PICTORIAL THEMES IN
THE CARMINA BURANA

A Thesis

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts

by

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1974

Approved by

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PREFACE

Upon the completion of this thesis it gives me great pleasure to acknowledge my indebtedness to my faculty adviser Professor Franklin Ludden. I am specifically grateful to him first for having recommended the illustrations in the Carmina Burana as a possible thesis topic, and further for his invaluable assistance as the work progressed.

I am also greatly indebted to Professor Dennis Kratz for the generous amount of time that he afforded me and for the numerous helpful suggestions that he offered. Finally, I wish to thank Professor Ann Morgenstern for having devoted a great deal of care to the reading of this thesis and for having made many important recommendations.

The translations of the Carmina Burana poems that appear in the text are my own, although I consulted the translations of Helen Waddell in Medieval Latin Lyrics, of George Whicher in The Coliard Poets, and of James Wilhelm in Medieval Song. In all cases I have attempted to present the most literal translation possible, often at the expense of a graceful style.
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INTRODUCTION

The Carmina Burana is a thirteenth century collection of secular lyrics illustrated with eight miniatures. Most of the lyrics themselves date from the twelfth century. The manuscript is now Codex latinus monacensis 4660 in the Bavarian State Library in Munich. Previously it was part of the collection of the Benedictine Monastery, not far from Garmish in Bavaria.

The lyrics in the Carmina Burana are grouped by subject into three sections, each with miniatures representing the predominant themes. In the first group are satirical and moralizing lyrics. The distinctive motif is the instability and mutability of earthly fortune, and this is visually symbolized by a miniature depicting the Wheel of Fortune (fig. 1).

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1Lyrics, at this time, were almost always meant to be sung. Unfortunately, however, this manuscript was not completed and the musical notation that would have gone above the words was added to only a few of the lyrics. A number of the Carmina Burana songs have been recorded with their original music on two records: Carmina Burana, I and II, Das Alte Werk, Early Music Quartet, Telefunken SAWT 9455-A and SAWT 9522-A EX.

2The miniature of the Wheel of Fortune is presently the frontispiece of the manuscript, but it was originally found toward the end of the first section.
The next group of poems are of love and spring. This section is the largest, with as many lyrics as the two other sections combined. There are three miniatures for these spring and love poems, first a sequence from the story of Dido and Aeneas (fig. 2), next the well-known "fantasy" landscape (fig. 3), and finally a pair of rather courtly-looking lovers holding flowers (fig. 4).

The last section is made up of songs about life in the tavern and gambling. These range from instructions on the game of chess and somewhat ambiguous eulogies of the "Goliardic" life, to the kind of warnings against drinking and gambling that are found in medieval collections of exempla.\(^3\) Four miniatures are used for this section. The first shows four men drinking (fig. 5), the second two dice games in progress (fig. 6), the third a backgammon game (fig. 7), and the fourth a game of chess (fig. 8). The collection ends with a Christmas play and a Great Passion play.

The *Carmina Burana* was discovered by Baron Christoph von Arentin when the Benedictbeuern monastery

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\(^3\)Exempla were commonly used at this time to illustrate sermons. They were intended to enliven the sermons and capture the congregation's attention. Exempla were collected into handbooks for preachers' reference. One excellent survey on the subject of exempla is *The Exemplum in the Early Religious and Didactic Literature of England*, by Joseph Albert Mosher (New York: Columbia University Press, 1911).
was "secularized" in 1803. In the same year he was the first to publish a poem from the collection, a satire against the papacy. The entire Carmina Burana was brought to publication by Johannes Andreas Schmeller in 1847.\footnote{Johannes Andreas Schmeller, Carmina Burana (Stuttgart: Literarischer Verein, 1847).} It was in this publication that the Carmina Burana was given its name, which is an abbreviated form of "songs of Benedictbeuern." Seven other leaves in the Bavarian State Library in Munich were identified as belonging to the Carmina Burana by Wilhelm Meyer in 1901.\footnote{Wilhelm Meyer, Fragmenta Burana (Berlin: Weidmann, 1901).}

The most important and extensive scholarly work on the Carmina Burana has been done by Otto Schumann. In 1926 he published an article on the German verses in the collection.\footnote{Otto Schumann, "Uber einige Carmina Burana," Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum, LXIII (1926), pp. 81-99.} In this article he assigned the date of 1300 to the manuscript, which, as we shall see, has subsequently been challenged. Schumann's monumental study of the Carmina Burana has appeared in four parts between 1930 and
1970. One of the greatest contributions of this work has been the reconstruction of the original sequence of the lyrics. A great deal of textual criticism, study of the various metrical forms, and attributions of many of the anonymous poems to specific authors were also made by Schumann. One of the unfortunate aspects of this work was the free deletion from the poems of stanzas that did not suit Schumann's own aesthetic taste. Peter Dronke has expressed particular concern over the misunderstanding of the Carmina Burana poems that has resulted from this manipulation of the lyrics.


8 The folios in the manuscript have been rearranged and some are missing. For further information, see the introductory volume to the facsimile edition of the Carmina Burana: Carmina Burana, ed. Bernard Bischoff (Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1967), p. 20.

9 Among these are Walter of Chatillon and the Archpoet.

In 1967 a facsimile edition of the *Carmina Burana* was published under the direction of Bernard Bischoff.\(^{11}\) A very informative introduction to this edition was written by Bischoff and bound as a separate volume.

The most peculiar aspect of the scholarship on the *Carmina Burana* is the lack of serious interest by art historians. Although individual miniatures from the manuscript have often been reproduced, practically nothing has been written about them.\(^{12}\)

The Southern German origin of the manuscript has been firmly established on paleographic grounds. The three hands that produced the *Carmina Burana* were German under strong Italian influence, which has led scholars to decide that the scribes were from Carinthia.\(^{13}\) Bischoff believes that the script is too elegant for the manuscript to have been made for a monastery. He concludes that it

\(^{11}\) See above, n. 8.


\(^{13}\) Bischoff, Introduction, p. 28.
was made for a prelate outside the monastery and that Benedictbeuern was not the manuscript's place of origin.\textsuperscript{14} However, elegance of execution does not necessarily rule out a monastic origin. Sumptuously decorated manuscripts were sometimes produced in and for monasteries. It is certain, though, that whether the manuscript was produced for a monastery or not, it was compiled for a churchman and not a lay patron. It was also paleographic evidence that led Wilhelm Meyer to originally suggest a date of 1225 for the \textit{Carmina Burana},\textsuperscript{15} before Schumann assigned it the date of 1300. F. J. E. Raby later noted that this paleographic evidence agrees with the early date of many of the \textit{Carmina Burana} poems, but he was not willing to contradict Schumann's date.\textsuperscript{16} Finally, the 1300 date, which was based on comparisons with Swiss Minnesang, was effectively challenged by Peter Dronke in 1962.\textsuperscript{17} Dronke re-examined the three poems that Schumann used as examples in his comparisons to support his 1300 date, and in each case, he showed that Schumann's decisions were in error.

\textsuperscript{14} I\textit{bid.}, pp. 28-29.
\textsuperscript{15} Wilhelm Meyer, p. 17.
\textsuperscript{17} See above, note 10.
Later, in the introduction to the facsimile edition of the *Carmina Burana*, Bernard Bischoff again referred to the paleography of the manuscript and concluded that the early Gothic script would not permit a date later than the middle of the thirteenth century.  

The style of the miniatures might help to establish the date of the manuscript, but not a great deal of interest has been shown to them by art historians. Due to the lack of information about the miniatures in the *Carmina Burana*, it was necessary for Peter Dronke to send a note to Otto Pacht inquiring whether there was an accepted opinion among art historians concerning the date of the manuscript. Pacht's reply, which is partially reproduced in Dronke's article, is puzzling in some respects. He begins by citing Boeckler's date of the first third of the thirteenth century, and then goes on to say:

... no art historian of any training would possibly disagree with this opinion. It suffices to point to the type of the female figures which is paralleled by the famous statues of *Ecclesia* and *Synagog* of Strasbourg, i.e. works of 1220-1230. A late thirteenth century date is out of the question.

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18 Bischoff, p. 27.
19 See above, note 12.
20 Dronke, p. 181.
It is not at all clear from this isolated passage why Pacht felt that it was necessary to compare the Carmina Burana miniatures to figures in another medium from a different part of Germany. There are manuscripts from the same part of Germany, that is, around Salzburg and Regensburg, which can be compared stylistically to the Carmina Burana. Among these are the Speculum Virginium, the Antiphonary of St. Peter's from Salzburg (fig. 9), and an illustrated manuscript of Heinrich von Veldeke's Eneit (fig. 10).

The separation of the background into a large rectangle surrounded first by a wide framing band of another color and then a narrower frame, is typical of

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22 Boeckler, Deutsche Buchmalerei, plate 51.

23 This manuscript is particularly interesting to compare to the Carmina Burana since they are both collections of songs.

24 The illustrations of this manuscript have been reproduced by Albert Boeckler in Heinrich von Veldeke, Eneide. Die Bilder der Berliner Handschrift (Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1939). Boeckler dates the manuscript to between 1210 and 1220 (p. 10). The close relationship between this manuscript and the Carmina Burana will be discussed in a subsequent part of this study.
German illumination in the twelfth century. The twelfth century miniatures in both the Speculum Virginium and the Salzburg Antiphonary show this characteristic background arrangement of a rectangle within a rectangle. Apparently in the Salzburg area this technique lasted into the early thirteenth century. It can be seen in both the Enéit manuscript, which is dated 1210-1220, and the Carmina Burana.

This subdivision of the background, which may ultimately have been derived from Rhenish or Mosan enamel technique, creates a sort of shadow-box illusion of space. The inner rectangle was usually blue, which gave a sense of recession to the back plane. The wide band around the inner rectangle was most often green. If the background was perceived as a shadow-box, the lower portion of this band might be interpreted as a ground plane.

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25 For a study of this type of background, see Miriam Bunim, Space in Medieval Painting and the Fore-runners of Perspective (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940).

26 Ibid., p. 124.

27 Examples of this enamel technique can be seen in Suzanne Collon-Cevaert, Jean Lejeune, and Jacques Stiennon, A Treasury of Romanesque Art (London: Phaidon, 1972), plates 31-33.
All these illusions of depth are yet too abstract to create convincingly a sense of real space. The artist usually did not really try to exploit fully the illusion of depth that was possible with this background. Although the band of color at the bottom was sometimes used as a ground plane, the figures were just as often shown standing on the central blue area. This lack of consistency in using the band as a ground plane was especially evident in the miniatures of less gifted artists, such as those in the Carmina Burana. The background ultimately remained a vertical plane and the presence of space was denied. This absence of space clearly places the Carmina Burana miniatures within the Romanesque style.

The figures that appear on the German rectangle-within-a-rectangle miniatures are typically drawn in sepia, red, or green with no interior coloring. The Carmina Burana artist was most successful when he followed this technique. Occasionally he filled the figures in with solid color, which completely flattened them against the background (fig. 4).

The drapery on the figures in the Carmina Burana miniatures is handled in the typical Salzburg style, which was strongly influenced by Byzantium throughout the twelfth century. Salzburg was a great ecclesiastical and artistic center at this time and played an important role in the
reception of the Byzantine style into the rest of Europe.\textsuperscript{28} The Byzantine-inspired Salzburg drapery style, which can be seen in the Carmina Burana as well as the Salzburg Antiphonary, the Speculum Virginum, and the Eneit, created a series of parallel "v-folds" which tended to cluster around the sides of legs and arms. Between legs and to the sides of figures drapery sometimes fell in vast profusions of folds with ample, deep curves.

The Salzburg illuminators often achieved a very naturalistic illusion of movement and anatomy. The Carmina Burana figures, however, are not of the highest quality and parts of the bodies do not always fit together very successfully. Shoulders seem to have been this artist's particular nemesis, and hips were often just as troublesome. His hand was not capable of the fine contours that the more accomplished artist of the Salzburg Antiphonary achieved. The Romanesque cross-legged stance can be seen in both the Eneit and the Carmina Burana (figs. 10 and 4).

The faces of the Carmina Burana figures are very similar to those in the Salzburg Antiphonary. The face of the female figure in the miniature of the "courly

lovers" (fig. 4) and that of the Virgin in the Crucifixion scene from the Salzburg Antiphonary (fig. 9) are alike in some respects. On the cheeks of both faces the artists have applied a bit of sepia. This seems to have been characteristic of the Salzburg style and can be seen quite frequently on the faces in the Salzburg Antiphonary. The mouths and chins of both faces (figs. 4 and 9) are executed in the same manner. A double-curved line, the upper lip, is drawn above a tiny shadow cast by the lower lip. Under this is a downward curving arc that represents the chin.

The style of the miniatures is so closely related to the Salzburg school of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries that a date of 1200-1230 can probably be accepted.

For the medieval man the world was a manifestation of God. The yearning to discover the supernatural in the natural was revealed in the medieval ordering of all things, divine and earthly, into a hierarchy of being. By means of the hierarchy a unity was achieved between heaven and earth, the invisible and the visible. Everything existed on two levels, that of the tangible and earthly and that of the symbolic and celestial.

Rarely was any creation of the medieval mind without some spiritual significance. Even the so-called
"secular" works were unable to disengage themselves from the task of presenting disguised sacred truths. An awareness of this operation in the medieval creative process is essential to the complete understanding of its expression.

Since its rediscovery in the nineteenth century, the Carmina Burana has usually been classified as a purely secular collection of "Goliardic" verse, the "Goliards" being a band of renegade anti-clerics who composed songs with a lusty regard for the flesh and the things most pleasing to it. Although this interpretation may seem correct for individual poems if they are isolated from the rest of the collection, one must question whether the term "Goliard" is appropriate for the collection as a whole.

To determine the meaning of the poems as they appear in the context of the Carmina Burana, we must consider how the collector of the manuscript read them as selections in his anthology. Their original meanings as individual poems is not as important in this case as the collector's interpretation of them. Once the purpose of the entire work has been decided, the individual poems should be understood as supporting members of the whole. In some cases the meaning of the poems as parts of the collection may be drastically different from their meaning as individual poems.
If the manuscript was written for a prelate, the attitude of the medieval church toward the topics in the poems must always be kept in mind by a modern reader. A song that might have sounded quite gay as it was sung in a tavern or public gathering could be read as an exemplum against wantonness in a moralizing anthology. A poem describing the progress of carnal love could be used as an admonishment against cupidity when found in conjunction with other poems describing the sinfulness of attachment to worldly things. Since we are considering the Carmina Burana as a collection and not the individual poems out of context, it is their meaning as part of the collection that we should be attentive to.

One can of course assume that the Carmina Burana was compiled by its clerical patron for some purpose other than to encourage Christian readers to abandon themselves to lives of sinful indulgence. The manuscript is very much like the moralizing encyclopedias of its day. The same general topics were covered in the Carmina Burana as in such compendia as the Hortus Deliciarum and the Liber Floridus: the fallacy of seeking after worldly things, sacred and profane love, and moralized "histories" such as the Aeneid and stories from Ovid.
The miniatures in a medieval manuscript naturally illustrated whatever was most important in the text. In a collection like the *Carmina Burana* we can expect to find the miniatures visually depicting the most important themes held in common by the lyrics, the unifying ideas that define the purpose of the work as a whole. This study will attempt to show that the moralizing frame of mind referred to above, that was so characteristic of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, is the key to understanding the poems in the *Carmina Burana* and its eight illustrations.

