3 The Quotation in Goliardic Poetry: The Feast of Fools and the Goliardic Strophe *cum auctoritate*

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Despite their apparent lightness and spontaneity, the secular lyrics written by the clergy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries cannot be read and understood without assistance. Their many borrowings from, allusions to, and reminiscences of the Bible, liturgical texts, ancient and medieval authors, need to be identified.

In recent decades research has paid attention to quotations and parodistic *contrafacta*. This has at last produced critical editions—some of them with commentaries—for the Archpoet, for Walter of Châtillon, and for that great composite manuscript the Codex Buranus. The artistic character of goliardic poetry, rich in generic conventions, has in consequence been illuminated more clearly. In some cases it has also proved possible to identify the authors of poems that have been transmitted anonymously. They emerge

The essay is frequently cited, and its thesis has been generally accepted, most recently in Udo Kindermann's lecture to the third meeting of the 'Mediävistenverband' in Paderborn, March 1989, entitled 'A la feste sui venuz et ostendam quare: Ein Gegenfest schafft lateinische Literatur' (corroborative rather than innovatory). Additional bibliography: W. Arlt, *Ein Festoffizium des Mittelalters aus Beauvais in seiner liturgischen und musikalischen Bedeutung* (Cologne, 1970), i. 38–51; W.-D. Lange, 'Stilmanier und Parodie: Zum Wandel der mehrsprachigen Dichtung des Mittelalters', in *Literatur und Sprache im europäischen Mittelalter: Festschrift für K. Langosch* (Darmstadt, 1973), 398–416; F. J. Worstbrock, 'Rhetorische Formtypen der mittelalterlichen Lyrik', *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, 49 (1975), 8–31 (esp. 19–21); J. Mann, 'Satiric Subject and Satiric Object in Goliardic Literature', *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*, 15 (1980), 63–86 (esp. 79–82); G. W. G. Wickham, 'Robert Grosseteste and the Feast of Fools', *Sewanee Mediaeval Colloquium Occasional Papers*, 2 (1985), 81–99.

not as *clerici vagantes*, but as holders of high ecclesiastical office, as officials in a royal chancery, or as respected masters in the schools. To only a small number of drinking and begging songs can the long-entrenched concept of goliardic poetry be applied in the more restrictive sense of the term. The greater part of the poetry which goes by that name is poetry of the schools and of the clergy, and in it the learned element is dominant.[1]

How decisively the content and structure of entire poems are influenced by individual literary models was not generally recognized by the first editors of these texts. Hence the long-standing failure to see that Walter of Châtillon's 18th poem represents a paraphrase of Psalm 50 or that the anonymous lover of the composite manuscript of Ripoll created one of his love poems (no. 23) by basing it closely on Ovid, *Amores* 1. 5.[2] Both of these medieval *remaniements* can serve as model examples of the great differences in the extent of verbal borrowings. The anonymous love-poet, who differs from Ovid in metre, content, and number of verses only to a slight extent, none the less consciously avoided following his model word for word. His restraint in not employing formulae and characteristic expressions from Ovid cannot be said to alter the fact that, in his works, we find one of the closest imitations of Ovid's erotic poetry. Walter of Châtillon, by contrast, opens almost every strophe of his paraphrase of the Psalms with a verbatim quotation of the relevant psalm-verse. To be sure, he never signals his source in any of the many literal quotations; no outward peculiarity distinguishes the borrowings from the otherwise biblically-coloured language of his poem. This practice of employing quotations without indicating or referring to their authors can be observed not only in the example I have just cited but also more generally in the secular poetry written by clerics.

As a rule the quotations were inserted unobtrusively into the new context, and in the process alterations to their original form were frequently unavoidable. In this manner a *metrical* quotation, for example, can be adapted to a *rhythmical* context. In his great

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[1] H. Schüppert, *Kirchenkritik in der lateinischen Lyrik des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts* (*Medium Aevum* Philologische Studien, 23: Munich, 1972), 29–32.

[2] K. Strecker, *Moralisch-satirische Gedichte Walters von Châtillon* (Heidelberg, 1929), 152; L. N. d'Olwer, 'L'escola poetica de Ripoll en els segles X–XIII', *Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, 6 (1923), 41 f. Cf. also W. Offermanns, *Die Wirkung Ovids auf die literarische Sprache der lateinischen Liebesdichtung des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts* (Beihefte zum *Mittellateinischem Jahrbuch*, 4 [3]: Wuppertal, 1970), 91 f. The Ripoll collection is edited by Th. Latzke, *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*, 10 (1975), 138–201 (esp. 175 f.).

complaint-poem *De superfluitate clericorum* the satirist Gillebert refashioned an hexameter of Juvenal's into a goliardic line—no other external characteristic signals to the reader the fact that here he is dealing with a quotation.[3]

A poem transmitted in the Codex Buranus (no. 15), which makes fairly extensive use of quotations, also provides no indication of the borrowings which appear regularly at the beginning of each strophe. In addition the poet also ends the final strophe with a quotation; he adduces at the conclusion the same Horatian expression (*Epistles* 1. 11. 27) with which he had opened the first strophe. *Caelum, non animum* is the theme and substance of this poem, in which no reference is provided for the quotations, despite their importance in its structure.[4] A counter-example is presented by *Carmen Buranum* 1, the author of which expressly emphasizes that he is citing a binding pronouncement: *Date, vobis dabitur; talis est auctoritas*. This *auctoritas*-quotation from Luke, also used in two other goliardic poems, cannot be overlooked as the many hidden borrowings from the heritage of tradition in the language of secular poetry written by clerics have been in the past.[5]

