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FROM CHARLEMAGNE TO MAXIMILIAN I.

The Ohio State University, Ph.D., 1972
Language and Literature, general

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A SURVEY OF GERMAN MEDIEVAL LITERARY PATRONAGE
FROM CHARLEMAGNE TO MAXIMILIAN I

DISSERTATION
Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of the Ohio State University

By
William Cecil McDonald, B.E., M.A.

* * * * *
The Ohio State University
1972

Approved by

[Signature]
Adviser
Department of German
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The immense project of cataloguing and evaluating the achievements of German medieval literary patrons was born of naiveté and carried through by sheer stubbornness. To avail myself of that immortal "topos," it is obvious that this survey could not have been completed without the aid of others.

Professor Wolfgang Fleischhauer, "vir clemens et misericors," deserves much credit for this study. He has a fine sense of form and proportion, is a marvellous editor and a man with the facility for asking the right penetrating question at the proper time. But these pale phrases do not reveal the heart of the man. Professor Fleischhauer is that rarest of teachers who puts into practice the time-worn maxim memorized so diligently in Colleges of Education throughout the land: he expects and demands that his pupils work to their potential. And in doing this, Professor Fleischhauer, has taken many semiprecious stones and polished them until something more valuable emerged.

My deepest gratitude is likewise extended to Professor Ulrich Goebel, my "amicus certus," who was active in every phrase of the preparation of this study. Only he knows what he has contributed to it. In the words of Cicero: "Est enim amicitia nihil aliud nisi omnium divinarum humanarumque rerum cum benevolentia et caritate consensio: qua quidem haud scio an, excepta sapientia, quidquam melius sit homini a diis immortalibus datum."
Special thanks also go to my parents, Dorothy and Cecil McDonald, my grandmother, Mrs. W. A. Lorway, my brother, Bob, and my entire family. Also, the Inter-Library Loan Department at The Ohio State University, especially Mrs. Goldslager, performed above and beyond the call of duty and made much of this research possible. Finally, I am indebted to my wife, Eva, whom I love dearly.
VITA

January 26, 1941 ............ Born - Mt. Clemens, Michigan

1962 ........................ B.E., Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan

1963 ........................ M.A., Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan

1963-1964 .................. Instructor, Department of German, Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan

1964-1965 .................. Recipient of Dankstipendium for study in Munich

1965-1968 .................. Teaching Associate, Department of German, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

1968-1971 .................. Instructor, Department of German, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

1972 ........................ Instructor, Department of Foreign Languages, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg, Virginia

FIELDS OF STUDY:

Major Field: Medieval German Literature

Studies in Philology. Professor Wolfgang Fleischhauer and Professor Ulrich Groenke

Studies in Medieval Literature. Professor Hugo Bekker
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<td>AnzfdA</td>
<td>Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum und Literatur</td>
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<td>DA</td>
<td>Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters</td>
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<td>Dtschunt</td>
<td>Der Deutschunterricht. Zeitschrift für Erziehung- und Bildungsaufgaben des Deutschunterrichts</td>
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<td>DVjs</td>
<td>Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte</td>
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<td>Gustav Ehrismann, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters</td>
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<td>EtudGerm</td>
<td>Etudes germaniques</td>
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<td>Euph</td>
<td>Euphorion. Zeitschrift für Literaturgeschichte</td>
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<td>Fs.</td>
<td>Festschrift</td>
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<td>ForschFortschr</td>
<td>Forschungen und Fortschritte</td>
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<td>GddV</td>
<td>Geschichtsschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit</td>
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<td>GermRev</td>
<td>The Germanic Review</td>
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<td>GGN</td>
<td>Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen</td>
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<td>GRM</td>
<td>Germanisch-Romanische Monatschrift</td>
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<td>Historische Vierteljahresschrift</td>
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<td>Jb.</td>
<td>Jahrbuch</td>
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<td>JEGPh</td>
<td>Journal of English and Germanic Philology</td>
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<td>LeuvBijdr</td>
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<td>MGH:DC</td>
<td>Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Deutsche Chroniken</td>
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<td>MGH:DM</td>
<td>Deutsches Mittelalter, Kritische Studientexte</td>
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<td>MGH:Epp</td>
<td>Epistolae in Quart</td>
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<td>MGH:LdL</td>
<td>Libelli de lite imperatorem et pontificum saeculi XI. et XII.</td>
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<td>MGH:SS rer Germ NS</td>
<td>Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, Nova Series</td>
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<td>Des Minnesangs Frühling, 33rd ed.</td>
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<td>Migne</td>
<td>Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina. Ed. J. P. Migne</td>
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<td>Mitt.</td>
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<td>MLN</td>
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<td>NA</td>
<td>Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde</td>
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<td>NddJb</td>
<td>Jahrbuch des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung</td>
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<td>NeuphilMitt</td>
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<td>NJbbAGLP</td>
<td>Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, Geschichte und deutsche Literatur und für Pädagogik</td>
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<td>PBB</td>
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<td>Studi Medievali</td>
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<td>Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</td>
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<td>SBAkWien</td>
<td>Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien</td>
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<td>Vjs.</td>
<td>Vierteljahresschrift</td>
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<td>VL</td>
<td>Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon</td>
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<tr>
<td>WB</td>
<td>Weimarer Beiträge. Studien und Mitteilungen zur Theorie und Geschichte der deutschen Literatur</td>
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<tr>
<td>WW</td>
<td>Wirkendes Wort. Deutsches Sprachschaffen in Lehre und Leben</td>
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<td>ZfdA</td>
<td>Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur</td>
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ZfdB
Zeitschrift für deutsche Bildung

ZfdPh
Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie

ZfromPh
Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie

Zs.
Zeitschrift
The study of patronage is firmly rooted in the 19th century when scholars began to realize that sponsorship was one of those extra-literary phenomena whose study could aid in more fully understanding the arts. Jacob Burckhardt, the eminent Swiss historian, gives voice to this insight when he calls for a systematic history of art which should include a consideration of patronage:

Eine systematische Kunstgeschichte (sollte) dafür sorgen, die Wurzeln der Aufträge freizulegen, nicht nur für den einzelnen Fall, sondern gattungsmässig, allgemein ... Wann und wo hat sich zuerst ein bestimmter Liebhaber- und Sammlergeschmack gebildet, und was ist die Folge davon für die Kunst gewesen? Und so in der Architektur: man studiere nicht die Psychologie der Stile allein, sondern auch die Psychologie der Bauherren, der Auftraggeber, gleichgültig ob es Einzelpersonen oder städtische Gemeinden gewesen sind.¹

¹Quoted in a speech by Heinrich Wölflin, entitled: "Jacob Burckhardt und die systematische Kunstgeschichte," SBAbtt (1930), p. lxxxviii.
What Burckhardt sought for the study of fine arts in general has been at least partially realized, and one can state without exaggeration that Burckhardt had an influence on the decision to investigate literary patronage.

In the first quarter of this century Holzknecht's general treatment of medieval literary patronage appeared—to be sure, with special emphasis on English conditions. Germanists have urged since 1930

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that a specific study of German medieval literary patronage be made, and have made efforts, if not to fill the gap themselves, to provide guidelines for its writing. For example, in addition to a survey of specific medieval periods, there are articles which examine the relationship of a single poet or court to a patron, and treatments of "schools" of poets. Companion studies have also appeared, such as examinations of the medieval audience, the role of women in the pro-

5In fact, a survey of literary patronage for each of the European nations has yet to be written. A good start has been made towards that goal with the studies on English patronage in the 12th century by Charles Haskins ("Henry II as a Patron of Literature," Essays in Medieval History presented to Thomas F. Tout, ed. A. G. Little and F. M. Powicke, rpt. [New York, 1967], pp. 71-77), and Walther Schirmer and Ulrich Broich (Studien zum literarischen Patronat im England des 12. Jhs. [Köln-Opladen, 1962]). See also Holzknecht, Literary Patronage, pp. 212 ff.


9For instance: Werner Fechter, Das Publikum der mittelhochdeutschen Dichtung, (Frankfurt, 1935), p. 3. Fechter shows his awareness of the close ties between the medieval public and patrons when he claims, "Im Mittelalter ist die Geschichte der Literatur noch zu erheblichem Teil die Geschichte der Wohltätigkeit vermögender Gönner und Auftraggeber."
motion of the arts, and articles on medieval aesthetics. In addition, a number of investigations have evaluated references to various specific patrons in Middle High German epics, and particularly the last decade has witnessed an intensive interest in patronage of literature, art and music. This dissertation, which examines literary patronage of epic and lyric poetry from Charlemagne (died 814) to Maximilian I (died 1519), i.e. from the founding of the Holy Roman Empire until the Reformation, stands in great debt to all of these scholars, and hopes to have answered to some degree their persistent call for a survey of medieval literary patronage.

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11 For example: Bruno Boesch, Die Kunstanschauung in der mittelhochdeutschen Dichtung von der Blütezeit bis zum Meistergesang (Berlin-Leipzig, 1936).

12 Richard Ritter, Die Einleitungen der altdeutschen Epen, diss. (Bonn, 1908); Käthe Iwand, Die Schlüsse der mittelhochdeutschen Epen, (Berlin, 1922).

13 A number of dissertations have recently appeared, which deal directly with the problem of patronage. For example: K. M. Green, Sir Robert Walpole and Literary Patronage (Columbia University, 1964); C. C. Christensen, The Nuernberg City Council as a Patron of the Fine Arts 1500-1550 (The Ohio State University, 1965); W. T. Hagestand, Restoration Patronage (University of Wisconsin, 1966); J. O'Neill, Queen Elizabeth as Patron of the Arts: The Relationship between Royal Patronage, Society and Culture in Renaissance England (University of Virginia, 1966); H. L. O'Leary, A Survey of Literary Patronage in France in the 17th Century (University of Cincinnati, 1966), and R. K. Lancaster, King Henry III and Patronage of Religious Art (Johns Hopkins University, 1967).
So often one is inclined to define "patronage" too narrowly, to equate it with a "specific commission" or "literature written at request," but Holzknecht has shown that this limited definition is inadequate. He reminds us that patronage also includes dedications written at the initiative of the author, where the poet offers his poetry to the prospective patron with hopes that he will be granted favor and largess. And Holzknecht characterizes patronage with the phrase "fostering spirit," which I interpreted to mean that a ruler who creates a political and cultural climate favorable to the arts might well be called a patron.

Those who define patronage too narrowly tend to assume that it implies compensation. To be sure, the patron often provided the necessary literary sources, parchment, scribes, and in some cases even a home, but Holzknecht reminds us that patronage need not

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14 Holzknecht, Literary Patronage, pp.1 ff.

15 Ibid., p. 135, Holzknecht asks, "But what evidences of patronage may be drawn from dedications? It has been indicated that dedications in many cases were the means of expressing respect or esteem and had little connection with the patron, but it is evident also that when the book is addressed to a prince or noble in a position to become a patron of letters or who is addressed as one, patronage undoubtedly exists, and dedications, therefore, in all ages have been generally recognized as an indication of this relationship."

16 Ibid., p. 4.

17 Ibid., p. 12. Holzknecht reminds us, for instance, that Horace received a farm from Maecenas. See pages 119 and 154 ff. of this dissertation.
imply payment for services rendered. And of course, Holzknecht notes, literature written without a commission or at request, with or without remuneration, bears the influence of the patron's tastes and desires.

I have adopted Holzknecht's broad definition of literary patronage for this study, believing that the most open approach will be the most fruitful. Hence, I have included cases which some might consider marginal: requests for copies of writings (for example, Empress Gisela); commands that literature be gathered (for instance, Charlemagne and the "barbara et antiquissima carmina"), an act which is only a short step away from the founding of libraries — in itself a kind

\[\text{\textsuperscript{18}}\text{'Patronage may omit the subsidy and may be simply an encouraging interest in letters extended by a person superior in wealth or position to an author, with or without donatives of money or honors. Hence 'encourage by his patronage' need not always imply financial support and may only be the encouragement of a connoisseur's interest and approval' (p. 4). Of course, the patron might grant the poet in whose work he found favor an office, for example, in the Royal Chapel.}

\[\text{\textsuperscript{19}}\text{Ibid., pp. 237ff. Holzknecht includes among the general effects of patronage on literature: the quantity of production, the development of genres, the choice of subject matter, style, diction, and the fostering of the art of printing. One might add that not enough attention has been paid in the critical literature to the instances when the patron had no interest in literature per se, but hoped to use it as a vehicle to give voice to his political viewpoint or to enhance his prestige. See Edward B. Henning, "Patronage and Style in the Arts: A suggestion concerning their relations," Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, 18 (1959-60), pp. 464-471.}

\[\text{\textsuperscript{20}}\text{See page 74 footnote 26 of this dissertation.}

\[\text{\textsuperscript{21}}\text{Karl Christ in "Das Mittelalter," Geschichte der Bibliotheken, (Leipzig, 1940), III, 140, claims, for instance, that in the case of Charlemagne, the first royal bibliophile in the Middle Ages, his "state library" was the expression of his love for books and his urge to collect them.}
of patronage; and the promotion of a city (for instance, Henry II and Bamberg) when the ruler commissions and gathers literature with the intention of making that place a center for the arts. In addition, one might add that insufficient attention has been paid to intermediaries between patrons and poets. In my opinion, the go-between performs an act akin to patronage, especially if he furnishes sources for poetry, which, for example, Archbishop William of Mainz (died 968) appears to have done for Hrotsvitha.

In addition, I am including court retainers in my discussion of literary patronage. Although Holzknecht concedes that court officials were called upon to write and that this was one of the forms of medieval sponsorship, he is hesitant to consider such cases:

In the Middle Ages we find 'literati' at the courts of nobles serving as tutors, chaplains, clerks, secretaries, and what not, with duties which are often literary, but the relationship is essentially different from patronage. This was, however, one of the forms of medieval Maecenasship... for evidence shows that often a man was retained because he could write, and his other duties, in many cases very light ones, were secondary. We cannot call the relationship patronage, however, when the literary labors are secondary or unrecognized altogether.\(^{22}\)

To be sure, in attempting to draw a distinction between the patronage of authors who already had a position and professional poets who were dependent upon largess for survival, Holzknecht makes a persuasive point. In theory this would be valid and basic to a systematic his-

\(^{22}\) Holzknecht, *Literary Patronage*, pp. 4-5.
tory of medieval patronage. In practice, however, it is impractical because at times it simply is not known what weight a patron placed on the literary labors of a specific poet. It is likewise often impossible to determine whether the author was hired as a writer and subsequently granted a court position, or whether he had initially obtained a position at court and began to write thereafter. Also, even if, as Holzknecht indicates above, his literary labors were secondary, or given little official recognition, it is not clear in my mind why this should rule out a patronage relationship.

As might be expected, it has proved to be a difficult task to arrange my findings. For the sake of convenience and to show - especially in the earlier period - that my primary interest is oft-neglected imperial patronage, I have elected to group my material chronologically under the general heading of the ruling dynasties (Carolingian, Salian, Habsburg, etc.). Of course, the mere treatment of a poem within a period (as is often the case with literature written either in monasteries or at episcopal courts) does not mean that the dynasty was involved in its patronage.

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23 One may receive the impression from several German literary histories that the early period brought forth "Mönchsliteratur" written far-removed from patrons and politics. It will be shown, however, that this was not always the case.

24 For a short survey of ecclesiastical patronage see Lintzel, "Die Mazene," pp. 49 ff. Religious patronage is not treated separately in this study except in rare cases (for example, Gunther of Bamberg, Wolfgar of Erla). First, a good deal of such patronage is difficult to pin down. Secondly, although this survey considers certain religious works (for instance, "vitaet") especially when they served a specific political function and were written with politics in mind, it does not treat those
As noted above, throughout this dissertation the emphasis is on imperial literary patronage. Beginning with the twelfth century the sponsorship of literature is no longer the province of the imperial court nor episcopal courts and monasteries. Now lesser nobles (for instance, dukes and landgraves) encourage literature, and their cultural importance reflects the loss of power and prestige of the imperial court, the increase in the importance of the cities, and the rise of the second and third estates. Our scope must be broadened to include these lesser courts both in order to appreciate the diversification of medieval patronage during the 12th and 13th centuries and because this sponsorship is so vitally important to the Golden Age of German medieval literature.

religious writings - and there are many - which had no other purpose than to instruct men or to call them to duty. Finally, the circumstances of religious literary patronage are so similar to those of secular patronage that a brief note here will suffice. Dedications exist. Also we know of direct orders to the poet from either a cleric of higher status (abbot, bishop), or an equal. For instance, the cleric Wernher, was asked in 1172 by Mangold, also a member of the clergy, to write poems in honor of the Virgin (Dru liet von der maget, ed. J. Feifalik [Wien, 1860]). Mangold provided the necessary materials, encouragement and saw to it that the poet had an atmosphere conducive to creation. There are also instances where clerics promoted literature written by secular authors. For example, about 1220 Reimbote, a sexton in Bamberg and later lay brother in the monastery at St. Georgental, asked the burgher Ebernant von Erfurt to write a "legenda", Heinrich und Kunegunde (ed. Reinhold Bechstein, rpt. [Amsterdam, 1968]). Also J. M. Clark in The Abbey of St. Gall as a Centre of Literature and Art (Cambridge, Eng., 1926), p. 256, reminds us that many of the vassals and dependents of the Abbots of St. Gall cultivated literature, among them Ulrich von Singenberg, Konrad von Landeg. Even if proof is lacking, one might suggest that their ties with the clergy had an effect on their writing.

25 This is my translation of "Blütezeit": namely the period from roughly 1170 to 1230.
In deciding to focus on courts (whether imperial, episcopal, or the courts of lesser nobles) I am aware that certain problems of presentation of material arise. For instance, since Walther von der Vogelweide was granted largess at various courts, the reader must search through sections treating the 12th and 13th centuries in order to locate all of the information in this dissertation regarding Walther's patronage. To help the reader find the various references to Walther and other poets I have compiled an index of all the authors mentioned.

A few points of clarification remain. First, I have, in agreement with a significant number of medievalists, included poets who write in the Latin language. Traditionally, the mere fact that a work in Latin instead of German was sufficient to eliminate it from consideration in many of the German literary histories. As an example of the unnecessary problems which such an arbitrary division causes, one can cite the cases of Thomasin de Circlaria (died before 1238) and


27 In choosing this form of the Italian poet Thomasin's name I am following Friedrich Neumann (review of Heger: Das Lebenszeugnis Walthers von der Vogelweide: Die Reiserechnungen des Passauer Bischofs Wolfger von Erla, AnzfdA, 83 [1972], p. 25). German literary histories traditionally call the poet "Thomasin von Zerclaere."
Gunther von Paeris (died about 1220). Even though he was born in Italy, Thomasin is included in a history of German literature because he wrote his poem *Der Wälische Gast* in the German language and because he had a German patron (Wolfger of Erla).\(^2\) However, Gunther, a German by birth and a tutor at the German Imperial Court under Frederick Barbarossa, is rarely considered in German literary histories because he wrote in Latin, even though he dedicated his epic poem *Ligurinus*\(^2\) to the emperor and his sons. This study will dispense with similar contradictions, and will include all those poets, whatever their tongue, who wrote for German sponsors.

In addition, the term "literary," as it is used in the title and throughout this study, must be clarified.\(^3\) It is my belief that in the medieval period literature should be broadly defined to include various forms of narrative writing such as biography, chronicles, "vitae," political writings and "Fürstenspiegel."\(^4\) This is important because critics too often limit the term literature to those works which only most obviously betray a "poetic" intent, such as the poems of Hartmann

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28 See pp. 179 ff. of this dissertation.

29 See pp. 99 ff. of this dissertation.

30 For a further discussion concerning this point see pages 37 ff. and 82 of this dissertation.

31 For a treatment of the various "Fürstenspiegel" see Wilhelm Berge, *Die Fürstenspiegel des hohen und späten Mittelalters*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart, 1952).
von Aue or Wolfram von Eschenbach. Our definition allows for an apprecia-
tion of medieval aesthetics, and makes clear that patrons did not only sponsor certain "obviously literary forms" such as courtly epics and lyric poetry.

Third, I am aware that some might take exception to the scarcity of new material presented here. Various arguments cited have been known to generations of Germanists. To this criticism I would answer that my goal is to present a survey of medieval literary patronage and that such a project is essentially one of gathering and evaluating scholarly opinion. Although I have presented some new ideas, my main goal is to summarize and to order the vast amount of material concerning medieval literary patronage.

Finally, I wish to borrow for this dissertation the eloquent apology which F. J. E. Raby wrote for the first edition of his valuable study: "I am conscious that my treatment of a very wide subject is far from adequate, but I hope that it may be of some use ... Many problems remain unsolved, and it is not the least among the services of a general literary history that it is able, if only from its very deficiencies, to suggest new lines of research."

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32For example, Hans Rupprich (Das ausgehende Mittelalter, Humanismus und Renaissance: 1370-1520 [München, 1970], pp. 138 ff.) has recently made it clear that the medieval author did not perceive the cleft existent between "Dichtung" und "Geschichtsschreibung" which is so obvious today.

CHAPTER I

The Carolingians

Recently a pithy statement put imperial literary patronage into clear focus: "Kulturpolitik war Mūzenatentum." Each dynasty was faced with socio-political crises which it resolved or attempted to resolve not only by employing conventional political solutions such as wars and treaties, but also by encouraging literature. Whether it was written in the Royal Chancellery or at court, whether it was solicited or written at the author's initiative, literature became an instrument of policy, a helpmate in solving problems. This is not to claim that all imperial patronage was politically motivated nor to state that all royal sponsors viewed literature as a means to a political end. But it cannot be denied that imperial endowment of "belles lettres" is the most unclear area of their patronage, and this suggests that it was a sector of low priority.

The Carolingian emperors offer a good illustration of imperial encouragement of tendentious literature. Confronted by specific political situations, the rulers employed literature to support their position. Among the problems which they encountered were the powerful decentralizing force of the rebellious aristocracy, the union and

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later division of the "Reich," and the need for a "Bildungspolitik" to proselytize and instruct all subjects of the realm in religious matters.

CHARLEMAGNE (800–814)

Of great importance during the latter part of the 8th century was the physical unification of the "Reich." This political unification was enhanced by attempts to forge a spiritual and cultural unity. The man for these tasks was Charlemagne, who not only fused antagonistic elements into a "nation," but also carried out a program of proselytization and instruction in the vernacular. The role of Charlemagne as a sponsor can only be understood within the context of his "Bildungspolitik" and his literary patronage cannot be separated from his programs which were carried out by men such as Alcuin and Theodulf. Hauser reminds us that the socio-political situation had a great influence on his literary patronage and the character of his court. Since royal authority was so weak and challenged by the aristocracy, Charlemagne had "to appear in public as the supreme head of the new spiritual-secular state and to make his court the main center of fashion and culture in the

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2 The dates which follow the names of emperors indicate the years of their imperial rule. Occasionally, as in the case of Charlemagne, reference is made to events before their tenure as emperor.

3 In this dissertation the names of the literary patrons are Anglicized, but the names of the poets appear in German.

4 See Josef Fleckenstein, Die Bildungsreform Karls des Grossen als Verwirklichung der norma rectitudinis (Bigge-Ruhr, 1953). This program was proclaimed by Charlemagne in the Admonitio generalis (789), where he urged the clergy to make greater use of the vernacular. Certain tenets of his program were restated by Charlemagne at the Synod of Tours (813).

5 See DeBoor, Die Deutsche Literatur, p. 4.
the Empire." According to the broad definition of patronage which we set down in the introduction Charlemagne was a patron even if we could not indisputably link him to a single piece of literature, since he helped determine the political and cultural climate which allowed the arts to flourish. He so dominated his era that it was named after him. But we need not speak in abstractions: Charlemagne was the recipient of Latin dedications, poems and epics; he had the instruments of Christian faith such as the Lord's Prayer rendered into the vernacular; and he founded a library for which he had literature collected and recorded, such as the "barbara et antiquissima carmina."^6


Among those who wrote dedications and epigraphs to the emperor were Paulus Diaconus and Dungal. Poems were composed for him by Alcuin, Petrus of Pisa and Theodulf, and the epic Carolus Magnus et Leo papa was intended for Charlemagne. In addition, the emperor himself may have written Latin poems. See Josef Szövérffy, Weltliche Dichtungen des lateinischen Mittelalters: Ein Handbuch: Von den Anfängen bis zum Ende der Karolingerzeit (Berlin, 1970), I, 408ff., and Wolframs von den Steinen, "Karl und die Dichter," Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben, vol. II, ed. Bernard Bischoff (Düsseldorf, 1965), pp. 63-95.

^7 Karl Holzknecht, Literary Patronage, p. 4, speaks of this unconventional type of sponsor as a "fostering spirit."

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^10 The phrase "...barbara et antiquissima carmina," is found in
In reviewing the writings which Charlemagne promoted, one is struck by their utilitarian character. Even the Latin literature produced by his court circle is tendentious; these works are highly political because they extol the monarch and his dynasty and thereby affirm his right to rule. And recently Meissburger has shown that Charlemagne's request for "camina" was no mere connoisseur's interest in songs nor was it an archival gesture, but had another "raison d' être."

Before Meissburger, it was commonly thought that Charlemagne had songs gathered and recorded for the purpose of preserving them for future generations, since these songs were threatened with extinction. After subjecting the passages which describe this commission to a

Einhard's "Vita Karoli imperatoris," MGH:SS,II,458. In this biography of Charlemagne Einhard states: "Item barbara et antiquissima carmina, quibus veterum regum actus et bella canebantur, scripsit memoriaque mandavit." It should be noted here that some have questioned the credibility of Einhard. He makes use of the schemata and "topoi" of ancient authors, and the actual truth value of his statements is in some doubt. However, I have found no reason to doubt the veracity of Einhard's claim that Charlemagne had songs collected. See George Nordmeyer, "On the OHG 'Isidor'," pp. 34-35, and Paul Pascal, "Charlemagne's Latin," Neophil,54 (1970), pp. 18ff.

12 See page 15, footnote 8 of this dissertation.


14 Ibid., pp. 105 ff. Meissburger discusses the two most popular theories concerning this collection: 1) that they were "Heldenlieder" (Andreas Heusler, Die altgermanische Dichtung [Berlin, 1923], pp. 145 ff.); 2) that they were "Preislieder" (Friedrich von der Leyen, Das Heldenliederbuch Karls des Grossen: Bestand, Gehalt, Wirkung [München, 1954], pp. 1 ff.). For a comprehensive discussion and delineation of these two types see Heusler, p. 123 ff. and Ehrismann, vol. I, pp. 18 ff.
Meissburger concludes that Charlemagne had "Preis- und Zeitlieder" collected, whose theme was the life and deeds of his ancestors, Merovingian and Franconian monarchs. In a later study Meissburger amends these terms and suggests the all-encompassing "Fürstenpreislied" as a substitution for "Preis- und Zeitlieder." This collection, he reasons, was planned by the monarch with the

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15 See footnote 11 of this section. In addition to Einhard, the Poeta Saxo, writing in the late 9th century, refers to this collection in his "Annales de gestis Caroli magni imperatoris," MGH:SS, I. He states: "Est quoque iam notum, vulgaria carmina magnis/ Laudibus eius avos et proavos celebrant,/ Pippinos, Carolos, Hludowicos et Theodricos,/ Et Carolomannos Hlothariosque canunt" (pp. 268-269); and continues: "Nec non quae veterum depromunt proelia regum,/ Barbara mandavit carmina litterulis" (pp. 276-277).

16 Although both von der Leyen (Das Heldenliederbuch Karls des Grossen) and Meissburger ("Zum sogenannten Heldenliederbuch") believe that the collection contained "Preislieder," they differ on the songs which were included and the reason Charlemagne requested them to be gathered. Von der Leyen believes: "Auch Lieder auf die Herrscher der den Franken benachbarten Stämme wurden aufgezeichnet, also der Burgunden, der Thüringer, der Sachsen, dazu auch Lieder auf die Herrscher der Langobarden..." He attributes the collection to Charlemagne's desire to preserve the songs and renders "scripsit memoriaque mandavit" as "... hat Karl aufzeichnen lassen, damit die Erinnerung daran erhalten bleibe" (p. 2). Meissburger, on the other hand, holds that only songs to the ancestors of the emperor were recorded and that "scripsit memoriaque mandavit" does not allow an inference to Charlemagne's intentions, but only shows that such a collection existed. Meissburger translates the passage: "Ferner liess Karl gesungen vorgetragene heimisch sehr wichtige und altehrwürdige Lieder, die das Leben und die Kriege der früheren Könige vergemwürtigen, zusammenstellen und niederlegen" (p. 114).

17 In his Grundlagen zum Verständnis der Monchsichtung im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert (München, 1970), p. 21, Meissburger says: "Vielleicht sollte man die Bezeichnung 'Preislied', die falsche Vorstellungen erwecken könnte, ... durch 'Fürstenpreislied' ersetzen."
specific cultural and political goal in mind to help create a cultural consciousness among his subjects. He had documents of his own past assembled to illustrate both that his heritage was shared by the "Reich" as a whole, and to serve as proof that he and his people had cultural parity with Rome. According to Meissburger, Charlemagne intended these songs to support his broad program of unifying the "Reich": "Die Einheit des Reiches soll realiter sichtbar gemacht und auch vom Volke verstanden werden."\textsuperscript{18} He sought unity through conquest, uniform laws, the establishment of a central government, and a court which served as a source of cultural radiation. To complement this political program and to bring it to fruition, the emperor had "carmina" gathered, and this commission serves as a typical example of Charlemagne's utilitarian attitude towards literature. He promoted letters and the arts in the hope of uniting the "Reich" both culturally and politically.

\section*{LOUIS THE PIOUS (814-840) and LOUIS THE GERMAN (843-876)}

Recently the rule of Louis the Pious has been reappraised,\textsuperscript{19} and the previous harsh assessment that his court was a cultural wasteland ("ver"odet")\textsuperscript{20} has been modified. However, his literary patronage has been neglected, and where it is considered, there is a lack of con-

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{18} Meissburger, "Zum sogenannten Heldenliederbuch," p. 117.
\textsuperscript{20} Albert Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, 8th ed. (Berlin and Leipzig, 1954), II, 623.
\end{flushright}
sistency on the part of virtually all scholars regarding his promotion of poetry in the vernacular.

It is certain that he and his empress, Judith, requested minor Latin writings, mainly religious in character. Judith was the recipient of literature by Walafrid Strabo with a political slant (see below), and although it is impossible to determine whether the commissions came from the crown, it is clear that such writings were in the best interest of the royal pair. It was mentioned above that one of the major issues which some Carolingian emperors had to face was the division of the "Reich." Already in the decade before the death of Louis the Pious in 840 his sons Louis, Pippin and Lothar were making bids for power. These actions presaged the fraternal strife which flared up at the death of their father and which was to becloud the years to follow.

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21Raban Maur, the renowned abbot of Fulda, wrote poems to Louis the Pious and Judith (See Szövérfy, Weltliche Dichtungen, p. 565) and dedicated to Louis a new edition of his Liber de laudibus sanctis crucis (this tract and the others by Raban mentioned in this footnote are in Migne 107-112). The abbot also presented him with De honore parentibus, which was to serve as a reminder to Louis' rebellious sons that they should be obedient to their father. Louis the Pious went personally to Fulda to receive Raban's commentary In Regum. Also the emperor asked Hildwin, Abbot of St. Denis, to revise the "vita" of St. Dionysus (MGH:Epp, 3, 529) Judith received commentaries to Esther and Judith from Raban, and Bishop Frechulf of Liseux, a pupil of Raban who was encouraged by Helisachar, the imperial chancellor, dedicated to the Empress a world history to be used in the instruction of her son, Charles the Bald (Migne 106).

22As early as the 820's Louis the Pious was concerned about the behavior of his sons. When he felt that the cleric Ermoldus Nigellus exerted a harmful influence on Pippin, the emperor had him sent into exile. This incident resulted in literature: to win a royal pardon Ermoldus composed a panegyric poem to Louis "In honorem Hluodowici Christianissimi Caesaris Augusti," MGH:Poet, II, 5-79. This poem did not achieve the desired result.
Walafrid Strabo, who addressed himself to his problem, was a monk and poet. He had studied under Raban Maur in Fulda and had been called to the imperial court to tutor Charles the Bald. At court between 829 and 836 Walafrid wrote his *Ad eandem de quodam somnio* and *De imagine Tetrici*. The first of these tells of the poet's dream that the divisions, destruction and rampant plundering in the "Reich" will be overcome by the patience and fortitude of Louis the Pious. In the second, Walafrid enters into the delicate and thorny matter of imperial succession, a problem mentioned above. These tensions were intensified with the birth of Charles the Bald, the son of Louis the Pious and Judith. Judith passionately defended the rights of her son as an equal heir, a position defended by Walafrid in his *De imagine Tetrici*. In this poem Walafrid discloses his support for the empress and her "cause" in offering her and Charles special praise.

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23 Charles the Bald, who was ruler of the western Franks from 843 until 877, gathered about him an assemblage of scholars and poets and was a significant patron. See Karl Langosch, *Die deutsche Literatur des lateinischen Mittelalters in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Berlin, 1964), p. 22.


25 MGH: Poet, II, 370-378. The "offensive image" of the title refers to the statue of Theodoric the Great which Charlemagne had had erected before the palace at Aachen and which Louis the Pious had had removed. See Alois DÜntl, "Walafrid Strabo's Widmungsgedicht an die Kaiserin Judith und die Theoderichstatue vor der Kaiserpfalz zu Aachen," Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins, 1 (1930), pp. 1 ff.

As indicated above, Louis the Pious was a minor literary patron who was presented with poems in the Latin language. The use of Latin for his courtly literature was not by chance; he holds a place in German history as a foe of the vernacular which Charlemagne had championed, and an obstructionist to his father's "Bildungspolitik." Early in his reign, the Synod of Inden near Aachen limited the written vernacular to "Gebrauchsprosa." This reflected not only the attitude of Louis the Pious himself but was also an expression of the desires of Benedict of Aniane and other clerics at his court.

In addition his biographer, Thegan, reports that Louis found no favor in "poetica carmina gentilia." This reference has been interpreted as a rejection of poetry in the vernacular, and has led to the belief that Louis had Charlemagne's lost collection of "carmina" destroyed. Thegan also states that Louis the Pious was

27 DeBoor in his Die deutsche Literatur, p. 13, notes "Karls Sohn, Ludwig der Fromme, hatte weder die Kraft noch die Einsicht das Werk des Vaters fortzuführen. ... Ludwig der Fromme nahm das Werk des Vaters nicht auf; er lenkte bewusst in streng kirchliche Bahnen ein, beschränkte die deutsche Sprache auf den einfachsten praktischen Bedarf der Kirche und verwies alles höhere geistige deutsche Leben auf das geheiligte Latein."

28 In his "Vita Hludowici imperatoris" (MGH:SS, II, 594) Thegan writes: "Poetica carmina gentilia quae in iuventate didicerat, respuit, nec legere, nec audire, nec docere voluit."


30 Rudolf Koegel, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters (Strassburg, 1894), I, 206.
not amused by the wandering entertainers who probably sang and spoke in German.\textsuperscript{31}

Considering the evidence, it is surprising that many believe Louis the Pious was the patron of the lengthy Old Saxon epic, the Heliand.\textsuperscript{32}

This conclusion is all the more puzzling in that Rathofer has clearly demonstrated that the poem and its Latin preface\textsuperscript{33} exhibit tendencies which one associates with the "Carolingian reforms."\textsuperscript{34} For instance, the life of Christ is made into poetry with the intention of carrying out God's bidding to mankind; the audience is as broad as possible to

\textsuperscript{31} Thegan reports: "Nunquam in risum exaltavit vocem suam, nec quando in summis festivitatibus ad laetitiam populi procedebant themilici, scurri et mini cum coraulis et citharistis ad mensam coram eo, tunc ad mensuram ridebat populus coram eo, ille nunquam nec dentes candidos suos in risu ostendit." \textit{Vita Hludowici imperatoris}, p. 595.

\textsuperscript{32} For example, DeBoor, \textit{Die deutsche Literatur}, p. 43, and Neissburger, \textit{Grundlagen zum Verständnis der Mönchsdichtung}, pp. 81 ff. DeBoor also hints that Louis the Pious could have promoted the Tatian, a translation of a gospel harmony likewise in the vernacular (p. 45). Apparently this is deduced from the knowledge that Louis visited Raban Maur in Fulda in 832, the home of the epic.

\textsuperscript{33} See Appendix I for the text of this preface. The preface was not discovered until the 16th century, and although there is some doubt that it really belongs to the Heliand, most scholars believe that it does. See Willy Krogmann, "Die Praefatio in librum antiquum lingua Saxonica conscriptum," \textit{Niederdeutsches Jahrbuch}, 69/70 (1947-48), pp. 17-32.

\textsuperscript{34} Johannes Rathofer, \textit{Der 'Heliand': Theologischer Sinn als tektonische Form: Vorbereitung und Grundlegung der Interpretation}. (Kölnc-Graz, 1962), pp. 301 ff. Rathofer finds that the Heliand is the logical result of Charlemagne's efforts and those of his scholars and immediate successors who sought a general goal of education and proselytization based on a knowledge of the Holy Writ. He claims that the program of Carolingian reforms is expressed "in nuce" in the following lines of the Heliand: "That ni habit êñigan gigadon huergin/ thi word an thesaro uueroldi, that io uualdand mër,/ drohtin diurie eftho derbie thing,/ firinuwcerc fellie eftho fiundo niô strid uuiüderstapde" (\textit{Heliand und Genesis}, ed. O. Behagel, 8th ed. ed. W. Mitzka [Tübingen, 1965], v. 25 ff.)
include, in the words of the preface, "quatenus non solum literatis, verum etiam illiteratis, sacra divinorum praeceptorum lectio panderetur;" the monarch assumes an active role in promoting the salvation of souls and combatting superstition. The Holy Word is spread in the language of the people, and its knowledge further s the praise of God and undercuts sin.

Most scholars believe that Louis the Pious was the patron because in the Latin preface to the Heliand the initiator of the poem is called "Ludouuicus piisimus Augustus." However, the mere name "Ludouuicus" and the epithet "pius" are insufficient evidence to show that Louis the Pious was its sponsor, especially since, as we have noted, the poem was not an expression of his literary interests. Recent scholarship concludes that the archetype of the Heliand was written about 850, and has shown that the imperial title was given Louis the German by certain monasteries when he was in fact not yet the emperor. Among these monasteries was Fulda, which is generally recognized as the place where the Heliand was written.


36 The studies by H. Zatschek ("Die Erwähnung Ludwigs des Deutschen als Imperator," DA [1943]) and E. E. Stengel ("Kaisertitel und Souveränitätsidee," DA [1939]) are cited in Siemes, Beiträge zum literarischen Bild Kaiser Ludwigs des Frommen, pp. 204 ff. The use of the title in the preface to the Heliand may have been motivated by political considerations.
It was mentioned in the previous section that one of the aims of Charlemagne was to use literature for proselytization and education. If the *Heliand* was not written at the request of Louis the Pious, a position supported in this dissertation, then Charlemagne's work, although momentarily interrupted during the reign of his son, was continued by Louis the German. The preface portrays a zealous and devout ruler busying himself with matters of benefit to both state ("res publica") and religion ("religio"). According to Haubrichs, this demonstrates the essence of the political and religious efforts of Louis the German after the Treaty of Verdun in 843.\(^{37}\) In those years the monarch was active in securing and stabilizing his political position and playing the role of conciliator to his brothers. In addition, his avid interest in "Kirchenpolitik" is shown by his association with Raban Maur, whom he appointed Archbishop of Mainz.\(^{38}\) Together they

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\(^{38}\)Their association was a long and productive one. About 845 Raban and Louis discussed theological projects — "Sermo fuit inter nos de Scripturis sacrâs" — (MGH:Epp, V, 465). From this meeting came Louis' request for an allegorical commentary to the hymns sung at matins. From about 834 until 846 Raban dedicated to him an exegesis of *Chronicles*, an exposition *In Paralipomena*, as well as his commentaries to *Maccabees* and *Daniel*. Louis requested a copy of Raban's *De universo (de rerum naturis)*, an encyclopedia of current knowledge in medicine, geology, zoology, botany, minerology and physics (Migne 109, pp. 279 ff.). See Ernst Dümmler, "Hrabianstudien," SBAkBln (1898), pp. 24-42. Haubrichs in "Die Praefatio," pp. 29 ff., suggests that Raban wrote the preface to the *Heliand*. This in itself is not new; he has always been one of the candidates for authorship. But Haubrichs brings a fresh proof to bear. He believes that the lines in the preface "novica quaeque atque superstitiosa comprimendo compescat" and "deteriora vetando extingue" refer to the heresy trial of Gottschalk von Fulda which Raban engineered.
called the Synod of Mainz where it was decided to revive the vernacular as initially envisioned by Charlemagne. The calling of this synod has been interpreted as a conscious effort on the part of Louis to follow in the footsteps of his grandfather. Indeed, there are striking similarities between both the aims and the later results of the Synod of Mainz in 847 and the Synod of Tours in 813, which was directed by Charlemagne. Significantly, one can detect parallel wording in the records of both synods. In addition phrases from both the Synod of Tours and the Synod of Mainz are echoed in the preface to the Heliand. For instance, the synods recommend that homilies be translated into the vernacular so that everyone can more easily understand what is being said to them, and the preface states: "... Ut cunctus populus suae ditioni subditus, Theudisca loquens lingua ...".

Given this persuasive evidence that Louis the German seemed willing to carry forth Charlemagne's "Bildungspolitik," he is the most logical

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40 Ibid., pp. 215-216. See Appendix I.
candidate for promoting an epic of such scope as the *Heliand* in the vernacular.

Haubrichs is convinced that the *Heliand* was no isolated commission, but rather one poem in a grand program of vernacular literature which Louis the German had planned. In the spirit of the Carolingian reforms, Louis' goal was to spread the Holy Writ to all those who spoke German. However, like Charlemagne, Louis was aware of the political value of literary sponsorship. His ambitious project arose during the time of the fraternal struggles for succession of the throne of Louis the Pious, which began in the 830's. In order to complement his growing political ambitions and dreams of territorial conquest, Louis decided to utilize literature.

In supporting his claim that Louis the German had a program of missionary literature, Haubrichs suggests that this monarch was also the sponsor of the *Evangelienbuch* by Otfrid von Weissenburg.

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41This is how Haubrichs in "Die Praefatio," p. 10, interprets the phrase in the preface "... Ut cunctus populus suae ditioni subditus, Theudisca loquens lingua ... ." See Appendix I.

42Haubrichs in "Die Praefatio," p. 31, makes this deduction on the basis of both the contemporary political situation and his interpretation of the preface. Since 833 Louis the German signed his name as "Sovereign of Eastern Franconia" ("orientali Francia") instead of "King of Bavaria." See also Siemes, *Beiträge zum literarischen Bild Kaiser Ludwigs des Frommen*, p. 211. The preface reports that the *Heliand* was planned "imperii tempore," which Haubrichs renders "at the time of the unity of the 'Reich,' i.e., before 840" (p. 11).

43Haubrichs, "Die Praefatio," pp. 10-11. In his *Ordo als Form; Strukturstudien zur Zahlenkomposition bei Otfrid von Weissenburg und in karolingischer Literatur* (Tübingen, 1969), p. 156, Haubrichs suggests that in addition, the Tatian was part of this program: "Schreiben und Dichten in der Volkssprache (blieb) auch für diese fortgeschrittene Zeit und auch in Fulda ein Wagnis, das wohl der Rechtfertigung bedurfte—
Haubrichs remarks seem "prima facie" to be persuasive; the poem is dedicated to Louis the German, and Otfrid asks that it be heard at court.\footnote{Otfrid composed the acrostic to Louis: "Ludovico Orientalium Regnorum Regi Sit Salus Aeterna." The poet claims, "Themo [Louis] díhton ih thiz bůah; oba er hábet iro růah/ódo er thaz giwéizit, thaz er sa lésan heizi," \textit{Otfrid's Evangelienbuch}, ed. Oskar Erdmann, 5th ed. (Tübingen, 1965), p. 3.} In addition, the epic exhibits those tendencies which we have associated with the Carolingian reforms, that is, the \textit{Evangelienbuch} is written in the vernacular with the intention of educating.\footnote{See Heinz Rupp, "Otfrid von Weissenburg und die spatántike Bibeldichtung," \textit{WW}, 7 (1956-57), pp. 334 ff.} Further, the poem contains a patriotic passage where the poet lauds the cultural achievements and nobility of the Franks and their king.\footnote{These remarks are to be found in "Cur Scriptor Hunc Librum Theotisce Dictaverit," pp. 11 ff.}

However, Haubrichs does not adequately explain the other dedications which Otfrid wrote for the monks Hartmut and Werinbert of St. Gallen and Bishop Salomo of Constance. Nor does he sufficiently deal with the poet's remarks concerning the genesis of his epic. Otfrid reports:

"When formerly the noise of (worldly) futilities smote on the ears of certain men exceedingly well-tried (in God's service) and the offensive songs of laymen dis-
turbed their holy way of life, (I was) asked by certain (monastic) brethren worthy of consideration and especially (moved) by the words of a certain reverend lady, Judith by name, who urged (me) very often that I should compose for them in German (i.e., Frankish) a selection of the Gospels, so that a little of the text of this poem might neutralize the trivial merri­ment of worldly voices and (that), engrossed in the sweet charm of the Gospels in (their) own language, they might be able to avoid the noise of futile things."47

Clearly Louis the German is not mentioned when the poet refers to those who induced him to write. However, this need not suggest that the dedication to the emperor is the only avenue open to the scholar investigating the patronage of the Evangelienbuch. Three clerics who had contacts with Otfrid were confidants of Louis: Raban Maur, Otfrid's teacher, worked very closely with Louis;48 Archbishop Liutbert of Mainz, the church authority to whom Otfrid justified composing his poem in the vernacular, was Louis' "Erzkaplan," as was Grimald of Weissenburg, Otfrid's abbot.

