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Goliás and other Pseudonyms

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

My approach is through the fictions of medieval attributions – Archipoeta, Primas, Goliás, and the less obviously pseudonymous Gauterus. We are in the realm of ghosts. Meyer observed that the character Primas walked « wie Gespenst » through scholarly literature ⁽²⁾; Dobiache-Rojdesvensky referred to « le fantôme inconstant de Goliás » ⁽³⁾; Crescini observed « che Goliás fu

(1) My work on this subject began with a Fellowship from the American Council of Learned Societies (1972-3), to whom I here express my thanks. The bibliographical and manuscript information in this study rests on HANS WALTHER's indispensable *Initia carminum ac versuum medii aevi posterioris latinorum*, 2nd ed., Göttingen, 1969. WALTHER numbers are cited in the bibliographical sections of the article. I have also consulted the three sets of *Nachträge* to WALTHER, published in *Mittelaltelaisches Jahrbuch*. I am grateful to Dr. Brian Scott and to Professors B. Bischoff, Colin Chase, Chris McDonough, and Brian Stock for their reading of the article and for helpful suggestions.

(2) W. MEYER, *Die Oxforde Gedichte des Primas*, Göttingen, 1907 (Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 1907), p. 1 (formerly p. 75); all references are to the reprinted edition, Darmstadt, 1970.

(3) OLGA DOBIACHE-ROJDESVENSKY, *Les poésies des Goliards*, Paris, 1931, p. 35.

un simbolico nome, un mitico fantasma... non punto persona in carne ed ossa » (4). Their lack of material substance, however, has been a feature of these poets since their appearance at the end of the twelfth century. The ghosts are, of course, of (medieval) human making: in many cases modern research has stripped away the disguises, like the stage ghost's white sheet, to reveal the original authors – Hugh of Orléans, Walter of Châtillon, and so on. It is certainly not my contention that the canons of works of these poets, established with careful and imaginative scholarship, are to be rejected: in most cases they rest on internal references and stylistic considerations. Nevertheless, the fact remains that during the Middle Ages, up to the fifteenth century, the ghosts had more reality than the « real » poets who had hidden beneath the disguises (5): scribes who had never heard of Hugh of Orléans or Walter of Châtillon, and who probably did not even know where Cologne or Orléans were, confidently continued to ascribe poems to Golias, Primas, or Gauterus. The myth, rather than the reality, is my concern here.

First, however, it is of some interest to examine the approaches of modern critics and historians. Investigation has taken essentially two paths, one biographical, the other (loosely) sociological. The first approach was taken by Thomas Wright (6), who began with Giraldus Cambrensis' accounts of Walter Mapes and of a « parasitus quidam » named Golias.

The first section of Wright's collection is restricted to poems ascribed in the manuscripts or by the antiquarians to Golias; the second section contains poems ascribed « by some writer » to Walter Mapes; the third section comprises poems « of a similar character ». Inevitably and understandably the biographers moved in: dissatisfied with lumping together a whole body of poems simply because scribes and scholars over four centuries had ascribed them either to pseudonyms or to an author (Walter Mapes) who could not possibly have written them, they began to dis-

(4) V. CRESCINI, *Appunti su l'etimologia di « goliardo »*, in *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto*, 79 (1920), pp. 1079-1128. I am not concerned here with the etymology of the word Golias, but generally I would agree with Crescini's conclusions, that the words *gula* and *Golias* (Goliath) interacted on each other via the form *golart*.

(5) Pace A. WILMART, *Les épigrammes liées d'Hugues Primat et d'Hildebert*, in *Revue Bénédictine*, 47 (1935), pp. 175-180, who, after agreeing that the role of the *vagantes* should not be exaggerated, adds (p. 180 n. 1) « d'autre part, il est bien vrai que des chanteurs ambulants ne sont pas des personnages mythiques, témoin Primat ». Certainly Hugh existed, but I doubt if most scribes were so certain.

(6) THOMAS WRIGHT, *Poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes*, Camden Soc., London, 1841.

entangle the works (7). In 1843 Grimm investigated the Göttingen manuscript of the poems of the Archpoet and wrote somewhat despairingly (in a tone echoed by his followers): « Proteusartig hat er sich uns als Walter, Nicolaus, Map, Golias, Archipoeta und Primas gezeigt, den Händen die ihn ergreifen wollten, mehrmals entschlüpfend » (8); further work was undertaken by Büdinger (9) and others, and culminated in the full edition by Watenphul and Krefeld (10). Delisle was the pioneer of work on Hugh Primas, pursuing the poet through chronicles and anecdotes and through the rubrics of manuscripts (11); his work, and that of the German scholars, was brilliantly advanced by Hauréau in his account of the Vatican MS Reg. lat. 344 in 1880 (12), which he supplemented in 1888 by further discoveries (13). In 1907 Meyer added to the Primas canon the poems in the Bodleian MS Rawlinson G. 109 (14); in 1920 Lehmann added another group of poems (15) (supplemented recently by Langosch) (16) and at the same time established a list of « genuine » Walter Mapes poems. With the felling of these trees the woods became clearer: building on the work of earlier researchers, Strecker, in a series of masterly analyses of the manuscript tradition, established the canon of the minor poems of Walter of Châtillon (17). Most recently Friend (18) and Öberg (19) have sorted out the sorry tangle of poems

(7) Many of the poems ascribed to Golias or Walter Mapes are too early or too late for the real Archdeacon of Oxford. Giraldus (below, p. 82) clearly distinguishes Golias, of whom he disapproved, from Walter Mapes, a personal friend. The friendship between the two has been disputed by A. K. BATE, in *Latomus* 31 (1972), pp. 860-875, but one would still expect Giraldus to know what Mapes had written.

(8) JACOB GRIMM, *Gedichte des Mittelalters auf König Friedrich I. den Staufer und aus seiner so wie die nächstfolgenden Zeit*, in *Abhandlungen der königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist.*, Berlin, 1845 (for 1843), pp. 143-256; this was also issued as GRIMM's *Kleinere Schriften* (so cited by WALTHER).

(9) MAX BUDINGER, *Ueber einige Reste der Vagantenpoesie in Oesterreich*, in *Wiener Sitzungsberichte, Phil.-Hist. Kl.*, 13 (1854), pp. 314-339.

(10) H. WATENPHUL and H. KREFELD, *Die Gedichte des Archipoeta*, Heidelberg, 1958.

(11) LÉOPOLD DELISLE, *Notes sur quelques manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Tours*, in *Bibliothèque de l'école des Chartes*, 29 (1868), pp. 596-611; *Les écoles d'Orléans au douzième et au treizième siècle*, in *Annuaire Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de la France*, Paris, 1869, pp. 139-154; *Le poète Primat*, in *Bibliothèque de l'école des Chartes*, 31 (1870), pp. 302-311.

(12) *Notices et extraits*, 29, 2 (1880), pp. 231-362.

(13) *Histoire littéraire de la France*, 30 (1888), pp. 280-293. Hauréau recognized the fluidity of Primas ascriptions: « il serait facile de prouver qu'avec le temps ce nom de Primat est devenu, comme celui de Golias, comme, plus tard, celui de Pasquin, un nom d'emprunt sous lequel écoliers et maîtres ont mis en circulation des vers libres, ou, du moins, des facéties dont ils n'osaient s'avouer auteurs » (p. 290). Timorous poets; but their motive, I think, was less cowardice than a desire to claim identification with a famous predecessor. One thinks of the Carolingian Vergils and Horaces.

(14) See n. 2 above.

(15) P. LEHMANN, *Mittelateinische Verse in « Distinctiones monasticae et morales »*, in *Münchener Sitzungsberichte*, München, 1922, 2e Abh.

(16) KARL LANGOSCH, *Hymen und Vagantenlieder*, Basel/Stuttgart, 1954, pp. 293-294.

(17) KARL STRECKER, *Walter von Châtillon und seine Schule*, in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 64 (1927), pp. 97-125 and pp. 161-89, culminating in his edition *Moralisch-Satirische Gedichte Walters von Châtillon*, Heidelberg, 1929.

(18) A. C. FRIEND, *Serlo of Wilton: the early years*, in *Bulletin du Cange*, 24 (1954), p. 85 sgg.

(19) J. ÖBERG, *Serlo de Wilton: poèmes latins*, Stockholm, 1965.

and epigrams of Serlo de Wilton. The remaining poems, those attributed to Goliard, the ghost par excellence, have been pushed into a corner (more politely described as «the school of Walter of Châtillon») and generally neglected⁽²⁰⁾.

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

The logic of this approach is sometimes doubtful: the *Cambridge Songs* collection is labelled by Breul a «Goliard's songbook» simply because it is a collection of verse dominated by rhythm rather than quantity and because sacred and profane are juxtaposed⁽²²⁾. There is nothing to support the association of an eleventh-century anthology with *Goliard* or *goliardus*, words which do not emerge until the end of the twelfth century, still less for equating *Goliard* with «Latin rhythmical poet». Somehow the idea had arisen that a Latin lyric collection could (if sufficiently profane in parts) be labelled Goliardic. This idea was encouraged by the publication of other lyric collections, particularly the *Carmina Burana*⁽²³⁾: this large collection, in which satire, love-poems and drinking songs mingled so spontaneously (without, as it happens, a mention of the words *Goliard* or *goliardus* anywhere in the manuscript), helped to identify the goliard as (as noted above) discontented, amorous and bibulous.

Not surprisingly, the temptation for modern editors to produce their own little *codices burani* has been too great, and it is

(20) The phrase is Strecker's; cfr., F. J. E. RABY, *Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed., II, Oxford, 1959, pp. 204-214.

(21) Documents concerning the *goliardi* and *vagantes* are collected by HELEN WADDELL, *The Wandering Scholars*, 6th ed., London, 1932; see also CRESCINI, op. cit. The classic poem on the *ordo vagantium* is *Carmina Burana* no. 219 «Cum in orbem universum»; two others are printed from Bodleian MS Digby 166 by K. STRECKER, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Philologie*, 51 (1926), pp. 117-119, and 52 (1927), p. 396; neither poem, «Nos per mundi climata» nor «Tria sunt officia», mentions the word *goliardus*: the first could possibly refer to men at large, who beg and defame those who will not give them money; the second refers precisely to monks, the *genus monachorum gyrovagum*, but both are «Goliardic» in the sense of the documents.

(22) K. BREUL, *The Cambridge Songs: a Goliard's songbook of the eleventh century*, Cambridge, 1915; see A. G. RIGG and G. WIELAND, in *Anglo-Saxon England*, 4 (1975), pp. 113-130.

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

safe to say that anything which now calls itself Goliardic will contain a fair sample of satire, love, and wine⁽²⁴⁾.

The complexities involving the identities of the poets and the loose use of the word Goliardic as a critical term have produced a minor side-effect: because some of their poems appear (often anonymously) in the medieval anthologies, some identifiable poets – notably Philip the Chancellor and Walter of Châtillon – have themselves been subsumed under the heading Goliardic, though it is a soubriquet that one imagines the Chancellor of the University of Paris at least would have resented⁽²⁵⁾.

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

(24) One of the earliest examples is the collection edited by J. FEIFALIK, *Studien zur Geschichte der altböhmischen Literatur*, in *Wiener Sitzungsberichte*, 36 (1861), pp. 119-191; similarly, J. A. SYMONDS, *Wine, Women and Songs*, London, 1884. The influence of HELEN WADDELL's *Mediaeval Latin Lyrics*, London, 1929, and of the two versions of the *Oxford Book of Mediaeval Latin Verse* (ed. S. GASELEE, Oxford, 1928, and F. J. E. RABY, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1959) has been to stress rhythm and rhyme at the expense of quantitative verse, secularity at the expense of devotion, and youth at the expense of age. Similarly, G. WHICHER, *The Goliard Poets*, Cambridge, Mass., 1949.

(25) Cfr. DOBIACHE-ROJDESVENSKY cit., pp. 50-53 and passim, and others. I do not wish to imply that these scholars themselves defined «Goliardic» so loosely: Dobiache-Rojdesvensky discusses the whole matter with great care. Their influence, nevertheless, has been to give an impression of Goliardic poetry that is both too narrow and too wide in its scope.

tion⁽²⁶⁾. Groups of manuscript collections at specific periods and in specific countries present distinctive associations of material: I have detected, for example, groups such as a Hildebert model (characterized by some of the minor poems of Hildebert, Marbod, Gualo, Roger of Caen, etc.), an «Anglo-Continental model» of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, and a «Later English model» of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (characterized especially by historical and political poems).

