Constructing *Minnesang* Musically

VOLUME I.

Submission for the degree of DPhil in Music

Submission: 11 October 2013 (Trinity Term)

Deposit: 25 July 2014

Henry Hope

Merton College

Henry Hope
Merton College
Submission for the degree of DPhil in Music – Trinity Term 2013

Constructing *Minnesang* Musically – Abstract

While troubadour and trouvère repertoires have recently received fresh attention from music scholars, the study of medieval German vernacular song—*Minnesang*—continues to be located firmly outside the canon(s) of musicology. The present thesis seeks to re-insert *Minnesang* into musicological discourse by demonstrating the ways in which the repertoire has been constructed as musical, both by the creators of medieval manuscript sources and by modern scholars.

The modern ontology of music as defined by notation and performance has prevented scholars from understanding manuscripts such as the Codex Manesse (**C**) as intrinsically musical. While the texts alone may have sufficed to enable their intended audiences to view them as musical entities, **C**'s 137 author miniatures further contribute to the manuscript's musicality: the *Minnesänger* are depicted as authors and experiencing *personae*, revealing a strong concern for oral communication—which, in the Middle Ages, was inherently musical. The Jenaer Liederhandschrift (**J**) and other manuscripts equally reveal their musicality when scrutinised beyond the search for musical notation: through ordering and folio design.

The thesis establishes the influence exerted by previous scholarship on today's lack of interest in the music of *Minnesang*, and outlines the importance of scholarly discourse and its study in a historiographical context. Before the 1970s, an existing musical discourse on *Minnesang* encouraged musicologists and philologists to continue to engage in it—despite the fact that the dominant interest in contrafacture and rhythm found few answers in the surviving source material. A concluding case study of Walther von der Vogelweide's *Palästinalied* exemplifies the musicality of medieval manuscripts and its complex (mis)construction by modern scholarship. The thesis provides the basis for a fresh assessment of the music of *Minnesang*: beyond the confines of modern ontologies of music, and as part of the study of medieval *song*.

For Gisela and Joan

Kitty Arden, Pandora's Box, 1985
(private collection, available through Bridgeman Education)

Acknowledgements

Three Walters have watched over the preparation of this doctoral project—at least metaphorically speaking. Each stands for a group of people without whose support, criticism, advice, and friendship the dissertation could never have been written. My words of gratitude are but a feeble match for their kindness.

Walter de Merton represents the institutions that have supported my doctoral study financially: the project was aided by an AHRC fees-only award, a one-year scholarship from the DAAD, and the promise of future support by the Richard-Wagner-Verband International. Roger Allen and Laurence Dreyfus are to be thanked for alleviating me of any worry as to what is to follow the doctorate, allowing me to concentrate on the present rather than the future. Heartfelt thanks are due in particular to Walter's own College, whose fellowship supported me not only with numerous small grants for conference attendances, but also with extensive financial aid in order to facilitate the dissertation's completion; I am especially grateful to the Warden and Chaplain for their magnanimity.

Walther von der Vogelweide, the 'hero' of chapter VI, represents all those who have supported the academic development of this dissertation. Jenny, Rosie, Martin, and Stephen at the Faculty Library made the latter an enjoyable place to study (and work!). The many undergraduate students I was lucky enough to teach over the last three years provided a much appreciated corrective to my assessments of medieval scholarship. Fellow doctoral students and young researchers were crucial to the development of my ideas, and special thanks go to Matthew Thomson (for drawing supervisorial scrutiny and pressure from my work in the final year), Catherine Bradley (for studying the Codex Buranus in the Faculty's common room), Jessica Berenbeim (for art historical guidance), and to Merton's music-graduate family—including 'young researcher' Daniel Grimley—whose generosity, support (and flight-safety demonstrations) will remain lasting memories. I am indebted to Franz Körndle: his wise guidance steered me to Oxford, sparked my passion for medieval studies, and his scholarship and critical feedback continue to be a source of inspiration. Indeed, a doctoral study can only ever be as rigorous and critical as its supervisor, and my work could not have benefitted more than from the supervision of Dent Medal-winner 2013, Elizabeth Eva Leach. As ever, her own words say it more eloquently than my own: 'I count as one of the luckiest moments of my intellectual life' realising in 2008 that she would be the supervisor of my Master's thesis.

Contents

<div align="center">

VOLUME I.

</div>

Images

Figures

Tables

Manuscripts

Minnesang Sources (excluding Neidhart and *Meistersang*)

Siglum	Shelfmark[a]	Name	Provenance
A	D-HEu Cod. Pal. germ. 357	Kleine Heidelberger Liederhandschrift	Alsace, ca. 1275
B	D-Sl HB XIII 1	Weingartner Liederhandschrift	Konstanz, early C14
Ba	CH-Bu N.I.3, 145	Basel Fragment	North Germany, early C14
Bu	H-Bn Cod. germ. 92	Budapest Fragment	Upper Danube, 1280–1290
C	D-HEu Cod. Pal. germ. 848	Codex Manesse/ Große Heidelberger Liederhandschrift	Zurich, ca. 1300–1340
C[a]	PL-Kj mgq 519	Troß Fragment	Zurich/Strasbourg/ Wurttemberg, ca. 1440
C[b]	PL-Kj Berol. mgo 125	Nagler Fragment	Switzerland, ca. 1300
E	D-Msb 2° Cod. ms. 731	Würzburger Liederhandschrift/ Hausbuch des Michael de Leone	Würzburg, ca. 1350
F	D-WRz Cod. Quart 564	Weimarer Liederhandschrift	Unknown, later C15
J	D-Ju Ms. El. f. 101	Jenaer Liederhandschrift	North-East Germany, ca. 1300
M	D-Mbs Clm 4660/a	Codex Buranus/ Fragmenta Burana	Tyrol/Carinthia, ca. 1230
t	D-Mbs cgm 4997	Kolmarer Liederhandschrift	Rheinfranken (Ripuarian Franconia), ca. 1460
Z	D-MÜsa Msc. VII, 51	Münster Fragment	Westphalia, early C14
-	Private ownership	Bonner Fragment	Northern Germany?, early C14

---

[a] The manuscript shelfmarks used throughout the dissertation follow the system applied by the *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales*.

Troubadour/Trouvère Sources

Siglum	Shelfmark	Name	Provenance
troub. **N**	US-NYpm 819	The Phillipps Manuscript	Italy, 1285–1300
trouv. **I**	GB-Ob MS Douce 308	Douce 308	Lorraine, early C14
trouv. **K**	F-Pa 5198	Arsenal chansonnier	Picardy/Artois, 1270s
trouv. **M**	F-Pn f. fr. 844	Manuscript du Roi	France, 1250–70
trouv. **O**	F-Pn f. fr. 846	Chansonnier Cangé	Burgundy, 1280–90
trouv. **U**	F-Pn f. fr. 20050	Chansonnier-Saint-Germain-des-Pres	Lorraine, ca. 1230

Other Sources

Siglum	Shelfmark	Name	Provenance
D	D-KA Donaueschingen 120	Donaueschinger Liederhandschrift	Unknown, ca. 1485
n	D-Nst Will III. 784	-	Unknown, C17
Neid. O	D-F Ms. germ. oct. 18	Frankfurt Neidhart Fragment	North-East Germany, ca. 1300
StF	F-Schl 22	St-Fides-Codex	Conques?, early C13

Song Catalogues

Abbreviation[b]	Catalogue	Format
B	BRUNNER, HORST, BURGHART WACHINGER and EVA KLESATSCHKE (eds): *Repertorium der Sangsprüche*, 17 vols, Tübingen 2009.	Section number in superscript; three-letter poet code, *Ton* number in Arabic, stanza in small Arabic, e. g. B[1]Unv/3/2
C	CORMEAU, CHRISTOPH (ed.): *Walther von der Vogelweide: Leich, Lieder, Sangsprüche*, Berlin [14]1996.	Cat. number in Arabic, stanza number in Roman, e. g. C7,I
CB	VOLLMANN, BENEDIKT K. and WALTHER LIPPHARDT: Art. 'Carmina Burana', in: *MGG2*, ed. by Ludwig Finscher, vol. 2 (Sachteil), Kassel 1995, cols 456–459.	Cat. number in Arabic; appended letter indicates stanza(s) with same poetic structure, e. g. CB211 and CB211a
KLD	KRAUS, CARL VON and GISELA KORNRUMPF (eds): *Deutsche Liederdichter des 13. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols, Tübingen [2]1978.	Poet number in Arabic, *Ton* number in Roman, e. g. KLD1,IV
L	LACHMANN, KARL (ed.): *Die Gedichte Walthers von der Vogelweide*, Berlin [1]1827.	Page number in Arabic, followed by line number in Arabic, e. g. L14,38
MF	LACHMANN, KARL (ed.): *Die Gedichte Walthers von der Vogelweide*, Berlin [1]1827.	Page number in Arabic, followed by line number in Arabic, e. g. MF103,27
PC	PILLET, ALFRED and HENRY CARSTENS: *Bibliographie der Troubadours*, Halle (Saale) 1933.	Poet number in Arabic, song number in Arabic, e. g. PC262,2
R	RIBERA, JULIÁN TARRAGÓ (ed.): *90 canciones de los minnesinger del códice de Jena*, Madrid 1925.	Song number in Arabic, e. g. R16
Ry	RAYNAUD, GASTON (ed.): *Bibliographie des chansonniers français des XIIIe et XIVe siècles*, 2 vols, Paris 1884.	Song number in Arabic (from vol. 2, ordered by rhyme), e. g. Ry742

---

[b] The abbreviations B and C coincide with the manuscript sigla **B** and **C**. The reader will, however, easily differentiate them by their bold/non-bold type, and by the fact that catalogue references are always followed by a number while sigla are not.

SNE	MÜLLER, ULRICH, INGRID BENNEWITZ and FRANZ VIKTOR SPECHTLER (eds): *Salzburger Neidhart-Edition (SNE)*, 3 vols, Berlin 2007.	Source as capital letter, song number in Arabic, e. g. SNER53
ST	SEAGRAVE, BARBARA GARVEY and WESLEY THOMAS (eds): *The Songs of the Minnesingers*, Urbana 1966.	Minuscle 'm' indicates *Lied* (rather than *Spruch*), song number in Arabic, e. g. STm3
W	WILLMS, EVA (ed.): *Der Marner: Lieder und Sangsprüche aus dem 13. Jahrhundert und ihr Weiterleben im Meistersang*, Berlin 2008.	*Ton* number in Arabic, stanza number in Arabic, e. g. W3,3

Abbreviations

Journals and Series

Abbreviation	*Journal*/Series
19CM	*19th-Century Music*
AfdA	*Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur*
AfMw	*Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*
AH	*Art History*
AM	*Acta Musicologica*
ASA	*The Continuum Encyclopedia of Animal Symbolism in Art*
ASdL	*Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur*
BF	*Beethoven Forum*
BJb	*Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis*
BZfG	*Berner Zeitschrift für Geschichte*
BzGr	*Beiträge zur Gregorianik*
DLL	*Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon: biographisches-bibliographisches Handbuch*, ed. by Bruno Berger, Bern ³1968–
DU	*Der Deutschunterricht*
DVLG	*Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*
EGPh	*The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*
EM	*Early Music*
EMH	*Early Music History*
Fam	*Fontes artis musicae*
Gk	*Germanistik*
GQ	*The German Quarterly*
GRM	*Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift*
GSR	*German Studies Review*
HS	*The Journal of Hellenic Studies*
IGL	*Internationales Germanistenlexikon*
LiLi	*Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik*
LL	*Literaturlexikon: Autoren und Werke deutscher Sprache*, ed. by Walter Killy, Gütersloh 1988–93
LMS	*London Medieval Studies*
M&L	*Music & Letters*
MD	*Musica Disciplina*
MEH	*Diccionario de la Música Espanola e Hispanoamericana*, ed. by Emilio Casares Rodicio, Madrid 1999–2002
Mf	*Die Musikforschung*
MGG1	*Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. by Friedrich Blume, Kassel ¹1949–86
MGG2	*Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. by Ludwig Finscher, Kassel ²1994–2008
MLJ	*The Modern Language Journal*
MLJb	*Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*
MLN	*Modern Language Notes*

MLR	*Modern Language Review*
MSB	Musikwissenschaftliche Studienbibliothek (ed. by Friedrich Gennrich)
MT	*Journal of Music Theory*
MW	*Musikalisches Wochenblatt*
NdB	*Neue deutsche Biographie*
NGrove	*The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie, London [2]2001
Nt	*Notes*
NZfM	*Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*
OGS	*Oxford German Studies*
PBB	*Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*
Pt	*Poetica*
RbM	*Revue belge musicologie/Belgisch tijdschrift voor muziekwetenschap*
RML	*Riemann Musik Lexikon*, ed. by Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, Mainz [12]1959–75
RQ	*Renaissance Quarterly*
SCB	*The South Central Bulletin*
SIMG	*Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*
SLUB	*SLUB Kurier: aus der Arbeit der Sächsischen Landesbiliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden*
Sm	*Speculum*
SM	*Studi Medievali*
SMC	*Studies in Medieval Culture*
SMH	*Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*
SMMA	Summa Musica Medii Aevi (ed. by Friedrich Gennrich)
TMR	*The Medieval Review*
VL	*Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, ed. by Kurt Ruh, Berlin [2]1978–2008
VnS	*Jahrbuch des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung*
WW	*Wirkendes Wort*
YTM	*Yearbook for Traditional Music*
ZfdA	*Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur*
ZfdB	*Zeitschrift für deutsche Bildung*
ZfdPh	*Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*
ZfLG	*Euphorion: Zeitschrift für Literaturgeschichte*
ZfMw	*Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*
ZfrPh	*Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*
ZfvL	*Zeitschrift für vergleichende Litteraturgeschichte*

General Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Referent
#	number
art.	article (used to denote encyclopaedia entries)
C	century
ca.	circa
col.	column
e. g.	for example
ed.	edited or editor
f.	*folio* (= and on the following page)
ff.	*foliis* (= and on the following pages)
fol.	Folio
frag.	fragmentary
Fs.	Festschrift
GfM	Gesellschaft für Musikforschung
ibid.	*ibidem* (= in the same place [as the previous citation])
l.	line
mel.	melody
MS	manuscript
n/a	no author
no.	number
p.	page
Ps.	Pseudo, e. g. in Pseudo-Reinmar
r	recto
transl.	translated
v	verso
vol.	volume

CHAPTER I.
Introduction

1. Tannhäuser, the Titular Troubadour

'Robert Dean Smith sings the role of the troubadour who tires of Venus's charms and yearns for spiritual redemption', ran the advertisement for number 29 of this year's BBC Proms concerts.[1] Even readers who consider themselves opera aficionados, however, will struggle to think of a stage work which shows a medieval, southern French poet-musician in conflict with the goddess of love.[2] The sentence that follows in the concert blurb—'Elisabeth is the woman who loves him, Wolfram the man who loves her'—will further puzzle readers, for the name of the opera's second lover, Wolfram, is decidedly non-Francophone. While regular opera goers will have, by now, realised which opera was performed in Prom 29, the blurb's opening line will cause additional puzzlement to those unfamiliar with this opera, but who conceive the troubadours as Romance poets, for the opera's title uses an *Umlaut*, suggesting a Germanic setting: 'in their second Proms appearance together, Donald Runnicles and the BBC Scottish Symphony Orchestra turn to *Tannhäuser*.' A different blurb for the same concert on a previous webpage does little to alleviate this confusion: here, Tannhäuser is referred to as the opera's 'titular troubadour'.[3]

---

[1] http://www.bbc.co.uk/proms/whats-on/2013/august-04/14656.

[2] *NGrove* describes troubadours as 'lyric poets or poet-musicians of France in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It is customary to describe as troubadours those poets who worked in the south of France and wrote in Provençal, the *langue d'oc*', see: John Stevens, Ardis Butterfield and Theodore Karp, Art. 'Troubadours, trouvères', in: *NGrove*, vol. 25, London 2001, pp. 798–820. The *OED* provides a similar paraphrase: 'one of a class of lyric poets, living in southern France, eastern Spain, and northern Italy, from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries, who sang in Provençal (*langue d'oc*), chiefly of chivalry and gallantry, sometimes including wandering minstrels and jongleurs', see: [n/a], Art. 'Troubadour', in: *OED*, ed. by J. A. Simpson and E. S. Weiner, vol. 18, Oxford 1989c, pp. 589–590; here, p. 589.

[3] http://www.bbc.co.uk/proms/whats-on/2013/july-30.

The *OED*'s second explanation of a 'troubadour', which it marks as a 'transferred sense', provides the key to the problem posed by the Proms' advertisement for *Tannhäuser*. It paraphrases the term as 'one who composes or sings verses or ballads; also, a composer or writer in support of some cause or interest'.[4] Tannhäuser fits this loose definition of a troubadour: he was a poet—a *Minnesänger*. Not only is the adequate, historically appropriate term for Tannhäuser's 'profession' replaced by the term troubadour on the Proms' webpages, but it is also completely absent from the concert's programme notes. The curious absence of the term *Minnesänger* in the various texts for the Proms strongly suggests that the writers working for the BBC-run festival considered the term not familiar enough to its broad audience, and consequently avoided it. The term troubadour, in contrast, appears to have been considered common enough to be used in the festival's publicity.

Musicologists likewise hold an uneasy relationship with the *Minnesänger* and their art, as a curious detail in *NGrove* indicates: whereas the encyclopaedia's entry on the troubadours and trouvères was prepared by a set of three prominent Anglophone scholars—John Stevens, Ardis Butterfield, and Theodore Karp—the contribution on *Minnesang* was supplied by a German-speaking scholar: Burkhard Kippenberg.[5] While the Occitan/Old French language of troubadour/trouvère song has not precluded Anglophone scholarship, the Middle High German of *Minnesang* appears to have made Anglophone musicologists shy away from it. The condensed description of *Minnesang* provided by Kippenberg further suggests that the repertoire has been considered of only limited

---

[4] [n/a], Art. 'Troubadour', p. 589. The dictionary's online entry on 'Minnesinger' updates the 1989 printed version, noting that the word is 'now historical':
http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/118917?redirectedFrom=minnesinger#eid and [n/a], Art. 'Minnesinger', in: *OED*, ed. by J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, vol. 9, Oxford 1989a, p. 822.
[5] See Burkhard Kippenberg, Art. 'Minnesang', in: *NGrove*, vol. 16, London 2001a, pp. 721–730. It is curious to note that Romance song is discussed under the heading of its proponents, the troubadours/trouvères, while German song is indexed under its repertoire, *Minnesang*.

aesthetic value, posing a profound problem to musicological study due the lack of melodies surviving in contemporary manuscripts with musical notation:

> The German tradition of courtly lyric and secular monophony that flourished particularly in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Though it is in many ways merely the German branch of the genre represented by the troubadours and trouvères in France, it has substantial independent features. The musical history of *Minnesang* is a particularly controversial subject because the melodies survive largely in manuscripts from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[6]

In contrast to musicology's problematic relationship with *Minnesang*, Bernd A. Weil has outlined a different image of philological *Minnesang* research: 'on the whole, research on *Minnesang* has over the past twenty years received a noticeable boost both quantitatively and qualitatively, although some patches of "terra incognita"—for example in the discussion of *Minnesang*'s reception history—still remain'.[7] Seeking to justify the topic of his doctoral dissertation, Weil characterises the study of the repertoire's latter-day historiographical construction as essential and necessary to the contemporary understanding of the *Minnesänger* and their art. Though Weil admits that some work 'still remains', he implies that his own study has done its best to flesh out this *lacuna* of scholarly knowledge, for he claims not that the discussion of *Minnesang*'s reception history as a whole remains 'terra incognita' but that merely a few patches within this world remain in darkness.

By analogy with the lacking musical appreciation of *Minnesang*, little work has been undertaken to study the repertoire's musical reception—an area which consequently

---

[6] Ibid., p. 721.
[7] Bernd A. Weil, *Die Rezeption des Minnesangs in Deutschland seit dem 15. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt am Main 1991, p. 154. Unless otherwise stated, all translations provided throughout the thesis are my own. Original German quotations can be found in appendix 1; their location is given in pointed brackets. For Weil's original statement, see: <105.g>

constitutes one of the *lacunae* indicated by Weil.[8] The present thesis seeks to ameliorate this lack by studying *Minnesang*'s musical construction in a number of medieval *Liederhandschriften* (song books) and in modern editions and criticism. Seeking to re-insert *Minnesang* into (scholarly) discourse through a discussion of the repertoire's past consideration as musical, the present dissertation uses the German term *Minnesänger* consistently throughout in order to refamiliarise Anglophone (music) scholars with the term—rather than employing the English transliteration Minnesinger.[9]

2. Reception of Musical *Minnesang* Reception: an Attempt at Meta-Reception[10]

Before turning to these elements of *Minnesang*'s musical reception, however, the following sections retreat to a meta-critical level in order to scrutinise two recent, *related* reception studies undertaken by other scholars. As suggested above, no reception study of *Minnesang*'s music is presently available. While the absence of direct role models for the dissertation opportunely opens up a vast number of possibilities regarding the exact choice of subject matter and method, it not only hinders the unearthing of sources and pinpointing of a fruitful starting point, but also poses the fundamental problem of adequately relating any research findings to pre-existing scholarly discourse. Given that this thesis cannot 'fill in the blanks' of an existing study, or provide a different outlook or opinion on earlier research, it is crucial to *construct* a research environment within which the present research may be situated. The issues grappled with in this environment, and the arguments proposed, may provide a rough framework for the present dissertation.

---

[8] The only substantial exception to this remains Kippenberg's dissertation of 1960: Burkhard Kippenberg, *Der Rhythmus im Minnesang: eine Kritik der literar- und musikhistorischen Forschung mit einer Übersicht über die musikalischen Quellen*, Munich 1962. His publication is discussed briefly in Chapter V.

[9] The German word *Minnesänger* is identical in its singular and plural nominative form, and will also be used interchangeably as singular and plural form in English.

[10] The idea of meta-reception is also elaborated in: Weil 1991, p. 13.

The two monographs most easily related are Weil's above-mentioned comprehensive study of *Minnesang*'s reception in Germany since the fifteenth century, and John Haines's influential discussion of *Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères*.[11] While the work undertaken by the philologist Weil stands apart from the present approach in its general lack of consideration for musical reception, the study offered by the musicologist Haines is not concerned with *Minnesang* but with the reception history of Romance song repertoires.[12]

i. Bernd A. Weil, *Die Rezeption des Minnesangs in Deutschland seit dem 15. Jahrhundert*

Weil's study retraces *Minnesang*'s modern reception history in Germany from the earliest large-scale preservation of German song in printed books from the 1450s (enabled by the invention of printing by moveable type) and the institutionalisation of the *Minnesang* tradition by the *Meistersinger* guilds, to the re-unification of Germany in 1989/90. Within this temporal framework, Weil distinguishes two major pathways of reception: 'the pre-academic reception and the more than 160-year-old tradition of German literary studies on the one hand, and the "productive reception" by poets on the other'.[13] Though discussion in the second section of his book focuses primarily on literary forms of productive reception, Weil broadens his outlook by including a brief 'Exkurs' on musical forms of productive *Minnesang* reception. Conscious of the fact that a complete portrayal of *Minnesang* historiography is not possible even within the narrowest of temporal

---

[11] John Haines, *Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères: the Changing Identity of Medieval Music*, Cambridge 2004.

[12] One year previous to Haines's monograph, Peter Sühring published a similar musical reception study of the troubadours, focussing his attention on the repertoire's rhythmic interpretation. Because of its broader framework—and its language (English rather than German)—Haines's volume is given preference in the following discussion; beyond its historiographic method, Sühring's work is of relevance to the present thesis especially for its study of Hugo Riemann and Friedrich Gennrich (see Chapter III and Chapter IV). See Peter Sühring, *Der Rhythmus der Trobadors: zur Archäologie einer Interpretationsgeschichte*, Berlin 2003.

[13] Weil 1991, p. 7. <105.a>

frameworks, Weil intends to provide 'representative diachronic insights and synchronic perspectives at points of seminal importance'.[14]

Indeed, his discussion of (pre-)academic *Minnesang* reception creates a continuous diachronic narrative. Though *Minnesang* remained largely unstudied and unknown from roughly 1500 to 1700—mainly due to the prevalent image of the dark Middle Ages and the Renaissance's attempt at distancing itself from its immediate historical predecessor, as well as to the unavailability of the Codex Manesse (**C**) to German scholars—there had already been individual rediscoveries of the *Minnesänger* by scholars such as Melchior Haimsfeld Goldast, Martin Opitz von Boberfeld, and Karl Ortlob.[15] These attempts, however, remained without broader impact. It was only within the context of the Seven Years' War of 1756–1763, in the context of a search for a national corpus of literature which contemporaries felt necessary in order to define themselves against other (European) nations, that *Minnesang* began to be contemplated more fervently by scholars.[16] The two most prominent figures of eighteenth-century *Minnesang* scholarship were Johann Jakob Bodmer and Johann Jakob Breitinger.[17] Their efforts to gain insight into **C** and other manuscripts enabled them to publish a series of anthologies and critical studies, making *Minnesang* 'available to a wider public for the first time'.[18] Bodmer and Breitinger can be credited with the creation of a discourse concerned with *Minnesang* in German scholarship, and although the two widely acknowledged pinnacles of German literature of the period, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Friedrich Schiller, remained aloof from this discourse—being more interested in the tradition of Antiquity—another man of letters from Weimar was to lay the philosophical and aesthetic foundations of much of the nineteenth century's interest in *Minnesang*: Johann Gottfried Herder.

---

[14] Ibid., p. 16. <105.d>
[15] See ibid., p. 64 and 56ff.
[16] See ibid., p. 71.
[17] See ibid., p. 71ff.
[18] Ibid., p. 71. <105.e>

Before the backdrop of a newly established German philology, and the growing resignation of many parts of society from the political world as the result of the European Restoration, the *Minnesänger* and their apolitical songs of love and nature became widely popular. While scholars such as Friedrich von der Hagen, Karl Bartsch, Karl Lachmann, and Ludwig Uhland began to produce critical collected editions of German songs and studies of individual *Minnesänger*, anthologies such as Lachmann's *Des Minnesangs Frühling* or schoolbooks such as Franz Pfeiffer's collection of Walther von der Vogelweide's songs were particularly crucial in making *Minnesang* popular outside academia.[19] The upsurge in *Minnesang* reception was facilitated and enhanced by the publication of Middle High German grammars and dictionaries, as well as by an idealised construction of the Middle Ages in the first half of the nineteenth century; Weil, however, criticises the generally accepted notion of an over-emphatic idealisation of the Middle Ages by the 'Romantics' as one of the most prevalent stereotypes in present-day scholarship which, he argues, lacked sufficient evidence.[20] It is during this period that Walther von der Vogelweide became stylised as the ideal German. In contrast, Walther had not yet been included in Johann Christoph Gottsched's 1759/60 *Handlexikon oder kurzgefaßtes Wörterbuch der schönen Wissenschaften und freyen Künste*, though it already contained a number of entries on individual *Minnesänger*.[21]

Resurging interest in politics and nationalism in the German Kaiserreich of the final third of the nineteenth century saw the popularity of *Minnesang* begin to dwindle. In the context of the search for a national *epic*, the *Minnesänger*'s apolitical *Lieder* now became

---

[19] See Karl Bartsch, *Deutsche Liederdichter des zwölften bis vierzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart ²1879; Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen, *Minnesinger: Deutsche Liederdichter des zwölften, dreizehnten und vierzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 4 vols, Leipzig 1838; Karl Lachmann (ed.), *Die Gedichte Walthers von der Vogelweide*, Berlin ¹1827; Karl Lachmann and Moriz Haupt, *Des Minnesangs Frühling*, Leipzig 1857; Franz Pfeiffer, *Walther von der Vogelweide*, Leipzig ⁴1873; Ludwig Uhland, *Walther von der Vogelweide: ein altdeutscher Dichter*, Stuttgart 1822.
[20] See Weil 1991, p. 93.
[21] See ibid., p. 65.

'useless': their art was considered uniform.[22] Though some *narrative* works of the *Minnesänger*, such as Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival*, remained part of the common literary canon, lyric *Minnesang* was overshadowed by the rediscovery of the *Nibelungenlied*, which was to dominate the reception of the Middle Ages in Germany until the end of the Second World War. Under the auspices of an increasingly collectivised ideal of German nationhood during the Weimar Republic, the highly individualised art of *Minnesang* no longer fitted into the prevalent Zeitgeist. The Middle Ages as a whole became more and more selectively studied, and were now generally reduced to their 'Germanic' roots, a tendency which was intensified during the Third Reich: *Minnesang*'s concern for love was viewed as effeminate and the result of a matriarchal world view; solely the alleged resistance against the French influence on German culture was upheld in its favour. Gottfried von Straßburg's *Tristan* was defamed particularly harshly.[23] Among the lyric *Minnesänger*, only Walther von der Vogelweide—because of his extensive non-lyric output—and the Wolfram von Eschenbach of *Parzival* were deemed 'true Germans'.[24]

In the two post-World War II Germanys, the pathways of *Minnesang* reception were significantly different, both from the reception before the War as well as from each other.[25] Notwithstanding the works of individual scholars such as Theodor Frings, the subjectivity expressed in *Minnesang* remained problematic for academics in the GDR—as a state organised on the principles of Marxist collectivism—especially when considering the songs' situation within a feudalistic medieval society. In West Germany, in contrast, the apolitical nature of *Minnesang* was now once again considered beneficial. That the art

---

[22] See ibid., p. 131.
[23] See ibid., p. 142.
[24] See ibid.
[25] I have highlighted elsewhere the contrasting reception of Johann Gottfried Herder's music aesthetics in the divided Germanys: Henry Hope, 'Herders Musikästhetik im Zeichen von Hammer und Sichel: eine Untersuchung der musikästhetischen Rezeption Herders in der DDR', in: *Herder und seine Wirkung*, ed. by Michael Maurer, Jena forthcoming-a.

of the *Minnesänger* had remained relatively untainted and distorted by national-socialist ideology also made it an ideal object for new critical studies in the 1950s, which interpreted the songs as purely aesthetic objects and without reference to their wider socio-cultural contexts. Yet, the politicisation of German academia in the context of the movement of 1968 made *Minnesang* fall out of the academic canon once more, since it seemed unrelated to the present and could be studied in relation to modern social, economical and political contexts only with great difficulty.

Weil concludes his outline of *Minnesang*'s academic reception in Germany by predicting that, in the context of academia's further politicisation in the wake of the German reunification of 1989/90, the topic would be overshadowed by more recent history and literature.

Regardless of the merits and value of Weil's work, his study raises a number of methodological problems. Weil assumes that political contexts have been and remain the central limitations and orientations of *Minnesang* reception. Beginning with the rise of academic interest in the repertoire in the context of the Seven Years' War, and continuing to the two-fold reception of *Minnesang* in a divided Germany, Weil's concentration on political parameters also conditions his conclusion of a less fervent study of *Minnesang* in the years following the German re-unification. Weil openly states his concern with political influences on historiography at the very outset: 'inspired by my studies of German philology, history, political sciences and pedagogy […], I wish to investigate the extent to which political movements have influenced or even structured academic history. By this I do not of necessity mean the imposition of results onto academia; possibly, however, the selection of the issues raised in the academic world at a given time is influenced by its political framework'.[26] As public funding campaigns in the United Kingdom show poignantly even today, political issues undoubtedly play a central role in the choice of

---

[26] Weil 1991, p. 8. <105.b>

objects for academic studies.[27] Yet it is crucial to take into account intrinsically academic reasons in addition to the impact of politics and a general Zeitgeist proposed by Weil. The availability of (critical) editions of *Minnesang* in the first half of the eighteenth century itself enabled research into the life and works of individual poets, regardless of the political context. Works such as Eduard Wechssler's 1909 monograph *Das Kulturproblem des Minnesangs*, which concerns itself with a sociological approach towards the phenomenon of *Minnesang*, or Rudolf Erckmann's 1933 *Der Einfluß der arabisch-spanischen Kultur auf die Entwicklung des Minnesangs*, which explicitly discusses the importance of Arab poetry for the development of German vernacular poetry, show that there have always been publications which oppose, or at least evade, current political ideologies—as Weil himself admits in a one-paragraph caveat, referring to a 'mute philology' during the Third Reich.[28]

Weil's decision to follow common historiographical practice by distinguishing 'productive' reception from other forms of reception may also be critiqued.[29] By using the term 'productive' for one strand within historiography, Weil implies that any other pathway is 'unproductive'. Yet editorial, and any form of academic work are arguably also productive. If one is to agree with Weil's assertion of a productive branch of historiography, one must question whether a bipartite distinction between productive and unproductive reception is sufficient: an edition of a text—or music—may be just as (little) productive as an analytical study. Weil pays almost equal attention to the two sides of this conceptual bipartite division, dedicating roughly 120 pages to the (pre-)academic reception of *Minnesang*, and exploring what he deems productive forms of reception—though

---

[27] Readers may wish to consider the AHRC campaign 'Religion and Society': http://www.ahrc.ac.uk/Funded-Research/Funded-themes-and-programmes/Strategic-programmes/Pages/Religion-and-Society.aspx.
[28] Weil 1991, p. 146. <105.f> Though it should be noted that Erckmann's thesis was already submitted in 1931, it nonetheless remains intriguing that his ideas could be published in a society of growing hatred towards other European nations; see: Rudolf Erckmann, *Der Einfluß der arabisch-spanischen Kultur auf die Entwicklung des Minnesangs*, Darmstadt 1933; Eduard Wechssler, *Das Kulturproblem des Minnesangs: Studien zur Vorgeschichte der Renaissance*, 2 vols, Halle (Saale) 1909. The second volume of Wechssler's study, titled 'Minnesang und Rittertum', remained unpublished.
[29] See Gunter Grimm, *Rezeptionsgeschichte: Grundlegung einer Theorie*, Munich 1977, p. 147ff.

focussed on a smaller time-frame (but including the aside on musical reception)—on 160. Nevertheless, it is doubtful whether a strict analytical separation of productive and unproductive pathways of reception can provide answers to Weil's questions 'if literary reception is structured in a similarly context-determined manner as the academic, whether analogous findings can be made in the historiography of other medieval vernacular genres, or whether *Minnesang* was subject to specific reception criteria due to its "apolitical" and "non-national" nature', since the two are often mutually dependent on one another, as for example in Herder's academic and literary output.[30]

Despite its broad framework, the geographical and temporal restrictions of Weil's study exclude a number of features in the reception of *Minnesang*. Any study concerning itself with the historiography of *Minnesang* must restrict itself geographically and temporally in order to be able to deal with the vast amount of relevant material; Weil's decision to limit himself to the German reception between the fifteenth century and his own present (1991) seems justified since this framework encompasses the largest and, Weil seems to suggest, most vital part of this material. Yet this widely chosen framework entails a number of problems: despite including a vast amount of material, Weil concedes, the study will never be complete. The material thus bypassed, however, may become excluded more generally from the (newly) created discourse of *Minnesang* historiography merely by the fact of its non-inclusion in this initial study. A smaller, more-exclusive framework would mitigate both the lingering aftertaste of 'almost, but not quite complete', as well as the downgrading of the excluded materials. A smaller framework would further reduce the risk of overlooking materials. Finally, and most crucially, the myriad material

---

[30] Weil 1991, p. 9f. <105.c> A striking example of the interaction of productive and non-productive approaches is Friedrich Ludwig's 1895 opera *Walhalls Not oder der Weltwurm*: Ursula Günther, 'Friedrich Ludwig in Göttingen', in: *Musikwissenschaft und Musikpflege an der Georg-August-Universität Göttingen: Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte*, ed. by Martin Staehelin, Göttingen 1987, pp. 152–175; here, p. 158f.

covered by Weil makes it impossible for him to discuss and analyse in detail the issues relevant to the respective works, or to unpick the images of *Minnesang* they construct.

The large scope of Weil's study nevertheless enables the creation of a continuous narrative account of *Minnesang*'s historiography which would not have been possible with a significantly smaller set of data; and although this narration has its weak moments—the exclusion of Wechssler's and Erckmann's works, for example—the construction of this narrative must be asserted as one of Weil's central merits.

The question of readership is another methodological issue raised by Weil's publication. Weil's public webpages create an image of the author which is rather non-academic.[31] The first picture the user sees is of Weil playing a guitar. Further down the page there is a similar picture of Weil, again with a guitar, taken in a 'Tennisbar in Bad Homburg'.[32] In comparison to the long list of friends Weil presents at the bottom of the page, which include numerous actors and 'Schlagersänger', the link to his doctoral dissertation at the top of the page is almost invisible. If one follows this link, one is directed to a page that shows images of Weil's complete publications ('Gesammelte Werke'). Clicking on the image of Weil's reception study links to www.amazon.de, where the book can be purchased. Among his other works are a publication on Weil's home-town of Eisenbach, an 'Erzählung', and a collection of poetry. Taken as a whole, his self-created image is less that of an academic than of a modern *Minnesänger*.

This becomes particularly apparent when one compares Weil's site to the webpages of the Anglophone musicologist J. P. E. Harper-Scott.[33] Here, the user is confronted immediately with Harper-Scott's most recent work (currently a blog-post on Daniel Barenboim's interpretation of Wagner's *Ring Cycle* at the BBC Proms), supplemented by links to Harper-Scott's biography, publications, other blog-posts, and his doctoral students.

---

[31] http://www.bweil.de/start.html.
[32] Ibid.
[33] http://jpehs.wordpress.com/.

The present comparison is intended neither to discredit Weil and his work in any way, nor to set Harper-Scott on a pedestal of good academic practice: its sole intent is to draw attention to different audiences at which both scholars are aiming. The layout, design, and content of Weil's webpages, as well as the topics of his further publications suggest that he is writing for an audience with a broad 'popular', but non-academic interest in the Middle Ages; Harper-Scott's intended readership, in contrast, is delimited fairly narrowly by the intellectual content posted by the musicologist. Although the comparison between Weil's and Harper-Scott's webpages may seem contorted because the latter is not a medievalist, it retains its validity since Harper-Scott, like Weil, is one of the few scholars to maintain his own private webpages. Most medieval (music) scholars are present on the web only through their universities/departments; notable exceptions to this absence of medieval scholars on the web are Marc Lewon and Elizabeth Eva Leach.[34] In comparison with Lewon's and Leach's pages, too, Weil's appear non-academic.

The numerous common-places used in Weil's book further point to his interest in non-academic audiences. Most prominent among these is Weil's suggestion that historiography reveals more about the historian than history itself.[35] While this truism may be relevant to the context of any historiographical study, its blunt phrasing and Weil's failure to relate the truism to his own study in detail reveals his book as geared towards non-professionals. His simplified representation of *Minnesang*'s various models of periodisation, reduced to four phases, is another case in point.[36] Though it may be a feasible outline of the *Minnesang* repertoire and its historical development, more than sufficient within the context of a study aimed at 'popular' audiences, a study of solely

---

[34] Examples are Elizabeth Aubrey, http://music.uiowa.edu/people/elizabeth-aubrey; Ardis Butterfield, http://english.yale.edu/faculty-staff/ardis-butterfield; or John Haines, http://www.music.utoronto.ca/faculty/faculty_members/faculty_a_to_m/john_haines.htm. See also http://mlewon.wordpress.com/, and http://eeleach.wordpress.com/.
[35] See Weil 1991, p. 9.
[36] See ibid., p. 15.

academic aspirations would have struggled with presenting a clear-cut model of periodisation, questioning at least in brief the historiographical ideologies underlying it.

Finally, Weil's thoughts on *Minnesang*'s musical reception are situated within his chapter on productive modes of reception history, implying that musical reception must of necessity be productive. He does not explore the possibility that edition-making, musicological criticism, or even the production of medieval manuscripts may also constitute productive forms of receiving the repertoire musically.

ii. John Haines, *Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères: the Changing Identity of Medieval Music*

Many of the methodological issues raised by Weil's doctoral thesis are pertinent also in John Haines's 2004 monograph entitled *Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères: the Changing Identity of Medieval Music*. Considering the volume's subject matter—the troubadours and trouvères, not the *Minnesänger*—it will not be useful to give an extensive account of Haines's claims here; instead, a *concise* discussion of the methodological issues raised by Haines's work, especially before the backdrop of those brought to the fore in the preceding analysis of Weil's monograph, will be more fruitful.[37]

The most apparent similarity between Weil's and Haines's approaches is their large timeframe of 600 and 800 years respectively. While Weil focuses much of his attention on late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century reception, Haines emphasises the centrality of the earliest forms of troubadour and trouvère reception. He argues that their reception has been on-going 'as a wave of rememberings only occasionally interrupted by comparative

---

[37] For a brief overview of Haines's claims, see: Elizabeth Aubrey, Review of John Haines, 'Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères: the Changing Identity of Medieval Music', in: *Nt* 62 (2005), pp. 387–389; Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, Review of John Haines, 'Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères: the Changing Identity of Medieval Music', in: *M&L* 87 (2006), pp. 300–302. Oliver Huck discusses both Haines's and Sühring's publications in his review: Oliver Huck, Review of John Haines and Peter Sühring, 'Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères: the Changing Identity of Medieval Music; Der Rhythmus der Trobadours: zur Archäologie einer Interpretationsgeschichte', in: *Mf* 59 (2006), pp. 73–74.

neglect'.[38] Though Haines also calls attention to the ideals of nationalism as 'playing a definitive role in the reception of French vernacular monophony'—and he too points to Herder as an essential figurehead in this context—he rejects 'the persistent myth that medieval music was resurrected at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries'.[39] Viewed more closely, it becomes apparent that Haines not only readjusts the balance within the temporal framework, but also decides to elaborate on certain synchronic 'themes' of historiography rather than adhering rigidly to a diachronic approach, enabling Haines to present reception issues in detail, without losing any of the volume's overarching narrative. Though perhaps less comprehensive and wide-ranging than Weil's study, the strength of Haines's publication lies precisely in its *discussion* and analysis of individual moments in the historiography of medieval Romance song.

Possibly the most crucial methodological problem brought to bear on the present thesis by Haines's study is the question of whether the reception of *Minnesang* as music can be separated from that of other medieval vernacular song traditions, and from its reception as text. Despite Haines's claim that 'the two different repertories [those of the troubadours and trouvères] offer clear geographic and nationalistic contrasts', one of the essential problems of his study is the lack of distinction between the two.[40] It often remains unclear whether the issues under discussion apply to both, or only one of the traditions (and, if so, to which of the two, and why not to the other). Many of Haines's analyses seem to rest on the implicit assumption that troubadour and trouvère song share common patterns of reception: a notion with which Weil also seems to agree.[41] While the possible generic nature of vernacular song reception poses a critical methodological problem to this dissertation, it may also provide it with a direction for *future* investigation. If the

---

[38] Haines 2004, p. 262.
[39] Ibid., p. 4 and 262.
[40] Ibid., p. 4.
[41] See fn. 30.

dissertation can establish an insight into the *musical* historiography of *Minnesang*, this will enable comparisons with the patterns of troubadour/trouvère reception as well as with the reception of *Minnesang* as text in future scholarship: both are comparisons which may afford a fundamental revision or re-assertion of the notion of analogous pathways of reception across national, linguistic, disciplinary, and medial boundaries.

Haines's belief that 'at least for a few more years to come, people will be singing, speaking and writing about the songs of the troubadours and trouvères' points to another mode of receiving vernacular song repertoires.[42] Beyond its positive outlook on the continuity of troubadour and trouvère reception—directly opposed to Weil's pessimistic prophecy for the German academic consideration of *Minnesang*—Haines strongly emphasises the importance of performative pathways of reception based on modern musical performance, and sharply contrasts the presence of medieval song in contemporary mind-sets with other song repertoires, for 'who today […] sings or even knows of the oldest notated music, Babylonian hymns from the thirteenth century BCE'.[43] The notion that reception through singing (performance/production) is *complemented* by rational ways of reception through writing (or its result, knowledge) provides the ideological framework for Haines's combination of both. His emphasis on the performance-based pathways of reception should remind musicologists that a study of the *Minnesänger* (and their music) needs also to consider them as performers, not only as reified generators of artworks. The cover of Haines's study depicts a lute-playing troubadour, suggesting that the musical construction of vernacular song-poets is not bound solely to the composition, re-enactment or musicological discussion of the 'works'; instead, the musical construction of its performers plays an equally crucial role.

---

[42] Haines 2004, p. 261.
[43] Ibid.

Haines concludes his book with a subsection entitled 'Living Troubadours'. The section's significance for the present dissertation lies in its discussion of international, contemporary, popular, performance-based forms of troubadour (and trouvère?) reception. Grappling with productive popular forms of (musical) reception, Haines's study of the 'ragamuffin' *Massilia Sound System* ensemble argues the importance of paying due consideration to (contemporary) *global* phenomena within a historical study, underlining the value of an international approach to medieval vernacular song reception, directly opposed to Weil's mono-national outlook.[44] The fact that an Anglophone scholar has been the first to produce a music-historiographical study of Occitan and Old French song (published by an English university press) shows not only the vitality of international reception pathways, but also their importance.

3. Constructing *Minnesang* Musically

Though the preceding foray into meta-reception has been brief, excluding historiographical studies on *Minnesang* by Manfred Gradinger, Angelika Koller, Tanja Weiß, Volker Mertens, and others, its analyses of two comprehensive studies have highlighted four crucial methodological complexes on which this dissertation needs to take a stance.[45] The consideration of the dissertation's temporal delimitation, its narrative mode, the question of performative reception, and international cross-currents in the following paragraphs also provides the backdrop for an overview of the topics to be covered in the course of the ensuing 300 pages.

---

[44] Ibid., p. 288.

[45] Manfred Gradinger, *Die Minnesang- und Waltherforschung von Bodmer bis Uhland*, Munich 1970; Angelika Koller, *Minnesang-Rezeption um 1800: Falldarstellungen zu den Romantikern und ihren Zeitgenossen und Exkurse zu ausgewählten Sachfragen*, Frankfurt am Main 1992; Volker Mertens, 'Bodmers Murmeltier: Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der Minnesangrezeption im 18. Jahrhundert', in: *LiLi* 38 (3/2008), pp. 52–63; Tanja Weiß, *Minnesang und Rock: die Kunstgattung Aufgeführtes Lied in ihrer Ästhetik und Poetik: moderne Zugänge zu einer alten Liedgattung: Aufführung und ihre Bedingungen für die Liedtextinterpretation*, Neustadt am Rübenberge 2007.

Temporal delimitation: Weil's and Haines's wide temporal frameworks have, in both cases, allowed for broad conclusions and drawn together much material of interest to a wide range of scholars. The present thesis consequently presents a similarly broad temporal span ranging from the earliest written forms of reception in the German *Liederhandschriften* (Chapter II and Chapter III) to the recent critical edition of the *Spruch* repertoire published by Horst Brunner in 2010 (Chapter IV). While the thesis maintains the chronological order used by both, it does not aim to provide a diachronic narrative of *Minnesang*'s reception as music through the centuries: rather than establishing a (more or less) coherent overview of changes through time, the dissertation provides insight into two segments from the repertoire's 800-year history: its early reception circa 1300 (Chapter II and Chapter III), and its reception in the nineteenth- to twenty-first centuries (Chapter IV and Chapter V).[46] The dissertation seeks neither diachronic nor synchronic comprehensiveness but offers select *vignettes*, pointing to areas of further interest throughout the individual chapters and in the conclusion (Chapter VII). Neidhart von Reuental, Oswald von Wolkenstein, and the *Meistersang* tradition are not granted their own vignettes for two reasons: Oswald—the 'last of the *Minnesänger'*—and Neidhart not only question the common historiographic narratives of the repertoire through their lateness (Oswald) and parodic representations of courtliness (Neidhart), but run contrary to *Minnesang*'s general patterns of collection, as their songs are also transmitted in single-author sources.[47] All three topics, secondly, have recently received detailed attention: Horst Brunner has studied the reception of the *Spruch* repertoire by the *Meistersinger*; Neidhart's songs have been comprehensively edited by Ulrich Müller, Ingrid Bennewitz

---

[46] Unlike Weil's and Haines's reception studies, the present discussion consequently includes no reference to a specific time frame in its title.

[47] Linda Villari, *Oswald von Wolkenstein: a Memoir of the Last Minnesinger of Tirol*, London 1901.

and Franz Viktor Spechtler; and Marc Lewon's doctoral research is currently re-assessing Oswald's songs.[48]

Narrative mode: tied to the decision for a vignette-esque presentation is the attention given to detail, and the concern for *showing* rather than *telling*. While the amount of detailed description, number of examples, and—at times—overly dense critique may be less palatable than Weil's and Haines's pleasing writing styles, they bring together a wealth of material, gathered together not only in the interest of the present study's aims (or for a positive scrutiny of the author's academic fitness), but also as a resource pool for future research and publication. The study of *Minnesang*'s music has been shrouded by veils of incomprehensible terminology and ideology-laden argumentation (Chapter V and Chapter VI): it is hoped that the stepwise unpicking of such lines of argument and the strong focus on minute details may not be too cumbersome to read, and that the resulting collage of vignettes—to be extended and modified by future research—nevertheless provides a picture worth viewing. Unravelling the historiography of *Minnesang*'s music only to replace it by another *comprehensive* narrative would have constituted a paradox unable to be resolved satisfactorily within the confines of a three-year project, and of doubtful value.

Productive/performative reception: restraints on both time and space equally necessitated the dissertation's limitation to the study of Weil's 'unproductive'/ Haines's 'non-performance-based' vignettes: medieval manuscripts, editions, and scholarly criticism. This limitation is not, however, to be understood as a mainly pragmatic solution: the present study focusses on these 'non-performance-based' vignettes in order to demonstrate their productiveness, their performativity (in the sense of speech-act theory). Chapter II–Chapter IV show the impact that decisions in the preparation of medieval

---

[48] Horst Brunner, *Die alten Meister: Studien zur Überlieferung und Rezeption der mittelhochdeutschen Sangspruchdichter im Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, Munich 1975; Ulrich Müller, Ingrid Bennewitz and Franz Viktor Spechtler (eds), *Salzburger Neidhart-Edition (SNE)*, 3 vols, Berlin 2007.

manuscripts and modern editions alike have on the representation of the repertoire's music. The scrutiny of scholarly discourse in Chapter V and Chapter VI vividly demonstrates the role of people, their posts, and academic heritage in the modern construction of *Minnesang* as music; and though lacking the discussion of detailed examples of modern *Minnesang* performances, Chapter V–Chapter VII suggest their importance and call for a renewed study of their interaction with the productive reception in written discourse. While strands of popular reception and the role of the performer are not granted vignettes of their own, they feature as part of Chapter II: the study of manuscript images focusses much of its discussion through the repertoire's authors and performers, juxtaposing them to their counterparts in modern popular culture.

Cross-cultural study: as suggested above, the comparison of receptive modes of song repertoires of different medieval vernaculars promises to be a worthwhile endeavour. While this can only be hinted at here—see Chapter VI and Chapter VII—the thesis includes a number of cross-cultural comparisons between recipients of *Minnesang* (rather than comparing the reception of different repertoires by the same recipient): studied in Chapter II, the 'Manesse group' represents a south-German strand of *Minnesang* manuscripts, while the Jenaer Liederhandschrift, studied in Chapter III, is emblematic of a Low German manuscript tradition; the consideration of Ronald J. Taylor's and Barbara Seagrave/Wesley Thomas's publications provides a counterbalance to the predominantly German-language scholarship on *Minnesang* (Chapter IV and Chapter V); and Chapter VI briefly juxtaposes the representation of Walther von der Vogelweide's *Palästinalied* in German and English music encyclopaedias.

While the present thesis is written by a musicologist, and with a strong focus on musicological criticism, it rallies against the rigid disciplinary separation of music and text as the work of musicologists and philologists respectively. The work of literary scholars consequently provides a crucial context for the thesis, especially in its consideration of

authorship in Chapter II. As Chapter V and Chapter VI suggest, the interdisciplinary unease over the study of *Minnesang* continues even today, and contributes to the problematic assessment of the repertoire's music. Hoping to still the fears of inter-disciplinary engagement—musicologists' shying away from the study of texts (in foreign languages), and philologists' anxiety about musical notation—the present study aims to provide neither a musicological, nor a philological consideration of *Minnesang* along the lines of modern academic disciplines: instead, it argues that *Minnesang* must be considered as 'song'.[49] Any reference to *Minnesang*, song, or poetry therefore alludes to song as a *holistic* entity—encompassing textual *and* musical features, performance *and* transmission/reception. Though not discussed and theorised at length, the dissertation proposes that all four aspects need to be conceived as broadly as possible: text is more than the meaning and ordering of words; performance extends beyond the traditional notion of 'live' performance; transmission/reception is more than the manuscript documentation of song; and, most centrally to the present thesis, music is more than musical notation, instruments, and sound. While the three former aspects have already received critical attention in recent scholarship, James McMahon's 1990 handbook guide to *The Music of Early Minnesang* documents that the study of music continues to be limited to (performed) sound and its notation.[50] Chapter V retraces the modern scholarly backdrop to this limited understanding of music, scrutinising the narrow interests and self-perpetuating frameworks of twentieth-century music scholarship in particular. The present dissertation, in contrast, argues that music needs to be conceived more widely, and cannot be excluded from a study of *Minnesang* as song. By turning to a selection of multifaceted vignettes from the early

---

[49] Elizabeth Eva Leach similarly describes philologists' anxieties in a forthcoming publication: Elizabeth Eva Leach, 'The Fourteenth Century', in: *RQ* (forthcoming).
[50] James V. McMahon, *The Music of Early Minnesang*, Drawer 1990. For a synoptic overview of the contents of his monograph, see Table 10 in Chapter V.

historiography of *Minnesang*, for example, the thesis proposes that non-notational features also need to be understood from a musical vantage point (Chapter II).

The focus on the *historiography* of *Minnesang*'s music means that one of musicology's central methodologies is almost entirely absent from this thesis: analysis. Although a number of songs are referred to in the course of the dissertation, none are subjected to in-depth musical analysis.[51] The study of editions and criticism in Chapter IV and Chapter V shows the lack of an accepted toolkit for the analysis of *Minnesang*, and of its music in particular. While the framing and immediate aim of this thesis prevent it from developing such a set of analytical methods, the following discussion underlines the need for them and gives an overview of attempts undertaken in the past, providing a yardstick for the development of new techniques for the study of medieval song.

Two things in particular are *not* the aim of the present reception study of *Minnesang*'s music: it does not set out to study the music of *Minnesang*, presenting new sources, editions, or analytical insights; neither does it aim to create a historical narrative of all past musical research on *Minnesang*. Instead, the thesis hopes to achieve three interrelated goals. First, by raising awareness of the wealth of past interest in *Minnesang*'s musical aspects, it aims to re-insert the topic into (musicological) discourse; once *Minnesang* is re-established as an area worth musical consideration, it is hoped that new research on the subject will lead to new editions and the reconsideration of adequate analytical methods. Such new studies of *Minnesang*, secondly, will study the repertoire as song—not as text, and/or music. The dissertation aims to open up ways of interdisciplinary engagement, breaking down philologists' fears of *Minnesang*'s musical aspects by providing an overview of the state of musical research, and suggesting to musicologists the value of such studies. Finally, by laying the groundwork for new research on *Minnesang* as

---

[51] In absence of a commonly used name, the songs are generally referred to by their incipit and number in one of the numerous catalogues of *Minnesang* (see p. xviii).

song, scholars may gain a new, more holistic understanding of medieval vernacular song and its reception: it will allow them to compare Romance (and other) repertoires with its German counterparts comprehensively—nuancing the assertion of the latter's strong dependence on the former—and will illuminate the repertoires' (dis-)similar historiographies.

CHAPTER II.

Minnesang in (Unnotated) Medieval Manuscripts

At the very outset of her widely acknowledged doctoral study of *Minnesang* after Walther von der Vogelweide, Claudia Händl claims that manuscripts of *Minnesang* transmit their repertoire as 'pure textual material'.[52] Händl is not the only scholar to have voiced the opinion that manuscripts convey no information to the modern scholar beyond their texts. Even scholars whose work is concerned primarily with the illuminations contained in the manuscripts have been quick to state the images' inferior importance in comparison to the transmitted texts. In one of the earliest studies of the illuminations in the main *Minnesang* manuscripts, Fritz Traugott Schulz argued that one must first read the poetry before turning to the images: deciphering and interpreting them correctly was possible only through an understanding of the texts.[53] Michael Camille highlighted that the importance of manuscript images for philological studies has been rejected throughout the past century and across research areas. As an example, Camille cites Ernst Curtius's dismissal of pictorial documents in favour of the book: 'works of art I have to contemplate in museums. The book is far more real than the picture. Here we have a truly ontological relationship and real participation in an intellectual entity. […] To understand Pindar's poems requires severe mental effort—to understand the Parthenon frieze does not'.[54]

---

[52] Claudia Händl, *Rollen und pragmatische Einbindung: Analysen zur Wandlung des Minnesangs nach Walther von der Vogelweide*, Göppingen 1987, p. 1. <38.a>

[53] See Fritz Traugott Schulz, *Typisches der grossen Heidelberger Liederhandschrift und verwandter Handschriften nach Wort und Bild: eine germanistisch-antiquarische Untersuchung*, Göttingen 1901, p. 56.

[54] Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, transl. by Willard R. Trask, Princeton 1990, p. 14f. Curtius later states that, nonetheless, 'literary history (and that repellent thing philology!) needs to learn from art history' (p. 15). For Camille's quotation of Curtius, see: Michael Camille, 'Seeing and Reading: Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy', in: *AH* 8 (1985), pp. 26–49; here, p. 44.

The dismissal of extra-literary elements within the make-up and transmission of *Minnesang* can be traced to historical and modern forms of interdisciplinary aloofness. Surveying 'word and image' as an interdisciplinary and international object of research, Michael Curschmann strongly criticised the arrogance of (German) philologists towards art historians in particular.[55] Wolfgang Harms sought to make the same point, albeit in a more apologetic manner, when he observed that 'the research tasks which the modern academic disciplines had marked out confidently could have disciplinary boundaries running right through the heart of these very research objects; they were thus studied and interpreted in their entirety by no single discipline'.[56]

Contrary to the neglect of visual aspects in *Minnesang* manuscripts, Martin Huber proposed the consideration of the codex itself as a text as necessary to any investigation into the nature of this repertoire.[57] Leaving aside Huber's problematic use of the 'musical score' as the metaphor through which to discuss manuscript codicology, the present chapter treats the manuscripts not only as the mere transmitters of poetry, but as the embodiments of culture.[58] The illustrations contained in *Minnesang* manuscripts are more than a concession to the 'language of the laity', and achieve more than the stabilisation of oral poetry in literate form: they depict *Minnesang* as music.[59] This chapter traces the

---

[55] See Michael Curschmann, 'Wolfgang Stammler und die Folgen: Wort und Bild als interdisziplinäres Forschungsthema in internationalem Rahmen', in: *Das Mittelalter und die Germanisten: zur neueren Methodengeschichte der Germanischen Philologie: Freiburger Colloquium 1997*, ed. by Eckart Conrad Lutz, Freiburg 1998, pp. 115–137; here, p. 116. Curschmann tries to avoid such disciplinary arrogance by adding to his criticism of philology the caveat that art historians, too, have all too easily dismissed the work of philologists.

[56] Wolfgang Harms, 'Themenbereich "Zwischen Wort und Bild": Einführung', in: *Bibliographische Probleme im Zeichen eines erweiterten Literaturbegriffs*, ed. by Wolfgang Martens, Weinheim 1988, pp. 141–142; here, p. 141. <40.a>

[57] See Martin Huber, 'Fingierte Performanz: Überlegungen zur Codifizierung spätmittelalterlicher Liedkunst', in: *'Aufführung' und 'Schrift' in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. by Jan-Dirk Müller, Stuttgart 1996, pp. 93–106; here, p. 94f.

[58] See Thomas Cramer, *Waz hilfet âne sinne kunst? Lyrik im 13. Jahrhundert: Studien zu ihrer Ästhetik*, Berlin 1998, p. 12; Huber 1996, p. 95. For the notion of manuscripts as embodiments of culture, see: Michael Curschmann, 'Wort – Schrift – Bild: Zum Verhältnis von volkssprachigem Schrifttum und bildender Kunst vom 12. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert', in: *Mittelalter und frühe Neuzeit: Übergänge, Umbrüche und Neuansätze*, ed. by Walter Haug, Tübingen 1999, pp. 378–470; here, p. 421.

[59] See Michael Curschmann, '"Pictura laicorum litteratura"? Überlegungen zum Verhältnis von Bild und volkssprachlicher Schriftlichkeit im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter bis zum Codex Manesse', in: *Pragmatische*

contemporary understanding of *Minnesang* as music not through the sung output of its authors, but through their visual representation in medieval manuscripts. Considering the lack of extant melodies for the *Minnesang* repertoire as well as the problematic status of the songs' texts—suspended between autobiography, fiction, and representation of reality—this turn to manuscript illumination is more appropriate than it might, at first, seem. Though the miniatures, too, hold no claim to a faithful representation of historical fact, they consciously reflect upon the relationship between a *Minnesänger* and his songs. Developing Norbert Ott's conviction that pictures need to be looked at, while writing needs to be heard, the following paragraphs consider whether the pictorial representations of the *Minnesänger*, too, need to be heard.[60]

1. The Codex Manesse (C)

i. The Codex Manesse and Musicology

One of the main extant sources of the *Minnesang* repertoire is the Codex Manesse (**C**).[61] This manuscript is thought to have been commissioned and compiled by a circle of high-standing personalities surrounding the patrician Rüdiger Manesse in Zurich around 1300, with some additions being made to its *Grundstock* until 1330/40.[62] The codex is ordered by poet, ranked according to social status, and all but three of the corpora open with a full-folio miniature of their poet. Taking into consideration the importance of the illuminations for the manuscript's ordering and design, Gisela Siebert argued that **C** gains its prominence not only through its role as a transmitter of a vast body of *Minnesang* texts, but just as

---

Schriftlichkeit im Mittelalter: Erscheinungsformen und Entwicklungsstufen, ed. by Hagen Keller, Klaus Grubmüller and Nikolaus Staubach, Munich 1992, pp. 211–229; here, p. 219f.

[60] See Norbert H. Ott, 'Mündlichkeit, Schriftlichkeit, Illustration: einiges Grundsätzliche zur Handschriftenillustration, insbesondere in der Volkssprache', in: *Buchmalerei im Bodenseeraum: 13. bis 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Eva Moser, Friedrichshafen 1997, pp. 37–51; here, p. 38.

[61] The most recent study of the manuscript, its contents, and contexts was published by GiselaKornrumpf in 2008: Gisela Kornrumpf, *Vom Codex Manesse zur Kolmarer Liederhandschrift : Aspekte der Überlieferung, Formtraditionen, Texte*, Tübingen 2008.

[62] See Franz-Josef Holznagel, *Wege in die Schriftlichkeit: Untersuchungen und Materialien zur Überlieferung der mittelhochdeutschen Lyrik*, Tübingen 1995, p. 144ff.

much through its 137 full-folio illuminations.[63] Lothar Voetz, too, highlighted that it was the images, and not predominantly the texts, that established the codex's fame in modern times.[64] The full-size miniatures were originally protected by silk coverings which were fastened to the top edge of their folios, suggesting that the illustrations were considered valuable from the very beginning.[65] Conversely, eighteenth and nineteenth-century scholars found little to praise in the manuscript's images; Eckhard Grunewald has commented on Johann Jakob Bodmer's particularly fickle attitude towards them.[66] Bodmer's initial interest had focussed solely on the poetry, and his estimation of the miniatures increased only when he saw them in their full size for the first time in 1746; Bodmer's comment on the images in his 1748 *Proben der alten schwäbischen Poesie des dreyzehnten Jahrhunderts* reflects his ambiguous opinion: 'the magnificent paintings which precede each poet make the work especially valuable and beautiful. Although the drawings follow the appalling contemporary taste and are extremely poor, the colours are very bright and vivid'.[67] Grunewald has shown that the depreciatory element of Bodmer's view was quoted subsequently by many scholars and derived its central momentum from the images' non-conformity to classical ideals of symmetry and proportion, perspective, and naturalism.[68] That these images have, nonetheless, 'become part of the common, visual heritage, is due less to the scientific work of specialised academics, than to the journalistic unctuousness of individual publishers who knew how to play to the changing artistic habits

---

[63] See Ingo F. Walther and Gisela Siebert (eds), *Codex Manesse: die Miniaturen der Großen Heidelberger Liederhandschrift*, Frankfurt am Main [4]1988, p. viii.

[64] See Lothar Voetz, 'Überlieferungsformen mittelhochdeutscher Lyrik', in: *Codex Manesse: Katalog zur Ausstellung vom 12. Juni bis 2. Oktober 1988 Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg*, ed. by Elmar Mittler and Wilfried Werner, Heidelberg 1988, pp. 224–274; here, p. 224.

[65] See ibid., p. 228.

[66] See Eckhard Grunewald, 'Retuschiertes Mittelalter: zur Rezeption und Reproduktion der "Manessischen" Liederhandschrift im 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhundert', in: *Mittelalter-Rezeption: ein Symposion*, ed. by Peter Wapnewski, Stuttgart 1986, pp. 435–449; here, p. 435f.

[67] Johann Jacob Bodmer, *Proben der alten schwäbischen Poesie des dreyzehnten Jahrhunderts: aus der Maneßischen Sammlung*, Zurich 1748, p. v. <16.a>

[68] See Grunewald 1986, p. 436.

and tastes of their readers with a broad range of picture books, prints, picture cards and calendars'.[69]

Not only the images' intrinsic, artistic value constitutes their importance to a study of **C**. As Ursula Peters noted, the illustrations are central to the ordering and design of the codex: the index which precedes the anthology of texts is not set out according to poetic corpora, but according to the Roman numerals that are written in red ink in the top right hand corner of the miniatures.[70] Unsurprisingly, therefore, 'the history of scholarship regarding **C** has involved literary historians as well as art historians'.[71] Music historians, in contrast, have shown little interest in the manuscript's miniatures: Elizabeth Teviotdale's claim that 'because they [the miniatures] are works of art, their study is essentially an art historical enterprise [and that] their evidential value for the history of music cannot begin to be judged until their integrity as pictures is considered' gives evidence to the conviction that disciplinary skills are specialised.[72] The present chapter argues that Teviotdale's proposition problematically excuses musicologists' neglect of **C**, including its iconographical representation of the *Minnesänger*; after all, literary scholars have also studied the miniatures—regardless of any modern disciplinary mismatch.

The reason for musicologists' lack of interest in the manuscript and the illustrations of its poets is highly prosaic: **C** contains no musical notation, a lack it shares with the other two main collections of the *Minnesang* repertoire, the Kleine Heidelberger Liederhandschrift (**A**) and the Weingartner Liederhandschrift (**B**).[73] Ewald Jammers's remark that, to a modern reader, it seems remarkable that such a large-scale anthology of song contains no musical notation, is telling and asserts this to be the (true) reason for

---

[69] Ibid., p. 446. <37.a>

[70] See Ursula Peters, *Das Ich im Bild: die Figur des Autors in volkssprachigen Bilderhandschriften des 13. bis 16. Jahrhunderts*, Cologne, Weimar and Vienna 2008, p. 32.

[71] Denis Lyle Dechant, *Transformations of Authorial Representation in the Manesse Codex*, MA thesis, University of Oregon 2010, p. 8.

[72] Elizabeth C. Teviotdale, 'Music and Pictures in the Middle Ages', in: *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music*, ed. by Tess Knighton and David Fallows, London 1992, pp. 179–188; here, p. 188.

[73] For a discussion of the images in **B**, see Chapter II.2.i.

music historians' neglect of **C**.[74] The source's illustrations lack visual content that would conform to modern ontologies of musical visualisation: of the 137 miniatures, only 20 depict instruments or musical performance.[75] Only one of the miniatures depicts a *Minnesänger* actively engaged in performance, seemingly suggesting that not only did the compilers of **C** have no interest in music, but also that they did not consider the *Minnesänger* musicians.[76] Tilman Seebass pointed out that the apparent lack of understanding of the poets as musicians was further underlined by documentary, archival evidence.[77] The following sections, however, argue that the lack of musical notation and the lack of explicitly musical iconography in the illustrations do not render the manuscript without music, and that this should not keep musicologists from studying **C**.

Reviewing Mary Atchison's study of trouv. **I**, Elizabeth Eva Leach has made a similar case regarding the relationship of musical content and musical notation in this French anthology of lyric.[78] Leach suggests that 'it might […] be the case that these songs were well enough 'notated' for the purpose of singing simply by having their texts copied. Their audience would have known the tunes (which were most likely simple, syllabic, and monophonic), or they would easily have learnt them aurally from those who already knew them'.[79] Leach recently reiterated her claim, arguing that the lack of musical notation in manuscripts containing works of Guillaume de Machaut must not necessarily correspond

---

[74] See Ewald Jammers, 'Die Manessische Liederhandschrift und die Musik', in: *Codex Manesse: die Grosse Heidelberger Liederhandschrift: Kommentar zum Faksimile des Codex Palatinus Germanicus 848 der Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg*, ed. by Walter Koschorreck and Wilfried Werner, Kassel 1981, pp. 169–187; here, p. 169.

[75] This figure includes the drawing on fol. 196r. See ibid., p. 170; Lorenz Welker, 'Melodien und Instrumente', in: *Codex Manesse: Katalog zur Ausstellung vom 12. Juni bis 2. Oktober 1988 Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg*, ed. by Elmar Mittler and Wilfried Werner, Heidelberg 1988, pp. 113–126; here, p. 122. For an overview of **C**'s miniatures, see appendix 3.

[76] See Rüdiger Schnell, 'Vom Sänger zum Autor: Konsequenzen der Schriftlichkeit des deutschen Minnesangs', in: *Text und Kultur: mittelalterliche Literatur, 1150–1450*, ed. by Ursula Peters, Stuttgart and Weimar 2001, pp. 96–149; here, p. 114.

[77] See Tilman Seebass, 'Lady Music and Her Protegés: from Musical Allegory to Musicians' Portraits', in: *MD* 42 (1988), pp. 23–61; here, p. 39.

[78] Mary Atchison, *The Chansonnier of Oxford Bodleian MS Douce 308: Essays and Complete Edition of Texts*, Aldershot 2005.

[79] Elizabeth Eva Leach, Review of Mary Atchison, 'The Chansonnier of Oxford Bodleian MS Douce 308', in: *M&L* 87 (2006a), pp. 416–420; here, p. 417.

to a lack of musical intention.[80] Leach's critique of Atchison's idea that editions are 'best presented so as to show what is on the page rather than what is not', is equally applicable to current research on German repertoires, such as Beate Kellner's study of the medial presentation of *Minnesang*.[81] In 2004, Kellner utilised the lack of musical notation in *Minnesang* manuscripts to strengthen her call to understand this repertoire as a purely textual phenomenon: 'the all but total lack of musical notation in the German countries further underlines the impression of the songs as written texts whose artistic and complex forms—at least concerning some of their strategies—can apparently be comprehended only in writing'.[82] The lack of explicit depictions of music-making in the miniatures of the manuscripts is, likewise, made to serve in support of Kellner's claim.

Positions such as Kellner's are closely related to suggestions that the lack of melodies documents a shift from an oral, performance-based practice towards a literary mode of transmission.[83] Thomas Cramer—among the leading figures in re-emphasising *Minnesang* as a literate, text-based tradition—conceded that the lack of musical instruments in miniatures of *Minnesang* manuscripts did not prove the lack of musical performance, demonstrating how strongly contested a generalising assumption such as 'no explicit musical illustration means non-musical repertoire' is. The following discussion of the visual representation of the *Minnesänger* in **C** presents the codex as a *music* manuscript, despite its lack of explicitly musical visual content. It outlines the potential fecundity of the manuscript for musicological studies by interrogating its miniatures' ways of presenting the *Minnesänger* not only as poets, but as musicians.

---

[80] See Elizabeth Eva Leach, *Guillaume de Machaut: Secretary, Poet, Musician*, Ithaca (NY) 2011, p. 68.
[81] Atchison 2005, p. 18. See Beate Kellner, '"Ich grüeze mit gesange" – Mediale Formen und Inszenierungen der Überwindung von Distanz im Minnesang', in: *Text und Handeln: zum kommunikativen Ort von Minnesang und antiker Lyrik* ed. by Albrecht Hausmann, Heidelberg 2004, pp. 107–137; Leach, Review of Atchison, p. 416.
[82] Kellner 2004, p. 109. <51.a>
[83] See Michael Stolz, 'Die Aura der Autorschaft: Dichterprofile in der Manessischen Liederhandschrift', in: *Buchkultur im Mittelalter: Schrift – Bild – Kommunikation*, ed. by Adrian Mettauer, Berlin 2005, pp. 68–99; here, p. 70.

ii. The Codex Manesse and the *Minnesänger* as Musical Authors

Numerous, mainly literary, scholars have concerned themselves with the construction of authorial *personae* in the miniatures of **C**. Among these studies is Denis Dechant's recent Oregon Master's thesis. Discussing the illustrations of Der von Kürenberg (Image 1), Ulrich von Liechtenstein (Image 2), and Johannes Hadlaub (Image 3), Dechant argues that even those *Minnesänger* in **C** who were not portrayed in the classical mode of authorship, namely writing at a desk, were presented as authorial *personae*.[84] Although he emphasises that each miniature has its individual programme and strategy, Dechant pinpoints a tendency towards the depiction of the author as a perceiving and experiencing character within the author's poetic oeuvre, rather than as its creator.[85] A prominent case in point is the miniature of Johannes Hadlaub, who was possibly involved in the creation of **C**, as the reference to Rüdiger Manesse as the collector of songs in one of Hadlaub's poems suggests: the miniature is 'a primary document of Hadlaub's self-presentation, […] a projection of his own understanding of authorship: what an author is, and what an author does. In the image, Hadlaub does not appear as a writer, reciter, or any other traditional function of authorship. Instead, he appears as a performer or character, physically embodying a narrative scene from one of his own poems'.[86] Dechant suggests that there was no need to ensure a close resemblance to the real figure of Hadlaub, since the poet was still alive when the miniatures were made; instead, the illuminators could focus on creating a link between the author and his poetry, thus establishing and strengthening the latter's claim to the representation of truth.[87] As in the miniatures of Kürenberg and Liechtenstein, the visualisation of Hadlaub as the experiencing *persona* of his own poetry is 'an active

---

[84] See Dechant 2010, p. 14.
[85] See ibid., p. 44.
[86] Ibid., p. 55.
[87] See ibid., p. 56.

[generator] of belief and meaning that concretely [affects] how a reader would have experienced the subsequent texts'.[88]

Image 1: Der von Kürenberg in C (fol. 63r)[89]

Image 2: Ulrich von Liechtenstein in C (fol. 237r)

---

[88] Ibid., p. 45.
[89] A digital reproduction of **C** can be accessed online: http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpg848. All images of **C** reprinted here have been obtained from this website.
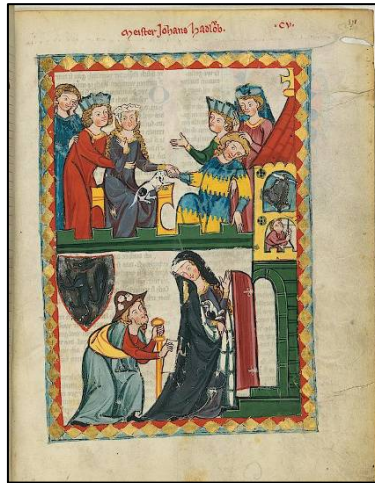
Image 3: Johannes Hadlaub in C (fol. 371r)

In her comparative studies of different repertoires of medieval vernacular song, Ursula Peters repeatedly called attention to the ways in which manuscript illustration helps establish a unity of various poetic *personae*. As examples of the close connection between image and poetry in **C**, she discusses the cases of König Tyro von den Schotten (Image 4) and the two Winsbeke (Image 5 and Image 6), noting that 'the protagonists' deictic and demonstrative gestures of the *magister cum discipulis* type relate directly to the following instructive dialogues between father and son, and mother and daughter'.[90] Sylvia Huot, in her discussion of Old French repertoires, pointed out similar phenomena, claiming that the images in song manuscripts contribute to the establishment of the poet as author, lover, and performer.[91] Although it is significant that the conflation of *personae* is featured in medieval vernacular poetry across Europe, it will be of particular interest in the present context to note the extent to which scholars have remarked upon this relationship within the *Minnesang* repertoire. Franz-Josef Holznagel applied Huot's ideas concerning the importance of authorship and its derivation from the poetry to *Minnesang*. Following the argumentation of Burghart Wachinger, Holznagel argued that 'the presenting and the

---

[90] Ursula Peters, 'Ordnungsfunktion – Textillustration – Autorenkonstruktion: zu den Bildern der romanischen und deutschen Liederhandschriften', in: *ZfdA* 130 (2001), pp. 392–430; here, p. 396. <80.a>
[91] See Sylvia Jean Huot, *From Song to Book: the Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry*, Ithaca (NY) 1987, p. 54.

presented *personae* are identical, and consequently the recipients were interested in the poets not only in their role as authors, but also as humans with a special experience of love'.[92] Holznagel discussed these ideas in relation to the images of **B**, in which 'utterances of the lyric *persona* are transferred onto the character depicted in the miniature, and thereby onto the historical figure of the poet; the author, the depicted figure, and the text-internal singer *persona* are conflated in the pictures of the codex'.[93]

Philologists have recently concerned themselves with the prevalence of this conflation of *personae* not only in manuscript images, but especially in performance. Jan-Dirk Müller, for example, has claimed that in performance there was no strict separation between external and internal singer *persona*—that is, the person who is performing and who is expressing the song.[94] Much discussion of the importance of performance was sparked by Hugo Kuhn's influential imagination of a performance of Hartmann von Aue's crusade song 'Ich var mit iuweren hulden, herren unde mage' (MFXXII,17) in the late 1960s.[95] Relating the discussion of *Minnesang* in performance and the miniatures of **C** to reception issues, Michael Schilling claimed that '*Minnesang* was considered the expression of experienced feelings, and its statements were able to be related directly to the performer and the present audience without any further distinction of implicit, explicit and real author, or between implicit, explicit and real audience'.[96]

---

[92] Holznagel 1995, p. 57. <43.a> For Wachinger's claims, see: Burghart Wachinger, 'Autorschaft und Überlieferung', in: *Autorentypen*, ed. by Walter Haug and Burghart Wachinger, Tübingen 1991, pp. 1–28; here, p. 12f.

[93] Holznagel 1995, p. 85. <43.c>

[94] See Jan-Dirk Müller, '"Ir sult sprechen willekomen": Sänger, Sprecherrolle und die Anfänge volkssprachiger Lyrik', in: *ASdL* 19 (1994), pp. 1–21; here, p. 4.

[95] See Hugo Kuhn, 'Minnesang als Aufführungsform', in: *Text und Theorie*, ed. by Hugo Kuhn, Stuttgart 1969a, pp. 182–190. An English version of this article can be found in: Hugo Kuhn, 'Minnesang and the Form of Performance', in: *Formal Aspects of Medieval German Poetry: a Symposium*, ed. by Stanley N. Werbow, Austin 1969b, pp. 29–41. Peter Strohschneider also assessed the role of performance in the construction of various poetic *personae*: Peter Strohschneider, '"nu sehent, wie der singet!" Vom Hervortreten des Sängers im Minnesang', in: *'Aufführung' und 'Schrift' in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. by Jan-Dirk Müller, Stuttgart 1996, pp. 7–30.

[96] Michael Schilling, 'Minnesang als Gesellschaftskunst und Privatvergnügen: Gebrauchsformen und Funktionen der Lieder im "Frauendienst" Ulrichs von Liechtenstein', in: *Wechselspiele: Kommunikationsformen und Gattungsinterferenzen mittelhochdeutscher Lyrik*, ed. by Michael Schilling and Peter Strohschneider, Heidelberg 1996, pp. 103–121; here, p. 108. <88.a>

Image 4: König Tyro von den Schotten in C (fol. 8r)

Image 5: Der Winsbeke in C (fol. 213r)

35

Image 6: Die Winsbekin in C (fol. 217r)

Critiquing the ways in which the relationship between historical and text-internal poet-figures are expressed in German lyric poetry, Sabine Obermaier warned against an oversimplified identification of author, performer, and lyric *persona*.[97] Analysing songs in which the text's lyric *persona* overtly reflects on the composition and/or performance of poetry, she argued that 'one cannot speak of an identity between lyric *persona* and author *a priori*, but—at most—of their parallelism'.[98] Her warning should be heeded also when studying the relationship of author, performer, and lyric *persona* in manuscript illustrations: although elements of all three *personae* may be presented in a single portrait, these *personae* are not identical, but actively constructed as parallel. Regarding the musicality ascribed to the poets in the miniatures of **C**, this means that one ought not only to look for one-to-one depictions of actual music-making or performance inspired by the texts, but that one will have to consider features of musicality that function in *analogy* to the more overt textual references to music-making.

---

[97] See also Obermaier's critical reflection of her previous work: Sabine Obermaier, *Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der Interpretation von 'Dichtung über Dichtung' als Schlüssel für eine Poetik mittelhochdeutscher Lyrik: eine Skizze*, Berlin 1999.
[98] Sabine Obermaier, *Von Nachtigallen und Handwerkern: 'Dichtung über Dichtung' in Minnesang und Sangspruchdichtung*, Tübingen 1995, p. 23. <77.a>

Looking only for 'identical' modes of representation in **C**'s illuminations, Dechant fails to scrutinise the ways in which the *Minnesänger* are depicted as musicians. His aside that 'all of the poems in the Manesse codex were *originally* songs' points to his understanding that the written fixation without musical notation has stripped the songs of their original status as performed music.[99] The implicit suggestion of the poems' non-musical status suits Dechant's argumentation well, since it conforms to his belief that the visual depiction of the authors would have strongly influenced readers' expectations: if the images did not show the texts as being musically performed by their creators, the readers would not have been surprised by the lack of musical notation on the following folios of the manuscript.[100]

Not only the, albeit sparse, depiction of musical instruments in **C** contradicts Dechant's assumption. Many scholars have argued the case for the representation of orality in the miniatures of other medieval song manuscripts: the representation of orality may, by means of parallelism and analogy, point towards the songs' musicality. Analysing the deictic elements in the miniatures of **B**, Horst Wenzel proposed convincingly that the depiction of empty scrolls in the hands of poets is to be understood as an emblematic representation of the oral performance of the texts which were notated alongside the images.[101] In his discussion of the miniature of Rudolf von Fenis in **B**, Wenzel even argued that the curvaceousness of the unfurled scroll in the poet's hands resembled sonic wave-forms which would have been emitted in an oral performance of the poetry (Image 7).[102] Sylvia Huot likewise pointed to the symbolic meaning of scrolls in similar, French

---

[99] Emphasis mine. Dechant 2010, p. 6.
[100] See ibid., p. 65.
[101] See Horst Wenzel, 'Wahrnehmung und Deixis: zur Poetik der Sichtbarkeit in der höfischen Literatur', in: *Visualisierungsstrategien in mittelalterlichen Bildern und Texten*, ed. by Horst Wenzel and C. Stephen Jaeger, Berlin 2006b, pp. 17–43; here, p. 31.
[102] See ibid. Although medieval illuminators and onlookers would have not conceived of sounds as wave forms, the medieval concept of *motus vocum* might be an appropriate term to describe the curvaceousness of the unfurled scroll, see: Sarah Fuller, 'Theoretical Foundations of Early Organum Theory', in: *AM* 53 (1/1981), pp. 52–84; here, p. 69ff.

manuscript illuminations: 'it would seem that the scroll is an iconographic motif suggesting song as such—the lyric text, destined ultimately for oral performance. […] In addition […] the scroll as a visual image carried connotations of orality from its use as the medieval equivalent of the "voice balloon"'.[103] Norbert Ott emphasised that the miniatures of both **B** and **C** portray their authors as part of an oral tradition, and that the scrolls held by poets indicate the oral status of their lyric poetry.[104]

Image 7: Rudolf von Fenis in B (p. 4)[105]

Michael Curschmann has distinguished three types of scroll in **C**: the scroll as the attribute of poets, the scroll as the representation of written literature, and the scroll as the emblem of a (private) letter.[106] A typical example of the scroll as a poet's insignia can be found in **C**'s miniature of Walther von der Vogelweide (Image 8). Walther is depicted seated on a small mound; his left elbow rests on his left knee and his head is nestled into the palm of his left hand. He holds in his right hand the bottom edge of a scroll which reaches out across the front of his body. The scroll is unfurled almost entirely, with only a little amount of parchment still furled at the top. It is placed at the centre of the miniature,

---

[103] Huot 1987, p. 78f.
[104] See Ott 1997, p. 41.
[105] All miniatures from **B** have been taken from http://digital.wlb-stuttgart.de/purl/bsz319421317.
[106] See Curschmann 1992, p. 222.

right above the figure of Walther, and between his shield (that depicts a caged bird) and his helm (which has a caged bird as its crest); it does not extend beyond or touch the miniature's frame, and resembles a tilted 's'-shape, mimicking both Walther's general sitting gesture on the top of the mound as well as the position of his crossed right arm and left leg. This correlation suggests that the scroll represents Walther and his thoughts, and supports the assertion that the miniatures are meant to demonstrate the close connection between the poetry and their author.

Image 8: Walther von der Vogelweide in C (fol. 124r)

Image 9: Graf Otto von Botenlauben in C (fol. 27r)

The image of Otto von Botenlauben (Image 9) characteristically combines all three types of scroll distinguished by Curschmann. Again, the poet is seated with his left leg crossed over the right, the left elbow rests on the left knee, and the head is slightly inclined—although this time not nestled in the palm of the poet's hand—while the poet's right arm crosses in front of his body and holds the end of a scroll in its fingertips. The scroll unfolds downwards, seeming to flow from the poet's inclined head and mirroring the outline of the poet's body. Possibly, one could argue that the scroll resembles a capital 'A' together with the throne on which the poet is seated and with the poet's own outline. These aspects are very similar to those seen in Walther's image, and characterise Otto as a poet. Another, smaller figure on the right hand side of the latter picture grasps the same scroll with both hands—not only with his fingertips like Otto and Walther—turning the scroll into a physical object, which in all likelihood contains written matter. The figure may be a messenger, ready to deliver the poetry just received from Otto, who is seated on his throne indoors: a possibility, strengthened by the fact that the figure stands on a little field of brown earth, suggesting that he is outside; he also carries at his girdle a small rounded box, ideal to keep safe the letter-scrolls he has been asked to deliver.

The scrolls in both images remain empty and without text. Horst Wenzel has proposed that the manuscripts' empty scrolls were to be filled by the readers with the text contained on the following folios.[107] The example of Rudolf von Fenis (in **B**) further supports this idea (Image 7): the scroll appears to flow out of the miniature, pointing towards the text notated on the following folios. The cases of Walther's and Otto's images in **C**, which place the scroll at the centre of the miniature—even more central than the poet himself in Otto's case—suggest a more general and broad application to lyric poetry. In

---

[107] See Wenzel 2006b, p. 31.

this vein, Ursula Peters has proposed that the scrolls refer to an author's oeuvre, not a particular piece of poetry transmitted in any one particular form.[108]

It is an established consensus among scholars that the depiction of scrolls establishes an authority which the manuscripts and their poetry might otherwise not have held, in addition to referring to the poetic works themselves. While Ott laconically observed that the author portrait gives a text its 'aura of verity', Dechant generalised this observation to conclude that 'by giving a fixed, visual form to these legends, the images generate belief in the authenticity of the following lyrics'.[109] Peters similarly claimed that illustrations in medieval manuscripts are not interested in characters, but in establishing *auctoritas*; the scrolls help this cause by drawing attention away from the poets and towards the texts.[110] Curschmann, on the other hand, studied in detail the history of the scroll motif, and traced it back to the creation of the Gospels: the authority of vernacular poetry could hardly have been more impressively highlighted by the illuminators than by employing the already firmly established pictorial formula of the scroll.[111]

Michael Camille's assertion of a 'medieval mistrust of the visual sign'[112] initially appears to contradict the notion of authority through visual representation; yet Camille also presented medieval evidence of the (silent) representation of living voices through written signs in the form of John of Salisbury's twelfth-century *Metalogicon*: 'letters, that is written symbols, in the first place represent sounds. And secondly they stand for things, which they conduct into the mind through the windows of the eyes. Frequently they even communicate, without emitting a sound, the utterances of those who are absent'.[113] One might argue that the untexted scrolls in vernacular manuscripts of lyric poetry have a

---

[108] See Peters 2001, p. 398.
[109] Dechant 2010, p. 45; Ott 1997, p. 40. <78.a>
[110] See Peters 2001, p. 392.
[111] See Curschmann 1999, p. 423.
[112] Camille 1985, p. 32.
[113] Daniel D. McGarry (ed.), *The Metalogicon of John of Salisbury: a Twelfth-Century Defense of the Verbal and Logical Arts of the Trivium*, Berkeley 1962, p. 38. For Camille's reference, see: Camille 1985, p. 31.

similar function: not only do they establish a degree of authority for the texts transmitted in these manuscripts, but they simultaneously refer back to the poetry's original form of reception and transmission—orality. Camille's preliminary conclusion that 'picture and script were the conventional "signata"' of present and direct *voice* thus brings the present discussion full circle, strengthening the claim that 'scrolls portray orality'.[114]

Scrolls appear in abundance in **C**, both in unfurled and closed form. Although Dechant acknowledges the idea that the untexted scroll may be understood as a symbolic reference to orality, he opposes this view, and stresses that the presence of the scroll fixes the act of speech in a specific moment of time and underlines its historical truth.[115] Timo Reuvekamp-Felber, in contrast, argued that a written text is essentially pluralistic and becomes unambiguous and certain only in performance.[116] Dechant's idea of fixedness being represented through writing led him to propose that 'the scrolls held by both parties in Kürenberg's image [Image 1] are *primarily* to be understood as physical objects'; moreover, he suggested that the images 'could not possibly be compensating for a vanished mode of reception [oral performance]: instead they are quite clearly rejecting this mode of reception in favour of establishing and representing a different one'.[117] He is not the only scholar to argue for an understanding of the scrolls as emblems of a written, literate form of *Minnesang* reception and transmission. Citing examples of the pictorial representation of the troubadours as well as the numerous instances from **C** in which a messenger is used to pass a song from the poet to the lady, Rüdiger Schnell rejected Curschmann's idea of the scroll as the symbol of 'poetry as sung performance art', and claimed that the use of scrolls in manuscript images proved his own idea of a gradual shift towards *Minnesang* as written

---

[114] Camille 1985, p. 32. Curschmann, too, argued that in the Middle Ages, 'sensorially, the written word belongs into the context of aural perception'. Curschmann 1998, p. 118. <26.a>
[115] See Dechant 2010, p. 27.
[116] See Timo Reuvekamp-Felber, 'Fiktionalität als Gattungsvoraussetzung: die Destruktion des Authentischen in der Genese der deutschen und romanischen Lyrik', in: *Text und Kultur: mittelalterliche Kultur 1150–1450*, ed. by Ursula Peters, Stuttgart 2001, pp. 377–402; here, p. 381.
[117] Emphasis mine. Dechant 2010, p. 27 and 58.

literature.[118] Thomas Cramer similarly maintained that all medieval vernacular poetry should be understood primarily as written literature, claiming that the secondary nature of melody (and poetry's oral performance) was documented by the scarce melodic transmission in the extant manuscripts.[119] Yet Cramer himself underlined that no clearly defined dichotomy between oral and written cultures could be made out until the establishment of a bourgeois *Bildungskultur*, and that the modes of oral and literate reception were inseparable in the Middle Ages.[120] Jörn Gruber stressed this mutual reliance of written and oral practices in regard to troubadour repertories, arguing that the main function of reading was to aid the memorisation of lyric poetry for sung performance.[121] With reference to **C**, Ott has summarised the Janus-faced nature of lyric poetry as suspended between orality and literacy:

> **C**—and to no lesser extent **B**, which features the same pictorial *formulae*—in masterly manner pushes this game of referentiality between the oral-literate double character of the poetry and the role of author and performer to extremes. This book of exceptional representational ambition itself renders the oral genre of the *Lied*, which creates itself anew in each performance, in ultimate, fixed literate form, and constitutes—if not a paradox—at least a highly conscious playing with the simultaneous oral and literate existence of the texts collected therein.[122]

---

[118] Curschmann 1992, p. 223. <25.a> For Schnell's claims, see: Schnell 2001, p. 112ff. In a study of the unnotated *chansonnier* troub. **N** (US-NYpm 819), Stephen G. Nichols suggested that the manuscript conveys '*reading* programmes', failing to highlight **N**'s references to sound—such as the vielle player on fol. 57v, or the debate between lady and poet on fol. 190r (emphasis mine); unlike Schnell, however, Nichols is adamant about the 'manuscript's performative thrust': Stephen G. Nichols, '"Art" and "Nature": Looking for (Medieval) Principles of Order in Occitan Chansonnier N (Morgan 819)', in: *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany*, ed. by Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel, Ann Arbor 1996, pp. 83–121; here, p. 83 and 120.

[119] See Thomas Cramer, 'Die Lieder der Trobadors, Trouvères und Minnesänger: literarhistorische Probleme', in: *Musikalische Lyrik*, ed. by Hermann Danuser, Laaber 2004, pp. 130–136; here, p. 136.

[120] See Cramer 1998, p. 22.

[121] See Jörn Gruber, 'Singen und Schreiben, Hören und Lesen als Parameter der (Re-)Produktion und Rezeption des Occitanischen Minnesangs des 12. Jahrhunderts', in: *LiLi* 57/58 (1985), pp. 35–51; here, p. 47.

[122] Ott 1997, p. 41. <78.b>

Regardless of whether one believes *Minnesang* to have been transmitted and received orally or literally around 1300, it should be agreed with Franziska Wenzel that 'neither the closeness to orality seems to be indicated predominantly, nor does the closeness to writing necessarily have to be accepted. First and foremost, it should be noted that the scroll points towards the poetry, whether in written or oral form need not be decided finally'.[123] If one agrees with Wenzel that the scrolls point to poetry, and with Huot that 'the song [Wenzel's poetry] is first of all an oral, *musical* medium', then one must conclude that music is present in **C**, at least in all of those miniatures which feature scrolls.[124] Although renowned scholars such as Volker Mertens have argued to the contrary, claiming that the empty scrolls 'do not offer any insight into the vocal realisation or written transmission of poetry', the preceding paragraphs have outlined why this thesis believes that the scrolls refer to poetry or—with Curschmann—to strophic, musical *Lied* and *Spruch* poetry: the miniatures and scrolls remind the reader to verbalise the poetry, to memorise it aurally.[125]

A second visual gesture that refers to orality, and thus to the poetry's (musical) declamation, is the pointing index finger. This 'was a universal sign of acoustical performance, the speaking subject […]. It is in this sense that we should see the aim of artists in this period to evoke the sound of the voice (which relayed the matter of the word)'.[126] Camille's explanation of the raised index finger presents an alternative to an earlier interpretation of the gesture proposed by Fritz Traugott Schulz. According to Schulz, the raised finger was used to show the poets counting the syllables of their lyric

---

[123] Franziska Wenzel, 'Vom Gestus des Zeigens und der Sichtbarkeit künstlerischer Geltung im Codex Manesse', in: *Visualisierungsstrategien in mittelalterlichen Bildern und Texten*, ed. by Horst Wenzel and C. Stephen Jaeger, Berlin 2006a, pp. 44–62; here, p. 58f. <108.a>
[124] Emphasis mine. Huot 1987, p. 54.
[125] Volker Mertens, 'Visualizing Performance? Music, Word, and Manuscript', in: *Visual Culture and the German Middle Ages*, ed. by Kathryn Starkey and Horst Wenzel, New York 2005, pp. 135–158; here, p. 150. See: Curschmann 1992, p. 225; Horst Wenzel, *Hören und Sehen: Schrift und Bild: Kultur und Gedächtnis im Mittelalter*, Munich 1995, p. 279.
[126] Camille 1985, p. 28.

lines.[127] A striking example which highlights the problematic nature of Schulz's interpretation is **C**'s miniature of Der Herzog von Anhalt (Image 10). It is not the poet who is portrayed with this gesture, but the four ladies who watch his fight from the safety of the battlements. Rather than counting syllables (or anything else), the ladies' raised and pointing fingers seem to refer to their lively verbal discourse about the battle below. A similar case can be made for the illustration of Graf Konrad von Kirchberg (Image 11): the poet exchanges a scroll with a lady, who has raised her right hand, gesturing to the poet with her raised thumb, index, and middle finger. Any reasons for the lady to count to three will remain speculation; arguing, however, that this exchange of poetry does not take place in silence, but is accompanied by a verbal exchange between the poet and the lady, seems reasonable—at least from a present-day point of view. The understanding of the raised fingers as representation of verbal exchange can also be applied to images such as that of Graf Rudolf von Neuenburg (Image 12), those of the two Winsbeke (Image 5 and Image 6), or König Tyro von den Schotten (Image 4), which have already been characterised above as emblematic of discussions in didactic contexts.[128]
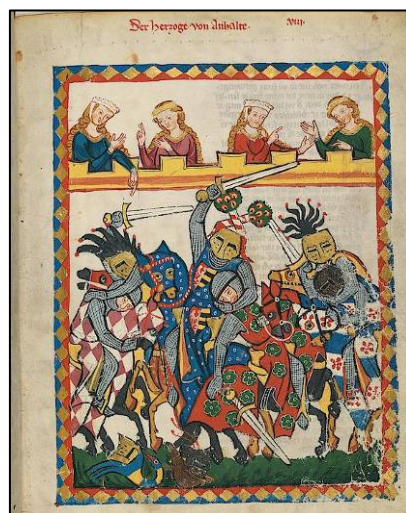
Image 10: Der Herzog von Anhalt in C (fol. 17r)

---

[127] See Schulz 1901, p. 67.
[128] See fn. 90.

Image 11: Graf Konrad von Kirchberg in C (fol. 24r)

Image 12: Graf Rudolf von Neuenburg in C (fol. 20r)

Heinrich von Veldeke (Image 13), finally, is also depicted as the author of (musical) poetry through visual *formulae*. In addition to the curvaceous, empty scroll, which is pointed to by the index finger, and formulaic patterns already encountered elsewhere, the miniature features a black squirrel sitting on the poet's right shoulder. Franziska Wenzel has argued that (tame) squirrels had been favourites with the ladies since antiquity; it may in this picture allude to the inspiration of Veldeke's songs, the Lady—and

to his status as a poet.[129] Walther/Siebert proposed that the birds depicted alongside Veldeke were a magpie, a pheasant, and a stork.[130] Classical and medieval authors such as Pliny believed magpies to 'imitate the human voice convincingly', and its inclusion in Veldeke's image might suggest a dialogue between the poet and the bird.[131] The birds circling around Veldeke may represent nightingales, a species that was 'linked with pain, suffering, and the anguish and ecstasy of love'; Gottfried von Straßburg's *Tristan* used the birds as an emblem for the *Minnesänger*.[132] Their depiction here might be a conscious reference to Gottfried's image, again layering the miniature with sound.

Image 13: Heinrich von Veldeke in C (fol. 30r)

The observation that the *Minnesänger* are represented as musicians in the miniatures of **C** counters Tilman Seebass's surprise that 'the subject of inventing, writing, composing, or performing which one might expect to take a prominent place in the pictures of authors is by far not the only, or even the ruling, theme of the illustrations'.[133] The preceding discussion has suggested that music production, making, and reception is, on the

---

[129] See Wenzel 2006a, p. 50.
[130] See Walther and Siebert (eds) 1988, p. 32.
[131] Hope B. Werness, Art. 'Magpie', in: *ASA*, New York 2006b, pp. 264–265; here, p. 265.
[132] Rüdiger Krohn (ed.), *Gottfried von Straßburg: Tristan*, 3 vols, Stuttgart 2010, pp. 290 (vol. 1, ll. 4751ff; Hope B. Werness, Art. 'Nightingale', in: *ASA*, New York 2006c, pp. 295–296; here, p. 295.
[133] Seebass 1988, p. 38.

contrary, depicted frequently in the illustrations of **C**, even if this is achieved in a symbolic and highly codified way. Since music is present in the iconographic allusions to the poetry and is inherently part of the texts contained in the codex, it need not have been represented explicitly in the miniatures for the contemporary medieval audience to have conceived of the *Minnesänger* as musicians. Indeed, paratextual evidence in **C** similarly points to the audience's awareness of the songs as musical, without the need for any musical notation.[134] Hella Frühmorgen-Voss has argued that by not explicitly and repeatedly emphasising the commonly known fact that poets were singers, the miniatures opened up a plethora of different facets of the poets' identities which could be depicted instead.[135] The lack of overt musical representation in the images of **C**, as well as the few depicted acts of actual music-making with instruments, are discussed in the following section.

iii. The Codex Manesse and the *Minnesänger* as Musicians

The modern CD, it may be argued, resembles the medieval *Liederhandschrift*.[136] Like the song manuscript, it contains iconographic, literary, and auditory elements. A CD's accompanying booklet often features the texts of the recorded music, and adorns these with illustrations, most prominently on its cover. Unlike the *Liederhandschrift*, however, the CD—when its disc is played—can *physically* reproduce the sound of its songs, not in the user's memory alone. Like the scrolls in the miniatures of **C**, the disc embodies the songs

---

[134] Famously, Walther von der Vogelweide's song 'Ein man verbiutet ein spil ane pfliht' (C81) is demarcated in **C** as a contrafact by the introductory rubric 'In dem done: Ich wirbe um allez daz ein man' (MF159,1), known elsewhere as a song by Reinmar: see **C**, fol. 142v. This paratextual reference to the song's poetic structure (including the melody), however, has been considered by scholars mainly as a proof of contrafacture—not as an indication of **C**'s status as a music manuscript; see Gisela Kornrumpf and Burghart Wachinger, 'Alment: Formentlehnung und Tönegebrauch in der mittelhochdeutschen Spruchdichtung', in: *Deutsche Literatur im Mittelalter: Kontakte und Perspektiven*, ed. by Christoph Cormeau, Stuttgart 1979, pp. 356–411; here, p. 128ff.

[135] See Hella Frühmorgen-Voss, *Text und Illustration im Mittelalter: Aufsätze zu den Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Literatur und bildender Kunst*, Munich 1975, p. 58.

[136] I understand CD here as the product in its entirety, that is the disc, booklet, packaging, but also its publicity etc. The actual medium containing the musical recording will be referred to as a disc. The present discussion does not argue that medieval manuscripts are equivalent to CDs, only that CDs may share certain features of medieval sources. Such comparisons can be fruitful only if directed from the past to the present; a perspective guaranteed here through the discussion of the medieval sources in the preceding section: Henry Hope, Review of Judith A. Peraino, 'Giving Voice to Love: Song and Self-Expression from the Troubadours to Guillaume de Machaut', in: *M&L* 94 (2013), pp. 334–337; here, p. 336.

recorded on it and, though outwardly non-musical, is laden with music. If a consumer already knows the disc's music, they may experience the songs in their imagination even while 'merely' looking at the disc; if the music recorded on the disc is unfamiliar to the future-listener, they will nonetheless expect some kind of sonic wave (whether music, or spoken word) to emerge when inserting the disc into a player.

Although the resemblance between CD and *Liederhandschrift* does not hold true in all respects, a further dimension can be added to this comparison.[137] Granted that the packaged CD resembles the song manuscript as a whole, and if the disc has a similar ontological status to the scrolls presented in manuscript illuminations, one might wish to consider the illustrations in booklets and on CD covers akin to author miniatures, such as those in **C**. Indeed, contemporary CDs frequently present the artists on their covers. In the following, it will be scrutinised whether this similarity between CD cover and *Liederhandschrift* miniature extends further than the representation of the music's author.

In 2003, Curtis James Jackson III released the double-CD *Get Rich or Die Tryin'* under his better-known pseudonym 50 Cent.[138] The CD's cover (Image 14) does not show a musician, but the experiencing *persona* of the songs recorded on its disc. The cover suggests that this *persona* is also the author of the songs, 50 Cent himself. The identification of the man on the cover as 50 Cent is established by the bold-type banner '50 Cent' in the top right hand corner and by the number '50' printed numerous times in a lozenge-style onto his belt. 50 Cent's muscular stature, his tattoos, and especially his anxious facial expression assert that he is ready to fight for his well-being—or as the CD's title, which is printed in italics just above his left shoulder, suggests: he is set to 'Get Rich or Die Tryin''.

---

[137] CDs, for example, are much more readily available in modern culture (and to a wider audience) than *Liederhandschriften* were in the Middle Ages. CDs are pressed in large quantities, whereas *Liederhandschriften* were generally unique artefacts.

[138] I am indebted to Laura Arnolds for pointing me to this recording.

The first song (after the intro) on disc one, titled 'What Up Gangsta', refers to the element of violence embodied by 50 Cent's masculinity.[139] The final song before the bonus cuts on disc one nuances this image of the experiencing/lyric *persona*. Its title, 'Gotta Make it to Heaven', succinctly expresses the religious aspects of the *persona*'s actions, countering many of the criticisms—profanity among them—that have been voiced against Gangsta rap.[140] Again, this element of the song's internal, lyric *persona* is transferred back onto its author, 50 Cent: on the CD cover, he wears a large crucifix around his neck.[141] The crucifix stands out prominently on the image because of its centrality and its silver colour, clearly set off against 50 Cent's dark skin. As Dechant claimed regarding Ulrich von Liechtenstein's depiction in **C**, 50 Cent is portrayed here not only as the author of his songs but as their perceiving *persona*.[142] Huot's assertion that, in courtly lyric, 'the experiences of loving, of making a song, and of singing it are indistinguishable, just as the figures of protagonist, author, and performer are united in the lyric "I"' holds true also in the case of rapper 50 Cent: although he is not explicitly depicted as a musician on the CD cover, its conflation of the authorial and experiencing *personae* of the lyrics implicitly also presents him as their performer.[143]

---

[139] The wikipedia article on 'Gangsta rap' provides a good introductory overview: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gangsta_rap.
[140] See ibid.
[141] Though the glittery design of the crucifix, along with the status-symbol of the watch, may once more make the image prone to the criticism of enshrining vanity, profanity (and possibly theft), its Christian symbolism serves to mitigate these criticisms.
[142] See Dechant 2010, p. 44.
[143] Huot 1987, p. 48.
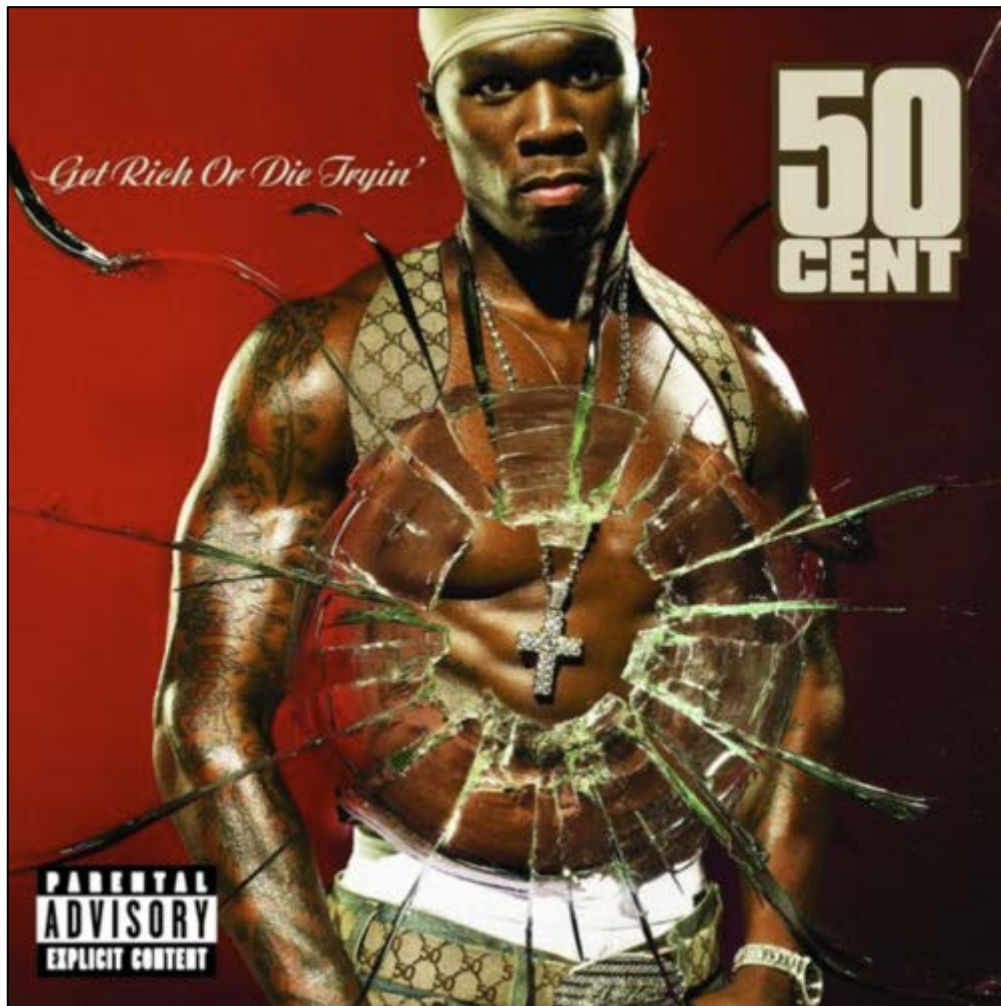
Image 14: 50 Cent: Get Rich or Die Tryin' (2003)[144]

Katy Perry's 2010 release 'Teenage Dream' plays with the union of authorial, experiencing, and performing *personae* in a similar manner, without explicitly presenting Perry as a performer on the cover. The CD cover (Image 15) is dominated by two elements: the curvaceous lettering 'Katy Perry' in red type at the top, and the almost naked body of a woman lying on a white, cloud-like surface, with her back and face visible to the potential listener. Though the identification of this woman as Katy Perry is not as straightforward as in the case of 50 Cent, there are certain features which make such an identification highly likely. Most strikingly, both the lettering 'Katy Perry' and the woman's body are depicted in a curvaceous, swung manner. The words are aligned almost exactly above the naked body, and the angle of the woman's legs mirrors the down and

---

[144] Image obtained from Shady Records: http://shadyrecords.com/album/get-rich-or-die-tryin/.

back swing of the final letter 'y'. In addition, the colour of the woman's lipstick is the same red that is used for the lettering. The colours associated with the body of the woman, who is indeed Katy Perry, also link her to the title 'Teenage Dream', included below the body almost like a caption or subtitle. In contrast to the 50 Cent record, Perry's CD title is also the title of the disc's first song. Seeing Perry almost naked might well be a teenage dream, proposing the song's author as its main topic through the visual representation of her on the cover. The final song on Perry's record strengthens the conflation of the authorial and perceiving *personae*: its pithy title 'Not Like the Movies' suggests that, unlike the world of the movies, the songs sing of reality.