Kelle49 suggests that Raban Maur was one of the "probatissimorum virorum," those "men exceedingly well-tried in God's service," who urged

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47 This translation was made by Francis P. Magoun, Jr. in his "Otfrid's 'Ad Liutbertum'," PMLA, 58 (1943), p. 873. The Latin text is as follows: "Dum rerum quondam sonus inutilium pulsaret aures quorundam probatissimorum virorum eorumque sanctitatem laicorum cantus inquietaret obscenus, a quibusdam memoriae dignis fratribus rogatus, maximeque cujusdam venerandae patrimonium verbis minium flagitantis, nomine Judith partem evangeliorum eis theotisce consciberem, ut aliquantulum hujus cantus lectionis ludum saecularium vocum dederat, et in evangeliorum propria lingua, occupati dulcedine, sonum inutilium rerum noverint declinare..." (Otfrids Evangelienbuch, p. 5).

48 See pages 24 ff. of this dissertation.

the poet to write, and recalls that Raban had preached against the "cantus obscenus." One could reason that one or all of these clerics encouraged the poet and arranged for the dedication to Louis the German. And, if Louis requested the poem, they may also have acted as intermediaries between Otfrid and the crown.

Even though the question of Otfrid's patronage is beclouded and Haubrichs is unable to show uncontestably that Otfrid's Evangelienbuch was part of a royal "Übersetzungsprogramm in die Volkssprache," the tendentiousness of the poem suggests that it would well fit into such a program. Recently scholars have emphasized the affinity of this epic to the "Carolingian Renaissance," and have called attention to its political tendency. Since Louis the German carried forth the projects of his grandfather, Charlemagne, the socio-political situation may have caused him to involve himself in the writings of Otfrid's Evangelienbuch.

One should not be left with the impression that Louis the German occasioned only vernacular literature. His association with Latin


literature was only natural, Latin being the dominant literary and cultural language, and the use of German for literature in the 9th century was, to quote Haubrichs, a "bold venture."\(^52\) Louis was presented with Latin poems,\(^53\) a manuscript of the life of St. Ambrosius,\(^54\) and a codex containing the *Sermo sancti Augustini de symbolo contra Judeos*;\(^55\) he is lauded in a minor Latin epic which implies that he encouraged it,\(^56\) and a "Fürstenspiegel" may have been intended for him.\(^57\) It does not appear, however, that the monarch was greatly interested in Latin literature, since rarely did he request Latin works - and then only

\(^{52}\) Haubrichs, *Ordo als Form*, p. 156.


\(^{54}\) Regimar dedicated his St. Ambrosius manuscript to Louis, perhaps because the monarch was closely identified with the Saint. Notker Balbulus mentions in his *De Carolo Magno* (see pp. 31 ff. of this dissertation) for example, that Louis resembled the saint. See Paul Lehmann, "Mitteilungen aus Handschriften VI," *SBAkMun* (1939), pp. 3 ff.

\(^{55}\) This sermon, falsely ascribed to St. Augustine, was dedicated to Louis by Bishop Adalram of Salzburg about 825. The important German poem, *Muspilli*, was entered into this codex on margins and leaves in irregular orthography. Since no one else would have dared to deface this book, it was believed that Louis copied the poem in it himself. But Louis may have given the codex to the monastery at St. Emmeram in Regensburg, where it was found, immediately after he received it, and the entry of the poem may not have been made until after his death. Bishop Baturich, Louis' 'Erzkaplan,' was abbot of St. Emmeram and he could have obtained the codex for the monastery. See Rudolf van Delden, "Die sprachliche Gestalt des 'Muspilli' und ihre Vorgeschichte im Zusammenhang mit der Abschreiberfrage," *PBB*, 65 (1942), pp. 303-329, and Cola Minis, *Handschrift, Form und Sprache des 'Muspilli'* (Berlin, 1966).

\(^{56}\) "Carmen de Timone comite" (about 834), *MGH:Poet*, II, 120-124.

exegetical writings. It is reasonable though that Louis commissioned the poetry of Sedulius Scottus, who writes a poem to him which begins "Caesareum specimen, laus orbis, gloria mundi," in which the monarch is addressed as "Ludovicus Rex." To employ such a form of address has been interpreted as propaganda, meant to proclaim his political superiority over his brothers. Obviously Louis' interest in Latin was insignificant when compared to his promotion of German, which supports the idea developed above, that he wanted to make the Holy Writ accessible through the use of vernacular literature such as the *Heliand*.

**CHARLES THE FAT (876-887)**

Imperial literary patronage of the Carolingians begins with Charlemagne and ends with a poetic treatment of his reign. In the late 9th century, his great-grandson and namesake, Charles the Fat, requested that short accounts concerning his ancestor be recorded. For this task he chose Notker Balbulus, a monk in St. Gallen, who was a poet, teacher, composer and historian, and who had regaled him with the stories which are now known as *De Carolo Magno*, when the monarch was in St. Gallen.

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58 See page 24, footnote 38 of this dissertation.
59 *MGH: Poet*, III, 195-197
Although Notker received a direct commission from Charles the Fat for his *De Carolo Magno*, it appears that in their other dealings the poet had to go through an intermediary, Bishop Liutward of Vercelli, the imperial chancellor. Notker sent him his important collection of sequences, the *Liber Ymnorum*,\(^{63}\) as well as his *Vita Sancti Galli*.\(^{64}\) It is not clear what the poet hoped to gain by sending his creations to the imperial court; perhaps he sought favor for his monastery. In availing himself of a middleman, Charles the Fat may have been following the royal precedent set by his father, Louis the German, who we noted may have used intermediaries between the crown and Otfrid von Weissenburg.

In regard to *De Carolo Magno*, von den Steinen shows that it was no mere amusing collection of anecdotes; like so much of Carolingian literature, it too was tendentious.\(^{65}\) According to von den Steinen, Notker gave these tales a didactic tendency in order to remind Charles the Fat of his responsibility to reign in the spirit of Charlemagne. But von den Steinen views this commission too much from the perspective of the poet and gives inadequate attention to its patron, a common practice in so much of literary criticism concerning the Middle Ages. Since Charles the Fat commissioned the *De Carlo Magno*, he may


\(^{64}\)MGH:Poet, IV, 1093-1108.

well have had an influence on its didactic nature and possibly selected
the anecdotes for that very reason. In this regard it should be re-
called that most of the literature associated with Carolingian rulers
had a didactic purpose.

Charles the Fat was deposed by the nobility because he was politi-
cally incompetent. But more important, he had lost the energy and the
inclination for decisive action which had characterized the rule of
his predecessors. Charles was beset by that fatigue which historically
has come at the end of certain dynasties, a fatigue which is reflected
in his literary patronage. Charles the Fat did not carry out a "Kultur-
politik^66 like the other emperors of his dynasty, and thus literature
was not a complement to his statecraft as we have shown was the case
with certain of his predecessors. Further, in choosing to have
Charlemagne's deeds recorded in his De Carolo Magno it is clear that
Charles the Fat was looking backward, similar to the patrons of the
later Middle Ages who attempted to revive the literature of a bygone
era, for instance, "minnesang." Although he does not mention Charles
the Fat by name, Reinhardt characterizes the end of the Carolingian
empire and implicitly this commission: "The whole epoch to which the
great Charles [Charlemagne] had bequeathed his name feasted on the
memory of his rule but wasted his inheritance."67 Ironically, although

66 I have borrowed this term from Fleckenstein, Die Bildungsreform
Karls des Grossen, pp. 24 and 48 ff.

67 Kurt F. Reinhardt, Germany: 2000 Years, 2nd. ed. (New York,
1961), I, 46.
Charles the Fat ruled over much of Charlemagne's empire and obviously hoped to emulate his ancestor, *De Carolo Magno* is written in Latin, even though it treats that predecessor who placed particular stress on the use of the vernacular. This is a silent commentary on the royal promotion of literature in German; for now the written vernacular was to disappear for decades.

Although Charles the Fat did not promote a "Bildungspolitik" or "Religionspolitik" like Charlemagne and Louis the German, where literature was written to support events of political significance, *De Carolo Magno* is tendentious. And viewing the literary activity of the Carolingian epoch from the perspective of the patrons, this is perhaps the best way to summarize the literature which was promoted by emperors of the ruling dynasty. It appears that monarchs seldom encouraged the writing of a work for their enjoyment, but rather it had a utilitarian and political function as befits an instrument of state policy. For instance, Charlemagne was apparently not motivated to have "carmina" gathered because he found pleasure in them, but rather he sought to use them as a vehicle to create a consciousness of cultural unity in the "Reich." Likewise, the *Heliand*, which recent research attributes to the sponsorship of Louis the German, was conceived with a specific purpose, namely to proselytize among the Saxons, to complement and implement the political ambitions of the patron and to enhance his reputation.

Finally, it has been shown that there is a need to balance the role which the monasteries played in the writing of literature in the
Carolingian period with that of the imperial court. Certainly the abbeys were important, but their alliance with the crown has been neglected. One of the best examples of this partnership is Raban Maur, who was involved in the politics of empire, and was Abbot of Fulda, the most significant monastery of the day. He had close ties with rulers who requested that literature be written for them in the monastery. If only on the basis of this single example, it is clear that the literature of this period was not produced in a cultural vacuum, but was rather a cooperative project.
CHAPTER II
The Saxon Dynasty

The emperors of the Ottonian dynasty, much like their imperial predecessors in the Carolingian family, were faced with socio-political problems which are reflected in literature and which poetry was intended to help resolve. Among the special concerns of the Ottonian emperors were recognition and acknowledgment as the legitimate heirs to the Carolingian dynasty and a defense of the controversial "Kirchenpolitik" of Otto the Great. First, the Saxons were saddled with the onus of having been the final tribe in the "Reich" to adopt Christianity, having put up a fierce struggle against Charlemagne who compelled them to convert to Christianity and to become a part of the "Reich." Second, Otto the Great had entered Italy in 962 to restore law and order, was involved in the deposition of Pope John XII, and pronounced himself king of Italy. Also Otto allowed clerics to hold both secular and ecclesiastical offices and placed members of his family in high Church positions.¹

It was noted above that beginning in the last quarter of the ninth century imperial patrons eschewed the written vernacular, a trend which went unabated in the Ottonian era. Literature in support of the "causes"

¹This policy created serious problems and came to a head in the rule of the Salic-Frankish dynasty. See pages 82 ff. of this dissertation.
of Ottonian emperors was, however, written in Latin for definite reasons: they hoped through it to reach the educated and politically influential public, and Latin was better suited for the literary style which they desired.  

Much historiography appeared in this era in the form of epics, chronicles and "vitae." It should be emphasized that Latin historiography is not of marginal importance, but represents the mainstream of literature in this era. Historiography is a branch of both literature

2Erich Auerbach in Literatursprache und Publikum in der lateinischen Spätantike und im Mittelalter (Bern, 1958), p. 132, explains: "Der auszudrückende Inhalt war aktuell und war oft sehr krass, superlativisch, ausserste Empfindungen und unerhörte Ereignisse enthaltend; er formte sich seinen Weg durch das Latein, dessen Überlieferung ihn keineswegs nur behinderte; sie bot ihm eine grosse Freiheit der Wortstellung, rhetorische Vorbilder für die Ausnutzung dieser Freiheit, einen reichen und überraschende Wirkungen gestattenden Wortschatz und einen Überfluss an Klangfiguren. Das Lateinische bot überdies die Stilmuster der antiken und spätantiken Schriftsteller; vor allem aber den Text der Bibel mit seinen unendlichen Möglichkeiten an typologisch-allegorischen Ausdeutungen."

Recently it has been shown by Helmut DeBoor in "Von der karolingischen zur cluniazenzischen Epoche," Annalen der deutschen Literatur (Stuttgart, 1952), p. 63, that only annals and dramas can be firmly dated in the period, and the so-called "Ottonian Renaissance," which allegedly brought forth an heroic epic, a bestiary, and "modi," is not an accurate designation of this period. DeBoor claims: "Sie [Ottonische Renaissance] soll das erste Heldenepos (Waltharius manu fortis), das erste Tierepos (Ecbasis captivi), die witzige Anekdote und Novelle (Modi), den ersten Versuch einer neuen Dramatik (Hrotsvith) hervorgebracht haben. Von all dem lässt neueste Forschung nicht mehr viel übrig. Sie löst ... den Waltharius von Ekkehard I. und möchte ihn in karolingische Zeit hinaufschieben [This dissertation treats the Waltharius in a discussion of episcopal patronage during the Salic-Frankish period]. In der Datierung der Ecbasis galt es lange für sicher, die Zeitansprüche auf Konrad I. und Heinrich I. zu beziehen; das ergab eine Datierung um 930. Gewichtige Gründe sprechen heute dafür, zu der alten Beziehung auf Konrad II. und Heinrich III. zurückzukehren, das Gedicht also dem 11. Jahrhundert zuzuschreiben, und nichts zwingt, die Modi in den Sammlungen des 11. Jahrhunderts für wesentlich jünger zu halten... So bliebe nur noch Hrotsvith übrig." Significantly, Hrotsvitha von Gandersheim, whose poetical work is dated in the Ottonian period, also is known for her panegyric histories lauding the emperors and their dynasty.
and history, and has often been ill-treated by scholars from both disciplines. Literary critics too often dismiss historiography as a historical genre, and historians tend to neglect it because of historical inaccuracies. Fortunately, in the last two decades Erich Auerbach, Karl Hauck, and Wolfgang von Stetten have made attempts to reevaluate Saxon historiography, and this reappraisal has had important consequences not only for the history of German literary patronage but also for the study of German literature and civilization.

More than any other scholar, Auerbach has paved the way for a consideration of the historiography of the Ottonian epoch as literature. Auerbach, who has reminded us that style is of primary significance in determining the literary value of a work, has convincingly shown that many narratives written in this period, including "vitae," share a distinctive style.

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4Erich Auerbach, Literatursprache und Publikum in der lateinischen Spätantike und im Mittelalter, pp. 116 ff.


6Wolfgang von Stetten, Der Niederschlag Liudolfingischer Hausüberlieferung in den ersten Werken der ottonischen Geschichtsschreibung, diss. (Erlangen, 1954). Both Hauck and von Stetten prefer the term Liudolfing to Ottonian as a designation for the literature of this period, since they stress the importance of the entire dynasty for the narrative rather than specific ruling members alone.

7I was unable to obtain Elisabeth Bach's dissertation Politische Begriffe und Gedanken sächsischer Geschichtsschreiber der Ottonenzeit, (Münster, 1948).

8Auerbach, Literatursprache und Publikum in der lateinischen Spätantike und im Mittelalter, pp. 116 ff.
As to the question of literary sponsorship, Auerbach does not claim that the early Ottonian emperors, specifically Otto the Great, promoted Latin historiography, but does, in fact, allow for that very conclusion in suggesting that an "official Ottonian literary style" arose. This style, he contends, seems to owe its existence to a court which was not only the sole center of power at that time, but also was a source of cultural radiation, serving as the only common link between divergent authors and groups of authors.

Prior to Auerbach's pointing to the significance of the imperial court as the main force behind the literature of this period, there were two main theories concerning the patronage of important literary documents of this time. First, it was believed that Archbishop William of Mainz (died 968), son of Otto the Great, had a "Mainzer Hofkreis" of historians, among them Hrotsvitha von Gandersheim and Widukind von Corvey. This theory seems to have evolved from the knowledge that Hrotsvitha sent her Gesta Ottonis to the Archbishop for editing and correction. But to draw a general conclusion from this specific example is infelicitous and weakens the credibility of this theory.

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9 Auerbach, Literatursprache und Publikum in der lateinischen Spätantike und im Mittelalter, pp. 116 ff.


Second, Hauck and his pupil, von Stetten, have argued that most of the commissions for histories in this period originated in monasteries. Von Stetten admits that the imperial court acted as a catalyst for writing history, but is not ready to concede that Ottonian emperors were involved in the direct promotion of the various narratives. At the "Reichstag" in 965, von Stetten contends, Otto the Great had the Liber de rebus gestis Ottonis magni imperatoris, usually known as the Historia Ottonis, read to the assemblage of ecclesiastical and secular nobles. This history was written at Otto's request by Liudprand of Cremona, and was meant as a defense of the imperial "Kirchenpolitik." When certain clerics in the audience (such as the Abbot of Corvey, Abbess Gerberga of Gandersheim) learned that Otto the Great exhibited more than a passing interest in history, they returned to their abbeys and courts, and, in hope of gaining royal favor for their monasteries and in friendly competition with each other, they commissioned works with a similar tendency: for example, the Res gestae Saxonicae libri tres by Widukind von Corvey and the Gesta Ottonis by Hrotsvitha von Gandersheim.

However, von Stetten's theory leaves too many unanswered and unanswerable questions. For instance, there is no evidence that Liudprand played any part in the proceedings of the "Reichstag" of 965, and von Stetten himself mentions that we do not know the agenda.

\textsuperscript{12}Von Stetten, Der Niederschlag liudolfingischer Hausüberlieferung, pp. 55 ff.
of the meeting,\(^{13}\) nor whether one of the supposed patrons, Abbess Gerberga of Gandersheim, did attend at all.\(^{14}\)

This does not mean that von Stetten's hypotheses are without value. He directs our attention to two general motivating factors of medieval patronage which are alluded to throughout this dissertation: i.e., the use of literature to obtain favor, and competition among authors and monasteries for benefaction.

My main criticism of the theories of Köpke, Hauck and von Stetten is that they give insufficient attention to the court of Otto the Great. To be sure, the view that Otto commissioned historiography is not new. It has been suggested that the emperor was one of the possible sponsors of Hrotsvita's *Gesta Ottonis*.\(^{15}\) However, Otto's promotion of literature has not been seriously investigated. This is surprising when one considers the following points. First, Otto's court was the cultural center of Europe and advanced all the arts from architecture to ivory-carving to book illustration. Second, it is known that Otto encouraged Liudprand of Cremona to write history. Third, as noted, Auerbach finds a homogeneous literary style in many histories of the period which one can all official. Fourth, most of

\(^{13}\)Von Stetten, *Der Niederschlag liudolfingischer Hausüberlieferung*, p. 55.

\(^{14}\)Ibid., p. 58.

these histories were written in monasteries either founded by the royal
dynasty or inhabited by its members ("Hausklöster"). Fifth, these nar­
ratives were of political value to Otto the Great, since they defended
his policies. And finally, it was certainly to Otto's benefit to have
his deeds recorded during his lifetime when he could exercise control
over their depiction. The implication of these statements will be
developed in the following discussion of the literary patronage of
Otto the Great. They suggest that Otto was not only the most signifi­
cant political figure of his era but was also a major sponsor of lit­
erature.

OTTO THE GREAT (962-973)

In the discussion of Charlemagne it was established that he was
not only a "conventional patron," that is, a man who gives a commission
for a work, but also fostered literature by setting the climate in
which the arts could thrive. Like Charlemagne, Otto was a "fostering
spirit," who, in addition to his direct involvement in the literary
accomplishments of his reign, created an atmosphere conducive to art,
and gave new themes to literature which were based on his life and

16. In the preceding and following eras most imperial biographies
were written after the subject was deceased. For instance, Einhard's
Vita Karoli imperatoris; the so-called Anonymi Vita Hludowici,
thought to be written by Astronomus concerns Louis the Pious
(MGH:SS, I, 204 ff); also the Vita Chuonradi imperatoris about
Conrad II. by Wipo (MGH:SS, XI, 254 ff.).
achievements. Further, like Charlemagne, Otto so dominated his era that it is customarily named after him.\textsuperscript{17}

After the extinction of the Carolingian line the Saxons assumed control of the "Reich." The problem of imperial succession was of prime importance. Otto the Great felt that succession would be legitimized when, in a conscious attempt to emulate Charlemagne, he had himself crowned emperor by the Pope in Rome. To lend credence to his claims that the inheritance of the Carolingians should pass to the Saxons, I believe it is reasonable that Otto would have used literature. There are two histories of this period which speak to the

\textsuperscript{17}Among critics, Langosch (\textit{Die deutsche Literatur des lateinischen Mittelalters}, p. 52) has most clearly recognized that Otto contributed both directly and indirectly to a flowering of the arts: "Dass auch die Literatur durch Otto I. emporgetrieben wurde, dafür spricht bereits der Beginn ihres Aufblühens um 960 d. i. erst, als sich seine politische Leistung auswirkte; er gab ihr neue Themen an die Hand, liess ein Gefühl, das man vielleicht schon national nennen kann, wachwerden und zum Ausdruck kommen und bestimmt durch seine Gedankenwelt, die die karolingische Ideologie übernahm, aber mehr Magdeburg als Aachen zum Mittelpunkt hatte, und durch seine Persönlichkeit den Geist dieser Periode. Diese indirekte Einwirkung ging vermutlich tiefer als die direkte, die in ihrem Umfang umstritten und noch zu klären ist." See also Percy Schramm, "Die Krönung in Deutschland bis zum Beginn des Salischen Hauses," \textit{Zs. d. Savigny-Stiftung f. Reichsgeschichte}, Kanon. Abt., 55 (1935), who maintains that Otto's influence is felt in all the achievements of the era, be they the earliest paintings of the Reichenau and Fulda schools, architecture (Magdeburg, Gernrode) or the historical narratives: "Bei allen diesen Leistungen ist mehr oder minder deutlich zu greifen, wie Otto I. und der Kreis der ihm Nahestehenden sie in Auftrag gibt oder anregt; und wo das nicht geschieht, da hat wenigstens der von ihm erst festgefügte Bau des 'regnum Theutonicorum' die Voransetzungen für die Ausserungen einer Kultur geschaffen, die dabei ist, in allen ihren Leistungen gegenüber der Vergangenheit eine eigene Physiognomie zu gewinnen" (pp. 227-228).
particular problem of succession, namely the *Res gestae Saxonicae*\(^\text{18}\) by Widukind von Corvey and the *Gesta Ottonis*\(^\text{19}\) by Hrotsvitha von Gandersheim.

Otto's desire to justify succession was given clear voice by Hrotsvitha. She distinctly states that the mantle of the Franks has passed to the noble people of the Saxons.\(^\text{20}\) Indeed, in lauding the accomplishments of the Saxons, Widukind reveals an anti-Frankish resentment, and considers everything Saxon to be a higher form of culture.\(^\text{21}\) Both histories were of value to Otto because they stress the auspicious nature of Ottonian rule. And particularly Hrotsvitha takes pains to show how the emperor is guided by divine providence.

Neither history claims a direct commission from Otto the Great. It is believed that Widukind originally wrote his narrative for his fellow-monks in Corvey, sending a version to the imperial court to

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\(^{19}\) Homeyer, "Gesta Ottonis," *Hrotstivhae Opera*, pp. 390-438.

\(^{20}\) In her *Gesta Ottonis*, Hrotsvitha elegantly states: "Postquam rex regum, qui solus regnat in aevum,/ Per se cunctorum transmutans tempora regum,/ Iussit Francorum transferri nobile regnum/ Ad claram gentem Saxonum, nomen habetem/ A saxo per duritiam mentis bene firmam,/ Filius Oddonis magni ducis et venerandi,/ Scilicet Henricus, suscepit regia primus/ Iusto pro populo moderamine sceptra gerenda" (p. 406).

\(^{21}\) Karl Hauck, "Widukind von Korvei," p. 955. Widukind presents an "origo gentis" of the Saxons and claims that they stem from the Greeks and that their fame is equal to the Romans. Interestingly, Otfrid von Weissenburg, in the previous century, gave a similar origin to the Franks. See *Otfrids Evangeliuenbuch*, p. 12.
gain favor for his monastery; and Hrotsvitha states that she wrote at the behest of her abbess, Gerberga. However, both works are directly linked to the court of Otto the Great, since they are dedicated to members of the imperial dynasty, - Princess Mathilde, the daughter of Otto was the recipient of the *Res gestae Saxonicae* and the *Gesta Ottonis* was sent to Otto and his son, Otto II.

The fact that these authors do not indicate that Otto the Great was their patron should not suggest that their poems were merely dedicated to members of the royal house (in the case of Hrotsvitha, Otto the Great himself), and that Otto did not sponsor them. It has already been shown how these narratives fulfilled a political need for the emperor. In addition, each was written in a monastery which had close

22 Karl Hauck, "Widukind von Korvei," p. 950

23 Hrotsvitha, in her *Gesta Ottonis*, p. 385, writes to Gerberga: "Id quidem oneris inposuistis, ut gesta caesaris augusti, quae nec auditu unquam affatim valui colligere, metrica percurrerem ratione." Gerberga is also the recipient of a dedication to Hrotsvitha's *Liber primus*, which contains her "legenda." The *Liber secundus*, her drama collection, has a prose *Epistola eiusmod ad quosdam sapientes huius libri fautores*. The nameless patrons, the "fautores," whose scientific and philosophical knowledge she praises, are probably clerics ("Geistliche und Klosterinsassen"), as Homeyer in *Hrotsvithae Opera*, p. 231, speculates.

24 For the edition of Hrotsvitha's works in 1501, Albrecht Dürer made a woodcut which depicts the canoness kneeling at Otto's feet and presenting him with her poetic work. In part her dedication to him reads: "Pollens imperii regnator caesariani,/ Oddo, qui regis pietate fovente perennis/ In sceptris augustalis praecclarius honoris/ Augustos omnes superas pietate priores,/ Quem plures gentes passim metuunt habitantes,/ Muneribus variis Romanus donat et orbis!/ Exiguum munus ne spernas carminis huius,/ Iste sed oblatus laudum placeat tibi census. . . ." (Homeyer, *Hrotsvithae Opera*, p. 387).
ties with the crown, and Widukind and Gerberga were related to Otto. 25

In considering the political value of these histories - they claim no less than the right to succession and the divine right to rule - and the family ties, a reasonable course of events is as follows.

Otto the Great was informed that Widukind was writing a history of the Saxons, and the emperor influenced its content and arranged for the dedication to his daughter, Mathilde. 26 As for Hrotsvitha's *Gesta Ottonis*, the emperor was involved from the beginning. He asked his niece, Gerberga, to serve as an intermediary to the poetess and had his son, Archbishop William of Mainz, furnish her with historical

25 There is no doubt about Gerberga's relationship to Otto the Great - she was his niece. But there has been speculation about Widukind. Recent scholarship, however, suggests that he was related to Queen Mathilde, Otto's mother. See Karl Hauck, "Widukind von Korvei," p. 946; Von Stetten, Der Niederschlag liudolfingischer Hausüberlieferung, p. 102.

26 Up to now there has been no convincing reason given why Widukind dedicated his poem specifically to Mathilde, who was a child at this time. Von Stetten in Der Niederschlag liudolfingischer Hausüberlieferung, p. 97, claims that she was the only accessible member of the dynasty since her father and brother, Otto the Great and Otto II, were in Italy. But this is a weak argument. Von Stetten himself mentions that the princess was the namesake of Queen Mathilde, Otto's mother and the revered matriarch of the dynasty, to whom Widukind gives special praise, but does not develop his insight (p. 82). Since the poet himself clearly points to this similarity in names ("filiam quoque sanctae matris eius vocabulo insignitam," p. 453), and since the young princess was also symbolically the "new Mathilde" - she was abbess of a Cloister in Quedlinburg, the city with which Queen Mathilde is identified (she founded monasteries, died and is buried there), I think we are on firm ground in suggesting that after the queen's death in 968 Otto the Great asked Widukind to dedicate his history to the princess as a memorial to his recently deceased mother of the same name.
material and check the poem upon its completion. It is clear why Otto was not eager to make it known that he had encouraged these histories: they would then seem to be self-serving and panegyric, and spontaneous enthusiasm is of more political value than commissioned praise.

In Hrotsvitha’s *Gesta Ottonis* it is possible to cite a specific example of the influence of sponsorship. It was suggested above that Gerberga, her abbess and the niece of Otto the Great, was the intermediary of the emperor’s royal command to write this history. In discussing the uprisings against Otto, Hrotsvitha faced a vexing problem: how to treat the rebellion of Otto’s brother, Duke Henry I of Bavaria, who was the father of Gerberga. To avoid offending either patron, Hrotsvitha decided to write slanted history, by minimizing the feud between Otto and Henry. She avoided placing blame on Henry, and attributed that actions of the insurgents to the guile of Satan. Lest this approach seem to favor Henry by playing down his treason against the crown, the poetess counterbalances her stance by reminding the reader that Otto showed mercy to his brother when he begged for

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28 *Gesta Ottonis*, verses 168 ff.

29 Homeyer, in *Hrotsvithae Opera*, p. 392, cites further examples.
clemency, granting him a full pardon and appointing him leader over all Bavarian chiefs.

In addition to the problem of imperial succession, Otto was faced with the need to defend his "Kirchenpolitik." On the one hand his "kirchliches-weltliches Herrschaftssystem" as a whole was under attack, and on the other hand, and more specifically, he found it necessary to justify his intervention in Church affairs in Italy. Otto's entire system is vindicated in the Vita Brunonis by Ruotger von St. Pantaleon. The emperor had so fused Church and State that he had created a "sacrum imperium," making the Church the cornerstone of the "Reich." Otto assumed control over Church affairs, called synods and named bishops. One of the prelates whom he appointed was his brother and protegé, Bruno. The Vita treats his life. Since one of the concerns of the Church was nepotism, Bruno's appointment was controversial, as was the naming of Otto's son, William to the post of Archbishop of Mainz. Not only did Bruno owe his ecclesiastical office to Otto, but like many other clerics in the realm, he

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30 Irene Ott, ed. "Vita Brunonis Archiepiscopi Coloniensis," MGH:SS rer germ NS, X (Weimar, 1951), x-xi. Ott does not identify those who were displeased with the emperor's actions.

31 Otto oversaw Bruno's education and training and one of his teachers was the monk Israel, whose works are discussed in Carl Selmer, "Israel, ein unbekannter Schotte des 10. Jahrhunderts," Mitt. z. Geschichte d. Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige, 62 (1950), pp. 69-87. In gratitude to Otto, Bruno wrote a panegyric poem which lauds his brother as the "pater patrie" and calls his rule the Golden Age. See MGH:Poet, V, 377.

32 Otto also appointed Liutprand of Cremona, his advisor and publicist, to the office of bishop.
held a temporal office simultaneously. In addition to his position as Archbishop of Cologne, Bruno was a "Reichsfürst," namely Archduke of Lothringia.\textsuperscript{33}

Like Widukind and Hrotsvitha, Ruotger doesn't mention Otto the Great when he speaks of his commission. The \textit{Vita} was written shortly after the death of Bruno, and the poet tells us that it was composed at the request of Archbishop Folkmar of Cologne, the successor to Bruno.\textsuperscript{34} However, as mentioned above, Otto employed intermediaries to communicate his literary desires. The \textit{Vita Brunonis} in depicting Bruno as a "political bishop" is a defense of Otto's system. Ruotger emphasizes the close relation of Bruno and Otto, and states that they were of one mind - ..."unam nos semper idemque sensisse" (\textit{Vita Brunonis}, Chapt. 20). To further exemplify their mutual support, Ruotger reports that in the uprisings of 953 when Otto was threatened by conspirators, Bruno was his sole comfort, a staunch and loyal ally. Since the material in the \textit{Vita Brunonis} was so vital to the crown, the involvement of the emperor in its conception is most probable. This hypothesis is

\textsuperscript{33}When the problem of simony became acute in the late 11th century under Emperor Henry IV (See page 84\textsuperscript{f}.of this dissertation.), its origins could be traced to the right of clerics to hold both temporal powers and possessions.

\textsuperscript{34}Ruotger in his \textit{Vita Brunonis}, p. 1, states: "Domino in Christi gratia beatissimo atque in omni splendore sapientiae perfectissimo Folcmaro archiepiscopo Ruotgerus, servorum suorum ultimus, verae claritatis gloriam sempiternam. Imposuit sanxitatis vestrae reverentia super caput meum graven quidem sarcinam, set pro captu parvitis meae dulcem admodum et iocundam, videlicet ut vitam mirabilis et magnifici archiepiscopi Brunonis, qua potuerim sermonis facultate, describerem."
supported by Fischer's claim that the *Vita* is "eine hochoffizielle Schrift," and von Stetten, who as noted above, disclaims imperial patronage of Ottonian historiography, but admits the possibility that Ruotger was not only commissioned to write a narrative concerning the royal dynasty but was writing for the dynasty. Further, Ott reminds us that Ruotger had entry to the imperial court, and suggests that he had an opportunity to meet the emperor himself.

One element of Otto's "Kirchenpolitik" which demanded special attention was his dealing with the Church in Italy. Since the emperor had intervened in Italian affairs (he was involved in the deposition of Pope John XII and he had pronounced himself king of Italy), his controversial "Italienpolitik" was in need of a defense. After Otto's invasion of Italy in 962, Liudprand of Cremona, his imperial adviser, diplomat and publicist who had propagandized for this action, wrote

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37To write for a dynasty implies that the work in question favors the position of the recipient, a state of affairs which may suggest patronage.

38Ott, *Vita Brunonis*, p. ix.

39In his *Antapodosis* (MGH:SS, III, 273-339.) Liudprand had sought to persuade Otto to invade Italy in order to establish order there. He completed this history at the imperial court where he had taken refuge. The narrative had been begun at the request of Bishop Recemund of Elvira who Liutprand met in Frankfurt, and who Langosch (*Die deutsche Literatur des lateinischen Mittelalters*, p. 53) speculates may have been in contact with the imperial court. Liudprand's narrative had a two-fold purpose as its title suggests. It was meant to be a retalía-
the Liber de rebus gestis Ottonis magni imperatoris. Although there is no textual proof, it was very likely commissioned by Otto the Great. This narrative was not only a justification of Otto's exploits in Italy, but was also intended to marshal support for his course of action, thus creating favorable public opinion.

OTTO II (973-983)

Like his father, Otto II realized that literature could be employed as an instrument of state policy to express a particular point of view. However, the political problems which Otto II faced were not so pressing as those of his father, and consequently the literature which he encouraged was neither so topical nor so militant. Where Otto the Great felt the need to defend his policies through literature, thereby neutralizing the arguments of his critics, Otto II used the pen for self-glorification and for the exaltation of his dynasty. Even if Otto II is not mentioned in all of the writings which he occasioned,


41 Von Stetten, Der Niederschlag liudolfingischer Hausüberlieferung, pp. 49 ff.

42 Ibid., pp. 55 ff.
it is sufficient that they treat ancestral members of his family, since the honor bestowed on them is reflected in their heir, Otto II.

The "vita" is ostensibly a record of the life and deeds of a saint, and its purpose is to exhort those who hear it to follow his or her "exemplum." However, as noted above, Otto the Great employed the *Vita Brunonis*, the life of his brother, as an instrument of propaganda for the purpose of defending his "Kirchenpolitik." Similarly, the *Vita Mahtildis* which Otto II commissioned is tendentious. Like his father, Otto II used the life of a member of the dynasty for his benefit, but this literary commission was not necessitated by a specific political problem.

The *Vita Mahtildis* has as its subject the charismatic Queen Mathilde, the grandmother of Otto II, who was greatly revered in the dynasty and in the realm for her goodness - she was eventually canonized. The slant of the *Vita* is plain at the outset, as is the fact that the anonymous author is promoting the interests of his patron; rather than beginning with the lineage of Mathilde, he commences with Otto II. In addition, the author gives special attention to the prophecy made by

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Mathilde that one day the infant Otto II will rule the realm. Mathilde predicts that Otto will bring honor to the dynasty and that his fame will surpass the renown of the other rulers in his family. In the next century Emperor Henry II was again to utilize the life of Mathilde for political gain.

The preoccupation of Otto II with his ancestors seems to have led him to commission another "vita," the *Vita Vencezlavi ducis Bohemiae*, which is also tendentious. Apparently to compensate for the overemphasis of the other Saxon histories on German and Italian affairs, Otto II focused on another area of dynastic accomplishments, namely Bohemia. Otto II chose to sponsor the life and "passio" of St. Wenceslas, who was a contemporary and foe of Henry I (died 936), Otto's grandfather and the husband of Queen Mathilde. It is likely that Otto II became aware of the exploits of his ancestor through his half-brother and ward, Archbishop William of Mainz, with whom Otto II lived for a time. Since William of Mainz is the probable patron of the continuation of Regino's *Chronicon*, which mentions Henry's conflicts in Bohemia, it is reasonable that Otto's association with William stimulated his interest in this area.

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44 This prophecy is found in chapter 10 of the *Vita Mahtildis reginae antiquior*.

45 *Vita Vencezlavi ducis Bohemiae*, MGH:SS, IV, 211-223. This work was written by Bishop Gumpold of Mantua, who acknowledges his commission in the following words: "... Victoriousissimi imperatoris Augusti Ottonis secundi sacro iussu rusticitati nostrae imposita, memorabilis viri nomen gestorumque insignes mentiones paulo post declaratura..." (p. 213).

46 See page 47 footnote 27 of this dissertation.
Otto realized the potential of this material not only to fill a gap in other Saxon histories, but to further glorify his dynasty. It was established in the discussion of Otto the Great that it was of prime importance to the crown to have imperial acts interpreted as God-ordained. And in the Chronicon, the author attributes Henry's actions against Wenceslas to divine providence, claiming: "Heinricus rex Boemos hostiliter invasit et prestante Deo fortiter superavit." Since the dynasty had interpreted Henry's actions against Wenceslas as God-ordained, it is clear that in commissioning the Vita Vencezlavi Otto II hoped to reaffirm this position.

In addition to requesting these two "vitae" Otto II had interest in the historical poems of Hrotsvitha von Gandersheim. Hrotsvitha wrote one dedication of her Gesta Ottonis to the monarch. According to some scholars, this dedication suggests that Hrotsvitha began

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47 Chronicon cum Continuatione Treverensi, p. 158. This report is found in a discussion of events in the year 928.

48 "Vilem ne spernas vilis textum monialis,/ Quem praesentari, si digneris reminisci,/ Ipse tui claris iussisti nuper ocellis;/ Et cum perspicias maculis sordescere crebris,/ Ad celerem tanto veniam mox pronior esto,/ In monstrando tuis quantum plus pareo iussis:/ Si tis praecipto non urgerer metuendo,/ Non foret ullamodo mihi metit fiducia tanta,/ Ut tibi praesentis scrutandum rusticitatis/ Auderem satis exiguum praefere libellum . . . " Homeyer, Hrotsvithae Opera, p. 388.

to write at the behest of Otto II, but von Stetten has shown that this was not the case. He interprets her dedicatory verses as a reaction to the monarch's desire to see the nearly completed poem. To be sure, the request on the part of Otto II to be presented with the Gesta Ottonis resulted in Hrotsvitha's revision of the concluding verses, which tell of his father's decision in 967 to make him co-emperor. Neither the dedication to Otto II nor the slight textual amendment, however, should lead scholars to question the sponsorship of the Gesta Ottonis by Otto the Great. Hrotsvitha's aim was to tell the "gesta" of this emperor, and even if Otto II influenced her to change the ending of her poem to include his coronation, this too would have met with the approval of Otto the Great, since he considered this act to be a significant "gestum."

Another of Hrotsvitha's historical epics was the Primordia coenobii Gandeshemenses, the story of the founding of the monastery

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50 Von Stetten, Der Niederschlag liudolfingischer Hausüberlieferung, pp. 126-127 and 131.

51 Verses 1, 843 ff. were amended.

52 See pages 43 ff. of this dissertation.

53 See Rudolf Köpke, Hrotsuit von Gandersheim (Berlin, 1869), p. 88. Köpke maintains that Otto II received the Gesta Ottonis in Italy, where according to Walther Bulst ("Eine Sequenz auf Otto II," GGN [1937], p. 77) he also was presented with a sequence written for his coronation. Karl Hauck in "Kittellateinische Literatur" speculates on the importance of this latter gift: "Die triumphale Veroneser Sequenz für Otto II und seine beiden Eltern 967... sichert das Interesse des Hofes für diese literarische Gattung" (p. 2592).

at Gandersheim, which is usually dated during the reign of Otto II. Although the poetess makes no mention of a commission - she wrote no dedication - there is reason to speculate that Otto II could have been involved in its conception. It has been stressed that Otto II was interested in glorifying his dynasty and Hrotsvitha's poem gives many anecdotes from the early history of the royal family. The emperor would have had ample time to arrange for the commission; he was solicitous towards the monastery in Gandersheim, and could have requested the epic on one of his visits there. However, it should be emphasized again that even though Otto II showed interest in Hrotsvitha's Gesta Ottonis and could have been the patron of her Primordia, his importance for the history of German patronage lies in his sponsorship of tendentious "vitae."

**OTTO III (983-1002)**

Like his father and grandfather, Emperor Otto III commissioned a "vita," the Vita Sancti Adalberti. St. Adalbert was a friend of Otto III, and was murdered by Prussians in carrying out the emperor's

55 Bert Nagel (Hrotsvit von Gandersheim [Stuttgart, 1965], p. 46) notes: "Sofort nach seiner Thronbesteigung (973) hatte Otto II. eine Urkunde für Gandersheim ausgestellt und ihm im folgenden Jahr seinen Königshof in Seesen geschenkt. 975 bestätigte er noch einmal alle von seinen Vorgängern dem Stift vermachten Schenkungen." Gandersheim was such a favorite of Otto II that he had his daughter, Sophie, enter it.

56 "Vita Sancti Adalberti episcopi," MGH:SS, IV, 574-620. The author was probably Abbot Johannes Canaparius of Rome.
"Missionspolitik" in the East. Of course, any written commemoration of Adalbert's life and work among these people served as a reminder of Otto's activities and policies in the eastern regions.

As were the Carolingian emperors, Otto III was motivated in his missionary policies not only by the desire to bring the Holy Writ to heathens, but also by the hope of increasing his prestige and by the desire to extend the cultural influence of the "Reich." As a complement to this program, Otto III dreamt of a "renovatio imperii Romanorum." Among the clerics at Otto's court who championed his grand schemes for a "renovatio," were Bishop Leo of Vercelli and Gerbert of Aurillac. Both wrote panegyric verses to the emperor, but it was Gerbert who most closely collaborated with Otto III and who exerted the greatest influence on him. Otto's dynamic personality and force of character enchanted Gerbert, who answered the call to come to court to become Otto's adviser and educator. The emperor named Gerbert Archbishop of Ravenna and arranged for his elevation to the papal seat - Gerbert became Pope Silvester II. Gerbert served Otto well by putting into words his passionate desire to rule as "imperator." For instance, in

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57 Otto III actively encouraged the conversion of Prussians, Pomeranians, Silesians and Poles, and established churches in the East.

58 Leo composed the Versus de Gregoria papa et Ottone Augusto, which praises the harmony between Pope Gregory V and Otto III. See Ernst Dümmler, Anselm der Peripatetiker nebst andern Beiträgen zur Literaturgeschichte im elften Jahrhundert (Halle, 1872), pp. 78 ff. Gerbert's poems to Otto III are in NGH: Poet, 472 ff.

59 Auerbach, Literatursprache und Publikum in der lateinischen Spätantike und im Mittelalter, pp. 129 ff.
presenting him with a manuscript on logic which Otto had requested, De rationali et ratione uti, Gerbert writes: "Nostrum, nostrum, est Romanorum imperium." 

HENRY II (1002-1024)

Upon the death of Otto III, his cousin Duke Henry II was chosen emperor in spite of strong opposition to and widespread dissatisfaction with his election. To recoup his prestige and to justify his selection the monarch commissioned a Vita Mahtildis between 1002 and 1012.

60 Julien Havet, Lettres de Gerbert (Paris, 1889), p. 237. The political impact of lines such as these was great, and not a little of their thrust was aimed at the court in Byzantium whose rulers would not recognize the authority of the Ottonian emperors. See W. Ohnsorge, "Die Anerkennung des Kaisertums Otto I. durch Byzanz," Byzantinische Zeitschrift, 54 (1961), pp. 28-52. In the dedicatory lines cited above, Gerbert proclaims that Otto III towers over all monarchs in stature and importance. We are reminded that Otto's grandfather, Otto the Great, had also feuded with Byzantium. His advisor Liudprand of Cremona wrote a diatribe against these rulers, the "Relatio de legatione Constantinopolitana" (MGH:SS, III, 347-363), on the occasion of his unsuccessful attempt in finding a bride for Otto II. This work, which is dedicated to Otto the Great, Otto II and Empress Adelheid, is generally believed to have been intended to make propaganda for a war in Southern Italy against Byzantium.