Following the format of the work itself, this paper will be divided into three sections. Two questions will be considered, first, what do the miniatures represent, and then, why were these particular images used to illustrate the *Carmina Burana*? Since we can be sure that the literary and pictorial motives will be the same, we can, and indeed must, pursue our investigation from both vantage points, that of letters and that of pictures.
CHAPTER I

THE WHEEL OF FORTUNE

There could hardly be a better pictograph for describing the ever-changing fortunes of mankind than the Wheel of Fortune (fig. 1). Disinterested Fortune turns her wheel, casts the king from his throne and increases his adversity until he finds himself in a heap at the bottom of the universe. The ever-capricious wheel then lifts him up from his affliction and elevates him until he fortuitously regains his supremacy, only to fall again. Furthermore, there could hardly be a better way for medieval poets and churchmen to express their "Christian pessimism" than metaphorically with the Wheel of Fortune. The irrevocable movement of the Wheel of Fortune determined the fate of those who were led by cupidity to climb upon it. All worldly things were controlled by Fortune; only by disclaiming these could one be safe from her treachery.

When we see that the Wheel of Fortune is used to illustrate the first section of the Carmina Burana, we can rightly expect to find in it a particular type of poetry. The character of this poetry is generally one
of satire or complaint, or sometimes of remorse. This
poetry is often used, either overtly or by suggestion,
for religious purposes. The following poem in many ways
expresses the contemptus mundi attitude of many of the
poems in the first section of the Carmina Burana:

O fortuna,
velut luna
statu variabilis,
semper crescis
aut decrescis;
vita detestabilis
nunc obdurat
et tunc curat
ludo mentis aciem,
potestatem
dissolvit ut glaciem.

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

Sors salutis et virtutis
mihi nunc contraria,
est affectus
et defectus
semper in angaria;
nac in hora
sine mora
cordis pulsum tangite,
quod per sortem
sternit fortem
mecum omnes plangite.
(Oh Fortune, like the moon your state is ever-changing, always either waxing or waning; now you make one endure a detestable life, then you cure him, as a game. Poverty and power both melt like ice.

Fate, both great and foolish, you are an ever-turning wheel. Unlucky times and bad health you always dissolve. Though in shadows and veiled, you occasionally shine on me; but sometimes because of your games I must bear your wickedness on my naked back.

Good luck and virtue are now against me, I am weakened and infirm, always in anguish. Here for an hour, without delay, feel the heart's pulse when through luck the strong fall. Mourn with me, everyone.)

By the twelfth century the Wheel of Fortune had commonly come to be associated with descriptions of the vicissitudes of earthly life. It was a favorite device used in expressing either contempt for, or complaints of, the lamentable condition of mankind. A summary of the historical development of the idea of the Wheel of Fortune is necessary to explain the acceptance of this pagan image by the Christian Middle Ages.

Perhaps the first explicit portrayal of the Wheel of Fortune can be seen on the pavement of the "House of Good Fortune" at Olynthus. The cult of Fortune did not become strong, however, until the time of the Roman Empire,

29 Carmina Burana 17 in the Hilka-Schumann collection. Hereafter poems from the Carmina Burana will be referred to by "Hilka-Schumann" and number only.

when we find it referred to by such authors as Pliny, Virgil, Ovid, Seneca, and Terence. Although there was no longer a cult of worship for Fortune by the end of the empire, a belief in her powers still dwelt in the popular imagination. A number of the Church Fathers felt compelled to deal in some way with the idea of Fortune, resolving either to destroy it or "Christianize" it.

Those who favored the annihilation of Fortune saw it as a threat to the Christian concept of a universe ruled by a rational God. Saint Augustine was foremost among the opponents of Fortune. He contended that it was foolish to worship Fortune as a goddess, "For it profits nothing to worship her if she is truly fortune." After arguing that the "select" gods were surely not selected for their godliness, Augustine goes on to deride Fortune,

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saying:

She ought to have held the uppermost place among the select gods, for among them chiefly it is that she shows what power she has. For we see that they have been selected not on account of some eminent virtue or rational happiness, but by that random power of Fortune which the worshippers of these gods think that she exerts. 34

As a final reproach he adds, "... let the bad worship her, who do not choose to have merit..." 35 Fortune's independence and invincibility would never completely recover from the disparagement of Augustine.

It was Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy* that brought Fortune into a Christian framework. Boethius followed the judgments of Augustine's critique of Fortune, but rather than dismissing her as a mere "tawdry deity" he redefined Fortune and confined her within a Christian hierarchy of command. In the *Consolation of Philosophy* Boethius describes his experience as a high state official who has been unjustly imprisoned by the emperor Theodoric. In his cell he bewails his fate, his awful fall from great prestige and power to such a miserable condition. The personification of Philosophy comes to visit Boethius and tries to convince him that he ought to disregard the loss of material and temporal things

because they are of no real significance. A personified Fortune also comes to plead her case, to defend herself against the accusations of Boethius.

Philosophy questions Boethius' apparent belief in the power of Fortune: "Do you think... that this world is subject to random chance, or do you believe that it is governed by some rational principle?" Boethius reflects and answers: "I cannot suppose that its regular operation can be the result of mere chance; indeed, I know that God the Creator governs his work, and the day will never come when I will be shaken from the truth of this judgment."

Fortune tells Boethius that he should not condemn her for taking things away from him. All that he lost was given to him by her and always remained hers to take back when she wished: "Riches, honors, and all good fortune belong to me. They obey me as servants obey their mistress: they come with me and when I go they go too."

If one is willing to accept the benefits of good fortune he cannot complain when his luck changes: "Go up, if you


37 Ibid., p. 18.

38 Ibid., pp. 23-24.
like, but only on condition that you will not feel abused when my sport requires your fall." 39

Boethius wonders why the good suffer and the wicked are happy in a universe ruled by reason. Philosophy answers that "... although you do not know why things are as they are, still you cannot doubt that in a world ruled by a good governor all things happen justly." 40 It may seem as if the good are deprived and the evil rewarded, but the temporal things that this deprivation or reward consists of are actually worthless. These gifts of Fortune "... are not worth striving for; they are not always possessed by good men, nor do they make those good who possess them." 41 A wise man is unaffected by the power of Fortune. He cultivates his virtue, which is the only thing that can never be altered by Fortune.

Finally Philosophy makes an important observation about Fortune's operation within the divine scheme of the universe:

Providence is the immovable and simple form of all things which come into being, while Fate is the moving connection and temporal order of all things

40 Ibid., p. 89.
41 Ibid., p. 36.
which the divine simplicity has decided to bring into being. It follows, then, that everything which is subject to Fate is also subject to Providence.

Because the world is ruled according to rational method there can be no such thing as a principle of chance. Fortune can only be a phenomenon of unpredictable change inherent in material things that operates in a subservient position to God and Providence. St. Augustine logically denied the existence of Fortune as a real force since she was herself controlled by Jupiter. Boethius, while also seeing Fortune as subordinate to God, nonetheless retains her, if not as an actual force, as a concept to explain or personify the transience of material things. Fortune is portrayed as God's agent, ceaselessly working to confound man in his quest for security in worldly attainments. Boethius' reinterpretation of Fortune made this potent symbol accessible to the Christian Middle Ages.

In the twelfth century the Wheel of Fortune became a very popular image. Honorius of Autun wrote:

Philosophers tell us of a woman fastened to a wheel which turns perpetually, so that they say she is rising and sometimes falling with its movement. What is this wheel? It is the glory of the world which is carried round in perpetual motion. The woman fastened to the wheel is Fortune, whose head

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42 Ibid., p. 92.
alternately rises and falls because those who have been raised by their power and riches are often precipitated into poverty and misery.\textsuperscript{43}

The Wheel of Fortune appeared for the first time in monumental art on the north transept of St. Etienne of Beauvais in 1135.\textsuperscript{44} After this it is found in great profusion both on churches and in manuscripts.\textsuperscript{45} The Wheel of Fortune was also modified and turned into the Wheel of Love,\textsuperscript{46} the Wheel of the Senses,\textsuperscript{47} and the Wheels of the Monastic Vices and Virtues.\textsuperscript{48}

Helen Dow suggests several possible uses and meanings of the Wheel of Fortune. First of all, it may sometimes have been simply used to contrast the vicissitudes of earthly life with the just governance of God.


\textsuperscript{44} Illustrated in Helen Dow, "The Rose Window: the Significance of the Wheel in Pagan and Early Christian Times," The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes XX (1957), pl. 14c.

\textsuperscript{45} See Appendix I.


\textsuperscript{47} Horst W. Janson, Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance (London: The Warburg Institute, 1952), pl. XLIVa.

\textsuperscript{48} Adolf Katzenellenbogen, Allegories of the Virtues and the Vices in Medieval Art (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1964), pls. 44 and 45.
One would be reminded to follow Godly rather than earthly pursuits by the sight of the Wheel of Fortune. Secondly, the subservience of Fortune to God's plan may have been expressed in fortune illustrations such as that in the thirteenth century Hamilton manuscript.\textsuperscript{49} This miniature shows two superimposed wheels, God's wheel encompassing that of Fortune. Also, an unidentified wheel might simultaneously be both God's and Fortune's. If one were a Christian he would see it as the symbol of the rule of God, otherwise he would see it as the rule of chance. This clever, double-meaning wheel would then precisely recreate the two possible responses to the seeming disorder of the world: that there was an order even though it was invisible to man; or that the world was held in abeyance by the haphazard movements of Fortune.

The miniature in the \textit{Carmina Burana} is an example of the type of Wheel of Fortune most frequently portrayed in the Middle Ages. The wheel has four men on its rim. The one on top is crowned, the one to the right is falling down, the one on the bottom has fallen off, and the one on the left is ambitiously climbing upward. Next to the figures are written the words \textit{regno, regnavi, sum sine regno},

\textsuperscript{49}See Appendix I, entry 11.
and regnabo. These particular aspects of the Carmina Burana miniature, which were common to a large percentage of the medieval Wheels of Fortune, may also have been ultimately derived from Boethius. Boethius was definitely the first to describe the Wheel of Fortune with men being turned on it, and, according to A. P. Pickering, the 'formula of four' may also be related to Boethian innovations. The 'formula of four' is four men in the four cardinal positions on the Wheel of Fortune.

The 'formula of four' may be seen as a pictorial representation of the cycle of dynastic history. There were two concepts of history in the Middle Ages, Augustinian Christian history and Boethian dynastic history. Augustinian Christian history was Church history and it was only concerned with the divinely ordained progress of mankind from Original Sin to the Last Judgment. According to Augustinian history, the dynastic rising and falling of kings is controlled by God. It would therefore be both dangerous and useless to try to make detailed interpretations of earthly history. Augustinian history is only concerned with the City of God. It was necessary to deny

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50 A. P. Pickering, Literature and Art in the Middle Ages (Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami Press, 1970), p. 171. The following passages concerning the two concepts of history closely follow Pickering's study.
a role to Fortune in the events of history because history
was the working out of God's plan in the City of God.

The history of dynasties is the story of secular
events written within a Christian framework. Boethius'
redefined concept of Fortune made this type of history
possible. Otto of Freising's twelfth century historical
chronicle is an example of this type of history. The
lives of men like Alexander the Great are told partly for
their intrinsic interest but mostly for the moral lessons
that they might offer for Christian instruction. The
title of Otto's work was The Two Cities. This alone
begins to reveal the difference between it and Augustine's
City of God. Explaining his work Otto wrote:

I have undertaken to speak of the Two Cities in
such a way that we shall not lose the thread of his-
tory, that the devout reader may observe what is to
be avoided in mundane affairs by reason of the count-
less miseries wrought by their unstable character,
and that the studious and painstaking investigator
may find a record of past happenings free from all
obscurity. ... we are about to speak, then, con-
cerning the sorrow-burdened insecurity of the one
city and the blessed permanence of the other. ... 52

It comes as no surprise to find Otto's chronicle
illustrated with the Wheel of Fortune, which by now had

51 Otto of Freising, The Two Cities, trans. C. C.

52 Ibid., pp. 96-97.
become the symbol for the transitory nature of human life and the moral lessons to be derived from this awareness of the impermanence.

According to Otto, the life of Alexander the Great was a perfect example of Fortune's treacherous course. Otto ended his brief history of Alexander with the following words:

How pitiful the life of mortals! How blind how wretched their minds! Is not this the Alexander who brought low the proud and glorious kingdom of the Persians and transferred their power to the Macedonians? Is he not the man before whom the whole world trembled...? And yet so great and so fine a man is destroyed by draining a single cup, by the treachery of a single attendant, and the whole world is shaken by one man's death... But we who love the world, who desire to cleave to it as though it were something eternal and abiding, do not consider such things as this. We fall with the falling, slip with the slipping, roll with the rolling, in a word, perish with the perishing.53

In an illuminated manuscript of Otto's history we can see a miniature depicting Alexander the Great on a 'formula of four' Wheel of Fortune that resembles the one in the Carmina Burana (fig. 11). There is a similar concordance between the passage at the end of Alexander's history and a number of the lyrics in the Carmina Burana. Two stanzas from poem 14 in the Carmina Burana make an interesting comparison to Otto's passage:

53 Ibid., pp. 183-84.
Quid Dario regnasse profuit?
Pompeio quid Roma tribuit?
Succubuit uterque gladio.
Eligere media tutius,
Quam petere rote sublimius,
Et gravius summo ruere:
Fit gravior lapsus a prosperis
Et durior ab ipsis asperis.

Subsidio Fortune labilis
Cur prelio Troia tunc nobilis,
Nunc flebilis ruit incendio?
Quis sanguinis Romani gratium,
Quis nominis Greci facundiam,
Quis gloriem fregit Carthaginis?
Sors lubrica, que dedit, absulit;
Hec unica que fovit, perculit. 54

(How did Darius benefit by being king? What did Rome give Pompey? Each succumbed to the sword. It is safer to choose the middle path than to climb to the top of the Wheel of Fortune, and fall from the top. It is harder to fall from prosperity and worse because of the cruelty of that wheel.

Falling to ruin because of Fortune, why should Troy once noble have fallen in fire? What happened to the strength of Rome? Who has the eloquence of the Greeks? Who ruined the glory of the Carthaginians? Deceptive Fortune, what she gave took back. The same one who cherished her she ruined.)

The Romance of the Rose is another work of the later Middle Ages that was often decorated with the Wheel of Fortune. So common were images of the wheel in these manuscripts in the fourteenth century that "... hardly an illustrated copy is without one." 55 Fortune is

54 Poem 14, stanzas 3 and 4.

mentioned quite frequently in the *Romance of the Rose*, particularly when Reason is trying to convince the Lover to follow her rather than the God of Love. Reason first describes the treachery of the Wheel of Fortune to the Lover, saying, "When Fortune makes her home with men she starves/ Their sense, but nourishes their ignorance."  

