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A CRITICAL EDITION WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES.

The Ohio State University, Ph.D., 1975
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THE SCHLEIERTÜCHLEIN OF HERMANN VON SACHSENHEIM:
A CRITICAL EDITION WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

DISSERTATION

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

By
Donald K. Rosenberg, A.B., M.A.
* * * * *

The Ohio State University
1975

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Dirre aventuere kere, si si krump oder slihte,
daz ist nicht wan ein lere. darumb sol ich si wissen uf die rihte.
hie vor ist sie mit tugenden an gevenget,
ir houbet, ir brust, ir siten, ir fueze die sint mit tugenden
gar gemenget.

Albrecht von Scharfenberg
Der jüngere Titural, 65

MANUSCRIPT HISTORY, PHONOLOGY, CRITICAL PRINCIPLES

The Schleiertüchlein of Hermann von Sachsenheim was first edited under the title "Das Sleigertüechlin" in the Holland-Keller edition of Meister Altswert¹, although in the introduction (page vi) the editors state that they believe the author to be Hermann. This 1851 edition, a fairly accurate transcription by Holland of MS. A (Cpg. 313) is, however, sufficiently outmoded to require a successor. It is not principally the errors of Holland that call for a new edition; while as an editor I have been zealous for accuracy, I cannot pretend that Holland's deviations from MS. A (e.g. Der for Das in line 1967) constitute a serious block to an appreciation of Hermann. A greater problem for the modern researcher of dialect and orthography is Holland's practice of regularizing the MS.'s spelling. But the most serious drawback to the 1851 edition is that it did not make use of MS. B (BM Add. 10010), even though the edition contained many shrewd conjectural emendations, some of which correctly anticipated the readings of B. MS. B does, in fact, clear up many doubtful readings in A (e.g. line 1510), and it confirms that certain transcriptions of Holland are errors--errors that have formed the basis of errors in *Lexers*. Thus Holland's maschboum of line 889 is actually mastboum; *Lexers* records this nonexistent word (I, 2059), giving Hermann as its only instance. Similarly, *Lexers*' adjective überschrof ? (II, 1656) is based on Holland's transcription of über schroffen (= "over reefs," 941)

as a single word.

In 1854 Franz Roth copied the variants of the Schleiertüchlein not from MS. B in London, but from a copy of B made for its previous owner, Dr. Georg Kloss, by Jacob Lepper (MS. Germ. Oct. 2 in the Stadt-Bibliothek in Frankfurt a. M.). Roth, who had already described the MS. in the Anzeiger für Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit 2 (1854), 78-81, sent these variants to Adelbert von Keller in Tübingen, who published them in volume 5 of the same periodical (1858), 112-114; 142-144; 177-179. These variants, however, suffer both from Lepper's misreadings of MS. B and from occasional misreadings by Roth of Lepper's copy. Even this version of the variants, however, has never been printed with the Holland-Keller edition, nor has anyone since risen to Keller's challenge at the end of the introduction to his edition: "Eine weitere und durchgreifende kritische textbehandlung wird bei diesen denkmälen uns kaum jemand zumuthen." The present edition, then, seeks to present a text based accurately on MS. A, listing the pertinent variants of B, and putting in one place the fruits of Hermann scholarship from Martin (1878) to Schlosser (1974).

The oldest datable textual witness for any portion of the Schleiertüchlein is the poem known as "Verweisung eines, der Ritter wolt werden" (II, 62) in the Liederbuch der Clara Hätzlerin, and found on pages 180^F-181^V of the Knihovna Národního musea Praha MS. X A 12 (called H below) and dated 1470-71.² It combines twelve lines of Hermann's Spiegel (194,31--195,3) with lines 348-422 of the Schleiertüchlein, an identification first made by Karl Geuther in his Studien zum Liederbuch der Clara Hätzlerin (p. 147f.) in 1899).³ For chronological reasons, MS. A

itself could have been the model (it is dated 1478). Although in wording and orthography H does appear at first look to be derived from B, a closer examination shows that such B traits as the use of p- for b- and t- for d- (e.g. tugent for the dugent of A), are consistently met with throughout the entire Hätzlerin MS.

An important discrepancy between MS. B and H is that the Liederbuch reads kirchen (61) for MS. B's kirchwichin (MS. A line 400: kirchwih), although it is possible that the error originates with the Hätzlerin MS. It is a serious error of sense (the difference between returning home after having wasted one's money at [H] church or at [A,B] a church fair), and perhaps one more likely to have been originated than copied. Stronger evidence against B's having served as a model is that the Hätzlerin MS. does not pick up B's redundant reading of line 351 ("Soltu du dich hüten in hüt") and instead uses A's more sensible "Soltu dich han in hut." Unfortunately, the Hätzlerin fragment begins just after a separative error (line 346) that might have made a final judgment possible.

In the following cases the Hätzlerin MS. shows an independence in orthography from A and B:

	H		A		B
	peicht (43)		bicht (377)		bycht
	pflüt (18)		flut (352)		flüt
	h ^u an (17)		han (351)		*****
	w ^u ar (68)		war (407)		war
	ge ^u pären (29)		gebarn (363)		gebaren
	cho ^m (75)		kum (414)		kom
Rime	{ chomt (54)		kumt (387)		kumt
	{ vers ^u ämbt(55)		verstumt(388)		verstumt
			verstumt(388)		

H	A	B
das (67)	Den (406)	der

In the following cases H shows an independence from A and B in wording:

H	A/B
Rime { chomt (54)	kumpt (387)
{ vers ^u mbt (55)	verstumpt (388)
Gar (29)	So (363)
Darab (31)	Gar dick (365)
Scharpff (32)	So scharpff (366)
hoch (45)	hohen (379)
Es ist (58)	Es ducht mich (392)
[adds <u>kurtzen</u>] (60)	***** (399)
kirchen (61)	A: kirchwih (400)
	B: kirchwichin (see above)
schaw (66)	beschaw (405)
die (66)	den (405)
[adds <u>noch</u>] (67)	***** (406)

The variant beginnings of lines 29, 31, and 32 in H suggest that H was copied, not from B, but from an exemplar which had suffered damage to certain line beginnings. Thus A and B agree on the intensifier So in line 363, while H has Gar, an intensifier which may very well be the emendation of Clara herself. Likewise, damage would account for the survival of Scharpff (32) out of So scharpff (366), and H's Darab (31) supplies the necessary iamb, although its grammatical function and meaning differ completely from the adverbial Gar dick (365) of A and B. There is a similar but not so closely-grouped locus of variants between lines 58 and 67. Nonetheless, the divergences in the MSS. are so minor and the number of MSS. so limited that it is not possible to construct a stemma on any but the most speculative grounds.

MS. A, the principal manuscript used for this edition, is Cpg. 313. The Palatinate lion and the Bavarian arms on the first page (1^r), as well as internal evidence in one of the poems, lead Gerhard Thiele to believe that the book originated in the Palatine ruling family and thus formed part of the old collection which became the basis of the library of the University of Heidelberg.⁴ It is easy enough to suppose that it was commissioned by Hermann's patron, the Pfalzgräfin Mechthild. Although (like B), it is on paper rather than on more costly parchment, the book was laid out to include extensive decoration, though this decoration was left far from complete. Page 439^v carries the date "MCCCCLXX vnnd acht jar" (1478).

The spine bears two titles, one in Latin ("Poema de uarijs virtutibus") and, in red on a leather label, "Minne." The MS. contains 996 pages (some 28,000 lines) of poetry (some 30 lines per page), with themes ranging from sublime love ("Lob der Jungfrau Maria," 357^r-362^v) to the obscene (Hermann's "Grasmetz," 454^r-460^r). The Schleiertüchlein appears on 121^r-155^r, and one of Hermann's principal works, the Spiegel, precedes it (75^r-120^v). The MS. also contains the "Blaue Rede" (384^r-391^v) often attributed to Hermann, and the "Unminne" (490^r-496^r), less frequently attributed to him. A single scribe completed the work, and added at the end of several poems (including the Schleiertüchlein), the intertwined initials I and D.

The history of MS. B is more complicated and obscure than that of A. There is still no single adequate description of it; the earliest is in the Sotheby's catalogue for the sale of the library of Dr. Georg Kloss of Frankfurt a. M. (beginning May 7th, 1835) as Item 4595 (p.322):

"MS. of the middle of the fifteenth century, upon PAPER, formerly in the library of John Dalberg, Bishop of Worms." The title is given as "Hermann von Sachsenheim de Mörin,--Dessen kleinere Gedichte...in Jahr 1450--Cato zu Teutsch im Oberrhein. dialect." Dr. Kloss, Frankfurt physician, professor, bibliographer, and collector of manuscripts, stated on page xxii of the same catalogue that he had acquired the library of Dalberg "almost entire."⁵ Dalberg died in 1503, but his library "probably still remained at Heidelberg," according to Sotheby (p. xxiii). Of the manuscript's origin and history before 1503 we know nothing, nor are likely to know so long as a thorough description of the MS. is lacking.

Upon its acquisition by the British Museum as MS. Additional 10010, no better description was provided.⁶ Long before the MS. had left Frankfurt, however, Kloss had had a copy of it made (the Frankfurt MS. later used by Roth and Keller to provide variant readings for the Holland-Keller edition of 1851 (see p. 1 above). Zarncke, in his Der deutsche Cato,⁷ gives us this description of the Frankfurt copy and its model, MS. B:

MS. 4, papier, de circa 1825. abschrift einer hs. in fol., die dem Dr. Kloss gehörte; auf der rückseite des vorderdeckels steht von Dr. Klossens hand geschrieben: 'Abschrift der kleineren Gedichte des Hermann von Sachsenheim, nach einer schön geschriebenen Papierhandschrift, welche um 1503 zur Bibliothek des Bischoffs von Worms, Johannes von Dalberg, gehört hatte.--In demselben Bande befand sich Hermanns v. S. Mörin, welche um 1825 nebst diesen Gedichten von Schneidergesellschaften Jacob Lepper aus Frankfurt copirt wurde. das Original in folio selbst befand sich in meinem Besitz. G. Kloss MDr.'

Zarncke knew that the MS. had been sold by Sotheby's, but did not know who had bought it.

It was Jakob Bächthold who confirmed that it had been sold to the British Museum.⁸ He gave an enumeration of its contents, but because the poems are untitled, he mistakenly stated that the Goldener Tempel ran from 109-164, whereas it is the Schleiertüchlein that begins at 109^r and ends on 143^r, while the Goldener Tempel itself begins on 143^v and ends on 164^r.

Robert Priebsch⁹ gave this description of the MS. in 1901:

Add. 10010. Pap. xv. Jh. 195 Blätter (und 195* leer; daneben auch Seitenzählung). 30,9 x 21,1. Rote Initialen, rot durchstrichene grosse Anfangsbuchstaben der abgesetzten Verse. Durchaus von einer Hand, die Seite zu 27-32 Zeilen, geschrieben. Lagen von 12 Bll. (die letzte nur zu 4), bezeichnet durch Anfangsworte am Schluss. Wasserzeichen: Ochsenkopf mit langgestielter fünfblättriger Blume zwischen den Hörnern. Moderner Pappdeckel mit Lederrücken und der Aufschrift: Poemata Vetera Germanica.

He supplied an accurate catalogue of its contents, but despite his efforts at diplomatic exactness made a number of errors in his listing of incipits, explicits, and other details. The interested reader may correct Priebsch's original description (p. 99) by means of this list:

Leaf	Correction
1 ^r	weysen scl. wysen
109 ^r	Du ^[10] scl. Yy
143 ^r	Nu scl. Nun
164 ^r	alln has a low arc over the entire word (= disyllabic?)
	helff scl. hellff
	vorhailt scl. verhailt
179 ^r	Ich scl. ich
190 ^v	Der deutsche Cato actually ends on 190 ^r , not 190 ^v . Kunst has a tall loop directly over the u--in this MS. such a ũ can represent iu or ü.
193 ^v	Priebsch's dannen appears in the MS. as danen with a stroke over the word. [7]

Leaf	Correction		
194 ^r	dienst	scl.	denst
195 ^v	hochfart	scl.	hochfert

Host Dieter Schlosser's description of the MS. in his 1974 edition of Die Mörin¹¹ is basically the Priebisch description, with a few additions. Schlosser describes the present label (MUS. BRIT. JURE EMPTIONIS. 10010 PLUT. CXXXVII F.), notes that the watermark falls into the classification Piccard XII 857, and describes the dialect as "nord-schwäbisch...mitteldeutscher Einfluss ist unverkennbar, vielleicht aus dem Osten der Kurpfalz."¹²

Unfortunately, however, Schlosser does not list incipits and explicits, tacitly letting Priebisch's errors stand, and he repeats Priebisch's error that Der deutsche Cato ends on 190^v (instead of on 190^r). Schlosser states that the leaf numbering is correct, but that the page numbering erroneously applies the number 172 to both 85^r and 87^r, whereas this number is actually applied to 86^v and 87^r. Similarly, he cites 80^v to support his claim that the minimum line count should be 24, not 27, yet this page has 30 lines on it. Finally, although he classifies the watermark by type, he supplies no information concerning the significance of the watermark and what it might tell us concerning place and date of origin of the paper.

Information of this sort might tell us more about the relation of B to A. One curious item noted by Priebisch and not repeated by Schlosser is the single strokes in red through the initial letters of each line. Investigation is needed to determine how common this practice was among late medieval scribes, and whether it might be the result of a scribe's checking his own copy against an original, and making marks

either in the original, his own copy, or both. It is interesting to note that the Hätzlerin MS. at Prague (H) has such red strokes, as do two of the other known samples of her work, both of them at Heidelberg.¹³

Hermann-scholarship still stands in need of a single, careful description of MS. B that may help reveal more precisely its connection with A. But however little we do know about B, we do know two interesting things: like A, it is associated with Heidelberg; whatever its relation to A, it cannot have served as a model for A, for there are several blank spaces left for lines in B (whereas A has these lines intact), and there are several extra lines in B which do not occur in A.

The following phonology is based on the accented syllables of MS. A, and includes rimes. For a more detailed examination encompassing most of Hermann's works, see the fourth section ("Verskunst und Sprache") of Martin's edition of the Mörin, Goldener Tempel, and Jesus der Arzt,¹⁴ as well as Fritz Walter's Tübingen dissertation, Die Flexion bei Hermann von Sachsenheim (1924). It is difficult to determine exactly which traits are Hermann's and which are the scribe's, although it is evident that the many Middle German traits mixed into the generally Alemannic dialect of the poem are Hermann's own, since numerous rimes are dependent on them.

Labials

The usual variants f, u, and y are found.

Old p has undergone the Second Sound Shift. Final p after r appears as pff and ff; the latter also occurs for Germanic f in the same position: warff/scharpff (950-951), bedarff/scharpff (1878-1879). In later loan-words initial p remains unshifted: pirrimus (228), porten (867),

pellicanus (754); it appears as b in bilgram (1320) and bris (1136). Initial b for p also occurs in brüs (963), brüssen (421 [= "Preuß," "Preußen"]).

Germanic b is written b in all positions, i.e. initially (except for the "schwitzer pur" [= "Bauer"] of line 979): bat (827), enbor (249), medially: stirbt (137), verdriben (11), schriben (12), and finally: wib (273), lib (274). b is retained after m: warumb (200), darumb (539, 573), or sometimes added: heiltumb (279), heiltum (923). Before final t, the b, whether organic or added, is changed to p: ampt (1016), kompt (261, 449, 717), verstumpt (388).

w is substituted consistently for b in sunderbar.

Dentals

Germanic ɣ is represented by d initially: du (15), Durch (16), Das (17), dusen (= 1000, line 550); medially: adel (148), edel (272), heiden (946, 1515), werden (= "worthy," 305); and finally by both d, t, and dt: mund (248), munt (316), frid (771), dot (= "death," 144), kindt (1800).

Germanic g appears initially as both d and t: druren (741), dugent (253), teil (240), don (237), duchlin (224), tür (= "teuer," 592); medially between vowels as t or tt: guten (751), gutter (743); medially after l and r as t: halten (940), worten (1162); finally after l and r as t or d: halt (771), hart (1928), bald (621), wild (24); medially after n as d: landen (819), besonder (820); finally after n as d, t, and dt: land (815), fant (788), hant (789), handt (555); and finally after a vowel as t or tt: got (282, 354), hut (746), blutt (753). In the verb tuon, initial Germanic g appears as

d, dh, t, and th: ich dett (58), dhu (imp., 324), tü (imp., 344),
ich thü (833).

Germanic t has undergone the Second Sound Shift; before r it is represented by both tz and z: smertz (140, 141), zirn (54), zit (11), tzart (427, 539); tz is also used for the affricate in late loan-words: spazirn (53), penitentz (1128), differentz (1129).

The shift to a spirant (ʃ) is represented medially by ss: entschliessen (1009), grossen (1101), wasser (876), geschossen (187); and finally by s and ß: süs (1), kreis (184), [er] weis (183), ich weiß (205). ß and ss are used for MHG s in final position: huß (rimed with grus [=gruoz], 724-725), wis (= "manner," 668), unwis (= "unwise," 870), ross (1116), roßlin (= "Röslein," 312), briss (= "praise," 1136), as is ss: mess (= "Mass," 1139).

s and sch alternate before n and l: snel (124, 154, 1398), schnel (30, 1406, 1454, 1895), versnitten (71), verschnyden (548), verschlossen (674, 1084, 1740), entsliessen (1009), slecht (1056).

There is only one instance of schw- instead of sw- in MS. A: schwitzer (= "Swiss," 979). sw- is usual: swaben (184), sweis (1633), sweig (1652), verswigen (203), beswur (50).

Before m, s never alternates with sch: smertz (140, 141, 159, 580, 1743), versmacht (1717), smal (59).

Gutturals

g and k appear initially in regular opposition as in Standard MHG; for k-, we also find c-: krefftig (6), crafft (8), clein (271), küenen (20).

In final position, Germanic g appears only as g, except in the suffix

-ec/-eclich, where we find c, ck, g, and k: zuchtlich (322), wunnicklichen (57), manigfalt (51), krefftig (6), snelklich (63).

Medially and finally after n, l, and r Germanic k appears as ck:

blancken (307), sanck (219), falck (1833), starcken (22).

Intervocalic h is sometimes omitted: hoen (471), gescheen (1982). In final position and before t, ch and h appear: sach (pret., 145), hoh (8), mocht (31), moht (2).

MHG überzwerch appears as uberzwer (:her, 241-242) and as uberzweg (:ferg [= "sailor", 900-901)--ferg also rimes with Georg: Jörgen/forgen (369-370).

Nit, the usual Alemannic form of nicht, is used throughout, except for the single rime nicht/geschicht (836-837).

Nasals

The MS. frequently rimes the two sounds at the end of words: an/nan (= nam, 1652-1653), cleyn/heym (1588-1589), unreyn/heyn (1654-1655), arn (= arm)/bewarn (125-126). The substitution of n for m occurs only in rimes.

Vowels

MHG a is generally represented by a, as in stach (107), sprach (108), vernam (163), crafft (8); it is represented by o in one case: gewon (= gewann, 143). The primary umlaut of a is e, as in crefftig (6), schklefen (1872), zehern (103). Short a and â are rimed: stat/hât (301-302; 1278-1279), gebârn/starn (688-689).

u, ë, and ä (the secondary umlaut of u) are represented by e. These three MHG e-sounds rime with each other, as well as with a fourth, the umlaut of â to æ, which is also represented by e: geberd/werd (æ/e)

= gebärde/werd, 79-80), bagert/pfert (ē/ā = /pfärt, 1950-1951),
beswert/erfert (æ/ē = wert/ervärt, 355-356).

The fifth MHG e-sound (from Germanic ai) is generally kept distinct from the others (see ê below).

In one word, ē appears either as o or ö: schopffer (376), schöppfer (1148), schöpffer (948, 1182).

The Middle German practice of writing o for ē in forms of wellen NHG "wollen") is sometimes followed, e.g., in the subjunctive forms woll (277) beside well (354).

In one case ē is rimed with ö: Jörgen/forgen (= Georgen/vergen, 369-370).

MHG i is generally written as i, but frequently also as y, particularly before nasals: synn (371), kaiserynn (372); i is also occasionally written for i: jr (499), jn (89), jm (90). Short i rimes with ī (q.v.).

MHG o is represented by o and occasionally by ö: moht (2), möcht (25), geborn (81).

In one case o is rimed with ö: Jörgen/forgen (= Georgen/vergen, 369-370). Short o and ô rime: wol/karydol (a place name, 337-338).

MHG u is represented by both u and ü: stund/münd (89-90), mund (306).

The MS. often shows the Middle German trait of representing MHG u with both o and ö: besonder/wonder (303-304; cf. besunder/wunder, 5-6), wonder (205), wonsch (309), kömer (566), ubertzögen/flugen (173-174).

The umlaut of MHG u to ü is represented by both u and ü: uber (1491), überwinden (21), gebur (451), gebürt (719). MHG ü rimes with MHG i: wirt/geburt (450-451), wirt/gebürt (718-719) [= ez wirt/ez gebürt].

MHG â is represented by both a and o; the use of o is most frequent before nasals: lon (= lân, 11, 45). This MHG â represented by a or o may rime with itself or with MHG o or ô: ston/meron (= stân/Merân, 1576-1577), geton/kron (1108-1109), plan/babilon (171-172), got/rot (= got/rât, 1282-1283), lon/gan (1314-1315). In one instance â rimes with ou: schawen/schlawen (65-66).

The umlaut of â to æ appears throughout the MS. as e, and is rimed with three other e-sounds (see short e above).

MHG ê from Germanic ai appears as e, and, except for a single instance (begêrt/versêrt, 1722-1723), rimes only with itself: er/ler (470-471), er/ker (728-729), ser/er (618-619), kle/we (77-78).

There are also examples of a MHG ê formed by contraction (gen < gegen, 43, 1558), but there are no rimed instances of this contraction. Gegen is also contracted to gein (see ei below).

MHG î generally appears as i: drissig (1203), glich (233), strich (234), din (34). It also appears as y, particularly before nasals: dym (= dinem, 5), myn (766), and terminally: dry (103), fry (104). In one instance î appears as ie: belieben (45). Standard MHG î in -lich and -rich is rimed with standard MHG short i: mich/sunderlich (1184-1185), zuchtiglich/mich (1404-1405), friderich/dich (1530-1531). The vowel î resulting from the contraction of -igi- is also present in the MS.: lit (= ligit, 1418).

MHG ô appears as o or a: kron (1109), kran (268). Kleinot is generally spelled with o (496, 644, 918, 936, 938, 1150), except for one instance as cleinat (612) and once as cleinet (745). Standard MHG ô is rimed

with standard MHG â (see also â above): gardion (= gardiân/fron, 1296-1297), widergan/gardian (1394-1395), getan/fron (1168-1169). In the rime wol/karydol (a place name, 337-338), standard MHG o and ô respectively are rimed. ô is rimed with ou: auch/zûch (= zôch, 966-967), auch/zoch (1672-1673), gros/verdros (63-64). In one instance ô is rimed with û: fortun/pateron (367-368).

The umlaut of ô to œ appears both as ö and as o: schönen (27), dönen (28), römschen (1031), schones (60), schoners (1760).

MHG û appears throughout the MS. as u: strucht (341), gebrucht (342), u8gesant (1520). Standard MHG û may rime with uo, as in hu8/grus (= gruoz, 724-725), or gut/dalmut (1248-1249). In one instance, MHG û is rimed with ô: fortun/pateron (367-368).

MHG iu is represented by several different characters: 1) u, kaufflut (1305), sufftzen (575), gehur/abentur (1010-1011), [er] flucht (694); 2) ü, süftzen (78, 634), küsch/gedüsch (1244-1245), abentür/gehür (1914-1915); 3) eu, keusch (413); 4) w, û, uw, üw, drw/rw (1094-1095), trw/nuw (892-893), füwr/abentur (756-757).

MHG ei appears both as ei and ey: einer (66), eyner (61) rein (142), reyn (16). It appears once as eÿ: alleÿn (15). The name Key appears both as key (nom. 258) and kein (acc. 107). A second scribe wrote the title at the head of the work, "Sleigertuchlin;" the spelling sleyer (229) occurs in the body of the text. A form of ei contracted from -ege- also appears in the MS.: gein (<gegen, 804), and in deding (976).

MHG ie appears regularly as ie: diesem (116), lieber (150), nie (355), except in the case of the MHG words iemer and niemer, which appear in

Middle German forms as umer (1043), nüm (1934), numer (1044), and numme (344).

MHG ou usually appears as au (auch, 29, 58, 160; entlauffen, 31; bestrauffen, 32), while the combination ouw is always represented by aw: Fraw (229), frawen (278), schawen (284), schawend (222), schaw (314), daw (= tou, 313). These combinations may be rimed, e.g. schawen/schlawen (= slâ, 65-66); see the riming of a/â and â/ou under â above. In one place ou is represented by ö: höff/döff (= "Haufen/Taufe," 1022-1023); houf here is the Middle German ablaut of the High German hûf. In one instance the sound is represented û (mastbûm, 899). ou may rime with ô: auch/zach (= zôch, 966-967), auch/zoch (1672-1673), gros/verdros (63-64). In one instance, ou is rimed with â: schawen/schlawen (65-66).

MHG ôu is represented by ew, eu, and o: frewd (38), frewden (70), frewt ich (292), Erzeug (348), Erzeugen (1692), Erzog (742).

MHG uo appears as both u and ü: zu/rûw (1930-1931), hüt/gut (1222-1223), sûch (imp. 720), fûrn (pret. pl. 842), fussteig (59). MHG uo rimes with û: hug/grus (724-725), gut/dalmut (1248/1249).

MHG üe is represented by u and ü: bruder (1088), brüder (1124, 1216), mussen (365), unsüssen (366), hüner (1038), and rarely by o or ö: ungestom/verblom (864-865), ungestöm/verblöm (1356-1357).

Any editor who presents an edition in a form other than a facsimile must make compromises between his twin duties of faithfulness to the manuscript and helpfulness to the reader. The facsimile will best help the scholar who is making a detailed investigation, while a text

normalized according to Lachmann and Lexer will best serve the general reader. This edition hopes to serve both the scholar and the general reader by adhering to the principles discussed below.

MS. A has been chosen as the manuscript closest to Hermann's own language, which, on the basis of rimes, appears to be Alemannic with many Middle German features. In contrast to MS. A, MS. B shows the NHG diphthongization (B's use of ei for A's i, e.g., dein for Din [21], reichen for richen [26]), and preserves a difference in spelling between these new diphthongs and the old by using ai for A's ei/ey, e.g., baider for beyder (35), waig for weig (183), hailgtum for heilum (193). In addition, B changes the spelling of certain words that appear in rimes, apparently to make them conform to the scribe's own pronunciation. The most obvious case of a change in the original rime is line 1051, for in MS. A (and doubtless in the original) the ox and the ass stie ("stood") at Christ's manger, a word and rime (empfie:) possible only in Alemannic. MS. B changes the Alemannic stie to a standard gieng preterite (perhaps pronounced as an Upper German gie). The change in B destroys Hermann's sense, if not his pure rime. Similar examples of changes are B's schowen/schlawen for A's schawen/schlawen (65-66), or han/kron for han/kran (267-268).

The second set of variations which B shows from A is again formal rather than substantial. On the one hand, MS. A shows the Swabian syncope and apocope, while MS. B shows great efforts to make the poem read in a smooth rhythm of alternating accented and unaccented syllables. It is not too much to presume that a poet of Hermann's skill intended this alternation, especially since so many rough lines may be made to read

smoothly once the syncopated or apocopated syllables are restored (as in MS. B). Certainly the reciter of the poem must have been expected to supply the missing unaccented syllables. Indeed, MS. A shows an inorganic *-e* added to gral to make a line read smoothly ("Daruff der grale was," 1016), and even a rough line such as "Do ich min pferd fand" (788) reads smoothly if the reciter substitutes the variant form pherit. Similarly, syncope and apocope will make smooth these lines in A: "Ich bin nit ein solich [> solch] man" (202), "Als noch manger [> mang] bilger dut" (844).

Accordingly, I have corrected faulty alternation in MS. A by adding the missing unaccented syllable where the meter requires it, doing so either on the authority of MS. B, in which case the addition is copied from B and is set in italics, or on the authority of Lexer's dictionary of standard MHG forms, in which case the addition is bracketed. These changes have been made conservatively, however; I have not altered the last three lines quoted above not merely because there is no authority in B to do so, but also because I wish to make as few changes in the text as possible. I have used MS. B with caution, for its authority in metrical changes may as easily represent Scribe B's taste as Hermann's intent. That syncope itself, and not merely uneven rhythm, is abhorrent to Scribe B is shown in his version of A's line 827. The original is "Der eltst mich sunder bat," and is perfectly smooth, but MS. B expands the syncopated eltst and rewrites the line, "Der eltest mich do bat." The changes of geborn/verlorn (456-457) and gern/stern (1746-1747) to geboren/verloren and geren/steren are probably also the work of Scribe B.

If MS. B's authority is weak in places, as discussed above, it does

supply corrections to A that are preferable to purely editorial emendations. It is the basis for most of the changes in rhythm which I have made, and while Martin could suggest "Do ich das sper [er]sach" for line 145, I find it more consistent to correct the line with B's "Do ich das spere sach."