Perry's creation of an autobiographic reality through song-text and image correlates with the widely asserted medieval perception of song manuscripts.[145] Nico Staiti has argued that a 'reality of images', in turn, was inherently musical: 'we could assert that there are no 'images of music' but rather a 'music of images', in that images are capable of rebuilding reality even more than they mirror inertly the world. A music of images is a unique musical reality that belongs exclusively to the figurative arts in their various manifestations'.[146]

---

[145] See Schnell 2001, p. 103.
[146] Nico Staiti, 'Musica imaginum: Representations of Music and Oral Tradition', in: *Musikalische Ikonographie*, ed. by Harald Heckmann, Monika Holl and Hans Joachim Marx, Laaber 1994; here, p. 268.

Image 15: Katy Perry: Teenage Dream (2010)[147]

Unlike these examples from present-day popular music culture, the classical music industry relies more heavily on the representation of music-making on CD covers, for example in Anne-Sophie Mutter's 2005 production of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's violin concertos (K207, 211, 216, 218, 219; K364 (sinfonia concertante)) with the label Deutsche Grammophon (Image 16). Although the cover image alludes to Mutter's deep personal connection with the music through her closed eyes, as well as to her re-sounding of historical truth (symbolised by the historical figures which are attached to the tip of her bow), Mutter is shown as a musician by the inclusion of her violin. Mutter needs to be presented as a performer for two reasons: firstly, Mutter does not perform music of her

---

own, or even of her own time. While one might argue that Perry and 50 Cent, too, do not perform their own songs, the notion of an external authorial figure is not as strong as in the case of Mutter's recording of Mozart. Secondly, one could claim that classical music has today become largely removed from many strata of society while 50 Cent and Perry have—somewhat similarly to the *Minnesänger* in their time—become names readily associated with music performance by those groups of society with the required economic power to purchase music CDs/*Liederhandschriften*. Consequently, the connection of authorial, perceiving, and performing *personae* in popular culture may be perceived as much stronger than in classical genres.

Image 16: Anne-Sophie Mutter: The Violin Concertos (2005)[148]

---

[148] Image obtained from Deutsche Grammophon: http://www.deutschegrammophon.com/en/cat/4775925.

This controversial assumption needs to be modified when considering other recent CD covers from the classical music industry. Jonas Kaufmann's 2009 recording of Franz Schubert's *Die schöne Müllerin* (D795; Image 17), for example, demonstrates that the notion of a unity between author, perceiver, and performer is not entirely absent from the world of classical music. Unlike Mutter, Kaufmann is not explicitly depicted as a performing musician. The man on the cover of Kaufmann's disc is dressed in relaxed modern clothing and caresses the portrait of an eighteenth or nineteenth-century lady of the upper social classes; since this man is not portrayed as a singer (for example by showing him with opened mouth) there is no obvious reason to identify him as Kaufmann. Merely the caption 'Jonas Kaufmann' at the top of the image suggests this man to be the performer. Kaufmann is depicted as the wanderer of Schubert's song-cycle, who is in love with the beautiful, but un-attainable miller's daughter. The cover underlines this un-attainability of the miller's daughter: she is physically displaced, and the wanderer holds in his hands only a picture of her; she is socially displaced, as the wanderer's clothing shows him not to be of the same high social standing she is; and thirdly, she is temporally displaced, since the wanderer is clearly marked as a twenty-first century character while she is from the eighteenth or nineteenth. The conflation of the performing and experiencing *personae* within the figure on the disc's cover, Jonas Kaufmann, resembles the strategies used both in medieval images of the *Minnesänger* and in the CD covers of Perry and 50 Cent. The topic of Schubert's *Die schöne Müllerin*, a typical 'courtly love' story, makes the cover's analogy to medieval modes of visual representation a feasible choice: since Kaufmann sings the story, he must be its protagonist (and vice versa). It is, therefore, not the idiom of classical music in general which is incompatible with the unity of author, performer, and perceiver, but the idiom of *instrumental* classical music (which today strongly influences the identity of classical music as a whole).

However closely entwined the *personae* of performer and perceiver on Kaufmann's cover may appear to be, Sabine Obermaier's warning that this relationship is one of parallelism, never of identity, is well in place here: after all, Kaufmann is caressing the image of a lady, not a miller's daughter.[149]

Image 17: Jonas Kaufmann: Die schöne Müllerin (2009)[150]

Both classical music covers nonetheless aim to achieve an intimate relationship between the performers and their music. The lady on the portrait has literally set her eyes on Kaufmann, who holds on to the frame with both hands while looking firmly out of the cover towards the recipient. Kaufmann and the lady share a roughly equal amount of space on the cover so that the onlooker is induced to share his attention between the two equally.

---

[149] See fn. 98.
[150] Image obtained from Decca Classics: http://www.deccaclassics.com/gb/cat/4781528.

Mutter, in contrast, seems lost in musical meditation with her eyes closed. Her meditation is set in the shadow of a giant violin, placed in the right edge of the cover. Mutter's introspection is focussed on her music: various forms and figures flow from the tip of her bow, and at the very end of this 'stream of musical consciousness', right beside Mutter, a head that closely resembles the widely-known image of Mozart can be seen. His name is written underneath Mutter's in the same font and size, counterbalancing the performer's much larger, central position in the picture. The central placement of the violin, the bow, and the giant violin put an equal emphasis on the instrument, and further link the violinst with 'her' music.

The closeness between performer and music does not contradict the previous observation that Mutter and Kaufmann are distanced from the music they perform in two crucial ways: Mutter's image makes clear that she is not performing her own music; Kaufmann's emphasises that he is not the experiencing *persona* of the song cycle—concepts of distance rooted in the written, literate culture of a professionalised world of instrumental, classical music. Since musicologists, too, are generally educated within this culture, it is unsurprising that they have failed to perceive and fully comprehend the closeness of authors and their music in the oral cultures of popular and vocal music, and indeed in that of the *Minnesänger*: the visual representations of their art do not confer to the Romantic 'figure of the singer' of today's classical music culture.[151]

In contrast to present-day classical musicians, the *Minnesänger* did not need to be depicted as musicians explicitly. Visual allusions to authorship were sufficient to associate musical performance with the author and their poetry: it was an essential part of an identity commonly known to the repertoire's recipients—a large part of whom may have even been poets themselves. Horst Wenzel has called attention to modern psychological research

---

[151] Daniel Karlin studies the 'figure of the singer' in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: Daniel Karlin, *The Figure of the Singer*, Oxford 2013.

which shows that reference to individual features is sufficient to re-awaken a memory in its entirety.[152] Frances Yates' and Mary Carruthers' studies demonstrate that this assumption holds true also for the medieval concept of *memoria*.[153] Only things which transcended the ordinary or were of particular importance were depicted in medieval manuscripts.[154] Images were used to explain what the text left unclear.[155] Conversely, Martin Huber argued that everything left un-notated could be assumed familiar to the recipients—or irrelevant.[156] Elizabeth Teviotdale's observation that 'only a tiny percentage of extant manuscript art with musical subject matter is contained in music manuscripts' further strengthens the applicability of these psychological findings to the medieval notion of *memoria*.[157] There was no necessity to notate aspects of performance as long as performers were familiar with them: consequently, there are few depictions of musical performance, and no musical notation, in **C**.[158]

Maria Dobozy provided additional reasoning for the absence of overt allusions to musicality in the depictions of the *Minnesänger* in **C**, asserting a pluralistic understanding of them as 'poet-singer-composer-musicians'.[159] Although her definition of 'minstrels' remains vague and hazy, Dobozy's findings regarding the social status of minstrels can be, albeit cautiously, applied to the *Minnesänger*.[160] The *Minnesänger* Konrad von Würzburg and Walther von der Vogelweide are subsumed by Dobozy under the category of minstrel,

---

[152] See Wenzel 1995, p. 53.
[153] See Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: a Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, Cambridge 1990; Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory*, Harmondsworth 1966.
[154] See, for example, Monika Unzeitig-Herzog, 'Diskussionsbericht: Vortrag – Abbildung – Handschrift am Beispiel der höfischen Lied- und Sangspruchdichtung', in: *'Aufführung' und 'Schrift' in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. by Jan-Dirk Müller, Stuttgart 1996, pp. 130–137; here, p. 135.
[155] See Wenzel 2006a, p. 62.
[156] See Huber 1996, p. 96.
[157] Teviotdale 1992, p. 186.
[158] See Helmut Tervooren, 'Die "Aufführung" als Interpretament mittelhochdeutscher Lyrik', in: *'Aufführung' und 'Schrift' in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. by Jan-Dirk Müller, Stuttgart 1996, pp. 48–66; here, p. 66.
[159] Maria Dobozy, *Re-Membering the Present: the Medieval German Poet-Minstrel in Cultural Context*, Turnhout 2005, p. 3.
[160] For Dobozy's problematic attempts at definition, see: ibid., p. 17ff. She notes that 'not all poets fit the category of minstrel': ibid., p. 24.

conceding that 'in individual cases the dividing line is difficult to draw on any grounds, be they sociological, musicological or literary'.[161]

Dobozy argues that minstrels inhabited the interstices of German medieval society: 'members of secular society often suspected them of criminality, and official Church records turned the minstrel into the very image of dissolute conduct'.[162] Holznagel, too, remarked on the association of music with the lower classes of society, noting that instruments are used only in the miniatures of unambiguously non-noble poets in **C**.[163] Medieval documentation of this mistrust of musicians can be found in Thomas of Chobham's *Cum miserationes domini*: according to Thomas, the only exception from damnation to eternal purgatory should be made for those performers and musicians who sang of the lives of princes and saints in order to give solace to their audiences.[164] Konrad von Megenberg is similarly disrespectful towards musicians. Even of those professional musicians who were not household servants Konrad 'has an extremely low opinion[:] they command no respect because "ability exercised for gain is beggarly"'.[165]

The medieval stigmatisation of performers leaves two possibilities for the presentation of music in manuscripts: either its exclusion, or its connection to features of nobility, strong enough to counteract music's negative associations. Most miniatures in **C** choose the first option and avoid any *explicit* reference to (musical) performance, especially notable with two *Minnesänger* familiar to modern audiences from Wagner's romantic opera *Tannhäuser*: its eponymous hero (Image 18) and Wolfram von Eschenbach

---

[161] Ibid., p. 25. Gerhard Hahn has carefully outlined Walther's ambiguous position between a stereotypical minstrel and the class of the *ministeriales*; see Gerhard Hahn, *Walther von der Vogelweide: eine Einführung*, Munich 1989, p. 22ff. See also fn. 818.

[162] Ibid., p. 26.

[163] See Holznagel 1995, p. 82f.

[164] See Michael Curschmann, 'Hören – Lesen – Sehen: Buch und Schriftlichkeit im Selbstverständnis der volkssprachlichen literarischen Kultur Deutschlands um 1200', in: *PBB* 106 (1984), pp. 218–257; here, p. 230. Though Thomas's *Cum miserationes domini* was 'written in England for the use of the English clergy', it had 'a wide circulation both at home and abroad', suggesting its relevance to the context of *Minnesang*: F. Broomfield (ed.), *Thomae de Chobham: Summa confessorum*, Louvain 1968, p. lxii and lxxi.

[165] Christopher Page, 'German Musicians and their Instruments: a 14th-Century Account by Konrad of Megenberg', in: *EM* 10 (2/1982), pp. 192–200; here, p. 195f.

(Image 19). Wagner characterises both as musicians—not through their appearance as singing characters, but by separating and distinguishing their musical voices from the surrounding musical action.[166] In **C**, neither Tannhäuser, nor Wolfram are assigned any musical attributes in the illuminations that precede their texts. Wolfram is shown in full knightly outfit (chain-mail, helm, shield, sword, horse, and page); Tannhäuser is presented as a member of the Teutonic Knights, possibly alluding to his vow to the Virgin Mary and to the legend surrounding his redemption through the mother of God.[167]
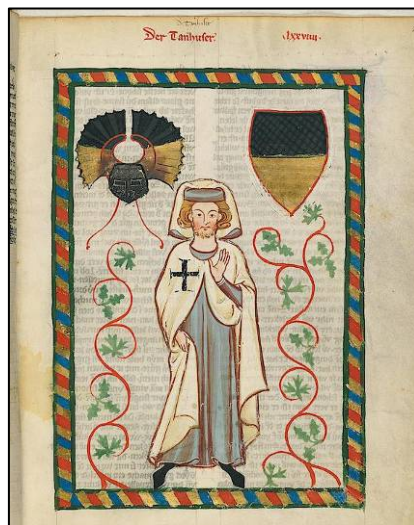
Image 18: Tannhäuser in C (fol. 264r)
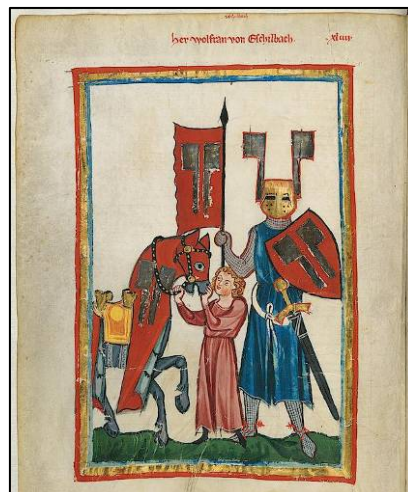
Image 19: Wolfram von Eschenbach in C (fol. 149v)

---

[166] For a discussion of voice in Wagner's operas (especially in the *Ring des Nibelungen*), see: Carolyn Abbate, *Unsung Voices: Opera and Musical Narrative in the Nineteenth Century*, Princeton 1991.

[167] See Walther and Siebert (eds) 1988, p. 184.

In contrast, **C**'s initial miniature, that of Kaiser Heinrich (Image 20), *is* associated with music. The collection of Heinrich's poetry—and with it the entire manuscript—opens with the line 'Ich grüeze mit gesange die süezen' (MFIX,3). Beate Kellner claimed that the position of this 'meta-communicative text on the modalities of song, and especially on the modalities of its performance' at the opening of both **B** and **C** bears poetological significance.[168] In **C**'s miniature, Heinrich is attributed an unfurled scroll, referencing the performance of his songs and supporting Kellner's proposition. The image of König Wenzel von Böhmen (Image 21) is *explicitly* musical. Wenzel is heralded by a group of musicians who lay down their instruments to praise him. While neither Kaiser nor King can afford to be associated with 'live' performance, allusions to music-making are permissible in such noble contexts; depictions of *Minnesänger* of intermediary social rank (such as Tannhäuser and Wolfram) seek to avoid explicit musical iconography. Non-musical attributes of social status are the preferred means to characterise these authors: Tannhäuser is shown as repentant pilgrim in knightly garb, Wolfram as a knight ready for battle.

Image 20: Kaiser Heinrich in C (fol. 6r)

---

[168] Kellner 2004, p. 119. <51.b>

Image 21: König Wenzel von Böhmen in C (fol. 10r)

Despite the manuscript compilers' interest in concepts of *auctoritas*, most singers are not presented as authors, but as wooers of ladies or as knights.[169] Fritz Tschirch generalised this observation and argued that into the thirteenth century, poets were seen as knights, and that the composition of poetry was not an esteemed full-time occupation. Many of the poets are depicted as knights, again, in order to establish social authority. For the poets, their representation as knights could support an established identity, or even create an entirely new one. As Curschmann has shown, especially Hartmann von Aue and Wolfram von Eschenbach tried to convey that author and audience came from the same social stratum of knights and courtiers.[170] Notwithstanding the fact that most of the poets included in **C** were dead by the time the anthology was compiled, at least two further reasons can be proposed as to why the compilers themselves might have had an interest in creating a knightly identity for the *Minnesänger*. Firstly, a collection of poetry by noblemen and knights would be more valuable than an anthology of lyric verse by vagabonds; and secondly, it has been stipulated that the *Minnesänger* Johannes Hadlaub was involved with the Manesse circle in Zurich, and he in particular might have hoped that

---

[169] See Elisabeth Lienert, '"Hoerâ Walther, wie ez mir stât": Autorschaft und Sängerrolle im Minnesang bis Neidhart', in: *Autor und Autorschaft im Mittelalter: Kolloquium Meißen 1995*, ed. by Elizabeth Andersen, Jens Haustein, Anne Simon and Peter Strohschneider, Tübingen 1998, pp. 114–128; here, p. 114.
[170] See Curschmann 1984, p. 232.

being part of a group of established knights would reflect positively onto his own social standing as an ordinary citizen.[171]

A depiction as knight did not mean that the poets could not also be presented as musicians. The miniature of Heinrich von Rugge shows the poet mounted on a horse, holding a shield before his body with his left arm (Image 22). The shield and caparisoned horse point to Rugge's knighthood and correspond to the identification of Rugge as 'Henricus *miles* de Rugge'.[172] The spear Rugge carries in his right hand has attached to it near the pointed tip an unfurled, empty scroll, marking him as a poet. Unlike other knights such as Wolfram, Rugge does not wear a helm, nor is this placed in any of the miniature's corners. Instead, he wears a headband similar to that worn by Graf Rudolf von Neuenburg which might represent a circlet of laurels received from his lady (Image 12).
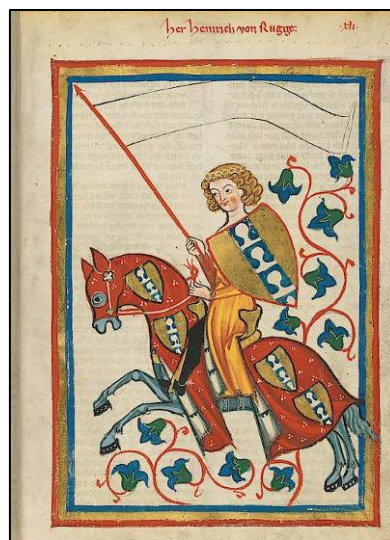
Image 22: Heinrich von Rugge in C (fol. 122r)

The representation of 'live' music performance contained in **C** increases as the social status of the *Minnesänger* decreases towards the end of the manuscript. In the image of Der Wilde Alexander (Image 23), a lady plays a harp on the battlements while Alexander rides past below, waving to the lady and her two male companions. The music

---

[171] See Herta-Elisabeth Renk, *Der Manessekreis, seine Dichter und die Manessesche Handschrift*, Stuttgart 1974.
[172] Emphasis mine. Uwe Meves (ed.), *Regesten deutscher Minnesänger des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 2005, p. 660.

performed here functions as a pastime rather than a serious, artistic endeavour, and it is the lady who plays the harp, not the men. The illumination of Meister Sigeher depicts a similar situation (Image 24): two ladies frame a dancing lady and a man playing a psalterion, while below the battlements a cloak is presented by one knight to another. Again, musical performance is portrayed as the emblem of social interaction in dance/pastime. Though it is not actually played, a harp also features prominently on Bligger von Steinach's shield (Image 25). Bligger's connection with musical performance is counterbalanced by an affirmation of his social rank; the miniature shows him dictating something, possibly a song, to a scribe, thus re-establishing Bligger's social status through a reference to the literate world. The miniatures of Geltar and von Suonegge show their *Minnesänger* playing a horn in classical hunting scenes (Image 26 and Image 27).[173] Their music making is not depicted as song, but as 'functional' music for a hunt, rendering it acceptable and stripping it of any negative impact on the poets' social status.[174]

---

[173] For an overview of medieval hunting, its music, and pictorial representation, see: John Cummins, *The Hound and the Hawk: the Art of Medieval Hunting*, London 1988.

[174] Malcolm Vale emphasised the universal importance of hunting for medieval courtiers: Malcolm Vale, *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe 1270–1380*, Oxford 2001, p. 179ff.
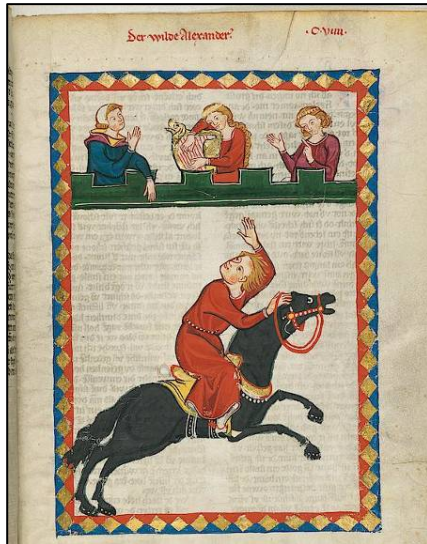
Image 23: Der Wilde Alexander in C (fol. 412r)
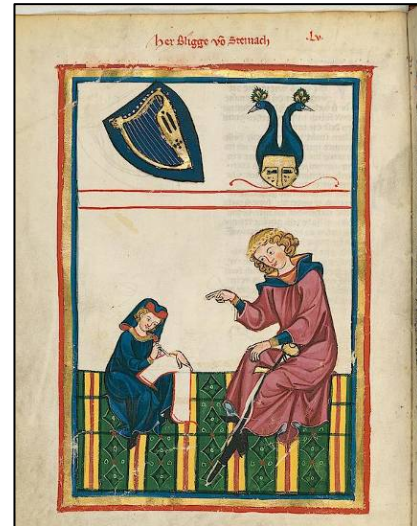
Image 25: Bligger von Steinach in C (fol. 182v)
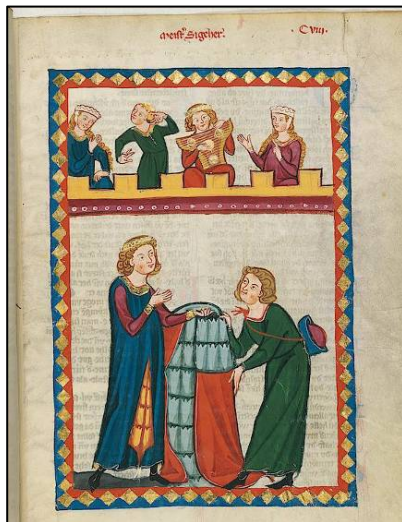
Image 24: Meister Sigeher in C (fol. 410r)

Image 26: Herr Geltar in C (fol. 320v)

Image 27: Von Suonegge in C (fol. 202v)

Musical performance is depicted in the miniature of Markgraf Otto von Brandenburg with a different aim (Image 28). The upper half of the image shows Otto engaged in a game of chess with a lady; the lower half shows an *haute musique* ensemble of two buisines, a drum, and bagpipes.[177] The image emphasises that these two events are physically distanced from each other: the game of chess is set indoors—indicated by the cushioned bench on which the two figures sit—while the four musicians stand on a stretch of grass, separated from the upper half of the image by two ornamented beams that run across the picture underneath the sitting couple. Indeed, 'to assume the simultaneity of noisy instrumental music and a game of chess would be absurd'.[178] The social distance between the two groups of people is also stressed by pictorial means: while the *Minnesänger* and his lady are seated, the musicians stand; while the nobles have their hair covered with a bonnet/wimple, the piper and drummer wear a chaperone (*en gorge*), and the buisine players have their hair uncovered; while the chess players wear monochrome kirtles and long surcoats, the members of the ensemble wear knee-length tunics: the piper's tunic is coloured with blue and purple stripes, and the buisine players have thin red stripes across their yellow tunics.[179] In addition, the nobles are about twice the size of the musicians. Both spheres are, nevertheless, connected. The three wind instruments extend beyond the horizontal barrier and reach into the upper half of the picture. The two buisines have banners which seem to bear the same heraldry displayed on Otto's shield. Also, the buisine players direct their instruments towards the lady and look at her. Otto's right foot almost touches the head of one of the buisine players.

---

[177] See Dagmar Hoffmann-Axthelm, '"Markgraf Otto von Brandenburg mit dem Pfeile" (Codex Manesse, fol. 13): zum höfischen Minne-, Schach- und Instrumentalspiel im frühen 14. Jahrhundert', in: *Musikalische Ikonographie*, ed. by Harald Heckmann, Monika Holl and Hans Joachim Marx, Laaber 1994, pp. 157–170; here, p. 164f.

[178] Welker 1988, p. 122. <106.a>

[179] For an overview of medieval clothing, see: Anne H. van Buren, *Illuminating Fashion: Dress in the Art of Medieval France and the Netherlands 1325–1515*, New York 2011. For a lexicon of medieval German clothing, see: Harry Kühnel, *Bildwörterbuch der Kleidung und Rüstung*, Stuttgart 1992.

Dagmar Hoffmann-Axthelm argued that the choice of instruments was intended to bridge the gap between Otto's identities as a poet and a warrior.[180] She modified Lorenz Welker's claim that the *haute musique* ensemble represented sovereignty, drawing attention to the fact that 'the bagpipes belong primarily to the world of dance and the stylised, rural revelry of noblewomen and men'.[181] The bagpipe's chanter protrudes from an animal's head (the bag), supporting Hoffmann-Axthelm's idea. The vertical alignment of the buisines, Otto, and the helm on the one side, and the bagpipes and the lady on the other, makes the conclusion that the image mediates between the ideals of the (male) world of politics and (female) courtliness through music and the game of chess, an embodiment of *Minnesang*, very convincing.[182]

Image 28: Otto von Brandenburg in C (fol. 13r)

Tilman Seebass warned that the depiction of musical authorship and musical performance must be separated, and it becomes apparent that while all of the images discussed above suggest musical authorship, none of them explicitly depicts a

---

[180] See Hoffmann-Axthelm 1994, p. 162.
[181] Ibid., p. 165. <41.a> For Welker's claim, see: Welker 1988, p. 122.
[182] See Hoffmann-Axthelm 1994, p. 165f. For a recent study of the significance of chess in medieval German literature, see: Albrecht Classen, 'Chess in Medieval German Literature: a Mirror of Social-Historical and Cultural, Religious, Ethical, and Moral Conditions', in: *Chess in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age*, ed. by Daniel E. O'Sullivan, Berlin 2012, pp. 17–44.

Minnesänger as performer.[183] The only instance in which a *Minnesänger* is unambiguously portrayed in musical performance in **C** is the image of Reinmar der Fiedler (Image 29). As the poet's name suggests, the miniature features as many as three fiddles: one on his shield, one on his helm, and one being played by Reinmar himself. The overt reference to musical performance is placed within a courtly context: the depiction of Reinmar's helm and shield characterise him as knight; the scene is set in a courtly chamber; and the performer is seated on a throne-like chair, garbed in a richly folded, monochrome buttoned surcoat, depicted as part of the nobility.[184]

Image 29: Reinmar der Fiedler in C (fol. 312r)

The miniature of Reinmar der Alte (Image 30), finally, succinctly summarises the observations made in this section. When musical performance and/or authorship are portrayed in miniatures, the illustrators took great care to avoid any possible damage to the poet's reputation: either by separating the act of music-making from the poet or, as in the case of Reinmar der Alte, by including other iconographic emblems which underline his noble status. The reference to orality (and music) through the empty scroll and through the

---

[183] See Seebass 1988, p. 36.

[184] Martin Kauffmann demonstrated the importance of seating and rich dress in the case of Fauvel: Martin Kauffmann, 'Satire, Pictorial Genre, and the Illustrations in BN fr. 146', in: *Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle, Music, and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS francais 146*, ed. by Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey, Oxford 1998, pp. 285–305; here, p. 287ff.

figures' hand gestures is counterbalanced by the courtly context: both figures are seated beneath two pointed arches; both wear monochrome surcoats (and kirtles); Reinmar's shield and helm are included on the miniature; and, lastly, the lady caresses a dog, a symbol of loyalty.[185]

Image 30: Reinmar der Alte in C (fol. 98r)

While far from complete or comprehensive, the present discussion has shown the *Minnesänger* to be presented as musicians by solely visual means—even though this may not be obvious at first sight and has been overlooked, or even consciously refuted, by many (music) scholars. Music can be associated with the *Minnesänger* in the miniatures in three ways: (1) music is present symbolically. The scrolls depicted in numerous images (with or without the help of deictic elements) point to lyric verse in general, and to the poetry notated after the opening illustrations in particular. The poetry itself is inseparably connected to its oral, musical performance. (2) As with present-day artists of popular and classical vocal music, the *Minnesänger*'s musical artistry was common knowledge in the Middle Ages and did not require explicit reference. Instead, the poets are depicted as authorial, experiencing, and performing *personae*. (3) The explicit depiction of music performance by the *Minnesänger* themselves is avoided and emphatically placed within

---

[185] See Hope B. Werness, Art. 'Dog', in: *ASA*, New York 2006a, pp. 134–141; here, p. 139.

courtly contexts in order to ascertain their social status. The depictions of musical performance by other figures, however, show that music was part of the world inhabited by the *Minnesänger*. Consequently, Fritz Traugott Schulz's consideration of **C**'s miniatures as depictions of rulers, knights, and poets needs to be doubly modified: to include the *Minnesänger*'s identity as musical authors/performers; and to stress the interaction between these various identities.[186]

Following the study of the visual representation of the *Minnesänger* in **C**, a number of other late medieval manuscripts which transmit *Minnesang* suggest themselves for closer inspection and comparison. Comparing the strategies of depicting the *Minnesang* repertoire, its music, and authors in **C** with those employed in the Jenaer Liederhandschrift (**J**) and a group of manuscripts and fragments closely related to **C** allows for their critical assessment not only from a modern but also from a medieval perspective. It will be of particular interest to ponder possible explanations for the manuscripts' varying practices and stances towards the visualisation of music-making; the abstraction from concrete examples and the consideration of their common features will form the basis for a study of modern (scholarly) forms of reception in the following chapters.

2. The 'Manesse Group'

Within a larger body of *Minnesang* manuscripts and fragments whose characteristic feature is the transmission of the repertoire without its melodies, Martin Roland has identified a smaller group that can be related closely to **C**: the 'Manesse group'.[187] Ursula Peters highlighted the group's connection, and emphasised its close relationship beyond transmitting the songs without melodies—a feature they share with other manuscripts

---

[186] See Schulz 1901, p. 5.
[187] See Martin Roland, 'Kunsthistorisches zu den Budapester Fragmenten', in: *Entstehung und Typen mittelalterlicher Lyrikhandschriften: Akten des Grazer Symposiums 13.–17. Oktober 1999*, ed. by Anton Schwob and András Vizkelety, Bern 2001, pp. 207–222; here, p. 211.

outside the 'Manesse group', such as the Kleine Heidelberger Liederhandschrift (**A**): 'the author miniatures which precede the respective corpora in **C**, **B**, as well as the Nagler Fragment [**C^b**] and Budapest Fragment [**Bu**] have always played a crucial role in their literary estimation and the discussion of their function'.[188] A century earlier, Fritz Traugott Schulz had already observed close similarities between the illuminations of a group of *Minnesang* manuscripts; this group did not include **Bu**, unknown to scholars until its discovery by András Vizkelety and Karl-August Wirth in 1985, but listed the Troß Fragment (**C^a**) with **B** and **C,** and **C^b**.[189]

Its lack of musical notation has meant that the 'Manesse group' has been widely overlooked by musicological scholarship. This blind spot within musicology is paradigmatically expressed in Burkhard Kippenberg's entry on *Minnesang* in *NGrove*, which discusses the manuscript evidence for the *Minnesang* repertoire under the heading 'the Melodies and Their Sources'.[190] Although this subsection mentions **B** and **C** despite their lack of melodies—the article even reproduces the miniatures of Kaiser Heinrich and Frauenlob—it does so only to contrast the 'extremely slender' musical transmission with the rich body of text transmission.[191] The comprehensive article on manuscript sources in the same encyclopaedia similarly fails to take account of the large body of *Minnesang* transmission without melodies. David Fallows and Lorenz Welker list eight of the 'important text manuscripts' of German vernacular monophony, again including **B** and **C**

---

[188] Ursula Peters, 'Autorbilder in volkssprachigen Handschriften des Mittelalters: eine Problemskizze', in: *ZfdPh* 119 (2000), pp. 321–368; here, p. 322. <79.a>

[189] See Schulz 1901, p. 19; András Vizkelety and Karl-August Wirth, 'Funde zum Minnesang: Blätter aus einer bebilderten Liederhandschrift', in: *PBB* 107 (1985), pp. 366–375.

[190] Kippenberg, Art. 'Minnesang', p. 725.

[191] Ibid., p. 724f. Marc Lewon recently proposed Frauenlob's miniature as a depiction of Lady Music: http://mlewon.wordpress.com/2012/11/05/frauenlob-miniature/. See also: Henry Hope, 'Miniatures, Minnesänger, Music: the Codex Manesse', in: *Manuscripts and Medieval Song: Inscription, Performance, Context*, ed. by Helen Deeming and Elizabeth Eva Leach, Cambridge forthcoming-b; Marc Lewon, 'Wie klang Minnesang? Eine Skizze zum Klangbild an den Höfen der staufischen Epoche', in: *Dichtung und Musik der Stauferzeit: wissenschaftliches Symposium 12. bis 14. November 2010*, ed. by Volker Gallé, Worms 2011, pp. 69–124; here, p. 110.

but none of the fragments from the 'Manesse group'.[192] The three facsimiles of *Minnesang/Meistersang* notation printed in their article—from **J**, the Kolmarer Liederhandschrift (**t**), and the seventeenth-century *Meistersang* source **n**—are emblematic of Fallows/Welker's interest in sources with musical notation.[193] Kippenberg's article, too, disregards sources without musical notation when it lists as 'the three groups of musical sources for *Minnesang*: (1) the musical manuscripts of *Minnesang*, mostly from the 14th and 15th centuries. [...] (2) a number of texts [which] are related to troubadour or trouvère songs in their form and content and seem to be contrafacta [...]. (3) manuscripts of *Meistergesang* from the 16th and 17th centuries which often contain melodies ascribed to earlier poets', excluding the 'Manesse group' and its miniatures from this list.[194]

In contrast to musicologists' bypassing of the 'Manesse group', the following sections demonstrate that its sources nonetheless need to be considered musical although they lack explicit reference to music through notation.

i. The Weingartner Liederhandschrift (B)

After **C**, **B** is the largest extant manuscript in the 'Manesse group'. It includes miniatures for twenty-five of its thirty-two author corpora. Although lacking definitive evidence, the town of Konstanz is generally assumed to be the origin of **B**.[195] The creation of the codex is thought to have been overseen by Bishop Heinrich of Konstanz (Heinrich of Klingenberg), who stood in close contact with the Hadlaub and Manesse families in Zurich.[196] Where or by whom the codex was copied remains unknown, and Gebhard Spahr proposed a number of possibilities, including scriptoria at the Deutschorden Mainau, at the Benedictine, Franciscan, Augustinian, Premonstratensian, Cistercian, and especially the

---

[192] David Fallows and Lorenz Welker, Art. 'Sources, MS: §III, 5. German', in: *NGrove*, vol. 23, London 2001, pp. 860–865; here, p. 860. The other manuscripts are **A**, **E**, **F**, **W**, **t**, and **D**. The first of these, the 'Kleine Heidlberger [sic!] Liederhandschrift' is misprinted by Fallows/Welker.

[193] See ibid., p. 861ff.

[194] Kippenberg, Art. 'Minnesang', p. 725f.

[195] See Gebhard Spahr, *Weingartner Liederhandschrift: ihre Geschichte und ihre Miniaturen*, Weißenhorn 1968, p. 20.

[196] See ibid., p. 23.

Dominican monasteries at Konstanz. Spahr placed particular weight on the fact that the Dominicans seem to have been involved in the production of **C** at Zurich, from where the order's Konstanz house was founded: 'it may be of particular significance that Dominicans lived in the very cities where *Liederhandschriften* were produced, namely at Strasbourg, Zurich, and Konstanz. In addition, the Dominican order originated from the cradle of *Minnesang*, Spain and Southern France'.[197] Heinrich von Klingenberg died in 1306, but art-historical studies point to the decade between 1310 and 1320 as the timeframe in which the manuscript was produced; nevertheless, this does not entirely defeat claims of Heinrich von Klingenberg's influence on **B**: it may have been copied from sources that had been collected earlier by the bishop.[198]

Despite the connections between **B** and **C**, a number of notable differences between the two sources has led to the consensus that they cannot have been directly copied from each other, but must be related through a common model, the now-lost manuscript ***BC**.[199] Nonetheless, the similarity between many of the manuscripts' illustrations is striking: 'twelve have common motifs in **B** and **C** and also match in the majority of their details'.[200]

A comparison of the images of Graf Otto von Botenlauben demonstrates the closeness of the motivic programmes in **B** and **C**, as well as their characteristic differences (Image 31).[201] Otto's miniature is one of only two miniatures in **B** which do not cover an

---

[197] Ibid., p. 26f. <93.a>
[198] See Holznagel 1995, p. 126.
[199] See ibid., p. 238ff. A stemma of Minnesang manuscripts is included in Figure 20 (Chapter VI.3.i, p. 278).
[200] Ewald Jammers, *Das königliche Liederbuch des deutschen Minnesangs: eine Einführung in die sogenannte Manessische Handschrift*, Heidelberg 1965, p. 81. <49.a>
[201] In both miniatures, the top section of the shield features a black double-eagle on a yellow/golden background while the lower section is made up of a pattern of red and black chequers (red and white in **C**). Both shields are drawn slanting slightly towards the left. Although the helm's colour is different in the two pictures, red in **C** and green in **B**, its pointed shape can be made out as nearly identical, despite the fact that it is shown from the side in the former and from the front in the latter. The resemblance between the two images is even more striking in the case of the helm's crest. Both feature an eagle's talon in yellow/gold. The talon is divided into a thumb on the left, and a group of three fingers to the right. All four digits depict claws at their tips. While the middle of the three fingers reaches into the frame in **B**'s image, both the middle and lower of the three touch the border of the frame in **C**.

entire folio, but occupy only slightly less than their lower half.[202] Because of the miniature's smaller format, the helm (including its crest) and shield are presented opposite the poet where they become especially prominent. Together, helm and shield equal the amount of space granted to Otto himself, who is seated on a throne in the left half of the image. The crest on top of the helm is so large that one of the claws of the eagle's talon that it represents extends into the frame of the miniature.

Image 31: Graf Otto von Botenlauben in B (p. 23) and C (fol. 27r)

Image 32: Die Winsbekin in C (fol. 217r)

In contrast to the close resemblance in the depiction of shield, helm, and crest in the two codices, the different strategies used to represent the poet are particularly intriguing. Otto wears a long, blue surcoat and a headband of red beads in **C**, with his head inclined to his left. Seated on a throne, his left leg is crossed over the right, and his left elbow rests on his left knee, while the right arm crosses in front of the poet's body and holds the scroll in its finger-tips. Otto gives the scroll to a messenger. While the detailed features are depicted similarly in **B**—Otto's head is inclined to the left; he wears a red coronet; he wears a green surcoat govered by a light-blue mantle; he is seated on a throne—the basic setting of the scene is different: Otto is alone, and does not hand a scroll to a messenger. Instead, his left hand is held toward the left with an open palm while the right hand is raised in front of his body with the small and ring fingers bent down and the middle and index fingers and thumb pointing upwards. This gesture closely resembles the one in **C**'s depiction of the Winsbekin, which represents a teaching dialogue (Image 32).[203] Despite the absence of a scroll or an immediate addressee for his communication, in **B**, Otto also seems to be engaged in an act of oral communication.

B and **C** aim to represent Otto as a knight to equal degree. Otto's knightly accessories—the shield, helm, and crest—are depicted almost identically in both codices, while the strategies that mark him as a poet differ, suggesting that the attributes of social rank were much more standardised and, possibly, more important than those of poetic craftsmanship. Spahr, too, emphasised that **B** shows the poet as a representative of his social class, arguing that 'according to the evidence of the images, the poets wanted to be seen in this way [that is, as knights]. Thus, it need not be the case that a knight counted for more than a poet in the medieval hierarchy; although both are equal since they come from the same class, the knight's task as a warrior is emphasised more than that of the singer in

---

[203] See fn. 127.

some pictures'.[204] As in the case of **C**, an anthology of knightly poetry (rather than of 'common' song) would have bestowed knightly glamour on its patron. If **B** and **C** were compiled or copied from a common source ***BC** with knowledge of each other, as the connection of Heinrich von Klingenberg to the Manesse circle might suggest, then it stands to reason that both wanted to outdo each other in depicting the knightly status of the poets.

Crucially, the different strategies employed by the two manuscripts for their depiction of the poets extend to the explicit representation of music-making. Although **C** presents only three *Minnesänger* playing a musical instrument—all in 'functional' settings (hunting and dancing)—the source does not exclude musical performance from its images entirely: instruments are played by musicians *outside* the closed world of the nobility.[205] In contrast, explicit representations of musical performance are excluded from **B** almost entirely.[206] Its only miniature to depict a musical instrument is that of Bligger von Steinach (Image 33).[207] Gisela Siebert and Ingo Walther argued that the harp shown on the poet's shield may have been introduced to the family's heraldry by Bligger himself as a sign of his poetic interests, yet it seems more likely that the harp refers first and foremost to the castle inhabited by this family, the *Harfenburg* ('harp castle'), especially since documents survive which associate the family with the name 'von Harfenberg'.[208]

---

[204] Spahr 1968, p. 109. <93.d> Note, however, Dobozy's opposing view on the equality of knights and (musical) poets, see fn. 162.
[205] See appendix 3.
[206] See appendix 2.
[207] Spahr erroneously states that no musical instruments are depicted in **B**, see Spahr 1968, p. 32.
[208] See Meves (ed.) 2005, p. 133ff; Walther and Siebert (eds) 1988, p. 119.

Image 33: Herr Bligger von Steinach in B (p. 26)

Conversely to the lack of musical instruments in **B**, its images feature a much larger proportion of scrolls than **C**.[209] Though Spahr curiously called attention to the opposite phenomenon, namely that, in **B**, 'Walther von der Vogelweide, Meinloh von Söflingen and others are not depicted with a scroll like in **C**', the manuscript evidence shows that Spahr's observation cannot be generalised.[210] Seventeen of the twenty-five miniatures in **B** depict scrolls (Table 1). Only eight images do not feature a scroll, equivalent to thirty-two percent, or roughly one in three. **C** has a total of forty-one miniatures with scrolls (and thus more than twice as many as **B**); compared to its overall number of 137 images, however, this only constitutes thirty percent, less than one in three. The proportion of images with and without scrolls in **B** and **C** is inverted.

	B	**C**
Total images	25	137
Images with (without) scrolls	17 (8)	41 (96)
% images with (without) scrolls	68 (32)	~30 (~70)

Table 1: Scrolls in B and C[211]

---

[209] See Peters 2008, p. 41.
[210] In: Spahr 1968, p. 78. <93.c>
[211] All numbers used for the calculations in Table 1 and Table 2 are based on the summary tables of the manuscripts' miniatures included as appendices 2 and 3. The calculations for **C** exclude the draft miniature on fol. 196r.

Strikingly, this statistical difference between the two manuscript sources is levelled out when considering the relative number of miniatures which display any form of sounding communication or reference to orality. In addition to the scrolls, books and wax tablets, musical instruments, pointing fingers, and other (more generic) gestures of verbal communication may be included in this category. Only three images in **B** do not represent sounding communication in any way: those of Hartmann von Aue (Image 34), Wachsmut von Künzich (Image 35), and—somewhat surprisingly, given his depiction with a scroll in **C**—Walther von der Vogelweide (Image 8 and Image 36). Twelve percent, or one in eight, of **B**'s miniatures do not allude to sounding communication. **C** contains 10 images without reference to sound or orality: those of Johann von Brabant, Heinrich von Frauenberg, Ulrich von Gutenburg, Wolfram von Eschenbach, Wahsmuot von Kunzich, Walther von Mezze, Hartmann von Aue, Ulrich von Liechtenstein, Der Püller, and Hawart—seven percent, or less than one in ten. In contrast to the inverse relationship between the two manuscripts regarding their number of scrolls, **B** and **C** make reference to orality and sound similarly frequently—although the former contains only one representation of musical performance.

	B	C
Total images	25	137
Images with (without) reference to sound/orality	22 (3)	127 (10)
% images with (without) sound	88 (12)	~93 (~7)

Table 2: Images referencing sound or orality in B and C

Image 34: Hartmann von Aue in B (p. 33)

Image 35: Wachsmut von Künzig in B (p. 118)

Image 36: Walther von der Vogelweide in B (p. 139)

A telling example of the different strategies employed by the two codices is that of Friedrich von Hausen (Image 37). **C** shows him in a ship, accompanied by three other men. With his head inclined in the typical manner observed in numerous other illustrations, Friedrich points towards the sea with his right hand, while his left hand motions to his companions. The man who stands on the bow of the ship to Friedrich's left has his left hand raised and points his middle and index finger upwards, suggesting that he is communicating with the *Minnesänger* (or the audience). A fight between two demonic figures is taking place in the sea, and it seems that this is the event to which the poet is calling attention (Image 38).[212] **B**, too, shows Friedrich in a ship and, unusual for this manuscript, accompanied by a fellow sailor. The poet is looking straight out of the image towards the onlooker; the sailor, who again stands on the bow of the ship, seems focussed on pulling up the sails rather than on his companion/the audience; there seems to be no communication between the two figures. Instead, Friedrich holds a scroll, which unfurls beneath the ship, in his right hand and he points to himself with his left hand. The picture shows the *Minnesänger* to communicate not within the miniature, but with his audience: his status as author/narrator/performer of the following poetry is foregrounded. A scroll with red edges can also be made out underneath the ship in **C**. The scroll flows from Friedrich's right hand in exactly the same movement as the one in **B**. It is painted across the two demonic figures in the water, and detailed codicological analysis might be able to show whether the scroll was painted over the figures or vice versa. Evidence for the former scenario may be seen in the fact that Hausen does not properly hold the scroll but points towards the underwater battle. In **B**, in contrast, Friedrich holds the scroll in the palm of his hand. If codicological analyses were to support the notion that the scroll was added to the

---

[212] These fish-tailed, bird-footed (?) figures might be sirens—creatures associated with 'bad song' in the Middle Ages. If so, their depiction would add another layer of sound to the image. For a discussion of siren-song, see: Elizabeth Eva Leach, '"The Little Pipe Sings Sweetly while the Fowler Deceives the Bird": Sirens in the Later Middle Ages', in: *M&L* 87 (2006b), pp. 187–211.

image in **C** only after it had been completed, this would further strengthen the connection between the two manuscripts: either both were copied from the same model, ***BC**, and **C**'s illustrator overlooked the scroll in his initial copy, or the owners/commissioners of **C** saw **B** after their project had been finished and asked for this detail to be added accordingly. Holznagel proposed that amendments were made to **C**'s original corpus of songs and miniatures in numerous phases up to the 1340s, and there is no reason why the image of Friedrich von Hausen could not have also been altered during any of these.[213]

Image 37: Friedrich von Hausen in B (p. 9) and C (fol. 116v)

Image 38: Detail from Friedrich von Hausen's image in C (fol. 116v)

---

[213] See Holznagel 1995, p. 157ff.

Image 39: Ulrich von Gutenburg and Rudolf von Fenis in B (p. 73 and p. 26)

Fritz Traugott Schulz made another observation which strengthens the hypothesis that **B** is more concerned with representing its poets as (musical) authors through scrolls while **C** does so through reference to their social rank. Schulz noted that there are three images in **B** which show the poet both holding a scroll *and* pointing his fingers as a sign of verbal communication: those of Rudolf von Fenis (Image 39), Friedrich von Hausen (Image 37), and Ulrich von Gutenburg (Image 39).[214]

These observations notwithstanding, one must not return to the standpoint that musical poetry is not depicted in the images of **C**. Though less concerned with representing authorship through scrolls, **C** features an overwhelming proportion of sounding communication (over ninety percent), and its depiction of musical instruments (ca. fourteen percent)—though most often not in performance—is also fairly large considering the negative associations musicianship held in the Middle Ages. Consequently, **C**'s pictorial programme is much more varied than that of **B**.[215] Spahr succinctly worded this contrast between the two manuscripts: '**C** contains depictions of dining, games, music, hunting, battles, and dancing, using many figures. […] In **B**, all this is missing. Here, all

---

[214] See Schulz 1901, p. 68.
[215] Note, however, that Peters maintains its images to be more generic and less interested in the representation of biography than those of contemporaneous manuscripts from outside the *Minnesang* region: Peters 2008, p. 42.

ornament is left aside; but this produces greater clarity, and the miniatures' scenes are reduced to the essential'.[216] Franz-Josef Holznagel emphasised that **C** was not the only manuscript not to 'over-indulge' in the depiction of scrolls: 'they are also not present in **Bu**, **Cᵃ**, and **Cᵇ**'.[217] A brief look at these fragmentary sources from the 'Manesse group' further emphasises that **C** is not uninterested in portraying the *Minnesänger* as musical authors, but that the extent to which **B** foregrounds the oral aspect of the poets' identity *through scrolls* is exceptional.

ii. The Troß, Nagler, and Budapest Fragments (Cᵃ, Cᵇ, Bu)

Even when **Cᵃ** was copied directly from **C** at the beginning of the fifteenth century, possibly around 1440, the *Minnesang* repertoire continued to be understood as music.[218] Where the copying of **Cᵃ** took place remains unresolved, and Zurich, Strasbourg, and the Wurttemberg region have been suggested as possible provenances. In addition to texts by Heinrich von Morungen, the fragment contains some verses and a one-and-a-half folio wide image of the Schenk von Limburg which, according to Siebert and Walther, resembles that contained in **C**, albeit adapted to the style of the 1400s (Image 40).[219] This likeness, however, is not as literal as that between the images in **C** and **B**. In **Cᵃ**, the knightly poet does not kneel before his lady, who gives him a coronet of laurels and a golden ring rather than a crested helm; he is accompanied by a second knight, and the shield bears no resemblance to the one depicted in **C**; also, the picture's setting is inverted. Voetz argued that 'the observation that the miniatures of the Schenk von Limburg preceding the corpora of his texts in **C** and **Cᵃ** do not, at first sight, seem to resemble each other does not contradict their relationship of original and copy, since the latter's picture has, on the whole, been modernised merely in setting, costume and style according to the

---

[216] Spahr 1968, p. 78. <93.b>
[217] Holznagel 1995, p. 71. <43.b>
[218] See Voetz 1988, p. 250ff.
[219] See Walther and Siebert (eds) 1988, p. 12.

fashion of the period'.[220] The sounding communication between the Lady and the Schenk von Limburg is still depicted: the poet has taken off his left glove and lifted his visor to receive the crown of laurels in **Cᵃ**, suggesting a strengthened representation of spoken interaction between the characters. Two observations from this very brief analysis of **Cᵃ** are of import to the present argument: **C**'s depiction of orality continues to be used in the fifteenth century; and **C** was still considered worthy of being copied a century after its initial conception.

Image 40: Der Schenk von Limburg in Cᵃ (fols 3v, 4r) and C (fol. 82v)[221]

The images of Heinrich von Stretelingen in **C** and **Cᵇ**—miniatures which also display sounding communication—bear an even closer relationship.[222] Scholars have not been able to agree on a precise date and place for the production of **Cᵇ**, but Voetz suggested that it must have been produced around 1300 and that it originated from Switzerland, although evidence was not sufficient to prove Zurich as its provenance.[223] Voetz claimed that **Cᵇ** could not have been copied from **C**, drawing on similarities in

---

[220] Voetz 1988, p. 251. <101.c>

[221] Image of **Cᵃ** taken from: Elmar Mittler and Wilfried Werner (eds), *Codex Manesse: Katalog zur Ausstellung vom 12. Juni bis 2. Oktober 1988 Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg*, Heidelberg ²1988, p. 566f.

[222] Henrike Manuwald has recently assessed the meaning of authorial illustrations through a discussion of miniatures of Heinrich von Stretelingen: Henrike Manuwald, 'Der tanzlustige Heinrich von Stretelingen: zur Aussagekraft von Autorenbildern in Lyrikhandschriften', in: *BZfG* 75 (2/2013), pp. 107–125.

[223] See Voetz 1988, p. 249f.

layout and calligraphic detail to assert that 'the fragment, or its direct model, precedes **C** in time, albeit possibly only by a few years'.[224] The inverted colour of the shield aside, the gestures are almost identical in both manuscripts: even the frames feature the same colour scheme (blue-yellow-red) and differ merely in their patterning (Image 41). **C** and **C^b** show Heinrich von Stretelingen and his lady engaged in dialogue, emblematically displayed by their hand gestures and their eye-contact—the representation of verbal, sounding interaction was important to the commissioners and illuminators of both manuscripts.

Image 41: Heinrich von Stretelingen in C^b (Miniaturseite) and C (fol. 70v)[225]

Bu was rediscovered by András Vizkelety and Karl-August Wirth in 1985. It consists of a bifolio and a single folio, each of which contain an author miniature on one of their sides. The fragment's three illuminations of Der Herr von Kürenberg, Der Burggraf von Regensburg, and Der Vogt von Rotenburg—as well as Vizkelety and Wirth's discussion of them in their first article on the rediscovered fragment—have established the consensus that 'not only are these fragments of importance to German philology, but that

---

[224] Ibid., p. 250. <101.b>
[225] Image of **C^b** taken from: Mittler and Werner (eds) 1988, p. 557.

they add an interesting work to the field of art history'.[226] Vizkelety and Wirth suggested 1280 to 1290 as a possible date for the creation of **Bu**, which may have been based on a model thirty years older.[227] They proposed the Upper Danube region (Regensburg/Passau) as a broad geographical location for the manuscript's creation, and Voetz strengthened **Bu**'s placement in this area with linguistic observations, proposing with Ellen Beer that it might have been copied in a secular scriptorium in the Upper Danube region, possibly in the same Regensburg or Vienna scriptorium which created Rudolf von Ems's *Münchener Weltchronik*.[228] In contrast to the generally accepted geographical separation of **Bu** from **C** and the other fragments of the 'Manesse group', Martin Roland questioned the dating suggested by Vizkelety and Wirth. Although he admitted that 'even without art historic training, one can see that **Bu** is stylistically the most archaic [of this group]', he proposed dating the manuscript to the first decade of the fourteenth century, in closer temporal proximity to **C**.[229]

Bu's images of Der Herr von Kürenberg and Der Vogt von Rotenburg portray very similar settings (Image 42 and Image 43). Both show the poet on the left hand side and a lady on the right; a tree with heart-shaped leaves stands in the background, and an unornamented helm and large shield are displayed above these scenes. All figures wear monochrome outer garments and a cloak. While Der Vogt von Rotenburg gestures to his lady, the image of Der Herr von Kürenberg inverts the common motif of the lady passing a crown of laurels to the poet. The former scene can be guessed to be set outside a building, represented by the red rectangle behind the tree; the latter is explicitly situated in a courtly space (by arches leading on into a red background). The miniature of Der Burggraf von

---

[226] Roland 2001, p. 207. <86.a>
[227] See Vizkelety and Wirth 1985, p. 375.
[228] See ibid; Voetz 1988, p. 247. See also Ellen Beer's discussion of the manuscript: Ellen J. Beer, 'Die Bilderzyklen mittelhochdeutscher Handschriften aus Regensburg und seinem Umkreis', in: *Regensburger Buchmalerei: von frühkarolingischer Zeit bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters*, ed. by Florentine Mütherich and Karl Dachs, Munich 1987, pp. 69–74; here, p. 73f.
[229] Roland 2001, p. 211.

Regensburg, in contrast, shows the poet on his own (Image 44). It shows him as a falconer, seated on a bridled horse, and accompanied by two dogs. In addition to these insignia of masculinity and nobility, the scene is again set before a red rectangle, possibly alluding to a building, and underneath a shield and helm. The courtly setting is juxtaposed by a tree with heart-shaped leaves that leans into the picture from the right, and by an oddly shaped satchel which hangs from the horse's left side. The satchel's rectangular nature and the tassel which hangs from its top edge suggest that it could contain a book, a folded parchment, or one or even numerous scrolls. If so, the image would contrast the courtly, masculine aspects of Der Burggraf von Regensburg with his poetic, feminine identity in a manner similar to the image of Otto von Brandenburg in **C**.

Image 42: Der Herr von Kürenberg in Bu (fol. 1r)[230]

Image 43: Der Vogt von Rotenburg in Bu (fol. 3r)[231]

Image 44: Der Burggraf von Regensburg in Bu (fol. 2r)[232]

Before moving on to the consideration of a very different form of *Minnesang*'s musical reception in the Jenaer Liederhandschrift (**J**), some concluding observations on the *Minnesänger*'s characteristic pictorial representation need to be made.

B, **C**, **C^b**, and **Bu** were all compiled within a few years of each other around 1300. Three of these sources can be related to the region of the 'border triangle' of what are today Germany, France, and Switzerland, while the fourth (**Bu**) stems from the Upper Danube area. They demonstrate a lively interest of late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-

---

[231] Image from: ibid., p. 555.
[232] Image from: ibid., p. 553.

century patrons across the southern area of Germany not only in fixing this repertoire in writing, but in presenting the repertoire in collections adorned with illustrations.

All manuscripts in the 'Manesse group' are keen to present their authors as knights and/or nobles. Their means of achieving such a representation are strikingly similar, suggesting not only an *ideen-geschichtliche* relationship between them, but also a material one. Clothing, heraldry, enthronement, battles, courtly buildings, and the separation of explicit musical performance from the poets are the main ways of underlining their status. Although the fragmentary nature of **C**^{a}, **C**^{b}, and **Bu** limit the validity of generalisations, they provide further examples of **B**'s and **C**'s pictorial programmes: while **B** employs a few, standardised motifs with little variation, **C** features a range of different representations of courtliness.

Finally, the study of the 'Manesse group' has shown emphatically that music is represented in all of these manuscripts—despite the absence of musical notation. The images display a number of codified motifs which refer to sounding communication, either between the poet and the other illustrated figures or between the poet and the onlooker. Orality was understood as inherently musical in the Middle Ages, and music is tacitly associated with these emblems of oral communication, without needing to be represented explicitly. Extending Martin Roland's claim that **Bu** has been an important discovery for German philology and art history alike, this chapter has ostensibly re-discovered the unnotated sources of the 'Manesse group' for musicology.[233]

---

[233] See fn. 226.

CHAPTER III.

Minnesang in (Notated) Medieval Manuscripts:

the Jenaer Liederhandschrift (J)

1. *Minnesänger*, *Spruchdichter*, and Music

The brief third chapter now turns to the largest notated medieval manuscript source of *Minnesang*: the Jenaer Liederhandschrift (**J**). By adding a study of **J** to the previous discussion of **B**, **C**, and the 'Manesse group' fragments, the thesis will have covered three of the four manuscripts that provide the majority of material for *Minnesang* scholarship.[234] **J** has been awarded a similarly elevated status within research as **C**: '**J** is probably the largest and most beautiful of all German manuscripts of the Middle Ages, a showpiece *par excellence*'.[235] Unlike **C**, **J** does not gain its prominence through illuminations. Instead, it features a corpus of more than 940 stanzas in 104 *Töne*, ninety-one of which are notated in **J** with melodies.[236] A close study of **J**—'the most important musical documentation of secular song from the German speaking world of the fourteenth century'—is essential in forming an understanding of *Minnesang*'s musical identity in the Middle Ages.[237] A conference was held in Jena in 2006 in the context of **J**'s restoration, and its proceedings have appeared recently as a collection of articles which combines both philological and

---

[234] See Franz-Josef Holznagel, 'Typen der Verschriftlichung mittelhochdeutscher Lyrik vom 12. bis zum 14. Jahrhundert', in: *Entstehung und Typen mittelalterlicher Lyrikhandschriften: Akten des Grazer Symposiums 13.–17. Oktober 1999*, ed. by Anton Schwob and András Vizkelety, Bern 2001, pp. 107–130; here, p. 107. The fourth source, **A**, is discussed in Chapter VI.2.iv.

[235] Georg Holz, Franz Saran and Eduard Bernoulli (eds), *Die Jenaer Liederhandschrift*, 2 vols, Leipzig 1901, p. i (vol. 1). <42.b>

[236] This count is based on Table 3. Tervooren, however, makes out only 102 *Töne*: Helmut Tervooren and Ulrich Müller (eds), *Die Jenaer Liederhandschrift*, Göppingen 1972. The medieval concept of a *Ton* (and its plural *Töne*) denotes a song's poetic form, including its metrical versification as well as its melody, see: Horst Brunner, Art. 'Ton', in: *NGrove*, vol. 25, London 2001, pp. 580–582; here, p. 580.

[237] Johannes Rettelbach, 'Die Bauformen der Töne in der "Jenaer" und in der "Kolmarer Liederhandschrift" im Vergleich', in: *Die 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift': Codex – Geschichte – Umfeld*, ed. by Jens Haustein and Franz Körndle, Berlin 2010, pp. 81–97; here, p. 81. <84.a>

musicological approaches—an interdisciplinarity exemplarily reflected by its two editors, literary scholar Jens Haustein and musicologist Franz Körndle—and demonstrates the continuing importance of the manuscript.[238]

Although examples of the high estimation of **J**'s importance can be found in abundance from its first in-depth, publicised description by Basilius Christian Bernhard Wiedeburg in 1754, comprehensive studies of the manuscript and its repertoire as well as facsimiles and editions are few and far between.[239] Erdmute Pickerodt-Uthleb, author of one of the most extensive analytical studies of **J**, observed this curious lack of scholarly output on **J** in 1975; in 2000, Robert Lug voiced his concern about the ambiguous presence of **J** in musicological discourse: 'the exceptional role which **J** plays as by far the most comprehensive source of German song of the thirteenth century has darkened and become almost invisible because of the drying-up of musicological research and an all but entire absence from the CD market'.[240] Although some light has been brought into this darkness by Haustein/Körndle's edited volume, many questions still remain unanswered—and unasked.[241]

There is no recent complete critical edition of **J** and its repertoire. While the lack of a readily available, full (greyscale) facsimile of **J** was alleviated by Helmut Tervooren in 1972, there has been no *edition* of **J**'s songs in their entirety since the 1901 edition prepared by Georg Holz, Franz Saran, and Eduard Bernoulli.[242] This *lacuna* is all the more

---

[238] See Jens Haustein and Franz Körndle (eds), *Die 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift': Codex – Geschichte – Umfeld*, Berlin 2010.

[239] Basilius Christian Bernhard Wiedeburg, *Ausführliche Nachricht von einigen alten teutschen poetischen Manuscripten aus dem dreyzehenden und vierzehenden Jahrhunderte, welche in der Jenaischen akademischen Bibliothek aufbehalten werden*, Jena 1754.

[240] Robert Lug, 'Drei Quadratnotationen in der Jenaer Liederhandschrift', in: *Mf* 53 (2000), pp. 4–40; here, p. 4. <65.a> See also: Erdmute Pickerodt-Uthleb, *Die Jenaer Liederhandschrift: metrische und musikalische Untersuchungen*, Göppingen 1975, p. 1.

[241] Oliver Huck suggested the palaeographical study of **J**'s notation as one of the research areas neglected by music scholars: Oliver Huck, 'Die Notation der mehrfach überlieferten Melodien in der "Jenaer Liederhandschrift"', in: *Die 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift': Codex – Geschichte – Umfeld*, ed. by Jens Haustein and Franz Körndle, Berlin 2010, pp. 99–120; here, p. 100.

[242] Tervooren and Müller (eds) 1972. Karl Konrad Müller's full-size facsimile of 1896 quickly sold out, and had been difficult to handle because of its size and weight: Holz, Saran and Bernoulli (eds) 1901, p. i. While

surprising since Ursula Aarburg highlighted it prominently at the end of her *MGG*1 article

on **J** over fifty years ago, emphasising the need for a new edition.[243] As Heinz Endermann

and Oliver Huck pointed out, this unsatisfactory state of musical research on **J** is not a

peculiarity of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, but was already problematised by

Johann Gottfried Herder in his 1793 comments on the work of Johann Jakob Bodmer and

Johann Jakob Breitinger.[244]

Lug suggested that the music's lacking rhythmical notation was the root cause for

only one complete edition of **J**'s contents having been produced in the more than two

centuries after Herder's complaint: 'from the beginning, it was clear that the original

square notation did not contain any measurable rhythm in the way our modern notation

does. The realisation that it therefore could not be 'transcribed' into modern notation,

however, made only slow progress'.[245] A neutral, rhythm-less transcription of **J** was

equally problematic, containing even less information than the original notation and

suggesting to the performer 'amorphous randomness', yet fixed rhythmic transcriptions

had caused the very extremes which made performance practice 'grope in darkness'.[246]

The problem of the music's rhythm was not the sole reason for scholars to refrain

from a complete edition of **J**: the manuscript's content has equally limited the amount of

academic interest. **J**'s repertoire encompasses almost exclusively *Spruch* poetry; the only

exceptions are the pieces by the Wilde Alexander and Wizlav von Rügen, both of whose

songs present more lyric characteristics.[247] Brief extracts from encyclopaedia entries on **J**

Holz prepared the diplomatic transcription of the manuscript, Saran supplied a discussion of the musical material for which Bernoulli provided the transcriptions.

[243] See Ursula Aarburg, Art. 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift', in: *MGG1*, vol. 6, Kassel 1957a, cols 1868–1872; here, col. 1870.

[244] See Heinz Endermann, 'Johann Gottfried Herder als Benutzer der Jenaer Liederhandschrift', in: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Literatur in Thüringen*, ed. by Detlef Ignasiak, Jena/Rudolstadt 1995, pp. 25–42; Huck 2010, p. 99.

[245] Lug 2000, p. 5. <65.b> Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen edited only those texts in **J** which are not also included in **C**: Hagen 1838.

[246] Lug 2000, p. 5 and 4. <65.c, 65.a>

[247] See Burghart Wachinger, Art. 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift', in: *VL*, ed. by Kurt Ruh, vol. 4, Berlin 1983, cols 512–516; here, col. 514.

by two widely recognised scholars suffice to demonstrate the accepted 'estimation' of the *Spruch* genre. The implicit, inversely proportional valuations of *Spruchdichtung* and *Lied* are clear: Kornrumpf notes that 'because of its contents, **J** cannot compensate the lack of melodies in the large-scale *Minnesänger* manuscripts'; and Welker comments that 'it is only sad that the collection's almost exclusive concentration on *Spruch* poetry means that there are melodies only for one part of German lyric'.[248] Both would, it seems, much prefer that **J** transmitted melodies for *Lied* rather than *Spruch* poetry. One of the reasons for Kornrumpf's and Welker's preference for the *Lied* is its more complex musical structure. In contrast to the complexity of the *Lied*, Horst Brunner argued that the *Spruch* was, essentially, 'boring': 'the analysis of the melodies has shown that they are throughout constructed from variations of sparse melodic material. Identical repetitions are rare, contrasts are hardly found. All in all, the melodies have only little idiomatic character'.[249]

In addition to its problematic general valuation by scholars, *Spruch* poetry poses a further, more specific problem in the context of studying *Minnesang* as musical. As the quotation from Kornrumpf's article implies, **J** is not one of the '*Minnesang* manuscripts' since it transmits *Spruch*, not *Lied* poetry. The creator of a *Spruch*, the *Spruchdichter*, is not identical to the creator of a *Lied*, the *Minnesänger*. This opposition between the *Minnesänger* and the *Spruchdichter* is emblematically reflected in one of Kornrumpf's earlier publications, in which she claimed that 'compared with the documents of *Minnesang*, the *Spruchdichter*'s utterances are more direct and fixed regarding their terminology'—*Minnesang* and *Spruchdichtung* are two distinct poetic entities.[250] A similarly rigid separation is enforced in Burghart Wachinger's encyclopaedia entry on **J** in

---

[248] Gisela Kornrumpf, Art. 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift', in: *LL*, ed. by Walter Killy, vol. 6, Gütersloh 1990, pp. 92–94; here, p. 94. <57.a> Lorenz Welker, Art. 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift', in: *MGG2*, vol. 4 (Sachteil), Kassel 1996, cols 1455–1460; here, col. 1459. <107.a>

[249] Horst Brunner, 'Die Töne Bruder Wernhers: Bemerkungen zur Form und zur formgeschichtlichen Stellung', in: *Liedstudien: Wolfgang Osthoff zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. by Martin Just and Reinhard Wiesend, Tutzing 1989, pp. 47–60; here, p. 58. <20.a>

[250] Gisela Kornrumpf and Burghart Wachinger 1979, p. 380. <55.a>

the *Verfasserlexikon*. Noting the lack of *Lied* repertoire in **J**, Wachinger claimed that '*Minnesänger*-like styles can be found only in the Wizlav additions and in the Meister Alexander corpus'.[251] Again, *Lied* is strictly associated with the *Minnesänger*, *Spruch* with the *Spruchdichter*.

Yet the relationship between *Minnesang* and *Spruchdichtung* is more complex. Kornrumpf maintained that Walther von der Vogelweide united *Minnesang* and *Spruchdichtung*; he merged the two genres into one tradition of vernacular song. Instead of disregarding one of these poetic forms, Walther made use of both, bringing them closer together: Walther is both *Spruchdichter* and *Minnesänger*.[252] The taxonomic confusion is complete if one compares Kornrumpf's and Wachinger's definitions to those in *NGrove*. According to Kippenberg, *Minnesang* is 'the German tradition of courtly lyric *and* secular monophony that flourished particularly in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries': *Minnesang* denotes courtly lyric, the *Lied*, as well as other forms of German medieval secular monophony, including the *Spruch*.[253] Kippenberg's article confirms this use of terminology in its discussion of poetic forms, listing the *Lied*, the *Spruch*, and the *Leich* as 'the three main categories of *Minnesang*'.[254] Kornrumpf and Wachinger, in contrast, use the term *Minnesang* in relation to the *Lied* only; they reserve the term *Minnesänger* exclusively for the author/performer of *Lied* poetry: a *Spruchdichter* is not by default a *Minnesänger*.

---

[251] Wachinger, Art. 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift', col. 514. <103.a>
[252] See Kornrumpf and Wachinger 1979, p. 407.
[253] My emphasis. Kippenberg, Art. 'Minnesang', p. 721.
[254] Ibid., p. 722.
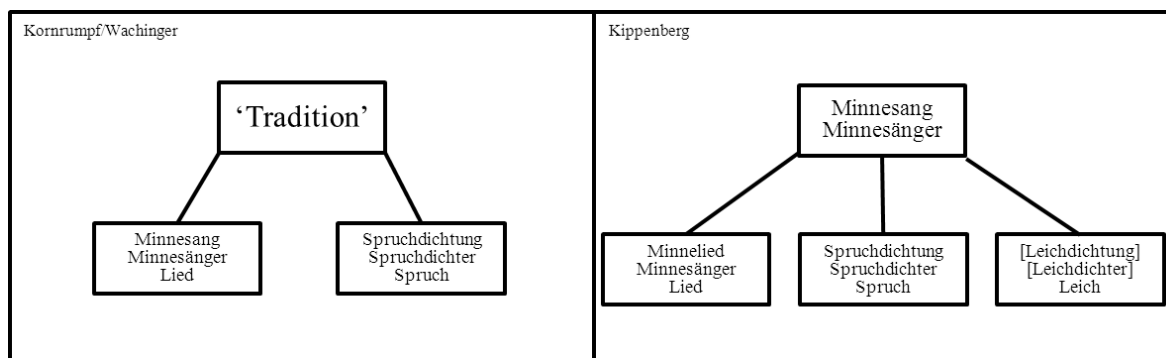
Figure 1: Kornrumpf/Wachinger's and Kippenberg's taxonomies of *Minnesang*

The rigid terminological distinction between *Minnesang* and *Spruchdichtung* as genres within a single tradition implies the lesser musical value of the latter: the *Spruch* is about the performance of the text, not the music.[255] The Spruch*dichter* creates verse; the Minne*sänger* sings.[256] While these connotations may not have been present in medieval usage of the terms in the same way, they are implied in present-day use sufficiently enough to make the use of the term *Spruchdichter* counterintuitive when searching for these poets' *musical* identity. The melodies in **J**, however, bear testament to the notion that this poetic genre was indeed considered as song.[257] The thesis consequently adopts Kippenberg's inclusive taxonomy of *Minnesang*, referring to German poetry as *Minnesang*, and to the proponents of the entire repertoire as *Minnesänger*.

2. The Jenaer Liederhandschrift (J) as a Music Source

Since its binding in the 1530s, **J** has contained 133 folios which are grouped together in 19 gatherings of mainly *quaternios*. All folios are laid out in two columns; originally, **J** must have contained at least 154 folios. The manuscript is 56x41cm large, and can be divided

---

[255] Brunner 1989, p. 58.

[256] It makes no difference whether one refers to these poets as *Spruchdichter* or Sang*spruchdichter*: they are always first and foremost considered creators of verse. For the terminology of *Spruch* and *Sangspruch*, see: Burkhard Kippenberg, Art. 'Spruch', in: *NGrove*, vol. 24, London 2001b, p. 225.

[257] Indeed, **J** inserts a section of *Lieder* by Wizlav von Rügen on fols 72c–80d, suggesting that the medieval distinction between *Spruch* and *Lied* genres was not a rigid one.

into three sections: fols 2a–72c, fols 72c–80d, and fols 81a–136d (Table 3).[258] The first and third sections are ruled with 34 horizontal lines across the page, creating 33 lines on which text or music can be written. Of the middle section, only folios up to 74v are ruled with 34 continuous horizontal lines; although fols 75r–80r also have 34 lines, with the exception of the top and bottom two, these do not run across the page but are interrupted between the two columns. Section C's text and music scribe can be distinguished from the main scribe of sections A and B (who is possibly the same individual). Section C contains songs by Wizlav von Rügen; the rest of the manuscript features poetry predominantly by authors from Northern and Central Germany. The stanzas are grouped by their *Töne*, ninety-one of which are notated with their melody; one of these melodies (fols 55b+c) was added to the manuscript later. Groups of stanzas by the same author provide the poet's name at the beginning of the first *Ton*'s melody; **J** includes the name of 28 poets.[259] The melodies are notated in square notation on staves of four lines and do not convey rhythmical information. The manuscript contains numerous corrections to both music and text, seeming aiming at philological correctness.[260]

---

[258] Fol. 2 is the first extant folio. This thesis adopts the column designation with letters—a and b on the recto side, c and d on the verso side—as employed in the critical commentary on **J** by Tervooren and Müller (eds) 1972.

[259] Assuming that Der Guotere (fol. 38b) and Der Ghuoter (fol. 44c) are the same person.

[260] See Christoph März and Lorenz Welker: 'Überlegungen zur Funktion und zu den musikalischen Formungen der "Jenaer Liederhandschrift"', in: *Sangspruchdichtung: Gattungskonstitution und Gattungsinterferenzen im europäischen Kontext*, ed. by Dorothea Klein, Tübingen 2007, pp. 129–152; here, p. 132. Tervooren's facsimile edition gives a good overview of the manuscript's design: Tervooren and Müller (eds) 1972.

Folio	*Ton* author	*Töne*			Section
		mel.	*frag.*	*no mel.*	
[*lacuna*–]2a	[contrafact of Walther von der Vogelweide's Leich (C1)]	-	-	1†	A
2a–7d	Meyster Stolle	1	-	-	
7d–16a	Bruoder Wirner	6	-	-	
16a–20c	Meister Kelyn	3	-	-	
20c–21d	Meister Zilies von Seyne	2	-	-	
21d–28b	Meister Alexander	3+1†	1	1	
28b–28d	Robyn	1	-	-	
28d–29a	Meyster Ruodinger	-	-	1	
29a–30a	Spervoghel	1	-	-	
30a–31b	Der Helleviur	1	-	-	
31b–35d	Meister Gervelyn	2	-	-	
35d–36c	Der Urenheymer	-	-	1	
36c–38b	Der Hynnenberger	1	-	-	
38b–39b	Der Guotere	1	-	-	
39b–42a	Der Unvuortzaghete	3	-	-	
42a–42d	Der Liet Scouwere	1	-	-	
42d–43d	Der Tanuser	1	-	-	
43d–44c	Meister Singof	1	-	-	
44c–45b	Der Ghuoter	-	-	1	
45b–46c	Reynolt von der Lippe	1	-	1	
46d–47b	Der Goldener	-	-	1	
47c–57d–[*lacuna*–58a]–62d	Meyster Rumelant	9	-	1	
62d–63b	Rumelant von Swaben	1	-	-	
63c–72a	Meister Vriderich von Sunnenburc	3	-	-	
72b–[*lacuna*–73a–76d–*lacuna*–77a]–80d[–*lacuna*]	[Wizlav von Rügen]	15	3	-	C
81a–[85d–*lacuna*–86a–92d–*lacuna*–93a]–101b	Der Mysnere	13	3	4	B (A*?)
101b–103a[–*lacuna*]	Meyster Conrat von Wertzeburc	1	-	-	
[*lacuna*–]103a–111c	[Vrowenlop]	3	-	1	
111c–113d	Meister Poppe	1	-	-	
113d–123d	Herman Damen	6	-	-	
123d–127d	Der von Ofterdingen	1	-	-	
127d–[132d–*lacuna*–133a]–136d[–*lacuna*]	Her Wolveram	1	-	-	
	Total:	84	7	13	104

Table 3: Synoptic overview of J's contents[261]

J has been dated to the first half of the fourteenth century. Earlier scholars assumed

a date around the mid-century, but recent authors have suggested a dating of **J** as early as

---

[261] Daggers indicate the manuscript's two *Leiche*.

1300.[262] Since Karl Bartsch's study of **J**'s linguistic features in 1923, North-Eastern Germany has been generally accepted as the manuscript's origin, rejecting the earlier assumption of a Central German origin.[263] Because of the manuscript's size, scholars assumed a wealthy nobleman as **J**'s patron and suggested the Wettin and Brandenburg-Ascania courts as potential commissioners of **J**.[264] Körndle's research has given new emphasis to Welker's earlier suggestion of the possible involvement of an ecclesiastical or even monastic scriptorium in the production of **J**.[265] The manuscript's function remains contested: Klaus Klein, Erdmuthe Pickerodt-Uthleb, and Jürgen Wolf proposed **J**'s practical use, basing their reasoning on the many corrections in the manuscript; Wolfgang von Wangenheim and Lorenz Welker argued for **J**'s function as a status object, relying on the manuscript's size and layout.[266] Welker's, Klein's, and Wolf's opposing view-points stand alongside each other in the same collected volume, demonstrating the unresolved nature of this debate.

J's layout, notation, and socio-historical context reflect the medieval understanding and valuation of *Minnesang* as music. Most immediately, the manuscript's size shows the value that must have been placed in it. The impressive folio size of 56x41cm becomes even more striking when compared with the size of the actual text-block in **J**. 'Merely'

---

[262] For the classic dating, see: Aarburg, Art. 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift', col. 1868. For recent attempts to move the date of **J** forward, see: Lug 2000, p. 39.

[263] See Karl Bartsch, *Untersuchungen zur Jenaer Liederhandschrift*, Leipzig 1923, p. 92. For the now generally rejected assumption of a Central German origin, see: Friedrich Gennrich (ed.), *Die Jenaer Liederhandschrift: Faksimile-Ausgabe ihrer Melodien*, Langen bei Frankfurt 1963; Karl Konrad Müller (ed.), *Die Jenaer Liederhandschrift in Lichtdruck*, Jena 1896.

[264] See Pickerodt-Uthleb 1975, p. 246ff.

[265] See Franz Körndle, 'Die "Jenaer Liederhandschrift" und das Basler Fragment: Aspekte notenschriftlicher Traditionen', in: *Die 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift': Codex – Geschichte – Umfeld*, ed. by Jens Haustein and Franz Körndle, Berlin 2010, pp. 121–135; here, p. 133; Welker, Art. 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift', col. 1456.

[266] Klaus Klein, 'Die "Jenaer Liederhandschrift" und ihr Umfeld', in: *Die 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift': Codex – Geschichte – Umfeld*, ed. by Jens Haustein and Franz Körndle, Berlin 2010, pp. 251–258; here, p. 258; Pickerodt-Uthleb 1975, p. 239; Wolfgang von Wangenheim, *Das Basler Fragment einer mitteldeutsch-niederdeutschen Liederhandschrift und sein Spruchdichter-Repertoire (Kelin, Fegfeuer)*, Bern 1972, p. 29; Lorenz Welker, 'Die "Jenaer Liederhandschrift" im Kontext großformatiger liturgischer Bücher des 14. Jahrhunderts aus dem deutschen Sprachraum', in: *Die 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift': Codex – Geschichte – Umfeld*, ed. by Jens Haustein and Franz Körndle, Berlin 2010, pp. 137–147; here, p. 147; Jürgen Wolf, 'J und der Norden: Anmerkungen zu einigen kodikologischen und paläographischen Indizien', in: *Die 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift': Codex – Geschichte – Umfeld*, ed. by Jens Haustein and Franz Körndle, Berlin 2010, pp. 149–161; here, p. 154.

38.5x30cm of the folio feature notation or script—the rest remains empty. Tervooren also remarked on the 'comparatively small proportion' of writing, and it needs to be emphasised that just over half of each folio has been written on.[267] Such a large amount of space might have been left blank not only to raise the grandeur of the *mise en page*, but also to allow for later additions to be made with ease: the bottom margins of fols 103a–106a add numerous further stanzas to the Frauenlob corpus (Image 45). The large amount of free space allowed the scribe to include these additions in very neat script, and provided enough space for large initials to extend beyond the text block.

Image 45: Opening of fols 103v/104r (J)[268]

Burghart Wachinger has shown that **J** concentrates on Frauenlob's early repertoire, leading Lug to conclude that the transmission of Frauenlob's poetry was still on-going when **J** was being copied.[269] Lug consequently dated the manuscript's production to

---

[267] 1,155cm^2 of a folio's overall 2,296cm^2 are written on (based on the measurements given above). This equals 50.3 percent; see Tervooren and Müller (eds) 1972, p. 1.

[268] Digital images of **J** are available online at: http://www.urmel-dl.de/Projekte/JenaerLiederhandschrift.

[269] See Burghart Wachinger, 'Von der Jenaer zur Weimarer Liederhandschrift: zur Corpusüberlieferung von Frauenlobs Spruchdichtung', in: *Philologie als Kulturwissenschaft: Studien zu Literatur und Geschichte des Mittelalters*, ed. by Ludger Grenzmann, Hubert Herkommer and Dieter Wuttke, Göttingen 1987, pp. 193–207; here, p. 201.

Frauenlob's lifetime, possibly even before 1300.[270] If **J** was prepared during the lifetime of an esteemed poet such as Frauenlob, this would make it understandable that the commissioner (and scribe) wanted to facilitate the possibility of more material being added later; this documentation of a 'living tradition' shows that *Minnesang* was considered valuable and worthwhile at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and the inclusion of music in such an endeavour attests to its prevailing currency.

Many more features in the manuscript's layout suggest that music was an important factor in **J**'s conception. Musical notation is granted a dominating visual presence in **J**: it is contained on 232 of the 532 columns extant today, that is almost forty-four percent.[271] **J**'s more than 940 stanzas are ascribed to 'only' ninety-one melodies, making the almost equal share of columns between musical and textual material even more surprising. While this is partly because each line of music occupies the equivalent of two lines if ruled for text, and because the melodic material has to be spaced out in order to fit the text, this observation remains striking because—unlike the manuscripts of the 'Manesse group' for example—**J** establishes a visual balance between music and text. The openings which contain music on all four columns display music's visual prominence in **J** especially well (Image 46).

---

[270] See Lug 2000, p. 38f.

[271] See Voetz 1988, p. 252. The columns which feature pre-ruled staves ready for music to be entered have been considered to contain musical notation for this statistical analysis. 300 columns contain text only, 144 contain both text and music, and 88 columns contain music only. While the music-only columns contain some amount of text, they should still be considered music-only. If not, one would consequently have to consider all the text only columns as mixed as well since these texts are set to the music which precedes them.

Image 46: Opening of fols 116v/117r (J)

The manuscript's lineation further shows music's importance for **J**'s conception and design. The scribe ruled each column to fit 33 lines of text; the music staves are created by subdivision of two of these text lines, suggesting that the scribe knew that music was intended for this manuscript and was at pains to choose the best possible layout to accommodate both text and music. Each stave of music is underlaid by a single line of text, so that each musical line required three lines; if the scribe wanted to be independent of the column design as to where text and/or music could be written and where not, it would have been essential to rule the columns with a number of lines easily divisible by three. The choice of 33 lines rather than the next closest multiples of three, 30 or 36, is connected to the luxuriousness of the empty margins: the addition of another three lines would have not allowed the scribe to maintain the manuscript's well-proportioned, large margins.

J's music influenced not only the ruling of the manuscript but also the individual layout of each folio. At the top of fol. 18a, there are two lines of music, followed by three stanzas in that *Ton*, continuing on fol. 18b (Image 47). The stave which features the end of the melody on fol. 18a does not run on to the end of the column, but ends together with the text. Unless copying from a well-designed exemplar, the scribe must have added the staves

after the melody's text had been written; otherwise, the lineation could not have stopped exactly where the text ends. This hypothesis is confirmed on fol. 36b which presents the end of a melody for which the music is lacking (Image 47). The text has been entered underneath the staves, and the final stave ends exactly with the end of the last word. Throughout **J**, the text-only stanzas follow the end of the music immediately, with no empty lines in between.[272] Without an exemplar, the text-only stanzas could have been included in the manuscript only after a melody's underlying text had been written out; otherwise the scribe would not have known where to begin the stanzas. This strongly suggests that the scribe who wrote the stand-alone texts is identical to the one who notated the text underlying the music: it would have been impractical to have two different scribes for the different processes, switching back and forth frequently.[273]
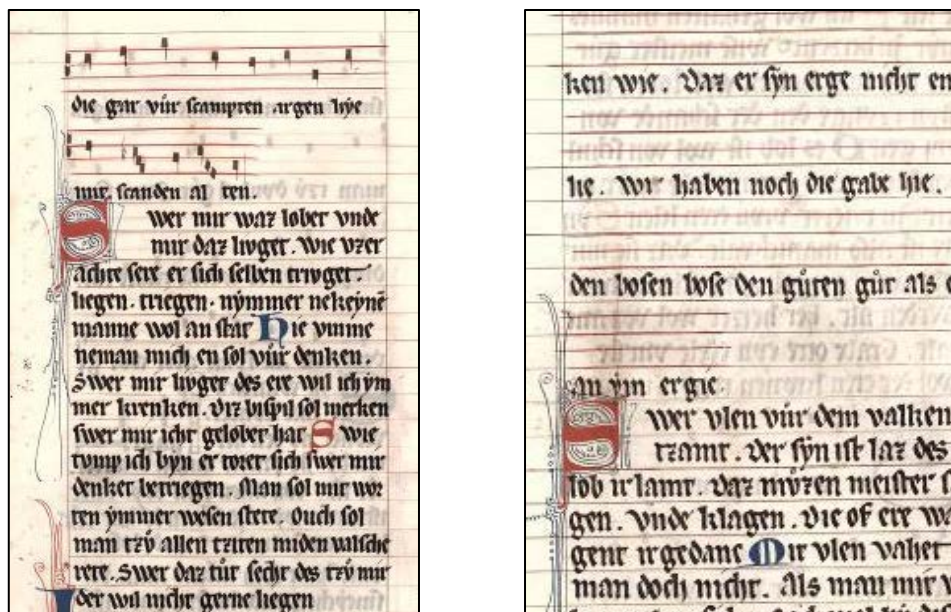
Image 47: Excerpts from fols 18a and 36b (J)

The opening of 'Syon trure' by the Wilde Alexander (KLD1,IV) further suggests that the scribe was aware of the kind of music that was to be entered in the manuscript

---

[272] The only significant exception is the Wizlav corpus (section C). Here, there are blank lines between one musical setting and the next when there are no text-only stanzas.

[273] The hands of the text-only sections and musical text-underlay are very similar, further supporting this claim.

(Image 48). The song's melody opens with an eleven note melisma, and the text scribe left an unusually large amount of space between the two first syllables of the poem, 'Sy----on'. A similar gap is left between the first two syllables of the second *Stollen* which repeats the large melisma at the top of fol. 24c, 'Dar----nach' (Image 49). Here, however, there is too much space for the melisma, suggesting that the text scribe may not have understood that this text line featured a musical repeat and would require exactly the same amount of space as in the case of 'Sy----on'. While the text scribe thus appears to have been aware of the general musical features of the songs, the text underlay shows no particularly rigorous understanding of detailed musical structures.

Image 48: The beginning of the Wilde Alexander's 'Syon trure', fol. 24b (J)
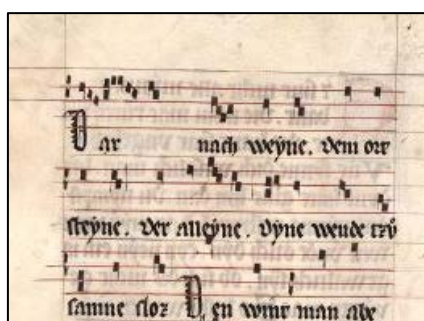
Image 49: The second *Stollen* of 'Syon trure', fol. 24c (J)

The decisions regarding **J**'s layout also took into account the needs of the text. The melody of Kelin's 'Ez ist vil maniger here' (B[1]Kel/3/1a) ends in the right hand corner of lines 13–15 on fol. 18d (Image 50). The final line of music is very short as it sets only two syllables of text, "[ge]-ling-en". Had the music been notated at the beginning of these lines,

the scribe would not have been able to begin the next stanza until line 16, because there would not have been enough space to fit the large initial in the middle of the column. By placing the melody at the end of the column, the scribe could already begin to write the next stanza in line 13, including the large initial 'E'. This idiomatic style of opening and ending melodies occurs frequently throughout the first section of the manuscript (for example on fols 20d, 21a, 25a, 25b, 31b, 46b, 51d); in section B, it occurs only once (fol. 94a), strengthening Holz's suggestion that the scribes of these sections are not identical.[274] Section C follows another system: large initials are included in the middle of lines, obviating the need to work around them at the end of melodies (for example on fols 77a, 78a, 79d).[275]
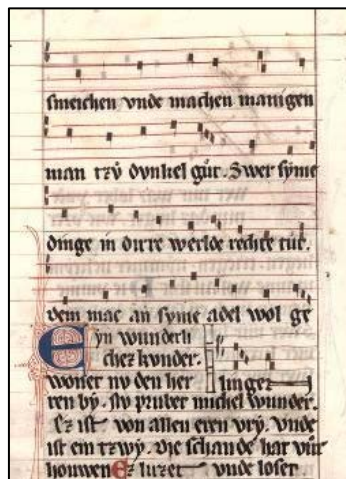
Image 50: Excerpt of fol. 18d (J)

J's contents are ordered by *Ton* authors, rather than by the authors of the texts, a feature which distinguishes it clearly from the manuscripts of the 'Manesse group'.[276] Helmut Tervooren has suggested that these two types of manuscript ordering result from a respective focus on performed repertoire and authorship.[277] If **J**'s ordering can be

---

[274] See Holz, Saran and Bernoulli (eds) 1901, p. iv.
[275] The initial added in the middle of the line is a 'D' in all three instances. In other cases, such as fols 79b or 80a, the scribe does not start the text in the middle of the line. Here, the initials are 'A' and 'N'.
[276] See Kornrumpf, Art. 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift', p. 93.
[277] See Helmut Tervooren, 'Ein neuer Fund zu Reinmar von Zweter: zugleich ein Beitrag zu einer m[ittel]d[eutschen]/n[ieder]d[eutschen] Literaturlandschaft', in: *ZfdPh* 102 (1983), pp. 377–391; here, p. 391.

conceived as resulting from the collection of performed repertoire, then this stresses music's importance for the collection even beyond the inclusion of *Ton* author names.

The musical notation itself points to its own importance. Ursula Aarburg's comment that 'the Roman square notation is painted rather than written', though metaphorical, calls due attention to the large size of the neumes.[278] Despite their size, the individual neumes are notated very carefully and with great attention to detail. The dominating neume in **J** is the *virga*. While many medieval manuscripts are unclear in their distinction between *punctum* and *virga*, **J**'s scribe is careful to notate all the *virgae* with a stem of almost the exact same length. This observation is particularly significant as the manuscript does not use the *punctum*. In the context of **J**, a *virga* without, or with too short a stem, would not have been mistaken for a *punctum*; even so, the scribe was careful to 'paint' the music in a correct and clear manner. Not only are the neumes presented in a neat and orderly manner, but they have also been corrected in numerous places, suggesting that the music scribe did not copy the notation as a beautiful work of art: many of the corrections reduce the manuscript's tidiness (Image 51). Instead, the scribe was concerned with the beauty of the songs as artistic entities. The music means more than its *graphic* beauty to the scribe (and to the manuscript's commissioner).

---

[278] Aarburg, Art. 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift', col. 1869. <4.a> Contradicting Aarburg's metaphorical claim that the neumes were 'painted', the notation suggests that the neumes were drawn with a special (large) nib rather than filled in later.
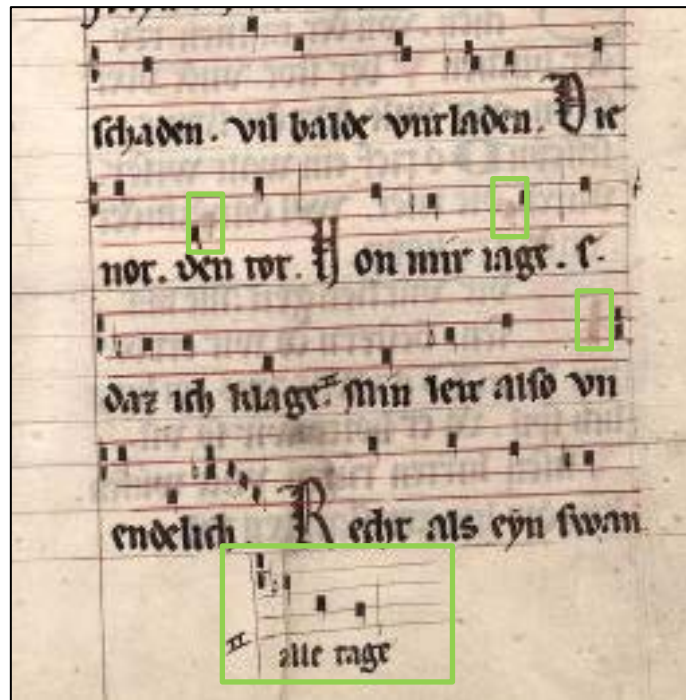
Image 51: Excerpt of fol. 25d (J), with some highlighted corrections

Volker Mertens argued that 'the notation of melodies has a symbolic function among others; it adds to the dignity of the text, the book, and finally the patron. The social and cultural implications of notation are not to be underestimated. When music is notated, it shows that the patron could organise and appreciate it, and it symbolises a public performance of great splendour'.[279] While Mertens's insistence on music's cultural meaning is significant, his repeated claim that the music has a 'symbolic' function needs to be eyed critically. The care with which **J**'s scribe notated the melodies and the many corrections that were made to the musical notation demonstrate that music held more than symbolic value to the manuscript's commissioner. Even if the manuscript was not used as a performance aid, the notation does not merely allude to or evoke *Minnesang* as music: it reveals music as a significant part of its ontology. While the musical notation may *additionally* contain symbolic references, it presents *Minnesang* as performable music, not unlike the way in which an authoritative edition—be it an autograph, collected edition, or

---

[279] Mertens 2005, p. 153.

any edition which pays attention to musical correctness—represents the performative identity of music to a modern reader.

As Mertens suggests, musical notation can also be indicative of its socio-historical context. In the case of **J**, a number of recent studies have focussed on its palaeographical features and linked these to the manuscript's production. Lug argued that the numerous corrections in **J**'s musical notation showed the scribe to be struggling to read and translate the *Hufnagel* (or other neumatic) notation in the model source: 'the many corrections might point to the two-fold stress situation caused by the copying of the pitches and syllable placements as well as by the precise translation into the complex classical notational system'.[280] **J**'s model was deficient due to its lack of a system of rhythmic notation which Lug saw exemplified in trouv. **U**; a system he consequently transferred onto **J**.[281] His claim reflects succinctly the common musicological trope of Germany as a region of backward musical and notational practices throughout the Middle Ages.[282] Körndle's 2010 study, in contrast, assessed **J**'s musical notation without referring to this historical master narrative, and convincingly demonstrated that the model for **J** must have itself been in square notation.[283]

Two further conclusions are necessitated by Körndle's assessment. Welker pointed out that square notation was the commonly used script for large manuscripts, whereas Gothic forms of square notation dominate in codices of smaller format.[284] If **J**'s model was in square notation, it too could have been a large-scale manuscript. This, in turn, would suggest that the model was also a manuscript of some value. Moreover, the appearance of

---

[280] Lug 2000, p. 32. <65.d>

[281] See Robert Lug, 'Das "vormodale" Zeichensystem des Chansonniers de Saint-Germain-des-Prés', in: *AfMw* 52 (1/1995), pp. 19–65.

[282] My Magister thesis discussed the (musicological) concept of medieval German atavism in detail: Henry Hope, *The Manuscript BerlA and Its Context: a Case-Study on the Problem of Musical Atavism*, Weimar 2011 (unpublished).

[283] See Körndle 2010, p. 124. The observation that any exemplar used by **J**'s scribes must have been equally well-designed further strengthens Körndle's argument and questions Lug's assumption of an exemplar in *Hufnagel* notation, see fn. 280.

[284] See Welker 2010, p. 140.

another large-format manuscript in square notation from Germany would further problematise the master narrative of atavism that underlies Lug's argument. Secondly, both Körndle and Welker highlighted the prevalence of square notation in monastic scriptoria.[285] **J**'s musical notation and its many corrections support the notion that the manuscript could have been written in a monastic scriptorium.[286] Since the music of *Minnesang* is unlikely to have been familiar to monastic scribes, it is plausible that they would have included it in a new manuscript: the notation of the texts alone, as in the 'Manesse group' sources, would not have sufficed to recall the melodies to them. The grammar of **J**'s music would also have been unfamiliar to clerical scribes, and the significant number of copying errors might be a result of this.

Unfamiliarity with the transmitted repertoire, it appears, is one of the key factors which necessitated the *explicit* representation of poetry in all its facets, including music. While a monastic scriptorium would have provided a social disjunction between the songs' performance context and their transmission, Karl Bartsch's widely acknowledged hypothesis that **J** represents 'an example of Middle High German writing produced on North German soil', on the other hand, highlights the manuscript's geographic closeness to its repertoire.[287] Helmut Tervooren pointed out that most of the authors transmitted by **J** flourished in North-Eastern and Central Germany. A number of possible provenances have been suggested for the manuscript, of which the Altmark region of Stendal or Salzwedel as well as Wittenberg, generally favoured by earlier scholarship, have been the most

---

[285] While Welker pointed to the Dominican and Carthusian orders, Körndle suggested Cistercian scriptoria: Körndle 2010, p. 132f; Welker, Art. 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift', col. 1456. See also März and Welker 2007, p. 138.

[286] Bernhard K. Gröbler has also suggested a monastic scribe for **J**: Bernhard K. Gröbler, 'Liqueszenzgraphien (Pliken) in der Jenaer Liederhandschrift', in: *BzGr* 39 (2005), pp. 59–66; here, p. 60.

[287] Bartsch 1923, p. 92. <12.a> See also Tervooren and Müller (eds) 1972, p. 6.

persistent.[288] Stendal and Salzwedel lie within the Northern region which Bartsch outlined

for **J**'s origin, and Wittenberg lies just south thereof (Figure 2).
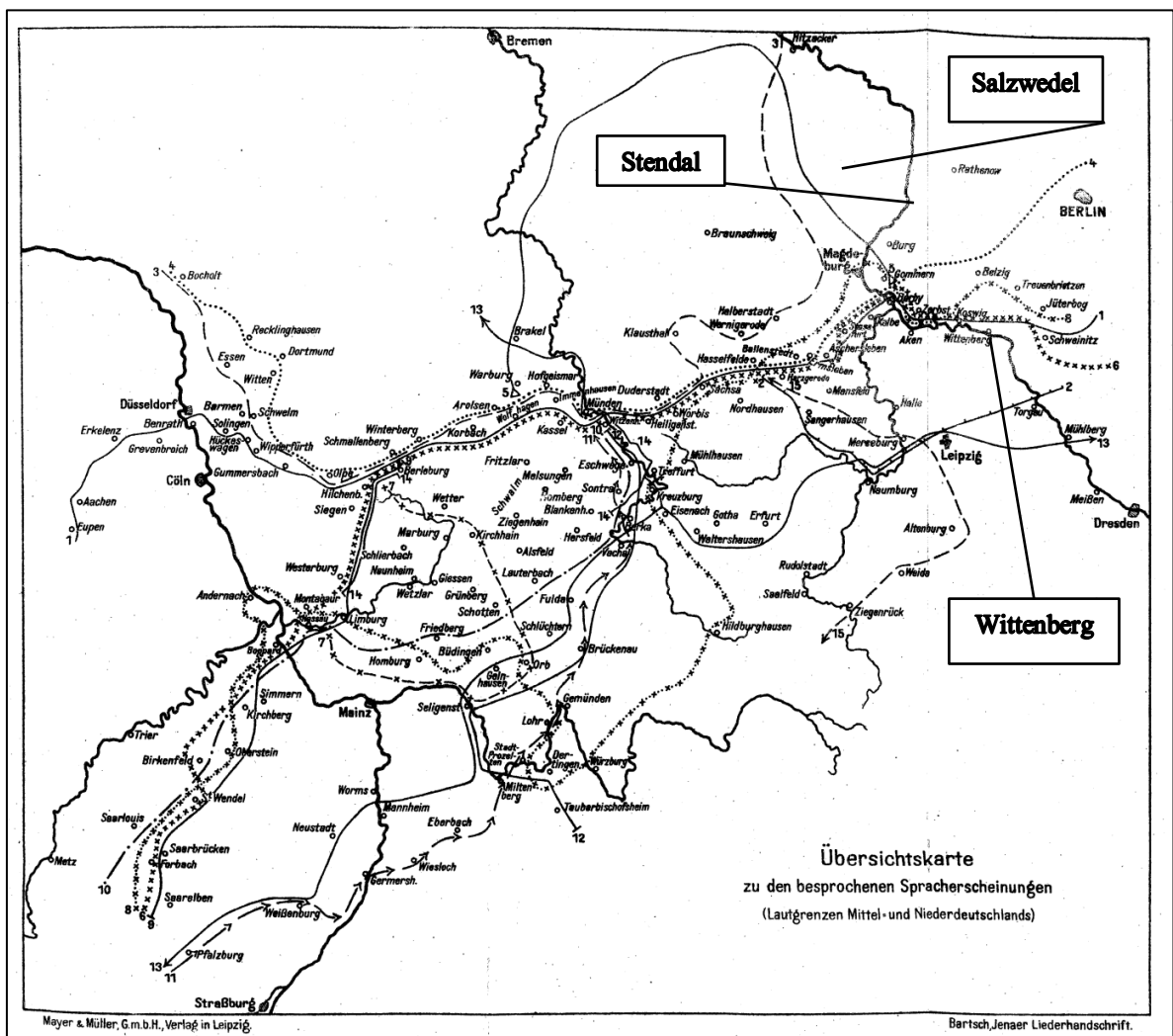
Figure 2: Map of (medieval) German dialects according to Bartsch (with mark-up)[289]

The group of extant *Minnesang* manuscripts of North-German origin related to **J** can all be argued to have originally contained musical notation.[290] Wolfgang von Wangenheim pointed also to the sources' 'colometric' organisation of the texts (that is, the organisation of the stanzas into their structural components by coloured initials): as a reason for the strong attention paid to formal organisation in North German manuscripts,

---

[288] See Thomas Klein, 'Zur Verbreitung mittelhochdeutscher Lyrik in Norddeutschland (Walther, Neidhart, Frauenlob)', in: *ZfdPh* 106 (1987), pp. 72–112; here, p. 110; Pickerodt-Uthleb 1975, p. 246f. For a more recent suggestion of Wittenberg as provenance of **J**, see: Wolf 2010, p. 161.

[289] The Low German region Bartsch suggested for **J** lies north of border-line 1, running from Eupen in the West to just south-east of Jüterbog.

[290] This group of manuscripts includes, among others, the Münster Fragment (**Z**), the Frankfurt Neidhart Fragment (**O**), and the Basel Fragment (**Ba**). See Klein 1987; Tervooren 1983, p. 387f.

he suggested that 'an awareness of form was developed especially and initially in the regions of Northern Germany—precisely because these individual forms were new and unfamiliar'.[291] The newness and/or alterity of the *Spruch* genre, rather than its transmission by North German scribes, necessitated its complete notation. Indeed, Kornrumpf claimed that the transmission of *Spruch* poetry in North German manuscripts reflects a change of taste in the audience rather than a particular preference of North German *Minnesänger*.[292] One might argue that **J**'s patron commissioned *Spruch* rather than *Lied* poetry because it appeared fashionable to them, and because many of the authors were familiar to them; the (monastic) scribe notated its music because its form and grammar were (still) unfamiliar.[293]

As noted above, it remains contested how **J** was used, and what purpose it served.[294] The extent to which **J** contains material of relevance to its contemporary users has likewise been assessed differently: Tervooren emphasised 'the manuscript's temporal closeness to the lifetime of its authors', while Wachinger claimed **J**'s currency at the time of production to have been minimal, describing the manuscript as a collection of dead masters of the *Spruch* genre.[295] Curiously, both positions are softened by their authors' respective claims elsewhere: Tervooren conceded that the manuscript post-dated its repertoire by only 50–80 rather than 100 years, and Wachinger observed that **J** transmitted the earlier pieces within Frauenlob's repertoire, leading Lug to date **J** to the poet's lifetime.[296] Tervooren's claim that 'Central and North German *Spruch* poetry seems […] to

---

[291] Wangenheim 1972, p. 6. <104.a>

[292] See Kornrumpf, Art. 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift', p. 94.

