

AN ANALYSIS OF THE STRUCTURE AND THEMES OF DER STRICKER'S
"PFAFFE AMIS"

by

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SYNOPSIS

After an introduction treating the problems surrounding the identity of the poet and his background, the manuscripts of Pfaffe Amis, the virtues and shortcomings of modern editions of the work and the position of research so far (Chapter I), Chapter II looks at the genre "Schwank" and Pfaffe Amis as a "Schwank" collection, and considers each of the individual episodes of the work as a "Schwank" in its own right, looking particularly at the comedy of each of these episodes.

Chapters III and IV treat two particular problems connected with interpretation of the work, the question of Amis' conversion and the aim and relevance of the prologue (lines 1-38, 39-43) respectively, while Chapter V considers the central theme of the work, looking at various interpretations of the work and at the same time developing its own.

Chapters VI to IX consider the structure of the work. Chapter VI looks at the unifying elements within the work and rejects the idea of the last two episodes being a later addition. Chapter VII recognises these last two episodes as being one of several sets of pairs of "Schwänke" which relate to the structural three-fold division within the work. Chapter VIII explores the idea of the work as the combination of two separate cycles of "Schwänke" and discerns underlying structures which emphasise the unity of the work. Chapter IX sums up.

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Unless otherwise specified, the quotations from der Stricker's Pfaffe Amis given in the following pages are from the edition by Hans Lambel in Erzählungen und Schwänke (Deutsche Classiker des Mittelalters, XII), Leipzig 1883, pages 1 - 102. The headings to the various individual "Schwänke" comprising the work are also Lambel's and taken from his edition.

CHAPTER IThe Poet

The name "der Stricker" in this or one of its variant forms⁽¹⁾ is the only name that we have for the poet of Pfaffe Amis, used both by himself, as in Karl⁽²⁾:

"Diz ist ein altez maere.
nu hât ez der Strickaere
erniuwet durch der werden gunst,
die noch minnent hovelîche kunst" (lines 115 - 118),

Daniel von dem Blühenden Tal⁽³⁾:

"hie wil/ der Strickaere
mit worten zeigen sîne kunst
und hât des gerne iuwer gunst,
daz irz mit zûhten hoeret
und niht mit rede zerstoeret" (lines 16 - 20),

Frauenehre⁽⁴⁾:

"ditz ist eine schoene maere
daz ouch nu der Strickaere
die vrouwen wil bekennen" (lines 137 - 139),

and Pfaffe Amis⁽⁵⁾:

"Nû saget uns der Strickaere,
wer der êrste man waere
der liegen unt triegen ane vienc" (lines 39 - 41),

and used by others speaking of him, as by Rudolf von Ems in Alexander⁽⁶⁾:

"swenn er wil der Strickaere
sô macht er guotiu maere" (lines 3257 - 3258)

and Willehalm von Orlens⁽⁷⁾:

"Och heti uch der Strikaere
Bas danne ich berihtet,
Wold er uch han getihtet
Als Daniel von blûnden tal" (lines 2230 - 2233).

Whatever the precise meaning and derivation of the name, whether "vagus, wandernder Dichter" from Middle High German "strîchen" ("wandern, umher-schweifen")⁽⁸⁾, or from Middle High German "stricken", i.e. "Verknüpfen, Compositeur" and therefore simply meaning "Dichter"⁽⁹⁾, or from Old High German "stricchan" and meaning "Strickmacher, Seiler, Flossbinder"⁽¹⁰⁾,

the problem need not concern us too much here. The various bearers of the similar surname, Heinricus Strichaere, Kloster Reichersberg 1190⁽¹¹⁾, Godefridus Stricker, Adenau in der Eifel 1216⁽¹²⁾, and Chuenrat Streicher⁽¹³⁾ only serve to confuse the issue. The definite article always appears with the name, which would tend to refute the suggestion of it as a surname, and Pfeiffer's⁽¹⁴⁾ and Bartsch's⁽¹⁵⁾ considerations of the use of "ch" and "ck" in the various manuscripts of the poet's works and the confusion between "Stricker" and "schribere"⁽¹⁶⁾, "dichtere"⁽¹⁷⁾, "tuchtere" and "tichtaere"⁽¹⁸⁾ in manuscripts in the following centuries would tend to point to the derivation from "stricken" as being the most plausible. Bartsch also points out⁽¹⁹⁾ that the lines from der Stricker's poem Die Klage⁽²⁰⁾:

"nu dunket mich vil billich,
sît ich bî in muoz genesen
und mag ir landes niht entwesen,
daz ouch ich singe ir aller liet" (lines 24 - 27)

make the suggestion of his being known as the "wandering singer" somewhat out of place.

It is also accepted by scholars that, whatever the derivation of the name may be, it betrays the poet's bourgeois origins⁽²¹⁾.

Attempts to fix dates to the literary activities of der Stricker rest primarily on the mention that is made of him by Rudolf von Ems in Alexander and Willehalm von Orlens, and on this evidence Bartsch⁽²²⁾ sees him as a contemporary of Rudolf and gives the dates of der Stricker's literary activity as likewise between 1220 and 1254⁽²³⁾. Jensen, however, believes the dates to be considerably earlier, c. 1180 - 1220⁽²⁴⁾. He argues primarily from the other reference normally used to fix dates for der Stricker, those lines in Gedicht von den Edelsteinen:

"daz wart ze Venedje wol schîn
an dem herzogen Heinrîche,
do er tranc vil staeteclîche
ûz eim smaragdes umbe daz,
daz im an den ougen wurde baz
und bestreichs dâ mit unz an die vart,
daz im der tac ein naht wart
und was unz an sîn ende blint" (lines 206 - 213)⁽²⁵⁾.

But, in excluding the possibility of one of the two Heinrich von Medling's⁽²⁶⁾ being the Herzog Heinrich mentioned and suggesting Heinricus Caecus comes Namurcensis in their place, Jensen provides no better proof necessarily that this person is the one referred to. Even if he were, there is no reason why der Stricker should not allude to him forty or more years after his death rather than five or ten years after⁽²⁷⁾. Jensen also prefers to take the poem since reproduced by Ute Schwab as Die Geistlichen⁽²⁸⁾ to help with dating, and seeing it as being written just after the Lateran Council of 1215, then fits in other convenient dates to explain references in the poem.

But even in taking the references in Alexander and Willehalm von Orlens there is still the point of contention as to whether der Stricker is to be regarded as a contemporary of Rudolf von Ems in the narrower sense or whether he lived somewhat earlier⁽²⁹⁾, that is to say whether he was already dead by about the year 1240.

The problem of trying to fix more specific dates to der Stricker's life and to his individual works is the most difficult problem of all; what evidence there is is simply not conclusive. Jensen seems to stand alone in his dating of der Stricker's activity, and his arguments particularly concerning the two Rudolf von Ems references are not convincing. It seems most likely that Bartsch's original suggestion is the correct one. And according to Bartsch's arguments Pfaffe Amis was written between the years 1230 and 1236, that is to say before the banishment of Herzog Friedrich from the Austrian court. If Bartsch's arguments for dating the composition of Pfaffe Amis thus are largely by fitting it into a gap left after a more scientific approach to the dating of other of der Stricker's works rather than by the application of more positive evidence (albeit that this is lacking), it is still the case that on balance, when all the various arguments of all the various commentators have been taken into account, the whole of Bartsch's arguments regarding the dates of der Stricker's life and literary activity are the most convincing⁽³⁰⁾. Certainly the later dates that Bartsch suggests

are the ones that most recent commentators accept. Rosenhagen is of the opinion that der Stricker's works were written between 1220 and 1250⁽³¹⁾; de Boor concludes that der Stricker's early works Karl and Daniel von dem Blühenden Tal, which he takes Rudolf to have had in mind, will have been known about 1230/40⁽³²⁾ and the "Schwänke" about 1235/40⁽³³⁾; Barbara Könniker sees Pfaffe Amis as being written sometime between 1230 and 1240⁽³⁴⁾. With regard to the Lateran Council of 1215, while recognising the importance of various decisions of this Council as material for the basis and inspiration of much of der Stricker's religious poetry, de Boor is led by other considerations to conclude nevertheless that this same religious poetry is still more likely to have been written as late as the 1240's. Moreover, much of what was discussed at the Lateran Council of 1215 had already had to be dealt with by previous Lateran Councils and was indeed reiterated by later Councils, and many of the same themes found expression in the sermons of Berthold von Regensburg and David von Augsburg towards the end of this suggested period of der Stricker's activity, indeed continued to be questions of importance for some considerable time afterwards.

"Die Heimat des Strickers lag etwa im östlichen Franken. Er hat aber nicht in seiner Heimat gedichtet, sondern als Fahrender an süddeutschen Höfen"⁽³⁵⁾. With this pronouncement, which was to have an enormous effect on Stricker studies at the end of the last century, Rosenhagen was both confirming what had been generally accepted up until that time (and for which further evidence has since been put forward) and suggesting a totally new idea regarding der Stricker's origins.

There seems little doubt that der Stricker spent much of his life in Austria. In Die Klage⁽³⁶⁾ he says:

"mîn klage ist ein ursprinc,
dar ûz manic klage fliuzet
und sô grôzliche begiuzet,
daz mîn klage wirt erkannt
noch verrer denne in Osterlant" (lines 40 - 44).

In Die Gâuhühner⁽³⁷⁾ Kirchling is mentioned three times, lines 60, 75 and 79:

"swie oede Kircheling stê,
 der huse ist z'Oesterrîche mê
 diez gôu hât zebrochen." (lines 79 - 81).

This Kirchling has been identified with Kierling⁽³⁸⁾ and more recent research has pointed to links with Rastenfeld⁽³⁹⁾.

What Rosenhagen had to say that was new was that der Stricker himself was not Austrian, as had been accepted until that time, but that, expressed as a conclusion based upon a thoroughgoing examination of der Stricker's language, he was Franconian. The years that followed produced a wealth of pronouncements on the language and home of der Stricker: Seemüller traced der Stricker's home to a "Grenzgebiet zwischen mittel- und oberdeutscher Mundart"⁽⁴⁰⁾; Rosenhagen later specified more precisely "die Grenze gegen das Bairisch-Oesterreichische"⁽⁴¹⁾; Ehrismann specified "Rheinfranken"⁽⁴²⁾; Zwierzina in various places defined der Stricker's home as "in Südfranken, nicht in Ostfranken"⁽⁴³⁾, "ein Grenzgebiet Rheinfrankens und Alemanniens"⁽⁴⁴⁾, and "Rheinfranken oder genauer Südfranken"⁽⁴⁵⁾; and Schirokauer has described der Stricker's language as Alemannic with Bavarian influence⁽⁴⁶⁾.

It is also accepted, primarily from the evidence of lines in Frauenehre, that der Stricker was a "fahrender Sänger":

"ditz ist eine schoene maere
 daz ouch nu der Strickaere
 die vrouwen wil bekennen.
 ern solde si niht nennen
 an sînen maeren, waere er wîs.
 sîn leben unde vrouwen prîs
 die sint einander unbekant.
 ein pfert unde alt gewant
 die stûenden baz in sînem lobe" (lines 137 - 145)⁽⁴⁷⁾.

But much speculation has been made regarding his education and possible theological training. The suggestion that he was a monk was early refuted⁽⁴⁸⁾, but it is not to be denied that he had more than an ordinary layman's knowledge of theology⁽⁴⁹⁾.

Such as has been here reproduced represents, once the various arguments and counter-arguments have been weighed and sifted, research on der Stricker's life and background as it was generally complete and accepted by about the

turn of the century - and as it is generally accepted now, to judge by literary histories even most recently published. However, there are contradictions and gaps. From a contemporary position divorced from involvement with early wranglings, it now seems to be time for a new appraisal of all aspects of this various research and in the light of newer evidence. But such a task needs much wider reference than can be made in an essay on Pfaffe Amis.

Stricker research tired Konrad Zwierzina and at the end of his life he could only hope that someone would take up his life's work and complete the task he had hoped to perform. And any work on der Stricker in anything but a narrower context must to some degree proceed from Zwierzina's own "Nachlass". But even as far as it is possible to judge from remarks made in what research has found its way into print certain points can now be seen as being in need of clarification: no examination seems to have been undertaken of der Stricker's language as a whole to finally and completely take into account the language itself, the evidence of the rhyme, the tainting of evidence by the effect of the dialect of the scribes of extant manuscripts (Rosenhagen was aware of this - he was content to leave people thinking der Stricker came from Nuremberg if this made them happy, but himself pointed to this particular problem⁽⁵⁰⁾) and a development that has been hinted at in the language of the poet; no exhaustive study seems to have approached the riddle of the poet's identity from a consideration of his involvement with personalities (Rudolf von Ems, "Herzog Heinrich") and events of his time (to what real degree can one suppose involvement at the court in Vienna and the problems it experienced in the 1230's ?, political views held and expressed, e.g. revolving around the problems symbolised by Kirchling); the contradiction of one aspect of the accepted facts of his life was queried long ago and has not been clarified, namely: if there is overwhelming proof for the Austrian home of the poet, to what degree (if at all) are we justified in regarding him as a "fahrender Snger"⁽⁵¹⁾; no full exploitation has yet taken place of the wealth of names and places that more modern research has put

forward in connection with der Stricker and which may be found elsewhere.

The two significant contributions in recent years to our knowledge of der Stricker's background have been by Ute Schwab and Hermann Menhardt. In a very short part of the article published at the same time as her excellent edition of der Stricker's "Bispelreden", Ute Schwab gives us the following names and places: Kloster Porta Coeli; Magdalenenkloster vor dem Schottentor zu Wien; the Augustinerchorfrauen of Klosterneuburg, St. Pölten and Vienna; Rastefeld; Zwettl; die Herren von Ottenstein, Lichteneck and Rastenburg; Kierling bei Klosterneuburg; die Herren von Rauhenegg bei Baden/Wien; Burg Lichtenfels; and she further makes suggestions that der Stricker was probably more involved with the local problems of his time than to a degree hitherto supposed⁽⁵²⁾. Hermann Menhardt's biography of der Stricker puts forward as fact much for which there is no justification whatever (unless Menhardt has come across new evidence which he wishes to keep to himself) and much of which is in contradiction to what other evidence suggests⁽⁵³⁾. But again, in Menhardt's two important articles, certain new facts, names and places occur: Rastefeld am Kamp bei Zwettl ("des Strickers Berufung nach Rastefeld"); "des letzten Babenbergers Friedrich II (1230 - 1246)"; "die Kuenringer im nordwestlichen Niederösterreich"; "sein literarischer Nachlass . . . nach dem nur 15km entfernten Zisterzienserkloster Zwettl und von dort nach dessen Mutterhaus Heiligenkreuz gebracht"⁽⁵⁴⁾; Alberich von Besançon; Regensburg; "des Wittelsbachers Ludwig I, des Kehlheimers"; Herzog Friedrich II; die Kuenringer; Kartäuserkloster Mauerbach; etc.⁽⁵⁵⁾. Many of Menhardt's "facts" are not without proof to be taken as such, but the whole collected series of names and places, many probably deriving also from Zwierzina's unpublished work, begins to point to an area of activity for der Stricker which when further and more scientifically explored or re-examined may have much new evidence to contribute. And if one adds to this, for instance what is known about MS. R of Pfaffe Amis ("Ego Otto de Hakenberch et de Rabenspurch Dilecto Consanguineo suo Alberonj de Chvnring") from

Schloss Riedegg ob der Ens the whole series of sets of names, places and, with regard to der Stricker's "Nachlass" and Menhardt's remarks regarding MS. Wien 2705, also dates fit into a fairly narrow picture of time and place which can not be purely coincidental. Many of the answers may indeed lie in more detailed examination of the relationships between various of the Stricker manuscripts. And if this is the case it is not unlikely that they are already hidden in Zwierzina's unpublished work, whence in time they may find publication through Ute Schwab or other present-day Stricker researchers. But one thing is certain: this narrowing down of time and place of der Stricker's activity may have very exciting implications in the not too distant future and it is almost certain, to judge from some of Ute Schwab's remarks, that the years to come will see a very different, indeed the first real appreciation at least of der Stricker's later life and works.

Manuscripts

Nowhere is there a list of manuscripts of Pfaffe Amis that can claim to present the most up to date information, nor does a complete and reliable list ever seem to have been published. Neither can the following list claim to be either of these things by authority of any of the actual manuscripts having been examined. But by virtue of what information is available from the sources of secondary literature it can claim to be more complete and reliable than previous lists, even when these are judged according to what information was available to those compiling them. It may also unfortunately be the case that it is still incomplete. Paul Piper⁽⁵⁶⁾ gives a list of eight manuscripts and one early printed book of Pfaffe Amis. Of those he lists one was destroyed more than twenty years before his edition was published, one is not a manuscript at all, and one unfortunately has since (temporarily at least, it is hoped) become unuseable. Let us reproduce his list, changing the order somewhat partly for reasons of chronology and adding more information

about each.

MS. R, from the possession of the Starhemburgs at Schloss Riedegg, later in castle Efferding (No. I.202), is now in Berlin, Ms. Germ. fol. 1062⁽⁵⁷⁾. It is large format, on parchment, in folio, and divided into columns of 48 lines of verse. It is the oldest of the extant manuscripts and is believed by most of its commentators to be late 13th century. Pfeiffer⁽⁵⁸⁾ judges it to be such for two reasons: the script and language suggest that it is from the late 13th century, not later than the 1280's and most likely earlier; an apparent dedication "Ego Otto de Hakenberch et de Rabenspurch Dilecto Consanguineo suo Alberonj de Chvnring"⁽⁵⁹⁾ in a later script suggesting rather the 14th century also points to this conclusion. Otto von Hakenberg (1230/35 - (before)1300) is first found mentioned 1276 and not later than 1295 and Albero von Kuenring lived 1270 - 1340. G.F. Benecke's copy of the manuscript, apparently more exact and reliable than his edition⁽⁶⁰⁾ is in the library at Göttingen, and there is a facsimile of a part of the manuscript containing Pfaffe Amis in Könnecke's Bilderatlas⁽⁶¹⁾.

MS. H, the famous cod. pal. germ. 341 in the University Library at Heidelberg, on parchment, in folio, and dating from the 14th century, is among the best documented of all known extant manuscripts. Hanns Fischer⁽⁶²⁾ reports that it was in the library of the Pfalzgraf possibly as early as the time of Ludwig III (1410 - 1436), "wo er dann (i.e. "nach Indizien des alten Einbandes, den das Inventar von 1581 beschreibt") seit 1555 sicher nachweisbar ist." But this does not stand in contradiction to the fact that it was taken from the Pfalz library to Rome in 1623 and returned to Heidelberg in 1815⁽⁶³⁾. What may appear to be the evidence of the numbers on the binding is explained by cataloguing neglect in Rome⁽⁶⁴⁾.

MS. K, Kalocsa Cod. A.I.XI, and sister manuscript of MS. H, is unfortunately no longer useable. Taken to Kalocsa in 1776 by Bishop Patachich on his appointment as Archbishop, its history before that date still seems uncertain. "Fast durchgehends sehr leserlich" in 1817, when Mailath and

Köffinger published their copy of the manuscript⁽⁶⁵⁾ and presumably so at the beginning of this century when Otto Lippstreu took a copy of the manuscript now held in the German Seminar of the University of Hamburg⁽⁶⁶⁾, but described as "heute leider fast unbenutzbar" by Bernt in 1910⁽⁶⁷⁾, it was presumably during the first decade of this century that the damage to or deterioration of the manuscript occurred⁽⁶⁸⁾.

Both manuscripts date from the first third of the 14th century and were written in Bohemia to judge by script and orthography, MS. H being probably the slightly older of the two, being completed by 1320 - 1330 at the earliest and possibly for Johann von Michelsberger⁽⁶⁹⁾. What is not clear however is whether K is a copy of H⁽⁷⁰⁾ or whether the same "Vorlage" was used for both manuscripts⁽⁷¹⁾.

MS. G, Gotha Fol. 102, is 15th century and apparently on paper⁽⁷²⁾. It is most interesting that the literary magazine Bragur notes under the heading "Nachrichten":

"Nürnberg d. 21 Febr. 1792. Unser würdiger Herr Schaffer Panzer . . . wird sich nun durch eine neue Ausgabe des bekannten Freydank das gelehrte Publikum abermals verpflichten. Schon seit 3 Jahren liegt sie von diesem Literator aus einer Handschrift des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts abgeschrieben . . . zum Drucke fertig . . . Mit diesem Freydank wird H. Panzer ein anderes eben so altes Gedicht, das bisher noch ganz unbekannt war, aus der nämlichen Handschrift zum erstenmale abdrucken lassen. Es ist betitelt: Der Pfaffe Amis oder der scheinheilige Betrüger."⁽⁷³⁾

There appears to be no indication that this proposed edition was ever published; it would have been the first (modern) edition of Pfaffe Amis. One can only wonder what happened to the result of all of Herr Panzer's work on the project.

MS. A, Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Cod. Ser. nova 2663, the famous "Ambraser Heldenbuch", is 16th century, having been written between 1504 and 1515 or 1516 by Johann Ried, the customs official of Eisack in the southern Tirol⁽⁷⁴⁾. It is on parchment and excellently preserved, apparently, which makes it all the more a neglect of mediaeval

German studies that the text of Pfaffe Amis preserved here has never been published. There is a photograph of this manuscript in the Library of the Taylor Institution in Oxford which shows this text of Pfaffe Amis to follow the tradition of MSS. H,K,G, indeed to correspond very closely with the Mailath/Köffinger copy of MS. K.

MS. S, one of the manuscripts of the Strassburg Seminarbibliothek⁽⁷⁵⁾, on paper, in folio, was written about 1450 by Diebolt von Hagenau⁽⁷⁶⁾. The manuscript was, however, burnt in 1870 along with the library as a result of the bombardment of Strassburg. The first ten lines of the manuscript are reproduced by Schilter⁽⁷⁷⁾ and these and various other of the lines are also reproduced by von der Hagen and Büsching⁽⁷⁸⁾, the interesting thing being that the manuscript would seem to begin with line 39 of the poem and therefore not to have the introduction to the work. J. Jundt's copy of the manuscript, taken for von der Hagen in 1806/7, is fortunately still in existence, however⁽⁷⁹⁾, lodged now in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek Ms. germ. qu. 781, T.I.⁽⁸⁰⁾. The dialect of the manuscript is Alsatian.

MS. M, noted by Piper, Codex Germanicus Monacensis 711, is noted by Schmeller⁽⁸¹⁾ as follows:

"711 Vom J. 1789. 4o. 128 Bl.
Von M.G.W. Panzer aus einer ihm gehörigen HS. des XV
Jahrhunderts zur Herausgabe bestimmt (eine zweite Ab-
schrift von Nr. 710):
f. 1 - 45 Freydank.
77 - 115 Pfaffe amis oder der scheinheilige
Betrüger."

This is then what has become of Panzer's proposed edition of Pfaffe Amis as reported in Bragur in 1792, and for this reason it can not be regarded as a real manuscript and authorⁱtative text of Pfaffe Amis. It may not be without interest in its own right to the student of copies of manuscripts but could only be regarded as important or authorⁱtative in the event of the original MS. G becoming unus^able⁽⁸²⁾.

The Arnstadt MS., on parchment, was found in Arnstadt used as the cover of a book of accounts from Klingen, Schwarzburg-Sondershausen, for

the year 1513 - 1514. It is Low German, and while being transferred from the original High German, the text suffered many changes at the hand of the scribe, not least of all being the three-fold rhymes which he created in the pauses. The text agrees on the whole with MSS. H,K,G, but does occasionally agree with MS. R in preference. Cut about and stuck together for what was obviously believed to be a more useful employment as book-binding, only about 900 lines of the poem have been preserved⁽⁸³⁾.

There does, however, appear to be at least one more manuscript in existence and not mentioned by Piper, MS. J, Berlin Ms. Germ. Fol. 762⁽⁸⁴⁾. Dating from 1419 and written by Johannes Jeger minor, this seems to be the only information available on the manuscript from secondary literature alone.

An early printed book of Pfaffe Amis also exists. The whole story of its discovery and the speculation about it, from Docen's fleeting sight and mention of it in 1807⁽⁸⁵⁾, then Zarncke's statement that Valentin Holl's⁽⁸⁶⁾ copy must have been taken from a printed version⁽⁸⁷⁾, Mayer's discovery and Steinmeyer's publishing of a page found from a printed copy of Pfaffe Amis⁽⁸⁸⁾, Schröder's dating of the printed text as by Johann Prüss der Aeltere of Strassburg in about 1483⁽⁸⁹⁾, to the later discovery of an almost complete printed book, are all told in the introduction to the facsimile of the book⁽⁹⁰⁾. Whatever the confusion in the text of the poem caused by the careless putting together of the printed pages⁽⁹¹⁾ and whether Holl's "Vorlage" and this printed version were or were not the same⁽⁹²⁾, a more important question still remains. Karl Heiland writes:

"Es sei einer eingehenden literarhistorischen Untersuchung überlassen, genauer zu prüfen, nach welcher Handschrift unser Druck hergestellt und aus welchen Quellen die einzelnen Erzählungen geschöpft worden sind."⁽⁹³⁾

With a much wider and yet far more basic task in mind one might also look forward to the day when a full and proper examination of all the manuscripts might be carried out and their relationship one to the other determined.

Editions

There has never been a complete or a reliable critical edition published of Pfaffe Amis. Excluding early printed books, the poem has, however, been put into print four times, but on each of these occasions it was as part of a much wider undertaking, the resulting works lacking those essential features which should make up the complete critical edition. Neither should one underestimate the nature of the task that will face the first real editor of Pfaffe Amis, for it will be not an easy one. But the virtues and faults of those editions which have appeared may help point the way to the most appropriate method of performing that task.

The proposed Panzer edition of the late 18th century, we have seen⁽⁹⁴⁾, was to have been based on MS. G. When Pfaffe Amis did, however, after that first appear in print it was as part of Mailath and Köffinger's copy of the Kalocsa manuscript⁽⁹⁵⁾. Their intention was simply to reproduce the manuscript, or parts of it, for no reason other than to give pleasure to and satisfy the curiosity of those who, like themselves, delighted in the works of "old" German literature. It is therefore not without some element of luck that Pfaffe Amis did in this way first appear in print. There is no reason to doubt the faithfulness of the reproduction of the manuscript, and it does have one excellent quality: it reproduces the paragraphs of the text as they appear in the manuscript.