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

THE AUTHORS

1. *Archipoeta*. – The pseudonym *archipoeta* still hides from us the identity of the famous poet of Cologne⁽²⁷⁾. It is used by the scribe of Göttingen MS Philol. 170 (German, s. XII/XIII) in the margin against eight poems intimately concerned with Cologne and Rainald of Dassel, Nos. I-VIII in Watenphul-Krefeld⁽²⁸⁾. Modern scholars have added two more poems, including the *Confession* (see below). The poet's biography, summarized by Watenphul-Krefeld, has been inferred entirely from the poems. The one piece of external testimony unearthed by Grimm illustrates the spread of the term archpoet and has no biographical significance: Caesarius of Heisterbach, writing in 1222, tells the story of a certain Nicholas⁽²⁹⁾:

(26) PAUL LEHMANN, *Die Parodie im Mittelalter*, 2nd ed., Stuttgart, 1963, pp. 92-93. Two English MSS of the *Confession* found their way to Bohemia: see CB No. 191, and Bischoff's notes on p. 13.

(27) See Watenphul-Krefeld (n. 10 above) for a full discussion.

(28) The heading is not found against No. 1: it was presumably cut away in the binding process (WATENPHUL-KREFELD cit., p. 19).

(29) CAESARIUS OF HEISTERBACH, *Dialogus Miraculorum*, Dist. II, xv, ed. JOSEPH STRANGE, 2 vols., Cologne, 1851, I, pp. 83-84. The passage was first cited by GRIMM (n. 8 above).

anno praeterito apud Bonnam vicum diocesis Coloniensis, vagus quidam clericus, Nicolaus nomine, quem vocant archipoetam, in acutis graviter laboravit, et cum mori timeret, tam per se ipsum quam per canonicos eiusdem ecclesiae, ut in ordinem susciperetur apud abbatem nostrum obtinuit. Quid plura? cum multa, ut nobis videbatur, contritione tunicam induit, quam facta crisi celerius exuit, et cum quadam irrisione projiciens aufugit.

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

Venit ad nos adolescens quidam canonicus in Colonia, magis, ut postea rei exitus probavit, ex quadam levitate mentis, quam devotione conversionis. Qui suum nobis aperiens propositum, iuvenibus nostris maxime, non parvum fecit gaudium. Dominus Gevardus Abbas noster, intelligens solam in causa esse levitatem, eo quod delusisset vestimenta sua, sola quippe tunica indutus venit, cum tamen satis rogaretur suscipere iuvenem, non consensit. Qui mox eadem via, qua venit, rediit, nec aliquando postea alicuius conversionis mentionem fecit.

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

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

(30) Ibid., Dist. I, xi, ed. STRANGE cit., I, p. 18; compare the Richard of Poitiers story, below, p. 73.

Archpoet as a play on the titles of his patron Rainald, *archiepi-scopus*, *archicancellarius*, and reinforced by his own description of himself as *vates vatum* ⁽³¹⁾. As far as I know, the term *archipoeta* is never used of any of the poems in the Primas-Golias corpus. Michael of Cornwall uses it scornfully of his opponent Henry of Avranches to whom he addresses his poem « Archipoeta vide » (Walther 1432) ⁽³²⁾.

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

2. *Primas*. – Testimonies to the existence and writings of Hugh Primas of Orléans are embarrassingly frequent, from chroniclers, poets and scribes ⁽³⁴⁾. His biography and the canons of his writings have been so carefully established by the researches of Delisle, Hauréau, Meyer and Lehmann, that it seems churlish – not to say foolhardy – to express scepticism. That someone called Hugh of Orléans did exist, and that he was nicknamed « Pri-

(31) Cfr. WATENPHUL-KREFELD, pp. 19-20.

(32) Ed. A. HILKA, *Eine mittellateinische Dichterfehde*, in *Mittelalterliche Handschriften: Festgabe zum 60. Geburtstag von Hermann Degering*, Leipzig, 1926, pp. 123-154. Two of the manuscripts (Cotton, Titus A. xx and Bodley 851) are examples of what I call the « later English model » of Goliardic manuscripts.

(33) The fullest edition of the *Confession* is by BISCHOFF, CB No. 191 (I, 3, pp. 6-21).

(34) For a summary of Primas scholarship, see M. MANITIUS, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, III, München, 1931, pp. 973-978; see also LANGOSCH cit. (n. 16 above), pp. 292-298.

mas », seems unquestionable, unless we assume contamination in a large number of otherwise apparently independent witnesses. On the other hand, the attribution of specific poems by both chroniclers and scribes can soon be seen to be less trustworthy. Once one has taken away from him poems that he could not have written (such as the *Confession*, the *De coniuge non ducenda*, the Debate between Wine and Water, probably the *Apocalypse*, and others), how much trust can we put in writers and scribes who say that he *did* write them? It is rash to trust witnesses on all points except where we know that they are wrong, especially if we can demonstrate a tendency towards Primas-ascription among scribes. Scepticism of this order takes one even further: can one trust the poets themselves when they name themselves Primas to be the one and only Hugh of Orléans?

a) *Authorities which link Hugh + Primas + Orléans*. – The first witness is the addition of MS « C » of Richard of Poitiers' *Chronicle*, written ca. 1171. Under the year 1152 it writes ⁽³⁵⁾:

His etenim diebus vigit apud Parisius quidam scolasticus, Hugo nomine, a conscolasticis Primas cognominatus, persona quidem vilis, vultu deformis. Hic a primeva etate litteris secularibus informatus propter facciam suam et litterarum noticiam fama sui nominis per diversas provincias resplenduit. Inter alios vero scolasticos in metris ita facundus atque promptus extitit, ut sequentibus versibus omnibus audientibus cachinum moventibus declaratur, quos de paupere mantello sibi a quodam presule dato declamatorie composuit: De Hugone lo Primat Aureliacensi (*sic*): « Hoc indumentum tibi quis dedit? An fuit emptum? ».

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

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

(35) Text in M.G.H. *Scriptores*, 26, 81; first noticed by DELISLE cit. (1870); see n. 11.

(36) Cited by DELISLE, *ibid*. The same heading is found in Paris, B. N. lat. 16208, cited by HAURÉAU, cit., *Hist. litt.*, 30, p. 291.

léans by several writers. First we have the alteration made to Salimbene's *Chronicle* (before 1233) ⁽³⁷⁾:

De Primate trutanno [et de versibus suis et rithmis. Nota quod Primas Aurelianensis fuit]. Fuit his temporibus Primas canonicus Colonien-sis magnus trutannus et magnus trufator et maximus versificator et velox qui si dedisset cor suum ad diligendum Deum magnus in litteratura divina fuisset et utilis valde ecclesie Dei. Cuius « Apocalipsim » quam fecerat vidi et alia scripta plura (viz. « Indigeo bobus », « Ne spernas munus », « Mit-titur in disco », « Hic vaccis parcam », « In cratere meo », « Fertur in convi-vio ») ... Item, accusatus fuit archiepiscopo suo de tribus, scilicet de opere venereo, id est de luxuria, et de ludo, et de taberna. Et excusavit se rith-mice hoc modo: (*Here follows the Confession, marked Ritmus in the margin*).

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

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

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

mihi dulcis alumna
Tempore Primatis, Aurelianus, ave.

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

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

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

(37) Text in BISCHOFF, CB No. 191 (I, 3, p. 10).

(38) Cited by HAURÉAU cit. *Hist. litt.*, 30, p. 289.

(39) Cited by DELISLE cit. (1869): see n. 11.

(40) Cited by HAURÉAU, *ibid.*

(41) R. H. ROUSE, *Manuscripts belonging to Richard de Fournival*, in *Revue d'histoire des textes*, 3 (1973), pp. 253-269; I am grateful to Dr. Rouse for advice on Fournival.

(42) Cited by DELISLE cit. (1869); I use the text printed by MEYER, pp. 4-5 (78-79).

autem temporibus Lucii papae fuerit, apparet, quod, dum ipse Primas canonicus esset Aurelianensis et idem papa fuisset in Gallia, rogavit eum Primas super obtentu unius beneficii. Quem cum obaudientem (non ?) invenisset, invehit his versibus contra eum:

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

Quod iam superius descripta habentur ubi agitur de Lucio papa (i.e. I, 11, *where the full verse is given, cited by Meyer*). Fertur quoque quod dum in curia Romana super eius in arte versificandi ingenio, an reliquos prae-celleret, quaestio verteretur, dictum est alium esse qui longe eo in arte ipsa prae-celleret. Dumque inter multos praelatos et illiteratos viros de pluralitate et excellentia amborum amica tamen contentio verteretur, tamen (tandem ?) ad hec sopienda data fuit materia per collegium cardinalium papae mandato, ut super ea ambo versificari deberent. Erat autem materia brevis scilicet compendium novi et veteris testamenti; qui igitur paucioribus eam comprehenderet versibus, ille haberetur eximius. Primas duobus, alius quatuor eam comprehendit versiculis. Hi autem fuerunt Primatis versus, qui intercalares dicuntur:

Quos anguis tristi virus mulcedine pavit:
Hos sanguis Christi mirus dulcedine lavit.
Illi vero quatuor versus nunquam reperi vel audivi.

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

Tours MS 468 (s. xv, numbered 205 by Delisle) contains a late thirteenth-century collection of preaching exempla ⁽⁴⁴⁾, among which there is one mentioning Primas as author of « Canonici cur canonicum » and « Res est archana »; this tale goes on to relate that when Primas was in Orléans (« faciens moram Aurelianus ») he was challenged to complete unfinished verses, namely « Istud jumentum cauda caret- » and « Claudicat hoc animal- », which he ended respectively « - Or la lia t'on » and « - quia sentit labore pedi mal ».

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

(43) B. M. MARTI, *Hugh Primas and Arnulf of Orléans*, in *Speculum* 30 (1955), pp. 233-238; Marti also argues that MEYER'S No. 1 « Hospes erat » also refers to Arnulf.

(44) First noticed by DELISLE cit. (1868). The MS number has since changed; see *Catalogue général des départements* 37, under No. 468 (formerly St. Martin 177, not 178 as Delisle has it).

reference to Orléans. Alexander Neckam, in the *Corrogationes Promethei*, wrote ⁽⁴⁵⁾:

Dicendum est item comedo, -donis pro vorace, sicut pro leccatore nebulo, -onis. Unde Hugo Primas, Hugo dat Hugoni, nebulo nebulas nebuloni.

In the first quarter of the thirteenth century an anonymous Cistercian wrote a collection entitled *Distinctiones monasticae et morales*, parts of which are also cited in the *Clavis S. Melitonis*; there we find three separate references ⁽⁴⁶⁾: a) III 472 Hugo, Primas cognomine, quum in Anglia constitutus... « Est labor hic »; b) II 326 his versibus Hugonis qui Primas cognominatus est, « Non peto castellum »; c) II 295 Hugo cognomento Primas de quibusdam scolasticis... « Filii burgensium ». Finally, a unique poem in Paris, B.N. lat. 152 (« Hoc vinum putre ») is headed « Hugo Primas priori de Campis Sancti Martini » ⁽⁴⁷⁾.

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

Cum vinum poto faciem lavo corpore toto,
tunc fundo lacrimas, tunc versificor quasi Primas.

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

Urbs bona Parisius Brunello chitaristam
Efficeret cicius quam de Primate sophistam.

(45) First cited by P. MEYER, *Notice sur les « Corrogationes Promethei » d'Alexandre Neckam*, in *Notices et Extraits*, 35, 1 (1896), pp. 641-682; see also M. ESPOSITO, *On some unpublished poems attributed to Alexander Neckam*, in *English Historical Review*, 30 (1915), pp. 450-471. The dialogue « Non invitatus venio » is ascribed to Primas in one manuscript, Vespasian B. XIII (see below, pp. 90-91), but to Gollas by Neckam and other manuscripts: WILMART, in *Les épigrammes liées* (n. 5 above), believes that Primas is the correct reading and that Neckam must have had a manuscript that read « Gollas » here or suppressed the name of his friend.

(46) Ed. J. B. PITRA, *Spicilegium Solesmense*, III, Paris, 1855, pp. 452-487. The Primas references were first noticed by M. HAUPT, *Ahrenlese*, in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 15, N. F., 3 (1872), pp. 260-261. There is a full study of the verses in the *Distinctiones* from LEHMANN cit. (n. 15 above).

(47) First noticed by DELISLE cit. (1868). Paris, M.S. B.N., lat. 152 is a collection of fragments: f. 35 (perhaps originally a flyleaf) contains several short verses in different hands of the thirteenth century.

(48) See n. 45 above.