Here I do not intend to point out quotations which have been overlooked, but I should like to draw attention to a noteworthy style of citation which provides the constitutive principle according to which a series of poems is structured. Here, in almost every case, an *auctoritas* appears at the end of each strophe; frequently it is explicitly designated a quotation in the preceding line or announced by a reference to its author. Mostly one is dealing with a hexameter or pentameter taken more or less verbatim from an

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[3] Gillebert, *De superfluitate clericorum*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *Sacris Erudiri*, 13 (1962), 519 ff.:

> 1 Ad scribendum equidem   ebes et piger sum,
>   sed cum vulgus videam   viciis immersum
>   clerumque conspiciam   undique perversum,
>   si natura denegat,   facit ira versum.
>   (Cf. Si natura negat, facit indignatio versum: Juvenal 1. 79)

[4] O. Schumann, in his commentary on *CB* 36 (*Carmina Burana*, ii. 1 (Heidelberg, 1930), 56–9) points to a total of four poems in the Codex Buranus, in which the initia are repeated at the end: 14, 15, 35, and 36. In *CB* 14 and 36 some of the strophes also begin with quotations (Walther, *Proverbia* 33702, should supplement *CB* 36, 2a).

[5] *CB* 1. 5. 1 ff. after Luke 6: 38. Cf. also *CB* 42. 7. 3 and 218. 2. 3. For previously unrecognized quotations and borrowings in the Archpoet see W. Heckenbach, *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*, 4 (1967), 145–54 and O. Zwierlein, ibid. 7 (1972), 102–21. Cf. P. Dronke, below, pp. 57–71.

ancient poem and attached to a strophe by a disyllabic end-rhyme
that it shares with three rhythmical lines. Its unaltered metrical
form clearly distinguishes it from its rhythmical context. The
distinctive character of the borrowing is thereby clearly preserved.
An example is provided by a goliardic strophe of Walter of
Châtillon which uses the same quotation from Juvenal that
Gillebert had refashioned into a thirteen-syllable; Walter, by
contrast, did not alter Juvenal's hexameter.[6] His strophe can
serve as a model for the regularly formed 'goliardic strophe *cum
auctoritate*'. This term, to which Wilhelm Meyer gave currency,
frequently appears in most of the relevant literary histories and
introductions to medieval Latin versification, together with the
supposition that Walter of Châtillon is to be regarded as the
originator of this manner of quotation.[7] There has, as yet, been no
study of the form, its function, or its purpose. In this essay I shall
attempt to provide a survey of the *auctoritas*-poems which are
scattered in out-of-the-way editions and to offer an explanation
for the genesis of their form. More than forty poems from the
period between 1160 and 1300 are distinguished by this structure—
among them complaint- and debate-poems, fables, encomia and
victory songs, invectives and visions. The versified literary history
by Hugh of Trimberg, the *Registrum multorum auctorum*, also, in
some of its shorter passages, concludes the strophes with a metrical
quotation borrowed verbatim.[8]

It seems to me that the development of *auctoritas*-poetry was
completed in two phases; in a modified form it was employed
beyond the bounds of the genre. Among the first examples are

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[6] Walter of Châtillon, *Moralisch-satirische Gedichte*, ed. K. Strecker (Heidelberg, 1929):

> 5.4   Cum mundum intuear   sordis fluxu mersum
>   et nature penitus   ordinem perversum
>   et hunc a principibus   in vulgus dispersum:
>   Si natura negat, facit indignatio versum. (= Juvenal 1. 79).

[7] O. Hubatsch, *Die lateinischen Vagantenlieder des Mittelalters* (Görlitz, 1870), 72; W. Meyer, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rythmik*, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1905–36); repr. Hildesheim, 1970), i. 304, 309, 333, iii. 356 ff.; K. Strecker and R. B. Palmer, *Introduction to Medieval Latin*[2] (Berlin, 1963), 84 f.; A. Önnerfors, *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*, 3 (1966), 72; P. Klopsch, *Einführung in die mittellateinische Verslehre* (Darmstadt, 1972), 33. On the term *auctoritas*: K.-H. Luetcke, '*Auctoritas* bei Augustin', *Tübinger Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft*, 44 (Stuttgart, 1968); M.-M. Davy, 'Les *auctoritates* et les procédés de citation dans la prédication médiévale', *Revue d'histoire franciscaine*, 8 (1931), 344–54; W. Hessler, 'Auctoritas im deutschen Mittellatein', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 47 (1965), 255–65.

[8] Cf. A. Vernet, 'Poésies latines des XIIe et XIIIe siècles (Auxerre 243)', *Mélanges F. Grat* (Paris, 1949) ii. 267–74; K. Langosch, *Das 'Registrum multorum auctorum' des Hugo von Trimberg* (Germanische Studien, 235: Berlin, 1942) 91 ff.