In numerous instances the sense of A can be improved by adopting a reading of B: In A the pilgrim youth is led to the Holy Sepulchre: "Mit mynem bilgerstab/ Rürt ich es durcheinander" (1509-1510). B clearly improves the last word by supplying "durch ain getter," a reading confirmed by our knowledge that the slab on which Christ lay was protected from souvenir hunters by a grille. In some instances, Scribe B applied common sense to his task and emerged with the wrong reading, as for example in line 19, discussed in the Commentary. Here it is not a plain matter of Eve atoning for her sins ("eva...versennen"), but an obscure reference to Mary's powers of redemption ("Ave...versünen"). In a number of cases, as in this one, the preferable reading, whether from A or B, is the lectio difficilior, a preference justified by the deliberately obscure style of the imitators of Wolfram, to which school Hermann, however distant in his descent, belongs.

When a B reading is preferred to an A reading, the B reading will be placed in the main text column in italics, and the A reading, marked as such, will be placed in the column of variant B readings on the right of the same page. This column of variants carries all variations of the B text, except where the variations are the result of regular divergence in phonetics or orthography.

Most editorial interventions, such as the paginations of MSS. A

and B, and of the Holland-Keller edition, are marked by brackets. I have, however, capitalized all proper names in A (Scribe A capitalized only two, Adam in line 559, and Aron in line 28), and suppressed the occasional appearances of capital I or J in the middle of words, such as "vnuerIrt" in line 1239). This word also serves as an example of the alternation of u and y in the MS., which I have regularized according to modern practice, as well as suppressing the long ſ, used by Scribe A initially and internally, for the round g, used terminally by Scribe A. Similarly the two forms of r in the MS. are represented by a single sort of r in the typescript. Had Scribe A merely alternated i and j for vocalic i, these too would have been regularized by modern standards, but since he uses y as well, I have followed his forms exactly. Abbreviations, rare in MS. A, have been expanded.

On the other hand, I have not changed the forms of B at all, even when the B readings are inserted into the text of A, for some readers might be interested in the unusual orthography of B, which depends more on abbreviations and especially on superscript signs than does A. In any case where it is necessary to cite more than three words of B to show its difference from A, the whole of line B has been recorded in the variants column.

The question of compounds is not easy to solve consistently. Scribe A frequently joins words that in no wise belong together, and frequently separates obvious compounds. Such words as gürtelmagt I have made compound, although Scribe A does so only one time in three (597, vs. 678 and 695); I have likewise joined his separated falcken tertz (749) and lager stat (1900), to name two further examples where the joining

is obviously justified. Scribe A writes edelblut (569) as well as edel blut (701); the first instance I separated to agree with the second, while joining bracken seil (705), and schiff kinder (887). Line 946, on the other hand, "Dort in der heidenland," obviously calls for a separation of heiden (gen. Pl.) from land. Forms of zusammen I have consistently joined, although Scribe A's forms zesamen (588) and zu samen (636, 654) show by the first vowel whether he was thinking of a compound or of two separate words at the time he wrote each version of them.

According to the standards of the Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters, I owe a last debt to the ease of the reader, the setting off of sections through indentations or extra spacing; this last step I am unwilling to take, since Hermann's careful practice of Reimbrechung (imitated from Konrad von Würzburg) prevents the ending of a scene with a couplet. It thus seems to me that the poet intended his creation to be a seamless web, and that the introduction of breaks into the text violates the author's plan to carefully tie all scenes together by his overlapping couplets. Since I emphasize elsewhere the carefully constructed unity of the poem, I am especially reluctant to seem to fracture it. I hope the use of modern punctuation, especially in the use of single and double quotation marks to set off the speeches, will help the modern reader find his way.

FOOTNOTES

MANUSCRIPT HISTORY, PHONOLOGY, CRITICAL PRINCIPLES

¹Adelbert Keller, ed., Meister Altswert, Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins, v. 21 (Stuttgart, 1851), pp. 203-255).

²Carl Haltaus, ed., Liederbuch der Clara Hätzlerin, Bibliothek der gesamten deutschen National-Literatur, v.8 (Quedlinburg and Leipzig, 1840), mit einem Nachwort von Hanns Fischer (facsimile ed. Berlin, 1966), p. 389.

³Karl Geuther, Studien zum Liederbuch der Clara Hätzlerin (Halle, 1899), p. 147-148. Line 2 of the Hätzlerin piece, however, does not belong to Hermann. Geuther followed a suggestion of Uhland.

⁴Gerhard Thiele, ed., Minnereden II, Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters, v. 41 (Berlin, 1938), p. viii. My description of MS. A is based upon Thiele's.

⁵Kloss acquired the MS. after it had passed through the hands of the Frankfurt jurist Dr. Roemer: 1^r bears the inscription "Ex Bibl. D. Roemer." Roemer (DAB 29, 125-126) lived from 1792 to 1863, and (after 1818) was Landamts- u. Gerichtsschreiber in Frankfurt. Between 1847 and 1858 he was a prolific writer on local history. Dr. Kloss (1787-1854) became a professor of medicine at the University of Frankfurt, and assembled his great MS. and incunabula collection as part of a project to update Panzer's Annalen (DAB 16, 227-228).

⁶"A Collection of old German Poetry, written about 1500. Folio." Cited from British Museum, List of Additions to the Collections in the British Museum in the year MDCCCXXXV (London, 1839), p. 9.

⁷Friedrich Zarncke, Der deutsche Cato (Leipzig, 1852), p. 114f.

⁸Jakob Bächthold, Deutsche Handschriften aus dem Britischen Museum (Schaffhausen, 1873), pp. 147-152.

⁹Robert Priebsch, Deutsche Handschriften in England, v. 2 British Museum (Erlangen, 1901), pp. 98-99. The description errs in that the lines do not begin with a majuscule unless they begin a sentence; minuscules are therefore more common at the beginning of lines.

¹⁰How Priebsch achieved the Du reading I cannot guess. The MS. plainly has Yy, which was also copied by Lepper. The Holland-Keller

edition of the poem--from MS. A--has O as the beginning word.

¹¹Hermann von Sachsenheim, Die Mörin, ed. Horst Dieter Schlosser, Deutsche Klassiker des Mittelalters, N.S. v. 3 (Wiesbaden, 1974), p. 19.

¹²ibid.

¹³Both are paper MSS.: Cpg. 478 and Cpg. 677. See Geuther, p. 5, and Halthaus, p. ix.

¹⁴Ernst Martin, ed., Hermann von Sachsenheim, Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins, v. 137 (Tübingen, 1878), pp. 33-45.

RITTER HERMANN: RELIGION, POLITICS, AND THE SOCIAL ORDER

"schildes ambet ist min art"

--Wolfram (Parz. 115, 11)

Hermann is outspokenly conscious of his social station and of his place in the ideal structure of the Reich. He became a knight, if we may believe the narrator's words about himself in the Spiegel (175, 21-27), at Bregenz, for the sake of a lady. If Hermann-narrator does not frequently say himself that he is a knight (e.g. Schleiertüchlein 82-83), the characters in his narratives continually recognize his elevated station in his golden spurs, emblems of knighthood; their comments make the reader aware not only of Hermann's dignity, but of the high social and moral standing of knighthood itself (Mörin 101; 1057-1058; 1192; 5684-5685; Spiegel 135, 37-38; 136, 31-32; 180, 16). From the blazoning of the various arms of the families from which he is descended (Goldener Tempel 1224-1270) to the epitaph he is supposed to have composed for himself,¹ Hermann shows a cradle-to-grave consciousness of the glory and dignity of knighthood, a calling with a double foundation in the predestination of birth and the free act of dedicating one's self to the sword (Mörin 332; Schleiertüchlein 835). The first-person narrator in all of Hermann's poems is a knight whose actions teach the reader the responsibilities of knightly position, whether indirectly (as in the Grasmetze) or directly--the rescue of the youth in the Schleiertüchlein depends on his recall to knightly

duty. The chivalric values of the older courtly literature and its imitators are Hermann's guide, and woe to the ignorant who mistake them! At the end of the tourney in the Mörin the narrator charitably prescribes a salve for the wounded marshal. When Eckhart, the defense counsel, suggests that a man with such medical knowledge could turn a pretty penny, the narrator's rage is swift and righteous: "Eckhart, was sol din spot?" and ^{he} invokes his golden spurs: "Hon ich damit gesmecht das golt / Und och die sporn, das ist mir laidt" (5560-5561). The proper knight is not a leech, but a charitable specialist in battle-wounds, like Gawan, who bound up the wounds of Urjans (Parz. Book X). But as knights, Hermann's peers were beginning to feel the pressures that were to lead to their extinction. On the one hand, territorial princes sought to cut the knights' direct ties to the Kaiser, bringing them into total dependence on the princes and their justice. On the other hand, the expanding economic and territorial powers of the cities were shrinking the knights' sphere of action and control. It would be logical then that the two groups most excoriated in Hermann's work should be the princes and the cities, but the realities of 15th century Swabia are not so simple.

In the first place, Hermann was both the ally and faithful servant of the counts of Württemberg, receiving many favors at their hands. His son Hermann followed in this service, and the very estate of Sachsenheim from which they took their name was a gift of these counts.² Hermann was thus a supporter of the local territorial prince, who would eventually draw the rest of the knights of Swabia into his camp. In the earlier years of the 15th century Kaiser Sigismund had sought to bring

the increasingly powerful territorial princes under his control by encouraging the knights and cities to resist the princes' growing claims on them. Thus for a time the knights, represented chiefly by the five branches of the "Ritterschaft mit St. Georgenschild," and the cities, formed into the "Schwäbische Städtebund," were allies, attempting to protect their direct dependence on the Emperor from the growing control of the princes. But the widening conflicts between the interests of the cities and knights (discussed on p. 34 below) caused the knights to realize their interests lay more with the princes than with the cities, and by 1437 the St. Georgenschild had allied itself with Württemberg.³

Hermann's loyalty to a local prince is not made explicit in his poetry. He feels the simple regional loyalty, characteristic of Germany into the nineteenth century; Hermann is a fryer swäb (Mörin 1771, 1853, 2014), proud of his land and her traditions (Mörin 1848-1867; 2637, 5456, 4098-4099). Beyond local loyalty, however, Hermann feels himself and his land a part of the two great universal and supranational forces of his day, the Reich and the Church. From a typical geblümte circumlocution, we learn that Hermann is a loyal subject of the Holy Roman Empire, and subject to the Bishop of Constance:

Er hört och in die römsche kron,
Besunder in ain bystum och,
Das haut gewidempt also hoch
Sant Conrat mit der hailigkait sin.
Ain kayser der hieß Constantin,
Des tochter Costencz haut gestiftt,
Als ich es las in ainer geschrift. (Mörin, 3550-3556)

Constance has special associations for Hermann, for it is the site of the Council of 1414-1417, and it is not unlikely that Hermann was one of the 10,000 German knights who attended. By electing Pope Martin V,

the Council ended the Great Schism which had blighted the unity of the Church since the end of the Avignon captivity in 1376, and it settled pressing questions of heresy by ordering Wyclif's body exhumed and burned, and by burning alive John Hus and his companion, Jerome of Prague. Hermann, in his poems explicitly loyal to the Holy See, is disturbed by the renewed threat to the Church unity which was lost for so many years and only precariously recovered at Constance. In his *Goldener Tempel* the poet imagines the Christian Faith as an allegorical building much like the Grail Tempel in the *Jüngere Titurel*, in which the universities serve as organs, proclaiming the praise of God:

Ein orgel was zuo Praug
 Nauch allem wunsch geziert,
 Die yetz vast dissoniert
 Mit mangem valschen toun.
 Künig Lasslaw, halt diu kron
 Das sie der welt behag!
 An got ouch nitt verzag,
 Das ist min rautt der best.
 Du solt beliben fest
 An got dem schöpffer din.
 Kein Huss soltu nit sin,
 Das stet dim adel wol
 Und hüt dich vor dem hol,
 Der argen helle pfuol!
 Blib stet an römschem stuol!
 Nit ker dich an den man
 Den man nent Rockentschan;
 Er ist ein schalkhafft wicht. (942-959)

The Künig Lasslaw" appealed to above is the young King of Bohemia, Ladislaus, whose coronation Georg von Ehingen attended in 1453 (see p.). The "schalkhafft wicht" is John of Rokycana (1390-1471), Hussite leader and theologian who, along with Kaiser Sigismund, signed the treaty in 1436 ending the Hussite Wars and giving Sigismund the Bohemian crown. Rokycana remained Archbishop of Prague although Sigismund drove him from that city as part of a reactionary program that ended the next

year (1437) with the death of Sigismund. Hostility from Hussite factions that felt John had made too lenient a peace with the Emperor on religious issues (the Taborites had earlier called him "einen zweiten Achitophel") kept him away from Prague until 1448.⁴

Hermann's deep hatred of Rokycana seems to intrude rather irrelevantly into a Schleiertüchlein passage describing a young Merano merchant:

Er hies nit Rockenzan
Als dort der Behem falsch;
Er hies der junge Malsch
Und ist ein kauffman gut.... (1581-1584)

This hatred might easily have been fed by the popular rumor that Rokycana had helped George Poděbrady poison young "Küng Lasslaw" (d. 1457) in order to help set a Hussite (George) on the throne of Bohemia. Finally, Rokycana was a heretic who opposed the doctrine of Transsubstantiation, an affront that no devoted reader and imitator of the Goldene Schmiede such as Hermann could tolerate:

der ketzer ist unwise
und aller tugent beroubet,
der daran niht geloubet
daz ein oblate cleine
den got schoen unde reine
bevahe der almehtec ist. (Gold. Schm. 1502-1507)

The figure of Rokycana focusses Hermann's hatred for the Hussites, which is more than religious in origin. The Church and the Reich, ideally, form a unity, and the breach in the church caused by the Hussites must inevitably become a breach in the Reich. Crusades were proclaimed in the 1420's against the Hussites, but were not pursued with much enthusiasm or success. In Swabia the knights were not anxious to serve and the peasants resented the war tax.⁵ But in 1430

with the return of Kaiser Sigismund to Germany after an absence of eight years, there was fresh enthusiasm for a new crusade. The Schwäbische Städtebund joined with the St. Georgenschild that year at Ulm to agree to add their share to the crusading host, and the Swabian contribution was but part of the vast Imperial army which moved eastward the following year. The army crossed the Bavarian border into Bohemia, an area already made poor by a decade of warfare, and meeting no opposition they settled down to the rape, slaughter, and plunder of all the inhabitants, Catholic and Hussite alike. This enormous army was surprised at Domázlitz (German, Taus) on August 14th, and so great was the German fear of the approaching Hussite army singing its rousing hymn, "Ye Warriors of God," that the German commander's precautionary maneuver of sending the baggage to the rear precipitated a German rout that left the Hussites in possession of the German baggage train and artillery after thousands of fleeing Germans had been slaughtered.⁶ The defeat can be compared only to that other crusading disaster of Sigismund's career, the destruction of an international European host by the Turks at Nicopolis (1391), alluded to by Hermann in the Schleiertüchlein (1105-1114). By the 1450's the Turkish menace itself had become a greater threat to European Christianity than the Hussites; Hermann's appeals for a crusade all point to the Turk (see p.32 below).

Since they are not heretics, Greek Orthodox Christians provoke less spleen from Hermann than do the Hussites. While "Schin, überbein, und gall / Hat vil der Krichen glaub" (Schleiertüchlein 1003-1004), Hermann sees the Greeks as Christians, if not entirely so (Schleiertüchlein 1028-1031). Hermann is probably writing in awareness of the

Council of Florence-Ferrara (1438-1445), which managed a brief union (1439) between the Greek and Latin churches. The impulse toward the union was chiefly from the West, perhaps partly in anticipation that the Hussites would later seek recognition by the Greek church.⁷

If Hermann hates the Hussites as false to Church and Reich, he hates the Jews for being false to God. But his hatred of Jews is quieter, probably because European anti-semitism, which had as its major pretext the Jews' rejection and condemnation of Christ, was a tradition of longer standing than the more recent Hussite phenomenon. The Jews and their guilt, however, were an old established fact: "von Juden starb der Cristen got," as a Moslem drily expresses it in the Mörin (2974). Hermann condemns these traditional enemies of Christianity in traditional language: they are blind (Mörin 2979) and deaf (Goldener Tempel 694). Hermann found language such as this in Konrad von Würzburg's Goldene Schmiede (1718-1721; 1423-1460), which he admired and imitated in his Goldener Tempel. Jews deny the true faith (Schleiertüchlein 1245-1246), and are misled by the Talmud (Schleiertüchlein 1249-1250). Their theology is a collection of tall-tales (Mörin 4416-4425). Thus does God rightly condemn them (Goldener Tempel 618-621; 1420-1421), and it is as agents of God's justice that Hermann suggests that Christians punish Jews in their goods and bodies (Schleiertüchlein 1247-1248).

Somewhat gentler is Hermann's hatred of Moslems. True, both Moslems and Jews are unbelievers, and as such condemned by God (Goldener Tempel 618-621), but no individual Jews appear in Hermann's works, while among his Moslems we may find such sympathetic people as the host

and hostess at the inn zum guldin stern in Jerusalem (Schleiertüchlein 1232-1236). Hermann also allows that their marriage is a true union of two souls in one flesh. When one considers Hermann's frequent bitterness and ungenerous literary treatment of his enemies, it seems likely that the tolerance he shows here is inspired by the tolerance of his favorite author Wolfram, who urged that all men were gotes hantgetat (Willehalm, 540, 19), and who portrayed both noble pagans and worthy pagan marriages. On the whole, the Moslems in Hermann's work do not receive the harsh condemnation that the Jews do, perhaps because the Moslems have not committed the sin of killing Christ. Allowances made for them, however, do not efface Hermann's conviction of the need for the eventual extermination or conversion of Moslems by means of a crusade. Hermann anathematizes the heiden and sarassin who hold Egypt and interfere with Christian pilgrims, along with the wicked Turks whose pressure on Christian Europe mounts yearly (Schleiertüchlein 851-858). The solution to both problems is a crusade.

Crusades were still a reality of late medieval life, and were to be so for over a century to come, for the battle of Lepanto (1571) was the culmination of a crusade against the Turks. One of the greatest European crusades was that against the Hussites in 1431 (see p. 29 above). After the fall of Constantinople in 1453, John of Capistrano had preached a crusade against the Turks, and in 1456 over a thousand Franconian knights, joined by others from the Palatinate, went down the Danube to the aid of John Hunyadi, who relieved Belgrade from a siege carried out by 150,000 Turks under Sultan Mohammed II, conqueror of Constantinople. The enemy was driven as far as Sophia.

But the recovery of the European lands which had progressively fallen to the Turk needed something more substantial than the millennial hope of the middle ages for the day when Kaiser Friedrich would return and lead an army to recover the Holy Sepulchre. While Hermann nowhere refers directly to the recent fall of Constantinople, the Mörin contains an acknowledgment that Turkey now begins at the Iron Gate, the head of Black Sea navigation on the Danube, a considerable distance into the European interior. When the aged knights console the youth in the Schleiertüchlein at his disappointment in not being able to continue his pilgrimage into Egypt because the roads are now blocked by pagan forces, they point out that he is currently a pilgrim, but may someday return as a soldier:

Der herr hat wol gewalt,
Das er dich bringt alldar
Mit eyner grossen schar,
Do keyser Friderich
Ze dinst erfordert dich
Unnd zucht zum heiligen grab. (1527-1532)

While these lines may refer merely to the old Friedrich legend, they may also be an admonition to Friedrich III to carry out the crusade pledge he had made at his Roman coronation in 1452.⁸ In the Mörin Hermann calls for an immediate crusade against the Turk, and condemns the lords spiritual and temporal for neglecting what they seem to regard as a distant threat. Hermann even extends his hand to the cities to join an Imperial crusade, since they are so strong in arms and treasure:

Besunder von dem bösen stät,
Das dort der türkisch kayser pfligt,
Das man doch hie gar ringe wigt,
Besunder bischoff, fürsten hoch.
Sie main, in sie noch ferr der roch,
Und griffet manger an die wand.
Mich dunckt, si tüwens alle sand,
Der bäbst, der kayser, fürsten rich. (5292-5299)

Nun dar, ir fürsten hochgemüt,
 Ir bischoff, graven, ritter, knecht,
 Gedencken an das gro gefecht,
 Als Cristus an dem crucze strait!
 Wol uff, ir stett, sind ch bereit!
 Ir haben vil der pfenning bar.
 Ir müssend mit uns an die schar.
 Ir dunckent ch hie haim gar klg. (5304-5311)

But Friedrich III did not lead the princes and cities eastward against the Turk. Unlike Kaiser Sigismund, who had interested himself personally in the issues of reforming the Reich and Church, Friedrich saw the imperial office chiefly as a convenient lever to apply to Habsburg family interests. While the crown had rested with the Luxemburg family, the Habsburgs had been able to do little against the encroachment of the Swiss cantons on Habsburg rights. The forest cantons had successfully detached themselves from Habsburg suzerainty and put themselves nominally under the Kaiser. When he became Kaiser in 1440, Friedrich felt at last able to deal with the Swiss seizure of the Aargau and the lands of the Toggenburg inheritance.¹⁰ Thus Friedrich, while nominally asserting as Kaiser the unity of the Reich, was actually acting like any other territorial prince in serving his private interests. The Swabian cities objected that the renewed warfare against the Swiss was a purely Austrian, not an imperial matter, and refused to aid the Kaiser. The knights and nobles, however, went campaigning with Friedrich against the Swiss.¹¹

Hermann's hatred of the Swiss is as vehement and of as long standing as any knight's. He frequently uses the Swiss, like the Hussites, for insulting comparisons; to the example in the Schleiertchlein (979) may be added many in the Mrin (152-153; 434; 2486-2487; 2491-2492;

2770-2773; 4912-4913; 4918-4921). Hermann spares neither their language nor their goiters:

Kurwalchen ist ain pose spräch,
Besunder in dem Engendin.
Ich main, es mügen narren sin
Mit grossen kröpffen, wib und man. (Mörin, 4510-4513)

Hermann despises them as traitors to their lords (the Habsburgs), to the Reich, and to the social order. His frequent references to them as peasants reflect the outrage felt by the aristocracy that peasant foot-soldiers could defeat knights, and that the thorough-going Swiss took no prisoners, refusing to hold even Duke Leopold II of Austria for ransom after Sempach, as knights (or decent footsoldiers) would have done, but killing him instead.¹² The knights, of course, showed no mercy to armed peasants, and we may assume that Hermann approved of the wagon loads of rope that accompanied expeditions into the Alps.¹³

Despite the best efforts of the Habsburgs, the Confederates continued to pull cities and districts away from territorial rulers and to make them independent of, through nominally still part of, the Reich.

Farther north, the Swabian cities also resisted the local princes and knights. Their independence and commerce were threatened by the surrounding knights, who tended to prey on merchant caravans either through armed robbery or tolls, and by the territorial rulers, who sought to acquire the cities as valuable sources of revenue. The cities were in danger of being pawned by the Kaiser to nearby territorial princes, who might in turn pawn them to other princes, in the meantime interfering with the administration of the cities and forcing them to appeal from their courts to the princes' justice, not to the Kaiser's.

At first Sigismund had encouraged both the cities and the knights to

resist the territorial princes, but the growing power of the free imperial cities began to alarm both. Although forbidden by the Kaiser in 1431 (the Pfahlbürgerverbot), the cities continued to extend their influence into the countryside by taking in as citizens men who did not dwell within their walls (Pfahlbürger). The knights resented this encroachment.¹⁴

The German princes and knights saw in the cities' growing independence an unpleasant resemblance to Alpine rebellion. Nor did it comfort the knights and nobles that when they went south to fight the Swiss they left behind hostile cities who openly sympathized with the Swiss, refused to fight them, and even kept Swiss mercenaries. In the long warning to the princes in the Mörin, Hermann pointed to the dangerous connection between the Swiss and the cities:

Die stett sind vil uff tütscher erd,
Ayd gnossen och ain michel tail,
Sie spinnen yecz an ainem sail.
Wirt das gemächt, sie stricken zû.
So get das kalb denn mit der kû. (4172-4176)

But Hermann's warning about the cities' machinations with the Swiss¹⁵ is part of a much longer admonition to the princes to leave their squabbling, plotting, and legal corruption and to think on the future of the Reich, which, Hermann senses, will rest on them and not on the Kaiser (Mörin 4144-4209). Even pigs, Hermann says, have a greater sense of solidarity. The lady in the Schleierteüchlein likewise condemns the princes for their short-sighted selfishness (438-458), lamenting that they do not use their powers to stop the corruption caused by men who prefer "ein schnodes gut" above their honor and very souls. The temporal world needs the values of the spiritual world, and Hermann's

ideal political vision is a world in which Reich and Church are harmoniously united in a force binding all men and resolving all political questions. His worst enemies are those--Swiss and Hussites--who would destroy the universality of Reich or Church.

FOOTNOTES

RITTER HERMANN: RELIGION, POLITICS, AND THE SOCIAL ORDER

¹Literary tradition preserves an epitaph for Hermann supposed to be from his own hand. It is attested both on page 405 of the third volume of Martin Crusius's Annales Suevici (Frankfurt a. M., 1595), where the first four lines are cited, and as the last ten lines of No. 71 in the second part of Klara Hätzlerin's Liederbuch (p. 278). The first three lines of this tradition are (cited from Hätzlerin):

O welt, du hast gelassen mich,
Mein schilt und helm hangt under sich,
Mein wäppenrock ist stäb und erdt!

The inscription itself was discovered in 1886, and the first few lines of it also refer to knighthood. The lines are cited from Karl Bohnenberger's Zur Geschichte der Schwäbischen Mundart im XV. Jahrhundert (p. 12), who copied them from Mosapp's 1887 book, Die Stiftskirche in Stuttgart; I have arranged them by rime:

o welt o welt din lan ist krank
du gist din dinern schneden dank
hie vor ich och ain riter wag
nu litt das hus mir uf der nas.

The epitaph ends with a memento mori to the reader: "junk man geborn us miner art...", a line which sounds very like the author of the Schleiertüchlein.

²Gustav Roethe, "Hermann von Sachsenheim," in Deutsche Allgemeine Biographie (Berlin, 1890), vol. 30, p. 147.

³Harro Blezinger, Der Schwäbische Städtebund in den Jahren 1438-1445 (Stuttgart, 1954), p. 27.

⁴Friedrich von Bezold, König Sigismund und die Reichskriege gegen die Hussiten (München, 1872), vol. 3, p. 122.

⁵Ibid., 2, 144.

⁶Count Lüzow, The Hussite Wars (London, 1914), pp. 267-270.

⁷See Otakar Odložilík, The Hussite King (New Brunswick, 1965), pp. 62-65 and Joseph Gill, The Council of Florence (Cambridge, 1959), pp. 380-382.

⁸The Mörin offers a parallel to these lines. Urged by Eckhart to undertake a pilgrimage to Palestine and Egypt, the narrator says the Moslems make the trip too dangerous:

Ich bin zû alt, ich wil es sparn,
Biß das der kayser Friderich
Dahin ðn schaden füret mich. (5382-5384)

⁹This appeal is not solely to their wealth, as Schlosser indicates in his note to line 5309, but to their military strength as well. The invitation "an die schar" (5310) is specifically military, and the next line seems to be a sarcastic reference to the recently concluded Second Städtekrieg (1449-1450), with klug used here in its sense of tapfer (see Lexer I, 1637). The cities and the knights had been comrades in arms in the Hussite crusade of 1431.

¹⁰See E. Bonjour, H.S. Offler, and G.R. Potter, A Short History of Switzerland (Oxford, 1952), p. 115.

¹¹The pattern was not unfamiliar. In the renewal of the St. Gall war in 1427 the cities sympathized with the Confederates, while the knights went south to defend the Abbot's claims against them.

¹²Morgarten (1315), Sempach (1386), and Näfels (1388) are the most famous Swiss victories, on account of the heavy slaughter of the losers. The latter two battles were fought within Hermann's memory.

¹³Carl von Elgger, in his Kriegswesen und Kriegskunst der schweizerischen Eidgenossen im XIV., XV., und XVI. Jahrhundert (Luzern, 1873) quotes the "Sempacherlied" concerning Leopold and his ropes:

Wer Er daheim gebliben, Im hett nimand Leidts getan;
Mit Im so tett er füren uff Wägen etlich Fass,
Mit Helsig, Strik und Schnüren, dann er der Meinung was,
He mocht er gsiget han.
So wollt er die Eydgenossen, alsammen erhenken lan. (p. 297)

¹⁴The cities, however, were never able to succeed in controlling the territories surrounding them. Had they been able to do so, they might have become formidable powers, like the Italian city with its contado, or the union of Swiss forest cantons with city cantons. The Swabian League was defeated for good in the Second Städtekreig of 1449-1450.

¹⁵The two elements working together on the same project to overwhelm the princes are not cities and leagues of cities, as Schlosser suggests ("Städte und Städtebünde, note to line 4172), but the Swabian League and the Swiss Confederates.

THE POEM: RITTERBILD UND RITTERBILDUNG

Die expernancz würt mangem schwer,
Wer gut gediht glosieren sol.

