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THESIS
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A Critical Edition of the 'Athis und Prophilias' Fragments with Introduction, Commentary, Rhyme- and Word-lists.

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of Medieval and Modern Languages, University of Oxford in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by William Jonathan Osborne Bartlett, St. Anne's College, Michaelmas Term 1985.

Diplomatic Text.

Fragment A recto column:

	.]ı sach wie sich der helít balt	t.
	..]nin uijandin uírgalt	t.
	..]t uerch serin wundin	n.
	..]ch sach er uz der scrundín	n.
5	..]e die iunc urouwe íntran	n.
	.]ı wie sie den edilin man	n.
	..]nír cleidír íntnactín	n.
	.]n̄ mít louberín bedactín	n.
	.]n̄ wurffín erde uffín	n.
10	.]n̄ sach wie sie sluffín	n.
	.]urch die murín an daz uelt	t.
	.]az sie nichein wi.ír gelt	t.
	.]r mor̨dis da íntphíengín	n.
	Vn̄ sach wie sie g;engín	n.
15	Anz gebírge índen walt	t.
	Do dit der mere helít balt	t.
	Allíz wol bescouwíte	e.
	Harter sích unurouwíte	e.
	Des iuncherrín todís	s.
20	.]az der mennísche sus brôd.is	s.
	Sprach der wolgemuote	e.

---

1 ..]ı] 1 down-stroke and tip of cross-stroke visible. 6 ..]ı] as line 1. 13 mor̨dis] or̨ = ligature oz . 19 iuncherrin]-n worn pale. 21 der] -r split by tear.

Virholíne an sínim muote e.
Waz sule wír arme lute e.
Dírre knappe lebíte hute e.
Allír sorgin enic c.
Vñ uírsach sich harte wenic c.
Sus getanir zů uírsícht t.
Vñ ích unreíníz wicht t.
Sturbe gerne ob ich mochte e.
Disím edilín kinde tochte e.
In der werlt wol zů lebíne e.
Wend alsín dinc stunt ebíne e.
Al líger nů zů houwín n.
Er mínnite síne urouwín n.
In síme herzín bínnín n.
Mít getruwelíchín mínnín n.
Da widír mínnite síe ín n.
Vñ stunt iewedírs sín n.
Wíe íz dem andírn daz getete e.
Des er ganze urouwíde hete e.
Dít was eín lebín uon wílle kůre e.
Hie nemích al die werlt nícht uůre e.

---

32. dinc] bottom of -c worn away.

A recto column 2

	Ob ich solde kíesín	n.
	Sus nemich eíne bíesín	n.
45	Uvoꝙ mín lebín sprach athís	s.
	Daz ich íe wart alsus wis	s.
	Ander liebe und ander leíde	e.
	Vñ daz ich armír man síe beíde	e.
	Also rechte wol írkenne	e.
50	Vñ daz ich ettisswenne	e.
	Liebis so gwaldíc was	s.
	Da mích mín urunt prophílías	s.
	Alsus uerre abe scíet	t.
	Der mich hute irkente niet	t.
55	Do er mich so durftíc sach	h.
	Dar mír allis des gebrach	h.
	Des ich zů den erín solde tragín	n.
	Daz wil ich íemír gote clagín	n.
	Daz ich ie lieb zů liebe írkos	s.
60	Vnd ich íz so scíere uírlos	s.
	Westich nícht waz lieb were	e.
	So were mír ummere	e.
	Daz ich min lieb uirlorn habe	e.

---

46. alsus] top of -u- and bottom of -s in -us worn away.
47. ander] bottoms of -n- and -d- worn away.
63. habe] ha- barely visible on slight tear in fold.

Da mir dit leít ist kůmin abe e.
Daz ich hie muoz uirendin n.
Mít windíndín hendín n.
Mit herze swerindin notín n.
Gíenc er zů dem totín n.
Vn huobín uon der erdín n.
Do truoc er den werdín n.
Hín zů sínír scrundín n.
Do blůtin íme die wundin n.
Vn machite den wec rot t.
Wie mac ich iemír mínin tot t.
An ichte baz irwerbín n.
Sít ich doch wil sterbin n.
Den an disíme kinde e.
Gedachte der swínde e.
Vn redítíz selbe widir sích h.
Disín mort den zie ich uffe mích h.
Morgíne so man sin inbírt t.
Vnd bímír uvndín wírt t.
So sprech ich daz ich in hab írslagín n.
Vn zů mír in daz hol getragin n.

A verso column 1:

85	So wírt daz uolc mích uahínde	e.
	Vn̄ san zů tode írslahínde	e.
	Der tot ist samftír harte uíl	l.
	Sít ich ot nícht gnesín wíl	l.
	Mít iemírlichír píne	e.
90	Den mír die hande míne	e.
	Den tot selbín tetín	n.
	In disín ungeretín	n.
	Lac der helit un̄ qual	l.
	Wen biz der morgín ubír al	l.
95	Luchte· un̄ die sunne scein	n.
	Do die romere ubír eín	n.
	Giengín widír und uort	t.
	Do uvndín sie daz blůt dort	t.
	Da der knappe írmordít wart	t.
100	Vn̄ uolgítín der írslahínde uart	t.
	Wen biz zů der scrundín	n.
	Den totín sie da uvndín	n.
	Vn̄ den lebíndín da bi lígín	n.
	Mít den blůte gar besígín	n.
105	Groz iamír sie begiengín	n.
	Den lebíndín sie uiengín	n.

---

105 Groz] initial in red.

106 uiengin] -en- on hole in parchment.

Den totín lichamín n.
In einín scilt sie namín n.
Vnd uragítín den lebíndín n.
Do sie sich uírebíndín n.
Wer den knappín slůge e.
Vnd ín die scrundín truoge e.
Daz han ich sprach der helít san n.
Wer hetíz andírs getan n.
Wendích bín hír eíne e.
Sie sprachín al gemeíne e.
Daz wůrdíme al zů leíde e.
Do uvǫrte man sie beíde e.
Zů rome uvr den díncstůl l.
Bíme hare durch den phůl l.
Wart er dicke gezogín n.
Vn zů der erdín gebogín n.
Als man ín sterbín wolde e.
Wen daz is nícht wesín solde e.
Vmme rome was íz so gestalt t.
Daz der rícheín gewalt t.

A verso column 2:

	Vbir die armin nine gienc	(
	Swenne so man da geuienc	(
	Einin sculdigin an ichte	(
130	So muoster uvr daz gerichte	(
	In torste niemin sterbin	(
	Noch nicheine wis uirterbin	(
	An gute. noch an libe	e
	An kinde noch an wibe	e
135	Er dan er uvrz gerichte quam	m
	Vnder clegere alsam	m
	Ist daz er sich intsagite	e.
	Deme der uf in clagite	e.
	So wart er ledic gelazin san	n.
140	heter abir so missetan	n.
	Daz uvr in stunt nichein bete	e.
	So besloz man in zu stete	e.
	In eine ketinin die da lac	c.
	Da muster unz an den drittin tac	c.
145	Inne ligin gespannin	n.
	Uvr wibin. un uvr mannin	n.
	Daz al daz uolc an ime gese	e.

---

146 uvr u- on a hole in fold.

147 an a- worn pale, -n on hole in fold.

	Von wilchir scult sín ueme gesce	e
	So den dr dritte tac írscein	n.
150	So quam daz uolc ubír ein	n.
	Zů rome ín den uronín sal	l.
	V̄n die consule ubír al	l.
	V̄n uirteíltín den haft	t.
	Swie den sín ueme was gescaft	t.
155	Die wart da bereítit	t.
	Daz des nícht wart gebeítit	t.
	Sus starb da manic manige wís	s.
	In disín ketínín wart athis	s.
	Gespannín durch gerichte	e.
160	Zů der werlde gesichte	e.
	In der lac er mít sorgin	n.
	Vnz an den drittín morgin	n.
	So der dritte morgin quam	m.
	V̄n die nacht abe nam	m.
165	Daz uolc al zů houe gienc	c.
	Ein ieclích consul der beuienc	c.
	Einín stůl den er ůrbůrte	e.
	Athisín man do uvorte	e.

153] final point not visible.
163] initial in red.

Fragment Ab recto column 1:

mít edeler varwe waren.

Vnde din geschípnísse gare.

swe ouele du noch sís gevare.

Daz dus gelougen níne macht

[.....] hirzo bracht.

column 2:

de dín hertze gelesen.

Mit getruwelicher stete.

vz allen vrowen hete.

Vnde hulfes mír daz ich genas.

nv weyz ich sprach porfilias.

[.....] lonen dir.

verso column 1:

nv were der svnde altzo vil.

Sint daz ich ir wandel hete.

daz ich zwene morde tete.

Vnde eyne trvwe breke.

vnde mort vffe den spreke.

De íz schul[.....]

verso column 2:

vn̄ geruchet írs nícht zo vnberne.

Ich wil íw vor ene wandelen.

we willet ír uch dan handelen.

So sprachen de romere.

sin wandel ist uch zo swere.

1] mit odeler. varwe. waren (H). 5] not in (H).
9] Point after Vnd (H). 12] were. ter svnde (H). 13 dar] daz (H).

Fragment Ac recto column 1:

Ledich vnd vnschuldich bist.
di were de haue als eyn mist.
De du mit morde worves.
von hungere dv er ir storves
Er dan dv de dinc tedes.
der du laster hetes.
also reyne weyz ich dich.
din schult gevellet vffe mich.
Sprach der helt wolgeborn.
du hast dorch leyde un̄ zorn.
Dich in den kvmmer bracht.
Vnde bist vil ouele bedacht.

column 2:

Der herteliker leyde
vnd der arebeyde.
de du lides hute.
do dranc he dorch de lu[te]
Dar [.....]
vor[.....]
Ir e[.....]
vor[.....]
ich[.....]
an[.....]
der[.....]
de[.....]

---

11 Vnde bist] the top halves of these 8 letters are clearly visible. 16] parchment cut away completely.

verso column 1:

[.....] dessen armen.
[.....]o rechte ír barmen.
[....a]nt her nícht reden ist.
[.....]in vnde ane líst.
[.....]en
[.....]
[.....]
[.....]t.
[.....]íz echt.
[.....]ht.
[.....]legen.
[.....]egen.

column 2:

Daz solt ir alle wol gesen.
ich han beyde eygen vn̄ len.
Seluer golt gesteyne.
sprach der helt reyne.
Des geuích vor ene also uil.
ist dat men gut nemen wil.
Daz íw genoget dar ane.
vch romere ich genade mane.
Went ich sprach porfilías.
ín vwer eren vlízich was.
Vnd ymber vlízich wesen sol.
daz ír hír zo reden [wol]

25-36] parchment cut away. 48] edge of parchment turned up. Tops of letters make Grimm's reading seem plausible.

Fragment Ad recto column 1:

Vñ lange durch mích geledē hat.

her tede ív durch mich de meyste tat.

De ív eýn vrunt ane bede.

durch den anderen tede.

Al weret mich eýn mísse prís.

column 2:

Sínes leydes sprach der st.

des her durch mich hete.

Do loueden se porfiliam

der kvninge bok man [...]

Vñ scref desse mere daran.

verso column 2:

[....]ch gesprochen wolde han.

[.....]mage de hír sten.

[...]emet bescheydenliche.

[.....]vnde riche.

[..]e cleyne vnde grot.

[..]ist[.....]

column 2:

an mínen sone hat began.

der sol e.i. lon weder vntfan.

des mochte he vroliche leven.

her wart weder gelt gegeven.

wif weder wife.

---

6 st.]this reading is from (H), whilst (M) has but two strokes of unequal length. 13 emer](H). 15 ynde](H).

Fragment Ae recto column 1:

dat ich wolde sterven.
Von leyde dorch sín lieve wíf.
do behielt he mir den lif.
Datz ich nymm[..] were genesen.
vnde gaf mír kardíonesen.
De gar utz írkorn.
vnde gaf mír vor lorn.
Min vor loren leven weder.
dorch desse schult ist her dar neder.
Vor drvcket vnde vor stoten.
von sinen husgenoten.
De wurden eme gram.

column 2:

manich edele roman.
Vrowede sich sere.
dorch ír twier ere.
[.]it ím so wol irgangen was.
do sprach der helt porfilias.
Here trut vader mín.
dat ír salich moten sín.
Ich han eyne rede ir dacht.
de hedde ích gerne vollenbracht
Willet ír mi helpen dar zo.
ia ich zwaren gerne do.
Sone wes ír an mí geret.

---

4 nymm..]worn thin in fold. 16 ..]it] capital worn in fold.

verso column 1:

atys sag et hat ir gere.
Miner tochter eyner maget.
de ist iw twaren vnuorsaget.
Atis sprach zo stvnden.
mit lachenden mvnde.
Sint ich wart vor stoten.
Vnde vor dreven von mine genote.
So nekvnde ich nv komen.
dar mir ere oder vromen.
Iv so vil wurde ir boden.
ich dankes gerne den goden.
Datz se min nicht uorgezen hat.

verso column 2:

manich romere rike.
In eynen hof dar her euas.
hadde eyn schone palas.
He bowet erlike.
porfilias der rike.
Nam sinen geverden an de hant.
vnd vorde ene dar her vant.
De schonen kardionesen.
de sin wif solde wesen.
De he durch kvmpanye le.
dar von her groter kvmmer ie.
De vntfenc ene heflike.

---

28 Atis] A- initial. 48 vntfenc] this reading is correct.

Fragment A* recto column 1:

	Irn lib solde slízin	n.
	Den sie mít werdín ulízin	n.
	Ir zogín het unz anden tac	n.
	Sie rov daz sie sín ie gephlac	n.
5	Mít so getanín ulízin	n.
	Sit sie zů langín wízín	n.
	Mít bilase solde wesín	n.
	Mít deme sie wande nícht gnesín	n.
	Des wart ír harte leíde	e.
10	Owe mír dírre scheíde	e.
	Der ich mích uon athise	e.
	Mime liebín amíse	e.
	Durch bilasin scheidín sol	l.
	Ir lutír ougín wuc(dín uol	l.
15	Vil iamírgír trehne.	e.
	Die warín an zů sehne	e.
	Swa man sie uant behangín	n.
	Anden wol getanín wangín	n.
	Von der rosin rotin durch schíne	e.
20	Geuar alse rubíne	e.
	Uon der wizze glich berillin	n.

---

21 berillin] -e- bracketed by two holes in fold.

Sie kondín nicht gestíllín n.
Wen tran uloz nach trane e.
Wen sie was uroudín ane e.
Uol ſamírs un̄ ruwín n.
Von den ganzín truwín n.
Irs uil liebín urundís s.
Daz nidír teil irs mundís s.
Daz gar von mínnín uvre wíel l.
Ir also zertliche íntphiel l.
Also ob sie zurnín solde e.
Swie gerne sie abír wolde e.
Zurnín sie nekonde e.
Daz obír teil begonde e.
Ein wenic uf zů diezíne e.
Irn rotín munt zůn slezíne e.
Daz man der zene ein wenic sach h.
Sie leit ot míchil ungemach h.
Vn̄ was da bi so mínnesam m.
Daz sie dem bestín wol ínzam m.
Der do des ertríchís wielt t.
Den lib sie kume behielt t.

A* recto column 2:

	Von den senindin solgin	n.
	Die sie truc uirbolgin	n.
45	Vmme den helit reinin	n.
	Euas irsach irweinin	n.
	Vñ begondin irbarmin	n.
	Er besweif sie mit den armin	n.
	Vñ irsuftite uil tiefin	n.
50	Sin ougin ime ubir liefin	n.
	Vñ bat sie swigin stille	e.
	Er sach wol daz irwille	e.
	Anden kuninc nine stunt	t.
	Er tet ot so sie alle tuont	t.
55	Die da leistin wollint truwe	e.
	Ir liez sie habin ir ruwe	e.
	Vñ sciet sich von der megide	e.
	Vñ gienc scaffin um ir getregide	e.
	Daz ir nuwit des gebrach	h.
60	Des im iemin uor gesprach	h.
	Prophilias uñ cardiones	s.
	Vñ ir mutir undir des	s.
	Mit gaytin belibin	n.

---

61 Prophilias] initial (in red) almost worn away.

	Ir iamir sie uirtribin	n.
65	Mit uroude gebinde troste	e.
	Daz sie doch ser löste	e.
	Vz irn senindin ruwin	n.
	Ir brudir sprach intruwin	n.
	Daz er sie wolde losin	n.
70	Odir sich also uirbosin	n.
	Daz ers nimmir mere	e.
	Widir an sin ere	e.
	Queme.noch an sine macht	t.
	In disin dingin wart iz nacht	t.
75	Vn giengin die lute slafin	n.
	Do griffin sie zun wafin	n.
	Athis un prophilias	s.
	Vn alliz daz zu rome was	s.
	Daz ot zu wafin tochte	e.
80	Vn sich bereitin mochte	e.
	Daz bereitte sich gare	e.
	Vn quam gemeinlichin dare	e.
	Uvr die stat an ein gras	s.
	Da ir saminunge was	s.

A* verso co:umn 1:

85	Vf einír wísín uor ein holz	z.
	Dar quam manic rittír stolz	z.
	Vñ manic helít vírmezzín	n.
	Als daz uolc was gesezzín	n.
	In burgín dorphín. uñ stetín	n.
90	Euasis tochtír bereítín	n.
	Gaytín also quam íz dare	e.
	Do scuofín sie ír scare	e.
	Do sie zů samíne quamín	n.
	Die rede gar uírnamín	n.
95	Nach der wísín rate	e.
	Vñ tatín daz uil drate	e.
	Sie liezín athisín	n.
	Uffe die straze wísín	n.
	Vñ gabín íme tarquínín	n.
100	Mít allín den sínín	n.
	Margwetín. íulin. íulium	m.
	Androínem. uñ gracíum	m.
	Dar zů sechs hundírt	t.
	Rittere uz gesundírt	t.
105	Vz allín den bestín	n.

Die sie in den landin westin n.
Ob sie mit gaytin n.
Woldin ab intritin n.
Vn dise sie ane quemin n.
Daz sie die magit in nemin n.
Ob sie die uvrgevaztin n.
Dionisin sie saztin n.
Mit thusint halspergin n.
An die huote uor den bergin n.
Rechtinhalb des küningis hers s.
Daz er die stige des mers s.
Werte mit den sinin n.
Sie saztin palatinin n.
Der oheim was gaytin n.
Zu der lerzin sitin n.
Mit achte hundirt mannin n.
Ob sie die magit dannin n.
Uvr sie zu sciffe uvortin n.
Daz sie scilde urbürtin n.
Vn wigis sie gesattin n.
Dise dri scare sie bestattin n.

A* verso column 2:

	In telrín un ín holzín	n.
	Sie hetín manigín stolzín	n.
	Rittír un manigín helít	t.
130	Zů uechtíne uíl uz gewelít	t.
	Daiz zů uechtíne geríet	t.
	Die gesamnitín díet	t.
	Die nícht orse hatín	n.
	Ir stat doch wol uírtratín	n.
135	Vn ír werc wol tolstín nutzín	n.
	Sarían de un ouch scutzín	n.
	Die saztín die wísín	n.
	Daz sie durch athisín	n.
	Beídinthalb des uanín strítín	n.
140	Vor den sariantín rítín	n.
	Dusínt rittír ín einír scare	n.
	Mít uírdactín orsín isín uare	e.
	Díe leítín zwene uvrstín	n.
	Díe wol werbín geturstín	n.
145	Vmme den werltlichín prís	s.
	Daz was marcues un engrís	s.
	Zwene helide uz írkorn	n.

Vñ warín uon rome geborn n.
Von kúníngís geslechte e.
Vñ soldín uon len rechte e.
Vñ den uanín rítín n.
Vñ zú dem erstín strítín n.
Nach der scare gienc der uane e.
Da sie houbítín ane e.
So sie rítín ín den strít t.
Daz was ein rotír samít t.
Gezíerít nícht zú swache e.
Ein uf gerichtít trage e.
Als er ie zú uliegín solde e.
Von gespunnenímе golde e.
Meístírliche dar ín gewebín n.
Der hangíte da benebín n.
Gehaft ín eíne stangín n.
Dar er mochte gelangín n.
Vñ die ín mochte uírtragín n.
Mít ísírne wol beslagín n.
Vñ stúnt uf eíme karrín n.
Den zúgín zwene uarrín n.

A** recto column 1:

D er hobische kvnig bilas
V on den herbergin sinen
L iez blasin die businen
P hiphin vnd dȳ taburin slan
V n̄ dȳ gecelt uf hebin san
D er reise be ginnen
I r herberge brinnen
D en uanin hˢ uf hebin bat
V n zogite uon der wal stat
M it zwelf banierin einin vanin
D ẏ romere zogetin anin
A n dem gebirge obene
M anich wol zu lobene
R ittir in liechtin ringin
K vnic bilas in den dingin
S ime nevin aimone
B evalch das hˢ vil schone
G aitin abe vurte.
D az sie nicht stritis rurte
W edirnthalbin des hers
[.....]

---

1 Der] initial in form of half-figure with crowned head looking forward. 2 Von] V- in red (as are all initial letters of lines)with -o- slightly inset. 18 Gaitin] red sign slightly to left of all lines commencing with proper names. 21] only very tops of letters visible.

column 2:

G ecaft gein romere wert

G aitin sere ge gert

D as man uf in sie vurte

D as hS den schilt ge urburte

V or siner liebin vrouwin

D az siz mit erin schouwin

M ochte uon ir amise

D er helt dachte nach prise

W en her was vil erin gir

D er hertzoge von montir

H ette gute wapin an

V n quam als ein hobisch man

V erre zwischin den scharn

V or den sinen ge uarn

A this het in den stundin

S in houbit ouch vor bundin

D en schilt an den hals ge num

I m was ein ueste sper kum

D o was an ein banier.

A thene schiualier.

[.....]

---

22 G e caft] G- decorated with head of bearded man looking forward. 42] only extreme tops of a few letters visible.

A** verso column 1:

D as die s[.....] helmis

D eme kvnin wigande

B est[....]e imme sande

D er[....] man [.....]es

.]ulion un androines

M it andirn iren gesellin

D urch ir vil baldis ellin

..]ch im geuarin quamin

V este sper sie namin

V n [....]in sporn zu sitin

[.....] in andir sitin

[.....]n mit den sinen

[.....] treib uf [.....]

[...]ines gegin aimone

[.....] lon gegin lone

[.....]n[.....] was cranc

[...]is[.....] lan[.]

[.....] stich

[.....] sich

[.....]

[.....]

T arquin[.....]

---

43 D as] D- decorated with figure of human head looking left.s[.....] now is virtually illegible owing to destructive effects of chemical. It is often impossible to judge how many letters were written in a line. 47 D er] D- is an initial. 64 Tarquin..] T- is an initial.

verso column 2:

V ůr her uf iulionin.

A ls tet her uf aimonin

J ulion sin sper zu brach

A imon iulionin stach

A ldurch den lip aschildis

V n̄ vurtin des ge vildis

A lso lang als sin sper was

D as hS tot quam uf das gras

D az sper her ganz us zucte

G racius uf in dructe

M it einir starkin sturien

D o were sente jurien

H elfe not da gewesin

D az her were ge nesin

A imon doch ge nante

G racium her an rante

S in sper was harte ge stelit

G racius sin v velit

A imon in durch den schilt stach

D as her noch in bouc nach in brach.

H ern liezin ouch nicht glitin

D a muste vorne s[.....]

---

65 V ůr] V- decorated with head looking left. 86 s.....] only the very tops of (probably) 6 letters visible.

Fragment B recto column 1:

	Vn̄ wold in habin durch stochin	n.
	Sinin liebin mac gerochin	n.
	Des dachter ime uil angin	n.
	Vn̄ bot sich geuangin	n.
5	Daz er in nicht insteche	e.
	Er dan der kuninc gespreche	e.
	Prophilias hiez in sichirn	n.
	Er hete eine kichirn	n.
	Genumin u[illegible] salerne	e.
10	Er sprach daz tuon ich gerne	e.
	Vn̄ sichirt ime an sine hant	t.
	Den helm man ime abe bant	t.
	Der kuninc was dar undir	r.
	Daz dunkit mich nicht wundir	r.
15	Wie ual als ein assche	e.
	Zu sinime harnassche	e.
	Hiez er uv[illegible]in beide	e.
	Vn̄ saz uf andir weide	e.
	Doquamin sine knapin	n.
20	Vn̄ ebindin sine wapin	n.
	In uil kurtin stundin	n.

---

19 Do] initial (in red) almost obscured by a stain.

Sín houbít sie im bundín n.
Den scilt langítín sie dare e.
Der was uon lazure gare e.
So daz nícht bezzirs mochte sín n.
Da was uil meístírlíchín ín n.
Von bernisschín gold ein arn n.
Als er ín die luft wolde uarn n.
Gemalít un̄ intwoffín n.
Der hete sích zu wolfín n.
Mít den uetíchín beídín n.
Mít zwis golde undírsbeidin n.
An lídin un̄ an uedírín n.
Ouch heter íecwedirín n.
Uvoz bideme libe híne e.
Daz der zagil da durch scíne e.
Vf den scilt gestreckít t.
Díe clawín wol zu reckít t.
Finín wapín roc er uvorte e.
Der andie wadin ruorte e.
Von brunírne samítte e.
Gesnítín uon gutír wîte e.

B recto column 2:

Als er in tragín wolde e.
Von gespunnime golde e.
Arne gnůc dar ī gewebín n.
Vorne·hindene·benebín n.
An gerín und an sítín n.
Man sach ín zů den zítín n.
Einín halsberch ane uvorín n.
Mít ríemín un mít snůrín n.
Gestrickít zů den maílín n.
An der sínír fantaílín n.
Daz sie mochtín nicht íntlôsín n.
Vn zwo silbír wízín hosín n.
Gestrickít umme síne beín n.
Vn eín helm der uerre scheín n.
Von spíegil brunín stâle e.
Mít manígím golt mâle e.
Die sich da uerre wístín n.
Gezíerít an den lístín n.
Vn an dem barbíere e.
Eíne ríche baníere e.
Uvůter an sínír hant n.

45-48] these lines written around a hole in the parchment.

Die was uerre bekant t.
Nach sinin scildin gesnitin n.
Ein gut march heter bescritin n.
Virdacht mit zwein deckin n.
Ein swert mit ganzir eckin n.
Daz sere mochte snitin n.
Uvorter an sinir sitin n.
Vn reit uz an daz hoste e.
Er warb nach einir ioste e.
Mit manlichir pine e.
Ime uolgitin die sine e.
Mit manlichin geberdin n.
Daz urouwite den werdin n.
Von messine margoz z.
Mit einir storien die was groz z.
Quam in den buhurt geuarn n.
Er sach andirnthalb den arn n.
Von eime scafte wedilin n.
Daz irwegite den edilin n.
An einin manlichin nit t.
Er reit ein scone rauit t.

B verso column 1:

Verre swarzír dan eín kole e.
Vn̄ was gewapínít wole e.
Da mít e sí die rede uirant t.
Eín sper uv[illegible]ter ander hant t.
Eín zíechín uon rícheír habe e.
Verre wandílte dar abe. e.
Vn̄ írsprancte durch bilasin n.
Vf prophiliasín n.
Mít uf gerichtír baníe r r.
Messíne scíeualíer r.
Rief er do er írsprancte e.
Prophilias ouch uírhancte e.
Sime [illegible]se uil drate e.
Eín starc sper er hate e.
Geslagín undír sínín arm m.
Die mailín warín wu[illegible]dín warm m.
Deme kuonín íungelínge e.
Vn̄ stach in durch die rínge e.
Vo[illegible]me scílde índen buch h.
Vn̄ warf ín tot ín eínín struch h.
Daz sper dannoch ganz beleíb b.

87-89] these lines written araound a large hole in the parchment.
91 bilasin] b- corrected from p- with down-shaft erased.

Daz ors er uorht mít speʒn treíb b.
Vñ uvr in allín beuorhn n.
Er het ínandér sít írkorn n.
Den helít dionísín n.
Wa íme daz sper isín n.
Steckíte índer sítín n.
Vñ sach sie starke strítín n.
Des hers ín beidín endín n.
Daz uolc uaste swendín n.
Die beídínthalb sich wertín n.
Mit spern uñ mít swertín n.
Die uil dícke besuffín n.
Den ors ín den guffín n.
Vñ inden kuonín lutín n.
Athis ot síne trutín n.
Rome uil scedeliche írwarb b.
Wendír uil dar um irstarb b.
Prophilias der geherte e.
Vbír dionísín kerte e.
Des uíl manígír íntgalt t.
Vñ bescutte mit gewalt t.

---

123 Prophilias] P- in red.

B verso column 2:

	Den kuonín dionísín	n.
	Des lobitín in die wisin	n.
	Sie hetín ín uz den urundín	n.
130	Wunt un̄ ungesundín	n.
	Vndír den romerín zů troste	e.
	Den uíenc er. un̄ lostę	e.
	Dionisín sinín mac	c.
	Er was an tugíndín nícht trac	c.
135	Do er den herzogín uíenc	c.
	Sulche tat er da begíenc	c.
	Wen der strít der was hart	t.
	Daz er da uon so muode wart	t.
	Von den manic ualdín slegín	n.
140	Daz er sich mochte nícht geregin	n.
	Vn̄ reit uz rouwín uon dísín	n.
	Vndír boume an eíne wísín	n.
	An eín wunníclíchíz gras	s.
	Daz gnůc nâ deme stríte was	s.
145	Wen biz ír ox̄s uírblíesín	
	Er sprach wír suln hie sín	

145-6] final repeated letter and point invisible due to stain.

	Vns rouwín eíne wíle	e.
	Ob der kúníng uon bíle	e.
	Mit allír macht puníere	e.
150	Daz wír míne baníere	e.
	Kerín ím zů gegíne	e.
	Beseht uch allir wegíne	e.
	Ob ir noch athísis	s.
	Mínís liebín amísís	s.
155	Iergín werdít geware	e.
	Do ubír sahn sie die scare	e.
	Durch ein wetírdunníz loub	b.
	Vñ irsahín grozín stoub	b.
	Von athise stíebín	n.
160	Vñ begondín íme líebín	n.
	Sie sprachín ieníz ist athís	s.
	Vñ hat írwarbín den prís	s.
	Er ist die uíjnde ane kůmín	n.
	Vñ hat gaytín genůmín	n.
165	Daz ist uns wol an muote	e.
	Des urouwíte sich der gůte	e.
	Do santer androcheum	m.
	Den consul anthícheum	m.

---

157 wetirdunniz] wetir still legible in spite of a mark on parchment.

Fragment C recto column 1:

	Bilas da uon bile	e.
	Was ouch al die wile	e.
	Von der erdín uf gesprungín	n.
	Zů samíne sie drungín	n.
5	Mín er athis ūn bilas	s.
	·]ixander ūn kolíbas	s.
	Diens ūn do(ilaus	s.
	Walfaram ko(illaus	s.
	Vn̄ der kůne pandaron	n.
10	Der herzoge uon ko(íllon	n.
	Zů der erdín uon ír ueíztín	n.
	ORsin uil drate irbeíztín	n.
	Mit allín írgeuertín	n.
	Daz sie den kůninc wertín	n.
15	Athis ūn graciens	s.
	·]ndroínes ūn íuliens	s.
	Lucegwíe und florentínus	s.
	Anthoníus ūn latínus	s.
	Mít allín írn gesellín	n.
20	Durch írbaldíz ellín	n.
	Den kůninc zů uvoz be stůndin	n.

---

6 ..)ixander]owing to a fold along the extreme left edge the first two letters of this line(probably Al-) and the first letter of line 16 A)ndroines have been worn away.

Do giengín die wol tůndín n.
Vñ trůgín írbaníere e.
Da uogile uñ tiere e.
Warín beíde íngesnítín n.
Als manlich truoch nach sínín sítín n.
Vaste an ein andír r.
Kolibas uñ alexandír r.
Mít allín den die sie hatín n.
.)lasín ga(.) uirtratin n.
Vñ stattín des nicheine wís s.
Daz der kůninc uñ athis s.
Intsamínt uvchtín eínín wíc c.
Sie irkantin wol ír beídír crík c.
Daz sie geuech warín n.
Vñ note sich uírbarín n.
Des torstin siez nicht wagín n.
Die bilasis phlagín n
Vor sinis libis uvorchte e.
Wend athis wundír worchte e.
Des tagís an sínír rittírschaft t.
Er hete manheít und craft t.

---

30 .)lasin] first two letters (almost certainly Bi-) worn away.
ga(.)] final letter (probably -s) destroyed by a hole.

C recto column 2:

	An libe un an sinnin	n.
	Ouch half im craft der minnin	n.
45	Daz er geturstlilichin streit	n.
	Mit sorcsamir arbeit	n.
	Die not uestin giengin	n.
	Vn gabin un intphiengin	n.
	Manigin smerzindin strich	h.
50	Da uon inbeidinthalbin sich	h.
	Der kunin scade gemerte	e.
	Ir nichein da uirherte	e.
	Dem andirn zu slane	e.
	Ir nichein zu uane	e.
55	Des andirn da gerte	e.
	Da gienc swert gegin swerte	e.
	Slac gienc gegin slage	e.
	Wen biz sich zum mittin tage	e.
	Die sunne begonde neigin	n.
60	Vn sich die wale ueigin	n.
	Beidinthalbin uz gelasin	n.
	Sie uvchtin an bilasin	n.
	Mit hezlichime zoene	e.

---

43 un] after -n a letter has been erased.

Bilas der uz ſirkorne n.
Stunt ín manlichín uorne e.
Den scilt truoc er ínppone e.
Verre uor den handín n.
Er stunt ín den gewandín n.
Do er nícht mochte gesígín n.
Daz er wolde da belígín n.
Vñ er nicht ge nesín wolde e.
Des uacht der erín holde e.
In helidis geberdin n.
Vñ tungite die erdín n.
Mit reueigín blute e.
Sinis libis ane huote e.
d annoch stunt des kuníngís uane e.
Da sie houbítín ane e.
Des phlac der helít absterne e.
Der kuníne uon palerne e.
Vñ dimothenes der degín n.
Sie sahn harte ungewegín n.
Den strit írs herrín halbín wesín n.
Vndaz er mochte nícht genesin n.

---

77 Dannoch] D- initial in red.

C verso column 1:

Swaz er ín gebe sínír habe e.
Síe níe hulfín íme dar abe e.
Vn sahn den kúníng ín notín stan e.
Vñ manígín nít slach slan n.
Vñ degíntlichín strítín n.
Vñ sahn ín andír sítín n.
Haldín eíne groze scare n.
Mit uírdactín ørsín isín uare e.
Die der karroschín phlagín n.
Vñ ir lib wol tørstin wagin n.
Durch den werltlíchín prís s.
Der phlac marques uñ engrís s.
Die írsach absterne e.
Do het er uil gerne e.
Bilasín uonme stríte bracht t.
In manlíchír andacht t.
In den buhurt er rørte e.
Ein starc sper er uvørte e.
Brínus den kúníng írsach h.
Da er durch die scare brach h.
Vñ rantín manlichín ane e.

Er reít eín ors wíz als e´n swane e.
Daz was snel un̄ starc c.
Mít me scílde er sích barc c.
Do er den kuníng het irkan̄t n.
Daz ors nam er mít den spornn n.
Daz ínuil snellichín truoc c.
Vndirz ochíse er daz sper sluoc c.
Daz selbe tet absterne e.
Wender was eín kerne e.
Zů túne werde rittírscaft t.
An den hals er ín traft t.
Da er ínuellích̄ wíste e.
Brínus der uirmíste e.
Absterne was uon grozír craft t.
Er sach den esschinín scaft t.
Daz er sich uon creftín bouc c.
Vn̄ brínus uon dem orse ulouc c.
Vn̄ er wunt uíel uffin sant t.
Daz ors nam er an díe hant t.
Bilase er íz brachte e.
Des not er uor bedachte e.

---

114 was] w- on hole.

C verso column 2:

Wender uíl truwín hate e.
Wol uf sprach er uíl drate e.
Vn̄ wartít war írwellít t.
Sich hat sere missestellít t.
Daz uolc indeme stríte e.
Neín a helít nů bíte e.
Nöch eíne cleíne wíle e.
Sprach der kůninc uon bíle e.
Daz uolc uon eíme scrícke e.
Vírzagít harte dícke e.
Vn̄ irscamít sich uor leíde e.
Vn̄ írmannít andírweide e.
Vn̄ strítít danne baz dan er r.
Swenne der helít wírdít ser r.
So írmannít ír uon den wundín n.
Vn̄ gesígít undír stundín n.
Daz selbe mac uns híe gescehn n.
Daz solt du helít ane sehn n.
Neín sprach der andír degín n.
Der strít ist als ungewegín n.
Daz ír nícht gesigín můgit t.

liebe herre des gehügít t.
Vñ lazít uch nicht totín n.
Sich sol ín sínín notín n.
Der helit wol uírsínnín n.
In glucke uñ íngwínnín n.
Dunkínt alle lute wís s.
Daz ist eín lobilichír prís s.
Swenniz dem manne míssegât t.
Daz er sich dan wol gehat t.
Vñ sich stellít dar ingegín n.
Als im sin dinc ist gelegín n.
Sprach der helít mere e.
V sínt die romere e.
Also wol gesezzín n.
Woldírs nicht uírgezzín n.
Vñ woldíz dar nach handiln n.
Daz sie v̇ muozín wandiln n.
Swaz sie v̇ lastírs habínt írbotín n.
Ouch geloubích v̇ bi unsín gotín n.
Woldír mín dienist dar zů o.
Daz ichz deste gernír tů o.

---

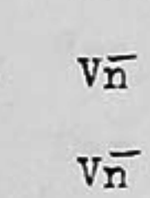
156 gehat] g- on hole.

Fragment C* recto column I:

	Vn̄ scuofín dar daz díeníst	t.
	Nů dít al geschen íst	t.
	Vn̄ der míttír tac zů gíenc	c.
	Vn̄ die kuolde ane geuíenc	c.
5	Do wart der magit gaẏte	e.
	Gegín der hochgecíte	e.
	Gecleidít so nie magít baz	z.
	An írn brute stuol gesaz	z.
	Daz het ír uatír uoṙ bedacht	t.
10	Ir allír phert warín bracht	t.
	In den hof durch rítín	n.
	Do huob man uf gaẏtín	n.
	Euas nam sie an díe hant	t.
	Vn̄ cardionem zů hant	t.
15	Athis ír reít geselle was	s.
	Dar nach reít prophilias	s.
	Vn̄ sín můtír salustíne	e.
	Dar nach al die síne	e.
	Dar nach die urouwín uon der stat	t.
20	Der íeclich hete sich gegat	t.
	Zu deme der ír ebíne quam	m.

Vn ír zů díeníste gezam m.
Vil uídílere quamín n.
Die da wole gezamín n.
Vn uídíltín uíl suoze e.
In muozíclíchír muoze e.
So rítín sie gnůc trage e.
Gegín der wůrm lage e.
Wende der wec was kurt t.
Vor íme ír huob sich der buhurt t.
Von allín den íungín rittírn n.
Die machtín manige splíttírn n.
Vz den wíz nuwín sceftín n.
Swa sie den scaft beheftín n.
Vffe die uírsschín scílde e.
Daz ist uns noch eín bilde e.
Vn eín gezuc der elícheít t.
Vil manic rittír gemeít t.
Quam zů deme buhůrde e.
Ich wene den wol wurde e.
Gewartít uon den urouwín n.
Got laz ín wol gezouwín n.

C* recto column II:

Daz siez muozín so begehn n.
Daz sie zů lobe dar abe stehn n.
45 
v wart zů rome ein spil gedacht t.
Daz wart des tagis uollin bracht t.
Durch den werltlichín ruom m.
Swen eín wert bruteguom m.
Mit sínír brut zů houe reít t.
50 So was des da gewonheit t.
Daz alle íunge lute e.
Wítewín. megíde brute e.
Den sulche spil gezamín n.
Dan zů samíne quamín n.
55 Vñ sich bihandín uíengín n.
Vñ uvr die brute gíengín n.
Ir ieclich nach ír echte e.
So síe geleístín mechte e.
Hete ír dínc da gesazt t.
60 Vñ sich mít cleídírn uz geuazt t.
Von ríchín rockín wol gesnítín n.
Nach den franzzischín sítín n.
Vil ebín an sich gescurzt t.

---

45 N$^{o}_{v}$] N- initial in red.

Vñ zů der erdín gekurzt t.
Ir arme subíre uirnât t.
So die werlt noch site hat t.
Mít gůtin gurtlín langín n.
Beslagín mít golt spangín n.
Mít turín uůr spannín n.
Do sie gíengin dannín n.
In hoe geríndín muote e.
Truogíns uf ír huote e.
Daz sie níne uírblichchín n.
Ir hantzgín an gestrichchín n.
Vñ ebíne sich gestellít t.
Sus gíengín sie gesellit t.
Wen bíz sie dar quamín n.
Dar sie die brut uírnamín n.
Da sazín sie uñ beíttín n.
Wen biz sie sich bereíttín n.
Mít zuchtlíchín gelazín n.
So sie dan uf gesazín n.
So írhuobín die werdín n.
Vor der brute pherdín n.

C* verso column I:

Ein spil daz was eín línde hut t.
Vbír eín weích har gesut t.
Als eín kule also groz z.
Dísín hande weichín kloz z.
Den wurffín sie eín andír r.
Swilch ír da was gerandír r.
Vn̄ snellír dan die andírn n.
So sie begondín wandírn n.
Die behielt da den scal l.
Dit spil was geheízín bal l.
In romísschír zungín n.
Sus gíengín die íungín n.
Hůpphínde un̄ springínde e.
Von den brutín sínginde e.
Eín andír werfínde den bal l.
Der an spile nícht ruowín sal l.
Uůrz tempíl der gottínne e.
Die vrouwíst ubír díe mínne e.
Die was do uenus gnant t.
So quam ír ewart zů hant t.
Eín man aldír un̄ grís s.

---

94 Dit] bottom of -t worn away.

Der segínte síe síne wís s.
Vn̄ gab síe mit worṭín n.
Die dar zů gehorṭín n.
Zů samíne zů rechtír ê e.
So tatín abír díse als ê e.
Biz zů den herbergín widír r.
So sie dan irbeíztín nídír r.
So gab man ín ír beídír r.
Ir ors. ír phert. ír cleídír r.
Vn̄ swaz síe zierdín uůrtín ane e.
Da míte huobín sie sích dane e.
Vffe den hof uronín n.
Da tanztín die sconín n.
Iungín urouwín ínne e.
Zerín der gottínne e.
Dít warín heídínssche síte e.
Hie wart gekondíerít míte e.
Athis un̄ gaẏte e.
So níe uor der gecíte e.
Iuncurouwe wên ích wůrde e.
Mít spile un̄ mít buhůrde e.

C* verso column II:

Mít zuchtígírn gelazín n.
Zů houe ūn zů strazín n.
Geuvǫrít wart ersamír r.
Da was uroud ane íamír r.
Waz touc eín umme creízín n.
Die urouwín al ír beízín n.
Besundírn uǫr der pǫrtín n.
Die ín da zů gehǫrtín n.
Die ůvrtín die phert hín n.
Vn̄ die rittere zůz ín n.
Daz manígin wart zů pínín n.
Ir íeclich nam die sínín n.
Vn̄ ůvrte sie uil scone e.
Da der tisch urone e.
Gaẏtin bereíttít was s.
Do hiez ír uatír euas s.
Den urouwín gebín wazzír r.
Athis da nícht uírgazzír r.
Vn̄ trat zů gaẏtin n.
Ebíne an ír sítín n.
Mit zuchtígín gelazín n.