several of the moral-satirical poems of Walter of Châtillon. In them an announcement often precedes the quotations. Before a verse from Ovid, for example, it is *quia iuxta nobilem versificatorem*; Horace—on account of the rhyme—is designated *lascivus*.[9] In poems of the second phase, announcements of this kind are seldom found; in quite a number of cases they are wholly missing. In yet another respect Walter is distinguished from the second phase. He seems to use the new form predominantly as a vehicle for a specific theme. His poems are songs of complaint in which the higher clergy is reproached with its failings; attacks are directed by preference against a vice of the clergy, its *avaritia*. At the same time Walter laments the penurious state of the students and admonishes the clerical holders of offices, whom he also disparages, to perform their duty of *largitas*. This unique combination of abuse and entreaty is linked to an external occasion.[10] Walter defines it in two *auctoritas*-poems: it is the Feast of Fools. This label covers a series of festivals which Wilhelm Meyer once characterized as the 'great Dionysia of the Catholic Church'.[11] On the feast days of Stephen, John, the Massacre of the Holy Innocents, and the Circumcision the lower clergy in the cathedral churches assumed the functions which were otherwise reserved for their superiors in the hierarchy. For example, a boy-bishop, elected from the ranks of the younger clergy, made his appearance, bearing the sign of episcopal office, the *baculus*, and took the lead in the ecclesiastical celebrations of the day, in which numerous

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[9] Walter of Châtillon:

6.17   Semper habet comitem   paupertas merorem,
       perdit fructum Veneris   et amoris florem,
       quia iuxta nobilem   versificatorem
       non habet unde suum paupertas pascat amorem. (= Ovid, *Rem.* 749)

4.13   A prelatis defluunt   vitiorum rivi,
       et tantum pauperibus   irascuntur divi;
       impletur versiculus   illius lascivi:
       quicquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi. (= Horace, *Ep.* 1. 2. 14)

[10] Praise and flattery on the one hand, insult and calumny on the other alternate erratically. The editor of Walter's poems often pointed to these abrupt changes of direction (Strecker, 61 ff., 72 ff., 123) and regarded them (mistakenly, in my view) as a sign of disruption in the transmission.

[11] Cf. H. Spanke, 'Zu den Gedichten Walters von Châtillon', *Volkstum und Kultur der Romanen: Sprache, Dichtung, Sitte*, iv (Hamburg, 1931), 197–220 (204). On the Feast of Fools cf. G. M. Dreves, 'Zur Geschichte der fête des fous', *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, 47 (1894), 571–87; E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage* (Oxford, 1903), i. 274–335; H. Spanke in *Studi Medievali*, NS 8 (1935), 50 f.; B. Bischoff, 'Vagantenlieder aus der Vaticana', *Zeitschrift f. rom. Phil.* 50 (1930), 76–95; Schüppert (n. 1 above), 35 ff., 54 ff.; Ch. Witke, *Latin Satire: The Structure of Persuasion* (Leiden, 1970), 241 ff., 255 ff.

extensions to the liturgical text were evinced. Thus the choir performed solemn, hymn-like songs in praise of the *baculus* and its bearer. Furthermore, hierarchical order was broken down and abolished by masked antics, colourful pageants, boisterous dances, and theatrical performances. The turbulent activities ended with the *Festum asinorum* or *Festum stultorum*, the festival of the sub-deacons, that is, the schoolboys and students. On that day it was the custom to attack the higher bearers of ecclesiastical office in mocking songs, under the protection of the *libertas Decembriae*. Because of their excesses these festivals caused mounting irrita-tion; the history of the Feast of Fools is in part the history of its prohibitions. Regrettably we lack precise details about the organiza-tion of the celebrations; thus we know but little about who supplied the considerable financial support required for the Feast of Fools. Certain witnesses speak of the *baculifer* being obliged to provide a meal for the participants in the festival, which would have far out-taxed his financial resources in the circumstances. From the letters of Guido of Bazoches we learn that he was the bearer of the *baculus* as a young man in Châlons and took his responsibilities as a fool so seriously in the course of it that, as a result of the debts he had contracted during the Feast, he was obliged to avoid his native city for a long time.[12]

The financial burden of the festival was, as this single example shows, not to be borne alone by the youth in charge of the celebrations. The festival certainly did not remain confined to a narrow circle of the *clericuli* who belonged to the cathedral but attracted many guests and strangers, among them travelling singers and poets who possibly acted in formal poetic competitions and are bound not to have moved on from them without some reward.[13] On the evidence of the appeals to the *largitas* of the prelates—seldom absent from poems performed at the Feast of Fools—I suspect that a large part of the expenditure necessary to ensure the success of the Festival was contributed by the holders of benefices who were abused on that day. This may explain the confusing juxtaposition of mockery and entreaty. The poet who wrote a song for the Feast of Fools consequently faced the difficult task, requiring a good deal of tact, of so gauging the pillory

[12] *Liber Epistularum Guidonis de Basochis*, ed. H. Adolfsson (Studia Latina Stockholmiensia, 18: Stockholm, 1969), nos. 18 and 23 (89. 9 ff.: Bacularis illa festivitas seu baculus ille festivus ... fuit mihi poculi venenum sub melle species occultantis); W. Wattenbach, *Neues Archiv*, 16 (1891), 69 ff.