--Mörin, 6066-6067

The Schleiertüchlein fits most readily into the late medieval genre of the Minnerede, a category subject to varying definitions. Ehrismann defines it simply as those late medieval Minne-poems which are not allegorical, that is, those which "die Minnethemata episch-didaktisch behandeln, ohne dabei Allgemeinbegriffe zu personifizieren, also ohne zu allegorisieren,"¹ although the definition, probably by accident, leaves no place to put the poems which use forms of allegory other than personification. Walter Blank adopts the same classification in his book Die Deutsche Minneallegorie, roughly distinguishing the rede by its tendency to use the first person, by its straightforward didacticism, by the predominance in it of the lyric (e.g. Klage, Preisgedicht) over the narrative mode, and by its customary use of the rimed couplet.² The use of rimed couplets and the first person would classify the Schleiertüchlein as a rede, although it clothes its didacticism in a narrative; for it cannot fit into either of Blank's two categories of the Allegorie, which require a poem either to embody its theme in a concrete form ("Konstruktionsallegorie"), such as the chase of Hadamar von Laber's Jagd, the castle of the Minneburg, or the convent of the Kloster der Minne,³ or to outfit itself with personifications ("Personifikationsallegorie") who manipulate the action or deliver the Lehre,

as in Hermann's Spiegel. The Schleiertüchlein does contain elements (the use of a Natureingang and the casting of the poem into narrative form) which Blank generally associates with the Allegorie.⁴

Ingeborg Glier, on the other hand, would subdivide the topic differently. For the name of the entire genre she wishes to use Minnerede, the term (rede) used of their works by the old poets themselves, irrespective of whether the poems were allegorical. This position was first taken by Kurt Matthaei in his edition of Mittelhochdeutschen Minnereden (p. vii), which he collected from numerous manuscripts, following their example of not distinguishing between allegorical and non-allegorical works.⁵ Glier divides the genre Minnerede into modes, such as "Reflexionen, Lehren, Auseinandersetzungen, Klagen, Preis" and notes that any of these modes may contain some allegorical poems.⁶ Blank acknowledges the validity of this point of view (p. 231) by admitting that the entire genre which he prefers to name Minnelehre may indeed be called Minnerede; but he prefers to use the term rede in the "engerem Sinn" of his previous definition (p. 52). But by any standards, the Schleiertüchlein is not an allegory, and we should be content to take Hermann's word for it that it is a rede, "und hat dies red ein end" (1986).⁷

The Lehre itself is explicitly contained in the dialogue between the youth and the narrator, and further in the speeches of those who act as instructors to the youth; it concerns the qualities of knighthood and the proper relations between a young knight and a lady. The narrative action of the poem, however, contains implicit instruction on the value of minne in forming a young knight, and the narrator's conversion of the youth at the end of the poem is but the finishing touch on the

entire process of educating the young man. The whole action, then, is more like the education of Parzival than the episodes and debates which generally characterize the Minnerede.⁸

The narrator's self-consciousness about knighthood and his instruction of the youth in its proper exercise show that Hermann aspires to follow the tradition of Wolfram as a knight writing about knighthood for the edification of other knights. Hermann feels himself to be a custodian of the ideals of a class which is gradually losing its political and social influence. Hermann and his writings are part of the reawakened interest in chivalric ideals and ceremonies in the fifteenth century, an interest fed by such diverse currents as the Burgundian renaissance of the late 14th century, the feeling of knights that their values and influence are threatened by the rising power of the townsmen, and the desire of this same rising burgher class to acquire, if only as an outward polish, the values and customs of a higher class. The Schleiertüchlein, as a mirror for knightly conduct and education, attempts to recall the spirit of an earlier era and to prolong the chivalric tradition embodied in the great courtly epics and their imitators into a later and, in contemporary eyes, less noble day.

Although Hermann feels himself to be a link in the chain from Wolfram, he is more remote than perhaps he realized. The work from which most of the Schleiertüchlein lore seems to be taken is the Jüngere Titurel, a work nowadays generally attributed to Albrecht von Scharfberg, an imitator and continuator of Wolfram, but in Hermann's time attributed to Wolfram himself.

Albrecht's poem is a continuation and elaboration of Wolfram's

unfinished Titurel; its enormous length is owing partly to the expansion of incidents found elsewhere in Wolfram's Grail story, particularly the romance of Sigune and Tschionatulander, as well as the use of the elaborate geblünte rede and the inclusion of much medieval natural lore. The Schleiertüchlein shows its dependence on this work by its own use of the geblümter stil, by its frequent references to Grail characters on the basis of their adventures in the Jüngere Titurel (rather than in Wolfram's works), by its depiction of the ideal of chivalry as a universal value shared by pagans and Christians alike, and by its transmission of much of the typical lore (e.g. Physiologus beasts) of the Jüngere Titurel, in addition to the many curious items which Hermann himself includes. Further, Albrecht's work is explicitly didactic, as he himself says; his medieval audience, accepting it as such, made it their favorite reading matter for the delectare of its knightly adventures, the prodesse of its knightly virtues, and for the copiousness of its nature lore.

The story of the Schleiertüchlein is constructed not so much in frames as in layers; the transition is not from reality to the fantastic realms of Grail-saga or allegory, but from the real world which poet and audience share, into an idealized real world, and back again. The poet does not lead the audience through a looking glass into a world peopled with abstract virtues in female form, nor with lurking foes which symbolize knightly temptation, but manages to create in scenes illuminated by a chivalric ideal which is spiritual, a clarified, idealized zone of reality, bringing our sphere of reality into close proximity to the sphere of the ideal. The youth's adventures, then, are not

ideals, but idealized, and take place in the real world.

The opening of the poem itself is an apostrophe to Love in her foul aspect, the Love that leads men to their destruction. Although the list is a standard catalogue of lovers undone, and would thus seem not to be especially connected with our narrative, the poet foreshadows the central problem of the youth, the last obstacle he has to overcome in his education into the practice of Christian chivalry in an imperfect world. Because the youth's love the lady turns her into an absolute value, her loss leads him to excessive grief. The irony is that the very teacher of chivalric values, minne, has become twisted in the youth to destroy those virtues. Minne is the central but not exclusive teaching device of the story, used by only one of the many teachers who take the youth in hand. Because minne is not the only teacher of chivalry, and because minne cannot teach all there is to chivalry, the loss of a single guide, the lady, should not be the destruction of the pupil or the lesson. Like good teachers, the narrator, the aged pilgrim-knight, the Guardian of Mt. Zion, and the youth's own mother help him to see both the pattern and the right responses to the experiences he undergoes; more directly, they reprove his weaknesses, urge him to better conduct, and show him he must bear disappointments without losing courage, seeking instead opportunities for usefulness to society.

The Natureingang which opens the poem is the traditional device in Minneallegorie for setting distance between the events of a poem and reality. The elements of May-time natural beauty--blooming lawns, flowers, trees, and singing birds--and other features such as the fountain, the stream, and the path contain no allegorical significance in

themselves, and are almost invariably met with in the Minneallegorie (e.g. in Hermann's allegorical Mörin and Spiegel).⁹ An examination of the text here and comparison with other works of this sort yields nothing out of the ordinary. The "verlangen mich beswur" (50) which at first looks like a clue to the narrator's state of mind and thus perhaps to the Poet's purpose, is nothing more than formulaic: The opening of Hermann's Blaue Rede has all the same elements, including "verlangen mich bezwang" (4). Hermann's variation on the Natureingang does not alter its elements or language, but the eventual purpose to which he puts the whole locus amoenus setting. In many poems such a setting is the means by which the narrator leaves the real world of his audience to enter an allegorical one (e.g. Hermann's Spiegel or Konrad's Klage der Kunst). Some poems have brought the real and allegorical worlds closer together by claiming that the place visited was a real (although allegorical) place on the face of this earth, and that only distance (e.g. the Mörin) or loss of directions (e.g. Kloster der Minne) prevent the narrator from returning.

Hermann carries this device a step further and uses real locations from Swabia to the Levant for the entire work, frame and tale alike. The narrator of the Schleiertüchlein is not rapt into a world of ideals to meet allegorical creatures, but remains in the locus amoenus to meet a real person, a youth whom the narrator knows from previous acquaintance (87, 180-181), and whose identity is kept from the poem's audience because, it is implied, they too know him. Likewise the identity of the lady and the place where she and the youth meet for the last time (301-303) are concealed from the audience. Though Hermann has been accused

elsewhere of writing romans à clef, this is not the reason for his concealment of identities.¹⁰ Instead, by implying the acquaintance of the audience with the persons and places of the tale, Hermann unites the world of the audience with the world of the poem, in order to bring as close to the audience as possible the values of the poem. Hermann's belief in the reality of the chivalric ethic is so strong that he is unwilling to confine it to the politely accepted reality of the allegorical world, but he seeks to embody it in the real world, the world of the audience. The structure of the poem is thus not frame and tale, but a continuum of idealized reality, anchored frequently in places and events which are part of the audience's world. The Reisebericht at the center of the poem is part of this plan. While I doubt that the medieval audience felt the great gulf between reality (Reisebericht) and fiction (the courtly frame) that modern critics so often find, it would seem that Hermann was trying to transform the events of the frame from accepted convention into authenticated reality, a making of the spirit into flesh.

A second important change that Hermann introduces into the locus amoenus convention is that the narrator is not there to be instructed, but to be an instructor himself. The didacticism of the poem is underlined by the frequent "Merck...!" and by the opposition of gouch and wig, an antithesis taken over, according to Huschenbett (p. 65) from bispil poetry. The youth himself must be brought over from the foolish state in which he is first found to that of "der wiß" (1963) at the end of the poem.

As he is first discovered (80-82), the youth is shamefully sighing

and moaning ("Het er ein fremd geberd," 79; "geberd in scham," 164); when the narrator revives him from this torpid state (75), the youth passes into a trance (98). At this point the narrator first broaches the topic of foolishness, noting that the trance is like that of Parzival over the blood drops ("der wenig weisheit wiewelt," 101), except that the youth is helpless and at the point of death, specifically unlike Parzival (106-107), who although in a trance, was still able to fight three jousts successfully, from force of knightly habit. The youth foolishly exaggerates his suffering, comparing it to that of Amfortas (140-141), the wounded Grail-king, or Herzeloÿde at Gahmuret's death (142-145). The narrator reminds the youth of his knightly obligation not to despair (146-149), and the youth again acknowledges the narrator as his teacher (150-153; cf. 115-121). The narrator then asks for the youth's story (156-175), and rightly recognizes in the youth's suffering the hand of Venus (136-137), thus recalling the opening passage of the poem.

The youth's reply establishes again that he and the narrator are acquainted (180-181), and that the youth is a local lad (184-185); this identification once more serves to attest the reality of the scene. That the youth does not recognize the literary reference to the heroism of Securies (167) shows how twisted his perspective has become: for the present he can cite courtly literature only for the narrow purpose of showing how great is his pain and despair. With an admission that he is a victim of Venus (186-187), the youth agrees to tell the narrator all, demanding in turn discretion (182-193) and religious reverence for the relic which he has with him (194-199). The narrator's assurances

to the youth are slightly comic, an effect they derive both from their vehemence (which convinces the youth) and their implied threat (which teases the audience).¹¹ The concern with claffer (193) is a convention of the Minnesang; the presence of hostile gossips forces lovers to stricter discretion. The lady sends the youth off to the Holy Land not only to win his spurs (286-288), but also "Darumb der claffer burd / Ein teil gelichtert wer" (290-291). Similarly, she sends him away from their last meeting before the arrival of expected guests who might observe them (723-726). The youth loyally refuses to the end of the poem to name the lady either to the narrator (who is too delicate to ask) or to his mother, who is given the moral reason for his reticence (1823-1828). Thus in their relations to the story the narrator's assurances are not out of place, but they nevertheless have the flavor of a doctor humoring his patient: the narrator wishes to draw out the youth and to help him recover.

Once assured, the youth reaches for the reliquary; the very act revives him (210-215), but when he produces it he nearly faints, evidently from the pain of memories (216-221). Inside the box, the narrator discovers a piece of finest white cloth, sprinkled with blood (222-223). This sight repels the narrator and inspires him to denounce Love for leading on her victims only to betray them (234-241). He then returns to the task of reviving the youth (242-249), not omitting a blast at the "relic" (260-263).

Stung (264-265), the youth affirms that the cloth is a precious relic (266-271), and relates that it was given him by a lady, now dead (276-277), who urged him to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre

to receive his knighthood. At this last meeting he had been moved enough to venture a chaste kiss (316-317), for which that pure lady reproved him (323-329). Mollified by his courteous apology (330-343), she reminds him of his youth and inexperience (344-346) and rehearses for him the rules of knightly behavior. While part of the speech exhorts to the service of God (374-381) and the protection of ladies (350-351), a larger portion describes the courage which knights must show on the high seas (358-361), especially during storms (362-369). The latter theme recurs later in the work (see p.56 below). The lady further admonishes the youth to take careful note of the holy places he visits (384-410).

The youth declares his readiness to travel anywhere in the service of the lady (415-424) and begs to be allowed to do her service (427-428); he is bound by love (425-426). The lady grants him the privilege of serving her, so long as he remains faithful (429-430) and protects his honor, unlike the many corrupt fools (gauchen, 446) whose evil ways are not hindered by the lax princes of the land (439-442), and who must soon suffer God's vengeance (449-454). The bulk of this speech (429-466) is an example of that branch of the Minnerede called the Zeitklage, transformed to aid the development of the narrative.¹²

The youth thanks the lady for her "hoen wisen ler" (471), and upon the evidence that he has thus taken her lesson well, the lady departs to prepare him the love-token (480-490). The youth chirps that he would appreciate a lock of hair (491-494), only to be sharply reproved by the lady for failing to appreciate the value of what is about to happen (456-498).

The narration of the scene that follows is smoothly handled. Although he was not present at the actual imbruing of the veil, the youth subsequently learns the whole story from the lady's attendants (647-650; 685-710). The youth tells the narrator he wishes he had been hanged before that awful moment, so that it need never have taken place (507-514). By now the narrator has grown impatient with the youth's self-indulgence and urges him to come to the point (517-524). Hermann thus allows the youth's flowery descriptions to have their full pathetic impact on the audience while at the same time upholding the narrator's moral position that the youth should not allow himself such self-pity. Throughout the poem Hermann handles the plight of the youth delicately, showing compassion for him while making him slightly ridiculous. The youth's response to the narrator's exasperation, "Gern, lieber frund, ich spür / An dir wol allen vllis" (525-526) would be sarcastic on the lips of any but one so naïve and preoccupied with his own feelings.

The youth's description of the lady's piercing of her breast (527-562), mingled with his self-reproaches, moves even the narrator to compassion (565-572). Urged to continue (573-574), the youth tells how the lady solemnly presented him with the token (593-595; 611-616), and how his pain and outrage at her wounding (546-556; 600-604; 617-620) led him to reproach the serving ladies for not having prevented their mistress from injuring herself (673-684). The lady assures the youth that she had considered how the gift might hurt him (655-656), but that it is a sign of her abiding love for him (639-646), which she gives with no regrets (651-652). The lady urges a reconciliation with the

ladies-in-waiting (715-716; 771-772), whose defense is that they could hardly have prevented their strong-minded mistress from acting as she wished (686-697), even if they had not been ignorant of her intentions (698-702). The youth forgives them (773-776) and departs amid mutual tender regrets, assurances of faithful love, and blessings (719-786), the veil shut in his bosom (791-792).

The veil itself has its origin in tokens (veils, gloves, sleeves, etc.) borne by the classical knights as a sign of their devotion to their ladies, and given by the ladies as a sign of regard for the knights. The MHG for these is kleinot (see Lexer I, 1617 and DWB 5, 1121-1129), a term frequently used by Wolfram and in this poem repeatedly applied to the veil, originally by the lady herself (612; 644; 745). But the blood of the schleier sets it apart from the usual tokens. Hermann suggests a resemblance to the bloodied veil of Thisbe (228-229), on finding which Pyramus slew himself; there does seem to be a parallel in the youth's mortal despair upon losing his lady. But the real ancestor of the blood-veil is likely the hemde which Herzeloyde takes from her own body and bestows on Gahmuret as a token (Jüngere Titurel, 759). When he returns it bloody and torn from battle, she puts it on again (Parzival, 101 9-20). When the blood-drenched and rent garment is brought back from Gahmuret's last battle, she tries to wear it a last time, but is prevented by the knights who bury the bloody token and fatal spear with great ceremony in the minster (Jüngere Titurel, 1103; Parzival, 111, 26--112, 2).

The function of the schleiertüchlein in the story, however, is not suggested so much by its origins as by the several meanings of the

word kleinot. The word may mean heiltum or even pilgerinzeichen; the latter term appears in a gloss in the Nürnberg Vocabularius of 1482 (see Lexer, ibid.). Rather than wearing the veil openly as a pilgerinzeichen, the youth carries it secretly in his bosom. In transforming the sign of a pilgrimage and a lady's favor into a relic or heiltum, the youth has substituted the process for the goal, for the pilgrim should return from the Holy Land with a relic, and not set out with one.¹³ The misuse of the veil is an emblem of the youth's misuse of the lady's love--both were given him to inspire him to chivalrous conduct. But in mistaking the process of knightly education through minne for its goal, the youth has turned the love between knight errant and lady into self-pity and destructive grief after her death, just as he has turned the token of the lady's love, the veil, into an object of blasphemy.

It is this blasphemy which the narrator most strongly reproves (925-933). The youth not only equates the cloth with the Grail (796), but uses it as an object of devotion during his knighting at the Holy Sepulchre. When he tells his mother confidentially of his service to the lady he refers to the disclosure as "shriving" (1708). Not content to compare the lady's shedding of her blood for him to Christ's sacrifice (the two Physiologus beasts in lines 754-756 are emblems of Christ), the youth goes on to work a miracle with the token (917-924). That he does so in terror of a sea-storm shows that he is far from following his lady's commands.¹⁴ But the depth of the narrator's sympathy for the youth and his skill as a teacher keep him from insisting on the point (937-942) when the youth makes the narrator's tolerance of the kleinot a condition for their future association (934-936). The

narrator instead continues to draw the youth out concerning his adventures. As the youth unfolds them, we see a pattern of lessons which have been planted in the youth, but not yet ripened.

Like the action of Hermann's beloved Jüngere Titurel, the action of the Schleiertüchlein does not take place merely for its own sake. While both authors intended the audience to enjoy their stories, they were not writing solely to entertain. Werner Wolf, editor of the Jüngere Titurel, points out that its adventures illustrate a moral and also give the author a chance to dilate upon it.¹⁵ Hermann similarly relates action and instruction in his Schleiertüchlein.

In place of the tourneys and combats of the Jüngere Titurel Hermann has substituted a pilgrimage, an analogue of the knightly struggle, and hence of the Christian life. The pilgrim developed the spiritual qualities which were also essential to knighthood: faithfulness to a goal and an ideal, and the courage to face physical suffering in the service of these. This spiritual chivalry is available to rich and poor alike, with the difference that the poor on pilgrimage are objects of charity, while the rich on pilgrimage are expected to bestow it.¹⁶

An incidental benefit of Hermann's substitution of pilgrimage for combat is that it serves his effort to draw the worlds of audience and story as close together as possible. By the 1450's the knight had long since ceased to rule the battlefield; the rabble of the medieval infantry had developed into disciplined footsoldiers who could defeat armored horsemen by means of the longbow, pike, or Wagenburg.¹⁷ If Hermann, then, cannot write about contemporary knights in their full military significance, he will still preserve the best part of knighthood, its

moral force; the most compelling picture of knighthood, and the hardest trait to inculcate, is that of the strong helping the weak. The Schleiertüchlein is filled with acts of kindness, not combats, and the only shedding of blood is in a ritual that is later criticized by the narrator (803-806). The youth fights neither the argen heiden (1515) nor the trabanten (1935). Instead the story concentrates on the development of the youth into knighthood; not only must he develop an inward character strong enough to withstand every form of disappointment, including the death of his lady; he must also manifest this character in performing services for his fellow man--specifically the Six Corporal Works of Mercy.

The source of the Six Works is Matth. 25: 35-40, where the list concludes with the promise, "Quamdiu fecistis uni ex his fratribus meis minimis, mihi fecistis." The list is generally given as Feeding the Hungry, Giving Drink to the Thirsty, Sheltering the Homeless, Clothing the Naked, Visiting the Sick, and Ransoming the Captive. Although the Six Works are definitely demonstrated in the story,¹⁸ some readers will ask whether Hermann included them simply because they are essential elements in doing good to one's fellow man, or because he specifically intended to illustrate this schema. I hold to the latter belief, and although a conclusive proof is not possible, the circumstantial evidence is strong. That the scheme of the Six Acts is not thrust to the fore of the work does not mean it is not one of its organizing elements; its unobtrusiveness is more likely the result of Hermann's desire to follow the precept of ars celere artem, a principle he discusses in lines 15-35 of the Unminne: "Wer kluger syn historgen / mit byspil uber dichtet /

by dem ist kunst verborgenn" (29-31). His references to the idea of "fruit and chaff" ("kern und spriuwe"), whether serious (Spiegel, 187, 27-28)¹⁹ or playful (Mörin, 6076), show a consciousness of the exegetical tradition of finding the doctrine hidden in the story. It is the wis reader, of course, who shares Hermann's values--and not the gouch--who will penetrate to the hidden doctrine.

Because the Six Works are so smoothly set into the work and are not dwelt upon by the author, it is difficult to prove that their presence is planned. The Sixth Work, however, Ransoming the Captive ("in carcere eram, et venistis ad me"), is enclosed in an incident which seems to stand out from its context (1869-1874). Toward the end of the story the youth is explaining how he acquired one of his grooms; the lad was a Saracen slave whom he purchased for "vier untz ... von gold" (1873-1874) and later freed and baptized. The charitable purpose of the act is underlined, and the youth thereby becomes the only figure in the story to perform all of the Six Acts.

Those familiar with the Corporal Works of Mercy will wonder why Hermann has not listed a traditional Seventh: Burial of the Dead. This work is not part of the Matthew passage in which Jesus names the other six Works, but was added much later, although still several centuries before Hermann's time. The most likely reason for its omission from Hermann's work is, I think, that the Six Works are familiar enough as a unity from the Biblical passage. If the omission of burial is intentional, then there must be some significance. The youth has two excellent chances to perform this act: after the shipwreck in which seven are killed (899-902; 957), and after he

returns home to find his lady dead. But Hermann is not minutely concerned with the fate of the shipwrecked pilgrims--after the Prussian merchant gives them gold (965-974) we hear no more about them (975-978); we follow instead the adventures of the youth and the four aged knights (980-984). As for the burial of the lady, she was doubtless buried before the youth's arrival, and any attention paid by the youth to the details of her sepulture would only serve to reveal their secret. Lastly, Hermann is here more concerned with the tradition originating in the teaching of Christ that we must leave the dead to God and bend our efforts to succor the living: "dimitte mortuos sepelire mortuos suos" (Matth. 8:22; cf. Luc. 9:20); this verse contributes to a body of Christian and explicit doctrine forbidding excessive grief.

If the youth must return home before he can learn the acceptance of death, the process of widening his spiritual horizons began in the Holy Land. There he sees virtues demonstrated in men of other faiths: the Greek Orthodox amasur, a model of knighthood, and his wife offer the youth and his party hospitality, and, in a parallel to the count of the Tyrol, provides geleit as far as Jerusalem. In the Moslem host and hostess of the guldin stern he sees the same virtues on a humbler level.

The youth also finds examples of good conduct outside his social class. It is noteworthy, in the light of Hermann's social prejudices, how highly he values merchants. The Prussian merchant has barely emerged dripping on the beach before he is cutting open the seams of his garments to share his gold pieces with those who lost their clothing in the wreck. Merchants, like knights, can be a credit to their class

when they use their strength--in this case, gold--for the relief of their fellow men. The young Merano merchant has the attributive name Malsch (= "bold"), and he is braver than the youth, for he travels frequently on the seas and is not affrighted by storms (1585-1588). After the youth rescues the young Malsch from destitution (1578-1580), he is the merchant's guest at Merano (1589-1592). Hermann's knowledge of commerce is more than casual,²⁰ and in the merchants in the Schleier-tüchlein he shows the same virtues valued in knights: bravery, charity, and hospitality.

Having capped his experiences with a view of the splendors of the knightly life at the court of Innsbruck, and armed himself with weapons given in honor of his knighting, the youth seems ready to return home, improved by his pilgrimage.

Upon his return home, the youth finds his beloved lady dead (1629-1632). He is overcome with grief (1633-1636) and must be nursed by his mother, "ein witwe stolz" (1888), whose devotion to her son (whom she addresses with the Wolframic "myn selbes frucht," 1658) and strong character are reminiscent of Herzeloÿde; like the other secular instructors she is adept at quoting courtly epics to serve her purpose. The youth wallows in self-pity and wishes for death, forgetting the lesson of the Guardian that no man should despair of life or God's help, no matter how grave his situation (1431-1442).

The mother shows the same pedagogical traits as the narrator: although she presses her points home, she also knows when to relent in order not to alienate her son. As in the earlier part of the poem, Hermann lets the youth's speeches, such as his Preislied and Klage

(1758-1798), move us to pity him, but at the same time uses other devices to make the youth slightly ridiculous. When he produces his precious "relic" for his mother's admiration she is shocked, and cries out that it must be pagan in origin (1751-1756). The maid's exit from the youth's sickroom with a superior, indulgent smirk so that he can tell his mother of his love in private (1729-1732) is a perfect use of a genre scene to pass judgment on the high-flown literary company--the youth's naïvely self-important speech--in which it finds itself. After the mother points out the foolishness of his situation (1801-1802) and encourages him with courtly allusions to put away his excessive grief (1803-1815), she leaves him alone for a while to consider.

But there is no clear portrayal of the psychological process by which he again comes to terms with life. Sometime after his mother leaves him he forsakes his bed for the woods, where he lies down to die like an animal.²¹ Just as his outward actions showed his pain, grief, and despair by his fits of fainting and moaning, his transformation is abruptly signalled by a willingness to return to his mother and to join the "schar / Gut frauen unnd gesellen" (1885-1886) at the Maying: the youth who a short time before was on the point of death except for the narrator's intervention (1843-1850) suddenly recovers and has a full social calendar (1857-1864).

But we are told, both directly and indirectly, of the youth's cure, and specifically enlightened as to its meaning. As he recovers, the youth assumes an equal status with the narrator, who refers to him now as "der wis" (1963); the youth in turn thanks the narrator for his teachings (1964). The full cure of the youth is explicitly stated in

his last words, when in response to the narrator's apologies for having so upset the youth's thoughts and causing him to rethink the premises of his life (1975-1978), the youth confesses that his previous actions were foolish:

Ich hab gedacht etwas
In gauchlins wiß gescheen.
Nim hin, das sy verjehen
In gantzen triuwen dir! (1981-1984)²²

The lesson that the youth has learned is made clear by a series of parallels throughout the tale. One is the quiet parallel to the veil itself, offered by his mother's maid:

In dem ein jungfraw zoch
Ein düchlin us jrm busen
Und det ein gros almuren,
Das sie mir druckt die stirn
Und auch erkult das hirn
Mit einem wasser clar. (1673-1678)

Here we see the soaking of another cloth pulled from a lady's bosom, one not used to inspire a misguided passion, but to minister to suffering (to cure that passion). Minne, by gentling the character and inspiring to noble deeds, aids in forming the true knight, but there is always a danger that as in the youth's case, the process will stagnate and minne itself become obsessive, blocking the fulfillment of duties to one's fellow man as well as the further development of the soul.²³

In two parallel scenes of reconciliation with servants, the first between the youth and the lady's maids, and the second between the narrator and the youth's grooms, both maid and groom solemnly intone the same message in slightly different words:

Sygen das brackenseil
Auch sur erarnet hat;
Venus jr dück nit lat,
Sie stiftet lieb und leid (705-708)

Geluck von reynen wiben
Kompt dick und auch hertzleid. (1939-1940)

Minne is a potent means of forming young knights, but Love has also ruined many men. The mother, as quick as the narrator to recognize one of Love's victims in the youth, knows what the odds are:

Wer spilt der aberschantz,
Der mug verliesen dick.
Der strengen Mynne strick
Hat wonders vil gestifft. (1697-1700)

We are reminded of the gloomy lines of the Jüngere Titurel:

der hiute in freuden riche ist, der hat vil lihte manger slahte
herzeleit und da zuo truren morgen.
in leide hab gedingen, in vreuden sol man kumftic leit besorgen!
(2150)

The reference to Sigune and the brackenseil with which the maid prefaces her speech above (705-706) points the parallel to the tragedy of the Jüngere Titurel. Sigune vows to possess the brackenseil, a dog-leash on which the knightly virtues are spelled out in jewels, an inscription whose reading is the high point of the great festival at Florischantz. Not without misgivings, Tschionatulander pursues the brackenseil, which, as it turns out, can be won only at combat. This condition does not deter Sigune, who, although she loves Tschionatulander, wants "in kindes wis" (1932, 2) to see him prove his love for her in battle. His resultant death shatters her life. The brackenseil and the schleier serve parallel functions in the two stories: they are both intended as inspirations to knightly virtue, but when valued as absolutes for their own sakes, they lead on to destruction.

