

BRITISH LIBRARY ADDITIONAL MANUSCRIPT 24946.

DESCRIPTION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

by

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## ABSTRACT

Chapter 1 considers the importance of the manuscript and looks at previous research; it assesses how that research is now out-of-date, has not kept up with newer knowledge and codicological methodology and identifies uncorrected inconsistencies and inaccuracies. It sets out aims and purposes for this current study along codicological, literary and socio-literary lines.

Chapter 2 provides a general description of the manuscript before considering more specifically its Bavarian dialect and possible Nuremberg provenance. Questions of dating are also considered. A list of contents is provided and its structure examined.

Chapter 3 looks at the background to the manuscript, Nuremberg in the fifteenth century, and attempts to gauge the owner of the manuscript's place within that society before analysing the religious, moral and social themes treated in the works contained in the manuscript.

DEDICATION

To:

Stephen, Jennifer and Amy

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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The fact that I can feel that this work has performed a useful function, made a genuine and necessary contribution to mediaeval German studies and has brought me closer to a much clearer understanding of the literature of the mediaeval world and the nature of its preservation is, I am sure, a result of his original suggestion of subject-area and his subsequent wise counsel. For that I thank him above all.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### A HISTORY OF PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON THE MANUSCRIPT

#### AND THE AIMS AND PURPOSES OF THE PRESENT STUDY

##### The History of Previous Research on the Manuscript

British Library Additional Manuscript 24946 (Add. 24946) is an important but in a number of respects also a neglected manuscript.

It is important because, as a “Sammelhandschrift”, it contains works by major figures and influences in mediaeval German literature, notably Heinrich der Teichner and der Stricker. It also contains some twenty-five “Minnereden”<sup>1)</sup> and 6,000 lines of Heinrich von Beringen’s “Schachgedicht”.<sup>2)</sup> The manuscript also contains a number of *unica*, some of which have never been edited.

The manuscript’s importance has been recognised particularly in more recent years by the editors of modern and comprehensive editions of the

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<sup>1)</sup> Cf. the list provided by Tilo Brandis, *Mittelhochdeutsche, mittelniederdeutsche und mittelniederländische Minnereden. Verzeichnis der Handschriften und Drucke*, Munich 1968, pp. 247-248. Brandis also lists and classifies as “Minnereden” three of the Heinrich der Teichner works contained in the manuscript.

<sup>2)</sup> Although there has been one (necessarily) incomplete edition of this work, and although work has been done on the lines contained in Add. 24946, there is still no complete and critical edition of the poem. This will be discussed more fully later.



works of der Teichner<sup>3)</sup> and der Stricker<sup>4)</sup>, and in recent studies of the “Minnerede”<sup>5)</sup>, inasmuch as these editors and scholars have recognised Add. 24946 as one of the more important source manuscripts for their own individual purposes; but they have also tended, understandably enough, just to take from the manuscript what they personally needed and to ignore the manuscript as a whole.<sup>6)</sup>

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<sup>3)</sup> Heinrich Niewöhner (ed.), *Die Gedichte Heinrichs des Teichners* (3 vols.) (Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters 44, 46, 48), Berlin 1953, 1954, 1956.

<sup>4)</sup> Wolfgang Wilfried Moelleken (ed.), *Die Kleindichtung des Strickers* (Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik 107), Göppingen 1973-1978.

<sup>5)</sup> Cf. Brandis, *Minnereden*, and Ingeborg Glier, *Artes amandi. Untersuchung zu Geschichte, Überlieferung und Typologie der deutschen Minnereden*, Munich 1971. Cf. also Tilo Brandis, ‘Eine späte Minneredenhandschrift’, *Codices manuscripti* 9 (1983), pp. 19-25 (although the main manuscript under consideration here is not Add. 24946).

<sup>6)</sup> Cf. Niewöhner’s comment, *Teichner* I, p. XCIII: “Uns geht hier nur die II. Abteilung der Handschrift an. Sie bietet zunächst 37 Teichnergedichte und dahinter als K 38 Bl. 53<sup>r</sup> “Vom Blümlein Vergißmeinnicht” . . . und drei Abschnitte aus dem Schachbuch Heinrichs von Beringen . . .” That an understanding of the whole has taken second place to the specific study of its individual parts is clearly enough demonstrated by the fact that Add. 24946 is designated amongst Teichner manuscripts by Niewöhner as MS. K (*Teichner* I, pp. XCI-XCIII), whilst for Moelleken it is MS. F (*Kleindichtung* I, p. V); elsewhere, even by Niewöhner, it is designated as something else, namely MS. I<sup>2</sup>. See Heinrich Niewöhner (ed.), *Neues Gesamtabenteuer. Das ist Fr. H. von der Hagens Gesamtabenteuer in neuer Auswahl. Die Sammlung der mittelhochdeutschen Mären und Schwänke des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts* Vol. 1 (2<sup>nd</sup> edition ed. by Werner Simon), Berlin 1967, p. XIV. Von der Hagen himself, of course, did not note and refer to manuscripts in the same way. See Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen (ed.), *Gesamtabenteuer. Hundert altdeutsche Erzählungen*, Stuttgart and Tübingen 1850, Vol. 1, pp. XXXV-XLVIII. Without the benefit of more precise modern manuscript designation, he speaks of manuscripts simply as, for instance, “die Dresdner alte Sammlung” or “die Erlanger Handschrift” (p. XXXVI) or of “eine andere Wiener Handschrift” (p. XXXVIII). Fischer changed this designation I<sup>2</sup> to Lo when it came to Add. 24946’s relevance to his corpus of “Märendichtung” (See Hanns Fischer, *Studien zur deutschen Märendichtung*, Tübingen <sup>(2)</sup>1983, p. 289 and *idem* (ed.), *Die deutsche Märendichtung des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Munich 1966, p. XX), even though he includes poems by both der Teichner and der Stricker within this corpus, whilst for Stricker scholars generally it remains designated as MS. F (See Moelleken, *Kleindichtung* I, p. V, also Ute Schwab (ed.), *Der Stricker. Tierbispel* (ATB 54), Tübingen 1968, p. XV).

Additional Manuscript 24946 has been neglected inasmuch as it is now over a hundred years since any work has been undertaken (or at least published) on the manuscript as a whole. References to descriptions of the manuscript quoted for instance by Brandis<sup>7)</sup> and Glier<sup>8)</sup> are now 100 to 130 years old, and within that period knowledge has moved on. Much more of the content has been recognised and identified, and many more of the works contained within it have been edited and published.

Modern manuscript description techniques, such as those prepared by Karin Schneider for Harrassowitz<sup>9)</sup>, have not been applied to Add. 24946, and the descriptions traditionally quoted by authors and editors contain between them two different listing and numbering techniques<sup>10)</sup>, neither of which corresponds to the more modern approach. Meanwhile an even older

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<sup>7)</sup> *Minnereden*, p. 247.

<sup>8)</sup> *Artes amandi*, p. 372.

<sup>9)</sup> The whole of the Harrassowitz series of manuscript descriptions brings a simple but thorough methodology to the task: a description of the essential features of the manuscript: material, number of folios, dating, watermarks, number of scribes, etc., followed by the identification of each new part of the manuscript including incipits and explicits, this followed by reference to editions of the individual works. Yet this simple but effective methodology is possible today only because so much more is known with relative certainty about Middle High German literature than was the case when Add. 24946 was last described in detail as a whole. Such information is, of course, given in the older descriptions of Add. 24946 – but not all of it - and there is sometimes also an element of speculation. There is also a tendency to divide the manuscript into arbitrary sections which seems unacceptable today. This is interpretative rather than objective. Furthermore, there were far fewer editions of works to refer to.

<sup>10)</sup> See: Jacob Baechtold, *Deutsche Handschriften aus dem Britischen Museum*, Schaffhausen 1873, pp. 72-146 (the same scheme of division and numbering adopted also by Robert Priebisch, *Deutsche Handschriften in England 2*, Erlangen 1901, pp. 215-223); H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum Vol. 1*, London 1883, pp. 826-841. See also Appendix I – Comparison of Numbering of Individual Poetic Works.

description does employ a technique – albeit inaccurately – more akin to modern methodology, but uses a folio numbering different from the later and usually quoted references.<sup>11)</sup> All descriptions published also contain contradictions and inaccuracies in the reading of the text which need to be corrected.

Quite simply, there exists no one reliable, accurate and up-to-date description of Add. 24946 that can draw on all the advances in research and knowledge gained over the last hundred years, this being particularly true as regards the content of the manuscript<sup>12)</sup>.

In short, there is at the very least a good deal of collation work needing to be done to bring about an up-to-date description of Add. 24946. More importantly perhaps, it is now time to look again at Add. 24946 as an entity in its own right rather than to see it as the sum of so many parts. It is deserving of that. And apart from purely codicological and literary considerations, it may be that new study can add a sociological dimension and that consideration of the choice of content of the manuscript can tell us something about the ideas and

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<sup>11)</sup> T. O. Weigel, 'Beschreibung der Handschriften im Besitze des Herrn T. O. Weigel in Leipzig', *Serapeum* 8 (1847), pp. 220-224 and 233-237. The same description is also given in Weigel's *Catalog einer ausgewählten Sammlung von Büchern zu haben bei T. O. Weigel*, Leipzig, n. d. Weigel uses an older rubricated pagination provided by the scribe, not the later British Museum pagination used by Baechtold, Pribsch and Ward and by every other commentator since. See also Appendix I.

<sup>12)</sup> And it may be also that we need to bring a more modern and a less prudish, "Victorian" and judgemental attitude to the contents of the manuscript and recognise "kleinere Erzählungen und Schwänke, oft der obscönsten Art verschiedener Verfasser des XIV. – XV. Jahrhunderts, die ihre Namen zum Theil wohlweislich verschwiegen haben" (Baechtold, *Handschriften*, p.108) as being part of a now perfectly acceptable area of study.

concerns, both literary and social, which occupied the compiler of the manuscript and which underlay and determined its compilation and production. It may be, too, that consideration of its structure may have implications for our understanding of the principles – or lack of principles – guiding the construction of Add. 24946 and conceivably that of other late mediaeval urban “Sammelhandschriften” of similar type.

Additional Manuscript 24946 came into the possession of the British Museum on 29<sup>th</sup> July 1862, on which date it was purchased at auction as lot number 581 in M. Libri’s sale<sup>13)</sup>. Before that date, in the late 1840s, it is known to have been in the possession of T. O. Weigel of Leipzig, for it is twice described by him<sup>14)</sup>. It is said even earlier (1838) to have been in the possession of his father J. A. G. Weigel<sup>15)</sup>. Nothing seems known of its history before that date.

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<sup>13)</sup> There is a note to this effect on the front of the manuscript itself.

<sup>14)</sup> *Handschriften*, pp. 220-224 and 233-237; *Catalog*, pp. X-XIX. There may be good reason to suppose that this latter work dates from the same time as the former. Although running the family business in a purely commercial capacity since 1839, it was presumably not until the death of J. A. G. Weigel in 1846 that the firm and its assets would fully have passed to T. O. Weigel and the firm continued in his own name.

<sup>15)</sup> Friedrich Zarncke, *Der Deutsche Cato*, Leipzig 1852, pp. 189-190, claims to have seen the manuscript whilst it was in T. O. Weigel’s possession and makes reference to an *Index librorum bibliopolii J. A. G. Weigel*, Leipzig 1838, where it is apparently described in some detail. I have been unable to locate or consult a copy of this work. The British Library does possess an *Index Librorum Bibliopolii J. A. G. Weigel* (capitalisation as per titles of published works) published in Leipzig in 1838, but this further describes itself as “Fasciculus primus. Biblia. Patres et scriptores ecclesiastici. Historia ecclesiastica. Scriptores classici graeci et latini.” Not unsurprisingly Add. 24946 is not to be found within its pages. An introduction to the catalogue makes it clear that Weigel is a dealer in out-of-print books, and Ward (*Catalogue of Romances*, p. 826) dismisses it as “a mere book-seller’s catalogue”. Neither (continuing to blur the finer differences between book and manuscript) can Add. 24946 be found within the pages of *Catalogus Librorum*

Since its purchase by the British Museum in 1862 research on the manuscript has proceeded piecemeal and in a number of stages, the first of which was undertaken in what remained of the nineteenth century by Jacob Baechtold<sup>16)</sup>, H. L. D. Ward<sup>17)</sup> and Robert Pribsch<sup>18)</sup>.

Between them the three researchers established a basic physical description of the manuscript and dated it to the fifteenth century. Pribsch also commented on and described two of the three watermarks, commented (arithmetically unsoundly) on the number of quires, on the red pagination that begins on folio 12 and on the number of scribes working on the manuscript. Later commentators were to describe it as probably deriving from Nuremberg, and work on the language and dialect of the manuscript was later to confirm this. Much of the content of the manuscript, however, remained unidentified.<sup>19)</sup>

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*sumtibus Joa. Aug. Gottl. Weigelii*, Leipzig 1836. This might just perhaps suggest that Add. 24946 came into the possession of the Weigels somewhere between 1836 and 1838, but it would be very rash to make such a judgement. What evidence there is is too vague to permit of any conclusion. – See Appendix II, The British Museum, the Weigels and Monsieur Libri.

<sup>16)</sup> *Handschriften*, pp. 72-146.

<sup>17)</sup> *Catalogue of Romances*, pp. 826-841.

<sup>18)</sup> *Handschriften* 2, pp. 215-223. These three commentators seem to have been unaware of and do not mention T. O. Weigel's earlier published descriptions of the manuscript.

<sup>19)</sup> It is also a strange feature of this early work that, although Pribsch was aware of Baechtold's work and set about only to add to and correct it where necessary (*Handschriften* 2, p. 215: "Ich begnüge mich daher mit folgenden Zusätzen und Richtigstellungen"), Ward (writing in 1883) seems unaware of Baechtold's earlier description (1873), and Pribsch in his turn (1901) seems unaware of Ward's, this despite the fact that he was working closely with British Museum staff and that Ward's work had been undertaken under the auspices of the British Museum. It was "Printed by Order of the Trustees". – See title page. But in a sense a precedent had been set. Work by British scholars and work by German scholars seemed destined to proceed, to some degree at least, in ignorance of each other's achievements. Glier, for instance, *Artes amandi*, pp. 372-373, describes Add. 24946 with a knowledge of the content of the manuscript that exceeds that of her three quoted authorities,

Part of the intention of Ward's work was to provide "bibliographical and literary information" and notes on "the critical analysis to which the different texts have been submitted"<sup>20)</sup>. Priebisch's<sup>21)</sup> stated aims were threefold:

Bei diesen [manuscripts looked at] war ich bestrebt,  
1) den Leser hinreichend über ihr Äusseres zu unter-  
richten, 2) ihn mit ihrem Inhalt, wenigstens dem deut-  
schen, vollständig bekannt zu machen, 3) aber ihre  
Provenienz und Geschichte, soweit es sie zu ermitteln  
gelang, festzustellen.

In effect, the job they were trying to do was identical: list and identify the individual works contained in the manuscript and provide as many further references as possible.

Following these early labours of cataloguing, there was something of a flurry of activity in the early part of the twentieth century as far as the study of Add. 24946 was concerned – at least in England. This second phase of research seems to have proceeded very much under the influence of Priebisch. It did not involve a consideration of the manuscript as a whole, but instead centred on four small publications, an edition of "Das

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Baechtold, Ward and Priebisch (she also quotes Arend Mihm, *Überlieferung und Verbreitung der Märendichtung im Spätmittelalter*, Heidelberg 1967, p. 136, and Brandis, *Minnereden*, p. 247), but it seems strange that in what is in essence a fairly detailed description of Add. 24946, and given that her theme is the "Minnerede", she seems unaware of and certainly does not mention Wilks' 1923 edition of *Bestrafte Untreue* (John Wilks (ed.), *Bestrafte Untreue*, London 1923) which takes into account Add. 24946 and which had a major contribution to make to the study of Add. 24946. The relative inaccessibility of the manuscript in London must always have been a problem for German scholars, and we must assume that lack of access to a relatively obscure English publication of the 1920s may still pose a problem for American-based researchers such as Glier.

<sup>20)</sup> E. Maunde Thompson in Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, "Notice", unnumbered page preceding list of contents.

<sup>21)</sup> *Handschriften* 1, Vorwort, pp. IV-V.

Vergißmeinnicht”<sup>22)</sup>, an edition of “Bestrafte Untreue”<sup>23)</sup> taking into consideration the version in Add. 24946, an edition of the poem “Von unsers herren liden”<sup>24)</sup>, a *unicum* in Add. 24946, and a study of Heinrich von Beringen’s “Schachgedicht”<sup>25)</sup>. For the first time the language of the manuscript was addressed, and more of its content identified.

Wilks’s intention in his edition of “Bestrafte Untreue” was simply to add to Matthaei’s 1913 edition of the poem<sup>26)</sup> by taking into consideration Add. 24946 in addition to the Heidelberg and Weimar manuscripts which Matthaei had used.<sup>27)</sup> But Wilks also examines the language of the manuscript<sup>28)</sup> and identifies the dialect of the scribe as being Bavarian. Both Carr and Lloyd concur with Wilks in this respect, or at least Lloyd says that the orthography

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<sup>22)</sup> Jessie Crosland, “Von dem Blümlin Vergissmeinnit”, *The Modern Language Review* IX (1914), pp. 359-369. Crosland mentions that it was Pribsch who drew her attention to the poem (loc. cit., p. 359, footnote 1).

<sup>23)</sup> John Wilks (ed.), *Bestrafte Untreue*, London 1923.

<sup>24)</sup> C. T. Carr (ed.), *Von unsers herren liden*, Manchester 1929. Carr comments in the preface to his edition that it was undertaken at Pribsch’s suggestion. This is the poem on folios 218<sup>v</sup>-231<sup>r</sup> of the manuscript, item 131 here, not the shorter religious poem “Von vnsers herren leiden”, item 2, folios 4<sup>r</sup>-6<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>25)</sup> M. D. I. Lloyd, *Studien zu Heinrich von Beringens Schachgedicht* (Germanische Studien 83), Berlin 1930. Lloyd mentions the fact that it had been Pribsch who had recognised that a large proportion (some 6,000 lines or so) of Add. 24946 consists of extracts from Heinrich von Beringen’s “Schachbuch” (loc. cit., p. 5, footnote 1).

<sup>26)</sup> Wilks, *Bestrafte Untreue*, p. 8; Kurt Matthaei (ed.), *Mittelhochdeutsche Minnereden* I (Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters XXIV), Berlin 1913, pp. 113-119.

<sup>27)</sup> These two editions of “Bestrafte Untreue” are the only two listed by Tilo Brandis, <sup>(2)</sup>*Verfasserlexikon* 1 (1978), cols. 834-835, but Brandis does mention a fourth manuscript.

<sup>28)</sup> Loc. cit., pp. 11-15.

hints at Bavaria as being the home of the scribe. He also adds a little more detail to the description of the script.<sup>29)</sup>

More interestingly perhaps, both Wilks and Carr – treating two very different works – examine both the dialect of the scribe (Bavarian)<sup>30)</sup> and, through an examination of rhyme, the dialect of the poet, which in both cases they determine to be Swabian, and in particular East Swabian.<sup>31)</sup>

Lloyd's work had a similar aim to Wilks'. He set out to add to the only edition of a poem that had until then been published<sup>32)</sup>, which had drawn on the only manuscript known to exist of Heinrich von Beringen's "Schachgedicht"<sup>33)</sup>. In the case of Lloyd's work (and thanks to Priebisch's initial

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<sup>29)</sup> Lloyd, *Beringen*, pp. 9-10.

<sup>30)</sup> Wilks, *Bestrafte Untreue*, pp. 11-15; Carr, *Von unsers herren liden*, pp. 2 and 5.

<sup>31)</sup> Wilks, loc. cit., pp. 20-21; Carr, loc. cit., p. 1.

<sup>32)</sup> Paul Zimmermann (ed.), *Das Schachgedicht Heinrichs von Beringen* (Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart CLXVI), Tübingen 1883.

<sup>33)</sup> Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. poet. et phil. 4<sup>o</sup> 25, is still the only known (almost) complete manuscript of the full work. However, when Zimmermann edited the poem one of the folios was missing. This folio was discovered intact much later and published by Schiel (Hubert Schiel, 'Ein ergänzendes Bruchstück von Heinrichs von Beringen Schachgedicht', *ZfdA* 74 (1937), pp. 132-134). This fragment is now Frankfurt am Main, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. germ. oct. 20. Zimmermann's edition is still the only full edition listed by Gerard F. Schmidt, <sup>(2)</sup>*Verfasserlexikon* 3 (1981), cols. 696-699, so that it seems that no edition has yet appeared which re-unites the Stuttgart manuscript with its missing folio and/or takes into account the verses which appear in Add. 24946. Neither has any edition been announced in the census of "Editionsvorhaben" published annually in *Germanistik*. What is a little confusing about the whole situation is that in Zimmermann's edition there is a gap after verse 2178, which Zimmermann comments on, but the missing folio is not numbered *in absentia*. Folio 34<sup>v</sup> precedes the gap in the text, folio 35<sup>r</sup> follows it. The verses also continue to be numbered after the gap beginning at 2179. Schiel designates the missing folio the number 34<sup>1</sup>, and he numbers the verses 2179\*-2249\*. Add. 24946 fol. 259<sup>v</sup>, line 27 to fol. 260<sup>v</sup>, line 10 (end of item 145 and beginning of item 146) correspond closely with



identification of the verses) a very significant part of the content of Add. 24946 was identified, and the exact correspondence of lines as they appear in the Stuttgart and London manuscripts was noted down.

Wilks and Lloyd also examined the relationship between Add. 24946 and the various other manuscripts they were considering. Both commentators see Add. 24946 as representing a different manuscript tradition from the other manuscripts to which it was compared<sup>34)</sup>.

If it is possible to speak of a third phase of research on Add. 24946 since the work of Wilks, Carr and Lloyd, then this has come along largely almost as a by-product of other research, and it has contributed primarily to the identification of the contents of the manuscript. Researchers on the "Märe" and "Minnerede" have identified a number of works in Add. 24946 as belonging to these genres. This has filled in some of the gaps in identifying the content of Add. 24946, but has not fully been relevant to a study of the manuscript as an entity in its own right.

If most references to and descriptions of Add. 24946 by editors and commentators over the years have been very brief<sup>35)</sup>, at least Heinrich

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the lines in the Schiel fragment, there still being, however, a number of lines in the fragment which do not appear in Add. 24946. Schmidt comments: "Die Entdeckung der zwei Bruchstücke und die Ergebnisse von Lloyds Arbeit, die Zimmermanns Edition ergänzt, verbessert und zahlreiche neue Lesearten bietet, lassen eine Neuauflage von Heinrichs Schachbuch als erwünscht erscheinen" (<sup>(2)</sup>*Verfasserlexikon* 3, col. 698).

<sup>34)</sup> Wilks, *Bestrafte Untreue*, pp. 16-19; Lloyd, *Beringen*, pp. 15-19.

<sup>35)</sup> A number of early references were given in Karl Geuther, *Studien zum Liederbuch der Klara Hätzlerin*, Halle 1899, pp. 31-37. Another early brief

Niewöhner, in editing the poems of Heinrich der Teichner, seems to have seen the manuscript for himself – he is the only commentator to describe the binding in detail<sup>36)</sup> – and he includes in his brief description of the manuscript further information on the watermarks, complete with identifications from Briquet.

Certain more recent studies of the structural principles governing the compilation of mediaeval manuscripts have mentioned Add. 24946, but shed relatively little light on it. Westphal<sup>37)</sup>, in her examination of “minne constellations” – the idea that mediaeval compilers of manuscripts deliberately juxtaposed poems on related themes, more specifically combining in groups stories of faithful love or gallant “Mären” with discourses on courtliness –, makes only one brief mention of Add. 24946. Glier<sup>38)</sup> devotes a little more space to this consideration but seems to find some difficulty in identifying a neat underlying intention. If the manuscript is divided or divisible into seven sections<sup>39)</sup>, the “Minnereden” forming or being contained within the fifth section, she concludes:

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mention which might be noted is Friedrich Wilhelm, *Deutsche Legenden und Legendare*, Leipzig 1907, p. 207. Later references have in general continued to be cursory. Cf. Fischer, *Märendichtung* p. XX; Mihm, *Überlieferung*, p. 136; Niewöhner, *Gesamtabenteuer*, p. XIV; Brandis, *Minnereden*, pp. 247-248; Schwab, *Tierbispiel*, p. XV; Wolfgang Wilfried Moelleken (ed.), *Liebe und Ehe. Lehrgedichte von dem Stricker*, Chapel Hill, 1970, p. XVII; Glier, *Artes amandi*, pp. 372-373; Brandis, *Eine späte Minneredenhandschrift*, pp. 20-21.

<sup>36)</sup> *Teichner I*, p. XCII.

<sup>37)</sup> Sarah Westphal, *Textual Poetics of German Manuscripts 1300-1500*, Columbia 1993. Add. 24946 is mentioned on p. 107. See also pp. 12-13 and 9-10.

<sup>38)</sup> *Artes amandi*, pp. 372-373.

<sup>39)</sup> Both Baechtold, *Handschriften*, pp. 72-146, and Priebisch, *Handschriften 2*, pp. 215-223, divided the manuscript in this way and are quoted by Glier as authorities.

Die Handschrift vermittelt also, im Unterschied zur Lied-Rede-Spezialisierung im Liederbuch der Hätzlerin, einen recht vielseitigen Überblick über verschiedene Typen spätmittelalterlicher Lehrdichtung, und in diesem weitgespannten Rahmen werden Minnereden offensichtlich als ein einigermaßen geschlossener Komplex betrachtet. Die Minnereden-Gruppe ist in sich wiederum nicht völlig einheitlich. Ähnlich wie im Liederbuch der Hätzlerin lagern sich in sie, vor allem gegen Schluß zu, gattungsfremde Stücke ein.<sup>40)</sup>

Her notion of an “einigermaßen geschlossener Komplex” is, however, not borne out by the position of what she has already termed “eine verstreute Minnerede ‘Das Vergißmeinnicht’ und Abschnitte aus dem Schachbuch Heinrichs von Beringen” within the second section. Neither does it take into account the three “Minnereden” identified by Brandis within the poems of der Teichner.<sup>41)</sup> Furthermore, the inclusion within the main body of “Minnereden” of “Die Beichte der zwölf Frauen” and Hans Rosenplüt’s “Der Barbier” would suggest that within this section of the manuscript even the relatively narrow concept of “Minne”, let alone the even narrower concept of “Minnerede”, may not be enough to explain either the inclusion of these two works or the sequence of works. Rather, as we shall see, the main principles governing the structuring of the manuscript seem to have been the supplied authorship of the Teichner and “Freidank” sections and thematic content.<sup>42)</sup> Indeed, Glier

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<sup>40)</sup> *Artes amandi*, p. 372.

<sup>41)</sup> Brandis, *Minnereden*, p. 247.

<sup>42)</sup> The section described by the scribe as containing poems by Freidank is, in fact, a collection of generally anonymous poems and poems now attributed to der Stricker. This small collection seems closely related to the much larger collection comprising Codex Vindobonensis 2705 (See Wolfgang Achnitz and Franz-Josef Holznapel, ‘Der werlt lauff vnd ir posait: Die Sammlung “Die Welt” und ihre Rezeption’ in: Horst Brunner (ed.), *Würzburg, der Große Löwenhof und die deutsche Literatur des Spätmittelalters* (Imagines Medii Aevi 17), Wiesbaden 2004, pp.283-312). Although none of these poems is now attributed to Freidank, it has seemed sensible to retain the description “Freidank” poems from time to time when referring to this section of the

herself points to the importance of “Lehrdichtung” as a dominant and guiding theme within the manuscript. Furthermore, the “Minnereden” do not appear near the beginning of the manuscript, a feature which Westphal sees as the norm – that is reserved for what Glier might presumably also term to be “gattungsfremde Stücke”.

The truth is, of course, that mediaeval manuscripts are often not easy to divide into neat sections, with the result that dividing lines introduced by scholars often seem decidedly arbitrary – as we see from Weigel’s attempt to divide Add. 24946 into four sections. Neither must there necessarily be neatly definable patterns of grouping within a manuscript. At first glance Add. 24946 seems without doubt to be a veritable hotchpotch. It may well be that there is a quite distinct pattern determining the inclusion and positioning of works, in which case this must be identified and defined (and no commentator has tried to do so thus far). Or it may be that only entirely different factors and considerations – even purely arbitrary circumstances – can explain the structure of Add. 24946.

Considering the picture we are left with of Additional Manuscript 24946 as a manuscript in its own right when taking into account over 150 years of work, the situation is unsatisfactory.

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manuscript as a whole and even to use the secondary numbering system F. 1, F. 2, etc. when listing individual poems within it.

### The Aims and Purposes of the Present Study

There are a number of areas in which we can update, correct and supplement knowledge as far as Add. 24946 is concerned, and there are a number of areas in which we can examine new avenues of approach to a study of the manuscript. Above all, despite all the work that has been done in the past, we can attempt to provide something which still does not exist – a methodically produced and accurate physical description of the manuscript which irons out the inconsistencies and inaccuracies left behind by previous commentators, and one which fully lists the contents of the manuscript and makes reference to editions of the various works it contains. By definition this task will also list and throw into perspective those texts which still remain unedited, enabling us usefully to provide texts of some of these.

The present study will seek to identify, as far as possible, the authorship and content of the manuscript's component parts. In some cases, this work is already done for us – at least to some degree – by the scribe himself. But even he was mistaken in what he believed the manuscript to contain.<sup>43)</sup>

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<sup>43)</sup> He gives us at least a vague hint as to the authorship of the first poem when he tells us (folio 3<sup>r</sup>):

Hie vacht an ain rueff vnd hubscher spruch von den  
zehen gepotten. So ain doctor gemacht hat.

The table of contents makes it clear that the poems that follow are also by the same author. He also tells us when a group of poems by der Teichner is beginning (folio 12<sup>r</sup>):

Hie vahent sich an die teichnär

but he neglects to tell us when the group ends, for the last four poems before his next title are certainly not by der Teichner, and it seems unlikely they were from the same source manuscript drawn upon for the poems which are by der

Earlier scholars such as Weigel, Baechtold, Ward and Priebisch appear to have been pre-conditioned to some degree by the scribe into thinking in terms of viewing the manuscript at least in part as consisting of a number of sections, largely delineated by the scribe himself – the first six religious poems, the Teichner section and the “Freidank” section, even if – apart from the Oswald von Wolkenstein and Andre von Esperdingen poems and the “Disticha Catonis” – the idea and existence of named sections disappears after that. Weigel and Ward tended to list individual poems, Weigel ignoring the table of contents and then running straight through from number 1 to number 184, Ward including the table of contents but sub-grouping the first six religious poems, the Teichner and the “Freidank” sections and ending up with 99 sections in all, these including the extracts in modern hand at the end

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Teichner. It may be far from unreasonable to surmise that the Teichner poems were copied from an already existing Teichner collection, just as the “Freidank” poems were clearly taken from a manuscript obviously related to Codex Vindobonensis 2705, and that similarly the poems at the end of the Teichner section may have been fillers taken from other source manuscripts and have become “detached” from the source manuscript to which they originally belonged. His next section is given both a beginning (folio 60<sup>r</sup>):

Hie vacht an hern freidancks gedicht der auf der  
welte leuf wol was bericht

and an end (folio 84<sup>v</sup>):

hie hat hern freidancks gedicht ende.

However, none of the poems contained in the group he thus brackets is now regarded as being by Freidank. The scribe gives two other names, those of Oswald von Wolkenstein (folio 85<sup>r</sup>) and Andre von Esperdingen (folios 209<sup>r</sup> and 210<sup>r</sup>), and he introduces a version of the “Disticha Catonis” (folio 211<sup>v</sup>) with the words:

wie der haidnisch maister katho seinem sun rat  
vnd klug ler gab.

Otherwise, apart from the poems in the Teichner section, some of which are headed “ain teichnär”, most but not all of which end with “also sprach der teichnär”, he limits himself particularly in the latter half of the manuscript to short headings such as “von gerechtikait” (folio 267<sup>r</sup>), “von gedultikait” (folio 274<sup>r</sup>) or “ain exempell von aim wirt” (folio 282<sup>v</sup>).

of the manuscript.<sup>44)</sup> Whilst Weigel was content to follow the scribe to some degree and divide the manuscript into four sections corresponding to the religious poems, the Teichner section, the “Freidank” section and the rest of the manuscript, Baechtold divided the manuscript into seven sections and was followed somewhat uncritically in this by Pribsch. This division into seven sections – not explained or justified in any way – now seems to be untenable, as the identification by Pribsch himself of parts of Heinrich von Beringen’s “Schachbuch” in Add. 24946 now places extracts from this poem in three of Baechtold’s essentially self-sufficient and self-contained seven sections.

Clearly, between them our four nineteenth-century commentators have provided no firm common basis of description on which to build. It must be said, too, that their descriptions at times also lack accuracy. In the Teichner section alone Baechtold makes a confusing number of misreadings of the manuscript, and on three occasions he wrongly notes the folio number on which a poem appears<sup>45)</sup>. His habit of quoting headings to poems not as they

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<sup>44)</sup> See Appendix I.

<sup>45)</sup> Examples of simple misreadings might be: “biederlewt” for the manuscript’s “biderlewt” (folio 12<sup>v</sup>, line 12), “von weisen” for “von den weisen” (folio 17<sup>r</sup>, line 24), “das korn” for “sein korn” (folio 19<sup>v</sup>, line 8), “ain rotes myndelain” for “ain rottes myndelein” (folio 25<sup>v</sup>, line 2) or “vorht vnd vber macht” for “vorcht vnd vbermacht” (folio 49<sup>r</sup>, line 8). But it is headings which seem to bear the brunt of these misreadings – “wie ainer heyraten sollt” for “wie ainer heiraten soll” (folio 23<sup>r</sup> line 9), “wie ain ritter seiner hawsfrawn ain rosshawt anlegt” for “wie ain ritter seiner frawen ain rosshawt anlegtt” (folio 43<sup>r</sup>, line 17) or “von zucht vnd warhaitt” for “von zucht vnd arbit” (folio 47<sup>r</sup>, line 33) – until, that is, it becomes evident that Baechtold is quoting as being in the body of the manuscript titles as they appear in the table of contents (folios 1<sup>r</sup>-1<sup>v</sup>). The differences are even greater between headings/titles such as “von der mess acht gütat komen von der mes” (folio 14<sup>v</sup>, line 20) and “die mess hat acht tugent” (table of contents, folio 1<sup>r</sup>, line 16) and in a good

appear in the body of the manuscript itself but as they are given in the table of contents is one aspect of his work which Priebisch set out to correct – and for very good reason<sup>46)</sup> – but Priebisch cannot be regarded as any substitute for Baechtold because he leaves large parts of the manuscript undiscussed.

There is also disagreement amongst our four early commentators about where individual poems begin and end. Weigel and Ward tend to be more accurate in their readings of the manuscript (but neither is totally so), and while Weigel's method of listing the poems would seem to have much to recommend it<sup>47)</sup>, discrepancies still exist between him and Ward. In the "Freidank" section, for instance, Weigel identifies 46 poems<sup>48)</sup>, whilst Ward identifies 48<sup>49)</sup>. Baechtold identifies 48 but only numbers 46<sup>50)</sup>. Weigel also

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number of other cases. This last poem begins not on folio 14<sup>r</sup> (14,a) as Baechtold maintains but on folio 14<sup>v</sup>. Similarly the poem "von vbermut ain peispil"/"ain peispil von vbermut" begins on folio 19<sup>v</sup> not 19<sup>r</sup> (19,a), and the poem "von den die den frawen arckwan machen" on folio 28<sup>r</sup> not 28<sup>v</sup> (28,b).

<sup>46)</sup> *Handschriften* 2, p. 216: "Ich gebe noch die vollständigen Titel, so weit sie nicht mit den von B. dem gekürzten Inhaltsverzeichnis entnommenen übereinstimmen, da Gleichheit solcher Überschriften bei der Abhängigkeitsbestimmung von Hss. ins Gewicht fällt."

<sup>47)</sup> Excluding the table of contents from his numbering, he numbers the poetic works straight through from 1 to 184 and does not have to include in the Teichner section poems which would quite clearly seem not to belong there – despite what the scribe says – as Baechtold does. Ward includes the table of contents in his numbering, although strictly speaking it is not a poetic work. Baechtold's and Ward's sub-grouping of the religious poems, the Teichner and "Freidank" poems does not so easily allow as reference points for re-grouping by later commentators if they may feel such to be appropriate. The present study has already suggested that some items do not really belong to the Teichner sub-group, and even as far as Ward's "Freidank" sub-group is concerned, there may be those who would wish to remove from it the last two items, since they, unlike the forty-six items which precede them, do not appear in Codex Vindobonensis 2705. See Appendix I.

<sup>48)</sup> *Handschriften*, pp. 222-224, items 49-94 inclusive.

<sup>49)</sup> *Catalogue of Romances*, pp. 829-832. It is Weigel who is at fault in this respect. He overlooks the heading right at the bottom of folio 68<sup>r</sup>, which poem



uses a rubricated scribal pagination beginning on folio 12 of the manuscript (the scribe himself did not number folios 1 to 11) to identify beginnings and ends of poems, putting him at odds with every other commentator, each of whom uses the pagination provided (presumably) by the British Museum after its purchase of the manuscript. Quite apart from this, the fact that all three major previous commentators cannot agree on how many poems appear in one particular section of the manuscript (and there are also instances of disagreement later in the manuscript) itself suggests that there is now dire need for some clarification to be provided.

But content is not all in describing a manuscript. Not only the poetic but also the physical structure of the manuscript must be taken into consideration, again because confusion has reigned amongst earlier scholars. Pribsch and Niewöhner also leave us with a tantalising picture of the physical make-up of Add. 24946.

Pribsch had given some information on the number of folios per quire within the manuscript and had described two watermarks<sup>51)</sup>, Niewöhner identifies and dates three watermarks<sup>52)</sup>. He seems to accept Pribsch's description of folios and quires. If we combine the information that both Pribsch and Niewöhner give in this respect, then a fascinating picture

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begins at the top of folio 68<sup>v</sup>, and he similarly overlooks the heading at the bottom of folio 82<sup>v</sup>, which poem begins at the top of folio 83<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>50)</sup> The two described as having no rubric are not given a number. See *Handschriften*, p. 91, between nos 29 and 30, and p. 94, between nos 45 and 46.

<sup>51)</sup> *Handschriften 2*, p. 215.

<sup>52)</sup> *Teichner I*, p. XCII.

emerges, perhaps particularly as regards the possible dating of the manuscript – or of its individual parts – from its watermarks:

quire I (10 folios “mit Hintercustode”)	folios 1-11	1472/73
quires II-V (12 folios each)	folios 12-59	1479
quires VI-VIII (12 folios each)	folios 60-95	1472/73
quires IXff. (12 folios each)	folios 96-?	1479
last quire (8 folios)	folios ?	1460-1462

Nevertheless, the picture given is incomplete, and what is given is false. When Pribsch speaks in terms of “Lagen zu 12 Bll., die erste zu 10 mit Hintercustode, die letzte zu acht”<sup>53)</sup>, we need only to apply simple arithmetic to discover that this does not add up. If the first quire consists of eleven folios and the last of eight, giving a total of nineteen, then nineteen subtracted from the 294 folios which Pribsch says make up the manuscript gives a figure of 275, and 275 cannot be divided by 12 (folios per quire) to give an exact number of quires as described by Pribsch. Neither does the sum work with the correct and odd number of folios, 293, which the manuscript really consists of.

Moreover, even if we recognise that watermark dating is not an exact science and therefore not an altogether reliable and precise method of dating,

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<sup>53)</sup> *Handschriften 2*, p. 215.

the plain truth is that re-examination of the watermarks would seem to suggest that Niewöhner had in any case misidentified one or more of the watermarks, and this again suggests that a thorough review also of the physical aspects of Add. 24946 is now overdue.<sup>54)</sup>

There are, then, compelling reasons to embark upon a new and thorough description of Additional Manuscript 24946. Such a description must be thorough in its consideration of the purely physical attributes of the manuscript and in accurately identifying its content. But we need to and can go further.

There seems to be something of a contradiction between Baechtold's seven-fold division of the manuscript along lines of content, poetic construction, and the apparent five-fold division from the point of view of its

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<sup>54)</sup> A more recent commentator, Jörn Reichel, *Der Spruchdichter Hans Rosenplüt. Literatur und Leben im spätmittelalterlichen Nürnberg*, Stuttgart 1985, p. 233, with reference to Piccard, identifies the watermarks differently and in this way makes a little more sense of the dating of the manuscript. However, Reichel's brief description of the manuscript still reflects the fact that it has long been the trend in short descriptions in German publications to get at least some of the facts wrong. Quoting only Ward and Baechtold amongst early commentators as authorities, he insists that only one scribe was responsible for the production of the manuscript, does not mention the important section of "Minnereden", claims, perhaps somewhat exaggeratedly, that the manuscript contains a collection of "Mären" and (unaware of Priebisch's contribution to the study of the manuscript) describes the Heinrich von Beringen selections as "poetische Bearbeitungen der Gesta Romanorum". This underlines how the fragmented nature of the study of the manuscript over the years has resulted in its still not being precisely detailed in (at least) one easily accessible source. Moreover, some of these comments contradict Reichel's other quoted source: Hans-Dieter Mück, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung und Rezeption spätmittelalterlicher Lieder und Spruchgedichte im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert. Die 'Streuüberlieferung' von Liedern und Reimpaarrede Oswalds von Wolkenstein. Bd. I: Untersuchungen* (Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik 263), Göttingen 1980, pp. 271-280.

physical construction. To judge from their thoughts on the poetic structure of mediaeval “Sammelhandschriften”, Westphal and Glier would seem prepared to reject any idea of a seven- or even five-fold division within Add. 24946 in favour of having everything revolve around one or perhaps more “minne constellations”. Hence we need to re-examine the poetic as well as the physical structure of the manuscript.

As a “Sammelhandschrift” Add. 24946 is a collection of individual poetic works, 186 of them. These are not works obviously collected together because they all have something explicitly stated or immediately obvious in common; it is not a collection of works, for instance, of a religious nature or all of which have a “courtly” theme, neither are they all works by the same author, nor are they all works of a particular genre. In this sense it is not a specialised collection. But at the same time considerations of authorship, religious and other themes and genre do all in some measure seem to be important considerations in seeking to explain both its physical and its poetic structures.

“Couplet-text codicology”<sup>55)</sup>, however, would seek to replace or at least supplement more traditional considerations such as authorship and genre by a totally different set of guiding principles seen as underlying the poetic construction and design of mediaeval manuscripts. Indeed, Westphal seems wholly opposed to the concept of genre as a guiding principle. There is a “clash between genre study and codicology”, for “the vast majority of

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<sup>55)</sup> Westphal, *Textual Poetics*, p. 15 footnote 2.

manuscripts have a miscellaneous character that defies the concept of genre as a principle of identity and separation” and “from the standpoint of genre, most manuscripts look like neutral or rather patchy structures, odd mixes of anything the passive scribes could get their hands on, texts being presumably scarce”.<sup>56)</sup> Couplet-text codicology would prefer to see the ordering of texts within a manuscript as a question of “sequences” (p. 8) and of dyads and tryads:

Another distorting lens of contemporary criticism is the acceptance of the single text as a self-evident literary monad. The most ubiquitous feature of couplet-text codicology, however, is the dyad, or pointed juxtaposition of two couplet poems. Dyads seem to be the textual equivalent of the couplet rhyme; as words are bound by related sounds, so poems are bound by related themes or meanings.<sup>57)</sup>

The danger with totally dismissing one set of defining criteria (genre) to replace it with another is, of course, that in proposing an alternative rigid set of defining criteria you are emulating the shortcomings you are criticising in the defining criteria you wish to replace. Nevertheless, Westphal’s perspectives ought to concern us, for they may indeed describe a pattern determining the inclusion and positioning of works within the manuscript. Not that we must, however, altogether abandon concepts such as genre and authorship in seeking to explain the structure of Add. 24946.

But yet there is one immediately obvious unifying element in Add. 24946: whatever the precise relationship between scribe, compiler and owner of the manuscript, the different and various works and parts of Add. 24946,

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<sup>56)</sup> These quotations all from Westphal, *Textual Poetics*, p. 9. Discussion later, in Chapter 3, might suggest that texts were far from scarce.

<sup>57)</sup> Westphal, loc. cit., p. 12.

taken from a range of source manuscripts, were (with the exception of the last three short works on the last eight used folio sides, folios 289<sup>v</sup>-293<sup>f</sup>) all written by the same scribe. Since the project would therefore seem to have been undertaken and executed as an entity in its own right (irrespective of over what period of time), this would tend to suggest that some thought went into its compilation in that decisions were made concerning what was included in the manuscript – and by definition also very likely about what was not included. In view of the lack of any stated intent or of any indication of what the basic principles underlying the choice of content might be, we may perhaps justifiably assume that the defining principle may have been no more than simply a question of what the compiler and/or owner of the manuscript liked and wanted to have included – or felt that he (or she) should have included.

We have seen that whilst the scribe seems keen to credit authorship where he can or wants to, it is likely that in other cases he was simply not in possession of the relevant information. Moreover, not only the choice of material in the early part of the manuscript, but particularly the scribe's headings in the latter half of the manuscript, indicate also that the content or theme of the individual poem was if anything of greater importance to the scribe and/or the compiler of the manuscript than identifying who its author might have been. This choice of material itself and the choice or mixture of genres can tell us something about the compiler or owner of the manuscript, about the guiding principles underlying its compilation and thus about the literary and sociological, even political, background of the time and place of its

compilation. Such a consideration or approach was not within the self-imposed remits of earlier researchers of Add. 24946, but will be at least attempted in the present thesis.

If it proved possible to identify not only the time but also the location of the production of Add. 24946 – most commentators seem to agree that it was produced in the late fifteenth century and (generally without detailed linguistic explanation or reason for saying so, however) in Nuremberg -, then this would enable comment not only about the ideas which interested and engaged the compiler/owner of this particular manuscript but also about the ideas that interested and engaged similar men and/or women of that particular time and in that particular place, enable us to draw some sort of profile not only of the owner of the manuscript but also of the society in which he (or she) lived. A consideration of the choice and range of texts and themes the manuscript contains could make some comment on the social, moral, intellectual and cultural life of its time and, whilst the manuscript was again not “specialised” enough to intend to reproduce or mirror a localised contemporary literary activity, perhaps add to our understanding of the literary activities of its place of production.

If, instead of “placing the manuscript at the center of research”<sup>58)</sup>, we were to place the compiler/owner of the manuscript and theme or subject-matter of the collected poems at the centre of our deliberations we could re-assess Additional Manuscript 24946 not only as a codicological exercise but

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<sup>58)</sup> Westphal, *Textual Poetics*, p. 15.

assess it from a more literary, philological and even sociological point of view as well.



CHAPTER 2ADDITIONAL MANUSCRIPT 24946A NEW DESCRIPTIONGeneral Description

Additional Manuscript 24946 is generally in very good condition. The text is fresh and clear and everywhere easily legible. There is a degree of toning on just about all of its folios, and a degree of worm damage. This is concentrated towards the front folios of the manuscript and, to a lesser degree, towards the back. There are also occasional paper thins. The only other damage would seem to be to folios 87 and 88 where on each folio a section has been neatly cut out of the bottom outside corner. There is no readily obvious explanation for this. Nowhere do these ravages of time affect the text and the clear legibility of it.

The manuscript is written on paper in "Schmalfolio" format, each folio measuring 29.5 centimetres by 17 centimetres<sup>1)</sup>.

Information provided by early commentators as to how many folios the manuscript contains is imprecise and contradictory.<sup>2)</sup> There are

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<sup>1)</sup> Priebisch, *Handschriften* 2, p. 215, gives measurements of 30 centimetres by 17.2 centimetres; Niewöhner, *Teichner* I, p. XCII, quotes 17.2 cm. by 30 cm., as does Mihm, *Überlieferung*, p. 136; but Brandis, *Minnereden*, p. 247, gives the measurement as 30cm. by 17 cm. Try as I may, I can get no measurement other than 29.5 cm. by 17 cm.

<sup>2)</sup> More recent German commentators (Mihm, *Überlieferung*, p. 136, Brandis, *Minnereden*, p. 247) seem content to reproduce the figure of 294 folios given

today, indeed, 294 numbered folios (but not in the sense of Weigel's "gezählte Blätter"), which seem fairly obviously to have been numbered by the British Museum after its purchase of the manuscript in 1862.<sup>3)</sup> However, folio 294 contains notes in a more modern, clearly post-mediaeval hand. Ward<sup>4)</sup> describes folio 294 as "the last fly-leaf" and Niewöhner<sup>5)</sup> describes it as a "Buchbinderzutat", a flyleaf by any other name.<sup>6)</sup> The paper of the two flyleaves is thinner and of younger date than the 293 folios enclosed between them, and they are not part of the mediaeval manuscript.<sup>7)</sup> The manuscript itself consists of 293 folios.

However, we should not take Weigel's count of 295 folios to include these flyleaves, for with regard to pagination a further consideration exists. The first eleven folios of the mediaeval manuscript were unnumbered by the

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by both Baechtold (*Handschriften*, p. 72) and Priebisch (*Handschriften 2*, p. 215). Niewöhner (*Teichner I*, p. XCII), however, is the exception to this apparent general rule, preferring the more precise description presented by Ward (*Catalogue of Romances*, p. 826). Weigel, who owned and described the manuscript in 1847, some fifteen years prior to its purchase by the British Museum in 1862, states or at least implies that there are 295 folios (*Serapeum*, p. 220: "284 gezählte Blätter; woran 2 ungezählte Blätter Register . . . . sodann 9 ungezählte Blätter").

<sup>3)</sup> The manuscript folios seem not to have been numbered in this way when in the possession of T. O. Weigel, otherwise he would presumably have used this pagination in his *Serapeum* article, and it is a foliation "absolutely typical of the British Museum" (e-mail from Peter Kidd at the British Library, 3<sup>rd</sup> October 2005).

<sup>4)</sup> *Catalogue of Romances*, p. 826.

<sup>5)</sup> *Teichner I*, p. XCII.

<sup>6)</sup> There is, indeed, also a "first" flysheet, blank and unnumbered, at the beginning of the manuscript – blank, that is, apart from the fact that it now bears the Museum's own numbering of the manuscript as 24,946 and the note that it was purchased at M. Libri's sale on 29<sup>th</sup> July 1862 as lot number 581. The actual purchase price, though not stated, was £8 0s. 0d. (e-mail from Peter Kidd).

<sup>7)</sup> According to Peter Kidd they are coeval with the binding and are late eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

scribe. The scribe's own rubricated numbering (Weigel's "gezählte Blätter"), starting from I, begins on present-day folio 12. This numbering goes through to CCLXXXVIII (present-day folio 293). A newer section consisting of a table of contents and six religious poems would thus seem to have been added to an already existing manuscript with already scribally numbered folios.<sup>8)</sup> The same scribe was responsible for both the added table of contents/religious poems and the main body of the manuscript. This was, therefore, an intentional contemporary addition.

Simple arithmetic will demonstrate, however, that 293 folios minus 11 scribally unnumbered folios gives a figure of only 282, not the 284 which the scribe claims and numbers. In fact, the scribe was somewhat remiss in his own numbering of the manuscript folios and has no folios CXXXVIII or CXL; this sort of error was not uncommon in mediaeval manuscripts. When Weigel writes of "284 gezählte Blätter; woran 2 ungezählte Blätter Register . . . . . sodann 9 ungezählte Blätter"<sup>9)</sup> and arrives at a figure of 295 he has clearly not

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<sup>8)</sup> It was not an uncommon practice particularly in the fifteenth century to add a table of contents to an already "complete" and "finished" manuscript (cf. discussion of manuscripts Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 714, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS. 2705 [Codex Vindobonensis 2705], Genève-Cologny, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, Cod. Bodmer 72 and others in Westphal, *Textual Poetics*, pp. 144-145), and, in the case of Add. 24946, extra folios containing additional poetic works are also added. It was also a common practice to have a manuscript begin with works of a religious nature. Cf. Westphal's acceptance of this principle and reference to Mihm's work (*Textual Poetics*, p. 15, note 2) and Hans-Joachim Ziegeler, *Beobachtungen zum Wiener Codex 2705 und zu seiner Stellung in der Überlieferung früher kleiner Reimpaardichtung*; in: Volker Honemann and Nigel F. Palmer (eds.); *Deutsche Handschriften 1100-1400*, Tübingen 1988, pp. 469-526, here p. 473.

<sup>9)</sup> *Serapeum*, p. 220.

noticed the two missing folio numbers, and he should really be arriving at a figure of 293 – the correct number of folios.<sup>10)</sup>

The binding of the manuscript, to include both endleaves and flyleaves, is late eighteenth or early nineteenth century<sup>11)</sup>. It is of green leather, the edges of the folios gilded, with gilt motifs on the front and back covers and repeated on the spine which itself is divided up into areas where two red boxed sections bear the words

Alt Deutsche  
Gedichte

and

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<sup>10)</sup> Weigel does not mention present-day folio 294 with its notes in a more modern hand. (Ward identifies this modern hand as being 19<sup>th</sup> century, *Catalogue of Romances*, p. 826.) They must date from between the date of the binding and 1862, so that it is a relevant question to ask whether they could have been added between 1847 and 1862, perhaps when the manuscript was in the possession of Libri, whether they could have been added before that date by T. O. Weigel himself, or by J. A. G. Weigel, or whether they could pre-date even his ownership of the manuscript. The nature of the notes on folio 294 may indicate them to be the notes of an academic or of someone with an academic interest in the manuscript, or they may be the work of a professional manuscript dealer. T. O. Weigel at least was both. They are incipits from another manuscript. Ward identifies these as being from an article in the *Catalogue of Vienna MSS.* by Michael Denis, vol. I part ii, Vienna, 1794, p. 1378, “consisting of 11 lines from religious poems, and 120 lines from Apologues and Fables, in old German” (*Catalogue of Romances*, p. 841). Pribsch maintains that they contain the incipits of individual exempla in Add. 24946 (*Handschriften 2*, p. 215). There is also a numbering in a modern and post-mediaeval hand on the edge of the folios opposite the beginnings of the individual poetic works. It adopts a numbering straight through from 1 to 183. It departs from the Weigel numbering as early as item Lambert 36/Weigel 36 (see Appendix 1), which it overlooks. It also numbers the “Freidank” poems in two ways, as 48.1, 49.2, etc. (=Lambert/Weigel 49 and 50). But it is impossible to speculate who may have been responsible for either the notes or this numbering.

<sup>11)</sup> e-mail from Peter Kidd (3<sup>rd</sup> October 2005).

MUS. BRIT.  
 JURE EMPT.  
 24, 946  
 PLUT. CCCCLI. D.

The manuscript was enclosed in this binding at the date of its purchase, for this binding is described in the 1862 auction catalogue<sup>12)</sup>. There is no hint of a mediaeval binding.

Each folio side or page contains but one column of script<sup>13)</sup>, this enclosed within ruled guide-lines top, bottom and to each side. The guide-lines are not consistently precisely measured, the broadest and outside (non-bound) margin varying from some 5.5 centimetres to just over 6 centimetres (noticeably less on folios 1<sup>r</sup>-2<sup>v</sup>, which contain the table of contents), the whole giving an area of some 23 centimetres by 9 centimetres for script. There are no intermediate ruled lines to guide the scribe's every line of script, so that the number of lines per page varies (on full pages) from 34 to 50 lines per folio side.<sup>14)</sup> Neither does the scribe necessarily keep to writing within the lined area, and indeed within this area his rubricated headings often impinge upon other lines of verse or even occupy half-lines of their own. The purpose of the

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<sup>12)</sup> *Catalogue of the Reserved and Most Valuable Portion of the Libri Collection*, S. Leigh Sotheby and John Wilkinson Auctioneers, Strand, London 1862: "green morocco, filleted, gilt edges, in a case". Peter Kidd (e-mail of 3<sup>rd</sup> October 2005) suggests that the British Museum added the lower spine-label, which is the BM shelfmark, etc. The case does not seem to be in use today.

<sup>13)</sup> Apart from the notes in modern hand on folios 294<sup>r</sup> and 294<sup>v</sup>, which are written in two columns.

<sup>14)</sup> Ward's statement, *Catalogue of Romances*, p. 826, that each page contains 35 to 39 lines as far as folio 289<sup>r</sup> and 36 to 42 lines on the last eight pages (folios 289<sup>v</sup>-293<sup>r</sup>) is simply not correct. Folio 143<sup>r</sup>, for example, contains only 34 lines and folio 82<sup>v</sup> contains 50 lines. Furthermore, folio 288<sup>r</sup> (part of the same quire, although not falling within folios 289<sup>v</sup>-293<sup>r</sup>) has 35 lines and folios 290<sup>v</sup> and 291<sup>v</sup> both have 43 lines.

lined area seems rather to ensure that the overall appearance of the scripted page presents a neat uniform block upon the pages of the manuscript rather than to guide and determine the scribe's every (or any) line. There seems also to be no correlation between number of lines per folio side and either the individual quires making up the manuscript or the different watermarked sections or the individual scribe at work.

Add. 24946 is not illuminated, but rubrication is used for a variety of purposes. The use is at times inconsistent, which has led to misreadings and misunderstandings on the parts of earlier commentators. This inconsistency may also mirror the way the manuscript was constructed.

Rubrication is used for the headings of defined sections of the manuscript: the table of contents (folios 1<sup>r</sup>-2<sup>v</sup>), the opening six religious poems (folios 3<sup>r</sup>-11<sup>v</sup>)<sup>15)</sup>, the Teichner section (folios 12<sup>r</sup>-53<sup>r</sup>), the "Freidank" section, where both beginning and end are noted (folios 60<sup>r</sup> and 84<sup>v</sup>), and the beginning of the poem by Oswald von Wolkenstein on folio 85<sup>v</sup>. However, there is no defined section as such beginning with the Oswald von

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<sup>15)</sup> Although the heading in the body of the manuscript seems to refer specifically to only the first of these poems, the table of contents makes it clear that all six are attributable to the same author. However, the first five of these poems seem to form a group separate from the sixth poem both poetically – in rhyming triplets as opposed to rhyming couplets – and also to be separated by dint of rubrication. In items one to five only the first line of each triplet is given a rubricated vertical stroke and the second and third lines are indented. Furthermore, a rubricated line is drawn under the fifth poem – a device used nowhere else in the manuscript –, the initial letter of each line of poem six rubricated with a vertical stroke. Rubricated decoration opposite lines 5, 9, 13, 17, 21 and 25 of poem six might seem – with no punctuation given anywhere in the manuscript – to correspond to the obvious punctuation of the poem.

Wolkenstein poem; rather, it is the first of the individual poems (or selections from Heinrich von Beringen) which make up the remainder of the manuscript. The defined sections are at the beginning of the manuscript; there are no such noted and defined sections after the Freidank section which ends on folio 84<sup>v</sup>.

Within the table of contents, after its own rubricated heading, the initial letter of the first entry is itself rubricated and enlarged, the initial letter of each line is rubricated with a vertical stroke (such is also the pattern with the first letter of each poem and with each line in the manuscript as a whole), and the folio numbers quoted in the table of contents are also rubricated. There are also two indented rubricated headings:

Etlich teichnär nacheinander (folio 1<sup>r</sup>)

and

Hern freidancks gedicht mit etwe uil matery vnd  
Gutten beispiln vindet man nach ain ander (folio 1<sup>v</sup>)

before the rubricated name “Wolkenstainer” appears as the credit to one listed poem. In line with the section headings in the body of the manuscript itself no sections of poems are delineated in the table of contents after this. Apart from the folio numbers the rest remains unrubricated. The table of contents mirrors the manuscript in this respect. The rubricated material is clearly in the same main scribal hand.

Within the sections identified by the scribe and within the manuscript generally, the headings and titles of the individual poems are also

rubricated.<sup>16)</sup> The initial letter of each poem within the body of the manuscript is enlarged and rubricated and the initial letter of each line of poetry is vertically crossed through with a rubricated stroke. Only in one instance does the scribe or rubricator seem to have failed to do this – folio 136<sup>r</sup>, line 16.

Rubrication is used for a variety of other purposes. Although not a major feature of the manuscript, there is an element of decorative penwork, and the scribe also on occasions uses red to cross out mistakes. But an element of inconsistency also exists. Sections within the Oswald von Wolkenstein poem on folios 85<sup>r</sup>-89<sup>v</sup> are denoted by larger rubricated initial letters. Similar rubrication occurs occasionally elsewhere, for instance in the second part of the “Visio Philiberti” (folios 163<sup>r</sup>-170<sup>v</sup>) on folios 167<sup>r</sup>, 167<sup>v</sup> and 168<sup>v</sup> – but not in the first part of the poem – and there is an indication of certain clearly new sections within the poem “Von unsers herren liden” on folios 218<sup>v</sup>-231<sup>r</sup>. But such rubrication is not part of a recurring pattern; the scribe has decided whether to rubricate and on his type of rubrication as he has gone along.<sup>17)</sup>

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<sup>16)</sup> It would seem to be a characteristic of the scribe not to want to waste space and paper, and he occasionally puts headings/titles to poems at the bottom of one folio side before the poem itself begins on the next folio side (e.g. folios 68<sup>r</sup>-68<sup>v</sup>, 82<sup>v</sup>-83<sup>r</sup>, 170<sup>v</sup>-171<sup>r</sup>, 260<sup>r</sup>-260<sup>v</sup>). It seems to be poor workmanship on his part, however, when headings are omitted or, alternatively, when no or too little space has been left for him to go back and add them later (e.g. item 49, folio 60<sup>r</sup>; item 78, folio 74<sup>v</sup>; item 95, folio 84<sup>v</sup>; item 186, folio 292<sup>r</sup>). These last two scribal activities help to explain why earlier commentators have failed to recognise or have inaccurately identified some of the works contained in the manuscript.

<sup>17)</sup> Since Add. 24946 seems clearly to have drawn upon a number of source manuscripts, it might be tempting to suggest that this use of rubrication within the Oswald von Wolkenstein poem could reflect what was present in its particular source manuscript. These same noted divisions are reproduced in published editions of the poem. Cf. for instance Josef Schatz (ed.), *Die*



The rubricated pagination beginning on current-day folio 12 and numbering through from I to CCLXXXIV to the end of the manuscript is of particular interest as far as the physical structure of the manuscript is concerned, for it suggests the addition of folios 1-11 to an already existing manuscript. Priebisch<sup>18)</sup> has pointed out that there are no folio numbers CXXXVIII or CXL, but that nothing is missing from the manuscript. This is clearly pure scribal error.<sup>19)</sup>

From the point of view of the scribe's method of working it seems clear that he may have gone back over his manuscript to add the rubrication after at least a section of his black penwork was complete. There are numerous instances where the initial letter of a new poetical work has been written in black and where a larger rubricated letter has then been added over but has not fully covered the small black initial letter, this rubrication presumably done at a later time or date.<sup>20)</sup> This practice may also explain here the otherwise

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*Gedichte Oswalds von Wolkenstein*, Göttingen <sup>(2)</sup>1904 and Karl Kurt Klein (ed.), *Die Lieder Oswalds von Wolkenstein*, Tübingen <sup>(3)</sup>1987. (For a discussion of similarities somewhat along these lines between Oswald von Wolkenstein manuscripts B, c and D (= Add. 24946) cf. Mück, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 277-278.) Such a suggestion might have interesting implications if applied to explain the unrubricated first part and the rubricated second part of the "Visio Philiberti", existing as they do either side of a gap in the text which has been filled not so much by a heading or a title as by a totally untypical introduction to the second part of the poem (folio 165<sup>v</sup>): "wie der leib antwurt gab".