[13] Bischoff (n. 11 above), 88; Spanke, *Volkstum* (n. 11 above), 212 ff.

traditional in the *Festum Stultorum* that he gave equal satisfaction to the young men and to the holders of ecclesiastical office. When the poet appeared as the mouthpiece of recognized authorities, when he aroused in his audience expectations of a quotation by the regular use, at the end of each strophe, of citations (which could even be guessed, in the circumstances, on the basis of the end-rhyme in the preceding three lines)—this new dramatic element which he introduced into his poem offered him the opportunity of creating a consensus with his heterogeneous public. The receptiveness, ubiquitous in the Middle Ages, to parodies—a taste shared by the entire learned public—favoured this virtuoso play with quotations. I should like to adduce only one example of the parodic undertones in the *auctoritas*-poems: the frequently-employed formula of fulfilment which declares that an event long-prophesied has now come about. Sometimes it appears in the phrase 'impletur versiculus'; in other places in the form 'Ergo sic impletum est, quod dicunt auctores'.[14] Beyond any doubt the model is to be found in sacred language. In the liturgy of the Christmas festival, immediately followed by the days of the Feast of Fools, the Old Testament prophecies and the Gospel-accounts are intermingled with one another. The Feast of Fools makes use of the formula of fulfilment in a style suited to its character: just as it allows a boy-bishop to act as *episcopus*, so it raises the classical school authors to a rank comparable to that of the Psalmists and the Prophets whose place they take.

Maxims from ancient poetry and Old Testament prophecies are casually adduced, one beside the other, in the same poem as *auctoritates*; but the biblical quotations, frequently refashioned into goliardic lines, appear only in poems of the first phase, whose texts often display a paraliturgical character.[15]

One may perhaps trace the curious outward form of the quotation-poems back to liturgical models. An explanation for the form which Walter chose for his satirical poems has recently been

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[14] Walter of Châtillon 4. 13. 3 (cf. above, n. 9); 6. 18. 3; 7. 12. 3 (*completum*). Other parallels can be adduced thanks to the concordance of Violetta de Angelis, *Gautier di Châtillon, Poesia lirica: Concordanza* (Pavia, 1988).

[15] I employ the term *auctoritas* more broadly than Strecker, who clearly used it only to refer to quotations from classical poetry. Consequently he often remarks, in his notes to Walter's poetry, that some of their strophes end without an *auctoritas* (62, 73). None the less, quotations from the Bible are often used instead, quotations which differ only in respect of form from the other *auctoritates*. I therefore count Walter's 8th poem, with its numerous biblical quotations at the end of the strophe, among the *auctoritas*-poems and therefore among poems written for the Feast of Fools.

sought in the polymetry of Menippean satire;[16] I should rather point to the tropes, expansions on the liturgy in which are contained the seeds of medieval religious drama. Since the eleventh century they had contained individual hexameters intercalated into a rhythmical context.[17]

Against the background of the Feast of Fools so many distinctive features of the quotation-poems are explained that I have no doubt that this genre owes its origins to the occasion of the festival. The link which I have posited between *auctoritas*-poetry and the *Festum Stultorum* is manifest in both of Walter's poems which expressly name the festival. Four more quotation-poems by Walter, which similarly contain invectives against the higher clergy and admonitions to *largitas*, can be understood as texts to be recited at the Feast of Fools. They have in part already been claimed for this festival by Hans Spanke, on the basis of internal criteria.[18] Only Walter's first poem seems to contradict my thesis. Although, from the formal point of view, it belongs to the group of *auctoritas*-poems, it has no obvious connection with the festival.[19] Indeed, Karl Strecker in his edition described it as a request to the Pope for a benefice. Because he took the view that the poet had recited it personally to the Pope, he concluded from it that Walter had stayed in Rome. In taking this view, he followed the hint of younger manuscripts in which the poem had been construed in the same manner and provided it with suitable headings; in Codex B it reads, for example, *coram domino papa in consistorio*. Doubts about this interpretation were first voiced by Spanke soon after the appearance of Strecker's edition. Spanke, however, chose not to discuss the problematic poem in detail and confined himself to the suspicion that it could be a fiction or a stylistic exercise.[20]

I believe that the riddle of this poem can be resolved by taking its character as a quotation-poem into account. Walter begins by praising a person no more precisely defined than by the terms *vir tantus* (1. 1), *iudex* (2. 6; 4. 1) or *pastor bonus* (which he uses

[16] Witke (n. 11 above), 261 f.

[17] P. Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory of Saint Martial de Limoges* (Princeton Studies in Music, 2: Princeton, 1970), 64 f.

[18] The Feast of Fools is mentioned in 4. 3. 1 and 13. 4. 2; 5, 6, 7a, 8, and 12 were in my opinion also intended for this festival.

[19] Instead of the 'Vagantenstrophe' the *Stabat-Mater* strophe is used here; the strophes conclude with a seven-syllabic line. The quotations from classical poetry (in comparison to the smaller number of biblical quotations) are correspondingly shorter. Instead of a complete hexameter only a hemipes is employed (e.g. in the second strophe, Ovid, *Rem.* 2 *bella mihi video*; in the third strophe, Ovid, *Rem.* 4 *te duce signa tuli*).

[20] *Volkstum* (n. 11 above), 214.

intermittently), and whose favour he entreats. Protected by him, Walter dares to complain about the depravity of the world. Above all he criticizes the greed of the prelates and seeks to arouse sympathy for the penurious condition of the students. Their burdensome study of the *artes*, and reading of '*Arma virum*', '*Fraternas ascies*', and '*Bella per Emathios*' bring them no profit; the student of the *artes* and the theology student gnaw at the bone of hunger (17. 6). The poet provides detailed examples of the study of theology with numerous instances of the allegorical interpretation of scripture. He begins with the *virga Jesse* frequently mentioned at Christmas and the fleece of Gideon signifying the Virgin Birth; among the examples that follow, those in which a staff—such as that of Moses—is interpreted as a prefiguration of the Cross, are dominant. The learned statements about staffs mentioned in the Bible end with a request, directed to the poet's patron, for a prebend or another gift which would enable him to continue his studies free from external duress.