The Schleiertüchlein does not end on the tragic note of the Jüngere Titurel, with a bereaved Sigune and a dead Tschionatulander, nor does it

end like Parzival, with Parzival and Condwiramurs united in marriage and occupying the Grail-throne. The Schleiertüchlein pursues a middle way. The ending of the poem brings us full-circle to the locus amoenus where where the poem began, but the place is not so cheerful as when the narrator first entered it. We see a wood thick enough to conceal the movements of dangerous men; first, the grooms who, on hearing the conversation of the narrator and youth, approach hostilely to defend their master, and second, the trabanten against whom the groom warns the two knights (1935-1938). The picture at the end of the poem of a knight in shining armor on horseback (1949-1952) and the use of shining gold in a simile (1973-1974) make the woods appear dark by contrast. This is no longer a locus amoenus, portal to a world of perpetual springtime. We are "In dieser welt unreyn" (1854) as the narrator puts it, a place filled with sorrow and danger, and which needs "manlich tugent" to meet it. The young knight must still bear his grief (1927-1928), but continues living despite it. He still carries the veil, but is no longer in idolatrous bondage to it. At the end of the poem his arming himself and mounting his horse signal his attainment of true knighthood.

FOOTNOTES

THE POEM: RITTERBILD UND RITTERBILDUNG

¹Gustav Ehrismann, Geschichte der detuschen Literatur bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters, pt. 2, 2/2, p. 510.

²Walter Blank, Die deutsche Minneallegorie (Stuttgart, 1970), pp. 50-51, 47, 46.

³Ibid., 91-104.

⁴Ibid., 49.

⁵Kurt Matthaei, ed., Mittelhochdeutsche Minnereden, I, Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters, v. 24 (Berlin, 1913). Tilo Brandis adopts this same position in his bibliography, Mittelhochdeutsche, mittelniederdeutsche und mittelniederländische Minnereden (München, 1968).

⁶Ingeborg Glier, Artes amandi, Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters, v. 34 (München, 1971), p. 7.

⁷That Hermann means here the poem itself and not the dialogue of the narrator and youth is shown by Hermann's ending of the Unminne, "Hie mit sy up gesungen / dies red unnd hat ein end" (373-374).

⁸Used in Blank's sense.

⁹Huschenbett (p. 43) sees the brunnen as generally significant in Hermann's works, since the poet always associates it with the beginning of an aventiure or with the disclosure of a confidence (i.e., the incipient aventiure). If the brunnen has any special significance for the Schleiertüchlein, however, I believe it is in the way Hermann ties this piece of allegorical setting into the real world: the narrator uses the water to revive the fainting youth (88-93). In this action we have the theme of the poem summarized: the transformation of ideals into acts of charity.

¹⁰The Zimmerische Chronik claims that the Mörin is a veiled account of the goings-on at the court of Mechthild, although the preference of that chronicle for salacious stories and its late date of composition make the claim questionable. Further, the scrambled chronology of the Chronik implies that Hermann's son, young Hermann, is the author of the Mörin (see p. below), and

by indicating that the Mörin describes Mechthild's loose life after the death of her second husband, Albrecht, places its date of composition at least five years after the death of Hermann. The latest editor of the Mörin, however, believes that the work is indeed a roman à clef connected with the court of Mechthild (pp. 9-10). There is no strong reason to believe that there are not such aspects to the Mörin, and we are limited only by our conception of propriety at Mechthild's court. Although we can demonstrate that Hermann had detailed information about the court of Innsbruck (see note to lines 1610-1618), he made no use of any Tyrolean personalities in that part of the poem.

The Schleiertüchlein is not a roman à clef, and even if Hermann did use materials gathered from Georg von Ehingen, he made changes in them, not to disguise Georg's identity, but to adapt the material to his own purposes in the poem.

¹¹A threat that would have considerably more bite and humor if Hermann were actually a composer of romans à clef. See note 10 above.

¹²The Schleiertüchlein lacks the condemnation of current fashions, especially in dress, that usually marks the Zeitklage and which appears for example in the Mörin. The greater moral earnestness of the Schleiertüchlein is shown by its reiterated emphasis on present action and subsequent punishment or reward: the lady on the princes (439-454), the lady on the youth (717-718), and the Guardian on the youth (1474-1484).

¹³Georg von Ehingen brought back his father a thorn from Christ's crown (see p. 14 of his account).

¹⁴The narrator points out that the Lady's bestowal of so striking a personal token exceeds decency, but is inclined to be lenient in his judgment (805-806). The Christian prohibition of self-mutilation, besides the effect on the too-impressionable youth are probably the narrator's reasons for this objection. The lady herself obviously never intended the veil to be worshipped.

¹⁵Werner Wolf, "Der Jüngere Titurel, 'das Haupt ob teutschen Puechen,'" Wirkendes Wort 6 (1955-56), 6.

¹⁶Dürer's picture of Ritter, Teufel und Tod would not appear for another seventy years. In Hermann's time, woodcuts showed a pilgrim facing these two perils. See Erwin Panofsky, The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer (Princeton, 1955), p. 152.

¹⁷The Wagenburg as a favorite weapon of the Hussites, but not exclusive to them. A circular formation of heavy wagons, it depended on small arms and light artillery for its sting. Incidentally, in the Unminne (211-217) Hermann does join the tradition of those who denounce gunpowder, but not specifically for the destruction of chivalry.

¹⁸The youth performs the first three when he gives money to the destitute pilgrims at the inn; he is paying their inn bills (1545-1546). His return to the inn and looking after these pilgrims is Visiting the Sick. He specifically says he clothed and maintained young Malsch the merchant (1577-1580).

¹⁹In the exegetical tradition, the chaff of literal meaning surrounds the wheat of doctrine. The tradition originates in the glosses on Jer. 23:28, Isaiah 11:7, and Matth. 3:12. Thus in Hermann's Spiegel, Frau Zucht und Frau Scham are commanded to tell the truth plainly:

Der kern und nit die spriuw
Zem bas in iuwern hus. (187, 27-28)

²⁰Hermann is familiar with the cities of the Hansa and with its chief currency, the Lübeck gulden (966). In the Spiegel, Hermann says of a busy place:

Zu Bruck noch zu Allesander
Ward nye so gros gedreng
Uff keynem jarmargkt so eng
Von mencher werden schar (154, 29-32)

and in the Mörin he describes in detail a method of measuring cloth (5301-5303).

²¹Cf. his desire to die in a ditch in the woods, lines 1649-1650.

²²The youth's acknowledgment of his errors (an admission implying self-correction), is also found in line 1877: "ich vil dummer gauch."

²³There is no outright praise of minne in the Schleiertüchlein-- its value for the forming of a knight is implicit. The poem does, however, stress the dangers of the process. Cf. the (very general) statements on true and false minne near the end of the Florischantz tourney in the Jüngere Titarel (2143-2149), which point out that the highest minne is of God.

THE QUESTION OF THE REISEBERICHT AND GEORG VON EHINGEN

Every writer on Hermann von Sachsenheim has raised the question of whether Hermann himself made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, on which the Reisebericht of the Schleiertüchlein rests, or whether he used the accounts of another pilgrim or pilgrims. Martin, struck by Herman's factual knowledge of the Holy Land, opened the discussion a century ago,¹ but since then critics claiming to see a difference in tone between the Reisebericht and its enclosing frame have confused the question by permitting their modern sensibilities to interfere with a factual investigation.² To conclude that the Reisebericht is so much more "realistic" than the frame and must therefore rest on an actual experience of Hermann's, or to propose that the "realism" of the Reisebericht exceeds that of the frame and must therefore stem from a sensibility other than the author's (i.e., another pilgrim's) can only lead the reader in circles. I have argued for the unity of tone and content of the Schleiertüchlein in the section devoted to a literary analysis of that work; at this point it is sufficient to remark that the "realism" which separates the Reisebericht from its frame and recommends it to the reader is merely the plausibility of the events described in it, their congruence with our own experience, as distinguished from the "unreal events of the courtly-allegorical frame. This subjective approach to the question of the origin of the Reisebericht did not harm as long as critics avoided a categorical commitment to either side of

the issue. Ehrismann cautiously judged the account to be "wahrscheinlich nach einem mündlichem oder schriftlichen Bericht erzählt,"³ but several of the more recent critics have positively decided the question of source. Schröder claims of the pilgrimage episode that Hermann "sie höchst ungeniert als Ganzes übernommen hat: ob aus mündlichem oder schriftlichem Bericht des Reisenden, ist nicht festzustellen,"⁴ but offers no proof. Up through the time of Schröder's pronouncement, no one had spent more than a sentence or two disposing of the question; Lieselotte Dietrich's 1948 dissertation was the first to probe the question at length. Although she ends her analysis of more than 2,000 words with a pro forma conclusion that nothing may be proven, she urges that Hermann must have made the pilgrimage himself because his details are "realistic," and his descriptions of events show the imprint of intense personal experience. Dietrich's arguments were refined and given a more "factual" basis by Marjatta Wis in 1965. Wis grounds her argument on 1) facts reported by Hermann and substantiated by other travellers, 2) facts not reported by other travelers, but which in her judgment are sufficient to lend "den echten Ton"⁵ of authentic experience, and 3) the termini technici of wayfaring, which she believes to prove Hermann's own experience of Mediterranean voyaging. This last argument, while the best researched and her greatest contribution to Hermann-research, is only a restating of the first argument: that facts in Hermann may be substantiated elsewhere, a circumstance that does not rule out Hermann's having taken them from elsewhere.

A valuable clue to the origin of Hermann's knowledge of the Holy Land does, however, exist. Although he modestly declines to mention

that he is apparently the first to notice the connection, in 1962 Dietrich Huschenbett⁶ pointed out the similarities between the Reisebericht and a travel account of a pilgrimage written by the Swabian knight Georg von Ehingen.⁷ Internal evidence in Georg's account precludes its having served in its final written form as the source of Hermann's Reisebericht, for it was written after Hermann's death. It contains several references to "mein vatter selig" (Georg's father Rudolf died in 1467, some nine years after Hermann) and describes a shin wound which Georg received while in his twenties as troubling him "bis in min alter,"⁸ and he was barely thirty when Hermann died. Happily, however, there is other internal evidence in Georg's work to support the possibility that his own oral account of the pilgrimage was indeed a source of Hermann's Reisebericht: After returning to Swabia in 1455,⁹ Georg remained a year at the court of Erzherzog Albrecht VI, dividing his time (as did apparently the Archduke) between Freiburg i. Br. and Rottenburg, where the Gräfin Mechthild had gathered her literary circle, to which Hermann belonged. "In dem jar," writes Georg, "begab es sich zu vil malen, das sin gnaden allerlay frag und red mit mir hette, von meiner meervart...."¹⁰ Circumstantial evidence, then, is in favor of Hermann's having heard Georg describe his "meervart," and at the very time (1455) which Schröder and other scholars assign as the approximate date for the writing of what is generally supposed to be Hermann's last work, the Schleiertüchlein.

The best historical evidence of an acquaintanceship between the two men is the uncertain testimony of the Zimmerische Chronik:

Es war diser herr Jerg fur ain weisen und vil
beruempten ritter geachtet, zugleich auch wie
herr Herman von Sachsenhaim, der das artlich
poetisch gedicht von der Merin het gemacht und
dessen herr Jerg coetaneus ist gewest.¹²

The work, however, written at the remove of a century, may very likely have confused Hermann's son Hermann with his father.¹³ Young Hermann was probably slightly younger than Georg von Ehingen, for Georg was born in 1428 and young Hermann matriculated at Heidelberg in 1447.¹⁴ There can be little doubt that these two knew each other, since they must have met in the course of their official duties at the court of Graf Eberhard im Barte of Württemberg. In dividing his court officials on the occasion of his pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1468, Eberhard appointed Georg one of seven councillors to remain to oversee his possessions, while taking young Hermann with him on the journey. Young Hermann was no mere gentleman companion, but a career official who eventually became Landhofmeister. It is pleasant enough to suppose with Huschenbett that all four members of the career families mentioned above--father and son Rudolf and Georg von Ehingen and father and son Hermann von Sachsenheim--had known each other while all four were alive in the 1450's.

While neither historical evidence nor internal elements in the Schleiertüchlein and Ehingen's account provide conclusive proof of a literary connection, it is still instructive to compare the two works, in structure and detail, to see what emphases Hermann may have intended for his work.

Georg von Ehingen and the youth of the Schleiertüchlein are similarly instructed in the ideals of knighthood by a beloved and

respected figure who also inspires them to undertake a trip to the Holy Land. In Georg's case, he has just received his spurs at the coronation of Ladislaus of Bohemia, and on returning home, his father

tett ain schöne lange red mit mir, wasz die ritterschaft
wer, wie ich mich och halten söllt; und schänket mir 400
gulden in die ritterschaft, die er dan by im verdeg in
ain beckett sten hette.¹⁵

Georg's father then urges him to accompany certain Knights of St. John who are travelling to Rhodes to prevent its proposed capture by "der grosz dürkisch kaiser."¹⁶ Should he survive the battles,

so sollt ich vir in zum hailgen grab Kristi und dem
hailgen land ziehen; dann wiewol er [Georg's father]
all sein tag ain grosse begirde gehapt hette, die
hailigen stett und land zuo suochen, dasz dann sinthalb
usz vil grossen, tapffern ursachen nie hette mügen
gesin, wie er dann vor mehrmaln mir gesagt, so wer im
doch ein fröd, dasz ich die selbigen hailigen land und
stött zuo suochen und dahin ziehen söllt, darzuo er mich
dann uszrüsten wöllt nach seinem vermügen.¹⁷

In the Schleiertüchlein, the lady instructs the youth to seek his knighthood at the Holy Sepulchre, and he undertakes the journey "mach ritterschafft / Durch got und auch ir krafft" (218-282). She instructs him in the proper conduct of a knight, tells him to pay careful visits to all the holy places (346-466), and finally gives him the blood-soaked Schleier as her favor and his talisman.

The differences at this point in the narratives are that Georg is told by an aging knight to exercise his new-won knighthood by going forth on a military expedition against the infidel, followed by a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, while Hermann's youth is told by a young woman to go on a peaceful pilgrimage to receive his knighthood at the Holy Sepulchre. This emphasis by Hermann upon peaceful purposes

is discussed elsewhere in the Introduction (p.52).

It is the knighting at the Holy Sepulchre that presents problems to students both of Hermann and of Georg. Some critics of Hermann, beginning with Martin,¹⁸ believe that the Reisebericht cannot derive from a personal experience of Hermann's because he expressly states in his Spiegel that he was knighted at Bregenz (175, 25). Marjatta Wis, however, has amply demonstrated from pilgrim accounts and other records that it was not unusual for pilgrim knights to seek a second knighting at the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem; the distinction was highly prized. But the very evidence that Wis brings to show the possibility of Hermann's having drawn the Schleiertüchlein from his own experience--the pride men took in the award--seems to argue against a close connection between Georg's journey and the Schleiertüchlein account, for Georg tells of his knighting in Bohemia and makes no mention of being knighted in Jerusalem.¹⁹ It is strange that a man whose memoirs record mainly the honors he accumulated during his travels should omit to mention such a distinction. There is, however, slender evidence that Georg did receive such an honor: the merchant Hieronymus Münzer, reporting what he heard at Lisbon in 1494 of the deeds of arms of Christian knights some forty years before, mentions "Georgius von Echingen, ex comitatu de Wirtenberg, miles in Jerosolimis factus."²⁰ If we do not accept Münzer's words as proof of a knighting in Jerusalem, we still have the possibility that Georg witnessed the knighting of another at the Sepulchre and gave an oral account to Hermann. The accuracy of Hermann's account leaves no doubt that it is based on actual observation.²¹

One experience shared by Hermann's fictional youth and the real

Georg von Ehingen is an unsuccessful attempt to visit St. Catherine's monastery on Sinai. As Hermann's youth is preparing to leave for Sinai, a caravan of half-dead pilgrims arrives, bringing the news that a civil war in Egypt (Djakmak's rebellion? see p. 71 below) has made overland travel dangerous and safe-conducts worthless. The pilgrims are obliged to spend the winter at Jerusalem, where non-Moslems are safe from molestation. Georg is even more forcefully discouraged from visiting Sinai or attempting overland travel: on a visit to Damascus, he relates, "wurden ich und mein gesell gefangen und hart gehalten, und doch uff dasz letzt wurden mir [= wir] ledig. Es kostet uns wol 30 docaten."²² After their release Georg and his companion take ship for Alexandria.²³ Interestingly, the youth in Hermann's account is specifically asked whether he had been captured while in the Holy Land, and says definitely that he was not (945-949).

The balance of Georg's route is easily described. He had gone first to Rhodes, on his father's advice, but the expected Turkish attack did not take place. As Georg explains, "Nun verzugen die Türken so lang mit irem herzug, dasz in den zyten der türkisch kaiser starb, und dise belegerung von den Türken nit virgient...."²⁴ After eleven months he proceeded to Beirut to visit the sites of his own patron and that of knighthood, St. George (to whom, incidentally, Hermann's youth is commended by his lady). From here Georg travelled southward for eight days, reaching Tyre, Safad, and an unidentified "Appollossd,"²⁵ and thence to Nazareth and Jerusalem. Hermann's youth makes the outward voyage via Rhodes and Cyprus and is then shipwrecked somewhere on the coast of Palestine; from the coast he is taken overland in five days to

Nazareth and Jerusalem. In Jerusalem itself Georg spent fifteen days (he tells us that he visited most of the holy places, but does not list or describe them; see note 19 above), and then left for Damascus, where his capture caused him to give up his plans to visit Sinai and Cairo. Hermann's youth is likewise prevented from visiting Sinai and Cairo, in his case by an Egyptian rebellion, and spends the winter at Jerusalem, presumably waiting for the resumption of safe weather in the spring, when he will sail directly for Venice. Hermann's youth had suffered a storm and shipwreck with loss of life on the way out; Georg on the other hand must endure a storm and the death of his companion, "der Münch von Basel," on the return voyage. In short, we see that in spite of some differences in sequence and circumstances, Hermann's youth visits no place which was not visited by Georg: Rhodes, Cyprus, the Palestinian coast, Nazareth, Jerusalem. As common experiences, the two share an inspiring send-off with exhortation to knightly virtue, a storm at sea with loss of life, hopes of a trip to Mt. Sinai and Cairo frustrated by infidel cruelty to pilgrims, and, if the evidence of Hieronymus Münzer is correct, knighthood at the Holy Sepulchre.

When we search for historical facts with which to connect the events of the Schleiertüchlein and Georg's trip to the Holy Land, in order to substantiate the connection of the documents, we run into difficulties. Martin suggested an identification of the rebellion (lines 1345ff.) which prevents Hermann's youth from visiting Sinai and Cairo with the revolt by which Djakmak thrust Jussuf from the throne of Egypt (A.D. 1438), for the event had military consequences as far as Syria.²⁶ Huschenbett, in examining the expected attack on Rhodes for which Georg

von Ehingen waited eleven months, claims that it could not have been intended by the Grand Turk, "[da] haben die Osmanen zu jener Zeit (um 1454) keinen Eroberungszug gegen Rhodos unternommen."²⁷ Further, the Grand Turk died in 1451, so that his death would not have hindered a projected attack on Rhodes which Georg says he went off to repulse in 1454. Huschenbett suggests instead that "der grosz dürkisch kaiser" who intended "mit grosser macht uff land und wasser darfür mit sim leger zuo schlahen, der mainung, Rodisz zu herobern"²⁸ must be the Egyptian Djakmak, who made repeated attempts to conquer Rhodes. But the same logic that argues against the Grand Turk as the threatening ruler who died while Georg was on Rhodes would also exclude Djakmak, for Djakmak died in 1453, before Georg says he ever set out, and the rebellion which displaced Djakmak's young son Othman was over by mid-March 1453.³⁰

We are thus left without a foundation of indisputable historic facts to identify the military events either in the (fictional) Reisebericht or in the (authentic) account of Georg von Ehingen. In the latter case we must either conclude that Georg's memories of dates were blurred when he set them down on paper many years later, or that the news of Djakmak's death did not reach the anxious garrison on Rhodes until more than two years after the event. While this is not the place to attempt the task of straightening out the frequently muddled chronology of Georg's memoir, the circumstantial evidence seems strongly in favor of Georg's having been on Rhodes in 1453 at the time of Djakmak's death.

Similarly, the evidence of a connection between the Schleiertüchlein

and Georg's memoir is circumstantial, consisting of echoes which recall the memoir in greater or lesser degree. For example, Hermann's youth and his companions are received by the Knights of St. John on Rhodes, where they hear the particulars of how the Greeks and the Turks are getting along, and learn some straight facts in place of the tall tales (lines 849-850) they have previously heard about the Turks. Since Hermann does not share these facts with us, it is difficult to judge what connection, exactly, this passage has with the experience of Georg von Ehingen, who went with some knights of St. John to Rhodes and learned that the expected grand assault would not take place after all.

In Hermann, as well as in Georg, there is a lack of historical specifics and an incongruence with established historical fact, shortcomings (for our purposes) which prevent the identification of the Egyptian rebellion (lines 1345ff.) with a single historical event. It is true that Weil's history of Egypt under the Mamelukes does record--in 1453--the rebellion of Inal against young Othman, the heir of Djakmak.³¹ Othman's reign of six weeks was ended in mid-March of that year by a few days' upheaval, during which Inal besieged him in the citadel of Cairo and secured the judgment of four senior cadis that Othman was unfit to rule. The defeated young sultan was not put to death, but imprisoned for a while and later permitted to return to private life in Cairo. But while these events seem to be closely mirrored in lines 1447-1448 and 1375-1384, there is no detail singular enough to tie the event in the poem either to this revolt or to the earlier rebellion of Djakmak in 1438, as Martin suggested. The Mameluke succession in Egypt was customarily determined by force. Hermann's "details" turn out

to be merely a plausible outline of the usual course of events: the enemies of a reigning sultan or of a recent usurper besiege him in the citadel outside Cairo, meanwhile attempting to secure a verdict of heresy against the incumbent from a compliant cadi in order to legitimate the subsequent execution of the overthrown ruler. That a charge of heresy or a pronouncement of unfitness to rule was a mere pretext for revolution is evident from the frequent appeals to these measures by successful usurpers, as well as from the pragmatic way in which they were employed: for example, the senior cadis in 1453 refused to condemn Othman until it was clear that Inal was about to defeat him. That political upheavals were sufficiently frequent in Egypt to constitute yet another of the many hazards to Sinai pilgrims is shown by the questions asked by Hermann's guardian of the pilgrims who come to him for advice because they have suddenly become too afraid to set out on their intended journey to Egypt: Do they fear the long arduous journey, snow, frost, rain or other terrors of a winter's trip to St. Catherine's, "or is it that the infidels have hatched another war?" (lines 1418-1424). The history of Mameluke rule in Egypt provides too many examples of such turmoil for us to fix on a single action as the source of the events in the Schleiertüchlein, although circumstantial evidence persuades us that Georg von Eningen may very easily have learned about Inal's rebellion of 1453 and repeated the story to the court at Rottenburg.

A final example of an apparent close connection between the journeys of Hermann's fictional youth and the real Georg von Eningen is the youth's return from the Holy Land via Innsbruck. Certainly Hermann

included the episode at the court of Sigismund, the Tyrolean Duke, as a subtle compliment to his own patron, Albrecht VI, cousin of Sigismund; but the episode shows such a detailed knowledge of Sigismund's court that we are compelled to look for a source for Hermann's knowledge.³² In fact, Georg von Ehingen spent several years as a page at that court before transferring his services to Albrecht.

Not knowing of Huschenbett's suggestion of a connection between Hermann and Georg, Marjatta Wis did not look for a "mündlichen oder schriftlichen Bericht." Among the internal evidence which she collected to demonstrate that Hermann himself had seen the Holy Land, she felt her arguments based on Hermann's vocabulary to be the most conclusive. She argued that the numerous Italianisms and seafaring terms in the Schleiertüchlein (fortun, meaning "sea storm," barck, golf, pateron, etc.) must have been picked up from first-hand experience, since they were "ausserhalb der Pilgerliteratur kaum verwendet."³³ The argument reads plausibly enough as we continue down the list: the kunsel at Jerusalem, the guardian of the Holy Sepulchre (although it must be remembered that any Franciscan superior is called a guardian), until we come to that government official, the amerat. Hermann is most likely to have acquired this word from reading, since it occurs in his favorite works: those of Wolfram (Willehalm, Titurel, Rannewart) and the Jüngere Titurel, which Hermann believed to be the work of Wolfram.³⁴ And if Hermann could have easily acquired the word from his favorite literary works, he could undoubtedly have acquired his other vocabulary from pilgrim literature, along with other information, with the result that "beim Lesen fühlt man, das sein Gedicht von dem

echten Geist dieser besonderen Art von Literatur [i.e. Pilgerliteratur] erfüllt ist."³⁵ The greatest obstacle to using Hermann's vocabulary to try to learn anything new about the man is that his vocabulary is unusually well-developed, frequently exotic, and in several instances unique.

Interestingly, the work of our authenticated pilgrim, Georg von Ehingen, contains hardly any of these specialized terms. Although Hermann and Georg do share some nautical vocabulary (galeen, p. 14, port des meers, p. 14, 18) and both frequently use a common rhetorical device (alles ump kürtze underlasz, p. 12), Georg does not use the word fortun to describe the tempest at sea which he experiences, and for the correct Alkir (= Cairo) of Hermann, Georg uses the traditional medieval Baballonia. One can only wonder whether young Georg returned from his Holy Land adventures with his mouth filled with these terms (in the manner of his contemporary, Oswald von Wolkenstein) and subsequently forget them over the years before his memoirs, or whether he declined to use them in writing, or whether he never knew them at all.

Thus we see that the internal evidence connecting the two accounts (similarity of places visited and adventures undergone) is less substantial than the external evidence (Georg's stay after his journey at the court of Hermann's patron, where Duke Albrecht often had Georg tell of his voyage, see p. 66 above). But aside from the evidence which suggests an historical causal connection between the two stories, the common theme of a young man's journey to the Holy Land makes a comparison interesting and useful to an understanding of Hermann's tale.

As I remarked above, the modern reader regards the abundance of small detail in Hermann's Reisebericht as realistic, for we regard the

enumeration of incidental detail as a means to verisimilitude. Yet if we compare the sort of detail included by Georg and Hermann, the difference in intent of the authors becomes apparent. The brief account (4 pages of 22) in Georg's memoirs of his trip to the Holy Land shows that he felt it was much less important than his later adventures among the crowned heads of Europe. We hear of a few events of the journey, but nothing of the Holy Land itself. The most detailed and "realistic" (and exciting) episode he recounts is that of his single encounter with the Moorish champion in the face of two armies.³⁶ Georg's preoccupations are social and military: he devotes much space to descriptions of the royalty he meets and of the honors he receives at their hands, ends his book with nine specially-commissioned full-page miniatures of the monarchs he has personally met, and prefaces the whole of his memoirs with an account of his illustrious ancestors. He also carefully records his battles and campaigns. Georg and Hermann do appear to share an eye for housekeeping detail, but with a difference. Georg's recording of the exact sums presented him by princes is part of his vanity in being honored by them, and that he remembers years after--and records--the number and condition of his remounts at every stage merely shows the preoccupation of the mounted warrior with his chief strength. On the other hand, Hermann's recording of sums of money is always the amounts which the youth gives away--not receives--and does not, as Martin and others have hinted, indicate an unworthy preoccupation with financial matters. The youth gives eight ducats to the trisler at the Holy Sepulchre (1175-1176) because that is what is expected of a Christian knight, and he off-handedly recounts spending four ounces of gold to

purchase a Moslem slave (so that he may later baptize him).

Elsewhere in the Introduction I have discusse the moral purpose of Hermann's last work, but here I would like to emphasize that the detail which fascinates us as realistic has a purpose other than to convince us that the narrative is factual. Hermann may indeed have picked up many of his "realistic" details of the Holy Land from Ehingen's year of telling his story at Albrecht's court, but if that is true, these are the very details which Georg believes to be unimportant for his own memoirs and suppresses, consequently preventing us from exactly connecting the two narratives. In a similar way, Hermann's work on details from Georg or other travellers transforms these facts by his emphasis on them, so that the travel narrative of the Schleiertüchlein is not the same thing as Georg's or any other trip.

Hermann's Reisebericht and its enclosing frame form a single narrative of the education of a Christian knight. The youth learns from the narrator, the lady, and his pilgrimage to serve God, his lady, and society. The Reisebericht is an idealized version of a pilgrimage, idealized not in its having everything run smoothly for the youth, but idealized in the sense that every episode and detail either contributes to the education of the youth or induces him to practice the corporal Works of Mercy. Through a process reminiscent of the education of Parzival, the youth must learn true knighthood from his lady not by blindly literal obedience to her commands, but by enlightened understanding of their spirit. The two greatest tests he meets are during his stay in Jerusalem and upon his return home. In the first test, a train of despoiled and maimed pilgrims arrives at the inn, at once the

warning and proof that the roads to Egypt are blocked to pilgrims. The youth, oblivious to all miseries but his own, despairs because he cannot fulfill his lady's command to visit St. Catherine's on Sinai. But the guardian points out that there is nothing shameful in remaining in Jerusalem for the winter and urges him to care for the poor pilgrims (1469ff.). The youth also fails to recognize the second great test which the narrative lays upon him: when he returns home, he finds his lady dead. Again he despairs until the narrator completes the education which the lady began, showing the youth that he does not serve God by questioning His will, nor the lady, by turning her token into an idol, nor society, by his withdrawal through excessive grief. Besides learning these moral lessons, the youth has had his world enlarged by seeing true knighthood, marriage, and hospitality practiced by men outside his own faith: it is this improvement of the pilgrim by his pilgrimage, so seldom expressed in the bulk of pilgrim literature, that is distinctive in Hermann's fictional account.