(49) See A. HILKA, *Zur « Summa Recreatorum »: Liste der poetischen Stücke...*, in *Studien zur lateinischen Dichtung des Mittelalters, Ehrengabe für Karl Strecker*, ed. W. STACK and H. WALTHER, Dresden, 1931 (Schriftenreihe der historischen Vierteljahrsschaft), pp. 97-116. The *Summa Recreatorum*, a late medieval compilation of entertaining and instructional poems and extracts, contains several poems commonly ascribed to Primas (« In cratere », « Mittitur in disco », « Ego quondam spiritu », « Vinum bonum », « Tales versus facio », « Lucius est piscis », « Pontificum spuma », « Canonici cur canonicum »), but does not assign them to any author.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century Thomas of Capua distinguished three kinds of writing: « dictaminum tria genera: prosaicum ut Cassiodori, metricum ut Virgilii, rithmicum ut Primatis » ⁽⁵⁰⁾.

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

The main corpus of Primas poems is supplied, if we accept Meyer's arguments, by Bodleian MS Rawlinson G. 109 (s. XII/XIII), « Die Oxforder Gedichte » ⁽⁵¹⁾. There are no headings or colophons in this section of the manuscript, but Meyer argues that the first twenty-three poems are a single bloc of Primas poems. Eight of them are signed « Primas » internally; No. 1 « Hospes erat » (signed II, 26); No. 2 « Pontificum spuma » (signed in line 20, a line present only in Rg, in Paris B.N. lat. 8433, and in Poitiers' text) ⁽⁵²⁾; No. 11 « Primas pontifici »; No. 15 « Vir pietatis inops » (42, 91); No. 16 « Iniuriis contumeliisque » (100, 139); No. 18 « Ambianis urbs predives » (10, 21); No. 21 « A ducibus Primas »; No. 23 « Dives eram » (21, 64, 168). There is external testimony for Nos. 12 « Res erit archana » and 14 « In cratere meo » ⁽⁵³⁾. The group must stop at No. 23 because although there is no sign of a break in the ma-

(50) Quoted frequently, e. g. by DELISLE cit. (1870).

(51) Hereafter cited as Rg. There are seven sections in the manuscript, the first two (pp. 3-66, 67-98) probably by the same scribe at different times. Some authorities favour France for the composition of the earlier parts of the manuscript, but textual evidence points to England: see my article cited below, n. 107. For MEYER's edition, see n. 2 above.

(52) « Pontificum spuma » as printed by Meyer consists of three poems: « Pontificum spuma » (couplet), « Hoc indumentum » (6 lines), and « Pauper mantelle » (15 lines), each found separately or in various combinations.

(53) « Res erit archana » is mentioned in the anecdote in Tours 468 (above, p. 75); « In cratere » is often ascribed to Primas (see below, p. 97).

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

Two other poems have internal signatures, « Primas in scampno » and (from Digby 53) « Primas Serloni ». The value of these internal signatures is open to question. Although he accepts *internal* signatures, Hauréau observed that « plusieurs poètes burlesques ont pris ce nom de Primat; c'est pourquoi l'on ne sait pas toujours auquel d'entre eux tels ou tels vers doivent être attribués »⁽⁵⁵⁾. Poets quite probably assumed to themselves the name of an illustrious wit. None of the poems with internal signatures is signed « Hugo », and they have no more association with Orléans than with anywhere else.

The alternation of Primas with Golias may be seen frequently on the chart. Most notable, perhaps, is the poem « Pontificum spuma », which in Vespasian B. XIII (in the fourteenth-century section) is marginally ascribed both to Primas and to Golias. The same manuscript, in its thirteenth-century section, ascribes the dialogue « Non invitatus » to Primas, whereas Neckam attributes it to Golias⁽⁵⁶⁾. Walter of Châtillon's « Tanto viro locuturi » is ascribed to Primas in the Herdringen manuscript⁽⁵⁷⁾. The fifteenth-century collector Amplonius mentioned an item « Versus diferenciales Primatis », perhaps referring to the grammatical poem by Serlo de Wilton⁽⁵⁸⁾.

(54) See n. 17 above.

(55) *Notices et Extraits*, VI, Paris, 1893, p. 128-133, where he edits « Dives eram et dilectus ».

(56) See n. 45 above.

(57) For an account of the lost Herdringen MS, see A. BÖMER, *Eine Vagantenliedersammlung des 14. Jahrhunderts in der Schlossbibliothek zu Herdringen*, in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 49, N. F. 37 (1907), pp. 161-238; see also STRECKER cit. (n. 17 above).

(58) See HAURÉAU, *Hist. litt.*, 31 (1893), pp. 16-17; the text is a *Graecismus*, and Amplonius' notice may be of a gloss. For Serlo's poem 'Dactile quid latitas', see ÖBERG's edition (n. 19 above). Another *Graecismus* gloss ascribes to Primas the poem 'Mors alios morde' (Paris, B.N. lat. 15133 f. 38; see HAURÉAU, *Notices et Extraits*, IV, Paris, 1892, p. 284).

Two references indicate Primas as the author of poems on Troy. Richard de Fournival's *Biblionomia*, his library catalogue, itemizes: « Phrigii Daretis Yliados historia prosaice deinde metrice. Item Meonii Homeri libellus Yliados, et versus Primatis Aurelianensis de eodem »⁽⁵⁹⁾. Similarly, Amplonius' catalogue of a now fragmentary Erfurt manuscript lists: « Metra seu carmina poetica egregii poete Primatis de excidio et hystoria Troye optima ». There is no way of telling what these referred to; Meyer naturally wanted them to refer to two poems in the Rawlinson manuscript, No. 9 « Urbs erat illustris » and No. 10 « Post rabiem rixe ». On the other hand, a conflated version of the well-known « Pergama flere volo » and Peter of Saintes' « Viribus arte minis » is described in MS Vienna 883 as « exclamaciones super muris Troyanis edite per Primatem egregium versificatorem »⁽⁶⁰⁾. It may be to this that Fournival and Amplonius are referring. The same attribution may be intended by the corrupt explicit to « Pergama flere » in a Krakau MS: « finis inprimatis »⁽⁶¹⁾. A similar tradition may lie behind the colophon of Digby 166 (and perhaps the Longleat MS) on the same poem: « Planctus Hugonis prioris de Monte Acuto ». Thus, Fournival and Amplonius may, however erroneously, have been ascribing « Pergama flere » and/or « Viribus arte minis » to Primas.

Similar problems surround the attribution of the Wine-Water debates. The short « In cratere meo » is ascribed to Primas in many manuscripts and by other authorities⁽⁶²⁾. The very popular debate on the same subject, « Cum tenerent omnia », is ascribed to Primas in two manuscripts, Prag N U B VIII C. 13 and Venice S. Marc. lat. class. XIV 128 (the former also gives him the *Confession*, the latter the *De coniuge non ducenda*)⁽⁶³⁾. Salimbene, however, describes the debate « Denudata veritate »⁽⁶⁴⁾ as « tractatus Primatis de non miscenda aqua vino »; against this attribution is the beginning of stanza 29, *Ego Petrus disputator* (referring to the poet). *Petrus* is the reading of only one manuscript, Paris B.N. lat. 11867 (*presens* in two MSS, *quidem* in Salimbene, stanza omitted in the codex Buranus). Two

(59) Fournival (d. 1260) was Chancellor of Amiens; for his library, see n. 41 above. The *Biblionomia* was edited by L. DELISLE, *Le Cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 3 vols., II, Paris, 1874, pp. 518-535; this entry is No. 110. See MEYER cit., pp. 69-70 (pp. 144-145).

(60) See CB No. 101, ed. HILKA-SCHUMANN, I, 2, pp. 139-160 (especially pp. 143-144, 148, 150). The ascription to Primas was noticed by HAUPT (n. 46 above), and naturally has been rejected by all scholars (e. g. MANITIUS cit.: see n. 34 above).

(61) CB No. 101, p. 150.

(62) CB No. 194, ed. BISCHOFF, I, 3, pp. 28-31; see below, p. 97.

(63) The Primas of Orléans who flourished in the twelfth century could not have written the *De coniuge non ducenda*, one of whose characters is Peter of Corbeil (d. 1222). On « Cum tenerent omnia », see J. H. HANFORD, *The medieval debate between Wine and Water*, in *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 27 (1913), 315 sgg., and H. WALTHER, *Das Streitgedicht in der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, München, 1920 (Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters, V, 2), pp. 46-49; both HANFORD and WALTHER emphatically deny that Primas could be the author: as they say, the Goliardic stanza was not used as early as the 1150s.

(64) CB No. 193, ed. BISCHOFF, I, 3, pp. 22-27; in the codex Buranus the debate immediately precedes « In cratere meo » and is much shorter than in other versions. See also WALTHER, *Streitgedicht* cit., pp. 49-51.

explanations (at least) are possible: that Salimbene confused this poem with « In cratere meo » (which he, as many other authorities, ascribed to Primas), an explanation which might also account for the ascription of « Cum tenerent omnia » to Primas in the Prag and Venice MSS; or, that by *Petrus* the scribe of the Paris MS meant Peter of Blois, who takes the side of wine against beer in a debate series in Cambridge Univ. Lib. MS Gg. 6.42 (65).

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

Hoc Galtherus subprior 'iubet' in decretis
Ne mantellos veteres refarinatis.

At this point the Florence MS Laurentiana 36. 34 reads:

Primas in Remensibus iusserat decretis
Ne mantellos veteres vos renovaretis.

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

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

(65) The suggestion is not entirely fanciful. B.N. lat. 11867, a full collection of Goliardic poems (amongst other things), is possibly of English origin, and is closely related to the Cambridge manuscript: see L. HERVIEUX, *Les fabulistes latins*, III, Paris, 1894, pp. 222-234. The Cambridge MS (s. xv) is also an important source for the works of Alexander Neckam: see ESPOSITO cit. (n. 45 above) and R. W. HUNT's unpublished dissertation, Oxford, 1937. On B.N. lat. 11867, see also (among others) K. HAMPE, in *Neues Archiv*, 23 (1898), pp. 601-665.

(66) See MEYER cit., p. 13 (p. 87).

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

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

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

3. *Goliard*. — Goliard has not been subjected to the same kind of biographical scrutiny as Primas. As no identifiable historical person has been found to answer to his name, scholars have been content to treat the word *Goliard* in a different semantic category from the names Primas and Archpoeta. Flacius Illyricus clearly treats the word as the poetic persona of Walter Mapes: « Apocalypsis Goliae pontificis... edita rhythmis facietis per Gualtherum Mapes » (70). Bale and Wolff state that Mapes used the name of his jester as a pseudonym: « Habebat Oxonii scurram seu bomolochum doctum, sub cuius nomine et umbra quaedam edidit » (71). A similar distinction between author and poetic persona is implied by the colophon of one manuscript of the *De coniuge non ducenda*, B. M. Addit. 21243 (s. xv, Kenilworth); in this version, as in many others, the dreamer's name is Gawain. The colophon reads:

Incipit gauinus. Alii dicunt quod frater bonaventura fecit. Dissuasiones super matrimonio contrahendo. Et allegaciones iohannis Petri et Laurencii ad goliardum socium eorum.

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

(69) *Notices et Extraits*, 29, 2 (1880), pp. 253-303.

(70) FLACIUS ILLYRICUS, *Varia doctorum piorumque virorum de corrupto Ecclesiae statu poemata*, Basel, 1557, sig. i 3r.

(71) These are Wolff's words (1600), cited by HAURÉAU cit. (see n. 69), p. 254 n. 2. Wolff was following Bale, who wrote (of Gualterus Mapes): « sed fictis nominibus lusit, ut Goliae pontificis, uel Ioannis de Abbatia, uel Ioannis de Corborio, uel Gualteri de Hybernica, ac similibus. Habebatque Oxonii scurram seu bomolochum, doctum tamen, qui libenter eo consultore, iactitabat se facietiarum ac rhythmorum suorum esse parentem ». Both Bale and Flacius (and dependent bibliographers) attribute to Walter Mapes poems which they also specify as the work of Goliard.

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

The only medieval account of Golias is by Giraldus Cambrensis⁽⁷²⁾:

Item parasitus quidam Golias nomine nostris diebus gulositate pariter et lecacitate famosissimus, qui Gulias (MS Golias) melius quia gule et crapule per omnia deditus dici poterit. Litteratus tamen affatim set non bene morigeratus nec bonis disciplinis informatus in papam et curiam Romanam carmina famosa pluries et plurima tam metrica quam ridmica non minus impudenter quam imprudenter euomuit. De quibus inuentionem ridmicam temere nimis et indiscrete compositam casualiter incidens clausulas aliquot inde ad detestandam (*sic*) quidem et condemnandum, non approbandum aut imitandum, has scilicet, apposui: «Roma mundi caput est...» (*text ends at st. 15/4*)... Porro quid feret hic tanto dignum delator hyatu? Si curia Romana corporalem delinquentibus penam infligeret, dignus iste non suspensio solum uerum etiam incendio foret. Set aliis quomodo male scribendo litterisque suis mordaciter abutendo deferre ualeret, qui sibi ipsi in tractatu quodam ridmico quem ipse de moribus suis et uita miserrima finalique tamquam epitaphio conscripsit, minime deferre dignum duxit. Ubi quidem ex cordis habundantia loquens ait: «Tertio capitulo memoro tabernam... Meum est propositum in taberna mori...» (*two stanzas only cited*).