The use of this poem as a song for the Feast of Fools, which, in my opinion, is revealed by its form, can be supported at many points by arguments based on its contents: to the Feast of Fools belong the laments on the *avaritia* of the severely criticized prelates, the depiction of the oppressed state of the students, the appeal to *largitas*, and also the mention of the *virga Jesse* which plays a special role in the liturgy and lyrics of Christmas as well as in the songs for the Feast of Fools.[21] The collection of examples of significant staffs can readily be interpreted as the customary praise (here, it must be admitted, obliquely introduced) of the *baculus* and thereby of its bearer. Only the person whom the poet asks for a benefice does not fit into the setting of the Feast of Fools so long as he is identified with the Pope. This identification is, to be sure, suggested by an expression of Walter's—*ad Romani sedem patris . . . sum reversus*.[22] None the less, I do not think that this proves an insuperable obstacle to an interpretation that differs from Strecker's. The presumed patron whom the poet extols so euphorically need not be the Pope: it is quite enough to think of a person who represented the *summus pontifex*. We have seen that masquerades and exchanges of roles in the exercise of ecclesiastical office were typical forms of the Feast of Fools. What prevents us from making the assumption that Walter, on this occasion, did not recite his quotation-poem before a boy-bishop, but before a *baculifer* who

[21] Ibid. 210.   [22] Walter of Châtillon 1. 26. 4 ff.

appeared in the role of the holder of the highest ecclesiastical office? Moreover we encounter a *papa scholasticus* some years before Walter's poem in an exuberant begging-song by Abelard's pupil Hilarius, which was also recited at a school festival.[23] If Walter later apostrophizes the Pope of his poem twice as *iudex*, this manner of address is easily explained by the fact that, during the feast, it was indeed the *baculifer* who awarded the title of victor in the competition between poets. Finally I should like to adduce a further argument from the manuscript-transmission of Walter's poem to support my view that Walter's first poem was intended for performance at the Feast of Fools. A manuscript (Db) contains a version, the additional strophes of which plainly reveal that the poem was recited in this revised form at a Feast of Fools. In three new concluding strophes the clergy of Troyes are admonished, *inter alia*, to exclude the *leccatores*, the lickers of plates, from the feast. Perhaps the passing shot is directed at irksome rivals of the poet; this I would very much suspect in the context of a poetic competition.

Reworkings of poems by Walter are not uncommon; practically every manuscript reveals traces of such alterations and interference. The fifth poem, also a song for the Feast of Fools, was in all probability recited in many forms and certainly in various places.[24] In three strophes which have been added later a certain Fulmarus is explicitly excepted from the invective against the avaricious. The poet hopes for no small reward for his praise of Fulmarus. He, who had come to the Feast of Fools from afar, did not want to have to return on foot to his homeland. His request for a means of transport is couched in the hexameter 'magnus eris, si me bipedem scis quadrupedare'. As far as I know, this verse is not borrowed from ancient poetry. Nor can I tell whether the request for a horse derives from a medieval poem (perhaps one that has not come down to us) or was composed *ad hoc*. In any case its metrical form stands in contrast to the goliardic lines and makes the hexameter appear as an *auctoritas*. This interpolated version of Walter's fifth poem, directed to Fulmarus, is possibly one of the last quotation-poems of the first phase, which extends from 1160 until 1200. Beside Walter of Châtillon and those who rework his verse a series of anonymous poets, mostly influenced by Walter,

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[23] *Hilarii Versus et Ludi*, ed. J. N. Fuller (New York, 1929), no. xiv. 96 f., 29 f.; ed. M. L. Bulst and W. Bulst (Leiden/Cologne, 1989), 47 f.

[24] Codex B has the heading 'Treveris in capitulo'. Is the allusion at 5. 7, 1 to the Pope (as Strecker tacitly assumes) or rather to the *papa scholasticus*?

together with the author of the poems transmitted in the goliardic manuscript now in the Vatican, belong among the authors of this period. The poems of the last author, among which admittedly only one quotation-poem is to be found, were recited between 1160 and 1185 in Chartres at the Feast of Fools.[25] It must remain uncertain whether the poet of the Vatican songs or Walter of Châtillon is to be regarded as the inventor of the *auctoritas*-poems until we succeed in dating more precisely songs that belong to the same period.

The poets of the first phase intended their quotation-poems exclusively for recitation at the Feast of Fools. The quotations serve in their poems to strengthen and support their own assertions; by recourse chiefly to the Roman satirists their authors exculpate themselves from responsibility for the harsh tone of their verses. After the year 1200 we no longer find aggressive songs for the Feast of Fools; this is to be traced back to a draconian reform of the Festival which was then undertaken by Petrus de Corbolio and caused the volcanic celebrations to subside into quiescence for a space of decades.

The form of the quotation-poems had, however, already developed independently and had emancipated itself from its close links with the Feast of Fools. When the second phase began I cannot determine precisely; the earliest evidence, however, dates from the end of the twelfth century, with the result that there must have been some years when both phases evolved in parallel. At this stage the genre was practised particularly in the schools; evidence of this is provided by the numerous disputes and fables with *auctoritates*.[26] How closely quotation-poems were tied to didactic purposes is clear from a poem which deals with Ovid's works and writings in goliardic lines. 'Cum Nasonis opera nunc incipiamus' is how the author—a teacher, beyond the shadow

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[25] Bischoff (n. 11 above), 78, who identified Peter of Blois as the author of these songs for the Feast of Fools. Cf. R. W. Lenzen, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche und Verfasseruntersuchungen zur lateinischen Liebesdichtung Frankreichs im Hochmittelalter* (diss. phil. Bonn, 1973), and P. Dronke, *The Medieval Poet and his World* (Rome, 1984), 281–339.