Benecke's edition of 1832⁽⁹⁶⁾ did not have this quality but did have other important qualities in its place. His intention was to make known and reproduce parts of MS. R for his readers, but we have seen that apparently Benecke's printed copy of the text is not so faithful a reproduction of the manuscript as his own hand-written copy which he deposited in Göttingen⁽⁹⁷⁾. And immediately the main problem of the task also became obvious:

"Unter den bekannten Handschriften des Gedichtes kann bis jetzt der Riedegger keine an die Seite gesetzt werden, und wahrscheinlich wird sie für immer allein stehen. Nicht nur hat sie eine Gaunerei mehr, sondern auch die Reihen-

folge der Schelmenstreiche ist abweichend."(98)

Benecke was wise enough, however, to make provision for this important difference:

"Für den prüfenden Leser, dem gar manches wichtig sein kann, was andern nicht so scheint, sind, Schreibweisen ausgenommen, alle Abweichungen von der Riedegger Handschrift genau und vollständig angegeben worden."(99)

There were only two things wrong: firstly, Benecke had seen none of the other manuscripts, he borrowed a copy of MS. G from Wilhelm Grimm, compared MS. K via the (presumably) Mailath/Köffinger copy, and borrowed a copy of MS. H from Jacob Grimm⁽¹⁰⁰⁾; secondly his notes on the variations of the manuscripts are confusing and ~~not~~ incorrect. So much confusion did this apparently cause that Zarncke felt compelled to publish notes to help clear up the confusion⁽¹⁰¹⁾. It is MS. R and MS. K that Zarncke compares, but unfortunately his notes seem not to agree with what the Mailath/Köffinger copy of MS. K has⁽¹⁰²⁾. Benecke's edition indicated "breaks" in the text, "paragraphs", only between what he separated off as being the constituent separate "Schwänke" of the whole work, so that it is impossible to tell where the separate paragraphs begin in the manuscripts. Other evidence suggests, for instance, that in MSS. K, G, and the early printed version of the poem (but not in MS. A) the first paragraph consists of lines 1 - 20 and the second paragraph lines 21 - 39, but (apart from the manuscript itself) this is nowhere ascertainable for MS. R. Hübner's question: "Wie weit vermögen Initialen unserer Hss. etwas über die Absätze, die Einteilung, auszusagen?"⁽¹⁰³⁾ can have great relevance for a work like Pfaffe Amis where the various versions of the poem have proceeded along different lines diverging from one presumably "original" version and where the relationships of one manuscript to another could have much to say on a variety of questions relating to the structure of the work. For instance, the division that Benecke makes between lines 336 and 337 and between lines 490 and 491 are not noted as such in Mailath/Köffinger's copy of MS. K.

Lambel's edition of Pfaffe Amis⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ was similarly as part of a much

wider undertaking. He explains that it is based essentially on Benecke's text⁽¹⁰⁵⁾, and the divisions between the various "Schwänke" that Benecke makes are retained by Lambel. Lambel's contribution was to provide headings for the various sections⁽¹⁰⁶⁾. Lambel consulted in addition MS. A, parts of MS. S, MS. M and its original, MS. G - but nowhere does he give the results of these consultations. The two texts do not agree in all details.

Piper's edition⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ is essentially the same story. Obviously likewise based on MS. R, it makes no attempt whatsoever to reconcile the two versions of the poem and manuscript variations.

No edition of Pfaffe Amis seems to have been published this century, and the task and duties facing any potential editor of the first critical edition of the poem seem clear. It is only to be regretted that the full complement of manuscripts known to have survived until modern times is now no longer there to be consulted.

Stricker Research

Historically, Stricker research, particularly in a general sense and as it has concerned itself with Pfaffe Amis and der Stricker's shorter poems, seems to have progressed through three stages.

By the beginning of this century most of der Stricker's works had been published for his modern public, including all the editions of Pfaffe Amis so far produced, and on the whole the basic biographical research on der Stricker had been done. This has been more than adequately dealt with in the first part of this chapter, and there is no need to repeat it, except to mention again that perhaps it is now at the point where new impetus has been given and new directions may be taken.

The first half of this century, particularly as regards contributions to the study of Pfaffe Amis, however, saw very little published. The one exception is the article Der Pfaffe Amis des Strickers by Gustav Rosenhagen

published in 1925. But apart from the very short article by Albert Leitzmann, Zum Text des Amis of 1944, this seems to be the sum contribution of the first half of this century to consideration of the poem. But yet Rosenhagen's article and his contribution to certain aspects of Pfaffe Amis was to be followed up later by Hanns Fischer, and those aspects treated by these two commentators are among those now due for renewed consideration.

Throughout these two periods the stream of contributions towards the study of der Stricker's shorter poems was, however, fairly continuous. From the publication of von der Hagen's Gesamtabenteuer in 1850 and Adelbert von Keller's Erzählungen aus altdeutschen Handschriften in 1855, continuing with the publication of Lambel's Erzählungen und Schwänke in 1883, then expressing itself through the examination of individual manuscripts, for example of the "Melker Handschrift" by Leitzmann in 1904, the Heidelberg manuscript No. 341 by Rosenhagen in 1909, the Kalocsa manuscript by Zwierzina in 1928, and Lassberg's "Liedersaalhandschrift" by Niewöhner in 1942, and accompanied by works such as Hans Mast's Stilistische Untersuchungen an den Kleinen Gedichten des Strickers in 1929 and Clair Baier's Der Bauer in der Dichtung des Strickers in 1938, the culmination of all this work, as far as der Stricker is concerned, was perhaps the publication of Rosenhagen's Mären von dem Stricker in 1934 (followed only three years later by the first - and only - volume of Niewöhner's Neues Gesamtabenteuer).

After the inevitable stifling effect of social and political events of the 1930's and 1940's, however, the second half of this century has brought renewed interest particularly in der Stricker's shorter works with the fresh impetus and enthusiasm of the new generation of Stricker scholars as represented particularly perhaps by Hanns Fischer and Ute Schwab. From his Munich dissertation of 1953, followed by a series of other articles and publications, including his important re-edition of Rosenhagen's Mären von dem Stricker in 1960, to his Studien zur deutschen Märendichtung of 1968 Fischer has perhaps contributed more than any other to this particular area of

research in recent times. Indeed, his Studien zur deutschen Märendichtung and Karl-Heinz Schirmer's Stil- und Motivuntersuchungen zur mittelhoch-deutschen Versnovelle published a year later must now rank as the definitive works on this particular subject; but particularly Fischer's work and the way in which it is written does much to suggest that it is only a beginning. It is to be deeply regretted that his tragic death should have occurred at such a beginning. Ute Schwab's work essentially in the area of der Stricker's religious poetry and the "bispiel" has contributed no less in that particular area. Sadly, however, Pfaffe Amis has not enjoyed so much attention in recent times.

Work on Pfaffe Amis falls both historically and thematically very neatly into the same three divisions. All the editions of the work were published during the last century and no new critical edition has since been produced (as already discussed in the previous section). But there are two other essential aspects to the study of Pfaffe Amis. Rosenhagen's article of 1925 and Hanns Fischer's Zur Gattungsform des Pfaffen Amis of 1958 are the only two studies which treat the structure of the poem. In this respect they come to very similar conclusions, but the question is now in need of re-examination and there is still much to say on the subject. (This will be dealt with in Chapters VI to IX.) Allied to the re-examination of aspects of the manuscript tradition, as represented by Kamihara's short 1973 article, this is the direction that studies of Pfaffe Amis must take in the near future - and again we are not too far away from the idea of a new critical edition. The other important aspect to be considered is that of the interpretation of Pfaffe Amis, and this, together with an historically based assessment of interpretation, will be the essential task of Chapter V.

CHAPTER II

Seen against the much broader background of literature of its own time, there is much in Pfaffe Amis that makes it difficult to fit into the general picture. The search for another work in the same tradition from the end of the twelfth or from the thirteenth century seems fruitless, and perhaps this may help to explain why it has relatively speaking been somewhat neglected by literary historians. The appearance of Eulenspiegel in the sixteenth century and the popularity that it enjoyed not only explains why heroes such as Amis tended to become forgotten⁽¹⁾, but this itself may also serve as another explanation of the little space devoted to Pfaffe Amis in works of literary history since. But the manuscript tradition of the work would suggest its continued popularity not only through the thirteenth, fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, but into the early period of the printed book as well, and it would be useful to try to see the reason for this popularity and to gauge its appeal to its public.

The work is a collection of "Schwänke" and has variously been described as a "Schwankroman", a "Schwänkkette", or a "Schwankzyklus". The main unifying element⁽²⁾ is the character of Pfaffe Amis himself, who is the central character in all of the eleven "Schwänke". Whatever may be the characteristics generally of der Stricker's shorter works Pfaffe Amis is the only one of his works that is a collection of this nature, and as such it is clearly differentiated from other works by the poet. While other of der Stricker's shorter works may have been grouped together, for instance, as the "Ehestandsmären"⁽³⁾, this is only, of course, a grouping on the part of the literary commentator based on similarities of theme or style⁽⁴⁾ and as such is very different from the situation in Pfaffe Amis, where the individual "Schwänke" form constituent parts of a whole. To understand the popularity and appeal of Pfaffe Amis it is, however, necessary to consider each of the several episodes of the work individually and as a "Schwank" in its own

right; and as there is no other work like Pfaffe Amis to act as a point of comparison, when such is necessary we must compare them with the "Ehestandsmären" and other "Mären" by the poet, although this will of course mean ignoring poems clearly of the "bîspel" type or of a purely religious nature.

Reducing literary works to types or groups, whether as examples of the products of literary movements or as examples of genres, can often be taken to excess and miss the very essence of literature or at least of the work in question. But in the case of the "Schwank" the definitions of what the genre implies are often contradictory⁽⁵⁾; in fact it is argued that the term "Schwank" cannot be used to describe a literary genre at all, "weil das Wort nur eine stoffliche Qualifikation beinhaltet oder . . . eine 'Möglichkeit jeder Gattung' bezeichnet"⁽⁶⁾. Therefore we cannot judge the individual episodes of Pfaffe Amis so much according to whether they fulfil certain criteria that we would expect of them. Nevertheless there are certain characteristics that are generally agreed to be those of the genre "Schwank" or "Schwank-Märe", and these must be the guide-lines of the investigation. The episodes in Pfaffe Amis may within the guide-lines put greater or lesser emphasis on a variety of "Schwank" characteristics, and where this emphasis is put will decide their individual character and appeal and the poet's intent in the work.

But the terminology is perhaps already confusing. In his work on "Märendichtung" Fischer identifies and differentiates under that general heading three basic types of "Märe" - "das schwankhafte Märe" (he also uses the term "Schwank-Märe"), "das höfisch-galante Märe" and "das moralisch-exemplarische Märe", which terms are fairly self-explanatory. In looking at Fischer's own revised edition of Gustav Rosenhagen's Mären von dem Stricker⁽⁷⁾, edited under the new title of Verserzählungen⁽⁸⁾, we are dealing primarily with examples of "das moralisch-exemplarische Märe", where the main differentiating characteristics are a didactic purpose and the expounding and illustration of definite moral positions, and "das schwankhafte Märe", where the arousing

of laughter is of prime importance. But Fischer defines these as the three basic types of "Märe" and must allow for mixtures of them when applying the terms to the literary works that he is studying⁽⁹⁾. Other commentators on "Schwank" or "Schwankdichtung" have not, like Fischer, narrowed their considerations of "Schwank" down from such a broad view of a genre. In these works the didactic element is considered as an essential part, to a greater or lesser degree, of the "Schwank", so that in fact the point at which these definitions meet Fischer's is at the point where "das schwankhafte Märe" and "das moralisch-exemplarische Märe" begin to overlap. Obviously, that overlap point has an infinite number of variations between the two "pure" types of "Märe" in the sense of the Fischer definition. Moreover, it is within this area of overlap between the comic and the didactic that we must consider both the Verserzählungen and the "Schwänke" in Pfaffe Amis.

In his work on "Märendichtung" Fischer excludes Pfaffe Amis from qualification for consideration because the work as a whole exceeds 2,000 lines in length⁽¹⁰⁾, as for similar reasons does Karl-Heinz Schirmer in his work on the "Versnovelle"⁽¹¹⁾; indeed, from the point of view of the accepted limit of length as between a few dozen and two thousand lines⁽¹²⁾ and for reasons which Fischer gives elsewhere⁽¹³⁾, the work as a whole is clearly rather to be viewed as a "novel"⁽¹⁴⁾. But each of the constituent parts of Pfaffe Amis comes within the limits set and thus allows for consideration along these lines.

If it is true that the courtly and heroic epic appealed to the ideas and the aspirations of solely a limited public and if, as der Stricker's prologue to Pfaffe Amis would suggest, this type of poetry had suffered a decline in popularity, it may be seen as one of the important features of this shorter "Märendichtung" that it is a type of poetry freed from the constraints of having to relate to these ideas and aspirations and being in this way relevant to a particular social class. But this does not mean that it was necessarily accessible to classes other than the nobility. There may be isolated in-

dications that literature was now and, more particularly, in the following centuries becoming more accessible to other classes⁽¹⁵⁾ or that certain types even of der Stricker's poetry were not confined to a courtly audience⁽¹⁶⁾ but the evidence also points to the danger of making a generally applicable statement to this effect. But the themes and the relevance of the "Mâren-dichtung" do cut across social barriers; its central theme is human virtue and action and the foibles of human nature and behaviour; and its message is therefore applicable to all classes and conditions of men. Thus, the figures in these tales are often nameless and at most types or characterised by the fact that they possess certain qualities, good or bad, virtues or vices, that can make them an object lesson in the weakness or the wisdom of human behaviour; and the backgrounds to the tales are imprecise, undefined, or even fictitious. The "ein man", "ein wîp", "ein ritter tugende rîche", "ein gebûre", "ein herre", "ein rîcher bûman", "ein luoderaere", "ein wînes slunt", "ein edel man", "ein kûnic" of der Stricker's Verser-zählungen have their counterparts in the characters that fall foul of Pfaffe Amis: "manc edel kûnne von gebûren und von vrouwen", "ein gebiurîn . . . bēdiu rîche und alwaere", "eines ritters wîp", "ein prôbest", "ein kalwer mûraere", "ein man der rîches koufes phlac"; "vrouwen" and "geburen" intermingle quite innocent of social differences in Die Kirchweihpredigt, the king and his knights are made to look foolish by the pages in Das unsichtbare Gemälde, and the same trick can be played by Amis on a knight's wife in Das Tuch as had been played on a peasant woman in Der Hahn. Therefore one must not expect to find in Pfaffe Amis comments on the types of behaviour appropriate to specific stations in life nor satirical situations designed to ridicule specific classes in society; nor must the problems dealt with be relevant only to certain classes. Whatever the relevance of the complaint of the prologue of Pfaffe Amis, it is not that der Stricker wishes to comment on "êre" and "schande", "triuwe" and "untriuwe", "zuht" and "unzuht", "tugent" and "untugent", "reht" and "unrecht", if by these terms we are to understand them in their limited "courtly" context.

But yet, it is also the case in Pfaffe Amis that people and places are very definitely more closely defined than in the Verserzählungen. It may be pointed out that the King of France in Paris and the Duke of Lorraine do enter into two of the "Schwänke", but they are nevertheless only one of the kings of France or the dukes of Lorraine and are no more closely defined than this. Were their historical personages identifiable and of importance, they might well be indispensable for the dating of the poem, but the incidents in which they feature, the stories which are woven around them, are told by other poets of other people⁽¹⁷⁾; they belong to the common international fund of stories that were utilised by poets or for sermons, and hence these titles are of no more significance than if the characters were simply introduced as "ein künec" and "ein herzoge". The "Rahmen", however, involving Pfaffe Amis who is also named and who is specifically an English priest who undertakes a series of journies to France and Greece for a specific reason and around whom apparently moral problems do centre (he is a liar and cheat and does undergo a conversion) is a more difficult "incongruity" to explain, for the "Rahmen"⁽¹⁸⁾ and the main character⁽¹⁹⁾ are two of the more puzzling problems in understanding the work. But this problem is still irrelevant in as much as the same tales could be and have been told of other tricksters, each individual "Schwank" could still well be told about "ein pfaffe" (and therefore we must not necessarily expect comments on priestly behaviour - Amis does indeed disguise the fact that he is a priest in some of the tales); and these are problems which are relevant more to the "Rahmen" as such than to the individual "Schwänke". The individual "Schwänke" with their comedy and their didacticism can still be judged individually.

Perhaps one of the reasons for the details of person and place in the "Rahmen" and in the individual "Schwänke" is to set the work more firmly in the real world and make the "Schwänke" more relevant to the every-day world with all its possibilities as a source of subject material for the poet and his work. It is only when the geographical elements of the individual

"Schwänke" are combined that the real framework of the "Rahmen" emerges; and from a point of view of structure it is only when such a collection of stories is made that a unifying element is necessary to provide some element of cohesion and credibility.

But the degree to which the "Schwank" reflects reality, that is to say the possible in every-day existence, has been a question on which commentators differ. Bausinger emphasises that the "Schwank" is not concerned with reality⁽²⁰⁾, whereas Neumann is of the opposite opinion. The "Schwank", he says, presents the "Schilderung real möglicher Vorgänge, den Griff 'ins volle Menschenleben' und die leichte Ueberzeichnung des Herausgegriffenen"⁽²¹⁾ and treats "nicht vornehmlich Tatsachen, sondern erdachte, in der Realität jedoch mögliche Umstände"⁽²²⁾. Although in some of the other short verse tales by der Stricker an angel, for instance, may appear (Die drei Wünsche) or the devil (Der Richter und der Teufel), in Pfaffe Amis the eleven tales are all rooted in the realm of the possible and, accepting the stupidity of Amis' victims as credible, which it is, the incidents and tricks portrayed are all "real mögliche Vorgänge" and "erdachte, in der Realität jedoch mögliche Umstände".

There seems to be no obvious reason why Amis should be English, but a priest who sets out on a journey which can to a large degree be traced on a map and who meets people who are named and apparently real (the King and the Duke may not be identifiable, but their positions of power are) adds to the "reality" of the background, makes it more immediate, and gives more for the public to relate to. Even the apparent distance from every-day "reality" of far-off Constantinople only makes the extraordinary escapades described more plausible, for strange events in far-off places are often more easily credible than they would be if they were nearer home. If Pfaffe Amis was not a real historical figure (and so far no model for the hero of the work has been identified), then der Stricker has made him so credible that Rosenhagen and Fischer⁽²³⁾ have seriously posed the question as to whether he

did actually exist and have made attempts to trace him. If the character is based on fact, it seems strange that the poet is inconsistent enough to go to lengths to adhere to presumably genuine geographical locations in some of the "Schwänke", while he neglects to do so in the majority of cases. If it is biographically important that the original Amis was English, it seems strange that none of his activities expressly and obviously take place in England, and, if definitely not there, that we are not told where the majority do take place. Similarly, despite the fact that Amis does make use of his priesthood in many of the "Schwänke", in others he disguises the fact, or it is not absolutely necessary for the success of the trick, and the fact that he is a priest both adds another dimension to his credibility as a character and enhances the comedy because of his position as a supposed man of God. This is not the sort of behaviour that is normally to be expected from a priest, and the comedy gains because of this. It may be that der Stricker felt compelled to weave into the "Rahmen" and into the stories some element of justification for the priest's actions in the form of the episode with the bishop and its consequences for Amis. On the other hand, priests do not come out in the best light in other of der Stricker's poems.

The most important element of the "Schwank" is the comedy that it presents and the laughter that it provokes:

"Die Erweckung des Lachens und die damit verbundene Erheiterung, Entspannung und Unterhaltung der Hörer- und Leserschaft ist das ursprüngliche und genuine Ziel alles Schwankerzählens."(24)

This it does in a way peculiar to itself:

"Der eigentliche Schwank hat zum Hauptgegenstand die Uebertrumpfung eines anscheinend überlegenen Gegners durch die Schlaueit und Tüchtigkeit, auch wohl durch die Rücksichtslosigkeit des Helden."(25)

But in looking at the comedy of the "Schwank" it must be remembered that mediaeval comedy often found physical disaster and pain humorous to a degree which by modern standards might seem brutal and callous.

It is in considering the other element that often goes hand in hand

with the comic in the shorter verse stories that questions begin to arise with regard to the "Schwank". In most of the other shorter poems of der Stricker the didactic element is very important, in many cases it even seems to be more important than the comic element, and what is related seems solely there to serve the lesson that is to be imparted at the end of the poem. This is the case, for example, in Der junge Ratgeber, Die Martinsnacht, Der nackte Ritter, Der nackte Bote and Der kluge Knecht; however, in Der nackte Ritter and Der nackte Bote the subject-matter that bears the humour, nakedness and the embarrassment of the state of undress, really seems to have little to do with the moral at the end of these poems, the nature of true hospitality, and the virtue in taking care to make necessary enquiries carefully and precisely. The comic elements of these tales rely on nakedness and exist in their own right, and the morals could well have been drawn from tales with totally different comic elements; conversely, other morals could possibly have been drawn from what comic elements are contained. But Pfaffe Amis contains no such explicitly stated comments, its individual "Schwänke" seem not to have any lesson to teach. While the object of the "Schwank" may well not be primarily the counselling of virtuous or sensible behaviour and the condemnation of behaviour that is neither of these -

"der Schwank ermahnt nicht zur Tugend, beklagt nicht die Untugend, sondern er erzählt wohlgelungene Streiche"(26) -,

it is clear that the reader or listener must in some way be affected by what is related; whether he laugh with the perpetrator of the trick at the misfortune of the victim, or whether he feel sympathy with the object of the deceit or trickery, some feeling or emotion must be aroused, and some new experience for the listener or reader must have been imparted when the tale is done. Strassner has pointed out:

"Da er (i.e. the "Schwank") unerhörte Begebenheiten des Alltags herausgreift, solche aber immer und überall begegnen, ist der Schwank permanent zeitbezogen, von einer fortwährenden Aktualität. In diesem Sinne ist er jedoch 'im hohen Masse eine Art Beispielerzählung', wirkt exemplarisch, ohne eine direkte Schlussmoral zu benötigen."(27)

The first of the "Schwänke" in Pfaffe Amis is Die Kirchweihpredigt, it is the subtlest and, along with the last two tales, one of the funniest. It is unique among the tales in as much as it is the only one where we see Amis as a priest preaching to a congregation, and the sole aim of the sermon is, as far as Amis is concerned, material gain. The vocabulary of material riches is very much in evidence, c.f. lines 342, 356-357, 411-412, 422, 450, 459, 469, 471, 489. The essence of the comedy is a simple yet ingenious religious-moral blackmail. Setting the mood with Bible readings (lines 362-364) and inspired preaching, Amis impresses the congregation with the holiness of his mission (lines 366-367), not forgetting to assure them that they will see miracles and that they have God's grace; to build St Brandon's cathedral (lines 374-379) Amis is to accept no donation from any woman who has been unfaithful to her husband (lines 380-384) and, indeed, will accept none even if it is offered (lines 387-389). And with that the trap is set. The ingenuity of the trick lies in the false logic implied: assuming that everyone present and eligible will make a donation and given that Amis will take no money from an adulteress, it follows that everyone who does not give money must be guilty of faithlessness to her husband. The women display a lack of perception as to the falseness of the logic they assume and immediately the whole thing begins to gather its own momentum and rush on to the point where Amis can be assured of a rich haul from donations, even borrowed by some women, who are in this way determined to make their show of faithfulness. And the comedy is heightened by the poet's description of the confusion that now sets in and the enthusiasm with which they seek to safeguard their reputations; a collection of donations to build a cathedral has turned into a public trial as to who present has been adulterous and who not. Even more, not only is the dubiousness of this "proof" of virtue not realised, Amis is later begged by others to furnish this same proof elsewhere.

What makes Amis the "hero" in the sense of the hero of any "Schwank"⁽²⁸⁾

is simply the deceit which brings him out on top. But apart from the fact that he does not intend to build a cathedral as he says, his deceit is emphasised by the brilliance of his initial address to the congregation and the credibility that it gives to his sincerity; and even in later pronouncing on the virtue of the women involved he is doing no more than repeat what they have by their actions declared to be the case. But there is no specific didactic element within or attached to the tale. Certainly there is no criticism of the Church or any of its sacraments and certainly there is no pious or moral pronouncement on adultery either by Amis or by the poet. The tale is heavy with irony and the greatest irony lies in the comment involved in the "miracle" that occurs. Having promised the congregation a miracle:

"ich hân iu brâht in ditze lant
 ein heilictuom alsô guot
 daz alle tage zeichen tuot.
 iu sol genâde hie geschehen.
 ich lâz' iuch zeichen hiute sehen,
 daz ir mir wol geloubet." (lines 368 - 373),

Amis does not disappoint them:

"got hât in gotlîcher wîs
 sîn zeichen hiute hie getân,
 daz wir sus mange vrouwen hân
 die sich al sô wol bewart hânt
 daz si valscher minne âne stânt,
 unt tougenlîcher manne." (lines 440 - 445).

It is a miracle that so many women can be gathered together in one place all of whom are innocent of adulterous behaviour.

The poet does not condemn adulterous behaviour, he seems to accept it as a fact - although in this respect the reader's or listener's own feeling of morality may well add criticism or understanding of these women's behaviour - and no comment is made on the acceptability of this or not. Priests and adultery go together in other of der Stricker's shorter poems, for instance in Der begrabene Ehemann and Der kluge Knecht, but in neither of these, even though they do have a specific moral preached at the end, is adultery itself condemned. The important lesson to be learnt is something quite different, for instance in Der begrabene Ehemann:

"Den schaden muose er des haben,
daz er satzte ein tumbez wîp
ze meister über sînen lîp." (lines 246 - 248).

Similarly in Die Kirchweihpredigt - what is important is Amis' trick and the comedy deriving from it; sexual morality is almost irrelevant.

Die Kirchweihpredigt is a classic example of the form of the "Schwank"; it conforms to Petsch's short definition and probably conforms most closely with what Bausinger defines as the "Spannungstyp"⁽²⁹⁾. It also conforms to a typical enough comic situation:

"The general nature of humour is probably well enough understood. It arises from the juxtaposition of incongruous elements upon a common basis. . . . The most obvious general example of the juxtaposition of incongruities in all races and periods is that between, on one side, human spiritual, moral and social aspirations and necessities, and on the other, the wilfulness or recalcitrance of our equally human physical nature, the greed and selfishness of our craving bodies."⁽³⁰⁾

It is relics and miracles that link Die Kirchweihpredigt with Der Hahn, Der Fischfang, Amis als Wahrsager and Amis als Wundertäter. But the deception in these four tales is of a much simpler and cruder nature. The basic elements of the trick are the same in all of them, but they get increasingly shorter in length with obviously progressively less delight on the part of the poet in the way he develops the narration of them. The tricks are pure and simple deception; apart from the actual mechanics of the trick - substituting the chicken, putting fish in the spring, the servant gaining the necessary information, the servants establishing themselves as blind or lame beggars, the essential elements are three:

a) the suggestion or the statement that Amis will work a miracle: Der Hahn, lines 964-965; Der Fischfang, lines 1209-1210; Amis als Wundertäter, lines 1296-1301;

b) there must be some religious or superstitious inducement of this miracle: Der Hahn, line 972; Der Fischfang, line 1216;

c) the victims must be convinced in their own minds that a miracle has happened: Der Hahn, line 987; Der Fischfang, lines 1224-1225; Amis als Wahr-

sager, lines 1274-1275.

Relics and/or indulgences are then sold, or donations to the holy man are simply given and received.

While again examples of what Bausinger would define as the "Spannungstyp", one thing that is noticeably lacking from these four episodes is what Petsch describes as "anscheinend überlegene Gegner"; again Amis is the typical "Schwank" hero simply because he outwits others, and again no explicit moral is preached. In these four stories, however, because they lack those elements of competition, tension, excitement and suspense that are essential to the "Schwank", it becomes more noticeably apparent from the text, and it is stated there quite plainly in the vocabulary used to describe the victims, where the strength of Amis and the weakness of his victims lie. The woman who, in Der Hahn, accepts with no further question that "hie ist ein zeichen geschehen" (line 987) and the peasant in Der Fischfang who similarly questions no further:

"nuo het der wirt den muot,
die vische koemen von gote" (lines 1224 - 1225)

are simply lacking "der sinne die si solden hân" (line 1275); what characterises them is that they are "alwaere" (lines 944, 1170) just as is the knight's wife in Das Tuch (line 1030) and the prior in Die Messe (lines 1319, 1377). If there is any lesson to be learnt, and such is not explicitly stated, it is simply through the experience of people who have been taken in by Amis when a little more careful consideration (were they capable of more careful consideration) would have saved them from a considerable amount of financial loss. But the point at which these tales begin to fail as "Schwänke" is the point at which they become relevant to the moral problem of Amis, to the question of his conversion, and to the wider general question of the work which deals with the poet's attitude to "liegen unt triegen".