61 Henry's election was contested for a variety of reasons: his grandfather, Duke Henry I, and his father, Henry the Wrangler, had proved trying to the crown (See pages 47 ff. of this dissertation where Hrotsvitha writes about the treason of Duke Henry I against Otto the Great, his brother); disturbing rumors circulated that Henry II mistreated his wife; there were serious doubts whether he had the necessary qualities to rule, and it was even claimed that his child belonged to Satan. See Ludwig Zoepf, Das Heiligenleben im 10. Jahrhundert (Leipzig-Berlin, 1908), pp. 29 ff.


63 It has also been claimed that Henry II or his supporters requested the political poem De Heinrico in support of his election. See Ehrismann, vol. I, pp. 238-239; DeBoor, Die deutsche Literatur, p. 106; Langosch, Die deutsche Literatur des lateinischen Mittelalters, p. 55, and Elisabeth Karg-Gasterstädt, "De Heinrico," V(L) (Berlin, 1955), V, 369-370.
Like Otto II, Henry II turned to Mathilde, the charismatic and revered matriarch of the dynasty. He had the older Vita revised, which had been commissioned by Otto II; material was eliminated and added until the desired slant was achieved. The newer Vita emphasizes the role which Henry's grandfather, Duke Henry I, played in the history of the family, and in fact, Henry I is given a position almost as important as Mathilde herself. Also the emperor deleted Mathilde's prophecy that the fame of Otto II would surpass all other in the dynasty. This change was made both to minimize the import of Otto II and to shift the focus to Henry II, who obviously had aspirations to be the most celebrated Saxon emperor. Henry replaced this prophecy with one of his own; in this later Vita, Mathilde predicts that one day a grandson of Duke Henry (i.e. Henry II) will wear the crown.\textsuperscript{64}

Henry II may also have encouraged another history, the Chronicon of Bishop Thietmar von Merseburg.\textsuperscript{65} Although Thietmar dedicated it to his brother, it is clear that the chronicle, the second half of which is devoted to a panegyric treatment of the rule of Henry II, was meant for the imperial court.\textsuperscript{66} Henry was Thietmar's confidant, had witnessed his ordination into the priesthood and appointed him Bishop of Merseburg.\textsuperscript{67} Since it has been established that other Saxon emperors

\textsuperscript{64}This prophecy is to be found in the \textit{Vita Mahtildis reginae}, Chapter 20.

\textsuperscript{65}"Thietmari Chronicon," \textit{MGH:SS}, III, 723-873.

\textsuperscript{66}Karl Hauck, "Mittellateinische Literatur," p. 2596.

\textsuperscript{67}The close relationship between Thietmar and Henry II is noted in \textit{Manitius}, vol. II, pp. 265 ff.
encouraged their bishops to write tendentious histories, it may be assumed that Henry did the same. The records of their association indicate that Henry certainly had ample opportunity to give the commission.

In addition to the direct commission of literature, Henry's literary interests manifested themselves in other ways. The emperor had manuscripts gathered, a form of literary patronage which was mentioned in our treatment of Charlemagne and can be traced throughout the Middle Ages, recurring in the various periods under consideration. The factors which motivated members of the royal dynasties to collect literature are varied. For example, it was pointed out that Charlemagne, in compiling the "carmina," very likely attempted to create a consciousness of cultural unity. Although Henry's interest in collecting literature was just as avid as Charlemagne's, he was motivated by other concerns.

Henry II gathered literature for repository in Bamberg, a city which he promoted and which he hoped to make into the focal point of culture in the "Reich." Two examples can be cited to show what kind

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68 This gathering of literature is discussed on pages 73; 74, footnote 26; 121; 196 ff.; 210 and 224 of this dissertation.

69 Karl Christ in "Das Mittelalter," p. 143 also suggests that one of Charlemagne's aims in this project was to add to his library.

of manuscripts Henry desired and how he obtained them. It has been suggested that a manuscript of the Heliand was presented to the monarch by his friend Bishop Meinwerk at the occasion of the consecration of the cathedral which Henry had had built in Bamberg. And it is believed that the emperor himself brought a manuscript of the Alexander to Bamberg which he had obtained on a journey to Italy.

In increasing the number of manuscripts in Bamberg, Henry II contributed to the renown and significance of the city. This was, however, only one component of a plan to give the city socio-political importance: Henry gave impetus to all the arts by demonstrating that the crown was interested in them: he had literature transcribed; he founded institutions such as the Cathedral School, and established a diocese in Bamberg.

Thanks to Henry, Bamberg was celebrated as the "German Athens" during his lifetime. The cultural impulses which he initiated in

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72 George Cary (The Medieval Alexander, ed. D. J. A. Ross [Cambridge, Eng., 1956], p. 41) speculates that in 1022 Emperor Henry II brought a manuscript to Bamberg containing the Nativitas et Victoria Alexandri Magni (Historia de Preliis) closest to Archpriest Leo's original translation. Cary continues: "The Bamberg text was... the source of the Bavarian Recension, from which the Munich and Paris MSS. of the Historia de Preliis, and the fifteenth-century German Alexander-book of Johann Hartlieb, descend."

73 For example, at the request of the emperor Deacon Bebo von Bamberg made copies of Hieronymus' commentary to Isaiah and Gregory's Moralia. See Hirsch, Papst, Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reiches unter Heinrich II., I, 545-554, "Briefe und Verse des Diakons Bebo von Bamberg."
the city endured long after his death in 1024, and his activities in Bamberg foreshadow the kind of municipal patronage which gains in importance in the coming centuries. Not only did Conrad III, the first emperor of the Hohenstaufen dynasty, hold court in the city but also many culturally significant persons were later associated with Bamberg; such as, Williram von Ebersberg, the author of the *Expositio in Cantica Canticorum* (about 1065), who taught in the Cathedral School, and Anno, Archbishop of Cologne, who is extolled in the *Annolied* (about 1080) studied there. Also *Himmel und Hölle* (between 1050 and 1100), *Bamberger Glaube und Beichte* (between 1050 and 1100), and the *Ezzolied* (about 1064) were written in this city.

With the exception of Henry's cultural efforts in Bamberg, literature commissioned by the Saxon emperors was either intended to defend political positions or to glorify the dynasty. In this the Ottonians continued a tradition referred to in our discussion of the Carolingian era, namely to promote tendentious and political literature. However, the literary documents which have come down to us from the Carolingian epoch seem to indicate that poems in the vernacular were favored, while in the Ottonian period Latin "vitae" and histories were encouraged — a trend which can be traced to the court of Charles the Bald, the grandson of Charlemagne, who held court in the western part of the Frankish

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75The dates given for these works are based on the chronology of Ehrismann, II, 1, 19 ff.
Since it has been shown that the imperial court was the impetus for much literature in both the Carolingian and Saxon periods, it is clear that those literary histories which ignore the Ottonian period because its literature was written in Latin, and those scholars who, by overemphasizing the role of the monasteries in the promotion of literature, neglect the part which the imperial court played in literary patronage, do the period an injustice.

\[76\] Charles the Bald asked Nithard, his cousin and a lay abbot, to write the "Historium libri IIII," MGH:SS, II, 649-672. This history, which traces the history of Carolingian rule, was commissioned by Charles about 843.
CHAPTER III
The Salic-Frankish Dynasty

The emperors of the Salic-Frankish dynasty were involved in events of political importance, among them the conquest and absorption of the kingdom of Burgundy, the struggles with the Hungarians and Slavs, and the bitter conflicts with the Papacy. One might expect the crown to actively promote literature which treats these conflicts. However, with the possible exception of Conrad II, whose patronage is discussed below, there is no evidence that the rulers of the Salic-Frankish dynasty had any desire to have their deeds recorded, and this attitude is best exemplified in Henry III.

History was not the only neglected genre; the imperial court exhibited a lack of interest in literature in general. Although this era witnessed the emergence of "belles lettres," leading to the eventual flowering of courtly literature during the 12th and 13th centuries, the poets of such literature in the era of the Salic-Frankish emperors did not as far as we know receive support from the crown. The fact that the imperial court was no longer the prime source of literary patronage foreshadows a development during the next centuries when royal sponsorship of literature was challenged by lesser courts. In contrast to the later period when secular courts of dukes, etc. provided competition for patronage, the imperial court was challenged in the Salic-Frankish period by ecclesiastical patrons in monasteries and
at episcopal courts in various areas of the "Reich." Ecclesiastical sponsors were active in the promotion of major poems in the 11th and 12th centuries - be they in Latin (for example, the Ruodlieb) or in German (for instance, the Ezzolied).

In order to discuss patronage in the Salic-Frankish epoch, adequately, it is necessary to include certain ecclesiastical commissions which have been chosen to illustrate the following two points. First, various scholars have in my estimation incorrectly linked poems to the royal court which actually had a monastic commission, and since these theories have influenced critical opinion, they are considered in this discussion. Second, episcopal patronage grew in importance during this period, anticipating the later widespread involvement of prelates in the sponsorship of literature. The significance of episcopal courts in the Salic-Frankish era is well-exemplified by the Ezzolied, which in addition to having been sponsored by a bishop, is of prime importance because it is written in German. The Ezzolied has the distinction of being "the first poem to break the 'century of silence,' during which nothing of a literary nature was written in the vernacular."\(^1\) Beginning with the 11th century, episcopal patronage is of increasing consequence and culminates in the literary sponsorship of a Wolfger of Erla, who is discussed below.\(^2\)


\(^2\)See pages 178 ff. of this dissertation.
CONRAD II (1024–1039)

In 1032 and 1033 Conrad won the kingdom of Burgundy for the "Reich," and in the following years he waged war with the Slavs. The first of these actions was meant to expand and consolidate his realm, and the second to secure the eastern boundaries. Both of these campaigns are commemorated in historical poems by Wipo, a member of the Royal Chapel who was one of the most gifted authors of this period. Wipo wrote his Gallinarius and De nimietate frigoris concerning the Burgundian invasion, and the Breviarium about the campaigns against the Slavs.

None of these writings has come down to us, and we are dependent upon Wipo's brief remarks concerning them, which in one case is sufficient to reveal its purpose. The Breviarium tells us that Conrad is the "ultor fidei," who led his troops - often in difficult circumstances - against the heathen Slavs. The poet compares Conrad to the Roman emperors Titus and Vespasian who also punished non-believers. It has been suggested that Wipo accompanied Conrad on these campaigns and witnessed the events first-hand. If true, this could suggest that Conrad requested Wipo to be at his side so that he could depict the royal deeds in a convincing style.

However, due to the sparse information which we possess, only tentative conclusions can be drawn about Conrad's sponsorship of literature. Either the emperor followed in the tradition of his Saxon

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3Wipo refers to these lost epics in sections 6, 30, and 33 of his "Vita Chuonradi II. imperatoris," MGH:SS, XI, 254-275.

predecessors and promoted these political histories by Wipo, or he exhibited that disinterest in dynastic history which characterizes the reign of his son, Henry III, and these narratives were written and dedicated to him on the initiative of the poet.

HENRY III (1039-1056)

Wipo wrote for Henry III as he had done for his father, Conrad, and it is very likely that he continued to serve the younger monarch as chaplain. It has been suggested that both rulers received songs at the occasion of their coronation and that Wipo wrote them, but this is the only similarity in their literary patronage. Under Henry III the imperial court did not encourage history. There are to be sure, political and tendentious poems dedicated to Henry as well as Wipo's *Vita Chuonradi*, but these do not compare in number or scope with histories and "vitae" supported by his predecessors. For example, Wipo's two poems; *Rithmus ad Heinricum* and his *Tetralogus*, which refer to conditions in Rome and in Burgundy respectively and which counsel the emperor to regulate affairs there, cannot be likened to those poems

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5 See Karl Hauck, "Wipo," *Vbl* (Berlin, 1953), IV, 1020. Although Hauck states that it is not certain that Wipo wrote the anonymous songs *Cantilenae in Chuonradum II. factum imperatorem et in Heinricum III. anno MXXVIII. regem coronatum*, he includes them in his discussion of the poet.

6 Henry's lack of interest in history may explain why Wipo's three narratives which were written under Conrad II and mentioned above were not preserved. In fact other narratives and poems, too, which were written during this period and are documented in various contemporary histories and chronicles did not come down to us.
which we considered in the discussion of the Ottonian emperors.

The major thrust of Wipo's poems which are dedicated to Henry III is didactic, i.e. the monarch is to derive a moral lesson from them. Since it is likely that Wipo was Henry's tutor, this may explain their tone. Among these poems are the *Proverbia centum* and the *Versus ad mensam regis*, but the didactic tenor is best expressed in the *Vita Chuonradi imperatoris*.

Wipo wrote this biography of Conrad II so that his deeds and virtues would guide Henry III. In the dedication to Henry, the poet expresses the desire to write a future history which would chronicle his deeds. Since this proposed epic about Henry III has not come down to us, and there is no reference to it in Wipo's other writings, two conclusions may be drawn; either the poet died before writing it, or Henry III did not offer encouragement for this project and consequently it was not written. Both of these conclusions point to the fact that Henry III was not interested in having the history of his rule recorded. Certainly the first of these arguments is tenuous, since the year of Wipo's death is unknown. In any case, had Henry been interested in a record of his deeds, the death of Wipo would not have deterred him;

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certainly he would have selected someone else to pen them.

Henry's apparent indifference toward historical writings is a departure from the emphasis placed on histories and "vitae" by his predecessors, and the emperor's lack of interest is symptomatic of a nascent attitude which resulted in the declining importance of the imperial court as a source of patronage.

It cannot be established with any certainty that Henry III requested a single one of Wipo's writings. Considering that Wipo was his lifelong confidant to whom he would logically have turned had he desired literature, it is likely that poems by other authors which are dedicated to him were not written on royal command, but were presented to the imperial court in the hope of gaining favor. For instance, when in the early 1040's the emperor sought to stabilize the southeastern front of the "Reich" and defeated the Hungarians, Hermann Contractus, a monk from Reichenau, composed a Rhythmus to commemorate his victory.11 Bern, the abbot of Reichenau, also sent writings to the royal court.12 In dedicating their works to Henry III, both clerics may have been motivated by the wish to accrue benefits for their monastery. Further, Anselm of Besate, an Italian cleric, also dedicated

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11 This poem is lost to us, and the reference to it is mentioned in Langosch, Die deutsche Literatur des lateinischen Mittelalters, p. 103.

12 Bern sent the emperor his "collected works:" sermons, hymns, musical tracts, liturgical texts, a feast calendar and perhaps a "Fürstenspiegel." See Carl Erdmann, Forschungen zur politischen Ideenwelt des Frühmittelalters, ed. F. Baethgen (Berlin, 1951).
his books on rhetoric, the Rhetorimachia to Henry. Anselm's dedicatory preface is of great interest because it demonstrates that the writers of this period were conscious of and had an appreciation for the long tradition of literary patronage. Also, a certain Arnulf, probably a French monk, presented the imperial court with the Delicie cleri. This work is a collection of Biblical proverbs and sayings, and it is possible that Arnulf chose religious themes for his collection because he knew that Henry III had found favor in Wipo's moralistic and epigrammatic poetry. The death of the emperor may have

13 See Ernst Dümmel, Anselm der Peripatetiker. Anselm had already dedicated his Rhetorimachia to his teacher Drogo of Parma. Anselm writes to Henry III: "Virgilius quidem Maro suo quodam opusculo est cesari commendatus Augusto, unde in maiori opere post sudavit Aeneidae. Nostro igitur hoc opusculo, ut ipse cesari Augusto, sic et nos cesari commendemus Heinrico" (p. 16). At first glance, Anselm is giving his own august emperor high praise in associating him with the famous patron and emperor Augustus, who numbered among his friends Maecenas, the model patron whose very name became synonymous with literary sponsorship. To be sure, at the same time Anselm identifies himself with Vergil, the most celebrated poet who Maecenas encouraged! Anselm's reference to the Golden Age of Roman patronage was apparently a "topos;" Curtius in European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, p. 470, cites two examples of poets who long for the "good old days" of patronage. Serlo of Bayeux (died about 1120), for example, writes: "Plato subtillis foret hoc in tempore vilis;/ De nullis donis gauderet Musa Maronis;/ ... Carmina ignari proceres, hebetes et avaris/ Dissimiles plane tibi sunt, pater Octaviane." And Walther of Châtillon (died after 1189), in asking the Pope for a benefice reminds him that Vergil was wealthy: "Quid dant artes nisi luctum/ Et laborem? vel quem fructum/ Fert genus et species?/ ... Antiquitus et studere/ Fructus erat et habere/ Declamantem socios . . ."


15 Ibid., p. 213.
prevented still another dedication, namely the Expositio in Cantica Canticorum by Williram von Ebersberg. 16

With the possible exception of Wipo, our treatment of Henry III up to this point has been limited to apparently unsolicited literature which was presented to the imperial court. Since this literature, though dedicated to the emperor, was written at the initiative of clerics to gain imperial favor, it is clear that the impetus for literary production now rests with the individual poet and not the crown. No clear contour of the monarch's literary interests emerges from the works mentioned, and the chronicles which were written during the 11th century are of little help in resolving this question.

For instance, one chronicle claims that the emperor actively promoted all the arts. 17 This record, however, is of doubtful historical value, since it was written after Henry's death when his rule was fondly remembered during the stormy reign of his son, Henry IV.

16 Henry III had placed Abbot Williram von Ebersberg in his post, and it is reasonable that the cleric, whose relatives were bishops and archbishops, was hopeful of gaining a similar office through the gift of his Expositio. At Henry's death, Williram dedicated his writing to Henry IV, and mentioned in the verses which accompany it, that the demise of Henry III had dashed his hopes: "Mortem quando luit spes mea tota ruit." See Appendix II. See also Wilhelm Scherer, "Leben Willirams, Abtes von Ebersberg in Baiern. Beitrag zur Geschichte des 11. Jahrhunderts," SBAK Wien, 53 (1867), pp. 197-303.

17 The "Annales Augustani" (MGH:SS, III, 125) claim: "Huius astipulatione et industria plurimi eo tempore in artibus, in aedificiis, in auctoribus, in omni genere doctrinae pollebant... Studium ubique famousissimum." See also Ernst Dümmler (Anselm der Peripatetiker, p. 10) where he cites other praise of Henry's support of the arts. For instance, Gozwin von Mainz (died about 1074) wrote: "Tunc temporis ecclesia ... multiplici liberalium litteratum propagine florebat."
Further, contrary to this report, two chronicles clearly state that Henry dismissed entertainers from his presence without rewards. These latter accounts seem to characterize his attitude more accurately. In the spirit of the aesthetic ideals of Cluny, Henry III was a preacher who did public penance, and his religious zeal may have led him to dismiss the "histriones" and "ioculatores."

In discussing the patronage of the major works which are normally dated in Henry's era - the *Carmina Cantabrigiensa*, the *Ecbasis cuiusdam captivi* and the *Ruodlieb* - scholars have recently attempted to link them to the court of Henry III. Since this study has demonstrated that the literature which was promoted by the imperial court was utilitarian to a great degree, any findings to the effect that

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18. Hermann Contractus (See page 69 of this dissertation) wrote in his "Augiensis Chronicon" (MGH:SS, V, 124): ... "apud Ingelenheim nuptias celebravit, et in vano hystrianum favore nihil pendendo, utile cunctis exemplu, vacuos eos et moerentes dimittendo, proposuit." And the "Annales Hildesheimenses" (MGH:SS, III, 104) report: ... "histrionem et ioculatorum multituidinem sine cibo et muneribus vacuam et merentem abire permisit."


20. See footnote 18 of this section for references.

21. I have chosen the Latin title instead of *Cambriger Lieder* or *Cambridge Songs* because it is used by Karl Strecker in his critical edition (MGH:SS rer germ i u sch, XL [1926-1955]), and it reminds the reader that, save for a few German phrases, these poems are in Latin.
Henry III broke this pattern and commissioned "belles lettres" are of consequence.

Attempts to establish a relationship between the imperial court and the writings of the above three works are based on a reference in a letter to Henry III in which the author of this epistle mentions that the monarch expressed a wish that "modi," i.e. poems with melodies composed in the style and form of the sequence, be collected: "Quod me legatione vestra interpellavit de modis non adnunc eos congregavi." It was this single quote which inspired scholars to investigate the literary patronage of Henry III, and eventually to label him a major "rex litteratus." Since "modi" are found among the Carmina Cantabrigiensi,

Walther Bulst speculates that many of the songs in this collection were gathered by chaplains at the royal court and believes that Henry offered them encouragement in this project. As vague as Bulst's arguments are, I believe that this theory does have some merit, if only to focus attention on literary patronage at the imperial court in the Salic-Frankish era. To be sure, it is undeniable that Henry III

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22 "Modi" treat both secular and religious themes.

23 Walther Bulst, "Zur Vorgeschichte der Cambridger und anderer Sammlungen," HistVjs, 27 (1932), p. 827. Bulst discusses this quote and mentions that the collector was a certain Magister Ebbo of Worms.

24 Bulst, "Zur Vorgeschichte der Cambridger und anderer Sammlungen," pp. 827 ff., and "Politische und Hofdichtung der Deutschen bis zum hohen Mittelalter," DVjs, 15 (1937), p. 199. Karl Hauck ("Heinrich III. und der 'Ruodlieb'," PBB, 70 [H, 1948], p. 418) notes that in his unpublished dissertation, Wipo und die Cambridger Liedersammlung — which was unavailable to me — he attempted to develop Bulst's theory that the Carmina Cantabrigiensi were collected at the imperial court.
expressed a wish for a collection of "modi," and that such songs, along with others of personal relevance to the king, are included among the Carmina Cantabrigiensia. Also I have shown that such gathering of literature was a royal tradition. But these arguments do not conclusively demonstrate that Henry III was the prime mover behind this collection. A close analysis of the "modi" in the Carmina Cantabrigiensia hardly suggests that the monarch would have desired their recording. For example, if the king, as pointed out above, had little interest in history, then it is unlikely that the Modus Ottinc, which has a historical basis and lauds in any case the Ottonian dynasty, would have been included in his collection. And likewise, it doesn't seem plausible that this ruler, who was so imbued with the ideals of Cluny, would have requested the profane "modi" which are in the collection, for instance, the Modus florum and the Modus Liebinc.

Our conclusion must be that Bulst's arguments concerning the patronage of the Carmina Cantabrigiensia are inconclusive and that

25 See page 67, footnote 5 of this dissertation.

26 It will be recalled that Charlemagne and Henry II had collections, and Empress Gisela, the mother of Henry III, requested copies of a few biblical translations by Notker the German. See Ernst Steindorff, Jahrbücher des deutschen Reiches unter Heinrich III (Leipzig, 1874), I, 11.

27 See pages 67 ff. of this dissertation. The Carmina Cantabrigiensia includes an elegy to Henry II as well as poems to Henry II and Otto III.

28 The Modus Ottinc is reproduced in Strecker, Carmina Cantabrigiensia, pp. 33 ff. In discussing this poem, Manitius (III, 971), calls it a "historisches Stück."
Henry's role is uncertain. Doubts in this regard should not obscure the fact, however, that Henry was a literary sponsor and did request that "modi" be collected. But it must be emphasized that the letter which reports this collection was written before the death of Conrad II in 1039, and thus does not necessarily comment on Henry's literary activities and interests while emperor.

Following Bulst's remarks concerning the Carmina Cantabrigiensia other attempts were made to link specific songs in the Cambridge collection to the crown. For instance, Langosch surmises that songs of French origin owe their inclusion to Agnes of Poitou, the empress. This theory cannot be convincingly proven, however, and is reminiscent of the highly speculative hypothesis that she brought French epic material to Germany. It is known that Agnes, like Henry, was especially religious, and that she encouraged pious literature - especially devotional tracts - after the emperor's death in 1056, when she combined an ascetic life at a monastery in Rome with ecclesiastical patronage.

29 The letter to Henry cited above is dated between 1028 and 1039.
30 Langosch, Die deutsche Literatur des lateinischen Mittelalters, pp. 93-94. According to Langosch, the songs Agnes brought to Henry's court are numbers 10, and 35 through 47.
Attempts to show that Henry III was a patron of "belles lettres" are not limited to the Carmina Cantabrigiensia. Erdmann, in contrast to a widely held view, dates the Ecbasis cuiusdam captivi in Henry's reign, claiming that the monarch and his "Friedenspolitik" are mentioned in the poem. This conclusion has led scholars such as Langosch and Hauck to associate Henry III or his "circle" with the sponsorship of the poem.

33 Carl Erdmann, "Konrad II und Heinrich III in der 'Ecbasis captivi,'" DA, 4 (1940-41), pp. 382 ff. His "Die Entstehungszeiten des 'Waltharius' und der 'Ecbasis captivi'," ForschFortschr, 15 (1941), pp. 169 ff., was not available to me.

34 Ehrismann (vol. I, p. 383) suggests, for example, that the poem was composed about 930-940.

35 A "Heinricus" is referred to in lines 132 and 254. See Edwin Zeydel, Ecbasis cuiusdam captivi: Escape of a Certain Captive Told in a Figurative Manner: An 11th Century Latin Beast Epic (Chapel Hill, 1964). Between 1043 and 1047 Henry III proclaimed a public peace and urged forgiveness to feuders in the realm. Erdmann believes that the following lines refer to Henry's "Friedenspolitik:" "Facis palma detur, donec cras missa canatur./ Heinrici placitis cepi moderamina pacis" (131-132).


37 Karl Hauck ("Haus- und sippengebundene Literatur mittelalterlicher Adelsgeschlechter von Adellssatiren des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts aus erläutert", MIÖG, 62 (1954), pp. 141 ff.) has argued that the public for the poem was the circle of Bishop Bruno of Toul, later Pope Leo IX, who was the cousin of Henry III. Anton Michel in "Die 'Ecbasis cuiusdam captivi per tropologiam,' ein Werk Humberts des späteren Kardinals von Silva Candida", SBAkNün (1957), pp. 3 ff., develops Hauck's idea. Michel believes that Humbert of Moyenmoutier, the secretary, confidant, and biographer of Bishop Bruno of Toul, was the author of the Ecbasis captivi.
These theories depend on the assumption that the *Ecbasis captivi* was written during the reign of Henry III. But other scholars persist in dating the poem in the 10th century, finding no conclusive evidence that it was penned during Henry's time in office. In addition, the "Heinricus" mentioned in the text could well be another monarch. Further, it has been conclusively shown that the poem was not written for a secular public, i.e. for the imperial court, but was rather composed for a monastery.

The third document among "belles lettres" under discussion is the *Ruodlieb*, and as in the case of the *Carmina Cantibrigiensia* and the *Ecbasis captivi*, the arguments that Henry III or his circle commissioned the poem are of doubtful validity.

Hauck has interpreted the *Ruodlieb* as a biographical-realistic description of events, objects or persons in the reign of Henry III.

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40. Werner Ross, "Die 'Ecbasis captivi' und die Anfänge der mittelalterlichen Tierdichtung."

and has attempted to prove that the emperor was its patron. Influenced by Erdmann's conclusions regarding the Ecballis captivi, Hauck had argued that the imperial "Friedenspolitik" is reflected in the Ruodlieb, and that the humane and exemplary ruler, "rex major," is modelled after Henry III himself. In addition, Hauck borrows the arguments of those scholars who, while admitting that the epic was written in the monastery at Tegernsee, account for its "worldly" influences by claiming that the poet was a cleric who had spent time in the Imperial Chancellery. According to Hauck the jewelry and Byzantine coins mentioned in the poem were seen by the poet with his own eyes at Henry's court. Hauck also attempts to prove that Henry could have promoted the poem in Tegernsee by citing his contacts with that monastery.

In later studies Hauck considers the importance of the epigrams to the Ruodlieb for the patronage of the epic, and, believing that the

42 Hauck, "Heinrich III. und der 'Ruodlieb'," pp. 397 ff.
43 See page 76, footnote 35 of this dissertation.
44 Ruodlieb, the hero of the epic, serves at the court of the "Great King" who is a model ruler.
46 Hauck, "Rituelle Speisegemeinschaft im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert," Studium Generale (1950), esp. p. 617; "Mittellateinische Literatur," pp. 2601-2602. Hauck does take cognizance of the epigrams in his initial study ("Heinrich III. und der 'Ruodlieb'," p. 415), but only in a footnote, and arguments concerning the patronage of the epic are not developed. A clear illustration that some scholars ignore the epigrams is shown by Ford, who does not include them in his edition of the poem (see page 77, footnote 41). I favor Zeydel's suggestion that the epigrams belong to the Ruodlieb and were written by the poet. See Edwin Zeydel, "Die elf Epigramme der Munchner Ruodliebhandschrift," DVLig, 33 (1959), pp. 257 ff.
sponsor was a certain "Dietmarus," who is mentioned in the epigrams, alters his theory that Henry III promoted the poem. However, it becomes clear that Hauck has not given up the notion that the patron was in contact with the imperial court: he identifies "Dietmarus" as Count Dietmar (Thietmar) of Forbach near Passau, who was related to the emperor.

Neither of Hauck's theories is convincing, however. First, as regards Henry III, the arguments concerning his relations with Tegernsee are inconclusive, and his literary dealings with the monastery are limited to orders for religious writings. And Braun has convincingly shown that the "rex major" was not, as Hauck had suggested, patterned after Henry III, but is a figure who exhibits the traditional virtues of a Christian king. In fact, the epic as

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47 See Hauck, "Heinrich III. und der 'Ruodlieb'," p. 391. Hauck quotes from Pez' Thesaurus anecdotorum novissimus, Tom. III, 1721 Monumenta Historiam Monasterii Tegernseensis illustrantia, Chronicon col. 512, C., which reports that the emperor exchanged two fiefs, Unholtzing and Hettinbach, for an ornate Bible prepared for him in Tegernsee: "Anno Domini millesimo quinquagesimo quarto collata est Imperatori Heinrico tertio a nobis Bibliotheca magna auro et argento composita, ac scriptura decenter ornata. Econtra retulit nobis praedia in Unholezing et in Hettinbach per rapinam Arnoldi impii Noricorum Ducis olim alienata."


49 Braun, Studien zum 'Ruodlieb', pp. 18 ff.
a whole cannot be read as a mirror of historical events. Its ethos is religious and not courtly, Braun believes, and the author need not have come in contact with a secular court to have learned about courtly customs, jewelry, etc., but could have acquired his knowledge from Benedictine monastic culture, to which the _Ruodlieb_ owes all its essential impulses. The epic, as Braun has clearly demonstrated, was conceived, written and promoted in Tegernsee.

Braun does not come to grips with the problems of the epigrams and the "Dietmarus" - controversy, but he does provide an avenue for the resolution to this question. Although the _Ruodlieb_ was written and sponsored in Tegernsee, Braun contends, the public of the epic was not ecclesiastical but courtly. Consequently, this poem was meant to educate and inspire a secular, i.e. knightly audience. Since "Dietmarus" is clearly described as a noble, it is reasonable that

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50 See also Kurt Ruh, Höfische Epik des deutschen Mittelalters: Von den Anfängen bis Hartmann von Aue (Berlin, 1967), I, 27-32, who summarizes literature on the _Ruodlieb_. Ruh, in agreement with Braun, has shown that scholars have been all too ready to label the epic "the earliest courtly novel" (Zeydel), or a "Vorform der höfisch-ritterlichen Welt der Stauferzeit" (DeBoor), while the poem in reality is "eine Frühform des ritterlichen Romans." The _Ruodlieb_ is based on a "Legendentypus" which became popular during the Cluny reforms, and its hero is a "miles christianus" (Braun, Ruh).

51 Braun, Studien zum 'Ruodlieb', p. 106.

52 Ibid., p. 104. Braun does not attempt to explain what relationship the epigrams have with the epic, but only mentions that they were influenced by the Roman poet Martial.

53 Ibid., p. 105

54 See Edwin Zeydel, "Die elf Epigramme," pp. 259 ff. Since the epigrams have come down to us in fragments, various reconstructions exist. I am following the reconstruction and consequently the German translation of Edwin Zeydel. His version of the second epigram, both Latin and German, follows:
he was part of the audience of the poem, and the author's laudation suggests that "Dietmarus" was either the recipient of the Ruodlieb, or was considered to be so exemplary that he was to serve as a model for the other nobles who read the epic. Hence, in disagreement with Hauck, I would contend that "Dietmarus" could not have been the sponsor of the poem, and in agreement with Braun, maintain that the Ruodlieb was a product of a monastic commission in Tegernsee.

The discussion of Henry's literary patronage has shown that it is incorrect to label Henry a "rex litteratus." This belief has led one scholar, Hauck, to make exaggerated claims such as: "So kann in der Mitte des 11. Jahrhunderts der Hof Heinrichs III. anteilnehmend und anregend im Zentrum der neuen grossen Bl"utezeit der lateinischen Adelsliteratur des Hochmittelalters stehen." It has been established that neither the writing of the Ruodlieb nor the Ecbasis cuiusdam captivi can be associated with Henry or his circle, nor can it be determined with certainty whether the Carmina Cantabriiensia

...Dietmar, der allerseits durch die h"ochsten Tugenden ber"uhmt (seinen Feinden recht bitter) ist.

Und wenn er seinen Leuten mit schmackhaften Festmahlen dient, Dann versorgt der Held sie so mit Nahrung wie mit Kleidung-
Er, der mit grosser Tugend gegen seine Feinde die Schwerter erhebt.

was compiled at the imperial court. Even though certain chronicles' point to Henry's reign as a Golden Age, his tenure as emperor is a hiatus in the history of German medieval literary patronage.

**HENRY IV (1056-1106)**

In contrast to Henry III, there is proof that his son, Henry IV, actively promoted literature. He occasioned tendentious works meant to vindicate the imperial position. The emperor was faced with rebellions in Saxony, and the conflicts of "imperium" and "sacerdotium" relating to simony and lay investiture had reached a critical point. The literature discussed in the following section speaks to both of these matters and very often takes the form of political propaganda. Since this dissertation adheres to the broad definition of literature, political propaganda is considered. Although propaganda is too often neglected by literary histories, there are certain critics who have not excluded such works from the history of literature and have labeled them "Kontroversliteratur" and "Briefliteratur." Various genres which were employed to communicate the royal viewpoint were unique;

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56 See page 71, footnote 17 of this dissertation.

57 See pages 11 ff. and 37 ff. of this dissertation.

58 This term comes from Carl Mirbt, Die Publizistik im Zeitalter Gregors VII. (Leipzig, 1894), p. 5.

now for the first time emperors used "Flugschriften" and letters sent out in their name to support the crown's position. 60

It is generally agreed that the authors of this partisan literature were clerics who held posts in the Royal Chancellery or in the Royal Chapel. 61 It is only reasonable that the emperor would have chosen these men to author his literature: historical records were preserved in the Chancellery; the authors were well-versed in theology — which was a necessity in effectively dealing with the Church —, and they had a command of Latin. This last point is particularly important since Latin was the traditional language of historiography, of the Church and the language of the educated and prestigious public which the imperial court hoped to influence.

A lengthy historical epic, the Carmen de bello Saxonico 62 (about 1075), and a short imperial letter clearly illustrate how literature was utilized to further the political aims of the throne. The Carmen de bello Saxonico was written after Henry quelled the uprisings in Saxony. One purpose of the poem was clearly to praise the emperor who is pictured as a hero: he is brave, decisive and slays the foes of

60 Langosch (Die deutsche Literatur des lateinischen Mittelalters, p. 16) notes that the clash between "imperium" and "sacerdotium" resulted in "die neue Gattung der Streit- und Flugschriften. . ." These writings are collected in MGH: Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum saec. XI. et XII. conscripti, I-III.

61 Many, but not all of Henry's literary defenses at imperial request were by anonymous clerics. One exception is the "Defensio Heinrici IV. regis" by the jurist Petrus Crassus (MGH: LdL, I, 432-453).

the crown by the thousands. In accord with this tendency towards gross exaggeration, the poet equates Henry's triumph over the Saxons with Charlemagne's. But the panegyric epic seeks to do more than merely extol Henry IV. The poet reports, for instance, that although a severe winter kills the Saxons, the royal troops suffer no cold. This kind of claim, which is typical of the tenor of the "vita," suggests the intervention of the divine, and is thus reminiscent of imperial historiography sponsored by the Ottonians. Finally, the author's implication that Henry's victory was God-ordained may have been intended to rebuke those secular nobles and prelates in the "Reich" who did not offer support for his campaign against the Saxons. The Carmen is an excellent example of tendentious literature and clearly demonstrates that the crown once more promotes historiography.

Although the Carmen de bello Saxonico has a political tendency, nowhere does it reach the propaganda-level of Henry's imperial letters. In order to understand the function of these letters, the political situation in which the emperor found himself must be kept in mind, for at this time the "Investiturstreit" was at its peak. Henry IV came into conflict with Pope Gregory VII, who denounced simony and lay investiture, was concerned about priestly celibacy and sought to free the

63 The poet states: "Nec predicta viris nocuerunt frigora tantis,/ Nam sanguis calidus fuit his et bellica virtus," p. 1227.

Church from imperial and secular interference. In attacking lay investiture, Gregory threatened the very system of government prevailing in the "Reich." As the system stood, the emperor chose the prelates, and they were his vassals. If Henry gave up the right to investiture, he would be forced to do without the support of his ecclesiastical vassals.

When the emperor failed to comply with Gregory's requests, he was threatened with excommunication. Henry replied by sending the Pope an open letter, probably written by Gottschalk von Aachen, an imperial chaplain, in which the emperor cursed Gregory and demanded that he step down from the seat which St. Peter had occupied: "Ego Heinricus dei gratia rex cum omnibus episcopis nostris tibi dicimus: descende, descende!" Certainly Henry could have sent Gregory a private letter had this been his intention; instead he had the epistle read aloud to the Pope and an audience of Church officials, clearly showing that imperial letters had become public manifestos meant to sway opinion and to reaffirm the power of the crown.

In addition to these official letters, Henry IV encouraged the writing of "Flugschriften." These pamphlets were not only highly polemic in their tone, but were pure propaganda meant to defend the position of the crown. Certainly political literature has been discussed in this study – for instance the "vitae" and histories of the Ottonian period –, but the polemic nature of these pamphlets is more

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extreme and addresses its audience directly. Once nourished by Henry IV, this type of literature took root and was consistently employed by his successors.

It is clear that this evidence gives no indication that Henry actively supported literature which was not an aid in resolving political difficulties. This conclusion is strengthened by his refusal to become the patron of Williram von Ebersberg. It was noted that Williram, Abbot of Ebersberg, had dedicated the paraphrase of the "Song of Songs," the Expositio in Cantica Canticorum, to Henry IV. In offering the Expositio to the emperor and in requesting to be allowed to return to Fulda, Williram desired recognition and reward. Henry turned a deaf ear to both requests and refused to accept the work. Since Henry IV was not involved at all in the conception and production of the Expositio, it may serve as still another example of literature written at the initiative of the author and not the imperial court.

HENRY V (1106-1125)

Like the other emperors in his dynasty, Henry V appears to have had little inclination to promote either "vitae," histories or "belles


67 See Appendix II.
lettres." However, one exception should be mentioned for the sake of the record. Henry V asked his chaplain, David, who had accompanied him on his Roman campaign of 1110–1111, to commemorate his deeds in a work of some three books. This commission is mentioned in the *Chronicon universale*. 68

The literary inactivity of Henry V underscores a point which has been made repeatedly in this chapter, namely that in the Salic-Frankish period the clergy and not the crown was the major source of sponsorship. 69 This conclusion is given further support below.

**EXCURSUS: "WALTHARIUS" AND "EZZOLIED"**

In the introduction to this chapter it was noted that episcopal patronage grew in importance during the Salic-Frankish period, 70 and that, in fact, this trend is one of the most significant developments of the era. To be sure, there were bishops in the Carolingian and Ottonian eras, who, like bishops in the Salic-Frankish period, fur-
tered literature independent of the crown. The epic poem *Waltharius manu fortis*,71 for instance, was presented to a prelate in the ninth or tenth century (see below).

Even though there is some evidence of literary activity directed by bishops in the periods prior to the Salic-Frankish era, much of this literary patronage was influenced by the throne. This is illustrated in the case of both Raban Maur and William of Mainz, where, as noted above, the imperial court influenced and directed their patronage, even employing them as intermediaries between the crown and poets.

This section focuses on two commissions in the Salic-Frankish period which were granted independent of the imperial court, both to show the importance of the episcopal court as a center of patronage, and to foreshadow its significance in the coming centuries.

The most important episcopal court in the "Reich" was Mainz, for the Archbishop was the holder of the most prestigious Church office. It has been shown how three men who held this position, Raban Maur, Liutbert and William of Mainz, had very close ties with the crown, and that they were involved in literary projects with the emperors. Another prominent Archbishop of Mainz was Aribo (died 1031). He was a literary patron, and there is evidence of contacts with the imperial court,72 but in contrast to the earlier period, there is no indication that

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72.Besides the normal contacts that the Archbishop of Mainz had with the imperial court, Emperor Henry II was especially solicitous towards Aribo's "family monastery," Seeon, which his father had founded.
either Henry II or Conrad II influenced his promotion of literature.

In order to appreciate the patronage of Archbishop Aribo, one must first deal with the thorny problem of the Waltharius - controversy. Aribo's reputation as a Maecenas rests on the following lines in the report by Ekkehard IV of St. Gallen, his court poet, who tells how the Archbishop asked him to bring a Vita Waltharii manu fortis up to current literary standards:

![Image](image-url)

There have been differing interpretations given to this quotation and its mention of a Vita Waltharii. Some scholars believe that this Vita is the well-known heroic epic, Waltharius manu fortis, while others contend that this reference alludes to another work which treats...
the same hero, Walther, but is religious in tone. I am in sympathy with this latter position. Because confusion reigns concerning the two Waltharius-poems, and because I deem it impossible to discuss problems connected with the one without considering the other, I have decided to mention at this point the question of sponsorship of the Waltharius manu fortis.

As regards this epic, the Waltharius manu fortis is dedicated to a certain "pontifex summus... Erckambaldus," who, it is generally agreed, was either Bishop Erchanbald of Eichstädt, or Bishop Erchanbald of Strassburg. The most likely candidate is the latter, who zealously promoted the arts, learning and the sciences. The Bishop did not receive "at his own request a copy of the epic," as has been contended; there is no textual evidence for this assumption. Rather, it seems more likely that the poem was sent to Bishop Erchanbald of Strassburg for approval. The author—who is now generally believed to be a certain Gerald—apologizes to the prelate that he celebrated the deeds of a warrior instead


76 See Appendix III.


of singing the praises of the Lord.\textsuperscript{80}

To return to Archbishop Aribo of Mainz and Ekkehard IV, the theory that the passage in the \textit{Casus sancti Galli} concerns the religious \textit{Vita} and not the \textit{Waltharius manu fortis} has recently been strengthened by Meissburger,\textsuperscript{81} whose arguments bring this commission into clear focus. He claims that Aribo requested the revision of the \textit{Vita} in order to give it contemporary appeal. The popularity of the heroic \textit{Waltharius} could have motivated Aribo to request Ekkehard IV to revise the \textit{Vita} in the hope that it would supplant its heroic counterpart.

Aribo's sponsorship of the revision of the \textit{Vita Waltharii} is an example of the Church's attempt to commission literature which was to compete with and displace secular poems. This was accomplished by reworking worldly literature or by requesting original poems (for instance, Otfrid's \textit{Evangelienbuch}, the \textit{Georgslied},\textsuperscript{82} and the \textit{Ezzolied}).

The second episcopal commission under consideration, the \textit{Ezzolied},\textsuperscript{83}

\textsuperscript{80}Here I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Clarence Forbes, who provided me with an excellent translation of the Prologue to the \textit{Waltharius manu fortis} and helped render other troublesome Latin passages. I also profited much from our discussions.


\textsuperscript{82}Hans Bauer ("Georgslied," \textit{VL} [Berlin-Leipzig, 1936], II, 22) claims for instance: "Der Zweck dieser Dichtungen (Ratpert's \textit{Lobgesang auf den heiligen Gallus, Georgslied}) war der gleiche, wie ihn Otfrid in der Vorrede zu seinen 'Evangelienbuch' angibt: Es galt, den anstößigen, weltlichen Gesang der Laien zu verdrängen, d.h. an die Stelle germanischer Heldenlieder christliche Gesänge zu setzen."

also involved the displacement of secular poetry. It was requested by Bishop Gunther of Bamberg (died 1065), but the prologue which reports his wish does not state why he asked for it. Two common reasons given by scholars for this request are: first, that the song was written to celebrate the adoption of a strict, regulated ecclesiastical rule in Bamberg; second, that the Ezzolied was meant for the dedication of St. Gangolph, a "Kollegiatstift."

However, none of these theories adequately explains the writing of the Ezzolied. It is well known that Gunther was interested in heroic poetry, and that he was scolded by Meinhard, the Cathedral Schoolmaster in Bamberg, for his preoccupation with heroes such as Attila the Hun and Theoderich, when he should rather have been reading ecclesiastical literature. In fact, it has been claimed that

84 "Der guote biscoh Guntere vone Babenberch der hiez machen ein vil guot werch;/ er hiez die sine phaphen ein guot liet machen./ eines liedes si begunden, want si di buoch chunden./ Ezzo begunde scriben Wille vant die wise./duo er die wise duo gewan, duo ilten si sich alle munechen./ von ewen zuo den ewen got gnade ir aller sele." Ibid., p. 284.

