



Rethinking the *Carmina Burana* (I): The Medieval Context and Modern Reception of the Codex Buranus

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Blanziflör et Helena, Venus generosa!

—*Carmina Burana*, no. 77

If this enchanting verse is known to a wider public, the credit is not due to medieval studies. Merit belongs to Carl Orff (1895–1982). The composer's name seldom figures in studies of the Codex Buranus (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm. 4660), and when it does, mention is desultory. Scholarship appears to shun the taint of what it regards as popularization. Readiness to consider the reception of the Codex Buranus over the *longue durée* is hardly perceptible, and the bird's eye-view has produced few attempts to set one of the most celebrated manuscripts of the Middle Ages in its historical context. That is why the first part of this article, after a concise and selective account of previous research, seeks to reconstruct the background against which the Codex Buranus was compiled. The second part explores the modern reception, both scholarly and "popular," of the *Carmina Burana* on a broader basis than is customary. This essay is concerned with primary sources, and it employs the means of philology and paleography to raise methodological questions of cultural history. Such is the first step in a long and arduous journey toward a new edition of the *Carmina Burana*; criticism and correction are welcome. Perhaps, too, scholars of medieval studies will not shrink from the suggestion that they think again about one of the monuments of the discipline.

Disciplines would be more accurate. No one masters all the skills required by the *Carmina Burana*. What has been accomplished in distinct fields of study is, however, valuable. A splendid facsimile, introduced by a paleographical expert who dates the Codex Buranus to ca. 1230, facilitates comparison with other manuscripts and enables us to relish its visual pleasures.¹ Impressive is the work of medieval Germanists, who have proposed

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that the Latin texts are *contrafacta* of the vernacular without the key element of *hobe Minne*, studied the plurilingualism of the *Carmina Burana*, and reflected on their European range in local context.² The local context of the Codex Buranus has inspired what may be the finest, and is certainly the most persuasive, contribution. On philological evidence, rigorously assessed, the Codex Buranus has been assigned to the canonry of Neustift in South Tyrol.³ We begin by considering the significance of that place with the help of sources which, despite their richness, have been neglected.

The medieval context of the Codex Buranus

We are at Neustift, three kilometers north of Brixen (or Bressanone), an establishment of Augustinian canons.⁴ The area was of strategic importance to German emperors en route to Italy over the eastern Alps.⁵ In this frontier-zone, linked with the north and the south of Europe by a system of communications, different cultures met.⁶ Cultural geography was a formative factor in the collection of German, Romance, and Latin poetry contained in the Codex Buranus. Plurilingualism prospered naturally at Neustift. Founded in 1142 by the reforming Bishop Hartmann of Brixen (1140–64) and his minister Burgrave Reginbert of Säben with recruits from Klosterneuburg near to Vienna, the canonry boasted by the second quarter of the thirteenth century an established tradition of teaching.⁷ Contacts between Neustift and Brixen, an ancient see with its own cathedral school, were close.⁸ On March 27, 1225, Pope Honorius III ruled that the right of visitation at the canonry be transferred from the archbishop of distant Salzburg to the bishop of nearby Brixen.⁹ Episcopal largesse and papal privileges boosted Neustift's standing, while aristocrats and others offered support, providing the material conditions in which such a manuscript might be conceived and confected.¹⁰ Notable among the benefactors recorded in the canonry's *liber testamentorum* is a high percentage of laymen.¹¹ A transfer of property-rights to Neustift by Count Albert III of Tyrol in 1230 was followed, six years later, by a generous donation of salt.¹² Both donations were motivated by his admiration for the regular canons' psalmody, to which *Carmina Burana* no. 9* refers with polemic at the expense of other orders:

Propter laudes hominum predicant in foro
et cum sacerdotibus raro sunt in choro.

[To win men's praise they preach in the piazza
and seldom join priests in the choir.]¹³

Vainglorious preaching before the people is inferior to the sacerdotal seclusion of the choir: this couplet amounts to a manifesto of *Chorherren* proud of their piety and assertive of their standing at Neustift. They lived in fastidious symbiosis with the secular world, which is reflected in the blend of religious and profane verse preserved in the Codex Buranus.

Bishop Hartmann, although more spiritual than several of his predecessors, remained an imperial prince like them.¹⁴ German prelates in the High Middle Ages bore a marked resemblance to feudal magnates, and Hartmann's dual role continued to be performed by his successors.¹⁵ Bishop Conrad of Brixen (1200–1216) had been provost at Neustift, where he was renowned as a patron of the arts, which may indicate a context for the miniatures in the Codex Buranus.¹⁶ They are unlikely to have been produced in the backwater of Brixen on the verge of decline. Its cathedral-chapter, whose members came from both Italy and Germany, was more receptive than active.¹⁷ Literacy diminished during the thirteenth century, reaching its nadir in 1370, when none of the thirteen canons was capable of signing his name. Only one roused himself from local lethargy to study abroad.¹⁸ Not until the second half of the fourteenth century does a poet appear among their number, the *Minnesänger* Johann of Bopfingen.¹⁹ At Neustift, rather than at Brixen, culture flourished, in particular music, to a degree that was unusual even among the *Chorherren* who had lived near to cathedrals in Southern Bavaria and Austria since the eleventh century.²⁰ Such foundations of the High Middle Ages seldom displayed the diversity of interests which set the Codex Buranus apart.²¹

The character of other works by Augustinian canons during this period is predominantly spiritual.²² The Codex Buranus stands in a dialectical relationship to them, its structure inspired by “moralising encyclopedias which copiously quoted medieval rhymes and verses,” while maintaining its identity as a book of songs.²³ Singing—like eating, drinking, and sleeping—was regulated to imitate apostolic austerity. Relaxation from such rules in the intellectual acrobatics of verse was one of the functions of the Codex Buranus. To croon a drinking ditty was to breach a sober duty. Humor of this kind verged on blasphemy in the judgment of stern moralists, who do not appear to have been in charge at the canonry around 1230. It should be recalled, however, that foundations of the same religious order, such as Saint-Victor in Paris, often employed affiliated or external scribes; and if we incline, on the basis of philological evidence, to assign the manuscript to Neustift, we cannot exclude the eventuality that assistance was provided by one of the canonesses whose presence there is attested from the twelfth until

the early fourteenth century.²⁴ In such a double house collaboration between the male makers of the Codex Buranus and one or more female artists playing an auxiliary role is conceivable along the lines of the precedent set at Strasbourg in 1154 by the nun and painter Guta, who worked together with the priest and copyist Sintram (Strasbourg, Bibliothèque du Grand Séminaire, Cod. 37).²⁵ Although the miniatures in the Codex Buranus have been plausibly assigned to the same context as the initials, these capital letters produced by the scribes are artistically distinct from the paintings. Another hand, possibly several, was at work. We are unlikely to deduce the sex of the scribe from the artistic style, but perhaps we should hesitate before dismissing unreflectively the hypothesis of *cherchez la femme*.

The canons were frequently of ministerial origins.²⁶ By the third decade of the thirteenth century at Neustift and Brixen, some canons possessed seals and vaunted the title of lord.²⁷ Social ascent may be a subsidiary factor in the genesis of the Codex Buranus, that artifact of *ministeriales* rising in the Reich.²⁸ The rise of Augustinian canons in Germany owed much to their alliance with imperial bishops during the High Middle Ages, as was the case at Neustift, which also adhered to the orthodox cause in times of strife.²⁹ From the twelfth until the end of the thirteenth century, the canonry remained loyal to Rome, despite the turmoil of the schism that lasted from 1159 to 1177.³⁰ The church was consecrated by an apostolic legate in 1198. During the provostship of Henry II (1225–47), Neustift was protected by appeal to the Roman Curia. If the Codex Buranus betrays no trace of the political uncertainty that troubled the Tyrol during the period of the manuscript's composition, that is partly due to the vigilance of its provost.³¹

Vigilant provosts ensured that the Rule of St. Augustine was read aloud once a week during meals in the refectory. Commenting on and illustrating that work were habitual occupations of regular canons.³² An alternative to, or a respite from, such edifying customs is offered by the Codex Buranus. None of the writings which it transmits, except the spiritual dramas and a number of religious lyrics, fits into the pattern of piety laid down by the Rule; and its copyists or correctors at Neustift in the thirteenth century evince a vitality which does not seem to have been maintained after the manuscript's removal, at an indeterminable date, to Benediktbeuern. At Neustift as elsewhere music and singing, integral parts of training both in devotion and in memory, did not become separate subjects until pupils completed the *trivium* and embarked on the *quadrivium*.³³ When they did so, as the Codex Buranus discloses, they had access to musical notation from sources as distant as Saint-Martial de Limoges and Notre-Dame de Paris.³⁴

As the canonry employed *vagi scolares* to give instruction, they are prime candidates to have supplied verse and music from abroad. At a synod of 1509 Bishop Melchior of Brixen forbade entertainers, buffoons, and singers to work in the schools of his diocese; and the ban was directed against a practice (or an abuse) which had lasted for centuries.³⁵ Interlopers stood established order on its head.

Within such a context, the verses of the *Carmina Burana* were recited and sung during festivities which inverted clerical norms. At the Feast of the Innocents on December 28, after earlier performance of the Christmas play in church, revelry ruled. Amatory and satirical verses were declaimed before a boy-bishop (“*episcopus puerorum*” [CB no. 227]) in the less hallowed setting of the refectory.³⁶ While the choral-scholars were served a large meal with abundant beverages, the drinking songs of the Codex Buranus and poetry on the topics of carousal and gambling served to enliven the processions into the village that began on New Year’s Eve.³⁷ Clerics or their pupils were licensed to be unclerical on those moveable stages described as the Feast of Fools, which had been prohibited by the sixth council of Constantinople as long ago as 690 to no avail.³⁸ Sacred drama with qualities of comedy and satire, as well as secular plays, were still being performed at Neustift at the end of the fourteenth century.³⁹ And despite the loftiness of the choir alleged by the author of *Carmina Burana* no. 9*, we know that on these occasions medieval men and women merrily sang and danced just there or thereabouts.⁴⁰

At the Feast of the Innocents *clericuli* took center stage.⁴¹ The diminutive, like its imprecise synonym *pueri*, tells us only that they were young; it reveals little about their knowledge. Doubtless there were gradations in their Latin learning, just as proficiency in that language differed among the canons of Neustift. Their natural lack of cultural homogeneity is far surpassed by the extraordinary range of poetic genres and styles displayed in the *Carmina Burana*. Some of these works, such as the “Confession” by the Archpoet or the love lyrics by Peter of Blois, rank high among the summits of medieval literature. Others, chiefly the drinking songs, are by their nature rough and rudimentary. Even illiterate villagers hearing these verses sung to them by tipsy *clericuli* on New Year’s Eve might have gleaned the gist of

In taberna quando sumus,
non curamus, quid sit humus.⁴²

A translation was hardly needed, for there is nothing much to translate. All is sonority and rhythm, as Carl Orff perceived; and it is difficult to imagine anybody failing to grasp the simple point. Consider, however, the opposite extreme on the scale of sophistication in the *Carmina Burana*: next to no one, since it was first recited at Pavia in November 1163, appears to have appreciated the Archpoet's "Confession" as the subtle inversion of moralism that it is, to judge by the vagaries of the work's medieval tradition and the vagueness of its modern interpretation.⁴³ Yet perhaps a degree of insight may be detected when, the clerical world having been turned upside-down, at the Feast of Fools this subversive comedy of conscience was selected for declamation.

The "Confession" fitted into the elastic limits of the Codex Buranus as comfortably as a ditty about drink; and the contrast between them serves to indicate a fundamental feature of that multipurpose manuscript. It gathers poetry from highly heterogeneous sources intended for a wide variety of audiences. Although previous research rightly emphasized the compiler's organization of the *Carmina Burana* into thematic groups—moral and satirical poems, love-, drinking-, and gaming-songs, along with two longer spiritual plays—it now needs to be added that the intrinsic diversity of the poems outweighs their collective unity.⁴⁴ Although several were intelligible to schoolboys, more made the demands of erudite art. Hence the analogy to an encyclopedia, which has to cater for an ample palate of tastes: the Codex Buranus offered deeply disparate treasures to its readers and hearers. At a burgeoning canonry in South Tyrol, it assembled a wealth of works which were neither composed for nor accessible to all the canons and their pupils. It follows that we are dealing with the highest level of culture at Neustift ca. 1230—with poetry both sung or recited by members of the school and copied or composed by three Augustinian regulars known, from the order of appearance of their scripts in the Codex Buranus, as h¹, h^{1a}, and h².