FOOTNOTES

THE QUESTION OF THE REISEBERICHT AND GEORG VON EHINGEN

¹Ernst Martin, ed., Hermann von Sachsenheim, Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins, v. 137 (Tübingen, 1878), p. 21.

²The first was Gustav Roethe, "Hermann von Sachsenheim," in Deutsche Allgemeine Biographie, v. 30 (Berlin, 1890), p. 152, supported by Karl Stackmann, "Hermann von Sachsenheim," in Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon, v. 5 (Berlin, 1955), col. 385.

³Gustav Ehrismann, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters, pt. 2, 2/2, p. 458.

⁴Edward Schröder, "Hermann von Sachsenheim, Zur Chronologie und Überlieferung," Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, 1931, 203.

⁵Marjatta Wis, "Zum Schleiertüchlein Hermanns von Sachsenheim," Neuphilologische Mitteilungen 66 (1965), 23.

⁶Dietrich Huschenbett, Hermann von Sachsenheim, Philologische Studien und Quellen, v. 12 (Berlin, 1962), pp. 54-56.

⁷Georg von Ehingen, Reisen nach der Ritterschaft, ed. Franz Pfeiffer, Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins, v. 2 (Stuttgart, 1842).

⁸Ehingen, 27.

⁹A solution to the self-contradictions of Georg's chronology has not yet been found. For the date of his return he gives 1454 (p. 14), yet he says he did not leave until the spring of that year (i.e., the spring after the October coronation of Ladislaus V), and remained some eleven months on Rhodes before starting for Jerusalem.

¹⁰Ehingen, 15.

¹¹Schröder, 204.

¹²K.A. Barack, ed., Zimmerische Chronik, Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins, vv. 91094 (Tübingen, 1869), III, 11.

¹³We do not know whether the author meant old Hermann, and used coetaneus [= coetaneus] loosely to mean "contemporary," or whether he thought young Hermann was the poet, and used the word in its strict meaning of "coeval."

¹⁴Adolf Diehl, "Der Betende Ritter in der Stuttgarter Stiftskirche," Zeitschrift für württembergische Landesgeschichte 3 (1939), 109.

¹⁵Ehingen, 11.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Martin, 21.

¹⁹"Als ich nun die hailigen stett gesuocht und den mertail durchgangen und 15 tag zuo Jerusalem und darinn belieben war...." This passage is the only information Georg gives about the Holy Land, other than his itinerary.

²⁰Hieronymus Münzer, Itinerarius, ed. Ludwig Pfandl, in Revue Hispanique 48 (1920), 89-90.

²¹Wis, 9.

²²Ehingen, 13.

²³As Georg bitterly comments, "Also ward unser raisz wendig, dann mir [= wir] mochten vor den haiden und Araben nit verner kumen" (p. 13).

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵The ruins of Apollonia, presently called Arsuf, are the nearest in name to "Appolloosso," but represent an absurd detour from the route Georg describes.

²⁶Martin apparently believed that the judgment of heresy which Djakmak brought against his successor and the large-scale military operations caused sufficient uproar to impede Christian travel temporarily.

²⁷Huschenbett, 55.

²⁸Ehingen, 11.

²⁹Huschenbett, 55.

³⁰Gustav Weil, Geschichte der Chalifen, v. 5: Das Chalifat unter den Cirkassischen Mamlukensultanen von Egypten (Osnabruck, 1862), 249ff.

³¹Ibid.

³²See notes to lines 1610-1618.

³³Wis, 24.

³⁴Matthias Lexer, Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch (Leipzig, 1872-1878), I, 22 s.v. admirat.

³⁵Wis, 21.

³⁶Ehingen, 23-24. It was this deed that kept Ehingen's name alive at the court of Lisbon for more than forty years, so that Münzer heard it.

TEXT AND COMMENTARY

[A fuller description of the individual works
cited may be found in the Bibliography]

Das sleigertuchlin

D[u] süse Mynn gehür	Yy ſüſſe minn gehür [203][B109r][A121r]
Wer moht diner schunpfentür	ſchimpfenthür
Entwichen und entrynnen?	
Was brichstu herter synnen	ſynne
5 Mit dym gewalt besunder !	
Du bist ein krefftig wunder,	
Das nyemen kan gemessen.	
Din crafft ist hoh gesessen	
Uff kunstenrichem stul.	
10 Wen du in diner schul	
Sin zit wilt lon verdriben	
Der sol sich mertrer schriben	marter*
Alhie uff dieser erden.	
Adam, den edeln werden,	
15 Bezwenget du, Mynn, alleyn	Bezwang dŵ min allain
Durch Even bild, das reyn,	eva
Das er den apffel aß.	
Es was ein strenges maß,	
Das Ave must versünen.	eva müſt verſennen
20 David, den frechen künen,	
Din crafft dett überwinden.	
Sampson, den starcken blinden,	
Der mit sin eines bild	Das er mit
Bezwang den lewen wild,	leo
25 Der möcht dir nit entwichen;	
Kung Salomon den richen	Konig [A] Salamō
Unnd Absolon den schönen;	
Was halff Arones dönen,	

[Das Schleiertüchlein]

- Das süs und auch das hell? [204] [A121v]
- 30 Lebt Asahel der snel, azabel
- Er mocht dir nit entlauffen. [B109v]
- Du kanst auch, Mynn, bestraffen ſtraffen
- Mang herz von sorgen blos. Manig Sünden
- Alsus din crafft ist gros
- 35 Uff beyder hand[e] regel.
- Durch wild fortun din segel
- Kan meisterlichen rudeln.
- Wem du zur frewd wilt studeln, [B omits zur]
- Der sitzt uff gluckes rad,
- 40 Als uß dem mayen bad als bi des mayen Bad
- Die zarten blümlin klymmen
- Und süsser vogel stymmen
- Gen liechter sunnen brehen.
- Was sullen wort, die spehen?
- 45 Ich wil es lon belieben
- Und wil uch reynen wyben
- Und guten gesellen sagen,
- Was mir jn kurtzen dagen
- Geschach und widerfur.
- 50 Verlangen mich beswur
- Mit listen manigfalt,
- Das ich in eynen walt
- Durch kurtzwil ging spatzirn.
- Mit mengem farben zirn
- 55 Sach ich der blumen krangel
- Uff einem grünen angel
- Und wunnicklichen plan.
- Ich dett auch furbas gan

[Das Schleiertüchlein]

- Das süs und auch das hell? [204] [A121v]
- 30 Lebt Asahel der schnell, azabel
- Er mocht dir nit entlauffen. [B109v]
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- 35 Uff beyder hand[e] regel.
- Durch wild fortun din segel
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- Der sitzt uff gluckes rad,
- 40 Als uß dem mayen bad als bi des mayen Bad
- Die zarten blümlin klymmen
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- Geschach und widerfur.
- 50 Verlangen mich beswur
- Mit listen manigfalt,
- Das ich in eynen walt
- Durch kurtzvil ging spatzirn.
- Mit mengem farben zirn
- 55 Sach ich der blumen krangel
- Uff einem grünen angel
- Und wunnicklichen plan.
- Ich dett auch furbas gan

- Uff einen fussteig smal
 60 Gar in eyn schones dal Gar in ainem schönnen tal
 Zu eyner clingen dieff,
 Dardurch ein wasser lieff
 Gar sneleklich und gros.
 Der wil mich nit verdros,
 65 Das ging ich ab durch schawen
 Nach einer nūwen schlawen Durch ain nūwen
 Und cleg[e]licher stym, [205]
 Die ich erhort mit grym,
 Von eines menschen mund,
 70 Dem was der frewden grund
 Bis uff das ferch versnitten.
 Mit chnell vnd lißen tritten Mit snel und mit lisen driten [A]
 Ging ich alda zehant,
 Da ich ein jungen fant
 75 Dort ligen unversunnen
 By einem claren brunnen
 Im blumen, gras unnd kle.
 Mit süfftzen ach und we
 Hett er ein fremd geberd,
 80 Der edel jung und werd
 Uß ritters art geborn,
 Er fürt auch gelw[e] sporn,
 Als ander myn genos.
 Sin hertz det mengen stos,
 85 Als ob es wolt zerspringen.
 Recht in den selben dingen
 Den werden ich erkant,
 Hin uff des brunnen rant

- Bückt ich jn da zu stund
 90 Unnd gab jm in den münd
 Des bronnen lütter clar.
 Ich natzt im auch das har
 Die wangen, stirn und nas;
 Ich weis nit wie im was,
 95 Wan das er ye erquickt
 Und tougenlich uff blickt
 Mit mangen süfftzen dieff.
 Ich wen nit, das er schlieff
 In dieser senden qual.
 100 Er det als Partzifal,
 Der wenig weisheit wielt
 Und unversunen hielt
 Ob blutes zehern dry.
 Alsus der wandels fry
 105 Blickt her unnd sach mich an.
 Er det nit als der man,
 Der Kein nyder stach.
 Gar zuchticlich er sprach,
 'Ey, lieber frundt gehür,
 110 Ich hantz fur abentür,
 Das du mich hie hast funden.'
 Mit henden ungebunden
 Richt er sich uff zuhant;
 Mit namen er mich nant
 115 Unnd sprach, 'ich ken dich wol;
 In diesem jamerdol
 Verlih mir drost und helff!
 Du bist der leo, ich welff,

Ruckt ich in
 gauß
 lüter und clär [B110v]

dugentlich [A]

ſennenden
 partzenval

[206]

kayin

[B omits dich]

troſt behelff
 ich das welff

- Der strus unnd ich das ey.'
- 120 Mit byspil mangerley
 Bot er sich mir fur eygen. [B111r]
 Ich det mich zu im neygen
 Vast nyder in das gras.
 Gar snel ich zu im sas
- 125 Und greiff jm an den arn,
 Das ich jn wolt bewarn
 Vor vallen, sincken nyder.
 Mit Worten her und wider her und herwider [A]
 Fragt ich jn vil der mer
- 130 Von siner grossen swer,
 Wie das sich het ergangen.
 Er sprach, 'des bracken strangen
 Nye sender qual gestifft,
 Wie wol die selb gescrifft
- 135 Verfurt Sinastulander. Schina^ftulander
 Im fur der salmander
 Sich nert und doch nit stirbt.
 Alsus unheil erwirbt
 Mir dick das leben myn.
- 140 Antfortes smertz und pyn
 Gen mynem smertz ist klein.
 Fraw Hertenlayd die rein hertzⁿ laid
 Gewon nye sender not Gewaⁿ [207]
 Umb Gemuretes dot gamurettes
- 145 Do sie das spereⁿ sach.' Da
 'Nein, drut gesell,' ich sprach,
 'Nieman verzagen soll:
 Das stet dem adel wol

- By got und siner muter.'
- 150 'Ja, lieber frunt vil guter, [B111v]
 Du gist mir wise ret,
 Als auch der Tyturel det als titerel ouch tett
 Sym sun dem Frimutel.' frömrte11
 Mit kortzen Worten snel
- 155 Sprach ich alda zuhant,
 'Gesell, du mir bekant,
 Wie es sich hab gefügt
 Mit Worten unverclügt!
 Din komer und din smertz,
- 160 Es gat mir auch zu hertz,
 Das sag ich dir furwar.
 Ich han gelebt vil jar,
 Das ich nie me vernam
 So fremd geberd in scham
- 165 Van einem ritter gutt.
 Biß streng, hab vesten mut
 Als Secures der werd
 Uff Tabernicher erd. tabermuscher [A]
 Nye ritter ward so frech.
- 170 Wie wol er galt die zech
 Vor Baldack uff dem plan, Balldack
 Als die von Babilon Babilon
 Den barock ubertzugen barruck ubertzögen [A]
 Da vil der sprissen flugen sprûssen
- 175 Von schilten und von spern.
 Venus, der Mynne stern,
 Hat dich zu hart bezwungen. so hart
 Ein antwort von dem jungen

Ward mir alda zuhant.

180 Er sprach, 'gut man, bekant

[B112r]

Bist du mir lanng zit,

[208]

Du sagst mir vil vom strit,

Der ich gar wenig weiß.

Zu Swaben, in dem kreis,

185 Bin ich myn dag erzogen.

Fraw Venus mit jrm bogen

vennus

Hat mich geschossen wunt.

Wiltu, ich mach dir kunt

Myn komer und myn smertz,

190 Den ich in mynem hertz

So lanng zit han gedragen,

Wiltu des stil gedagen,

Vor falschen claffern swigen

Und auch dem heiltum nigen,

195 Das ich hie by mir han

Verborgen also schon

In eynem ledlin cleyn

Von wissem helffenbeyn

Mit fynem gold beschlagen.'

200 'Warumb solt ich es sagen?'

Sprach ich unnd sach yn an.

'Ich bin nit ein solich man;

Ich mag es wol verswigen.

Solt ich die warheit gigen

205 Von wonder, das ich weis,

Die stirn wurd mengem heis,

Das soltu mir gelauben.

Man hilt mich fur ein dauben

- Solt ich es machen kunt.'
- 210 Sust greiff er an der stunt
In sinen busen selber;
Ye gelber unnd ye gelber
Ward aber sin gestalt.
Der jung und nit der alt
- 215 Gar schier das ledlin fand.
Das jm da nit gewand
Vor smertzen, das was ein wunder: schmertz
Sein ougen schlug er under Schlug er sin augen [A]
Und sanck mir jn die schos. [209]
- 220 Das ledlin clein, nit gros,
Mit noten kom herfur.
Nun schawend, was ich spür
In diesem ledlin cleyn!
Ein duchlin wis und reyn
- 225 Von syden clar und fin,
Das man nent flögerlin flögerlin
Durchsprengt mit menschem blut,
Als Pirrimus der gut pirimus
Fraw Dispen sleyer fand. dyſpen
- 230 Das nam ich jn die hand
Und spreit es von eynander,
Der sydenwiß salmänder der ſeyden vom Salmander
Was er ein teil gelich. es
Fraw Mynn, ich aber strich
- 235 An uch myn bensel scharpff: Bemſel
Es klang nye gig noch harpff
So süs als uwer don,
Und geben doch den lon [B113r]

- Ze jungst mit ungeluck.
 240 Ir sind ein teil zu fluck
 Mit fligen hin unnd her.
 Dannocht lag uberzwer dennoch
 Der jung in myner schos.
 Mit süfftzen, schlegen gros
 245 Schlug er sich an die brust.
 Sin stym was jm verdust,
 Das er nit reden kund.
 Ich brach jm uff den mund
 Unnd ruckt jn hoch enbor.
 250 'Du jag[el]st nit die spor,'
 Sprach ich in senffter wig,
 'Als manig ritters briß
 Erzeugt sin manlich dugent,
 Als du jn diner jugent
 255 Dich selber doten wilt. [210]
 Lebt Artus noch, der milt,
 Er geb dir nit ein ey.
 Ein ritter hies herr Key, kay
 Der kund auch spotten din.
 260 Sag an und thu mir schin,
 Wo kompt das duchlin her?
 Ich han es fur ein mer,
 Das es ein heyltum sy.'
 Er sprach, 'gesell, owy!
 265 Du redest mir zu nach,
 Nie heyltum kam gen Ach auch
 Das ich darfur wolt han. [B113v]
 Fur aller keyser kran kron

- Han ich es lieb vnnd werd.
 270 Wie vast es mich beswerd,
 Des acht ich alles clein.
 Das edel heiltum reyn
 Gab mir ein werdes wib,
 Die mir durch sel und lib
 275 Myn hertz verwondet hat.
 Got in der maiestat
 Woll ir genedig sin:
 Ich meyn die frawen myn,
 Die mir das heiltumb gab,
 280 Als ich zum heylgen grab
 Wolt farn nach ritterschafft
 Durch got und auch ir krafft,
 Durch Zippern uber mer Zyppern
 Und schawen menig her
 285 Von heydinischer diet,
 Als sie mir selber riet
 Und mich mit vlise bat,
Ob ich es hette statt Ob es het die stat [A]
 Das ich den ritter wurd, dan
 290 Darumb der claffer burd
 Ein teil gelichtert wer.
 Sust frewt ich mich der mer
 Und was der red gemeit, [211]
 Gar kum ich do erbeit, Gar kom ich doch erlaid
 295 Das ich von jr vernem,
 Wo ich vor zu jr kem, [B114r]
 Ee ich vom lande schied,
 Ein brieff das was ein lied

Mit wiß und worten clug,
 300 Das unns zu samen drug
 Gar heimlichen an ein stat,
 Die ietz nit namen hat
 Zu sagen dir besonder.
 Doch merck ein fremdes wonder:
 305 Als ich die werden fand
 Mit mund und auch mit hand
 Und blancken ermlin wiß,
 Ward ich mit ganzem vlis
 Nach allem wonsch enpfangen;
 310 Ir mundlin und jr wangen
 [Bran her jn voller blut,]
 Recht als ein roßlin dut
 In eynem kullen daw.
 Von wunnicklicher schaw
 315 Ward mir myn hertz entzunt.
 Das wenglin nit den munt
 Mit kus ich da berürt,
 Das als myn leid zerfürt
 Als ob es fliegen kund;
 320 Ich mein, es wer ein sund,
 Der nye kein fluch geschach.
 Gar zuchticlich sie sprach,
 "Gesell, wie meinstu das?
 Dhu dich bedencken, bas!
 325 Ich hans fur ungeluck
 So ich myn brüstlin druck
 On allen argen lust
 So fruntlich an din brust,

Bran her jn valler blut [A]
 Bran her in aller voller blüt [B]

Des [A] Das wenglin mit dem munt

habe [B114v]
 So ich hnns für ungelück [B325a]

Das du den bist so snel."
 330 "Nein, fraw, der Tyterel
des grales pflag jn hut:
 Also stet al myn mut
 Gen uern werden glantz;
 Der durst uff Florischantz
 335 Des kusses nie wart wert.
 Ich han uch, fraw, erfert,
 Das bruff ich sicher wol.
 Wer ich vor Karydol
 Gewesen uff der bruck,
 340 Ich wen, von disem stuck
 Myn ros hett nye gestruht.
 Fraw Venus art gebrucht
 Han ich ein teil zu frü."
 "Gesell, es numme tū,
 345 So wil ich lassen ab.
 Du bist wol noch ein knab,
 Der jar jn rechter jugent;
 Erzeug an mir din dugent
 Und auch din manlich art!
 350 Gen allen frawen zart
 Soltu dich han in hut.
 Syt du uff meres flut
 Nach ritterschafft wilt farn,
 So wel dich got bewarn
 355 Und auch die muter sin.
 Merck, drut geselle myn,
 Was ich dir sagen will!
 Es hort zum ritter spil

dan
 titterell
 Das [A]

[212]

Caradol

Du bist nun wol ain knab
 gar [A]

Solt du dich hüten in hüt

[B115r]

Manheit unerschrocken:
 360 Uff kieln und uff kocken
 Soltu erschrecken nicht.
 Sturmweather man dick sicht
 So grusamlich gebarn,
 Das die von jungen jarn
 365 Gar dick erschrecken müssen.
 So scharpfe wind unsüssen
 Her susen durch fortun,
 So nym zu pateron
 Den ritter gutt, Sant Jörgen !
 370 Schiffkinder, marnen, forgen
 Nach allem dinem synn
 Geb dir die keyserynn,
 Die got jm selb erkos.
 Den text und nit die glos
 375 Erzog vor allen dingen
 Dem schopffer sunderlingen
 Mit lutter bicht und rüw.
 Gesell, mit gantzer drüw
 Die hohen rich present,
 380 Das heilig sacrament
 Andechticlich enpfach,
 So volgt dir selde nach
 Zu diner fert besunder.
 Beschaw auch vil der wunder,
 385 Da Cristus hat gewandelt;
 Es ist nit wol verhandelt,
 Das manger wider kumpt,
 Als ob er sy verstumpt

Manhait vnd

vnuffe
 vnd vergen
 deim

[213]

[B115v]

- Und nit gesagen kan,
390 Was got der herr began
In dem vil heiligen land.
Es ducht mich sund und schand
Solt einer verzeren sin gelt,
Als ob er uber velt
400 Von einer kirchwih kem. kirchwihin
Die stat Iherusalem
Soltu beschawen recht.
Mit kurtzen worten schlecht
Vernym, was ich dich bit! wes
405 Besunder beschaw den drit,
der unverwandelt ist, Den [A]
Als got der war[e] Crist
Von unns gen himel fur.
Gemessen nach der snur
410 Kan ich nit alle ding. [214]
Merck selber, gutt jungling,
Was dir das beste sy!
Die keusch[e] magt Mary
Kum dir darjnn zu stür."
415 "Gnad, werde fraw gehur,"
Sprach ich zu der vil zarten,
"Sollt ich gen Nogarten
Durch uwrn willen farn,
Die reis wolt ich nit sparn;
420 Durch tartery und Rüssen Tattarn [A]
Dry wintter reys gen Brüssen
In uwerm dinste dun,
Das brecht mir fried und sün

- In mynem hertzen dick.
 425 Fraw Venus mit jrm strick
 Hatt mich gebonden hart.
 O werde frawe tzart,
 Des lannd geniessen mich! "
 "Gern," sprach die mynnicklich,
 430 "Wiltu bliben stet
 Und ritterlich gedet
 In gottes dinst dich üben
 Und nit din er bedruben,
 Als ietz vil mancher dutt,
 435 Der umb ein schnodes gut
 Sin ere so ring wigt
 Und menger schalkeit pfligt
 Mit sunden und mit schand.
 Die fursten jn dem land
 440 Die soltens understen:
 Sie lassens fur sich gen
 Und wegents leyder ring.
 Gesell, vor allem ding
 Din sel und er bewar:
 445 Nit müsch dich jn die schar,
 Die mit den gauchen fert.
 Die sien all durchbert
 Mit schalkeit sunderbar.
 Es kompt noch vil der jar,
 450 Das es gerochen wirt,
 Als sich dan wol geburt
 Dem schopffer din und myn.
 Es mag die harr nit sin,

[B116v]

Sy find

[215]

- Das es der herr verdrag.
 455 Verfluch[e]t sy der dag,
 An dem sie sind geborn!
 Sie sind halb verlorn,
 Das anderteil verspilt.
 Ob es dich nit bevilt,
 460 So hor und merck mich recht!
 Ir etlich haben knecht,
 Die volgent uff der strasß vogelnd
 Und messent mit der mag,
 Die an das dryholtz hort. körtt
 465 Gesell, bis nit bedort!
 Hut dich vor böser sach!"
 Gar zuchtiglich ich sprach,
 "Gern, reine, werde frucht!
 In got und uwer zücht
 470 Bevilch ich sel und er.
 Der hoen wissen ler
 Myn dinst nye wirdig wart; [B117r]
 Zu dieser kleynen vart
 Hand jr mich wol gesturt. als ich dan wol gepürt[B474a]
 475 Gedürt und uberdurt
 Sind uwer wise ret.
 Es was mir vor wilpret
 Ee ich die warheit fand."
 Sie greiff mir an die hand
 480 Und sprach, "gesell, sitz still!
 Sy es din guter wil,
 So thu erlauben mir:
 Ich muß ein wil von dir

[Dort einhalb in ein gaden]
 485 Zu einer beschlossen laden.
 Da han ich etwas jnn,
 Das ich nach mynem synn
 Dir lanngtzt han erdacht.
 Es ist nit gar volbracht,
 490 Das sag ich dir furwar."
 "Nein, werde fraw, ein har
 Von uwerm zopff ich nem
 Fur all Venediger krem
 Und Barssilonger auch."
 495 Sie sprach, "gesell, ein gauch
 Arm kleinet sol versmahen.
 Du solt dich nit vergahen
 Mit wechsel red gen mir."
 "Gern, [reyne] fraw! was jr
 500 Gebietend, das soll sin!"
 Uff stund die frawe myn
 Und ging hin sunder tammer
 Selbander jn die kamer,
 Darjnn das duchlin was,
 505 Doch nit von blute nas,
 Vil wisser wan der schne.
 Owe, gesell, owe!
 Es gatt mir durch myn hertz,
 Wan ich bedenck den smertz,
 510 Den sie durch mich enpfieng.
 Das man mich vor nit hieng,
 Das quelt mir sel und lib,
 E das das reine wib

Dort einhalb ich in ein gaden [A]
 Dorthin ainhalb in ain gaden [B]

[B omits beschlossen]

[216]

Barssilonger

reny [A] raine [B]

ain kamer

dan

- Von mir geletzet wurd.
 515 Es was ein swere burd,
 Die sie in hertzen drug!
 'Wan ist der red genug?'
 Sprach ich zu diesem jungen,
 'Gesaget noch gesungen
 520 Hort ich nye fromder mer. ye
 Du sagst mir wol von swer vil von ſwer
 Und nit den rechten grund.
 Gesell, thu uff den mund
 Und leg kein blat darfur! ' dafür [217]
 525 'Gern, lieber frund, ich spür
 An dir wol allen vlis.
 Dies duchlin rein und wis
 Die zart nam in jr hend
 Durch mich armen ellend
 530 Und legt es blos und fin
 Uff jr tzartes brüstlin,
 Das nechst ob irem hertz, näſt ab [A]
 Das man nent link und lertz,
 Und doch on allen zadel
 535 Mit einer scharpffen nadel
 Stach sie vil locher dieff.
 Das blut hernacher lieff her nach [A]
 Mit dropffen gros und clein,
 Darumb die zart die rein
 540 Must liden grose swer.
 Ich wen, Wilhalmes sper
 Von Orlens, das er furt
 Und jm das leben rürt,

- Gab nit so grose qual,
 545 Als ieder stich zermal
 Ein eigen smertz besonder.
 Das wonder aller wonder
 Dutt mir myn hertz verschnyden,
 Als ders mit eyner bliden
 550 Zewurff zu dusen stucken,
 Mit zucken wider zucken
 Ein nagelnuwer smertz.
 Gesell, mir will das hertz
 Bis uff den grunt versincken,
 555 Die rechten handt noch lincken noch die lincken
 Kan ich nicht uffgehaben. [B118v]
 Ich wolt, ich leg begraben
 In Iosophates dal, Joſophetas
 Sid mich her Adams val
 560 So berlich dut bekletzen verletzen
 Man solt mich billich hetzen
 Mit hunden us dem land.' [218]
 'Ach nein, das wer ein schand,'
 Sprach ich zu dem vil werden.
 565 'An Worten und geberden
 Spür ich din kömer wol.
 Ich wen zu Karydol Karidol
 Nie ritter ward so frut,
 Sech er das edel blut,
 570 Er must mitliden han. das leiden
 Nim hin, das las ich stan;
 Ich merck erst recht den grunt. [B omits recht]
 Darumb, so mach mir kunt

- Furbas din handelung! '
- 575 Mit sufftzen sprach der jung,
'Gut man, das thun ich gern.
Des meres gries, all stern,
Wer das getzelen kund,
Hat nit so vil abgrund
- 580 Uff bitterlichen smertz,
Als hie myn eynig hertz,
Das ich verborgen drag.
Merck vorbas, was ich sag!
Von diser ungeschicht
- 585 Ein nuwes leid verpflichtet
Hebt sich hie sunderbar.
Dies duchlin fin und clar
Die tzart zesamen wickelt
- 590 Gar lieplich uff ein ander.
Dem grossen Allexander
Was solich botschafft tür.
Die rein, die zart gehür
Drat her gen mir selb drit
- 595 Nach adelichem sit.
Ein jungfraw wol bedagt
Und auch ein gürtelmagt,
Die gingen beid mir jr
Gar druriglich zu mir,
- 600 Darab ich ser erschrack.
Der barock zu Baldack
Kom nie in solich nott
Durch Gamurretes dot,

[B119r]

[219]

Gamurtes [A]

Sprach ich mit süfftzen dieff,
635 "Das ich ye schreib den brieff nie
Der unns zusammen drug! "
"Nein, drut gesell, bis clug!
By dir so bin ich gern.
Der ungedruwe stern,
640 Der jn dem zirckel gat
Nach Venus list und rat
Hat mich darzu betzwungen,
Das ich dir werden jungen
Dies kleynot han gemacht.
645 Ob es ein teil mich swacht,
Das soltu got lon walten.
Myn jungfraw dort, die alten,
Die frag umb diese mer !
Die kan von diser swer
650 Den handel dir wol sagen.
Ich kan es nit wol clagen
Vor grossem smertzen dieff,
Und nit veracht den brieff,
Der unns zusammen bracht!
655 Ich han es wol gedacht,
Das es dir smertzen geb.
Myn druw, dwil ich leb die wil
Wil ich von dir nit wencken.
Du solt auch myn gedencken
660 Unsund und nit mit schand,
So dir jn fremdenland frömdem land
Zu ritterschafft gelingt."
Gar züchticlich sie winckt

[220]

[B120r]

die wil

frömdem land

- Der jungfraw mit der hant,
 665 Die kam daher gerant, dörтт her
 Als ob sie drürig wer,
 Und sagt mir diese mer
 Gentzlich in tzorn[e]s wiß. zorens
 "Ach, jungfraw, redent lis!"
 670 Sprach ich alda zu stund,
 "Es hatt nit guten grund
 An uch, das spüre ich wol. brüff
 Wern jr in einem hol
 Verschlossen und vermurt,
 675 Das ir nit hand beschürt [B120v]
 Die reynen werden frucht? [221]
 Wa kam hin uwer zucht
 Und auch der gurtelmagt?
 Wie warnd ir so verzagt,
 680 So schnod und auch so las?
 Ich drag uch billich has,
 Das ir es hand verhengt,
 Das edel blut gesprengt
 Uß jrem brusten reyn."
 685 "Endruwen, junckher, neyn!"
 Die jungfraw zu mir sprach.
 "Do ich myn frawen sach
 So meisterlich gebarn,
 Als ob sie sieben starn
 690 Wolt nemen us eynem nest,
 Und ich gar wenig west,
 Was jr zu willen was, Was ir ye zū will̄ was
 Da det ich als der has,

- Der fluht, so man jn jagt,
 695 Mit mir die gurtelmagt
 Dort enhalb an ein end.
 Sie was unns zu behend,
 Do sie sich von unns stal,
 Do mit sie wol verhal
 700 Irn dummen duben mut,
 Als sie jr edel blut
 Durch uch verseren wolt. durch eŵrn willen verŵeren wolt
 Ir sind mir fiend ald holt,
 Das las ich an ein heil.
 705 Sygen das brackenseil Sygon [B121r]
 Auch sur erarnet hat;
 Venus jr dück nit lat,
 Sie stifftet lieb und leid;
 Wir armen dirnen beid
 710 Unschuldig sind daran." Syend vnſchuldig daran
 Die jungfraw sach [ich] an in [A] [B]
 Gar zorniglich und sweig.
 Die zart sich nyder seig naig
 Fruntlich an mynen arn arm [222]
 715 Und sprach, "gesell, las farn
 Din zornen und din clag!
 Es kompt noch wol der dag,
 Das dir gelonet wirt.
 Wan es sich wol gepürt,
 720 So süch Venediger hab
 Und far zum heyligen grab!
 Das ist myn rat der best.
 Es komen hint vil gest

- Nach pellicanus art. Pelicanus
 755 Venix, der vogel tzart, Fenix
 Der jungt sich in dem füwr.
 Fraw Mynn und Abentur
 Gelich ich zueinander.
 Da mit der sunnen glander
 760 Sich kert gen occident,
 Des dages rich present
 Hat sich verkeret gar."
 Sie sprach, "gesell, nym war,
 Die nacht fert her gar dunckel;
 765 Durchluchtig als kerfunckel karfunckel
Sol dich myn hertz durch schinen. So [A]
 Vor ewiglichen pinen
 Woll dich der herr behüten;
 Durch aller frawen güten
 770 Las unns ein scheiden thün
 Und halt auch frid und sün
 Der jungfraw und der magt!" jungfrowen
 "Das sy uch zügesagt
 Ir raine frucht gehur! reynen frawen [A]
 775 In dieser abentur
 Ist es ein clein gebot.
 War es nit wider got
 So wolt ich lieber sterben,
 An lib und gut verderben,
 780 Wan das ich scheiden muß."
 Ich neigt jr uff den füs
 Und dancket irn genaden.
 "Got ja den hohsten graden

Wol unnser beyder pflegen!"