<sup>18)</sup> *Handschriften* 2, p. 215

<sup>19)</sup> To Priebisch's observation might also be added the fact that the scribe's attention to correct numbering was also lacking elsewhere. Folios 163-166 are numbered as follows: CLIIII, CV, CVI, CLVII – the scribe or rubricator has forgotten the "L" in the numbers on folios 164 and 165.

<sup>20)</sup> This practice varies throughout the manuscript. Whilst there is no evidence of it amongst the religious poems on folios 1-11, there is a series of items displaying this method of working on folios 13<sup>r</sup>, 13<sup>v</sup>, 14<sup>v</sup>, 16<sup>v</sup>, 17<sup>r</sup>, 18<sup>v</sup> and 19<sup>v</sup>. The initial word of the item beginning on folio 28<sup>r</sup> is not a spelling mistake (cf.

common phenomenon in mediaeval manuscripts whereby a number of the headings, for which some gap would have to have been left, stray onto a second or even third line and onto lines already occupied by text.

There is no evidence to suggest that the rubricated headings – added at some point later though they may perhaps have been – were done by a scribal hand different from that responsible for the (majority of the) text; the hand appears to be identical. The manuscript seems to have been completed as and intended to be a continuous and self-contained book in the form in which it now exists.

The picture presented by a combination of Priebisch's (slightly inaccurate) quire count and Niewöhner's watermark identification<sup>21)</sup> is essentially correct. The manuscript is tightly bound, so that an accurate and precise description of quires is very difficult. But from those instances where divisions between quires or where folded middle sheets within quires are obvious the following can be presented as an accurate a picture as possible of the different sections which make up the manuscript:

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Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, p. 827) but an example of the rubricated initial having completely failed to obliterate any of the guiding small black letter. There is a very clear example on folio 34<sup>r</sup>, and this is largely the pattern from folio 37<sup>v</sup> onwards. In the "Freidank" section of the manuscript (folios 60 – 95) there is for the most part no small letter guide (the rubrication of the initial is generally more ornate), but examples occur in the items beginning, for example, on folios 135<sup>v</sup>, 151<sup>v</sup>, 163<sup>r</sup>, 167<sup>v</sup> and 211<sup>v</sup>. In the Heinrich von Beringen selections in the latter part of the manuscript this small black letter guide is the norm.

<sup>21)</sup> See Chapter 1, p. 19.

1.	folios 1-11	watermark I (ox's head with cross)	quire I (1 quire of 11 folios)
2.	folios 12-59	watermark II (ox's head with arrow)	quires II-V (4 quires of 12 folios)
3.	folios 60-95	watermark I (ox's head with cross)	quires VI-VIII (3 quires of 12 folios)
4.	folios 96-285	watermark II (ox's head with arrow)	quires IX-XXIV (15 quires of 12 folios, 1 quire of 10 folios)
5.	folios 286-293	watermark III (castle and cross)	quire XXV (1 quire of 8 folios) <sup>22)</sup>

Difficult as it may be correctly to identify individual quires, the watermarks are, at least with modern technology, fairly clear. They will be discussed as part of a consideration of the dating of the manuscript.

Four scribes worked to produce Additional Manuscript 24946 as it now exists, but this by no means indicates an obvious or sensible division of labour.

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<sup>22)</sup> Difficulties exist regarding the identification of quires XXIV and XXV. There seems to be a quire break between folios 275 and 276, which would make quire XXIV the quire of 10 folios within this section, namely folios 276-285, for folio 287 (and presumably 286) already shows watermark III. However, folios 281 and 282 appear to be a folded middle sheet – this ought to be folios 280 and 281 if quire XXIV is indeed a ten-folio quire. See Appendix IV.

The first and main scribe was responsible for from folio 1 to half-way down folio 287<sup>v</sup>, his work embracing not only the major part of the manuscript and the first eleven folios with their table of contents and religious poems apparently added at a later stage in the production of the extant manuscript, but spanning the various changes of paper and into the last quire. His work ends with the last of the long sequence of selections from Heinrich von Beringen's "Schachbuch".

The fact that the main scribe wrote into the last quire and finished the Heinrich von Beringen selections would seem to suggest that this point was to have been the end of the manuscript as envisaged. The other three scribes, all writing (more or less) contemporaneously with the first scribe<sup>23)</sup>, were responsible for one each of the final three works contained in the manuscript, items 184-186, "Wann man reden oder sweigen sülle", "Von zal vnd maß" and the final unheaded poem.<sup>24)</sup>

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<sup>23)</sup> Cf. Pribsch, *Handschriften 2*, p. 215 and Niewöhner, *Teichner I*, p. XCII.

<sup>24)</sup> The first of these three poems begins without break and immediately after the work of the first scribe and continues to half-way down folio 289<sup>f</sup>, where the bottom third of the folio is left blank. The other two poems, folios 289<sup>v</sup>-291<sup>v</sup> and 292<sup>f</sup>-293<sup>f</sup>, begin on a fresh folio side on folio 289<sup>v</sup> and both fill up a number of full folio sides, so that no unfilled space separates these last two items. There is no noticeable difference in ink, but all three scribes seem to have rubricated the the initial letters of the works they were responsible for not by going back later over a small letter in black, as was often the habit of the main scribe, but rather perhaps as they wrote, scribe 3 with his rubricated initial in the margin (folio 289<sup>v</sup>), scribe 4's rubricated initial taking up the beginning of two lines of text (folio 292<sup>f</sup>). The accents and diacritic signs used by the first scribe seem generally also to have been adopted by scribes 2-4, certainly by scribe 2, less so by scribe 3, where the hook also becomes almost closed back on itself, even less so perhaps by scribe 4, but then only he seems to have shared the main scribe's love of decoration through the extension particularly of descenders way beyond the writing area. These three additions by three different hands might appear not to have been a planned part of the main undertaking, but it is impossible to say whether they were

## The Language and Provenance of the Manuscript

Wilks, Carr and Lloyd<sup>25)</sup> undertook detailed analysis of the language of the manuscript and the determination of the dialect of the scribe. German commentators have contented themselves with little more than a one-word announcement that the dialect is Bavarian.

Whilst hardly providing a conclusive pronouncement on the dialect of the manuscript as a whole, on the one hand it would be superfluous to re-do the detailed work they have already done, and on the other hand it does not really lie within the wider limits and scope of the present study to subject all 186 works contained in the manuscript to such an examination.

It would be to supplement the work of Wilks, Carr and Lloyd if we were to examine, say, three of the five fairly arbitrarily chosen works reproduced from the manuscript in Appendix V<sup>26)</sup> at least by casting a brief glance at, for instance, diphthongisation and consonants within these works; but there is a

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additions made before or after the addition of the table of contents on folios 1 and 2. Only the first of these three works, "Wann man reden oder sweigen sülle", is listed in the table of contents, so that it might also appear that the last two works may have been added after the table of contents had been completed. This impression may be reinforced by the fact that the first addition of the three seems to respect the main scribe's dislike for wasted paper by beginning immediately after his final work, half-way down folio 287<sup>v</sup>, whilst the first of the final two begins on a new folio. There is insufficient evidence to corroborate the thought that the first work of these final three may have been added with the main scribe's (and/or owner's) knowledge and approval, whilst the final two were added after the manuscript had left his (or their) hands; but such a supposition seems plausible enough.

<sup>25)</sup> Wilks, *Bestrafte Untreue*, pp. 11-15; Carr, "Von unsers herren liden", pp. 5-11; Lloyd, *Beringen*, pp. 9-10.

<sup>26)</sup> The main guiding principle behind their selection was that they have never (as far as can be ascertained) been reproduced elsewhere before.

far more urgent consideration of the language that we need to undertake – namely, to try to ascertain whether, as has been suggested, we can confirm the manuscript as deriving from Nuremberg or close proximity.

Examination of the works reproduced in Appendix V would tend to confirm the Bavarian dialect.<sup>27)</sup>

**MHG long *i* is diphthongised to *ei*, *ey* (in final position):**

- Item 5: *weist* (line 3), *deiner* (5, 6), *bey* (14), *seinen* (20), *cristenleich* (28), *meines vater reich* (29), *ofenleich* (30), etc.<sup>28)</sup>
- Item 128: *seit* (4), *weis* (*in kinds weis*) (6), *leib* (14), *breisen* (26), *leichnam* (39), *beicht* (40), *leicht* (46), etc.
- Item 184: *sweigen* (heading), *zeit(t)* (12, 20, 45), *weil* (13, 62), *weitt* (19), *willichleich* (21), *zimleich* (22), etc.

**MHG long *u* is diphthongised to *au*, *aw*:**

- Item 5: *auf* (32, 38, 78, 85, 92, 108), *auss erkorenn* (40), *aus* (54)
- Item 128: *wolauf* (1), *auf* (10), *aus* (35), *lawtere* (40)
- Item 184: *auf* (37), *heraus* (73), *haws* (74), *trawrig* (83).

**MHG diphthong *iu* is rendered as *eu*, *ew*:**

- Item 5: *fewr* (4, 69), *dew* (9, 22), *ewr* (26, 108), *euch* (30), *teüfel* (81 – cf. *tiefl*, 43)
- Item 128: *newen* (heading, 3), *getrewett* (5), *vernewett* (6), *ew* (47), *trew* (48), *ewselber* (49), *euch* (50)

<sup>27)</sup> The symbols ó and ú represent o and u with the diacritic “hook” of the text – see following notes on diacritic signs.

<sup>28)</sup> There seems little point giving exhaustive lists of examples. The “etc.” indicates, of course, that the examples quoted are not exhaustive.

Item 184: *trew* (5, 6), *trew mit trewen* (8), *vntrew* (46), *anderleut* (55), *frewnt* (61, plur.; 87, sing.), *newe* (97).

**MHG diphthong *ei* is rendered as:**

(i) ***ei* (particularly “Nomina sacra”)**

(ii) ***ai***

Item 5: *heiligen geist* (line 1), *warheit* (3), *heiliger geist* (4, 97), *cristenheit* (67, 101), etc.

*aller maist* (2: *geist*), *gutickait* (8), *raichen* (53), *geitickait* (68: *cristenheit*), *laisten* (81), etc.

Item 128: *cristenheit* (1)

*beraitt* (2), *vppikait* (24), *raines* (39), *clain* (51), etc.

Item 184: *geist* (5), *eingend* (71), *ein* (109)

*ain* (5, 13, 18, 35, 89, 107), *laider* (7), *kainer* (9), *arbeit* (33), *aigens* (40), *haimlich* (41, 102), *haimsuechen* (86), *gemaincklich* (95), *hais* (98), etc.

**MHG diphthong *ou* is rendered as *au*:**

Item 5: *g(e)lauben* (title and lines 2, 9, 10, 16, 22, 25, 32, 34, 63, 64), *auch* (19, 39, 60, 61, 79), *tauft vnd glaubt* (28, 72, 77), etc.

Item 128: *auch* (30, 42)

Item 184: *kaufen vnd verkaufen* (22), *auch* (25, 75, 81, 83, 87).

**MHG diphthong *uo* is rendered as:**

(i) ***ue***

(ii) ***u***

(iii) ***ue* or *u* with Umlaut or diacritic sign**

(iv) ***w* (scribe 2)**

- Item 5: *guetter* (line 11)  
*gutickait* (8), *gutte* (23)  
*verflüecht* (65), *flüch* (75), *müter* (80), *mütter* (100)
- Item 128: *tuend* (30)  
*zú* (5, 51), *blút* (39), *tút* (40), *gút* (51, 53)
- Item 184: *haimsuechen* (86)  
*tu(e)* (2), *zu* (75), *zum* (82), *gutzen* (87), *zureden* (97)  
*tún* (16), *armúet* (25), *múet* (26), *zú* (53), *gút* (68, 70, 99, 103),  
etc.

**Initial *p* and *b* alternate indiscriminately:**

- Item 5: *pesst* (lines 10, 46), *bringen* (21), *priester* (31, 36), *geporn* (41),  
*pringen* (48), *verpannt* (70), *briesterschaft* (87), etc.
- Item 128: *briesterlich* (23), *pezzer* (25), *breisen* (26), *bringt* (33)
- Item 184: *bist* (5, 30, 71, 75), *vndankparn* (11), *gepricht* (18), *pist* (24),  
*verporgen* (46), *pald* (69), *empfern* (76), *peitten* (77), etc.

**Initial *d* appears as *t*:**

- Item 128: *tut* (40), *tuend* (30)
- Item 184: *tue* (2), *tet* (4), *tun* (16) (but medially: *vnderred*, 36).

**Initial *k* appears as *ch*, *kh*:**

- Item 5: *chum* (4), *khúnd* (30), *chain* (38).

**Final *b* and *g* appear as *b* and *g*:**

- Item 5: *weg* (3), *ewig* (69), *wirdig* (107)
- Item 128: *leib* (14), *ewig* (42)
- Item 184: *wirdig* (81), *trawrig* (83), *lebentig* (108).



***b* is inserted between *m* and *t* (cf. also *vmb*):**

Item 5: *vmb* (2), *verdambt* (72)

Item 128: *vmbfanngn* (14), *kumbt* (27, 47), *darvmb* (45)

Item 184: *vbernymb* (9), *nymbter* (= *nymbt er*) (12), *darvmb* (73), *kumbst* (73), *vmb* (88).

***w* appears as *b*:**

Item 184: *grabe har* (65).

The scribe of Add. 24946 uses a number of diacritic signs and abbreviations, the diacritic signs seeming to defy understanding or explanation.

Both Wilks and Carr identify diacritic signs which they call variously a circumflex, a hook (“Häkchen”) and “two dots”, this latter sign written in a number of ways. With regard to the circumflex they see it as having either a purely decorative purpose or being used to denote a syncopated *e* in end syllables. They also quote one example each of where its purpose may have been to indicate a doubling of a consonant. They further comment on inconsistency in use.

The explanations put forward by Wilks and Carr tend to suggest that there was some orthographic scheme behind the scribe’s work. However, the situation is not nearly so simple. Whilst the scribe was generally perfectly

capable of writing doubled consonants out often and in full<sup>29)</sup>, the circumflex sign was used to denote more than a syncopated e.<sup>30)</sup>

Whereas the circumflex, the nasal stroke, often does suggest or indicate a syncopated e in final syllables, whether in verbs, nouns or adjectives,<sup>31)</sup> there are other instances where words are written with an e and a circumflex<sup>32)</sup> and thus indicate an inconsistent use of the sign. There are even instances where the circumflex is used to indicate other missing letters.<sup>33)</sup> It would appear that this nasal stroke when written small, rather than large and thus for decorative purposes, far from being part of the narrower scheme evidenced by Wilks and Carr, could represent a whole range of letters – or indeed any letter – the scribe may have wished to omit and was used almost willy-nilly as he went along.

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<sup>29)</sup> See, for example, the substantial number of instances in item 5, “Von dem glauben”, reproduced in Appendix V.

<sup>30)</sup> The incipits and explicits of the first 30 items contained in the manuscript and quoted later in this chapter will illustrate the point. They will be referenced in the examples given here by item number and lines 1-6, where lines 4-6 are in fact the final three lines of the poem.

<sup>31)</sup> Over the *n* in *gelingn* (item 2, line 2), *volbringn* (2,3) *erweltn* (2,5), *sundn* (12, heading), *vertragn* (15,3), *weibn* (16, heading), *heiratn* (17, heading), *trugn* (19,3), *machn* (20, heading), *gleichn* (25, heading), *schandn* (28, heading) and *schundn* (29, heading).

<sup>32)</sup> *frawen* (3, heading), *glauben* (5, heading), *grymen* (10, heading), *erkenntn* (16, 1), *nemen* (17, 3) and *faulen* (26, heading).

<sup>33)</sup> A missing *n* in *erkenne* (8, heading), *zesame* (25, heading), even in *biderma* (13, heading), a missing *d* in *vn* (20, 1), unusually a missing *l* in *teufe* (29, heading). There seems little consistency in the scheme overall when the word *man* is (with some consistency of its own perhaps) also spelt with a circumflex above the *n*: *hofman* (21, heading), *werchman* (26, heading) and *man* (29,1). The sign itself is also on occasion made to sweep around under the *n*, rise between it and the preceding letter and then position itself above the *n*: *getrawen* (8, 4), *gefallyn* (9, heading) and *pflegn* (29, 3).

The Umlaut sign, appearing variously as two slanted dots and seemingly able to appear above any vowel as well as the half-vowel *y*<sup>34)</sup> or as a line flexed upwards at either end or a sweeping upward stroke ending in a flourish again defies precise explanation, and its use is inconsistent.<sup>35)</sup> Wilks and Carr suggest that the various Umlaut signs were a sort of vowel ornamentation (“Vokalschmuck”) which could be added or omitted at will but could also be used to indicate an Umlaut, which it was felt (by the scribe) in any case not always strictly necessary to indicate.<sup>36)</sup>

Establishing the Nuremberg provenance of Add. 24946 presents problems of its own. Previous descriptions of the manuscript have confined themselves to little more than suggestions that this is the case, e.g. “aus Nürnberg (?)”<sup>37)</sup>, “Nordbayrisch (wahrsch. Nürnberg)”<sup>38)</sup>, or “Nordbairisch

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<sup>34)</sup> *sällig* (6, 6), *schwär* (8, 3), *wär* (9, 5), *mër* (21, 1), *grösst* (7, heading), *wöll* (17, 4), *güttat* (11, heading), *güt* (15,4), *nür* (27, 5), *rüembt* (28, heading, followed by *ruembt* without Umlaut in line 1), *ayner* (7, 1), *begynnen* (7, 4), *sey* (9, 2 and 18, heading).

<sup>35)</sup> At times it may (above the *u*) seem to represent the MHG diphthong *uo* – *mueter* (3, 1), *tut* (7, 4), *guet* (10, 1), *muet* (10, 2), *ungemuet* (10, 4), *vbermut* (15, heading), *genug* (18, 4) – at other times it is quite clearly an Umlaut – *mär* (7, 1), *wär* (7, 2), *bösen* (16, heading), *röcken* (19, heading), *übeln* and *sünd* (27, heading) –, but cf. also: *vbergenossen soll übersehen* (14, heading) and *zudancken, zügeben*, (10, 5 and 11, 1 = *zu danken, zu geben*) as opposed to *zuschreiben* (23, 3).

<sup>36)</sup> This most noticeable perhaps in the final two lines of the Teichner poems, where there are umlauted – *wär/teichnär* (10, 5 and 6), *ongeuär/teichnär* (12, 5 and 6), *schwär/teichnär* (13, 5 and 6), *geuär/teichnär* (14 and 15, 5 and 6), *mär/teichnär* (23, 5 and 6) –, unumlauted – *war/teichnar* (8, 5 and 6), *annderswar/teichnar* (24, 5 and 6), *schwar/teichnar* (26, 5 and 6) – and impure rhymes: *angeuär/mar* (9, 5 and 6), *wär/teichnar* (24, 5 and 6; 27, 5 and 6), *erbar/teichnär* (17, 5 and 6), this latter existing together with *vnerbär/teichnär* (28, 5 and 6).

<sup>37)</sup> Fischer, *Märendichtung*, p. XX.

<sup>38)</sup> Mihm, *Überlieferung*, p. 136.

(viell. aus Nürnberg)<sup>39)</sup>. Taking Pfanner's research as a basis<sup>40)</sup>, apart from the features typical of Bavarian mentioned above, the general completeness of NHG diphthongisation alongside the incomplete and even confused state of the process of ENHG monothongisation (particularly *uo* to *u*) would tend to reflect Pfanner's findings and reflect the East Franconian element he identifies as forming a constituent part of the Nuremberg "Schreibsprache" he describes. Other linguistic peculiarities may also indicate Nuremberg as the probable place of origin of Additional Manuscript 24946.

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<sup>39)</sup> Niewöhner, *Gesamtabenteuer*, p. XIV. Cf. also "wahrscheinlich in Nürnberg geschrieben" (Glier, *Artes amandi*, p. 272), "möglicherweise aus dem Raum Nürnberg" (Mück, *Untersuchungen*, p. 276), "nordbairisch; vermutlich aus Nürnberg" (Reichel, *Rosenplüt*, p.233).

<sup>40)</sup> Joseph Pfanner, 'Die deutsche Schreibsprache in Nürnberg von ihrem Auftreten bis zum Ausgang des 14. Jahrhundert', *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg*, Nuremberg 1954, pp. 148-207. Frequently quoted and respected authorities on dialect, e.g. Weinhold (cf. Karl Weinhold, *Bairische Grammatik*, Berlin 1867 and *Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik*, Paderborn 1883) do not really help in this respect. Weinhold widely quotes sources, developments and examples from the early ninth century "Muspilli" to current (nineteenth century) forms of the dialect and examines the whole of the Bavarian dialect area. Pfanner's more specialised analysis examines Nuremberg dialect and "Schreibsprache" (not the same thing) only up to the end of the fourteenth century and draws on official or administrative rather than literary documentation. As if to help cloud the issue he also quotes Konrad Celtis' comment in his "Norimberga" of 1495 concerning the four dialects spoken within Nuremberg at that time (p. 162), differences of language within a confined area even in recent times being a phenomenon well known to dialect geographers anyway. A comparative analysis of more literary material and the peculiarities of the language contained in literary manuscripts from the end of the fifteenth century appears not to exist. This might prove to be a productive area of research.

**Short a and short o, similarly long a and long o seem interchangeable**

(Pfanner pp. 169, 170, 171 and 175):

*vol(l)*, *vol(l)bracht* (folio 9<sup>v</sup>, line 39; f. 10<sup>r</sup>, l. 32; f. 10<sup>v</sup>, l. 33) appear alongside *val(l)*, *val(l)bracht* (f. 7<sup>r</sup>, ll. 17 and 35; f. 8<sup>v</sup>, l. 16), this reflected in the rhymes *sollt/vall/woll* (f. 7<sup>r</sup>, ll. 34-36) and *vall/soll/wol* (f. 8<sup>v</sup>, ll. 16-18);

*on* and *an* (= ohne) are both used, *on* in f. 4<sup>r</sup>, l. 28, f. 5<sup>v</sup>, l. 15, f. 7<sup>v</sup>, l. 35, f. 8<sup>v</sup>, l. 8, *an* in f. 6<sup>v</sup>, l. 24;

*drott* (f. 6<sup>v</sup>, l. 36) appears alongside *drat* (f. 9<sup>v</sup>, l. 11);

*do* (f. 5<sup>r</sup>, l. 25, f. 7<sup>v</sup>, l. 21, f. 8<sup>r</sup>, l. 16, f. 9<sup>r</sup>, l. 36, f. 9<sup>v</sup>, ll. 2, 10 and 21, f. 10<sup>r</sup>, l. 28) and *da* (f. 6<sup>v</sup>, l. 35, f. 7<sup>v</sup>, l. 17, f. 8<sup>r</sup>, l. 17, f. 8<sup>v</sup>, l. 5) are both used;

*(jung)fraw(e)* (f. 8<sup>v</sup>, ll. 18 and 21, f. 9<sup>r</sup>, ll. 1, 7, 25, 33 and 37, f. 9<sup>v</sup>, ll. 4 and 24) appears alongside *(jung)frow(e)* (f. 8<sup>v</sup>, l. 3, f. 9<sup>r</sup>, l. 34, f. 9<sup>v</sup>, l. 2);

“Mond” is rendered as *man* (f. 3<sup>r</sup>, l. 34 and f. 9<sup>r</sup>, l. 9);

this interchangeability of letter and sound, even to the mixing of long and short vowels, is reflected in some of the rhymes (f. 8<sup>v</sup>, ll. 31-33: *nam/han/schonn*; f. 10<sup>v</sup>, ll. 33-35: *volbracht/gedacht/todt*, f. 11<sup>r</sup>, ll. 1-3: *statt/todt/ratt*).

**Short i is often rendered by j or y** (Pfanner, p. 170):

Short *i*, usually rendered as such, is very often rendered by *j* or *y*. Indeed, the situation regarding the use of *i*, *j*, *y* and even *ÿ*, not only to render *i* but also in the combinations *ie* and *ei*, seems totally unsystematic.

For example, *i* is rendered as *y* or *ÿ* in: *ymer* (f. 9<sup>r</sup>, l. 23), *nÿmer* (f. 3<sup>r</sup>, l. 15), *ymermer* (f. 3<sup>v</sup>, l. 16 and f. 10<sup>r</sup>, l. 5), *lytel* (f. 3<sup>v</sup>, l. 21), *mynst* (= mindest) (f. 4<sup>r</sup>, l. 9); however, *imer* (f. 3<sup>r</sup>, l. 23) and *immer* (f. 9<sup>v</sup>, l. 8) are also found.

There are numerous examples of initial *i* alternating with initial *j* in such words as *ir/jr*. Examples can similarly be found for *im* and *jm* and *in* and *jn*, whilst *jns*,

*jms* (= ihm es) and *jst* (from the verb “sein”) are also found. What is not clear is whether there is any difference in the scribe’s mind between a normal *i* and the often noticeably very tall and elongated initial *i* (cf. for example f. 3<sup>r</sup>, l. 24, f. 6<sup>r</sup>, l. 22 and f. 6<sup>v</sup>, l. 2).

The modern German “die” is rendered variously as *die*, *dy* and *dÿ*, but alongside *sie*, *sy* and *sÿ*. The apparent lack of system may be demonstrated by the line (f. 3<sup>r</sup>, l. 35):

*dÿ [= sie = die stern gemain] lobent die grossen vnd dy klain.*

**There are examples of “Sproßlaute”, particularly of an *i* between a lateral and *ch*, and of inorganic *e*:**

cf. *werich* (f. 4<sup>r</sup>, l. 27, f. 10<sup>r</sup>, ll. 21 and 33), *werichen* (f. 4<sup>r</sup>, l. 29), *solich* (f. 6<sup>v</sup>, l. 29), *zwelif* (f. 1<sup>v</sup>, l. 27, f. 2<sup>r</sup>, l. 4, f. 3<sup>r</sup>, l. 22), but *durch* not *durich* throughout.

Inorganic *e* is found not only in verb endings, but cf. also: *missetrawung* (f. 2<sup>v</sup>, l. 7), *missetat* (f. 6<sup>v</sup>, l. 9 and f. 11<sup>r</sup>, l. 26) alongside *misshelung* (f. 1<sup>v</sup>, l. 18), *diern* (f. 9<sup>r</sup>, l. 26) alongside *dieren* (f. 9<sup>r</sup>, l. 31), *anefang* (f. 9<sup>v</sup>, l. 7) alongside *anfang* (f. 7<sup>r</sup>, l. 33 and f. 10<sup>r</sup>, l. 23), *ringe* (= gering) (f. 5<sup>r</sup>, l. 4) alongside *ring* (f. 7<sup>v</sup>, l. 30), *ane sach* (f. 10<sup>r</sup>, l. 18), *herre* (f. 10<sup>r</sup>, l. 34 and f. 11<sup>r</sup>, l. 13), *herabe* (f. 8<sup>r</sup>, l. 32), and *steren* (f. 9<sup>v</sup>, l. 37). The uncertainty regarding orthography which Pfanner describes as being responsible for this may be seen reflected in the rhymes in f. 8<sup>v</sup>, ll. 34-36: *ewigleich/ewigleich/himmelreiche* and in f. 5<sup>r</sup>, ll. 34-36: *lere/sere/mer*.

**s still appears before *l*, *m*, (*n*) and *w* but not always:**

cf. *slafen* (f. 1<sup>r</sup>, l. 17), *slecht* (f. 4<sup>v</sup>, l. 12), *geslecht* (f. 9<sup>r</sup>, l. 11), but *beschlafen* (f. 2<sup>r</sup>, l. 28), *smachait* (f. 5<sup>v</sup>, l. 36), but *beschnitten* (f. 4<sup>v</sup>, l. 28), *swigen* (f. 5<sup>r</sup>, l. 32), *swert* (f. 6<sup>r</sup>, l. 33), *sweben* (f. 9<sup>r</sup>, l. 20) alongside *verschweigen* (f. 1<sup>v</sup>, l. 11), *schweigen* (f. 2<sup>v</sup>, l. 15), *schwach* (f. 6<sup>v</sup>, l. 14) and *geschwennigert* (f. 9<sup>v</sup>, l. 10).

**t is often inserted medially** (Pfanner pp. 199-200):

cf. *hertz* (f. 1<sup>r</sup>, l. 28, f. 6<sup>r</sup>, ll. 28, 33 and 36, f. 6<sup>v</sup>, l. 30, f. 10<sup>r</sup>, l. 15, f. 11<sup>v</sup>, l. 13) and *hertzen* (f. 4<sup>r</sup>, l. 36, f. 9<sup>v</sup>, l. 28), *holtz* (f. 1<sup>v</sup>, l. 17, f. 11<sup>v</sup>, l. 19), *artzt* (f. 2<sup>r</sup>, l. 8), *hertzogin* (f. 2<sup>r</sup>, l. 30), *kreutz(es)* (f. 4<sup>v</sup>, l. 6, f. 11<sup>v</sup>, ll. 7, 28 and 34), *ertzney* (f. 6<sup>v</sup>, l. 12), *barmhertzikait(t)* and *barmhertzigenn* (f. 6<sup>v</sup>, l. 24, f. 7<sup>v</sup>, l. 26, f. 11<sup>v</sup>, l. 31 and f. 5<sup>r</sup>, l. 37), *altzeit* (f. 3<sup>v</sup>, l. 40, f. 5<sup>v</sup>, l. 18, f. 11<sup>r</sup>, l. 32), *hintz* (f. 6<sup>v</sup>, l. 28), inflected and uninflected forms of *gan(n)tz* (f. 5<sup>r</sup>, l. 2, f. 5<sup>v</sup>, l. 19, f. 6<sup>v</sup>, l. 31, f. 7<sup>r</sup>, l. 35, f. 7<sup>v</sup>, l. 2, f. 9<sup>r</sup>, l. 13) and *kurtz* (f. 6<sup>v</sup>, l. 15, f. 9<sup>v</sup>, l. 26), *getzogen* (f. 1<sup>r</sup>, l. 4), *vertzweifeln* (f. 1<sup>v</sup>, l. 4), *vertzagen* (f. 1<sup>v</sup>, l. 4), *wolgetziertes* (f. 7<sup>r</sup>, l. 28), *getzieret* (f. 11<sup>v</sup>, l. 21) and *untz* (see below). The word *mensch* and derived words and forms, unlike in Pfanner's sources, is not affected in this way.

Individual vocabulary and other features noted by Pfanner as typical of the Nuremberg "Schriftsprache" he describes are also present:

the word *halt* (Pfanner, p. 202) as in *halt niemand* (f. 4<sup>v</sup>, l. 4 and f. 6<sup>v</sup>, l. 20) and *halt nymer* (f. 3<sup>r</sup>, l. 15),

the word *untz* (f. 4<sup>v</sup>, l. 38, f. 6<sup>r</sup>, l. 19, f. 7<sup>r</sup>, l. 33).

The word *hussen* (f. 11<sup>r</sup>, l. 2) is also noted by Pfeiffer<sup>41)</sup> as being a typically Nuremberg word.

Other features noted by Pfanner as being typical of the language he is describing are there only in limited numbers of examples, e.g. the prefix form *der-* for *er-* (Pfanner, p. 199), only one example *der kant* (f. 10<sup>r</sup>, l. 30) as opposed to some eight other examples with the prefix *er-*. Other noted features do not appear at all. Although final *d*, *dt*, *t*, *tt*, even *dt* seem in Add. 24946 to be totally unsystematised, the final *t* of Pfanner's noted *nimant* has, apart from one example with final *dt*, clearly established itself in Add. 24946 with the spelling *niemand*. Pfanner refers repeatedly to **development** within the sources he has studied, and we must surely accept the idea of continued development of the language over the 70 plus or so years between the latest of Pfanner's studied sources and the compilation of Add. 24946 itself.

A number of the works contained in the manuscript might well be presumed to derive from Nuremberg. This is obviously true of the Rosenplüt poem, item 118. The "Visio Philiberti", item 121, has been identified as belonging to a group of contemporary manuscripts whose production was centred around Nuremberg.<sup>42)</sup> "Von den Wucherern", item 184, mentions conventions and rules of dress that were current in Nuremberg at the end of the fifteenth century, and the religious poem "Von dem glauben", item 5,

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<sup>41)</sup> Gerhard Pfeiffer, *Im Zeitalter der Hussitenkriege*, in Gerhard Pfeiffer (ed.), *Nürnberg – Geschichte einer europäischen Stadt*, Munich 1971, p. 84.

<sup>42)</sup> See Nigel Palmer, "Visio Tnugdali". *The German and Dutch Translations and their Circulation in the Later Middle Ages*, Munich 1982, pp. 417-418 and "Visio Philiberti", in <sup>(2)</sup>*Verfasserlexikon* 10 (1999), cols. 415-417. See also page 52, footnote 47.



addresses itself to a perceived Hussite threat which was an undercurrent of concern in Nuremberg throughout most of the fifteenth century.<sup>43)</sup>

The evidence would suggest that Add. 24946 almost certainly is from Nuremberg. At least there is nothing to disprove the claims of previous commentators that this is the case.

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<sup>43)</sup> “Von den Wucherern” (modern German title suggested in this study) and “Von dem glauben” (heading and orthography as provided by the scribe) are both reproduced in Appendix V.

### The Dating of the Manuscript

Additional Manuscript 24946 contains works taken from a period of mediaeval German literature spanning perhaps some three hundred years. From the thirteenth century there are works by der Stricker and the “Kleindichtung” (including Walther von Griven’s “Weiberzauber”) which make up the “Freidank” section of the manuscript; from the fourteenth century there are works by Heinrich der Teichner, Heinrich von Beringen, Peter Suchenwirt and Fröschel von Leidnitz as well as “Der Herr mit den vier Frauen”, “Die Wette” and “Von unsers herren liden”; and from the fifteenth century come works by Oswald von Wolkenstein and Hans Rosenplüt as well as “Vergebliche Vorhaltungen”, “Die Beichte der zwölf Frauen” and a number of “Minnereden”. The content of the manuscript can do little, however, to help us date the manuscript with any precision.

The latest of the “Minnereden” within the manuscript, for example, can be dated only loosely to the fifteenth century<sup>44)</sup>, and where more precise dating might seem possible this is not the case. Hans Rosenplüt, c. 1400-1460, was writing until very shortly before his death, but precise dating of his works is difficult.<sup>45)</sup>

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<sup>44)</sup> Cf. the various entries under author or title of individual “Minnerede” in the *Verfasserlexikon*.

<sup>45)</sup> Poems like “Der Barbier” are generally regarded as being amongst his earlier works, so that we may be thinking of perhaps the 1420s or 1430s. As regards the manuscript tradition of “Der Barbier”, Additional Manuscript 24946 is itself amongst the earliest of the six extant manuscripts to contain the work (See Reichel, *Rosenplüt*, pp. 224-247 and p. 259).

The oldest of the extant manuscripts containing the Oswald von Wolkenstein poem contained in Add. 24946 dates from 1438. (Oswald died in 1445.) As the poem in Add. 24946 is not a direct copy taken from this manuscript and as we must suppose the existence of at least one manuscript inbetween, this might push the date of the poem in the form it is in in Add. 24946 perhaps into the 1440s or even later.<sup>46)</sup> Examination of the “*Visio Philiberti*” manuscript tradition may present a similar sort of picture but pushes the production of Add. 24946 later into the fifteenth century.<sup>47)</sup> It seems most unlikely that the manuscript could have been produced before 1450.

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<sup>46)</sup> See Schatz, *Wolkenstein*, pp. 44-47.

<sup>47)</sup> The group of manuscripts related to Add. 24946 as identified by Nigel Palmer are dated by him only to the fifteenth century and with their production centred around Nuremberg. Palmer divides the manuscript tradition and rhymed versions of the poem into a number of groups (cf. Nigel Palmer, “*Visio Trugdali*”, pp. 417-418 and <sup>(2)</sup> *Verfasserlexikon* 10 (1999), cols. 415-417). The version in Add. 24946, the version in Codex Vindobonensis 2880 reproduced by Karajan (see later in this chapter, “The Content of the Manuscript”, item 121) and the version contained in Munich Staatsbibliothek Cgm 714 are classified within the same group. Of these Codex Vindobonensis 2880 dates from the second half of the century (cf. Heinrich Niewöhner, ‘Des Teichners Gedichte’, *ZfDA* 68 (1931), p. 140, Wien Nationalbibliothek, Poem Germ. 2880) – and was, indeed, once in the possession of the “Katharinenkloster” (cf. Th. G. von Karajan, *Frühlingsgabe für Freunde älterer Literatur*, Vienna 1839, p. 149) – and Munich Staatsbibliothek Cgm 714 is dated to the third quarter of the fifteenth century, also originating in Nuremberg (Cf. Karin Schneider, *Die deutschen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München* Vol. 5 Part 5, Wiesbaden 1984, p.79). These are similar dates to those generally quoted for Add. 24946 and would tend to suggest that these three manuscripts are roughly contemporary. The fact that the version of the poem in Add. 24946 might seem, if anything, to be a later version of that contained within Cod. Vindob. 2880 – one or two lines have been left out, others abbreviated or simplified and the longer ending of Cod. Vindob. 2880 has been cut down in length – might tend to suggest dating to a somewhat earlier part of the century for the poem as contained in Cod. Vindob. 2880 and to a later part of the century for the version in Add. 24946. There seems to be no research done on the interrelationship of these various manuscripts. It has seemed beyond the scope of this present study to explore this manuscript tradition, but it may well be that this could prove itself to be a fertile area for research and that this thesis could form a valuable preliminary study for it.

The mention of the Hussites in the fifth of the six opening religious poems, “Von dem glauben”,<sup>48)</sup> again clearly dates both the poems and the manuscript itself to the fifteenth century. There is one possible *terminus post quem*, but again it hints perhaps at the beginning of the century as the time of the composition of the poems; the manuscript itself would still seem to date from the latter part of the century.<sup>49)</sup>

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<sup>48)</sup> Folio 11<sup>r</sup> lines 2ff. = lines 65ff. of the poem, item 5, as reproduced in Appendix V of this present study.

<sup>49)</sup> When Jan Hus visited Nuremberg in 1414 on his way to Constance he was entertained to disputation with leading clerics of the town before Councillors and (leading) citizens (Cf. Gerhard Gruner, *Nürnberg in Jahreszahlen*, Nuremberg 1999, p. 59 1414; Pfeiffer, *Hussitenkriege*, p. 83; Gerhard Hirschmann (ed.), *Johannes Müllner. Die Annalen der Reichsstadt Nürnberg von 1623* II, Nuremberg 1984, p. 218). His ideas would seem to have been greeted with some sympathy by these lesser burghers of the town and Pfeiffer comments ominously on the lack of much further comment in the Annals (loc. cit., p. 83), suggesting that Hus’s ideas may have fallen on receptive ears. Events throughout the rest of the century suggest a tension between the positive reception of these ideas and a desire to suppress them. The successes of the Hussite armies would clearly seem to have been a threat to Nuremberg during the Hussite Wars, and particularly in 1427 when they took Hof, Bayreuth and Kulmbach and advanced just short of Nuremberg itself (Gruner, loc. cit., p. 64, 1427. Cf. also Königliche Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Historische Kommission, *Chroniken der fränkischen Städte. Nürnberg* Vol. II, Leipzig 1864, pp. 46-51; Hirschmann, loc. cit., pp. 273-276, partic. p. 275 [Müllner has the year as 1430]). When Johannes Capestranus preached in Nuremberg in 1452, it was not only his reputation as a preacher which had made him a desired visitor and it was not only the obvious persuasiveness and even theatricality of his preaching which had an effect upon those who heard him (Cf. Gruner, loc. cit., p. 78 and Karl Schlemmer, *Gottesdienst und Frömmigkeit in der Reichsstadt Nürnberg am Vorabend der Reformation*, Würzburg 1980, pp. 335-336. Cf. also *Chroniken*, p. 412 and Hirschmann, loc. cit., pp. 490-491); this was a man who from 1451 onwards was working and preaching as part of the “Hussitenmission” (Cf. Wanda Kampmann, *Deutsche und Juden. Die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland vom Mittelalter bis zum Beginn des Ersten Weltkrieges*, Frankfurt am Main 1963, p. 31). As late even as 1468 yet another (very brief) Catholic crusade was launched against George of Podebrady, the then Hussite king of Bohemia. In 1476 the Council felt obliged to forbid its citizens to listen to the sermons of Hans Böhme in Niklashausen, this presumably because of the Hussite tendencies of the thoughts contained in them (Cf. Gruner, loc. cit., p. 87 1476 and Schlemmer, loc. cit., pp. 333-334. Cf. also entries under Böhme by Schäffler (no forename) in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* Vol. 3, Leipzig

It is not altogether impossible that the comment in line 65 of “Von dem glauben”:

verfluecht so ist der hussen todt

may refer to the Battle of Lipany in 1434 where the two Hussite leaders Prokop the Great and Prokop the Lesser were defeated and both killed, the battle which effectively ended the Hussite Wars. We might then suppose the religious poems to have been written some time after 1434.

However, as we have seen, the Hussites and Hussite ideas were perceived to be a threat for a good part of the rest of the century. From the 1430s through to the 1470s and beyond there were events which may have occasioned the thoughts contained in and thus the composition of these six religious poems or occasioned the scribe/owner of Add. 24946 to include these poems or have them included in the manuscript.

None of the works contained in the manuscript then, can give much help in dating it with any precision.

Lloyd described the script of Add. 24946 as minuscule cursive<sup>50)</sup>; Mück has described it as *bastarda*.<sup>51)</sup> Displaying as it does rounded loops to the letters *d*, *b*, *l*, *k* and *h*, descent of the final minims of the letters *h* and *m* below the baseline, the closed rounded *s* and the use of diagonals to join the shafts

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1876, pp. 62-64 and by Otto Graf zu Stolberg-Wernigerode in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* Vol. 2, Berlin 1955, p. 382). Schlemmer, loc. cit., p. 335, also reports a similar incident ten years later which likewise gave the Council cause to fear socio-revolutionary ideas.

<sup>50)</sup> *Beringen*, p. 9.

<sup>51)</sup> *Untersuchungen*, p. 275.

of the letters *i*, *n*, *m* and *u*, perhaps minuscule cursive may be the better description. This would also seem to fit in better with the obvious generally unpretentious nature of the manuscript. Mück attributed the script to the fifteenth century, Lloyd to the second half of the fifteenth century, and Niewöhner even more precisely to the last quarter of the century.<sup>52)</sup>

Attempts to date by watermark are often fraught with dangers, and this is the case with Add. 24946.

Watermark I (folios 1-11 and 60-95), described by Niewöhner as “ein Ochsenkopf mit fünfklappiger Blume . . . gleich Briquets Nr. 14835 oder 14836 (1472. 1473)”<sup>53)</sup>, is in Briquet’s own illustration of 14835 a seven-petalled flower. Although Briquet 14836 is a five-petalled flower, the actual watermark in Add. 24946 is a six-petalled flower (see Appendix III). Neither is Reichel’s identification of Watermark I as Piccard (O) XIII, 724 (1471-1474)<sup>54)</sup> totally convincing.<sup>55)</sup>

Niewöhner’s description of Watermark II (folios 12-59 and 96-285) as “ein Ochsenkopf mit fünfklappiger Blume . . . gleich Briquets Nr. 14869

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<sup>52)</sup> *Teichner* I, p. XCII.

<sup>53)</sup> *Teichner* I, p. XCII.

<sup>54)</sup> *Rosenplüt*, p. 233.

<sup>55)</sup> In the curve at the bottom of the bar between the horns the watermark in Add. 24946 seems more akin to Piccard (O) XIII, 723 (which does form a group of two with 724), but the eyes seem wrong in both cases. Although the height of the watermark and the measurements between the tips of the ears would seem to correspond between watermark I and Piccard (O) XIII, 723 and 724, the distance between the horns of watermark I (about 29 mm.) would seem slightly to exceed the 24-27 mm. quoted for Piccard 723 and 724.

(1479)<sup>56)</sup> describes what in the manuscript is also a six-petalled flower (see Appendix III).<sup>57)</sup> Reichel's identification as Piccard (O) XIII, 676 is not thoroughly convincing.<sup>58)</sup>

A comparison of watermark II as it appears on folio 53 and on folio 103 (see Appendix III) also shows a number of differences, not least in the width and shape of the horns and in the width of the bar supporting the flower between the horns. The question is raised as to whether these are different watermarks or variants of the same watermark, the watermark on folio 53 having become misshapen perhaps through movement or repair of the wire. If watermark II on folio 103 is the original as opposed to the variant form, then there is no match for it in either Briquet or Piccard. It is also possibly the case, of course, that the watermarks in Add. 24946 have not previously been noted and do not appear in either Briquet or Piccard.

It is even more difficult to identify watermark III (folios 286-293) from either Briquet or Piccard. And it is interesting to note that Reichel identifies a watermark from a totally different source.<sup>59)</sup>

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<sup>56)</sup> *Teichner* I, p. XCII.

<sup>57)</sup> Watermark II is, if anything, closer to Briquet 14868 (also a six-petalled flower), but then the ears are wrong, as are the eyes, which in Add. 24946 would seem to be part of the outer wire frame.

<sup>58)</sup> *Rosenplüt*, p. 233. The positioning of the petals of the flower might point, rather, to Piccard (O) XIII, 678 (1477, 1478). Whilst the eyes in both Piccard 676 and 678 do also seem to be part of the outer frame, the measurement between the ear-tips of watermark II, folio 53 (about 40 mm. – difficult to measure exactly) seems to exceed the measurements quoted for Piccard 676 (37-38 mm.). Moreover, the measurement between the horns (28-30 mm. – again difficult to measure) exceeds the 26 mm. quoted for Piccard 676, whilst remaining below the 33-36 mm. quoted for Piccard 678.

<sup>59)</sup> *Rosenplüt*, p. 233.

The implications for the dating of the manuscript by watermark as presented by commentators thus far – more particularly the dating of the individual sections of it – are clear. The picture presented by Niewöhner's dating of the individual sections with the large difference in dates that this suggests cannot be substantiated. Reichel's very much narrower dating of the manuscript to the years 1471-1476 may have much to recommend it, but even then watermark dates are often far from accurate or precise.

Perhaps the most that can be said is that there would seem to be indications that the manuscript dates from perhaps something like the 1470's.<sup>60)</sup>

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<sup>60)</sup> Add. 24946 has been somewhat cut off from "mainstream" German codicological research by virtue of the fact that it is in London. It may be that to return it to the context from which it originated, to compare it with other manuscripts produced at the same time and place and with manuscripts owned by other known Nuremberg owners and collectors of manuscripts would tell us a good deal more about it than we know already. Such comparisons have unfortunately never been made. Cf. also comments made in footnote 47.



## The Content of the Manuscript

There is no reliable list of the contents of Additional Manuscript 24946. This section of the current study seeks to remedy that.

We have stated our intention (see Chapter 1, pages 24-25) to place at the heart of our consideration of Add. 24946 the subject-matter and themes of the poetic works selected by the owner/scribe for inclusion in the manuscript with a view to drawing some sort of profile not only of the owner, his literary tastes, his moral and social concerns, but also of the nature and concerns of the society in which he (or she) lived. This examination will be taken up in Chapter 3, once we have established which works the manuscript contains.

Following its table of contents on folios 1<sup>r</sup> – 2<sup>v</sup>, which is headed:

*Dÿ tafel vnd register darnach man ain yede materÿ  
jn disem büch dester ee vinden vnd nach der zal suchen mag*

Additional Manuscript 24946 contains 186 individual poetic works.<sup>61)</sup>

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<sup>61)</sup> Weigel, *Serapeum*, pp. 220-224 and 233-237 identifies and lists 184; Baechtold, *Handschriften*, pp. 72-146 seems to identify 187; Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, p. 826-841 also gives the figure of 184 but lists 183 items. I prefer to see the manuscript as containing 186 individual works, not counting the table of contents and the notes in modern hand on folio 294 amongst this number. On three occasions Weigel overlooks a poem, because the rubricated heading appears at the bottom of one folio and the poem itself begins at the top of the next folio. I would differ with Weigel and Baechtold (but agree with Ward) and prefer to see as one poem an item which they see as two. It is, in fact, the “Visio Philiberti” and the two parts which comprise it. The scribe’s heading on folio 165<sup>v</sup> “Wie der leib antwort gab” is not the heading to a new poem but an indication of the beginning of the second part of the “Visio Philiberti”. If we add 3 (for uncounted poems) to Weigel’s 184 and then subtract 1 (for the “Visio Philiberti”), and if in Baechtold’s case we subtract 1 (for the “Visio Philiberti”), then in both cases we arrive at a figure of 186. Ward does not explain his figure of 184. But he includes both the table of

1. 3<sup>r</sup> – 4<sup>r</sup> **Religious Poem – Von den zehen gepoten**<sup>62)</sup>

*Hie vacht an ain rueff vnd hubscher spruch*

*von den zehen gepotten*

*So ain doctor gemacht hat*

*In gottes namen heb wir es an*<sup>63)</sup>

*der alle ding volbrinnngenn khann*

*oben in dem obristen thronn - - -*

contents and the notes in modern hand in the list of items he presents (Weigel and Baechtold do not). However, he lists the opening six religious poems of the manuscript as one item. If in his case we take 183 items and subtract 2 (for the Table of Contents and modern notes) but add 5 (for the six religious poems noted as one item) we again arrive at a figure of 186. Arithmetically satisfying as this may be, it does not address the problem arising from the different systems employed by Weigel, Baechtold and Ward to number and list the poems. For instance, Weigel's miscounted poem no. 90 is Baechtold's poem no. III.42 and Ward's poem no. 8(43). A detailed comparison of the various numberings appears in Appendix I. It does seem sensible to start again and quite simply number through from 1 to 186 (ignoring the table of contents and the modern notes).

<sup>62)</sup> I have been unable to find the incipits of these six poems in the *Repertorium der Sangsprüche und Meisterlieder des 12. bis 18. Jahrhunderts* Vol. 14; Initien (Tübingen 1994-2002) or identify them from other secondary sources. A good number of manuscripts from the religious houses in Nuremberg, particularly those in German from the "Katharinenkloster", eventually found their way into the "Stadtbibliothek" in Nuremberg. Neither the register of incipits in the catalogue of the "Stadtbibliothek" (Karin Schneider, *Die Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg Bd. 1. Die deutschen mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, Wiesbaden 1965) nor that of the "Germanisches Nationalmuseum" in Nuremberg (Lotte Kurras, *Kataloge des Germanischen Nationalmuseums Nürnberg. Die Handschriften des Germanischen Nationalmuseums Nürnbergs Bd. 1 Die deutschen mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, Wiesbaden 1974) produced a further version of these poems. At this stage they therefore remain unidentified.

<sup>63)</sup> In quoting opening and closing lines it will be the normal practice in what follows to quote the first two and the final two lines. Here, however, in the case of the first five of these opening religious poems it seems sensible to quote the first and final three lines – simply because the poems are written in rhyming triplets. This also seems a good idea in the case of poems by der Teichner, since occasionally the first line and very often particularly the last line have an element of a "formula" about them. In quoting from the manuscript I have also re-supplied the letters which the scribe has indicated through abbreviations and have used discretion to simplify diacritic signs. Even so, the lines quoted will still reflect scribal inconsistencies and inaccuracies. References to editions are given in abbreviated form, but all references are easily identifiable from the works as listed in the bibliography.

- - - *Das danck wir jm ewigleich  
got helff vns in seins vaterreich  
sprecht amen all gar offenleich*

2. 4<sup>r</sup> – 6<sup>v</sup> **Religious Poem – Von unsers herren leiden**<sup>64)</sup>

*Von vnsers herren leiden*

*In dem anfang aller gutten dingen  
ruef wir got an das vns gelingen  
das wir den seinen willen volbringen - - -  
- - - Gott helff vns allen an die statt  
da got die seinen erwelten hatt  
das geschech sprecht all amen also drott*

3. 6<sup>v</sup> – 8<sup>r</sup> **Religious Poem – Von unser lieben frawen**

*Von vnser lieben frawen*

*Gottes mueter soll wir rueffenn an  
ir guet vns wol helfenn khann  
o maria du solt vns nit verlan - - -  
- - - Wann du bisst alle heiligen gar  
hillf vns an gottes engel schar  
sprecht amen all gar offenbar*

4. 8<sup>r</sup> – 10<sup>r</sup> **Religious Poem – Als der engel den grues bracht**

*Als der engel den grues bracht*

*Gott sas in seiner maienstatt  
mit seinem sun so nam er ratt  
wie er menschen brecht aus sender not - - -*

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<sup>64)</sup> This poem should not be confused with the one on folios 218<sup>v</sup>-231<sup>r</sup> headed *Von unsers herren leiden* and edited by Carr as “*Von unsers herren liden*”.

- - - *Das alle sund von vns entweich  
got helff vns in seins vater reich  
ir sprechent amen all geleich*

5. 10<sup>r</sup> – 11<sup>v</sup> **Religious Poem – Von dem glauben**

*Von dem glauben*

*Wir sollen bitten den heiligen geist  
vmb rechten glauben aller maist  
der vns den weg der warheit weist - - -  
- - - Vnd hab vns beschafen an vnserm end  
das heilig wirdig sacramenntt  
sprecht amen reckt auf ewr hend*

6. 11<sup>v</sup> **Religious Poem – Von dem heiligen kreutz**

*Von dem heiligen kreutz*

*Der sig des konigs scheineth schon  
des konigs kraft damit gar fron - - -  
- - - der vns durch kreutz erloset hat  
sällig vns an vnsers endes ratt*

7. 12<sup>r</sup> – 12<sup>v</sup> **Der Teichner: Von falschen chanbeiben<sup>65)</sup>**  
(T. 1) **(Niewöhner No. 432)**

*Hie vahent sich an die teichnär was der grösst valsch sey  
Aÿner fraget mich der mär  
was der grossist valsch wär  
auf der wellt vnd wider gott - - -*

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<sup>65)</sup> The titles quoted in this section will as first choice be those given by Niewöhner in his edition of the works of der Teichner, when Niewöhner does provide a title. Otherwise titles are as the headings in Add. 24946. Exceptions will occur where, for instance, the poem has been adopted elsewhere, for instance taken over by Fischer into his corpus of “Mären” (e.g. item no. 32 here), or is known by another title as a “Minnerede” (when Brandis’s numbering will also be given).

- - - *das sie sollchs valsch nit tut begynnen  
vnd der vntrew ist vnmär  
also sprach der teichnär*

Editions: LASSBERG, *Lieder Saal* I, pp. 393-397, no. LII; KRAUS, *Mhd. Ü-buch*,  
(<sup>1</sup>)1912 pp. 231-233 and (<sup>2</sup>)1926 p. 265-267, no. XVIII; NIEWÖHNER, *Teichner* II,  
pp. 218-219, no. 432

8. 12<sup>v</sup> **Der Teichner: Wie man früm lewt erckennen schol**  
(T. 2) **(Niewöhner No. 613)**

*Mer ain teichnär Wie man biderleut erkennen sol  
Ainer bat mich das ich im nant  
wie man biderlewt erkant  
do sprach ich das ist schwär - - -  
- - - vnd mocht got selber nit getrawen  
wann er selbs hie niden war  
also sprach der teichnar*

Editions: NIEWÖHNER, *Teichner* III, pp. 173-174, no. 613

9. 13<sup>r</sup> – 13<sup>v</sup> **Der Teichner: Von der welt lauff**  
(T. 3) **(Niewöhner No. 640)**

*Der welt lauf Es ist niemant in der welt der yederman gefallen mug  
Mir wont oft wunder bey  
ob in der wellt yemant seÿ  
jn aller wellt jung vnd allt - - -  
- - - vnd flissen vns des sein gebotz  
das wär pesser dann der welt lauf angeuar  
das ist war vnd nicht ain sag mar*

Editions: NIEWÖHNER, *Teichner* III, pp. 217-219, no. 640

10. 13<sup>v</sup> – 14<sup>v</sup> **Der Teichner: Von unserm herren**  
(T. 4) **(Niewöhner No. 68)**

*Ein teichnär das man sich nit grymen soll*

*Leib vnd sell ist nicht als guet  
als ain wolbesinter muet  
der an got lat allsein sach - - -  
- - - man ist vmb maniges vngemuet  
da got vmb zudancken wär  
also spricht der teichnär*

Editions: LASSBERG, *Lieder Saal* III, pp. 135-138, no. CLXXXIX; BARTSCH, *Beiträge*, pp. 325-327; KRAUS, *Mhd. Ü-buch*, <sup>(1)</sup>1912 pp. 207-209 and <sup>(2)</sup>1926 pp. 241-243, no. III; NIEWÖHNER, *Teichner* I, pp. 80-81, no. 68

11. 14<sup>v</sup> – 16<sup>v</sup> **Der Teichner: Von der mess Acht güttat komen von**  
(T. 5) **(Niewöhner No. 531)** **der mess**

*Teichnär von der mess Acht güttat komen von der mes*

*Ainer bat mich im ler zugeben  
wie er sollt zu kirichen leben  
die weil der briester messe hatt - - -  
- - - im wirt sein end sellten guet  
dem die mess ist vnmär  
also sprach der teichnär*

Editions: LASSBERG, *Lieder Saal* III, pp. 315-320, no. CCXIV; PFEIFFER, *Ald. Beispiele*, pp. 207-212; MINZLOFF, *Ald. Handschriften*, p. 30 (first 23 lines); NIEWÖHNER, *Teichner* II, pp. 393-396, no. 531

12. 16<sup>v</sup> – 17<sup>r</sup> **Der Teichner: Daz man gern sol fru auf stan**  
(T. 6) **(Niewöhner No. 382)**

*Mer ain teichnär Wir sullen in sunden nit schlafen*  
*Es ist recht an aller stat*  
*wer erib von ainem herren hat*  
*der soll im dienen dester mer - - -*  
*- - - der ist vbertag versawmbtt*  
*vnd wirt verirret ongeuär*  
*also spricht der teichnär*

Editions: KRAUS, *Mhd. Ü-buch*, <sup>(1)</sup>1912 pp. 222-224 and <sup>(2)</sup>1926 pp. 256-258,  
no. XII; NIEWÖHNER, *Teichner II*, pp. 135-136, no. 382

13. 17<sup>r</sup> – 18<sup>v</sup> **Der Teichner: Der pözz sol nicht wizen von den**  
(T. 7) **(Niewöhner No. 251)** **guten**

*Ain böser sol nit wissen das gefert wie sich ain biderman ernert*  
*Ich hon gehort von den weisen*  
*von allten vnd von greisen*  
*man soll das ende sehen an - - -*  
*- - - vnd gedulltig arm knecht*  
*sie sind recht an ainer schwär*  
*also sprach der teichnär*

Editions: KRAUS, *Mhd. Ü-buch*, <sup>(1)</sup>1912 pp. 218-220 and <sup>(2)</sup>1926 pp.252-254,  
no.X; NIEWÖHNER, *Teichner I*, pp. 274-276, no.251

14. 18<sup>v</sup> – 19<sup>v</sup> **Der Teichner: Wie ainer seinem vbergenosen soll**  
(T. 8) **(Niewöhner No. 479)** **vbersehen**

*Wie ainer seinem vbergenosen soll vbersehen*  
*Zwen nach gebawrn warn*  
*die begunden an ander varn*  
*ainer dem andern was zuschwär - - -*

- - - so mugent baid auch desterbas  
 wann sie lebent an geuär  
 also sprach der teichnär

Editions: NIEWÖHNER, *Teichner* II, pp. 324-325, no. 479

15. 19<sup>v</sup> – 20<sup>v</sup> **Der Teichner: Von über müt**  
 (T. 9) **(Niewöhner No. 29)**

*Ain peispil von vbermut*

*Ein pawman zu im selber sprach  
 do er sein korn ane sach  
 ich will hewr nit vertragen - - -  
 - - - mit dein leib vnd mit dein güt  
 das hat er recht on alles geuär  
 also sprach der teichnär*

Editions: NIEWÖHNER, *Teichner* I, pp. 34-36, no. 29

16. 20<sup>v</sup> – 23<sup>f</sup> **Der Teichner: Von bösen alten weiben**  
 (T. 10) **(Niewöhner No. 536)**

*Von bösen alten weiben*

*Etlich alte weib nit erkennen  
 sollt man si secken oder prennen  
 darzue so trueg ich gern ain zaun - - -  
 - - - von den weibes widerbillen  
 ob er dann ain engell wär  
 also sprach der teichnär*

Editions: NIEWÖHNER, *Teichner* II, pp. 405-408, no. 536



17. 23<sup>r</sup> – 25<sup>r</sup> **Der Teichner: Wie ainer heiraten soll**  
(T. 11) **(Niewöhner No. 470)**

*Wie ainer heiraten soll*

*Mitt kranker hab ain man mich fragt  
in welher weis es ime behagtt  
er wollt im ain eelich frawen nemen - - -  
- - - so wöll der frawen die zuchtig leben  
die sind nutz vnd erbar  
also redtt der teichnär*

Editions: KELLER, *Erzählungen*, pp. 653-657; KRAUS, *Mhd. Ü-buch*, <sup>(1)</sup>1912 pp. 233-237 and <sup>(2)</sup>1926 pp. 267-271, no. XIX; NIEWÖHNER, *Teichner II*, pp. 312-314, no. 470

18. 25<sup>r</sup> – 26<sup>v</sup> **Der Teichner: Von dem roten Mund**  
(T. 12) **(Niewöhner No. 189 – Von roten münden)**  
**(Brandis No. 274)**

*Was in der wellt der hochst hort seÿ*

*Ich ward gefragt fromder wortt  
was in der wellt der obrist hortt  
ob allen horden mocht gesein - - -  
- - - er hiet an halber zungen genug  
das der sin lennger wär  
also sprach der teichnär*

Editions: KRAUS, *Mhd. Ü-buch*, <sup>(1)</sup>1912 pp. 214-216 and <sup>(2)</sup>1926 pp. 248-250, no. VIII; NIEWÖHNER, *Teichner I*, pp. 212-213, no. 189

19. 26<sup>v</sup> – 28<sup>r</sup> **Der Teichner: Von kurtzen röcken**  
(T. 13) **(Niewöhner No. 722 )**

*Von kurtzen rocken*

*Ich kom an ain stat durch mer  
da was oft ain mynner  
die der mynne zaichen trugen - - -*

- - - *sam in vatter muetter vnd basen  
vnd als ir geschlacht begraben war  
also sprach der teichnar*

Editions: NIEWÖHNER, *Teichner* III, pp. 327-328

This poem appears to be a *unicum* in Add. 24946.