Because the work on the text and the initials by h¹ is superior to that of h² (a "sorry ignoramus," in the opinion of a caustic editor), and since the role played by h^{1a} is minimal, it may be inferred that the first scribe was responsible for the careful planning which, all agree, lies behind the collection.⁴⁵ We must also consider the possibility that the features of h¹ appear in the almost identical faces that embellish a number of initials. The recurrence, no fewer than seven times, of the same bearded image of a middle-aged man suggests a likeness, intended to amuse those who knew h¹ at Neustift (see fig. 1).⁴⁶ There was much to entertain them. If the drawings indicate this scribe's preferences within the collection he assembled, they

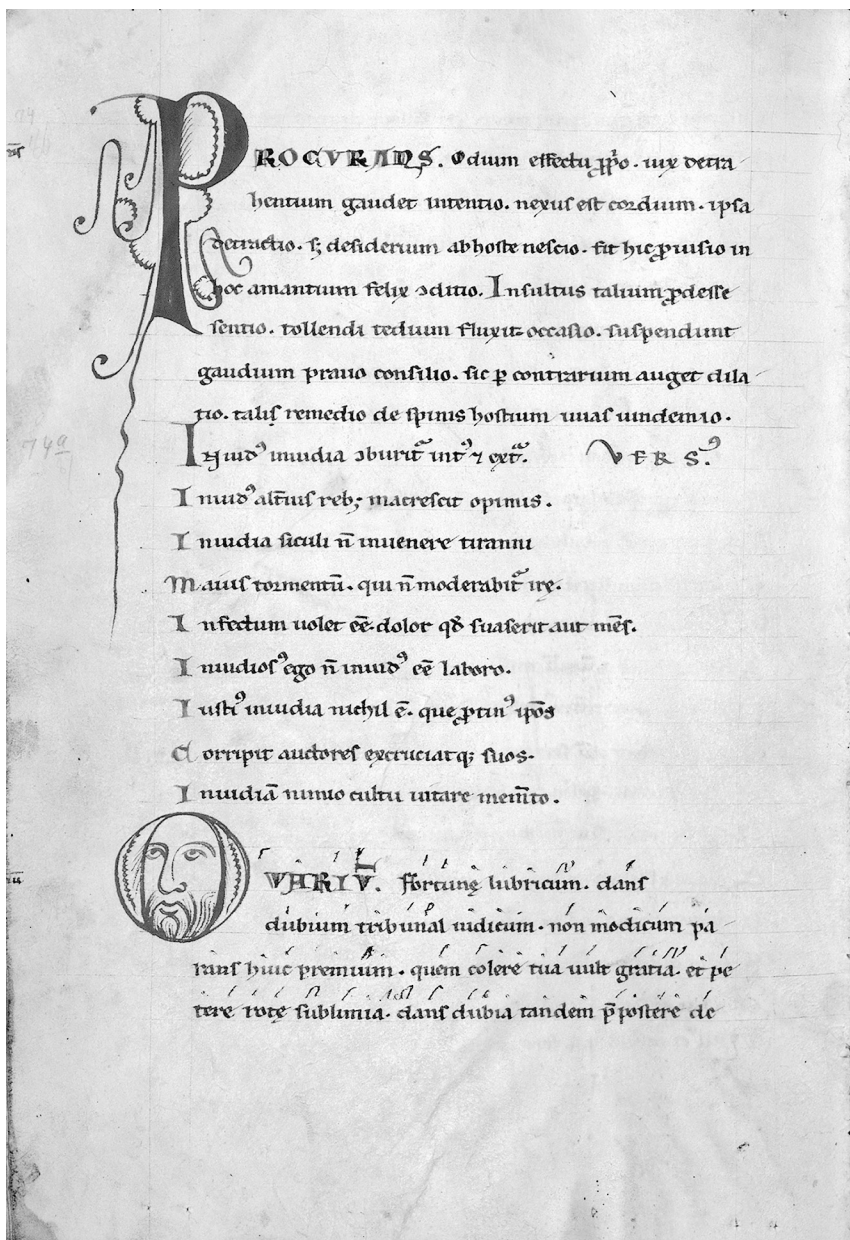


Figure 1.

The script, initials, and image of the h¹ scribe. From Codex Buranus (clm. 4660), fol. 47v. Reproduced by permission of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

simultaneously highlight the incipits of some of the most experimental verse of the Latin Middle Ages, ranging from a clever combination of the ancient theme of fortune with the Christian ethic of humility (*CB* no. 14) to a stunningly original dialogue between two brothers, one of whom reneges on his vow to become a monk for motives of homosexuality (*CB* no. 127).⁴⁷ Three love lyrics (*CB* nos. 164, 175, 180) begin in Latin and end in German verse, perhaps of this scribe's composition. And two other works (*CB* nos. 187 and 193) refer, implicitly or explicitly, to a scholastic background, where *h*¹ seems to have been as much at home as he was in literary settings of rebellion and transgression. All seven texts illustrate vividly a principle of inversion that lends its subtle structure to the *Codex Buranus* and invites comparison with an earlier feat of fictive systematization by pseudo-Isidore.⁴⁸

The subtlety of that structure is enhanced by the large and elaborate initials which *h*¹, supplemented by *h*², designed and drew.⁴⁹ Capable of more than a simple sketch, the pair combined efforts in a manner that was both exceptional and usual. It was standard practice in medieval scriptoria for a master to be assisted by his pupils. No divergence from this norm is to be observed in the *Codex Buranus*, the *mise-en-scène* of which may be compared to a drama. Enacted for the audience of the reading community at Neustift ca. 1230, it casts *h*^{1a} in a minor role. A major part is played by *h*², while the limelight is taken by *h*¹, director and star of the show. To communicate on familiar terms with an audience of their close acquaintance, they doffed their masks of anonymity and performed bareface in these drawings framed by initials. Not only do the features of a middle-aged man recur seven times; the aspect of a beardless youth also makes a fivefold appearance.⁵⁰ This represents a total of twelve images on more than ten percent of the 112 folios. A pattern emerges, harmonized by stylistic regularity. All the drawings conform to one of two types; all are executed in the same red ink as the initials; and all display the same rippled lines that contribute to the elegance of these capital letters. Other manuscripts of the early and high Middle Ages offer analogies, but few do so with such frequency.⁵¹ It not only establishes a pattern, but also sends signals. The message, mute to us, spoke volumes in the rural solitude of Neustift, where each member of the reading community saw the others every day. The marked repetition in the *Codex Buranus* of facial features undistinguished for their beauty or expressiveness points to a purpose that was not merely ornamental. Neither decorative nor symbolic nor religious, these images within initials linked the known scribes, the unfamiliar texts, and the involved readers, mediating a medieval version of realism.⁵²

Medieval realism entailed realia, the most fundamental yet elusive of which is identity at a given time and a particular place. In the small world of Neustift during the second quarter of the thirteenth century, where all books were handwritten and none but the Codex Buranus presented a treasure trove of poetry, eyes which alighted on this manuscript perceived an artifact crafted by members of the same order. The Augustinian order offered a partial precedent for its style. The links, which are well known, between Neustift and Paris are demonstrated by the debts of the Codex Buranus to musical notation from Notre-Dame and by the inclusion of Peter the Chancellor's verse. Against this background of cultural commerce it is, however, significant that, one generation before h¹ and h² drew twelve faces of a master and his pupil, the regular canon Godfrey of Saint-Victor, in his *Fons Philosophiae* (Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 1002, fol. 144r), depicted himself as a teacher-poet.⁵³ In a collection of verse that owes much to the twelfth-century traditions of northern France, the Neustift-variation on this Parisian theme was not fortuitous.

Nor was it an attempt at anachronistic modernism, which runs the risk of misconstruing the images as auto-portraits. Their aim was less self-expression than communication between the scribal actors of the Codex Buranus and their audience. This distinction can be drawn clearly by contrast with the miniatures. Eight in number, from the wheel of Fortune to the chess players, each of them is integrated with the work it illustrates.⁵⁴ The images framed by initials perform a different function. They are semi-detached from the verse, over which they loom with implications of interest or propriety. "I wrote this work" and "I prefer this poem" are the signals they sent to readers who, familiar with their features, looked at the Codex Buranus from a local perspective. That perspective is trained on a choice of twelve texts singled out from almost three hundred others, in a tactic executed so deftly by the makers of the manuscript that it has escaped notice. Their strategy is not only to gather but also to select. More than an anthology with the limited objective of compilation, the Codex Buranus both assembles a canon of near-contemporary verse and makes recommendations within it by the reiterated use of visual pointers.

There is no trace of the alleged prevalence in the Middle Ages of the visual over the written; the two media complement one another.⁵⁵ The miniatures linked with the texts cast light on their meaning; the initials framing likenesses to a recognizable master and his pupil catch the attention of readers who were their colleagues. The pattern of graphic regularity that is pronounced in all these drawings transforms a series of particular signals into

an inclusive message. Beginning as “this is mine,” the twelvefold duplication assimilates the scribes to the community on whose behalf they worked. The effect is reciprocity with the readers. Aided by visual pointers to identify the verse recommended to them, through frequent practice they learned to view a dozen texts with the complicity of joint possession: “this is ours.”⁵⁶ Far from asserting the individuality of h¹ and h², their images highlight services performed for their fellows.⁵⁷

That sense of fellowship is difficult for us to recapture in its medieval immediacy. We are separated from the primary context of the Codex Buranus by layers of legend which made it attractive to the anticlericalism of the nineteenth century and to the mythmaking of the twentieth. No one at Neustift ca. 1230 read the anti-Roman satires with zest for secularization of property owned by the religious orders, to one of which he belonged. Still less did anyone understand the pertinence to poetry about sex, gambling, and drinking of the fabrication “*Vagantendichtung* by goliards” because such macaronic mumbo-jumbo signified nothing, then as now.⁵⁸ Hence the relevance of returning to the conditions in which the Codex Buranus was produced at Neustift, not at Benediktbeuern, a provenance unconnected with its genesis and inconsequential in its reception. There, in South Tyrol as elsewhere in Latin Europe, interaction between makers of manuscripts and their recipients was less rare than clichés about the dominance of scribal anonymity used to claim.⁵⁹ As to the related issue of authorship, which demands and deserves a study to itself, it is raised here only to emphasize the uniqueness of this artifact.⁶⁰ The Codex Buranus uniquely transmits eleven of the twelve poems singled out for special attention (*CB* nos. 14, 127, 155, 164 170, 171, 175, 180, 181, 187, 199), and it is legitimate to wonder whether these works were composed by the scribes. Next to nothing can be established about h^{1a}. Because of his blunders in transcribing the exemplars of others, we hesitate to credit h² with any composition of his own. But it is possible that h¹ has title to some of the texts. His inclination to experimental verse, so evident in the choices to which his repeated image points, may find a motive in pride at his own writing.

A name may be attached to seven of these drawings within initials, for the *scholasticus* at Neustift between 1212 and 1235 was called Conrad. It is highly improbable that he was unaware of an ambitious enterprise like the Codex Buranus undertaken during the period when he led the canonry's school and scriptorium. Much more likely is his active participation. A fine mind assembled the collection; the script of h¹ combines the accuracy of expertise with the clarity of practice, and the question naturally arises:

are we dealing with the *scholasticus* Conrad who, in his official capacity, witnessed several charters at or around the time when the Codex Buranus was being put together?⁶¹ He was a figure of standing in the small world of Neustift. There only a figure respected by his colleagues—such as Ulrich of Gurk (attested 1220) or Hugo of Trostburg (ca. 1218)—and indulged by his provost, Henry II, can have enjoyed the liberty to form a collection of verse which contained such blatant breaches of the Augustinian Rule.⁶² The *raison d'être* of the canonry, since its foundation nine decades previously, was a strict version of apostolic piety.⁶³ Neither the erotic verse dealing with prohibited activities nor the savage satire on the Roman Curia, to which Neustift was appealing at the time of the Codex Buranus's production, could be regarded as consistent with official policy of orthodoxy, austerity, and reform.⁶⁴ The manuscript was designed by a dissident, at least in literary terms, whose cultivated transgressiveness might be tolerated because he was also a pillar of the establishment. That is why we identify Conrad with h¹.

To Conrad the *scholasticus* was allowed a freedom as compiler and scribe which is matched by no recorded member of his order in the Middle Ages or indeed by any extant collector of medieval Latin poetry.⁶⁵ This reveals much about the atmosphere of openness to the outside world at Neustift ca. 1230, and even more about h¹-Conrad's intellectual personality. Erudite but anticonformist, he had advanced tastes in Latin literature and may well have composed some or all of the German verse in the Codex Buranus himself. There is no reason to doubt his knowledge of that vernacular.⁶⁶ The irregularities observed in h¹-Conrad's practice may indicate uncertainty about writing a far-from-standardized language in the extreme south of the Reich. There his mind's eye ranged over the Alps to Trier, to Paris, and to the Angevin court. Nothing about h¹-Conrad, as his connoisseurship is reflected in the manuscript, can be reduced to provinciality.

Ample evidence of h¹-Conrad's range and insight is provided by the poetic quality and the geographical spread of the texts he selected; technical details of his script demonstrate the high standards which he set to those for whom he wrote. Not every medieval reader was capable of resolving, in the verse about bird names modeled on the metaphors of the *Physiologus* that h¹-Conrad copied on folio 56r of the Codex Buranus, the abbreviations which curtail "sturnus" [starling] into "stn" (CB no. 133, l. 10).⁶⁷ No elementary level of learning is presupposed, on the part of the community of canons and pupils he intended to reach, by these minutiae of scribal practice. Such shortening of uncommon nouns entailed a system of visual communication in which h¹-Conrad had well-founded faith, because he taught how it

worked. His abbreviations were resolved with the same facility that enabled students and colleagues to recognize his image in the manuscript. Taken together in the context of Neustift, the distinctive traits of his script and the repeated features of his appearance amount to an artistic signature.⁶⁸ Although he was not active at one of the celebrated centers of high medieval scholarship, this master scribe attests to the cosmopolitan culture of thirteenth-century Tyrol.

There, during his manhood and maturity, h¹-Conrad was influenced by the bishop of Brixen who was his namesake and under whose enlightened rule he had spent his boyhood and youth. Before being promoted to the episcopate, Provost Conrad II, throughout the twenty years he spent at Neustift (ca. 1180–1200), won a golden reputation for achievements which included sponsorship of manuscript production. So reports Johannes Librarius, a local historian who had access to sources no longer extant and who extolled this memorable Maecenas and bibliophile in 1463.⁶⁹ The *Codex Buranus* stands in the Conradian tradition of the canonry, a product of developments for which the previous generation deserves a measure of recognition. The scribal activities of h¹-Conrad's peers and successors cannot be assessed with completeness, since the holdings of the archive and library incurred losses during a rebellion that took place in 1525. Even though the peasants who then rose up against their clerical lords were less inclined to waste time on irrelevant works of literature than to destroy resented documents of taxation, nothing now survives among the manuscripts of Neustift that will bear comparison with the *Codex Buranus*.⁷⁰

Nor did any other scriptorium of the Latin Middle Ages proffer poetic riches of this scope and scale until the *Codex Manesse* was compiled and illustrated at Zürich between the first and second quarters of the fourteenth century. False analogies, recurrent in the secondary literature, are offered by the gatherings of verse in the famous “anthologies” of Cambridge and Arundel, while the alleged corpora of the Archpoet and Hugh Primas are no more than partial repertoires. These are not the ancestors of the *Codex Buranus*, but the type of raw material from which its polished structure was fashioned on principles of inversion, comparison, and contrast. No one before this master-scribe collected so comprehensively or organized so expertly medieval Latin verse that stood outside the established genres of epic and narrative, save in the sphere of hymnody. H¹-Conrad was a pioneer in the application of scholastic method to poetry.