Die Messe stands out from the other "Schwänke" in several ways. It is the only one of the "Schwänke" apparently that has ever been even briefly mentioned

individually in any general critical work⁽³¹⁾ and, more important, it is not included as far as can be ascertained with any certainty in any of the manuscripts except MS. R⁽³²⁾. Fischer explains why it should have been deleted in the "Vulgatafassung" in his description of it as a "vielleicht doch von manchen (bei aller Liberalität, die man bei den Hörern des Pfaffen Amis voraussetzen muss) als anstößsig empfundenes Stück"⁽³³⁾, but there seems to be every indication that it is really an essential part of the whole cycle. Schirmer calls it a parody along the lines of what he terms the "non cogovi litteraturam-Formel"⁽³⁴⁾, and with that the whole "Schwank" is neatly summed up. But from the point of view of how it fits into the rest of the work and where many of the essential features of the comedy really lie this has not been touched upon at all.

Like Die Kirchweihpredigt Die Messe shows Amis in the environment of a religious gathering or community and like Die Kirchweihpredigt, Der Hahn, Das Tuch, Der Fischfang, Amis als Wahrsager and Amis als Wundertäter the idea of a miracle being witnessed is paramount. Here, however, Amis is supposedly visited by an angel who gives him the power (he is disguised as an uneducated peasant) to read and sing the mass (lines 1412-1421). The idea is not new, in fact this aspect is an essential part of the trick, for the known phenomenon has its intended appeal to the "prôbest":

"wir lesen an den buochen
von mangem der ze schuole nie
weder halben tac noch ganzen gie,
wan daz in got erkande
und im ze meister sande
sînen geist der im in kurzer stunt
alle wîsheit machte kunt:
wil got, daz mac ouch hie geschehen." (lines 1442 - 1449).

Whether it is an intended parallel or parody or not, one cannot help thinking of Christ in the Temple in Jerusalem:

"in einer kurzen stunde
kom wunder phaffen dâ hin.
durch ir kârlîchen sin
wolten si in versuochen.
si begunden in von den buochen
starker maere vrâgen.
des beschiet er si âne trâgen,

unz si alle begunden jehen,
 si enheten gehôrt noch gesehen
 deheinen man sô wîsen
 sô meister Âmîsen." (lines 1488 - 1498).

Strangely, this "Schwank" does share with Das unsichtbare Gemâlde, Die Heilung der Kranken, Der Maurer und Bischof and Der Juwelenhändler the fact that Amis disguises himself as something other than a priest. But here he disguises himself as a humble and ignorant peasant (line 1330) rather than as an artist or doctor with miraculous powers or a merchant who seeks to impress through the amount of money that he has to spend. But not only is Die Messe more closely related in theme with Die Kirchweihpredigt, Der Hahn, Das Tuch, Der Fischfang, Amis als Wahrsager and Amis als Wundertäter by virtue of the importance of a miracle for all of them; important also is the qualification here of Amis' victim as "alwaere" (lines 1319 and 1377) and the need for Amis to be recognised as "ein heilic man" (line 1480). The parody in the reversal of rôles for Amis for his intended purpose is underlined many times, for instance his attitude to "guot" (lines 1336-1348), but echoes of Amis' own specific situation in the "Rahmen" are also numerous, not only here (lines 1338-1348) where his own fate in Bekehrung und Ende is foreshadowed, but line 1354 "kunnet ir der buoche iht ?" is also reminiscent of the description of Amis at the beginning of the work "er was der buoche ein wîse man" (line 47). The way in which he performs his domestic duties and the way in which he observes his religious duties (lines 1362-1364 and 1390-1405) are no less foreshadowing of his contribution to the monastery to which he repairs at the end of the work, while again the visits he receives when his trick has succeeded:

"geriten unt gegangen
 kômen die lantliute gelîche,
 beidiu arm unde rîche,
 unt brâhten alle ir opher dar." (lines 1508 - 1511)

are ironically reminiscent of his own situation regarding his "hûs" after the episode with the bishop:

"swer daz maere bevant

der reit dar, oder er gienc,
wand' er die liute wol enphienc." (lines 318 - 320).

Neither is this the only irony, for the embarrassment that Amis wishes to avoid if his mass fails (lines 1436-1438) is what eventually falls to his victim (lines 1536-1544). Added to the element solely of the trick itself as an element of comedy is not only parody and irony but again that delight in description of the essential scene that is also an important element in Die Kirchweihpredigt, Das unsichtbare Gemälde, Die Heilung der Kranken, Der Maurer und Bischof and Der Juwelenhändler. It is a shorter percentage of the whole "Schwank" perhaps but no less one of the important features in the expression of the comic intent. There is again no specifically pointed moral lesson given by der Stricker, but perhaps a strange comment seems to be made on the whole moral ethic of Pfaffe Amis. He is not a common criminal, for when put in charge of the key to the "Schrein" with all the silver (lines 1386-1387), it is significant that not once is the possibility of stealing this even considered; it seems to be an essential point that he take advantage only of those riches that have (albeit mistakenly) been given to him in good faith:

"dô hiez der phaffe ûz tragen
silber unt golt drâte,
swaz man im gophert hâte
daz des niht vergezzen wart." (lines 1528 - 1531).

But that this "Schwank" should have been left out of most manuscripts because it was felt to be offensive ("anstößig") is not really convincing as an explanation. That this judgement of the "Schwank" might explain why it should have been left out of most of the manuscripts (but then they all represent only one manuscript tradition) is acceptable enough until one also begins to wonder why in addition to the deletion of this "Schwank" the order of "Schwänke" is also an important difference between the two manuscript traditions. The offensiveness of Die Messe does not explain this, quite obviously, but yet it seems not unreasonable to assume that the deletion of Die Messe and the changing around of the order of the other "Schwänke" are expressions

of only one basic difference between the two manuscript traditions and that the explanation for deletion of Die Messe and the change of order of the other "Schwänke" must be one and the same. There is, as far as can be ascertained with any certainty without recourse to the copy of MS. S or to MS. J, no manuscript which has only one of these differences⁽³⁵⁾. It might also well be argued that Amis' selling indulgences in Der Hahn, Das Tuch, Der Fischfang, Amis als Wahrsager and Amis als Wundertäter is in fact no less offensive than what he does in Die Messe.

Das Tuch is a very different type of "Schwank", conforming rather to Bausinger's "Steigerungstyp"⁽³⁶⁾. A knight's wife is tricked by Amis; when her husband returns, he is not taken in for one moment and is determined to get back the bolt of cloth that his wife has given to Amis; anticipating this, Amis puts a glowing coal into the cloth and full of apologies returns the bolt to the knight; when the bolt is obviously burning, the knight is convinced that this is a punishment from God for the sin of taking the cloth from a man to whom it had been given in God's name; he returns to beg Amis' forgiveness, and not only is Amis compensated two-fold by the knight, but the knight's friends also make donations to Amis. Although it would seem to belong very much in essence to the group comprising Der Hahn, Der Fischfang, Amis als Wahrsager and Amis als Wundertäter because it develops from the same trick that Amis plays in Der Hahn, Das Tuch has greater comic potential and effect than these because it does clearly possess the element of the "anscheinend überlegener Gegner", the knight who retrieves his bolt of cloth but is then tricked out of it again. More so than in Die Kirchweihpredigt it has a suspense and excitement which anticipates that, despite the temporary set-back that Amis must put up with, eventually the tables will be turned again, as eventually and inevitably they are. But unlike Die Kirchweihpredigt it is simple trickery in a tangible sense and lacks the subtlety of an abstract and logically false argument.

The element that makes the remaining four "Schwänke" different is that

after Amis' departure his victims become fully aware that they have been tricked. In Das unsichtbare Gemälde and Die Heilung der Kranken, because the trick does not have to serve the purpose of paving the way for the object of selling relics or indulgences (Amis is paid for performing the deceit), the trick is an end in itself rather than a means to an end. Because also there is no final triumph of trickery up to which the whole tale develops - Amis departs at a point where the trick has already succeeded but where the tale is still at a mid-way point -, the poet can savour every moment of his description of the development after Amis' departure, and the comic element lies not so much in the ingenuity of the trick on Amis' part but in the poet's description of how in Das unsichtbare Gemälde first the king, then the knights, then the ladies and the squires are taken in and then of how firstly one of the squires discovers that it is all a trick and this same discovery is made in reverse and ascending order of rank until at last only the king has to admit how he was taken in. There is, of course, in this process of discovery and accompanying embarrassment a development to a climax, but this is not the final triumph of the trick; the trick had succeeded even before Amis left; it is, indeed, in a sense the final triumph, but it is a triumph that comes not with the trick's success but with its discovery - that is the essential here, not the trick itself but its discovery. In Die Heilung der Kranken the description of how the retainers are forced to deny their illness because of fear of death is similarly savoured. But the description of all these processes can only amuse because the audience of the "Schwank" is in possession of the knowledge that it is a trick, of how it works and, what is more, that it has already succeeded. The comic element lies simply in seeing others make fools of themselves and be made fools of.

The element of shame in Das unsichtbare Gemälde, illegitimacy, is of no importance whatsoever in itself. Neither is the king's greed, which is what makes him a willing victim of Amis' trickery. It is not greed or shame

which makes him believe in what is obviously not there, it is purely and simply that he and his retainers, like other of Amis' victims, are lacking "der sinne die si solden hân" (line 1275). In Die Heilung der Kranken the theme containing potential for moral discussion is honour, for the duke's retainers are well aware what the trick consists of. They have given their oath not to tell the duke the nature of the cure until after Amis' departure, and they do not do so. But they are clearly aware of the way in which they have been tricked. How binding an oath should be and to what degree honour can be a virtue or can be mistaken is of no importance either, in the sense that the poet makes no comment regarding their actions and no comment on the nature of honour.

Just as in Die Kirchweihpredigt there is an element which offers potential for moral comment, whether it be adultery itself or the hypocrisy that is there combined with it, so is there potential in Das unsichtbare Gemälde and Die Heilung der Kranken for similar moral example or discussion, but this potential is ignored and it is ignored deliberately. Unlike some of the Mären which deal with adultery or greed the "Schwänke" are not made to serve the pointing of a moral. And unlike Der nackte Ritter or Der nackte Bote which are also amusing because of the embarrassment experienced by the characters in them, not only do the "Schwänke" in Pfaffe Amis not combine with or serve the illustration of a specific lesson, but they narrate a skilful deceit instead of a pure accident or misfortune, and it is the mere ingenuity, but more particularly the pure comedy, of this deceit and its consequences that is sufficient to carry the tale and make it complete.

The two tales which most obviously rely purely on the comedy of situation and action for effect are the last two, Der Maurer und Bischof and Der Juwelenhändler. Both tricks consist of pure and blatant robbery on Amis' part, but the elements of pure comedy in both of them are so great and so skilfully employed that this is hardly noticed. Both "Schwänke" are much more developed than the others in the work and are really two "Schwänke"

in one, the part that deals with Amis' robbery being overshadowed by the comedy in the second part of the tale. In both of the tales Amis again leaves once he has secured the silk or the jewels that he was after, and the real comedy of the "Schwank" is left to emerge from the development and clarification of the situation that he has left behind him.

In Der Maurer und Bischof der Stricker makes full use of the enormous potential that setting the tale in Constantinople has to offer, and the trick revolves around the problem of language and communication. But the practical side of the language problem is ignored in as far as how Amis is to make himself understood to the Greek merchant is concerned, especially when this is the mason's problem and complaint and his qualification for exploitation by Amis, and in as far as it is unclear whether all that the Greek understands of German is "ez ist wâr" or "deiswâr" or whether this is to be taken as the German equivalent of the one Greek phrase that the mason actually speaks. But of course this ignoring of practicalities on the part of the poet is contrived for the greater comic effect of the essential part of the trick. In a similar contrived way the all-important "ez ist wâr" or "deiswâr" is used to draw the most out of the comic situation in as much as all the merchant's questions are phrased so that this reply fits in to guide not only Amis' deceit of the merchant but also the merchant's own discovery of his having been deceived. From a situation where this phrase serves to support Amis' assertions regarding how much money he has to spend (line 1750), how much the merchant stands to make from the transaction (line 1802), or that he is going to fetch payment:

"ich wil daz silber bringen
 beidiu an phenningen
 und ouch harte wîz gebrant
 sô nemt die wâge an die hant,
 unde weget unz an die zît
 daz ir wol gewert sît.
 min herre koufet âne vâr.
 dô sprach der bischof: deiswâr." (lines 1817 - 1824),

it is developed to the point where it gradually confirms the merchant's growing suspicions that all is not right: that Amis has decided to return

the next morning when the light is better (line 1856), that he has perhaps had difficulties (line 1882), that Amis is up to no good (line 1894), that the merchant will have a long time to wait for his money (line 1904), eventually to where its meaning is totally confused or reversed:

"bî dem hâr' er in gevie,
unt warf in zorniclîche nider.
da ensprach er anders niht wider
wan daz er sprach: deiswâr.
ob er im hût oder hâr
abe sluoc unde brach
dô rief er allez unde sprach:
ez ist wâr, ez ist wâr." (lines 1920 - 1927),

but also eventually to where it helps to establish the bishop's true identity (line 1962).

In Der Juwelenhändler the element of comedy is different. It exists partly simply in the indignities to which the merchant is subjected, being undressed and put into the "sweizbât" (lines 2330-2331) and having his head shaved (lines 2336-2339), and in the very ridiculousness of the suggestion that this is supposed to cure him of insanity. What these actions possess by way of the nature of a cure is only that they persuade the man to say those things that are (apparently) true to save himself further discomfort, thereby needing to assert by words alone recognition of reality; and the triumph that its success means for medical science is no less dubious:

"'swaz ir noch nôt erliten hât
daz ist allez ein niht
dâ wider daz iu noch geschiht.
ir enwerdet nimmer von mir vrî
die wîle ir jeht, daz er iu sî
schuldic eines eies wert.
deist doch des iuwer sun gert,
daz ir iuch der rede abe tuot,
unt mir gît dar um sîn guot.
ich beherte mîner künste craft
an iu mit rehter meisterschaft
alsô daz ir die rede erget,
od ich quel' iuch al die wîle ir lebet.'
'entriuwen', sprach der koufman,
'sît ich anders niht genesen kan,
sô swer ich iu an dirre vrist,
daz er mir schuldic nine ist.'
'nû lob' ich', sprach der arzât,
'den got, der uns beschaffen hât,
daz ich iuch sinnic hân gemacht.
diz was ein saeligiu naht,

daz ir wider habt iuwer sin,
und ich rîche worden bin.'" (lines 2382 - 2404).

But underlying this is, of course, the comic irony that, the doctor having been primed by Amis to a false understanding of who the man is and what the truth of the situation is (lines 2214-2264), however much the man asserts the truth and cries for justice the more he is subjected to both painful and humiliating treatment to make him assert something quite different and to assert what he has no idea is supposed to be the truth.

Nor is this the only irony that serves to heighten the comedy in these two "Schwänke". In Der Maurer und Bischof the merchant's entertaining his friends at the bishop's expense (lines 1862-1865) only works to his own disadvantage, and the mason's preparedness to make amends for the merchant's losses is dependent only upon the merchant being able to show him his bishopric:

"nû zeigt mir mîn bistuom.
ich swer iu des einen eit,
daz ich iu geltes bin bereit.
hât mir der kappelân gelogen,
weiz got, sô sît ouch ir betrogen." (lines 2034 - 2038).

Similarly in Der Juwelenhändler the outwitted merchant is made to pay the physician's bill and thus himself add insult to his own injury (lines 2457-2459), and his own wife seems more concerned with the money he has lost than she is with the shame and discomfort he has suffered (lines 2431-2438).

Unlike the other "Schwänke" in Pfaffe Amis Der Maurer und Bischof and Der Juwelenhändler contain a further dimension of comic effect, for in both physical violence plays its part, in Der Maurer und Bischof as part of the scene between the merchant and the mason (lines 1906-1931) where it fits into the development of the episode and heightens the comic effect, but in Der Juwelenhändler where Amis' servants fall upon and bind the merchant so that he can be delivered to the doctor (lines 2188-2195), a necessary preparation for the scene to come but lacking in the comic effect that physical violence has in Der Maurer und Bischof, and a second time where the doctor threatens to blind the merchant (lines 2414-2416) but where such a threat

would be lacking in humour for a modern audience.

In these two tales, as in some of the others, the main characters have no moral faults that are easily recognisable, indeed here the main characters - the mason excepted, possibly - do not even possess that simple trust and lack of imagination that characterised Amis' victims in Der Hahn, Der Fischfang, Amis als Wahrsager and Amis als Wundertäter. There is therefore no real potential for moral teaching from the tales. As elsewhere, it may be that there is something to be learnt from the experiences of the poor victims of Amis' trickery, but here an important element is that Amis eventually triumphs over people who are generally perfectly able to look after themselves and to secure as much themselves over people they may come into contact with. For this very reason these two tales gain more as pure "Schwänke", as a trial of wits. But here, too, the main element of the "Schwänke" is not the deceit whereby Amis manages to abscond with silk or jewels that he has tricked these merchants out of. Both of these tales could well have ended at this point, in which case they would have been more akin to the tales that precede them. But instead of ending here:

"den er dem arzâte liez
der lôst' sich, ob er wolte." (lines 2324 - 2325)

these two tales have an extra dimension and the full implications of the deceit have still to be realised. This is only where the real essence of the tales begins, and what makes them amusing is the deliberately applied skill of the poet and storyteller to make them so. More so in these two tales than anywhere else the real object and purpose of the tales is apparent: it is quite simply to make the audience laugh; the skill of the storyteller is the means to this end.

CHAPTER III

We have described Pfaffe Amis as a collection of "Schwänke" and have described Amis himself as a "'Schwank' hero". But the word "hero" is perhaps misplaced; Amis is the main character of the work, but the extent to which he is to be regarded as a character representing qualities to be admired is a different question altogether. Amis is the vehicle through which the essential element of comedy in the "Schwank" is evoked, but in order that this comedy is evoked Amis must of necessity have tricked some poor unfortunate victim out of a sum of money or valuable goods. He is, after all, "der êrste man . . . der liegen unt triegen ane vienc" (lines 40-41). Whenever Amis is successful in tricking someone he is not in the position, for instance, of the husband in Das heisse Eisen, who triumphs over a wife who initiates a rather silly test of his love and triumphs from an initial position of innocence and defence; Amis is always the initiator of a deceit on a poor unsuspecting victim who has neither asked nor deserves to be treated thus. The position of Amis as a "hero" is therefore dubious.

Within the work, however, - and this is one of the main features of the "Rahmen" and one of the main reasons why the "Schwänke" were fitted into a "Rahmen" - this element of Amis' character is given a degree of justification, for Amis has quite unjustly been put into a position through no fault of his own where in order to do those things for which he is to be admired, to keep his "hûs" going, he must secure finances in the only way that has presented itself as feasible - at various points throughout the work he sends what riches he gains back to England to support those people who have claim on his hospitality: lines 468-472, 737-742, 910-915, 1325-1327, 1569-1574. In this way his actions are to some extent justified not only because he is the vehicle of comedy but also morally - to a degree at least. He also undergoes a conversion at the end of the work and forswears lying to enter a Cistercian monastery. But the question is invited: why, if his lying and deceiving is

justified, should he be converted ? Or: why, if, according to the prologue, der Stricker's public demanded a hero of this nature, should he then be converted away from this way of life ? Again, the question may be asked as to why, when this conversion comes, it is not accompanied by the repentance and atonement of, for example, Hartmann's Gregorius. Or the question may be put as to why, if the whole work is to lead up to Amis' conversion, there is no development within the work towards this end and the question of sin is not an important issue within the "Schwänke". The whole work is a delicate balance between the good and the evil associated with Amis' "liegen unt triegen" and the problem of the conversion is one that has occupied much thought on the part of previous commentators.

It was Lambel who first supplied the heading Bekehrung und Ende to the final section of the work, and he will undoubtedly have had in mind the lines:

"dô der phaffe Âmis gewerte
drîzec jâr in disen êren,
dô begund' in got bekêren,
daz er die lûgene verswuor,
und in ein grâwez klôster vuor
mit allem sînem guote." (lines 2488 - 2493).

But other commentators have questioned whether a conversion does in fact take place. Rosenhagen sees it as yet another triumph:

"Am Ende seiner Tage . . . begibt sich der Pfaffe Amis in ein Graues Kloster. Aber nicht zur 'Bekehrung', wie Lambel das Stück überschrieb; er führt dort nicht etwa . . . ein frommes Leben, sondern er bereichert es durch die Reste seines Vermögens und seine Verwaltungskünste ('rat') und wird für solche Verdienste, bezeichnend für ein Zisterzienserkloster, deren wirtschaftliche Leistungen bekannt sind, zum Abt gewählt. So ist ihm auch noch am Ende ein äusserer Erfolg beschieden."(1)

Fischer, admitting that this new ending rounds off the work better than the final line 1552 of his "Ur-Amis"⁽²⁾, still sees no conversion having taken place:

"So fehlt dem Schluss auch eine Bekehrung. Nirgends bereut Amis seine Taten, noch sagt er der Lebensklugheit auf; im Gegenteil, gerade durch diese wird er dem Kloster nützlich, wenn auch in einer reineren Form, die das

Dolose ('die lügene' 2491) verloren hat."(3)

Barbara Könnecker is far less sympathetic to the whole idea of religious conversion to any degree:

"Der Pfaffe Amis nämlich schwört dem Betrug erst ab, nachdem er so viele Reichtümer angehäuft hat, dass er seiner nicht mehr bedarf, und seine Wahl zum Abt verdankt er nicht so sehr seiner Frömmigkeit, sondern in erster Linie der selben Eigenschaft, die ihm auch vorher stets zum Erfolg verholfen hatte, d.h. seiner 'kunst' im Umgang mit Geld und seinem untrüglichen Sinn für Erwerbschancen. . . . auch dass er überhaupt in das Kloster aufgenommen wurde, war nicht zuletzt Folge der Tatsache, dass er 'mit allem sinem guote' (2493) Einlass begehrt hatte."(4)

The one obvious objection to these explanations is the fact that the poet describes the conversion of Amis as by divine intervention:

"dô begund' in got bekêren" (line 2490).

Whatever may be the later life-style of the Pfaffe and whatever may be his benefits and relationship to the monastery he enters, it would appear that the poet intended his conversion from lying and deceit to be a religious and sincere one. But it may be significant that in one of the manuscript traditions the same conversion does not take place; MS. K has:

"dô begund' in got bekêren
daz er die leute verswuor,
und in ein grâwez klôster vuor" (lines 2490 - 2492)⁽⁵⁾.

But if there is no conversion of Amis to be understood the problem of the fundamental and forced change in the character of Amis in Amis und der Bischof is not resolved. If the "Ur-Amis" ended with lines 1547-1552 the geographical and chronological details of Amis' journey would be incomplete, nor would the question of the solving of Amis' main problem of how to finance his hospitable works be solved, and Amis' return to England would not be explained. There are too many "leitmotive" running through the work - and lines 1547-1552 are only one expression of these - for the work not to demand a section at the end to resolve them. It is these themes that Bekehrung und Ende takes up again, and the problem is that of the precise nature of Amis' conversion and the poet's precise and final comment upon "liegen unt

triegen" as a way of life.

The first thirty-eight lines of the section that Lambel has headed Amis und der Bischof are largely unimportant for an understanding of the relationship and themes of the rest of this section and Bekehrung und Ende. They are for the most part the poet's criticism of tastes at court and have little to do with the central theme of "liegen unt triegen" as represented in the main character and the body of "Schwänke"⁽⁶⁾.

From the poet's very first introduction of Amis the strange duality in his character immediately becomes obvious. It is significant, however, that the poet makes no moral judgement and does not try to separate these two parts of his character. This duality is explained by the episode with the bishop that follows, but it is important that throughout the work also no moral criticism of any sort is made of Amis (some of his victims actually congratulate him on his abilities as a trickster) and from the very beginning the poet himself almost implies praise for those same abilities.

After a brief explanation of his name and background (lines 44-46) there is a description of the virtues of his character; he is a learned man and a scholar (line 47) and is honourable and God-fearing, but what is more important is his hospitality and generosity, concerning which there is no doubt:

"er was der buoche ein wîse man
unt vergap sô gar swaz er gewan,
beidiu durch êre unt durch got,
daz er der milte gebot
ze keiner zît übergie.
er lie die geste unde enphie
baz denn' ieman taete,
wand' er es state haete.
sîn miltekeit was alsô grôz
daz es den bischof verdrôz
dem er was gehôrsam." (lines 47 - 57).

The important element in this description is "milte" (Lexer - st. f. = freundlichkeit, gûte, gnade, barmherzigkeit, liebe, zärtlichkeit, sittsamkeit, wohltätigkeit, freigebigkeit) and the more precise definition of "milte" is given by the lines

"er lie die geste unde enphie
 baz denn' ieman taete" (lines 52 - 53).

Amis keeps his priestly duties of poverty and humility and keeps the Christian commandment of charity. In fact the one virtue that Amis possesses above all others is that of "miltekeit", and no doubt is left that this is the dominant facet of his character, certainly before his confrontation with the bishop, and that it is an important consideration throughout the work as a whole.

It may be pointed out that "milte" is a courtly quality, the poet in fact mentions it in line 24 of his introductory consideration of the changes in taste and values at court. The bishop later accuses Amis of "höfscheit" (line 66), and such a fault in Amis would indeed be most deserving of criticism. However, it is

"beidiu durch êre unt durch got,
 daz er der milte gebot
 ze keiner zît übergie." (lines 49 - 51).

This is generosity and hospitality to the degree that it should be in a man of Amis' calling. The theme of "milte" is one that goes through the whole work and it is the one important positive quality in Amis. When he returns with his booty from his last trip to Greece we are told:

"er was ân' ditz (Benecke has 'ie') miltes muotes.
 dar umbe sul wir prîsen
 den phaffen Âmîsen,
 swie verre er vuor in daz lant,
 daz man doch z'allen zîten vant
 vil grôzen rât in sîme hûs." (lines 2478 - 2483).

This is praise again by the poet for Amis' quality of "milte"; and it is essentially this one quality which eventually secures Christian salvation for Amis.

What his particular domestic circumstances were are not clear. "er het hûs in Engellant" (line 44) simply tells us where he lived, "in sîme hûs" (line 2483) simply means "bei ihm"; but elsewhere the word "hûs" has another meaning:

"ich wil nâch guote werben;

mîn hûs sol nicht verderben." (lines 335 - 336),

c.f. also lines 468-472, 1325-1327, 1569-1574; it is a place where hospitality is given and enjoyed and seems almost to represent the principle that lies behind it. Where it is not his "hûs", it is his guests that are Amis' prime concern: c.f. lines 737-742, 910-914. It may be that hospitality and generosity are developed in Amis to a fault, but the criticism of "höfscheit" is by a man who is jealous of Amis and this criticism cannot be taken too seriously. From the poet's point of view Amis is not "höfisch", for it is "durch got" that this fault exists in Amis. On the other hand, the fact that it is also done "durch êre" may make it a fault worthy of the criticism of "höfscheit", and it may be this that the tradition of MS. K has in mind as a fault when it describes his conversion:

"dô begund' in got bekêren,
daz er die leute verswuor,
und in ein grâwez klôster vuor" (lines 2490 - 2492).

But throughout the work Amis has no concern with "êre" to warrant the criticism of "höfscheit", his concern is all the while with charity and hospitality apparently for their own sake ("durch got") and the conversion he undergoes is one from "diu lûgene", not "diu höfscheit".