85 Ehrismann, II, 1, 45.

86 DeBoor, Die deutsche Literatur, p. 146.

Gunther even wrote secular poems and participated in "dramatic presentations" at court. If Meinhard's criticism is any indication of displeasure among the clergy about Gunther's neglect of Church duties for trivial and mundane literature, then another reason for the composition of the Ezzolied presents itself. Gunther was pressed by the Church to commission a religious poem which could compete with and supplant the worldly songs which he had previously encouraged. This could explain why German was chosen as the language of the Ezzolied. It was the same language in which the heroic tales were told, and in using the vernacular the bishop could better reach a public which like himself favored songs in German. The "worldly sound" which Mergell finds in the Ezzolied lends credence to this interpretation.

If the Ezzolied can be taken as an example of literature written to provide competition for heroic poetry, then the circumstances concerning its composition can be compared with those of Otfrid's Evangelienbuch, another work with the avowed purpose of surpressing...

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89 Although not developed, this point was alluded to by Carl Erdmann in "Fabulae Curiales," p. 94, and Heinz Rupp, Deutsche Religiöse Dichtungen des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts (Freiburg i/B, 1958), p. 82.

the "cantus obscenus." Otfrid's epic, which to be sure is a much more ambitious work, is dedicated to Emperor Louis the German, and very possibly was written with his support, while the Ezzolied was composed without such royal encouragement. This comparison reaffirms the conclusion which has been emphasized throughout this chapter, i.e. the increasing power and influence of the Church is mirrored in its endowment of the arts. Certainly the emperors sponsored some literature, which was mainly historical and propagandistic, and in addition, the crown acted as a stimulus for other writings which were dedicated to the royal house in the hope of gaining imperial favor. However, although the emperors left a political imprint on the era, their socio-political importance is not reflected in the patronage of literature, which, more than during the previous period, had become the province of the monasteries and episcopal courts.
CHAPTER IV
The Hohenstaufen Dynasty

Concerning medieval literary patronage, the Hohenstaufen era is the most complex epoch of those which have been considered. Not only do the imperial court, monasteries and episcopal courts continue to sponsor the arts, but lesser secular courts promote literature to such a degree that they come to dominate the period. In addition municipal patronage, which flowers in the later Middle Ages, begins to play a significant role in the production of literature. In order to avoid confusion in discussing the literary patronage of this era, this chapter will deal solely with imperial sponsorship, whereas the following chapter will consider those lesser secular courts, a few episcopal courts of the Hohenstaufen era, and municipal patronage.

The dominance of the lesser courts does not imply that imperial patronage in this era is insignificant. In fact, Provencal songs may have been first introduced at the imperial court and many of the prominent poets of the period, among them Walther von der Vogelweide and Rudolf von Ems, came in contact with the royal court and enjoyed its patronage. But the crown was not able to stem the loss of prestige so evident in the Salic-Frankish dynasty.

The Hohenstaufen emperors carry forth the promotion of historiography, which was shown to be an imperial tradition, and although this was a prevalent literary form, for instance during the reign of
Frederick Barbarossa, it was by no means the major genre of the era. In addition, up to this period the imperial court had sponsored historiography written exclusively in Latin, and a significant innovation during this era is the use of German for an historical poem (the Weltchronik by Rudolf von Ems written for Conrad IV). The vernacular is employed, too, for "belles lettres," and for the first time the imperial court encourages literature which is without political tendency and is not motivated by utilitarian concerns. It is precisely this variety of literature which makes this period so significant for a history of patronage and the diversity of literary activity at the imperial court is reflected in literary patronage throughout the realm.

In the Hohenstaufen epoch the promotion of literature at the royal court is no longer the sole province of the emperors. In addition to the monarchs, Archbishop Rainald of Dassel (died 1167), Barbarossa's chancellor, and Conrad of Winterstetten (died 1243), "pincerna," imperial tutor to Conrad IV and Henry VII, royal advisor and administrator, not only influenced the emperors in the sponsorship of literature, but were also active patrons in their own right. This is an indication of the ever-decreasing influence of imperial patronage, for now the ruling house is not only challenged by ecclesiastical and secular courts in the distribution of patronage, but also by members of the imperial court themselves.

FREDERICK I "BARBAROSSA" (1152-1190)

During the reign of the Hohenstaufen emperors there is unprece-
dented literary activity, and literary histories designate this period as the Golden Age of German medieval literature. Historically the Hohenstaufen era begins with Conrad III (1138-1152), and it is significant that the first ruler of the family is associated with "die schönen Künste,"\(^1\) a trend which is indicative of the entire dynasty. In contrast to previous rulers, it is of consequence that references to Conrad's literary interests contain no mention of historiography. This is not to say that this genre was not promoted by later members of his dynasty, but that the literary interests of the crown had become more diverse. This is well-exemplified in the next ruler, Frederick Barbarossa, who is associated with "minnesang" as well as history.

Not since Otto the Great did an emperor so dominate his era as Frederick Barbarossa. Like Otto, Frederick was a patron in that broad sense to which we have alluded: through his politics and personality he prepared a favorable soil for cultural flowering and gave authors themes for their poems.\(^2\) And like Otto, the sponsorship of literature at the imperial court was dictated by the political situation which

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\(^1\)The only commentary I could find on Conrad's interest in the arts is by J. N. Buchinger ("Otto der Grosse, Herzog von Bayern und seine Brüder, Pfalzgrafen von Wittelsbach, Ihr Leben und Wirken unter und mit den Welfen und Hohenstaufen," AbhAkBay, 5 [1849], p. 22) who speaks vaguely about his court in Bamberg: "Als Geissel konnte Otto an König Conrads Hof sich vollends für Staatsgeschäfte ausbilden, und da die schönen Künste und besonders Gesang und Dichtkunst dasselbe sehr geachtet waren, sich auch erheben und veredeln."

\(^2\)Langosch, Die deutsche Literatur des lateinischen Mittelalters, pp. 134-135; 152.
Frederick faced. The young ruler had to contend with severe problems; for instance: the reaffirmation of imperial power after the bitter struggles with the Church; the restoration of order and stability in the "Reich" and the reestablishment of imperial supremacy over lands bordering on the east and west. Barbarossa also felt the need to offset foreign propaganda against him and to marshal support for a "Great Design" - the grand and ingenious program to weld Swabia, Burgundy and Lombardy together, so as to control their churches, monasteries, manors, estates and cities, and to have them administered by the emperor's personal servants and officials.³

Unlike the great Saxon emperors, who commissioned so many histories, Frederick seems to have abdicated the role of director of literary affairs at the imperial court and instead allowed his chancellor, Rainald of Dassel, to give literary commissions. This theory was put forth by Holtzmann,⁴ who noted that several histories which laud Frederick's reign were based on a common source he deemed semi-official ("offiziös"). This historical material encompassing the years 1152-1162 was collected in the Royal Chancellery under the direction of Rainald. The chancellor made the record of the emperor's "gesta" available to several historians, among them Bishop Otto von Freising, the emperor's uncle and author of


the *Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris*; to the anonymous so-called poet of Bergamo, who wrote the *Carmen de Frederico I. imperatore*, and John of Cremona, whose lost Chronicle was a source of Gunther von Pairis' *Ligurinus*.

Langosch develops Holtzmann's theory and adds other "political authors" to the group who wrote at the direction of Rainald: Petrus of Eboli, Godfrey of Viterbo, the anonymous author of the *Legenda Karoli Magni*, and the creator of the *Ludus de Antichristo*. Neither Holtzmann nor Langosch denies that Barbarossa was interested in history — it is known that he asked to see a chronicle and that he employed singers to publicly proclaim his "gesta" at the "Reichstag" in Roncaglia (1158) — but both scholars contend that it was Rainald who made the

5See Manitius, III, 383. He discusses the interrelationship of Otto von Freising and Friedrich Barbarossa. The emperor sent Otto a list of his "gesta" for use in the *Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris*.

6See pp.110 ff. of this dissertation.


emperor aware of the political value of having his deeds recorded.\textsuperscript{10} This theory also explains why virtually all of the histories were written in the first decade of Barbarossa's rule: Rainald died in 1167.

However, Holtzmann and Langosch do not account for the possibility that certain poems, for instance, the Carmen de Frederico I. imperatore could have been written at the initiative of the author to gain imperial favor. One cannot assume that the crown requested virtually every poem which favorably treats Barbarossa's "gesta." And Langosch goes too far in claiming that the Ludus de Antichristo is a political and nationalistic drama written to glorify Frederick Barbarossa and the "staufische Reichsgedanke."\textsuperscript{11} Recently it has been shown that the play not only praises the emperor, but reminds him of his responsibility as ruler and admonishes him to pay as much heed to internal as to external problems.\textsuperscript{12}

\textsuperscript{10} Holtzmann, "Das 'Carmen de Frederico I. imperatore' aus Bergamo," pp. 310 ff; Langosch, Die deutsche Literatur des lateinischen Mittelalters, p. 152.

\textsuperscript{11} Langosch, Die deutsche Literatur des lateinischen Mittelalters, p. 161.

\textsuperscript{12} Rolf Engelsing, trans. Ludus de Antichristo. Das Spiel vom Antichrist (Stuttgart, 1968), pp. 55 ff. Engelsing claims: "Wenn das Spiel... eine politische Maxime enthält, so diese: dass in dem Augenblick, in dem ein Kaiser die Aussenpolitischen Probleme des Reiches gelöst hat und ihm die Herrscher der Völker huldigen, die innenpolitischen Probleme, symbolisiert durch Heucherei und Ketzerei, übermächtig werden. Das möchte bloße Erkenntnis oder geradezu Warnung sein, höfisch-nationale Werbung war es jedenfalls nicht" (p. 57). According to Engelsing the drama was written by the clergy (the only manuscript of the play comes from the monastery at Tegernsee), and he believes that its first performance was in a church. Karl Hauck in "Zur Genealogie und Gestalt des staufischen 'Ludus de Antichristo'," pp. 11 ff., had argued that the play was so obviously pro-imperial that its initial performance was given at Barbarossa's coronation.
These minor oversights do not negate the basic validity of the hypotheses of Holtzmann and Langosch. They have conclusively shown that Rainald directed the writing of history during the early reign of Frederick Barbarossa.

A few examples from these histories will suffice to illustrate their thrust and tendency, as well as their usefulness to the imperial court. Otto von Freising's *Gesta Friderici* was of value to Barbarossa because it not only informs the reader that the emperor has regained much of the prestige lost to the crown since the last quarter of the eleventh century, but also glorifies the emperor's first Roman campaign in 1154, when he came to the aid of Pope Adrian IV. In addition, the *Legenda Karoli Magni*\(^\text{13}\) was intended to remind its public that Frederick Barbarossa, who had had Charlemagne canonized, was the "Karolus Magnus" of the 12th century.\(^\text{14}\)

Barbarossa's chancellor, Rainald of Dassel, not only encouraged history but sponsored lyrics, namely those of the Archipoeta. The poems of this author are not imbued with the political tendencies so

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\(^{13}\)See Langosch (*Die deutsche Literatur des lateinischen Mittelalters*, pp. 135 ff.) who discusses this work and gives bibliographical references.

\(^{14}\)Ibid., p. 135. Langosch explains the part the *Legenda Karoli Magni* played in Barbarossa's political program: "... Er [Barbarossa] benutzte die durch ihn veranlasste Heiligsprechung Karls des Grossen, um seine Herrschergewalt zu stärken und verherrlichen zu lassen, wie es in der von ihm in Auftrag gegebenen 'Legenda Karoli Magni' ... deutlich wurde, und kam auf Karl, den er von fang seiner Regierung an öffentlich zu seinem Vorbild erklärte, besonders dann zu sprechen, wenn er seine kaiserliche Gewalt unterstreichen und die Schutzhöheit über die Kirche zur Geltung bringen wollte."
evident in literature commissioned by the imperial courts. The association of the Archipoeta and Rainald is among the clearest and best documented in the history of medieval literary patronage, thanks to a remarkable series of poems which, unlike many of those which this survey has considered, address themselves directly to patronage: the plight of the "professional poet" and his dependence upon sponsorship for survival.

15 There is one exception among the poems of the Archipoeta; he wrote a hymn to the emperor at Rainald's request (Salve mundi domine, Cesar noster ave!). Raby in Secular Latin Poetry, II, 187, suggests that among the factors behind this commission was Rainald's desire for personal rather than imperial glory: "... Rainald had hoped to see himself enshrined for ever beside his imperial master." This theory is supported because the poem, which in all probability was delivered personally before Frederick Barbarossa, favorably mentions the chancellor's efforts to lay the groundwork for Barbarossa's "rescuing" of unhappy subjects in the Norman Empire: "Archicancellarius viam preparavit, dilatavit semitas, vepres extirpavit; ipse iugo Cesaris terram subigavit et me de miserie lacu liberavit" (Poem IX, Stanza 33, Die Gedichte des Archipoeta, ed. H. Watenphul and H. Krefeld [Heidelberg, 1958]). All subsequent quotations are from this edition.

16 The Archipoeta's verses are of value to this survey, not only because they give such clear documentation of patronage, but also because they tell us how men decided to become poets. In an interesting "aside," the Archipoeta states how he had rejected other professions (for example, knighthood) and apparently decided to sing as a last resort: "Fodere non debo, quia sum scolaris/ ortus ex militibus preliandi gnaris; sed quia me terruit labor militaris,/ malui Virgilium sequi quam te, Paris./ Mendicare pudor est, mendicare nolo./ fures multa possident, sed non absque dolo./ quid ergo iam faciam, qui nec agros colo/ nec mendicus fieri nec fur esse volo?" (Poem IV, Stanzas 18 and 19)

The attitude of the patron was of paramount importance to the medieval poet. The sponsor needed a fine aesthetic sense so that he could recognize artistic ability. This appreciation of talent had to be coupled with a sense of "mensura," i.e. "mâze;" the medieval concept of measure in all things dictated that excessive largess was an evil as too little. The Archipoeta laments that the true poets ("poetae") like himself are neither treated nor rewarded as well by patrons as are the mimes and buffoons ("mimi," "leccatores," literally "plate lickers").

A similar cry echoes in centuries to follow when poets, writing in both German and Latin, bewail the intemperate generosity of patrons

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17 Friedrich Neumann, in "Walther von der Vogelweide und das Reich," DVjs, 1 (1923), p. 518, notes: "Drei Eigenschaften erweisen den wirklichen Herren, erstens: die edle Art, das Gebild, zweitens: die Fülle der Macht, der 'Reichtum' und endlich: der Besitz sittlicher Kräfte, die ihn in seinen Handlungen an das Recht binden. Aus den Tugenden, die der Herrscher bedarf, wurde sodann im Alltagsleben nur allzu leicht von denen, die Vorteile und Unterstützung suchten, die 'liberalitas,' die 'milte,' die schöne Fähigkeit, sich um der eignen Seele willen vom Besitz zu trennen, als Kerntugend herausgehoben. Man wusste sehr wohl, dass auch zur milte die 'mensura,' die 'mâze' gehören, dass also der Freigebige nicht besinnungslos spenden dürfe."

18 The Archipoeta writes how it pains him to see the mob of parasites, who are so foolish, receive patronage. He reminds the clergymen to whom he delivers his poem that they all too gladly keep mimes who do dumb tricks, while the real poets stand out in the cold and starve: "Doleo, cum video leccatores multos/ penitus inutiles penitusque stultos,/ nulla prorsus animi racione fultos,/ sericis et variis indumentis cultos;" ... "Eia nunc, pontifices pietatis mire,/ cum poeta soleat foris esurire,/ mimi solent cameras vestra introire,/ qui nil sciunt facere preter insanire" (Poem IV, Stanzas 23 and 25).
who lack moderation and aesthetic sensibility.  

One of the most interesting of the Archipoeta's songs which addresses itself to patronage is his *Omnia tempus habent, et ego breve postulo tempus*. The poem has a tripartite structure: 1) he praises the patron (Rainald is pious, just, generous and honored); 2) he tells of his physical needs (he is poorly clothed and shod, hungry, ill, cold); 3) and he directly appeals to the patron's charity (I am poor and you are a glad giver, v. 13). Given its form and the sentiments

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19 Walther von der Vogelweide, for example, attacks the "snarrenzaere" (80, 33) and criticizes the "ungefuege done" (64, 32) which he hears at courts. (All numbers for Walther's poems are according to Lachmann-Kraus, *Die Gedichte Walthers von der Vogelweide*, 13th ed. ed. H. Kuhn [Berlin, 1965]). Walther's censure of the court of Landgrave Hermann of Thuringia is considered on pages 167 ff. below ("Der in den oren si ech von ungesiulte si,/ daz ist min rat, der laz den hof ze Durengen fri" [20, 4 ff.]). Also Konrad von Würzburg scores the practice of false giving (The term "valschiu milte" appears in his Poem "Klage der Kunst," Kleinere Dichtungen Konrads von Würzburg, ed. Edward Schröder, 2nd ed. [Berlin, 1959] III, v. 120 ff.), and he also criticizes those who think they are poets: "Swie gerne ein künste ricer man/ wil tihten swaz er quoted kan;/ só ist der tumben alsô vil,/ der iegelicher tihten wil;/ daz der geswigen muoz vor in,/ dem edeliu kunst und edeler sin/ vont in sinem herzen bi." (Partonopier und Meliur, ed. Karl Bartsch [Wien, 1871], v. 97 ff.). Eberhard Teutonicus also complains about conditions at the courts: "Florent faex hominum scurrae, quos curia lactat,/ Qui dominis linguæ garrulitate placent" (Quoted in Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, p. 471).

20 See Appendix IV.

21 Even as art was holy ("diu kunst ist heilec, dâ von muoz si gute sin undertân"; Friedrich von Sonnenburg, ed. O. Zingerle [Innsbruck, 1878], p. 68), so too was patronage considered by some to be a religious act. Meister Gervelin (HMS, III, 36) had proclaimed that the generous would reach heaven while the miserly would go to hell: "So gant die wege enzwei,/ die milten varnt inz himelrich,/ die kargen in der helle grunt;/ ir lon wirt ungelich." The starving poet was one of the blessed poor to whom Christians should offer aid. Frauenlob (ed. Ludwig Etmmüller, rpt. [Amsterdam, 1966], Song 309, v. 1 ff.), had said of poverty: "Armout, dich hazzet manec man,/ und vient dich an;/ im ist niiht kund,/ daz dir gotes heiles gan./ michn triege míner sinne rât/ kein bezzer weg niht
expressed therein, it seems reasonable that this poem is formulaic and may have been a conventional appeal for patronage employed by a multitude of medieval poets.

From these poems we learn that the poet and patron had a "give and take" relationship. The poet was considered to be a part of the patron's "familia," and as such was expected to entertain at social functions, and also to compose poems at the request of the patron. For his services the poet received material support, i.e. shelter, food, drinking money, clothes, etc. And of course, he benefited from whatever political protection his patron could provide. It is obvious from the poems that the Archipoeta thought of their association as one of "tit for tat." He kept a record of each poem which he wrote for Rainald zuo dem himelřiche gat..." Generosity ("largitas," "elemosina") is the prime virtue on the Archipoeta's scale of values and "avaritia" is at the bottom. See Holzknecht, Literary Patronage, p. 49. As Watenphul and Krefeld (Die Gedichte des Archipoeta, p. 110) remind us: "Die biblische Auffassung, dass die "avaritia" eines der Laster ist, die gegen die Tugend kämpfen, dass kein Laster so gefährlich sei wie sie, ist zum Gemeingut des Mittelalters geworden." The Archipoeta claims: "Ut divina testatur pagina,/ opes multe sunt iusto sarcina;/ summa virtus est elemosina,/ dicit debet virtutum domina" (Poem I, Stanza 32). To obtain charity, the Archipoeta evokes the memory of St. Martin of Tours (died 397), who gave half his cloak to a naked beggar: "Largissimus largorum omnium/ presul dedit hoc mihi pallium/ magis habens in celis premium/ quam Martinus qui dedit medium" (Poem I, Stanza 39). In addition to St. Martin, medieval poets invoked the names of other "model givers" to shame their patrons into granting largess. For instance, Walther von der Vogelweide speaks of the generosity of Alexander the Great "der milte lôn ist sô diu sât,/ diu wünneclîche wider gat/ dar nach man si geworfen håt:/ wirf von dir milteclîche./ swelch kûnec der milte geben kan,/ si gît im daz er nie gewan./ wie Alexander sich versan!/ der gap und gap, und gap sim elliu riche" (17, 3 ff.).

22 For a good introduction to this relationship see Watenphul and Krefeld, Die Gedichte des Archipoeta, pp. 24 ff.
and demanded just recompense for them. Once, he requests both a new coat and apparel, because he wrote a rhythmic poem and its melody. And in another poem, the Archipoeta challenges his patron: "Show me how generous you are, then I will write songs for you!" Their affiliation seems to have been a somewhat free and loose one; we know, for instance, that the Archipoeta refused to write a Barbarossa-epic as Rainald had requested, and wrote instead a panegyric hymn to the emperor.

After the death of Rainald of Dassel, Barbarossa's court departs

23"Poeta conposuit racionem rithmicam/ atyrus imposuit melodiam musicam/ unde bene meruit mantellum et tunicam" (Poem VII, Stanza 11). The give and take relationship between medieval poet and his patron was not always on such a primitive level of exchange as a song for a coat; for largess the poet could grant his patron "ëre" ("die kunst kan fürsten ëren," Friedrich von Sonnenburg, ed. O. Zingerle, p. 68), and perhaps immortality. For instance, in his"Tetralogus" (MGH:SS, XI, 248) Wipo has the Muses remind Henry III that the songs of the ancient poets bestowed enduring fame: "Ex nostris donis manifestant verba Maronis,/ Quid plus Aeneas, quid Turnus posset in armis./ Fistula Musarum Flacco dictaverat odas,/ Ut Maecenatem fecisset laude perennem./ Haec eadem docuit Lucanum dicere bella/ Caesaris et magni, quae durant ultima secli./ ... Nasonis studium totus recitaverat orbis,/ Ex nostris curis ornavit scripta figuris./ Regibus antiquis laudes cantavimus olim/ et de pricipibus scribendi creverat usus."

24"Vir pie, qui nunquam bursam pro paupere nodas,/ Quantum sis largus, largo michi munere prodas./ Inde poeta tuus tibi scribam carmen et odas./ Sit finis verbi verbum laudabile do, das" (Poem VI, v. 39 ff.).

25In Song IV (Archicancellarie, vir discrete mentis) the poet tells Rainald that the writing of a great epic is beyond his powers, and anyway, he could not write it in the short time Rainald has allotted him. He begs that the Chancellor's request be lessened, and apparently it was; his hymn (Salve mundi domine, Cesar noster aevi, Poem IX) was acceptable to the court.
from the promotion of Latin historiography\textsuperscript{26} and turns to the encouragement of "minnesang." The singers, such as Friedrich von Hausen,\textsuperscript{27} Bernger von Horheim and Bliigger von Steinach, who are associated with the court of Frederick Barbarossa,\textsuperscript{28} are among the first in Germany in whom one detects the influence of Provencal courtly love songs. Certain scholars have suggested that Barbarossa's marriage to Beatrice of Burgundy in 1156 may explain not only the existence and popularity of these songs at the imperial court, but also the emperor's receptivity to them.\textsuperscript{29} Beatrice had, after all, inherited Provence, and the singers

\begin{itemize}
  \item There are two histories written in the later years of Barbarossa's rule, the \textit{Ligurinus} (1186/7) by Gunther von Pairis and the \textit{Gesta Friderici} (about 1180) by Godfrey of Viterbo. They are mentioned in the discussion of Henry VI on pages 110 ff. of this dissertation.
  \item Friedrich's father, Walther von Hausen, was a confidant of the emperor. Interestingly, Walther is mentioned as a friend of wandering poets in a kind of elegy by Spervogel: "Mich riuuet...von Hausen Walther" (MF 25, 20-21). It may be possible to link the imperial court to one of Friedrich von Hausen's most important poems, "Mîn herze und mîn ïp diu wellent scheiden" (MF 47, 11). According to Naumann ("Die Hohenstaufen als Lyriker und Ihre Dichterkreise," p. 26), when the poet sings that service to ladies is the necessary first step to a crusade he may be giving voice to the views of the crown. See also A. T. Hatto, "The Earliest Extant Middle High German Political Songs: Friedrich von Hausen's 'Si weint dem tõde entrunnen sîn' and 'Ich gunde es guoten frauwen nîet'." \textit{Mélanges pour Jean Fourquet: 37 essais de linguistique germanique et de littérature du Moyen Age français et allemand} (Paris, 1969), pp. 137-145.
  \item Hans Naumann, "Die Hohenstaufen als Lyriker und ihre Dichterkreise," \textit{Dichtung und Volkstum}, 36 (1935), pp. 23 ff.; DeBoor, \textit{Die höfische Literatur}, pp. 250 ff. The term "associated with" is a rendering of "in der Umgebung von." This phrase implies no more than that the poet was in the proximity of the imperial court.
\end{itemize}
of this region exerted a great influence on their German counterparts. These German minnesingers came largely from a stratum of society which heretofore had played no part in the writing of literature; namely the "ministeriales." Beginning with the era of Barbarossa, this class was to become important for the history of German literature and to bring forth many authors of renown.

HENRY VI (1190-1197)

Imperial interest in "minnesang" continued under Henry VI, and in fact at least one of the minnesingers who has been linked to Barbarossa's court, Bligger von Steinach, has also been connected to Henry's. Unlike his father, who was apparently content to be a part of the audience when minnesingers performed, however, Henry VI so identified with this genre that he composed songs himself, and thus became to our knowledge the first German emperor to write poems in the vernacular. Scholars believe that he was not only a singer,

30 Ministeriales" were nobles who were bound in service to a lord. These servile retainers could aspire during the 13th century to knighthood and could receive feudal tenure. See Carl Stephenson, Mediaeval Feudalism (Ithaca, 1963).


32 Three songs are extant under the title "keiser heinrich." Scholars have expressed some doubt whether Henry VI wrote all three, and suggest that his grandson, Henry VII (died 1235), may have authored at least one. See Günther Jungbluth, "Die Lieder Kaiser Heinrichs," PBB [T], 85 (1963), pp. 65-83; Johannes Haller, "War Kaiser Heinrich VI. ein Minnesänger?" NJbbAGLP, 24 (1921), pp. 47 ff.
but also that he promoted "minnesang."  

Although Henry's authorship of song would seem to suggest that he appreciated and encouraged minnesingers, this is almost impossible to prove. In spite of the extreme difficulty in defining Henry's relations with individual poets, Naumann has claimed that the emperor had a literary circle of minnesingers, and he uses sparse historical evidence to establish their association with the crown. A case in point is Bligger von Steinach, who according to Naumann, was a member of the emperor's literary circle. The evidence Naumann cites is slim: it is a fact that the poet went on Henry's Apulian campaign and it is known that he witnessed an imperial document. Even an item as irrelevant as the fact that his father is attested in documents with Walther von Hausen, a friend of Frederick Barbarossa and the father of the poet Friedrich von Hausen, is used to support this theory. Since such historical data does not necessarily comment on patronage, it should be used only to verify a relationship between poet and patron, not to establish that link; to place poets "in der Umgebung" of a court may suggest patronage but does not allow for definite conclusions.

Scholars have also attempted to establish Henry's sponsorship of epics in the vernacular. Although the argument lacks proof, Wolfram

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von Eschenbach may have had contact with the crown, and it is true that Ulrich von Zatzikhoven received the source for his Lanzelet at Henry's court.

Since Henry was a minnesinger, it is perhaps ironic that his encouragement of Latin epic material can be determined with more reliability than his promotion of "minnesang." As is the case with many of his predecessors, Henry's support of Latin literature has been largely ignored, because histories of German literature seldom take Latin literature into consideration. Consequently, the reader of these histories, unaware of the emperor's interest in Latin poems, might be left with the impression that the ruler's sole concern was vernacular literature.

Continuing the imperial tradition, Henry received Latin historiography from three authors: Godfrey of Viterbo; Gunther von Pairis and Petrus of Eboli. Their writings vary in content, ranging from a "Fürstenspiegel" to an epic in honor of the emperor's military exploits.


37 The poet describes the circumstances surrounding the writing of his poem; Huc of Morville, one of the hostages at Henry's court provided him with the source: "Huc von Morville/ hiez der selben gisel ein,/ in des gewalt uns vor erschein/ daz welsche buoch von Lanzelete./ dô twanc in lieber vriunde bete,/ daz diser nôt nam an sich/ von Zatzikhoven Uolrich,/ daer titen begunde/ in tiusche, als er kunde..." See Ulrich von Zatzikhoven: Lanzelet, ed. K. A. Hahn and F. Norman, rpt. (Berlin, 1965), v. 9, 338 ff. It is not known who the "liebe vriunde" are who requested that Ulrich make his translation.


addition to those works dedicated to him, Henry may also have encour-
aged the writing of the *Gesta Friderici* \(^40\) (about 1180) by Godfrey of
Viterbo, and the *Ligurinus* \(^41\) (about 1186/7) by Gunther von Pairis, a
lengthy epic poem describing the deeds of Frederick Barbarossa. This
conclusion seems warranted since Godfrey was Henry's teacher and dedi-
cated the major portion of his works to the prince. \(^42\) Gunther was also
the tutor of Prince Conrad and not only wrote one of the dedications of
his *Ligurinus* to Henry, but also promised to celebrate his deeds in
another epic. \(^43\) Further, the suggestion that the *Ligurinus* gave voice
to a political mood ("politische stimmung") among his followers lends
credence to the theory that Henry encouraged the poem. \(^44\) Finally, if

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\(^42\)For instance, in addition to the "Speculum regum" (see footnote
38 of this section) Godfrey dedicated his "Memoria saeculorum" (*MGH:SS*
XXII, 94–106) to Henry VI.

\(^43\)See Langosch, *Politische Dichtung um Kaiser Friedrich Barbarossa*,
pp. 142 ff. Gunther wrote other dedications to Frederick Barbarossa,
Duke Frederick, Philip of Swabia and Conrad. The poet praised Henry's
devotion to studies and intellectual pursuits and his encouragement of
scholars: "Tu primum placatus ades, qui iure paterno/ Virtutum
regnique simul successor et heres/ Sceptra geris. Magnisque patrem
virtutibus equas,/ Rex puer, et iam nunc Italis Tuscisque tremendus/
Eridanum Tiberimque premi. Fortas et ista/ Indolis acta tue, queque
ipse sequentibus annis/ Adicies virtute tua, modo vivere detur/ Et
sceptris placuisse tuis, Henrice, canemus./ O bene, quod talem divina
potencia regem/ Institut! Qui sic studiis imbutus honestis/ Novit ab
insipido doctum secernere vulgo/ Iamque diu mutas solitasque silere
camenas/ Excitat ad veterem digna mercede laborem" (pp. 147-148).

\(^44\)Walther Stach, "Politische Dichtung im Zeitalter Friederichs I.:
Der 'Ligurinus' im Widerstreit mit Otto und Rahewin," *Mittelalterliche
Dichtung: Ausgewählte Beiträge ihrer Erforschung*, ed. K. Langosch
that the poem was written for Henry VI.
Rainald of Dassel was the motivating force behind the writing of histories at the imperial court under Frederick Barbarossa, and after his death the taste of the court changed to "minnesang," then it is likely that both the Gesta Friderici and the Ligurinus, which were written after Rainald's demise, were promoted by Henry VI.

**PHILIP OF SWABIA (1198-1208)**

When Henry VI died unexpectedly in September, 1197, there was chaos in the realm. Henry's son, Frederick II, was an infant and thus could neither control the territorial princes nor prevent the election of a monarch from the Welf dynasty, Otto IV of Brunswick. The Hohenstaufen claims to the throne were represented by Henry's brother, Philip, who became interim ruler until Frederick II came of age. Philip, too, was crowned emperor in 1198.

Considering the established literary tradition, one might well expect the promotion of Latin historiography expressing the claims and counterclaims of the two houses. However, unlike his predecessors, Philip patronized no histories. In fact, it is very difficult to determine what literature Philip encouraged. If he commissioned those songs by Walther von der Vogelweide which are written in support of his candidacy, then Philip broke fresh ground in furthering political poems in the vernacular. Obviously songs in German could reach a wide audience, and broad public support was needed for the emperor's

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45 Since there is a separate section dealing with the literary patronage of the Welfs in the following chapter, Otto's literary interests will be discussed there.
political position.

The songs by Walther von der Vogelweide which express partiality towards Philip are: \textit{Ich saz üf eine steine} (8, 4); \textit{Ich hörte ein wazzer diezen} (8, 28); \textit{Ich sach mit minen ougen} (9, 16), and \textit{Diu krône ist elter danne der kûnc Philippes si} (18, 29). In \textit{Ich hörte} the poet clearly supports Philip's right to the throne and begs him to place the imperial crown on his head: "Philippe setze en weisen üf, und heiz si treten hinder sich" (9, 15).

Most scholars believe that \textit{Ich saz} and \textit{Ich hörte} were written in 1198, after the poet had left the court of the Babenbergs in Vienna and before Philip's coronation.\footnote{For example, see Kurt Halbach, \textit{Walther von der Vogelweide} (Stuttgart, 1965), p. 81.} It is certain that Walther's patron in Vienna, Duke Frederick I, died in March, 1198: and since in his elegy to the duke Walther mentions his acceptance at the imperial court,\footnote{Walther sings: "...Ich bin wol ze fiure komen,/ mich hät daz rïche und ouch diu krône an sich genomen" (19, 35-36).} scholars assume that the poet first had contact with Philip in 1198 and wrote \textit{Ich saz} and \textit{Ich hörte} during that year.

However, these poems could also make reference to conditions in the realm immediately after the death of Henry VI, in 1197 and early 1198.\footnote{See \textit{Walther von der Vogelweide, Gedichte}, ed. Peter Wapnewski (Frankfurt a/M - Hamburg, 1963), p. 247.} I read the poems as a programmatic sequence.\footnote{These two poems are cited in Appendix V, poems 1 and 2.} Although \textit{Ich saz} obviously contains philosophical and theological insights, it is
a political poem and not Walther's personal reflections as many have thought. The poet makes reference to the rampant social and political chaos, with the implicit assumption that a strong ruler (i.e. Philip) is needed to correct these conditions. In *Ich hörte* the poet increases the sense of crisis by citing specific examples of tumult, and here he makes a direct appeal to Philip, whom he now addresses by name, pleading that he should put on the crown for the good of the realm.

If it is true that these two poems were written between September, 1197 and Spring, 1198, then two conclusions are possible. First, without prompting from Philip, Walther wrote these songs in Vienna and was called to the imperial court only after Philip was made aware of them. Perhaps Walther was motivated to write out of a deep concern for the future of the "Reich," or perhaps by the desire to woo Philip as a prospective patron. It is also possible that both factors entered into his decision to write these poems. Second, Philip may have been

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in contact with Walther when the poet was still in the service of the Babenbergs and requested that he write political poems for him. Since Philip gave an analysis of the conditions in the "Reich" which is strikingly similar to Walther's words in *Ich saz*, it is conceivable that the monarch dictated the sentiments expressed in the poem. If Walther did write for Philip while still in Vienna, then his dealings with the crown may have contributed to his decision to leave the court of the Babenbergs.

FREDERICK II (1212-1250)

Like Frederick Barbarossa, Frederick II was a great personality who encouraged the arts and was treated in literature as one of the prominent men of his generation. He was a well-educated man who opened the German courts to Arabic influences and drew scholars from all nations to his court.

In keeping with the imperial tradition and custom of his dynasty, Frederick II furthered a variety of literature. His tastes were wide

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51 Philip describes the times thus (in my translation): "After the death of our beloved lord and brother, the exalted Emperor Henry, the "Reich" fell into confusion, injustice and rebellion rended it, tossed it hither and thither, and shook it everywhere, so that prudent people could doubt whether we would experience its restoration, for everyone lived without judge and law and did whatever he liked." Cited in: W. Wilmanns, *Leben und Dichten Walthers von der Vogelweide*, 4th ed. ed. V. Michels (Halle, 1916), I, 91.


and ranged from "applied literature" ("Fachliteratur") to love songs written in Sicilian, and it has been suggested that he promoted "minnesang." But while Frederick Barbarossa and Henry VI commissioned historiography, there is no record that Frederick II encouraged it nor that he had an official biographer. This is not to say that he did not sponsor that kind of literature which is associated with Henry IV; namely political propaganda, including "Flugschriften" and pamphlets.

54 True to a broad definition of "Fachliteratur," which encompasses the "septem artes liberales," the "artes mechanicae," the "artes magicae," and even theology and jurisprudence, Frederick II wrote and encouraged a wide range of prose tracts from falconry to astronomy, hygiene, mathematics, and alchemy, among others. See Charles Haskins, "Science at the Court of the Emperor Frederick II," Studies in the History of Medical Science, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1927), pp. 242 ff.; and Klaus Heinrich, Kaiser Friedrich II. in Briefen und Berichten seiner Zeit (Darmstadt, 1968), pp. 77 ff. For a general introduction to "Fachliteratur" see Gerhard Eis, Mittelalterliche Fachliteratur, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart, 1967).


56 Naumann ("Die Hohenstaufen als Lyriker und ihre Dichterkreise," p. 34) mentions that Frederick II was surrounded by German minnesingers and suggests that he encouraged "minnesang": "Er [Frederick II] war... ständig von deutschen Dichtern umgeben. Wir trafen, ohne besondere Mühe der Ermittlung, den Markgrafen von Hohenburg, Gottfried von Neifen, Burkhart von Hohenfels, Otto von Botenlauben, vielleicht den Schenken von Limburg, ferner den von Brunecke und Gottfried von Hohenlohe in seiner Umgebung."

Like his predecessor Henry IV, Frederick II used this type of literature in his struggles with the Church. Their situations were similar: both monarchs clashed with the Church, both were excommunicated and both came into conflict with a strong pope. Hostilities between "imperium" and "sacerdotium" brought forth much literature from the court of Frederick II, and his use of propaganda increased when Pope Innocent IV declared him deposed in 1245.

In addition to "Flugschriften" and other means of imperial propaganda, political "Sprüche" in the vernacular were written to support the emperor's position. These "Sprüche" concern themselves with Frederick's conflicts with the Papacy and his attempts to marshal support for the Fifth Crusade (1228). There are three poets who composed "Sprüche" in support of Frederick II and who have been associated with his court: Walther von der Vogelweide, Reinmar von Zweter, and Holzknecht (Literary Patronage, p. 46) notes that the emperor "... perhaps favored the troubadours because of their animosity to the papacy. . . Blasting 'sirventes,' such as Guillem Figuerra and others could pour forth, were probably useful to him in his business of outwitting the pope." Also Frederick Barbarossa had encouraged a trouvère, Guiot of Provins. See Arthur Baudler, Guiot von Provins, seine Gêner, die 'Suite de la Bible' und seine lyrischen Dichtungen. diss. (Halle, 1902), p. 117.


Volker Schupp, "Reinmar von Zweter, Dichter Kaiser Friedrichs II.," WW, 19 (1969), pp. 231-244. One of the flowery panegyric poems to the emperor follows: "Der triuwen triskamerhort,/ ein ankerhaft der staete, ein vûrgedanc üf ieglich wort,/ ein wahter Cristentuomes, Roemischer êren gruntveste unde grunt,/ Ein bilder houbethaftier zuht,/ ein volliu
and Bruder Wernher. Of these three, Walther had the best documented contacts with the crown.

Following the death of Philip of Swabia, Walther's search for patronage led him to the court of the Welf ruler Otto IV of Brunswick. About 1212, when Frederick II was crowned emperor, the poet returned to the Hohenstaufen fold. Walther writes two "Sprüche" which make it clear that Frederick is a generous lord while Otto is stingy and unable to keep his financial promises. These songs had a political impact and Frederick benefited from them. Jones claims: "Walther's sarcasm may have helped to hasten Otto's rapid fall from power, for in a very few years he was driven back to his own territories and nearly all of his vassals were backing Frederick."

Although the precise nature and length of Walther's association with Frederick II and the specific services which he rendered are not


64 George F. Jones, Walther von der Vogelweide, p. 111.
clear, it is known that he received a fief and a pension from the emperor. The gift of a plot of land to a poet for services rendered is a traditional reward which can be traced to antiquity. The bestowal of a fief benefited both poet and patron, for it meant not only the end of a poet's search for patronage, but also was a concrete sign of the generosity of the benefactor. In giving a fief the patron could expect a poem, such as the one Walther wrote, in praise of his "milte."

It has been established that Frederick II commissioned political literature in both Latin and German. Yet the reader should not be left with the impression that he only encouraged partisan poems, as was true for some of his predecessors. Frederick's court was in Palermo and at this court he established a circle of poets who sang in Sicilian. These poets, the so-called Sicilian School, were imper-

65 There is no agreement among scholars as to the songs which Walther wrote for Frederick II. Wilmanns-Michels (Walther von der Vogelweide, I, 148) claim, for example, that the song "Ir fürsten, die des küneges gerne waeren âne" (29, 15) shows "Der Dichter war von den Intentionen des Hofes augenscheinlich sehr gut unterrichtet, er stellt seine Kunst hier ganz in den Dienst der persönlichen Politik Friedrichs." Friedrich Maurer, however, maintains in his Die Lieder Walthers von der Vogelweide: Die religiösen und die politischen Lieder (Tübingen, 1960), pp. 77, that this stanza is spurious.

66 See page 5 of this dissertation.

67 Walther wrote a famous poem of gratitude to the emperor for his benefice: Ich hän min lêhen, al diu werl, ich hän min lêhen (28, 31). See Appendix V, poem 5. In our discussion of Babenberg patronage in the following chapter, reference will be made to a similar song by Neidhart von Reuenthal upon receiving a fief. In regard to Walther's pension, the poet refers to it in the song: Der künec min hérre lôch mir gelt ze drizec marken (27, 7).

68 See page 116, footnote 55 of this dissertation.
ial officials, primarily members of the legal profession. The emperor did not encourage career poets. His preference for legists may be attributed to his interest in style, since there was a close connection between law and letters in that era.

Frederick's personal involvement in the Sicilian School is further demonstrated in that he composed songs himself. Although these songs were in Sicilian, a fact which may be attributed to his lack of facility in German and his love for the Southern culture, the language in which they are written should not disguise the fact that Frederick II composed songs and thereby continued a Hohenstaufen imperial tradition.

CONRAD IV (1250-1254)

Frederick II was succeeded by his son, Conrad IV, who inherited great political problems from his father. In the last decade of Frederick's reign rival kings were elected by the papal party, and

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69 Ernst Kantorowicz (Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite, [Berlin, 1928], p. 303) reminds us that the emperor had an aversion to "Spielteute" and wandering poets in general: "Friedrich hat ja nicht, wie dies sonst etwa an Höfen feinsinniger Fürsten der Fall sein mag, die 'Dichtkunst gepflegt,' indem er durch Freigebigkeit die Spielteute und fahrenden Sänger an seinen Hof lockte oder auf andere Weise ankog. Im Gegenteil: gegen die Fahrenden war Friedrich eher misstrauisch, liebte sie in seinem Königreich gar nicht und gebot sogar bei einem Feste in Deutschland: man solle nicht so viel Geld an die fahrenden Leute verschwenden."


71 Burdach (Walther von der Vogelweide: Philologische und historische Untersuchungen, Leipzig, 1900, I, 87) claims, for example, that the emperor hardly knew the German language and poetry "aus eigener Anschauung." Also Hans Niese in "Zur Geschichte des geistigen Lebens am Hofe Friedrichs II.," p. 498, states that it is uncertain whether Frederick II knew German; and S. Hellmann (Das Mittelalter bis zum Ausgange der Kreuzzüge, 2nd ed. [Stuttgart, 1924], p. 324) likewise argues that Frederick was no German and hardly understood the language.
During his brief tenure in office Conrad IV was faced with the same problem, and to deal with this situation the imperial court promoted Rudolf von Ems' Weltchronik.\textsuperscript{72} This epic was intended to reaffirm the right of the Hohenstaufens to rule, and to compare Conrad IV favorably with King David, the ideal monarch.\textsuperscript{73}

In encouraging historiography meant to consolidate his political position Conrad IV selected a genre employed by many of his predecessors. In addition to historiography Conrad may also have promoted lyric poetry; he is associated with the poets Tannhäuser\textsuperscript{74} and Bruder Wernher,\textsuperscript{75} and according to a recent theory, the emperor also collected "minnesang."\textsuperscript{76}

\begin{quote}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{73}Helmut Brackert in Rudolf von Ems: Dichtung und Geschichte (Heidelberg, 1968), p. 83, reminds us that the Weltchronik must be read carefully to get its full "message" and political intent. For instance, he believes that Rudolf's hymn of praise to Conrad IV, which is found at the beginning of Book V, is no mere panegyric nor casually placed. Since the Fifth Age is the Age of King David, Brackert argues, the poet seeks to inform his audience that Conrad can be favorably compared with David and, in fact, has assumed his royal mantle.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{74}Ludwig Wolff, ("Der Tannhäuser," VL [Berlin, 1953] IV, 357) claims, "... Auch bei Konrad IV., dessen Gunst er [Tannhäuser] 1246 suchte ... und zweifellos erfahren hat ... war seines Bleibens nicht."
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{75}Hans Vetter ("Die Sprüche Bruder Wernhers," PBB, 44 (1920), pp. 249-250) argues that the song Ich bin des edelen werden kûnne ges milte vrô was likely meant for Conrad IV. Their relationship, however, is unclear.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{76}Ewald Jammers, Das Königliche Liederbuch des dt. Minnesangs, pp. 170 ff., 190 ff.
\end{quote}
If this is so, then Conrad IV among the rulers of the Hohenstaufen line continues the royal custom of collecting which can be traced to Charlemagne. Further, it has been maintained that Conrad IV was a minnesinger himself.\textsuperscript{77}

Conrad's brother, Henry VII, is also said to have composed and promoted "minnesang."\textsuperscript{78} Henry is linked to the so-called Swabian School of poets (Burkhart von Hohenfels, Gottfried von Neifen and Ulrich von Winterstetten), and Kuhn is certainly correct when he notes that this group lived in the "Personenkreis der staufischen Verwaltung."\textsuperscript{79} For example, Burkhart von Hohenfels was a "ministerialis" who is attested in the service of Henry VII. However, as established above, historical association is insufficient proof of patronage,\textsuperscript{80} and the knowledge that Burkhart and the king were in contact may only suggest that Henry was in the audience when his songs were sung.