His intellectual distinction is mirrored by his writing-style, characteristics of which now need to be mentioned, for they will be sought

elsewhere in the evidence at Neustift. Highly typical of h¹-Conrad's script is its ductus, sustained with the clarity and the firmness of early Gothic. Italian traits have been detected in single letters, which are almost all regular.⁷¹ Observe, in figure 1 (above), the first initial reproduced from folio 47v. Representative of h¹-Conrad's elaborate capital letters, this *P* is closely paralleled by his *D*, while *E* figures as a form of uncial. The abbreviations, whose origins in didactic practice have been noted, are uniform; no variation is permitted in a rigorously consistent system. Punctuation, restrained but recurrent, is maintained throughout the folios of the Codex Buranus that h¹-Conrad wrote (fols. 43r–48v, l. 21; 1r–26v; 41v, l. 19–42v; 49r–v; and 95v–106v, following the reconstructed succession of leaves). His ligatures are standard, and he signals supplements by a kind of comma. About his orthography, already the object of an exhaustive study, there is nothing new to add.⁷²

H^{1a}, like h², was a pupil of h¹-Conrad. A notable feature in the scribal practice of this second hand is its tendency to mimic the master on folios 27r–29r, l. 4. The imitation is so exact that it is not easy to tell them apart, although there can be no doubt that the *scholasticus* and his student are distinct. Less distinct than aberrant is h², who wrote folios 48v, ll. 22–29; 29r, l. 4–41v, l. 19; 73r–75r, l. 16; 77v–82v; 50r–72v; and 83r–95r of the Codex Buranus. He moved further in the direction of high Gothic, yet advance did not signify progress. This scribe lacked the clarity and firmness of h¹-Conrad's ductus, the regularity of his letter- and initial-forms, the accuracy of his spelling. Nor was exactitude in transcription a quality of h², who manifestly worked from exemplars which, all too often, he either could not decipher or failed to grasp. That is why the percentage of error rises sharply throughout the parts of the manuscript written by h², and why our admiration of h¹-Conrad is qualified by regret that he allowed his pupil to copy with an intermittent slovenliness that needed correction. Although it is too sweeping to dismiss the entire Codex Buranus as “bad”, it is true that the texts which h² dashed down without the oversight exercised by other scribes of the Augustinian order flounder under their flaws.⁷³ Perhaps the busy *scholasticus* was distracted by other duties.

H¹-Conrad may, on occasion, have been busy at Brixen with teaching-tasks additional to those that occupied him at Neustift. Its necrology, which records hundreds of names without indication of didactic office, commemorates only one “Chunradus subdiac[onus], scholasticus Brixien-sis.”⁷⁴ This polyvalent adjective could imply that Conrad stood in at the cathedral-school from time to time, that he came from Brixen, or that

he transferred there from Neustift later in his career. In either case or in each—for they are not mutually exclusive—we observe precedents and patterns. Conrad II had been *scholasticus* at Brixen before his election to the provostship of Neustift where, at the end of the twelfth century, he probably composed and copied the *vita* of the founder Hartmann contained in Neustift MS 293.⁷⁵ Of larger format than the Codex Buranus, it displays affinities with the hand of h¹-Conrad—in its distinctive ductus, in its careful capitals, and in the trouble taken with punctuation. A master-pupil relationship, documented by the similarities of their scripts and the analogies in their careers, suggests grounds for the likeness between Neustift MS 293 and the parts of the Codex Buranus written by h¹-Conrad.

Chronologically closer to the Buranus than to Neustift MS 293 is MS 327, datable to the second quarter of the thirteenth century, which transmits part of Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Poetria nova*, a work of evident interest to a collector of verse such as h¹-Conrad. This manuscript is written in the hand of the master's imitator, h^{1a}, rather than in his own, which can be seen by the script's diminished size, the painstaking orthography, and the abstinence from abbreviation. Yet it and other codices of the same or similar periods cannot be assigned with certainty to the canonry's scriptorium, because in the eighteenth century they were re-bound. Codicological criteria are lacking for an attribution of this evidence to Neustift, which supplies the want by a number of strays inside the same house. There are several leaves with neumes that, having become detached from the books to which they once belonged, now lead an anonymous life in no-man's land. Since Neustift is renowned for its distinctive system of musical notation, such fragments from the second quarter of the thirteenth century offer our best chance of finding h¹-Conrad at work in contexts directly related to the Codex Buranus. They provide evidence not only of his script but also of his neumes in poetry composed to be sung.

The way ahead is clear. Interdisciplinary research combining paleographical, musicological, and art-historical approaches is needed. Diplomatics, too, may make a significant contribution, when the archives at Neustift, currently inaccessible, are opened. All this, however, will not be enough. There are also issues of historical assessment, which are amusingly ambiguous. Not a cloister turned in on itself, Neustift in the thirteenth century might have been considered exceptionally responsive to the outside world, in ways unforeseen by the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215.⁷⁶ Or an outside observer, looking back longingly on the reforms effected by Archbishop Conrad of Salzburg (1106–47) and Bishop Hartmann of Brixen, might have

regarded the canonry as a den of the depravation that was then ruining the Augustinian order.⁷⁷ The Codex Buranus was capable of serving as a witness both for the prosecution and for the defense; and there can be little doubt that its chief maker, h¹-Conrad, would have reveled in this double role. Parts of the puzzle are hidden but not unrecoverable; and results have been reached. We advance toward the medieval context of the Codex Buranus.

The modern reception of the Codex Buranus

We do not know when the Codex Buranus was removed from Neustift to Benediktbeuern, the monastery whose Latin name, *Benedicti Bura*, was adapted by the manuscript's first editor, Johann Andreas Schmeller (1785–1852), to entitle the collection. Forty-four years after it was confiscated in April 1803 by that paladin of secularization, Christoph Freiherr von Armin, the director of what is now the Bavarian State Library, and brought to Munich, the Codex Buranus appeared in print. Next to nothing has been established about its prehistory at Benediktbeuern. If it figured among the donations lavished on that monastery by Count Albert III of Tyrol in 1248 and subsequent years, then it is probable that the supplements made to the collection in the fourteenth century are by Bavarian hands.⁷⁸ That hypothesis, however, does not exclude a later date. The removal might have been a consequence of Ludwig the Bavarian's partition of his territories among his six sons in 1351/1353 and the cession of Tyrol, together with Upper Bavaria, to Ludwig V. Paleography fails to supply this lacuna in the sources. An examination of codices from Benediktbeuern now conserved at the Bavarian State Library yields no dependable criteria for comparison with the various scripts of the Codex Buranus, and that may point to lack of interest in the manuscript at the monastery. There, to judge from the pristine state of the Codex Buranus, it was rarely opened; and it should be recalled that the sparse evidence of intellectual activity at Benediktbeuern during the Middle Ages is primarily liturgical.⁷⁹ It is not necessary to conjecture with Schmeller that the Codex Buranus was kept under lock and key, for that treasure trove of high medieval culture naturally became less intelligible with the passing of time in a rural Bavaria remote from the collection's international character. Had Conrad Celtis stumbled on the mysterious manuscript, it is unclear that even he would have known what to make of it. The *Carmina Burana* did not belong the German past so evidently as the works by Hroswitha of Gandersheim or Gunther of Pairis's *Ligurinus*, which this humanist published in 1501 and 1507.

The Codex Buranus slept through the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Enlightenment. It awoke in turbulent times. In 1847 social protest and financial crisis erupted against a background of mass poverty that led to the conflicts of the following year.⁸⁰ No one would know this from Schmeller's introduction to his *editio princeps*. Nor would anyone guess, from the single laconic allusion in his letters of this period, that he edited the Codex Buranus on the eve of revolution.⁸¹ So it was that the scholarly reception of the manuscript acquired the apolitical character it has since retained. No editor since Schmeller has ever related, in print, the poetry about cultural pessimism, student rebellion, and moral decline to the conditions of his own times. Yet Otto Schumann (1888–1956) worked on the collection during the rise of National Socialism and Hitler's dictatorship, and Bernhard Bischoff (1906–1991) completed his long labors immediately after 1968. (That comment would not be valid in the case of Benedikt Konrad Vollmann [1933–2012], who produced his edition in 1987, two years before Germany's reunification, which few foresaw.) Such are the tone and tenor of these studies that it has become unusual, if not unorthodox, to reflect that something may have been lost by philological historicism.

Much was gained for the study of Medieval Latin when in 1847—fourteen years before the birth of Ludwig Traube (1861–1907), the founder of that discipline in Germany—Johann Andreas Schmeller brought out his version of the Codex Buranus.⁸² It is an idiosyncratic book, chiefly because Schmeller, despite the intelligent care which he devoted to the collection and its miniatures, did not respect the poems' order of appearance in the manuscript. He divided them into two thematic groups—*Seria* (moral and satirical verse) and *Amatoria* (love poetry), *Potatoria* (drinking songs), *Lusoria* (gaming verse)—rather than the four that are now accepted. No reason for this rearrangement was provided in his introduction. It does little more than repeat the claim that the Latin tradition was part of the Germanic heritage, which had already been demonstrated by Jacob Grimm, who urged him to edit the *Carmina Burana*.⁸³ Schmeller's work on them should not be regarded in isolation but viewed as part of his pioneering achievement in a heroic age of scholarship. An expert on dialects and Germanic philology who also reorganized the Bavarian State Library, he ranged from the *Muspilli* to the *Ruodlieb* and the *Carmina Burana*.⁸⁴ The appendix to Schmeller's edition contains critical *varia* which are still valuable, and he grasped that the manuscript has sustained losses, although he was unable to supply them from the parallel transmission, of which he took no account. Nor does anyone else seem to have done so until, sixty years later at the end of his brief

and brilliant career, Ludwig Traube in 1907 collated the Florentine codex Laurenziana Medicea 29.1 against the 1883 reprint of Schmeller's edition (see fig. 2).⁸⁵ Although it is improbable that Traube himself planned to supersede the *editio princeps*, it is plain that he believed this to be desirable.⁸⁶

That desire was partly fulfilled by the indefatigable Wilhelm Meyer (1845–1917) who, before his appointment to a professorship at Göttingen in 1886, was active for nine years as a cataloguer of manuscripts in the Bavarian State library.⁸⁷ Among the fragments which he was charged with investigating there Meyer found seven leaves, previously unknown, which he rightly assigned to the Codex Buranus.⁸⁸ His publication, a substantial and searching account of the manuscript and its newly discovered components together with original observations on the development of medieval drama and versification, ends in an appeal for what might be called the interdisciplinary study of Medieval Latin. This was the turning-point in the scholarly reception of the Codex Buranus. Wilhelm Meyer, in 1901, set new standards that made Schmeller, despite his virtues, appear an amateur. While the edition which Meyer planned never came to fruition, the materials he gathered for it, which included notes on the parallel transmission, passed, after his death in 1917, to the library of Göttingen University, where they were studied (with due acknowledgment) by his former colleague Alfons Hilka (1877–1939).⁸⁹

Hilka's main role in the editorial history of the *Carmina Burana* was played by securing the collaboration of Otto Schumann, then a school-teacher at Frankfurt am Main, who had qualified for his profession by a mini-thesis on the German poetry of the manuscript. Schumann never separated from the Codex Buranus in the course of his scholarly life. Before the publication of the facsimile with an introduction by Bernhard Bischoff, his work was the main source of codicological information, which cannot be neglected today.⁹⁰ Fundamental too remains Schumann's reconstruction of the original manuscript and the order of the poems; painstaking is his examination of the scripts, the correctors, the bindings, and the neumes. Although his account of the place of the Codex Buranus in literary and intellectual history is less than exhilarating, it has the merit of criticizing the myth of *Vagantendichtung* or "goliardic" poetry.⁹¹ Tribute should be paid to Otto Schumann for the unremitting effort and frequent insight which he brought to the examination of the Codex Buranus. He is a key figure in its scholarly reception. And yet he resembles Janus, with a gaze trained on the manuscript and a vision skewed by the real or imagined slights of more established colleagues who, he believed, looked down on him as a "little village-schoolmaster" [Dorfschulmeisterlein].

2.

Sors inmanis
et inanis,
rota tu volubilis,
status malus,
vana salus
semper dissolubilis,
obumbratam
et velatam
mihī quoque niteris,
nunc per ludum
dorsum nudum
fero tui sceleris.

3.

Sors salutis
et virtutis
mihī nunc contraria,
est affectus
et defectus
semper in angaria;
hac in hora
sine mora
cordis pulsum tangite,
quod per sortem
sternit fortem
mecum omnes plangite.

II.

(fol. 1.)

cod. Laur. Med. 29, 1, fol. 225^v:

(m = rubr.)

+

~~F~~AS ET ~~N~~EFAS ambulant
~~p~~ASSU ~~(ferē)~~ pari;
prodigus non redimit
vitium avari;
virtus temperantiā
quadam singulari
debet medium
ad utrumque vitium
cautē contemplari.

// fol. 225^v

-2-

Si ^{legisse} memoras
ethicam ^{Donis},
in qua scriptum legitur;
ambula cum bonis.
cum ad dandi gloriam
animum disponis,
inter cetera
hoc primum considera,
quis sit dignus donis.