But Amis also enjoys pre-eminence as a liar and cheat. His description as "der êrste man . . . der liegen unt triegen ane vienc" (lines 40-41) is confusing. Der Stricker can hardly be suggesting that he was the very first liar and cheat: the sentence is hardly phrased so that this implies a sense of the superlative and that Amis enjoys absolute pre-eminence as a liar and cheat; the whole phrase follows on from the poet's description of contemporary literary tastes for tales of deceit, and belonging equally to Amis' position as the first in a line of literary cheats is the qualification:

"unt wie sîn wille vûr sich gienc,
daz er niht widersatzes vant." (lines 42 - 43).

These lines do not appear to emphasise his unique position as the first liar and cheat in adding more about his ability in this respect; if anything, they take away from him some of the credit for his success, for they refer

to his victims, to the fact that he could be so successful in his attempts; from the very beginning the inability of his victims to notice the trickery, their preparedness to be so taken in, is made an important consideration.

But yet this ability and more importantly the desire to deceive was not always so important and fundamental a part of Amis' character; this is a change that came upon him, for he was the first man "der liegen unt triegen ane vienc" (line 41). And it is the incident with the bishop that is narrated after this introduction to Amis that brings about this change of character.

The episode with the riddles and the donkey is in fact almost another "Schwank". There is in it the intention that it amuse and entertain in its own right, and it is in this way another comic chapter in the work. Such games concerning the asking and answering of riddles had long been popular in literature⁽⁷⁾, and its importance in its own right is underlined by the fact that it takes up almost three-quarters of this section of the work. But it is also essential to the development of the main character, to the duality within this character, and it is significant that Amis emerges as victor.

It is this incident which brings the accusation of "höfscheit" against Amis:

"ir habet überigez guot
daz ir mit höfscheit vertuot" (lines 65 - 66).

Although it would appear that Amis does enjoy some sort of reputation for his hospitality (line 58), he is convinced that he has been totally falsely accused (lines 71-84). At the same time it is important to note that this accusation is made against Amis not by the poet, but by the bishop, a man who is described not only by the poet as being envious of Amis (line 59), but who also gives ample proof of this in his own words (lines 61-67). Nowhere is there any indication that the poet is critical of Amis' conduct, in fact the opposite is the case. He has already extolled Amis' "milte" (lines 48-51) as a virtue, it is the bishop who is described by the words "niht âne nît" (line 59), "daz wart dem bischove zorn" (line 85), "zornlîche" (line 132), "daz was dem bischove leit" (line 161) and who accuses Amis of lying and

cheating (lines 147-148) or who threatens Amis (line 219); throughout it is Amis who is the picture of civility (lines 156, 262).

It may be argued that Amis is guilty of disobedience against his bishop, c.f. lines 77, 83-84, a fact of which he is himself aware, c.f. lines 90-92, but it is only in this way that the episode with the riddles and the donkey can be introduced. And it is important that the poet makes no moral criticism of Amis, it is the bishop who is all the while greedy for Amis' goods and the reputation that he apparently enjoys as a host and who wishes to take and presumably use these to his own ends and for his own aggrandisement.

The testing of Amis is important in showing and developing another side of his character - he is faced with the necessity of practicing his skill in a battle of wits. Although the bishop accuses him of lying and deceit (lines 147-150), this accusation is not to be taken seriously, it belongs to the game. Important is that this surviving by his wits is something to which Amis is forced to resort, if he is to keep what he feels the bishop wants to take away from him unjustly; and it is also important that Amis had asked to be tested solely on his ability as a priest to continue in his office:

"ouch heizet mich versuochen
mit worten und an den buochen. (i.e. of the Bible)
kunn' ich mîn amt alsô wol
sô ich ze rehte kunnen sol,
des lât ouch geniezen mich." (lines 93 - 97),

and that it is the bishop who begins the battle of wits with the game of riddle and answer.

The need for Amis to journey abroad in search of money, into which framework the individual "Schwänke" are fitted, arises out of what is an unforeseen and chance side-effect of his being tested by the bishop. The people become convinced that Amis would have taught the donkey to read, had the bishop lived and had the pressure upon Amis to do so thus been continued (lines 311-315), for which, ironically, he is much honoured and becomes well-known. But like the reputation for hospitality that Amis enjoys and which is mentioned by the bishop (line 58), this fame is not sought by Amis but is an

effect of, in the first instance, his "milte" and, in the second, of a position forced upon him by the bishop. This incident is almost the first "Schwank" of the work in that its (unintended) effect is the same as that of the other "Schwänke" - people believe in his almost miraculous power.

In consequence of his fame spreading and his reputation for hospitality with it his guests multiply, until he ends in financial difficulties, because he can no longer afford to give them the hospitality they require and the hospitality he would like to extend to them (lines 318-325). It is in order to be able to continue to do this that he eventually decides to undertake his journey. The decision to resort to lying and deceit is his, however, and this consciously taken decision is not described by the poet. Yet the real cause of his strange predicament is the stupidity of popular belief in his ability to teach a donkey to read. And it is a strange and somehow complementary reciprocal situation that he is forced to go and take advantage of people because they take advantage of him:

"swer daz maere bevant
der reit dar, oder er gienc,
wand' er die liute wol enphienec." (lines 318 - 320).

Amis considers that he has worked for good, and his "hûs" and the charity and hospitality it represents symbolise this working for the benefit of others. It is what Amis does well and what in the end contributes to his choice as abbot of the monastery to which he retreats and assures him of eternal salvation. But now, ironically, he can continue in this pursuance of good work only by resorting to lying and deceit.

The main themes that continue through the "Schwänke" and are taken up again in Bekehrung und Ende are those of "milte" represented by Amis' concern with his "hûs", Amis' relationship with his victims, his guests and God, the idea of "guot werben", and of course "liegen unt triegen". The criticism by the bishop of Amis' "höfscheit" and the question of his disobedience of the bishop are not taken up again because the whole riddle and answer sequence is essentially an episode in its own right ending with the bishop's death,

and for the work as a whole it is the effect of this episode that is important rather than its content. In addition various of these themes are developed throughout the "Schwänke", and a development of Amis' character also takes place. But it is wrong to lay too much stress upon the idea of "liegen unt triegen" (in fact neither of these words appears in Bekehrung und Ende), for the essence of Amis' conversion lies elsewhere. "Liegen unt triegen" are the means by which the comedy is sustained, and in as much as the comedy is the positive purpose of the work it would be contradictory to this to make it Amis' great sin when it comes to his conversion. Even for Amis "liegen unt triegen" is only a means to an end, his main concern is his "hûs", and his conversion means for him a recognition of the true nature of "milte" and a return to the understanding he had of this before events perverted this understanding and he set off on his travels. To seek a dramatic conversion from lying and deceit accompanied by much remorse and penance is wrong and misses the essential point; similarly, Amis' retreat to a monastery signifies the point at which he has recognised what "milte" is and can begin to pursue it again, and it is because this now has a positive aim again that he can deserve the honours he finds in the monastery.

The scribe of manuscript K was probably nearer to the truth of Amis' conversion when he wrote:

"dê begund' in got bekêren,
daz er die leute verswuer,
und in ein grâwez klôster vuor" (lines 2490 - 2492)⁽⁸⁾.

There is a point at which the purpose and aim of Amis' "milte" changes. At the beginning of the work the poet's description of Amis is one that is full of praise for this quality of "milte":

"er was der buoche ein wîse man
unt vergap sê gar swaz er gewan,
beidiu durch êre unt durch got,
daz er der milte gebot
ze keiner zît ûbergie." (lines 47 - 51)

and full of praise because the object of his efforts is obedience to God's commandment of charity. It is because of this, not because of Amis' "hûfscheit"

that the bishop becomes aware of his activities: "daz er des (i.e. Amis' keeping of the commandment of charity) sô vil von im vernam" (line 58) and is jealous and greedy. It is the bishop who is the disturbing factor, and with his death the whole problem should have been resolved:

"nû lôte got der rîche
den phaffen von der selben nôt,
wan der bischof der lac tôt
dâ nâch in einer kurzen zît." (lines 306 - 309).

But it is at this point that the situation becomes perverted. The purpose from this point on for Amis' "milte" ceases to be God and becomes instead the "people":

"nuo dâhte der phaffe Âmis
diu liute alle alsô wîs
daz si gewis wolten wesen,
waer' der bischof genesen,
er het den esel gelêret.
des wart der phaffe gêret
unt harte wîten erkant." (lines 311 - 317).

It is the rather ridiculous position that results - Amis must trick people by his cunning and use his gains from this to support those people who are taking advantage of his hospitality:

"swer daz maere bevant
der reit dar, oder er gienc,
wand' er die liute wol enphienc." (lines 318 - 320)

- that continues throughout the "Schwänke" and is eventually solved when he arrives back from Constantinople for the second time. It is this situation which also justifies the ridiculing of the "alwaeren" in the middle "Schwänke" of the work. Amis' successful solution to this problem is the reason why he is honoured when he returns:

"dô der phaffe Âmis gewerte
drîzec jâr in disen êren . . ." (lines 2488 - 2489),

but these again are the honours that the people heap upon him. It is not immediately upon his return that he becomes converted but after thirty years of being honoured by the people. And the honours that derive in this way are what his conversion is a turning away from. This is very different from the honour that he felt at the beginning of the work:

"(er) vergap sô gar swaz er gewan
beidiu durch êre und durch got" (lines 48 - 49).

It is at this point that his conversion takes place and signifies a turning back to God and away from the false honours that he has enjoyed meanwhile. It is to continue to use his talents (his cunning when need arises is only one expression of this) but now to a purposeful end again, to the service of God, that Amis turns his back on the people and on his "hûs" to enter the monastery. What his "hûs" once represented, "der milte gebot beidiu durch êre unt durch got" is now refound in the monastery, for which reason he can attain to being chosen abbot. His natural talents have again found the appropriate environment for their true expression; what his "hûs" once represented he now finds again in a house of God. His real conversion lies in his re-discovery of true "milte" not in his rejection of "liegen unt triegen", for this is only one element of the false purpose to which the episode with the bishop had led him.

It is therefore not strange that the words "liegen unt triegen" do not appear in the episode of his conversion. Significant, also, perhaps that the word that does appear is "diu lûgene" (line 2491), for this word appears alongside "liegen" and "triegen" only once in the work:

"iedoch ze jungist überwant
diu wârheit die lûgene,
daz si jâhen, 'z waere trûgene" (lines 788 - 790),

where, like the meaning of "êren" (lines 414, 427, 473, 630, 641, 706, 1573), its meaning implies not the process of lying ("liegen") but the falseness of a situation, and it is the falseness of his situation and honours and the recognition of this that is the essence of Amis' conversion. Unlike his victims in Die Kirchweihpredigt and Das unsichtbare Gemälde Amis recognises the falserness of honours that consist only of appearance, ignore the commandments of God and belie the true situation. Amis eventually finds "daz êwige leben" (line 2509) because he sees beyond the falseness of honour in the eyes of others that takes no note of the religious purpose behind one's actions, he exploits others just as he is exploited but avoids falling into the trap that



his victims in Die Kirchweihpredigt fall into:

"dâ waer' einiu in daz grap
mit êren gerner geleit
danne si die valscheit
ir selber haete getân" (lines 426 - 429).

But throughout the "Schwänke" there is also a continued development of Amis' character, a development involving not "liegen unt triegen", for this is only a means to an end, but a development which reflects Amis' straying from the original purpose of his hospitality. It is mirrored to some degree in the poet's ambiguity and change of use and meaning of the word "guot" as the work develops. From the initial dilemma of seeing his good works brought to an end:

"swaz ich ie tete ze guote
daz verlius' ich ganzlîche,
ob ich dem hûs entwîche" (lines 328 - 330)

the word is then immediately used to underline Amis' financial difficulties regarding his "hûs":

"swie ich daz guot gewinne,
alsô gewinne ich ez ê
dann' ich dem hûse abe gê.
ich wil nâch guote werben;
mîn hûs sol niht verderben." (lines 332 - 336).

After one or two examples where its meaning is ambiguous and can be interpreted in either of these two ways, line 342 "predegen nâch guote", lines 804, 806⁽⁹⁾, it is then used by the poet to mean exclusively "riches, possessions", and the idea of Amis' good works is lost:

"ich wil guote lâgen
unt den lîp sô wâgen
daz man wunder abe saget,
oder guot wirt von mir bejaget" (lines 1575 - 1578),

lines 1602, 1613, 2051, and of course in Bekehrung und Ende:

"dô vuor er heim vil drâte,
unt brâhte wider vil guotes" (lines 2476 - 2477).

Similarly, his attitude to his "hûs" and what it represents changes. From the point where its closure would mean an end to Amis' good works, lines 328-330, and the problem facing him is simply that of continuing to run it for this purpose, lines 468-473, 740-742, the position changes to one where

he is clearly becoming increasingly taken advantage of, lines 910-914, and where the fame of the house becomes of prime importance, MS. K lines 1149-1152, and he becomes more concerned with its reputation than what it originally represented:

"waz hilfet mîn ringen
nâch alsô kleinen dingen ?
biz mir ein wênic widervert,
daz ist in mînem hûse verzert.
ich muoz sus immer arm sîn.
ich wil nû daz hûs mîn
betalle z'êren machen,
oder gar verswachen." (lines 1567 - 1574).

And when he has achieved this reputation and honour, lines 2479-2487, and finally substituted a dubious reputation for that which the bishop was jealous of (line 58) and lost sight of the original purpose of his endeavours, he is in the position of being receptive to conversion and re-directing his energies to "milte" for its own sake and to a much more purposeful end once more, the service of God.

But this is only part of a very basic and fundamental change of character in Amis. Forced by circumstances into trickery, and finding how easy this is for a man of his ability, Amis becomes arrogant:

"Dô der phaffe rîche wart,
do gewan er solhe hōhvert
daz er mit sînem sinne
nâch grōzerm gewinne
iesâ begunde ringen." (lines 491 - 495),

and from those tricks where his ingenuity is appreciated, Das unsichtbare Gemälde and Die Heilung der Kranken, he turns to tricks of a different nature where an essential is felt to be a quick escape, c.f. lines 1027-1028, 1039, 1288, 1315-1316, 1534-1535. And eventually the object of his tricks becomes simply the thought and hope of obtaining greater wealth, lines 1553-1578, and achieving riches:

"weizgot, ich muoz aber dar.
ich bin worden wol gewar,
swer michel guot erwerben kan
der wirt ouch schiere ein rîcher man." (lines 2049 - 2052).

It is surely not a coincidence and betrays more than just powers of persuasion

on Amis' part that the appeal of being a bishop to the mason in Der Maurer und Bischof is presented as being that of achieving riches and fame, lines 1656-1659, or that in Der Juwelenhändler practically every action on the part of all the characters has to be accompanied by the offer of a cash payment. If the bishop's accusation of "höfscheit" in Amis was out of place at the beginning of the work, it is more deserved and appropriate at the end. There is even a point where the adjective "karc" (Lexer = "klug, listig", but also "nicht ausgiebig, knauserig") is used of Amis' tricks, lines 1057-1058⁽¹⁰⁾.

It is this development that Barbara Könnecker misses when she (admittedly, probably quite correctly) says of lines 491-495:

"Es ist dies jedoch das einzige negative Urteil, das der Stricker im Verlauf der ganzen Dichtung über seinen Helden fällt"(11)

and which leads her to develop her interpretation of the work to a very different conclusion.

When Amis returns from his last adventure in Constantinople, his one saving grace is that he still has a feeling for "milte":

"er was ân' ditz miltes muotes" (line 2478).

But this is "milte" which is without the qualification that it had at the beginning of the work, "durch êre unt durch got" (line 49). The only qualification that the poet can give to Amis' achievement is that those people who are preying on his hospitality are well fed:

"dar umbe sul wir prîsen
den phaffen Âmîsen,
swie verre er vuor in daz lant,
daz man doch z' allen zîten vant
vil grôzen rât in sîme hûs.
dane viel daz esse noch daz tûs
niht an der handelunge.
der alte und ouch der junge
der vant dâ swes er gerte." (lines 2479 - 2487).

With his entry into the monastery God again becomes the reason and end of his actions, lines 2494-2496, 2506, and the result is improvement and harmony, lines 2498-2500, neither of which could be said to accompany his endeavours prior to his conversion. When Rosenhagen and Fischer seek remorse and penance

on Amis' part for his lying and deceit, they miss the point that he has again discovered what he had lost when the force of circumstances forced Amis to resort to what Fischer calls "Lebensklugheit". Amis had become just as much a victim of the "Lebensklugheit" of others:

"swer daz maere bevant
 der reit dar, oder er gienc,
 wand' er die liute wol enphienc." (lines 318 - 320)

and through this had fallen into the trap of greed and ambition. Lying and deceiving for Amis was never an end in itself, it was a means to other ends, and these he gives up when he enters the monastery. Neither should his taking his "guot" into the monastery with him be seen as anything more than it is, the normal condition for anyone entering a monastery.

Erhard Agricola sees the point of the teaching of Pfaffe Amis as "den Wert der Klugheit" and sees Amis himself as "das Symbol des gesunden Verstandes"⁽¹²⁾. This is only true with the qualification that "gesunder Verstand" is that behind which the service of God is the end in view and with the qualification that Amis' "Klugheit" in the "Schwänke" can only work because his victims have really lost sight of God and that God is absent from all the dealings that Amis has with the "people" after the bishop's disruption of his way of life both from their point of view and from his own. When the end in view is again God and "rehte tât" (line 2506) all Amis' dealings work for the mutual benefit of all concerned.

CHAPTER IV

One of the aspects of Pfaffe Amis that commentators have never really felt happy about is the prologue, lines 1-38, and lines 39-43 which form a bridge over into the work itself and the introduction of the main character. Lambel thought these lines no more than a dictate of fashion:

"Charakteristisch ist im Eingang jene schon bei Walther anklingende, bei den Epigonen Mode gewordene Klage über die schwindende Teilnahme an der Dichtkunst und den Dichtern . . . und die Erwähnung der Neugierde der Hörer, die sich bald vom Alten zu Neuem wendet . . ." (1)

While he saw this "fashion" as of interest and importance in a much wider context, he apparently saw its expression here as being unworthy of comment with regard to this particular work. Rosenhagen was convinced that it is no more than a literary device:

" . . . die Einleitung, welche auf eine moralische Dichtung vorzubereiten scheint, indem sie den Einzug des 'triegens' in die früher bessere Welt beklagt, ist nicht so ernst zu nehmen: sie ist ein Stück eleganter literarischer Arbeit. Sie hebt die Sammlung von Schwänken in den Rang gepflegter, Anerkennung heischender Kunst." (2)

But if Rosenhagen was not inclined to read more into this literary device and the apparent preparation for a work of some moral import, it appears that de Boor was:

"Die Apotheose der vergangenen Zeit höfischer 'Freude und Ehre' am Anfang, die nicht nur die übliche Klage des Fahrenden ist, rückt die Dichtung in eine ernsthaftere Beleuchtung." (3)

Given that on one level the introduction is the expression of a fashion and that the "Fahrender" may well have felt need to give voice to certain complaints, the questions still remain as to what the poet's aim was in the prologue and in the work, what his public demanded, and to what extent and in what way Pfaffe Amis answered these demands. If the poet feels that he has a legitimate complaint about how his art is received or what is demanded of him by his public, then surely it is of some interest as to how he answers these demands and what his comment may be on their appreciation of his art.

In previous chapters we have looked at the individual "Schwänke, then at the "Rahmen" into which these are fitted and the main character involved, and it may now seem proper to relate this to what the prologue prepares us for.

Barbara Könnecker has, however, looked at the problem from the opposite approach:

"In den bisherigen Interpretationen hat man den Eingangskapiteln . . . zu wenig Beachtung geschenkt, gerade aus ihnen aber geht, wie ich meine, die Absicht, die der Stricker im Pfaffen Amis verfolgte, ganz deutlich hervor."(4)

She has looked at what is contained in the prologue and then related what she finds in the work to the contents of the prologue. The question is then: does the work exist in its own right as a piece of art, and how does it then fulfil what we are given to expect ?; or: if the poet's intent is to present certain ideas and fulfil certain aims, given that this is what the work will do, how are we then to interpret the work ? Clearly there is more than the possibility of two totally different interpretations of the work; and the interpretation of the work will anyway depend on the interpretation of the prologue.

Lines 1-38 of the prologue are best looked at in two parts. Lines 1-20 form the poet's complaint: once, when a "höfisch man" (Lexer: "höfisch man" = "Spielmann") came to court, people were very appreciative of "seitspil singen oder sagen" as a means of expression of "vröude" (Lexer: "vröude" = "Frohsinn, Unterhaltendes") and "ere"; now these accomplishments in a poet are not appreciated except in as much as they can provide relief for the people "vür sorgen unt vür armuot"; the poet does not know what to do now at court because poetic art is no longer appreciated for its own sake but must be aimed at the relief of "sorgen unt armuot". One may justifiably and profitably ask how the art of the poet can and is expected to do this. He does not tell us. But we can safely assume that it is by making his public laugh. Not only have we seen that the purpose of the "Schwänke" individually is the comedy that derives from them, but in his work on "Märendichtung"

Hanns Fischer has collected examples of similar prologues, and there the intent comes across quite clearly. For example:

"Die zit sul wir vertriben
 Bi wol gemuoten wiben
 Da des niht mac an gewesen
 Da sol man singen oder lesen
 Oder sagen eteswaz
 Ze kurzewile umbe daz
 Ob ein man ichtz gedenke
 Daz in kein sorge iht krenke
 Daz er sich trurens maze
 Und die wile da von laze." (Sperber)

"Es tichtet mancher schwere,
 Dem rat ich, das er lere,
 Bey weyln nach schympfflichem sit,
 Da tempft man dy sorg mit" (Mönch als Liebesbote A)

"Von gemelîchen dingen
 sagen unde singen,
 Swer daz gerne vernimet,
 daz der jugent wol an zimet,
 Swen in diu wîle dunket lank,
 der sage Ruedigêre dank,
 Ob er sîn gelachet,
 wan er hât gemachet
 Vremdiu âventiure,
 der vröude ze stiure" (Studentenabenteuer B)

"Wer hovelîcher maere ger,
 der neige herze und ôre her,
 Dem gibet disiu âventiure
 ein lachen ze stiure." (Kobold und Eisbär)

"nu wil ich beginnen
 sagen seltsaeniu maere.
 nu si iu nihteswaere,
 wan wir mugen ir wol lachen." (Drei buhlerische Frauen), etc. (5).

Lines 21-38, however, pose certain problems of interpretation. It is not altogether clear, apparently, what his long list of criticism refers to, to society and its earlier and contemporary values or to the content of literature in its earlier and contemporary forms. It seems unlikely that this is a criticism of contemporary social values. He has previously been talking of the poet serving the ends of "vröude", "êre", "sorgen" and "armuot" and this similarly is a list of the various qualities that earlier and contemporary poetry mirrors. The big change is the emergence of "triegen" as a fit and popular subject for poetry, and it is now stories of this sort that the poet's public wants because it is by means of this type of story

that it can achieve its wish to be made to laugh. Hanns Fischer similarly points to the frequent occurrence of the word "list" as a subject of "Märendichtung", for instance:

"swenne ein vrouwe vor ir man
ir willen niht gevüegen kan
noch vor grozer huote,
si vindet in ir muote
also mangel spaehen list,
des doch guot ze lachenne ist." (Meierin mit der Geiss)⁽⁶⁾.

The sense and meaning of lines 39-43 is therefore that, since this is what contemporary publics want, it is der Stricker who tells of the first man who as a hero in poetry resorted to "triegen" and thus is the best figure to offer this sort of entertainment.

This interpretation of the prologue and the earlier consideration of the "Schwänke" may seem to have answered the questions posed as to the public's demands on the poet and the poet's aim in Pfaffe Amis. But very different interpretations of the prologue and the work must still be examined for any contribution they may make; and even this interpretation of the prologue must be justified from a literary-historical viewpoint and not just by quoting examples of other prologues for the most part probably much later in time than this one.

The prologue to Pfaffe Amis follows the traditionally demanded form of the prologue in mediaeval literature, as defined by the rhetoricians. The whole (the exordium of Johannes von Garalandia) is divided into the prologus praeter rem and the prologus ante rem of Sallust and Konrad von Hirsau (prooemium and prologus respectively of Johannes von Garalandia) and perform the functions demanded of each⁽⁷⁾. The prologus praeter rem, lines 1-20, and the prologus ante rem, lines 21-38 (but passing over into the next paragraph - "Abschnitt" - of the manuscript) are clearly defined by the scribe⁽⁸⁾ and their functions clear⁽⁹⁾.

In the prologus praeter rem the conversation between poet and public is opened with the awakening by the poet of the public's sympathy (benevolentia) through his complaint regarding the problems facing him in his task and the

lack of appreciation generally afforded to his poetic skills. Their receptiveness (decilitas) is assured and their attention (attentio) drawn by the poet's recognition that what a public wants these days is "ein maere guet vür sorgen und vür armuot." And with that the object of the work to follow has been mentioned and the public has been prepared for its more precise introduction in the prologus ante rem to follow. In the prologus ante rem the subject of the following work "triegen" is eventually introduced, but not before the receptiveness and attention of the public has again been assured by the poet's long complaint concerning tastes as they were and tastes as they are now.

But there is still the rather long list of virtues and vices, lines 21-38, the full import, meaning of which and the poet's relation to which still have to be explained as far as their relevance to the following work is concerned.

The prologue as a whole conforms to a certain structure demanded of it by rhetoric and is differentiated in this way and by the work of the scribe from the rest of the work; it is related thematically to the whole, which it is its function to introduce, but it is dangerous to lay too much emphasis on what it actually says ("das Exordium für die Charakterisierung und Bewertung eines literarischen Werkes zu benutzen"⁽¹⁰⁾). Lämmert has said of the prologue that its specific concern is: "Verheissung bedeutender Handlungsphasen und Rechtfertigung des Ganzen"⁽¹¹⁾. It therefore seeks only to put the poet's public in the right frame of mind for the work to come. Having chosen to present (or being expected anyway by his public to present) a series of "Schwänke" centring on Pfaffe Amis the poet needs to warn his audience that deceit is the subject-matter of the work and that it is designed primarily to amuse ("guet vür sorgen und vür armuot") rather than to instruct them morally or religiously. And to prepare them mentally and to make them receptive to the fact that the essence of the work is deceit the poet must over-emphasise on the one hand those qualities appertaining to the

courtly ideal and on the other hand those qualities that are their exact opposites and will therefore be those associated with "triegen". But this does not mean that all or indeed any (except "triegen", but then only as the bearer of the comedy of the "Schwänke") of the vices or virtues mentioned will be treated in the work. Indeed, we have seen that in the "Schwänke" the comic element is paramount and to try to extract any comment by the poet on "êre", "triuwe", "zuht", "tugent", "güete", "reht" or even "milte" is a fruitless task. We will let Kobbe have the last word:

"Schon durch diese Erscheinungsformen wird die Andersheit der Prologfunktion unterstrichen, die nicht die Aufgabe des Erzählens oder Berichtens erfüllt, sondern - als poetisch-rhetorische 'Geste' - das Folgende gleichsam auf eine Bedeutungshöhe erhebt, von der aus das weitere Werk sich dann eigengesetzlich entfalten kann"(12).