[293] Wachinger's conjecture that the present form of **J** may have been preceded by a collection of *Spruch* poetry by Walther von der Vogelweide (the end of which can be found at the beginning of **J**—a contrafact of Walther's *Leich*) and by Reinmar von Zweter supports the notion of **J** as a comprehensive collection of the fashionable *Spruch* genre. Wachinger proposed a possible identification of **J** and the conjectured two-volume collection of *Spruch* poetry by Walther and Reinmar included in the Wittenberg library catalogue of 1437: Burghart Wachinger, 'Der Anfang der Jenaer Liederhandschrift', in: *ZfdA* 110 (1981), pp. 299–306.

[294] See p. 98.

[295] Tervooren and Müller (eds) 1972, p. 1. <97.a> Georg Holz made a similar claim in 1901, see: Holz, Saran and Bernoulli (eds) 1901, p. v (vol. 1). See also Wachinger, Art. 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift', col. 515f.

[296] See Tervooren and Müller (eds) 1972, p. 1. For a discussion of Lug's dating of **J**, see p. 100.

be relatively close to the living business of literature and music' stands at odds also with Wangenheim's association of **J** with mainly antiquarian interests.[297] Again, their apparently contradictory positions are blurred and brought closer together through a consideration of the context in which they are voiced: Wangenheim reached his conclusion about **J**'s antiquarian interests by comparing it to the Basel Fragment (**Ba**), a fragment of North German origin noteworthy for its use in sung performance.[298]

Depending on one's point of comparison and perspective, all of these assessments seem valid descriptions of **J**—as the reflection of a living tradition, as the collection of dead authors' poetry, the collection of performance repertoire, or as an anthology with antiquarian interests. Music is central to all four arguments: understood as the reflection of a living tradition, **J**'s music too appears of contemporary value, since the scribe pays as much attention to its notation as to that of the text; understood as a collection of performance material, **J**'s notation suggests that the musical content of these songs was in need of being notated either because it was forgotten, unfamiliar, or very new—the commissioner insisted on its inclusion in the manuscript, and the scribe was able to procure models for these melodies; understood as an antiquarian anthology of songs by dead poets, **J**'s musical notation demonstrates the *continuing availability* of the songs' music—through oral transmission or exemplar(s)—and stresses the importance the volume's commissioner placed on preserving the 'correct' version of the melodies as an essential part of this repertoire.

As this chapter has demonstrated, the music of *Minnesang* is central to **J**—extending far beyond the inclusion of musical notation. The space afforded to the musical notation, its careful preparation and correction, the manuscript's North-German provenance, as well as the interest in *Spruch* repertoire support the conclusion reached in

---

[297] Tervooren 1983, p. 390. <98.a> See Wangenheim 1972, p. 29.
[298] See Wangenheim 1972, p. 29.

Chapter II: musicologists should take an interest in *Minnesang* manuscripts and interrogate them for their information about the repertoire's musical identity—beyond the confines of modern day taxonomies and ontologies of music.

CHAPTER IV.
Minnesang in Music Editions

Studying a number of central manuscripts that transmit the *Minnesang* repertoire around 1300, the preceding chapters have indicated ways in which music is represented at the time of its earliest large-scale documentation in written form. The following two chapters juxtapose the medieval representation of *Minnesang* with the repertoire's reception in the context of the modern university, from the nineteenth century to the present: the chapters trace the 'changing *musical* identity' of the repertoire as constructed by academics.[299] *Minnesang*'s modern scholarly reception is considered in two guises: Chapter IV considers its representation in music editions, and Chapter V turns to criticism. While the disciplinary focus in these chapters lies on publications by musicologists, they nevertheless maintain an international outlook, scrutinising scholarship from within and outside German-speaking academia.

1. The Jenaer Liederhandschrift (J) in Music Editions[300]

Johannes Rettelbach's claim that **J** 'offers the most important musical documentation of secular song from the German speaking world of the fourteenth century' is only one quotation from a list of many that emphasise the manuscript's significance.[301] The value attributed to the manuscript across disciplinary boundaries since its rediscovery by Basilius Christian Bernhard Wiedeburg in 1754 proposes it as a favoured object of editorial interest

---

[299] Haines 2004.

[300] I am very grateful to Almut Suerbaum for giving me the opportunity to present ideas from this chapter at the Middle High German graduate seminar in June 2012, and especially for the ensuing fruitful discussion.

[301] Rettelbach 2010, p. 81. <84.a> For an overview of the scholarly estimation of **J**, see Chapter III.

and activity.[302] Yet it was not until eighty-four years after Wiedeburg's publication, in 1838, that **J** was edited in a large-scale encyclopaedic endeavour by Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen, who aimed to provide both an anthology and a critical study of *Minnesang* and its poets.[303] Since then, **J** has been edited with its music only twice more: in 1901 by Georg Holz, Franz Saran, and Eduard Bernoulli; and in 1925 by Julián Ribera.[304]

In addition to these three editions, a number of comprehensive facsimiles of the manuscript have also been published. Karl Konrad Müller prepared a full-size facsimile of **J** in 1896.[305] Because of its dimensions, however, his facsimile proved too expensive for most libraries to own, and too unwieldy for scholars to handle.[306] As a result, Holz/Saran/Bernoulli decided to include a complete diplomatic transcription in their two-volume edition, and—with the increasing availability of photographic reproduction—scholars from both philology and musicology aimed to produce more accurate and more practical facsimiles of the manuscript. In 1963, the musicologist Friedrich Gennrich published a small, black-and-white facsimile of **J**, which contained only those folios that feature musical notation.[307] Helmut Tervooren produced a complete black-and-white facsimile in A4 format together with Ulrich Müller in 1972. Like Müller's 1896 publication, Tervooren's facsimile is accompanied by a critical commentary on the manuscript's design and history; Gennrich's critical apparatus, in contrast, is minimal and does not extend beyond the state of knowledge presented by Müller and Holz.[308] Since

---

[302] See Wiedeburg 1754.

[303] See Hagen 1838.

[304] See Holz, Saran and Bernoulli (eds) 1901; Julián Tarragó Ribera (ed.), *90 canciones de los minnesinger del códice de Jena*, Madrid 1925.

[305] See Müller (ed.) 1896.

[306] See Holz, Saran and Bernoulli (eds) 1901, p. i (vol. 1).

[307] See Gennrich (ed.) 1963.

[308] In particular, Gennrich re-stated Holz's belief that **J** was commissioned by Friedrich der Ernsthafte, Landgrave of Thuringia and Margrave of Meißen: ibid., p. vi; Holz, Saran and Bernoulli (eds) 1901, p. v (vol. 1). For Tervooren's commentary, see: Tervooren and Müller (eds) 1972. For Müller's description, see: Müller (ed.) 1896. Preface.

2007, **J** has been available online.[309] The digitisation was the result of the manuscript's restoration carried out by the Thüringische Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Jena, where the manuscript is held today.

While the three stand-alone facsimiles by Müller, Gennrich, and Tervooren, and the new online platform in particular, have proved 'the foundation and starting point for further research', none of these seeks to render the manuscript in explicitly modern transcriptions.[310] The facsimiles' differences in presentation are telling about their historiographical traditions—Müller 'enshrined' the manuscript, Gennrich made it accessible, Tervooren 'objectified' it, and the online platform transferred it to the digital age—but they reveal only little about **J**'s musical content. The following sections therefore turn to the significant variations in the representation of **J** in its editions by von der Hagen, Holz, and Ribera in order to uncover the underlying shifts in the understanding and valuation of **J**'s musical identity.

i. 1838: Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen and E. Fischer

The full title of Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen's 1838 publication is indicative of its scale and ambition: *Minnesinger: Deutsche Liederdichter des zwölften, dreizehnten und vierzehnten Jahrhunderts, aus allen bekannten Handschriften und früheren Drucken gesammelt und berichtigt, mit den Lesarten derselben, Geschichte des Lebens der Dichter und ihrer Werke, Sangweisen der Lieder, Reimverzeichnis der Anfänge, und Abbildungen sämmtlicher Handschriften* (Figure 3). The four-volume study provides a catalogue of all then-known *Minnesang* poetry with critical commentary, a historical overview, a discussion of the poets' 'lives and works', the songs' melodies, facsimiles, and an index of incipits. The work's encyclopaedic ambition is underlined by its dedication to Friedrich

---

[309] See http://www.urmel-dl.de/Projekte/JenaerLiederhandschrift/Allgemeines.html. The website also gives further information about the manuscript's restoration.

[310] Stefan Rosmer, Review of Jens Haustein and Franz Körndle, 'Die "Jenaer Liederhandschrift": Codex – Geschichte – Umfeld', in: *Mf* 65 (2012), pp. 156–158; here, p. 158. <87.a>

Wilhelm III, the King of Prussia. Von der Hagen makes clear his purpose in the dedicatory epistle. His collection of medieval poetry is intended to bestow legitimacy on the Hohenzollern's reign, and to provide their house with a long-standing history as well as with a record of patronage and connoisseurship: 'during the most influential, glorious and ominous period of the Holy Roman Empire, under the reign of the Hohenstaufen—friends of your Majesty's close predecessors of the Hohenzollern genus—and throughout the chaotic *Interregnum* until the restoration under the Habsburgs, a choir of almost two-hundred singers makes its appearance'.[311] The dedication's final paragraph is explicit about the analogy between Friedrich Wilhelm III's benevolence and his ancestors' ties with *Minnesang*:

> and the fact that this very spirit which has preserved itself in such a strong form through the exceptional resuscitation from foreign disintegration and simultaneous, un-cherished servitude, and which will continue to develop in solemn, yet modern fashion, our home-country can put down first and foremost to the sublime care of your Majesty. Not only your Majesty's closest subjects, but all German citizens enjoy and praise the protection of your mighty shield, which with such strong hand vanquishes all threats of violence from abroad, and which inspires through justice, paternal mercy, benevolent support of all that is beautiful and good, and all blessings of inner peace the most holy veneration and love of all its faithful and well-meaning followers.[312]

---

[311] Hagen 1838. Dedicatory epistle [p. 2f.] (vol. 1). <39.a>
[312] Ibid. Dedicatory epistle [p. 5f.] (vol. 1). <39.b>
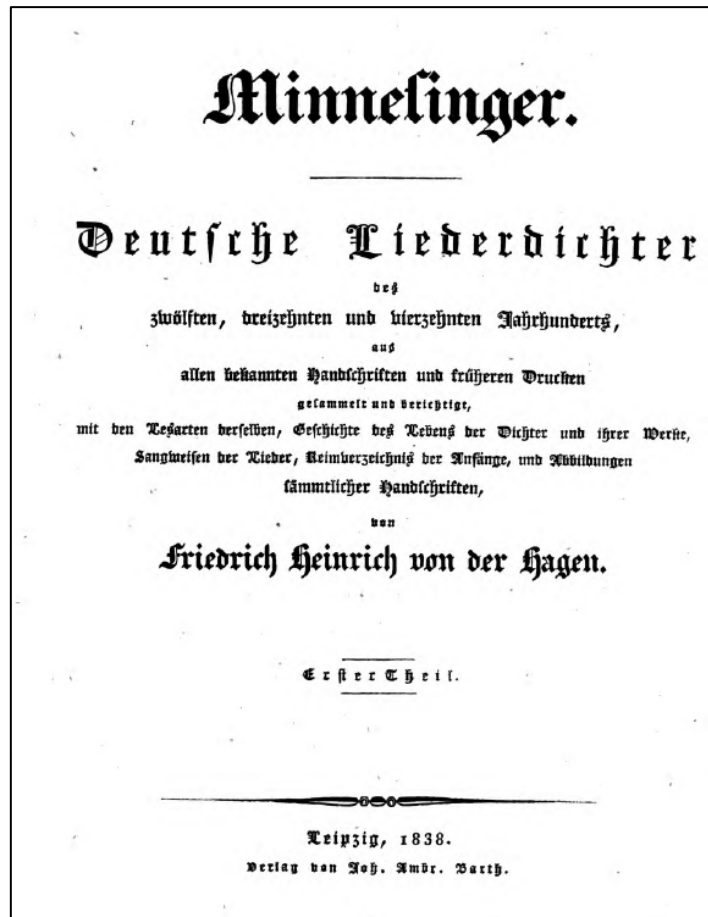
Figure 3: Title page of von der Hagen's 1838 publication

Notwithstanding von der Hagen's decision to include a number of melodies, his aim of demonstrating the greatness of the King's ancestry was achieved most easily by the poems' texts. A professor in German language and literature at Berlin, von der Hagen focussed his discussion on aspects of text-philological enquiry.[313] The first two volumes present the texts of the Codex Manesse (**C**); the third contains those of the Weingartner Liederhandschrift (**B**), the Kleine Heidelberger Liederhandschrift (**A**), **J**, and other minor manuscripts and prints; the fourth presents the critical apparatus and user-orientated tools such as a bibliography and an index of poets (Table 4). Only at the end of the fourth volume does von der Hagen turn to music, and only after a 764-page commentary on the poets and their works: the commentary is followed by a small number of hand-drawn,

---

[313] For an overview of von der Hagen's life and works, see: Eckhard Grunewald, *Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen 1780–1856: ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte der Germanistik*, Berlin 1988.

individual facsimile images, a diplomatic transcription of the melodies in **J** and of extant Neidhart melodies, and a 10-page discussion of *Minnesang*'s musical features by a Professor E. Fischer; the latter also provided modern renditions of three songs from **J** at the end of the volume.

Volume	Content	Pages
1	Dedicatory Epistle	vii–xii
	'Vorbericht'; contents	xiii–xlviii
	Texts (from **C**)	1–399
2	Contents	[no pagination]
	Texts (from **C**)	1–399
3	Contents	[no pagination]
	Additional texts (from **A**, **B**, **J**)	1–468hh[314]
4	Contents	[no pagination]
	'Life and works'	1–764
	Facsimile images	765–774
	Diplomatic transcription of **J**'s melodies	775—844
	Diplomatic transcription of Neidhart melodies	845–852
	'Ueber die Musik der Minnesänger' (by E. Fischer)	853–862
	Early textual references to *Minnesänger*	863–894
	Sources, editions, bibliography	895–910
	Chronological index of *Minnesänger*	911–912
	Index of names (alphabetical)	913–917
	Index of poets (alphabetical)	917–920
	Meistersinger songs on *Minnesänger* melodies	921–935
	Swiss folksong on Tannhäuser	936
	Three melodies from **J** in modern transcription (E. Fischer)	1–4 (appendix)
	References	[no pagination]

Table 4: Contents of Friedrich von der Hagen's *Minnesinger*

Von der Hagen did not provide the commentary on music himself, underlining (at best) his assumption that specific skills were required for the study of music, and (at worst) his comparatively small interest in the repertoire's music. The discussion of the music is not only relegated to the end of the encyclopaedic study, but is granted a mere ten pages. The inclusion of a diplomatic transcription of **J**, one may argue, was intended as part of the 'Abbildungen sämmtlicher Handschriften' rather than for its relevance to the 'Sangweisen

---

[314] Von der Hagen paginates his second appendix of later additions ('Zweite Nachlese') alphabetically, beginning with page 468a.

der Lieder'. This notion is supported by the fact that the facsimile image from **J** was provided not by von der Hagen's external music expert Fischer, but by Ferdinand Sotzmann.[315] A further case in point, Fischer's modern renditions of the songs refer the reader back to his discussion of the music, rather than to the diplomatic transcription of **J**. Fischer is, moreover, never given the right to appear with his full name: he is always referred to as Professor 'E. Fischer'.[316] While Fischer may have been known to von der Hagen's readership, it seems that the latter was more interested in Fischer's professorial title than in his name, or in whatever he may contribute concerning *Minnesang*'s music.

Regardless of von der Hagen's bias towards the textual aspects of *Minnesang*, the unfavourable estimation of his work on Wikipedia as 'entirely out of date' is unjustified, especially with regard to **J**.[317] Although von der Hagen did not study **J** for its own sake, but within a comparative framework of other *Minnesang* collections, it is worth re-iterating that his was the first publication to present **J**'s melodies in full diplomatic transcription, and even included modern renditions of some of the songs. Especially since there have been only two further comprehensive attempts at editing **J**, it appears problematic to discount any of these as outdated. Finally, it needs to be underlined once more that, despite von der Hagen's philological background, his edition was neither limited to a facsimile, nor a pure text edition: **J**'s music was too significant to be excluded.

ii. 1901: Georg Holz/Franz Saran/Eduard Bernoulli

Unlike von der Hagen's work, the second full edition of **J** was expressly presented as a collaborative effort. The two-volume study, published in Leipzig in 1901, bears all of its authors' names on the title page. The first volume contains a brief introduction and a complete diplomatic transcription of **J** by Georg Holz; the second opens with a modern

---

[315] See Hagen 1838, p. 766 (vol. 4).
[316] Ibid. Table of contents (vol. 4). Grunewald appears also not to have been able to uncover Fischer's first name: Grunewald 1988, p. 423 (Personenregister).
[317] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Von_der_Hagen.

transcription of **J**'s music, and is followed by a substantial commentary on the songs' structural and rhythmical features by Franz Saran; it closes with a critical study of the melodies by Eduard Bernoulli.

In Holz/Saran/Bernoulli's volume of critical study, the discussion of its purely musical characteristics is—as in von der Hagen's work—situated at the end. It is striking that the commentary on structure and rhythm is written by the philologist Saran, rather than by the trained musicologist Bernoulli. Saran was one of the leading philologists of his time, and specialised in the study of poetic rhythm: in 1904, he published a monograph on French poetic rhythm, and his *Deutsche Verslehre* of 1907 pays detailed attention to the rhythmical features of German repertoires.[318] Saran's later importance in the establishment of a musicological seminar at the University of Erlangen notwithstanding, he was first and foremost a philologist, as his professorial positions at the universities of Halle and Erlangen demonstrate.[319] As other examples show, the study of poetic rhythm was, at the end of the nineteenth century, researched from a philological perspective. The two musicologists associated most strongly with the study of rhythm in monophonic German repertoires, Friedrich Gennrich and Ewald Jammers, academically came of age in this period, and both studied philology.[320] Scholars of French and Occitan song came from similar academic backgrounds. Pierre Aubry, one of the self-professed inventors of modal theory, took his first degree in philology, and 'resembled his contemporary Friedrich Ludwig and others of the senior generation of twentieth-century music scholars [in bringing] to bear on musical problems the skills of the philologist'.[321]

---

[318] Franz Saran, *Der Rhythmus des französischen Verses*, Halle (Saale) 1904; Franz Saran, *Deutsche Verslehre*, Munich 1907. For an estimation of Saran's importance, see: Ulrich Wyss, Art. 'Saran, Franz Ludwig', in: *IGL*, ed. by Christoph König, vol. 3, Berlin 2003, pp. 1566–1567.

[319] See Franz Krautwurst, Art. 'Erlangen', in: *MGG2*, vol. 3 (Sachteil), Kassel 1995, cols 148–152; here, col. 151.

[320] For a discussion of their writing on *Minnesang*, see Chapter V.1 and Chapter V.2.

[321] Ian Bent, Art. 'Aubry, Pierre', in: *NGrove*, vol. 2, London 2001a, pp. 160–161; here, p. 160.

Placing the study of **J**'s melodies *after* the philological discussion of their rhythm, Holz/Saran/Bernoulli's edition thus reflects the prevalent academic hierarchy, which subsumed musicology as an auxiliary science under the umbrella of philology.[322] The notion of musicology as a useful tool to philological enquiry is made explicit in Saran's foreword to the second volume: he notes that, although the transcriptions into modern notation were prepared by the musicologist Bernoulli, the guiding principles for the edition were his own.[323] The philologist Saran provided the intellectual framework and decided on how the music should be edited; the musicologist was considered a mere craftsman who had to follow instructions. Saran's comment suggests that Bernoulli's knowledge of musical notation—he had graduated from Leipzig with a study on square notation—was deemed useful for deciphering the manuscript's music, but not of help in understanding or explaining it.[324] While the philologist occupied himself with the generation of new theories about **J**'s music, the musicologist provided the 'groundwork'.

The characteristically backgrounded position of musicological enquiry in Holz/Saran/Bernoulli's edition notwithstanding, their work is of great value to present-day musicologists for (at least) three reasons. (1) It is the first stand-alone complete edition of **J**. While von der Hagen had included the manuscript alongside other sources, Holz/Saran/Bernoulli studied **J** on its own terms, and without providing a comparative framework; while von der Hagen's approach may tentatively be considered a historically-applied example of Guido Adler's *Vergleichende Musikwissenschaft*, the 1901 edition is dominated by ideals of positivism.[325] (2) Holz/Saran/Bernoulli's edition is the first and only to provide a complete transcription of **J** in modern notation. Von der Hagen/Fischer

---

[322] See, e. g.: Friedrich Gennrich, *Musikwissenschaft und romanische Philologie: ein Beitrag zur Bewertung der Musik als Hilfswissenschaft der romanischen Philologie*, Halle (Saale) 1918.

[323] See Holz, Saran and Bernoulli (eds) 1901, p. 1 (vol. 2).

[324] See Jobst Fricke, Art. 'Bernoulli, Eduard', in: *MGG2*, vol. 2 (Personenteil), Kassel 1999, cols 1412–1413; here, col. 1412.

[325] For Adler's disciplining of musicology, see: Erica Mugglestone, 'Guido Adler's "The Scope, Method, and Aim of Musicology" (1885): an English Translation with an Historio-Analytical Commentary', in: *YTM* 13 (1981), pp. 1–21.

had transcribed only three pieces into modern notation, and Ribera would later transcribe the music without its texts. The 1901 publication unto this day remains the sole available study that lends itself to a thorough musicological study of the manuscript's song repertoire.[326] (3) In addition to the diplomatic and modern transcriptions of **J**'s repertoire, Holz/Saran/Bernoulli offered an extensive critical study. The critical essays by Saran and Bernoulli are longer than the music edition itself. As Holz asserts in the introduction to the first volume, the edition was geared towards its critical studies:

> my transcription of the material contained in **J** which I present to the public in this study is prompted by the critical essays contained in the second volume: following the two-fold purpose of making the manuscript's melodies palatable to us, and of making use of the extremely rare fact that such melodies are transmitted at all for the theory of Old German metrics, these essays are to be considered the true core of the entire study—the diplomatic transcription is only the means to an end.[327]

iii. 1925: Julián Ribera

Although von der Hagen/Fischer and Holz/Saran/Bernoulli approached **J** with different aims, different scope, and different method, their editions' many similarities become apparent when compared to Julián Ribera's 1925 edition. Although Ribera was a trained philologist like his younger colleague Saran, music is claimed to have been his true 'vocation'.[328] The Arabist published his edition of **J** as the final volume of a three-part series: the first two volumes study troubadour and trouvère sources—trouv. **K**, trouv. **M**,

---

[326] While the present thesis does not wish to argue against the use/production of facsimiles, editions in modern notation are often cheaper for libraries to purchase, and provide an easier access to the repertoire, especially for scholars without any expertise in medieval notation practices. Moreover, serious musicological enquiry into medieval song must take into account not only the melodies, but also the texts and the songs' source(s) as a whole in order to reach a comprehensive understanding. This requirement makes Gennrich's affordable 1963 facsimile problematic, as it includes only those folios which contain musical notation.

[327] Holz, Saran and Bernoulli (eds) 1901, p. i (vol. 1). <42.a>

[328] Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta, Art. 'Ribera Tarragó, Julián', in: *MEH*, ed. by Emilio Casares Rodicio, vol. 9, Madrid 2002, p. 175.

trouv. **O**, and trouv. **U**; the final volume concentrates exclusively on the repertoire transmitted by **J**. Ribera's publication does not contain a diplomatic transcription of the manuscript, but refers readers back to Holz's 1901 publication.[329] The most apparent difference in comparison to the earlier editions, however, is Ribera's decision to edit the music alone—without the poetry's texts. While text-only editions of medieval poetry are common, Ribera's insistence on presenting these repertoires without their texts is unique.

The title of Ribera's three-part series, *La música andaluza medieval en las canciones de trovadores, troveros y minnesinger*, is telling of his underlying aim, and helps explain his decision to concentrate on the music. He sought to trace vernacular song repertoires of the Middle Ages back to the Iberian peninsula, and, ultimately, to an Ibero-Arabian origin.[330] In his edition of **J**, chapter titles such as 'Indicios de andalucismo en las formas musicales de los Minnesinger' reveal this intention.[331] The chapter on the relationship between the *textual* structures of Middle High German song and Andalusian repertoires is just over two pages long, and is sandwiched between Ribera's consideration of rhythm and music/melody: it was easier to argue for a link between the two geographically separated song traditions on musical than textual grounds. Consequently, Ribera discarded the texts in his transcriptions.[332]

The Arabist's prevalent interest in the songs' music led not only to text-free transcriptions, but also to the inclusion of a concise music-analytical apparatus. While Bernoulli had analysed the pieces' tonality according to the church modes, noting his classifications at the beginning of each piece, Ribera provided a separate analysis for each individual piece, opening these with a discussion of their respective tonality. He also

---

[329] See Ribera (ed.) 1925, p. 64.
[330] Higini Anglès starkly refuted Ribera's claims: Higini Anglès, 'Musikalische Beziehungen zwischen Deutschland und Spanien in der Zeit vom 5. bis 14. Jahrhundert', in: *AfMw* 16 (1959), pp. 5–20; here, p. 6f.
[331] Ribera (ed.) 1925, p. 27.
[332] The chapter 'Indicios de Andalucismo en la forma estrófica de la letra en las canciones de los Minnesinger' is preceded by a section which asks 'Cómo lo hemos de aplicar al Códice de Jena', and is followed by the section on 'Indicios de andalucismo en las formas musicales de los Minnesinger': ibid., pp. 21, 25, and 27.

offered commentary on each piece's rhythm. Saran and Bernoulli studied the repertoire in abstract terms and as a whole, aiming to achieve a broad understanding of the *generative* features of *Minnesang*, but Ribera operated both on a smaller and a larger scale: he considered the songs individually, and at the same time searched for their reflection of Ibero-Arabian traditions. He was not interested in generating a grammar of *Minnesang*, but was content with individual analyses.

J's music is at the heart of Ribera's study, as his edition's ordering and the resulting index indicate (Figure 4). The first level of ordering imposed by Ribera is that of polyphony versus monophony. His transcriptions open with twenty-two melodies in hypothetical two-part settings. The remaining melodies follow in their original, monophonic form. Within these two large divisions, Ribera follows the manuscript's ordering. This decision produced a confusing result: the poets appear in an order alien to that of the manuscript, and the songs are not transmitted in complete authorial corpora. Wizlav von Rügen, for example, has six of his pieces edited in Ribera's first, polyphonic section, and a further ten in the monophonic group. The melodies now grouped together are not notated alongside each other in the manuscript. While 'Ich partere di' and 'Nach der senenden claghe' (R16 and R17), for example, are presented as the first two pieces from Wizlav's oeuvre in Ribera's edition, they are separated by 'Der unghelarte hat ghemachet' (R58) in **J**, where they appear as fourth and sixth melodies in the Wizlav corpus (Table 5). Ribera's musical concerns not only obscure the grouping of poetical oeuvres and distort **J**'s ordering, but they make it difficult to compare his transcriptions with the manuscript, since he provides page references to Holz's diplomatic transcription rather than to **J**'s folios: 'Der unghelarte hat ghemachet' (R58) is notated on fol. 75c (p. 146) in the manuscript, but Ribera references it with Holz's page number, p. 127.[333]

---

[333] Ribera referenced Holz's edition rather than **J** with good intentions, since he considered the former more readily available: ibid., p. 64.

Ribera's choice not to include any texts likewise makes finding a particular song more cumbersome than it need be.

MINNESINGER A QUIENES SE ADJUDICAN LAS CANCIONES DE ESTA COLECCIÓN

Bruder Wirner, n.ᵒˢ 1, 27, 28, 29, 30 y 31.
Meister Kelyn, n.ᵒˢ 2, 32, 33 y 34.
Meister Zilies von Seyne, n.° 3.
Meister Alexander, n.ᵒˢ 4, 5, 35, 36 y 37.
Der Hellevivr, n.° 6.
Meister Gervelyn, n.ᵒˢ 7 y 8.
Der Gutere, n.° 9.
Der Vnvurtzaghete, n.ᵒˢ 10, 41 y 42.
Der Tanvser, n.° 11.
Meyster Rvmelant, n.ᵒˢ 12, 13, 14, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50 y 51.
Rvmelant von Swaben, n.° 15.
Wizlav, n.ᵒˢ 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64 y 65.
Der Mysnere, n.ᵒˢ 22, 23, 24, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77 y 78.
Herman Damen, n.ᵒˢ 25, 84, 85, 86, 87 y 88.
Meyster Stolle, n.° 26.
Robin, n.° 38.
Spervoghel, n.° 39.
Der Hynnenberger, n.° 40.
Der Lietscouwere, n.° 43.
Meister Singof, n.° 44.
Reynolt von der Lippe, n.° 45.
Meister Vriderich von Svnnenburc, n.ᵒˢ 52, 53, 54 y 55.
Meyster Conrat von Wertzeburc, n.° 79.
Vrowenlop, n.ᵒˢ 80, 81 y 82.
Meister Poppe, n.° 83.
Der von Ofterdingen, n.° 89.
Her Wolueram, n.° 90.

Figure 4: Ribera's index of poets[334]

# in Ribera	Incipit	Fol. in J (p.)	Page reference given by Ribera [in Holz]	Position within Wizlav corpus in J	Position within polyphonic/ monophonic Wizlav sections in Ribera (total)
R16	Ich partere di	75a (145)	127	4	P1 (1)
R58	Der unghelarte hat ghemachet	75c (146)	127	5	M3 (9)
R17	Nach der senenden claghe	76b (147)	128	6	P2 (2)

Table 5: Distribution of three Wizlav songs in Ribera's edition

While Ribera's rendition of **J**'s songs without the texts may be criticised, the publication retains its academic value since it constitutes the only edition of **J** that studies the melodies as aesthetic entities. With von der Hagen, Ribera shares his comparative method and interest in the large scale: the former compared different manuscript traditions

---

[334] Ibid., p. 2.

in order to offer a catalogue raisonné of *Minnesang*; the latter compared **J** to the Ibero-Arab tradition in order to establish an overarching European narrative. With Holz/Saran/Bernoulli, Ribera shares the focus on a single manuscript, and the inclusion of an extensive critical study. His consideration of the repertoire on purely musical terms, however, remains unique.

2. 'Der kuninc Rodolp'

In order to grasp better how scholars' understanding of **J**'s repertoire is reflected in conscious editorial decisions, the following sections compare a single song in numerous editions. Of the three melodies presented in modern notation by Fischer, the two by Wizlav von Rügen are less representative of **J** as a whole since they do not belong to the *Spruch* genre, and because they were likely added to the manuscript at a later stage. This leaves the *Spruch* 'Der kuninc Rodolp' by Der Unverzagte as the melody through which to focus the present discussion.

The melody is notated on cols 40d and 41a of **J**, in sixteen lines of musical notation with text underlay (Image 52). It is followed by eight further stanzas in the same *Ton*, generally counted as Der Unverzagte's third (B^{1}Unv/3) because of its position in **J**.[335] While Horst Brunner makes particular reference to this song's melody in his article on Der Unverzagte in *MGG*2, Burkhard Kippenberg and Lorenz Welker have argued in *NGrove* that Der Unverzagte's 'work is not outstanding in either form or content'.[336]

---

[335] In the most recent edition of this piece, Horst Brunner titles it as 'Ton III': Horst Brunner and Karl-Günther Hartmann (eds), *Spruchsang: die Melodien der Sangspruchdichter des 12. bis 15. Jahrhunderts*, Kassel 2010, p. 407. Brunner's edition provides no comprehensive system of cataloguing.
[336] Horst Brunner, Art. 'Unverzagter', in: *MGG2*, vol. 16 (Personenteil), Kassel 2006, col. 1219; Burkhard Kippenberg and Lorenz Welker, Art. 'Unverzagte [Unvuortzaghete], Der', in: *NGrove*, vol. 26, London 2001, p. 149.

er kvninc rodolp

mynner got. vnd ist an truwen

stete. der kvninc rodolp hat

sich manigen scanden wol vur

saget. Der kvninc rodolp rich

ter wol. vnde hazzet valsche

rete. Der kvninc rodolp ist eyn

helt an tugenden vnvur tzager.

Der kvninc rodolp erer got

vnde alle vrouwen der kvninc

rodolp ler sich dicke in hoen eren

scouwen. Ich gan ym wol daz

ym nach syner milte heil ge

sschit. der meister syngen. gigen.

sagen. daz hoer her gerne vnde

git yn dar vmme nicht. Die richen herren sulen die

ritter knechte bi sich tze

hen. den sulen sie lehen vnde ge

ben mir willen daz ist myn rat.

Image 52: 'Der kuninc Rodolp' in J (fols 40d and 41a)

i. Diplomatic Transcriptions

Before comparing the renditions of the *Spruch* in modern notation, it will be fruitful to juxtapose the diplomatic transcriptions provided by von der Hagen and Holz (Figure 5). Although this type of edition aims to reproduce the original manuscript presentation, and should therefore be very similar regardless of its editor, James Grier has emphasised that a diplomatic transcription nonetheless 'allows editors the opportunity to revise and correct the text according to their critical investigations of the work and its sources. The procedure by which the text is established is a matter for the individual editor to decide'.[337]

There are significant differences between von der Hagen's and Holz's transcriptions in their choices what to include and what to exclude, and how to present the manuscript. While von der Hagen included only the first stanza of each *Ton*—those presented with musical notation—Holz printed the entire manuscript; while von der Hagen did not follow **J**'s column layout, Holz carefully noted the column breaks in the margins. Both decisions demonstrate Holz's aim of reproducing the manuscript as accurately as possible, and to copy its original appearance. Von der Hagen, on the other hand, compressed his representation since he included the texts elsewhere in his study. He intended to provide a general impression of the manuscript rather than a one-to-one pseudo-facsimile.

---

[337] James Grier, Art. 'Editing', in: *NGrove*, vol. 7, London 2001, pp. 885–895; here, p. 892.

Figure 5: Comparison of von der Hagen's and Holz's diplomatic transcriptions of 'Der kuninc Rodolp'

129

A number of other editorial decisions seem to contradict these findings. Holz did not copy the original script, but used modern type and printed clefs rather than the original ones. Von der Hagen, in contrast, included the manuscript's ornate initials and gothic script in his transcription, and indicated the fifth line at the top of each staff with a dotted line. Although this line functions as a guide for the text scribe rather than as a fifth line of the staff in **J**, von der Hagen in this instance followed more closely the visual appearance of **J** than Holz. On a more subtle level, these decisions confirm the editors' ideals discerned above. Von der Hagen was interested not in creating an accurate facsimile but in presenting a monumental slice of history. The decision to include and punctuate the fifth line would provide an immediate point of curiosity for his readers, who could ponder on the relationship between medieval and modern notation: the medieval notation was to be understood as a forerunner of the present state of music. Emphasising the repertoire's antiquity and otherness, von der Hagen printed it in exaggeratedly gothic script. Compared to **J**'s original script, the diplomatic transcription appears much more stereotypically medieval. Holz's decision to use modern type, in contrast, objectified the medieval manuscript, adding a covert layer of criticism between the historical subject and the objective researcher. Von der Hagen's transcription, in a paradoxical manner, is both closer to and more distant from the original than Holz's: presenting accurately the manuscript's essentials, Holz distanced himself from its historical features; distorting the manuscript's essentials but mimicking its 'idiosyncrasies', von der Hagen monumentalised **J** as an historical artefact.

Holz's objectifying ideal is further emphasised by the structural information he provides. The edition gives not only page, stanza, and poet numbers—information von der Hagen includes as well—but also replicates the differently sized initials which indicate the

poem's structure in the manuscript.[338] Holz clearly distinguishes the size of initials used at the beginning of a new line and at the beginning of the *Stollen* and *Abgesang*, for example, the initial 'D's of lines two and three. This structural distinction is lost in von der Hagen's rendition. Holz also includes text critical comments *within* the diplomatic transcription: he notes that the word 'werde' in the first line of the *Abgesang* was added later, and also makes two comments on the following stanza, 'Die richen herren' (B^1Unv/3/2); von der Hagen does not comment on either of these issues *in* his transcription.

Von der Hagen's and Holz's scholarly interests are reflected in their respective diplomatic transcriptions, the alleged 'faithful imprint of the manuscript'.[339] Von der Hagen was interested in uncovering historical sources, showing their relevance to the present, while Holz sought to give an accurate representation freed of any historical baggage, in order for it to be evaluated by critical scholarship. As the following discussion demonstrates, these differences are likewise reflected in the song's varied rendition in modern notation.

---

[338] Von der Hagen counts Der Unverzagte as **J**'s fourteenth poet, while Holz numbers him as the fifteenth. This is because von der Hagen does not include **J**'s opening stanza (fol. 2a) in his edition of **J**: since this is not the song's first stanza, it does not feature any music and is excluded by von der Hagen. Holz's objectifying approach, in contrast, included the unascribed stanza as no. 1 in his catalogue.

[339] The subtitle of Holz's diplomatic transcription is 'Getreuer Abdruck des Texts': Holz, Saran and Bernoulli (eds) 1901.

ii. Complete Editions of J

Figure 6: Beginning of Fischer's edition of 'Der kuninc Rodolp'[340]

The edition of 'Der kuninc Rodolp' by Fischer, appended to von der Hagen's diplomatic transcription, is similarly concerned with maintaining the song's antiquity (Figure 6). The text includes Middle High German superscript letters such as on 'unvůrzaget', and strips the melody of its author, laconically titling it 'No. 3'. Other features such as the Roman script, the 4/4 metre, the F-major key signature, and the conflation of the repeated *Stollen* into a single repeat, however, place the song firmly within Fischer's present.[341] As noted above, his transcription is linked to his own short introductory essay rather than to the relevant page in the diplomatic transcription, again placing the song in the editor's present rather than within its historical context.

---

[340] Hagen 1838, pp. 3f. (vol. 4, appendix).
[341] Although medieval manuscripts also occasionally conflate two lines of text under a single line of repeated music, this practice—in contrast to modern notational standards—is not found consistently in medieval sources.

132

The rendition's most striking characteristic, the added piano accompaniment, further serves to familiarise the song. The use of the piano as an accompanying instrument likens the piece to the modern *Kunstlied*, which was highly popular in the early nineteenth century, and makes it available for amateur performance at home; its simple harmonic structure aligns it with what Walther Wiora has termed the 'artless artsong' (*kunstloses Kunstlied*) of the late-eighteenth century.[342] Fischer's harmonisation centres on the tonic F major, and makes sparse use of secondary functions such as the subdominant and dominant. This concern for simplicity and regularity matches the contemporaneous interest in folksong, which has been linked especially to the writings of Johann Gottfried Herder.[343]

Fischer's ambiguous outlook on the song as a conflation of folk song and (artless) *Kunstlied*, both alien and akin to contemporary music, is also reflected in his critical commentary. He opens his essay by down-playing the melodies' palatability for modern audiences: 'on the whole, the number of melodies which will be pleasing to today's ears and tastes—even when ornamented with a fitting accompaniment and well performed— will be small'.[344] Later, Fischer conceded that 'if one has familiarised the ear to these songs by playing and listening to them frequently, then one will find quite a few beautiful elements, though achieved through other means than today'.[345] Like von der Hagen, he emphasised the continuity between the historical repertoire and his present by proposing

---

[342] See Walther Wiora, *Das deutsche Lied: zur Geschichte und Ästhetik einer musikalischen Gattung*, Wolfenbüttel 1971, p. 105ff.

[343] See Wilhelm Schepping, Art. 'Germany: II. Folksong', in: *NGrove*, vol. 9, London 2001, pp. 734–744; here, p. 734f.

[344] E. Fischer, 'Ueber die Musik der Minnesänger', in: *Deutsche Liederdichter des zwölften, dreizehnten und vierzehnten Jahrhunderts (vol. 4: Geschichte der Dichter und ihrer Werke. Abbildungen der Handschriften, Sangweisen, Abhandlung über die Musik der Minnesinger, Alte Zeugnisse, Handschriften und Bearbeitungen, Uebersicht der Dichter nach der Zeitfolge, Verzeichnisse der Personen und Ortsnamen, Sangweisen der Meistersänger nach den Minnesingern)*, ed. by Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen, Leipzig 1838, pp. 853–862; here, p. 853. <27.a> Although most scholars would argue that their judgement is informed by their edition, one may wish to question whether Fischer might have first formed his opinion of this music as indigestible and then based his editorial decisions on this understanding. For a critical discussion of the logical and chronological process from analysis to edition, see: Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (eds), *Rethinking Music*, Oxford 1999; Hope 2011 (unpublished). Especially chapter III.1.

[345] Fischer 1838, p. 861. <27.b>

the beautiful as a transhistorical value, while simultaneously proposing **J**'s alien grammar. Fischer posited that it was possible to train the modern performer and listener to become an historically informed arbiter of this music. In this respect, too, Herder seems to have had an influence on Fischer's thinking: following Herder's reassessment of the hierarchy of the human senses and their respective objects of contemplation, Fischer granted that performers and listeners who *heard* this music could understand *Minnesang*, but not those who *studied* it with the sole help of their eyes.[346]

Within the continuum of familiarity and otherness, Fischer asserted that 'Der kuninc Rodolp' occupied a position close to the pole of familiarity. Its melody showed hardly any traits that would upset the modern listener: 'in the third appended song: 'Der kuninc Rodolp', even the melodic line will contain nothing, or little, that is alien to us, and we will find in it only a certain uniformity which is, however, justified by the disposition of the text as a whole. It is mainly the endings of lines two, four, etc. that will seem strange, as here the note e is followed by c in a manner unpleasant to us'.[347] Fischer's reference to the ends of the second and fourth lines is misleading as neither of these lines concludes with the note progression e–c; it seems that his criticism is directed towards the end of lines one and three (Table 6 and Figure 3). Fischer edits the notated *clivis* e–c (which is still reproduced as such in von der Hagen's diplomatic transcription) as a crotchet e, overlapping with a descending quaver-pair e–c in smaller font. Fischer's curious rendition is not related to any information contained in **J**'s notation but forms part of his interpretation of the melody and of his analysis of this phrase as 'unpleasant'. The repeated progression ‖:c–c; c–f:‖ becomes 'unpleasant' only once one tries to harmonise it within the context of a classical period form. In order to achieve a strong move to the dominant

---

[346] For Herder's rejection of the visual in favour of the aural, see: Arne Stollberg, *Ohr und Auge – Klang und Form. Facetten einer musikästhetischen Dichotomie bei Johann Gottfried Herder, Richard Wagner und Franz Schreker*, Stuttgart 2006. Especially chapter I.2.
[347] Fischer 1838, p. 861. <27.c>

key at the end of the first line, an end on F major's leading tone e—the third of the dominant triad—would be more supportive than a return to c, which might equally well be heard as the fifth of the tonic chord. While the closure of the first and third lines with the notes e–c sounds odd within Fischer's proposed dominant-harmonisation, it needs to be questioned whether an early nineteenth-century audience would have unconsciously heard a tonic–dominant progression at the end of *any* line of music.[348] It may be argued, instead, that Fischer consciously chose to harmonise the melody in this manner in order to re-emphasise its simplicity and otherness.

Line	Text	Syll.	Rhyme	Anaphora
1	Der kuninc rodolp mynnet got. und ist an truwen stete.	14' (8+6')	a	y
2	Der kuninc rodolp hat sich manigen scanden wol vuorsaget.	14'	b	y
3	Der kuninc rodolp richtet wol. und hazzet valsche rete.	14' (8+6')	a	y
4	Der kuninc rodolp ist eyn helt an tugenden unvuortzaget.	14' (8+6')	b	y
5	Der kuninc rodolp eret got unde alle werde vrouwen.	14' (8+6')	c	y
6	Der kuninc rodolp let sich dicke in hoen eren scouwen.	14'	c	y
7	Ich gan ym wol daz ym nach syner milte heil gescicht.	14	d	n
8	Der meister syngen. gigen. sagen. daz hort her gerne unde git yn darumme nicht.	18 (8+10)	d	n

Line	Opening	Midpoint	Link to 2nd hemistich	Cadence
1	c-f-g-a-a	a	fe	a-f-f-ec
2	c-f-g-a-a	a(g)	fe	a-fe-gf
3	c-f-g-a-a	a	fe	a-f-f-ec
4	c-f-g-a-a	a(g)	fe	a-fe-gf-f
5	a-c-b-b-ag	a	fe	ag-a-b-b
6	a-c-a-a-gf	a	fe	a-f-f-ec
7	c-f-g-a-a	a	fe	a-af-fe
8	f-g-a-b-a	b	ag	a-ag-gf

Table 6: Poetic structure of 'Der kuninc Rodolp'[349]

---

[348] Fischer similarly harmonises his other two transcriptions with tonic–dominant–tonic progressions in the repeated *Stollen*, see: Hagen 1838, pp. 1f. (vol. 4, appendix).

[349] For the purpose of this table, all bs are given as bs, not as b-flats. Bracketed pitches indicate *plicae*, and non-hyphenated letter cominations indicate ligatures.

Figure 7: Transcription of 'Der kuninc Rodolp', ordered by poetic line

Fischer's comments on 'Der kuninc Rodolp' contain two further insights into his understanding of **J**'s music that are of interest. Not only is his problematisation of the e–c progression noteworthy in itself, but also his grounds for criticising it. Fischer's description of it as 'unpleasant' underscores his point of reference: despite the insistence on a mode of historically informed listening, his valuation of the music is based on contemporary aesthetics. Firmly rooted within the common mode of assessing music in the eighteenth and early-nineteenth century, his reference to taste does not mirror present-day aesthetic categories.[350]

Fischer's assessment of the melody as 'uniform', in contrast, finds itself continued in recent scholarship. Helmut Tervooren argued that the music of *Sprüche* consisted of simple recitation 'in which the melody largely subordinates itself to the text in order not to

---

[350] For a study of tropes in nineteenth-century academic prose, see: Bennett Zon, *Music and Metaphor in Nineteenth-Century British Musicology*, Ashgate 2000.

draw attention from the essential, the meaning'.[351] Both Fischer and Tervooren ascribe and legitimise the music's uniformity through textual design, and the latter references Horst Brunner's similar ideas concerning the music's inferiority: 'the analysis of the melodies has shown that throughout they are constructed from a limited amount of melodic material. Precise repetitions are rare, and contrasts are hardly found. On the whole, the melodies have only little idiomatic character; yet this is precisely why they seem to have been an ideal medium for the performance of text—the issue that mattered most to the *Spruch* poet'.[352]

While the repetitiveness of melodic structures in Der Unverzagte's third *Ton* is undeniable, it can also be understood as a fundamental part of the song's aesthetic intention. The melody does not straightforwardly mirror the anaphoric patterns of the text, but thwarts the audience's expectations in the *Abgesang*: the music of line seven opens with the anaphora motif after having cadenced with the pattern of lines one and three in the previous line—although the text is the first line without the anaphoric 'Der kuninc Rodolp' (Table 6). Similarly toying with expectations, the final line delays the delivery of its punch line 'unde git yn darumme *nicht'* ('and therefore gives them *nothing'*) through the insertion of extra syllables on a repeated f before approaching the keyword 'nicht' through a cadence which steps consistently downwards through a fourth—a closing pattern used in none of the other lines. The patterns of repetition and moments of recitation are employed purposefully to express meaning in the song, questioning their common rejection as 'uniform' and 'simplistic'.

The contemporary significance of von der Hagen's seminal study and Fischer's rendition of 'Der kuninc Rodolp' is apparent in the anthology's review by Carl Ferdinand Becker. Published in Robert Schumann's *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* in 1840, Becker

---

[351] Helmut Tervooren, *Sangspruchdichtung*, Stuttgart 1995, p. 101. <99.b>
[352] Brunner 1989, p. 58. Quoted by Tervooren, in: Tervooren 1995, p. 100f. <99.a>

asserted that 'the above mentioned work, although initially intended for connoisseurs of ancient history, justly deserves discussion in this journal, for nothing is as sure to warm and arouse the fantasy of the tone-poet than what is presented to him in these very volumes'.[353] Using von der Hagen's striking reference to the 'choir of two-hundred singers', Becker emphasises the significance of the publication from a musical point of view: 'yet not only the rich, glorious gifts of the powerful Old German poets are compiled in the most complete manner in this work, but we also find here more than 100 musical lines, melodies, on 107 pages, presented with the highest achievable degree of diplomatic accuracy alongside the complete thirteenth- and fourteenth-century texts—something that has never yet happened in such manner, and even less so in such expansiveness'.[354]

Becker was not concerned with the transcription's imprecisions, and confirmed the success of von der Hagen's decision to ask Fischer for an authoritative account of *Minnesang*'s music: 'in order to gain *certainty* regarding the form, rhythm, and the entire manner in which these melodies are grafted and can be transcribed into today's music notation, this section is preceded by a well-written essay by Professor Fischer titled 'On the Music of the Minnesinger', to which we would like to add as crucial and necessary the fine discussion of the same topic by Kretzschmer'.[355] Becker—as early as 1840—made claims to the work's significance within the historiography of the *Minnesänger*'s music: 'while the historian had to make do with general, problematic reflections until the publication of these 'Minnesinger', now the richest source pool for further enquiries was made available to him; he no longer has to concern himself with the solution to the question of how music would have been in those days. This question is answered here definitively, and he can comprehend the standard of art in Germany during the thirteenth

[353] Carl Ferdinand Becker, Review of Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen, 'Die Minnesinger des 12., 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts', in: *NZfM* 13 (1840), pp. 111–112; here, p. 111. <13.a>
[354] Ibid. <13.b>
[355] Emphasis my own. Ibid., p. 112. <13.c>

and fourteenth centuries with clarity and precision'.[356] Becker's review forcefully disproves Kippenberg's claim that 'von der Hagen's edition, and the existence of **J**'s melodies with it, initially remained almost unnoticed'.[357] To the contrary, it provides a striking case in point for Haustein's observation that, while von der Hagen/Fischer's volumes were heavily criticised by their philologist colleagues, they were highly acclaimed by non-specialist audiences.[358]

Unlike the nineteenth-century representations of 'Der kuninc Rodolp' as a historical monument, Saran and Bernoulli continued Holz's attempts at de-historicising and objectifying **J** (Figure 8). Their edition does not anonymise the song, but classifies its tonality and numbers its verses. The *Spruch*'s rendition takes up more space than in Fischer's or Becker's editions, and the large amount of blank space between the staves and in the margins seems to invite critical glosses. Saran's decision to equate each original ligature with the rhythmic value of a minim—rather than with a crotchet as in the earlier editions—renders the piece much whiter and more sterile on the page, a practice reminiscent of the editing of Renaissance polyphony or hymnals: it makes the music appear orderly and clean, as well as authoritative, and acts as a generic referent to choral music of all types. The edition marks the addition of flat signs through brackets, and includes numerous structural markings above the staves. Through the use of these symbols, the edition in itself contains a structural analysis of the piece (Table 7).[359]

---

[356] Ibid. <13.d>

[357] Burkhard Kippenberg, 'Die Melodien des Minnesangs', in: *Musikalische Edition im Wandel des historischen Bewußtseins*, ed. by Theodor G. Georgiades, Kassel 1971, pp. 62–92; here, p. 68. <53.a>

[358] See Jens Haustein, 'J und seine frühen Editionen: mit einem Editionsanhang (B. Chr. B. Wiedeburg an J. J. Bodmer und J. J. Breitinger)', in: *Die 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift': Codex – Geschichte – Umfeld*, ed. by Jens Haustein and Franz Körndle, Berlin 2010, pp. 205–235; here, p. 214.

[359] For a brief guide to Saran's signs and terminology, see: Holz, Saran and Bernoulli (eds) 1901, p. 113ff. and 127f. (vol. 2).

Figure 8: Saran's transcription of 'Der kuninc Rodolp'[360]

Reihe (Lanke) | [dot]	Periode (Kehre) ||	Gebinde (Wende) ||	Gesätz (Absatz) [--]	Number of Bars			
				Reihe	Periode	Gebinde	Gesätz
1a	1	I	A	4	8	16	32
1b				4			
2a	2			4	8		
2b				4			
3a	3	I*		4	8	16	
3b				4			
4a	4			4	8		
4b				4			
5a	5	II	B	4	8	16	34
5b				4			
6a	6			4	8		
6b				4			
7a	7	III		4	8	18	
7b				4			
8a	8			4	10		
8b				6			

Table 7: Structural analysis inherent in Saran/Bernoulli's edition of 'Der kuninc Rodolp'

360 Ibid., p. 26 (vol. 2).

Saran and Bernoulli aimed to make 'Der kuninc Rodolp' manageable for contemporary scholars by rigidly categorising it, and by emphasising its symmetric structure. Rather than studying the music from an aesthetic point of view, the edition considers the song as a schematic construct. Saran's 1901 editorial disclaimer explicitly proposed this as the edition's purpose: 'through providing this rhythm, it is my main aim to present in unambiguous format the central elements of the rhythmic disposition, especially the nature and combination of the *Reihen* and *Ketten*. It is, however, not my intention to rhythmisise the songs down to the smallest detail as they are really sung, with all nuances of tempo and phrasing, etc.'.[361]

Saran provided an overview of previous attempts at transcribing the rhythm of *Minnesang*, distancing himself from the rhythmical models devised by his contemporary Hugo Riemann: 'the theory proposed by Riemann is unacceptable […]. My rhythmic ideas, which are very different from Riemann's, are based on those proposed by Westphal'.[362] One of the reasons for Saran's emphatic distancing from Riemann's ideals may have been the apparent closeness of the two scholars' ideals. For both, text-emphasis was the main criterion in defining musical rhythm: 'both on the higher and lower levels, the rhythmical function of all elements in the system is designated by the order of accents'.[363] In line with Riemann's insistence on *Vierhebigkeit*, Saran argued for the predominance of four-fold structures, using a binary metre and bar-lines to emphasise the importance of each new *Hebung*.[364] Saran's theory resulted in regular four-bar phrases, as in the case of 'Der kuninc Rodolp' (Figure 8), and produced the impression of Riemannian *Vierhebigkeit*.[365]

---

[361] Ibid., p. 149 (vol. 2). <42.g>

[362] Ibid., p. 100 (vol. 2). <42.c> For Saran's his earlier publication, see: Franz Saran, 'Ueber Hartmann von Aue', in: *PBB* 23 (1898), pp. 1–108.

[363] Holz, Saran and Bernoulli (eds) 1901, p. 119 (vol. 2). <42.e>

[364] See ibid., p. 122 (vol. 2).

[365] For a brief overview of Riemann's notion of *Vierhebigkeit*, see: [n/a], Art. 'Vierhebigkeit', in: *RML*, ed. by Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, vol. 3 (Sachteil), Mainz 1967, p. 1032; Sühring 2003, p. 108ff. While his model of rhythmic interpretation has received surprisingly little detailed historiographical attention by recent scholarship and warrants closer investigation in the future, the central role of Riemann's work in the

In contrast to Riemann, Saran repeatedly stressed the flexibility of his rhythmic system and the consideration of performative improvisation.[366] Despite claiming that 'by no means is it [the edition] intended to present anything final', Saran's frequent references to the level of connoisseurship required for the adequate interpretation of *Minnesang* imply that he wanted to be considered authoritative.[367] Saran rejected Riemann's ideas and insisted on his edition's connoisseurship in order to market his own work: if his transcriptions were seen as a copy of Riemann's theories, there would be no need to study them. The fact that no edition of **J** of similar scope and intent has appeared since—as well as the fact that the 1901 edition is now available as a reprint—demonstrates that Saran's strategy of raising the publication's profile proved successful.[368] In its orderliness, structural markings, categorisations, and cataloguing endeavours, Saran's edition of 'Der kuninc Rodolp' exemplarily demonstrates his claims to academic rigour, placing it apart from Fischer's purpose of re-instating a historical subject.

Julián Ribera's 1925 edition of 'Der kuninc Rodolp' is strikingly different from those by Fischer, Becker, and Saran/Bernoulli (Figure 9). His edition presents the piece as anonymous, and mentions Der Unverzagte only in the volume's index; it has no text underlay, and does not give the song a title other than its number within the edition, R10. Ribera presents the piece with a single-line of accompaniment. He presents the melody in treble clef, suggesting that both melody and accompaniment be played by a single instrument. The piece is rendered in binary metre—though in 2/4 rather than 4/4 or 2/2—and with a repeated *Stollen*. Instead of the song's text, the edition contains performance

---

establishment of musicology as an academic discipline and the universalist traits of his writing have been scrutinised by a number of authors: Michael Arntz, *Hugo Riemann (1849–1919): Leben, Werk und Wirkung*, Cologne 1999; Tatjana Böhme-Mehner and Klaus Mehner (eds), *Hugo Riemann (1849–1919): Musikwissenschaftler mit Universalanspruch*, Cologne 2001; Alexander Rehding, *Hugo Riemann and the Birth of Modern Musical Thought*, Cambridge 2003.

[366] See Holz, Saran and Bernoulli (eds) 1901, p. 137 and 140 (vol. 2).
[367] Ibid., p. 148 (vol. 2). <42.f>
[368] See, e. g., http://www.amazon.co.uk/Die-Jenaer-Liederhandschrift-Unterst%C3%BCtzung-S%C3%A4chsischen/dp/0554681382/ref=sr_1_1?ie=UTF8&qid=1348152977&sr=8-1.

markings concerning tempo, dynamics, articulation, and character. The rhythm chosen by Ribera is not determined by the text or any of **J**'s notational features. He ascribes the basic value of a quaver to each note in the melody, emphasising structurally important notes by lengthening and placing them on the first beat of the bar. The accompaniment features a regular pattern of a crotchet and two quavers; exceptions to this are made only in the penultimate bar of the *Stollen* and the *Abgesang*. This regular rhythm establishes a perpetual movement which fuses together the verses as well as the repeated *Stollen* and the *Abgesang*. While the earlier editions treated the individual verses as separate melodic entities, Ribera combined them into a larger whole.

Figure 9: Ribera's edition of 'Der kuninc Rodolp'[369]

Ribera is the only scholar to transcribe the piece in a minor key (f minor). He harmonises the melodic line with tonic, subdominant, and dominant chords. The only exception can be found at the eighth bar of the *Abgesang*: here, Ribera harmonises the

[369] Ribera (ed.) 1925, p. 13.

143

melody as a fifth above an e-flat, proposing a V–I resolution to A-flat major (the parallel major of the tonic) in the bass line of bar nine of the *Abgesang*. A firm major-key resolution, however, is avoided: when the melody re-enters on a-flat on the last quaver of bar nine, the bass line is already headed back to f-minor via the tonic's dominant chord C-major (leading note e). Although the moment of inserted musical drama in 'Der kuninc Rodolp' is only brief, it demonstrates Ribera's lack of interest in providing an objective representation of the song, and his concern for creating an aesthetically pleasing edition that makes sense of the music: a fictitious text underlay to his rendition distorts the text's metrical structure and emphasises the unaccented rather than accented syllables (Figure 10). The song's historical nature is of little importance to Ribera—apart from those elements which align it with the Andalusian song repertoire. His critical comments on Der Unverzagte's *Spruch* make sure to align it with the Galician-Portuguese *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, but do not pause to mention its poet or its title; the decision to present the melody in minor rather than major key, one might argue, was also intended to link the *Spruch* to the Ibero-Arab tradition.

Figure 10: Fictitious word underlay for the *Stollen* of Ribera's edition of 'Der kuninc Rodolp'

Its disregard for the songs' historicity may be one of the reasons why Ribera's edition did not find any positive echo within scholarship.[370] Tellingly, Kippenberg's article on the editiorial history of *Minnesang* melodies does not mention the work.[371] Whether he

---

[370] See fn. 330.
[371] See Kippenberg 1971.

chose to ignore Ribera's attempts because of their un-scholarly method, or whether he was not aware of their existence is of little consequence for the argument made here.

iii. Anthologies of the 1960s

While one might assume that *Minnesang* was a fashionable research topic during the period of bourgeoning nationalism in the first half of the twentieth century, the contrary is the case: Weil has shown that *Minnesang*'s expression of subjectivity was considered problematic under the auspices of a German nation state striving for unification and hegemony.[372] Instead, the songs of the *Minnesänger* received particular academic attention during the late 1950s and 1960s when a number of anthologies, which also contain editions of 'Der kuninc Rodolp', were published. The present section considers three of these in chronological order: Barbara Garvey Seagrave and Wesley Thomas's 1966 publication *The Songs of the Minnesingers*, Ronald J. Taylor's *The Art of the Minnesinger*, and Hugo Moser and Joseph Müller-Blattau's *Deutsche Lieder des Mittelalters*, both published in 1968.[373]

Seagrave/Thomas's 1966 edition was the first large-scale music anthology of *Minnesang* to be published in English.[374] The volume is presented in hardback binding, featuring Walther von der Vogelweide's miniature from the Codex Manesse (**C**) on its glossy front cover (Figure 11). Their edition also contains recordings of some of its songs on an LP.[375] Along with its square 11x11 inch format—unusual for an academic publication—these features point towards the study's intended outreach to non-academic audiences. The number of reviews the volume received in prominent journals nonetheless suggests its academic impact; indeed, the attention generated by the 1966 volume led to an

---

[372] See Weil 1991, p. 137.
[373] A brief comparison between two further editions of 'Der kuninc Rodolp' from a slightly earlier period—by Gennrich (1951) and Jammers (1963)—is provided in Chapter V.2.
[374] Barbara Garvey Seagrave and Wesley Thomas (eds), *The Songs of the Minnesingers*, Urbana 1966.
[375] The LP also contains a recording of 'Der kuninc Rodolp'.

equally great interest in Seagrave/Thomas's follow-up edition of Wizlav von Rügen's songs in 1967 (Table 8).

Monograph	Reviewer	Journal	Year
The Songs of the Minnesingers (1966)	Taylor, Ronald J.	*EGPh*	1967
	Westrup, Jack Allen	*M&L*	
	Beatie, Bruce A.	*MLN*	1968
	Duckworth, D.	*MLR*	
	Jones, George Fenwick	*GQ*	
	Colton, Donald	*Nt*	1969
	Petzsch, Christoph	*Mf*	
The Songs of the Minnesinger, Prince Wizlaw of Rügen (1967)	Shepherd Patricia Drake	*SCB*	1968
	Beatie, Bruce A.	*MLN*	1969
	Harvey, Ruth E.	*M&L*	
	Jammers, Ewald	*Fam*	
	Werf, Hendrik van der	*Nt*	
	Eshelman, Thomas	*MLJ*	1970
	Lomnitzer, Helmut	*Mf*	1971

Table 8: Reviews of Seagrave/Thomas's 1966 and 1967 publications[376]
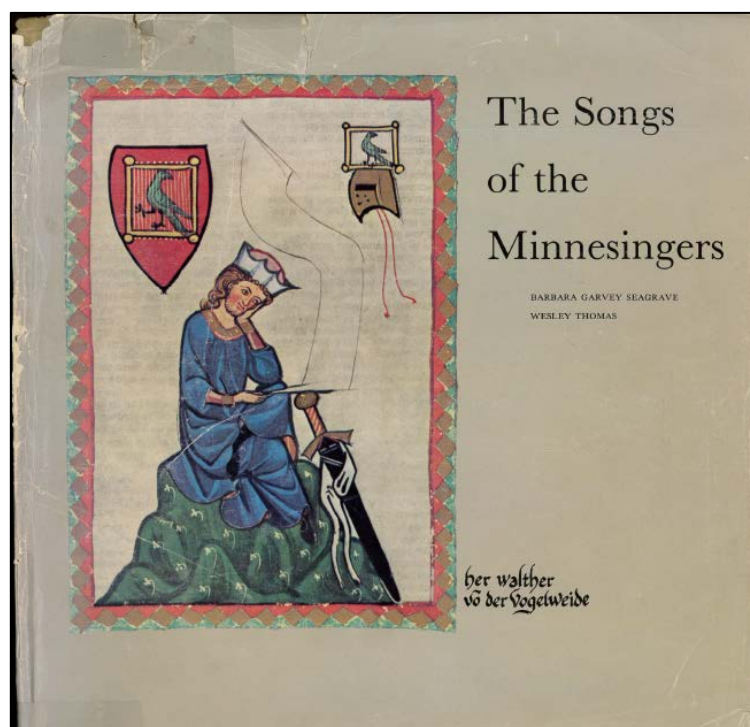
Figure 11: Front cover of Seagrave/Thomas's 1966 edition

---

[376] Full references for these reviews are included in the bibliography.

The double focus on popular and academic audiences is reflected in Seagrave/Thomas's rendition of 'Der kuninc Rodolp' (Figure 12). The song's translation, the large font, the clear and orderly presentation, as well as the notation in treble clef—more familiar to lay audiences than the bass clef—aid the music's study by non-academics. Seagrave/Thomas explicitly notate the *Spruch* in 4/4, making its metre immediately apparent to users.[377] Aiming to be of relevance also to an academic readership, they place editorial flats above the stave, and refrain from setting the piece in F major, or supplying a harmonisation; the rests between the verses, included in all previous editions without comment, are highlighted as editorial by Seagrave/Thomas, who place them in brackets.[378] The inclusion of the manuscript reference below the melody's rendition is also aimed primarily at academics, who may wish to compare the transcription to the original notation.

Figure 12: Seagrave/Thomas's edition of 'Der kuninc Rodolp'[379]

---

[377] Saran's edition, in contrast, leaves the 4/4 metre implicit by rendering the piece without time-signature; see Figure 8.

[378] Nevertheless, the recording performs all bs as b-flats, and the short discussion of the piece states that the song features a 'jaunty tune in F major': Seagrave and Thomas (eds) 1966, p. 154f.

[379] Ibid., p. 154.

The brief commentary likewise reflects the edition's tension between academic, educational, and popular interests. It contains information that can be appreciated by any reader, but its significance can be fully comprehended only by those readers with additional background knowledge: 'the singer whose compositions appear under the pseudonym Der Unverzagte (The Undaunted) was a wandering knight whose language betrays a Middle German origin'.[380] While comprehensible to all readers, only a person familiar with the repertoire will be able to place this information into the context that not all *Minnesänger* were knights (or wandering), and that they were not all of Middle German origin (although most poets contained in **J** are). The following sentences include the 'facts' sought by scholars, but at the same time provide an interesting narrative for lay audiences: 'Der Unverzagte was a *Spruch* poet whose twenty-two extant stanzas extol good breeding and morality, advise young people on virtuous conduct, and admonish the nobility with regard to their obligations as divinely appointed rulers and judges. He specifically avoids political or religious topics. His *Sprüche* appear in three different *Töne*'.[381]

The analysis which follows the explanation and translation displays a similar tension. Making sure to include appropriate terminology for professional audiences, Seagrave/Thomas discuss the song's formal characteristics: 'its form is a modification of the *Barform* with return, with new material added for the last phrases […]. The construction of the *Stollen* and the first couplet of the *Abgesang* is reminiscent of the double-versicle construction of *Leich* segments'.[382] Their edition is the only representation of the melody that comes close to allowing a new line for each new verse.[383] Seagrave/Thomas's estimation of the song's value, and the indiscriminate reference to earlier editions again suggest that the commentary is designed to provide handy knowledge

---

[380] Ibid., p. 153.
[381] Ibid.
[382] Ibid., p. 155.
[383] In contrast, the layout of Romance song melodies by poetic line has been undertaken exemplarily by Rosenberg/Switten/Le Vot, see: Samuel N. Rosenberg, Margaret Switten and Gérard Le Vot (eds), *Songs of the Troubadours and Trouvères: an Anthology of Poems and Melodies*, New York 1998.

for personal 'florilegia' rather than a definitive work of scholarship: 'it is one of the freshest, most appealing of all the minnesinger tunes; it has been transcribed in both duple and triple meter by various scholars, but seems to assert its direct and vigorous character best in duple meter'.[384]

Seagrave/Thomas's colloquial tone aimed to render understandable the first comprehensive collection of *Minnesang* melodies to English-speaking audiences, yet the review by Ronald J. Taylor explicitly criticised the authors for their lack of scholarly precision: 'the uncomfortable truth is that the authors are not complete masters of their material, and that their 'general readers' will be liberally misinformed about the real situation. There is a great deal that we do not know, and shall probably never know, about the songs of the Minnesingers. All the more reason, therefore, for being painstakingly accurate in the presentation of what we do know'.[385] Taylor accused Seagrave/Thomas of 'strange and unexplained arbitrariness', 'insufficient awareness', 'insufficient knowledge', 'individual errors and omission', and 'blithe concealment', questioning the editors' scholarliness, and insinuating the need for a further, scholarly edition provided by a connoisseur with knowledge of the facts—to which, Taylor seems to imply, he alone has special access:

> the transcription of the songs of the Minnesingers is still largely a scholars' battleground, but there is nothing to take the place of personal experience of the terrain, no substitute for personal knowledge of the issues in dispute, and no escape from the responsibility of a personal choice of weapons. One must applaud the initiative that led to the publication of this book, and one does not doubt the good intentions of Dr Seagrave and Dr Thomas in

---

[384] Seagrave and Thomas (eds) 1966, p. 155. Seagrave/Thomas's indiscriminate mention of 'earlier scholars' is particularly frustrating, as the only representation of this song close to rendering it in triple time known to me is that published by Taylor in compound duple metre (in 6/4) two years after Seagrave/Thomas's edition, see Figure 13 (from Ronald J. Taylor, *The Art of the Minnesinger: Songs of the Thirteenth Century Transcribed and Edited with Textual and Musical Commentaries*, 2 vols, Cardiff 1968, p. 94f. (vol. 1)).
[385] Taylor, Review of Seagrave and Thomas, p. 632.

compiling it. But in all charity one must have grave reservations about their qualifications for doing so.[386]

Taylor's own study, published two years later, stressed its academic nature by supporting the music edition with a volume-length analytical study.[387] His edition intended to reproduce the assertedly authentic melodies of the *Minnesänger*. Dividing his edition into 'authentic, inauthentic, and anonymous songs/texts', Taylor presents the melodies' written transmission as problematic because of their distortion through oral transmission.[388] He seeks to rid the melodies of these tarnishes and to restore their *Urtext*: 'the later the manuscript, the less the degree of certainty, both of the actual attribution and also, if the attribution be accepted, of the true form of the melody'; 'there can only have been one original form of each melody, and that form was not changed by being notated in different ways'.[389] Taylor's proposed *Urtext* intended to protect his edition from the 'arbitrariness' he had criticised in Seagrave/Thomas's work. He believed that the songs carried a subjective expressiveness, which could be altered by the modification of a single note. Taylor's claim that 'the less one alters the written source, the better' contradicts his notion of an *Urtext*, but he included it in order to portray himself as source-based and conservative.[390]

Taylor emulated the theory of modal rhythm developed by Friedrich Ludwig (and others) at the beginning of the twentieth century. While he took care to mention Jammers's alternative interpretation, he rejected it without discussion, and chastised as 'wrong' and 'slanderous' Kippenberg's criticism of modal theory.[391] His implicit understanding of the German repertoire as backward and of primitive artistry provided the framework for his

---

[386] Ibid., p. 632ff.
[387] See Taylor 1968, p. vii (vol. 1).
[388] Ibid., p. vii (vol. 1, table of contents).
[389] Ibid., p. xi and xxviii (vol. 1).
[390] Ibid., p. xxxix (vol. 1). For further discussion of the *Urtext* method, see Chapter V.3.
[391] Ibid., p. xvi and xxii (vol. 1).

claim that around 1170 'the Minnesinger turn from the limited four-square world of their national tradition to the new Romance forces in poetical and musical composition'.[392] Taylor appropriated half a century of German-language scholarship and presented it to English-speaking audiences both in theory (in his introduction), and in practice (in his edition), consciously placing his work within a body of existing scholarship, and carefully distancing himself from the only previous anthology edition in English in order to ensure the profile of his own publication.

The intention of providing an academic, rather than popular, edition is reflected in Taylor's presentation of 'Der kuninc Rodolp' (Figure 13). The edition notes the *Spruch*'s position within the original manuscript, and makes reference to von der Hagen's study.[393] Following the manuscript presentation in **J**, and reverting to the principles applied by von der Hagen/Fischer and Holz/Saran/Bernoulli, Taylor numbers the song according to its *Ton* rather than giving it a title. He does not present the song in any fixed key, but highlights the editorial flats by placing them above the stave. Taylor numbers the verses, and uses slurs to mark out the *Reihen* and *Perioden* marked by Saran with bar lines in order to provide a structural analysis (Table 7). He normalises the song's language and spelling: 'Der kuninc Rodolp' becomes 'Der künec Ruodolf', and drops the Middle High German superscript letters, for example on 'unverzaget'. Like all previous editions, Taylor's conflates the two *Stollen* into a single repeated musical line and emends its ending; unlike the earlier editors, however, he chooses to use the ending of the first *Stollen*. Taylor curiously presents all but one ligature in 'Der kuninc Rodolp' with a slur *and* an

---

[392] Ibid., p. xxi (vol. 1). Taylor argued that German stress patterns excluded modes in duple rhythm from German song, although he conceded that 'somewhere in the music of the time, whether within the Minnesinger art or outside it, or both, the principle of duple rhythm must lurk': ibid., p. xxv (vol. 1).

[393] Taylor's reference to von der Hagen's text edition 130 years after the latter's publication provides another striking example of the latter's lasting importance.

overarching square-bracket, suggesting that the additional slur may have held performative meaning for Taylor.[394]

The edition differs from its predecessors and successors most apparently through its metrical patterning: it is the only one I have been able to find which renders the *Spruch* in compound duple time within a large-scale edition. In order to fit the melody into a triple metre, the edition makes use of four different note values: minims, crotchets, quavers, and dotted minims. The only other edition to use more than two note values is Ribera's (Figure 9).[395] While Ribera sought to show the song's link with the Ibero-Arab tradition, Taylor may have used this metrical 'diversity' in order to demonstrate why modal rhythms had been appropriated by the *Minnesänger*: to make their songs more lively, and to rescue them from their 'four-square world'.[396]

---

[394] Whether Taylor simply forgot to add the slur to the final ligature of the *Stollen*, whether this reflects the difference between the two *Stollen* endings, or is supposed to indicate a different treatment in performance, must remain speculation.

[395] He uses minims, dotted crotchets, quavers, and semi-quavers.

[396] See fn. 392.

Figure 13: Taylor's edition of 'Der kuninc Rodolp'[397]

The anthology by Hugo Moser and Joseph Müller-Blattau, also published in 1968, appeared in the Stuttgart-based Klett Verlag, one of the leading German publishing houses for educational literature, suggesting that the edition may have been intended for classroom use. The numerous articles on medieval German song featured in *DU* during the 1950s and 60s, including an issue dedicated to *Minnesang*, indeed show *Minnesang* to have been a popular classroom topic (Table 9).[398] The edition is ordered chronologically and by author corpora in order to demonstrate the historical development of the German song repertory— as suggested by the volume's subtitle *Von Walther von der Vogelweide bis zum Lochamer*

---

[397] Taylor 1968, p. 94f. (vol. 1).

[398] Volume 19, issue 2, was edited by Friedrich Maurer with the subtitle 'Zum deutschen Minnesang'. For a full list of publications on *Minnesang* in *DU* in the 1950s and 60s, see: Robert Ulshöfer (ed.), *Der Deutschunterricht: Gesamt-Register für die Jahrgänge 1–20 (1947–1968)*, Stuttgart [no year].

Liederbuch. Moser/Müller-Blattau also provided a number of translations into modern German, 'intended to make the edition more easily useable for the non-Germanist'.[399] The rigid ordering by chronology, the minimal, 38-page critical apparatus, and the index of incipits underscore the editors' 'wish that not only may the attention of philologists and musicologists be turned to the songs of this publication, but that it may also be welcome to practical musicians'.[400]

Year	Author	Title	Volume/Issue
1953	Mohr, Wolfgang	Zur Form des mittelalterlichen deutschen Strophenliedes: Fragen und Aufgaben	5/2
	Mohr, Wolfgang	Der 'Reichston' Walthers von der Vogelweide	5/6
1954	Maurer, Friedrich	Neue Literatur zum Minnesang	6/5
	Mohr, Wolfgang	Minnesang als Gesellschaftskunst	
1959	Gennrich, Friedrich	Die musikalischen Formen des mittelalterlichen Liedes	11/2
	Jammers, Ewald	Der musikalische Vortrag des altdeutschen Epos	
1962	Rück, Heribert	Gedichte von Walther von der Vogelweide und Hugo von Hofmannsthal: ein Vergleich	14/2
1967	Maurer, Friedrich	Tradition und Erlebnis im deutschen Minnesang um 1200	19/2
	Paus, Franz Josef	Heinrich von Rugge und Reinmar der Alte	
	Bergmann, Robert	Albrecht von Johansdorf und seine Stellung im deutschen Minnesang	
	Halbach, Kurt Herbert	Walthers 'Kranz'-'Tanzlied'	
	Ader, Dorothea	Walther von der Vogelweide: Herzeliebez frowelîn	
	Bertau, Karl	Stil und Klage beim späten Neidhart	
	Aarburg, Ursula	Probleme um die Melodien des Minnesangs	

Table 9: Select publications on *Minnesang* in 1950s/60s issues of *DU*[401]

Like the other anthologies, Moser/Müller-Blattau's volume is concerned with finding the right balance between academic standards and accessibility. 'Der kuninc Rodolp' is presented in modern notation and large type, omitting the Middle High German

---

[399] Hugo Moser and Joseph Müller-Blattau, *Deutsche Lieder des Mittelalters: von Walther von der Vogelweide bis zum Lochamer Liederbuch: Texte und Melodien*, Stuttgart 1968, p. 8. <72.b>
[400] Ibid., p. v (Preface). <72.a>
[401] Full references of these articles are included in the bibliography.

superscript letters (Figure 14). The *Spruch* is transcribed in F major, and is headed by an attribution to Der Unverzagte. The edition does not explicitly notate its 4/4 metre, proposed only tentatively through the inclusion of truncated bar lines; rests are bracketed, and the few ligatures not transcribed as quavers are marked by slurs.[402] Moser/Müller-Blattau's edition is the only one to present the melody alongside its *complete* text, demonstrating the editors' interest in the songs as texts, and their hope that these may be studied in classroom situations. The songs' music, on the other hand, is considered of only secondary importance: it is not granted a stand-alone representation, and is not commented on in the brief critical apparatus. The preference for textual over musical criticism stands at odds with the notionally interdisciplinary cooperation between the philologist Moser and the musicologist Müller-Blattau, but may well reflect constraints of German school education, which accords music lessons only very little time in the curriculum.[403] While Moser was interested in the literary and linguistic features of *Minnesang*, Müller-Blattau appears to have been more interested in its social roles and its relationship to German folksong than in its musical facture. His concern for social milieux provides another explanation for the edition's preference for textual over musical analysis and for the editors' aim to make their publication readily accessible for classroom study.

---

[402] The use of slurs is, however, inconsistent. If each ligature not transcribed as two quavers was intended to be slurred, the two crotchets at the end of the *Stollen* should also have been slurred.
[403] Moreover, most pupils cannot read musical notation.

Figure 14: Moser/Müller-Blattau's edition of 'Der kuninc Rodolp', including beginning of first stanza of text-only rendition[404]

As demonstrated in the case of Der Unverzagte's 'Der kuninc Rodolp', the music of *Minnesang* was edited in a number of large-scale projects in the 1960s. While some of these re-instated features of the *Spruch*'s earlier edition history, the placement of the *Spruch* within the context of *Minnesang* anthologies, rather than within editions of **J**, testifies to a significant shift in focus: the repertory was intended to be discovered by a wider, non-specialist, and global public. Seagrave/Thomas took the *Minnesänger* across the Atlantic and presented them to American audiences; Taylor sought to mediate the results of German scholarship in Anglophone academia; and Moser/Müller-Blattau reinforced *Minnesang*'s study in the classroom. Instead of providing the groundwork for

---

[404] Moser and Müller-Blattau 1968, p. 115f.

156

future scholarship, however, the editions of the late 1960s marked a pro tem end to musicological interest in *Minnesang*.

iv. The Twenty-First Century

Forty-two years separate Moser/Müller-Blattau's and Taylor's editions from the next edition of 'Der kuninc Rodolp' in a large-scale musical publication of *Minnesang*. As with the almost identically long gap between Ribera's and Seagrave/Thomas's editions (1925/1966), the new edition transfers the *Spruch* to a new context: in 2010, Horst Brunner published the song in a complete edition of extant *Sprüche*. Since Fischer's edition of 1838, Der Unverzagte's piece has shifted from being conceived as part of *Minnesang* as a whole, to being part of a single manuscript, back to being part of *Minnesang* as a whole— though this time with a much more public interest—to being seen within the context of the *Spruch* genre.

Brunner's 2010 edition transcribes all extant melodies of the *Spruch* genre. The volume contains a brief preface and a condensed critical apparatus, presenting the *Spruchdichter* and their songs in alphabetical order. Where the songs exist in multiple manuscripts, Brunner presents them in synoptic transcription in order to facilitate a comparison of different versions. As **J** is made up almost exclusively of *Spruch* repertoire, Brunner's volume comes close to a complete edition of the manuscript, lacking only 16 of the manuscript's ninety-one melodies.[405]

Brunner presents the melodies in rhythmless notation, with stemless note-heads on a five-line staff (Figure 15). The transcription quotes the original F-clef and starting neume, but goes on to notate the melody in a transposing treble clef. Brunner numbers the verses and separates them by bar lines, marking the half-verses by caesuras. The ligatures are marked by slurs, and the *plica* in verse two/four is represented by a stem-like curve to

---

[405] See Brunner and Hartmann (eds) 2010, p. xiv.

the right of the note-head. The flats are notated as in the manuscript, and editorial flats are highlighted with pointed brackets. Additional flats are added before all bs which the manuscript marks as natural, with the exception of the b on syllable six of verse two/four, where Brunner seems to have forgotten to add it. The text is in modern type but includes the Middle High German superscript letters; it marks elisions by dots underneath the text, and counts the verses' syllables. The two *Stollen* are conflated into a repeated line, with the additional f at the end of the second *Stollen* noted in Brunner's critical apparatus.

Figure 15: Brunner's edition of 'Der kuninc Rodolp'[406]

Because of its lacking rhythm, Brunner's edition is of only limited use to performers; the highly codified critical apparatus as well as the lack of facsimile images and interpretative commentary limits its use for scholars: it constitutes a repository of melodies which requires the use of additional tools for critical enquiry beyond the comparison of a melody's varying manuscript transmission.[407] The usefulness for further analytical studies is, moreover, hampered by the edition's failure to layout the melodies

---

[406] Ibid., p. 407.
[407] The appended 'Kritischer Bericht' is limited to musical (and textual) text criticism, and lacks any interpretative attempts: ibid., p. 457ff.

according to their verse structure.[408] The short introduction to Brunner's edition makes no reference to analytical endeavours, and gives no extended explanation or justification for its editorial methods other than for the alphabetical ordering and the decision to copy only the first stanza, suggestive of the edition's purpose as a whole: it is an addition to Brunner's other large-scale editorial project, the *Repertorium der Sangsprüche*, the final seventeenth volume of which was published in 2009, one year before the *Spruchsang* edition.[409]

Brunner's position as professor emeritus of German philology at the University of Würzburg provides a meaningful context for these observations, explaining his focus on the *Repertorium*, and his consideration of the melodies as an appendix to the former. Like its antecedents, his edition is motivated mainly by philological interests, not by musicological concerns. His philological vantage point notwithstanding, Brunner demonstrated an interest in the repertoire's music in his 1975 study of the late medieval and early modern reception of the *Spruchdichter*, in which he outlined his music-editorial principles:

> though one will not refrain from expressing more or less plausible speculations as to the typical structural changes of a melody handed down to us through later transmission when studying the formal development of the *Spruch* poets' works, such considerations or even reconstructions based on them, however, should not in my opinion form part of an edition. All extant versions of each melody should be found in it in chronological order, synoptically drawn together and accurately transcribing the manuscripts. One will amend only obvious errors (here, one has to proceed with care!) and make necessary additions, such as lacking clefs.[410]

---

[408] See, in contrast, Judith A. Peraino, Review of Samuel N. Rosenberg, Margaret Switten and Gerard Le Vot, 'Songs of the Troubadours and Trouvères: an Anthology of Poems and Melodies', in: *Nt* 55 (1999), pp. 766–769; here, p. 766.

[409] Horst Brunner, Burghart Wachinger and Eva Klesatschke (eds), *Repertorium der Sangsprüche*, 17 vols, Tübingen 2009, p. xiii.

[410] Brunner 1975, p. 294f. <18.a>

Brunner's editorial maxims found their realisation in the 2010 edition, which separates the transcription from any analytical commentary, presents the different manuscript readings synoptically, and provides modern clefs and additional flat signs. The only significant deviation from his original ideal is Brunner's later preference for alphabetical over chronological order, possibly since any chronology must remain speculative while alphabetical order was outwardly free of subjective interpretation.

The alphabetical ordering of authors and the decision to render the music in stemless note-heads without rhythm are, however, only seemingly free of interpretation. They suggest, on the one hand, that Brunner considered authorship a relevant category to the study of *Minnesang*, more fruitful, perhaps, than the study of musical characteristics.[411] The rhythm-free musical notation, on the other, implicitly suggests rhythmic codification. Brunner spaces the music equally by its syllables, allotting each the same amount of horizontal space. The equal spacing of syllables follows John Stevens's observation that this reflects common medieval scribal practices, and implies isosyllabic performance, which grants each syllable of text equal temporal duration.[412] While Brunner does not overtly subscribe to this theory of rhythmical interpretation, his presentation of the music with equally spaced syllables is, nevertheless, suggestive of this rhythm: performers who use the edition will be led to consider the music as isosyllabic despite Brunner's claims of rhythmic neutrality.

J and Der Unverzagte's 'Der kuninc Rodolp' have been edited in numerous frameworks: von der Hagen/Fischer considered **J** as part of the larger corpus of *Minnesang*

---

[411] Brunner's publications on Middle High German poets such as Walther von der Vogelweide, Brudher Werner, and Wolfram von Eschenbach corrobate this focus on authorial aspects of medieval poetry: http://www.mediaevistik.germanistik.uni-wuerzburg.de/mitarbeiter/professoren_und_mitarbeiter_im_ruhestand/brunner_horst/ausgewaehlte_monographien_pa_editionen_sammelbaende/.
[412] See John Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance and Drama, 1050–1350*, Cambridge 1986, p. 435ff.

which afforded veneration as a monument of the German past; Becker turned towards the repertoire's musical value, emphasising the repertoire's importance to contemporary compositional practice.[413] Textual and structural considerations were at the forefront of Holz/Saran/Bernoulli's interests, whose edition comprised both a full diplomatic and a full modern transcription of **J**. Saran argued that 'the emphasis of **J** lies on the words in particular: the melody and the rhythm are more like an additional flavouring of the whole'.[414] In 1925, Ribera for the first time grappled with **J** outside of German literary studies. He argued for **J**'s indebtedness to Ibero-Arab traditions, and focussed his attention on the music. The edition's title page is telling of his concern with musical features and performance (Figure 16). During the second half of the 1960s, three anthology editions sought to bridge various gaps: Seagrave/Thomas remedied the lack of general knowledge on *Minnesang* in Anglophone countries, and Taylor sought to provide a basis for Anglophone scholarship on this repertoire; Moser/Müller-Blattau attempted to make the poetry popular and commonly-known in German countries through their edition which specifically addressed educational needs. After an extended period of editorial quietude regarding *Minnesang*, Brunner in 2010 published a catalogue of melodies of the *Spruch* genre, aiming to provide additional materials and contexts to his previous study of the genre from a philological perspective.

---

[413] See Becker, Review of Hagen, p. 112.
[414] Holz, Saran and Bernoulli (eds) 1901, p. 110 (vol. 2). <42.d>
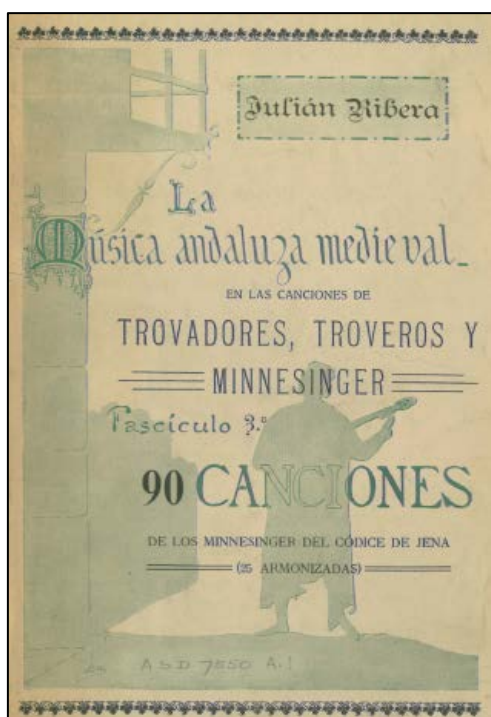
Figure 16: Title page of Ribera's 1925 edition

Despite these varied approaches to **J**, an edition of its repertoire from a musicological perspective which would enable detailed musical analysis continues to remain a *lacuna* within scholarship. Notwithstanding Erdmute Pickerodt-Uthleb's substantial doctoral dissertation of 1975, a new edition which affords the possibility of (comparative) analyses on the bases of authorship, chronology, geography, and musical features is a desideratum that would greatly enhance present-day knowledge of *Minnesang*'s music.[415] The present historiographical study of earlier editions is an essential preliminary to a fresh editorial approach to **J**, and to *Minnesang* as a whole. It has demonstrated the different angles from which the repertoire has been approached in the past, and how certain understandings and valuations of its music are reflected both explicitly and implicitly in the resulting editions. The following chapter shares this historiographic focus: turning from editions to scholarly criticism, it seeks to uncover the ways in which academic writing has engaged with the musical aspects of *Minnesang*.

---

[415] See Pickerodt-Uthleb 1975.

162

CHAPTER V.
Criticism

The most recent monograph with an interest in the music of *Minnesang* was published by the Germanist James McMahon in 1990.[416] Appraising the book as 'a welcome addition to the Minnesinger literature for both the musicologist and the philologist—not because it advances particularly novel theses or information, but because it transcends the usual boundaries between the two disciplines and consolidates information on both', Bryan Gillingham nevertheless emphasised the fact that the volume was in some chapters 'derivative' and provided hardly any critical assessment of the repertoire and past research.[417] Thomas Binkley was less placid in his criticism, bemoaning that 'the book is not for the scholar-musician. It provides an introduction to some of the music, music theory, and performance practices of the Middle Ages and reads something like notes taken in an introductory class in an unfamiliar field'.[418] Michael Swisher's review, on the other hand, suggested that the cursory musical study undertaken by McMahon may already prove too complex for non-musicologists: 'the less musically informed reader will […] at times have some difficulty following the discussions of the problems of transcribing melodies'.[419]

In his 1960 dissertation, published as part of the *Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters* series two years later, Burkhard

---

[416] McMahon 1990.

[417] Bryan Gillingham, Review of James V. McMahon, 'The Music of Early Minnesang', in: *Nt* 49 (1992), pp. 80–81; here, p. 80f.

[418] Thomas Binkley, Review of James V. McMahon, 'The Music of Early Minnesang', in: *Sm* 67 (1992), pp. 723–725; here, p. 723.

[419] Michael Swisher, Review of James V. McMahon, 'The Music of Early Minnesang', in: *GSR* 14 (1991), pp. 139–140; here, p. 140.

Kippenberg attempted a similar overview of *Minnesang* research (Table 10).[420] Like McMahon, Kippenberg focussed his study through specific issues; whereas the former provided a very broad overview of topics relevant to the study of *Minnesang*, the latter concentrated his attention narrowly on the matter of rhythmic transcription: Kippenberg's chapters I, III, and IV explicitly consider problems of rhythm; his discussion of sources in chapter II is likewise directed towards an assessment of their (rhythmical) editions, and his consideration of contrafacture in chapter V gives much thought to the implications of contrafacture for the melodies' rhythm. As Kippenberg's subtitle 'Eine Kritik der literar- und musikhistorischen Forschung mit einer Übersicht über die musikalischen Quellen' suggests, his dissertation was intended as a *critique* of scholarship, rather than as an uncritical summary, and one may read the book as a rejection of Friedrich Gennrich's (and other scholars') attempts to apply modal rhythms to the melodies of *Minnesang*. Kippenberg's harsh critique of modal theory endeared his work to Germanists, and Siegfried Beyschlag lauded it for 'freeing the philologist and literary historian from the straightjacket of musicology'.[421]

Chapter	Kippenberg 1962	McMahon 1990
I	Die Frage nach dem Rhythmus	Performance (includes discussion of rhythm)
II	Musikalische Quellen und Ausgaben: zu den Grundlagen der Methode	Manuscript Sources and Modern Reconstructions
III	Die nichtmodalen Deutungen des musikalischen Rhythmus	Later Manuscripts with Melodies Attributed to Walther von der Vogelweide
IV	Die modale Interpretation	Contrafactures
V	Zur Erforschung der Kontrafaktur	-
VI	Ergebnisse und Ausblick	-

Table 10: Kippenberg's and McMahon's *Minnesang* studies

---

[420] Kippenberg 1962.

[421] Siegfried Beyschlag, Review of Burkhard Kippenberg, 'Der Rhythmus im Minnesang: eine Kritik der literar- und musikhistorischen Forschung; mit einer Übersicht über die musikalischen Quellen', in: *Gk* 5 (1964), pp. 264–265; here, p. 264. <14.a>

In contrast to McMahon and Kippenberg, the present chapter seeks to provide neither a comprehensive overview of the musical study of *Minnesang*, a narrow discussion of any single issue, nor a *critique* of the opinions held by other scholars. Rather than focussing on the issues themselves, the discussion grapples with the scholarly *discourse* through which they have been mediated.[422] The chapter turns its attention to a network of three scholars who conducted much of their research in the 1940s, 50s, and 60s, and who have crucially shaped the current understanding of *Minnesang*'s music: Friedrich Gennrich, Ewald Jammers, and Ursula Aarburg. These vignettes of individual scholarly opinions uncover the different ways in which today's image of *Minnesang* has been constructed, and the chapter concludes by outlining the disciplinary conflicts that have been at the heart of much of this discourse. Though not its main concern, the chosen focus on discourse will nevertheless provide an insight into the musical issues at stake—sidestepping, it is hoped, the problems of derivativeness and overly ideology-driven critique encountered by McMahon and Kippenberg.

1. Friedrich Gennrich: Internationality, Contrafacture, and Modal Rhythm[423]

The work of Friedrich Gennrich represented a breakthrough in the study of *Minnesang*, and prepared the ground for a lasting, broad interrogation of the *Minnesänger* from both a philological and a musicological perspective.[424] Gennrich's work on *Minnesang* is comprehensive and multifaceted, and spans a period of forty years. A student of Friedrich Ludwig, Gennrich's original interest was in French (polyphonic) repertoires and is

---

[422] On the concept and importance of scholarly discourse, see: Giles Hooper, *The Discourse of Musicology*, Aldershot 2006.

[423] I am grateful to the reading group convened by Elizabeth Eva Leach for giving me the opportunity to discuss some of the ideas explored in this section.

[424] See, for example, Kippenberg 1962, p. 138.

documented in numerous publications on Romance repertoires from 1918 onwards.[425] His

first article on the *Minnesänger* appeared in *ZfMw* in 1924/25, and his final publication on

the subject appeared in 1965, two years before his death.[426] In these forty years, Gennrich

developed a broad narrative about *Minnesang* and its European context, which the present

study can aspire to represent neither comprehensively nor in its entire complexity (Table

11). The following discussion traces three tropes which may stand emblematically for

Gennrich's output as a whole, and which continue to form key issues in the scholarly

debate of *Minnesang*: internationality, rhythm, and contrafacture.

---

[425] For a detailed list of Gennrich's publications, see: Ian Bent, Art. 'Gennrich, Friedrich', in: *NGrove*, vol. 9, London 2001b, pp. 653–655.

[426] Friedrich Gennrich, 'Sieben Melodien zu mittelhochdeutschen Minneliedern', in: *ZfMw* 7 (1924/25), pp. 65–98; Friedrich Gennrich, *Die Kontrafaktur im Liedschaffen des Mittelalters*, Langen bei Frankfurt 1965b.

Year	Title	*Journal*/Series
1924/1925	Sieben Melodien zu mittelhochdeutschen Minneliedern (Seven Melodies for Middle High German Minnesongs)	*ZfMw* 7
1926	Der deutsche Minnesang in seinem Verhältnis zur Troubadour- und Trouvère-Kunst (German *Minnesang* in Its Relation with Trobadour and Trouvère Art)	*ZfdB* 2
1929	Zur Ursprungsfrage des Minnesangs: ein literarhistorisch-musikwissenschaftlicher Beitrag (On the Origin of *Minnesang*: a Literature-Historical, Musicological Contribution)	*DVLG* 7
1929	Internationale mittelalterliche Melodien (International Medieval Melodies)	*ZfMw* 11
1931	Das Formproblem des Minnesangs: ein Beitrag zur Erforschung des Strophenbaus der mittelalterlichen Lyrik (The Form Problem of *Minnesang*: a Contribution on the Study of Strophic Design in Medieval Lyric)	*DVLG* 9
1932	Grundriß einer Formenlehre des mittelalterlichen Liedes als Grundlage einer musikalischen Formenlehre des Liedes (Fundaments of a Morphology of Medieval Song, as the Foundation of a Musical Morphology of Song)	
1942	Melodien Walthers von der Vogelweide (Melodies by Walther von der Vogelweide)	*ZfdA* 79
1943	Zu den Melodien Wizlavs von Rügen (On the Melodies by Wizlav von Rügen)	*ZfdA* 80
1948/50	Liedkontrafaktur in mittelhochdeutscher und althochdeutscher Zeit (Song Contrafacture in the Middle High German and Old High German Periods)	*ZfdA* 82
1951	Die Melodie zu Walthers von der Vogelweide Spruch: Philippe, künec here (The Melody to Walther von der Vogelweide's *Spruch*: Philippe, künec here)	*SM* 17
1951	Troubadours, Trouvères, Minne- und Meistergesang (Troubadours, Trouvères, *Minne-* and *Meistersang*)	Das Musikwerk 2
1952	Mittelalterliche Lieder mit textloser Melodie (Medieval Songs with Untexted Melodies)	*AfMw* 9
1954	Zur Liedkunst Walthers von der Vogelweide (On Walther von der Vogelweide's Art of Song)	*ZfdA* 85
1954	Melodien altdeutscher Lieder: 47 Melodien in handschriftlicher Fassung (Melodies to Old High German Songs: 47 Melodies in Handwritten Versions)	MSB 9
1954	Mittelhochdeutsche Liedkunst: 24 Melodien zu mittelhochdeutschen Liedern (The Middle High German Art of Song: 24 Melodies to Middle High German Songs)	MSB 10

1962	Neidharts Lieder: kritische Ausgabe der Neidhart von Reuenthal zugeschriebenen Melodien (Neidhart's Songs: Critical Edition of Melodies Attributed to Neidhart von Reuenthal)	SMMA 9
1963	Die Jenaer Liederhandschrift: Faksimile-Ausgabe ihrer Melodien (The Jena Songbook: Facsimile Edition of its Melodies)	SMMA 11
1965	Die Kontrafaktur im Liedschaffen des Mittelalters (Contrafacture in Medieval Song)	SMMA 12

Table 11: Selection of Gennrich's publications on *Minnesang*[427]

According to Gennrich, vernacular song spread across Europe from the beginning of the twelfth century as the result of Wilhelm IX's successful attempts at integrating the ideals of courtliness into a much older tradition of song performance.[428] It was through the courtly culture that spread from the Romance world across Europe that the songs of the troubadours and trouvères became international, even to the extent of marginalising other indigenous song traditions.[429] Gennrich claimed that the knights were the social class which carried song culture, and that these knights transgressed beyond national boundaries, resulting in the internationality of European song repertoires.[430] One of Gennrich's early articles underlined the importance of cross-cultural interaction in the Middle Ages, and insisted on its relevance for music: 'if indeed interactions in this case cannot be doubted, then this leads to a question which has been left at the wayside for a long time: the question of a certain internationality of art as a whole, and of music in the Middle Ages in particular'.[431] Careful to stress the ontological difference of internationality between the Middle Ages and his present, Gennrich pointed out that the former had emphasised

---

[427] The tables provided in this chapter are intended neither to give a complete listing of Gennrich's, Jammers's, or Aarburg's output, nor to be a summary of materials to be discussed thereafter; they are included in order to give an impression of these scholars' writings on *Minnesang*, and to aid readers in telling apart the various, often similarly titled publications.

[428] See Gennrich 1924/25, p. 5.

[429] See ibid., p. 71.

[430] See Friedrich Gennrich, *Mittelhochdeutsche Liedkunst: 24 Melodien zu mittelhochdeutschen Liedern*, Darmstadt 1954, p. xi.

[431] Friedrich Gennrich, 'Internationale mittelalterliche Melodien', in: *ZfMw* 11 (1929a), pp. 259–296; 321–348; here, p. 260. <30.a>

communality through language rather than through twentieth-century ideals of nationhood.[432]

Despite the period's internationality, Gennrich presented France, and Paris in particular, as its cultural focal point.[433] While this proposal is not surprising considering Gennrich's scholarly education as a Romanist, Paris's centrality is put into relief when viewed against the earlier proposal of Wilhelm IX and his Occitan followers as the instigators—though not the inventors—of the European dissemination of courtly song in the vernacular.[434] Gennrich asserted a duality of key players and allowed for a mutual interaction between trouvères and troubadours: 'indeed, there is no lack of evidence that shows that the troubadours were in turn influenced by the art of the trouvères, that there was, therefore, a certain amount of mutual influence'.[435] Such *mutual* interaction was not proposed by Gennrich for any other region; these were all dependent in a one-directional exchange on the supremacy of the French and Occitan cultural achievement.[436]

Gennrich highlighted the features which the vernacular repertoire shared with Latin sacred, (para-)liturgical song, and posited the church and its music as the origin of the poetic and musical characteristics of the vernacular repertoire: 'in answering the question of the origins of vernacular song repertoires, philological and musicological research meet neither on Arab-Andalusian soil, nor in the domain of medieval Latin poetry, but in the sphere of the late-Christian Church, to whom the Middle Ages owe not only their

---

[432] See ibid., p. 261.
[433] See ibid., p. 348.
[434] See fn. 428. Throughout his work, Gennrich refers to the repertoire and culture of the troubadours as Provençal rather than Occitan. Joseph R. Strayer proposed that medieval southern France be referred to as Occitania, a designation which has been largely accepted by Anglophone scholarship. The present thesis will consequently refer to troubadour repertoires as Occitan, and takes the licence to 'update' tacitly Gennrich's and others' scholarship in this respect. See: Elizabeth Aubrey, 'The Dialectic between Occitania and France in the Thirteenth Century', in: *EMH* 16 (1997), pp. 1–53; Joseph R. Strayer, *The Albgensian Crusades*, New York 1971, p. 10ff.
[435] Gennrich 1924/25, p. 70. <29.b>
[436] Note, for example, the telling absence of any indication that German songs may have influenced the French and Occitan singers: Friedrich Gennrich, 'Liedkontrafaktur in mittelhochdeutscher und althochdeutscher Zeit', in: *ZfdA* 82 (1948/50), pp. 105–141; here, p. 113.

idiosyncrasies, but also their greatness'.[437] With this emphasis on the ecclesiastical origins of vernacular song, he positioned himself in opposition to the theories of Ibero-Arab origins proposed by Ribera.[438] Gennrich later repeated his claim, explicating at length his belief in the strong interrelation between the domains of the sacred and the secular in the Middle Ages.[439]

From the internationality of culture and music, Gennrich derived two main consequences. First, he argued that the international dissemination of a particular melody may present evidence for its popularity, and that this would provide scholars with a guideline for gaining a medieval theory of aesthetic value.[440] Second, Gennrich assumed that poets would have produced new texts to these popular melodies; the resulting contrafacta, he argued in circular fashion, proved the cultural exchange during the Middle Ages and could ascertain its direction: 'the song exchange that can be observed to have taken place between adjacent peoples leads to an undeniable proof of cross-cultural relations, and the question of who was at the giving and who at the receiving end of this process will be identifiable in the individual cases through contrafacture'.[441]

The discussion of contrafacture, and the presentation of new contrafacta abound in Gennrich's research on *Minnesang*. Contrafacture dominates his research profile, and his publications contain many statements akin to the following, urging scholarly interest towards this phenomenon: 'up to now, the sole passable route to gain insight into mutual influences and interdependences in the music of the Middle Ages is offered by the very contrafacture which can be observed so frequently in medieval musical culture. And it affords quite interesting insights'.[442] Gennrich justified his search for contrafacta with the

---

[437] Friedrich Gennrich, 'Zur Ursprungsfrage des Minnesangs: ein literarhistorisch-musikwissenschaftlicher Beitrag', in: *DVLG* 7 (1929b), pp. 187–228; here, p. 227. <31.b>
[438] For a discussion of Ribera, see Chapter IV.1.iii
[439] See Gennrich 1954, p. x.
[440] See Gennrich 1929a, p. 348.
[441] Gennrich 1948/50, p. 127. <32.f>
[442] Gennrich 1929a, p. 263. <30.c>

importance of this process to medieval art, providing an example from architecture: the modelling of the cathedral of Saint Front at Périgueux on San Marco at Venice in the twelfth century.[443] In his first article on the topic, in which Gennrich later claims to have 'invented' the idea of contrafacture, he added further contemporary evidence, pointing to the poetry of *Minnesang* as proof for the on-going medieval practice of producing new texts to pre-existent French and Occitan melodies.[444] As evidence, Gennrich quotes the following section from Ulrich von Liechtenstein's pseudo-autobiographical *Frauendienst*, in which Ulrich-the-narrator receives a letter from his lady, asking him to prepare a German text to a non-German song: 'iu hat min vrowe her gesant bi mir ein wise, diu unbekant ist in tiutschen landen gar, daz sült gelouben ir für war; daz sult ir tiutsch singen in, des bitet si, der bot ich bin'.[445]

Contrafacture did not contradict an understanding of *Minnesang* as art. Gennrich claimed to the contrary that contrafacta were produced by the most skilful poets of the time: 'it can by no means be considered a sign of a poet's musical ineptitude; even the most esteemed artists make use of it, since some song genres—*jeu parti* and *sirventes*—commonly make use of pre-existent melodies'.[446] His choice of the term 'Künstler' (artist) for the medieval poets is not haphazard, but stands in line with his descriptions of the repertoire as *Kunstlied*, *Dichtkunst* and *Liedkunst*.[447] Unlike Fischer's (implicit) alignment of *Minnesang* with the *Kunstlied*, which sought to popularise the music with contemporary performers and listeners, Gennrich draws this analogy in order to underline the repertoire's

---

[443] See ibid., p. 259.

[444] For Gennrich's claim that his 1924/25 publication was the first to make the study of contrafacture fruitful for scholarship, see: Gennrich 1965b, p. 2.

[445] Franz Viktor Spechtler (ed.), *Ulrich von Liechtenstein: Frauendienst*, Göppingen 1987. Gennrich does not consider that the model song, 'unbekant […] in tiutschen landen gar', might be in Latin; he assumes that it was in Occitan or Old French: Friedrich Gennrich, 'Der deutsche Minnesang in seinem Verhältnis zur Troubadour- und Trouvère-Kunst', in: *ZfdB* 2 (1926), pp. 536–566; 622–632; here, p. 550.