In the *Speculum* Giraldus tells several anecdotes about Walter Mapes; whether he knew him well or not⁽⁷³⁾, he distinguishes him from the Golias to whom he attributes here the *Confession* and a short version of «Utar contra vicia». We have seen how Neckam makes a similar distinction between Primas and Golias. Giraldus also distinguishes Golias from other medieval satirists: in a passage immediately preceding the one just cited he attributes to these unnamed satirists «Roma manus rodit», the couplet «Ni feret argentum», and the poem against Lucius III (agreeing with Pippin, above p. 75) «Lucius est piscis».

Forms of the name vary between *Gol-* and *Gul-*, reflecting Anglo-Norman *o/ou* variation, as in *golart*, *goulart*, but the *Gul-* forms may also show the influence of *gula* (a pun made explicit in the passage from Giraldus above)⁽⁷⁴⁾; cfr. also the prose parody «Missa Gulonis» in B.M. MS Harley 2851 (where there may also be a pun on the name of the poet Gualo).

There is good evidence from the poems and ascriptions to

(72) Text from HILKA-SCHUMANN, CB No. 42, I, 1, p. 79.

(73) See n. 7 above.

(74) See CRESCINI cit., (n. 4 above).

support the distinction between the proper name *Golias* and the generic noun *goliardus* (a goliard), a distinction implied also by the documents which mention *goliardi* but the *familia Goliae*⁽⁷⁵⁾.

The poet of «Omnibus in Gallia»⁽⁷⁶⁾ names himself Richard but refers to himself as «Anglus goliardus»; he also recommends his friend William «goliardus optimus» to the «discipulis Goliae» and proposes the health of the «pueros Goliae». The Herdringen MS uses the plural form *goliardi*. Only B. M. Titus A. xx (s. XIV) treats the words indifferently, heading the *Apocalypsis* «Apocalipsis Guliardi» but in the colophon calling it «Apocalipsis episcopi Golie». Each scribe is usually consistent in ascribing poems either to the proper name or the generic noun: Harley 2851 heads its first item «Rithmus Guleardi» and all subsequent poems «item Gul.». The eight poems of Harley 978 are ascribed to Golyas; a later addition, the poem «Omnibus in Gallia» (above) is headed «dicta cuiusdam goliardi anglici», a title derived from the poem itself. Vespasian A. XIX distinguishes some poems which it attributes to Golias from one («Sompno et silencio») by a «discipulus Golie»⁽⁷⁷⁾. Several scribes and antiquarians give Golias the title «episcopus» or «pontifex»; this may refer to a mock sect of *ordo vagantum* (perhaps with a hint of the Feast of Fools and the Boy Bishop), but may also represent a shift from the secular meaning of *Primas* «leader» to the ecclesiastical primate in cases where the name Golias has been substituted for that of Primas.

Some pieces ascribed to Golias, etc., survive in unique copies and may be listed summarily: 3780 «Cum sint plures ordines» (Golias episcopus); 5099 «Ecce homo sine domo» (dictum Goliardi); 5563 «Est acer hic potus» (Guliardus vituperans cibum); 5894 «Esto memor verbi» (Golias); «I cito pergo viam» (Golie); 13306 «Omnibus in Gallia» (Anglus Goliardus); 15499 «Qui iacet hic plenus» (no heading; signed «nomen Gulie»); 17476 «Seignor volez oir» (item = dictum Goliardi, after 5099); 18442 «Sompno et silencio» (discipulus Golie); prose «Magister Golyas de quodam abbate».

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

(75) Cfr. HELEN WADDELL's citations in *The Wandering Scholars* (n. 21 above) from the Councils of Rouen and Château Gonthier in 1231.

(76) Ed. WRIGHT, *Mapes* cit., pp. 69-70.

(77) LEHMANN (n. 15 above) thought this might refer to Walter Mapes.

have been re-assigned to the Archpoet of Cologne, Hugh Primas of Orléans, Walter of Châtillon, etc., or simply ignored. Hauréau would attach Giraldus' biography of Golias to the second Primas (Archpoet) of Cologne⁽⁷⁸⁾. Yet to eliminate Golias in favour of Primas seems to me tantamount to replacing Father Christmas by Santa Claus: behind the latter there is a historical saint, but St. Nicholas is no more responsible for placing presents under a Christmas tree than Hugh of Orléans is responsible for writing all the poems credited to Primas and Golias.

4. *Gauterus*. – The tradition of ascribing Golias poems to Walter Mapes dates only from the fifteenth century. Of the poems on the chart (below) only two, the *Apocalypsis* and the *De coniuge non ducenda*, are so ascribed in medieval manuscripts⁽⁷⁹⁾; he is credited with both in Bodley Add. A. 44, with the former in Rawlinson B. 214 and Bodley 496, and with the latter in Trinity College, Cambridge, o.9.38.

The antiquarians Flacius Illyricus and John Bale increased the Mapes canon considerably; their influence, direct or indirect, probably accounts for most of the attributions made in the manuscripts by later (often librarians') hands: Bale's authority is cited specifically in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 450, for Mapes' authorship of the *Apocalypsis*⁽⁸⁰⁾. In fact, Walter Mapes probably wrote none of the poems so ascribed to him: apart from the lateness of the MS testimony, there are several problems of dating, and in any case it is unlikely that his authorship would

(78) See n. 69 above.

(79) In J. TRUHLAR's catalogue of Prag MSS (Prag, 1905-6), Gualterus Mapes is credited with the *De coniuge non ducenda* (NUB VIII G. 4) and with Walter of Châtillon's 'Tanto viro' and 'Propter Syon': these appear to be Truhlar's ascriptions rather than headings in the manuscripts themselves. Similarly, in Copenhagen MS Ny kgl. Saml. 172, 8° (s. xv, English), three poems are ascribed by ELLEN JORGENSEN's catalogue to 'Walterus Mahap', but the name does not appear in the manuscript (I owe this information to Dr. Tue Gad of the Kongelige Bibliotek).

(80) For other MSS and catalogues that credit Mapes with the *Apocalypsis*, see K. STRECKER, *Die Apokalypse des Golias*, Rome, 1928. For poems attributed to Mapes and Golias by Bale and Flacius, see below, pp. 103-106. Bale's testimony should not lightly be rejected: he had access to manuscripts now lost or destroyed (such as Cotton, Vitellius D. viii, burnt in the Cotton fire) which carried Golias and Mapes ascriptions. According to SMITH's Catalogue of Cotton MSS, made in 1696, the Vitellius MS contained 'Versus Gualteri Mapes de clericis et laicis'. On a lost Clare College MS, see STRECKER's edition of the *Apocalypsis*; on a lost Oriel College MS, see HILKA-SCHUMANN on CB No. 42, I, 1, pp. 78-80. Of course, Bale may himself be responsible for some of the attributions, and at best he is witness only to a tradition of ascription, not to actual authorship. See further below, pp. 105-106, and n. 139.

never have been mentioned by Giraldus Cambrensis. He certainly wrote the prose *De Nugis Curialium*, ascribed to him in the manuscript⁽⁸¹⁾. Lehmann has established a list of poems which he probably wrote⁽⁸²⁾, none of which are part of the Goliardic corpus:

- 194 «Abit qui clero» (*Distinctiones monasticae* III 472: Waltherus cognomento Maph);
- 2719 «Christe tu calicis» (*Dist. mon.* II 486: Walterus Map);
- 6799 «Fortes fideles» (in the *De Nugis*);
- 7102 «Gaudeo quod sanus es» (Digby 53: the first line is properly «Walterus Mapa Hamelino clerico regis», rhyming with the second line);
- 10101 «Lancea Longini» (cited by Bothewald in an attack on Mapes);
- 11480 «Munera si vitas» (in the *De Nugis*);
- 20236 «Versibus imparibus» (cited by Giraldus).

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

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

(81) Ed. M. R. JAMES, Oxford, 1914 (*Anecdota Oxoniensia, Mediaeval and Modern Ser.* 14). The unique MS, Bodley 851 (s. xiv ex.), is an important repository of Goliardic poems: see below, p. 87. A story in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, MS 32 (s. xiii), f. 94v, is said to be «ex dictis W. Map»; it is not in the *De Nugis*.

(82) See n. 15 above. LEHMANN rightly rejects «I cito pergo viam» (Golias).

lias, that is, as an appropriate pseudonym for a particular kind of poetry and satire. There are several circumstances from which such a development could have arisen:

1) the most famous author of short satirical poems was Walter of Châtillon. A chronicle cited by his biographers reads ⁽⁸³⁾:

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

Quicquid gentiles potuerunt scire poetae
Totum Galtero gratia summa dedit.

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

in Bodley MS Digby 168 (s. XII/XIII) three of his poems (Nos. 3, 1 and 2) appear under the name «Magister Walterius de Castellione». In the Rehdigeranus MS ⁽⁸⁴⁾ Nos. 1 and 18 are headed «Galterus de Castellione», No. 2 simply «Galterus». In MS Charleville 190 (s. XII ex.) ⁽⁸⁵⁾ there is a large number of poems, including many which are in fact Walter's but are here without names («Tanto viro», «Dum contemplor animo»); two, however, are named: f. 161v Item Magister Galterus Castellionensis agnoscere, «De nocte sicut noctua»; f. 161v Item Magister Galterus, «Susci-tauit dominus». In Paris, B.N. lat. 3245 (s. XV) a group of his poems, together with the *Apocalypse*, is assigned to «Galterus ab Insula» ⁽⁸⁶⁾. Both names are appropriate, as he was born in Lille but moved to Châtillon («Insula me genuit, rapuit Castellio», he writes). If the name *Walter* became detached from the surname, a tradition could have arisen associating a Walter with satirical poems.

Two of Walter of Châtillon's poems are signed internally simply with the name *Walter*:

MSG No. 17 (preserved only in the codex Buranus) begins «Versa est in luctum cythara Waltheri». In four of the eight manuscripts which

(83) Text in HAURÉAU, in *Notices et Extraits*, 29, 2 (1880), p. 295. Hauréau mentions two other people named «Galterus de Insula»: the bishop of Maguelone, 1104-1129 (see *Hist. Litt.*, 11, p. 83), who is too early for the Walter of Châtillon poems (but who was known as a poet), and secondly someone who, according to John of Salisbury, attracted the anger of Henry II by attacking the murder of Becket. The identification of this second Walter with Walter of Châtillon was rejected by HAURÉAU but accepted by most other scholars: see, i.a., DOBIACHE-ROJDESVENSKY cit., pp. 47-50.

(84) See STRECKER's article (n. 17 above), p. 98.

(85) See A. WILMART, *Poèmes de Gautier de Châtillon dans un manuscrit de Charleville*, in *Revue Bénédictine*, 49 (1937), pp. 121-169, 322-365. Walter's authorship of all the poems edited here seems to me less than certain.

(86) HAURÉAU (n. 83 above) argues strongly that these poems are not by Walter of Châtillon, and not all by the same person. See, however, STRECKER (n. 17 above).

preserve MSG No. 18 the opening stanza is omitted; the other four (B.N. lat. 11867, B.N. lat. 3245, Breslau Rehdigeranus 130, Vienna Stadtsbibl. 4459) all begin: «Dum Galterus (Phalterus) egrotaret».

The association of Walter of Châtillon's poems with the *Apocalypse* is seen in several manuscripts:

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

2) The less known Walter of Wimborne may also have contributed to a Walter-ascription pattern ⁽⁸⁷⁾. He wrote in the latter half of the thirteenth century; his themes are devotional and satirical, and his metres varied (Leonines, asclepiads, and the *Stabat mater* stanza). He puts his name *Gauterus* to two poems, but otherwise drops out of literary history. By an odd coincidence, a shortened version of his long Marian poem (inc. «Pone scribencium») is ascribed to «G. Map» by a later hand in Titus A. xx.

MS Bodley 851 (s. XIV ex., Ramsey) presents an intriguing problem. The first part of the manuscript contains the *De Nugis*, assigned correctly to «Gauterus Mahap». The second part, quite separate but by the same hand, lacks its opening quire: it begins in the middle of Walter of Wimborne's poem «Ave Virgo» (in which he signs himself «Gauterus»), followed immediately by the *De coniuge non ducenda*; the latter lacks a heading, but the dreamer is addressed as «Gauterus» ⁽⁸⁸⁾. The proximity of three works, one by Walter Mapes, the next by a Gauterus, and the third addressed to a Gauterus, would increase the notion of Walter as a general name for a poet. The scribe may have deliberately juxtaposed three «Walter» works.