---

127 Mit] M- and -i- written around a hole in parchment.

Sie sazin nidir un̄ azín n.
Man gab in allis des gn̊uc c.
Des daz ertríche truoc c.
Da míte sí die rede uírant t.
Vil kerzín wart da uf gebrant t.
Do man des abíndís íntsuob b.
Einin tanz man ane huob b.
Durch daz die mût truobín n.
Die gerne íamir uobín n.
Vroude da intphiengín n.
Vil uidelere gíengin n.
Vn̄ uídiltin uíl suoze notín n.
Da wart uil díenstís írbotín n.
Den wolgetanín urouwín n.
Die ammichtlut irzouwín n.
Die irware da namín n.
Sie azin gâs un̄ quamín n.
Do der tanz sich uírlíez z.
Trínke man brengín híez z.
Den wírtín un̄ den gestín n.
Do ůvrtin sie die bestín n.

---

151 Da] initial in red.

Fragment D recto column 1:

	Vil urouwín mít uíl mannín	n.
	Mít grozín urouwidín dannín	n.
	Da ir bette was bereíttít	t.
	Daz uolc nícht langír beíttít	t.
5	Vn̄ liez sich nuwit straphín	n.
	Swaz da nicht solde slafín	n.
	Daz nam urlob un̄ gíenc	c.
	Díe brut ír dínc ane uíenc	c.
	Vil gezogelíche	e.
10	Her euas der ríche	e.
	Be ualch die magít athíse	e.
	Do scíet sich der gríse	e.
	Von der wolgetanín magít	t.
	Waz sol da me uon gesagít	t.
15	Ist daz ich uo̊rdír sagíte	e.
	Dem uolkíz missehagíte	e.
	Vn̄ begondis írlangín	n.
	Gayte die wart begangín	n.
	So nie kínt uon kůningis art	t.
20	Ersamír híe begangín wart	t.
	Dar ane lat v̊ gnuogín	n.

---

15 Ist] initial in red.

Athis mít sconín uvogín n.
Legíte sich zům erstín nídír r.
Gaýteín wenic streít da wídír r.
Daz ín dunkít mích nícht wundír r.
Da was uírborgín undír r.
Des mannís uáchte kíndis scame e.
Iz ist ein groz díng mannís name e.
Ein sulch díng zů gescehínde e.
Daz eín magít zů sehínde e.
den lutín. tritít an die stat t.
Dar níe ír uvoz an getrat t.
Swíe lieb sie den man habe e.
Die scame wisít sie dar abe e.
Daz síez blodílíchín tv̊ o.
Salustíne sprach ír zů o.
Vn̄ hiez sie sich cleídín n.
Prophilias gab ín beídín n.
Gůte nacht un̄ gíenc dar uv̊re e.
Ein urowe besloz die tv̊re e.
Vn̄ íncleidítín síe undír des s.
Salustíne un̄ cardiones s.

D recto column 2:

Namín gaytín mít gewalt t.
Vn̄ legítíns an den helít balt t.
Vil urolichin er sie íntphíenc c.
Sie nam urlob ūn gienc c.
Vn̄ die urouwín al zů gatír r.
Vn̄ legite sich bi írn uatír r.
Den bidíruín euasín n.
Nebín prophiliasín n.
Legíte sích cardíones s.
Uvrdír tar ích nícht sprechín wes s.
Sie begondín odír tetín n.
Grozín scal sie hetín n.
Ir urunt und ir mage e.
In der wůrme lage e.
Wen bíz sie sich geurouwítín gnůc c.
Vn̄ man trínkín dar getruoc c.
Do scíedín sie sich alle e.
Vn̄ uvorín dan mít scalle e.
Dar sie zů tuǒne hatín n.
Vil wachtere uf tratín n.
Vn̄ bewartín sie uor den diebín n.

	Seht dise zwei gelíebín	n.
65	Bi ein andir lagin	n.
	Vil uroudin phlagín	n.
	Also manlich wol wízzin mac	c.
	Do lieb bi liebe gelac	c.
	Vnd erz an sinin arm genam	m.
70	Waz da uroudín abe quam	m.
	Vroude gerindín sínnín	n.
	Ist daz ime uon der mínnín	n.
	Ie sicheín ungemach	h.
	An síme libe gescach	h.
75	Do er cardionem uirkôs	s.
	Vn̄ sín erbe uírlos	s.
	Des ín díe mínne íntsaztte	e.
	Wíe wol sies in irgaztte	e.
	Mít der sconín gaẏtín	n.
80	Díe sie bisínír sítin	n.
	Mít grozín notín hete bracht	t.
	Er hetís andirs gedacht	t.
	K°vninc bilas do er sie nam	m.
	Die selhde was i( ) gram	m.

65-6] these two lines partly worn away due to fold.

78 irgaztte] top half of i- worn away.

84 i( )] two letters, probably i(me) worn completely away.

D verso column 1:

Vñ gondír baz athíse e.
Den sie an ríttírs príse e.
Gehoít hete sere e.
Waz solde der rede mere e.
Athís bi gaẏtin lac c.
Wen biz uerre uffín tac c.
Vn̄ daz die sunne scein n.
Díe wile die romer ubír eín n.
Zů den bete husín rítín n.
Ir gote um ír hulde bítín n.
Do warín ouch dise írwachit t.
Vn̄ hetín sich uf gemachít t.
In muozílíchír muoze e.
Mít manigin semftín grůze e.
Schíet sich athís dannín n.
Vnd gíenc zů den mannín n.
Da der allír meíste was s.
Do ůvrtín prophílías s.
Da er sich solde cleídín n.
Man hetín gliche beídín n.
Gwunnín cleidír harte gůt t.
Do sie hetín sich gescuot t.

Vñ ir ermln uírnetín n.
Vñ sich geuangin hetín n.
Vf ír phert sie sazín n.
Mít sconín gelazín n.
Hie mochtích uil abe sagín n.
Wie sín gesmíde was betragín n.
Mít rot gebrantín golde e.
Ob ichz nicht kurtín solde e.
Síe rítín mít ír urundín n.
Da sie daz tempil uvndín n.
Venerís der gotínne e.
Die urouwíst ubír díe minne e.
Do man ír recht ín da getete e.
Vñ sie zwene an ír gebete e.
Gewarín mít ír magín n.
Wen bíz sies gnůc gephlagín n.
Do rítín síe ungebeítít t.
Da íz gestuole was bereítít t.
Mít sconín bu hůrde wídír r.
Da lege wír díe rede nídír r.

---

107 ermln] -m- partly rubbed away around a hole in fold.

D verso column 2:

	alustíne un̄ cardíones	s.
	Warín ouch kumin undír des	s.
	Vn̄ heímlíche lute	e.
130	Vn̄ hulfín uf der brute	e.
	Ir cleidír tatín sie ír ane	e.
	Vn̄ uvrtín sie dane	e.
	In ein andír paulíun	n.
	Eín phellil uíolín brun	n.
135	Von golde tíer dar ín gewebín	n.
	Loubír zwíge wín rebín	n.
	Vn̄ we geuluochtin strícke	e.
	Vndír wcrcht uíl dícke	e.
	Mít golde deme rotín	n.
140	Dar abe was írscrotín	n.
	Eín mantíl wol mit sínnín	n.
	Bezogín wol ínbínnín	n.
	Mít hermínín uedírín	n.
	An dem ortte íecwedírín	n.
145	Nidíne zů gedeckít	t.
	Vnd obíne uvr gestreckít	t.
	Eín brun zobíl zů mazín ruch	h.
	Als er wart ín eínir druch	h.

---

127 .)alustine] initial (S)alustine missing.

Geuangín dar zů ruzín n.
Zweí tassel ínbuzín n.
Von golde warín gesmídít t.
Vñ wíe zů samíne gelídit t.
Mít gůtín steínín undír satzt t.
Alse síe uíl ture gescatzt t.
Do wůrdín uon den wísín n.
Díe gůt wol kondín prísín n.
Vñ achte wístín werkís s.
Vñ des selbín gemerkís s.
Was eín roc ír gesnítín n.
Nach den franzzoíschin sítín n.
Wedir zů lanc. noch zů kurt t.
Da hete sie sich íngegurt t.
Mít eínín beslagínín bortín n.
In míttín ůñ zů den ortín n.
Mít cleínín golt spangín n.
Geuvogín nícht zů langín n.
Von gold eín uůr span harte wol l.
Gesmídít uñ edílír steíne uol l.

160] final repeated n. partly rubbed away.

Fragment E recto column 1(scribe 2):

	Daz ím argis nicht geschach•	h.
	Gayte dit wol gesach•	h.
	Daz her peritheus was	s.
	So geuallín uffiz gras	s.
5	Daz er von unmechtín	n.
	Lac ín swachín echtín	n.
	Als ob er were tot geslagin	n.
	Vnd begondin leitlichin clagin	n.
	Uvidir cardionesín	n.
10	Zware sol dit war wesín	n.
	Umme sínín tot ual	l.
	Sprach die stat ubir al	l.
	So wirt Itwrcht athene	e.
	Sie wurbínz wol..sie zwene	e.
15	Kunic kassidor. vnd er	r.
	Vn sol des nu nicht wesín mer	r.
	Daz perithe^{9} ist irslagín	n.
	Wer sol die lâst uns helfin tragin	n.
	aie vrówin die da sâzin	n.
20	An venstirn. an tharrâzin	n.
	Die wurdins uallis gewar	r.

---

13 Itworcht] after ī- another down-stroke has been erased.

19 Die] initial D- in red.

Und virswigin.in.doch gar r.
Beide swestir vñ die můtir r.
Karsidor9 was ein gůtir r.
Daz thet er dicke wol schîn n.
Er liez alle rede sîn n.
Und irbeizt uffín sant t.
Den helm er ím abe bant t.
Sam thet er die fanthailín n.
Do vant ern von den mailín n.
Ze qwetzit. am antlitze e.
Sam vant ern ane witze e.
Da ligínd amme sande e.
Daz er uvoze noch hande e.
Regite noch daz houbit t.
Also was er bethoubit t.
Karsidor9 sprach ím zů v.
Perithe9 wie uers dů v.
Sprich mir zů. liebir urunt t.
Do regiter den munt t.
Vnd warf uf dovgín trâge e.
Geín des kvnígis vrâge e.

E recto column 2:

Waz ist an mir ir gangin n.
Bin ich. spch er. geuangin n.
Han ich gesichirt. nein dů niet n.
Spch er. son ist mir nicht geschiet t.
Wend daz ich orsis nicht in hân n.
Und spranc uf von dȳ erdin sân n.
Hie stet spch er. dín selbis ors s.
Daz dir der kuníc laumac ors s.
Liez. do dů den stêche nídir r.
Do gienc er zům orse widir r.
Mit urolichin gebêrdín n.
Do gesach er die werdin n.
Urȳwin. obríme sitzín n.
Síns línkín uvozis spitzín n.
Sazt er. ín den stegereif f.
Mit den handin er begreif f.
Beidinthalb. die sathilbogín n.
Und quam uf sin ors geulogin n.
Recht als ein uogil wilde e.
Do greif er nach me schilde e.
Den helm den hiez er bíndín n.

Und bat ím gâs ir uíndín n.
Waz dorṭ sin uatir tête e.
Der. ín. vírrítin hete e.
Mit urundin vn̄ mit mannín n.
Daz sien nicht vůrtin dannin n.
Ouch pūgierte phedrias s.
Athis vnd prophilias s.
Durch werdir erin be iac c.
Al die wîle. daz er lac c.
Vnwizzínd amme sande e.
Manígím schildis rande e.
Wart ir punie;z zů leide e.
Die not gestadlin beide e.
Pphilias vnd athîs s.
Vvurdin werbind ūmin prîs s.
Und wurdin sulche rittirscaf f.
Thůnde. daz da nicht zů getraf f.
Salustîn der vuorte e.
Den uanin vnd ruorte e.
malichi. in die dickín n.
Daz ím, moht irstickín n.

---

69 pugierte] corrected from punierte.
73] final repeated letter written to left of hole in parchment.
82 in] on an erasure.

E verso column I:

85	Sín ors uon gedrange	e.
	Mit bíttírín antphange	e.
	Wart er íntphangín dícke	e.
	Daz was ím als eín wicke	e.
	Wend er was wîs vn̄ starc	c.
90	Mit me schild er sich barc	c.
	Vnd hielt ot uaste den uanín	n.
	Die romer drungín an.in.	n.
	Uil manic not ueste man	n.
	Der ich nicht genennín kan	n.
95	Diez also wol da tâtín	n.
	Als die da nâmín hâtín	n.
	Der herzoge uon pîse	e.
	was.ín. geuarnnach prîse	e.
	Gewapint grozlichĭ wol	l.
100	Sin ors was swarz als ein kol	l.
	Mit gerechtin march mâlin	n.
	Sín helm brûn lutir stâlín	n.
	Mit lîstin wol gezierit	t.
	Vnd uaste gebarbierit	t.
105	Uvor dŏgin. vnd vůrz antlitz	z.

---

92 romer] corrected from romir.

Nach den aldin sitín spitz z.
Als sie p,hlâgin. bi den tagín n.
Waz soldich me drabe sagin n.
Sin decke was vnd sín kvrsît t.
Ein vndír webin brun samît t.
Mit golde deme rôtín n.
Sín banier was gescrôtín n.
Nach dem. als er wapín trůc c.
Der herre wîs. was. vnd clůc c.
In den rínc oua er gerant t.
Pphiliâsín er vant t.
Uf einím ôse sprûzuale e.
Den rínc ín einsit zů tale e.
Mit símе sper wol rîtin n.
Vnd abrín ander sîtín n.
wol houwín. mit me swerte e.
Den selbín prîs. er gerte e.
Den der helit stête e.
Uor. ír wolbin hête e.
Mit símе sper irwerbín nâch h.
Iedoch hêt. ín. ein teil zů gâch h.

115] line inset to allow for hole at edge of parchment.

E verso column II

	Uffe den helit reínín	n.
	Vnd nâmíz ors mit beínín	n.
	Als iz mochte meist geuarn	n.
130	Der romer. ovch sínín arm	n.
	Gegín den uvrstin wante	e.
	Daz ors mit spoȣn er mante	e.
	Sin sper er voȣne sancte	e.
	Daz níedir uz inwancte	e.
135	Den herzogin von dȳ stath	h.
	Stach er. ín ein horc gewath	h.
	Daz im daz anlutze	e.
	Belac in der phutze	e.
	Dem vurstin da von pîse	e.
140	Pphilias der wîse	e.
	Zuct uf daz sper. dôz ganz beleib	b.
	Uf sínín geuertin er treib	.
	Durch sínís schildis urbuor	r.
	Der nach ím durch huote uvor	r.
145	Und stach. ín. hindirs orsis zagil	l.
	Phîle . vil dickir dan ein hagil	l.
	Schuzzin schutzin ím ingegín	n.

---

134 inwancte] in- written above ge- which is crossed out.

Daz sie reualtin den degin n.
Doch quā er widir ane scadin n.
Al wer er sere gnůc virladin n.
Von tripe dimothene e.
ge Dâchte dise zwene e.
Mit einír ioste rechin n.
Daz man von ím ouch sprechin n.
Wol můste. uor d^{en}, vrouwín. n.
Und îlte. des. gâs zouwín n.
Er hete gůte wapin an n.
Und quā^{wol}; als ein huuísc man n.
Geuarn. an des ríngis ort t.
Pphilias uvor ouch fort t.
Mit einír banír índ hant t.
Sie tâtín beide dors gemant t.
Mit genendigin zorne e.
Die sper sanctin sie uorne e.
Die ûvst sie uaste twůngin n.
Do dors zů samne sprungin n.
Und trafin beidein andir sich h.
Der romer trůc hôr sínín stich h.

---

151 dimothene] between -i- and -m- is an erased letter; possibly -e-

152 ge Dâchte] ge- added as a correction.

Fragment F recto column I:

Die wapin uns uírrostin n.
Soz niemin let sich kostin n.
Die rittire uírterbin n.
Die nicht ín ŵapin werbín n.
Die mílđin uírkargin n.
Die guotin uírargin n.
Die mínníndin uírmínnín n.
Daz sie nicht thuon beginnín n.
Vnd nicht der urouwin achtin n.
Die sǫ́ger sich uírtrachtin n.
So sie nicht werkis ǔbin n.
Die urǒn gemǔtin. trǔbin n.
Die níemín uroudin reízit t.
Sus wirt daz uolc uírbeizít t.
Glich den uírbeiztin trappin n.
Uns uirdorppirn die knappin n.
Die ŵarín thugínt. er gelart t.
Zucht. wirt. in unzucht. gekart̂ t.
Der houisscheite wirt. íntwonít t.
Wie sere selhde uon uns uonít t.
Und unheil unsir ramit̂ t.

Leit.als ein sâme sâmít t.

Mit ( )mir werndi( ) smerzin n.

In unsír allír herzin n.

Dů stirbis nicht al eíne e.

Sie sterbin algemeine e.

Mit dir. die zathene sínt t.

Aldín. íungin. vnd die kínt t.

Der allir houbit were dů v.

Daz stirbit allín samít nů v.

Des werdich níemir wol gemůt t.

Er sprach dv wer ouch alzů gůt t.

Waz soldistů so gůt geborn n.

Sit got so sere sínin zorn n.

An dir gedâcht irzeigin n.

Wer al die werlt min eigín n.

Die geb ich liebe sůn uvr dich h.

Wer abir daz ich selbe mich h.

Mocht also uvr dich gegebin n.

Daz dů gesunt soldis lebin n.

Und ich uvr dich irsturbe e.

Wie gern ich daz ir wurbe e.

---

23 ( )mir werndi( )] brackets indicate holes in parchment.

33 geborn] g- corrected from b-.

Daz selbe tête dín muotir r.
Ay. liebe uatir. waz tuot. ir r.
Daz ir mich tôtit er der zit t.
Ich weiz wol daz ir ruwic sit ; t.
Mins leidis. daz ist mir leit t.
Und zwiualdit mín arbeit t.
Sprach der wol gemuotir r.
Stûrit mínír muotir r.
Und alemandînin n.
Daz sie nuwít pínín n.
den lib. nach mir. al zů uil l.
Und tuot des ich bítín wil l.
Min lebin ist nicht langir r.
Ich bín eins tôdis swangir r.
Wendin. des muoz ouch; ich bekorn n.
Wendich durch sterbin wart geborn n.
Do mín muotir mín genas s.
Der romer prophilias s.
Der hat min. intgoldin gnůc c.
Do man mich. in. die stath truoc c.
Mit sulchim ummůte e.
Do wânde die gute e.

---

57 muoz] after -z a letter has been erased.
59 min] after -n a letter has been erased.

Cardiones daz ich uêre e.
Prophilias der romêre e.
Wende mich sín geselle trúc c.
Don was sie leidir nicht. so klúc c.
Daz sie des kond ínthaldin sich h.
Und starb uon leidin ūme mich h.
Von des todis ubir trite e.
Nú tút des ich uch gebite e.
So mín ougin sich besliezin n.
So lâzit mich des genízin n.
Daz ich des nie nicht hie zú brach .
Des uwir munt zú mir gesprach h.
Und begeht unse bigraft t.
Mit urouwin mit rittirscaft t.
Nach rechtir kuniclichin guft t.
Lâzit uns welbin eíne kluft t.
Mit edilin marmír steíne e.
Mit golde gemuosit reíne e.
Da legit uns beidin samt. ín n.
Wende wir tôt gesellin sîn n.

---

65 uere] before u- a letter, or part of a letter (probably the firs part of w-), has been erased.

70 ūme] ū- written on an erasure.

F verso column I

In also riche serke e.
Daz man da bi wol merke e.
Daz wir wol adil mochtin habin n.
Mit rôt guldínín buochstabín n.
Lât unsín namín scrîbín n.
Daz wir also belîbín n.
Daz níemín uns zů scheide e.
Swen ir. dan andir weide e.
Zů uroudín.sit gesezzín n.
Und unsir hât uírgezzín n.
Als die lebíndín alle thůn n.
So die lute. sich gnůc gemuon n.
Mit herzelichin leidin n.
So muoz der lib doch sceidín n.
Daz leit.mit libis trôste e.
Wen daz ist recht iz hôste e.
Daz die tôtín zůr erdín uarn n.
Wend.ín. daz níemín kan bewarn n.
Die lebíndín druffe sîn n.
So lât. alr erst werdin schîn n.
Daz ir lieb. hêtit mínín lib b.

U()d geldit im sín liebe wib b.
Der sie durch mich hat uirlorn n.
Zwar. er. ist. ir gnuoc geborn n.
Und ist ir bidirue genuoc c.
Wende die werlt noch nie getruoc c.
Not uestirn man zů deginheit t.
Und wêne níemír mer getreit t.
Die werlt. sin glich ist und noch wirt t.
Abir der nichtis.recht ínpirt t.
Nach sinis libis můgindin n.
Uon al ir korn thugíndín n.
Der wirdit noch seltsêne e.
Der werlt als; ich wol wêne e.
Daz ist min her prophilias s.
Der ist luttirre dan eín glas s.
Uon dem. daz scand ist genamít t.
Nů gebit ím beidin samít t.
meine swestir zů wíbe e.
Daz uon ir zweyer libe e.
Geborn noch helde werdin n.
Zůz erbe disir erdin n.

---

106 U( )d] middle letter lost as parchment is holed.

111 deginheit] -h- on an erasure.

F verso column II:

Daz sie nach uwirn libe e.
Nicht erbelôs belibe e.
Sit daz. man mín ínpern muoz z.
Er sprach liebe swestir tuoz z.
Durch mínír sele genist t.
Ob dû mir der gunstic bist t.
Sie sprach. nicht. uil hôs lûtis s.
Ich thû. swaz du gebûtis s.
Ob uatir ūn muotir wil l.
Die mir gesatz hân ein zil l.
Daz ich nicht sol ubir tretín n.
Er sprach. des ich han gebetin n.
Des mûgin sie dir uirhengín n.
Und dû machtiz uollin brengin n.
Uil gerne. durch dins selbis urûmin
Wend ich nie man baz uollinkûmin
An allir slachte tûginde
Gesach. uon kíndis íugínde
Der ie sín swert begurte

Sie gâbin ím ant wurte
Sín uatir. und sín muotir

141-147] final, repeated letters and points obliterated by a stain.

Zwâr. er ist. gar eín guotir r.
Beide gůtis und ()ibis s.
Gert er sicheínis wibis s.
Zů nemine durch sin iamir r.
Son konde wir nicht ærsâmir r.
Alemandînín bestatin n.
Mag siz. abir nicht gegatin n.
So daz er nicht wil wibis nemin .
Er sprach. so lâzit. ín. bezemín n.
Und gebit sie. dem. ir wellit t.
Die rede mir wol geuellit t.
Sprach daz sere clagínde wib b.
Er sprach. nů lôsit mínín lib b.
Ich lig. ín grôzír ummacht t.
Vnd lât mír zien. ûz den scacht t.
Man gnísít grôzir wundin n.
Daz han ich dickír uvndin n.
In arzit was die wîle kůmín n.
Der hête salbin uíl genůmin n.
Híndene den scaft geclobín n.
Und dar. ín. wínplín gescobín n.

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149 ( )ibis] only the top of the first letter (probably l-) still visible.

COMMENTARY

Fragment A

1 ..i] Grimm conjectured Er, whilst Kraus observed that the remains of a minim and (possibly) a nasal-stroke were still visible at the damaged edge of the parchment. He suggested Vn̄.

sach] the text starts in the middle of a long sentence describing what Athis sees from his cave.

This is a radical change of the source where he does not witness the crime but has his attention drawn by sounds made by the dying man (Rd'A 2059-60). During the course of his 'Totenklage' below (A20-65) Athis gives us information about the dead man he could only reasonably have obtained if he had been watching closely for some time. This kind of amplification of the source is typical of the German poet's style. During the first battle he makes Bilas's lieutenants into eye-witnesses of the mounting danger threatening their king (see notes in fragment C). This technique is known as evidentia and here it leads on naturally to a descriptio ab affectione of Athis as he responds emotionally to the unfortunate man's fate.

der helit balt] this same phrase occurs frequently in Veldeke's Eneide: 2446;3004;3178 etc. Eneide 7797:8 also has the same rhyme hel t balt: vergalt.

2 uijandin] these adversaries correspond to the two young Romans (donzel) of the Rd'A who quarrel with a third, who being more noble is the object of their hatred, about the tardiness of their amies who then never arrive (2031-49). It remains unclear in the German version how much of this account the German poet has retained.

2 uirgalt] sich...sinin uijandin uirgalt/ Mit uerchserin wundin; shows the unusual combination of reflexive vergelten, glossed by Lexer (3,112) as:'sich bezalt machen, empfangene streiche vergelten', with both dative of the person and a prepositional phrase introduced by mit. The sense of the lines is: 'paid his adversaries back with mortal (or serious) wounds to the body'. Examples showing vergelten with either dative of the person or mit are found in the NL (2219,4;2277,3).

The Rd'A makes no reference to wounds inflicted by the young man on his assailants. It simply reports that swords were drawn and that the two Romans decapitated their victim: (2043-4) Tant egrignierent les mellees/ Qu'il ont treites les epees; and (2050-1) O les epees qu'il avoient/ Li ont del bu lo chief sevré.

3 M)it uerchserin wundin] Lexer(3,88) glosses verchsêr as: 'auf das verch, zum tode verwundet', with this special gloss for our example: 'tötlich verletzend'. This raises a problem, since the murderers have to reappear later on at the trial scene unless that part of the story has been radically altered by the German poet (this is quite possible). The manner in which the 'mortally wounded' assailants make their escape suggests, however, that the poet may have intended the term to indicate a wound which would not necessarily result in the death of its recipient.

4 uz der scrundin] Lexer (2,807) cites scrunde as both weak and strong. Here it corresponds to OF croute (Rd'A 1939;2061).

5 W)ie die iuncurouwe intran] An important alteration by the German poet. In the Rd'A none of the awaited ladies arrive. Here it is not clear which lady is involved, though she seems likely to be the young man's beloved referred to later on (A34). The German poet has introduced a witness to the crime.

7-9] these lines translate: '(how they) divested the young man of his clothes and covered him with leaves and threw earth on him'. None of these three acts is reported in the Rd'A. For the possible relevance of this change see note on mordis (A13) below.

8 louberin] a personal pronoun in may have been omitted here. Such ellipsis is not uncommon, particularly in this text. For examples of 'Sparsamkeit des Ausdrucks' see PMSG, para.379,2.

11 murin] here declined weak (cf. Lexer 1,2251). The wall is a further detail supplied by the German poet (Rd'A 2051-2).

12-13] 'So that they were not made to render any compensation for their murder there'.

widirgelt] a legal term denoting required payment of compensation for harm done (cf. J. Grimm, Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer, Leipzig 1899, (4th ed.), p.219), e.g. Corpus I,146,06: des perides wedergelt.

ir mordis] In medieval German law one difference between murder and manslaughter consisted in the concealment of the corpse (see R. His, Das Strafrecht des deutschen Mittelalters, Aalen 1964, vol.II, p.90). This view persisted well into the 14th century; cf. the Rfrk. Landfrieden (1224) qui alium clam occiderit, quod mord dicitur, rota punietur. According to a 'Schöffenspruch' from Iglau, murder was distinguishable from manslaughter also by the robbing of the corpse (cf. His, II,pp.92 and 215). In our text the killers divest the corpse of its clothes and cover it

with leaves. None of this information is given by the Rd'A. It appears the German poet was amplifying the deed in legally significant terms.

intphiengin] cf. RWB 2,1521 [IV, 3 and 4] where empfangen is glossed as meaning to receive both judgement and punishment. Given the sense of widirgelt as a legal term, the most likely meaning of intphiengin must be that they 'received' no judgement against them (that would require them to render recompense for their crime).

16 dit] this is a CG pronoun. The same form is used throughout this MS (see PMSG, para.148, Anm.12 and H. Sparmann,'Die Pronomina in der MHD Urkundensprache', PBB(H) 83 [1961], pp. 1-116.

der mere helit balt] exactly the same combination in Veldeke's Eneide: 710.

20-65] his long soliloquy has no counterpart in the Rd'A where Athis, on finding the corpse, decides to confess to the crime in order to end his own life (Rd'A 2064-6). Between his witnessing of the murder and the decision to confess the German poet has inserted this speech. As R. Leicher noted its structure is antithetical (Die Totenklage in der deutschen Epik, Breslau 1927, pp.72-3). Its function is to permit Athis to reflect on the contrast between himself and the dead man, whom he eulogises. The features on which Athis focusses are the esteem in which the man was held, his faithful love for his lady, her reciprocation of that love and their mutual consideration of each other as displayed in their joint attempts to make each other's life more pleasant. This represents the antithesis of

Athis's own state. He has ceded his wife to his friend, who now no longer recognises him.

21 der wol gemuote] Grimm emended to der ungemuote without a note. There is a parallel case later:(F49) sprach der wol gemuotir (:muotir) which refers to Peritheus, who is dying. Grimm emended here as well. He must have understood the meaning of wol gemuot to have been incompatible with both contexts. Lexer(in his entry on wolgemuot) redirects us to hôchgemuot (1, 1314) which is glossed: 'edel, grossgesinnt, hochsinnig', as well as 'hochgestimmt, freudig'. The MS reading causes less of a problem if we understand it as 'high-minded' rather than 'joyful' which would be inappropriate.

25 allir sorgin enic] 'free of all fears'. enic = MHG aenec from the preposition âne.

26-7 Vñ uirsach sich harte wenic/ Sus getanir zů uirsicht] 'and did not forsee at all that he would be treated in such a way'. This figura etymologica brings out a contrast implicit in the senses of the two terms derived from versehen. These lines provide an interpretatio of the previous statement.

32 Wend al sin dinc stunt ebine] 'because everything about him was in good order'; cf. Graf Rudolf Kb45-6 wie sal ich nu ane van/ min dinc in dirre heide; and Rother (14-16) ⌈R⌉uther was ein here/sine dinc stundin mit erin. Our example shows dinc used in the singular.

33 Al liger nů zůhouwin] 'though he may now lie (here) cut to pieces'. The conjunctive particle al can introduce clauses of concessive content with verbs in either indicative or subjunctive mood. Further examples from Athis Ad5;E150. See G. Schieb, 'al, alein(e), an(e) im Konzessivsatz. Ein Beitrag zur Veldekekritik', PBB 74 ⌈1952⌉, pp.268-85 and PMSG, para.338b.2.

34 Er minnite sine urouwin] In this passage minne is presented in a positive light in combination with the virtues of fidelity and consideration. D. Wiercinski (Minne, Köln/Graz 1964, pp.88ff.) wrongly concludes that these remarks refer to Athis.

41-2] 'this was a life one might freely choose, I would not exchange it for the whole world'. For willeküre see Lexer (3,890).

43 biesin] a northern word meaning 'reed' (cf. Karlmeinet A 173,46-7; Morant und Galie 462 und Heinrich Hesler's Evangelium Nicodemi 3092). This is one of a number of figurative negations in Athis (cf. B8-9;E88) discussed by O. Mensing, 'Zur Geschichte der volkstümlichen Verneinung', ZfdPh 61 [1936], pp. 343-80. The remark was probably prompted by Rd'A 1930: Qui or ne me prise une pome.

46-60] a complex sentence, at first sight seemingly without a main verb. This function is fulfilled by wil (A58) where daz is a demonstrative relative standing for the content of all the previous dependent clauses beginning daz ich (45;48;50), der mich (54), da mich (52), do er mich (55) daz mir (56) and also the dependent clauses which follow: daz ich (59) and und ich (60). The sentence then translates: 'that I should ever have learnt so much of pleasure and of suffering, and that I, poor man, should know them both so well! And that once upon a time I should have had such pleasure at my command, whereupon my friend Prophilias left me so far behind, who did not even recognise me today when I lacked everything I needed to be held in esteem; (all) this I shall always lament to God; that I should ever have chosen a beloved in love and (then) lost her so quickly'.

46] cf. Parzival 175,6 er wart ouch sît an strîte wîs.

53 (mich)...alsus uerre abe sciet] according to DWB 1,97 abscheiden (intrans.) means: 'depart from' or 'leave'; whereas (trans.) it means: 'separate something off'. Our example is puzzling since the verb is used transitively with the object mich but probably with the sense 'depart from'. The phrase is obscure but I suggest the translation: 'whereupon my friend Prophilias left me so far behind (i.e. when he left Athens for Rome)'.

59] 'that I ever chose a beloved for love', the identity of the beloved in question is not clear. This form of annominatio is frequent in the Minnesang (Ps-Dietmar 35,9; Reinmar 199,12).

64] 'but now this suffering has befallen me'.

66 mit windindin hendin] Athis's distress is here amplified with a visual gesture. The wringing of hands is common enough both in OF and MHG poetry, see D. Peil, Die Gebärde bei Chrétien, Wolfram und Hartmann, Munich 1975, pp. 113;116;123;126 and 129. Further examples listed in Diu Klage, ed. A. Ezardi, Hannover 1875, p.71 and K. Burdach/ A. Bernt, Vom Mittelalter zur Reformation, III,1; p.165.

72 Do bluotin ime die wundin/ Vn̄ machite den wec rot] 'his wounds were bleeding then and he made the path red'. Grimm emended machite to machitin al (al in italics). Leitzmann rejected al but agreed with the emendation. In this way both verbs share the same subject. According to PMSG para.270c. the personal pronoun when functioning as the subject of a verb was often omitted in MHG , even when the subject changed identity e.g Iwein (3788-90) dô man in zuo rîten sach und sînen gevangen man (un er Bbd) eneben ime vuorte dan; (6493) dar vuorte sîn bî der hant und sâzen zuo ein ander. The text need not be emended.

85-6] the use of werden with a present participle combines a periphrastic future tense with the 'inchoative Aktionsart': 'so the people will be taking hold of me and putting me to death straight away'. see PMSG para.307,2 where a similar example from Gottfried's Tristan is cited (14125) und werdent mir dan alle ... gebende die schulde. The stylistic function of this particular combination of tense and 'Aktionsart' is to vivify the images in Athis's thoughts as he envisages the consequences of his intended course of action.

87-91] Leitzmann argued against Grimm's placing of A88-9 in brackets and offered the translation: 'da ich nun einmal sterben will, so ist mir die schmerzliche Todesstrafe, der ich entgegengeh noch immer viel angenehmer, als dass ich mich des Selbstmords schuldig mache' and suggested commas before and after line 88. I accept Leitzmann's translation and read der (tod) in A87 as a demonstrative (cf. PMSG 280). For pîne 'punishment', see Lexer 2,270 and also Sachsenspiegel (=Ssp.) Ldr. III,9,5: he scal like pine jeneme liden.

100 irslahinde] this obscure form is probably adjectival and akin to those listed in PMSG, para. 314, e.g. swer gotes minne wil bejagen, der muoz ein jagendez herze tragen, daz nicht verzagen künne ûf der jagenden weide ('auf der Weide auf der gejagt wird') [Ps-Gottfried, Marienpreis 1,1-4]. In this way the line translates: ' and (they) followed the track where the killing took place'. The alternative would be to read irslahinde(n) as an adjectival noun, which remains possible. The choice seems to depend on whether one reads the remark as an authorial statement of fact or as an attempt to elucidate the thoughts of the Romans following the trail of blood.

104 mit den bluote] den for dem with a noun showing the dative sg. termination -e is a CG morphological feature common in this MS. There are also numerous cases of strong adjectival endings -en instead of -em(e) in the same position (B27;B57;D125 etc.). See K. Kinzel, 'Einige Fälle des pronominalen Dativs auf N und der Verwechselung von Dativ und Akkusativ', ZfdPh 11 [1880], pp.73ff. who cites large numbers of examples from CG texts.

105] the German poet is much more sparing in his depiction of physical gestures of distress than his OF counterpart (Rd'A 2083ff.)

109-112;116-7] In contrast to the Rd'A these speeches are here reported (Rd'A 2093;2098-2100). But Athis's confession is given in direct speech. The fabricated motive of revenge is not given in the German text.

125 Umme rome was iz so gestalt] here begins an important amplificatory digression of the narrative variety. In it is contained an account of the process of criminal law in Rome. This is given in general terms and when the narrative cuts back in the details in it are not recapitulated. Although the OF poem has nothing strictly comparable at this point, its narrative is interspersed with remarks on Roman justice (2055-8; 2067;70;2105-8;2153-68;2765-8). Of these the passage 2153ff. is clearly a source for our passage: A icel tans erent an Rome/ mout fiere gent et mout prodome;/ Trop bone justise tenoient/ Mais malveise crëance avoient. / Or öez de cheitive gent,/ Com avoient fol escïant:/ Qui le crïator nen amoient/ Et lor crïature äoroient./ Par jugemant prenent Athis/ Si l'ont en la chäene mis./ Une chäene avoit an Rome,/ Ou tenoient .III. iorz cel home/ Qui avoit fet forfet mortal./ Tuit l'esgardoient

comunal,/ Por ce que tel gent le veoient/ Qui de tel plet se chastioient. -'at this time at Rome there were many proud people and noble men; they exercised excellent justice but held evil beliefs, so listen (to what I have to say about) the wretched people, how they had foolish beliefs; they did not love their creator but worshipped their own creatures. In judgement they took Athis and they put him in the chain. At Rome they had a chain where they held such a man who had committed a capital offence for three days. Everyone looked at him communally, so that those might see him who would draw benefit from such proceedings.' All that the German poet has retained of this, apart from the introductory phrase are the three days punitive enchainment and the deterrent effect it purposed. The German poet has replaced this with something much more substantial including a great deal of new material. This will now be discussed in some detail. Taken as a whole, the criminal process which emerges consists of three stages- (i) arrest and first hearing; (ii) punitive custody for three days; (iii) a second hearing before the consuls and assembled public where sentence is passed and immediately executed.

118-119] In the Rd'A the corpse is not brought into court (2105). This innovation may have been intended to liken the proceedings to the German form of accusation known as the 'Klage mit dem toten Mann'; cf. Handwörterbuch zur deutschen Rechtsgeschichte (=HRG) 2,849ff. and H. Brunner, 'Die Klage mit dem toten Mann und die Klage mit der toten Hand', ZRG (G) 31 [1910], pp.235-6. In this process the corpse functioned as a symbol of the guilt of the accused and he was not permitted any defence.

119 dincstuol] cf. RWB 2,998-9: Gerichtsstuhl, Gerichtsstätte

dann auch Gericht überhaupt.' cf. also: Schwsp.(Kurzform) ed. R.Grosse, Weimar 1964,100r(=p.44): unde daz eyn elich kersten mensche sal dri stůnt in ime jare des vogedes dinc stol sůchen.

126 gewalt] probably means 'jurisdiction' here; cf. RWB 4,675ff., III, 'Gerichtsbarkeit'; cf. also Brünn RQ 351 daz chain lanther, noch chein edelman chain gewalt czu Brunne in der stat hawen schol.

128 geuienc] cf. RWB 3,1407/8 (GEVAHEN) I, fangen,ergreifen.

129 einin sculdigin an ichte] cf. for sculdec an, Ssp.Ldr.II72,5: so is de borch sculdich an der dat; and also earlier in the same paragraph: so ist se an der dat unsculdich.

131-136] This temporary immunity from acts of revenge is reminiscent of the medieval German legal concept of vride ('Friede') cf. HRG 1,1285; and RWB 3,894ff.: I,2c) Friede für den Weg zu und vom Gericht und während des Gerichts; cf. also H. Brunner II,694ff. who cites: (Lex Fris.Add.1) 'homo faidosus pacem habeat in ecclesia, in domo sua, ad ecclesiam eundo, de ecclesia redeundo, ad placitum eundo, de placito redeundo.' An example of the terms of vride expressed in the vernacular can be found in the Mainzer Landfrieden of 1235 where a period of three days peace between both parties in a dispute is required by law to enable a legal process to be instigated: Corpus 1.15(lines 39ff.) so mus he durch die not sinen viendin widirsagin das sal he tun bi tage. un̄ von dem tage alse he im widersait hat. denne bis vierdin tag sal im keinen scaden tun. weder an libe noch an gute. so hat he dri ganze tage vride. The use of the double phrase an libe noch an gute, which translates the Latin: in personis et rebus, is clearly paralleled in our text (133). A further example of the phrase used in connection with a fixed period of vride is: Corpus 1,346 lines 30ff.: Swer unser hulde umbe dekeine sine missetât verliuset der sol sechs wochen an libe un̄ an g̊ute fride han; vride during

a legal process is referred to in Corpus 1,81 lines 30ff. un̄ wirdet ein man vorvestet oder wirdet ub er in gerichtet sin gůt nemach niemen nemen wante sine rechten erben. There is no doubt but that this aspect of the process of law in Rome will have been comprehensible to the poet's audience in terms of their own legal practice, though the poet never refers to the term vride by name.

131:132 sterbin:uir terbin] both verbs are weak and transitive. For sterben cf. Lexer 2,1178; verterben, Lexer 3,94: den verdarbte er an êre und an guot (Chr.d.dt.Städte 8.65,11).

137 Ist daz er sich intsagite] cf. RWB 2,1589,IV;2(sich entsagen); 'sich von einer Beschuldigung reinigen'. Examples: Ssp.Lnr.58 he ne moge's sik entsagen na rechte; Dsp.80 sich entsagen mit z wei fingern; 1353 Lüb.uB III169 des wil he sich untsegghen unde ledeghen. When brought before the court in an ordinary manner an accused man in German law could attempt to exonerate himself through a 'Reinigungseid' (cf. Planitz/Eckhardt,p.229) and it is probably this which is referred to here; cf. MRRB I.4 Cumit die man dan vuri gerichti. loicinit he dan der sachchi der mi(n) umi scult giebit ummi den toitin, so mac he woili davuri sueri mit sien einis ha(n)tuffi din heiligin.

140 Het er abir so misse tan/Daz...] this is probably a vernacular rendering of a stock Latin legal phrase such as: si autem talis culpa erat, ut... (see: T. Hirschfeld, 'Das Gerichtswesen der Stadt Rom vom 8.bis zum 12.Jahrhundert', Archiv für Urkundenforschung 4 (1912), pp. 419-543, here p.425).

141 bete] cf. RWB 2,352 (Bitte) III Fürbitte. Probably what is referred to here is a plea on his behalf; cf. HRG 1,1333ff. (Fürsprecher). cf. also MRRB 7.1 undi wirt da leidic gelaizin durch ovilei edir durch beiti; 'und wird da ledig gelassen auf Grund Sühnegelds (oblei = Mlat.oblagia) oder einer Fürbitte'. This is another feature which had a parallel in German law.

147/8 Daz al daz volc an ime gese/ Von wilchir scult sin veme gesche] 'so that all the people may by seeing him know on what account he is being punished'. This couplet is one of the few instances where the German text follows the OF closely: R d'A2167/8 Por ce que tel gent le vëoient/ Qui de tel plet se chastïoient; 'so that such people might see him who would draw benefit from such proceedings'. There is, however, a difference even here between the meanings of the two couplets.

148 ueme] 'punishment'; cf. RWB 3,494;II,Strafe: pro suis culpis pena tali, que veme vulgariter appelatur (1264) Erfurt UB I,109. Our examples (used again in line 154) together with the following one from Hartmann's rede vom gelouven: daz wir von rehter sculde/di veme dulde (punishment=crucifixion) are very early ones of this term; cf. T. Lindner, Die Veme, Münster/Paderborn 1888, pp.303-16. This does not locate Athis in Westphalia, however, for the term occurs elsewhere (though mainly in CG texts) as the Erfurt document shows (cf. also T. Lindner, p.315).

150-153 So quam daz uolc ubir ein/Zů rome in den uronin sal/Vn̄ die consule ubir al/Vn̄ uirteiltin den haft.] The subject of the verb uirteiltin is not clear. As in lines 73 and 82 the pronoun is omitted. As the text stands, either die consule are the subject, or both the consuls and the people together. Since virteiltin (see note) refers to the actual passing of judgement, this question is not unimportant. The text can, in my view, be read either way, but I read it with the people and the consuls as the subject.