20. 28<sup>r</sup> – 29<sup>v</sup> **Der Teichner: Klage einer Frau**  
(T. 14) **(Niewöhner No. 669 – Von der mynn)**  
**(Brandis No. 292)**

*Von den die den frawen arckwan machen*

*Annders nicht dann verlust vnd gewin  
also geet die zeit hin  
vnd hat sich also gemischt - - -  
- - - vnd macht auch der frawen haz  
gen irem man vnd annderswar  
also sprach der teichnar*

Editions: HALTAUS, *Hätzlerin*, pp. 186-187, no. 28; NIEWÖHNER, *Teichner* III, pp. 257-258, no. 669

21. 29<sup>v</sup> – 30<sup>v</sup> **Der Teichner: Von dem armen hofman**  
(T. 15) **(Niewöhner No. 555)**

*Von dem armen hofman*

*Ainer fraget mich der mër  
was das aller ernest wär  
das auf der wellt mag gesein - - -  
- - - so kan ich niendert wissen ain nott  
die der schulld so geleich wär  
also sprach der teichnar*

Editions: NIEWÖHNER, *Teichner* III, pp. 22-24, no. 555

22. 30<sup>v</sup> – 31<sup>v</sup> **Der Teichner: Es mugen nit zwo lieb in ain hertz**  
(T. 16) **(Niewöhner No. 480)**

*Es mugen nit zwo lieb in ain hertz*

*Es lebt niendert fraw noch man  
der zway lieb gehalten kann  
ane vallsch in seinem muet - - -  
- - - also wirt auch sie getrewtett  
valschlich vnd mit geuär  
also sprach der teichnär*

Editions: NIEWÖHNER, *Teichner II*, pp. 325-326, no. 480

23. 31<sup>v</sup> – 33<sup>v</sup> **Der Teichner: Von ammen vnd von kamer weiben**  
(T. 17) **(Niewöhner No. 533)**

*Von ammen vnd von kamer weiben*

*Ich hon manig schlacht gemezzen  
vnd han aines noch vergezzen  
des ain noturft ist zuschreiben - - -  
- - - hett mich der frass nit daran bracht  
der hat mich geweizt der mär  
also sprach der teichnär*

Editions: NIEWÖHNER, *Teichner II*, pp. 399-402, no. 533

24. 33<sup>v</sup> – 34<sup>r</sup> **Der Teichner: Das wolfailist ist lieber frund vnd**  
(T. 18) **(Niewöhner No. 534)** **gesell mein**

*Das wolfailist ist lieber frund vnd gesell mein*

*Ainer fraget mich der mär  
was das aller wolfailist wär  
auf aller diser wellt krais - - -*

- - - *ich nām ain halbs gern furgut  
wann es an ain notten war  
also sprach der teichnar*

Editions: NIEWÖHNER, *Teichner* II, p. 402, no. 534

25. 34<sup>r</sup> – 35<sup>v</sup> **Der Teichner: Trunkenhait vnd vasnacht gleichen**  
(T. 19) **(Niewöhner No. 506)** **sich wol zesamen**

*Trunckenhait vnd vasnacht gleichen sich wol zesamen  
Trunckenhait vnd vasnacht  
han ich recht geleich bedacht  
man will was der truncken tut - - -  
- - - das wär nicht an missetat  
der nur vnzucht verpär  
also sprach der teichnär*

Editions: NIEWÖHNER, *Teichner* II, pp. 360-361, no. 506

26. 35<sup>v</sup> – 36<sup>v</sup> **Der Teichner: Ain klain wetter vertreibt ain faulen**  
(T. 20) **(Niewöhner No. 557)** **werchman**

*Ain klain wetter vertreibt ain faulen werchman  
Es ist ain allter spruch gemain  
das man spricht ain wetter klain  
treibt ain fawlen werickman ab - - -  
- - - ze aller zeit sumer vnd wintter  
ist er vns auf dem trussell schwar  
also sprach der teichnar*

Editions: NIEWÖHNER, *Teichner* III, pp. 26-27, no. 557

27. 36<sup>v</sup> – 37<sup>v</sup> **Der Teichner: Von übel weiben**  
(T. 21) **(Niewöhner No. 185)**

*Bey ainem vbeln weib buest ainer sein sünd*

*Ich hort von ainem gutten man  
der wollt alle dise welt verlan  
vnd wollt buezzen in ainer willd - - -  
- - - oder welherlay slacht er litt  
wann er nür gedulltig wär  
also sprach der teichnar*

Editions: KRAUS, *Mhd. Ü-buch*, <sup>(1)</sup>1912 pp. 212-214 and <sup>(2)</sup>1926 pp. 246-248,  
no VII; NIEWÖHNER, *Teichner I*, pp. 208-209, no. 185

28. 37<sup>v</sup> – 38<sup>v</sup> **Der Teichner: Nyemant solle sich seins adels römen**  
(T. 22) **(Niewöhner No. 717)** **der unadelichen thutt**  
**So mercke**

*Etlicher rüembt sich seiner aigen schanden*

*Maniger ruembt gar vast sein adel  
wann er hat an ern zadell  
vnd vnadelichen tut - - -  
- - - wie sein vatter hies mit namen  
er ist selb vnerbar  
also sprach der teichnär*

Editions: NIEWÖHNER, *Teichner III*, pp. 320-321, no. 717

29. 38<sup>v</sup> – 40<sup>r</sup> **Der Teichner: Ainen alten wolt der teufel nymer**  
(T. 23) **(Niewöhner No. 723)** **schunden zu vnkeusch**

*Ainen alten wolt der teufel nymer schunden zu vnkeusch*

*Zw ainem mal was ain junger man  
wenn er hett das ding getan  
des die man mit frawen pflegen - - -*

- - - *er wollt nymer sunden pflegen  
ob er ymer lebendig wär  
also sprach der teichnär*

Editions: NIEWÖHNER, *Teichner* III, pp. 328-329, no. 723

This poem appears to be a *unicum* in Add. 24946.

30. 40<sup>r</sup> – 41<sup>r</sup>      **Der Teichner: Von singern ain peispill**  
(T. 24)                    **(Niewöhner No. 551)**

*Von singern ain peispill*

*Mangen singer vindet man  
der die herren effen kan  
das er singt ain lob lied - - -  
- - - das er spricht er trueg in sellten  
wann der sach nit geschehen wär  
also sprach der teichnär*

Editions: NIEWÖHNER, *Teichner* III, pp. 17-18, no. 551

31. 41<sup>r</sup> – 43<sup>r</sup>      **Der Teichner: Wie sich ainer hallten sull so er zu**  
(T. 25)                    **(Niewöhner No. 474)**                    **gots tisch gangen ist**

*Wie sich ainer hallten sull so er zu gots tisch gangen ist*

*Ainer fraget mich der mār  
was dem menschen das nutzist wär  
dem gots leichnam wirt gegeben - - -  
- - - gott der fleucht nur vallsche vaz  
die da lebent mit geuär  
also sprach der teichnar*

Editions: NIEWÖHNER, *Teichner* II, pp. 319-321, no. 474

32. 43<sup>r</sup> – 44<sup>v</sup> **Der Teichner: Die Rosshaut**  
(T. 26) **(Niewöhner No. 360 – Von prangen in der roshaut)**

*Wie ain ritter seiner frawen ain rosshawt anlegtt*

*Ain ritter sas in bayrn lannd  
der was ain dienst herr bekannt  
do hett sein weib den vbermut - - -  
- - - also macht die hoffart  
das ir ding wirt offenbar  
also sprach der teichnär*

Editions: KELLER, *Erzählungen*, pp. 201-203; KRAUS, *Mhd. Ü-buch*, <sup>(1)</sup>1912 pp. 220-222 and <sup>(2)</sup>1926 pp. 254-256, no XI; NIEWÖHNER, *Teichner II*, pp. 109-111, no. 360

33. 44<sup>v</sup> – 46<sup>r</sup> **Der Teichner: Von dez chlosner tancz**  
(T. 27) **(Niewöhner No. 335)**

*Wie ain klausner tantzt vnd wont es solt gut sein*

*Ain clausner gesezzen was  
jn ainem walld als ich las  
darjnn was er worden alt - - -  
- - - als den werden rewtttern hie  
so hort man andrew mär  
also sprach der teichnär*

Editions: NIEWÖHNER, *Teichner II*, pp. 65-67, no. 335

34. 46<sup>r</sup> – 46<sup>v</sup> **Der Teichner: Ob pesser sey die welt aufgeben oder**  
(T. 28) **(Niewöhner No. 529) mit arbeit dar in streben**

*Ob pesser sey die welt aufgeben oder mit arbeit dar in streben*

*Ainer bat mich das ich im sait  
welhes den menschen bas furtrait  
das er all die wellt aufgeit - - -*

- - - *er leyt nÿmer als grozze pein  
wann er in ainer klausen wär  
also sprach der teichnär*

Editions: NIEWÖHNER, *Teichner* II, p. 392, no. 529

35. 46<sup>v</sup> – 47<sup>r</sup> **Der Teichner: Was salld vnd gelück vnderschaid**  
(T. 29) **(Niewöhner No. 475)** **habe**

*Was salld vnd geluck vnderschaid habe*

*Selld vnd geluck sind zway ding  
das geluck das ist ring  
wirt die selld dauon verlorn - - -  
- - - da ist er dann ewickleich  
er wollt nit das im anders wär  
also sprach der teichnar*

Editions: NIEWÖHNER, *Teichner* II, p. 321, no. 475

36. 47<sup>r</sup> – 47<sup>v</sup> **Der Teichner: Von czucht**  
(T. 30) **(Niewöhner No. 334)**

*Von zucht vnd arbeit<sup>66)</sup>*

*Es was weilunt in der wellt  
das man wag fur alles gelt  
schone zucht vnd warhait - - -  
- - - es stett hie des menschen leben  
vnd bringt in dort in ewig schwär  
also sprach der teichnär*

Editions: NIEWÖHNER, *Teichner* II, p. 65, no. 334

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<sup>66)</sup> This is clearly an error on the part of the scribe. Lines 3 and 6 have “warhait”, as does the table of contents (“warhaitt”, folio 1<sup>v</sup>, line 3). Weigel (*Serapeum*, p. 222) prefers to quote “warheit”, Baechtold (*Handschriften*, p. 79) to quote “warhaitt”. There is what appears to be a crossed out *b* in front of this word and Priebisch quotes “barbait” (*Handschriften*, p. 216). Perhaps the scribe confused himself by being unable initially to decide which of the interchangeable Bavarian letters *b* and *w* he should use.



37. 47<sup>v</sup> – 49<sup>r</sup> **Der Teichner: Von unverstentichait der sünden**  
(T. 31) **(Niewöhner No. 5)**

*Das kain sünder soll vertzweifeln*

*Wer so uil gesundet hat  
das in der zweiucl bestatt  
vnd an gott so ser verzagt - - -  
- - - gott erkant die menschait ring  
ee himel vnd erd geschafen war  
also sprach der teichnar*

Editions: KRAUS, *Mhd. Ü-buch*, <sup>(1)</sup>1912 pp. 205-206 and <sup>(2)</sup>1926 pp. 239-240,  
no I; NIEWÖHNER, *Teichner I*, pp. 8-9, no. 5

38. 49<sup>r</sup> – 50<sup>r</sup> **Der Teichner: Von den sünthen**  
(T. 32) **(Niewöhner No. 6)**

*Es soll kainer in sünden vertzagen*

*Mich wundert ainer sach dick  
maniger sundet one srick  
ane vorcht vnd vbermacht - - -  
- - - vnd brächt in von dem tewfell gar  
wie tewf er in seiner kisten wär  
also sprach der teichnar*

Editions: NIEWÖHNER, *Teichner I*, pp. 9-10, no. 6

39. 50<sup>r</sup> **Der Teichner: Von der verwandlung**  
(T. 33) **(Niewöhner Nr. 7)**

*Wie vns got verporgen ist*

*Got ist vns verporgen vor  
jegleicher weis mit gespartem tor  
als latein verbergen kan - - -*

- - - *wie das er vnsuchtig seÿ  
er sicht doch aller der wellt gebär  
also sprach der teichnär*

Editions: NIEWÖHNER, *Teichner I*, pp. 10-11, no. 7

40. 50<sup>r</sup> – 50<sup>v</sup> **Der Teichner: Wie man sich sull zu gots tisch**  
(T. 34) **(Niewöhner No. 472)** **beraiten**

*Wie man sich sull zu gots tisch beraiten*

*Ainer fraget mich der mār  
was dem menschen das nutzist wār  
jn der antlas wochen zill - - -  
- - - vnd sich richten auf recht strazzen  
so wais ich nicht das pezzer wār  
also sprach der teichnär*

Editions: NIEWÖHNER, *Teichner II*, p. 317, no. 472

41. 50<sup>v</sup> – 51<sup>v</sup> **Der Teichner: Aber ain ler davon**  
(T. 35) **(Niewöhner No. 473)**

*Aber ain ler davon*

*Wer sich woll beraittn woll  
wann er zu dem alltar soll  
der soll als ain bawman graben - - -  
- - - den da man gutten willen hatt  
da wirt sein gnad fruchtbar  
also sprach der teichnar*

Editions: NIEWÖHNER, *Teichner II*, p. 318, no. 473

42. 51<sup>v</sup> – 52<sup>r</sup> **Der Teichner: Warvmb die wellt valscher seÿ**  
(T. 36) **(Niewöhner No. 488)** **dann vor**

*Warvmb die wellt valscher seÿ dann vor*

*Ainer fraget mich der mär  
warvmb die wellt vallscher wär  
den ye vor bey ewrn tagen - - -  
- - - ainer gen dem andern lachett  
vnd trät im hertzen andre mär  
also sprach der teichnar*

Editions: NIEWÖHNER, *Teichner* II, p. 336, no. 488

43. 52<sup>r</sup> – 52<sup>v</sup> **Der Teichner: Von den ruemern**  
(T. 37) **(Niewöhner No. 159)**

*Von den die sich der frawen ruemen*

*Das posist kunter das ich wais  
das ist ain wolff in aim krais  
ain ieslich tier peist als vill - - -  
- - - das sie verleust irn grössten hort  
das oft ainer der tod pesser war  
also spricht der teichnar*

Editions: LASSBERG, *Lieder Saal* III, pp. 427-430, no. CCXXVIII (verses 21-60); KRAUS, *Mhd. Ü-buch*, <sup>(1)</sup>1912 pp. 211-212 and <sup>(2)</sup>1926 pp. 245-246, no VI; NIEWÖHNER, *Teichner* I, pp. 181-182, no. 159

44. 52<sup>v</sup> – 53<sup>r</sup> **Der Teichner: Der Frauen Unstetigkeit**  
(T. 38) **(Niewöhner No. 705 – Das nicht pösers ist an schone**  
**frawen dann unstettigkaytt, so mercke)**  
**(Brandis No. 291)**

*Von der frawen vnstatikait*

*Ainer fraget mich der mär  
was das aller posist wär  
an den schonen frawen gemait - - -*

- - - *aber verleust sie irn grössten hortt  
des ir der tod pesser wär  
also rett der teichnär<sup>67)</sup>*

Editions: NIEWÖHNER, *Teichner* III, p. 306, no.705

45. 53<sup>r</sup> – 55<sup>r</sup>      **Das Vergißmeinnicht  
(Brandis No. 366)**

*Von dem blümlein vergismeinnit*

*Ich kom in des mayen zeit  
auf ainen grüenen anger weit - - -  
- - - vnd der zawn der vmb den garten gatt  
soll sein nit liebers vnd vergismeinnit an aller statt*

Editions: CROSLAND, *Vergissmeinnit*, pp. 365-369

This poem is a *unicum* in Add. 24946.

46. 55<sup>r</sup> – 57<sup>v</sup>      **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 9106  
– 9269)<sup>68)</sup>**

*Von ainem spiler von Jenüa*

*Nu horet was von spil geschach  
wie sich der offentlich rach - - -  
- - - durch die getat ich ratten will  
das manicklich huette sich vor spil*

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<sup>67)</sup> The final lines of this poem are (apart from certain aspects of the orthography) identical to the final lines of the preceding poem, item 43. This would seem, of course, to be a scribal copying error either in this or in a previous copying.

<sup>68)</sup> There has been only one edition of Heinrich von Beringen's "Schachbuch": Paul Zimmermann (ed.), *Das Schachgedicht Heinrichs von Beringen* (Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart CLXVI), Tübingen 1883. The verses quoted refer, of course, to this edition. With over forty extracts from the work contained in Add. 24946 it would seem superfluous to furnish a separate "editions" line quoting page numbers each time an extract is noted.

47. 57<sup>v</sup> – 58<sup>v</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 9304 – 9385)***Ain spiler an mütt sant bernhart mit jm zuspiln**Nu hort wie ainer behallten ward**der gut herr sant bernhart - - -**- - - wert als er in auch sollt wern**im beschain der gnaden stern*48. 58<sup>v</sup> – 59<sup>v</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 944 – 1049)***Wie das frawen nit wol verschweigen mugen**Hort das bewart marobius**der hat dauon geschriben alsus - - -**- - - ewr witz wachen**das kan ewr ampt besachen*49. 60<sup>r</sup> **Der Stricker: Ochse und Hirsch<sup>69)</sup>**  
(F. 1)*Hie vacht an hern freidancks gedicht**der auf der welte leuf wol was bericht*

(No separate heading for this poem)

*Was nymer kain man**von mÿnne geleren kan - - -**- - - die mÿnne wirt vnstättē**so man sie aller gernest hette*


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<sup>69)</sup> The titles used for poems in this section (items 49-96) by der Stricker are those adopted by Moelleken, *Kleindichtung*. Where a poem in this section is not by der Stricker the title given in Gerd Dicke and Klaus Grubmüller, *Katalog der Fabeln des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit*, Munich 1987 is used. Where the poem does not feature in Dicke/Grubmüller, then the title used by Hermann Menhardt, *Verzeichnis der altdeutschen literarischen Handschriften der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* Vol. 1 (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für deutsche Sprache und Literatur Vol. 13), Berlin 1960, pp. 142-204 (from Cod. Vind. 2705) is used. All but two of the works in this section of Add. 24946 also appear in Codex Vindobonensis 2705.

Editions: VON DER HAGEN/BÜSCHING, *Grundriß*, p. 337; HAUPT/HOFFMANN, *Altdeutsche Blätter*, p. 108, no. I; PFEIFFER, *Altd. Beispiele*, pp. 338-339, no. XII; GOEDEKE, *Deutsche Dichtung*, p. 639, no. 5, 8; BAECHTHOLD, *Handschriften*, pp. 82-83; EULING, *Erzählungen*, pp. 203-204, no. 928; MOELLEKEN, *Kleindichtung V*, pp. 224-225, no. 160

50. 60<sup>r</sup> – 61<sup>r</sup>     **Der Stricker: Der einfältige Ritter**  
(F. 2)

*Von ainem burgstall*

*Es rait ain ritter der was tum  
auf ainer strassen die was krum - - -  
- - - die vierdten seitten da die dreÿ  
verderbet waren beÿ*

Editions: PFEIFFER, *Altd. Beispiele*, pp. 339-341, no. XIII; METTKE, *Stricker*, pp. 145-146, no. 32; MOELLEKEN, *Liebe und Ehe*, pp. 69-71, no. XIII; WOLF, *Sammlung kleinerer deutscher Gedichte*, ff. 70<sup>vb</sup>-71<sup>rb</sup> (facsimile of Codex FB 32001); MOELLEKEN, *Kleindichtung V*, pp. 253-256, no. 162

51. 61<sup>r</sup> – 61<sup>v</sup>     **Löwe und Sohn**<sup>70)</sup>  
(F. 3)

*Wie ain leo seinen sun lertt*

*Ain leo zü seinem süne sprach  
do er sich des todes versach - - -  
- - - da er sich nicht erkenntt  
wie ofte er sich nennt*

Editions: PFEIFFER, *Altd. Beispiele*, pp. 349-351, no. XIX; KOSAK, *Reimpaar-fabel*, pp. 460-462, no. 15

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<sup>70)</sup> Dicke/Grubmüller, *Fabeln*, pp. 464-465, no. 396.

52. 61<sup>v</sup> – 62<sup>r</sup> **Veilchen und Haselblume**<sup>71)</sup>  
(F. 4)

*Wie ain frau aines spotte*

*Ich kam in aines mayen zeit  
so die wise gerne leitt - - -  
- - - vnd alle die arbeit  
die ir an sie habt geleitt*

Editions: VON DER HAGEN, *Alterthumskunde*, pp. 306-307; PFEIFFER, *Altd. Beispiele*, pp. 320-321, no. I; BAECHTHOLD, *Handschriften*, pp. 83-85

53. 62<sup>r</sup> **Fuchs und Affe III**<sup>72)</sup>  
(F. 5)

*Wie ain aff an ain vöchin tausch begert*

*Zv einer füchsin sprachen die affen  
wer hat dich so beschaffen - - -  
- - - einen reichen argion main ich  
wer den bittet der effett sich*

Editions: PFEIFFER, *Altd. Beispiele*, p. 352, no. XXII; GOEDEKE, *Deutsche Dichtung*, p. 641, no. 5, 12; KOSAK, *Reimpaarfabel*, p. 459, no. 14

54. 62<sup>r</sup> – 63<sup>r</sup> **Das gebratene Ei**<sup>73)</sup>  
(F. 6)

*Wie ain kind sich verbrennt hatt*

*Pey ainem fewr ich gesach  
des mir zelachen geschach - - -  
- - - das man sein diephait wol sicht  
vnd wirt jm doch des ay nicht*

Editions: PFEIFFER, *Altd. Beispiele*, pp. 368-370, no. XXXV; GOEDEKE, *Deutsche Dichtung*, p. 643, no. 5, 17

<sup>71)</sup> Menhardt, *Verzeichnis*, p. 188 (item 201).

<sup>72)</sup> Dicke/Grubmüller, *Fabeln*, pp. 203-206, no.174.

<sup>73)</sup> Menhardt, *Verzeichnis*, p. 188 (item 200).

55. 63<sup>r</sup> **Habicht und Huhn**<sup>74)</sup>  
(F. 7)

*Ain hwen gehaymbt sich zu aim habch*

*Es stund zü ainen stunden  
auf ainem hamel ain habch gebunden - - -  
- - - vnd wirt zu jüngst geschant  
wann es hat den habch angerant*

Editions: PFEIFFER, *Ald. Beispiele*, pp. 356-357, no. XXVI; KOSAK, *Reimpaar-  
fabel*, pp. 457-458, no. 13

56. 63<sup>v</sup> **Der Stricker: Die Katze**  
(F. 8)

*Von vnkeuschen mannen*

*Das ist ainer yeglichen katzen muet  
säch sie vor ir vnbehüett - - -  
- - - ir baiden werch bemerent wol  
das man ir lob gleichen soll*

Editions: HAHN, *Stricker*, pp. 1-2, no. I; GOEDEKE, *Deutsche Dichtung*, p. 644,  
no. 5, 20; METTKE, *Stricker*, p. 10, no. 3; SCHWAB, *Tierbispel*, pp. 48-49, no.  
XI; MOELLEKEN, *Kleindichtung II*, pp. 258-259, no. 33; EHRISMANN, *Stricker*, pp.  
48-50, no. 4

57. 63<sup>v</sup> **Der Stricker: Der unfruchtbare Baum**  
(F. 9)

*Von vnfruchtbarbarn blüed*

*Welich pawm des plüetes vil gebirt  
vnd des opses darauf nicht enwirt - - -  
- - - des pawms blüen vnd ienes geheis  
das ist mir als ich wol wais*

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<sup>74)</sup> Dicke/Grubmüller, *Fabeln*, pp. 279-280, no. 236.



Editions: HAHN, *Stricker*, p. 2, no. II; WEINHOLD, *Mhd. Lesebuch*, p. 172, no. 3; BAECHTHOLD, *Handschriften*, pp. 86-87; METTKE, *Stricker*, p. 11, no. 4; SCHWAB, *Tierbispiel*, p. 86, no. XXI; MOELLEKEN, *Kleindichtung II*, pp. 260-261, no.34

58. 63<sup>v</sup> – 64<sup>r</sup>      **Der Stricker: Der junge Baum  
(F. 10)                      (Die Sommerlatte)**

*Was slecht in der jugent wechst*

*Das ist der sumerliten tugent  
wahin sie sich naigt in der jugent - - -  
- - - so wirt die erste schulld gezallt  
vnd sein vnrecht zwifallt*

Editions: HAUPT/HOFFMANN, *Altdeutsche Blätter*, pp. 14-15; ROSENHAGEN, *Erzählungen*, p. 122, no. 149; METTKE, *Stricker*, p. 12, no. 5; SCHWAB, *Tierbispiel*, pp. 87-88, no. XXII; MOELLEKEN, *Kleindichtung II*, pp. 262-263, no. 35

59. 64<sup>r</sup> – 64<sup>v</sup>      **Der Stricker: Der Hahn und die Perle  
(F. 11)**

*Von ainem hann der ain mergriessen vand*

*Vor ainem stadel da man trasch  
da gie ain han durch genasch - - -  
- - - er möcht ir nicht mer geniessen  
denn als der han des mergriessen*

Editions: DOCEN, *Stricker*, pp. 3-4, no. II; PFEIFFER, *Altd. Beispiele*, pp. 381-382, no. XLII; GOEDEKE, *Deutsche Dichtung*, p. 644, no. 5, 19; SCHIROKAUER, *Tierfabel*, p. 10, no. 11; METTKE, *Stricker*, pp. 42-43, no. 12; SCHWAB, *Tierbispiel*, pp. 1-3, no. I; MOELLEKEN, *Kleindichtung III,1*, pp. 177-179, no. 65; EHRISMANN, *Stricker*, pp. 32-34, no. 1

60. 64<sup>v</sup> – 65<sup>r</sup> **Der Stricker: Der Hofhund**  
(F. 12)

*Von ainem springenden hund*

*Es was hie vor ain reicher wirt  
was den gessten freude wirt - - -  
- - - den man zespringen betwang  
so lanng vntz er durch niemand sprang*

Editions: PFEIFFER, *Aldt. Beispiele*, pp. 345-346, no. XVI; METTKE, *Stricker*, pp. 56-57, no. 16; SCHWAB, *Tierbispel*, pp. 55-56, no. XIII; WOLF, *Sammlung kleinerer deutscher Gedichte*, ff. 25<sup>vb</sup>-26<sup>ra</sup> (facsimile of Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum Codex FB 32001); MOELLEKEN, *Kleindichtungen* III,2, pp. 218-220, no. 73; EHRISMANN, *Stricker*, pp. 50-52, no. 5

61. 65<sup>r</sup> – 65<sup>v</sup> **Der Stricker: Fliege und Kahlkopf**  
(F. 13)

*Wie ain fleug ain kalen oft irrett*

*Ain fleug ainen kalen man  
vil ser peissen begann - - -  
- - - das mercken die die da zucken  
vnd sich dick müessen ducken*

Editions: GRIMM, *Aldt. Beispiele*, pp. 227-229, no. XIX; METTKE, *Stricker*, pp. 58-59, no. 17; SCHWAB, *Tierbispel*, pp. 70-71, no. XVII; MOELLEKEN, *Kleindichtung* III,2, pp. 221-222, no. 74; EHRISMANN, *Stricker*, pp. 64-66, no. 8

62. 65<sup>v</sup> **Rudolf von Ems: Barlaam und Josaphat**  
(F. 14)

*Wie ainer in sünden nit vertzagen soll*

*So ain man in kampf stet  
sein kampf genos in nit erlett - - -  
- - - vnd soll got zehillfe han  
so wirt er ir leicht gar erlan*

Editions: PFEIFFER, *Barlaam und Josaphat*, col. 110, l. 35 - col. 111, l. 1 0

63. 65<sup>v</sup> – 67<sup>r</sup> **Der Stricker: Hofhund und Jagdhunde**  
(F. 15)

*Ain peispill so ain bawr gewalt vberkumbt*

*Es was hievor ain armman  
der so lutzel guttes gewann - - -  
- - - das ir der teufel muess pflegen  
ich thuen in annders kainen segen*

Editions: PFEIFFER, *Aldt. Übungsbuch*, pp. 29-30, no. III,2; METTKE, *Stricker*, pp. 60-62, no. 18; SCHWAB, *Tierbispiel*, pp. 57-60, no. XIV; MOELLEKEN, *Kleindichtung* III,2, pp. 304-308, no. 87; EHRISMANN, *Stricker*, pp. 52-58, no. 6

64. 67<sup>r</sup> – 67<sup>v</sup> **Der Stricker: Die reiche Stadt**  
(F. 16)

*Von mißhelung vnd neid jn stetten*

*Es was hie vor ain reicher statt  
da ward man sellten neides satt - - -  
- - - er machet sie allesambt matt  
als das fewr die gutten statt*

Editions: DOCEN, *Stricker*, pp. 4-5, no. III; LACHMANN, *Auswahl*, pp. 235-237; PFEIFFER, *Aldt. Übungsbuch*, pp. 31-32, no. III, 4; METTKE, *Stricker*, pp. 114-115, no. 27; MOELLEKEN, *Kleindichtung* III,2, pp. 309-311, no. 88

65. 67<sup>v</sup> – 68<sup>r</sup> **Der Stricker: Der Ochse und die Maus**  
(F. 17)

*Wie ain maus ain oxsen zwickt*

*Ain ochs ob ainer kripen stüend  
als noch vil dick rinder tuend - - -  
- - - also bestuend sie in da es ir recht was  
vnd sie wol vor jm genass*

Editions: PFEIFFER, *Altd. Beispiele*, pp. 359-360, no. XXVIII; METTKE, *Stricker*, pp. 63-64, no. 19; SCHWAB, *Tierbispel*, pp. 61-63, no. XV; MOELLEKEN, *Kleindichtung* III,2, pp. 312-315, no. 89

66. 68<sup>r</sup>                    **Der Stricker: Der Hase**  
(F. 18)

*Ain peyspill das ain has nit zam wirt*

*Ich hör sagen furwar*  
*der ainen hasen dreissig jar - - -*  
*- - - so wirt jm willder dann ain has*  
*der da lauft in dem gras*

Editions: BAECHTHOLD, *Handschriften*, pp. 88-89; SINGER, *Des Strickers Nackter Bote*, p. 359; ROSENHAGEN, *Erzählungen*, p. 159, no. 175b; METTKE, *Stricker*, p. 65, no. 20; SCHWAB, *Tierbispel*, p. 90, no. XXIV; MOELLEKEN, *Kleindichtung* III,1, p. 17, no. 44 II; EHRISMANN, *Stricker*, p. 70, no. 11

67. 68<sup>r</sup> –69<sup>r</sup>            **Der Stricker: Der Rabe mit den Pfauenfedern**  
(F. 19)

*Wie ain rab pfawen federn an sich tett*

*die ropften im die pfaben wider aus*  
*Ain rab kam an ain gras*  
*da vand er das im lieb was - - -*  
*- - - er ist tumb der sich so beraitt*  
*das niemand sein schaden clagt*

Editions: PFEIFFER, *Altd. Beispiele*, pp. 365-367, no. XXXIII; METTKE, *Stricker*, pp. 66-68, no. 21; SCHWAB, *Tierbispel*, pp. 4-7, no. II; MOELLEKEN, *Kleindichtung* III,2, pp. 333-337, no. 93; EHRISMANN, *Stricker*, pp. 34-36, no. 2

68. 69<sup>r</sup> – 69<sup>v</sup> **Der Stricker: Des Muses Lehre**  
(F. 20)

*Zwen spotteten aninander*

*Ich kom do zwen sassen  
ob ainem müsse vnd assen - - -  
- - - als ienem der vor schallt  
das im der ander vil wol vergallt*

Editions: PFEIFFER, *Aldt. Beispiele*, pp. 370-372, no. XXXVI; METTKE, *Stricker*, pp. 117-118, no. 29; MOELLEKEN, *Kleindichtung* III,2, pp. 346-349, no. 95

69. 69<sup>v</sup> – 70<sup>v</sup> **Der Stricker: Der Tor und das Feuer**  
(F. 21)

*Ain tor wolt das fewr mit holtz ersattenn*

*Ain tor sprach zu dem fewre  
was ich verd vnd hewre - - -  
- - - ir vngefueges swennden  
mocht alle die welt nicht vollennenden*

Editions: GRIMM *Aldt. Beispiele*, pp. 202-204, no. XII; LASSBERG, *Lieder Saal* III, pp. 613-616, no. CCLVI; GOEDEKE, *Deutsche Dichtung*, p. 651; ROSENHAGEN, *Erzählungen*, pp. 125-126, no. 151; MOELLEKEN, *Kleindichtung* III,2, pp. 350-352, no. 96

70. 70<sup>v</sup> – 71<sup>r</sup> **Der Stricker: Die Äffin und ihre Kinder**  
(F. 22)

*Wie die affin ir kinde erretten tut*

*Ain jager kam in ainen walld  
da waren affen vngezallt - - -  
- - - vmb kain kunftigew nott  
das ist vil maniges affens tot*

Editions: HAHN, *Stricker*, pp. 39-41, no. IX; MOELLEKEN, *Kleindichtung* III,2, pp. 385-389, no. 100; EHRISMANN, *Stricker*, pp. 74-76, no. 12

71. 71<sup>r</sup> – 71<sup>v</sup> **Der Stricker: Die Milch und die Fliegen**  
(F. 23)

*Von den fleugen*

*So die milich warm ist  
so ist sie der fluegen genist - - -  
- - - das sich das hertz nicht verstat  
was der mund geclaffett hat*

Editions: LEITZMANN, *Erzählungen*, pp. 38-40, no. 28, v. 1-34; MOELLEKEN, *Kleindichtung IV*, pp. 3-5, no. 105, v. 1-30

72. 71<sup>v</sup> **Der Stricker: Die feisten Jagdvögel**  
(F. 24)

*Ain peispill*

*Gott hatt der herren vil  
die tuend als das vederspil - - -  
- - - das sie in des engellten land  
das sie zeuill von im handt*

Editions: ROSENHAGEN, *Erzählungen*, pp. 45-47, no. 59 (verses 89-102, p. 47); SCHWAB, *Bispielreden*, p. 297, no. 108; MOELLEKEN, *Kleindichtung IV*, p. 67, no. 114

73. 71<sup>v</sup> – 72<sup>v</sup> **Der Stricker: Die drei Gott verhaßtesten Dinge**  
(F. 25)

*Salomon schillt drew ding die got vnd der welt vnmär sein*

*Drew ding sind got vnmäre  
vnd seind der wellt swäre - - -  
- - - dauon sind sie als vnwert  
das ir weder got noch die welt begert*

Editions: DOCEN, *Miscellaneen* II, pp. 225-227; HAHN, *Stricker*, pp. 41-44, no. X; MENHARDT, *Der Stricker und der Teichner*, pp. 280-281 (26 lines from towards the end of the poem as it appears in Add. 24946); MOELLEKEN, *Kleindichtung* IV, pp. 149-153, no. 121

74. 72<sup>v</sup> – 73<sup>r</sup>      **Der Stricker: Vom Tode**  
(F. 26)

*Hie lobt er den tod wie nutz der seÿ*

*Got hat seinen lob gemerett  
vnd seinen namen ye geeret - - -  
- - - seit sie an allen dingen swachet  
das ir der tod end machet*

Editions: REGEL, *ZfdPh* 4 (1873), pp. 315-320 (lines 1-66 of this version not in Add. 24946); MOELLEKEN, *Kleindichtung* III,2, pp. 243-247, no. 78, v. 67-132

75. 73<sup>r</sup> – 74<sup>r</sup>      **Walther von Griven: Weiberzauber**  
(F. 27)                      **(Brandis No. 391)**

*Ain hubsche zauberlist den frawen*

*Ich hor die frawen dick sagen  
vnd grosse nott aninander clagen - - -  
- - - nu volget meiner lere  
so geschicht ew sällde vnd ere*

Editions: HALTAUS, *Hätzlerin*, p. 217, no. 50; HAUPT, *Weiberzauber*, pp. 245-246

76. 74<sup>r</sup>                      **Esel, Gäuche und Affen**  
(F. 28)

*Die toren haben dÿe drey namenn*

*Esel gowch vnd affen  
den ist wunderlicher ere beschafen - - -*

- - - *ich wen das kain tor seÿ*  
*er hab die namen all dreÿ*

Editions: LASSBERG, *Lieder Saal* III, 1825, pp. 211-213; ROSENHAGEN, *Erzählungen*, p. 135, no. 162

77. 74<sup>r</sup>                    **Der betrogene Blinde I**  
 (F. 29)

*Wie ain blinder schaden spüret*

*Ain blinder nam ain eelich weib*  
*des was wolgestalt ir leib - - -*  
 - - - *an dem blinden also sere*  
*doch hett sie des lutzel ere*

Editions: PFEIFFER, *Altd. Beispiele*, pp. 367-368, no. XXXIV; NIEWÖHNER, *Gesamtabenteuer*, p. 49, no. 6

78. 74<sup>v</sup>                    **Wolf und Lamm**<sup>75)</sup>  
 (F. 30)

No heading to this poem

*Es soll kain frumer man*  
*mit dem posen nicht zethun han - - -*  
 - - - *soll fliehen den posen zu allerzeit*  
*wann er vil pöses ende geitt*

Editions: GRIMM, *Altd. Beispiele*, pp. 169-170, no. I; GOEDEKE, *Deutsche Dichtung*, p. 634, no. 5,1; MEYER-BENFEY, *Mhd. Übungsstücke*, pp. 46-47; KOSAK, *Reimpaarfabel*, pp. 421-422, no. 1

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<sup>75)</sup> Dicke/Grubmüller, *Fabeln*, pp. 724-732, no. 632.



79. 74<sup>v</sup> – 75<sup>v</sup> **Der Stricker: Der Turse**  
(F. 31)

*Wie ain türsch ir zwelf ass*

*Hie vor da kamen zwelf man  
in ein vinsteres tann - - -  
- - - dann in der türsch vberwunden hat  
so wert er sich zuspat*

Editions: GRIMM, *Altd. Beispiele*, pp. 178-182, no. V; WACKERNAGEL, *Altd. Lesebuch I*, cols. 559-561; SCHÄDEL/KOHLRAUSCH, *Mhd. Elementarbuch*, pp. 210-212; PFEIFFER/SCHOLL, *Literaturgeschichte*, cols. 338-340; GOEDEKE, *Deutsche Dichtung*, p. 635, no. 5,2; ROSENHAGEN, *Erzählungen*, pp. 130-131, no. 154; METTKE, *Stricker*, pp. 141-144, no. 31; MOELLEKEN, *Kleindichtung V*, pp. 219-223, no. 159

80. 75<sup>v</sup> – 76<sup>r</sup> **Das Weib und die jungen Hühner**  
(F. 32)

*Wie ain weib ainen list erdacht ire*

*howndl<sup>76)</sup> vor dem arn zebewarn*

*Ain weib het so michel haÿll  
das ir ain hwen ain teil - - -  
- - - der byderleuten lob bejagtt  
vnd das ims got auch danck sagt*

Editions: PFEIFFER, *Altd. Beispiele*, pp. 376-377, no. XXXIX

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<sup>76)</sup> I read “howndl” here, as does Weigel. Baechtold and Ward read “hownde”. Ward seeks to correct the word to a suggested “höner”. I might suggest that the o is an e (in the scribe’s renderings of o and e it is not always clear which it is) and that he has transposed the e and the w, the word thus being “hwendl”. This would be closer in spelling and meaning to “hwen” in line 2, even though further from the word “hüner” in line 3. The poem is not listed in the table of contents.

81. 76<sup>r</sup> – 77<sup>r</sup> **Blonde und graue Haare**  
(F. 33)

*Wie zway weib ainem man das har aus zugen*

*Ain man het ain alltes weib*

*vnd het auch selb ain allten leib - - -*

*- - - was der man mit willen tut*

*dabey erkennet man seinen muet*

Editions: PFEIFFER, *Altd. Beispiele*, pp. 372-374, no. XXXVII

82. 77<sup>r</sup> – 78<sup>v</sup> **Hund am Wasser**<sup>77)</sup>  
(F. 34)

*Wie ain hund durch geiten ain braten verlos*

*Do man sagt gutte mer*

*das ringert oft swär - - -*

*- - - beleibt er stät an dem sitte*

*so verdient er gottes hulld auch damite*

Editions: DENIS, *Codices*, cols. 1381-1382 (first 58 lines); GRIMM, *Altd. Beispiele*, pp. 170-174, no. II; ROSENHAGEN, *Erzählungen*, pp. 77-79, no. 90; KOSAK, *Reimpaarfabel*, pp. 423-427, no. 2

83. 78<sup>v</sup> **Hure und Katze**<sup>78)</sup>  
(F. 35)

*Ain geleichnus vnd peispill*

*Die huer vnd die katz*

*beleiben in gleichem satz - - -*

*- - - vntz sie es souil versuecht*

*das ir niemand mer geruecht*

There seem to be no editions of this poem.

<sup>77)</sup> Dicke/Grubmüller, *Fabeln*, pp.359-367, no. 307.

<sup>78)</sup> Menhardt, *Verzeichnis*, p. 183 (item 178).

84. 78<sup>v</sup> – 79<sup>r</sup> **Keine Perlen vor die Schweine!**<sup>79)</sup>  
(F. 36)

*Das man den swein edelgestain nit furlegen soll  
Dye weil dise wellt stat  
ymer man den lyeb hat - - -  
- - - den man jm zu torheit wendett  
vnd sich selb damit schendett*

There seem to be no editions of this poem.

85. 79<sup>v</sup> – 80<sup>r</sup> **Löwe und Maus ( I )**<sup>80)</sup>  
(F. 37)

*Wie ain maus ain leo erschracktt  
Mews luffen aus ir holl  
da sie hetten geessen woll - - -  
- - - ir armen vnd ir reichen  
das frumbt ewr ietzeichen*

Editions: PFEIFFER, *Altd. Beispiele*, pp. 355-356, no. XXV<sup>81)</sup>; KOSAK, *Reim-  
paarfabel*, pp. 428-429, no. 3

86. 80<sup>r</sup> – 80<sup>v</sup> **Kranich und Pfau**<sup>82)</sup>  
(F. 38)

*Wie ain pfaw aines kranchs spotte  
Ain pfaw gie als noch pfawen tuend  
in ain garten da kranch stuend - - -  
- - - jm wer aber leicht zegellten  
wer mit im wollt schellten*

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<sup>79)</sup> Menhardt, *Verzeichnis*, p. 184 (item 179).

<sup>80)</sup> Dicke/Grubmüller, *Fabeln*, pp. 453-459, no. 391.

<sup>81)</sup> Wrongly numbered as XX – but it does come between XXIV on p. 353 and XXVI on p. 356.

<sup>82)</sup> Dicke/Grubmüller, *Fabeln*, pp. 412-414, no. 362.

Editions: PFEIFFER, *Altd. Beispiele*, pp. 353-354, no. XXIV; GOEDEKE, *Deutsche Dichtung*, p. 641, no 5,13; KOSAK, *Reimpaarfabel*, pp. 431-433, no. 4

87. 80<sup>v</sup> – 81<sup>r</sup> **Krähe und Habicht**<sup>83)</sup>  
(F. 39)

*Ain krow erwellt ir ainen vogtt*

*Ain kraw ir ainen vogt erkos*

*dauon sie doch den leib verlos - - -*

*- - - das er da gewallt beware*

*vnd jm genädig wäre*

Editions: PFEIFFER, *Altd. Beispiele*, pp. 357-358, no. XXVII; KOSAK, *Reimpaarfabel*, pp. 442-443, no. 7

88. 81<sup>r</sup> – 81<sup>v</sup> **Löwe und Maus ( II )**<sup>84)</sup>  
(F. 40)

*Wie ain maus ainem leo halff*

*Ich will ew sagen ain mar*

*es hett ain willdner - - -*

*- - - sey er ew holld so seit im sam*

*des rates ich mich nÿmer gescham*

Editions: GRIMM, *Altd. Beispiele*, pp. 175-176, no. III; ROSENHAGEN, *Erzählungen*, pp. 72-73, no. 87; KOSAK, *Reimpaarfabel*, pp. 444-446, no. 8

<sup>83)</sup> Dicke/Grubmüller, *Fabeln*, pp. 403-404, no. 353.

<sup>84)</sup> Dicke/Grubmüller, *Fabeln*, pp. 453-459, no. 391. Cf. item 85 above. Dicke and Grubmüller regard these two separated works as “Löwe und Maus” parts 1 and 2. Menhardt, *Verzeichnis*, pp. 184 (no. 183) and 186 (no. 189) gives the title “Löwe und Maus” to both item no. 85 above and item no. 88 without explanation. Editors have clearly regarded them as two separate works.

89. 81<sup>v</sup> – 82<sup>r</sup> **Eiche und Rohr**<sup>85)</sup>  
(F. 41)

*Ain windes stos warf ain aych vmbe*

*Avff ainem berg stund ain aych  
der hoche in die lufte raich - - -  
- - - vnd sich zelasset regen under sne  
so richtet sich der ror auf sam ee*

Editions: DOCEN, *Stricker*, pp. 1-2, no. I; PFEIFFER, *Altd. Beispiele*, pp. 380-381, no. XLI; MEYER-BENFEY, *Mhd. Übungsstücke*, pp. 57-58; KOSAK, *Reimpaarfabel*, pp. 447-448, no. 9

90. 82<sup>r</sup> – 82<sup>v</sup> **Fuchs und Trauben**<sup>86)</sup>  
(F. 42)

*Von ainem fuchs*

*Ein fuchs vor hunger ser chval  
zu ainem trauben er sich stall - - -  
- - - das er das clag zemassen  
vnd es welle farn lassen*

Editions: PFEIFFER, *Altd. Beispiele*, pp. 364-365, no. XXXII; GOEDEKE, *Deutsche Dichtung*, p. 642-643, no. 5, 16; KOSAK, *Reimpaarfabel*, p. 450, no. 10

91. 82<sup>v</sup> **Der Baum mit der durren Ast**  
(F. 43)

*Von ainem bawm*

*Ich kom geritten fur ainen walld  
der was von pawmen maniguallt - - -*

<sup>85)</sup> Dicke/Grubmüller, *Fabeln*, p. 87-91, no. 81.

<sup>86)</sup> Dicke/Grubmüller, *Fabeln*, pp.252-255, no. 214.

- - - *so ist ainer verre bas gegeben*  
*die arm frölich mag geleben*

Editions: PFEIFFER, *Altd. Beispiele*, pp. 325-327, no. IV

92. 82<sup>v</sup> – 83<sup>r</sup> **Der Mann mit dem Stabe**  
 (F. 44)

*Von ainem hundt*

*Der hund pillet nieman an*  
*also dicke so den man - - -*  
 - - - *baide frum vnd ere*  
*vnd dancke mir meiner lere*

Editions: PFEIFFER, *Altd. Beispiele*, pp. 348-349, no. XVIII<sup>87)</sup>

93. 83<sup>r</sup> – 84<sup>r</sup> **Wolf und Kranich**<sup>88)</sup>  
 (F. 45)

*Von dem wolff*

*Und wär es euch nicht swäre*  
*ich sagt ew ain mere - - -*  
 - - - *vnd huetet euch dabeÿ*  
*vor ieglichem der vngetrew seÿ*

Editions: GRIMM, *Reinhart Fuchs*, pp. 346-348; KOSAK, *Reimpaarfabel*, pp. 451-453, no. 11

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<sup>87)</sup> This poem wrongly numbered as VIII but coming between XVII on p. 347 and XIX on p. 349

<sup>88)</sup> Dicke/Grubmüller, *Fabeln*, pp. 718-724, no. 631.

94. 84<sup>r</sup> **Hund verklagt Schaf (Der Wolf ein geziuc)**<sup>89)</sup>  
(F. 46)

*Wie der wolf kuntschaft gab*

*Es was hie ain geýtiger hund  
dem was vil schalkait khund - - -  
- - - das er nicht würd lügenhaft  
bey vngetrewer burschaft*

Editions: GRIMM, *Reinhart Fuchs*, pp. 345-346; KOSAK, *Reimpaarfabel*, pp. 454-455, no. 12

95. 84<sup>v</sup> **Bäume und Mann**<sup>90)</sup>  
(F. 47)

No heading to this poem.

*Ainem man brast ain agste still  
da batt er aller bawme vill - - -  
- - - das peyspill soll mercken woll  
der mit der wellt leben soll*

Editions: GRIMM, *Altd. Beispiele*, pp. 224-225, no. XVII; KOSAK, *Reimpaarfabel*, p. 473, no. 20

96. 84<sup>v</sup> **Wolf und Hüter**<sup>91)</sup>  
(F. 48)

*Ain wolf betrog den hueter*

*Ain wolf gie zu ainen stunden  
da ain schaf behuet was mit hunden - - -*

<sup>89)</sup> Dicke/Grubmüller, *Fabeln*, pp. 353-357. no. 305. Menhardt, *Verzeichnis*, p. 188 (item 197) retains the title given by Grimm, "Der Wolf ein geziuc".

<sup>90)</sup> Dicke/Grubmüller, *Fabeln*, p. 55-58, no. 48.

<sup>91)</sup> Dicke/Grubmüller, *Fabeln*, p. 708, no. 624.

- - - *dauon ist der ratt mein  
solich gevattern lasst ew vnmer sein*

Editions: KOSAK, *Reimpaarfabel*, p. 520, no. 39

This appears to be a *unicum* in Add. 24946.

At this point in the manuscript the scribe tells us:

*hie hat hern freidancks gedicht ende*

97. 85<sup>r</sup>-89<sup>v</sup>      **Oswald von Wolkenstein: Mich fragt ain ritter  
(Vom Recht)**

*Hie vacht an ain hübscher spruch so herr  
oswalld von wolkenstain von dem rechten  
von richtern vorsprechen vnd vrtailern gemacht hat  
                  Mich fragt ain ritter ongeuare  
                  der sich der wellte manig jare - - -  
- - - wo man die fuert lautter rain  
                  bekenn ich oswalld von wolkenstain*

Editions: WEBER, *Wolkenstein*, pp. 94-105, no. XXVI; BAECHTOLD, *Hand-  
schriften*, pp. 95-108; SCHATZ, *Wolkenstein*, pp. 283-296, no. 118; MÜCK,  
*Wolkenstein*, pp. 39-44, no. 8 (facsimile of Add. 24946); KLEIN, *Wolkenstein*,  
pp. 269-285, no. 112

98. 90<sup>r</sup>-96<sup>v</sup>      **Die Beichte einer Frau  
(Brandis No. 340)**

*Ein hübsche peicht wie das  
bulschaft nicht sund sey  
                  Ains tags fucht sich das  
                  also das ich gegangen was - - -*



- - - *die man mit züchten vnd ern hallt  
des hellft in wünschen jung vnd allt*

Added at the end of the poem and rubricated:

*Vnd seÿ das nicht war ich will eugkh  
baide awgen ausprechenn*

Editions: HALTAUS, *Hätzlerin II*, pp. 115-122, no. 2; THIELE, *Minnereden*, pp. 33-42, no. 10

99. 96<sup>v</sup>-98<sup>v</sup> **Die goldene Fessel  
(Brandis No. 260)**

*Ein anders von ainem güllden nottstall*

*In grosser not mit gemischerter fröd  
was ich ains tags dauon ich gewd - - -  
- - - mitt frewdenreichem müet  
gott geb ir geluck vnd alles gut*

Editions: HALTAUS, *Hätzlerin II*, pp. 194-196, no. 33

100. 98<sup>v</sup>-103<sup>r</sup> **Peter Suchenwirt: Die schöne Abenteuer  
(Brandis No. 449)**

*Die schon abentewre*

*Ich gieng durch lust fur ainen walld  
der stund so wunenleich gestallt - - -  
- - - dy red die pludent gunst stewr  
genant ist die schon abentewr*

Editions: PRIMISSER, *Suchenwirt*, pp. 80-85, no. XXV

101. 103<sup>r</sup>-107<sup>v</sup> **Die rechte Art der Minne**  
(Brandis No. 199)

*Wie lieblich ain junger man zichticklicher*

*Sitten von seinem Bullen vnderweist ward*

*Ich gieng ains tags durch kurtzweil bald*

*do vand ich ligen mit gewallt - - -*

*- - - das baide beleibt in dein sÿnn*

*vnd ewr leben mit ern zerÿnn*

Editions: HALTAUS, *Hätzlerin II*, pp. 131-134, no. 6

102. 107<sup>v</sup>-110<sup>r</sup> **Die sechs Farben I**  
(Brandis No. 372)

*Von den varben vnd was*

*yede varb bedeutett*

*Mich fragt ain fraw mynnenklÿch*

*sie sprach gesell beweis mich - - -*

*- - - vrlaub nam ich an der stund*

*vnd schied von irem rotten mund*

Editions: MYLLER, *Sammlung deutscher Gedichte*, pp. XXIV-XXVI; VON DER HAGEN/BÜSCHING, *Grundriß*, pp. 317-319; LASSBERG, *Lieder Saal I*, p. 153-158, no. XXVI; HALTAUS, *Hätzlerin II*, pp. 168-170, no. 21

In Low German: SCHMEISKY, *Lyrik-Handschriften*, pp. 16-21 (facsimile and text); BECKERS, *Flos und Blankflos*, pp. 142-146

103. 110<sup>r</sup>-114<sup>r</sup> **Bestrafte Untreue**  
(Brandis No. 463)

*Schwartz plab vnd weis fraw venus die*

*Mÿnn in rot an ainem rechten sazzen*

*Merckt auf ir jungen ir werden*

*die da lebent auf der erden - - -*

*- - - von dem mir ward ain gutter muet*

*damit behuet gott all frawen guet*

Editions: MATTHAEI, *Minnereden*, pp. 113-119, no. 11; WILKS, *Bestrafte Untreue*, pp. 26-35

104. 114<sup>v</sup>-118<sup>r</sup> **Schloß Immer**  
(Brandis No. 486)

*Von ainem ellenden garten*

*Es fuegt sich aines wintters zeitt  
das zwen gesellenn on neid - - -  
- - - doch will ich gelucks wartten  
die red haist der ellend garten*

Editions: HALTAUS, *Hätzlerin II*, pp. 152-159, no. 14

105. 118<sup>r</sup>-122<sup>v</sup> **Der Traum**  
(Brandis No. 247)

*Von ainem trawm*

*Sich fuegt ain zeit an ainem morgen  
das ich allain gar vnverporgenn - - -  
- - - vnd ker dich wider zu der wend  
mitt dem hat dise red ain end*

Editions: GRIMM, *Ald. Wälder II*, pp. 136-144; HALTAUS, *Hätzlerin II*, pp. 127-130, no. 5

106. 122<sup>v</sup>-125<sup>r</sup> **Ratschläge für einen Zaghaften**  
(Brandis No. 421)

*Newrait*<sup>92)</sup>

*Es kam ains mals dartzue  
das ich in meines pettes rue - - -  
- - - vnd damit ain ende gar  
got geb vns ain news frolichs jar*

<sup>92)</sup> Baechtold, *Deutsche Handschriften*, p. 110 explains this as “Brachfeld”, a corruption of “newraif” = “frischer Reif”.

There appear to be no editions of this poem.<sup>93)</sup>

107. 125<sup>r</sup>-128<sup>r</sup> **Der Frau Venus neue Ordnung  
(Brandis No. 356)**

*Von ainem kallten prun*

*Ich lass hohe kunst vallen zutall  
wann es ist mir ain klains zuschmall  
- - - vrlaub gab mir ir rotter mund  
ich schied von dann zu derselben stund*

Editions: KELLER, *Fastnachtspiele* III, pp. 1407-1414, no. 8

108. 128<sup>r</sup>-130<sup>r</sup> **Warnung vor Klaffern  
(Brandis No. 211)**

*Wie sich ain minsiecher man vor merckern  
vnd vor klafern huetten soll*

*Es ist nit lanng das mich mein sÿnn  
paten das ich die sues mÿnn - - -  
- - - tragen in deinem hertzen  
mitt verporgem schmerzenn*

This poem appears to be a *unicum* in Add. 24946. There seems to be no edition of the poem.<sup>94)</sup>

109. 130<sup>r</sup>-133<sup>v</sup> **Lob der Frauen I  
(Brandis No. 262)**

*Wie man von frawen wol redn soll*

*Bas got zu frewden ye erdacht  
das hat er wirdickleich volbracht - - -*

<sup>93)</sup> Cf. Alfred Karnein, "Ratschläge für einen Zaghafte", <sup>(2)</sup>*Verfasserlexikon* 7 (1989), col. 1035.

<sup>94)</sup> Cf. Elke Brüggem, "Warnung vor Klaffern", <sup>(2)</sup>*Verfasserlexikon* 10 (1999), col. 737.

- - - *damit man vppickleich verdruck  
gott geb den frawen alles gluck*

Editions: SECKENDORF/VON DER HAGEN, *Museum I*, pp. 628-630 (first 161 verses of Add. 24946 missing); HALTAUS, *Hätzlerin II*, pp. 113-115, no. 1

110. 133<sup>v</sup>-135<sup>v</sup>     **Stiefmutter und Tochter  
(Brandis No. 351)**

*Ain hubsche ler die ain mueter ir tochter tett*

*Ich gieng ains nachts von hawse spatt  
vnd kom fur liebes kernatt - - -*

- - - *es lescht maniger wol den turst aus der tunaugrunt  
tue dich vmb tochter die weil du pist jungk*

Editions: HALTAUS, *Hätzlerin II*, pp. 305-308, no. 85; THURNHER/ZIMMERMANN, *Die Sterzinger Miszellaneen-Handschrift*, ff. 39<sup>v</sup>-41<sup>r</sup> (facsimile); ZIMMERMANN, *Die Sterzinger Miszellaneen-Handschrift*, pp. 143-149, no. 25

111. 135<sup>v</sup>-137<sup>r</sup>     **Die Wette (Der Bauern Kirchweih)**

*Von der pawern andacht*

*Es giengen pawrn in andachtikait  
jn ain kirchen als man saitt - - -*

- - - *dw kanst rechter witz pflegen  
an ern ist sie gar der legen*

Editions: GRÄTER, *Bragur*, pp. 203-208; WOLF, *Sammlung kleinerer deutscher Gedichte*, ff. 14<sup>ra</sup>-14<sup>va</sup> (facsimile of Codex FB 32001); SCHMID, *Codex Vindobonensis 2885*, pp. 94-97

112. 137<sup>r</sup>-138<sup>r</sup>     **Vergebliche Vorhaltungen**

*Von ainem eýfrer*

*Ain man zu seinem weib sprach  
ach gott das ich dich nie gesach - - -*

- - - *des ich doch nit fro bin*  
*also was der krieg hin*

Editions: FISCHER, *Märendichtung*, pp. 281-282, no. 31

This poem appears to be a *unicum* in Add. 24946.<sup>95)</sup>

113. 138<sup>r</sup>-141<sup>r</sup> **Die Beichte der zwölf Frauen**

*Ain gutte beicht von*  
*zwelf frawen*

*Welt ir horn vnd schawen*  
*ain peicht tetten zwelf frawen - - -*  
 - - - *wollt ir vns es recht machen*  
*geb zinck mocht ich bas gelachen*

Editions: FISCHER, *Märendichtung*, pp. 520-526, Anhang no. 13

This poem appears to be a *unicum* in Add. 24946.<sup>96)</sup>

114. 141<sup>r</sup>-142<sup>v</sup> **Für und wider die Minne (“Von zweyen gespilen”)**  
**(Brandis No. 399)**

*Von zweyēn gespilen*

*Ains nachts ich an meiner rue lag*  
*vnd manigerlay gedanck pflag - - -*  
 - - - *daselb das tet mir stillenn*  
*der argen klafer vallsche zungen*

This poem appears to be a *unicum* in Add. 24946. There seems to be no edition of the poem.<sup>97)</sup>

<sup>95)</sup> Cf. Hedda Ragotzky, “Vergebliche Vorhaltungen”, <sup>(2)</sup>*Verfasserlexikon* 10 (1999), col. 247.

<sup>96)</sup> Cf. Kurt Illing, “Die Beichte der zwölf Frawen”, <sup>(2)</sup>*Verfasserlexikon* 1 (1978), col. 681.

<sup>97)</sup> Cf. Gudrun Felder, “Von zweyen gespilen” <sup>(2)</sup>*Verfasserlexikon* 10 (1999), col. 1614.

115. 142<sup>v</sup>-145<sup>r</sup> **Fröschel von Leidnitz: Belauschtes Liebesgespräch  
(Brandis No. 235)**

*Wie aimest ainer buelet*

*Ich kam gar haimlich in ain stat  
do lieb vnd lieb zusammen trat - - -  
- - - das rat ich euch mit trewen  
es mag euch nymer gerewen*

Editions: THIELE, *Minnereden*, pp. 5-9, no. 3 and Anhang, pp. 214-220, no. 3a

116. 145<sup>r</sup>-148<sup>r</sup> **Glückliche Werbung  
(Brandis No. 231)**

*Von vber grossem senen*

*O senen wie we du tuest  
das du statigs bey mir ruest - - -  
- - - vnd dich froleich hinwider send  
also hat dise red ain end*

This poem appears to be a *unicum* in Add. 24946. There seems to be no edition of the poem.<sup>98)</sup>

117. 148<sup>r</sup>-151<sup>v</sup> **Peter Suchenwirt: Der Widerteil  
(Brandis No. 403)**

*Wie aine irn bueln schallt*

*vnd die ander den irn lobett*

*Sich fuegt ains tags also das ich  
jn hohem muet frewet mich - - -  
- - - das im nach vollgt vntz in sein grab  
der hab danck das ers behallten mag*

Editions: PRIMISSER, *Suchenwirt*, pp. 88-92, no. XXVIII

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<sup>98)</sup> Cf. Ingeborg Glier, "Glückliche Werbung", <sup>(2)</sup>*Verfasserlexikon* 3 (1981), cols. 65-66.

118. 151<sup>v</sup>-153<sup>v</sup> **Hans Rosenplüt: Der Barbier II***Von ainem gutten artztt*

*Ich stund in ains barbierers haws  
 vnd sach zu ainem venster aus - - -  
 - - - vnd kam weder vor noch syder  
 nymer mer hinwider Amen*

Editions: KELLER, *Erzählungen*, pp. 426-434; FISCHER, *Märendichtung*, pp. 145-161, no. 17b

119. 154<sup>r</sup>-158<sup>r</sup> **Der Knappe und die Frau  
(Die Liebesnacht des Knappen)  
(Brandis No. 261)***Ain hubsche red von ritterlicher tatt*

*Mit ain faltiger frag  
 kam ich an ainem tag - - -  
 - - - vor der hellschen flamen  
 damit sprecht alle amen*

Editions: LASSBERG, *Lieder Saal* 3, pp. 305-314, no. CCXIII

120. 158<sup>r</sup>-163<sup>r</sup> **Das Zelt der Minne  
(Brandis No. 249)***Von ainem trawm*

*Mir trawmt ain wunicklicher trawm  
 kund ich den geloben schon - - -  
 - - - wand ich mein hend  
 also hat die red ain end*

Editions: LASSBERG, *Lieder Saal* 1, pp. 131-149, no. XXV



121. 163<sup>r</sup>-170<sup>v</sup> **Visio Philiberti**

*Aber ain gutte red wie ain sel so kläglich  
dem leichnam zusprach*

*Hie vor ainer wunder zeit  
geschach ain iemerlicher streitt - - -  
- - - vnd das wir wonen ewigklich  
bey dir in dem himelrich Amen*

Editions (Fassung C): KARAJAN, *Frühlingsgabe*, pp. 123-145<sup>99)</sup>

122. 170<sup>v</sup>-177<sup>r</sup> **Unidentified – “Wie die welt entschaidet”**

*Wie diemutikait vnd hoffart  
tugent vnd ir widertail  
trew neid vnd hass  
geitikait vnd mässikait  
keuschhait vnd vnkeusch  
gedulltikait vnd zorn mitainander  
widerpart kriegten vnd wie sy desselben  
ires kriegs die welt entschaidet*

*Horet frawen vnd ir man  
hie ist komen auf den plann - - -  
- - - damit sullen wir nit lennger beytten  
wir sullen furbas reitten*

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<sup>99)</sup> Nigel Palmer divides the manuscript tradition and rhymed versions of the poem into a number of groups – cf. Nigel Palmer, “*Visio Tnugdali*”, pp. 417-418 and “*Visio Philiberti*”, <sup>(2)</sup>*Verfasserlexikon* 10, cols. 415-417. Cf. also footnote 47 earlier in this chapter. The version in Add. 24946 and the version in Codex Vindobonensis 2880 reproduced by Karajan are classified within the same group. No detailed work seems to have been done on the closer relationship of the manuscripts within this group, but the differences between the versions in Add. 24946 and Cod. Vindob. 2880 seem to suggest that their relationship (notwithstanding the groupings identified by Palmer) was not a particularly close one.