3) A small and textually related group of manuscripts names the dreamer of the *De coniuge non ducenda* «Walter»; this may have arisen from the fact that Andreas Capellanus's *De amore* (in the last analysis an anti-marriage treatise) is also addressed

(87) See my article in *Mediaeval Studies*, 33 (1971), pp. 371-378, and my forthcoming edition of the poems (Toronto, 1977), in which I argue that a manuscript once existed which contained both his satirical and his devotional poems.

(88) See above, p. 81, and below, p. 98.

to a Walter. In Prag MS NUB VIII G 4 (s. XIV/XV) the *De amore* is entitled «Gualteri Liber de arte amandi» and is followed immediately by the *De coniuge non ducenda*, in a truncated text lacking the name of the dreamer⁽⁸⁹⁾. Moreover, Dist. IV, ch. iii of Walter Mapes' *De Nugis* is the famous *Epistola Valerii ad Ruffinum*, another famous anti-marriage treatise (which circulated separately and widely)⁽⁹⁰⁾. The association of the name Walter with antifeminist satire is abundantly clear.

4) We have already mentioned CB No. 220a «Nullus ita parvus» (above), in which the two manuscripts vary between «Primas» and «Galtherus subprior»⁽⁹¹⁾. This may be an early example of the substitution of Walter as the author of a *mantel-lus*-type lyric.

It would be otiose to go on listing Medieval Latin poets named Walter, but two others may briefly be mentioned: an apparently famous twelfth-century poet who was a friend of Marbod⁽⁹²⁾ and the author (a «presul») of a poem in the Goliardic stanza addressed to the Virgin, preserved in Peterhouse College, Cambridge MS 219 (s. XIV). Enough has been said to indicate that circumstances (in addition to the initial consonant correspondence of *Golias* and *Galtherus*) favoured the adoption of the name Walter as an equivalent, or alternative, to *Golias* as author of a certain kind of poem. Once this is accepted, it is easy to see why Walter Mapes was selected as primate and arch-*Golias*.

PATTERN OF ASCRIPTIONS

This section is a kind of commentary on the accompanying chart. The chart is designed to illustrate graphically (a) the practice of individual scribes in assigning poems, and (b) the variety

(89) In Munich MS clm. 416 (s. XV), however, which also contains the *De amore* and the *De coniuge non ducenda*, the addressee of the latter is «Caline» (for *Galwine*).

(90) Ed. M. R. JAMES (see n. 81 above).

(91) See above, p. 80 and notes 66 and 67. This «subprior» decretist is mentioned also in a poem in Harley 978 (below, pp. 91-92) «Quis potest capere» (ed. WRIGHT, *Mapes* cit., pp. 169-170), 107: «In suis subprior decretis asserit». See also LEHMANN, *Parodie*, 2nd ed. (n. 26 above), pp. 48-49, 157-158.

(92) See M. DELBOUILLE, *Un mystérieux ami de Marbod: le «redoutable poète» Gautier*, in *Le Moyen Age*, 57 (1951), pp. 205-240.

of ascriptions given to each poem; the former may be seen by a horizontal reading, the latter vertically. Where a poem is present in a manuscript but is not given a title or author it is marked *sine titulo*, *sine auctore*: the omission of a title or author is often significant, if the scribe is accustomed to provide them. The chart does not, of course, give all the poems in each manuscript, nor all the manuscripts of specific poems. It is designed only to illustrate variation in ascription. For this reason, and to save space, I have omitted:

1) MSS of the *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villa-Dei and the *Graecismus* of Evrard of Béthun, even where the glosses carry Primas ascriptions⁽⁹³⁾ collections of epigrams (a common home for short poems like «In cratere meo») such as Munich clm. 10751 (see *Anzeiger*, 15, 1868), clm. 17212 (*Anzeiger*, 20, 1873, p. 99 ff.), Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 236; Trinity College, Cambridge, 0.3.31; B.N. lat. 8433, lat. 5848; flyleaf groups of poems such as in Munich clm. 22227 (*Neues Archiv*, 6, p. 537).

2) Poems ascribed to *Golias*, *Primas*, *Walter Mapes* and *Walter of Châtillon* that do not vary in ascription: these are discussed elsewhere or are in the Index.

3) Clare College, Cambridge, Kk. 4.1, which identifies «In cratere meo» as «Questus Primatis», but leaves «Ve tibi mi ciate» and «Lucius est piscis» without authors.

4) B. N. lat. 3245 and Digby 168, which are discussed above.

Some of the most important repositories of Goliardic poems make no attempt to identify authors and consequently are omitted from the chart. They include: Oxford, Bodley 603 and Digby 166; Cambridge, Trinity College, 0.2.45; Paris, B.N. lat. 11867; Munich clm. 416; Leningrad O XIV Nr. 11; Zurich C 58/275, and many others⁽⁹⁴⁾. There are short Goliardic poems in the *Summa Recreatorum*, but they are not ascribed to an author⁽⁹⁵⁾.

1. Manuscripts

If Trinity College, Oxford, 34 (s. XII ex., Kingswood, Glos.). Verse fillers, probably by the main hand, occupy the last four leaves of the first part of the manuscript. They include: f. 136ra *Rithmus episcopi Guliash de incarnatione domini coram universo clero oxonie* «Multis a confratribus» (mention of Oxford reminds one of *Walter Mapes*); f. 137ra *Versus eiusdem* «Meum est propositum» (single drinking stanza from the *Con-*

(93) See HAURÉAU, *Hist. litt.*, 30, p. 288.

(94) I hope one day to produce a list of such manuscripts.

(95) See n. 49 above.

fession); widely separated, f. 138vb Episcopus Gulas cum biberet uinum mixtum cum aqua «In cratere meo». A contemporary contents list mentions «Rithmus quidam episcopi Gulas», and running titles specify «versus episcopi Gulas», «Gulas», etc.

Di Oxford, Digby 53 (s. XII/XIII; in Bridlington s. xv). Several hands collaborated in the compilation of this complicated verse anthology⁽⁹⁶⁾. Parts I and II, written by two scribes in close cooperation, include hundreds of short verse pieces, including: f. 10v Versus domini Primatis «In cratere meo»; f. 11r «Canonici quem canonicum» (assigned to Serlo if the rubric refers to the main text; Öberg takes it to refer to the marginal entry «Nostri canonici»⁽⁹⁷⁾; f. 13r «Pontificum spuma» (without author); f. 14r «Indigeo bobus» (without author); f. 15r Versus Primatis «Primas Serloni». In Part III another hand (which had also entered some of the poems in Part II) wrote two prose parodies, the first on f. 27v: Magister Golyas de quodam abbate. On a separate bifolium this hand has also written: f. 30r «Pergama flere» (without ascription). In blanks between Parts II and III another hand has written two Walter of Châtillon poems, «Propter Syon» and «Tanto viro» (both without ascription)⁽⁹⁸⁾. On f. 33r is: «Walterus mapa hamelino clerico regis» (see above, p. 85). There is thus a striking divergence between the ascriptions of thirteenth-century scribes, although they seem to have collaborated; the names Primas and Goliard both appear, and other poems, often ascribed in other manuscripts to one of these names, are left unassigned.

Vp B.M. Cotton, Vespasian B. XIII (ss. XIII, XIV; one leaf at least from St. Albans)⁽⁹⁹⁾. The manuscript was compiled over a long period. At the end of what was once the first booklet (s. XIII, first half) on ff. 26-29/30 is written the *Apocalypsis* without heading; the last leaf has been cut down to two small fragments (now numbered separately 29 and 30), removing the last six stanzas of the *Apocalypsis* (and thus any colophon); on the verso of this leaf was once written «Ambianis urbs predives», but only a fragment survives. At the end of the second section (also s. XIII) are miscellaneous verses, mainly proverbial; among them is the dialogue «Non invitatus venio», headed «Primas Cennomanensi episcopo». After f. 130va a later hand (ca. 1300) has written another set of verses, including f. 132ra «Pontificalis equus» (without heading) and, with lines inserted in the margins, a version of «Pontificum spuma» headed «Versus Gulie» but with the marginal note «Tunc Primas mantello»; this is followed by a single line, probably to go with the preceding poem, marked «Responcio

(96) There is no full description of the manuscript: see the works by FRIEND, ÖBERG and STRECKER in notes 17-19 above. A later hand has collated the Walter of Châtillon poems with the texts in Digby 4 and Digby 168.

(97) ÖBERG, No. 74, p. 120.

(98) A later hand (s. xv) has written «Gualterus Mahap Archidiaconus Oxoniae»; this has been crossed through by another hand (s. xv-xvi), which wrote: «magister Walterus de Castillione est verus auctor horum versuum apud Romam in presentia pape» and repeated «Walterus de Castillione» at the beginning of «Tanto viro».

(99) Fol. 131 is in the hand of Matthew Paris: see R. VAUGHAN, in *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 5 (1953), p. 391.

Gul. ad episcopum». This is followed by three verses: «Non rogo castellum» (headed «Peticio eiusdem») and «O fluvialis anas» and «Mittitur in disco», neither of which is given a heading (unless it is implied by the preceding «Peticio eiusdem»). Some other miscellaneous verses follow. On f. 132va, in yet another hand, is the *Confession*, without heading: this hand went back and annotated the *Apocalypsis* and supplied the lost final stanzas. The striking characteristics of Vp are as follows: the third scribe assigns the same poem to both Primas and Gulas; although he may imply Gulas/Primas authorship for the three following epigrams, he does not assign «Pontificalis equus». The other scribes do not provide authors for the *Apocalypsis* (unless a colophon has been lost), «Ambianis urbs predives» (similarly), or the *Confession*.

Vt Vatican, Reg. lat. 344 (s. XIII early)⁽¹⁰⁰⁾. Opinion about the provenance has varied between England and France; Wilmart says, of the Goliardic section, that the scribe was «certo Gallus ac fortasse Normannus». This is an important early anthology of secular verse, including:

- f. 26rb Planctus Troiane destructionis «Pergama flere»
- f. 31ra Ridmus episcopi Gulii «Estuans intrinsecus»
- f. 31rb Excommunicatio (sic) eiusdem episcopi «Raptor mei pilei»
Altercacio Ganymedis et Helene «Taurum sol» (Walther 19029)
- f. 32ra Apocalypsis «A tauro torrida».

Hl Harley 2851 (s. XIII). There are several verse booklets, but only Part I has ascriptions: a single bloc of four poems begins on f. 12v with: Rithmus Guleardi de pileo furato... «Raptor mei pilei»; f. 13r Item Gul. de uite sue... «Estuans intrinsecus»; f. 14v Item Gul. de equo pontificis «Pontificalis equus»; f. 15r Item Gul. de... et primo de papa «Est leo pontifex» (part of the *Apocalypsis*). In Part IV we find the *Missa Gulonis*.

Cc Corpus Christi College, Cambridge 481 (s. XIII), written continuously by the same hand. In a single bloc, beginning on p. 426, are written: Exortacio Ricardi archiepiscopi Cant. ad sacerdotes «Viri venerabiles sacerdotes dei» (ascribed by Bale and Flacius to Goliard); Sermo Golie «Viri venerabiles viri literati» (st. 2 of «Multis a confratribus»); Apocalypsis Golie «A tauro torrida»; and finally «Noctis crepusculo» (without title).

H Harley 978 (after 1264; additions ca. 1300; Reading, Berks.)⁽¹⁰¹⁾. Part V (ff. 75-117) consists entirely of satirical and Goliardic poems; the first seven entries are:

- f. 75r Apocalypsis Golye episcopi «A tauro torrida»
- f. 78r Confessio eiusdem «Estuans intrinsecus»
- f. 78v Gol. «In nova fert animus... Ego dixi dei estis»
- f. 79v Gol. «Dives eram et dilectus»

(100) Fully analyzed by HAURÉAU, in *Notices et Extraits*, 29, 2 (1880), pp. 231-362, and described in detail by A. WILMART, *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae: Codices Regenses Latini*, II, Rome, 1945, pp. 279-291.

(101) The fullest account of the contents (but not of the organization of the manuscript) is by C. L. KINGSFORD, *Song of Lewes*, Oxford, 1890.

- f. 80v Gol. «Nostri moris esse solet» (st. 2 of «Tanto viro»)
 f. 82r Gol. «Raptor mei pilei»
 f. 92v Gol. «Non invitatus venio».