151 in den uronin sal] der vrône sal is a very rare term. Both BMZ (II2,28a; for vrônesal) and Lexer (3,532; for vrône-sal) offer the gloss: 'tempel, kirche;'. They give only one example. This refers to St. Peter's Church at Rome: UG Servatius, 1112ff. ze sante Peter wolter in den tuom/ wider eriste nicht treten./In die burch gie er beten/ ze den goteshiusern überal/ ze diu, daz er in den fronesal/ chöme deste reiner. Here, as

in our text, vrône(r) sal rhymes with überal. Taking this meaning (temple) as unquestioned, H. Franz (Daz Bild Griechenlands und Italiens, Berlin 1970, pp.335/6) concludes that the mention of consuls, enchainment and of court-sessions taking place in a temple reveals 'überraschende Sachkenntnis'. Only in Vitruvius (De Architectura,5,1,8) is there, she goes on, any reference to court-sessions being held in a temple (she does not say that the temple in question was at Fano not Rome), rather than in the usual fora and basilicae. Therefore, she supposes, the poet's knowledge can 'vermutlich' be attributed directly or indirectly to the Vitruvius reference. For the function of consuls in the judicial system at Rome see the note on line 152. The three days public enchainment is in the OF text and is therefore irrelevant here. But the most unconvincing aspect of H. Franz's argument is that it is by no means certain that in den vronin sal means 'into the temple'. Our example shows adjective + noun and is not a nominal compound which the UG Servatius example appears to be, as the adjective shows no weak ending (in den fronesal). Lexer (2,575/6) glosses sal as: 'wohnsitz, haus, saal, halle (meistens nur einen saal enthaltendes gebäude, bes. zum gesellschaftlich. vereinigungsorte dienend), allgem. ... waffensaal, schlafsaal, ...rathaussaal, rathaus, ...vorsaal, sommerhaus ... kirche, tempel.' MHG vrône(e) can also have a number of meanings (Lexer 3,529/30). These are substantially the same as those discussed for OHG vrôno by D.H. Green (The Carolingian Lord, Cambridge 1965, pp.39ff.). He establishes 3: a) 'to do with a lord/lords; belonging to a lord/lords'; b) 'public, communal'; c) 'holy' (cf. UG Servatius example above). Given both that the function of the hall is to house court-sessions and that the involvement of daz volc in the proceedings is twice stated, then there is no reason for not reading the term as meaning 'public hall'. Furthermore there are two other terms used in this Athis to render the meaning of 'temple' in the sense of a place of (heathen) worship: tempil(C*101;D116) and betehus(D93). For

numerous (MHG) legal terms derived from the stem vrô see RWB,3,978: Fronde (IV.'Gefängis');3,982: Frone(I. 'Gerichtsbote');3,974; frone(r) bote ('Gerichtsdiener').

152 Vñ die consule ubiral] The introduction of consuls as juridical officials, possibly with the function of magistrates is both the most important divergence from the R d'A and the most significant feature of the legal excursus. In the OF version we are told that the relations of the dead man delivered Athis to the Peers of Rome who were responsible for the administration of justice: R.d'A 2106ff. As pers de Rome le (=Athis) livrerent./A ces qui les lois maintenoient/Et les granz justises feisoient./ At this point an inquisition follows in the OF text which is entirely absent from the German version. After this Athis is put in the chain. Before the three days have elapsed he is liberated as a result of Prophilias's confession, so we do not find out whether a second court-session was intended. Consequently the second court-session of the German text must count as another 'new' feature .

Where did the German poet get this information from? There are at least four potential sources: 1) as H. Franz suggested (pp.335/6) he may have had some knowledge of the administration of justice in Ancient Rome; 2) he may have been familiar with the circumstances of contemporary, medieval Rome; 3) he may have known that the office of consul was important in the administration of law in 12th century Lombard communes; 4) he may have known about recent innovations in municipal government in certain German cities involving the office of consul.

1) In the Republic of Ancient Rome the consuls were empowered as the highest magistrates with general jurisdiction (Jolowicz/Nicholas, pp.45-7). In practice they delegated the responsibility of sitting as magistrates in court. There were, however, certain exceptional instances where consuls did sit as magistrates, empowered by the people, to exercise criminal jurisdiction (A.H.M. Jones, The Criminal Courts of the Republic and Principate, Oxford 1972, pp.1ff.). One reason for the usual delegation

of responsibility may have been (Jolowicz/Nicholas, p.306) that after the passing of the Lex Valeria (509B.C.) every citizen had the right of provocatio, that is of appeal, at a second hearing to take place 24 days after the initial verdict was passed by the magistrate, where the people could vote either to accept or reject the magistrate's verdict. Thus a magistrate's judgement could be overturned by a iudicium populi and possibly this was not held to be commensurate with the dignity of the office of consul. Superficially the legal excursus in our text may bear some resemblance to this process. The question as to how the poet might have come by such information in the Middle Ages is hard to answer. The picture we now have has been pieced together only gradually by modern scholars. He might have picked up fragments of information from Livy or Cicero (cf. A.H.M. Jones, pp.5ff.); but this cannot be viewed as anything other than just possible. One serious misgiving is raised by the fact that on both occasions the German text refers to a group of consuls rather than just one or two: (152) Vñdie consule ubir al ('and all the consuls together'); (166) Ein ieclich consul ('each consul'). Neither of these phrases normally denotes a pair.

2) According to L. Halphen, consules romanorum were aristocratic pontifical officials with special legal responsibilities ('Note sur les consuls et les ducs de Rome du VIIIe au XIIIe siècle', Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire, pub.par l'Ecole Française de Rome, 26 (1906), pp.67-77): 'De l'ensemble de ces documents, il nous paraît ressortir que les consuls de Rome ou consules romanorum, tout en appartenant a l'aristocratie romane, constituaient une classe spéciale de fonctionnaires pontificaux. Sans qu'ils soient jamais presentés comme des juges, ils jouaient un rôle dans les affaires judicaires et ce rôle consistait surtout, semble-t-il, à poursuivre les accusés, lorsqu'ils étaient saisis d'une plainte, à en assurer la comparution et enfin à veiller a l'exécution des jugements'. Halphen's uncertainty is attributable to a dearth of documentary evidence for this early period (see T. Hirschfeld, op.cit., pp.549ff., where these conclusions are disputed). The largely formal proceedings of the second session (lines 150-153) combined with the swift

execution of sentence may make the consules romanorum a possible source for the consuls of this presentation.

3) The process of change, whereby legal jurisdiction passed gradually from the Bishops to the consuls as governing officials of the communes in Lombard cities during the 12th century, is described by A. Erler in his account of the background to the Roncaglia Decrees and Frederick Barbarossa's Italian policies: 'Die Ronkalischen Gesetze des Jahres 1158', ZRG(G) 61 (1941), pp.127-149, esp.pp.127/8. After the investiture dispute imperial authority in Lombardy had, through absence, lapsed. This authority had previously required that any delegation of the imperial jurisdiction invested in the Bishops to other judges, be they ministerialis or consul, needed imperial ratification. With the disappearance of imperial authority, Erler goes on, Bishops came to invest jurisdiction in consuls, as officials of the emerging communes in return for money. One of Barbarossa's aims both at Roncaglia and in his dealings with individual communes was to re-establish imperial authority in matters of jurisdiction, partly to secure power and partly to recoup a significant amount of imperial revenue which was being lost. Thus the office of consul and its rights and privileges figure prominently in the documents which reflect political agreements and treaties between Barbarossa and the Lombard communes, whether entered into freely or co-erced by force of arms. Two such documents are the treaty with Milan of September 1158 and the letter to the Genoese people of June 1162 (these two documents can be found edited in MGH.Dip.Reg.et Imp.Germ.Tomus X pars II, Hannover 1979, pp.7ff. and 220ff.). In the former Barbarossa establishes temporarily a measure of control over the office of consul in Milan by requiring that future consuls (replacing those currently in office the following February) would need to be confirmed by the Emperor in their offices. The letter to Genoa spells out how criminal jurisdiction was exercised by some consuls (p.222, line 4): Item donamus et concedimus in feudum consulibus et communi Ianue liberam potestatem eligendi ex se ipsis, firmandi et habendi consules et eis utendi, qui habeant ius et facultatem liberam faciendi iustitiam et

puniendi maleficia in civitate et districtu suo bona fide legitime et secundum bonos mores ipsius civitatis, et eis aliam potestatem non imponemus. See also, D. Waley, The Italian City-Republics, 2nd ed. London/ New York, 1978, pp.25-29. In this document the Emperor was probably sanctioning 'legally' privileges which the Genoese commune already had. The Peace of Constance (1183) included the recognition of the jurisdiction of consuls 'in both criminal and financial suits'. So the second half of the 12th century marked the gradual establishment of consuls' power and jurisdiction against German, imperial resistance (cf. Waley, op.cit., p.26). This approximates closely to the concept of the consulate as a civic judicial office held in fief, as presented by our text. Why should our poet have chosen to superimpose contemporary Lombard customs and institutions on to his presentation of 'Ancient Rome' as seen from his medieval perspective? A possible explanation may be found in Otto of Freising's excursus on Lombardy inserted in the Gesta Frederici before Barbarossa's Italian campaign of 1155. After explaining how the long-beards or Langobardii (so-called because they used women as soldiers with their hair tied beneath their chins imitating mens' beards) settled in N. Italy, Otto states that they relinquished, possibly as a result of intermarriage with women of the indigenous population, their barbarity in favour of cultural refinements they assimilated from their environment. This, he goes on, extended to their system of government where (Lib.II,13):

In civitatum quoque dispositione ac rei publicae conservatione antiquorum adhuc Romanorum imitantur sollertiam. Denique libertatem tantopere affectant, ut potestatis insolentiam fugiendo consulum potius quam imperantium regantur arbitrio. Cumque tres inter eos ordines, id est capitaneorum, vavassorum, plebis, esse noscantur, ad reprimendam superbiam non de uno, sed de singulis predicti consules eliguntur, neve ad dominandi libidinem prorumpant, singulis pene annis variuntur: 'In both the administration of their cities and the government of their state they continue

to imitate the wisdom of the Ancient Romans. Finally to such an extent do they desire liberty that they are ruled by the judgement of consuls rather than of one potentate in order to avoid the arrogance of power. There are three social orders among them; they are capitanii, vavassores and plebes; for the suppression of arrogance the consuls mentioned above are elected not from just one but from all of these social orders; lest they develop the desire for dominance beyond reasonable limits they are changed almost every year.' This may give some indication of how the institution of the consulate, as known from a familiarity with Lombard communes and their institutions, might be presented in a German text as 'Roman Law'. There are a number of common features, the most important of which is probably the notion of freedom associated with the election of members of the lower order to positions of power where they might exercise jurisdiction. This could help explain the puzzling introductory remark (lines 125ff. Umme rome was iz so gestalt/ daz der richin gewalt/ ubir die armin nine gienc, which can be translated: '...that the rich and powerful had no jurisdiction over the poor'. Another common feature may be seen in the German poet's stressing of the involvement of the people (daz volc lines 150 and 165) and the role of the citizens of a city in the affairs of the commune (cf. Waley, p.29). One potentially revealing question would be: to what extent are these common features intended to be positive? Is the German poet presenting this form of shared jurisdiction (that is if he is modelling his presentation on Lombard communes) as a good thing, a bad thing, or a curiosum of the past?

These separate elements can be fitted together to form a picture of Northern-Italian legal practices which may have served as a model for our poet's changes in his presentation of law in Rome. The excursus on Lombardy in Otto's Gesta gives an indication of the attitude which could have led our poet to adopt contemporary Northern-Italian customs as a model for his amplification of the Roman past.

4) Even more likely, however, is that he looked at recent developments in civic administration in some German cities (notably Rhenish episcopal cities), which had been inspired by the Lombard institutions briefly described above. During the late 12th and early 13th centuries there emerged in a number of German cities consilia civitatis or city councils who either took for themselves, or were granted, powers enabling them to govern, amongst which jurisdiction figured prominently. (cf. H.Planitz, 'Die deutsche Stadtgemeinde', ZRG(G) 64(1944), pp.1ff., especially p.24; also by the same author: Die deutsche Stadt im Mittelalter, p.309; and H. Rabe, Der Rat der niederschwäbischen Reichsstädte,Köln/Graz 1966, pp.87-102, who gives a particularly sceptical account with a map showing first attestations of the office of consulate inserted after page 96; V. Pfaff, 'Das Papsttum und die Freiheit der Bischofsstädte', AfDip 25 (1979), pp.59-104, especially pp.70ff and 88ff. where Mainz and Worms are discussed mainly in the context of a European survey; H. Büttner, 'Zur Stadtentwicklung von Worms', in: FS F.Steinbach, Bonn 1960, pp.389-407; H. Stoob, Forschungen zum Städtewesen Mitteleuropas I, pp.59ff. One of the earliest cases is the privilege granted by Philip of Swabia in 1198 (confirming an instruction given by Henry VIth some years earlier) endowing the city of Speyer with the freedom to elect annually 12 citizens to whom the government of the city was to be entrusted. The technical term used is libertatem: 'ut libertatem habeant XII ex civibus suis eligendi, qui per iuramentum ad hoc constringuntur, ut universitati prout melius possint et sciant provideant, et eorum consilio civitas gubernetur'; (Speyer UB, Nr.22,p.26). Whereas in this document reference is made only to a consilium of elected officials, during the next decades similar documents appear where the term consul denoting the members of the consilium is mentioned by name.

If we take Worms for instance, the Annales Wormatienses report for the year 1237 that 40 consuls had been governing the city for 100 years

without the Bishop's help (cf. Planitz, 'Stadtgemeinde', p.24). Planitz identified these 40 consuls with 40 iudices who appear as witnesses in a document dated 1198 (Worms UB,I,p.82,nr.103). A statement of the duties and capacity of a consul in the consilium of Strassburg after Frederick II had granted that city rights of self-government can be found in the 2nd and 3rd paragraphs of the so-called second 'Stadtrecht' of 1214 (cf. also H.Rabe, op.cit.,p.94):

> II.1. Statutum est, ut duodecim vel plures, si necesse fuerit, honeste et ydonee persone sapientes et discrete tam inter ministeriales quam inter cives ponantur annuatim consules civitatis,-inte quos unus magister vel duo, si necesse fuerit, eligantur-,qui iurent omnes invicem honorem ecclesie, episcopi et civitatis ad omnia fideliter promovere, civitatem et cives majores et minores, divites et pauperes ab omni malo pro posse et nosse defendere et per omnia secundum veritatem juste iudicare.
>
> 2. Sedebunt autem pro tribunali ad iudicandum omni ebdomada duabus vicibus, scilicet in feria tercia et in feria quinta, nisi propter festos dies omittant. Magister vere(=vero) iudicabit, consules dabunt sententiam.

This document shows unmistakable parallels with our text: consuls as municipal juridical officials pass sentence: consules dabunt sententiam; the consuls as elected officials are sworn to protect all citizens, regardless of their social standing: maiores et minores, divites et pauperes.

Even more parallels with our text are provided by a short text in a document from Worms generally dated in the first half of the 13th century entitled: De iudicio condempnatorum antiquitus in urbe Wormatiensi (printed in: F. Keutgen, Urkunden zur städtischen Verfassungsgechichte, Berlin 1901 (repr. Aalen 1965), pp.109ff., document nr.130):

> Sciendum est quod super curia dni.e., sicut attingitur a Monasterio usque ad capellam S.Stephani et sic extra domus in curia edificatas, potest unusquisque usque ad hovedor suum malefactorem, iniuriatorem sive debitorem, per iudices seculares civitatis convenire. Et tales si fuerint conventi, debent a iudicbus secundum formam conventionis custodie sculteti mancipari. Item omnes malefactores deprehensi in primo mane, si non fuerit dies festivus, ducentur super curiam, et ibi secundum commissum a consulibus et iudicibus sive scabinis per sententiam condempnabuntur, et hoc facto campana curie tribus vicibus pulsabitur ad populum convocandum. Et tunc pedellus civium ascendens stegam ad penam sive ad mortem, secundum recessum iudicii, illos vel illum coram omni populo deiudicabit. Quem continuo scultetus recipiens ad locum pene deducet et ibi ipsum vel ipsos comiti presentabit, qui super hoc iudicium edictum supplebit vel perficere continuo procurabit.

This text describes the long established customary juridical treatment of criminals and shows the role played in this process by both consuls and the people of the city. The passage of particular interest for us begins Item omnes malefactores... for which I offer this translation: 'Furthermore all criminals who are in custody (of the Schultheiss) should, provided it is not a religious feast day, be taken at daybreak on to the court, and there they will be condemned and sentenced according to the crime they have committed by the consuls, judges and Schöffen and, when this has been done, the court bell will be rung three times in order to summon the people of the city together. And the beadle of the citizens walking up the steps will condemn the criminal to punishment or death according to the findings of the judgement in front of the entire assembly of the people. Then, having received him into custody, the Schultheiss takes him to the place of punishment where he will present him or them to the count who will implement the judgement or see to it that it is implemented straight away.'

The parallels between this account of customary procedure and our text are striking. In both texts the criminal in custody is taken at daybreak (in primo mane/A149;163) to the court (super curiam/A165) where he is condemned by the consuls (a consulibus...per sententiam condempnabuntur/A152-3) and the entire population of the city are convened to witness his public condemnation (coram omni populo deiudicavit/A150;165) and then the convicted man is taken to a place of punishment where sentence can immediately be carried out (ad locum pene deducet...qui super hoc iudicium edictum supplebit vel continuo procurabit/A154ff.). Although the two procedures are clearly not identical, the parallels are numerous. The old established (antiquitus) manner of treating criminals at Worms is so similar to the account given in Athis of Roman custom, that we really need look no further than contemporary custom in German episcopal cities for a source for the German poet's changes. This raises the question whether the parallel Italian medieval institutions are at

all relevant. The answer to this depends on whether there was a widespread understanding at the time, similar to the awareness expressed by Otto of Freising in his excursus on Lombardy, that these German municipal developments were imitations of Italian customs, themselves remains or revivals of prestigious Roman institutions of the ancient past. This is by no means out of the question. (See H. Planitz, Die deutsche Stadt, p.309; H. Rall, Zeitgeschichtliche Züge im Vergangenheitsbild mittelalterlicher, namentlich mlat. Schriftsteller. Berlin 1937, pp.241-242; F. Landsberg, Das Bild der alten Geschichte in mal. Weltchroniken, Diss.Basel 1934,pp.81/2; A. Brackmann, 'Der "Römische Erneuerungsgedanke" und seine Bedeutung für die Reichspolitik der deutschen Kaiserzeit', BSB 1932, pp.346-374, esp.pp.369-70; R. Benson, 'Political Renovatio: Two Models from Roman Antiquity', in Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century, ed. R.Benson/G.Constable, Oxford 1982, pp.334-386, esp.pp.334ff. and 370ff.) A contemporary German awareness of the antiquity of the office of the consulate is expressed in a letter sent by Barbarossa to the people of Treviso in May 1164: ...ut secundum statuta legum omnibus iusticiam facientes antiquum statum consulatus retineant; (MGH, Fred.I.Dip.,pp.344/5).

Another question raised here is whether or to what extent the idea of Roman justice presented here with consular jurisdiction, modelled on the customs of medieval cities, is connected with the idea of personal freedom which is also associated with Roman antiquity discussed by H. Grundmann ('Freiheit als politisches, religiöses und persönliches Postulat im Mittelalter', HZ 183(1957), pp.23-53, esp.pp.34ff.). It seems that the privileges granted to German cities involve liberties which are basically immunities and restricted in compass. They grant the freedom or liberty to do something or things which are then spelt out. The cities and their citizens still remain within the framework of the law. Otto of Freising, in the excursus cited above, seems to be chastising the Lombard cities for what he sees as an excessive desire for freedom which manifests itself

in the attempt to shrug off the shackles of a legitimate imperial authority held over them by Barbarossa. Otto is almost certainly seeking to repudiate the Lombard and Roman senatorial claims to be the legitimate upholders of prestigious Roman governmental institutions by arguing that the Empire already exercises the true Roman authority, thus exposing both the Lombard and the Roman claims as illegitimate, revolutionary pretensions. When the German emperors come to grant privileges of self-government to German cities, such privileges are granted within the framework of imperial law. It seems quite possible that the praising of an idea of Roman civic liberty in a German poem like Athis, within an exposition of Roman legal procedures through which Rome seems like a medieval German episcopal city, could be seen, by implication, to be praise of the splendour of a German, Roman realm which viewed itself as the lawful successor to the Roman Empire of classical antiquity (cf. in particular: R. Benson, op.cit.,pp.370ff.). So it seems quite possible that Athis in its positive portrayal of 'Roman Law' does not share in the transmission of the idea of personal liberty to which Grundmann refers, and that we need not read this digression as evidence of a municipal literature intent on laying claim to rights of absolute autonomy, whilst appealing to the precedent of ancient Rome.

It seems likely that we have in Athis an amplification of Roman legal procedure which reflects the use of non-literary, customary sources. The poet has re-styled his material by adding elements of contemporary judicial procedure which are overtly linked through their nomenclature with Ancient Rome and which reflect a reform of municipal administration in German cities under way in the late 12th and early 13th centuries. These reforms were probably indebted to the example set by Northern Italian city-states of the 12th century. These states were understood at the time to be imitating the institutions of ancient Rome. This indicates how the German poet's innovations could have been interpreted as historically authentic. In fact his changes simply show the replacement of one level

of anachronism by another. The sense of the past with which he operates is governed by the political ideas of the time in which he was writing.

153 Vñ wirteiltin den haft] 'and condemned the prisoner'. Lexer (3,267) notes that verteilen in its legal sense of 'to condemn' can take both accusative and dative of the person. An example of the former, as here in Athis, from the Ssp. is Ldr.III 56 3: Sin recht is ok de tegede (=tenth) man, den man verdelen scal. In general, forms taking the dative are more frequent.

den haft] 'the prisoner'; cf. Lexer 1,1140 and RWB 4,1406: vinctus haft; AHD Gl.I,770;780.

154 sin veme] see note on line 148. The reference here is to the convicted man's eventual punishment as stipulated when he is condemned.

161-168] In the R d'A Athis is not taken back to court. Before he completes his three days in the chain Prophilias recognizes him and, in order to save his friend, manages to convince the Peers that he did the deed himself: Rd'A 2183-2270. This represents another important divergence of the German from the OF version.

166 bevienc] None of the glosses for bevâhen offered by Lexer(1,247) fits this context. However, the RWB cites an OHG gloss (AHD Gl.I,482): occupauit:piviench which makes good sense here: 'each consul took up a seat which he held in fief'.

167 stuol] H.Franz(p.335, FN3) states: "Er meint natürlich die 'sella curulis'." Against this it must be said that in the illustrated Heidelberg MS of the Ssp. the judge is generally seated, cf. in particular the illustrations to Ldr.II 69 and Ldr.II 64 paras. 1-3 where the judge is sitting in a trial concerning a killing.

urbürte] Lexer 2,2002: 'tr.etw. als urbor inne haben, wovon urbor geben,

od. entnehmen, dann überh. etwas ausnützen, handhaben'. For urbor see Lexer 2,2000: 'zinstragendes grundstück, zinsgut, zins von einem solchen; rente, einkünfte überh.' The occupation of a magistrate's seat would, according to A. Erler's account (see note on consule above), have involved both the payment of dues to the person from whom the jurisdiction was obtained (possibly a bishop) and income derived from the office in the form of a portion of financial settlements. So urborte may well have been an accurate description of a consul's relationship to his office of magistrate. I have not been able to find any parallels for this usage of urborn.

Fragments A^{b-e}

These fragments present difficulties both of comprehension and interpretation. R. Mertz made a valiant attempt (Mertz, pp.18ff.) at fitting the text they transmit into existing scenes from the Rd'A, but even he had to admit eventually to serious inconsistencies. The picture he outlined was roughly this: A^b comprises four excerpts from a speech or speeches by Prophilias; the first three to Athis as he recognizes him in the chain (Rd'A 2183ff.), the fourth to the Roman judiciary. He differs here from W. Grimm who assigned the third excerpt (A^b12-17) to Athis. Mertz is probably correct in this as he points to the parallel between Rd'A 2231-3: Ne vuil qu'il il recuelle mort/Ne por moi soit ocis a tort;/N'en voel ocirre. II. por un. and A^b14ff. But it would be unwise to draw too many conclusions from this one correspondence. There are already significant differences between the two versions of the scene: in the OF text Prophilias does not speak to Athis at all before he addresses the peres de Rome. We also know that the German poet has significantly altered the scenic disposition of this episode; the conversations in question almost certainly take place in the German text in the vrôn(im) sal where the second court session is

located (see A151) and not, as in the OF text, by the chain. Furthermore, we cannot assume that all four excerpts belong to the same speech. Mertz goes on to attempt to associate most of the remaining excerpts in A^c with elements of this scene in the Rd'A. Here again serious discrepancies arise. In lines A^b18-22 and A^c37-48 Prophilias is attempting to secure his friend's release by offering compensation for the crime he has confessed to. He first asks what the price is. On gaining the response that it is beyond his means (A^b22) he states his readiness to pay it, however high it may be. There is no parallel for this in the OF poem at all where Prophilias confesses to the crime straight away. If, in the German text, Prophilias ever did resort to a confession, there is no textual evidence to prove it, apart from the ambiguous remark addressed to Athis personally: din scult gevellet uffe mich (A^c8). Mertz's attempt to locate these brief excerpts in the notional form of an unchanged adoption of the OF poem's scenic structure remains unconvincing. It appears much more likely, even from this brief comparison, that the German poet has significantly altered the scenic development of this part of the episode.

Mertz encounters similar problems with the remaining fragments A^d and A^e. He tries to fit them into the scene in the Rd'A immediately after Prophilias is released from the chain (Rd'A 2365ff.). He assumes, without a jot of supporting evidence, that the German poem also contained this element of narrative. According to Mertz, A^d1-16 correspond to Rd'A 2411ff. and A^d17-19 are Evas's reply. But here he encounters insoluble problems. The narrator interprets Evas's promise of a reward for Athis by stating that he was given a wife in return for the one (Cardiones) he had ceded to his friend in Athens. Mertz rationalizes this as an anticipatory reference to the future, when, after the battle with Bilas, to whom Gaite is betrothed, Athis and Gaite will be married. This is an unsatisfactory explanation, for in the next fragment we find Evas offering his daughter, presumably

Gaite, to Athis in marriage. This suggests that Gaite was indeed the reward Evas had in mind for Athis. There is no real reason to suppose that A^e25ff. belongs to a much later episode of the German text, in fact it seems probable that this scene did form part of the German poet's version of the immediate aftermath of the court session. Mertz's account of this significant departure from the OF text is this: he interprets Evas's offer as a spontaneous but thoughtless gesture of gratitude towards Athis in response to the entreaties of his son (Mertz, pp.21-2).

The German poet probably has altered the story here. The text is very puzzling indeed. If the poet intended to present a betrothal of Athis and Gaite at this point then he must also have changed at least to some extent the nature of the dispute with Bilas. It is also worth rememering at this point that in the Rd'A Athis has not yet even met Gaite, so there can be no question of love. So we can sum up as follows: there are two new elements of narrative contained in these fragments which suggest that the German poem differed from the OF source in its version of this part of the story. Firstly, Prophilias tries to save his friend first of all by offering compensation and not by confessing himself; this makes a subsequent two-day enchainment of Prophilias less than certain. Secondly, after the legal problem has in some way been resolved Evas agrees to Prophilias's request that Gaite be offered to Athis in marriage, even though he must know (if this part of the story has not also been altered) that she has been promised to Bilas. Unless Evas's offer to Athis concerns another daughter, the text raises questions which cannot be answered without further evidence. We must conclude that Mertz's view of the general correspondence of the German and OF texts is an untenable one.

A^b1-17] Prophilias is speaking. From lines 1 to 11 he seems to be speaking to Athis. In lines 12ff. this is not clear. From A^b18 he is addressing the Roman court officials.

2 geschipnisse] BMZ (II,2,71b) glosses this word as 'gestalt' and this fits in with other remarks on Athis's physical appearance in this passage. See Grimm's note for parallels.

4 gelougen] for this form see BMZ I,1027b, where this parallel from Herbort's poem is cited: Daz er es gelocken niht enmag (440). For MHG lougen + genitive, see: BMZ I,1027a.

6-8] 'whom your heart had chosen from amongst all women with loyal constancy'; this seems the most plausible translation of the text as it stands. BMZ I,1006aff. lists a host of more complex constructions involving herze and lesen, where herze seems to function either as a direct or indirect object. In lieu of more context, the simpler account seems advisable.

9 hulfes] this form and possibly also litis in A^c15 are both examples of the CG variant second singular preterite ind. to which Michels refers (p.218).

12-16] 'Now that would mean too many sins, since I have the means to compensate for them, that I should commit two murders and break faith, and accuse a man of murder who....'.

13 wandel] see BMZ II,697-8: 'schadenersatz leisten..'.

15] for triuwe brechen see: RWB 2,478 and Hartmann's Die Klage, 626: Sin triwe durch niemen breche (ed. H. Zutt, Berlin 1968, p.39). The sense of this must be the faith he feels he must keep with his friend Athis.

16] for sprechen ûf + acc., which seems rare, see: DWB X 1,2823, where an example from Berthold von Regensburg is quoted (1,282,21): wan dû im urteil ûf dich selben gesprochen hâst.

19] 'I intend to give you due compensation on his behalf', for this sense

of wandelen see the note on C164-5 below.

22 uch] in MHG this pronoun would be dative.

A^c1-12] Prophilias is speaking.

A^c1 ledic vnd vnschuldich] see note on A141.

2] Grimm lists parallels for this figurative expression.

8] the sense of this line is not clear. This use of gevallen seems not to correspond to any of the senses listed in BMZ (III,219b). The phrase may be a formal admission of guilt or alternatively it might simply mean 'it's my fault'.

12 vil ouele bedacht] Grimm suggested: 'schlecht bekleidet', taking bedacht as a past participle of bedecken. This involves a rhyme â:a in closed syllable before -cht, which is nothing extraordinary in a CG text. However, übele bedâcht ('in a wretched state of mind') seems equally possible. There is a similar phrase in the NL (2332,2) ir gedâchtet übele.. Given that Prophilias is lamenting Athis's mental condition this seems more likely.

38 eygen vñ len] according to the RWB (2,1323,e) eigen and lên could be understood legally as a contrastive pair: Ssp.I,38 para.2 verdelt in egen unde len, dat len den herren ledich, dat egen in die kningliken gewalt. Prophilias backs up his offer with a description of his wealth couched in familiar legal terms.

41-3] 'I shall give you in return for him as much as is necessary to satisfy you, provided that you are prepared to accept goods in payment.'

A^d5 Al weret mich eyn missepris] a very difficult line. Al... is probably a conjunction introducing a concessive clause similar to those noted in lines A33 and E150 (see note on A33 for bibliography). missepris seems to be the

subject of the verb. It is a rare form in MHG and a loan derived from OF mespris, which is glossed alternatively by Tobler-Lommatzsch (V,1670) either as: 'Missgriff, Fehler, Vergehen' or 'Geringschätzung'. BMZ (II,1,533b) offers for missepris the gloss: 'unehre, schande'. The principal problem lies in the verb form weret. Grimm suggests 'wêret ist wêre et' where he understands (presumably) wêre as a preterite subjunctive form of wesen and et as an intensifying particle (see: eht, êt, ôht, ôt; Lexer I,515). This is puzzling since mich appears to be a direct object. More plausible would be to read weret as a form derived from the verb werren (Lexer III,701; BMZ III,742b) with a sense akin to the 'stören, schaden, kümmern, verdriessen' which is normally associated with its intransitive use. I would tentatively suggest: al war ôt mich ein misseprîs: 'though I was afflicted indeed by (public) shame'.

9/10 der kvninge bok man nam/Vñ scref desse mere daran] the German poet here has the Romans making a written record of these events. It is not clear from the context, unfortunately, whether this record is historical or legal. Both are possible alternatives. The phrase 'the kings' book' might refer to an annalistic work similar to the Chronica regia Coloniensis (MGH,SS, xvii, xxii, xxiv). This might suggest a current record of contemporary events structured in relation to the years of a monarch's reign. This, of course, would be significant, since it would then be the sole reference in Athis to a Roman monarch. Another possibility would be a court record, referred to as the kings' book, since the monarch possessed the overall right of jurisdiction. A third alternative would be a work of dynastic historiography similar to William of Malmesbury's Gesta Regum Anglorum, which included mirabilia, as digressions recording significant events during the reigns of individual kings.

desse mere] it is impossible to establish whether mere is a singular or plural form. desse is a MLG demonstrative pronoun used for feminine acc.

singular and plural and also neuter pl. forms (see A . Lasch, p.218).

A^e9-12 'on this account he was cast down and expelled by his peers who bore him a grievance.' For hûzgenôzen, see the RWB (5,404, III; 'Standesgenosse/Ebenbürtiger) and E. Schröder, 'Hûsgenôz', ZfdA 72 (1935), pp.254/5.

A^e19 moten] this is probably an MLG form of the second plural present subjunctive of the MHG preterite present verb müezen (see A. Lasch, pp. 226-7 and K. Nerger, Grammatik des mecklenburgischen Dialektes älterer und neuerer Zeit, Leipzig 1869 (repr. Wiesbaden 1966, pp.66-67)

20] these lines are formulaic; see J. Bumke's note on line 1 of Wernher von Elmendorf's poem (Wernher von Elmendorf, ed. J. Bumke, Tübingen 1974, p.53) where numerous parallels are listed.

23/4] 'Yes I shall willingly do, son, what you ask of me'. MLG wes is a relative pronoun equivalent to MHG waz, see: Schiller-Lübben V,694. MHG gern an takes both dative and accusative (BMZ I,533). Whilst Grimm noted that mi is a MLG accusative form, Lasch (pp.211-3) points out that it doubles for both dative and accusative.

40 He bowet] Grimm suggested irbôwet, whilst Leitzmann recommended the prefix ge—. Leitzmann probably did not grasp the sense of Grimm's suggestion. He bôwet is a corruption probably stemming from a LG scribe's rendering of the form er, written separately on the page, with the LG personal pronoun he. Thus Grimm's emendation will be adopted.

Fragment A*

1-17] The presentation of the narrative in this fragment differs from that of the source. The focus of attention in both versions is a family scene on Evas's return from his abortive attempt to persuade Bilas to withdraw his claim to Gaite. Both poets exploit the emotional potential of the scene differently. In the OF text the conversation is terse and abrupt with only Evas and Prophilias allowed brief statements (Rd'A 6453-70). Into this the German poet has inserted Gaite's lament and his detailed description of her physical and mental condition. This addition may well combine elements of two earlier passages in the source. The sense of her lament and the picture of her weeping were probably prompted by Rd'A 5215ff., where Evas tells her of Bilas's arrival and hears of her love for Athis. R. Mertz (p.23) also argues convincingly that the set-piece description of Gaite is indebted to Rd'A 2613-37, the first description of Gaite, where the phrase occurs: Del feu d'Amors anluminé, which was probably the source for daz gar von minnen vure wiel ('which was boiling with the fire of Love').

Another important change concerns Evas's attitude to his daughter. Here he is still intent on keeping his word (see A*55), but his gestures towards her are sympathetic and consolatory. He embraces her and is affected by her visible distress (see A* 46ff.). This development of the father-daughter relationship is reinforced by the poet's elucidation of the legal problem confronting the father who promises his daughter in marriage and then finds that she withdraws her consent (see note on A*52). The poet is attempting to elicit sympathy for both parties. Evas stands to lose his honour and Gaite her love. In the OF poem Evas is depicted as much more aggressive (see Rd'A 6253ff.). The German poet may have brought

forward elements of a later sense in the Rd'A from the following morning when Evas, angry that Gaite has not dressed herself in fine clothes, is persuaded to be more sympathetic by S. and C. (cf. Rd'A 6799ff.: Pitiez lan prist, mes ne porcant/Ne vialt sofrir nul mesestant./ <Fille>, fet-il, <ce voi je bien/Qu'Athis amez sor tote rien;/Mes ce ne voel je pas sofrir/ Que por vos doie foi mantir .)

At this point the German poet abbreviates his source. We move directly on to the mustering of the Roman military forces whereas the OF text dwells on requests for help amongst the Roman nobility (Rd'A 6483-6548). The swiftness of the German account suggests that arrangements for the raising of the army had already been made. These contrasts in the treatment of this part of the story in the two versions should not obscure their general correspondence even where they diverge in stylistic detail.

1 Irn lib solde slizin] the subject of this clause is probably Gaite. Lexer (II,984) glosses slîzen as: 'zerstören, zu nichte machen, aufbrauchen, hinbringen'.

3 irzogin] the only plausible gloss for erziehen given in Lexer (I,705) is: 'aufziehen, erziehen von menschen u. thieren'.

6 zu langin wizin] wîze (Lexer III,958) probably means torment: 'since she was to be subjected to lasting torments with Bilas'.

10-13 ....dirre scheide/Der ich mich von Athise/.../Durch Bilasin scheiden sol.] Reflexive forms of scheiden are rare with the genitive. Lexer (II,685/6) cites two, both from Kudrun, neither of which is close to our example, where the verb means to depart from a habitual practice or

customary condition in the sense of to cease to do or be it: 585,2 friuntlîcher dienste schieden si sich sint; 1311,4 getriulîcher dienste wil ich (mich) nimmer tac von dir scheiden. The sense of our example is to part (with) a parting: 'this separation (through) which I shall separate myself from Athis...on Bilas's account'.

The poet intends a figura etymologica involving verb and object deriving from the same stem and this may explain the contrived phraseology. Grimm emended der to die giving an accusative object, whilst Leitzmann favoured retention and offered the translation: 'mit der, in der'. For another etymological figure see the note on A27/8.

14-45] This description of Gaite weeping is an example of descriptio ab affectione (see Matthew of Vendôme, Ars versificatoria, ed. E. Faral, in: Les arts poétiques du XIIe et du XIIIe siècle, Paris 1923, p.140, and S. Sawicki, Gottfried von Strassburg und die Poetik des Mittelalters, Berlin 1935, pp.83ff.) and is structured in four parts: 14-23;24-27;28-37 and 38-45 where the perspective shifts alternatively from external appearance to inner condition. The poet focusses on her eyes and moves downwards following the course of her tears. The first part (14-23) contains an extended simile where the two qualities of her tears; their redness as the colour of her flushed cheeks shines through, and their brightness are likened to two kinds of precious stones: rubies and beryls. Though weeping is a common enough subject for description in MHG poetry, H. Weinand (Tränen, Bonn 1958, pp.117-119) lists nothing similar to this particular example. The source for the weeping figure is probably Rd'A 5215-18: Plore des ialz la dameisele/que tote an moille la meissele,/

Le nes, la boche et le menton/Et les goles del pelicon./ 'the maiden weeps from her eyes so that her jaw becomes quite wet (with tears) and her nose, her mouth and both her chin and the borders of her fur mantle'. Here as in Athis the description follows the downward path of the tears. S. Stebbins (Studien zur Tradition und Rezeption der Bildlichkeit in der 'Eneide' Heinrichs von Veldeke, Frankfurt/Bern 1977, pp.86ff. esp. pp.92ff.) argues convincingly that descriptions of lovers blushing, fainting, stammering, etc. are reflections of a concept of love as an illness resulting from an imbalance in the bodily humours. Thus blushing is often a symptom of a feverish temperature. Such descriptions are often amplified with images of fire as here: Daz nidir teil irs mundis/daz gar von minnin vure wiel (A*28-9).

29] cf. Rd'A 3624: Del feu d'Amors anlumine. For minne(n)viur, see Lexer I,2156.

35 uf zu diezine] 'to rise up', for the rare usage cf. Lexer II,1689 and Konrad von Megenberg, Buch der Natur, ed. F. Pfeiffer, Stuttgart 1861, 275,12: der slangen âtem und ir hûchen ist so schedleich, daz er ainer newen gesnitenn gerten rinden, die man zu irem mund habt, macht auf diezzend zuo plaeterleinen, und der aufwal ist gar pitter und vergiftich.

47 Uñ begondin irbarmin] the personal pronoun (sie) is here omitted; see the note on A72 and Lexer I,608 for: 'erbarmen...mit dem acc. des erbarmenden und nom. des bemitleideten '.

52/3 Er sach wol daz ir wille/an den kuninc nine stuont] this passage elucidates the narrative in terms of current controversies in canon law. Evas has promised his daughter to King Bilas in marriage. In love with Athis, Gaite can no longer consent to the marriage arranged by her father. Gratian (Decretum in corpus iuris canonici, ed. E. Friedberg, Leipzig 1879-81, causa XXXI, quaestio II, intro. and c.I) devotes an entire quæstio

to this problem: Quod autem aliqua non sit cogenda nubere alicui, Ambrosius testatur... and more specifically: c.I Iuramento patris non cogitur puella nubere, cui numquam assensum prebuit. He justifies his argument c.III: Quorum unum futurum est corpus, unus debet esse animus: atque ideo nulla invita est copulanda alicui. He concludes with a dictum: His autoribus evidenter ostenditur, quod nisi libera voluntate nulla est copulanda alicui. This last phrase: nisi libera voluntate reflects the debt of this part of matrimonial law to Roman Law: consensus facit nuptias (=Dig.35.1.15 : nuptias enim non concubitus sed consensus facit). When Evas sees that his daughter's wille an den kuninc nine stuont then this would mean for an informed audience that in terms of the law of their own church this marriage could not be lawful. The discontent with the situation is so acute in Rome that Prophilias and Athis have little difficulty in raising an entire army to win Gaite back so that she will not be coerced into a marriage against her will. Given the prestige assigned to Roman Law in the 12th century it is possible that such a readiness on the part of the Romans to fight for the liberty to choose one's spouse might have been understood to be historically authentic. For bibliography on this aspect of canon law see C. Donahue, 'The policy of Alexander III's consent theory of marriage', in: Proceedings of the 4th International Congress of Medieval Canon Law, ed. S. Kuttner, Vatican City 1976, pp. 251-281, esp.253,255; J.T. Noonan, 'Power to Choose', Viator 4(1973), pp.419-34, esp.419-25 and 'Marital Affection in the Canonists', Studia Gratiana 12, pp.481-509, esp.550ff. and also HRG,1,818, art. Ehe.

69 daz er sie wolde losin] 'that he was going to free her'. MHG lœsen/lôsen (Lexer I,1958) can mean both 'to free' in a general sense and also 'von eidlicher verpflichtung los machen'.

70 odir sich also virbosin/daz...] 'or else to heap such disgrace on himself that...'. For reflexive sich verbœsen/verbôsen Lexer (III,

79/80) offers no separate gloss, only examples, e.g. nû ich mich sêre hân verbôst mit tôtlîchen sunden (Heinrich u. Kunigunde, 2880). The sense of the reflexive forms is obviously close to that of the transitive verb: 'schlecht machen, verderben'. In our example Prophilias is prepared to expose himself to the risk of dishonourable defeat in order to try and rescue his sister.

71 daz ers nimmir mere] ers probably = er + es (genitive particle). The clause then translates: 'so that because of it he would never regain his esteem nor his influence'.

76-168] At this point an account is given in both the OF and the German versions of the Roman's battle order and intended strategy. But even before the German fragment breaks off important differences emerge. Only the German text offers information regarding the raising of the troops (see note on A*88ff). In the OF text Athis is sent on to prepare an ambush in the hill passes with cinc cenz as armes prisié and 12 compeignons: Tarquines, Jules, Juliens, Androines, Marques, Graciens, Vulteus, Brutus, Claudius, Adriens, Nestor, Gaius. Those remaining are divided into doze eschieles commanded by doze nobles compeignons: Dionises, Salustes, Luces, Sebastiens, Luciens, Galiens, Androgenus, Malius, Vespasiens, Fabiens, Antonins, Florentins, Palatins. This major force is commanded by connestables Prophilias (Rd'A 6559-6688). Instead of this in the German text Athis is sent on with Tarquinin and 'all of his', Margwetin, Julin, Julium, Androinem and Gracium together with 600 selected knights to defend the road, should the enemy try and ride off with Gaite. Then Dionisin (112ff.) with 1000 halspergin is placed to the right of Bilas's army, on guard before the hills so that he might defend the pathways to the sea. Palatinin is placed with 800 mannin on the left. All these 3 scare are placed in valleys and woods. The remaining infantry are placed on both sides of the flag (sarjande and scutzin). In front of the sarjantin ride a squadron of 1000 heavy cavalry with armoured horses

led by two vurstin of royal blood: Marques and Engris. Behind this squadron comes the karrosche (see note on A*153ff.) or 'Fahnenwagen'. Just as he does with the arming of Prophilias (see note on B19ff.) the poet combines action and description. We watch as the Romans' plan of action unfolds before us. There is also a definite element of build-up of suspense leading to the detailed description of the menacing carroccio which starts at the top and moves downwards as our eyes focus first on the fearsome flag and then take in the rest of the splendid machine. This entirely new addition to the Roman military force is to reappear at a decisive stage of the battle (see note on C61-168).