Brinkmann has described the prologue as opening a conversation:

"Wesentlich ist dabei, was den Sprecher mit seinen Hörern verbindet, was beiden gemeinsam vorgegeben ist. Wenn der Sprecher beginnt, wird er mit den Erwartungen rechnen, die bei seinen Empfängern bestehen. Er tritt gewissermassen in ein Gespräch ein, dass schon lange vor ihm begonnen hat. Beide, Sprecher wie Hörer, haben daran teilgenommen; und nun wenden sie sich aufs neue und aus neuem Anlass einander zu."(13)

The expectations of the public in as much as they can be defined from the prologue not only militate apparently against the poet being able to demonstrate his skills in his art - what does he then do in the work that follows and to what is then the apparent popularity of Pfaffe Amis to be attributed ? - but also dictate that he present a work that has as its theme "triegen"; what he subsequently presents, with Pfaffe Amis as the hero, is apparently exactly what is expected of him. The type of hero that Amis is and the type of work that Pfaffe Amis is are apparently precisely what the public wants; the task of interpretation of the prologue must then develop from an understanding of the work as a work of art in itself and which will then enable us to make comment in the light of the work itself on the prologue and on the fashions and tastes represented by der Stricker's public; it would be wrong to proceed from the prologue as our base and try to interpret the work

in consequence of this; it would be wrong to seek and see in the work any sort of answer to the change of taste implied in the prologue and to read into the prologue any criticism of the poet's public and in the work any attempt to provide any solution by way of comment on those aspects of criticism apparently implied.

Indeed, the public is to a greater or lesser degree as much a fictional invention as the work, for the poet must in some way, while admittedly having to take into account the demands that a public is likely to make upon him, prepare the receptiveness of the public to the work he has to offer at any particular time by narrowing and channelling their demands in a more general sense to those specifically that the work in hand will meet:

" . . . aus ihm (i.e. the prologue) geht nicht nur die Erzählergestalt, sondern auch die des Publikums hervor. . . . Wie sehr der Erzähler auf ein Publikum bezogen, wie unabdingbar die Antworthaftigkeit seines Sprechens auch festgelegt sein mag: dennoch baut er im Prolog dieses Publikum erst auf . . . Die captatio benevolentiae, die Erringen des Wohlwollens, kann man umfassender als 'Publikums-Auswahl' bezeichnen . . . Die gesamte Topik der 'Verkehrten Welt' . . . der 'Edlen, Aufrichtigen, Getreuen, Gebildeten gegen die Neider, Falschen, Schalke, Geschmacklosen' . . . sie dienen sämtlich dazu, einem ausgewählten, 'erlesenen' Publikum zu entsprechen und gerade dadurch einen bestimmten Idealtypus zu errichten, der als dialogischer Partner das Werk aufnimmt." (14)

The idea of Pfaffe Amis as a contrast or counterpart ("Gegenbild") to the "Ritterroman" or the "Aventiurenroman" was one first advanced by Rosenhagen⁽¹⁵⁾, it was later reiterated by Fischer⁽¹⁶⁾ and de Boor⁽¹⁷⁾, and most recently it has been made the basis for an interpretation of Pfaffe Amis - and more specifically as far as we are concerned here of the prologue of Pfaffe Amis - by Barbara Könneker⁽¹⁸⁾.

Könneker goes a lot further along this line of interpretation, however, than previous commentators, and although she expresses both her indebtedness to them for putting forward this idea and her intention to develop it further, it is necessary to appreciate exactly how far Rosenhagen and Fischer went (Könneker does not mention de Boor) and to understand exactly where

Könneker takes up the idea, for unfortunately - and obviously as an oversight on her part - the article does at this point suggest certain ideas as being already put forward by her predecessors which were not and does take certain ideas as accepted which she does not here justify.

Parallels drawn between Pfaffe Amis and the "Ritterroman" as regards the structure of the work do exist and the suggestions that Rosenhagen and Fischer put forward are perfectly acceptable:

"Das sprechendste Gegenbild des Ritterromans ist der Pfaffe Amis, dessen Anlage als anreihende Folge einzelner Erlebnisse einer einzigen Person jenem nicht nur abgesehen ist, sondern, wie es doch scheint, geradezu auf ihn hinweisen soll: das gehört auch zum Humor der Sache."(19),

but only as far as the structure is concerned, as Fischer makes clearer:

"Das Modell hierfür (i.e. für das Reiseschema) wird man mit G. Rosenhagen im Ritterroman sehen können, dessen Aventiurefahrtschema dem Stricker, wie der Daniel zeigt, geläufig war."(20).

Drawing similar parallels to Rosenhagen and Fischer, and parallels no less acceptable for the ^{credibility} ~~creditability~~ of the idea, Könneker then remarks:

"Diese Parallelen zeigen deutlich, dass der Stricker seine Schwankdichtung im Rückblick auf den höfischen Roman geschrieben hat. Gewicht erhalten sie jedoch erst durch die Art und Weise, in der das überlieferte Handlungsschema inhaltlich aufgefüllt worden ist. Denn in Inhalt, Ethos und Zielsetzung unterscheidet sich der Pfaffe Amis grundlegend vom Typus des höfischen Versromans, und der Stricker hat in ihm so betonte Umwertungen vorgenommen, dass man ihn fast schon als "Anti-Ritterroman" bezeichnen könnte."(21)

A footnote asks us to compare Gustav Rosenhagen's article page 149; but firstly "Anti-Ritterroman" is not a term that Rosenhagen uses, and secondly the idea of the "Ritterroman"-counterpart has been extended to include content, subject-matter, of the work. The vocabulary used, the "Gegenbild des Ritterromans" of Rosenhagen and the "Anti-Ritterroman" of Könneker, and particularly now with the inclusion of the subject-matter on Könneker's part, has changed the idea completely. The implied criticism in the prefix "anti-" is something not necessarily implicitly^k in the prefix "gegen-"(22). The original idea of Rosenhagen has almost imperceptibly been turned back-to-front,

for Rosenhagen also says:

"Die höfische Ethik steht überall hinter seinen (i.e. der Stricker's) Erzählungen aus der Sphäre des Lebens der einfachen Menschen; sie ist etwas wie eine halblaute Begleitung, die der Leser hinzuhören muss."(23),

and Fischer also says:

"Wir glauben also, die romanartig ausgebildete lateinische Unterhaltungs-Dichtung . . . schwankhafter Färbung (samt ihren volkssprachlichen Ausstrahlungen) als Vorbild für die wesentlichen Elemente des Bautyps in Anspruch nehmen zu dürfen."(24)

This may seem a trivial point, but certainly not as far as Könneker's following interpretation of the prologue is concerned. It may not be made absolutely clear that the idea has been extended in this way, and that does not of itself invalidate the idea necessarily, but no proof is offered to substantiate the idea. After a further series of perfectly acceptable parallels which show the work as a "counterpart" of the "Ritterroman" (25), she then makes the statement:

"Hält man Aufbau und Inhalt der Dichtung nebeneinander, so lässt sich daher durchaus die Schlussfolgerung ziehen, dass der Pfaffe Amis als Gegenfigur zum ritterlichen Romanhelden entworfen wurde, d.h. der erste deutsche Schwankroman seine Entstehung dem spezifisch antihöfischen Impuls eines Autors verdankte, der dem ritterlichen Stand selbst nicht angehörte und dessen Ethos und Weltbild daher mit ironischer Skepsis begegnete. Bestätigt wird diese Vermutung durch die Tatsache, dass der Pfaffe Amis zu einem Zeitpunkt geschrieben wurde, als die ritterlich höfische Kultur ihren Höhepunkt bereits überschritten hatte . . ." (26)

Without really defining "Inhalt, Ethos und Zielsetzung" or defining why der Stricker should feel a "spezifisch antihöfischen Impuls" because he was not born a knight or examining what justification there is to suggest that, the high-point of knightly and courtly literature having been passed, der Stricker's public should now want something specifically and apparently so completely "anti-courtly", or alternatively why der Stricker should present such, irrespective of what his public may demand, I fail to see how Könneker can assert what she does. And in as much as her arguments thus far are unacceptable, her interpretation of the prologue that follows also loses

credibility⁽²⁷⁾.

We have seen in Chapter II that the comedy of the situations and actions of the individual "Schwänke" of Pfaffe Amis is paramount and have said that the purpose of the work is to amuse and entertain. We have further looked at the prologue as a literary device designed to put the public in the right frame of mind for this and make them receptive for what is to follow, and we have suggested that it is this comedy that is to be the cure for their "sorgen und armuot". We have thus interpreted the prologue from an understanding of the work. What Barbara Könneker seeks to do is to interpret the work from an understanding of the prologue. The dangers are obvious: every aspect of the work must be made to fit into an interpretation of what is from the point of view of traditional rhetoric what Rosenhagen called "ein Stück eleganter literarischer Arbeit", albeit an elegant piece of literary work with a specific purpose. Furthermore, in Könneker's article the interpretation must now be made to be "anti-courtly", whereas our interpretation would see it as providing more or less what a (courtly) public demands.

Könneker tells us:

"Im Prolog zum Pfaffe Amis kommt diese antihöfische Tendenz offen zum Ausdruck"(28)

and quotes lines 1-13. But if this is the anti-"courtly" tendency of a man "der dem ritterlichen Stand selbst nicht angehörte und dessen Ethos und Weltbild daher mit ironischer Skepsis begegnete", why does der Stricker in the very lines quoted and in those that follow bemoan the passing of the courtly tradition which allowed him to show off his skill in that very tradition:

"wie sol dann' ein gevüege man
ze hove nuo gebâren?
des enkan ich niht gevâren.
ich kan gevüeger worte vil,
daz beziug' ich swer si hoeren wil;
swâ man der ze hove nine gert
dâ bin ich eines tôren wert." (lines 14 - 20) ?

Lambel saw these lines as a "Klage über die schwindende Teilnahme an der Dichtkunst und den Dichtern"⁽²⁹⁾; Rosenhagen saw them as a statement which

"den Einzug des 'triegens' in die früher bessere Welt beklagt"⁽³⁰⁾; de Boor saw them as an "Apotheose der vergangenen Zeit höfischer 'Freude und Ehre' am Anfang, die . . . die übliche Klage des Fahrennden ist"⁽³¹⁾. If we have accepted this likewise by implication if not by expressly stating this to be our interpretation of them, then if Könnecker takes them to be an "anti-höfische Tendenz" in the sense that her article thus far would suggest we understand this phrase, the problem is insurmountable. From the very beginning these two different approaches to interpretation of the work are so far apart that to try to follow and reconcile their development and further implications is to pursue and attempt a task that is both purposeless and impracticable because of the fact that the further developments and implications are so far apart as to be irreconcilable.

Further implications of Könnecker's approach to interpretation of the prologue are that, instead of providing comedy and laughter, der Stricker now intends in the work:

"konkrete Lebenshilfe zu geben, statt wie die Dichtung vor ihm an den kühnen Aufschwung des die Niederung des Daseins negierenden 'höhen muotes' zu appellieren. - Kunst als Lebenshilfe und Lebensrezept"⁽³²⁾;

further, instead of seeing Amis as the first in a line of literary characters who represent a new style of literary values and aims, the hero of the "Schwank" (and clearly we are not to take the idea of his being the first too literally), as we have done, Könnecker sees his relevance to the whole situation as very much more direct:

". . . ja der Stricker macht ihn dort sogar direkt verantwortlich für den allgemeinen Zusammenbruch der Wertordnung, die intakt war, bevor mit ihm Betrug und Lüge ihren Einzug in die Welt hielten. Wörtlich nämlich heisst es im zweiten Teil des Prologs mit einem Nachdruck, der keinen Zweifel daran lässt, dass der listige Pfaffe als 'Erfinder' und Urheber des Betruges anzusehen sei"⁽³³⁾;

the further parallel is drawn between Amis' impoverished position after the episode with the bishop and the impoverished position of "die höfische Gesellschaft" as described in the prologue⁽³⁴⁾, where the solution that Amis finds is intended to be of relevance and importance for the public:

"Damit (i.e. with his finding of "das Mittel 'vür sorgen unt vür armuot'") aber ist eine Verbindung zu den Eingangsversen des Prologs hergestellt, die vom Stricker ohne Zweifel beabsichtigt war, ja unter diesem Aspekt erhält der Pfaffe Amis geradezu die Züge und Eigenschaften einer Ausweggestalt. Denn entscheidend ist, dass er das Mittel 'vür sorgen unt vür armuot' tatsächlich findet, indem er sich zur Wehr setzt, d.h. zu der einzigen Waffe greift, die der Schwache gegenüber dem Mächtigen besitzt, die Erfolg verspricht, wo alle übrigen versagen, nämlich zur Waffe der List."(35).

The essence of Könneker's interpretation is thus noted. Clearly it is different in every essential aspect from the one we have presented, and obviously we cannot for one moment accept it. It misses the whole point of the mediaeval prologue, and the idea of Amis apparently now as the counsellor of dishonest, sinful, immoral, criminal activities as a justifiable way to behave is totally unacceptable. If this is what Könneker is really suggesting, where does the basic object of the "Schwank", the arousing of laughter, fit in ? Or is this as a (half-) serious suggestion on the poet's part where the humour lies ?

But perhaps, indeed, something of far greater significance, interest and importance comes out of this situation. The prologue of Pfaffe Amis does anyway present problems of interpretation because it is probably far from clear exactly what the poet is saying. It is likewise not precisely clear from the prologue alone exactly what his intention is in the work. If the work is examined as a collection of "Schwänke" and judged on its merits as such, as we have done in Chapter II, then to interpret the prologue in the light of this will obviously be to read into it a meaning which will only underline the interpretation of the work already reached. To compare this and other prologues and to examine the traditionally demanded form of the prologue may well justify this interpretation even more. But to reach an interpretation of the prologue from what it appears to say and from facts known about the poet and contemporary society (and an erroneous interpretation in our view), and then to see the work as being complementary to and fulfilling the implications and demands of this interpretation will produce a totally different view of the nature and intent of the work. This in itself

is perhaps a very valid comment on the nature of literature itself and upon literary criticism. But it is also a most interesting comment on the work and whatever position we may assign to it in the literary history of Germany in the first half of the thirteenth century. Pfaffe Amis is unique both among der Stricker's works and within the broader picture of German literature of this period. Therefore we may not find it surprising that it allows for such a wide variety of interpretation, and its generally accepted place chronologically in der Stricker's works following Karl and Daniel vom blühenden Tal and preceeding the "maeren" and "bîspel" may be reason enough to explain this variety of possible interpretation. It clearly stands at the cross-roads of der Stricker's own literary output and intent and to some degree at a similar point in the literary history of Germany. There are those also who would read great social significance into this, and to come to some appreciation of the work viewed in this and other lights must be one of our next tasks.

CHAPTER V

We have already looked at various aspects of the work Pfaffe Amis, and those specifically in Chapters III and IV which have been the subject of disagreement between commentators on the work, and now it is time to draw the threads of our considerations and conclusions together and consider the work as a whole. The individual "Schwänke" of Pfaffe Amis are more than just an unconnected collection or anthology; they are bound together by their association with a main character around whom certain moral problems centre and who does in this way represent a view of life. It is the function of the "Rahmen" to provide a unifying element and to help set the events portrayed in the work more firmly and credibly into the real world, as it is the function also of certain of the leitmotive of the work, particularly the leitmotiv of Amis' "hûs" in England. This is also the reason behind the existence of the main character himself and the biographical details that we are given about him - even though we may not accept the idea that the character is based on an actual historical figure. The other function of the "Rahmen", containing as it does Amis' association with the bishop and his eventual conversion, is to soften the impact of his character as one that is thoroughly dishonest by giving an explanation for his escapades and delineating his real and reciprocal association with the "people", albeit not those people specifically that he meets in the individual "Schwänke". This connection between the "Rahmen" and the body of "Schwänke" helps to stabilise and maintain that delicate balance between good and evil in Amis and in his position as the "Schwank" hero. And as the work does in this way have obvious meaning and relevance for its public, our endeavours must now be aimed at answering the question: What is the central theme of Pfaffe Amis and what does the poet wish to express through such a main character?

Looking at der Stricker's other works in the hope or expectation of this providing some clue by way of providing one neat central theme in the work of

the poet into which we can fit Pfaffe Amis does not immediately and obviously seem to offer any help. If one looks at der Stricker's work as a whole and the vast ammount of commentary on it, two things become immediately obvious; firstly, that it represents a wide variety of works in a variety of genres and with a variety of themes; and secondly, that all the commentators who have tried to bring some kind of order (chronological order particularly) into it have, beyond a generally agreed chronological pattern, not managed to do so⁽¹⁾. Alongside "grössere Epen" are found "schwankhafte Novellen", "moralische Erzählungen", "ausschliesslich geistliche Gedichte", poems like Frauen-ehre, Die Klage, Gedicht von den Edelsteinen, and those poems which show der Stricker involved with the social-political problems of his Austrian home. It represents a very impressive life's work for any poet, but it seems to offer no readily discernable constant general theme into which one can fit a work like Pfaffe Amis other than perhaps that of a moral and didactic intent.

Comments on der Stricker's works by his contemporaries likewise give no clue as to which of his works found enthusiastic reception, let alone why they did so. The praise for Daniel vom blühenden Tal by Rudolf von Ems:

"Och het i uch der Strikaere
 Bas danne ich berihtet,
 Wold er uch han getihtet
 Als Daniel von blunden tal"⁽²⁾

would seem to stand at variance with the modern view based on the evidence of the number of extant manuscripts that this was not the most successful of der Stricker's works⁽³⁾. Whichever may be the case, the other critical judgement of der Stricker by Rudolf von Ems:

"swenn er wil der Strickaere
 sô macht er guotiu maere"⁽⁴⁾

does little to clarify the situation. Its real and exact meaning is far from clear. If it is the case, as we have argued in Chapter I, that one can rightly suggest a date towards the middle of the 1230's for the composition of Pfaffe Amis, then de Boor is correct in assuming that Rudolf will have had in mind Karl and Daniel vom blühenden Tal⁽⁵⁾. It is also possible that Rudolf's com-

ment may also have referred to Pfaffe Amis and some of the "Schwänke" as Rosenhagen suggests⁽⁶⁾. Rosenhagen also suggests that Rudolf was criticising der Stricker's forsaking the courtly genres to concentrate on "Schwänke" and offering a judgement on his success in this venture. Lambel also talks of a conscious turning away from the epic to firstly "das Schalk- und Schwankhafte" and later to purely didactic verse⁽⁷⁾. One interpretation of Rudolf's lines is, then, that not all of der Stricker's work was up to normal or acceptable standard in Rudolf's judgement. The modern view of the apparent lack of success of Daniel vom blühenden Tal followed by the apparent greater success of Karl - but a view based solely on numbers and dates of extant manuscripts - contrasted with Rudolf's praise of Daniel vom blühenden Tal make it likely that Rudolf and modern literary commentators might disagree regarding the literary merits of these two works. If hidden condemnation of one or more of der Stricker's works does exist in Rudolf's comments and if he does have Pfaffe Amis in mind in making his judgement, it may also be relevant to ask whether Rudolf does not have the very opposite in mind and regard Pfaffe Amis as the or one of the "guotiu maere" rather than the disappointment among these works. In their wider context, however, Rudolf's lines do not necessarily imply criticism and are probably meant as no more than a general complimentary statement on all that der Stricker had up to that time produced.

There are, therefore, no clues to be derived from these sources as to der Stricker's aim in Pfaffe Amis, or as to what his contemporaries considered to be his achievement in the work; and as we have already remarked that the work seems to be unique within the context of the literature of its time, the best way to approach interpretation of it is through the work itself. We have also remarked that criticism of Pfaffe Amis falls generally into three periods of historical development, and this is also the case generally speaking as regards interpretation of Pfaffe Amis. Literary histories from the middle of the last century until well into this century tended to insist that Pfaffe Amis was in some way satirical, that Amis was eventually converted from his sinful

ways, and many of them expressed concern at the way the clergy could be portrayed in the guise of such a reprehensible character. It was not until the articles by Rosenhagen and Fischer⁽⁸⁾ this century that attempts were made at interpretation in more detailed and specialised articles rather than in the form of general literary histories, and the nature of the interpretation changed to a more positive assessment of Amis. In more recent years articles have appeared which have sought to interpret Pfaffe Amis with reference to particular ideas or religious movements.

But throughout this history of interpretation the same or similar ideas have recurred in a variety of forms, and so, of course, our historical divisions must remain far from strict. Because we are dealing with recurring and amended ideas, some of which we will want to reject or again amend or in some way qualify to clarify our own interpretation - which itself must go yet further than the point to which it has been developed in the last three chapters - it would be best to give first some examples of early comments on Pfaffe Amis, considering these against the main threads of our own interpretation thus far, and then to consider implications of more recent interpretations whilst at the same time collating and developing our own interpretation to its fullest and final form.

While Ehrismann⁽⁹⁾ obviously appreciated that the most important element and prime aim of the individual "Schwänke" in Pfaffe Amis is that of the comedy they contain, the much earlier interpretation by Gervinus, if taken literally, seems not really to have seen the point:

"Man muss zwischen Freude und Schadenfreude noch nicht recht zu scheiden wissen, wenn man diese Streiche alle lustig finden soll"(10).

His remark is based upon a subjective judgement as to what is or is not comical, but the possible development of the comparison of "Freude" and "Schadenfreude" has interesting implications - "Freude" was the aim of the literature of the time of "hie vor" in the prologue, now (the "nuo" of line 21 of the prologue), he seems to be suggesting, the aim and enjoyment lie in "Schadenfreude".

But, quite apart from what we have said about this apparent contrast in the prologue between "hie vor" and "nuo", the idea of "Schadenfreude" cannot be entertained for various reasons. The demands of the poet's public as expressed in the prologue and therefore presumably his aim in the work was the provision of comedy for the sole purpose of making his public laugh, relaxing them and helping them forget the troubles of life. The composition of both MS. H and MS. K would likewise seem to suggest this⁽¹¹⁾, and suggest, too, that Pfaffe Amis was considered by the compilers of these two manuscripts to have achieved this aim by simple virtue of the fact that they included it in that part of the manuscripts where it is placed. While we have also pointed out that, indeed, the literary quality of the "Schwänke" in Pfaffe Amis is very variable, we should not forget, as Gervinus does, that we must not judge the mediaeval sense of humour by the criteria by which we judge comedy today. What we might consider distasteful today in a variety of ways would not necessarily have appeared so to a mediaeval public. The whole style and construction of the "Schwänke" suggest that the aim was comedy. Had it been anything else the poet's descriptions would have concentrated on very different aspects; where those descriptions centre tells us what the poet's public was intended to laugh at. What Amis, "der êrste man . . . der liegen unt triegen ane vienc" (lines 40-41), represents is the very antithesis of the time of "hie vor":

"dô was diemuot des vrides kneht,
und gie daz reht vûrz unreht" (lines 35-36 of Benecke's edition of MS. R).

Amis represents those qualities in lines 23-36, "schande", "erge", "untriuwe", "bôsheit", "lûge", "unzuht", "untugent", "ûbele", "unreht", which characterise the contrast to this time gone by, and in this way the essence of the comedy revolves around Amis as the central character. It is true that the net result of Amis' influence on others, "trûren" (line 34), is also contrasted with "hôchgemûete", but even so it is what is embodied in the central character that the poet is most concerned with. And if the poet's public is to find the misfortune of others funny, one might wonder what misfortune this is. We have

already pointed out that the king in Das unsichtbare Gemälde and the duke in Die Heilung der Kranken both seem to find their encounter with Amis an enlightening and beneficial one; Amis' victims in Der Hahn, Der Fischfang, Das Tuch, Amis als Wahrsager and Amis als Wundertäter all seem to be perfectly happy with the promises of prosperity, longevity and eternal salvation that Amis gives them; and the women in Die Kirchweihpredigt are better off regarding their reputations for virtue after Amis' departure than they were before his arrival. The main comic elements of Der Maurer und Bischof and Der Juwelenhändler seem to lie in the physical maltreatment of Amis' victims, and indeed this may be "Schadenfreude"; but in Der Maurer und Bischof at least the unfortunate merchant is saved from lasting financial embarrassment by the timely arrival and benevolence of the mason's employer. What element of "Schadenfreude" there is in the work is of minor significance; indeed, it may be of considerable significance that the most overt case of "Schadenfreude" in Die Messe:

"dô wart der prôbest überladen
mit grôzem zorne unde schaden;
dar zuo leit er grôzen spot.
die tumben liute lobten got,
daz im sô leide was geschehen" (lines 1537-1541)

belongs in that "Schwank" that is contained in only one of the manuscripts of the work. It may, indeed, be for this very reason that it was left out of the other (and later) manuscripts. What the poet's public was intended to laugh at was not the misfortunes of Amis' victims; had this been the case, the important word in so many of the "Schwänke" would not have been "alwaere"; for this is where the comedy lies, not in the misfortune of the victims but in the stupidity of people who can be made to look so ridiculous and in the ingenuity of a man who can accomplish this. And stupidity more so than misfortune can be learnt from and remedied.

Biese's suggestion that Amis' conviction that the world, or the people in it, is simply asking to be deceived and exploited:

"Der Pfaffe Amis hat die humorvolle Ueberzeugung, dass
jene bekannte Spezies des homo sapiens, die der Dummen,
niemals ausstirbt, und lässt sein Handeln von dem kecken

Grundsatz bestimmen: Mundus vult decipi, ergo decipiat, 'die Welt will nun einmal betrogen werden, also soll sie auch betrogen werden'"(12).

finds something of an echo in more recent interpretations and the idea of "Lebensklugheit"⁽¹³⁾. But this suggestion of "liegen und triegen" as an end in itself ignores the very simple fact that Amis is forced to exploit his victims originally and primarily because he too is being exploited by the majority of guests at his own "hûs". This way of behaviour is something that is forced upon Amis as a result of his encounter with the bishop, and it is not something (as would seem to be Biese's suggestion) that Amis seems one day to realise and which leads on to all sorts of hilarious adventures. Amis is not a free agent at all to the degree that Biese apparently thinks he is. Nor does Amis have the monopoly of deceit and exploitation, which all started with the bishop. Amis is as much a victim of exploitation as the people he himself exploits, and like his own victims he seems not to appreciate this fact. He is a victim of his own over-developed sense of "milte", and in this sense may well be as deserving of the description "alwaere" as are many of his own victims. If it is in the nature of mankind to want to be deceived ("mundus vult decipi"), far from being free of this fault, Amis shares it with the rest of mankind. And it is only with his conversion that Amis escapes from the rather ridiculous position of having to deceive in order to be deceived.

Ehrismann's astonishment at the fact that der Stricker could portray a priest in such a way:

"Einem ernsten Sinn bleibt es unverständlich, dass mit dem Religiösen ein solcher Spott getrieben und dass die Geistlichkeit so satirisch verhöhnt werden konnte. . . . Immerhin bleibt in dieser Dichtung sowie in manchen andern dieser Schwänke und Erzählungen die öffentliche Meinung über den Weltpriesterstand erstaunlich."(14)

can only be described as perhaps ignoring what may have been the reality of the mediaeval situation and certainly a misunderstanding of the poet's intent. There are enough examples in history of priests errant in all sorts of ways, and there are examples of adulterous priests in other of der Stricker's

own shorter works, for instance in Der begrabene Ehemann and Der kluge Knecht, while the priest in Der Gevatterin Rat who performs the funeral service could well perform his duties in a more devout and priestly fashion and for more religious reasons. The first thing to recognise is that these characters are based on real possibilities, and secondly that they, like Amis, serve only to heighten the comedy. While adultery is not one of the criticisms that could be levelled at Amis, Heinz Rupp's observations are none the less applicable:

"Und wenn der Bauer als Tölpel, die Frau als Liebesdurstige, der Pfaffe als Ehebrecher oder hinter Licht geführter Liebhaber bevorzugte Typen dieser Schwänke sind, dann heisst das noch nicht, dass sich in dieser Dichtung der Zerfall der Ehe, die Sittenverderbnis des Klerus spiegelt. . . . Der Klerus erscheint als Buhler, weil er es nicht sein dürfte, weil er andererseits zur Liebe geeigneter erscheint als der 'miles', wie uns lateinische Streitgedichte des Mittelalters belehren."(15).

