismas in the following verses of *Bulla*, however, no longer allow for a reliable reading related to the preceding syllabic melodic phrases; the possibility that the melismas provide a doubling of musical information can, in these cases, be eliminated.

It is particularly crucial to an understanding of the melismas in *Bulla* that they were provided not by the notator of *Dic Christi*, n2, but by the notator of *Bulla*, n1, and also that they were envisaged in the relevant places in the following stanzas of *Bulla* already by the text scribe. Regardless of whether or not they transmit melodic material from the final melisma of *Dic Christi*, the interpolated melismas of *Bulla* can thus hardly have been intended as a mere exemplification of the musical origins of the *Bulla* melody, but appear to have formed an integral part of *Bulla*’s musical design as devised and presented by the redactors of **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a**.

On the basis of these observations, much seems to suggest that the function of *Bulla* was not limited to the materialization of the final melisma of *Dic Christi*, but was intended for *alternatim* performance with the stanzas

⁷¹ Meier and Lauer 1996, 39.

⁷² See Haug 1987, 15–19.

of its twin song. Interpolated, the texts of the two pieces would indeed generate a plausible message: interspersed into the dialogue of the *Dic Christi* stanzas, the *Bulla* stanzas become asides which illustrate the song's general moral critique through concrete examples and focus it into a biting critique of the Pope.⁷³ The insertion of the melismas in *Bulla* also connect the interwoven texts musically: like the melismas on the first 'Dic', 'aut', and 'vel' of *Dic Christi*, the individual melismas in *Bulla* separate the individual syntactic-formal segments; the alternation between melismatic and syllabic passages becomes a shared characteristic of both songs, and the connection of the two songs, transmitted separately in France, thereby merges into a new, meaningful whole – both textually and musically.

In its deliberate alternation of *Dic Christi* and *Bulla* stanzas, the notation in **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** – and, to some extent, that in **D-Sl HB I 95** – documents an act of creative appropriation, in which the knowledge of the internal musical connection of two otherwise independent pieces has inspired their explicit combination, and which thus created a meaningful stanzaic design with its own textual and musical profile. The monophonic reception is an essential condition for this process: within a polyphonic context, the performance of the texted final melisma would not have been possible without further modification, since the text of *Bulla* is modelled specifically onto the tenor voice of the three-part conductus.

As in the case of *Gaude. Cur gaudeas* (CB22), the detailed findings regarding *Dic Christi* and *Bulla* as CB131 suggest more generally that the blanket devaluation of the text and music transmission in **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** on the basis of a limited focus on textual variants, transmission errors, reduction of voices, and compositional or notational atavism does not do justice to the underlying receptive processes. Even though the settings in **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** ultimately elude any diastematic reading because of their neumatic notation, they give sufficient indications of the fact that they result from very conscious, careful, and idiosyncratic processes of reception and adaptation.

A systematic analysis of all of the pieces in **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** that have concordances in the Notre-Dame repertory and their comparison to the corresponding Notre-Dame versions would still be desirable. It is likely that this might further support the recognition of the songs of **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** as realizations of individual, self-contained musical solutions. Finally, an unprejudiced approach would also allow for the possibility

⁷³ See Vollmann 1987, 1120.

that a given version from **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** is not necessarily a monophonic reception of a polyphonic piece, but conversely that the Notre-Dame version is a two-part expansion of a pre-existing melody. This seems plausible, for example, in the case of *Vite perditte* (CB31), which shows an almost exact correlation between the neumatic notation in **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** and the tenor of the two-voice version in **I-Fl Plut.29.1**.⁷⁴ Since the upper voice of the two-part version is restricted to the purely accidental function of adding strength to the sound, it is likely that the tenor of *Vite perditte* circulated in a monophonic version from the very beginning, particularly considering that this melody is transmitted also with French and Occitan texts.⁷⁵ It becomes clear from such examples that closer scrutiny would open up the possibility both of shedding new light onto broad issues regarding the relationship of Notre-Dame and 'peripheral' repertoires, and also of contributing to a modification of current music historical narratives.