84 Da ir saminunge was] 'where they mustered'. For samenunge Lexer (II,598/9) offers the gloss: 'bewaffnete schar od. das aufgebot, die rüstung einer streitmacht'. This phrase may imply that this was the customary location for the mustering of the Roman military forces, cf. P. Rosenau, Wehrverfassung und Kriegsrecht, Diss. Bonn 1960, pp.67-69.

88-91 Als daz uolc was gesezzin/In burgin dorphin unde stetin/Evasis tochtir bereitin/Also quam iz dare] 'in accordance with their place of dwelling: fortified places, villages and towns, to free Evas's daughter, in that order the army mustered there'. For this sense of MHG sitzen, see Lexer (II,944): 'einen wohnsitz haben, ansässig sein...' The listing: in burgin, dorphin unde stetin reflects a legal phrase encompassing all dwelling places within an area, cf. Deutschenspiegel, ed. K. Eckhardt/A. Hübner, Hannover 1933, II Landrechtsteil 317, para 4: Swer den æhter hûset oder hovet in stetin, oder ûf bürgen oder in dörfern, oder swâ man in schirmet... The MS reading bereitin probably renders MHG bereten/beretten, 'to save, rescue' showing the (mainly CG) digraph -ei- for MHG short -ė- resulting from primary mutation.

The use of a simple infinitive without ze in a clause of purpose is noted as an archaic feature in PMSG (para.318a).

This passage gives information concerning the raising of infantry, probably from amongst the non-aristocratic population, since the chivalric contingent are dealt with in lines 86-7. There is no parallel to this in the OF source. The picture here outlined is of a regionally levied militia. The custom of raising troops for municipal defence from within its various 'quarters' and the surrounding villages and towns is characteristic both of the North-Italian City States and German episcopal cities such as Worms. For an account of the Italian practices see: D. Waley, 'The Army of the Florentine Republic from the 12th to the 14th Century', in: Florentine Studies, ed. N. Rubinstein, London 1968, p.71 and The Italian City-Republics, 2nd ed., London 1972, pp.41-2. References are made to infantry detachments of this kind in Otto of Morena's account of Barbarossa's attack on the Milanese carroccio at Carcano (ed. F. Güterbock, MGH, Berlin 1930, p.120), where the banner-wagon was initially defended by forces levied from two sections of the city: Porta Romana and Porta Arienza (see note below on A*153ff.). Similar references are also made in the Annales Mediolanenses (ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH, p.42): pedites vero burgorum porte Ticinensis...reliquerunt. Customs similar to these seem also to have been in operation in some German cities where the civic duty of military service and the responsibility of helping with the fortification of the city were administered together on the same regional basis, whereby not just the inhabitants of the city but also those of the surrounding villages were reckoned as members of the community. These local units were termed heimgereiden in Worms and were led by elected officials known as heimburgen, cf. F. Steinbach, Ursprung und Wesen der Landgemeinde nach Rheinischen Quellen, Köln/Opladen 1960, pp.37ff., H. Büttner, 'Zur Entwicklung von Worms', in: Aus Geschichte und Landeskunde (FS F. Steinbach), Bonn 1960, pp.389-407 and H. Stoob,

Forschungen zum Städtewesen Mitteleuropas I, 1970, 59ff; H. Planitz (Die deutsche Stadt) pp.113-4.

Once again the German poet paints a picture of Roman life which makes it resemble life in a medieval city or city-state.

92-6] These five lines are read here as one sentence following Leitzmann's suggestion (p.251). Grimm placed a full-stop after scare (1.92) and printed Dô (93) with an initial. There is no such initial in the MS and no necessity to break up the two lines: 'then they put their squadrons in order when they mustered together, listened to the counsel of those who were wise in such matters in its entirety and then implemented it straight away.'

125 Vñ wigis sie gesattin] 'and so they might sate them (i.e. the enemy) with battle.' This battle metaphor is characteristic of early MHG narrative poetry, particularly the Strassburg Alexander: 4201 ih wêne, ih wil in gesaten/sturmis unde vehte; 4463 wir suln strîtis gesaten/in und sîne recken/mit den brûnen ecken; 4543 weiz got, wir sulin si gesaten/strîtis unde vehte. See also K. Kinzel's note (p.485) where two further examples of the same metaphor are listed.

134 ir stat doch wol virtratin] Lexer (III,274) offers two main meanings for MHG vertreten: 'to stamp, kick or step on something hard', or 'to represent or stand up for something or someone'. Our example is listed as belonging to the former group, but it could just as easily belong to the latter: 'but who stood up well (in battle) for their city'.

136 sarjande und ouch scutzin] these are two sorts of infantrymen. According to A. Schultz, Höfisches Leben II, Leipzig 1889^{2}, p.199, the former carries a spear or pike and the latter either a long- or crossbow.

142 Mit virdactin orsin isinvare] this same line occurs C92 again where the squadron of heavy cavalry has still maintained its strategic

position guarding the karrosche. What is meant by isinvare is probably a coat of mail. This form of horse-armour is considered by A. Schultz (p.100) to be late 12th, possibly early 13th century. A description of it is given by A. Schulz (Zur Waffenkunde, Quedlinburg und Leipzig 1867, pp.244ff.) with examples from literary texts. The special armour and the high nobility of the leaders of the squadron may indicate that it was an élite force detailed to protect the carroccio, an emblem of civic pride (cf. D. Waley, Italian City-Republics, p.81).

150 Und soldin uon lenrechte/Vor den vanin ritin/Und zuo dem erstin stritin] What is being described here is probably the right to fight first, or to lead the charge, which was considered to be a great privilege, granted by the king or commander as an honour to someone or to an entire contingent, known in German as: 'das Recht zum Vorstreit'; cf. H. Meyer, 'Sturmfahne und Standarte', ZRG(G)51(1931), pp.240-1; P. Rosenau, op.cit., pp.113ff. and RL 3637 ih sol iu allen hiute vore vehten von athele unde von rehte. The sense of A*150ff. is probably that Marques and Engris were of such noble lineage that by feudal law they ought to be granted the right to fight first in front of the flag(s), by which is meant 'Sturmfahne', the flag(s) carried at the forefront of the army into battle. But in fact they are detailed to ride with the karrosche. This must mean that the banner-wagon is intended by the poet to be seen as very important and probably the 'Hauptbanner' (cf. H. Meyer, p.241 where a quotation from the Itinerarium Ricardi is given stressing the importance of choosing the right people to guard the flag; see also Rosenau, p.159).

153 Nach der scare gienc der vane] 'After this squadron went the flag'. The definite article is used here demonstratively; cf. PMSG 280(p.340). What follows is a detailed description of a banner-wagon later referred to specifically as a karroschin (gen.sg.) in line C93. MHG karrosche/karrâsche etc. (Lexer 1,1523) is a loan derived from Italian carroccio

(M.Lat. carrocium/karrotium etc. cf. J. Vorderstemann. The introduction of the karrosche into his account of the Roman forces' battle-order is the German poet's most important alteration in this fragment for there is no parallel to it in the R.d'A. where Prophilias distributes separate gonfanons to his commanders (Rd'A 6633).

The details of the description, which proceeds from the top downwards, are as follows: the flag itself, made of red samît with a golden dragon on the point of taking flight woven in, is fixed to a mast, from which it can be flown to its full extent, and which can bear its full weight forward. This mast, which has an armoured coating of iron (probably nails hammered in), stands on a wagon drawn by a pair of oxen. The karrosche is placed between bodies of infantry and immediately behind a 1000-strong squadron of heavy cavalry. Most of these features are consistent with descriptions given in contemporary historical accounts and documents of the Milanese carrocio of the twelfth century; cf. D. Waley, The Italian City Republics, London/New York, 1978, 2nd edn., p.81; J. Hyde, Society and Politics in Medieval Italy, London, 1973, p.60; A. Schultz, Daz Höfische Leben..., Leipzig 1889, vol.2, pp.228-34; H. Meyer, 'Sturmfahne und Standarte', ZRG(G)51(1931), pp.204ff; J. Beeler, Warfare in Feudal Europe, Ithaca/London 1971, p.237; C. Oman, A History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages, London 1924 (2nd edn.) vol.1; pp.448-9, B. Hanow, Beiträge zur Geschichte des Kriegswesens.., Diss. Berlin 1905, pp.10(Carcano) and 32ff.(Legano).

The carroccio was developed into an emblem of civic patriotism in the Lombard city-states during the 12th century from early beginnings in the 11th century in Milan sponsored by the church. But similar contraptions are reported to have been used on German soil as early as 1129 (cf. the detailed survey by H. Meyer, op.cit., pp.243-253). In that year during a battle fought between the Duke of Louvain and the Bishop of Liège the former lost his 'Fahnenwagen': Lamberti Parvi Ann.1129: Bellum....in quo vexillum ducis captum est; quod fastu superbiae et precepto

illius quadriga boum ferebat. (cf. A. Schultz, op.cit., pp.228ff.). The word karrosche/karrasche etc. also crops up for instance in Wolfram's work (cf. J. Vorderstemann, Die Fremdwörter in Wolframs Willehalm, Göppingen 1974, pp.130ff.,)where it refers in Parzival and Willehalm to wagons bearing objects in the 'grâl' ritual and pagan idols (in battle) respectively. But it is unlikely that the poet was unaware of the fact that the carroccio was an institution developed by and primarily associated with Italian cities.

The carroccio figured prominently in reports of the numerous military campaigns fought during the middle and third quarter of the 12th century by Barbarossa in Lombardy. On these campaigns he was invariably accompanied by large numbers of German knights who made up a large portion of his army. References are regularly made to carociis/carozolis, etc. in contemporary documents and historical accounts from the period. There are particularly famous incidents involving Barbarossa and the Milanese carrocio.

On 9th August, 1160, Barbarossa fought against forces of the Milanese Commune at Carcano, during the course of which his troops attacked, captured and destroyed the Milanese carroccio. This is described for instance in the following accounts:

(i) Burchard von Ursperg, Chronicon MGH SS (ed. O.Holder-Egger), Hannover/Leipzig 1916, p.42: et inito conflictu primo certamine de peditibus Mediolanensium multos prostravit et fugavit et carociam, quod suum vexillum vocant, eis abstulit... This is a German account, as emerges from the partial gloss of carociam.

(ii) Otto of Morena, Historia Frederici I (ed. F. Güterbock), MGH, Berlin 1930, pp.119ff.: '...Imperator vero cum suis Teutonicis et aliquibus aliis robuste contra Mediolanenses irruens, fere usque ad carozolum ipsorum, ubi erat multitudo peditum Mediolanensium, eos impulit magnamque ipsorum peditum copiam....interfecit ac boves ipsius carozoli occidit et ipsum carozolum incidit crucemque deauratam que supra perticem carozoli fuerat,

atque vexillum ibi positum abstulit.

In March 1162 after a protracted siege of the city the Milanese Commune capitulated to Barbarossa. Representatives journeyed to Lodi with their carroccio and surrendered it to him with much ceremony. This is recorded in the following three sources, which vary in their accounts.

(i) a letter from Barbarossa himself to Count Ivo of Soissons (MGH.Dip.X,2; p.193): ...universus populus civitatis cum vexillo Sancti Ambrosii, quod miro artificio egregie molis et altitudinis ferebant in karrotio, quem iuga boum non pauca trahebant...

(ii) A detailed account in Burchard's chronicle where it is reported that the Milanese had to dismantle the carroccio in order to pass through the city gate at Lodi (p.43): ...processerunt usque ad Laudam plebei vero vexillum sancti Ambrosii super carociam suum advexerunt, ...Denique intromissis eis, cum carocia per portas introire non posset fecit imperator transtrum carocie auferri et ipsum in quattuor partes secari et ita cum vexillo inferri et homines ad se intromitti.

(iii) The Milanese annals (Gesta Frederici Imp. in Lombardia), MGH, SS, ed. O.Holder-Egger, pp.52/3: Et infra octo dies postea misserunt quingentos milites et totidem pedites cum carocero et vexillis et aliis signis equestribus et pedestribus cum tubis ad imperatorem...

This was a very important success for the emperor and his German forces. These included, for instance, Landgrave Ludwig of Thuringia, and his feudal retinue, who with others had, in August of the previous year, attempted to begin negotiations with the Milanese Consuls (P. Munz, Frederick Barbarossa, London 1969, pp.180ff.). These accounts show that in all probability any German soldier engaged in either of these actions would have known precisely what a carroccio was and what it stood for.

The third instance involves the battle of Legnano (1176), one of Barbarossa's most catastrophic defeats in Italy. As the Milanese Annals report, after initial success the German forces were halted and eventually

repulsed by a mixed body of infantry and cavalry massed tightly around the Milanese carroccio (Ann.Med.: p.63): ....ceteri steterunt iuxta carocerum cum peditibus mediolani et viriliter pugnaverunt... This was a classic instance of the importance of the carroccio as a rallying point in battle (cf. B.Hanow, op.cit., pp.32ff.).

The choice of the dragon as an emblem for the Roman forces' battle-flag is a striking innovation. Later on Prophilias's shield blazon is described in some detail (B23ff.) and its emblem is the imperial (golden) eagle. In the OF text Bilas's flag shows a golden dragon and this might be the source of the change. But later in the Rd'A in another battle in Greece the Romans have an ensign which combines dragon and eagle (see Rd'A 11424/5 and 12163). There may have been other reasons for the alteration. The dragon ensign was particularly in vogue around the turn of the twelfth century after Richard I of England had adopted it as a royal ensign on crusade, cf. Richard of Devizes, Cronicon De Tempōre Regis Ricardi Primi, ed. and trans. J.T. Appelby, London, etc. 1963, pp.23/4 (siege of Messina 1190): Rex Anglie procedit armatus, vexillum terribile (draconis) prefertur expansum, (see: J.P.S. Tatlock, 'The Dragons of Wessex and Wales', Speculum VIII, pp.223ff. esp. pp.226ff. H. Meyer, op.cit., pp.251-3 and P.E. Schramm, Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik, vol.II, Stuttgart 1935, pp.658-664, esp. pp.662/3, see also the note below on wurmlâge, C*27). Writing circa 1212 to the German Emperor Otto IV, Gervase of Tilbury (also remembers Richard's dragon ensign, Richard being Otto's uncle: illud apud Anglos vexillum, draconem habens cum capite aureo, quod vicinis expertum et paganis sub avunculo tuo, illustre rege Ricardo, in ultramarinis partibus terribile fuit. Otto himself took a carroccio with a dragon ensign into battle at Bouvines in 1214 against the French, as reported by Guillaume le Breton, both (i) in his Gesta Phillipi and (ii) in his Phillipidos:

[otia imperialia, in Ralph of Coggeshall, Chronicon, Rolls Series 1875, p.435]

(i) Ab opposita parte stabat Otho in medio agminis consertissimi, qui sibi pro vexillo erexerat aquilam deauratam super draconem pendentem in pertica oblonga erecta in quadriga G. le Breton, Gesta Phillipi Augusti, sect.184 in Œuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton, ed. F. Delaborde, Paris 1882, vol. I, p.272.

(ii) Mox Otho, imperii declarans signa, volensque
Iam quasi promeriti rem prelibare trophei (triumphi V)
Standardum edificat, miro insignit honore
Imperii, ut, fasces tanto illustrante paratu,
Se dominatorem totius disputet orbis.
Erigit in carro palum, paloque draconem
Implicat, ut possit procul hinc atque inde videri,
Hauriat et ventos cauda tumefactus et alis
Dentibus horrescens, rictusque patentis hiatu;
Quem super aurata volucer Jovis imminet ala,
Tota superficies cujus nitet aurea, solis
Emula, quo iactat plus se splendoris habere.
(vol.II, pp.318-9).

The amplified, poetic description of the Phillipidos pictures a dragon-shaped ensign of the modelled variety which, like a wind-sock, inflates, and, fitted to a solid golden head into whose gaping jaws the wind blows, produces a hissing sound (see Tatlock, p.224). This variety of dragon ensign was also used by the ancient Romans (Tatlock, p.223). The French poet/historian also interprets Otto's use of the ensign together with the banner-wagon as evidence of his pretensions to world domination, which is possibly a reference to his claim to be Roman Emperor. The carroccio in Athis is not described in exactly the same way as Otto's is here. There is no golden eagle though the description is not finished as the fragment breaks off. Neither is there any clear indication that the dragon ensign was of the same modelled, inflatable kind. The phrase meistirliche darin gewebin points rather to a dragon figure woven into the fabric of a more conventional flag. The phrase ufgerichtit reflects customary latin phrases indicating that the ensign has been raised with

aggressive intent, e.g. signo draconis elevato; pro vexillo erexerat. The remark that the dragon could fly away at any moment is typical of poetic descriptions of flag emblems reflecting the bravery and energy of the warrior(s) associated with them, see: M. Zips, Das Wappenwesen in der Mittelhochdeutschen Epik bis 1250, Diss. (typescript) Wien 1966, especially the chapter: 'Beziehung der ritterlichen Helden zu ihren Wappensymbolen', pp.493ff. A striking parallel to our poet's use of the term samite is cited by Tatlock from an account of an instruction given in 1244 by Henry III of England to Edward son of Odo his goldsmith:

> Fieri eciam faciat unum draconem in modo unius vexilli de quodam rubeo samitto....(Close Rolls, Henry III, 1242-7, London 1916, p.201.)

We can see that most of the elements in the description of the carroccio in Athis are authentic, even if an exact parallel is not recorded in any historiographic account. The fact remains that the poet's combination of the dragon ensign with the Lombard carroccio paints a picture of a Roman standard which is very similar indeed in both appearance and significance to the banner-wagon used by Otto IV at Bouvines.

As was the case with consuls and the regionally levied troops, the banner-wagon is a feature of civic life which German cities either borrowed from or shared with the North Italian City States. The second 'Stadtrecht' of Strassburg (see note on A152) includes in its final article instructions for the equipping of a plaustrum vexilli. This, together with the evidence of use of carroccios north of the Alps, does not eliminate the possibility that the Lombard carroccio was the model for the poet's change in the picture of Roman warfare. However, G. le Breton's description of Otto's banner-wagon at Bouvines and his remarks that the ensign symbolized Otto's imperial pretensions do provide a close parallel to the function of the banner-wagon in Athis as an emblem of the prestige of the Roman military

forces. The most likely explanation for this is that the German poet introduced into his depiction of Rome elements of contemporary German life, because he understood his own national, municipal and military institutions to be legitimate continuations or renewals of their imperial Roman heritage. One further aspect of such literary projections of present customs into the prestigious past of Roman forbears is that the same contemporary customs receive thereby an aura of legitimacy (see R. Benson, 'Political Renovatio: Two Models from Roman Antiquity', in: Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century, ed. R.Benson/G.Constable, Oxford 1982, pp.334-386, esp. pp.334ff. and 370ff.)

Fragment A**

1-9] This fragment cuts in where Bilas orders camp to be broken and his army to march. Gaite has already been handed over and the Romans are closing to attack in order to win her back (see lines 10ff. and 15ff.). This corresponds approximately to lines 7120ff. in the Rd'A. The brief details of the German text differ from the account given in the Rd'A: Et li rois fet ses genz errer/ Et ses eschieles arouter,/ Tost lor comande a chevalchier/Et la cité a esloigner./"Baron", fet il, "or de l'errer,/ car ici fet mal demorer!/Mau sejorner fet el päis/ou l'an recoevre teus amis." There is no direct speech in the German text where the order to break camp and set off is amplified with a different set of descriptive details (cf. Geoffrey of Vinsauf, Documentum, B.1.8). The poet may have been endowing Bilas's army with characteristics customarily associated with the literary presentation of the forces of the paynim in the crusading period. There are similarities with Terramer's Army in Wolfram's Willehalm (see S. Stein, Die Ungläubigen in der Mhd.Literatur, Diss. Heidelberg 1932, repr. 1963, p.65, and the notes below on lines 3 and 4). The reference

to the need for miraculous intervention by St. George to save a Roman knight may support this view. However, the details are too brief and too widespread in their occurrence in non-crusading literature of the same period for this possibility to be convincingly established.

1 der hobische kvnig bilas] Lexer (I,1367) offers for hövesch the glosses: 'zu einem hof gehörend,...hofgemäss, fein gebildet und gesittet, courtois allgemein.'. Shortly before this the Rd'A makes this reference to Bilas: li rois fu mout preuz et sciez, which might be rendered: 'the king was most noble and understanding'. So both versions seem to agree generally in a positive picture of him even though he is an opponent of Athis, Prophilias and Gaite (see also note on C64-71). This epithet occurs twice more in virtually identical contexts where the poet is describing the impressive approach and imminent involvement in combat of a worthy opponent: A*31ff: der hertzoge von montir/Hette gute wapin an/Vn̄ quam als ein hobisch man/Verre zwischin den scharn/Vor den sinen geuarn/ and E151: Von tripe dimothene...(157) Er hete gute wapin an/ Und quā wol als ein huuisc man/Geuarn an des ringis ort. Thus hövesch seems to refer more to the knight's military prowess, vigour and appearance than to any cultural refinement, unless these two qualities were understood to be the same thing. In both passages the poet moves from a remark on the quality of the knight's weaponry and/or possibly his armour (cf. MHG wâpen in Lexer III, 629: 'was zur bewaffnung gehört, rüstung allgem.') to a reference to him being hövesch and then on to a description of his courageous engagement in single combat. W. Schrader (Studien über das Wort 'höfisch' in der Mhd. Dichtung, Würzburg 1935, p.17) refers to this example (but not the similar one in E157ff.) and remarks: 'Ein solcher heldischer Sinn ist neu und wird uns kaum mehr begegnen.'

3 blasin die businen/Phiphin...] these are both wind instruments. busînen are a form of trumpet (not trombone) of oriental origin (cf.

H. Riedel, Musik und Musikerlebnis, Bonn 1959, pp.147 and 154-5). Phîfen are also used by the paynim in Konrad's RL (7995): michel scal wart dar unter:/ si blisen ir trumben/horn unt phifen. busînen are mentioned frequently by Wolfram in Willehalm together with tabûrin (as here) when he is describing the spectacle of Terramer's forces (cf. Riedel, pp.161ff., Vorderstemann, pp.69-71; Stein, p.65). Typical instances are: 12,29ff.: ê man sluoc ode stach/dâ was von busînen krach/und ouch von maneger tambûr./ and 360,8 aht hundert pusînen/hiez blâsen der kunic Kalopeiz/ in sîme lande man noch weiz/daz pusînen da wart erdâht: uz Thûsie die wâren brâht. (see also 19,22;34,6;40,3 etc.) There is no trace of these instruments at this point in the Rd'A.

4 dy taburin slan] tambûrin are drums (cf. Vorderstemann, p.306ff. and Riedel, p.150) and of oriental origin. pusînen and tambûrin are often referred to together in Wolfram's Willehalm in depictions of Terramer's army (see Riedel, p.161). The written form tabur is found in MSS: K(40,3) and C(40,3) of that poem (see Vorderstemann, p.306). Although it is possible that the German poet was modelling his description of Bilas's forces on the literary presentation of the paynim, this cannot be proven simply through these references to musical instruments (see Vorderstemann, p.307, who notes that although the tambour was only used by the paynim in OF literature until the 13th century, the same cannot be said of MHG texts).

6 der reise beginnen] Lexer (II,393/4) glosses reise with: 'aufbruch, zug, bes. kriegs-, heereszug allgem.' The sense here is of a military march; cf. RL 7953ff. where 'ain Surian' reports to Paligan on Charlemagne's movements: da sach ich den grimmigen kaiser:/ er frŏt sich diner raise/ di wir habe getan. See also the verb reisen as used in Corpus 414.475.42(A): Swer offenlichen reiset/wider ieman der den frid gesworn hat/den reishouptman/ sol man enthoupten/.

7 Ir herberge brinnen] once again this tallies with Wolfram's picture of an army on the march in Willehalm, 227,3ff. der marcrâve ûf volatîn/ kôm, unt der geselle sîn/Rennewart mit im ze vuoz./ durch manigen rouch er kêren muoz,/dâ die herberge wâren an gezunt./ and 316,35ff. die herberge wurden an gezunt,/.

9 von der walstat] Lexer (III,657) glosses walstat as: 'schlachtfeld, kampfplatz', which does not really fit here, as no battle has yet taken place. More plausible would be 'military encampment'. A parallel for this might be RL 7982: si ritet uf die wal stat. For the noun wal Lexer offers the exceptional meaning 'schlachtheer' with the example: zusammen gîngen ir beider wal (Livländische Reimchr. M,9988). Our example may involve this sense of wal in its first element.

14 in leichtin ringin] cf. G. Siebel, Harnisch und Helm in den epischen Dichtungen des 12. Jahrhunderts bis zu Hartmanns 'Erek', Diss. Hamburg 1968, pp.63ff. What is referred to here is the knight's chain-mail coat of armour. Siebel argues that this form of reference dies out in the 'höfischen Ritterepos' after flourishing in earlier works such as Konrad's RL and the Strassburg Alexander. The sense of liechtin may be: 'well polished, not rusty'.

15-19] In the Rd'A Bilas entrusts Gaite to his nephew Amanz (line 7227) on the advice of Antiphalus (7196ff.). The German poet seems to have eliminated Antiphalus's consilium.

19 Daz sie nicht stritis ruorte] since Lexer (II,529-32) gives no parallel for MHG rüeren with a genitive object, it seems probable that nicht stritis is a negative, partitive genitive construction (cf. PMSG, paras.204-6) meaning either: 'so that she touched no part of the battle' or: 'so that no part of the battle touched her'.

The Athis poet uses this kind of construction regularly: (i) with

an adjectival noun: (B25) so daz nicht bezzirs mochte sin; ('so that there could be nothing better'); (E1) Daz im argis nicht geschach; ('so that nothing untoward happened to him'); (ii) with a noun: (F11) so sie nicht werkis uobin; ('so they never get anything done'); (F155) So daz er nicht wil wibis nemin; ('so he doesn't wish to take any wife at all'); (E47) Wend daz ich orsis nicht inhan ('bar the fact that I haven't got a horse'). The poet seems to use these constructions particularly in clauses of result or purpose introduced by daz or sô. Parallels for both sorts of example are listed in PMSG, paras.204-6: NL 2,2: daz in allen landen niht schœners mohte sîn; MSF 163,9 daz niht mannes siniu leit so schône kan getragen.

25ff.] Both Bilas's command to Aimon that he escort Gaite away and Athis's attack on Aimon's detachment are narrated on the same leaf of the MS. This excludes the possibility that all the events in the text of fragment B which precede the depiction of Athis's attack in the OF text (Rd'A 7241ff.) could have been contained in the text lost from the bottom half of column I of this fragment. So we have two obvious alternative explanations:
(i) the text transmitted by this fragment contained a lacuna, or
(ii) the German poet has changed the order of events in the narrative.
The latter is more likely, since at the end of fragment B the poet allows us to watch with Prophilias and his companions the dust raised by the horses of the victorious Athis and his knights (B158ff.). It follows that that portion of text which narrates Athis's attack (i.e. A**25ff.) must have preceded B163/4: Er (Athis) ist die vijnde ane kůmin/Uñ hat gaytin genůmin. For a discussion of the poet's changing of the order of events, see the note below on B136ff, and R. Mertz, p.29.

25 schilt ge urburte] there are parallels for this frequent metaphor in Herbort 4673ff. Der hette harte guot wort/Vō ritterschaft uñ geurbort/ sine schilt mit grozzen eren; and 5311 Hette sine schilt gevrburt.

22-28 Ge caft gein romere wert/ Gaitin sere gegert/ Daz man uf in sie vurte/ Das hS den schilt geurburte/ Vor siner liebin urouwin/ Daz siz mit erin schouwin/ Mochte uon ir amise.] The meaning of lines 22/3 is not clear. Lines 24-28 comprise a sequence of 3 dependent clauses all introduced by daz (written das and daz). The first of these states a desire, whilst both the 2nd and 3rd are clauses of purpose: '...that she might be led off towards him so that he might, in front of his dear lady, risk his shield in battle, so that (also) she might witness this honourable deed on the part of her 'amis'.' If lines 29/30 are a summary of the sense of the preceding clauses, as seems likely, then the general subject of this complex and truncated sentence is probably Athis. Thus Gaitin (line 23) is unlikely to be the implied subject of an impersonal construction expressing her volition (for such clauses, see O.Behaghel, Deutsche Syntax, I, pp.692ff.). The desire is more likely to be Athis's: that she should be brought towards him and that he participate in her re-capture.

Ge caft is a puzzling form; it makes best sense as a mis-spelt past participle of MHG scaffen used in the sense 'befehlen, anordnen'(Lexer, II, 631). gein romere wert almost certainly means:'in the direction of the Romans'(see wert, 'towards', in Lexer, III,795, where numerous examples are cited also involving wert with gegen). The line then translates: 'ordered off towards the Romans'. For the frequent use of Rômêre without an article see above all the Kaiserchronik 62, 63 etc. (cf. word-list on pp.422/3 of E. Schröder's edition).

40-42 Do was an ein banier/ Athene schiualier./(Riefin romere insamin)] The text is problematic here. For line 42 Grimm suggested Riefin romere insamin and added the note: '42. Von dieser Zeile ist noch weniger sichtbar als von der entsprechenden 21, die vier ersten Buchstaben sind noch ziemlich sicher, das Uebrige ist ungewiss.' C. von Kraus did not collate this fragment as he did not know it was bound into the back of Grimm's personal copy of his edition. The present editor cannot see anything of this line at all except the very tops of four letters left above the bottom edge of the leaf where it has been cut.These four letters may have been Rief. Lines B88ff. offer something of a parallel, they are taken from a descripton of Von messine margoz (B77): Ein sper uvorter an der hant/ Ein ziechin uon richir habe/ Uerre wandilte darabe/ Vn̄ irsprancte durch bilasin/ Vf prophiliasin/ Mit ufgerichtir banier/ Messine schieualier/ Rief er do er irsprancte/. Both battle-cries involve the name of a city closely associated with a commander of the forces involved: Athene (Athis); Messine (Margoz). For this kind of battle-cry see Rosenau, p.126. The poet moves from a description of lance and pennant on to a reference to the warrior's battle-cry for which there is no parallel (either here or A**41) in the OF source. Both passages share the rhyme banier:schivalier, which is unusual, though there is a parallel in Herbort (5102): Myceres nam die banier/ Er schrei "ritter schyvalier". The form schyualier is also part of a battle-cry in this example. Given the poet's penchant for stylised and repetitive description in battle scenes, line B95: Rief er do.. may offer a close parallel to line A**42. The real problem is A**40 Do was an ein banier. A**40/41 are probably disconnected, since the battle-cry probably was not inscribed on or

worked into the fabric of a pennant. This means that A**40 must either be independent or a clause tacked on to the previous sentence. The latter case is more likely since the pennant in question was fitted to the lance referred to in A**39. The line may have read Da was an ein banier 'on (the end of) it was a pennant'. The line may not be metrically elegant but at least it makes sense. Parallels for this kind of phrase where the form dâ(r) + prepositional adverb is split to allow a verb form to be inserted between are found in B26: Da was vil meistirlichin in/von bernisschin gold ein arn/.../gemalit und intworfin; and also D26 Da was virborgin undir/Des mannis uvorchte kindis scame. In B26 the underlying syntax is very similar to that conjectured for A**40: da + was + indefinite article + noun. All that is necessary is to emend dô to dâ.

46 Der edele man tarquines] lines 55ff. depict an encounter between Tarquines and Aimone in some detail. In the Rd'A Tarquines dies after a joust with the nephew of Roi Abierne (7483ff.) as does his opponent, 7501ff. Andui se font el chanp estendre/El sanc baignier et vie rendre. This occurs immediately prior to the entry of Amanz, nephew of Bilas, into the fray. It seems likely that the German poet has confused the two kings' nephews, for in the Rd'A Tarquines never fights Amanz since he is already dead before the latter appears on the scene.

52 slugin sporn zu sitin] cf. Rd'A 7483: Tarquines broche le destrier.

65 Vůr her] this must be Aimon, who by now has disposed of Tarquines. At this stage the German poet has returned to the sequence of encounters in the source (Rd'A:7503ff.).

68-73 Aimon iulionin stach/Aldurch den lip aschildis/Vn̄ vurtin des gevildis/Also lang als sin sper was/Das hS tot quam uf das gras/Daz sper

her gantz us zucte/] 'Aimon (with his lance) stuck Julion right through the body past the shield, and he bore him across the field though his lance was long, so that he was dead as he hit the ground. He withdrew his lance undamaged'. The poet follows his OF source closely (7513ff.) Sor son escu fiert Julion,/Le gros li tranche del lion,/L'auberc li ront et desclavele,/El cors li a mis la lemele,/Par tel vertu de soi la boute/ Que d'autre part en issi toute./A terre an fist lo cors branler,/De celui fist le ranc plus cler;/ Del cors li a la lence trete,/Car ne fu brisiee ne frete./ '(He) strikes Julion on the shield cutting off the greater part of the lion, he breaks through the hauberk and shatters the mail, he runs the tip (of his lance) into Julion's body and thrusts it through with such strength that it comes out of the other side. He topples his body to the ground, he thus clears the ranks of Julion; he has taken his lance from the body for it was neither broken nor shattered'. The poet has retained most of the descriptive elements of narrative in his source but has abbreviated slightly. The reference to the shield, the penetration of the body, the felling of the opponent and the withdrawal of the lance still intact - these features are common to both versions.

69 aschildis] Lexer tentatively offers the gloss: 'neben dem schild?' (I,100) with only this example. Grimm pointed out (WB, p.15)

that the scribe read aschildis as a proper name since he decorated the first letter with a red stroke as with all other names. This makes no sense since it is Julion with whom Aimon is fighting. This puzzling form is probably a genitive adverbial formation combining the privative Germanic prefix â- with the noun schild along similar lines to those examples quoted by F. Kluge (Urgermanisch, Strassburg 1907, 3rd edn., p.233, paras.283/4) e.g. OE æe-wæede 'unbekleidet'; æewene 'hoffnungslos'; OHG â-faro 'farblos'; âwicki 'weglos'; âteilo 'unteilhaftig'; âschaffen 'ungestalt'; Langobardic: âmund 'schutzlos'. If aschildis does belong

to this group of compounds then its sense would probably be 'without the protection of his shield'.

75 sturien Vorderstemann (pp.303/4) glosses storje as 'Kriegerschaar, Schlachthaufen'. It is a loan derived from OF estoire,estroie. This form is normally strong in MHG. There are weak double forms in some MSS of Wolfram's Willelhalm (notably R, see Vorderstemann, p.303).

76-78 Do were sente jurien/Helfe not da gewesin/Daz her were genesin 'the help of St. George would have been necessary there for him to have survived'. This remark characterizes the hapless plight of the Roman Gracius who is about to be killed by Aimon. It is a kind of negative exemplum intended as amplification (see L. Arbusow, pp.63-5, U. Pörksen, pp.117ff.). Since the first crusade the figure of the warrior saint was familiar in the West as a knight who intervened in battle bringing heavenly help to crusaders in dire straits. The point of the negative example may be that the Roman heathen Gracius does not qualify for St. George's help. In this way the poet may be drawing attention to a chronological distinction between a crusading knight of the medieval present and his Roman but heathen precursor of classical antiquity. In other respects they may seem to resemble each other too closely. The sense of the amplification would then be one of historical differentiation involving a spiritual dimension. For a discussion of St. George as a warrior saint who intervenes miraculously, see C. Erdmann, The Origin of the Idea of Crusade (the translation has an up to date bibliography), translated M.Baldwin/W.Goffart, Princeton 1977, pp.275ff., esp. pp.277 and 279; and for the sources R. Röhricht, Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges, Innsbruck 1901, pp.93no.1; 27nr.1; 143no.5; 149no.4. This last reference concerns the appearance of the saints George, Mercurius and Demetrius in white armour on white horses on the battle before Antioch. An account of this is given in the Gesta Francorum (ed. R. Hill, London 1962, p.69):

Exibant quoque de montaneis innumerabiles exercitus, habentes equos albos, quorum vexilla omnia erant alba. Videntes itaque nostri hunc exercitum, ignorabant penitus quid hoc esset et qui essent; donec cognouerunt esse adiutorium christi, cuius ductores fuerunt sancti Georgius, Mercurius et Demetrius. Hec verba credenta sunt, quia plures ex nostris viderunt.

This presentation of the warrior St. George is also found in the Legenda Aurea (see Reclams Lexikon der Heiligen und der bibischen Gestalten, ed. Hildegart Keller, Stuttgart, 1968, p.219).

Fragment B

1ff.] This fragment cuts into the narrative at a point roughly parallel to Rd'A 7340ff. The sense of B1-18 is often obscure since the poet makes frequent use of personal pronouns rather than names. In the source the course of events is as follows: Rois Abierne fights in single combat with the Roman Saluste (7307ff.). Saluste is forced to his knees (both are on foot) by the power of Abierne's blows and the latter grabs hold of his opponent's nose-guard (7330). Prophilias witnesses his companion's distress, approaches and warns Abierne of his intention to take revenge on him for his friend's sake. He deals Abierne a great blow on the helmet (7349). The king (Abierne) cries for mercy and offers immeasurable riches in return for his own life (7365-70). Prophilias agrees, lets Saluste take Abierne prisoner and instructs him to guard their captive carefully and to take him straight au hernois (7375). Prophilias returns to the fray.

From B7 onwards the German text follows the OF reasonably closely. B7: Prophilias asks Abierne to surrender. B10: the king replies that he will. B16-18:Prophilias orders that both Saluste and Abierne be taken zu sinime harnassche.

But much of what precedes this is unclear. Who is the subject of wold(e) in B1? Who is in in the same line? Who is er in line B3 and to whom does ime in the same line refer? To whom do the pronouns er and in of the next line make reference? der kuninc of B6 ought to be Roi Abierne, who is mentioned again in the following line through in. The reference to salerne (=Salerno) in B9 (see note) is to one of the territories held by Rois Abierne in the source (cf. 7487ff.).

The most plausible solution seems to be this: B1/2 Prophilias intends to run Abierne through to avenge his mâc (presumably Saluste). B3/4 Abierne is much afraid and offers himself as a prisoner,(B5/6) so that he (=Prophilias) would not stab him (Abierne) before the king (presumably = Abierne again,

though the third person reference is odd) might speak. B7 Prophilias offers him the chance to surrender.

One particularly puzzling aspect of all this is that a character named as Absterne, der kuninc von Palerne, crops up later on in the battle (see C79ff.). There is no parallel for this name in the source and it seems likely that its origin is a misreading or intentional change of the spelling of Abierne who is here taken prisoner. There is no simple solution to this inconsistency. There is evidence of misunderstanding of the source elsewhere in this and other battle scenes (see notes on C17 and E50) and this seems to be the only explanation.

7 Prophilias hiez in sichirn] sichern is glossed by Lexer (II,903) in such contexts as 'als überwundener dem sieger das untertänigkeitsgelübde leisten'. The same surrender motif is introduced also in the OF text but in a different form. Here the request comes from Prophilias, though lines B3-6 probably report Abierne's thoughts. In the Rd'A the defeated Abierne is given an extended speech (7358-70) pleading for his life with offers of immense wealth to his victorious opponent. Thus the sicherheit-motif is not an innovation. For sicherheit, see: M. Désilles-Busch, 'Doner un don' - 'sicherheit nemen' - Zwei typische Elemente der Erzählstruktur des höfischen Romans, Diss. Berlin 1970, pp.183-4.

8/9]The passage is difficult because of the anonymity of personal pronouns, but the subject is probably Rois Abierne. The sense of the couplet may be that he would have taken a pea in return for giving away Salerno, one of his possessions, if it saved his life. A similar figurative negation is found in the Rd'A where Abierne says: 'Roi puez avoir en ta prison/ Dont avras bele rëançon,/ Et se moi as en ta pooir,/ N'aies merci de mon avoir,/ Car tot lor deu ne pris je mie/ Contre mon cors une solcie' (7365-70). The last phrase means: 'I consider the entire value of my possessions to

be worth not a marigold (solcie) against the value (to me) of my own life.'

16 zů sinime harnassche] cf. Rd'A 7375: droit au hernois le fet mener. The sense of both the terms hernois and harnassche must be the place where armour and possibly weapons are stored after they have been brought to the battle by the knights' attendant squires so that they may be re-equipped during the course of the fray (see B19ff.). E. Ploss ['Zur Wortgeschichte von Mhd. Harnasch', PBB(Tüb) 81 (1959), pp.107-11] ,referring to an order issued by Barbarossa in 1158 on his Roman campaign dealing with military discipline, established that MHG harnasch in its earlier attestations was a noun with a collective sense. It appears twice in the following document in the indeclinable form harnascha (MGH Diplomata:X,pars II, Hannover 1979, p.4): auferetur ei omne suum harnascha et eicietur de exercitu. Si servus fecerit, tondebitur, verberabitur et in maxilla comburetur, vel dominus suus redimet eum cum omne suum harnascha. Ploss also notes that the sense of the word changes in vernacular literature and becomes more restricted from Wolfram's time on. The examples in both Athis and the source point to the early collective meaning.

19-76] This passage has no parallel in the Rd'A. With a set-piece description of the arming of a knight by his squires such as this, the poet's amplification inevitably tends towards anachronism. This seems not to have conflicted with the German poet's intention to present Roman customs and life as authentically as possible in his own terms. It seems probable that he intended this major description of Prophilias in all his chivalric splendour to illustrate the military prowess of the Romans, an important theme in the prologue to the Rd'A (189ff.).

The stylistic technique of this description involves a combination of (i) ocular demonstration or demonstratio (cf. Geoffrey of Vinsauf, Poetria Nova printed in E. Faral, Les arts poétiques du XIIe et du XIIIe siècle, Paris 1923, lines 1277-8 modo res ita se demonstrat aperte,/ut quasi sit præsens oculis) which was

associated with the description of actions rather than persons;

together with (ii) descriptio personæ,

moving from the head downwards (cf. PN, 602/4) though the subject is masculine. This combination of description and action is sustained by the bringing and donning of new pieces of armour or weaponry with details given of the parts of the body or armour to which they are attached, e.g. Sin houbit sie im bundin (B22); Den schilt langitin sie dare (B23).