Reason then gives a long description of the Isle of Fortune, and tells the Lover about what Fortune did to Seneca and Nero, Croesus and Phanie, and Manfred. Finally Reason implores the Lover to pledge himself to her and turn away from Love and Fortune: "It's my desire that I may have your love,/ That you henceforth the God of Love despise,/ and that you trust in Fortune nevermore." As a last resort she merely asks that he stay with Reason since the rest will naturally follow: "... whoso'er conforms to Reason's law/ Never will carnal love or Fortune prize." The Lover, however, accuses Reason of lewdness and remains loyal to the God of Love. One

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interpretation of the poem might be that it is an allegory of the rejection of reason and surrender to Fortune, since carnal love is controlled by Fortune. 62

Illustrations of the Wheel of Fortune in the Romance of the Rose manuscripts are usually of the 'formula of four' type that we are familiar with from the Carmina Burana. The close similarity between the concepts of love and Fortune and Reason in the Romance of the Rose and the Carmina Burana will be discussed at greater length in a subsequent section of this paper. For the moment let it suffice to show lines from just two poems that seem to connect the ideas of Fortune's Wheel and love in the Carmina Burana: "quisquis amat taliter,/ volvitur in rota;"63 and "Dira vi amoris tesor,/ et venero axe vehor."64

Naturally the Wheel of Fortune was an extremely popular image among medieval preachers:

Of all such graphic caricatures of the medieval artist none made greater appeal to the pulpit than


63 Hilka-Schumann, number 136.

64 Hilka-Schumann, number 107.
the well known device known as the Wheel of Fortune. It illustrated with a peculiar vividness the preachers' own favorite view of life.65

This view of life was expressed by the preachers in satires on the morals of both laymen and clergy, contemptus mundi and dies male sunt complaints, and "world-upside-down" discourses.66 The same themes were illustrated in the margins of contemporary manuscripts. Lilian Randall believes that sermons were one of the major sources of motifs for the marginal decoration in medieval manuscripts.67 The Wheel of Fortune is frequently found in marginalia. The "world upside-down" motif is also portrayed quite frequently in the margins in the form of scenes in which lesser creatures dominate greater or more powerful ones. The same kind of satires, complaints, and "world upside-down" songs fill the pages of the first section of the Carmina Burana. The following stanzas from


66 The "world upside-down" motif is a form of lament over the apparent injustice in the world and the seeming triumph of evil over good. For a discussion of this motif in medieval literature, see Ernst Robert Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, trans. Willard R. Trask (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), pp. 94-98.

one of the *Carmina Burana* poems express the same attitude that is found in medieval sermons of complaint and satire:

Ecce, sonat in aperto
vox clamantis in deserto!
In desertum nos deserti
iam de morte sumus certi.

Omnes siquidem sumus rei,
nullus imitator Dei,
nullus vult portare crucem,
nullus Christem sequi ducem.

... ...

Iam mors regnat in prelatis;
nolunt sacrum dare gratis;
postquam sedent iam securi,
contradicunt sancto iuri. \(^{68}\)

(Listen, a voice sounds in the emptiness of the desert! In the wilderness we are abandoned, now we are assured of death.

Indeed we all are worldly, none follow God, none wish to carry the cross, none will follow Christ's example.

... ...

Now death rules as a prelate, they do not wish to give the sacraments for free, meanwhile they are securely enthroned, contradicting holy law.)

And so we see that the dynastic, moralized histories, the *Romance of the Rose*, medieval sermons, and the first section of the *Carmina Burana* all share a common moralizing theme: the material things of the world are the gifts of Fortune and if one seeks these he will become the slave of Fortune and be spun around helplessly

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\(^{68}\) Hilka-Schumann, number 10.
on her wheel. The great number of surviving Wheels of Fortune in medieval art attests to its enormous popularity at this time. When the Carmina Burana was compiled in the thirteenth century the illuminator could hardly have chosen a more appropriate image than the Wheel of Fortune to summarize the contents of the first section of poems. It seems obvious that a sort of pictorial summary was indeed his intention. By this familiar symbol the reader could at a glance be made aware of the moralizing nature of the first poems in the Carmina Burana.
CHAPTER II

SACRED AND PROFANE LOVE AND THE
GARDEN OF TEMPTATION

The three miniatures in the second section of the 
Carmina Burana are related to the text in the same way
that the Wheel of Fortune is to the first section. They
represent the major themes in a very diversified collec-
tion of love poems. Peter Dronke commented that although
the songs in the Carmina Burana might be surpassed in
quality by love-lyrics in other collections, the Carmina
Burana has the greatest diversity in "what the lyrics say
and how they say it."\(^{69}\) But in spite of this enormous
variety in the poems, there seems to have been a precise
didactic purpose behind the selection of the poems for
this collection. If the illuminations can be thought
visual representations of the most important ideas in the
poems, to study the themes of the lyrics should lead to
an understanding of the miniatures.

The love poems in the Carmina Burana have often
been read as romantic celebrations of love and spring.

\(^{69}\) Peter Dronke, Medieval Latin and the Rise of
p. 304.
It is said that the "Goliard" poets defied the cold authority of the church and exalted the pleasures of the flesh. James J. Wilhelm claims that "... the Burana celebrate nature, love, and fortune, in a way that runs directly counter to the supernatural doctrines of the Church." 70 George F. Whicher believes that "the urge of the mating season is implicit in these projections of poetic fancy and no other human considerations are permitted to interfere. The poems are no more accountable to morality than the flowing of the sap." 71

However, it is the collector's use of the poems, his way of reading them, that is of foremost importance in determining their meaning as they stand in the Carmina Burana, not the way that they might be interpreted as individual "projections of poetic fancy." When the poems may be read in more than one way, either as encouragement of indulgence in carnal love or as warning against it, we may assume that the meaning of the poem in the Carmina Burana will be that which agrees with the rest of the literature in a medieval prelate's library.


The image of the turning Wheel of Fortune is also involved in the collective moralizing meaning of this section of the *Carmina Burana*. The lighthearted love described in the following poems is often the result of the promptings of spring. Spring is the setting for cupids of love and, appropriately enough, spring is associated with the treachery of the Wheel of Fortune. The four seasons can be equated with the four positions of the 'formula of four' on the Wheel of Fortune. There are innumerable medieval representations of the seasons of the year revolving around the circumference of circular diagrams of the universe, thus in the same location in relation to their schema as the 'formula of four' figures are to the Wheel of Fortune. Spring, the optimal season of the year, is equal to the *regno* position, which of course is the most perilous.

In stanza five of poem 14, from the first section of the *Carmina Burana*, the ephemeral nature of spring is quite literally related to the vicissitudes of Fortune:

*Nil gratius Fortuna gratis,*
nil dulcius est inter dulcia
quam gloria si staret longius.
sed labitur ut olus marcidum
et sequitur agrum nunc floridum,
quam aridum cras cernet. igitur
improprium non edo canticum;
o varium Fortune lubricum.*

*(Nothing is more welcome than the graces of Fortune, nothing among sweet things is sweeter than fame, if it would*
only last. But it falls like a withered leaf and is like the field that is flowering now but will soon be dried-up. Therefore it is not improper that I should sing: Oh deceptive glow of Fortune!"

The spring and love section begins with a love poem, the opening stanza of which brings to mind the revolution of the seasons around the geocentric universe: 72

Ianus annum circumat,
ver estatem nunciat,
calcat Phebus unguula,
dum in taurum flectitur,
arietis repagula.

(Janus turns the year, spring announces summer, Phebus gallops on hoof while turning round through the realm of the bull into the domain of Aries.)

The poem goes on to tell of the lover's rejection of reason and fealty to Venus. The suggestion in this opening poem that following the immoral dictates of spring is the same as climbing upon the Wheel of Fortune, is an introduction to the moralizing nature of the spring and love poems in the Carmina Burana.

If thought is given to the way that a medieval churchman would respond to the kind of images that are repeatedly used in the poems, and if we consider the themes that were selected for illustration, we will begin to see that the poems ought to be read more as versifications of medieval theology on the subject of love than

72 Hilka-Schumann, number 56.
as amoral love poetry. It is essential at this point to know something about the Church's doctrine on love, and medieval principles of aesthetics, since they were certainly well known to the Christian poets and the collector of the *Carmina Burana*.

Hugh of St. Victor lived and wrote during the same period when many of the lyrics in the *Carmina Burana* were composed. In his treatise, *On the Nature of Love*, he described the division of love into two incompatible forces: "A single spring of love, welling up within us, pours itself out in two streams. The one is the love of the world, cupidity; the other is the love of God, charity." Saint Augustine was probably the source of Hugh's and most other medieval philosophers' theories about love. In *On Christian Doctrine*, Augustine defined the two loves:

I call "charity" the motion of the soul toward the enjoyment of one's self and of one's neighbor for the sake of God, but "cupidity" is a motion of the soul toward the enjoyment of one's self, one's neighbor, or any corporeal thing for the sake of something other than God.  

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Augustine clearly distinguished between "using" and "enjoying" things: "To enjoy something is to cling to it with love for its own sake. To use something, however, is to employ it in obtaining that which you love, provided that it is worthy of love." 75 Since God alone is worthy of love, only He is to be enjoyed. The things of the world were just to be used, not loved for themselves, or enjoyed: ". . . among all these things only those are to be enjoyed which we have described as being eternal and immutable; others are to be used so that we may be able to enjoy those." 76 The enjoyment of any earthly thing was illicit love, or cupidity.

Love, which arose from a single impulse, was divided into cupidity and charity by man's will. In The City of God Augustine wrote, ". . . right will is . . . well-directed love, and the wrong will is ill-directed love." 77 Created by man's will, cupidity and charity became the sources of all good and evil. According to Hugh of St. Victor, "There are . . . two streams that

75 Ibid., p. 9.
76 Ibid., p. 18.
issue from the font of love, cupidity and charity. And cupidity is the root of all evil, and charity the source of every good."  

D. W. Robertson suggests that medieval man conceived of everything in terms of a hierarchy of being and could therefore hardly imagine "dynamically interacting opposites." Robertson extends this theory to include cupidity and charity: "One loves either the tangible or the intelligible world. It may be possible to move from the tangible to the intelligible, but the two are not opposites; they exist in a relationship of inferior and superior."  

This may indeed be theoretically correct and essential to the understanding of many medieval love poems, but the choice between cupidity and charity frequently made a battlefield of the mind and soul of medieval man. Donald R. Howard recognized the impact of this kind of struggle between apparent opposites in medieval literature:

... to take seriously the responsibilities of the Christian life was to submit oneself to an unending struggle, a lifelong psychomachia between cupiditas and caritas, between pride and humility, between

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temptation and virtue, between this world and the next. It was this element of struggle in the Christian life that informed all of medieval thought.

Almost every work that deals with the topic of love in the Middle Ages in some way strives to express either the excellence of charity or the evil of cupidity.

A great many of the love poems in the Carmina Burana are exempla against cupidity. To a modern reader who does not read them carefully, they might seem to be acclamations of what is actually being condemned.

Augustine himself has warned us:

But many and varied obscurities and ambiguities deceive those who read casually, understanding one thing instead of another; indeed, in certain places they do not find anything to interpret erroneously, so obscurely are certain sayings covered with a most dense mist. I do not doubt that this situation was provided by God to conquer pride by word and to combat disdain in our minds, to which those things which are easily discovered seem frequently to become worthless.

The guiding principle of medieval aesthetics seems to have been that one should not say simply and plainly what he means, but instead should make it more interesting by saying something else that can be interpreted as what he means.

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We know that in the Middle Ages material things were often understood to have supernatural meanings, that everything could be read as a symbol for something else. Frequently the same image could simultaneously stand for something good and something bad, which could be called the "principle of ambiguity."\(^82\) The direction of interpretation was almost invariably upward. As earthly objects stood for divine things, seemingly secular literature and art could have spiritual meaning. Colorful tales, or exempla, were included in sermons for the moralizing lessons they could teach. Concerning some of the more obscene medieval stories, D. W. Robertson tells us that "the modern view that such materials represent a romantic assertion of the baser elements of human nature simply overlooks the fact that they were intended to be significant within the framework of Christian morality."\(^83\) Similarly, the more colorful verses in the Carmina Burana might properly be read with some thought to their place within the "framework of Christian morality."

Irony was a popular device in medieval secular literature. Perhaps the work which most clearly

\(^{82}\) The medieval preference for the use of obscure images and figurative, allegorical expression is discussed in Chapter II of Robertson's book, "Some Principles of Medieval Aesthetics."

\(^{83}\) Robertson, p. 21.
demonstrates medieval irony at work is The Art of Courtly Love by Andreas Capellanus. In the first two books of this work Andreas carefully defines love, tells who is capable of it, what its effects are, how it is to be gained, and how it may be retained. The book was written for the instruction of a certain Walter, who requested guidance in the art of love from Andreas. The third book, however, tells Walter in a summary fashion to refrain from following the instructions in the preceding chapters because all men are morally bound to reject love and wantonness and to strive to be completely chaste. This is primarily because passion and the works of Venus are hated by God. Furthermore, the delights of the flesh lead to a myriad of other sins and eventually cause great torment and "wretched retribution" for the sinner. Other reasons not to love are that a wise man loses his wisdom when he loves, and women are despicable creatures

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85 Ibid., p. 46.
86 Ibid., p. 44.
87 Ibid., p. 45.
88 Ibid., p. 48.
89 Ibid., p. 48.
in every way. The Art of Courtly Love was, in short, a "double lesson" for its pupil. Andreas explains this double lesson to Walter:

... we set down completely, one point after another, the art of love as you so eagerly asked us to do, and now that it is all arranged in the proper order, we hand it over to you. If you wish to practise the system, you will obtain, as a careful reading of this little book will show you, all the delights of the flesh in fullest measure; but the grace of God, the companionship of the good, and the friendship of praiseworthy men you will with good reason be deprived of, and you will do great harm to your good name, and it will be difficult for you to obtain the honors of this world.

In other words, Walter is to be shown both what the art of love is and the evil that results from practicing it.

This ironic juxtaposition of descriptions of the delights of the flesh with moralizations against indulgence in it is characteristic of a great many of the love poems in the Carmina Burana. The first three and a half stanzas of poem 71 give a lovely description of nature, birds singing, and Venus' joyful song. An abrupt change takes place in stanza 3b, however. The poet begins to tell of the evil effects of love. Venus torments the hearts of her servants, robs them of sleep, and makes

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90 Ibid., pp. 48-51.
91 Ibid., p. 52. See also Robertson, p. 395.
92 Ibid., pp. 52-53.
their hearts burn with a painful fire from her arrows. She causes them to live in a state of anxiety, fear, and perpetual longing for what they cannot possess. The last two stanzas are a fervent exemplum against love:

7a. O metuenda
  Dione decreta!
  o fugienda
  venena secreta,
  fraude verenda
  doloque repleta,

7b. Docta furoris
  in estu punire,
  quos dat amoris
  amara subire,
  plena liboris
  urentis et ire!

8a. Hinc michi metus
    abundat,
    hinc ora fletus
    inundat,

8b. Hinc michi pallor
    in ore
    est, quia fallor
    amore.