[26] H. Walther (rev. P. G. Schmidt), *Das Streitgedicht in der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1920; repr. Hildesheim, 1984). Quotations are often not identified in previously published texts: L. Hervieux, *Les Fabulistes latins*, 2, 436–479 (*Romuleae fabulae . . . in rhythmicum sermonem medio aevo translatae*) (Paris, 1884). Cf. M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1931), iii. 773. Contrary to Manitius' opinion the hexameter-*auctoritates* were not consistently composed by the poets who wrote these fables. (A. Kabell, *Metrische Studien*, ii (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 6: Uppsala, 1960), 101, dates (mistakenly, in my opinion) this collection of fables to the first half of the twelfth century). Cf. further *Ysopet-Avionet: The Latin and French Texts*, ed. K. McKenzie and W. A. Oldfather (University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, 5: 1919/1921).

of a doubt—introduces his theme: the *auctoritates* of the versified *accessus* naturally originate in Ovid's poetry.[27] In other poems the figure of the teacher takes the limelight; the pupils compare their master with Apollo on account of his wisdom, with Narcissus on account of his beauty.[28] Generally this kind of flattery is only the prelude to a request for holidays; 'valde sumus fatigati' lament the pupils and remind their teacher of the saw from the *Disticha Catonis*—'interpone tuis curis gaudia'—or ask, together with the exiled Ovid, 'parte leva minima nostras et contrahe poenas'.[29]

In one case a young *magister* seems to have applied for a vacant Chair with a quotation-poem. In order to remove all doubts about his youth and lack of experience, he reports a vision to the *doctores nobiles* who are to decide as to whether he should be received into their number. The *virgo Grammatica*, he claims, has appeared to him in a vision and has encouraged him to apply with the verse from Lucan 'tolle moras, semper nocuit differre paratis' (1. 281). If the teaching office is bestowed upon him, there will be no lack of success, for does not Ovid assure us 'fac tamen incipias, sponte disertus eris' (*Ars Amatoria* 1. 610)?[30]

Let me add parenthically that the wording of this borrowing from the *Ars amatoria* enables us to identify the branch of the transmission which was drawn on by the poet. According to the testimony of most manuscripts, with which editors in general have agreed, the first half-verse reads 'fac tantum cupias'; only some of the *recentiores* offer the reading 'fac tantum incipias', which is nearest to the 'fac tamen incipias' of our *auctoritas*. Were one to succeed in dating and localizing these *recentiores* which are gathered together in the apparatus criticus under the composite siglum '*pauci*'; were one to be able to demonstrate that the variant occurs only in manuscripts of a distinct provenance, then one could draw conclusions as to the time and place at which the anonymous quotation-poem was produced.

Medieval refashionings of the shape of ancient texts can also be demonstrated in a considerable number of quotation-poems. On occasion there are adduced as *auctoritates* verses from Horace which are read only in the apparatuses of our editions, for they owe their existence to the Middle Ages: e.g. the verse 'oderunt

[27] H. Hagen, *Carmina medii aevi maximam partem inedita* (Berne, 1877; repr. Turin, 1961), 207 ff.

[28] *The Parisiana Poetria of John of Garland*, ed. T. Lawler (New Haven and London, 1974).

[29] E. du Méril, *Poésies inédites du moyen âge* (Paris, 1854), 295 ff.

[30] A. Bömer, 'Eine Vagantenliedersammlung des 14. Jahrhunderts', *ZfdA* 49 (1908), 227 ff.

peccare mali formidine poenae', which is formed on analogy with *Epistle* 1. 16. 52 ('oderunt peccare boni virtutis amore'). In a poem, *Proteus*, that borrows its *auctoritates* solely from Horace, these verses are employed after one another without interruption.[31] As the apparatus of Klingner's edition of Horace shows, the medieval addition is transmitted only in two manuscripts of the mixed class Q.

Other quotation-poems of the second phase go beyond the bounds of this school. Here one should mention several invectives against ecclesiastical orders, a *Carmen de vitiis capitalibus*, a song on the victory of the city of Parma over Frederick II in the year 1248 and a paean on the victorious struggle of the English against the Scots from the end of the thirteenth century. There are also a crusading song, estate-satires, and misogynistic poems: all in all, a colourful spectrum of disparate contents.[32] The external forms of the quotation-poems also become more various. If in the first phase the combination of the *auctoritas* with three thirteen- or three fourteen-syllable lines was the rule, the quotation is now also linked with two rhythmical lines. Instead of several goliardic lines the quotation is preceded even by the *Stabat-Mater* strophe, or other, more artistic, strophic forms. On occasion, there are departures from the consistently regular use of quotations. In *Carmen Buranum* 105 only about the last six of a total of eleven strophes end with quotations. Within poems of greater dimensions self-contained units of five to ten strophes display *auctoritates*; which is the case with the *Registrum multorum auctorum* of Hugh of Trimberg.

[31] Ed. C. Blume, *Analecta hymnica*, 33 (Leipzig, 1899), 340 ff.