This poem appears to be a *unicum* in Add. 24946. There would appear to be no edition of the work.

123. 177<sup>r</sup>-179<sup>v</sup> **Unidentified – “Von den Wucherern”**

*Von den wuecherern wie gar bos die sein*

*Bey ainen zeiten das geschach*

*opfell vnd rosarten man swymen sach - - -*

*- - - kallbsfros vnd luggan*

*wann sie sind des tiefells man*

This poem appears to be a *unicum* in Add. 24946. There would appear to be no edition of the work.

124. 179<sup>v</sup>-184<sup>v</sup> **Von treulosen Männern  
(Brandis No. 294)**

*Wie die frawen den vnstatten mannen*

*fluechen vnd vn hail wunschen*

*Ich hon dick gehoret woll*

*wenn ain ding geschehen soll - - -*

*- - - gesehen in froden schein*

*des wunscht dick das hertze mein*

Editions: LASSBERG, *Lieder Saal* 2, pp. 419-429, no. CXXXVIII

125. 184<sup>v</sup>-201<sup>v</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 4822 – 6151)**

*Von gesellschaft etlich hubsch historÿ*

*vnd wie gros kraft die haben soll*

*Gesellschaft die ist so rain*

*das ich den von ir schaiden main - - -*

- - - *vnd sant sie dem kunig haim  
sunst ir vnkeusch dem konig erschain<sup>100)</sup>*

126. 202<sup>r</sup>-204<sup>r</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 7945 – 8123)**

*Von ainem wirt zu sant jacob in galicia*

*Ains mals zwen billgrin  
ain sun vnd auch der vatter sein - - -  
- - - er hueb sich wider auf sein varrt  
sein anthais noch vollfueret ward*

127. 204<sup>r</sup>-209<sup>r</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 8642 – 9053)**

*Das man gewunen gut schon behalten soll*

*Es schreibt claudianus  
jn seinem grossen buech alsus - - -  
- - - hielt er es nit also widerbracht  
jn hett sein aigne frucht versmacht*

128. 209<sup>r</sup>-210<sup>r</sup> **Andre von Esperdingen: Neujahrsrede<sup>101)</sup>**

*Gain neuen jar andre von esperdingen*

*Wol auf ir werde cristenheit  
wacht hie vnd seitt beraitt - - -  
- - - wann gut lat sich verliesen vnd gewynnen  
also red andre von esperdingen*

Andre von Esperdingen seems known only by this one poem, which apparently appears only here in Add. 24946. There would appear to be no known edition of the poem.<sup>102)</sup>

<sup>100)</sup> Cf. page 77, footnote 68.

<sup>101)</sup> This title “Neujahrsrede” does not appear in the manuscript. It is described as “eine Neujahrsrede” by Priebisch, *Handschriften*, p. 218. It is described in the same terms by Wolfgang Stammer, *Andre(as) von Esperdingen*, in: <sup>(2)</sup>*Verfasserlexikon 1* (1978), col. 339. This seems as good a title as any under the circumstances.

129. 210<sup>r</sup>-211<sup>v</sup> **Ain aubentewrliche rede**

*Ain dyrundaÿ ist halbs leÿnen*

*Ain red bringt die andrn*

*von vbrigem wandern - - -*

*- - - ergeben gar vnd gantz*

*wann sie tregt der ern am krantz*

Editions: HALTAUS, *Hätzlerin II*, pp. 201-203, no. 42 (where its full heading is "Ain aubentewrliche rede vnd vellt von ainem zu dem andern")

130. 211<sup>v</sup>-218<sup>v</sup> **Disticha Catonis**

*Wie der haidnisch maister katho*

*seinem sun rat vnd klug ler gab*

*Waren die kündigare*

*gutter red nit geuäre*

*- - - vnd auch darnach lebt*

*vnd nit nach sunden strebt*

Editions: BAECHTOLD, *Handschriften*, pp. 117-134

131. 218<sup>v</sup>-231<sup>r</sup> **Von unsers herren liden**

*Von vnsers herren liden*

*Das weist das cristenlich gebott*

*das wir gelauben ain gott - - -*

*- - - verherrter sunder das nw besin*

*damit dir der kunst da nit zerinn*

Editions: CARR, *Von unsers herren liden*, pp. 21-51

This poem is a *unicum* in Add. 24946.

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<sup>102)</sup> See Stammer, *Andre(as) von Esperdingen*, <sup>(2)</sup> *Verfasserlexikon* 1, col. 339.

132. 231<sup>r</sup>-238<sup>v</sup> **Der Herr mit den vier Frauen**

*Ain herr hett nach ainander drey  
eelich frawen die er an dem eepruch  
begräif vnd tottett*

*Es was ain reicher herr gros  
an gut vnd an adel genos - - -  
- - - frid vnd gnad in allen lannden  
vnd den gefangen helff aus banden*

Editions: NIEWÖHNER, *Gesamtabenteuer*, pp.192-201, no. 29

133. 238<sup>v</sup>-245<sup>r</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 6422 – 6945)**

*Wie dÿ balina durch geitikait betrogen  
Vnd durch ainen ritter beschlafen ward*

*Hort auf die geitikait allsus  
spricht vns maister josephus - - -  
- - - dich turst nach golld so trinck auch golld  
diser frawen ward derselb sollt*

134. 245<sup>r</sup>-246<sup>r</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 6962 – 7025)**

*Wie durch geitikeit ainer seinen aigenen  
gesellen ermordet*

*Septenolus so hies ain man  
ob ich in recht genennen kan - - -  
- - - des golldes zoch dester mer  
des was der geitikait ler*

135. 246<sup>r</sup>-247<sup>r</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 7100 – 7189)**

*Ainer betrog ainen wechsler vmb geltt*

*Ich hon wol gelesen das  
ain kaufman da ze genaw was - - -*

- - - *her kaufman vollgt ir meiner ler  
ich wen es ewr salld mer*

136. 247<sup>r</sup>-248<sup>r</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 7284 – 7341)**

*Von der keusch vestikait*

*Ualerius der schreibt vns das  
der hoch maister ypocras - - -  
- - - des morgens sy zemäre bracht  
socrates hett sy versmacht*

137. 248<sup>r</sup>-249<sup>r</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 7370 – 7443)**

*Das ain fraw von frewden starb*

*Es schreibt vns auch valerius  
ain exempell das spricht allsus - - -  
- - - vor dem tod weißlich geworben  
sy beliben vnverdorben*

138. 249<sup>r</sup>-251<sup>r</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 7444 – 7595)**

*Wie ainer kam durch frewd in not vnd arbeit*

*Ich han gelesen auch alsus  
der edel millt tittus - - -  
- - - nw mercken wie gar fröd vnd laid  
ain ander haben widersaitt*

139. 251<sup>r</sup>-255<sup>r</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 1086 – 1399)**

*Die schon lucrecia erstach sich selbs darvmb*

*das sy vber irn willen beschlafen ward*

*Hie vor ain romerine was  
die nach weiblicher fwr mas - - -*

- - - *an dem die fraw von erst erstarb  
der er ir sterben auch erwarb*

140. 255<sup>r</sup>-255<sup>v</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 1420 – 1453)**

*Von scham*

*Ain fraw hies archesilla  
von der schreibt so seneca - - -  
- - - das warb ir tugentliche scham  
dy lat ew fraw wesen zam*

141. 255<sup>v</sup>-257<sup>r</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 1552 – 1667)**

*Die gab ain stat irem veind hin durch die mynne*

*Es schreibt sant paulus ditz mär  
das hie vor ain hertzogin war - - -  
- - - also ward durch ir vnkeusches leben  
ir leben in den tod gegeben*

142. 257<sup>r</sup>-258<sup>r</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 1730 – 1803)**

*Von der vestikait*

*Seneca der weis gerait  
hat also von der vestikait - - -  
- - - der das mar suechett  
der hat im selb geflüchet*

143. 258<sup>r</sup>-258<sup>v</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 1878 – 1915)**

*Ain richter het ainen aus allten neid vervrtailt*

*Elinandus der schreibt das  
das da zu Bersia besas - - -  
- - - das tuend an dem gericht nicht  
ob ew das bring die geschicht*

144. 258<sup>v</sup>-259<sup>r</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 1926 – 1969)***Von strengem gericht*

*Uns schreibt das valerius  
ain romar richter hies zaleugus - - -  
- - - des nw manig richter laider pflicht  
der das gericht auch also wigt*

145. 259<sup>r</sup>-260<sup>r</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 2136 – 2178)<sup>103)</sup>***Von ainem ritter*

*In den romischen marn  
list man das bewarn - - -  
- - - vor dick vnd auch da erwarb  
die war weißhait nie verdarb*

146. 260<sup>r</sup>-262<sup>r</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 2179 – 2310)***Aber von ainem ritter*

*Sant paulus schreibt von aim ritter das  
der warer trew nie vergas - - -*

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<sup>103)</sup> There are verses at the end of this item which are not in Zimmermann's Heinrich von Beringen text. Cf. Chapter 1, page 9, footnote 33. The first line of item 145, Add. 24946, folio 259<sup>r</sup>, line 22 = Zimmermann verse 2136, then the two versions correspond as far as Add. 24946, f. 259<sup>v</sup>, l. 27 = Zimmermann 2178. There are then 47 lines (11 on f. 259<sup>v</sup>, 36 on 260<sup>r</sup>) at the end of item 145 which do not appear in the Zimmermann text. Moreover, there are a further 10 lines at the beginning of item 146 which do not appear in Zimmermann's text, so that Add. 24946 f. 260<sup>v</sup>, l. 11 = Zimmermann 2179, item 146 then corresponding to the Zimmermann text until the end of the item, Add. 24946 f. 262<sup>r</sup>, l. 24 = Zimmermann 2310. These extra lines in Add. 24946 correspond with those on the folio missing when Zimmermann edited his text, the folio later discovered by Schiel. These 57 lines correspond exactly with the 57 lines of Schiel's fragment v. 2179\*-2249\*. It will be clear, however, that lines numbered 2179\*-2249\* suggest a total of 71 lines rather than 57. Schiel notes 14 rubricated lines and two rubricated headings in the margin of the fragment. These rubricated lines are not contained in Add. 24946.



- - - *gen ewrn herrn gantzer trew*  
*so scheint ewr preis in ern new*

147. 262<sup>r</sup>-263<sup>r</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 2327 – 2410)**

*Von ritterschaft*

*Man list dauon das phÿais*  
*der leben in den trewen was - - -*  
 - - - *ze fruntschaft kawme band*  
*vnd hiellt sy doch mit stätter hand*

148. 263<sup>r</sup>-264<sup>v</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 2469 – 2588)**

*Von alexander*

*Von alexandro macedo*  
*han ich gelesen hort also - - -*  
 - - - *miet wirbt das das der natur*  
*zefuegen wirt gar zw sawr*

149. 264<sup>v</sup>-265<sup>r</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 2601 – 2628)**

*Ain exempell von sterck*

*Nu mercket von der stercke (sic) das*  
*ze athenis ain furst was - - -*  
 - - - *wer vmb sein erb stirbet*  
*wie suzzlich er verdirbett*

Editions: BAECHTOLD, *Handschriften*, pp. 138-139; ZIMMERMANN, *Beringen*, pp. 89-90

150. 265<sup>r</sup>-266<sup>r</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 2641 – 2696)***Von vestikait*

*Man list von ainem romar alsus  
 er hies trogus popeyus - - -  
 - - - ewr ampt bejagt ew hohen breis  
 pfligt sein mit ernst ewr vleys*

151. 266<sup>r</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 2762 – 2794)***Wie man dem rechten nit soll wider streben*

*Ain weiser hies temestides  
 zw dem ratt zu athenis sprach - - -  
 - - - er hette sich ee zwir bedacht  
 ee den so grozzen nutz versmacht*

152. 266<sup>v</sup>-267<sup>r</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 2801 – 2872)***Von manhait wie dy blod niderlegtt*

*Es schreibt vns das tulijs  
 ain romar marcus regulius - - -  
 - - - das vnrecht die gerechtikait  
 des reiches pfleger hochste klait*

153. 267<sup>r</sup>-268<sup>r</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 2875 – 2926)***Von gerechtikait*

*Man list von ainem romar das  
 der der gerechtikait vergas - - -  
 - - - mag yederman wie vil er will  
 man setzt im kain zill*

154. 268<sup>r</sup>-269<sup>r</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 2927 – 3026)***Aber von gerechtikait*

*Es schreibt auch valerius  
 von der gerechtikait allsus - - -  
 - - - lobten mit irer sicherhait  
 das schuef der romar gerechtikait*

155. 269<sup>r</sup>-270<sup>r</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 3027 – 3076)***Aber von gerechtikait*

*Uns schreibt auch afena florus  
 auf die gerechtikait allsus - - -  
 - - - die durch cristen sullen warn  
 das wir vns doch davor icht sparn*

156. 270<sup>r</sup>-271<sup>r</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 3119 – 3191)***Von barmhertzikait*

*Ualerius der schreibt vns das  
 von ainem der die zeit besas - - -  
 - - - jst der natur ersten gesetzt  
 vnd wirt es doch nw vil geletzt*

157. 271<sup>r</sup>-271<sup>v</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 3204 – 3261)***Aber von barmhertzikait*

*Vns schreibt das valerius  
 das marcus marcellinus - - -  
 - - - gesigen vnd darnach vergeben  
 der breiset wol der könig leben*

158. 271<sup>v</sup>-272<sup>r</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 3262 – 3301)***Aber von barmhertzikait*

*Uns hat auch von alexandro  
 valerius geschriben also - - -  
 - - - das diser ritte der erst was  
 do in den kungklichen palaz*

159. 272<sup>r</sup>-273<sup>r</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 3368 – 3423)***So sich ainer ains ampts pessertt soll man in on schuld nit verkern*

*Josephus der schreibt vns das  
 der hie vor das reich besas - - -  
 - - - komen auch als ir ern satten  
 fur das will ich in pfleg gestatten*

160. 273<sup>r</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 3424 – 3442)***Von diemutikait*

*Vespasianus ain romar was  
 des diemut man auch hoch mas - - -  
 - - - das er yedoch zuletzt sich  
 der konigreichs vnderwand*

161. 273<sup>r</sup>-273<sup>v</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 3466 – 3505)***Von gedulltikait*

*Hort von dem kaiser julio  
 von dem hon ich gelesen so - - -  
 - - - oder da die edelin an mir sich  
 mer vnd mer taglich*

162. 273<sup>v</sup>-274<sup>r</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 3506 – 3521)**

*Von gedultikait*

*Uon sypio african  
den ich ee dick genenet han - - -  
- - - mich zu der kaiserlichen wird  
vnd nicht ze vachter deiner gird*

163. 274<sup>r</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 3522 – 3537)**

*Von gedultikait*

*Uon dem konig vespasiano  
han ich gelesen auch also - - -  
- - - der konig gedultikait voll  
sprach sollcher wort man lachen soll*

164. 274<sup>r</sup>-274<sup>v</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 3566 – 3587)**

*Auch von gedullt*

*Uns schreibt das valerius  
das ainer hies anayiarchus - - -  
- - - es hais gedultiger mut  
vergeben wider den man tut*

165. 274<sup>v</sup>-275<sup>r</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 3588 – 3637)**

*Aber von gedullt*

*Uns hat auch valerius  
geschriben auf gedullte sus - - -  
- - - es lert der zornig mutt  
das man dick zevil tut*

166. 275<sup>r</sup>-275<sup>v</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 3658 – 3675)**

*Ain ander exempell*

*Es schreibt auch valerius  
das sypio affricans - - -  
- - - dauon das ich das reich twanck  
der zunam ist mein hochster danck*

167. 275<sup>v</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 3676 – 3705)**

*Von diemutikait*

*Ain konig archagloga genant  
nw hort wes vns des ler ermant - - -  
- - - ir pfleger wollt ir recht gefarn  
so sullt ir wesen willig arn*

168. 275<sup>v</sup>-276<sup>r</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 3718 – 3741)**

*Von milltikait*

*Der konig vespasianus  
het ainen sun hies titus - - -  
- - - wann von mir hewt ist geschehen  
niemant kain gut das mues ich iehen*

169. 276<sup>r</sup>-276<sup>v</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 3742 – 3789)**

*Aber von milltikait*

*Uon dem kaiser julio  
han ich gelesen auch also - - -  
- - - des reiches pfleger vnd ratt  
tet manig tugentlich getat*

170. 276<sup>v</sup>-277<sup>v</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 4036 – 4085)***Ain exempel von dem ackerman*

*Uns schreibt das valerius  
 das ainer hies anthonius - - -  
 - - - gab im sein herr siben lon  
 er fluche doch ain sollchen don*

171. 277<sup>v</sup>-279<sup>v</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 4172 – 4327)***Wie der wein erfunden vnd erpawt ist worden*

*Josephus tut vns bekant  
 das noe von erst vandt - - -  
 - - - also schenket des affen blüt  
 vil dick gemanicklichen mutt*

172. 279<sup>v</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 4328 – 4349)***Aber ein exempel von wein*

*Ualerius der schreibt das  
 das hievor ze rom was - - -  
 - - - vnd er die ich dir han gegeben  
 wellest dw nach deinem orden leben*

173. 279<sup>v</sup>-280<sup>v</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 4464 – 4509)***Ain exempell von manhafter trew*

*Uns schreibt das valerius  
 ain romär hies fabricius - - -  
 - - - vor zwir oder mer geaffet hat  
 er tunck mich tumber sitte ratt*

174. 280<sup>v</sup>-281<sup>r</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 4586 – 4651)***Von misstrawrung*

*Uon dem wuetrich dionisyo  
 hab wir geschriben das also - - -  
 - - - der vollget nach vnd sicht nit an  
 das ich ler vnd nit vollgen kan*

175. 281<sup>r</sup>-281<sup>v</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 6152 – 6165)***Von vnkeusch*

*Ich hon gelesen auch alsus  
 das plato der philosophus - - -  
 - - - an im da mocht gestillen  
 vnd seinen aigen willen*

176. 281<sup>v</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 6166 – 6183)***Aber von vnkeusch*

*Sant augustin geschriben hat  
 auch auf die keusch seinen rat - - -  
 - - - als gen der vndertanen schar  
 ir meister nempt der keusch war*

177. 281<sup>v</sup>-282<sup>v</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 6194 – 6257)***Von der keusch*

*Ualerius der schreibt also  
 von dem konig dionisio - - -  
 - - - treibt zu der warhait ewr wort  
 so follgt ew hoher ern hortt*



178. 282<sup>v</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 7822 – 7851)***Ain exempell von ain wirt*

*Nw merckent hie was loth begie  
 der fur zwen billgrin empfie - - -  
 - - - vnd wegent ewrs gastes lait  
 fur ewr selbs arbeit*

179. 282<sup>v</sup>-283<sup>v</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 7873 – 7937)***Von dem hawsknecht der das fueter**von der gesst rossen aufhub vnd verstal*

*Nu höret ains das geschach  
 ze lamparten das sind ermant - - -  
 - - - vnd nement ewrs gesindes war  
 die ir erkennt missenwar*

180. 283<sup>v</sup>-284<sup>r</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 1508 – 1539)***Octavianus der kaiser lies seine kinder**lernen antwerch ob sy in armut fielen*

*Der kaiser octavianus  
 gefur mit seinen kinden alsus - - -  
 - - - also das sie sich bas bejagen  
 vnd mit irer kunst betragen*

181. 284<sup>r</sup>-284<sup>v</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 1059 – 1085)***Ain witib wolt nit mer aus sorgen heyratten*

*Hort wie ain fraw irer keusch pflag  
 ain witib amia genant - - -  
 - - - in dem buch von der gottes stat  
 sie sprechen der vnkeuschen matt*

182. 284<sup>v</sup>-285<sup>r</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 109 – 164)**

*Wie das schachzagel spil erdacht ist*

*Ain konig hies evilmeredag  
des reichs ze babiloni pflag - - -  
- - - mitt lob durch der egipten land  
also ist es worden vns erkandt*

183. 285<sup>r</sup>-287<sup>v</sup> **Heinrich von Beringen: Schachbuch (v. 8250 – 8439)**

*Von vorcht ain gewart exempel*

*Man vindt auch geschriben alsus  
das der konig dionisius - - -  
- - - sein gotlich vorcht lert  
das der mensch in schmerzen kertt*

184. 287<sup>v</sup>-289<sup>r</sup> **Unidentified – “Wann man reden oder schweigen  
soll”**

*Wann man reden oder sweigen sülle*

*Es was ye der wellte sitt  
tue recht vnd furcht dir nit - - -  
- - - in gottes namen  
sprechen wir alle amen*

This poem appears to be a *unicum* in Add. 24946. There would appear to be no edition of the work.

185. 289<sup>v</sup>-291<sup>v</sup> **Unidentified – “Von Zahl und Maß”**

*Von zal vnd masß*

*Mit spahen lissten heb ich an  
als ee dÿ maister haben getan - - -*

- - - *auf deinen trost*  
*behuett vnns vor der helle rost*  
*Amen*

This poem appears to be a *unicum* in Add. 24946. There would appear to be no edition of the work.

186. 292<sup>r</sup>-293<sup>r</sup>     **Unidentified – “Wann man reden oder schweigen soll” II**

No heading to this poem

*Es ist zeloben vnd gueter sit*  
*tue recht vnd furcht die nit - - -*  
 - - - *got wende vns dye ewig pein*  
*in gottes namen sprech wier all ame*

This poem appears to be a *unicum* in Add. 24946. There would appear to be no edition of the work.

On folios 294<sup>r</sup> and 294<sup>v</sup> there are notes in a modern hand (origin identified by Ward).

## The Structure of the Manuscript

It would be wrong to approach a consideration of the structure of the manuscript with any preconceived ideas of what we might find.<sup>104)</sup>

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<sup>104)</sup> Weigel divided the manuscript into four sections for the purposes of describing it; Baechtold was more insistent on a seven-fold division and was followed in this by Priebisch. There seems to be no good reason for looking at Add. 24946 primarily from the point of view of its construction revolving around the placing of “minne constellations” within the manuscript. That is to ignore the equal importance of other of the contents of the manuscript and of thematic considerations determining its construction. If one of the essentials of the dyad or the tryad or “longer thematic series” (Westphal, *Textual Poetics*, p. 30, footnote 1) is the combining of genres, then, although there are numerous examples of consecutive poems having related themes, this is less a considered and conscientious act on the part of the compiler of Add. 24946 than a result of what was already in the source manuscript the scribe was presumably copying – and these poems do not involve an obvious mixture of very different genres. Westphal herself was aware of Add. 24946 but gave it only one fleeting mention (loc. cit., p. 107); she also speaks of “change through dissolution as the manuscript reception of the couplet texts came to its historical close” (p. 19), Add. 24946 itself also coming towards the end of the period (1300-1500) which she sees as being defined by “couplet-text codicology”. If Westphal’s “minne constellations” have as their basis “Minnereden”, as Glier would seem to suppose, then the concept of the mixture of genres is itself flawed. Whilst the long series of “Minnereden” in Add. 24946 (item 98, folio 90<sup>r</sup> – item 124, ending on folio 184<sup>v</sup>) is indeed interrupted by a number of works of a different genre, e.g. the “Visio Philiberti” or “Von den Wucherern”, these are hardly on related themes or part of a “longer thematic series”. But interrupted as they are also by “Die Beichte der zwölf Frauen” and “Der Barbier”, it is a serious question as to what position these might occupy within any “constellation”. They are not “Minnereden”, but they are not “Minnereden” only because they do not fit into the group defined according to fairly arbitrary criteria by Brandis (*Minnereden*, pp. 9-15 and 247-248). “Stiefmutter und Tochter” on the other hand, judged by the same criteria, is a “Minnerede”. This is a genre defined in retrospect by modern commentators in the twentieth century and may not correspond with what was in the minds of poets or collectors some 500 or more years earlier. Glier’s attempt to apply these principles to Add. 24946 (cf. Chapter 1, pp. 11-13) not only ran foul of Baechtold and Priebisch’s seven-fold division but also applied the modern concept of “Minnerede”. Applicable as the theses of Westphal and Glier may be to other manuscripts, they do not seem useful as a starting-point for understanding the structure of Add. 24946.

The dates of watermarks (which it seems impossible to determine with any amount of certainty) cannot help us in commenting on the structure of the manuscript. The fact that different papers were used, a consideration of the scribal headings and the scribe's method of working may be able to do so.

A diagrammatic representation of the structure of Add. 24946 (see Appendix IV) may reveal more about its structure and may show that, far from the structure having been carefully thought out and planned, the manuscript may have grown in an essentially haphazard fashion.

Add. 24946 is not a "Sammelhandschrift" in the same sense as other manuscripts are. It is not a collection of totally individual works; rather, the situation would seem to be that its contents were taken from a range of fairly readily identifiable source manuscripts or else that the scribe was gathering material into a number of his own collections.

The scribal numbering which begins on present-day folio 12<sup>r</sup> would seem to suggest that folios 1-11 were a later addition to the manuscript. Beyond that the differently watermarked paper of folios 12<sup>r</sup>-59<sup>v</sup> ("watermark II" and quires II-V) and folios 60<sup>r</sup>-95<sup>v</sup> ("watermark I" and quires VI-VIII) together with the headings on folio 12<sup>r</sup>, "Hie vahent sich an die teichnar", and folio 60<sup>r</sup>, "Hie vacht an hern freidancks gedicht", and the note on folio 84<sup>v</sup>, "hie hat hern freidancks gedicht ende", might suggest that these two sections of the manuscript at one time contained respectively a self-sufficient collection of

Teichner poems and a self-sufficient collection of “Kleindichtung” (attributed to Freidank) from a manuscript related to Codex Vindobonensis 2705.<sup>105)</sup>

These manuscript copies or collections (the Teichner poems and the “Freidank” poems) were later combined through the addition of more material to form a larger manuscript, then even more (the table of contents and the religious poems, items 1-6) was added, as were at some time the final three items by different scribal hands. (The table of contents mentions the first but not the last two of these three final items.)

This extra material consisted of some “Minnereden”, some selections from Heinrich von Beringen and a number of other individual works. Whilst the “Minnereden” and the Heinrich von Beringen selections, like the Teichner and “Freidank” collections, also remain more or less “intact” (the Minnereden” occupying folios 90<sup>r</sup>-184<sup>v</sup>, the Heinrich von Beringen selections occupying folios 184<sup>v</sup>-287<sup>v</sup>), they differ, of course, in two obviously noticeable ways: firstly their sequence is interrupted by the inclusion of other and very different works; and secondly some parts of these two groups of poems have been allocated to different and more distant parts of the manuscript.

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<sup>105)</sup> It seems impossible to say whether the scribe himself collected the Teichner material over a period of time, whether he was selecting it from a more comprehensive Teichner collection at his disposal or whether he was copying a whole and complete manuscript. Niewöhner (*Teichner* I, pp. XII-XCVIII) finds no firm relationship between the Teichner section of Add. 24946 and any other known extant Teichner manuscript. It is also impossible to pass any similar judgement as regards the “Freidank” poems. The relationship between Add. 24946 and Codex Vindobonensis 2705 is a somewhat distant one (see Wolfgang Achnitz and Franz-Josef Holznagel, *Der werlt lauff vnd ir posait*).

Unless we consider these “detached” items as “fillers” to use up blank folios in the Teichner and “Freidank” sections, it is difficult to explain the positioning of the “Minnerede” “Das Vergißmeinnicht” (item 45, folios 53<sup>r</sup>-55<sup>r</sup>) and three extracts from Heinrich von Beringen (items 46-48, folios 55<sup>r</sup>-59<sup>v</sup>) between the Teichner and “Freidank” sections. There is no obvious thematic connection or similarity, and whilst it may be conceivable that the “Minnerede” may have been contained in a Teichner source manuscript, it seems highly unlikely to have been the case with the Heinrich von Beringen selections.

The Oswald von Wolkenstein poem (item 97, folios 85<sup>r</sup>-89<sup>v</sup>) may have been the first of the extra material to be added. There was a large amount of unused folio space at the end of the “Freidank” collection. The point at which the scribe decided to amalgamate the Teichner and “Freidank” sections was also the point at which, of course, it was also to going to become necessary to add fillers to the end of the Teichner section. He could carry on extending the manuscript beyond the original end of the “Freidank” section simply by adding more quires of paper – as it happened from the same batch of paper he had used for the Teichner section.<sup>106)</sup>

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<sup>106)</sup> The scribe did quite a masterly job of “filling” the blank folio pages at the end of his Teichner section – tailoring almost but not quite exactly the number of verses involved to fit the amount of folio space available. The fact that a small area of unused folio space remains at the bottom of folio 59<sup>v</sup> reinforces the suggestion that items 45-48 were used to fill an already existing collection of Teichner works, for elsewhere in the manuscript the scribe, clearly not one to waste paper, on several occasions put the heading to an item at the bottom of one folio side before beginning the poem on the next folio side – cf. item 67 headed at the bottom of folio 68<sup>r</sup>, item 92 similarly on folio 82<sup>v</sup> and item 146 on folio 260<sup>r</sup>. The fact that he has not put the heading to his “Freidank” poems at the bottom of folio 59<sup>v</sup> reinforces the suggestion that the folios containing the “Freidank” poems were already an entity before being amalgamated with the already existing entity of the Teichner poems. There does seem, however,

If the Oswald von Wolkenstein poem was the first to be added this may explain why the scribe has inserted a rubricated note to the effect that the “Freidank” section had ended and that a poem by Oswald now followed. As may have originally been the case with the “Freidank” section before the Oswald von Wolkenstein addition, neither the Teichner collection nor the Oswald poem have any rubricated note to define their end. The naming of the poet in the final verses of the Oswald von Wolkenstein poem and in the final Teichner poem may have been enough to satisfy the scribe’s desire at this stage to be informative and accurate in the production and presentation of his manuscript.<sup>107)</sup>

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to be an instance of where his “filling” was not as masterly. This would seem to explain why the first quire, the added table of contents and religious poems, has eleven folios. Footnote 15 on page 31 indicates that the first five and the sixth religious poems are in entirely different poetic styles with the at least implicit suggestion that the sixth poem is not part of the cycle to which the first five belong. Faced with the task of having to join his first quire as seamlessly as possible onto the beginning of the larger manuscript whose folios were already numbered, the scribe would have needed to work out how to construct this first quire. 699 lines at 43 lines per each of the sixteen folio sides (four for the table of contents) would require a quire of ten folios. But the scribe did not manage to achieve this average of 43 lines and overran to the degree that he needed an eleventh folio. It might seem that religious poem six was itself added as a “filler” to occupy the remaining space on folio 11<sup>v</sup>. Not only does it have a different poetic style, but it is also divided off by a horizontal line under religious poem 5 – this a device used nowhere else in the manuscript. The perhaps even more difficult task of having (then?) to fit 186 items into space left for the table of contents on folios 1 and 2 may account not only for the unreliability of the table of contents but may also explain the uncharacteristic blank space on folio 2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>107)</sup> Only in one other instance does the scribe give the name of the author of one of the works collected in Add. 24946, the poem by Andre von Esperdingen (item 128, folios 209<sup>r</sup>-210<sup>r</sup>). The poet names himself in the final line of the poem, “also red andre von esperdingen”, and at the beginning of the work the scribe provides the heading “Gain newen jar andre von esperdingen”. (This work is reproduced in Appendix V of this present study.)



The above explanation suggests, of course, that, far from the whole project of Add. 24946 having been planned in detail by the compiler or scribe before the scribe began to execute the project, the manuscript simply grew organically and of its own accord as the scribe found more material he wished to include in it. Within the manuscript itself there is no stated determining or underlying structure, neither is there an obvious or easily discernible one. Neither does there have to be one. This view of a perhaps rather haphazard growth of the manuscript seems in the light of the evidence of the manuscript itself to be a perfectly plausible one.

It would seem, however, that as the scribe gathered more material he wished to include in his manuscript, this material did not come complete with the names of its various authors. (The information he received on the authorship of the “Freidank” poems was in any case incorrect.) Whilst the scribe continued to provide headings to the poems he was collecting in an attempt to continue to be informative, and as, the more ambitious his project became, he was forced to “fill” empty folio space – because also possibly of manuscript availability – the result became something of a less than well-structured whole. If that is what it in fact is, then attempts to force a structure upon it are unjustified.

Whilst we can account for the positioning of “Das Vergißmeinnicht” (item 45, folios 53<sup>r</sup>-55<sup>r</sup>) and the three Heinrich von Beringen selections (items 46-48, folios 55<sup>r</sup>-59<sup>v</sup>) within the manuscript if we regard them as “fillers”, no such explanation can account for why the sequence of “Minnereden” (folios

90<sup>r</sup>-184<sup>v</sup>) or the main collection of Heinrich von Beringen selections (folios 184<sup>v</sup>-287<sup>v</sup>) are themselves interrupted by other works. Rather than being able to argue similarity or contrast of theme – again this would imply a more precise yet not readily obvious or discernible planning – the truth is that they appear to be out of place.

As the scribe could only copy what was available and in front of him at the time, we have to accept this as the only plausible explanation for the nature and positioning of these works within the manuscript. It may be possible to imagine a range of scenarios involving “short-term” or “long-term” loans or availability of manuscripts, but that would be pure speculation.

We do not know the situation regarding the availability of manuscripts for copying in Nuremberg at the time. Whilst indications may be that there could have been fairly wide and easy access to manuscripts (see Chapter 3), another view has been expressed – alongside the one which insists on the careful positioning of works presumably taken from different manuscripts all available at the same time – that available manuscripts, or at least certain types of manuscript, may in fact have been far and few between:

From the standpoint of genre, most manuscripts look like neutral or rather patchy structures, odd mixes of anything the passive scribes could get their hands on, texts being presumably scarce.<sup>108)</sup>

Although it would be possible to divide Add. 24946 into any number of sections – and this current work has itself done that in a number of respects –

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<sup>108)</sup> Westphal, *Textual Poetics*, p. 9.

the manuscript betrays no such divisions or patterns along lines which have been suggested previously or might seem to have been planned or imposed even by the scribe. The physical structure of the manuscript in the sense of watermarks and make-up of quires (except in the case of the religious poems added at the beginning of an apparently already completed manuscript) bears no correspondence to the nature or order of the works contained. That would seem to have been determined by other factors entirely. These factors also determine the poetic structure of Add. 24946.

CHAPTER 3

THE COMPILER/OWNER OF ADDITIONAL MANUSCRIPT 24946  
AND THE PRINCIPLES AND THEMES UNDERLYING AND GUIDING  
ITS COMPILATION

Looked at against the background of literary activity in Nuremberg towards the end of the fifteenth century – involving a large amount of activity in the religious houses of the town, the “Fastnachtspiele” and the activities of Hans Rosenplüt and Hans Folz<sup>1)</sup> – the content of Add. 24946 reflects what, apart from this “home-grown” material, was obviously popular, available for copying and perhaps felt appropriate to include in a manuscript at the time. The headings to the works contained in Add. 24946 and the nature of the content make it clear that to a large degree one of the guiding principles was a thematic and didactic one. A consideration of the ideas underlying the choice of the content of Add. 24946 and the content itself will shed light upon the intellectual and moral outlook of the owner of the manuscript and the social, intellectual and cultural life of the time and upon his place within it.<sup>2)</sup>

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<sup>1)</sup> Rosenplüt died in 1460. Although Folz’s move to Nuremberg was for some time regarded as being very late within the span given for the production of Add. 24946, two authorities at least now agree on his having received citizenship in Nuremberg in 1459: Johannes Janota, <sup>(2)</sup>*Verfasserlexikon 2* (1980), col. 769 and Thomas Cramer, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, Munich <sup>(3)</sup>2000, p. 292. We must assume that he also settled there at that time before setting up his own printing press in the town in 1479: Janota, loc. cit., column 771; Cramer, loc. cit., p. 292.

<sup>2)</sup> There is also the question of whether the owner of Add. 24946 may have been a man or a woman. The nuns of the “Katharinenkloster” and other religious houses were certainly extremely active in producing manuscripts at this same time. That would confirm a high degree of female literacy. The predominantly secular rather than religious content of Add. 24946 (not least the two poems “Die Beichte der zwölf Frauen” and “Der Barbier”) would suggest that it was certainly not the product of a female religious community,

### Nuremberg in the Fifteenth Century

The cultural history of Nuremberg in the fifteenth and particularly the sixteenth centuries is well documented. It was a well-to-do, well-governed and well-regulated “Reichsstadt”, which had won and which jealously guarded its own degree of political autonomy and privilege within the Empire, in which a patrician social and political élite governed, backed up by a professional and merchant class which as time went by became even more socially successful and richer, a town which also possessed a large, successful and innovative artisan class. It was a town, too, which in particularly the latter part of the fifteenth century was home to and attracted scholars and academics such as Johannes Müller (Regiomontanus), astronomer, Hieronymus Münzer, doctor and geographer, Hartmann and Hermann Schedel, Konrad Celtis and the Humanists Willibald and Caritas Pirckheimer, a town which at the end of the century had become a leader in the production of the printed book, and a town which could, again towards the end of the century, foster and produce or attract the artistic talents of such as Albrecht Dürer, Veit Stoß and Adam Krafft amongst others.

The greatest influence on the lives of anyone living or aspiring to live in Nuremberg during the fifteenth century was undoubtedly the Town Council (“Rat”). Not only was Nuremberg, as a “Reichsstadt” and through its Council,

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and there is nothing in Add. 24946 to suggest that its owner may have been a woman rather than a man. We will therefore assume purely for the sake of convenience and to avoid duplicating personal pronouns whenever we speak of him/her that he/she was, indeed, probably a man.

able to argue with and challenge the wills of kings and emperors<sup>3)</sup>, but within Nuremberg the Council regulated virtually all aspects of town life and held far-reaching sway over the everyday lives of its citizens. It exercised control not only over law and order and security but even over who could live in the town; it set taxes, exchange rates and commodity prices; it administered the charitable institutions of the town; it regulated Jewish affairs, the status of the Jews in the town, what they were to wear and the activities professional and otherwise that they might participate in<sup>4)</sup>; it even decreed how its citizens were to dress<sup>5)</sup>. It also sought to control the Church and even to control religious belief and practice. The threat of Hussitism with its not only religious but also socially revolutionary ideas was felt to be a threat to the religious, social and political stability of the town and was a concern which ran through municipal affairs for much of the fifteenth century.

In her monograph on the fifteenth-century Nuremberg Carnival Comedies ("Fastnachtspiele") DuBruck describes the problems confronting

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<sup>3)</sup> In 1400/1401 it was able to make its own demands of Ruprecht before recognising him as king – cf. Gruner, *Nürnberg*, p. 55; in 1413 it accepted Sigismund as king only after again demanding confirmation of the town's privileges as a "Reichsstadt" – cf. Gruner, loc. cit., p. 58; and between 1440 and 1443 it engaged in defiance of and dispute with the King over whether the Imperial Regalia ("die Reichskleinodien") should stay in Nuremberg. The dispute was finally decided in Nuremberg's favour by the Council of the Electors – cf. Gruner, loc. cit., pp. 69-70 .

<sup>4)</sup> It even exercised control over their sexual activities. In 1406 a Jew was banished from the town (a common punishment for a number of offences) because he had been found in the "Frauenhaus" – cf. Gruner, loc. cit., p. 57.

<sup>5)</sup> The "Kleiderordnung". In 1453 the shoemakers were forbidden to produce a certain type of fashionable shoe – cf. Gruner, loc. cit., p.78; and in 1492 two citizens were only able to get around the dress laws of the time by securing special dispensation from King Maximilian I to wear velvet – cf. Gruner, loc. cit., p.95.

the Church in the fifteenth century<sup>6)</sup>, and in doing so she mentions widespread criticism of the Church and implies a general and gradual alienation of the people from the Church. She further details carnival plays in which members of the clergy are criticised and mocked.<sup>7)</sup> However, one of the problems often associated with reading church histories – and, indeed, the “Fastnachtspiele” – is that they tend to focus on what is wrong or amiss and thus to neglect instances where all is functioning as it should. Similarly, reading exclusively about errant priests it can easily be forgotten that many others were doubtless all that could be expected of them.

It was DuBruck’s aim “to elucidate . . . German society of the fifteenth century”<sup>8)</sup> “based on the premise that this society was indeed reflected in popular shrovetide drama”<sup>9)</sup>. She wanted to use “the carnival plays as a mirror of fifteenth-century man, especially of the common man”<sup>10)</sup>. By her own definition of “common man” – middle and lower classes as opposed to aristocrat or cleric, urban, a patron of the arts – the owner of Add. 24946 (there is no evidence that he was an aristocrat or cleric, he was a literate, manuscript-owning citizen of Nuremberg) was probably a common man. This being so, it will be interesting to see what reflection the owner of Add. 24946

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<sup>6)</sup> Edelgard E. DuBruck, *Aspects of Fifteenth-Century Society in the German Carnival Comedies*, Lewiston/Queenston/Lampeter 1993, pp. 40-46. The information is credited to the *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, Washington 1967, pp. 704-706. These problems include loss of prestige, nominalism, atheism, fideism, heresies (Wyclif and Hus), criticism of the Pope and the Roman curia, simony, clerical privileges, pluralism, absenteeism, violation by priests of their priestly vows and slow decay of the religious orders.

<sup>7)</sup> Loc. cit., pp. 46-57.

<sup>8)</sup> Loc. cit., p. ix.

<sup>9)</sup> Loc. cit., p. ix.

<sup>10)</sup> Loc. cit., pp. ix-x.

gives of life in fifteenth-century Nuremberg and what religious and other ideas motivated him.

The criticisms of the mediaeval Church and its clerics voiced by DuBruck may have been as valid for Nuremberg as for anywhere else. There seems, however, to be little or no evidence, apart from the “Fastnachtspiele”, to suggest that there was very widespread or valid criticism of religious life in Nuremberg at the time, and certainly not towards the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>11)</sup> The Town Council seems to have made it its task to ensure that Nuremberg was not as other places may have been. However his words and the feelings behind them are to be interpreted, Hans Rosenplüt was still able to comment:

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<sup>11)</sup> At the beginning of the century the monastery of St. Egidius does indeed seem to have been in a sorry state, provoking a complaint by the Council to the authorities in Regensburg – the buildings were dilapidated, there were hints of drunkenness and gambling, and the abbot’s staff and the monstern were in pawn to the Jews (Gruner, *Nürnberg*, p. 56, 1402). Although attempts at reform were resisted by Abbot Mauritius in 1415 (Gruner, loc. cit., p. 59) and although the Benedictine monks sent from Reichenbach to reform the monastery in 1418 found only two books in the library, the rest sold or pawned, the garden likewise pawned, and themselves needing to borrow vestments for mass from the Dominicans, after the death of Mauritius reform under the new abbot, Georg Möringen, was pushed through (Gruner, loc. cit., p. 60). During the first half of the fifteenth century reforms were also pushed through at the Dominican Convent “Katharinenkloster” in 1428 (Gruner, loc. cit., p. 64), amongst the Augustinian Hermits in 1445 (Gruner, loc. cit., p. 71), the Carmelites in 1446 (Gruner, loc. cit., p. 72), the Franciscans in 1447 (Gruner, loc. cit., p. 72) and the “Poor Clares” in 1452 (Gruner, loc. cit., p. 78). Sometimes this was done with great and lasting success, as in the case of the “Katharinenkloster” where, initially under the long-serving prioress Gertraud Gwichtmacherin (died 1469), between 1428 and the end of the century the number of nuns more than doubled. The number and quality of the largely self-produced manuscripts, most of which are today in the Stadtbibliothek in Nuremberg (cf. also Paul Ruf, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz Vol. 3, Part 3 Bistum Bamberg*, Munich 1939, pp. 570-638) testify to this aspect of the devout activities of the nuns. The “Klarakloster” was at the height of its achievements towards the beginning of the sixteenth century under Caritas Pirckheimer.



Ein weiser rat, ein gehorsame gemein  
 Und ein wolgezogene priesterschaft,  
 Die ist gepunden mit solichem haft,  
 Das ir keener getar uber die snur hawen  
 Mit spil, mit unfur noch mit frawen.<sup>12)</sup>

The Council would clearly seem to have been keen to initiate, support and effect monastic reform, and from the evidence that exists concerning religious life and practices within the town a healthy, doctrinally orthodox religious life would seem to have flourished there<sup>13)</sup>, alongside the criticisms of the “Fastnachtspiele” and the undercurrents of Hussite sympathy.

It might seem that far from the “Fastnachtspiele” being a reflection of reality, far from them even serving a “Ventifunktion”, it may well be the case that the Council was happy for them to be performed year after year not only as a form of harmless fun but also as a reminder or warning about how things might or could be. And since the Council controlled all aspects of life in the town it would be wrong to suppose that the Council was powerless to stop or

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<sup>12)</sup> Jörn Reichel (ed.), *Hans Rosenplüt. Reimpaarsprüche und Lieder* (ATB 105), Tübingen 1990, *Der Lobspruch auf Nürnberg*, pp. 220-234, lines 10-14.

<sup>13)</sup> It would be a relatively simple task to produce a list of at least some two or three new works of religious art – sculpture, painting, stained glass – for every decade of the fifteenth century commissioned and executed to grace one or other of the city’s churches. Such trappings of religious faith were being produced for all to see and were, of course, testimony to the faith (although the cynic might well propose alternative motivation – and the monuments to this day often bear the name of the donor or his family) of those who commissioned them. The Imperial Regalia (“Reichskleinodien”) were paraded each year (cf. footnote 3 above and Germanisches Nationalmuseum Incunabulum Inc. 2268a) to thronging crowds of the faithful (or fearful), indulgence payments seem to have been made regularly by the Council and there is more than enough testimony to an avid collection of relics on the part of the leading and richer inhabitants of the town. (In 1469 Nikolaus III Muffel was executed for embezzlement, having needed the money, amongst other things, to build up his personal collection of relics. Cf. Gruner, *Nürnberg*, p. 85).

to exercise censorship over the “Fastnachtspiele”. It was, after all, necessary to apply to the Council for permission to perform “Fastnachtspiele”<sup>14)</sup>, and ban them as a whole the Council did for the year of 1469, not because of their content but because of concomitant “excesses” that had taken place the previous year<sup>15)</sup>.

Nuremberg in the fifteenth century possessed a ruling Council intent not only on curbing at least the excesses that the Church might at this time be subject to<sup>16)</sup> but also on controlling the excesses in which its own citizens might indulge.<sup>17)</sup>

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<sup>14)</sup> Horst Brunner and Erich Strassner, *Volkskultur vor der Reformation*, in: Gerhard Pfeiffer (ed.), *Nürnberg – Geschichte einer europäischen Stadt*, Munich 1971, p. 201.

<sup>15)</sup> Gruner, *Nürnberg*, p. 85. Cf. also: Brunner and Strassner, loc. cit., p. 202. The “Fastnachtspiele” were not the only form of popular entertainment which at some time or other was subject to a ban because of the untoward behaviour which accompanied it. 1498 sees the first mention of theatrical productions by pupils of the “Spitalschule”, and in the same year the Easter Play was banned by the Council because of “Unfug” the previous year. Cf. Brunner and Strassner, loc. cit., pp. 200-201. For a more detailed account of literary censorship in Nuremberg in the second half of the fifteenth century cf. Reichel, *Rosenplüt*, pp. 158-165.

<sup>16)</sup> Just as the Council was keen to bring about monastic reform, so does it seem to have embarked on a course of securing for itself as much administrative control as possible over the churches and monasteries in the town. In 1403 it won the right to appoint priests to St. Sebald (Gruner, loc. cit., p. 56), in 1419 the Council bought rights and properties belonging to the Knights of St. John (Gruner, loc. cit., p. 60), protection of the monastery of St. Egidius was entrusted to the Council in 1426 (Pfeiffer, *Hussitenkriege*, p. 87), in 1475 the Council was entrusted with the duty of protection of the clergy – and the right to charge for this (Gruner, loc. cit., p. 87), in 1476 it received the right to control entry to Nuremberg convents (Gruner, loc. cit., p. 88), in 1477 it secured the right of appointment to the newly formed priories of St. Sebald and St. Lorenz (Gruner, loc. cit., p. 88), and in 1483 it registered Church property in Nuremberg (Gruner, loc. cit., p. 90), so that the Council was finally able simply to take possession of all monastic properties when it adopted Reformation principles in 1525.

<sup>17)</sup> Indeed, “Fastnachtspiele” form a relatively small part of the complete works of their two best known authors, Hans Folz and Hans Rosenplüt. They

How much dissent there may have been in religious thought and belief is difficult to gauge, and, indeed, extant records may not reflect an accurate picture of the situation particularly in this respect. A certain degree of selectivity in the recording of events is obvious.

We will examine where the compiler/owner of Add. 24946 stood in relation to the religious conflicts and questions of the time when we come to consider the opening religious poems in a little more detail.

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were also the authors of more serious and devout poetical works. The bawdy depiction of clerics went hand-in-hand with devout religious beliefs and practices, and the significance of the criticisms found in the "Fastnachtspiele" should not be over-exaggerated. Cf. Brunner and Strassner, *Volkskultur*, pp. 202-203.

The Social Background, Education and Literary Interests of the Compiler/  
Owner of Additional Manuscript 24946.

The possession of a literary manuscript would suggest, of course, that the owner of Add. 24946 could read and therefore presumably write. Indeed, it may be that he was himself responsible for copying the manuscript. Possession of the manuscript would also suggest a certain financial standing and stability and a degree of education. Add. 24946 would also suggest an interest in literature – vernacular German literature – and, if literature implies widening of experience and self-knowledge, then an interest in self-improvement.

We will almost certainly never know whether the owner of Add. 24946 had other manuscripts in his possession. If he did, we will again almost certainly never know anything about the nature and extent of his library. However, we may be able to discover a little more about the owner if we wonder instead about the sort of library in which this manuscript may – or, more precisely, may not – have been at home.

There is no text-external evidence in Additional Manuscript 24946 to suggest who its original or later owners may have been, to suggest who may have compiled or written the manuscript or why, or to tell us that it was owned at any point by, for instance, any sort of religious or other (aristocratic or private) library. Indeed, perusal of the catalogues of the libraries of the religious foundations in Nuremberg towards the end of the fifteenth century as

well as the libraries of more prominent, learned and professional individual citizens of Nuremberg, even the library of the Town Council itself, suggests that it is a manuscript which would have been out of place in any of these collections.

What these catalogues<sup>18)</sup> show is that the major monasteries and churches, the Benedictines at St Egidien, the churches of St. Lorenz and St. Sebald, the Heilig-Geist-Spital, the Franciscans, the monks of the German Order, the Siechenkapelle St. Jobst, the Frauenkirche, the library of the Town Hall, the libraries of leading citizens Hermann Schedel (1410-1485) and Hartmann Schedel (1440-1516) and the extensions to the library of the Pfarrkirche St. Sebald made by Sebald Schreyer consisted virtually exclusively of manuscripts or books in Latin and, in the case of the religious foundations, of a religious nature: Bibles, devotional books, liturgies, lives of saints and lives and works of early Church Fathers, etc. Where exceptions to this general rule occur the manuscripts and books are still in Latin but on learned subjects.<sup>19)</sup>

It would therefore seem with some certainty that we are not to seek the owner of Add. 24946 amongst the monastic and church foundations in

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<sup>18)</sup> See Ruf, *Bibliothekskataloge*, pp. 422-856. Most if not quite all of these catalogues are dated between 1450 and 1500.

<sup>19)</sup> The Heilig-Geist-Spital also had books on law, the arts (“libri in artibus”) and astronomy, the Ratsbibliothek had books on canon and civil law and on medicine and the natural arts (“Bücher in der ertzney und naturlichen kunsten”), whilst the vast library of Hartmann Schedel was catalogued into twenty-one learned subject areas (subject area number twenty-two was German books) in its 1498 edition, with one or two more subject areas added in 1507.

Nuremberg. If the Latin library of the Town Hall gives an indication of the level of education amongst the patrician ruling classes, then it would appear that we are not to seek our owner here either. Nor would he seem to have belonged to the learned professional class living within Nuremberg. The total lack not only of any Latin constituent to Add. 24946, moreover the lack of any reference to anything concerning Latin, may suggest an unfamiliarity with the language on the part of its owner, or even perhaps for some reason a desire to avoid it.

Where German manuscripts or books are mentioned in late mediaeval library catalogues from Nuremberg one or two interesting titles or descriptions emerge. In the catalogue of the books in the private possession of the Dominican sisters of St. Katharina (1451-1457) all are on religious themes, but many have to do with “(die ewig) weißheytt”, and the word “ler” appears in a lot in the descriptions.<sup>20)</sup> If the words “weißheytt” and “ler” remind us of Add. 24946, then the themes of “exempel”, “keczer” and “juden” in further descriptions may do so as well:<sup>21)</sup>

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<sup>20)</sup> The catalogue is written in German, but it is unclear from the descriptions rather than titles whether the books themselves were in Latin or German. In the catalogue of the convent library (1455-1461) it is clear that many of the manuscripts were written by the nuns themselves (as was presumably the case with many of those apparently privately owned by the nuns). Again (apart from a couple of works on medicine) all are on religious themes.

<sup>21)</sup> These words, and certainly the ideas of instruction or what/how it might be wise/sensible to do/behave recur particularly in the first part of the manuscript. Cf. in the religious poems “ler” (folio 3<sup>v</sup>, lines 14-15), “lere” (5<sup>r</sup>, 34), “leren” (6<sup>v</sup>, 12), “die gotlichen ler” (10<sup>v</sup>, 32), “weisen vnd lernen” (10<sup>v</sup>, 12), “weis(s)heit” (4<sup>r</sup>, 34; 7<sup>v</sup>, 19; 9<sup>r</sup>, 38); among the Teichner poems the idea recurs in various forms, but cf. also “ler” (14<sup>v</sup>, 21; 25<sup>v</sup>, 34), “lern” (18<sup>v</sup>, 30; 26<sup>r</sup>, 16-17), “weisen” (19<sup>r</sup>, 2), weißhait/weishait (47<sup>r</sup>, 11; 48<sup>r</sup>, 9); among the “Freidank” poems cf. “leren” (61<sup>r</sup>, 21), “weißheit” (64<sup>v</sup>, 13 and 15), but in this section the emphasis is rather on unwise behaviour and the words used are derivations of

“Item ein puch; das helt in im cantica conticorum und vil schöner exempel. Das hat swester Kungunt Niklasin geschriben.”<sup>22)</sup>

“Item ein tractat wider die keczer Waldenser. Das hat man hingeben.”<sup>23)</sup>

“Item ein puch; heist Der kocher mit den stollen, do man die Juden mit scheuscht”<sup>24)</sup>

The Mother Prioress Gertraud Gwichtmacherin possessed a copy of Hugo von Trimberg’s “Der Renner”, but one description may remind us in the nature of its collected parts even more of Add. 24946:

“Item ein puch; das hielt in im und ist von waren tugenten und schreibt der groß Albertus, und von einem unbereiten sterbenden menschen, und wie uns die welt laiden sol, und gut exempel und nucz ler und gut predig und der “Pater noster” und “Ave Maria” und der glaub und die X gepot und ander gut ler und der psalm “Quicumque vult” und von dem heikigen sacrament.”<sup>25)</sup>

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“tum(b)” or “tor(e)”. The importance of the “exemplum” is evidenced not only in the more modern idea of the genre of the “bîspel” (to which many of the works here by der Stricker are regarded as belonging) but also by headings such as “Ain peispil von vbermut” (Teichner 9, folio 19<sup>v</sup>), “Von singern ain peispill” (Teichner 24, 40<sup>r</sup>), “Ain peispill so ain bawr gewalt vberkumbt” (Freidank 15, 65<sup>v</sup>), “Ain exempell von sterck” (item 149, 264<sup>v</sup>), “Ain ander exempell” (item 166, 275<sup>r</sup>), “Ain exempel von dem ackerman” (item 170, 276<sup>v</sup>), “Aber ein exempel von wein” (item 172, 279<sup>v</sup>), “Ain exempell von manhaft trew” (item 173, 279<sup>v</sup>), “Ain exempel von aim wirt” (item 178, 282<sup>v</sup>). Jews are berated in item 123 (folios 177<sup>r</sup>-179<sup>v</sup>) headed “Von den wuecherern wie gar bös die sein” and reproduced here in Chapter 4. For a discussion of the importance of the two words “wîsheit” and “lêre” in the context of Heinrich von Mûgeln and a discussion intended to provide a link to fifteenth century literary activity cf. Reichel, *Rosenplüt*, p. 168.

<sup>22)</sup> Ruf, *Bibliothekskataloge*, p. 600.

<sup>23)</sup> Ruf, loc. cit., p. 634.

<sup>24)</sup> Ruf, loc. cit., p. 636.

<sup>25)</sup> Ruf, loc. cit., p. 608. Apart from the recurrence of the words “exempel” and “ler”, it must be remembered that Add. 24946 itself also contains the story of a man unprepared for death, the “Visio Philiberti” (item 121, folios 163<sup>r</sup>-170<sup>v</sup>), and that two of the opening poems deal respectively with faith, “Von dem glauben” (item 5, folios 10<sup>r</sup>-11<sup>v</sup>) and the ten commandments, “Von den zehen gepoten” (item 1, folios 3<sup>r</sup>-4<sup>r</sup>). The similarities of genre, didactic purpose and theme are again noteworthy.

If this is fairly standard fare in monastic manuscripts of the time and perhaps aimed at lay sisters or novices, then similarity in the composition of Add. 24946 might also indicate a similar religious piety if not theological competence on the part of the owner of Add. 24946.<sup>26)</sup>

In seeking to identify the origins of Add. 24946 we may thus be able to exclude a significant number of possibilities. It would seem unlikely that the manuscript belonged to one of the major religious foundations in Nuremberg. The content of Add. 24946, from the point of view of genre, the fact that it was a collection of works, the purpose it was meant to serve (the common themes of “weißheyt” and “ler”), the fact that it is in German, all of these considerations show similarity with what the “Katharinenkloster” was producing at the time. However, Add. 24946 is a long manuscript, it has no Latin content, and apart from the six poems at the beginning and other occasional religious content, notably “Von vnsers herren leiden” ( item 131, ff.

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<sup>26)</sup> This is also mirrored in other libraries. Amongst his “Libri vulgares in lingua Theotonica”, apart from Bibles, saints’ lives, a description of the Holy Land, etc., Hartmann Schedel possessed: “Centonovella von hundert lustiger fabel, durch Bocacium gemacht; getruckt”, “Ein puch der weißheit, mit figuren mangerley trestlich außgelegt und in beispil” and “Das teutsch narrenschiff.” (Ruf, *Bibliothekskataloge*, pp. 833-834). The Franciscan monastery also had a “Gesta Romanorum”. Hans Tetzl, a patrician, had (in 1464) a library collection mostly in German but containing a much more generalised subject matter (loc. cit., p. 853-855). The library of Wilibald Pirckheimer (1470-1530) (See Emile Offenbacher, ‘La Bibliothèque de Wilibald Pirckheimer’, in: *La Bibliophilie* Vol. XI; Firenze 1938; pp. 241-263) was made up very similarly to Hartmann Schedel’s, it also contained a very small selection of German books. Ten are listed, three of which contain the word “lere” in their titles. (Offenbacher makes it clear that his catalogue is not complete: “Cette liste n’est pas un catalogue de tous les livres connus de la bibliothèque de Pirckheimer. Ce n’est qu’un choix destiné à donner une idée de la composition d’une des plus importantes bibliothèques d’humanistes allemands.” – loc. cit., p. 251).



218<sup>v</sup>-231<sup>r</sup>), the content of Add. 24946 seems too secular in nature and purpose to have been the product of a monastic foundation. It may be unlikely that der Stricker and der Teichner were read much in monastic circles, but fairly certain that “Minnereden”, not to mention the two poems “Die Beichte der zwölf Frauen” and “Der Barbier”, would not have been at home there.

The activities in the “Katharinenkloster” do, however, give us a certain amount of information about literary life in Nuremberg during or towards the end of the fifteenth century. The nuns of St. Katharina were in the habit of collecting together material and themselves writing this down in the form of “Sammelhandschriften” – albeit more often than not in nothing like the length of Add. 24946. A preferred genre, as in Add. 24946, was the “exemplum”, and the intended purposes revolved around communicating “weißheyte” and “ler”. Compiling often more secular works into larger manuscript collections was likewise not uncommon in Nuremberg towards the end of the fifteenth century<sup>27</sup>). In all of these respects there are similarities in purpose and methodology between the owner of Add. 24946 and both his religious and lay contemporaries. It is by no means impossible that the owner of Add. 24946

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<sup>27</sup>) In 1456 there is mention of the “Lochheimer Liederbuch” (cf. Gruner, *Nürnberg*, p. 79), a collection of the favourite songs of a number of contributors. In 1461 the “Nürnberger Kunstbuch” (a collection of recipes for the production of colours or dyes intended to be used or useful for a number of purposes) was put together by the nuns of St. Katharina (Gruner, loc. cit., p. 82). In 1467 Hartmann Schedel collected 154 pieces of contemporary music together into a song-book (Gruner, loc. cit., p. 84). This was, of course, also about the time of the beginning of the flourishing of the “Meistersang”. Hans Folz is known to have collected literary material, cf. Landesbibliothek Weimar MS. Q566 (Bonner and Strassner, *Volkskultur*, p. 203) – a large part of the manuscript written by himself – and MS. c of Neidhart von Reuental’s songs. Folz also collected together “Meisterlieder”, cf. Munich cgm. 635 (Brunner and Strassner, loc. cit., p. 204.)

was himself the scribe of the manuscript, collecting works into Add. 24946 for his own enjoyment.<sup>28)</sup>

Just as it seems plausible to exclude religious foundations as the possible owners of Add. 24946, so we may be able to eliminate other possible owners. The library of the Town Council (“Ratsbibliothek”) and the libraries of professionals and intellectuals tended to be relevant and “functional” in a scientific or intellectual sense, and again Latin predominated as the language of communication. Furthermore, all the libraries belonging to the religious foundations in Nuremberg were taken over into the ownership of the town in or after 1525. The contents and eventual fates of the books and manuscripts belonging to major secular libraries also seem well documented and tend to have been catalogued at some point. If Add. 24946 had belonged to any of these major libraries it seems unlikely that it would have escaped notice.

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<sup>28)</sup> There is the question of exactly to what degree manuscripts could be and were circulated within Nuremberg (and beyond) in the late fifteenth century. Hans-Joachim Ziegeler, *Kleinepik im spätmittelalterlichen Augsburg – Autoren und Sammlertätigkeit*, in: Johannes Janota and Werner Williams-Krapp (ed.), *Literarisches Leben in Augsburg während des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Studia Augustana 7), Tübingen 1995, pp. 308-329, here pp. 318-319, postulates the existence of a “market” in Augsburg where there was an exchange of manuscripts particularly between Augsburg and Nuremberg. Although, quite obviously, manuscripts were exchanged for copying between acquaintances and contacts, it is interesting also that in the latter part of the fifteenth century the monastery of St. Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg opened its library to public use, both for citizens of the town and for visitors from elsewhere. Cf. Helmut Gier, *Kirchliche und private Bibliotheken in Augsburg während des 15. Jahrhunderts*, in: Johannes Janota and Werner Williams-Krapp (ed.), loc. cit., pp. 82-99, here p. 93. Whilst there does not seem to have been any comparable facility in Nuremberg at the same time, this situation in Augsburg does seem to suggest an openness towards giving access by their owners to manuscripts in private hands.