There is neither ridicule nor satire of the priesthood in the character of Amis, for we have seen that his reasons for his deceit, though he may himself have been exploited similarly and misguided in his endeavours (he turns away from this way of life in Bekehrung und Ende), derive from the highest Christian ideals. If Pfaffe Amis were a "clerical satire"⁽¹⁶⁾ we would laugh at Pfaffe Amis rather than at his victims. Nowhere in the work is there any overt criticism of Amis and the way he behaves as a priest.

Nor is it correct to read into the work any criticism generally of the morals of der Stricker's time, as many have done, for instance Biese:

"Wir spüren, bedenkliche Schlaglichter lassen diese Schwänke auf die sittlichen Zustände der Zeit fallen"(17),

Golther:

"Das Schwankbuch hat satirischen Charakter, indem die Geldgier der Geistlichen, der Missbrauch mit Heiligtümern, die Leichtgläubigkeit der Laien wirksam und humoristisch vorgeführt wird"(18),

and again Ehrismann:

"Indessen, wenn die Dichtung auch nicht im einzelnen belehrend, 'bispel'haft ist, so hat sie doch im ganzen einen moralisierenden Sinn: sie gibt eine Satire auf menschliche Schwächen mancherlei Art, und ein Bild der gesunkenen Zeit im Gegensatz zu 'Hie vor'"(19).

This "gesunkene Zeit im Gegensatz zu 'hie vor'" is, as we have said, a rhetorical device belonging to the function of the prologue. We have further pointed out that there is no explicit didactic purpose in Pfaffe Amis and that der Stricker nowhere expounds or makes Amis' victims or Amis himself illustrate a definite moral position. This is true with regard to Amis' behaviour in his rôle as a priest and with regard to the behaviour of Amis' victims. We have seen how the poet avoids any comment on the adultery of his victims in Die Kirchweihpredigt and of the greed of his victim in Das unsichtbare Gemälde. Indeed, it is stupidity or gullibility that characterise all of Amis' victims, and neither stupidity nor gullibility come within the sphere of morality.

While greed, as we have seen, may be a fault that develops in Amis, to see him as in any way a representative of evil and sin:

" . . . so wie die Lalenburger aus allzugrosser Weisheit in Narrheit übergehen, so unser Amis von allzugrosser Freigebigkeit und Tugend in Habsucht und Bosheit"(20),

"Und ausserdem wird das Treiben des Pfaffen ja auch als Lüge, als Sündhaftigkeit erklärt"(21),

is no less misplaced than to see his victims as essentially sinful characters. This is misplaced not only because of Amis' motives for his actions but also from the point of view of his position as what we have described as a "Schwank" hero, that strange rôle that makes him perhaps not the representative of qualities to be admired but yet the initiator of the element of comedy, the positive purpose of the work. And we have similarly seen that his conversion:

"Am Ende seines Lebens geht übrighens Amis reuig in ein Kloster, diene fleissig Gott und verdiente sich damit das ewige Leben."(22),

"Damit aber die poetische und sittliche Gerechtigkeit gewahrt bleibe, schwört am Ende der alte Fuchs Lug und Trug ab, geht lammfromm in ein Kloster und verdient so, 'dass vom Herrgott ihm das ewige Leben nach diesem Leibe ward gegeben.'"(23),

is for a very definite reason not accompanied by remorse and repentance, is not a rejection of "liegen unt triegen" so much as a discovery of and deeper insight into the true nature of the more important virtue and theme of "milte"

and his regaining of the sight of God as the purpose behind his actions.

If the interpretation of Pfaffe Amis as the story of a man, and moreover a priest, who resorts to evil ways of lying and deceit for his own gain but who repents and atones in a monastery is not the correct one, and if the work is intended to be neither a criticism of the priesthood nor a criticism of the morals of der Stricker's time, one basic problem remains. We have accepted Strassner's definition of the "Schwank" as:

"'im hohen Masse eine Art Beispielerzählung' . . .
ohne eine direkte Schlussmoral zu benötigen."(24),

but so far we have not discussed in what way this is the case. That there is no explicitly pointed moral to any one of the "Schwänke" or to the work as a whole has been emphasised, but the way in which it does make some sort of point or moral and what that point or moral is we have not yet touched upon. One of the features of the contributions of Rosenhagen and Fischer has been that they have both endeavoured to present a picture of Amis representing a specific lesson and illustrating and exemplifying the virtue or wisdom of a way of life and action that is fully morally justified. And this interpretation has, broadly speaking, remained the generally accepted interpretation until the present time.

Rosenhagen develops the idea of the right of the strong, that is the clever and cunning, to dominate and exploit the weak, that is the simple and the stupid:

"Den Opfern (i.e. Amis' victims) geschieht eigentlich ganz recht, und wenn man dem 'weisen phaffen' vorhalten wollte, dass er das Ansehen seines geistlichen Amtes und die Einfalt der frommen Seelen missbraucht, so trifft man den Sinn nicht, in welchem diese Geschichten hier auftreten und vereinigt sind. Nicht der Mann ist der Held, der, wie die Einleitung des Strickers meint, in eine bessere Welt das Trügen eingeführt hat, sondern der geistig Ueberlegene, der frech und unbefangen die Schwächen seiner Mitmenschen in greller Klarheit sieht und das Recht beansprucht, sie für sich auszunutzen. . . . Das Satirische liegt ihm (i.e. der Stricker) dabei fern. Der Humor von der Geschichte ist für ihn der Sieg der Klugheit über die Dummheit schlechthin, was seiner auf das allgemein Moralische gerichteten Denkart entspricht."(25).

Is this really the moral message of Pfaffe Amis? Fischer seems a little more concerned about the Christian morals of this in his development of the idea:

"Diese ideale Klugheit (für die kein einheitlicher Name gebraucht wird) hat der Stricker nirgends begrifflich definiert, aber in der Gestalt des Pfaffen Amis finden wir sie typisch dargestellt. Sie ist keine theoretische Bücherweisheit, sondern praktische (Lebens-) Klugheit, gesunder Menschenverstand, . . . Den Dummen blosszustellen, darf dem Klugen jedes Mittel recht sein, also auch das 'trügen', dessen Beigeschmack von Arglist die moralische Konzeption nicht zu stören scheint; es wird vielmehr als erwünschter, wenn auch drastischer Ausfluss der Lebensklugheit genommen. So fehlt dem Schluss auch eine Bekehrung. Nirgends bereut Amis seine Taten, noch sagt er der Lebensklugheit auf; im Gegenteil, gerade durch diese wird er dem Kloster nützlich, wenn auch in einer reineren Form, die das Dolose ('die lügene' 2491) verloren hat."(26).

But when Fischer talks of Amis not forswearing this "Lebensklugheit" but contributing this quality to the monastery, he does not make clear one very important point. When he talks of "Lebensklugheit" he surely talks of it in terms of "den Dummen blosszustellen, darf dem Klugen jedes Mittel recht sein", the "right" to exploitation of the weak belonging to "der geistig Ueberlegene"; yet surely Amis gives this up when he goes into the monastery simply by virtue of the fact that there is no-one in the monastery to exploit for his own ends. Is this not the whole point of his retreat from the world? And how can Amis forswear "das Dolose" and still retain this virtue of "Lebensklugheit" with its implication "den Dummen blosszustellen, darf dem Klugen jedes Mittel recht sein"? "Das Dolose" is an important part, the very essence, of this "Lebensklugheit", which must be totally destroyed as a social and moral philosophy when the application of any means in its pursuance is now absent. When Amis repairs to the monastery we are told:

"mit guote unt mit râte
bezzert' er daz klôster . . ." (lines 2498-2499)

and:

"er vleiz sich sêre an rehte tât;
dô half sîn rât desten baz." (lines 2506-2507).

There seems no way in which this "Lebensklugheit" can be reconciled with his

contribution to the monastery, especially since this contribution is now made all the more valuable to the monastery because it is accompanied by "rehte tât". What is left when "das Dolose" has been forsworn and what Amis contributes to the monastery is identical with what Amis had to contribute at the beginning of the work, "miltekeit" (line 55). Otherwise, the whole episode with the bishop and the change of character that is such an important part of the work is made nonsense of.

What Fischer says in his work on "Märendichtung" regarding the "tumb" and the "wîse" is, however, perfectly correct:

"Die Masse aller Schwankgeschichten aber ist auf das 'facete factum' abgestellt, den auf die Ueberlistung des scheinbar Überlegenen 'tumben' durch den 'wîsen' hinauslaufenden lustigen Streich, der seine Dynamik aus dem Spannungszustand zwischen Torheit und Klugheit bezieht und deshalb im Hörer und Leser so leicht und sicher Heiterkeit entbindet, weil sich dieser insgeheim mit dem siegreichen Klugen identifiziert."(27),

and when he defines "das ideelle Kraftzentrum so vieler Schwänke" as:

" . . . dass der geistig Bewegliche, Listige, Lebenskluge auf Grund einer Art von Naturrecht die Oberhand behält über den geistig Trägen, Törichten und Ungewandten."(28)

he is no less correct. What makes these statements inapplicable to Pfaffe Amis is, however, quite simple. Pfaffe Amis is itself not a "Schwank" but a collection of "Schwänke", and it is also this simple fact that makes it impossible for Bausinger's work on the types of "Schwank" to apply to Pfaffe Amis. Basic to Bausinger's main types is a situation where two parties oppose one another, one party gaining some sort of advantage, which situation the other must try to reverse⁽²⁹⁾. Of the "Schwänke" in Pfaffe Amis only Das Tuch has this situation. And with this element of the competitiveness between two parties absent from Pfaffe Amis (certainly as an essential feature of most of the "Schwänke"), this "Spannungszustand zwischen Torheit und Klugheit", the figure of the "scheinbar Überlegenen 'tumben'", the idea of the "natural law" of the superiority of the cunning over the stupid cannot be applied to Pfaffe Amis. This "natural law" exists only within the "Schwank" where this situation exists

between two parties who are engaged in a deliberate, recognised and accepted (even though perhaps not explicitly) trial of wits. And that is not the essence of Amis' relationship with most of his victims. The "Schwänke" in Pfaffe Amis lack what Neumann has called "das komische Ueberraschungsmoment"⁽³⁰⁾, if by this term we are correct in assuming him to mean that same moment when the first and apparently disadvantaged party turns the tables and in irreversible final triumph gains the upper hand. And Fischer's remarks about the "Schwank" can obviously anyway not be applicable to the considerations of Amis as a main character at a point where the question in hand is that of his conversion.

If there is a didactic element to Pfaffe Amis the question still remains as to what it is. It is true that the confrontation between Amis and his victims is that between the cunning and clever priest, "der geistig Ueberlegene", and the simple or stupid victim, "der alwaere", but it is also far more than that. Behind this relationship in each of the stories is something deeper but not specifically commented upon - adultery, greed, honour, the nature of true repentance (the episodes that have to do with Amis selling indulgences) - and none of this is included in an interpretation that sees the moral of the work as lying in the "natural law" of the superiority of the intellectually strong over the intellectually weak, or the "right" of the former to exploit the latter. Nor does this interpretation take into account the nature of Amis' own conversion. And if an interpretation along these lines implies the exhortation "Go, and do thou likewise" we are not only very near to Barbara Könniker's picture of Amis as an "Ausweggestalt"⁽³¹⁾ but also accepting what is in fact a moral or lesson that can be interpreted only as being basically immoral and irreligious when measured against the normally accepted moral code of both der Stricker's time and our own.

We are surely more than justified in looking for the moral as one based firmly in Christian ethic and teaching. When Heinz Rupp says of the didactic element of the "Schwank":

"Der Hörer soll aus dem komischen Geschehen belehrt, klüger

werden, die heitere, witzige oder derbe Geschichte dient der 'bezzerunge' der Hörer oder Leser."(32)

we are to understand this idea of "bezzerunge" as the idea of moral (i.e. religious) improvement rather than the idea of how best to succeed in life by any (immoral or irreligious) means. Rosenhagen and Fischer have sought in Pfaffe Amis a positive lesson. But if, as Rosenhagen suggests, it is not "der Mann" (i.e. Amis)⁽³³⁾ but anyone exploiting the weak by virtue of this natural right who is the hero of the work, and if for this reason Amis' "misuse" of his priestly position is not important, Rosenhagen ignores the fact that when this "right" is exercised it contradicts other more generally accepted patterns of behaviour and - as it does when it is exploited by Amis - offends against other equally valid moral rules. Even Fischer, in agreeing with Rosenhagen's interpretation, seems not altogether happy with this interpretation:

" . . . dessen Beigeschmack von Arglist die moralische Konzeption nicht zu stören scheint."(34)

What is contained is, in fact, a moral and religious lesson by way of negative example. Rupp has perceived the relationship between more explicit didactic poetry and a work like Pfaffe Amis when he writes:

"Die anspruchsvolle Dichtung, die religiöse oder innerweltliche Probleme mit tiefem Ernst, oft in Symbole gekleidet darstellt, die dem Menschen Wege weisen will, ihn mit den schwierigsten Fragen seines irdischen Daseins konfrontiert und bedrängt, bedarf als eines Gegenpols der heiteren Dichtung, der Satire, der Groteske, des Schwanks, wobei diese in heiterem oder komischem Gewand auftretenden Werke der Belehrung ex negativo, dem ridenter dicere verum oder allein dem Lachen und Mitlachen dienen können."(35),

and perceives the exact relationship between the comic and the didactic elements in Pfaffe Amis when he uses the metaphors of the "Spiegel" and the "umgehängtes Mäntelchen":

"Oft ist die Moral nur ein umgehängtes Mäntelchen, das ohne Sinn und Wirkung bleibt, weil das Schwankgeschehen so übermächtig ist, dass das Mäntelchen der Moral zur durchsichtigen Hülle wird. Unterhaltungsdichtung und Lehrdichtung vermischen sich hier zu einer oft schwer trennbaren Einheit."(36).

If Pfaffe Amis is a satire, it is not then a satire on the traits and

values of der Stricker's own time as Biese and Ehrismann concluded⁽³⁷⁾ but a satire on more general and universal human foibles, which here are made fit subjects for laughter without a moral criticism being directed in any specific direction. When Golther talks of "die Geldgier der Geistlichen, der Missbrauch mit Heiligtümern, die Leichtgläubigkeit der Laien"⁽³⁸⁾ these faults are a little more widely spread than he suggests. The faults that he mentions exist to a greater or lesser degree in all of the characters in the work and are not portrayed and thus criticised particularly in any one character or group within the work. Similarly it is not the particularly degenerate moral standards of der Stricker's own time that are attacked but a general human weakness to err in these particular ways. Like the situation in Die Martinsnacht where the amazing stupidity of the peasant who believes the naked thief to be St. Martin evokes the humour that is the main point of the story, so the characters in Pfaffe Amis behave with an equally gullible and laughable response to Amis. And just as in Die Martinsnacht no didactic point whatsoever is made of such an abuse to the name of St. Martin, so in Pfaffe Amis Amis' own abuse of his priestly status is likewise not condemned. This is also an essential vehicle of comedy. Even with regard to the bishop, where there is perhaps the strongest element of criticism, the confrontation culminates in the episode with the riddles and the donkey, where again Amis' ingenious answers and solution are included primarily for comic effect rather than as something demanding criticism and censure.

Helmut de Boor makes a valid point when he writes concerning the "Schwank":

"Sie (i.e. "die Schwänke") gehen von der neuen oder doch als Gegenstand der Dichtung neu erkannten Einsicht in die Unvollkommenheit der Welt und des Menschen aus."⁽³⁹⁾

and when he talks in terms of the idea of "Ordnung":

"Beide (i.e. "der Schwank" and "die moralische Novelle") gehen von der Vorstellung einer gültigen Ordnung des menschlichen Zusammenlebens aus, . . . Diese Ordnung einzuhalten, ist die Forderung eines sittlichen oder religiösen Gebotes. In der Wirklichkeit indessen durchbricht sie der Einzelne mit seinen Trieben und Wünschen und schafft um sich eine Sphäre der Ordnungslosigkeit."⁽⁴⁰⁾

His following interpretation of Pfaffe Amis, however, is one that agrees more with the Rosenhagen and Fischer interpretation of the work.

De Boor's observations were in explanation of der Stricker's individual "Schwänke"⁽⁴¹⁾ but they give an insight into the basic situation of Pfaffe Amis and with the added feature that the balance between "Ordnung" and "Ordnungslosigkeit" is redressed. No "Ordnung" is specified at the outset of Amis und der Bischof, but the normal moral, social and religious order is implied ("die Vorstellung einer gültigen Ordnung des menschlichen Zusammenlebens") by the fact that it is this normal social order that is disturbed and destroyed by the events and people portrayed in the "Schwänke" that form the work. Hermann Bausinger writes:

"Peuchert zeigt, wie gerade die älteren Schwänke auf 'Defekte' zielen; der Dumme, der Unmoralische usw. werden darin gerichtet, und wenn diesen Erzählungen gewiss auch die Funktion zukommt, die Grenzen der Sitte zu überspielen, so festigen sie doch andererseits diese Grenzen und belassen der jeweiligen Lebenswelt ihre feste Ordnung und ihr Gewicht."⁽⁴²⁾

The reason why neither praise nor criticism is explicitly connected with either Amis on the one hand or his victims on the other is that both are offending against this normal social, moral and religious order and both have entered that state of "Ordnungslosigkeit". This is represented by Amis' victims in the fact that they are adulterous or greedy or confuse true repentance and buying forgiveness of sins and as such needs no comment from the poet. These sins or faults are clearly in opposition to the accepted social order and therefore need no specific condemnation by the poet.

The situation regarding Amis is, however, slightly different. While within the individual "Schwänke" there is no development from "Ordnung" to "Ordnungslosigkeit" and back again to "Ordnung" (we are not shown the reasons and temptations for the women in Die Kirchweihpredigt to commit adultery and are similarly not shown how they repent their sins, nor is real insight into the nature of true repentance a part of the experience of those who buy forgiveness from Amis, nor is greed as a fault ever rectified in the king in Das unsichtbare

Gemälde or the merchants in Der Maurer und Bischof or Der Juwelenhändler),

there is this development as regards the main character Amis. This is the function of the "Rahmen". Into the implied order of things at the beginning of the work a destructive element is introduced. But it is difficult to see exactly what this is or where precisely it is introduced. It may be that it is already present and implied in the poet's description of Amis' generosity and hospitality:

"er was der buoche ein wîse man
unt vergap sô gar swaz er gewan,
beidiu durch êre unt durch got,
daz er der milte gebot
ze keiner zît übergie." (lines 47-51)

It may be that in the poet's description of one of Amis' motives for his hospitality, "durch êre" (line 49), a fault may exist in Amis that in itself is enough to occasion the disturbance of the balanced order of things. It may be that the implication of excessive hospitality in Amis is enough to occasion this; but no hint by the poet describes to what degree Amis is to be regarded as at fault either in his apparent desire for honour or in his excessive hospitality. De Boor has described Amis' hospitality as "höfisch":

"Der reiche geistliche Herr lebt so lange ein Leben ruhiger, offener Gastlichkeit, die das Zeichen höfischer Gesinnung ist, bis ihm die Wirklichkeit der Welt in zwei Erlebnissen entgegentritt: in dem Neid seines Bischofs, der ihm sein Geld abpressen will, und in der Leichtgläubigkeit der Menschen." (43)

But it must be remembered that it is the bishop who levels this criticism of "höfscheit" at Amis (lines 65-66), and that he does so out of jealousy and greed. De Boor's adjective "reich" may not be fully appropriate if it is to imply that this is a fault, for we are told:

"er was der buoche ein wîse man
unt vergap sô gar swaz er gewan" (lines 47-48)

and Amis himself confesses:

"mîn muot der stêt ze solher wîs
daz ich mîn guot vil wol verzer,
unt mich des vil gar gewer
des mir über werden sol:
waer's mêre, ich bedürft'es wol." (lines 72-76).

It may be that excessive hospitality is implied in Amis when he offers such to the bishop:

"geruocht ir mîner spîse iht,
sô rîtet in daz hûs mîn,
unt lât mich iuvern wirt sîn
swie dicke ez iuwer wille sî,
unt lât mich dirre gâbe vrî." (lines 78-82)

and that hospitality has developed to the point of being an obsession with him. But against this must be weighed the poet's own indication that, wherever Amis received his "überigez guot" (line 65) from, it was all lavished upon others:

"er lie die geste unde enphie
baz denn' ieman taete,
wand' er es state haete." (lines 52-54).

And whatever may be the exact nature of his "hûs" it must also be remembered that it was apparently open to all and sundry in the nature of true hospitality (c.f. lines 318-320). If a fault exists in Amis it is not sufficiently clear what this is, and it is the greed of the bishop and the need for Amis to meet this challenge with all the potential of his native wit and cunning that in the sense of the true "Schwank" ~~that~~ is the real disturbing and destructive element. Hermann Bausinger has commented:

"Der Schwank lässt sich charakterisieren als Spiel, als Wettkampf; . . ." (44)

and he has further likened it to a football match. A great number of other sporting parallels could perhaps also be drawn, and the challenge that the bishop has now offered to Amis for the prize of his "hûs" presents a situation that corresponds to Bausinger's "Ausgleichstyp" of the "Schwank":

" . . . zwei Parteien stehen einander gegenüber . . .
Die eine Partei, B (the bishop in this instance), unternimmt nun etwas . . . und verschafft sich dadurch einen Vorteil: B erscheint nun überlegen, superior, gegenüber der inferioren Gegenpartei A (Amis). Aber die Partei A unternimmt nun ihrerseits etwas . . . und kehrt damit das Verhältnis um: B hat verloren, A hat ausgeglichen, hat seine Ueberlegenheit gezeigt." (45).

Whether it was because of a fault in Amis, whether it was the greed of the bishop, or whether it was the obligation upon Amis to take up the bishop's challenge with similar weapons and in a similarly dishonest way is of minor impor-

tance; the normal social order based on honesty and integrity has now been destroyed and the web of "Ordnungslosigkeit" has already been spun. The "Schwank"-situation in which Amis and the bishop are embroiled is that containing the answering of the riddles and the episode with the donkey, and victory is decided finally only by the rather contrived death of the bishop (presumably because der Stricker could think of no way of actually having the donkey "read" beyond the pronouncing of the letter A). But this state of "Ordnungslosigkeit" is in the event destined to become self-perpetuating. Amis' victory serves only to increase the pressure upon him to maintain and save his "hûs", and it is against this background and within this sphere of "Ordnungslosigkeit" that the further action now takes place.

All of Amis' victims act from a similar disregard for or lack of understanding of one or more elements of the basis of the morally and religiously based ideal social order. It is only when eventually Amis has finally triumphed over others to guarantee the continued running of his "hûs" that the element of "Ordnung" can be re-established. And this can only be re-established by a conscious effort, by Amis entering the monastery. This is the essence of our explanation (in Chapter III) of the true nature of Amis' conversion. The status quo is re-established, but can only be achieved through Amis' removal to an environment where there is a properly adhered-to social, moral and religious order, in a monastery. Despite any objection that there was considerable corruption in monastic communities by the thirteenth century and that a monastic environment per se would not necessarily be assumed to represent such a re-establishment of order, it is essential to bear in mind that it is in Bekehrung und Ende for the first time that the poet talks in terms of a real conversion:

"dô begund' in got bekêren,
daz er die lûgene verswuor" (lines 2490-2491)

accompanied by the service of God:

"mit lîbe unt mit muote
dient' er vlîzeclîche gote,
unt volgte sînem gebote
beide vruo unt spâte." (lines 2494-2497)

and by more appropriate behaviour:

"er vleiz sich sêre an rehte tât" (line 2506).

Amis' behaviour and dealings are here no different from those at the beginning of the work, but he now works in a different environment where "Ordnung" has been re-established and is intact, and his success within this environment is essentially no different from his reputation for "miltekeit" at the beginning of the work.

There is a moral and didactic purpose within the work, but it is one that is expressed through negative example:

"Die anspruchsvolle Dichtung . . . bedarf als eines Gegenpols der heiteren Dichtung, der Satire, der Groteske, des Schwanks, wobei diese in heiterem oder komischem Gewand auftretenden Werke der Belehrung ex negativo, dem ridenter dicere verum oder allein dem Lachen und Mitlachen dienen können."(46).

Der Stricker does not need to expound upon the desirability (not to mention the religious duty) of honest and faithful sexual morality, the true nature of repentance and forgiveness of sins, the true nature of miracles, the correct relationship of trust and loyalty between lord and vassal, the true nature of honour, or the need to deal honestly and openly with one's fellow men. The ideal way to behave in such contexts is well enough understood in a society based upon Christian ethic. And that Amis' victims ignore or fail to appreciate these truths needs no further explanation by the poet. The mere fact that the comedy derives largely from the need for the women in Die Kirchweihpredigt to prove that they have not been indulging in extra-marital associations underlines the obviously felt desirability that they should not do so, just as false miracles and forgiveness of sins sold without true repentance and penitence underline the true nature and relationship of such. The mistakes that Amis' victims make can in some way be learnt from, and the lesson drawn from each of the "Schwänke" may vary from one individual listener or reader to the next. We have already seen that a variety of lessons can be drawn from other of der Stricker's individual "Schwänke". Furthermore, to have included moralising passages in the work

would have been to detract from the main aim of the poem, the comic element, and the aim of providing:

" . . . ein maere
daz guot den liuten waere
vür sorgen unt vür armuot" (lines 9-11).

The theme of cunning and stupidity is the essential part of the comedy, but it is also part of the moral theme, and Amis' exploitation of his victims is part of the moral criticism by way of negative example. It is no less immoral than is adultery or any of the other faults in Amis' victims. Amis and his cunning and exploitation are as much a part of this "Ordnungslosigkeit" as the sins and simplicity of his victims. Of course it is a fact of life that there are the clever and the simple, the moral and the immoral, the religious and the irreligious, but to exploit those weaknesses is neither a virtue nor a "right" dependent on some "natural law" of the superiority of the strongest and most cunning. It is during this period of disorder that the comic situations of the work occur, and the comedy of the various episodes derives from the faults in Amis' victims and from Amis' own misguided need to maintain his "hûs". While on one level this is a positive aim as far as Amis is concerned, the whole situation is one of reciprocal and mutual exploitation and is just as much a part of the comedy of disorder. It is only when whatever abilities the individual possesses are allied to a really positive and creative purpose that a positive, creative and beneficial situation results. This is the lesson of Bekehrung und Ende, for it is here for the first time that the idea of serving God (lines 2495-2496) and "rehte tât" (line 2506) are combined with the idea of "bezzerunge" (c.f. lines 2599, 2505).

In more recent years a further series of articles have appeared which treat Pfaffe Amis as part of their subject-matter, and perhaps the best known of these is Erhard Agricola's Die Prudentia als Anliegen der Stricker'schen Schwänke⁽⁴⁷⁾. Agricola's interpretation of the work would seem to agree in large part with that of Rosenhagen and Fischer, for he also seems to see the main point of the work as the teaching of what he terms "gesunder Verstand" or "Klug-

heit":

"Das Dolose seiner Streiche entfällt, die Klugheit allein bleibt übrig.

Der Stricker erzählt uns von einem Pfaffen . . . weil ihm Amis das Symbol des gesunden Verstandes ist.

So wenig die einzelnen Abenteuer wegen ihrer Komik moralisierend wirken, so sehr lehrt der Zyklus im ganzen den Wert der Klugheit."(48).