(7a. Oh fearful decree of Venus! Oh dangerous secret poison, deceitful, frightening, and full of woe,

7b. Skilled to punish by causing madness, it gives those who love remorse to endure, envious, bitter, and hateful!

8a. Hence I fear abundantly, hence my face is wet from weeping,

8b. Hence my cheeks are pallid, that is, because I have been deceived by love.)

A reader would not feel encouraged to love by the refrain of poem 115: "Amor improbus omnia superat. Subveni!" (Wicked love conquers all. Help me!) Nor does
stanza 1 of poem 116 make the effects of love seem very appealing:

Sic mea fata canendo solor,
un nece proxima facit color,
blandus heret meo corde dolor,
roseus effugit ore color.
cura crescente,
labore vigente,
vigore labente
miser morior;
tam male pectora multat amor.
a morior,
a morior,
a morior,
dum, quod amen, cogor et non amor!

(Thus by singing I find solace, like the swan does when death is near. Pleasure is lacking to my sad heart, the rosy color has left my cheeks. Cares increase, travail continues, my energy failing me, wretchedly I die; love punishes the heart with so many sorrows. Alas, I die, alas, I die, alas, I die, since what I love drives me away and does not love me!)

Poem 62 is an especially beautiful description of the sweetness of love and sleep--"Hei quam felix transitus amoris ad soporem/ sed suavior regressus ad amorem!" However, the last stanza makes a sudden change and breaks the tender mood of the rest of the poem:

O in quantis
animus amantis
variatur
vacillantis!
Ut vaga ratis per equora,
dum caret anchora,
fluctuat inter spem metumque dubia
sic Veneris milicia.

(Oh in how many ways a lover's spirit is filled with uncertainties! Like an anchorless raft drifting across the ocean, those in Love's company fluctuate, wavering between hope and fear.)
To love, these poems tell us, is to submit voluntarily to the torments of Hell and to death: "Iam amore virginali totus ardeo; novus, novus amor est, quo pereo." 93

Poem 108 certainly ought to be read as an *exemplum* against following love and turning away from reason:

1a. *Vacillantis trutine*  
    *libramine*  
    *mens suspensa fluctuat*  
    *et estuat*  
    *in tumultus anxios,*  
    *dum se vertit*  
    *et bipertit*  
    *motus in contrarios.*  
    Refl. *O langueol! causam languoris video*  
    *nec caveo,*  
    *vivens et prudens pereo.*

1b. *Me vacare studio*  
    *vult Ratio.*  
    *sed dum Amor alteram*  
    *vult operam,*  
    *in diversa rapior,*  
    *Ratione*  
    *cum Dione*  
    *dimicante crucior.*  
    Refl. *O langueol! causam languoris video*  
    *nec caveo*  
    *vivens et prudens pereo.*

2a. *Sicut in arbole*  
    *frons tremula,*  
    *navicula*  
    *levis in equore,*  
    *dum caret ancere*  
    *subsudio,*  
    *contrario*  

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93 Hilka-Schumann, number 179.
flatu concussa fluitat:
    sic agitat,
    sic turbine sollicitat
    me dubio
hinc Amor, inde Ratio.
Refl. O languedo!
causam languoris video
    nec caveo
vivens et prudens pereo.

2a. Sub libra pondero,
    quid melius,
    et dubius
    mecum delibero.
nunc menti refero
delicias
    Venerias:
que mea michi Florula
det oscula,
qui risus, que labellula,
    que facies,
frons, naris aut cesaries.
Refl. O languedo!
causam languoris video
    nec caveo
vivens et prudens pereo.

3a. His invitat
    et erritat
Amor me blanditiis.
    sed alis
Ratio sollicitat
    et excitat
    me studiis.
Refl. O languedo!
causam languoris video
    nec caveo
vivens et prudens pereo.

3b. Nam solari
    me scolari
cogitat exilio.
    sed, Ratio,
procul abi! vinceris
    sub Veneris
    impereo.
Refl. O languedo!
causam languoris video
    nec caveo
vivens et prudens pereo.
(1a. In the wavering scales of balance my mind suspended fluctuates and swings in tumultuous anxiety while it turns and bends in contrary directions. Refl. Oh, I languish! The cause of my languishment I see but do not avoid. While seeing this and knowing better still I perish.

1b. Reason wishes to free me by means of study, but when love wishes otherwise I am seized and turned away. I am crucified by the struggle between Reason and Love. Refl. Oh, I languish! The cause of my languishment I see but do not avoid. While seeing this and knowing better still I perish.

2a. Like a leaf trembling on a tree, like a small boat upon the waves when it lacks an anchor to keep it still with contrary winds assailing it; thus I stir, thus like a spinning wheel to myself irresolute, love hence, reason thence. Refl. Oh, I languish! The cause of my languishment I see but do not avoid. While seeing this and knowing better still I perish.

2b. On the scale I measure: which is better, and with doubt I deliberate. Now in my mind I consider the favors of Venus, that to me my Flora gave kisses; that smile, those lips, that face, brow, nose, and hair. Refl. Oh, I languish! The cause of my languishment I see but do not avoid. While seeing this and knowing better still I perish.

3a. Love with these enticements invites and worries me. But by other means Reason keeps me quiet and encourages me to study. Refl. Oh, I languish! The cause of my languishment I see but do not avoid. While seeing this and knowing better still I perish.

3b. Now alone I study, I learn in exile. But Reason go away! You are vanquished beneath Venus' rule! Refl. Oh, I languish! The cause of my languishment I see but do not avoid. While seeing this and knowing better still I perish.)

This poem reads almost like a compendium of the best-known moralizations against love in the Middle Ages. Practically every image that the poet used was commonplace among theological exegeses and other writings in which
carnal love was reviled and its dire results eagerly enumerated.

The poem begins with the motif of the scales and uses it again in the second half of the second verse. In The Art of Courtly Love there is also a reference to weights and scales. Andreas tells us that a further cause for hating Love was that "he often carries unequal weights." D. W. Robertson shows that this remark rests on the popular commentary on Leviticus written by Radulphus Flaviacensis and several Biblical passages. In the commentary Radulphus equated the use of just weights with obeying God's law, which is charity. The justice of God is expressed in the Bible in terms of measurement with just weights.

The fear and anxiety suffered by this lover were well-known symptoms of cupidinous love: "To tell the truth, no one can number the fears of one single lover." The lover was crucified by the struggle between Reason and Love because, as we have seen, wisdom and love were incompatible.

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94 The Art of Courtly Love, p. 51.
95 Robertson, p. 400.
96 The Art of Courtly Love, p. 2.
In stanza 2a the lover compares himself to an anchorless boat in a storm. This too was a frequent image in literature opposed to earthly love. In discussing the use of the image in The Art of Courtly Love, Professor Robertson cites Fulgentius as the probable source. Fulgentius wrote that Venus was shown in the sea because lust was the reason for the shipwreck of all things. Alexander Neckam also associated the sea-born Venus with shipwreck due to lust. Furthermore, anchorless, rudderless boats were the original attributes of Fortune before she became associated with the wheel. Fortune is portrayed adrift on a stormy sea in a small boat, or sometimes a ball. In this verse the vicissitudes of earthly love were compared not only to the tossing-about of an anchorless boat, but also to the irresolute turning of a wheel. Cupidity binds the improvident lover to the Wheel of Fortune.

In the end the lover rejects Reason and devotes himself to Love. The same inversion of the natural hierarchy within man, in which reason rules the will which

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97 Robertson, p. 400.


in turn governs the senses, occurs in the Romance of the Rose and it should be understood as a similar portrayal of sin. It was man's possession of reason that placed him higher on the cosmic hierarchy than animals, and so in denying reason man would descend. Further, Hugh of St. Victor wrote that because of Original Sin, man's reason had been impaired. In order to reach upward toward God man had to begin by repairing his "eye of reason." To do the opposite and disclaim reason was therefore to turn away from God and sink into sin.

The refrain gives further reason to reject love: "Oh, I languish! The cause of my languishment I see but do not avoid. While seeing this and knowing better still I perish." The lover's languishment was a proverbial sign of cupidinous love. Andreas was convinced that "by love and the work of Venus men's bodies are weakened." He then stated that because "bodily strength is a great and especial gift to man, you will do wrong if you strive after things which can for any reason cause this particular gift to fail you." Not only does love sap one's

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101 The Art of Courtly Love, p. 47.

102 Ibid., p. 48.
vital strength, it eventually leads to death. As the poet says over and over, even with full knowledge of this he allows himself to perish. Death as the ultimate consequence of intemperate love is a repeated theme in the love poems in the Carmina Burana and this perhaps explains the selection of the first illustration in this section.

The first of the three illustrations in the love-lyric section is of Dido and Aeneas (fig. 2). It is divided into two registers. At the top left the meeting of Dido and Aeneas takes place. Aeneas and his men approach from the left and Dido and her ladies are coming out of the door of the castle that serves as the setting of the scenes on the top register. To the right of the meeting scene there are three figures inside the castle. The middle one wears a crown and must be Dido. The two other figures seem to be speaking to her. This may be the scene that takes place after Dido has learned that Aeneas is leaving. To the right, Dido is falling backward off the walls of the castle, with a sword in her chest. Below is her funeral bier. At the right of the top register two stylized trees are growing. In the bottom register we see the departure of Aeneas. Dido and her ladies are on the shore to the left while Aeneas on a small boat approaches the ship that will take him away.
On the far right of the departing ship Aeneas is shown with members of his crew.

The narrative is not in the correct sequence, since Dido is seen falling into her funeral bier prior to Aeneas' departure. The artist has obviously copied individual scenes from a complete narrative cycle and put them together as best he could. The entire bottom register was needed to show the departure scene, so Dido's suicide had to be fit into the castle setting in the top register.

The *Carmina Burana* miniature seems to have been copied either from the illustrated edition of Heinrich von Veldeke's *Eneit* produced in Bavaria in the early thirteenth century,\(^1\) or an intermediate copy of it.\(^2\) The similarities between the two are unmistakable. The way that Dido simultaneously stabs herself and falls over backward into her funeral bier clearly betrays the hand of a not terribly gifted copyist. The rather complicated turning and falling movement of the figure in the original

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\(^1\) Berlin, Dahlem, Preussischer Staatsbibliothek, Mgf. 282.

\(^2\) Albert Boeckler is of the opinion that the only other appearance of this incident of the story of Dido and Aeneas related to the Heinrich von Veldeke *Eneit* is in the *Carmina Burana*: *Heinrich von Veldeke, Eneide*. *Die Bilder der Berliner Handschrift* (Leipzig, 1939), p. 21.
manuscript has been translated into a simplified, somewhat ungainly motion in the copy (figs. 2 and 12). The scenes of the meeting of Dido and Aeneas and Aeneas' departure were also extracted from the original complete narrative and used like quotations in the condensed version in the *Carmina Burana* miniature.\(^{105}\)

In the *Aeneid* of Virgil, Dido and Aeneas begin their tragic love-affair in a cave, having taken shelter from a sudden rain-storm. In his *Eneid*, Henrich von Veldeke has this scene take place under a tree. Perhaps this explains the inclusion of the trees in the top register of the *Carmina Burana* miniature. The symbolic meaning of wooded, pastoral settings in medieval art and literature will be discussed later in this study.

Dido was as veritable an icon for the doomed lover in the Middle Ages, as Troy was for the city of man destroyed because of an inordinate lust. Although the entire *Aeneid* was popular throughout the medieval period, in the *Carmina Burana* the illustration is only about the misfortunes of Dido. Most of the poems are about Dido's destruction and the others are about Troy's. The poems and the miniature are more like *exempla* warning of the

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\(^{105}\) The meeting of Dido and Aeneas and the departure are illustrated in Boeckler.
dangers of passionate cupidinous love than narratives
of the story of the Aeneid. Poem 97, the first in the
Aeneid section, advises us of the effects of love:

'Post tristitiam fient gaudia,
post gaudium erit tristitia:'
sunt vera proverbia,
que fatentur talia.
dicta veritatis,
dicta claritatis
amantur.

('After sadness will come joys, after joy will be sad-
ness;' these are true words, that tell such things.
Words of truth, words of clarity, they are held dear.)

The perpetual rotation of lovers from joy to sorrow and
back to joy, shows again their affliction on the Wheel
of Fortune.

Dido was often associated with the Wheel of
Fortune. She was twice turned round on it in the Aeneid.
First she was wife of Syncaeus, the wealthiest of the
Phoenician landowners, and she loved him devotedly. Her
happiness was ended when her evil brother Pygmalion mur-
dered him and confiscated his wealth. But then Dido was
instructed by her husband's ghost to seize the treasure
and flee the country. This she did and sailed to the site
of the city of Carthage, which she built. Now she was
happy again as queen of Carthage; Fortune's wheel had
turned again and she was on top. But not for long. By
the treachery of Venus she became hopelessly in love with
Aeneas, who had to leave her to fulfill his destiny.
Because of this ill-fated love-affair she committed suicide and cursed all the descendants of Aeneas.

Virgil was "moralized" in the Middle Ages in the same way that Ovid was. Fulgentius, one of the early commentators on the Aeneid, called it "an allegory on the vicissitudes of human life." Bernard of Chartres wrote a commentary on the Aeneid and called Virgil "a philosopher of the nature of human life . . . and all that the human soul does or suffers during its temporary abode in the body." In the Polycratus, John of Salisbury called the Aeneid an allegory of the development of the human soul.

Otto of Freising describes the events surrounding the Trojan War as ". . . so pitiful a revolution of fortune that there is room for doubt as to which side succumbed to an evil fate." The cupidity of Paris was blamed for the entire disaster in poem 99 in the Carmina Burana:

107 Ibid., p. 116.
108 Ibid., p. 117.
1. Superbi Paridis leve ludicum,
   Helene species amata nimium
   fit casus Troie depons Ilium.

(1. Proud Paris in careless play, Helen's appearance
loved too much, causing the destruction of Troy and sub-
jugation of Trojans.)

In the late twelfth century Heinrich von Veldeke
made a chivalric romance of the Aeneid. Judging from
similarities between the miniatures, this romance must
have been known to the illustrator of the Carmina Burana
and its compiler. We have been told by Panofsky that of
almost all the classical images in medieval art "... we
may safely assume that--barring cases of plain incompre-
hension--a Christian significance of one kind or another
has been imposed on them ... ." 110 This is certainly
true in the case of the medieval paraphrases of the
Aeneid. A Christian message is to be learned from the
Eneid even though there are no direct references to
Christianity. This message was, of course, that cupidi-
 nous love will cause man to become attached to the Wheel
of Fortune and eventually to die. Not all love was evil,
according to Heinrich. There was a good love in the uni-
verse which was represented by Lavinia. This love, how-
ever, was wholly different from the "ungoverned and

110 Erwin Panofsky, Renaissance and Renascences
ill-omened passion of Dido that fascinated the compiler of the *Carmina Burana*.