E. Köhler (Ideal und Wirklichkeit in der höfischen Epik, Tübingen, (2nd edn.), 1970, pp.37-65, esp. pp.41ff. and 62) has argued persuasively that the anachronistic throw-back of chivalric culture into the pre-Christian communities of classical antiquity discloses the intention on the part of the OF poets of the 'Romans d'antiquité' to legitimize the claim to authority raised by the chivalric aristocracy by presenting their supposed forbears as living according to the same principles. Where the Roman aristocracy is presented in German poetry of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries the political significance is even more immediate. We have seen how the changes made to the presentation of both legal proceedings and the raising and strategic deployment of military forces reflect a consistent attempt to approximate them to contemporary German imperial models. The same can be said of the depiction of Prophilias's shield blazon. Like the dragon standard flown from the banner-wagon, the 'displayed' eagle described in some detail here is also modelled on contemporary custom. From the time of Barbarossa the German princes of the empire bore shields charged with the imperial eagle (see F. Gall, 'Die Herzoge von Mödling', Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte 120 (1953), pp.1-44 esp. pp.38-9; M. Zips, Das Wappenwesen in der Mhd. Epik bis 1250, Diss. Wien 1966, pp.183ff. esp. p.198). In general terms Prophilias's shield would almost certainly have resembled one of these. It may even be possible to establish a more specific heraldic connexion. The arms of the Counts Palatine of Saxony (Pfalzgraf

von Sachsen) were this same imperial eagle, and towards the end of the thirteenth century the colours are attested as identical with those described in our text for Prophilias's shield: a golden eagle on a blue ground (see G. Seyler, Geschichte der Heraldik, Nürnberg 1885-9, pp.283 and 289; H. Horstmann, 'Die Wappen in der Berliner Handschrift der Eneide Heinrichs von Veldeke', in: FS zum 100-jährigen Bestehen des Herold zu Berlin, ed. K. Winkelsesser, Berlin 1969, pp.59-77, esp. p.64). The earliest attestation of this armorial design with this particular colouring for the Counts Palatine of Saxony seems to be a marginal illustration in MS R(= British Library, MS Royal 14 C.7) on folio 141 of Matthew Paris's Historia Anglorum (ed. F. Madden, Rolls Series, London 1869, vol.III, pp.19-20). The shield is one of two with the following rubric underneath: Obiit Andegravius Duringiae, and cujus promotionem, ut imperaret, dominus papa infinitum effudit pecuniam. Hic Henricus Raspe dicitur. Heinrich Raspe was Landgrave of Thuringia, Count Palatine of Saxony and Rex Romanorum (elected 1246, the year of his death). F. Madden notes that the portion of text adjacent to the marginal illustrations does not refer to Heinrich Raspe at all, but that it is written on an erasure. He suggests that the original portion of text probably referred to the Landgrave's death in that particular year of which the chronicle at that point was treating. G.Seyler (op.cit., p.289) suggests that this armorial design may have been adopted for the Counts Palatine on the occasion of Heinrich Raspe's election as Roman King. There seems no compelling reason why the same arms might not have been used before, particularly in view of the customary use of heraldic eagles by princes of the realm from Barbarossa's reign (see bibliographic references above). The arms may date back further, even into the time of Landgrave Hermann I (see Horstmann, op.cit., p.64), who bore the title Pfalzgraf von Sachsen before he succeeded his brother as Landgrave (see E. Heinze, 'Die Entwicklung der Pfalzgraftschaft Sachsen bis ins 14. Jahrhundert', Sachsen und Anhalt I (1925), pp.20-63, esp. pp.33-35). Athis has often been grouped

with Herbort's poem, Albrecht's Metamorphosen and Otte's Eraclius on the basis of the common denominators of CG dialect and material dealing with classical antiquity. Both Herbort's poem and Albrecht's work are explicitly associated with the court of Thuringia. This shield is the only piece of evidence to connect Athis with the Thuringian court directly. J. Bumke has surveyed the evidence of Landgrave Hermann's literary patronage in some detail drawing parallels with his sponsorship of illustrated manuscripts. In two illuminated psalters pictures of Hermann with his wife appear (see J. Bumke, Mäzene im Mittelalter, München 1979, pp.159-168, esp. pp.161ff.). The presentation of the coat of arms borne by the Saxon Counts Palatine on Prophilias's shield might well be a similar form of homage of an entirely secular nature. Something akin to this occurs in Herbort's poem where Hercules is portrayed using the Hessian-Thuringian coat of arms as he approaches the Trojan walls with an army of Greeks. This appears to be one of the earliest descriptions of the Hessian-Thuringian red and white striped lion on a blue ground (see E. Schröder, 'Zur Datierung Herborts von Fritzlar', ZfdA 52 (1910), pp.360-364). Our example, if indeed Athis was commissioned at the Thuringian Court, would provide an obvious parallel to this one.

23-28] for a discussion of Prophilias's shield see note on B19-76.

27 bernisschin] from Verona, see Lexer (I,196) and Grimm's note.

28] For a discussion of the significance of the lifelike quality of heraldic emblems see M. Zips, op.cit., pp.543ff. where the 'Sympathie-Verhältnis' which relates the bearer of the arms to the emblem is described.

30-38] this is a very detailed and accurate description of the 'displayed' eagle which is characteristic of imperial German heraldry; see note on B19-76 and J. Woodward, A Treatise on Heraldry, British and Foreign, vol.I, Edinburgh and London, 1896, pp.254ff.

39-47] a description of Prophilias's wapinroc, glossed by Lexer (III,631) as: 'über den panzer gezogenes oberkleid(meist von seide und schön verziert)'. See Siebel, op.cit., p.112.

41 samitte] Vorderstemann (pp.274-5) quotes from various accounts of the nature and provenance of samit (which is not the same material as NHG Samt) which seems to have been a kind of brocade woven from six different silken threads (from Greek: héx 'six' and mitos 'thread' > Middle Greek exámiton, xámetōs) that found its way to Western Europe in gifts from Constantinople (cf. F. Kluge, p.623; H. Suolahti, MSNH 3, p.125 and Schultz, I, p.343).

49-53 halsberch] another description, this time amplified in terms of the manner in which it is attached. What is referred to is a throat-protector or 'hauberk' tied to rings on his face-protector so that they could not work themselves free (see Siebel, pp.98ff.).

52 fantailin] borrowed from OF ventaille (see Vorderstemann, pp.345-6). This served as a protector for the lower face which normally hung free but which when danger approached could be fixed across mouth and chin.

56-61] 'and a helmet which shone far into the distance (made) of mirror-bright steel with many a golden embellishment sparkling far away adorned on the head-band and on the face-plate'. If he has the same kind of helmet in mind here as the one he describes in E102ff. then it is probably conical with a chin-strap and face-plate similar to those shown on the Bayeux Tapestry (see S. Bertrand, La tapisserie de Bayeux, 1966, plates after p.40, and then plates 1, 42-50, 77 [where helmets are carried aboard ship], 101, 103-108, 110-143). In addition to E102ff. the poet mentions die spitze sinis helmis (A**43-5) and there are three references to helmets all using the verb binden, all of which are consistent with the picture of a conical

helmet. It is possible that the conical helmet was already understood to be a thing of the past at the time our poet was writing. Siebel discusses this (p.164), and so conical helmets may even be a part of the poet's historicizing depiction.

spiegelbrûn] is rare and Lexer (II,1088) only lists this example; the sense of brûn is probably 'shining' (see Lexer I,365) and the motif of the helmet shining into the distance is common enough (see Siebel, p.162, RL 5729ff. and NL 1837,1ff.).

77-107] In describing Prophilias' combat with Margoz (von Messine) the German poet returns once more to his OF source. The content of the couplet 7379-80: recovree ot une fort lence/Le cheval point sanz demorence - 'he had found a strong lance, he spurs his horse on without delay' is rendered by: B98/9 Ein starc sper er hate/geslagin undir sinin arm; and : B96 Prophilias ouch virhancte/Sime orse vil drate. There are obvious correspondences: une fort lance: Ein starc sper; sanz demorence: vil drate. Whereas le cheval point means 'he spurs on his horse', virhancte means 'he let his horse have its head' (see Lexer III,128: 'das ross frei laufen lassen'); the sense of both phrases is similar. This approximate form of rendering is sustained through the description of the encounter itself: Rd'A 7383-92: Teus s'antredonent as escuz,/Toz li plus forz an est fanduz./ La lence au duc en trois vola,/L'autre ne fraint ne ne plëa./Le fer qu'il ot en son tranchant,/Le mist par mi le jazerant,/ El cors li tranche la coree;/Cil a Gaïte conparee,/Car tant con lance li dura,/Arrieres mort le sovina./: 'They exchange such blows on their shields: the strongest is broken. The duke's lance flew into three pieces, the other neither breaks nor bends. He struck its cutting iron through the chain mail and cut through the body into the intestines. He has paid for Gaite, indeed as long as he had his lance death struck him down'. The substance of this is rendered

by B102-5: Uñ stach in durch die ringe (parmi le jazerant)/Vorme schilde in den buch (la coree)/Uñ warf in tot in einin struch/Daz sper dannoch ganz beleib (l'autre ne fraint ne ne plëa).

82 irwegite] erwegen is a weak, transitive verb with the figurative sense: 'moved, provoked', see Lexer (I,697).

110 daz sper isin] this may have been prompted by Rd'A 7385: le fer qu'il ot en son tranchant...

112ff. Vñ sach sie starke stritin/Des hers in beidin endin/Daz uolc uaste swendin../] see Rd'A 7394-7 where it is also stressed that both sides are fighting hard: ou se conbatent li vasal,/Car les doz genz sont asanblees,/ Danbedos parz entalentees/De lor enor a porchacier...

114ff. Daz uolc uaste swendin/Die beidinthalb sich wertin/Mit spern uñ mit swertin/Die vil dicke besuffin/ Den ors in den guffin/Vñ in den kuonin lutin/] a difficult passage. Line 118 probably ought to read: den orsin in den guffin since ors is neuter throughout (see B106;C106;C110;C124; E128;E132 and Lexer II,488). The major problem lies with the relative pronoun die in line 117, the subject of besuffin. Although it may seem likely that both the relatives die of lines 115 and 117 refer back to daz uolc in line 114, the whole passage makes better sense if the second die (line 117) is read as referring to the spears and swords of 116. The passage then translates: ' .. who defended themselves on both sides with spears and swords which often sank into the horses' hindquarters and into the brave warriors.' The sense of besuffin (= 3rd. plural pret. of MHG besûfen, glossed by Lexer I,230 as: 'einsinken, versinken, ertrinken') is of sword blades and spear-heads being submerged or plunged into the blood of opponents and their mounts. For a close parallel see Herbort 1107ff. Mit dem swerte daz er truc /Den wourm er in daz houbet sluc/So daz iz gar besouf/Vc̄ dem orte biz an dē knouf/. Both examples show an active

intransitive form of the verb where the subject is a pronoun rendering the weapon of the combatant. For another parallel see Herbort 5137ff.

123-135] This corresponds to Rd'A 7405-20 where the action can be summarised as follows: 'Archimenus is seriously wounded, Dionises has gaping wounds to the body. Both wander about the battlefield on foot, having lost much blood. The Romans want to capture the duke (i.e. Archimenus) and his own men set about defending him and put all their zeal into keeping Dionises. Prophilias arrives (7413) spurring on his horse: he separates the ranks, breaks up the throng, even the bravest make way for him. Neither with sword nor lance is there any defence against Prophilias's attack. He has captured the duke and helped Dionises.'

The parallel account in B123-133 is unclear at certain points, in particular from 129-33: Sie hetin in uz den vrundin/Wunt un̄ ungesundin/Undir den romerin zu troste/Den vienc er un̄ loste/Dionisin sinin mac/ Who is in in line 129? To whom does Den refer in 132? Both probably refer to Archimenus who is not named here by the German poet but is later mentioned as den herzogin (135). The text then translates: 'they managed to prise him (Archimenus) away from his companions, wounded and suffering as a comfort for the Romans: he (Archimenus again) was taken prisoner (by Prophilias) who then redeemed his (Prophilias's) relative Dionisin with him. He was not tardy in bravery when he captured the duke.'

132 loste] 'redeemed, freed through payment'. The idea involved here is that Prophilias captured Archimenus and used him as bartering material to retrieve Dionisin (see Lexer I, 1958: 'erlösen, befreien,...auslösen, loskaufen'.).

136ff.] This temporary rest from the fighting has no parallel in the Rd'A, where the perspective shifts immediately following the capture of the duke

and the rescue of Dionises from Prophilias's exploits back to Gaite's escort, who can see the fighting from a distance: Rd'A 7419ff. However, at this point in the narrative the German poet has already related the recapture of Gaite by Athis and his helpers, starting almost immediately after Bilas commanded Aimon to escort her away (see note above on A**25ff.). What he seems to have done is simply to change the order in which the exploits of Athis and Prophilias are narrated. Both versions involve a measure of simultaneous narrative. The contrivance of this hiatus allows the poet to bring Athis back into the main battle with Gaite already safe, setting the scene for his decisive encounter with Bilas, which is considerably amplified in the German text (see notes on C1-168 and 64-71).

The fragmentary transmission makes it hard to interpret the poet's use of simultaneous narrative. But certain features do stand out and bear comparison with Wolfram's techniques of battle description in Willehalm as established and investigated by H.-H. Steinhoff (Die Darstellung gleichzeitiger Geschehnisse im Mhd. Epos, München 1964). The contrivance of an 'episch beruhigte Stelle'is striking (see Steinhoff, pp.23-4), shifting perspective from one strain of the story back to another as it develops simultaneously: Prophilias rests his horses and himself and asks his men to scan the landscape for traces of Athis. This enables the poet to reintroduce the latter before his confrontation with Bilas. The technique of 'optische Verknüpfung' (Steinhoff, p.40: 'Wenn eine Figur des zweiten Stranges die Ereignisse des ersten sieht oder hört, benötigt der Erzähler keine eigene Übergangsform- die Handlung wechselt den Strang gleichsam ohne sein Zutun') through which the separate strands are tied up is another feature characteristic of Wolfram's treatment of battles in Willehalm. 'Optische Verknüpfung' is common in MHG narrative poetry (see Steinhoff, p.40) and the motif of rising dust as a sign of proximity or imminent arrival is found not only here and in Willehalm (234, 30ff.; 235,14ff.;236,14ff. etc.)

but also in the RL, e.g. 3340ff.: do chert der helt iunge/uf aine hohe (a)lben./do sach er allenthalben/di molten uf stieben,/ and 6984ff.: do sprach der herzog Naimes/ "herre ich sihe inoch di molten stieben:/ sine mugen uns nicht enphlihen;/.

So whilst the changes made in the German version are to some extent typical ('optische Verknüpfung' combined with the stoub motif) there is also evidence of the characteristically Wolframian contrivance of a moment of calm in the action as a suitable juncture for the retrieval of a second strand of narrative. This is deliberately introduced by the German poet and has no parallel in the OF source.

156-7 Do ubir sahn sie die scare/Durch ein wetirdunniz loub] Lexer (III, 806) offers no gloss for weter-dünne and only cites this example. Grimm suggested bletirdunniz as an alternative in a note without emending the text himself. What might wetirdunniz mean? Possibly a kind of willow foliage with prolific long thin leaves like streams of rain? Another possibility might be foliage glinting in the sunlight like lightning: see Lexer (III, 807) for weterlechen,-lichen = 'das blitzen, wetterleuchten'.

160 Vñ begondin ime liebin] this line seems difficult as it stands. Although lieben frequently takes an indirect object, the sense of such usage is that 'something is made pleasant or dear to someone' (see Lexer I, 1903) and BMZ I, 1016ff.: DWB VI,931; PMSG para.227, 16) e.g. dô liebete in diu reise, daz sie kômen in daz lant (NL39,4) also dô was geliebet im der lîb ('life then was dear to him', Eneide 348,9 ed. L. Ettmüller) and diu eine liebet mir daz lant ('she alone makes that country pleasant for me', MSF 182,23). The sense of our example depends on two personal pronouns one of which, denoting the subject, is only implied. The subject of the verb begondin is probably the same as that of the previous two verbs ubir sahn and irsahin (B156 and 158), namely Prophilias's companions. This

means that the pronoun ime in B160 is probably referring to Prophilias himself. In this way the scene works as follows: Prophilias instructs his followers to scan the landscape for signs of Athis. This they do and, on seeing dust thrown up by the horses of the latter and his companions they 'begin to endear Athis to him (Prophilias'). The very next line gives, their report to Prophilias in direct speech: Sie sprachin, "ieniz ist Athis/ Uñ hat irworbin den pris... Line 165 then gives Prophilias's response to this: Des vrouwite sich der guote. Thus this minor episode is structured as a dialogue between Prophilias and his men on the subject of Athis's performance in battle, bringing out the esteem in which the latter is held by the Romans. Line 160 still requires a slight emendation, since as it stands the verb has no object. This can be rectified through the insertion of a second in (acc. singular masculine denoting Athis: Uñ begondin in ime liebin. The contraction of two successive identical syllables into one was a feature noted above (see note on B114ff.).

168 den consul anticheum] this has no parallel in the Rd'A. The name Androcheum (B167) may be derived from an earlier part of the Rd'A where Prophilias's squadron commanders are listed: Et le siste Androgeus (6659). But there is no trace of Anticheum and certainly no trace of any consuls (see note on A152; in the military forces of Northern Italian City-States consuls did hold positions of command).
It is also possible that in German episcopal cities of the thirteenth century ministeriales may have held the office of consul in the consilium civitatis. Either of these features of medieval civic life may have provided the model for this change.

Fragment C

1-168] In the Rd'A (7911-7988) Athis strikes Bilas a blow of such force with his sword that he falls to the ground bleeding and Tot estordi (Rd'A 7921). Alixandres and Dorilas move swiftly to rescue him (Rd'A 7923-7930) and remount him straight away on his own horse: Remonté l'ont sur son cheval (7932). Barely able to keep his seat Bilas accepts their counsel to retreat as further fighting would be pointless. He replies: "Toz sui honiz"./ Parti l'en ont a grant enviz./Par mi un val s'en vont fuiant (7941-3). They fight their way through to a forest where the king reflects on the disaster which has befallen him. Inconsolable, he swears to have his revenge on the perfidious Romans.

In the German version the decisive stages of the battle are presented differently. Between the passages where Bilas's lieutenants rush to his aid and where, having withdrawn into the forest, Bilas states his desire to have revenge, a new set of scenes has been inserted, where the focus remains on the king throughout. In lines 1-76 attempts by his followers to come to Bilas's rescue are developed into a full scale encounter which then continues and is still in full swing as the sun begins to set (58-9); a detail lifted from the source where, in contrast, it marks the end of hostilities (Rd'A 7989: Endroit midi li soleil torne.). The dominant theme of this passage is the attempt by the king's lieutenants to prevent another encounter with Athis. Whilst in the Rd'A only Alixandres and Dorilas are named (7923), in Athis the encounter is amplified by the addition of lists of named warriors on both sides. At this point the perspective shifts to Bilas in hand to hand combat on foot (64-76). The king is pictured with shield outstretched and this is supplemented with remarks elucidating his heroic attitude (see note on C64-7). Whilst the OF source presents earlier a laudatory picture of Bilas in battle (7693-4;7805-6), there is no direct

parallel to this passage. The raised, outstretched shield is familiar from the NL (see note on lines 64-71), the metaphor of blood-spilling fertilizing the battlefield has numerous parallels (see Grimm's note, the note below on lines 72-76 and W. Wackernagel, 'Tung', ZfdA VII(1849), pp.128-133, esp. p.129.).

Following this the German poet has inserted an entirely new scene where Absterne (see note on 64-71) and Dimothenes, prominent lieutenants of Bilas, watch as the tide of battle turns against their heroic leader. They observe with increasing anxiety as the carroccio with its accompanying squadron of heavy cavalry advances threateningly on Bilas. This prompts Absterne (C97ff.) to intervene in order to rescue him. He unseats Brinus and leads the riderless horse to Bilas, whereupon the relocated counselling scene commences in the midst of the fray. The poet has endowed this scene with a sense of mounting danger by letting the audience witness the arrival of the carroccio through the eyes of Absterne. This underlines the soundness of Absterne's advice and helps justify Bilas's apparent change of heart. The counselling scene is developed out of a merger of two scenes from the source: one where Bilas regains consciousness after being unseated and the other after the retreat into the forest. The relocation of the dialogue in the middle of the battle lends suspense to the scene.

Whereas this entire episode is disposed of in a matter of 80 lines in the source, fragment C (168 lines) only contains part of the German poet's amplified account of the crucial phase of the battle. The major additions and changes result in a modified and developed depiction of Bilas. The amplification consists of an increase in named persons, a more detailed description of the fighting, a set-piece description of Bilas in combat, an entirely new episode involving Absterne and the Roman carroccio and the combination and development of two scenes with dialogue between Bilas and his followers on the subject of defeat, withdrawal and betrayal.

6-10] For the vital significance of obscure names see the notes on Lucegwie (C17) and laumacors (E49-51). Of this list of Bilas's companions in Rd'A (7923ff.) only Alixandres and Dorilas are mentioned by name. Of the remaining names the following forms are clearly derived from characters named elsewhere in the source as being amongst Bilas's subordinates:

i) Diens = Driens, cf. Rd'A 7072ff. ...au roi de Calabrois/.../Driens ot non; 7759 Driens ocit Androgëon and 7745 Driens li rois. MS variants for this name in the Rd'A include: 7029 Driiens A; Drians BV; Drias St; 7745 Prians V; Priens C; Drians ASt; Brians L; Orians P; 7759 Priens C; Prians V; Drians ABPSt. Although no exact parallel to the Athis form Diens can be found amongst these variants there is widespread uncertainty in the transmission of this name in the MSS of the Rd'A.

ii) Korillaus = Corilaus, cf. Rd'A 7031ff.: ...li dus d'Otrente/.../Et si l'apelent Corilaus; 7745 Corilaus/Qui tint d'otrente et puiz et vaus/Et la marine..; 7765.

iii) Pandaron,/der herzoge von Korillon = Pandaron,/Qui dus estoit de Cornillon; cf. Rd'A 7025ff.

From these three borrowings it emerges that the Athis poet probably used either one or both of the lists of Bilas's lieutenants which come earlier in the source in order to amplify this passage (Rd'A 7013ff. and 7745ff.). But what of the names in the list for which there are no apparent parallels in the Rd'A? If five of the seven names are derived from one or both of the two earlier lists then it is possible that the other two result from misreadings of the source or corruptions in the MS used by the German poet. The two names in question are: Kolibas (C6) and Walfaram (C8). For Kolibas the only obvious possibility would be a misreading or misspelling of Calabrois in Rd'A 7027 La carte au rois de Calabrois which is not particularly plausible. For Walfaram the remotely possible source seems to be a corruption of the form Aufrican in line 7041 La sesme moinnent

Aufrican for which Hilka lists the following MS variants: Ausetan C; Malfeitan B; Malpheta St; Malferan L; Maufaron A; mauferan P. The MSS ALP share variant spellings of a form which might conceivably have given rise to Walfaram.

15-18] Neither Athis nor any of his lieutenants are mentioned by name at this point in the Rd'A. Of the names on this list all but Lucegwie and latinus are attested in clearly recognizable forms earlier in the Rd'A: i) graciens = Graciens (6568); ii) Androines = Androines (6568); iii) iuliens = Juliens (6567); iv) Florentinus = Florentins (6666); v) Anthonius = Antonins (6665). Lucegwie is a vital form, since together with laumacors (see note on E49-51) it proves beyond reasonable doubt a direct connection between Athis and the main version of the Rd'A. This form is unattested as far as I know elsewhere in either OF or MHG literature and is almost certainly derived from a misreading of Rd'A 6645 La tierce eschiele Luces guie which means 'Lucas leads the third squadron'. The Athis poet must have misread Luces guie: 'Luces leads' as one word and a name. This mistake is of precisely the same order as the one which gave rise to the name laumacors where the OF (Arabic) loan (l')aumaçor (='heathen prince') was also misread as a name. Two points emerge from these observations. Firstly, proper names figured prominently in the Athis poet's amplification of battle scenes. Secondly, there was some uncertainty in his understanding of the names he found in his source, an uncertainty shared also by some of the scribes who copied the MSS of the Rd'A.

26 Als manlich truoch nach sinin sitin/Vaste an ein andir] Grimm noted: 'tragen ist hier gleichbedeutend mit dringen, wie E92 steht.' E92 reads: Die romer drungin an in. Lexer (II, 1489) offers the following gloss for tragen an: 'trans. an od. zu einem tragen' and cites Biterolf (= Biterolf und Dietleib, ed. O. Jänicke, Berlin 1866, Dt. Heldenbuch I) 5871, which

reads: der künec vil tougen an truoc./ ze tuonne hete er des genuoc,/ dâ mite er friden solt sîn lant. The sense of our passage is probably: 'as each, as was his custom, carried it (the battle) forcefully to the other,'.

33 uvchtin] as in C66 the CG preterite plural form of MHG vehten is used, cf. V. Michels, para.262.

34 ir beidir cric,/Daz sie geuech warin/Vñ note sich uirbarin] for this sense of MHG kriec see RWB VII,1520ff., art. Krieg II and III 1b. For MHG gevêch, Lexer (I,958) offers the gloss: 'feindlich, feindselig'. The lines probably mean: 'they (Kolibas and Alexander) knew all about their (Bilas and Athis) dispute, that they were sworn enemies and that they were unwilling to avoid each other (in battle).'

42-5] these elements of description apply to both physical and mental qualities. For craft der minnin see note on D72ff.

49 manigin smerzindin strich] Grimm emended here to the much more frequent stich. strich is, however, attested with the sense: 'Streich, Schlag' (Lexer II,1234), albeit not in a battle description, in Ebernand's Heinrich und Kunigunde (3706): ouch gap sie ir einin strich/an ir rehte wange/daz ôr sûste ir lange. In view of this the MS reading must be possible. The poet may have envisaged a cut rather than a thrust.

52-55] The general sense of this description, which involves both syntactic parallelism: Ir nichein...Dem(=den) andirn/ Ir nichein... des andirn; and chiasmus: dâ virherte..zu slâne/ zu vâne...dâ gerte, is laudatory, but the specific sense of the praise is not obvious. The poet may well be pointing to an idealized, non-murderous, non-pecuniary motivation of chivalric combat: 'none of them attacked there in order to kill his opponents, none of them desired there to capture the men of another'.

58-9] cf. Rd'A 7989 Endroit midi li soleil torne.

64-71 Bilas der uz irkorne/Stůnt in manlichin uore:/Den scilt truoc er inppore/Verre uor den handin./Er stůnt in den gewandin,/Do er nicht mochte gesigin,/Daz er wolde da beligin/Vñ er nicht genesin wolde.] 'The excellent Bilas stood manfully in the forefront: he held his shield up high before his hands. He lived by the custom that when victory was denied him he would rather fall (on the battle-field) there, than survive'.

truoc er inppore] for the lifting up higher of shields during battle see NL 2063,2 den schilt er baz dô ruhte über diu helm bant; 1938,3 den schilt den ruht'er hôher; 2290,4 den schilt ruht'er hôher: dô gie er houwende dan. This is a gesture of heroic defiance.

uerre vor den handin] cf. NL 495,2 dà mit er vor der hende den schilt dem küenen man/sluoc sô bitterlîchen; also 2195,2/3 daz ich schilt sô guoten noch tragen solde/sô den du hâst vor hende.

gewandin] Grimm suggested that this form was derived from MHG wân: * ge-wân-ida. No parallels for this derivation have since come to light. More likely is a derivation either from winden/wenden (cf. article Gewann, DWB IV,I,3;5320,1,b.ß.) or from wonen (see article Gewohn, Gewohne, DWB IV,I,3;6480-1). One possible parallel to our example is H.v.Hesler, Ev. Nicodemi, 2724ff. (ed. K. Helm, BLV 224, Stuttgart 1902, pp.108-9 and glossary p.270): Die wir do begruben tot,/die sint lebende irstanden/und sint in den gewanden,/ daz man sie horet unde siet,/sie ensprechen aber niet;/ ir ogen stuen zu himele wert. Helm asks: 'in den gewanden 2724, zu "gewant" oder zu nd. "gewânte"?' He is suggesting a choice between MLG gewânte (= habit, custom, cf. Schiller-Lübben 2,106) and MHG gewant which could have a figurative sense of 'clothing' or could be a parallel to those few figurative senses of 'Gewann' listed in subsection 1,b.ß of the article in the DWB. Hesler's example is listed there along with another from

Otfried for which the gloss 'eigenart, individualität' is offered. But at this point in the DWB doubt is raised: 'bei formen nach der a-declination ist es auch nicht immer möglich, die grenzlinie gegen gewonida zu ziehen'. It seems very possible that both our example and the one from Hesler are forms of gewonde (Lexer I,997) with -a- for -o- in a derivation from wonen (see PMSG, para.28). This spelling is attested also in MS Pa of the Abrogans (cf. J. Splett, Abrogans-Studien, Wiesbaden 1976, pp.541,98-9.408): Ahd. Glossen, I,44,15 (cf. also 268,29): ab usu tratum (= tractum) Pa: fona kiuuanda; K: fona kiuuondu, and also in forms listed in Schiller-Lübben (2,106) and the RWB in the article Ge'wönde (4,811-3). In the RWB two senses of this word are given: i) 'herkömmliches, ungesatztes Recht'; and ii) 'Brauch, Sitte'. The latter sense fits the Athis example very well, though neither really elucidates the Hesler passage. In Schiller-Lübben two examples are cited using this word, as is the case both in Athis and Hesler's poem, in the plural, both coming from the same MS: den rouwen den ik alle dage lyde, is my van gewonten olt geworden; and: he hadde in gewonten alle dage gode to offeren. Both come from Dial. Greg. = Epistolae Eusebii, Cyrilli et Augustini dialogi: a MS from Oldenburg dated 1473 containing a translation from Latin into LG with 280 leaves, the examples are found on leaves 126 and 256b. respectively. The second example is close to ours: 'it was his custom to...'.

The picture of Bilas which emerges from this new scene is one of a brave, heathen king whose behaviour in adversity is governed by an heroic attitude firmly established in custom. As it stands this passage resembles in content and tone the speech given to the heathen king Marsilie in the RL in the midst of battle (5441 ff.): er sprach: "scol Rŏlant gesigen,/so wil ich selbe da beligen./behabent die cristen di ere,/ so ne ruche ich mere/ nicht ze lebene/ noch chrone ze tragene./ ê süche ich den lip ze verliesen/ e daz lop ze verchisen. The rhyme gesigen:beligen, the sense of the statement, the

status of the character and the situation are common to both passages.

Bilas's preference for death on the battlefield rather than dishonour in defeat may have been prompted by lines 7955f. of the Rd'A: Vet s'an li rois, mout fu dolenz/Por la grant perte de ses genz./ Riens ne li peut doner confort./ A Damedeu prie la mort:/ Ne li otroit que seins ne vis/Puist retorner an son pais,/Car n'oseroit les genz vëoir /Qu'il ot conquises par pooir. Common to this passage and C68-71 is really only the preference for death over dishonour. If this is the source for C64-71 then the German poet has adapted a passively morbid despair into an active image of courage in battle.

Thus the modifications made by the German poet involve two basic changes: (i) the insertion of new scenes presenting Bilas in combat and (ii) the merger and relocation of two counselling scenes from the source in the middle of the battle. The principle linking and underlying this amplification is probably a development of the personal description of Bilas using the topos fortitudo et sapientia (cf. E.R. Curtius, Europäische Literatur und Lateinisches Mittelalter, 8.Aufl. Bern/München 1973, pp.181-184). The two elements of bravery and wisdom are separated and made the principal themes illustrated in the two main scenes: Bilas fights bravely on his own, exhibiting contempt for death (tolerantia) followed by Bilas wisely considering advice offered by his loyal lieutenant Absterne (deliberatio) and, eventually, since he is to appear later in the poem, we presume taking and acting on it. The sense of Absterne's counsel is one of proper consideration of misfortune. He advises with a sequence of sententiae that the hero ought to use his powers of reason when afflicted by an adverse fortune; where graced by good fortune all men seem wise; it is praiseworthy to adapt oneself to accommodate adversity. Such is the view of wisdom presented here. The implied contrast between sapentia and fortuna is familiar both from poetry and historiography in text and illustration (cf. M. Schilling, 'Rota

Fortunae, Beziehungen zwischen Text und Bild in mittelalterlichen Handschriften', in: Deutsche Literatur des späten Mittelalters (Hamburger Colloquium 1973), ed. W.Harms/L.P.Johnson, Berlin 1973, pp.293ff., esp. pp.295ff.) and here serves to develop the second element of the topos fortitudo et sapientia. What emerges is a laudatory depiction of heroic kingship tested by adversity with an element of moral commentary. Its striking feature is the success gained by Absterne's counsel over his king's apparent determination to fall heroically on the battlefield. This issue lies at the heart of the poet's use of the topos. It seems he envisages an element of contrast between bravery and wisdom. The changes made to the source reveal a subtle consideration of characterization and its relation to plot.

72-6 Des uacht der erin holde/In helidis geberdin/Vñ tungite die erdin/Mit reveigin bluote/Sinis libis ane huote] Grimm emended lines 74-6 to read: und tungite die erdin,/mit der rêveigin bluote,/sînîs lîbis âne huote. As it stands the emended text gives little sense. sînis lîbis (genitive singular) must refer back to bluote [dative singular; the -in ending is a CG variant of the normal -eme, cf. K. Kinzel in: ZfdPh 11 (1880)pp.73ff., and the note above on A104] in the previous line. The blood must then be his own. The inserted der, which must be intended to change rêveigin into an adjectival noun, then becomes senseless, since rêveigin is clearly a compound adjective. mit rêveigin bluote is an example of hypallage, a transferred epithet, where the sense 'doomed for the bier' is applied to the blood rather than to the body to which it really belongs. The passage then translates: 'thus he who was devoted to honour fought in the manner of a hero and enriched the field with blood shed from his own unguarded body doomed for the bier'. For MHG rê see BMZ,II,1,585/6, and for veige see BMZ, III,289-90.

The image of blood spilt on the battlefield fertilizing the ground is relatively common in the Heroic Epic as Grimm points out in his note

cf. also W. Wackernagel, 'Tung', ZfdA VII(1849), pp.128-133, esp.129). Perhaps the closest parallel is in the Strassburg Alexander 7405ff.: dâ wart gevullit manic furh/mit dem bluote al rôt./dâ was die grimmiste nôt/di dâr dehein man/in volcwîge vernam./getunget wart di heide./dâ vielen di veige,/unz man ûf sie mohte gân.

83 irs herrin halbin] BMZ (I,614b.) glosses halbin as an adverbial dative plural meaning 'auf seiten'. Lexer (I,1147) notes that it takes the genitive. Lines 82-3 would then translate: 'they saw how the balance of the battle was weighted heavily against their lord's side'.

88 nit slachslan] another example of figura etymologica. nîtslac is also attested in the Heroic Epic: Biterolf (see note on C26) 10894-5: daz dicke mîn nîtslac/ûf rîchin künegen ist gelegen.

92] see A142

100 in manlichir andacht] cf. BMZ,I,350a.: 'das denken an etwas, die richtung der gesammelten gedanken auf einen gegenstand'. See Konrad von Würzburg, Trojanerlied (ed. A.von Keller, BLV XLIV) lines 3174ff. waz schadet im der widersaz,/den er von in beiden hât/swenn im diu helfe mîn gestât/mit vlîzeclîcher andâht.

114 ein kerne/zů tůne werde ritterschaft] Lexer (I,1555) glosses this figurative sense of kerne as: 'wesentlicher gehalt, hauptsache, das beste, ausgezeichnetste'. Grimm lists parallels, most of which involve prepositioned genitives. Here kerne is used with an infinitive phrase. The sense is probably: 'because he was excellence itself in the performance of worthy chivalry'.

117 uellichī] this is an acc. singular masculine form of the MHG adjective vellec/vellic (Lexer III,54). The sense of this phrase is thus:

'he struck him on the neck where he knew it (the blow) would make him fall'.

120 esschin] made of ash (see Lexer I,708).

120-123] the MS reads: Er sach den esschinin scaft/Daz er sich von creftin bouc/Un̄ brinus von dem orse vlouc/Un̄ er wunt viel uffin sant. The problem concerns the verb sach. Er (line 120) refers to Absterne who is fighting a joust with Brinus, whom he unseats. er in line 121, on the other hand, probably refers to the lance, as it bends with the force of impact. It is likely that sach is a corruption of stach. There are two reasons; firstly, Absterne is actively involved in a fight and not watching , and secondly, if sach were correct then daz would be a very odd form of conjunction, not really similar to any of those listed in PMSG, para.357:6. If we read stach for sach lines 120-1 become an amplification of lines 116-7 which record the blow. Examples of stechen + an accusative of the weapon involved are common, cf. BMZ II 2,622-3, particularly with an accompanying daz introducing a (modal) consecutive clause describing, as here, the effect of the force of the blow on the lance itself (cf. PMSG, para.356) e.g. daz stach er ûf in daz ez brach (Tristan 16143); diu sper si ûf stâchen daz sie gar zerbrâchen (Erec 4388). In the latter example Hartmann goes on to describe the effects of the impact on the horses. This emendation also makes more sense of the two following clauses introduced by unde which then sustain the first consecutive clause and spell out the eventual consequences of the blow: the lance bends through the great force of the blow, Brinus is violently unseated and falls wounded to the ground. On these complementary grounds of the context and syntactic plausibility the text has been emended.

129 Vñ wartit war ir wellit] 'look where you please (and you will see), the army has not held up well in the battle...' For warten see BMZ III,524.

130 missestellit] Grimm suggested: 'das volk hat sich schlecht gehalten, ist in furcht geraten...' Neither Lexer (I,2170) nor BMZ (II,2,565) have anything new to add.

138 irmannit] BMZ II,1,51a glosses ermannen 'fasse muth'. cf. Herbort 11485ff: Des morgens vil fru/Achilles ermanete du/M(=V) il menliche er sprach.

140 Swenne....so...] For swenne introducing a temporal clause followed by another beginning sô..., see PMSG para.351:2; cf. Morungen (MSF 130,37): swenne aber si mîn ouge an siht, seht, sô tagt ez in dem herzen mîn.

146] 'The scales of the battle are tipped so heavily against you.'

160-1 V sint die romere/also wol gesezzin] This is a difficult phrase. Grimm asked: 'soll das heissen "die Römer sind, wenn Ihr den kampf erneuen wollt, in einer Euch so günstigen stellung: ihr Reich ist so gelegen dass Ihr leicht rache nehmen könnt"?' This reads wol gesezzen as meaning '(for your purposes) well placed as neighbours'. For this sense see Lexer I,912 and BMZ II,2,331. Lexer cites Ulrich's Lanzelet 3877 which is a helpful parallel and reads: er hat driu künicrîche guot/diu sint in von erbe an komen,/an ander daz er hât genomen/den die im gesezzen sint. 'He holds 3 fine kingdoms, which he inherited, apart from one other which he took away from his neighbours.'

164/5 Daz sie v muozin wandiln/Swaz sie v lastirs habint irbotin] 'so that they will have to compensate you for the shame they have heaped on you'. wandeln has the legal sense of 'ersatz wofür leisten, vergüten, büssen' here (cf. Lexer III,674 and DWB XIII,1637). A close parallel involving both laster as the object and an indirect object denoting the sufferer is found in RL 2207: daz laster wil ich ime wandelen.

lastirs] 'schmähung, schmach, schimpf, schande' (Lexer,I,1836).

irbotin] cf. RWB,3,85,II: art. er'bieten (i) and DWB III,723: art. Erbieten,4. The word is used here as a negative variation of its customary sense of offering due respect and greeting.

166 geloubich] Grimm emended to gelobe ich without a note. The form is probably correct as it stands, however, as the DWB lists the CG (Hessian) variant form gelauben = 'verheissen' (see art. Gelauben: DWB IV,I,2.3873, see also col.3042) with this example from the Alsfelder Passionsspiel (ed. C. Grein, Kassel 1874) line 646: Hie(=er) gelaubet den luden das Himmelrich. 'He (Christ) promises the Kingdom of Heaven to all and sundry'. The glossary (p.314) lists two more examples from the same text: 849-50: Abe du siest der herre Crist/Der uns ist gelaubet in der ee; and 964ff. Mutter min, nu gib mer raitt!/Sint mer min herre gelaubet hoitt/zu geben als was ich wolle,/ So sage mer, was ich heischen solle! The CG (Hessian) form gelauben (= promise) may be explained by the proximity of LG speakers since in MLG geloven has both the senses of MHG geloben and gelouben (cf. Schiller-Lübben II,47 and DWB IV,I,2,3 and 42).

Fragment C*

1-168] These two fragments offer 336 lines of consecutive text containing only part of the German poet's presentation of the wedding celebrations. The picture outlined here of a wedding in ancient Rome differs considerably from its counterpart in the Rd'A. The main departures from the source are: the ball game (see note on C*45ff.); the specification of the temple of Venus together with the location of the marriage ceremony outside it (see note on C*101ff.) and the insertion of new scenes depicting the wedding-night and the festivities of the following morning (see notes on D10ff. and D89ff.).

1:2 dienist:geschen ist] may well be a feminine, disyllabic rhyme. The phonetic quality of the accented syllables is not clear but rhymes involving a contraction of MHG-ëhe in forms of the verb jëhen, sëhen and geschëhen linked with MHG -ie- are common enough in CG texts without being restricted to Ripuarian; cf. K. Weinhold, para.53, V. Michels para.29, Anm.2 and H. Busch, 'Ein Legendar aus dem Anfange des zwölften Jahrhunderts', ZfdPh 10 (1879), p.292.

5ff.] There is no detailed description of Gayte's costume at this point in the Rd'A either. But where the source does give a description of the bridegroom (8667-92), Athis only has C*15: Athis ir reitgeselle was. Elements of this description of Athis do crop up later in the detailed description of Gayte on the morning after the wedding (see note on D13 4ff.). This is only one of a number of examples in Athis of relocation of elements of the source.

5-7 Do wart der magit gayte/..../gecleidit..] der magit shows a dative case where we might expect the subject in a passive construction. Although examples involving kleiden with the dative are very rare (cf. Lexer,I,1612; BMZ,I,840b, where only this one is listed), PMSG para.227.1 (Anm.2) and J. Grimm, Dt. Grammatik, 4,693 cite examples (also involving passive constructions) of verbs of dressing or 'des geräthe anliegens' which take the dative; cf. Walther von der Vogelweide, ed. K. Lachmann, 5th ed., Berlin 1875, p.106, lines 26ff. als do der briutegome kan, des wart ein michel striten,/ wie si der briute bunden.

8 brutestuol] cf. RWB,2,473: 'Sessel der Braut am Hochzeitstag': mit wie getâner êre im brûtstuole saz/diu maget vil hêre, (Kudrun 549,1/2), See also HRG,II,191 (article: Hochzeitsbräuche).

3/4 V̄n der mittir tac zůgienc/V̄n die kuolde ane gevienc] This detail

flatly contradicts these remarks in the source, 8677ff.: Ne vesti plus ce fu asez/Car it granz chauz ert ja levez. For CG küelde see BMZ I,779: Herbort 7890 do nazzete ouch daz gras/die wile daz die kulde was (and also Frommann's note on 7400).

12ff.] These details differ from the source, where Prophilias leads his sister by the hand. The German poet's alteration whereby Gayte's father Evas, both here and before the bridal couple take the marriage-bed, is entrusted with the care of his daughter, may have been prompted by cultural considerations (see note on D10ff.).

19] Dar nach die urouwin uon der stat] cf. Rd'A 8777: les puceles de la cité.

23-25] There are fiddlers and other musicians also in the source: Rd'A 8715-22.

28 wůrmlage] cf. also D54ff. grozin scal sie hetin/Ir vrunt und ir mage/in der wůrmelage. The meaning of wurmlage/wůrmelage is not clear. Grimm suggested: 'ein Gebüsch, eingehegter Garten in der Nähe der Burg, wo Schlangen oder Drachen verborgen liegen, vor welchem man sich aber mit Spielen belustigt.' This explanation then found its way into the dictionaries: Lexer III, 1010; BMZ I,99 In fact the examples on which Grimm bases his judgement were all unspecific. Since then others have come to light which have prompted alternative suggestions. F. Bech (Germania, XXIIII, 1879, pp.147ff.) sees it as a hall or chamber decorated with 'opus vermiculatum' or 'Musivmalerei'. A. Schultz (Höfisches Leben I,51 Anm.5) suggests that the word is a German rendering of 'Labyrinthus' here used in the sense of a garden laid out as a sort of maze: 'ich meine deshalb, das wurmlâge zunächst Labyrinth bedeutet, dass es aber auch den nach Art der Labyrinthe angelegten Garten, den Irrgarten bezeichnen kann.'

The general sense emerging from the majority of the following examples where the usage is not completely unspecific is of a place where large numbers of people congregate, often, though not always, to eat and drink; where the place concerned is located on grass and in the vicinity of tents.