\textsuperscript{78} See footnote 32 of this section where it is suggested that Henry VII wrote "minnesang." See also Naumann, "Die Hohenstaufen als Lyriker und ihre Dichterkreise," pp. 27 ff.; DeBoor, Die höfische Literatur, pp. 346 ff., and Hugo Kuhn, Des Minnesangs Wende, 2nd ed. (Tübingen, 1967) esp. the introduction. One of the poets at Henry's court, Gottfried von Neifen, appears to make a reference to royal influence on his decision to sing: "Ich muoz singen, des wil twingen mich ein wip und der künec." Cited in Haller, "War Kaiser Heinrich VI. ein Minnesänger?" p. 114. It has also been claimed that Henry VII was the patron of the first part of the Alexander, by Rudolf von Ems. See Xenja von Erzdorff, Rudolf von Ems: Untersuchungen zum höfischen Roman im 13. Jahrhundert (München, 1967), p. 101.

\textsuperscript{79} Kuhn, Des Minnesangs Wende, p. 156.

\textsuperscript{80} See page 109 of this dissertation.
So much attention has been paid to the patronage of Conrad IV and Henry VII that the role of Conrad of Winterstetten, their tutor and advisor, has not been brought into proper focus. In the discussion of the literary patronage of Frederick Barbarossa, it was noted that Rainald of Dassel, the chancellor, directed literary activity at the court—a state of affairs which was interpreted as a further sign of the declining importance of the emperors as literary patrons. The same can be said for Conrad of Winterstetten, who not only was personally involved in the patronage of poets, but influenced literary taste at the courts of Conrad IV and Henry VII.

Conrad of Winterstetten commissioned the courtly epics Tristan by Ulrich von Türheim and Willehalm von Orlens by Rudolf von Ems. In addition to composing songs, Conrad promoted "minnesang" and entertained poets from near and far at his castle Winterstetten in Swabia. For instance, it has been suggested that the poet Ulrich von Winterstetten, his kinsman, was at his court. Since the

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81 See Von Ertzdorff (Rudolf von Ems. p. 95) who states that: "... der Schenk Konrad von Winterstetten seinen literarischen Geschmack ... in den Hofhaltungen König Heinrichs und König Konrads geltend gemacht hat."


84 Naumann ("Die Hohenstaufen als Lyriker und ihre Dichterkreise," p. 28) suggests that Conrad of Winterstetten was a minnesinger.


86 Ibid., p. 176.
Winterstetten court was actively involved in the promotion of epic poetry in the vernacular as well as "minnesang," it is no exaggeration to state that this court was a significant center of culture. In conjunction with the personal influence which Conrad of Winterstetten exerted on Conrad IV and Henry VII as their tutor and advisor, his literary activity brought a cultural influence to bear on both of their courts, perhaps determining their tastes and literary interests.

Conrad of Winterstetten made it his goal to educate royalty through epic poems. One of the reasons the Tristan was commissioned, for instance, was because it contains a moral "exemplum," namely that love's fulfillment and completion is to be found in marriage. In addition, it has recently been suggested that a series of epic poems by Rudolf von Ems, Willehalm von Orlens, the second part of the Alexander, and the Weltchronik were intended to provide "exempla" for Conrad IV, to tell him about his position in the world and to defend the legitimacy of Hohenstaufen rule.

Since we know that the goal of Conrad of Winterstetten was to educate the royal house and commissioned the Willehalm for Conrad IV to achieve this end, it is reasonable to assume that he engaged

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87 Von Ertzdorff, Rudolf von Ems, p. 95.
89 Education was not the sole purpose of this poem; it was also meant to honor the "vrouwe" of John of Ravensburg, a nobleman with contacts to the imperial court, who brought the source for his poem from France and asked Conrad of Winterstetten to find a suitable poet to render the epic into German. The case of one person obtaining a manuscript and another giving the commission seems to have been a fairly common practice in the Middle Ages. Heribert von Fritzlar, for example, received his Roman de Troie from a Count of leinigen, but Landgrave Herman of Thuringia gave the actual command to write the epic (see below).
Rudolf von Ems to write the Alexander and the Weltchronik. Although the Weltchronik was written after the death of Conrad of Winterstetten, this does not rule out his influence on its inception. This influence may have been threefold. First, as a patron of epic poetry he may have served as a model for Conrad IV, who is otherwise only associated with "minnesang." Second, like Rainald of Dassel and Barbarossa, Conrad of Winterstetten may have indicated to Conrad IV the value of having imperial deeds recorded in times of political difficulty. Finally, since Conrad of Winterstetten did commission Rudolf's Willehalm, it is possible that he communicated his desires to have a history of the royal house committed to parchment.

In any case, one can detect a change in the role of the royal tutor. Previously tutors such as Wipo and Godfrey of Viterbo composed poems themselves for the purpose of education. Now Conrad of Winterstetten selects poets to write such pedagogical works for him. Since Conrad had his own private court and extensive literary contacts, it is clear that he had much greater independence than those tutors in the earlier period and could direct the production of literature as emperors once had done.

The importance of Conrad of Winterstetten helps to stress a major

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90 Scholars cannot agree when Rudolf von Ems began to enjoy the patronage of the imperial court. Von Ertzdorff (Rudolf von Ems, pp. 83 ff.) believes that the poet was promoted as early as 1225 when he wrote Barlaam und Josaphat which was to be delivered at the royal court. Brackert (Rudolf von Ems: Dichtung und Geschichte, pp. 33 ff.), on the other hand, first links the poet to the court in the 1230's when Conrad of Winterstetten asked him to write Willehalm von Orlens.
point of this chapter, namely that patronage at the imperial court is no longer the sole concern of the emperors. Imperial officials such as Rainald of Dassel and Conrad of Winterstetten promoted poets themselves and influenced the literary tastes and the patronage of the royal court. Their activity and significance in this period are reflected in the decentralization of patronage in the Hohenstaufen era (i.e. the lesser secular courts, the episcopal courts, etc.), and gives clear indication of the declining influence of patronage by emperors, a trend which continues unabated until the 15th century.
CHAPTER V

The Literary Patronage of Lesser Secular Families
the Higher Clergy
and the Cities during the Hohenstaufen Era

The Hohenstaufen epoch is unique because for the first time lesser nobles promote literature on a large scale. In this chapter the literary patronage of the Welf, Babenberg, Zähringen and Liudolfing families will be considered. In addition, episcopal patronage, which was given special attention in the discussion of the patronage of the Salic-Frankish dynasty, is very significant and will be included. Finally, the first indications of municipal patronage appear during this era, and in order to present a more complete picture of literary sponsorship in this, the Golden Age, it too will be treated.

THE LESSER SECULAR FAMILIES

From about 1160 on lesser secular nobles begin to play a significant role as literary patrons. Although some Latin historiography was promoted, most of the literature produced was neither political

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1 Reference here is made to the landgraves of Thuringia. In using this heading I am adopting the designation employed by Werner Fechter in Das Publikum der mittelhochdeutschen Dichtung, pp. 4 ff.

2 Literary patronage by lesser nobles is already evident in the Carolingian era. Margrave Eberhard of Friuli, who was apparently a Frank, received literature from poets. See Ernst Dümmler, "Fünf Gedichte des Sedulius Scotti an den Markgrafen Eberhard von Friaul," Jb. f. vaterländische Geschichte, 1 (1861), pp. 167-188.
nor propagandistic. Since this is so, the motivation of the sponsor to patronize the various works is not always clear. However, it is possible to attribute patronage in part to competition with the imperial court and with other lesser courts. In addition, the influence of foreign courts was also felt, and the literature commissioned at these courts in many instances served as sources and models for German poems. Further, the decision by noble families to encourage literature may be explained because patronage of the arts was "noblesse oblige," i.e. this is a time when knightly ideals and an awareness of status in society became increasingly important, and the noble lord felt it to be an expression of his social class to show benevolence towards authors.

**The Welfs**

During the 12th and 13th centuries the Welfs were engaged in a bitter feud with the Hohenstaufens concerning imperial succession. Following the death of Emperor Henry V of the Salic-Frankish dynasty in 1125, who left no heirs, the Welfs and Hohenstaufens vied for leadership of the "Reich." Between 1125 and 1137 Lothar of Supplinburg ruled, and when he died it was to be expected that his son-in-law, Duke Henry the Proud, head of the Welfs, would be chosen to succeed him. Instead Conrad III, a Hohenstaufen, was elected, which caused enmity between the families. This rivalry continued during the reign of Frederick Barbarossa who was challenged at every turn by his nephew Duke Henry the Lion, whom he banished in 1180. Their attempts to place

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3 See, for instance, page 41 of this dissertation.
a Welf emperor on the throne were realized when Otto IV was elected in 1198. However, his reign was short and contested by the Hohenstaufens.

To complement their striving for the crown, Welfs commissioned political poems. Since they represent the only "lesser secular family" to compete for the throne, they are also the only dynasty to promote historiography. Their patronage of Latin historiography, an adoption of the royal literary tradition, may be directly linked to their claims to rule.

Scholars have further associated the Welfs with certain pre-courtly epics written in German - commonly referred to as "Welf Literature." Several of these poems allegedly contain allusions to their feud with the Hohenstaufens and were supposedly written in support of their political cause. These works are the Kaiserchronik, the Rolandslied, König Rother and Herzog Ernst.

The term "Welf Literature" as used by the critics, does not necessarily make a statement about sponsorship and may only imply that Welfs and their sympathizers were the public for these works. If this  

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4 Karl Schmid ("Welfisches Selbstverständnis," Adel und Kirche: Gerd Tellenbach zum 65. Geburtstag [Freiburg-Basel-Wien, 1968], pp. 389-417) makes it clear how important such records were to the Welf dynasty.

term is a "Stil- und Geschmacksbegriff," then the question of patronage, which is quite a different problem, should not be confused with the term "Welf literature." Hence, the "patronage" of the Rolandslied and the König Rother is mentioned in the discussion of the literature promoted by the Babenbergs and the Kaiserchronik is alluded to in the section "Episcopal Patronage."

As noted, scholars have associated the Herzog Ernst with the Welf dynasty. The patronage and dating of this epic is so indefinite, however, that no certain conclusions can be drawn. The Herzog Ernst has been interpreted as a pro-Welf poem which reflects Welf-Hohenstaufen conflicts, and the Welf most closely identified with the poem is Duke Henry the Lion whose pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1172 and whose clashes with Frederick Barbarossa were thought to be mirrored in the epic. But with Rosenfeld's dating the poem at about 1155, and


7. For instance, see Bernhard Sowinski, Herzog Ernst: Ein mittelalterliches Abenteuerbuch (Stuttgart, 1970), pp. 407 ff.

8. Hans Friedrich Rosenfeld, "Das 'Herzog-Ernst-Lied und das Haus Andechs," ZfdA, 94 (1965), pp. 108-121. In a Latin letter traditionally dated about 1180 the author, a certain "B.," requests a copy of the "libellum teutonicum de herzogen Ernesten" from Tegernsee. However, Rosenfeld (esp. p. 119) contends that this letter may have been written as early as 1155, and claims that both recipient and the author of the letter are unknown. Prior to Rosenfeld, it was generally agreed that "B." was either Count Berthold III or Berthold IV of Andechs, who ruled in the late 12th and early 13th centuries. See Friedrich Neumann, "Das 'Herzog-Ernst-Lied und das Haus Andechs." ZfdA, 93 (1964), pp. 62-64. Berthold IV may have a place in the history of German literary patronage as the Maecenas for the Wigalois by Wirnt von Grafenberg. See J. M. N. Kapetyn, ed. Wigalois, der Ritter mit dem Rade (Bonn, 1926), p. 66; and Gerhard Eis, "Wirnt von Grafenberg," VL (Berlin, 1953), IV, pp. 1027-1028. Recently Friedrich Neumann ("Wann verfasste Wirnt den 'Wigalois,'" ZfdA, 93 (1964), pp. 31-62) contends that Wirnt may have
Kaplowitt's findings that Ernst's journey to the East is not modeled after the trip of Henry the Lion, it is clear that this duke was not involved in its writing. To be sure, the poem treats a general political theme, namely the rebellion of a lesser noble against the crown, but this takes us no closer to the question of sponsorship. Since the patronage of the Herzog Ernst cannot be established, the whole question must be left unresolved.

Duke Welf VI

Duke Welf VI had a reputation as a generous patron. For example, Walther von der Vogelweide eulogized him: "... der milte Welf .../ des lob was ganz, ez ist nách tōde guot." And Tannhäuser notes: "Ein junger vürste von Meran, und ouch ein Welf von Swaben,/ die willeklichen manigem man/ vil richer kleider gaben." Although these quotes from lyric poets might suggest that the duke promoted this genre, Welf VI can only be linked to the patronage of the Historia Welforum. This narrative, which was written about 1170, is a genea-

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9 Stephen Kaplowitt, "'Herzog Ernst' and the Pilgrimage of Henry the Lion," Neophil, 52 (1968), pp. 387-393.
10 Die Gedichte Walthers, 35, 4-5.
logical record of the Welf dynasty, and as such is the first chronicle exclusively devoted to the history of a family of lesser nobles. It is likely that in promoting such a work Welf VI hoped to emulate the imperial court which had demonstrated such an interest in having the "gesta" of Frederick Barbarossa recorded. In making use of a genre so closely identified with the crown, Welf VI suggests that his proud and self-assured dynasty is on equal footing with the Hohenstaufens and worthy of the throne.

Henry the Lion

There is reason to believe that Duke Henry the Lion, like his uncle Welf VI, encouraged the writing of dynastic history. Although there is no direct evidence that Henry commissioned the Annales Stederburgenses by Gerhard von Stederburg and the Chronica Slavorum by Helmold, his participation in their writing may be deduced. The authors were in contact with the ducal court (Gerhard was Henry's confidant, and Bishop Gerald of Oldenburg and Lübeck, who requested the Chronica Slavorum, was a close friend of the duke), and the subject matter was of vital interest to Henry the Lion. In having his "gesta" recorded in Latin, and in appearing as the conqueror and missionary who spreads God's word among the Slavs, Henry may have wished to compete directly with the various Gesta Friderici.

Not only can it be inferred that Henry the Lion furthered historical writings, but it can also be demonstrated that he was directly involved in gathering narratives, for the Annales Stederburgenses report that "antiqua scripta cronicorum" were collected at Henry's request. Perhaps collecting too was an attempt on the part of the duke to emulate a practice previously so closely associated with the crown. It is not vital to this discussion whether one interprets this reference as an allusion to contemporary histories written in German, or to chronicles in Latin. In either case Henry's interest in history is established.

The duke did not limit his literary patronage to historiography and collecting histories; he can also be identified as the sponsor of

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16 Gerhard reports: "Ipse ... [Henry] antiqua scripta cronicorum colligi praecepit et conscribi et coram recitari, et in hac occupatione saepe totam noctem duxit insomnem" (p. 230). James W. Thompson in The Literary of the Laity in the Middle Ages (New York, 1960), p. 114 suggests that two verses in Cosmas' "Chronica Boemorum" (MGH:SS, IX, 29) possibly refer to the same request: "Et vita veterum/ Atque statum miserum/ Nosset per scripta priorum/ Per mores sciret eorum."


This work, which is an encyclopedia of current knowledge, is of significance both for philologists and scholars who investigate literary sponsorship, since it is the first prose document in the vernacular in this epoch.

From the discussion of the literary patronage of both Welf VI and Henry the Lion, it is clear that they cannot be associated with "belles lettres." Likewise the attempt to link Mathilde, Henry's duchess, to the Tristrant of Eilhart von Oberg has proved unsuccessful. Even though Mathilde came from one of the most renowned French literary courts in Europe and members of her family were avid patrons


20 See Gellinek, "The Epilogue of Konrad's 'Rolandslied'," p. 398; Ludwig Wolff, "Welfisch-Braunschweigische Dichtung der Ritterzeit," NddJb, 71-73 (1950), pp. 73 ff. Philipppson (Heinrich der Löwe, pp. 60-61) speculates that Mathilde brought singers with her when she married Henry in 1168, and that through them Eilhart von Oberg became acquainted with the legend of Tristan and Isolde. However, it is readily admitted by scholars that historical evidence is lacking. Consequently, two theories have challenged the belief that Henry the Lion and Mathilde sponsored the Tristrant. DeBoor (Die höfische Literatur, p. 34) and Kurt Ruh (Höfische Epik des deutschen Mittelalters, I, 72) believe that Eilhart found patronage in Limburg and not in Saxony, possibly composing his epic for the Dukes of Limburg or the Counts of Looz. And Hadumod Bussman, the editor of Eilhart von Oberg: Tristrant (Tübingen, 1969), pp. vii ff., suggests that another Eilhart, namely the vassal of Duke Albrecht of Brunswick (died 1279), may have been the poet, and that this duke asked him to write a courtly version ("höfische Bearbeitung") of the epic for him.
of literature, this did not seem to influence the literary sponsorship of Henry the Lion.

Otto IV

Otto's patronage does not differ in content and aim from that of his ancestors. He encouraged the history *Otia Imperialia* and had Walther von der Vogelweide write political poetry for him. As was the case with Walther and Frederick II, it is not certain which songs the poet wrote in Otto's service.

Walther's relations with Otto IV, primarily his decision in 1212 to break with him and to go over to Frederick II and the Hohenstaufen camp, have been the object of considerable scholarly discourse. In discussing Walther's decision, critics too often accentuate the political rather than the economic aspects of his move. They largely explain Walther's switch to Frederick II by claiming that the poet wrote in the service of the "Idee des Imperiums" and that Frederick was its most logical representative. Recently, however, Jones has

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21 Mathilde's parents, Henry II Plantagenet and Eleanor of Poitou and her half-sister, Marie of Champagne, were very active in the promotion of literature. Among the poets they encouraged were Chrétien of Troyes, Boëtis of Saint-More, and Wace. See W. F. Schirmer and U. Broich, *Studien zum literarischen Patronat im England des 12. Jahrhunderts*.


24 The term "Idee des Imperiums" is used by DeBoor in *Die höfische Literatur*, p. 316. See also Johann G. Sprengel, "Walther von der Vogelweide und der staufische Staatsgedanke," *ZfdE*, 8 (1932), pp. 8-21; and Friedrich Neumann, "Walther von der Vogelweide und das Reich," pp. 503-529.

questioned such interpretations and has shown that their emphasis on politics at the expense of the poet's need for the material benefits of patronage is misplaced.

Jones discusses the relationship of Walther and Otto within the framework of the prevailing feudal code, claiming that the affiliation of patron and poet was that of lord and vassal. Walther left Otto because he did not show the "milte" demanded of a ruler. Political reasons were not paramount in Walther's decision to leave, for, according to Jones, the poet did not think in terms of allegiance to the "Reich," but rather was concerned with personal loyalty to his patron. Even if Walther was interested in a stable "imperium," an opinion expressed by scholars, it was Otto and not Frederick who supported the concept of a strong centralized government free of papal interference. Jones' theory is strengthened by a consideration of the poems Ich hân hêrn Otten triuwe, er velle mich noch rîchen and Ich wolt hêrn Otten milte nach der lenge mezzen, where the poet vents his disappointment at Otto's broken promises. Significantly, there is no allusion in these poems to politics, for Walther only expresses his disappointment at the monarch's failure to be a generous patron.

Since it is known that Walther received a fief from Frederick II, the promise of land and security must have played a significant role.

27 Ibid., p. 114
28 See Appendix V, poems 3 and 4.
in Walther's decision to switch allegiance. 29 This claim is supported by the poem 'Sit willekommen, här wirt,' dem gruoze muoz ich swigen (31, 23), in which the poet bitterly laments his lack of material possessions and a home, and which may have been delivered personally before Otto. 30

Scholars all too often gloss over Walther's economic dependence on his sponsors and focus instead on what are interpreted to be his political views. Patronage was vital for the survival of the medieval poet, as Jones makes perfectly clear when he asserts that Walther's life "was a constant search for patronage, without which he would have starved." 31

Successors

In order not to leave the reader with the impression that the Welfs limited their literary patronage to works expressing a political point of view, selected poems of the middle 13th and early 14th centuries which were encouraged by this family will be briefly treated here. A consideration of the literature promoted by Duke John of Brunswick-Lüneburg (died 1277), Duke Albrecht of Brunswick (died 1279) and Luder of Brunswick (died 1335), will point to the diversification of sponsorship after the death of Otto IV. It has been established that dynasties commissioned literature reflective of the political conflicts in which they were involved. Since such strife was absent during this period,

29 See page 119 of this dissertation.

30 See Wilmanns-Michels, Walther von der Vogelweide, I, 140.

31 Jones, Walther von der Vogelweide, p. 76.
John and Albrecht directed their energies to the promotion of "belles lettres." Albrecht's son, Luder, the Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights, who was engaged in colonizing the East and in converting heathens, patronized religious epics which aided in these projects.

At the courts of John and Albrecht both German epics and lyrics were promoted. In contrast to other sponsors who called poets from various geographical regions to their courts, John and Albrecht encouraged native talent of Northern Germany: Meister Rûmzlant wrote lyric verses for Albrecht, and Berthold von Holle, the only poet of the courtly epic from Lower Saxony, wrote his _Crane_ at the request of Duke John.\(^\text{33}\)

The association of Rûmzlant and Albrecht is particularly significant, since it resulted in a fascinating poem which makes literary patronage its subject:

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Klar, geliutert, lieht, in schine glanz ein lieplich sterne,
Liez mich sînen werden glast bi summen schine an blikken;
so dahte ich: "ist diz Mercurius, ich sol werden rich."
Do kwam truebe ein wolken swarz, ich sach ez vil ungerne,
daz begunde sine dinster vûr den sterne schikken;
also wart sin blik entwendet mir verlustelich.
Do kreftik stark, also ich in pruebe,
so truwe ich, daz er daz wolken breche;
er schinet wol durch sine truebe,
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\(^{32}\) For example, Walther von der Vogelweide and Heinrich von Veldeke served at courts far removed from their homeland.

swen er wíl, daz er sich selben reche,
uf daz man im wol ze siner liehten glenze spreche,
so rat' ich, daz er vertilge valschiu wolken vreche:
ich an miner zeche
sach den stern ze Bruneswich. 34

Rûmzlandt sings this song to his patron after they have had a disagree-
ment and employs natural imagery to depict their misunderstandings.
Just as the star (his patron) is sometimes covered by clouds (petty
quarrels), so too there can be a temporary beclouding of the relation-
ship between poet and patron. Implied in these verses is the anguish
the poet might experience if the balance between patron and poet were
disturbed. This poem affords us a rare insight into the fears of the
medieval poet; it was of prime importance to smooth over any discord
with his sponsor, since rancor could mean the end of his security at
court.

The third patron, Luder of Brunswick, was the son of Duke Albrecht
and the nephew of Landgrave Herman of Thuringia, the renowned Maecenas.
It has been suggested that, in making Marienburg a center of culture
and in becoming an important patron of religious epics in the vernacular,
Luder followed the model of his illustrious uncle. 35 The best known
poem commissioned by Luder is the Daniel, a poetic rendering of the Old

34 HMS, III, 62
35 Willy Krograan, "Luder von Braunschweig," VL (Berlin, 1943), III,
82. Although it is certain that there were lines of contact between
Thuringia and Prussia - for example, Landgrave Conrad became Grand
Master - the question of influence is a difficult one to resolve. See
E. Caemmerer, "Konrad, Landgraf von Thûringen, Hochmeister des Deutschen
Ordens +1240," Zs. des Vereins f. thûringische Geschichte und Altertumskunde,
Testament book in over 8,000 verses. And in Luder's honor Tilo von Kulm penned his Von siben ingesigeln.

The Babenbergs

Henry Jasomirgott and Theodora Comnena

Duke Henry Jasomirgott (died 1177) was the half-brother of Conrad III, the first Hohenstaufen emperor, and like this ruler, Henry held court in Bamberg. From this city, which we have associated with an atmosphere conducive to the arts, the duke went to Regensburg in 1143. He married Theodora, a Byzantine princess in 1149. In 1156 Henry and Theodora went to Vienna where they established a court which was to become important for the history of German literary patronage.

The literary patronage of Henry Jasomirgott and Theodora has recently been closely examined, and consequently the Rolandslied and König Rother, epics which were customarily linked to the Welfs, can now with a great degree of certainty be attributed to the sponsorship of Henry and Theodora.


37 See pages 60 ff. of this dissertation.

In the epilogue to the *Rolandslied*, Pfaffe Konrad reports that his patrons are a certain Duke Henry and his duchess, the daughter (child) of a powerful king. Their commission is of interest to this survey for two reasons. It is one of the few instances where sponsorship by women is attested - it was the duchess who requested the poem and not the duke. Also in obtaining the source of the *Rolandslied* for the poet, the duke demonstrates that an important aspect of patronage could be the acquisition of manuscripts. Since so many poems of this period were based on French material (the *Rolandslied* is a rendering of the French *Chanson de Roland*), it was necessary for the sponsor to have good literary contacts in France.

Konrad's vagueness when mentioning his patrons has led to intense speculation about the sponsorship of the *Rolandslied*. Most scholars

39"Nu wnschen wir alle geliche/ dem herzogin Hainriche/ daz im got lone./ di matteria di ist scone/ di sűze wir von im haben:/ daz bűch hiz er uor tragen,/ geschrieben ze den Karlingen./ des gerte di edele herzoginne,/ aines richen chűniges barn..." "ich haize der phaffe Chunrat./ also iz an dem bűche geschrieben stat/ in franczischer zungen,/ so han ich iz in die latine bedwngin,/ danne in di tutiske gekeret."

Das Rolandslied des Pfaffen Konrad, ed. Carl Wesle, 2nd ed. ed. Peter Wapnewski, (Tübingen, 1967), v. 9017 ff. The title "pfaffe" implies that the poet was a "clericus" in the most general sense, designating someone who had studied and could hence read and write Latin. Konrad may have been a canon in a monastery or perhaps held a position in the chancellery at a ducal court. See Friedrich Neumann, "Wann entstanden 'Kaiserchronik' und 'Rolandslied'?" ZfdA, 91 (1961-1962), pp. 326 ff.; and Anton Wallner, "Pfaffendichtung," PBB, re (1918), pp. 181-219.

40In contrast to Germany, Grundmann ("Die Frauen und die Literatur im Mittelalter," pp. 149-50) notes that there were female singers in France and that many women were patronesses of literature: For example, Constance, wife of Baron Ralph Fitz Gilbert. For additional information concerning patronesses in France, see John F. Benton, "The Court of Champagne as a Literary Center," Speculum, 36 (1961), pp. 551-591.
believe that Henry the Lion and his duchess, Mathilde, are the patrons for the following reasons. First, the Rolandslied is a Bavarian poem, and according to DeBoor, two Bavarian dukes come into question: Henry the Proud and Henry the Lion. Because the former died in 1139 and the poem is dated about 1170, the sponsor must have been Henry the Lion. Second, the epilogue refers to specific events in the life of Henry the Lion, for instance his crusade in 1147. And the final reason to attribute the sponsorship of the Rolandslied to Henry the Lion and Mathilde is that the duchess came from a court with demonstrated literary interests and that she continued her enthusiasm for literature after her marriage to the duke.

However, Gellinek has shown that none of these arguments is conclusive. In searching for the patrons of the Rolandslied he points out that most scholars do not give enough consideration to Henry Jasomirgott and Theodora. Since Henry Jasomirgott ruled in Regensburg for over a decade and did not die until 1177, he would certainly be one of the logical candidates for promotion of the Rolandslied. The verses

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41 DeBoor, *Die deutsche Literatur*, p. 221.


43 See page 135, footnote 21 of this dissertation.


45 For instance, Theodora is not even listed as one of the possible choices for patroness of the poem by Karl Bertau ("Die Datierung des deutschen Rolandsliedes," *EtudGerm*, 23 [1968], p. 617).
in the epilogue concerning the conversion of the heathens may also refer to this duke's participation in the Second Crusade of 1147-9.

Further, Gellinek stresses that Theodora came from a family of literary patrons, her aunt being the foremost female writer of the 12th century in Byzantium, and it has been shown that Theodora herself had literary interests. Finally, Gellinek offers the first satisfactory explanation for the Latin and German translations of Konrad's Rolandslied. It is very probable that Latin was Theodora's first foreign language, and was more familiar to her than either French or German. According to Gellinek, the Latin version was written in the 1150's in Regensburg, and "after some years of living in Bavaria and adjustment to the German dialect, there would have been a point in retranslating it into her new language, the native language of her husband, who took an active interest in this enterprise from the start . . ." This German version, he continues, was completed after 1156 for the court in Vienna.

The prologue to the Lucidarius may offer further supporting evidence for Gellinek's conclusions concerning the patronage of the Rolandslied. The prologue states that Henry the Lion wished for a

46 Gellinek, "The Epilogue of Konrad's 'Rolandslied'," p. 399.
47 See page 141, footnote 39 of this dissertation.
prose and not a verse treatment of the Lucidarius because he desired "wahrheit" ("truth"). Implied in this statement is the age-old belief that the writer who sought truth availed himself of prose. Therefore, if Henry the Lion had a preference for prose, it follows that his sponsorship of the Rolandslied, an epic written in verse, is questionable.

It might be contended that this argument is inconclusive, since the Lucidarius is not an epic poem, like the Rolandslied, and its German prose version is modeled after a Latin original. In any case, it seems clear from our investigation of the literary patronage of Henry the Lion that the duke was interested in historiography, a conclusion which in itself is sufficient to cast doubt on his involvement in the writing of the Rolandslied.

The other epic which is often associated with the Welfs is König Rother, a poem which allegedly exhibits sympathies for the Welfic cause. Scholars have identified its hero, Rother, with Roger II, the ruler of the Southern Italian Norman Empire who joined Duke Welf VI in stemming the activity of the Hohenstaufens in Italy, and who like Rother married a Byzantine princess. It has also been suggested that

50 See Hans Naumann, Deutsches Dichten und Denken von der germanischen bis zur staufischen Zeit, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1952), p. 81. Curtius (European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, p. 462) claims that already in the fourth century there was a controversy about metrical poetry as opposed to prose: "Metrical literary poetry ... always had something suspect about it. Its suspiciousness could only be lessened by using poetry for ecclesiastical ends and explaining why this was done."

51 See, for instance, Friedrich Panzer, Italische Normannen in deutscher Heldensage (Frankfurt a/M, 1925).
the audience of this epic was found at the court of Welf VI. On the basis of such arguments critics have concluded that the König Rother gives evidence of Welf partisanship.

As has been noted above, literary support for the Welfic cause does not necessarily comment on patronage. In addition, the poem may not reflect Welf-Hohenstaufen conflicts at all, but could just as well allude to internal Bavarian political tensions. If it was the intention of the poet to allude to Bavarian struggles, then another theory of patronage may be put forth. It has been suggested that the Tengelings, a family of Bavarian nobles, were involved in the writing of the poem, an interpretation which seems to be based primarily on the appearance of their name in the epic. But even though this approach appears to be a novel solution to the question of the patronage of the König Rother, one critic who holds this theory brings the poem back into the Welfic sphere in intimating that Rother is modeled after Roger II, who was

52 DeBoor (Die deutsche Literatur, p. 255) states: "Panzer macht... begreiflich, wie Person und Schicksal Rogers gerade in welfischen Kreisen um Welf VI. ... Interesse und sympathische Anteilnahme finden konnten."

53 See pages 129-130 of this dissertation.

54 For example, Gellinek in König Rother: Studie zur literarischen Deutung, pp. 83 ff., notes how one Bavarian family, the Tengelings, quell the revolt of another, the Diessen, during King Rother's departure from the "Reich." Gellinek reminds us that ten courts receive Saxony and Thuringia, which were the property of the Welfs, in the epic, a state of affairs hardly compatible with the notion that Welfs and their sympathizers were in the audience when this poem was delivered.

55 Willy Krogmann, "'König Rother'," VI (Berlin-Leipzig, 1936), II, 847-861; Gellinek, 'König Rother': Studie zur literarischen Deutung, pp. 83 ff.
sympathetic to the political position of the Welfs. 56

The predilection of scholars to base their arguments for patronage on supposed Welf-Hohenstaufen or internal Bavarian conflicts evidenced in the König Rother has not satisfactorily resolved the question of sponsorship. Gellinek 57 is somewhat ambivalent about the patronage of the epic, advancing the theories that the Tengelings or the Babenbergs or both could have sponsored the poem. Of the two his argument concerning Henry Jasomirgott of the Babenberg dynasty is more convincing, especially in light of the political tendency which he detects in the König Rother. According to Gellinek the scope of the epic is greater than German affairs; namely the feud between East and West Rome.

Gellinek's surprising conclusions demand a reevaluation of the entire question of sponsorship with respect to the König Rother. Scholars generally agree that the poem was composed about the middle of the 12th century, and that it was written in or near Regensburg. As noted, Henry Jasomirgott and Theodora were in that city around the middle of the century and were involved in literary pursuits. 58 These facts alone point to the strong possibility of the duke's sponsoring the König Rother, but there is more convincing evidence.

56 Krogmann ("'König Rother'," p. 847) believes that the poet "... wurde ... auf den Normannenkönig aufmerksam, weil ihn die Ereignisse in den Vordergrund des politischen Lebens geschoben hatten."

57 Gellinek, 'König Rother': Studie zur literarischen Deutung, pp. 85 ff.

58 See pages 140 ff. of this dissertation.
To support Henry's candidacy as the patron of the König Rother, two factors can be cited. First, like Rother's wife, Theodora was a Byzantine princess. The story thus seems to be personally relevant to Henry Jasomirgott and Theodora, since it could refer to their courtship and marriage. Second, the poem has political tendencies which Gellinek is justified, I believe, to interpret as an attempt on the part of the poet to establish the preeminence of the German "Reich" over Byzantium. Hence, in promoting this work Henry Jasomirgott used the technique of a "translatio per nuptias" to show that through his marriage to Theodora the "Reich" was superior to Byzantium.

Leopold V and Frederick I

It has been suggested that Henry Jasomirgott and Theodora were probably in contact with the early Austrian lyric poets Dietmar von Eist and Der von Körenberg. Be that as it may, the interest of the Babenberg family in "minnesang" is demonstrated by the Burggraf von Rietenburg and the Burggraf von Regensburg who were Babenbergs and early composers of love lyrics. Even if it cannot be determined with

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60 The animosity between Byzantium and the "Reich" and its reflection in literature is mentioned on page 58 footnote 60 of this dissertation.

61 Naumann, Deutsches Dichten und Denken, p. 92. It is interesting but inconclusive that some have claimed Der von Körenberg wrote Die ältere Not, a hypothetical early stage of the Nibelungenlied, and that Andreas Heusler (Nibelungensage und Nibelungenlied, 6th ed. [Dortmund, 1965] p. 44) speculates Henry Jasomirgott was its patron.

62 Naumann, Deutsches Dichten und Denken, p. 92.
certainty that Henry Jasomirgott and Theodora promoted "minnesang," thereby influencing their son, Duke Leopold V, it is under Leopold that the Babenberg court in Vienna becomes identified with this genre.\footnote{I was unable to obtain either Anton Schönbach's "Dichtungen und Sänger: Das Hof- und Minneleben in Wien bis 1270," in: Geschichte der Stadt Wien (1897), I, 524-556; or Strobel's "Der Antheil Niederösterreichs an der deutschen Literatur des XII. Jahrhunderts," Blatt des Vereins f. niederösterreichische Landeskunde, 2 (1866).}

The poet most closely associated with the court of Leopold V is Reinmar von Hagenau. Although recent theory has cast doubt on what most scholars had thought to be his lengthy and uninterrupted stay at the Viennese court,\footnote{Günther Schweikle, "War Reinmar von 'Hagenau' Hofsänger zu Wien?" Gestaltungsgeschichte und Gesellschaftsgeschichte: Literatur-Kunst- und Musikwissenschaftliche Studien, ed. Helmut Kreuzer (Stuttgart, 1969), pp. 1-31.} there is no argument that the poet did serve Leopold, as suggested by his elegy on the death of the duke.\footnote{"Si jehent, der sumer der sí hie, (MF 167,31). Halbach (Walther von der Vogelweide, p. 47) claims that Reinmar wrote this elegy for Duchess Helene, the widow of Duke Leopold V.} The information which is available concerning Reinmar's relations with Leopold is so slight that it cannot be established whether the duke called him to court to introduce the Rhenish style of "minnesang" in Vienna,\footnote{DeBoor (Die höfische Literatur, p. 293) notes: "Es ist... Reinmar gewesen, der die rheinische Kunst des hohen Minnesanges aus dem Westen an den Wiener Hof gebracht und in Österreich heimisch gemacht hat."} or whether the poet came of his own accord. In any case, Reinmar was of such stature that his lyrics were the dominant literary influence at the court of Leopold V and he was imitated by other minnesingers.
One of the singers whose poetry owes much to Reinmar is Walther von der Vogelweide, who, scholars believe, came to Vienna as early as 1190. "Ze Õsterrîche lernt ich singen unde sagen" (32,14) sang Walther, and it is reasonable to assume that he is here referring to an apprenticeship under a mentor. Whether this teacher was Reinmar or someone else at the court is not of great consequence to this survey; what is important is that Leopold V established an environment where one could learn and practice "minnesang." For some five decades after his death Vienna remained a center of the arts in the Eastern section of the "Reich," and its reputation brought such poets as Reinmar von Zweter, Tannhäuser and Neidhart von Reuenthal to court.

Although Walther von der Vogelweide apparently was at the court of Leopold V, the first evidence we possess that the dynasty granted him literary patronage is a poem of mourning, which he wrote about 1198 at the passing of Duke Frederick I, Leopold's son and successor. Just as Reinmar's elegy to Leopold V suggests that he enjoyed the duke's patronage, Walther's poem to Frederick, and the sentiments of

67 See for example DeBoor, Die hûtische Literatur, p. 293. For a survey of Walther's relations with the Babenbergs see Eugen Wildenow, "Die Beziehungen Walthers von der Vogelweide zu den Babenbergen," Jahresbericht über das städtische Gymnasium zu Greifswald: Programm-Schriften (1887), pp. 3-30.

68 Recently George F. Jones ("Ze Õsterrîch lernt ich singen unde sagen (Walther 32,14)," LeuvBijdr, 58 [1969], pp. 70-77) interprets "singen unde sagen" to mean not only lyric poetry, but also that Walther may have learned to recite and even compose popular epics, among them the Nibelungenlied.

69 Dô Friderich ûz Õsterrîch alsô gewarp (19,29).
deep grief expressed therein, likewise allow for the conclusion that a Babenberg duke was his sponsor.

The death of a literary patron was an event of great importance to the medieval poet and a source of considerable dread, for he was in constant fear of losing patronage. Since the poet had to depend upon the generosity of his patron's successor, the composition of a "Totenklage" was no mere panegyric tribute to a fallen lord, nor a simple outpouring of grief, but was motivated in part by the poet's desire to ingratiate himself with those in his audience who could continue to offer support.

Leopold VI and Frederick II

Upon the death of his patron Duke Frederick I in 1198, Walther did not win the favor of Duke Leopold VI, Frederick's brother and successor. Although it was noted in this survey that there were conflicts between poets and patrons, for instance, — a poet leaving a patron because he was too stingy (Otto of Brunswick and Walther von der Vogelweide), and a poet quarreling with his sponsor (Meister Rûmzlant and Albrecht of Brunswick) --, no mention has been made heretofore of a ruler discontinuing patronage which the poet had enjoyed under a deceased predecessor.

Various reasons have been given for Leopold's failure to continue to support Walther. It has been claimed that the poet incurred the

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70 See, for instance, a discussion of Meister Rûmzlant on pages 138-139 of this dissertation.
dislike of Reinmar von Hagenau, a favorite at court; Walther allegedly insulted the duke, and it has even been speculated that the poet refused to move with the court to Klosterneuburg, the new chief residence of the Babenberg family. Further, it was suggested above, that Walther's political "Sprüche," written in support of the imperial claims of Philip of Swabia, played a role in his departure from court.

It is also possible that Leopold did not appreciate Walther's lyrics. Traditional literary criticism approaches "minnesang" from

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74 See pages 112 ff. of this dissertation.

75 This is not to state that Leopold was not interested in furthering literature. He has been associated with the Nibelungenlied, with Reinmar von Zweter and the Klosterneuburger Österspiel. See Heinrich Hempel, "Pilgerin und die Altersschichten des 'Nibelungenliedes'," ZfdA, 69 (1932), pp. 1-16; Das Nibelungenlied, ed. Helmut DeBoor, 16th ed. (Wiesbaden, 1961), p. xxxix; Ehrismann II, 2, 2, 292; DeBoor, Die höfische Literatur, p. 418; Karl Langosch, Geistliche Spiele (Berlin, 1957), pp. 107 ff. Gustav Roethe's dissertation Reinmar von Zweter: Herkunft und Aufenthalt in Österreich unter Leopold VII (Leipzig, 1883) was not available to me. There is some confusion in the numbers assigned to the dukes of Babenberg and Leopold VII here corresponds to the usual designation Leopold VI which is used in this dissertation.
the perspective of the poet and not the patron. However, it has recently been pointed out that the sponsor very likely determined the kind of poetry to be sung at his court. Therefore, the songs presented at court may well have been a reflection of the patron's literary tastes. It is conceivable that a new court fashion emerged under Leopold VI, culminating in a Neidhart von Reuenthal, and that Walther's leaving is directly attributable to it.

Neidhart von Reuenthal, who was sponsored by Duke Frederick II, the son of Leopold VI, wrote poems which are traditionally classified as "höfische Dorfpoesie." This genre of robust poetry, of which Neidhart became the chief exponent, is far removed from "minnesang" in both theme and form. It is clear that there was a modification of literary taste between the early 1190's, the time of Leopold V who encouraged "minnesang," and Frederick II, for whom Neidhart and Tannhäuser composed songs in the 1230's and 1240's. This is a drastic change and would have been very abrupt had it not been for a time of transition. It is reasonable that the reign of Leopold VI represented this period of adjustment, and that the rustic tunes suited for dancing with which

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76 In discussing the distinction between "lofty love" and "natural love" in Walther's poem, Jones ("Courtly Literature of the High Middle Ages," The Challenge of German Literature, ed. H. Daemmrich and D. Haenicke [Detroit, 1971], p. 31) comments: "Critics used to assume that Walther first followed the convention of lofty love, which he later abandoned in favor of songs of natural love; but stylistic studies indicate that he never deserted the former completely; and it is probable that the choice between the two was determined by the patron."

77 Scholars often refer to this duke as "Friedrich der Streitbare."

78 See Ehrismann, II, 2, 2, 259.
Neidhart became identified may have been sung at the court of the Babenbergs already during the tenure of Leopold VI.

In any case Leopold VI cannot be shown to have promoted "minnesang." The only poet consistently associated with him is Reinmar von Zweter who wrote "Sprüche," which in itself indicates that the literary taste of the court had undergone a change. In fact, Leopold's court may have provided more than a transitional phrase, because it is possible that he brought Neidhart to Vienna.