L_h

-3-

Dare, non ut convenit,
non est a virtute,
bonum est secundum quid,
~~et~~ non absolute;
~~dare dignis~~ poteris
et mereri tutē.
famam ~~muneris~~ ^{emul muneris}
si ^{me} prius noveris
intūs et in cute.

Digne dare

+

Vultu licet hilari,
verbo licet blando
sis equalis omnibus,
unum tamen mando:
si vis rectē gloriam
promereri dando,
primum videas,
granum inter paleas
cui des et quando.

Si pr
paleis
famam
sed ca
largita

1 E
do
pe
se
2 Se
na
3 V
et

4 D
fal

VERITAS
via, vi
per ve
elimina
te ver
clama
tu prin
reform

-5-
 denter triticeum
 emundas.
 a emis munere;
 veto, cum das,
 tis oleum

malè non effundas.
 In ~~te~~ glorior,
 quia ~~Q~~dro codrior
 omnibus abundas.

II. a.

(fol. 1 b.)

Versus.

st modus in verbis, duo sunt contraria verba:

o das et teneo contendunt lite superba,
 r do das largi conantur semper am } ari.
 t teneo tenui miseri potiuntur av

semper ad omne quod est mensuram ponere prodest
 m sine mensura non stabit regia cura.

virtus est medium vitiorum utrimque redactum,

mala sunt vicina bonis; errore sub illo

virtus pro vitio crimina sepe tulit.

um stultus vitat vitia, in contraria currit,

lit enim vitium speciem virtutis in umbra.

III.

(fol. 2.)

cod. Laur. Med. 29,1

fol. 423^v

(m = rubr.)

s veritatum,

te, veritas†

ritatis semitas

s peccatum;

bum incarnatum

nt fides, spes, karitas;

ne pacis statum

as post reatum;

Qu post carnis delicias

das gratias,

// ut facias beatum.

// fol. 424^v

O quam mira potentia,

quam regia vox principis;

cum egrotanti precipis:

surge, tolle grabatū†

Figure 2.

Ludwig Traube's 1907
 collations of *Flor-*
ence, Laurenziana

29, 1. From *Carmina*

Burana: Lateinische
und deutsche Lieder
und Gedichte einer
Handschrift des 13.

Jahrhunderts aus

Benedictbeuern aus

der K. Bibliothek

zu München, ed.

Johann Andreas

Schmeller (Stuttgart,

1847; repr. 1883).

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menta Germaniae

Historica, Munich.

To appreciate how this side of Schumann affected his work on the Codex Buranus, his career shall be briefly considered. On June 21, 1942, in the middle of the Second World War, he wrote to his fellow teacher, Martin Havenstein, about his hopes for posterity.⁹² The first volume of his edition (Schumann's it effectively was, although the name of Alfons Hilka also appeared on the cover) had been published in 1930, and the second in 1941. Despite misgivings, he knew that he had laid a foundation of future research into the *Carmina Burana*. While there was nothing boastful about that claim, it is possible to detect a note of defiance at the lack of professional recognition from which Schumann suffered when, despite a strong recommendation by the faculty, the ministry at Berlin did not appoint him to be Karl Strecker's successor as professor of Medieval Latin there in 1930. Schumann continued to teach at the Lessing-Gymnasium, while lecturing at the university, in Frankfurt. Not until 1946 was he promoted to the equivalent of an associate professorship (*ausserordentliche Professur*), followed by a personal chair awarded to him four months before his death on October 23, 1950.⁹³ Gratification, not devoid of Schadenfreude at less distinguished colleagues, had come with his election to the Heidelberg Academy in 1943.⁹⁴

There is little bitterness in Schumann's published letters to Havenstein; they are notable for their courage and determination. Like Shakespeare's Coriolanus, whose perceived integrity and fortitude in adversity he admired, Otto Schumann pursued his research throughout the barbarity and destruction inflicted by the Nazi regime.⁹⁵ That single-mindedness was both his strength and his weakness. He saw himself as a devotee of manuscripts, and made a perseverance denied to others the motto of his work on the *Carmina Burana*.⁹⁶ Not for him the Warburgian God who lurks in detail ("Der liebe Gott steckt im Detail"): detail *was* Otto Schumann's deity. It set him apart from professorial mediocrities who lacked his capacity for microscopic analysis. A glance at his apparatus criticus to *CB* no. 101, matched only by his collection of hexametrical formulae, reveals idolatry in his cult of minutiae.⁹⁷ No distinction is drawn between information and diplomatic pointillism; and the elaboration with which incidental or irrelevant material is accumulated betrays a refusal to accept the implications of the evidence which Schumann reports so uncritically.

That he was not dealing with works in a classical canon, whose putative original might be reconstructed by applying or varying Lachmannian methods, but with poetry intended to be recited and sung on various occasions Otto Schumann knew, although he declined to acknowledge the difference. The essential openness and natural fluidity of the *Carmina*

Burana were at odds with the nineteenth-century aesthetic of textual purity to which he continued to cling during the first and second quarters of the twentieth century. This positivist was also a romantic, adamantly old-fashioned. What Schumann felt to be apt, rather than what tradition provides, determined his editorial choices. Convinced that the Codex Buranus was “a bad manuscript,” he had no qualms about departing not only from it but also from every other witness in the parallel transmission.⁹⁸ Behind and beyond the devotion to detail lay a conviction that Schumann knew better than erring or idiot copyists. The dire consequences include excisions that mutilate masterpieces.⁹⁹ His text, which at times resembles nothing written by a medieval scribe or read by a medieval scholar, is the product of paradox. No editor of the *Carmina Burana* has been more meticulous than Otto Schumann, and none more arbitrary.

Such was the legacy which he bequeathed to Bernhard Bischoff, the only Medieval Latinist of the younger generation whom he esteemed. Bischoff’s extensive correspondence, conducted world-wide for almost a quarter of a century, reveals that he had been in contact with Schumann about the *Carmina Burana* before August 6, 1946, when he hoped to enlist the aid of a colleague at Oxford with Bodleian manuscripts that document the parallel transmission.¹⁰⁰ Not until 1970 did Bischoff’s edition of the drinking and gambling songs, together with the religious plays, appear. One of the unsung, long-suffering martyrs in the scholarly reception of the Codex Buranus was Carl Winter Universitätsverlag which had imagined, in a memorandum of agreement to complete Schumann’s work (Nov. 23, 1951), that Bischoff could do so by the following year. (Collaboration had been offered to him, on Feb. 4, 1951, by the musicologist Walter Lipphardt, who was inspecting Schumann’s *Nachlaß* at Frankfurt and who pressed his claims to co-edit the religious plays and the fragments with a certain insistence.) But, as Bischoff wrote to this publisher on July 28, 1963, his main interest and chief occupation was a paleographical catalogue of more than 6,500 Carolingian codices.¹⁰¹

Advantages accrued in his treatment of problems posed by the Codex Buranus. With more respect for, and less idolatry of, manuscript evidence, Bernhard Bischoff simplified and clarified an apparatus criticus which, in Otto Schumann’s edition, amounted to a commentary jungle. Bischoff was never lost in a maze of detail. Nonetheless it is striking how mechanically and, on occasion, questionably his conception of textual criticism functions, because he remained, twenty years after Schumann’s death, a worshipper at the shrine of his predecessor’s editorial methods. His widow,

Berta, on the recommendation of Ernst Robert Curtius (1886–1956) had blessed the younger scholar's continuation of her husband's work, and Paul Lehmann (1884–1964), his teacher, had admonished him that paleography was not enough. Urged to edit by Lehmann, enlisted by Schumann whose shade continued to haunt him, and reminded by years of subordination to E. A. Lowe (1879–1969) that his best chance of freedom in the future was a chair not of paleography but of Medieval Latin philology at Munich, Bernhard Bischoff turned slowly and perhaps reluctantly to the *Carmina Burana*. There is every indication of diligence in his correspondence about them, but none of enthusiasm. Enthusiasm, like politics, is doubtless unscholarly.

Scholarship, as Bischoff practiced it on the Codex Buranus, often entailed editorial conservatism. Conservatism meant following the agreement of textual witnesses in majority. Consider an example in which his approach is plausible, *CB* no. 191, the "Confession" of the Archpoet.¹⁰² Transmitted in thirty-two codices, it is the most widely diffused work of its kind. That is why Bischoff carries conviction when, in line with most manuscripts, he prints the two first words of the poem as "Aestuans intrinsecus. . . ." The Codex Buranus alone offers "Aestuans interius. . . ." This is the *lectio difficilior* because it departs, not in sense but in sound, from the Bible (Gen. 6:6).¹⁰³ Isolated in the tradition, it poses the problem of authorial variants that is attested on a larger scale at strophes 14–19, which are repeated from an earlier work by the same author. We know that the Archpoet recycled material from his repertoire.¹⁰⁴ The circumstances of his itinerant career prevented this imperial notary from aspiring to classic status. He mocked the Horatian model, declined to deliver an epic, and wrote narrative that had to be read between his ironical lines.¹⁰⁵ Might not the Archpoet, during the first and second readings of his much-admired *opus clarum*, have varied adverbial synonyms? Does the Codex Buranus transmit, if not what the author wrote, at least what one twelfth-century listener heard him recite? No one can answer such questions, which occupy the borderline between medieval literacy and orality. And yet to print *interius*, the unfamiliar reading of the Codex Buranus, has the advantage of reminding us that the two types of transmission were not as mutually exclusive as suggested by Bernhard Bischoff's apparatus criticus and assumed by Otto Schumann's.

This observation is meant less as critique than as nuance. It serves to signal a methodological problem for the future edition, which will now be complemented by a further example. The pertinence of the procedures adopted by Bernhard Bischoff is more clearly discernible in texts with multiple witnesses than in those which owe their survival to a single exemplar.

Then his grip on the evidence falters. In one of his rare interpretative remarks on the works he has edited, Bischoff notes the “unusual culture” [nicht gewöhnliche Bildung] evinced in *CB* no. 226, a poem which is transmitted only by the Codex Buranus. He prints its tenth strophe in the following form:

Nullum hic est medium: quivis clericorum,
 si non in Glycerium, largus est in Sporum.
 licet ambidextri sunt multi modernorum,
 uni tamen prefero iocos geminorum.¹⁰⁶

Here it is worth emphasizing that the unusual culture displayed in the reference (in line 2) to Sporus, the neutered catamite of Nero, was identified by Wilhelm Heraeus (1862–1938), who emended the Codex Buranus’s *Porus* into what is the most elegant, because the simplest, instance of conjectural criticism in the editorial history of the *Carmina Burana*.¹⁰⁷ The verse that follows, as construed by Bischoff, is neither elegant nor grammatical. In line 3 of strophe 10, the Codex Buranus offers *nunc* where he prints *sunt*, which cannot be right for, if *licet* is taken to be adversative, it requires the subjunctive *sint*. Nor does this conjecture satisfy the next editor, Benedikt Konrad Vollmann, whose stated principle is fidelity to the manuscript and whose tinkering with its text in strophe 10, line 4 is as inconsistent as it is unwarranted:

mori tamen prefero iocis geminorum.¹⁰⁸

The Codex Buranus offers, at strophe 10, line 4, *uni* for Vollmann’s *mori* and *iocos* instead of *iocis*. All this superfluous alteration, on the part of both editors, appears to derive from misunderstanding of the relationship between *licet* (10, 3) and *tamen* (10, 4). Deference is due to the manuscript if it is printed and punctuated so:

Nullum hic est medium: quivis clericorum,
 si non in Glycerium, largus est in Sporum.
 Licet: ambidextri nunc multi modernorum,
 uni tamen prefero iocos geminorum.

The subject is bisexuality. The reading of the Codex Buranus replacing Bischoff’s conjecture at strophe 10, line 3, where the ellipsis of poetic diction is normal, *licet* may be regarded as concessive (“so be it” or “so it is,” in the

sense of “OK” without the colloquial tone). *Tamen* is not merely tantamount to “however”; its force is intensive and it finds an exact parallel at *CB* no. 226, strophe 6, line 1:

Unam tamen video formam largitatis.¹⁰⁹

Neither there nor at strophe 10, line 4 is a mere contrast being drawn; the purpose of the adverb is to emphasize the number’s singularity. The tenth strophe of *CB* no. 226, correctly presented by the Codex Buranus, may be translated thus:

No virtue is to be found here: every cleric
is generous either to Glycerium or to Sporus.
So be it: now that many today try their hand at both, I too prefer a
double to a singular game.

The medieval readings preserved and the modern conjectures eliminated, there reemerges one of the most perplexing poems in the collection. The only dictionary that registers *ambidextri* (10, 3) as “bisexual” cites no other source, and we observe that *iocos geminorum* is ambiguous.¹¹⁰ First, the expression can be understood as “fooling about with a couple of catamites.” Secondly and more probably in the light of strophe 10, line 3, it implies erotic play of both the homosexual and the heterosexual types. Naturally the distinction is not specified, for the audience is to be dumbfounded at this volte-face on the part of a moaner who had begun with a jeremiad about the decline of contemporary culture. “Now” [nunc] (10, 3) the poet of *CB* no. 226 declares that he revels in combining the abominations he has denounced separately. After lamenting the decline of ancient virtue, he has become an exponent of modern vice.¹¹¹

What antecedents to *CB* no. 226 are offered by the Latin poetry of the High Middle Ages? On the subject of bisexuality, none. A straightforward, if stylish, debate about the merits of heterosexual and homosexual love ends with the predictable victory of Helen in the *Altercatio Ganymedis et Helenae*, while the famous dispute between Phyllis and Flora about the amatory prowess of clerics and knights that is *CB* no. 92 never touches on this topic.¹¹² Nor does the sparse literature of hermaphroditism provide analogies.¹¹³ They are hardly to be found in learned verse of this period, save at the level of ideas, the form of thought. The inversion of moralism which characterises *CB* no. 226 is surpassed in sophistication by the “Confession” of the Archpoet. He speaks not in two voices but in several tones. Ironical

and witty, celebrating his faults as the source of his creativity, this subtle exponent of an alternative culture stands the detraction of his rivals on its head. The ethical acrobatics of *CB* no. 226, by contrast, are performed in the solitude of a split persona, not only critical of other clerics but also estranged from those whom he classifies coarsely as sexual types.