We may similarly exclude an aristocratic or even patrician owner. Although Hans Tetzl owned a library containing books mostly in German<sup>29)</sup>, the subject matter was again “functional” and “scientific” rather than literary in nature. Quite apart from that, if we can adversely compare the quality of workmanship in Add. 24946 to that of the manuscripts that could be produced, for instance, in the “Katharinenkloster”, then it may be unlikely that an aristocrat or patrician would have necessarily been proud to have called Add. 24946 his own.<sup>30)</sup>

The evidence would seem to point to a lay owner and compiler of Add. 24946 with access to and interest in not only spiritually instructive and uplifting texts but texts also and primarily of a literary rather than religious nature, with access furthermore to more down-to-earth texts which would almost certainly have been frowned upon by the more seriously religious and professional or learning-orientated circles of fifteenth century Nuremberg.

The clues to identifying the owner of Add. 24946 – that is to say, to establishing where he may have fitted in to the Nuremberg society of the time – may lie in a number of things: the simple, unadorned and unpretentious nature of Add. 24946, the language of the manuscript, i.e. German, and the purpose it may have been intended to serve. They would tend to place him

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<sup>29)</sup> Ruf, *Bibliothekskataloge*, pp. 853-855.

<sup>30)</sup> What seems to have characterised the patrician class in Nuremberg in the fifteenth century is their aping of the aristocracy and their love of self-advertisement and self-glorification. Cf. Brunner and Strassner, *Volkskultur*, pp. 199-200. This self-advertisement was expressed in a number of ways, and it is fair to say that Add. 24946 is far removed from the “Prachthandschriften” typically prepared around this time for aristocrats and urban patricians.

into that same educated, literate class as the nuns of St. Katharina who were capable and in the habit of compiling their own manuscripts for the purposes of self-education in religious (and social) matters.<sup>31)</sup> Unlike them, however, his interests were primarily not religious but rather social or moral (as a study of the main body of Add. 24946 rather than the relatively minor religious content of the manuscript will show). If we need to consider more precisely where the owner of Add. 24946 fitted in to the society of the day, we must look to that class or a class between patrician and proletariat that had the education, knowledge and desire to put together Add. 24946.<sup>32)</sup>

It is possible from censuses and from other information to put together a picture of the classes comprising Nuremberg society in the fifteenth century and also to gauge their relative sizes.

In his short but important article on the social structure of Nuremberg in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Rudolf Endres<sup>33)</sup> identifies three broad

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<sup>31)</sup> That the nuns were generally speaking of “good” background may be attested by the fact that in 1476 the Council won the right from the Pope to restrict entry to convents to only those born in Nuremberg (Gruner, *Nürnberg*, p. 88). Gruner explains that the purpose behind this was to dissuade particularly the more affluent daughters of Nuremberg citizens from entering a convent elsewhere and thus taking their “dowries” out of the town.

<sup>32)</sup> That Add. 24946 did not find itself catalogued – as far as can be ascertained – after its owner’s death as being part of a major library, thence to be taken into the ownership of the town or to be broken up and eventually sold off – as in the case of Pirkheimer and Schedel –, then it may reasonably be assumed that it may have belonged to a much smaller library or may have been a lone manuscript, hence its anonymity and the fact that it presumably just managed to be passed on and on. It is surely to a family on a standing of lower than patrician or leading professional, intellectual or academic that we must look for its ownership.

<sup>33)</sup> Rudolf Endres, *Sozialstruktur Nürnbergs*, in: Gerhard Pfeiffer (ed.), *Nürnberg – Geschichte einer europäischen Stadt*, Munich 1971, pp. 194-199.

social classes: the “Oberschicht” consisting of the patrician class and the so-called “ehrbare Familien”, the “Mittelschicht” consisting of wealthy master craftsmen and smaller merchants and the “Unterschicht”, itself containing an upper and lower division.

It seems clear that we ought not to be seeking the owner of Add. 24946 amongst the lower classes or proletariat. Even the upper part of the proletariat<sup>34)</sup> would seem hardly the place to look for an owner of some obvious education and discernment and the means to be able to afford and the interest to want to possess a largely literary manuscript. Endres describes this proletariat as consisting of a good third of the population of the town.

Neither, as we have seen, should we probably seek the owner of Add. 24946 in the “Oberschicht”. The “Tanzstatus” of 1521 contains the names of 42 patrician families<sup>35)</sup> and to this should be added some 300-400 “ehrbare Familien” to make up the whole of this class. Endres defines these as people who had attracted attention because of economic success, social prestige and “life style” (“Lebensstil”) or personal reputation and standing.<sup>36)</sup> These included merchants, lawyers, doctors, town officials (“Beamte”), artists,

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<sup>34)</sup> Endres describes the upper division of this class as “. . . alle Gruppen, deren Lebensunterhalt unter normalen Umständen einigermaßen gesichert war, die aber bei Krisen sofort unter das Existenzminimum absanken und der öffentlichen Fürsorge zur Last fielen.” (*Sozialstruktur*, p. 197).

<sup>35)</sup> We may assume perhaps that this number would have been somewhat lower in the fifteenth century – perhaps just the twenty “old” families, although some of the newer families do appear by name in the Chronicles in the fifteenth century.

<sup>36)</sup> Endres, loc. cit., p. 196.

master craftsmen and others. We have already suggested excluding the owner of Add. 24946 from the Latin-educated professional classes.<sup>37)</sup>

Furthermore, the insistence on the part of the scribe and/or owner to attribute the first six religious poems to a “doctor” may have been an attempt to lend unquestionable authority (and by implication probably specifically theological authority) to the teaching of the poems. This would seem to be the need and attitude of one who stood in awe of “doctors” and their knowledge and teaching rather than one who moved amongst them.

It would seem clear, if anything, that the owner of Add. 24946 was probably at home amongst Endres’ “Mittelschicht” of well-to-do master craftsmen and smaller and somewhat less successful merchants (“vermögende Handwerkmeister und mittelere Kaufleute”<sup>38)</sup>). If the relatively modest and unpretentious nature of Add. 24946 points in this direction, there does seem to be a suggestion also that this class of “businessmen” had the wherewithal to indulge in the collection (perhaps in not too large libraries) and possession of manuscripts. There is also a suggestion of a desire for self-improvement which would seem to be both a religious and a social dictate. This, however, is not the same thing as a desire to climb the social ladder.

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<sup>37)</sup> Moreover, when Endres comments on the social aspirations of the patrician class - “Diese ‘stadtadelige Kaste’ war stets darauf bedacht, ihre ständische Qualität zu erhalten und auszubauen” (*Sozialstruktur*, p. 196) - then it may also be assumed that this was probably no less true of many of those belonging to the sub-class just below them.

<sup>38)</sup> Endres, loc. cit., p. 197.

Both Strauss<sup>39)</sup> and Endres<sup>40)</sup> use the Chronicles and other sources to give population figures for Nuremberg.<sup>41)</sup> The figures illustrate that this “Mittelschicht” (although perhaps some 400-500 clerics and some 150 or 150+ Jews need to be taken out as well) was by far the largest social class, that it was bigger than the other two classes combined and that in 1485 it was some eight or nine times larger than the “Oberschicht” and perhaps twice as large as the “Unterschicht”.<sup>42)</sup>

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<sup>39)</sup> Gerald Strauss, *Nuremberg in the Sixteenth Century*, Bloomington and London 1976, pp. 36-38.

<sup>40)</sup> *Sozialstruktur*, p. 194.

<sup>41)</sup> The figures given in these sources would seem to provide a very accurate picture, even though some statistical guesswork must be indulged in to provide other final figures perhaps more relevant to our current purposes. If, in round figures, the population of Nuremberg is taken to be 20,000 in 1450 and some 35,000 in 1485 and if, as suggested by Endres, the proletariat accounted for one third of the population, in the top two classes defined by Endres there would have been perhaps some 13,500 inhabitants in 1450 and some 23,500 in 1485. Making a fairly generous allowance of 400 patrician and “ehrbare Familien” “Oberschicht” families at 6 members per family and subtracting this 2,400 gives a “Mittelschicht” population of some 11,000 inhabitants in 1450 and some 21,000 in 1485. These figures are rough and ready and they most certainly do not allow for the point at which the differences between one class and another become of necessity a little blurred, but they do begin to give an indication in percentage figures of the relative size of each social class.

<sup>42)</sup> Reichel, *Rosenplüt*, pp. 116-117, without providing numbers but examining other criteria, arrives at a similar conclusion – this “Mittelschicht” formed some 50% to 70% of the population. He describes it as comprising master craftsmen, merchants, shopkeepers, tradesmen, lawyers, doctors, clerics, artists, poets, scholars, inventors and town officials. From the point of view of our considerations here he further describes it as a class “. . . die den größten Teil des städtischen Reichtums erarbeitete, ein eigenes Arbeitsethos und eigene kulturelle Formen entwickelte.”

In trying to identify the owner of Add. 24946 it therefore seems likely that it is amongst the ranks of the smaller merchants or the (master) craftsmen of the town that he needs to be sought.<sup>43)</sup>

There is, of course, no firm evidence within the manuscript to substantiate what is very largely conjecture. However, although the majority of the content of the manuscript would tend to serve the purposes of religious, moral and social self-fulfilment, there are two poems whose appeal and hence reason for inclusion in Add. 24946 may reflect precisely this sort of middle class background: “Von Maß und Zahl” (item 185, folios 289<sup>v</sup>-291<sup>v</sup>) and “Von den Wucherern” (item 123, folios 177<sup>r</sup>-179<sup>v</sup>).

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<sup>43)</sup> It may indeed be that perhaps the owner/compiler of Add. 24946 was a “travelling” man. A merchant acting very much on his own behalf (rather than one at the head of a larger organisation and perhaps more permanently domiciled within the town) or, alternatively, an itinerant craftsman would undoubtedly have travelled often extensively and, in the case of the craftsman, have spent a perhaps longish period of time away from the town and engaged in a project which may have kept him in one place for a prolonged period of time. (We should perhaps not forget that the mediaeval craft structure and the hierarchy within it demanded that the “Geselle” spend time on the road gathering experience in his chosen craft or trade. Even thirty or forty (or even fewer) years ago these people were still a common sight in Germany.) With regard to the question of the availability of source manuscripts such an occupational demand would undoubtedly have opened up the range of manuscripts available to be copied, given ample opportunity to have copied manuscripts accessible only in relatively far away locations, indeed given time for the manuscripts to have been copied, time moreover for an element of selection to have been made in what was transferred to Add. 24946. The possibility of the owner having been an itinerant for at least some of his time may also even help to explain the fairly piecemeal nature of the construction of Add. 24946 and particularly the various works inserted in such a way and in such a position as to interrupt the series of “Minnereden” in the manuscript. It would, furthermore, also tend to suggest that there was a fairly large number of manuscripts accessible to members of this relatively modest middle class.



On one level “Von Zahl und Maß”<sup>44)</sup> seems little more than a celebration, through listing and enumeration, of number, measurement and calculation and a celebration of the arts and sciences – astronomy, geometry, philosophy, medicine, rhetoric, alchemy, grammar, music – at the heart of which number plays such an important rôle. In its earlier part certainly, the poem seems simply to reflect a joy in numbers and system, fascination with the mysteries and usefulness of which might seem to belong to a man whose craft and/or livelihood may have depended on or been enhanced by an understanding of such things. There is no deep literary or philosophical thought behind the lines:

drew glid ainen vinger machen  
 funf vinger ain gantze hand besachen  
 dreÿ henndt ist ain fues  
 der man mues  
 xvi zu ainer rueten han  
 wo man hin sol messen gan  
 xvi rueten ist ain gwennt  
 der ich acht für ain meil senndt  
 xvi gwennt ist ain meil (folio 289<sup>v</sup>, lines 10-18 of the poem).

However meant within the poem, these are the sort of formulae which would have formed part of the everyday thought of many a craftsman or artisan. There is also an allusion to the merchant as the new “alchemist”:

wer mit wasser schaiden wil  
 von khuppfer wenig oder vil  
 wirt silber weis das im gelingt  
 daz er ainen pfenning auf hundert bringt  
 das gehort ainem kaufman zue (folio 291<sup>r</sup>, lines 5-9).

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<sup>44)</sup> This work is in the hand of the third scribe. However, it seems completely reasonable to imagine similar backgrounds and interests for both main and subsidiary scribes.

The practical merchant is able to accomplish what the “science” of the alchemist could not achieve.

The subject-matter of the poem and its treatment would seem to have appeal and point to a more urban and artisan or mercantile mind than that of a member of a more traditional or “courtly” literary audience.

The very heading of “Von den Wucherern”<sup>45)</sup>, “Von den wuecherern wie gar bos die sein”, would also tend to point to this sort of background and environment for the compilation of Add. 24946. Whilst not found exclusively in an urban and entrepreneurial environment, of course, this may be where usury finds its most fertile ground and is most at home; but other elements within the work also point in this direction.

One of the criticisms voiced in the poem is that usurers seem to be getting above their station socially, but the comparison at the basis of this criticism measures their social success not against the background of a courtly, aristocratic context but against a two-fold source of wealth and position, inherited wealth, and wealth accumulated and earned presumably through entrepreneurial skill and hard work, “gut mit recht gewunen” (ll. 18-19). And the measure of their social success (and a source of criticism) is promotion to public office within the sort of urban society that fifteenth-century Nuremberg was:

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<sup>45)</sup> This poem is reproduced in Appendix V here. Line references here are to the lines as numbered there.

vil grozzer ding man an sie latt  
man setzt sie an gericht vnd in den rat (ll. 24-25).

The poem is full of invective against usurers, not least because of the social threat they pose, but stressing also the social punishments that should be inflicted upon them, that they should wear Jews' hats, and the social prerogatives they should not be allowed to enjoy, they should not wear silver, nor be allowed to hunt with falcon or by any other means, nor attend dances with respectable ladies present. This belies a context like the urban society of fifteenth-century Nuremberg, where the "Polizeiordnungen" clearly defined clothing and activities appropriate to the various orders of society. In this socially strictly structured and regulated society social position determined what clothing one was allowed to wear, and clothing defined social position:

also tragents [usurers] nit orden  
vnd sind abtrunig bruder worden (ll. 104-105).

Lack of clothing defining social position also seems to have taken away any sort of legitimacy as being socially and economically productive:

die [usurers] sicht man on irn orden gan  
vnd wend nutz vom hanndwerck han (ll. 115-116).

The author of the poem could only have lived in the sort of urban and strictly regulated society that Nuremberg was in the fifteenth century, and much of the meaning and thought-content and resentment in the poem could only have been fully understood and appreciated by and have appealed to a compiler familiar and conversant with the regulations of such a society. The criticism expressed here and based on resentment of a usurping of social position may also belie a very middle class attitude in its own awareness of

social position. The “Oberschicht” for its part and in its own way seems to have spent a lot of its time trying to flaunt dress and other regulation.

But there does then remain the question as to whether a member of the class or body of people now under consideration would have had the ability and/or felt the imperative or inclination to have embarked upon the collection of a body of works of the nature of those contained in Additional Manuscript 24946.

Although Nuremberg had a very rigidly structured social hierarchy into which even the various crafts and craftsmen of the town were integrated, educational background or achievement was not always a criterion in deciding a citizen’s place within that hierarchy. For the patrician what was important above all else was birth and the social position inherited as a result of it. Indeed, a university education culminating in the gaining of a degree automatically excluded him from what he would have regarded as his birthright – playing a leading political rôle within the town.<sup>46)</sup>

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<sup>46)</sup> The consideration of the educational organisation within the town in this next section is based upon Rudolf Endres, *Sozial- und Bildungsstrukturen Fränkischer Reichsstädte im Spätmittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*, in: Horst Brunner (ed.), *Literatur in der Stadt* (Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik 343), Göppingen 1982, pp. 37-72. On page 53 Endres comments that “. . . die meisten Studenten kamen aus jener vermögenden Schicht und aus jenen Berufsgruppen, welche zwar einen gehobenen Lebensstandard besaßen, die aber in der Nürnberger Sozialordnung weitgehend von den Positionen sozialer Wertschätzung ausgeschlossen waren, also etwa die Gastwirte und Pfragner, die Fleischhacker und Bierbrauer, die Tuchmacher oder freien Berufe. . . . der wirtschaftliche Erfolg und der neue Reichtum motivierten dazu, auch den sozialen Aufstieg zu schaffen, wenigstens für die Nachkommen, und zwar auf dem Wege über ein akademisches Studium und die entsprechenden Amtspositionen, die ad personam ‘ehrbar’ machten.”

If it is true that the professional classes originated to a large degree from amongst the tradesmen of the town, then, since the owner of Add. 24946 would seem not to have been one of those fortunate enough to have been educated into a (professional) class higher than the one into which he was born, it may be necessary to assign a somewhat humbler social position to him. If, as would seem to be the case, he was not educated in Latin and was unfamiliar with references in Latin, then it must be assumed that he would be unlikely to have been one of the 800 or so (male) pupils who would have perhaps attended one of the four Latin schools in Nuremberg around 1450<sup>47)</sup>. But since we must assign to him the ability to read (and almost certainly presumably the ability to write), then this supposes both the provision and acquiring of some education – and therefore an education in German. It may thus be fairly safely assumed that this education would have been in one of the “teutsche Schulen” (or “Schreib- und Rechen-meisterschulen”) in Nuremberg.<sup>48)</sup>

These co-educational private schools were run by the craft guilds with instruction often given by the craftsmen themselves. Their aim was to impart the sort of practical knowledge useful for everyday life which future craftsmen and merchants would need.<sup>49)</sup> Instruction was via liturgical texts in German,

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<sup>47)</sup> Endres, *Sozial- und Bildungsstrukturen*, loc. cit., p. 58.

<sup>48)</sup> We are assuming that he was educated in Nuremberg, something for which we have no proof. However, the system of education at this time was broadly the same throughout the Franconian towns.

<sup>49)</sup> Endres, loc. cit., p. 59. In 1487 some 4,000 Nuremberg children were said to have been receiving an education in one of these schools. With something like 1,000 children in the “Lateinschulen” at this same time, it may well be true that there could have been relatively little illiteracy in Nuremberg at the end of the fifteenth century. Cf. also Martin Kintzinger, ‘ich was auch ain schueler.

and the emphasis was therefore still, as in the Latin Schools, very much on a religious education.

Endres quotes the (anonymous) forward to the first Nuremberg Hymn Book (“Gesangbuch”) of around 1525:

“Es haben sich bis hie her die teutschen schulmaister die kinder auf die creutzwochen zum höchsten beflissen, lose lieder und heiligen gesang zu leren, in welchen das wolgefallen der eltern und zeitliches lob und aigner nutz mehr gesucht worden ist, denn gottes eer und besserung der jugent, welches dann zum fürnemsten bei allen teutschen schulmaistern gesucht solt werden. Aber laider, weil ir so vil sein worden, so muß es auch mit heucheln und mit grossem verderben der kinder also zugeen. Denn wo gottes eer und lieb des nächsten vergessen wirdt, folgt alsbald der schandlich eigennutz, der dann in verderbniß fört jung und alt.”<sup>50)</sup>

Endres’s quotation and comments illustrate further and significant points.

If the main aim of education in these schools was to impart practical knowledge, albeit through liturgical texts, but in German, this did have the

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Die Schulen im spätmittelalterlichen Augsburg, in: Janota, Johannes and Williams-Krapp, Werner (eds.), *Literarisches Leben in Augsburg während des 15. Jahrhunderts*, (Studia Augustana 7), Tübingen 1995, pp. 58-81. Kintzinger’s detailed study of schools and education in Augsburg in the fifteenth century gives a remarkable picture of the availability of a readily obtainable education of a high standard within the town at that time. There is no reason to believe that the same may not also have been true of Nuremberg. Indeed, Kintzinger remarks: “Nürnberg und Ulm etwa verfügten während des 15. Jahrhunderts über ein florierendes Schulwesen des lateinischen wie deutschen Unterrichts in städtischer Trägerschaft.” Loc. cit., p. 60.

<sup>50)</sup> Endres, *Sozial- und Bildungsstrukturen*, p. 60-61. Endres is seeking to demonstrate how in time these schools became secularised, but the comments here were made some fifty to seventy-five years after the owner of Add. 24946 himself would have been at school. Endres’ own comment both furthers and seeks to clarify some of the criticisms made: “Statt sich mit den Evangelien und den Sprüchen Salomonis zu beschäftigen, würden sie ‘schnöde lieder, ungeschickte bücher’ lesen, womit offensichtlich Volksbücher und Schwänke gemeint sind.” (p. 61).

concomitant that pupils were also enabled to read other texts in German – even “schnöde lieder, ungeschickte bücher”.

The passage also emphasises some of the aims of this education: “aigennutz” is clearly a thing to be discouraged, whilst “gottes eer”, “besserung der jugent” (from the point of view of the pupil this becomes self-improvement, of course) and “lieb der nächsten” are those things to be fostered. If these were the ideals taught and fostered in such schools and the values that Nuremberg wished to instill in its youth (rather than the need for political astuteness or social advancement) and if, indeed, the owner of Add. 24946 was a pupil at one of these schools, then this may more than explain some of the values carried with him into later life and reflected in the content of Additional Manuscript 24946.

It was one of the aims, indeed tasks, of the older ruling families of the Town Council to secure political, religious and social harmony within the town. The curriculum of the “teutsche Schulen” and the promotion of moral rectitude were means towards this end. This would seem to explain the religious, social and moral ideals that seem to determine much of the content of the manuscript, and the content itself gives a clue to determining the social position of its owner. What Add. 24946 therefore contains is the key to understanding the religious, social, moral and personal responsibilities felt to be incumbent upon a citizen of Nuremberg in the mid to late fifteenth century.

Reichel also emphasises this idea of social class and class-specific ideas and values, whilst at the same time also emphasising the idea of individuality:

Zwar gibt es gemeinsame Wertvorstellungen aller gesellschaftlichen Gruppen, die vor allem in den Auseinandersetzungen mit äußeren Feinden aktiviert werden und zu einer Festigung des bürgerlichen Selbstbewußtseins der Reichsstädter beitragen. Abgesehen von diesen Ausnahmesituationen aber sind die Leitbilder, Denkkategorien und Zielvorstellungen, wie in allen gegliederten Gesellschaften, schichtspezifisch, ohne damit für den einzelnen normmäßig fixiert zu sein. Werthaltungen werden durch Sozialisation vermittelt und durch individuelle Lebenerfahrung verstärkt oder modifiziert.<sup>51)</sup>

However, he also sees distinct and significant differences between the merchant and the artisan<sup>52)</sup>, and these differences would seem to be expressed primarily in the attitudes of these two professions towards religion. Based upon the judgement of the Church, *homo mercator vix aut nunquam potest Deo placere*, and with the element of risk involved in his activities, Reichel sees the merchant as considering himself to be following an essentially sinful profession with all the uncertainty about redemption that this implies. The class of less successful artisans, however, he sees as having developed a self-satisfying work ethic in pursuit above all of social and economic stability, which in its turn makes them more receptive to the idea of the greater certainty of redemption.<sup>53)</sup>

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<sup>51)</sup> Reichel, *Rosenplüt*, pp. 111-112.

<sup>52)</sup> Cf. loc. cit., p. 17: "Während sich in den Handwerken ein diesem Berufszweig eigentümliches Arbeits- und Leistungsethos und ein Bedürfnis nach gesellschaftlicher und wirtschaftlicher Stabilität ausbildete, führten das Erwerbsstreben, die kaufmännisch rationale Kalkulation und das Wagnis des Unternehmertums zu völlig andersgearteten Denk- und Verhaltensweisen."

<sup>53)</sup> Loc. cit., pp. 118-121.



If Reichel's further development of his argument is correct, namely that this striving to protect social and economic stability puts the artisan closer to the politics and policies of the ruling patrician class<sup>54)</sup>, then not only may we feel more inclined to see the owner of Add. 24946 as artisan rather than merchant, but this might have interesting implications for his choice of content material.

Far from choosing content which might seem more appropriate to (presumably) a member of a craft guild, "Fastnachtspiele", his content material is very much more that which might be thought to have been of greater interest to a patrician, or at least material which was commonly read by both patrician and educated artisan. Peter Nusser sees der Teichner as primarily an author of choice of the patriciate (although one taken over by other classes of society)<sup>55)</sup>; the "Lehrdichtung" of der Stricker, too, was originally received by the nobility<sup>56)</sup>; the philosophy of the "estates" of Heinrich von Beringen would surely have found echo more readily with those with a vested interest in maintaining such a divinely ordained structuring of society; and perhaps these considerations may go some way towards explaining the owner's decision to include "Minnereden". The perceived need to protect social harmony would seem to bring the owner of Add. 24946 very much closer culturally and philosophically to the ruling patrician class, even if socially this may never have been able to become the case.

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<sup>54)</sup> Cf. *Rosenplüt*, p. 119: "Das Interesse der Handwerkerschaft war auf Sicherung und Bewahrung des Erreichten gerichtet und entsprach damit durchaus der Politik des patrizischen Rats."

<sup>55)</sup> Peter Nusser, *Deutsche Literatur im Mittelalter*, Stuttgart 1992, pp. 303-304.

<sup>56)</sup> Cf. Reichel, *Rosenplüt*, p. 166.

From what we can tell from the evidence of Add. 24946 itself and from what we know of late fifteenth-century Nuremberg, it seems that we must probably place its owner within the middle classes of the town at that time; he may have been an artisan or a merchant, albeit perhaps not one of the most successful of the town. Probably of relatively modest education, he clearly had an interest in and some knowledge of vernacular German literature. Educated to be a “solid” citizen within the well-regulated society of the town, the content of the manuscript will show him to be a foe of elements of dissent abroad at the time, Hussite ideas, for example, and any undercurrent of threat of religious or social change, and to have a deep interest in questions affecting social harmony and balanced – but perhaps also self-promoting – personal development and behaviour, this mixed, too, with an element of implied or even explicit criticism of the society in which he wished harmoniously to fit.

### The Separate Religious Works in Additional Manuscript 24946

From the point of view of the choice of the content of the manuscript on the part of the scribe, compiler or owner of Add. 24946 and from the point of view of the inclusion of individual poetic works (rather than those which clearly formed part of a larger collection from an apparently easily discernible source manuscript), there is only a small number of works whose theme and interest is purely religious: the six introductory religious poems, “Von unsers herren liden” (item 131, folios 218<sup>v</sup>-231<sup>r</sup>), the “Visio Philiberti” (item 121, folios 163<sup>r</sup>-170<sup>v</sup>) and Andre von Esperdingen’s “Neujahrsrede” (“Gäin newen jar”, item 128, folios 209<sup>r</sup>-210<sup>r</sup>). This small group of more independent poems of a religious nature show a number of common features and themes and warrant being discussed in their own right.<sup>57)</sup>

The opening six religious poems can be seen as a bold statement on the part of the compiler or owner of Add. 24946 which make clear his own views and establish his own position within the religious and even political framework of life in Nuremberg at the end of the fifteenth century. Similarities of treatment, style and theme are found in the other separately chosen religious works.

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<sup>57)</sup> This is not to say, of course, that religious themes are not treated or that religious poems do not appear elsewhere in the manuscript. As religious practice and values during the Middle Ages were so much a part of social, intellectual, moral and philosophical practice, values and ideals, it is inevitable that this should be so. These will be discussed along with the other poems contained within the same section.

The first five of the opening religious poems would clearly seem to form a group. They are in rhyming triplets; except where enthusiasm in praise of the Virgin or the narrative style take over as in “Von unser lieben frawen” and “Als der engel den grues bracht” respectively, there would seem to be a similarity in structure; and all end with a similar “amen” formula. They are a combination in various measure of instructional narrative of biblical events, of praise, prayer and supplication addressed to God or the Virgin and (in the case of “Von dem glauben”) an explanation of the essential rôle in Christian life of priests and of the eucharist. The narrative style is reflected in the longer poem “Von unsers herren liden” (folios 218<sup>v</sup>-231<sup>r</sup>), and the themes of the rôle of priests and of the eucharist are taken up again in Andre von Esperdingen’s “Neujahrsrede”, whilst the uncertainties concerning eventual redemption and salvation that pervade these poems are taken up as the theme of the dialogue form of the “Visio Philiberti”.

The opening religious poems are largely catechetical in the sense not least that they are concerned with basic Christian doctrine. God is omnipotent, omniscient, eternal, the creator of heaven and earth; He is a loving and a just God, but He can also be an angry God; God is to be obeyed, the reward for the faithful is eternal life, the punishment is eternal damnation. Heaven and hell are real within the world as depicted in these poems, as are the devil, angels, cherubims, seraphims and the heavenly choir. It is man’s lot to suffer in this life – the word “ellend(t)” is twice used as a synonym for life (“Von unser lieben frawen”, folio 8<sup>r</sup>, line 24 and “Von dem glauben”, f. 10<sup>v</sup>, l. 29, line 54 of the edited poem in Appendix V) –, prospects of both heaven and hell are

his to behold, but the outcome of his life on earth and his final destination are uncertain. Salvation can be achieved through obedience, faith, intercession on his behalf, or through good works. Two figures stand supreme within this world, the Virgin Mary and priests, the former because of her exalted position as the mother of God (“Von unser lieben frawen”, f. 7<sup>r</sup>, l. 1) and the fact that she can intercede on behalf of man,<sup>58)</sup> the latter because they have been appointed by God as his representatives on earth. In the scheme of things both are higher than the angels (“Von unser lieben frawen”, f. 8<sup>r</sup>, ll. 7-9, Andre von Esperdingen, “Neujahrsrede”, f. 209<sup>v</sup>, ll. 15-18, lines 23-25 of the edited poem). And it is primarily in the veneration of the Virgin and belief in the holiness of priests that the author of the poems and the owner of the manuscript proclaim their adherence to Rome (cf. specific mention of the Roman Church in “Von dem glauben”, l. 35). There is nothing remotely Hussite or heretical in these poems.

Andre von Esperdingen’s “Neujahrsrede”<sup>59)</sup> has much in common with these poems in that it takes up the same essential themes again. It opens

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<sup>58)</sup> In “Von unsers herren leiden”, folio 6<sup>r</sup>, lines 37-39 we are even told that it was Mary who was solely responsible for spreading Christ’s teachings after the crucifixion:

Es fluchen sein junger all gemain  
 der cristen glauben ward so clain  
 den behielt uns maria nun allain.

There seems to be no basis in the Bible for this assertion. Perhaps the author is confusing the Virgin and the Mary Magdalene of the Gnostic gospels.

<sup>59)</sup> Wolfgang Stammer’s entry ‘Andre(as) von Esperdingen’ in <sup>(2)</sup>*Verfasserlexikon* 1 (1978), col. 339 tells us in effect that nothing is known about Andre von Esperdingen. The entry suggests that no attempts have previously been made to identify the poet by recourse, for instance, to extant records. Attempts on my part, even via the resources and expertise of the Royal Geographical Society (e-mail exchange with Francis Herbert at the RGS), have failed to turn up a place name Esperdingen, the closest being

with a narrative element, here the theme of the nativity, and explains its significance (lines 1-10 of the edited poem in Appendix V), it addresses itself personally to and in praise of the Virgin (ll. 11-16) and it emphasises the importance of priests and of the eucharist. The great uncertainties concerning each individual's eventual redemption and salvation are somewhat muted in the Andre von Esperdingen poem; however, heaven is still something which has to be striven for.

There are noticeable similarities between the two poems in theme and in choice of vocabulary and expression. The two words "ler" and "weis", a recurring feature of the opening religious poems, appear again in the Esperdingen poem. But there seems to be more than a similarity in just vocabulary between the lines:

Wir sullen gelauben an aller stat  
was die römisch kirchen singt vnd sagt  
vnd folgen der weisen priester rat  
(“Von dem glauben”, ll. 34-36)

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Espermühle in Lower Bavaria, or a similar family name. It may be that the only clues to the poet's identity lie in the poem itself. There is something of the sermon about the poem with its opening address to an audience, its reminder of the time of year and its significance within the Christian calendar, its praise directed towards the Virgin, its reminder of the significance of the eucharist and the benefits of confession, and its final reminder of the transience of worldly wealth. What seems to be an unusual part of the content of the poem are the lines towards the end:

kumbt ain glerter man fur ew,  
versagt im nit ain claine trew  
durch got vnd ewrselber er,  
er geitt euch sicher mer. (“Neujahrsgruß”, ll. 47-50).

It seems likely that in mentioning this “glerter man” the poet may have had in mind a member of a mendicant order and not unlikely that the poet mentioned this and the Christian duty of giving alms (and the onus on the recipient to pray for the soul of the donor) because he himself was a member of such an order and desirous of such charity. It may be that perusal of extant documents from Nuremberg's mendicant orders, possibly of university matriculation lists, might just uncover the name of Andre von Esperdingen.

and:

Maria hat vns der helle stras verslagen,  
 hör ich die weisen pfafen sagen.  
 Wir westen weder hin noch her,  
 wär nicht der frumen pfafen ler ("Neujahrsrede", ll. 19-22).

The descriptions of the priest changing the bread and wine of the communion into the body and blood of Christ also seem to have elements in common:

Sy [priests] bringent got auch in jr henndt  
 vnd wandelnt das heilig sacrament  
 das soll wir gelauben an vnserm end  
 ("Von dem glauben", ll. 61-63)

and:

wann er [the priest] mes list oder singtt  
 vnd seinen rechten hern twingt  
 vnd bringt in herab in ain brott,  
 loblich er in jnn den hennden hatt;  
 er läst in aus den hennden nicht  
 bis sein will hintz im geschicht. ("Neujahrsrede", ll. 31-36).

Like "Von unsers herren leiden" (item 2) and "Als der engel den grües bracht" the much longer poem "Von unsers herren liden" (item 131) is largely narrative;<sup>60)</sup> and its opening lines contain the same sort of catechetical content as the opening religious poems. The themes of the holiness of humility –

wann ain pfaf der briesterlich lebtt  
 vnd sich vppikait vberhebt  
 der ist pezzet dann ain engell vill ("Neujahrsrede", lines 23-25) –

and poverty (the "glerter man", line 47) of Andre von Esperdingen's poem are taken up again. Whilst the narrative element in "Von unsers herren liden"

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<sup>60)</sup> For a discussion of "Treatment and Sources" cf. Carr, *Von unsers herren liden*, pp. 14-18.

occupies by far the majority of the poem, there are small sections which offer religious instruction. It is difficult not to see a relevance in these sections to life in late fifteenth-century Nuremberg as it has been described earlier or as it might be further imagined. Jesus is described towards the middle of the poem as:

. . .die zung  
 dye aller weis gibt ordnung  
 der welt wie sy sich halt zu gott (folio 224<sup>r</sup>, lines 17-19,  
 Carr, lines 405-407).

Order is important, and it has already been suggested that it was the protection and even control of the established Roman Church in Nuremberg during the fifteenth century which gave religious, social and political stability to the town.

There is a strange resemblance between some of the complaints the Jews bring to Pilate against Jesus (folio 219<sup>r</sup>, line 19 – folio 219<sup>v</sup>, line 31; Carr, lines 30-80) and the complaints that the author of “Von dem glauben” levels against the Hussites – this also with a strange irony to it.<sup>61)</sup>

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<sup>61)</sup> Jesus does not live according to God’s law and is converting Jews to similar practices (folio 219<sup>r</sup>, 21-23, Carr, ll. 32-34), the Hussites shun God and the saints (“Von dem glauben”, edited poem, line 79), lead priests from the true path (line 87) and want to convert the faithful (line 93); Jesus does not respect the Sabbath (folio 219<sup>r</sup>, line 24, Carr, line 35), similarly the Hussites have just as little respect for the Virgin (line 80) and the churches (line 85); His teachings and beliefs are false (folio 219<sup>r</sup>, lines 34-35, Carr, lines 45-46), the Hussites are against Christianity (line 67) and have misrepresented holy scripture (line 82); Jesus’ miracles are born of the power of the devil (folio 219<sup>v</sup>, lines 6-7, Carr, lines 55-56), just as the Hussites are instruments of the devil (lines 66, 81, 83-84); Jesus poses a social and political threat (folio 219<sup>v</sup>, lines 17-23, Carr, lines 66-72), just as the Hussites posed a social and political threat. Perhaps Jesus’ only real crime was that He was different (folio 219<sup>v</sup>, lines 30-31, Carr, lines 79-80), but as in the case of Hus there was only one possible solution to the problem (folio 219<sup>v</sup>, lines 26-27, Carr, lines 75-76). Religious and social order had to be maintained. The irony is probably



Elsewhere in the poem emphasis is put on humility, service, justice, piety, gentleness and poverty (folio 228<sup>r</sup>, lines 1-28, Carr, lines 687-714). But again there are lines which seem to reflect evils and distractions of the world – wealth, power, fame (folio 231<sup>r</sup>, lines 14-17, Carr, lines 934-937) and social position (folio 229<sup>r</sup>, lines 31-32, Carr, lines 794-795) – distractions which were becoming perhaps increasingly evident in the urban and increasingly affluent early capitalist society of late fifteenth-century Nuremberg. Most unexpected of all, when Gliufas and an unnamed disciple are entertaining Christ to supper, are lines which comment upon money-lending, trade, entrepreneurialism and the need to deal fairly:

sy trüegen [bread and water] dar als arm lewtt  
den aller valsch was aufgerewtt  
das nam er [Christ] vollicklich zu gut  
wann er bekant in seinem mut  
das guttes willen warn voll  
das geuiell im aigentlichen wol  
den nam er auch von vns zu gut  
so irrt vns vnser geitiger mut  
wir wollen wissen on wan  
was vns ain wochen mug bestan  
zu wuecher vnd die swaren keuf

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unintended. The threat of religious and social revolution posed by the Son of God to Jewish society is in essence the same as the threat of religious and social revolution posed by fifteenth century heretics to the established order of the Roman Church; the self-righteous attitude adopted by the author of the opening religious poems is here identical to the attitude attributed to the biblical Jews as the murderers of Christ. Not that such hypocrisy is in any way untypical of the Middle Ages, but it does tend to put a different light on the established order of Nuremberg society and more clearly imbue it with suggestions and overtones of bigotry and religious intolerance. The further irony is, of course, that if the Jews thought that silencing Jesus would solve their problems, also clearly a thought in the mind of the Roman Church when it silenced Hus (or, much later, Hans Böheim):

mitt im so stirbett dann sein ler (folio 220<sup>v</sup>, line 18,  
Carr, line 144),

this was an erroneous belief in both instances.

dy zway dy sind der rechten leuf<sup>62)</sup>  
 nw tät es auch manig arm man  
 so sawmbt das hauptgut in daran  
 dem selben ist der lon beschertt  
 das er vast mit den andern vertt (folio 228<sup>r</sup>, line 33 – folio 228<sup>v</sup>,  
 line 11, Carr, lines 719-734)

A major theme of the opening religious poems of Add. 24946 is that of the salvation and redemption of the soul of individual man. Despite it being made clear how this may be achieved, the overriding feeling is one of uncertainty – it is man's lot to suffer in this life, the misery of life on earth is emphasised (the word "ellend(t)" is twice used as a synonym for life on earth – folio 10<sup>v</sup>, line 29 and folio 8<sup>r</sup>, line 24) and on the whole fear tends to predominate over hope.

The "Visio Philiberti" continues this sense of uncertainty and even hopelessness in that it is a conversation between a body and its recently departed soul, both of which know from the outset that they are damned. Its more "poetic" form – body and soul are personified, it is written in the form of a dialogue where body and soul argue over who is to blame for the damnation of the soul – may of itself demand its own dramatic outcome, one not uncommon in similar mediaeval literature, the appearance of devils and an (albeit brief) description of the torments they inflict upon the soul before they carry it off to eternal torment and to burn in hell. However, the poem does describe the sins which have condemned this particular body and soul and in so doing offers an indication of the sins that individual fifteenth-century man is likely to have feared falling foul of.

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<sup>62)</sup> Carr changes this to "der richen lauf".

The soul is here seen as being created in the image of God (cf. folio 164<sup>r</sup>, lines 16-20; 166<sup>r</sup>, 31-35; 168<sup>r</sup>, 7-9 and 27-29):

vnd gott dir gab von erste das  
 das du lawter wart als ain glas  
 dabey edel vnd zart  
 gott der gab solhe art  
 er pilldet dich recht wol nach im (folio 166<sup>r</sup>, lines 31-35).

But the sins that condemn it are not sins in a more abstract theological sense, they are sins committed as much against society as against God. This is sin in a much more social and urbanised environment.

The overriding sin of the body might seem to have been “vppikait” (cf. folio 164<sup>v</sup>, line 4 and folio 166<sup>r</sup>, line 26):

hettest du die welt gelan  
 vnd iren vppiklichen wan  
 dartzue ir silber vnd ir gold  
 so wär vns got von himel hold (folio 167<sup>v</sup>, lines 3-6),

here giving oneself over uncontrolledly to luxury and excess. It is precisely being free from this sin which, according to Andre von Esperdingen (lines 23-25), can elevate a priest to a position above that of an angel.

The body would seem in life to have been a rich and powerful man with castles, land and servants (folio 163<sup>v</sup>, lines 29-36), power over land and people (folio 163<sup>v</sup>, lines 6-22), gold and silver (folio 167<sup>v</sup>, line 5), fine and expensive belongings (folio 164<sup>v</sup>, lines 18-33), fine clothes (folio 165<sup>r</sup>, line 32 – folio 165<sup>v</sup>, line 8), a man with honour and serving the community in a capacity which brought with it associated honours and further associated trappings (folio 163<sup>v</sup>, line 37 – folio 164<sup>r</sup>, line 3), a man who, whatever his exact rôle in society, also sat in a decorated hall and passed judgement on his

fellows (folio 164<sup>r</sup>, lines 4-10). The possession of castles and land and power over people, particularly the various gifts in his power to give (cf. folio 167<sup>v</sup>, line 21 – folio 168<sup>r</sup>, line 5), may point to the body having been something approaching a feudal lord, but if so then one also with a more mercantile bent:

dein gut dein wuecher vnd dein schatz  
den du gewunt mit fursatz  
bey aller deiner tage zill  
es seÿ lützell oder vill  
das hat ain klaine stund dir  
gezucket das gelaub mir (folio 165<sup>r</sup>, lines 1-6).

Aspects of this man reflect traits of what would have been familiar enough figures in the affluent, position-conscious, well-administered and closely regulated Nuremberg of the later fifteenth century. Wealth, power and position should then not necessarily be viewed as being evil in themselves, for after all these were important ingredients in Nuremberg's success, and the authority of the Roman Church and its priests possessed and relied upon all of these things. But "hochfart" and "vbermuet" as a result of wealth and the power of social or administrative position, any more than wealth or power themselves, cannot buy a way into heaven:

dein hochfart noch dein vbermuet  
gewalt schon vnd dein grosses gut  
mugen dir gehellfen nicht (folio 163<sup>v</sup>, lines 23-25).

Apart from the self-abandonment to the "madness" of luxury and vanity, the body's sin resides in the abuse of this power and wealth and the inability to use these advantages wisely and responsibly. There is brief mention of the body having abused its position as a judge:

nw sich was hillfst nw dich  
 dein sall getziert gar loblich  
 vnd dein richtstüll dartzue  
 darauf du spat vnd frue  
 vil manig vallsch vrtail hast  
 gegeben so dir recht gebrast (folio 164<sup>r</sup>, lines 4-9).

Worldly power and finery carry no weight beyond death, with injustice or the denial of justice to one's fellows not so much a sin perhaps as a failure of social duty. A comment on the nature of the world and society is made elsewhere later:

so han ich das wol befunden  
 das die welt ist vallsches voll  
 (folio 167<sup>v</sup>, line 36 – folio 168<sup>r</sup>, line 1).

The broader theme of how to treat and interact with one's fellow man in society is one to which significance is also attached in the selection of Teichner poems.

Apart from the question of the uncertainty concerning the redemption of each individual soul, two other themes seem to link the opening religious poems and the "Visio Philiberti" – poverty and the poor and the need to perform good works. In "Von vnsers herren leiden" (item 2) we are told of Christ:

Das led er in der khindhait sein  
 vil armuet vnd auch grosse pein  
 wol mit der heiligen muter sein (folio 4<sup>v</sup>, lines 31-33);

it might appear that poverty must be suffered stoically. In Andre von Esperdingen's "Neujahrsrede" the author's audience is asked to give alms to the "glerter man" mentioned towards the end:

versagt im nit ain claine trew (line 48);

here again suffering poverty is a righteous and religious act. In the “Visio Philiberti” not only did the body not take pity on the poor (folio 165<sup>v</sup>, lines 12-16) or give alms to them (folio 168<sup>v</sup>, lines 5-7), they were caused to suffer at the body’s hands. This reference to what is in effect the exploitation of the poor:

wo sind die armen den du wee  
hast getan vmb ir gut (folio 165<sup>r</sup>, line 38 – folio 165<sup>v</sup>, line 1),

may reflect the growing urban and capitalist environment of later fifteenth-century Nuremberg.

There is a narrow range of recurring themes common to these poems, amongst them the idea of the need to maintain established religious and social order, the ideas of wealth, power and (social) position and the ideas of service and justice, all of this against a world which is clearly regarded as being full of deceit (“vallsches voll”). Given that order is important, it follows that wealth, power and position must not be abused. Of transient value in themselves anyway (as is the affection of friends and family), they must not be enjoyed and indulged in for their own sake but used to further the social good. Such at least would seem to be the message contained in the pessimistic tone of regret that generally pervades the “Visio Philiberti”. Whether these gifts have been enjoyed in a purely selfish way or used more altruistically and honestly would also seem to have implications for the individual and the destination of his soul after death.

A range of new vocabulary (“wuecher”, “die swaren keuf”, “hauptgut”, “vast mit den andern vern”, “fursatz”) reflects a changed world with changed

values. An established feudal order is breaking down and being replaced by a more capitalist system where material well-being is one of the pillars of the new society and where fluctuating material circumstances may be or can become a destabilising factor:

wan gut lat sich verliesen vnd gewynnen  
 (“Neujahrsrede”, folio 210<sup>r</sup>, line 53 of edited poem).

Poverty, which for centuries was for many an ascetic choice, has now also become a divisive urban social phenomenon exploited by some and even inflicted on others through the actions of their fellow citizens. In this urban world social and religious duty and demands seem to coincide.

Much of what is expressed in these religious poems is reflected, but rather in a social context, in the poems “Von Zahl und Maß” and “Von den Wucherern”. A similar thought to Andre von Esperdingen’s comment on fluctuating material circumstances is expressed in “Von Zahl und Maß”, where, for all the importance attached to order, be it social, religious or, as here, mathematical or natural order:

erd wasser lufft vnd fewr  
 dÿ geben der natur stewr (folio 290<sup>r</sup>, ll. 9-10),

the merchant – and hence the ordinary or “common man” – is seen to be increasingly at the whim of chance:

so stet sein kunst auf gluckes rad (folio 291<sup>r</sup>, l. 13).

Despite the system and order to be found in number and measurement and in the natural world, chance is now seen to play a leading rôle in determining man’s financial, material and hence social destiny and fate, and uncertainty about final salvation is mirrored by similar material and social uncertainty.

But there are also further destabilising factors socially. Just as the Hussites are a destabilising force on a religious and intellectual level and a threat politically as far as the Roman Church is concerned, so on the social level are usurers – more precisely, perhaps, the entrepreneurial or financial skills and social and administrative aspirations they represent – a threat to the divinely established social estates. There is as much invective against usurers in “Von den Wucherern” as there is against the Hussites in “Von dem glauben”, and it is couched in very similar terms. Like the Hussites they are servants of the devil (ll. 46-51, 128, 138, 166 and 188 of the reproduced poem) and like Judas they have sold out God (l. 147). But beyond this they are or can be responsible for reversing not only the feudal elements of a model society but even a more meritocratically ordered bourgeois society:

dauon noch maniger herr verdirbt  
vnd der knecht zu ainem hrn wirt (ll. 56-57),  
  
sie hand verderbt manigen man (l. 93).

These poems present a picture of a society in a state of flux. If to a greater or lesser degree the bourgeois city state had in places such as Nuremberg replaced and come to rival feudal powers, its own ordered structure and hierarchy was itself now under attack and liable to be reversed by the whims of chance or, worse, by socially pretentious upstarts whom the whims of chance may have favoured or who may have been capable of achieving standing not through birth or honour, knowledge, ability or hard work (cf. ll. 7-12 and 17-19) but merely through skilled (and dishonourable) financial dealing.



Add. 24946 is essentially a collection of literary texts, texts for the most part popular with and collected and further disseminated by those, originally aristocrats, with a serious interest in literature as a means of instruction and distraction. That they were collected into Add. 24946 at this time and place may itself illustrate a reaction against a changing society and may betray a fear on the part of the owner of the manuscript of what society was becoming, a fear itself betrayed in his choice and in the tone of the manuscript's more contemporary pieces.

The Poems of Heinrich der Teichner, the “Freidank” Poems and the Theme of Wisdom

Heinrich der Teichner was a popular author during the Middle Ages, to judge not only from the number of Teichner manuscripts extant today<sup>63)</sup> but also from the effect that his work had on literature and on the work of later authors<sup>64)</sup>. No less is true of the work of der Stricker, some of whose shorter poems and other “Kleindichtung” make up the collection of “Freidank” poems. Whilst both were, of course, writing in and for their own time (der Stricker early to mid thirteenth century, der Teichner c. 1350-1365?), what they had to say would also seem clearly to have been felt to be relevant for the fifteenth century and for the compiler/owner of Add. 24946.

The collection of der Teichner’s poems and the “Freidank” poems each clearly form a separate “whole” within the manuscript, and we have suggested that both sections would seem (unlike some of the more “solitary” works within the collection) each to have been taken from one source manuscript.<sup>65)</sup>

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<sup>63)</sup> See Niewöhner, *Teichner* I, partic. pp. XIII-XV.

<sup>64)</sup> Cf. Ingeborg Glier, ‘Heinrich der Teichner’, <sup>(2)</sup> *Verfasserlexikon* 3 (1981), cols. 884-892, here partic. col. 891.

<sup>65)</sup> See Chapter 2, comments on structure. It is impossible to know whether this is really the case as far as the Teichner poems are concerned and, if it is, to what degree, if any, there was an element of selection from or editing of this source manuscript on the part of the scribe or compiler of Add. 24946 and to what degree the content may suggest a uniquely personal choice. The end of the Teichner poems some mid-way through quire V (see Appendix IV) might tend to suggest that the collection from a source manuscript was at this stage complete but had not taken up all the space put aside for the copying, or it could suggest that the folios set aside but remaining unfilled were intended to be used to accommodate further Teichner poems that might come to the scribe’s or owner’s attention but were never used for the purpose. The juxtaposition of poems with similar themes clearly suggests an element of

The owner of Add. 24946 did not choose to possess “courtly” literature; what he chose was didactic literature, “Lehrdichtung”, for the main concern of the Teichner poems in Add. 24946 is to discuss religious, moral and social questions and to impart an element of “wisdom” on the question under consideration. Just as the words “ler” and “weisheit” recur in the opening five religious poems, not only is the formulaic opening (“Quaeritur-Formel”) of many of the poems:

e.g. Ainer fraget mich der mër  
 was das aller ernest wär  
 das auf der wellt mag gesein (item 21, T.15, folio 29<sup>v</sup>, lines 8-10 and very similarly elsewhere)

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editing, i.e. ordering, at some stage and possibly already present in a source manuscript. Items 7 (T. 1 *Von falschen chanbeiben/Was der grösst valsch sey*) and 8 (T. 2 *Wie man früm lewt erckennen scholl/Wie man biderleut erkennen sol*) both have to do with trusting, faithful relationships; items 16 (T. 10 *Von bösen alten weiben*), 17 (T. 11 *Wie ainer heiraten soll*), 18 (T. 12 *Von roten münden/Was in der wellt der hochst hort sey*), 19 (T. 13 *Von kurtzen röcken*) and 20 (T. 14 *Von der mynn/Von den die den frawen arckwan machen*) all have to do with relationships between the sexes whether within marriage or as part of a “minne” relationship; items 37 (T. 31 *Von unverstentichait der sünden/Das kain sündler soll vertzweifeln*) and 38 (T. 32 *Von den sünten/Es soll kainer in sünden verzagen*) both have to do with sin, and items 40 (T. 34 *Wie man sich sull zu gots tisch beraiten*) and 41 (T. 35 *Aber ain ler davon*) with sin and absolution. Again, however, Add. 24946 is of fairly late date amongst extant Teichner manuscripts (Cf. Niewöhner, *Teichner I*, pp. XII-XCV. Also: Heinrich Niewöhner, ‘Des Teichners Gedichte’, *ZfdA* 68 (1931), pp. 137-151) and the Teichner content of Add. 24946 shows no obvious similarity to or relationship with any other extant manuscript, and does contain two works by der Teichner (items 19/T.13 and 29/T.23) which appear in no other known manuscripts. In the case of the “Freidank” poems there is an extant manuscript to which Add. 24946 is related, Codex Vindobonensis 2705. (See Menhardt, *Verzeichnis*, pp. 142-204; Ziegler, *Wiener Codex 2705*; Franz-Joseph Holznagel, ‘Wiener Kleinepikhandschrift’ cod. 2705’, <sup>(2)</sup>*Verfasserlexikon* 10 (1999), cols. 1018-1024; Achnitz and Holznagel, *Der werlt lauff vnd ir posait*.) Add. 24946 is not a direct copy from Codex Vindob. 2705. Indeed, the difference between them chronologically, the shortening of Codex Vindob. 2705 and the change in the order of works between Codex Vindob. 2705 and Add. 24946, but particularly the changes that have taken place in the text of the two manuscripts might suggest a distant rather than a close relationship.

or in a different formula:

e.g. Ich ward gefragt fromder wortt  
 was in der welt der obrist hortt  
 ob alle horden mocht gesein ((item 18, T.12, f. 25<sup>r</sup>, l. 34 – f. 25<sup>v</sup>,  
 l. 1)

indicative of what the poem sets out to do, so the words “ler” and “weisheit” appear repeatedly again in the Teichner poetry alongside discussion of, for instance, “trewe”, “biderman”/“biderlewt”/“biderb”, “er”, “zucht”/“unzucht”, “recht”/“vallsch” (as nouns), “tugenthaft”, “warhait”, “gerechtkait”, “boshait”, “vppikait”, “vbermut”, “hofart” and “tumhait”. In the “Freidank” poems the emphasis is no less on imparting wisdom, but instead of a discussion or illustration based on positive instruction and example the point is often made through the illustration of a foolish act from which a lesson can be learnt. More dominant vocabulary tends to be “tor”, “tum(b/p)”, “tumbhait”, “vnberatten”, “one witze”, “alber vnd ainfalltig”, “narrisch”, “vngetzogen”, “vnbescheidenheit”. The subject-matter and qualities under discussion are similar to those in the Teichner poems.

We must examine what religious, moral and social questions occupied the owner of Add. 24946 in the fifteenth century and how they are treated in these two sections of the manuscript.

Even though advice is given in the opening religious poems as to how the soul may achieve salvation, one of the main tasks of the Teichner selection is also to address this question.<sup>66)</sup> If the more individually selected

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<sup>66)</sup> Not, apparently, that this was according to any structural plan for the manuscript. The scribal numbering still suggests the addition of the religious

religious poems may be described as despondent, the Teichner poems represent a much more positive and hopeful response.<sup>67)</sup>

The presence of this dilemma of mediaeval religious thought in these two sections of the manuscript emphasises the importance of the theme as far as the compiler/owner of Add. 24946 was concerned. It emphasises the importance of the question – but also perhaps the lack of a clear or fully and always reassuring answer.

The underlying element of common thought and theme in the Teichner collection of poems would seem to be the question of how to live one's life in both social and religious terms, social responsibility, and the question of how social harmony can be achieved through personal behaviour based on an adherence to religious principle and commandment. Sometimes these can be

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poems to the beginning of the manuscript to have been a later thought and this juxtaposition of concern and response to have been purely fortuitous.

<sup>67)</sup> Some of the headings to the Teichner poems in Add. 24946 are striking for two reasons. Not only are the headings to items 37 (T. 31) "Das kain sündner soll vertzweifeln" (Niewöhner heading: "Von unverstentichait der sünden") and 38 (T. 32) "Es soll kainer in sünden vertzagen" (Niewöhner heading: "Von den sünthen") similar, as are the headings to items 31 (T. 25) "Wie sich ainer hallten sull so er zu gots tisch gangen ist" (no Niewöhner heading) and 40 (T. 34) "Wie man sich sull zu gots tisch beraiten" (no Niewöhner heading), they are a lot more optimistic in tone than the tone of despondency that often seems to pervade other works. Niewöhner's editorial notes give no indication as to headings used for the poems in the various manuscripts in which they occur. One is left to wonder whether these are headings provided by the scribe of Add. 24946 rather than headings taken from a source manuscript. The heading of item 62 (F.14) "Wie ainer in sünden nit vertzagen soll" also bears a striking resemblance to that of item 38 (T. 32) "Es soll kainer in sünden vertzagen". The heading to item 41 (T. 35) "Aber ain ler davon" cannot but remind us of the frequent use of similar headings, e.g. item 172 "Aber ein exempel von wein" or items 165 "Aber von gedullt" and 166 "Ain ander exempell" to introduce some of the Heinrich von Beringen selections.

seen to coincide, sometimes only religious commandment can make sense of social responsibility. There is a discussion of the nature of society and one's fellow members of it, of the way that one should behave in society and the nature of one's own behaviour. Generally similar themes are taken up again in the "Freidank" poems, but here very often the issues are approached not so much through an abstract idea of social responsibility as through the idea or example of how not to act so as to save oneself from personal embarrassment or disadvantage, or even society from malfunction. Surprisingly, it may seem, there is in both the Teichner and "Freidank" poems discussion of the nature of women, their place in society and of appropriate behaviour and interaction between the sexes.<sup>68)</sup>

If the concerns and worries of the individual in fifteenth-century Nuremberg were religious uncertainty and social change, the remedy for the owner of Add. 24946 seems to have lain on the one hand in the passionate bemoaning of the situation, as in the religious poetry or the "Visio Philiberti", and on the other in recourse to the wisdom, teaching and solace of der Teichner. Der Teichner was, of course, writing pre-Hus (although he was a rough contemporary at least of Wycliffe) and there is nothing in the thoughts contained in his poems which does not coincide with long-established doctrine of the Roman Church – an allegiance to which we have already alluded in the case of the compiler/owner of Add. 24946. It was undoubtedly the case that for others in fifteenth-century Nuremberg the remedy lay elsewhere – in the

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<sup>68)</sup> The interest of the scribe/compiler/owner of Add. 24946 in such matters – as, indeed, in contemporary literature as a whole – is further witnessed by the collection of "Minnereden" elsewhere in the manuscript.

religious and social messages and seductions of people like Hus and Hans Böheim.

A number of the Teichner poems take up the question of sin and absolution. But the very much more positive mood of the poems offers hope for final redemption by describing what can be done in this life to work towards eventual salvation. “Wie man sich sull zu gots tisch beraiten” (item 40, T. 34, folios 50<sup>r</sup>-50<sup>v</sup>) and “Aber ain ler davon” (item 41, T. 35, folios 50<sup>v</sup>-51<sup>v</sup>) both use a comparison with everyday activities (pouring wine so as not to impair it with impurities, the peasant turning his land so as to plough under grass and straw and clear stones from the field) to illustrate how this may be achieved. Similar hope born of positive action is contained in the “Freidank” poem headed “Wie ainer in sünden nit vertzagen soll” (item 32, F.14, f. 65<sup>v</sup>). Confession, provided that it is thorough and complete, can wash away (“twahen”) sins, we are told in “Wie man sich sull zu gots tisch beraiten”. “Aber ain ler davon” is more precise about the process and the elements that must be cast out of the human heart and mind and what should reside there in their place. Evil desires and deeds must be rejected and be replaced by good desires and humility (f. 51<sup>r</sup>, ll. 10-20), God’s grace can be achieved through confession, penance and communion (f. 51<sup>r</sup>, ll. 26-29 and f. 51<sup>v</sup>, ll. 13-26). “Ainen alten wolt der teufel nymer schunden zu vnkeusch” (item 29, T. 23, f. 38<sup>v</sup>-40<sup>r</sup>) emphasises that confession alone is not enough, and that there can only be forgiveness if there is true contrition and the desire not to sin again (f. 39<sup>v</sup>, ll. 32-36). The need for sincerity in prayer, prayer from a heart (and mind) free of thought of worldly distractions, is expressed in “Die Milch und die

Fliegen” (item 71, F. 23, ff. 71<sup>r</sup>-71<sup>v</sup>). The need for penance is taken up again in “Von unverstentichait der sünden” (item 37, T. 31, f. 47<sup>v</sup>-49<sup>r</sup>, here f. 48<sup>v</sup>, ll. 18-28) and “Von den sünthen” (item 38, T.32, f. 49<sup>r</sup>-50<sup>r</sup>, here f. 49<sup>v</sup>, l.29 – f. 50<sup>r</sup>, l. 4). The emphasis on good works in “Von unverstentichait der sünden” (f. 48<sup>v</sup>, ll. 5-6 and 10-17) is qualified in “Wie sich ainer hallten sull so er zu gotts tisch gangen ist” (item 31, T. 25, f. 41<sup>r</sup>-43<sup>r</sup>, here f. 41<sup>r</sup>, l. 34 – f.41<sup>v</sup>, l. 1), where we are told that no amount of fasting and good works is of any use unless accompanied by a true love of God. Der Teichner also tells us that God is quick to forgive (“Von den sünthen”, f. 49<sup>v</sup>, ll. 23-24) and that He will abandon no-one to hell (“Von unverstentichait der sünden”, f. 47<sup>v</sup>, ll. 30-39).

The question of changing fortunes and fluctuating material circumstances is also taken up again in this section of the manuscript. If the view of the merchant as the new alchemist expressed in “Von Zahl und Maß” (folio 291<sup>r</sup>, lines 5-9) reflects an optimism and a new mercantile skill inherent in a prosperous early capitalist Nuremberg society where making (and losing) fortunes may have been easy, at least for some, the lessons delivered by der Teichner and der Stricker may seem to hark back, of course, to a time when society was more settled and constructed on a more feudal model.<sup>69)</sup> The more than 700 works attributed to der Teichner today do not form a rounded, closely and logically argued whole, they are a series of thoughts and considerations expressed and discussed, amongst which contradictions must exist. But the essential elements of the concerns of the more contemporary

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<sup>69)</sup> See particularly der Stricker, “Hofhund und Jagdhunde”, item 63, F. 15, ff. 65<sup>v</sup>-67<sup>r</sup>.



poems – the nature of luck, good or ill fortune, the rewards of hard work and the general nature of material well-being – are there.

The poem “Was salld vnd gelück vnderschaid habe” (item 35, T. 29, folios 46<sup>v</sup>-47<sup>r</sup>) is primarily a theological discussion, but der Teichner comments twice (f. 47<sup>r</sup>, ll. 1 and 9) that:

das gelück ist weltlich (gut).

The indiscriminate changeability of luck seems underlined in the verses:

das geluck ist wee vnd woll  
ietzund siech ietz gesund  
ietzund ain marck etwen ain pfund  
also leicht kum ich hin als leicht nicht  
das ist des geluckes pflicht (f. 47<sup>r</sup>, ll. 16-20).