Although Agricola does not treat the specific question of whether Amis undergoes a conversion or not, he seems also to agree with Rosenhagen and Fischer on this point:

"Der Betrüger Amis wird für seine Streiche nie zur Rechenschaft gezogen, im Gegenteil, er geht aus den Konflikten stets als Sieger hervor. Das 'triegen' erscheint hier nicht als strafbare Tat."(49).

But Agricola's article deals with both the individual "Schwänke" and those of Pfaffe Amis, and it is often difficult to see to which he is referring in certain of the observations that he makes⁽⁵⁰⁾. Similarly, there is much that appears still not to be explained. If Amis does not undergo a conversion from his former way of life at the end, Agricola does not explain why after a certain point in Bekehrung und Ende lying and deceiving cease to be part of his "modus operandi":

"Amis wendet weiterhin seinen Witz an, um damit Erfolge zu erzielen, ohne von nun an andere noch zu belügen"(51).

If this is not a conversion there must be some reason for this change; but this is not explained. Moreover, Agricola's perfectly acceptable observation:

"Im Verlauf des Zyklus steigern sich die Repliken des Pfaffen von einfachen Taschenspielertricks zu regelrechten Raubzügen"(52)

would seem to hint at a character who needs conversion and would also seem at variance with his assessment of the general character of all of Amis' victims:

"Weshalb ist aber hier der Gauner der Ueberlegene? Weil er seine Geisteskräfte regt und ausserdem frei ist von den Charakterfehlern seiner Gegner. Sie sind z.B. eitel, durch die Konvention befangen oder sie haben etwas zu verheimlichen; immer aber halten sie sich mehr oder weniger bewusst für unerkannt, für fehlerlos, ja sogar für überlegen."(53).

As we have pointed out, the two merchants in the last two "Schwänke" of the

work are free from any obvious fault other than that of trusting a fellow man; it is this very fault that makes these last two "Schwänke" worthy of Agricola's own description, "regelrechte Raubzüge". The assessment seems also to ignore the fact that Amis, too, is just as much a victim of exploitation as his own victims. Agricola neatly sums up the positive effect of the negative side of Amis' character:

"Der Sinn seiner Listen ist es, dass sich an ihm die latenten Torheiten seiner Umgebung reiben und sichtbar werden. Die negative Gestalt des Betrügers wirkt damit über ihre literarische Existenz hinaus positiv in die Wirklichkeit. Amis warnt die Hörer vor sich und seinesgleichen und mahnt sie, klüger zu sein als die Uebertölpelten."(54)

but does not comment upon the fact that Amis, too, has a lesson to learn from the whole affair. It is only in the positive lesson that Amis learns from the whole series of events deriving from his experience with the greed of the bishop that full justification can be given to the rather dishonest way in which he eventually learns it. The exact meaning of "Klugheit" in Agricola's use of the word (he also uses the word "Lebensklugheit") seems to be nearer to our own interpretation of the lesson that Amis himself learns and that the work as a whole contains than the Rosenhagen and Fischer interpretation of the work, where the word "Lebensklugheit" is first used. But again, one cannot help but think that the idea of a conversion is one that should be accepted by Agricola when he talks in terms of the lesson being a particularly religious one:

"Die Lebensklugheit ist also nicht nur Erfordernis des täglichen Lebens, sie ist Voraussetzung des sittlich richtigen Handelns und sie ist ebenso sehr ein Gebot der Religion. Erst durch die Verknüpfung mit dem christlichen Glauben wird sie zur wahren Klugheit. Durch den Vortrag seiner Schwänke will der Stricker die Hörer zu einer Lebensklugheit erziehen, die sie befähigt, das Gute vom Bösen zu unterscheiden, um auf ethischem und religiösem Gebiete zu ihrem Wohl das Gute tun zu können."(55)

And in coming to this conclusion Agricola's article as a whole ignores the change in character and way of life that had been forced on Amis by the episode with the bishop and makes no comment on the nature of Amis' motives and actions before this change⁽⁵⁶⁾.

CHAPTER VI

The question of the structure of Pfaffe Amis is a fascinating one. As we have already pointed out, only two articles seem ever to have appeared which mention the subject, Gustav Rosenhagen's Der Pfaffe Amis des Strickers and Hanns Fischer's Zur Gattungsform des Pfaffen Amis⁽¹⁾, and both deal only briefly with the question of structure proper. They do, however, pose very pertinent questions as to the sources of the work or the constituent parts of it, the individual "Schwänke", and come to very similar conclusions regarding the last two "Schwänke", Der Maurer und Bischof and Der Juwelenhändler, both commentators considering them to be a later addition to the work. But the whole question must be examined in far greater depth than has already been attempted, for Rosenhagen and Fischer leave many questions unanswered, and both practically ignore what must count as one of the essential elements in any contribution to an analysis of the structure of Pfaffe Amis, the varying manuscript traditions. Neither do their examinations look at the structure of the individual "Schwänke". Some of the ideas that Rosenhagen and Fischer put forward we have already discussed in our consideration of the themes of the work, but now these must at least be mentioned again with regard to the structure of the work.

The basic structure of the work has already been mentioned. Pfaffe Amis is a collection of "Schwänke" put together in such a way that the work is more than simply a collection of unrelated parts but becomes unified to form a whole. Its eleven "Schwänke" of considerably varying length are enclosed within a "Rahmen" which explains why the central character Amis becomes a liar and cheat, why he is forced to resort to the means of gaining finance portrayed in the individual "Schwänke", and how finally he is converted from these ways to end his life greatly enriching the monastery to which he retreats and of which he becomes abbot.

Pfaffe Amis is not the type of work, nor does it seem to have been con-

ceived as the type of work which from its beginning moves through a series of developments until it logically and following some sort of plan arrives at an inevitable climax and conclusion. Although Amis does travel, the work does not relate a single journey with a tragic conclusion as in the Nibelungenlied, nor does a specific end, an obvious "cure", have to be pursued as for example in Hartmann von Aue's Der arme Heinrich or Iwein. There is no development between one episode of Pfaffe Amis and the next. There is a certain balance between the various parts of the work, but that some of these parts have had their order reversed in different manuscripts with no real confusion or imbalance resulting from this reversal is an important fact. The order of other parts of the work could just as easily be reversed and in no way become seriously detrimental to the comedy or the didacticism of the work. Pfaffe Amis is quite literally a collection of "Schwänke" fitted into a framework. The important questions are where the individual parts come from, how and how well they are unified and with what pattern, if any, they fit or were intended to fit into the whole.

The question must be put as to the source of these individual parts of the work, and with little doubt the answer will lie, as it does according to the opinions of both Rosenhagen and Fischer⁽²⁾, in the international fund of stories circulating through Europe at this time and used primarily for the illustration of sermons⁽³⁾; indeed parallels to some of those stories and events portrayed in Pfaffe Amis are known in literary form elsewhere. The essential features of both Die Heilung der Kranken and Amis als Wahrsager occur also in "exempla" from the Sermones Vulgares of Jacques de Vitry⁽⁴⁾, and the essential features of Die Heilung der Kranken find a reflection also as part of the "fabliau" Le Vilain Mire⁽⁵⁾. Indeed the theme of Die Heilung der Kranken was to be repeated in later centuries in a variety of other works⁽⁶⁾. It would be wrong to expect any of the "Schwänke" in Pfaffe Amis necessarily to have any really identifiable source already in poetic form, for as Fischer points out:

" . . . wir werden uns sein (i.e. der Stricker's) Rohmaterial doch eher als noch nicht kumulierte knapp erzählte Einzelgeschichten vorzustellen haben. Diese fehlen notwendig in unserer Ueberlieferung, da sie eben noch nicht zu literarischer Form gefunden hatten."(7)

This would seem to stand at variance with the idea of the possibility of a Northern French model for Pfaffe Amis as put forward by Rosenhagen. Whatever similarities ("innere Verwandtschaft") there may be between the "Schwänke" of Pfaffe Amis and the French "fabliaux" ("so sind die Streiche der zweiten Reihe (i.e. "Schwänke" Nos. 2 - 10) als einzelne Fabliaux wohl denkbar"⁽⁸⁾), such similarities do not by themselves prove a French model for Pfaffe Amis. Indeed, this may be no more than an interesting comment on the form in which these stories from the international fund were finding their way simultaneously into literary form in French and German just as they were to continue to find their way into literary form in most European languages in the centuries to come. Even if we allow, as Rosenhagen suggests, that the names Paris, Kerlingen and Luterigen were already connected with Das unsichtbare Gemälde and Die Heilung der Kranken before they were incorporated into Pfaffe Amis, this no more proves their belonging to a French model than does the place-name Constantinople prove that the last two "Schwänke" belonged to a Greek model - or, as Rosenhagen would presumably have it, prove that they derived also from a French model. If, in explanation of why Amis should be an English priest even in the French model, we are told:

"Einen solchen Priester durfte es im süßen Frankreich nicht geben."(9),

one may begin to wonder why there should then be stupid and gullible people in France in preference. Furthermore, the simple fact is that neither a French nor a Latin model for the complete work Pfaffe Amis has as yet been found or identified. Rosenhagen's arguments are far from convincing, and his understanding or explanation of his understanding of the geographical details of Amis' journey seems a little confusing. While a large number of the "Schwänke" take place, as Rosenhagen puts it, "irgendwo", his suggestion

that this is also the case with Amis und der Bischof:

"auch deren (i.e. "der Vorgeschichte") Schauplatz ist
'irgendwo'." (10)

seems to ignore the apparent importance of England at the beginning of the work:

"er (i.e. Amis) het hûs in Engellant" (line 44)

and the fact that it is the bishop who visits Amis:

"er (i.e. "der bischof" line 56) kom zem phaffen
z'einer zît." (line 60).

It is subsequent events which take Amis away from England for the first time⁽¹¹⁾. There is even an element of self-contradiction in other of the ideas that Rosenhagen puts forward. Compare his explanation of der Stricker's masterful re-writing of Pfaffe Amis in a way completely his own and not slavishly following his model:

"Und es ist auch ein gutes Stück Arbeit geworden, in einem Zuge, in einem Ton geschrieben, in jedem Verspaar die Art des Verfassers zeigend. Das ist nicht übersetzt. Es nimmt keine Rücksicht auf ein irgendwie geformtes Muster, das ihm Respekt eingeflösst hätte. Die Vorlage gibt ihm den Inhalt."

with his explanation of how differences in the narration of various of the episodes in Pfaffe Amis must point to their having existed in the French model:

"Eine schriftliche Vorlage aber muss es doch gewesen sein, denn die Unterschiede in der Erzählweise der einzelnen Stücke ist in seiner Uebertragung gegenüber des Sprachstils noch zu erkennen." (12).

Rosenhagen suggested the idea of an historically real Amis⁽¹³⁾ as a possible explanation of two points which puzzled him if he wanted to accept his idea of the French model, and although Fischer rejected the idea of the French model⁽¹⁴⁾, he took up the idea of the historically real model for the main character⁽¹⁵⁾. But neither Rosenhagen nor Fischer could provide any proof of this historical figure, beyond pointing to similar examples where a real model has been proved, as for example in the case of Till Eulenspiegel and the Pfarrer von Kalenberg⁽¹⁶⁾. But as regards Pfaffe Amis no such figure

is known, any more than any model for the work is known to have survived in either French or Latin, or indeed in any other language. We have explained what we consider to be the reasons for both the biographical and geographical detail in the work in our consideration of the individual "Schwänke" in Chapter II. We have likewise already considered the comments and ideas of Rosenhagen and Fischer on the prologue (Chapter III) and on the question of whether Amis really undergoes a conversion (Chapter IV); in the light of what evidence is available we must agree with other commentators on the question as to where the individual "Schwänke" of the work came from:

"Die Erfindung der Stoffe - eine Beobachtung, die sich auch sonst in seinen Werken bestätigt - ist also dem Stricker abzusprechen. Ihre Auswahl wird man aber als seine Leistung betrachten dürfen." (17);

but it is the other ideas and problems that Rosenhagen and Fischer discuss from which our consideration of the structure must proceed if we are to determine how well the "Schwänke" have been unified into the whole and what the underlying pattern of the work is.

If we accept the numerous criticisms that Rosenhagen and Fischer make of Pfaffe Amis, the picture we are left with of the work as poetic art is that of a confused work whose various constituent parts have been badly put together. But this is not the case. The picture that Rosenhagen and Fischer leave us with would seem to be:

- (a) a prologue that is unrelated thematically to the whole;
- (b) an original Amis und der Bischof (possibly as part of a French model) which der Stricker expanded by the inclusion of two more riddles⁽¹⁸⁾;
- (c) "Schwänke" Nos. 2 - 10 as part of the original French model or constituting the "Ur-Amis";
- (d) "Schwänke" Nos. 11 and 12 as a later addition either to the French model or to the "Ur-Amis";
- (e) a final section (also a later addition) involving a conversion which is not really a conversion, the title Bekehrung und Ende betraying

Lambel's misunderstanding of its meaning.

It has already been argued in Chapter IV that the prologue is thematically related to the whole because it conforms to the traditionally accepted form and performs the traditionally demanded function of the mediaeval prologue. Chapter III has argued that Amis und der Bischof and Bekehrung und Ende bracket the individual "Schwänke" between them in such a way that they clearly form a related and meaningful beginning and end with a conversion which relates back to Amis' position at the beginning of the work to form a rejection of the way of life portrayed in the "Schwänke". Furthermore, although Rosenhagen's arguments regarding the inclusion of two more riddles by the poet in Amis und der Bischof are convincing, whether this is a correct assessment of the true situation or not is of relatively little import. If der Stricker was putting together a work from a variety of sources, written or purely from an oral tradition, he would clearly have felt a need to alter and improve those sources as he saw fit. The relevant question is whether those alterations improve the quality of the work, and that the addition of these two riddles does is sufficient justification for their having been added. The addition is not so noticeable that it mars this episode of the work.

The ways in which der Stricker has linked together the various parts of his work are both masterly and numerous. Our consideration of Bausinger's work on types of "Schwank" has already taught us that trying to dismember the work into its various episodes involves the danger of destroying much that unites it into a whole. The individual episodes are indeed joined in a variety of ways and by a series of threads which tie them undeniably together as parts of a whole work:

(a) There is the unifying element of the main character, Pfaffe Amis - although it may be of significance that in two of the "Schwänke" his name is not even mentioned (Amis als Wahrsager and Amis als Wundertäter).

(b) There is the "Rahmen" (Amis und der Bischof and Bekehrung und Ende)

within which the events portrayed in the individual "Schwänke" take place. The prologue (lines 1-38) is joined to the episode involving Amis with his bishop, and this itself provides the motivation for the subsequent series of events. The course of action that Amis chooses in his predicament, already mentioned and hinted at in the prologue, is then taken up again in Bekehrung und Ende.

(c) The comedy of the "Schwänke" and their general structure - preparing the ground or selecting a suitable victim, putting the deception into operation, beating a timely retreat - link the individual "Schwänke".

(d) Amis' relationship with his victims and the theme of the triumph of cunning over stupidity link the individual "Schwänke".

(e) There is also a series of leitmotive running through the whole work, although perhaps sometimes inconsistently:

(i) the precise chronology giving exact geographical location; c.f. lines 44-45, 496-497, 807-808, 928-930, 933, 1553-1555, 1595-1597, 1603-1605, 2043-2047, 2049, 2064-2065, 2473-2477.

(ii) the progression of Amis' journey, where precise location in the form of place-names is not given; c.f. lines 351, 463, 474, 934-935, 1241, 1289-1291, 1318.

(iii) the accounts of Amis' departure, where precise place-names are not given; c.f. lines 736, 910-911, 1027-1028, 1039, 1165-1166, 1288, 1315-1316, 1534-1535, 1545-1546, 1825-1832, 2196-2203, 2321-2323.

(iv) internal connections of plot linking several "Schwänke"; c.f. lines 346-350, 937-939, 1034-1035, 1579-1599, 2056-2061.

(v) Amis' repeated concern for the cause of the need for his tricks, his "hûs", and his sending his booty back to England; c.f. lines 328-336, 468-472, 489-490, 737-742, 910-915, 1325-1327, 1569-1574, 1602-1604, 1614-1615, 2479-2487. c.f. also in MS. K lines 1147-1152.

(vi) the means by which Amis achieves what he is after ("liegen"/"triegen"); c.f. lines 37-38, 39-41, 788-790, 1071-1074, 1094, 1322-1324, 1328-1330,

1547-1548, 1551-1552, 1558-1559, 1719, 2490-2491. c.f. also "karge liste", lines 931-932, 1057-1058, 1553-1557.

(vii) the end to which all his efforts are devoted ("guot bejagen"); c.f. lines 332-336, 340-343, 468-470, 489-490, 491-495, 803-804, 805-806, 1027-1028, 1165-1167, 1176, 1289-1291, 1320-1321, 1560-1565, 1575-1578, 1602-1603, 1612-1615, 2043-2045, 2050-2052, 2476-2477, 2490-2493, 2498-2499.

(viii) the essential characteristic that makes all Amis' victims suitable for his purpose ("alwaere"); c.f. lines 942-944, 1029-1030, 1168-1170, 1318-1319, 1377, 1695-1696.

(ix) the strangely recurring use of the word "wîs"; c.f. lines 47, 344-345, 931-932, 1057-1058, 1349-1354, 1359, 1370, 1419-1421, 1673-1675, 1686-1691, 2182-2183.

The question we have not yet commented on is whether the last two "Schwänke" were a later addition to the work or not. It was Rosenhagen who, in postulating his original Northern French version of Pfaffe Amis, first called into question the exact relationship of these two parts to the whole. But Rosenhagen's exact thesis is not always entirely clear. Of his French model he says:

"Diese würde ausser den beiden ersten Gruppen (1 = Amis und der Bischof, 2 = the "Schwänke" Nos. 2-10) auch das Schlusstück (presumably just Bekehrung und Ende) der Geschichte enthalten haben. Denn dieses hängt wieder mit der Hauptreihe innerlich zusammen und kann, auch in der Form, die es beim Stricker hat, sich ungezwungen daran anschliessen."(19).

Elsewhere he says:

"So würde der aus der französischen Quelle stammende Teil zehn Geschichten, wenn auch von ungleicher Inhaltsfülle, enthalten haben. Die hätte der Stricker dann auf zwölf gebracht, was ihm ganz ähnlich sähe. Die beiden Zusatzgeschichten zeigen dann noch eine andere Strickersche Eigentümlichkeit. Es sind in ihnen zwei verwandte Motive in gleichgehender Weise behandelt: sie stellen sich als ein Paar vor."(20).

Rosenhagen's thesis would seem to be that der Stricker fitted these last two stories into the model already containing sections Nos. 1-10 and section

No. 13, Bekehrung und Ende, but he does not explain where these two stories originated.

Fischer is, however, much clearer in putting his ideas forward concerning these last two "Schwänke". He rightly points out that the last two stories with their greater breadth of detail and their other differences look rather strange ("fremd") when compared with the more concise style ("geraffte Knappheit") of the main body of tales. He sees lines 1547-1552 as forming a "Schlussformel" of type cetera praetermittenda which forms a "Rahmen" of leitmotive with lines 39-43 by again taking up the idea of "triegen" (21). These lines he sees as the final lines of an assumed "Ur-Amis" which was later added to, these original final lines being negligently left in even though they no longer had any meaning, and a new ending also being given to the now lengthened work.

If, as Fischer suggests, these stories were selected from an oral tradition and later compiled into Pfaffe Amis then it is likely that stories will have been added or deleted in the process of composition. But the evidence to suggest that the last two stories (whether the final section was already there or not) were a much later addition rather than an addition as part of the original composition is not convincing. Although we would not deny that these last two stories are very different in many ways from the others there are also differences between other groups of stories within the section Nos. 2-10. But the distribution of the leitmotive that we have enumerated suggests that these two "Schwänke" are as much a part of the whole as any other of the stories. Indeed, it is probably the case that one should regard Fischer's cetera praetermittenda ending as only one expression of these general leitmotive. The criteria that both Rosenhagen and Fischer apply before they conclude that these last two stories must be a later addition, the differences between them and the preceding stories, can be applied elsewhere within the work (as we will do in Chapter VII) to demonstrate, if not that other of the stories were additions to the whole, then certainly that an alternative model of com-

position and compilation of Pfaffe Amis is discernable that considers Der Maurer und Bischof and Der Juwelenhändler to be clearly constituent parts of the whole.

Yet the questions that Rosenhagen and Fischer pose with regard to the structure of the work are very relevant. Any consideration of the structure and its relationship to the content, style and comedy of the "Schwänke" singly and any consideration of the structure of the work as a whole poses certain problems which are not easy to resolve. Various elements tend to split the body of "Schwänke" at the core of the work into three distinct groups. Fischer (although for reasons different from those which we consider to be most relevant) discerns these three groups as (a) "Schwänke" Nos. 2, 3 and 4, (b) "Schwänke" Nos. 5 to 10, (c) "Schwänke" Nos. 11 and 12⁽²²⁾. But the question should be not what the relationship of group (c) to group (a) and (b) is, but rather what the relationship of each of these groups to the other two is. It may be that the history of Pfaffe Amis between the form of its composition and that of the earliest manuscript forms we possess is different from that which Rosenhagen and Fischer suggest.

Fischer was not the first in a long line of literary commentators to be confused by the Benecke edition of Pfaffe Amis and the evidence that it presents regarding the various versions of the work as represented by the extant manuscripts. It was Fischer who first coined and applied the term "Vulgatafassung" with respect to Pfaffe Amis and referring to the manuscript version represented by MSS. H, K, G, as opposed to that represented by MS. R. But the various forms of the work represented by MS. R, Benecke's version of MSS. H, K, G, Fischer's version of the "Vulgatafassung" and his own "Ur-Amis" make for a very confused situation. And this question of the relationship of the various manuscripts is an important one.

Let us try to clarify the situation⁽²³⁾. With his "Ur-Amis" in mind, Fischer writes:

"Die Annahme, der in der Riedegger Handschrift überlie-

fertigen Fassung sei eine Ältere (i.e. his "Ur-Amis") vorausgegangen, wird ferner gestützt durch Beobachtungen an einer weiteren - diesmal gut bezeugten - Redaktion des Pfaffe Amis, die beweist, dass der Stricker verschiedene Ansätze zur Gestaltung seines Werkes gemacht hat. Diese also vermutlich dritte Fassung, die man im Gegensatz zu der singulär tradierten zweiten die Vulgataredaktion nennen könnte, wird von der übrigen Ueberlieferung vertreten . . . (24).

What he is saying, therefore, is simply that the idea of his supposed "Ur-Amis" is strengthened by the existence of the "Vulgatafassung" which shows that more than one version of the work existed. He is also quite explicit about the fact that we must trace this "Vulgatafassung" back to der Stricker himself:

"Dass diese Vulgatafassung nicht das Produkt eines Schreibers oder einer Ueberlieferungsstörung gewesen sein kann, sondern auf eine erzähltechnisch geschulte Persönlichkeit, ja nach Art und Charakter der Umarbeitung wohl auf niemand anderen als den Dichter selbst zurückgeht (von dem es auch sonst authentische Doppelfassungen gibt), beweist die geschickte Einarbeitung alter und neuer Versatzstücke, die die durch die redaktionellen Eingriffe entstandenen Brüche wieder verkitten und eine glatte Verbindung der Einzelstücke in der neuen Reihenfolge herstellen." (25).

The picture of the development of Pfaffe Amis to its most complete and final form as a poetic work would therefore seem to be:

(i) the writing of the supposed "Ur-Amis";

(ii) the adding of the sections Nos. 11, 12 and 13 to give the form of MS. R;

(iii) the re-writing of this form to give the form of the "Vulgatafassung".

That Fischer considers the "Vulgatafassung" to be the latest (and final ?) form of the work is evident, because he talks of:

"das Fehlen des Messeschwanks (10) (i.e. from MS. R), was nach einer wohlüberlegten Streichung des vielleicht von manchen (bei aller Liberalität, die man bei den Hörern des Pfaffen Amis voraussetzen muss), als anstössig empfundenen Stücks aussieht . . ." (26)

and talks of the "Vulgatafassung" as having elements cementing together the various parts into the new order of this "Vulgatafassung".

We have ourselves suggested that Die Messe is quite clearly an integral part of the work, but have also suggested that there seems to be nothing more "objectionable" in what this represents than there is in the episodes concerning the selling of indulgences. It may be argued that, having seen that tales concerning the selling of indulgences were acceptable to his public, der Stricker decided to add Die Messe, its points of obvious relationship with the rest of the work⁽²⁷⁾ being as skilful a joining of this episode into the work as Fischer argues the other additional sets of verse were for the "Vulgatafassung". But the idea of the "Vulgatafassung" as a later version of the work and proving that more than one version of the work existed does not prove that the "Ur-Amis" existed. We have rejected the idea of the "Ur-Amis" in our consideration of the unity of the work. But the idea of the "Ur-Amis" in the sense of how it examines the relationship between the various parts of the work does point in the right direction for a more thoroughgoing examination of its structure.

We have accepted that the component parts of Pfaffe Amis were put together from the fund of stories circulating through Europe at the time of its composition. We have also shown how skilfully it was joined together to form a united whole. Neither MS. R nor MS. K is obviously representative of what we might consider the true and authoratative form of the original or final work, for even MS. R had to be supplemented in places by its editors by recourse to the "Vulgatafassung"⁽²⁸⁾. Although Fischer has pointed the way, we may or may not be justified in supposing there to have been an "original" form. But the structure of the work can be examined at a greater depth. Even though we have rejected the idea of the "Ur-Amis" it is quite true that episodes Nos. 11 and 12 of the work do clearly constitute a related pair. By extending this idea it is also possible to see in greater detail how the work was really put together and even to see, if not the "original" structure, then certainly the possible "ideal" structure of the work.

CHAPTER VII

Rosenhagen points out that the last two "Schwänke" of Pfaffe Amis are narrated in an entirely different way and developed to a much greater extent, with the added characteristic that the effects of Amis' deception work themselves out fully and painfully on his unfortunate victim after Amis' secret departure. But this and the other reasons for separating off these last two "Schwänke" as a later addition to the work are unconvincing. Rosenhagen sees their contrast to the rest of the work in the following way:

"Diese beiden Geschichten zeigen neben dem erstrebten Lokalkolorit und der geographischen Bestimmtheit auch sonst eine andere Art des Erzählens als die vorausgehenden. Der Stoff ist jedesmal auf eine breitere Entwicklung angelegt, und dem entspricht Gliederung und Durchführung: vorbereitende Vorgänge; Hauptstück: der Betrug; nach der heimlichen Abreise die Nachwirkung für das unglückliche Opfer. Die Hauptmomente ergeben mit Geschick und Lust durchgeführte Redeszenen und verleihen der Erzählung etwas Ruhendes, das von den anderen Geschichten merklich absticht, wo meistens ein Motiv, erschöpfend zwar, aber rasch erledigt wird. So nehmen die Konstantinopolitaner Stücke fast zwei Fünftel des Ganzen ein. Jeder einzelne ist weit umfangreicher als die ausführlichsten der früheren Stücke . . ." (1).