785 Also gab sie den segen

Und ich hinwider auch.

Hinging ich dummer gauch,

Do ich myn pferd fant,

Daruff sas ich zu hant

790 Und reit mit sorgen heyn,

haim

[224]

Das edel duchlin reyn

Verschlossen an der brust.

Gar dick mich sehens lust

[B122v]

Aldag wol durent mal,

795 Als ob es sy der gral,

Der Tyterel uff hielt

Titterel

Und sines lebens wiert

Volcklich funffhundert jar.'

'O junger ritter clar,'

800 Sprach ich zu jm in truwen,

'Es sol dich nit geruwen

Din dinst der werden frawen,

Der lob ist unverhawen

Der lieb

Gein got und gein der welt

805 Und doch ein clein gefelt,

Das sie sich hatt verwunt.

Nun tun mir furbas kunt

Wie dir die fart geriet.

Do du vom lande schiet

810 Das west ich von dir gern.

Antarticus den stern

Hast du den auch gesehen?

'Nein, lieber frund, verjehen

- Mus ich myn selbes schand.
- 815 Zu Jndien jn dem land India
 Da bin ich nit gewesen;
 Ich hab wol sust gelesen, hñn
 Das man den stern^oen sech
 In etlich landen wech
- 820 Besonder uff dem berg,
 Daby die cleynen zwerg [B123r]
 Irn wandel hand und triff.
 Venediger bilger schiff
 Drug mich gen Tzipern schier, zipper
- 825 Do fand ich ritter vier
 In Nicomedi, der stat,
 Der eltst mich sunder bat, Der elte^t mich do bat
 Ob es mir also leg, [225]
 Das ich geselschafft pfleg
- 830 Mit jn zum heyligen grab,
 Besunder jn die hab
 Der jnsel Rodis zu.
 "Gern, lieber herr, ich thū
 Was uwer wil begert.
- 835 Gesegent zu dem swert Gesegnet
 Bin ich noch leyder nicht.
 Ob das von uch geschicht, beschicht
 Das han ich sicher gern."
 Der magnet und der stern
- 840 Wist unns die rechten fart;
 Die vier nach ritters art
 Mit frewden fürn da hin,
 Ich armer auch mit in,

- Als noch manger bilger dut.
 845 Die Sant Johanser gutt
 Uns buttent zucht und er. erbuttent
 Was soll ich sagen mer?
 Dry wochen warn wir da.
 Es waren nit gens mer bla,
 850 Als man vom Dürcken sagt;
 Ein ritter unverzagt
 Sagt unns die rechten mer
 Von lauffen hin und her,
 Wie es den Kriechen ging;
 855 Das man den Durcken hing,
 Das wer ein cleyner schad.
 Er macht noch gern ein bad machtz
 Der cristenheit zu warn.
 Nym hin, das las wir farn.
 860 Wir sassen uff das mer
 Mit unserm kleynen her
 In einem nuwen kiel.
 Dem pateron mißfiel patron
 Das wetter ungestom.
 865 Das ich es nit verblom
 Ze viel mit clugen worten,
Wir schifften durch die porten Hin [A]
 Mit grossen sorgen hin.
 Gesell, ich junger bin
 870 Des meres lauff unwiß.
 Ein marner alt und gris
 Sagt unns von grosser swer.
 Das het ich fur ein mer

[B123v]

[226]

- Und ducht mich sin ein dant,
 875 Wan mir was unbekant Dan
 Des wilden wassers flut.
 Wie grulich was die strut stüt
 Und auch des meres freis.
 Ich wend, ich wer Wigleis, wonnd Wigelaiß [B124r]
 880 Der ritter mit dem rad,
 Bis das mir doch das bad
 Wolt wachsen jn dem mund, den
 Herdurch des meres gründ,
 Fortunen wellen gros,
 885 Da von sich sus und doß
 Hoch jn den wolcken hub. hin
 Schiffkinder, manig bub
 Und etlich bilger gut
 Durch jren krancken mut
 890 Darab erschracken vast.
 Das unns der kiel nit brast,
 Das kom von gottes trü,
 Und das er auch was nuw
 Von holtzwerck vest und starck:
 895 Galyoten oder barck
 Wern nit beliben gantz.
 Des kiele ordinantz kielen
 Von winden wart zerstort:
 Der mastbaum hoch enbort
 900 Im kiel lag uberzweg,
 Das mangem marck und ferg
 Dadurch verseret wart.
 Owe der strengen fart!

- Gedacht ich armer dick,
 905 Wer ich ein augenblick
 By myner frawen reyn,
 Die mir dies duchlin cleyn
 So fruntlich hat gegeben
 E das sich ent myn leben:
 910 Das wolt ich sicher gern.
 Polarticus der stern
 Was unns verswonden gar;
 Wir namen wenig war
 Der stern planeten ganck;
 915 Des himels sper umbfanck
 Wolt unns verfahren cleyn.
 Merck vorbas, was ich meyn
 Von diesem cleynot zart!
Sein hailligkait, sein art
 920 Rufft ich jn noten an;
 Zu stund ich da besan,
 Das sich das wetter teilt.
 Dem heiltum unvermeilt
 Ich billich danck und nig.'
 925 'Gesell, der wort geswig!
 Es ist ein abgöttery!
 Ruff an die magt Mary,
 Die kompt dir bas zu helff.
 Der gibling und der gelff
 930 Hant nit gelichen mut;
 Ein ritter frum und gut,
 Der sol kein abgott han.
 Nym hin, das sy getan!'

[227]

[B124v]

Pelarticus [A]

steren vnd planeten

und auch sin [A only]

hailigtum

warhait gschwig
abtgöttery [A]

abtgott [A]

- 'Gesell, ich volg dir gern,
 935 Also wiltu enbern
 Das cleynot laiden mir.'
 'Ja gern, gesell, hab dir
 Das cleynot als dus hast. [B125r]
 Ich han auch dick geblast
 940 Myn dag in kalten ofen, kalt [228]
 Durch golffen über schrofen
 Gefarn unmeisterlich.
 Thu fûrt bescheiden mich, fûrter
 Wie es dir sy ergangen!
 945 Ich meynt, du werst gefangen
 Dort jn der heiden land.'
 'Nein, drut gesell, der schand
 Det mich der schöpffer fry
 Und auch die magt Mary.
 950 Ein scharpffer wind uns warff mich
 Uff einen velsen scharpff
 In eyner fremden hab,
 Funff dagweid von dem grab,
 Darjnn der schopffer lag.
 955 Was hilfft, das ich dir sag
 Von ubermas der not?
 Es lagen sieben dot,
 Der ich doch wenig kant.
 Wir andern allesant alle Jampt
 960 Hindratten über felt,
 Doch menger hett sin gelt
 Verlor^n jn dem gestrûs. gschtrûs
 Ein kauffman, was ein brûs

- Von Dorow us, der stat,
 965 Der hett gar vil duckat
 Und Lübisich gulden auch,
 Die er gar heimlich zauch
 Verborgen us dem büsen
 Und gab sin rein almusen
 970 Den armen bilgern gut,
 Den mantel und der hut
 Verrucket was jm kiel
 (Das doch nit wol gefiel
 Den armen pilgerin).
 975 Das las ich aber sin;
 Der deding wird zevil:
 Lanng red ich kurtzen wil.
 Ein richer amasur [229]
 (Was nit ein schwitzer pur)
 980 Eins fursten egulier, etulier [A]
 Der nam die ritter vier,
 Mich armen auch mit in,
 Und fürt uns frolich hin
 Zu einer klaren vest.
 985 Wir waren fremde gest
 In sinem werden huß;
 Gelich dem kung Artus konig [A]
 Was er der eren milt.
 Gebor[e]n zu dem schilt Geborn von
 990 Was er und auch sin wib.
 Gedauft jr beyder lib
 Und alle sine kind.
 Sin edel hoffgesind

- Mit frewden unns enpfing.
- 995 Wie es den andern ging,
 Das las ich sin, als ist. [B126r]
 Got vatter, Jhesus Crist
 Halt sie jn diner hut!
 Der wirt was wolgemut
- 1000 Und auch die frawe sin;
 In kriechschem dauffes schin touffe
 Warn sie gedauffet all.
 Schin, überbein, und gall
 Hat vil der Krichen glaub. kriechisch
- 1005 Ich armer dummer daub
 Myn red mach hie zu lang: vil zu lang
 Was ich mit Worten brang,
 Des las dich nit verdrissen!
 Ich wil dir kurtz entsliessen,
- 1010 Wie unns der werd gehur
 Mit fremder abentur
 Bracht hin zum heiligen grab.
 Gebieten mit dem stab
 Mocht er mit siner crafft [230]
- 1015 Gar vil der heydenschafft,
 Als sinem ampt wol tzam.
 Durch glimpff er zu jm nam
 Ein frumen schachtilur,
 Der was sin nachgebur
- 1020 Und det was er begert.
 Hantbogen, kulen, swert
 Da waren vil zuhöff,
 Die doch nit all dem döff

- Do selbs geboren ward. Da selbſt
 1055 Vorbas was unnser fard Fürbas [B127r]
 Uff wegen krum und schlecht.
 Wir funff und unser knecht
 Gantz frewden worden sat, wurden
 Da wir die heilgen stat hailgen
 1060 Jherusalem ansahen
 Und auch dem berg[e] nahen,
 Den man nent Olivet.
 Das dorfflin Nazaret nazzaret
 Dett auch gen uns her glesten,
 1065 Doch nit gelich der vesten,
 Daruff der grale was.
 Mit druwen one has
 Der herr uns urlaub gab.
 Unferr vom heiligen grab,
 1070 Da ist ein schon dafern
 Und heisset zu dem stern, haist
 Furt uns ein kunsel jn. Fürt unns ainer ein
 Danck hab der herre myn,
 Der uns so gütlich det!
 1075 Mit gantzem druwen stet
 Wolt ich jm dienen gern.
 Nit lang jn der tafern
 Beliben wir alda.
 Mit cleydern swartz und gra
 1080 Und bilgersteben gut
 In demutiklichem mut
 Ging wir zum closter yn,

- Darjnn gar clar und fin
 Verschlossen ist das grab,
 1085 Davor mang bilgerstab
 Und vil der zeichen hing.
 Der gardion unns enpfing
 Und auch die bruder sin;
 In demutiglichem schin
 1090 Fragt er unns bald der mer;
 Was unser meynung wer,
 Das sagt wir jm zuhant.
 "Got hat uch her gesant,"
 Sprach er mit gantzer drw.
 1095 "War, lutter bicht und rw
 Solt jr mit vlise tün,
 So git got frid unnd sün
 Dem lib und auch der sel.
 Der gut Sant Michael
 1100 Hat uch geleitet her.
 Behut vor grosser swer,
 Als ietz der heyden dribt,
 Den man den Durcken schribt
 Und auch ein keyser nent:
 1105 Er hat vil lutt geschent
 Mit valscher untruw gros
 Als ander sin genos
 Vor jarn hand auch geton,
 Als jm die ungerisch kron
 1110 Must geben sweren zol,
 Ich mein vor Nicapol,

[B127v]

[232]

michenhel

 auch hñnd tñn
 Vngriſch

ver in capol [A]

- In dütscher zung Schiltarn.
 Got wol die seln bewarn,
 Die dar jrn lib verlurn!
- .1115 Cerastes heist ein wurn,
 Des giffet dot ross und man.
 Wen er beruret an,
 Der hat den lib verlorn.
 Also swebt ietz in zorn
- 1120 Der ungedrwe schalck,
 Der giffet uncken balck,
 Der cristenheit zu swer."
 Zu stund do dratten her
 Funff brüder wol gestalt,
- 1125 Die sassen nyder balt
 Und hörten unns zu bicht.
 Die absolvirung licht
 Was jn der penitentz;
 Das hatt ein differentz,
- 1130 Die gauchen ist zu clug.
 Da mit[e] man her drug
 Die schlussel, buch und swert,
 Als man eym ritter wert
 Vorlisst sin ordinantz
- 1135 Und jm der eren krantz
 Formirt in hohen bris.
 Danck hab der gardion wis,
 Das ich des nit verges!
 Er hielt unns selb ein mess
- 1140 Nach Romischer ordenung
 Und nit jn kriechscher zung,

zungē
 selben

[B128r]

Der vergiftet

[233]

römiſch
 kriechiſcher

[B128v]

- Als dort gewonheit ist.
 Darnach in kurtzer frist
 Schlos er unns uff das grab.
- 1145 Uff mynem bilgerstab Uff meinen billgerin^fstab
 Kniwet ich alda zustund.
 Mit hertzen und mit mund Mit hertz unnd auch mit mund
 Rufft ich den schöppfer an.
 Gros ruw ich auch gewan
- 1150 Von diesem cleynot gut,
 Als ich das edel blut
 Besint der frawen myn, Be^fampt
 Ir brustlin clar und fin
 Dieff in myn hertz verschlos.
- 1155 Myn andacht die was gros,
 Ye lenger und ye vester.
 Recht als der sunnen glester
 Vermeltzt ein süßes daw, Ver^fschmecht
 Alsus min in der schaw
- 1160 Kund bos gedenck verdriben.
 Nim hin, das las wir bliben
 Ein teil mit worten clug.
 Der mich zu ritter schlug
 Was myn gesell. der alt;
- 1165 Der gardion den gewalt Der gardion der alt [234]
 Dem selben ritter gab.
 Hutt, kapp, und mantel ab Hüb
 Hett ich mit vlis getan. [B129r]
- 1170 Der jardian sprach den segen; [B omits sprach]
 Er lies nit underwegen,

- Was jm darzu gezam.
 In dem ein convers kam,
 Den man den trisler nant, nennt
 1175 Dem gab ich in sin hant hennd
 Duckaten guter echt.
 Mit zuchten ungebrecht
 Kund er mir dancken vast.
 Man lies unns mit lang rast
 1180 Dort in der capel cleyn,
 Wir kusten all den stein,
 Der ob dem schöpffer lag.
 Die warheit ich dir sag: hie sag
 Gesell, merck eben mich!
 1185 Der gardion sunderlich
 Nam mich mit siner hant
 Und zeigt uns allen samt
 Mit kurtzen worten schnell
 Das closter und die tzel,
 1190 Darjnn die herren rasten.
 Wir sahen wenig kasten
 Mit korn und auch mit mel, Mit koren vnd mit mel
 Nit wan ein blosses vel,
 Daruff die prister lagen.
 1195 Den gardion sunder fragen
 Myn bruder det, der alt,
 Von zeichen manigfalt,
 Die Cristus het begangen.
 Der gardion on brangen
 1200 Sagt unns die rechten mer,
 Wo got gewandelt wer Wa

[235]

- In siner menscheit clar
 Vierdhalb und drissig jar
 Und auch die jungfraw zart,
 1205 Die got und menschlich art
 Gebar in zwo natur.
 Der susß und nit der sur
 Unns al zu dische bat.
 Mit senfften worten glat
 1210 Bat wir den heiligen man,
 Das er unns nit wer gran
 Und uns ein urlaub geb.
 Er sprach, "als lanng ich leb,
 Sind jr in mym gebet
 1215 Mit gantzen drüwen stet
 Und auch der brüder myn.
 Maria die künigin
 Wol uch alsampt bewarn,
 Wa ir hin furbas farn
 1220 Uff wasser und uff land,
 Vor sunden und vor schand
 Hab uch der herr in hüt!"
 Hing ging der jardion gut,
 Sin kutt was wol geschurtzt.
 1225 Lang red die sy gekurtzt!
 Vil worder schlag ich ab.
 Hin von dem heiligen grab
 Ging wir in die dafern,
 Da vor ein gulden stern
 1230 On einer stangen hing.
 Gar dugentlich herging

Mary
 bwaren
 Wa ir fürbas hin varen

gardion

[B13Or]

An
 erging

- Der wirt und auch sin wib.
 Zwu seln und nür ein lib
 Brufft wir an irm gebarn,
 1235 Wie wol sie heyden warn
 Und glaubten dem Machnet.
 Die fraw unns gutlich det
 Und auch jr man der wirt.
 Der kunsel unverirt
 1240 In sym gemüte was;
 Er fürt unns sunder haß
 On all die heyiligen stet,
 Da Crist gewandelt het
 Und ouch sin muter küsch.
 1245 Es ist nit ein gedüsch,
 Als hie die juden sprechen.
 Man soll es billich rechnen
 An lib und an jrm gut.
 Sie glauben dem dalmut,
 1250 Der sie verwiset hat.
 Wir wurden dick zu rat
 Mit gardion dem gedruwen:
 Der heyden tempel nuwen
 Hett wir gesehen gern.
 1255 Der wirt zum guldin stern
 Das selb unns widerriet.
 Er sprach, "der ewart diet
 Des tempels niemen war;
 Kom uwer eyner dar,
 1260 Ir musten all verderben,
 Eins grymen dots ersterben.

glauben
 waren
 an machmett

[236]

An hailgen
 Cristus

den thalmut
 verwyßen

[B130v]

Käm

Das sag ich uch furwar:
 Wern ir hie durent jar
 Ir kemen nit darjn."

1265 Do mit so las wir sin
 Den tempel als er ist.
 Darnach in kurtzer frist
 Wurd wir all funff zu rat
 In einer keminat

wirs

1270 Gar heimlich unnd gar still;
 Wer es des hochsten will,
 Der Jhesus ist genant,
 Wir wolten über lant,
 Die stras zu Sant Katherin,

1275 Den berg Demontesyon,
 Beschawen überal
 Den balast unnd den sal
 Zu Alkir in der stat,
 Darjn der soldan hat

demonte sein

[237]

1280 Sin wonung allermeist.
 "Got vatter, sun, und geist
 Drivalentiglich ein got,
 Wiß uns, vil cleyne rot,"
 Sprach einer zum andern da,

Gott Vatt' Sun hailig' gailt
 [B131r]

Wyße

1285 "Dahin die rechten schlaw
 Und gut geselleschafft."
 Dies wortter hetten crafft,
 Gestalt in eydes wiß.
 Alsus zu hohen briß

1290 Beschlossen ward der rat.
 Rinisch gulden unnd duckat

- Gewechselt wurden schier;
 Mul, esel, kemeltier
 Der consul unns bestalt.
 1295 Durch andacht manigvalt
 Ging wir zum gardion;
 Mit heyligen worten fron
 Dett er unns segen us.
 Dwil des wirtes hus
 1300 Ward armer geste vol.
 Mit jamerlichem dol
 Warn sie beraubet all.
 Des argen heyden gall
 Bracht sie in leydes pin,
 1305 Kaufflut und pilgerin
 Gemuschet durch einander.
 Unferr by Allexander
 Das ubel mort geschach.
 Der gardion zu unns sprach,
 1310 "Gut bruder, farent hin!
 Got geb uch in den sin,
 Das jr unns suchen wider.
 Ir bringent müde glider
 Des git uch got den lon."
 1315 Da mit so det wir gan
 Frolich in die tafern.
 Der wirdt zum guldin stern
 Sagt unns ein teil der mer,
 Wie es ergangen wer
 1320 Den armen bilgram gutt.
 On kappen und on hut
- Mul esel vnd kemelthier
 kunsul
 hailgen
 segnen
 [B has a blank space here]
 wort
 gelider
 [B131v]
 [238]
 billgerin

- Sas mancher nacket blos,
 Der kum sin selbes schos
 Mocht decken mit aim duch. einem [A]
- .1325 Unhosen und unschuh
 Was menger jn der schar.
 Von mannen zehen par
 Und alter frawen vier,
 Die warn von Montpilier: mumpplier
- 1330 Die wolten ertzny holn
 Und hetten sich verstoln [B has a blank space here]
 Von jren freunden dort.
 Was sollen vil der wort?
 Ich wils beliben lon.
- 1335 Ein kauffman von Meron
Den kant ich junger wol; Der [A]
 Er was auch drurens vol
 In dieser armen schar.
 Der sagt unns ganz und gar,
- 1340 Wie es ergangen was.
 Zu jm myn bruder sas [B132r]
 Und sagt jm auch die mer,
 Das unser meynung wer
 Die fart zu Sant Katherin.
- 1345 "Nein, herr, das lassent sin,"
 Sprach er jn gantzer drw̃,
 "Ein andern soldan ñw̃
 Die fursten hand gesetzt;
 Ye einer den andern letzt
- 1350 Mit sunden und mit schand.
 Ich bin in jr[e]m land

Ein legerherr gewesen.
 Ir möchten nit genesen,
 Ir weren all verlorn.

[239]

1355 Der soldan ist mit zorn
 Ein wutrich ungestöm."
 "Gut man, mirs nit verblöm,"
 Zu jm sprach myn gesell,
 "Es wer gros ungefell,
 1360 Solt wir dies fart nit thun.
 Gleyt macht frid und sün,
 Das wol wir nemen all."
 "Ja, herr, hett es kein gall,
 So hulff villicht das gleit;

hilff

1365 Es ist verlorn arbeit,
 Das sind on tzwifel gar!
 Sie nement wenig war
 Geleytes nach den ern.
 Sie wurden uch versern
 1370 An lib und auch an gut.
 Sie achten cristen blut
 Vil ringer wan ein haß.
 In kurtz ein brieff ich laß,
 Geschriben in latin,

[B132v]

1375 Das all gros sarassin
 Fur Alkur wollent ziehen;
 Der soldan, der müß fliehen
 Und alles sin geschlecht:
 Sie sprechen, widerrecht
 1380 Sy er ein soldan worden,
 Und halt auch nit den orden,

alkyr wolten

- Den Machmet hab gestifft, machmett
 Der doch vil lannd vergifft
 Mit siner falschen ler."
- 1385 Wir funff erschracken ser
 Und gingen bald zu rat;
 Es was ein clein senat,
 Mit den wir uns berieten.
 Was wir uns sollen nyeten nütten
- 1390 Und got von unns begert,
 Das sol er sin gewert,
 Wir sind sin arme diet. [240]
 Damit der eltst uns riet, ailfft
 Wir solten widergan
- 1395 Snell zu dem gardian
 Und haben sinen rat.
 Das detten wir gedrat gar traut
 Und gingen hin gar snel.
 Gar heimlich in ein zell ainer [B133r]
- 1400 Fund wir den guten man.
 Er lacht und sah unns an
 Und hies unns wilkom sin wilkomen
 "Ir lieben bruder myn,"
 Sprach er gar zuchtiglich,
- 1405 "Es hatt erschreck~~e~~t mich, Er [A]
 Das ir so schnell herkumt."
 "Nein, lieber herr, es frümt
 Unns armen bilgrinn wol: billgerin
 Ir sind gantz wißheit vol,
- 1410 Darumb so ratent zü.
 Wir haben gros unrü Wir habent wenig r⁹

- Die armen fromen diet."
 Im selb der gardion riet
 Und schicket nach brudern dryen. schickt
- 1445 Die fromen wandels fryen
 Zu unns herkomen bald;
 Mit worten manigfald
 Ward jn ertzelt all sach.
 Mit zucht der gardion sprach,
- 1450 "Wir wollent unns beraten,
 Ale ye die wysen daten,"
 Und gingen an ein end.
 Der rat der ward behend; was
 Sie komen schnell herwider
- 1455 Und sassen zu uns nyder
 Und sagten unns von erst
 Wie soldan vast der herst Wie soldan vast hörst [B134r]
 Dort jn den landen wer,
 Die fart wer hert und swer,
- 1460 Das solt wir in gelauben,
 Die sackman wurden rauben
 Und nemen unser hab.
 "Blibt hie by gottes grab,
 Das rat wir uch mit truwen.
- 1465 Die soldan alt und nüwen
 Land driben dort jr batt; hat [A]
 Spricht einr dem andern mat, ainer
 Das las wir auch beliben. [242]
 Die winterzyt verdriben
- 1470 In diesem heiligen land.
 Das ist uch nit ein schand,

- Das wissent sunderbar.
 Ein vierteil von eym jar
 Ist nit an uch gebunden.
 1475 Den siechen und den wunden
 By uch jn der dafern,
 Die soln jr drosten gern
 Mit Worten und mit Wercken;
 Es dut die sel besercken beßtercken
 1480 Hoch in dem himelrich,
 So werden jr gelich
 Sant Elssbet der vil werden, Elsbeth
 Und hie uff dieser erden
 Wirt üwer ende gut."
 1485 Mit demütlichem mut demütlichem
 Danckt wir den herren vast. dem
 Ich junger was ein gast
 Zu diesen fremden mern.
 Ich het gesehen gern
 1490 Die soldan und jr her.
 Was walt ich uber mer, wolt
 Gedacht ich armer dick,
 Das ich sobald erschrick
 Ab tröw wort diser man? drurt [A]
 1495 Gebachen in der pfan
 Wer es mir als gewesen,
 Was sol das federlesen?
 Wes bleib ich nit dheyM daheim
 Und lies des meres schweym
 1500 Mit disen alten brangen? disem
 Der rat der was volgangen vergange
 Und must beliben stet.

[B134v]

Der gardian sin gebet
 Mit unns vast aberteilt.
 1505 Ich het mich gern vergeilt
 In dieser abentur.
 Der gardion, der gehur,
 Furt uns zum helgen grab:
 Mit mynem bilgerstab
 1510 Rürt ich es durch ain getter.
 Myn bruder und auch vetter,
 Die fragten mich der mer,
 Wie ich so drurig wer,
 Das solt ich sie bescheiden.
 1515 Ich sprach, "die argen heiden
 Hand mir myn hertz beswert
 Und auch ein teyl erfert,
 Das ich nit soll anschawen
 Zu dinst der werden frawen,
 1520 Die mich hat uggesant,
 Calday das edel landt
 Und Alkir auch die stat.
 Das dut mich frewden mat
 Und bringt myn hertz jn komer."
 1525 "Du red[e]st als ein dommer,"
 Sprach myn gesell der alt,
 "Der herr hat wol gewalt,
 Das er dich bringt alldar
 Mit eyner grossen schar,
 1530 Do keyser Friderich
 Ze dinst erfordert dich
 Unnd zucht zum heiligen grab.