[446] Gennrich 1948/50, p. 108. <32.d>

[447] See his exemplary use of these terms in: Gennrich 1924/25, p. 66f.

value as an object of study for musicologists.[448] With his emphasis on the artistic nature of *Minnesang*, Gennrich intended to raise the profile of monophonic secular repertoires in the larger musicological community. As far into his career as 1951, Gennrich continued to defend the importance of monophonic song repertoires against their polyphonic counterparts: 'the significance of this art of song [*Liedkunst*] and its remaining transmitted works supersedes all other areas of worldly music-making in the "ars antiqua"'.[449] In order to argue this superiority, Gennrich needed a canon of musical works: the only way to establish such a canon for *Minnesang* was to posit the use of French and Occitan melodies by the German poets—contrafacture.[450]

Even after forty years of searching for demonstrable contrafacta, Gennrich was convinced that new finds were still possible and that this branch of research remained productive.[451] He praised the search for contrafacta as a treasure hunt, and declared the new findings as the reward for a scholar's hard detective work: 'for the musicology of today, the uncovering of contrafacta and borrowings means work which requires much perseverance, resourcefulness, and sacrifices of time; it is like the search for hidden treasures'.[452]

This productivity required a rigid framework in order to discuss and categorise his findings, and Gennrich consequently developed a theory of contrafacture. In his first systematic discussion of contrafacture in 1948, he established the categories of 'regular' and 'irregular' contrafacture, distinguishing between cases in which the poet would copy both the melodic and textual structure exactly, and those in which the textual structure was

---

[448] See p. 133f.
[449] Friedrich Gennrich, *Troubadours, Trouvères, Minne- und Meistergesang*, Cologne 1951, p. 5. <33.b>
[450] Gennrich notes the essential role of contrafacture in establishing the canon of *Minnesang*: 'sadly, of the body of early Middle High German *Minnesang* only the melody of Walther von der Vogelweide's *Palästinalied* survives—further melodies can be retrieved through contrafacture: the melodies of late *Minnesang* and *Meistersang*, however, are available to us in a series of manuscripts and manuscript fragments'. Ibid. <33.a>
[451] See Gennrich 1965b, p. vi.
[452] Ibid., p. 165. <35.d> Gennrich was not the sole scholar at the time to posit the continuing productivity of research into contrafacture, see: Mohr 1953b, p. 63f.

significantly altered.[453] Eighteen years later, Gennrich published an entire monograph dedicated to the theory of contrafacture in the Middle Ages.[454] While the previous article was limited to examples of contrafacture by German poets, the monograph brought together Gennrich's research on Latin, Occitan, French, and German repertoires, resulting in the introduction of further, nuanced categories of contrafacture: in addition to the categories of regular and irregular contrafacture, Gennrich coined the terms 'opening' and 'essential' contrafacture ['Initial- und Grundlagenkontrafaktur'], as well as the more loosely conceived category of 'borrowing' ['Entlehnung']. Beyond these categories of contrafacture, Gennrich pointed to the existence of a corpus of 'wandering melodies and texts', which spanned an entire network of borrowing across Europe.[455] Finally, he also pondered the inversion of contrafacture: for new melodies added to pre-existent texts, Gennrich coined the term 'contraposition' ['Kontraposition'].[456]

From his earliest publication on the matter, Gennrich provided a concrete social backdrop to contrafacture. While the internationality of courtly culture formed the wider social context, Gennrich repeatedly returned to a single historic event as the nexus between German, French, and Occitan culture from which contrafacta would have emanated:

> the glorious *Reichsfest* held on the days of Whitsun in 1184, during which the accolade of Friedrich Barbarossa's sons was celebrated at Mainz, united French and German knights in noble combat. Poets and musicians [Sänger und Spielleute] from all countries had rushed hither and silently listened to the songs of the trouvère Guiot de Provins (and others), who

---

[453] See Gennrich 1948/50, p. 109ff.
[454] Gennrich 1965b.
[455] Ibid.
[456] Ibid., p. 177ff. While Gennrich's terms 'regular' and 'irregular contrafactum' continue to be found in Robert Falck's entry on the subject in *NGrove*, none of his later categories are used—despite Falck's apparent knowledge of them, as the reference to Gennrich's 1965 monograph in the bibliography suggests: Robert Falck and Martin Picker, Art. 'Contrafactum', in: *NGrove*, vol. 6, London 2001, pp. 367–370.

is still known to us today. Heinrich von Veldeke, originating from the Maastricht region, was the first *Minnesänger* [Sänger] to proclaim French art in German song.[457]

Gennrich sought to construct Barbarossa's second wife Beatrice of Burgundy in analogy to Eleanor of Aquitaine as a multi-national patron of the arts: 'without doubt, German *Minnesang* is indebted to Barbarossa's art-loving spouse whose residence lay on the Lower Rhine, and whose entourage included trouvères such as Guiot de Provins, as she enabled its most sustained contact with the French art of song: indeed, her own son, who was to become Kaiser Heinrich VI, was an active *Minnesänger*'.[458] Such historical 'facts' served Gennrich as 'positively demonstrable international relations' which he posited as the basis for transcultural contrafacture.[459] Gennrich's narrative of 1184 as the crucial event in the history of contrafacture became seminal and is quoted by later scholars such as Ronald J. Taylor.[460] Taking up the search for specific points of cross-cultural contact, Wendelin Müller-Blattau in 1956 presented a list of possible historical moments of French and German interaction: the German emperors' travels to Italy, the crusades (in which Friedrich von Hausen, Bligger von Steinach, and Gaucelm Faidit demonstrably participated); the crowning of Beatrice of Burgundy at Arles in 1178; the accolade of Barbarossa's sons in 1184; the meeting between Friedrich II and Philippe Auguste near Sedan in 1187; the taking of the cross by Philippe Auguste and Richard the Lionheart at Gisors in 1188; Baldwin V's visit to Worms in the same year; and Boniface of Montferrat's visit to the court of Hagenau in 1201.[461]

---

[457] Gennrich 1924/25, p. 81. <29.d> For another reference to 1184 in Gennrich's work, see: Gennrich 1954, p. xiii. For brief historical descriptions of the Mainz *Hoffest* in 1184, see: Joachim Bumke, *Courtly Culture: Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages*, transl. by Thomas Dunlap, Berkeley 1991, p. 203ff; Peter Csendes, *Heinrich VI.*, Darmstadt 1993, p. 46ff.
[458] Gennrich 1951, p. 9. <33.e>
[459] Gennrich 1948/50, p. 107. <32.c>
[460] See Ronald J. Taylor, 'Minnesang – Wort unde Wîse', in: *Essays in German Literature: I*, ed. by Frederic Norman, London 1965, pp. 1–28; here, p. 9.
[461] See Wendelin Müller-Blattau, *Trouvères und Minnesänger II: Kritische Ausgaben der Weisen zugleich als Beitrag zu einer Melodienlehre des mittelalterlichen Liedes*, Saarbrücken 1956, p. 3f. For Frank's preceding

Hidden in Gennrich's dense argumentation for the importance of contrafacture lies a contradiction of value judgement. Despite his argument that contrafacture was an esteemed practice across Europe in the Middle Ages, which should not be considered a sign of artistic ineptitude, he posited just this ineptitude for the early *Minnesänger* on the basis of their use of contrafacture: 'at first, the German knights *will probably not have had the skills* to invent melodies which could withstand comparison with Romance ones; at least not only the strophic structure of the song texts, but also textual borrowing from French and Occitan songs prove that German song texts were composed to copied Romance melodies'.[462] Elsewhere, Gennrich was even harsher in his judgement: 'for an art which disseminated itself across the largest part of medieval Europe it would be a sign of true poverty if it had not been able to bring forth the required poetic strength from within itself but had been no more, so to speak, than a glaring rip-off [Abklatsch] of a foreign lyric'.[463] Though Gennrich voiced this argument in favour of an indigenous European art of song, rejecting the theories of Arab origin proposed by Ribera, it tarnishes the practice of contrafacture with the after-taste of artistic inferiority from which Gennrich explicitly sought to free *Minnesang*. His interest in contrafacture paradoxically shows Gennrich to be participating in the same discourse of the primary importance of French (polyphonic) repertoires which he sought to refute through the application of the term *Kunstlied*.

It is questionable whether Gennrich was aware of these problems of valuation. He repeatedly referred to the theory of contrafacture as a given in an off-hand manner, and considered it to be unshakable truth regardless of the scant musical evidence for this practice in *Minnesang*: 'because of the almost complete lack of melodies to the German songs of this first period, we are not able to verify the above hypothesis [that of

---

study on the textual contrafacta, see: István Frank, *Trouvères et Minnesänger: recueil de textes*, Saarbrücken 1952.

[462] Emphasis mine. Gennrich 1954, p. 12. <34.a> For Gennrich's argument, see fn. 446.

[463] Gennrich 1929b, p. 192. <31.a>

contrafacture], which however has to it a large degree of probability'.[464] Unto the present day, the closest proposed melodic contrafactum of a Romance melody by a *Minnesänger*, extant in a medieval source, is Walther von der Vogelweide's *Palästinalied* (C7): a proposition which has, however, not been unanimously accepted by scholarship.[465] The lack of demonstrable evidence notwithstanding, Gennrich was convinced by his theory of contrafacture because of the ease with which German texts could be made to fit Romance melodies, and concluded in 1965 that 'today, no one doubts the correctness of this claim'.[466]

The theory of contrafacture was used by Gennrich to demonstrate not only the internationality of vernacular song repertoires, but also the applicability of modal theory to *Minnesang*.[467] If Romance ideals of courtliness had spread across Europe, and if the German poets had copied Romance songs, they would have also adhered to their models' rhythm: 'the sacrifice of the originally alliterative Germanic verse in favour of the accentuated verse is undoubtedly the best proof for the force of modal rhythm which conquered the entire continent in the wake of the cultural superiority of French courtly literature'.[468] In this respect, too, Gennrich considered his research hypotheses given facts, referring to the conclusions of his 1926 publication on the rhythmic influence of French on German poetry as beyond criticism as early as 1929: 'the shift from the Germanic principle of accentuation towards that of trochaic, iambic, or dactylic rhythm which occurred in Germany in the last quarter of the twelfth century, can *without doubt* be put down to the influence of French models'.[469]

---

[464] Gennrich 1924/25, p. 75. <29.c>
[465] See Chapter VI.3.ii.
[466] Gennrich 1965b, p. 2. <35.b> In his earlier work, Gennrich repeatedly claims that the enterprise of appropriating German texts to French melodies poses 'no difficulties' ('keinerlei Schwierigkeiten'/'keine sonderlichen Schwierigkeiten'). See: Gennrich 1924/25, p. 76f.
[467] For a brief discussion of Gennrich's development of modal theory see: Sühring 2003. Chapter III.c
[468] Gennrich 1948/50, p. 137. <32.h>
[469] My emphasis. Gennrich 1929a, p. 262. <30.b> His earlier article had claimed that Germanic rhythms began to be lost with the poetry of Veldeke: Gennrich 1926, p. 543.

Kippenberg has given extensive insight into Gennrich's conception of modal rhythm in *Minnesang*, and it need therefore not be studied in more detail here.[470] Two other issues should instead be noted in respect to Gennrich's emphasis on modal rhythm. Gennrich's rhythmic theories again strengthened the very discourses which he aimed to critique. By laying claims to modal rhythm, he transferred onto *Minnesang* a system of rhythm invented for the performance and notation of French repertoires, 'associated primarily with the polyphony of the Notre Dame school'.[471] The application of modal rhythm to *Minnesang* facilitated the comparison with French repertoires, and especially with the polyphony of Notre Dame—a comparison which invited scholars to claim the inferiority of German song Gennrich sought to disprove.

Secondly, Gennrich's proposition that modal rhythm was used in German repertoires compelled him to refer once more to the influence of Latin (para-)liturgical song on this repertoire, depicting modal rhythm as a shared, transnational, human experience:

> this rhythm is, essentially, something not alien to the Germanic character: the iambic dimeter which is the foundation of circa seventy-five percent of all hymns reveals itself as a natural expression of the rhythmic life blood [Lebensgefühl] of Occidental man; in its primitive simplicity it represents a rhythmic *Ur*-formation. The accentuated verse which is based on it, therefore, is not an invention imported from France, but a principle of art most deeply rooted in our being which thus—undoubtedly furthered strongly by the Romance art of song in the Middle Ages—did not become a fleeting fashion but remained the foundation of our poetry until the present day.[472]

---

[470] See Kippenberg 1962.
[471] Edward H. Roesner, Art. 'Rhythmic Modes', in: *NGrove*, vol. 21, London 2001, pp. 310–313; here, p. 310.
[472] Gennrich 1948/50, p. 140f. <32.i>

Viewed alongside Gennrich's statements about the 'glorious *Reichsfest*' and its 'noble combat', this mode of explanation says much about his style of writing and argumentation.[473] Gennrich supports his claims with romantic images of the Middle Ages when no evidence in favour of his argument survives. Arguing for the repertoire's internationality, he paints an image of the vivid interactions between courtiers at the Mainz *Hoffest* and imagines a concert-like setting before an hushed audience for the performance of *Minnesang*; arguing for the modal interpretation of *Minnesang*, Gennrich seeks his final argumentative refuge in the transnational and transhistorical prevalence of a 'rhythmic *Ur*-formation'. Gennrich similarly utilises romantic conceptions of the dark, alien Middle Ages in order to explain the rationale of certain textual topoi: 'in a time in which winter with its vicious storms, with snow and ice, and with its long nights strongly curtailed people's life and made it monotonous, the better season had to be expected with great longing, and the coming of spring had to be celebrated in style'.[474]

Gennrich's work reflects strongly the tradition of organicist thought.[475] In a discussion of the artistic development of the troubadour repertoire, he highlighted its directedness, its striving towards a full flowering:

> yet here [in Wilhelm IX's songs] is laid the foundation for the development of Occitan
> courtly song to a flowering [Blüte] of unexpected dimensions. The simple, uniform music
> of the folk song with its symmetric repetitions of a single melodic line was replaced little
> by little with a more artistic music; it was, after all, the nature of the troubadours' art to
> present something new every time, to appear before the public audience with new melodies,
> new versifications and stanza patterns. [...] This strive for originality soon produced a
> plethora of strophic forms with verses of varying lengths, with artfully alternating rhymes
> which often times were entwined in wondrous manner, and with the most varied rhythms,

---

[473] See fn. 457
[474] Gennrich 1951, p. 7. <33.c>
[475] For James Webster's study of different historiographical modes, see: James Webster, 'The Concept of Beethoven's "Early" Period in the Context of Periodizations in General', in: *BF* 3 (1994), pp. 1–27.

all of which had to sharpen the contrast to the songs of the people, which seemed monotonous in comparison, and to those of the church. Music, of course, had to keep step with the poetry, and thus the very bar form [Kanzonenform] which thereafter became the much-loved playground for Occitan song developed.[476]

The passage's metaphors of (natural) growth, diversification and competition, and bearing of fruit are akin to the Hegelian conception of organic historical development; but Gennrich's use of the term 'Blüte' also creates the expectation that this will be followed by its twin: decay.[477] Gennrich explored the notion of decay, presenting the trouvères' *puys* as a moment of artistic decadence: 'without doubt, competition had to lead to an over-emphasis on technical aspects and, ultimately, to the decay of the real art'.[478] Although Gennrich made these remarks on Romance repertoires, their applicability to *Minnesang* is asserted by Gennrich's insistence on the internationality of vernacular song in the Middle Ages and by his explicit claim that there is 'no essential difference' between Romance and German song.[479]

In addition to his evocation of stereotypically romantic images and narratives, Gennrich created a web of references to his own research, and (implicitly) constructed himself as the only, and the ideal scholar to undertake research on medieval vernacular song. Rather than representing true interdisciplinary efforts, editions by other scholars were no more than para-disciplinary: 'with few laudable exceptions, until now one has attempted the study of the text on the one hand, and of the music on the other; it was considered an ideal solution when two or three representatives of the respective disciplines came together in "joint" projects'.[480] True interdisciplinarity could be achieved only within

---

[476] Gennrich 1924/25, p. 65f. <29.a>
[477] For a discussion of Hegel's organic aesthetics, see: Songsuk Susan Hahn, *Contradiction in Motion: Hegel's Organic Concept of Life and Value*, Ithaca (NY) 2007.
[478] Gennrich 1951, p. 9. <33.d>
[479] Ibid., p. 66. <33.g>
[480] Gennrich 1948/50, p. 105. <32.a> He lists Holz/Saran/Bernoulli's edition of **J** as one such example of para-disciplinary cooperation without interdisciplinary impact: ibid.

a single person: 'in contrast, I have repeatedly expressed the opinion that only "a single"

editor, who is in command of the requisite skills from the relevant specialist disciplines,

can guarantee an interpretation adequate to the medieval artwork'.[481] This short sentence

encapsulates much of Gennrich's characteristic mode of thinking and writing: it stresses

the status of the monophonic song repertoire as art, references his own work in order to

increase his scholarly significance and to provide academic justification for his claims, and

maintains that the art work calls for an 'adequate' interpretation by an all-but omniscient

scholar who unites in himself the knowledge of disparate disciplines. Gennrich argued that

one needed much 'tact [Fingerspitzengefühl] and experience' in order to recognise

contrafacta, seeming to imply that this scholar could be no one but himself—a scholar of a

truly interdisciplinary education and research record, as well as of more experience on

contrafacture than any other scholar.[482]

Gennrich's writing abounds in attempts to raise his own profile. One example is the

decision to publish his 1951 edition with his full academic title of 'Prof. Dr.' on the cover

page.[483] Another is his claim to have made contrafacture productive for scholarship: 'this

enabled the presentation of melodies for the poems of Middle High German *Minnesang*

transmitted without notation in the manuscripts, and thus for the first time put contrafacture

into the service of academia'.[484] Gennrich edited two series of publications of medieval

music, the *Musikwissenschaftliche Studienbibliothek* (MSB) and *Summa Musica Medii

Aevi* (SMMA), in which he presented his own research and that of his students at length,

seeking to fill the apparent *lacuna* of scholarship on the music of *Minnesang*, and on

---

[481] Ibid., p. 106. <32.b>
[482] Ibid., p. 116. <32.e>
[483] Gennrich 1951. Titlepage. While it seems to have become common practice in the *Das Musikwerk* series to use the academic titles of authors, the series' first volume by Walter Georgii is not published with the latter's professorial title: Walter Georgii, *400 Jahre europäischer Klaviermusik*, Cologne [no year]. (For Georgii's academic credentials, see: http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Walter_Georgii_%28Pianist%29). This might suggest that Gennrich proposed to the editor Karl Gustav Fellerer to bestow his volume—the second in the series—with additional authority through reference to his title.
[484] Gennrich 1965b, p. 2. <35.a> See also: Gennrich 1948/50, p. 106; Gennrich 1954, p. xix.

contrafacture in particular. In 1965, he (erroneously) claimed that there was no entry on contrafacture in the then-current *MGG*1, stressing the importance of his own research on this topic.[485] There is no hesitation on Gennrich's part to consider the shift in his own research focus as intricately linked to the wider developments of the research world, and to (once more) quote his own works as having broken the deadlock on contrafacture scholarship:

> the final war years and the first years after the war brought work to a complete standstill: not only had the largest part of my library been destroyed, but public libraries too had been destroyed or moved elsewhere. Specialist books, materials for lectures and seminars were in need everywhere. This gap needed to be closed urgently. A short, summary article—based on lectures and seminars—that provided an overview of research findings in the field of contrafacture concerning German studies could therefore be published only in 1948; and, in a contribution on Perotin's conductus and Gautier de Coinci's songs, contrafacture was used for the reconstitution of the rhythm inherent in these songs.[486]

The applicability of modal rhythm to all medieval song repertoires is another 'fact' Gennrich insistently presented as firmly established by him: 'over the course of time, divergent transcriptions—in some cases with completely inappropriate methods—have been attempted. Of these I list the best known; though they have by and large only historical significance, they highlight the route that had to be taken to reach today's knowledge and to the *solution* of this quite difficult problem'.[487] While he acknowledged other scholars' roles in paving the way to his own be-all-and-end-all 'solution', he denigrated this research as of 'historical significance' only. Gennrich was interested in the scholarly discussion of *Minnesang* only insofar as it provided the framework for his own

---

[485] See Gennrich 1965b, p. v.
[486] Ibid., p. 3. <35.c>
[487] My emphasis. Gennrich 1951, p. 66. <33.f>

research and presented claims that needed to be rejected; he did not consider other scholars' work to possess an equally valid claim to a historical reality as his own.

Gennrich saw his research as seminal and superior to that of his contemporaries. The 1954 edition closes with an almost hagiographic apologia: 'if the attempt at shedding light also on the musical aspects of Middle High German song was nevertheless successful, then we have to thank for this the unfaltering, never failing activity of musicology, which leaves no resource untried to level out the lack of extant sources by a little resourcefulness'.[488] Although Gennrich ironically included himself in the readership that ought to thank musicology as a discipline for these insights into the music of *Minnesang*, it is apparent that this hagiography is really in praise of Gennrich—musicology personified.

Gennrich's self-constructed seminality did not remain unheard: Kippenberg acknowledged Gennrich's role as the father of the idea that modal theory was applicable to *Minnesang*, and Friedrich Ackermann reiterated the notion of Gennrich as the dedicated, altruistic re-discoverer of *Minnesang*: 'the fact that the melodies of *Minnesang*, insofar as they are extant at all, were made accessible only in the last decades through the life-time achievement of musicologists such as Friedrich Gennrich also points to the difficulty of our task'.[489] The dissemination of this image was furthered by Gennrich's students such as Werner Bittinger, who continued to uphold their teacher's work as ground-breaking, and who conducted their own research in areas towards which he had pointed them.[490] In 1953, Wolfgang Mohr highlighted that 'from now on, one will have to position oneself in relation to Gennrich's significant model of a canon of forms [Formenlehre] in medieval song repertoires'—Gennrich's work provided the benchmark for future scholarship.[491] James V. McMahon's 1990 publication demonstrates that Gennrich's influence endured

---

[488] Gennrich 1954, p. 22. <34.b>
[489] Friedrich Ackermann, 'Zum Verhältnis von Wort und Weise im Minnesang', in: *WW* 9 (1959), pp. 300–311; here, p. 301. See Kippenberg 1962, p. 138. <10.a>
[490] See Werner Bittinger, *Studien zur musikalischen Textkritik des mittelalterlichen Liedes*, Würzburg 1953, p. vii. For Ursula Aarburg's more problematic relationship with her teacher, see Chapter V.3.
[491] Mohr 1953b, p. 64f. <68.a>

not only during the scholar's lifetime but continues into the present, and even outside German-speaking musicology: 'because of Friedrich Gennrich's enormous output in the form of books, articles and collections of melodies, most of the transcriptions of *Minnesang* in print today are probably either modal or influenced by the modal interpretation'.[492]

While the present discussion has demonstrated the self-constructed nature of Gennrich's radiant and simultaneously looming figure, it has also shown that his work remains a fixed point in the musical study of *Minnesang*. Gennrich's elaborate conception of the world of medieval song as one of international character, modal rhythm, and a stream of artistic influences from West to East has been (partially) untangled here, and it will serve as a point of comparison for the following sections.

2. Ewald Jammers and the Art of Mediation

Ewald Jammers published his first article on the music of *Minnesang* in the same 1924/25 issue of *ZfMw* in which Gennrich proposed his theory of contrafacture.[493] The publication deals with the rhythmical and melodic features of **J**'s music and is the result of Jammers's doctoral dissertation, which he had successfully completed in 1924.[494] Jammers lists and rejects previous scholarship on *Minnesang*, arguing that the premises underlying Raphael Molitor's transcription of each note with the same duration (a quaver) and Hugo Riemann's system of reducing all melodies to four-bar phrases 'cannot be satisfactory'.[495] He continued to rally against equalistic and isometric renditions throughout his

---

[492] McMahon 1990, p. 52.
[493] Ewald Jammers, 'Untersuchungen über die Rhythmik und Melodik der Melodien in der Jenaer Liederhandschrift', in: *ZfMw* 7 (1924/25), pp. 265–304.
[494] See Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, Art. 'Jammers, Ewald (Karl Hubert Maria)', in: *NGrove*, vol. 12, London 2001b, pp. 767–768; here, p. 767.
[495] Jammers 1924/25, p. 267. <45.a>

publications.[496] His own edition of *Minnesang* melodies, published thirty-eight years after the article on **J**, once more explicitly rejected both the equalistic and the isometric models for *Minnesang*.[497]

In order to replace these 'unsatisfactory' theories of *Minnesang*'s rhythm, Jammers insisted on the artistic qualities of the melodies themselves, claiming that music and text formed a unity. Discussing the works of Wizlav von Rügen, Jammers argued that oral repertoires were characterised by the 'joint existence and composition—no art esteemed more than the other, no syllable without music, no note without text—and the joint aim of raised joy in life through this form'.[498] The union between text and music was reflected in 'the human unity of poet and musician, a unity which is so commonplace [selbstverständlich] that the musician is hardly ever mentioned'.[499] Jammers had argued in 1924/25, with great force and flowery words, that this unity established the songs of **J** as artworks: 'a historical problem for the musicologist [the union of text and music], yet an artistic one for the individual *Minnesänger*; indeed an artwork that contains only one element ought not to exist, for unity in diversity requires an underlying plurality'.[500] *Minnesang* emblematically reflected the notion of unity in diversity, and Jammers claimed that it was the unity of the rhythmic motion of texts and melodies which made *Minnesang* an art form and which distinguished it from other vocal repertoires such as chant.[501] Unlike other scholars, Jammers did not derive the unity of motion from the text's immanent rhythmic and accentual structure but from the music's Schopenhaurian Will, which he claimed had imprinted itself on the poetry and which could be retrieved by a skilful

---

[496] See ibid., p. 267f.;Jammers, 1961 #9002@138}

[497] Jammers writes: 'thus the theory of the accentuated verse with bars of equal duration proves itself as an insufficient premiss, especially viewed from this general vantage point. […] That the notion of an equalistic, plainchant-like note is insupportable need not be elucidated here in reference to the deterring example (demonstrated above)'. Ewald Jammers, *Ausgewählte Melodien des Minnesangs*, Tübingen 1963, p. 35. <48.j>

[498] Ibid., p. 12. <48.e>

[499] Ibid., p. 13. <48.f>

[500] Jammers 1924/25, p. 298. <45.l>

[501] See Jammers 1963, p. 14. He suggested that the textual and musical accent coincided particularly well in the corpus of high *Minnesang*: ibid., p. 42.

performer.[502] Though the musical Will was suppressed, it retained an impact on the performance of a song: 'these [melodic] atoms initially do not surface as motifs but are suppressed by the often quite natural inclination towards isometric renditions, yet this contradiction is felt and catalyses them as essential, autonomous elements of the effective artwork, which therefore demand recognition in performance'.[503]

Jammers constructed his narrative of musico-poetic unity and the musical Will in order to support the notion which he opposed to the equalistic and isometric models of Molitor and Riemann: melodies had an inherent rhythm which they could impose on the text—even though he acknowledged that no one had yet been able to show how exactly this might work in practice.[504] Jammers showed how the application of textual rhythm to melodies rendered identical melodic motifs with different rhythms within a single piece, highlighting the conflict between textual and musical rhythms.[505] The rhythmic model which Jammers derived from this conflict between the two diverging rhythms is complex, and vague:

> the result is a performance in quite free form, a kind of recitative, though not only in the common sense which denotes the freedom of the text from the musical bar, nor in the sense that I would imagine only a melody which did not consider the duration of the notes, but such a kind that juxtaposes equalism and diminution, isometre and individual duration and thereby gains freedom. In the end, Ambros might be closest to being proved right, as he assumes a rhapsodic performance and insofar as he calls for a mid-way solution [Mittelweg]. Yet everyone may be at liberty to feel one of the elements as dominant, as long as one takes care not to overlook the other.[506]

---

[502] See ibid., p. 17. For a brief introduction to Schopenhauer's concept of the Will, see: Peter le Huray and James Day, *Music and Aesthetics in the Eighteenth and Early-Nineteenth Centuries*, Cambridge 1981, p. 323ff.
[503] Jammers 1924/25, p. 272. <45.c>
[504] See ibid., p. 267.
[505] See ibid., p. 271. He speaks of 'two rhythmical forces' which act alongside each other. Ibid., p. 273. <45.f>
[506] Ibid., p. 275. <45.g>

Jammers's insistence on a 'mid-way solution' caused the vagueness of his rhythmic model. Earlier, Jammers hinted at the foundations of his model in a similarly nebulous manner: 'the result is, in fact, much more calming if one counts the notes that fall onto the individual verse foot—or perhaps even better, those that fall between two stresses, two "bar lines"'.[507] While it seems that Jammers is arguing for an isosyllabic approach that recognises the textual accents through the use of bars, the following sentence reveals that Jammers's concern here is more for the distribution of ligatures across a verse, which he saw as following 'a parabolic pattern, though not following any mathematical rule or being entirely regular'.[508]

The explanation of Jammers's rhythmical approach comes unexpectedly, embedded within another criticism of isometric approaches. In this instance, Jammers does not critique the metrical features of isometric renditions but, significantly, directs his criticism towards the melodic/harmonic decisions which such an approach entails:

> today it is a particular harmonic pattern, T S D T, which makes possible an eight-bar period and which forces us to reduce all deviances back to this model and to explain them with it. This harmonic pattern is alien to *Minnesang*, and thus the different melodic nature will also have to be afforded a different rhythm, perhaps a rhythm which mediates between a metrical and a non-metrical (chant-like?) system, which takes the peaks from the former, knows how to use the metrical building blocks provided by the text, but also transcends beyond these, secures the de-emphasis of the line ending used in the former—either taking its departure from a main ictus, or leading into it as a 'dim.'—yet avoids the weakening after the first main accent at the beginning, and takes rise from this as its anchor point. The essential terms of this rhythmic system consequently are not 'thesis' and 'response',

---

[507] Ibid., p. 273. <45.d>
[508] Ibid. <45.e>

possibly also not those of chant which are yet unknown to us, but 'conflict' and 'resolution'.[509]

Jammers's rhythmic concept is not *arbitrarily* vague, but is so by design: the rhythmic vagueness derives directly from its mediatory function. Because the songs as a whole mediate between text and music, Jammers argued, so must their rhythm.

Jammers distinguished three types of verse, which he aligned with particular repertoires: Latin verse was essentially metrical, Germanic verse was accentuating, and psalmody he saw as concerned with the counting of syllables.[510] All three types of verse converged in medieval Germany, where the dominance of Christian culture led to an emphasis on the syllable counting verse of psalmody and its characteristic motion directed towards the end of a verse.[511] The rhythm which Jammers suggested for *Minnesang* mediates between the three systems by integrating metrical and accentuated features into an isosyllabic pattern. Discussing the *Sprüche* in **J**, he argued that 'the simple flow of the syllabic verse with no differentiation of syllable lengths is preferable. Individual melismas on upbeats, before the flow gets started, are unproblematic'.[512] Elsewhere, he argued a similar case:

from this, consequences for the rhythm of the *Sprüche* undoubtedly follow, which is likely to have been similar to that of psalmody or the recitation of chant—of course not the psalmody of today; for the latter's rhythm would destroy the verse and, worse still, the text's accents—as the case of Molitor has shown. One will, instead, have to assume not the equal duration of notes, but of syllables, with the exception of the final cadences of

---

[509] Ibid., p. 285. <45.i>

[510] See Ewald Jammers, 'Der Vers der Trobadors und Trouvères und die deutschen Kontrafakten', in: *Medium Aevum Vivum: Festschrift für Walther Bulst*, ed. by Hans Robert Jauss and Dieter Schaller, Heidelberg 1960, pp. 147–160; here, p. 148. For another example of this distinction, see: Jammers 1963, p. 35.

[511] See Jammers 1963, p. 37.

[512] Ibid., p. 88. <48.n>

course: one might say that the movement of the verses overwhelmes and floods the desired ending.[513]

In order to support his theory, Jammers provided evidence beyond the (esoteric) arguments about unity and mediation. With reference to the medieval ontology of music as expressed by theorists such as Johannes de Grocheio, he claimed that song mirrored music's abstract mathematic, rational qualities: 'not the distinctive aspect is important, not the real is true; the terminological is true, that which can be argued by rationality is true'.[514] Rephrasing this claim, he maintained that 'by far the most essential element of this music and its playing with forms is the concept of number'.[515] Jammers's emphasis on number and isosyllabism anticipated the seminal research on medieval song repertoires undertaken by John Stevens later in the twentieth century.[516] Rochus von Liliencron had already proposed a rhythmic rendition of *Minnesang* closely akin to isosyllabism in 1894, even though he considered the repertoire in general to represent 'worldly chorales of Gregorian style: […] the individual syllable is thus generally set to a single note or 2–3 notes of approximately the same overall duration, as is common in the sequences and in the Latin hymns of the church'.[517] Jammers modified Liliencron's idea, heeding Heinrich Rietsch's proposition that the smallest note value may only be one value smaller than the shortest syllable in order to avoid melismas with infinitessimally small note values.[518]

As this suggests, Jammers was aware of a range of scholarship on *Minnesang* and sought to integrate it into his own ideas. Although Gennrich's insistence on modal rhythm may seem alien to Jammers's ideas of a flexible isosyllabic system, the latter nonetheless

---

[513] Ewald Jammers, 'Minnesang und Choral', in: *Festschrift Heinrich Besseler zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. by Eberhardt Klemm, Leipzig 1961, pp. 137–147; here, p. 141. <47.b>

[514] Jammers 1963, p. 20. <48.g>

[515] Ibid., p. 21. <48.h>

[516] See ibid., p. 23; Stevens 1986.

[517] Rochus von Liliencron, 'Aus dem Grenzgebiete der Litteratur und Musik: II. Die Jenaer Minnesängerhandschrift', in: *ZfvL* 7 (1894), pp. 252–263; here, p. 258. <62.a>

[518] See Heinrich Rietsch, 'Einige Leitsätze für das ältere deutsche einstimmige Lied', in: *ZfMw* 6 (1923), pp. 1–15; here, p. 6.

attempted to mediate between the two approaches, stressing the validity of Gennrich's ideas: 'there is, in fact, no doubt that the rhythmic modes played a vital role in Occitan, French, and indeed—even if in competition with other rhythmic systems—in German *Minnesang*'.[519] Jammers was able to bring together all of these ideas of rhythm by advocating the use of numerous, flexible theories rather than adhering to one strict system.[520]

Despite Jammers's claim that rhythm was more essential to *Minnesang* than tonality, his work did not concentrate solely on the decipherment of the repertoire's rhythmic features.[521] While the melodic structure of *Minnesang* may be considered tonal, Jammers argued, it should not be equated with the modern system of major/minor. Discussing the increased use of fifths in **J**, he noted that 'an understanding as a first moment of a new tonal system might be viable, as long as one does not have in mind today's major with its dominant and subdominant. This instance of 'major' is no more than a hearing recognition of chordal patterns [akkordisches Hören], a latent but very primitive type of harmony which still faces the problem of interpreting the notes beyond these tonic chords'.[522] He claimed, instead, that 'the *Minnesänger* made use of the so called church modes'.[523]

Jammers was particularly interested in the function and use of ligatures and extended melismas in *Minnesang*. Ligatures influenced his rhythmic system, and Jammers also held a melodic and structural interest in them.[524] In a discussion of three- and four-

---

[519] Jammers 1961, p. 145. <47.c> See also his earlier comment that 'one will hardly be able to doubt' the role of the rhythmic modes in *Minnesang*. Ibid., p. 138. <47.a> Contrary to McMahon's claim, this demonstrates that Jammers had taken on board ideas of modal rhythm before 1963: McMahon 1990, p. 57.

[520] See, for example, Jammers 1963, p. 32.

[521] See ibid., p. 29.

[522] Jammers 1924/25, p. 297. <45.k> Wiegand Stief erroneously understood Jammers's comments about the tonality of *Spruch* melodies to refer to major/minor: Wiegand Stief, 'Die Melodien des Minnesangs als Spiegel verschollener Volkslieder?', in: *SMH* 15 (1973), pp. 245–265; here, p. 248.

[523] Jammers 1924/25, p. 285. <45.j>

[524] See especially his chapter titled 'Das Melisma' in: Jammers 1963, p. 52ff. With a total of eight pages, this chapter is equally long as the chapter in which Jammers lays out his theory regarding the syllable counting verse, and longer than those on the unity of text and music, or the music's general features: ibid., p. 5.

note ligatures in the *Sprüche* of **J**, he observed that 'the ornamental character is even more prominent here [than in the two-note ligatures]. The figures all but force themselves upon the music as auxiliary or passing notes […]. Of these, the first two [climacus, scandicus], too, can be understood as turns or trills if one takes into consideration the ligature's relation to the preceding or following note. The same is true of a large number of the four-note ligatures. Of these, too, many can be understood as turns'.[525] The melisma has a mediatory function for Jammers: while most scholars would consider it a melodic feature, he argued that 'one must […] study in the melisma an important element of medieval rhythm'.[526] At the same time, while not constituting melodies in themselves, melismas also provided moments of *melodic* intensification and expansion.[527]

In a similar vein, Jammers nuanced Gennrich's proposition of a wholesale internationalism of medieval Europe, and proposed the strong connection between the rhythmic and melodic models used by the troubadours and the *Minnesänger*, and in his 1924/25 publication opposed them to those of the trouvères. Like Gennrich, Jammers made references to architectural analogies in order to support his claim:

in Northern France, the home of the Gothic style, the trouvères found a new solution: rhythmically the use of the modes, and melodically the interpretation of cadences in an harmonic manner (Beck, at least, proposes the occurrence of plagal and authentic cadences), both of which may be related to the true use of harmony, polyphony, and both of which are solutions that suggest a comparision with the Gothic style (with which they are contemporaneous?); the solution of the troubadours and the Germans, on the other hand, I would want to compare to the so-called transitional style [Übergangsstil] which afforded the builders such tremendous possibilities, loosening the strict rules of the Romanesque style and adding to the Romanesque motifs already-Gothic ones—(if such an analogy, the problems of which I do not fail to observe, be granted to me, I would indeed like to

---

[525] Jammers 1924/25, p. 270. <45.b>
[526] Jammers 1963, p. 52. <48.k>
[527] See ibid., p. 53.

consider the singular case of the Laacher church as the best comparison for the system of compromise adapted by the Jena masters: here, the rounded arches and square plan are maintained, according to the possibilities of the vaulting, and yet the spans in the side naves are as long while approximately half as broad as those of the central nave).[528]

Despite Jammers's general acknowledgement of the Middle Ages as international, however, he drew attention to the rhythmical problems that arose when a Romance melody became a German-texted contrafactum:

contrafacta can lead either to a systemic shift (upbeat–paroxytonic ending) or to linguistic contradictions. In any case, these are not *true* contrafacta; for a systemic shift destroys the melodic shape, destroys the very appeal of the Romance melody, and this is true even if all notes retain their pitch. Yet who guarantees that this is still the case if such a modification is made in the rhythm? Or can we believe that a melody, a melody that is performed from memory, is independent in its form from its rhythm?[529]

Jammers understands this question as rhetorical—the intended answer is 'no!'—as is apparent from the article's opening paragraph. Here, he critiques the notion of 'true' and (presumably) 'false' contrafacta, questioning whether a true contrafactum in which the melodic shape was not altered was even conceivable, leading the reader into a similar rhetorical question: 'it will, instead, be considered here from a broad perspective whether and to which degree of intactness a Romance melody could be copied. By no means do I intend to doubt the value of the search for such melodic models; they allow us to imagine *Minnesang* melodies. Yet are these the songs' *true* melodies?'[530] This complex language and the affirmation of other scholars' work, despite voicing disagreement with them, are

---

[528] Jammers 1924/25, p. 299. <45.m> For the measurements of the Laach Münster, see: Adalbert Schippers and Theodor Bogler (OSB), *Das Laacher Münster*, Cologne 1967, p. 58.
[529] My emphasis. Jammers 1960, p. 153f. <46.b>
[530] My emphasis. Ibid., p. 147. <46.a>

characteristic of Jammers's mediatory style.[531] Elsewhere, Jammers used another analogy to architecture to 'critique his own critique' of contrafacture: although the reception of Romance lyric in Germany may have been delayed, like that of architecture, 'there is no doubt that the early *Minnesänger* imitated Romance models, and this suggests strongly that they also imitated the melodies'.[532]

His acknowledgement of contrafacture notwithstanding, Jammers proposed another, different perspective on the repertoire. Turning away from the internationality of medieval culture, he asserted its essential regionalism and localism, maintaining this argument in respect to the influence of localised chant traditions on vernacular song repertoires in particular: 'looking back, it cannot be refuted that the impact of Gregorian chant proper as well as that of the hymn of ancient form falls significantly short of that of the Gallican practice and what continues of it in medieval chant'.[533]

A further issue repeatedly discussed by Jammers is the generic classification of *Spruch* and *Lied*. Again, Jammers's opinion was not fixed and necessitated mediation. In 1924/25 Jammers commented that, regarding their rhythm, 'the *Lieder* seem […] different, not essentially, but only in degree' from the *Sprüche*.[534] In contrast to this assessment, he later claimed that *Lied* and *Spruch* (and *Leich*) were musically distinct genres: 'the music can show that the role of the *Spruch* poet is different from that of the *Lied* poet and, of course, of the *Leich* poet'.[535] Jammers consequently ordered his edition by genre, discussing the various genres in individual subsections in his commentary.[536] Studying the *Lied*, he restated this generic distinction explicitly: 'the *Lied* has a musically different

---

[531] His statement on the search for melodies refers explicitly to publications by Ursula Aarburg and Gennrich, see: ibid., p. 147 (fn. 141).

[532] Jammers 1963, p. 96. <48.p>

[533] Jammers 1961, p. 147. <47.d>

[534] Jammers 1924/25, p. 275 (fn. 273). <45.h> Gennrich voiced a similar opinion on the problematic differentiation between *Lied* and *Spruch*: Friedrich Gennrich, 'Melodien Walthers von der Vogelweide', in: *ZfdA* 79 (1942), pp. 24–48; here, p. 26f.

[535] Jammers 1963, p. 67. <48.l>

[536] See ibid., p. 68.

appearance [Gestalt] than the *Spruch*; this is immediately apparent to anyone who browses through **J'**.[537] Jammers's position appears to contradict his own, earlier claims, yet—when studied carefully—there is no contradiction, for he argues that the musical *appearance* of the two genres was different, while their *rhythm* was very similar.

This example lucidly displays Jammers's holistic, yet finely detailed approach to *Minnesang* as an artwork. His arguments are nuanced and flexible, unlike those of Gennrich, which are bold and universalising. The argumentative style which Jammers (consciously?) adopted is representative of his image of the *Minnesänger*'s art—an observation which should caution scholars against skim-reading through Jammers's (or any other scholar's) work, and which demonstrates the benefit of comparing disparate pieces of discourse from a single scholar's output with one another: even academics may change their opinions or nuance their views.

Jammers's writing displays a strong awareness of methodological and disciplinary issues, and his problematisation of architecture as an analogy to music is just one of many examples.[538] Another is his consideration of editorial practices. In the introduction to his 1963 edition, Jammers listed previous editions of *Minnesang* by Aarburg, Gennrich, Maurer, Müller-Blattau, Reichert, and Salmen, arguing that all of these were too selective to present a comprehensive picture.[539] In particular, he noted that the personalised nature of any kind of edition (presumably including his own) made it impossible for users to distinguish between fact and fiction.[540] Although Jammers argued that a complete edition of *Minnesang* was now needed, he retreated from this task, explaining that his edition was intended as a book of representative case studies: 'the present edition, of course, does not claim to be a complete one, nor a text critical edition; it merely wants to present examples

---

[537] Ibid., p. 93. <48.o>
[538] See fn. 528.
[539] See Jammers 1963, p. xi.
[540] See ibid.

which show the texts in their manifold realisations alongside the music'.[541] Despite the problems which the subjective nature of any edition entailed, Jammers insisted on the necessity of editions: 'yet it were a cowardly flight if the scholar left it to the non-professional to decipher the melodies'.[542] In the case of his edition, this 'lay audience' was both the philologist, to whom Jammers directly addressed his study, and the performer, who would otherwise sing the repertoire from facsimiles.[543]

Jammers was concerned not only with the grander ideology of edition making, but also with the practical consequences any methodology might entail, insisting on the oral nature of *Minnesang*: '*Minnesang* is, in fact, an art which needs writing neither for its performance nor for its production; an art that was heard and not read'.[544] He criticised Aarburg's methods and emphasised that no *Urtext* could be reached in an edition of medieval song.[545] The use of hand-written rather than typeset musical imprints tellingly reflects his rejection of authoritative editions. As a purely visual comparison of editions of 'Der kuninc Rodolp' by Gennrich and Jammers shows, the former's typeset representation gives the impression of a well-crafted authorial edition, while the latter's use of hand-writing suggests the rendition's flexibility (Figure 17).[546]

---

[541] Ibid., p. xif. <48.a>
[542] Ibid., p. xii. <48.b>
[543] See ibid.
[544] Ibid., p. 9. <48.c> Thomas Cramer has most strongly critiqued the idea of *Minnesang*'s performance, and called for its consideration as poetry for *reading* ('Lesedichtung'): Cramer 1998.
[545] He writes: 'one expects of a melody edition that it reveals the music's original form and offers it to the readers. For text editions this is a matter of course; for our music, however, this is far from being a given, indeed it is rather impossible'. Jammers 1963, p. 69. <48.m> For Aarburg's notion of an *Urtext*, see Chapter V.3.
[546] More editions of this song are discussed in Chapter IV.2; like the editions discussed there, Gennrich's and Jammers's renditions differ in their rhythmic interpretation, their choice of key-signature/accidentals, clef, layout by poetic line, orthography, and notation of the repeated *Stollen*.

Figure 17: Gennrich's and Jammers's editions of 'Der kuninc Rodolp'[547]

A final concern found in Jammers's work, but not elaborated by Gennrich, is performance. Jammers's edition contains concrete advice to performers, and supports it with medieval theory. Re-emphasising his claim to the importance of number, Jammers was careful to note that 'the dominance of the sung voice meant that the intellectual

---

[547] Gennrich 1951, p. 58; Jammers 1963, p. 179f.

subordinated actual sound'.[548] Although *Minnesang* was a monophonic artform which was performed soloistically, he explicitly advocated the use of drones in order to make the intellectual number, which would have been understood by medieval performers and audiences, audible to their modern counterparts.[549] In his characteristically ambidextrous style of argumentation, he stressed that it was essential to bear in mind the sounding music even if the edition was not intended primarily for performers (but for philologists).[550] What follows is a direct instruction for the performance of *Minnesang*: 'the performance should be steady, and be executed line by line. One ought to avoid—especially in the *Sprüche*—a rigidly measured [taktmäßig] performance!'[551] The conscious use of imperative constructions, including an exclamation mark, illustrates the seriousness with which Jammers considered matters of performance. The last piece of advice which Jammers's edition gives performers is, significantly, much less exhortative, and once more re-iterates his claim that there could be no definitive understanding of *Minnesang*, and that anyone's main aim should be its enlightened enjoyment:

> moreover, it would be best to start with the *Meistersinger*, or with Romance lyric in the case of the *Lied*, in order to then relish the regular textual accent of the repertoire's high-point as an exhilarating addition. It should be noted that there was no bel-canto ideal back then; rather, one sang with a forced, unnatural voice. And one should be aware that one can produce only an intimation [of the song], since one no longer sings as a nobleman or minstrel before a medieval gathering. Therefore, one should instead put one's efforts into experiencing, and letting the audience experience, the songs' form.[552]

---

[548] Jammers 1963, p. 24. <48.i>
[549] See ibid., p. 24f.
[550] 'In general, this edition is not intended for performance use; yet it were a grave mistake had the editor not thought of the sounding music, the performance, at every single moment'. Ibid., p. 132. <48.q> He had pointed to philologists as the audience for his work in the preface: ibid., p. xii.
[551] Ibid., p. 133. <48.r>
[552] Ibid., p. 134. <48.s>

Jammers's championing of flexibility, his consideration of performance, and his mediation between various scholars, disciplines, and methods have been noted by Kippenberg and Mohr. Kippenberg remarked that Jammers was the first to move away from any fixed rhythmical system, praising him for his criticism of editorial methodologies and his concern for the repertoire's performance.[553] Alluding to Jammers's awareness of other scholars' work, Mohr characterised his theories, in remarkable wording, as 'mediated [besonnen] thoughts'.[554] This striking phrase seems to have caught Kippenberg's attention as he reiterated it, noting however that Mohr appeared to be unique in his positive valuation of Jammers's sincerity.[555] Kippenberg shared Mohr's praise of Jammers and presented him as the last scholar to publish a large-scale study of *Minnesang*—in the face of the evidence that Gennrich's monograph on contrafacture was published two years *after* Jammers's 1963 edition—lauding his studies as progressive: 'as the comparison of a melody in Taylor's and Jammers's editions shows, on the whole, one may speak of the latter as a remarkable step forward'.[556]

Despite its laudable progressiveness, Jammers's work on *Minnesang* remained without further impact, attributed by Kippenberg to a lack of clarity and the too abstract nature of Jammers's writing (Table 12).[557] A telling indicator for this lack of impact is the fact that there is currently no entry on Jammers in the English version of the online encyclopedia Wikipedia; the German site added an entry on Jammers as recently as 10 May 2013.[558] As demonstrated in this section, Jammers's style indeed relied heavily on nuanced argumentation that may seem incompatible and contradictory—and which may, at times, remain thus even after closer scrutiny. Readers used to the bold claims and broad pen of Gennrich's writing may have been put off by this less upfront and more relativistic

---

[553] See Kippenberg 1962, p. 89.
[554] Mohr 1953b, p. 68 (fn. 18). <68.d>
[555] See Kippenberg 1962, p. 90.
[556] Kippenberg 1971, p. 92. <53.b>
[557] See Kippenberg 1962, p. 89.
[558] http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ewald_Jammers.

style. The scarcity of reference to Jammers in Gennrich's publications suggests that Gennrich, too, did not wish to unmesh Jammers's complex arguments.[559]

Year	Title	in *Journal*/**Monograph**
1924/1925	Untersuchungen über die Rhythmik der Melodien in der Jenaer Liederhandschrift (Studies of Rhythm in the Melodies of the Jena Songbook)	*ZfMw* 7
1960	Der Vers der Trobadors und Trouvères und die deutschen Kontrafakten (Troubadour and Trouvère Verse, and the German Contrafacta)	Fs. Walther Bulst
1961	Minnesang und Choral (*Minnesang* and Chant)	Fs. Besseler (60)
1963	Ausgewählte Melodien des Minnesangs (Select Melodies of *Minnesang*)	-
1965	Das königliche Liederbuch des deutschen Minnesangs: eine Einführung in die sogenannte Manessische Handschrift (The Royal Songbook of German *Minnesang*: an Introduction to the So-Called Codex Manesse)	-
1972	Anmerkungen zur Musik Wizlaws von Rügen (Comments on Wizlav von Rügen's Music)	Fs. Wolfgang Schmieder
1979	Die sangbaren Melodien zu Dichtungen der Manessischen Liederhandschrift (The Singable Melodies to Texts of the Codex Manesse)	-
1981	Die Manessische Liederhandschrift und die Musik (The Codex Manesse and Music)	Codex Manesse (facsimile commentary)

Table 12: Selection of Jammers's publications on *Minnesang*

At least two further reasons for Jammers's lack of impact can be made out. Jammers did not publish as much on *Minnesang* as Gennrich. While one might assume that the gap in Jammers's academic output between 1924/25 and 1960 was necessitated by World War II, and that this time was taken up by the study of individual composers' oeuvres as in the case of Gennrich, a brief study of Jammers's bibliography negates this assumption.[560] Rather than continuing the work undertaken in his doctoral thesis, Jammers

---

[559] Jammers is listed neither in the index nor the bibliography to Gennrich's study of contrafacture: Gennrich 1965b, p. ixff. and 273ff.
[560] See Eggebrecht, Art. 'Jammers, Ewald (Karl Hubert Maria)', p. 767f.

turned towards the study of chant and the history of notation. Only in 1956 did Jammers return to German repertoires, with studies of Hugo von Montfort and German song around 1400.[561] Jammers's only further publications on *Minnesang* listed by Eggebrecht are the edition of 1963, and his study of **C**.[562] Although Eggebrecht's bibliography misses at least three of Jammers's later publications on *Minnesang*—his 1972 study of Wizlav, his 1979 edition of melodies for the texts of **C**, and his 1981 publication on **C**—the strong emphasis on chant in Jammers's output demonstrates that (German) vernacular song was not the sole interest of his research.[563] Whereas Gennrich was also interested in Romance song repertoires, a field that included many renowned scholars who also showed a (marginal) interest in *Minnesang*, Jammers's co-researchers in chant studies would rarely have been interested in *Minnesang*.

Secondly, Jammers never held a full university professorship. He worked as a librarian at the Saxon State Library in Dresden (*Sächsische Landesbibliothek*) between 1927 and 1946, as a grammar school teacher in Bergheim between 1946 and 1950, and then worked at the Düsseldorf State and Civic Library (*Landes- und Stadtbibliothek*) for two years, from where he moved to the Heidelberg University Library (*Universitätsbibliothek*) in 1951 until his retirement in 1962.[564] The only academic position held by Jammers was an honorary professorship at the University of Heidelberg from 1956 onwards.[565] Gennrich, in contrast, held a professorship at Frankfurt am Main for much of

---

[561] Ewald Jammers, 'Deutsche Lieder um 1400', in: *AM* 28 (1956a), pp. 28–54; Ewald Jammers, 'Die Melodien Hugos von Montfort', in: *AfMw* 13 (1956b), pp. 217–236.

[562] See Eggebrecht, Art. 'Jammers, Ewald (Karl Hubert Maria)', p. 767f.

[563] See Ewald Jammers, 'Anmerkungen zur Musik Wizlaws von Rügen', in: *Quellenstudien zur Musik: Wolfgang Schmieder zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. by Kurt Dorfmüller and Georg von Dadelsen, Frankfurt 1972, pp. 103–114; Ewald Jammers, *Die sangbaren Melodien zu Dichtungen der Manessischen Liederhandschrift*, Wiesbaden 1979. For some of Jammers's work on chant, see: Ewald Jammers, *Der gregorianische Rhythmus: antiphonale Studien*, Strasbourg 1937; Ewald Jammers, *Der mittelalterliche Choral: Art und Herkunft*, Mainz 1954; Ewald Jammers, *Das Alleluia in der gregorianischen Messe: eine Studie über seine Entwicklung*, Münster (Westfalen) 1973.

[564] See Eggebrecht, Art. 'Jammers, Ewald (Karl Hubert Maria)', p. 767.

[565] See ibid.

his academic career (between 1934 and 1964).[566] While this does not in any way devalue Jammers's academic achievements, it provides an explanation as to why his ideas did not find their way into the present musicological canon. His lack of 'status' would have excluded him from the inner circles of German musicology, which remains a strongly hierarchical system to the present day. Not having studied with a prestigious early music scholar for his doctorate, but with Ludwig Schiedermair (whose main interests lay in opera and Viennese Classicism), meant that Jammers would have not had a flying-start introduction to the early music world comparable to Gennrich's fostering by Friedrich Ludwig.[567] Schiedermair's great influence as president of the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft* (amongst other functions) during the Third Reich, also makes it probable that Jammers would not have been keen to mention his academic lineage after the end of World War II.[568] Jammers's absence from academic circles and his lack of a university teaching post meant that, unlike Gennrich, he did not have a large number of students who would continue to engage with his ideas, keeping them present in scholarly discourse. Yet while Jammers's outsider position as a librarian had a negative influence on his scholarly impact, it also provided the basis for his awareness of other scholars' work which enabled the characteristic mediatory approach of his work.

---

[566] See Bent, Art. 'Gennrich, Friedrich', p. 653.

[567] It is interesting to note that Jammers, who strongly disagreed with Riemann's ideas, was indirectly connected to him through Schiedermair, who had studied with Riemann in Leipzig. Through Schiedermair, Jammers was also linked to Eduard Bernoulli, since both had studied with Kretzschmar in Berlin. For more information on Schiedermair, see: Edith B. Schnapper and Pamela M. Potter, Art. 'Schiedermair, Ludwig', in: *NGrove*, vol. 22, London 2001, pp. 496–497.

[568] See ibid., p. 496f. Note, however, that the involvement with the National Socialist regime did not harm Gennrich's academic career post-World War II: Peter Sühring, 'Mitmachen und widerstehen: zur misslungenen Doppelstrategie des Friedrich Gennrich im Jahre 1940', in: *Musikforschung, Faschismus, Nationalsozialismus: Referate der Tagung Schloss Engers (8. bis 11. März 2000)*, ed. by Isolde von Foerster, Christoph Hust and Christoph-Hellmut Mahling, Mainz 2001, pp. 405–414. Jammers's career move after the end of the War appears not to have been the result of the *Entnazifizierung*. In contrast to his teacher's political ties during the Third Reich, Jammers later stated that he had never been member of the NSDAP, SA, or SS, and had been 'endangered in his existence': Thomas Bürger, 'Dresdner Bibliothekare – emigriert, geflohen, geblieben: Briefe der Nachkriegszeit aus dem Nachlass von Ewald Jammers (Teil 2)', in: *SLUB* 21 (2/2007), pp. 13–15; here, p. 13. <23.a>

3. Ursula Aarburg: Musical Grammar and the Search for the *Urtext*

While Ursula Aarburg's output on *Minnesang* is neither as comprehensive as Gennrich's—notably lacking substantial monographs—nor as intricate as Jammers's, there are three main reasons why it is worth studying on its own terms in the present dissertation (Table 13).

(1) The issues Aarburg discusses cannot be found as prominently in the work of other scholars. As an appendix to Hennig Brinkmann's text edition, she published twenty-seven melodies in 1956, proposing the *Urtext* method as fruitful for *Minnesang* research. Closely related to her search for *Urtexte*, Aarburg raised questions of musical style and competed with Gennrich's work on modal rhythm and contrafacture.

(2) Aarburg's work has received significantly less attention than that of Gennrich, Jammers, and others (such as Ronald J. Taylor). There is no entry dedicated to her in *NGrove*, and her name cannot be found in the encyclopaedia's index volume.[569] There is no Wikipedia page on Aarburg, nor an entry in *MGG*1 or *MGG*2.[570] Kippenberg's *NGrove* entry on *Minnesang* mentions Aarburg only fleetingly within a list of scholars who furthered research on contrafacture, and fails to reference her above-mentioned edition in the bibliography—though, ironically, it includes Brinkmann's text volume among the 'major text editions'.[571] Aarburg's lack of recognition by recent scholarship is contrasted by her estimation by contemporaries: she supplied the subject entries on **J** and Walther von

---

[569] A search for 'Aarburg' in the online version of *NGrove* references her name in five entries (Hartmann von Aue, Dietmar von Aist, Heinrich von Morungen, *Minnesang*, and *Lai*), and in three subject bibliographies (Borrowing, Plainchant, and Organum).
[570] Correct as of 30 September 2013.
[571] Kippenberg, Art. 'Minnesang', p. 726 and 728ff. Other multidisciplinary editorial projects—such as Holz/Saran/Bernoulli's—are listed by Kippenberg under the heading 'major music editions' and reference all contributors.

der Vogelweide in *MGG*1, and the same encyclopaedia's 1961 entry on *Minnesang* references her works comprehensively—including the 1956 edition.[572]

(3) Aarburg was one of only few female musicologists working within the male-dominated world of (German) musicology in the mid-twentieth century, making her work of interest not only for its ideas, but also for its reception by Aarburg's male colleagues. One may wonder why, for example, *NGrove* has an—albeit short—entry on another *grande dame* of post-World War II German musicology, Ursula Günther, as well as on one of today's figureheads of English musicology, Margaret Bent, but not on Aarburg.[573] Despite this curious lack of estimation—if the *New Grove* may be taken as a relevant indicator of this—it seems essential in twenty-first-century musicology to take into consideration the opinions voiced by a female scholar as much as those voiced by her male colleagues.[574]

---

[572] See Aarburg, Art. 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift'. Ursula Aarburg, Art. 'Walther von der Vogelweide', in: *MGG1*, vol. 14, Kassel 1968, cols 216–219. Heinrich Husmann, Art. 'Minnesang', in: *MGG1*, vol. 9, Kassel 1961, cols 351–363. The bibliography to this entry, prepared by Heinz Becker, contains references to eight of Aarburg's works.

[573] One such reason might be that Aarburg's scholarly output remained slender (mainly due to her early death), in contrast to Günther's and Bent's wealth of publications; see Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, Art. 'Günther, Ursula', in: *NGrove*, vol. 10, London 2001a, pp. 588–589; Andrew Wathey, Art. 'Bent, Margaret (Hilda)', in: *NGrove*, vol. 3, London 2001.

[574] Most recently, Sally Macarthur has explored the impact feminism and the study of women's music have had on musicology, see: Sally Macarthur, *Towards a Twenty-First-Century Feminist Politics of Music*, Farnham 2010. Especially chapter 4.

Year	Title	in *Journal*/Monograph
1950	Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Motiv und Tonart im mittelalterlichen Liede, insbesondere im Liede um 1200 (Interrelations between Motif and Key in Medieval Song, with Special Focus on Song ca. 1200)	Congress report GfM 1950
1956	Singweisen zur Liebeslyrik der deutschen Frühe (Melodies to Love Lyrics of Early *Minnesang*)	-
1956	Jenaer Liederhandschrift	*MGG*1
1956/57	Melodien zum frühen deutschen Minnesang: eine kritische Bestandsaufnahme (Melodies of Early German *Minnesang*: a Critical Stock-Taking)	*ZfdA* 87
1957	Muster für die Edition mittelalterlicher Liedmelodien (Model for the Edition of Medieval Song Melodies)	*Mf* 10
1958	Wort und Weise im Wiener Hofton (Text and Melody in the Wiener Hofton)	*ZfdA* 88
1958	Walthers Goldene Weise	*Mf* 11
1961	Melodien zum frühen deutschen Minnesang: eine kritische Bestandsaufnahme (Melodies of Early German *Minnesang*: a Critical Stock-Taking)	Der deutsche Minnesang: Aufsätze zu seiner Erforschung
1967	Probleme um die Melodien des Minnesangs (Problems Concerning the Melodies of *Minnesang*)	*DU* 19
1968	Walther von der Vogelweide	*MGG*1

Table 13: Selection of Aarburg's publications on *Minnesang*

Aarburg presented her concern for musical style in prominent position in 1957, implying the need for such a grammar by presenting its lack as a defect: 'research on medieval melodies suffers from a deficiency: even today, we do not possess any coherent knowledge of the musical style and the musical development of these songs'.[575] Ten years later, Aarburg made another emphatic call for the study of *Minnesang*'s musical features, implying that not much had been achieved since her earlier article:

> the regularities of the medieval melodic language, which could be demonstrated here in merely cursory manner, its pool of formulas (their topoi, so to speak) and their varied application, combination, and melodic constructivity have been studied very little up to now, especially regarding secular song. Knowledge of them will not only facilitate an

---

[575] Ursula Aarburg, 'Muster für die Edition mittelalterlicher Liedmelodien', in: *Mf* 10 (1957b), pp. 209–217; here, p. 209. <5.a>

understanding of these melodies, but also aid musical text criticism, and will be able to enlighten the complexities of the relationship between text and music.[576]

Though she does not use the term 'grammar' [Grammatik], Aarburg's appeal to 'regularities' of a 'musical *language*' makes clear her concern for the workings of medieval song.

Her strong interest in the style, if not 'grammar', of *Minnesang* was not without precedent. Hans Joachim Moser already noted in 1924 that

> we have come nowhere near reaching an overview of the styles [Stilkunde] employed in the secular music of the Middle Ages that digs deeper than only to the notational differences and the alternative between the church modes on the one hand, and major and minor on the other. Nonetheless, this has to be achieved sooner or later; we need to come into possession of a book (as a volume in the *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Deutschland* series for example) which unites the extant melodies of the circa 190 Middle High German *Lieder* and six *Leiche* before 1300, so up to and including Frauenlob, sets them to the best emended texts, and scrutinises them using all methods of critical musicology.[577]

Gennrich, too, had acknowledged the need for a consideration of medieval musical style, for example in his call for 'a profound study of the music of the Middle Ages[:] a familiarity with modern music is by no means sufficient'.[578]

The profound disappointment about her edition (which she had been preparing since at least 1950), prompted by the restrictions imposed by the publishers on her exploration of *Minnesang*'s music, provided the backdrop for Aarburg's overall, negative assessment of musicology's achievements concerning *Minnesang*, including the failure to

---

[576] Aarburg 1967, p. 116. <7.h>
[577] Hans Joachim Moser, 'Musikalische Probleme des deutschen Minnesangs', in: *Bericht über den musikwissenschaftlichen Kongreß in Basel*, ed. by W. Merian, Leipzig 1925, pp. 259–269; here, p. 259f. <71.a>
[578] Gennrich 1948/50, p. 129. <32.g>

establish a musical grammar of medieval song ('intrinsic rules') and to understand the repertoire's rhetoric ('style'):

> another problem is that the study of medieval song melodies remains in its early stages despite some commendable groundwork: the unheighted neumes cannot yet be deciphered, the interpretation of rhythm is—with few exceptions—contradictory and without common ground, an adequate text critical method has so far neither been developed nor practiced, and a comprehensive knowledge of the intrinsic rules for melodic lines, not to speak of a guide to the musical style of medieval song, is not available.[579]

Regardless of any setbacks, however, Aarburg insisted on the history of styles as one of musicology's main aims: 'perhaps, one day, the important question of which impact the melodic styles of medieval art song [*Kunstlied*] asserted on the following centuries can then be addressed'.[580]

The study of grammar, Aarburg argued, had suffered from the lack of *Urtexte* which would provide a solid foundation for any study of *Minnesang*. She noted that 'there are no *Urtexte*; in fact, the extant melodic transmission post-dates the composition by decades and often by more than a century'.[581] The academic reconstruction of such *Urtexte*, in turn, was hindered not only by the repertoire's orality, but by the lack of solid knowledge about its musical characteristics: 'such precise [text critical] comments can be made only on the basis of the most detailed knowledge of stylistic idiosyncrasies and

---

[579] Ursula Aarburg, 'Melodien zum frühen deutschen Minnesang: eine kritische Bestandsaufnahme', in: *ZfdA* 87 (1956/57), pp. 24–45; here, p. 24. <3.a> Aarburg references her 1956 edition as in preparation as early as 1950: Ursula Aarburg, 'Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Motiv und Tonart im mittelalterlichen Liede, insbesondere im Liede um 1200', in: *Kongress-Bericht Gesellschaft für Musikforschung Lüneburg 1950*, ed. by Hans Albrecht, Helmuth Osthoff and Walter Wiora, Kassel 1950, pp. 62–65; here, p. 65. However, her edition cannot have been finalised until after her 1956 article in the *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* had been submitted, as references to this publication in her edition demonstrate. For Aarburg's disappointment, see: Ursula Aarburg, *Singweisen zur Liebeslyrik der deutschen Frühe*, Düsseldorf 1956, pp. 5, 7, 41.
[580] Aarburg 1957b, p. 217. <5.h>
[581] Ibid., p. 209. <5.b>

developments. Accumulating this, however, depends again on thorough text critical studies. Thus, as one necessitates the other, we turn around in circles'.[582]

Despite—or perhaps because of—the problems of circularity that undermined her own attempts at reconstructing *Urtexte*, Aarburg pointed out the problems of other scholars' editions. Discussing the music editions by Gennrich (1951), Jammers (1963), and Taylor (1964), she claimed that that 'none of these editions can satisfy all wishes, yet as sources of information and collections of study material each has its own significance'.[583] Aarburg provided a catalogue of practices an ideal edition would follow: (1) it should make clear any rhythmical imposition by the editor; (2) it should be laid out by melodic line; (3) repeats should not be written out; (4) all stanzas should be underlaid to the melody; (5) the edition should use modern notation and be in treble clef; (6) transposed melodies needed to be transposed back into their original mode, and this emendation needed to be noted; (7) the metric structure of the poetry must be visible in the melodic edition through bar-lines or other means; (8) an edition should synoptically present variants (not in an appendix!); and (9) it ought to provide a facsimile or diplomatic transcription.[584] Though Aarburg conceded that 'such an ideal mode of editing will be hard to realise', most of the above criteria are—unsurprisingly—modelled on her own edition of 1956.[585]

Her above-quoted criticism is mild and generic compared to the harsh attack Aarburg lanced against musicology in general, as she believed that scholars' attitudes had brought the discipline as a whole into disrepute. The general aim of her attack notwithstanding, its comment about rhythm appears directed towards Gennrich in particular:

---

[582] Ibid. <5.c>
[583] Aarburg 1967, p. 106. <7.e>
[584] See ibid., p. 105f.
[585] Ibid., p. 106. <7.d>

of course, musicological scholarship, facilitated by this insufficient transmission and disadvantaged by a lack of knowledge regarding medieval melodic style, has allowed itself great leeway for arbitrary manipulations and has often, which is even more worrying, refrained from justifying its edited musical text to the non-expert. This practice encompasses in particular the tradition of rhythmical reconstructions, heavily laden with doctrine, and which will have to be touched upon later. A revision of the currently favoured editorial practices is urgent if the trust in melody editions by musicologists, which has long been unsettled, is to be regained.[586]

The assumption that Aarburg's criticism is directed towards Gennrich is supported by her repeated rejection of the best-text principle used by her widely influential colleague and teacher. In 1957, Aarburg explicitly questioned the merit of Gennrich's best-text principle: 'this project [the reconstruction of *Urtexte*] is so difficult that, following Aubry's ideas, Gennrich proposed in 1937 to select the best extant reading—that is the one with the least errors—and to use this as the yardstick against which to judge other readings. A version free of errors is undoubtedly of higher quality than the others, yet this does not of necessity place it closer to the original. This suggestion is no solution to the problem'.[587] She emphasised the (much older) lineage of the *Urtext* principle, re-iterating its intellectual challenges and progressiveness, and intensified her attack on Gennrich, implicitly accusing him of holding back scholarly progress: 'the route suggested by me, however, entails such extraordinary difficulties that it has so far not been taken despite the fact that H[ans] J[oachim] Moser pointed to it as early as 1924. Yet if we avoid it, this branch of research will continue to be trapped in preliminaries'.[588]

---

[586] Ibid., p. 105. <7.c>
[587] Aarburg 1957b, p. 216. <5.f>
[588] Ibid. <5.g> Aarburg's reference to Gennrich's use of the best-text principle in 1937 is misleading and provides problematic evidence for her claim of the *Urtext*'s older lineage. Gennrich's advocacy for the best-text principle can be traced to the same time as Moser's claim: Gennrich 1924/25, p. 93. For Moser's article, see: Moser 1925.

Aarburg criticised not only Gennrich's adherence to the best-text principle, but also his exaggerated insistence on contrafacture, which she described as speculative: 'thus I consider any attempt at selecting somewhat fitting Romance melodies for German songs without music and at presenting them as surrogates for the missing melodies—as suggested and practised by Gennrich in 1942 by overlaying four texts by Walther with seemingly appropriate Old French melodies—unacceptable'.[589] She likewise problematised the loose application of terminology to any type of motivic identity: 'it seems to me that Huisman as well as Gennrich have in this case succumbed to a fundamental error. The identical or similar melodic motifs observed by them are by no means proof of a dependence of the medieval song artist on any kind of model. These motifs can be found everywhere, they were, in a manner of speaking, in the air as common goods and can be found in similar or different combinations hundreds of times'.[590]

Paradoxically, her criticisms show Aarburg to share many of Gennrich's central ideas on the (musical) nature of *Minnesang*. Rejecting his classification of motivic similarities as contrafacture, she nevertheless acknowledged the internationality and ubiquity of such motifs. Her suggestion to classify these cases as melodic variants or quotations may even have had an influence on Gennrich's later elaboration of his taxonomy, in which he listed such cases as 'wandering melodies'.[591] Aarburg also agreed with Gennrich's fundamental conclusion: the existence of German contrafacta of Romance songs. Indeed, Aarburg is now best known for her catalogue of (conjectured) melodies for the repertoire of early *Minnesang*, in which she developed six different categories of contrafacta, hierarchically ordered by level of probability.[592]

---

[589] Aarburg 1956/57, p. 42. <3.c>
[590] Ibid., p. 44. <3.d>
[591] Gennrich 1965b, p. 166. <35.e> See also fn. 455. For Aarburg's terminological suggestion, see: Aarburg 1956/57, p. 45.
[592] For her self-expressed aim, see: Aarburg 1956/57, p. 24. Her groups one to three encompass certain contrafacta, the fourth lists probable ones, and the final two gather together doubtful cases; according to her classification, there are twelve certain, nine probable, and another twelve speculative contrafacta among the

Aarburg also emulates Gennrich's theory of modal rhythm. Though the rhythm provided by her for contrafacta based on Romance models which are themselves notated without rhythm is added only tentatively below the transcriptions with stemless note-heads, this second layer presents the melodies in regular bars in compound duple time (Figure 18).[593] Aarburg's allusion to melodies being 'in the air', moreover, is similar to Gennrich's use of Romanticist imagery, and her invocation of a performance of medieval song is particularly striking: 'medieval song was an art for society, intended for performance in festive context. Its message was not directed to individuals but to the circle of merry and convivial people gathered in the castles in the evening hours. Yet the general applicability of the lyric statement could not confirm or exalt any more than the objective and sublime melodies of the ancient songs did'.[594] Like Gennrich, Aarburg turned to readers' sensibilities once all factual evidence supporting her rational line of argument had been used. She sought to persuade readers of her *Urtext* editions with references to the songs' expressiveness, though, significantly, Aarburg never made clear how this expressiveness was enhanced or hindered by *Urtexte*: 'and yet the exertions of research are worthwhile, when one succeeds in reviving the medieval *Gesamtkunstwerk*, for example an expressive melody such as Wizlav von Rügen's love-lament 'Nach der senenden klage mot ik singen' [(STm3)] or the peculiarly appealing, rhythmically transmitted melody for Neidhart's summer song 'Blozen wir den anger ligen sahen' [(SNER53)] or indeed the wonderwork

---

songs of *Minnesangs Frühling* (thirty-three in total). The reprint of Aarburg's article in 1961 lists ten examples of certain contrafacture, eight probable cases, and thirteen possible cases (thirty-one in total): Ursula Aarburg, 'Melodien zum frühen deutschen Minnesang: eine kritische Bestandsaufnahme', in: *Der deutsche Minnesang: Aufsätze zu seiner Erforschung*, ed. by Hans Fromm, Bad Homburg 1961, pp. 378–423; here, p. 394ff. For an overview of these songs, see Table 25 (Chapter VI.3.ii).

[593] Aarburg explains her editorial stance on rhythm in the preface to the edition: Aarburg 1956, p. 7. Here, she also argues for her decision to derive other songs' rhythms from their text; like Gennrich, she presents these songs in mode 3.

[594] Ibid., p. 6. <2.a>

of melodic beauty which Walther von der Vogelweide has bequeathed to us in his *Palästinalied* [(C7)]'.[595]

Figure 18: Ursula Aarburg's edition of Heinrich von Rugge's 'Vil wunneclichen hohe stat' (MF103,27); proposed contrafact based on Bernart de Ventadorn's 'Can vei la lauzeta mover' (PC70,43)[596]

Though passages of heavily Romanticist tone feature frequently in Aarburg's works, she did not rely exclusively on such appeals to music's expressivity in her call for the reconstruction of *Urtexte*. In 1957, she presented her readers with two strands of medieval evidence which supported her search for *Urtexte*. Based on the observation that multiply transmitted trouvère melodies retained a similar shape, Aarburg concluded that there must have been an artistic *Urtext* in the musicians' minds in order for 'a melody's

---

[595] Aarburg 1967, p. 105. <7.b>

[596] Aarburg classifies this as a contrafactum with a high degree of likelihood. Note also her unconventional naming of the poet as 'Heinrich von Rucke'. Aarburg provides no further critical commentary: Aarburg 1956, p. 44 and 47.

idea to have remained untouched'.[597] Aarburg's second piece of evidence is once more reminiscent of Gennrich's argumentation. Proposing that the demonstrable practice of contrafacture proved the medieval reverence for *auctoritas* and tradition, she implied that melodies too would have been considered such fixed texts of authority: 'for the oral and written transmission of melodies took place during a period which strongly venerated tradition and which considered art works, such as the melodies of Western secular song, as exemplary and binding—as the phenomenon of contrafacture demonstrates'.[598]

Aarburg took her doctorate with Gennrich, and reviewing her research against the backdrop of this teacher–student relation helps to explain her concern for many of the same issues with which Gennrich was grappling, and makes understandable the stylistic similarities between the two scholars' writing.[599] Yet Aarburg's relationship with Gennrich must have been a tense one, as her harsh criticisms of her teacher suggest.[600] Werner Bittinger—in a truly hagiographic obituary—vividly presented Gennrich as a towering personality whom one approached with 'confidence and reverence'.[601] Despite all its flattery, however, Bittinger's depiction of Gennrich may also suggest that the latter was not an easy person to argue against—much more so for his own doctoral student Aarburg. Judging by the dates of Aarburg's publications, she must have taken her doctorate with Gennrich in the late 1940s/early 1950s; Gennrich was then coming up to his seventieth birthday, and it would be difficult for any long-established scholar to take such severe

---

[597] Aarburg 1957b, p. 209. <5.e> For a more recent, and more nuanced view of the similarity between multiply transmitted trouvère melodies, see: Mary J. O'Neill, *Courtly Love Songs of Medieval France: Transmission and Style in the Trouvère Repertoire*, Oxford 2006. Present scholarship takes such strong similarities between written sources of orally transmitted repertoires as evidence for the strong role of *memoria*: Carruthers 1990.

[598] Aarburg 1957b, p. 209. <5.d>

[599] See Christoph Petzsch, 'Kontrafaktur und Melodietypus', in: *Mf* 21 (1968), pp. 271–290; here, p. 275.

[600] See p. 208.

[601] Werner Bittinger, 'Friedrich Gennrich in memoriam', in: *Mf* 21 (1968), pp. 417–421; here, p. 421. <15.a> Johann Schubert similarly underlined Gennrich's importance as a teacher: Johann G. Schubert, 'Friedrich Gennrich zum Gedenken', in: *AM* 40 (4/1968), pp. 199–201.

criticism from a much younger—and female!—scholar.[602] While Aarburg's work (consequently?) found only little response in Gennrich's later work, her inclusion in *MGG*1 shows that her ideas did not remain without an echo in the wider musicological discourse of the 1950s and 60s.[603]

Aarburg's belief in the *Urtext* is mirrored, for example, in the work of Ronald J. Taylor. In 1965, Taylor argued for the rhythmic stability of orally transmitted melodies and for the existence of a single original version: 'there can surely have been only one original form of each melody, and that form was not changed by notating it in different ways'.[604] Despite its close resemblance of Aarburg's claims, Taylor's comment does not directly, or at least not overtly, engage with the latter's work; instead, it is made in rejection of Kippenberg's criticism of the 'authenticity-driven' approach fostered by Moser, Gennrich, and Bittinger.[605] Taylor's assessment is nevertheless so similar to Aarburg's that one may wonder whether he had derived his ideas from Aarburg's earlier publications and had assimilated them without being aware of the fact (Table 13). Taylor's article 'Zur Übertragung der Melodien der Minnesänger' makes reference to Aarburg's article published in the same issue of *ZfdA*, proving that Taylor knew at least some of her work and must have been in contact with Aarburg (via the editors?) in order to reference her simultaneously published article.[606] While the resemblances between the two scholars' writings are far from being a case of plagiarism, they may be considered an instance of 'silent impact'.[607]

---

[602] Aarburg's problematic situation within Gennrich's 'class of doctoral students' may also be reflected in her critique of Werner Bittinger's 1953 dissertation, which she attacks for not including any reference to the grammar of medieval song. While this critique might simply be taken at face value, it might also be a (subconscious) reflection of Aarburg's envy of Bittinger's good relations with their shared *Doktorvater*: Aarburg 1956/57, p. 24 (fn. 22).

[603] See fn. 588.

[604] Taylor 1965, p. 11f.

[605] See Kippenberg 1962, p. 56f.

[606] See Ronald J. Taylor, 'Zur Übertragung der Melodien der Minnesänger', in: *ZfdA* 87 (1956/57), pp. 132–147; here, p. 144 (fn. 141).

[607] The notion of silent impact has recently been studied extensively in the case of Johann Gottfried Herder: Michael Maurer (ed.), *Herder and His Impact*, Jena forthcoming.

Another scholar to discuss the notion of an *Urtext* principle in the wake of Aarburg is Helmut Lomnitzer. Although he recognised her contribution to the subject matter, Aarburg's name does not appear in the body of his discussion, but is relegated to the footnotes. Lomnitzer references her in support of his argument regarding the usefulness of the *Urtext* method for Romance repertoires, for her criticism of Bittinger, and for her terminological comments—although he prefers to cite Jammers verbatim.[608] Despite Lomnitzer's adherence to the notion of an *Urtext* and the idea of a musical grammar, Aarburg's work is not allowed to speak in its own words: it is muted.

Since the 1980s, scholarship has taken a less favourable outlook on the *Urtext* principle, and scholars such as Günther Schweikle have tried hard to silence its proponents and their ideas.[609] Paul Zumthor's notion of 'mouvance'—later nuanced into a concept of 'variance' by Bernard Cerquiglini—as well as the more recent developments of a 'New Philology' are fundamentally opposed to the ideas of an *Urtext* as expressed by Aarburg.[610] Stanley Boorman has summarised the criticism against the *Urtext*, noting that 'any original text rarely exists for music composed before the eighteenth century, and any attempt at its reconstruction is not only impossible but also of questionable value'.[611] Boorman's view that the lack of historical *Urtexte* 'renders suspect the claims of any modern *Urtext* edition'

---

[608] See Helmut Lomnitzer, 'Zur wechselseitigen Erhellung von Text- und Melodiekritik mittelalterlicher deutscher Lyrik', in: *Mittelhochdeutsche Spruchdichtung*, ed. by Hugo Moser, Darmstadt 1972, pp. 325–360; here, pp. 351f. (fn. 361, 362, and 364). Aarburg is mentioned in Lomnitzer's article only in the footnotes, never in the body text. His article was originally published as: Helmut Lomnitzer, 'Zur wechselseitigen Erhellung von Text- und Melodiekritik mittelalterlicher d[eu]t[scher] Lyrik', in: *Probleme mittelalterlicher Überlieferung und Textkritik: Oxforder Colloquium 1966*, ed. by Peter F. Ganz and Werner Schröder, Oxford 1968, pp. 118–144. Its reprint in Moser's 1972 volume suggests the impact of Lomnitzer's work.

[609] See Günther Schweikle, 'Zur Edition mittelhochdeutscher Lyrik: Grundlagen und Perspektiven', in: *ZfdPh* 104 (Sonderheft) (1985), pp. 2–18; here, p. 9ff.

[610] See Paul Zumthor, *Essai de poétique médievale*, Paris 1972; Bernard Cerquiglinei, *Éloge de la variante*, Paris 1989; and Stephen G. Nichols (ed.), *Speculum* 65 (1/1990), [special edition 'The New Philology'].

[611] Stanley Boorman, Art. 'Urtext', in: *NGrove*, vol. 26, London 2001, pp. 163–164; here, p. 164.

might explain why Lomnitzer—as early as 1968—was keen not to be seen as too closely entangled in this problematic concept.[612]

Though not unique within musicology, Aarburg's work prominently raised issues of musical grammar and the *Urtext* otherwise seldom contemplated in the context of *Minnesang*. While it is possible to argue that her work was undervalued by later, predominantly male scholars due to her sex, this line of reasoning appears an oversimplification that neglects the evidence of an, admittedly small, number of female researchers who have had a significant impact on the discipline in recent years.[613] Instead, the present discussion suggests six nuanced reasons for the limited scope of Aarburg's impact: (1) most of Aarburg's research on *Minnesang* was published in the late 1950s and early 1960s, a period in which *Minnesang* was a popular topic among musicologists. Viewed in context with the large number of other publications on the subject, in particular those by Taylor, Jammers, Gennrich, and Kippenberg, it seems plausible that her work would not have received special emphasis; (2) the similarity of Aarburg's work to that of her teacher Gennrich, both in content and in style, reduced her individual research profile and meant that she was overlooked in the shadow of the 'father' of musical *Minnesang* scholarship; (3) the problematic contemporary reception of Aarburg's ideas, as demonstrated by Lomnitzer's and Taylor's silent/muted reception, would have perpetuated itself by denying later scholarship access points to her works; (4) Aarburg's vehement, and perhaps over-emphatic, rejection of Gennrich's work sits uncomfortably with ideals of an objective practice of scholarship, focussed on ideas rather than people, and may have consequently disqualified Aarburg from further consideration; it could also explain why Gennrich might have been reluctant to promote his doctoral student in his publications; (5)

---

[612] Ibid.

[613] The following lists only few of the most influential works by female musicologists: Abbate 1991; Bonnie J. Blackburn, *Composition, Printing and Performance: Studies in Renaissance Music*, Aldershot 2000; Sarah Fuller, 'Tendencies and Resolutions: the Directed Progression in Ars Nova Music', in: *MT* 36 (1992), pp. 229–258; Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality*, Minneapolis 1991.

Aarburg's interest in the *Urtext* positioned her on the 'losing' side of methodological developments and makes her work less relevant to present-day musicologists; and finally (6), it may have been her assertion that *Minnesang*'s texts were more valuable and deserving of study that turned other musicologists, and the reception studies of Kippenberg and McMahon in particular, against her work. She argued that *Minnesang*'s music was subordinated to the clarity of the texts, and described the texts as 'the more substantial element of this lyric poetry'.[614]

All of these reasons notwithstanding, the present section has emphasised the importance of Aarburg's contribution to the musical study of *Minnesang*, and hopes that its cursory discussion of her work will heighten present scholarship's awareness thereof, instigating further engagement with her ideas of an *Urtext* and *Minnesang*'s musical grammar.[615]

4. *Wort und Weise*, and the Question of Interdisciplinarity

Taking its lead from Aarburg's statement on the relationship between text and music in *Minnesang*, the last section in this chapter outlines how *Minnesang* has inhabited a problematic space between the domains of musicologists and philologists.

The relationship of *Wort und Weise* (text and melody) has been assessed by numerous scholars from both disciplines, and Helmut Lomnitzer's reference to the 'obligatory, non-additive interaction of text and music' in *Minnesang* is a representative

---

[614] Aarburg 1967, p. 100. <7.a> See also: Aarburg 1956, p. 8.

[615] A first step towards Aarburg's reappraisal was taken by a collected volume on medieval song edited by Elizabeth Aubrey, which in 2009 reprinted Aarburg's 1967 article: Ursula Aarburg, 'Probleme um die Melodien des Minnesangs', in: *Poets and Singers: on Latin and Vernacular Monophonic Song*, ed. by Elizabeth Aubrey, Farnham 2009, pp. 319–339. Reviewing the volume, Pieter Mannaerts praised the inclusion of Aarburg's publication for adding a further historical/national layer of scholarship, despite musing 'whether there really is no more current scholarship available, especially when it is the only contribution that deals with *Minnesang*'. Pieter Mannaerts, Review of Elizabeth Aubrey (ed.), 'Poets and Singers: on Latin and Vernacular Monophonic Song', in: *TMR* 2011-09 (2011), [no pagination].

example of scholars' claims to the inextricable link between the two.[616] Ronald J. Taylor (and others) stressed the union of the poet and musician in a single person: 'we are dealing with poets as much as with musicians'.[617] Problematising the ubiquitous reference to the unity of text and music, Kippenberg claimed that scholars did not explain *how* the two were combined and that their statements amounted to no more than lip service to this commonplace: 'scholarship generally makes use of the concept of the unity of text and music in a non-committal manner, that is without expanding on or questioning further the suggested type of relationship between the artwork's textual and musical aspects'.[618] Mark Emanuel Amtstätter asserted the on-going validity of this criticism, noting that Kippenberg 'hits the nail on the head. Whatever is commonly associated with the so called unity of text and music often remains a mystery'.[619]

Kippenberg's and Amtstätter's poignant observations notwithstanding, some scholars have suggested specific points of contact between text and music. Jammers posited form as the essential element of unification in *Minnesang*: 'that which is common to both arts in Wizlav's output and forges his works into a unified whole is the shared form alone, one could say, is the shared existence through form'.[620] The philologist Anthonius Hendrikus Touber made a similar claim, and Friedrich Maurer highlighted the unity of text and music as one of the crucial features of artistic structure deserving academic study: 'for a long time, one did not study sufficiently the magnificent art of structure in Walther's stanzas, the impressive harmony between rhythmic and strophic organisation (which at the

---

[616] Lomnitzer 1972, p. 333. <64.a> Similar claims regarding the closeness of words and music have been made for French and Occitan song repertoires: Stevens, Butterfield and Karp, Art. 'Troubadours, trouvères', p. 805f.

[617] Taylor 1956/57, p. 133. <95.a> More recently, Maria Dobozy has expanded this claim: Dobozy 2005, p. 3. It can also be found in the work of Ewald Jammers: Jammers 1963, p. 13.

[618] Kippenberg 1962, p. 15. <52.a>

[619] Mark Emanuel Amtstätter, 'Ihc wil singhen in der nuwen wise eyn lit: die Sub-Strophik Wizlavs von Rügen und die Einheit von Wort und Ton im Minnesang', in: *PBB* 124 (2002), pp. 466–483; here, p. 466. <11.a>

[620] Jammers 1963, p. 12. <48.d>

same time means: musical organisation) and the structuring of content and syntax'.[621] Maurer claimed that it was the goal of *Minnesang* to invent new *forms*, since the poetry's topics were given.[622]

Wolfgang Mohr, on the other hand, suggested that the musical features of *Minnesang* corresponded to differences in text genre:

> a certain typology of medieval melodies can indeed be discerned. The dance songs by Neidhart von Reuental or Wizlav von Rügen [in **J**] are distinct from the complex, highly ornamented love songs; even within the context of other *Lieder*, Walther's *Palästinalied* [(C7)] appears like a sacred drama. Some of the *Sprüche* have melodies in a simple declamatory style, while others feature highly challenging and valuable ones; it would be worth researching whether this is mirrored by the contents.[623]

Aarburg similarly reduced music's meaning to the effective delivery of the text: 'we must not measure these melodies with modern standards. The medieval song writer was not interested in musically pinpointing and deepening the expressive content of the lyric text. Instead, his concern was to bestow on the text a more pertinent, objective impact'.[624] Amtstätter likewise confined music's meaning to a reflection of the text's content, calling for a study of text and music through performance.[625]

Taylor analysed the links between text and music psychoanalytically, suggesting that the choice of tonality in particular was determined by the texts' psychological effects: pointing towards Walther von der Vogelweide's use of the Dorian mode in the

---

[621] See A[nthonius] H[endrikus] Touber, 'Zur Einheit von Wort und Weise im Minnesang', in: *ZfdA* 93 (1964a), pp. 313–320; here, p. 313. Friedrich Maurer, 'Sprachliche und musikalische Bauformen des deutschen Minnesangs um 1200', in: *Pt* 1 (1967b), pp. 462–482; here, p. 462. <67.a>
[622] See Maurer 1967b, p. 462.
[623] Mohr 1953b, p. 65. <68.b> He later claims that the complexity of a melody was proportionate to that of the text's content, see: ibid., p. 65f.
[624] Aarburg 1956, p. 8. <2.b>
[625] See Amtstätter 2002, p. 482.

Palästinalied (C7) as opposed to his use of major tonality in 'Philippe, künic hêre' (C8),

Taylor concluded that

> there can be little doubt that the choice of a particular mode was motivated by
> psychological and aesthetic considerations. It seems at least reasonable to assume, in view
> of the antithesis of the ecclesiastical modes and the secular major mode, that a
> Minnesinger, or, for that matter, a troubadour or trouvère, was aware of the implications
> of his deliberate decision in so far as it was involved in this antithesis, and an examination
> of the available melodies from this point of view would seem to offer interesting
> prospects.[626]

By 1965, Taylor had integrated criticisms directed against his claims, and now allowed for the psychological rationale to be unintentional: 'at the same time it does seem reasonable to imagine that the selection of a particular mode was the outcome of certain psychological and aesthetic considerations, whether they be subconscious, deliberate or circumstantial, and however obscure they may seem to us today'.[627]

While psychological or aesthetic ideals may have impacted the choice of mode on the basis of textual content, Taylor's 'circumstantial rationale' pointed to matters of performance: 'such bluntly practical considerations as the range of the performer's voice and the limits of his skill—which is to say, the composer's voice and skill, since each Minnesinger was normally at least the first performer of each of his songs—must have influenced the choice of mode'.[628] Though Taylor devalued such considerations over

---

[626] Ronald J. Taylor, 'The Musical Knowledge of the Middle High German Poet', in: *MLR* 49 (1954), pp. 331–338; here, p. 337.

[627] Taylor 1965, p. 19.

[628] Ibid. In line with his reference to 'such blunt practical considerations', Taylor infers from Gottfried von Straßburg's statement that Walther von der Vogelweide had a high voice, that he must have been a tenor. His consequent assertion that Richard Wagner's representation of Walther in *Tannhäuser* was historically accurate demonstrates both Taylor's mode of argumentation, as well as the influence of Wagner's works on musical scholarship: 'that Wagner, in *Tannhäuser*, made the passionate and irascible Walther a tenor, may give us a certain amused satisfaction. But it is of more serious concern to note that Gottfried, who may, as Plenio conjectured, have met Walther around the turn of the twelfth century, refers to his 'hôhe stimme'; and to add to this the fact that one of the musical fragments of the Münster manuscript [**Z**] of Walther takes the

psychological ones, other scholars have considered performance a less mundane matter, arguing that it provided the crucial nexus between text and music. Amtstätter asserted that 'the so-called unity of words and melody, the problematised relationship of music and text, resolves in the term of "performance". Music's, the melody's function as a means of performance defines its connection to the text'.[629] Bert Nagel similarly pointed towards performance as the realisation of a musico-textual unity; according to him, performance enabled analytical study:

> this knowledge of the sung performance of *Minnesang* as its sole form of coming into being obliges the philologist to consider musicological research in order to enable a more vivid interpretation of the musico-poetic score of *Minnesang*. Since the poetic form and the melody were devised together with the text in this art, the poetic text could leave part of the task to the workings of the melody as a matter of course. As a purely textual art-form, therefore, *Minnesang* is not only quantitatively the mere half, but also qualitatively represents something half and unfinished, which requires additional features to become a musical artwork of sound.[630]

Despite his aim of making scholarly research on *Minnesang* more 'vivid' by considering text and music as unified through performance, Nagel's research paradoxically shares Fischer's intention of presenting the repertoire as fundamentally alien to modern listeners. The unity of text and music, and the sung performance are necessary to demonstrate its otherness, 'to call to mind these surprisingly foreign elements of *Minnesang*'s melodies

---

voice part up to high B-flat, which is an unusually high note in the music of the period, and at the upper limit of the compass of the tenor voice. Perhaps Wagner's instinct was surer than he knew'. For the description of Walther in Gottfried's *Tristan*, see: Krohn (ed.) 2010, pp. 294 (vol. 1, vv. 4802/4803). McMahon rejects this understanding of Gottfried's statement, and claims that 'he is probably referring to the carrying-power, rather than the pitch, of Walther's voice': McMahon 1990, p. 40. Aaron E. Wright lauded McMahon for this correction in particular: Aaron E. Wright, Review of James V. McMahon, 'The Music of Early Minnesang', in: *GQ* 65 (1992), pp. 447–448; here, p. 447.

[629] Amtstätter 2002, p. 482. <11.b>

[630] Bert Nagel, 'Das Musikalische im Dichten der Minnesänger', in: *GRM* 33 (1951/52), pp. 268–278; here, p. 269. <76.a>

through listening, so that *Minnesang* can be experienced in its true form as a part of the Middle Ages'.[631]

All of these approaches consider the text as the basis onto which the music is crafted. Form and meaning are provided by the text and its structure, and are remodelled in the music only thereafter. Touber appears to be the only scholar to have posited an inverse relationship; he sought to demonstrate the extent to which the texts were formed by pre-existent melodies: 'the melody is the connecting formal element between the stanzas. […] It seems likely that the text of ensuing stanzas had to follow the structure of the melody'.[632] Touber provided a detailed, concrete list of textual features which were determined by the musical form. His call for further analysis of the interrelation of text and music in *Minnesang* underlines the paradoxical nature of this area as much considered, but nonetheless understudied:

> syntactic structuring, word order, affinity and syllable count of words—these aspects of Middle High German lyric poetry are often determined by the melody. I consider it possible that research will, in many cases, be able to uncover a system that structures the use of these elements in all stanzas of a *Lied* or a *Spruch*. Without doubt, there are further musically determined elements of form and content in *Minnesang*. It would, for example, be the task of a separate study to scrutinise how the text—be it formally or regarding content—fits the melismatic climax at verse endings demonstrated by Jammers. The comparison of musical and textual features will provide us with many revelations concerning questions of form and content in Middle High German repertoires.[633]

The acknowledgement of music and text as interrelated components of *Minnesang* led to an abundance of calls for interdisciplinary cooperation between philologists and

---

[631] Ibid., p. 278. See also p. 270f. <76.b>
[632] Touber 1964a, p. 317. Here, he also provides a summary of and reference to his dissertation: Anthonius Hendrikus Touber, *Rhetorik und Form im deutschen Minnesang*, Utrecht 1964b. <100.a>
[633] Touber 1964a, p. 320. <100.b>

musicologists. Müller-Blattau in 1957 exhorted scholars that 'for the entire monophonic song repertoire of the Middle Ages, many helpers need to participate in solving the multidimensional issues, and that mutual 'objective' criticism is needed and helpful'.[634] Four years before Müller-Blattau's exhortation, Wolfgang Mohr had commented ironically on musicologists' lack of critical method; and in 1967, Friedrich Maurer again criticised musicologists' lack of philological erudition, suggesting that the relationship between scholars of the two disciplines had not improved despite Müller-Blattau's (and others') intentions of interdisciplinary cooperation.[635] While Helmut Lomnitzer self-critically reflected on philologists' failure to take into account the songs' musical aspects, both Taylor and Nagel sought to shield philology from criticism, explaining the lack of musical research with the late rediscovery of the melodies on the one hand, and with the 'tardy development of scientific musical research' in general on the other.[636] Taylor pushed responsibility for the study of *Minnesang*'s music away from philology, insinuating that musical research needed to gather speed before interdisciplinary research was possible.[637] Aarburg assessed the situation similarly, and claimed that *musicologists'* lack of knowledge about *Minnesang* had hindered interdisciplinary cooperation.[638]

Ironically, the same philologists that called for interdisciplinarity and additional musical study were reluctant to accept and integrate musical claims advanced by Gennrich, Jammers, and Aarburg. Mohr cautioned against the application of modal rhythm for 'at the moment there is perhaps greater danger that musicological *apriori* become enshrined'; and Taylor poignantly expressed his concern that while, 'earlier, literary historians hardly knew

---

[634] Joseph Müller-Blattau, 'Zur Erforschung des einstimmigen deutschen Liedes im Mittelalter', in: *Mf* 10 (1957), pp. 107–113; here, p. 113. <75.a>
[635] See Maurer 1967b, p. 467; Mohr 1953b, p. 62.
[636] See Lomnitzer 1972, p. 326; Nagel 1951/52, p. 268; Taylor 1954, p. 331.
[637] See Taylor 1956/57, p. 138.
[638] See Aarburg 1956/57, p. 24.

what to do with musicologists' research results, today, it is musicological predispositions in particular that seek to banish just literary considerations from the field'.[639]

Gennrich proposed his own vision of interdisciplinary research.[640] He described the interdisciplinary endeavours of his day as paradisciplinary, with music being considered on the one hand, and text on the other—with little or no interaction between the two disciplines.[641] Musicology was at fault for not having considered *Minnesang*, leaving philologists to grapple with the songs' music with their own methods.[642] A fruitful form of interdisciplinarity could be achieved only if philological and musicological research were united in a single scholar: 'in contrast, I have repeatedly expressed the opinion that only "a single" editor, who is in command of the requisite skills from the relevant specialist disciplines, can guarantee an interpretation adequate to the medieval artwork'.[643] As early as 1919, Gennrich argued that 'the unity that rests in the appropriation of the music for the text and vice versa can be achieved only if the editor of Occitan and French song texts also takes on the edition of the music; in other words, if he combines philological with musicological studies'.[644] The ideal scholar to publish interdisciplinary research in Gennrich's eyes was Gennrich himself.

With Gennrich's and Aarburg's deaths in 1967, the musicological study of *Minnesang* lost two of its main proponents. Since then, almost no *Minnesang* research has been undertaken by musicologists. Gennrich's 'disciples' saw no need to study *Minnesang* for, in their eyes, he had covered the topic comprehensively; for Gennrich's critics, the topic had become toxic, as it was steeped in Gennrich's ideas. Consequently, the gap

---

[639] Mohr 1953b, p. 69 (fn. 21). <68.e> Taylor 1956/57, p. 147. <95.f>
[640] See also p. 180.
[641] See Gennrich 1948/50, p. 105.
[642] See Gennrich 1954, p. v.
[643] Gennrich 1948/50, p. 106. For the German original, see fn. 481.
[644] Friedrich Gennrich, 'Die Musik als Hilfswissenschaft der romanischen Philologie', in: *ZfrPh* 39 (1919), pp. 330–361; here, p. 333. <28.a> Although Gennrich's almost eponymous monograph seems to have been published in 1918, he claims in its preface that the article in *ZfrPh* 39 (1919) had already appeared. His statement about interdisciplinarity is also included in the monograph. See: Gennrich 1918, p. 4.

between musicological and philological scholarship discerned by Aarburg, Taylor, and others widened again, after attempts had been made to close it in the 1950s and 60s, because of the lack of new musicological insights.[645] Günther Schweikle's claim that '*Minnesang* is a literary art' is a telling example of the current state of interdisciplinary research on *Minnesang*.[646]

The present study of Gennrich's, Jammers's, and Aarburg's ideas through their discourse has suggested that this state of current musicological (and interdisciplinary) research on *Minnesang* results both from the comprehensiveness and complexity of past discourse and research, and—circularly—from the topic's lacking presence in musicological discourse of today: from the end of World War II until the death of Gennrich and Aarburg in 1967, Gennrich, Jammers, and Aarburg mutually re-inforced and critiqued each others' ideas, again producing new discourse to be considered; for current scholars, in contrast, there is no need to produce new discourse on *Minnesang*, since there is no recent discourse to be critiqued. The music of *Minnesang* will be able to receive musicological—and, eventually, interdisciplinary—attention only once substantial new material has been published in order to foster fresh discourse on the subject.

---

[645] The editorial projects outlined in Chapter IV.2.iii also form part of the broadening of musical interest in *Minnesang* in the 1950s and 60s.

[646] Günther Schweikle, *Minnesang*, Stuttgart 1989, p. 218. <91.a> Horst Brunner's 'Gennrichian' attempts at unifying musicological and philological studies in a single person do not representatively mirror the current state of scholarly research on the topic (see his various publications in the bibliography).

Constructing *Minnesang* Musically

VOLUME II.

Submission for the degree of DPhil in Music

Submission: 11 October 2013 (Trinity Term)

Deposit: 25 July 2014

Henry Hope

Merton College

Henry Hope
Merton College
Submission for the degree of DPhil in Music – Trinity Term 2013

Constructing *Minnesang* Musically – Abstract

While troubadour and trouvère repertoires have recently received fresh attention from music scholars, the study of medieval German vernacular song—*Minnesang*—continues to be located firmly outside the canon(s) of musicology. The present thesis seeks to re-insert *Minnesang* into musicological discourse by demonstrating the ways in which the repertoire has been constructed as musical, both by the creators of medieval manuscript sources and by modern scholars.

The modern ontology of music as defined by notation and performance has prevented scholars from understanding manuscripts such as the Codex Manesse (**C**) as intrinsically musical. While the texts alone may have sufficed to enable their intended audiences to view them as musical entities, **C**'s 137 author miniatures further contribute to the manuscript's musicality: the *Minnesänger* are depicted as authors and experiencing *personae*, revealing a strong concern for oral communication—which, in the Middle Ages, was inherently musical. The Jenaer Liederhandschrift (**J**) and other manuscripts equally reveal their musicality when scrutinised beyond the search for musical notation: through ordering and folio design.

The thesis establishes the influence exerted by previous scholarship on today's lack of interest in the music of *Minnesang*, and outlines the importance of scholarly discourse and its study in a historiographical context. Before the 1970s, an existing musical discourse on *Minnesang* encouraged musicologists and philologists to continue to engage in it—despite the fact that the dominant interest in contrafacture and rhythm found few answers in the surviving source material. A concluding case study of Walther von der Vogelweide's *Palästinalied* exemplifies the musicality of medieval manuscripts and its complex (mis)construction by modern scholarship. The thesis provides the basis for a fresh assessment of the music of *Minnesang*: beyond the confines of modern ontologies of music, and as part of the study of medieval *song*.

Contents

APPENDICES

Manuscripts

Minnesang Sources (excluding Neidhart and *Meistersang*)

Siglum	Shelfmark[a]	Name	Provenance
A	D-HEu Cod. Pal. germ. 357	Kleine Heidelberger Liederhandschrift	Alsace, ca. 1275
B	D-Sl HB XIII 1	Weingartner Liederhandschrift	Konstanz, early C14
Ba	CH-Bu N.I.3, 145	Basel Fragment	North Germany, early C14
Bu	H-Bn Cod. germ. 92	Budapest Fragment	Upper Danube, 1280–1290
C	D-HEu Cod. Pal. germ. 848	Codex Manesse/ Große Heidelberger Liederhandschrift	Zurich, ca. 1300–1340
C^a	PL-Kj mgq 519	Troß Fragment	Zurich/Strasbourg/ Wurttemberg, ca. 1440
C^b	PL-Kj Berol. mgo 125	Nagler Fragment	Switzerland, ca. 1300
E	D-Msb 2° Cod. ms. 731	Würzburger Liederhandschrift/ Hausbuch des Michael de Leone	Würzburg, ca. 1350
F	D-WRz Cod. Quart 564	Weimarer Liederhandschrift	Unknown, later C15
J	D-Ju Ms. El. f. 101	Jenaer Liederhandschrift	North-East Germany, ca. 1300
M	D-Mbs Clm 4660/a	Codex Buranus/ Fragmenta Burana	Tyrol/Carinthia, ca. 1230
t	D-Mbs cgm 4997	Kolmarer Liederhandschrift	Rheinfranken (Ripuarian Franconia), ca. 1460
Z	D-MÜsa Msc. VII, 51	Münster Fragment	Westphalia, early C14
-	Private ownership	Bonner Fragment	Northern Germany?, early C14

---

[a] The manuscript shelfmarks used throughout the dissertation follow the system applied by the *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales*.