The vividness of this writer's style, from the eighth strophe on, is exceeded only by its vulgarity. Poles apart from the refinement with which the Archpoet formulates his outrageous conceits, the roughness of *CB* no. 226 is even more distant from the delicacy of the love lyrics in the collection. Neither they nor others in the Latin tradition linked such undeniable learning with such dubious taste:

Hec dum nudo nudam se propter hoc iniungit
manu, lingua, labiis palpat, lingit, ungit;
at Venus medullitus scalpit, prurit, pungit:
Pamphilum dupliciter sic Thais emungit.

Tamen est, qui Thaidem ut cadaver odit,
ab hac ut a bestia cavens se custodit;
sed dum Ganimedicus pusionem fodit,
inguen ei loculos pari dente rodit.¹¹⁴

[While the stripped she couples with the naked him
for money-motives, fondling, licking, and sucking,
hot sex scratches, itches, stings:
so it is that Thais doubly fleeces Pamphilus.

Yet there are some who loathe Thais like the plague,
and steer clear of her beastliness in self-protection;
but while the Ganymedics fuck their catamites,
lust bites their wallets with the same tooth.]

Our author patently intended to shock. Whom? Not the kinds of clerics represented by the Archpoet's patron, Rainald of Dassel, and his retinue. The effect being sought in the strophes above is alien to the complicity coaxed from this prince of the church by his client, for the audience of *CB* no. 226 is also its target. Derision, that deadliest yet bluntest of medieval weapons, is aimed at the hearers or readers of the work.¹¹⁵ They are presented as the prime suspects of sodomy and whore-mongering, before our author levels both parts of that accusation against his bisexual self. This is the joke on which *CB* no. 226 hinges, although the tirade never turns unequivocally

into humor, since it is impossible to be certain whether the sexual partners of strophe 10, line 4 are both male and female. If they are, Latin grammar requires that the masculine gender be employed, which is why *iocos geminorum* might also refer to sex with a pair of boys.

The perplexity we feel is deliberate and calculated; the author of *CB* no. 226 seasons his scholarship with malice. That malice is meant for us—for every reader or hearer of his poem who, bored by the banality of its opening strophes, does not anticipate the spicy mélange of invective and self-inculcation that follows. Neither we nor the original audience have expected this innovation, because there is nothing like it in the Latin literature of the Middle Ages. *Sic et non* abounds in medieval poetry; satire is pungent and various; once-taboo themes such as homosexuality or cross-dressing are now regarded as more noteworthy than was previously thought.¹¹⁶ Attention has been paid to related issues, but not to this unique example of a writer raising the question of his bisexuality and answering it ambivalently.¹¹⁷

Of course the author of *CB* no. 226 is anonymous, and probably chose to remain so. For all we know, he may even have been one of the canons involved in the production of the Codex Buranus at Neustift, such as h¹-Conrad. A reference to King Louis VII of France (1137–80), the “emperor of the Last Days,” at strophe 2, line 4 does not indicate that promiscuity leads to apocalypse, nor does it prove that the poet was a Frenchman.¹¹⁸ His national and sexual identities are less at stake than his multiple metamorphoses. First Jeremiah, then Juvenal, our author transforms himself into Proteus (or Teresias) before *CB* no. 226 breaks off half a strophe later. In its unpredictable course, the clichés of senescent moralism are replaced by the sprite mockery of an *enfant terrible*. He is singular in number, though plural in erotic practice; and his work is transmitted only by this astonishing testimony to clerical culture in thirteenth-century Tyrol. Who will fail to marvel at the Codex Buranus? Any medievalist can grasp a lament on the decline of customs and morals: none seems to have envisaged a work like *CB* no. 226 that begins by proclaiming the end of the world and continues with a manifesto of what was, for Augustinian regulars and others, sexual deviance. And if, within the walls of Neustift, h¹-Conrad erred in spelling *Sporus*, at least his mind was open to a wider world of ideas and emotions, as fascinating to him as it should be to us.

We shall not appreciate it until we have an edition combining literary and historical interpretation with textual criticism that accounts for all differences between the work printed and the Codex Buranus, including corrections by its scribes, which Vollmann does not report, and meaningful

variants from the parallel transmission, which he largely neglects. Straight-forward though this goal may seem, it has never been reached since the *editio princeps* appeared in 1847. In the present, deplorable state of the editorial art, only readers with a command of German are able to consult both Hilka-Schumann-Bischoff and Vollmann in order to achieve such an unnecessarily complicated purpose. There exists no complete edition intended for an English-speaking audience, nor any in other languages that meets modern standards of editorial theory and practice, which make allowance for textual variation.¹¹⁹ And before this work is produced, attention will have to be paid to dimensions of the problem which philological historicism has ignored or scorned.

. . .

The prolonged and vexed scholarly reception of the Codex Buranus has nothing to do with the musical and dramatic setting of selected texts by Carl Orff. He is never mentioned by Bischoff in more than two decades of correspondence about the *Carmina Burana*, and Vollmann hardly drops the name. There is no record of direct communication between the composer and Otto Schumann in the archives of the Orff-Zentrum at Munich—which is perhaps as well, for the subjectivities of each were scarcely compatible. Contact with Schumann was attempted on Orff's behalf by Michael Hofmann, the Bamberg archivist who advised him on the *Carmina Burana*. The philologist, although willing to advise, declined to be acknowledged; offence was taken and collaboration came to nothing. Schumann did not attend the premiere of the work at Frankfurt on June 8, 1937, and he returned tickets to the second performance which Orff had sent him. His private opinion of the composer's supposed misunderstandings of the *Carmina Burana* was withering.¹²⁰

Had Schumann and his successors been more open to a different approach, they might have found reason to value Carl Orff's reception of works contained in the Codex Buranus. It is evident, from his correspondence with Hofmann, that the composer had scant interest in a scholarly treatment of the twenty-four texts which he set to music.¹²¹ A choral fantasy was on his mind, and Hofmann urged him to prefer rhythm and sonority to intellectual lyricism or verbal artistry.¹²² This aesthete with an ear, who neither knew nor wished to learn anything about medieval melody, was attracted to the song and poetry of the *Carmina Burana* by what he regarded as the intrinsic musicality of Latin and its unrivalled concision.¹²³ Or so Carl Orff stated in 1979, more than four decades after the premiere of his work at Frankfurt and three years before his death in 1982.

Since then a more sinister image of the controversial composer has emerged. Orff is accused of being, if not a Nazi, complicit by self-interest and temperament with National Socialism. As he always denied these charges and consistently maintained the opposite, there is reason to return to the original evidence, which is not easily accessible, considering the reception of the *Codex Buranus* by Carl Orff as an aspect of the role played by Latin culture in the Third Reich. During that period one of the leading medievalists of the last century, Ernst Robert Curtius, set to work on *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, which may be construed as an intellectual alternative to the Teutonic ideology of the Nazis. Orff is alleged to have styled himself and his *Carmina Burana* in comparable terms; and the credibility of this claim can be probed by visiting the archives. There some of the figures will be encountered whom he consulted and courted, not all of whom are household names. The first of them is Gerhard Pietzsch (1904–1979).

Pietzsch, a medievalist and musicologist, whose Nazi credentials were commended as “impeccable” [einwandfrei] by the *Gauleiter* of Saxony and whose appointment to a professorship at the Technical University of Dresden was approved by the chancery of the National Socialist Party at Munich on June 12, 1941, described himself as director of the state theater in Dresden when he began to correspond with Orff in 1939.¹²⁴ Two years after the premiere of the *Carmina Burana*, where the two men first met, Pietzsch proposed a second performance of the same work, together with Orff’s recently composed *Orfeo*, which were conducted by Karl Böhm (director-general of music at Dresden since 1934) on October 5, 1940. This event was a success and led to several others in Germany, Switzerland, and Italy between 1941 and 1944.¹²⁵ Orff was thankful to Pietzsch; friendship is professed in letters of this period with expressions such as “lieber Freund Orff,” “antiquus meus amicus.” What was the significance of their personal and professional relationship in the reception of the *Codex Buranus*?

It was momentous, if we believe what we are told on the basis of unpublished sources now in the Orff-Zentrum at Munich. The composer is alleged, in a letter to Pietzsch on April 28, 1946, to have maintained that “he had felt beholden to the idea of European community” and that “his use of Latin manifested this conviction and hence constituted an act of opposition” to the Germanic ideology of the Nazis.¹²⁶ Were this the case, we would have found a significant testimony to learned culture in the Third Reich. But we are disappointed, because the document contains not one word on the subject, being an effusive expression of Orff’s gratitude to Pietzsch for having rehabilitated his *Carmina Burana* after they had been “prohibited and

banned for years” [nachdem sie jahrelang verboten und verbannt war (*sic*)].¹²⁷ Pietzsch appears to have found the role of saviour congenial, drawing attention to enmity on the part of Heinz Drewes, head of the music department in Josef Goebbels’s Ministry of Propaganda, who regarded Orff’s work as “Bavarian Nigger-Music” [bayerische Niggermusik], on June 16, 1946.¹²⁸

We are dealing with a travesty of the sources. Carl Orff is caricatured, on no evidence that will withstand scrutiny, as an extreme egotist, as a sex maniac, and as “psychically sick.”¹²⁹ The purpose of this misrepresentation is obvious: the composer is to be pilloried as an unhinged hypocrite, who professed enthusiasm for Medieval Latin culture in order to obscure his lucrative links to the Nazi régime. Yet Carl Orff’s correspondence, both published and unprinted, is dominantly apolitical. In 1933, the year when Hitler seized power, for example, there are few allusions to politics; and they remain infrequent later. One occurs implicitly in the context of Orff’s often playful correspondence with Hofmann. On June 12, 1936, the composer voiced his view that no one would print and perform his *Carmina Burana*, because they were “un-German” [undeutsch].¹³⁰ Although an accurate enough prediction of what would appear in the Nazi press a year later, this was not the substance of the hostile critique he endured.¹³¹ Less Germanic ideology than ignorance was at issue. The journalist of the *Völkischer Beobachter* in the pay of Alfred Rosenberg who slated Orff’s *Carmina Burana* objected to Latin on the disarming grounds that he did not know it. Hence a historical irony: Hitler approved of the learned language, which he had barely (and badly) studied at the Realschule in Linz, for he deluded himself that it provided a training in logical thought—hardly the most salient characteristic of National Socialism. More salient was the chaos of personal animosities among the Nazi leadership: Goebbels’s liking for Orff’s music may have been enhanced by his loathing for Rosenberg, whose minions attacked the composer, while the patronage which Baldur von Schirach, *Gauleiter* at Vienna, showered on Orff was undoubtedly motivated by his rivalry with Goebbels. From the machinations of these monkeys there emerges another irony: the improbable and unconscious alliance of Hitler and Orff against the Latinless barbarians of the *Völkischer Beobachter*. Neither the composer nor the Führer, however, understood much about the learned language. Carl Orff was concerned not with the intellectual substance of the Codex Buranus but with the sonority and rhythm of its poetry. It would be exaggerated to present him as the musical equivalent of Ernst Robert Curtius.

Curtius turned to the Latin Middle Ages in a form of “inner exile” from the Third Reich.¹³² His phenomenology of literature was rooted in

the continuity of a tradition of which the Nazis were unaware or which they rejected. The historical approach of *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* was uncritical—Curtius opined, for instance, that the portentous prophet Arnold Toynbee was a great historian—and the conceptual structure of his book was far from sophisticated. But no one will doubt its scholarly character. Carl Orff sought from scholarship less factual knowledge and literary information than atmosphere and details for an imagined world of folklore. His Middle Ages are imposing or jovial or charming, in the various ways he sensed such qualities, not as they are expressed in the texts.¹³³ Writing about them, he jests with Hofmann, in a tone that is consciously antipedantic and deliberately dilettante. There is no sign that Carl Orff was embarrassed by his imperfect grasp of the *Carmina Burana*, for he was exclusively concerned with the musical uses to which these poems could be put. Time has proved him right. Not only the multiple recordings of Orff's work but also its supposedly inadvertent citation by Michael Jackson have made the composer's name and fortune.

Fortune, which he claimed had smiled on him, figures at the beginning of his *Carmina Burana*. Perhaps because Orff's setting of it is so resonant, no one seems to have remarked that the text on which it is based is, exceptionally in the collection, trite to the point of banality. *O Fortuna velut luna* is not Boethian, as programs often assert, for Boethius was original and penetrating. The clichés about contingency in the poem which Orff chose to open his work were hoary by 1230, when the Codex Buranus was put together—let alone seven hundred years later. Yet this objection, which might have been made by Otto Schumann, is beside the point. The point is that the composer had an eye, or at least an ear, for much that was fresh and beguiling in the collection, such as:

Blanziflör et Helena, Venus generosa!¹³⁴

And it is reasonable to assume that he was capable of savouring the amalgam of the medieval and the classical in that enchanting verse. What Orff savoured most, however, was its musicality. None of the more refined or demanding poems, several of them amatory, are included in his work. He never scaled the cultural heights of the Codex Buranus, but he did explore some of its aurally attractive byways.