However, both “Von über müt” (“Ain peispill von vbermut”, item 15, T. 9, ff. 19<sup>v</sup>-20<sup>v</sup>) and “Von unserm herren” (“Das man sich nit grymen soll”, item 10, T. 4, ff. 13<sup>v</sup>-14<sup>v</sup>) describe God as the cause behind every effect:

es sey wirdig oder schwach  
es geschicht nur was got will (f. 13<sup>v</sup>, ll. 35-36)

was ain man zu gewiss will haben  
das geet im oft von hannden drat  
vnd da er kainen trost zu hat  
das wirt im zuhannden bracht  
damit ertzaigt vns got sein macht (f. 14<sup>r</sup>, ll. 20-25),

the purpose of this intervention being for the most positive of reasons:

got tuet alle ding durch guet (f. 14<sup>v</sup>, l. 16).

The poem “Von den Wucherern” seems to portray an “estate” within fifteenth-century society distinguished by “gut mit recht gewonnen” (ll. 18-19 of the edited poem), the class of the successful merchant or artisan. An answer to the concern over what may lie behind fluctuating economic success

is provided in both “Von über müt” and “Von unserm herren”. Hard work and enterprise are no guarantee of economic success according to “Von unserm herren”:

man sicht manigen nacht vnd tag  
mue vnd arbeit haben nach gut  
vnd kumbt doch nymer aus armuet (f. 14<sup>v</sup>, ll.3-5);

even where hard work does bring economic success, as in the case of the farmer in “Von über müt”, enjoyment of this success is not guaranteed:

dw wollest arm leut begaben  
ob dir got das korn behallt  
er hat es alles in seiner gewallt  
er hat dirs geben vnd nymbt dirs wider (f. 19<sup>v</sup>, ll.26-29).

Enjoyment of this sort of success is conditional upon how one uses the fruits of one’s labours. Just as the farmer in “Von über müt” loses his crop because he wants to keep all the benefits of it for himself rather than fulfil social obligations, so the soul in the “Visio Philiberti” is damned to hell because the body likewise has neglected its responsibilities to, amongst others, precisely these same poor. The predicament of man is graphically portrayed in “Die Äffin und ihre Kinder” (item 70, F. 22, ff.70<sup>v</sup>-71<sup>r</sup>).

There seems to be a contradiction between the idea of the indiscriminate changeability of “gelück” and the idea of God determining everything even on a social or economic level. The comment by Andre von Esperdingen:

wan gut lat sich verliesen vnd gewynnen  
 (“Neujahrsrede”, folio 210<sup>r</sup>, line 53 of edited poem)

would seem to imply a reference to this indiscriminate worldly force of “gelück”, to judge from its context in a poem otherwise concerned with

religious festival, dogma, belief and duty with – at the point in the poem in which it comes – no reference whatsoever to God.

Such isolated views and thoughts, when taken together, present a situation where human action and endeavours and social and economic success, if allowed by God in the first place, can all come to nought if that is what God wills. It may be that the economic success of fifteenth-century Nuremberg, achieved through hard work and enterprise – also trying perhaps to come to terms with individual economic success as a result not so much of hard work as of sound investment or speculation –, was finding it difficult to reconcile its own new early urban capitalist identity, freedom and success with the restraints of a feudal past dominated by the ideas and doctrines of the Roman Church. It may be that there were no answers to be found in recourse to the past. But then it is not so much the answers which are important as the questions asked or the issues raised. It may be that the literary authorities from the past consulted here, *der Teichner* and *der Stricker*, may not have been suitable authorities from whom to seek advice and a new and more modern wisdom. If there is an apparent arguable lack of success in finding those answers this may also explain why there seems to have been an undercurrent of sympathy for Hussite ideas in Nuremberg throughout the fifteenth century and why in the sixteenth the town went over to embrace the Reformation.

The world and life in it was often regarded by mediaeval man as a choice to be made between good and evil. Which was chosen could have consequences for an individual's soul. Even der Teichner comments:

die welt ist ain vble sach (item 34, T. 28, folio 46<sup>v</sup>, line 23),

life being a constant struggle to overcome evil. In "Ob pesser sey die welt aufgeben oder mit arbeit darin streben" (item 34, T. 8, folios 46<sup>r</sup>-46<sup>v</sup>) der Teichner draws upon the words of the wise ("ain maister weis") to give a perhaps typically indecisive answer on how to approach the problem:

wer sich in ain orden geit  
vnd ist da gottes widerstreit  
der lebt vbel an gutter stat  
wer denn mit der welt vmb gat  
vnd ist darinn ain biderb man  
der hat wol in vbel getan (f. 46<sup>v</sup>, ll. 17-21).

However, the comment in the "Visio Philiberti":

so han ich das wol befunden  
das die welt ist vallsches voll  
(folio 167<sup>v</sup>, line 36 – folio 168<sup>r</sup>, line 1)

illustrates the problem of the choice between good and evil less as some abstract religious choice and more as a concern which has to do with the nature of human society and of the individuals within it. The idea of the "biderman" or "biderlewt" which appears in several of the Teichner poems (cf. also, for instance, "byderleuten" in the "Freidank" poem "Das Weib und die jungen Hühner", item 80, F. 32, ff. 75<sup>v</sup>-76<sup>r</sup>, here f. 76<sup>r</sup>, l. 35) and the pinpointing of what constitutes the nature of such a person is der Teichner's attempt to develop the good in human beings which can combat the evil of which they are all too often also capable.<sup>70)</sup>

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<sup>70)</sup> It is, of course, often difficult to separate religious and social thought, doctrine and principle, for religion pervaded every aspect of life and thought in

“Von czucht” (item 36, T. 30, ff. 47<sup>r</sup>-47<sup>v</sup>) bemoans the disappearance of “zuht” and “warheit” from contemporary society, a view of change in society emphasised in the very title of “Warvmb die welt valscher seÿ dann vor” (item 42, T. 36, ff. 51<sup>v</sup>-52<sup>r</sup>), the poem itself describing and warning of the falsehood that exists between people. “Von singern ain peispill” (item 30, T. 24, ff. 40<sup>r</sup>-41<sup>r</sup>) warns of deceivers, “Das wolfailist ist lieber frund vnd gesell mein” (item 24, T. 18, ff. 33<sup>v</sup>-34<sup>r</sup>) pointing to the difference between fine words and firm friends, warning of those who would profess friendship but be conspicuous by their absence in time of need. Even quite specific social injustice is attacked in “Von dem armen hofman” (item 21, T. 15, ff. 29<sup>v</sup>-30<sup>v</sup>), where the uncertainties of life and the suffering of the court servant at the hands of his masters is described.<sup>71)</sup>

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the Middle Ages; cf. also Glier, *Teichner*, col. 889: “Es ist deshalb schwierig, diese Reden insgesamt in geistliche und weltliche einzuteilen. Zwar findet sich eine ganze Reihe, die mehr in der einen oder anderen Richtung orientiert ist, doch fehlt bei den geistlichen selten der lebenspraktische Bezug, und noch die weltlichsten Ermahnungen gründen in der christlichen Moral.”

<sup>71)</sup> This relationship specifically of social “class” might seem not altogether relevant to urban fifteenth-century Nuremberg perhaps. This may be even more true of the picture of the peasant who wheedles his way into a position of power at court as portrayed in der Stricker’s “Hofhund und Jagdhunde” (item 63, F. 15, ff. 65<sup>v</sup>-67<sup>r</sup>). The arrogance associated with the poor and the deceit associated with the rich (and powerful) as portrayed in der Stricker’s “Die drei Gott verhaßtesten Dinge” (item 73, F. 25, ff. 71<sup>v</sup>-72<sup>v</sup>), something of a distorted over-simplification in itself, may also be not altogether relevant. The social structure had changed in Nuremberg by the middle to end of the fifteenth century – but this does not mean either that the compiler/owner of Add. 24946 was not aware of his own place in society and content not to have aspirations above it (in Add. 24946 there is no aping of aristocratic values, which was a favourite pastime of the higher strata of Nuremberg society, the patrician class and the “ehrbare Familien”) or that he was not resentful of those who might perhaps seem to wish, if only occasionally, to rise above their positions, usurers and Jews for example.

If such was felt to be the nature of late fifteenth-century society in Nuremberg, where the social structure had clearly undergone change, what must have appealed to the owner/compiler of Add. 24946 is that both the Teichner and the “Freidank” poems give advice on how to try to cope in such a society, they make comments on socially responsible behaviour and advise on how each individual should regulate his own behaviour. On a purely practical level – and we might suspect that in an increasingly business-driven fifteenth-century Nuremberg the question of whom one could trust may have been of some importance – der Teichner’s conclusions in “Wie man früm lewt erckennen schol” (item 8, T. 2, f. 12<sup>v</sup> – “früm lewt” becoming “biderlewt” in the Add. 24946 heading) fall somewhat short of providing what may be required:

wer sich wais pruchigen  
 der getrawt niemand guts  
 aber ain man getrewes muets  
 der getrawt yedem man  
 vnd gelaubt on vallschen wan  
 was im ain yeglicher sagen tut  
 aber ain vngetrewer muet  
 der lat sich stat schawen  
 vnd mocht got selber nit getrawen  
 wann er selbs hie niden war (f. 12<sup>v</sup>, ll. 28-37)

and:

wer getrawt der ist getrew  
 wann ein vngetrewer man  
 niemant nicht getrawen kan (f. 12<sup>v</sup>, ll. 16-18).

“Wie ainer seinem vbergenosen soll vbersehen” (item 14, T. 8, ff. 18<sup>v</sup>-19<sup>v</sup>), on the other hand, offers sound advice. The narrative style of this poem is set against tensions existing between a town-dweller (“burger”) and a nobleman, and the town-dweller is advised that where two people are at odds with each other one must bend and the other will respond:

do sprach der ratgeb so schweig  
 so will ich dich weisen woll . . . . .  
 . . . . . du sollt dich ainvallticklich biegen (f. 19<sup>r</sup>, ll. 1-2 and 7)

also macht man noch gerecht  
 manigen hofertigen man  
 den man nit betwingen kan  
 mitt hoffart vnd mit widerstreben  
 den twingt man mit tugent leben  
 mit klainer gab mit schonem grues  
 das er guetig werden mues (f. 19<sup>r</sup>, ll. 25-31).

Where two people are both full of their own needs, desires and importance (“hoffart”), this must be replaced by mutual respect and neighbourly helpfulness (“dienst”). In a slightly different way the flexibility to “bend” as a means to survival is taken up again in the “Freidank” poem “Eiche und Rohr” (item 89, F. 41, ff. 81<sup>v</sup>-82<sup>r</sup>). The idea of treating others with respect in everyday social intercourse is emphasised in “Von czucht”:

aber zucht vnd schonen grues  
 das hat ain man vmb sunst genug  
 dauon ist es ain grozzer vnfueg  
 das nit zuchtig ist ain man  
 seit in nichtzit zwingt dauon  
 man spricht pöser red on nott  
 das sey leib vnd sell ain dot  
 böser red ist niendert gut (f. 47<sup>v</sup>, ll. 4-11).

The “Freidank” poems also offer advice on how to deal with the falseness in society and on one’s own relationship with others. “Wolf und Lamm” (item 78, F. 30, f. 74<sup>v</sup>) suggests, for instance, that one should have nothing to do with the less reliable members of society in the first place:

es soll kain frumer man  
 mit dem posen nicht zethun han  
 wann er schaidet von im sellten  
 er mües sein engellten

an leib gut oder an ere (f. 74<sup>v</sup>, ll. 1-5)<sup>72)</sup>

dabey solt ir auch verstan  
 das ain yeglich frum man  
 wa er mag oder kan  
 soll fliehen den posen zu allerzeit  
 wann er vil pöses ende geitt (f. 74<sup>v</sup>, ll. 28-32).

“Wolf und Kranich” (item 93, F. 45, ff. 83<sup>r</sup>-84<sup>r</sup>) again offers the warning to beware of untrustworthy people and “Wolf und Hüter” (item 96, F. 48, f. 84<sup>v</sup>) warns that many will greet their fellows with words of friendship whilst their intentions are unfriendly. The onus is put on the individual, ideally to initiate trustworthiness and honest behaviour and reputation. “Der junge Baum” (item 58, F. 10, ff. 63<sup>v</sup>-64<sup>r</sup>) suggests that a virtuous character and reputation established in youth will carry one through the rest of one’s life (cf. f. 64<sup>r</sup>, ll. 6-18), although der Stricker’s “Der Hase” (item 66, F. 18, f. 68<sup>r</sup>) reminds its readers that honour is a thing which must be nurtured and cultivated:

wie lanng ain man er hat  
 ob er sie on hütet latt  
 so wirt im willder dann ain has  
 der da lauft in dem gras (f. 68<sup>r</sup>, ll. 35-38).

The need to “bend” in one’s relations with one’s neighbours is recalled in the often practical need to have a common interest and purpose with them expressed in der Stricker’s “Die reiche Stadt” (item 64, F. 16, ff. 67<sup>r</sup>-67<sup>v</sup>) and “Der Turse” (item 79, F. 31, ff. 74<sup>v</sup>-75<sup>v</sup>). But both der Stricker’s “Der Hofhund”

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<sup>72)</sup> Similar thoughts and vocabulary are used in “Blonde und graue Haare” (item 81, F. 33, ff. 76<sup>r</sup>-77<sup>r</sup>). The advice given here is that a man is a fool to be too trusting of others, for friends and enemies alike will be happy to take both possessions and honour from him:

er ist ain toreit man  
 der den leuten des gan  
 das sie in guttes machent frey . . .  
 . . . er wirt der ern also bar . . . (f. 77<sup>r</sup>, ll. 7-9 and 12)



(item 60, F. 12, ff. 64<sup>v</sup>-65<sup>r</sup>) and “Fliege und Kahlkopf” (item 61, F. 13, ff. 65<sup>r</sup>-65<sup>v</sup>) warn against trying continually to take advantage of another’s generosity or more affluent or authoritative circumstances, for such exploitation will eventually result in refusal.

More general advice is given elsewhere. An idea of service (although its precise social context is difficult to identify) is put forward in “Daz man gern sol fru auf stan” (item 12, T.6, ff. 16<sup>v</sup>-17<sup>r</sup>):

Es ist recht an aller stat  
 wer erib von ainem herren hat  
 der soll im dienen dester mer  
 so hat der mensch die gröst er  
 von dem suessen got empfangen (f. 16<sup>v</sup>, ll. 21-25).

But the health benefits of getting up early are also emphasised in this poem, as is a work ethic, albeit here associated with praise of God, which – like the idea of serving a master responsibly – would not seem out of place in a fifteenth-century urbanised setting:

wer den morgen frue unnutzt  
 das er gutter werich nit gawmbt  
 der ist vbertag versawmbt  
 vnd wirt verirret ongeuär (f. 17<sup>r</sup>, ll. 17-20).

A hint of disagreement with public morality is given at the beginning of “Trunkenhait vnd vasnacht gleichen sich wol zesamen” (item 25, T.19, ff. 34<sup>r</sup>-35<sup>v</sup>), whilst society’s duty to support the poor is hinted at in “Von über müt” (item 15, T. 9, ff. 19<sup>v</sup>-20<sup>v</sup>) and at the beginning of “Ob pesser sey die welt aufgeben oder mit arbeit dar in streben” (item 34, T. 28, ff. 46<sup>r</sup>-46<sup>v</sup>). Der Stricker’s “Der Tor und das Feuer” (item 69, F. 21, ff. 69<sup>v</sup>-70<sup>v</sup>) also criticises gambling as a social evil.

If these poems deal with the interaction between members of society, others are more focused on individual qualities, traits or mistakes to avoid. Whilst der Teichner rightly warns his readers in “Von der welt lauff” (Es ist niemant in der welt der yederman gefallen mug”, item 9, T. 3, ff. 13<sup>r</sup>-13<sup>v</sup>) that it is impossible to please all of the people all of the time and that everyone’s actions and words are criticised by someone somewhere:

darvmb bruef ich woll dabey  
das in der welt niemand sey  
man straf sein werich vnd wort (f. 13<sup>v</sup>, ll. 21-23),

his answer is perhaps typically (perhaps unhelpfully) that we will all escape censure and punishment if we follow God’s wishes and commands (f. 13<sup>v</sup>, ll. 25-30). Attending one mass a day (“Von der mess Acht güttat komen von der mess”, item 11, T. 5, f. 15<sup>r</sup>, ll. 18-19) and not sleeping through it (“Daz man gern sol fru auf stan”, item 12, T. 6, f. 17r, ll. 3-5) should also, it appears, help towards this latter end.

Although der Teichner does give the occasional more practical and pragmatic advice, this is generally left to the content of the “Freidank” poems. Between them der Teichner and der Stricker warn, amongst other things, about living within one’s means and considering the consequences of one’s actions (“Der pözz sol nicht wizen von den guten”, item 13, T. 7, ff. 17<sup>r</sup>-18<sup>v</sup>), boasting and covering oneself falsely in the glory and reputation of others (“Nyemant solle sich seins adels römen der unadelichen thutt So mercke”, item 28, T. 22, ff. 37<sup>v</sup>-38<sup>v</sup>), social pretence (“Die Rosshaut”, item 32, T. 26, ff. 43<sup>r</sup>-44<sup>v</sup>), promising more than one can deliver (“Der unfruchtbare Baum”, item 57, F. 9, f. 63<sup>v</sup>), closing one’s eyes to the dishonesty or stupidity of one’s own

actions and imagining that others cannot see through them (“Das gebratene Ei”, item 54, F. 6, ff. 62<sup>r</sup>-63<sup>r</sup>), mocking or criticising others without looking at oneself first (“Des Muses Lehre”, item 68, F. 20, ff. 69<sup>r</sup>-69<sup>v</sup> and “Der betrogene Blinde”, item 77, F. 29, f. 74<sup>r</sup>), the importance of heeding good advice (“Löwe und Sohn”, item 51, F. 3, ff. 61<sup>r</sup>-61<sup>v</sup>), not wanting what one cannot have (“Fuchs und Affe”, item 53, F. 5, f. 62<sup>r</sup> and “Fuchs und Traube”, item 90, F. 42, ff. 82<sup>r</sup>-82<sup>v</sup>), the dangers of taking on someone superior to oneself (“Habicht und Huhn”, item 55, F. 7, f. 63<sup>r</sup>), things changing and having to come back down to earth and reality (“Der Rabe mit den Pfauenfedern”, item 67, F. 19, ff. 68<sup>r</sup>-69<sup>r</sup>), the wisdom of helping one’s own enemies (“Bäume und Mann”, item 95, F. 47, f. 84<sup>v</sup>).

### Women, Sex, Marriage and “Minne”

The place, rôle and influence of women in society and inter-gender relationships are described and portrayed in a number of the works in Additional Manuscript 24946. Women are presented in various guises: the obedient wife whose God-ordained duty it is to obey her husband; interfering old wives whose idea it is that a woman’s place is to dominate the household, her husband included; the demure, virtuous, faithful and steadfast object of a “minne” relationship whose duty it is to ennoble and inspire to chivalric deeds – whether she does so or whether she breaks faith – and even those who seem to be embittered by having been let down perhaps repeatedly in such a relationship. Alongside the faithful and virtuous who withhold their sexual favours are the adulterous who quietly engage in extra-marital relationships behind their husbands’ backs and those dissatisfied at home who are ever ready to seek sexual gratification wherever it may be found. And, of course, there are men who find themselves involved with these various examples of womanhood.

In Add. 24946 the compiler/owner of the manuscript explores, through the works he chose to include, inter-gender relationships in all, or at least most, of their guises.

This depiction is most certainly wide and varied and may seem on the face of it to contradict in some way the idea we have presented of the owner of Add. 24946 as a devoutly or fearfully religious, socially aware, upright,

middle-class, urban “biderman”. But of course, even if he was all of these things, relationships between the sexes are as much a part of everyday life and considerations as anything else. He was entitled to have an interest in them, and some of the content may show him not to have been prudish in any way.

Add. 24946 is a literary manuscript. Its prime interest is literature, and it collects together exclusively literary pieces. If a substantial number of “Minnereden” may seem out of place in Add. 24946, then they represent a recognisable and separate literary genre or area of literary concern and expression<sup>73)</sup>, and this in itself is reason enough to explain their appeal to the compiler/owner of Add. 24946.

Moreover, most of the “Minnereden” collected in Add. 24946 seem datable broadly to the fifteenth century. For the most part their authors are unknown, and whether those authors were noble or indeed more urban and/or middle class, the works themselves represent work being produced and a genre clearly popular at the time. Along with the Teichner and “Freidank” poems they reflect contemporary literary taste – which itself reflects contemporary thought on moral, social and other questions. And that is what

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<sup>73)</sup> The term “Minnerede” is of twentieth-century coinage (cf. Brandis, *Minnereden*, pp. 1-4). The compiler/owner of Add. 24946 would not have thought about genre in this same way. Some of the Teichner poems are about marriage or other aspects of male-female relationships, some are regarded today as being within the corpus of identified “Minnereden”. It may be debatable as to what degree the Teichner “Minnereden” are not more typical of the Teichner *œuvre* as a whole rather than of the modern “Minnerede” genre.

in large measure ultimately determined the content and make-up of Add. 24946.

There is one other essential similarity between the “Minnereden” and the other works we have already discussed in Add. 24946. If earlier “Minnesang” was essentially a lyric genre, then it is part of the essence of “Minnereden” that they were, if not necessarily discursive, then certainly meant to be instructional. (The word “ler” is as common in these works as anywhere else in the manuscript.) Despite – or even because of – the *milieu* in which they are set they do in fact address and provide an answer to the questions concerning society and even a remedy for the problems or ills which other works identify as afflicting society.

When it comes to marriage der Teichner has definite thoughts about the essential feminine qualities and has advice to offer concerning what to look for in choosing a wife. Love is apparently of no consideration and the qualities to look for are meant to serve a purely practical purpose, reflecting perhaps largely a middle class or bourgeois attitude of mind. In “Wie ainer heiraten soll” (item 17, T. 11, folios 23<sup>r</sup>-25<sup>f</sup>) it is not beauty or looks or even wealth or chattels which should be the main criteria for choice, but that the woman is “züchtig” (f. 23<sup>f</sup>, l. 14), a quality defined no more closely.<sup>74)</sup> By

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<sup>74)</sup> A similar thought is, however, voiced elsewhere, in “Trunkenhait vnd vasnacht gleichen sich wol zesamen” (item 25, T. 19, folios 34<sup>r</sup>-35<sup>v</sup>, here f. 34<sup>v</sup>, ll. 16-23), where the consideration is clearly one of sexual morality:

wann ich ain kuen man [konenman = Ehemann] wolt werden  
 so wollt ich kaine nemen auf erden  
 denn besonderlich ain frawen  
 die sich lieb ze vasnacht schawen

contrast, beauty seems to be a requisite attribute of many of the women who feature in the “Minnereden”.

The problem with beautiful women, according to “Wie ainer heiraten soll”, is that they want fine clothes,<sup>75)</sup> want to go out and enjoy themselves and that this can lead to the financial ruin of husbands who indulge their desires and fancies for fear, if they do not, of reproaches from their wives or losing face before those in society who likewise take such things just as seriously.<sup>76)</sup> More importantly though, choosing a wife who is not clothes-

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mit schon zuchten hochgemut  
 der sich dann in zuchten frut  
 vinden lat das wissent furwar  
 die gestat auch vber jar

Ziegeler (*Wiener Codex*, p. 488) also sums up the theme of der Stricker’s “Der einfältige Ritter” (item 50, F. 2, ff. 60<sup>r</sup>-61<sup>r</sup>) in a similar way: “Wer nur auf die drei Seiten – ‘schone, iunch und wol geschaffen’ – einer Dame sieht, der wird zu Recht enttäuscht, wenn ihr die vierte Seite, Tugend und Ehre, fehlt”. The question of adultery is discussed elsewhere by der Teichner and later in this commentary. It is also a potential feature (whether common or not and whether much spoken about in the poetry or not) of the “minne” relationships also discussed later.

<sup>75)</sup> This habit of wives wanting fine clothes is also referred to in “Von bösen alten weiben” (item 16, T. 10, ff. 20<sup>v</sup>-23<sup>r</sup>, here f. 22<sup>r</sup>, ll.13-28).

<sup>76)</sup> It is not always easy to define where der Teichner is bringing humour into his argument and where he is being deadly serious. The two are often interlinked. The depictions of nagging and contrary wives in “Von übel weiben” (item 27, T. 21, folios 36<sup>v</sup>-37<sup>v</sup>) and “Von bösen alten weiben” (item 16, T. 10, ff. 20<sup>v</sup>-23<sup>r</sup>) have a humorous side to them, humorous because they may seem exaggerated; but at the same time they seek to make a serious point. The comparison of old wives to heretics who should share the same fate as heretics is a cruel humour (f. 21<sup>r</sup>, l. 14 – f. 21<sup>v</sup>, l. 6), if humour it is, and the story of the merchant who leaves his wife in the devil’s care only to find when he returns that the devil is glad to be rid of her (f. 21<sup>v</sup>, l. 7 – f. 22<sup>r</sup>, l. 3) is humorous because it is an exaggerated situation which could never arise, but, as such, it all the more emphasises two very serious points: that the devil must protect her, but more so the husband, from the amorous and adulterous attentions of others in his absence and curb the wife’s vanities (“vppickait”). Often an irony is exposed, an amusing insight and image, or an unfortunate misunderstanding is amusingly described which at the same time illustrate a serious point to be made – the nonsense of vanity and the insincerity and self-

conscious or intent on being part of the social scene can have definite advantages. Two considerations which seem to be of some importance in the Teichner and “Freidank” poems are “honour” (“er”) – nowhere defined, but seeming for the “biderman” to be simply being of good repute and socially correct – and not laying oneself open to ridicule (“spott”). Not only can a wife such as is recommended save a man from possible social embarrassment:

dauon so ratt ich woll bey gott  
 wer nit vallen woll in spott  
 der soll sich huetten vor den weiben  
 der man vbermut sicht treiben (f. 24<sup>v</sup>, ll. 15-18)

but she can make a welcome and significant contribution to good husbandry and domestic economics:

die weil der man nit enkauft  
 gut gewant dem weib  
 so bleibt sie dahaim vnd tracht vmb speis  
 des sy geleben soll das jar (f. 24<sup>r</sup>, ll. 25-28)

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imposed ridicule which may accompany it or the lasting pain and confusion that can derive from misinterpreting a lady’s intentions:

vnd er doch hat kainen mut  
 das er verkaufen woll sein weib  
 vnd fuert doch vayll iren leib  
 jn dem lannd durch vppikait  
 sam ainer der etwas vayls traitt  
 das man lueg wie schon sie sey  
 da ist weder nutz noch er bey  
 (“Wie ainer heiraten soll”, item 17, T. 11, f. 23<sup>v</sup>, ll. 30-36)

so geschwür er es war in gut  
 das sie leicht gesprochen hab  
 gütten morgen lieber knab  
 so hat sie vileicht gedacht  
 das dw mir in ars nit macht  
 oder hat leicht gesprochen  
 das der gauch nit wirt erstochn  
 das ich wurd von im erlöst  
 so geschwuer er es war ain trost  
 (“Klage einer Frau”, item 20, T. 14, f. 29<sup>r</sup>, ll. 26-34)



and increase the affluence of the household and social standing of her husband and family:

dauon ist die pesser zwar  
 die dahaim beleiben tut  
 vnd mert irs manes gut  
 vnd ir haws in ern hatt  
 wann die niendert kain hoflin lat  
 sie wollen sich dar schawen lan  
 da wirt das haws nit reich von  
 vnd ist auch nit mit ern geben  
 so wöll der frawen die zuchtig leben  
 die sind nutz vnd erbar (f. 25<sup>r</sup>, ll. 22-31).

The domineering or adulterous wife and the deceived, henpecked and gullible husband are fairly stereotyped figures in the “Kleindichtung” and perhaps particularly in the “Schwänke” of Middle High German literature.<sup>77)</sup> In the Teichner poems included in Add. 24946 unfaithful, cantankerous and contrary wives are discussed both with elements of humour and with some seriousness. The wife in “Von falschen chanbeiben” (item 7, T. 1, ff. 12<sup>r</sup>-12<sup>v</sup>) is a good example. There is a strong hint of adulterous behaviour when, her mocking behaviour in the marital bed having already been mentioned, her behaviour during her husband’s absence is described:

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<sup>77)</sup> Cf. for instance the collection in Hanns Fischer (ed.), *Der Stricker. Verserzählungen* I and II (ATB 53 and 68), Tübingen <sup>(2)</sup>1967 and 1967. Gullibility is what unites the victims of der Stricker’s Pfaffe Amis [see Hans Lambel, *Erzählungen und Schwänke* (Deutsche Klassiker des Mittelalters XII), Leipzig 1883, pp. 1-102]. Cf. also James Lambert, *An Analysis of the Structure and Themes of der Stricker’s ‘Pfaffe Amis’*, M.A. thesis Birmingham 1976, pp. 18-39. Within Add. 24946 “Der betrogene Blinde”, where a blind man discovers that his virgin bride is not what he thought, is also reminiscent of the sort of situations found within such “Verserzählungen”. The main aim of such tales is to impart a lesson of some sort through the portrayal of a comic and often exaggerated and unlikely situation. “Der Barbier” (Add. 24946 item 118, folios 151<sup>v</sup>-153<sup>v</sup>) and “Die Beichte der zwölf Frauen” (item 113, ff. 138<sup>f</sup>-141<sup>f</sup>) by comparison rely on bawdiness and/or language to amuse.

wenn er ir denn kert den nack  
 so tut sie im ainen schlack  
 mitt der zwngen vnd spottet sein  
 vnd lat annder gesellnn ein  
 die ir lieber sind dann er (folio 12<sup>r</sup>, lines 22-26).

The quality under discussion (as is so often the case even in the “Schwänke”)

is “trewe”:

da sprach ich der grosst spott  
 den ich han in meinem wan  
 das ist so ain trewer man  
 nymbt ain weib an trewen holl (f. 12<sup>r</sup>, ll. 5-5)

dauon ward nie kain valsch so braitt  
 als ain weib das vnrecht tut  
 an ainem trewen man gut  
 der sich an ir trewe lat (f. 12<sup>v</sup>, ll. 1-4).

This same quality of “trewe” is a major theme and consideration, of course, in the discussions and teachings put forward in the “Minnereden”. Bearing in mind the high ideals which lie at the heart of “minne”, it may seem belittling of those ideals to suggest that another similarity between this and other poems about marriage and “Minnereden” is the potential for adultery. It may be taking the comparisons to extremes to suggest a similarity between the often dominant figure of the female partner in the “minne” relationship – to whom “dienst” is due – and the domineering wives in “Von übel weiben” (item 27, T. 21, ff. 36<sup>v</sup>-37<sup>v</sup>) and “Von bösen alten weiben” (item 16, T. 10, ff. 20<sup>v</sup>-23<sup>r</sup>).

However, dominant as this type of woman may seem to be in much of Middle High German literature, a very brief glimpse is also given in “Von übel weiben” of what life can be like living with a good wife:

aber ain rains biderweib  
 wem der aine wirt geben  
 der hat ain senfts suess leben  
 der mocht woll in ain closter varn

wann er wollt die sell bewarn  
 da wollt ich nit ratten von  
 wann er nit gepuezzten kan  
 bey der frawen so tugentlich  
 er hat ain irdisch himelrich (f. 37<sup>r</sup>, ll. 24-32).<sup>78)</sup>

Such glimpses are not given in the “Verserzählungen” and “Schwänke”. The reader or listener is left to work out any such implications for him- or herself.

Within the religious poems at the beginning of Add. 24946 religious concerns and fears were both raised and addressed. Within the Teichner and “Freidank” poems the nature of society was discussed and advice given on the moral or most prudent response of the individual towards the rest of society. In both areas some sort of balance was thus struck. The discussion about good and bad wives similarly strikes a balance in its own way. But the emotional or sexual considerations underlying relationships between the sexes is also of some importance.

As has been pointed out, the term “Minnerede” is of twentieth-century coinage. It is applied to works which conform to specifically chosen criteria<sup>79)</sup> and excludes works which do not. For mediaeval authors it was a term unknown; they were not disciplining their poetic talents to conform to strict criteria, as classical Latin poets had had to abide by established poetic form or as later writers may have disciplined themselves, for instance, to the

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<sup>78)</sup> The man in “Von übel weiben” with the fearsome (“fraislich”, f. 36<sup>v</sup>, l. 35), irrepressibly argumentative, endlessly chattering, and violently inclined wife full of “vntzucht” (f. 37<sup>v</sup>, l. 13) is advised that suffering such a woman on earth is to be regarded as a form of martyrdom and as a penance on earth as a prerequisite to entry into heaven (f. 37<sup>r</sup>, ll. 2-3 and f. 37<sup>v</sup>, ll. 1-4). In its humorous way this recalls concerns and issues raised in both the religious poems and elsewhere in the Teichner poetry.

<sup>79)</sup> Cf. Brandis, *Minnereden*, pp. 8-15.

sonnet form. Despite the social origins of “minne”, by the fifteenth century both the people who wrote about it and those who read about it were clearly no longer from an exclusive social class. Despite the fact that originally “minne” theoretically and ideally stopped short of sexual relations, the poems which form the corpus of the “artificial” genre of “Minnereden” – plus a good deal of poetry not included within the genre – do seem to be the only vehicle available to fifteenth-century man – at least as far as we can tell from Add. 24946 – to express and discuss romantic and sexual emotions, and the morality thereof, and explore this particular area of human existence.

The “Minnerede” “Von dem roten Mund” (item 18, T.12, ff. 25<sup>r</sup>-26<sup>v</sup>) takes up the theme of fine clothes and material possessions again, albeit here from the point of view of the man:

was in kisten leit verslagen  
 das kan nit vngemuet verjagen  
 als der grüs der zartten frawen  
 vnd ain mynicklichs anschawen . . .  
 . . . was der mensch in hertzen traitt  
 es seÿ frewd oder klaidt  
 das mues allesambt hindan  
 wa liebes weib bey liebem man  
 so gar mynicklichen leytt (f. 25<sup>v</sup>, ll. 5-8, 17-21).

This poem follows on from “Wie ainer heiraten soll” and the above lines may well remind us of the brief glimpse elsewhere of the joy that, according to der Teichner, marriage could bring (“Von übel weiben”, f. 37<sup>r</sup>, ll. 24-32). Read as an entity in its own right there are recognisable features of the “Minnerede” about this poem, for instance the phrases “ain rottes myndelein” (f. 25<sup>v</sup>, l. 2) and “vngemuet vnd sende pein” (f. 26<sup>r</sup>, l.20), singing birds in May (f. 25<sup>v</sup>, l. 22) or the lines:

nw machst dw mir ler geben  
 wie ain fraw den schatz behut  
 zucht scham schtetten mut  
 so ain fraw im hertzen bruetten  
 wann sie will ir er verchuetten (f. 25<sup>v</sup>, l. 34 – f. 26<sup>r</sup>, l. 1),

but read within the context of der Teichner's comments on marriage in other poems there is much to suggest that this is an attempt to redress the balance and indicate that some marriages can have much to recommend them. When ideally the "minne" relationship did not condone sexual expression, one has to wonder whether the lines:

wa liebes weib bey liebem man  
 so gar mynicklichen leytt (f. 25<sup>v</sup>, ll. 20-21)

may refer to marital bliss or, within the "minne" context, indicate a less than rigid adherence to the "minne" ideal. It is, however, clear that it is marriage that the poem is referring to:

mund an mund prust an Brust  
 zu rechter konschaft main ich das (f. 25<sup>v</sup> ll. 26-27).

A major question within the poem revolves around how a woman should behave so as to show her fidelity to one man and not to give other men the wrong impression. A not dissimilar situation is described in the non-"Minnerede" "Es mugen nit zwo lieb in ain hertz" (item 22, T. 16, ff. 30<sup>v</sup>-31<sup>v</sup>). Here it is the impression a woman gives which can inspire devotion in one man:

wann ain biderman erkannt  
 das in ain fraw besunder mainet  
 vnd sich annders nit verainett  
 so tut er alles das er kan  
 hiezz sie in jnn ain fewr gan  
 er tats an allen widerstreitt

vnd pfligt ir ern zu aller zeitt (f. 31<sup>r</sup>, ll. 28-34).<sup>80)</sup>

These two poems complement each other within the *œuvre* of der Teichner. The rather artificial criteria which makes one a “Minnerede” and the other not tend to blur the issues under consideration. Other works in Add. 24946, again whether “Minnereden” or not, explore other questions and aspects of sexual activity and morality, some with humour, some with honesty, some with apparent underlying conviction in the argument put forward; but all have one essential thing in common: through their exploration of such activity they illustrate the sort of questions which occupied fifteenth-century Nuremberg man and the compiler/owner of Add. 24946.

The main concentration of “Minnereden” in Add. 24946 do show traits in common and deal with questions and qualities which are part of the traditional “minne” relationship. They are both narrative and discursive and often raise questions which go beyond a narrower “minne” context.

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<sup>80)</sup> The comment in the opening lines of the poem:

ieglich fraw missetut  
die zwen vnd drey zulieb ernert (f. 30<sup>v</sup>, ll. 39-40)

bears a striking similarity in thought to the tenets of “newe mynne” as set out in a letter from “fraw mynne” in “Der Frau Venus neue Ordnung” (item 107, ff. 125<sup>r</sup>-128<sup>r</sup>):

wir venus von gottes gnaden  
erlauben das on allen schaden  
das ain fraw vnd ain man  
furpas dreÿ buelen soll han (f. 126<sup>v</sup>, ll. 31-34).

It is interesting that, separated chronologically by perhaps as much as a hundred years, these two works should contain such similar thoughts. “Newe mynne” is a concept rejected by the poet. If the morality of the situation was clear-cut, it was a question which clearly needed to be returned to repeatedly.

There is often a walk to in a flower-covered meadow or a wood or a garden which is described in some detail and in “poetic” terms, for example in “Das Vergißmeinnicht” (item 45, ff. 53<sup>r</sup>-55<sup>r</sup>), Peter Suchenwirt’s “Die schöne Abenteuer” (item 100, ff. 98<sup>v</sup>-103<sup>r</sup>), “Der Frau Venus neue Ordnung” (item 107, ff. 125<sup>r</sup>-128<sup>r</sup>); objects are often endowed with magical or symbolic powers or significance, for example the colours in “Die sechs Farben” (item 102, ff. 107<sup>v</sup>-110<sup>r</sup>) where each colour advertises the stage that a “minne” relationship has reached, the symbolic significance of the flower in “Das Vergißmeinnicht” or the locket in “Die goldene Fessel” (item 99, ff. 96<sup>v</sup>-98<sup>v</sup>), whilst the castle itself becomes an allegory in “Schloß Immer” (item 104, ff. 114<sup>v</sup>-118<sup>r</sup>) and the ring in “Die schöne Abenteuer” has the power to make its wearer invisible; the personified figures of “fraw er”, “fraw mynn”, “fraw zucht” and “fraw abentewr” appear in “Die schöne Abenteuer”, “fraw trew”, “fraw stättikeit”, “(fraw) lieb” and “fraw mynn” are central characters in “Bestrafte Untreue” (item 103, ff. 110<sup>r</sup>-114<sup>r</sup>) and “fraw mynn” and “fraw mynne” appear again in “Ratschläge für einen Zaghaften” (item 106, ff. 122<sup>v</sup>-125<sup>r</sup>) and “Der Frau Venus neue Ordnung” respectively; the “Rahmen” of the poet listening in on a conversation is often employed as a structural technique, for example in “Die Beichte einer Frau” (item 98, ff. 90<sup>r</sup>-96<sup>v</sup>), “Stiefmutter und Tochter” (item 110, ff. 133<sup>v</sup>-135<sup>v</sup>) and Fröschel von Leidnitz’s “Belaushtes Liebesgespräch” (item 115, ff. 142<sup>v</sup>-145<sup>r</sup>); behaviour is courteously exemplary as in “Das Vergißmeinnicht”; and there is instruction in the nature and demands of “minne”, or a lesson learnt is identified in specific terms, as in “Ratschläge für einen Zaghaften”.<sup>81)</sup>

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<sup>81)</sup> Not all instruction given, however, is exclusively pertinent to the sadness,

Amongst the qualities discussed, illustrated and to be valued are “trewe” (and “vntrew”), “stätte”, “zucht” and “tugent”; and the rewards and implications of the “minne” relationship are, of course, “frewd”, “lieb vnd laid”, “schmertzen” (including “pein”, “kumer”, “die schwarzen burd”) and “senen”. Qualities such as “êre”, “trewe”, “valsch” and “zucht” overlap with more social considerations in the Teichner poems.<sup>82)</sup>

Three “Minnereden” stand out above the rest amongst those collected in Add. 24946.

The actions of unfaithful wives described by der Teichner in “Von falschen chanbeiben” as “wider gott” is countered by an argument in “Die Beichte einer Frau” which claims the exact opposite. Within the “Rahmen” of

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pain and unrequited longing that is an essential part of “minne”. In “Die rechte Art der Minne” (item 101, ff. 103<sup>r</sup>-107<sup>v</sup>), in strong contrast to the direct relevance of “minne” to the performing of heroic deeds in battle described and argued in “Die Beichte einer Frau”, the advice given is of a very much more mundane nature. There the lady’s request of her suitor (f. 105<sup>v</sup>, l. 8 – f. 106<sup>v</sup>, l. 20) is that he strive for honour and goodness (“frumkaitt”) and shun those who speak ill of women. She doesn’t want him to frequent taverns, he must get up early and attend mass. He must be aware of good works and not neglect the poor. He must treat all men with honour and be splendid (“waidenleich”) in his choice of clothes and horse. He is to shun evil, not to gamble or brawl in the pub. He is not to swear and is to moderate his speech in front of ladies. He is to be a respectable “biderman” and is to protect her honour.

<sup>82)</sup> However, there is, of course, another side to the story, even within the “Minnereden” themselves. On hand, as always, are the “klaffer” (cf. “Die goldene Fessel”, f. 96<sup>v</sup>, l. 36 – f. 97<sup>v</sup>, l. 9 and “Der Traum”, f. 119<sup>r</sup>, l. 11 – f. 119<sup>v</sup>, l. 1) and “mercker” (cf. “Warnung vor Klaffern”, f. 128<sup>r</sup>, l. 31 – f. 128<sup>v</sup>, l. 25). In “Die goldene Fessel” the terms of abuse the poet would suffer include “frawenschenter” and “lesstrer”. “Bestrafte Untreue” and “Schloß Immer” are both stories of “vntrew”, a betrayal hinted at repeatedly by the lady in “Die sechs Farben”. A decline in standards is more specifically described in “Die schöne Abenteuer”, where we are told that instead of kings and princes still striving after honour and virtue as their fathers had done there is war and treachery, and instead of knights being inspired by “minne” in battle they are cowardly (f. 101<sup>v</sup>, l. 6 – f. 102<sup>r</sup>, l. 36).



an eavesdropped conversation between a priest and a lady at confession the difference in views is established at the very beginning:

der priester tet als jm getzam  
vnd sprach fraw tugenthaft  
pfllegt ir kainer buellschaft <sup>83)</sup>  
die fraw sprach ja ich  
wie sollt ich dauon beichten mich  
ich hab nie sund damit bejagt  
der herr sprach der red vertragt  
chain buellschaft mag on sund wesen (f. 90<sup>r</sup>, ll. 22-29).

The discussion which follows has the lady arguing, sometimes with dubious logic, that the “minne” relationship inspires her young man to things he would not otherwise achieve and in particular that “minne” can and does in the case of many other men lead to great deeds of chivalry and knighthood (an order itself ordained by God) which itself protects Christianity from destruction by the heathen; the adulterous aspect of “minne”, far from being a sin, underpins Christianity itself:

vnd tät man buellschaft nit  
so wär die cristenheit enwicht  
niemand nach ritterschaft stallt  
damit vertrib der hayden gewallt  
die cristenheit mit irer kraft  
das vnderstet alles buellschaft (f. 93<sup>r</sup>, ll. 24-29)

and:

do seien sie [ritter vnd knecht] ritterlich zuwer  
gegen der haidenschaft gewallt  
also wirt der glauben bestallt  
das kumbt alles von buellschaft dar (f. 93<sup>r</sup>, ll. 37-40).

Her argument is so persuasive to the priest that he has to concede that she is correct (f. 93<sup>v</sup>, l. 20 – f. 94<sup>r</sup>, l. 2).<sup>84)</sup>

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<sup>83)</sup> Cf. Lexer: buolerie = Ehebruch; Hennig: büellschaft = Liebschaft.

<sup>84)</sup> This “successful” argument against the teaching of the Church – not to mention the seventh Commandment – may seem at variance with what we might expect in Add. 24946 after the religious poetry which opens the

Whilst it might be argued that the lady presents essentially a “spiritual” argument to champion “minne” and whilst any (potentially) adulterous, sexual liaison was absent, ideally at least, from the “minne” relationship, the sexual aspect of this particular relationship – if not clear from the word “bulschaft” – is heavily hinted at.<sup>85)</sup> This gives rise to fascinating comments which manage to equate sin and virtue:

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manuscript. But this is a “chivalric” argument ranged against a religious argument, and we are here within the realms of imaginative literature rather than discussing or revising religious doctrine. Anyway, disputation with its necessary implication of divergence from an established view (provided that it did not become heretical) was always an accepted and fostered aspect of theological education. Similarly, when Oswald von Wolkenstein, “Mich fragt ain ritter” (item 97, ff. 85<sup>f</sup>-89<sup>v</sup>), criticises the clergy this does not imply an attack on the exalted position of the priest as God’s representative on earth as expounded in the opening religious verse. There were times when many of the clergy were open to personal criticism. Various of Nuremberg’s religious foundations were in a sad state at the beginning of the fifteenth century and criticism was levelled no less than others by the Church itself. It may be the memory of this which helped to foster the “Fastnachtspiele” later in the century, and they demonstrate perhaps better than anything else how savage critical depiction of the clergy could be.

<sup>85)</sup> The following descriptions of other poems will demonstrate that committing the overt mention of sexual activity and even sexual promiscuity to verse (veiled in inuendo though it may have been) was not uncommon in the fifteenth century, and that such poems were included even in Add. 24946. The “Fastnachtspiele” are again testimony to this. This newer freedom as regards subject-material may be mirrored in a greater freedom and imagination in poetic expression. Compare der Teichner’s rather awkward description of the sex act in “Ainen alten wolt der teufel nymer schunden zu vnkeusch”:

Zu ainem mal was ain junger man  
wenn er hett das ding getan  
des die man mit frawen pflegen . . . (f. 38<sup>v</sup>, ll. 32-34)

with the simile and metaphor describing the frequency and/or intensity of the mother’s sexual encounters in the Hätzlerin version of the text of “Stiefmutter und Tochter”:

Wie rynnet wasser durch ain mül,  
Also giengen die reder mein. (p. 306, ll. 42-43).

Ingrid Kasten (“*Die Beichte einer Frau*”, <sup>(2)</sup>*Verfasserlexikon* 1 (1978), cols. 680-681, here col. 680) sees the poem more as a battle of words: “Ein Kleriker bezichtigt eine Frau der Sünde, weil sie ein außereheliches Liebesverhältnis (*bulschaft*) habe. Sie weiß sich jedoch geschickt zu verteidigen und den Gegner davon zu überzeugen, daß *bulschaft* im Einklang mit christlicher Geboten stehe. Dies gelingt ihr freilich nur, indem sie die

mein mund euch nit volsag  
was tugent rechte buelschaft bringt (f. 91<sup>v</sup>, ll. 17-18)

or suggest that an adulterous woman is closer to God:

chain sälig weib nicht enlat  
die ainen lieben pueln hatt  
sy hab gegen got mehr andacht . . .  
. . . also wirt got dauon geertt  
vnd all tugent dauon gemert  
das wist herr fur die warhait (f. 93<sup>f</sup>, ll. 2-4 and 10-12).

Whether or not the poem is to be regarded simply as a “Streitgedicht” and thus as a clever toying with words (and that may be again to allow “genre” to be the factor which determines interpretation), the idea is clearly communicated that the integrity of the relationship between a man and a woman is something known only to them and to God:

so ist vnser lieb verainigt  
vnd vor allem falsch gerainigt  
darvmb ich gott nicht furchten bin  
ich wais wol vnser baider sin  
die valschen wellt ich furchten mues  
sorgen wirt mir nymer bues  
so ist es laider darzue komen  
wo nw buelschaft wirt vernomen  
das mans zu dem pösten wigt  
wie gerechter lieb man da pfligt  
so ist sie doch vallsch in der klaffer synen  
chund ich weißheit gewynnen  
das ich mich vor der valschait bewart  
so fürcht ich darvmb got nit hart  
der wais das wol an argen lisst  
vnser lieblich gesellschaft ist (f. 90<sup>v</sup>, ll. 22-37).

“Der Traum” is worthy of note, for it reveals, as other “Minnereden” do not, what must often have been one of the longed for goals, perhaps not

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Doppelbedeutung von Minne (*caritas, amor*) verwischt, wodurch sie sich scheinbar den gegnerischen Standpunkt zu eigen macht und ihn entkräftet.” She sees it as one of a group of similar “Streitgedichte” (col. 681).

always fully perceived and rarely discussed, of the process of “minne”. The poem is not set in a magical world of flower-covered meadows inhabited by song-birds where all is, or can be, as it should as long as the rules of “minne” are followed and understood. Its setting is a courtly one (knightly deeds are discussed and a tournament is mentioned, and the “Klaffer” seem to be on permanent duty as chaperones – albeit that here they have, in the dream at least, fallen asleep – rather than simply tell-tales), its setting is also the cold half-light of morning, it is lyrical rather than discursive (the poet’s feelings relayed not to a third party but expressed by a first-person narrator), and no instruction is offered to the poet; the poet’s suffering and even despair are in no way alleviated, except in as much as he wakes from his dream.

The poem opens with the poet describing his own suffering of the pain and longing of “minne”. The vocabulary is familiar: “verlangen”, “senen” “kumer”, “not”, “laid”, “schmertzen”, “lieb vnd laid”, and the poet is beset by doubt and thoughts of death; familiar vocabulary is also used in relation to the poet’s lady: “zart”, “mynenckleich”, “wiplich zucht vnd tugent”. In the dream, within the discussion between the two lovers, “trewe” is sworn on both sides, and “dinst” by the young man.

The poem has much in common with “Die Beichte einer Frau”, but whereas “Die Beichte einer Frau” offers logic and argument to justify sexual liaisons between those in a “minne” relationship, “Der Traum” reveals the desires and longings of the young suitor gradually and to be essentially sexual in nature in a refreshingly honest and at least slightly erotic way – the physical

contact of the embrace of the would-be lovers, the lady taking off her mantle, the touch of her breast against the poet's body, the loosening of her long, golden hair, the poet asking the lady to lay naked beside him and the lady agreeing to do so – until the poet is woken from his dream. The reluctance of the lady to give herself to the poet, even in his dream, suggests that his longing is destined to continue, but the poem openly and honestly confirms that the desire and longing of the poet – as presumably of many others – is largely of a sexual nature. There may be an element of the erotic in this portrayal of the poet's sexual desires, but the poem cannot be described as obscene.

“Stiefmutter und Tochter” is a “Minnerede” of a very different sort. It involves instruction in the art of “minne” (cf. “mynn”, f. 133<sup>v</sup>, l. 29 and “mynn”, f. 135<sup>v</sup>, l. 29):

du solt mir vollgen zu aller zeitt  
meines rats vnd guter ler  
so mag dir wol widerfarn er <sup>86)</sup>  
vil mer dann du selbs hietest gedacht  
die weil ich was in deiner acht  
da was ich gar ain freÿe diern (f. 133<sup>v</sup>, ll 21-26).

The mother's advice to the daughter consists of the mother describing her own activities and success with men. She had been free with her sexual favours, this based upon the amount of money a suitor had (f. 133<sup>v</sup>, ll. 29-32); if a child was the result of any relationship she would have herself paid off (f. 134<sup>r</sup>, ll.1-3), on one occasion having laid the child before the father's door –

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<sup>86)</sup> The Hätzlerin text of the poem has “gut vnd Er” (Haltaus, *Hätzlerin*, p. 305, l. 18). In the Teichner poems in Add. 24946 “er” for the “biderman” seems very often to have been a question of social standing based on financial stability.

and probably not the door of the correct father – and getting paid to take it away (f. 134<sup>v</sup>, ll. 2-16); the word “haimlich”/“haimleich” is used more than once, its most appropriate use with regard to “minne” might be to describe the way she let one man out of the back door whilst she let another in through the front door and is used to describe how she went through the pockets of the third man elsewhere in the house to see what she could find and keep. The mother’s main or only motivation seems to have been money:

wann in dann was der pewtl lär  
so warn sie mir dann alle vnmär (f. 134<sup>r</sup>, ll. 36-37);

the only expression of “trewe” is feigned (f. 134<sup>v</sup>, l. 17 – f. 135<sup>r</sup>, l. 9); instead of engendering “laid”, “schmerzen” the impact on her lovers is measured by this woman in terms of damage inflicted:

der tagallt muest ich selber lachenn  
das ich so gros schaden tätt (f. 135<sup>r</sup>, ll. 13-14).

The mother’s instruction to her daughter ends with advice on how to flirt with and seduce men, that advice prefaced by the instruction:

liegen vnd triegen iedenman (f. 135<sup>r</sup>, l. 19).<sup>87)</sup>

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<sup>87)</sup> The poem as it appears in Add. 24946 is incomplete. The mother’s instruction to her daughter is in the form of a conversation overheard by a young man who has come to visit the daughter that very evening. The first part of this “Rahmen” is contained at the beginning of the text in Add. 24946 but the Add. 24946 version of the poem finishes somewhat short of the fuller version of the text as contained in the Hätzlerin manuscript. The Hätzlerin version contains a few more lines of instruction plus the concluding element of the “Rahmen” (Haltaus, *Hätzlerin*, p. 308, ll. 207-228). In some ways this makes them two different poems. In Add. 24946 the mother’s instruction stands alone without comment. In the Hätzlerin version the young man, on hearing the daughter comment about him:

Der da hat ain pewtel swär;  
Nach vnderweisung diser ding  
Will ich Im den wol machen ring. (Hätzlerin, p. 308, ll. 210-212),

decides that it would be better to beat a hasty retreat and does so. What in Add. 24946 might be taken, seriously or not, as sound advice from mother to

Lacking even the hint of eroticism that is present in “Der Traum”, neither is this poem in any way obscene. We are not even necessarily to take the philosophy and actions of the mother as being in any way immoral, for there is no criticism of any sort, moral or otherwise, on the part of the poet. Even the young man who overhears the conversation is not morally critical. Rather the work has more in common perhaps with der Stricker’s “Pfaffe Amis” or other “Schwänke”. There is comedy in the inventiveness of the trickery involved and in the gullibility of the victims. In many “Schwänke” there is humour and comedy in the ridiculous situations in which many victims of trickery eventually find themselves. In the case of the various men in “Stiefmutter und Tochter” who are in and out of or hidden in various parts of the house, or the man unexpectedly presented with his unknown child at the doorstep of his family home, the reader rather is amused by the ridiculous behaviour of these men or the discomfiture and embarrassment they have brought upon themselves by their own unwise behaviour. Other works in Add. 24946 indicate how the ridicule of one’s fellows is something that the “biderman” would prefer to avoid. It is therefore, of course, a source of some amusement.

If the adjective “obscene” is to be applied to any of the poems in Add. 24946 (and it may be arguable that this would in itself be a contradiction in terms), then the prime candidates for such qualification would appear to be “Die Beichte der zwölf Frauen” (item 113, fol. 138<sup>r</sup>-141<sup>r</sup>) and Hans Rosenplüt’s “Der Barbier” (item 118, fol. 151<sup>v</sup>-153<sup>v</sup>). But yet again it may be arguable

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daughter is in Hätzlerin a warning to young men against falling prey to such sexual manipulation and exploitation.

that in these poems there is, despite the subject-matter, still inventive and imaginative use of vocabulary.

They are set not against a “courtly” background but rather within an everyday urban context. The message of “Die Beichte der zwölf Frauen” would seem to be:

wer sein ding nit selv will thun  
der mues aim andern geben lonn (f. 140<sup>v</sup>, ll. 34-35),

but the message is illustrated through *double entendre* in the case of each of the twelve women who come to make confession before the priest and seek his help and advice. The case of the tailor’s wife may serve as illustration:

ain schneiderin die was gemait  
wie balld die herfur schrait  
sie sprach herr ich will euch clagen  
wie es mir geet in meinen jungen tagen  
meinem man tun ich sellten recht  
ich mach im krump nadel schlecht  
ich leg sie im hin oder her  
so mag sein nadel doch nit mer  
ain stich nÿmer tÿn  
ich wollt ainem anndern geben lonn  
der pfaf der sprach fraw habt danck  
ist ewrs mans nadel so kranck  
so will ich euch gern die mein leihen (f. 139<sup>r</sup>, ll. 13-25).<sup>88)</sup>

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<sup>88)</sup> Or cf.:

ein weinschenckin die claget das  
sie sprach herr ich han ain vols vas  
das will mein man nymer anzapfen  
er get gar sellten daruber schlepfen  
dartzue ist er worden las  
ich main herr ich kundets bas  
der pfaf der sprach fraw wirtin  
ich will euch sagen mein sÿnn  
noch heint vnder der mettenzeit  
wann der wirt schlafen leit  
so will ich mich zu euch scheiben  
vnd will dem vas die raif treiben  
ob ich versuen mÿg den has



In “Der Barbier” the medical skills of the barber lie in his diagnosis of the lady’s condition:

so euch die weil ist lanngk  
 so habt ir manigen gedanckh  
 vnd gedennckt oft an der mynne spill (f. 152<sup>r</sup>, l. 42 – f. 152<sup>v</sup>, l. 1)

and in his knowing and preparing a cure (“ain pflaster”) which he will administer on a nocturnal visit. When the application of this cure proves unable to satisfy fully the lady’s needs, the barber’s exhausted skills are, however, described in very much more explicit language:

da wurden mir die hoden als ler  
 das mir das hirn ward vmb gan  
 vnd das ich auf den fuezzen nymer mocht gestan  
 (f. 153<sup>v</sup>, ll. 10-12).

In all of the poems discussed here and dealing with male-female relationships it is noticeable that many deal in some way with extra-marital sexual activity. We can only assume that in some way and for whatever reason this is a question which occupied the owner and the society in which he lived. Yet there is clearly a belief in the stability of marriage and the benefits it can bring. The choice of the picture of the ideal wife as one who enhances the household seems appropriate to an urban society and the individuals within it growing in wealth and influence, even if dangers inherent within such a relationship are also recognised: the temptation as far as wives are concerned to squander that wealth on finery and socialising, whilst honour (“er”) for the male head of the household seems to be a balance between the

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ich stos euch den zapfenn in den vas  
 sie sprach so will ich euchs hinwider scheiben  
 mein vas mag ain zapfen wol erleidenn  
 (f. 139<sup>v</sup>, l. 31 – f. 140<sup>r</sup>, l. 11).

demonstration of affluence or financial stability and the need not to be embarrassed by the excesses to which such a wife could be tempted. Whilst for the owner of Add. 24946 the idealised “minne” relationship also had some appeal, the selection of works in Add. 24946 explores a much wider range of questions of romantic and sexual need and activity, touching on areas untouched by the “Minnesang”, even introducing a much more explicit description of sexual activity designed, it would appear, to be purely entertaining as opposed to discursive or instructional.

### Other Works and Heinrich von Beringen

In the immediately preceding sections and elsewhere in this current study we have examined a number of the works contained in Add. 24946. We have discussed works in which a number of religious thoughts and themes recur; we have examined thoughts on the nature of society and the duties and responsibilities of the individual within society or how the individual behaves in response to society; and we have further noted and discussed works which treat the whole spectrum of inter-gender relationships, from realistic or humorous considerations of harmony or disharmony within marriage, across the more idealised and idealistic considerations of service and steadfastness within the “minne” relationship, to the description or expression of sexual experiences the object of which has been mere sexual gratification – these latter works also being imbued with humour rather than any sort of moral approval or disapproval.

Of the works in Add. 24946 five have been included in Fischer’s corpus of “Mären”<sup>89)</sup>, and of those not so far discussed “Der Herr mit den vier Frauen”, “Vergebliche Vorhaltungen” and “Die Wette” again have as their themes marriage and harmony and faithfulness within marriage. Of other works, Oswald von Wolkenstein’s “Mich fragt ain ritter” (item 97, ff. 85<sup>r</sup>-89<sup>v</sup>) treats social justice and the workings of the legal system, and the “Disticha

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<sup>89)</sup> See Fischer, *Studien*. These are “Die Rosshaut” (item 32, ff. 43<sup>r</sup>-44<sup>v</sup>, Fischer pp. 348-349, no. 57), “Der Herr mit den vier Frauen” (item 132, ff. 231<sup>r</sup>-238<sup>v</sup>, Fischer p. 351, no. 60), “Der Barbier” (item 118, ff. 151<sup>v</sup>-153<sup>v</sup>, Fischer p. 386, no. 105a), “Vergebliche Vorhaltungen” (item 112, ff. 137<sup>r</sup>-138<sup>r</sup>, Fischer p. 420, no. 134) and “Die Wette” (item 111, ff. 135<sup>v</sup>-137<sup>r</sup>, Fischer pp. 425-426, no. 140).

Catonis" (item 130, ff. 211<sup>v</sup>-218<sup>v</sup>) and "Wann man reden oder schweigen soll" (item 184, ff. 287<sup>v</sup>-289<sup>f</sup> – also the second version of the poem, item 186, ff. 292<sup>f</sup>-293<sup>f</sup>) discuss wise and responsible human behaviour and again the individual's response to society.<sup>90)</sup>

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<sup>90)</sup> In these two works which contain maxims for the successful living of everyday life it may be of no surprise to find that there is a similarity between some of the maxims put forward in the "Disticha Catonis" and those contained in "Wann man reden oder schweigen soll". The advice to avoid self-praise in "Wann man reden oder schweigen soll" (lines 37-40 in the poem as edited and reproduced in Appendix V here) is expressed in the "Disticha Catonis" in one line on folio 213<sup>v</sup>, line 8. The advice to curb one's tongue in anger in "Wann man reden oder schweigen soll" (ll. 47-50) is also rendered by one line in the "Disticha Catonis", f. 212<sup>v</sup>, l. 35. Advice on how to behave as a guest in "Wann man reden oder schweigen soll" (ll. 71-78) is mirrored in the "Disticha Catonis", f. 213<sup>f</sup>, ll. 15-20. The significance of death as an inevitability to be accepted is mentioned both in "Wann man reden oder schweigen soll" (ll. 107-108) and in the "Disticha Catonis" (f. 216<sup>v</sup>, ll. 1-8). There is similarity between the advice and the lines in "Wann man reden oder schweigen soll":

Vermeid zureden neue mār,  
das man nit hais ain lugner;  
red schadet oft vnd ist nit gut,  
schweigen sellten schaden tut;  
vnd wiewol man dich tut fragen,  
noch soltw nit haimlich nach sagen (ll. 97-102)

and in the "Disticha Catonis":

sweigen ist ain rechte tugent  
an alter vnd an jugenntt  
flewch neue mar  
bis nit ain sagar  
sweigen schatt kainen tag  
klaffen wolgeschaden mag (f. 213<sup>f</sup>, ll. 21-26),

even greater similarity between the lines in "Wann man reden oder schweigen soll":

wann das anheben vnd das endt  
haben dick missewennt (ll. 105-106)

and in the "Disticha Catonis":

das anfang vnd das end  
haben dick misse wend (f. 213<sup>v</sup>, ll. 15-16).