The Dido and Aeneas miniature quite appropriately illustrates the series of *Aeneid* poems in the *Carmina Burana*. Both the poems and the illumination are concerned with just one part of the *Aeneid*, the story of the tragic love-affair of Dido and Aeneas. Of all the events in the *Aeneid* this passage was the most appealing to the collector of the poems in the *Carmina Burana*. It expressed with great drama the workings of passionate love and its dreadful end. This, as the poems discussed previously have shown, was a major theme in the *Carmina Burana* love-lyrics. A miniature of the story of Dido and Aeneas would visually state this theme with great clarity for a medieval reader of the *Carmina Burana*. This miniature therefore would probably have been intended to illustrate not just the *Aeneid* poems but the theme of the dangers of carnal love in the whole group of love-lyrics.

The second illustration associated with the love-lyrics is the well-known "fantasy landscape" (fig. 3), which is recognized as the first landscape in western 

medieval art. It is actually comprised of two landscapes, one on top of the other. In the top landscape there are three strange, Romanesque trees on two hillocks with birds darting through the air around them and perching on their branches. A few small plants grow along the bottom frame, one of which has three "cookie-cutter" flowers on it. In the bottom scene there are also three trees, along with a vine, birds, a rabbit, a stag, a doe, a horse, and a lion. Careful inspection reveals a little face grimacing out of the foliage of the strangely composite tree to the right. The stag, horse, and lion are all prancing on their hind legs. The stag is only partially seen behind the vine. The rabbit seems to levitate in mid-air while the doe lies on the ground, half hidden behind one of the trees, and reaches up to take a bite of leaf from a shrub.

The landscape is not only the best known of the miniatures in the Carmina Burana, it is also the most problematic. This is probably because it has not been properly understood in relation to the poetry. Carl Nordenfalk, for example, found it not quite equal to the poetry: "The poet, we feel, is voicing a firsthand experience of nature, but the illuminator was unable to interpret the poet's vision in anything but unrealistic,
ornamental forms . . . " Nordenfalk assumed that the poems were about real nature and real spring, and therefore that the landscape should look like a real spring landscape. This kind of pictorial representation of a season by the appearance of nature did not occur until the fourteenth century, however. It seems that until the fourteenth century medieval man did not consider the changing appearance of nature to be the most significant aspect of the changing of the seasons. Instead, the varying human activities and labors were used to illustrate the months and seasons of the year.

Another theory about the landscape has been advanced by Kurt Erdmann. He has compared each of the trees in the Carmina Burana landscape with trees from

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113 There is an illustration of "Nature in Summer Dress" in an eleventh century Exultet Roll from southern Italy (Nordenfalk, ill. p. 147). Although the depiction of the trees and animals is similarly stylized, like that in the Carmina Burana, Nature herself is represented as a classical personification. At this time, apparently, nature and a season could not be conceived of simply as a landscape.


third to seventh century Sassanian art and concluded that the Carmina Burana landscape is a descendant of the Paradise and Tree of Life and Knowledge motifs from ancient Oriental art. This may be ultimately true, but there does not seem to be a need to find models so far removed in space and time. Numerous examples of this kind of tree can easily be found in Romanesque painting in Europe. Furthermore, Erdmann's article avoids discussing the birds and animals in the landscape. They do not look at all like the highly stylized heraldic creatures on portable Sassanian works of art, but, as we shall presently see, quite a bit like animals in medieval bestiaries.

The abstract style of the landscape is thoroughly Romanesque. It is a conceptualized nature, not a naturalistic rendering of man's perception of the world. In the early thirteenth century the Romanesque and Gothic styles were coexistent. The new Gothic style produced extremely naturalistic portrayals of plants in the sculpture on the cathedrals of Amiens, Reims, Naumberg, and Southwell, while the Romanesque representation of plant forms in natural history manuscripts was at the point of its greatest removal from nature. This was the time when, according to Charles Singer, the illustration of plants in herbals had become the most symmetrical, heavily drawn,
and unlike the appearance of real plants. Over a long period of time artists had copied their pictures of plants from other pictures of plants which were themselves copies and not drawn from nature. The lack of interest in portraying the real properties of nature in the Romanesque style may be accounted for by the tendency to think of the world as a symbol. As Lynn White has written: "Once one had grasped the spiritual meaning of the pelican, one lost interest in individual pelicans."

Trees are frequently seen in the symbolic illustration of theological texts. The trees of caritas and cupiditas were used during the twelfth century "to the point of threadbareness." The tree with a child in it was also a visual metaphor for the means by which the soul ascended to heaven after death. The Tree of Jesse was known throughout Europe as a symbol for the ancestry of

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Christ. In exegetical writings trees were often sanctuaries for birds, symbolizing the Church as a haven for souls. In Gregory's *Moralia in Job* the mustard seed is called the doctrine planted by Christ, the branches of the mustard tree the preachers of the doctrine who have spread it throughout the world, and the birds who take shelter in the branches the pious souls who have abandoned the earthly realm for the celestial.  

120 The eight Beatitudes illustrated in the form of eight trees in the *Liber Floridus* make an interesting comparison to the trees in the *Carmina Burana* landscape (fig. 13). Like the *Carmina Burana* trees, those in the *Liber Floridus* are highly fancifully and schematically represented with just the barest resemblance to nature.

There are similarities between the plant and animal motifs in the *Carmina Burana* landscape and the plants and animals in bestiaries. There is even a miniature landscape in a twelfth century bestiary, illustrating the lion's fear of the rooster (fig. 14). The trees in the bestiary illustrations of the salamander, the phoenix,

and the hedgehog\textsuperscript{121} all resemble generally the style of the trees in the \textit{Carmina Burana}. The Peredexion tree (fig. 15) looks quite a bit like the tree in the middle of the top half of the \textit{Carmina Burana} miniature. Doves were known for their love of the Peredexion's fruit. The tree was symbolic of the domain of the Holy Scriptures.\textsuperscript{122}

Another point of comparison between the bestiaries and the \textit{Carmina Burana} landscape is the upright position of the animals. The posture of the horse, the stag, and the lion can be compared to the same or related animals in the bestiaries, the leucrota (fig. 16), the paandrus (fig. 17), and the manticora (fig. 18). The doe in the \textit{Carmina Burana} landscape resembles the hyrcus in the bestiary (fig. 19). Both lie on the ground and reach up to nibble a plant. The birds in the \textit{Carmina Burana} busily fly, preen themselves, and eat berries just as they do in the bestiaries (figs. 20-22). The movements of almost every bird in the \textit{Carmina Burana} can also be found in bestiary bird pictures.


\textsuperscript{122} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 159.
Bestiaries were normally divided into different sections. The birds were relegated to one part and the animals to another. Poems 132 and 133 in the *Carmina Burana* are a list of the animals and a catalogue of the birds. The list of animals begins, as the bestiaries do, with the lion, because he was the most ferocious and regal of beasts. This might suggest that the two halves of the landscape simply illustrate these two poems, since the top landscape has just birds in it while the bottom one has animals also. The landscape, however, is separated by nine folios from these poems, and it simply seems unlikely that two quite undistinguished poems would merit their own illustrations.

It does seem very likely, though, that a bestiary was used as a source of motifs for the landscape. The extraordinary popularity of the bestiaries certainly made them a readily available source. According to Montague Rhodes James, "the Bestiary may be reckoned as one of the leading picture-books of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries." 123

The landscape looks as if it had been put together from a number of pieces. The parts do not quite relate to

each other in a convincing way. Each element tends to remain isolated. For example, the back half of the stag is missing where it would have become complicated with the vine tendrils. The fragments are neatly lined up side by side on the ground plane, with some errors such as the rabbit that hovers in the air. This disjointed appearance was not at all uncommon in medieval art. The illustration of the Alexander in India legend in the Histoire Universelle betrays the same piecing-together technique. Professor Hugo Buchthal has determined that bestiary animals and trees were somewhat uncomfortably fit into some of the scenes in this cycle of illustration.\textsuperscript{124} Similarly, the hawthorn and maple leaves on Southwell Cathedral are perfectly naturalistic in all respects except that the hawthorn leaves are as large as the maple leaves. Sir Nicholas Pevsner explains this phenomenon by concluding that "the thirteenth century had no ability or wish yet to place individual objects into relations with each other or nature as a whole."\textsuperscript{125} Winthrop Wetherbee suggests that this disunified perception of the world, which we found in the Carmina Burana,


was due to the symbolic vision of medieval man which caused him to see the natural world "as a cluster of individual natures, any one of which is fully comprehensible only as it is seen to embody the divine."\textsuperscript{126}

The nearly ubiquitous gardens and wooded settings in medieval literature probably stem from the locus amoenus of classical literature.\textsuperscript{127} Ernst Curtius finds the origin of the locus amoenus in the work of Homer. Certain motifs taken from the work of Homer became the traditional aspects of the locus amoenus:

\begin{quote}
... the place of heart's desire, beautiful with perpetual spring, as the scene of a blessed life after death; the lovely miniature landscape which combines tree, spring, and grass; the wood with various species of trees; the carpet of flowers.\textsuperscript{128}
\end{quote}

In the poetry of Virgil and Ovid the locus amoenus is frequently used as the setting for pastoral and erotic scenes.

By the late antique period, however, the descriptions of the locus amoenus became "bravura pieces" which


\textsuperscript{128}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 186.
had very little to do with the observation of nature. Poets tried to outdo each other with the number of different varieties of trees and flowers they described in the *locus amoenus*. This removal from the reality of nature in late antique poetry was inherited by the writers of the Middle Ages. The *locus amoenus* was considered a "poetical requisite" by writers on style in the medieval period, and it was from rhetorical school-book exercises adapted from classical writings that the *locus amoenus* was learned.¹²⁹

The *locus amoenus* was one of the most familiar settings in medieval love poetry. The Garden of Eden and the *locus amoenus* appear to have become closely associated with each other. The image of the Garden of Eden was filled out with the details of the *locus amoenus*, which served to bring the *locus amoenus* into medieval literature with an already established set of connotations. Cupidity, the *radix malorum*, hid itself among the branches of the *locus amoenus* just as Adam and Eve tried to hide their sin from God in the foliage of the Garden of Eden. Medieval artists were apt to provide leafy settings for scenes of illicit and improvident love in the illustrated romances taken from classical literature. The meeting-

place of Pyramus and Thisbe, which by mischance became their place of death, was a miniature *locus amoenus*.\textsuperscript{130} As we have seen, Heinrich von Veldeke changed the cave where Dido and Aeneas began their ill-fated love-affair into the shelter of a tree.\textsuperscript{131} Surely the best-known garden of earthly delights in medieval literature is in the *Romance of the Rose*, the garden of Sir Mirth. Most recent scholarship has begun to interpret the *Romance of the Rose* as a tropological allegory of the Fall and as an exemplum against cupidinous love.\textsuperscript{132} Suggestion, in the form of earthly beauty, causes the Dreamer to delight in his senses and to turn against reason, thus falling into sin. The Fall, which was the prototype for all subsequent sin, occurred in three stages, according to medieval exegesis: suggestion; delectation; and consent. Saint Augustine was probably the first to describe this process, in *De Sermone Domine*

\textsuperscript{130} Illustrated in Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences*, fig. 54.

\textsuperscript{131} Illustrated in Scherer, *Legends of Troy*, fig. 171.

in Monte secundum Matthaenum.  

The serpent was said to represent suggestion, Eve delectation, and Adam consent. The serpent suggested the eating of the fruit to Eve. She considered it and was delighted by the suggestion. Adam then violated his reason and consented to the sin. The sin of cupidinous love was defined by Andreas Capellanus in this way: "Love is a certain inborn suffering derived from the sight of and excessive meditation upon the beauty of the opposite sex."  

The suggestion-delectation-consent formula was extremely popular and well known in the Middle Ages. This was probably because it provided a dramatic picture of the familiar story of the Fall and connected it with the sins of each individual man. As a result, as Donald Howard has said, "even the most unlettered layman must... have listened with curiosity when the very nature of the great event was explained--for all this, he knew, was in him." Naturally, contemptus mundi literature was able to make great use of this formula. In a work attributed to Bernard of Clairvaux, suggestion is

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133 Howard, p. 56.
134 The Art of Courtly Love, p. 2.
135 Howard, p. 60.
associated with the world and the senses, delectation with the flesh, and consent with the resulting sin.\textsuperscript{136}

The earthly setting of the Romance of the Rose, the garden, is a "paysage moralis" that "has no important reality at all apart from the moral action which it circumscribes."\textsuperscript{137} The imagery of this garden and the Garden of Eden are similar, as is the drama that takes place within them. In both there is an abundance of sensuous objects and in both disastrous events occur—the apple and the rose are picked.\textsuperscript{138} Amant, the Dreamer, immediately associated the garden with terrestrial paradise and compared it with Eden.\textsuperscript{139} As Eden was inhabited by the Fallen Angel Satan, the garden of Sir Mirth was inhabited by the treacherous God of Love, who, to the Dreamer, an "Angel seemed, descended from the sky."\textsuperscript{140}

One of the first things that the Dreamer noticed about the garden was its wealth of birdsong:

The singing birds throughout the garden thronged: Here were the nightingales, and there the larks; Here were the starlings, and the jays were there;

\textsuperscript{136}Ibid., p. 62.

\textsuperscript{137}Fleming, p. 55.

\textsuperscript{138}Ibid., pp. 58-59.


\textsuperscript{140}Ibid., 11. 871-872.
Here were the turtledoves, and there the wrens;
Here were the goldfinches, and there the doves;
Here were the thrushes, and the tomtits there.
New flocks from every side came constantly
As others of the singing seemed to tire.
The merle and mavis to surpass them all
Seemed to be striving; elsewhere, in each tree and
bush
Where were their nests, parrots and other birds
Delighted in the song. A service meet,
As I have told you, all these birds performed . . .
That, if a man comparison should seek,
It seemed no hymn of birds, but mermaids' songs,
Who for their voices clear, serene, and pure
Are Sirens called. 141

Sirens were symbolic of temptation in the Middle
Ages. With the beauty of their song they could lure men
into sin and death. The Dreamer's garden, then, is fur-
ther associated with the temptation and danger of a Garden
of Eden.

The garden in the Romance of the Rose is the ne
plus ultra of the medieval version of the locus amoenus,
which is why it is worth examining in reference to the
landscape and the love and spring poems in the Carmina
Burana. With the Fall, the beauties of the locus amoenus
became harmful to men, "the post-lapsarian terrestrial
paradise—and we all, including Amant, live in a post-
lapsarian world—is a type of testing ground in which each
man succumbs to the temptation of 'physical delights':" 142

141 Ibid., ll. 605-625.
142 Fleming, p. 60.
The pastimes and diversions of the inhabitants of the Garden of Sir Mirth are also interesting to compare to those described in the *Carmina Burana*. Early in the poem the Dreamer paused to watch the wanton companions of Sir Mirth dance in his flowering garden, and when the dance was over most of them "departed with their sweet-hearts to make love beneath the secret-keeping boughs." Approximately the same sequence of events occurs in poem 137 in the *Carmina Burana*, with the same implicit moralization:

1. *Ver redit optatum*
   *cum gaudio,*
   *flore decoratum*
   *purpureo.*
   *aves dedunt cantus quam dulciter!*
   *revirescit numus,*
   *campus est amenus*
   *totaliter.*

2. *Juvenes, ut flores*
   *accipliant*
   *et se per odores*
   *reficiant,*
   *virgines assumant alacriter*
   *et eant in prata*
   *floribus ornata*
   *communiter!*

(1. Spring brings back desire with joy, clad with purple flowers, birds sing so sweetly, the forest becomes green, all full of song and pleasure.