There is no doubt that Neidhart was in Vienna after 1230, the year in which Duke Frederick II succeeded Leopold VI. However, the evidence cited in support of the claim that the poet appeared at court in Frederick's reign is dubious. The poems from which this

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79 See page 151, footnote 75 of this dissertation.
80 See Die Lieder Neidharts, ed. Edmund Wiessner (Tubingen, 1955), p. 7. Eckehard Simon (Neidhart von Reuenthal: Geschichte der Forschung und Bibliographie [The Hague - Paris, 1968], pp. 82-83) explains succinctly why and when Neidhart is thought to have left Bavaria and come to Austria: "Die Forschung hat zwei historische Ereignisse auf Neidharts unwillige Umsiedlung bezogen. Man dachte einmal an den Krieg, der 1233 zwischen Otto II. von Bayern und dem jungen Herzog Friedrich von Österreich ausbrach. ... Weniger problematisch ist der Hinweis auf den Regierungswechsel der 1231 in Bayern stattfand. Im September 1231 wurde Ludwig I. auf seiner alten Stammburg ermordet, und sein Sohn Otto II. folgte ihm auf den Herzogstuhl. Die ... Erklärung wäre in diesem Fall, dass Otto dem alten Hofdichter nicht geneigt war und ihm seine Unterstützung versagte. ... Beweisen lässt sich diese These zwar ebensowie wie die erste, doch könnte man hier als Parallele auf Walthers Abschied vom Wiener Hof hinweisen, der wohl direkt mit dem Regierungsantritt Leopolds VI., zusammenhängt." Although both Duke Louis I of Wittelsbach and his son, Otto II, encouraged literature, there is no proof that Neidhart was at either of their courts. See Edward Schröder, "Der Dichter des deutschen 'Eraclius'," SBAKNN (1924), pp. 3-18; Reinbot von Dunne, Der Heilige Georg, ed. C. von Kraus (Heidelberg, 1907). Walther von der Vogelweide apparently had some contact with Louis I, as his song Mir hat ein liet von Franken (18,15) suggests.
information is gleaned offer no clear and irrefutable proof concerning Neidhart's time of arrival in Vienna; in fact, one of these poems has been judged to be spurious. Since Neidhart's poems cannot be dated with accuracy, and since they are the only source of information regarding his patronage, it is clear that Neidhart could have been at the Viennese court prior to the death of Leopold VI. Finally, it is not crucial to this discussion whether Neidhart, in fact, came to Vienna under Leopold VI, or was first sponsored by Frederick II. What has been suggested is the receptivity of the court of the Babenbergs to "höfische Dorfpoesie."

The contacts between Duke Frederick II and Neidhart are clearly documented in the latter's songs. It was traditional for poets to be granted a plot of land by a patron for services rendered. Neidhart

81 The poems in which Neidhart allegedly speaks of Bavarian patronage are inconclusive. For instance, in Wà bì sol man min geplàzte hinne vûr erkennen? (74,25), the poet does not identify the court from which he claims he was expelled: "Ich bin ... verstôzen âne schulde." Likewise, in Minen vûnde wille ist niht ze wol an mir ergangen (75,3) when Neidhart states that he was "ze Oësterriche... wol enphangen/ von dem edeln vûrsten," the poet does not suggest that this is Duke Frederick II. All references to Neidhart's poems are taken from the aforementioned Wiessner edition.

82 The song Ich hàn mines herren hulde vloren âne schulde (74,31), in which the poet laments the loss of Bavarian sponsorship, is deemed to have been written by someone other than Neidhart. See Edmund Wiessner, Kommentar zu Neidharts Liedern (Leipzig, 1954), p. 166.

83 Martin Lintzel ("Die Wûzene," p. 67) believes that Neidhart came to the court of Leopold VI already in 1217, but bases his contention on the vague and disputed theory that the poet participated in Leopold's crusade of that year, and that Neidhart refers to it in poems 11,8 and 12,8. See Karl Bertau ("Neidharts 'Bayrische Lieder' und Wolframs 'Willehalm,'" ZfdA, 100 [1971], pp. 304 ff.) who reintroduces the notion that Neidhart went on the 1217 crusade.

84 See page 119 of this dissertation.
requests "ein kleinez hiuselin" from Frederick, and after receiving it writes a song of gratitude. It was noted previously that Walther von der Vogelweide had also composed a song of thanks upon obtaining his fief. However, unlike Walther, whose verses express pure joy, Neidhart presses for an additional favor: he laments that the taxes on this property are too high and asks that they be reduced.

To obtain this reduction Neidhart suggests a bargain with the duke. This bargain makes clear the nature of the "give and take" situation which existed between poet and patron, to which allusion has been made in discussing the Archipoeta and Rainald of Dassel. Neidhart calls upon Duke Frederick to lessen his financial obligation and in return the poet will become his disputant and will proclaim his praises in a loud voice across the "Reich." This proposition was very likely

85 This poem is cited in Appendix VI. Since Neidhart asks in another poem for "ein hüüs mit obedache/ bii dem Lengebache" (31, 3-4), some scholars have interpreted this to mean that he may have entered the service of Otto of Lengenbach. See, for instance, Medieval German Lyric Poetry, ed. J. W. Thomas (Chapel Hill, 1968), p. 126. However, Eckehard Simon (Neidhart von Reuenthal, p. 84) reminds us that there is no proof that the poet lived anywhere in Austria except at the Viennese court as a member of the duke's literary circle, and that the only person to whom he turns for patronage is Duke Frederick. Recently Bertau ("Neidharts 'Bayrische Lieder'," p. 300) offers a novel interpretation of this reference, based on his belief that Neidhart uses "topoi" found in "Spielmannsepen": "Lengenbach ist nach 'Seifried Heibling' das Spielmanns- und Musikantendorf des Tullnerfeldes. Dass sich der Dichter gerade dort ein Haus wünschte, konnte heissen: ich bin halt Musiker, Spielmann!"

86 See Appendix VI, poem 2.

87 See page 119 of this dissertation and Appendix V, poem 5.

88 See page 105 of this dissertation.

89 Like Neidhart, who claims that he would serve his patron as a
accepted by the duke, since several "Preislieder" exist praising him and supporting his policies.  

The association between Frederick and his singers was apparently more personal than the traditional relationship between patron and poet. The duke so identified with the genre which he promoted that he led the dance and sang himself. This is attested to by both Neidhart and Tannhäuser, another poet who found patronage in Vienna, although the duke's songs themselves are not extant.

The Dukes of Züringen

In the late 12th and early 13th centuries the dukes of Züringen, warrior with words ("heiles kempfe"), Gunther von Pairis in his Ligurinus asserts that he serves in Barbarossa's army with his tongue rather than the sword. The poet asks for a just reward for his services and pleads not to be placed lower on the scale than those who do battle with weapons: "Me quoque non armis, sed carmine castra secutum/ Hactenus egregli decursa parte laboris,/ Si bene promerui castrorum premia miles,/ Non illauditum vel munera nulla ferentem,/ Spero quidem, magni dimittet graciam regis./ Non serneda mea incentive modo vera fateri-/ Munera milicie nec claritus arbitrari esse/ Paucas probe gessisse manu quam multa referre./ Nec minor hic labor est; que singula multi,/ Fortiter egerunt, ego prosequor omnia solus." Quoted in: Karl Langosch, Politische Dichtung um Kaiser Friedrich Barbarossa, p. 157.


For example, Neidhart uses the "du" form of address in his poem Milter fürste Friderxch, an triuwen gar ein flins (73,11) when speaking to his patron. This personal tone may suggest that they had a close relationship.

In 85,33 ff. Neidhart sings: "Wê, wer singet uns den sumer niuwi minneliet?/ daz tuot mîn her Trostelin [a minor poet at Frederick's court]/ und mîn hoveherre [Duke Frederick]." And Tannhäuser claims, "Trûric herze frô/ wirt von im [the duke], swann er singet den frouwen den reien,/ sô hilfe ich im sô/ daz ich singe mit im z'aller zît gerne den meien." (See
whose court was near Freiburg in Breisgau, began to promote literature. Although the theory that Berthold IV (died 1186) was a patron of the Nibelungenlied is controversial, it is certain that Berthold V (died 1218) was a literary patron. He commissioned a lost Alexander epic by Berthold von Herbolzheim. It has also been suggested that this duke promoted "minnesang," specifically Rudolf von Fenis. The literary interests of the house are further evidenced by Clementia, the wife of Berthold V, who requested a St. Margaret 'legenda' by an anonymous poet.

Since it is indesputable that the dukes of Zähringen, who resided in the German South West, encouraged epic poems, it is certainly conceivable that, as scholars have suggested, Hartmann von Aue enjoyed their patronage.

The advantage of the theory which associates Hartmann with the

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Besides Neidhart, Tannhäuser and Trostelin, it has been maintained that Der Marner also spent time at Frederick's court. See Der Marner, ed. Philip Strauch (Strassburg, 1876), p. 16.

Willy Krogmann, Der Dichter des 'Nibelungenliedes' (Berlin, 1962).


Lintzel, "Die Müzene," p. 66.


court of Zähringen is that its chief proponent, Ruh, does not approach the much-disputed problem of the poet's sponsorship, as so many other critics have done, by attempting to locate Hartmann's "Aue," or by attempting to resolve the question of patronage by identifying Hartmann's coat of arms depicted in the illustrated manuscripts. Rather, the primary concern of this theory is to locate a court which had both the financial means and the necessary literary connections with France to promote German versions of the Erec and Yvain by Chrétien of Troyes.

In isolating these two general elements which are basic to the writing of major epics - financial means and contacts -, Ruh points to those factors which were an absolute necessity for patronage and which thereby determined who was in a position to become a patron.

In order to promote a poem of thousands of verses, the patron not

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98 Ruh, Höfische Epik, pp. 103 ff.

99 The poet claims that he was a "dienstmann ... zOuwe" (Der Arme Heinrich, ed. H. Paul, 13th ed. ed. L. Wolff [Tübingen, 1966], v. 4-5) and there has been considerable speculation about the location of this place. See Peter Wapnewski, Hartmann von Aue, 4th ed. (Stuttgart, 1969), pp. 7 ff.

100 Olive Sayce who is editor of Poets of the Minnesang (Oxford, 1967), p. 69, takes note that some scholars have commented on the similarity between Hartmann's coat of arms in the manuscripts and that of the Wespersbühl family. This analogous heraldry is inconclusive, she claims, since the manuscripts were not compiled until approximately a century after the poet's death, and the attribution of this coat of arms may be arbitrary.

101 To be sure, scholars cannot agree if Hartmann's Erec was based solely on Chrétien's poem or if it had other sources, but it is certain that Hartmann made use of Chrétien's epic. See Wapnewski, Hartmann von Aue, pp. 41 ff.

102 Ruh, Höfische Epik, p. 104.
only needed scribes, translators and a quantity of parchment, but he was also dependent on literary contacts in order to make foreign popular works available to writers at his court. The dukes of Zähringen fulfilled both of these demands; they were wealthy and powerful, and were related to French courts through marriage, and, in fact, bore the title "dux et rector Burgundiae."

Although the dukes of Zähringen were clearly involved in French affairs, scholars have not been able to determine how Hartmann von Aue, who was likely patronized by the dukes, obtained French sources for his Erec and Iwein. The solution appears to lie in the role played by Count Philippe of Alsace (died 1191), commonly called Philippe of Flanders, who was related to the Zähringen dynasty. Philippe, who promoted Chrétien's Perceval and may have furnished the source for Wolfram's Parzival, was a close friend of Marie of Champagne, the distinguished patroness of Chrétien's Erec and Yvain. Hence it is conceivable that Philippe, who was in contact with Marie of Champagne, and was related to the dukes of Zähringen, supplied these manuscripts to the dukes.

According to the usual chronology of Hartmann's poems, the Erec


105 Stefan Hofer, Chrétien de Troyes: Leben und Werk des altfranzösischen Epikers (Graz-Köln, 1954), pp. 40 ff; esp. 64 ff. and 156.
was written before 1186, the year of the death of his "herre." This experience precipitated a crisis in the poet's life which led him to go on a crusade, very likely Barbarossa's crusade of 1189/90. Scholars have been unable to determine who this "herre" was, and have suggested that he may not have been Hartmann's patron, and even that this reference in the poem is suspect. However, since Duke Berthold IV of Zähringen, at whose court Hartmann's Erec was probably written, died in 1186, it is certainly possible that it was his demise which so shattered the poet.

Thus it can be surmised that at the death of Berthold IV Hartmann left his court and did not return until he wrote the Iwein under Berthold V. It is possible that during his time away from the ducal court, Hartmann wrote his Gregorius and Der Arme Heinrich. These epics have been judged to be anti-courtly, which consequently leads to the conclusion that they were not sponsored by secular nobles. Since it is likely that the poet was educated in the monastery at Reichenau, it

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106 DeBoor, Die höfische Literatur, p. 68.
107 Ruh, Höfische Epik, p. 104.
108 Jones ("Courtly Literature," p. 19) claims: "Nineteenth-century scholars tried to deduce Hartmann's biography from his writings, ascribing his turning from secular to religious themes to his sorrow at his liege-lord's death; but now we know that medieval poets seldom wrote from firsthand experience or from the need to express their inner feelings."
109 I am grateful to Professor Ulrich Goebel for having made this suggestion.
110 Wapnewski, Hartmann von Aue, pp. 87 ff. and 102.
111 DeBoor, Die höfische Literatur, p. 67.
is certainly within the realm of possibility that he returned to Reichenau and there wrote these poems.

**Liudolfings**

The court of the landgraves in Thuringia was one of the most renowned centers of literary sponsorship in the late 12th and early 13th centuries. Herman, the most illustrious of the landgraves, promoted both epic and lyric poetry, and his name has become synonymous with medieval literary patronage. The reputation of Herman as a patron is so great that his fame has eclipsed the achievements of his immediate family; for example, one critic attributes the literary accomplishments in Thuringia solely to the landgrave. \(^ {112} \)

**Herman of Thuringia**

Among the many lyric and epic poets at Herman's court were some of the most celebrated authors of the entire German Middle Ages: Walther von der Vogelweide, Wolfram von Eschenbach, and Heinrich von Veldeke. In addition, Heinrich von Morungen may also have been there. \(^ {113} \)

Although little is known about the patronage given Albrecht von Halberstadt,

\(^ {112} \)Fechter in *Das Publikum der mittelhochdeutschen Dichtung*, p. 5, claims: "Anders als bei dem Welfengeschlecht war der Musenhof der Ludolfinger eben ganz das Werk einer Persönlichkeit; mit Landgraf Hermanns Tod 1217 war die glänzende Zeit vorbei, und nur in der Dichtung vom Sängerkrieg auf der Wartburg feierte sie noch einmal Auferstehung."

\(^ {113} \)Heinrich von Morungen was sponsored by Margrave Dietrich of Meissen, Herman's son-in-law, and since we know that Walther von der Vogelweide, for instance, visited both courts, it is possible that Heinrich could have done the same. See Hugo Kuhn, "Klassik des Rittertums in der Stauferzeit," *Annalen der deutschen Literatur*, ed. H. Burger (Stuttgart, 1952), p. 101. The patronage of Heinrich von Morungen is discussed below on page 174.
who wrote the *Metamorphosen*, and Herbert von Fritzlar, the author of the *Liet von Troye*, they too, have been linked to Herman's court.\(^{114}\)

The first detailed study on Herman's literary patronage appeared recently.\(^{115}\) Like other literary critics before them, Mendels and Spuler seem to close their eyes to the possibility that besides Herman other members of his house were active patrons.\(^{116}\) Further, as Bumke\(^{117}\) has shown, they are prone to excessive speculation and leave too many questions unanswered. It will be demonstrated that a consideration of other members of the family as possible patrons will provide a more accurate picture of literary sponsorship in Thuringia.

Herman had a reputation as a patron who was generous to a fault. He opened his gates to a flood of poets and entertainers of various abilities. Although there is no evidence that Herman wrote poetry

\(^{114}\) It is impossible to show, for example, that Albrecht von Halberstadt wrote his *Metamorphosen* at the request of Herman. Ruh (*Höfische Epos*, p. 89) notes that all that can be gleaned from Albrecht's poem is that Herman ruled over the realm in which he wrote, and Albrecht does not mention that the landgrave asked him to make his translation. Concerning the *Liet von Troye*, although Herman obtained the source and may have initiated its translation, it is not certain what part he played in its writing.


\(^{116}\) For instance, Wolfram's *Willehalm* may have been promoted by Landgrave Louis IV and his wife, Elisabeth. See Joachim Bumke, *Wolframs 'Willehalm': Studien zur Epenstruktur und zum Heiligkeitsbegriff der ausgehenden Blütezeit* (Heidelberg, 1959).

\(^{117}\) In speaking of their treatment of Wolfram's *Parzival*, Joachim Bumke (Die Wolfram von Eschenbach-Forschung seit 1945: Bericht und Bibliographie [München, 1970], p. 72) claims that Mendels and Spuler continually leave the narrow ground of documented fact for the realm of speculation and phantasy.
himself, as other sponsors had done, he was intimately involved in all aspects of literary production. The landgrave not only requested poems, and obtained foreign texts for his poets, he also encouraged authors to continue and complete works which had been begun at other courts.

One such poem was the Eneide of Heinrich von Veldeke. Thanks to the lengthy epilogue to this epic, definite information about the poet's patronage in Thuringia has come down to us. The epilogue states the poet was called to court, and while there was requested by Herman to finish his poem.

However, Herman may not have been the only member of his family to show interest in Veldeke's work. His three brothers, Louis III, Henry Raspe III, and Frederick may also have played a role in the

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118 For instance, Emperor Henry VI of the Hohenstaufen dynasty and Duke Frederick II of the Babenberg family were patrons and singers.

119 See Appendix VII. The epilogue of the Eneide may not have come from Veldeke's pen, but its historical validity is not to be denied. See Theodor Frings and Gabriele Schieb, "Der Eneideprolog. Die beiden Stauferpartien." AbhAkBln (1947), pp. 23-87; Gabriel Schieb, Heinrich von Veldeke (Stuttgart, 1965), p. 2.

120 Veldeke first found patronage in his native Limburg region from Countess Agnes of Loon and Meister Hessel.

121 Landgrave Louis III married the Countess of Cleve, to whom the poet had loaned his Eneide, and Louis was made aware of it through her.

122 Count Henry Raspe III stole the Eneide at the wedding and brought it to Thuringia.

123 Frederick is mentioned by Veldeke in the epilogue: "ende der grave Frederic, deme dinde gerne Henric" (v. 13,489-90). See Appendix VII.
writing of the poem, and it is even conceivable that his father, Louis II, was somehow involved. It has been flatly asserted that one of these brothers, Frederick, was among Veldeke’s patrons and instrumental in summoning the poet to Thuringia. While there is no doubt that Herman played the major part in the completion of Veldeke’s poem, his participation has perhaps been magnified, and this in turn has overshadowed the participation of other members of his family.

Another poem which Herman promoted while in progress was the Parzival by Wolfram von Eschenbach; however, it is not clear whether Wolfram completed his poem in Thuringia. If the poet did

124 Perhaps Louis II first demonstrated an interest in furthering epic poetry in Thuringia; Edward Schröder ("Der Anteil Thüringens an der Literatur des deutschen Mittelalters," Verein f. thüringische Geschichte und Altertumskunde, 39 [1935], p. 8) speculates that the family was interested in epics before Herman became a literary patron, and wonders whether the Graf Rudolf was written about 1170 at the request of the court in Thuringia.

125 Gabriele Schieb, Heinrich von Veldeke, p. 2; Edward Schröder, "Der Epilog des 'Eneide'," ZFDI, 47 (1904), pp. 291-301.


129 Since Wolfram never clearly states who his patrons were, there has been much speculation about the sponsorship of his Parzival. For instance, he speaks of "min herre der grave von Wertheim" (184,4); "her Heinrich von Rispach" (297,29); a "marcgrävin ... von dem Heitstein" (403,29-404,1); and he indicates that he told his tale for the benefit of a woman known only as "eip wip" (827,28-30). Since the poet mentions the Wildenberg (230,12-13) it has been suggested that he was there while working on the epic. See Albert Schreiber, Neue Bausteine zu einer
not finish his epic at Herman's court, this state of affairs may be partially attributable to his disenchantment with current conditions at the court of the landgrave; a situation criticized by both Wolfram and by Walther von der Vogelweide.  

In the discussion of the Archipoeta it was noted that poets prized sponsors who, in expressing their "milte," exercised the qualities of aesthetic judgment and a sense of "mâze." The patron who distributes excessive and indiscriminate largess to undeserving artists is guilty of "valsche milte." The complaints that both Wolfram and Walther lodge against Herman concern precisely this lack of judgment and "mensura" in dealing with those persons at his court.

In the Parzival Wolfram criticizes Herman and his court severely. In a biting passage the poet compares the court of King Arthur to Herman's, to the distinct detriment of the latter. Arthur's seneschal, Sir Kay, knew how to distinguish ("scheiden") between worthy visitors to his court ("die werden") and the riffraff and base parasites ("die smaehen" and "valsche diet"). If Herman's court needed such a seneschal to


130 See Appendices VIII and V, poem 6.

131 See page 103 of this dissertation.

132 This term and its applicability to medieval patronage is to be found in Die Klage der Kunst, by Konrad von Würzburg. See page 104, footnote 19 of this dissertation.

133 See Appendix VIII.
separate the deserving from the undeserving persons, then this state of affairs suggests that Herman himself failed to exercise discretion. Since these verses contradict the notion some scholars have concerning Wolfram's smooth relations with the landgrave, they are interpreted variously as a jest, as advice to replace the current seneschal at court, and although critical as praise of the landgrave's generosity ("milte").

In contrast to these interpretations, it is my opinion that Wolfram offers the most serious criticism which a medieval poet can level at a patron. He accuses the landgrave of poor judgment, a lack of discretion and unwise distribution of largess. Wolfram does not question Herman's "milte" as such; there is no doubt that the poet recognized that the landgrave was munificent. However, the concept of "milte" is like a two-edged sword; indiscriminate endowment of funds was as much a vice as insufficient giving. Consequently

135 Schreiber, Neue Bausteine, p. 61.
137 In praise of Herman's "milte," Wolfram wrote in the Willehalm: "Swaz er dô ritter nider stiez,/ der guoten orse er dá niht liez,/ er zôch si disen ehten dan./ lantgrave von Düringen Herman/ hete in och lihte ein ors gegeben/ (daz kunde er wol al sin leben)/ halt an só grözem striße,/ swâ der gernde kom bezîte." Willehalm, Buch VI-IX, ed. Albert Leitzmann (Tübingen, 1963), 417, 19 ff.
138 This point is strengthened by another passage in the epic. In instructing Parzival, Gurnemanz claims that lord-like behavior implies wise and moderate giving: "ir sult bescheidenliche/ sin arm unde rîche,/ wan swâ der herre gar vertuoit,/ daz ist niht herrenlicher muot:/ sament er aber schaz ze sêre,/ daz sint och unre.:/ gebet rehter mâze ir orden." Parzival Buch I-VI, ed. A. Leitzmann, 7th ed. ed. W. Deinert (Tübingen, 1961), 171, 7 ff.
"wariu milte," as used by Wolfram in the Parzival passage cited above, appears to be employed ironically. "Wariu milte," if not regulated by "mâze" leads to the patronage of entertainers not worthy of the lord's generosity.

Walther von der Vogelweide, like Wolfram, criticized what he saw and experienced in Thuringia, and presents a similar analysis of the conditions there. In a caustic "Spruch," the poet advises anyone with sensitive ears to avoid the noisy rabble at Herman's court. Like Wolfram, Walther speaks of Herman's excessive generosity, and points to the landgrave's life-style ("hôhiu fuore"); no matter what the cost to him, no cup will remain empty. Further, Herman squanders his wealth on dishonorable professional athletes.

There are two other poems by Walther which are thought to have been written in reference to Herman's court. In Swâ guoter hande wurzen sint (103, 13) the poet admonishes the anonymous wise gardener to rid his garden of weeds. It appears that Walther used this imagery to warn the landgrave to exercise moderation and to remove the un-

139 See Appendix V, poem 6.

140 Friedrich Maurer (Die politischen Lieder Walthers von der Vogelweide [Tübingen, 1954], p. 21) claims that in this poem Walther makes clear "die falsche Art der Milte" at Herman's court.

141 Wilmanns-Michels (Walther von der Vogelweide, II, 113-114) render "kenpfe" as "athleta," "pugilator" and "gladiator," and note that such entertainers belonged to a class outside the pale of the law ("rechtslos").

142 Wilmanns-Michels, Walther von der Vogelweide, I, 175.
worthy persons from his court. In his Uns irret einer hande diet (103,29) Walther laments that he cannot sing his songs and be heard above the babble: "Die lâzent sîn ze spruche niet" (103, 33).

Although Hermann is an object of severe criticism for both Wolfram and Walther, this should not obscure the fact that he actively encouraged many authors of worth. His patronage manifested itself not only in requesting poems such as Wolfram's Willehalm, but also in the acquisition of manuscripts which he desired to have transcribed. Herman supplied Latin and French sources for Herbert's Liet von troye, the Pharsalia of Lucan and Wolfram's Willehalm. Hermann acquired the French poem Roman de Troye, by Benoît of Saint More, from a Count of Leinigen: "Diz buch hat im [Herman] hergesant/ Der grave von Lininge" (Liet von troye, ed. G. Karl Frommann [Quedlinburg-Leipzig, 1837], v. 94-95).


Wolfram writes: "lantgrâve von Dûrîngen Herman/ tet mir diz maere von im bekant" (3,8-9) Reinbot von Durne notes in his Heiliger
It was stressed above that patrons needed to have literary contacts with foreign courts in order to provide the material which they wanted rendered into German. If it is true that Herman studied in France at the court of Louis VII, it is certainly possible that he maintained the contacts which he had established in that country. However, Herman's ability to obtain sources does not necessarily hinge on the theory that he personally spent time in France, for there were close cultural and familial ties between French courts and his own which could readily explain an exchange of manuscripts.

Herman's role as a patron of the arts so impressed his contemporaries and successors that the activities at his court became legendary. The landgrave is glorified in the *Wartburgkrieg* where he is depicted as the model Maecenas. This poem is unique to this survey in that it presents the reader with a picture of medieval patronage, portraying Herman surrounded by singers who praise him and vie for his favor.

The greatness of Herman as a literary sponsor is not to be denied. However, to balance Herman's role in the history of German patronage

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*Georg:* "Von Dürngen lantgraf Herman/ in franzois geschriben vant/ daz er in tiutsche tet bekant/ Von Wilhelm von Naribön./ des hät er hiut ze himel lôn./ er was des buoches urhap,/ wan er die materje gap/ hern Wolfram von Eschenbach:/ daz er von Wilhalme sprach,/ daz ist von lantgräven komen" (*Der Heilige Georg*, ed. C. von Kraus [Heidelberg, 1907], v. 34 ff.). The patronage of the Willehalm will be discussed further in the section of this dissertation beginning on page 171.


and to gain the proper perspective of what actually transpired at his
court, it should not be forgotten that the Wartburgkrieg may have been
promoted by his grandsons. If this is true, then its panegyric
tone may be attributed to an attempt to honor their ancestor. In ad-
dition, the concept of Herman's court as a "Musenhof," emanating in
part from the depiction of the landgrave and his court in the
Wartburgkrieg, was embellished by Scherer, who, in believing that
the court of Duke Carl August in Weimar was similar in nature to Her-
man's, superimposed 18th century conditions on the Middle Ages.

Successors

Louis IV (died 1227), Herman's son, is one of the members of the
family whose achievements as a patron have been overshadowed by those
of his illustrious father. In contrast to the noisy court of Herman,
the atmosphere at Louis' court was sedate and pious, for both Louis
and his wife Elisabeth were very religious. In fact, Louis' epithet
was "The Pious," and Elisabeth was later canonized.

150 W. Wilmanns, "Das Fürstenlob des 'Wartburgkrieges'," ZfdA, 16
(1884), pp. 207 ff. According to Wilmanns, Henry of Meissen and
Herman I of Henneburg, the grandsons of Herman, were involved in the
writing of the Wartburgkrieg. Concerning a further mention of Henry's
patronage see page 175 in this dissertation.

151 Wilhelm Scherer, Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung im 11. und

152 See Friedrich Neumann, "Hessen in der deutschen Literatur des
Mittelalters," Zs. d. Vereins f. hessische Geschichte und Landeskunde

153 Wilhelm Scherer, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur, 15th ed.
(Berlin, 1922), p. 196.
The religiosity of Louis and Elisabeth certainly influenced the kind of literature produced in Thuringia during their reign. For instance, although Herman provided the source for Wolfram's Willehalm, Bumke has convincingly shown that the greater part of the epic was written at the behest of Louis and Elisabeth, who would have appreciated the religious and political content of the poem. Since the atmosphere of their court was so pious, it would have been the logical place for the presentation of the Willehalm.

Louis and Elisabeth could also have been the patrons of Wolfram's Titurel, since it is generally assumed that this epic was written con-
current with or after the Willehalm. Perhaps the poet's depiction of children's love ("kintliche minne") in the Titurel was even modeled after Elisabeth's love for Louis, but this is highly speculative. Elisabeth came to the court in Thuringia at the age of four as his intended bride.

Another poem which may have been promoted in part by Louis and Elisabeth is the Liet von troye by Heribert von Fritzlar. As he had for Wolfram's Willehalm, Herman provided the source for this poem. However, certain heraldry in the poem was apparently based on coats of arms from Hungary, Elisabeth's homeland, and may have been included by the poet to honor her. This kind of homage could conceivably suggest patronage.

Like Wolfram and Heribert, Walther von der Vogelweide may well have enjoyed the sponsorship of both Herman and Louis. Walther's poem Ich

155 DeBoor, Die höfische Literatur, p. 92. Although Herman is mentioned in one stanza of the Titurel - to be sure, in a contested one - there is no mention of patronage: "Herman von Dürngen wilent pflac ërn, der immer kunde wünsches walten./ swâ man hoert von sinen gnözen sprechen,/ die vor im hin gescheiden sint, wie kund sin lôp für die sö verre brechen!" Wolfram von Eschenbach's Parzival und Titurel, ed. Ernst Martin (Halle, 1920), I, stanza 82*. These verses are not included in Albert Leitzmann's edition of the Titurel, 5th ed. (Tübingen, 1963).


157 Josef Nadler, Literaturgeschichte der deutschen Stämme und Landschaften, 2nd ed. (Regensburg, 1923, I, 107; Literaturgeschichte des deutschen Volkes (Berlin, 1933), I, 92.

bin des milten lantgräven ingesinde⁵⁹ was conceivably written during Louis' reign,⁶⁰ and thus the nameless landgrave mentioned in the poem could be Louis.⁶¹ A further poem which may strengthen the conclusion that Walther was patronized by Louis is Swer an des edelen lantgräven råde si (85,17). The fact that Walther calls this landgrave, who has been identified as Louis,⁶² "min junger hërre" might indicate a dependency relationship. The poet emphasizes that Louis possesses both "milte" and "staete" ("steadfastness"). These virtues, which Walther claims are not shared by the majority of rulers, are consistently cited by poets when discussing liberal patrons.⁶³

I am in agreement with those scholars who have associated both Walther and Wolfram, who criticized Herman severely, with the court of Louis and Elisabeth, and I further believe that they left Thuringia disillusioned with Herman and returned to enjoy the magnanimous

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⁵⁹ See Appendix V, poem 7.

⁶¹ Since it has been established that a religious atmosphere prevailed at the court of Louis and Elisabeth, and since Walther's later poetry reveals a growing religiosity, the general conclusion seems warranted that Walther's poetry was influenced in his subject matter and tone by this noble pair.

⁶² Wilmanns-Michels, Walther von der Vogelweide, I, 175.

⁶³ See page 105, footnote 21 of this dissertation.
It has been noted that Herman's reputation as the great patron of his era has led critics to overlook the literary sponsorship of other members of his family. The patronage of Margrave Dietrich of Meissen (died 1221), Herman's son-in-law, like Herman's brothers and son, has also not been put into its proper perspective.

Scholars have placed Walther von der Vogelweide and Heinrich von Morungen at the court of Dietrich of Meissen. Since these two singers apparently wrote only lyric poetry, and since there is no indication that the margrave was interested in epic poetry, this may suggest that Dietrich favored the lyric genre. The degree to which he supported lyrics is well demonstrated by his generosity towards the minnesinger Heinrich von Morungen, to whom he granted a pension. Dietrich perhaps also presented the poet with a fief. As has been suggested, these were traditional gifts to those poets whose services were cherished.

Following Dietrich's death, "minnesang" was sung and sponsored for decades to come in Thuringia and Meissen by landgraves and margraves.


166 See page 119 of this dissertation.
Since scholars have cast doubt on Herman’s interest in "minnesang," and since, as noted above, Dietrich was an avid patron of the lyric genre, it was very likely he and not Herman who gave impetus to and exerted a lasting influence on the continuing patronage of "minnesang."

Of his successors who appear to have encouraged poetry, Henry of Meissen, Dietrich’s son, and Frederick the Earnest, Landgrave of Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, who ruled from 1324 to 1349, may be mentioned here, and if, as it is claimed, Frederick was instrumental in the compilation of the Jena Manuscript, then he played a major role in the preservation of "minnesang."

Since a measure of the importance of a patron is the influence which he exerts on his successors, Dietrich deserves to be considered along with Herman as a major literary sponsor.

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168 DeBoor, Die deutsche Literatur im späten Mittelalter: Zerfall und Neubeginn (München, 1964), I, 329. Certainly there were other influences besides Dietrich of Meissen on the patronage of his son, Henry. His step-father was Count Poppo VII of Henneburg who is praised in song by Bruder Wernher: "Ein edel grave wol geborn, der wont in Ostervranken lant,/ (ie) lenger ie baz unde baz wirt er in tugenden wol bekant; .../ Er hat ein(e)s rehten herren lip, er hat ein(e)s rehten herren muot,/ er ist geborn von hoher art, daz beste er (ie) vil gerne tuot;/ ... er heizet Boppe, unde ist schanden laere, von Hinnenberk ist er geborn; daz hus ist von al solher art,/ daz es nicht boeser herren birt, des hat ez sich unz her bewart" (HMS, III, 15). Poppo’s brother was the minnesinger Otto von Botenlauben. See page 116, footnote 56 of this dissertation.

169 Fechter, Das Publikum der mittelhochdeutschen Dichtung, p. 63. The Jena Manuscript is extremely valuable since it has musical notes.
This survey has considered many prelates who encouraged letters, among them William of Mainz, Erchanbald of Strassburg, Aribo of Mainz and Rainald of Dassel. With the exception of the Ezzolied it was noted that bishops almost exclusively requested and received literature written in Latin. The Ezzolied, it was claimed, was commissioned in order to compete with the "cantus obscenus," literature which the Church held to be threatening to its tenets. In the Hohenstaufen era, however, a dramatic change occurs. Now bishops patronize precisely that kind of literature which would previously have been deemed objectionable to the Church, e.g., the Nibelungenlied, which is based on heroic material and is composed in the vernacular. After the practice was established that clerics sponsored worldly literature, certain prelates promoted poets who wrote secular literature and bishops collected courtly poetry.

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170 See pages 93 ff. of this dissertation.


172 For example, Egbert of Bamberg (died 1237) was apparently one of Tannhäuser's patrons; Conrad of Lichtenberg (died 1299) encouraged Konrad von Würzburg, perhaps Meister Boppe, and is usually thought to have commissioned the manuscript Heidelberg A, a collection of "minnesang" and "Spruchdichtung"; Giselbreht of Bremen (died 1306) supported Frauenlob; Henry of Klingenberg (died 1306) was the likely collector of the Weingartner manuscript, likewise an assemblage of lyrics; and Pilgrim II of Puchheim (died 1396) furthered poetry in Salzburg.
One of the first poems written in the vernacular during the Hohenstaufen period which was probably sponsored by a prelate is the Kaiserchronik. A bishop has often been put forward as a possible patron of this epic, but not until Neumann was sponsorship by a cleric made really credible. Neumann believes that although scholars have attempted to determine the patron of the Kaiserchronik from the perspective of alleged sympathies for the Welfic political cause in the work, the most persuasive argument in isolating the sponsor of the poem is to approach the problem from the standpoint of necessary resources and facilities. The Kaiserchronik was written in Bavaria, and no secular court in that region could have provided the library, the scribes, etc. demanded for the writing of an epic of such scope:

173 Bishop Kuno of Regensburg was alleged to have been the patron, but he died already in 1132, a date which is too early for the Kaiserchronik. See Ferdinand Urbanek, ("Zur Datierung der 'Kaiserchronik': Entstehung, Auftraggeber, Chronologie," Euph, 53 [1959], pp. 121 ff.) who lists all of the patrons who have been suggested by scholars. For instance, it has been claimed that Lothar of Supplinburg, Duke Henry the Proud, Welf VI and Henry the Lion promoted the poem. Urbanek believes that Pfalzgrave Otto V of Wittelsbach was the sponsor.

174 Friedrich Neumann, "Wann enstanden 'Kaiserchronik' und 'Rolandslied'?

Es war für Menschen des mittleren 12. Jahrhunderts ein großes, ja kühnes Unternehmen, das 'Römische Reich' in Tausenden von Versen von seinem Beginn an auf weitem Wege bis in die Gegenwart zu begleiten. Von dieser Einsicht ist daher die Frage nach dem Auftraggeber nicht zu trennen. Schwerlich konnte ein weltlicher Dynast... für die Vorarbeiten und Ausführung die Arbeitsmöglichkeiten schaffen. Wir bewegen uns am wahrscheinlichsten in der Welt 'geistlicher Herren'.

Even though it cannot be determined with surety who the specific "geistliche Herr" was who patronized the Kaiserchronik, it seems certain that he was a bishop. Consequently, any attempt to find a sponsor for this epic must begin with the clergy.

Wolfger of Erla

Wolfger of Erla, who was Bishop of Passau from 1191 until 1204 and Patriarch of Aquileia from 1204 to 1218, was one of the most significant episcopal patrons. Very much like Herman of Thuringia, Wolfger opened his doors to scores of entertainers of varying abilities, and from his personal records it is known that "ioculatores," "istriones," "scholares," "mimi," "cantatrici," a "loderpfaffus" and musicians and performers of all sorts were remunerated by Wolfger.

176 Neumann, "Wann entstanden 'Kaiserchronik' und 'Rolandslied'?" p. 291.

177 See pages 162 ff. of this dissertation.


Wolfger's association with Boncampagno, a teacher of rhetoric, appears to have come about as a result of their common interest in
In addition to these minor entertainers and artists, some of disrepute, Wolfger appears to have sponsored Albrecht von Johansdorf,\textsuperscript{179} Walther von der Vogelweide,\textsuperscript{180} and the author of the \textit{Nibelungenlied}.\textsuperscript{181} Further, Thomasin de Circlaria, an Italian, wrote the didactic poem \textit{Der Welsche Gast} at Wolfger's court in Aquileia, and it is conceivable vagabond entertainers. In his collection of model letters Boncampagno shows his familiarity with the problems and needs of such performers when he included for their benefit a series of "letters of recommendation," \textit{De remunerations ioculatorum}. See Ludwig Rockinger, \textit{Briefsteller und Formelbliicher des 11.-14. Jahrhunderts}, (Munchen, 1863), vol. I.

\textsuperscript{179} Another poet associated with Wolfger was Bligger von Steinach, (See pp. 107 ff. of this dissertation), who, together with the prelate, is attested in documents written in 1209. See Neumann, review of Heger: \textit{Das Lebenszeugnis Walthers von der Vogelweide}, p. 25.

\textsuperscript{180} The bishop's travel records show that Walther von der Vogelweide was one of the many artists who Wolfger rewarded. In the first edition of the accounts (cited in: Heger, \textit{Das Lebenszeugnis}, pp. 81 ff.) it is written: "Walthero de Vogelweide pro pellicio.v. sol longos," while in the second we find: "Sequenti die apud Zeit[emurum] Walthero cantori de Vogelweide pro pellicio.v. sol. longos." The poet received a fur coat from the bishop, and as noted on pages 106 and 131 (footnote 11) of this dissertation, clothing was a customary gift from patrons to poets. Also its presentation on St. Martin's Day had obvious symbolic significance, since Martin was the patron saint of wandering entertainers (see page 105, footnote 21 of this dissertation). See Heger, \textit{Das Lebenszeugnis}, p. 231. Scholars cannot agree what the title "cantor" means in front of Walther's name in the second edition of the travel accounts. Richard Newald ("Walther von der Vogelweide und der Passauer Hof," Archiv f. Literatur und Volksdichtung, 1 [1949], pp. 114 ff.) believes that the poet held an office in Passau. However, Heger (\textit{Das Lebenszeugnis}, p. 235) claims that the poet lacked the necessary education for a church position.

\textsuperscript{181} Heger (\textit{Das Lebenszeugnis}, p. 237) subscribes to the controversial theory that the author of the \textit{Nibelungenlied} was the Meister Kuonrat mentioned in the epilogue to the \textit{Klage}. The poet was allegedly an episcopal scribe and notary in Passau and a chaplain at the court of the Babenbergs in Vienna. See Dietrich Kralik, "Passau im 'Nibelungenlied'," Anzeiger d. \textit{Osterreichischen Akademie d. Wissenschaften}, 20 (1950), pp. 451-470; \textit{Wer war der Dichter des 'Nibelungenliedes'}? (Wien, 1954).
that Wolfger's influence accounts for Thomasin's decision to write in German.

It was mentioned above that Wolfger's court was like Herman's in that both subsidized a heterogeneous group and also promoted some of the most illustrious poets of both epic and lyric poetry in the entire Middle Ages. The parallels between these two courts do not end with outward similarities. Walther von der Vogelweide sang for both Wolfger and Herman, underscoring one of the major conclusions of this section; namely, that in this period differences between the patronage of literature at episcopal and lesser secular courts are often minimal.

There is another point of comparison: like Herman, whose involvement in literary pursuits so overshadowed those of his contemporaries that critics failed to consider other possible patrons in Thuringia and Meissen, Wolfger's role as a literary sponsor has been exaggerated, with the result that the achievements of his predecessors and successors in both Passau and Aquileia may have been slighted. For instance, it is possible that the "esteemed patriarch" ("der biderbe patriarche") of Walther's Die wîle ich weiz drit hove sô lobelîcher manne (34,34) was Count Berthold of Andechs, who ruled in Aquileia after Wolfger, and not Wolfger as usually assumed.\textsuperscript{182} Also the matter of the patronage

\textsuperscript{182} In Die wîle ich weiz drit hove sô lobelîcher manne Walther praises three courts which exhibit generosity to poets, among them, the court of a certain Patriarch of Aquileia: "der biderbe patriarke missewende frî, der ist ir einer, so ist min hüfser tröst zehant dâ bî..." (34, 36-37). Since this poem is written in the "Ummutston," which has been dated as late as 1219 (See: Wilmanns-Michels, Walther von der Vogelweide, I, 170), a year after Wolfger's death, it is certainly possible that these verses refer to another patron, Berthold of Andechs, who ruled from 1218 until 1251. An additional reason why Berthold may
of the minnesinger Albrecht von Johansdorf must be reconsidered. Since this poet is attested in the service of the Bishopric of Passau from 1180 until 1209, and since Wolfger did not arrive in Passau until 1191 and left already in 1204, these dates suggest that, contrary to the "opinio communis," Albrecht may have been sponsored by other bishops in addition to Wolfger. Bishops Diepold, his predecessor, and Mangold, one of his successors, would come into question.

In the Middle Ages the higher clergy came almost exclusively from noble families, and it was precisely this stratum of society which came into consideration is that Walther's relations with Wolfger after he became Patriarch of Aquileia in 1204 are beclouded. If Thomasin de Circlaria wrote the caustic verses in his Wälscher Gast (ed. H. Rückert and F. Neumann, rpt. [Berlin, 1965], v. 11, 191 ff.) which censure Walther for criticizing Pope Innocent III and for his general lack of moderation at Wolfger's request or with his knowledge, then it is doubtful that Walther was patronized by Wolfger in Aquileia. See Karl K. Klein, "Zum dichterischen Spätwerk Walthers von der Vogelweide: Der Streit mit Thomasin von Zerclaère," Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft: Germanistische Abhandlungen, 6 (1959), pp. 59-109.

There is no doubt that Berthold's family promoted literature. See Fechter, Das Publikum der mittelhochdeutschen Dichtung, p. 8, and page 130 of this dissertation.

DeBoor (Die höfische Literatur, p. 274) claims that Albrecht is attested between 1180 and 1209, and Ehrismann, II, 2, 2, 233 lists the years 1185 to 1209. In any case it is clear that the poet served bishops in Passau before and after Wolfger's tenure there.

Diepold ruled from 1172 until 1190, and his brother Mangold from 1206 until 1215. Between 1204 and 1206 Poppo, Provost of the Cathedral in Aquileia reigned. Here I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. August Leidl and the Institut für Ostbairische Heimatsforschung in Passau for information about the Bishops of Passau and the kind donation of Josef Oswald's study: "Die Bischöfe von Passau: Untersuchungen zum Passauer Bischofskatalog," Ostbairische Grenzmarken: Passauer Jb. f. Geschichte und Volkskunde, 5 (1961), pp. 7-29.
furthered courtly and heroic poetry and which served as its audience. Like Wolfger, the brothers Diepold and Mangold were members of the nobility: both were Counts of Berg. Since the assumption of an ecclesiastical office did not hinder Wolfger in his patronage of "minnesang" nor in the promotion of entertainers expressly forbidden by the Church, it is reasonable that Diepold and Mangold would likewise not have felt compelled to promote religious literature simply because of their position as bishops. It can be surmised that the motivating factor in the decision on the part of ecclesiastical patrons to sponsor secular literature was as much an expression of their standing in society as of the Church office which held.