Troubadour/Trouvère Sources

Siglum	Shelfmark	Name	Provenance
troub. **N**	US-NYpm 819	The Phillipps Manuscript	Italy, 1285–1300
trouv. **I**	GB-Ob MS Douce 308	Douce 308	Lorraine, early C14
trouv. **K**	F-Pa 5198	Arsenal chansonnier	Picardy/Artois, 1270s
trouv. **M**	F-Pn f. fr. 844	Manuscript du Roi	France, 1250–70
trouv. **O**	F-Pn f. fr. 846	Chansonnier Cangé	Burgundy, 1280–90
trouv. **U**	F-Pn f. fr. 20050	Chansonnier-Saint-Germain-des-Pres	Lorraine, ca. 1230

Other Sources

Siglum	Shelfmark	Name	Provenance
D	D-KA Donaueschingen 120	Donaueschinger Liederhandschrift	Unknown, ca. 1485
n	D-Nst Will III. 784	-	Unknown, C17
Neid. O	D-F Ms. germ. oct. 18	Frankfurt Neidhart Fragment	North-East Germany, ca. 1300
StF	F-Schl 22	St-Fides-Codex	Conques?, early C13

Song Catalogues

Abbreviation[b]	Catalogue	Format
B	BRUNNER, HORST, BURGHART WACHINGER and EVA KLESATSCHKE (eds): *Repertorium der Sangsprüche*, 17 vols, Tübingen 2009.	Section number in superscript; three-letter poet code, *Ton* number in Arabic, stanza in small Arabic, e. g. $B^1Unv/3/2$
C	CORMEAU, CHRISTOPH (ed.): *Walther von der Vogelweide: Leich, Lieder, Sangsprüche*, Berlin [14]1996.	Cat. number in Arabic, stanza number in Roman, e. g. C7,I
CB	VOLLMANN, BENEDIKT K. and WALTHER LIPPHARDT: Art. 'Carmina Burana', in: *MGG2*, ed. by Ludwig Finscher, vol. 2 (Sachteil), Kassel 1995, cols 456–459.	Cat. number in Arabic; appended letter indicates stanza(s) with same poetic structure, e. g. CB211 and CB211a
KLD	KRAUS, CARL VON and GISELA KORNRUMPF (eds): *Deutsche Liederdichter des 13. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols, Tübingen [2]1978.	Poet number in Arabic, *Ton* number in Roman, e. g. KLD1,IV
L	LACHMANN, KARL (ed.): *Die Gedichte Walthers von der Vogelweide*, Berlin [1]1827.	Page number in Arabic, followed by line number in Arabic, e. g. L14,38
MF	LACHMANN, KARL (ed.): *Die Gedichte Walthers von der Vogelweide*, Berlin [1]1827.	Page number in Arabic, followed by line number in Arabic, e. g. MF103,27
PC	PILLET, ALFRED and HENRY CARSTENS: *Bibliographie der Troubadours*, Halle (Saale) 1933.	Poet number in Arabic, song number in Arabic, e. g. PC262,2
R	RIBERA, JULIÁN TARRAGÓ (ed.): *90 canciones de los minnesinger del códice de Jena*, Madrid 1925.	Song number in Arabic, e. g. R16
Ry	RAYNAUD, GASTON (ed.): *Bibliographie des chansonniers français des XIIIe et XIVe siècles*, 2 vols, Paris 1884.	Song number in Arabic (from vol. 2, ordered by rhyme), e. g. Ry742

---

[b] The abbreviations B and C coincide with the manuscript sigla **B** and **C**. The reader will, however, easily differentiate them by their bold/non-bold type, and by the fact that catalogue references are always followed by a number while sigla are not.

SNE	MÜLLER, ULRICH, INGRID BENNEWITZ and FRANZ VIKTOR SPECHTLER (eds): *Salzburger Neidhart-Edition (SNE)*, 3 vols, Berlin 2007.	Source as capital letter, song number in Arabic, e. g. SNER53
ST	SEAGRAVE, BARBARA GARVEY and WESLEY THOMAS (eds): *The Songs of the Minnesingers*, Urbana 1966.	Minuscle 'm' indicates *Lied* (rather than *Spruch*), song number in Arabic, e. g. STm3
W	WILLMS, EVA (ed.): *Der Marner: Lieder und Sangsprüche aus dem 13. Jahrhundert und ihr Weiterleben im Meistersang*, Berlin 2008.	*Ton* number in Arabic, stanza number in Arabic, e. g. W3,3

Abbreviations

Journals and Series

Abbreviation	*Journal*/Series
19CM	*19th-Century Music*
AfdA	*Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur*
AfMw	*Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*
AH	*Art History*
AM	*Acta Musicologica*
ASA	*The Continuum Encyclopedia of Animal Symbolism in Art*
ASdL	*Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur*
BF	*Beethoven Forum*
BJb	*Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis*
BZfG	*Berner Zeitschrift für Geschichte*
BzGr	*Beiträge zur Gregorianik*
DLL	*Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon: biographisches-bibliographisches Handbuch*, ed. by Bruno Berger, Bern ³1968–
DU	*Der Deutschunterricht*
DVLG	*Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*
EGPh	*The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*
EM	*Early Music*
EMH	*Early Music History*
Fam	*Fontes artis musicae*
Gk	*Germanistik*
GQ	*The German Quarterly*
GRM	*Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift*
GSR	*German Studies Review*
HS	*The Journal of Hellenic Studies*
IGL	*Internationales Germanistenlexikon*
LiLi	*Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik*
LL	*Literaturlexikon: Autoren und Werke deutscher Sprache*, ed. by Walter Killy, Gütersloh 1988–93
LMS	*London Medieval Studies*
M&L	*Music & Letters*
MD	*Musica Disciplina*
MEH	*Diccionario de la Música Espanola e Hispanoamericana*, ed. by Emilio Casares Rodicio, Madrid 1999–2002
Mf	*Die Musikforschung*
MGG1	*Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. by Friedrich Blume, Kassel ¹1949–86
MGG2	*Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. by Ludwig Finscher, Kassel ²1994–2008
MLJ	*The Modern Language Journal*
MLJb	*Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*
MLN	*Modern Language Notes*

MLR	*Modern Language Review*
MSB	Musikwissenschaftliche Studienbibliothek (ed. by Friedrich Gennrich)
MT	*Journal of Music Theory*
MW	*Musikalisches Wochenblatt*
NdB	*Neue deutsche Biographie*
NGrove	*The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie, London [2]2001
Nt	*Notes*
NZfM	*Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*
OGS	*Oxford German Studies*
PBB	*Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*
Pt	*Poetica*
RbM	*Revue belge musicologie/Belgisch tijdschrift voor muziekwetenschap*
RML	*Riemann Musik Lexikon*, ed. by Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, Mainz [12]1959–75
RQ	*Renaissance Quarterly*
SCB	*The South Central Bulletin*
SIMG	*Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*
SLUB	*SLUB Kurier: aus der Arbeit der Sächsischen Landesbiliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden*
Sm	*Speculum*
SM	*Studi Medievali*
SMC	*Studies in Medieval Culture*
SMH	*Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*
SMMA	Summa Musica Medii Aevi (ed. by Friedrich Gennrich)
TMR	*The Medieval Review*
VL	*Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, ed. by Kurt Ruh, Berlin [2]1978–2008
VnS	*Jahrbuch des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung*
WW	*Wirkendes Wort*
YTM	*Yearbook for Traditional Music*
ZfdA	*Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur*
ZfdB	*Zeitschrift für deutsche Bildung*
ZfdPh	*Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*
ZfLG	*Euphorion: Zeitschrift für Literaturgeschichte*
ZfMw	*Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*
ZfrPh	*Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*
ZfvL	*Zeitschrift für vergleichende Litteraturgeschichte*

General Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Referent
#	number
art.	article (used to denote encyclopaedia entries)
C	century
ca.	circa
col.	column
e. g.	for example
ed.	edited or editor
f.	*folio* (= and on the following page)
ff.	*foliis* (= and on the following pages)
fol.	Folio
frag.	fragmentary
Fs.	Festschrift
GfM	Gesellschaft für Musikforschung
ibid.	*ibidem* (= in the same place [as the previous citation])
l.	line
mel.	melody
MS	manuscript
n/a	no author
no.	number
p.	page
Ps.	Pseudo, e. g. in Pseudo-Reinmar
r	recto
transl.	translated
v	verso
vol.	volume

CHAPTER VI.

The *Palästinalied*: *Minnesang* 'in nuce'?

1. The *Palästinalied*: *Minnesang*'s Musical Epitome

This final chapter takes its lead from what has been argued in the preceding four, exemplifying and detailing their findings in a narrowly delimited case study. It scrutinises the manuscript transmission and scholarly debate of a song that is frequently held up as a paragon of *Minnesang*'s musicality: Walther von der Vogelweide's *Palästinalied* (C7).

Walther was and continues to be considered the prime *Minnesänger* by scholars. Hugo Kuhn's 1977, casually phrased remark that Walther is 'the greatest German song poet of the Middle Ages' demonstrates this assessment of Walther's exceptionality—it is so unanimously accepted that it requires no further explanation.[647] This valuation of Walther is not limited to German scholars: Hans Tischler similarly esteemed Walther as 'the most eminent Minnesinger'.[648] The enshrining of Walther is mirrored in the vast number of scholarly studies dedicated to him and his work, one of the earliest of which is Ludwig Uhland's 1822 biography.[649] The publication prefaced by Kuhn's words of praise is another case in point: jointly edited by the philologist 'triumvirate' of Horst Brunner, Ulrich Müller, and Franz Viktor Spechtler, the extensive volume aims to bring together all known source material relating to Walther in order to facilitate his critical study.[650] Aarburg's catalogue of melodies, too, emphasises the high estimation of Walther, as she

---

[647] Hugo Kuhn, 'Geleitwort', in: *Walther von der Vogelweide: die gesamte Überlieferung der Texte und Melodien*, ed. by Horst Brunner, Ulrich Müller and Franz Viktor Spechtler, Göppingen 1977, p. 1*; here, p. 1*. <61.a>

[648] Hans Tischler, 'Rhythm, Meter, and Melodic Organization in Medieval Songs', in: *SMC* 8/9 (1976), pp. 49–64; here, p. 52. This article was originally published as: Hans Tischler, 'Rhythm, Meter, and Melodic Organization in Medieval Songs', in: *RbM* 28/30 (1974–1976), pp. 5–23.

[649] See Uhland 1822.

[650] See Horst Brunner, Ulrich Müller and Franz Viktor Spechtler (eds), *Walther von der Vogelweide: die gesamte Überlieferung der Texte und Melodien*, Göppingen 1977, p. 9*.

expands Karl Lachmann's established corpus of *Minnesangs Frühling* to accommodate Walther in her study.[651] Walther's unanimous appraisal has been so all-encompassing that it was detrimental to the study of other *Minnesänger*, as Kuhn's earlier statement of 1952 tantalisingly implies: 'one figure fills the apex of Middle High German lyric in so complete a manner that hardly any other comes into sight next to him: Walther von der Vogelweide'.[652]

The medieval transmission of Walther's songs appears to support modern scholarship's assessment.[653] Christoph Cormeau pointed out that thirty-one presently known manuscripts and fragments transmit texts by Walther; of these, **C** has the largest number—447 stanzas and the *Leich*—also making Walther's corpus the largest in the most important of *Minnesang* manuscripts.[654] Medieval literary sources also show Walther as a highly esteemed musician. The most famous reference to Walther's artistry is the following passage in Gottfried von Straßburg's *Tristan*: 'ir [der nahtegalen] meisterinne kan ez wol, diu von der Vogelweide. Hi wie diu über heide mit hoher stimme schellet! Waz wunders si stellet! Wie spaehe s'organieret! Wie s'ir sanc wandelieret—ich meine aber in dem done da her von Zytherone, da diu gotinne Minne gebiutet uf und inne! Diust da ze hove kameraerin. Diu sol ir leitaerinne sin! Diu wiset si ze wunsche wol, diu weiz wol, wa si suochen sol der minnen melodie'.[655] Further medieval praise of Walther's musical artistry is transmitted by Lupold von Hornburg (Chapter VI.2.iii).

---

[651] Aarburg 1961, p. 379.

[652] Hugo Kuhn, 'Die Klassik des Rittertums in der Stauferzeit', in: *Annalen der deutschen Literatur: Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. by Heinz Otto Burger, Stuttgart 1952, pp. 99–177; here, p. 137. <60.b>

[653] See Horst Brunner, 'Metrik – Strophenformen – Melodien', in: *Walther von der Vogelweide: Epoche – Werk – Wirkung*, ed. by Horst Brunner, Gerhard Hahn, Ulrich Müller and Franz Viktor Spechtler, Munich 1996, pp. 43–73; here, p. 64.

[654] For an overview of the manuscripts containing Walther's songs, see: Christoph Cormeau (ed.), *Walther von der Vogelweide: Leich, Lieder, Sangsprüche*, Berlin [14]1996, p. xiiiff. For a study of **C**'s musicality, see Chapter II.1.

[655] Krohn (ed.) 2010, pp. 294 (vol. 1, ll. 4800ff.). 'Their mistress is well able to do so, the Nightingale of Vogelweide! How she carols over the heath in her high clear voice! What marvels she performs! How deftly she sings in organon! How she varies her singing from one compass to another (in that mode, I mean, which has come down to us from Cithaeron, on whose slopes and in whose caves the Goddess of Love holds sway)!

Most crucially for the present discussion, Walther is referred to as 'cantor' in the entry for 12 November 1203 in Bishop Wolfger of Passau's travelling accounts. While the meaning of the term 'cantor' in this context has generated much debate, its precise denotation is of little consequence: whether it refers to an ecclesiastical position, presents a generic reference to a singer/instrumentalist, or neither of the two, it would be difficult to disprove that it is linked to musicianship.[656] Notably, the accounts' scribe adds the term 'cantor' only when redacting the volume. The lack of reference to Walther's musicianship in the first version is reminiscent of the *Minnesang* manuscripts' lack of *explicit* musical elements, and Curschmann suggested that the added word 'cantor' makes the reference to Walther 'slightly more demeaning socially than the first. It puts him back in his place among the entertainers'.[657] Like in **C**, an explicit reference to musicianship was not required, even avoided to escape any associations of inferior status; readers needed not to be reminded of Walther's musicianship. Moreover, Curschmann demonstrated the comparatively high monetary value of the coat given to Walther by Bishop Wolfger in return for his services, strengthening the idea of an appreciative medieval audience for Walther's songs.[658]

Ulrich Müller has emphasised the notion that Walther's art was appreciated by his contemporaries not only because of its texts, but because of its music. Walther's songs feature prominently in manuscripts, and he has more melodies to his name than any other

---

She is Mistress of the Chamber there at court—let her be their leader! She will marshal them admirably, she knows where to seek Love's melody', translation from: A. T. Hatto (ed.), *Gottfried von Strassburg: Tristan*, Harmondsworth 1960, p. 107. Carl Bützler's assertion that the late *Minnesänger* Regenbogen likewise referred to Walther as an eminent musician relies on a misquotation of Hans Joachim Moser. Though Moser indeed makes reference to Walther in the same sentence as he quotes Regenbogen's words 'musica wort und wise versigelt hat' (on fol. 381v in **C**), he does not (erroneously) suggest that Regenbogen related this claim to Walther: Carl Bützler, *Untersuchungen zu Melodien Walthers von der Vogelweide*, Jena 1940, p. 4; Hans Joachim Moser, *Geschichte der deutschen Musik*, 3 vols, Stuttgart 1920, p. 199 (vol. 1).

[656] Michael Curschmann has outlined many of the positions taken in this debate: Michael Curschmann, 'Waltherus cantor', in: *OGS* 6 (1971), pp. 5–17.

[657] Ibid., p. 17.

[658] See ibid., p. 12.

twelfth- and early thirteenth-century German poet—with the sole exception of Neidhart.[659]
Franz Viktor Spechtler posited that the *Palästinalied* was 'the only of the author's melodies which has come down to us together with its text, and therefore already deserves special attention'.[660] Though Spechtler's claim is problematic—the Münster Fragment (**Z**) transmits other melodies by Walther together with his texts (see Chapter VI.2.ii)—the premise that Walther's melodic transmission is significant remains valid. Of the 14 directly transmitted melodies of early *Minnesang* listed by Aarburg in 1961, only two survive in full: that of Spervogel's *Spruchton* (MF20,1), and that of Walther's *Palästinalied*.[661]

Consequently, the *Palästinalied* has shared much of its poet's modern fame. Because of its alleged significance for the study of contrafacture, the song has been heralded by scholars as a 'Rosetta Stone' since its discovery by the Archivrat Otto Merx in 1910 (Chapter VI.3.ii).[662] An archaeological aura of awe emanates from Anna Amalie Abert's article, which pronounces regarding G. Kühl's 1898 edition of the *Bordesholmer Marienklage*—which her research showed to contain two contrafacta of Walther's melody—that 'his musical advisor Rochus von Liliencron could not have known what it was he had in front of him'.[663] Brunner, too, proclaimed the song's revelatory function, noting that 'since the discovery of the Münster Fragment […] Walther von der Vogelweide's *Palästinalied* has stood at the centre of research on the *authentic form* of

---

[659] See Ulrich Müller and Sigrid Neureiter-Lackner, 'Wirkungs- und Rezeptionsgeschichte', in: *Walther von der Vogelweide: Epoche – Werk – Wirkung*, ed. by Horst Brunner, Gerhard Hahn, Ulrich Müller and Franz Viktor Spechtler, Munich 1996, pp. 228–258; here, p. 252.

[660] Franz Viktor Spechtler, 'Der Leich, Lieder zum Thema Heiliges Land und Kreuzzug, "Alterslieder"', in: *Walther von der Vogelweide: Epoche – Werk – Wirkung*, ed. by Horst Brunner, Gerhard Hahn, Ulrich Müller and Franz Viktor Spechtler, Munich 1996, pp. 192–227; here, p. 208. <94.a>

[661] See Aarburg 1961, p. 380. Her study excludes most melodies contained in **J** because of their lateness.

[662] Most publications reference Merx with his surname only, adding to the myth surrounding the discovery of **Z**. Merx's first name is documented in the 1909/1910 volume of the *Mitteilungen an die Mitglieder des Vereins für hessische Geschichte und Landeskunde* (p. 53): http://www.vhghessen.de/mhg/.

[663] Anna Amalie Abert, 'Das Nachleben des Minnesangs im liturgischen Spiel', in: *Mf* 1 (1948), pp. 95–105; here, p. 104. <9.b> For Kühl's publication, see: G. Kühl, 'Die Bordesholmer Marienklage', in: *VnS* 24 (1898), pp. 1–75. It has not been possible to uncover Kühl's first name.

Minnesang'.[664] More recently, Gisela Kornrumpf underlined Brunner's notion of the *Palästinalied* as a 'pivotal point' despite the total of eight extant melodies by Walther—excluding those transmitted in *Meistersang* sources (Table 14).[665] The scholarly appraisal of Walther's *Palästinalied* is supported by many modern performances and recordings of the song, ranging from the intentionally 'authentic' to 'medieval-rock', from the *Studio der frühen Musik* under Thomas Binkley in the 1960s to the Medieval Baebes at the beginning of the twenty-first century.[666]

---

[664] Horst Brunner, 'Walthers von der Vogelweide Palästinalied als Kontrafaktur', in: *ZfdA* 92 (1963), pp. 195–211; here, p. 195. <17.a>

[665] Gisela Kornrumpf, Review of Horst Brunner, 'Walther von der Vogelweide: die gesamte Überlieferung der Texte und Melodien', in: *PBB* 103 (1981), pp. 129–139; here, p. 137. <56.a>

[666] Konstantin Voigt has discussed recordings of the *Palästinalied* produced by the *Studio der frühen Musik* (1966), Paul Hillier (2001, for Margaret Switten's *The Medieval Lyric*), and *In Extremo* (2005). Though expressly discarding the antagonism between historically informed and popular recordings (p. 223), his discussion traverses only little beyond this issue: Konstantin Voigt, 'Gothic und HIP – Sinn und Präsenz in populären und in historisch informierten Realisierungen des Palästinalieds', in: *BJb* 32 (2008), pp. 221–234. The recording of the *Palästinalied* by the Medieval Baebes can be found online at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rDKelcZWRT0; Binkley's recording is contained on the LP: Thomas Binkley and Studio der Frühen Musik, *Minnesang und Spruchdichtung ca. 1200–1320*, Telefunken 1966.

Cormeau no.	Incipit (in Cormeau)	Source	Notation	Comments
C7	Nu alrest lebe ich mir werde (*Palästinalied*)	**Z**	*Hufnagel*	Complete notation; also possibly = PC262,2[667]
C8	Mir hat ein liet von Franken (*Zweiter Philippston*)	**Z**	*Hufnagel*	Notation for first three lines complete, and for all but last syllable of line 4
C11	Vil wol gelopter got, wie selten ich dich prise (*König-Friedrichston*)	**Z**	*Hufnagel*	Notation for last three lines only
C28 (III)	Muget ir schouwen, waz dem meien (*Mailied*)	**M** (CB151/[a])	Adiastematic neumes	Complete notation for CB151; only for first line of CB151a (= C28,III); C28,IV also contained in M as CB169a; no notation; also possibly = R2067[668]
C30	Si wunderwol gemacht wip	**N**	Adiastematic neumes	Notation for the first line, and all but the last syllable of the second line
C49	Lange swigen des hat ich gedaht (*Sumerlaten-Lied*)	**M** (CB166)	Adiastematic neumes	Complete notation for CB166; no notation for CB166a; CB166a is Reinmar's MF185,27 which has same poetic form as C49
C61	Junger man, wis hohes muotes	**M** (CB147/a)	Adiastematic neumes	Complete notation for CB147 and CB147a; CB147a is Reinmar's MF177,10 which has same poetic form as C61
C115	-	**Z**	*Hufnagel*	Notation for last fourteen lines, and a preceding incomplete line, but lacks notation for opening lines

Table 14: Extant melodies by Walther von der Vogelweide[669]

Seeking to understand how this valuation of Walther's *Palästinalied* as the (musical) epitome of *Minnesang* was constructed, this chapter gives an overview of the song's medieval source transmission; it studies the critical issues surrounding the

---

[667] See Chapter VI.3.ii.
[668] See Chapter VI.2.v.
[669] The table is based on information from Brunner's introduction to the melodies in: Cormeau (ed.) 1996, p. xliiif.

Palästinalied's scholarly reception and shows them to be akin to debates in wider *Minnesang* scholarship as well as in medieval studies as a whole: philological issues of text criticism and content, and musicological ones of contrafacture and rhythm. Despite the number of publications on the *Palästinalied*, its musical meaning has received only little attention, as Chapter VI.3.iii elucidates. Finally, the chapter concludes by dissecting what remains of the *Palästinalied* in reference works and general histories (Chapter VI.4). Querying *how* the song was constructed, and probing the reasons that led to this construction, the chapter presents an exemplary case study of the problems that continue to surround the study of *Minnesang*'s music, as well as an *in nuce* distillation of the arguments of Chapter V.

2. The *Palästinalied* in Medieval Sources

Stanzas of Walther's *Palästinalied* are included in six *Minnesang* sources: **A** (Kleine Heidelberger Liederhandschrift), **B** (Weingartner Liederhandschrift), **C** (Codex Manesse), **E** (Würzburger Liederhandschrift), **M** (Codex Buranus), and **Z** (Münster Fragment). The song has twelve stanzas, though none of the sources present the same order or selection. Scholarship has generally viewed the three main sources of Minnesang, **ABC**, as devoid of musical information, as 'purely literary'.[670] **M** contains thirty-nine pieces with unheighted neumes, though not for the *Palästinalied*, while **Z** is the only source to transmit the song's first stanza with a melody, in square notation (Table 15).

---

[670] Kuhn 1952, p. 116. <60.a>

Cormeau; Lachmann	Incipit (following Z)	Manuscript ordering (no. of stanzas)						# in MS
		Z (12)	A (7)	B (6)	C (9/11)	E (11)	M (1)	
C7,I L14,38	Nu alrest leb ich mir werde	1 (incl. mel.)	1	1	1	1	[CB 211]	i
C7,II L15,6	Schone lant riche und here	2	2	3	2	4	1	ii
C7,XII L16,29	Kristen, iuden, unde heyden	3	5	6	5	2	-	iii
C7,III L138,1	Me dan hundert tusent wunder	4	7	7	6	5	-	iv
C7,IV L15,13	Alrest do liez er sich toufen	5	8	11	7	7	-	v
C7,V L15,20	Do er sich wolte do irbarmen	6	11	10	8	8	-	vi
C7,VI L15,27	Sint do vur der sun tzur helle	7	3	-	11	3	-	vii
C7,VII L15,34	Do er den tiuvel dort gefande	8	-	-	10	11	-	viii
C7,VIII L16,1	Sit waz er in disem lande	9	-	-	3	10	-	ix
C7,X L16,15	Unser lant richtere richten	10	-	-	[12]	12	-	x
C7,IX L16,8	In diz lant hat er gesprochen	11	-	-	[9]	9	-	xi
C7,XI L16,22	Nut lat uch des nicht verdriezen	12	-	-	-	-	-	xii

Table 15: MS distribution of *Palästinalied* stanzas[671]

Of the thirty-one manuscripts and fragments that include any stanzas by Walther, only five preserve them with Walther's name.[672] These five manuscripts (**ABCEZ**) all contain the *Palästinalied*, meaning that all of the song's extant stanzas appear with an authorial attribution except the singleton contained in **M**, a manuscript that gives no authorial attributions at all. While the most frequently transmitted of Walther's song stanzas—'Ich hoere iu so vil tugende jehen' (C20,I)—appears in eight sources, the majority of his stanzas are included in no more than two or three manuscripts.[673]

Critiquing attempts at reconstructing a philologically 'correct' version of the song, made possible through the *Palästinalied*'s multiple transmission, Volker Schupp argued

---

[671] The stanzas are numbered according to their appearance in **Z** since all 12 stanzas are contained together only in this manuscript, and since it is the only one to include the song's melody. In the following, reference to stanzas will be made with the table's Arabic numbering. Stanza ordering in individual manuscripts will be indicated by the lower case Roman numerals in the final column. Cormeau's catalogue numbers will be used when discussing the *Palästinalied* alongside other songs. Lachmann's numbers are indicated here for reference purposes alone.

[672] See Günther Schweikle (ed.), *Walther von der Vogelweide: Werke, Gesamtausgabe*, 2 vols, Stuttgart 1998, p. 20 (vol. 2).

[673] See ibid., p. 21 (vol. 2).

that one should be wary of seeing the song as closely related to the production of any single manuscript.[674] Similarly, Jeffrey Ashcroft rejected 'acrobatics of higher textual criticism', instead calling for a serious consideration of each manuscript as individually meaningful.[675] Gisela Kornrumpf likewise encouraged scholars to study vernacular song from its source material, and Hugo Kuhn suggested that a study of individual manuscripts enables 'possibilities of an authentic approach' through the insistence on imperfection and orality.[676]

Rather than providing a comprehensive codicological study of all six manuscripts that contain the *Palästinalied*, the following sections focus on the elements that underline the song's musicality. **Z** is considered first as it contains the largest number of stanzas for the song, transmits the only surviving melody for the *Palästinalied*, and has consequently aroused most (musical) interest by scholars. **E**, **A**, and **M** are then presented in reverse chronological order, gradually moving closer to evidence of transmission during Walther's lifetime.

A brief consideration of the song's placement in **B** and **C**, both of which already featured prominently in the discussion of musical representation in Chapter II, provides a useful starting point for assessing the written medieval evidence of Walther's *Palästinalied*.

i. The Weingartner Liederhandschrift (B) and the Codex Manesse (C)

The Weingartner Liederhandschrift (**B**) notates six of the *Palästinalied*'s stanzas—1, 3, 6, 7, 11, and 10—beginning at the top of p. 143 (Image 53). Each is clearly marked with alternating red and blue initials. All stanzas but the last use four lines of text, together

---

[674] Volker Schupp, *Septenar und Bauform: Studien zur 'Auslegung des Vaterunsers', zu 'De VII Sigillis' und zum 'Palästinalied' Walthers von der Vogelweide*, Berlin 1964, p. 108.
[675] Jeffrey Ashcroft, 'Ungefüege doene: Apocrypha in Manuscript E and the Reception of Walter's Minnesang', in: *OGS* 13 (1982), pp. 57–85; here, p. 57.
[676] Kuhn 1977, p. 1*. <61.b> Kornrumpf, Review of Brunner, p. 139.

with the initials creating a very regular and notable page layout.[677] The Walther corpus of

B opens, after the author portrait, with five stanzas in the *Kaiser Friedrich Ton* (C3,I–V).

Rather than creating a unified song, however, these five stanzas have been proposed as

sharing a formal connection only and constituting five *separate* single-stanza lyrics.[678]

These are followed by three stanzas in the *Ottenton* (C4,I–III) which are also single-stanza

lyrics (Goldin's numbers 35ff.); and three stanzas of 'Owe, was eren sich ellendet von

tiuschen landen' (C5,I, C5a,I–II) on p. 142 which, as Cormeau's numberbing indicates,

may be viewed as only loosely related.[679] The *Palästinalied* follows, as the first song with

unambiguously connected stanzas to be notated on a single manuscript page, which is also

the first to feature more than four initials: including the opening of the *Reichston*—'Ich sas

uf ainem staine' (C2,I)—p. 143 has as many as seven initials. The brevity and number of

stanzas make the song stand out clearly from what has come before and from what is to

follow. The song's opening stanza is also the first beginning of a new song in **B**'s Walther

corpus, not counting the first song C3, to coincide with the beginning of a new page.[680]

The *Palästinalied* seems to have been notated here because of its topic: it is

surrounded by songs of political and/or religious content which mirror the *Palästinalied*'s

religious concerns.[681] **B**'s compilation of topic-related sub-sections within an authorial

corpus suggests the use of the manuscript in practice: the search for a topically suitable

song for a (sung?) performance is facilitated by this ordering. The clear, orderly

presentation of the *Palästinalied* would have assisted the performer in making out the

song's constituent parts (the repeated *Stollen* and the *Abgesang*) and would have made *ad

hoc* sung performance easy.

---

[677] It is not until p. 158 that such a regular layout is repeated with a stanza beginning at the top of the page.
[678] Frederick Goldin discusses this group of stanzas in the *Kaiser Friedrich Ton*, the 'pentad', as numbers 55–59: Frederick Goldin, *Walther von der Vogelweide: the Single-Stanza Lyrics*, New York 2003, p. 415ff.
[679] **C**, however, uses the same colour for the initials of all three stanzas, suggesting that they are to be seen as the same *Ton*: Cormeau (ed.) 1996, p. 21 (footnote comment).
[680] The top of a page does not again coincide with the first stanza of a new *Ton* until p. 160 (C24).
[681] For a discussion of the *Palästinalied*'s content, see Chapter VI.3.i.

Image 53: The *Palästinalied* in B, pp. 142 and 143

Image 54: The *Palästinalied* in C, fols 126r/v

C similarly places the *Palästinalied* near the beginning of its Walther corpus; it features nine of the song's stanzas—1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 10, and 3—placing them in seventh position, on fols 126r/v (Image 54). **C** presents the song in a similar context to that of **B** (Table 16). The main, minor difference between the group of religious-political songs in **C** and **B** is that the former has moved the *Reichston* to the beginning of the group rather than appending it to the *Palästinalied*; the group of *Kaiser Friedrich Ton*, *Ottenton*, and 'Owe, was eren sich ellendet' is stable in its ordering. Of significance are the stanzas which **C** inserts between this group and the *Palästinalied*, the five stanzas known as the *Minne-Credo* (C6,I–V). While the song's consideration of *minne*'s nature may have been placed here because of the textual resonances between its final stanza (C6,V) and the *Palästinalied*—'alrerst' and 'selig'—the song breaks up the group of religious-political songs to include a pedagogic song on love.

B		C	
Song	**Page**	**Song**	**Folio**
-	-	C1,I–IV *Leich*	124va–125ra
-	-	C2,I; III; II *Reichston*	125ra–125rb
C3,I–V *Kaiser Friedrich Ton*	140–141	C3,I–V *Kaiser Friedrich Ton*	125rb–125vc
C4,I–III *Ottenton*	141–142	C4,I–III *Ottenton*	125vd
C5,I; C5a,I–II 'Owe, was eren sich ellendet'	142	C5,I–II; C5a,I–II 'Owe, was eren sich ellendet'	125vd–126ra
-	-	C6,I–V *Minne-Credo*	126ra–126rb
C7,I; XII; V–VI; IX–X *Palästinalied*	143	C7, I–II; IV–VII; IX–X; XII; [XI; VIII] *Palästinalied*	126rb–126vc
C2,I; III; II *Reichston*	143–145	C55,I; III; IV; VI *Leopoldston*	126vc–126vd
C12,I; C12b; C12,II *Unmutston* [all indicated as new songs]	145–146	C3,VI–IX *Kaiser Friedrich Ton*	126vd–127ra
C8,I *Zweiter Philippston*	146		
C12,XVII; VII; XVII *Unmutston*	146–148		

Table 16: Opening of the Walther corpus in B and C

Appended in the bottom margin of fol. 126r, **C** notates two additional stanzas of the *Palästinalied* (12 and 9). These are linked to the end of the song over the page with a set of paired asterisks. The asterisk on fol. 126v is connected to the previous page by an upward line, which seems to have been cut off by page-cropping, and to the end of the text with another line that leads to a drawing that resembles a kind of long-nosed face (a knight's helmet?). The addition in the bottom margin of fol. 126v (the folio on which the *Palästinalied* ends), is the only other large-scale marginal addition to a stanza in Walther's corpus—a continuation of 'Drie sorge hab ich mir genomen' (C55,VI)—and it must have been entered into the codex before the additional stanzas for the *Palästinalied*, as the latter had to be included over-leaf rather than on the same page as their preceding stanza. The notation of additions in close proximity to their host songs suggests not only that the

236

manuscript's owner and scribes were interested in its comprehensiveness, but in its actual performative use. If the manuscript was to be convenient in a performance situation (whether read or sung), it would have been essential to include additions close to their hosts so as to avoid unnecessary and distracting turning of pages. Had the manuscript been intended solely for representational purposes, the additional stanzas could have easily been included on the ample free space left at the end of the Walther corpus (fol. 145v).[682] Since (oral) performance in the Middle Ages was always loaded with notions of musicality, the performativity of the *Palästinalied* suggested by its added stanzas in **C** emphasises the song's (and the manuscript's) musicality, despite lacking any explicit form of musical notation.[683]

ii. The Münster Fragment (Z)

Raphael Molitor's 1911 article, the first to publicise Otto Merx's discovery of the Münster Fragment (**Z**), set the pace for esteeming the manuscript for its inclusion of melodies by Walther von der Vogelweide: 'some leaves which contained nothing less than remnants of long gone melodies from the German past, filled with singing, among them a number by the prince of our medieval lyric'.[684] While Molitor's national pride and excitement about this 'alluring item' may have subsided over the course of the last century, the musical importance of the fragment has continued to be acknowledged.[685] Friedrich Gennrich and Heinrich Husmann stressed its importance as the first source to document directly the singability of medieval German song, making it focal source of attention for contrafact studies.[686] Brunner argued that **Z**'s relevance reached beyond the *Palästinalied* as 'by far the most important source for melodies [plural!] by Walther', while Günther Schweikle

---

[682] This is not to suggest that the manuscript was directly sung or read from in performance, merely that it was *also* readily available for performers to consult at short notice before/during a performance.
[683] See Chapter II.1.ii.
[684] Raphael Molitor, 'Die Lieder des Münsterischen Fragmentes', in: *SIMG* 12 (1911), pp. 475–500; here, p. 475. <69.b>
[685] Ibid. <69.a>
[686] See Kippenberg 1962, p. 43.

once more tied its significance to the *Palästinalied*, noting that it contained the only *complete* melody for a Walther song.[687]
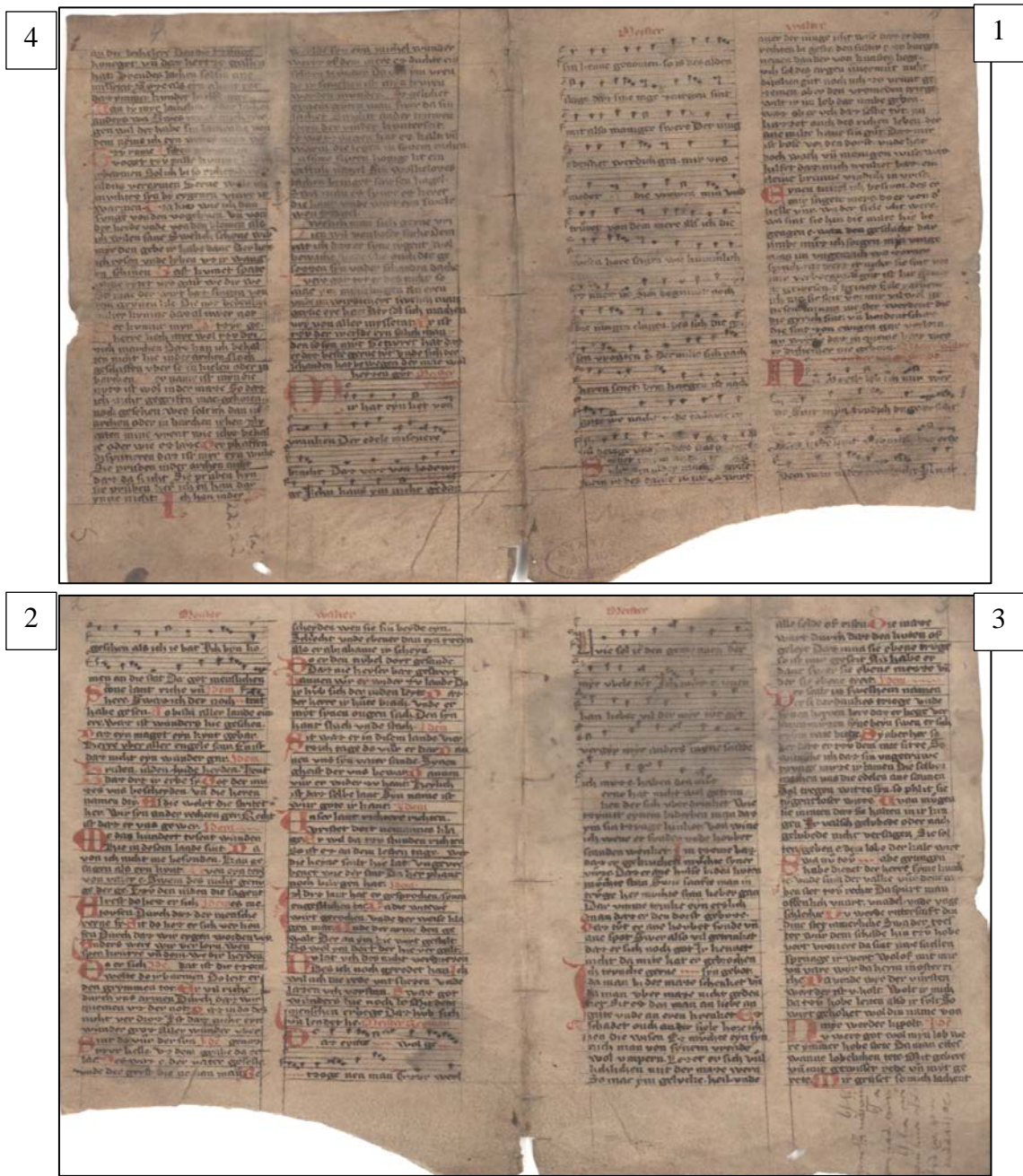
Image 55: Facsimile of Z[688]

Z consists of one parchment bifolio of 25.5x14.5cm (Image 55). Each folio is divided into two columns with a maximum of forty-two lines of text; spread across the two

---

[687] Brunner 1996, p. 63; Schweikle (ed.) 1998, p. 786 (vol. 2). <21.a>
[688] A digital facsimile of **Z** is freely available online, at: http://archive.thulb.uni-jena.de/hisbest/receive/HisBest_cbu_00008634.

folios are thirty generally five-line staves of music, with some staves of four or three lines. The bifolio cannot have been at the centre of its original manuscript gathering since the corresponding verso and recto folios turns do not have corresponding texts. Molitor originally dated the manuscript to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, but revised this statement a year later, after Philippi had suggested to him that **Z** dated back to the period between 1300 and 1325 or even earlier if it came from Western or Southern Germany.[689] Such an early date, Carl Bützler noted, might mean that **Z** pre-dates **C**.[690] The most recent codicological assessment of **Z** was undertaken by Thomas Klein. In 1987, Klein developed Karl Bartsch's early linguistic analysis and argued that **Z**'s scribe was of Low German origin: the fragment's provenance could be broadly situated in the Westphalian area, in accordance with the fact that the manuscript had been in the possession of a south Westphalian noble family (used as a cover for sixteenth-century accounts) before it was transferred to the Münster archive.[691] The Low German scribal habits in the second half of **Z** (pp. 3 and 4), Klein argued, match 'so closely with **J**, that this folio could be included in **J** without problem'.[692] Molitor's suggestion that **Z** had once been part of a larger song book, however, has been rejected by Wolfgang Beck.[693]

Among its twenty-seven stanzas of text (Table 17), **Z** contains a song catalogued by Cormeau as C115,I–III (lacking its opening lines), twelve stanzas of the *Palästinalied* (p.

---

[689] Molitor claimed that he had 'purposefully kept low the dating' ('absichtlich niedrig gehalten') in the earlier article. Raphael Molitor, 'Über die Lieder des Münsterischen Fragments', in: *SIMG* 13 (1912), p. 506. For his earlier dating, see: Molitor 1911, p. 476. Voetz noted that Molitor's adjustment of **J**'s dating had gone largely unnoticed; while Bützler's thesis may have been one of the few early acknowledgements of the new dating, it seems to have become widely accepted since Klein's 1987 article: Voetz 1988, p. 263.

[690] See Bützler 1940, p. 6.

[691] See Klein 1987, p. 90. For the manuscript's previous provenance, see: Franz Jostes, 'Bruchstück einer Münsterischen Minnesängerhandschrift mit Noten', in: *ZfdA* 53 (1912), pp. 348–357; here, p. 348. Viewed alongside the Notre-Dame fragments from the Dominican monastery at Soest, recently presented by Eva M. Maschke, **Z** demonstrates the lively interest in (current) music in the Westphalian region during the second half of the thirteenth century, and counters assertions of atavistic tastes in the German-speaking countries during the Middle Ages, see: Eva M. Maschke, 'Neue Fragmentfunde in der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Münster: zur Rekonstruktion einer Notre-Dame-Handschrift aus dem Soester Dominikanerkonvent', in: *Mf* 66 (2013), pp. 277–280.

[692] Klein 1987, p. 90. <54.a> Klein also includes **Z** in his recent synoptic table of **J**'s manuscript context: Klein 2010.

[693] See Haustein and Beck 2010, p. 267.

1), the first one and a half lines for an otherwise unknown song attributed to 'Meister Reymar' (p. 2), ten stanzas of the *König Friedrich Ton* (p. 3), and an incomplete first *Stollen* of the *Zweiter Philippston* (p. 4).[694] All songs feature musical notation. If the folios had indeed originally been in the order suggested by **Z**'s modern numbering—a notion silently accepted by modern scholarship—Reinmar's song (and corpus?) would have been sandwiched between two corpora of Walther's poetry. I would like to revise this assumption and argue that the original foliation must have been p.3/p.4, lacuna, p.1/p.2 (Table 18). This ordering places Reinmar's stanza at the end of the bifolio and establishes a single Walther corpus, separated only by what is reasonable to assume were further Walther stanzas. If one asserts that there are only few bifolios missing in between p. 4 and p. 1, then Walther's *Palästinalied* would again be notated in a group of political-religious songs including the *König Friedrich Ton* and the *Zweiter Philippston*, a different stanza of which follows the song in **C**. It is conceivable that the stanzas of the *Kaiser Friedrich Ton*, *Ottenton*, and 'Owe, was eren sich ellendet' which precede the *Palästinalied* in **B** and **C** may have been included in the original compilation of **Z** between the *Zweiter Philipston* and C115.[695]

---

[694] The song attributed to 'Meister Reymar' in **Z** has been neglected by Reinmar scholars. 'Daz eyme [?] wolgetzogenen man' is not included among Reinmar's songs in *Des Minnesangs Frühling*, and Günther Schweikle's off-hand remark that 'no melody by Reinmar survives' suggests that he has either overlooked or consciously excluded the song: Günther Schweikle, *Reinmar: Lieder*, Stuttgart 1986, p. 59. <90.a>

[695] The inversion of **Z**'s order would also invert the scribal hands made out by Bartsch and Klein, placing the section closest in appearance to **J** at the beginning rather than at the end of the Walther corpus, see fn. 692. The strong wear of the fragment on pp. 4–1 suggests that this opening provided the outer side of document cover as which the bifolio was used, and that the opening pp. 2–3 was on the inside of the folder. This does not allow any conclusions about the bifolio's original ordering.

Song	Author Attribution	Comments	Pagination
C115,I–III 'sin henne genomen. So is des alden clage'	Meister Walter [column heading]	*Abgesang* only for first stanza	[lacuna–]1
C7,I–II; XII; III– VIII; X; IX; XI 'Nu alrest leb ich mir werde' *Palästinalied*	Meister Walter von der Vogelweide		1–2
'Daz eyme wolgetzogenen man'	Meister Reymar	Breaks off in second line [end of page]	2[–lacuna]
C11,I; XV; XIV; IX; XVII; XII; VII; IV; C11a; C11,XVIII 'Wie soll ic den gemynnen der myr ubele tut' *König Friedrich Ton*	Meister Walter [name faded in column heading]	Lacks *Stollen* and beginning of *Abgesang* for first stanza [top of page]	[lacuna–]3–4
C8b 'Mir hat eyn liet von vranken' *Zweiter Philippston*	Meister Walter	Breaks off at end of fourth line [end of page]	4[–lacuna]

Table 17: Contents of Z

Proposed Ordering	Song	Author Attribution	Comments	'Old' Pagination
before *1r	*Further Walther songs			[lacuna]
	*Opening of C11,I			[lacuna]
*1r	C11,I; XV; XIV; IX; XVII; XII; VII; IV; C11a; C11,XVIII 'Wie soll ic den gemynnen der myr ubele tut' *König Friedrich Ton*	Meister Walter [name faded in column heading]	Lacks *Stollen* and beginning of *Abgesang* for first stanza [top of page]	[lacuna–]3–4
*1v	C8b 'Mir hat eyn liet von vranken' *Zweiter Philippston*	Meister Walter	Breaks off at end of fourth line [end of page]	4[–lacuna]
*1v]–[*2r	*End of C8b			[lacuna]
	*Further Walther songs, including *Kaiser Friedrich Ton*, *Ottenton*, 'Owe, was eren sich ellendet' (C3, 4, 5/5a)			[lacuna]
	*Opening of C115,I			[lacuna]
*2r	C115,I–III 'sin henne genomen. So is des alden clage'	Meister Walter [column heading]	*Abgesang* only for first stanza	[lacuna–]1
	C7,I–II; XII; III–VIII; X; IX; XI 'Nu alrest leb ich mir werde' *Palästinalied*	Meister Walter von der Vogelweide		1–2
*2v	'Daz eyme wolgetzogenen man'	Meister Reymar	Breaks off in second line [end of page]	2[–lacuna]
*3r	*End of 'Daz eyme wolgetzogenen man'			[lacuna]
	*Further songs by Reymar			[lacuna]

Table 18: Proposed re-ordering of Z

Z presents twelve stanzas for the *Palästinalied*—the only source to bring together all currently known stanzas of the song. The only song in the fragment to reference the poet fully as 'Meister Walter von der Vogelweide', the text differentiates clearly between three different types of initial: large red initials for the beginning of each new stanza, smaller red initials for the beginning of the second *Stollen* and the *Abgesang*, and black capitals with an added red stroke for the otherwise unhighlighted line openings. All but

three of the stanzas are followed by the rubric 'idem', indicating that the next stanza belongs to the same song.

Like the scribe in **J**, the music scribe of the *Palästinalied* shifted the end of the first stanza to the end of the following text-only line, rather than placing it at the *beginning* of the following line.[696] It seems that the text lines had been ruled before the music scribe ruled the staves and entered the melody, as the outer and middle three lines in each five line stave are thicker and spaced like the text ruling. The song's staves with underlying text must have been entered before the text of the remaining stanzas: the text scribe would not have left a random right hand margin at the end of the first line of text to accommodate the end of the previous song. Music was important to **Z**'s commissioner(s): this way of notating would have been very time intensive, since for every new song the music and text scribes would have had to wait until their counterpart had finished. If the whole manuscript was only a small gathering, as suggested by Wolfgang Beck, then it seems significant that the little space available was used to include music, rather than using it all for text and relying on memory for the melodies.

The melodies are notated in German *Hufnagel* neumes. The most common note shapes used are the *virga* and *punctum*, indicating the mainly syllabic nature of the music, but, surprisingly, three-note and four-note ligatures outnumber two-note *coniuncturae* in the *Palästinalied*: the song features only five two-note ligatures (all *clives* in two different notational forms) but eight three-note (*virgae sub bipunctis* and *porrecti*) and six four-note groups (Figure 19).[697] This observation led Rudolf Wustmann to argue that 'it is not inconceivable that *Meistersinger*-esque enjoyment of ornamentation could have been at play here, just as the text had to put up with something similar'.[698]

---

[696] See Chapter III.2.
[697] This count is based on the diplomatic transcription below (Figure 19).
[698] Rudolf Wustmann, 'Walther's Palaestinalied', in: *SIMG* 13 (1912), pp. 247–250; here, p. 250. <110.e> Molitor's revised dating of **Z** contradicts the idea of *Meistersang* influence.

Figure 19: Diplomatic transcription of the *Palästinalied*

Yet it was not primarily the musical evidence that led Wustmann to doubt **Z**'s authenticity and to reconstruct what he believed to be the more frugal original melody, but the fragment's transmission of twelve stanzas for the *Palästinalied*.[699] Jostes shared Wustmann's fear of **Z**'s inauthenticity, and Carl Bützler argued that, although the melodies were essentially authentic, they presented some features of decay and lateness (*Zersingen*).[700] Molitor, on the other hand, responded to Wustmann's claim by stressing that there was no reason to doubt the melodies' authenticity even if the text presented a 'less good transmission'.[701] Kurt Plenio emphatically rejected the idea that any stanza unique to **Z** must, by principle, be inauthentic, and hence re-evaluated the fragment's quality of transmission: he argued that the fragment's material had to be considered authentic until disproven.[702]

No fewer than three scholars published on **Z** within two years of its discovery: Molitor was the first in the first half of 1911, Jostes and Wustmann followed in 1912, and

---

[699] See ibid., p. 249.
[700] See Jostes 1912, p. 349. For Bützler's view see: Bützler 1940, p. 37.
[701] Molitor 1912, p. 506.
[702] See Kurt Plenio, 'Bausteine zur altdeutschen Strophik', in: *PBB* 42 (1917), pp. 411–502; here, p. 460ff. All stanzas of the *Palästinalied* are attested in at least two sources.

Molitor published a second brief article in the same year.[703] While Molitor and Wustmann had musicological backgrounds and published in a music journal, Jostes was a philologist and published in *ZfdA*. Wustmann had additionally been trained philologically by the historian Karl Lamprecht, and by 1912 Jostes was firmly established as an ordinarius in German at Münster.[704] Consequently, one might argue, both subordinated the song's music to their primary consideration of its text. Molitor, on the other hand, was the abbot of the Benedictine monastery in Gerleve, and had published on the history of chant and helped prepare the *Graduale Romanum* of 1908.[705] His musical training railed against the idea of uncritically applying philological findings to music, and provided the background for his insistence on performing the melodies of **Z** in what he conceived as chant rhythm.[706]

Jostes and Molitor appear to have clashed over **Z**. Molitor was based about twenty miles outside Münster, making it possible if not probable that he would have met Jostes, who was not only interested in ecclesiastical history but was also a practising Catholic. Indeed, Molitor referenced Jostes' publication which had not yet appeared when he published his article in 1911.[707] Although Molitor's article was the first to appear, he curiously apologises for the delay in presenting his study, pointing to 'circumstances outside my area'.[708] Molitor's use of the word 'Bereich' ('area') rather than 'Verantwortung' ('responsibility') is unusual. Viewed in context with his reference to Jostes' still unpublished article, however, it seems possible that Molitor covertly sought to insinuate that the responsibility for the delay did not lie within his '*Fach*bereich', his *subject* area, but with philology.

---

[703] Lothar Voetz misleadingly claimed that Jostes was the first to publish **Z**'s texts. Although Jostes' article was indeed the first to present the fragment's texts in *transcription*, Molitor's article also encompassed a complete facsimile of **Z**: Voetz 1988, p. 263.

[704] See Ulrich Tiedau, Art. 'Jostes, Franz Ludwig', in: *IGL*, ed. by Christoph König, vol. 2, Berlin 2003, pp. 861–863; here, p. 861; Martin Wehnert, Art. 'Wustmann, Rudolf', in: *MGG1*, vol. 14, Kassel 1968, col. 915; here, col. 915.

[705] See Martin Uhlenbrock, Art. 'Molitor, Raphael', in: *NdB*, vol. 17, Berlin 1994, pp. 727–728; here, p. 728.

[706] Molitor 1911, p. 491. For a discussion of **Z**'s rhythmic interpretation, see Chapter VI.3.ii.

[707] See ibid., p. 475.

[708] Ibid. <69.c>

A footnote in Jostes' article suggests an envisaged and possibly begun collaboration between Molitor and Jostes: 'since Abbot Molitor has refrained from the original plan of presenting his work at the same time as mine, I give a transcription of the *Palästinalied*, provided to me by a friend, in the appendix with permission of the editors'.[709] The friend Jostes refers to is the 'Lyceumsdirector Dr Kühn in Elberfeld'; the Elberfeld Lyceum was a girls' school in Wuppertal, and its director Dr Kühn does not appear to have been a specialist in the transcription of medieval music, suggesting that Jostes approached one of his (closer?) friends who could read music and could provide a transcription as soon as possible.[710] It seems that Molitor and Jostes had initially agreed to share the study of **Z** between them and to publish their findings together in *ZfdA*. Molitor became impatient when Jostes had not finished his article in early 1911 when the project had been begun soon after the fragment had been rediscovered by Merx in 1910. Consequently, the abbot sent his article to another journal apologising for the delay caused by Jostes' tardiness. Flustered by Molitor's breaking of his word, Jostes now sought to publish his article as quickly as possible, obtaining permission from the editors of *ZfdA* to employ his friend Dr Kühn, a non-specialist, for the transcription of the *Palästinalied*, uncovering Molitor's presumptiousness in a footnote—but without being able to explain the reason why the Benedictine failed to honour their agreement.

Two points of note for the study of the *Palästinalied* arise from this brief discussion of **Z**. Firstly, the early publications by Molitor, Jostes, and Wustmann, need to be read with due caution. Molitor and Jostes published their articles in haste, and Wustmann's article is fraught with preconceptions based on his late dating of **Z**. The authors' respective backgrounds likewise influenced their assessment of the authenticity of the *Palästinalied*'s music. Secondly, the re-ordering of **Z** suggested here not only moves the *Palästinalied* to

---

[709] Jostes 1912, p. 350 (fn. 1). <50.a>
[710] Ibid., p. 357.

the end of the fragment's Walther corpus, but emphasises **Z**'s relationship with two other manuscript families: the *Palästinalied*'s position within a group of religious-poetic songs and in proximity to the *Zweiter Philippston* (loosely) resembles the ordering in **B** and **C**. The re-ordering changes the role of Reinmar's song from being a singleton (or group) sandwiched between two Walther corpora to being a separate group *following* Walther's songs. The side-by-side presentation of Walther's and Reinmar's corpora links **Z** to the Würzburger Liederhandschrift (**E**), to which the discussion now turns.

iii. The Würzburger Liederhandschrift (E)

Unlike the other manuscripts discussed in this thesis, the Würzburger Liederhandschrift (**E**) is not strictly speaking a collection of (sung) poetry; **E** is not a song book, but the second volume of Michael de Leone's *Hausbuch*.[711] The codex of 285 folios has been dated to 1345 to 1354, making it the latest manuscript to contain stanzas of the *Palästinalied*; it was owned by the Mainz-born patrician Michael de Leone, who took his name from his Würzburg inn 'Zum Löwen'.[712] Written on two-columned large folios measuring 34.5x26.5 cm, the volume contains a wealth of material ranging from the alphabet and a set of common prayers to Leone's own chronicle and writings.

The chapters of the surviving second volume which more accurately fall under the term 'Liederhandschrift' are those containing *Leiche*, *Lieder*, and *Sprüche*, and scholarly attention has concentrated on chapters 24 and 25 which present songs by Walther and Reinmar.[713] The headings given for these chapters in the index point to the repertoire's

---

[711] For the most comprehensive description of the manuscript, see: Gisela Kornrumpf and Paul-Gerhard Völker, *Die deutschen mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek München*, Wiesbaden 1968, p. 66ff. The manuscript was published in facsimile by Horst Brunner in 1983: Horst Brunner, *Das Hausbuch des Michael de Leone (Würzburger Liederhandschrift) der Universitätsbibliothek München (2° Cod. ms. 731)*, Göppingen 1983.

[712] Disregarding the contrafacted stanza in **F**, catalogued by Cormeau as C7,XIII.

[713] Further *Minnesang* repertoire could be found in the now-lost chapter 14 ('Des Frauwenlobes Lider von den siben frien kunsten und von der vier elementen natur'), chapter 27 ('Des Frawelobes [sic!] geticht uz cantica canticorum und darnach des selben frawenlobes eyn gut liet: Adam den ersten etc. Darnach des Marners eyn gut geticht von den zehen Geboten und den siben Totsunden') and chapter 29 ('Des Marners Lyder und des vorgen Lupoldes Harnburges [sic!] lantpredige von der werlde kummer und not, und auch ein

sung nature, although **E** does not contain musical notation: the corpus of Walther's songs is indexed as 'Lider hern walthers von der vogelweide und hindernach ein geticht des ruphermans' while Reinmar's chapter is heralded as 'Hern reymars lieder und hindernach von allen singern eyn lobelich rede lupoldes von hornburgs von rotenburg' (**E**, fol. 2r). The scribe uses the terms 'li[e]d' and 'geticht' not only for Walther's and Reinmar's songs, but also for those by the Marner and Frauenlob, yet they appear not to correspond to any generic distinction between *Lied*, *Leich*, and *Spruch*—Walther's and Reinmar's 'lieder' contain *Spruch* as well as *Lied* repertoire; Frauenlob's 'geticht' in chapter 27 is a *Leich*, and the Marner's 'geticht' is a *Spruch*.[714] The repeated use of the pairing 'lied' and 'geticht' does, however, suggest that the repertoire was understood to contain music as well as text. The description of Lupold's speech ['rede'] as a laudation of all *singers* and the fact that it is appended to the corpus of Reinmar's songs confirms this understanding and proposes that Reinmar was considered such a 'singer'.

Lupold's praise itself underlines these problems of generic terminology. Indexed as a 'rede', the scribe who notated the laudation on fol. 191v calls its three stanzas 'lieder'. Modern scholarship's conception of *Spruch* stanzas as individual and *Lied* stanzas as a unified group sits ill with this use of the term 'lied' for individual stanzas, and the scribe's preface makes matters concerning genre and performance yet more complicated, noting that 'of their [Walther's and Reinmar's] praise Lupold Hornburg von Rotenburg has crafted ["geticht"] and per*formed* ["gesungen"] the following songs ["lieder"] to Marner's "lange wise"'.[715] The preface seems to indicate that composing, 'tichten', denotes the rhetorical skill of *inventio* whereas 'singen' refers to the process of casting a successfully

---

gut rede von des ryches clage. Darnach der zungen striet und eyn clage von dem tode des vingest von Sluzzelberg').

[714] The standard lexicon of Middle High German provides several translations for the neuter form of 'geticht'—'schriftl[iche] Aufzeichnung; Gedicht […]; Erdichtung; Lüge; Dichtkunst; Kunstwerk; künstlerische Befähigung' (written record; poem; imagination; lie; poetry; artwork; artistic prowess): Matthias Lexer, *Matthias Lexers Mittelhochdeutsches Taschenwörterbuch*, Stuttgart [36]1981, p. 68.

[715] 'Von irm [Walther's and Reinmar's] lobe hot Luppolt hornburg von rotenburg geticht und ins Marners lange wise gesingen dise hernoch gescriben lider'. In: **E**, fol. 191v.

invented *topos* into a, possibly pre-existing, poetic form. A renewed study of generic and poetic terminology in **E** would be a worthwhile future endeavour which might uncover new insights into the contested debate about the separation of *Lied* and *Spruch*, of *singen* and *sagen*.

For the present purposes of studying Walther's *Palästinalied* in medieval manuscripts, however, the opening of Lupold's third 'liet' is of immediate relevance: 'Reymar din sin der beste was, her walther donet baz, her nithart blumen unde gras besank noch baz on sunder haz, uf kunst der aller beste was von wirzeburg meister conrad'. Granting the conjectured meaning of 'tichten' and 'singen', then Lupold here presents Reinmar as the best *tichter*, the best inventor, Walther as the best *singer*, and Neidhart as the best *singer* of pastoral topics. Although the use of the term *singer* in the preface to Lupold's song refers first and foremost to a song's form, the present thesis has argued that *poetic* text in the Middle Ages was itself understood as a musical entity. The modern assessment of Walther as the paradigm of *Minnesang*'s music is a one-sided understanding of the poet's medieval reception: 'singen' refers not to music as a clearly distinguishable entity, but to music as part of poetic form. Scholarship's conception of music as an autonomous art, separable like its academic study from neighbouring disciplines, has prevented scholars from understanding Lupold's much less rigid praise of Walther, Reinmar, and others, since a consideration of Walther as the best song poet and of Reinmar as the best inventor of poetic content transgresses disciplinary boundaries. Kurt Plenio's claim that Lupold must have had access to a manuscript *with melodies*, circulating in Würzburg by the 1340s, for him to have been able to praise Walther's '*ton*-ing' exemplarily shows his inability to consider the concept of 'singen' beyond musical notation.[716]

---

[716] See Plenio 1917, p. 482. Bützler re-emphasised Plenio's suggestion of a Würzburg manuscript with melodies by Walther: Bützler 1940, p. 4.

E shares a number of characteristics with **Z**. If the reordering of **Z** in the previous section is correct, then both manuscripts place Walther's and Reinmar's corpora back-to-back; both precede each new song with an authorial attribution, and their references to Walther are similar: fol. 169r, for example, heads one song 'her walther', another 'h[er] walther' (spelled with an abbreviation), and a third 'walther'; fol. 170r writes 'her walther von der vogelweide'. The spelling of 'Reymar' likewise links **E** with **Z** rather than with **A**, which spells 'Reimar', or **B** and **C**, which spell 'Reinmar'. **E**'s two column layout with headings provides another point of resemblance with **Z**, **J**, and arguably with the Low German group of manuscripts made out by Klein.[717]

The *Palästinalied* too might link **E** and **Z**, the latter of which presents it as the last of Walther's songs before the beginning of the Reinmar corpus. **E** lacks at least one folio at the end of its Walther corpus, breaking off with the ninth line of 'Owe was sint verschwunden alle mine iar' (C97,I) and missing the 'geticht des ruphermans' (fol. 2r) which the index lists as the end of the Walther chapter. The beginning of the Reinmar corpus is also missing: it opens with the last three-and-a-half lines of 'Als ich werbe unde mir min herze ste' (MF179,3). If one conjectures that only few folios are now missing from the end of **E**'s Walther corpus, this could make the *Palästinalied* the section's penultimate song, and it would indeed seem plausible that the scribe intended to close the corpus with a song that bemoans its author's growing age and disenchantment with the world such as C97. The scribe bridged the gap between the two author corpora with a fitting song by Rupherman. Perhaps this song by Rupherman, who is otherwise unattested, may have been 'Daz eyme wolgetzogenen man' which is unique to **Z** and appears there under Reinmar's name.

Hands (*maniculae*) in the margin of the *Palästinalied* point to three of the *Palästinalied*'s eleven stanzas in **E**—1, 2, and 10—notated on fols 180r/v (Image 56).

---

[717] See fn. 692.

Though many such *maniculae* appear throughout the volume, these three are the only ones added to Walther's songs; they point to stanzas i, iii, and ix.[718] The only *manicula* in the Reinmar corpus is added to the verse that mentions Konrad of Würzburg in Lupold's 'rede'. Jeffrey Ashcroft and Lothar Voetz have called attention to **E**'s particularly antiquarian, local interest, and an interest in local tradition might easily explain why the manuscript highlights a laudatory mention of Konrad of Würzburg.[719]

It takes more effort to explain why the three highlighted stanzas of the *Palästinalied* would be important to a Würzburg citizen. The stanzas are connected by their hagiographic conception of the word 'lant': stanza i lauds the 'heilige lant' as much praised ('dem man so vil tugende giht'), while stanza iii presents it as beautiful, 'rich und here'; stanza ix reveals the earth's lawfulness, and provides the link between the audience's own country and the 'Holy Land' of Christ's kingdom after the day of judgement: '*unser* lant rihtere rihten und envristent dort niemannes clage: er wil ze stunde rihten, so ez ist an dem letzzesten tage'. One could argue that these three particular stanzas were highlighted because they led the listener/reader to the conclusion that their local *lant*, Würzburg, could be equated with the 'heilige lant'. One might wonder, however, why hands do not also point to stanzas ii and xi which equally hagiographically present the *lant*.

---

[718] See Kornrumpf and Völker 1968, p. 67.
[719] See Ashcroft 1982, p. 58; Voetz 1988, p. 255.
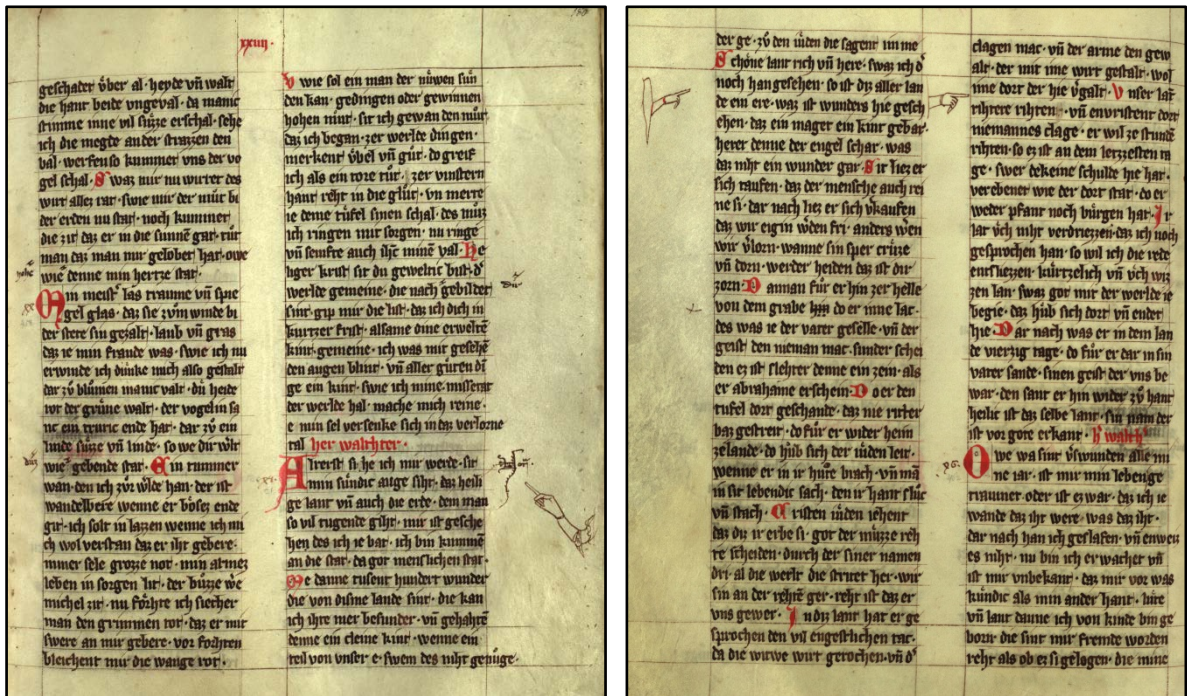
Image 56: The *Palästinalied* in E, fols 180r/v[720]

A further explanation arises from a consideration of the dissemination of *maniculae* in another of **E**'s chapters. The volume's second-largest section, chapter XIX, tells of 'bispel und von mern'. It contains thirty-nine *maniculae* (Table 19), including two bird shaped figures (fols 90v and 92r) and a 'claw' (fol. 84v), with the first *manicula* appearing on the section's fifth folio (fol. 72r). Most of the *maniculae* appear in groups, for example on fols 72r to 75v, with a number of unannotated folios separating each of these groups, such as fols 99r to 103r. The regular spacing of *maniculae* within the annotated sections, and the lack of *maniculae* in the others, might suggest that they were used as bookmarks, indicating the place up to which one had read or performed the text. The appearance of different styles of *maniculae*, such as the bird on fol. 90v, or the 'female' *manicula* on fol. 98v might point to various users. The clusters of folios without *maniculae* might be explained as either having been marked up by different means such as an actual bookmark, having been read or performed in an especially long sitting, or as having not been consulted at all.

---

[720] Digital images of **E** are available online, at: http://epub.ub.uni-muenchen.de/10638/.

#	Column	Comment	Hypothetic Grouping
	68a	beginning of chapter	
1	72b		A
2	72d		
3	73a		
4	73c		
5	74b		
6	74c		
7	74d		
8	75a		
9	75b		
10	75c		
11	78a		B
12	78c		
13	78c		
14	79c		
15	79c		
16	80c		
17	82a		
18	83c		
19	84c		
20	84c	'claw'	
21	84d		
22	85a	with flower	
23	85d		
24	88d		
25	90c	bird	
26	90d		
27	91b		
28	92b	bird	
29	93b		
30	94b		
31	94c		
32	94d		
33	97d		B*
34	98c	female *manicula*?	
35	103c		C
36	103d		
37	104b		
38	106a		
39	107a		
	107b	end of chapter, small line doodle	

Table 19: *Maniculae* in chapter XIX

The *maniculae* in the margins of the *Palästinalied* separate it into groups of two, six, and three stanzas. The ordering of stanzas into groups of irregular and seemingly

random length is difficult to prove as the result of a varied reading or performance pace. Instead, the highlighted stanzas may function not as bookmarks but as glosses which uncover the song's structure. Stanzas i and ii constitute an introduction to the lyric persona's description of the Holy Land; stanzas iii to viii tell of Christ's life and the current situation of the Holy Land; the final section from stanza ix onwards addresses the song's audience and includes it into the salvation of Christianity through God's sending of the Holy Spirit.

Understanding the *maniculae* as prescriptive rather than descriptive, one could, finally, argue that they propose an abbreviated version of the *Palästinalied* for performers under time constraints. Stanzas i and iii in particular are easily connected to each other, presenting the lyric persona's setting of the scene and the crucial event of Christ's birth; the abbreviated song closes with the reminder of the Last Judgement at which this child will judge mankind, turning a blind eye to worldly possessions and relations (stanza ix). The *manicula* at the bottom of fol. 180r is located directly at the edge of the parchment, seemingly coming from thin air (or the folio's verso), and both *maniculae* on the verso appear from behind a curtain or cover, strengthening the suggestion that the three stanzas are to be performed in succession.

Whether the *maniculae* be explained as bookmarks, structural markers, or performance shortcuts, they point to the performative use of Walther's *Palästinalied* (and **E**). Whether the result of performance, a guide to understanding, or a suggestion for performance, all explanations emphasise that users grappled with the song. The manuscript's scribe (and users?) consciously toyed with notions of genre and performance, and the inclusion of Lupold's praise song demonstrates the value placed on this repertoire. The fact that the *Palästinalied* is the only extant song in **E**'s Walther and Reinmar corpora

to be marked up with *maniculae* proposes that it occupied a special place within the oeuvre of *Minnesang* already in the mid-fourteenth century.[721]

iv. The Kleine Heidelberger Liederhandschrift (A)

This section continues the reverse chronological study of manuscripts containing the *Palästinalied* by turning to the earliest and most modest of the main sources of *Minnesang*, the Kleine Heidelberger Liederhandschrift (**A**).[722] In line with **A**'s modesty, the section will be very brief, focussing its consideration of the *Palästinalied*'s musicality on a single issue.

The earliest date generally accepted for **A** is 1275, although Karin Schneider has proposed an even earlier dating.[723] Only minor modifications have been proposed to the description and assessment of **A** presented by Carl von Kraus in his facsimile of 1932. Von Kraus already noted that the manuscript's earliest scribe dated to the thirteenth century and that it was most likely prepared in Alsace.[724] Despite the fact that it shares 692 of its 791 stanzas with **C** (roughly 87 percent), **A** has generally been rejected as only 'little reliable', and has consequently featured only little in scholars' interests.[725] The fact that a facsimile had been published as early as 1932 and with a commentary by a seminal figure such as von Kraus further contributed to **A**'s existence in the shadows of its sibling manuscripts **B** and **C**.

The manuscript opens with corpora by three Reinmar's: 'Reimar' (fol. 1r), 'Reimar der Videler' (fol. 4v), and 'Reimar der Iunge' (fol. 5r). These are followed by Walther's songs, headed like the former with the author's name in alternating blue and red capitals

---

[721] Horst Wenzel has recently discussed a number of other instances of *maniculae* in German song manuscripts such as **C**; see: Horst Wenzel, 'Deixis und Initialisierung: Zeighände in alten und neuen Medien', in: *Deixis: vom Denken mit dem Zeigefinger*, ed. by Heike Gfrereis and Marcel Lepper, Göttingen 2007, pp. 110–143.

[722] See Voetz 1988, p. 232.

[723] See ibid., p. 233.

[724] See Carl von Kraus, *Die Kleine Heidelberger Liederhandschrift*, Stuttgart 1932, p. ii and v.

[725] Voetz 1988, p. 233. <101.a> The 692 stanzas constitute only roughly 13 percent of **C**'s total of 5240 stanzas. These figures are based on: Holznagel 1995, p. 89 and 141.

(fol. 5r). By far the largest corpus with 151 stanzas, Walther's songs are followed by those of Der von Morunge (fol. 13v).[726] If one assumes that the two Reinmars with epithets were included at the beginning of **A** only because they share Reinmar's name—'Reimar der Iunge' has only two stanzas to his name, strengthening this assumption—then Walther stands in second place in **A**, outshone only by Reinmar, inverting the order found in **Z** and **E**. Within Walther's corpus, the *Palästinalied* appears without any significant form of highlighting. Notated with seven stanzas—1, 2, 5, 7, 8, 11, and 3—on the bottom half of fol. 8r (Image 57), the song follows the three *Reichston* stanzas and 'Vil suoze were minne' (C53,I–IV), and precedes the *Preislied* (C32,I–V) and twelve stanzas in the *Unmutston* (C12,III–IV; I; V–VI; XII; VIII; XIII–XV; X; XVI). **A**, too, features the song in a sub-section of religious-political songs: though the songs framing the *Palästinalied* are different than in **B**, **C**, and **Z**, C32 continues the *Palästinalied* just as seamlessly, deflecting the latter's praise of a foreign land onto the lyric persona's own land (as in **E**?). As in **C**, the *Palästinalied* is introduced by a love lament (Table 20).

---

[726] See Voetz 1988, p. 234.

Image 57: The *Palästinalied* in A, fol. 8r[727]

---

[727] Digital images of **A** are available at: http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpg357/0019.

A	B	C
C17,I–IV 'Ich han ir so wol gesprochen'	-	-
C103 'Ia lige ich mit gedanken der alrebesten bi'	-	C1,I–IV *Leich*
C2,I–III *Reichston*	-	C2,I; III; II *Reichston*
-	C3,I–V *Kaiser Friedrich Ton*	C3,I–V *Kaiser Friedrich Ton*
-	C4,I–III *Ottenton*	C4,I–III *Ottenton*
-	C5,I; C5a,I–II 'Owe, was eren sich ellendet'	C5,I–II; C5a,I–II 'Owe, was eren sich ellendet'
C53,I–IV 'Vil suoze were minne'	-	C6,I–V *Minne-Credo*
C7,I–II; IV; VI–VI; IX; XII *Palästinalied*	C7,I; XII; V–VI; IX–X *Palästinalied*	C7, I–II; IV–VII; IX–X; XII; [XI; VIII] *Palästinalied*
C32,I–IV *Preislied*	C2,I; III; II *Reichston*	C55,I; III; IV; VI *Leopoldston*
C12,III–IV; I; V–VI; XII; VIII; XIII–XV; X; XVI *Unmutston*	C12,I; C12b; C12,II *Unmutston* [all indicated as new songs]	C3,VI–IX *Kaiser Friedrich Ton*
	C8,I *Zweiter Philippston*	
	C12,XVII *Unmutston*	

Table 20: The *Palästinalied*'s context in ABC

A does not indicate the opening of songs with large initials. Instead, the scribe alternates between regular, blue and red initials for the beginning of new stanzas, enlarging these capitals only when they fall at the beginning of a line. The opening word of the *Palästinalied*, 'Nu', appears undifferentiated with a blue initial in the middle of the folio. The first word of stanza ii, on the other hand, is illuminated with a large initial as it stands at the beginning of a line. To overcome the problem of finding song openings, the manuscript notates paragraph symbols in the margins, but von Kraus already suggested

that 'they were probably added by a later hand', and Voetz reiterated that these symbols were added later.[728]

This raises the question of how **A**'s users would have known where a song started and finished, without studying each stanza's poetic form, and one might wish to question whether the manuscript was actually used for read or sung performance: if it had been intended only as a collection for enjoyment or gifting, rather than study and continued use, an indication of new poetic forms would have been superfluous. The later addition of paragraph symbols strongly suggests, however, that **A** *was* used performatively. Though this interest may haven arisen only when the marginalia were added, one might also consider that these became necessary only once the principle which had formerly distinguished the songs from each other became obsolete: a pre-existent (memorised) knowledge of the songs would have allowed users to detect where a new song started—the paragraph symbols could have been added to compensate for a loss of this memory, or at least to ameliorate it. Even with a pre-existent knowledge of the songs and with a loose topical ordering of songs within an authorial oeuvre, however, *finding* a certain song would have proven difficult without an index. If users remembered the opening stanzas of songs, then it seems possible that they could have remembered their melodies too. It seems worth considering that the melodies—though unnotated—might have provided an additional layer of ordering within these author corpora through similar motifs, phrases, or tonalities, as in tonaries for example.

Regardless of whether melodies functioned as an ordering principle or not, **A** highlights Walther's estimation already during the thirteenth century. **A**'s lacking indication of new songs suggests the importance of memory in the transmission and on-going use of *Minnesang*, and proposes that music may have been part of manuscript users' memorial archives.

---

[728] Kraus 1932, p. iii. <59.a> See also: Voetz 1988, p. 234.

v. The Codex Buranus (M)[729]

Concluding his introduction to the facsimile of the Codex Buranus (**M**), Bernhard Bischoff noted that the manuscript constituted 'an eminent counterpart to the great German *Liederhandschriften* and Provençal *chansonniers*; [its songs] are an inestimable monument of the Latin Middle Ages and of its love of poetry and song'.[730] Conceptualised in Latin, **M** represents an anomaly among the manuscripts containing Walther von der Vogelweide's *Palästinalied*. **M**'s total of twenty-two German stanzas, seven of which also feature musical notation, however, make the codex not 'a *counterpart* to the great German *Liederhandschriften*', but part of this tradition: **M** has more than four times as many German songs as **Z**, almost twice as many German songs with notation, and only four fewer stanzas of German text than the fragment.[731] Today, **M** is generally dated between 1220 and 1230, and believed to have been prepared in either Carinthia (Kärnten) or Tyrol.[732]

The manuscript's inherent 'plurilingualism' and 'pluriculturalism', however, has led Latinists and Germanists to shrink away from it, pointing to philologists of the other discipline (and/or musicologists) as responsible for **M**'s study.[733] Scholars have struggled with the relationship between **M**'s Latin and German stanzas, neglecting its overall design and intertextuality over debates of contrafacture. The reliance on musicologists to provide the solution to these issues has received little response. Although its thirty-nine notated songs provide ample material for a (narrowly defined) study of **M**'s music, musicologists' avoidance of **M** is a result of the manuscript's musical notation itself, for **M**'s unheighted

---

[729] I thank the Medieval German Research Seminar at the University of Oxford and its convenor Almut Suerbaum for the possibility of presenting it with some of the findings presented in this section.

[730] Bernhard Bischoff, *Carmina Burana: Facsimile Reproduction of the Manuscript Clm 4660 and Clm 4660a*, Brooklyn 1967, p. 31. The volume's English translation was prepared by Christine Eder.

[731] Emphasis mine. All statistics here *exclude* **M**'s plays.

[732] See David Fallows and Thomas B. Payne, Art. 'Sources, MS: §III, 2. Latin', in: *NGrove*, vol. 23, London 2001, pp. 847–848; here, p. 848.

[733] Olive Sayce's monograph is a notable exception: Olive Sayce, *Plurilingualism in the Carmina Burana: a Study of the Linguistic and Literary Influences on the Codex*, Göppingen 1992.

neumes have been discarded as meaningless to modern users. Brunner, for example, claimed that 'unheighted neumes are of use only to those who already know the melody they represent; they indicate only a melody's direction, but not its pitches, and served merely as mnemonic devices'.[734] The only musicologist to study the neumes of **M** with some consequence, Walther Lipphardt noted that 'a general scepticism has consequently nested in scholarship regarding the deciphering of neumes as if this were an issue which could be adequately addressed only with an "ignorabimus"'.[735] The transcription of **M**'s neumes continues to be a *lacuna* within scholarship.

M's unheighted neumes were, nevertheless, used as proofs of contrafacture.[736] All of **M**'s seven German stanzas with complete or partial musical notation are associated with Latin stanzas which also feature neumes. Comparing the neumes for the Latin and German stanzas and asserting their identity allowed scholars such as Aarburg to claim the melodies of **M** as 'pieces of evidence' for *musical* contrafacture across the Latin-German language boundary.[737] Taylor, on the other hand, pointed out that **M**'s German and Latin neumes did not always correspond, claiming that identity of poetic form did not necessarily correspond to melodic identity.[738]

The first stanza of the *Palästinalied* is appended to the Latin song 'Alte clamat epicurus' (CB211) as CB211a in **M** (Image 58). No neumes are included for any of the five Latin stanzas or for the German one. The song is situated in the section of gambling and drinking songs, and follows on from an introduction to the game of chess in CB210 (Table 21). CB211 is followed by three *versus* (CB212–214) and the 'officium lusorum' (CB215). The three *versus* caution against the frolics advocated by the previous songs:

---

[734] Brunner, Müller and Spechtler (eds) 1977, p. 50*. <19.a>
[735] Walther Lipphardt, 'Neue Wege zur Entzifferung der linienlosen Neumen', in: *Mf* 1 (1948), pp. 121–139; here, p. 122. <63.a>
[736] See Kippenberg 1962, p. 180.
[737] Aarburg 1961, p. 386. <6>
[738] See Ronald J. Taylor, *Die Melodien der weltlichen Lieder des Mittelalters*, 2 vols, Stuttgart 1964, p. 25 (vol. 2).

CB214 gives a pupil a detailed daily rota for the time during which the teacher is away and calls the pupil to abstain from trifles ('nugis'); CB213 exhorts the audience to play without animosity or greed; and CB212 calls the audience to moderation ('modico natura tenetur'). Situated after a cluster of three illustrations on fols 91r, 91v, and 92v which depict the gambling described in CB207–210, CB211 might be understood as a glossing or elucidation of the songs that precede it.[739] The five Latin stanzas present an epicure, boasting about his life in veneration of his stomach: 'venter deus meus erit'. He is proud of his gluttony, constantly drunk, and idle. Although the song does not explicitly mention gambling, **M**'s user will link the epicure's gluttony with the gambling portayed in the previous songs and images, not least because of the rubic which introduces CB211: 'item unde supra'—'more of the same'.

---

[739] This cluster of images is exceptional within **M**, which features a total of eight illustrations: Julia Walworth, 'Earthly Delights: the Pictorial Images of the Carmina Burana Manuscript', in: *The Carmina Burana: Four Essays*, ed. by Martin H. Jones, London 2000, pp. 71–83.

Alfic truuuul' er cured fronte truid'. dirrero emites durpir tuuig les.

Adampnul minimis, edu rapuuit ab himil. se mixu pcerui curba pir pedm.

Rex maner i captul sub cracta suuge solul. Couge subiecta rer maner i tabula

Sepius est mattul serio; turbine sepe. le mattu suffere si uia nulla pare.

Onul eum mattu clamat mattum mattu. Sic q ludat denuo si placeat.

LGÉ Clamat   Item vn Svp.

epiaulus. uenter satur est securul. uenter ds meus eric

talem deum gula querit auus templum est coquina

inqua redolene uuiua. Ecce deul oportuuul nullo tempe

ieuunul ante abum maturinum ebrtul eructat uinum.

auul menla e cracera sunt beatitudo uera. Curul eurl sem /

p plena. uetud uter e lagena iungit prandum cum cena.

unde puigiul rubent iena e si quando surgit uena fortior

est quam carena. Sic religioul cultul. inuenire mouet

tumultul. rugit uenter in agone. uinum pugnac medon e.

uita felix ociosa. circa uentrem operosa. Venter inquid ni /

chil curo. precer me. sic me pauo. ut in pace inidipsium.

molliter gerent me ipsum. sup potum e sup escam dormiam

e requiescam. Nu lebe ich mir alrest werde. sir min sunder

uge siher dar schone lant. unde ouch div erde. der man uil ó

eren gihet nu ist geschehen des ih da bat. ich pin chomen an die

stat da got mennischlichen erat.   Versul. aooooo.

CB number	Incipit	'Topic'	Folio
Image		Game of dice/drinking	91r
CB207	Tessera, blandita fueras michi quando tenebam	Game of dice	91r–91v
CB208	Littera bis bina me dat vel sillaba trina	Word game ('logogriph')	91v
Image		Backgammon/drinking	91v
CB209	Roch, pedes, regina, senex, eques, insuper et rex	Chess	91v–92r
Image		Chess/drinking	92r
CB210	Qui vult egregium scachorum noscere ludum	Chess	92r–92v
Marginalia	Item unde supra		92v
CB211	Alte clamat epicurus	Gluttony	92v
CB211a	Nu lebe ich mir alrest werde	A better life?	92v
Marginalia	Versus		92v
CB212	Non iubeo quemquam sic perdere gaudia vite	Exhortation to modesty	93r
CB213	Sperne lucrum versat mentes insana cupido	Exhortation to *rational* gambling; cautioning against avarice	93r
CB214	Si preceptorum superest tibi cura deorum	Daily rota for student	93r–93v
Marginalia	Incipit officium lusorum		93v
CB215	Lugeamus omnes in Decio	*Gamblers Mass*	93v–94v

Table 21: The *Palästinalied*'s context in M

Scholarship has generally viewed the Latin stanzas of CB211 as a contrafact of the *Palästinalied*, and Clemencic consequently applied the latter's melody to the texts of CB211.[741] Benedikt Konrad Vollmann, on the other hand, noted that this proposition had been made 'possibly with false justification, since the Latin stanzas deviate from the German one in verse structure, rhyme, and number of lines'.[742] Clemencic bypassed the problem of differing rhyme structure—aabbcc versus ababccc—and discrepant metrical patterns without mention; he solved the issue of the stanzas' varying number of lines by adding a musical repeat to CB211 (Table 22).[743]

---

[741] 'Because the melody for the *Palästinalied* is known, this piece [CB211] is attested'. Michael Korth (ed.), *Carmina Burana: Gesamtausgabe der mittelalterlichen Melodien mit den dazugehörigen Texten*, Munich 1979, p. 198. <58.a>

[742] Benedikt Konrad Vollmann (ed.), *Carmina Burana: Texte und Übersetzungen*, Berlin 2011, p. 1237. <102.a>

[743] See Korth (ed.) 1979, p. 198.

CB211	Metre	Rhyme	CB211a	Metre	Rhyme
Alte clamat epicurus Venter satur est securus. Venter deus meus erit. Talem deum gula querit, Cuius templum est coquina, In qua redolent divina.	x͜x͜x͜x͜ x͜x͜x͜x͜ x͜x͜x͜x͜ x͜x͜x͜x͜ x͜x͜x͜x͜ x͜x͜x͜x͜	a a b b c c	Nu lebe ich mir alrest werde, Sit min sundeg uge sihet Daz schone lant unde ouch diu erde, Der man vil der eren gihet. Nu ist geschehn, des ih da bat, Ich pin chomen an die stat, Da got mennischlichen trat.	x͜x͜x͜x͜ x͜x͜x͜x͜ ͜x͜x͜x͜x͜ x͜x͜x͜x͜ ͜x͜x͜x͜x x͜x͜x͜x͜ x͜x͜x͜x͜	a b a b c c c

Table 22: Comparison of poetic structures in CB211 and CB211a

Clemencic and Vollmann disagree not only on the musical relation between CB211 and CB211a, but also on the meaning carried by the latter. For Clemencic, the use of the *Palästinalied* stanza has 'parodic meaning. […] The use of the opening stanza of this then widely known song as the conclusion of the Epikur-poem creates a grotesque, parodic effect: the words are now no longer those of a thrilled pilgrim, but of a drunkard guzzler who has finally reached the "Promised Land"'.[744] The Germanist Ulrich Müller supported Clemencic's interpretation and argued that the song presented 'a refined parody which played with elements of the listeners' knowledge. For the parody to work, it was of course necessary that the listeners could recognise the melody of the *Palästinalied*—certainly very famous—on first listening, and that they roughly know about the content of Walther's song'.[745]

Vollmann, in contrast, understands CB211a as a serious moment of peripety which negotiates between the fallacious songs that precede it and the exhortations that follow: 'with "Nu lebe ich mir alrest werde" the "right" worldview is juxtaposed to that of the epicure, which indeed had already been revealed as wrong in biblical allusions ("pax et

---

[744] Ibid. <58.b>
[745] Ulrich Müller, 'Beobachtungen zu den "Carmina Burana": 1. Eine Melodie zur Vaganten-Strophe – 2. Walthers "Palästina-Lied" in "versoffenem" Kontext: eine Parodie', in: *MlJb* 15 (1980), pp. 104–111; here, p. 110. <73.a>

securitas" […]). In the manuscript's design, Walther's *Palästinalied* leads on to the undoubtedly moralistic intent of CB212'.[746]

Despite their disagreement over the musical and functional relation between CB211 and CB211a, Clemencic, Vollmann, and Müller share the *a priori* assumption that the German stanza must predate the Latin ones unique to **M**, a claim which rests on the assumption that songs by a *named* author must be original/authentic.[747] Yet the preparation of **M** coincides with Walther's last years: **M** is generally dated to around 1230, the same approximate date commonly given for Walther's death.[748] Walther's repeated stays at Vienna between 1203 and 1219, and his possible Tyrolian origin further link Walther with the provenance of **M**, suggesting a reconsideration of the unquestioned assertion that the *Palästinalied* must have predated CB211/CB211a's notation in **M**.[749] The notion that authorship coincided with originality must be discarded: legitimisation through *auctoritas* was of much greater concern than originality in the Middle Ages. Consequently, the attachment of Walther's name to the *Palästinalied* in five of six manuscripts does not *prove* Walther's *original* conception of this song. He may have based the song on a pre-existing model, or his name might have been attached to the song in order to give it *auctoritas*.[750]

The apt transitional link provided by CB211a between CB211 and CB212 (see fn. 746), underlines the song's closely tailored fit at this point in **M**, suggesting the song's content to have been more crucial than the poetic structure for its inclusion at the end of CB211. Indeed, the *Palästinalied* in its guise as CB211a is adapted to accord with the structure of the stanzas that precede it. The song's opening line in **M** is unique (Table 23).

---

[746] Vollmann (ed.) 2011, p. 1239. <102.b>

[747] See, e. g., ibid., p. 1138 and 1151.

[748] Cormeau makes special mention of the fact that **M** dates close to Walther's lifetime: Cormeau (ed.) 1996, p. xv.

[749] See Gerhard Hahn, Art. 'Walther von der Vogelweide', in: *VL*, ed. by Burghart Wachinger, vol. 10, Berlin 1999, cols 665–697; here, col. 671.

[750] The observation that five of six manuscripts attribute the *Palästinalied* to Walther, however, makes it unlikely that the song had no link to the *Minnesänger* during his lifetime.

A comparison with the beginning of CB211, 'Alte clamat epicurus', reveals a close connection with **M**'s version of the *Palästinalied*. CB211 orders the grammatical parts of its first line adverb-verb-subject, not matched by the *Palästinalied*'s beginning in **A** and **Z**. All of CB211's stanzas have six lines of four trochees, with the first three accents in the opening line falling on the beginning of each of the words: 'alte clamat epicurus'. **C** can accommodate four trochees only if the elision between 'lebe' and 'ich' is suppressed or **B**'s 'vil' is added: 'alrest lebe‿ich mir vil werde' (**B**), 'alrest lebe ‖ ich mir werde' or 'alrest lebe‿ich mir [vil] werde' (**C**). **E**, like **C**, needs to break the elision to accommodate the metre: 'alrerst sihe ‖ ich mir werde'. **B** accents the the first syllable of the verb 'lebe'. **M**, on the other hand, accents the line's one-syllable subject 'ich' without needing to suppress any elision: 'nu lebe‿ich mir alrest werde'.

The emphasis on CB211a's first-person subject is striking and significant in the context of CB211 which presents the epicure as a third-person subject. CB211a's shift from an unvoiced third-person to a voiced first-person, illustrates the epicure's liberation from his straightjacket of gluttony through religiosity. The liberating moment for the epicure's voice is underlined by placing the single-syllable word 'nu' at the beginning of the line, otherwise the case only in **A** and **Z**, which disagree with the syntax of CB211. CB211a's first stress already gives emphasis to its changed poetic voice: 'nu' generates more impetus than the word 'alrest', which delays the resolution of its meaning to the second, unaccented syllable—similar to the contrast between 'only now is it time' and 'now it is time'. This brief analysis of CB211's and CB211a's first lines demonstrates their closely forged interrelationship, and strengthens Vollmann's manuscript-based interpretation of the German stanza as moral rather than parodic.

MS	Incipit	Syntax	Accentuation	Match?
M (CB211)	Alte clamat epicurus	adv.–vb–subj.	Alte clamat epicurus	
M (CB211a)	Nu lebe ich mir alrest werde	adv.–vb–subj.	Nu lebe ich mir alrest werde	Accents subject
A	Nu alrest lebe ich mir werde	adv.–adv.–vb	Nu alrest lebe ich mir werde	Different syntax
B	Alrest lebe ich mir vil werde	adv.–vb–subj.	Alrest lebe ich mir vil werde	Partly accents verb
C	Alrest lebe ich mir werde	adv.–vb–subj.	Alrest lebe ich mir werde	Breaks elision
E	Alrerst sihe ich mir werde	adv.–vb–subj.	Alrerst sihe ich mir werde	Breaks elision; changes verb
Z	Nu alrest lebe ich mir werde	adv.–adv.–vb	Nu alrest lebe ich mir werde	Different syntax

Table 23: The *Palästinalied*'s incipits

While CB211 may nevertheless have been modelled on CB211a, with the latter lightly adapted by the Latin poet or scribe to fit better the poetic structure of the Latin stanzas, Jeffrey Ashcroft insisted on Walther's dependence on CB135 for his song 'Uns hat der winter geschadet uber al' (C15).[751] Vollmann, too, argued—against Bruce Beatie—that the Latin stanzas of CB135 predated **M** and Walther's song.[752] Despite conceding that Walther's 'Uns hat der winter geschadet uber al' may be modelled on CB135, Vollmann believed that Walther, a *named* author, could not have written the undemanding German stanza CB135a. Yet the observation that **M**'s compiler knew at least two other of Walther's songs, the *Mailied* (C28) and the *Palästinalied*, make it possible that the redactor also knew C15—albeit in an earlier form not transmitted elsewhere.[753]

If one concedes that CB135a may be an early stanza by Walther, which later became a model for C15, then one might also ponder the possibility that his other stanzas in **M**—CB151a, CB169a, and CB211a—were likewise not the models for the Latin stanzas but that these *individual* stanzas were initially modelled on, or at least composed alongside,

---

[751] See Ashcroft 1982, p. 69.

[752] See Bruce A. Beatie, *Strophic Form in Medieval Lyric: a Formal-Comparative Study of the German Strophes of the 'Carmina Burana'*, Harvard 1967, p. 375ff.

[753] Friedrich Maurer suggested that Walther's earlier songs might have still shown features of his learning process: Friedrich Maurer, 'Zu den religiösen Liedern Walthers von der Vogelweide', in: *ZfLg* 49 (1955b), pp. 29–49; here, p. 44. For a discussion of Maurer's view, see p. 291.

the Latin stanzas.[754] CB211a may have been designed purposefully to connect the drinking and gambling songs of **M** with their moral refutation. Granted that 'Nu lebe ich mir alrest werde' was based on CB211, three extreme models for its initial genesis seem possible (with a number of conceivable intermediary scenarios):

(1) Walther could have known CB211 and forged his own stanza, and even the entire *Palästinalied*, on this song independently of any manuscript; CB211a's fit in terms of content between CB211 and CB212 in **M** is lucky coincidence;

(2a) Walther provided a number of songs, including CB211a and CB135a, specifically for the project of **M**.[755] The engagement with this manuscript took place early in Walther's career, explaining the 'sub-standard' poetic achievement of CB135a. Walther then later reused his stanzas in **M** for stanzas of higher artistic quality;

(2b) **M** was prepared during the late 1220s when Friedrich II's crusade was on the cards, in action, or had just ended. At the time, Walther was writing a number of stanzas for **M**, and decided to include in one of these a reference to the current religious-political situation.

In cases 2a and 2b, CB211a became the basis of further stanzas by Walther, who re-interpreted/expanded its text in the context of Friedrich II's crusade. The *Palästinalied* became the *Palästinalied* only through these later additions; originally, it had been a single stanza of religious epiphany provided by Walther for **M**. After the *Minnesänger*'s death, others had no qualms about adding further stanzas to a song which was itself already a development of another—stanzas which appeared in force particularly in the two later manuscripts **Z** and **E**. As Ashcroft has suggested, many of the stanzas included in **E** under

---

[754] CB151a and CB169a are stanzas of Walther's *Mailied* (C28). CB151 and CB169 are generally considered to be contrafacta of Gautier d'Espinal's 'Quant je voie l'erbe menue' (Ry2067), but a closer study calls into question this assertion of contrafacture, and consequently calls for a reconsideration of the relationship between **M**'s Latin stanzas and Walther's *Mailied*. Unfortunately, this has had to be excluded from the present thesis due to word limits, but I hope to present these findings in print shortly.

[755] The little that is known about Walther's origins and career mean that he could have come into contact with the codex in almost any period of his life. For a brief summary of Walther's proposed biography (including further literature), see: Hahn, Art. 'Walther von der Vogelweide', col. 669ff.

Walther's name are not by the latter but instead engage critically with his songs: 'the manuscript anthology intersperses the canonical songs with apocryphal pastiches, parodies and travesties'.[756] Even if CB211a was not modelled on CB211, but predated it and provided its model, it seems possible that Walther added more stanzas to the *Palästinalied* only gradually.

Conversely, it might be considered that CB211a was not by Walther, but by the poet of CB211. Since all manuscripts but **M** transmit the stanza under Walther's name, however, it seems that Walther in this case must have provided a significant number of the additional stanzas in order for his name to be associated with the song unanimously. Inversely, it also seems possible that Walther may have been the poet not only of CB211a, but also of CB211.[757]

Whether Walther composed the entire *Palästinalied* in one piece, composed it little by little, based it on a Latin song (CB211), expanded *another* author's pre-existing German song (CB211a), created the Latin and the German stanzas of CB211/a himself, or whether his German stanza (CB211a) was the model for the Latin stanzas in **M** (CB211), the process of its genesis is anything but clear. Through its inclusion in **M**, the song was afforded a prominent presence in medieval sources over more than a century from 1230 to 1350, and the present discussion of the entire currently known manuscript evidence for the *Palästinalied* has underlined the lasting medieval interest in the song and its musicality—beyond the musical notation of **Z**. Most crucially, these sections have demonstrated the wealth of *musical* information to be gained from studying *Minnesang* through its manuscripts.

---

[756] Ashcroft 1982, p. 74.
[757] I am grateful for this suggestion to Elizabeth Eva Leach.

3. The *Palästinalied* in Modern Scholarship

This section scrutinises the ways in which the medieval documentation of the *Palästinalied* has been transformed and addressed by modern scholarship. In addition to concerns about its rhythm and status as a contrafact, the song's stanza order and textual genre in particular have generated much debate. In what follows, these topics are traced in the writings of musicologists and philologists, before a concluding section takes stock of the various overarching interpretations offered for the *Palästinalied*'s meaning.

i. Taxonomising the *Palästinalied*: Content, Genre, and Stanza Order

Today, C7 is commonly referred to as the *Palästinalied*. The text itself, however, makes no explicit mention of Palestine ('Palästina'). The song refers to a land of (biblical) wonders and holiness in generic rather than specific, national terms. While the Holy Land *of Christianity* can be located in 'Palestine', the song's alignment with Palestine imposes a certain interpretative frame onto its text, excluding any leeway for *additional* layers of interpretation regarding the place of which the song's narrator speaks: as well as making reference to the actual Holy Land, the text may also be referring to more broadly conceived places 'da got menschlichen trat'—the Near East in general, the Christian world, or each individual human.

    When Walther's song was first moved into the limelight of scholarly attention after its melody had been discovered in **Z**, it was generally referred to as his *Kreuzlied*. Jostes and Plenio both made use of this term, and Molitor further specified the title's meaning by choosing to call it the *Kreuzfahrerlied*.[758] Kuhn in turn modified Molitor's title and referenced C7 as the *Kreuzzugslied*.[759] All three variants suggest that the song has to do with the Cross, but differently nuance the focus of attention: the term *Kreuzlied* is the most

---

[758] See Jostes 1912, p. 349; Molitor 1911, p. 477; Plenio 1917, p. 462.
[759] See Hugo Kuhn, *Walthers Kreuzzugslied (14,38) und Preislied (56,14)*, Würzburg 1936.

flexible of the three, proposing that the Cross and Passion of Christ are the song's main interests; *Kreuzfahrerlied* turns attention to the agent(s) of the crusade, but leaves open whether the song is *about*, *for*, or *narrated by* a crusader/crusaders; the term *Kreuzzugslied* draws attention to the crusade as an event, rather than to its agents.[760]

The lasting impact of the notion that Walther's song is a crusade song can be gleaned from heavily-used information sources such as Wikipedia. The German-language site summarises the *Palästinalied* in particularly succinct and representative manner: 'it thematises the participation in a crusade in poetic form, and presents the religious significance of the Holy Land from a Christian perspective'.[761] The English-language site is no less explicit about the song's focus on the crusades, portraying it as 'a political-religious propaganda song describing a crusade into the Holy Land'.[762] A large number of recordings on youtube set the *Palästinalied* to images which likewise link it with the crusades unambiguously.[763]

The text, however, provides no direct reference to the crusades. The stanza 'Cristen, juden, unde heiden' (3) is the only one to *allude* to the crusades, and it does so in descriptive, detached manner when the narrator tells the audience of the situation of this land today: 'Cristen, juden unde heiden jehent, daz diz ir erbe si. Got sol uns ze reht bescheiden dur die sine namen dri. Al diu welt, diu stritet her: wir sin an der rehten ger, reht ist, daz er uns gewer'. The description cannot be read as a call to arms, and might even be understood as a call *from* arms: God will grant Christians their rightful claim over the Holy Land, so the audience may wonder why the world should go to battle if God will

---

[760] The German word 'Kreuzfahrer' is identical in its singular and plural form. Hence the title *Kreuzfahrerlied* may indicate both a single, or multiple crusaders.

[761] http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pal%C3%A4stinalied. <111.a>

[762] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pal%C3%A4stinalied.

[763] Some examples can be found via the following links: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-IO6GaVqfGU (provided by the user Henrik Hohenstaufen), http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_R8viSgLTVM (uploaded by Wofka1986 [Alte clamat epicurus!]), http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=THKurgSmomM (uploaded by Hordenbrut), http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=haRVJvWRJ30 (uploaded by bvanaJo), http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jFK5b7cKnYU (uploaded by zavishacharny), http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mf4Y90VHW5g (uploaded by joshi1404), http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CwoZ6gv4ZN0 (uploaded by TrapJacks).

make his decision on the basis of righteousness rather than military might. A number of scholars consequently sought to redress the reception of the *Palästinalied*. Silvia Ranawake stressed that the song 'regarding its form and content represents a type different to that of the *Kreuzlied* [C53, 'Vil süeze waere minne']'.[764] Franz Viktor Spechtler rejected the understanding of the song as a call to arms in his contribution to Brunner's 'course book' on Walther von der Vogelweide; and as early as 1977, Wolfgang Haubrichs suggested that the song was not intended as a call to arms, but was meant to justify Friedrich II's *peaceful* victory in Palestine in 1229.[765]

Haubrichs' remarks, however, exemplify the difficulty of dissociating the song entirely from the crusades. Haubrichs dates the *Palästinalied* in relation to the crusades, and his discussion of the song as 'not-a-crusade-song' is, ironically, embedded in an article titled 'Grund und Hintergrund in der Kreuzzugsdichtung' ('context and reason in crusade poetry'). He suggested that Friedrich II was the narrator of the song, performed at the moment of his coronation in Jerusalem. While this interpretation dissociates the *Palästinalied* from any on-going crusading, it presents it as the result thereof. Explaining the song as voiced by a pilgrim-narrator, for example, could have provided a more rigid separation from the crusades.

There are a number of further reasons why the song has failed to shake off the image of a crusade song. Its later construction as the '*Palästinalied*' does not eradicate allusions to the crusades, as the word 'Palestine' today is even more reminiscent of belligerence than the term 'crusade': the crusade-laden youtube recordings are a case in point since they all appear under the title *Palästinalied*, not *Kreuzlied* or similar. Only by

---

[764] Silvia Ranawake, '"Spruchlieder": Untersuchung zur Frage der lyrischen Gattungen am Beispiel von Walthers Kreuzzugsdichtung', in: *Lied im deutschen Mittelalter: Überlieferung, Typen, Gebrauch*, ed. by Cyril Edwards, Ernst Hellgardt and Norbert H. Ott, Tübingen 1996, pp. 67–79; here, p. 69. <83.a>

[765] See Wolfgang Haubrichs, 'Grund und Hintergrund in der Kreuzzugsdichtung: Argumentationsstruktur und politische Intentionen in Walthers "Elegie" und "Palästinalied"', in: *Philologie und Geschichtswissenschaft: Demonstrationen literarischer Texte des Mittelalters*, ed. by Heinz Rupp, Heidelberg 1977, pp. 12–62; here, p. 26 and 31; Spechtler 1996, p. 209.

referring to the piece with its incipit, could straightforward associations with the crusades be circumvented; yet the variant transmission of the song's first line would pose the problem of selecting one of these as the uniform title, downgrading the other variants.[766] Finally, the invented crusading backdrop provides the ideal tool for making the song attractive to modern audiences: it separates the song from the tradition of courtly love lyric and creates ample space for imagery-rich musical performances. It is unsurprising, therefore, that performers and scholars alike have been reluctant to let go of this unique selling point all too easily.

The *Palästinalied*'s manuscript contexts offer multiple interpretative frameworks for the song. While **B**, **E** and **Z** present C7 within a group of 'political-religious' songs, **M** suggests an interpretation of the *Palästinalied* as a religious song about the freedom of living a righteous, Christian life. Volker Schupp offered a second religious interpretation, based on the song's imagined authorial *Urtext*. He argued that 'the seven seals were, undoubtedly, consciously understood as the foundation and blueprint for the *Palästinalied* at some point'.[767] Schupp claimed that the seven seals model must have formed part of the *original* intention of the song's author; new stanzas, i. e. seals, were added to the original corpus little by little. A third reading of the *Palästinalied* is offered by **A** and **C**, which precede the song with love laments: though embedded in a larger framework of religious-political songs, this opens up the possibility that the *Palästinalied* might also have been understood as a love song by medieval compilers. The narrator's love for the land of Christ, the Christian faith, and for Christ himself could indeed have been seen in such a manner.

No rigid, one-size-fits-all interpretation is possible for the *Palästinalied* in its various manuscript contexts—be that interpretation primarily religious (purgation, seven

---

[766] For a discussion of the differing manuscript transmission of the opening line, see p. 267.
[767] Schupp 1964, p. 154. <89.a>

seals), political (justification of peace treaty), lyrical (love song), or exhortative (crusade call). Instead, each manuscript instantiation needs to be seen as offering its own version of the song.

While the *Palästinalied*'s shifting contextual guises in the manuscripts has remained widely unstudied, much attention has been paid to the changing presence/absence and order of stanzas across the sources. The manuscript evidence is divergent and confusing, leading many twentieth-century scholars to adopt the general ordering proposed by Lachmann's 1827 edition, although it matches none of the medieval sources and excludes stanza 4 as inauthentic—known, in 1827, only through **E** (Table 24).[768] Curiously, **A** is widely chosen as the framework for editions of the *Palästinalied* despite being generally considered an unreliable source.[769] Editorial changes of heart further complicated matters of stanza ordering: Victor Michels updated Wilmanns' earlier edition to include 4 after **Z** had been discovered; following the work of his pupil Schupp, Maurer decided to include stanza 6 from his third edition onwards. Spechtler's erroneous claim that stanza 3 is always transmitted at the end of the *Palästinalied* proves that even scholars who have grappled intensively with the song's ordering can be confused by its complex medieval and modern edition history (Table 15 and Table 24).[770]

---

[768] See also Spechtler's brief overview in: Spechtler 1996, p. 210f.
[769] See fn. 725. Cormeau, for example, preferentially uses the text versions of all seven stanzas extant in **A**: Cormeau (ed.) 1996, p. 24.
[770] See Spechtler 1996, p. 211f.