2. Young men pick flowers, and are stimulated by their fragrance, they also eagerly pick girls and wander intimately with them into the meadows!)

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143 *Romance of the Rose*, ll. 1289-1290.
Nature serves the same purpose in the *Carmina Burana* that it did in the *Romance of the Rose*. It serves as a *paysage moralisé*, a terrestrial paradise fraught with temptation in the "post-lapsarian" world. In fact, not only do spring and nature provide a setting for cupidinous love, they actually seem to play a part in instigating it.

With nature cast as the setting for and perhaps in some way the instigator of illicit love, we are reminded of the tropological Fall and the role that suggestion, sometimes associated with nature, played in it. A number of poems in the *Carmina Burana* now begin to read like the suggestion-delection-consent formula set to verse, with the same ironic attitude that we saw in *The Art of Courtly Love*, and in the *Romance of the Rose*:

1. Tempus adest floridum, surgunt namque flores vernales; mox in omnibus immantur mores. hoc, quod frigus leserat, reperant calores;

2. Stant prata plena floribus, in quibus nos ludamus! virgines cum clericis simul procedamus, per amorem Veneris ludum faciamus, per amorem Veneris ludum faciamus, ceteris virginibus ut hoc referamus!

3. "O dilecta domina, cur sic alienaris? an nescis, o carissima, quod sic adamaris? si tu esse Helena, vellem esse Paris! Tamen potest fieri noster amor talis." 144

144 Poem 142.
(1. The year enters the time of flowering as the budding flowers spring up; soon everyone's ways are changing. This spring, which ends the cold renews the heat. We perceive this through much heat.

2. The meadows are filled with flowers, in which we play! Both maidens and clerics come out, through the love of Venus we play, to the other maidens we answer with this!

3. "Oh beloved mistress, why do you keep yourself away? Do you not know, oh most dear, how you are desired? If you were to be Helen, I would want to be Paris! Even this, to make our love possible!"

1. Omnia sol temperat
    purus et subtilis,
    novo mundo reserat
    faciem Aprilis;
    ad amorem properat
    animus herilis,
    et iocundis imperat
    deus puerilis.

2. Rerum tanta novitas
    in sollemni vere
    et veris auctoritas
    iubet nos gaudere.
    vices prebet solitas;
    et in tuo vere
    fides est et probitas
    tuum retinere.

3. Ama fideliter!
    fidem meam nota:
    de corde totaliter
    et ex mente tota
    sum presentaaliter
    absens in remota,
    quisquis amat aliter
    volvitur in rota. 145

145 Poem 136.
(1. The pure and subtle sun warms everything, to the new world it opens up the face of April, the spirit is quickened toward love by the hand of Cupid, and frivolity is ordered by the boy god.

2. Such newness of things in the festive spring and the power of spring orders us to be joyful, it shows the customary paths to us, and truly the faith and goodness in you do restrain you.

3. Love me truly, see my faithfulness, from whole heart and mind, I am more present when absent in the distance. Whoever loves like this is spun on a wheel.)

1. Iam iam virent prata, iam iam virgines iocundantur, terre ridet facies,
estas nunc apparuit,
ornatusque florum lete claruit.

2. Nemus revirescit, frondent frutices,
hiems seva casset; leti, iuvenes,
congaudete floribus!
amor allicit vos iam virginibus.

3. Ergo militemus simul Veneri
tristria vitemus nosque teneri!
visus et colloquia, spes amorque trahant nos ad gaudia! 146

(1. Now the meadows are smiling, now the maidens are joyful, the face of the earth is smiling, summer is now appearing, glorious bedecked with flowers.

2. The woods become green again, the bushes put forth leaves, severe winter ceases: happy youths, make merry with flowers, love leads you to the maidens.

3. Therefore, let us be soldiers for Venus, we who yield banish sorrows; appearances and discourses, hope and love lead us to pleasures.)

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146 Poem 144.
In each of these poems the subject of the first stanza can be interpreted as *suggestion* in the form of spring, which changes behavior, quickens the spirit toward love, and brings back desire. The second stanzas are about *delectation*, referring to love and merriment. In the final stanza of the first poem the lover says that he would be Paris if his beloved were Helen. Paris and Helen, we know, were probably the most obvious symbol in the Middle Ages for self-indulgent lovers who bring disaster upon themselves and everyone around them. The third stanza of the next poem ends by admitting that whoever loves in that way is bound to the Wheel of Fortune. Stanza three of the third poem bids us be crusaders for Venus, not the Church, and to let worldly appearances and pleasant discourses lead us to sinful pleasures. Clearly the third stanzas could be thought of as step three in the archetypal sin: *consent* to the abandonment of reason and God.

The landscape in the *Carmina Burana* seems to represent earthly paradise. It is the Garden of Eden, but we are seeing it after the Fall. Therefore, it is symbolic of the Garden of Temptation, not intrinsically evil, but full of suggestion to our corrupted senses, liable to encourage sin. The association with the Garden of Eden is
further reinforced by the second stanza of the spring poem that immediately follows the landscape:

2. Omnium principium
dies est vernalis,
vere mundus celebrat
diem sui natalis.\textsuperscript{147}

(2. Spring is the day of the beginning of all things, in the spring the earth celebrates the day of its birth.)

Spring is the yearly recurrence of the Creation, making the world a Garden of Eden again. There was an exegetical tradition, beginning with Ambrose, that marked spring as the season in which Creation took place.\textsuperscript{148}

Apart from the literary evidence that the locus amoenus was thought of as the Garden of Eden in the Middle Ages, there are art historical reasons for concluding that the landscape in the Carmina Burana was a representation of terrestrial paradise. Scenes of the Creation and earthly paradise were almost the only instances in medieval painting where nature was actually portrayed as an important element in the composition.\textsuperscript{149} It was not

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext[147]{Poem 161.}
\footnotetext[149]{The earliest examples of the traditional iconography for the representation of the days of Creation can be seen in the copy of the largely-destroyed Cotton Bible and the mosaics of San Marco. See Otto Demus, Byzantine Art and the West (New York: New York University Press, 1970), pp. 20-21.}
\end{footnotes}
merely a decorative background but played an important part in telling the story, significant in itself like the *Carmina Burana* landscape. In these paradise landscapes, nature is typically highly stylized and removed from mundane reality.

There are a number of twelfth century illuminations that represent the seven days of Creation in seven circles.\(^{150}\) These scenes of the Creation are found in a variety of combinations, but in quite a few the creation of plants is by itself in one circle. These circles tend to look like miniature *loci amoeni* with fantasy trees like those in the *Carmina Burana*. The same stylized natural setting is frequently found in the illustrations of the events surrounding the Fall in the Garden of Eden. No representation of the story of Adam and Eve would have been complete in the Middle Ages without the depiction of the lush vegetation in the Garden. Occasionally the Tree of Life in either the Garden of Eden or celestial paradise was represented with heads growing from its branches (fig. 23).\(^{151}\) This perhaps suggests that the strangely composite tree with the head in it in the lower register of the


Carmina Burana landscape is a Tree of Life and that the landscape as a whole is Eden.

Miniature landscapes outside of Genesis illustrations are infrequent, but one can be found in the twelfth century Adamont Bible illustrating Deuteronomy IX and X (fig. 24). There are two miniatures of Moses on the mount next to each other which correspond to the condensed version of the story from Exodus as it is retold in Deuteronomy. The first miniature shows Moses receiving the Law from God for the first time. The second miniature shows his second trip to the mountain to receive another tablet of the Law, since he had destroyed the first in his anger. The compositions of the two miniatures are almost identical. The only major difference between the two scenes is in the bottom section. In the first miniature there is a strange, fantasy landscape with a wolf and a bear,¹⁵² and in the second a group of Israelites. These two scenes were apparently meant to illustrate what was happening below the mount while Moses was receiving the Law. The second seems to depict the repentance of the Israelites, and the first to represent the sinfulness

¹⁵² The bear was associated with human sexuality in the Middle Ages. See Janson, Apes and Ape Lore, pp. 262-266, and White, The Bestiary, p. 46. Wolves were also a symbol of suggestive evil: "For what can we mean by the Wolf except the Devil." (White, p. 60.)
of the Israelites while Moses was on the mount the first time. It is a paradisical scene that must have been read as a symbol for temptation leading to shame.

Paradise on earth was an inferior copy of paradise in heaven. Earthly paradise was made corrupt by the bad will of man but celestial paradise remained intact. Nature, like love, was not itself intrinsically evil but was misused by man. The landscape in the Carmina Burana represents this essentially pure terrestrial paradise. The evil connotations to be drawn from it were attributable to man, not to nature. By itself it was good, or at least neutral. We must also examine this interpretation of nature in order to realize the full implications of the landscape.

Nature in the Middle Ages could be interpreted as a positively good force, showing man the benevolent hand of God. We have seen how trees and birds were allegorized as symbols of the Church and of souls in heaven, as the eight Beatitudes, and the Tree of Jesse. There was a second garden in the Romance of the Rose, the garden of the Good Shepherd. This garden looked like the garden of Sir Mirth, but was its antithesis. Saint Francis loved all of nature because it was made by God. He even instructed Brother Gardener to make a place of "fair pleas- aunce" somewhere in the garden with sweet-smelling herbs
and flowers so that "in their time they might call them that looked upon these herbs and flowers to the praise of God. For every creature cries aloud, 'God made me for thee, O man!'"\(^{153}\)

The garden most frequently written about in the Middle Ages was probably that of the Song of Songs. In his commentary on this book Richard of St. Victor offered the traditional interpretation of the garden:

\[
\text{Hortus est anima in qua excoluntur virtutum plantaria, et spiritualium studiorum germina. Hic hortus tunc foditur, dum in ea vitia radicitus ex-tirpantur, et mores convertuntur.}\(^{154}\)
\]
(The garden is the soul in which are cultivated the sprouts of virtues and the buds of spiritual endeavors. This garden then is cultivated when in it sins are torn out by the roots, and death routed.)

Like nature, love was essentially good, though usually corrupted by man's bad will. In poem 121 a in the Carmina Burana it is exactly this idea that seems to be expressed:

\[
\text{Non est crimen amor, quia, si scelus essent amare, Nollet amore Deus etiam divina ligare.}
\]
(It is not a crime to love, because if it were evil to love, God would not have used it to bind even the divine.)


Occasionally love actually served to elevate man's mind toward God. Among the genre of medieval writing that has been named "courtly love literature," there are quite a few works that describe this ennobling kind of love. Much has been written about its obvious connection with mystical writings on divine love and songs to the Virgin. It seems that at some point in the history of medieval literature the two types of love poems, sacred and profane, were no longer completely distinct from one another. In many of the "ennobling love" poems it is difficult to determine whether it is an earthly lover or the divine Virgin who is being beseeched. In some cases the two seem to share the same role, with ambiguity the ultimate result.

This sort of ambiguity was quite common in medieval literature. The use of profane things to suggest sacred things was one of the first principles of medieval aesthetics. Everything in the universe was part of the same hierarchy, and so, as Professor Robertson has shown, there were really not any dramatic "lateral" oppositions

155 See, for example, C. S. Lewis, The Allegory of Love (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958); Denis de Rougemont, Love in the Western World (Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett Publ., 1956); Etienne Gilson, The Mystical Theology of Saint Bernard, trans. A. H. C. Downes (London, 1940), pp. 170-85; and Robertson, Preface to Chaucer, Chapter V.
between things, but merely differing degrees of goodness or lack of goodness. Perception of material objects by the senses could eventually lead the mind to an understanding of higher, purely intelligible things: "... and the way of the understanding is superior to, but not opposite to, the way of the senses." Therefore, verses which seem to describe a plainly secular love might actually be employed by the poet as part of an exposition of sacred love.

A considerable precedent for the interpretation of earthly love as divine love had been set by the Song of Songs and its numerous commentaries in the Middle Ages. Following the example of the Songs, as it was interpreted in exegetical writings, medieval poets were free to use elaborate descriptions of secular love and divine love in the same poems. This did not amount to the blasphemy that modern readers sometimes think they find in these poems. D. W. Robertson points out that representations of lovers interested in purely tangible things are sometimes found in the margins of devotional texts.

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156 Robertson, Preface to Chaucer, p. 7.


158 Robertson, Preface to Chaucer, p. 29.
According to Charles Dahlberg's interpretation of the *Romance of the Rose*, even when the poem is describing perfectly cupidinous love there are veiled allusions to divine love. In the *exemplum* against carnal love, there are frequent references made to divine love. Sometimes these take the form of ambiguous images that could be interpreted on more than one symbolic level, and sometimes the form of direct contrasts between right and wrong actions. Medieval allegory, whether it was used as contrast for the sake of moralization, or for the elaboration of descriptions of sacred love, often combined different realms of experience. Although this has led to confusion among modern readers, it was considered a great advantage by medieval writers precisely because it could serve to join different levels of experience.  

This kind of allegory can be seen in the *Carmina Burana*. Some of the poems combine the glorification of earthly love with allusions to sacred love and exaltation of the Virgin. In these poems the object of devotion seems to alternate between the Virgin and a girl. Perhaps it can be said that the miniature of the Presentation of the Rose (fig. 4) serves to illustrate these poems as a visual portrayal of the more "courtly," or sacred, aspect of human love.

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159 See Dahlberg, "Love and the *Roman de la Rose*."
This miniature is at the end of the section of love poems and is most closely associated with poem 186, the last poem in the love section. The text of poem 186 makes the reason for its association with the miniature clear:

1. Suscipe, flos, florem, quia flos designat amorem!
   Illo de flore nimio sum captus amore;
   Hunc florem, Flora dulcissima, semper odora!
   Nam velut aurora fiet tua forma decora.
   Florem, Flora, vide! quem dum videas, michi ride!
   Flori fare bene! tua vox cantus philomene.
   Oscula des flor! rubeo flos convenit ori.

2. Flos in pictura non est flos, immo figura;
   Qui pingit florem, non pingit floris odorum.

(1. Take the flower, Flora, because this flower stands for love! By the flower know that I am the captive of love; (Smell) this flower, sweetest Flora, always fragrant! For like the dawn it will be as beautiful as you. Look at the flower, Flora! When you see it, smile on me! Sing beautifully, to the flower! Your voice is like the song of the nightingale. Kiss the flower! I blush, the flower comes to the mouth.

2. A picture of a flower is not a flower, merely an image. Who paints the flower does not paint the odor of the flower.)

Flowers, especially the rose, were a common symbol for the Virgin in medieval literature after the twelfth century. They were also used in a great many secular poems which have ambiguous meanings. Barbara Seward considered the Divina Comedia the work in which the secular and sacred meanings of the rose were joined:

The love of woman, that had begun as a secular rival to the love of God, has become the most immediate means for the transmission of that love to man. The
rose of carmal and adulterous courtly love has finally been identified with the mystic symbol of the soul's marriage to its God and with the flower of the saints, the Virgin, Paradise, and Christ.  160

However, it can probably be shown that this simultaneously secular and sacred rose was used in literature from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and in Carmina Burana poems such as 186.