It may be that the idea of changing luck or fortune which seems frequently to accompany the other ideas in "Wann man reden oder schweigen soll" is more of a fifteenth century concern, for the expression of this idea is more difficult to find in the "Disticha Catonis" (but cf. f. 214<sup>v</sup>, ll. 37-38). But these thoughts emphasise the owner of Add. 24946's interest in correct and beneficial personal social behaviour. However, the sources of such instruction within the

The same or similar themes are re-encountered in these other works in Add. 24946.

Ward comments<sup>91)</sup> that item 125 (ff. 184<sup>v</sup>-201<sup>v</sup>), the first of the long series of Heinrich von Beringen selections,<sup>92)</sup> consists of four “tales”.<sup>93)</sup> In fact, it consists of more than that. What is important about this item, however, is that it demonstrates the way in which the scribe (either the scribe of Add. 24946 or an earlier scribe or editor) has gone about editing the selections from Heinrich von Beringen. The process is different from that underlying the choice, nature and presentation elsewhere in the manuscript – and the result is far less satisfying.

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manuscript – der Teichner, der Stricker, the “Disticha Catonis” as well as the probably more contemporary two versions of “Wann man reden oder schweigen soll” – demonstrate the interest and concern to be one which spanned a considerable period of the Middle Ages. It may be that such thoughts were particularly of concern to the urban middle class society of fifteenth-century Nuremberg.

<sup>91)</sup> *Catalogue of Romances*, p. 836. It must be pointed out that Ward was unaware that this and following items were taken from Heinrich von Beringen’s “Schachbuch”.

<sup>92)</sup> We have described items 46-48 (ff. 55<sup>r</sup>-59<sup>v</sup>) as “fillers”. Although they appear earlier on in the manuscript, it is impossible to know at what point they were added to fulfil this function, and they are isolated or detached from the long series of extracts to which they quite clearly belong.

<sup>93)</sup> In the list of contents in Chapter 2 we have kept this as one item. There is no justification for doing otherwise. The scribe clearly regarded it as one item – he gives one heading for this whole section and rubricates only the initial letter on folio 184<sup>v</sup>. Indeed, his heading “Von gesellschaft etlich hubsch history vnd wie gros kraft die haben soll” confirms in the word “etlich” that he is aware that several “tales” are included. Other items are edited from Heinrich von Beringen to include more than one “tale” in a similar way elsewhere; in other instances he is only too anxious to split consecutive “tales” into more than one item, even if it means splitting them between consecutive lines in the longer Heinrich von Beringen poem. See examples in following footnotes.

Item 125 is taken from the section of Heinrich's poem which he devotes to the "Woller" (the pawn third from the right on a chessboard, the bishop's pawn). This part of Heinrich's work is verses 4652-6257 in Zimmermann's edition of the poem, item 125 in Add. 24946 corresponds to verses 4822-6151 of Zimmermann's edition. After an introduction, Heinrich begins (Zimmermann v. 4794) to discuss friendship ("friuntliche gesellschaft", "friuntschaft") before beginning the first of his stories at Zimmermann v. 4850. The edited version in Add. 24946 begins at Zimmermann v. 4822, that is some half-way through Heinrich's thoughts on friendship, and follows this section of Heinrich's work through almost to its close. It is a very competent piece of editing.<sup>94)</sup>

Item 125 contains, therefore, some of Heinrich's thoughts on friendship (folio 184<sup>v</sup>, line 17 – folio 185<sup>r</sup>, line 6), Tullius' thoughts (folio 185<sup>r</sup>, lines 7-24), the story of Rufillas as told by Valerius (folio 185<sup>r</sup>, line 25 – folio 185<sup>v</sup>, line 13), Pharo's thoughts on friendship (folio 185<sup>v</sup>, line 14 – folio 186<sup>r</sup>, line 17), the first story by Peter Anulsus (folio 186<sup>r</sup> line 18 – folio 188<sup>v</sup>, line 13), the second story by Peter Anulsus (folio 188<sup>v</sup>, line 14 – folio 201<sup>r</sup>, line 16) and four anecdotes concerning chaste living: the examples of Joseph (folio 201<sup>r</sup>, lines 17-36), Demotricus (folio 201<sup>r</sup>, line 37 – folio 201<sup>v</sup>, line 2), Spurina (folio 201<sup>v</sup>, lines 3-18) and an unnamed girl (folio 201<sup>v</sup>, lines 19-44). Item 125 is both

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<sup>94)</sup> For instance, at the beginning of Heinrich's thoughts on friendship – verses not contained in the Add. 24946 version – he quotes Tullius with the explanation: "das hât uns sus geschriben meister Tullius" (Zimmermann v. 4796-4797). Before beginning his first illustrative story Heinrich again quotes Tullius: "Ûf die gesellschaft alsus spricht aber meister Tullius" (Zimmermann v. 4850-4851). The editor of the Add. 24946 version was circumspect enough to prevent himself falling into the trap and skilfully edited out the word "aber": "auf die gesellschaft allsus spricht meister tulius" (Add. 24946, folio 185<sup>r</sup>, lines 7-8).

discursive and narrative – and narrative in the sense of containing both extended narrative and short anecdote.<sup>95)</sup>

Skilfully edited as item 125 may have been, this application of care and skill seems not to have lasted as the editing process continued. Although lengthier narratives do form or are part of the Heinrich von Beringen selections after or other than item 125,<sup>96)</sup> by the end of the manuscript the selections seem to comprise essentially short anecdotes,<sup>97)</sup> almost as if again

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<sup>95)</sup> We have at various stages of this study raised the question as to how plentiful and accessible manuscripts available to be copied may have been in Nuremberg at the end of the fifteenth century – we might more correctly query, perhaps, how plentiful and accessible they might have been as far as someone of the apparently relatively low status of the owner of Add. 24946 was concerned. We have also wondered whether a possible explanation for the positioning of certain works within the manuscript, those which seem to interrupt for no apparently good or “poetic” reason the sequence of “Minnereden”, may have been as a result of a limited time-span of availability of copies of these works. There is no real evidence to point to this, it is pure speculation in an attempt to provide possible explanation for which there is no obvious explanation. Similar speculation may be required to account for the nature and quality of some of the editing of later excerpts from Heinrich von Beringen’s “Schachbuch”.

<sup>96)</sup> For example items 46 (ff. 55<sup>r</sup>-57<sup>v</sup>), 47 (ff. 57<sup>v</sup>-58<sup>v</sup>), 48 (ff. 58<sup>v</sup>-59<sup>v</sup>), 126 (ff. 202<sup>r</sup>-204<sup>r</sup>), 127 (ff. 204<sup>r</sup>-209<sup>r</sup>) and 133 (ff. 238<sup>v</sup>-245<sup>r</sup>). Items 46 and 47 again demonstrate the editor’s technique. Items 46 and 47 are taken from Zimmermann v. 9078-9403; Heinrich’s discussion of gambling in v. 9078-9105 has been edited out; the illustrative story in v. 9106-9267 (+ v. 9268-9269, really the beginning of the next section) has become item 46; v. 9270-9303 which again contain Heinrich’s thoughts on gambling have also been edited out; the illustrative story in v. 9304-9385 have become item 47; and further thoughts on the discussion of gambling in v. 9386-9403 have again been edited out.

<sup>97)</sup> Unlike in item 125, which contains a series of elements from Heinrich’s poem, here consecutive lines presenting illustrative anecdotes have become items in their own right, e.g. items 153 (ff. 267<sup>r</sup>-268<sup>r</sup>, Zimmermann v. 2875-2926), 154 (ff. 268<sup>r</sup>-269<sup>r</sup>, v. 2927-3026) and 155 (ff. 269<sup>r</sup>-270<sup>r</sup>, v. 3027-3076); something similar has happened in items 156 (ff. 270<sup>r</sup>-271<sup>r</sup>, v. 3119-3191), 157 (ff. 271<sup>r</sup>-271<sup>v</sup>, v. 3204-3261) and 158 (ff. 271<sup>v</sup>-272<sup>r</sup>, v. 3262-3301) and in items 162 (ff. 273<sup>v</sup>-274<sup>r</sup>, v. 3506-3521), 163 (f. 274<sup>r</sup>, v. 3522-3537), 164 (ff. 274<sup>r</sup>-274<sup>v</sup>, v. 3566-3587), 165 (ff. 274<sup>v</sup>-275<sup>r</sup>, v. 3588-3637), 166 (ff. 275<sup>r</sup>-275<sup>v</sup>, v. 3658-3675) and 167 (f. 275<sup>v</sup>, v. 3676-3705), although in these instances

the scribe/editor were under pressure of time to get down what he considered the essentials or more interesting parts of the work he was copying. Or it may even be that he (or a previous editor) was finding the editorial process demanding or that he was losing interest or discovering a different interest in the material.

For the editor of these works and for the scribe/owner of Add. 24946 the appeal of these selections and above all of the shorter anecdotes lay in the unusual events they portrayed, the unusual actions they described and the human qualities they emphasised. For us it is those qualities which are of interest and importance, for to a very large degree they echo the human qualities and values and the themes recurring within earlier works contained in Add. 24946.

The unusual events portrayed in the Heinrich von Beringen selections range from the miraculous or unnatural (the bleeding statue of the Virgin and the youth's eyes jumping out of his head in item 46 (ff. 55<sup>r</sup>-57<sup>v</sup>) or the voice from beyond the grave in item 126 (ff. 202<sup>r</sup>-204<sup>r</sup>)) to the incredible (St. Bernard beating a throw of the dice revealing three sixes by his own throw of two sixes and the third die breaking in half to reveal a six and a one in item 47 (ff. 57<sup>v</sup>-58<sup>v</sup>)), to unusual facets of human nature (people dying of joy in item 137 (ff. 248<sup>r</sup>-249<sup>r</sup>)), or the unexpected and unusual actions of individuals like Uberius who knowingly and willingly paid money to a trickster to protect his own honour and reputation knowing that remorse would eventually overcome

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there is still some element of editing out of some parts of the otherwise consecutive lines.



the scoundrel (item 135, ff. 246<sup>r</sup>-247<sup>r</sup>), or Cambrises' actions in item 143 (ff. 258<sup>r</sup>-258<sup>v</sup>) where he publicly flays alive a judge who had allowed personal feelings to influence his judgement, after which he installs the judge's son in his father's position but condemns him to wear his father's skin to remind him not to repeat his father's mistake.

The settings of these selections from Heinrich von Beringen are very different from the settings of the works that precede them. The vast majority of them are set in the classical world and are presented as re-tellings from classical authors. Many of them also have the Senate as a part at least of the background against which the action is played out. It is noticeable, too, that many of the characters whose actions are related are acting in some sort of administrative or judicial capacity. This is very different from the contemporary fifteenth-century world that is suggested and accepted as the background to the emphasis on the truth of the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church and the concerns expressed about the final fate of the soul that are voiced in the religious poetry in Add. 24946. The settings and characters are certainly not those of the animal actors in much of the "Kleindichtung" of the "Freidank" poems or the verdant meadows and forests and the personifications of "fraw mynne" that are a part of the "Minnerede" tradition. This is neither the dreamy world of the lovelorn youth nor the domain of the sexually exploitative female, nor yet that of the humorously lecherous priest. Very often acts of self-mutilation, terrible suffering inflicted on others, murder, punishment and retribution and blasphemy imbue these stories and anecdotes with a very different reality. Yet at the same time they are neither a celebration nor a

condemnation of the classical world, nor do they betray an interest in classical literature out of keeping with the type of education and interests we have suggested for the owner of Add. 24946, for their themes transcend time and culture, and compliment and supplement those encountered previously in the manuscript. Even if for modern-day man they may at times present an unnecessarily brutal world, such brutality was not unknown in late mediaeval Europe.

Religion is at most a minor theme within the Heinrich von Beringen selections, but the battle between good and evil, the weighing up of good and evil that will eventually decide the fate of the soul that is a concern in the religious poems, the choice between good and evil that is very much the subject of the debate between body and soul in the “*Visio Philiberti*”, these are mirrored in the contest between good and evil in the shape of the Virgin and the devil in item 46 (ff. 55<sup>r</sup>-57<sup>v</sup>). However, if Oswald von Wolkenstein’s discussion of social justice and the functioning of the judicial system in “*Mich fragt ain ritter*” (item 97, ff. 85<sup>r</sup>-89<sup>v</sup>) may have seemed by its theme to have been somewhat isolated from other works and themes within the manuscript, in more than one of the Heinrich von Beringen selections the themes of punishment and religion seem to combine to advocate a sort of “natural” or naturally occurring justice and punishment. In item 46 (ff. 55<sup>r</sup>-57<sup>v</sup>), for example, it is a wise man (“*ain weiser*”, f. 57<sup>r</sup>, l. 5) who, whilst rejecting other proposals of appropriate punishment, suggests that the dishonoured (statue of the) Virgin has exacted her own punishment by taking the man’s eyes and that the man should be allowed to live with his affliction and try to regain the

Virgin's grace and mercy through remorse. Similarly, in item 47 (ff. 57<sup>v</sup>-58<sup>v</sup>) the gambler is converted by the perceived miracle of St. Bernard's throw of the dice, turns to God and away from sin and becomes a monk. The trickster in item 135 (ff. 246<sup>r</sup>-247<sup>r</sup>), unpunished by earthly courts, as death approaches, is also struck by remorse and confesses his crime.

But the normal day-to-day administering of justice is also raised again as a theme. In the "Visio Philiberti" (item 121, ff. 163<sup>r</sup>-170<sup>v</sup>) the body had regretted its abuse of its powers as a judge:

nw sich was hillfst nw dich  
 dein sall getziert gar loblich  
 vnd dein richtstüll dartzue  
 darauf du spat vnd frue  
 vil manig vallsch vrtail hast  
 gegeben so dir recht gebrast (f. 164<sup>r</sup>, ll. 4-9);

in "Von den Wucherern" (item 123, ff. 177<sup>r</sup>-179<sup>v</sup>) the complaint was that totally unsuitable people, usurers, are being appointed to be judges:

kain wuecherer nit von wuecher lat  
 die weil man sie alls erlich hat  
 vil grozzer ding man an sie latt  
 man setzt sie an gericht vnd in den rat (f. 177<sup>v</sup>, ll. 10-13);

the quality and qualifications of judges is queried in Oswald von Wolkenstein's "Mich fragt ain ritte" (item 97, ff. 85<sup>r</sup>-89<sup>v</sup>):

doch wundert mich ains grossen auch  
 das man oft setzt ain öden gauch  
 zu ainem richter der nicht hat  
 gotliche vorcht noch weisen rat  
 vnd was dem rechten zugehort  
 das er des genntzlich ist betort  
 wie soll der strafen weib vnd man  
 der sich selb nit strafen kan  
 als ich euch noch das bedeut  
 wem man bevilht land oder leut  
 ambt pfleg gericht vnd deßgleich  
 zü strafen richten arm vnd reich

der soll sich hallten in dem schein  
daz er vnstraflich mug gesein (f. 88<sup>r</sup>, l. 41 – f. 88<sup>v</sup>, l. 12);

and similar comments are recorded in both item 143 (ff. 258<sup>r</sup>-258<sup>v</sup>):

ir richter ich euch warn  
magschaft soll euch nicht naigen  
wollt ir euch frund ertzaigen  
das tuend an dem gericht nicht (f. 258<sup>v</sup>, ll. 9-12)

and 144 (ff. 258<sup>v</sup>-259<sup>r</sup>):

da was kain vallsch gericht vaill  
des nw manig richter laider pflicht  
der das gericht auch also wigt (f. 259<sup>r</sup>, ll. 18-20).

Concern regarding the judgement of the soul after death is mirrored throughout the manuscript by a concern about the administration of criminal or social justice within human society here on earth. The theme of justice is also taken up again in items 153 (ff. 267<sup>r</sup>-268<sup>r</sup>), 154 (ff. 268<sup>r</sup>-269<sup>r</sup>) and 155 (ff. 269<sup>r</sup>-270<sup>r</sup>).

Various human qualities are treated in the later anecdotes: in addition to the four anecdotes concerning chastity in item 125 (ff. 184<sup>v</sup>-201<sup>v</sup>) there are a further two anecdotes on this theme in item 136 (ff. 247<sup>r</sup>-248<sup>r</sup>), and the theme is taken up again in items 175 (ff. 281<sup>r</sup>-281<sup>v</sup>), 176 (f. 281<sup>v</sup>) and 177 (ff. 281<sup>v</sup>-282<sup>v</sup>); mercy is discussed in items 156 (ff. 270<sup>r</sup>-271<sup>r</sup>), 157 (ff. 271<sup>r</sup>-271<sup>v</sup>) and 158 (ff. 271<sup>v</sup>-272<sup>r</sup>), humility in items 161 (ff. 273<sup>r</sup>-273<sup>v</sup>) and 167 (f. 275<sup>v</sup>), patience in items 162-166 (ff. 273<sup>v</sup>-275<sup>v</sup>) and “milltikait” in items 168 (ff. 275<sup>v</sup>-276<sup>r</sup>) and 169 (ff. 276<sup>r</sup>-276<sup>v</sup>).

The theme of wisdom may seem to be less in evidence, yet so many of the anecdotes deal with the wise actions of wise men; it is noticeable

particularly in the story of Papirius in item 148 (ff. 263<sup>r</sup>-264<sup>v</sup>) that the word “weis(e)” appears repeatedly in various of its grammatical or derivative forms. However, whereas elsewhere in the manuscript “wisdom” tends to appear as some sort of absolute and abstract quality, there is one instance where a more practical wisdom seems to supersede even justice. In item 159 (ff. 272<sup>r</sup>-273<sup>r</sup>) usufruct (“genies”) and those who practise it are compared to the flies covering a wound: the flies already there are full of the wounded man’s blood, are satisfied and cause no more pain; driving these away only makes others come to increase the man’s distress. Perhaps in its own strange way this reflects the more practical approach to “minne” expressed in “Stiefmutter und Tochter” (item 110, ff. 133<sup>v</sup>-135<sup>v</sup>) and the occasional necessity for a more practical approach to other aspects of life generally. Despite the highly moral or idealistic tone of most of the works in Add. 24946, there are instances where the practicalities of life can outweigh absolute values.

Although the Heinrich von Beringen selections differ greatly in style from the other works in Add. 24946, they (and the other works dealt with in this section) again treat personal human qualities and relationships and the just and harmonious functioning of society.

APPENDIX ICOMPARISON OF NUMBERING OF INDIVIDUAL POETIC WORKSIN ADDITIONAL MANUSCRIPT 24946

The following table takes into account and lists the numbering of the individual poetic works in Additional Manuscript 24946 as used in this present work and in previous descriptions of the full manuscript. Previous descriptions consulted are:

T. O. Weigel, 'Beschreibung der Handschriften im Besitze des Herrn T. O. Weigel in Leipzig', *Serapeum* 8 (1847), pp. 220-224 and 233-237

Jacob Baechtold, *Deutsche Handschriften aus dem Britischen Museum*, Schaffhausen 1873, pp. 72-146

H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum* Vol. 1, London 1883, pp. 826-841

Robert Pribsch, *Deutsche Handschriften in England* Vol. 2, Erlangen 1901, pp. 215-223

Notes:

In his description of the manuscript Weigel uses the rubricated pagination provided by the scribe which begins on present-day folio 12, not the pagination provided by the British Museum and used by the other commentators.

Pribsch adopts and retains Baechtold's numbering throughout.

No comment is made where previous commentators have made mistakes in noting folios.

<u>Folio numbers</u>	<u>Lambert</u>	<u>Weigel</u>	<u>Baechtold</u>	<u>Ward</u>
1 <sup>r</sup> – 2 <sup>v</sup>	(Table of Contents)	(Table of Contents)	(Table of Contents)	1 = Table of Contents
3 <sup>f</sup> – 4 <sup>r</sup>	1	(I.) 1	I. 1	2 = Six (religious) Poems
4 <sup>r</sup> – 6 <sup>v</sup>	2	2	I. 2	
6 <sup>v</sup> – 8 <sup>f</sup>	3	3	I. 3	
8 <sup>r</sup> – 10 <sup>r</sup>	4	4	I. 4	
10 <sup>r</sup> – 11 <sup>v</sup>	5	5	I. 5	
11 <sup>v</sup>	6	6	I. 6	
12 <sup>f</sup> – 12 <sup>v</sup>	7 (T. 1)	(II.) 7	II. 1	3 (1)
12 <sup>v</sup>	8 (T. 2)	8	II. 2	3 (2)
13 <sup>f</sup> – 13 <sup>v</sup>	9 (T. 3)	9	II. 3	3 (3)
13 <sup>v</sup> – 14 <sup>v</sup>	10 (T. 4)	10	II. 4	3 (4)
14 <sup>v</sup> – 16 <sup>v</sup>	11 (T. 5)	11	II. 5	3 (5)
16 <sup>v</sup> – 17 <sup>r</sup>	12 (T. 6)	12	II. 6	3 (6)
17 <sup>r</sup> – 18 <sup>v</sup>	13 (T. 7)	13	II. 7	3 (7)
18 <sup>v</sup> – 19 <sup>v</sup>	14 (T. 8)	14	II. 8	3 (8)
19 <sup>v</sup> – 20 <sup>v</sup>	15 (T. 9)	15	II. 9	3 (9)
20 <sup>v</sup> – 23 <sup>r</sup>	16 (T. 10)	16	II. 10	3 (10)
23 <sup>f</sup> – 25 <sup>f</sup>	17 (T. 11)	17	II. 11	3 (11)
25 <sup>f</sup> – 26 <sup>v</sup>	18 (T. 12)	18	II. 12	3 (12)
26 <sup>v</sup> – 28 <sup>r</sup>	19 (T. 13)	19	II. 13	3 (13)
28 <sup>r</sup> – 29 <sup>v</sup>	20 (T. 14)	20	II. 14	3 (14)
29 <sup>v</sup> – 30 <sup>v</sup>	21 (T. 15)	21	II. 15	3 (15)

<u>Folio numbers</u>	<u>Lambert</u>	<u>Weigel</u>	<u>Baechtold</u>	<u>Ward</u>
30 <sup>v</sup> – 31 <sup>v</sup>	22 (T. 16)	22	II. 16	3 (16)
31 <sup>v</sup> – 33 <sup>v</sup>	23 (T. 17)	23	II. 17	3 (17)
33 <sup>v</sup> – 34 <sup>r</sup>	24 (T. 18)	24	II. 18	3 (18)
34 <sup>r</sup> – 35 <sup>v</sup>	25 (T. 19)	25	II. 19	3 (19)
35 <sup>v</sup> – 36 <sup>v</sup>	26 (T. 20)	26	II.20	3 (20)
36 <sup>v</sup> – 37 <sup>v</sup>	27 (T. 21)	27	II. 21	3 (21)
37 <sup>v</sup> – 38 <sup>v</sup>	28 (T. 22)	28	II. 22	3 (22)
38 <sup>v</sup> – 40 <sup>r</sup>	29 (T. 23)	29	II. 23	3 (23)
40 <sup>r</sup> – 41 <sup>r</sup>	30 (T. 24)	30	II. 24	3 (24)
41 <sup>r</sup> – 43 <sup>r</sup>	31 (T. 25)	31	II. 25	3 (25)
43 <sup>r</sup> – 44 <sup>v</sup>	32 (T. 26)	32	II. 26	3 (26)
44 <sup>v</sup> – 46 <sup>r</sup>	33 (T. 27)	33	II. 27	3 (27)
46 <sup>r</sup> – 46 <sup>v</sup>	34 (T. 28)	34	II. 28	3 (28)
46 <sup>v</sup> – 47 <sup>r</sup>	35 (T. 29)	35	II. 29	3 (29)
47 <sup>r</sup> – 47 <sup>v</sup>	36 (T. 30)	36	II. 30	3 (30)
47 <sup>v</sup> – 49 <sup>r</sup>	37 (T. 31)	37	II. 31a	3 (31)
49 <sup>r</sup> – 50 <sup>r</sup>	38 (T. 32)	38	II. 31b <sup>1)</sup>	3 (32)
50 <sup>r</sup>	39 (T. 33)	39	II. 32	3 (33)
50 <sup>r</sup> – 50 <sup>v</sup>	40 (T. 34)	40	II. 33	3 (34)
50 <sup>v</sup> – 51 <sup>v</sup>	41 (T. 35)	41	II. 34	3 (35)
51 <sup>v</sup> – 52 <sup>r</sup>	42 (T. 36)	42	II. 35	3 (36)
52 <sup>r</sup> – 52 <sup>v</sup>	43 (T. 37)	43	II. 36	3 (37)
52 <sup>v</sup> – 53 <sup>r</sup>	44 (T. 38)	44	II. 37	3 (38)
53 <sup>r</sup> – 55 <sup>r</sup>	45	45	II. 38	4



<u>Folio numbers</u>	<u>Lambert</u>	<u>Weigel</u>	<u>Baechtold</u>	<u>Ward</u>
55 <sup>r</sup> – 57 <sup>v</sup>	46	46	II. 39a	5
57 <sup>v</sup> – 58 <sup>v</sup>	47	47	II. 39b	6
58 <sup>v</sup> – 59 <sup>v</sup>	48	48	II.40	7
60 <sup>r</sup>	49 (F. 1)	(III.) 49	III. 1	8 (1)
60 <sup>r</sup> – 61 <sup>r</sup>	50 (F. 2)	50	III. 2	8 (2)
61 <sup>r</sup> – 61 <sup>v</sup>	51 (F. 3)	51	III. 3	8 (3)
61 <sup>v</sup> – 62 <sup>r</sup>	52 (F. 4)	52	III. 4	8 (4)
62 <sup>r</sup>	53 (F. 5)	53	III. 5	8 (5)
62 <sup>r</sup> – 63 <sup>r</sup>	54 (F. 6)	54	III. 6	8 (6)
63 <sup>r</sup>	55 (F. 7)	55	III. 7	8 (7)
63 <sup>v</sup>	56 (F. 8)	56	III. 8	8 (8)
63 <sup>v</sup>	57 (F. 9)	57	III. 9	8 (9)
63 <sup>v</sup> – 64 <sup>r</sup>	58 (F. 10)	58	III. 10	8 (10)
64 <sup>r</sup> – 64 <sup>v</sup>	59 (F. 11)	59	III. 11	8 (11)
64 <sup>v</sup> – 65 <sup>r</sup>	60 (F. 12)	60	III. 12	8 (12)
65 <sup>r</sup> – 65 <sup>v</sup>	61 (F. 13)	61	III. 13	8 (13)
65 <sup>v</sup>	62 (F. 14)	62	III. 14	8 (14)
65 <sup>v</sup> – 67 <sup>r</sup>	63 (F. 15)	63	III.15	8 (15)
67 <sup>r</sup> – 67 <sup>v</sup>	64 (F. 16)	64	III. 16	8 (16)
67 <sup>v</sup> – 68 <sup>r</sup>	65 (F. 17)	65	III. 17	8 (17)
68 <sup>r</sup>	66 (F. 18)	66	III. 18	8 (18)
68 <sup>r</sup> – 69 <sup>r</sup>	67 (F. 19)	- <sup>2)</sup>	III. 19	8 (19)
69 <sup>r</sup> – 69 <sup>v</sup>	68 (F. 20)	67	III. 20	8 (20)
69 <sup>v</sup> – 70 <sup>v</sup>	69 (F. 21)	68	III. 21	8 (21)

<u>Folio numbers</u>	<u>Lambert</u>	<u>Weigel</u>	<u>Baechtold</u>	<u>Ward</u>
70 <sup>v</sup> – 71 <sup>r</sup>	70 (F. 22)	69	III. 22	8 (22)
71 <sup>r</sup> – 71 <sup>v</sup>	71 (F. 23)	70	III. 23	8 (23)
71 <sup>v</sup>	72 (F. 24)	71	III. 24	8 (24)
71 <sup>v</sup> – 72 <sup>v</sup>	73 (F. 25)	72	III. 25	8 (25)
72 <sup>v</sup> – 73 <sup>r</sup>	74 (F. 26)	73	III. 26	8 (26)
73 <sup>r</sup> – 74 <sup>r</sup>	75 (F. 27)	74	III. 27	8 (27)
74 <sup>r</sup>	76 (F. 28)	75	III. 28	8 (28)
74 <sup>r</sup>	77 (F. 29)	76	III. 29	8 (29)
74 <sup>v</sup>	78 (F. 30) <sup>3)</sup>	77	III. -	8 (30)
74 <sup>v</sup> – 75 <sup>v</sup>	79 (F. 31)	78	III. 30	8 (31)
75 <sup>v</sup> – 76 <sup>r</sup>	80 (F. 32)	79	III. 31	8 (32)
76 <sup>r</sup> – 77 <sup>r</sup>	81 (F. 33)	80	III. 32	8 (33)
77 <sup>r</sup> – 78 <sup>v</sup>	82 (F. 34)	81	III. 33	8 (34)
78 <sup>v</sup>	83 (F. 35)	82	III. 34	8 (35)
78 <sup>v</sup> – 79 <sup>r</sup>	84 (F. 36)	83	III. 35	8 (36)
79 <sup>v</sup> – 80 <sup>r</sup>	85 (F. 37)	84	III. 36	8 (37)
80 <sup>r</sup> – 80 <sup>v</sup>	86 (F. 38)	85	III. 37	8 (38)
80 <sup>v</sup> – 81 <sup>r</sup>	87 (F. 39)	86	III. 38	8 (39)
81 <sup>r</sup> – 81 <sup>v</sup>	88 (F. 40)	87	III. 39	8 (40)
81 <sup>v</sup> – 82 <sup>r</sup>	89 (F. 41)	88	III. 40	8 (41)
82 <sup>r</sup> – 82 <sup>v</sup>	90 (F. 42)	89	III. 41	8 (42)
82 <sup>v</sup>	91 (F. 43)	90	III. 42	8 (43)
82 <sup>v</sup> – 83 <sup>r</sup>	92 (F. 44)	- <sup>4)</sup>	III. 43	8 (44)
83 <sup>r</sup> – 84 <sup>r</sup>	93 (F. 45)	91	III. 44	8 (45)

<u>Folio numbers</u>	<u>Lambert</u>	<u>Weigel</u>	<u>Baechtold</u>	<u>Ward</u>
84 <sup>r</sup>	94 (F. 46)	92	III. 45	8 (46)
84 <sup>v</sup>	95 (F. 47)	93	III. - <sup>5)</sup>	8 (47)
84 <sup>v</sup>	96 (F. 48)	94	III. 46	8 (48)
85 <sup>r</sup> – 89 <sup>v</sup>	97	(IV.) 95	IV	9
90 <sup>r</sup> – 96 <sup>v</sup>	98	96	V. 1	10
96 <sup>v</sup> – 98 <sup>v</sup>	99	97	V. 2	11
98 <sup>v</sup> – 103 <sup>r</sup>	100	98	V. 3	12
103 <sup>r</sup> – 107 <sup>v</sup>	101	99	V. 4	13
107 <sup>v</sup> – 110 <sup>r</sup>	102	100	V. 5	14
110 <sup>r</sup> – 114 <sup>r</sup>	103	101	V. 6	15
114 <sup>v</sup> – 118 <sup>r</sup>	104	102	V. 7	16
118 <sup>r</sup> – 122 <sup>v</sup>	105	103	V. 8	17
122 <sup>v</sup> – 125 <sup>r</sup>	106	104	V. 9	18
125 <sup>r</sup> – 128 <sup>r</sup>	107	105	V. 10	19
128 <sup>r</sup> – 130 <sup>r</sup>	108	106	V. 11	20
130 <sup>r</sup> – 133 <sup>v</sup>	109	107	V. 12	21
133 <sup>v</sup> – 135 <sup>v</sup>	110	108	V. 13	22
135 <sup>v</sup> – 137 <sup>r</sup>	111	109	V. 14	23
137 <sup>r</sup> – 138 <sup>r</sup>	112	110	V. 15	24
138 <sup>r</sup> – 141 <sup>r</sup>	113	111	V. 16	25
141 <sup>r</sup> – 142 <sup>v</sup>	114	112	V. 17	26
142 <sup>v</sup> – 145 <sup>r</sup>	115	113	V. 18	27
145 <sup>r</sup> – 148 <sup>r</sup>	116	114	V. 19	28
148 <sup>r</sup> – 151 <sup>v</sup>	117	115	V. 20	29

<u>Folio numbers</u>	<u>Lambert</u>	<u>Weigel</u>	<u>Baechtold</u>	<u>Ward</u>
151 <sup>v</sup> – 153 <sup>v</sup>	118	116	V. 21	30
154 <sup>r</sup> – 158 <sup>r</sup>	119	117	V. 22	31
158 <sup>r</sup> – 163 <sup>r</sup>	120	118	V. 23	32
163 <sup>r</sup> – 170 <sup>v</sup>	121 <sup>6)</sup>	119/120	V. 24/V. 25	33
170 <sup>v</sup> – 177 <sup>r</sup>	122	121	V. 26	34
177 <sup>r</sup> – 179 <sup>v</sup>	123	122	V. 27	35
179 <sup>v</sup> – 184 <sup>v</sup>	124	123	V. 28	36
184 <sup>v</sup> – 201 <sup>v</sup>	125	124	V. 29	37
202 <sup>r</sup> – 204 <sup>r</sup>	126	125	V. 30	38
204 <sup>r</sup> – 209 <sup>r</sup>	127	126	V. 31	39
209 <sup>r</sup> – 210 <sup>r</sup>	128	127	V. 32	40
210 <sup>r</sup> – 211 <sup>v</sup>	129	128	V. 33	41
211 <sup>v</sup> – 218 <sup>v</sup>	130	129	VI	42
218 <sup>v</sup> – 231 <sup>r</sup>	131	130	VII. 1	43
231 <sup>r</sup> – 238 <sup>v</sup>	132	131	VII. 2	44
238 <sup>v</sup> – 245 <sup>r</sup>	133	132	VII. 3	45
245 <sup>r</sup> – 246 <sup>r</sup>	134	133	VII. 4	46
246 <sup>r</sup> – 247 <sup>r</sup>	135	134	VII. 5	47
247 <sup>r</sup> – 248 <sup>r</sup>	136	135	VII. 6	48
248 <sup>r</sup> – 249 <sup>r</sup>	137	136	VII. 7	49
249 <sup>r</sup> – 251 <sup>r</sup>	138	137	VII. 8	50
251 <sup>r</sup> – 255 <sup>r</sup>	139	138	VII. 9	51
255 <sup>r</sup> – 255 <sup>v</sup>	140	139	VII. 10	52
255 <sup>v</sup> – 257 <sup>r</sup>	141	140	VII. 11	53

<u>Folio numbers</u>	<u>Lambert</u>	<u>Weigel</u>	<u>Baechtold</u>	<u>Ward</u>
257 <sup>r</sup> – 258 <sup>r</sup>	142	141	VII. 12	54
258 <sup>r</sup> – 258 <sup>v</sup>	143	142	VII. 13	55
258 <sup>v</sup> – 259 <sup>r</sup>	144	143	VII. 14	56
259 <sup>r</sup> – 260 <sup>r</sup>	145	144	VII. 15	57
260 <sup>r</sup> – 262 <sup>r</sup>	146	- <sup>7)</sup>	VII. 16	58
262 <sup>r</sup> – 263 <sup>r</sup>	147	145	VII. 17	59
263 <sup>r</sup> – 264 <sup>v</sup>	148	146	VII. 18	60
264 <sup>v</sup> – 265 <sup>r</sup>	149	147	VII. 19	61
265 <sup>r</sup> – 266 <sup>r</sup>	150	148	VII. 20	62
266 <sup>r</sup>	151	149	VII. 21	63
266 <sup>v</sup> – 267 <sup>r</sup>	152	150	VII. 22	64
267 <sup>r</sup> – 268 <sup>r</sup>	153	151	VII. 23	65
268 <sup>r</sup> – 269 <sup>r</sup>	154	152	VII. 24	66
269 <sup>r</sup> – 270 <sup>r</sup>	155	153	VII. 25	67
270 <sup>r</sup> – 271 <sup>r</sup>	156	154	VII. 26	68
271 <sup>r</sup> – 271 <sup>v</sup>	157	155	VII. 27	69
271 <sup>v</sup> – 272 <sup>r</sup>	158	156	VII. 28	70
272 <sup>r</sup> – 273 <sup>r</sup>	159	157	VII. 29	71
273 <sup>r</sup>	160	158	VII. 30	72
273 <sup>r</sup> – 273 <sup>v</sup>	161	159	VII. 31	73
273 <sup>v</sup> – 274 <sup>r</sup>	162	160	VII. 32	74
274 <sup>r</sup>	163	161	VII. 33	75
274 <sup>r</sup> – 274 <sup>v</sup>	164	162	VII. 34	76
274 <sup>v</sup> – 275 <sup>r</sup>	165	163	VII. 35	77

<u>Folio numbers</u>	<u>Lambert</u>	<u>Weigel</u>	<u>Baechtold</u>	<u>Ward</u>
275 <sup>r</sup> – 275 <sup>v</sup>	166	164	VII. 36	78
275 <sup>v</sup>	167	165	VII. 37	79
275 <sup>v</sup> – 276 <sup>r</sup>	168	166	VII. 38	80
276 <sup>r</sup> – 276 <sup>v</sup>	169	167	VII. 39	81
276 <sup>v</sup> – 277 <sup>v</sup>	170	168	VII. 40	82
277 <sup>v</sup> – 279 <sup>v</sup>	171	169	VII. 41	83
279 <sup>v</sup>	172	170	VII. 42	84
279 <sup>v</sup> – 280 <sup>v</sup>	173	171	VII. 43	85
280 <sup>v</sup> – 281 <sup>r</sup>	174	172	VII. 44	86
281 <sup>r</sup> – 281 <sup>v</sup>	175	173	VII.45	87
281 <sup>v</sup>	176	174	VII. 46	88
281 <sup>v</sup> – 282 <sup>v</sup>	177	175	VII. 47	89
282 <sup>v</sup>	178	176	VII. 48	90
282 <sup>v</sup> – 283 <sup>v</sup>	179	177	VII. 49	91
283 <sup>v</sup> – 284 <sup>r</sup>	180	178	VII. 50	92
284 <sup>r</sup> – 284 <sup>v</sup>	181	179	VII. 51	93
284 <sup>v</sup> – 285 <sup>r</sup>	182	180	VII. 52	94
285 <sup>r</sup> – 287 <sup>v</sup>	183	181	VII. 53	95
287 <sup>v</sup> – 289 <sup>r</sup>	184	182	VII. 54	96
289 <sup>v</sup> – 291 <sup>v</sup>	185	183	VII. 55	97
292 <sup>r</sup> – 293 <sup>r</sup>	186	184	VII. 56	98
294 <sup>r</sup> – 294 <sup>v</sup>	Notes in Modern Hand	-	-	99

1) In the manuscript there is a clear indication that the scribe intends this to be a new and separate section – there is a rubricated heading. Furthermore, the

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previous poem, item 37 (Baechtold II. 31a), had ended with the familiar final line “also sprach der teichnar”. Baechtold’s insistence on numbering this work 31b as opposed to 32 seems to stem from his insistence on noting the rubricated headings for each separate work as they appear not in the body of the manuscript but in the table of contents on folios 1<sup>r</sup> – 2<sup>v</sup>. The table of contents titles often differ from the rubricated headings in the main manuscript, and the table of contents is not always reliable. At this point in the table of contents the scribe provides no separate title for or reference to no. 31b/32. There is a separate heading, however, in the manuscript proper. The scribe also forgets or omits at this point in the table of contents titles for items 40 and 41, and Baechtold does with these two items (Baechtold II. 33 and II. 34) resort to quoting headings as they appear in the main body of the manuscript. Pribsch, having been at pains to provide the headings as they appear in the manuscript, nevertheless retains Baechtold’s numbering sequence at this point, as he does with items 46 and 47 (Baechtold II. 39a and II. 39b). Although items 37 and 38 follow consecutively in Niewöhner’s edition of the poems of der Teichner (as they do largely but not always in extant manuscripts) he also regards them as two separate items (*Teichner* I, pp. 8-9, no. 5 and pp. 9-10, no. 6). It seems right for us to do so as well.

<sup>2)</sup> Weigel does not list this poem. The heading to this work appears at the bottom of folio 68<sup>r</sup>, which Weigel appears to have overlooked, and a rubricated capital at the top of folio 68<sup>v</sup>, which he seems likewise not to have noticed.

<sup>3)</sup> There is no separate heading to this poem – nor is it marked off with a rubricated capital to signify a new beginning. As it begins at the top of folio 74<sup>v</sup>, it can only be assumed that, beginning a new folio anyway, the scribe forgot to provide heading and rubricated capital. Weigel regards this as a separate poem and numbers it 77; Baechtold comments on the lack of a heading but provides it with no number; Pribsch makes no comment, thus endorsing Baechtold’s recognition of lack of heading and unwillingness to number the poem; Ward makes no comment and without further ado numbers it 8 (30). If one looks at editions of the preceding poem (item 77) and this

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poem (78), then it becomes clear also that editors of these two poems such as Pfeiffer, Niewöhner, Grimm, Goedeke, Meyer-Benfey and Kosak have also, from the various and different manuscripts they have consulted, regarded these two poems as being separate entities. I see no reason to disagree.

4) Again the rubricated heading to this poem appears at the bottom of a folio, folio 82<sup>v</sup>. Despite the rubricated capital at the top of folio 83<sup>r</sup>, Weigel seems again not to have noticed this new poem and does not list it.

5) Again there is no rubric at the head of this poem, which begins at the top of folio 84<sup>v</sup>. Whilst Weigel and Ward give it its own numerical identity, Baechtold notes its separate identity, but beyond that the rule would again seem to be: no rubric, no separate number.

6) This is one poem, not the two which Weigel and Baechtold suggest. They are misled by rubrication on folio 165<sup>v</sup>, “Wie der leib antwurt gab”. This – as it suggests – is an introduction to the second half of the poem. Such a device is indeed most untypical of the scribe’s use of rubrication. This sub-heading is not followed by a rubricated capital to introduce the text which follows, although in this, the second half of the poem, the scribe does use rubrication in a very different way to elsewhere – he uses rubricated capitals (not always correctly) to define the beginning of a new retort in the dialogue between body and soul. The poem is known in its entirety elsewhere in other manuscripts – it is the “Visio Philiberti” – and can only make sense if regarded as one rather than two poems. The table of contents (here folio 2<sup>r</sup>) lists only the main heading on folio 163<sup>r</sup>. But then at the same time it also demonstrates its incompleteness and unreliability in that the preceding item here, 120, is not listed at all.

7) Again the rubricated heading to this poem appears at the bottom of a folio, folio 260<sup>r</sup>. The rubricated initial capital appears at the top of folio 260<sup>v</sup>. And again Weigel seems not to have noticed this poem and does not list it.



APPENDIX II  
THE BRITISH MUSEUM, THE WEIGELS  
AND MONSIEUR LIBRI<sup>1)</sup>

As far as the British Museum and the history of its acquisition of manuscripts and early printed books is concerned, the mid to late nineteenth century was an eventful period, and many manuscripts and books were acquired which had once been in the possession of Guglielmo Libri or J. A. G. or (more particularly) T. O. Weigel.

1846 saw the Museum's first attempt to purchase manuscripts collected (or stolen) by Guglielmo Libri. However, the Treasury was not prepared to advance the sum required and, despite the Museum's attempts to negotiate a purchase at a lower figure, Lord Ashburnham bought this particular collection in 1847.

In that same year, 1847, the Museum spent £800 at a sale of Libri's printed books in Paris, and even as late as 1859, in the midst of the scandal surrounding Libri's affairs at that time, the Museum allocated £1,000 to bid at a sale of Libri's books and spent £575 to acquire 84 lots of manuscripts. A further £1,000 was authorised for the Libri sale of 1862 – at which the Museum acquired what is now Additional Manuscript 24946.

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<sup>1)</sup> The explanatory notes that follow make no claim to originality. They are based on: P. R. Harris, *A History of the British Museum Library 1753-1973*, London 1998; Karl Friedrich Pfau, entry under 'Weigel, Joh. Aug. Gottlob' in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* Vol. 41, Leipzig 1896, pp. 469-471; Barbara McCrimmon, 'The Libri Case', *The Journal of Library History, Philosophy and Comparative Librarianship* Vol. 1 (1966), pp. 7-32.

How many of the manuscripts acquired via Libri which, apart from Add. 24946, may once have belonged to J. A. G. or T. O. Weigel is a figure not readily available. The movement of manuscripts between these and other dealers may well be a study worthy of pursuit. However, Priebisch does mention<sup>2)</sup> that British Library Additional Manuscript 15090 had also once been in the possession of T. O. Weigel and that it too, like Add. 24946, is described in *Serapeum* 8 (1847).

In 1870 the whole T. O. Weigel collection of prints and books was offered to the British Museum, but the asking price was thought to be too high and no purchase was made. However, at the sale of Weigel's books in Leipzig in May 1872 the Museum purchased some 20 items for a total of £2,799 and was particularly pleased to secure what it considered to be the gem of the collection, the block-book "Ars Moriendi", for £1,072.

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For almost 100 years the Weigel family was pre-eminent in Leipzig in the spheres of book collecting and dealing and of academic publishing, its reputation spreading far beyond Leipzig and even Germany.

In 1793 Johann August Gottlob Weigel (1773-1846) took over management of the already existing Müller's bookshop in Leipzig and two years later founded his own firm of antiquarian booksellers. At the same time he founded

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<sup>2)</sup> *Handschriften* 2, p. 123.

an auction house which – due in large part perhaps to the great number of valuable literary items coming onto the market at that time as a result of the secularisation of the monasteries – soon achieved recognition and commercial success. Along with this Weigel also combined the editing and publishing of texts in the field of classical philology. He was also an avid collector not only of manuscripts and books but also of original paintings and other artwork.

In 1839 Weigel's youngest son, Theodor Oswald (1812-1881), took over the purely commercial running of the business, and under him it achieved even greater success and widened its activities yet further. He is today perhaps best known for his collaboration with Adolf Zestermann on "Die Anfänge der Druckerkunst in Bild und Schrift" (Leipzig 1866). After T. O. Weigel's death the business was split up amongst his heirs into a number of parts, each eventually achieving its own individual destiny. The publishing arm was successful until well into the twentieth century.

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Count Guglielmo Bruto Icilio Timoleone Libri-Carrucci dalla Sommaiai (1802-1869) was born into a noble Italian family. However, his father, Count Georgio Libri-Bagnano, was one time or another banned not only from Pisa but later, too, from the whole of his native Tuscany; he was also condemned in 1816 to ten years' hard labour for embezzlement in France, this sentence increased to hard labour in perpetuity a year later for forgeries committed whilst in prison. This sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment,

followed in 1825 by a pardon and banishment from France. He later took to espionage as a profession. It has been suggested that a hint of insanity present in the father may also have been passed on to the son.

Guglielmo himself, despite this background, achieved great academic and intellectual success, at least in the earlier part of his life. Something of a mathematical prodigy, he was at the age of twenty-one Professor of Mathematical Physics at the University of Pisa. Moving to France, he was, in 1833, appointed to a position at the Académie de Sciences in Paris and a year later joined the Université de France. By 1843 he was a full Professor at both the Université and at the Collège de France, having in the meanwhile also been created a Chevalier of the Légion d'Honneur. He moved in the highest social and literary circles in Paris and enjoyed the patronage of King Louis Philippe's chief minister François Guizot.

These days, however, Libri is remembered primarily as a bibliophile and codicophile. His avid collecting was such that he is said in 1848, even having held thirteen auctions since 1835 and having made numerous private sales, still to have had more than 30,000 volumes in Paris.

He is also remembered today – by some at least – as the thief of some of the rarest and most valuable literary and codicological gems which at that time had been residing – albeit largely neglected – in the public libraries of France. Of the 1,900 manuscripts purchased from Libri by the fourth Earl of Ashburnham (see above) many were proved in 1883 to have once belonged

to French libraries, and 166 stolen items were eventually returned to France by the fifth Earl. This act also officially closed the Libri case almost forty years after it was opened, and some fifteen or so years after Libri's death.

Although the British Museum was saved some embarrassment by having failed to secure the purchase of the manuscripts subsequently purchased and then returned by the Ashburnham family, it has been suggested that the Museum had indeed previously purchased two volumes known to have come from French libraries but never proved to have been stolen.

Whether Libri was guilty of the theft and skillful deception of which he was accused in 1848 may still be an open question. He had made many enemies, both intellectual and political, and it was only when Louis Philippe was deposed by the revolutionary government in 1848 that he was anonymously denounced and charges were brought against him. Libri's response was to flee to England, and although he was condemned in his absence in 1850 to ten years' hard labour it was not so much in the courts as via letters and pamphlets that the case was argued and kept alive over a period of at least the next thirteen years, for there were many who did not accept his guilt, and he found support amongst noted men of letters not only in France but also in England, Belgium, Switzerland, Germany and Italy. In 1852 Prosper Mérimée was fined and jailed for two weeks for having published an article in support of Libri which severely criticised his treatment at the hands of French justice.

It may indeed be that Libri was the criminal he was accused of being, it may be that the charges against him can be argued as having been false. It may be that kleptomania was the expression of that hint of insanity said to have been inherited from his father. Or there may be other explanations.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century French libraries were feebly superintended, haphazardly administered and poorly catalogued. They were unappreciative of the treasures of monastic and other works which they had in their possession. There is little doubt that Libri appreciated more than most of his contemporaries the value and importance of these works and was fearful of the neglect they had enjoyed and would continue to enjoy. It is said that it was not unusual for old manuscripts to end up as the wrapping paper for groceries!

Libri did avidly buy books and manuscripts quite legitimately (perhaps this is how he acquired Additional Manuscript 24946 from J. A. G. or T. O. Weigel – by the time of the 1862 Libri sale we can perhaps assume that purchasers such as the British Museum would have been keen to determine the provenance of an item before purchase), but it is also said that libraries were happy to send him volumes, which he then neglected to return. Others he is said to have acquired by barter. In this sense it may be that Libri was in many cases just forgetful or that he was simply but unfortunately a participant in the normal practices of his time.

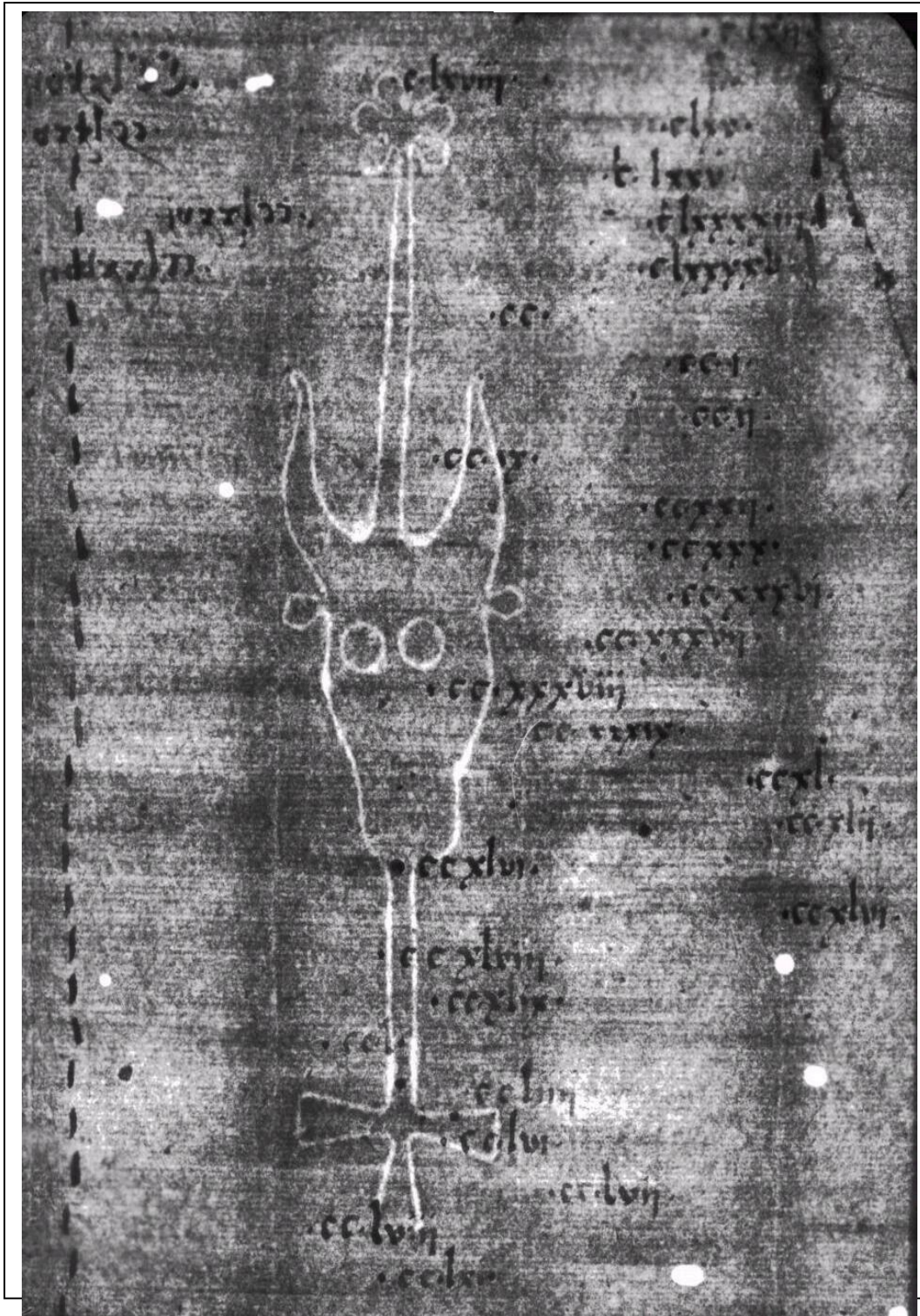
APPENDIX III  
WATERMARKS

The following pages contain beta radiography images of

1. folio 2 – watermark I (folios 1-11)
2. folio 53 – watermark II (folios 12-59)
3. folio 103 – watermark II (folios 96-285)
4. folio 293 – watermark III (folios 286-293)

It was unfortunately not possible to obtain an image of watermark I as repeated in folios 60-95.

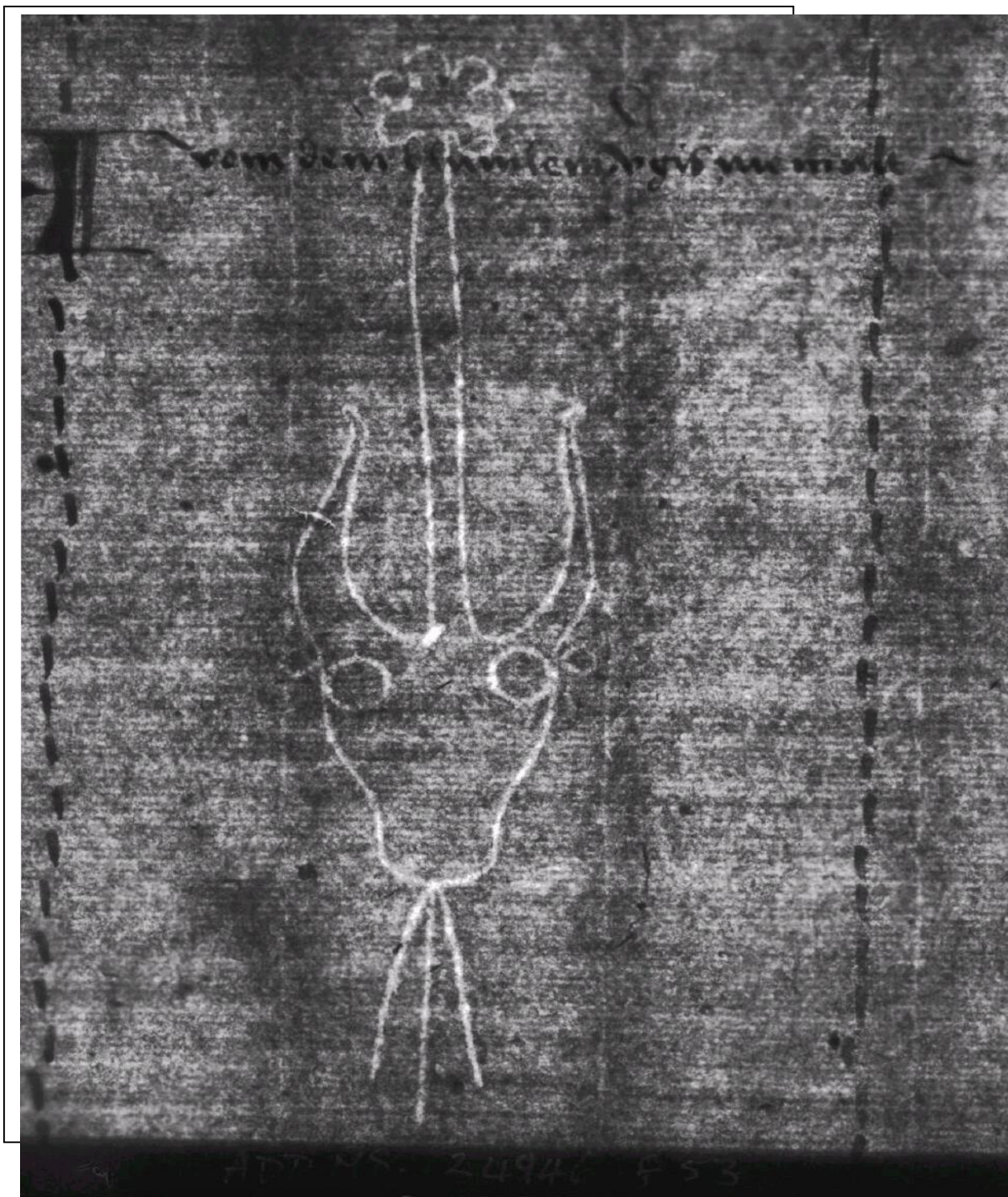
Folio 2 – watermark I



By permission of the British Library Additional Manuscript 24946 folio 2

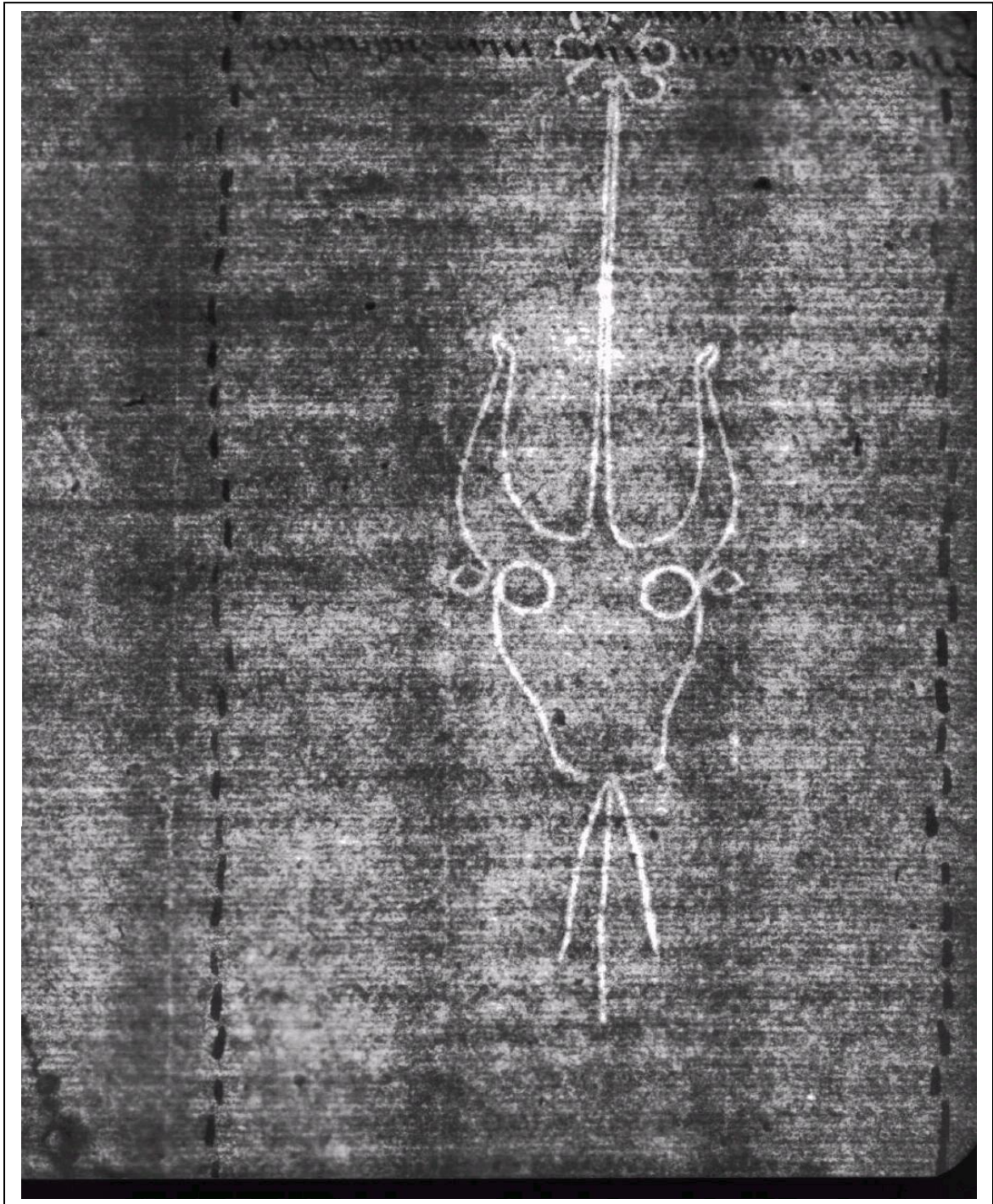


Folio 53 – watermark II



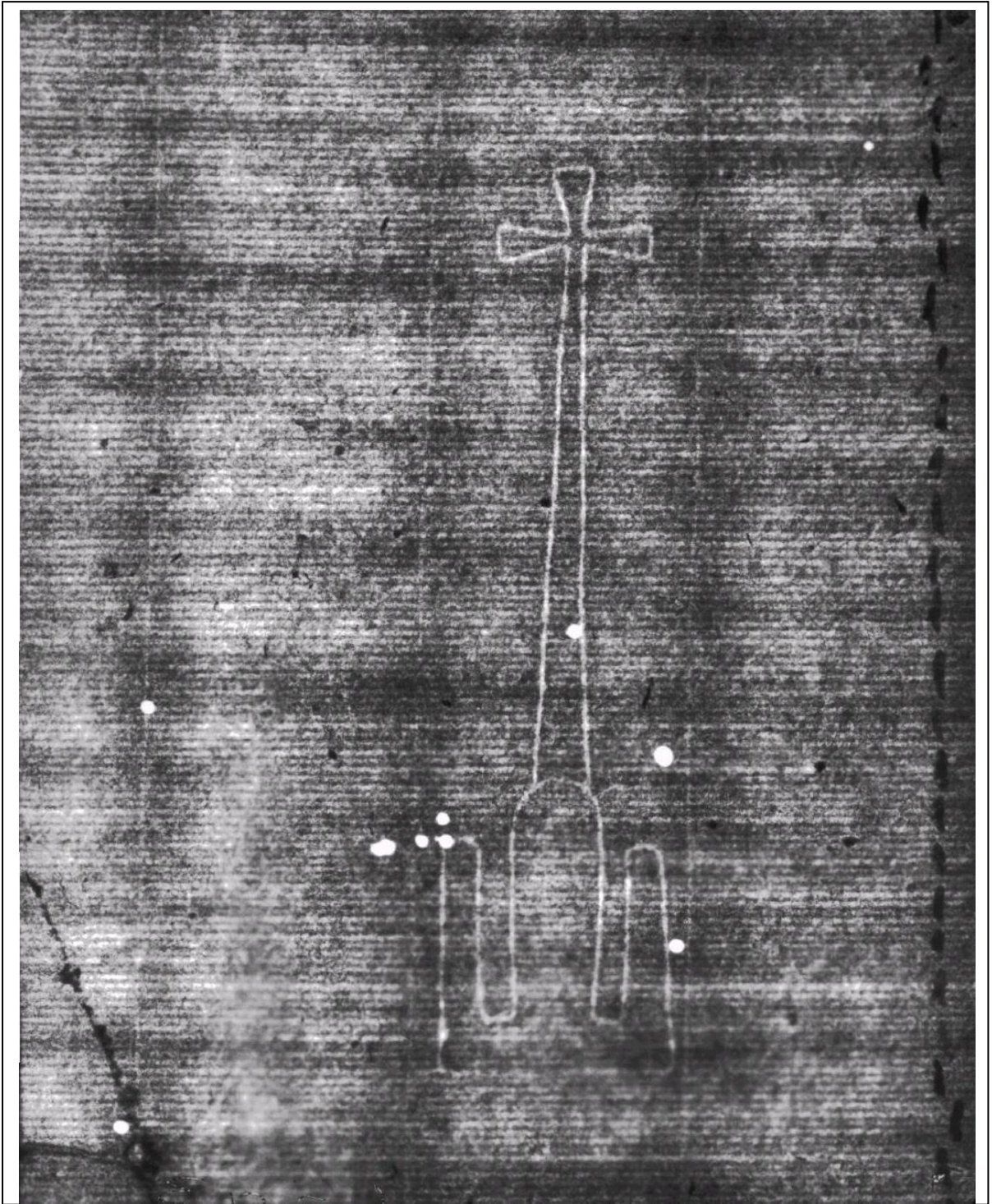
By permission of the British Library Additional Manuscript 24946 folio 53

Folio 103 – watermark II





Folio 293 – watermark III



By permission of the British Library Additional Manuscript 24946 folio 293

APPENDIX IVTHE STRUCTURE OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The following table indicates the various watermarked sections of Add. 24946, as far as they are identifiable the quires making up the manuscript and the positions of the various works contained in the manuscript.