(i) Herzog Ernst B, 2366ff.: dô giengen die helde âne strît/mitten in die burc stân./ob ieman wolde zuo in gân,/des warten noch die küenen./ einen hof grüenen,/ze allen zîten küele,/sie funden manic gestüele/in einer würmelâge herlîch,/daz nie keiser wart sô rîch,/er möhte ze tische dar în gân./ (they then partake of the food and drink laid out there). This same wurmlâge is referred to on four subsequent occasions: 2559,2835,2951,3342. In the final example the wurmlâge seems also to be referred to as a sal: 3339ff.: sô sie von den tischen stên,/sô beginnet der künec gên/zuo den gesten in den sal,/und rüement die würmelâge über al/die helde gemeinlîche. 'when they get up from table then the king will approach his guests in the sal and together all the heroes will leave the würmelage.' In the third example Ernst and Wetzel are able from their vantage point in a window high up in the castle to look over the wurmlage and see far beyond: (2835) ein venster ob der würmelâge hô/.../über al die burc sie wol sâhen/.../swaz dar inne und vor geschach; the impression given by these references is of a dining-room (or area) in an inner, grass-covered courtyard of a castle, possibly a tent, but this is not stated.

(ii) Sächsische Weltchronik, pp.250ff.: Do selves hadde der keiser einen groten hof to Megenze to sente Marien missen der eren, dar he cronen druch...He at do in der wormlage in dem velde; dar waren upgeslagen selcene pavlune, de de soldan (=sultan)deme keisere gesant hadde. Here wormlage seems to refer either to a tent or to a collection of tents, possibly an encampment.

(iii) Berthold von Holle, Demantin, 1055ff.: dar was gemachet ûf den

plân/ein wormlâge alsô getân/..../wêrn zwê tûsent frouwen dâr,/sie mochten lichte hân ersên/den strît di solde dar geschen./Man slûg ûf al zuhant/der konigin von Engelant/ein so rîche paulûn,/dar was von Baldach ein zûn/ gesniten umme.... and 1118ff.: alsus di hôchgelobte reit/in di wormlâge al zuhant/ or pherde worden weder gesant. Berhtold also uses the term in Crane (4194) and 4297: dô sâgen se ûf den anger breit/die paulun vur in ûf geslagen./daz begunde dem koninge behagen/..../gerant her fluhtechlîchen quam/vur die vorlâge (=wurmlâge)rîche. (cf. Bartsch's note on Demantin 1056.)

These passages frequently refer to extensive seating accommodation, also to grass (velt, plân, anger, hof grüene etc.). In the MLG and CG examples (Sächsische Weltchronik and Berthold's works) the term clearly refers to either a large single tent or to a collection or encampment of tents. The second example from Demantin suggests the latter. Why should such an arrangement of tents be termed wurmlâge? The second, basic element of the compound: -lâge, had, besides its main sense 'trap', the meaning 'situs', that is 'site, placement, position' (cf. DWB,VI,58/9) which was a predominantly CG/LG word. One possible explanation could be that the compound wurmlâge with the sense 'large tent' or 'principal tent around which others are clustered' might derive from the medieval custom of placing the royal ensign, in this case a draco (dragon-ensign) outside the royal tentorium, cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, Historia Regum Brittanniae X,vi,9: 'Ipse quoque rex post hos elegit sibi et legioni uni... locum quendam quo aureum draconem infixit, quem pro vexillo habebat. ubi vulnerati et fatigati si necessitas compulisset quasi ad castrum difugissent.' Although this account refers to battle strategy, the practice of marking the king's or lord's tent with his own personal ensign was widespread (cf. A. Schultz, op.cit., pp.247-254, esp.Fig.133) and the phrase quasi ad castrum at least suggests some form of encampment around the placement of the flag. Why should the tent take its name from the dragon ensign? Circa 1200 the draco

was enjoying considerable vogue both in literature and reality as a royal ensign, particularly amongst the Plantaganets; cf. J.P.S. Tatlock, 'The Dragons of Wessex and Wales', Speculum VIII, pp.223ff., esp. pp.225-227: 'Later it (the Dragon) is found in the royal English army as in several foreign. Repeatedly called the royal ensign it long antedates heraldry and national ensigns and is not national or armorial but official. Its function is double. It marks the king's position in the sight of all; is honourable to carry, calamatous if thrown down, in case of need a rallying point.' (see also P.E. Schramm, Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik, vol. II, Stuttgart 1935, pp.658-664, esp. pp.662-3). Tatlock cites Otto IV's use of a dragon at Bouvines in 1214 as evidence of its popularity as an international emblem of kingship, and Schramm, quoting C. Erdmann, maintains that this is the only attestation of the dragon ensign in the imperial camp. It is tempting to associate this isolated Welf reception of a predominantly English custom with the CG/LG term wurmlâge, but this is entirely speculative. It is worth remembering, however, that the Athis poet does give the Roman forces a dragon ensign mounted on a banner-wagon (see note on A*153).

To summarize: wurmlâge in our text probably means a large tent or cluster of tents, possibly arranged around the dragon ensign. In the Rd'A tents are also referred to as the location for the festivities after the wedding ceremony (cf. Rd'A lines 8829-8831), one of which is a principal tent where the feast takes place (Rd'A 8837 Au riche tref an est menee).

30-39] This buhurt also occurs in the source: Rd'A 8715-22.

34-5 Swa.....schilde] 'wherever their lance stuck fast in the bright, new shields'; for beheften, see: BMZ II i,604b.

37 gezuc] 'proof'; cf. Lexer I,1004.

elicheit] 'lawful matrimony'; cf. Lexer I,538 and RWB 2,1238: Ez sint drier hande lute die behaldin sin. daz eine ist recht elicheit...

40 den...wurde/gewartit...] warten + dative probably means here 'observed, closely watched', see: Lexer III, 698.

45ff.] The following passage is an amplificatory digression on wedding customs in ancient Rome. This is a similar device to that used in the depiction of Roman legal customs in fragment A (see note on A152). The narrative probably cuts back in at line C*122. Until then the participants in the ceremony remain anonymous and are referred to as brut, bruteguom etc. When resumed, the narrative does not recapitulate with details already given in the digression.

Prior to the account of the marriage itself in front of the temple of Venus (the OF source knows only of a ceremony inside an unnamed temple: 8741 Au tanple vienent) a ritual procession is described, performed by a group of young women who, after assembling in order, collect the bride and lead her to the temple of Venus whilst they play a ball game, dancing and singing as they go. This ball game has been the subject of speculation (R. Mertz, p. 41-2; H. Franz, Das Bild Griechenlands und Italiens, pp.338-9). It has always been viewed as a new addition by the German poet, possibly prompted by medieval Italian custom (H. Franz, p.339). In fact a ball game is described in the OF source as part of the festival games held annually (instigated by Romulus) to appease the wrath of Venus at the rape of the Sabine women, and it is this passage which almost certainly provided the source for the German poet's changes here. See Rd'A 2517ff., 2532ff. and, for the ball game 2723-40: Es jeus se traient li donzel;/La ou jöent li plus isnel,/Vont la pelote antr'aus seisir./Puis s'an comancent a föir,/ Tot coste a coste, sans trepas,/Que l'uns ne vaint l'autre d'un pas./Cil les siuent a contançon./..... The verbal parallels with C*88ff. are clear.: Disin handewechin kloz/ den wurfin sie ein andir/swilch ir da was gerandir/ und sneller dan die andirn/ So sie begondin wandirn... But the presentation of the ball game has been changed. Although an element of competition has

been retained the players here are women not men and they are singing and dancing not racing. The association with Venus remains.

It has been suggested that the German poet may have misunderstood the following passage, which describes women dancing after the marriage ceremony, as a description of a ball-game, since the term bal (='dance') is used repeatedly in it: (8777ff.) Les puceles de la cité/Qui les baus orent demené,/Entor li vienent et devant,/A lor guise le bal menant,/Treschent et balant sanz mesure,/Del bal requierent la droiture. Before the ball-game earlier in the source had come to light it was imagined that such a misunderstanding of OF bal as 'ball' ('round object') was the source for the German poet's change in the bridal procession. This is unlikely, since it is apparent from C*116-120 that he did undestand bal as 'dance'. Confirmation for the theory of misunderstanding was seen in the curious claim: Dit spil was geheizin bal/in romisschir zungin (C*94-5). It has become clear, in fact, the German poet not only understood OF bal correctly as 'dance', but that he also correctly understood pelote (Rd'A 2725) as 'ball'. This makes the misunderstanding theory implausible.

The most important change made by the German poet concerns the introduction of the goddess Venus into the marriage ceremony and religious ritual. As we have seen, the ball game was taken from the context of ritual games dedicated to Venus in the source. The specification of the temple of Venus as a place of marriage was almost certainly prompted by Rd'A 1701-3 where Cardiones and Prophilias are married in the temple of Venus in Athens. But this does not explain the reason for this large scale revision of the episode. First of all, all reference to Venus in connection with Roman weddings is anachronistic (cf. H. Franz, op.cit., pp.338-9). Even in the Middle Ages such an association is rare. There seem to be two possible sources. Firstly, the medieval legend of the Roman youth, the ring and the Venus statue. This was narrated in various forms. In the earliest attested version the youth was playing ball with friends on his wedding day when he found the statue of Venus and

placed his ring on its finger. In this version Rome, wedding, ball-game and Venus are all associated (see E.F. Ohly, pp.204-210). The earliest attestation of this version is found in William of Malmesbury's Gesta Regum Anglicorum (ed. W. Stubbs, London 1887, Vol.I, pp.256-258), a text widely read in the twelfth century and available in Europe before 1200 (see Stubbs, I, pp.xcii-xciii; xcix-cviii, II,xc-xci and A. Gransden, Historical Writing in England, c.550-c.1307, London 1974, pp.166ff., esp. p.179). There are no verbal parallels linking Athis with the account of the legend in William of Malmesbury's work. But there is one other striking coincidence: in the very next section in William's chronicle is his account, also in its earliest attested version, of the legendary discovery of the grave of Pallas, son of Evander. This is now accepted generally as Veldeke's source for the 'Stauferpartie' where he attributes the discovery to Frederick Barbarossa on his journey to Rome in 1155. In this case the verbal parallels are most convincing (M.L.Dittrich, Die 'Eneide' Heinrichs von Veldeke, Wiesbaden 1966, pp.576-85.) It is very tempting to consider these two mirabilia Romae, recorded on successive pages of the same text, available in Germany in the twelfth century, as subsidiary sources used by German poets in their amplification of OF 'romans d'antiquité'. If there were verbal parallels linking Athis with William's chronicle then the evidence would be much more convincing.

The second possible direct source for the introduction of Venus, Goddess of Love, into the marriage proceedings is the Kaiserchronik, where Venus is said to have been responsible for marriage in ancient Rome: Vênerî der frowen,/der suln wir aller êren wol getrûwen./der oppfern wir pluomen und vingerlîn;/in ir hulden wil ich gerne sîn./Unser dinch verre an ir gnâden stât:/si gebiutet uns umbe die hîrât. This passage is taken from a speech given by the old man in the legend of Faustinian (lines 3725ff.) where he is replying to Clement's question about pagan ritual in Rome. E.F. Ohly (Sage und Legende in der Kaiserchronik, Darmstadt 1968, pp.74-84) drawing on the

work of C. Röhrscheidt (Studien zur Kaiserchronik, Diss. Göttingen 1907) discusses the connection between this passage and an earlier one describing the Gods of the days of the week (cf. Ohly, op.cit., pp.35ff.) and comes to the conclusion that the latter (or its source) probably provided the source for this part of the legend of Faustinian, since this legend's principal sources, the Pseudo-Clementine Recognitions and the later Vita Clementi, contain no corresponding material. Is this strictly true? In a later passage in Book X of the Recognitions we find, in a disputation on Good and Evil, an attempt by Clement to convince his father, in terms of the latter's own thinking, that there are such things as good and evil acts. Clement develops his answer with reference to the influences exerted by planetary constellations: (X,9) et ego respondi:.....Confessus es mala esse ea quae supra diximus, id est febres, incendia et his similia; haec secundum vos a malitiosis stellis fieri dicuntur, id est ab umido Saturno et calido Marte; horum vero contraria a benignis fieri stellis, id est a temperato Iove et humide Venere; aut non ita est? et pater respondit: Ita est fili, nec aliter fieri potest. tum ergo: Quia ergo a bonis stellis, Iove dico et Venere, bona fieri dicitis, videamus unaquaeque malarum stellarum cum admixta fuerit bonis, quid est quod efficit; et illud esse intelligimus malum. etenim nuptias facere Venerem ponitis; quae si Iovem habeat in schemate suo, pudicas efficiat, Iove autem non respiciente, si adfuerit Mars, corrumpi nuptias per adulterium pronuntiatis. It seems that the poet of the legend of Faustinian has taken elements from this astrological part of the disputations and used them to amplify his depiction of pagan religious ritual in Rome. If these ideas were the source for the German poet's changes then it is much more likely that he found them in the Kaiserchronik than in the Recognitions.

Another possible source for the introduction of Venus to the proceedings is the twelfth century dualistic idea of Venus as the personification of both legitimate and illicit love. This duality was envisaged mythographically

in terms of Venus's two families, one conceived in wedlock, the other in adultery. The Athis-poet might be attempting to depict a pagan consecration of wedlock at the temple of the Goddess of Love which prefigures the true sacramental significance of Christian marriage which has, as an indispensable element, mutual consent stemming from love or maritalis affectio (see J.T. Noonan, 'Marital Affection in the Canonists', Studia Gratiana XII, pp.481ff.). This concept of marital affection was derived by the medieval canonists from Roman Law (cf. Sheehan, p.8). This may be another example of the German poet's historical perspective. He may have projected a medieval concept of Roman marriage, sponsored by Venus, onto the backcloth of his pseudo-historical narrative. (On the dual concept of Venus see, G. Economou, 'The two Venuses and Courtly Love', in: Pursuit of Perfection, ed. J. Ferrante, Port Washington/New York/London 1975, pp.17-51, esp. pp.17-25. R.A. Wisbey, 'The Renovatio Amoris in Gottfried's Tristan' LGS I, 1980, pp.1-67, esp. pp.36-38 and P. Dronke, 'L'amor che move il sole e l'altre stelle', Studi Medievali VI (1965), pp.389-422, esp. pp.398ff.) In the Kaiserchronik the account of Ancient Roman history is preceded by the legend of the rededi-cation ('Umweihung') of the Pantheon by Pope Boniface IV (Kchr. 186-208, cf. Ohly, pp.39-40). This historical perspective of Roman pagan religious institutions being anticipated but providentially superseded by Christian counterparts, is analogous to what the German poet has done here. (J.Leclercq, Monks on Marriage, a Twelfth-Century View, New York 1982, pp.2ff; M. Sheehan, 'Choice of Marriage Partner in the Middle Ages: Development and Mode of Application of a Theory of Marriage', Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History I (1978), pp.3-33, esp. pp.7ff., G.Le Bras, 'Le Mariage dans la théologie et le droit de l'Eglise du XIe. au XIIIe siècle', Cahiers de Givilisation Médiévale 11 (1968), pp.191-20), esp. p.193; H.J.F. Reinhardt, Die Ehelehre der Schule des Anselm von Laon, Münster 1974, pp.86ff., esp. p.94).

57-8 Ir ieclich nach ir echte/So sie geleistin mechte] 'each of them as befitted their standing in society, as much as she could afford'.

72-3] The sense of these lines must be that hats were donned to keep them from going pale with cold (cf. C*3/4).

78 Dar sie die brut virnamin] this is probably a rare, figurative use of MHG vernemen = 'take prisoner' (Lexer III,186 and DWB XII,1,919), giving the meaning 'where they took the bride in to their custody'. The only approximate parallel, but where the sense is literal, comes in K. Bartsch's reconstruction of Albrecht's Metamorphosen 32,55: zwô (daughters) bliben in Euboeâ:/zwô liefen ir brûder nâ,/ unze man sie dâ vernam. G. Wickram's adaptation, which is Bartsch's only source here, reads: (Die) zwo blieben in Euboea,/zwo lieffen irem brůder nah,/Biss man sie aber do vernam/.. (G. Wickrams Werke, ed. J. Bolte, BLV 241, Tübingen 1906, p.183). The only alternative sense would be: 'until they came to the place where they could hear the bride' which is no more convincing.

85-7] 'a game which was (played) with a smooth skin sown round a (ball of) soft hair, about as big as a rolling ball'. (See Weigand's letter to W. Grimm (printed in Kleinere Schriften, ed. G. Hinrichs, Vol.3, p.335) for a note on kûle as a dialectal (Wetterau) contraction of kugel.

97 hupphinde uñ springinde] these are dancing terms; see A. Harding, An Investigation into the Use and Meaning of Medieval German Dancing Terms, Göppingen 1973, pp.125 and 223ff.

101-9] In these lines the actual marrying takes place. There are verbal parallels between them and the Rd'A (8741-66). But important changes have also been made. First the parallels; Rd'A 8743ff. read: Li prestre fu aparelliez/A lor entrer les a seigniez; these lines may have prompted: ir ewart...ein man aldir unde gris; and der seginte sie sine wis. There is

a significant alteration in the remark: Vurz tempil der gottinne/.../so quam ir ewart zuhant; 'in front of (i.e. outside) the temple of the Goddess... there came straight away her (or their) priest who...'. 'Trauung vor der Kirchentür' was a widespread medieval custom resulting from the growing influence of the church, particularly during the twelfth century, in marital matters; cf. R. Sohm, Das Recht der Eheschliessung, Weimar 1875, pp.159-164 and HRG,I,809ff. esp.820: 'doch schärften kirchliche Vorschriften schon seit dem 11ten Jahrhundert ein, dass die Trauung vor der Kirchentür stattfinden solle...in facie, in conspectu ecclesiae.' Sohm (p.159) quotes a French marriage ritual from circa 1100 which includes these phrases (separated by an account of the marriage itself): In primis veniat sacerdos ante ostium ecclesie... (Postremo)benedictionem inibi faciat, quae in libris continetur. Provided we take into account the historicizing change from ecclesia to tempil der gottinne then this ritual shows a parallel with Athis. The German poet has moved the ceremony out in front of the temple probably in accordance with contemporary custom similar to that recorded in this ritual.

109 zu rechtir e] see RWB 1,1207-9 where phrases involving either: zu....ê or recht(iu) ê are listed, e.g. MRRB, p.138. zusamine cumen an rechtir ewi.

122-9] 'with this Athis and Gaite were led in such a way that no maiden was ever before, I think, led more honourably through the street and to court, with games and joustings, or with more refined behaviour'.

129 wart] this form is redundant since the rhyme-word wurde in line 125 provides the passive auxiliary for gevuorit in 129. wart was possibly inserted by a scribe to fill out the line metrically.

142-7 ....gebin wazzir] The water is probably for the washing of hands, cf. Herzog Ernst (B) 3176ff.: der künic mit ir wazzer nam/ûz guldîn becken

swaere/ die knieten unde buten dar/ die twehelen wîz gevar; and 3220ff. at the same wedding-breakfast: man gap wazzir überal/und hiez sie an die sedele gân.

149-51 Man gab in allis des genuoc/Des daz ertriche truoc/Da mite si die rede virant] this is probably the clearest example of abbreviatio in Athis. The OF poem here gives an extensive and detailed description of the wedding feast (Rd'A 8854-8905).

Fragment D

1ff.] All three of these scenes are innovatory. The scene in the nuptial bedchamber may have been prompted by the brief reference made in the Rd'A to the withdrawal of the bridal couple to the joys of the marriage bed (8935-52). The sparse and general details given of embraces and kisses are developed into an entirely new scene focussed on the legally significant and public 'Beschreitung des Ehebetts' (see: HRG 1,814, article: Ehe). Another theme developed in this scene is the ceremonial handing-over of the bride by her father to her husband reflecting the 'Muntübergang' which accompanies or follows the nuptial 'Beilager'. At the point where the marriage is being consummated the poet shifts perspective away from the bridal couple to a synchronized scene in the wurm(e)lâge where the remaining guests are still amusing themselves. After briefly sketching a joyful and intimate embrace (D68-71), which may have been prompted by Rd'A 8949-50: De son ami, que ele acole/Et beise estroit a boiche mole; the poet inserts a digression in which he reflects on the joy of Athis in terms of the ministrations of Love and Fortune, as personifications, towards him and also towards his defeated rival Bilas. Moving on to the events of the next day, he has the couple wake early at the time when Romans customarily visit their places

of worship. Athis leaves his bride and dresses for a return visit, in the company of male relative and friends, to the temple of Venus, where a religious rite is celebrated in honour of the goddess, which seems to form a part of Roman nuptial custom. Synchronized with this is another new scene where Gaite is dressed with the help of female relatives for another festive gathering, where she would presumably have been brought back together with her husband. The fragment breaks off before the poet completes his description of her splendid costume.

9] for this use of ane vâhen with dinc in a general sense BMZ (III,203) offers the gloss: 'betreibe' and cites two parallels: Annolied 21,25/6 svie si doch ire ding ane vîngen,/si můstin Rômêrin alle dienin; and Graf Rudolf Kb20. The sense of our example is probably: 'the bride played her part in a most decorous manner'.

10ff. Her Evas der riche/Beualch die magit athise] This paternal gesture, serving as an introduction to the description of the legally significant 'Beilager', may be intended to reflect the close association in law between consummation of the marriage and the transfer of legal authority for the bride from father to husband, cf. HRG 1,813/4, article: Ehe and K. Eckhardt, 'Beilager und Muntübergang zur Rechtsbücherzeit', ZRG(G)47 (1947),pp.174ff. The 'entrusting' (bevalch) of Gaite by her father to her husband in public view prior to their 'Beschreitung des Ehebetts' is a major innovation by the German poet. The references to the wedding night in the Rd'A are of a different kind, stressing the joy and pleasure of the couple and their unwillingness to exchange places with any friend or relative (Rd'A 8935ff.). The order in which 'Beilager' and 'Muntübergang' took place in medieval German law has been the subject of controversy, but it seems that they are closely associated in the mind of the poet. The MRRB has this to say: suo zuei zusamini cumin an rechtir ewi is dan daz die

vroiwi eini(n)vatir heit, die sal zu rechti di vormu(n)tscaph uf lazi, suanni su uri huisherri bi slaphin heit eini nacht (art.22.1); cf. also the Ssp. III,45, para.3: Die man is ok vormünde sines wives, to hant als sie ime getrüwet wert. Dat wif is ok des mannes genotinne to hant als sie in sin bedde trit. For general information on medieval German nuptial custom and for further bibliography see the following articles in the HRG: Ehe; 1,809ff.; Braut; 1,514ff. and Hochzeitsbräuche; 2,186ff.

17 begondis irlangin] whilst MHG erlangen is an impersonal verb which can take a genitive in addition to its direct object in the accusative (see Lexer I,647), it is possible that begondis is a misspelling of begondiz (= begonde ez) where iz = daz volc. The line would then translate: 'and they would become bored'.

18 begangin] this term may well have a technical legal sense, see RWB 1,1410, art. be'gehen, 3: 'Hochzeit'.

19 von kuningis art] 'of royal blood', see RWB 1,833/4,III and: BMZ 1,50a.

29-31 Ein sulch dinc zů geschechinde,/Daz ein magit, zů sehinde/ Den lutin, tritit an die stat./] both zů gescehinde and zů sehinde are examples of inflected infinitives written in forms resembling present participles. This is not infrequent (see examples in PMSG paras.317/318). Such forms are sometimes given the term 'Gerundium' (see Grimm's note), though Behaghel rejects this (Deutsche Syntax, II,pp.303ff., esp. p.305). Neither of these examples involves a sense of purpose, though zů sehinde den lutin seems to involve a sense of result; Behaghel has parallels for this (p.347). Another significant aspect of this example is that the infinitive is used with a passive sense with the actual subject of the verb action present in an oblique case (see Behaghel, p.306). The lines then translate: 'for such

a thing to happen, that a maiden, in full view of all, should step where her foot has never trodden before'.

37-38;40-41] these lines seem contradictory as they stand: Salustîne instructs Gayte to dress herself (37-8) and 'they' undress her whilst a lady locks the door (40-1). Grimm attempted to solve the problem with a double emendation: unde hiez sie incleidin for Vñ hiez sie sich cleidin, together with unde incleidetes undirdes for Vñ incleiditin sie undirdes (41). The second emendation is confusing since it implies a considerable agility and expertise on the part of the lady who seems now to be closing the door and undressing the bride at the same time. It would be more plausible to adopt part of Grimm's first emendation adding the prefix in- (= MHG ent-) to the verb form. In this way an instruction is given by the bride's mother to the reticent bride that she undress herself and, whilst an attendant lady locks the door, other ladies help the recalcitrant Gayte comply with the order. The text can only be correct as it stands if these details are given in the wrong order: that is, if the command to don night clothing precedes the necessary prior divesting of day clothes. Since this is odd, D37 will be emended.

48 bi irn uatir] MHG bî + acc. is mainly restricted to CG texts (see PMSG, para.246 and O. Behaghel, Deutsche Syntax II, p.39, where this case is cited as an example).

72-87] these lines comprise a digression where the poet reflects on the favour bestowed on Athis by Minne and Sælde, personifications of love and fortune, which is inserted at that point where the marriage is being consummated. The sequence of ideas is this : 'if he (= Athis) suffered at the hands of Love when he gave up his first bride Cardiones (to his friend Prophilias) and was disinherited and cast out by his family as a result, how great is the recompense Love bestowed on him when she brought Gayte to

his side in the midst of such dangers. Bilas had intended it otherwise when he took possession of Gayte, but Fortune was against him and preferred to grant her to Athis, whom she had raised up high in chivalric esteem'.

This is a summary sketch of the recent, turbulent events of Athis's life expressed in terms of the joint ministrations of Minne and Sælde working in a form of coalition. Reference to the figures of Venus and Fortuna as if they operated in tandem is traditional (see: R. Wisbey, 'Fortune and Love, Reason and the Senses: Traditional Motifs in Walther's song 'Ich freudehelfelôser man (L54,37ff.)', OGS 13(1982), pp.115-142, esp. p.121 and pp.134ff. where extensive bibliography is listed). Both figures are traditionally distinguished by the dual and contrasting aspects of their treatment of man. In this digression the two faces of Love are illustrated in her contrasting treatment of Athis on the one hand with Cardiones and on the other with Gayte. The positive and negative sides of Fortuna are exemplified in the success of Athis and the failure of Bilas at her behest. The amplifying phrase gehoit hete sere hints at the traditional image of Fortune's wheel through which man can be raised to the heights of success only to be plunged afterwards into the depths of misery. Although this may be implied, there is no outright statement to the effect that Athis's success, granted him now by Fortuna, was in any way earned by his virtue. A similar elucidation of the condition of the hero at a propitious moment for him in terms of Love and Fortune is found in Veldeke's Eneide, just before the extended description of Venus wounding Lavinia with Love's dart: dô sach diu junkvrouwe her abe/von dem venster dâ sie lach./den hêren sie wol besach,/den minnesâlegen Troiân (see A. Groos, '"Amor and his brother Cupid"; The 'Two Loves' in Heinrich von Veldeke's Eneit' Traditio 32 (1976), pp.239-255, esp. p.252). Given that both Venus and Fortuna could be incorporated as figures in medieval understandings of the workings of Providence (see G. Economou, 'The Two Venuses and Courtly Love', bibl. reference in

note on C*45ff. and B. Schouwink, Fortuna im Alexanderroman Rudolfs von Ems, Göppingen 1977, pp.25ff.) the question raises itself whether the poet's use of these personifications goes beyond the merely formal. We know that Venus, goddess of love, figures prominently in his new picture of Roman nuptial custom. It seems possible that the poet has attempted to elucidate the fate of his hero in what he understood to be historically authentic terms, that is, in terms of the ministrations of those Roman deities which still figured in medieval Christian views of Providence.

85 gondir bas athise] MHG gunnen normally, as here, takes both genitive and dative (see: Lexer I,1119 and BMZ I,32a/b). The sense is: 'and preferred to bestow her on Athis'.

92-94] this remark seems to imply a daily custom of pagan religious worship amongst the Romans. Such an idea might have been sponsored by the description in the Kaiserchronik (45-185) of the Roman 'Tagesgötter' where each god was worshipped on a separate day of the week (see: E.F. Ohly, op.cit., pp.35-38) and which, translated into Latin, found its way into a MS of Frutolf's Weltchronik (see Ohly, p.35[1]). However, the remark ir gote um ir hulde bitin might argue against this since it emerges from the 'Tagesgötter' passage that only one deity would be worshipped per day.

95ff.] this scene, where Athis revisits the temple of Venus on the morning following his wedding-night is also new. It may stem from an attempt to make the sequence of stages in the complete marriage ritual follow a customary medieval course of: marriage/'Trauung'; consummation/'Beilager'; blessing/'Einsegnung' (see: HRG, art. Ehe; 1,815; R. Sohm, op.cit., pp. 158-9; K. Eckhardt, op.cit., p.188; O. Zallinger, 'Die Eheschliessungen im Nibelungenlied und in der Gudrun', WSB 199 (1923), pp.1-68, p.20 and G. Grimm, 'Die Eheschliessungen in der Kudrun'. ZfdPh 90 (1971), pp.48-70, esp.p.53). But this is not entirely convincing. The most striking features of the new

scene are the restriction of the participants in the religious rite to men and the sustaining of the connection between Roman marriage and the cult of Venus. Reference to the favour bestowed on Athis by Venus was made at that point in the narrative where the marriage was being consummated. It seems possible that the return visit to the temple of Venus on the following morning by the bridegroom was intended to be understood as an act of pious thanksgiving to the goddess for granting the completion of the marriage. The power of Venus over the bridegroom's capacity to consummate the union is the central theme of the legend of the 'Statue and the Ring' referred to in the note on C*45ff. as a possible supplementary source used in the amplification of the wedding. Here we also encounter a congregation of young men around a bridegroom who comes to learn of the power Venus has over his relationship to his wife. The awesome power of Venus is also a prominent theme in the passage devoted to her cult in the legend of Faustinian (see note on C*45ff.). This idea, common to both Roman legends, may have prompted the poet to introduce this new scene depicting the pious respect the bridegroom holds for Venus.

101] 'where most of them were'.

107] for vernæjen see Lexer (III,185) who offers the gloss: 'ein-, zuschnüren, besonders die auf der einen seite wegen des anziehens aufgeschnittenen ärmel' and also BMZ (II,304b), where examples are listed.

119 Do man ir recht in da getete] this is an unusual use of daz reht, which probably refers to a religious rite. MHG reht can refer to Christian ritual (Lexer II,377; BMZ I,619ff.). The phrase probably translates: 'when her rite (= Venus's) had been performed for them there'.

121 gewarin] probably has pluperfect sense here: 'and when the two of them had been at prayer until they had completed it, then they rode....'.

For this use of the ge-prefix with preterite tense forms in temporal clauses see: PMSG, para.302c.

157 achte wistin werkis] 'who knew how to appreciate good craftsmanship'. For ahte wizzen + genitive, see: BMZ I,15b.

158 gemerkis] 'to the same measurements a gown was cut for her', see: Lexer I,845 Where gemerke is glossed: 'abgegränzter umfang'.

Fragment E

1ff.] The action contained in this fragment corresponds closely to Rd'A 16629-755. The main difference between the versions lies in the absence from the German text of the short passage (Rd'A 16685-704) concerning Theseus and Bilas. So the action in the German version falls into two parts: first the fragment cuts in where Peritheus has been unseated in an encounter with Bilas and this strand is followed until he is ready to rejoin the fray (E68). At this point the perspective shifts to Phedrias, Athis and Prophilias (E69: Rd'A 16705ff.), and in particular to three encounters involving Prophilias with the Duke of Pisa (E97-141), his companion (142-150) and with Dimothene of Tripe (151-168). In general this fragment reveals a close association between the German poem and its main source. Many passages from the OF poem have direct counterparts in Athis, though in some cases the order in which they appear has been changed.

2 Gaite] there is no reference made at this point either to Gaite or to Cardiones (see: F9) in the Rd'A.

10-18] This account of the reaction of the Athenian citizens to the supposed death of Peritheus has its direct counterpart in Rd'A 16635-648.

19ff.] As in the Rd'A (16649) the perspective shifts from the reaction of the citizens to that of the ladies watching: celes qui furent sus as estres,/ Par poi ne chieent des fenestres. At this point the German text renders celes, as estres and fenestres but omits, either through choice or misunderstanding, to give the sense of the OF text.

22-3] there is no trace of this in the source.

24-36] this detailed account of Cassidorus's ministrations is an amplification of Rd'A 16657 sor lui descent Cassidorus. It includes almost a word for word rendering of two earlier lines: 16631-2 si estordiz a terre jut/ Que main ne pié ne chief ne mut: Da ligind amme sande,/Daz er vuoze noch hande/regite noch daz houbit/Also was er bethoubit.

38-51] in this conversation the source is also closely followed.

38-9 "Peritheus,wie vers du?/Sprich mir zu, liebir urunt"] this renders Rd'A 16658-9: "Por Deu", fet-il, "Pirithöus,/Parlez a moi, beaus dolz amis".

40-42 Do regiter den munt/Und warf uf dougin trage/Gein des kunigis vrage] this corresponds to Rd'A 16660-1: Et cil l'entent, dresce le vis,/De pameisons est revenuz.

43-48] these lines continue to follow the source closely; see Rd'A 16662ff.: "Suis-je" fet-il, "d'aus retenuz?/Ont moi il pris, fis je fiance?/ "Nenil". "Ne nule covenance?"/-"Non or",fet-il.-"Don n'ai je mal./ Deus! que ferai, que n'ai cheval?" Most of the key terms in the OF have been picked out for translation: retenuz/pris; fiance/covenance; cheval; gevangin; gesichirt; orsis.

49-51 "Hie stet", sp^{a}ch er, "din selbis ors,/Daz dir der kunic laumacors/ Liez, do du den steche nidir."] These lines are vital. Together with C17 (see note) they establish beyond reasonable doubt a direct connection between

Athis and the Rd'A. Most probably the German poet had a MS of the main version of the Rd'A at his disposal and was working from it as a source. R. Mertz noticed (pp.48-55) that the name laumacors had no counterpart in the OF poem. In fact, just as Lucegwie is a proper name derived from a misreading of Rd'A (6645): La tierce eschiele Luces guie: 'Luces leads the third squadron', so der kunic laumacors is almost certainly derived from a misunderstanding of Rd'A 15871ff.: Le cheval point vers l'aumaçor/Qu'Espagnol tienent a seignor;/De Cordres ot la seignorie/Par droit et par ancesserie. See also 15911ff.: Pirithöus ert mout delivres./ De cel cheoir n'ert pas trop ivres./Mout vivement sailli en piez,/Vers son cheval s'est adreciez. Ce fu li bons a l'aumaçor; OF: aumaçor is glossed by Tobler-Lommatzsch (I,670-1) as: 'Heidenfürst'. It is an Arabic loan derived from almansur: 'the victorious one'. As Vorderstemann notes (pp.31-4) Almansūr was the name of a tenth century lord of Códobas who was widely known in Christian Europe for his military successes. This must be coincidental. L'aumaçor is not a proper name in the Rd'A but a title. The Athis poet has misunderstood one of these passages, possibly 15671-2, which means: 'he spurs his charger at the heathen prince whom Spaniards held as their lord' in such a way that he read l'aumaçor as the name of the lord concerned. He was not familiar with the loan-word. Vorderstemann (p.33) remarks that the MHG loan, amazur which is derived from aumaçor, is first attested in Wolfram's Willehalm.

Curiously the OF text gives no indication here of where the horse in question comes from. The Athis poet has added the information as amplification.

66 uerritin] for MHG verrîten: 'to ride past in order to protect', see Lexer III,205.

69-70] see Rd'A 16707-8.

76-80] for periphrastic use of werden + present participle with an inchoative sense, see PMSG para.299d.

80 daz da nicht zu getraf] Grimm notes: 'dass nichts dem gleich kam, wie schon Frommann zu Herbort 4762, wo dieselbe Redensart vorkommt, erklärt hat'. Herbort 4785ff.: Sie offenten ir phorten/Und riten uz fil wol bereit/Mit sogetaner gewisheit/Und mit sulcher gereitschaft/Daz da nicht zu entraft.

81 Salustîn] although no such person is mentioned by name at this point in the OF poem, one Salustin is referred to amongst Prophilias's Roman companions at earlier stages: Rd'A: 13132;13154;13189.

84 Daz ime moht ir stickin/Sin ors von gedrange] 'So that his horse might have been suffocated in the crush'. This is an example of what is referred to in PMSG (para.306a) as 'Infinitiv Präsentis', whereby an unreal event in the past is expressed.

93-4 der ich niht genennin kan] since nennin (see Lexer II,54/5) does not normally take an object in the genitive, it seems likely that der...niht is a negative partitive genitive construction: 'of whom I cannot name any'.

102-107] See note above on B56-61.

116-121] the two infinitives rîtin and houwin go with the verb vant and its object Prophiliasin in such a way that Prophilias is the subject of both infinitives. For notes and further examples of this kind of construction in MHG see PMSG para.318b. A simple example is: des hôrtent ir mich nû jehen (Iwein 800). The passage translates: 'he found Prophilias, on a dappled horse, riding into the ring and down one side holding his lance and urging his horse on with the flat of his sword on the other flank'. For this use of houwin, see Lexer I,1357/8.

122-125] for a note on phrases showing verb + infinitive without ze, see: PMSG para.318a. The passage translates: 'he wanted badly to win for himself

now with his own lance the acclaim which the stalwart warrior (= Prophilias) had already gained'.

151 Von tripe dimothene] Le dus de Triple en Barbarie (Rd'A 16745, note: MSS CLV all read: tripe) is not named in the source at this point. But much earlier (7013-18) Li rois de Triple an Barbarie is named as Demotenes: 7017 Lui apelent Demotenes; the German poet has again amplified his source with the addition of a name.

Fragment F

F1-31] comprises an extended lament delivered by Theseus over his dying son Peritheus. There is no parallel to it at this juncture in the Rd'A: 20337-20346. On the other hand, slightly later, Peritheus' mother and sister lament his death in terms which are similar; Rd'A 20479ff.: "Fiz", fet la mere, "plus me duel,/Si est bien droiz,que je ne suel./Ta morz m'est acheisons veraie:/Ce est la riens qui plus m'esmaie./ Fiz,qui donra mes riches dons/A chevaliers ne a barons?/ Ja asez tost puis que l'avoies,/ Avoir doné ne le cuidoies./Fiz,trop haoies vilenie,/S'eres la flors de corteisie./De toi avoit fet table enors,/De toi se repeissoit amors;/Por ce que lëal te savoit,/Pröesce en toi se delitoit;/Chevalerie t'engendra,/ Et largesce te baptiza./ Ha Fortune, con m'as destruite/Mout est fos qui contre toi luite,/Car s'aucuns vuelt a toi conbatre,/Bien as pooir de lui abatre./ Je m'esforçoie de monter,/Et tu m'as feite devaler./Leidement m'a torné le dos." - "Son", says the mother, "I grieve more and rightly so, than I am wont. Your death is the true cause: it is that which causes me such distress. Son, who will ever give such gifts to knights and barons? Since you had it to give you never thought you had given it away soon enough. Son, you hated loutishness so much, you were the flower of courtliness. Honour had you at her table, Love feasted on you, because she knew you to be faithful, Prowess delighted in you, Chivalry engendered you, Largesse baptized you. Alas, Fortune, how you have destroyed me. He is a fool indeed, who struggles against you for if anyone seeks to fight you, you

are able to strike him down. I strove to rise, and you have cast me down. Basely, you have turned your back on me."

The poet has taken a number of the ideas from this eulogy and inverted them into criticisms in a lament on the decline of Athens. It is precisely the absence of the virtues extolled by the mother which provide the focus of the father's lament. The ideas of Generosity, Courtliness, Love, Chivalry are present in both texts but they fulfil entirely different functions. In both texts virtues are considered in harness with the ministrations of Fortune. But here again the difference in treatment is striking (see below and the note on F 20/21). Its general theme is the state of decline of the city of Athens and its community. This is illustrated by a succession of parallel critical statements related to each other both thematically in their critical tendency and formally through the repeated and almost exclusive use of verbs with the prefix ver-: virrostin (F1); virkargin (F5); virminnin (F7); virtrachtin (F10); virbeizit (F14); virdorppirn (F16). It is hard to find parallels for some of these forms (see notes on virkargin; virminnin; virtrachtin virdorppirn) and some may be neologisms. What is intended by this stylistic device is more than alliteration. It involves the amplification and development of the theme of decadent decline through the cumulative effect of a succession of parallel phrases showing forms with related meanings marked out by the same prefix.

The passage may have been envisaged as an inverted encomium urbis; that is an evocation of the past glories of Athenian society through outspoken criticism of its present state of wretched decline. This kind of set-piece depiction is often found, for instance, in medieval poetry on the past glories of Rome (cf. M. Schlauch, 'An Old English "encomium urbis"'., JEGP 40 (1941), pp.14-28; here, in particular pp.21-28). A parallel to our passage can be seen in these lines of verse on the wretched state of

Rome in the early Middle Ages which are found (amongst other places) in a tenth century Bamberg MS (cf. Arturo Graf, Roma nella memoria e nelle immaginazioni del medio evo (Vol.I), Torino 1882, pp.46-7; and P. Jaffé, Monumenta Bambergensia (= Bibl. Rerum Germ.V), Berlin 1869, pp.457-8): Nobilibus quondam fueras constructa patronis;/Subdita nunc servis,heu male, Roma, ruis./Deseruere tui te tanto tempore reges:/Cessit et ad Grecos nomen honosque tuus./ Constantinopolis florens nova Roma vocatur;/Moribus et muris, Roma vetusta, cadis/Transiit imperium,mansitque superbia tecum;/Cultus avaritiae te nimium superat./Vulgus ab extremis distractum partibus orbis,/ Servorum servi nunc tibi sunt domini./In te nobilium rectorum nemo remansit;/ Ingenuique tui rura Pelasga colunt./Truncasti vivos crudeli vulnere sanctos;/ Vendere nunc horum mortua membra soles./Iam ni te meritum Petri Paulique foveret,/Tempore iam longo Roma misella fores.

'Long ago you were built by noble fathers;/Now, alas, you serve, Rome and conquered, you have fallen./Your kings have abandoned you at such a time Your name and honour ceases and passes to the Greeks./Constantinople, flourishing, is called the new Rome;/your customs and walls, age-old Rome, fall down./ Power has been transferred away and your pride stays with you;/ you are greatly overwhelmed by devotion to greed./ Your common people were drawn from the furthest corners of the earth,/the servants of slaves are now your masters. In you none of the rulers of noble birth remains./Your native people now till the soil of the Pelagian (= Greek) countryside./ You have maimed saints alive with a cruel wound;/ you now are wont to put their dead limbs on sale./The service of Peter and Paul does not sustain you./ you will now, Rome, be wretched for a long time to come.'

This lament, pervaded by invective, shares common features with our passage. Translatio, here translatio imperii, is accompanied by a state of decline and decadence in a city of great erstwhile glory. Decadence is illustrated through vice: cultus avaritiae; together with the decline

and dispersal of nobility. There is a reversal of the proper class-structure: servorum servi nunc tibi sunt domini. Remarks in a similar vein are passed in our passage where the neglect of public virtues and the failure of sub-ordinates to make their proper contribution to the upkeep of standards is criticized.

What is significant for us here is not so much that this sophisticated passage suggests a degree of schooling but more the terms in which the anatomy of decline is dissected, the purpose behind the introduction of these ideas at this point and what view of the past is revealed by it.

The picture of Athenian society which Theseus outlines is one of decline in a medieval chivalric community. This is consistent with the anachronistic presentation of classical antiquity in general in the text. How does this particular amplification of the source material fit into our picture of the German poet's revised presentation of the past? The eventual decline of Athens coupled with the simultaneous flourishing of Rome is a coincidence characteristic of one constituent element of a widespread medieval view of the contours of the development of universal history. It illustrates, through one link in a chain, the general concept of translatio. Although primarily associated with the transfer of power and authority (translatio imperii), the general concept of translatio extended in the middle ages to include the passing on of wisdom, chivalry and a general idea of culture from first origins in the East to its eventual resting place in Western Europe via the staging posts of the Greek and Roman Empires of classical antiquity (cf. W. Goez, Translatio Imperii, Tübingen 1958, pp.104-128; and F.J. Worstbrock, 'Translatio Artium, über die Herkunft und Entwicklung einer kulturhistorischen Idee', AfKg 47 (1965), pp.1-22). This presentation of historical change in terms of a voyage from East to West is found in whole or in part in numerous poems both in Latin and the vernacular as well as in Fürstenspiegel literature and the historiography of this period (cf.