For issues of hermeneutical significance or historical relevance, Carl Orff relied on others. The others, apart from Michael Hofmann, who came into contact with him did so after the pieces in his *Carmina Burana* were

composed. The classicist and patriot Eduard Stemplinger had combined his two passions by translating Horace into Bavarian dialect in 1926.¹³⁵ Orff's correspondence with him, intimate enough to earn Stemplinger the epithet *carissimo* on February 26, 1946, did not reach the pitch of intensity sustained in letters on scholarly themes with the Tübingen professor of Greek, Wolfgang Schadewaldt, who translated Sappho and Catullus for the composer in 1951 and, four years later, sponsored him for an honorary doctorate. In Tübingen too the Indologist and composer of Neo-Latin poetry, Hermann Weller (praised by Schumann), received, in a letter written on November 28, 1943, the clearest statement of Orff's standpoint:

I ask you to recall while you read that, as a musician, I was exclusively concerned with musical considerations and demands when I composed the piece.¹³⁶

The reference is to Orff's work on Catullus, although it applied equally to the *Carmina Burana*, the text and partitur of which the composer presented to Weller, who applied to both his philological skills. Less skilled was Orff's greatest fan, the pedagogue Thomas Werner, author of many studies that document his devotion to, rather than his ability to correct, the maestro. Around Carl Orff there formed a circle of scholarly advisers, eager to foster his lightly learned enthusiasms. His was the borrowed erudition of a Bavarian guru, neither reconciled to nor accepted by the musical avant-garde.¹³⁷ Nonetheless he brought, and still brings, the *Carmina Burana* to the attention of a wider public in a manner that no scholar has begun to rival. That is why we may choose to disregard the carping criticisms of the philologists, the historicists, and the positivists and, whether we admire his work or not, regard him as one of the most significant and least conventional figures in the reception of the Codex Buranus. The shade of Otto Schumann recoils.



Notes

- This is the first in a series of studies preliminary to the three-volume edition of the *Carmina Burana* which Frank Bezner and I are preparing for Oxford University Press. Gratitude is expressed to the Monumenta Germaniae Historica (MGH), the Bavarian State Library, the Orff-Zentrum (Munich), and the canonry of Neustift, in whose excellent facilities the research was conducted. Best thanks to Cornelia Mane-gold for help and advice.
- 1 Bernhard Bischoff, *Carmina Burana: Einführung zur Faksimile-Ausgabe der Benedikt-beurer Liederhandschrift* (München: Prestel, 1970). Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm. 4660 has recently been digitalized and can be accessed at *Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum Digitale Bibliothek*, http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/bsb00085130/image_1; and the fragments from clm. 4660a may be accessed at http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/bsb00085131/image_1.
 - 2 On the Latin as *contrafacta*, see Burghart Wachinger, “Deutsche und lateinische Liebeslieder: Zu den deutschen Strophien der *Carmina Burana*,” in *Der deutsche Minnesang: Aufsätze zu seiner Erforschung*, ed. Hans Fromm, 2nd ed. (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1985), 275–308. On plurilingualism, see Olive Sayce, *Plurilingualism in the Carmina Burana: A Study of the Linguistic and Literary Influences on the Codex* (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1992). And on provenance and context, see Fritz Peter Knapp, *Die Literatur des Früh- und Hochmittelalters in den Bistümern Passau, Salzburg, Brixen und Trient von den Anfängen bis zum Jahre 1273* (Graz: Akad. Druck- und Verl.-Anst. 1994), 407–22; and Knapp, “*Carmina Burana*: Europäische Lyrik in Südtirol,” in *Literatur und Sprache in Tirol von den Anfängen bis zum 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. Michael Gebhardt and Max Siller (Innsbruck: Universitätsverlag Wagner, 1996), 129–40.
 - 3 Georg Steer, “*Carmina Burana* in Südtirol: Zur Herkunft des clm. 4660,” *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 112, no. 1 (1983): 1–36; criticized by Walther Lipphardt, “Zur Herkunft der *Carmina Burana*,” in *Literatur und bildende Kunst im Tiroler Mittelalter*, ed. Egon Kùhebacher (Innsbruck: Kowatsch, 1982), 209–23. It should be recalled, *honoris causa*, that Paul Lehmann had proposed the localization of the Codex Buranus to South Tyrol in 1939. See the reprint of his “Einzelheiten und Eigenheiten des Schrift- und Buchwesens,” in *Lehmann’s Erforschung des Mittelalters*, vol. 4 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1961), 5.
 - 4 For general accounts, see *850 Jahre Augustiner Chorherrenstift Neustift* (Brixen: Athesiadruck, 1992); Martin Peintner, *Kloster Neustift: Das Augustiner-Chorherrenstift und die Buchmalerei* (Bozen: Verl.-Anst. Athesia, 1996); and Theobald Herbert Innerhofer, “Das Augustiner-Chorherrenstift Neustift,” in *Dom- und Kollegiatstifte in der Region Tirol-Südtirol-Trentino in Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, ed. Hannes Obermair et al. (Innsbruck: Universitätsverlag Wagner, 2006), 223–38.
 - 5 See Donatella Frioli, “Tra Italia e Bavaria: Un’ esperienza di frontiera per gli episcopi di Bressanone e Trento dall’ Alto al Pieno Medioevo,” in *Le Alpi porta d’Europa: Scritture, uomini, idee da Giustiniano al Barbarossa; Atti del convegno internazionale di studio dell’Associazione Italiana dei Paleografi e Diplomatisti, Cividale del Friuli (5–7 ottobre 2006)*, ed. Laura Pauri and Cesare Scaloni (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull’alto Medioevo, 2009), 537–600.

- 6 Jean-François Bergier, "Le trafic à travers les Alpes et les liaisons transalpines du haut Moyen Âge au XVIIe siècle," in Jean-François Bergier, *Pour une histoire des Alpes, Moyen Âge et temps modernes* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 1997), 1–72.
- 7 On the monastery's foundation, see Hans Patze, "Adel und Stifterchronik: Frühformen territorialer Geschichtsschreibung im hochmittelalterlichen Buch," *Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte* 100 (1964): 8–81, at 32; and Theobald Herbert Innerhofer, "Die Beziehungen zwischen Neustift und Klosterneuburg im Mittelalter," *Der Schlern: Monatszeitschrift für Südtiroler Landeskunde* 81, no. 2 (2007): 18–23. On the educational tradition at Neustift, see Benno Rutz, *Die Chorknaben zu Neustift: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Schule und der Musik in Tirol* (Innsbruck: Druck und Verlag d. Vereinsbuchh., 1911), published as an offprint from *Neue Tiroler Stimmen*; and Walter Neuhauser, "Wissenschaftspflege in Neustift im Mittelalter im Spiegel der Handschriften," in *Beiträge zur Handschriftenkunde und mittelalterlichen Bibliotheksgeschichte*, ed. Walter Neuhauser (Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck, 1980), 73–104.
- 8 Friederike Klos-Buzek, "Zur Frage der *vita canonica* im Brixener Domkapitel," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 67 (1959): 101–16, at 108.
- 9 *Die Urkunden des Augustiner-Chorherrenstiftes Neustift bei Brixen*, ed. Georg Johannes Kugler (Wien: Böhlau, 1965), 58–59 (no. 19).
- 10 *Ibid.*, 60–73 (nos. 21–32); Thomas Aichner and Roberto Donà, *Die wirtschaftliche Bedeutung der prämendikantischen Orden und Klöster im Südtiroler Raum* (Norderstedt: Books on Demand, 2009), 49–64.
- 11 Hans Wagner, *Das Traditionsbuch des Augustiner-Chorherrenstiftes Neustift bei Brixen* (Wien: R. Rohrer, 1954), 29–154; and cf. Georg Mühlberger, "Stammt Walter von der Vogelweide aus Südtirol?," *Der Schlern: Monatszeitschrift für Südtiroler Landeskunde* 81, no. 2 (2007): 24–37, at 26.
- 12 Kugler, *Urkunden des Augustiner-Chorherrenstiftes Neustift bei Brixen*, 64–66 (no. 26) and 75–76 (no. 35).
- 13 Otto Schumann and Bernhard Bischoff, eds., *Carmina Burana*, vol. 1, pt. 3, *Die Trink- und Spielerlieder: Die geistlichen Dramen; Nachträge* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1970), 122, no. 9*, st. 15, ll. 1–2. References to poems in the Codex Buranus are to poem, strophe, and line numbers.
- 14 Anselm Sparber, *Die Brixner Fürstbischöfe im Mittelalter: Ihr Leben und Wirken kurz dargestellt* (Bozen: Athesia, 1968), 59.
- 15 See Peter Godman, *The Archpoet and Medieval Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).
- 16 See Peter Diemer and Dorothea Diemer, "*Qui pingit florem non pingit floris odorem*: Die Illustrationen der Carmina Burana (Clm 4660)," *Jahrbuch des Zentralinstituts für Kunstgeschichte* 3 (1987): 43–75.
- 17 See Leo Santifaller, *Das Brixener Domkapitel in seiner persönlichen Zusammensetzung im Mittelalter*, vol. 1 (Innsbruck: Universitätsverlag Wagner, 1924), 101–50; and Josef Gelmi, "Die Entwicklung der Diözesen Brixen und Salzburg von den Anfängen bis zur Reformation," *Der Schlern: Monatszeitschrift für Südtiroler Landeskunde* 65 (1991): 200–216, at 206.
- 18 Santifaller, *Das Brixener Domkapitel* 109, 123.

- 19 See Franz Viktor Spechtler, "Johann von Bopfingen, die Sterzinger Miszellenhandschrift und die Lyrik des 14. Jahrhunderts," in *Literatur und bildende Kunst im Tiroler Mittelalter*, ed. Kühebacher, 141–56.
- 20 See Walter Senn, "Aus dem Musikleben in Neustift," in *Stifte und Klöster: Entwicklung und Bedeutung im Kulturleben Südtirols* (Bozen: Südtiroler Kulturinstitut, 1962), 426–40; and Norbert Backmund, *Die Chorherrenorden und ihre Stifte in Bayern* (Passau: Neue-Press Verlag, 1966), 33 ff.
- 21 See Claude M. Guyon, "La formation intellectuelle des chanoines réguliers au XIIe et au début du XIIIe siècle," in *Les chanoines réguliers: Émergence et expansion (XIe–XIIIe siècles)*, ed. Michel Parisse (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 2009), 297–317.
- 22 For context, see Donatella Nebbiai, "Les bibliothèques des chanoines réguliers," in *Les chanoines réguliers*, ed. Parisse, 319–41.
- 23 Bischoff, *Carmine Burana: Einführung zur Faksimile-Ausgabe der Benediktbeurer Liederhandschrift*, 23; Hans Spanke, "Der Codex Buranus als Liederbuch," in Spanke, *Studien zur lateinischen und romanischen Lyrik des Mittelalters*, ed. Ulrich Molk (Hildesheim: Olms, 1983), 231–41.
- 24 Nebbiai, "Les bibliothèques," 321, comments on external scribes.
- 25 See *Le Codex Guta-Sintram: Manuscrit 37 de la Bibliothèque du Grand Séminaire de Strasbourg*, ed. Béatrice Weis, 3 vols. (Lucerne: Éditions Fac-similés, 1982–83).
- 26 See Gustav Pfeiffer, "Ministerialität und geistliche Stadt: Entwicklungslinien in Brixen bis zur Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts," in *Stadt und Hochstift: Brixen, Bruneck und Klausen bis zur Säkularisation 1803*, ed. Helmut Flachenecker, Hans Heiss, and Hannes Obermair (Bolzano: Athesia, 2000), 131–48.
- 27 See Franz-Heinz von Hye, "Die Städte der Fürstbischöfe von Brixen und ihre Stellung in der fürstbischöflichen Territorialpolitik im Mittelalter," in *Stadt und Hochstift*, ed. Flachenecker, Heiss, and Obermair, 165–72.
- 28 Iginio Rogger, "I principati ecclesiastici di Trento e di Bressanone dalle origini alla secolarizzazione del 1236," in *I poteri temporali dei Vescovi in Italia e in Germania nel Medioevo*, ed. Carlo Guido Mor (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1979), 177–223.
- 29 See Stefan Weinfurter, "Reformkanoniker und Reichsepiscopat im Hochmittelalter," in *Gelebte Ordnung—Gedachte Ordnung: Ausgewählte Beiträge zu König, Kirche und Reich; Stefan Weinfurter aus Anlaß des 60. Geburtstages*, ed. Helmut Kluger et al. (Ostfildern: J. Thorbecke, 2005), 3–34; and cf. Helmut Flachenecker, "L'expansion des chanoines réguliers dans le saint Empire romain (XIe–XIIe siècles)," in *Les chanoines réguliers*, ed. Parisse, 361–84.
- 30 Max Schrott, "Le relazioni della prepositura dei canonici regolari di Novicella con la Curia Romana nel Medio Evo," *Archivio della Reale Deputazione romana di storia patria* 67, n.s. 10, no. 3/4 (1944): 337–60.
- 31 See Josef Riedmann in *Geschichte des Landes Tirol*, vol. 1, *Von den Anfängen bis 1490*, ed. Josef Fontana et al. (Bozen: Athesia; Innsbruck: Tyrolia, 1985), 358 ff.
- 32 See Bernhard Brenner, *Normen und Reformen in ostschwäbischen Augustiner-Chorherrenstiften: Ihre Bedeutung für Ordensverfassung und Selbstverständnis* (Augsburg: Wißner, 2011), 138 ff.
- 33 See Anna Maria Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (Berkeley: Uni-