  14 Coronatur merito bonitatis flore,
    Qui abhorret ideo pravo frui more
    Nec virtutis nitido fulgeat splendore,
    Oderunt peccare boni virtutis amore. (= *Ep*. 1. 16. 52)

  15 Cui detur gratia operandi bene
    Nunquam cesset talia perpetrare plene,
    Ni laedentis verbera sentiat habenae;
    Oderunt peccare mali formidine poenae. (= Ps.-Horace)

[32] F. Helfenberger, *Drei lateinische Gedichte des XIII. Jahrhunderts* (Diss. phil. Freiburg/Schweiz, 1928); J. Werner, 'Ein satirischer Rhythmus des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts', *Festgabe H. Blümner* (Zürich, 1914), 357–73; *Analecta hymnica*, 33 (Leipzig, 1899), no. 229, 221 f.; Bömer (n. 30 above), 211 ff. and 233 ff.; T. Wright, *The Political Songs of England* (Camden Society, 6: London, 1889), 106 ff.; K. Strecker, 'Walter von Châtillon und seine Schule', *ZfdA* 64 (1927), 97–125, 161–89; id., 'Quid dant artes nisi luctum!', *Studi Medievali*, NS 1 (1928), 380–91; id., 'Ein Gedicht Walters von Châtillon?', *Atti dell' Accademia degli Arcadi*, Anno XIV, NS 5/6 (1931), 47–55.

Despite this great breadth of variation some common features
can also be distinguished within the second phase. Striking,
first of all, is the greater care, bordering upon pedantry, with
which authors ensured that the quotations remain unaltered in
their wording. Walter of Châtillon, the leading exponent of the
first phase, by contrast, had not flinched from making small
alterations and had adapted the *modus* and *numerus* of a quotation to
the requirements of his strophe. In order to acquire a suitable
rhyming word at the end of a quotation he interfered with the
word-order by transposition; once he shortens an hexameter of
Lucan's because the verse could be adapted to the rhyme and
sense he wanted only in the form of a catalectic.[33] While further on
in the first phase the poets cited were repeatedly adduced by name
and their verses announced by expressions designed to draw
attention to them, these kinds of references occur less frequently in
the second phase. But not only is there a difference between the
form and presentation of the quotations in both phases, the group
of authors cited also alters significantly. Verses from Horace,
Juvenal, Virgil, Ovid, Lucan, Claudian, and the *Disticha Catonis*
continue to be borrowed, and are frequently linked with rhyming
words that had been found earlier. But in addition the circle of
authorities had widened to include medieval authors. Perhaps
this renewal was in response to the stimulus provided by Walter of
Châtillon, who otherwise (it is true) never adduces any medieval
quotations but once cites a verse from one of his own poems.[34]

The medieval quotations, previously seldom identified, in the
poems of the second phase derive from the comedies *Geta* and
Pamphilus, from the poems of the Archpoet and of Primas of
Orleans, from the *Tobias* of Matthew of Vendôme, from the
epic on Alexander the Great by Walter of Châtillon, from the
Anticlaudianus of Alan of Lille, and from the *Architrenius* of John

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[33] Walter of Châtillon:

> 5.1   Multiformis hominum   fraus et iniustitia,
>   letalis ambitio,   furtum, lenocinia
>   cogunt, ut sic ordiar   conversus ad vitia:
>   quis furor, o cives, que tanta licentia!

(Lucan 1. 8, quis furor, o cives, que tanta licentia ferri?)

[34] Walter of Châtillon:

> 14. 2. 4   quia, sicut alibi   per me declaratur,
>   large si non agitur,   rosa derosatur.

(= Walter of Châtillon, *Lieder²*, ed. K. Strecker (Berlin/Zürich, 1964), 41; 24, 3, 5 f.).

of Hauville:[36] from works, therefore, which without exception belong to the second half of the twelfth century. In the thirteenth century most of these poems found an established place in the canon of school authors; even the quotation-poems reflect in their turn the intellectual position of this 'century without Rome' in which the *Aeneis* is supplanted by the *Alexandreis*.

A further variant on the use of quotations is presented by poems that borrow their *auctoritates* from only one author, like the Ovid-*accessus* I have already mentioned, the poem entitled *Proteus* referred to above, which combines its moralistic reflections with quotations from Horace's *Epistles*, and finally the only *auctoritas*-poem transmitted in the Codex Buranus, no. 105, which again adduces only quotations from Ovid, most of them from the second book of the *Ars amatoria*.[36] In other poems the first lines of ancient and medieval poems are used by preference. With many poems of the first phase one cannot avoid the impression that their authors are solely concerned to master a form and to free themselves from a burden which they viewed as tedious. An *ars poetica* of the thirteenth century characterizes such poems as 'Rithmi . . . quibus ociosi suum gaudent ingenium experiri'.[37] Sometimes, it has to be admitted, the demonstration of *ingenium* degenerates into a *testimonium paupertatis*. An example of an author's efforts to link quotations in a meaningful way with the preceding text is provided by a poem, composed about 1300, on the battles between the English and the Scots. Its author introduces the defeat of one side with the Horatian verse *Quidquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi*. In the following strophe he explains the quotation:

> Plebs Archiva periit ad Dunbar in bello
> ubi Scoti caesi sunt Anglorum flagello.[38]

Here the special tension which in general exists between the world of this quotation and its new surroundings is no longer maintained: the quotation has become an obstacle between strophes. The author tortuously attempts to explain as best as he can quotations which do not suit the content of the song of victory. Alan of Lille once, and in an entirely different context, criticized the arbitrary selection of quotations in his image: 'auctoritas cereum habet nasum, id est, in diversum potest flecti sensum.'[39] The waxen nose

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[35] 'Languida segnities hodiernos crastinat actus' (= Johannes de Hauvilla, *Architrenius*, ed. P. G. Schmidt (Munich, 1974), 1. 7a and 10b).