A	Lachmann 1827	Wilmanns-Michels ²1883	Wilmanns-Michels ⁴1924	Maurer ¹1955	Maurer ³1967	Cormeau 1996
1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	2	2	2	2	2	2
5	5	5	4	5	5	4
7	6	6	5	7	6	5
8	7	7	6	8	7	6
11	8	8	7	9	8	7
3	9	9	8	11	9	8
-	11	11	9	3	11	9
-	10	10	11	-	3	11
-	12	12	10	-	-	10
-	3	3	3	-	-	12
-	-	-	12	-	-	3

Table 24: The *Palästinalied* in modern editions[771]

The two main considerations that led scholars to exclude and re-order stanzas in their modern editions were the diverging manuscript evidence and the observation that songs with more than five stanzas are very rare in Walther's oeuvre.[772] Much scholarly effort has been invested into ascertaining which of the stanzas are to be considered authentic, and Table 24 gives some indication of the extent to which editors have disagreed on this issue. Haubrichs sought to explain the variants by proposing the interrelatedness of various traditions, and developed a stemma which outlines his conjectured relations between the sources (Figure 20). Rather than relying exclusively on stemmatic conjectures, however, the interpretation of varying stanza order must—like that of shifting manuscript context—consider the *individual* manuscripts. In the case of **E**, Jeffrey Ashcroft has made a strong case for the scribes' critical engagement with Walther's songs and criticised Carl von Kraus for refuting the possibility that 'bathos and banality, inconsequentiality and

---

[771] See Lachmann (ed.) 1827, p. 14ff. Wilhelm Wilmanns, *Walther von der Vogelweide*, Halle (Saale) ²1883, p. 133f. (vol. 2). Wilhelm Wilmanns and Victor Michels, *Walther von der Vogelweide*, 2 vols, Halle (Saale) ⁴1924, p. 95ff. (vol. 2). Cormeau (ed.) 1996, p. 24ff; Friedrich Maurer, *Die Lieder Walthers von der Vogelweide*, 2 vols, Tübingen ¹1955a, p. 15ff; Friedrich Maurer, *Die Lieder Walthers von der Vogelweide*, 2 vols, Tübingen ³1967a, p. 7ff.

[772] See Friedrich Maurer, 'Ton und Lied bei Walther von der Vogelweide', in: *Dichtung und Sprache des Mittelalters: gesammelte Ausätze*, ed. by Friedrich Maurer, Bern 1963, pp. 104–115; here, p. 144.

crudities of form or sensibility might be marks of a particular intention or function, or of a changing reception of Walther's lyric in a later time'.[773]
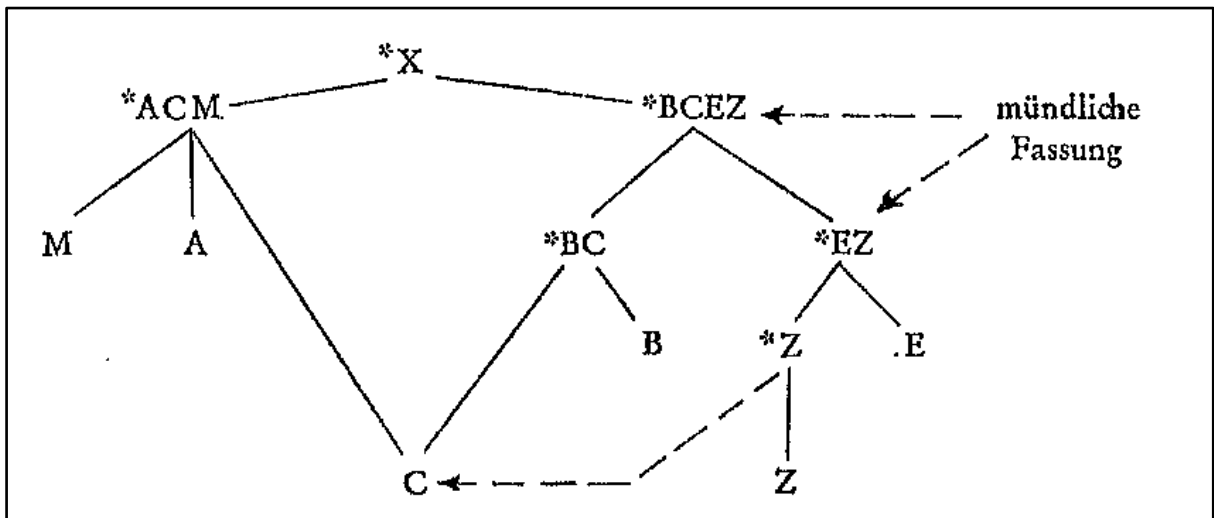
Figure 20: Haubrichs' stemmatic reconstruction of the *Palästinalied*'s transmission[774]

Compared with the scholarly assessment of the *Palästinalied*'s rhythm and its status as a contrafact (Chapter VI.3.ii), matters of taxonomy and stanza order will appear mere quibbles. A future reconsideration of these matters, however, will significantly impact the study of contrafacture and rhythm: if the *Palästinalied* was not intended as a crusading song, then its alleged topical resemblance with Jaufre Rudel's 'Lanquan li jorn' (PC262,2) looses its footing; and if each manuscript offers its own instantiation of the song, then future scholars must ask whether all of these instantiations must also share the same rhythm and the same relation with other songs.

ii. Grasping at the *Palästinalied*: Rhythm and Contrafacture

With the discovery of the *Palästinalied*'s melody in **Z**, the song's rhythmical rendition became an additional battle-ground of scholarly dispute. Of the three first scholars to publish on **Z**, Jostes avoided the issue by seeking 'refuge' and asking his friend

---

[773] Ashcroft 1982, p. 59. Judith Peraino has recently suggested that later additions made to trouv. **M** were equally meaningful and expressive: Judith A. Peraino, *Giving Voice to Love: Song and Self-Expression from the Troubadours to Guillaume de Machaut*, Oxford 2011, p. 154ff.
[774] Haubrichs 1977, p. 35.

Dr Kühn to prepare the musical edition in his stead; Wustmann and Molitor, however, were deeply divided on matters of rhythm.

Molitor was adamant that the square notation used to notate the melody of the *Palästinalied* was that 'of liturgical chant'.[775] Vehemently rejecting Riemann's rhythmical transcriptions as doing violence to the melodies, he wondered how such isometric renditions could have 'drawn the attention of serious scholars even for a short period of time, found belief in some places, or only even given rise to hopes', and snidely commented on the importance he believed Riemann's position and standing to have played in making his theories widely accepted.[776] Following an extensive diatribe against other systems of rhythmical transcription, Molitor returned to **Z** and declared in matter-of-fact tone: 'following these discussions, the rhythm of the songs in **Z** can be only that of free chant rhythm'.[777] This, according to Molitor, was the most obvious solution, since the notation was that of chant, and since it reflected adequately the close ties between sacred and secular spheres in the Middle Ages, using a sacred rhythmical pattern for secular repertoire. Molitor's equalist rendition of the *Palästinalied* accords the same rhythmical duration to each note, so as to give it meaning and order—'and everyone who has heard a well-trained choir sing a chorale mass in free rhythm knows this' (Figure 21).[778] The statement reminds Molitor's readers that his main profession was in fact not academic, but religious: as the abbot of Gerleve monastery, he would have been exposed to chant as part of his daily routine.[779] One may argue that his (subconscious) reasons for an equalist rendition of the *Palästinalied* were based less on academic considerations than on deeply engrained listening habits and theological ideals.

---

[775] Molitor 1911, p. 476. <69.d>
[776] Ibid., p. 479. <69.f>
[777] Ibid., p. 491. <69.h>
[778] Ibid., p. 492. <69.i>
[779] See Uhlenbrock, Art. 'Molitor, Raphael'.

Figure 21: Molitor's edition of the *Palästinalied*[780]

Wustmann's response to Molitor's equalist rendition, in turn, reflects his philological training. He rejected Molitor's edition since 'representatives of German philology will hardly be able to warm up to the musical form in which Raphael Molitor has presented Walther's *Palästinalied* melody to us'.[781] The edition's main problem was that it obscured all textual patterns of accentuation which philologists had established over the course of the past century: 'it is impossible to throw all this over board and to believe that, though the poets had employed their high artistry for the poem itself, all nuance and beauty of form were devastated and obscured when it was performed in song'.[782] Wustmann's rendition of the *Palästinalied*, however, is also problematic. He claimed that *Minnesang* had been 'matured' through its secular context, and should be performed in accordance

---

[780] Molitor 1911, p. 499.
[781] Wustmann 1912, p. 247. <110.a>
[782] Ibid. <110.b>

with its lyric rhythm.[783] Constructing an antagonism between textual and musical rhythm, it is unclear how his edition 'follows the notation in **Z** more closely than Molitor's version does' when the manuscript features un-rhythmicised square notation—unless Wustmann had assumed the notation in **Z** to be pre-mensural (Figure 22).[784]

Figure 22: Wustmann's edition of the *Palästinalied*[785]

In 1917, the philologist Kurt Plenio rejected Molitor's transcription on the same grounds as Wustmann had: 'in my opinion, there can be no doubt that the use of free Gregorian chant rhythm, which leads to the complete distortion of the text's scansion, again proves itself unserviceable in this case'.[786] The reason for Plenio's ultimate rejection of Molitor's work, its alleged 'unserviceableness', closely resembles Molitor's own rejection of transcriptions by Riemann and others as 'musically impossible'.[787] Both Plenio and Molitor derived the value of their transcriptions at least in part from the lacking value of alternative renditions. Carl Bützler in similar manner first dismantled equirhythmic (and modal) approaches before offering his own, and Burkhard Kippenberg employed similarly hazy notions of 'unsuitability' for the rejection of all but Ewald Jammers's rhythmic

---

[783] Ibid. <110.c>
[784] Ibid. <110.d>
[785] Ibid., p. 250.
[786] Plenio 1917, p. 457f. <82.a>
[787] Molitor 1911, p. 487. <69.g>

solutions, claiming that Molitor's transcriptions countered the natural impression of the melodies; Saran/Bernoulli's and Riemann's editions, in turn, he described as unmusical.[788]

Like Molitor's equalist transcription, modal-rhythmic renditions have been subject to much criticism. Molitor refuted claims that this system was equally applicable to German repertoires, and Bützler dismantled Friedrich Ludwig's iambic edition of the *Palästinalied* because of its frequent 'breach of a fundamental rule of Germanic versification', the lengthening of unlengthened syllables.[789] Heinrich Husmann critiqued Ludwig's student Gennrich, whose attempts to derive modal rhythm for German repertoires through contrafacture, Husmann claimed, had always been viewed sceptically by Germanists.[790] He argued that 'Germany in its central regions continues only the old, syllable-counting style of the troubadours (including, of course, the known German metrical exceptions of upbeat, syllable segmentation, syllable elision, etc.), and undertakes modal experiments only in exceptional cases which have no further impact on the development as a whole'.[791]

As suggested above, it needs to be questioned whether a single rhythmical approach must have applied to all instantiations of the *Palästinalied*. Husmann rejected the idea that the same melody could have borne different rhythmical guises, but it seems doubtful that medieval users should not have experimented with *musical* form when they did so with textual form; even if text and music (including rhythm) were linked in almost inconceivably close symbiosis, this would not have meant that different users or varying practices must have linked the two together *in the same way*.[792]

Despite remaining unresolved, the issues of rhythmical transcription are less heavily debated today. The rhythmical battlefield has been replaced by another, as Brunner

---

[788] See Bützler 1940, p. 11 and 27; Kippenberg 1962, p. 87 and 82.
[789] Bützler 1940, p. 28. <24.a> See also Molitor 1911, p. 489.
[790] See Heinrich Husmann, 'Das Prinzip der Silbenzählung im Lied des zentralen Mittelalters', in: *Mf* 6 (1953), pp. 8–23; here, p. 16f.
[791] Ibid., p. 18. <44.c>
[792] See ibid., p. 10.

indicated as early as 1963: 'for a few years now another problem, which as a whole promises more certain resolution on the one hand, and useful results on the other, has come into focus: the question of the *Palästinalied*'s contrafacture'.[793] Sharing Gennrich's optimistic assessment and promise of contrafacture's magnificent scholarly future, Brunner's belief that the issue of contrafacture promised 'more certain resolution' has not become reality. As the following discussion demonstrates, the question whether Walther's *Palästinalied* is a contrafact of any other pre-existing melody remains as highly debated as it was when proposed by Husmann in 1953.

Husmann's proposal that Walther's song was a contrafact of Jaufre Rudel's 'Lanquan li jorn son lonc en mai' (PC262,2) was published not in an article on issues of contrafacture, but on rhythm; it is short and matter-of-fact, with only little sense of great enthusiasm or excitement: 'but I can give at least one example, regarding which all these matters can be immediately discussed and which for the first time puts us on firm ground in *Minnesang*. For two of the most famous melodies—unnoticed so far, if I am not mistaken—are identical: Walther von der Vogelweide's *Palästinalied* is nothing else than a contrafact of Jaufre Rudel's "Lancan li jorn"'.[794] Husmann's interest in establishing the two songs as paired through contrafacture is driven by the question of their rhythmical identity: after promising a further detailed study of the case in one of his footnotes, he quickly returns to problems of rhythm.[795]

The lack of signposting (and enthusiasm) in Husmann's publication might be seen as part of the reason why his claims are not referenced in Volker Schupp's 1964 dissertation, although Schupp allows for the possiblity of the *Palästinalied* being a contrafact—though not of Jaufre's 'Lanquan', but of the hymn 'Te Joseph celebrent'.[796]

---

[793] Brunner 1963, p. 195. <17.b>
[794] Husmann 1953, p. 17. <44.a>
[795] Ibid., p. 17 (fn. 20).
[796] See Schupp 1964, p. 109. Husmann's article is not listed in Schupp's bibliography.

Three years previous to Husmann's article, Johannes A. Huisman had suggested that Walther's *Palästinalied* was based on this Latin hymn for the service of Vespers on the feast of St Joseph (19 March) (Figure 23). He proposed that Walther had transformed the hymn into a song (in bar form) in order to modernise and update it.[797] The *Minnesänger* had fleshed out the hymn's falling fifths to make it more easily singable by untrained musicians such as crusaders. Though quickly rejected by scholars such as Wolfgang Mohr for its 'skewed reasoning', Huisman's claim did not remain entirely without impact, as Schupp's reference demonstrates.[798]

Figure 23: Huisman's suggested model for the *Palästinalied*

Ursula Aarburg in 1967 suggested a third model melody. Discussing a number of Latin songs in order to demonstrate their characteristic melodic features, among them the Marian antiphon 'O Maria flos virginum' from **StF**, Aarburg revealed why she chose to present this particular example: 'the connoisseur of German *Minnesang* will by now have

---

[797] See Johannes A. Huisman, *Neue Wege zur dichterischen und musikalischen Technik Walthers von der Vogelweide: mit einem Exkurs über die symmetrische Zahlenkomposition im Mittelalter*, Utrecht 1950, p. 147ff.
[798] Mohr 1953b, p. 66. <68.c>

long realised that this antiphon contains Walther's *Palästinalied* melody "in nuce"'.[799]

Aarburg nevertheless remained cautious about the conclusions which could be drawn from this observation: 'did Walther hear this melody at Schlettstadt as part of the retinue of the Staufer, did he compose it (in two parts!) and later elaborate it by simplest means for his *Palästinalied*? All this must remain hypothesis. The only fact to remain for us is that the typical, d-modal melodic language used in hundreds of songs here found one of its most impressive expressions'.[800] Her proposition of 'Ave regina caelorum' as a model for the *Palästinalied* subsequently received little attention, possibly because of the great care taken by Aarburg to avoid the term 'contrafact'.[801]

Horst Brunner transformed Aarburg's observations on the *Palästinalied*'s melodic kinship with 'Ave regina caelorum' into a fully-fledged proposal of contrafacture. In 1963, Brunner hinted that Aarburg was intending to publish on the relationship between Walther's song and a rhymed antiphon; pre-empting Aarburg's ideas—not to be published until 1967, and concerned first and foremost with the notion of tonal topoi—and including them in a discussion of Huisman's and Husmann's proposed models for the *Palästinalied*, Brunner asserted that Aarburg also considered these pieces as related through contrafacture.[802] In his later 1977 edition of source material pertaining to Walther's songs, he appropriated Aaburg's argument into his own imagined 'chain of contrafacture', proposing that Jaufre based his song on 'Ave regina coelorum', and that Walther then used Jaufre's song either with or without making additional use of the antiphon.[803]

The earliest contrafacta to be suggested in relation to the *Palästinalied*, however, were two songs in the *Bordesholmer Marienklage*. In 1948, Anna Amalie Abert proposed that a number of items in the Marian play/lamentations were modelled on pre-existent

---

[799] Aarburg 1967, p. 116. <7.f> 'O Maria flos virginum' is the third line of 'Ave regina coelorum'.
[800] Ibid. <7.g>
[801] See Brunner, Müller and Spechtler (eds) 1977, p. 56*. In addition, the reasons for Aarburg's lack of reception outlined in Chapter V.3 may also hold true here.
[802] See Brunner 1963, p. 196. See also fn. 814.
[803] See Brunner, Müller and Spechtler (eds) 1977, p. 56*.

songs in the vernacular. Two of these—the Latin 'Tristor et cuncti' and the vernacular 'Maria, moder unde maget reyne'—she linked with the *Palästinalied*, arguing that their contrafacture 'all but jumps to the eye' and that 'there can be no doubt that we have the melody of Walther's crusading song before us here'.[804] Although many of the objections and concerns voiced against the *Palästinalied*'s relation with 'Lanquan li jorn', 'Te Joseph celebrent', and 'Ave regina coelorum' may likewise be applied to Abert's example of contrafacture, her proposal has been widely accepted by scholarship.

The main criterion sought out in order to assert the *Palästinalied* as a contrafact (and as a contrafact-host) is basic and consequently difficult to contradict. Brunner, for example, was satisfied to note the formal identity between Walther's and Jaufre's melodies, a fact about which 'there is no doubt': both are rounded bar forms, and both have seven lines.[805] He argued that such close motivic similarities could be explained neither with reference to formulaic patterns nor to chance: 'one can hardly believe that Jaufre Rudel and Walther once brought together the same "common motifs" in the same order and into the same form by chance and independently of each other'.[806] Kippenberg suggested that when comparing the melody's medieval sources 'the concordance becomes even more obvious', and Husmann claimed that, 'compared with the discrepancies one is used to finding between French manuscripts alone, the concordance of both melodies lies within the norm'.[807] The occasional differences between the two songs, Kippenberg argued away as 'a purposeful reshaping by Walther'.[808]

Consequently, Walther's contrafacture of Jaufre's song has often been taken as a given. Silvia Ranawake, for example, laconically claimed that, 'as is well known, the *Palästinalied* is a contrafact of the Occitan love song "Lanquan li jorn son lonc en mai"

---

[804] Abert 1948, p. 103f. <9.a>
[805] Brunner 1963, p. 202. <19.b>
[806] Ibid., p. 203. <19.c> Though generally appraising Brunner's work, Christoph Petzsch has criticised him for ruling out chance as the link between Walther's and Jaufre's melody: Petzsch 1968, p. 278.
[807] Kippenberg 1962, p. 164. <52.b> Husmann 1953, p. 18. <44.b>
[808] Kippenberg 1962, p. 167. <52.c>

[…] by Jaufre Rudel'.[809] Yet the proposition of three different melodies as models for Walther's *Palästinalied* suggests that the observation of 'identical' melodies may not be enough to *prove* a musical contrafacture—unless one is able to discard any of these for other reasons, and/or assumes that multiple melodies influenced the contrafact and formed a 'tune family'.[810] Christoph Petzsch in particular sought to dismantle assertions of contrafacture based solely on the evidence of 'melodic identity', going back to the notion of melodic types:

> melodic types must be considered the more elementary and comprehensive features, whose conditions of development reach beyond the musical into the medieval and ancient realm as a whole, and whose preconditions may also shed light on the case of deliberate contrafacture. It appears that within this entire context the latter is a special case of the late period, or more precisely: of the late period of European monophony, which certainly does not begin merely with the *Minnesang* of the twelfth century. Only when viewed before this backdrop does contrafacture gain the fuller reality it deserves, and thus gains its historical depth.[811]

Petzsch emphasised that a 'true' contrafact required the deliberate will of its creator; where this remains questionable, he speaks of an 'immanent claim to renewed realisation. This, however, is fundamentally different from conscious remodelling through contrafacture'.[812]

Aarburg further critiqued the theory of the *Palästinalied*'s contrafacture. She highlighted the lack of any hard and fast source evidence from the earlier repertoire that could provide an unquestionable precedent, and insisted that no evidence could confirm beyond doubt that poets had used the melodies associated with the songs on which they

---

[809] Ranawake 1996, p. 69. See also: fn. 764.
[810] Taylor, for example, questioned Huisman's idea of 'Te Joseph celebrent' as a model for the *Palästinalied*, noting that the earliest extant source for the hymn melody was from the sixteenth century: Ronald J. Taylor, Review of Johannes A. Huismann, 'Neue Wege zur dichterischen und musikalischen Technik Walthers von der Vogelweide', in: *AfdA* 65 (1951/52), pp. 115–118; here, p. 117.
[811] Petzsch 1968, p. 290. <81.b>
[812] Ibid., p. 284. <81.a>

based their *textual* contrafacta.[813] Indeed, none of the thirty-one contrafacta listed in Aarburg's 1961 catalogue are based on songs by Jaufre, suggesting that the troubadour was not a particular 'favourite' among the *Minnesang* contrafactors (Table 25).[814]

---

[813] See Aarburg 1961, p. 384ff.

[814] Aarburg interestingly does not refer to the *Palästinalied* as a contrafact, only as a model for the songs of the *Bordesholmer Marienklage* (p. 381, no. 8 in her catalogue). For a discussion of 'the melody's origin' ('zur Frage der Melodieherkunft'), she refers readers to an article published by herself in *ZfdA* 90, 1959/60— a doubly misleading reference: firstly, Aarburg gives the wrong year for volume 90 of the *ZfdA* which covers the years 1960/61; an error which may be explained by the fact that volume 90 *should* have covered years 1959/60 if the journal numbering had been consistent. Aarburg's similarly wrong dating of her article in *ZfdA* 87 as 1955/56 rather than 1956/57, however, suggests a more thorough problem. Secondly, her reference points readers to an article that does not exist. There are no publications by Aarburg in *ZfdA* 89, 90, or 91. Her first discussion of the *Palästinalied*'s relationship with 'Ave regina coelorum' can be found in her 1967 article in *DU* 5. Possibly, when Aarburg submitted her catalogue for Fromm's 1961 volume—likely to have been in 1960 or even late 1959—she had submitted (or intended to submit) an article discussing the *Palästinalied* to *ZfdA*, whose editors had agreed to publish the contribution in the journal's next volume, which ought to have been 90 (1959/60) and later became 90 (1960/61). For some reason, Aarburg's article was withdrawn from or refused publication. This tantalising suggestion may also explain why Brunner could already hint at Aarburg's idea about 'Ave regina coelorum' as early as 1963 without this idea having appeared in print; see fn. 802.

Aarburg #	German		Romance	
	Poet	MF	Poet	Ry/PC
Certain Contrafacta				
20	Friedrich von Hausen	45,37	Folquet de Marseille	PC155,8
21	Friedrich von Hausen	49,13	Anon.	Ry420
22	Friedrich von Hausen	51,33	Guiot de Provins	Ry142
23	Ulrich von Gutenburg	77,36	Blondel de Nesle	Ry482
24	Rudolf von Fenis	80,1	Folquet de Marseille	PC155,21
25	Rudolf von Fenis	80,25	Gace Brulé	Ry1102
26	Rudolf von Fenis	84,10	Peire Vidal	PC364,37
27	Albrecht von Johansdorf	87,5	Conon de Béthune	Ry1125
28	Bernger von Horheim	112,1	Chretien de Troyes	Ry1664
29	Heinrich von Morungen?	147,17	Perrin d'Angicourt?	Ry1538
Probable Contrafacta				
30	Friedrich von Hausen	44,13	Gaucelm Faidit	PC167,33
31	Friedrich von Hausen	45,1	Blondel de Nesle 'Guiot'	Ry742 Ry742a
32	Friedrich von Hausen	48,32	Bernart de Ventadorn	PC70,36
33	Friedrich von Hausen	50,19	Gace Brulé	Ry187
34	Rudolf von Fenis	81,30 83,11	Folquet de Marseille Gace Brulé Gaucelm Faidit	PC155,8; PC155,21; PC155,5 Ry42 PC167,46
35	Bernger von Horheim	115,27	Gace Brulé?	Ry160
36	Hartwic von Rute	116,1	Gaucelm Faidit	PC167,46
37	Ps.-Reinmar	194,18	Gaucelm Faidit	PC167,37
Possible Contrafacta				
38	Ps.-Reinmar?/Reinmar?	35,16	Bernart de Ventadorn	PC70,43
39	Friedrich von Hausen	43,28	Gaucelm Faidit	PC167,37
40	Friedrich von Hausen	48,3	Gontier de Soignies Thibaut de Blason	Ry265a; Ry1089; Ry723; Ry480 Ry1430
41	Friedrich von Hausen	53,31	Anon. Perrin d'Agincourt?	Ry1490 Ry288
42	Heinrich von Veldeke	57,10	Pierre de Molins	Ry221
43	Heinrich von Veldeke	61,33	Gace Brulé Blondel de Nesle Cuens de Rousi	Ry1465; Ry477 Ry1897 Ry430; Ry435; Ry2033
44	Heinrich von Veldeke	65,28	Bernart de Ventadorn Richart de Semilli	PC70,9 Ry614; Ry22; Ry17; Ry30; Ry2104; Ry2092
45	Ps.-Veldeke	67,9	Bernart de Ventadorn	PC70,43
46	A Reinmar pupil	103,3	Bernart de Ventadorn	PC70,43
47	Bernger von Horheim	113,1	Bertran de Born Robert de Castel? Anon.	PC80,25 Ry1457 Ry1601; Ry289

48	Bernger von Horheim	114,21	Bertran de Born	PC80,1; PC80,31
			Conon de Béthune	Ry1837
49	Bligger von Steinach	118,19	Anon.	Ry42
				PC167
50	Hartmann von Aue	215,14	Gace Brulé	Ry171
			Anon.	Ry113
51*	Burggraf von Rietenburg	18,25	Anon.	Ry1752

Table 25: Romance contrafacta in *Minnesangs Frühling*, according to Aarburg (1961)[815]

Taylor argued that the songs classified as contrafacta by Gennrich contradicted the information about Romance practices of contrafacture gleaned from the anonymous *Doctrina de compondre dictats* treatise, which reserved it for the genre of the *sirventes* in particular.[816] He surveyed the suggested German contrafacta in order to determine whether they shared other, non-genre-related features, and concluded that contrafacta were found in the songs of those *Minnesänger* who 'did in fact enjoy a systematic education', while there were no unquestionable contrafacta among the songs of non-noble singers; accusations of 'plagiarism', such as Marner's labelling of Reinmar von Zweter as a 'doenedieb' (W3,3), were voiced by singers of low birth.[817] If contrafacture indeed featured only in the output of *learned Minnesänger* of noble birth, then Walther's *Palästinalied* could not have been based on Jaufre's 'Lanquan li jorn', as he is commonly held to have been a *lower* noble, belonging to the ranks of the *ministeriales*.[818]

Elsewhere, Taylor turned from such historical enquiries, and brought forward analytical arguments against the *Palästinalied* as a contrafact: 'these and other analytical discrepancies notwithstanding [upbeat versus no upbeat], the two melodies are fundamentally different in their entire style [Art], and everyone who sings them one after

---

[815] See Aarburg 1961, p. 394ff.

[816] The short treatise is printed in translation in: Marianne Shapiro, *De vulgari eloquentia: Dante's Book of Exile*, Lincoln 1990, p. 127ff.

[817] See Ronald J. Taylor, 'Du Doenediep!', in: *LMS* 2 (1951), pp. 125–132; here, p. 130f.

[818] Horst Fuhrmann, for example, has noted that the *ministeriales*' 'service as mounted warriors gave them the status of lesser nobility', and Josef Fleckenstein has described them as 'serving-men who were legally unfree but who could become assimilated to the nobility by way of service': Josef Fleckenstein, *Early Medieval Germany*, transl. by Bernard S. Smith, Amsterdam 1978, p. 192; Horst Fuhrmann, *Germany in the High Middle Ages c. 1050–1200*, transl. by Timothy Reuter, Cambridge 1986, p. 36f. See also fn. 161.

the other will wonder what they might possibly share in common'.[819] Taylor's objective analytical arguments prove to be the opposite: they prompted him to make generalising claims about the melody's overall design, and about its sonic effects—both of which reveal his own underlying ideologies. He assumed that melodies must reflect the content of their text as well as the personality of their author.[820] If the music reflected textual content, contrafacture became problematic since these songs used the same melody to express different texts, and Taylor consequently rejected the 'stubborn, forced methods of contrafact-hunting'; moreover, he saw Walther's authorial genius endangered if one assumed that the *Palästinalied* melody, which Taylor believed to reflect Walther's character so clearly, was not by Walther: 'I do not see the need to question Walther's originality and to give rise to the impression that he and his contemporaries were dependent on foreign inspiration and foreign material to a high degree'.[821]

Taylor's assertion of Walther's genius emulated a line of thought which had been present in scholarship since at least 1914, when Julius Goebel had presented his readership with Jean Beck's appraisal of Walther's recently discovered melody: 'as professor Jean-Baptiste Beck, the decipherer of medieval musical notation, informs me on the basis of his detailed study of these melodies, Walther's crusade song is an artwork of unreached quality and allows us to sense which artistry the poet must also have had in the field of music. The same scholar likewise assures me that there can be no suggestion of any borrowing of Walther's music from Romance models, as little as with the other extant *Minnesang* melodies'.[822]

The question of original genius also played an important role in other scholars' assessments of Walther's *Palästinalied*. Friedrich Maurer grudgingly accepted the idea of

---

[819] Taylor 1956/57, p. 141. <95.c>
[820] Ibid., p. 142. See also fn. 858.
[821] Ibid., p. 143. <95.e>
[822] Julius Goebel, 'Aus Rudolf Hildebrands Nachlass', in: *EGPh* 13 (1914), pp. 181–182; here, p. 181. <36.a>

the song as a contrafact, but only if one consented to date Walther's song to his early career in order to protect the image of his genius: 'it seems not finally decided to me whether we truly encounter Walther as a contrafactor in his only original, completely extant song melody. If this is so, then one would like to think the early Walther in this role rather than the mature or late artist'.[823] Maurer's argument that 'the magnificent art of structure, allowing for the concordance of content, syntax [Satz], rhythmical flow, and melody, is indeed not mastered to the same degree in all cases; the young Walther in particular learns this art only slowly' not only explained the *Palästinalied*'s poetic imperfections, but suggested that the *Minnesänger* might still have needed guidance in form of a pre-existing melody.[824] Rejecting the notion of the *Palästinalied* as a contrafact, James McMahon stressed its use of commonly available motivic material which, however, did not diminish Walther's poetic genius: 'what it does mean is that he composed in the musical idiom of his time, using the forms and materials available. His skill as a composer consisted not so much in inventing original forms or materials, as in using the forms and materials already at hand, to underline and emphasise the structure and content of his poem and to create a well-balanced and beautiful melody'.[825]

McMahon's assessment of the *Palästinalied* as 'a well-balanced and beautiful melody' suggests a scrutiny of the varying interpretations of the song's meaning and value (Chapter VI.3.iii), but before turning from the *Palästinalied*'s contrafacture, it seems necessary to draw together a number of issues which have been discussed here. Despite the wealth of published debate on the song's contrafacture, three methodological concerns in particular remain unresolved. (1) The analytical studies proposed to (dis-)prove the contrafacture of the *Palästinalied* have more often than not led to abstract, ideology-laden

---

[823] Maurer 1955b, p. 47. <66.b>
[824] Ibid., p. 44. <66.a>
[825] James V. McMahon, 'Contrafacture vs. Common Melodic Motives in Walther von Der Vogelweide's "Palästinalied"', in: *RbM* 36/38 (1982), pp. 5–17; here, p. 17.

comments on the melody's general design rather than any factual results, and any study that relies on musical analysis alone will have to be measured against the song's diverse manuscript evidence. Taylor's historical reconsideration of contrafacture, on the other hand, has remained without noticeable echo in scholarship. A renewed interest in his enquiry into contrafacture *as a practice* may lead to fresh insights. (2) Whether the melodic congruence between the *Palästinalied* and its proposed models (and derivatives) is considered the result of deliberate contrafacture, or of typical motivic patterns freely circulating at the time, the positions held in this debate have relied on scholars' pre-formed opinions rather than on any detailed knowledge of *Minnesang*'s musical characteristics. Aarburg's call for a musical survey of the extant repertoire remains unheeded, though it too might provide a fruitful new approach to these questions. (3) Petzsch's assertion that authorial intention was a *conditio sine qua non* for a contrafact—as opposed to a melodic type—requires fresh consideration. While one may wish to include the possibility of *scribal* intention in Petzsch's proposed definition, a broader issue becomes evident here: scholars have avoided the question of what it might *mean* to the author, scribe, and audience to produce/be faced with a contrafact.[826] Such a line of enquiry would ask about the reasons for choosing a particular model and the reasons for changing it; scholars would need to consider whether audiences would have been aware of host songs and how this might (not) have impacted a song's meaning. These discussions would need to go beyond those made for the *Palästinalied* by Gennrich, who reasoned that Walther must have heard Jaufre's song on his travels to France, noticing it because of the repeated refrain-word 'lonh' and the transposed return of the opening musical line at the beginning of each *cauda*. His assertion that Walther must have *liked* Jaufre's melody so much that he re-used

---

[826] Francisca Gale recently gave a conference paper which considered the role of the audience for the meaning of contrafacta. Her paper 'Adaptation and the Problem of Performance: Wolfram's Solution in *Parzival*?' will soon become available as a podcast on http://www.mod-langs.ox.ac.uk/performingmedievaltext/. See also Elizabeth Eva Leach's response to Gale's paper.

it falls short of providing a convincing reason for the *Minnesänger*'s decision to use the melody for his own text—at least as long as there is no corollary, *meaningful* explanation as to why Walther then went on to modify it.[827]

iii. Interpreting the *Palästinalied*

Beyond any speculations about contrafacture, scholars continue to disagree on the aesthetic information and meaning which Walther's song holds on a more general level. The following section presents some of the various meanings attributed to the *Palästinalied*, and underscores the problems of these interpretations by critiquing their tone and questioning their material evidence.

Not all scholars have lent their voice to the idea that medieval songs, including the *Palästinalied*, hold meanings beyond the purely technical information about their own composition. Taylor insisted that 'music is […] a more general means of artistic expression than literature, and the same melody will often do duty for a love-song and a religious lyric'.[828] Musical features are described as a generic, one-size-fits-all vehicle for the transportation of a text's meaning, to be discussed only in terms of whether they adequately, beneficially present the text; music does not carry its own, distinct meaning. Brunner firmly located a song's meaning in the text, separating it from the music: 'the primary feature was, is, and will be meaning. […] It [music] may serve to increase the impact of the text's meaning, but it is itself unable to mean'.[829] Like Taylor, Brunner accords music the status of a rhetorical device rather than considering it an essential, constitutive element of meaning.[830]

---

[827] See Friedrich Gennrich, *Grundriß einer Formenlehre des mittelalterlichen Liedes als Grundlage einer musikalischen Formenlehre des Liedes*, Halle (Saale) 1932, p. xviii; Friedrich Gennrich, *Der musikalische Nachlass der Troubadours*, Darmstadt 1965a, p. 42.

[828] Taylor 1951, p. 132.

[829] Brunner 1963, p. 210. <17.c>

[830] 'The *Minnesänger* are composers in the sense of 'componere'; one can use a certain melodic formula like one uses the stylistic devices anaphora, homoioteleuton, or alliteration'. Ibid., p. 211. <17.d>

Almost all scholars who have studied Walther's *Palästinalied*, however, have commented on the song's tonal make up. D, f, and a are its three central pitches: among the song's ninety-three pitches in **Z**, d appears twenty-three times, f eighteen times, and a thirteen times (Table 26). The former two pitches dominate the first and third lines of the *Stollen*, while the range expands upwards to the fifth above the final d in lines two and four. The first line of the *Abgesang* explores the space between a and c (with a passing note on g), before the sixth line moves the tonal focus back downward, providing the transition to the melodic repeat of line two in the final verse. The endings of lines one and three on c notwithstanding, d is the focal point of the *Stollen* pair, and Ursula Aarburg claimed that the song was typical of a d-mode.[831] These evaluations of apparently objective nature are already interpretations rather than observations. Aarburg's descriptions of the melody as 'tonally relatively simple' and 'typical of a d mode' provide the foundation for her critique of contrafacture and rely on a comparative framework.[832] Against Aarburg's assessment, the tonal facture in the *Abgesang* could easily be described as all but simple: line five features neither d nor f, the two most important pitches of the *Stollen*; *musically*, it is significantly shorter than all other lines, and is the first line to have as many 'other' pitches as core pitches d, f, and a. After line five, the core pitches no longer outrank the group of 'other' pitches.

---

[831] See Aarburg 1967, p. 116.
[832] Aarburg 1950, p. 64. <1.a>

Line	Text	First pitch	Last pitch	Range	Musical form
1	Nu alrest leb ich mir werde	d	c	c–f	A
2	Siut myn sundich ouge ersicht	e	d	c–a	B
3	Daz liebe lant und ouch die erde	d	c	c–f	A*
4	Dem man al der eren gicht	e	d	c–a	B*
5	Nu ist geschen als ich ie bat	a	a	g–c	C
6	Ich byn komen an die stat	a	c	c–c	D
7	Da got menschlichen trat	e	d	c–a	B**

Line	d	f	a	'Other'	Total
1	6	3	0	4	13
2	3	4	2	6	15
3	6	4	0	3	13
4	3	3	2	6	14
5	0	0	5	5	10
6	2	2	2	8	14
7	3	2	2	7	14
Total	23	18	13	39	93
	54			39	93

Table 26: Structure/tonality of the *Palästinalied* melody

For Molitor, the Benedictine abbot with interests in chant reform, the song was 'in more than one instance reminiscent of Gregorian melodies'.[833] He argued that the song 'was likely conceived as a choral piece—bursting with holy, joyful enthusiasm'.[834] Molitor likened the *Palästinalied*'s tonality and performative context to Gregorian chant, interpreting the song as religious, as Christian, on the basis of its tonal characteristics. Curiously, Molitor noted that analogies with Gregorian melodies were 'nothing exceptional' in medieval song; if one is to follow his line of thought consistently, all songs with a similar design would need to be understood as religiously motivated.[835]

Discussing the *Palästinalied*, Taylor wrote that its 'beautiful, profound melody is Dorian, and in many turns of phrase uncovers its unmistakable derivation from the world of Gregorian chant (Figure 24). Thus, the grave, solemn notes of the melody provide the

---

[833] Molitor 1911, p. 497. <69.j>
[834] Ibid. <69.l>
[835] Ibid. <69.k>

most complete analogy to the text's devout spirit'.[836] Elsewhere, he described the melody as solemnly Gregorian and representative of the pilgrims' march to the Holy Land, pointing to the close link between text and music as the justification for this interpretation of the song's tonality:

> I would like to see the present version of the song as an example of the possibility of harmonically merging metrical and musical concepts, for setting in stone musicological *apriori* can lead only to one-sided, unsatisfactory results. *Minnesang* is a structured unity: it has a literary, a metrical, and a musical side, each of which has its own meaning as well as a function in the context of the whole; the art of *Minnesang* consists precisely in the unification and disjunction of these various elements. When a researcher looses sight of this principle, his studies are soon to capsize.[837]

Despite the smooth fit of melodic tonality, (text) rhythm, and content, one needs to be aware of the circular argument which underlies Taylor's interpretation: he describes the melody as Gregorian (rather than as d-tonal) because this matches the religious nature of text, and the rhythm is *vierhebig* (rather than modal or equalistic) because it matches the marching metre of the text. Avoiding musicological *apriori*, Taylor replaced them with textual ones.

Figure 24: Taylor's edition of the *Palästinalied*[838]

---

[836] Taylor 1964, p. 43 (vol. 2). <96.a>
[837] Taylor 1956/57, p. 139. <95.b>
[838] Ibid.

Arguing against a consideration of medieval melodies from a solely formalist perspective, Leo Treitler has turned away from the focus on the *Palästinalied*'s overall d-tonality. He saw the song to be grappling with the concept of distance in the alternate line-endings on c and d, and suggested that Walther may have consciously inverted the endings of *Stollen* lines in Jaufre's melody to close on d rather than on c in order to emphasise the move towards stability inherent in Walther's text.[839] Treitler proposed that, ironically, the deviation between the two melodies may strengthen the case for Walther's song as a contrafact, and noted that 'the difference between them in itself constitutes a display of expression of semantic quality through syntax of melody'.[840] Despite his insistence on *musical* expressionism, however, Treitler based his understanding of the *Palästinalied* melody on its underlying text, presenting the former as a rhetorical device for the clarification of the latter.

As these examples demonstrate, Mohr's 1953 exhortation to musicologists for a scrutiny of *Minnesang*'s tonal symbolism has been heard by a wide range of scholars studying the *Palästinalied*: the song's d-tonality has been used in various ways as a representative emblem of scholars' predetermined, *textually* generated interpretations.

The *Palästinalied*'s melodic *form* has likewise provided grounds (and limitations) for the exploration of the song's meaning.[841] The melody features a repeated pattern of two melodic lines, AB|A*B*, followed by two new melodic lines CD, and concludes with a melodic line almost identical to B (Table 26). This melodic shape can be understood as a sub-type of the common bar form: the standard bar form ABABX is modified to

---

[839] See Leo Treitler, 'Once More, Music and Language in Medieval Song', in: *Essays on Medieval Music*, ed. by Graeme M. Boone, Cambridge (Mass) 1995, pp. 441–469; here, p. 468. This article has been reprinted under a new title in a collection of Treitler's publications: Leo Treitler, 'The Marriage of Poetry and Music in Medieval Song', in: *With Voice and Pen: Coming to Know Medieval Song and How It Was Made*, ed. by Leo Treitler, New York 2003, pp. 457–481; here, p. 478ff.

[840] Treitler 1995, p. 468.

[841] A consideration of melodic features by poetic line suggests that there are no musical elements of significance on levels beneath or across that of the poetic line. Scholars commonly study elements of alliteration or *Stabreim* within poetic lines, for example, and smaller/larger *musical* features should likewise be given due attention. Due to the confines of this thesis, such a detailed analysis cannot be presented here. Instead, the dissertation hopes to encourage/initiate new modes of *Minnesang* analysis, see Chapter VII.

ABABXB—a rounded bar form. Brunner noted the significance of melodies to such observations: 'melodies are of great importance for an assessment of the *Töne*'s structure. Conversely, one can generally only speculate on a *Ton*'s form in cases in which no melody survives, as the metrical pattern alone is not usually enough to determine the form'.[842] Melodies are important *primarily* for their structural information: an idea that coincides with Brunner's belief that melodies do not hold their own, distinct meaning. The only melodic feature of the *Palästinalied* considered by Brunner is its formal design; 'micro' features such as the alternation between cadences on c and d receive no mention beyond their relevance for the song's structure. Neglecting *melodic* meaning, he proposed the importance of *form* as the container of a song's meaning. Friedrich Gennrich had opened up this analytical pathway for the study of medieval song in his *Formenlehre* of 1932, an authoritative tome whose title and appearance suggested to its readers that a song's analysis was complete with its formal categorisation and taxonomisation.[843]

Spechtler similarly emphasised the importance of the melody for a structural analysis of the *Palästinalied*: 'it allows for a more precise identification of the stanza's form than this would be possible in a solely linguistic, metrical analysis'.[844] While Brunner had highlighted the 'great importance' of melodies—noting that the form of songs transmitted without melody had to remain speculation—Spechtler reduced music's role to one of nuance. The text and metre of the *Palästinalied* alone would have allowed scholars and performers to recognise the song's bar form; the melody was needed only to uncover the detail of the stanza's roundedness. The song's form highlighted its textual meaning and underscored its aesthetic value: 'by employing these stylistic and formal (melodic) devices, the composer and poet attains a "density" of meanings, a textual "weight" which fully ties

---

[842] Brunner 1996, p. 64. <21.b>
[843] See Gennrich 1932.
[844] Spechtler 1996, p. 208. <94.b>

up with medieval discussions about the Holy Land'.[845] Although Spechtler confined music to the role of a rhetorical device, he also viewed it as an indicator of the artistic prowess which, in the *Palästinalied*, revealed Walther as a 'poet and *composer*'; Spechtler imbued melodies—and songs as a whole—with a further, non-textual layer of meaning, arguing the *Minnesänger*'s self-awareness as artists.[846]

Harold Gleason's 1942 edition of the *Palästinalied* in his anthology of *Examples of Music before 1400* implies meaning through an inconspicuous analysis of its form.[847] Subtitled 'Nu alerst leb', the *Palästinalied* shares a page with editions of Friedrich von Hausen's 'Do ich von der guoten schiet' (MF48,32) and Wizlav von Rügen's 'We, ich han gedacht' (STm5).[848] Gleason names Walther as the song's author, references **Z** as its source, and associates it with the crusade of 1228. In the header, he categorises the *Palästinalied* as a 'rounded *chanson*', rather than describing it with the more adequate term 'Rundkanzone' (Figure 25).[849] While one may, at first, consider this to be no more than a slip-of-the-pen on Gleason's part, his analogous decision to classify Der Unverzagte's 'Der kuninc Rodolp' as a 'Streitgedicht (*tenso*)' on the following page suggests that he purposefully used Romance taxonomies to describe German songs.[850] It seems likely that the main reason for his decision was the familiarity of his readers with these genres, which he consequently employed in order to describe the songs in comprehensible terms.[851] Gleason had no qualms about blurring the boundaries between the German repertoire and its Romance counterparts, and his choice of situating the *Palästinalied* alongside Friedrich

---

[845] Ibid., p. 209. <94.c>

[846] My emphasis. Walther is later apostrophised as 'Dichter und Komponist' a second time by Spechtler: ibid., p. 212.

[847] Gustav Reese later recommended the use of Gleason's anthology as a supplement to his music history: Gustav Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages: with an Introduction on the Music of Ancient Times*, London 1941, p. viii.

[848] Note that Gleason gives a variant incipit for Friedrich von Hausen's song: 'Deich von der guoten schiet'. See Gleason 1942, p. 20.

[849] My emphasis. Harold Gleason, *Examples of Music before 1400*, New York 1942, p. 24.

[850] Ibid., p. 25. It is curious to note that Gleason used an Occitan term for the *Spruch* and an Old French term for the *Lied*. For other editions of 'Der kuninc Rodolp', see Chapter IV.2.

[851] Gleason intended his volume for a general, non-exclusive audience: 'these examples are not museum pieces […] but are intended to be enjoyed'. In: ibid., p. vii.

von Hausen's contrafact of Bernart de Ventadorn's 'Pos mi pregatz seignor' (PC70,36) further supports this assumption.[852] The formal analysis of the *Palästinalied* as a *chanson* and its placement link it with the French repertoire, and propose to the volume's readers the strong dependence of *Minnesang* as a whole on analogous Romance traditions.

Figure 25: Harold Gleason's edition of the *Palästinalied*[853]

Others have viewed the *Palästinalied*'s facture as characteristically German and as proof of *Minnesang*'s independence from foreign traditions. Julius Goebel called on Jean Beck to argue that 'there can be no suggestion of any borrowing of Walther's music from Romance models, as little as with the other extant *Minnesang* melodies'.[854] The song is used to insinuate the German origin of *Minnesang* as a whole: 'should this fact not also be allowed to speak to the decision over the native origin of *Minnesang*?'[855] Carl Bützler similarly argued for Walther's rootedness in the German tradition of the *Spruch*, claiming that the song's individual melodic lines needed to be understood as distinct entities— 'viewed alongside the earlier observation that the *Palästinalied* must be notated in 2/4, this proves that it belongs to the group of *Sprüche*, not the group of *Lieder*'.[856] Bützler's line of

---

[852] It is unlikely that Gleason considered the *Palästinalied* a contrafact of any particular song. Husmann's article which linked the song with Jaufre Rudel was published eleven years later in 1953, and if Gleason had toyed with such an idea, it would have been strange not to mention this. If he had had Jaufre in mind, then a description of the song as a rounded *canso* rather than *chanson* would have also been more fitting.
[853] Gleason 1942, p. 20.
[854] Goebel 1914, p. 181. <36.a> See also fn. 822.
[855] Ibid. <36.b>
[856] Bützler 1940, p. 31. <24.b>

300

argument is as circular as those concerning the melody's Gregorian tonality: having rejected the *Palästinalied*'s transcription in ternary metre on the grounds of the second mode's alleged anti-German nature only two pages previously, he goes on to use the same binary metre to propose that 'not only are Walther's *Sprüche* and the *Tagelied* [dawn song] rooted in German tradition, but also his religious *Lieder*'.[857]

Although Beck's, Goebel's, and Bützler's concerns with the *Palästinalied*'s national, German features have to be understood in light of the nationalist politics and mind-sets of the first half of the twentieth century, later scholarship continues to rely on the same national taxonomies and interpretative frameworks. Motivated by the idea that the song's melody may have crossed national boundaries, the on-going debate over the *Palästinalied*'s contrafacture remains immersed in the notion that such political and/or linguistic borders existed in the Middle Ages and were in need of crossing. As a German contrafact of an Occitan and/or Latin model, Walther's song is seen to hold national information and value, meaningful to the preoccupations of its modern recipients.

In another attempt to derive meaning from the *Palästinalied* melody, Taylor interpreted it as reflective of its author's personality. He emphasised that 'Walther's entire song is indeed more concise, precise, and direct than Rudel's—an observation that should not surprise us, considering the different characters of their personality and poetry'.[858] Taylor referred to the poets' divergent personalities in order to justify his rejection of contrafacture theory: because their personalities were so different, Walther would never have dreamed of copying Jaufre's melody. The circularity of this argument is striking: the melodies are different because of the poets' contrasting characters, while the poets' contrasting characters are to be derived from the different melodies. Taylor's claims are based not on analytical 'evidence', but on interpretation.

---

[857] Ibid. <24.c> For his rejection of ternary transcriptions of Walther's song, see: ibid., p. 29f.
[858] Taylor 1956/57, p. 142. <95.d>

Meaning and value were similarly layered onto the song by Hans Joachim Moser, who imagined the moment of the *Palästinalied*'s performance: 'the expression abounds in calm meditation, abounds in that timid emotion which lets the noble-spirited hold their breath and feel the beating of their own heart when entering a sanctuary'.[859] Moser's words left an impression on Bützler, who twenty years later quoted this passage verbatim and placed it alongside his own organic description of the *Palästinalied*: 'grandly, the melody spans a seventh at the beginning of the *Abgesang* in order to turn back thereafter in a wide arch, and to round off the whole song by flowing back into the final melody of the *Stollen*'.[860] Though not used here explicitly, the (Romantic) concept of the sublime is present in both depictions, aiming to arouse in modern readers a fascination for the song similar to the one its medieval audiences are proposed to have held. Moser's words in particular evoke Walther's song as an artistic relic worthy of adoration: his claim that 'one will, in fact, be justified in asserting its great beauty and high ethos' is akin to Romantic notions of *Kunstreligion*, of art-as-religion, and proposes the song's aesthetic value beyond its excellent craftsmanship.[861] Aarburg alluded to the *Palästinalied* as 'that miracle of melodic beauty', and Molitor likewise asserted that 'Walther's songs possess a musically valuable *Gehalt* [content], and these few remnants of his artistry count among the best from the high period of medieval secular monophony'.[862] Vehemently rejecting Brunner's idea that the music of medieval songs existed through their texts alone, Taylor pithily recommended that those who did not believe in the power of music listen to the *Palästinalied*; and even Hugo Kuhn, who less enthusiastically described the song as

---

[859] Moser 1920, p. 202 (vol. 1). <70.d>
[860] Bützler 1940, p. 35. <24.d>
[861] Moser 1920, p. 202 (vol. 1). <70.c>
[862] Aarburg 1967, p. 105. <7.b> See also fn. 595. Molitor 1911, p. 477. <69.e>

'sober', noted the melody's impact and suggested that the song 'became famous because of its much-quoted melody'.[863]

Despite the wealth of scholarship presented summarily on the preceding pages, one may ask which analytical 'facts' about the music of the *Palästinalied* have been gained in order to support the plentiful assertions about its meaning and value. Bützler sceptically noted in 1940 that no adequate studies of the music in **Z** had been undertaken even more than quarter of a century after the source's discovery; another fifteen years later, Aarburg criticised her fellow musicologists for continuing to fail to consider the musical features of *Minnesang* more generally: 'thus, musicology by no means stands on an equal footing with German philology' concerning its knowledge of the repertoire.[864] Later research has done little to close the *lacuna* of musical understanding in the case of Walther's *Palästinalied:* scholars such as Petzsch and Gennrich were occupied with (transnational) melodic comparisons rather than the analysis and discussion of individual songs; Moser, Taylor and others passed by tedious musical analyses in favour of broad, 'meaningful' interpretations. Most tellingly, perhaps, Christoph Cormeau's recent reprint of Karl Lachmann's Walther catalogue has nothing to say about the melody of the *Palästinalied* beyond noting its existence.[865]

In 1976, Hans Tischler claimed that 'much ink has been spilled over the melodic organisation of these songs [*cansos*, *chansons*, and *Minnelieder*] without arriving at a generally accepted decision'.[866] Viewed from 2013 and from the perspective of the *Palästinalied*, Tischler's claim that no unanimous interpretation of the music of *Minnesang* has been reached continues to hold true, but his assertion that much has been written about the melodic organisation needs to be questioned. Scholars have indeed published much on

---

[863] See Taylor 1964, p. 53 (vol. 1). Kuhn 1952, p. 53 (vol. 1). <60.c> Kuhn's dissertation also contains one of the more 'objective' musical stock-takings of the *Palästinalied* melody, even though it does not include a transcription or facsimile: Kuhn 1936, p. 1f.
[864] See Bützler 1940, p. 5. Aarburg 1956/57, p. 24. <3.b>
[865] See Cormeau (ed.) 1996, p. 24.
[866] Tischler 1976, p. 49.

the meaning, rhythm, and possible contrafacture of Walther's *Palästinalied*, but only very few music analytical observations have been made in order to support these claims. Interpretations of the song as a typical d-tonal piece, Gregorian, consciously deviating from Jaufre's tonal model, as a rounded bar form, international, German, reflective of its author's personality, and as aesthetically valuable have all been proposed on the same musical evidence. Most of these interpretations were cast by the song's text and then applied to the melody. As the text had already suggested meanings which waited only to be found in the music, there was no need to query the music for further, alternative meanings, once pre-established interpretations had been confirmed.

In his study of Walther's literary reception, Roland Richter noted that 'nineteenth- and twentieth-century work interpretations were at times inadequate and ideologically over-burdened. One must, nevertheless, notice that such models of interpretation are common even today'.[867] The discussion of the *Palästinalied*'s musical reception history has shown similar patterns of ideologically predetermined interpretations, and has tentatively pointed to ways in which these trends of interpretation continue in more recent studies. A detailed, music-analytical study of the *Palästinalied*, however, continues to be a *desideratum* of modern *Minnesang* scholarship.

4. Remnants of the *Palästinalied*

The final section of this chapter—and of the thesis body as a whole—concludes by seeking out the image of Walther's *Palästinalied* that remains visible on the surface of the sea of printed materials on the song.

More than half a century ago, Kippenberg highlighted that the disparity of published materials made a musical study of *Minnesang* increasingly difficult, and only

---

[867] Roland Richter, *Wie Walther von der Vogelweide ein 'Sänger des Reiches' wurde: eine sozial- und wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zur Rezeption seiner 'Reichsidee' im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Göppingen 1988, p. 2. <85.a>

few years later Brunner reiterated this idea, arguing that a specialist was needed to tease apart differing opinions on contrafacture.[868] Similar untangling is required for the *Palästinalied*, and scholars working on the *Palästinalied* for the first time, or students working on the song in a classroom context, are consequently unlikely to venture into the jungle of published material unaided, but will turn to standard textbooks and reference volumes as a point of guidance. The following paragraphs turn to a number of reference works from philology and musicology, in German and English, and from the early twentieth to the early twenty-first century to explore how the depiction of Walther's song has changed in non-specialist literature and how its ideological discussion in specialist publications has been broken down into digestible format.

A German student in the 1920s and 30s may well have called on Hans Joachim Moser's *Geschichte der deutschen Musik* for information about the *Palästinalied*.[869] The history's first volume, *Von den Anfängen bis zum Beginn des Dreißigjährigen Krieges*, is ordered chronologically and by locale. Students and teachers of German, music, or history would have easily found Moser's thoughts on the *Palästinalied* in the third book, which discusses 'musical art in palaces and castles (1150–1420)' and lists 'compositions by Walther von der Vogelweide' under the chapter's subsection on 'the music of the *Minnesänger*'.[870] The discussion of Walther's songs opens with the reminder that Walther is generally considered as 'our greatest *Minnesänger*', and that his musical skill in particular was valued by his contemporaries, although only little evidence thereof survives.[871] Moser's paragraph-long discussion of the *Palästinalied* includes a musical transcription of the first stanza (Figure 26). It apostrophises Walther's song as 'the famous *Palästinalied*', insinuating that readers should already know the song although it had only

---

[868] See Brunner 1963, p. 197; Kippenberg 1962, p. 3.
[869] Moser hoped to see his music history used in teaching: Moser 1920, p. x (vol. 1).
[870] 'Tonkunst auf Schlössern und Burgen (1150–1420)'; 'Kompositionen Walthers v[on] d[er] Vogelweide'; 'Die Musik der Minnesänger'. Ibid., pp. xiiiff. (vol. 1, table of contents).
[871] Ibid., p. 199 (vol. 1). <70.a> Note that the discussion of Walther begins one page earlier than indicated in Moser's table of contents.

been discovered few years previously; Walther is called a '*Meister*' and the song, which Moser renders *vierhebig*, is dated to the *Minnesänger*'s '*Spätzeit* [mature period]'.[872] In support of his Romantic understanding of the song as solemn and sublime, Moser provides a schematic tonal analysis which describes the piece as alternating between Dorian, Hypolydian, and Hypodorian modes.[873] He concludes with a brief comment on the song's structure, and asserts that the *Palästinalied* can be seen as an exemplary case of the rounded bar form, linking it to the *da capo* aria and the older sonata.[874]

Figure 26: Moser's edition of the *Palästinalied*[875]

Readers of Moser's short introduction are provided with basic information about the *Palästinalied*: its structure, its harmony, and its source. Moser also furnishes readers with a Romantic interpretation of the song, and with an unambiguous rhythmic

[872] In contrast, the two other Walther songs from **Z** are not given proper names but referred to indiscriminately: ibid., p. 200f. (vol. 1). <70.b>
[873] See fn. 859
[874] See Moser 1920, p. 202 (vol. 1).
[875] Ibid., p. 201f. (vol. 1).

transcription. Walther is repeatedly presented as a great composer, and his clear tonal and formal structures are suggested as the basis of later music historical developments.[876]

Margaret Switten and Howell Chickering's 1987, four-volume project titled *The Medieval Lyric* presents Walther's *Palästinalied* in an entirely different context (Figure 27). In the English-language anthology, Walther's song no longer shares a chapter with other German songs but is presented alongside Jaufre's 'Lanquan li jorn'.[877] Walther is not treated hagiographically; instead, Switten points out that 'his modest status meant that he had to sing for his supper and to go where the patronage was', replacing the 'Romantic' image of the *Minnesänger* with a pragmatic one.[878] She similarly stresses the conventionality of the *Palästinalied* melody, stripping Walther of some of the artistic status accorded to him by Moser, Wilmanns, and Schwietering.[879] Following her inaccurate description of the song as the only text by Walther to survive with a melody, Switten references the debate over the song's contrafacture and notes that 'the resemblance between Walther's and Jaufre's melodies has led to the hypothesis, not supported by all specialists, that the former song is a contrafactum of the latter'.[880] Without mentioning any problems concerning the song's number of stanzas or their ordering, she edits seven stanzas in non-rhythmical notation and with written out repeats.[881] The edition facilitates analysis through its clear layout, almost by poetic line, and Switten provides a brief structural commentary on the *Palästinalied*; but—strikingly—the edition fails to reference **Z** as the song's sole musical source, and while it gives the appropriate number from Pillet-

---

[876] Two other handbooks published before the Second World War are similarly adamant about Walther's compositional prowess: Julius Schwietering in 1938 noted that Walther-the-composer should not be forgotten over Walther-the-poet, and as early as 1883 Wilhelm Wilmanns stressed the *Minnesänger*'s 'importance as a composer': Julius Schwietering, *Die deutsche Dichtung des Mittelalters*, Darmstadt ²1957, p. 255; Wilmanns 1883, p. 99. <109.a>

[877] Though the table of contents conflates the sections on Jaufre and Walther under a single heading, the two are actually separated into two sub-sections. See: Margaret Switten and Howell Chickering, *The Medieval Lyric*, 4 vols, South Hadley (Mass) 1987/88, pp. 54 (vol. 1, and table of contents).

[878] Ibid., p. 56 (vol. 1).

[879] See ibid., p. 57 (vol. 1).

[880] Ibid. Spechtler made the same imprecise claim, see fn. 660.

[881] Switten uses the stanza ordering of **A**.

Carstens's catalogue for Jaufre's 'Lanquan li jorn', it fails to give the Lachmann number for the *Palästinalied*. Switten claims that the song 'was written in 1224 or 1225 to stir up support in Germany for Frederick II's crusade', a view questioned by scholarship since Haubrichs' 1977 publication.[882]

Figure 27: Switten's edition of the *Palästinalied*

Günter Schweikle's 1998 two-volume complete edition of Walther's works, published in the Reclam Verlag, which aims at a broad audience, is the most systematic of the three anthologies under consideration here. With philological precision, Schweikle separates Walther's oeuvre into *Lied* and *Spruch* poetry, suggesting an alternative to Lachmann's ordering of the songs by manuscript source and to Maurer's ordering by asserted chronology.[883] He groups the *Palästinalied* among the religious songs and uses the incipit 'Alrerst lebe ich mir werde' as its title, bracketing the name *Palästinalied* as a subtitle. The *Lieder* edition opens with extensive introductions on the songs' transmission, content, rhetoric, metre and form, melodies, and on the volume's editorial conventions; the

---

[882] Switten and Chickering 1987/88, p. 56 (vol. 1). See also fn. 765.
[883] See Schweikle (ed.) 1998, p. 7 (vol. 2).

texts are followed by a detailed commentary on each of the songs at the end of the volume, providing a wealth of information in clearly-written prose for those new to the study of *Minnesang*. Schweikle's commentary on the *Palästinalied* gives a useful table on the varying stanza transmission in the six manuscript sources, analyses the song's metrical form, and gives an overview of its recent textual interpretations. It references Brunner's theory that Walther based his melody on the antiphon 'Ave regina coelorum' and on Jaufre's 'Lanquan li jorn', and points out the suggested connection between Walther's song and CB211.[884] The volume's interest in categorisation and taxonomy is not rigid, however, and Schweikle specifically calls to question the generic assessment of the Palästina*lied*. Though he presents it among Walther's *Lied* oeuvre, Schweikle self-critically notes that the song also needs to be seen in the context of Walther's work as a *Spruch* poet, since it relates to the real world rather than a female beloved.[885]

In contrast to the comprehensive approach towards the *Palästinalied*'s text and sources, Schweikle shows little interest in the song's musical existence. Though he highlights the *Palästinalied* and its source **Z** as especially important because of their unique transmission of a complete melody for a Walther text, he fails to print this melody, referring readers to Brunner's 1977 volume.[886] Schweikle is adamant about the 'priority of the Middle High German text over the melodies' since 'the collectors of most manuscripts seem not to have been interested in the melodies' and because 'the lack of rhythmical indications in all medieval song notations appears to indicate that performance rhythm was based on text rhythm, that the comprehensible text was the main focus (supported by the collectors' interests)'.[887] Readers turning to Schweikle's earlier handbook guide to *Minnesang*, will find this refusal to allow for music's contribution repeated vehemently in

---

[884] For Schweikle's commentary on the *Palästinalied*, see: ibid., p. 786ff. (vol. 2). For further comments by him on the *Palästinalied* as a contrafact, see: ibid., p. 43 (vol. 2).

[885] See ibid., p. 27 (vol. 2).

[886] See ibid., p. 789 (vol. 2). For Brunner's 1977 edition of the song, see: Brunner, Müller and Spechtler (eds) 1977, p. 54*ff.

[887] Schweikle (ed.) 1998, p. 44 (vol. 2). <92.a> See also: ibid., p. 54 and 57 (vol. 1).

its conclusion: '*Minnesang* is a literary art. Notwithstanding all text critical questions and analyses of meaning, one should never forget that these songs are, in essence, linguistic works of art on a high level, in which artistry of form and rhyme, verbal sound, and sensory dimensions are forged into artistic unity'.[888] Music, it appears, has no role to play in this art. The many students of German literature, who used and continue to use Schweikle's edition in their engagement with the *Palästinalied* find here a compact source of knowledge about the text's sources, form, meaning, and value; about the song's melody, however, they will learn nothing beyond the fact that it exists. They are unlikely to develop any interest in it based on Schweikle's depreciatory words.

A recent encyclopaedic entry on Walther in *DLL* shows that Schweikle is not the only German philologist to downplay the importance of music for Walther's *Palästinalied*. Reinhard Müller acknowledges that a number of melodies to Walther texts survive in **Z** (and a number of *Meistersang* manuscripts), but does not detail to which songs these melodies belong; his description of Walther's song features no mention of its melody.[889] Suggesting that German philology as a whole had undermined the importance of the *Palästinalied*'s music in handbook guides, however, would be to portray too simplified a picture. Ulrich Müller's chapter on Middle High German lyric in Heinz Bergner's compendium on medieval lyric makes explicit the importance of melodies, the study of which Müller characterises as 'indispensable […]; in any case, one needs to be aware that with its text one holds or views only one half of a Middle High German song'.[890] Discussing the *Palästinalied*, Müller takes seriously the music's structural elements and points out that music and text 'stand in a certain tension to each other, do not match

---

[888] Schweikle 1989, p. 218. <91.a>
[889] See Reinhard Müller, Art. 'Walther von der Vogelweide', in: *DLL*, ed. by Bruno Berger, vol. 28, Bern 2008, cols 81–103; here, col. 86f.
[890] Ulrich Müller, 'Die mittelhochdeutsche Lyrik', in: *Lyrik des Mittelalters: Probleme und Interpretationen*, ed. by Heinz Bergner, Stuttgart 1983, pp. 7–227; here, p. 37. <74.a> One should be careful to note that Müller's chapter is contained in a 'transnational' volume not limited to German literary studies.

completely'.[891] Müller's (philological) audience is made to grapple with the *Palästinalied*'s music—though it is doubtful that this handbook on lyric poetry acts as a first port of call for anyone interested specifically in Walther's song to the extent that Schweikle's or Reinhard Müller's publications do.

Anglophone musicologists are presented with a non-rhythmic transcription of the *Palästinalied* in Michael Klaper's 2001 entry on Walther in *NGrove*.[892] Despite transcribing the song's first stanza, the article provides little information about the song and its music: Klaper gives neither an introduction to the *Palästinalied*'s content, nor to its musical facture, but limits his critical assessment to the song's relation with Jaufre's 'Lanquan li jorn', which is edited alongside Walther's song. In addition to the information that the melody is contained in **Z**, Klaper apostrophises the song as 'famous'—though it remains unclear from his discussion from where the song derives this fame. The entry concludes by noting that 'we can say little of a convincing nature about Walther's musical art'.[893] Kippenberg's *NGrove* article on *Minnesang* contains even less information about the *Palästinalied*. The song is not mentioned by name, and is referenced once only, as 'one complete melody for Walther von der Vogelweide' that survives in **Z**.[894] No reference to the *Palästinalied* can be found in the encyclopaedia's index volume.[895]

Ursula Aarburg's 1968 entry on Walther in *MGG*1 demonstrates that (musical) interpretation can be undertaken even within the narrow confines of an encyclopaedia. Without including a transcription, her first reference to the *Palästinalied*—which she furnishes with Lachmann's catalogue number L14,38—summarises its content as a description of the Holy Land, before continuing to provide comments on its music:

---

[891] Ibid., p. 129. <74.b>

[892] See Michael Klaper, Art. 'Walther von der Vogelweide', in: *NGrove*, vol. 27, London 2001, pp. 61–65.

[893] Ibid., p. 64.

[894] Kippenberg, Art. 'Minnesang', p. 725.

[895] A search for the term 'Palästinalied' in the encyclopaedia's online version likewise renders only the result in Klaper's article on Walther.

akin to *Minnelieder*, the melody of Walther's *Palästinalied* (L14,38), which chance has preserved in its entirety (**Z**), confirms Gottfried's [von Straßburg] assessment: in its classically balanced nature, it counts among the perfect melodic creations of the Middle Ages. Whether Walther reworked it according to an Occitan (Husmann) or a liturgical (Huisman) model, remains uncertain; its closest relation can be found in the hymn-like second part of the Marian antiphon 'Ave regina coelorum', which continues to be sung today (Aarburg).[896]

Aarburg provides the same essential information that Klaper presents, but goes much further in ascribing aesthetic value to the *Palästinalied*'s melody and in comparing it explicitly to the hymn structure of 'Ave regina coelorum'—a relationship Klaper does not discuss. Although Aarburg's failure to *prove* any of her claims may be seen as a case in point for Klaper's claim that 'we can say little of a *convincing* nature about Walther's musical art', she demonstrates that 'we can say *something* about Walther's musical art'. Readers of Aarburg's article will likely be inclined to follow up her bibliographic references in order to find out more about Walther's song—Klaper's readers will think this not worth the effort.

Heinrich Husmann's discussion of *Minnesang* in *MGG*1, in contrast, shows little interest in the *Palästinalied*, including it only for its possible information about the rhythm of *Minnesang*. Husmann provides incomplete, non-rhythmic transcriptions of Jaufre's 'Lanquan li jorn', the *Bordesholmer Marienklage*, and Walther's song. The questionable status of the song's contrafacture, its textual content, source, or musical facture are not elaborated.

Whereas the four encyclopaedia entries in *NGrove* and *MGG*1 were written by different musicologists, all three articles relating to the *Palästinalied* in *MGG*2 were prepared by a single scholar: the philologist Horst Brunner—a choice telling of the current

---

[896] Aarburg, Art. 'Walther von der Vogelweide', col. 218. <8.a>

lack of recent musicological research on *Minnesang*. Brunner's entries pay even less attention to the *Palästinalied* than those of his musicological colleagues. The *Minnesang* entry redirects readers to Brunner's article on *Sangspruchdichtung* for information on the *Palästinalied*, commenting only that a melody survives for this *Spruch* while no music survives for Walther's other *Lieder*.[897] Brunner discusses the structure of a number of Walther's *Sprüche* in the *Sangspruchdichtung* entry, but the *Palästinalied* surprisingly receives no mention at all. His musical analyses remain limited to studies of the *Sprüche*'s various formal patterns; regarding the melodies, Brunner comments laconically that 'the melodies' tonal patterns are varied and not yet satisfactorily studied'.[898] Only in the entry on Walther does Brunner mention the *Palästinalied* in more detail, placing it within the group of Walther's religious songs, and referencing its incipit and Lachmann catalogue number. Noting the importance of **Z** for its transmission of three authentic Walther melodies, Brunner presents the issue of the *Palästinalied*'s contrafacture and casually notes its formal structure.[899] Here, too, there is no discussion of the melody's detailed tonal design or meaning.

As Brunner's publications in *MGG*2 highlight most poignantly, scholarly encyclopaedias and handbooks—regardless of their language or discipline—feature little information about the music of Walther's *Palästinalied*. The publications fail to reflect the wealth of specialist scholarship to which the song has given rise, and lack the fervour and enthusiasm displayed in much of this work.[900] The reluctant acknowledgement of the *Palästinalied* and its music in general-reference works stands in glaring contrast to the aesthetic value ascribed to the song by scholars such as Aarburg, and begs the question

---

[897] See Horst Brunner, Art. 'Minnesang', in: *MGG2*, vol. 6 (Sachteil), Kassel 1997, cols 302–313; here, col. 311.

[898] Horst Brunner, Art. 'Sangspruchdichtung', in: *MGG2*, vol. 8 (Sachteil), Kassel 1998, cols 931–939; here, col. 936. <22.a>

[899] See Horst Brunner, Art. 'Walther von der Vogelweide', in: *MGG2*, vol. 17 (Personenteil), Kassel 2007, cols 447–450; here, col. 449f.

[900] See, for example, Brunner's own excitement about the song in 1963, quoted in fn. 664.

how the song achieved the (musicological) fame asserted to it by Klaper and others if not through a prominent place within the canon of (musicological) scholarship.

A tentative answer to this issue might be found in the importance of the song's reception in performance. The small selection of youtube links provided at the beginning of this chapter already hints at the broad performance tradition Walther's song presently enjoys.[901] The internet has today become the primary source of information, and it is likely that performances of the *Palästinalied* available online hold a stronger influence over the public image of the song than academic research. Yet even outside the digital realm, performance is a crucial element in the modern conception of Walther's *Palästinalied*. Reinhold Wiedenmann 'confessed' that, when he is in Würzburg, he always performs the *Palästinalied* at the foot of Walther's grave.[902] As eccentric as the scenario of someone singing over Walther's grave may seem, scholars need to take seriously the performative reception of *Minnesang*: the academic reception history of the *Palästinalied* outlined in this chapter presents only one aspect of the song's modern construction, much like textual features constitute only one part of *Minnesang*.

---

[901] See fn. 763.

[902] See Reinhold Wiedenmann, 'Die mittelalterlichen Sänger: Aufsteiger von morgen? Betrachtungen eines Sängers von heute', in: *Mittelalter-Rezeption IV: Medien, Politik, Ideologie, Ökonomie*, ed. by Irene von Burg, Jürgen Kühnel, Ulrich Müller and Alexander Schwarz, Göppingen 1991, pp. 169–177; here, p. 175.

CHAPTER VII.

Reconstructing *Minnesang* Musically

The prefix 're-', according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, denotes a 'general sense of "back" or "again"', and this conclusion takes both meanings literally: by turning *back* to the very beginning of the dissertation, the conclusion looks forward, pointing to future pathways of *Constructing* Minnesang *Musically—again.*[903]

The thesis opened with a consideration of the advertisements for a concert performance of Richard Wagner's music drama *Tannhäuser* at this year's BBC Proms.[904] Two of *Tannhäuser*'s best-known scenes show *Minnesänger* in the performance of *Minnesang*: the opening act sees the eponymous *Minnesänger* take up his harp in praise of his benefactress, the goddess Venus, asking her for permission to leave her realm, the *Venusberg* ('Dir töne Lob!'); and the second scene of the closing act presents Wolfram von Eschenbach's invocation of the evening star ('O du, mein holder Abendstern'). In both instances, the *Minnesänger*'s songs are accompanied by the harp and crafted in a bar form, clearly setting their diegetic performances apart from the non-diegetic setting of the opera's main action.[905] Wagner is not the only composer to have grappled with *Minnesang* through composition: Ferruccio Busoni's op. 22 for voice and piano is titled 'Variationen über ein Minnesängerlied aus dem 13. Jahrhundert', and Wolfgang Fortner's 1954 composition for tenor and guitar is headed 'Minne: Kantate in alter Manier nach Worten von Walther von der Vogelweide'; more recently, in 1980/81, Alfred Schnittke wrote the

---

[903] [n/a], Art. 'Re-', in: *OED*, ed. by J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, vol. 13, Oxford 1989b, pp. 247–251; here, p. 247.

[904] See Chapter I.

[905] J. P. E. Harper-Scott's analysis of medieval interlace structures in the music of Wagner's *Der Ring des Nibelungen* further suggests that the composer strongly engaged with medieval poetic devices through music, see: J. P. E. Harper-Scott, 'Medieval Romance and Wagner's Musical Narrative in the Ring', in: *19CM* 32 (3/2009), pp. 211–234.

choral piece 'Minnesang' for 52 voices.[906] As these varied examples suggest, the compositional historiography of *Minnesang* is a further pathway worth pursuing. The present thesis has not been able to do so, but its study of academic patterns of reception will form a useful point of comparison for such research (Chapter V).

The list of compositions which grapple with *Minnesang* includes 'light music' such as Heinrich Herrmann's 'Minnesang: Polka für Pianoforte' (op. 111).[907] Herrmann's polka indicates the existence of a popular historiography of *Minnesang*, which might also be studied fruitfully in contrast to academic and 'art music' reception, and further examples suggest additional materials and levels of meaning for the study of popular *Minnesang* reception. Sibylle Schadl and André Schnyder pointed to the significant number of monuments which commemorate *Minnesänger*, but significantly neither of their studies considered the presence or absence of music making in these monuments.[908] A, slightly unusual, monument is the *Ankeruhr* at Vienna. Erected in 1914, the clock has twelve different historical figures parade across its face at each full hour.[909] At four o'clock, Walther von der Vogelweide makes an appearance (Figure 28); and all figures appear with an historically appropriate piece of music (in an organ rendition) at twelve o'clock. Two of these pieces have been discussed in the present thesis: Walther appears to the sound of the *Palästinalied*, and Rudolph of Habsburg appears to Der Unverzagte's 'Der kuninc Rodolp' (Chapter IV and Chapter VI).[910] When the clock was built between 1911 and 1914, the

---

[906] Joachim Draheim (ed.), *Ferruccio Busoni: Variationen über ein Minnesängerlied aus dem 13. Jahrhundert (op. 22, Busoni 112)*, Wiesbaden 1999; Wolfgang Fortner, *Minne: Kantate in alter Manier nach Worten von Walther von der Vogelweide (1964)*, Mainz 2001; Alfred Schnittke, *Minnesang: für gemischten Chor*, Vienna 1981.

[907] Heinrich Herrmann, *Minnesang Polka (op. 111)*, [no place] 1877.

[908] See Sybille Schadl, 'Das Denkmal des Minnesängers', in: *Codex Manesse: Katalog zur Ausstellung vom 12. Juni bis 2. Oktober 1988 Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg*, ed. by Elmar Mittler and Wilfried Werner, Heidelberg 1988, pp. 446–461; André Schnyder, 'Das Walther-von-der-Vogelweide-Denkmal in Bozen: "un monumento di prepotenza e frode": ein mittelalterlicher Dichter im Spannungsfeld von moderner Politik und Ideologie', in: *Mittelalter-Rezeption IV: Medien, Politik, Ideologie, Ökonomie*, ed. by Irene von Burg, Jürgen Kühnel, Ulrich Müller and Alexander Schwarz, Göppingen 1991, pp. 311–329.

[909] See http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ankeruhr, and: Anthony Haywood, Caroline Sieg and Kerry Christiani, *Austria*, London ⁶2011.

[910] http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wxiwUlFtgq0.

Palästinalied's melody had just been discovered by Otto Merx, and **J** had been edited by Holz/Saran/Bernoulli just over a decade previously: the musical representation of *Minnesang* chosen for the monument suggests the close interaction between popular and academic forms of reception, worth further scrutiny.
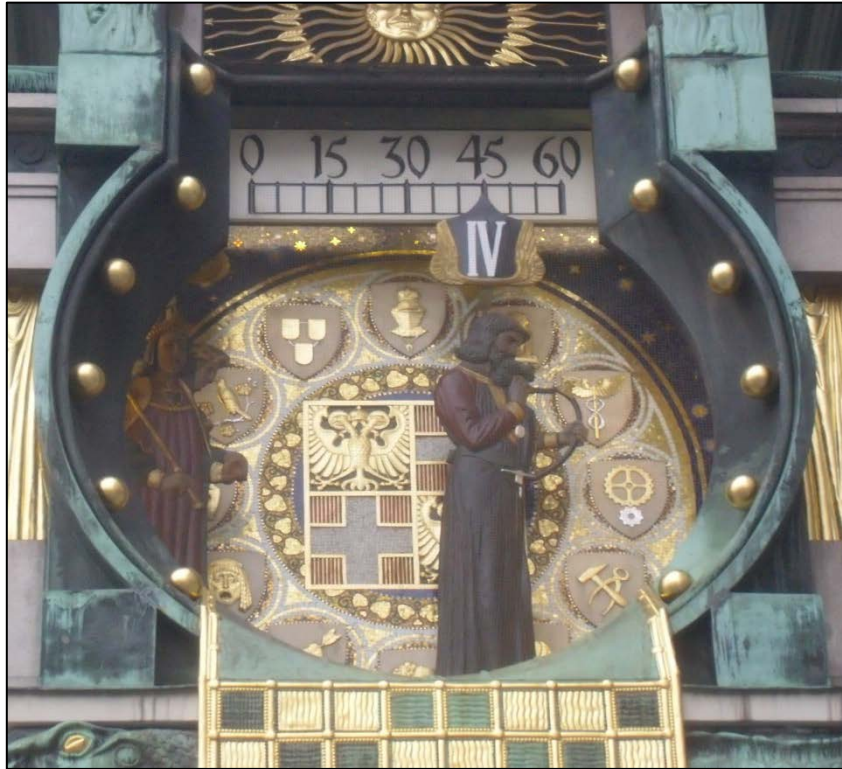
Figure 28: Walther von der Vogelweide in the *Ankeruhr*

Walt Disney's 1973 *Robin Hood* provides a second example of popular reception. The film's story is narrated by a minstrel cockerel, who in the opening sequence comes to life from a book page and addresses the audience (Figure 29): 'you know, there's been a heap of legends and tall tales about Robin Hood—all different too. Well, we folks of the animal kingdom have our own version. It's the story of what *really* happened in Sherwood forest…'.[911] After the ensuing opening credits, the cockerel resumes his introduction, all the time accompanying himself on a three-stringed lute: 'oh incidentally, I'm Alan-a-Dale, a minstrel—that's an early day folk singer—and my job is [one of the lute-strings breaks]

---

[911] A full version of the film can be found on youtube: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aTej24Xg-74. The transcription provided here is my own.

to tell it like it is, or was, or whatever…'. Mirroring the profession of truthfulness in the authorial depiction of poets in German song manuscripts (Chapter II), Disney's version of the *English* minstrel Alan-a-Dale raises central issues for further studies of *Minnesang*: a consideration of the possible historical/historiographical distinction(s) between minstrel and poet—a *Spielmann* and a *Minnesänger*—and between various regional traditions of vernacular song: between the troubadours, trouvères, singers of the cantigas, laude, English song, and the *Minnesänger*.[912]

Figure 29: Alan-a-Dale in Disney's *Robin Hood*[913]

Besides opening up the study of popular and compositional forms of *Minnesang*'s musical historiography—and of the repertoire's modern performance (see Chapter VI)—the thesis has demonstrated the fecundity of considering scholarly output as *discourse* (Chapter V).[914] Further research into the discourse of musicology will allow a more profound and comprehensive understanding of the construction of topics such as *Minnesang* by the modern academy and its scholars, enabling a new critical engagement with past scholarship and a repositioning of its claims. The preparation of a '*Musikologen-Lexikon*', in analogy to the *Germanistenlexikon* edited by Christoph König, would be an

---

[912] Medieval English song has shared with *Minnesang* an equally problematic modern reception history. Helen Deeming's forthcoming study promises to re-adjust commonly held narratives regarding the dearth of sources for English song, and will provide a fruitful reference point for the future study of *Minnesang*: Helen Deeming, *Songs in British Sources, c. 1150–1300*, London 2013 (forthcoming).
[913] Image obtained from: http://disney.wikia.com/wiki/Alan-A-Dale.
[914] See also Hooper 2006.

invaluable contribution to the study of the history of musicology and its discourses. An ethnographical study of musicology and its practitioners would be a project equally worth pursuing.[915]

The dissertation has, it is hoped, also laid the foundation to new research into the historical phenomenon of *Minnesang* as song—including its musical aspects. Crucially, a new catalogue of *Minnesang* which avoids earlier limitations by author, genre, geography, or period, and includes full reference to the songs' available musical material, is needed. *Minnesang*'s manuscripts need to be subjected to fresh scrutiny for the information they might hold about the songs' musicality, performance, context, and meaning. The dissertation's study of the 'Manesse group' and **J** has suggested a number of ways in which music (as well as performance and context) is present in the sources beyond the confines of the modern-day ontology of music (Chapter II and Chapter III). New manuscripts need to be added to such a consideration of *Minnesang* as song, including those which contain song in narrative or miscellaneous contexts. Shedding historiographical taxonomies will enable fresh insight into the songs' meaning, and the preparation of a comprehensive *Minnesang* catalogue would greatly facilitate such research; it would allow the edition of all known *Minnesang* melodies, based on the critical assessment of past editions' shortcomings and merits (Chapter IV).

The discussion of Walther's *Palästinalied* in particular has shown the need for scholars to develop an adequate analytical toolkit for dealing with medieval monophonic songs (Chapter VI). Ardis Butterfield has emphasised the urgency of this issue, noting that 'the language of description immediately becomes less straightforward' in considerations

---

[915] Peter Sühring's study of Gustav Jacobsthal is an attempt at such a study; Walter Salmen recently published his 'musicologist memoires' which likewise provide a useful starting point for the study of musicologists as subjects: Walter Salmen, *'Nu bin ich worden alde...': Begegnungen und Verweigerungen im Leben eines Musikwissenschaftlers*, Hildesheim 2011; Peter Sühring, *Gustav Jacobsthal: eine Musikologe im deutschen Kaiserreich: Musik inmitten von Natur, Geschichte und Sprache*, Hildesheim 2012.

of songs' musical features, as opposed to the analysis of their texts.[916] Including into a catalogue of *Minnesang* the *Spruch* melodies of **J** and other repertoires previously excluded from in-depth musical study will generate a large set of material which will enable the reconsideration of notions such as genre, and a study of the repertoire's musical grammar, transcending the confines of earlier scholarship.

A better understanding of the German repertoire, in turn, will make possible a fresh discussion of the relationship between *Minnesang* and its European counterparts.[917] The notion of contrafacture, in particular, is in need of redefinition. Most importantly, scholars need to begin to ask for the *meaning* asserted by the composition, performance, and/or recognition of a 'contrafact'—the mere taxonomic labelling of a song as a contrafact has become meaningless, especially before the backdrop of the concept's twentieth-century history.

While these manifold issues remain to be tackled by future scholarship, looking back, the present dissertation has achieved two things in particular: Chapter II and Chapter III highlighted ways in which *Minnesang* was considered *musical* by its early recipients around 1300, and could, consequently, be considered as song (again) by present-day scholars; Chapter IV and Chapter V demonstrated the importance of scholarly discourse and edition-making in the construction of *Minnesang*'s current (musical) identity, and

---

[916] Ardis Butterfield, 'Vernacular Poetry and Music', in: *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Music*, ed. by Mark Everist, Cambridge 2011, pp. 205–224; here, p. 211.

[917] By the mysterious workings of fate, a review by Daniel E. O'Sullivan has brought to my attention— literally only few hours before the submission of this thesis—a recent publication which situates German song books in their European contexts. While Marisa Galvez's study is fruitful in this respect, many of its premises rely on the classical taxonomies of song *and* music (rather than song *as* music) which this thesis has sought to refute. The following section from Galvez's introduction outlines this traditional understanding of song in particularly striking manner: 'I am concerned with textual, semantic, and visual properties of these books, not with the music usually *associated with them*. While such music can be understood as a stratum of meaning *comparable* to the editorial and visual meanings I pursue, it is beyond the scope of this study. Most codices I examine preserve *lyric texts rather than musical notation*, include prose texts, and are large-format, costly objects of parchment rather than performance manuals of travelling singers' (emphasis mine), see: Marisa Galvez, *Songbook: How Lyrics Became Poetry in Medieval Europe*, Chicago 2012, p. 4. For the review of this monograph, see: Daniel E. O'Sullivan, Review of Marisa Galvez, 'Songbook: How Lyrics Became Poetry in Medieval Europe', in: *TMR* 2013-10 (2013), [no pagination].

underscored the importance of retrospectively studying this discourse. In Chapter VI, the dissertation's main methodological approaches were applied to Walther von der Vogelweide's *Palästinalied*, nuancing and extending the claims developed in the preceding chapters.

Whether the doctoral project has attained its main goal—to re-insert *Minnesang* into musicological discourse, insisting on its study as song—only time will be able to tell.[918] In order that the wealth of new issues for the study of *Minnesang* and its reception not become a new jar (πίθος) of Pandora but be made fruitful, intensive collaboration between performers and scholars from a range of disciplines is needed: outside the rigid disciplinary framework of today's academy.[919] I am grateful to all those who have assisted me in these early attempts at providing a discursive space for *Reconstructing* Minnesang *Musically*.

---

[918] It is hoped that the extensive amount of translated material contained in this thesis, now readily available to Anglophone audiences for the first time, will help to include non-German academics in this discourse.

[919] Pandora's *jar* (πίθος) provides an especially fitting image to conclude this reception study as it poignantly underlines the crucial role of popular and academic historiography: thus, the myth of Pandora's *Box* continues to pervade modern minds despite the 'correction' of this historiographical misconstruction by Jane E. Harrison as early as 1900; Dora and Erwin Panofsky published a study of the myth's art historical reception: Jane E. Harrison, 'Pandora's Box', in: *HS* 20 (1900), pp. 99–114; Dora Panofsky and Erwin Panofsky, *Pandora's Box: the Changing Aspects of a Mythical Symbol*, London 1956.

Appendices

1. German Quotations

1. AARBURG, URSULA: 'Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Motiv und Tonart im mittelalterlichen Liede, insbesondere im Liede um 1200', in: *Kongress-Bericht Gesellschaft für Musikforschung Lüneburg 1950*, ed. by Hans Albrecht, Helmuth Osthoff and Walter Wiora, Kassel 1950, pp. 62–65.

    a. Als Beispiel die Analyse einer tonartlich verhältnismäßig einfachen Melodie, des Waltherschen *Palästinaliedes*. (64)

2. AARBURG, URSULA: *Singweisen zur Liebeslyrik der deutschen Frühe*, Düsseldorf 1956.

    a. Mittelalterliche Liedkunst war Gesellschaftskunst, zum Vortrag im festlichen Rahmen bestimmt. Ihre Aussage galt nicht dem Einzelnen, sondern dem zur Abendstunde auf den Burgen versammelten Kreis froh und festlich gestimmter Menschen. Nichts aber konnte die allgemeine Verbindlichkeit der lyrischen Aussage mehr bestätigen und erhöhen, als jene objektiv-erhabene Melodik der alten Sangweisen. (6)

    b. Wir dürfen diese Melodien keinesfalls mit modernen Maßstäben messen. Dem mittelalterlichen Liedschöpfer ging es nicht darum, den Gefühlsgehalt des lyrischen Textes musikalisch zu treffen und zu vertiefen. Sein Anliegen war vielmehr, dem Textwort zu einer eindringlicheren, objektiveren Wirkung zu verhelfen. (8)

3. AARBURG, URSULA: 'Melodien zum frühen deutschen Minnesang: eine kritische Bestandsaufnahme', in: *ZfdA* 87 (1956/57), pp. 24–45.

    a. Eine andere Schwierigkeit besteht darin, daß die Erforschung der mittelalterlichen Liedmelodien trotz verdienstvoller Vorarbeiten immer noch in den Anfängen steckt: die Lesung der linienlos notierten Neumen ist bisher nicht möglich, die Rhythmusdeutung von einigen Ausnahmen abgesehen widersprüchlich und uneinheitlich, eine brauchbare textkritische Methode bisher weder erarbeitet noch praktiziert und eine umfassende Kenntnis der inneren Melodiebildungsgesetze, geschweige denn eine musikalische Stilkunde des mittelalterlichen Liedes nicht vorhanden. (24)

    b. So steht die Musikwissenschaft der germanistischen Forschung keinesfalls ebenbürtig gegenüber. (24)

    c. So erscheint mir auch jeder Versuch indiskutabel, für deutsche melodielose Minnelieder einigermaßen passende romanische Weisen auszusuchen und sie als Ersatz für die fehlenden Weisen anzubieten, wie Gennrich es 1942

[...] vorschlug und praktizierte, indem er vier Walther-Texte mit altfranzösischen, scheinbar passenden Melodien versah. (42)

d. Mir scheint, daß Huisman wie Gennrich hier einem grundsätzlichen Irrtum verfallen sind. Die beobachteten gleichen oder ähnlichen Melodiemotive sind keinesfalls Beweis für eine Abhängigkeit des mittelalterlichen Liedkünstlers von irgendeiner Vorlage. Diese Motive sind allenthalben nachweisbar, sie lagen gleichsam in der Luft und waren Allgemeingut, hundertfach in ähnlicher oder anderer Konstellation anzutreffen. (44)

4. AARBURG, URSULA: Art. 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift', in: *MGG1*, ed. by Friedrich Blume, vol. 6, Kassel 1957, cols 1868–1872.

   a. Die Texte sind in der gotischen Minuskel des 14. J[ahr]h[underts], die Melodien in röm[ischer] Quadratnotation eher gemalt als geschrieben. (1869)

5. AARBURG, URSULA: 'Muster für die Edition mittelalterlicher Liedmelodien', in: *Mf* 10 (1957), pp. 209–217.

   a. Die Erforschung der mittelalterlichen Liedmelodien leidet an einem Mangel: wir besitzen bis heute noch keine zusammenhängenden Kenntnisse des musikalischen Stils und der stilistischen Entwicklung dieser Lieder. (209)

   b. Es gibt keine Urtexte, ja, die erhaltenen Melodieaufzeichnungen stammen aus Zeiten, die Jahrzehnte später und oft mehr als ein Jahrhundert nach der Komposition liegen. (209)

   c. Solche präzisen Angaben lassen sich jedoch nur mittels subtilster Kenntnisse der stilistischen Eigenheiten und Entwicklungsrichtungen machen. Sie zu erwerben hängt aber wiederum von gründlichen textkritischen Untersuchungen ab. So drehen wir uns, da eines das andere bedingt, im Kreise. (209)

   d. Denn die mündliche und schriftliche Weitergabe von Melodien ging ja in einer Epoche vor sich, die in hohem Maße traditionsgebunden war und Kunstschöpfungen, wie z[um] B[eispiel] die Melodien des abendländischen Minnesangs, als vorbildlich und verbindlich ansah—das zeigt das Phänomen der Kontrafaktur. (209)

   e. Daß aber die Idee einer Melodie unangetastet blieb, bestätigen die zahlreichen Melodien des französischen Minnesangs, die in zehn- und mehrfacher Überlieferung auf uns gekommen sind. (209)

   f. Dieses Vorhaben ist so schwierig, daß Gennrich 1937 in Nachfolge Aubrys den Vorschlag machte, unter den vorhandenen Lesarten die beste, also fehlerfreieste Fassung auszuwählen und sie als Norm für die Beurteilung der anderen Lesarten zu benutzen. Gewiß zeichnet sich eine fehlerfrei überlieferte Version qualitativ vor den anderen aus, aber sie braucht aus

diesem Grund nicht gerade dem Original am nächsten zu stehen. Dieser Vorschlag bietet keine Lösung des Problems. (216)

g. Der von mir vorgeschlagene Weg bietet dagegen so außergewöhnliche Schwierigkeiten, daß er bisher nicht begangen worden ist, obwohl H[ans] J[oachim] Moser schon 1924 auf ihn hinwies. Weichen wir ihm jedoch aus, so wird dieser Forschungszweig weiterhin in Vorarbeiten stecken bleiben. (216)

h. Vielleicht kann eines Tages dann auch die wichtige Frage erörtert werden, welchen Einfluß die Melodiestile des mittelalterlichen Kunstliedes auf die nachfolgenden Jahrhunderte ausgeübt haben. (217)

6. AARBURG, URSULA: 'Melodien zum frühen deutschen Minnesang: eine kritische Bestandsaufnahme', in: *Der deutsche Minnesang: Aufsätze zu seiner Erforschung*, ed. by Hans Fromm, Bad Homburg 1961, pp. 378–423.

a. Außerdem besitzen wir für den Bereich der m[ittel]h[och]d[eutschen]-m[ittel]lat[einischen] Liedkontrafaktur einige Beweisstücke in den Neumenaufzeichnungen der Carmina Burana-Handschrift. (386)

7. AARBURG, URSULA: 'Probleme um die Melodien des Minnesangs', in: *DU* 19 (2/1967), pp. 98–118.

a. Aus Gründen der Konsequenz wird er daher auch auf die Mitteilung der jüngeren, sicher noch erreichbaren Melodien Frauenlobs, Regenbogens, Ottos zum Turne, des Kirchherrn von Sarnen u[nter] a[nderen] verzichtet haben, um wenigstens das Substantiellere dieser Lyrik, die Texte zu bewahren. (100)

b. Und doch lohnt die forschende Mühe, wenn es gelingt, das mittelalterliche 'Gesamtkunstwerk' wieder zum Leben zu erwecken, eine ausdrucksvolle Melodie wie die Liebesklage Wizlavs von Rügen 'Nach der senenden klage mot ik singen' oder die eigentümlich reizvolle, rhythmisch überlieferte Weise zu Neidharts Sommerlied 'Blozen wir den anger ligen sahen' oder schließlich jenes Wunder an melodischer Schönheit, das Walther von der Vogelweide uns in seinem *Palästinalied* hinterlassen hat, zurückzugewinnen. (105)

c. Die musikwissenschaftliche Forschung hat sich freilich oft, begünstigt durch diese unzureichende Überlieferung und benachteiligt durch mangelnde Kenntnisse des mittelalterlichen Melodiestils, einen weiten Spielraum für eigenmächtige Manipulation angemaßt und hat gern—was noch bedenklicher ist—gegenüber dem Nichtfachmann auf eine Begründung des von ihr dargebotenen Melodietextes verzichtet. Hierher gehört besonders das unrühmlich von Lehrmeinungen belastete Kapitel der Rhythmusrekonstruktion, das wir unten noch kurz streifen müssen. Eine Revision der bisher meist üblichen Editionspraxis ist dringlich, wenn das längst erschütterte Vertrauen in die musikologischen Melodieausgaben zurückgewonnen werden soll. (105)

d. Freilich wird ein derart idealer Editionsmodus schwierig zu verwirklichen sein. (106)

e. Keine dieser Editionen vermag alle Wünsche zu erfüllen, doch als informatorische Quelle und Materialsammlung hat jede auf ihre Weise Bedeutung. (106)

f. Der Kenner des deutschen Minnesangs wird inzwischen längst festgestellt haben, daß diese Antiphon Walthers *Palästinalied*melodie 'in nuce' enthält. (116)

g. Hat Walther diese Melodie im Gefolge der Staufer in Schlettstadt gehört, hat 'er' sie komponiert (zweistimmig!) und später für sein *Palästinalied* durch einfachste Mittel erweitert? Das alles muß Hypothese bleiben. Als Faktum bleibt uns nur, daß die typische, in Hunderten von Liedern gebrauchte d-modale Melodiesprache hier eine ihrer eindrucksvollsten Gestaltungen erfahren hat. (116)

h. Die Gesetzmäßigkeiten der mittelalterlichen Melodiesprache, die hier nur andeutend vorgeführt werden konnten, ihr Formelvorrat (ihre Topoi quasi) und dessen vielfältige Anwendung, Verflechtung und melodiebildende Funktion, sind gerade für das weltliche Lied noch wenig analysiert worden. Sie zu kennen wird nicht nur das Verständnis dieser Melodien erleichtern, sondern auch der melodischen Textkritik zugutekommen und das Ineinander von Wort–Tonbeziehungen aufhellen können. (116)

8. AARBURG, URSULA: Art. 'Walther von der Vogelweide', in: *MGG1*, ed. by Friedrich Blume, vol. 14, Kassel 1968, cols 216–219.

a. Die dem Minneliedtypus verwandte Melodie zu Walthers *Palästinalied* […], die ein Zufall vollst[ändig] bewahrt hat (H[and]s[chrift] **Z**), bestätigt Gottfrieds Urteil: sie gehört in ihrer klass[ischen] Ausgewogenheit zu den vollendeten Melodieschöpfungen des M[ittel]a[lters]. Ob Walther sie nach einem proven[zalischen] (Husmann) oder liturg[ischen] (Huisman) Vorbild umgearbeitet hat, bleibt ungewiß; am nächsten verwandt ist ihr der hymnenartige zweite T[ei]l der heute noch gesungenen Marienantiphon 'Ave regina coelorum' (Aarburg). (218)

9. ABERT, ANNA AMALIE: 'Das Nachleben des Minnesangs im liturgischen Spiel', in: *Mf* 1 (1948), pp. 95–105.

a. Bei einer weiteren Weise aber springt die Kontrafaktur geradezu in die Augen […] es kann kein Zweifel darüber bestehen, daß wir hier Walthers *Kreuzfahrerweise* vor uns haben. (103f.)

b. Sein musikalischer Berater, Rochus von Liliencron, konnte nicht ahnen, was er da vor sich hatte, denn das Münsterische Fragment wurde erst zwölf Jahre später entdeckt. (104)

10. ACKERMANN, FRIEDRICH: 'Zum Verhältnis von Wort und Weise im Minnesang', in: *WW* 9 (1959), pp. 300–311.

    a. Daß uns die Minnesangweisen, soweit überhaupt erhalten, erst in den letzten Jahrzehnten durch die Lebensarbeit von Musikwissenschaftlern wie Friedrich Gennrich zugänglich geworden sind, weist auch auf die Schwierigkeiten unserer Aufgabe. (301)

11. AMTSTÄTTER, MARK EMANUEL: 'Ihc wil singhen in der nuwen wise eyn lit: die Sub-Strophik Wizlavs von Rügen und die Einheit von Wort und Ton im Minnesang', in: *PBB* 124 (2002), pp. 466–483.

    a. Was mit der sogenannten Einheit von Wort und Ton gemeinhin assoziiert wird, bleibt oftmals rätselhaft. (466)

    b. Die sogenannte Einheit von Wort und Ton, das problematisierte Verhältnis von Musik und Text, löst sich damit auf im Begriff der 'Vortragsweise'. Die Funktion der Musik oder Melodie, Vortragsweise zu sein, bestimmt ihre Bindung an den Text. (482)

12. BARTSCH, KARL: *Untersuchungen zur Jenaer Liederhandschrift*, Leipzig 1923.

    a. So dürfte es sicher sein, daß wir es in **J** weder mit einem ostm[ittel]d[eutschen], noch mit einem westm[ittel]d[eutschen] Werke, sondern in ihm und seinen Verwandten mit Vertretern des auf n[ie]d[er]d[eutschem] Boden erwachsenen Schriftmitteldeutschen zu tun haben. (92)

13. BECKER, CARL FERDINAND: Review of Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen, 'Die Minnesinger des 12., 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts', in: *NZfM* 13 (1840), pp. 111–112.

    a. Mit Recht verdient das unter obigem Titel angeführte Werk, obgleich zunächst für gelehrte Alterthumskundige [sic!] bestimmt, auch in diesen Blättern einer Besprechung, denn die Phantasie des Tonkünstlers mehr zu erwärmen und zu begeistern, vermöchte sicher nichts gewisser, als was ihm in denselben geboten wird. (111)

    b. Doch nicht allein die reichen, herrlichen Gaben der kräftigen altdeutschen Dichter sind in diesem Werke auf das vollständigste zusammengestellt, sondern auch—was noch nie in solcher Weise, vielweniger in solcher Ausdehnung geschah—wir finden hier auf 107 Seiten weit über hundert Weisen—Melodien—mit den vollständigen Texten aus dem 13. und 14. Jahrhundert mit höchst erreichbarer diplomatischer Genauigkeit mitgetheilt [sic!]. (111)

    c. Um mit der Form, dem Rhythmus, der ganzen Art und Weise, wie diese Melodieen [sic!] beschaffen sind und in die jetzige Notenschrift gebracht werden können, sich *Sicherheit* zu erwerben, ist diesem Abschnitt eine von dem Professor Fischer entworfene gediegene Abhandlung: 'Ueber die Musik der Minnesinger' beigefügt, der wir noch als unbedingt nötig die

treffliche Erörterung über den denselben Gegenstand von Kretzschmer […] anreihen möchten. (112)

d. Mußte sich bis zu dem Erscheinen dieser Minnesinger der Historiker nur mit allgemeinen, dürftigen Reflexionen behelfen, so wurde ihm jetzt die reichste Quelle zu fernern Untersuchungen geöffnet und nicht mehr beschäftigt er sich mit Lösung der Aufgabe: wie der Musikzustand in jenen Zeiten wohl gestaltet war? Die Frage ist hier factisch [sic!] beantwortet und deutlich und klar erkennt er den Standpunct [sic!] der Kunst in Deutschland während des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts. (112)

14. BEYSCHLAG, SIEGFRIED: Review of Burkhard Kippenberg, 'Der Rhythmus im Minnesang: eine Kritik der literar- und musikhistorischen Forschung; mit einer Übersicht über die musikalischen Quellen', in: *Gk* 5 (1964), pp. 264–265.

a. K[ippenberg] zieht eine Schlußfolgerung, die den Philologen und Literarhistoriker aus der Hörigkeit gegenüber der Musikwissenschaft (wie sie etwa Gennrich beansprucht) entläßt. (264)

15. BITTINGER, WERNER: 'Friedrich Gennrich in memoriam', in: *Mf* 21 (4/1968), pp. 417–421.

a. Bescheidenheit, unbestechliche Lauterkeit des Gemütes und weitherzige Aufgeschlossenheit für die Belange echter Humanitas machten ihn zu einer Persönlichkeit, der man voll Vertrauen und Ehrfurcht entgegentrat. (421)

16. BODMER, JOHANN JACOB: *Proben der alten schwäbischen Poesie des dreyzehnten Jahrhunderts: aus der Maneßischen Sammlung*, Zurich 1748.

a. Die prächtigen Mahleryen [sic!], die vor jedem Poeten stehen, machen das Werk besonders kostbar und ansehnlich. Die Zeichnung ist zwar nach dem übeln Geschmack der damaligen Zeit sehr schlecht, aber das Colorit ist überaus hoch und lebhaft. (v)

17. BRUNNER, HORST: 'Walthers von der Vogelweide Palästinalied als Kontrafaktur', in: *ZfdA* 92 (1963), pp. 195–211.

a. Seit der Entdeckung des Münsterschen Fragments durch Merx im Jahre 1910 und seiner ersten Veröffentlichung stand das *Palästinalied* Walthers von der Vogelweide im Zentrum der Forschungen um die authentische Form des Minnesangs. (195)

b. Nun ist aber seit einigen Jahren ein anderes Problem in den Blickpunkt gerückt, das aufs ganze gesehen einmal sicherere Lösbarkeit, zum anderen brauchbare Ergebnisse verspricht: die Frage der Kontrafaktur des *Palästinalieds*. (195)

c. Man glaube doch nicht im Ernst, daß Walther, den man wohl mit Recht den größten politischen Dichter der Deutschen nennt, nicht die Aussage der Sprüche das allererste und wichtigste Anliegen war […]; das Primäre aber ist und bleibt die Aussage. […] Sie [die Musik] kann zwar dazu dienen, die

Wirkung der Textaussage zu heben, ist aber selbst nicht fähig auszusagen. (210)

d. Die Minnesänger sind Komponisten im Sinne des 'componere'; einer bestimmten Tonformel kann man sich aber ebenso bedienen wie der Stilfigur der Anapher, des Homoioteleuton, der Alliteration. (211)

18. BRUNNER, HORST: *Die alten Meister: Studien zur Überlieferung und Rezeption der mittelhochdeutschen Sangspruchdichter im Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, Munich 1975.

a. Zwar wird man bei Untersuchungen zur Formgeschichte der Sangspruchdichter nicht darauf verzichten, mehr oder weniger gut begründbare Vermutungen zu äußern, mit welchen typischen Strukturveränderungen eine spätüberlieferte Melodie auf uns gekommen ist, in eine Edition gehören derartige Überlegungen oder gar auf ihnen basierende Rekonstruktionen aber meiner Ansicht nach nicht. In ihr sollten alle erhaltenen Fassungen einer jeden Melodie in chronologisch geordneter, synoptischer Wiedergabe getreu nach den Handschriften zu finden sein. Nur offensichtliche Fehler wird man verbessern (dabei hat man mit Vorsicht zu verfahren!) und notwendige Ergänzungen—etwa fehlende Schlüssel— hinzufügen. (294f.)