Conclusion

As a document from a time in which extra-liturgical music-making only exceptionally made its way into written sources and whose historical accounts give only little information about the forms and content of secular singing, the importance of **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** can hardly be overestimated. Its significance lies not only in its large scope and diverse contents, which bring together sources from across Europe, but also in its carefully designed and executed manner of presenting individual songs and groups of songs. The manuscript's decorative programme also manifests the value that those responsible bestowed upon the repertory included. **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** evokes the image of a rich, secular musical life at a clerical centre in the German-speaking countries, which took up songs from diverse provenances and repertoires in a process of creative reception, adapting and re-contextualizing the songs to its own needs and preferences.

It is impossible to discern whether a song variant in **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** was the result of an adaptation by the manuscript's redactors or whether it already formed part of a source which served as an exemplar for the production of this manuscript. For pieces from the Notre-Dame repertory with a large number of concordances in manuscript witnesses

⁷⁴ **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** f.4r–4v; **I-Fl Plut.29.1** f.356r.

⁷⁵ Transcription in G. Anderson 1979, 60.

from German-speaking countries in particular, it cannot be ruled out that the version found in **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** (including any idiosyncratic features) was copied from model sources. Conclusive insights regarding this issue, however, could be made only on the basis of a systematic comparison of all traces of the Notre-Dame repertory in manuscripts from German-speaking countries, and only if certain characteristic changes to the transmission could be plausibly posited as unique features of the versions in **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a**.

The unique editorial achievement of **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** is most apparent in its ordering. By placing the pieces within an original large-scale framework – in which the exuberant praise of wine and women represents only one of many thematic concerns, directly contrasted by serious, moralizing texts – those responsible for **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** reveal themselves not only as collectors and recipients, but also as redactors who confidently held diverse, internationally wide-spread song repertories at their disposal.

A characteristic feature of **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** is the combination of songs of varying origins into new, unified songs, as seen exemplarily (but not singularly) in the combination of *Dic Christi veritas* and *Bulla fulminante* in CB131. The sacred dramas included in the manuscript's fourth section and the later additions, only touched upon briefly in the preceding discussion, strengthen this impression through their discernible compilation character: they merge various liturgical elements, fragments from other plays, conducti and other Latin versified poetry – occasionally even from the earlier sections of **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** itself – into new, unique dramas.⁷⁶ The most unusual fruit of this practice of combination is found in the comprehensive number of Latin songs with a concluding Middle High German stanza, located mainly in the second section of the manuscript. As yet, not a single of these numerous Latin-German collages has been found outside the *Codex Buranus*, suggesting that this specific form of song compilation – as an 'intellectual and witty play of at least bilingual music connoisseurs with a good education and corresponding knowledge' – could indeed be traced back to the redactors of **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** or their immediate context;⁷⁷ if so, it would make this practice the 'fashion of a geographically very limited circle'.⁷⁸ In their rich

⁷⁶ The play CB228, for example, opens with two pieces which are already contained in the second section of the manuscript as *Estivali gaudio* (CB80) and *Ab estatis floribus* (CB161); see Binkley 1983 and the references provided in Drumbl 2003, 333n31.

⁷⁷ U. Müller 1981, 103. ⁷⁸ U. Müller 1981, 102.

documentation of attempts to create montages of new songs and generate intertextual links from material that was, in part, already available and specifically created in others, the Latin-German combinations of the *Codex Buranus* allow conclusions concerning the song practices of the High Middle Ages extending far beyond any potentially localized tradition.

The *Carmina Burana* have been problematic because of their adiastrumatic notation, their special textual variants, and the persisting open questions about their context, but there remains a unique opportunity to gain important insights from a focus on **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** as a whole. Deriving the competencies, intentions, and performance practices of the redactors and users of **D-Mbs Clm 4660-4660a** from the interpretation of individual songs can, in the end, be achieved only through an approach – sketched in this chapter – which considers the individual observations in the context of a systematic study of the transmitted corpus as a whole, and supports this methodologically by a comparison with a wide range of analogous cases. In this respect, much remains to be done for the most famous songbook of the thirteenth century.