[36] Cf. above, nn. 27 and 31.   [37] Cf. above, n. 28.

[38] Wright (n. 32 above), 166.   [39] Alan of Lille, Migne PL 210. 333.

of *auctoritas* seems to me tangible in this poem in which the evolution of quotation-poetry comes to a conclusion.

Thus, it must be admitted, is only true of secular Latin poetry which, in the course of the thirteenth century, sank to a level of artistic inconsequentiality. However, during this period the principle of regular borrowing of lines was transferred to religious poetry and there continued to flourish for a longer period. Many hymns conclude their strophes with the *incipit* of a well-known older hymn. Josef Szövérffy has pointed out some 250 hymns with this structure, which was adopted chiefly by the members of the new mendicant orders.[40] The testimonia date from the first decades of the thirteenth century and stretch into the sixteenth century. Szövérffy has voiced the suspicion that here secular *auctoritas*-poetry influenced the form of its religious counterpart. Studies of the function of these quotations in the hymns remain to be written.

The question of audience and purpose can be answered with greater probability in the case of a subsidiary genre which Szövérffy does not mention. I refer to the English-Latin carols which were sung at Christmas outside the church in the hall of a castle or a country mansion.[41] At the beginning and end of their strophes they employ individual lines from Latin hymns. The lines they cite are borrowings from a restricted group of liturgical hymns which, to judge from their text, were entrusted to individual members of the congregation. Latin borrowings and intercalary lines in English are linked with one another in the carols by rhyme and simple connections between sentences. Even a listener who did not have a command of Latin could grasp the meaning of the theological formula in them, gaining an *entrée* to liturgical poetry through its insertion into vernacular songs. Quotation poetry, in instances such as these, therefore serves the religious instruction of the laity.[42]

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[40] J. Szövérffy, 'Ein Schmuckmittel der mittellateinischen Strophen: Regelmässige Zeilenentlehnung in der Hymnendichtung', *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*, 7 (1972), 7–40.

[41] W. O. Wehrle, *The Macaronic Hymn Tradition in Medieval English Literature* (Diss. phil. Washington, 1933); C. Brown, *English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century* (Oxford, 1932); R. L. Greene, *The Early English Carols* (Oxford, 1935); id., *A Selection of English Carols* (Oxford, 1962); H. Gneuss, *Hymnar und Hymnen im englischen Mittelalter* (Buchreihe der Anglia, 12: Tübingen, 1968), 213–21.

[42] A collection and study of the German-Latin macaronic poems—the best-known must be *In dulci iubilo*—is still to be completed. Still indispensable are the works of Heinrich Hoffmann von Fallersleben, '*In dulci iubilo, Nun singet und seid froh: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutschen Poesie*² (Hannover, 1861), and Johannes Bolte, 'In dulci iubilo: Ein

In the secular poetry of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries quotation-poems, as a form, are still employed intermittently. They appear chiefly in bilingual macaronic poetry, in which Latin *auctoritates* are linked with English, Provençal, French or multi-lingual lines: a symptom of the retreat of Latin and the rise of the vernaculars. None the less a drinking-song (presumably of the thirteenth or fourteenth century), with its conventional triad of wine, women, and gambling, and an *auctoritas* from the *Disticha Catonis*, is directed much more at an audience that knows Latin, an audience which is to be sought in the milieu of the schools or of the universities, membership of which must have generally corresponded with that of the Feasts of Fools in the twelfth century.[43]

The principle of regular line-borrowing which developed at the Feasts of Fools and which in its narrowest form only employs opening-lines as quotations is finally copied, in my view, in purely vernacular poetry. There seems to me a distant echo of the poems of Walter of Châtillon when Petrarch, in his seventh *Canzone*, ends each strophe with a quotation linked by rhyme to the preceding line. His strophes conclude with the beginning of a Provençal song and with the first lines of well-known Italian songs of the *dolce stil nuovo*, among which are to be found the beginnings of songs by Guido Cavalcanti and Dante. Petrarch ends the last strophe with a quotation from himself, with the first line of his first *Canzone*.[44]

Jubiläumsbeitrag aus der Geschichte der lateinisch-deutschen Mischpoesie', *Festgabe an Karl Weinhold* (Leipzig, 1896), 91–129.

[43] *Des Fames des dez et de la taverne*, ed. Barbazan, *Fabliaux et contes des poètes françois* (Paris, 1808), iv. 485 ff.:

> 11   Por boire le bon vin fui generatus,
> Por amasser tresor non extiti natus,
> Par sanblanc ne suit pas mout locupletatus,
> Car avers hom en ciex jà n'iert exaltatus:
> Despice divitias si vis animo esse beatus. (= *Dist. Catonis* 4. 1. 1)

Cf. O. Müller, *Das lateinische Einschiebsel in der französischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Diss. phil. Zürich, 1919), 89 f.

[44] F. Gennrich, *Die Kontrafaktur im Liedschaffen des Mittelalters* (Summa Musicae Medii Aevi, 12: Frankfurt, 1965), 41, 172–4, points to a similar use of quotations in Provençal poetry.