- versity of California Press, 2005); John Eliot Gardiner, *Music in the Castle of Heaven: A Portrait of Johann Sebastian Bach* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2013), 40; Max Peintner, "Schreibkunst, Studium und Musikleben im mittelalterlichen Kloster: Eine Darstellung am Beispiel der Musikgeschichte des Augustiner-Chorherrenstifts Neustift," in *Musikgeschichte Tirols*, vol. 1, *Von den Anfängen bis zur frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Kurt Drexel and Monika Fink (Innsbruck: Wagner, 2001), 353–80; Anne J. Duggan, "The World of the *Carmina Burana*," in *The Carmina Burana: Four Essays*, ed. Martin H. Jones (London: King's College London, Centre for Late Antique and Medieval Studies, 2000), 1–24.
- 34 Bischoff, *Carmina Burana: Einführung zur Faksimile-Ausgabe der Benediktbeurer Liederhandschrift*, 26.
 - 35 Peintner, "Schreibkunst, Studium und Musikleben," 359.
 - 36 *Carmina Burana*, ed. Schumann and Bischoff, vol. 1, pt. 3, 89.
 - 37 Peintner, "Schreibkunst, Studium und Musikleben," 362–63; Adolf Pichler, *Über das Drama des Mittelalters in Tirol* (Innsbruck, 1850), 8 ff.
 - 38 See Max Harris, *Sacred Folly: A New History of the Feast of Fools* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2011).
 - 39 See Margot Pizzini, "Komische Szenen im Neustifter Osterspiel," *Der Schlern: Monatszeitschrift für Südtiroler Landeskunde* 41 (1967): 98–103.
 - 40 See Hans Spanke, "Tanzmusik in der Kirche des Mittelalters," in *Studien zur lateinischen und romanischen Lyrik*, 104–31.
 - 41 Still valuable is the collection of sources by Dom Louis Gougoud, "La danse dans les Églises," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 15 (1914): 229–46.
 - 42 CB no. 196, st. 1, ll. 1–2, in *Carmina Burana*, ed. Schumann and Bischoff, vol. 1, pt. 3, 35.
 - 43 See Godman, *The Archpoet and Medieval Culture*, 157 ff.
 - 44 Further studies I am working on will focus on the contents of the *Carmina Burana*.
 - 45 The opinion on the quality of the h² hand is that of Otto Schumann, *Carmina Burana*, vol. 2, pt. 1 *Einleitung (Die Handschrift der Carmina Burana): Die moralisch-satirischen Dichtungen* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1930), 27 ff.
 - 46 On the subject, see Willibald Sauerländer, *Initialen: Ein Versuch über das verwirrte Verhältnis von Schrift und Bild im Mittelalter* (Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Bibliothek, 1994); and Jean-Loup Lemaître, *Portraits de troubadours: Initiales de chansonniers provençaux I et K (Paris, BNF, ms. fr. 854 et 12473)* (Ussel, Fr.: Musée du Pays d'Ussel, 2006). See Andrea von Hülsen-Esch, *Gelehrte im Bild: Repräsentation, Darstellung und Wahrnehmung einer sozialen Gruppe im Mittelalter* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2006).
 - 47 See these seven verses with embellished initials in Benedikt Konrad Vollmann, ed., *Carmina Burana: Texte und Übersetzungen, mit den Miniaturen aus der Handschrift und einem Aufsatz von Peter und Dorothee Diemer* (Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verl., 1987), CB no. 14 (fol. 47v in the Codex Buranus), 42 ff.; CB no. 127 (fol. 52v), 452 ff.; CB no. 164 (fol. 66r), 540 ff.; CB no. 175 (fol. 69v), 566 ff.; CB no. 180 (fol. 71r), 579 ff.; CB no. 187 (fol. 83v), 596 ff.; CB no. 193 (fol. 86r), 616 ff.
 - 48 See *Fortschritt durch Fälschung? Ursprung, Gestalt und Wirkungen der pseudo-isidorischen Fälschungen: Beiträge zum gleichnamigen Symposium an der Universität*

Tübingen vom 27. und 28. Juli 2001, ed. Wilfried Hartmann and Gerhard Schmitz (Hanover: Hahn, 2002).

- 49 See Schumann, *Carmina Burana*, vol. 2, pt. 1, 27 ff.
- 50 Vollmann, ed., *Carmina Burana: Texte und Übersetzungen*, CB no. 155 (fol. 62v), 518 ff.; CB no. 85 (fol. 64r), 294 ff.; CB nos. 170 and 171 (fol. 68v), 556 ff.; CB no. 181 (fol. 71r), 582 ff.; CB no. 199 (fol. 88v), 636 ff. The first of these initials is reproduced by Elisabeth Klemm, *Die illuminierten Handschriften des 13. Jahrhunderts deutscher Herkunft in der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek*, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1998), 109, no. 294.
- 51 See the monastic antiphonal (1186/1200) in Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB I 55, fol. 131v (initial “O” with depicted face). The original manuscript may be viewed at *Deutsches Dokumentationszentrum für Kunstgeschichte–Bildarchiv Foto Marburg*, <https://www.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/item/D2SVNCSPNPAKJBF5EMZ2N3GRLFIJMFXL>. For context, see Jonathan J. G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992), 4–34. I thank Harald Wolter-von-dem Knesebeck for advice on this point.
- 52 See Norbert Ott, “Text im Bild—Text als Bild: Zu Materialität, Zeichencharakter und Aussageebene von Initialen in mittelalterlichen Handschriften,” in *Text als Realie: Internationaler Kongress Krems an der Donau, 3. bis 6. Oktober 2000*, ed. Karl Brunner and Gerhard Jaritz (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2003), 332–58.
- 53 See Peter Cornelius Claussen, “Autorschaft als Egotrip im 12. Jahrhundert?,” in *Künstler-Signaturen von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Nicole Hegener (Petersberg: M. Imhof, 2013), 76–89, at 83 ff.; and Felix Heinzer, “Leselenkung als Selbstinszenierung des Autors: Zum autographen Text- und Bildvorspann von Gottfrieds von St. Victor *Fons Philosophiae*,” in *Lesevorgänge: Prozesse des Erkennens in mittelalterlichen Texten, Bildern und Handschriften*, ed. Eckardt Conrad Lutz et al. (Zürich: Chronos, 2010), 183–204.
- 54 See Michael Curschmann, *Wort, Text, Bild: Studien zur Medialität des literarischen in Hochmittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, vol. 1 (Baden-Baden: Verlag Valentin Koerner, 2007), 59 ff.
- 55 See Umberto Eco, *Apocalypse Postponed*, trans. and ed. Robert Lumley (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994); with Bernard Williams, *Essays and Reviews, 1959–2002* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2014), 359.
- 56 On the mnemonic function of such initials, see Michael Camille, “Seeing and Reading: Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy,” *Art History* 8, no. 1 (1985): 26–49, at 29.
- 57 See Christel Meier, “*Ecce auctor*: Beiträge zur Ikonographie literarischer Urheberchaft im Mittelalter,” *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 34 (2000/2001): 338–412.
- 58 See Godman, *The Archpoet and Medieval Culture*, 119 ff.
- 59 See Gosbert Schüssler, “Der symbolische Buchstabe: Ungewöhnliche Künstlerbildnisse des Mittelalters,” in *Text als Realie*, ed. Brunner and Jaritz, 359–86; Peter Cornelius Claussen, “Früher Künstlerstolz: Mittelalterliche Signaturen als Quelle der Kunstsoziologie,” in *Bauwerk und Bildwerk im Hochmittelalter: Anschauliche Beiträge zur Kultur- und Sozialgeschichte*, ed. Karl Clausberg et al. (Gießen: Anabas-Verlag,

- 1981), 7–34; and Harald Keller, “Künstlerstolz und Künstlerdemut im Mittelalter,” in *Festschrift der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft an der Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1981), 191–219.
- 60 For an impressionistic treatment of the authorship question, see Sayce, *Plurilingualism*, 195 ff.
- 61 Wagner, *Traditionsbuch des Augustiner-Chorherrenstiftes Neustift bei Brixen*, 127 (no. 165), 129 (no. 167); and Kugler, *Urkunden des Augustiner-Chorherrenstiftes Neustift bei Brixen*, 57 (no. 17), 61 (no. 21), 67 (no. 26), 74 (no. 34).
- 62 See Ambros Giner, “Chorherrenverzeichnis, 1142–1942,” in *Festschrift zum 800-jährigen Jubiläum des Stiftes Novacella*, ed. Ambros Giner (Brixen: A. Weger, 1942), III, 6.
- 63 The classic account is Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- 64 See Wagner, *Traditionsbuch des Augustiner-Chorherrenstiftes Neustift bei Brixen*, 29 ff. (no. 1); and see Anselm Sparber, *Abriß der Geschichte des Chorherrenstiftes Neustift bei Brixen* (Brixen: Weger, 1920), 19 ff.
- 65 See Arthur G. Rigg, “Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies,” in multiple parts in *Medieval Studies* 39 (1977): 281–330; 40 (1978): 387–407; 41 (1979): 468–505; 43 (1981): 472–79; 49 (1987): 352–90.
- 66 Pace Sayce, *Plurilingualism*, 62, 140.
- 67 Thanks to Albrecht Manegold of the Staatliches Museum für Naturkunde, Karlsruhe, for advice on this point.
- 68 See Horst Bredekamp, “Die Ich-Werdung des Werkes im Mittelalter,” in *Künstler-Signaturen*, ed. Hegener, 90–99.
- 69 MS Neustift 21a, p. 40: “quecumque adipisci potuit per manum pauperum et scribarum . . . in celestibus thesauris transmisit. In personis vero et rebus et libris . . . adeo locum istum excoluit, ut memoria eius non debeat nec possit a nobis derelinqui in secula.” This is a copy of the lost manuscript of the *Memoriale Benefactorum Novacellensium*, which was prepared by the historian and canon Theodor Mairhofer (†1878) for publication. On Provost Conrad II at Neustift, see Sparber, *Abriß der Geschichte des Chorherrenstiftes Neustift bei Brixen*, 24–26.
- 70 See Anselm Sparber, “Aus der inneren Geschichte unseres Klosters,” in *Festschrift zum 800-jährigen Jubiläum des Stiftes Novacella*, ed. Giner, II, 105 ff.
- 71 Bischoff, *Carmina Burana: Einführung zur Faksimile-Ausgabe der Benediktbeurer Liederhandschrift*, 28.
- 72 Schumann, *Carmina Burana*, vol. 2, pt. 1, 16–20.
- 73 For the Augustinian canons at Frankenthal, see Aliza Cohen-Mushlin, “On Learned Scribes,” in *Les Problèmes posés par l’édition critique des textes anciens et médiévaux*, ed. Jacqueline Hamesse (Louvain-la-Neuve: Université catholique de Louvain, 1992), 197–206.
- 74 *Necrologium Novae Cellae Brixinensis*, in *Necrologia Germaniae*, vol. 3, *Dioceses Brixinensis, Frisingensis, Ratisbonensis*, ed. Franz Ludwig Baumann (Berlin: Weidmann, 1905; repr. München: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1983), 32, April 21.
- 75 A project that will analyze the Neustift and Brixen manuscripts and charters, sponsored by the Autonomous Province of Bozen, *Erschließung der mittelalterlichen Hand-*

schriften in der Stiftsbibliothek Neustift und der Priesterseminarbibliothek Brixen, is currently being completed by Ursula Stampfer. For that reason the following paragraphs eschew codicological description, which will be undertaken by this project in detail that would be disproportionate in an article. Best thanks to Ursula Stampfer who, at Neustift, helpfully discussed the manuscripts cited below.

- 76 See Michele Maccarone, “*Cura animarum e parochialis sacerdos* nelle costituzioni del IV Concilio lateranense,” in *Pievi e parrocchie in Italia nel Basso Medioevo, sec. XIII–XV: Atti del VI convegno di storia della chiesa in Italia* (Roma: Herder Verlag, 1984), 81–195.
- 77 See Karl Bosl, *Regularkanoniker (Augustinerchorherren) und Seelsorge in Kirche und Gesellschaft des europäischen 12. Jahrhunderts* (München: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1979).
- 78 Franz Daffner, *Geschichte des Klosters Benediktbeuern (740–1803), mit Berücksichtigung der allgemeinen Geschichte und der handschriftlichen Literatur* (München, 1893), 40–41; Schumann, *Carmina Burana*, vol. 2, pt. 1, 55 ff.
- 79 See Hans Pörnbacher, “Schriftsteller und Poeten in Benediktbeuern bis zur Sekularisation,” in *Vestigia Burana: Spuren und Zeugnisse des Kulturzentrums Kloster Benediktbeuern*, ed. Leo Weber (München: Don Bosco Verlag, 1995), 127–54.
- 80 See Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte 1815–1845/49* (München: Don Bosco Verlag, 1987).
- 81 Johannes Andreas Schmeller, *Briefwechsel II (1826–1852)*, ed. Werner Winkler (Grafenau: Morsak, 1989), 601 (Sept. 1847).
- 82 Although there exists no complete history of the discipline of Medieval Latin in Germany, much can be learned from the partial but informative survey by Franz-Rutger Hausmann, *Das Fach Mittellateinische Philologie an deutschen Universitäten von 1930 bis 1950* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 2010). For Johann Andreas Schmeller’s edition, see *Carmina Burana: Lateinische und deutsche Lieder und Gedichte einer Handschrift des XIII. Jahrhunderts aus Benediktbeuern auf der K. Bibliothek zu München* (Breslau: Koebner, 1883). The reprint of this work is cited for reasons explained at the end of this paragraph.
- 83 See Paul Gerhard Schmidt, “*Nach dem mönch riechend, aber lesenswerth*: Jacob Grimm und das Mittellatein,” in *Brüder-Grimm-Symposium zur historischen Wortforschung*, ed. Reiner Hildebrandt and Ulrich Knoop (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1986), 139–47; Schmeller, *Briefwechsel II*, ed. Winkler, 523–25 (May 1844).
- 84 See Richard J. Brunner, *Johann Andreas Schmeller: Sprachwissenschaftler und Philologe* (Innsbruck: Inst. für Vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft, 1971).
- 85 Figure 2 reproduces collations preserved in the volume from Traube’s collection, now in the library of the Monumenta Germaniae Historica (MGH) at Munich (shelfmark Nk 22013).
- 86 It is likely that Traube undertook this collation for Wilhelm Meyer, whose work is outlined below, and it is in general clear that Traube assisted Meyer with the *Carmina Burana*, because there are bibliographical notes to individual poems in his handwriting which, from Meyer’s and Otto Schumann’s combined *Nachlaß*, passed to Bernhard Bischoff and are preserved in his papers (MGH-Archive, MS K 195/6). The only materials in the MGH which resemble preparations for the edition of the *Carmina*