Gardion

[243]

durcheinander [A]

Werdent fraugen mich [B135r]

Wie es mir ergangē wer

So händ die argen haiden

Mir mein hertz beſwerdt

Caldeÿ

alkyr

Das macht

So fridrich

- Do ghört kein bilgerstab gehört
 Eym jungen ritter zu.
- 1535 Dar umb so hab din rü
 Und las din druren bliben: belibn
 Du sitzt uff gluckes schiben
 Noch vil der langen jar."
 "Gnad herr, die red werd war," [B135v]
- 1540 Sprach ich und sah in an.
 Do mit schied wir von dan
 Bald wider zu den siechen, [244]
 Der etlich müsten kriechen,
 Ir wenig mochten gen.
- 1545 Duckaten echt und tzwen
 Gab wir jn da zu stur.
 Nun merck ein abentür!
 Die frawen waren verswunden
 Von uns in kurtzen stunden,
- 1550 Das nam unns al gar fremd.
 Ir etlich het ein hemd Ir Iettlich
 Und anders nicht von cleyden. nichtz claidern
 Gar schnell von uns gescheyden unns baidern
 On aller hande bris,
- 1555 Die waren all billwis, Si
 Die man unholden nent,
 Uff einem kalb gerent
 Gar snell gen Manpillier. von Mumpplier
 Das kalpp kom wider schier
- 1560 Dem wirt jn sinen stal. Sein
 In Josophattes tal Josephetas
 Ging wir des morgens frü; am morgen fr⁹

- Wir hetten wenig rü
 Die langen wintter zit:
 1565 Wir gingen widerstrit
 An ieglich statt besunder ettlich
 Und schriben vil der wunder [B136r]
 Von got an eyenen zedel,
 Bis das des sumers wedel
 1570 Vast her gen ostern drang. oſten
 Gesell, ich machs nit lang: machts [A]
 Solt ich dir sagen gantz
 Von allerhande schantz
 Wie es mir sy ergangen,
 1575 Dich wurd der red belangen,
 Darumb las ich es ston.
 Den Kauffman von Meron
 Behielt ich by mir da;
 [Bekleiden] in ytel gra Bekleit [A] Beclaiden [B]
 1580 Det ich den selben man. [245]
 Er hies nit Rockenzan
 Als dort der Behem falsch; böchem
 Er hies der junge Malsch
 Unnd ist ein kauffman gut;
 1585 Uff wilden wassers flut
 Ist er gefaren dick,
 Sturm wind und wetters blick,
 Darab erschrack er cleyn.
 Der furt mich mit jm heym hain
 1590 Gen Meron jn die stat;
 Beliebens er mich bat
 By jm ein gute wil.

- Darnach nit vil der mil
 Kan ich gen Ynnesbruck, Kam yßbruck
 1595 Das hett ich fur ein gluck.
 Ich fand den edeln fursten, [B136v]
 Der mich lies wenig dursten:
 Genug in allen dyngen,
 Steinstossen, springen, ringen rringen ßpringen
 1600 Lag er mir alles ob.
 Der furst der was nit grob:
 Hoch aller eren wert.
 Ein armbrust und ein swert
 Schanckt mir sin herlich krafft
 1605 Zu myner ritterschafft,
 Der ich nit wirdig bin.
 Got gab mir in den sin,
 Das ich den fursten bat
 Mit süssen Worten glat,
 1610 Das er mir geb geleit:
 Das det der furst bereit
 Unferr zum Heiligen Blut,
 Das man dort nennen dut
 Das Sefeld clar und rein.
 1615 Gar nah bym Franckenstein franckenstain
 Beleib ich uber nacht [246]
 In eynem dorff geslacht,
 Das Zierlis ist genant.
 Alsus gen Swaben lant
 1620 Gleit mich der edel furst
 Mit sins gewaltes durst,
 Das sag ich gnad und danck

- Yedoch die zart mich nan
 Und furt mich in ein gaden; [B137v] [247]
- 1655 Mit einem zwirinfaden
 Hett man mich wol ersteckt.
 "Wie hastu mich erschreckt!"
 Sprach sie, "myn selbes frucht,
 Ist es ein heimlich sucht?
- 1660 Das soltu mich lon wissen.
 Ich wen, die Klabetissen kleberijßen
 Erschracken nye als fast
 Ob eynem fremden gast
 In wissen cleydern dort
- 1665 Und auch von Lewen wort, Vnd von leowen wort
 Als er den marschalck schlug."
 "Nein, werde muter clug,"
 Sprach ich mit Worten lis,
 "Sie ist jm paradys,
- 1670 Durch die ich lid dies not.
 Owe du scharpffer dot!
 Wes nympt du mich nit auch?"
 In dem ein jungfraw zoch
 Ein düchlin us jrm busen dem
- 1675 Und det ein gros almusen,
 Das sie mir druckt die stirn trucknet
 Und auch erkult das hirn
 Mit einem wasser clar.
 Myn muter sunderbar
- 1680 Fragt mich der fremden mer,
 "Myn lieber sun, sag her,
 Von wannen kompt din qual?

- Erbt ich von dir den gral,
 Das hulff mich alles cleyn." hilff
 1685 "Ach, liebe muter, neyn, [B138r]
 Ich sag es uch nit gern.
 Wer ich zum guldin stern
 By mynem gedruwen wirt,
 So blib ich unverirt belib
 1690 In dieser grosser pin." groffen
 "Nein, sun, es muß doch sin.
 Erzeugen mir din drüw! Erzaig [248]
 Dis wonder starck und nüw
 Dutt mir all frewd verschniden.
 1695 Nit schrib mit zwifalt kriden,
 Sag mir die warheit gantz!
 Wer spilt der aberschantz,
 Der muß verliesen dick.
 Der strengen Mynne strick
 1700 Hat wonders vil gestifft.
 Hat dich ir schos vergifft
 Mit irem scharpffen stral,
 Das sag mir sunder qual,
 So kan ich raten dir."
 1705 "Fraw muter, wollent ir
 Verswigen, was ich sag
 Und horen hie myn clag
 In gantzer bichtes wis,
 So wil ich reden lis
 1710 Und uch verkunden gantz,
 Wie mir der eren crantz
 Ein wib hat uff gesetzt

- Und doch do mit geletzt
Hertz, müt, und all myn synn.
- 1715 Venus die keyseryn [B138v]
Dies wonder hat volbracht.
Ob es uch nicht versmacht,
So heissent von uns gan
Dies jungfraw wolgetan
- 1720 Und schliest die kamer zu."
"Gern, lieber sun, ich thü
Gantz, was din will begert.
Du blibest unversert,
Das soltu mir getruwen;
- 1725 Solt man hoh duren buwen
Uff ein gedruwes wib,
Darzu ist wol myn lib
Geformirt und balirt." Geformet
Ein cleyn die jungfraw smirt
- 1730 Mit halbgespitztem mund, [249]
Doch zu der selben stund
Die kamer wart verspart.
"O werde muter zart,
So sitzent zu mir nyder
- 1735 Und schawt wie myne glider gelider
Ein teil so vast noch zittern!
Wolnd ir nit lachen, kittern,
Ich wil uch sehen lan
Gros heyltum, das ich han
- 1740 By mir alhie verschlossen."
"Nein, lieber sun, entsprossen
Bist du us mynem hertz hertzen

- Was dir bringt frewd ald smertz, schmertzn
 Das sy auch mir gescheen. geschehen
 1745 Darumb zg her, la sehen! law [B139r]
 Ich wil es schawen gern,
 Vil lieber wan den stern,
 Der Venus ist genant."
 Do mit zocht ich zehant
 1750 Das heyltum myner muter. hailigtum
 "Ach, lieber sun vil guter,"
 Sprach sie mit gantzer gir, begir
 "Wer gab das heyltum dir? hailigtū
 Das soltu mich bescheyden!
 1755 Kompt es dir von den heyden?
 Das ist ein fremde sach!"
 "Nein, muter zart," ich sprach,
 "Es gab ein cristin wib: Cristen
 Geborn von muterlib
 1760 Nie schoners ward uff erden.
 Man schrib[e]t von der werden
 Amly us Engellandt; Amellȳ engelland
 Das dunckt mich als ein dant
 Gen dieser werden frawen.
 1765 Darumb ist mir verhawen
 Myn hertz bis uff den grunt, [250]
 Myner frewden ferch verwunt, Mein fröd
 Zerissen, und verschnyttten.
 Der magt zu Agaripten, maget ageryppen
 1770 Die hertzog Ernst errat,
 Der sprich ich schach und mat
 Gen diesem reynen wib!

Man sing, man sag, man schrib,
 Man sprech, man hör, man les--

[B139v]

1775 Das zengert als ein fes
 Gen einem pfefferkorn!
 Von ritters art geboren
 Ist auch die zart, die reyn.
 Vil süsser dan hönigseyn

1780 Was sie mit wig und wort;
 Das hat nun alles ein ort,
 Wan sie ist leyder dot.
 Darumb lid ich die not,
 Die nymmer ende hat.

als

Dar vmb so lid ich dis nott

1785 Got in der maiestat,
 Der wöll der sele pflegen,
 Der Abraham den segen
 Und sym geschlechte gab;
 Der sy der sel urhab

seinem

1790 Zu ewig frewden dort.
 Mary, der hymel hort,
 Woll auch genadig sin
 Der werden frawen myn,
 Die mich hat usgesant

ewigen

Wöll ir

1795 Zu farn in fremde lant
 Nach myner ritterschafft.
 Fraw muter, all myn krafft
 Ist mir zu grund entsigen!"
 "Wie hastu mirs verswigen

faren

verzigen

1800 So lang, myn liebes kindt?
 Du bist an witzen blindt,
 Das spür ich an dir wol.

	Stell ab den sweren dol, Din bitter senlich qual!		[B140r] [251]
1805	Thu als Partzival, Der alles leids vergas, Do er den gral besas, Der jn gen Indie weis. Die lanngen ferren reis	partzīfal Da Indion	
1810	Was jm gar ungewun. Des selbes sunes sun Zu Braband hertzog wart, Davon die adelich art Von Kleff entsprungen ist.	 Brabant edel art	
1815	Las walten Jhesus Crist! Bevilch die armen sel Gott unnd Sant Michael, Der kan sie wol bewarn Mit siner engel scharn.	jhsus michahel bewaren scharen	
1820	Yedoch so thu mir kunt Alhie zu dieser stunt Irn namen und jr art!" "Nein, werde muter zart, Das soll verbieten got,		
1825	Ich brech das hochgebot In diesen grossen nöten, Das man sol nyeman dōten An lib, an sel, an er." In dieser grossen ser		
1830	Myn muter zu mir sprach, "Myn sun, hab din gemach Und rü ein cleine wil,		[B140v]

- Bis das ein falck dry mil
 Versendet jn den lüfften.
 1835 So thu dich widergufften
 Zu dieser abentur! "
 "Gern, muter zart gehiur,"
 Sprach ich zu jr gedrat.
 Dies was, gesell, der rat
 1840 Den mir myn muter gab.
 Hie mit so stell ich ab
 Der worter michel teil. ain michel tail [252]
 Es ist myn gluck und heil,
 Das du mich hie hast funden:
 1845 Ich wer jn kurtzen stunden
 Gewest on zwifel dot On zwivel gewesßen tod
 In dieser grossen not.
 Hastu geholffen mir,
 Des wil ich dancken dir
 1850 Mit lib und auch mit gut.'
 Ich lacht und sprach, 'hab mut,
 Gesell, das ist myn rat!
 Du sihst wol wie es gat
 In dieser welt unreyn.
 1855 Darumb gang mit mir heyn,
 Ich wil dirs bieten wol.'
 'Nein, lieber frund, ich sol
 Gar schnell uff einen dag,
 Den ich nit bergen mag:
 1860 Vil fursten koment dar
 Mit ritterlicher schar,
 Da wil ich armer hin: [B141r]

- Es wer nit myn gewin,
 Solt ich beliben us.
 1865 Vier knecht, die han ich duß
 Unferr von diesem wald;
 Die komen zu mir bald,
 Als ich sie han bescheiden.
 Der ein, ein junger heyden,
 1870 Den han ich sit gedauft:
 Du weist wol, das man kauft
 Die schkleven uff dem mer.]schleffen
 Ob ich vier untz verzer
 Von gold, das ist nit schad.
 1875 Gesell, zu eynem bad
 Wil ich mich rüsten auch,
 Des ich vil dummer gauch
 Zu noten wol bedarff
 Nach myner merfart scharpff,
 1880 Die ich han kurtz getan. hññ in kurtz [253]
 Mocht ich es an dir han,
 Das du auch kemst da hin,
 Myn muter hat auch sin
 In diesem meyen dar;
 1885 Mit jr so kumpt ein schar
 Gut frawen unnd gesellen,
 Die auch mit jr da wellen.
 Sie ist ein witwe .stoltz,
 Vil sneller wan ein boltz.'
 1890 Vast rüschten her die knecht;
 Sie horten das gebrecht [B141v]
 Von mir und auch dem jungen.

- Als ob jm wer mislungen
 Was gantz ir handelung.
- 1895 Gar schnell winckt jn der jung
 Und hies sie halten still;
 Das was auch wol myn will,
 Wan ich erschrocken was
 Und doch nit als ein has,
- 1900 Der rumpt sin lagerstat.
 Der jung mich fruntlich bat,
 Das ich es hett vor gutt
 Und nit zu argem müt
 Von sinen knechten nem.
- 1905 Es wer jm widerzem
 Und dücht jn selbs zevil.
 'Gern, lieber frund, ich wil
 Es nit fur übel han;
 Sie haben wol getan
- 1910 Und sin gedruw[e] knecht.'
 Do was es alles slecht
 Und fingen wider an
 Zu reden als zwen man,
 Die gern durch abentür
- 1915 Gehur und ungehör
 Von wonder horen sagen.
 'Gesell, stell ab din clagen,'
 Sprach ich zu jm alda,
 'Du machst dich selber gra
- 1920 E zit on not der ding:
 Ein man soll wegen ring,
 Was er nit wenden kan.

mißfelingen

hanndelunge

Junge

[B omits wol]

legerstatt

ver

Da

geren

[254]

[B142r]

- Er sweig unnd sach mich an
 Gar druriglich unnd swer.
- 1925 'Owe der leyden mer ! ' Ower [A] laidige
 Sprach er zum letzten doch,
 'Gesell, der sorgen joch
 Ist hart uff mich gebunden.'
 Recht by den selben stunden
- 1930 Do drat ein knecht her zu Da
 Unnd sprach, 'habt üwer rüw,
 Ir herren beid[e] sant !
 Nympt uch der schutz ein pfant,
 Er lat es nüm[er] lösen:
- 1935 Drabanten vil der bösen,
 Die findt man hie und dort.
 Ir werd von jn ermort,
 Wolnd ir die leng beliben. Wöllend
 Geluck von reynen wiben
- 1940 Kompt dick und auch hertzleid.
 Ich rat uch herren beid, Ich main
 Das ir uch zesamen macht.' von hinen macht
 Ich sah yn an und lacht
 Unnd sprach, 'hab danck, gesell !
- 1945 Dins herren ungsell
 Han ich zu vil gehört;
 Wir sind beyd bedort, Seyen
 Das wir so lanng hie sitzen !
 Das harnesch dett her glitzen, Der harnaſch
- 1950 Als es der jung begert. [B142v]
 Do zog man her das pfert,
 Daruff der werde saß.

Wir waren beyd nit las:
 Ye einer dem andern bot
 1955 Sin dienst bis jn den dot
 By guter drew und eyd.
 Alsus schied wir uns beyd
 Gar fruntlich uff der fart
 Mit clugen worten zart,
 1960 Als uns wol beyden zam.
 'Gesell, der eren stam
 Behalt in hohem brig !'
 'Gern,' sprach zu mir der wis,
 'Got danck dir diner ler !
 1965 Ich scheyd mich nymermer
 Von dinr gesellschaft gut.
 Des selben glich auch dut
 Myn hertz, das wiß furwar !
 So tür als umb ein här
 1970 Kompt nit myn hertz von dir !'
 'Gesell, du bist auch mir
 Gewortzelt in myn hertz,
 Recht als des goldes ertz
 Sich zeuget gein der sunnen.
 1975 Du solt mir auch verkunnen,
 Ob ich dich hab erschreckt,
 Ein teil din hertz erweckt
 Zu hinder sich gedencken.'
 'Ja, gesell, on wencken
 1980 So ist nit gar on das.
 Ich hab gedacht etwas
Ist gauchlins wiß ge[chehen].

Wir baid waren

[255]

Des selbes gelich

zaigt

iſtz

[B143r]

In [A]

gescheen [A]

Nim hin, das sy verjehen
In gantzen druwen dir! '

vergeben [A]

1985 Hie mit so scheiden wir
Und hat dies red ein end.
Der herr unns kumer wend
Mit siner gnaden samen!
Nun sprechent all, Amen!

Nun sprechent all, Amen. Amen!

- 1 D[u]. The initial letter might possibly be an O, but it is not formed like any other capital O or D in the MS. MS. B begins with i, an interjection of joy or pain (Lexer I, 1411). Cf. the opening of the speech on the powers of Minne in the Jüngere Titurel (712-714), "Ey minne, diner krefte rat." See note 10 of the first section of the Introduction on the difference in the A and B incipits. Hereafter the Jüngere Titurel is cited as j.Tit., and quotations from it are taken from Wolf's edition, except where it is incomplete. In that case Hahn's edition is used.
- 14 The apostrophe to Love includes a typical medieval list of superlative men. The list here is used to prove the power of Love, and illustrates the de casibus theme, while another such list might use them to illuminate the de contemptu theme, as in the following anonymous lines from Bartsch's edition of the Kolmar MS., p. 228:
- Daz alle disiu werelt möht min eigen sin,
 waer garwe min,
 trüeg ich die roemsche krone,
 waer schoene als Absolone
 und sunge als wol als Orant sanc in also süezem done,
 Waer ich als starc als Samson was, als Salomone wise;
 Waer mir her Aristotiles kunst alle kunt,
 rüert ich den grunt
 der schrift uz astromie,
 waer ich uz massenie
 von hoher art als Filius mit^finer zouberie,
 waer ich als edel als Adam was dort in dem paradise;
 Waern mir diu wunder alle bekant
 diu Alexander ie bevant,
 trüeg ich gewant
 der eren bant,
 stüend al diu welt in miner hant
 und lept ich tusedt jare lanc
 doch truret ich so ich gedaecht deich waere der würme spise.
- Hermann includes many of the names of the traditional lists, but has his own reasons for their inclusion. It is remarkable that he omits Aristotle, whose submission to Phyllis would have illustrated the power of love; perhaps Hermann thought that one wise man made foolish (Solomon, line 22) was enough. The power of Love over the human race is shown by Love's mastery over the first man, "noble Adam," who was brought to sin by his attraction to Eve. The implication is that not only have all men sinned with the first father, but that they are also all committed by Adam's act to Love's dominion.
- 15 Although the clarity of this line in MS. B recommends it to the editor ("Love alone compelled," etc.), the line and exemplum

are part of a long apostrophe to Love, celebrating her power, so that accordingly I prefer the du of MS. A. The verb form in A causes difficulties, however, for the sense of the line points to the strong verb betwingen (= "bezwingen, bändigen," Lexer I, 246), whose MHG preterite would properly be bezwünge du. The stem-syllable e in MS. A's bezwengt, on the other hand, might point to the weak verb betwengen, except that its sense of "in bedrängnis bringen" (Lexer, ibid.) does not fit our line so exactly in meaning as does betwingen. The reading bezwengt is most easily explained by the scribe's confusing the two verbs betwingen and betwengen, which are similar but not identical in meaning. The final -t might be a scribal error for -st or an example of the occasional -t ending in analogy to the Preterite-Present (e.g. du spracht for du sprache) found in Upper German in the 14th century (see Michels 1921 ed. §272 n.9).

- 19 Ave is not a misspelling or variant of Eve, but a symbol of the Virgin Mary as the new Eve, as Christ is the new Adam. The Arnsteiner Marienleich (XLII, 15) hails her as saviour of men and undoer of Eve's work: "frouwe, du hast versüenet, das Eve zerstorte," while another Marienlied tells us that "ave haet das menscheliche gheschlechte erlost uz der grimmen hellen kessel, Eva ist um ghekeert und spricht ave, daz ist ein grosser wessel" (ZfdA V, 420). In Die goldene Schmiede, Konrad von Würzburg dilates upon the Ave/Eva palindrome (390-421), and pages 476-477 of Salzer supply many similar examples. MS. B, apparently through scribal ignorance, substitutes the lectio facillior: "Das eva muost versennen." Hermann's Mörin, however, shows that he regarded the Virgin as well as Christ as a saviour and that the original fall of the human race was in Eve: "die künigin / Die all gefangen haut erloest / Dort us der argen helle rost / Da Adam und frow Eva was" (1472-1475); "das Kindlein nw geboren / Das uns versüent den alten zorn / Den uns frow Eva het gemacht" (1431-1433).
- 20 David is undone because he murders Uriah for the sake of Bathsheba (II Reg. 11, 12). His punishment for the murder, Nathan tells him, will be a rebellion under his own roof (Absalom), and because he lay with another man's wife secretly, his own wives will be lain with in broad daylight (12:11, and see note to line 27 below).
- 22 Samson is twice undone by his love for women: his Philistine wife wheedles from him the secret of his riddle (Jud. 14), just as Delilah does the secret of his strength (Jud. 16).
- 23 eines bild: "who, with his own body"
- 26 Solomon in his old age became foolish through women, for he took foreign wives, contrary to God's commandments; his

devotion to these women led him into idolatry, in punishment of which God split the kingdom (III Reg. 11).

27 Absalom is usually in these catalogues as the superlative of male beauty or as the superlative of the ungrateful son rising in rebellion against his father. Perhaps Hermann includes him as a victim of Love because he acceded to Ahitophel's suggestion that he irrevocably seal his rebellion against his father and his king by lying with David's concubines in the sight of Israel (II Reg. 16, 21-22). The act thus ensured that the contest between father and son would be to the death.

28 Aaron is not meant, but Horant the Spielmann. Karl Müllenhoff supports this identification and attributes it to Haupt, although Müllenhoff neglects to say where Haupt first made the suggestion (see Müllenhoff in ZfdA 12 (1865), 423 and 427). Martin, however, believes that Hermann intentionally changed the name Horant in a typical catalogue to Aaron in his own poem, "wie er [the likewise Biblical character] Asahel hinzufügte" (p. 31). It is more likely, however, that Hermann is not altering, but simply reproducing a typical catalogue which he had before him. That he need not have added Asahel's name to this list is shown by Asahel's inclusion in the catalogue of Meister Boppe quoted below, a list which also includes Horant. That Horant appears as aron in both MSS. does not show so much Hermann's intent as the likelier possibility that an earlier MS. used the form orant. Then, since the other figures in the catalogue are exclusively from the Old Testament, a later scribe must have read into his text the name of yet another Old Testament figure.

The line "What use was Horant's singing?" is ambiguous, as Hermann perhaps intended it to be, since Horant is not really one of Love's victims. The line perhaps refers to the fact that Hilde consents to marry Horant's master (King Hetele in Kudrun, Etele in Dukus Horant, its Yiddish counterpart) only when she is assured that she will hear Horant play for her every morning and evening; thus Horant's skill in musical courtship does not benefit him, but another man (although Horant is loyal enough to assure the princess that Hetele plays better than he or any other musician at the court; see 405, 406 in Kudrun, p. 193,2 and 6, and 195,1 in Dukus Horant).

It is interesting that in both the Boppe catalogue (below) and the one quoted in the note to line 14 above, the sole Germanic figure is Horant; all the others come from the Bible, the Classics, or the Arthurian legends. We have here another example of the power and duration of the Horant figure in Northern literature, for he seems to appear as early as 900 in the OE Deor as "Heorrenda ... leodcraeftig monn" who supplants Deor as the scop of the Heodeninga. In German works he is alluded to as a superlative singer in Salman und Morolf, the Wartburg Krieg, and the Weinschweig (see Grimm, DHS 331), and

appears in the Kudrun and the Dukus Horant, and perhaps as well in numerous Scandinavian works (see Gillespie, 81). Thus he is a part of Germanic poetic tradition from at least 900 (perhaps earlier, depending on at what point he entered the Hildesage tradition which leads to the Kudrun) until the 1450's, when the Schleiertüchlein was written. Perhaps it was the force of Renaissance Classical culture which pushed Horant from his place in Northern minds as the sweetest of singers and replaced him in the minds of the poets with Orpheus, or, in the mind of one nodding scribe, with Aaron.

Het' ich des küniges Salomones wisheit ganz,
 und Absolones schoene, da bi sunder schranz,
 [unt] gewalt des richen küniges Davides;
 Waere ich da bi noch sterker, danne [sich] was Samson,
 künde vür bringen, also Horant, suezen don,
 unt waere gewaltig alles golt gesmides;
 Waere ich, als Aristoteles,
 unt künde [kunst], als Virgilius, zouberie,
 vil wol möht' ich mich troesten des,
 waere ich der beste in Artus massenie,
 waere ich, als Adam, edel gar,
 unde Guras was, trut den vrouwen allen,
 vroloh grimme und zühte bar,
 [unt] Gawin, wem möhte das missevallen?
 het' ich tugent, als Seneca, darzuo der werlte wunne,
 unt daz ich waere zen vuezzen snel,
 als Azahel:
 hievür naeme ich, das sich min liep gegen mir lieplich
 versunne.
 (v.d. Hagen, MS II, 382)

- 30 Asahel appears in the catalogues as the superlative of human swiftness, for "Asahel cursor velocissimus fuit" (II Reg. 2, 18). Hermann rightly does not try to make him a victim of Love, but says merely that he could not have outrun Love if he had tried. Asahel's swiftness was his undoing, however, for he pursued Abner so closely that Abner, after expostulation, reluctantly killed him (II Reg. 2). Asahel is found in the catalogue quoted in the note to line 28.
- 36 fortun. As Marjatta Wis has pointed out in her Schleiertüchlein article (p. 24), this is an Italian word for "sea storm;" according to Battaglia, it is a shortening of the phrase "fortuna di mare" (Grande Dizionario VI, 226). Dante uses the word in his Purgatorio (32, 116): "come nave in fortuna." Cf. lines 367 and 884, and Spiegel 145,23. Lexer cites line 367, but does not connect the word with the Italian and thus misses the meaning (III, 483 s.v. fortun).
- 37 rudeln. Here the word is a variant of rudern; the only citation

of this variant in Lexer (II, 546 s.v. ruodern) is Hermann's. Rudlen, according to Fischer, is the modern Swabian dialect form for rudern (Schw. WB V, 464).

38 studeln is one of the many interesting and rare words in Hermann's works. The word has been extensively discussed, but the only two instances recorded in Lexer (II, 1262--both by Hermann) seem to call for different definitions. Lexer's "einen wohin stellen, ihm wozu verhelfen" works well enough on this passage, but makes no sense of the line in the Spiegel ("Zu niuwem jamer studeln / Die fraw alda begund" (146, 11-12). Grimm (10⁴, 259) does not attempt to solve this problem, but merely notes it, while Fischer cautiously proposes "Etwas 'gehen, eilen'?" (Sch. WB V, 1904), a solution which does not account for the verb's transitive use in the one case, and its intransitive use in the other.

40 MS. B originally read "Als in des meyen bad," but it appears that the original pen has crossed through in and written bi above it.

99-103 Parzival (281, 21ff.) is distracted by the sight of three drops of blood on the snow, which put him into an irresistible reverie of the white and pink face of his Condwiramurs, "unz daz er unversunnen hielt: / diu starke minne sin da wielt" (283, 17-18). Cf. Spiegel (159, 16-19) for Hermann's other use of Parzival as the image of the knight who is distracted by thoughts of love into unconsciousness of the world around him:

Sas ich in der sender qual
Recht als do her Portifal
Hielt unversonnen by
Den blutszehern dry....

107 Kein, acc. "Keien." The reference is to Parzival's unseating of Kei in Parzival, 295.

118 = "You will be a father and give me life:"

Recht als der leo sin welfen
Mit rufen birt daz leben (Spiegel, 135,5-6).

Hermann uses the image frequently; Eckhard, the defender of the narrator before the court of Venus in the Mörin, says

Ich bin der lew, du bist der welff,
Darumb will ich herquicken dich
Mit miner stimm gar tugentlich (4646-4648),

and in the Goldener Tempel the poet prays to the Virgin:

Recht als der leo sin welff
Soltu mich, frow, erquicken (144-145).

Der Marner describes the new method of hatching:

der struz mit sinen ougen rot
drie tage an siniu eijer siht, des werden uz gebruetet die
(von der Hagen, MS II 252, Nr. 21)

but is contradicted by der Meisner:

Swer sank, daz der struz si dri tage an sin eier,
der sank unreht, er si ein Swabe oder ein Beier...

who goes on to give details drawn from the Physiologus
(von der Hagen MS III 100, Nr. 12).