Separately in the same booklet, we find: f. 100v Methamorphosis Golye Episcopi «Soli post arietem». The following poems, however, are not given authors: f. 87r Invectio contra avariciam «Utar contra vicia»; f. 92r a conflation of Walter of Châtillon poems «Missus sum in vineam» and «Elyconis rivulo» (see MSG Nos. 4-7); f. 99v De summa trinitate et de incarnatione domini «Multis a confratribus»; f. 104v De tribus angelis qui retraxerunt a nuptiis «Sit deo gloria» (= *De coniuge non ducenda*). Thus, even this scribe, the most prolific of all in Goliard ascriptions, has excluded some poems which other scribes include in the Goliardic corpus. In blanks at the end of Part III a later hand, ca. 1300, has added «Omnibus in Gallia», to which a slightly later hand has provided a title: *Dicta cuiusdam goliardi anglici* (derived from the text of the poem).

Va Cotton, Vespasian A. xix, ff. 55-60 (s. xiii/xiv). A single booklet of satirical poems, among which are: f. 55rb Confessio Golie «Estuor intrinsecus» (with five extra stanzas); f. 55vb Goliard episcopus de prelatibus «Cum sint plures ordines»; f. 56ra Discipulus Golie de Grisis Monachis «Sompno et silencio»; f. 56va «A tauro torrida» (= *Apocalypsis*, unassigned); f. 59ra Walther 16086 (unassigned); f. 59rb De veneranda rustitia romane curie «Utar contra vicia». Thus, both the *Apocalypsis* and «Utar contra vicia» are left unassigned in a manuscript which has a Goliard ascription tendency.

C Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 450 (ca. 1320, Durham) ⁽¹⁰²⁾. Part II (pp. 53-76) is a booklet of poems, the first seven of which are:

- p. 53a Apocalypsis Golie Episcopi de ordinibus cleri «A tauro torrida» ⁽¹⁰³⁾
 p. 58a De coniugio «Sit deo gloria»
 p. 61a «Si dederis vestes» (part of «Non invitatus»)
 «Extiterant similes fratres» (Walther 6140)
 «Qui iacet hic plenus» (epitaph of *Gulias*, line 4)
 Rithmus confessionis «Estuans intrinsecus»
 p. 62a De curia romana «Utar contra vicia».

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

- p. 191 «Excommunicacio Golie «Raptor mei pilei»
 p. 192 «Pergama flere volo»

(102) In addition to James' Catalogue, see C. R. CHENEY, *Law and letters in fourteenth-century Durham*, in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 55 (1971), pp. 60-85.

(103) A librarian's hand ascribes to Walter Mapes, on the authority of Bale.

- p. 194 «Viribus arte minis»
 p. 198 «Urbs ruit illustris» (assigned by Meyer to Primas)
 «Ardet amore Paris».

It is interesting that four Troy poems, two of which have been assigned to Primas, should here be linked to «Raptor mei pilei», here given to Goliard.

Hr Herdringen (Louvain, UB G. 65, lost; s. xiv, St. Jacob zu Lütich), ff. 98-153, a major collection of Goliardic verse ⁽¹⁰⁴⁾. It includes:

- f. 104r Comedia goliardorum «Tales versus facio» (from the *Confession*)
 f. 104r Invectio contra sacerdotes «Sacerdotes mementote»
 f. 104r Invectio contra prelatos «Estuans intrinsecus» (composite *Confession*)
 f. 105v «Ad terrorem omnium»
 f. 106v Rithmus goliardorum «Tempus acceptabile»
 f. 109r Castigatio presbiterorum «Viri beatissimi sacerdotes dei»
 f. 109v Versus Primatis contra prelatos et clericos «Cur ultra studeam»
 f. 111v Conquestio Primatis expulsi de domo leprosororum «Dives eram»
 f. 112r Petitio Primatis correcta pape pro beneficio obtinendo «Tanto viro»
 f. 114r Apocalypsis goliardorum (*sic*) «A tauro torrida» (30 lines only)
 f. 115r «A tauro torrida» (in full, without heading).

The most interesting feature of Hr's ascriptions is the distinction between poems ascribed to Primas (all grouped together) and those ascribed to Goliards. The heading for the second version of the *Confession* must be an error.

A Bodley, Add. A. 44 (ss. xiii, xv) ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾. This massive thirteenth-century collection was «re-edited» in the fifteenth century by Thomas Bekynton, who provided titles for the poems, produced an amplified contents list, and added new material. Among the thirteenth-century entries are:

- f. 66v «A tauro torrida» (Headed, s. xv: Apocalypsis M. Walteri Mape arcium magistri universitatis Oxon.)
 f. 79r «Utar contra vicia» (Headed, s. xv; Contra venalitem et auariciam curie romane)

Among the fifteenth-century additions are:

- f. 9r Reuelacio facta Magistro Waltero Mape de non ineundo coniugio «Sit deo gloria»
 f. 72r Disputacio inter aquam et vinum «Dum tenerent omnia».

(104) For BÖMER's description, see n. 57 above.

(105) This manuscript has been described often: the fullest account is by A. WILMART, *Le florilège mixte de Thomas Bekynton*, in *Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 1 (1941), pp. 41-84, and 4 (1958), pp. 35-64.

The contents list repeats these titles. Note that in the thirteenth-century collection no names are provided, as in many such collections (above, p. 25).

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

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

- f. 66ra Disputacio inter aquam et vinum « Cum tenerent omnia »
- f. 66vb Dissuacio nubendi Golie « Sit deo gloria »
- f. 156ra Apocalipsis Guliardi « A tauro torrida » (f. 158rb: Iste est apocalipsis episcopi Golie)
- f. 163vb De monachis « Noctis crepusculo »
- f. 165ra Disputacio inter corpus et animam « Noctis sub silencio »
- f. 170vb « Multis a confratribus ».

The original hands assign only the *Apocalypsis* and the *De coniuge non ducenda*, making no distinction between Golias and Guliardus ⁽¹⁰⁸⁾.

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

- f. 159r Apocalipsis Anglorum « A tauro torrida » (f. 165v Explicit Apocalipsis Anglie secundum magistrum Walterum Mape)
- f. 167r Apocalipsis claustralium « Noctis crepusculo »
- f. 168v « Meum est propositum gentis imperite » (Walther 10988)
- f. 170r Naufragium nubencium secundum Goliam « Sit deo gloria » (f. 173r Explicit Apocalipsis Golye de Naufragio Nubendi)
- f. 173v Epilogus apocalipsium precedencium « Totum regit seculum » (W. 19938)
- f. 177v Apocalipsis Bachi inter Lyeum et Thetidem « Cum tenerent omnia ».

(106) See H. WALTHER, *Kleine mittellateinische Dichtungen aus zwei Erfurter Handschriften* (Amplon. Q. 12 and Q. 345), in the *Degering Festschrift* (cited in n. 32 above), pp. 296-315. Epigrams are intermingled with similar mathematical pieces in Trinity College, Cambridge, O.2.45 and the related B. L. Cotton, Cleopatra B. ix.

(107) See my article, *Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies I: Titus A. XX and Rawlinson B. 214*, in *Mediaeval Studies*, 39 (1977), pp. 281-330.

(108) Two antiquarian hands have annotated the manuscript; one (Richard James) ascribes to « Gual. Map » the « Omnis caro peccaverat », « Ecce mundus moritur », « Novus rumor angie », the « De monachis », and Walter of Wimborne's « Pone scribencium »; the other (Bale himself) ascribes « Cur mundus militat » to Golias, and calls the Wine-Water debate « Golie dialogus ».

(109) John Wilde (also the scribe of B. M. Lansdowne 763) was precentor of Waltham Abbey, Essex. See n. 107 above.

Thus, Wilde has tried to keep together the dream-visions (*apocalipses*); he has named two authors, Mapes and Golias.

Ty Trinity College, Cambridge, o.9.38 (s. XV, Glastonbury) ⁽¹¹⁰⁾, compiled by one scribe. The first quire is a booklet of satire, but other satirical poems occur elsewhere in the manuscript:

- f. 2r Apocalypsis « A tauro torrida » ⁽¹¹¹⁾
- f. 7r « Sit deo gloria » Explicit Magister Walterus Mape de Pena coniugii
- f. 9r « Noctis crepusculo »
- f. 12v « Dum tenerent omnia »
- f. 45v « Tempus acceptabile ».

The name Golias does not appear: the original scribe assigns only one poem to Mapes.

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

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

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

Bn Paris, B.N. n.a. lat. 1544 (s. XV), a collection of proverbs, notabilia, and verse ⁽¹¹²⁾. The only assigned items are: f. 97v Dictum Goliardi « Ecce homo sine domo »; Item, « Seigneur volez oir de patre decio » (both unique). The manuscript also contains: f. 87v Ad papam causa aliquid obtinendi « Tanto viro » (Walter of Châtillon), and f. 103v « Quasi leo rugiens » (st. 2 of « Tempus acceptabile »), neither assigned to authors.

Vn Venice, S. Marci lat. class. XIV No. 128 (s. XV). I have no information on this manuscript except that it contains: Versus Primatis presbiteri « Cum tenerent omnia » (Wine-Water debate); Concilium Primatis de uxore non ducenda « Sit deo gloria » ⁽¹¹³⁾.

The variety of ascription patterns is striking: not only is there considerable variation between scribes (who assign to Primas,

(110) See my *Glastonbury Miscellany of the Fifteenth Century*, Oxford, 1968.

(111) Later hands have added: « Johannis ignoti » (probably referring to the evangelist), « incerti auctoris », and « per Walterum Mape ».

(112) See HAURÉAU, *Notices et Extraits*, VI, Paris, 1893, pp. 271-335.

(113) See GRIMM, cited in n. 8 above.

4) 4254 *Denudata veritate* ⁽¹¹⁷⁾. Salimbene also ascribes this Wine-Water debate to Primas, again perhaps because of the association with « *In cratere meo* »; on the textual problems (and the possibility that one MS intended to indicate Peter of Blois as author), see above, pp. 79-80.

5) 4619 *Dives eram et dilectus*. This is present in Rg and is signed Primas internally; two MSS specifically name Hugh Primas of Orléans as author ⁽¹¹⁸⁾. It is assigned to Primas by Hr, but Hr's description (*Conquestio Primatis expulsi de domo leprosorum*) suggests a confusion with Walter of Châtillon. H, according to its usual practice, assigns to Golias.

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

7) 8870 *In cratere meo* ⁽¹¹⁹⁾. Ascribed very frequently to Primas: in MSS (Avranches 104 (66), Lilienfeld, Munich clm. 18921, Digby 53, Clare College, Cambridge, Kk. 4.1), by Salimbene, and (beginning at « *Mittitur in disco* ») in a commentary on the *Doctrinale*. Two MSS (Klosterneuberg 740 and B.N. lat. 5848) head it « *Primas ad cenam Salczeburgensis archiepiscopi* ». Only Tf (Gulias) varies from this, showing an early example of the English preference for the name Golias.

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

9) 11894 *Noctis sub silentio* ⁽¹²⁰⁾. According to Wright, the Debate between Body and Soul (*Visio Philiberti*) is often ascribed to Mapes, but I have not seen it so ascribed in any of the manuscripts I have examined. As far as I know, it is never given to Golias.

10) 12084 *Non invitatus venio*. This dialogue with a bishop is given by H to Golias, Ar to a Goliardus; Neckam describes it as « *Golias ingerens se mense Hildeberti Cenomanensis* »; Vp alone ascribes it to Primas: « *Primas cennomanensi episcopo* » (there is no ascription pattern for this particular scribe in Vp). Wilmart regarded the Vp ascription as a genuine reference to Hugh Primas of Orléans, but Neckam, who elsewhere ascribes poems to Primas, shows no knowledge of (Wilmart suggests « sup-

(117) CB No. 193, I, 3, pp. 22-27.

(118) See above, p. 73 and n. 36.

(119) CB No. 194, I, 3, pp. 28-31.

(120) See WALTHER, *Streitgedicht* cit. (n. 63 above), pp. 63-74, 211-214.

presses) Primas' authorship. As I regard Primas as just as much a pseudonym as Golias I am disinclined to treat this as a real event in the life of Hugh of Orléans ⁽¹²¹⁾.

11) 13985 Pergama flere volo ⁽¹²²⁾. On possible ascriptions to Primas (never to Golias) by scribes and Fournival and Amplonius, see above, p. 79.

12) 14240 Pontificalis equus. Ascribed to Guleardus by Hl, to Primas by a *Doctrinale* gloss, and left unassigned by Vp (in the section where the fourteenth-century hand gives some poems to Primas/Gulias).