W. Goez, p.118 and, for instance, Otto of Freising, De duabus civitatibus, prologue to book 5). The prologue to the Rd'A contains an albeit vague and inconclusive sketch of that part of the chain where clergie passes over from the Greeks to the Romans. The relevant passage follows an account of the founding of Rome by Romulus and of Reims by Remus: Rd'A 167ff.:

De Rome vos ai aconté./Or vos dire d'autre cité/Que li livres apele Athene,/ De sens et de clergie plene./ En Athenes totes estoient/ Les lois qu'a icel tans tenoient./Mout par ert saige la citez;/N'i avoit cel, ne fust letrez;/ En peis s'amoient a deduire,/Ne voloient terre destruire./De Rome et de par tote terre/Aloient la le savoir querre;/La prenoient les jugemanz,/Les lois et les comandemanz./Bone citez er mout Athene/Et riche et granz et bele et sene;/N'estoit gaires de Rom mandre;/Mes li Romein la vostrent prandre./ Del savoir qui ert en Athene/Fu puis Rome garnie et plene,/Et ainz que comançast la guerre,/Fu longuemant an peis la terre./Or vos dirai des II.citez,/Comant li pleiz est devisez:/Athene est pleine de clergie/Et Rome de chevalerie.

'I have told you about Rome. Now I shall tell you of another city which the book calls Athens, a city full of wisdom and learning. In Athens were found all the laws which appertained at that time. It was a wise city; there was no-one there who was not learned; they loved to live in peace and had no wish to destroy lands. From Rome and from everywhere on earth man went there to seek wisdom; there they sought judgements, laws and commandments. Athens was indeed a fine city, powerful, great, beautiful and healthy; nor was it less great than Rome; but the Romans wanted to take possession of it. Then Rome was full of wisdom which was in Athens, and before the war began the land for a long time enjoyed peace. Now I shall tell you of the two cities, and how the quarrel developed. Athens is full of learning and Rome of chivalry.'

This passage has been considered as a possible source for similar ideas expressed in Chretien's prologue to Cligès (Köhler, Ideal u.Wirklichkeit in der höfischen Epik, Tübingen 1970, pp.41-43, and Worstbrock, op.cit.,

pp.20ff.). Worstbrock points out that the combination of chivalry and wisdom in a translatio-concept is relatively widespread at this time and that it is therefore not necessary to see a direct dependence of Cliges on the Rd'A. He illustrates this with reference to the poem 'Ad mensam Philosophiae' (p.18) to Geoffrey of Viterbo's Speculum Regum and to the De Principis Instructione of Giraldus Cambrensis, where the following passage occurs in the preface: 'Laus itaque virens et convenienta dicens, quod regni princeps, quo prae caeteris militia viget utraque, tam armata quam togata, tām martia sc. quam litterata, studio floreat et praecellat utroque. Illu(d) quoque dignum est nota quod philosophiae militiaeque se comitare semper studia solent; sicut in Graecia sub Macedone, sicut sub Caesaribus Romae, sicut et olim in Francia sub pipinis, carolis, et sub eorumdem usque in hodiernum regia prole.' He further rejects the notion that Cliges need be seen as the source for the potted history of chivalry presented in the prologue to Moriz von Craun, where the idea of translatio underlies the poet's historical perspective. He here refers back to another passage from De Principis Instructione which clearly reflects another concomitant aspect of the idea of translatio which that text shares with the prologue to Moriz, namely that the process of transfer be accompanied by a state of moral decline in the place whence the power or learning are coming: 'Multa Graii veteres et armis aggressi et studiis assecuti, sed omnis ille virtutum fervor refrixit in posteris et in orbem Latinum migravit; ut qui ante fontes, nunc rivuli vel potius alvei arentes et exhausti.' (Book 3, chapter 19)

It is here that we can observe the vital connection with our text. It is this characteristic feature of the general concept of translatio which has been brought out and amplified in Theseus's lament. We see how the German poet has taken up the sketched draft of translatio, probably from the prologue to his source, and has drawn on his wider familiarity with it, which may or may not have been derived from Fürstenspiegel-literature, in order

to amplify his presentation of Athenian society at this critical point near the end of the story. What he intended was to locate the action within an acceptable historical framework, thereby elucidating its historical context. The terms in which the poet describes the decline of Athens share the same anachronistic retrojection of contemporary medieval chivalric society back into classical antiquity we encounter in the sense of historical continuity presented by the 'Fürstenspiegel' literature and the prologue to Moriz (cf. R. Harvey, Moriz von Craun and the Chivalric World, Oxford 1961, pp.73ff.).

The object of Theseus's criticism is a decline in standards. This involves the non-observance or neglect of certain cultural imperatives; lack of proper maintenance of armour and weapons, failure to pursue chivalric combat, neglect of generosity and goodness, lack of proper attention paid to ladies together with a falling in lovers' standards, inertia following from an excessive pre-occupation with care and worry, sadness prevailing over happiness, failure on the part of the squires to fulfil their duty in the maintenance of aristocratic standards, general degeneration in standards of behaviour and a neglect of courtliness. To all this is added the remark that they have been abandoned by Fortuna and that disaster dwells amongst them: a decline in the observance of noble customs is coupled with the general loss of Fortuna.

A state of decline or weakness as a justification for translatio is a feature of medieval historiography which is not restricted just to transfers in the distant past of classical antiquity. It is either stated explicitly or can be inferred when translatio is reported in more recent early medieval German history. W. Goez lists a whole series of texts where the transfer of power to the Carolingian dynasty is legitimized through their strength and vigour. (cf. Goez, p.128): 'So möchte man,...., zusammenfassen, was Otto von Freising in den Gesta Frederici, Gottfried von Viterbo und der

Dichter des Ligurinus über die Translatio ad Francos schreiben; "suis viribus", "virtute sue" oder "potentia sua" erwarb Karl die Kaiserkrone' (Goez 128). Einhard's account of the transfer from the Merovingian kings to the family of those qui maiores domus dicebantur brings out the weakness of the former and contrasts it with the strength and vigour of those to whom authority eventually passed in name as well as in fact: 'Gens Meroingorum, de qua Franci reges sibi creare soliti erant, usque in Hildricum regem, ... , durasse putatur. Quae licet in illo finita possit videri, tamen iam dudum nullius vigoris erat, nec quicquam in se clarum praeter inane regis vocabulum praeferebat. Nam et opes et potentia regni penes palatii praefectos, qui maiores domus dicebantur et ad quos summa imperii pertinebat, tenebantur.' (Einhard, Vita Karoli Magni, ed. E.S. Firchow, Reclam U-B: 1996, Stuttgart 1975, p.8 and also H. Beumann, 'Die Historiographie des Mittelalters als Quelle für die Ideengeschichte des Königtums', HZ 180(1955), pp.449-489; here p.480.) We see how the combination of strength in one dynasty and weakness in another is presented in German accounts of the more recent past as a natural condition legitimizing the transfer of power. By far the most striking parallel of this kind to the German poet's presentation of Athens can be seen in Widukind of Corvey's account of the translatio from the Frankish king Conrad to the Saxon Henry . Here Widukind (I,25) assigns in direct speech to the dying King Conrad himself in conversation with his brother the following statement explaining how a transfer from the Frankish dynasty over to the Saxons is necessary since the Franks no longer possess the fortuna atque mores which kingship requires: 'sunt nobis frater, copiae exercitus congregandi atque ducendi, sunt urbes et arma cum regalibus insigniis et omne quod decus regium deposcit preter fortunam atque mores. Fortuna, frater, cum nobilissimis moribus Heinrico cedit, rerum publicarum secus Saxones summa est.'

The vital parallel with our passage is the combination of fortuna with

mores as determining factors in an historical report of translatio. H. Wolfram, drawing extensively on the researches of H. Beumann, views this Widukind passage as an example of translatio fortunae which illustrates a Germanic revaluation of fortuna as a perishable, but inherited, charismatic characteristic which figures prominently in dynastic histories (H. Wolfram, 'Fortuna in mittelalterlichen Stammesgeschichten', MIÖG 72 (1964), pp.1-33, here pp.8 and 9, and H. Beumann, Widukind von Korvei, Weimar 1950, pp.237 and 253). Beumann regards Widukind's use of the classical Latin terms of fortuna and mores as a 'germanische Umdeutung des antiken Gedankens' (Beumann, Widukind, p.253, also B. Schouwink, op.cit., pp.25ff.).

It seems probable that the presentation of Athenian decline in our text is indebted to a German historiographic tradition of decline and legitimate transfer as twin consequences of the loss of 'Sippenheil' and noble customs (by which is meant principally military strength and vigour). Clearly the particular mores, or rather their absence, which form the main focus of Theseus's attention, are more characteristic of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries than the tenth, but the main principles are common to both: vigour and bravery.

In the Strassburg Alexander a major historical transition is also illustrated through reference to the combined idea of the ministrations of Fortuna and the onset of decline. In the former Darius reflects on his own downfall in terms of both Fortuna and his own übermuot: (Strassburger Alexander, 3410ff.). nû bin ich verwunnen,/vil kûme her entrunnen/von einen kriechischen man./von mînen sunden daz leider quam/und durh mînen urbirmut./Ungelucke, waz ir mir leides tût/Fortuna die ist so getân:/ ir schîbe lâzet si umbegân./si hilfet den armen, sô si wile,/den rîchen hât si ze spile;/umbe loufet ir rat,/dicke vellet, der dâ vaste saz." The fall of Darius results in the transfer of power from the kingdom of the Persians to that of the Greeks in the person of Alexander the Great. This historiographic perspective is elucidated in the Vorau Alexander (and presumably

also in the Strassburg version though the MS leaf in question was lost when Kinzel edited the texts) through a reference to Daniel 8,1-22 where the vision of the fight between the ram and the he-goat is described. This same vision is interpreted in Daniel 8, 20-22 as the defeat of the Kings of Media and Persia by the kingdom of the Greeks. The Vorau text reads: diz was Darios ter in Danigel stêt/der mit dem chriechischen chunige streit./ diz was den Daniel slâfinde gesach/in einem troume dâ er lach;/dâ sach er vehten ainen boc unt ainen widder./ daz bezeichent die zwêhene chunige sider (see C. Gellinek, 'Daniel's Vision of Four Beasts in Twelfth Century German Literature', Germanic Review 41(1966), pp.2-26, esp. pp.19-20). Here, as in Athis the presentation of the transfer of power at a critical stage in the narrative, which has been announced as a theme of the work earlier in the text, is amplified in terms of a combination of the disaffection or desertion of Fortuna and a decline in moral standards. In both cases the fall of one kingdom or community is justified in terms of a negative variation of the historiographic topos of fortuna et virtus, where Fortuna or felicitas imperatoria deserts or strikes down those who do not deserve her favour through their virtue (see Schouwink, pp.25ff.). In both cases the two elements of the topos are developed in the non-antithetical, supplementary manner which is characteristic of some German historiography (see B. Schouwink, op.cit., p.26. H. Wolfram, op.cit., pp.8-9, and for the antithesis fortuna/ virtus see: K. Heitmann, Fortuna and Virtus, Köln/Graz, pp.17ff.).

We see how the historical framework into which the poet has embedded this part of the story is itself rooted in medieval concepts of historical development. He presents decline as one link in a chain of events through which chivalric society passes from East to West. He probably also envisaged the causes of the transfer in terms of traditional German ideas of kingship and presents them in his text with the help of terminology derived from historical tradition itself schooled in the vocabulary of classical, Latin

history. Change may be elucidated in terms of the actions of Fortuna in combination with a decline in customs but the concept of Fortuna is Germanic and the customs are medieval.

1-2 'our weapons and armour are getting rusty without anyone paying the cost of it (= either of repair or replacement)'. For wâfen/wâpen in this general sense see: Lexer III,629. This use of sô is noted in PMSG, para. 357,1e as being infrequent and relatively early. When used modally introducing a negative clause, sô has the sense: 'in der Weise, dass (nicht nirgends, niemand)' or: 'ohne dass (je, jemand, irgendwo...etc.)'. Here the sense is: 'uns verrosten die Waffen, in der Weise, dass niemand (= ohne dass jemand) dafür die Kosten aufbringt.' PMSG(357,1e) lists three examples of which the following is the closest to ours: die kunige fâhten under in unz an den dritten tac, sô nieman dâ ne gesach blôdis mannis gebêre ('in der Weise, dass niemand, = ohne dass jemand, die Haltung eines Zagen bemerkte'). For: sich (ez) kosten lâzen, see: Lexer I,1689, where Biterolf 773 is cited: umb uns liez sich z der künec hêre kosten michels mêre. For lêt (= MHG læt/lâzit) see PMSG, para.10 Anm.4 and para.180 (in syntactically unstressed position).

3 virt^{erbin}] see: Lexer III,93. 'Those knights are going to rack and ruin who are not engaging in armed combat.'

5 virkargin] 'those who were generous are becoming stingy'. Lexer (III, 139) only cites this example from Athis for verkargen, the DWB (XII,617) does not list it at all. The form may be a neologism; this would be consistent with the rhetorical employment of verbs with the prefix: ver- giving a sense of decline.

6 virargin] 'those who are good are (now) turning nasty'. Just as with verkargen, Lexer only cites this example for verargen (III,70). On the

other hand the DWB lists a number of cases from later MHG with the sense: 'etwas als arg auffassen' (XII,84). Our example with the intransitive sense of 'getting bad' is rare before the reflexive form sich verargen: 'sich zum argen, übeln wenden' becomes established.

7-9] MHG verminnen (Lexer III,180)/MLG vorminnen (Schiller/Lübben V,406) is a rare word (see also DWB XII,837). It normally seems to have the same sense in both the MHG and MLG of 'gütlich ausgleichen, versöhnen' (cf. Lexer, Schiller-Lübben and DWB) which is probably a legal term. But both Lexer and the DWB, without any parallels, offer the supplementary gloss: 'sich entzweien, mit Liebe aufhören' for this example. This must have been extrapolated from the context. But can it be correct? Lines 8 and 9 reveal that die minnindin who are the subject of the verb verminnin are in fact men. Otherwise how could they also be the subject of the verb achtin in line 9? So lines 8 and 9 probably translate: 'so that they have begun not to make any effort and don't pay attention in the proper way to the ladies'. It seems possible that the poet is coining a new term with verminnin referring to a behavioural characteristic inconsistent with what was seen as an imperative of minne. Its sense might involve an element of decadent self-preoccupation which results in torpid inactivity: 'the lovers are so bound up in themselves that...' Herbort endows Achilles with negative characteristics similar to this but only after he falls in love with Polixena (see H. Lengenfelder, pp.85-92). It seems possible that the formation verminnin may be intended to indicate a condition resulting from love. For nicht thuon beginnin see: E. Weiss, Tun:Machen. Stockholm 1956, p.239: 'F7ff. enthält keine t(uon) + i(nfinitiv)-Konstrucktion, sondern nicht thuon beginnin = 'beginnen nichts zu tun'. See also: PMSG para.307,4. For F8 Grimm notes: 'Dass sie anfangen in Unthätigkeit zu leben, sich zu verliegen'.

10-11] this shows the same use of sô + negative as F1/2 and the lines

probably mean: 'those given to worrying are sunk in thoughts without getting down to doing anything'. For sich virtrachtin Lexer (III,273/4) suggests the gloss: 'sich in Gedanken verlieren, grübeln', and ventures a parallel to our example in Johannes Rothe's Passion on the basis of a note by F. Bech ('Über Johannes Rothe', Germania 9, 1864,p.175) which reads : ez geschach in einer nacht, Daz Ciborea wart vortraht und ersûfczte jemmerlichen. This passage is quoted from p.10 of MS: M101 of the Royal Library in Dresden. For sorgære = 'worrier', see: Lexer (II,1057) who cites Gottfried's Tristan 2618 as an example: aller sorgære râtgebe/got hêrre gefüege daz. Since MHG üeben/uoben does not normally take a genitive object, nicht werkis must be a negative partitive genitive along the lines noted in PMSG para.204/6, cf. Parzival 535,14 sô brich ich mîner triwe niht.

9] For ahten + genitive, see: BMZ (I,16b): erliez in ligen und ahte sîn niht (Heinrich von Freiberg, Tristan, 6115).

13 die niemin vroudin reizit] 'whom nobody incites to joyfulness'. Grimm noted: 'ich vermuthe die nicht ze vroudin', but did not emend. The emendation is not necessary as Lexer (II,410-2) notes that reizen can take an accusative and genitive together, quoting Kudrun 242,3 as an example: jâ hât dich anders nieman gereizit des gedingen.

14/15] These lines are difficult as virbeizit is a rare form. Lexer (III, 72) lists this case without offering a translation. The DWB (XII,I,101) notes: 'seltenes Wort' and suggests as a gloss for our example: 'jagen, mit dem accusativ des gejagten thieres....' trappin is thus probably dative plural of MHG trappe = 'Trappgans' (cf. Lexer II,1497 and DWB XI,1,1, column 1253 = Trappe 5). This is a game bird which runs along the ground known in English as a 'bustard'. The sense of the simile is then probably: 'in this manner the army is hounded like hunted bustards'. This vivid, visual, hunting image is probably intended to describe defeat in battle.

16/17 virdorppirn] Lexer cites this as an example of MHG verdörpern (III,97) without offering either a gloss or any parallels. Schiller-Lübben (V,341) lists only a reflexive form of MHG vordorperen with the gloss: 'ein dorper werden, dorperheit (ontucht, wansedicheit) begehen, sich roh und unanständig benehmen'. Our example seems to show an early instance of transitive use. The DWB (XII,1,1918) lists it under vertölpeln with the sense 'zu einem tölpel machen oder werden'. The sense of F16-17 would then be; 'the squires are making buffoons of us (by not maintaining standards), who formerly were instructed in propriety'. die warin thugint er gelart is a difficult phrase. die is probably a relative pronoun referring to knappin, whilst warin gelart is a passive construction analogous to the active form of MHG lêren with a double accusative (cf. DWB, VI,566= lehren 11b) with the sense: 'er ist einen Gegenstand gelehrt worden'.

36-43] 'if all the world belonged to me, I would give it away, dear son, in return for your life: if I were able to give myself in return for your life, so that you might live on in good health, and I could die in your place, how willingly I would do it. Your mother would do exactly the same'.

46-7] ruwic...minis leidis] for the predicative use of an adjective linked with a noun in the genitive through a sense of causal connection, see PMSG, para. 212; cf. Wolfram's Willehalm 412,9: (si) mohten sînes tôdes riuwic sîn.

50 sturit] this probably involves the sense of MHG stiuren listed in BMZ (II2,652b) under 3c: 'bildlich leite, zügele, mässige, beschränke ....mit dativ.'

50-3] cf. Rd'A 20342/3 "De ma seror et de ma mere/Sur tote rien pensez avant".

54] cf. Rd'A 20344 "...Puis m'otroiez ce que demant...".

55] cf. Rd'A 20345 "...car senz respit partens morrai.."

55-59 Min lebin ist nicht langir/Ich bin eins todis swangir/Wordin, des muoz ouch ich bekorn/Wend ich durch sterbin wart geborn/Do min muotir min genas.] these lines develop a striking, seemingly antithetical metaphor combining birth and death: eins todis swangir (werdin): durch sterbin geborn (werdin). Both Lexer (II,356) and the DWB (IX,2235ff.) list a number of figative usages of MHG swanger with the genitive, e.g. das er wirt aller posheit swanger (H. Vintler, Die Plůmen der Tugent, ed. I.V. Zingerle, Innsbruck 1875, line 5452). used in this way swanger means 'full of', 'burdened with' or 'laden'. As the Vintler example indicates, in its figurative use the dividing line between the condition of being and the action of becoming can become blurred. The distinctive feature of the German poet's use of the pregnancy metaphor is that the figurative sense of swanger is not curtailed but developed further with the elucidation: 'for I was born for death when my mother was delivered of me (F58-9)'. Although this seems to suggest that the poet is emphasizing the previous image of a dying man actually being delivered of his own life by giving birth to (a personified image of) Death, this need not be the case since the idea of a man burdened with death at the same time as having been born to die are closely linked in any case. I have not been able to find parallels for an image of death as an unborn child, whereas verbal images of the mortally wounded being burdened or weighed down by death can be located in a most illuminating source. The same proximity between the literal and figurative senses of swanger as 'pregnant and 'heavy (with)' also obtain between the related Latin derivatives gravidus (= pregnant and also burdened)

and gravatus (= weighed down). Whereas examples of (morte) gravidus are hard to find, attestations of morte gravatus or gravis bring us directly to Ovid and medieval Latin pseudo-Ovidian poetry. In Ovid's account of the story of Pyramus and Thisbe (Metamorphoses, 4,145/6) we find the following image: ad nomen Thisbes oculos iam morte gravatos/Pyramus erexit visaque reconditit illa. 'At the name of Thisbe Pyramus raised his eyes now heavy with death, and, after he had seen her, he closed them again' (translation: H.T. Riley, The Metamorphoses of Ovid, London 1889, p.124). In this phrase it is the eyes which are weighed down by death. But in the pseudo-Ovidian version of the same story attributed to 'Dietrich' which is generally dated between 1150 and 1280 (cf. P. Lehmann, Pseudo-antike Literatur des Mittelalters, Leipzig/Berlin 1927, p.5) this same image is frequently developed and re-assigned not just to the eyes but also to the whole person and to the lovers as a pair: (203) sed nescivit adhuc, quod amans in morte gravatus/esset; (241ff.) Cum Thisbes vocem novisset Piramus huius,/ad vocem relevat lumina pressa nece./Quam cum vidisset, rursus sua lumina celat,/que, veniente cito morte, gravata iacent. (271) Morte gravata iacens dat amanti basia multa. (273) Piramus et Tisbe gravi morte tunc moriuntur, (307ff.) Si quis amore gravi torquetur,compaciatur/Piramo et Tisbe, quod morte gravi perierunt. Similar, imitatory development of the same image is attested in another anonymous Pyramus poem also edited by P. Lehmann in the same volume (p.61): Tisbes (vocem) audit,ocellos/quamvis morte graves erigit atque vidit;/ut semel aspicit, eterna nocte gravata/lumina subtraxit perpetuoque tegit. Here the poet has varied morte with eterna nocte and ocellos with lumina in the course of his development. What emerges from these examples is that in medieval pseudo-Ovidian poetry treating the Pyramus and Thisbe story the Ovidian phrase: oculos morte gravatos (along with many other such phrases) was made the subject of amplificatory development and variation through which the original sense of the image and the object to which it was applied could be left behind.

It seems likely that this kind of stylistic exercise in variation was the source for the German poet's obscure pregnancy metaphor of death. The actual source seems to have been a phrase referring to the burden of death which was rendered in MHG through a figurative use of the term swanger. The objection will very properly be raised at this stage that this example is insufficient evidence on which to postulate the use of a pseudo-Ovidian version of Pyramus and Thisbe as a supplementary source, but there is more evidence to support such a proposition. In general terms the stylistic influence of Ovid's treatment of the Pyramus and Thisbe story with its derivative twelfth century OF romance has been extensively and convincingly documented (see: F. Guyer, 'The influence of Ovid on Chrétien de Troyes', Romance Review 12 (1921), pp.97-13ff. and 216-287; E. Faral, 'Le poème de Piramus et Tisbé et quelques contes ou romans français du XIIe siècle', Romania 41 (1912), pp.32-57; K. Stackmann, 'Ovid im Mittelalter', Arcadia I (1966), 231-252; F. Schmitt von Mühlenfels, Pyramus und Thisbe, Rezeptionstypen eines Ovidianschen Stoffes in Literatur, Kunst und Musik, Heidelberg 1972), particularly when used as a supplementary source amplifying a scene involving the presumed death of a lover. F.P. Knapp ('Enites Totenklage und Selbstmordversuch in Hartmann's Erec', GRM 57(1976), pp.83-90) has also argued persuasively that Hartmann used the OF romance on the same subject as a supplementary source in his development of a scene in Erec where similar ovidian influence was detectable in his primary source: Chrétien's poem. This is the scene where Enite presumes (falsely) that Erec is dead. But there is also further evidence in this same speech in Athis of the influence of Latin pseudo-Ovidian treatments of Pyramus and Thisbe. In addition to the pregnancy metaphor of death there are three further ideas which have been added by the German poet to his source in the space of some ten lines of Peritheus's dying speech. These are: (i) Peritheus's request of his father that he and Cardiones (who died after being falsely informed that it was Prophilias,

her husband and not Peritheus who had been severely wounded) be buried together in the same kluft: (F83) Da legit uns beidin samt în. (ii) his explanation that they (he and Cardiones) were companions in death: (F84) Wende wir tôt gesellin sîn. (iii) Peritheus's further request that they never be separated: (F90/1) Daz wir also belibin/Daz niemin uns zů scheide. Each of these innovations has a direct parallel, as an idea, either in Ovid's own version of Pyramus and Thisbe or in a medieval, pseudo-Ovidian treatment of the same story.

In Metamorphoses 4 we find these three passages which contain the three ideas noted above:

(i) 4,155ff.: hoc tamen amborum verbis estote rogati,/o multum miseri meus illiusque parentes,/ut, quos certus amor, quos hora novissima iunxit,/componi tumulo non invideatis eodem; '...parents..do not begrudge that we, whom certain love and the last hour have joined together be laid together in the same tomb.'

(ii) 4,151: persequar extinctum letique miserrima dicar/causa comesque tui; 'I shall follow, destroyed, and be called both the most wretched cause and comrade of your death'.

(iii) 4,152: quique a me morte revelli/heu sola poteras, poteris nec morte revelli. '...you who can only be torn from me by death, shall not be able to be torn from me by death.'

In the pseudo-Ovidian versions of the same story edited by Lehmann the same three ideas are developed:

(a) by Matthew of Vendôme: 159ff. Que mortis sociat modus unicus, unica causa,/clades una, locus unicus, una dies,/non disiungat eos tumulus, non audeat ulla,/quos mors consociat, dissociare manus. 'Whom one single way of death brings together, one cause alone, one disaster, one single place, one day, let not the tomb separate them, let no hand dare put asunder those

whom death joins together'. All three ideas are condensed into this passage from Thisbe's dying speech. Common burial is referred to in the request that the tomb should not separate the lovers; the fellowship or companionship in death is rendered by the use of terms such as sociat, consociat and dissociare and in particular by the phrase: non audeat ulla,....dissociare manus.

(b) by 'Dietrich': 255ff. Nos nox una duos, o Pirame, perdet amantes/ nec quos coniunxit dissociabit amor./Ante tamen quam morte cadam prece supplice posco/votis supplicibus, si deus ullus adest,/ut,quos coniungi non permisere parentes,/horum disiungi non sinat ossa rogus. Nos tegat urna duos, qui non in morte revelli/possumus, et tumulus nos velit esse simul. 'One night, o Pyramus, us lovers shall destroy nor shall love divide those she has joined. Before, however, I fall in death, I ask with suppliant prayer, with suppliant pleas, if any god is present, that those whom parents did not permit to be joined together, that the pyre not allow their bones to be separated. Let one urn cover us both who cannot be torn apart in death and let the tomb wish us to be as one.' Again here all three ideas of shared burial, non-separation and companionsip (in death) are present.

(3) Anonymous (1) 179ff. Duro coniunctis vinclo necis hoc date munus, ne disiungamus sed nos tumulus tegat unus. 'Grant (o parents) this gift to those joined together by the hard chain of death, let us not be separated, but let one tomb cover us both.'

(4) Anonymous (2) 398ff. Nec nos disiungit, quamvis mors separat omnes,/ reor, sum causa sue mortis et ero comes./Et vos, amborum Piramique mei parentes/.....precibus, oro, favete meis:/Nos nimis frenis univit nexus amoris/nec nos disiunget hora suprema necis Hoc unum rogo, quod tumulo ponamur eodem,/urnaque sola tegat corpora nostra duo. 'nor shall death separate us, though death separates all, I think, I am the cause of his death and I shall be his comrade. And you, parents of both Pyramus and me.... favour, I beg, my prayers the fastening of love joins us together with

too many thongs for the final hour of death to part us now. This one thing I ask, that we be laid in the same tomb and that one urn should cover our two bodies.' Here again allusion is made to all three ideas: joint burial in the same tomb, fellowship in death and the desire not to be separated in death.

It emerges from these examples that the Athis poet has introduced into Peritheus's dying speech four ideas which are borrowed from Thisbe's last speech.

72ff.] there is no parallel in the Rd'A for these requests.

71 von des todis ubirtrite] 'and she died of suffering on my account, trodden underfoot by death'. See Grimm's note on ubirtrite. This noun (see Lexer II,1670; BMZ III,100b) is derived from the third sense of übertreten listed by BMZ(III,98b): 'trete nieder, besiege, überwältige.' See Parzival 586,22 die habt ir bêde übertreten, daz ir se gâbet an den rê. The image suggested involves a personification of death.

72-6] 'now do as I ask you; when my eyes have closed, then let me profit from the fact that when I was here I never went against what you told me to do'. Line 75: Daz ich des nie nicht hie zu brach is difficult. zerbrechen (Lexer III,1062; BMZ I,246b/247a;) normally takes a direct object when used meaning 'break a command' or 'disobey an order'. So nicht is probably the object going with des with the sense: 'nothing of that which', where des also anticipates the relative pronoun des of the next line. Peritheus is here probably speaking to his father alone. From lines 44f. it emerges that he uses the ir-form when speaking to him. The terms in which the dying request is couched reflect the idea of filial obedience central to medieval German family law (H. Planitz/K.Eckhardt, op.cit., pp. 56 and 201). In particular the term munt (cf. HRG, III, col.750ff. esp. col.756 Vatermunt) which may be feminine (derived from Latin manus), probably means: '(your) paternal authority (over me)' and, as it is used here as

the subject of the verb gesprechen, it involves a play on words since it brings out the other sense of MHG munt as the organ of speech. These requests are not in the OF source but were introduced from a version of the Pyrmus and Thisbe story to develop the scene (see note above on 55059).

80ff.] Peritheus's statements here seem to be instructions for the preparation of a hypogeum for the sarcophagi containing the bodies of Cardiones and himself. G. Schieb ('Veldeke's Grabmalbeschreibungen', PBB(H)87(1965), pp.201-243, here: p.237, see also: O. Söhring, 'Werke bildender Kunst in den altfranzösischen Epen', Romanische Forschungen 12(1900), pp.533-4; H. Lichtenberg, Die Architekturbeschreibungen in der Mhd. Dichtung, Münster 1931, p.61, and: A. Schultz, op.cit., II, 481ff.)views this kind of description of funerary architecture as characteristic of twelfth century romances of classical antiquity. The basic features could derive from all manner of sources; marble masonry and sarcophagi with golden inscriptions are commonplace. H. Lichtenberg (p.61) associates this description with the picture given by Veldeke of Pallas's grave.. For the theory of all roads leading to Veldeke see F. Panzer's article in W. Stammler, Deutsche Philologie im Aufriss, I(2nd. ed.) Berlin 1957, col.375; Inschriftenkunde 29: 'Grabschriften' in MHD Dichtung'. Our poet seems to have envisaged a crypt-like burial chamber, possibly underground, with a vaulted roof. This follows from the use of the use of the term kluft (see: DWB V,1265: 5b 'unterirdisches Gewölbe überhaupt, wie lat. crypta auch, schon früh mhd. kluft Grabgewölbe, Gruft Athis F80)'). For a discussion of the antiquity of vaulted crypts, see: H. Otte, Handbuch der christlichen Kunst-Archäologie des deutschen Mittelalters (5th edn.) Leipzig 1883, I, pp.53-4. This description, which is presented in the form of a set of building specifications, may well have been prompted by the term tumulus which is so significant in Thisbe's last speech in the supplementary source used here (see note on 55-59 above).

85] for illustrations of medieval sarcophagi, see E. Panofsky, Tomb Sculpture,

Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini, London 1964, Figures 136-168; 173-182 and pp.46-48.

88-9] 'Have (each of) our name(s) inscribed in letters of red gold..' unsin is a CG form (cf. PMSG para.147, Anm.2). unsin namin is thus masculine acc. singular 'our name', by which is probably meant each name on each sarcophagus. F. Panzer (op.cit., col.375) lists examples from MHG poems of grave-inscriptions and epitaphs all of which he sees as derived from the literary influence of the three instances of Veldeke's Eneide where they first occur. The details given in Athis are sparse, no indication of any inscription other than the name is given.

91 zů scheide] for zerscheiden see: DWB XV,754: 'voneinander trennen,'. This remark was also prompted by the supplementary source (see note on 55-59 above).

114 Abir der nichtis recht inpirt/Nach sinis libis mugindin/Von al irkorn thugindin/Der wirdit noch seltsene/Der werlt als ich wol wene/Daz ist min her prophilias.] The demonstrative definite articles der (114/117) refer to the same subject and are later specified as referring to Prophilias. nichtis recht inpirt is problematic. Grimm emended to: nichtis nicht inpirt without a note and Leitzmann did not comment. The problem lies with what can only be an adverbial use of reht(e) which either amplifies the verb inpirt (see BMZ II,613 a/b) or the pronomial adjective nichtis (there are no parallels for this latter possibility listed in BMZ II,614 where cases of rehte emphasizing adjectives and verbs are listed). We would then have the alternatives: 'who properly lacks nothing' or 'who lacks positively nothing'. I cannot find any parallels for either of these hypothetical uses of rehte. On the other hand, for Grimm's emendation there are numerous parallels (see BMZ III,654b). With Grimm's emendation the passage translates: 'but he who lacks nothing at all, as far as his physical capacity permits

him, with respect to all excellent virtues, he will become rare to the world, I am convinced. Such a man is my lord Prophilias...'.

165-168 Ein arzit was die wile kůmin/Der hête salbin uil genůmin/hindene den scaft geclobin/Und darin winplin gescobin] as it stands this translates 'meanwhile a surgeon had arrived who took a generous measure of salve, split the shaft behind his back and filled up the wound with wimples'. Grimm emended the text to read hinden den spalt geclobin/und darîn gescobin adding the note: 'Ich habe geändert, denn gerade der Schaft sollte herausgezogen werden, wie dies bei Herbort 11955 geschieht. Wahrscheinlich war der Sper durch die Brust gegangen, und der Arzt zog die Wunde an dem Rücken auseinander um sie mit kleinen Leinwandstreifen oder charpie zu verstopfen'. This explanation is not entirely convincing. The emendation: hinden den spalt geclobin does not make much sense. MHG klieben normally has the sense 'split', 'break in two' or 'cleave' (see: Lexer I,1622/3). So the MS reading gives good sense as it stands: Peritheus is transfixed by a lance so that the lance tip, made of metal (sper isin) protrudes behind his back. In order to withdraw the shaft (F162: lât mir zien ûz den scacht/Rd'A 20368: "cel tronçon fai de mon cors treire") with the least possible difficulty, the iron lance-head might well be 'split off' or 'broken off' from the wooden shaft (cf. A. Schultz II,p.25). This would then make sense of all parts of the MS reading; hindene: 'behind his back'; den scaft: as opposed to the metal tip; geclobin; 'broken' or 'cloven in two'. The insertion of material into the wound would then staunch the bleeding after the shaft had been withdrawn.

In general this account of the surgeon's treatment is consistent with analogous passages in other OF and MHG poems of this period (see: G. Manheimer, 'Etwas über die Ärzte im alten Frankreich', Romanische Forschungen 6(1891), pp.581-614, especially for the stuffing of wounds, see p.606; for the removal of débris from the wound, see p.607: application of ointment, p.610; the

use of guimples as bandages, p.613. See also: W. Haberling, Die Verwundetenfürsorge in den Heldenliedern des Mittelalters, Jenaer Medizin-Historische Beiträge 10, Jena 1907, pp.14 and 39ff.; A. Schultz II, pp.295-6).

The form winplin also presents a problem: -n- for -m- is not unknown (cf. Lexer III,896, who cites the CG Elisabeth 1936 winpel), but Grimm printed wimplîn. Perhaps he thought that the woman's headgear would first have been cut into strips ('Leinwandstreifen'). But Lexer and the DWB (XIV 2,225ff.) list MHG wimpel as both strong and weak. A simple plural form winplin (cf. telrin A*127 and gurtlin C*67) would be nothing extraordinary in this MS. In fact the surgeon and his ministrations are an amplificatory innovation of the German poet's. The Rd'A has only the terse remark: Et il sachent le tronçon fors (20371).

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Appendix 1:
Rhyme-index.

Category a : a (162 rhymes)

type -abe:-abe (4rhymes):

habe:abe(r) A63
habe:(dar)abe B89;C85;D33

-ac:-ac(5 rhymes):

bejac:lac E71
lac:tac A143;D89
mac:gelac D67
tac:gephlac A*3

-ach:-ach (also -ach:-ah)(9 rhymes):

irsach:brach C103
gebrach:gesprach A*59
gescach:gesach E1
sach:gebrach A55
:ungemach A*37
stach:brach A**83
ungemach:gescach D73
zubrach:gesprach F75
:stach A**67

-ache:-ache (1 rhyme):

swache:trage(=trache) A*157

-achit:-achit (1 rhyme):

irwachit:gemachit D95

-actin:-actin (1 rhyme):

intnactin:bedactin A7

-adin:-adin (1 rhyme):

scadin:uirladin E149

-af:-af (2 rhymes):

rittirscaf(t):getraf E79
:traf C115

-aft:-aft (4 rhymes):

bigraft:rittirscaft F77
craft:scaft C119
haft:gescaft A153
rittirscaft:craft C41

-age:-age (1 rhyme):

slage:tage C57

-agil:-agil (1 rhyme):

zagil:hagil E145

-agin:-agin (7 rhymes):

irslagin:getragin A83
:tragin E17
geslagin:clagin E7
sagin:betragin D11
tagin:sagin E107
tragin:clagin A57
virtragin:beslagin A*165

-agit:-agit (2 rhymes):

magit:gesagit D13
maget:unvorsaget $A^{e}26$

-agite:-agite (2 rhymes):

intsagite:clagite A137
sagite:missehagite D15

-acht:-acht (also -acht:-aft)(2 rhymes):

macht:nacht A*73
ummacht:scacht(=scaft) F161

-achtin:-achtin (1 rhyme):

achtin(t):uirtrachtin(t) F9

-al:-al (5 rhymes):

bal:sal C*99
qual ubir al A93
sal:ubir al A151
scal:bal C*93
totval:ubir al E11

-ale:-ale (1 rhyme):

spruzuale:(zu) tale E117

-alle:-alle (1 rhyme):

alle:scalle D59

-alt:-alt (5 rhymes):

balt:uirgalt A1
intgalt:gewalt B125
gestalt:gewalt A125
gewalt:balt D43
walt:balt A15

-am:-am (6 rhymes):

genam:quam D69
minnesam:inzam A*39
nam:gram D83
quam:alsam A135
:gezam C*21
:abe nam A163

-ame:-ame (1 rhyme):

scame:mannisname D27

-amit:-amit (1 rhyme):

genamit:samit F121

-an:-an (4 rhymes):

an:man A**32; E157
intran:man A5
man:kan E93

-anc:-anc(1 rhyme):

cranc:lan.(=lanc) A**58

-ancte:-ancte (2 rhymes):

irsprancte:uirhancte B95
sancte:inwancte E133

-ande:-ande (3 rhymes):

sande:hande E33
:rande E73
wigande:sande A**44

-andiln:-andiln (2 rhymes):

handiln:wandiln C163
wandelen:handelen A[b]19

-andin:-andin (1 rhyme):

handin:gewandin C67

-andir:-andir (2 rhymes):

andir:alixandir C27
:gerandir C*89

-andirn:-andirn (1 rhyme):

andirn:wandirn C*91

-ane:-ane (6 rhymes):

ane:dane C*115; D131
:swane C105
(dar) ane:mane A[c]43
vane:ane A*153; C77

-anin:-anin (2 rhymes):

vanin:anin(= an in:'at him') A**10;E91

-ange:-ange (1 rhyme):

gedrange:antphange E85

-angin:-angin (7 rhymes):

angin:geuangin B3
behangin:wangin A*17
irgangin:geuangin E43
irlangin:begangin D17
goltspangin:langin D165
langin:goltspangin C*67
stangin:gelangin A*163

-angir:-angir (1 rhyme):

langir:swangir F55

-annin:-annin (6 rhymes):

dannin:mannin D99
gespannin:mannin A145
mannin:dannin A*121; D1; E67
vurspannin:dannin C*69

-ant:-ant (11 rhymes):

genant:zu hant C*103
gerant:vant E115
hant:bant B11
:bekant B63
:gemant E161
:vant A^{e}42
zu hant C*13
sant:bant E27
:hant C123
virant:gebrant C*151
:hant B87

-ante:-ante (2 rhymes):

genante: an rante A**79
wante:mante E131

-appin:-appin (1 rhyme):

trappin:knappin F15

-arc:-arc (2 rhymes):

starc:barc C107; E89

-are:-are (8 rhymes):

dare:gare B23
:scare A*91

gare:dare A*81
:geware A^{b}2
gewar(e):gar(e) E21
geware:scare B155
scare:isinuare A*141; C91

-argin:-argin (1 rhyme):

uirkargin(t):uirargin(t) F5

-arm:-arm (1 rhyme):

arm:warm B99

-armin:-armin (2 rhymes):

armen:irbarmen A^{c}25
irbarmin:armin A*47

-arn:-arn (5 rhymes):

arn:uarn B27
geuarn:arn B79; E129
scarn:geuarn A**34
uarn:bewarn F101

-arp:-arp(1 rhyme):

irwarb:starb B121

-arrin:-arrin (1 rhyme):

karrin:uarrin A*167

-art:-art (3 rhymes):

art:wart D19
hart:wart B137
wart:uart A99

-as:-as (16 rhymes):

Bilas:kolibas C5
Evas:palas A^{e}38
genas:Prophilias A^{b}9; F59
gras:was A*83; B143
Prophilias:glas F119
:was A^{c}45; A*77
was:Evas C*141
:gras A**71; E3
:Prophilias A51; A^{e}16; C*15; D101

-assche:-assche (1 rhyme):

assche:harnassche B15

-at:-at (4 rhymes):

bat:stat A**8
stat:gegat C*19
:getrat D31
stath:gewath E135

-atin:-atin (1 rhyme):

bestatin:gegatin F153

-atir:-atir (1 rhyme):

alzugatir:vatir D47

-attin:-attin (1 rhyme):

gesattin:bestattin A*125

-az:-az (1 rhyme):

baz:gesaz C*7

-azt:-azt (2 rhymes):

gesazt:gevazt C*59
undirsazt:gescazt D153

-azte:-azte (1 rhyme):

intsazte:irgazte D77

-aztin:-aztin (1 rhyme):

geuaztin:saztin A*111

-azzir:-azzir (1 rhyme):

wazzir:uirgazzir(=vergaz ir) C*143

Category a:â (6 rhymes)

-acht:-âcht (1 rhyme):

macht:bracht A^b4

-âhinde:-ahinde(=ânde:ânde)(1 rhyme):

uahinde:irslahinde A85

-ap(p)in:-âpin (1 rhyme):

knapin:wapin B19

-amin:-âmin (1 rhyme):

lichamin:(sie)namin A107

-amir:-âmir (2 rhymes):

ersamir:iamir C*129
iamir:ærsamir F151

Category â:â (56 rhymes)