Goldstaub says that this popular tradition (usually rejected by learned writers, p. 167) eventually makes the ostrich an attribute of Mary: Just as the lion giving life to the whelp is an image of Christ reviving the soul dead in sin, so the ostrich hatching its eggs by its vision became an emblem of Mary's merciful gaze upon mankind. This view is a considerable distance away from Neckham, who called the bird the very type of hypocrisy. The figure of the ostrich as an emblem of Mary is confined to German lands (Künstle I, 94; e.g. the west portal of St. Lorenz at Nürnberg, and the north portal of the Stiftskirche at Altötting: in the latter representation the bird stares closely at her eggs), and the ostrich does not enter the official list of the attributes of Mary, recorded in the Litany to her. Hermann's prayer to Mary in the Goldener Tempel:

Recht als der struß sin jungen
Git leben in der bruot,
Soltu mir synn und muot
Erwecken und enbörn (168-171)

probably received its inspiration from Konrad von Würzburg's address to Mary in his Goldene Schmiede:

Mit der gesichte kan der struz
sin eier schone brüeten:
also wil uns behüeten
din ouge erbarmekteite vol;
uns armen ez bewachen sol,
und ist enslozzen über uns (528-533).

The ostrich appears several times in the Jüngere Titurel, most movingly in the indirect comparison of Sigune with the Virgin in her lament for Tschionatulander:

Ey het ich struzzen pflithe din iungez leben zu brueten
So wolt ich der gesichte miner ougen immer gerne hueten
Daz sie wurden niht von dir gewendet
Biz diner liechten ougen blic lebelichen wurden mir gesendet
(Hahn 5153).

Hermann uses the ostrich figure to denounce Venus, false Minne, in the Spiegel (178, 12-15):

Du dust nit als der strus,
Der sin eyer sicht;
Er lests verderben nicht,
Er git in lebens frist

and in the Mörin makes his sole reference to the bird's powers of digestion:

Sie haben magen als der strus,
Der stahel, ysen bald verdöut (2640-2641).

This tradition reaches back to Pliny, and very likely came to Hermann by way of Wolfram:

daz er niht isen als ein struz
und starke vlinse verslant (Parz. 42, 10-11).

132-135 Like the Grail, the Brackenseil is a great motif in the Jüngere Titurel, and has its origins in Wolfram. Sigun's desire for it and Tschionatulander's pursuit of it for her lead to his death at the hands of Orilus.

142-145 The reference is to the Jüngere Titurel, in which the knights returning from Baldac show Herzeloyde the "sper und hemde" (1079, 1) as they announce the news of Gahmuret's death. Herzeloyde immediately swoons (1082-1083). In Parzival her swoon is more briefly described (105, 6-7), and it is after her recovery that she asks to see the fatal spear and shirt (111-112).

142 Herzenlaid. The spelling of the name in MS. A and its separation into two words in MS. B point to the popular notion of Herzeloyd = Herzensleid, a false etymology resting on the breaking of Herzeloyd's heart by Parzival.

151-153 Titurel gives his last advice to his son Frimutel in Wolfram's Titurel I, 7-10. A longer version of the same scene is found in the Jüngere Titurel, 621 and 639-655,2.

154 The form korz is a Middle German form of the High German kurz, q.v. Lexer I, 1797. Cf. line 1972, gewortzelt for gewurzelt.

165 Although the form van is a Middle German form of the High German von, it is used by such Alemannic poets as Gottfried and Konrad Fleck, and by numerous poets of Lasberg's Lieder-saal. See Lexer III, 456f., s.v. von.

174 Sprissen are the splinters of lances and shields. The word is in frequent use in Hermann's favorite reading matter, Wolfram, Konrad von Würzburg, and the Jüngere Titurel, in passages which also frequently mention the flight of the splinters through the air. This passage and Hermann's Spiegel 154, 8 are cited in Lexer (II, 1119, s.v. sprize).

179 The hand which numbered the leaves of MS. A miscounted, so that there is no leaf Al24.

212 = "He brightened." This passage shows sudden and extreme changes in the youth brought on by the Schleiertüchlein. At first his whole figure brightens as he reaches for the token, so that his youth and strength are renewed on finding it (214-215). The sudden return of his excessive grief for the lady, however, nearly plunges him again into an unknightly swoon. Gelber is the comparative of gelf (Lexer I, 812), "glänzend, von heller farbe." Lines 214-215 prevent the reader from mistaking the word for gel (Lexer I, 804), "yellow," which can describe a dead man's color, or its relative gilwe (Lexer I, 1016), paleness."

226 flügerlin. An odd word, of which this passage is the only instance in Lexer (III, 418), who does not attempt to explain it. The Holland-Keller edition suggests sloyerlin or sleigerlin for the original word, both MHG variants of the word we know today as Schleier. Lexer lists many common variants under slogier (II, 985): sloiger, sloier, sloir, sleiger, sleier, sleir, and records a spelling sloyger.

Perhaps the word is connected with the unidentified slegetuoch (Lexer II, 966), although a beaten or felted cloth is more likely intended. The original word might also have been floier, which BZM (III, 355^a) calls "kopfputz mit flatternden bändern," and related to the verb floyiere (q.v. III, 354^b), a fluttering motion (< Lat. fluere).

232-233 = "It resembled the silk-white cloth (called) salamander." In earlier versions of the Physiologus (see McCulloch, pp. 161-162) the salamander is capable of extinguishing fires by walking through them, and later of cooling baths by swimming in them. In later versions he acquires the ability to live unharmed in the fire and even to feed upon it: "Der salamander in dem für / Der nert sich, frow, gar adelich" (Mörin, 2148-2149). Pierre of Beauvais (13th century) is the first to report the rare fabric derived from the salamander, white in color and cleanable only by placing it in a fire, qualities Hermann describes in the Mörin:

Der marschalk gab ain mantel mir,
Der wißer syd salmander was,
Die nit verbrint, gelobet das.
Ich sag es nit durch aubentür,
Leg sy ain jaur in hellem für,
Es schet ir nit als umm ain haur.
Vil lüt die main, es sie nit waur (2688-2694).

In the lines above, Hermann earnestly maintains the actual existence of the material and its producer, the salamander, perhaps because the animal is so important in the Jüngere

Titurel (a living salamander is set in molten gold in Tschionatulander's shield, 1696-1697), and perhaps because the house of Habsburg, of which Albrecht VI, husband of Mechthild, was a member, were proprietors of the Order of the Salamander.

The Jüngere Titurel tells us that fire is the natural element of salamanders, and that the "würme tiure" would die without it, "alsam der visch uz wazzer waer der hebnde" (Hahn 6064). What the Jüngere Titurel refers to as "pfelle der salomander" (1699) or "salomanders pfelle" (1693) is not the hide, but the creation of the salamander: "die würm in fiure würent siden spæhe" (6134):

Die würent pfelle tiure, den niemen über richet.
der wirt in dem fiure niu, als er in alter sich verblichet.
er wirt dicke guot, an koste bezzer,
wan er in fiure wehset. man tuot im niht, also der slift
ein mezzar (6133).

This, then, is the marvelous material, "bi der ist eilliu sid und golt zu nihte" (6134) which the Schleiertüchlein resembles.

240-241 = "You are just a bit too flighty in your comings and goings." The use of ein teil is the litotes of classical MHG. Flücke is the High German adjective (q.v. Lexer III, 416) equivalent to the Low German flügge, which entered literary German with Luther, and eventually supplanted the High German form.

250-255 = "'You are not on the right track,' I said softly. 'A manly knight's virtue will produce worthy deeds, but you in your youth wish to kill yourself.'"

266 Ach = Aachen

298 = "A letter in the form of a poem." The devoted lover writes to his lady in poetry, cf. the love letters as poems in Ulrich von Lichtenstein's Frauendienst, following stanzas 320, 323, 604, and 746.

314ff. The lady's beauty is so great and the youth's devotion is such that he boldly ventures a chaste kiss (315-316). She is upset that he seems to misinterpret her innocent sign of affection (323-329). The youth, however, acted with the purest of hearts, believing that if such a kiss were a sin, it is one to which no punishment has ever been assigned, i.e. no sin at all (320-321). Just as Titurel's devotion makes him keeper of the Grail, so the purity of the youth's devotion makes him worthy of the kiss--worthier of this single kiss than was the bold Tschionatulander of the eighty kisses at Florischantz (333-334). So confident is the youth of his purity of devotion that he offers to pass the supreme test of inward virtue: a ride over the bridge at Karydol (338-341).

- 334 Durst = turst (boldness, recklessness), related to turren (Lexen II, 1587, s.v. turst). Cf. line 1621. The DWB 2, 1746 states that "die bedeutung geht von kühnheit, entschlossenheit im edeln sinn über in keckheit, verwegenheit, frechheit."
- 334-335 = "Even the boldness displayed at the tourney at Floritschantz is not worthy of the kiss I have just stolen from you." The festivities and combat at "Floritschantz, der wite plan" (1712, 2) occupy stanzas 1710 to 2297 in the Jüngere Titurel. Tschionatulander wins the championship, and the kisses of eighty maidens as the prize (2287-2297).
- 336 erfert = "upset," especially in the sense of "startled," or "outraged." See Lexen I, 698 s.v. ervaeren.
- 338-341 = "If I had been on the bridge at Karydol I doubt that my horse would have stumbled on this account." The bridge over the Sibra at Karydol (Jüngere Titurel, 2390-2412) casts off those who have the slightest fault (Key, Tidones, Segremors, among others). Virtuous men, such as Arthur and Anfortes, "uber riten, niht gen einem hare / sach ir ors noch pferde nieman struchen" (2409, 2-3). The youth argues that his kiss was beforehand and startling to the lady (336), but that it stems from devotion as great as Titurel's was for the Grail (331-333), and is therefore not a moral flaw. Stuck had acquired the general meaning of "item" or "thing" during the MHG period, but here and in numerous citations in the DWB (10⁴, 217-218 s.v. Stück) it has legal or religious connotations, as does the English word "article;" cf. "dese dry stücke: den gloubin, di libe und dy werg" (late 14th Cent.) and Luther's rendering of Matth. 15:20, in which seven sins "sind die stück, die den menschen verunreinigen." Hermann uses the Karydol figure and some of the same rimes in the Spiegel (179, 9-13):
- Das bruff ich sicher wol,
Die bruck zu Karidol
Hett mich on all wer
Geworfen uber mer,
Wer ich daruff gewest.
- 370 Although both MSS. separate the elements, schiffkinder is obviously a compound noun; I have accordingly joined it here and in 887. The word's only instance in Lexen (II, 732 s.v. schiff-kint) is Hermann's (our line 887). In the passage of the Schleiertüchlein recorded in Clara Hätzlerin's Liederbuch (II, 62, line 36) the word is spelled as a single compound.
- 407 Scribe A originally wrote ist, understanding war as a predicate adjective ("God who is true"), then corrected the ist to crist by adding a cr above the space between war and ist, this time understanding war as the preterite of sin ("God who was Christ"). The meter, however, suggests that

the original had ware, not war, so that the proper reading is "God the true Christ."

409-410 = "I cannot relate everything exactly," or "in its proper order." This passage appears to be the earliest documented use of "nach der schnur" in a general sense of "properly, exactly," for earlier uses concern building. The earliest general examples cited in our dictionaries are in the 17th century: Schottel, "nicht alles kan zur schnur gebracht werden" and in Micrälius's Altes Pommern, "liesz einem jeden nach der schnur des gesetzes widerfahren." The spread of the expression from the building trades into general (metaphorical) use is described in the DWB 9, 1400 s.v. Schnur, esp. 1403. Hermann also uses the expression in his Mörin: Ich kans nit gemessen nach der snur: / Vil red die wil ich schlachen ab" (3246-3247).

477-478 = "It was completely unknown to me before I found the truth." Hermann uses the same expression in the Mörin, 2482-2483, to render the idea that "nothing could be further from my mind:" "DüMörin sprach 'das ist wilbret / In minem herzen sicherlich.'" There are numerous similar citations in the DWB (14², 53 s.v. Wildbret) with the summary: "auf der seltenheit und daher kostbarkeit dieser speise für den gemeinen mann beruht die redensart wildpret sein, 'selten, fremd, unbekannt sein.'"

537 The reading of MS. A is metrically preferably, and the usage of hernacher is supported by the DWB (4², 4117). According to the DWB the word is an emphasized hernach (hernachher), and is still alive in the Middle German dialects, although it faded from the written language during the 17th century. Geiler von Kayzersberg used the word, as later did Luther, Grimmelshausen, the Zimmerische Chronik, and others.

601-604 The grief of the Baruc of Baldac over the death of Gahmuret, and the funeral he gives him, are described in Parzival 106, 29-108. In the Jüngere Titurel, his grief occupies stanzas 978-982, and the funeral from 989-1004. The Baruc refuses to let Gahmuret's body be taken from Baldac, but gives it a Christian burial, and later buries beside it the bodies of other Christian knights who fall in combat for Baldac (4370-4379).

682 Scribe A originally wrote ir, then modified the i to form a j.

773-774 The youth promises to forgive the attendants, addressing the lady as "ir," the same respectful form he uses to his mother. Scribe A apparently thought the youth was addressing words of forgiveness to "der jungfraw und der magt," and thus

set the plural and more ordinary "frawen" in place of "Frucht," a favorite word of Hermann's, probably borrowed from Wolfram.

795-798 Cf. Parzival 469, 23-24: "saeh ez [=jemand] den stein zwei hundert jar, / im enwurde gra sin har." Typically, the Jüngere Titurel expands this figure so that Titurel explains to Prester John that he has known the grail five hundred years: "Der iar ein halbez tuseht han ich sin also kunde" (Hahn 6177).

857-858 = "The Turk would still gladly prepare a hot bath for Christendom." In the DWB 1, 1069, this expression is frequently attested in early New High German, and always in a pejorative sense, as Luther's "sold dir der teufel ein bad haben zugericht" and "das sie inen selbs das bad in der hölle wol bereiten," as well as in the Fastnachtspiele. The sense of putting another in a dangerous situation, says Grimm, is "weil der nackte, wehrlose überfallen, erschlagen werden kann, oder das bad zu heisz gemacht wird...." The warfare of the Turks which hinders Christian travelers is referred to again below: "Die soldan alt und nüwen / Land driben dort jr batt" (1465-1466), "Let the old and the new sultan make things hot for each other." Hermann varies the figure in the Spiegel, 163, 36-38--164, 1, in which Frau Druw refuses to take the narrator with her to the Kaiserin:

Ich füer dich nit von hynnen
Zu myner frawen zart,
Doch wil ich dir uff dieser fart
Schier schencken ein kaltes bad.

He also uses the figure normally, as in the exchange in which the narrator of the Mörin is threatened with execution: "Ich förcht, dir werd ein haisser bad" (5356) and replies, "Ir sagent mir von ainem bad, / Das würd man haiz mir übertuon" (5404-5405).

887 See note to line 370 above.

899 Scribe A wrote maschb^um originally, then corrected the mistake by erasing (incompletely) the h, and by letting the o stand for a t, which it strongly resembles (perhaps the horizontal top was lengthened toward the right to form a t, but I cannot tell this from the film). The Holland-Keller edition reads maschboum, which Lexer (I, 2059) picked up as "masch-boum s. mastboum," which lemma (I, 2056), while listing several forms of mas- and mos-boum, lists only one masch-boum, citing this (miscopied) passage. HS. B has mastbom here.

900 See note to line 242.

935-936 = "If you will stop spoiling my pleasure in my lady's precious gift to me." Leiden² (Lexer I, 1865) is the ancestor

of NHG verleiden, "to spoil another's joy in something."

- 938 Scribe A originally wrote du hast, then added a small terminal s above and slightly to the right of the u in du.
- 939-940 = "I was wasting my breath." The DWB 7, 1156 s.v. Ofen) gives numerous citations of in den Ofen blasen, while Josua Maaler defines the phrase in his dictionary as "Müß und arbeit verlieren mit einem ze reden. Canere surdis auribus " (Die Teütsch Sprach, etc. [Zürich, 1561], 311^v, s.v. Ofen).
- 1018 Schachtliur is a Wolframic word; the more usual MHG is castelan. The form st>cht shows that the word was transmitted directly from eastern France to Germany (see Bach, §101.2). The instances of the word cites in Lexer (II, 637 s.v. schahtiliur) are solely from Wolfram, from his imitator Ulrich von Türrheim's Willehalm, and this passage.
- 1021 See note to line 1105
- 1029 = "but not entirely [Christian], as the observantia of the Holy See instructs us." This passage is the sole instance of the noun in Lexer (II, 139 s.v. observanz), although the adjectival forms observanzisch and observanzliche are cited from Oheim's Chronik von Reichenau, a fifteenth-century work. Our noun comes from the Latin observantia, a clerical word for an instruction or regulation, and specialized enough that it is not found either in large Italian dictionaries, nor in Stieler's German dictionary of 1691. Although at the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438-1444) the Greek delegates agreed to a union of the Greek and Latin churches (1439), on their return to Greece their patriarchs repudiated the terms of the agreement. It seems likely that Hermann is referring to a proclamation of the Holy See clarifying the position of the Greek Church after the union failed.
- 1038 = "And afterwards roasted two chickens." MS. B gives a reading which is metrically correct, while MS. A supplies the subject of the verb brist, i.e. er, and thus adds an extra beat to the line. The subject of the clause is the relative pronoun der in line 1037.
- 1040 The popularity of the Campostella pilgrimage reached its height in Germany in the 15th century. The most famous legend associated with St. James and the pilgrimage to his shrine is that of the Galgen- und Hühnerwunder. While there is no agreement among the versions concerning the town in which it happened or from which the pilgrims came, the story tells of a German family who stopped at a French inn while on their way to Campostella. The innkeeper's daughter, spurned by the son, planted in his luggage a goblet which she then reported stolen. The apprehended youth was summarily condemned to hanging; the

parents continued, mourning, to Campostella. On their return they found their son still suspended from the gibbet, but alive. When they rushed to tell the judge, who was at dinner, he laughed and told them that their son was no more alive than the two roast chickens on the platter before him. Whereupon the chickens arose and began to cluck, and all the parties rushed to the gallows to find the youth still hanging there alive. The miracle was of course attributed to St. James. The judge then hanged the innkeeper and his daughter in the youths place; Hermann must have heard a version in which the landlord plants the goblet for spite and is punished. The story was frequently depicted in churches in Germany, France, and Switzerland, and is not an inappropriate one for a German pilgrim to remember. See Buchberger V, 833ff., Künstle, II, 316-324, Reau III/2, 690-702, esp. 692-3.

1072 Scribe B's vague ainer cannot be the original reading. Later, in line 1239, he does write the correct kunsel. Scribe A uses kunsel in both places.

1105 lutt = liute. Another example of MS. A's frequent use of Middle German forms (see the many Middle German examples of lut cited in Lexer I, 1942, s.v. liute). This long u without vowel mutation also appears in 1021, kulen (for High German kiule). Scribe B uses a mutated vowel form indicated by a tall loop or sometimes a circle over the vowel; both may be seen in the B version of this line, where the scribe mistakenly ran two words together while copying, turning out this corrected line: "Er haut vil^o lût geschenndt."

1152 besinnen, "to think upon," appears in MHG both as a weak and a strong verb (Lexer I, 216). MS. A makes the word look perilously like "Bsmt," a resemblance which may explain the "Besmpt" of MS. B (transcribed in turn by Lepper as "Besaint").

1175 = "eight." A variant form of aht (see Lexer I, 29 s.v. aht).

1239 See note to line 1072.

1258 Niemen is an Alemannic variant of nemen, according to Karl Weinhold, Alemannische Grammatik (Berlin, 1863), §135 and 102. In line 1462, MS. A uses nemen, while MS. B uses niemen.

1283 Rot here is not 'counsel, advice,' but "rotte" (= "band, group").

1351 Scribe B originally wrote Inererm, then corrected his mistake by striking through the first er, adding a capital I immediately following this correction, and then a sign above the line [[•]] indicating an r, so that the word now reads in I[•]erm, i.e. "in ihrerem."

1423-1424 = "Unless the infidels have begun a war." Reise in MHG very often means a military expedition, and here means simply a war, or more properly, a rebellion. Ufdraejen was originally a spinner's technical term meaning "to begin to spin." Like many technical terms originating in medieval crafts, it passed into general speech to carry a more general meaning, "to begin." There are, however, sinister connotations to the terms for "to begin" which are borrowed from the spinners' trade: Hans Sachs's "Thut aber ein unglück sich auf-drehen" or "botz marter, was will sich dort aufdrehen?" (DWB 1, 634 s.v. aufdrehen) are examples of the pejorative use of aufdrehen. Another spinners' term also meaning "to begin to spin" carries pejorative connotations even today (anspinnen), as did the term andrehen in the early NHG period: Sachs (again) "ich weiss nit, was er mit mir wolt andrehen" or "was aber kindisch angedreht ist und gesponnen, das helt in nöten wie ein bös armbrust" (DWB 1, 316 s.v. andrehen). Perhaps the pejorative connotation of these spinners' terms for "to begin to spin" is related to the Norns or Parcae.

1435 Betelben means "to bury." See Lexer I, 236, where this passage is cited.

1465-1466 See note to lines 857-858.

1479-1480 Good works "enshrine the soul in heaven." A figurative use of a word especially common (though usually in the literal sense of "encoffin") in the Jüngere Titulur (see Lexer I, 214 s.v. bestercken). Scribe B, apparently unfamiliar with the word, has taken the lectio facillior, bestercken.

1482 Scribe A wrote e bet and then corrected his mistake by inserting the missing l above and to the right of the initial e.

1489ff. The youth inwardly protests the circumstances which prevent his trip to Egypt. Although his lady had not specifically set him St. Catherine's on Sinai as a goal, he feels it (as did the typical pilgrim) to be part of a complete Holy Land pilgrimage. Besides, his natural curiosity is disappointed.

1491 The vowel in walt is not entirely clear. In MS. A it appears to be a, in MS. B, o.

1495-6 Fig. "Everything had suited me fine." The metaphor is that of something baked especially for a person. The only other use of this figure cited in Lexer (II, 225 s.v. phanne) is in Hermann's Spiegel (152, 9-10), in which the narrator is warned that he is not the perfect match for his lady that he thinks he is: "Du bist ir nit in der pfannen/Gebacken, als du wenist"

1497 Fig. "Why did I go to all the trouble [of a pilgrimage]?" Federlesen is used by Fischart to mean "to make a great fuss about something;" the word literally refers to the meticulousness shown by picking bits of dust or down from clothing. Geiler von Keyzersberg and other use the word in this manner (see DWB III, 1404-1405 s.v. federlesen). To pay this attention to one's own clothing is to be a fop; to another man's, an obsequious flatterer; to a lady's, an overattentive suitor. While the term may refer to courtship, the youth is not regretting his courtship of the lady, but his scrupulous attentions which have now come to nought. Clearly the federlesen is the trouble of the narrowing sea voyage referred to in the next lines.

1517 See note to line 336.

1565-1566 Fig. "We raced from famous place to famous place." Widerstrit (often rendered, as here, in two words) is an adverb meaning "with great haste," or "um die wette;" cf. Parzival 724, 5-6: "die kameraere wider strit / rumten eine straze wit." See Lexer III, 825 s.v. wider.

1583 malasch (adj., "bold") is not a real name, but one chosen for a personal quality; cf. certain characters in the Mörin: "der hieg der Achteenicht" (2081), "ich haiss der Wendtten-schimpff" (2193). Lexer I, 2020 lists a single source for this rare word, the Karlmeinet.

1610-1618 Geleit here and in line 1620 does not mean a safe-conduct, as it does in lines 1361 and 1364 above, but that the prince and his court actually accompanied the youth for a day's stage of his journey. While the points named in this itinerary are in reverse order from that in which a traveler from Innsbruck to Swabia would encounter them (Martin, p.23), the very mention of them shows a knowledge of the Tyrolean court. We may assume that these lines were written to flatter the new spouse of Hermann's patroness Mechthild, Albrecht VI of Austria. The total journey from Innsbruck to Seefeld is barely 25 km, hardly much of a start on a journey to Swabia, but the slow progress is easily accounted for by the difficulties of moving a prince and his retinue, and by the grade of the road (at that time as steep as 25% in places). The now-ruined castle of Fragenstein (Franckenstein, 1615) overlooks the town of Zirl (Zierlis, 1618), some seven kilometers from Innsbruck. It was a favorite resort of Duke Sigismund (cousin of Albrecht VI) and (after Hermann's time) of the Emperor Maximilian. Both princes improved the castle's living quarters with a free hand and in the medieval manner, and it is a sign of the waning middle ages that Maximilian--"der letzte Ritter"--was the last prince who found the remote, crag-perched castle a comfortable place. Seefeld (Sefeld, 1614)

is the most distant point from Innsbruck; here, during the 15th century, the princes of the Tyrol built the chapel of the Holy Blood (Heiligen Blut, 1612) to honor a late 14th century miracle which had made the spot a pilgrim's goal. The contradiction between the knowledge that these spots were particularly connected with the Tyrolean court and the mistake in their order of mention make it impossible to judge for certain whether Hermann was writing from firsthand knowledge.

1612 Scribe B first wrote hailgen grab and then corrected his mistake by striking through gra and adding lüt to the end of the word.

1621 See note to line 334.

1626 Scribe B omitted this line, then corrected his mistake by writing it in the margin at the level of and directly following line 1625.

1639 = "I regained consciousness" (lit. "I became aware of myself"), from entseben (Lexer I, 585 and DWB 3, 618), frequently Middle German entzeben. An anomalous verb, the preterite is usually formed either strong like graben (thus entsuop) or weak (entsebet, entsebete). Hermann seems to have taken it as a weak verb with "Rückumlaut," thus writing entzabt for the singular preterite. Wolfram uses the word in Parzival, and Lexer and BZM cite many Middle German instances of it.

1661 Klabetissen is a corrupt form of Kalabrissen (Calabrians), according to Martin (pp. 29-30), who demonstrated that this passage is an allusion to the popular story of Herzog Herpin of Bruges and his son Lew (French: Lyon; see Lew in 1165 below). Martin clarifies Hermann's references by citing the following passages:

Die wile sy also retten, damit kam der wis ritter mit
siner gesellschaft als grulich under die Calabrischen
gerant, das ir keyner da so kuene was, er mueste zuo
der erde fallen (Cpg 152, 119^{rw})

Lewe rieff mit luter styme 'du valscher marschalk, du
macht mir nit entrynnen!..Da zuckt im Lewe sinen helm
ab vnd schlug im sin houbet abe (ibid., 121^{rw})

The story was originally a French metrical romance, of which only prose versions are known in German. Scherer believes that one of these, the Cpg. 152, was the property of the Pfalzgräfin Mechthild, Hermann's patron, for Püterich seems to refer to this MS. in his Ehrenbrief to Mechthild when he admiringly mentions some of the books in her library; Scherer reaches this conclusion by amending "graf Freine leouen weller" (stanza 99) to "Harpeine Lewen vatter." Martin

notes that this is the only prose work to which Hermann ever alludes (here and Spiegel 177, 34ff.): "er wird es wie Püterch durch seine gönnerin Mechthild kennen gelernt und mit dieser erwähnung ihr eine artigkeit haben erweisen wollen" (p. 30).

1725-1728 Fig. "If you can rely on a good woman, you can rely on me." The figure of building a tower on a faithful woman is so vivid that one seeks an underlying proverb on the value of a good woman, but to no avail. This passage is cited in Lexer (II, 1583 s.v. turn) and would seem to be unique, a rhetorical embellishment of the figure in the Mörin: (5530-5531): "Der Eckhart sprach 'guot man, du bouwest / Gar billich hie uff disen man.' Röhrich (I, 398) suggests that the phrase "Auf jemanden Häuser bauen" rests on the New Testament figures of Peter the Rock (Matth. 16:18) and the house built on rock as opposed to that built on sand (Matth. 7:24-28). Since Röhrich cannot trace this phrase to earlier than the seventeenth century, and Lexer lists no similar metaphorical usage of building on a person, Hermann would seem to offer the earliest written evidence of such a usage.

1775-1776 "That is as lively as a bit of chaff compared to a peppercorn." Zengern (Lexer III, 1058, who cites this passage) means to make zanger (Lexer III, 1027), i.e. "sharp, spicy" (cf. English tangy) and, metaphorically, "lively." Vese (Lexer III, 324) means "a bit of chaff" and can also have the meaning of "the least amount" or "practically nothing at all." The youth is thus elaborately paying the poet's highest compliment to beauty by saying that poetry cannot begin to describe the lady's beauty. Hermann is perhaps echoing the Jüngere Titarel: "Da bi in einem lande wehset der pfeffer zanger" (Hahn 6048).

1805-1808 The procession of the Grail and its court to India form the final episode of the Jüngere Titarel:

der gral hat im ein ander wesen erworben
in India vil verre und uber verre:
da sind die besten kristen, die lebent, und priester Johan
ist ir herre (325).

1865 = "outside [the forest]." See Lexer I, 498 s.v. "dûze = da ûze."

1892 Scribe B mistakenly presented lines 1892-1895 in the order 1892, 1894, 1893, 1895, and it was probably he who corrected their order by writing the Arabic numerals 1, 3, 2, 4 before the appropriate lines, although the microfilm does not let one judge for certain whether it was Scribe B or another who made the correction

1972 See note to line 154.

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