- ↓ indicates where a work begins
- ↓ and over how many folio sides it continues
- ↓ indicates the beginning of the next work
- ↓ and its continuation
- \* indicates that this work begins and ends on this folio side

1r	<u>Watermark</u> I	<u>Quire I</u>	↓	Table of Contents	
1v	ox's head		↓		
2r	with cross		↓		
2v			↓		
3r					1. Religious Poem 1 ↓
3v					↓
4r			↓	2. Religious Poem 2	↓
4v			↓		
5r		)	↓		
5v		) folded middle	↓		
6r		) sheet	↓		
6v		)	↓		3. Religious Poem 3 ↓
7r					↓
7v					↓
8r			↓	4. Religious Poem 4	↓
8v			↓		
9r			↓		
9v			↓		
10r			↓		5. Religious Poem 5 ↓
10v					↓
11r					↓
11v			*	6. Religious Poem 6	↓
12r	<u>Watermark</u> II	<u>Quire II</u>	↓	7. Teichner Poem 1	
12v	ox's head		↓		8. Teichner Poem 2 *
13r	with arrow		↓	9. Teichner Poem 3	
13v			↓		10. Teichner Poem 4 ↓
14r					↓
14v			↓	11. Teichner Poem 5	↓
15r			↓		
15v			↓		
16r		six sheets	↓		
16v		folded	↓		12. Teichner Poem 6 ↓

17r		so that	↓	13. Teichner Poem 7	↓
17v		watermarked	↓		
18r		and non-	↓		
18v		watermarked	↓	14. Teichner Poem 8	↓
19r		sheets	↓		↓
19v		match up	↓	15. Teichner Poem 9	↓
20r			↓		
20v			↓	16. Teichner Poem 10	↓
21r					↓
21v					↓
22r					↓
22v					↓
23r			↓	17. Teichner Poem 11	↓
23v			↓		
<hr/>					
	<u>Watermark</u>				
24r	<u>II</u>	<u>Quire III</u>	↓		
24v	ox's head		↓		
25r	with arrow		↓	18. Teichner Poem 12	↓
25v					↓
26r					↓
26v			↓	19. Teichner Poem 13	↓
27r			↓		
27v			↓		
28r		six sheets	↓	20. Teichner Poem 14	↓
28v		folded			↓
29r		so that			↓
29v		watermarked	↓	21. Teichner Poem 15	↓
30r		and non-	↓		
30v		watermarked	↓	22. Teichner Poem 16	↓
31r		sheets			↓
31v		match up	↓	23. Teichner Poem 17	↓
32r			↓		
32v			↓		
33r			↓		

33v			↓		24. Teichner Poem 18	↓
34r			↓	25. Teichner Poem 19		↓
34v			↓			
35r			↓			
35v			↓		26. Teichner Poem 20	↓
<u>Watermark</u>						
36r	<u>II</u>	<u>Quire IV</u>				↓
36v	ox's head		↓	27. Teichner Poem 21		↓
37r	with arrow		↓			
37v		six sheets	↓		28. Teichner Poem 22	↓
38r		folded				↓
38v		so that	↓	29. Teichner Poem 23		↓
39r		watermarked	↓			
39v			↓			
40r			↓		30. Teichner Poem 24	↓
40v						↓
41r		)	↓	31. Teichner Poem 25		↓
41v		) folded middle	↓			
42r		) sheet ?	↓			
42v		)	↓			
43r			↓		32. Teichner Poem 26	↓
43v						↓
44r						↓
44v		and non-	↓	33. Teichner Poem 27		↓
45r		watermarked	↓			
45v		sheets	↓			
46r		match up	↓		34. Teichner Poem 28	↓
46v			↓	35. Teichner Poem 29		↓
47r			↓		36. Teichner Poem 30	↓
47v			↓	37. Teichner Poem 31		↓
<u>Watermark</u>						
48r	<u>II</u>	<u>Quire V</u>	↓			
48v	ox's head		↓			
49r	with arrow		↓		38. Teichner Poem 32	↓

49v						↓
50r			* 39. T. Poem 33	40. T. Poem 34		↓
50v			↓	41. Teichner Poem 35		↓
51r		six sheets	↓			
51v		folded	↓		42. Teichner Poem 36	↓
52r		so that	↓	43. Teichner Poem 37		↓
52v		watermarked	↓		44. Teichner Poem 38	↓
53r		and non-	↓	45. Das Verißmeinnicht		↓
53v		watermarked	↓			
54r		sheets	↓			
54v		match up	↓			
55r			↓		46. Heinrich v. Beringen	↓
55v						↓
56r						↓
56v						↓
57r						↓
57v		manuscript	↓	47. Heinrich v. Beringen		↓
58r		broken	↓			
58v		between	↓		48. Heinrich v. Beringen	↓
59r		fol.				↓
59v		59 and 60				↓
<hr/>						
60r	<u>Watermark</u>					
60v	↓	<u>Quire VI</u>	↓	49. Ochse u. H.	50. Der e. Ritter	↓
61r	ox's head		↓	51. Löwe und Sohn		↓
61v	with cross	six sheets	↓		52. Veilchen u. Haselbl.	↓
62r		folded	* 53. Fuchs u. A.		54. Das gebr. Ei	↓
62v		so that				↓
63r		watermarked	* 55. Habicht und Huhn			↓
63v			* 57. Der u. Baum		56. Die Katze	*
64r			↓ 58. Der j. Baum		59. Der Hahn . . .	↓
64v			↓ 60. Der Hofhund			↓
65r	)		↓		61. Fliege u. K.	↓
65v	)	folded middle	* 62. Barlaam u. J.		63. Hofhund u. J.	↓



66r	)	sheet			↓
66v	)				↓
67r			↓	64. Die reiche Stadt	↓
67v			↓		65. Der Ochse u. d. Maus ↓
68r			*	66. Der Hase	67. Der Rabe . . ↓
68v		and non-			↓
69r		watermarked	↓	68. Des Muses Lehre	↓
69v		sheets	↓		69. Der Tor u. d. Feuer ↓
70r		match up			↓
70v			↓	70. Die Äffin u. i. K.	↓
71r			↓		71. Die Milch u. d. Fliegen ↓
71v			*	72. Die f. Jagdv.	73. Die drei G. . ↓
<hr/>					
72r	<u>Watermark</u>				↓
	┆	<u>Quire VII</u>			↓
72v	ox's head		↓	74. Vom Tode	↓
73r	with cross		↓		75. Walther v. Griven ↓
73v					↓
74r			*	76. Esel, G . . .	77. Der b. Blinde ↓
74v			*	78. Wolf u. L.	79. Der Turse ↓
75r					↓
75v			↓	80. Das Weib u. d. j. H.	↓
76r		six sheets	↓		81. B. u. g. Haare ↓
76v		folded			↓
77r		so that	↓	82. Hund am Wasser	↓
77v		watermarked	↓		
78r		and non-	↓		
78v		watermarked	↓	84. Keine Perlen	83. H. u. Katze *
79r		sheets	↓		
79v		match up			85. Löwe u. Maus ↓
80r			↓	86. Kranich u. Pfau	↓
80v			↓		87. Krähe u. Habicht ↓
81r			↓	88. Löwe u. Maus	↓
81v			↓		89. Eiche u. Rohr ↓
82r			↓	90. Fuchs u. Traube	↓

82v			↓	92. Der Mann . .	91. Der Baum . .	*
83r			↓		93. Wolf u. Kranich	↓
83v						↓
<hr/>						
84r	<u>Watermark</u>					
	I	<u>Quire VIII</u>	*	94. Hund verkl. Schaf		↓
84v	ox's head		*	96. Wolf u. H.	95. Bäume u. M.	*
85r	with cross				97. O. v. Wolkenstein	↓
85v						↓
86r						↓
86v						↓
87r						↓
87v						↓
88r		watermarks				↓
88v		visible on				↓
89r		only 5 folios				↓
89v		but all share				↓
90r		same	↓	98. Die Beichte e. Frau		
90v		watermark	↓			
91r		before change	↓			
91v		in next quire	↓			
92r			↓			
92v			↓			
93r			↓			
93v			↓			
94r			↓			
94v			↓			
95r			↓			
95v			↓			
<hr/>						
96r	<u>Watermark</u>					
	II	<u>Quire IX</u>	↓			
96v	ox's head		↓		99. Die goldene Fessel	↓
97r	with arrow					↓
97v						↓
98r						↓

98v			↓	100. Peter Suchenwirt	↓
99r			↓		
99v			↓		
100r		six sheets	↓		
100v		folded	↓		
101r		so that	↓		
101v		watermarked	↓		
102r		and non-	↓		
102v		watermarked	↓		
103r		sheets	↓	101. Die r. Art d. Minne	↓
103v		match up			↓
104r					↓
104v					↓
105r					↓
105v					↓
106r					↓
106v					↓
107r					↓
107v			↓	102. Die sechs Farben	↓
	<u>Watermark</u>				
108r	<u>II</u>	<u>Quire X</u>	↓		
108v	ox's head		↓		
109r	with arrow		↓		
109v			↓		
110r			↓	103. Bestrafte Untreue	↓
110v					↓
111r					↓
111v					↓
112r		six sheets			↓
112v		folded			↓
113r		so that			↓
113v		watermarked			↓
114r		and non-			↓
114v		watermarked	↓	104. Schloß Immer	

115r		sheets	↓		
115v		match up	↓		
116r			↓		
116v			↓		
117r			↓		
117v			↓		
118r			↓		
118v				105. Der Traum	↓
119r					↓
119v					↓
<hr/>					
	<u>Watermark</u>				
120r	<u>II</u>	<u>Quire XI</u>			↓
120v	ox's head				↓
121r	with arrow				↓
121v					↓
122r					↓
122v			↓	106. Ratschläge f. e. Z.	↓
123r			↓		
123v			↓		
124r		six sheets	↓		
124v		folded	↓		
125r		so that	↓		
125v		watermarked		107. Der Frau Venus n. Ordnung	↓
126r		and non-			↓
126v		watermarked			↓
127r		sheets			↓
127v		match up			↓
128r			↓	108. Warnung vor Klaffern	↓
128v			↓		
129r			↓		
129v			↓		
130r			↓		
130v				109. Lob der Frauen	↓

131r						↓
131v						↓
	<u>Watermark</u>					
132r	<u>II</u>	<u>Quire XII</u>				↓
132v	ox's head	six sheets				↓
133r	with arrow	folded				↓
133v		so that	↓	110. Stiefmutter u. Tochter		↓
134r		watermarked	↓			
134v		and non-	↓			
135r		watermarked	↓			
135v		sheets	↓		111. Die Wette	↓
136r		match up				↓
136v						↓
137r	)		↓	112. Vergebliche Vorhaltungen		↓
137v	)	<u>folded middle</u>	↓			
138r	)	sheet	↓		113. Die Beichte der zwölf Frauen	↓
138v	)					↓
139r						↓
139v						↓
140r						↓
140v						↓
141r			↓	114. Für und wider die Minne		↓
141v		clear	↓			
142r		separation	↓			
142v		between	↓		115. Fröschel v. Leidnitz	↓
143r		folios 143				↓
143v		and 144				↓
	<u>Watermark</u>					
144r	<u>II</u>	<u>Quire XIII</u>				↓
144v	ox's head					↓
145r	with arrow		↓	116. Glückliche Werbung		↓
145v			↓			
146r			↓			

146v	two missing		↓		
147r	scribal folio		↓		
147v	numbers in		↓		
148r	this quire		↓	117. Peter Suchenwirt	↓
148v					↓
149r	)				↓
149v	) folded middle				↓
150r	) sheet				↓
150v	)				↓
151r					↓
151v	<b>but</b>		↓	118. Der Barbier II	↓
152r	<b>watermarked</b>		↓		
152v	<b>and</b>		↓		
153r	<b>unwatermarked</b>		↓		
153v	<b>folios do not</b>		↓		
154r	<b>match up</b>			119. Der Knappe und die Frau	↓
154v					↓
155r					↓
155v					↓
<hr/>					
156r	<u>Watermark</u> II	<u>Quire XIV</u>			↓
156v	ox's head				↓
157r	with arrow				↓
157v					↓
158r			↓	120. Das Zelt der Minne	↓
158v	two scribal		↓		
159r	numbering		↓		
159v	errors in		↓		
160r	this quire		↓		
160v			↓		
161r	<b>watermarked</b>		↓		
161v	<b>and</b>		↓		
162r	<b>unwatermarked</b>		↓		

162v		<b>folios do not</b>	↓		
163r		<b>match up</b>	↓		121. Visio Philiberti
163v					↓
164r					↓
164v					↓
165r					↓
165v					↓
166r					↓
166v					↓
167r					↓
167v					↓
<hr/>					
	<u>Watermark</u>				
168r	<u>II</u>	<u>Quire XV</u>			↓
168v	ox's head				↓
169r	with arrow				↓
169v					↓
170r					↓
170v			↓	122. Wie die Welt . . .	↓
171r			↓		
171v			↓		
172r			↓		
172v			↓		
173r		<b>watermarked</b>	↓		
173v		<b>and</b>	↓		
174r		<b>unwatermarked</b>	↓		
174v		<b>folios do not</b>	↓		
175r		<b>match up</b>	↓		
175v			↓		
176r			↓		
176v			↓		
177r			↓		123. V. d. Wucherern
177v					↓
178r					↓
178v					↓

179r					↓
179v			↓	124. Von treulosen Männern	↓
	<u>Watermark</u>				
180r	II	<u>Quires XVI</u>	↓		
180v	ox's head	<u>and XVII ?</u>	↓		
181r	with arrow		↓		
181v			↓		
182r			↓		
182v			↓		
183r			↓		
183v			↓		
184r			↓		
184v			↓	125. Heinrich v. Beringen	↓
185r					↓
185v					↓
186r					↓
186v					↓
187r					↓
187v					↓
188r					↓
188v					↓
189r					↓
189v					↓
190r					↓
190v					↓
191r					↓
191v					↓
192r					↓
192v					↓
193r					↓
193v					↓
194r					↓
194v					↓
195r					↓



195v					↓
196r					↓
196v					↓
197r					↓
197v					↓
198r					↓
198v					↓
199r					↓
199v					↓
200r					↓
200v					↓
201r					↓
201v					↓
202r			↓	126. Heinrich v. Beringen	
202v		break	↓		
203r		after folio	↓		
203v		203	↓		
<hr/>					
204r	<u>Watermark</u>		↓		
	II	<u>Quires XVIII</u>		127. Heinrich v. Beringen	↓
204v	ox's head	<u>and XIX ?</u>			↓
205r	with arrow				↓
205v					↓
206r					↓
206v					↓
207r					↓
207v					↓
208r					↓
208v					↓
209r			↓	128. Andre v. Esperdingen	↓
209v			↓		
210r			↓		
				129. Ain aubent. rede	↓
210v					↓
211r					↓
211v			↓	130. Disticha Catonis	↓

212r  
212v  
213r  
213v  
214r  
214v  
215r  
215v  
216r  
216v  
217r  
217v  
218r  
218v  
219r  
219v  
220r  
220v  
221r  
221v  
222r  
222v  
223r  
223v  
224r  
224v  
225r  
225v  
226r  
226v  
227r  
227v



131. Von unsers herren liden



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Watermark

228r

II

Quire XX ?



228v	ox's head		↓
229r	with arrow		↓
229v			↓
230r			↓
230v			↓
231r		↓ 132. Der Herr mit den vier Frauen	↓
231v		↓	
232r		↓	
232v		↓	
233r		↓	
233v		↓	
234r		↓	
234v		↓	
235r		↓	
235v		↓	
236r		↓	
236v		↓	
237r		↓	
237v		↓	
238r		↓	
238v		↓ 133. Heinrich v. Beringen	↓
239r			↓
239v			↓
<hr/>			
240r	<u>Watermark</u>		↓
240v	II	<u>Quire XXI ?</u>	↓
241r	ox's head		↓
241v	with arrow		↓
242r			↓
242v			↓
243r			↓
243v			↓
244r			↓
244v			↓

245r		↓	134. Heinrich v. Beringen	↓
245v		↓		
246r		↓		135. Heinrich v. Beringen ↓
246v				↓
247r		↓	136. Heinrich v. Beringen	↓
247v		↓		
248r		↓		137. Heinrich v. Beringen ↓
248v				↓
249r		↓	138. Heinrich v. Beringen	↓
249v		↓		
250r		↓		
250v		↓		
251r		↓		139. Heinrich v. Beringen ↓
251v				↓
<hr/>				
252r	<u>Watermark</u>			↓
252v	II		<u>Quire XXII ?</u>	↓
253r	ox's head			↓
253v	with arrow			↓
254r				↓
254v				↓
255r		↓	140. Heinrich v. Beringen	↓
255v		↓		141. Heinrich v. Beringen ↓
256r				↓
256v				↓
257r		↓	142. Heinrich v. Beringen	↓
257v		↓		
258r		↓		143. Heinrich v. Beringen ↓
258v		↓	144. Heinrich v. Beringen	↓
259r		↓		145. Heinrich v. Beringen ↓
259v				↓
260r		↓	146. Heinrich v. Beringen	↓
260v		↓		
261r		↓		

261v			↓			
262r			↓		147. Heinrich v. Beringen	↓
262v						↓
263r			↓	148. Heinrich v. Beringen		↓
263v			↓			
<hr/>						
	<u>Watermark</u>					
264r	II	<u>Quire XXIII ?</u>	↓			
264v	ox's head		↓		149. Heinrich v. Beringen	↓
265r	with arrow		↓	150. Heinrich v. Beringen		↓
265v			↓			
266r			↓		151. Heinrich v. Beringen	*
266v			↓	152. Heinrich v. Beringen		
267r			↓		153. Heinrich v. Beringen	↓
267v						↓
268r			↓	154. Heinrich v. Beringen		↓
268v			↓			
269r			↓		155. Heinrich v. Beringen	↓
269v						↓
270r			↓	156. Heinrich v. Beringen		↓
270v			↓			
271r			↓		157. Heinrich v. Beringen	↓
271v			↓	158. Heinrich v. Beringen		↓
272r			↓		159. Heinrich v. Beringen	↓
272v						↓
273r		there seems	*	160. H. v. Ber'en	161. H. v. Ber'en	↓
273v		to be a	↓	162. Heinrich v. Beringen		↓
274r		break	↓	164. H. v. Ber'en	163. H. v. Ber'en	*
274v		between	↓		165. Heinrich v. Beringen	↓
275r		folios 275	↓	166. Heinrich v. Beringen		↓
275v		and 276	↓	168. H. v. Ber'en	167. H. v. Ber'en	*
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	<u>Watermark</u>					
276r	II	<u>Quire XXIV ?</u>	↓		169. Heinrich v. Beringen	↓
276v	ox's head		↓	170. Heinrich v. Beringen		↓
277r	with arrow		↓			

277v		↓		171. Heinrich v. Beringen	↓
278r					↓
278v					↓
279r					↓
279v		*	172. H. v. Ber'en	173. H. v. Ber'en	↓
280r	<b>BUT</b>				↓
280v	<b>FOLIOS 281</b>	↓	174. Heinrich v. Beringen		↓
281r	<b>AND 282</b>	↓		175. Heinrich v. Beringen	↓
281v	<b>ARE A</b>	*	176. H. v. Ber'en	177. H. v. Ber'en	↓
282r	<b>MIDDLE</b>				↓
282v	<b>FOLDED</b>	*	178. H. v. Ber'en	179. H. v. Ber'en	↓
283r	<b>SECTION</b>				↓
283v		↓	180. Heinrich v. Beringen		↓
284r		↓		181. Heinrich v. Beringen	↓
284v		↓	182. Heinrich v. Beringen		↓
285r		↓		183. Heinrich v. Beringen	↓
285v					↓
286r	<u>Watermark</u> <u>III</u>				↓
286v	castle and				↓
287r	cross				↓
287v	<b>THERE</b>	↓	184. Wann man reden . .		↓
288r	<b>SEEMS TO BE</b>	↓	.		↓
288v	<b>A BREAK</b>	↓			↓
289r	<b>AFTER</b>	↓			↓
289v	<b>FOLIO 287</b>			185. Von Z. und Maß	↓
290r					↓
290v					↓
291r					↓
291v					↓
292r		↓	186. Wann man reden . .		↓
292v		↓	. II		↓

293r

293v



APPENDIX VEDITED WORKS FROM ADDITIONAL MANUSCRIPT 24946

1. Item 5, ff. 10<sup>r</sup>-11<sup>v</sup>, Religious Poem "Von dem glauben"
2. Item 122, ff. 170<sup>v</sup>-177<sup>r</sup>, Unidentified Poem
3. Item 123, ff. 177<sup>r</sup>-179<sup>v</sup>, Unidentified Poem "Von den Wucherern"
4. Item 128, ff. 209<sup>r</sup>-210<sup>r</sup>, Andre von Esperdingen: "Neujahrsrede"
5. Item 184, ff. 287<sup>v</sup>-289<sup>r</sup>, Unidentified Poem "Wann man reden oder schweigen soll"



ITEM 5 – RELIGIOUS POEM – “VON DEM GLAUBEN”FOLIOS 10<sup>r</sup> – 11<sup>v</sup>

Von dem glauben

10<sup>r</sup>

Wir sollen bitten den heiligen geist  
 vmb rechten glauben aller maist,  
 der vns den weg der warheit weist.  
 Heiliger geist, nun chum vns her,  
 5           erfull deiner gelaubigen hertz beger,  
           das fewr deiner lieb entzint werd  
 in vil maniger zungen sprach!  
           Dein heilige gutickait ane sach  
           dew cristen glauben nun volgtu nach.  
 10       Der glauben ist das aller pesst  
           vnd guetter werich ain grund so vest –  
           mit dem erste wir zum aller lest.  
 Der gelaub mues ain anfang wesen;  
           all die bey got nür wollen genesen,  
 15       das hor wir singen vnd ee lesen.  
 Der cristen glauben ist das hochst,  
           mit dem wir all nur werden getrost,  
           do crist der herr vns hat erlosst.  
 Wir sein auch cristen nach im genant;  
 20       got die seinen hat hie der kant,  
           die er will bringen jns vaternland.  
 Dew cristen glauben nür haben volbracht  
           vnd gutte werich an aller statt,  
           wann got der herre gesprochen hat.  
 25       Ir predigt den cristen glauben schon;  
           an alle welt so gee ewr donn,  
           alle creatur sagt den lonn.

10<sup>v</sup>

Wer tauft vnd glaubt cristenleich,  
 der besitzt meines vater reich;  
 30 das khund ich euch gar ofenleich.  
 Das sagent vns nu die priester werd  
 den rechten glauben hie auf erd,  
 vnd maniger sünder wirt beckett.  
 Wir sullen glauben an aller stat,  
 35 was die romisch kirche singt vnd sagt,  
 vnd volgen der weisen priester rat;  
 die söllen vns weisen vnd lernen –  
 chain wirdigers ist nit auf erden –  
 wir sollen sie loben vnd auch ern;  
 40 sy hat got selber auss erkorenn,  
 wenn wir von erst nür wern geporn,  
 sy müessen vnser sel bewaren;  
 sy nementz dem tiefl an der statt  
 vnd gebents der heiligen trinitat,  
 45 die heilig tauf vns geflehent hat.  
 Wir sollens für das pesst hie wegen,  
 sÿ haben dem menschen die sünd zuvergeben,  
 pringen manige sel zu dem ewigen leben;  
 sy sind gesetzt von vnnserm herrn,  
 50 dÿ heilig geschrift zu sagen vnd lernen  
 vnd manigen von seinen sünden beckern.  
 Wir müessens haben an vnnserm end;  
 sÿ raichen vns das sacramenntt,  
 wann wir nw faren aus disen ellendt.  
 55 Allen königen noch den fursten her  
 hat got tan nie so grosse er;  
 sy sagent vns die gotlichenn ler.  
 Ain lebentigs opfer das wirt volbracht;  
 in aller mess wirt vnser gedacht,  
 60 fur lebendig vnd die auch sind todt.

Sy bringent got auch in jr henndt  
 vnd wandelnt das heilig sacrament;  
 das soll wir glauben an vnserm end.  
 Wir sullens glauben an aller statt. 11<sup>r</sup>

65 Verfluecht so ist der hussen tod;  
 der pos geist geit in den ratt,  
 das sie sind wider die cristenheit;  
 das machet nür ir geitickaitt,  
 in ist das ewig fewr beraitt.

70 Sy sind in aller wellt verpant;  
 die heilig geschrift die spricht zuhand:  
 “wer nit glaubt, der ist verdambt”.  
 Sy müessen sich nü all verwegen  
 der heiling hillf vnd gottes segen;  
 75 in wirt der ewig flüch gegeben.

Als got der herre selber sprichth:  
 “wer nit glaubt, der ist ietzund gericht”;  
 auf erd so lebt doch posers nicht.  
 Sy scheutten die heiligen vnd auch gott,  
 80 sein werde müter habentz in spott,  
 sy laisten als des teüfels bott,  
 sy haben verckert die heiligen geschrift;  
 vnd sein vorlaufer, des änter crisst,  
 der pos gaist lernt sie denn list.

85 Sy störend die kirchen hie auf erden,  
 darin got gelobet soll werdenn;  
 die briesterschaft sie gar vuern;  
 die achten sie an aller statt,  
 das sie nit straffen ir missetat;  
 90 gotz barmung vntz vertzagen hat.

Es wirt verhengt von gott dem hrn;  
 durch vnser sund hie auf erden  
 den rechten sie wöllen verckern;



ITEM 122 - UNIDENTIFIED POEMFOLIOS 170<sup>v</sup> – 177<sup>r</sup>

Wie diemutikait vnd hoffart, 170<sup>v</sup>  
 tugent vnd ir widertail,  
 trew, neid vnd hass,  
 geitikait vnd mässikait,  
 keuschhait vnd vnkeusch,  
 gedulltikait vnd zorn mitainander  
 widerpart kriegen, vnd wie sy desselben  
 ires kriegs die wellt entschaidet.

171<sup>r</sup>

5 Horet, frawen vnd ir man,  
 hie ist komen auf den plan  
 die wellt, das sie vernemen will  
 vngeleich lewf, der gar vill  
 in der wellt geschicht;  
 was ainer tuet, der ander gicht,  
 es sey vnrecht getan,  
 baide frawen vnd man,  
 wann die tugent vnd ir widerpart  
 10 sind gar vngeleich von art;  
 die will die wellt verhoren  
 vnd im krieg zerstoren  
 vnd will ir baiden sachen  
 schlecht als ain sichell machen.  
 15 Nw antwurt die wellt daruber:  
 Ich bin die wellt genant;  
 wer sicht an mein gewant,  
 baide forn vnd hinden,  
 der mag in synnen woll erfinden,

20 wie mein lauf seÿ gestalt,  
 baide jung vnd allt;  
 der lutzell ist on mail,  
 darvmb der merer tayll  
 seind mir genaiget woll;  
 25 darvmb red ich als ich soll.  
 Tugent vnd ir widertail,  
 das ich an ain hail,  
 ich will ins allen baiden  
 woll also gleich entschaiden,  
 30 das aint weders furgatt,  
 wellen sie vollgen meinem rat.  
 Des pfarrers ler vnd mein begir  
 ist ain vngeleichs halbier;  
 mir ist sanft mit vpikait,  
 35 so lernet er die warhait;  
 wer im nw clag hab furgenomen,  
 der soll vil balld her zu mir komen. 171<sup>v</sup>  
 Hie rett diemutikait:  
 Diemutikait bin ich genant;  
 40 do man trew in der wellt vand,  
 da was ich lieb vnd wert;  
 nw ist ir lutzell auf der erd,  
 die mein nement war;  
 das kumbt von der hoffart dar,  
 45 ich hon die allten horn iehen.  
 Soll es hallt nymer mer geschehen,  
 das man der diemutikait genos  
 vnd gewan ir er vnd wirt gros,  
 nw bin ich als gar verflucht,  
 50 das mein niemand mer gerucht;  
 hoffart ist nw worden süeß,  
 das sie der tewfell zernn mues.

Hoffart rett wider diemutikait:  
 Dein reden ist gar enwicht,  
 55 dw bedorstest ir halber nicht;  
 was schatt mir mein vbermut?  
 Er ist mir zuuil sachen gut,  
 es gicht maniger herr zu mir,  
 der nit sprach gesell zu dir;  
 60 man mues mich sehen an,  
 da man dich fur latt gan;  
 dw warest als gern werd als ich.  
 So will von gotts gnaden niemand dich,  
 dein acht niemand furbas,  
 65 denn die sich nit vermugen bas;  
 man hat mich schon vnd werdt,  
 wenn dein niemants begertt;  
 ich traw der wellt, sie vind den fund,  
 sie laß dich nicht ziehen zustund;  
 70 ich will nit sein dein zag;  
 was die wellt darvmb sag,  
 daran las dich benuegen;  
 ich main, es werd sich fuegen,  
 deinem rechten prech der halb ab 172<sup>r</sup>  
 75 vnd gullt es ain pfund, ich behab.  
 Nw antwurt die wellt daruber:  
 Diemutikait ich sag dir,  
 deiner clag furbas enbir;  
 mich tunckt, du habest nit daran;  
 80 es muezen frawen vnd man,  
 jung vnd allt,  
 als es nw ist gestalt,  
 iren leib ziern  
 vnd waidenlich floriern.  
 85 Es sprachen annders arm vnd reich

gar gemaincklich,  
 was menschen ist das,  
 vnd hat neid vnd has  
 vnd dartzue grozzen spott.  
 90 Ich sprich es samir gott,  
 man hat sie halb fur narren,  
 die in diemutikait wollen harn;  
 hoffart die ist dir gar zu starck,  
 vnd gullt es hundert marck,  
 95 die warn alle verlorn;  
 die red las dir nit wesen zorn,  
 vnd la dauon, damit  
 dein krieg furtrait dich nit.  
 Nw antwurt milltikait:  
 100 Wellt, ich bin fraw millt  
 vnd wais, wes ich engillt;  
 frawen millt het man gar schon,  
 vnd trueg weilennt die kron;  
 geitikait hat dartzue bracht,  
 105 das baide tag vnd nacht  
 den lewten der sin  
 stett mir nach gewin;  
 gut ist der lewt abtgott,  
 dauon ist millt worden spott; 172<sup>v</sup>  
 110 man tut furbaz mer  
 got noch den heiligen lutzell er,  
 geitikait hat sich eingesetzt  
 vnd hat die millt mit hunden aus gehetzt.  
 Wellt, tunckt dich das gut?  
 115 Sag, was ist in deinem mut,  
 das es nach meinem willen gieng;  
 ich wollt das sie an dem galgen hieng.  
 Nw antwurt geitikait der millt:



Geitikait bin ich genant  
 120 vnd bin auch weit erkant;  
 millt ich sag dir mer:  
 wer gut hat, der hat er;  
 den reichenn man tugentlich enpfacht,  
 wenn der arm wirt gar versmacht;  
 125 vill dick man von dem armen gicht,  
 law in duß, er hat nicht;  
 armut ist woll so streng,  
 ee das sie yemant lyt die lenng;  
 es teucht mich nit sund,  
 130 er nam ee gut, wo ers fund;  
 mein pester geding  
 sind mein pfennyng,  
 pezzet wann an sterben  
 vnd von millt verderben;  
 135 niemant lobt die millt;  
 den, der die frumen schillt,  
 als lotter vnd buben sind,  
 der sich daran kert, der ist ain kind;  
 millt, hab dir das lobelein  
 140 vnd laß dein clagen furbas sein.  
 Wellt, mach darvmb schlecht,  
 law horn, was tunckt dich recht.  
 Nu antwurt die wellt daruber:  
 Millt, dw wirst gesigent,  
 145 als da vier ob aim ligennt;  
 niemant gewint von millt gut, 173<sup>r</sup>  
 man wirt ir wol zu armuet,  
 vnd war er der pesst von art,  
 der seit Christi purd ie wardt;  
 150 ich sprich bey gottes hulden,  
 er mues verschmach dulden,

wer reich was vnd wirt arm;  
 man spricht, das got erparm,  
 das dw ye geuielst in dise not,  
 155 dein war wager vil der tod;  
 ist aber das von millt beschehen,  
 er mues die lewt horn iechen,  
 er hat ain vbel haubt,  
 der im selb nit gelaubt;  
 160 gar recht dem beschicht,  
 er wollt es annders nicht.  
 Millt, la von deiner clag,  
 dw hast verlorn auf disen tag.  
 Hie rett massikeit:  
 165 Ich bins, die massikait,  
 man taucht sich etwen mein gemait;  
 wer massiklichen hiehlts sich,  
 man sprach, er lebt ordenlich;  
 dem leib bin ich darbey  
 170 die aller pesst ertzney;  
 ich sag ew, das mazzikait  
 gottes dinst macht gar brait;  
 dem der bauch ist voll,  
 der vastett noch betet nÿmer woll;  
 175 nw hat sich aus der mazzen  
 auf den frazz gelazzen  
 baide jung vnd allt,  
 als es nw ist gestalt;  
 sie habent mein vergezzen,  
 180 ir frod leit mir an trincken vnd an ezzen.  
 Nw rett der frazz wider mazzikait:  
 Mässikait, ich bins der frazz,  
 der dir tut manigen stozz  
 bey gesellnn gütter mut;

185 dein leib vil bas tut  
 vnd ain gutes trinickelein,  
 wann alles das vassten dein,  
 das dw getun macht;  
 dauon gedennck vnd tracht:  
 190 was soll alles gut,  
 der im dauon nit gutlich tut?  
 Ich sag auch das:  
 tattest du deinem leib bas,  
 du warest nit als mager vnd gell;  
 195 ich sag dirs gar schnell,  
 dem gestalt ist hewr als vertt  
 kainn ains posen habers wert;  
 ich sag dir furwar,  
 das kumbt dir von hunger dar.  
 200 Wellt, ich han der mazzikait  
 gesagt die ganntzen warhait.  
 Nw antwurt die wellt daruber:  
 Der leib ist das hauptgut;  
 der jm dartzue gutlich tut,  
 205 ich erkenn dabey,  
 daz er sein selbsfrund sey;  
 es kumbt dick dartzue,  
 baide spat vnd frue,  
 das man durch der leut grues  
 210 essen vnd trincken mues;  
 die mazzikait allain  
 macht nit den menschen rain;  
 es gehort vill dartzue,  
 daraus der mensch recht tue  
 215 gen gott recht bestan.  
 Der tewfel war ain erber man,  
 der ist nit ain frazz,

er hatt nie trinicken noch gazz.  
 Massikait, du herest wol geswigen,  
 220 la dein clag noch ligen.  
 Kewsch bin ich genant oder gehaizzen; 174<sup>r</sup>  
 bocken vnd gaissen  
 pewt man es bas dann mir;  
 nach mir stat niemand sein begir,  
 225 denn der von natur als allt,  
 kranck ist worden vnd kallt,  
 der mueß mich furgut haben;  
 aber jungen lewten vnd knaben,  
 jn meinem synn versich ich mich,  
 230 bin ich ain rechter pfwÿ dich;  
 sie habent mich geleich darfur  
 als das kott vor der tur.  
 Vnkeusch macht mir die versmacht,  
 ich wollt, das ich an ir gesach  
 235 ainen so getanen lieben blick,  
 als sich Judas hieng an seinem strick.  
 Vnkeusch rett wider kewschikait:  
 Keusch, ich mag nit wol vertragen,  
 ich mues dir die warhait sagen;  
 240 hastu nit vernomen,  
 wie die welt sey herkomen?  
 War aller manicklich  
 vormals her geleich  
 gemaincklich keusch beliben,  
 245 wir warn all abgeschriben,  
 vnd zergieng die welt schier;  
 dw sichst auch, das die willden tier  
 solicher sach pflegen sind;  
 alt lewt vnd junge kind  
 250 gehorent dich anzepflegen,

laß annderleut vnderwegen.  
 Kewsch ist ain vnwerder gast,  
 bey dem sie wont mit vberlast;  
 das soll die welt vns baiden  
 255 mitt ir vrtail beschaiden.  
 Hie rett die welt daruber:  
 Keusch, la dirs nit wesen zorn;  
 es war manig sell verlorn,  
 sollt mynnen sund sein; 174<sup>v</sup>  
 260 ich wann, das man dein  
 an vil stetten wol enber;  
 dw warest gar vnmer,  
 den das man dein vor ern  
 nicht mag wol enpern,  
 265 vnd das es wol fuegt sich,  
 man schry das mort vber dich,  
 vff dem dw tag vnd nacht  
 ligst als ain nazze sack.  
 Manig stoltz mensch auf erd  
 270 von gir in seinem hertzen begert,  
 war keusch verprunen,  
 oder in dein rein hin gerunen;  
 darvmb so dw ye mer clagest,  
 so dw ye mynder er bejagest;  
 275 ich han inn meinem mut,  
 mynnen sey als sund, als wee es tut,  
 wann es ward nie kain heilig so guter,  
 man mynte im sein mutter.  
 Hie rett dulltikait:  
 280 Weltt, ich bin die dulltikait  
 vnd mag in widerwartikait  
 mich woll jnne hallten,  
 das weder jung noch die allten

von mir mugent jehenn,  
 285 das sie mich nie entstallt haben gesehen.  
 Ich will auch mer sprechen:  
 ich ger mich nit zurechenn,  
 ob mir tut yemant wider recht,  
 das las ich wesen gut vnd slecht;  
 290 ich mag frod woll meÿden  
 vnd mag trawrn leiden;  
 der sytt ist gar verlorn,  
 man will nw mir mit vbel vnd zorn,  
 ieglicher sein sach auf bringen  
 295 vnd den andern vberdringen;  
 wer den andern vbermag,  
 der schewbt in jnn seinen sack.  
 Also stat nw der welt ding: 175<sup>r</sup>  
 ee ainer dem andern ain pfennyng  
 300 enpfor wollt geben gern,  
 er wollt darvmb erstochen werdn;  
 das kumbt von zorn dar.  
 Weltt, das nymb eben war.  
 Hie rett dulltikait vnd der zorn dawider:  
 305 Ich lawgen nit, ich sey der zorn;  
 er wart nie so hochgeborn,  
 der mir tat vberrecht,  
 er war ritter oder knecht,  
 ich wollt darvmb sterben  
 310 oder aber verderben;  
 ich wurd gerochen,  
 das von mir wurd gesprochen,  
 man bedarf disen man  
 nichts suechen an.  
 315 Ich ker mich nit an dein dulltikait,  
 mir war ser vnd lait,

das man von mir mocht iehen,  
 das ich ye kaim hett vbersehn;  
 wer sich nit gerechen tar,  
 320 man spricht nw niemand war,  
 der hat gern frid vnd suen,  
 man soll in jnn ain closter tuen.  
 Wellt, nw sag mir das:  
 welhew weiß geuellt dir bas?  
 325 Nw rett hie die wellt:  
 Ich will es furwar iehen,  
 es ist hart, die lenng vbersehen;  
 leiden ist heilig,  
 er wirt aber nymer salig,  
 330 der sein vil tut.  
 Also hon ich in meinem mut,  
 ob yemant vbersicht,  
 zuhannd man von im gicht,  
 ich gab vmb in nit ain aÿ,  
 335 es ist ain man, ain dyrenday,  
 das ist halbs leynin tuech;  
 es ist vbel, das er ain bruech 175<sup>v</sup>  
 an seinem leib tragen soll;  
 er fuegt aus der mazzen woll,  
 340 das er nielt die rinder;  
 dauon liebe kinder,  
 land ewchs nit ratten oder sagen,  
 das ir ew icht zu vnrecht hin last tragen.  
 Dulltikait, dw muest vnderlign,  
 345 ich wollt, dw hetttest vor geswign.  
 Hie rett trew:  
 Wellt, dw hast vil clag vernomen;  
 ich haizz trew vnd bin her komen.  
 Trew ist gar selltzam worden,

350 es ist ain wunderlicher orden  
 in der wellt aufgestanden,  
 hie vnd in allen lannden,  
 das niemand ganntzlich  
 an den andern lassen sich,  
 355 vnd sag dir furwar,  
 das kumbt von neid vnd haz dar.  
 Dauon ist trew versmogen,  
 man gicht, ew se ye hingeflogen;  
 mocht sich ainer nur errechen,  
 360 er ließ im ain awg ausstechen,  
 das der ander gar war blind,  
 das sind nw der wellt kind;  
 es aß auch ainer an den andren  
 ain nadell vngern;  
 365 er sprach wolvermezzen:  
 "Gesell, dw sollt den spitz gezzen,  
 darvmb so die wellt ye lennger stat,  
 so es ye wirs darin gat."  
 Hie rett neid vnd haz wider trew:  
 370 Wellt, dw macht nit wol enpern,  
 dw tuest es gern oder vngern,  
 dw muest dich lan bedorn  
 vnd vppig clag verhorn.  
 Ich bin haz vnd neid;  
 375 ttrew clagt von schulden,  
 ich gestalt nie nach iren hullden; 176<sup>r</sup>  
 ich red es offen vber lawtt:  
 trew ist ain vergezzens krawt,  
 man sat ew an maniger statt,  
 380 da sie doch nymer aufgatt,  
 so wan ich, das ir lützell sey,  
 in won neid vnd haz bey;



wer vbel noch gut kann,  
 man spricht, er sey ain *holen* man.  
 385 Wellt, ich han erdencket mich,  
 wir schicken trew gen himelreich,  
 sie ist niendert als wol,  
 wenn ich die warhait sagen soll.  
 Nu rett die wellt:  
 390 Gar zutrew stat zuwissen,  
 man mues auch haz darunder muschen;  
 es ward nie mensch als trew vnd slecht,  
 tatt man im gewallt oder vnrecht,  
 oder an dem leib schmerzen,  
 395 er wurd in seinem hertzen  
 tragen neid vnd haz;  
 darvmb sprich ich daz:  
 man mag sich den heiligen nit brechen,  
 sich mueß der mensch mit etwen rechen;  
 400 hassen vnd neiden  
 kan niemand wol vertreiben;  
 dauon lat ewrn krieg beleiben,  
 ich will weder trew noch haz vertreiben.  
 Hie rett emssikait:  
 405 An gottes dinst haizz ich emssikait;  
 wellt, ich clag dir auch mein leid:  
 vasten, peten ist mein ler,  
 des wollent lutzell vollgen mer,  
 es sey pfaff oder laÿ;  
 410 vnder hunderten kawm ains oder zwaÿ,  
 gottes dinst gar emzzig sind,  
 sie lannd es furgan als den wind;  
 predig, vasten vnd kirchgang,  
 da ist den lewten die weil lanng, 176<sup>v</sup>  
 415 sie sind als gar vnmar,

das ir nit mer sind war;  
 man hett sie balld verclagt;  
 mocht aber gottes hulld werden verjagt  
 mitt guttem gemach vnd senftem leben,  
 420 mitt lutzell petten, wenig almuesen geben,  
 mit lanng schlafen, mit lutzell vasten,  
 es wurd maniger zu himel rasten,  
 der als heilig war  
 als Sant Lorentz der martarer;  
 425 ich versich aber mich,  
 es gee nit als fur sich;  
 an gottes dinst ir trackhait  
 wirt in ains tags ser vnd lait.  
 Hie rett trackhait wider emssikait:  
 430 Gottes dinst bistu ain emzzikait;  
 die ler tuncket mich nit gar gut,  
 wann sie dem leib nur we tut;  
 ich han in meinem muet,  
 so man vastens ye mer tut  
 435 vnd petens dartzue,  
 das ainem das haupt icht dester bas tue;  
 hat sich ains selbs herrt,  
 vnd geest verr kirchferrt,  
 es hat dester verrer haim  
 440 vnd gewint dester muedere bain;  
 es sind recht affen,  
 die wanen, got hab nicht anndrs zu schafen,  
 denn das er emzziklich  
 mitt irem gebett bekumer sich;  
 445 maß ist in allen dingen güt,  
 der sie kan, vnd es auch tut;  
 meinem gebett setz ich ain kurtzes zill  
 vnd vasst auch nit gar vbrigs vill,

das ich nach aller meiner macht  
 450 pettet vnd vasstet tag vnd nacht.  
 Wes mocht ich des geniezzen?  
 Sein wurd vileicht got zu jungst verdrieessen.  
 Hie rett die wellt: 177<sup>r</sup>  
 Gottes dinst ain emssikait?  
 455 Sag, wer mag alltzeit sein bereit  
 gott zu dienen frue vnd spatt,  
 dann der nit annders zu thun hat;  
 es ist nit ain kindspill,  
 der albeg recht tun will,  
 460 den jungen irrt sein freyer mut,  
 dem allten träg kranckhait tut;  
 so man sollt betten an dem morgen,  
 so mueß man annders besorgen;  
 hiet ich aller wünsch gewallt,  
 465 so muessten baide jung vnd allt,  
 jr zeit mit frewden vertreiben.  
 Dabey lassen wir es beleiben;  
 es tunckt mich ain tumer synn,  
 dem sein tag sind ganngen hin,  
 470 das er nit sprechen mag.  
 Ich lebt nie gutten tag,  
 ich wollt vil lieber sein  
 auf ainem rues acker ain schwein.  
 Also sey es alles schlecht vnd gleich  
 475 als haberstro vnd wagherich,  
 damit sullen wir nit lennger beytten,  
 wir sullen furbas reitten.

ITEM 123 – UNIDENTIFIED POEM – “VON DEN WUCHERERN”FOLIOS 177<sup>r</sup> – 179<sup>v</sup>

Von den wuecherern wie gar bos die sein

177<sup>r</sup>

Bey ainen zeiten das geschach:  
 opfell vnd roszorten man swymen sach  
 beÿ ainander in ainem bach;  
 ain rosszort zu den opfellnn sprach:

5 “Wir opfell swÿmen hie in dem bach.”

Das beyspill man ainem gleichen soll,  
 der jm selbs geuellt als woll,  
 das er sich ainem gleichen will,  
 der ann gepurt ist pezzter vill,

10 an ern vnd auch an witzen;

zu dem will er sitzen  
 vnd will es also guts als derselb hann.

Das tunckt mich nit recht getan.

177<sup>v</sup>

Auch ainem ist er gar gleich:

15 wirdet ainer ietzo mit wuecher reich,

das er vil wuecher pfennyng hatt,  
 man haizt in sitzen so diser statt,  
 der sich seins vattern erbs begatt  
 vnd gut mit recht gewunen hat.

20 Ach, fraw er, wie ist dein orden,  
 damit so gar verswecht werden!

Kain wuecherer nit von wuecher lat,  
 die weil man sie alls erlich hat.

25 Vil grozzer ding man an sie latt,  
 man setzt sie an gericht vnd in den rat;

wirt ainer geuangen vmb missetat,  
 der etwas verstolen hatt,

ain wuecherer geit auch uber in rat,  
 das man in darvmb totten soll.  
 30 So sollt er sich doch bedenncken woll,  
 das er selbs pozers hat getan –  
 da will er kain straf vmb han.  
 Vnd doch vil poser sind die wuecherer  
 dann dieb oder rauber;  
 35 dauon ist es ain missetat,  
 das man ainen vrtail geben lat,  
 den got selbs vertailt hatt.  
 Wer wuecherer hielt nach irem orden  
 (ir warn auf erd als vil nie worden),  
 40 so will man sie nur als herrn han –  
 dauon kan man ir nit zergann.  
 Ich sag euch wuecherer orden woll:  
 der tiefell ist ir prioll,  
 Judas ist ir provincial;  
 45 der vand irn orden zw dem ersten mall.  
 Judas was gottes amptman,  
 als die geschrift weisen kan;  
 der tiefel gab im in den mut,  
 das er got selbs verkauffett vmb gut,  
 50 als noch manig poser wucherer tut,  
 der got täglich verkauft vmb gut.  
 Man vindt auch noch ain amptman, 178<sup>r</sup>  
 der Judas poßhait auch woll kann,  
 der seinem herrn gut abtraitt  
 55 vnd es im selbs an wuecher lait,  
 dauon noch maniger herr verdirbt  
 vnd der knecht zu ainem hrn wirt.  
 Wuechrer haben sunden ainen fund:  
 sie leihent ainem hundert pfund  
 60 (die wellen sie im an wuecher lan),

doch mues er ains dartzue han:  
 das hat er jm stall ain posen gaull,  
 ist hinden lam vnd forn faull,  
 das mues er auch han vmb sechzig pfund –  
 65 das ist ain boser wuechersund;  
 er beytett im des gellts ain jar,  
 des verdirbt der arm zwar,  
 wann will er par pfennyng han,  
 er mueß vmb zehen pfund ainem lann,  
 70 das mueßt derselb vmb sechzge han.  
 Ain jud hiet im vil rechter tann.  
 Das nachst das nw darnach gatt  
 das haist plaichts tuech vnd leÿnwat:  
 auf plaichtes tuech geben sie gelt vor ein  
 75 vnd machens weiß on sunen schein;  
 darauf so legen sie iren vleyss,  
 das es werd schwartz vnd darnach weis;  
 es kumbt oft in die dritt maus,  
 ee das mans ainsten legett aus,  
 80 damit die sun vnd blaicher knecht  
 werdent beraubt irer recht.  
 Sind das nit wunderliche mar!  
 Was kunen die posen wuechrer,  
 das sie berauben die planeten?  
 85 Das kunden weilent nit prophetten;  
 die plaichen oft tuech one sunnen,  
 ee das garn wirt darzue gespunen.  
 Wer die wuecherer das gelernt hat? –  
 in decretall es niendert stat;  
 90 an hellfart vmb die posen sund  
 178<sup>v</sup> geit man wuecherern fur ir sund.  
 Ir list niemand volschreiben kan,  
 sie hand verderbt manigen man,

der wol bey gut beliben war,  
 95 den die posen wuechrer.  
 Ich will ew wuchrer orden sagen:  
 sie sollten juden huetlach tragn,  
 so kant man sie dester baz;  
 dieselben juden huettlein  
 100 sollten hoch vnd spitzig sein,  
 das man kawm bracht ain stablein darein;  
 so tragents yetzo brait hawben auf,  
 man satzt ain schaf mit wazzer darauf;  
 also tragents nit orden  
 105 vnd sind abtrunig bruder worden.  
 Nw hat man vns das oft gesait:  
 wenn ein minich die khutten hinlait  
 vnd er on seinen orden gatt,  
 das er sein pfrund verlorn hat.  
 110 Von ainem weisen ich auch vernam;  
 der sprach, wer sich seins antwerchs scham,  
 der soll sich sein abtun  
 vnd soll dauon nit nemen lon.  
 Das hand die wuechrer nie getan;  
 115 die sicht man on irn orden gan  
 vnd wend nutz vom hanndwerck han;  
 vil eren wurden sie erlann,  
 wellt mans nach wuechrer orden han.  
 An dem tantz bey gutten frawen  
 120 sollt man kainen wuecherer schawen;  
 sie sollten nit silber tragen  
 vnd nit bayzzen noch nit jagen;  
 kain sparber sollten ir hennd nit berurn;  
 man sollt in kain spies nach fuern,  
 125 das ist in alles zu adenlich.  
 Wie gar sie sind des wuechers reich,

doch sind sy das nit tun mit recht,  
 wann sie sind des tewfells knecht.  
 Kain knecht sollt in nach gan, 179<sup>r</sup>  
 130 frawen solltens nit lieb han,  
 sie sollten nit in die kirchen gan,  
 noch bey der heiligen mes nit stan;  
 man sollts als ander juden han,  
 die cristenheit dy sollts nit leiden,  
 135 als die ächter sollt mans meiden,  
 wann sie sind in gottes acht.  
 Gott hat wuecherer nie erdacht,  
 sie hat der tiefel in die wellt bracht;  
 sie wend nit haben wucherer namen  
 140 vnd wend sich doch nit wuechrns schamen.  
 Aines soll man sie erlan:  
 gen wuechrern soll niemant auf stan,  
 man well dann verrer von in gann,  
 noch kain kapen abziehen;  
 145 man soll auch allzeit von in fliehen,  
 man soll sie meiden, wo sie gand,  
 wann sie got dick verkauft hand.  
 Ich wollt, all frawen wären stat,  
 das ir kaine nichts tatt,  
 150 wes sie ain poser wuechrer latt,  
 damit sollt man in wuechrn laiden;  
 ir frawen sollt man von in schaiden,  
 so ergieng wuechrer zucht  
 (kain poser bawm bracht nie gut frucht,  
 155 es slecht gern gris nach grawen,  
 katzen kind wol lernt mawen);  
 darvmb solltens meyden frawen,  
 so wurd kain wuechrer mer geboren.  
 Das an in ist kristem vnd tauf verlorn,



160 sie sollten trincken juden wein,  
 jm willtmoß sollt ir kirchof sein,  
 da sollt mans nach tod ziehen ein;  
 man sollts nit in die erd graben,  
 vappen vnd krawen solltens nagen,  
 165 darnach sie dann straffen soll –  
 der tiefell ist ir brioll. 179<sup>v</sup>  
 Varenden leuten ich ains enpan,  
 das sie oft straffent manigen man  
 vnd im zelend fur missetat,  
 170 ob er die veind geflohen hat;  
 der mueß darvmb die hofe meiden,  
 tischlach wend sie vor im abschneiden,  
 sie sprechent er sey an ern faull  
 vnd slahent im lügen vmb das maull.  
 175 Vmb wuechern dings gen furkaufen  
 wellend varend lut yetz nit straffen;  
 darvmb trag ich in grozzen haz:  
 sie sollten woll bedenncken das,  
 das es ist ain grosse missetat.  
 180 Den der veind geflohen hat,  
 er sey burger, ritter oder knecht,  
 zu dem hetten sie pezzer recht,  
 die tischlach vor jm abschneiden;  
 ob sie nit wollten wuechrner meiden,  
 185 sie sind vor gott an glauben faull –  
 den solltens slahen vmb das maull  
 kallbsfras vnd luggan,  
 wann sie sind des tiefells man.

ITEM 128 – ANDRE VON ESPERDINGEN: “NEUJAHRSPREDE”FOLIOS 209<sup>r</sup> – 210<sup>r</sup>

Gain neuen jar andre von esperdingen

209<sup>r</sup>

Wolauf, ir werde cristenheit,  
 wacht hie vnd seitt beraitt  
 gen disem lieben neuen jar,  
 seit sich der edell got so clar  
 5 zu ainer magt hatt getrewett –  
 in kinds weis hat er sich vernewett.  
 Wie dw gott nw dancken willt,  
 das er dich hatt nach im billt,  
 menschchen vorm an sich genomen, 209<sup>v</sup>  
 10 durch unnsern willen auf die welt komen.  
 Maria, dw edele kinigin,  
 dein nam soll ymer gelobet sein,  
 das dw den werden trost  
 15 jn deinem leib vmbfangen hast  
 vnd in dir beslozen,  
 des all sündler haben genozzen.  
 Sant Gabriel was sein bott,  
 des sullen wir ymer dancken gott.  
 Maria hat vns der helle stras verslagen,  
 20 hor ich die weisen pfafen sagen;  
 wir westen weder hin noch her,  
 war nicht der frumen pfafen ler,  
 wann ain pfafe der briesterlich lebtt  
 vnd sich vppikait vberhebt,  
 25 der ist pezzler dann ain engell vill,  
 des lob ich auch ymer breisen will,

wann das kumbt von gottes kraft her,  
 das die welt daran hatt wider ker.  
 Durch der prophetten mund  
 30 tuend uns auch die weisen kund:  
 wann er mes list oder singtt  
 vnd seinen rechten hern twingt  
 vnd bringt in herab in ain brott,  
 loblich er in jnn den hennden hatt;  
 35 er läst in aus den hennden nicht  
 bis sein will hintz im geschicht.  
 Ir lob stett reichlich ze messen:  
 er geseget uns das abentezzen,  
 gots leichnam vnd sein raines blut.  
 40 Woll dem, der ain lawtere beicht tut,  
 dem sind alle sein sund vergeben  
 vnd bringt auch das ewig leben;  
 wem das selb zerecht geschichtt  
 den hungert noch durst furbas nicht.  
 45 Darvmb sullt ir durch gott gern geben,  
 so mugt ir leicht gen hymel streben:  
 kumbt ain glerter man fur ew,  
 versagt im nit ain claine trew  
 durch got vnd ewr selber er, 210<sup>r</sup>  
 50 er geitt euch sicher mer.  
 Ain klain gut wirt nit zu ainem hart,  
 das an ern wirt erspartt,  
 wann gut lat sich verliesen vnd gewynnen.  
 Also red Andre von Esperdingen.

ITEM 184 – UNIDENTIFIED POEM“WANN MAN REDEN ODER SCHWEIGEN SOLL”FOLIOS 287<sup>v</sup> – 289<sup>r</sup>

Wann man reden oder sweigen sülle

287<sup>v</sup>

Es was ye der wellte sitt:

tue recht vnd furcht dir nit.

Damit wird ich betrogen;

ich tet recht vnd ward verlogen.

5 O trew, dw bist ain fron der geist;

wer trew hat, der halt sy vast,

wann man sicht laider sellten

trew mit trewen widergellten.

Vbernymb dich sein an kainer stat,

10 ob dirs gelucklich gatt.

Was got dem vndankparn geit,

das nymbt er im wider in kurtzer zeit;

ob es dir ain weil vbel gat,

so hof des pessten ist mein rat;

15 willtu dann nicht fursichtig sein

vnd willt torlich tun den dingen dein,

so soltu schellten das geluck nicht,

ob es ain mal an dir gepricht.

288<sup>r</sup>

Willtw dein ere haben weitt,

20 so gillt gern zw aller zeitt;

wann wer gillt willickleich,

der mag kaufen vnd verkaufen zimleich.

Nicht sag deinem veind deinen schaden,

damit dw pist vberladen.

25 Dw solt auch in deiner armuet

nicht tragen schwärn muet;

es mag niemandts auf diser erden  
 so reich noch arm werden,  
 es verkere sich in kurtzer frist.  
 30 Ob dw vngelucksalig bist,  
 widersetz dich dem gewalt nit, wil ich dir sagen,  
 willtw nit schaden dauon tragen.  
 Dw, jung mensch, arbeit will ich dich lern,  
 das dw im alter lebst in ern.  
 35 Wann dann ain anderr reden will,  
 so vnderred im nicht vill.  
 Willtw hie auf erden  
 weise geschätzt werden,  
 so soltw dich selbs loben nicht,  
 40 wann aigens loben ist enwicht.  
 Acht nit, ob yemants ret haimlich,  
 das dw nit selbs verdenckest dich,  
 wann wer vngerecht vnd schuldig ist,  
 der maint, man red von im zw aller frist.  
 45 Jn suessen Worten zw maniger zeitt  
 grosse vntrew verporgen leit.  
 Willtw haben gemach vnd frid,  
 so zam deiner zungen gelid,  
 wann der zorn endet sich kurtzleich,  
 50 wo man antwurt gibt süzzleich;  
 auch pose red zw aller frist  
 kainer antwurt wirdig ist.  
 Ein ietlich mensch zu schirmen hat 288<sup>v</sup>  
 lug fur sein missetat;  
 55 wer anderleüt will betriegen,  
 der mües mit suezzer red vil liegen;  
 mit kurtzen Worten ich lobes hil,  
 lanng red verdriessen vil;  
 der lestert sellten ainen man,

60 der sich selbs erkennen kan.  
 Vnd der mensch vil frewnt hat,  
 dy weil es im wol gat;  
 wann aber das geluck hingeet,  
 so ist niemant, der im bey besteet.  
 65 Sorg macht oft grabe har,  
 wie wol der mensch nit hat dy jar.  
 Schon empfalet mich iederman,  
 wann ich gut vnd pfennyng han,  
 aber pald verkeret sich der sin,  
 70 wann das gut nw gett dahin.  
 An welhen enden dw eingend bist,  
 so bis mässiger red zw aller frist,  
 darvmb wann dw kumbst heraus,  
 das man dir wol iehe im haws;  
 75 wann dw auch bist geladen zu ern,  
 so solltw der hochsten stat empern  
 vnd sollt peitten mit witzen,  
 wohin dich der wirt haist sitzen.  
 Der ist reich an aller stat,  
 80 den genugt an dem, das er hat.  
 Er ist auch wol wirdig genennt,  
 der alle ding zum pessten wennt;  
 dw solt auch nit vast trawrig sein,  
 ob es nit geet nach dem willen dein,  
 85 wann got mit trübsal vil  
 die seinen haimsuechen will.  
 Dw solt auch den gutten frewnd dein  
 vmb klain sach nicht vorwurchen sein;  
 wann dw straffest ain andern man, 289<sup>r</sup>  
 90 sich von erst dein selbs leben an  
 vnd gedenck zw aller frist,  
 das niemants hie on lasster ist.

Was dir widertzam will sein,  
dem soltw mit rat widerstendig sein,  
95 wann das gemaincklich schaden bringt;  
was in dem ersten wirt verhengt.  
Vermeid zureden newe mär,  
das man nit hais ain lugner;  
red schadet oft vnd ist nit gut,  
100 schweigen sellten schaden tut;  
vnd wiewol man dich tut fragen,  
noch soltw nit haimlich sach sagen,  
wann es get dir an dein gut wol;  
so huet dich vor schaden alle mal,  
105 wann das anheben vnd das endt  
haben dick missewennt.  
Ob allen nötten ist ain not:  
was lebentig ist mues werden todt.  
Also hat ditz ein end;  
110 gott vnnser sund wend;  
jn gottes namen  
sprechen wir alle amen.

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