The second stanza of poem 186 may seem like an unnecessary appendage at the end of an otherwise clearly secular love poem. Why does the poet suddenly start to write about real flowers and images of flowers? It has no continuity with the rest of the poem. But if this appendage is read as a sort of Platonic commentary on the Flower in the preceding stanza, it may be understood as a comparison between the Flower in heaven, the Virgin, as the universal Flower, and the earthly flower as the created, inferior image of the Virgin. Although God "painted," or made images of the Flower, none possess her odor of sanctity. After reading this stanza it becomes rather unclear whether the poet is writing about an earthly Floria and comparing her to the Virgin, or has actually composed a mystical love song to the Virgin herself. In either case, it seems certain that this love is an upward-leading

love, the ennobling love that could help an earthly lover understand divine love.

The words *flos florem* in the first line of this poem may be an allusion to the almost formulaic locution *flos florum*. Peter Dronke defines this often used expression in its "more than casual use:"

At its deepest it carries the intimation that the beloved is at the same time earthly and heavenly, that she can unite in herself all the diverse beauty to be found in the world, that (at least for her lover) she is the source of all beauty, because he sees it all through her. ¹⁶¹

Dronke believes that *Carmina Burana* 77 is an example of a poem in which *flos florum* is used with "great fullness of meaning." ¹⁶²

Poem 77 tells of a young man's finding his beloved picking flowers in a meadow. She is guarded by an old duenna, but at his wish the duenna magically disappears. He offers his love to the girl and she eventually accepts him. There is obviously no spiritual meaning in the plot of the poem, instead it is to be found in its language and its constant liturgical allusions. These, however, Dronke explains,

are not in any way parodistic or blasphemous: they are there not to establish an incongruity but to

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¹⁶² Ibid., p. 118.
overcome one. The poet attempts to convey an earthly experience and a transcendental one simultaneously—not because the one prefigures or symbolizes the other, but because he truly sees the two as one. His love for the girl, the Rose, is his knowledge of heavenly love in this life, his union with her is his experience of Paradise and eternity... divinity is incarnate in the girl.163

This is the same union that Barbara Seward saw in Dante's Beatrice, but occurring at least 150 years sooner.164

Another poem in the Carmina Burana that combines sacred and profane loves is number 107. This poem begins "Dira vi amoris teror/ et venereo axe vehor,/ igne feventi suffocatus./ deme, pia, cruciatus." (By the cruel force of love I am worn away, and on the wheel of desire I ride, by the fire of passion I am suffocated. Help me, pious one, for I am crucified.) The lover tells that he mourns the day when he fell in love because now is life is unending sorrow. The last four stanzas change rather dramatically:

5. Virginale lilium,
tuum praesta subsidium,
missis in exilium
querit a te consilium.

6. Nescit quid agat, moritur,
amore tui vehitur,
telo necatur Veneris
sibi ne subveneris.

163 Ibid., p. 318.
164 Ibid., p. 323, n. 2.
7. Iure Veneris orbata,  
castitas redintegrata,  
vultu decenti perornata,  
veste sophie decorata.  

8. Psallo tibi soli,  
descipere me noli,  
per me precor velis coli,  
lucens ut stella poli.

(5. Virgin lily, I ask for your help, sent into exile  
I ask for help from you.

6. I do not know what to do, I die, for the love I bear you. By the arrow of Venus I will die if you do not come to my assistance.

7. Once despoiled by the rule of Venus, chastity is now restored, countenance noble and highly ornate, dressed in the robe of wisdom.

8. I sing a psalm to you alone, to not despise me, I beg you to allow me to worship you like a shining lodeestar.)

The girl who has caused the poet to be turned on the wheel of desire and to despise his life is also capable of being a lodestar like the Virgin to lead him to salvation. The ways that he describes her, as "virginale lilium," free from the dictates of Venus, robed in wisdom, all these are traditional descriptions of the Virgin. The fact that he uses the word psallo rather than canto may indicate that the poet wishes to suggest the singing of psalms rather than secular songs, that it is the divine Virgin who is being sung to and not an earthly girl.
CHAPTER III

THE DEVIL'S CHAPEL

"Goliardic" life in the tavern is the subject of the last section of poems and the last four miniatures in the Carmina Burana (figs. 5-8). This study will again consider the themes of the lyrics and the way in which the miniatures represent them.

There is a great deal of continuity between this section of poems and the rest of the work. We will find that the same basic moralizing theme, warning against the abandonment of reason, is again expressed in the form of negative exempla.

A typical example of the kind of ironic description of "Goliardic" life found in the Carmina Burana can be seen in stanza 5 of the "Confession of the Archpoet:"

Vis lata gradior more iuventutis,
implico me vitis immemor virtutis,
volutatis avidus magis quam salutis
mortuus in animus curam gero cutis.\textsuperscript{165}

(I walk down the broad path like a youth, I entangle myself in sin and am heedless of virtue, more eager for carnal pleasure than salvation. Dead in my soul, I care for my flesh.)

\textsuperscript{165}Carmina Burana 191.
This "confession," like the colorful descriptions of wanton revelry in the tavern songs, proves to be more like a grave demonstration of the dire results of sin than romantic celebrations of the "Goliardic" life.

In his study of medieval sermons, Professor Owst severely brought to task a critic who claimed that the tavern scene in Langland's *Vision of Piers Plowman* was just a realistic portrait of the baseness and riotousness of a medieval tavern without any special theological significance. Owst remarked that this "facile interpretation" would only suffice for those who had an inadequate knowledge of the homiletic background of the poem.  

Perhaps one could say the same of those critics who so fondly read the tavern songs of the Carmina Burana as "verses glorifying a wandering life or celebrating the joys of drinking, dicing, and drabbing."  

The tavern was commonly known as the "Devil's Chapel" in the Middle Ages. This characterization was eagerly promoted by the Church and frequently used in homiletic literature. In the *Somme le Roi* miracles in

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the church and "miracles" in the "Devil's Chapel" were compared. In the church the blind were made to see, the lame to walk, the mad to be sane, and the deaf and dumb to hear and speak. In the "Devil's Chapel" those who came in with perfect eyesight, hearing, and speech left unable to see, hear, or speak. Those who came in sound of mind and limb left deranged and stumbling.

There were two different though interrelated sins engendered in the "Devil's Chapel," drunkenness and gambling. For the purposes of this study we will discuss the two separately at first, beginning with drunkenness.

Drunkenness was frequently and heartily denounced from the medieval pulpit. It was a sin of intemperance which brought about the loss of reason. There were altogether ten anecdotes against drunkenness in the Speculum Laicorum. Odo of Cheriton also condemned drunkenness.

168 The Somme le Roi is a collection of exempla compiled in the latter part of the thirteenth century. A facsimile of one of the manuscripts of the Somme le Roi has been published: An Illuminated Manuscript of la Somme le Roi (Oxford: Roxburghe Club, 1953).


170 The Speculum Laicorum is a compendium of moralizing stories written in England in the late thirteenth century. It was internationally popular and translated into a number of languages in the Middle Ages.
in his sermons.\textsuperscript{171} Inebriety, the \textit{exempla} warned, impoverished man, made him feeble, and rendered him a fool. It deranged his senses, alienated his mind, and excited him to shameful things.\textsuperscript{172}

Drunkenness was called the "mother of vices" in medieval sermons\textsuperscript{173} because of its tendency to cause other sins. In the \textit{Speculum Laicorum} a tale is told of a priest who was forced to choose between three sins, drunkenness, rape, or murder. He chose drunkenness because it seemed to be the least terrible, but drunkenness caused him to commit both the other sins. In the thirteenth century \textit{Songe d'Enfer} of Raoul de Houdenc the inhabitants of the tavern were identified as the personifications of the vices.\textsuperscript{174} They are called the "devilles portures" by William Langland in \textit{Piers Plowman}.\textsuperscript{175}

The drinking songs in the \textit{Carmina Burana} frequently describe activities that suggest a "Devil's Chapel" setting. There are constant references to Bacchus throughout the last section. In poem 200, for example,

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{171} Oost, p. 427.
\item\textsuperscript{172} Ibid., p. 427.
\item\textsuperscript{173} Ibid., p. 431.
\item\textsuperscript{174} Ibid., p. 440.
\item\textsuperscript{175} Ibid., p. 440.
\end{itemize}
every stanza except the last begins with "Bacchus" and goes on to tell with ironic levity of the sins that Bacchus incites in his followers. Bacchus presides over the activities in the tavern as Christ rules His Church. If one changed the name "Bacchus" to "Devil" this song would make a fine medieval sermon set to verse and music.

The designation of the tavern as the Chapel of the Devil helps to explain the meaning of the drinking miniature in the Carmina Burana (fig. 5). There are four drinkers in the miniature. The two on the left are holding up their wine-cups and eagerly patting their bellies. The background of the left side of the miniature is yellow and on the right side it is pink. This change in color might represent a temporal sequence. The two figures on the right seem to be showing the effects of the wine. The one on the far right is blessing his cup. This gesture was quite likely meant to represent the unholy worship of bacchanalia in the "Devil's Chapel."

The three other miniatures in this section depict scenes of gaming, the second major sin of the "Devil's Chapel" that the poems describe. Games were not considered intrinsically evil in the Middle Ages, although the game of chess was banned in France in 1254 by King
Louis. There is one game poem in the Carmina Burana that is not moralizing at all but is simply a description of the game of chess. This particular poem was very popular and appeared in a number of medieval manuscripts. This sort of game instruction was quite respectable, as were the games themselves, under the proper circumstances. At least one example of an illustrated handbook of instructions for board games is known from the thirteenth century. This is the Chess Book of Alfonso the Wise of Spain.

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176 Titus Burckhardt, Moorish Culture in Spain (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972), p. 119. Not only was chess not considered intrinsically evil, it was often used in spiritual metaphors and allegories of life, war, and all kinds of struggles. In the first half of the thirteenth century Gautier de Coincy wrote an elaborate allegory of the spiritual life in which a game of chess is played between God and the Devil. (Concerning chess allegories, see H. J. R. Murray, A History of Chess (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), pp. 748-49.) Board games originated in India, then passed through Persia to the Arabs, and then into Europe. From its origins in India the boards with squares were interpreted as representing cosmic cycles and the universe. See Burckhardt, pp. 118-119.

177 Poem 209, called the "Elgia de ludo scachorum." Like other chess poems of this genre it is vague regarding the actual method of playing the game. See Murray, p. 496.

178 Murray claims to know of seven other manuscripts in which this poem appears. See Murray, p. 496.

179 There are two illustrations from this manuscript and a brief description of it in Burckhardt, plates 46 and 47, and p. 119.
One of the interesting things about the chess illustration in the *Carmina Burana* is that, according to H. J. R. Murray, it is the most accurate representation of the game of chess known to exist in a medieval manuscript. Unlike other chess games illustrated in the Middle Ages, the *Carmina Burana* miniature shows the correct number of squares, the right color of the men on the right color squares, and the move in progress on the board is identifiable. All this accuracy of detail, which also applies to the other game scenes, suggests that these miniatures were probably copied from an illustrated instructional handbook on games of the same sort as the later Alfonso the Wise manuscript.

If the miniaturist had left the game scenes as simple depictions of men playing chess, backgammon, and dice, they would not have carried any moralizing overtones. But the artist has not left the games without making certain additions. In each of the three he has added figures of drinkers. He seems to have had two standard drinking figures and has used each twice. The two drinkers in the dice miniature (fig. 6) reappear in the chess scene (fig. 8), and the backgammon miniature (fig. 7).

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180 It is the *Queen's Pawn Open*. Murray, p. 472.
Surely this addition of the drinkers was a deliberate attempt to make it quite clear that these were not private, gentlemanly games, but boisterous tavern games at which stakes would certainly have been placed.

Although games were not sinful themselves, they came to have evil connotations in the Middle Ages. As usual, it was man's perversions that made otherwise neutral things evil. The particular perversion in this case was greed, which took the form of gambling. The association of gambling with the Wheel of Fortune is obvious.

Perhaps the earliest reference to the sinfulness of gambling in Christian literature can be found in the Ruodlieb. Ruodlieb was a Christian epic hero in possession of all the requisite virtues for this role. In the course of his epic adventures he was sent as a negotiator of peace by an exemplary king called Rex Maior to the camp of a hostile king called Rex Minor. In the camp of Rex Minor, Ruodlieb was invited to play chess first by the king's highest minister, then by the king himself, and finally by the king's nobles, all of whom he defeated in turn. Ruodlieb, the Christian epic hero, excelled at chess. The most significant aspect of these proceedings

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is probably the hesitancy of Ruodlieb to play for stakes as his opponents insisted. The events were recounted by Ruodlieb to Rex Maior as follows:

I said: 'I was never wont to enrich myself through gaming.' They say: 'While you are among us, live as we do; when you go home you may live there as you wish.' After I had resisted enough, I took what they had offered, Fortune bestowing on me wealth and fame.\(^{182}\)

This is the only instance in the Ruodlieb in which the hero acts against his judgment and commits an act of questionable morality.\(^{183}\)

A number of universities in medieval Europe forbade gambling and games of chance. Sometimes, however, the games were permitted as long as the stakes were limited to food and drink. At Narbonne, for example, one could not play for money but games were allowed "for a pint or a quart of wine or fruit, and without great noise or expenditure of time."\(^{184}\) At Cornaille games were allowed on festival days "for some moderate comestible or potable."\(^{185}\) At Heidelberg clerics were forbidden to play


\(^{183}\) I am grateful to Professor Dennis Kratz for bringing this to my attention.


\(^{185}\) Ibid., p. 671, n. 1.
at public chess tables. In Louvain games were permitted only in private places and with infrequency.

All these rules seem to have been designed less for the purpose of preventing the games themselves than for preventing gambling, rowdy behavior, and in general wasting time in the taverns. Gambling was apparently rampant in the taverns and the poems in the Carmina Burana continually make this point:

1. In taberna quando sumus
   non curamus, quid sit humus,
   sed ad ludum properamus,
   cui semper insudamus.
   Quid agatur nummus est pincerna,
   hoc est apus, ut queratur,
   sed quid loquar, audiatur.

2. Quidam ludunt, quidam bibant,
   quidam indiscreta vivunt,
   sid in ludo qui morantur,
   ex his quidam denudantur;
   quidam ibi vestiuntur,
   quidam saccis unduuntur.
   ibi nummus timet mortem
   sed pro Baccho sortem.

(1. When we are in the tavern, we do not care what the earth might do, but we hasten to the games, over which we

186 Ibid., p. 671.
187 Ibid., p. 671, n. 2.
188 Concerning the lack of gravity concerning death due to drunkenness as a sin in the Middle Ages, see a passage in the Speculum Laicorum: El Especulo de los Legos, ed. Jose M. Mohedano Hernandez (Madrid: Instituto Miguel de Cervantes, 1951), p. 139.
189 Carmina Burana 191.
always sweat; what is done in the tavern, where money is squandered, this is work that one laments. Thus who speaks, is heard.