13) 14264 Pontificum spuma ⁽¹²³⁾. Richard of Poitiers (beginning at «Hoc indumentum») ascribes to Primas, as do Q, B.N. lat. 8433 and the *Graecismus* gloss in B.N. lat. 8427 (inc. «Pauper mantelle»). Vp, emphasizing the equivalence of the names, heads it «Versus Gulie» but in the margin notes «Tunc Primas mantello». The poem is in Rg and is signed internally in those MSS that have line 20; Vp does not, in fact, have line 20 but begins with another line indicating Primas as author («Pergo prior Primas»); Meyer did not use B.N. lat. 8427 and I do not know if it has line 20 (which is in Rg, Poitiers, Q, and B.N. lat. 8433).

14) 18302 Sit deo gloria ⁽¹²⁴⁾. The *De coniuge non ducenda* is ascribed to Primas by two Venice MSS (Vn and S. Marci lat. class. XIV No. 245); to Golias by the related pair TxRb; and to Walter Mapes by TyA. As mentioned above (pp. 87-88), the dreamer is named twice in the poem: a group of six English MSS (TxRbTyA, Vespasian E. xii, and Bodley 851) is closely related textually – all of these texts (except TxRb, which are alone in naming him Golias) call the dreamer Walter (in some form), and perhaps thus account for the ascription in TyA to Walter Mapes. The newly discovered Binghamton MS (s. xv, French?) also names the dreamer Walter. In C the addressee is «W», in By «Gilbertus», and in Gonville and Caius 385 (s. xiii) «Willelmus». Most of the other MSS that name the dreamer have some form of Gawain, which Walther takes (probably correctly) to be the original reading, an interesting early testimony to Gawain's amorous problems. On the ascription in B.M. Add. 21243, which apparently treats Golias almost as a generic name, see above, p. 81.

15) 19018 Tanto viro locuturi ⁽¹²⁵⁾. This properly belongs to Walter of Châtillon, and is assigned to him in several MSS. H and Bale ascribe to Golias, Flacius Illyricus (and the first corrector of Di) to Walter Mapes. Hr ascribes to Primas, distinguishing it from (a) the poems of the «go-

(121) See n. 45 above.

(122) CB No. 101, I, 2, pp. 139-160.

(123) See MEYER's edition, pp. 40-45 (pp. 115-120).

(124) For information on the texts of the *De coniuge non ducenda* I have made use of the unpublished Habilitationsschrift of the late HANS WALTHER, Göttingen, 1930, kindly sent to me by Professor Paul G. Schmidt; I have myself transcribed the texts of the English MSS. I am grateful to Professor Saul Levin of the State University of New York for showing me the Binghamton MS. On the ascription to Primas, see n. 63 above.

(125) Ed. STRECKER, *MSG* cit., No. 1.

liardi», and from (b) two other poems now attributed to Walter of Châtillon (*MSG* No. 16 and a composite of Nos. 6 and 7). Walter of Châtillon's poems are often found with the Golias poems, but this is the only one ever ascribed to Golias.

16) 19917 Utar contra vicia ⁽¹²⁶⁾. No manuscript supports Giraldus (above, p. 82) in ascribing this poem to Golias: his text, as some others, begins at «Roma mundi caput»; even H and Va are reticent on it. Bale, however, and implicitly Flacius attribute it to Golias.

INDEX OF ATTRIBUTED POEMS AND WORKS

This list does not represent a medieval consensus on a canon of Goliardic poetry. Each scribe or compiler has his own list and often leaves unassigned poems which other scribes attribute to Primas, Golias, etc.: even H, which has a strong tendency to ascribe to Golias, assigns only eight poems to him. The list is of the total aggregate of Golias/Mapes/Primas ascriptions from the twelfth to the seventeenth century. It has no historical status as the basis for an anthology of Goliardic poems. The poems of Walter of Châtillon and the Archpoet of Cologne are listed only if they are ascribed to Primas, Golias, or Mapes. All poems in Nos. 1-23 of Rawlinson G. 109 (Rg) are included, even if they are unsigned and not elsewhere attributed to Primas. Manuscripts are not usually mentioned unless they contain ascriptions; editions and secondary references are not usually given, unless the entry in Walther's *Initia* is incomplete or unclear. For manuscript sigla besides Rg, see above, pp. 89-95; for the Tours MS, see above, p. 75. For Salimbene and Pippin, see above, pp. 74-75. For the following abbreviations, etc., see the appropriate footnote: Delisle 1868 (n. 11); *Hist. litt.* 30 (n. 13); *Dist. mon.* (n. 15 and n. 46); CB (n. 23); Meyer (n. 2); *MSG* (n. 17); *Parodie* ² (n. 26). *NE* refers to *Notices et Extraits* in either the full series or the short six-volume set of extracts by Hauréau. Bale's ascriptions to Walter Mapes are listed separately (below, pp. 104-105), unless supported by other ascriptions.

3 A bove principium. See 5894.

25 A ducibus Primas. Rg: signed «Primas». Meyer No. 21.

91 A tauro torrida (*Apocalypsis*). Assigned most commonly to Golias, Guleardus, etc.; also to Primas, Galterus ab Insula, Walterus Mapes, Alanus, Martinus, etc. See above. p. 96.

(126) CB No. 42, I, 1, pp. 76-83.

- 125 Abbas abbatum. *Doctrinale* gloss «Primas» (*Hist. litt.* 30, 292).
- 194 Abit qui clero. *Dist. mon.* III 472 «Waltherus cognomento Maph».
- 627 Estuans intrinsecus (*Confession*). Assigned most commonly to Goliardus, etc.; also to Primas. See above, pp. 72, 96.
- 845 Alta palus. Rg: no signature. Meyer No. 17.
- 895 Ambianis urbs predives. RgVp: signed «Primas». Meyer No. 18.
- 1888 Auxilio pellis. Rg: no signature. Meyer No. 20.
- 2365 Canonici cur canonicum. Tours 468 «Primas»; Di perhaps «Serlo» (see above, p. 90). Delisle (1868).
- 2719 Christe tu calicis. *Dist. mon.* II 486 «Walterus Map».
- 2851 Claudicat hoc animal. Tours 468 «Primas»; Delisle (1868).
- 3780 Cum sint plures ordines. Va «Goliardus episcopus».
- 3834 Cum tenerent omnia (*Wine and Water*). PnVn «Primas»; late hand (Bale) in Tx «Golie dialogus»; Bale «Mapes».
- 3955 Cur ultra studeam. Hr «Primas»; Hauréau *NE* 31, 1, 153.
- 4240 (D)els ego. Rg: no signature. Meyer No. 22.
- 4254 Denudata veritate (*Wine and Water*). Salimbene «Primas»; see above pp. 79-80.
- 4619 Dives eram et dilectus. Rg: signed «Primas». In two MSS (see above, p. 73) «Hugo Aurelianensis Primas», Hr «Primas», H «Golyas»; Meyer No. 23.
- 5099 Ecce homo sine domo. Bn «Goliardus». Ed. Lehmann *Parodie*² (n. 26), p. 151.
- 5264 Ego dixi dei estis. H «Golyas»; see above, p. 80.
- 5288 Egregius dedit. Rg: no signature. Meyer No. 19.
- 5563 Est acer hic potus. Bodley 233 «Goliardus vituperans cibum».
- 5712 Est labor hic esse. *Dist. mon.* III 472 «Hugo Primas cognomine».
- 5894 Esto memor verbi. B.M. Add. 11619 «Goliardus».
- 6457 Fertur in convivio. Salimbene «Primas».
- 6514 Filii burgensium. *Dist. mon.* II 295 «Hugo cognomento Primas».
- 6591 Flare iube lentos. RgDi: no signature. Meyer No. 4.
- 6799 Fortes fideles. Walter Mapes in the *De Nugis* (above, p. 85).
- 7102 Gaudeo quod sanus es. Di «Walterus Mapa Hamelino clerico regis» (which should be the first line).
- 8214 His vaccis parcam. Salimbene «Primas».
- 8277 Hoc indumentum. See 14264.
- 8372 Hoc vinum putre. B.N. lat. 152 «Hugo Primas».

- 8460 Hospes erat michi. Rg: signed «Primas». Meyer No. 1.
- 8521 Hugo dat Hugoni. Neckam «Hugo Primas» (above, p. 76).
- I cito pergo viam. Clare College, Cambridge, Kk. 5.6 «Versus Goliardi super picturam Machabeorum» (title added s. XIII). Ed. M. R. James, *Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc.*, 10, 111.
- 8655 Idibus his Mai. Rg.: no signature. Meyer No. 6.
- 8870 In cratere meo. Ascribed to «Primas» by Salimbene and many MSS (see above, p. 97), Tf «episcopus Goliardus».
- 9278 Indigeo bobus. Salimbene «Primas».
- 9355 Iniuriis contumeliisque. Rg: signed «Primas». Meyer No. 16.
- (9441 *Inter acrimonias* is described by Walther «Goliardorum versus», but the heading is not in the Soissons MS [*Moyen Age*, V, p. 147], and the poem does not appear to be in B.M. Royal 15 C.v).
- 9645 Istud iumentum. Tours 468 «Primas»; Delisle (1868).
- 9986 Iussa lupanari. Rg.: no signature. Meyer No. 8.
- 10101 Lancea Longini. Attributed to Mapes by Bothewald (Wright *Mapes*, p. xxxv).
- 10162a Laudes crucis attollamus. Attributed to Hugh Primas by N. Weisbein, *Revue du Moyen Age Latin*, III (1947), pp. 5-26. Usually ascribed to Adam of Saint-Victor.
- 10431 Lucius est piscis. Pippin «Primas»; see above, p. 75.
- 10820 Me ditavit ita. Rg: no signature. Meyer No. 14.
- 11136 Mittitur in disco. *Doctrinale* gloss «Primas» (*Hist. litt.*, 30, 292); follows Primas poems in Vp.
- 11231 Mors alios morde. *Graecismus* gloss «Primas» (*NE*, IV, 284).
- 11395 Multis a confratribus. Tf «episcopus Goliardus», Cc «Goliardus», Bale «Mapes» and «Praedicatio Goliardi» (inc. Viri venerabiles).
- 11480 Munera si vitas. Walter Mapes in the *De Nugis* (above, p. 85).
- 11670 Ni spernas munus. Salimbene «Primas».
- 12084 Non invitatus venio. H «Goliardus», Ar «Goliardus», Neckam «Goliardus ingerens se mense Hildeberti Cenomanensis», Vp «Primas cennomanensi episcopo» (see above, p. 78 and n. 45).
- 12133 Non peto castellum. *Dist. mon.*, II 326 «Hugo... Primas cognominatus», Vp «peticio eiusdem (Goliardus)»; lacks ascription in Di but adjacent to 8870.
- 12648 O fluvialis anas. *Doctrinale* gloss «Primas» (*Hist. litt.*, 30, 292); follows Primas/Goliardus poems in Vp.
- 13306 Omnibus in Gallia. Signed «goliardus... Ricardus», H «goliardus».
- 13493 Orpheus Euridice. Rg: no signature. Meyer No. 3.

- 13864 Pauper mantelle. See 14264.
- 13985 Pergama flere volo. Vienna 883 « Primatem egregium versificatorem », Digby 166 « Hugo prior de Monte Acuto », Krakau MS « inprimatis » (?); see above, p. 79.
- 14240 Pontificalis equus. Hl « Guleardus », *Doctrinale* gloss « Primas » (*Hist. litt.* 30, 292).
- 14264 Pontificum spuma. Ascribed to Primas and Gulas; see above, p. 98.
- 14338 Post rabiem rixe. Rg: no signature. Meyer No. 10.
- 14606 Primas in scampno. Signed « Primas »; LANGOSCH, *Hymnen u. Vagantenlieder*, p. 293.
- 14607 Primas pontifici. Rg: signed « Primas ». Meyer No. 11.
- 14608 Primas Serloni. Signed « Primas »; Di « Primatis ».
- 15499 Qui iacet hic plenus. Signed « Gulas ». Ed. Lehmann *Parodie*² p. 141.
- 15832 Quid luges lirice. Rg: no signature (pun in 43 ?). Meyer No. 7.
- 16053 Quis dedit hoc munus. Vp « Gulie » (part of 14264).
- 16360 Quos anguis tristi. Pippin « Primas ».
- 16413 Raptor mei pillei. H « Golias », Vt « episcopi (Gulii) », Hl « Guleardi », C « Golie »; Bale « Mapes », « Golias »; Flacius « Goliae ».
- (16481 *Referam miraculum* is headed « Goliard. » by Walther but I can find no ascriptions).
- 16610 Res erit archana. Tours 468 « Primas »; precedes 14264 in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 236, where neither is assigned an author.
- 16650 Res tam diverse. See 8870.
- 17476 Seigneur volez oir. Bn « Goliardus ». Cfr. 5099.
- 17696 Si dederis vestes. See 12084.
- 18302 Sit deo gloria (*De coniuge non ducenda*). TxRb « Golias », Vn and Venice No. 245 « Primas », TyA « Waltherus Mape », B. M. Add. 21243 « Gavinus »; see above, pp. 87-88, 98. Bale « Mapes ».
- 18404 Sole post arietem. H « Methamorphosis Golie ». Ed R.B.C. HUYGENS, in *Studi medievali*, 3^a ser., VIII (1967), pp. 764-72.
- 18442 Sompno et silencio. Va « discipulus Golie ».
- 19018 Tanto viro locuturi. H « Golyas », Hr « Primas »; Bale « Mapes », « Golias ... dictamen magistri Gualtheri loco lectionis »; Flacius « Gualterus Mapes »; on later hands in Di, see above n. 101. (Walter of Châtillon, MSG No. 1).
- 19171 Tempus acceptabile. Hr « ritmus Goliardorum »; Bale « Mapes », « Golias »; Flacius « praedicatio Goliae ».