The fact that the episcopal office did not necessarily determine

185 Fechter (Das Publikum der mittelhochdeutschen Dichtung, pp. 101-102) notes: "Ganz abgesehen davon, dass die Bischofsstühle und Domherrensitze in der Hauptsache nur Adeligen offenstanden... unter den 367 Edelkanonikern des Kölner Domkapitels von 1300-1500 befanden sich 360 Söhne von Fürsten, Grafen und Freiherren-, also gerade jenen Kreisen, in denen die höfische Dichtung fast ausschließlich, die Heldenepik in der Hauptsache verbreitet war, musste die weltliche Hofhaltung dieser auch im Reichsdienst stehenden Herren eine viel innigere Beziehung zur weltlichen Dichtung zur Folge haben, als wir sie nun bei den einfachen Seelsorgegeistlichen erwarten können."

186 Wolfger attempted to excuse himself from the 4th Lateran Council in 1215 when Pope Innocent III sought to compel all clerics to renew their vows to cease support of wandering entertainers. Wolfger's interest in such performers was so intense that no threats or warnings could dissuade him. For instance, John of Salisbury (died 1180) had admonished those who rewarded mimes that they put themselves in moral peril. It is fascinating that a Prince of the Church refused that Church the right to exercise power over his purse. See Georg Zappert, "Über das Fragment eines Liber dativus," SBAkWien, 13 (1854), pp. 97 ff.; Helen Wadell, The Wandering Scholars (New York, 1934); Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, pp. 471-472, and Edwin Zeydel, "Vagantes, Galliardi, Joculatores: Three Vagabond Types," Helen Adolf Fs. (New York, 1968), pp. 42 ff.
the nature of literature sponsored is clearly demonstrated in Wolfger's assumed encouragement of the *Nibelungenlied*. Since this epic is based on heroic material, comparable perhaps to what was previously considered to be the "cantus obscenus," and since this type of literature was shunned by the Church, it is clear that the patronage of such an epic was more an expression of social class than of Church office. Because it is uncertain when the *Nibelungenlied* was begun and finished, Diepold and Mangold could have been involved in its inception and completion. 187

Even though it is difficult to determine the literary role of Diepold and Mangold in Passau, one conclusion becomes evident: during the 12th and 13th centuries a development takes place within the framework of episcopal patronage. As the examples of the Kaiserchronik, Albrecht von Johansdorf and the *Nibelungenlied* illustrate, bishops sponsor literature which does not significantly differ from that spon-

187 See Gottfried Weber and Werner Hoffmann, 'Nibelungenlied', 2nd ed. (Stuttgart, 1961), esp. 44 ff.; Emil Ploss, "Die Datierung des 'Nibelungenliedes'," PBH [T], 80 (1958), pp. 72-106, and Hellmut Rosenfeld, "Die Datierung des 'Nibelungenliedes' Fassung *B und *C," pp. 104-120. Rosenfeld (pp. 114-115) speculates that Wolfger also commissioned the Klage. One of the arguments cited for patronage of the *Nibelungenlied* by a Bishop of Passau is the appearance in the poem of a Bishop Pilgrim of Passau. He has been identified with a bishop of the same name who ruled from 971-991. Heusler (Nibelungensage und *Nibelungenlied*, p. 8) contends that the opening of Pilgrim's tomb in 1181 aroused interest in the bishop, who was consequently given a part in the epic. The poet, Heusler believes, hoped to honor his patron Wolfger thereby. But it is inexplicable why Wolfger should be associated with Pilgrim's veneration in the *Nibelungenlied*. Friedrich Panzer (Das 'Nibelungenlied': Entstehung und Gestalt [Stuttgart- Köln, 1955], p. 478) claims, for instance, it is absurd that Wolfger would have desired such an anachronistic tribute. If Pilgrim's appearance in the poem is a direct result of the opening of his crypt, then the obvious conclusion is that Diepold asked the poet to commemorate Pilgrim by placing him in the *Nibelungenlied*, since the crypt was opened during Diepold's tenure in office.
sored by secular nobles. This trend continues during the Hohenstaufen era and is ever more clearly demonstrable in literary patronage within cities.

MUNICIPAL LITERARY PATRONAGE

It was noted above that in the 13th century lesser nobles and prelates challenged the imperial court in the distribution of largess, and it was suggested that the royal court became increasingly insignificant as a sponsor of literature. A further sign of the diversification of literary patronage which takes place in the Hohenstaufen era is the growing cultural importance of the cities and their role in the promotion of literature and the arts. It was shown in the discussion of Bamberg that the Emperor, Henry II, was instrumental in making the city a cultural center. His participation served as an impetus and a catalyst for the arts, and his influence was felt for centuries to come. In contrast, during the Hohenstaufen period imperial influence on the sponsorship of literature in cities is negligible.

At this point a basic distinction must be made between conditions in cities such as Aachen, Vienna and Passau, which were mentioned above as having played an important role in the history of German literary

188 No comprehensive survey of municipal literary patronage exists, but Wolfgang Stammler has written two studies which can serve as the beginnings for such a project: "Die 'bürgerliche' Dichtung des Spätmittelalters," and "Die deutsche Hanse und die deutsche Literatur," in: Kleine Schriften zur Literaturgeschichte des Mittelalters (Berlin, 1953), pp. 71-95; 218-238.

189 See pages 60 ff. in this dissertation.
patronage, and those cities which exhibit true municipal patronage.

Aachen, Vienna and Passau are important because of their identification with a particular patron or a prominent court, and not because the various elements of society were involved in literary production. The latter is the case with the cities from the 13th century forward, where not only secular nobles and the clergy promoted literature, but also the burgher. This is what is meant in this dissertation by municipal patronage.

Since in addition to the burghers those social strata which in the past encouraged literature congregated in the cities, municipal patronage grew in importance during the 13th century. An early product of the cultural flowering in the cities is the Tristan of Gottfried von Strassburg. Not only was this great courtly epic written in an urban environment by a poet who is thought to have been a

190 Burghers had begun to assume importance in the 13th century, both as a topic for literature (Der Gute Gerhard by Rudolf von Ems) and because they were involved in all areas of literary production. (See pages 8 and 9, especially footnote 24 of this dissertation.) In addition to those examples cited in the text concerning the participation of burghers in the production of letters, Otto der Bogener, a citizen of Augsburg ("er sitzet zu Augsburg in der stat," Ulrich von Türheim, Rennewart, ed. A. Hübner [Berlin, 1938], v. 10, 282), obtained the French source of the Ulrich von Türheim's Rennewart (1240-1250). Otto der Bogener may also have been the patron of Tannhäuser, who mentions "der Bogenaere" in a poem: "Ein Herman uz Düringen lant, ... dar zuo der Bogenaere/ Des milte was mir wol erkant:/ wer erbet nu ir milte?" (HMS, II, 89). But the poet may be referring rather to Count Bogen or to Count of Ellenbogen. See Waller, "König Konrad IV. und der Minnesang," pp. 38-39; Franz Pfeiffer, review of Roth: Ulrich von Türheim, 'Rennewart', GermaniaPF, 2 (1857), pp. 254-255. Another burgher, Klara Hützlerin, copied the poems called Das Liederbuch der Klara Hützlerin (ed. C. Haltaus [Quedlinburg, 1840]) in the third quarter of the fifteenth century in Augsburg. Also burghers in Nürnberg engaged the services of "Spruchsprecher," who composed extempore verses for delivery in their homes and on the occasion of weddings and other festivities. See Eugen Kusch, Nürnberg: Lebensbild einer Stadt (Nürnberg, 1966), p. 264.
but its patron, a certain Dietrich, may well have been a patrician from Strassburg. The name "Dieterich" appears in an acrostic in the first stanzas of the prologue to the Tristan. In these verses, I believe Gottfried makes it clear that his patron, in contrast to those sponsors who cannot or will not differentiate between "good" and "bad," has aesthetic judgment and literary taste. Perhaps Gottfried is referring to sponsors such as Herman of Thuringia and Wolfgar of Passau, who had motley throngs at their courts, and, as has been demonstrated above,

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191 See Gottfried Weber and Werner Hoffmann (Gottfried von Strassburg [Stuttgart, 1968], pp. 1 ff.) for a critical summary of the various theories concerning the poet's station in society. See also Ehrismann (II, 2,1,299) who states: "Gottfried war bürgerlichen Standes (vielleicht gehörte er zu der vornehmen städtischen Gesellschaft in Strassburg). . . ."

192 Gottfried Weber and Werner Hoffmann, Gottfried von Strassburg, p.3.

193 The first letter of the acrostic is "G," and Hugo Kuhn (Text und Theorie, p. 201) mentions that this initial may not be a reference to the poet, Gottfried, as has been argued, but rather to a title such as "Graf." See Appendix IX.


did not distinguish artists from mere entertainers.\(^{196}\)

In contrast to Gottfried, who apparently was patronized by a member of the patrician class, Konrad von Würzburg was not promoted by members of one social class alone. The diversity of Konrad's patronage well exemplifies the various possibilities of sponsorship open to the urban poet.\(^{197}\)

Konrad spent a considerable period of his life in Basel and while there enjoyed the patronage of patricians who sponsored his great epic poems \textit{Trojanerkrieg}, \textit{Partonopier und Meliur}, \(^{198}\) and \textit{Pantaleon}.\(^{199}\) The poet did not limit his search for patronage to one social class, and the fact that he was himself a burgher\(^{200}\) did not deter him from

\(^{196}\)See pages 162 ff. and 178 ff. of this dissertation.


\(^{198}\)The patron of the \textit{Trojanerkrieg} was Dietrich an dem Orte, the sexton in the cathedral in Basel. See Edward Schröder, "Studien zu Konrad von Würzburg IV. V.," pp. 108-109.

\(^{199}\)Ibid., pp. 104 ff. Peter der Schaler, the major of Basel, was the sponsor of the \textit{Partonopier und Meliur}.

\(^{200}\)Ibid., pp. 102 ff. The \textit{Pantaleon} was written for John of Arguel, a landed knight active in political affairs in Basel.

\(^{201}\)See Ehrismann, II, 2,2,35. Although not denying that Konrad was a burgher, DeBoor ("Die Chronologie der Werke Konrads von Würzburg, insbesondere die Stellung des 'Turniers von Nantes'," FBB [T], 89 (1968), pp. 253-254) has recently noted that the poet is referred to in annals as "Conradus de Wirciburg vagus." This may mean, DeBoor suggests, that Konrad was remembered as a wandering poet by the good citizens of Basel. Further, DeBoor points out that Konrad wrote his \textit{Turnier von Nantes}, an example of "Wappendichtung," while he was a "vagus." This literary form is significant for a survey of medieval patronage since it chose as its subject the veneration of patrons, both living and deceased. In addition to a description of coats of arms, a poet would include allegorical
seeking rewards from his own class, members of which were heretofore not generally involved in the patronage of literature. Burghers promoted his Alexiuslegende, and translated the Partonopier into German. Although the Alexiuslegende was patronized by burghers, and although its thrust is religious, it is significant that it contains a moral "exemplum" for the patrician class. Since Saint Alexius, who was a patrician, gave up the wealth and status he enjoyed, it could be that the "legenda" was intended as an admonition to patricians not to pay excessive heed to their social position, but rather to follow the Saint in his rejection of material things.

The obvious conclusion which can be drawn from the above is that a certain tension existed between the burghers and patricians. In fact, it may have been this very tension which motivated the burgher to commission literature; through patronage of the arts he was able to narrow the social gap between the classes and to gain apparent cultural equality. Since the burghers as a class were striving for increasing social recognition, the element of competition, which has been shown to have been a frequent powerful force in commissioning literature,

interpretations, genealogical commentary and praise of the family as an act of service to his liege-lord. One of the foremost of the later poets who made use of this genre was Peter Suchenwirt (died 1395), who practiced his art for, among others, Duke Albrecht III in Vienna. See Hans-Friedrich Rosenfeld, "Peter Suchenwirt," WL (Berlin, 1953), IV, 310-315.


203 Ibid., pp. 105-106. The burghers Arnold Fuchs and Henry Merschant translated the French source of Partonopier und Meliur for Peter der Schaler.
will also have played an important role in the burghers' decision to sponsor literature.

The clergy is the third stratum which promoted certain works of Konrad von Würzburg. The canon Liutold of Roeteln encouraged Konrad's *Silvesterlegende*, and Bishop Conrad III of Lichtenberg apparently requested the poet's *Goldene Schmiede*, a poem in praise of the Virgin Mary. Although much of our knowledge of Konrad's relations with the Bishop rests on speculation, evidence of their contact is contained in panegyric verses suggesting that here a poet is addressing his patron:

... von Strazeburk ein Liechtenberger, iuwer lob
ich kroene,
iu muoz min gedoene
durchluterlicher tugende jen.

Bishop Conrad can also be associated with other writers such as Meister Boppe, a minor poet who wrote "Sprüche." However, the main interest of Conrad and other clerics residing in cities was not the promotion of individual poets, but rather the collecting of poetry.

Gathering literature has up to this point been chiefly the province of secular nobles, primarily the imperial court. Although the emperors continue to collect literature, it is clear that now this practice has

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205 Ibid., pp. 144 ff., and DeBoor, "Die Chronologie," p. 252. Schröder and DeBoor suggest that the *Goldene Schmiede* was written to marshal support for the building of the Cathedral "*Monasterium Beatae Mariae Virginis*" in Strassburg.
206 *HMS*, II, 334.
been adopted by the various classes of society, illustrating the phenomenon of diversification. Bishop Conrad was the collector of the so-called Heidelberg A Manuscript, which is the oldest compilation of "minnesang" from the Hohenstaufen era.

It is striking that the majority of these collections of "minnesang" were made by holders of Church offices. For instance, it has been assumed with some authority that Henry of Klingenberg, the bishop of Constance, was involved in the compilation of the Weingartner Manuscript; and Michael de Leone, a canon and episcopal prothonotary, sponsored the Würzburg manuscript. Since these collections are courtly literature, the conclusion drawn above in the discussion of Wolfger of Passau is reiterated, namely that ecclesiastical positions do not necessarily dictate the type of literature patronized or gathered by clerics.

In the cities this is not only true for the clerics, but for all

208EHRISSMANN, II, 2, 2, 209.
209Fechter, Das Publikum der mittelhochdeutschen Dichtung, p. 62. Henry was a member of the Manesse Circle in Zürich and Vice Chancellor to Emperor Rudolf I of Habsburg. The literary activities of this circle are discussed in the following chapter.
210Michael de Leone was aided and encouraged in this project by members of the highest social stratum in Würzburg, "litterati" from both ecclesiastical and municipal circles. Among them were Bruno of Rebstock, a town-councillor; Lupold of Bebenburg, an Archdeacon, and Bishop Albrecht of Hohenlohe. One of the bishop's relatives was the patron of the epic Wilhelm von Österreich by Johann von Würzburg. See Peter Keyser, Michael de Leone (†1355) und seine literarische Sammlung (Würzburg, 1966), pp. 77 ff. It has been suggested that these men had great regard for Walther von der Vogelweide, whose burial in Würzburg is directly linked to that veneration. See Otto Handwerker, "Walther von der Vogelweide und Würzburg," Das Bayerland, 41 (1930), pp. 137-141; Eckehard Simon, "Neidhart's Tomb Revisited," Seminar, 7 (1971), p. 68.
of the classes; no longer do poets and patrons belong exclusively to
noble circles, be they members of the secular nobility or the clergy,
nor does the station in society determine the type of literature com-
missioned. For instance, the Neuer Parzival, although commissioned
by a count, was written by two burghers in Strassburg, and Hans
Rosenplut, also a burgher, wrote a panegyric poem to a Bavarian duke
about 1460.

211 Count Ulrich of Rappoltstein resided in the Alsace but had the
Neuer Parzival written in Strassburg between 1331-1336. He obtained
its French source and apparently engaged the services of Sampson Pine,
a Jew, as translator. The count's decision to revive a courtly epic
more than a century after its writing was no novelty; over the entire
"Reich" there were attempts in the later Middle Ages to revive litera-
ture of the "classical period." For instance, Heinrich von Freiburg
wrote his Tristan for the nobleman Reimund of Lichtenberg (Reimund is
attested to in documents between 1278 and 1329). See Emperor Maximilian
I, pp. 220 ff. of this dissertation. It is not difficult to explain
what motivated these commissions. In them the nobles were depicted in
a favorable light and this offered them the opportunity to associate
their names with immortal poems and to compete with renowned sponsors
of the past. In the case of Ulrich of Rappoltstein, an additional fac-
tor in commissioning this poem was the personal relevance of the Parzival
to his family; his wife and daughter were named "Herzelaude" after the
mother of Parzival. See Werner Besch, "Vom 'alten' zum 'nuwen' Parzival,"
Dtschunt, 14 (1962), pp. 91-104.

212 Claus Wisse and Philip Colin, two goldsmiths, presented their
patron with a calculation of costs just as if the Parzival were a work
of goldsmithery. See Parzifal von Claus Wisse und Philipp Colin (1331-
1336): Eine Ergänzung der Dichtung Wolframs von Eschenbach, ed. K.
Schorbach (Strassburg, 1888), v. 36, 830 ff. Their attitude towards
art is revealing and harmonizes well with Wapnewski's (Die deutsche
Literatur des Mittelalters: Ein Abriss [Göttingen, 1960], p. 100)
comparison of the art of goldsmithery with the art of writing poetry:
"Dichten ist ein erlernen- und lehrbares Handwerk geworden wie die
Goldschmiedekunst, mit hohem Anspruch jedoch."

213 See "Von Herzog Ludwig von Baiern," Die historischen Volkslieder
der Deutschen vom 13. bis 16. Jahrhundert, ed. R. von Liliencron (Leipzig,
1865), vol. I, Song 110.
This kind of literary "intermingling" is further illustrated by urban literary circles, where it was possible for the various social strata to come together for a common purpose. Still another example of this phenomenon may be found in Nuernberg, where patronage became one of the functions of the municipal government. The chief organ of patronage was the City Council ("Rat"), which sponsored various art forms including literature. The social station of the town-councillors did not come into question, because they accepted or rejected works of art and commissioned the same as a collective unit ("Gemeinde").

Two such circles in Nuernberg deserve mention. There were authors who gathered about Gregor Heimburg (died 1472) and Sebald Schreyer (died 1520). Schreyer is important because he was an "Anreger und Förderer künstlerischer wie literarischer Pläne und Werke" (Hans Ruprich, Das ausgehende Mittelalter, p. 516). Among these plans was a great encyclopedia which he hoped to write with the aid of the poet Conrad Celtis. Since Heimburg was a pupil of Lorenzo Valla, his circle was of consequence for the city and the introduction of Humanism to Germany. A member of Heimburg's circle was Niklas von Wyle, a nobleman, who was greatly influenced by Italian Humanism.

Professor Harold Grimm has supervised the writing of several informative dissertations which have helped to clarify patronage of the arts in Nuernberg. See Carl Christensen, The Nuernberg City Council as a Patron of the Fine Arts: 1500-1550 (Ohio State University, 1965); Jackson Spielvogel, Willibald Pirkheimer and the Nuernberg City Council (Ohio State University, 1967) and Phillip Bebb, Christoph Scheurl's Role as a Legal Advisor to the Nuernberg City Council, 1512-1525 (Ohio State University, 1971). See also Theodor Hampe, Nürnberger Ratsverläufe Über Kunst und Künstler im Zeitalter der Spätgotik und Renaissance (Wien, 1904); and Carl Christensen, "Dürer's 'Four Apostles' and the Dedication as a Form of Renaissance Art Patronage," Renaissance Quarterly, 20' (1967), pp. 325-334.

The "Rat" could also prohibit publication of literature. For instance, Sigismund Meisterlin was not given permission to publish his chronicle of Nuernberg, probably because it revealed too much about the operation of government and the councillors' attitude towards powerful persons whose descendents might make trouble. See Gerald Strauss, Nuernberg in the Sixteenth Century (New York, 1966), p. 255.

See Burckhardt's quotation on page 1 of this dissertation. His reference to "städtische Gemeinden" seems particularly applicable in regards to the promotion of literature in medieval Nuernberg.
CHAPTER VI
The Wittelsbanch, Luxemburg
and Habsburg Dynasties

The last three imperial houses considered in this dissertation
are the Wittelsbachs, Luxemburgs and Habsburgs.1 In contrast to the
Carolingian, Ottonian, Salic-Frankish and Hohenstaufen dynasties,
where the line of imperial succession within a house was unbroken,2
the emperors from these three houses did not ascend to the throne in
any specific sequence. Consequently, this chapter will treat all
three families in subsections.

The emperors of the late medieval era faced a political challenge
from the territorial states, with a resultant loss of power and pres­
tige for the imperial office:

After the Interregnum the German Crown was of necessity
weak. Frederick II had dissipated its resources and
impaired its authority by his policy towards the
princes; and, in the confused years after his 'deposition.'
royal lands had been seized, royal rights usurped.3

This loss of authority, power and prestige is reflected in the neglect

1 The range of this dissertation, as indicated in the title, is
from Charlemagne to Maximilian I. Even though the Habsburgs continued
to rule for centuries after his demise in 1519, Maximilian's death,
which represents the end of the German Middle Ages, serves as the
terminal point of this study.

2 The obvious exception to this statement is the rule of Otto IV,
a Welf, who reigned during the Hohenstaufen period (1188-1215).

3 The Cambridge Medieval History, ed. J. R. Tanner, et.al. (New
of literature at the imperial court, and the lack of royal participation is one of the characteristics of this period.

Due to struggles with the princes and the Papacy, in accord with the well-established imperial tradition, some of these later emperors continued to encourage historiography — a kind of literature which, as has been shown, was intended to express the ruler's point of view, and was meant to mold public opinion in favor of the crown. In addition, an interest in non-historical material was demonstrated by certain emperors such as Charles IV, for whom Heinrich von Mügeln wrote his *Der Meide Kranz*.

Although imperial involvement in the promotion of literature can still be detected, it becomes increasingly clear that officials at the imperial court assume an ever greater importance as literary patrons. This is a trend which can be traced back to Rainald of Dassel and Conrad of Winterstetten in the Hohenstaufen era, who were not only sponsors of poets, and had their own literary programs, but also influenced the literary taste of the emperors they served. Not until the reign of Maximilian I in the late 15th century does the emperor assume control once again over literary activities at his court.

Following the lead of Rainald of Dassel and Conrad of Winterstetten, an imperial official at the court of the first of the emperors of this later period patronized literature: Bishop Henry of Klingenberg, the Vice-Chancellor of Rudolf I of Habsburg. Although there are slight indications that Rudolf was a patron of letters,\(^4\) the literary accomplish-

\(^4\) Konrad von Mure, a personal friend of Rudolf, wrote a panegyric
ments of his court are seemingly due primarily to Henry of Klingenberg.

Since Henry's interest in lyric poetry is demonstrated by his compilation of the poems in the Weingartner Manuscript, and since it is known that he was a member of the Manesse-Circle in Zürich (and thus a possible patron of Johannes Hadlaub, a later minnesinger), it is reason-

able to attribute the poems Commendatitia Rudolfi regis Romanorum, and a lost De victoria regis Rudolfi contra Odoacrum regem Bohemorum, to Henry of Klingenberg. However, his role in their writing is uncertain. See Alphons Lhotsky, Quellenkunde zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte Oesterreichs (Graz-Köln, 1963), pp. 263-264. There are also poems extant by the Schulmeister von Esslingen und Meister Stolle referring to Rudolf's stinginess, which may only mean that he had been illiberal in meeting his political pledges, and not that he was a parsimonious sponsor. The Schulmeister von Esslingen writes: "Wol ab, der Klinik der git iu niht,/ wol ab, er lat iuch bi im vrezzen, habt ir iht ... wol ab, swaz er heheizer, dast ein spel..." (HMS, II, 138). See Ewald Jammers, Das Königliche Liederbuch des deutschen Minnesangs, pp. 120-121; Herta Gent, Die mittelhochdeutsche politische Lyrik (Breslau, 1938), p. 140.

5 See pages 176 (footnote 172) and 190 of this dissertation.

6 See Hedwig Lang, Johannes Hadlaub (Berlin, 1959), p. 15. The leader and most prominent member of this literary circle, which was made up of nobles and clerics, was Rüdiger Manesse II (died 1304), who was a town-councilor in Zürich. His sons, John and Rüdiger IV, shared his literary interests. Besides Henry of Klingenberg, the Manesse-Circle included his brother Albrecht of Klingenberg, the "Reichsvogt" of Constance; Elisabeth of Wetzikon, abbess of the Frauenminister in Zürich; the abbots of Einsiedeln and Petershausen; Count Frederick of Toggenburg, a descendant of the minnesinger Kraft II von Toggenburg; and Rudolf of Landenberg, the "Burgvogt" of Kyburg, among others.

7 Hadlaub mentions Henry of Klingenberg in several poems. In one song, the poet notes that Henry was one of the persons who aided him in winning back his love: "Dem die besten helfent, daz vervät ocht./ diu zuoversicht wart mir wol schin:/ wan der vürste von Kostenz loblich, gerecht,/ .. hulfen mir vür mine edelen frouwen klär,/ des manger jár nie mochte ergän" (Die Schweizer Minnesinger, ed. K. Bartsch [Frauenfeld, 1886], Song II, v. 57-63). The custom of introducing patrons into literature apparently owes much to a like practice in the pictorial arts. Holzknecht (Literary Patronage, pp. 87-88) reminds us: "The Italian painters of the Renaissance had a very clever scheme which nothing prevents from being carried also into literature, that of introducing their patrons, often as characters, sometimes as extra figures, into their
able to assume that those lyric poets listed as being "in der Umgebung Rudolfs" - Walther von Klingen, Steinmar von Klingnau, Frauenlob, Meister Boppe and Friedrich von Sonnenburg - were sponsored by the Vice-Chancellor.

Perhaps Henry also played a role in the writing of the so-called "Manesse Manuscript," a collection of "minnesang" and "Spruchdichtung." As its name implies, this manuscript has been traditionally associated with the Manesse family, who were active patrons of literature in Zürich. Recently, however, Jammers has argued that the request for its writing came from Habsburg royalty, namely Queen Elisabeth (died 1314) and Agnes of Hungary (died 1364). He contends that they inherited an imperial collection of songs, the nucleus of which was compiled by pictures, and a like practice prevailed in writing." Concerning the relationship of Hadlaub and Rüdeger Manesse II see Appendix X and Richard Meyer, "Hadlaub und Manesse," ZfdA. 44 (1900), pp. 197-222; Edward Schröder, "Hadlaub und Manesse," ZfdA, 70 (1933), pp. 136-142.


9 See page 195, footnote 6 of this dissertation. Hadlaub reports that singers came to the court of Rüdeger II Manesse: "Gein sim hof mechten nigen die singaere." See Appendix X. DeBoor (Die höfische Literatur, p. 231) says of the Manesse Manuscript, for instance: "Sie wird... als Manessische Handschrift bezeichnet, da man sie zu Recht mit der Züricher Patrizierfamilie dieses Namens zusammenbringt. Sie ist wohl wirklich von dem grossen Kunstfreund Rüdeger Manesse... und dessen Sohn Johannes... mindestens geplant worden. Ihre eigentliche Niederschrift dürfte indessen erst später, etwa 1310-1330 erfolgt sein, ohne dass wir den Auftraggeber kennen."

the last rulers of the Hohenstaufen dynasty. Since according to Jammers the Habsburgs augmented this collection with poems written by relatives and supporters of their house, it may be surmised that they ordered the compiling of the manuscript in order to bolster the political position of the dynasty in its struggle for the imperial throne with the Wittelsbachs. If this supposition is true, the writing of this manuscript by the Habsburgs in the 14th century was not motivated solely by the desire to preserve "minnesang," but was rather a partisan political statement.

Although Jammer's arguments are thought provoking, especially in asserting that the compilation of the Manesse Manuscript was in part politically motivated, he gives insufficient attention to the steps preliminary to the actual recording of the poems in the 14th century. Also Jammers is too dogmatic when he presents us with the alternative of sponsorship by either Habsburgs or patricians, i.e. the Manesse family in Zürich. It will be suggested below that this Manuscript was planned as a joint venture between the imperial crown and the Manesse family and that Henry of Klingenberg, who was both a member of the Manesse-Circle and Vice-Chancellor to Rudolf, was the connecting link

11 Jammers, (Das Königliche Liederbuch des deutschen Minnesangs, p. 176) is convinced that two of the factors which led the patrons to have the original collection compiled were competition and chauvinism. According to Jammers, Emperor Conrad IV may have gathered the songs to compete with King Alfons X of Castille, who also has a collection of lyrics.

12 Ibid., p. 191. Jammers says of the manuscript: "Sie sollte ein Dokument königlicher Gönnerschaft sein gegenüber der ritterlichen und bürgerlichen Kunst. Die Pflege des Minnesangs sollte dabei nicht unmittelbar gefördert werden. . ."
between the parties.

It has already been established that Henry of Klingenberg was interested in collecting "minnesang." Taking this interest and the resources at his disposal into consideration, Henry certainly could also have arranged for the writing of the Manesse Manuscript. The compilation and writing of such a manuscript assume certain prerequisites on the part of the patron. First, such a venture was costly, so costly, in fact, that for this reason alone the Manesse family has been ruled out as patrons. In contrast, Henry of Klingenberg had access to the imperial treasury. Second, source material had to be readily available, and Henry could easily have obtained song-books from the Manesse family. And third, a manuscript of this scope demanded proper facilities and scribes, and as bishop, Henry certainly was in a position to arrange for both. There is no doubt that the Manesse Manuscript was written after the death of Henry of Klingenberg in 1306, but its compilation could certainly have been planned during his lifetime.

Henry’s probable involvement in the writing of the Manesse and the Weingartner Manuscripts, his membership in the Manesse Circle and

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13 See page 195 of this dissertation.

14 Jammers (Das Königliche Liederbuch des deutschen Minnesangs p. 29) points out that the Manesse family did not have the financial resources for the writing of such a manuscript.

15 The Manesse family possessed "liederbuoch." Hadlaub tells us that they gathered songs to preserve them: "den wolten si nicht lân zergân," and just for the pure pleasure in "edelen sanc." See Appendix X. Fechter (Das Publikum der mittelhochdeutschen Dichtung, p. 20) finds another reason, namely that the family wanted these songs to serve as a model for the contemporary generation of singers.
his promotion of poets, all suggest that he was a major literary patron of his era and the dominant figure at the imperial court.

**WITTELSBACHS**

**Louis the Bavarian (1314-1347)**

Louis the Bavarian came from a dynasty which had traditionally sponsored various types of literature. For instance, members of his house had requested or been presented with a religious epic, lyric poetry, and a courtly epic, among others. The emperor encouraged literature which furthered his policies of state and which aided him in his battles with Pope John XXII. In this he was carrying forth a well-established imperial tradition and was following royal precedent. These struggles with the Pope eventually resulted in Louis' excommunication.

The most important defense of Louis' "Kirchenpolitik" was the Defensor Pacis, written in 1324 by Marsilio of Padua. Although

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16 Reinbot von Durne wrote his *Heiliger Georg* for Duke Otto II and his duchess, Agnes. See page 153, footnote 80 of this dissertation.

17 Friedrich von Sonnenburg wrote poetry for Duke Henry XIII, the son of Otto II.

18 Albrecht von Scharfenberg dedicated his *Titulre* to Louis II. It is interesting that Louis' son, Louis the Bavarian, had the church in the monastery at Ettal constructed according to the model of the Tempel of the Grail in Albrecht's *Titulre*. See Hallmut Rosenfeld, "Albrecht, Dichter des 'JüngerentiTitele'," *VL* (Berlin, 1955), V, 30.

Marsilio was not at the court of Louis the Bavarian when he wrote this work, he fled to the imperial court when his authorship was discovered soon thereafter. Whether the *Defensor Pacis* was written at Louis' behest or not is unimportant; it assured the author's protection by the imperial court.

Marsilio played a decisive role during the sixteen years he spent at Louis' court: he accompanied the emperor on his Roman campaign in 1327, was instrumental in having Louis proclaimed emperor in Rome, and was active in the choice of a rival pope, Nicolas V. At Louis' request Marsilio wrote a shortened version of the *Defensor Pacis* and the *Tractatus de translatione imperii*, the latter of which likewise pleaded Louis' case against the Papacy.

The specific purpose of the *Defensor Pacis*, which has been called the most significant and influential political work of its time, was to challenge the very basis of Papal power. The pope was not to exercise jurisdiction over secular affairs:

> In short, Marsilio of Padua... preached the subjection of the Church to the State;... overturned the ecclesiastical hierarchy, despoiled the clergy in their privileges, and degraded the sovereign pontiff to the position of president of a sort of Christian republic governing itself...  

Another eminent theologian and philosopher who sympathized with Louis the Bavarian in his conflicts with the Papacy and who found his way to the imperial court was the Englishman William of Ockham.

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Louis' defense was also taken up in Ludwig der Baier, a lengthy epic written in German by an anonymous "schriber" at the imperial chancellery. The poet bewails the gulf between Louis and the Papacy, and notes Rome's unwillingness to recognize Louis' legitimate claims to the throne. Louis is praised by the allegorical figures Honor, Moderation, and Chastity, among others; and at the poet's request Lady Honor presents him with a sword to use against his adversaries.

In addition to these writings and the men mentioned above who are associated with Louis' court, there is further evidence of the significance of the imperial court in this period. Louis was instrumental in furthering the use of the German language, and it has been claimed that his court played an important role in the beginnings of Humanism on German soil.

**Patronage by Non-Imperial Members of the Wittelsbach Family**

Although there was another emperor from the Wittelsbach dynasty, Ruprecht II, who ruled from 1400 to 1410 and who may have encouraged a few minor writings, the important patrons from this dynasty are contemporaries and successors of Ruprecht who did not ascend to the

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24 Matthäus von Krakau, the author of various religious works such as the Rationale divinorum operum libri VII and the Liber de consolatione theologiae, was the advisor and father-confessor of Ruprecht. Whether the emperor played a role in the writing of these tracts is unclear. See Rupprich, Das ausgehende Mittelalter, p. 392.
imperial throne. As pointed out above, the house of the Wittelsbachs has been consistently linked to the promotion of literature, a trend which continues into the later Middle Ages.

Within the Wittelsbach family the courts of the dukes Albrecht I (died 1404), 25 Albrecht III (died 1465) and Albrecht IV (died 1508) are especially significant for the patronage of letters. Their literary interests were not limited to any specific genre, 26 and they sponsored poets such as Ulrich Furtter 27 and Johann Hartlieb, 28 and Peter Suchensinn. 29 But the most important literary accomplishment of these courts in Munich was the compilation and retelling of courtly epics.

25 Albrecht I, Duke of Bavaria and Pfalzgrave bei Rhein, was the son of Emperor Louis the Bavarian.

26 For instance, between 1478 and 1481 Ulrich Furtter ("Füetzer," see footnote 27 below) wrote his Bäierische Chronik for the ducal court, and Johann Hartlieb dedicated his Buch von der hannd (1448), a tract on chiromancy, to Duchess Anna, the wife of Duke Albrecht III.

27 Hellmut Rosenfeld, "Der Münchner Maler und Dichter Ulrich Füetzer (1430-1496) in seiner Zeit und sein Name (eigentlich 'Furtter')," Oberbayerisches Archiv, 90 (1968), pp. 128-140. Furtter was a painter, and it is interesting that many of the authors who came to the ducal courts in Munich had other professions: Johann Hartlieb was a physician; Hans Heselloher a minnesinger and judge; Sigmund Gotzkircher, the author of medical, religious and scientific literature and a physician; and Jacob Püterich of Reichertshausen, a judge.

28 Johann Hartlieb, the son-in-law of Albrecht III, is chiefly remembered for his prose treatment of the Alexander (about 1444). Richard Newald ("Johannes Hartlieb," VL [Berlin-Leipzig, 1936], II, 196) puts the writing of the Alexander into context. Hartlieb was involved in the persecution of Jews in Munich, after which Duke Albrecht III and Anna gave him a house which had been a Jewish school. As thanks for this gift Hartlieb wrote his work.

29 Peter Suchensinn, a wandering poet who wrote lyrics, is attested at the court of Duke Albrecht I between 1390 and 1392.
The author most closely identified with this project is Ulrich Furtter, whose *Das Buch der Abenteuer*, a collection of poems from the Arthurian cycle, was dedicated to Duke Albrecht IV.\(^{30}\)

It has recently been stressed that Jacob Pütterich of Reichertshausen (died 1469), a jurist, politician and ducal advisor to both Albrecht III and Albrecht IV, discovered Furtter's talents and brought him to Munich.\(^{31}\)

There he introduced Furtter to courtly literature and influenced his decision as to which metrical scheme to use in his *Buch der Abenteuer*, and he may even have persuaded Albrecht IV to give the commission for this collection. Since it is known that Jacob Pütterich of Reichertshausen had literary contacts with leading patrons and poets of his day\(^{32}\) and was a passionate collector of manuscripts,\(^{33}\) it is likely that he played a

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\(^{32}\)For instance, Jacob Pütterich of Reichertshausen knew the poets Michael Beheim and Oswald von Wolkenstein and was in contact with Duke Sigismund of Tyrol and Pfalzgräfin Mechthild. See Rupprich, *Das ausgehende Mittelalter*, pp. 53-54.

\(^{33}\)When Pfalzgräfin Mechthild sent Pütterich a list of books in her collection, he replied by sending her a poem, the Ehrenbrief, in which he enumerates his own extensive literary holdings; he possessed over 150 works. See Th. von Karajan, "Der 'Ehrenbrief' Jacob Pütterich von Reichertzhausen," ZfdA., 6 (1848), pp. 31-59.
major role in literary affairs in Munich, perhaps effecting the literary
taste of the ducal courts. Since Emperor Maximilian, who is discussed
below, had an intense interest in collecting literature and was the
brother-in-law of Albrecht IV, it may well be that the influence which
Jacob Pütterich of Reichertshausen exerted on the duke contributed to
Maximilian's decision to gather manuscripts of a bygone age.34

THE LUXEMBURGS

The chief concern of this section is literary patronage under
Charles IV in Prague.35 However, since scholars consistently consider
his sponsorship of literature in isolation, i.e. it is not discussed
within the framework of the emperor's family tradition, brief mention
will be made here of the literary activities of his ancestors. On both
sides of his family there is evidence of the patronage of letters. His
mother Elisabeth was a Přemyslid, a family which sponsored poems through­
vout the 13th and 14th centuries.36 Further, the Přemyslids married into

34Nyholm ("Das höfische Epos im Zeitalter des Humanismus," pp. 309-
310) suggest that Albrecht IV gave Maximilian a copy of the Das Buch der
Abenteuer.

35Concerning Charles' promotion of the arts see Heinrich Friedjung,
Kaiser Karl IV. und sein Anteil am geistigen Leben seiner Zeit (Wien,
1876); Ernst Martin, "Bibliothek der mittelhochdeutschen Literatur in

36Bohemia had such a reputation as a favorable spot to find patron­
age that Reinmar von Zweter was to sing: "...Bäheim hän ich mir erkorn,
mère durch den hérren dan durch daz Lant..." (Poem 150). King Wenceslas I
(died 1253) was a sponsor, as were Ottokar (died 1278), and Wenceslas II
(died 1305). Ulrich von dem Türlin dedicated his epic Willehalm to Ottokar
(Willehalm: Ein Rittergedicht aus der zweiten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts,
ed. S. Singer, rpt. [Hildesheim, 1969]). Ulrich von Eschenbach had begun
his poem Alexander for Ottokar but dedicated it to Wenceslas II after his
death (Alexander, ed. Wendelin Toischer [Tübingen, 1888]). Wenceslas II
was also a minnesinger.
many houses from which the most renowned patrons in the Middle Ages came, e.g., the Babenbergs, the Liudolfings, the Hohenstaufens and the Habsburgs.

The father of Charles IV, John, was also interested in literature. He was captivated by the idea of "romantic" knighthood, suggesting a familiarity with courtly literature. John called to court Heinrich von Mügeln, a poet who wrote "minnesang," panegyric poems, "Sprüche," and was one of the first meistersingers.

One might assume from the foregoing that Charles would have continued his family tradition and sponsored courtly literature in the vernacular. However, he did not. Although he retained the services of Heinrich von Mügeln, his father's poet, and although he may have promoted religious dawn-songs, his literary achievements in comparison with his family are negligible.

Charles IV (1347-1378)

Although this emperor, the first of three rulers from the Luxemburg dynasty, attempted to regain the prestige of the "Reich" which had been lost during the Interregnum, he could not halt the gradual decline of imperial influence. In contrast to the reign of Louis the Bavarian,

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38 It has been demonstrated in this dissertation that patrons influenced their successors, and that it was expected that nobles promote the arts. See, for example, pp. 139 ff. and 174 ff. in this dissertation.

the rule of Charles IV was a period of relative calm, for Charles was not beset by the intense, rending struggles with the territorial princes and the Papacy. Literature, as has been shown, was very often written in response to political difficulties with which the sponsor had to contend, and it has been suggested that this period of attempted political consolidation and lessening of acrimonious tensions had its effect on literary patronage.

No major conflicts marred the reign of Charles IV, and since the emperor felt no need to defend his policies, he devoted his energies instead to commissioning works with a religious emphasis. The religiosity of the emperor determined his choice of authors and the choice of subject matter. He requested a history of the Church in Prague, and

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40 As regards the princes, Charles gave them the political power which they desired: "What Charles did was to acknowledge publicly the futility of pretending to revive the Roman Empire or even to maintain a strong centralised government. The Golden Bull was an essay in 'Realpolitik.' It was based on the assumption that Germany had ceased to be a unitary State, and it sought to make of the Electors a kind of Concert of Germany, whose business and interest it would be to preserve the status quo and compose the quarrels of other princes. Of this body the Emperor was to be the president and mouthpiece; but so great was the independence ascribed to the Electors in the Golden Bull that they were now in law as in fact rather his allies than is subjects." (Cambridge Medieval History, VII, p. 145). Concerning the Church, Charles did not experience the severe difficulties with the Papacy which his predecessor had had.


42 The emperor asked the canon Benesch von Weitmül to chronicle the Church in Prague. See Friedjung, Kaiser Karl IV. und sein Anteil am geistigen Leben seiner Zeit, pp. 201 ff.
was presented with Der Meide Kranz by Heinrich von Mügeln.\footnote{W. Jahr, Heinrich von Mügeln: 'Der Meide Kranz,' diss. (Leipzig, 1909). Jahr's dissertation is the critical edition of Der Meide Kranz.} In Der Meide Kranz the emperor himself plays a role: his task is to decide which of the "artes" is supreme. His choice is theology. In addition to these two works, it was noted above that Charles may have promoted religious dawn-songs.\footnote{"Religious dawn-songs" is my translation of Denecke's term "geistliche Tagelieder." See page 205, footnote 39 of this dissertation.} And his interest in religious material is further exemplified when Charles himself takes up the pen to write a "vita" of Saint Wenceslas, his ancestor.\footnote{This Vita was edited by W. Bulst in Edit. Heidelberg. (Heidelberg, 1950).}

Charles IV also commissioned works dealing with Bohemia. This was motivated by his wish to make Bohemia the cultural center of the "Reich," a desire which manifested itself not only in the many architectural monuments erected in Prague and the establishment of the University there, but also in his attempts to lay the groundwork for a Bohemian historiography. Charles requested John of Marignola, the Bishop of Bisignano, to write about Bohemia from the Creation of the World until his reign.\footnote{In addition to an anonymous World Chronicle which was dedicated to the emperor, Abbot Neplac von Opatowicz presented the court with a survey of church and imperial history. See Friedjung, Kaiser Karl IV. und sein Anteil am geistigen Leben seiner Zeit, pp. 201 ff.}

With the exception of the three religious dawn-songs and Der Meide Kranz, all of the literature associated with Charles was written in Latin.
The historical works are provincial in nature, concerning themselves primarily with Bohemian affairs, and there is little trace of the influence that the literary tradition of Charles' ancestors might have exerted on him.

In contrast to the emperor's limited literary interests, his court under the guidance of the Chancellor, John of Neumarkt, was much more cosmopolitan. Like Rainald of Dassel, Conrad of Winterstetten and Henry of Klingenberg, this chancellor had his own literary projects and was a force in determining the literary taste of the imperial court.

The dominant cultural influences of this era emanated from Italy, and although Charles IV is reputed to have sent Petrarch a golden cup with an invitation to settle at his court, it was John of Neumarkt who cultivated the literary contacts with Italy and opened the court in Prague to Humanistic influences. John was an intimate of Cola di Rienzo and Petrarch, requesting from the latter a copy of his *De viris illustribus* and asking him to bring his *Remedia utriusque fortunae* to Prague.

In addition John himself translated the *Liber soliloquiorum animae ad deum* into German, and there is some evidence that he took a personal

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47 Holzknecht, *Literary Patronage*, p. 187. Holzknecht concludes from this: "Here definitely the literary man is no longer a suitor, but the sought, and when he did agree to settle, that he was cared for munificently goes as a matter of course."