19. BRUNNER, HORST, ULRICH MÜLLER and FRANZ VIKTOR SPECHTLER (eds): *Walther von der Vogelweide: die gesamte Überlieferung der Texte und Melodien*, Göppingen 1977.

a. Linienlose Neumen sind nur für den von Nutzen, der die mit ihnen wiedergegebene Melodie bereits kennt, sie geben nur die Bewegungsrichtung einer Melodie, nicht aber die Tonhöhen an, dienten also lediglich als Gedächtnisstütze. (50*)

b. Uns genügt vorläufig die Feststellung, daß über die formale Identität des *Palästinalieds* mit den Jaufremelodien kein Zweifel besteht. (202)

c. Man kann doch schwer daran glauben, daß Jaufre Rudel und Walther unabhängig voneinander zufällig einmal die gleichen 'gängigen Motive' in gleicher Reihenfolge zur gleichen Form zusammengestellt haben. (203)

20. BRUNNER, HORST: 'Die Töne Bruder Wernhers: Bemerkungen zur Form und zur formgeschichtlichen Stellung', in: *Liedstudien: Wolfgang Osthoff zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. by Martin Just and Reinhard Wiesend, Tutzing 1989, pp. 47–60.

a. Die Analyse der Melodien hat ergeben, daß sie durchweg aus Variationen aus melodischem Material geringen Umfangs generiert worden sind. Notengetreue Wiederholungen sind selten, Kontraste finden sich kaum. Alles in allem haben die Melodien nur wenig Eigencharakter, sie scheinen indes gerade dadurch besonders als Medium für den Textvortrag—auf den es dem Spruchdichter ja ankam—geeignet gewesen zu sein. (58)

21. BRUNNER, HORST: 'Metrik – Strophenformen – Melodien', in: *Walther von der Vogelweide: Epoche – Werk – Wirkung*, ed. by Horst Brunner, Gerhard Hahn, Ulrich Müller and Franz Viktor Spechtler, Munich 1996, pp. 43–73.

   a. Die bei weitem wichtigste Quelle für Melodien Walthers ist das Münstersche Fragment **Z** einer mit Melodieaufzeichnungen in gotischer deutscher Choralnotation versehenen Liederhandschrift des 14. Jahrhunderts. (63)

   b. Melodien sind von großer Bedeutung für die Beurteilung der Struktur der Töne. Umgekehrt gilt: in den Fällen, in denen die Melodie eines Tones nicht überliefert ist, kann man meist nur Vermutungen über seine Bauform anstellen, da das metrische Schema allein für die Formbestimmung in der Regel nicht ausreicht. (64)

22. BRUNNER, HORST: Art. 'Sangspruchdichtung', in: *MGG2*, ed. by Ludwig Finscher, vol. 8 (Sachteil), Kassel 1998, cols 931–939.

   a. Die tonalen Verhältnisse der Melodien sind vielfältig und noch nicht hinreichend erforscht. (936)

23. BÜRGER, THOMAS: 'Dresdner Bibliothekare – emigriert, geflohen, geblieben: Briefe der Nachkriegszeit aus dem Nachlass von Ewald Jammers (Teil 2)', in: *SLUB* 21 (2/2007), pp. 13–15.

   a. 'Ich Unterzeichneter bin niemals Mitglied der NSDAP, der SA oder SS gewesen und bin wegen meiner Existenz gefährdet, d[as] h[eisst] mit Entlassung bedroht gewesen'. (13)

24. BÜTZLER, CARL: *Untersuchungen zu Melodien Walthers von der Vogelweide*, Jena 1940.

   a. Dieser Verstoß gegen ein Fundamentalgesetz germanischen Versbaues ist bisher wohl nur deshalb nicht bemerkt worden, weil er in der ersten Strophe des *Palästinaliedes* nur einmal vorkommt. (28)

   b. Im Zusammenhang mit der vorher gemachten Feststellung, daß das *Palästinalied* im Zweivierteltakt zu notieren ist, bedeutet das den Nachweis seiner Zugehörigkeit zur Gruppe der Sprüche, nicht zur Gruppe der Minnelieder. (31)

   c. Es wurzeln also nicht nur die Sprüche und das Tagelied, sondern auch die religiösen Lieder Walthers in deutscher Tradition. (31)

   d. Gewaltig spannt sich die Melodie zu Beginn des Abgesangs bis zur Septime, um dann in einem weiten Bogen zurückzulenken und durch Einmündung in die Weise des Stollenschlusses das Ganze abzurunden. (35)

25. CURSCHMANN, MICHAEL: '"Pictura laicorum litteratura"? Überlegungen zum Verhältnis von Bild und volkssprachlicher Schriftlichkeit im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter bis zum Codex Manesse', in: *Pragmatische Schriftlichkeit im*

Mittelalter: Erscheinungsformen und Entwicklungsstufen, ed. by Hagen Keller, Klaus Grubmüller and Nikolaus Staubach, Munich 1992, pp. 211–229.

    a. Sie assoziieren vielmehr das dichterische Wort an sich, oder besser, sie assoziieren, wie ich das jetzt etwas genauer formulieren möchte, Dichtung als liedhafte Aufführungskunst. (223)

26. CURSCHMANN, MICHAEL: 'Wolfgang Stammler und die Folgen: Wort und Bild als interdisziplinäres Forschungsthema in internationalem Rahmen', in: *Das Mittelalter und die Germanisten: zur neueren Methodengeschichte der Germanischen Philologie: Freiburger Colloquium 1997*, ed. by Eckart Conrad Lutz, Freiburg 1998, pp. 115–137.

    a. Damit ist selbstverständlich wiederum erst der Anfang einer Typologie bezeichnet, und kompliziert werden die Verhältnisse speziell für das Mittelalter weiterhin dadurch, daß auch das geschriebene Wort sensorisch in den Bereich der audialen Wahrnehmung gehört. (118)

27. FISCHER, E.: 'Ueber die Musik der Minnesänger', in: *Deutsche Liederdichter des zwölften, dreizehnten und vierzehnten Jahrhunderts (vol. 4: Geschichte der Dichter und ihrer Werke. Abbildungen der Handschriften, Sangweisen, Abhandlung über die Musik der Minnesinger, Alte Zeugnisse, Handschriften und Bearbeitungen, Uebersicht der Dichter nach der Zeitfolge, Verzeichnisse der Personen und Ortsnamen, Sangweisen der Meistersänger nach den Minnesingern)*, ed. by Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen, Leipzig 1838, pp. 853–862.

    a. Es werden im Ganzen nicht viele [Melodien] sein, welche, selbst durch eine passende Begleitung ausgeschmückt und gut vorgetragen, dem jetzigen Ohre und Geschmacke zusagen. (853)

    b. Wenn man durch häufiges Spielen und Anhören solcher Melodien das Ohr an diese Gesänge gewöhnt hat, so findet man manches Schöne, nur mit anderen Mitteln als jetzt ausgeführt. (861)

    c. In dem dritten beigegebenen Liede: 'Der kuninc Rodolp' wird aber auch selbst der Melodiegang nichts, oder wenig uns Fremdes enthalten, und nur eine gewisse Einförmigkeit werden wir finden, welche aber durch die ganze Anlage des Textes gerechtfertigt wird. Hauptsächlich werden uns nur die Schlüsse der zweiten, vierten u[nd] s[o] w[eiter] Zeilen seltsam erscheinen, in welchem hinter e noch die Note c auf eine für uns unangenehme Weise nachschlägt. (861)

28. GENNRICH, FRIEDRICH: 'Die Musik als Hilfswissenschaft der romanischen Philologie', in: *ZfrPh* 39 (1919), pp. 330–361.

    a. Jene Einheitlichkeit, die in der Nutzbarmachung der Musik für den Text und umgekehrt besteht, kann aber nur erreicht werden, wenn der Herausgeber prov[enzalischer] und a[lt]fr[an]z[ösischer] Liedtexte zugleich auch die Herausgabe der Musik übernimmt, mit anderen Worten, das philologische mit dem musikwissenschaftlichen Studium verknüpft. (333)

29. GENNRICH, FRIEDRICH: 'Sieben Melodien zu mittelhochdeutschen Minneliedern', in: *ZfMw* 7 (1924/25), pp. 65–98.

    a. Doch ist hier immerhin der Grund gelegt zu einer Weiterentwicklung des provenzalischen Minneliedes zu ungeahnter Blüte. An die Stelle der einfachen, einförmigen Volksliedmusik mit ihren symmetrischen Wiederholungen ein- und derselben Tonreihe ist allmählich eine kunstvollere Musik getreten, lag es doch im Wesen der Troubadourkunst, immer wieder mit Neuem aufzuwarten, mit neuen Melodien, neuen Vers- und Strophenformen und neuem Inhalt vor die Öffentlichkeit zu treten. […] Dieses Streben nach Originalität rief bald eine reiche Fülle von Strophenformen mit Versen von verschiedenster Länge, mit kunstvoll wechselnden, oft seltsam verketteten Reimen, mit den mannigfaltigsten Rhythmen hervor, die den Abstand von den im Vergleich hiermit eintönig wirkenden Liedern des Volkes und auch der Kirche immer mehr vergrößern mußte. Mit der Dichtkunst hatte natürlich die Musik Schritt zu halten, und so entwickelte sich jene Kanzonenform, die dann zum beliebten Tummelplatz der provenzalischen Liedkunst geworden ist. (65f.)

    b. Allerdings fehlt es auch nicht an Beweisen, daß die Troubadours auch ihrerseits von der Trouvèrekunst beeinflußt worden sind, also eine gewisse Wechselwirkung stattgefunden hat. (70)

    c. Allerdings sind wir bei dem fast vollständigen Fehlen von Melodien zu den Minneliedern dieser ersten Epoche nicht in der Lage, die Richtigkeit der obigen Vermutung, die jedoch viel Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich hat, nachzuprüfen. (75)

    d. Das glänzende Reichsfest in den Pfingsttagen des Jahres 1184, bei dem die Schwertleite der Söhne Friedrich Barbarossas in Mainz stattfand, vereinigte französische und deutsche Ritter in edlem Wettstreit. Sänger und Spielleute aus allen Landen waren herbeigeeilt und lauschten unter anderm auch den Liedern des uns heute noch bekannten Trouvère Guiot de Provins. Heinrich von Veldeke, aus der Gegend von Maestricht [sic!] stammend, verkündete als einer der ersten Sänger französische Art in deutschem Lied. (81)

30. GENNRICH, FRIEDRICH: 'Internationale mittelalterliche Melodien', in: *ZfMw* 11 (1929), pp. 259–296; 321–348.

    a. Wenn also Wechselbeziehungen hier nicht in Abrede gestellt werden können, so wird aber damit eine Frage aufgeworfen, an der man lange vorübergegangen ist: die Frage einer gewissen Internationalität der Kunst überhaupt und der Musik im Mittelalter im besonderen. (260)

    b. Doch ist ohne Zweifel der Übergang vom germanischen Hebigkeitsprinzip in den trochäischen, jambischen oder daktylischen Rhythmus, der sich im letzten Viertel des 12. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland vollzog, dem Einfluß französischer Vorbilder zuzuschreiben. (262)

    c. Den einzigen gangbaren Weg bis jetzt, Einblick in gegenseitige Beeinflussung und Abhängigkeit in der Musik des Mittelalters zu gewinnen,

bietet die im mittelalterlichen Musikleben so häufig zu beobachtende Kontrafaktur. Und sie bietet recht interessante Einblicke. (263)

31. GENNRICH, FRIEDRICH: 'Zur Ursprungsfrage des Minnesangs: ein literarhistorisch-musikwissenschaftlicher Beitrag', in: *DVLG* 7 (1929), pp. 187–228.

a. Es wäre um eine Kunst, die sich doch über den größten Teil des mittelalterlichen Europa verbreitet hat, wahrlich schlecht bestellt, wenn sie die nötige dichterische Kraft nicht aus sich selbst hätte hervorbringen können, sondern nur, sozusagen, ein Abklatsch einer fremden Lyrik gewesen wäre. (192)

b. So treffen sich literarhistorische und musikwissenschaftliche Forschung in der Beantwortung der Ursprungsfrage des Minnesangs weder auf arabisch-andalusischem Boden noch im Bereich mittellateinischer Gelehrtendichtung, sondern in der Sphäre der christlichen Kirche, der das Mittelalter nicht nur seine Eigenart, sondern vielmehr noch seine Größe verdankt. (227)

32. GENNRICH, FRIEDRICH: 'Liedkontrafaktur in mittelhochdeutscher und althochdeutscher Zeit', in: *ZfdA* 82 (1948/50), pp. 105–141.

a. Bisher bemühte man sich—abgesehen von rühmlichen Ausnahmen—mit der Würdigung des Textes auf der einen, mit der der Musik auf der anderen Seite, und als geradezu ideale Lösung erachtete man es, wenn sich zwei oder drei Vertreter der verschiedenen Disziplinen zu 'gemeinsamer' Arbeit zusammenfanden. (105)

b. Dem gegenüber habe ich wiederholt den Standpunkt vertreten, daß nur 'ein' Herausgeber, der über die erforderlichen Kenntnisse der in Betracht kommenden Fachwissenschaften verfügt, Gewähr biete für eine dem mittelalterlichen Kunstwerk angemessene Interpretation. (106)

c. Dabei stellte sich immer deutlicher die Tatsache heraus, daß im Mittelalter auf musikalisch-literarischem Gebiet positiv nachweisbare internationale Beziehungen bestanden haben. (107)

d. Sie kann aber keineswegs als Zeichen musikalischer Unfähigkeit eines Dichters angesehen werden; auch die angesehensten Künstler bedienen sich ihrer, denn einige Liedgattungen—*Jeux partis* und *Sirventés*—benutzen zumeist schon vorhandene Melodien. (108)

e. Das führt uns nun ins Gebiet der 'irregulären Kontrafaktur' hinüber, die zu den interessantesten Erscheinungen überhaupt gehört, deren Erkennen allerdings viel Fingerspitzengefühl und Erfahrung voraussetzt. (116)

f. Der Liedaustausch, der zwischen Nachbarvölkern zu beobachten ist, führt zu einem unleugbaren Nachweis zwischenvölkischer Beziehungen, und wer hierbei der gebende b[e]z[iehungs]w[eise] empfangende Teil ist, wird in den einzelnen Fällen durch die Kontrafaktur festzustellen sein. (127)

g. Es muß ein gründliches Studium der Musik des Mittelalters damit verbunden werden, ein Vertrautsein mit der neueren Musik genügt keineswegs, sonst führt das zu Ungeheuerlichkeiten wie etwa C[arl] Appels 'Singweisen Bernarts von Ventadorn', die mehr Schaden als Nützen bringen. (129)

h. Zweifellos ist die Preisgabe des ursprünglich stabreimenden germanischen Verses zugunsten des Hebigkeitsverses der beste Beweis für die Macht der modalen Rhythmik, die mit der kulturellen Überlegenheit der französischen höfischen Literatur sich den ganzen Kontinent eroberte. (137)

i. Im Grunde genommen handelt es sich bei dieser Rhythmik durchaus nicht um etwas dem germanischen Wesen Fremdes: der etwa 75% aller Hymnen zugrunde liegende jambische Dimeter gibt sich als natürliche Ausdeutung des rhythmischen Lebensgefühles des abendländischen Menschen zu erkennen, er stellt in seiner primitiven Einfachheit eine rhythmische Urbildung dar. Der auf ihr beruhende Hebigkeitsvers ist daher keine aus Frankreich eingeführte Erfindung, sondern ein zutiefst in unserem Wesen verankertes Kunstprinzip, das deshalb—ohne Zweifel im Mittelalter mächtig durch die romanische Liedkunst gefördert—keine vorübergehende Modeerscheinung geworden, sondern bis auf den heutigen Tag die Grundlage unserer Dichtung geblieben ist. (140f.)

33. GENNRICH, FRIEDRICH: *Troubadours, Trouvères, Minne- und Meistergesang*, Cologne 1951.

a. Vom älteren mittelhochdeutschen Minnesang ist leider nur die Melodie von Walthers von der Vogelweide *Palästinalied* vollständig erhalten—weitere Melodien können aus der Kontrafaktur gewonnen werden: dagegen sind uns die Melodien zum jüngeren Minnesang und zu den Meisterliedern aus einer ganzen Reihe von H[and]s[chriften] und H[and]s[chriften]fragmenten zugänglich. (5)

b. Kurz gesagt: die Bedeutung dieser Liedkunst und deren heute noch greifbare Überlieferung übersteigt alle anderen Zweige weltlicher Musikbetätigung der 'Ars antiqua'. (5)

c. In einer Zeit, in der der Winter mit seinen rauhen Stürmen, mit Schnee und Eis und mit seinen langen Nächten das Leben vor allem des Volkes stark beeinträchtigte und einförmig gestaltete, mußte die bessere Jahreszeit sehnlich erwartet und der Einzug des Frühlings festlich begangen werden. (7)

d. Ohne Zweifel mußte der Wettstreit zu einer Überbewertung der technischen Seite und damit schließlich zum Niedergang der eigentlichen Kunst führen. (9)

e. Ohne Zweifel aber verdankt der deutsche Minnesang der kunstliebenden Gemahlin Barbarossas, deren Residenz am Niederrhein lag und in deren Gefolge sich Trouvères wie Guiot de Provins befanden, die nachhaltigste

Berührung mit der französischen Liedkunst, war doch auch ihr Sohn, der spätere Kaiser Heinrich VI., selbst als Minnesänger tätig. (9)

f. Im Laufe der Zeit sind die verschiedensten Übertragungen z[um] T[eil] mit völlig unzureichenden Mitteln unternommen worden. Von diesen führe ich die bekanntesten an; sie haben zum größten Teil nur historisches Interesse, zeigen jedoch den Weg an, der bis zur heutigen Erkenntnis und zur Lösung dieses recht schwierigen Problems zurückzulegen war. (66)

g. Unsere Übertragungen der romanischen wie germanischen mittelalterlichen Liederdenkmäler, zwischen denen 'kein' Wesensunterschied besteht, unterscheiden sich von den früher veröffentlichten zum großen Teil grundsätzlich. (66)

34. GENNRICH, FRIEDRICH: *Mittelhochdeutsche Liedkunst: 24 Melodien zu mittelhochdeutschen Liedern*, Darmstadt 1954.

a. Die deutschen Ritter dürften in der ersten Zeit wohl nicht in der Lage gewesen sein, Melodien zu erfinden, die einen Vergleich mit den welschen hätten aushalten können, jedenfalls beweist nicht nur der Strophenbau der Liedtexte, sondern auch textliche Entlehnungen aus prov[enzalischen] und franz[ösischen] Liedern beweisen, daß deutsche Liedtexte auf übernommene welsche Melodien gedichtet wurden. (xii)

b. Wenn es trotzdem gelang, Licht auch auf das musikalische Gebiet der mittelhochdeutschen Lieddichtung zu bringen, so verdanken wir das der unermüdlichen, niemals erlahmenden Tätigkeit der Musikwissenschaft, die kein Mittel unversucht läßt, den Mangel an Ueberlieferung durch Findigkeit etwas auszugleichen. (22)

35. GENNRICH, FRIEDRICH: *Die Kontrafaktur im Liedschaffen des Mittelalters*, Langen bei Frankfurt 1965.

a. Auf diese Weise gelang die Bereitstellung von Melodien zu dem in den H[and]s[chriften] ohne Notation überlieferten m[ittel]h[och]d[eutschen] Minnesang [...], und damit wurde erstmalig die Kontrafaktur in den Dienst der Forschung gestellt. (2)

b. Heute zweifelt niemand mehr an der Richtigkeit dieser These. (2)

c. Die letzten Kriegsjahre und die ersten Nachkriegsjahre unterbrachen die Arbeit dann ganz: nicht nur war der größte Teil meiner Bibliothek vernichtet worden, auch öffentliche Bibliotheken waren zerstört oder ausgelagert. Überall fehlte es an Fachbüchern, an Material für Vorlesungen und Übungen. Diese Lücke mußte vordringlich geschlossen werden. Darum konnte erst 1948 ein zusammenfassender kurzer, auf Vorlesungen und Übungen basierender Überblick über die Forschungsergebnisse auf dem Gebiet der Kontrafaktur im Hinblick auf die Germanistik veröffentlicht werden [...], und in einem Beitrag über Perotins Conductus […] und Gautier de Coinci's [sic!] Lieder […] konnte die Kontrafaktur zur Erfassung der den Liedern innewohnenden Rhythmik eingesetzt werden. (3)

d. Für die heutige Musikwissenschaft bedeutet das Aufspüren von Kontrafakta und Entlehnungen Arbeit, die viel Ausdauer, Findigkeit und Opfer an Zeit erfordert; es ist wie das Suchen nach verborgenen Schätzen. (165)

e. Wandernde Melodien und Texte. (166)

36. GOEBEL, JULIUS: 'Aus Rudolf Hildebrands Nachlass', in: *EGPh* 13 (1914), pp. 181–182.

a. Wie mir Professor J. B. Beck, der Entzifferer der mittelalterlichen Notenschrift, auf Grund eingehenden Studiums dieser Melodien mitteilt, ist Walthers *Kreuzlied* ein Kunstwerk von unerreichter Höhe und lässt uns ahnen welche Künstlerschaft der Dichter auch auf dem Gebiete der Musik besessen haben muss. Zugleich versichert mir derselbe Gelehrte, dass von einer Entlehnung von Walthers Musik aus romanischen Vorbildern keine Rede sein kann, sowenig wie bei den übrigen uns erhaltenen Minnesingermelodien. (181)

b. Sollte diese Tatsache nicht euch [sic!] mitsprechen dürfen bei der Entscheidung über den heimischen Ursprung des Minnesangs? (181)

37. GRUNEWALD, ECKHARD: 'Retuschiertes Mittelalter: zur Rezeption und Reproduktion der "Manessischen" Liederhandschrift im 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhundert', in: *Mittelalter-Rezeption: ein Symposion*, ed. by Peter Wapnewski, Stuttgart 1986, pp. 435–449.

a. Wenn heute die Illustrationen der Großen Heidelberger Liederhandschrift zum visuellen Gemeinbesitz geworden sind, so ist dies weniger der Aufklärungsarbeit der Fachwissenschaftler als der publizistischen Rührseligkeit einzelner Verleger zuzuschreiben, die den veränderten Sehgewohnheiten des Publikums durch ein breitgefächertes Angebot von Bildbänden, Drucken, Kunstkarten und Kalendern entgegenzukommen wußten. (446)

38. HÄNDL, CLAUDIA: *Rollen und pragmatische Einbindung: Analysen zur Wandlung des Minnesangs nach Walther von der Vogelweide*, Göppingen 1987.

a. Untersuchungsgegenstand sind Minnelieder, die, ursprünglich für die Aufführung bei Hof zu bestimmten (festlichen) Anlässen verfaßt, zu einer späteren Zeit schriftlich fixiert wurden und uns, bis auf wenige Ausnahmen, ohne Melodien als reines Textmaterial durch die Handschriften vermittelt werden. (1)

39. HAGEN, FRIEDRICH HEINRICH VON DER: *Minnesinger: Deutsche Liederdichter des zwölften, dreizehnten und vierzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 4 vols, Leipzig 1838.

a. Hier tritt in der mächtigsten, glänzendsten und verhängnisvollsten Zeit des heiligen Römisch-Deutschen Kaiserreichs, unter den, den nahen Hohenzollernschen Ahnherren Euer Majestät befreundeten Hohenstaufen,

durch das verworrene Zwischenreich hin bis zur Herstellung unter den Habsburgern, ein Chor von beinahe zweihundert Sängern auf. (2f., vol. 1)

b. Und daß dieser Geist, welcher sich noch unlängst in der gewaltigen Herstellung aus fremder Zerstückelung und zugleich dienstbarer Gleichheit, besonders von hieraus so kräftig bewahrt hat, auch fortdauernd in ruhiger zeitgemäßer Entwickelung [sic!] erhalten wird, hat das Vaterland vor allen [sic!] der erhabenen Pflege Euer Majestät zu verdanken. Nicht allein Euer Majestät nächste Unterthanen [sic!], sondern ganz Deutschland erfreuen sich dieses mächtigen Schirmes, welcher mit so starker Hand jede von außen drohende Gewalt abwehrt, wie durch Gerechtigkeit, väterliche Milde, alles Schöne und Gute fördernde Großmuth [sic!], und alle Segnungen des Friedens im Innern, die heiligste Verehrung und Liebe aller Getreuen und Wohlgesinnten erweckt. (5f., vol. 1)

40. HARMS, WOLFGANG: 'Themenbereich "Zwischen Wort und Bild": Einführung', in: *Bibliographische Probleme im Zeichen eines erweiterten Literaturbegriffs*, ed. by Wolfgang Martens, Weinheim 1988, pp. 141–142.

a. Wo die modernen wissenschaftlichen Disziplinen ihre Aufgabe sicher zu erkennen glaubten, konnten Fachgrenzen mitten durch den zu behandelnden Gegenstand führen, der dann nirgendwo als Ganzes registriert und interpretiert wurde. (141)

41. HOFFMANN-AXTHELM, DAGMAR: '"Markgraf Otto von Brandenburg mit dem Pfeile" (Codex Manesse, fol. 13): zum höfischen Minne-, Schach- und Instrumentalspiel im frühen 14. Jahrhundert', in: *Musikalische Ikonographie*, ed. by Harald Heckmann, Monika Holl and Hans Joachim Marx, Laaber 1994, pp. 157–170.

a. Die Sackpfeife gehört aber primär der Sphäre des Tanzes und der ländlich stilisierten Lustbarkeit adeliger Damen und Herren an. (165)

42. HOLZ, GEORG, FRANZ SARAN and EDUARD BERNOULLI (eds): *Die Jenaer Liederhandschrift*, 2 vols, Leipzig 1901.

a. Der Textabdruck der sogenannten Jenaer Liederhandschrift, den ich in diesem Buche der Öffentlichkeit vorlege, ist veranlasst durch die im 2. Bande enthaltenen Abhandlungen: diese, die den doppelten Zweck verfolgen, sowohl die durch die Handschrift dargebotenen Sangweisen für uns geniessbar, wie auch den so überaus seltenen Umstand, dass derartige Sangweisen überhaupt überliefert sind, für die Theorie der altdeutschen Metrik nutzbar zu machen, sind somit als der eigentliche Kern der ganzen Arbeit anzusehen—der Textabdruck ist nur Mittel zum Zweck. (i, vol. 1)

b. Die Jenaer Liederhandschrift ist wohl die grösste und schönste aller deutschen Handschriften des Mittelalters, ein wahres Prachtexemplar (i, vol. 1)

c. Diese Theorie Riemanns ist nicht annehmbar […]. Meine von Riemann sehr verschiedenen rhythmischen Anschauungen sind aus denen Westphals

erwachsen, weichen aber schon in jener Darstellung in wichtigen Punkten von diesen ab. (100, vol. 2)

    d. Schon daraus folgt, dass der Schwerpunkt mehr im Wort liegt, die Weise und der Rhythmus mehr eine Würze des Ganzen sind. (110, vol. 2)

    e. Von der Reihe der Hebungen an aufwärts und abwärts regelt sich die rhythmische Function [sic!] aller Teile des Systems. (119, vol. 2)

    f. Es soll in keiner Weise etwas Abschliessendes geboten werden. (148, vol. 2)

    g. Es kommt mir darauf an, durch sie [die Rhythmisierung] das Wichtigste der rhythmischen Gliederung, vor allem die Beschaffenheit und Verbindung der Reihen und Ketten, in nicht missverständlicher Form darzustellen. Nicht aber ist beabsichtigt, die Lieder bis ins Einzelne so zu rhythmisieren, wie sie wirklich, mit allen Feinheiten des Tempos, der Verbindung u[nd] s[o] w[eiter], gesungen sind. (149, vol. 2)

43. HOLZNAGEL, FRANZ-JOSEF: *Wege in die Schriftlichkeit: Untersuchungen und Materialien zur Überlieferung der mittelhochdeutschen Lyrik*, Tübingen 1995.

    a. Besonders im Minnelied falle sprechendes Ich und besprochenes Ich zusammen, so daß man sich für die Dichter nicht nur in ihrer Eigenschaft als Verfasser von Liedern interessiert, sondern sie auch als Menschen mit besonderer Liebeserfahrung wahrgenommen habe. (57)

    b. In den Budapester Fragmenten sowie im Naglerschen und im Troß'schen Bruchstück fehlen sie ebenfalls. (71)

    c. Gleichzeitig werden auch hier Aussagen des lyrischen Ich auf die im Bild dargestellte Figur und damit auf die historische Person des Dichters übertragen, so daß in der Bilderwelt des Codex' der Liedautor, die dargestellte Figur und das Sänger-Ich der Liedtexte in eins gesetzt werden. (85)

44. HUSMANN, HEINRICH: 'Das Prinzip der Silbenzählung im Lied des zentralen Mittelalters', in: *Mf* 6 (1953), pp. 8–23.

    a. Ich kann aber wenigstens ein Beispiel angeben, an dem sich sofort alles diskutieren läßt und das uns zum ersten Mal auch im Minnesang nun endlich festen Boden liefert. Es sind nämlich zwei der berühmtesten Melodien—wenn ich recht sehe, bis jetzt unbemerkt—identisch: Walthers von der Vogelweide *Palästinalied* ist nichts anderes als ein Kontrafaktum zu Jaufre Rudels 'Lancan li jorn'. (17)

    b. Die Übereinstimmung der beiden Melodien ist innerhalb dessen, was man von den französischen Handschriften unter sich allein schon gewohnt ist, eine normale. (18)

c. Es erscheint mir darüber hinaus aber sehr wohl möglich, daß Deutschland in seinem Hauptkern allein den alten silbenzählenden Troubadourstil (natürlich mit den bekannten deutschen metrischen Spezialitäten, Auftakt, Silbenzerlegung, Silbenzusammenziehung u[nd]s[o]f[ort]) weiter fortsetzt und nur von Fall zu Fall modale Experimente unternimmt, die keinen weiteren Einfluß auf die Gesamtentwicklung haben. (18)

45. JAMMERS, EWALD: 'Untersuchungen über die Rhythmik und Melodik der Melodien in der Jenaer Liederhandschrift', in: *ZfMw* 7 (1924/25), pp. 265–304.

   a. Diese Feststellungen können nicht befriedigen. (267)

   b. Hier ist der Verzierungscharakter an sich sogar deutlicher. Die Figuren drängen sich als Neben- oder Durchgangstöne geradezu auf […]. Von ihnen lassen sich auch die beiden ersten als Doppelschlag oder Triller verstehen, sobald man das Verhältnis der Ligatur zum vorhergehenden oder nachfolgenden Ton berücksichtigt. Das gleiche gilt von einem großen Teile der viertönigen Ligaturen. Auch von ihnen lassen sich viele als Doppelschlag auffassen. (270)

   c. Als Motive treten diese Atome dabei zunächst nicht zu Tage, sondern sie werden von einer oft durchaus natürlichen Neigung zu taktmäßigem Vortrage unterdrückt, doch wird dieser Widerspruch empfunden und durch ihn erweisen sie sich dann als wesentliche, selbständige Bestandteile des wirksamen Kunstwerkes und verlangen also Anerkennung im Vortrage. (272)

   d. Viel beruhigender ist dagegen das Ergebnis, wenn man die auf den einzelnen Versfuß oder vielleicht noch besser die zwischen je zwei Hebungen, zwei 'Taktstrichen' fallenden Töne zählt. (273)

   e. Die Zahl der Töne steigt dann innerhalb einer Reihe oder einer Kette, um zu ihrem Ende hin wieder abzunehmen, wenn auch nicht in mathematischer Regel oder gleichmäßig, sondern eher in einer etwa parabolischen Art. (273)

   f. Da aber durch diese neuen Tatbestände jene anderen, die für einen Takt sprachen, nicht beseitigt werden, so wird man gezwungen sein, für die Melodien der Jenaer Liederhandschrift zwei rhythmische Kräfte anzunehmen, und so ist es also Aufgabe, zu untersuchen wie der Minnesänger sie zusammenwirken ließ. (273)

   g. Das Ergebnis ist ein Vortrag in ziemlich freier Form, eine Art Rezitativ, jedoch nicht in dem üblichen Sinne bloß, der die Freiheit des Textes vom Takte meint, noch in dem Sinne, daß ich an eine Melodie bloß dächte, welche die Längenwerte der Töne nicht beachtet, sondern an eine solche Art, die Gleichwertigkeit und Unterteilung, die Takt und Tonlänge gegenüberstellt und damit Freiheit gewinnt. Letzten Endes würde also vielleicht Ambros, der einen rhapsodischen Vortrag annimmt, und insofern er 'einen Mittelweg' fordert, am ehesten Recht behalten. Doch mag jedem

dahingestellt bleiben, eins der Elemente als beherrschend zu empfinden, wofern [sic!] man nur nicht das andere übersieht. (275)

h. Die Lieder scheinen [...] nur gradweise, nicht grundsätzlich, verschieden zu sein. (275, fn. 3)

i. Heute ist es eine bestimmte harmonische Folge T S D T, die einen achttaktigen Satz ermöglicht und uns zwingt, alle Abweichungen auf ihn zurückzuführen, durch ihn verständlich zu machen. Diese Harmoniefolge ist dem Minnesang fremd und somit wird auch der anderen Melodik eine andere Rhythmik zuzubilligen sein, vielleicht eine Rhythmik, die zwischen einer taktmäßigen und einer taktfremden (choralen?) vermittelt, die die Höhepunkte der einen entnimmt, die vom Texte her gelieferten taktischen Bausteine zu benutzen weiß, aber über sie hinaus sich entfaltet, vor allem den Schlußabstieg der einen sich sichert, entweder von einem Hauptiktus ausgehend oder als 'dim[inuendo]' in ihn einmündend, im Beginn dagegen die Abschwächung nach dem ersten Hauptschlage vermeidet und von diesem als Stützpunkt aufsteigt. Die wesentlichen Begriffe dieser Rhythmik sind dann nicht 'Aufstellung' und 'Antwort', vielleicht auch nicht die— noch unbekannten—des Chorals, sondern 'Zwiespalt' und 'Lösung'. (285)

j. Die Minnesänger haben sich, wie die erste Betrachtung ergibt, der sogen[annten] Kirchentonarten bedient, jedoch die ursprüngliche Trennung zwischen authentischen und plagalen Tönen nicht streng gewahrt und so auch die Abarten der 'toni plusquamperfecti' und 'toni mixti' benutzt (denen bei unvollständiger Ausnutzung des Ambitus die 'toni imperfecti' gegenüberstehen). (285)

k. Auch eine Auffassung als erstes Merkmal eines neuen Tonsystems könnte statthaft sein, sofern man nur nicht an das heutige Dur mit Dominant und Subdominant denkt. Es handelt sich höchstens bei diesem 'Dur' um ein akkordisches Hören, eine latent, aber äußerst primitive Simultanharmonik, die noch vor der Aufgabe steht, die Töne außerhalb dieser Tonika-Akkorde zu deuten. (297)

l. Für den musikwissenschaftlichen Forscher ein historisches Problem, dagegen für den Minnesänger ein künstlerisches, wie aber schließlich ein Kunstwerk, das bloß ein Element enthält, nicht bestehen dürfte: denn die Einheit in der Mannigfaltigkeit setzt eine Mehrheit voraus. (298)

m. In Nordfrankreich, der Heimat der Gotik, fanden dagegen auch die Trouvères eine neue Lösung: rhythmisch die Verwendung der Modi, melodisch die Deutung der Schlüsse im harmonischen Sinne (wenigstens behauptet Beck das Auftreten von Halb- und Ganzschlüssen), beides vielleicht in Anlehnung an die echte Simultanharmonik, die Mehrstimmigkeit, und beides Lösungen, die einen Vergleich mit der Gotik nahelegen (mit der sie gleichzeitig auftreten?), während ich die Lösung der Troubadours und Deutschen mit dem sog[enannten] Übergangsstil vergleichen möchte, der den Baukünstlern so große Möglichkeiten gewährte, die strengen romanischen Gesetze lockerte und zu den romanischen Motiven schon gotische Motive darbot (wenn mir eine solche

Parallele gestattet wird, deren Bedenklichkeiten mir nicht entgehen, wie ich auch eigentlich als den besten Vergleich für das Kompromißsystem der Jenaer Meister den Einzelfall der Laacher Kirche bezeichnen möchte: hier wird Rundbogen und nach Möglichkeit des Gewölbes halber die quadratische Grundrißgliederung beibehalten und doch den Nebenschiffjochen gleiche Länge und annähernd halbe Breite eines Hauptschiffjoches gegeben). (299)

46. JAMMERS, EWALD: 'Der Vers der Trobadors und Trouvères und die deutschen Kontrafakten', in: *Medium Aevum Vivum: Festschrift für Walther Bulst*, ed. by Hans Robert Jauss and Dieter Schaller, Heidelberg 1960, pp. 147–160.

   a. Vielmehr sei hier grundsätzlich gefragt, ob überhaupt und bis zu welchem Grade der Unversehrtheit eine romanische Melodie übernommen werden konnte. Es soll in keiner Weise der Wert solcher Melodieunterlegungen bestritten werden; sie ermöglichen Vorstellungen der Minnemelodien. Aber sind es die tatsächlichen Melodien der Lieder? (147)

   b. Kontrafakta können entweder zu einem Systemwechsel (Auftakt–weibliche Endung) oder zu Sprachwidrigkeiten führen. In jedem Fall sind es keine echten Kontrafakten; denn ein Systemwechsel zerstört die melodische Gestalt, zerstört gerade den Reiz der romanischen Melodie, und das gilt, wenn auch sämtliche Töne hinsichtlich der Tonhöhe erhalten bleiben. Wer aber gewährleistet denn, daß das noch der Fall ist, wenn eine solche Änderung im Rhythmischen eintritt? Oder darf man glauben, daß eine Melodie, eine auswendig vorgetragene Melodie in ihrer Gestalt unabhängig vom Rhythmus sei? (153f.)

47. JAMMERS, EWALD: 'Minnesang und Choral', in: *Festschrift Heinrich Besseler zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. by Eberhardt Klemm, Leipzig 1961, pp. 137–147.

   a. Umgekehrt freilich, was bleibt an Beziehungen übrig, wenn man für den Minnesang den taktähnlichen Rhythmus der Modi annimmt (und ihre Rolle wird man kaum bestreiten können), beim Choral aber an dem 'taktfreien' Rhythmus festhält? (138)

   b. Daraus ergeben sich zweifellos Folgerungen für die Rhythmik der Sprüche, die der der Psalmodie oder dem Rezitativ des Chorals ähnlich gewesen sein dürfte—natürlich nicht der Psalmodie der heutigen Praxis; denn deren Rhythmik würde den Vers wie auch, was schlimmer ist, den Wortakzent vernichten, wie das Beispiel Molitors gezeigt hat. Man wird vielmehr nicht von der Gleichdauer der Töne, sondern der der Silben ausgehen, selbstverständlich abgesehen von den Schlußkadenzen, bei denen der Fluß der Verse gewissermaßen gegen den verlangten Schluß brandet und ihn überflutet. (141)

   c. Nun besteht kein Zweifel, daß die Modi eine große Rolle beim provenzalischen, französischen und schließlich, wenn auch in Konkurrenz mit anderen rhythmischen Ordnungen, beim deutschen Minnesang gespielt haben. (145)

d. Rückblickend aber läßt sich nicht verkennen, daß der Einfluß der eigentlichen Gregorianik, aber auch der Hymne antiker Art hinter der Gallikanik und dem, was von ihr als mittelalterlicher Choral weiterlebt, beträchtlich zurücktritt. (147)

48. JAMMERS, EWALD: *Ausgewählte Melodien des Minnesangs*, Tübingen 1963.

a. Die vorliegende Ausgabe will natürlich keine Gesamtausgabe sein, auch keine textkritische Ausgabe; sie will nur Beispiele bringen, die die Dichtung in ihrer vielfältigen Gestalt in Zusammenhang mit der Musik zeigen. (xif.)

b. Aber es ist doch eine feige Flucht, wenn der Wissenschaftler dem Laien überließe, die Melodien zu deuten. (xii)

c. Der Minnesang ist also eine Kunst, die weder dichterisch noch musikalisch, weder zum Vortrag noch zur Entstehung der Schrift bedarf; eine Kunst, die gehört und nicht gelesen wurde. (9)

d. Das, was bei Wizlaw beiden Künsten gemeinsam ist und aus dem Werk eine Einheit schafft, das ist nur die gemeinsame Form, man könnte sagen, das ist nur die gemeinsame Formwerdung. (12)

e. Es ist die gemeinsame Existenz und Entstehung—keine Kunst vor der anderen, keine Silbe ohne Musik, kein Ton ohne Text—und der gemeinsame Zweck der erhöhten Lebensfreude durch diese Form. (12)

f. Das bedeutet natürlich auch eine personhafte Einheit von Dichter und Musiker, eine Einheit, die so selbstverständlich ist, daß der Musiker fast nie erwähnt wird,—bis auf den Fall eines Dichters am Ende oder schon jenseits dieses Endes des Minnesangs, der nicht mehr Musiker sein konnte, bedeutet aber auch, daß die musikalische Kompositionskunst recht einfach ist und im Prinzip mit der textlichen Formkunst zusammenfällt. (13)

g. Nicht das Individuelle ist wichtig, nicht das Tatsächliche ist wahr; das Begriffliche ist wahr, das durch die Ratio Begründbare ist wahr. (20)

h. Das wesentliche Element dieser Musik aber und dieses Formenspiels überhaupt ist die Zahl. (21)

i. Die Herrschaft der Singstimme bedeutete aber, daß das Geistige das Klangliche beherrscht. (24)

j. Und so erweist sich gerade von diesem grundsätzlichen Gesichtspunkte aus die These des Hebigkeitsverses mit gleichlangen Takten als unzulänglicher Ausgangspunkt. […] Daß die These vom gleichlangen Choralton einen unhaltbaren Ausgangspunkt hat, braucht an Hand des oben vorgeführten abschreckenden Ergebnisses hier nicht ausgeführt zu werden. (35)

k. Man muß also im Melisma ein wichtiges Element der mittelalterlichen Rhythmik betrachten. (52)

l. Umgekehrt aber kann die Musik feststellen, daß die Haltung des Spruchdichters anders ist als die des Lieddichters und selbstverständlich auch des Leichdichters. (67)

m. Man erwartet nun von einer Melodienedition, daß sie die originale Gestalt der Musik herausarbeitet und den Lesern anbietet. Das ist für Textausgaben Selbstverständlichkeit; das ist aber für unsere Musik alles andere als gegeben, das ist vielmehr sozusagen unmöglich. (69)

n. Vorzuziehen ist jedenfalls der schlichte Fluß des silbenzählenden Verses mit nicht differenzierten Silbenlängen. Vereinzelte Melismen auf dem Auftakte, bevor der Fluß beginnt, stören nicht. (88)

o. Das Lied hat eine andere musikalische Gestalt als der Spruch; das wird jedem sofort ersichtlich, der in der Jenaer Liederhandschrift blättert. (93)

p. Es unterliegt keinem Zweifel, daß die frühen Minnesänger romanische Vorbilder nachgeahmt haben, und so liegt die Annahme nahe, daß sie auch die Melodien nachgeahmt haben. (96)

q. Diese Ausgabe ist an sich nicht für den Vortrag bestimmt; es wäre aber ein schwerer Fehler, wenn der Herausgeber nicht stets und überall an die klingende Musik, also den Vortrag gedacht hätte. (132)

r. Der Vortrag sei bedächtig und erfolge Vers für Vers. Man vermeide—vor allem bei den Sprüchen—einen taktmäßigen Vortrag! (133)

s. Man beginne im übrigen am besten bei den Meistersingern, für die Lieder bei den romanischen Texten, um dann den geregelten Textakzent der Blütezeit als eine beglückende Zutat zu genießen. Im übrigen gab es damals keine Bel-Canto-Stimme; eher wurde mit einer gepreßten, unnatürlichen Stimme gesungen. Und man wisse denn, daß man nur Andeutungen geben kann, da man nicht mehr als Adeliger oder Spielmann vor einer mittelalterlichen Gesellschaft singt. So bemühe man sich daher mehr, die Form der Lieder zu erleben und erleben zu lassen. (134)

49. JAMMERS, EWALD: *Das königliche Liederbuch des deutschen Minnesangs: eine Einführung in die sogenannte Manessische Handschrift*, Heidelberg 1965.

    a. Von diesen 25 haben 12 gemeinsame Motive in **B** und **C** und stimmen auch in den meisten Einzelheiten überein. (81)

50. JOSTES, FRANZ: 'Bruchstück einer Münsterischen Minnesängerhandschrift mit Noten', in: *ZfdA* 53 (1912), pp. 348–357.

    a. Nachdem Herr Abt Molitor auf den ursprünglichen Plan, seine Publication [sic!] gleichzeitig mit der meinen erscheinen zu lassen, verzichtet hat, geb [sic!] ich mit Zustimmung der Redaction im Anhange eine Transcription des *Kreuzliedes*, die mir ein Freund zur Verfügung stellte. (350, fn. 1)

51. KELLNER, BEATE: '"Ich grüeze mit gesange" – Mediale Formen und Inszenierungen der Überwindung von Distanz im Minnesang', in: *Text und Handeln: zum kommunikativen Ort von Minnesang und antiker Lyrik*, ed. by Albrecht Hausmann, Heidelberg 2004, pp. 107–137.

    a. Und das für den deutschen Bereich fast vollständige Fehlen musikalischer Notationen verstärkt noch den Eindruck von den Minneliedern als Schrifttexten, deren kunstvoll komplexe Formen—zumindest was einige Verfahrensweisen anbetrifft—nur in der Schrift als nachvollziehbar erscheinen. (109)

    b. Daß nun gerade das hier besprochene Lied und die hier ins Zentrum gestellte Strophe über mögliche Repräsentationen des Sängers vor der Dame durch andere, über die Rollen von Autor, Sänger, Minner und Herrscher sowie über Präsenz und Absenz der Geliebten, an den Anfang der beiden großen Liedersammlungen **B** und **C** gestellt ist, scheint mir kein Zufall zu sein, denn es handelt sich, so meine These, um einen gewissermaßen metakommunikativen Text über die Modalitäten des Sangs, und zwar auch und gerade über die Modalitäten seiner Performativität.

52. KIPPENBERG, BURKHARD: *Der Rhythmus im Minnesang: eine Kritik der literar- und musikhistorischen Forschung mit einer Übersicht über die musikalischen Quellen*, Munich 1962.

    a. Im allgemeinen benutzt die Forschung den Begriff der Einheit von Wort und Ton in unverbindlicher Weise, d[as] h[eisst] ohne die gemeinte Art der Beziehung zwischen der sprachlichen und musikalischen Seite des Kunstwerks zu erläutern oder näher nach ihr zu fragen. (15)

    b. Die Übereinstimmung wird indes noch augenfälliger, wenn man a) einmal die Originalnotierungen des Münsterer Fragments und der H[and]schrift 20050 [trouv. **U**] zusammenhält und b) auch die beiden anderen Jaufrequellen heranzieht. (164)

    c. Nach diesen Beobachtungen ist man geneigt, in W [the *Palästinalied* in **Z**] doch eine absichtliche Umgestaltung Walthers zu sehen. (167)

53. KIPPENBERG, BURKHARD: 'Die Melodien des Minnesangs', in: *Musikalische Edition im Wandel des historischen Bewußtseins*, ed. by Theodor G. Georgiades, Kassel 1971, pp. 62–92.

    a. Von der Hagens Edition und mit ihr die Existenz jener Melodien blieben zunächst fast unbeachtet. (68)

    b. Im ganzen wird man, wie der Vergleich einer Melodie bei Taylor und Jammers zeigt, hier wohl von einem bemerkenswerten Schritt nach vorn sprechen dürfen. (92)

54. KLEIN, THOMAS: 'Zur Verbreitung mittelhochdeutscher Lyrik in Norddeutschland (Walther, Neidhart, Frauenlob)', in: *ZfdPh* 106 (1987), pp. 72–112.

a. So auffallend zu **J**, daß dieses Blatt ohne weiteres in **J** stehen könnte. (90)

55. KORNRUMPF, GISELA and BURGHART WACHINGER: 'Alment: Formentlehnung und Tönegebrauch in der mittelhochdeutschen Spruchdichtung', in: *Deutsche Literatur im Mittelalter: Kontakte und Perspektiven*, ed. by Christoph Cormeau, Stuttgart 1979, pp. 356–411.

a. Verglichen mit den Zeugnissen aus dem Minnesang, wirken die Äußerungen der Spruchdichter direkter und terminologisch fixierter. (380)

56. KORNRUMPF, GISELA: Review of Horst Brunner, 'Walther von der Vogelweide: die gesamte Überlieferung der Texte und Melodien', in: *PBB* 103 (1981), pp. 129–139.

a. Angelpunkt bleibt also das *Palästinalied*. (137)

57. KORNRUMPF, GISELA: Art. 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift', in: *LL*, ed. by Walter Killy, vol. 6, Gütersloh 1990, pp. 92–94.

a. Wegen ihrer Zusammensetzung mag **J** das Fehlen von Melodien in den großen Minnesängerhandschriften nicht wettzumachen. (94)

58. KORTH, MICHAEL (ed.): *Carmina Burana: Gesamtausgabe der mittelalterlichen Melodien mit den dazugehörigen Texten*, Munich 1979.

a. Da die Melodie des *Palästinaliedes* bekannt ist, ist damit das Stück [CB211] gesichert. (198)

b. Sie hat hier, als Abschluß des Schlemmerliedes, parodistische Bedeutung. Das gelobte Land ist hier wohl das Schlaraffenland. […] Dadurch, daß die Anfangsstrophe dieses damals weitbekannten Liedes den Abschluß des lateinischen Epikur-Gedichtes bildet, entsteht ein grotesk-parodistischer Effekt: die Worte sind jetzt nicht mehr die eines verzückten Pilgers, sondern die eines trunkenden [sic!] Säufers, der sich endlich im 'gelobten Land' befindet. (198)

59. KRAUS, CARL VON: *Die Kleine Heidelberger Liederhandschrift*, Stuttgart 1932.

a. Sie sind wohl von späterer Hand beigefügt. (iii)

60. KUHN, HUGO: 'Die Klassik des Rittertums in der Stauferzeit', in: *Annalen der deutschen Literatur: Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. by Heinz Otto Burger, Stuttgart 1952, pp. 99–177.

a. Die drei großen Liedersammlungen, die man erschlossen hat (***AC**, ***BC**, ***EC**), und die erhaltenen Liederhandschriften, die darauf beruhen, wurden zwar reich ausgestattet, zum Teil sogar mit wertvollen Bildern, blieben aber rein literarisch. (116)

b. Eine Gestalt füllt die Gipfelhöhe der mittelhochdeutschen Lyrik so ganz, daß neben ihr kaum ein anderer sichtbar wird: Walther von der Vogelweide. (137)

c. Darum bleibt ein Teil seiner Kreuzzugsdichtung ohne genaue Zeitstelle: nicht nur das nüchterne *Kreuzlied*, das durch seine vielzitierte Melodie bekannt wurde […], sondern auch das viel schwerere und tiefere, das mit der ihm neuerdings zugewiesenen Melodie des 16. Jahrhunderts einen erschütternden Ernst zum Ausdruck bringt [C53]. (174)

61. KUHN, HUGO: 'Geleitwort', in: *Walther von der Vogelweide: die gesamte Überlieferung der Texte und Melodien*, ed. by Horst Brunner, Ulrich Müller and Franz Viktor Spechtler, Göppingen 1977, p. 1*.

    a. Walther von der Vogelweide gilt noch heute als der größte deutsche Liederdichter des Mittelalters. (1*)

    b. Nicht nur der Forscher, der Text und Verständnis dieses 'opus' weiter und neu zu fördern hat, sondern auch der Student, der hier am Beispiel den neuen methodischen Zugang erproben kann, und noch weiter all diejenigen, die im Zeitalter der technischen Reproduzierbarkeit die Chance sehen, etwas von der 'Aura' längst vergangener Kunst-Wirklichkeit wiederzuentdecken—sie alle sind den Herausgebern Dank schuldig für diese jetzt erst allgemein zu brauchenden Möglichkeiten eines originalen Zugangs zu Walther von der Vogelweide. (1*)

62. LILIENCRON, ROCHUS VON: 'Aus dem Grenzgebiete der Litteratur und Musik: II. Die Jenaer Minnesängerhandschrift', in: *ZfvL* 7 (1894), pp. 252–263.

    a. Der einzelnen Silbe kommt im allgemeinen auch nur eine Note oder mit annähernd gleicher Zeitdauer 2–3 leichtfließende Noten zu, wie dies auch in den Sequenzen und in den lateinischen Hymnen der Kirche die Regel ist. (258)

63. LIPPHARDT, WALTHER: 'Neue Wege zur Entzifferung der linienlosen Neumen', in: *Mf* 1 (1948), pp. 121–139.

    a. Eine allgemeine Skepsis hat sich in der Frage der Neumenentzifferung deshalb der Forschung bemächtigt, als handle es sich dabei um eine Sache, der gegenüber nur ein 'ignorabimus' am Platze sei. (122)

64. LOMNITZER, HELMUT: 'Zur wechselseitigen Erhellung von Text- und Melodiekritik mittelalterlicher deutscher Lyrik', in: *Mittelhochdeutsche Spruchdichtung*, ed. by Hugo Moser, Darmstadt 1972, pp. 325–360.

    a. Daß sich eine nur musikalische Betrachtungsweise verbietet, liegt in der Natur der Sache, ergibt sich aus dem obligaten, nicht additiven Miteinander von Wort und Ton. (333)

65. LUG, ROBERT: 'Drei Quadratnotationen in der Jenaer Liederhandschrift', in: *Mf* 53 (2000), pp. 4–40.

    a. Die herausragende Stellung, die der Jenaer Codex als weitaus umfangreichste Melodienquelle für das deutsche Lied des 13. Jahrhunderts

einnimmt, hat sich durch das Versiegen musikwissenschaftlicher Arbeiten und eine nahezu vollständige Absenz auf dem CD-Markt bis zur Unsichtbarkeit verdunkelt. (4)

b. Seit jeher war klar, dass die originale Quadratnotation keine messbare Rhythmik im Sinn unserer modernen Notenschrift enthält. Die Erkenntnis, dass man sie deshalb auch nicht in moderne Noten 'übertragen' kann, setzte sich jedoch nur langsam durch. (5)

c. Der Praxis suggerieren sie—auch nach dem Wegfall subjektiver rhythmischer Interpretationen […]—amorphe Beliebigkeit. (5)

d. Beim Hauptnotator könnten die zahlreichen Korrekturen auf eine doppelte Stresssituation hinweisen, die ihm neben der Kopie der Tonhöhen und Silbenzuordnungen noch eine präzise Übersetzung in die komplizierte klassische Systematik abverlangt. (32)

66. MAURER, FRIEDRICH: 'Zu den religiösen Liedern Walthers von der Vogelweide', in: *ZfLg* 49 (1955), pp. 29–49.

a. Jene großartige Kunst der Gliederung in Übereinstimmung von Gedanke, Satz, rhythmischem Fluß und Melodie ist eben nicht überall in der gleichen Weise beherrscht; vor allem lernt der frühe Walther diese Kunst erst langsam. (44)

b. Mir scheint noch nicht ganz entschieden, ob Walther wirklich in der einzigen uns original und vollständig erhaltenen Liedmelodie als Kontrafaktor erscheint. Wenn es so ist, so möchte man sich den frühen Walther eher in dieser Rolle denken als den reifen oder späten Künstler. (47)

67. MAURER, FRIEDRICH: 'Sprachliche und musikalische Bauformen des deutschen Minnesangs um 1200', in: *Pt* 1 (1967), pp. 462–482.

a. Man hat die großartige Aufbaukunst der Strophen Walthers lange nicht genügend beachtet, den eindrucksvollen Zusammenklang von rhythmisch-strophischer (und das bedeutet zugleich: musikalischer) Gliederung und gedanklich-syntaktischer. (462)

68. MOHR, WOLFGANG: 'Zur Form des mittelalterlichen deutschen Strophenliedes: Fragen und Aufgaben', in: *DU* 5 (2/1953), pp. 62–82.

a. An Friedrich Gennrichs bedeutendem Entwurf einer Formenlehre des mittelalterlichen Liedes wird man sich fortan zu orientieren haben. (64f.)

b. Gewisse Charaktertypen mittelalterlicher Weisen lassen sich schon erkennen. Die Tanzlieder Neidharts von Reuental oder Wizlavs von Rügen [**J**] heben sich von den anspruchsvollen, reich verzierten Minnekanzonen ab; Walthers *Palaestinalied* [sic!] wirkt auch im Rahmen der mittelalterlichen Lieder wie ein geistliches Spiel. Die 'Sprüche' haben teils sehr einfach deklamierte Weisen, zum anderen höchst anspruchsvolle und

kostbare, und es lohnte sich, zu prüfen, ob dem inhaltliche Befunde entsprechen. (65)

c. Der Nachweis ist versucht worden, aber die Beweisführung muß etwas krumme Wege gehn [sic!] und überzeugt nicht ganz. (66)

d. Besonnene Überlegungen zur Text- und Melodierhythmik der Lieder der Jenaer Handschrift finden sich bei E[wald] Jammers. (68, fn. 18)

e. Augenblicklich besteht vielleicht mehr Gefahr, daß musikwissenschaftliche Apriorismen sich festsetzen. (69, fn. 2)

69. MOLITOR, RAPHAEL: 'Die Lieder des Münsterischen Fragmentes', in: *SIMG* 12 (1911), pp. 475–500.

a. Ein glücklicher Fund hat den anziehenden Gegenstand zu Tage gefördert, dem die folgenden Seiten gewidmet sind. (475)

b. Vor Jahresfrist entdeckte Archivrat Dr. Merx im K[öni]gl[ichen] Staatsarchiv zu Münster i[n] W[estfalen] einige Blätter, die nichts weniger enthielten, als Reste längst verklungener Melodien aus sangesfroher deutscher Vorzeit, darunter solche des Fürsten unserer mittelalterlichen Lyrik. (475)

c. Umstände, die außerhalb meines Bereiches lagen, verzögerten bis heute das Erscheinen dieser Zeilen, die die musikgeschichtlichen Probleme des Fundes behandeln. (475)

d. Die Gesänge sind ausnahmslos in der Notenschrift des liturgischen Chorals aufgezeichnet. (476)

e. Walther's [sic!] Lieder besitzen einen musikalisch wertvollen Gehalt, und diese wenigen Reste seiner Kunst gehören zum besten aus der Hochblüte der weltlichen Monodie des Mittelalters. (477)

f. Die Mensur als freie Rekonstruktion ist in ihren Grundlagen so ungenügend, in ihrer Durchführung so willkürlich und abenteuerlich, in ihren Ergebnissen so unbefriedigend, daß man sich eigentlich fragen muß, wie sie auch nur für kurze Zeit die Aufmerksamkeit ernster Forscher auf sich lenken und mancherorts Glauben finden oder auch nur Hoffnungen erwecken konnte. (479)

g. Derartiges darf doch ohne Ängstlichkeit als musikalisch unmöglich bezeichnet werden. (487)

h. Nach diesen Erörterungen kann der Rhythmus der Lieder des Münsterischen Fragmentes nur der freie Choralrhythmus sein. (491)

i. Und jeder weiß es, der einen gutgeschulten Chor eine Choralmesse frei rhythmisch singen hörte. (492)

j. Das *Kreuzfahrerlied* erinnert in mehr als einem Punkte an gregorianische Melodien. (497)

k. Derlei Anklänge sind in der mittelalterlichen Monodie nichts Auffallendes. (497)

l. Das *Kreuzfahrerlied* ernst, gemessen—es ist im Gegensatz zu den beiden anderen Melodien wohl als Chorgesang gedacht—voll heiliger, freudiger Begeisterung. (497)

70. MOSER, HANS JOACHIM: *Geschichte der deutschen Musik*, 3 vols, Stuttgart 1920.

a. Als unsern größten Minnesänger sind wir gewohnt, Walther v[on] d[er] Vogelweide zu betrachten, aber dies Urteil stützt sich fast nur auf die dichterische Seite seines Schaffens. (199, vol. 1)

b. Endlich setzen uns die Münsterschen Fragmente in den lang ersehnten Besitz eines ganzen Waltherschen Gesanges, und zwar des berühmten *Palästinaliedes* aus des Meisters Spätzeit. (201, vol. 1)

c. Der echt dorischen Weise […] wird man in der Tat große Schönheit und hohes Ethos nachrühmen dürfen. (202, vol. 1)

d. Der Ausdruck ist voll gesammelter Andacht, voll jener ängstlichen Rührung, die den Edlen bei Betreten eines Heiligtums den Atem anhalten und das Pochen des eigenen Herzens spüren läßt. (202, vol. 1)

71. MOSER, HANS JOACHIM: 'Musikalische Probleme des deutschen Minnesangs', in: *Bericht über den musikwissenschaftlichen Kongreß in Basel*, ed. by W. Merian, Leipzig 1925, pp. 259–269.

a. Gewiß sind auf unserer Seite die Schwierigkeiten erheblich größer: wir können nicht anhand der Reime Mundartenkritik treiben, können nicht so greifbar wie dort aus Sinnwidersprüchen auf Textverderb und Konjunkturnötigung rückschließen, es steht uns ein weit geringeres Vergleichsmaterial an Parallelhandschriften zur Verfügung, und vor allem sind wir überhaupt noch nicht bis zu einer Stilkunde der weltlichen Musik des Mittelalters gelangt, die tiefer als nur bis zu den Notationsunterschieden und der Alternative zwischen Kirchentonarten einerseits, Dur und Moll andererseits vordränge. Trotzdem muß dies über kurz oder lang geleistet werden, wir müssen in den Besitz eines Buches (etwa als Band der D[enkmäler der] T[onkunst in] D[eutschland]) kommen, das die erhaltenen Melodien von rund 190 m[ittel]h[och]d[eutschen] Liedern und sechs Leichen vor 1300, also bis Frauenlob einschließlich, mit Unterlegung der besten gereinigten Texte und unter Auswertung aller kritischen musikwissenschaftlichen Mittel vereinigt. (259f.)

72. MOSER, HUGO and JOSEPH MÜLLER-BLATTAU: *Deutsche Lieder des Mittelalters: von Walther von der Vogelweide bis zum Lochamer Liederbuch: Texte und Melodien*, Stuttgart 1968.

a. Unser Wunsch ist, daß sich den Liedern dieser Veröffentlichung nicht nur die Aufmerksamkeit der Germanisten und Musikwissenschaftler zuwende, sondern daß sie auch dem praktischen Musiker willkommen seien. (v)

b. Einige Übersetzungshilfen textnaher Art sollen dem Nichtgermanisten die Benutzung erleichtern. (8)

73. MÜLLER, ULRICH: 'Beobachtungen zu den "Carmina Burana": 1. Eine Melodie zur Vaganten-Strophe – 2. Walthers "Palästina-Lied" in "versoffenem" Kontext: eine Parodie', in: *MlJb* 15 (1980), pp. 104–111.

a. Faßt man das Lied CB211 in dieser Weise auf und führt man es auch so vor, dann erweist es sich als eine raffinierte Parodie, die mit bestimmten Kenntnissen des zuhörenden Publikums spielt. Damit die Parodie funktionierte, war es natürlich notwendig, daß die Zuhörer die ja sehr bekannte Melodie des 'Palästina-Liedes' beim ersten Hören identifizieren konnten und auch über den Inhalt des Waltherschen Liedes im Groben Bescheid wußten. (110)

74. MÜLLER, ULRICH: 'Die mittelhochdeutsche Lyrik', in: *Lyrik des Mittelalters: Probleme und Interpretationen*, ed. by Heinz Bergner, Stuttgart 1983, pp. 7–227.

a. Zur völligen formalen Interpretation eines mittelhochdeutschen Liedes ist es also unerläßlich, auch die Musik zu untersuchen, und das Fehlen vieler Melodien ist von daher besonders zu bedauern. In jedem Fall muß man sich darüber im klaren sein, daß man mit dem 'Text' eines mittelhochdeutschen Liedes nur dessen eine Hälfte besitzt oder betrachtet. (37)

b. Vergleicht man die aus der Reimordnung sich ergebende metrische Struktur dieses Liedes mit dem Bau der Melodie, so zeigt sich die schon anderswo zu beobachtende Tatsache […], daß Metrik und Musik in einer gewissen Spannung stehen, sich nicht vollständig entsprechen. (129)

75. MÜLLER-BLATTAU, JOSEPH: 'Zur Erforschung des einstimmigen deutschen Liedes im Mittelalter', in: *Mf* 10 (1957), pp. 107–113.

a. Es ergibt sich anschließend, daß nicht nur hier, sondern beim gesamten einstimmigen Lied des Mittelalters viele Helfer an der Lösung der vielschichtigen Fragen teilnehmen müssen und daß gegenseitige 'sachliche' Kritik nötig und förderlich ist. (113)

76. NAGEL, BERT: 'Das Musikalische im Dichten der Minnesänger', in: *GRM* 33 (1951/52), pp. 268–278.

a. Dieses Wissen jedoch um das Gesungenwerden des Minnesangs als dessen ausschließlicher Daseinsverwirklichung verpflichtet den Germanisten, die musikhistorische Forschung zu Rate zu ziehen, damit eine lebendige Interpretation der textlich-musikalischen Partitur des Minnesangs möglich werde. Weil in dieser Kunst Strophenform und Melodie 'zusammen' mit dem Text entstanden, konnte das dichterische Wort einen Teil des zu

Leistenden mit Selbstverständlichkeit der Melodie zu bewirken überlassen. Als reines Wortkunstwerk stellt also Minnesang nicht nur quantitativ die bloße Hälfte, sondern auch qualitativ etwas nur Halbes, Unfertiges dar, das der Ergänzung zum musikalischen Klangkunstwerk bedarf. (269)

    b.   Dieses Überraschend-Fremdartige der minnesanglichen Melodik als Gehörerlebnis zu vergegenwärtigen, ist eine dringliche Aufgabe jeder Minnesang Interpretation, damit der Minnesang in seiner Lebenswirklichkeit als ein Stück Mittelalter erfahren werden kann. (278)

77. OBERMAIER, SABINE: *Von Nachtigallen und Handwerkern: 'Dichtung über Dichtung' in Minnesang und Sangspruchdichtung*, Tübingen 1995.

    a.   Dennoch kann auch in diesem Fall nicht 'a priori' von einer Identität zwischen Ich und Autor gesprochen werden, sondern allenfalls von einer Parallelität. (23)

78. OTT, NORBERT H.: 'Mündlichkeit, Schriftlichkeit, Illustration: einiges Grundsätzliche zur Handschriftenillustration, insbesondere in der Volkssprache', in: *Buchmalerei im Bodenseeraum: 13. bis 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Eva Moser, Friedrichshafen 1997, pp. 37–51.

    a.   In der etablierten Schriftkultur des Latein war dieser Stand lange schon erreicht, weshalb lateinische Handschriften entweder der Bebilderung nicht bedurften, da die Informationen über das Schriftmedium allein ins Gedächtnis gelangten, oder Illustrationen den je erreichten Stand von Literarizität unterstrichen, wie im seit der Spätantike gebräuchlichen Autorenbild, das dem Text—wie die Evangelistenporträts den Evangelientexten—erst seine Aura von Wahrheit verleiht. (40)

    b.   Der wohl populärste dort enstandene Codex picturati, die Manessische Liederhandschrift […]—und nicht minder die mit gleichen Bildtypen ausgestattete Weingartner […]—, treibt dieses Verweisungsspiel auf den mündlich-schriftlichen Doppelcharakter der Literatur und auf die Rolle des Autors und Vortragenden in raffinierter Weise auf die Spitze. Schon die Existenz dieses Buches selbst, das mit höchst repräsentativem Anspruch der mündlichen Literaturgattung Lied, die sich in ihrer Aufführung je neu realisiert, die endgültige Form der Schriftlichkeit verleiht, ist, wenn nicht ein Paradoxon, so doch ein höchst bewußtes Spiel mit der zugleich oralen und literarischen Existenz der darin gesammelten Texte. (41)

79. PETERS, URSULA: 'Autorbilder in volkssprachigen Handschriften des Mittelalters: eine Problemskizze', in: *ZfdPh* 119 (2000), pp. 321–368.

    a.   Diese Autorbilder, die in der Großen Heidelberger Liederhandschrift, der Weingartner Liederhandschrift, dem Naglerschen und dem Budapester Fragment den jeweiligen Autoroeuvres vorangestellt sind, haben bei deren literarischer Einschätzung und Funktionsbestimmung schon immer eine bedeutende Rolle gespielt. (322)

80. PETERS, URSULA: 'Ordnungsfunktion – Textillustration – Autorenkonstruktion: zu den Bildern der romanischen und deutschen Liederhandschriften', in: *ZfdA* 130 (2001), pp. 392–430.

    a. Noch deutlicher wird dieser Textbezug bei der Lehrsituation, in der im Codex Manesse—neben 'König Tyro von den Schotten und Fridebrant sin sun' […]—die beiden Winsbecke [sic!] […] dargestellt sind, beziehen sich doch die dem Typus 'magister-cum-discipulis' folgenden Zeigegesten und Demonstrationsgebärden der Protagonisten sehr direkt auf die sich anschließenden Lehrgespräche zwischen Vater und Sohn b[e]z[iehungs]w[eise] Mutter und Tochter. (396)

81. PETZSCH, CHRISTOPH: 'Kontrafaktur und Melodietypus', in: *Mf* 21 (1968), pp. 271–290.

    a. Insofern sei es erlaubt, hier wie dort mit Wendlers Worten von 'verpflichtender Kraft' zu sprechen, mit anderen Worten: von immanentem Anspruch auf Neuverwirklichung. Dies ist jedoch grundsätzlich anderes als bewußtes Nachbilden mittels Kontrafaktur. (284)

    b. Der Melodietypus muß als die elementare und umfassendere, mit ihren Entstehungsbedingungen über das Musikalische ins Mittelalterliche und Archaische überhaupt hinausweisende Erscheinung gelten, deren Voraussetzungen auch diejenige der beabsichtigten Kontrafaktur erhellen können. Sie ist in diesem Gesamtkomplex, wie es scheint, ein Spezialfall der Spätzeit, genauer: der Spätzeit europäischer Einstimmigkeit, die ja nicht erst mit dem Minnesang im 12. Jahrhundert beginnt. Erst auf solchem Hintergrunde gesehen, erhält die Kontrafaktur die ihr zukommende vollere Realität und damit auch ihre Geschichtstiefe. (290)

82. PLENIO, KURT: 'Bausteine zur altdeutschen Strophik', in: *PBB* 42 (1917), pp. 411–502.

    a. Meiner Ansicht nach kann kein Zweifel darüber bestehen, daß sich auch hier wieder die Anwendung der ungebundenen gregorianischen Choralrhythmik, die zu völliger Entstellung der textlichen Scansion führt, als unbrauchbar erwiesen hat. (457f.)

83. RANAWAKE, SILVIA: '"Spruchlieder": Untersuchung zur Frage der lyrischen Gattungen am Beispiel von Walthers Kreuzzugsdichtung', in: *Lied im deutschen Mittelalter: Überlieferung, Typen, Gebrauch*, ed. by Cyril Edwards, Ernst Hellgardt and Norbert H. Ott, Tübingen 1996, pp. 67–79.

    a. Das *Palästinalied* ist bekanntlich Kontrafakt eines provenzalischen Minneliedes provenzalischen Minneliedes, 'Lanquan li jorn son lonc en mai' […] von Jaufre Rudel, repräsentiert aber formal und inhaltlich einen anderen Typ als das *Kreuzlied*. (69)

84. RETTELBACH, JOHANNES: 'Die Bauformen der Töne in der "Jenaer" und in der "Kolmarer Liederhandschrift" im Vergleich', in: *Die 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift':*

Codex – Geschichte – Umfeld, ed. by Jens Haustein and Franz Körndle, Berlin 2010, pp. 81–97.

    a.   Die 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift' (**J**) liefert das bedeutendste musikalische Zeugnis weltlicher Liedkunst aus dem 14. Jahrhundert im deutschsprachigen Raum. (81)

85. RICHTER, ROLAND: *Wie Walther von der Vogelweide ein 'Sänger des Reiches' wurde: eine sozial- und wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zur Rezeption seiner 'Reichsidee' im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Göppingen 1988.

    a.   Es wird uns heute, in anderen gesellschaftlichen Verhältnissen stehend, bei einer insgesamt besseren Einsicht in die mittelalterliche Geschichte, immer deutlicher, daß die Werkinterpretationen des 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhunderts bisweilen inadäquat und ideologisch überfrachtet sind. Dennoch müssen wir feststellen, daß auch heute noch derartige Interpretationsmuster zum Allgemeingut gehören. (2)

86. ROLAND, MARTIN: 'Kunsthistorisches zu den Budapester Fragmenten', in: *Entstehung und Typen mittelalterlicher Lyrikhandschriften: Akten des Grazer Symposiums 13.–17. Oktober 1999*, ed. by Anton Schwob and András Vizkelety, Bern 2001, pp. 207–222.

    a.   Mit der Einbeziehung des kunsthistorischen Aspektes haben Vizkelety und Wirth von Anfang an klargestellt, daß die Bedeutung der Fragmente nicht nur eine germanistische ist, sondern daß auch für die Kunstgeschichte ein interessantes Werk hinzugewonnen werden konnte. (207)

87. ROSMER, STEFAN: Review of Jens Haustein and Franz Körndle, 'Die "Jenaer Liederhandschrift": Codex – Geschichte – Umfeld', in: *Mf* 65 (2012), pp. 156–158.

    a.   Insgesamt haben Autoren, Herausgeber und die Bibliothek mit der Einrichtung der Internetpräsenz ein Instrument geschaffen, das für weitere Forschung Grundlage und Ausgangspunkt sein wird. (158)

88. SCHILLING, MICHAEL and PETER STROHSCHNEIDER (eds): *Wechselspiele: Kommunikationsformen und Gattungsinterferenzen mittelhochdeutscher Lyrik*, Heidelberg 1996.

    a.   Besonders hierbei zeigt sich, daß Minnesang als Ausdruck erlebter Gefühle angesehen wurde und seine Aussagen ohne weitere Unterscheidung zwischen implizitem, explizitem und realem Autor, zwischen implizitem, explizitem und realem Publikum unmittelbar auf den Sänger und die anwesenden Zuhörer bezogen werden konnten. (108)

89. SCHUPP, VOLKER: *Septenar und Bauform: Studien zur 'Auslegung des Vaterunsers', zu 'De VII Sigillis' und zum 'Palästinalied' Walthers von der Vogelweide*, Berlin 1964.

    a.   Ohne Zweifel ist die Sieben-Siegel-Reihe zu irgendeinem Zeitpunkt im *Palästinalied* bewußt als Grundriß und Bauplan angesehen worden. (154)

90. SCHWEIKLE, GÜNTHER: *Reinmar: Lieder*, Stuttgart 1986.

    a. Von Reinmar ist […] keine Melodie erhalten. (59)

91. SCHWEIKLE, GÜNTHER: *Minnesang*, Stuttgart 1989.

    a. Minnesang ist Sprachkunst. Über allen textkritischen Fragen und gehaltlichen Analysen sollte nie vergessen werden, daß die Minnelieder essentiell Sprachkunstwerke auf hohem Niveau sind, in denen Form- und Reimartistik, Sprachklang und Sinndimensionen zu künstlerischer Einheit verschmolzen werden. (218)

92. SCHWEIKLE, GÜNTHER (ed.): *Walther von der Vogelweide: Werke, Gesamtausgabe*, 2 vols, Stuttgart 1998.

    a. Dieser Befund bestätigt auf zweifache Weise die These der Priorität des m[ittel]h[och]d[eutschen] Wortes gegenüber den Melodien: einmal scheint den Sammlern der meisten Handschriften an den Melodien nicht gelegen zu haben. Zweitens scheinen die in allen mittelalterlichen Liedaufzeichnungen fehlenden rhythmischen Kennzeichnungen darauf hinzuweisen, daß sich der Vortragsrhythmus nach dem Rhythmus der Texte richtete, das verständliche Wort also im Vordergrund stand (was die Tendenz der Sammler bestätigte). (44, vol. 2)

93. SPAHR, GEBHARD: *Weingartner Liederhandschrift: ihre Geschichte und ihre Miniaturen*, Weißenhorn 1968.

    a. Auffallend mag sein, daß gerade an den Orten, an denen Liederhandschriften geschrieben wurden, nämlich in Straßburg, Zürich und Konstanz, Dominikaner lebten. Zudem stammte der Dominikanerorden aus der Heimat des Minnesangs, aus Spanien und Südfrankreich. (26f.)

    b. Die Manesse enthält figurenreiche Speise-, Spiel-, Musik-, Jagd-, Kampf- und Tanzszenen. […] In **B** fehlt dies alles. Hier wird auf jegliches Beiwerk verzichtet; dadurch entsteht aber auch größere Klarheit, und das Bildgeschehen ist auf das Wesentliche beschränkt. (78)

    c. Kaiser Heinrich besitzt in **B** kein Schwert, Walther von der Vogelweide und Meinloh von Söflingen u[nter] a[nderen] werden nicht mit einem Spruchband dargestellt wie in **C**. (78)

    d. Die Sänger wollen sich nach Ansicht der Bilder so aufgefaßt wissen. Es braucht also nicht so zu sein, daß der Ritter in der ständischen Gesellschaft mehr galt als der Sänger, sondern beide sind sich gleichgeordnet, sie stammen ja aus demselben Stand, nur wird auf dem einen Bild die Aufgabe des Ritters als Bewaffneter mehr als die des Sängers hervorgehoben. (109)

94. SPECHTLER, FRANZ VIKTOR: 'Der Leich, Lieder zum Thema Heiliges Land und Kreuzzug, "Alterslieder"', in: *Walther von der Vogelweide: Epoche – Werk –*

Wirkung, ed. by Horst Brunner, Gerhard Hahn, Ulrich Müller and Franz Viktor Spechtler, Munich 1996, pp. 192–227.

  a. Es ist die einzige Melodie, die zusammen mit einem Text des Autors auf uns gekommen ist. (208)

  b. Sie erlaubt, die Bauform der Strophe genauer zu bestimmen, als dies in einer nur sprachlich-metrischen Analyse möglich wäre. (208)

  c. Durch den Einsatz dieser stilistischen und formalen (melodischen) Mittel erreicht der Dichter und Komponist eine 'Dichte' an Aussagen, ein 'Gewicht' des Textes, das den Erörterungen des Mittelalters um das Heilige Land durchaus entspricht. (209)

95. TAYLOR, RONALD J.: 'Zur Übertragung der Melodien der Minnesänger', in: *ZfdA* 87 (1956/57), pp. 132–147.

  a. Denn wir haben es eben so sehr mit Dichtern wie mit Musikern zu tun. (133)

  b. Ich möchte aber in der vorliegenden Fassung dieses Liedes ein Beispiel für die Möglichkeit einer harmonischen Fügung metrischer und musikalischer Begriffe sehen, denn das Festsetzen musikwissenschaftlicher Aprioris kann nur zu einseitigen, unbefriedigenden Ergebnissen führen. Der Minnesang ist eine gegliederte Einheit: er hat eine literarische, eine metrische und eine musikalische Seite, deren jede sowohl einen eigenen Sinn wie auch eine Bedeutung im Zusammenhang des Ganzen hat, und die Kunst des Minnesangs besteht eben in dem Gegen- und Ineinander dieser verschiedenen Elemente. Wenn der Forscher diesen Grundsatz aus den Augen verliert, so erleiden seine Untersuchungen bald Schiffbruch. (139)

  c. Von diesen und anderen analytischen Diskrepanzen abgesehen, sind die beiden Melodien in ihrer ganzen Art grundverschieden, und jeder, der sie hintereinander singt, wird sich fragen, was ihnen denn gemeinsam sein könnte. (141)

  d. Walthers ganzes Lied ist in der Tat knapper, präziser und direkter als Rudels, was uns bei dem verschiedenen Charakter ihrer Persönlichkeit und ihrer Dichtung auch nicht wundernehmen darf. (142)

  e. Erstens, weil ich die Notwendigkeit nicht einsehe, Walthers Originalität in Abrede zu stellen und den Eindruck zu erwecken, er sowie seine Zeitgenossen seien in hohem Maße auf fremde Anregung und fremdes Material angewiesen gewesen. (143)

  f. Früher wußten die Literarhistoriker kaum, was sie mit den Forschungsergebnissen der Musikwissenschaftler anfangen sollten; jetzt sind es vor allem musikwissenschaftliche Prädispositionen, die rechtmäßige literarhistorische Erwägungen anscheinend aus dem Feld schlagen wollen. (147)

96. TAYLOR, RONALD J.: *Die Melodien der weltlichen Lieder des Mittelalters*, 2 vols, Stuttgart 1964.

    a. Die schöne, tiefsinnige Melodie ist dorisch und weist durch viele Stilwendungen ihre unverkennbare Ableitung von der Welt des gregorianischen Gesanges auf. Insofern stellen die schweren, ernsten Töne der Melodie die vollkommenste Entsprechung zu dem frommen Geist des Textes dar. (43, vol. 2)

97. TERVOOREN, HELMUT and ULRICH MÜLLER (eds): *Die Jenaer Liederhandschrift*, Göppingen 1972.

    a. Den Wert der Überlieferung unterstreicht die zeitliche Nähe der Aufzeichnung zur Lebenszeit der Autoren. (1)

98. TERVOOREN, HELMUT: 'Ein neuer Fund zu Reinmar von Zweter: zugleich ein Beitrag zu einer m[ittel]d[eutschen]/n[ieder]d[eutschen] Literaturlandschaft', in: *ZfdPh* 102 (1983), pp. 377–391.

    a. Das Bonner Fragment und die m[ittel]d[eutsche]/n[ieder]d[eutsche] Sangspruchdichtung scheinen […] dem lebendigen Literatur- und Musikbetrieb noch verhältnismäßig nahe zu stehen. (390)

99. TERVOOREN, HELMUT: *Sangspruchdichtung*, Stuttgart 1995.

    a. Die Analyse der Melodien hat ergeben, daß sie durchweg durch Variationen aus melodischem Material geringen Umfangs generiert worden sind. Notengetreue Wiederholungen sind selten, Kontraste finden sich kaum. Alles in allem haben die Melodien nur wenig Eigencharakter, sie scheinen indes gerade dadurch besonders als Medium für den Textvortrag—auf den es dem Spruchdichter ja ankam—geeignet gewesen zu sein. (100f.)

    b. Man könnte solche einfache Rezitation als eine musikalische Mitteilungsform bezeichnen, in der sich die Melodie dem Text stark unterordnet, um nicht vom Wichtigen abzulenken, von der Mitteilung. (101)

100. TOUBER, A[NTHONIUS] H[ENDRIKUS]: 'Zur Einheit von Wort und Weise im Minnesang', in: *ZfdA* 93 (1964), pp. 313–320.

    a. Die Melodie ist der verbindende Formfaktor für die Strophen. […] Es dürfte feststehen, daß bei den Folgestrophen der Text sich formal nach dieser Melodie zu richten hatte. (317)

    b. Syntaktische Gliederung, Wortgrenze, Affinität und Silbenzahl der Wörter—diese Aspekte der mittelhochdeutschen Lyrik werden oft durch die Melodie bestimmt. Ich halte es für möglich, daß die Forschung in vielen Fällen ein alle Strophen eines Liedes oder Spruches durchwaltendes System im Gebrauch dieser Elemente aufdecken kann. Es gibt ohne Zweifel noch weitere musikalisch gebundene Form- und Inhaltselemente im Minnesang. So wäre es z[um] B[eispiel] Aufgabe einer eigenen Studie, zu untersuchen, auf welche Weise der Text—sei es formal, sei es inhaltlich—die von

Jammers nachgewiesene melismatische Schlußbildung mitmacht. Aus der Gegenüberstellung von Musik- und Textelementen werden uns noch manche Aufschlüsse über mittelhochdeutsche Form- und Inhaltsfragen erwachsen. (320)

101. VOETZ, LOTHAR: 'Überlieferungsformen mittelhochdeutscher Lyrik', in: *Codex Manesse: Katalog zur Ausstellung vom 12. Juni bis 2. Oktober 1988 Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg*, ed. by Elmar Mittler and Wilfried Werner, Heidelberg 1988, pp. 224–274.

   a. Darüber hinaus stellen sich zu **A** auch sonst mannigfache Probleme der Zuschreibung, in der **A**, obwohl älter als **B** und **C**, allgemein als wenig zuverlässig angesehen wird. (233)

   b. Als weiteres Indiz dafür, daß das Fragment oder dessen unmittelbare Vorlage der Manesseschen Handschrift zeitlich, wenn auch vielleicht nur unwesentlich, vorausgeht, läßt sich die im ganzen ältere Form der Texteinrichtung (beispielsweise Einspaltigkeit, Einzeiligkeit und Art der Initialen) anführen. (250)

   c. Dem widerspricht auch nicht, daß sich die in **C** wie im Troßschen Fragment dem Textcorpus zum Schenken von Limburg vorausgehenden Miniaturen auf den ersten Blick nicht zu entsprechen scheinen. Das in **C**$^\text{a}$ anzutreffende Bild stellt im ganzen nämlich lediglich eine in Anlage, Kostüm und Stil der Zeit angepaßte Modernisierung dar. (251)

102. VOLLMANN, BENEDIKT KONRAD (ed.): *Carmina Burana: Texte und Übersetzungen*, Berlin 2011.

   a. Bei Korth […] ist die (anderwärts überlieferte) Melodie der Walther-Strophe […] auf Str[ophen] 1–5 übertragen worden—möglicherweise zu Unrecht, da die lateinischen Strophen in Versbau, Reimstellung und Zeilenzahl von der deutschen Strophe abweichen. (1237)

   b. Ich glaube eher, daß mit 'Nu lebe ich mir alrest werde' die 'richtige' Weltsicht der epikureischen entgegengesetzt wird, die ja schon durch biblische Anspielungen ('pax et securitas' […]) als verkehrt entlarvt worden war. Im Aufbau der Handschrift leitet Walthers *Palästinalied* über zur eindeutig moralischen Aussage von CB212. (1239)

103. WACHINGER, BURGHART: Art. 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift', in: *VL*, ed. by Kurt Ruh, vol. 4, Berlin 1983, cols 512–516.

   a. Fast völlig fehlt dagegen das Minnelied: außer im Wizlav-Nachtrag gibt es Minnesängerisches nur bei Meister Alexander. (514)

104. WANGENHEIM, WOLFGANG VON: *Das Basler Fragment einer mitteldeutsch-niederdeutschen Liederhandschrift und sein Spruchdichter-Repertoire (Kelin, Fegfeuer)*, Bern 1972.

a. Vielleicht deutet diese graphische Verfeinerung darauf hin, daß das Formbewußtsein besonders und zuerst im niederdeutschen Gebiet entwickelt war—und zwar weil die einzelnen Formen neu und ungewohnt waren. (6)

105. WEIL, BERND A.: *Die Rezeption des Minnesangs in Deutschland seit dem 15. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt am Main 1991.

a. In der Untersuchung ist zu unterscheiden zwischen der vorwissenschaftlichen Rezeption und der über 160 Jahre alten germanistischen Forschung einerseits und der 'produktiven Rezeption' der Literaten andererseits. (7)

b. Angeregt durch mein Studium der Germanistik, Geschichte, Politikwissenschaft und Pädagogik […] möchte ich unter anderem der Frage nachgehen, inwieweit politische Strömungen die Forschungsgeschichte beeinflußten oder gar strukturierten. Gemeint ist damit nicht unbedingt die Beeinflussung der Wissenschaft in ihrem Ergebnis, sondern möglicherweise ist die Auswahl der wissenschaftlichen Fragestellungen abhängig von den jeweiligen politischen Verhältnissen. (8)

c. Es wird zu untersuchen sein, ob die literarische Rezeption ähnlich zeitabhängig strukturiert ist wie die wissenschaftliche. Außerdem soll der Fragestellung nachgegangen werden, ob sich Analoga zu den Ergebnissen der Minnesangforschung auch bei der Rezeption anderer volkssprachlicher Gattungen des Mittelalters finden lassen oder ob der Minnesang aufgrund seines besonderen 'apolitischen' oder 'nicht nationalen' Gegenstands spezifische Rezeptionsbedingungen erkennen läßt. (9f.)

d. Es geht hier vielmehr um die Erarbeitung repräsentativer Längsschnitte und epochenspezifischer Querschnitte mit Hilfe der induktiven Methode. (16)

e. Obwohl man sich zunächst mehr dem 'germanischen Erbe' zuwandte, da das (katholische) Mittelalter in der nach-reformatorischen Zeit als 'finster' galt, begann man in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts, die Lieder der Minnesänger in grundlegenden Sammlungen erstmals einer breiten Öffentlichkeit zugänglich zu machen. (71)

f. Im nationalsozialistischen Staat gab es auch eine sogenannte 'schweigende Philologie', die sich gegen die gängige Lehre und den Konformitätsdruck der völkischen Interpretation behauptete. (146)

g. Insgesamt hat die Minnesang-Forschung in den letzten zwanzig Jahren einen bedeutenden Zuwachs quantitativer als auch qualitativer Art bekommen, obwohl es immer noch 'weiße Flecken', wie beispielsweise in der Aufarbeitung der Rezeptionsgeschichte, gibt. (154)

106. WELKER, LORENZ: 'Melodien und Instrumente', in: *Codex Manesse: Katalog zur Ausstellung vom 12. Juni bis 2. Oktober 1988 Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg*, ed. by Elmar Mittler and Wilfried Werner, Heidelberg 1988, pp. 113–126.

a. Die Annahme der Gleichzeitigkeit von lärmendem Instrumentalspiel und Schachpartie wäre dagegen absurd. (122)

107. WELKER, LORENZ: Art. 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift', in: *MGG2*, ed. by Ludwig Finscher, vol. 4 (Sachteil), Kassel 1996, cols 1455–1460.

   a. Bedauerlich ist nur, daß mit der weitgehenden Beschränkung der Sammlung auf Spruchdichtung nur für einen Teil deutscher Lyrik auch Weisen vorhanden sind. (1459)

108. WENZEL, FRANZISKA: 'Vom Gestus des Zeigens und der Sichtbarkeit künstlerischer Geltung im Codex Manesse', in: *Visualisierungsstrategien in mittelalterlichen Bildern und Texten*, ed. by Horst Wenzel and C. Stephen Jaeger, Berlin 2006, pp. 44–62.

   a. Mir scheint weder die Nähe zur Mündlichkeit vorrangig indiziert zu sein, noch ist die Nähe zur Schrift zwingend anzunehmen. Nahe liegend ist zuallererst, dass die Schriftrolle auf die Dichtung verweist, ob auf ihre mündliche oder schriftliche Form kann und muss nicht mit letzter Sicherheit entschieden werden. (58f.)

109. WILMANNS, WILHELM: *Walther von der Vogelweide*, Halle (Saale) ²1883.

   a. Seine Bedeutung als Tonkünstler, die kaum geringer war, können wir nur ahnen und glauben. (99)

110. WUSTMANN, RUDOLF: 'Walther's Palaestinalied', in: *SIMG* 13 (1912), pp. 247–250.

   a. Mit der musikalischen Form in der R[aphael] Molitor uns Walther's [sic!] *Palaestinaweise* vorgelegt hat […], werden sich die Vertreter der deutschen Philologie kaum befreunden können. (247)

   b. Es ist unmöglich, dies alles über Bord zu werfen und etwa zu meinen, die Dichter hätten ihre hohe Kunst zwar für das Gedicht an sich aufgeboten, sobald sie es aber singend vorgetragen hätten, sei alle Feinheit und Schönheit der Form verwüstet und verwischt worden. (247)

   c. Die mittelhochdeutsche Lyrik aber ist diesem [freien Choralrhythmus], wenn auch noch verwandt, so doch entwachsen gewesen, durch neue, in weltlicher Kunst gereifte Forderungen gesteigert. (247)

   d. Im folgenden soll der Versuch gemacht werden, Walther's [sic!] *Palaestinalied* in einer Gestalt zu geben, die den Gesetzen von Walther's [sic!] lyrischer Rythmik [sic!] entspricht und sich auch enger an das Münstersche Notenbild anschließt, als es die Molitor'sche Form tut. (247)

   e. Es ist nicht undenkbar, daß hier meistersingerische Verzierungslust im Spiele gewesen sei, so gut wie sich der Text ähnliches gefallen lassen mußte. (250)

111. http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pal%C3%A4stinalied

a. In poetischer Form thematisiert es die Teilnahme an einem Kreuzzug und stellt die religiöse Bedeutung des Heiligen Landes aus christlicher Sicht dar.