- 19595 Ulceribus plenus. Rg: no signature. Meyer No. 5.
- 19715 Urbs erat illustris. Rg: no signature. Meyer No. 9.
- 19917 Utar contra vicia. Giraldus (inc. Roma mundi caput) « Golias »; Bale « Mapes », « Golias » (both incipits are given for each author); Flacius (both incipits) *sine auctore*, but implies Golias.
- 20236 Versibus imparibus. Giraldus ascribes to Walter Mapes (above, p. 85)
- 20416 Vir pietatis inops. Rg: signed « Primas ». Meyer No. 15.
- 20580 Viri venerabiles viri literati. = st. 2 of 11395.
- Prose De quodam abbate. Di « Magister Golyas ». Ed. Wright *Mapes* pp. XL-XLIV.
- Prose Introibo ad altare Bachi. Hl « Missa Gulonis ». Ed. Lehmann *Parodie*² No. 16.
- Prose De Nugis Curialium. Bodley 851 « Gauterus Mahap ».
- Prose Cerva fugiens a facie venatorum. Corpus Christi College, Oxford, 32 « ex dictis W. Map ».

THE BIBLIOGRAPHERS

The shift towards Walter Mapes ascription that we saw in the last section (pp. 84-88) was completed in the sixteenth century. In his *Summarium* (1548) Bale had not mentioned either Mapes or Golias⁽¹²⁷⁾, but he made good the omission in his *Index* and his *Catalogus* (1557)⁽¹²⁸⁾. He reconciled the divergent ascriptions to Golias and to Mapes by proposing that Walter Mapes wrote under the pseudonym of his Oxford jester⁽¹²⁹⁾; consequently, in the list that follows, I have conflated Bale's three separate entries, that of the *Catalogus* (which is under the heading « Gualterus Mapes » but also lists three poems with « Golias » ascriptions), and those of the *Index*, under the names of Golias (from a lost Oriel College MS and the account in Giraldus)⁽¹³⁰⁾ and Mapes. Also in 1557 Fla-

(127) *Illustrium Maioris Britanniae Scriptorum Summarium*, Basel, 1548.

(128) JOHANNES BALE, *Scriptorum illustrium maioris Brytanniae... Catalogus*, Basel, 1557; *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*, ed. R. L. POOLE and M. BATESON, Oxford, 1902 (Anecdota Oxoniensia, Med. and Mod. Ser. 9), pp. 96-97, 107-110.

(129) See above, p. 81; for Pits' modification of the story, see below, p. 106. and n. 137.

(130) For Giraldus' account of Golias, see above, p. 82; Bale subtly altered the wording to « vir affatim literatus ac bonis disciplinis informatus » and for « inpudenter quam imprudenter » substituted « erudite quam vere », thus suggesting that Giraldus approved of Golias' anticlerical poems.

cius Illyricus published a full collection of Goliardic poems⁽¹³¹⁾; he acknowledged Bale's work, and does not, in fact, add any poems to the canon, but his titles and ascriptions to Goliard differ somewhat from those of Bale – he seems to have distinguished Mapes from Goliard. I have therefore added references to Flacius' titles. I have re-organised the list alphabetically; an asterisk * indicates that a poem is new to the canon (i.e. is not in the list given above, pp. 99-103).

- * A. Grecismi dogmate. *Index* «Mapes».
- 40 * A legis doctoribus. *Cat.* «Mapes» (repeated under *Suscitavit dominus*), Flacius «sermo Goliae» (ed. H. WALTHER, in *Historisches Vierteljahrsschrift*, XXVIII, 1933, inc. «Pastores ecclesie»).
- 91 A tauro torrida. *Cat.* «Mapes» («Apocalypsis Goliae pontificis»); Flacius «Apocalypsis Goliae pontificis... edita... per Gualtherum Mapes».
- 627 Estuor intrinsecus. *Cat.* «Mapes» («confessio eiusdem [Goliae]»); also given to «Mapes» under *Tertio capitulo* «carmen ebriosorum» following Giraldus.
- 3062 * Complange tui anglia. *Cat.* «Mapes»; Flacius «Goliard ad librum, vel Gualterus Mapes».
- 3834 Cum tenerent omnia. *Cat.* «Mapes».
- 3934 * Cur mundus militat. *Cat.* «Mapes».
- 4480 * Dilatatur impii. *Cat.* «Mapes», *Index* «Goliard pontifex»; Flacius «sermo Goliae» (Walter of Châtillon, MSG No. 9).
- 5114 * Ecce mundus moritur. *Cat.* «Mapes»; Flacius «Mapes».
- 5238 * Edictum exiit. *Index* «Mapes» and «Goliard»⁽¹³²⁾.
- 10208 * Lectio certa prodest. *Cat.* «Mapes» (Giraldus Cambrensis).
- 10299 * Libri cursus. *Cat.* «Mapes».
- 10450 * Ludere volentibus. *Index* «Mapes» (Wars of Edward I!).
- 10817 * Mei cordis angustia. *Index* «Mapes» (Bannockburn!).
- 10988 * «Meum est propositum gentis imperite. *Index* «Mapes» (ed. K. STRECKER, in *Studi medievali*, n. s., I, 1928, pp. 380-91).
- 11382 * Multi mortalium. *Cat.* «Mapes» (Walter of Wimborne, signed).

(131) FLACIUS ILLYRICUS, *Varia doctorum piorumque virorum de corrupto Ecclesiae statu poemata*, Basel, 1557. Flacius' list is much shorter than Bale's; only three of the poems are new to the canon. Flacius leaves *sine auctore* a great number of items traditionally found in Goliardic manuscripts, including 'Cur ultra studeam'.

(132) Ed. in my unpublished dissertation, Oxford, 1966, I, pp. 146-156, II, pp. 356-370.

- 11395 Multis a confratribus. *Cat.* «Mapes» and (under *Viri venerabiles viri literati*) «Praedicatio Goliae».
- 11891 * Noctis crepusculo. *Cat.* «Mapes» (as later hand (James) in Tx).
- 11894 * Noctis sub silencio. *Index* «Mapes».
- 12337 * Nonus (read Nouus) rumor anglie. *Cat.* «Mapes».
- 13348 * Omnis caro peccaverat. *Cat.* «Mapes».
- 13878 * Paupertate melior. *Index* «Mapes».
- 14232 * Pone scribentium. *Cat.* «Mapes» (as later hand in Tx) (Walter of Wimborne = 10699).
- 16413 Raptor mei pilei. *Cat.* «Mapes», *Index* «Goliard»; Flacius «Goliae». Roma mundi caput. See 19917 below.
- 18302 Sit deo gloria. *Cat.* «Mapes». *Suscitavit dominus*. See 40 above.
- 19018 Tanto viro locuturi. *Cat.* «Mapes», *Index* «Goliard... dictamen magistri Gualtheri loco lectionis»; Flacius «Mapes» (Walter of Châtillon, MSG No. 1).
- 19171 Tempus acceptabile. *Cat.* «Mapes», *Index* «Goliard... praedicatio»; Flacius «Praedicatio Goliae». *Tertio capitulo*. See 627 above.
- 19338 * Totum regnat seculum. *Index* «Mapes».
- 19917 Utar contra vitia. *Cat.* «Mapes» (repeated under *Roma mundi caput*). *Index* «Goliard» (again repeated under *Roma mundi caput*, citing Giraldus directly); Flacius *sine auctore* but he uses Bale's title, and separately heads *Roma mundi caput* «eiusdem auctoris», implying Goliard.
- 20572 * Viri beatissimi sacerdotes dei. *Cat.* «Mapes»; Flacius «Goliard» (but Cc «exortacio Ricardi»). *Viri venerabiles*. See 11395 above.

In the *Catalogus* Bale also ascribed to Mapes two poems without incipits, *Commendationes Giraldi* and *In Cistercienses monachos*, and in the *Index* adds three prose works: *Giraldi distinctiones* (same as above?), *Relationem dormientium*, and a commentary «in opera quedam Senecae».

Bale's list is unreliable: the *Index* «Mapes» section, for example, includes two poems dealing with events of about a hundred years after Mapes' death. Elsewhere Bale himself ascribes some of these poems to authors other than Mapes (e.g. to Robert Baston). On the other hand, he may have been following the colophons and ascriptions of manuscripts now lost, such as the Oriel College one⁽¹³³⁾; he ascribes to Mapes two poems, «Dilatatur impii»

(133) For a lost Clare College MS which contained the *Apocalypsis*, the *De coniuge non ducenda* and the Norfolk poem 'Edictum exiit', and which was known to Bale, see my thesis II, pp. 195, 357.

and «Pone scribentium», which are in fact by writers named Walter (the first of Châtillon, the second of Wimborne); neither poem is signed internally (unlike Wimborne's «Multi mortalium»), so Bale may have seen texts with Walter ascriptions. Although he may have attributed some of the poems to Mapes on stylistic grounds (most of the poems are in the Goliardic metre), he may also be a witness to a lost tradition of Mapes ascriptions. In any case, his list was of immense importance for subsequent literary history.

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

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

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

(134) JOANNES WOLFF, *Lectio memoralium...*, Lavinge, 1600, I, pp. 429-443, II, p. 710.

(135) JOHANNES PITSEUS, *Relationum historicarum...* Tomus I, Paris, 1619, pp. 283-285. Pits died in 1616.

(136) His reference, «MS Cantabrigiae in Collegio S. Benedicti», is given for the first seven items in his list only; these are not in Bale's order, and the last («de susanna») is not in Bale's list at all, so it is just possible that Pits had seen another manuscript. The remaining entries, however, follow Bale's order exactly, and all his titles correspond to Bale's.

(137) Pits' text of Giraldus is accurate and does not show Bale's alterations (n. 130 above) in this at least he is independent. Of the *scurra*, however, he says «Bomolocum aliqui vocant», which must come from Bale or Wolff.

(138) POLYCARP LEYSER, *Historia poetarum ei poematum medii aevi*, Halle, 1721, pp. 776-788.

(139) The manuscript was burnt in the Cotton fire. According to Smith's Catalogue of 1696, the 9th item included: Versus Gualteri Mapes de clericis et laicis, de S. Edmundo, de S. Maria Virgine, etc. See above, p. 84 and n. 80.

ge tui Anglia» (which he published elsewhere) and «Lectio certa prodest»; if he could find no manuscript, he took his texts sometimes from Flacius' edition. In addition, Wright went back to some of the major manuscript collections mentioned above, such as Harley 978, Vespasian E. xii, Titus A. xx, etc. Wright knew that many, or even most, of these poems were «not the productions of any one person, but rather of a class of persons during many years»⁽¹⁴⁰⁾. His words marked the end of a constantly changing but durable myth; his edition was its headstone. succeeding generations have been occupied in proving, or disproving, the estate and dividing it up among its original owners.

CONCLUSIONS

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

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

(140) WRIGHT, *Mapes* cit., Introduction p. XXI.

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

This limited corpus of poems should, perhaps, restrict the modern concept of Goliardic as a literary genre. Anthologists have been prone to include all (or their own selection of) the poems of Hugh of Orléans, or Walter of Châtillon, or choices from the *Carmina Burana*, and to label them Goliardic. The Index and the supplementary list from Bale restrict the corpus to those poems that have been ascribed to one of the main names in the tradition. Even this restriction, of course, is too wide: the corpus varies from place to place and from time to time, and, as we have seen, individual scribes often fail to provide ascriptions for poems which other scribes attribute to Goliath, Primas, etc. The question « What,

in the Middle Ages, would have been labelled Goliardic ? » must be answered by the unsatisfying demand for a qualification: « It depends on the country, the year, and the preferences of the scribe ». A wider choice could be provided, as I have suggested, by the collocations and selections made for us in the medieval poetic anthologies themselves: the poems that « keep company » with the Goliath corpus have some claim to membership in the genre.

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

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