- Burana* which Schumann (*Carmina Burana*, vol. 2, pt. 1, 93–94) claims Rudolf Peiper undertook (with or without Meyer?) are contained in MGH-Archive, MSS A 203 and A 164. There is no trace of the edition by Schmeller which, according to Schumann, Peiper collated carefully.
- 87 On Meyer, see Gabriel Silagi, *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 17 (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1993), 376–77.
 - 88 Wilhelm Meyer, ed., *Fragmenta Burana: Festschrift zur Feier des 150jährigen Bestehens der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1901). See Meyer, “Das erste Gedicht der *Carmina Burana*,” *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen: Philologisch-historische Klasse* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1908), 189–93.
 - 89 On Hilka, see Hans Helmut Christmann in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 6 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1990), 1030–36.
 - 90 Schumann, *Carmina Burana*, vol. 2, pt. 1, 5–82.
 - 91 *Ibid.*, 82 ff.; and see Godman, *The Archpoet and Medieval Culture*.
 - 92 *Deutsche Bildung? Briefwechsel zweier Schulmänner, Otto Schumann—Martin Havenstein (1930–1944)*, ed. Notker Hammerstein (Frankfurt am Main: Insel-Verlag, 1988), 157–58. For biobibliographies of Schumann, see 327–30.
 - 93 *Ibid.*, 329.
 - 94 *Ibid.*, 221 ff., 235, 262.
 - 95 See Alexander Askenasy, *Otto Schumann (1888–1950): Ein Schulmeister in den Zerreißproben seiner Zeit* (New York: Alexander Askenasy; Bad Ems: E. Sommer, 2003), 43–56.
 - 96 *Deutsche Bildung?*, ed. Hammerstein, 137.
 - 97 Otto Schumann, ed., *Carmina Burana*, vol. 1, pt. 1, *Die moralisch-satirischen Dichtungen* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1930), 144–60; see Schumann, *Lateinisches Hexameter-Lexikon: Dichterisches Formelgut von Ennius bis zum Archipoeta*, 7 vols. (München: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1979–82).
 - 98 Schumann’s view of the Codex Buranus as a “bad manuscript” is quoted by Bischoff in *Carmina Burana*, vol. 1, pt. 3, viii.
 - 99 *CB* no. 62, in *Carmina Burana*, ed. Schumann, vol. 1, pt. 1, 19–23.
 - 100 Munich, MGH-Archive, MS K 195/33, 3. Since the unnamed colleague is identified as a pupil of Paul Lehmann, the reference is to Richard Hunt, who was still corresponding with Bischoff on Oct. 13, 1970. The correspondence in this fascicule is unpaginated and disordered.
 - 101 *Ibid.*
 - 102 *Carmina Burana*, ed. Bischoff, vol. 1, pt. 3, 6–21.
 - 103 Heinrich Watenphul and Heinrich Krefeld, *Die Gedichte des Archipoeta: Einführung, Text, Kommentar* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1958), 140. Genesis 6:6 reads: “Et tactus dolore cordis intrinsecus. . .”
 - 104 See Godman, *The Archpoet and Medieval Culture*, 112 ff.
 - 105 *Ibid.*, 129 ff.
 - 106 *CB* no. 226, st. 10, in *Carmina Burana*, ed. Bischoff, vol. 1, pt. 3, 86; followed by *Carmina Burana: Die Gedichte des Codex Buranus*, trans. Karl Fischer and Hugo Kuhn, intro. by Guenter Bernt (Zürich: Artemis-Verlag, 1974), 654.

- 107 On Heraeus, see Gerhard Baader in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 8 (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1969), 571–72.
- 108 Vollmann, ed., *Carmina Burana: Texte und Übersetzungen*, 702.
- 109 *Carmina Burana*, ed. Bischoff, vol. 1, pt. 3, 85.
- 110 *Mittelateinisches Wörterbuch bis zum ausgehenden 13. Jahrhundert*, ed. Otto Prinz and Johannes Schneider, vol. 1 (München: C. H. Beck, 1967), 542, 39–40.
- 111 For background, see Wilfried Hartmann, “*Modernus* und *Antiquus*: Zur Verbreitung und Bedeutung dieser Bezeichnungen in der wissenschaftlichen Literatur vom 9. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert,” in *Antiqui und Moderni: Traditionsbewusstsein und Fortschrittsbewusstsein im späten Mittelalter*, ed. Albert Zimmermann (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1974), 21–39.
- 112 “*Altercatio Ganymedis et Helenae*: Kritische Edition mit Kommentar,” ed. Rudolf Wilhelm Lenzen, *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch* 7 (1972): 161–86; Otto Schumann, ed., *Carmina Burana*, vol. 1, pt. 2, *Die Liebeslieder* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1930), 94–103. The reference to Ganymede at strophe 31, line 3 (97) amounts to no more than a classicism for “squire.”
- 113 See Christof Rolker, “Der Hermaphrodit und seine Frau: Körper, Sexualität und Geschlecht im Spätmittelalter,” *Historische Zeitschrift* 297, no. 3 (2013): 593–620; and Monika C. Otter, “Neither/Neuter: Hildebert’s Hermaphrodite and the Medieval Latin Epigram,” *Studi Medievali* 3rd ser. 48, no. 2 (2007): 789–808.
- 114 *Carmina Burana*, ed. Schumann and Bischoff, vol. 1, pt. 3, 85–86. *Ganymedicus*, at CB no. 226, st. 9, l. 3, the reading of the Codex Buranus, is correct, and Schumann’s conjecture *Ganymedicum*, printed by Bischoff, is mistaken, as was noted by Walther Bulst in his review of that edition; repr. in Bulst, *Lateinisches Mittelalter: Gesammelte Beiträge*, ed. Walter Berschin (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1984), 224–34. Neither Schumann nor Bischoff grasped the black humor of the neologism. A doctor (*medicus*) heals; a pederast (*Ganymedicus*) harms by anal penetration (*fodit*). This is more than “unusual culture.”
- 115 See Elisabeth Crouzet-Pavan and Jacques Verger, eds., *La dérision au Moyen Âge: De la pratique sociale au rituel politique* (Paris: Presses de l’Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2007).
- 116 See Stefan Micheler, ed., *Homosexualitäten und Crossdressing im Mittelalter* (Hamburg: MännerschwarmSkript-Verlag, 2001).
- 117 See Hubertus Lutterbach, *Sexualität im Mittelalter: Eine Kulturstudie anhand von Bußbüchern des 6. bis 12. Jahrhunderts* (Köln: Böhlau, 1999); and Glenn W. Olsen, *Of Sodomites, Effeminates, Hermaphrodites, and Androgynes: Sodomy in the Age of Peter Damian* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2011). No mention is made of bisexuality in the excellent studies by James A. Brundage, *Sex, Law, and Marriage in the Middle Ages* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 1993). The observation, more than a century ago, by Franz Neugebauer in *Hermaphroditismus beim Menschen* (Leipzig: Werner Klinkhardt, 1908) of the rarity of medieval sources for bisexuality appears still to be valid. See Ulrich Gooß, *Sexualwissenschaftliche Konzepte der Bisexualität von Männern* (Stuttgart: Enke, 1995).
- 118 On Louis VII, see Otto von Freising, *Gesta Frederici*, in *Bischof Otto von Freising und Rahewin: Die Taten Friedrichs oder richtiger Cronica*, trans. Adolf Schmidt, ed. Franz-

- Josef Schmale (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1965), 114 ff.; Hannes Möhring, *Der Weltkaiser der Endzeit, Entstehung, Wandel und Wirkung einer tausend-jährigen Weissagung* (Stuttgart: J. Thorbecke, 2000), 170 ff.; and Hans-Dietrich Kahl, "Fides cum ydolatria: Ein Kreuzfahrerlied als Quelle für die Kreuzzugeschatologie der Jahre 1146/47," in *Festschrift für Berent Schwineköper zu seinem siebzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. Helmut Maurer and Hans Patze (Sigmaringen: J. Thorbecke, 1982), 291–307.
- 119 See Joseph Bédier, "La tradition manuscrite du *Lai de l'Ombre*: Réflexions sur l'art d'éditer les anciens textes," *Romania* 54 (1928): 161–96 and 321–56; Bernard Cerquiglini, *Éloge de la variante: Histoire critique de la philologie* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1989); Stephen G. Nichols, "Why Material Philology? Some Thoughts," in the special issue "Philologie als Textwissenschaft: Alte und Neue Horizonte," ed. Helmut Ter-vooren, *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie* 116 (1997): 10–30; Karl Stackmann, "Autor, Überlieferung, Editor," in *Das Mittelalter und die Germanisten: Zur neueren Methodengeschichte der Germanischen Philologie; Freiburger Colloquium 1997*, ed. Eckart Conrad Lutz (Fribourg: Universitätsverlag, 1998), 11–32.
- 120 See Hausmann, *Das Fach Mittellateinische Philologie*, 47–55. The exception to the general rule of neglect or rejection of Orff by Medieval Latinist Karl Langosch is documented by Hausmann (270–89).
- 121 Carl Orff and Michel Hofmann, *Briefe zur Entstehung der Carmina Burana*, ed. Frohmüt Dangel-Hofmann (Tutzing: H. Schneider, 1990).
- 122 "Keine Gedankenlyrik und Wortgedichte, sondern Klang und Rhythmus . . . Es muß eine Chorphantasie entstehen." Michel Hofmann, "Die *Carmina Burana* im Werden," in *Carmina Burana von Carl Orff: Entstehung, Wirkung, Text*, ed. Franz Willnauer (Mainz: Schott, 2007), 42–81, at 66.
- 123 Orff described himself in terms of his ear: "Ich bin ein Ohrenmensch und behandle die Sprache lediglich vom Klang her." Carl Orff to Hermann Weller, quoted by Ernst Häussinger, "Der Latinist Hermann Weller und der Komponist Carl Orff," *Ellwanger Jahrbuch* 28/29 (1979–80): 280–97, at 285. Though not especially interested in medieval melody, Orff had been impressed in 1930 by the variations on Perotin composed by the Munich musicologist Rudolf von Ficker, contact with whom influenced his own work. See Annette Kreutziger-Herr, *Ein Traum vom Mittelalter: Die Wiederentdeckung mittelalterlicher Musik in der Neuzeit* (Köln: Böhlau, 2003), 177 ff. I owe this reference to Klaus Pietschmann. Orff commented regarding the nature of Latin: "Ich konnte und wollte keine Studien über die mögliche Erschließung dieser alten Notenschrift betreiben und ließ sie völlig unberücksichtigt. Was mich bewegte, war ausschließlich die Bildhaftigkeit dieser Dichtungen und nicht zuletzt die vokalreiche Musikalität und einzigartige Knappheit der lateinischen Sprache." Carl Orff, "Fortuna hat es mit mir gut gemeint," in *Carmina Burana*, ed. Willnauer, 62.
- 124 Gerhard Pietzsch began his career as he would continue it, gathering sources. See his doctoral dissertation, *Die Klassifikation der Musik von Boethius bis Ugolino von Orvieto* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1929). He is described as a "Dramaturg" in *Riemann Musik-Lexikon*, ed. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, vol. 3 (Mainz: Schott, 1961), 409.
- 125 *Carl Orff und sein Werk: Dokumentation*, vol. 4 (Tutzing: H. Schneider, 1979), 198; and Susanne Gläß, *Carl Orff: Carmina Burana* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2008), 153 n. 16.

- 126 Michael H. Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era: Eight Portraits* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 112 and n. 4.
- 127 Munich, Orff-Zentrum, Carl Orff letter to Gerhard Pietzsch, April 28, 1946, cited according to date from the Orff-Zentrum because the documents, made available on microfilm, are classified in this way.
- 128 Ibid.
- 129 Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 139, 141, 142.
- 130 Carl Orff and Michel Hofmann, *Briefe zur Entstehung der Carmina Burana*, ed. Frohmut Dangel-Hofmann (Tutzing, Ger.: Schneider, 1990), 112.
- 131 For an example of Nazi press, see Willnauer, ed., *Carmina Burana*, 294 ff.
- 132 See my postface to the English translation of *Europäische Literatur und Lateinisches Mittelalter*, "The Ideas of Ernst Robert Curtius and the Genesis of ELLMA: Epilogue," in *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Willard R. Trask (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990), 599–653.
- 133 Note, however, that Orff recommended, perhaps for motives of feigned modesty, his choice of texts from the *Carmina Burana* to Richard Strauss, to whom he sent extracts from his work after the senior composer attended its performance at the Vienna State Opera in February 1942. See Carl Orff, *Trionfi: Carmina Burana, Catulli Carmina, Trionfo di Afrodite* (Tutzing, Ger.: H. Schneider, 1979), 77–78. The letter is dated Feb. 10, 1942. I thank Thomas Rösch for discussion of this point.
- 134 *CB* no. 77, st. 8, l. 4, in Vollmann, ed., *Carmina Burana: Texte und Übersetzungen*, 266.
- 135 *Horaz in der Lederhos'n: Lateinisch und Deutsch*, ed. Eduard Stemplinger, 4th ed. (München: Lindauer, 1950; first published in 1926).
- 136 "Ich bitte Sie, bei der Lektüre zu bedenken, daß ich als Musiker bei Abfassung des Stückes lediglich von musikalischen Gesichtspunkten und Bedürfnissen ausgegangen bin" (MHG Orff-Archive, Orff to Hermann Weller, Nov. 28, 1943).
- 137 See Jost Hemandt, *Kultur im Wiederaufbau: Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 1945–1965* (München: Nymphenburger, 1986), 503.

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