2. Some people gamble, some drink, some live indiscreetly, but he who lingers at the games will leave this place without his belongings. Some will leave here finely dressed, some will leave in a sack. Here nobody worries about death: at Bacchus' behest they cast the lots.)

The causal relationship between drink and gambling could hardly be more clearly expressed.

Gambling, like most vices, was not only bad in its own right but led to further vices. The most common results of gambling were violence and blasphemy, according to medieval sermons and literature. There are a great many marginal illustrations of gambling in medieval manuscripts. They depict a full array of the sins that gambling was associated with.190 In many of the marginal gambling scenes one player is shown without his clothes. One example of this is seen in the Rutland Psalter.191

190 Lilian Randall, Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966). Lilian Randall has catalogued a large number of chess, backgammon, and dice games from marginal illustrations. She has listed twelve depictions in Books of Hours, eight in Psalters, two in manuscripts that were both Books of Hours and Psalters, and two in Breviaries. She has also catalogued a number of game scenes in the margins of secular manuscripts, such as the Romance of the Rose, the Arthurian legends, and the Romance of Alexander. Gamblers in these scenes are portrayed as amorous lovers, apes and violent men.

Here the player who has lost his clothes is making an obscene gesture at the man who has beaten him. In the margin of the following page the two men are seen fighting with knives. The game they had been playing was chess. Even this game was characterized as leading to violence in the Middle Ages. It was a sport in which the spectators were by no means silent. They became actively involved in the game, bantering and shouting advice. The players themselves were not reserved: "Players had yet to learn to win without excess of exultation, and to lose without loss of temper." 192 H. J. R. Murray believes that the second chess poem in the Carmina Burana gives "a brief but vivid picture of the noise which accompanied a keenly fought game of chess in Southern Germany." 193 Romances of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries included scenes of chess that led to violence and hatred. 194 In the Oger de Danemarche, when the son of Charlemagne lost a chess game he murdered his opponent by striking him over the head with the chessboard.

One of the additions that Heinrich von Veldeke made in his version of the Aeneid is a scene in which

192 Murray, p. 475.
193 Ibid., p. 503.
194 For a summary of these incidents, see Murray, pp. 736-740.
Dido and Aeneas play chess. The game is played just before Dido becomes infected with her ruinous passion.\textsuperscript{195} This leisure activity was often an omen of impending doom for the players. In the \textit{Romance of the Rose} the activities of the ill-fated inhabitants of the Garden of Wealth are described in this way:

\begin{quote}
Within they're entertained with farandole, 
With merry-making and with morris dance, 
With viols, tambours, and the latest songs, \textsuperscript{196}
With games of chess and backgammon and dice.
\end{quote}

Not only do the games show an indulgence in pastimes of questionable morality, they imply the danger of ensuing misfortunes. The hapless participants of the games in the Garden of Wealth were doomed to certain disaster. They would soon go, "wanton as popinjays," to the hostelry of Mad Largesse, where they would be plundered of all their possessions and unceremoniously cast out.

Chess plays the same sinister role in the \textit{Romance of Tristan}. Tristan was kidnapped by pirates when he became so inordinately involved in a game of chess that he failed to notice that the boat he was on had left shore. His kidnappers abandoned him on the shores of Cornwall.

\textsuperscript{195}The chess game was illustrated in the manuscript which, we have suggested, was probably known to the illustrator of the \textit{Carmina Burana}.

\textsuperscript{196}\textit{The Romance of the Rose}, p. 203.
which marks the beginning of the story of his misadventures with the king of Cornwall and his wife, Isult. On the foreign shore Tristan cried out words that he should not have forgotten: "Ah, how well I would have done to refrain from my cursed chess-playing, which I shall loathe eternally!"\textsuperscript{197} Alas, he did not loathe chess eternally. He and Isult accidentally drank the magic love-potion when they became thirsty playing chess, which was the cause of their catastrophic guilty passion.\textsuperscript{198}

Poem 195 in the \textit{Carmina Burana} is probably the most colorful description of the tavern in the whole collection. In it the sins of drunkenness and gambling are intertwined. This poem celebrates the god of the gamblers, Decius. Sometimes Decius seems to be the equivalent of Fortune, serving Bacchus, or the Devil, in the same manner that Fortune served God. At other times Decius seems himself to be a manifestation of the Devil. The whole collection of evils that are brought


\textsuperscript{198}Beroul, \textit{The Romance of Tristan and Isolt}, trans. Norman B. Spector (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1973), p. 27. (This translation is from the French version of the legend.)
about by drinking and gambling are vividly described by this poem.\textsuperscript{199}

The poem begins by asserting that gamblers delight in spending their time drinking in the tavern. Bacchus dissolves their cares and makes them blissful. In the tavern the gambler "drinks with full trust in Decius because he knows that Decius carries Fortune's shield." Next the poet states that gamblers are guilty of fraud. The unfortunate player who loses all his possessions including his clothes and is left naked in the cold will cry:

Your gifts, Decius, are fraudulent and insidious; you make a throng of players' teeth chatter, Fraud and theft are truly the pursuits of the games, because of which I am immersed in ruin. First good luck is willing and ingratiating, and then is adverse to me and holds me totally askance.

The following stanzas explain the connection between gambling, cheating, and violence: "Under anxious fingers lurk fraud and deception, because of which it is said that when games are played there are often arguments and fights." The motif of the player losing his clothes and leaving the tavern in a sack is then repeated, and the poem closes with allusions to the diabolical praise of Bacchus, which reminds the reader that this is the

\textsuperscript{199}Due to the length of the poem, we will print the entire text in Appendix II and merely quote translated lines in the text of the paper.
"Devil's Chapel." God's showering of Divine Grace upon the earth may find a sinister parallel in these lines: "Then trickle into our cups from above, and rain vintage into our mugs." Then the drunken gambler, made unmindful of danger by the gift of Bacchus, rolls the dice.

The most vehement medieval sermon remonstrating against the tavern and gambling could not have painted a more odious picture of the activities of the "Devil's Chapel." In the "Devil's Chapel" drink leads man into sin and encourages him to gamble. Through gambling he becomes involved in still more sinful deeds until he is at last the slave of Bacchus. This is clearly the theme of the last section of the Carmina Burana, and this is the subject of the four miniatures that illustrate it.
CONCLUSION

THE CARMINA BURANA AS A SECULAR WORK

When we say that the twelfth and thirteenth centuries produced secular works we ought to reconsider what "secular" means as it is used in this context. Medieval secular literature and art were not devoid of spiritual content. It seems that it was impossible for the medieval creative process to operate without some religious impulse. The mentality of the age was dominated by the moralizing conviction that worldly things that appealed to human senses were inferior to spiritual things that could not be perceived by the senses. Cupidity was the root of all evil because it cherished transient things and charity was the source of every virtue because it directed the soul toward God. How would this formative notion affect the treatment of secular themes in art?

As D. W. Robertson has explained, there was a certain unity of mind in the Middle Ages that prevented the sacred and profane from being dichotomies. Furthermore, although medieval culture urged above all else the transcendence of the temporal and ephemeral to the eternal and immutable, it acknowledged that Creation could serve a
worthwhile purpose if it were properly used. From Augustine the Middle Ages had learned that there was one justification for interest in mundane affairs: this was to reveal the disguised presence of the divine within the visible universe.

As a result of this medieval concept of the world as ideally leading to a superior reality, when writers and artists worked with non-sacred subjects they consistently used them for the purpose of elucidating sacred truths. Because of this, medieval arts were the mirror of the aspiring consciousness of the age. This was especially the case when the arts were "secular," that is, when their primary subject was not sacred or liturgical but was involved with worldly topics.

The Carmina Burana was part of a developing genre that included such works as the Liber Floridus, the Hortus Deliciarum, and the Speculum of Vincent of Beauvais. In this non-sacred genre a vast accumulation of Christian learning and theory was brought to bear upon the perception of the universe. The influence of the organizing principles of Christianity upon the perception of the world accounts for the moralizing disposition of the medieval encyclopedias. It also accounts for the peculiarly medieval ability to create a morally didactic work like the Carmina Burana from a collection of lyrics with objectively secular themes.
APPENDIX I

The following is a partial listing of appearances of the Wheel of Fortune, primarily through the thirteenth century, in manuscripts, frescoes, and rose windows. I wish to thank the staff of the Princeton Index of Christian Art for allowing me to use their facilities in compiling a large portion of this list.

Manuscripts


4) Heiligenkreuz: Lib., Stiftsbibliothek, 130, fol. 1v, late XIII c. From a ms. of the Consolation of Philosophy. No illustration known (ref. according to the Princeton Index).


14) Herrade of Landsberg, Hortus Deliciarum, XII c, Illustrated: Male, Emile, Gothic Image (1958), fig. 48.


Frescos


Rose Windows


22) Cathedral of Trente, XIII c. Illustrated: Ibid., fig. 217.


24) Cathedral of Basle, XIII c. No illustration known, ref. according to Ibid., p. 95.
APPENDIX II

Carmina Burana, 195

1a. Si quis Deciorum dives officio
gaudes in vagorum esse consortio,
vina numquam spernas,
diligas tabernas.

1b. Bacchi, qui est spiritus, infusio
gentes allicit bibendi studio;
curamrumque tedium
solvit et dat gaudium.

1c. Terminum bullum teneat nostra contio,
bibat funditus confisa Decio.
nam ferre scimus eum
Fortune clipeum.

1d. Circa frequens studium sis sedula,
apta digitos, gens eris emula,
ad fraudem Decii
sub spe stipendii.

2a. Qui perdit pallium
scit esse Decium
Fortune nuntium
sibi non prospere,
dum ludit temere.
gratis volens bibere.

2b. Lusorum studia
sunt fraudis conscia;
perdentis tedia:
sunt illi gaudium,
qui tenet pallium
per fraudis vitium.

3. Ne miretur homo, talis
quem tus es nudavit;
nam sors item cogit talis
dare penas factis malis
Iovemque beatvit.

4a. Ut plus ludat,
quem sors nudat,
luci spes hortatur;
sed dum testes
trahunt vestes
non auxiliatur.

4b. In taberna
fraus eterna
semper est in ludo.
hanc qui amat,
sepe clamat
sedens dorso nudo;
5. "Ve tuis donis, Decie, 
tibi fraus et insidie; 
turbam facis lugentium, 
paris stridorem dentium.

6a. Lusorum enim studia 
sunt fraudes et rapina, 
quae miche supplicia 
merso dant in ruina.

6b. Fortune bona primitus 
voluntas est inversa, 
in meque michi penitus 
novercatur aversa.

6c. In vase parapsidis 
stat fronte capillata, 
quae nunc aures aspidis 
habet, retro calvata."

7. "Schuch!" clamat nudus in frigore, 
cui gelu riget in pectore, 
quem tremor angit in corpore: 
—ut sedeat estatis tempore sub arbore!

8a. Per decium 
supplicium 
suis datur cultoribus, 
quos seviens 
urget hiems 
semper suis temporibus.

8b. Sub digito 
sollicito 
latet fraus et decepto; 
hinc oritur, 
dum luditur, 
sepe litis dissentio.

9a. Deceptoris est mos 
velocis, ut tardos 
et graves fraudet sors; 
sent secum Decii, 
sed furti conscii, 
dum ludunt, socii.

9b. Sub quorum studio 
fraus et decepto 
regnant cum Decip; 
non equis legibus 
damna notavimus, 
sed nexit retibus.

10. Corde si quis tam devoto 
ludum imitatur, 
huius rei testis Otto, 
colum cuis regit Clotho, 
quod sepe nudatur.
11a. Causi ludi
sepe nudi
sunt mei consortes;
dum sic prestem,
super vestem
meam mittunt sortes.

11b. Heu, pro ludo
sepe nudo
dat vestire saccus!
sed tum penas,
mortis venas
dat nescire Bacchus.

12. Tunc salutant peccarium
et laudant tabernarium,
excluditur denarius,
profertur sermo varius;

13a. "Deu sal, misir besucher de vin!"
Tunc eum osculamur —
Wir enachten niht uf den Rin,
sed Baccho famulamur.

13b. Tunc rorant scyphi desuper
et cannis pluit mustum,
et qui potaverit nuper,
bibat plus quam. sit iustum.

13c. Tunc postulantur tessere,
propoculis iactatur,
nec de furore Boree
quis quam premeditaure.

(1a. When one of the Decians is rich by his deeds he is happy to be in the society of the vagrants, he never spurns wine, he delights in the taverns.

1b. Bacchus who is a spirit, persuades crowds of people to an inclination for drinking, He dissolves cares and misery and gives them joy.

1c. There is no end to our gathering, one drinks with full trust in Decius, for we know he carries Fortune's sheild.

1d. Perhaps through constant zealous study, ready clan of fingers, you will learn to emulate the fraud of Decius in hope of winning.

2a. He who loses his cloak knows that Decius is the herald of bad luck, while he rashly plays and wants to drink freely.)
2b. Those who follow the pursuits of the games are guilty of fraud; the misery of someone else's losses is joy to him who wins the cloak through the sin of fraud.

3. Let not the man who loses his clothes by gambling be wondered at, for in the same way he will compel the lots to give provisions for the evil deed, and then he will praise Jove.

4a. He plays more who the lots have left bare in hopes of gaining wealth. But when the spectators take away his clothes, he is not helped.

4b. In the tavern eternal Fraid is always at the games, whoever loves the games will cry, sitting almost nude:

5. "Your gifts, Decius, are fraudulent and insidious; you make a throng of players' teeth chatter.

6a. Fraud and theft are truly the pursuits of the games, because of which I am immersed in ruin.

6b. First good luck willing is enragating, and then she is adverse to me and totally askance.

6c. In the hollow of this dice-cup she stands with her hair toward the front, but now she is quite bald and has asps for ears."

7. Aachoo! cries the naked one in the cold whose chest is rigid with ice. He is tormented by shaking in his naked body, while wishing, as he sits, for summertime under a tree.

8a. Decius gives suffering to his worshippers, who by severe winter are oppressed.

8b. Under anxious fingers fraud and deception lurk, from which it is said that when games are played, often there are arguments and fights.

9a. Cheating is a practice, dice cheats the fast and the slow and the serious; let them be with Decians, but secret accomplices be while playing as partners.

9b. By the underhanded endeavors of fraud and deception they rule with Decius not by just laws, their souls are damned, but by contrived traps.

10. If one's heart is thus accursed that he follows this play, Otto is witness of this thing, may Clotho rule his neck, that he will often be left naked.

11a. Alas, for the sake of games often naked one must make a sack for his dress, but when the anxiety of death runs through the veins, Bacchus gives oblivion.
12. Therefore they hail sinfullness, and they praise the tavern, separated from their money they are regaled with fickle words:
13a. "Deu sal, misir besucher de vin!" And accordingly we kiss him. "Wir enachten niht uf den Rin, sed Baccho famulamur."
13b. Then trickle into our cups from above, and rain vintage into our mugs, and who will soon drink, will drink more than is wise.
13c. Then he demands the dice, from a distance he throws them, not considering the fury of the winter.
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Figure 13
Nature largoris opus inominalas

Figure 15