2. Miniatures in B

i. By Folio[920]

#	Page	*Minnesänger*	Scroll	Communicative gestures (hands/fingers)	Instruments	Communicative situation/ 'Other' communication
1	1	Kaiser Hainrich	M			
2	4	Grave R von Fenis	M	M		
3	9	Her Friderich von Husen	M	M		
4	18	Burgrave von Rietenburg		M		
5	20	Her Meinlo von Sewelingen		M;L		Debate?
6	23	Grave Otte von Bottenlouben		M		
7	26	Her Bliger von Stainach	M		s	
8	28	Her Dietmar von Aste	M			
9	33	Her Hartman von Owe				
10	40	Her Albreht von Iansdorf		M;L		
11	45	Her Hainrich von Ruche	M			
12	51	Maister Hainrich von Veldeg	M			
13	60	Herre Reinmar	M	L		M sings to L (?)
14	73	Her Uolrich von Guotenburg	M	M		
15	76	Her Bernger von Horneim	M	L		M sings to L (?)
16	80	Her H von Morungen	M			
17	109	Her Uolrich von Munegur	M			M presents scroll to venerating pilgrim (?)
18	112	Her Hartwig Raute	O	M		M gives scroll to messenger
19	115	Der Truhsaze von Singenberg	L	L		L gives scroll to M (?)
20	118	Her Wahsmuot von Kunzich				
21	121	Her Hiltebolt von Swanegou	M	O		M gives scroll to other M (?)
22	125	Her Willehalm von Heinz in Burch	M			
23	128	Her Liutolt von Savene	M			
24	131	Herre Rubin		M;L		L dances with M (?)
25	139	Her Walther von der Vogelwaide				

---

[920] Key: M=*Minnesänger*; L=lady; O=other figure (miniscule M, L, O indicate non-performed instruments); h=helm; s=shield; t=with text

ii. By Scroll

#	Page	*Minnesänger*	Scroll	Communicative gestures (hands/fingers)	Instruments	Communicative situation/ 'Other' communication	Images with Scrolls
19	115	Der Truhsaze von Singenberg	L	L		L gives scroll to M (?)	17
13	60	Herre Reinmar	M	L		M sings to L (?)	
15	76	Her Bernger von Horneim	M	L		M sings to L (?)	
2	4	Grave R von Fenis	M	M			
3	9	Her Friderich von Husen	M	M			
14	73	Her Uolrich von Guotenburg	M	M			
21	121	Her Hiltebolt von Swanegou	M	O		M gives scroll to other M (?)	
7	26	Her Bliger von Stainach	M		s		
17	109	Her Uolrich von Munegur	M			M presents scroll to venerating pilgrim (?)	
1	1	Kaiser Hainrich	M				
8	28	Her Dietmar von Aste	M				
11	45	Her Hainrich von Ruche	M				
12	51	Maister Hainrich von Veldeg	M				
16	80	Her H von Morungen	M				
22	125	Her Willehalm von Heinz in Burch	M				
23	128	Her Liutolt von Savene	M				
18	112	Her Hartwig Raute	O	M		M gives scroll to messenger	
4	18	Burgrave von Rietenburg		M			8
6	23	Grave Otte von Bottenlouben		M			
5	20	Her Meinlo von Sewelingen		M;L		Debate?	
24	131	Herre Rubin		M;L		L dances with M (?)	
10	40	Her Albreht von Iansdorf		M;L			
9	33	Her Hartman von Owe					
20	118	Her Wahsmuot von Kunzich					
25	139	Her Walther von der Vogelwaide					

iii. By Orality/Sound

#	Page	*Minnesänger*	Communicative gestures (hands/fingers)	Communicative situation/ 'Other' communication	Instruments	Scroll	Images with sound/orality
19	115	Der Truhsaze von Singenberg	L	L gives scroll to M (?)		L	22
13	60	Herre Reinmar	L	M sings to L (?)		M	
15	76	Her Bernger von Horneim	L	M sings to L (?)		M	
18	112	Her Hartwig Raute	M	M gives scroll to messenger		O	
2	4	Grave R von Fenis	M			M	
3	9	Her Friderich von Husen	M			M	
14	73	Her Uolrich von Guotenburg	M			M	
4	18	Burgrave von Rietenburg	M				
6	23	Grave Otte von Bottenlouben	M				
5	20	Her Meinlo von Sewelingen	M;L	Debate?			
24	131	Herre Rubin	M;L	L dances with M (?)			
10	40	Her Albreht von Iansdorf	M;L				
21	121	Her Hiltebolt von Swanegou	O	M gives scroll to other M (?)		M	
17	109	Her Uolrich von Munegur		M presents scroll to venerating pilgrim (?)		M	
7	26	Her Bliger von Stainach			s	M	
1	1	Kaiser Hainrich				M	
8	28	Her Dietmar von Aste				M	
11	45	Her Hainrich von Ruche				M	
12	51	Maister Hainrich von Veldeg				M	
16	80	Her H von Morungen				M	
22	125	Her Willehalm von Heinz in Burch				M	
23	128	Her Liutolt von Savene				M	
9	33	Her Hartman von Owe					3
20	118	Her Wahsmuot von Kunzich					
25	139	Her Walther von der Vogelwaide					

iv. By Instruments

#	Page	*Minnesänger*	Instruments	Scroll	Communicative gestures (hands/fingers)	Communicative situation/ 'Other' communication	Images with instruments
7	26	Her Bliger von Stainach	s	M			1
19	115	Der Truhsaze von Singenberg		L	L	L gives scroll to M (?)	24
13	60	Herre Reinmar		M	L	M sings to L (?)	
15	76	Her Bernger von Horneim		M	L	M sings to L (?)	
2	4	Grave R von Fenis		M	M		
3	9	Her Friderich von Husen		M	M		
14	73	Her Uolrich von Guotenburg		M	M		
21	121	Her Hiltebolt von Swanegou		M	O	M gives scroll to other M (?)	
17	109	Her Uolrich von Munegur		M		M presents scroll to venerating pilgrim (?)	
1	1	Kaiser Hainrich		M			
8	28	Her Dietmar von Aste		M			
11	45	Her Hainrich von Ruche		M			
12	51	Maister Hainrich von Veldeg		M			
16	80	Her H von Morungen		M			
22	125	Her Willehalm von Heinz in Burch		M			
23	128	Her Liutolt von Savene		M			
18	112	Her Hartwig Raute		O	M	M gives scroll to messenger	
4	18	Burgrave von Rietenburg			M		
6	23	Grave Otte von Bottenlouben			M		
5	20	Her Meinlo von Sewelingen			M;L	Debate?	
24	131	Herre Rubin			M;L	L dances with M (?)	
10	40	Her Albreht von Iansdorf			M;L		
9	33	Her Hartman von Owe					
20	118	Her Wahsmuot von Kunzich					
25	139	Her Walther von der Vogelwaide					

3. Miniatures in C

i. By Folio

#	Folio	*Minnesänger*	Scroll	Communicative gestures (hands/fingers)	Instruments	Communicative situation/ 'Other' communication
1	6r	Keiser Heinrich	M			
2	7r	Kiunig Chuonrat der Junge				Bird hunt
3	8r	Kiunig Tyro von Schotten und Fridebrant sin sun		M		Debate
4	10r	Kiunig Wenzel von Behein		O	o	M acclaimed by musicians
5	11v	Herzoge Heinrich von Pressela		M;O		M receives laurels
6	13r	Margrave Otte von Brandenburg mit dem Pfile		M;L	O	Game of chess
7	14v	Margrave Heinrich von Misen		M;O		Bird hunt
8	17r	Der Herzoge von Anhalte		O		Commentary from battlements
9	18r	Herzoge Johans von Brabant				
10	20r	Grave Ruodolf von Niuwenburg	M	M		
11	22v	Grave Kraft von Toggenburg		M;L		M receives laurels from L
12	24r	Grave Chuonrat von Kilchberg	M;L	M;L		M receives/gives (?) scroll to L
13	26r	Grave Friderich von Liningen		O		Commentary from battlements
14	27r	Grave Otto von Bottenloube	M;O			M gives scroll to messenger
15	29r	Der Marggrave von Hohenburg	M	M		M gives scroll to messenger
16	30r	Her Heinrich von Veldig	M	M		
17	32v	Her Goetfrit von Nifen	M	L	s	Lady refuses scroll
18	42r	Graf Albrecht von Heigerlou		O	h	Commentary from battlements
19	43v	Grave Wernher von Honberg		O		Commentary from battlements
20	46v	Her Jacob von Warte		M;O		M receives laurels and cup while bathing
21	48v	Bruoder Eberhart von Sax	Mt	M;O		M venerates Christ-child

22	52r	Her Walther von Klingen		O		Commentary from battlements
23	54r	Her Ruodolf von Rotenburg		M;L		M receives laurels from L
24	59v	Her Heinrich von Sax		L		L caresses stag?
25	61v	Her Heinrich von Frowenberg				
26	63r	Der von Kiurenberg	[M;L]	M;L		Exchange of scrolls between M and L?
27	64r	Her Dietmar von Ast		M;L		M purchases goods from L
28	66v	Der von Gliers	M			
29	69r	Her Wernher von Tiufen		M		M woos L
30	70v	Her Heinrich von Stretlingin		M;L		M dances with L
31	71v	Her Kristan von Hamle				L pulls M up into castle
32	73r	Her Uolrich von Guotenburg				
33	75v	Her Heinrich von der Muore	M	M;O		M sings poetry to O?
34	76v	Her Heinrich von Morunge	M	L		M gives scroll to L
35	82v	Der Schenke von Limpurg		M		M receives h from L
36	84v	Schenk Uolrich von Winterstetten	M	O		M gives scroll to messenger
37	98r	Her Reinmar der Alte	M	M;L		M sings poetry to L?
38	110r	Her Burkart von Hohenvels	M;L	M;L		Exchange of letter between M and L
39	113v	Her Hesso von Rinach		M		M heals afflicted
40	115r	Der Burggrave von Luenz		M;O		Fight?
41	116v	Her Friderich von Husen	[M]	M;O		M narrates battle of sirens (?)
42	119v	Der Burggrave von Rietenburg	M;O			M gives scroll to messenger
43	120v	Her Milon von Sevelingin	M	M;L		M gives/sings from scroll (?) to L
44	122r	Her Heinrich von Rugge	M			
45	126r	Her Walther von der Vogelweide	M			
46	146r	Her Hiltbolt von Schwangoei		L	O	M dances with Ls
47	149v	Her Wolfran von Eschilbach				
48	151r	Von Singenberg Truchseze ze Sant Gallen		M;L		M receives laurels from L
49	158r	Der von Sachsendorf				M ministers to fellow M

50	159v	Wachsmuot von Kiunzingen				
51	162v	Her Willeheln von Heinzenburg	M;L			Exchange of letter between M and L
52	164v	Her Liutolt von Seven	M;L	L		Exchange of letter between M and L
53	166v	Her Walther von Mezze				
54	169v	Her Rubin	M	L;O		M shoots letter to L
55	178r	Her Bernge von Horhein				M dances with L
56	179v	Der von Johansdorf				M embraces L
57	181v	Endilhart von Adelburg		L		M shows wounded heart to L
58	182v	Her Bligge von Steinach	O	M	s	M dictates to scribe
59	183v	Her Wachsmuot von Miulnhusen				L pierces M's heart
60	184v	Her Hartman von Owe				
61	188r	Her Reinman von Brennenberg		O		M is slaughtered
62	190v	Johans von Ringgenberg		O		Commentary from battlements
63	192v	Albrecht Marschal von Raprechtswile		O	O	Commentary from battlements
64	194r	Her Otto vom Turne				M receives h and s from Ls
[138*]	[196r]				[O]	Battle with music
65	197v	Her Goesli von Ehenhein		O		Commentary from battlements
66	201r	Der von Wildonie	M;L	L		Exchange of letter between M and L
67	202v	Von Suonegge			M;O	Stag hunt
68	203r	Von Scharpfenberg		O		Commentary from battlements
69	205r	Her Chuonrat der Schenke von Landegge		O		M offers gift to O
70	213r	Der Winsbeke		O		Didactic exchange
71	217r	Diu Winsbekin		M;O		Didactic exchange
72	219v	Klingesor von Ungerlant		M;L;O		Wartburgkrieg
73	226v	Kristan von Luppin ein Diuring		O		Commentary from battlements
74	228r	Her Heinrich Herzbolt von Wissense			o	Hog hunt
75	230r	Der Diuring				Siege of castle
76	231r	Winli		M		M given ring and h by Ls

77	237r	Her Uolrich von Liechtenstein				
78	247v	Von Munegiur	M			M gives scroll to messenger
79	248v	Von Raute	O	M		M sends out messenger
80	249v	Her Chuonrat von Altstetten				M and L embrace
81	251r	Her Bruno von Hornberg	L		s	Exchange of letter between M and L
82	252r	Her Hug von Werbenwag				M and L embrace
83	253v	Der Piuller				
84	255r	Von Trosberg	M;O			Exchange of letter between M and O
85	256v	Hartman von Starkenberg				M forges helm; L offers food
86	257v	Von Stadegge		L		M gropes L
87	256v	Her Brunwart von Oughein				M and L hold hands
88	261r	Von Stamhein	M;L			Exchange of letter between M and L
89	262v	Her Goeli		M;O		Game of backgammon
90	264r	Der Tanhuser		M		Hand raised in blessing gesture
91	271r	Von Buochein	[s]	L	O	M offers gift to L; book on shield
92	273r	Her Nithart		M;O		M attacked by/dancing with (?) O
93	281v	Meister Heinrich Teschler		M;L;O		M woos L (naked in bed)
94	285r	Rost Kilcherre ze Sarne		M		L tonsures M; M gropes L
95	290r	Der Hardegger		O		Debate
96	292v	Der Schuolmeister von Esselingen	M;O			Debate/lecture
97	299r	Von Wissenlo		M;L		Sending of 'messenger'
98	300r	Von Wengen		O		M and L embrace
99	302r	Her Pfeffel		L		M fishes and is heralded by L
100	303r	Der Taler	M;O	O		M receives L from O
101	305r	Der tuginthafte Schriber		M;O		Debate
102	308v	Steinmar		O		M serves food to Os
103	311r	Her Alram von Gresten	L	M;L		Reading/debate?
104	312r	Her Reinmar der Vidiller		L	M;s;h	M plays for dancing L
105	313r	Her Hawart				

106	314v	Her Giunther von dem Vorste		L		M offers gift to L
107	316v	Her Friderich der Knecht				M protects L from pursuers
108	318r	Der Burggrave von Regensburg		M;O		Debate?
109	319r	Her Niuniu		M;L		Debate?
110	320v	Her Geltar			M	Hare/fox hunt
111	321v	Her Dietmar der Sezzer		O		Commentary from battlements
112	323r	Her Reinmar von Zweter	O	M		M dictates to scribes (in 'trance')
113	339r	Der iung Misner		O		Gaming and drinking
114	348r	Von Obernburg	M;L	M		Exchange of letter between M and L
115	344v	Bruoder Wernher		M;L;O		Debate?
116	349r	Der Marner		O		Food preparation
117	355r	Sueskint der Jude von Trimperg	M	O		Debate
118	359r	Von Buwenburg		O		Hunting party?
119	361r	Heinrich von Tettingen				M is taken prisoner
120	362r	Ruodolf der Schriber	M;O			M gives letters to messengers; dictates
121	364r	Meister Goetfrit von Strasburg	M	M;O		Debate
122	371r	Meister Johans Hadloub	M	O		M gives letter to L; debate
123	381r	Regenbog		M;O		Discussion in smithy
124	383r	Meister Chuonrat von Wiurzburg	O	M		M dictates to scribe
125	394r	Chuonze von Rosenhein		M		Harvesting
126	395r	Rubin von Ruedeger		M		M sets out on adventure?
127	396r	Der Kol von Niussen		O		Bird hunt
128	397v	Der Diurner		O		Commentary from battlements
129	399r	Meister Heinrich Wrouwenlob		M	O;o	Instruction in music?
130	407r	Meister Friderich von Suonenburg		O		Blessing?
131	410r	Meister Sigeher		M;O	O	M gives/receives cloak (?); commentary from battlements
132	412r	Der wilde Alexander		M;O	O	M hails onlookers on battlements
133	413v	Meister Rumslant		M	O	Preparation for departure; commentary from battlements

134	415v	Spervogil		M;L;O		Debate
135	418r	Boppo		O	m	Debate; instrument in M's hand?
136	422r	Der Litschower		O		Presentation of children
137	423v	Chanzler			O	Musical performance

ii. By Scroll

#	Folio	*Minnesänger*	Scroll	Communicative gestures (hands/fingers)	Instruments	Communicative situation/ 'Other' communication	Images with scrolls
26	63r	Der von Kiurenberg	[M;L]	M;L		Exchange of scrolls between M and L?	41
41	116v	Her Friderich von Husen	[M]	M;O		M narrates battle of sirens (?)	
91	271r	Von Buochein	[s]	L	O	M offers gift to L; book on shield	
103	311r	Her Alram von Gresten	L	M;L		Reading/debate?	
81	251r	Her Bruno von Hornberg	L		s	Exchange of letter between M and L	
17	32v	Her Goetfrit von Nifen	M	L	s	Lady refuses scroll	
34	76v	Her Heinrich von Morunge	M	L		M gives scroll to L	
54	169v	Her Rubin	M	L;O		M shoots letter to L	
15	29r	Der Marggrave von Hohenburg	M	M		M gives scroll to messenger	
10	20r	Grave Ruodolf von Niuwenburg	M	M			
16	30r	Her Heinrich von Veldig	M	M			
43	120v	Her Milon von Sevelingin	M	M;L		M gives/sings from scroll (?) to L	
37	98r	Her Reinmar der Alte	M	M;L		M sings poetry to L?	
121	364r	Meister Goetfrit von Strasburg	M	M;O		Debate	
33	75v	Her Heinrich von der Muore	M	M;O		M sings poetry to O?	
117	355r	Sueskint der Jude von Trimperg	M	O		Debate	
122	371r	Meister Johans Hadloub	M	O		M gives letter to L; debate	
36	84v	Schenk Uolrich von Winterstetten	M	O		M gives scroll to messenger	
78	247v	Von Munegiur	M			M gives scroll to messenger	
1	6r	Keiser Heinrich	M				
28	66v	Der von Gliers	M				
44	122r	Her Heinrich von Rugge	M				
45	126r	Her Walther von der Vogelweide	M				
52	164v	Her Liutolt von Seven	M;L	L		Exchange of letter between M and L	
66	201r	Der von Wildonie	M;L	L		Exchange of letter between M and L	

114	348r	Von Obernburg	M;L	M		Exchange of letter between M and L	
38	110r	Her Burkart von Hohenvels	M;L	M;L		Exchange of letter between M and L	
12	24r	Grave Chuonrat von Kilchberg	M;L	M;L		M receives/gives (?) scroll to L	
51	162v	Her Willeheln von Heinzenburg	M;L			Exchange of letter between M and L	
88	261r	Von Stamhein	M;L			Exchange of letter between M and L	
100	303r	Der Taler	M;O	O		M receives L from O	
96	292v	Der Schuolmeister von Esselingen	M;O			Debate/lecture	
84	255r	Von Trosberg	M;O			Exchange of letter between M and O	
120	362r	Ruodolf der Schriber	M;O			M gives letters to messengers; dictates	
14	27r	Grave Otto von Bottenloube	M;O			M gives scroll to messenger	
42	119v	Der Burggrave von Rietenburg	M;O			M gives scroll to messenger	
21	48v	Bruoder Eberhart von Sax	Mt	M;O		M venerates Christ-child	
58	182v	Her Bligge von Steinach	O	M	s	M dictates to scribe	
124	383r	Meister Chuonrat von Wiurzburg	O	M		M dictates to scribe	
112	323r	Her Reinmar von Zweter	O	M		M dictates to scribes (in 'trance')	
79	248v	Von Raute	O	M		M sends out messenger	
104	312r	Her Reinmar der Vidiller		L	M;s;h	M plays for dancing L	96 [97]
46	146r	Her Hiltbolt von Schwangoei		L	O	M dances with Ls	
24	59v	Her Heinrich von Sax		L		L caresses stag?	
99	302r	Her Pfeffel		L		M fishes and is heralded by L	
86	257v	Von Stadegge		L		M gropes L	
106	314v	Her Giunther von dem Vorste		L		M offers gift to L	
57	181v	Endilhart von Adelburg		L		M shows wounded heart to L	
133	413v	Meister Rumslant		M	O	Preparation for departure; commentary from battlements	
129	399r	Meister Heinrich Wrouwenlob		M	O;o	Instruction in music?	
3	8r	Kiunig Tyro von Schotten und Fridebrant sin sun		M		Debate	
90	264r	Der Tanhuser		M		Hand raised in blessing gesture	
125	394r	Chuonze von Rosenhein		M		Harvesting	

94	285r	Rost Kilcherre ze Sarne		M		L tonsures M; M gropes L	
76	231r	Winli		M		M given ring and h by Ls	
39	113v	Her Hesso von Rinach		M		M heals afflicted	
35	82v	Der Schenke von Limpurg		M		M receives h from L	
126	395r	Rubin von Ruedeger		M		M sets out on adventure?	
29	69r	Her Wernher von Tiufen		M		M woos L	
6	13r	Margrave Otte von Brandenburg mit dem Pfile		M;L	O	Game of chess	
109	319r	Her Niuniu		M;L		Debate?	
30	70v	Her Heinrich von Stretlingin		M;L		M dances with L	
27	64r	Her Dietmar von Ast		M;L		M purchases goods from L	
11	22v	Grave Kraft von Toggenburg		M;L		M receives laurels from L	
23	54r	Her Ruodolf von Rotenburg		M;L		M receives laurels from L	
48	151r	Von Singenberg Truchseze ze Sant Gallen		M;L		M receives laurels from L	
97	299r	Von Wissenlo		M;L		Sending of 'messenger'	
134	415v	Spervogil		M;L;O		Debate	
115	344v	Bruoder Wernher		M;L;O		Debate?	
93	281v	Meister Heinrich Teschler		M;L;O		M woos L (naked in bed)	
72	219v	Klingesor von Ungerlant		M;L;O		Wartburgkrieg	
131	410r	Meister Sigeher		M;O	O	M gives/receives cloak (?); commentary from battlements	
132	412r	Der wilde Alexander		M;O	O	M hails onlookers on battlements	
7	14v	Margrave Heinrich von Misen		M;O		Bird hunt	
101	305r	Der tuginthafte Schriber		M;O		Debate	
108	318r	Der Burggrave von Regensburg		M;O		Debate?	
71	217r	Diu Winsbekin		M;O		Didactic exchange	
123	381r	Regenbog		M;O		Discussion in smithy	
40	115r	Der Burggrave von Luenz		M;O		Fight?	
89	262v	Her Goeli		M;O		Game of backgammon	

92	273r	Her Nithart		M;O		M attacked by/dancing with (?) O	
5	11v	Herzoge Heinrich von Pressela		M;O		M receives laurels	
20	46v	Her Jacob von Warte		M;O		M receives laurels and cup while bathing	
18	42r	Graf Albrecht von Heigerlou		O	h	Commentary from battlements	
135	418r	Boppo		O	m	Debate; instrument in M's hand?	
63	192v	Albrecht Marschal von Raprechtswile		O	O	Commentary from battlements	
4	10r	Kiunig Wenzel von Behein		O	o	M acclaimed by musicians	
127	396r	Der Kol von Niussen		O		Bird hunt	
130	407r	Meister Friderich von Suonenburg		O		Blessing?	
8	17r	Der Herzoge von Anhalte		O		Commentary from battlements	
13	26r	Grave Friderich von Liningen		O		Commentary from battlements	
19	43v	Grave Wernher von Honberg		O		Commentary from battlements	
22	52r	Her Walther von Klingen		O		Commentary from battlements	
62	190v	Johans von Ringgenberg		O		Commentary from battlements	
65	197v	Her Goesli von Ehenhein		O		Commentary from battlements	
68	203r	Von Scharpfenberg		O		Commentary from battlements	
73	226v	Kristan von Luppin ein Diuring		O		Commentary from battlements	
111	321v	Her Dietmar der Sezzer		O		Commentary from battlements	
128	397v	Der Diurner		O		Commentary from battlements	
95	290r	Der Hardegger		O		Debate	
70	213r	Der Winsbeke		O		Didactic exchange	
116	349r	Der Marner		O		Food preparation	
113	339r	Der iung Misner		O		Gaming and drinking	
118	359r	Von Buwenburg		O		Hunting party?	
98	300r	Von Wengen		O		M and L embrace	
61	188r	Her Reinman von Brennenberg		O		M is slaughtered	
69	205r	Her Chuonrat der Schenke von Landegge		O		M offers gift to O	
102	308v	Steinmar		O		M serves food to Os	

136	422r	Der Litschower		O		Presentation of children	
[138*]	[196r]				[O]	Battle with music	
110	320v	Her Geltar			M	Hare/fox hunt	
67	202v	Von Suonegge			M;O	Stag hunt	
74	228r	Her Heinrich Herzbolt von Wissense			o	Hog hunt	
137	423v	Chanzler			O	Musical performance	
2	7r	Kiunig Chuonrat der Junge				Bird hunt	
59	183v	Her Wachsmuot von Miulnhusen				L pierces M's heart	
31	71v	Her Kristan von Hamle				L pulls M up into castle	
80	249v	Her Chuonrat von Altstetten				M and L embrace	
82	252r	Her Hug von Werbenwag				M and L embrace	
87	256v	Her Brunwart von Oughein				M and L hold hands	
55	178r	Her Bernge von Horhein				M dances with L	
56	179v	Der von Johansdorf				M embraces L	
85	256v	Hartman von Starkenberg				M forges helm; L offers food	
119	361r	Heinrich von Tettingen				M is taken prisoner	
49	158r	Der von Sachsendorf				M ministers to fellow M	
107	316v	Her Friderich der Knecht				M protects L from pursuers	
64	194r	Her Otto vom Turne				M receives h and s from Ls	
75	230r	Der Diuring				Siege of castle	
9	18r	Herzoge Johans von Brabant					
25	61v	Her Heinrich von Frowenberg					
32	73r	Her Uolrich von Guotenburg					
47	149v	Her Wolfran von Eschilbach					
50	159v	Wachsmuot von Kiunzingen					
53	166v	Her Walther von Mezze					
60	184v	Her Hartman von Owe					
77	237r	Her Uolrich von Liechtenstein					
83	253v	Der Piuller					

| 105 | 313r | Her Hawart | | | | | |

iii. By Orality/Sound

#	Folio	*Minnesänger*	Communicative gestures (hands/fingers)	Communicative situation/ 'Other' communication	Instruments	Scroll	Images with sound/orality
52	164v	Her Liutolt von Seven	L	Exchange of letter between M and L		M;L	127 [128]
66	201r	Der von Wildonie	L	Exchange of letter between M and L		M;L	
24	59v	Her Heinrich von Sax	L	L caresses stag?			
17	32v	Her Goetfrit von Nifen	L	Lady refuses scroll	s	M	
46	146r	Her Hiltbolt von Schwangoei	L	M dances with Ls	O		
99	302r	Her Pfeffel	L	M fishes and is heralded by L			
34	76v	Her Heinrich von Morunge	L	M gives scroll to L		M	
86	257v	Von Stadegge	L	M gropes L			
106	314v	Her Giunther von dem Vorste	L	M offers gift to L			
91	271r	Von Buochein	L	M offers gift to L; book on shield	O	[s]	
104	312r	Her Reinmar der Vidiller	L	M plays for dancing L	M;s;h		
57	181v	Endilhart von Adelburg	L	M shows wounded heart to L			
54	169v	Her Rubin	L;O	M shoots letter to L		M	
3	8r	Kiunig Tyro von Schotten und Fridebrant sin sun	M	Debate			
114	348r	Von Obernburg	M	Exchange of letter between M and L		M;L	
90	264r	Der Tanhuser	M	Hand raised in blessing gesture			
125	394r	Chuonze von Rosenhein	M	Harvesting			
129	399r	Meister Heinrich Wrouwenlob	M	Instruction in music?	O;o		
94	285r	Rost Kilcherre ze Sarne	M	L tonsures M; M gropes L			
58	182v	Her Bligge von Steinach	M	M dictates to scribe	s	O	
124	383r	Meister Chuonrat von Wiurzburg	M	M dictates to scribe		O	
112	323r	Her Reinmar von Zweter	M	M dictates to scribes (in 'trance')		O	
76	231r	Winli	M	M given ring and h by Ls			
15	29r	Der Marggrave von Hohenburg	M	M gives scroll to messenger		M	

376

39	113v	Her Hesso von Rinach	M	M heals afflicted		
35	82v	Der Schenke von Limpurg	M	M receives h from L		
79	248v	Von Raute	M	M sends out messenger		O
126	395r	Rubin von Ruedeger	M	M sets out on adventure?		
29	69r	Her Wernher von Tiufen	M	M woos L		
133	413v	Meister Rumslant	M	Preparation for departure; commentary from battlements	O	
10	20r	Grave Ruodolf von Niuwenburg	M			M
16	30r	Her Heinrich von Veldig	M			M
109	319r	Her Niuniu	M;L	Debate?		
38	110r	Her Burkart von Hohenvels	M;L	Exchange of letter between M and L		M;L
26	63r	Der von Kiurenberg	M;L	Exchange of scrolls between M and L?		[M;L]
6	13r	Margrave Otte von Brandenburg mit dem Pfile	M;L	Game of chess	O	
30	70v	Her Heinrich von Stretlingin	M;L	M dances with L		
43	120v	Her Milon von Sevelingin	M;L	M gives/sings from scroll (?) to L		M
27	64r	Her Dietmar von Ast	M;L	M purchases goods from L		
11	22v	Grave Kraft von Toggenburg	M;L	M receives laurels from L		
23	54r	Her Ruodolf von Rotenburg	M;L	M receives laurels from L		
48	151r	Von Singenberg Truchseze ze Sant Gallen	M;L	M receives laurels from L		
12	24r	Grave Chuonrat von Kilchberg	M;L	M receives/gives (?) scroll to L		M;L
37	98r	Her Reinmar der Alte	M;L	M sings poetry to L?		M
103	311r	Her Alram von Gresten	M;L	Reading/debate?		L
97	299r	Von Wissenlo	M;L	Sending of 'messenger'		
134	415v	Spervogil	M;L;O	Debate		
115	344v	Bruoder Wernher	M;L;O	Debate?		
93	281v	Meister Heinrich Teschler	M;L;O	M woos L (naked in bed)		
72	219v	Klingesor von Ungerlant	M;L;O	Wartburgkrieg		

7	14v	Margrave Heinrich von Misen	M;O	Bird hunt			
121	364r	Meister Goetfrit von Strasburg	M;O	Debate		M	
101	305r	Der tuginthafte Schriber	M;O	Debate			
108	318r	Der Burggrave von Regensburg	M;O	Debate?			
71	217r	Diu Winsbekin	M;O	Didactic exchange			
123	381r	Regenbog	M;O	Discussion in smithy			
40	115r	Der Burggrave von Luenz	M;O	Fight?			
89	262v	Her Goeli	M;O	Game of backgammon			
92	273r	Her Nithart	M;O	M attacked by/dancing with (?) O			
131	410r	Meister Sigeher	M;O	M gives/receives cloak (?); commentary from battlements	O		
132	412r	Der wilde Alexander	M;O	M hails onlookers on battlements	O		
41	116v	Her Friderich von Husen	M;O	M narrates battle of sirens (?)		[M]	
5	11v	Herzoge Heinrich von Pressela	M;O	M receives laurels			
20	46v	Her Jacob von Warte	M;O	M receives laurels and cup while bathing			
33	75v	Her Heinrich von der Muore	M;O	M sings poetry to O?		M	
21	48v	Bruoder Eberhart von Sax	M;O	M venerates Christ-child		Mt	
127	396r	Der Kol von Niussen	O	Bird hunt			
130	407r	Meister Friderich von Suonenburg	O	Blessing?			
18	42r	Graf Albrecht von Heigerlou	O	Commentary from battlements	h		
63	192v	Albrecht Marschal von Raprechtswile	O	Commentary from battlements	O		
8	17r	Der Herzoge von Anhalte	O	Commentary from battlements			
13	26r	Grave Friderich von Liningen	O	Commentary from battlements			
19	43v	Grave Wernher von Honberg	O	Commentary from battlements			
22	52r	Her Walther von Klingen	O	Commentary from battlements			
62	190v	Johans von Ringgenberg	O	Commentary from battlements			
65	197v	Her Goesli von Ehenhein	O	Commentary from battlements			
68	203r	Von Scharpfenberg	O	Commentary from battlements			
73	226v	Kristan von Luppin ein Diuring	O	Commentary from battlements			

111	321v	Her Dietmar der Sezzer	O	Commentary from battlements		
128	397v	Der Diurner	O	Commentary from battlements		
117	355r	Sueskint der Jude von Trimperg	O	Debate		M
95	290r	Der Hardegger	O	Debate		
135	418r	Boppo	O	Debate; instrument in M's hand?	m	
70	213r	Der Winsbeke	O	Didactic exchange		
116	349r	Der Marner	O	Food preparation		
113	339r	Der iung Misner	O	Gaming and drinking		
118	359r	Von Buwenburg	O	Hunting party?		
4	10r	Kiunig Wenzel von Behein	O	M acclaimed by musicians	o	
98	300r	Von Wengen	O	M and L embrace		
122	371r	Meister Johans Hadloub	O	M gives letter to L; debate		M
36	84v	Schenk Uolrich von Winterstetten	O	M gives scroll to messenger		M
61	188r	Her Reinman von Brennenberg	O	M is slaughtered		
69	205r	Her Chuonrat der Schenke von Landegge	O	M offers gift to O		
100	303r	Der Taler	O	M receives L from O		M;O
102	308v	Steinmar	O	M serves food to Os		
136	422r	Der Litschower	O	Presentation of children		
2	7r	Kiunig Chuonrat der Junge		Bird hunt		
96	292v	Der Schuolmeister von Esselingen		Debate/lecture		M;O
81	251r	Her Bruno von Hornberg		Exchange of letter between M and L	s	L
51	162v	Her Willeheln von Heinzenburg		Exchange of letter between M and L		M;L
88	261r	Von Stamhein		Exchange of letter between M and L		M;L
84	255r	Von Trosberg		Exchange of letter between M and O		M;O
110	320v	Her Geltar		Hare/fox hunt	M	
74	228r	Her Heinrich Herzbolt von Wissense		Hog hunt	o	
59	183v	Her Wachsmuot von Miulnhusen		L pierces M's heart		
31	71v	Her Kristan von Hamle		L pulls M up into castle		

80	249v	Her Chuonrat von Altstetten		M and L embrace			
82	252r	Her Hug von Werbenwag		M and L embrace			
87	256v	Her Brunwart von Oughein		M and L hold hands			
55	178r	Her Bernge von Horhein		M dances with L			
56	179v	Der von Johansdorf		M embraces L			
85	256v	Hartman von Starkenberg		M forges helm; L offers food			
120	362r	Ruodolf der Schriber		M gives letters to messengers; dictates	M;O		
78	247v	Von Munegiur		M gives scroll to messenger	M		
14	27r	Grave Otto von Bottenloube		M gives scroll to messenger	M;O		
42	119v	Der Burggrave von Rietenburg		M gives scroll to messenger	M;O		
119	361r	Heinrich von Tettingen		M is taken prisoner			
49	158r	Der von Sachsendorf		M ministers to fellow M			
107	316v	Her Friderich der Knecht		M protects L from pursuers			
64	194r	Her Otto vom Turne		M receives h and s from Ls			
137	423v	Chanzler		Musical performance	O		
75	230r	Der Diuring		Siege of castle			
67	202v	Von Suonegge		Stag hunt	M;O		
1	6r	Keiser Heinrich				M	
28	66v	Der von Gliers				M	
44	122r	Her Heinrich von Rugge				M	
45	126r	Her Walther von der Vogelweide				M	
[138*]	[196r]			Battle with music	[O]		
9	18r	Herzoge Johans von Brabant					10
25	61v	Her Heinrich von Frowenberg					
32	73r	Her Uolrich von Guotenburg					
47	149v	Her Wolfran von Eschilbach					
50	159v	Wachsmuot von Kiunzingen					
53	166v	Her Walther von Mezze					
60	184v	Her Hartman von Owe					

77	237r	Her Uolrich von Liechtenstein					
83	253v	Der Piuller					
105	313r	Her Hawart					

iv. By Instruments

#	Folio	*Minnesänger*	Instruments	Scroll	Communicative gestures (hands/fingers)	Communicative situation/ 'Other' communication	Images with instruments
110	320v	Her Geltar	M			Hare/fox hunt	19 [20]
67	202v	Von Suonegge	M;O			Stag hunt	
104	312r	Her Reinmar der Vidiller	M;s;h		L	M plays for dancing L	
135	418r	Boppo	m		O	Debate; instrument in M's hand?	
6	13r	Margrave Otte von Brandenburg mit dem Pfile	O		M;L	Game of chess	
46	146r	Her Hiltbolt von Schwangoei	O		L	M dances with Ls	
63	192v	Albrecht Marschal von Raprechtswile	O		O	Commentary from battlements	
91	271r	Von Buochein	O	[s]	L	M offers gift to L; book on shield	
131	410r	Meister Sigeher	O		M;O	M gives/receives cloak (?); commentary from battlements	
132	412r	Der wilde Alexander	O		M;O	M hails onlookers on battlements	
133	413v	Meister Rumslant	O		M	Preparation for departure; commentary from battlements	
137	423v	Chanzler	O			Musical performance	
129	399r	Meister Heinrich Wrouwenlob	O;o		M	Instruction in music?	
74	228r	Her Heinrich Herzbolt von Wissense	o			Hog hunt	
4	10r	Kiunig Wenzel von Behein	o		O	M acclaimed by musicians	
18	42r	Graf Albrecht von Heigerlou	h		O	Commentary from battlements	
17	32v	Her Goetfrit von Nifen	s	M	L	Lady refuses scroll	
58	182v	Her Bligge von Steinach	s	O	M	M dictates to scribe	
81	251r	Her Bruno von Hornberg	s	L		Exchange of letter between M and L	
[138*]	[196r]		[O]			Battle with music	
1	6r	Keiser Heinrich		M			118
2	7r	Kiunig Chuonrat der Junge				Bird hunt	
3	8r	Kiunig Tyro von Schotten und Fridebrant			M	Debate	

		sin sun				
5	11v	Herzoge Heinrich von Pressela			M;O	M receives laurels
7	14v	Margrave Heinrich von Misen			M;O	Bird hunt
8	17r	Der Herzoge von Anhalte			O	Commentary from battlements
9	18r	Herzoge Johans von Brabant				
10	20r	Grave Ruodolf von Niuwenburg		M	M	
11	22v	Grave Kraft von Toggenburg			M;L	M receives laurels from L
12	24r	Grave Chuonrat von Kilchberg		M;L	M;L	M receives/gives (?) scroll to L
13	26r	Grave Friderich von Liningen			O	Commentary from battlements
14	27r	Grave Otto von Bottenloube		M;O		M gives scroll to messenger
15	29r	Der Marggrave von Hohenburg		M	M	M gives scroll to messenger
16	30r	Her Heinrich von Veldig		M	M	
19	43v	Grave Wernher von Honberg			O	Commentary from battlements
20	46v	Her Jacob von Warte			M;O	M receives laurels and cup while bathing
21	48v	Bruoder Eberhart von Sax		Mt	M;O	M venerates Christ-child
22	52r	Her Walther von Klingen			O	Commentary from battlements
23	54r	Her Ruodolf von Rotenburg			M;L	M receives laurels from L
24	59v	Her Heinrich von Sax			L	L caresses stag?
25	61v	Her Heinrich von Frowenberg				
26	63r	Der von Kiurenberg		[M;L]	M;L	Exchange of scrolls between M and L?
27	64r	Her Dietmar von Ast			M;L	M purchases goods from L
28	66v	Der von Gliers		M		
29	69r	Her Wernher von Tiufen			M	M woos L
30	70v	Her Heinrich von Stretlingin			M;L	M dances with L
31	71v	Her Kristan von Hamle				L pulls M up into castle
32	73r	Her Uolrich von Guotenburg				
33	75v	Her Heinrich von der Muore		M	M;O	M sings poetry to O?
34	76v	Her Heinrich von Morunge		M	L	M gives scroll to L

#	Folio	Name				Description	
35	82v	Der Schenke von Limpurg			M	M receives h from L	
36	84v	Schenk Uolrich von Winterstetten		M	O	M gives scroll to messenger	
37	98r	Her Reinmar der Alte		M	M;L	M sings poetry to L?	
38	110r	Her Burkart von Hohenvels		M;L	M;L	Exchange of letter between M and L	
39	113v	Her Hesso von Rinach			M	M heals afflicted	
40	115r	Der Burggrave von Luenz			M;O	Fight?	
41	116v	Her Friderich von Husen		[M]	M;O	M narrates battle of sirens (?)	
42	119v	Der Burggrave von Rietenburg		M;O		M gives scroll to messenger	
43	120v	Her Milon von Sevelingin		M	M;L	M gives/sings from scroll (?) to L	
44	122r	Her Heinrich von Rugge		M			
45	126r	Her Walther von der Vogelweide		M			
47	149v	Her Wolfran von Eschilbach					
48	151r	Von Singenberg Truchseze ze Sant Gallen			M;L	M receives laurels from L	
49	158r	Der von Sachsendorf				M ministers to fellow M	
50	159v	Wachsmuot von Kiunzingen					
51	162v	Her Willeheln von Heinzenburg		M;L		Exchange of letter between M and L	
52	164v	Her Liutolt von Seven		M;L	L	Exchange of letter between M and L	
53	166v	Her Walther von Mezze					
54	169v	Her Rubin		M	L;O	M shoots letter to L	
55	178r	Her Bernge von Horhein				M dances with L	
56	179v	Der von Johansdorf				M embraces L	
57	181v	Endilhart von Adelburg			L	M shows wounded heart to L	
59	183v	Her Wachsmuot von Miulnhusen				L pierces M's heart	
60	184v	Her Hartman von Owe					
61	188r	Her Reinman von Brennenberg			O	M is slaughtered	
62	190v	Johans von Ringgenberg			O	Commentary from battlements	
64	194r	Her Otto vom Turne				M receives h and s from Ls	
65	197v	Her Goesli von Ehenhein			O	Commentary from battlements	

66	201r	Der von Wildonie		M;L	L	Exchange of letter between M and L	
68	203r	Von Scharpfenberg			O	Commentary from battlements	
69	205r	Her Chuonrat der Schenke von Landegge			O	M offers gift to O	
70	213r	Der Winsbeke			O	Didactic exchange	
71	217r	Diu Winsbekin			M;O	Didactic exchange	
72	219v	Klingesor von Ungerlant			M;L;O	Wartburgkrieg	
73	226v	Kristan von Luppin ein Diuring			O	Commentary from battlements	
75	230r	Der Diuring				Siege of castle	
76	231r	Winli			M	M given ring and h by Ls	
77	237r	Her Uolrich von Liechtenstein					
78	247v	Von Munegiur		M		M gives scroll to messenger	
79	248v	Von Raute		O	M	M sends out messenger	
80	249v	Her Chuonrat von Altstetten				M and L embrace	
82	252r	Her Hug von Werbenwag				M and L embrace	
83	253v	Der Piuller					
84	255r	Von Trosberg		M;O		Exchange of letter between M and O	
85	256v	Hartman von Starkenberg				M forges helm; L offers food	
86	257v	Von Stadegge			L	M gropes L	
87	256v	Her Brunwart von Oughein				M and L hold hands	
88	261r	Von Stamhein		M;L		Exchange of letter between M and L	
89	262v	Her Goeli			M;O	Game of backgammon	
90	264r	Der Tanhuser			M	Hand raised in blessing gesture	
92	273r	Her Nithart			M;O	M attacked by/dancing with (?) O	
93	281v	Meister Heinrich Teschler			M;L;O	M woos L (naked in bed)	
94	285r	Rost Kilcherre ze Sarne			M	L tonsures M; M gropes L	
95	290r	Der Hardegger			O	Debate	
96	292v	Der Schuolmeister von Esselingen		M;O		Debate/lecture	
97	299r	Von Wissenlo			M;L	Sending of 'messenger'	
98	300r	Von Wengen			O	M and L embrace	

99	302r	Her Pfeffel			L	M fishes and is heralded by L	
100	303r	Der Taler		M;O	O	M receives L from O	
101	305r	Der tuginthafte Schriber			M;O	Debate	
102	308v	Steinmar			O	M serves food to Os	
103	311r	Her Alram von Gresten		L	M;L	Reading/debate?	
105	313r	Her Hawart					
106	314v	Her Giunther von dem Vorste			L	M offers gift to L	
107	316v	Her Friderich der Knecht				M protects L from pursuers	
108	318r	Der Burggrave von Regensburg			M;O	Debate?	
109	319r	Her Niuniu			M;L	Debate?	
111	321v	Her Dietmar der Sezzer			O	Commentary from battlements	
112	323r	Her Reinmar von Zweter		O	M	M dictates to scribes (in 'trance')	
113	339r	Der iung Misner			O	Gaming and drinking	
114	348r	Von Obernburg		M;L	M	Exchange of letter between M and L	
115	344v	Bruoder Wernher			M;L;O	Debate?	
116	349r	Der Marner			O	Food preparation	
117	355r	Sueskint der Jude von Trimperg		M	O	Debate	
118	359r	Von Buwenburg			O	Hunting party?	
119	361r	Heinrich von Tettingen				M is taken prisoner	
120	362r	Ruodolf der Schriber		M;O		M gives letters to messengers; dictates	
121	364r	Meister Goetfrit von Strasburg		M	M;O	Debate	
122	371r	Meister Johans Hadloub		M	O	M gives letter to L; debate	
123	381r	Regenbog			M;O	Discussion in smithy	
124	383r	Meister Chuonrat von Wiurzburg		O	M	M dictates to scribe	
125	394r	Chuonze von Rosenhein			M	Harvesting	
126	395r	Rubin von Ruedeger			M	M sets out on adventure?	
127	396r	Der Kol von Niussen			O	Bird hunt	
128	397v	Der Diurner			O	Commentary from battlements	
130	407r	Meister Friderich von Suonenburg			O	Blessing?	

134	415v	Spervogil			M;L;O	Debate	
136	422r	Der Litschower			O	Presentation of children	

4. List of Websites[921]

i. Academic Blogs/Institutional Websites

http://music.uiowa.edu/people/elizabeth-aubrey

http://www.mediaevistik.germanistik.uni-wuerzburg.de/mitarbeiter/professoren_und_mitarbeiter_im_ruhestand/brunner_horst/ausgewaehlte_monographien_pa_editionen_sammelbaende/

http://english.yale.edu/faculty-staff/ardis-butterfield

http://www.music.utoronto.ca/faculty/faculty_members/faculty_a_to_m/john_haines.htm

http://jpehs.wordpress.com/

http://eeleach.wordpress.com/

http://mlewon.wordpress.com/

http://mlewon.wordpress.com/2012/11/05/frauenlob-miniature/

http://www.bweil.de/start.html

ii. Manuscripts

[**A**]

http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpg357/0019

[**B**]

http://digital.wlb-stuttgart.de/purl/bsz319421317

[**C**]

http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpg848

[**E**]

http://epub.ub.uni-muenchen.de/10638/

[**J**]

http://www.urmel-dl.de/Projekte/JenaerLiederhandschrift

[**M**]

http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0008/bsb00085130/images/

[**Z**]

http://archive.thulb.uni-jena.de/hisbest/receive/HisBest_cbu_00008634

---

[921] All websites last accessed on 14 September 2013.

iii. Wikipedia

http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ankeruhr

http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ewald_Jammers

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gangsta_rap

http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pal%C3%A4stinalied

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pal%C3%A4stinalied

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Von_der_Hagen

http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Walter_Georgii_%28Pianist%29

iv. CD Covers

[50 Cent]

http://shadyrecords.com/album/get-rich-or-die-tryin/

[Katy Perry]

http://www.amazon.co.uk/gp/customer-media/product-gallery/B003P2V5FY/

[Jonas Kaufmann]

http://www.deccaclassics.com/gb/cat/4781528

[Anne-Sophie Mutter]

http://www.deutschegrammophon.com/en/cat/4775925

v. Youtube

[Ankeruhr]

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wxiwUlFtgq0

[Palästinalied]

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rDKelcZWRT0

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-IO6GaVqfGU

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_R8viSgLTVM

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=THKurgSmomM

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=haRVJvWRJ30

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jFK5b7cKnYU

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mf4Y90VHW5g

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CwoZ6gv4ZN0

[Robin Hood]

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aTej24Xg-74

vi. Other

http://www.ahrc.ac.uk/Funded-Research/Funded-themes-and-programmes/Strategic-programmes/Pages/Religion-and-Society.aspx

http://www.bbc.co.uk/proms/whats-on/2013/july-30

http://www.bbc.co.uk/proms/whats-on/2013/august-04/14656

http://www.bridgemaneducation.com/ImageView.aspx?result=8&balid=288301

http://disney.wikia.com/wiki/Alan-A-Dale

http://www.mod-langs.ox.ac.uk/performingmedievaltext/

http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/118917?redirectedFrom=minnesinger#eid

http://www.vhghessen.de/mhg/

Bibliography

[N/A]: Art. 'Vierhebigkeit', in: *RML*, ed. by Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, vol. 3 (Sachteil), Mainz 1967, p. 1032.

---: Art. 'Minnesinger', in: *OED*, ed. by J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, vol. 9, Oxford 1989a, p. 822.

---: Art. 'Re-', in: *OED*, ed. by J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, vol. 13, Oxford 1989b, pp. 247–251.

---: Art. 'Troubadour', in: *OED*, ed. by J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, vol. 18, Oxford 1989c, pp. 589–590.

AARBURG, URSULA: 'Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Motiv und Tonart im mittelalterlichen Liede, insbesondere im Liede um 1200', in: *Kongress-Bericht Gesellschaft für Musikforschung Lüneburg 1950*, ed. by Hans Albrecht, Helmuth Osthoff and Walter Wiora, Kassel 1950, pp. 62–65.

---: *Singweisen zur Liebeslyrik der deutschen Frühe*, Düsseldorf 1956.

---: 'Melodien zum frühen deutschen Minnesang: eine kritische Bestandsaufnahme', in: *ZfdA* 87 (1956/57), pp. 24–45.

---: Art. 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift', in: *MGG1*, ed. by Friedrich Blume, vol. 6, Kassel 1957a, cols 1868–1872.

---: 'Muster für die Edition mittelalterlicher Liedmelodien', in: *Mf* 10 (1957b), pp. 209–217.

---: 'Melodien zum frühen deutschen Minnesang: eine kritische Bestandsaufnahme', in: *Der deutsche Minnesang: Aufsätze zu seiner Erforschung*, ed. by Hans Fromm, Bad Homburg 1961, pp. 378–423.

---: 'Probleme um die Melodien des Minnesangs', in: *DU* 19 (2/1967), pp. 98–118.

---: Art. 'Walther von der Vogelweide', in: *MGG1*, ed. by Friedrich Blume, vol. 14, Kassel 1968, cols 216–219.

---: 'Probleme um die Melodien des Minnesangs', in: *Poets and Singers: on Latin and Vernacular Monophonic Song*, ed. by Elizabeth Aubrey, Farnham 2009, pp. 319–339.

ABBATE, CAROLYN: *Unsung Voices: Opera and Musical Narrative in the Nineteenth Century*, Princeton 1991.

ABERT, ANNA AMALIE: 'Das Nachleben des Minnesangs im liturgischen Spiel', in: *Mf* 1 (1948), pp. 95–105.

ACKERMANN, FRIEDRICH: 'Zum Verhältnis von Wort und Weise im Minnesang', in: *WW* 9 (1959), pp. 300–311.

ADER, DOROTHEA: 'Walther von der Vogelweide: Herzeliebez frowelîn', in: *DU* 19 (2/1967), pp. 65–75.

AMTSTÄTTER, MARK EMANUEL: 'Ihc wil singhen in der nuwen wise eyn lit: die Sub-Strophik Wizlavs von Rügen und die Einheit von Wort und Ton im Minnesang', in: *PBB* 124 (2002), pp. 466–483.

ANGLÈS, HIGINI: 'Musikalische Beziehungen zwischen Deutschland und Spanien in der Zeit vom 5. bis 14. Jahrhundert', in: *AfMw* 16 (1959), pp. 5–20.

ARNTZ, MICHAEL: *Hugo Riemann (1849–1919): Leben, Werk und Wirkung*, Cologne 1999.

ASHCROFT, JEFFREY: 'Ungefüege doene: Apocrypha in Manuscript E and the Reception of Walter's Minnesang', in: *OGS* 13 (1982), pp. 57–85.

ATCHISON, MARY: *The Chansonnier of Oxford Bodleian MS Douce 308: Essays and Complete Edition of Texts*, Aldershot 2005.

AUBREY, ELIZABETH: 'The Dialectic between Occitania and France in the Thirteenth Century', in: *EMH* 16 (1997), pp. 1–53.

---: Review of John Haines, 'Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères: the Changing Identity of Medieval Music', in: *Nt* 62 (2005), pp. 387–389.

BARTSCH, KARL: *Deutsche Liederdichter des zwölften bis vierzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart [2]1879.

---: *Untersuchungen zur Jenaer Liederhandschrift*, Leipzig 1923.

BEATIE, BRUCE A.: *Strophic Form in Medieval Lyric: a Formal-Comparative Study of the German Strophes of the 'Carmina Burana'*, Harvard 1967.

---: Review of Barbara Garvey Seagrave and Wesley Thomas, 'The Songs of the Minnesingers', in: *MLN* 83 (1968), pp. 469–474.

---: Review of Barbara Garvey Seagrave and Wesley Thomas, 'The Songs of the Minnesinger, Prince Wizlav of Rügen', in: *MLN* 84 (1969), pp. 815–818.

BECKER, CARL FERDINAND: Review of Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen, 'Die Minnesinger des 12., 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts', in: *NZfM* 13 (1840), pp. 111–112.

BEER, ELLEN J.: 'Die Bilderzyklen mittelhochdeutscher Handschriften aus Regensburg und seinem Umkreis', in: *Regensburger Buchmalerei: von frühkarolingischer Zeit bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters*, ed. by Florentine Mütherich and Karl Dachs, Munich 1987, pp. 69–74.

BENT, IAN: Art. 'Aubry, Pierre', in: *NGrove*, ed. by Stanley Sadie, vol. 2, London 2001a, pp. 160–161.

---: Art. 'Gennrich, Friedrich', in: *NGrove*, ed. by Stanley Sadie, vol. 9, London 2001b, pp. 653–655.

BERGMANN, ROBERT: 'Albrecht von Johansdorf und seine Stellung im deutschen Minnesang', in: *DU* 19 (2/1967), pp. 32–50.

BERTAU, KARL: 'Stil und Klage beim späten Neidhart', in: *DU* 19 (2/1967), pp. 76–97.

BEYSCHLAG, SIEGFRIED: Review of Burkhard Kippenberg, 'Der Rhythmus im Minnesang: eine Kritik der literar- und musikhistorischen Forschung; mit einer Übersicht über die musikalischen Quellen', in: *Gk* 5 (1964), pp. 264–265.

BINKLEY, THOMAS: Review of James V. McMahon, 'The Music of Early Minnesang', in: *Sm* 67 (1992), pp. 723–725.

BINKLEY, THOMAS and STUDIO DER FRÜHEN MUSIK: *Minnesang und Spruchdichtung ca. 1200–1320*, Telefunken 1966.

BISCHOFF, BERNHARD: *Carmina Burana: Facsimile Reproduction of the Manuscript Clm 4660 and Clm 4660a*, Brooklyn 1967.

BITTINGER, WERNER: *Studien zur musikalischen Textkritik des mittelalterlichen Liedes*, Würzburg 1953.

---: 'Friedrich Gennrich in memoriam', in: *Mf* 21 (1968), pp. 417–421.

BLACKBURN, BONNIE J.: *Composition, Printing and Performance: Studies in Renaissance Music*, Aldershot 2000.

BODMER, JOHANN JACOB: *Proben der alten schwäbischen Poesie des dreyzehnten Jahrhunderts: aus der Maneßischen Sammlung*, Zurich 1748.

BÖHME-MEHNER, TATJANA and KLAUS MEHNER (eds): *Hugo Riemann (1849–1919): Musikwissenschaftler mit Universalanspruch*, Cologne 2001.

BOORMAN, STANLEY: Art. 'Urtext', in: *NGrove*, ed. by Stanley Sadie, vol. 26, London 2001, pp. 163–164.

BROOMFIELD, F. (ed.): *Thomae de Chobham: Summa confessorum*, Louvain 1968.

BRUNNER, HORST: 'Walthers von der Vogelweide Palästinalied als Kontrafaktur', in: *ZfdA* 92 (1963), pp. 195–211.

---: *Die alten Meister: Studien zur Überlieferung und Rezeption der mittelhochdeutschen Sangspruchdichter im Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, Munich 1975.

---: *Das Hausbuch des Michael de Leone (Würzburger Liederhandschrift) der Universitätsbibliothek München (2° Cod. ms. 731)*, Göppingen 1983.

---: 'Die Töne Bruder Wernhers: Bemerkungen zur Form und zur formgeschichtlichen Stellung', in: *Liedstudien: Wolfgang Osthoff zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. by Martin Just and Reinhard Wiesend, Tutzing 1989, pp. 47–60.

---: 'Metrik – Strophenformen – Melodien', in: *Walther von der Vogelweide: Epoche – Werk – Wirkung*, ed. by Horst Brunner, Gerhard Hahn, Ulrich Müller and Franz Viktor Spechtler, Munich 1996, pp. 43–73.

---: Art. 'Minnesang', in: *MGG2*, ed. by Ludwig Finscher, vol. 6 (Sachteil), Kassel 1997, cols 302–313.

---: Art. 'Sangspruchdichtung', in: *MGG2*, ed. by Ludwig Finscher, vol. 8 (Sachteil), Kassel 1998, cols 931–939.

---: Art. 'Ton', in: *NGrove*, ed. by Stanley Sadie, vol. 25, London 2001, pp. 580–582.

---: Art. 'Unverzagter', in: *MGG2*, ed. by Ludwig Finscher, vol. 16 (Personenteil), Kassel 2006, col. 1219.

---: Art. 'Walther von der Vogelweide', in: *MGG2*, ed. by Ludwig Finscher, vol. 17 (Personenteil), Kassel 2007, cols 447–450.

BRUNNER, HORST and KARL-GÜNTHER HARTMANN (eds): *Spruchsang: die Melodien der Sangspruchdichter des 12. bis 15. Jahrhunderts*, Kassel 2010.

BRUNNER, HORST, ULRICH MÜLLER and FRANZ VIKTOR SPECHTLER (eds): *Walther von der Vogelweide: die gesamte Überlieferung der Texte und Melodien*, Göppingen 1977.

BRUNNER, HORST, BURGHART WACHINGER and EVA KLESATSCHKE (eds): *Repertorium der Sangsprüche*, 17 vols, Tübingen 2009.

BUMKE, JOACHIM: *Courtly Culture: Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages*, transl. by Thomas Dunlap, Berkeley 1991.

BUREN, ANNE H. VAN: *Illuminating Fashion: Dress in the Art of Medieval France and the Netherlands 1325–1515*, New York 2011.

BÜRGER, THOMAS: 'Dresdner Bibliothekare – emigriert, geflohen, geblieben: Briefe der Nachkriegszeit aus dem Nachlass von Ewald Jammers (Teil 2)', in: *SLUB* 21 (2/2007), pp. 13–15.

BUTTERFIELD, ARDIS: 'Vernacular Poetry and Music', in: *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Music*, ed. by Mark Everist, Cambridge 2011, pp. 205–224.

BÜTZLER, CARL: *Untersuchungen zu Melodien Walthers von der Vogelweide*, Jena 1940.

CAMILLE, MICHAEL: 'Seeing and Reading: Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy', in: *AH* 8 (1985), pp. 26–49.

CARRUTHERS, MARY J.: *The Book of Memory: a Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, Cambridge 1990.

CERQUIGLINI, BERNARD: *Éloge de la variante*, Paris 1989.

CLASSEN, ALBRECHT: 'Chess in Medieval German Literature: a Mirror of Social-Historical and Cultural, Religious, Ethical, and Moral Conditions', in: *Chess in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age*, ed. by Daniel E. O'Sullivan, Berlin 2012, pp. 17–44.

COLTON, DONALD: Review of Barbara Garvey Seagrave and Wesley Thomas, 'The Songs of the Minnesingers', in: *Nt* 25 (1969), pp. 499–500.

COOK, NICHOLAS and MARK EVERIST (eds): *Rethinking Music*, Oxford 1999.

CORMEAU, CHRISTOPH (ed.): *Walther von der Vogelweide: Leich, Lieder, Sangsprüche*, Berlin [14]1996.

CRAMER, THOMAS: *Waz hilfet âne sinne kunst? Lyrik im 13. Jahrhundert: Studien zu ihrer Ästhetik*, Berlin 1998.

---: 'Die Lieder der Trobadors, Trouvères und Minnesänger: literarhistorische Probleme', in: *Musikalische Lyrik*, ed. by Hermann Danuser, Laaber 2004, pp. 130–136.

CSENDES, PETER: *Heinrich VI.*, Darmstadt 1993.

CUESTA, ISMAEL FERNÁNDEZ DE LA: Art. 'Ribera Tarragó, Julián', in: *MEH*, ed. by Emilio Casares Rodicio, vol. 9, Madrid 2002, p. 175.

CUMMINS, JOHN: *The Hound and the Hawk: the Art of Medieval Hunting*, London 1988.

CURSCHMANN, MICHAEL: 'Waltherus cantor', in: *OGS* 6 (1971), pp. 5–17.

---: 'Hören – Lesen – Sehen: Buch und Schriftlichkeit im Selbstverständnis der volkssprachlichen literarischen Kultur Deutschlands um 1200', in: *PBB* 106 (1984), pp. 218–257.

---: '"Pictura laicorum litteratura"? Überlegungen zum Verhältnis von Bild und volkssprachlicher Schriftlichkeit im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter bis zum Codex Manesse', in: *Pragmatische Schriftlichkeit im Mittelalter: Erscheinungsformen und Entwicklungsstufen*, ed. by Hagen Keller, Klaus Grubmüller and Nikolaus Staubach, Munich 1992, pp. 211–229.

---: 'Wolfgang Stammler und die Folgen: Wort und Bild als interdisziplinäres Forschungsthema in internationalem Rahmen', in: *Das Mittelalter und die Germanisten: zur neueren Methodengeschichte der Germanischen Philologie: Freiburger Colloquium 1997*, ed. by Eckart Conrad Lutz, Freiburg 1998, pp. 115–137.

---: 'Wort – Schrift – Bild: Zum Verhältnis von volkssprachigem Schrifttum und bildender Kunst vom 12. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert', in: *Mittelalter und frühe Neuzeit:*

Übergänge, Umbrüche und Neuansätze, ed. by Walter Haug, Tübingen 1999, pp. 378–470.

CURTIUS, ERNST ROBERT: *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, transl. by Willard R. Trask, Princeton 1990.

DECHANT, DENIS LYLE: *Transformations of Authorial Representation in the Manesse Codex*, MA thesis, University of Oregon 2010.

DEEMING, HELEN: *Songs in British Sources, c. 1150–1300*, London 2013 (forthcoming).

DOBOZY, MARIA: *Re-Membering the Present: the Medieval German Poet-Minstrel in Cultural Context*, Turnhout 2005.

DRAHEIM, JOACHIM (ed.): *Ferruccio Busoni: Variationen über ein Minnesängerlied aus dem 13. Jahrhundert (op. 22, Busoni 112)*, Wiesbaden 1999.

DUCKWORTH, D.: Review of Barbara Garvey Seagrave and Wesley Thomas, 'The Songs of the Minnesingers', in: *MLR* 63 (1968), pp. 1005–1006.

EGGEBRECHT, HANS HEINRICH: Art. 'Günther, Ursula', in: *NGrove*, ed. by Stanley Sadie, vol. 10, London 2001a, pp. 588–589.

---: Art. 'Jammers, Ewald (Karl Hubert Maria)', in: *NGrove*, ed. by Stanley Sadie, vol. 12, London 2001b, pp. 767–768.

ENDERMANN, HEINZ: 'Johann Gottfried Herder als Benutzer der Jenaer Liederhandschrift', in: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Literatur in Thüringen*, ed. by Detlef Ignasiak, Jena/Rudolstadt 1995, pp. 25–42.

ERCKMANN, RUDOLF: *Der Einfluß der arabisch-spanischen Kultur auf die Entwicklung des Minnesangs*, Darmstadt 1933.

ESHELMAN, THOMAS: Review of Barbara Garvey Seagrave and Wesley Thomas, 'The Songs of the Minnesinger, Prince Wizlaw of Rügen', in: *MLJ* 54 (1970), pp. 374–375.

FALCK, ROBERT and MARTIN PICKER: Art. 'Contrafactum', in: *NGrove*, ed. by Stanley Sadie, vol. 6, London 2001, pp. 367–370.

FALLOWS, DAVID and THOMAS B. PAYNE: Art. 'Sources, MS: §III, 2. Latin', in: *NGrove*, ed. by Stanley Sadie, vol. 23, London 2001, pp. 847–848.

FALLOWS, DAVID and LORENZ WELKER: Art. 'Sources, MS: §III, 5. German', in: *NGrove*, ed. by Stanley Sadie, vol. 23, London 2001, pp. 860–865.

FISCHER, E.: 'Ueber die Musik der Minnesänger', in: *Deutsche Liederdichter des zwölften, dreizehnten und vierzehnten Jahrhunderts (vol. 4: Geschichte der Dichter und ihrer Werke. Abbildungen der Handschriften, Sangweisen, Abhandlung über die Musik der Minnesinger, Alte Zeugnisse, Handschriften und Bearbeitungen, Uebersicht der Dichter nach der Zeitfolge, Verzeichnisse der Personen und Ortsnamen,*

Sangweisen der Meistersänger nach den Minnesingern), ed. by Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen, Leipzig 1838, pp. 853–862.

FLECKENSTEIN, JOSEF: *Early Medieval Germany*, transl. by Bernard S. Smith, Amsterdam 1978.

FORTNER, WOLFGANG: *Minne: Kantate in alter Manier nach Worten von Walther von der Vogelweide (1964)*, Mainz 2001.

FRANK, ISTVÁN: *Trouvères et Minnesänger: recueil de textes*, Saarbrücken 1952.

FRICKE, JOBST: Art. 'Bernoulli, Eduard', in: *MGG2*, ed. by Ludwig Finscher, vol. 2 (Personenteil), Kassel 1999, cols 1412–1413.

FRÜHMORGEN-VOSS, HELLA: *Text und Illustration im Mittelalter: Aufsätze zu den Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Literatur und bildender Kunst*, Munich 1975.

FUHRMANN, HORST: *Germany in the High Middle Ages c. 1050–1200*, transl. by Timothy Reuter, Cambridge 1986.

FULLER, SARAH: 'Theoretical Foundations of Early Organum Theory', in: *AM* 53 (1/1981), pp. 52–84.

---: 'Tendencies and Resolutions: the Directed Progression in Ars Nova Music', in: *MT* 36 (1992), pp. 229–258.

GALVEZ, MARISA: *Songbook: How Lyrics Became Poetry in Medieval Europe*, Chicago 2012.

GENNRICH, FRIEDRICH: *Musikwissenschaft und romanische Philologie: ein Beitrag zur Bewertung der Musik als Hilfswissenschaft der romanischen Philologie*, Halle (Saale) 1918.

---: 'Die Musik als Hilfswissenschaft der romanischen Philologie', in: *ZfrPh* 39 (1919), pp. 330–361.

---: 'Sieben Melodien zu mittelhochdeutschen Minneliedern', in: *ZfMw* 7 (1924/25), pp. 65–98.

---: 'Der deutsche Minnesang in seinem Verhältnis zur Troubadour- und Trouvère-Kunst', in: *ZfdB* 2 (1926), pp. 536–566; 622–632.

---: 'Internationale mittelalterliche Melodien', in: *ZfMw* 11 (1929a), pp. 259–296; 321–348.

---: 'Zur Ursprungsfrage des Minnesangs: ein literarhistorisch-musikwissenschaftlicher Beitrag', in: *DVLG* 7 (1929b), pp. 187–228.

---: *Grundriß einer Formenlehre des mittelalterlichen Liedes als Grundlage einer musikalischen Formenlehre des Liedes*, Halle (Saale) 1932.

---: 'Melodien Walthers von der Vogelweide', in: *ZfdA* 79 (1942), pp. 24–48.

---: 'Liedkontrafaktur in mittelhochdeutscher und althochdeutscher Zeit', in: *ZfdA* 82 (1948/50), pp. 105–141.

---: *Troubadours, Trouvères, Minne- und Meistergesang*, Cologne 1951.

---: *Mittelhochdeutsche Liedkunst: 24 Melodien zu mittelhochdeutschen Liedern*, Darmstadt 1954.

---: 'Die musikalischen Formen des mittelalterlichen Liedes', in: *DU* 11 (2/1959), pp. 60–80.

--- (ed.): *Die Jenaer Liederhandschrift: Faksimile-Ausgabe ihrer Melodien*, Langen bei Frankfurt 1963.

---: *Der musikalische Nachlass der Troubadours*, Darmstadt 1965a.

---: *Die Kontrafaktur im Liedschaffen des Mittelalters*, Langen bei Frankfurt 1965b.

GEORGII, WALTER: *400 Jahre europäischer Klaviermusik*, Cologne [no year].

GILLINGHAM, BRYAN: Review of James V. McMahon, 'The Music of Early Minnesang', in: *Nt* 49 (1992), pp. 80–81.

GLEASON, HAROLD: *Examples of Music before 1400*, New York 1942.

GOEBEL, JULIUS: 'Aus Rudolf Hildebrands Nachlass', in: *EGPh* 13 (1914), pp. 181–182.

GOLDIN, FREDERICK: *Walther von der Vogelweide: the Single-Stanza Lyrics*, New York 2003.

GRADINGER, MANFRED: *Die Minnesang- und Waltherforschung von Bodmer bis Uhland*, Munich 1970.

GRIER, JAMES: Art. 'Editing', in: *NGrove*, ed. by Stanley Sadie, vol. 7, London 2001, pp. 885–895.

GRIMM, GUNTER: *Rezeptionsgeschichte: Grundlegung einer Theorie*, Munich 1977.

GRÖBLER, BERNHARD K.: 'Liqueszenzgraphien (Pliken) in der Jenaer Liederhandschrift', in: *BzGr* 39 (2005), pp. 59–66.

GRUBER, JÖRN: 'Singen und Schreiben, Hören und Lesen als Parameter der (Re-)Produktion und Rezeption des Occitanischen Minnesangs des 12. Jahrhunderts', in: *LiLi* 57/58 (1985), pp. 35–51.

GRUNEWALD, ECKHARD: 'Retuschiertes Mittelalter: zur Rezeption und Reproduktion der "Manessischen" Liederhandschrift im 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhundert', in: *Mittelalter-Rezeption: ein Symposion*, ed. by Peter Wapnewski, Stuttgart 1986, pp. 435–449.

---: *Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen 1780–1856: ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte der Germanistik*, Berlin 1988.

GÜNTHER, URSULA: 'Friedrich Ludwig in Göttingen', in: *Musikwissenschaft und Musikpflege an der Georg-August-Universität Göttingen: Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte*, ed. by Martin Staehelin, Göttingen 1987, pp. 152–175.

HAGEN, FRIEDRICH HEINRICH VON DER: *Minnesinger: Deutsche Liederdichter des zwölften, dreizehnten und vierzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 4 vols, Leipzig 1838.

HAHN, GERHARD: *Walther von der Vogelweide: eine Einführung*, Munich 1989.

HAHN, GERHARD: Art. 'Walther von der Vogelweide', in: *VL*, ed. by Burghart Wachinger, vol. 10, Berlin 1999, cols 665–697.

HAHN, SONGSUK SUSAN: *Contradiction in Motion: Hegel's Organic Concept of Life and Value*, Ithaca (NY) 2007.

HAINES, JOHN: *Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères: the Changing Identity of Medieval Music*, Cambridge 2004.

HALBACH, KURT HERBERT: 'Walthers "Kranz"-"Tanzlied"', in: *DU* 19 (2/1967), pp. 51–64.

HÄNDL, CLAUDIA: *Rollen und pragmatische Einbindung: Analysen zur Wandlung des Minnesangs nach Walther von der Vogelweide*, Göppingen 1987.

HARMS, WOLFGANG: 'Themenbereich "Zwischen Wort und Bild": Einführung', in: *Bibliographische Probleme im Zeichen eines erweiterten Literaturbegriffs*, ed. by Wolfgang Martens, Weinheim 1988, pp. 141–142.

HARPER-SCOTT, J. P. E.: 'Medieval Romance and Wagner's Musical Narrative in the Ring', in: *19CM* 32 (3/2009), pp. 211–234.

HARRISON, JANE E.: 'Pandora's Box', in: *HS* 20 (1900), pp. 99–114.

HARVEY, RUTH E.: Review of Barbara Garvey Seagrave and Wesley Thomas, 'The Songs of the Minnesinger, Prince Wizlaw of Rügen', in: *M&L* 50 (1969), pp. 185–187.

HATTO, A. T. (ed.): *Gottfried von Strassburg: Tristan*, Harmondsworth 1960.

HAUBRICHS, WOLFGANG: 'Grund und Hintergrund in der Kreuzzugsdichtung: Argumentationsstruktur und politische Intentionen in Walthers "Elegie" und "Palästinalied"', in: *Philologie und Geschichtswissenschaft: Demonstrationen literarischer Texte des Mittelalters*, ed. by Heinz Rupp, Heidelberg 1977, pp. 12–62.

HAUSTEIN, JENS: 'J und seine frühen Editionen: mit einem Editionsanhang (B. Chr. B. Wiedeburg an J. J. Bodmer und J. J. Breitinger)', in: *Die 'Jenaer*

Liederhandschrift': Codex – Geschichte – Umfeld, ed. by Jens Haustein and Franz Körndle, Berlin 2010, pp. 205–235.

HAUSTEIN, JENS and WOLFGANG BECK: 'Fragmente aus dem Umfeld der "Jenaer Liederhandschrift"', in: *Die 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift': Codex – Geschichte – Umfeld*, ed. by Jens Haustein and Franz Körndle, Berlin 2010, pp. 259–269.

HAUSTEIN, JENS and FRANZ KÖRNDLE (eds): *Die 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift': Codex – Geschichte – Umfeld*, Berlin 2010.

HAYWOOD, ANTHONY, CAROLINE SIEG and KERRY CHRISTIANI: *Austria*, London [6]2011.

HERRMANN, HEINRICH: *Minnesang Polka (op. 111)*, [no place] 1877.

HOFFMANN-AXTHELM, DAGMAR: '"Markgraf Otto von Brandenburg mit dem Pfeile" (Codex Manesse, fol. 13): zum höfischen Minne-, Schach- und Instrumentalspiel im frühen 14. Jahrhundert', in: *Musikalische Ikonographie*, ed. by Harald Heckmann, Monika Holl and Hans Joachim Marx, Laaber 1994, pp. 157–170.

HOLZ, GEORG, FRANZ SARAN and EDUARD BERNOULLI (eds): *Die Jenaer Liederhandschrift*, 2 vols, Leipzig 1901.

HOLZNAGEL, FRANZ-JOSEF: *Wege in die Schriftlichkeit: Untersuchungen und Materialien zur Überlieferung der mittelhochdeutschen Lyrik*, Tübingen 1995.

---: 'Typen der Verschriftlichung mittelhochdeutscher Lyrik vom 12. bis zum 14. Jahrhundert', in: *Entstehung und Typen mittelalterlicher Lyrikhandschriften: Akten des Grazer Symposiums 13.–17. Oktober 1999*, ed. by Anton Schwob and András Vizkelety, Bern 2001, pp. 107–130.

HOOPER, GILES: *The Discourse of Musicology*, Aldershot 2006.

HOPE, HENRY: *The Manuscript BerlA and Its Context: a Case-Study on the Problem of Musical Atavism*, Weimar 2011 (unpublished).

---: Review of Judith A. Peraino, 'Giving Voice to Love: Song and Self-Expression from the Troubadours to Guillaume de Machaut', in: *M&L* 94 (2013), pp. 334–337.

---: 'Herders Musikästhetik im Zeichen von Hammer und Sichel: eine Untersuchung der musikästhetischen Rezeption Herders in der DDR', in: *Herder und seine Wirkung*, ed. by Michael Maurer, Jena forthcoming-a.

---: 'Miniatures, Minnesänger, Music: the Codex Manesse', in: *Manuscripts and Medieval Song: Inscription, Performance, Context*, ed. by Helen Deeming and Elizabeth Eva Leach, Cambridge forthcoming-b.

HUBER, MARTIN: 'Fingierte Performanz: Überlegungen zur Codifizierung spätmittelalterlicher Liedkunst', in: *'Aufführung' und 'Schrift' in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. by Jan-Dirk Müller, Stuttgart 1996, pp. 93–106.

Huck, Oliver: Review of John Haines and Peter Sühring, 'Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères: the Changing Identity of Medieval Music; Der Rhythmus der Trobadours: zur Archäologie einer Interpretationsgeschichte', in: *Mf* 59 (2006), pp. 73–74.

---: 'Die Notation der mehrfach überlieferten Melodien in der "Jenaer Liederhandschrift"', in: *Die 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift': Codex – Geschichte – Umfeld*, ed. by Jens Haustein and Franz Körndle, Berlin 2010, pp. 99–120.

Huisman, Johannes A.: *Neue Wege zur dichterischen und musikalischen Technik Walthers von der Vogelweide: mit einem Exkurs über die symmetrische Zahlenkomposition im Mittelalter*, Utrecht 1950.

Huot, Sylvia Jean: *From Song to Book: the Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry*, Ithaca (NY) 1987.

Huray, Peter le and James Day: *Music and Aesthetics in the Eighteenth and Early-Nineteenth Centuries*, Cambridge 1981.

Husmann, Heinrich: 'Das Prinzip der Silbenzählung im Lied des zentralen Mittelalters', in: *Mf* 6 (1953), pp. 8–23.

---: Art. 'Minnesang', in: *MGG1*, ed. by Friedrich Blume, vol. 9, Kassel 1961, cols 351–363.

Jammers, Ewald: 'Untersuchungen über die Rhythmik und Melodik der Melodien in der Jenaer Liederhandschrift', in: *ZfMw* 7 (1924/25), pp. 265–304.

---: *Der gregorianische Rhythmus: antiphonale Studien*, Strasbourg 1937.

---: *Der mittelalterliche Choral: Art und Herkunft*, Mainz 1954.

---: 'Deutsche Lieder um 1400', in: *AM* 28 (1956a), pp. 28–54.

---: 'Die Melodien Hugos von Montfort', in: *AfMw* 13 (1956b), pp. 217–236.

---: 'Der musikalische Vortrag des altdeutschen Epos', in: *DU* 11 (2/1959), pp. 98–116.

---: 'Der Vers der Trobadors und Trouvères und die deutschen Kontrafakten', in: *Medium Aevum Vivum: Festschrift für Walther Bulst*, ed. by Hans Robert Jauss and Dieter Schaller, Heidelberg 1960, pp. 147–160.

---: 'Minnesang und Choral', in: *Festschrift Heinrich Besseler zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. by Eberhardt Klemm, Leipzig 1961, pp. 137–147.

---: *Ausgewählte Melodien des Minnesangs*, Tübingen 1963.

---: *Das königliche Liederbuch des deutschen Minnesangs: eine Einführung in die sogenannte Manessische Handschrift*, Heidelberg 1965.

---: Review of Barbara Garvey Seagrave and Wesley Thomas, 'The Songs of the Minnesinger, Prince Wizlaw of Rügen', in: *Fam* 16 (1969), pp. 77–78.

---: 'Anmerkungen zur Musik Wizlaws von Rügen', in: *Quellenstudien zur Musik: Wolfgang Schmieder zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. by Kurt Dorfmüller and Georg von Dadelsen, Frankfurt 1972, pp. 103–114.

---: *Das Alleluia in der gregorianischen Messe: eine Studie über seine Entwicklung*, Münster (Westfalen) 1973.

---: *Die sangbaren Melodien zu Dichtungen der Manessischen Liederhandschrift*, Wiesbaden 1979.

---: 'Die Manessische Liederhandschrift und die Musik', in: *Codex Manesse: die Grosse Heidelberger Liederhandschrift: Kommentar zum Faksimile des Codex Palatinus Germanicus 848 der Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg*, ed. by Walter Koschorreck and Wilfried Werner, Kassel 1981, pp. 169–187.

JONES, GEORGE FENWICK: Review of Barbara Garvey Seagrave and Wesley Thomas, 'The Songs of the Minnesingers', in: *GQ* 41 (1968), pp. 732–734.

JOSTES, FRANZ: 'Bruchstück einer Münsterischen Minnesängerhandschrift mit Noten', in: *ZfdA* 53 (1912), pp. 348–357.

KARLIN, DANIEL: *The Figure of the Singer*, Oxford 2013.

KAUFFMANN, MARTIN: 'Satire, Pictorial Genre, and the Illustrations in BN fr. 146', in: *Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle, Music, and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS francais 146*, ed. by Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey, Oxford 1998, pp. 285–305.

KELLNER, BEATE: '"Ich grüeze mit gesange" – Mediale Formen und Inszenierungen der Überwindung von Distanz im Minnesang', in: *Text und Handeln: zum kommunikativen Ort von Minnesang und antiker Lyrik* ed. by Albrecht Hausmann, Heidelberg 2004, pp. 107–137.

KIPPENBERG, BURKHARD: *Der Rhythmus im Minnesang: eine Kritik der literar- und musikhistorischen Forschung mit einer Übersicht über die musikalischen Quellen*, Munich 1962.

---: 'Die Melodien des Minnesangs', in: *Musikalische Edition im Wandel des historischen Bewußtseins*, ed. by Theodor G. Georgiades, Kassel 1971, pp. 62–92.

---: Art. 'Minnesang', in: *NGrove*, ed. by Stanley Sadie, vol. 16, London 2001a, pp. 721–730.

---: Art. 'Spruch', in: *NGrove*, ed. by Stanley Sadie, vol. 24, London 2001b, p. 225.

KIPPENBERG, BURKHARD and LORENZ WELKER: Art. 'Unverzagte [Unvuortzaghete], Der', in: *NGrove*, ed. by Stanley Sadie, vol. 26, London 2001, p. 149.

KLAPER, MICHAEL: Art. 'Walther von der Vogelweide', in: *NGrove*, ed. by Stanley Sadie, vol. 27, London 2001, pp. 61–65.

KLEIN, KLAUS: 'Die "Jenaer Liederhandschrift" und ihr Umfeld', in: *Die 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift': Codex – Geschichte – Umfeld*, ed. by Jens Haustein and Franz Körndle, Berlin 2010, pp. 251–258.

KLEIN, THOMAS: 'Zur Verbreitung mittelhochdeutscher Lyrik in Norddeutschland (Walther, Neidhart, Frauenlob)', in: *ZfdPh* 106 (1987), pp. 72–112.

KOLLER, ANGELIKA: *Minnesang-Rezeption um 1800: Falldarstellungen zu den Romantikern und ihren Zeitgenossen und Exkurse zu ausgewählten Sachfragen*, Frankfurt am Main 1992.

KÖRNDLE, FRANZ: 'Die "Jenaer Liederhandschrift" und das Basler Fragment: Aspekte notenschriftlicher Traditionen', in: *Die 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift': Codex – Geschichte – Umfeld*, ed. by Jens Haustein and Franz Körndle, Berlin 2010, pp. 121–135.

KORNRUMPF, GISELA: Review of Horst Brunner, 'Walther von der Vogelweide: die gesamte Überlieferung der Texte und Melodien', in: *PBB* 103 (1981), pp. 129–139.

---: Art. 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift', in: *LL*, ed. by Walter Killy, vol. 6, Gütersloh 1990, pp. 92–94.

---: *Vom Codex Manesse zur Kolmarer Liederhandschrift : Aspekte der Überlieferung, Formtraditionen, Texte*, Tübingen 2008.

KORNRUMPF, GISELA and PAUL-GERHARD VÖLKER: *Die deutschen mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek München*, Wiesbaden 1968.

KORNRUMPF, GISELA and BURGHART WACHINGER: 'Alment: Formentlehnung und Tönegebrauch in der mittelhochdeutschen Spruchdichtung', in: *Deutsche Literatur im Mittelalter: Kontakte und Perspektiven*, ed. by Christoph Cormeau, Stuttgart 1979, pp. 356–411.

KORTH, MICHAEL (ed.): *Carmina Burana: Gesamtausgabe der mittelalterlichen Melodien mit den dazugehörigen Texten*, Munich 1979.

KRAUS, CARL VON: *Die Kleine Heidelberger Liederhandschrift*, Stuttgart 1932.

KRAUTWURST, FRANZ: Art. 'Erlangen', in: *MGG2*, ed. by Ludwig Finscher, vol. 3 (Sachteil), Kassel 1995, cols 148–152.

KROHN, RÜDIGER (ed.): *Gottfried von Straßburg: Tristan*, 3 vols, Stuttgart 2010.

KÜHL, G.: 'Die Bordesholmer Marienklage', in: *VnS* 24 (1898), pp. 1–75.

KUHN, HUGO: *Walthers Kreuzzugslied (14,38) und Preislied (56,14)*, Würzburg 1936.

---: 'Die Klassik des Rittertums in der Stauferzeit', in: *Annalen der deutschen Literatur: Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. by Heinz Otto Burger, Stuttgart 1952, pp. 99–177.

---: 'Minnesang als Aufführungsform', in: *Text und Theorie*, ed. by Hugo Kuhn, Stuttgart 1969a, pp. 182–190.

---: 'Minnesang and the Form of Performance', in: *Formal Aspects of Medieval German Poetry: a Symposium*, ed. by Stanley N. Werbow, Austin 1969b, pp. 29–41.

---: 'Geleitwort', in: *Walther von der Vogelweide: die gesamte Überlieferung der Texte und Melodien*, ed. by Horst Brunner, Ulrich Müller and Franz Viktor Spechtler, Göppingen 1977, p. 1*.

KÜHNEL, HARRY: *Bildwörterbuch der Kleidung und Rüstung*, Stuttgart 1992.

LACHMANN, KARL (ed.): *Die Gedichte Walthers von der Vogelweide*, Berlin [1]1827.

LACHMANN, KARL and MORIZ HAUPT: *Des Minnesangs Frühling*, Leipzig 1857.

LEACH, ELIZABETH EVA: Review of Mary Atchison, 'The Chansonnier of Oxford Bodleian MS Douce 308', in: *M&L* 87 (2006a), pp. 416–420.

---: '"The Little Pipe Sings Sweetly while the Fowler Deceives the Bird": Sirens in the Later Middle Ages', in: *M&L* 87 (2006b), pp. 187–211.

---: *Guillaume de Machaut: Secretary, Poet, Musician*, Ithaca (NY) 2011.

---: 'The Fourteenth Century', in: *RQ* (forthcoming).

LEECH-WILKINSON, DANIEL: Review of John Haines, 'Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères: the Changing Identity of Medieval Music', in: *M&L* 87 (2006), pp. 300–302.

LEWON, MARC: 'Wie klang Minnesang? Eine Skizze zum Klangbild an den Höfen der staufischen Epoche', in: *Dichtung und Musik der Stauferzeit: wissenschaftliches Symposium 12. bis 14. November 2010*, ed. by Volker Gallé, Worms 2011, pp. 69–124.

LEXER, MATTHIAS: *Matthias Lexers Mittelhochdeutsches Taschenwörterbuch*, Stuttgart [36]1981.

LIENERT, ELISABETH: '"Hoerâ Walther, wie ez mir stât": Autorschaft und Sängerrolle im Minnesang bis Neidhart', in: *Autor und Autorschaft im Mittelalter: Kolloquium Meißen 1995*, ed. by Elizabeth Andersen, Jens Haustein, Anne Simon and Peter Strohschneider, Tübingen 1998, pp. 114–128.

LILIENCRON, ROCHUS VON: 'Aus dem Grenzgebiete der Litteratur und Musik: II. Die Jenaer Minnesängerhandschrift', in: *ZfvL* 7 (1894), pp. 252–263.

LIPPHARDT, WALTHER: 'Neue Wege zur Entzifferung der linienlosen Neumen', in: *Mf* 1 (1948), pp. 121–139.

LOMNITZER, HELMUT: 'Zur wechselseitigen Erhellung von Text- und Melodiekritik mittelalterlicher d[eu]t[scher] Lyrik', in: *Probleme mittelalterlicher Überlieferung und Textkritik: Oxforder Colloquium 1966*, ed. by Peter F. Ganz and Werner Schröder, Oxford 1968, pp. 118–144.

---: Review of Barbara Garvey Seagrave and Wesley Thomas, 'The Songs of the Minnesinger, Prince Wizlaw of Rügen', in: *Mf* 24 (1971), pp. 215–216.

---: 'Zur wechselseitigen Erhellung von Text- und Melodiekritik mittelalterlicher deutscher Lyrik', in: *Mittelhochdeutsche Spruchdichtung*, ed. by Hugo Moser, Darmstadt 1972, pp. 325–360.

LUG, ROBERT: 'Das "vormodale" Zeichensystem des Chansonniers de Saint-Germain-des-Prés', in: *AfMw* 52 (1/1995), pp. 19–65.

---: 'Drei Quadratnotationen in der Jenaer Liederhandschrift', in: *Mf* 53 (2000), pp. 4–40.

MACARTHUR, SALLY: *Towards a Twenty-First-Century Feminist Politics of Music*, Farnham 2010.

MANNAERTS, PIETER: Review of Elizabeth Aubrey (ed.), 'Poets and Singers: on Latin and Vernacular Monophonic Song', in: *TMR* 2011-09 (2011), [no pagination].

MANUWALD, HENRIKE: 'Der tanzlustige Heinrich von Stretelingen: zur Aussagekraft von Autorenbildern in Lyrikhandschriften', in: *BZfG* 75 (2/2013), pp. 107–125.

MÄRZ, CHRISTOPH and LORENZ WELKER: 'Überlegungen zur Funktion und zu den musikalischen Formungen der "Jenaer Liederhandschrift"', in: *Sangspruchdichtung: Gattungskonstitution und Gattungsinterferenzen im europäischen Kontext*, ed. by Dorothea Klein, Tübingen 2007, pp. 129–152.

MASCHKE, EVA M.: 'Neue Fragmentfunde in der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Münster: zur Rekonstruktion einer Notre-Dame-Handschrift aus dem Soester Dominikanerkonvent', in: *Mf* 66 (2013), pp. 277–280.

MAURER, FRIEDRICH: 'Neue Literatur zum Minnesang', in: *DU* 6 (5/1954), pp. 113–114.

---: *Die Lieder Walthers von der Vogelweide*, 2 vols, Tübingen [1]1955a.

---: 'Zu den religiösen Liedern Walthers von der Vogelweide', in: *ZfLg* 49 (1955b), pp. 29–49.

---: 'Ton und Lied bei Walther von der Vogelweide', in: *Dichtung und Sprache des Mittelalters: gesammelte Ausätze*, ed. by Friedrich Maurer, Bern 1963, pp. 104–115.

---: *Die Lieder Walthers von der Vogelweide*, 2 vols, Tübingen [3]1967a.

---: 'Sprachliche und musikalische Bauformen des deutschen Minnesangs um 1200', in: *Pt* 1 (1967b), pp. 462–482.

---: 'Tradition und Erlebnis im deutschen Minnesang um 1200', in: *DU* 19 (2/1967c), pp. 5–16.

MAURER, MICHAEL (ed.): *Herder and His Impact*, Jena forthcoming.

MCCLARY, SUSAN: *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality*, Minneapolis 1991.

MCGARRY, DANIEL D. (ed.): *The Metalogicon of John of Salisbury: a Twelfth-Century Defense of the Verbal and Logical Arts of the Trivium*, Berkeley 1962.

MCMAHON, JAMES V.: 'Contrafacture vs. Common Melodic Motives in Walther von Der Vogelweide's "Palästinalied"', in: *RbM* 36/38 (1982), pp. 5–17.

---: *The Music of Early Minnesang*, Drawer 1990.

MERTENS, VOLKER: 'Visualizing Performance? Music, Word, and Manuscript', in: *Visual Culture and the German Middle Ages*, ed. by Kathryn Starkey and Horst Wenzel, New York 2005, pp. 135–158.

---: 'Bodmers Murmeltier: Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der Minnesangrezeption im 18. Jahrhundert', in: *LiLi* 38 (3/2008), pp. 52–63.

MEVES, UWE (ed.): *Regesten deutscher Minnesänger des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 2005.

MITTLER, ELMAR and WILFRIED WERNER (eds): *Codex Manesse: Katalog zur Ausstellung vom 12. Juni bis 2. Oktober 1988 Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg*, Heidelberg ^{2}1988.

MOHR, WOLFGANG: '"Der Reichston" Walthers von der Vogelweide', in: *DU* 5 (6/1953a), pp. 45–56.

---: 'Zur Form des mittelalterlichen deutschen Strophenliedes: Fragen und Aufgaben', in: *DU* 5 (2/1953b), pp. 62–82.

---: 'Minnesang als Gesellschaftskunst', in: *DU* 6 (5/1954), pp. 83–107.

MOLITOR, RAPHAEL: 'Die Lieder des Münsterischen Fragmentes', in: *SIMG* 12 (1911), pp. 475–500.

---: 'Über die Lieder des Münsterischen Fragments', in: *SIMG* 13 (1912), p. 506.

MOSER, HANS JOACHIM: *Geschichte der deutschen Musik*, 3 vols, Stuttgart 1920.

---: 'Musikalische Probleme des deutschen Minnesangs', in: *Bericht über den musikwissenschaftlichen Kongreß in Basel*, ed. by W. Merian, Leipzig 1925, pp. 259–269.

MOSER, HUGO and JOSEPH MÜLLER-BLATTAU: *Deutsche Lieder des Mittelalters: von Walther von der Vogelweide bis zum Lochamer Liederbuch: Texte und Melodien*, Stuttgart 1968.

MUGGLESTONE, ERICA: 'Guido Adler's "The Scope, Method, and Aim of Musicology" (1885): an English Translation with an Historio-Analytical Commentary', in: *YTM* 13 (1981), pp. 1–21.

MÜLLER-BLATTAU, JOSEPH: 'Zur Erforschung des einstimmigen deutschen Liedes im Mittelalter', in: *Mf* 10 (1957), pp. 107–113.

MÜLLER-BLATTAU, WENDELIN: *Trouvères und Minnesänger II: Kritische Ausgaben der Weisen zugleich als Beitrag zu einer Melodienlehre des mittelalterlichen Liedes*, Saarbrücken 1956.

MÜLLER, JAN-DIRK: '"Ir sult sprechen willekomen": Sänger, Sprecherrolle und die Anfänge volkssprachiger Lyrik', in: *ASdL* 19 (1994), pp. 1–21.

MÜLLER, KARL KONRAD (ed.): *Die Jenaer Liederhandschrift in Lichtdruck*, Jena 1896.

MÜLLER, REINHARD: Art. 'Walther von der Vogelweide', in: *DLL*, ed. by Bruno Berger, vol. 28, Bern 2008, cols 81–103.

MÜLLER, ULRICH: 'Beobachtungen zu den "Carmina Burana": 1. Eine Melodie zur Vaganten-Strophe – 2. Walthers "Palästina-Lied" in "versoffenem" Kontext: eine Parodie', in: *MlJb* 15 (1980), pp. 104–111.

---: 'Die mittelhochdeutsche Lyrik', in: *Lyrik des Mittelalters: Probleme und Interpretationen*, ed. by Heinz Bergner, Stuttgart 1983, pp. 7–227.

MÜLLER, ULRICH, INGRID BENNEWITZ and FRANZ VIKTOR SPECHTLER (eds): *Salzburger Neidhart-Edition (SNE)*, 3 vols, Berlin 2007.

MÜLLER, ULRICH and SIGRID NEUREITER-LACKNER: 'Wirkungs- und Rezeptionsgeschichte', in: *Walther von der Vogelweide: Epoche – Werk – Wirkung*, ed. by Horst Brunner, Gerhard Hahn, Ulrich Müller and Franz Viktor Spechtler, Munich 1996, pp. 228–258.

NAGEL, BERT: 'Das Musikalische im Dichten der Minnesänger', in: *GRM* 33 (1951/52), pp. 268–278.

NICHOLS, STEPHEN G. (ed.): *Speculum* 65 (1/1990), [special edition 'The New Philology'].

NICHOLS, STEPHEN G.: '"Art" and "Nature": Looking for (Medieval) Principles of Order in Occitan Chansonnier N (Morgan 819)', in: *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany*, ed. by Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel, Ann Arbor 1996, pp. 83–121.

O'NEILL, MARY J.: *Courtly Love Songs of Medieval France: Transmission and Style in the Trouvère Repertoire*, Oxford 2006.

O'SULLIVAN, DANIEL E.: Review of Marisa Galvez, 'Songbook: How Lyrics Became Poetry in Medieval Europe', in: *TMR* 2013-10 (2013), [no pagination].

OBERMAIER, SABINE: *Von Nachtigallen und Handwerkern: 'Dichtung über Dichtung' in Minnesang und Sangspruchdichtung*, Tübingen 1995.

---: *Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der Interpretation von 'Dichtung über Dichtung' als Schlüssel für eine Poetik mittelhochdeutscher Lyrik: eine Skizze*, Berlin 1999.

OTT, NORBERT H.: 'Mündlichkeit, Schriftlichkeit, Illustration: einiges Grundsätzliche zur Handschriftenillustration, insbesondere in der Volkssprache', in: *Buchmalerei im Bodenseeraum: 13. bis 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Eva Moser, Friedrichshafen 1997, pp. 37–51.

PAGE, CHRISTOPHER: 'German Musicians and their Instruments: a 14th-Century Account by Konrad of Megenberg', in: *EM* 10 (2/1982), pp. 192–200.

PANOFSKY, DORA and ERWIN PANOFSKY: *Pandora's Box: the Changing Aspects of a Mythical Symbol*, London 1956.

PAUS, FRANZ JOSEF: 'Heinrich von Rugge und Reinmar der Alte', in: *DU* 19 (2/1967), pp. 17–31.

PERAINO, JUDITH A.: Review of Samuel N. Rosenberg, Margaret Switten and Gerard Le Vot, 'Songs of the Troubadours and Trouvères: an Anthology of Poems and Melodies', in: *Nt* 55 (1999), pp. 766–769.

---: *Giving Voice to Love: Song and Self-Expression from the Troubadours to Guillaume de Machaut*, Oxford 2011.

PETERS, URSULA: 'Autorbilder in volkssprachigen Handschriften des Mittelalters: eine Problemskizze', in: *ZfdPh* 119 (2000), pp. 321–368.

---: 'Ordnungsfunktion – Textillustration – Autorenkonstruktion: zu den Bildern der romanischen und deutschen Liederhandschriften', in: *ZfdA* 130 (2001), pp. 392–430.

---: *Das Ich im Bild: die Figur des Autors in volkssprachigen Bilderhandschriften des 13. bis 16. Jahrhunderts*, Cologne, Weimar and Vienna 2008.

PETZSCH, CHRISTOPH: 'Kontrafaktur und Melodietypus', in: *Mf* 21 (1968), pp. 271–290.

---: Review of Barbara Garvey Seagrave and Wesley Thomas, 'The Songs of the Minnesingers', in: *Mf* 22 (1969), pp. 108–110.

PFEIFFER, FRANZ: *Walther von der Vogelweide*, Leipzig [4]1873.

PICKERODT-UTHLEB, ERDMUTE: *Die Jenaer Liederhandschrift: metrische und musikalische Untersuchungen*, Göppingen 1975.

PLENIO, KURT: 'Bausteine zur altdeutschen Strophik', in: *PBB* 42 (1917), pp. 411–502.

RANAWAKE, SILVIA: '"Spruchlieder": Untersuchung zur Frage der lyrischen Gattungen am Beispiel von Walthers Kreuzzugsdichtung', in: *Lied im deutschen Mittelalter: Überlieferung, Typen, Gebrauch*, ed. by Cyril Edwards, Ernst Hellgardt and Norbert H. Ott, Tübingen 1996, pp. 67–79.

REESE, GUSTAV: *Music in the Middle Ages: with an Introduction on the Music of Ancient Times*, London 1941.

REHDING, ALEXANDER: *Hugo Riemann and the Birth of Modern Musical Thought*, Cambridge 2003.

RENK, HERTA-ELISABETH: *Der Manessekreis, seine Dichter und die Manessesche Handschrift*, Stuttgart 1974.

RETTELBACH, JOHANNES: 'Die Bauformen der Töne in der "Jenaer" und in der "Kolmarer Liederhandschrift" im Vergleich', in: *Die 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift': Codex – Geschichte – Umfeld*, ed. by Jens Haustein and Franz Körndle, Berlin 2010, pp. 81–97.

REUVEKAMP-FELBER, TIMO: 'Fiktionalität als Gattungsvoraussetzung: die Destruktion des Authentischen in der Genese der deutschen und romanischen Lyrik', in: *Text und Kultur: mittelalterliche Kultur 1150–1450*, ed. by Ursula Peters, Stuttgart 2001, pp. 377–402.

RIBERA, JULIÁN TARRAGÓ (ed.): *90 canciones de los minnesinger del códice de Jena*, Madrid 1925.

RICHTER, ROLAND: *Wie Walther von der Vogelweide ein 'Sänger des Reiches' wurde: eine sozial- und wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zur Rezeption seiner 'Reichsidee' im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Göppingen 1988.

RIETSCH, HEINRICH: 'Einige Leitsätze für das ältere deutsche einstimmige Lied', in: *ZfMw* 6 (1923), pp. 1–15.

ROESNER, EDWARD H.: Art. 'Rhythmic Modes', in: *NGrove*, ed. by Stanley Sadie, vol. 21, London 2001, pp. 310–313.

ROLAND, MARTIN: 'Kunsthistorisches zu den Budapester Fragmenten', in: *Entstehung und Typen mittelalterlicher Lyrikhandschriften: Akten des Grazer Symposiums 13.–17. Oktober 1999*, ed. by Anton Schwob and András Vizkelety, Bern 2001, pp. 207–222.

ROSENBERG, SAMUEL N., MARGARET SWITTEN and GÉRARD LE VOT (eds): *Songs of the Troubadours and Trouvères: an Anthology of Poems and Melodies*, New York 1998.

ROSMER, STEFAN: Review of Jens Haustein and Franz Körndle, 'Die "Jenaer Liederhandschrift": Codex – Geschichte – Umfeld', in: *Mf* 65 (2012), pp. 156–158.

RÜCK, HERIBERT: 'Gedichte von Walther von der Vogelweide und Hugo von Hofmannsthal: ein Vergleich', in: *DU* 14 (2/1962), pp. 5–19.

SALMEN, WALTER: *'Nu bin ich worden alde...': Begegnungen und Verweigerungen im Leben eines Musikwissenschaftlers*, Hildesheim 2011.

SARAN, FRANZ: 'Ueber Hartmann von Aue', in: *PBB* 23 (1898), pp. 1–108.

---: *Der Rhythmus des französischen Verses*, Halle (Saale) 1904.

---: *Deutsche Verslehre*, Munich 1907.

SAYCE, OLIVE: *Plurilingualism in the Carmina Burana: a Study of the Linguistic and Literary Influences on the Codex*, Göppingen 1992.

SCHADL, SYBILLE: 'Das Denkmal des Minnesängers', in: *Codex Manesse: Katalog zur Ausstellung vom 12. Juni bis 2. Oktober 1988 Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg*, ed. by Elmar Mittler and Wilfried Werner, Heidelberg 1988, pp. 446–461.

SCHEPPING, WILHELM: Art. 'Germany: II. Folksong', in: *NGrove*, ed. by Stanley Sadie, vol. 9, London 2001, pp. 734–744.

SCHILLING, MICHAEL: 'Minnesang als Gesellschaftskunst und Privatvergnügen: Gebrauchsformen und Funktionen der Lieder im "Frauendienst" Ulrichs von Liechtenstein', in: *Wechselspiele: Kommunikationsformen und Gattungsinterferenzen mittelhochdeutscher Lyrik*, ed. by Michael Schilling and Peter Strohschneider, Heidelberg 1996, pp. 103–121.

SCHIPPERS, ADALBERT and THEODOR BOGLER (OSB): *Das Laacher Münster*, Cologne 1967.

SCHNAPPER, EDITH B. and PAMELA M. POTTER: Art. 'Schiedermair, Ludwig', in: *NGrove*, ed. by Stanley Sadie, vol. 22, London 2001, pp. 496–497.

SCHNELL, RÜDIGER: 'Vom Sänger zum Autor: Konsequenzen der Schriftlichkeit des deutschen Minnesangs', in: *Text und Kultur: mittelalterliche Literatur, 1150–1450*, ed. by Ursula Peters, Stuttgart and Weimar 2001, pp. 96–149.

SCHNITTKE, ALFRED: *Minnesang: für gemischten Chor*, Vienna 1981.

SCHNYDER, ANDRÉ: 'Das Walther-von-der-Vogelweide-Denkmal in Bozen: "un monumento di prepotenza e frode": ein mittelalterlicher Dichter im Spannungsfeld von moderner Politik und Ideologie', in: *Mittelalter-Rezeption IV: Medien, Politik, Ideologie, Ökonomie*, ed. by Irene von Burg, Jürgen Kühnel, Ulrich Müller and Alexander Schwarz, Göppingen 1991, pp. 311–329.

SCHUBERT, JOHANN G.: 'Friedrich Gennrich zum Gedenken', in: *AM* 40 (4/1968), pp. 199–201.

SCHULZ, FRITZ TRAUGOTT: *Typisches der grossen Heidelberger Liederhandschrift und verwandter Handschriften nach Wort und Bild: eine germanistisch-antiquarische Untersuchung*, Göttingen 1901.

SCHUPP, VOLKER: *Septenar und Bauform: Studien zur 'Auslegung des Vaterunsers', zu 'De VII Sigillis' und zum 'Palästinalied' Walthers von der Vogelweide*, Berlin 1964.

SCHWEIKLE, GÜNTHER: 'Zur Edition mittelhochdeutscher Lyrik: Grundlagen und Perspektiven', in: *ZfdPh* 104 (Sonderheft) (1985), pp. 2–18.

---: *Reinmar: Lieder*, Stuttgart 1986.

---: *Minnesang*, Stuttgart 1989.

--- (ed.): *Walther von der Vogelweide: Werke, Gesamtausgabe*, 2 vols, Stuttgart 1998.

SCHWIETERING, JULIUS: *Die deutsche Dichtung des Mittelalters*, Darmstadt ²1957.

SEAGRAVE, BARBARA GARVEY and WESLEY THOMAS (eds): *The Songs of the Minnesingers*, Urbana 1966.

SEEBASS, TILMAN: 'Lady Music and Her Protegés: from Musical Allegory to Musicians' Portraits', in: *MD* 42 (1988), pp. 23–61.

SHAPIRO, MARIANNE: *De vulgari eloquentia: Dante's Book of Exile*, Lincoln 1990.

SHEPHERD, PATRICIA DRAKE: Review of Barbara Garvey Seagrave and Wesley Thomas, 'The Songs of the Minnesinger, Prince Wizlaw of Rügen', in: *SCB* 28 (1968), pp. 101–102.

SPAHR, GEBHARD: *Weingartner Liederhandschrift: ihre Geschichte und ihre Miniaturen*, Weißenhorn 1968.

SPECHTLER, FRANZ VIKTOR (ed.): *Ulrich von Liechtenstein: Frauendienst*, Göppingen 1987.

---: 'Der Leich, Lieder zum Thema Heiliges Land und Kreuzzug, "Alterslieder"', in: *Walther von der Vogelweide: Epoche – Werk – Wirkung*, ed. by Horst Brunner, Gerhard Hahn, Ulrich Müller and Franz Viktor Spechtler, Munich 1996, pp. 192–227.

STAITI, NICO: 'Musica imaginum: Representations of Music and Oral Tradition', in: *Musikalische Ikonographie*, ed. by Harald Heckmann, Monika Holl and Hans Joachim Marx, Laaber 1994.

STEVENS, JOHN: *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance and Drama, 1050–1350*, Cambridge 1986.

STEVENS, JOHN, ARDIS BUTTERFIELD and THEODORE KARP: Art. 'Troubadours, trouvères', in: *NGrove*, ed. by Stanley Sadie, vol. 25, London 2001, pp. 798–820.

STIEF, WIEGAND: 'Die Melodien des Minnesangs als Spiegel verschollener Volkslieder?', in: *SMH* 15 (1973), pp. 245–265.

STOLLBERG, ARNE: *Ohr und Auge – Klang und Form. Facetten einer musikästhetischen Dichotomie bei Johann Gottfried Herder, Richard Wagner und Franz Schreker*, Stuttgart 2006.

STOLZ, MICHAEL: 'Die Aura der Autorschaft: Dichterprofile in der Manessischen Liederhandschrift', in: *Buchkultur im Mittelalter: Schrift – Bild – Kommunikation*, ed. by Adrian Mettauer, Berlin 2005, pp. 68–99.

STRAYER, JOSEPH R.: *The Albgensian Crusades*, New York 1971.

STROHSCHNEIDER, PETER: '"nu sehent, wie der singet!" Vom Hervortreten des Sängers im Minnesang', in: *'Aufführung' und 'Schrift' in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. by Jan-Dirk Müller, Stuttgart 1996, pp. 7–30.

SÜHRING, PETER: 'Mitmachen und widerstehen: zur misslungenen Doppelstrategie des Friedrich Gennrich im Jahre 1940', in: *Musikforschung, Faschismus, Nationalsozialismus: Referate der Tagung Schloss Engers (8. bis 11. März 2000)*, ed. by Isolde von Foerster, Christoph Hust and Christoph-Hellmut Mahling, Mainz 2001, pp. 405–414.

---: *Der Rhythmus der Trobadors: zur Archäologie einer Interpretationsgeschichte*, Berlin 2003.

---: *Gustav Jacobsthal: eine Musikologe im deutschen Kaiserreich: Musik inmitten von Natur, Geschichte und Sprache*, Hildesheim 2012.

SWISHER, MICHAEL: Review of James V. McMahon, 'The Music of Early Minnesang', in: *GSR* 14 (1991), pp. 139–140.

SWITTEN, MARGARET and HOWELL CHICKERING: *The Medieval Lyric*, 4 vols, South Hadley (Mass) 1987/88.

TAYLOR, RONALD J.: 'Du Doenediep!', in: *LMS* 2 (1951), pp. 125–132.

---: Review of Johannes A. Huismann, 'Neue Wege zur dichterischen und musikalischen Technik Walthers von der Vogelweide', in: *AfdA* 65 (1951/52), pp. 115–118.

---: 'The Musical Knowledge of the Middle High German Poet', in: *MLR* 49 (1954), pp. 331–338.

---: 'Zur Übertragung der Melodien der Minnesänger', in: *ZfdA* 87 (1956/57), pp. 132–147.

---: *Die Melodien der weltlichen Lieder des Mittelalters*, 2 vols, Stuttgart 1964.

---: 'Minnesang – Wort unde Wîse', in: *Essays in German Literature: I*, ed. by Frederic Norman, London 1965, pp. 1–28.

---: Review of Barbara Garvey Seagrave and Wesley Thomas, 'The Songs of the Minnesingers', in: *EGPh* 66 (1967), pp. 632–634.

---: *The Art of the Minnesinger: Songs of the Thirteenth Century Transcribed and Edited with Textual and Musical Commentaries*, 2 vols, Cardiff 1968.

TERVOOREN, HELMUT: 'Ein neuer Fund zu Reinmar von Zweter: zugleich ein Beitrag zu einer m[ittel]d[eutschen]/n[ieder]d[eutschen] Literaturlandschaft', in: *ZfdPh* 102 (1983), pp. 377–391.

---: *Sangspruchdichtung*, Stuttgart 1995.

---: 'Die "Aufführung" als Interpretament mittelhochdeutscher Lyrik', in: *'Aufführung' und 'Schrift' in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. by Jan-Dirk Müller, Stuttgart 1996, pp. 48–66.

TERVOOREN, HELMUT and ULRICH MÜLLER (eds): *Die Jenaer Liederhandschrift*, Göppingen 1972.

TEVIOTDALE, ELIZABETH C.: 'Music and Pictures in the Middle Ages', in: *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music*, ed. by Tess Knighton and David Fallows, London 1992, pp. 179–188.

TIEDAU, ULRICH: Art. 'Jostes, Franz Ludwig', in: *IGL*, ed. by Christoph König, vol. 2, Berlin 2003, pp. 861–863.

TISCHLER, HANS: 'Rhythm, Meter, and Melodic Organization in Medieval Songs', in: *RbM* 28/30 (1974–1976), pp. 5–23.

---: 'Rhythm, Meter, and Melodic Organization in Medieval Songs', in: *SMC* 8/9 (1976), pp. 49–64.

TOUBER, A[NTHONIUS] H[ENDRIKUS]: 'Zur Einheit von Wort und Weise im Minnesang', in: *ZfdA* 93 (1964a), pp. 313–320.

TOUBER, ANTHONIUS HENDRIKUS: *Rhetorik und Form im deutschen Minnesang*, Utrecht 1964b.

TREITLER, LEO: 'Once More, Music and Language in Medieval Song', in: *Essays on Medieval Music*, ed. by Graeme M. Boone, Cambridge (Mass) 1995, pp. 441–469.

---: 'The Marriage of Poetry and Music in Medieval Song', in: *With Voice and Pen: Coming to Know Medieval Song and How It Was Made*, ed. by Leo Treitler, New York 2003, pp. 457–481.

UHLAND, LUDWIG: *Walther von der Vogelweide: ein altdeutscher Dichter*, Stuttgart 1822.

UHLENBROCK, MARTIN: Art. 'Molitor, Raphael', in: *NdB*, vol. 17, Berlin 1994, pp. 727–728.

ULSHÖFER, ROBERT (ed.): *Der Deutschunterricht: Gesamt-Register für die Jahrgänge 1–20 (1947–1968)*, Stuttgart [no year].

UNZEITIG-HERZOG, MONIKA: 'Diskussionsbericht: Vortrag – Abbildung – Handschrift am Beispiel der höfischen Lied- und Sangspruchdichtung', in: *'Aufführung' und 'Schrift' in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. by Jan-Dirk Müller, Stuttgart 1996, pp. 130–137.

VALE, MALCOLM: *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe 1270–1380*, Oxford 2001.

VILLARI, LINDA: *Oswald von Wolkenstein: a Memoir of the Last Minnesinger of Tirol*, London 1901.

VIZKELETY, ANDRÁS and KARL-AUGUST WIRTH: 'Funde zum Minnesang: Blätter aus einer bebilderten Liederhandschrift', in: *PBB* 107 (1985), pp. 366–375.

VOETZ, LOTHAR: 'Überlieferungsformen mittelhochdeutscher Lyrik', in: *Codex Manesse: Katalog zur Ausstellung vom 12. Juni bis 2. Oktober 1988 Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg*, ed. by Elmar Mittler and Wilfried Werner, Heidelberg 1988, pp. 224–274.

VOIGT, KONSTANTIN: 'Gothic und HIP – Sinn und Präsenz in populären und in historisch informierten Realisierungen des Palästinalieds', in: *BJb* 32 (2008), pp. 221–234.

VOLLMANN, BENEDIKT KONRAD (ed.): *Carmina Burana: Texte und Übersetzungen*, Berlin 2011.

WACHINGER, BURGHART: 'Der Anfang der Jenaer Liederhandschrift', in: *ZfdA* 110 (1981), pp. 299–306.

---: Art. 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift', in: *VL*, ed. by Kurt Ruh, vol. 4, Berlin 1983, cols 512–516.

---: 'Von der Jenaer zur Weimarer Liederhandschrift: zur Corpusüberlieferung von Frauenlobs Spruchdichtung', in: *Philologie als Kulturwissenschaft: Studien zu Literatur und Geschichte des Mittelalters*, ed. by Ludger Grenzmann, Hubert Herkommer and Dieter Wuttke, Göttingen 1987, pp. 193–207.

---: 'Autorschaft und Überlieferung', in: *Autorentypen*, ed. by Walter Haug and Burghart Wachinger, Tübingen 1991, pp. 1–28.

WALTHER, INGO F. and GISELA SIEBERT (eds): *Codex Manesse: die Miniaturen der Großen Heidelberger Liederhandschrift*, Frankfurt am Main [4]1988.

WALWORTH, JULIA: 'Earthly Delights: the Pictorial Images of the Carmina Burana Manuscript', in: *The Carmina Burana: Four Essays*, ed. by Martin H. Jones, London 2000, pp. 71–83.

WANGENHEIM, WOLFGANG VON: *Das Basler Fragment einer mitteldeutsch-niederdeutschen Liederhandschrift und sein Spruchdichter-Repertoire (Kelin, Fegfeuer)*, Bern 1972.

WATHEY, ANDREW: Art. 'Bent, Margaret (Hilda)', in: *NGrove*, ed. by Stanley Sadie, vol. 3, London 2001.

WEBSTER, JAMES: 'The Concept of Beethoven's "Early" Period in the Context of Periodizations in General', in: *BF* 3 (1994), pp. 1–27.

WECHSSLER, EDUARD: *Das Kulturproblem des Minnesangs: Studien zur Vorgeschichte der Renaissance*, 2 vols, Halle (Saale) 1909.

WEHNERT, MARTIN: Art. 'Wustmann, Rudolf', in: *MGG1*, ed. by Friedrich Blume, vol. 14, Kassel 1968, col. 915.

WEIL, BERND A.: *Die Rezeption des Minnesangs in Deutschland seit dem 15. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt am Main 1991.

WEIß, TANJA: *Minnesang und Rock: die Kunstgattung Aufgeführtes Lied in ihrer Ästhetik und Poetik: moderne Zugänge zu einer alten Liedgattung: Aufführung und ihre Bedingungen für die Liedtextinterpretation*, Neustadt am Rübenberge 2007.

WELKER, LORENZ: 'Melodien und Instrumente', in: *Codex Manesse: Katalog zur Ausstellung vom 12. Juni bis 2. Oktober 1988 Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg*, ed. by Elmar Mittler and Wilfried Werner, Heidelberg 1988, pp. 113–126.

---: Art. 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift', in: *MGG2*, ed. by Ludwig Finscher, vol. 4 (Sachteil), Kassel 1996, cols 1455–1460.

---: 'Die "Jenaer Liederhandschrift" im Kontext großformatiger liturgischer Bücher des 14. Jahrhunderts aus dem deutschen Sprachraum', in: *Die 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift': Codex – Geschichte – Umfeld*, ed. by Jens Haustein and Franz Körndle, Berlin 2010, pp. 137–147.

WENZEL, FRANZISKA: 'Vom Gestus des Zeigens und der Sichtbarkeit künstlerischer Geltung im Codex Manesse', in: *Visualisierungsstrategien in mittelalterlichen Bildern und Texten*, ed. by Horst Wenzel and C. Stephen Jaeger, Berlin 2006a, pp. 44–62.

WENZEL, HORST: *Hören und Sehen: Schrift und Bild: Kultur und Gedächtnis im Mittelalter*, Munich 1995.

---: 'Wahrnehmung und Deixis: zur Poetik der Sichtbarkeit in der höfischen Literatur', in: *Visualisierungsstrategien in mittelalterlichen Bildern und Texten*, ed. by Horst Wenzel and C. Stephen Jaeger, Berlin 2006b, pp. 17–43.

WENZEL, HORST: 'Deixis und Initialisierung: Zeighände in alten und neuen Medien', in: *Deixis: vom Denken mit dem Zeigefinger*, ed. by Heike Gfrereis and Marcel Lepper, Göttingen 2007, pp. 110–143.

WERF, HENDRIK VAN DER: Review of Barbara Garvey Seagrave and Wesley Thomas, 'The Songs of the Minnesinger, Prince Wizlaw of Rügen', in: *Nt* 26 (1969), pp. 34–35.

WERNESS, HOPE B.: Art. 'Dog', in: *ASA*, New York 2006a, pp. 134–141.

---: Art. 'Magpie', in: *ASA*, New York 2006b, pp. 264–265.

---: Art. 'Nightingale', in: *ASA*, New York 2006c, pp. 295–296.

WESTRUP, JACK ALLAN: Review of Barbara Garvey Seagrave and Wesley Thomas, 'The Songs of the Minnesingers', in: *M&L* 48 (1967), p. 292.

WIEDEBURG, BASILIUS CHRISTIAN BERNHARD: *Ausführliche Nachricht von einigen alten teutschen poetischen Manuscripten aus dem dreyzehenden und vierzehenden Jahrhunderte, welche in der Jenaischen akademischen Bibliothek aufbehalten werden*, Jena 1754.

WIEDENMANN, REINHOLD: 'Die mittelalterlichen Sänger: Aufsteiger von morgen? Betrachtungen eines Sängers von heute', in: *Mittelalter-Rezeption IV: Medien, Politik, Ideologie, Ökonomie*, ed. by Irene von Burg, Jürgen Kühnel, Ulrich Müller and Alexander Schwarz, Göppingen 1991, pp. 169–177.

WILMANNS, WILHELM: *Walther von der Vogelweide*, Halle (Saale) [2]1883.

WILMANNS, WILHELM and VICTOR MICHELS: *Walther von der Vogelweide*, 2 vols, Halle (Saale) [4]1924.

WIORA, WALTHER: *Das deutsche Lied: zur Geschichte und Ästhetik einer musikalischen Gattung*, Wolfenbüttel 1971.

WOLF, JÜRGEN: 'J und der Norden: Anmerkungen zu einigen kodikologischen und paläographischen Indizien', in: *Die 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift': Codex – Geschichte – Umfeld*, ed. by Jens Haustein and Franz Körndle, Berlin 2010, pp. 149–161.

WRIGHT, AARON E.: Review of James V. McMahon, 'The Music of Early Minnesang', in: *GQ* 65 (1992), pp. 447–448.

WUSTMANN, RUDOLF: 'Walther's Palaestinalied', in: *SIMG* 13 (1912), pp. 247–250.

WYSS, ULRICH: Art. 'Saran, Franz Ludwig', in: *IGL*, ed. by Christoph König, vol. 3, Berlin 2003, pp. 1566–1567.

YATES, FRANCES A.: *The Art of Memory*, Harmondsworth 1966.

ZON, BENNETT: *Music and Metaphor in Nineteenth-Century British Musicology*, Ashgate 2000.

ZUMTHOR, PAUL: *Essai de poétique médievale*, Paris 1972.