48 Ruprich, *Das ausgehende Mittelalter*, p. 388.

interest in literature written in German. Recently it has been noted that the chancellor was not only familiar with the poetry of Frauenlob, but translated at least one of his "Sprüche" into Latin.\textsuperscript{50} To be sure, John seems to have been interested in Frauenlob primarily because of the rhetorical and stylistic devices in his poetry. However, the chancellor's fascination with the writings of this poet may reveal an aspect of patronage at the imperial court heretofore not considered.

The pleasure which John found in the vernacular poems by Frauenlob may explain why Heinrich von Mügeln stayed at the imperial court under Charles. Since the poet does not indicate that the emperor was his patron, nor have scholars been successful in finding evidence for this conclusion, it is certainly possible that John of Neumarkt gave him the crucial encouragement to remain at court. In addition, Frauenlob was patronized by one of Charles' relatives.\textsuperscript{51} Since John was interested in the same kind of poetry as were the predecessors of Charles, this may lead to the conclusion that it was John, rather than Charles, who kept alive the family tradition.


\textsuperscript{51}Frauenlob was at the court of Wenceslas and comments on his knighting in a poem. Ruprich (\textit{Das ausgehende Mittelalter}, p. 168) notes that Archbishop Peter of Aspelt called the poet to Mainz, and since Peter was once the chancellor of King Wenceslas II, it may be that he and Frauenlob met at court. See Heinrichs von Meissen des Frauenlob's Leiche, Sprüche, Streitgedichte und Lieder, ed. L. Ettmüller, Song 135.
Wenceslas (1378-1400)

The decline of imperial interest in history and courtly literature continues during the reign of Wenceslas, Charles' son. Although Wenceslas cannot be identified as the sponsor of literature, his place in the history of German literary patronage is assured, since he was a bibliophile and an avid collector.

It has been shown that the gathering of literature and the founding of libraries were often pursued with vigor by members of German imperial families. Wenceslas collected manuscripts and had transcriptions made of such poems as Wolfram's Willehalm and of tracts on war, astronomy and geography. Wenceslas' failure to promote literature has led scholars to question his motives for collecting. It has been suggested that his archival quest was motivated by his desire to equal the accomplishments of his French cousins. As mentioned above, the element of competition in medieval literary patronage was extremely important and often the prime factor which stimulated collecting and commissions.

Sigismund (1410-1437)

Sigismund, like his brother Wenceslas and his father Charles IV, appears to have been a literary patron. However, it is difficult to

52 Max Jansen, Historiographie und Quellen der deutschen Geschichte bis 1500 (Leipzig-Berlin, 1912), pp. 519-520.

link this emperor to a specific work. To be sure, Des keiser Sigismundus buch, a panegyric chronicle by Eberhard Windeck, who had contacts to the imperial court, might suggest imperial involvement, but the circumstances of the writing of this narrative are unclear.

As was true for his father's court, an imperial official, in this case, Conrad of Weinsberg (died 1448), the Arch-Chamberlain, played the decisive role in the sponsorship of literature. Conrad was the patron of the poets Michael Beheim and Muskatblüt. Beheim, a weaver who became an epic and lyric poet, remained at his court until the Arch-Chamberlain's death, and it has been suggested that Conrad influenced him to write poetry. That the Arch-Chamberlain presented his poets with a monetary reward is demonstrated by the record of his payment to Muskatblüt: "item daruff han ich Mchukskatblüt geben vir gulden." Muskatblüt was a wandering poet who wrote over 100 songs, among them "minnelieder" and political poems.

54 For example, Bernhard Schmeidler ("Reformatio Sigismundi," VL [Berlin, 1943], III, 1007 states that the emperor may have had "Beziehungen" to the author of the Reformatio Sigismundi.

55 It is known that Windeck had access to royal documents in writing this chronicle, and that he received a fief from Emperor Sigismund, but it is not certain if he was rewarded for his work on this narrative. See Franz Herberhold, "Eberhard Windeck," VL (Berlin, 1953), IV, 1001-1006.


57 Siegfried Junge, "Muskatblüt," VL (Berlin, 1943), III, 460. The records of payment to Muskatblüt are from the years 1437 and 1439.

58 Several of the poems which Muskatblüt wrote are discussed by Edwin G. Gudde in "Muskatblüt and King Sigismund," GermRev, 7 (1932), pp. 59-66.

59 Die Lieder Muskatblüts, ed. E. v. Groote (Köln, 1852).
Oswald von Wolkenstein, an imperial advisor who carried out diplomatic missions for Sigismund, may also have enjoyed the patronage of the Arch-Chamberlain.\textsuperscript{60} Sigismund is referred to in Oswald’s \textit{Es ist ain altgesprochner rat}, \textsuperscript{61} and \textit{Es flügt sich}, \textsuperscript{62} but scholars have not been able to show that the emperor was his patron, nor are they able to explain why in the former poem Oswald speaks of Sigismund in a reserved tone hardly suggesting the relationship of poet to patron.\textsuperscript{63} In contrast to Conrad of Weinsberg, who is attested as a patron of lyric poetry, little is known concerning Sigismund’s literary patronage, and since Oswald had close contacts with the imperial court, the conclusion seems warranted that the Arch-Chamberlain encouraged his poetry. This is not to state that the emperor was unaware of the Arch-Chamberlain's literary activities. As was true for other court officials to whom reference has been made throughout this study, Conrad of Weinsberg certainly would not have promoted poets had this been displeasing to the crown. In fact, it can be assumed with reasonable certainty that

\textsuperscript{60} My investigation of Oswald and his patronage was handicapped by my inability to obtain three studies which might have proved useful: Arthur Graf von Wolkenstein-Rodenegg, Oswald von Wolkenstein (Innsbruck, 1930); Karl K. Klein, "Der 'Minnesänger' Oswald von Wolkenstein in der Politik seiner Zeit," \textit{Jb. d. Südtiroler Kulturinstituts} (Bozen, 1961), pp. 215-243; and Eugen Thurnher, "Herrendienste des Wolkensteiners: Der Ritter auf dem Konstanzer Konzil," \textit{Bodenseebuch}, 38 (1966), pp. 66-79.


\textsuperscript{62} Ibid., Song 18.

\textsuperscript{63} See Heinz Rupp, "Oswald von Wolkensteins 'Es ist ain altgesprochner rat'," \textit{Fs. Henzen} (Berlin, 1965), pp. 81 ff.
Sigismund was in the audience when Oswald von Wolkenstein performed.\(^{64}\)

Even if Oswald was not sponsored by Conrad of Weinsberg, this does not detract from the Arch-Chamberlain’s reputation as an active literary patron; and as such, he is yet another of those imperial officials, who, in furthering literature on their own initiative, give additional evidence of the lack of imperial interest in promoting letters.

HABSBURGS

After the death of Sigismund, who was the last Luxemburg emperor, the imperial crown reverted to the Habsburg dynasty, which was to rule the Holy Roman Empire without interruption for centuries to come. The rule of both Frederick III and Maximilian I, who are the last emperors considered in this survey, ushered in a new age: during their tenure the printing press was invented, which was to play an important role in the history of literary patronage;\(^{65}\) Humanism came to its full flowering and the Reformation began. In their literary patronage these two emperors clung to the old and prepared for the new during an age of transition: on the one hand, Frederick and Maximilian commissioned historiography, and on the other, Maximilian encouraged the art of

\(^{64}\) For example, In Es flügt sich (v. 41-44) Sigismund is given a speaking role, and his comic reaction in this song to the poet’s appearance at court wearing earrings could certainly have brought laughter to an imperial audience.

\(^{65}\) Holzknecht (Literary Patronage, p. 242) reminds us that early printers were heavily dependent upon patronage: "Evidence shows that in no case did the early printers enter into their new adventure without good and able patronage."
printing, and gave a book printer a lifetime contract.  

Frederick and Maximilian were not the first members of the Habsburg family to sponsor literature; dukes such as Leopold III (died 1386) and Albrecht III (died 1395) were patrons, as were the earlier Habsburg emperors Rudolf I, Albrecht II and the "Gegenkönig" Frederick the Fair. However, the literary patronage of their imperial predecessors is insignificant when compared to the achievements of Frederick and Maximilian.

In keeping with the imperial tradition, Frederick III promoted primarily historiography. Maximilian, however, was a "rex litteratus,"

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67 Hugo von Monfort, one of the last minnesingers, was at the court of Duke Leopold III. See Hans Hage, "Hugo von Monfort," VL (Berlin-Leipzig, 1936), II, 520.


69 See pages 194 ff. of this dissertation.

70 Chiphenberger, a wandering poet in the service of Emperor Albrecht II, wrote a poem Von König Albrecht und den Ungarn. See Lhotsky, Quellenkunde zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte Österreichs, pp. 342-343.

71 In speaking of the compilation of the Neidhart Fuchs stories Ruprich (Das ausgehende Mittelalter, pp. 117-118) speculates: "Aller Wahrscheinlichkeit lebte am Hofe Ottos des Fröhlichen und dessen Bruders Friedrich des Schönen ein Ritter Neithart, der zur Unterhaltung der Hofgesellschaft Neidhart-Lieder sang, auf den in Stil der Lieder erdichtete Neithart-Schwänke übertragen wurden, wobei auch die typische Figur des Bauernfeindes auf ihn überging."
a poet in his own right, who sponsored almost all of the various kinds of literature patronized by his imperial predecessors, and further, he encouraged the drama. Therefore, Maximilian's literary activities not only "summarize" the literary patronage of the Middle Ages, but also represent a point of departure—a beacon for a new age.

Frederick III (1440-1493)

Frederick's reign is unique among his immediate predecessors in that, with his ascension to the throne, literature written at or for the imperial court is no longer chiefly sponsored by imperial officials, but rather by the crown. The literary patronage of Frederick III was limited to historiography and writings with a political slant favoring the emperor's point of view. Frederick's desire to inform himself about the history of the "Reich" and its rulers has been called a decisive act which served as a catalyst for historiography.  

Frederich III realized the value of this form and apparently employed it for various purposes: for example, there is a history which describes his coronation and wedding, a history which defends the policies of the imperial court, a call to arms to fight the

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72 Lhotsky, Quellenkunde zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte Österreichs, pp. 375-381.

73 Ibid., pp. 361-362. Nicholaus Lanckmann von Valkenstein, an imperial chaplain, wrote his Desponsatio et coronatio serenissimi domini nostri Friderici imperatoris tertii et eius auguste domine Leonore.

74 Ibid., pp. 397-398. Aeneas Silvius de Piccolominibus wrote the Pentalogus de rebus ecclesie, concerning the Council of Basel. See pages 217 ff. of this dissertation.
Turks, and a work which recounts the history of the World and the "Reich." 

The works of three authors who wrote for Frederick III deserve further comment and are revealing in regard to his idea of the function of literature.

Balthasar Mandelreiss, a wandering poet, was requested by the emperor to compose his Türkenschrei. Its writing probably falls in the period of great terror after the Turks conquered Constantinople in 1453. Europeans feared that the Turks would overrun the continent, and among those who were greatly shaken by these events was the emperor. Frederick commissioned this poem to arouse the citizens of the "Reich" and to organize the nobles to do battle against the Turks. The Türkenschrei is one of the many poems which has to do with the continuing battles between the Turks and Europe, i.e. Byzantium and the "Reich." This East-West struggle, which was previously mentioned, is a conflict which traditionally called forth literature, and it has even been claimed that the Teuerdank by Emperor Maximilian makes propa-

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75 Lhotsky, Quellenkunde zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte Österreichs, pp. 367 and 413. Balthasar Mandelreiss and Michael Beheim wrote against the Turks.

76 Ibid., pp. 382-384. For the emperor Thomas Ebendorfer wrote his Chronica regum Romanorum.

77 The Türkenschrei is contained in Die historischen Volkslieder der Deutschen vom 13. bis 16. Jahrhundert, ed. R. von Liliencron, I, 463-466. See the introduction to this poem, pp. 460-463.

78 See page 58 (footnote 60) and pages 146-147 of this dissertation.
Michael Beheim was Frederick's court poet from 1449 until 1466, and the emperor may have played a role in the writing of his *Buch von den Wienern*, which comments on the revolt of the Viennese against the crown. The ruler could also have requested Beheim's *Pom von Oesterreich*, which gives the lineage of the Habsburg line. This interest in genealogy was to increase under Maximilian.

For his service to the crown Michael Beheim was granted the title "teutscher poet und tihter." There are further examples that Frederick was able to recognize talented poets. He crowned both Aeneas Silvius de Piccolominibus and Conrad Celtis "poeta laureatus." This

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81 Michael Beheim writes: "Fürwahr ich Michel Pehen/ Pin ains romischen kaiser ... / Teutscher poet und tihter," in the poem, "Von den die sich der alten maister geticht annemen," *Deutsche Chroniken*, ed. H. Maschek (Darmstadt, 1964), p. 260. Maximilian also gave titles to his poets. For instance, Hans Schneider was known as "seiner küneclichen maiestät poet" and "seiner keyserlichen maiestät sprecher." See page 224, footnote 103 of this dissertation.

82 Conrad Celtis was crowned "poeta laureatus" by Frederick III in 1487 at the urging of his patron, Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony. See Lewis Spitz, *Conrad Celtis: The German Arch-Humanist* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957). Maximilian also so honored poets; among them, Ulrich von Hutten. The emperor presented them with a laurel wreath, a ring, the title "Poeta Caesareus laureatus" and granted them the right to teach Poetics and Rhetoric at the universities. Holzknecht (*Literary Patronage*, p. 228) reminds us that royal interest in the welfare of universities was an established tradition of patronage. See J. A. Brandisch, "Dichterkrönungen in Wien des Humanismus," *JEGPh*, 36 (1937), pp. 367-383.
practice of bestowing titles, honors and the creation of official positions for poets is a sign that the literary patron was aware of his responsibilities towards the poet, and recognized the poet's status in society.

Aeneas Silvius, later Pope Pius II, was Frederick's advisor, his secretary and an important member of the imperial chancellery. He wrote the *Historia Austrialis* (sometimes called the *Historia Friderici III. imperatoris*) for the emperor, a narrative which, in addition to treating the emperor's coronation and wedding, defends Frederick's policies of state.

From the above it is clear that Frederick III gave little if any encouragement to "belles lettres." The emperor's intense interest in history can in part be attributed to the need to justify his policies. Further, Frederick commissioned historiography because he was intent on establishing a Habsburg historical tradition. His success in this endeavor is shown by the fact that his son Maximilian carried forth his efforts.

While the imperial court was occupied with historiography, as be-fitting its position in the "Reich," the courts of Sigismund of Tyrol and Pfalzgräfin Mechthild were involved in the patronage of non-historical literature. Frederick's nephew, Archduke Sigismund of Tyrol

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84 As was pointed out above, Maximilian's brother-in-law, Albrecht IV, was also an avid supporter of "belles lettres." See pages 202 ff. of this dissertation.
(died 1496), was attracted to heroic poetry and had a "Reckenbuch" written. His wife, Eleonore of Scotland, was a poetess who had contacts with prominent literary figures such as Heinrich Steinhöwel.

The court of Mechthild (died 1482), who was Frederick's sister-in-law, is more significant for the history of medieval literary patronage. Mechthild came from a family with a rich literary tradition, and this apparently influenced her in commissioning courtly poetry, translations and in collecting literature. She promoted some of the most renowned poets of her day. For instance, almost all of Hermann von Sachsenheim's

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85 "Reckenbuch" is a term used in the fifteenth century to designate books of heroic poetry. See Fechter, Das Publikum der mittelhochdeutschen Dichtung, pp. 67, 86 and 110.


88 See Strauch, Pfalzgräfin Mechthild, pp. 29-30. Mechthild was the daughter of Louis III the Bearded. At the family's court in Heidelberg manuscripts were collected, and copies made of works such as Rudolf von Ems' Weltchronik and the sermons of Berthold von Regensburg. There Johann von Soest translated Margarete von Limburg, and Mechthild's brother, Pfalzgrave Frederick I, had two historiographers, Matthias von Kemnat and Michael Beheim.

Since Beheim knew Pützerich of Reichertshausen and was to serve, besides Mechthild's brother, her husband Albrecht VI and Frederick III, her brother-in-law, this suggests that poets were recommended to various members of the family, and that they were perhaps given help by other members in securing employment.
poems can be linked to her; she received certain Translationen from Niklas von Wyle; at her wish Antonius von Pforr, who was her chaplain, dedicated his Buch der Beispiele der alten Weisen to her son, Duke Eberhart; and Mechthild received the Ehrenbrief from her admirer, Jacob Pütterich of Reichertshausen, whose ardent interest in collecting manuscripts she shared.

The literary activities of both the lesser courts and the imperial court exerted an influence on Maximilian, who patronized a wide variety of literature.

Maximilian I (1493-1519)

Maximilian put his reasons for promoting the arts into words, and thereby provides a rare insight into the motivation behind literary sponsorship as seen from the perspective of the patron. The emperor believed that the man who does not plan for posterity ("gedächtnus") is like the sound of a bell which, after it is rung, is soon forgotten.

89 Dietrich Huschenbett (Hermann von Sachsenheim: Ein Beitrag zur Literaturgeschichte des 15. Jahrhunderts [Berlin, 1962], p. 121) believes that Hermann's Minneturnier, for instance, was written for the wedding of Mechthild and Duke Albrecht VI.

90 Niklas von Wyle dedicated to her Euryalus und Lucretia; Tractat des Hl. Bernhard; and Lob der Frauen. See Huschenbett, Hermann von Sachsenheim, p. 130.


92 See page 203, footnote 33 of this dissertation. Among scores of manuscripts which Mechthild possessed are Wilhelm von Wenden, Floramunt, and Flordomar. See Fechter, Das Publikum der mittelhochdeutschen Dichtung, pp. 86-87.

93 This passage, which appears in Maximilian's epic Weisskunig - a book unavailable to me - is paraphrased in Ludwig Baldass, Der
Thus the sums of money spent for future remembrance are not lost, but rather are an investment in immortality. To invest in his immortality Maximilian became a major literary patron. He made his court a center of the arts, giving the patronage of literature a clear imperial direction, and as a sponsor Maximilian dominated his era to a degree heretofore not seen.

It is precisely this breadth and scope of patronage which has led scholars to study Maximilian as a personality and as a "rex litteratus." In investigating his patronage, critics have perhaps overemphasized the influence which Maximilian received from Burgundy, the homeland of his wife, Mary. There can be no doubt that foreign courts exerted an

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Künstlerkreis Kaiser Maximilians (Wien, 1923), p. 15; Wehmer, "Mit gemühl und schrift," p. 248. In striking contrast to Maximilian's motivation for patronizing the arts stand the sentiments of Michel Beheim, who wrote for his father, Frederick III (See above pages 215 ff.). Beheim gives voice once more to the old proverb regarding literary sponsorship, "Whose breal I eat, his song I sing:"

"Der furst mich helt in Knechtsein miet, ich ass sin brot und sang sin liet; ob ich zu einem andern kom, ich ticht im auch, tut er mir drum." Ehrismann, II, 2, 2, 531.

The literary patronage of Maximilian is well-researched. See, for example, Redl, "Kaiser Maximilian I. von Habsburg in seinen Beziehungen zu Dichtung, Wissenschaft und Kunst," and Josepf Strobel, Studien über die literarische Tätigkeit Maximilians I. (Berlin, 1913).

For instance, Hans Rupprich (Das ausgehende Mittelalter, pp. 128-129) considers the Burgundian influence to have been decisive. Maximilian married Mary of Burgundy in 1477 and his subsequent experiences there on matters of state introduced him to the "flandrisch- burgundischen Kulturbereich mit seiner Ritterromantik, seiner höfischen Literatur, Pracht der Malerei, Skulptur und Musik... Obwohl Maximilians burgundische Periode wenig glücklich war, haben ihn Burgund und sein Hof wesentlich mitbestimmt: die kaiserliche Repräsentation und Lebenshaltung, seine rege literarische Tätigkeit und Kunstpflege, seinen historischen und genealogischen Eifer. Ähnlich wie die Herzöge von Burgund zog auch Maximilian, was in Gelehramkeit, Dichtung, Musik und den Künsten hervorragte, in seine Umgebung und beschäftigte es mit seinen Plänen."
influence on Maximilian's literary patronage; however, the chief factors which molded his literary interests appear to have been: 1) the German imperial tradition of commissioning historiography and collecting literature, and 2) the Habsburg family tradition of sponsoring "belles lettres."

In addition to those members of his dynasty, such as Frederick III, who had an effect on his patronage, a further example may illustrate the extent of the influence which his family exerted on his promotion of literature. It was pointed out above that Emperor Frederick the Fair may have sponsored a certain Neidhart, which could have led Maximilian to collect Neidhart-stories and to take a personal interest in their compilation.

The emperor not only continued the imperial tradition of sponsoring historiography and political propaganda, but also encouraged "belles lettres," collected manuscripts and wrote lengthy epics. Maximilian did not limit himself to those literary genres which his predecessors had furthered, but also supported printers and sponsored dramas. In the following discussion concerning Maximilian's literary patronage it will become clear that the emperor incorporated both old and new - both the traditional literature patronized by the crown in the past, and those works which mark the beginnings of a new era in the history of literary patronage. Like Charlemagne, Otto the Great, Henry II, and Frederick Barbarossa, Maximilian was a fostering spirit,

96 See pages 215 ff. of this dissertation.
97 See page 214, footnote 71 of this dissertation.
98 See Ruprich, Das ausgehende Mittelalter, p. 136.
i.e. he not only commissioned literature, but through his policies and the force of his personality he created a climate conducive to the flowering of the arts.

It was noted above that during Frederick's tenure it became fashionable to assign offices and titles to poets whose writings were favored by the imperial court.\(^99\) Maximilian continued this practice. The fact that he gave Ladislaus Suntheim the title of "Chronikmacher"\(^100\) is a clear indication of the importance he placed on the writing of history. Through the use of historiography the emperor attempted to shape the image which he sought to project, and this awareness of his position in dynastic history is well exemplified in the Historia Friderici III. et Maximiliani I., written by Joseph Grünpeck.\(^101\) A further example of this kind of glorification through historical writings is a "Spruch" by Erasmus Amman which describes the emperor's triumphal entry into Vienna in 1515 with the kings of Hungary and Poland.\(^102\)

In addition Maximilian encouraged political "Sprüche" concerning

\(^99\) See pages 217-218 of this dissertation.

\(^100\) Hermann Maschek, "Ladislaus Suntheim," VL (Berlin, 1953), IV, 345-347, and Rupprich, Das ausgehende Mittelalter, p. 135.


his family, and requested genealogy which dealt specifically with the lineage of the Habsburg house.

Maximilian also called upon his royal chancellery to produce literature in support of his political causes. In this he can be compared to his father and emperors of the past, for instance, Henry IV and Frederick II, who utilized their chancelleries to write literature which was meant to sway an audience. Among Maximilian's targets were the French, the Swiss, and the Turks. An additional reason for Maximilian's use of the chancellery was that he hoped through literature to raise funds for his undertakings.

One of Maximilian's major literary activities was collecting. He gathered books for his vast library and had the Ambraser Heldenbuch written, which is a transcription of courtly and heroic epics of a past age. This collection deserves special comment, since it graphically

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103 Hans Schneider, whose titles were "seiner küniglichen maiestät poet" and "seiner keyserlichen maiestät sprecher," wrote, for instance, Vom Hause Österreich. See Hartmann Goertz, "Hans Schneider," VL (Berlin, 1953), IV, 89-90.

104 Jakob Mennel, a university professor and an imperial advisor, wrote Fürstliche Chronik, genannt Kaiser Maximilians Geburtsspiegel; Chronik des Hauses Österreich und der Grafen von Habsburg; and Chronik der berühmten Frauen des Hauses Habsburg. See Hans Rupprich, Das ausgehende Mittelalter, p. 669.


illustrates medieval literary patronage at its best. Had Maximilian not requested this manuscript, some sixteen texts, among them the Kudrun, Moritz von Craon and Hartmann von Aue's Büchlein, might never have come down to us.  

The Ambraser Heldenbuch is one of the most interesting commissions of the Middle Ages, because it is known that the emperor got so involved in its writing that he even kept track of the amount of parchment used, and because he took such pains to see that his copyist, Hans Ried, was well cared for and suitably rewarded. The emperor found a replacement for Ried at his customs post, awarded him with a ceremonial uniform for his imperial service and saw to it that his wife received a pension at his death. Also the execution of this commission is fascinating, because it offers an insight into the human foibles of a man, Hans Ried, who prolonged a project - he labored on the Ambraser Heldenbuch for some twelve years - so that he would not have to work as a customs official. One can only wonder how many other medieval projects were extended or not finished at all for the same reason.  

As noted above, Maximilian was an eager supporter of the new art of printing, having given Hanns Schönspurger, a printer from Augsburg, a lifetime contract. Although the emperor only had his Teuerdank

107 Maximilian had the Heldenbuch an der Etsch, which was the basis for the Ambraser Heldenbuch, copied and the former has since been lost.


110 Wehmer, "Mit gemäl und schrift," p. 244.
and Gebetbuch printed, it has been estimated that he intended to have about 130 books published. Typically, Maximilian, ever the active patron, entered into this venture with his whole being: he was publisher, editor and proof reader.

Maximilian was also receptive to new literary movements, as is shown by the encouragement he offered the Humanists. For instance, he decided to support the plan for a "Germania illustrata," an ambitious scheme to set down in writing a description of German cities and topography, whose chief architect was to be Conrad Celtis, the "Arch-Humanist." For his support of their ideas the Humanists repaid Maximilian with numerous dedications.

Further, the emperor was appreciative of the drama, a genre which was gaining in popularity. Conrad Celtis had his Ludus Dianae, a salute to Maximilian the hunter, performed before the court. Celtis also had the students of the Poet's College ("Collegium poetarum et mathematicorum"), which had been founded with imperial support, perform his panegyric drama Rhapsodia de laudibus et victoria Maximiliani de Boemannis, a celebration of the emperor's victory over Bohemian troops.

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113 Rupprich, Das ausgehende Mittelalter, p. 526
The support which Maximilian gave to the drama is well illustrated in his reception of Joseph Grünpeck's *Streit zwischen Virtus und Fallacicaptrix vor Maximilians Richterstuhl*. Grünpeck gives Maximilian the central role in this play, and at one of its performances the emperor himself was in attendance. Maximilian was so taken by this dramatic homage that he invited the cast to court and bestowed gifts on them. In addition, he crowned the author with the laurel wreath and made him an imperial historiographer.\(^{116}\)

It has been shown that Maximilian, having encouraged virtually all facets of sponsorship considered in the more than seven centuries encompassed by this dissertation, truly consummates the practice of medieval literary patronage. In addition it was suggested that Maximilian points the way for the patronage of literature in the Reformation and the Post-Reformation eras. This survey thus ends as it began with an emperor who commissions literature, who creates an atmosphere conducive to the flowering of the arts, and who marks the path which future patrons were to follow.

APPENDICES

I) Praefatio in librum antiquum lingua Saxonica conscriptum

Cum plurimas Reipublicae utilitates Ludouuicus piisimus Augustus
summo atque praeclaro ingenio prudenter statuere atque ordinare
contendat, maxime tamen quod ad sacrosanctam religionem aeternamque
animarum salubritatem attinet, studiosus ac devotus esse comprobatur
hoc quotidie soliciite tractans, ut populum sibi a Deo subjectum sapienter
instruendo ad potiora atque excellentiora semper accedat, et nociva
quaeque atque superstitionis comprimendo comspescat. In talibus ergo
studiis suus iugiter benevolus versatur animus, talibus delectamentis
pascitur, ut meliora semper augendo multiplicet et deteriora vetando
extinguat. Verum sicut in aliis innumerabilibus infirmioribusque
rebus, eius comprobari potest affectus, ita quoque in hoc magno
opusculo sua non mediocre commendatur benevolentia. Nam cum
divinorum librorum solummodo literati atque eruditii prius notitiam
haberent, eius studio atque imperii tempore, sed Dei omnipotentia atque
inchoantia mirabiliter actum est nuper, ut cunctus populus suae ditionis
subditus, Theudisca loquens lingua, eiusdem divinae lectionis nihilominus
notiolem acceperit. Praecepit namque cuidam viro de gente Saxonum, qui
apud suos non ignobilis vates habebatur, ut vetus ac novum Testamentum
in Germanicam linguam poetice transferre studeret, quatenus non solum
literatis, verum etiam illiteratis, sacra divinorum praeeptorum lectio
panderetur. Qui iussis Imperialibus libenter obtemperans nimirum eo facilius, quo desuper admonitus est prius, ad tam difficile tanque arduum se statim contulit opus, potius tamen confidens de adiutorio obtemperantiae, quam de suae ingenio parvitatís. Igitur a mundi creatione initium capiens, iuxta historiae veritatem quaeque excellentiora summatim decerpens, interdum quaedam ubi commodum duxit, mystico sensu depingens, ad finem totius veteris ac novi Testamenti interpretando more poetico satis faceta eloquentia perduxit. Quod opus tam lucide tamque eleganter iuxta idioma illius linguae composuit, ut audientibus ac intelligentibus non minimam sui decoris dulcedinem praestet. Iuxta morem vero illius poëmatis omne opus per vitteas distinxit, quas nos lectiones vel sententias possimus appellare.

Ferunt eundem Vatem dum adhuc artis huius penitus esset ignarus, in somnis esse admonitum, ut Sacrae legis præcepta ad cantilenam propriae linguae congrua modulatione coaptaret. Quam admonitionem nemo veram esse ambigit, qui huius carminis notitiam studiumque eius compositoris atque desiderii anhelationem habuerit. Tanta namque copia verborum, tantaque excellentia sensum resplendet, ut cuncta Theudisca poëmata suo vincat decore. Clare quidem pronunciatione, sed clarius intellectu lucet. Sic nimirum omnis divina agit scriptura, ut quanto quis eam ardentius appetat, tanto magis cor inquirentis quandam dulcedinis suavitate demulceat. Ut vero studiosi lectoris intentio facilius quaeque ut gesta sunt possit invenire, singulis sententiis, iuxta quod ratio huius operis postularat, capitula annotata sunt. 1

II) Uersvs Wilrammi Eberspergensis Abbatis Ad Regem Heinricvm

HEINRICO REGI veniat de culmine caeli
Gloria, vita, salus pacis et ordo ratus!
Cum tua diversum mens abripiatur in estum,
Rex bone, paucia tibi corde loquor humili:
Iussa tui patris subii iuvenilibus annis
Praeditus exiguo pauper ego ipse loco.
Hic steriles agri, sed in his paucae quoque mansi
Quae bis centenum non superent numerum.
Haec toleranda mihi genitori gratia vivi
Fecerat esse tui munere multiplici:
Nam vacuis manibus nunquam reedit mihi missus.
Sed plus grata mihi gratia colloquii.
Flebilis hic regno multum mihi flendus egeno.
Mortem quando luit spes mea tota ruit.
Exhinc te parvo, cum res mea staret in arto.
Haec tamen haec mea spes, si iuvenis fieres.
Affuit interea solatrix parva camena,
Rex invicte, librum quae tibi dat modicum.
Sit meus hic monitor qui spe languente fatigor;
Quem tardat senium, quem gravat exilium!
Si subducis opem, saltem praecide laborem
Meque monasterium da repedare meum.

III) Prologue to the Waltharius manu fortis

Omnipotens genitor, summe virtutis amator,
Iure pari natusque amborum spiritus almus,
Personis trinus, vera deitate sed unus,
Qui vita vivens cuncta et sine fine tenebis,
Pontificem summum tu salva nunc et in aevum
Claro Erckambaldum fulgentem nomine dignum,
Crescat ut interius sancto spiramine plenus,
Multis infictum quo sit medicamen in aevum.
Presul sancte dei, nunc accipe munera servi,
Quae tibi decrevit de larga promere cura
Peccator fragilis Geraldus nomine vilis,
Qui tibi nam certus corde estque fidelis alumnus.
Quod precibus dominum iugiter precor omnitonantem,
Ut nanciscaris factis, que promo loquelis,
Det pater ex summis celum terramque gubernans.
Serve dei summi, ne despice verba libelli;
Non canit alma dei, resonat sed mira tyronis,
Nomine Waltharius, per proelia multa resectus.
Ludendum magis est dominum quam sit rogitandum,
Perlectus longevi stringit inampla diei.
Sis felix sanctus per tempora plura sacerdos,
Sit tibi mente tua Geraldus carus adelphus.  

3 MGH:Poet, V, 405 ff.
IV) Archipoeta: Omnia tempus habent

Omnia tempus habent, et ego breve postulo tempus,
Ut possim paucos presens tibi reddere versus,
Electo sacro, presens in tegmine macro.
Virgineo more non hec loquor absque rubore.
Vive, vir immense, tibi concedit regimen se,
Consilio cuius regitur validaque manu ius.
Pontificum flos es et maximus inter eos es.
Incolumnis vivas, plus Nestore consilii vae.
Vir pie, vir iuste, precor ut moneam precibus te.
Vir racione vigens, dat honorem tota tibi gens.
Amplecti minimos magni solet esse viri mos.
Cor miseris flecte, quoniam probitas decet hec te.
Pauperie plenos solita pietate fove nos.
Et transmontanos, vir transmontane, iuva nos.
Nulla mihi certe de vita spes nisi per te.
Frigore sive fame tolletur spiritus a me.
Asperitas brume necat horriferumque gelu me;
Continuam tussim pacior, tanquam tisicus sim.
Sencio per puisum quod non a morte procul sum.
Esse probant inopes nos corpore cum reliquo pes.
Unde verecundo vultu tibi verba precum do
- In tali veste non sto sine fronte penes te - :
Liber ab interitu sis, et memor esto mei tu. 4

4 Die Gedichte des Archipoeta, ed. H. Watenphul and H. Krefeld (Heidelberg, 1958), Poem III.
Ich saz ûf eine steine,
und dahte beîn mit beîne:
daar ûf satzt ich den ellenbogen:
ich hete in mine hant gesmogen
daz kinne und ein mîn wange.
dô dâhte ich mir vil ange,
wie man zer welte solte leben:
deeheinen rât kond ich gegeben,
wie man driu dinz erwurbe,
der keines niht verdurbe.
diu zwei sint êre und varnde guot,
daz dicke ein ander schaden tuot:
daz dritte ist gotes hulde,
der zweier übergulde.
die wolte ich gerne in einen schrîn.
jâ leider desn mac niht gesîn,
daz guot und weltlich êre
und gotes hulde mère
zesamene in ein herze komen.
stîg unde wege sint in benomen:
untriuwe ist in der sâze,
gewalt vert ûf der strâze:
fride unde reht sint sère wunt.
Ich hörte ein Wasser ziehen
und sah die Viscen fließen,
ich sah was in der Welt, was,
veit weit loup rôr und gras.
swaz kriechet und flieget
und kein der Erde biuget,
daz sah ich, und sagte zu daz:
der keines lebt eine hase.
daz witt und daz gewürme
die stritent starke stürme,
sam tuont die vogel unter in;
wan daz si habent einen sin:
si duften sich zu nihte,
si enscheden stürche gerichte.
si kiesent kühne unde recht,
si setzten hörren unde kneht.
so wê dir, tiuschiu zunge,
wie stät din ordenunge!
daz nû diu mugge ir künec hât,
und daz din être also zergât.
bekeîre dich, bekeire.

die cirkel sint ze hêre,
die armen künge dringent dich:
Philippe setze en weisen ūf, und heiz si treten hinder sich. 6

3
Ich hân hêrn Otten triuwe, er welle mich noch rîchen:
wie nam abe er mîn dienest ie sô trûgelichen?
sald waz bestêt ze lône des den kûnic Friderîchen?
mîn vorderunge ist ūf in kleiner danne ein bône;
ezn si sô vil, obe er der alten sprüche waere frô.
ein vater lôrte wîlent sînen sun alsô,
'sun, diene manne boestem, daz dir manne beste lône.'
hêr Otte, ich binz der sun, ir sît der boeste man,
wend ich sô rehte boesen hêrren nie gewan:
hêr kûnec, sît irz der beste, sît iu got des lônes gan. 7

4
Ich wolt hêrn Otten milte nâch der lenge mezzen:
dô hât ich mich an der mâze ein teil vergezzen:
waer er sô mîlt als lanc, er hete tugende vil besezzen.
wil schiere maz ich abe den lip nâch sîner âre:
dô wart er vil gar ze kurz als ein verschroten werc,
mîltes muotes minre vil dan ein getwerc;

6 Die Gedichte Walthers von der Vogelweide, 8,28.
7 Die Gedichte Walthers von der Vogelweide, 26,23.
und ist doch von den jahren daz er niht erwahset mère.
dö ich dem künge bráhte dez mez, wie er üf schôz!
sín junger lip wart beide michel unde gróz.
nú seht waz er noch wahse: erst ieze übr in wol risen gróz.  

5

Ich hân mîn lâhen, al die werlt, ich hân mîn lâhen.
nú enfürhte ich niht den hornunc an die zêhen,
und wil alle boese hêrren dester minre flêhen.
der edel kûneg, der milte kûneg hât mich berâten,
daz ich den sumer luft und in dem winter hitze hân.
mîn nâhgebûren dunke ich verre baz getân:
si sehent mich niht mër an in butzen wîs als si wîlent tâten.
ich bin ze lange arm gewesen ân mînen danc.
ich was so voller scheltens daz mîn âten stanc:
daz hât der kûneg gemachet reine, und dar zuo mînen sanc.  

6

Der in den ôren siech von ungesühte si,
daz ist mîn rât, der lâz den hof ze Dürengen frî:
wân kumet er dar, dëswår er wirt ertoeret.

---

8 Die Gedichte Walthers von der Vogelweide, 26,33.

ich hân gedrungen unz ich niht më dringen mac.
ein schar vert ûz, diu ander in, naht unde tac.
grôz wunder ist daz iemen dâ gehoeret.
der lantgrave ist sô gemuot
daz er mit stolzen helden sîne habe vertuot,
der iegeslicher wol ein kenpfe waere.
mir ist sîn hóhiu fuore kunt:
und gulte ein fuoder quote wines tûsent pfunt,
da stüende och niemer ritters becher laere. 10

Ich bin des milten lantgräven ingesinde.
ez ist mîn site daz man mich iemer bî den tiursten vinde.
die andern fursten alle sint vil milte, iedoch
sô staetelichen niht: er was ez ê und ist ez noch.
da von kan er baz dan sî dermite gebâren:
er enwil dekeiner lûne vâren.
swer hiure schallet und ist hin ze járe boese als ê,
des lop gruonet unde valvet sô der klê.
der Dûrngel bluome schînet dur den snê:
sumer und winter blüet sîn lop als in den älsten járen. 11

Fürste Friderich,
unde waere ez betelich,
umbe ein kleinez hiuseln,
dâ mín silbers vollez schrin
waere behalten inne, daz ich hân von dîner gebe,
des wil ich dich biten:
dû vernimz mit guoten siten!
jâ bin ich in dinem geu
manges snoeden understreu.
ich wil ez gedienen, al die wile sô ich lebe,
hie mit mínér hant,
hin ze gote mit mínér zungen:
wirt in frônekôre ein lobeliet von dir gesungen,
dâ von wirst dû in dem paradise wîte erkant.\(^{12}\)

2

Mîlter fürste Friderîch, an triuwen gar ein flins,
dû häst mich behûset wol:
got dir bilîch lônen sol.
ich enpfîenc nie rîcher gâbe môr von fürsten hant.
daz waer allez guot, niwan der ungefûge zins.
des diu kindel solten leben,

daz muoz ich ze stiuwer geben;
des wirt zwischen mir und minen friunden schiere ein pfant.
lieber herre min,
maht dû mir den zins geringen,
dines heiles kempfe wil ich sin
und dîn lop wol sprechen unde singen,
daz ez vil lûte erhillet von der Elbe unz an den Rîn.

VII) Heinrich von Veldeke: Eneide
he [the poet] le et einer vrouwen
dore lesen ende dore scouwen,
er men't volschreve.
dat was di gravinne van Cleve,
di milde ende di gude
bit den reinen mude,
die wale gut kunde geven
ende vele herlike leven,
alse't vrouwen wale getam.
du si der lantgrave nam
du wart dat buc te Cleve verstolen
einer juncvrouwen der si't hadde bevolen.
des wart di gravinne gram

\[13\] Die Lieder Neidharts, 73,11.
den graven Henrike de et nam
ende't danne sande
te Doringen heim te lande.
... Dat mach men seggen vorwar,
sint was dat buc wale negen jar
den meistere Henrike benomen,
dat'r nirgen na ne mochte komen
da he't hedde vunden,
went he te einen stunden
quam te Doringen in dat lant,
da he den palenzgrave vant
van Sassen, de heme dat buc lit
ende't heme volmaken hit,
want he's heme bat ende rit.
he ne hedde't heme volmaket nit,
mare dat'er't heme hit don
des lantgraven Lodewiges son,
dore den he't volmaken began,
der palenzgrave Herman
van der Nouwenburch bi der Unstrut,
want di rede dochte heme gut
ende dat gedichte meisterlic.
du volmakede't Henric
dore sin gebot ende dore sine bede,
want he heme allen den dinest dede
den he mochte ende kunde
ende es heme wale unde,
sint dat he sin kunde gewan.
dat was der palenzgrave Herman,
des lantgraven Lodewiges bruder
van vader ende van muder
der grave Frederic,
deme dinde gerne Henric.\textsuperscript{14}

\textbf{VIII) Wolfram von Eschenbach: \textit{Parzival}}

ich gihe von im der maere,
er [Keie] was ein merkaere:
er tet vil rühes willen schin.
ze scherme dem herren sin
partierre unde valscbe diet,
von den werden er die schiet:
er was ir vuore ein strenger hagel,
noch scherpher dan der bien ir zagal.
seht, die verkértten Keien pris
(der was manlicher triuwen wis):
vil hazzes er von in gewan.
von Düringen vürste Herman,
etslich dîn ingesinde ich maz,
daz üzgesinde hieze baz:

dir waere ouch eins Keien nöt,
sit wàriu milde dir geböt
so manecvalden anehanc,
etswâ smäshlich gedranc
und etswâ werdez dringen.
dez muoz her Walther singen:
'guoten tac, boese unde guot!'
swâ man solhen sanc nû tuot,
des sint die valschen gëret.
Keie hetes in niht gëleret
noch her Heinrich von Rîspach.15

IX) Gottfried von Strassburg: Tristan und Isold
Gedaehnte mans ze guote niht,
von dem der werlde guot geschiht,
so waerez allez alse niht,
swaz guotes in der werlde geschiht.
Der guote man swaz der in guot
und niwan der werlt ze guote tuot,
swer daz iht anders wan in guot
vernemen wil, der missetuot.
Ich hoere es velschen harte vil,
daz man doch gerne haben wil:

da ist des lützelen ze vil,
da wil man, des man niene wil.
Ez zimet dem man ze lobene wol,
des er iedoch bedürfen sol,
und laze ez ime gevallen wol,
die vile ez ime gevallen sol.
Tiur unde wert ist mir der man,
der guot und übel betrachten kan,
der mich und ieglichen man
nach sinem werde erkennen kan.
Ere unde lop diu schepfent list,
da list ze lobe geschaffen ist:
swa er mit lobe geblümet ist,
da blüemejet aller slahte list.
Reht als daz dinc zunruoche gat,
daz lobes noch ere niene hat,
als liebet daz, daz ere hat
und sines lobes niht irre gat.
Ir ist so vil, die des nu pflegent,
daz si daz guote zubele wegent,
daz übel wider ze guote wegent:
die pflegent niht, si widerpflegent.
Cunst unde nahe sehender sin
swie wol diu schinen under in,
geherberget nit zuo zin,
er leschet kunst unde sin.
Hei tugent, wie smal sint dine stege,
wie kumberlich sint dine wege!
die dine stege, die dine wege,
wol ime, der si wege unde stege!  

X) Johannes Hadlaub

Wâ vund man sament sô manic liet?
man vunde ir niet im kûnicrîche,
als in Zürich an buochen stât.
des prüeft man dik dâ meistersanc.
der Maness ranc dar nách endliche:
des er diu liederbuoch nu hât.
gein sím hof mechten nígen die singaere,
sín lob hie prüevn und anderswâ:
wan sanc hât boun und würzen dâ.
und wisse er wâ guot sanc noch waere,
er wurb vil endelîch dar nâ.

Sín sun der kuster treibz ouch dar;
des hânt sí gar vil edels sanges,
die herren guot, ze semne brâcht.
ir êre prüevet man dâ bî.
wer wîste sí des anevanges?

---

der hât ir êren wol gedâcht.
daz tet ir sin: der richtet sî nach êren,
daz ist och in erborn wol an;
sanc, da man frouwen wol getân
wol mitte kan ir lop gemêren,
den wolten sî nicht lân zergân.
Swem ist mit edelem sange wol,
des herze ist vol gar edeler sinne.
sang ist ein só gar edelez guot:
er kumt von edelem sinne dar.
dûr frouwen clâr, dûr edel minne,
von dien zwein kumt sô hôher muot.
waz waer diu welt, enwaern wîp nicht sô schoene?
dûr sî wirt sô vil süezekeit,
dûr sî man wol singt unde seit
sô guot gereit und süez gedoene:
ir wunne sanc ûz herzen treit.17

17 Die Schweizer Minnesinger, ed. K. Bartsch (Frauenfeld, 1886), Song VIII.
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