-âc:-âc (1 rhyme):

mac:trac B133

-âch:-âch (1 rhyme):

nach:gach E125

-âfin:-âfin (2 rhymes):

slafin:wafin A*75
straphin:slafin D5

-âge:-âge (3 rhymes):

mage: wůrme lage D55
trage:vrage E41
:wůrmlage C*27

-âgin:-âgin (4 rhymes):

lagin:phlagin D65
magin:gephlagin D121
phlagin:wagin C93
wagin:phlagin C37

-âcht:-âcht (6 rhymes):

bedacht:bracht C*9
bracht:andacht C99
:bedacht A^{c}11
:gedacht D81
irdacht:vollenbracht A^{e}20
gedacht:vollinbracht C*45

-âchte:-âchte (1 rhyme):

brachte:bedachte C125

-âle:-âle (1 rhyme):

stale:goltmale B57

-âlin:-âlin (1 rhyme):

malin:stalin E101

-âmin:-âmin (6 rhymes):

gezamin:quamin C*53
namin:quamin C*163
quamin:gezamin C*23
:namin A*50
:uirnamin A*93; C*77

-âmit:-âmit (1 rhyme):

ramit:samit F21

-ân:-ân (7 rhymes):

began:intvan $A^{d}17$
han:san E47
:stan $A^{d}11$
san:getan A113
:missetan A139
slan:san A**4
stan:slan C87

-âne:-âne (2 rhymes):

slane:uane C53
trane:ane A*23

-ârin:-ârin (1 rhyme):

warin:uirbarin C35

-ârt:-ârt (1 rhyme):

gelart:gekart F17

-âsin:-âsin (3 rhymes):

Bilasin:prophiliasin B91
Evasin:Prophiliasin D49
gelasin:Bilasin C61

-ât:-ât (3 rhymes):

hat:tat $A^{d}1$
missegat:gehat C155
uirnat:hat C*65

-âte:-âte (3 rhymes):

drate:hate B97
hate:drate C127
rate:drate A195

-âtin:-âtin (4 rhymes):

hatin:tratin D61
:uirtratin A*133; C29
tatin:hatin E95

-âzin:-âzin (5 rhymes):

gelazin:azin C*147
:gesazin C*81
:strazin C*127
sazin:gelazin D109
:therrazin E19

Category e:ę (25 rhymes):

type -ėckin:-éckin(1 rhyme):

deckin:eckin B67

-ėckit:-éckit(2rhymes):

gedeckit:gestreckit D145
gestreckit:zureckit B37

-édilin:-ėdilin (1rhyme):

wedilin:edilin B81

-éftin:-éftin (1 rhyme):

scheftin:beheftin C*33

-ėgide:-ėgide (1 rhyme):

megide:getregide A*57

-ėgin:-ėgin (1 rhyme):

slėgin:gerėgin B139

-ėlit:-élit (1 rhyme):

helit:gewelit A*129

-ėllin:-ėllin (2 rhymes):

gesellin:ellin A**48;C19

-ėllit:-ėllit (3 rhymes):

gestellit :gesellit C*75
wellit:gevellit F157
:missestellit C129

-ėndin:-ėndin (2 rhymes):

endin:swendin B113
uirendin:hendin A65

-ėngin:-ėngin (1 rhyme):

uirhengin:brengin F139

-ėnne:-ėnne (1 rhyme):

irkenne:ettisswenne A49

-ėrbin:-ėrbin (1 rhyme):

sterbin:uirterbin A131

-érke:-érke (1 rhyme):

serke:merke F85

-érs:-érs (2 rhymes):

hers:mers A*115;A**20

-értin:-értin (1 rhyme):

gevertin:wertin C13

-éstin:-éstin (2 rhymes):

bestin:westin A*105
gestin:bestin C*167

-étin:-étin (1 rhyme):

stetin:bereitin(=bereten/beretten) A*89

Category é:ë (3 rhymes)

type -ëte:-éte (1 rhyme):

bete: zů stete A141

-ërkis:-érkis (1 rhyme):

werkis:gemerkis D157

-ertin:-ërtin (1 rhyme):

wértin:swertin B115

Category ë:ë (47 rhymes)

-ëbin:-ëbin(5 rhymes):

gegebin:lebin F39
gewebin:benebin:A*161;B45
:winrebin D135
leven:gegeven(= lebin:gegebin) A^{d}19

-ëbindin:-ëbindin (1 rhyme):

lebindin:uirebindin A109

-ëbine:-ëbine (1 rhyme):

lebine:ebine A31

-ëche:-ëche (1 rhyme):

insteche:gespreche B5

-ëchin:-ëchin (1 rhyme):

rechin:sprechin E153

-ëdirin:-ëdirin (2 rhymes):

uederin:ietwedirin B33;D143

-ëgin:-ëgin (2 rhymes):

degin:ungewegin C81;C145

-ëhinde:-ëhinde (1 rhyme):

geschehinde:sehinde D29

-ëlt:-ëlt (1 rhyme):

velt:widirgelt A11

-ëmin:-ëmin (1 rhyme):

nemin:zemin F157

-ërbin:-ërbin (2 rhymes):

irwerbin:sterbin A75
uirderbin:werbin F3

-ërdin:-ërdin (5 rhymes):

erdin:werdin A69
geberdin:erdin C73
:werdin B75;E53
werdin:erdin F125

-ërgin:-ërgin (1 rhyme):

halspergin:bergin A*113

-ërne:-ërne (4 rhymes):

Absterne:gerne C97
:kerne C113
:Palerne C79
Salerne:gerne B9

-ërt:-ërt (1 rhyme):

wert:gert A**22

-ërte:-ërte (2 rhymes):

gerte:swerte C55
swerte:gerte E121

-ërzin:-ërzin (1 rhyme):

smerzin:herzin F23

-ës:-ës (4 rhymes):

Cardiones:undirdes A*61;D127
:wes D51
des:Cardiones D41

-ësin:-ësin (6 rhymes):

Cardionesin:wesin $A^{e}44$;E9
genesin:Cardionesin $A^{e}4$

gewesin:genesin A**77
wesin:genesin A*7;C83

-ëte:-ëte (2 rhymes):

bete:tete A$^{d}_{3}$
getete:gebete D119

-ëtin:-ëtin (1 rhyme):

tretin:gebetin F137

-ëzzin:-ëzzin (3 rhymes):

gesezzin:uirgezzin C161;F93
uirmezzin:gesezzin A*87

Category Ä:ë (5 rhymes):

-Ägin:-ëgin(2 rhymes):

ingegin:degin E147
:gelegin C157

-Ägine:-ëgine (1 rhyme):

zůgegine:allirwegine B151

-Ähte:-ëhte(1 rhyme):

geslechte:lenrechte A*149

-Ërdin:-Ärdin (1 rhyme):

werdin:pherdin C*83

Category Ä:Ä (2 rhymes):

Ähte:Ähte(1 rhyme):

echte:mechte C*57

-Ähtin:-Ähtin (1 rhyme):

ummechtin:echtin E5

Category ë:ê (1 rhyme):

-ër:-êr(1 rhyme):

er:mer E15

Category ė:ê (1 rhyme):

-êrte:-ėrte (1 rhyme):

gemerte:uirherte C51

Category ê:ê (13 rhymes):

type ^ê:-ê (1 rhyme):

e:e C*109

-ên:-ên (3 rhymes):

begehn:stehn C*43
gesen:len A^{c}37
geschehn:sehn C143

-êne:-êne (3 rhymes):

Athene:zwene E13
Dimothene:zwene E151
trehne:sehne A*15

-êr:-êr (1 rhyme):

er:ser C139

-êre:-êre (3 rhymes):

mere:ere A*71
sere:ere A^{e}14
:mere D87

-êrte:-êrte (1 rhyme):

geherte:kerte B123

-êum:-êum (1 rhyme):

Androcheum:Anticheum B167

Category æ:ê (1 rhyme)

-ænec:-ênec (1 rhyme):

enic:wenic A25

Category æ:æ (18 rhymes)

-æ:æ (1 rhyme):

gese:gesche (= gesæhe:geschæhe) A147

-æche:-æche (1 rhyme):

breke:spreke A^{b}15

-ælit:-ælit (1 rhyme):

gestelit:vorvelit A**81

-æmin:-æmin (1 rhyme):

quemin:nemin A*109

-æne:-æne (1 rhyme):

seltsene:wene F117

-ære:-ære (4 rhymes):

mere:Romere C159
Romere:swere A^b21
were:Romere F65
:ummere A61

-æte:-æte (5 rhymes):

getete:hete A39
hete:tete A^b13
stete:hete A^b7;E123
tete:hete E65

-ætin:-ætin (3 rhymes):

tetin:hetin D53
:ungeretin A91
uirnetin:hetin D107

-ætis:-ætis (1 rhyme):

tedes:hedes A^c5

Category ei:ei (41 rhymes):

-eide:-eide (7 rhymes):

beide:andirweide B17
leide:andirweide C137
leyde:arebeyde A^c13
:beide A47;A117;E75
:scheide A*9

-eiden:-eiden (4 rhymes):

beiden:undirsceidin B31
cleidin:beidin D37;D103
leidin:scheidin F97

-eidir:-eidir (1 rhyme):

beidir:cleidir C*113

-eif:-eif (1 rhyme):

stegereif:begreif E57

-eigin:-eigin (2 rhymes):

irzeigin:eigin F35
neigin waleueigin C59

-eilin:-eilin (2 rhymes):

mailin:fantailin B51
fanthailin:mailin E29

-ein:-ein(4 rhymes):

bein:schein B55
schein:ubirein A95;D91
irschein:ubirein A149

-eine:-eine (4 rhymes):

eine:gemeine A115;F25
gesteine:reine A^{c}39
steine:reine F81

-einin:-einin (2 rhymes):

reinin:beinin E127
:weinin A*45

-eib:-eib (2 rhymes):

beleib:treib B105;E141

-eit:-eit (5 rhymes):

deginheit:getreit F111
elicheit:gemeit C*37
leit:arbeit F47
reit:gewonheit C*49
streit:arbeit C45

-eittin:-eittin (1 rhyme):

beittin:bereittin C*79

-eitit:-eitit (3 rhymes)

bereitit:gebeitit A155
:leitit D3
ungebeitit:bereitit D123

-eizin:-eizin (1 rhyme):

ummecreizin:irbeizin C*131

-eizit:-eizit (1 rhyme):

reizit:irbeizit F13

-eiztin:-eiztin (= -eiztin:-eiztin) (1 rhyme):

veiztin:irbeiztin C11

Category i:i (76 rhymes)

-ias:-ias (1 rhyme):

Phedrias:Prophilias E69

-ibin:-ibin (1 rhyme):

belibib:uirtribin A*63

-ich:-ich (7 rhymes):

dich:mich A^{c}7;F37
sich:mich A79;F69
:stich E167
stich:sich A**60
strich:sich C49

-ichin:-ichin (1 rhyme):

uirblichin:gestrichin C*73

-ichirn:-ichirn (1 rhyme):

sichirn:kichirn B7

-icke:-icke (3 rhymes):

dicke:wicke E87
schricke:dicke C135
stricke:dicke D137

-ickin:-ickin (1 rhyme):

dickin:irstickin E83

-idir:-idir (5 rhymes):

nidir:widir D23;E51
widir:nidir A^{e}8;C*111;D125

-iens:-iens (1 rhyme):

Graciens:Iuliens C15

-idit:-idit (1 rhyme):

gesmidit:gelidit D151

-igin:-igin (2 rhymes):

gesigin:beligin C69
ligin:besigin A103

-icht:-icht (1 rhyme):

z$\mathring{u}$uirsicht:wicht A27

-ichte:-ichte (2 rhymes):

gerichte:gesichte A159
ichte:gerichte A129

-il:-il (4 rhymes):

vil:wil A87;A^{c}41;F53
wil:zil F135

-ilde:-ilde (2 rhymes):

schilde:bilde C*35
wilde:schilde B61

-ildis:-ildis (1 rhyme):

aschildis:geuildis A**69

-ille:-ille (1 rhyme):

stille:wille A*51

-illin:-illin (1 rhyme):

berillin:gestillin A*21

-in:-in (2 rhymes):

hin:zuozin C*135
in:sin A37

-inde:-inde (1 rhyme):

kinde:swinde A77

-indin:-indin (1 rhyme):

bindin:irvindin B63

-ine:-ine (1 rhyme):

hine:scine B35

-inge:-inge (1 rhyme):

iungelinge:ringe B101

-ingin:-ingin (1 rhyme):

ringin:dingin A**14

-inginde:-inginde (1 rhyme):

springinde:singinde C*97

-inne:-inne (3 rhymes):

gotinne:minne C*101;D117
inne:gotinne C*119

-innin:-innin (7 rhymes):

beginnin:brinnin A**6
binnin:minnin A35
sinnin:inbinnin D141
:minnin C43;D71
uirsinnin:gewinnin C151
uirminnin:beginnin F7

-int:-int (1 rhyme):

sint:kint F27

-ir:-ir (1 rhyme):

eringir:Montir A**30

-irt:-irt (2 rhymes):

inbirt:wirt A81
wirt:inbirt F113

-isin:-isin (1 rhyme):

disin:wisin B141

-ist:-ist (4 rhymes):

bist:mist A^{c}1
dienist:geschen ist (= possibly, -ienist:-ênist) C*1
genist:bist F131
ist:list A^{c}27

-iste:-iste (1 rhyme):

wiste:uirmiste C117

-ite:-ite (2 rhymes):

site:mite C*121
trite:gebite F71

-itin:-itin (5 rhymes):

gesnitin:beschritin B65
:sitin C*61;D159
ingesnitin:sitin C25
stritin:ritin A*139

-ittirn:-ittirn (1 rhym e):

rittirn:splittirn C*31

-itze:-itze (2 rhymes):

antlitz(e):spitz(e) E105
antlitze:witze E31

-itzin:-itzin (1 rhyme):

sitzin:spitzin E55

-ium:-ium (1 rhyme):

Iulium:Gracium A*101

Category f:f (77 rhymes)

-fbe:-fbe (3 rhymes):

wibe:libe F123
libe:belibe F127
:wibe A133

-ſbin:-ſbin (1 rhyme):

scribin:belibin F127

-ſbis:-ſbis (1 rhyme):

libis:wibis F149

-ſche:-ſche (3 rhymes):

bescheydenliche:riche $A^{d}13$
erlike:rike $A^{e}40$
gezogenliche:riche D9

-ſdin:-ſtin (1 rhyme):

snidin:sitin B69
glitin:snidin (mostly illegible)A**85

-ſle:-ſle (3 rhymes):

Bile:wile C1
wile:Bile B147;C133

-ſn:-ſn (5 rhymes):

in:sin(t) F83
min: sin $A^{e}18$
schin:sin B25
sin(t):schin F103

-ſne:-ſne (4 rhymes):

durchschine:rubine A*19
pine:sine B73
:mine A89
Salustine:sine C*17

-ſnin:-ſnin (6 rhym es):

Alemandinin:pinin F51
pinin:sinin C*137
sinen:businen A**2
sinin:Palatinin A*117
:Tarquinin A**54
Tarquinin:sinin A*99

-ſnes:-ſnes (1rhyme):

Tarquines:Androines A**46

-ſnus:-ſnus (1 rhyme):

Florentinus:Latinus C17

-ſp:-ſp (3 rhymes):

lib:wib F105
wif:lïf $A^{e}2$
wib:lib F159

-ſs:-ſs (9 rhymes):

Athis:pris B161;E77
:wis A45
gris:wis C*105
pris:Engris A*145;C95
wis:Athis A157;C31
:pris C153

-ſse:-ſse (6 rhymes):

amise:prise A**28
Athise:amise A*11
:grise D11
:prise D85
Pise:prise E97
:wise E139

-ſsin:-ſsin (5 rhymes):

Athisin:wisin A*97
Dionisin:sperisin B109
:wisin B127
wisin:Athisin A*137
:prisin D155

-ſsis:-ſsis (1 rhyme):

Athisis:amisis B153

-ſstin:-ſstin (1 rhyme):

wistin:listin B59

-ſt:-ſt (4 rhymes):

kursit:samit E109
nit:ravit B83
strit:samit A*155
zit:sit F45

-ſte:-ſte (4 rhymes):

Gayte:gecite C*123
:hochgecite C*5
samite:wite B41
strite:bite C131

-ſtin:-ſtin (12 rhymes):

Gaytin:intritin A*107
:sitin A*119;C*145;D79
ritin:bitin D93
:Gaytin C*11
:sitin E119
:stritin A*151
sitin:sitin A**52
:stritin B111
:zitin B47
stritin:sitin C89

-ĵzin:-ĵzin (2 rhymes):

slizin:ulizin A*1
ulizin:wizin A*5

Category iesin:iesĵn (1 rhyme)

uirbliesin:hie sin B145

Category ie:ĵ (1 rhyme):

wic:cric (=kriec) C33

Category ie:ie (30 rhymes)

-ie:-ie (1 rhyme):

le:ie A^{e}46 (= liez:vienc)

-iebin:-iebin (2 rhymes):

diebin :geliebin D63
stiebin:liebin B159

-iefin:-iefin (1 rhyme):

tiefin:liefin A*49

-iel:-iel (1 rhyme):

wiel:intviel A*29

-ielt:-ielt (1 rjyme):

wielt:behielt A*41

-ienc:-ienc (6 rhymes):

intuienc:gienc D45
gienc:bevienc A165
:geuienc A127
:vienc D7
uienc:begienc B135
zugienc:geuienc C*3

-iengin:-iengin (5 rhymes):

begiengin:uiengin A105
intphiengin:giengin A13;C*157
giengin:intphiengin C47
uiengin:giengin C*55

-ier:-ier (2 rhymes):

banier:schiualier A**40;B93

-iere:-iere (3 rhymes):

baniere:tiere C23
barbiere:baniere B61
puniere:baniere B149

-ierit:-ierit (1 rhyme):

gezierit:gebarbierit E103

kiesin:-iesin (1 rhyme):

kiesin:biesin A43

-iet:-iet (3 rhymes):

geriet:diet A*131
niet:geschiet E45
sciet:niet A53

-iez:-iez (1 rhyme):

uirliez:hiez C*165

-iezin(t):-iezin (1 rhyme):

besliezin:geniezin F73

-iezine:-iezine (1 rhyme):

slezine:diezine A*35

Category o:o (50 rhymes)

-obin:-obin (1 rhyme):

geclobin:gescobin F167

-obene:-obene (1 rhyme):

obene:lobene A**12

-ochin:-ochin (1 rhyme):

durchstochin:gerochin B1

-ogin:-ogin (2 rhymes):

gezogin:gebogin A121
sathilbogin:geulogin E59

-ochte:-ochte (1 rhyme):

tochte:mochte A*79

-ol:-ol (4 rhymes):

sol:vol A*13
:wol A^{c}47
wol:kol E99 (or possibly wole:kole, see: B85)
:vol D167

-olde:-olde (6 rhymes):

golde:solde D113
solde:golde A*159
:wolde A*31
wolde:golde B43
:holde C71
:solde A123

-ole:-ole (1 rhyme, possibly two; see:E99):

kole:wole B85

-olz:-olz (1 rhyme):

holz:stolz A*85

-olzin:-olzin (1 rhyme):

holzin:stolzin A*127

-omin:-omin (5 rhymes):

genumen:kumen A**38
kůmin:gemůmin B163;F165
:uromen A^{e}32
vrůmin:uollinkůmin F141

-on:-on (1 rhyme):

Pandaron:Korillon C9

-onde:-onde (1 rhyme):

nekonde:begonde (A*33)

-onit:-onit (1 rhyme):

intwonit:uonit F20

-ore:-ore (1 rhyme):

uore:inppore C65

-orfin:-orfin (1 rhyme):

intworfin:zůworfin B29

-orgin:-orgin (2 rhymes):

sorgin:morgin A161
:uirborgin A*43

-orchte:-orchte (1 rhyme):

uorchte:worchte C39

-orn:-orn (7 rhymes):

bekorn:geborn F57
beuorn:irkorn B107
irkorn:geborn A*147
:sporn C109
uirlorn:geborn F107
wolgeborn:zorn A^{c}9
geborn:zorn F33

-orne:-orne (2 rhymes):

zorne:irkorne C63
:uorne E163

-ornin:-ornin (1 rhyme):

irkorn(in):vorlorn(in) A^{e}6

-ors:-ors (1 rhyme):

ors:Laumacors E49

-ort:-ort (2 rhymes):

ort:uort E159
uort:dort A97

-ortin:-ortin (1 rhyme):

bortin:ortin D163

-ostin(t):-ostin(t) (1 rhyme):

uirrostin:kostin F1

-otin:-otin (3 rhymes):

irboden:goden A^{e}34
irbotin:gotin C165
notin:irbotin C*159

Category ö:ö (1 rhyme)

-öchte:-öchte (1 rhyme):

mochte :tochte A29

Category o:uo (4 rhymes):

-or:-uor (1 rhyme):

urbuor:uvor E143

-orte:-uorte (2 rhymes):

o o
urburte:uvorte A167
vurte:urburte A**24

-ortin:-uortin (1 rhyme):

vuortin:urburtin A*123

Category o:ô (4 rhymes)

-ortin:-ôrtin (2 rhymes):

portin:gehortin C*133
wortin:gehortin C*107

-ôsin:-osin (1 rhyme):

intlosin:hosin B53

-ôste:-oste (1 rhyme):

hoste:ioste B71

Category ô:ô (18 rhymes)

-ôdis:-ôdis(t) (1 rhyme):

todis:brod.is(t) A19

-ône:-ône (3 rhymes):

Aimone:lone A**56
:schone A**16
schone:urone C*139

-ônin:-ônin (1 rhyme):

Iulionin:Aimonin A**65

-ôrilaus:-ôrilaus (1 rhyme):

Dorilaus:Korilaus C7

-ôs:-ôs (2 rhymes):

irkos:uirlos A59
uirkos:uirlos D75

-ôste:-ôste (3 rhymes):

troste:hoste F99
:loste A*65;B131

-ô̂t:-ô̂t (1 rhyme):

rot:tot A73

-ô̂tin:-ô̂tin (2 rhymes):

rotin:irscrotin D139
rotin:gescrotin E111

-ô̂z:-ô̂z (2 rhymes):

groz:kloz C*87
Margoz:groz B77

-ô̂zin:-ô̂zin (2 rhymes):

vorstoten:genoten $A^{e}30$
:husgenoten $A^{e}10$

Category œ:œ (2 rhymes)

-œsin:œsin (1 rhyme):

losin:uirbosin A*69

-œtin:-œtin (1 rhyme):

totin:notin C149

Category ô̂:œ (2 rhymes):

-ô̂nin:œnin (1 rhyme):

uronin:sconin C*117

-œtin:-ô̂tin (1 rhyme):

notin:totin A67

Category ou:ou (9 rhymes)

-oub:-oub (1 rhyme):

loub:stoub B157

-oubit:-oubit (1 rhyme):

houbit:bethoubit E35

-ouc:-ouc (1 rhyme):

bouc:ulouc C121

-ouwin:-ouwin (5 rhymes):

urouwin:irzouwin C*161
:gezouwin C*41
:schouwin A**26
:zouwin E155
zuhouwin:urouwin A33

Category u:u (27 rhymes)

-ucte:-ucte (1 rhyme):

zucte:ducte A**73

-uffin:-uffin (2 rhymes):

uffin:**s**luffin A9
besuffin:guffin B117

-uft:-uft (1 rhyme):

guft:kluft F79

-uginde:-uginde (1 rhyme):

tuginde:iuginde F143

-ugindin:-ugindin (1 rhyme):

mugindin:tugindin F115

-unde:-unde (1 rhyme):

zo stunden:munde A^{e}28

-undin:-undin (7 rhymes):

scrundin:vundin A101
:wundin A71
stundin:bundin B21
:vorbundin A**36
wundin:scrundin A3
:stundin C141
:vundin F163

-undir:-undir (2 rhymes):

undir:wundir B13
wundir:undir D25

-undirt:-undirt (1 rhyme):

hundirt:gesundirt A*103

-ungin:-ungin (3 rhymes):

gesprungin:drungin C3
twungin:sprungin E165
zungin:iungin C*95

-urde:-urde (2 rhymes):

buhurde:wurde C*39
wurde:buhurde C*125

-urien:-urien (1 rhyme):

sturien:Sente Jurien A**75

-urt:-urt (2 rhymes):

kurt:buhurt C*29
:ingegurt D161

-urte:-urte (1 rhyme):

begurte:antwurte F145

-urzt:-urzt (1 rhyme):

gescurzt:gekurzt C*63

Category ü:ü (7 rhymes)

-ügit:-ügit(1 rhyme):

mügit:gehügit C147

-ürbe:-ürbe (1 rhyme):

irsturbe:wurbe F41

-ürbes :-ürbes (1 rhyme):

worves:irstorves A^{e}3

-üre:-üre (2 rhymes)::

vüre:türe D39
willeküre:vüre A41

-ütze:-ütze (1 rhyme):

anlutze:phutze E137

-ützin:-ützin (1 rhyme):

nutzin:scutzin A*135

Category û:û (5 rhymes)

-ûch:-ûch (2 rhymes):

buch:struch B103
ruch:druch D147

-ûn:-ûn (1 rhyme):

pauilun:uiolinbrun D133

-ût:-ût(1 rhyme):

hut:gesut C*85

-uzin:-uzin (1 rhyme):

ruzin:inbuzin D149

Category û:uo (3 rhymes)

-û:-uo (2 rhymes):

dů:nů F29
zů:dů E37

-ûf:-uof (1 rhyme):

guf:ûf (=guof:ûf) A**62

Category iu:iu (6 rhymes)

-iute:-iute (3 rhymes):

lute:brute C*51;D129
:hute A23

-iuwe:-iuwe (1 rhyme):

truwe:ruwe A*55

-iuwin:-iuwin (2 rhymes):

ruwin:intruwin A*67
:truwin A*25

Category iu:u (4 rhymes):

-iundin:-undin (2 rhymes):

vrundin:ungesundin B129
:vundin D115

-iundis:-undis (1 rhyme):

vrundis:mundis A*27

-iunt:-unt (1 rhyme):

vrunt:munt E39

Category iu:û (2 rhymes)

-iutin:-ûtin (1 rhyme):

lutin:trutin B119

-iutis:-ûtis (1 rhyme):

lutis:gebutis (= lûtis:gebiutis) F133

Category uo:uo (33 rhymes)

-uo:-uo (3 rhymes):

tů:zů D35
zo:do A^{e}22
zȣ:tȣ C167

-uob:-uob (1 rhyme):

intsuob:huob C*153

-uoc:-uoc (7 rhymes):

genůc:getruoc D57
genuoc:getruoc F109
:truoc C*149;F61
trůc:clůc E113;F67
truoc:sluoc C111

-uol:-uol (1 rhyme):

stůl:phůl A119

-uom:-uom (1 rhyme):

ruom:bruteguom C*47

-uondin:-uondin (1 rhyme):

bestůndin:tůndin C21

-uont:-uont (1 rhyme):

stuont:tuont A*53

-uorte:-uorte (4 rhymes):

rorte:vuorte C101
vurte:rurte A**18
vuorte:ruorte B39;E81

-uot:-uot (2 rhymes):

gemůt:gůt F31
gůt:gescuot D105

-uote:-uote (5 rhymes):

blůte:hute C75
moute:huote B165
muote:huote C*71
gemuote:muote A21
ummůte:gůte F63

- uotir:-uotir (4 rhymes):

gemuotir:muotir F49
muotir:guotir E23;F147
muotir:tuot ir F43

-uoz:-uoz (1 rhyme):

muoz:tuoz F120

-uoze:-uoze (2 rhymes):

muoze:grůze D97
suoze:muoze C*25

Category uo:üe (2 rhymes):

-uogin:-üegin (1 rhyme):

gnuogin:uvogin D21

-uont:-üent (1 rhyme):

tuon:gemuon F95

Category üe:üe (4 rhymes)

-üeben:-üeben(t) (2 rhymes):

muottruobin:uobin C*156
übin:trübin F11

-üege:-üege (1 rhyme):

slüge:truoge A111

-üeren:-üeren (1 rhyme):

vuorin:snürin B49

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abir A140 A* 32 C* 110 F38 F114 F154

abrin E120

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achtin *F9

adil F87

aersâmir *F152

al A32 A33 A42 A116 A117 A147 A165 C2 C*2 C*18 C*132
D47 E72 E150 F25 F26 F36 F53 F116

aldin E106 F28

aldir C*105

alemandînin *F51 F153

alexandir C6 C28

alle A*54 C153 C*51 *D59 E26 F95

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allirwegine *B152

allis A56 C*149

alliz A17 A*78

alr F104

als A123 A*88 A* 159 B15 B28 B43 C26 C106 C146 C158 C*87 C*110
D148 E7 E61 E88 E96 E100 E107 E113 E129 E158 F22 F95 F118

alsam *A136

alse A*20 D154

also A49 A*30 A*31 A*70 A*91 C161 C*87 D67 E36 E95 F39 F85 F90

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alzů F32

am E31

amise *A*12

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an A11 A22 A47(2) A75 A77 A129 A133(2) A134(2) A144 A147 A162 A*3
A*16 A*18 A*53 A*72 A*73 A*83 A*114 B11 B33(2) B40 B47(2) B52 B60
B61 B63 B70 B71 B83 B88 B134 B142 B143 B165 C27 C41 C43(2) C62

an(cont.) C116 C124 C*8 C*13 C*63 C*74 C*100 C*146 D31 D32 D44
D69 D74 D86 D120 D144 E20(2) E43 E92 E120 *E157 E159
F35 F143
andacht *C100
andir *C27 C90 C145 *C*89 C*99 D65 D133 E167 F92
andirn A39 C53 C55 *C*91
andirnthalb B80
andirs A114 D82
andirweide *B18 *C138 *F92
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ane **24 A* 109 *A* 154 B49 B163 C76 *C78 *C105 C144 C*4 *C*115
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D22 D89 D99 E70 *E77
athise *A*11 B159 *D11 *D85
athisin A168 *A*97 *A*138
athisis * B153
ay F44
azin *C*148 C*164

bal *C*94 *C*99

baldiz C20

balt *A1 *A16 *D44

banier *B93 E112 E161

baniere *B62

bant *B12 *E28

barbiere *B61

barc *C108 *E90

bat A*51 E64

baz A75 C139 *C*7 D85 F149

be E71

bedacht *C*9

bedachte *C126

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begangin *D18 D20

begehn *C*43

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begiengin . A105

beginnin *F8

begonde *A*34 C59 D17

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beidin *B31 B113 C50 *D38 *D104 F83 F122

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bein *B55

beittin *C*79 *D4

bekant *B64 *B150 *C23

bekorn *F57

belac E138

beleib *B105 *E141

belibe *F128

belibin *A*63 *F90

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bereitin A*80 *A*90 *A*90
bereitit * A155 C*141 *D3 *D124
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bereittin *C* 80
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bescritin *B66
bescutte B126
beseht B152
besigin A104
beslagin *A*166 C*68
beslaginin D163
besliezin * F73
besloz A142 D40
bestatin * F153
bestattin *A*126
bestin A* 40 *A*105 *C*168
bestündin *C21
besuffin *B117
besundirn C*133
besweif A*48
bete *A141 D93
bethoubit * E36
betragin *D112
bette D3
bevalch D11
bevienc *A166
bevorn *B107
bewarn *F102
bewartin D63
be'zemen *F156
bezogin D142
bezzirs B25
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bidirve F109
bidirvin D49
biesin A44

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bilase A*7 C125
bilasin A*13 *B91 C30 *C62 C99
bilasis C38
bilde *C*36
bile *B148 *C1 *C134
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binnin A35
bist *F132
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bittirin E86
biz A94 A101 B145 C58 C*77 C*80 C*111 D57 D90 D122
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blůte A104 *C75
blůtin A72
bortin *D163
bot B4
bouc *C121
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brach *C104 *F75
bracht *C99 *C*10 *D81
brachte *C125
brengin C* 166
brinus C103 C118 C122
brôd A20
brun D147 E102 E110
brunime B41
brunin B57
bruodir A*68
brut C*49 C*78 D8
brute *C*52 C*56 C*84 *D130
bruteguom *C*48
brutestuol C*8
brutin C* 98

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buhurde D125

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A*55 A*84 A*131 A*154 A*162 B26 B36 B59 B87 B136 B138 C1 C24
C50 C52 C55 C56 C70 C78 C104 C117 C*24 C*50 C*59 C*79 C*90
C*93 C* 116 C*118 C*130 C*134 C*140 C*144 C*151 C*152 C*157
C*160 C*163 D3 D6 D14 D24 D26 D70 D101 D103 D116 D119 D124
D126 D162 E19 E33 E80 E95 E96 E139 F83 F86
dachter B3
dan A135 B6 B85 C139 C156 C* 54 C*82 C*91 C*112 D60 E146 F92 F120
dane *C*116 *D132
danne C139
dannin *A*122 *C*70 *D2 *D99 *E68
dannoch B105 C77
dar A*86 A*103 A*164 C157 C*1 C*77 C*78 D21 D32 D58 D61
darabe B90 C86 C*44 D34 D140
dare *A*82 *A*91 * B23
darin A*161 B45 D135 F168
darnach C163 C*16 C*18 C*19
darum B122
darundir *B13
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A98 A113 A117 A124 A126 A130 A137 A141 A147(2) A150 A156 A165
A*4 A*28 A*29 A*34 A*37 A*40 A* 52 A*59 A*66 A*69 A*71 A*78
A*79 A*81 A*88 A*96 A* 110 A*116 A*124 A*138 A*146 A*156 B5
B10 B14 B25 B36 B53 B69 B71 B76 B82 B105 B106 B110 B114 B138
B140 B144 B150 B165 C14 C32 C35 C45 C70 C107 C110 C111 C112
C113 C121 C124 C131 C135 C143 C144 C147 C154 C156 C164 C168
C*1 C*9 C*36 C*43 C*44 C*46 C*51 C*73 C*85 C*137 C*150 C*155
D4 D7 D15 D25 D30 D35 D72 D91 D116 E1 E3 E5 E17 E25 E34 E35
E47 E50 E68 E72 E80 E84 E88 E132 E134 E137(2) E141 E148 E154
F8 F14 F30 F38 F40 F42 F43 F45 F46 F47 F52 F65 F69 F75 F86
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F137 F155 F159 F164
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F121 F157

deme A138 B101 B144 C131 C*21 C*39 D139 E111

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A109 A111 A119 A120 A144 A149 A151 A153 A154 A162 A167 A*2
A*3 A*18 A*26 A*42 A*43 A*45 A*48 A*53 A*100 A*105 A*106 A*114
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B60 B76 B79 B80 B82 B103 B109 B118(2) B119 B127 B129 B131 B132
B135 B139 B162 B168 C14 C21 C29 C66 C67 C68 C83 C87 C95 C101
C103 C109 C110 C116 C120 C141 C*11 C*31 C*33 C*34 C*40 C*41
C*47 C*53 C*62 C*89 C*93 C*98 C*99 C*111 C*117 C*143 C*161
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E122 E123 E127 E131 E135 E148 E155 F15 F53 F162 F167

der A1 A4 A16 A20 A21 A31 A47(2) A54 A69 A78 A87 A93 A94 A99 A101
A113 A122 A126 A138 A149 A160 A161 A163 A166 A*11 A*19 A*21
A*41 A*57 A*95 A*119 A*120 A*153(2) A*162 B6 B13 B24 B30 B36
B40 B52 B56 B88 B111 B123 B137(2) B148 B166 C3 C9 C10 C11 C32
C44 C51 C64 C72 C79 C80 C81 C93 C96 C118 C134 C140 C145 C146
C151 C159 C*3 C*5 C*6 C*19 C*20 C*21 C*28 C*29 C*30 C*37 C*64
C*84 C*100 C*101 C*106 C*120 C*124 C*133 C*140 C*165 D12 D13
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B113 B125 B128 B166 C31 C37 C41 C55 C72 C77 C79 C126 C148 C*46
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B40 B59 B64 B74 B78 B87 B100 B102 B115 B117 B128 B156 B163 C2
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C*18 C* 19 C*24 C*32 C*35 C*56 C*66 C*78 C*83 C*91 C*93 C*96
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C*151 C*155 C*156 C*162 C*163 C*168 D8 D11 D18 D31 D34 D40 D47
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C*11 C*47 C*155 E71 E143 E144 F58 F107 F131 F141 F151

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enic *A25

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*D79 D89

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gelac *D68
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gelazin A139 *C61 *C*81 *C*127 *C*147 *D110
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widir A** 64

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wol A** 13

zogetin A**11

zogite A**9

zu A**13 A**52 A**67

zwelf A**10

zwischin A** 34

Jrn lib solde slizin
Den sie mit werdin zilizin
Jr zogin het umz anden tac
Sie rovdin sie sin ie gephlac
Mit so gramin ulizin
Sit sie zu langin wizin
Mit bilde solde wesin
Mit deme sie wande nicht gnesin
Des wart ir harte leide
Owe mir dirre scheide
Der ich mich non arbise
Mime liebin amise
Durch bilden scheidin sol
Jr lutir ougin wuedin uol
Vil iammir trehne
Die warin an zu sehne
Swa man sie uant behangin
An den wol getanin wangin
Von der rosin rotin durch schine
Sein alse rubine
Von der wizze glich berillin
Sie kondin nicht gestillin
Wen trin liez nach trine
Wen sie was uroudin ane
Vol iamirs in ruwin
Von den ganzin truwin
Jrs uil liebin urundis
Daz nicht teil irs mundis
Daz gar von minnin were wiel
Jr also zertliche intphiel
Also ob sie zurnin solde
Swie gerne sie abir wolde
Zurnin sie nekonde
Daz obir teil begonde
Em wenic uf zu diezene
Jrn rotin munt zin slezine
Daz man der zene em wenic sach
Sie leit or michil ungemach
Vn was da bi so minne sam
Daz sie dem bestin wol inzam
Der do des ert richis wielt
Den lib sie kume behielt

Von den sie nindin sazin
Die sie trúc umbazin
Vmme den helit reinin
Euas irsach irweinin
Vn begondin urbarmin
Er beswerf sie mit den armin
Vn urlustite uil tiefin
Sin ougin ime ubir liefin
Vn lac sie swigin stille
Er sach wol daz ir wille
Anden künne nine stúnt
Er tet or so sie alle tuont
Die da leistin wollint triuwe
Jr liez sie habin irriuwe
Vn sceit sich von der megide
Vn gienc sealtin um ir getregide
Daz ir nuwit des gebrach
Des im ie min uor gesprach
Trophilas un cardionel
Vn ir mútir under des
Mit gazin belibin
Jr iamir sie uertribin
Mit unoude gebinde troste
Daz sie doch ser lóste
Vz irn sennin truwin
Jr brúdir sprach in truwin
Daz er sie wolde losin
Odir sich also uirbosin
Daz ers nimmir mere
Widir an sin ere
Queme noch an sine macht
In disin dingin wart iz nacht
Vn giengin die lute slafin
Do griffin sie zún wafin
Athis un prophilias
Vn Alliz daz zú rome was
Daz or zú wafin tochte
Vn sich bereitin mochte
Daz bereitte sich gare
Vn quam gemeinlichin dare
Vor die stat meingeas
Da ir laminunge was

Hh
10

vñ leuftin dar daz dienist
ů dit al geschen ist
vñ der mittir tac zů gienc
vñ die | uolde anc grunene
Do wart der magit gâyte
begin der hochgecite
becleidit so nie magit baz
Am irn brute stuel gesaz
Daz het ir uatir uor bedacht
Ir allir pheit warm bracht
In den hof durch ritin
Do huob man uf gâyrin
Etuas nam sie an die hant
vñ cardionem zů h.mt
Athis irreit geselle was
Dar nach reit prophilias
vñ sin můtir salustine
Dar nach al die sine
Dar nach die urouwin uon der stat
Der iechch hete sich gegat
zů deme der ir ebine quam
vñ ir zů dienste gezam
Vil uidilere quamin
Die da wole gezamin
vñ uidutin uil suoze
In muozichchir muoze
Sortin sie gnůc trage
begin der wîrtin lage
wende der wec was kurt
Voz ime ir huob sich der buhurt
Von allin den ungin rittin
Die machtin manige splittrin
Vz den vrz nuwin sartin
Swa sie den scaft behertin
Vffe die uirllchin scilde
Daz ist uns noch en bilde
Daz ist en gezuc der elicheit
vñ en gezuc der ellicheit
Vil manic rittir gemeit
Quam zů deme buhurde
Ich wene den wol wurde
Bewart ir uon den uiuwin
Dot lag in wol gezouwin

Daz sie muozin se begehn
Daz sie zů lobe dar abe stehn
Dů wart zů rome em spil gedacht
Daz wart des tagis uollin bracht
Durch den werltlichin ruom
Swen em wert biitegnom
Mit sinir brut zů hone reit
So was des da gewonheit
Daz alle iungę lute
Vritewin megide brute
Den sulche spil gezamin
Dan zů samine quamin
vñ sich bihendin uengin
vñ uůr die brute giengin
Ir iechch nach ir echte
So sie geleistin mechte
Hete ir dine da gelazt
vñ sich mit cleidin uz gemazt
Von richin rockin wol gesnitin
Nach den fumzischin sitin
Vil ebin an sich gesmizt
vñ zů der erdin gesmizt
Ir arme sulwir unmâr
So die werlt noch site hat
Mit gůtin gurtlin langin
Beslagin mit golt spangin
Mit tiurin uůr spannin
Do sie giengin dannin
In hoe gritmdin muote
Truogin uf ir huote
Daz sie mine uirblichchin
Ir hantzgin angestrichchin
vñ ebine sich gestellit
Sus giengin sie gesellit
Wen biz sie dar quamin
Dar sie die brut uirnamin
Da layin sie iñ beittin
Wen biz sie sich bereittin
Mit zuchtlichin gelazin
So sie dan uf gelizin
So irhuobin die werdin
Vor der brute pherdin

14h
10.

C* recto

Der hobilde kvnig bilas
von den herbergin sinen
liez blasin die businen
hiphin vnd dy taburin slan
vñ dy gesellt uf hebin san
er reise be ginnen
r herberge brinnen
en uanm sy uf hebin bat
ñ zogite uon der wal stat
ir zwelf banierin einni vanni
y wnere zogetin anin
u dem gebirge obrne
auich wol zu lobene
ictir in liechtin tringin
vnc bilas in den dingin
ine nevin gimone
e valch das sy vil schone
aitin alle viure.
az sie mehr strytis rurte
edurnhallin des hers

e cafi gein vonere wert
aitin sere ge gert
as man uf in sie vunte
as sy den schilt ge urbunte
z siner liehin vrouwin
az sie mit erin schonwin
achte uon ir amise
er helt dachte nach prise
en her was vil erin gir
er hertoge von nomir
ette gute wapin an
ñ quam als ein hobisch man
erre zwischin den scharn
gruben sinen ge yarn
his het in den stundin
n houbit ouch vezbundin
en schilt an den hals ge nem
n was ein uestie sper kvn
o was in ein banier.
thene schualier

Fragment Ac verso

ſwaz iouw wille wol geſen·
ich han beyde eigen vñ len·
ſprach der reit reyne
des geruch vor ene alſo vil·
uſt dz̄ men gut nemen vil·
dz̄ iw genoget dar ane·
ich romere ich genade mane
went ich ſprach porfihas·
ni vwer eigen vlizich was·
vnd ymer vlizich weſen ſol·
daz ir mir̄ zo reden

ſullen arme·
o recht ze barmen·
ent han nicht reden iſt·
in vnſtetme mut·
en·

dar ich wolde ire gewan.
von leyde dorch sin liebe wif.
dat liet he mir denken.
vnde gaf mir kardonicien
dar gar vtzir koren.
vnde gaf mir vor koren.
sin vor loren leven weder.
dorch ere selen rust her dar neder.
vor dirlicker vnde vor storen.
von sinen hulstenoren.
do wurden eine arm.

mit macheque romein.
vrowede sich sere.
dorch ir ruwer ere.
do sprach der here portilias.
here trut vader min.
dar ar sulch moten sin.
ich han eine ere ir dichte.
de hedde ich gerne vollen bracht
wolder ir mi helpen dar zo.
ja ich zwatyn gerne do.
Rome wes ir ennal gerer.

Ae rello