Fischer sums the difference up in one sentence:

"Dem Kernstück der Frankreichschwänke mit seiner gerafften Knappheit stehen die Orientschwänke 11 und 12 mit ihrer detailreichen Breite und ihrem veränderten Ethos etwas fremd gegenüber." (2)

It is indeed a fascinating fact that these two stories take up almost two-fifths of the whole work. But this sort of numerical inconsistency exists elsewhere in the work - it could also be pointed out, for instance, that Das unsichtbare Gemälde is over eleven times as long as Amis als Wundertäter. With similar differences between other of the stories Rosenhagen's figures alone surely do not contribute much to uphold his thesis. The same type of difference exists between other of the stories, i.e. a difference in length and development, as exists between the last two "Schwänke" and the rest of the work. The geographical detail in these two stories is only part of a much

wider giving of geographical chronology throughout the work, and surely the details of preparation for the journey that these last two "Schwänke" contain are mirrored elsewhere in the work, in lines 337-350 and lines 937-939. The poet also uses dialogue to as great if not greater an effect in other of the stories, particularly for instance in Das unsichtbare Gemälde. It cannot be denied that the structure of these last two "Schwänke" is different, neither can the poet's development of them. But all that these remarks mean is that these two stories have greater similarity one with the other than either has with any other of the stories in the work. But other stories in the work have just as striking similarities with yet other stories in the work, and all that Fischer has done is isolate one of several noticeable pairs of stories. To isolate just one such pair in this way is not sufficient to prove that the last two stories were a later addition to the work. And if by "verändertes Ethos" Fischer is referring to his own grouping of the stories into three distinct groups characterised as "Wortbetrug", "Tatbetrug" and "Gewaltbetrug" (3), then there is here an apparent contradiction that he has not made clear.

Another of the points that Rosenhagen makes is dubious:

"Die dritte Gruppe (i.e. Nos. 11 and 12) . . . unterscheidet sich wesentlich von der zweiten Reihe (Nos. 2 - 10 in Rosenhagen's three-fold division) . . . Diese beiden Geschichten enthalten, bei Lichte besehen, einfache Gaunereien, die nur darum als lustige Schelmenstreiche passieren, weil sie in der Ausführung so komisch wirken. Von jedem beliebigen Schalk können sie erzählt werden, wie sie ja zu einem uralten Bestande derber Komik gehören. In jener Hauptreihe aber ist es wesentlich, dass der Schalk ein Geistlicher ist, auch in der letzten Geschichte, wo er als 'gebür' verkleidet bei dem Probst sich einführt. Ueberall tritt er sonst als Pfaffe auf."(4)

The latter point will clearly not stand, for one has only to bear in mind that in Das unsichtbare Gemälde and Die Heilung der Kranken Amis appears as artist and doctor respectively⁽⁵⁾ and that his being a priest is essential to Der Maurer und Bischof. Rosenhagen does not really give a clear picture of what he considers the special and different relationship of these two tales to the whole to be; he merely demonstrates something far less dramatic and

something which he himself underlines:

"Die beiden Zusatzgeschichten zeigen dann noch eine andere Strickersche Eigentümlichkeit. Es sind in ihnen zwei verwandte Motive in gleichgehender Weise behandelt: sie stellen sich als ein Paar vor."(6)

In looking at the comic elements of the "Schwänke" in Chapter II, we have already seen that different groups of the "Schwänke" rely on different elements for comic effect and that Der Maurer und Bischof and Der Juwelenhändler have certain elements in common that are not an essential part of the comic effect in other of the stories. It is also an obvious matter of fact that these last two stories have a great deal in common in other respects - for example the difference in location, Amis is disguised as a merchant and his merchant adversaries are just as capable tricksters as he is, and he must make fools of less suspecting characters to bring off his deceit of these merchants. A less obvious similarity between them, but one which is of great significance is their structure. It is not identical in both but is sufficiently similar to be striking. Both tales are built on the same basic structure, but even more striking are not only the basic steps of development of the stories but the detail within these steps:

(i) Amis returns to England and resolves to embark upon a new trick to secure more money: Der Maurer und Bischof lines 1553-1561, Der Juwelenhändler lines 2043-2055. The chronological detail is precise in each story and the idea of financial gain in Der Juwelenhändler likewise follows from his experiences in Der Maurer und Bischof.

(ii) Amis makes his preparations for his journey disguised as a merchant: Der Maurer und Bischof lines 1562-1566, 1579-1594, Der Juwelenhändler lines 2056-2061.

(iii) Amis journeys to Constantinople and secures accommodation: Der Maurer und Bischof lines 1595-1611, Der Juwelenhändler lines 2062-2073.

(iv) Amis discovers the merchandise he wishes to obtain and the merchant he wishes to deceive: Der Maurer und Bischof lines 1612-1631, Der Juwelenhändler lines 2074-2086. In both stories the great value of the goods he wishes

to acquire is emphasised, lines 1617-1619, 1621-1626 and lines 2080-2086.

(v) The deal is made regarding the purchase of the merchandise and concluded with a hand-shake: Der Maurer und Bischof lines 1716-1775, Der Juwelenhändler lines 2087-2135. In both stories Amis tells the merchant he will take all the merchandise, lines 1738 and 2095, 2106, 2124, and the value is once again emphasised, this time measured against the ability of one man to be so rich, lines 1729-1734 and 2096-2104. The full haggling for a mutually beneficial transaction is described in both stories, lines 1752-1774 and 2104-2135, and in each case the deal is cemented with a hand-shake, lines 1773-1775 and 2135.

(vi) The merchandise is carried away and details of payment are arranged: Der Maurer und Bischof lines 1776-1805 and 1812-1824, Der Juwelenhändler lines 2136-2185. In both stories the money is elsewhere, lines 1794-1795 and 2144-2146, and Amis must think of some guarantee or inducement to ensure that the goods can be taken away before payment has actually been made.

(vii) The merchandise is loaded into the ship and all is made ready for the journey home: Der Maurer und Bischof lines 1806-1811, Der Juwelenhändler lines 2196-2203.

(viii) Pfaffe Amis leaves by ship: Der Maurer und Bischof lines 1825-1832, Der Juwelenhändler lines 2321-2323.

(ix) The confusion that Amis leaves behind him works itself out to the point of its greatest comic development: Der Maurer und Bischof lines 1833-1933, Der Juwelenhändler lines 2324-2404.

(x) The arrival of a third person clears up the confusion: Der Maurer und Bischof lines 1934-2042, Der Juwelenhändler lines 2405-2472.

The exact structure of these two stories is not identical, and perhaps simply because they are in effect different stories we cannot expect that it should be. But with the exception of the weaving into Der Maurer und Bischof of lines on the leitmotiv concerning Amis' "hûs" (lines 1567-1578) and the description of the overpowering of the merchant in Der Juwelenhändler (lines

2186-2195), and apart from the fact that the deceit of the other victim (the mason in Der Maurer und Bischof (lines 1632-1715) and the doctor in Der Juwelenhändler (lines 2204-2320) - both of them essential parts of their respective story) is woven into their respective stories at a different point, the structure of these two stories is exactly as outlined above. A further point of detail is the similarity between the merchant planning to give short measure in Der Maurer und Bischof (lines 1838-1841) and Amis' steps to avoid such practices in Der Juwelenhändler (lines 2148-2151, 2158-2159). The similarity between these two stories is, however, developed to a very remarkable degree. While there are clearly differences between them - for instance, in Der Maurer und Bischof it is the mason who is beaten and in Der Juwelenhändler it is the merchant who is maltreated, and whereas in Der Maurer und Bischof the merchant is reimbursed for his loss in Der Juwelenhändler insult is added to injury because the merchant is forced to pay the doctor's fee - and while der Stricker could tell the second story to some measure relying on detail given in the first story - for example, lines 2049, 2065, 2080, - it is strange that both stories follow such similar patterns to the extent that they are structurally two separate and complete stories but with both involving details of chronology and preparation. Why is it essential that Amis return, so that each story begins from England and describes the same fairly detailed preparations both before departure for Constantinople and in securing a suitable victim once there? Why could not a formula such as "nû reit er aber vûrbaz" (line 1241) be used to imply some sort of continuity as part of a series of adventures in Constantinople, just as this sort of continuity is implied to some degree at the beginning of the work with the "Schwänke" taking place in France and more particularly in the middle of the work?

In group (a), the first of the three groups of "Schwänke" we have differentiated, is another obvious pair of "Schwänke", Das unsichtbare Gemälde and Die Heilung der Kranken. Although they are just as much as Der Maurer und Bischof and Der Juwelenhändler two very different tales, and although

Das unsichtbare Gemälde is well over twice as long as Die Heilung der Kranken so that the difference between the last two "Schwänke" and the preceding tales expressed in terms of length here exists within the group, there is nevertheless much similarity between many of their various aspects and the way in which they are told. Both take place at the court of a noble, a king in Das unsichtbare Gemälde and a duke in Die Heilung der Kranken. They are also both to some degree dependent upon concepts primarily connected with this background, the wish of the king to be able to dislodge people from grants of land in the first, the fact that the victims are bound by an oath in the second. They both also contain a precise geographical chronology, the second one dependent in some respect on the geographical information already given in the first. This is also a relationship, as we have seen, which exists between Der Maurer und Bischof and Der Juwelenhändler; but whereas in the last two tales the geographical detail of the first is duplicated in the second so that the journey described in the second tale is a repeat of that undertaken in the first, in Das unsichtbare Gemälde and Die Heilung der Kranken the second story follows on and the journey as described in the first story is continued in the second to a different location. Indeed, these are the only four "Schwänke" in the collection where this similarity of geographical chronology occurs⁽⁷⁾, but it is among other things this similarity which argues the similarity of the tales in two groups of two rather than in one group of four. In these two tales, as again is the case in the two Greek episodes, Amis appears in a guise different from that of his real position, in Das unsichtbare Gemälde as an artist, in Die Heilung der Kranken as a physician. This, of course, presupposes some kind of special preparation and forethought, which is, strangely perhaps, explained in No. 2, Die Kirchweihpredigt (lines 346-350)⁽⁸⁾, and in all three "Schwänke" the deception revolves around some ideal of purity and freedom from taint, be it moral, social or physical, and proof or knowledge of that state which is promised but never given. This is not the case in any other of the "Schwänke" in the collection. There is also the simi-

larity that, just as in Das unsichtbare Gemälde nothing tangible or visible is produced, so this is the case in Die Heilung der Kranken in the sense that Amis does not and cannot undertake to cure any visible signs of illness or disease (line 826) but insists that his patients will only say that they are well (line 835). There is also in both of these tales a claim on Amis' part to great and singular knowledge and ability in return for the application of which a fee is decided beforehand and secrecy is demanded for the period of the applying of this knowledge and ability.

But it is perhaps again in their structure that these two tales show the greatest similarity, for their structures are very nearly identical:

(i) There is a reminder of the riches gained in the previous episode, Amis' arrival at the court, and his meeting with the noble: Das unsichtbare Gemälde lines 491-499, Die Heilung der Kranken lines 805-810. Note the similarity between some of the lines:

"in die stat ze Pârîs
quam der phaffe Âmîs
dâ er des landes kûnec vant.
zuo dem sprach er zehant" (lines 497-500),

and:

"dô reiter ze Lutringen,
unt quam mit vrâge zehant
dâ er den herzogen vant." (lines 808-810).

(ii) Amis explains his singular ability and offers his services. The offer is readily accepted: Das unsichtbare Gemälde lines 500-533, Die Heilung der Kranken lines 811-838.

(iii) Amis is introduced to the scene or the objects of the wonders he has promised to perform: Das unsichtbare Gemälde lines 534-589, Die Heilung der Kranken lines 839-841.

(iv) There is a description of Amis' behaviour and trickery in secret and out of sight of the noble: Das unsichtbare Gemälde lines 590-604, Die Heilung der Kranken lines 842-893.

(v) The accomplished deed is presented and the noble is satisfied that Amis' side of the bargain has been kept: Das unsichtbare Gemälde lines 605-

728, Die Heilung der Kranken lines 894-905.

(vi) Amis is gratefully paid, departs, and sends the money back to England: Das unsichtbare Gemälde lines 729-742, Die Heilung der Kranken lines 906-914.

(vii) The trick is discovered by the noble: Das unsichtbare Gemälde lines 743-799, Die Heilung der Kranken lines 915-927.

(viii) The whole court is greatly amused and apparently quite impressed: Das unsichtbare Gemälde lines 800-804, Die Heilung der Kranken lines 928-932. Again there is great similarity between these lines, and clearly the two "Schwänke" are meant to be linked one with the other:

"dô wart ein michel spot
dâ ze hove und ein grôzer schal.
ze jungist sprâchens' über al:
'dirre phaffe ist ein karc man,
daz er sus guot bejagen kann.'" (lines 800-804),

and:

"dô wart es ein grôz schal
in dem hove ze Luterungen
als dâ ze Kerlingen:
si sprâchen alle, Âmîs
der waer' der liste harte wîs." (lines 928-932)⁽⁹⁾.

Although Das unsichtbare Gemälde and Die Heilung der Kranken are two different stories involving also a different type of deception of nobles and retainers in each case, apart from the fact that the actual bargain is struck between the noble and Amis at a different point in the tale - but this is also determined by the nature of the deceit - the structure of both "Schwänke" is identical as outlined above.

While it seems that Der Maurer und Bischof and Der Juwelenhändler on the one hand and Das unsichtbare Gemälde and Die Heilung der Kranken on the other seem to form two distinct pairs of "Schwänke" in the same way that Fischer and Rosenhagen suggest that only the last two "Schwänke" of the work do, there are nevertheless similarities between these two pairs of "Schwänke". In all four stories Amis leaves at a mid-point (in Das unsichtbare Gemälde and Die Heilung der Kranken with the permission of his victims and with their grati-

tude and his fee, in Der Maurer und Bischof and Der Juwelenhändler of necessity without the knowledge of his victims) so that the effects of his deception are left to have their full effect after his departure. In this way the comic effect of the "Schwänke" lies not so much in the ingenuity of the trick itself but in the comedy involved in its discovery. But it is important in these four tales that the trick is discovered and has its effect upon Amis' victims. All four tricks also take place within clearly defined geographical surroundings, and it may be argued that Rosenhagen's "erstrebtes Lokalkolorit" is applicable to both pairs of "Schwänke". Further, in all four of these "Schwänke" there are two sets of victims, the deception of one of which is essential to the successful deception of the other. Another important feature in all four "Schwänke" is that Amis disguises himself as something other than a priest. The two possible objections to this point - that Amis disguises himself as a peasant in Die Messe and that it is essential that Amis is a priest in Der Maurer und Bischof - need comment and clarification. Amis' disguise in Die Messe is of a different type and for a different purpose than his disguise in the four "Schwänke" now under consideration; in Die Messe the purpose of his disguise is to create an impression of simplicity, innocence and lack of education; in the other four "Schwänke" it is to create an impression of not only education but even unique knowledge and ability or of great wealth. But the question of Die Messe and its relationship to any pairs of "Schwänke" we may identify is one that must be considered in more detail at a later point. With regard to Amis' position in Der Maurer und Bischof there is a contradiction within the story itself. Compare lines 1562-1563, 1580ff., and particularly lines 1595-1597:

"sus vuor der phaffe Âmis
in eines koufmannes wîs
unz hin gein Kriechen in daz lant"

with lines 1648-1651:

"mir starp am maentage vruo
ein bischof, der herre mîn.
nû sult ir mich ergetzen sîn.
ich was sîn lieber kappelân".

It is in this latter guise that Amis continues the deception of both the mason and the merchant. But two things may be added about this contradiction, firstly that it makes the similarity of detail and structure between Der Maurer und Bischof and Der Juwelenhändler look even stranger than we have suggested and thus underline their similarity as a pair, and secondly that the lines describing Amis' preparations, lines 1580-1594, further argue their similarity as a pair in the sense that these preparations are not made use of until Der Juwelenhändler (even though Amis returns to England in the meanwhile and makes a totally new decision to return to Constantinople dressed as a merchant) and in the sense that they mirror the lines describing Amis' preparations for his journey to France and the tricks that he puts into practice there, lines 346-350, or indeed his full preparations lines 337-350. But it cannot be denied that an element of contradiction within the work does exist. Other elements of contradiction also exist, and these must be considered later as an important part of our consideration of the structure of the work.

In group (b), the second of the three groups of "Schwänke" we have differentiated, comprising "Schwänke" Nos. 5-10, are two more pairs. But these four "Schwänke" together are a very different set of tales from those in group (a) or those in group (c).

Der Hahn and Der Fischfang are clearly sufficiently similar to be regarded as a pair even though they are separated within the work as a whole by Das Tuch in MS. R and Amis als Wahrsager in MS. K. The structure of the tales is again very similar:

(i) There is a short introduction which gives an account of Amis' movements: Der Hahn lines 933-939, Der Fischfang lines 1165-1167⁽¹⁰⁾.

(ii) The victim is then selected, the criteria for the selection being that he or she must be rich and "alwaere". In both cases the victim is also a peasant: Der Hahn lines 940-944, Der Fischfang lines 1168-1170.

(iii) Amis invites himself to stay the night in Der Hahn, lines 945-949, which later implies also requiring an evening meal, and to a meal in Der Fisch-

fang, lines 1177-1181.

(iv) He asks for something specific to eat, the woman's chicken in Der Hahn, fish in Der Fischfang, and in each case before the food is prepared Amis makes a promise of some heavenly reward or reward through the intervention of God before the respective victims agree to acquiesce in his request. In each case also some mystical religious or superstitious gesture is made so that the trick will appear to be a miracle: Der Hahn lines 957-972, Der Fischfang lines 1180-1219.

(v) At some point in the proceedings the substitution of the chicken or the placement of the fish is organised: Der Hahn lines 950-956, 973-985, Der Fischfang lines 1171-1176.

(vi) When the woman is reintroduced to her chicken and the man introduced to his fish, they are convinced that nothing less than a miracle has taken place: Der Hahn lines 986-987, Der Fischfang lines 1220-1229.

(vii) Forgiveness of sins is given and a collection of money is arranged by Amis. In each case the spouse of the victim is brought into the story: Der Hahn lines 988-1026, Der Fischfang lines 1230-1240.

In Der Hahn the last two lines, lines R.1027-1028, describe Amis' departure in some apparent haste. These lines have no counterpart in Der Fischfang. The first line of Amis als Wahrsager does, however, perform this function. But comparison with MS. K shows that the first line of Amis als Wahrsager, R.1241, does in fact belong in this place, for its counterpart in MS. K, K.1027, begins the same story in that manuscript tradition. Moreover, in MS. K the first line of Amis als Wahrsager follows the last two lines of Der Hahn, R.1027-1028, K.1025-1026. In the MS. K tradition, however, these last two lines of Der Hahn do have their counterpart in Der Fischfang, K.1147-1148, followed then by lines on the leitmotiv of Amis' "hûs", K.1149-1152.

Although the various elements in these two tales do not and cannot be expected to agree exactly in their order of introduction into the basic structure - which we saw also to be the case both in the group Der Maurer und

Bischof and Der Juwelenhändler and in the pair Das unsichtbare Gemälde and Die Heilung der Kranken - in the second pair in this second section, Amis als Wahrsager and Amis als Wundertäter, this is the case. They follow each other in MS. R and are split by Der Fischfang and Das Tuch in MS. K, but they are both so short that certain elements may be contained rather by implication in one or other of them rather than by being expressly mentioned. The structure of these two tales is as follows:

(i) There is a brief chronological introduction in the form of a description of Amis' movements: Amis als Wahrsager line 1241, Amis als Wundertäter lines 1289-1291.

(ii) One or more accomplices is entrusted or sent to spy out or prepare the ground for the deception to come. Amis' servants are an essential part of the trick here to a much greater degree than in any other of the "Schwänke": Amis als Wahrsager lines 1242-1269, Amis als Wundertäter lines 1292-1295.

(iii) When all is ready Amis reveals his miraculous powers of second sight or the ability to heal the blind and the lame: Amis als Wahrsager lines 1270-1277, Amis als Wundertäter lines 1296-1309.

(iv) Money is collected and (though not explicitly stated in Amis als Wundertäter) the promise of salvation given: Amis als Wahrsager lines 1278-1287, Amis als Wundertäter lines 1310-1314.

(v) A speedy departure from the scene is made by Amis and his helpers: Amis als Wahrsager line 1288, Amis als Wundertäter lines 1315-1316.

If this middle section as represented by Der Hahn, Der Fischfang, Amis als Wahrsager and Amis als Wundertäter is considered as a whole, it shows characteristics of structure and style very different from either of the other two groups.

In this set of tales Amis is travelling quite clearly as a priest. In order to pull off these tricks he does not wish nor need to disguise himself as or claim to possess abilities of artist or doctor or give the impression of possessing the wherewithal of a merchant seeking trade. In fact, just as

these disguises may have been an essential part of the tricks in which they were employed, so it is just as important here that Amis be recognised as a priest. The "kefse" mentioned in lines 937-939 is clear indication of this, as is of course the use that it serves in the "Schwänke" that follow. "sîn heilictuom" within may perhaps refer back to St. Brandan's head in Die Kirchweihpredigt, but in the preparation described this particular piece of equipment anticipates the tales that follow. Although the word "heilictuom" is mentioned again only in Amis als Wundertäter (lines 1298 and 1305), clearly this relic plays a very important part in extracting money from Amis' victims. There is, then, need for three different sets of preparation (ignoring the complication involved with the two Greek journeys) for three separate journeys or three distinct parts of the same journey. But there is an important difference between the preparation he has made for this journey and the preparation that he makes for other journeys. In lines 337-350 (more particularly lines 346-350), 1579-1594 (even though this preparation proves unnecessary because of later developments), and 2056-2059 (perhaps lines 1579-1594 would have more sense here) his preparation of equipment is essential to the rôle that he assumes or to the actual tricks that he is later to play, but these relics are of no importance whatsoever for creating an impression or for successfully performing the tricks. They are there merely to bring in money. The aids he has to his deceit, a chicken, fish, servants as accomplices, are not part of the preparation he is described as making for this journey or this part of the journey.

In this middle section, too, the precise chronological and geographical information on Amis' movements is withheld, in fact even the general information regarding Amis' arrivals and departures breaks down here by comparison with the fairly rigid insistence on such information elsewhere. We are certainly given no information regarding the exact location of any of these stories, and if one tries to fit them into the geographical chronology of the rest of the work the resulting picture offers only confusion when before the lack of

information offered a certain continuity⁽¹¹⁾. The whole application of Amis' tricks, too, becomes very much more general; no longer is it necessary that exactly the right set of circumstances should prevail in the right place at the right time. Das unsichtbare Gemälde can succeed only because the king of Paris is vain, greedy and likes art, which Amis as an artist can exploit; the success of Die Heilung der Kranken is dependent upon the fact that Amis has prepared what is necessary for disguise as a physician and arrives at the court of the Duke of Lorraine at a time when the latter's retainers are struck down with disease; Der Maurer und Bischof can exist as a trick only because a gullible countryman happens by in Constantinople at the time when Amis is thinking up his next trick. But in this middle section, although certain pre-requisites are necessary, the situation does not have to be specific and the tricks are fairly easily repeatable - and one of them is indeed repeated. Exact time and place are of no importance:

"ouch liez er nie deheinen tac
er sante einen kneht vür,
daz er spehet' und erkür
wâ ein gebiurîn waere,
bêdiu rîche und alwaere." (Der Hahn lines 940-944),

the same trick is repeated on a knight's wife in Das Tuch:

"Im wart erspeht eins ritters wîp,
diu het ein alwaeren lîp,
unt was der ritter ûz geriten." (lines 1029-1031),

"er vant an einem vrîtage
ein gebûr, der het michel guot,
unt het alwaeren muot." (Der Fischfang lines 1168-1170),

"swa er nahtes bî dem wirte saz," (Amis als Wahrsager line 1242),

"Hôrt' er von einer stat sagen
dar er nâch vierzehen tagen
wolte rîten durch gewin," (Amis als Wundertäter lines 1289-1291).

If by "erstrebtes Lokalkolorit" Rosenhagen is thinking of a precise geographical and social setting, then certainly the term is not applicable here. The setting of these tricks is rural or urban rather than courtly or in the rather more exotic orient, and the victims are just as imprecisely drawn characters as the setting; only two of them are expressly stated as being peasants, c.f.

lines 943 and 1169.

The tricks themselves do not provide Amis with money but are designed to provide a background against which he can all the more successfully grant indulgences, forgiveness of sins, in return for a sum of money, c.f. lines 1014-1021, 1235-1240, 1274-1288, 1310-1316 (we assume that forgiveness is given here). Before the trick is accomplished it is often preceded by a promise of a reward from God, c.f. lines 963-965, 1180-1184, 1206-1211, 1300-1301, and it is essential to the trick that Amis' victims should firmly believe that they have witnessed a miracle, c.f. lines 987, 1224-1227, 1286-1287. The tricks can succeed only where Amis is thought to be a truly holy man, either before he begins to operate, c.f. lines 957-959, or once he has performed his miracle, c.f. lines 1224-1227. Where these criteria are not present, the deception cannot succeed, as Das Tuch demonstrates, c.f. lines 1044, 1050-1051, 1071-1078. No longer do these tricks depend upon exploiting moral weakness or upon moral and ethical blackmail as was the case in Die Kirchweihpredigt, Das unsichtbare Gemälde and Die Heilung der Kranken, nor can they succeed only through Amis playing off one very astute victim against a third party whom he has also managed to dupe as is the case in Der Maurer und Bischof and Der Juwelenhändler; the characters and setting are anyway very different. They depend solely on religious belief, but religious belief in those not intelligent enough to differentiate between true religious mystery or miracle and the deceit and trickery that Amis presents. This is the significance of the all-important word "alwaere" in lines 944, 1030, and 1170.

The nature of these four "Schwänke" and, more important, the type of victim upon which they depend for success is mirrored in two more aspects likewise very different from what is seen in the other two pairs of "Schwänke" that we have identified. In these four tales in group (b) there is only one victim or set of victims, for Amis has no need to involve others such as the mason or the doctor, or to rely upon the co-operation of retainers to succeed in duping his prime victim. The all-important characteristic of Amis' victims

in these middle "Schwänke" is that they are simple enough to be taken in by even the most basic type of trick. Furthermore, whereas in the first two pairs of "Schwänke" we have discussed Amis departed in mid-story and left his victims to discover the deception that he had practiced upon them and to suffer the resulting embarrassment or worse, in these middle four "Schwänke" this is not the case. When the trick has been successfully completed and Amis has left (and he usually beats a speedy retreat from the scene, presumably because of the danger of discovery as a fraud), the story is over and the trick is (as far as we know) never discovered or recognised as such. This in itself is a valid enough comment upon Amis' victims, but because of this the tales are lacking in comic effect. With no embarrassment or suffering resulting from discovery on the part of Amis' victims that they have been deceived, the whole of the comic effect of these "Schwänke" lies in the ingenuity of the trick itself or in incredulous wonder at the simplicity and gullibility of the victims. And neither of these is sufficient to provide the comic entertainment that is provided in other of the "Schwänke" or to provide great relief "vür sorgen unt vür armuot".

But it is the style of this middle group of "Schwänke" that makes it so unlike the other two groups. The shortness of the "Schwänke" generally, but particularly that of Amis als Wahrsager and Amis als Wundertäter and particularly when compared with the length of Der Maurer und Bischof and Der Juwelenhändler, is striking. The economy of style is such that Amis is not even mentioned by name in two of the "Schwänke" in this section, Amis als Wahrsager and Amis als Wundertäter. It is in this section, too, that the discrepancies between the two manuscript traditions occur. There is confusion of style and confusion of content. The leitmotive are not maintained, indeed to some degree a new set of leitmotive is introduced.

The narrative style does not show the balanced structure and development which some of the other tales in Pfaffe Amis demonstrate and which is generally true of der Stricker's "Schwänke" outside the collection in this work. Heinz

Rupp has analysed the structures of Der nackte Ritter, Der begrabene Ehemann, Der kluge Knecht and Der Weinschwelg and arrived at a picture that demonstrates not only a very symmetrical underlying plan for each of the "Schwänke" but one which shows great numerical symmetry⁽¹²⁾. Stephen Wailes has similarly analysed Die eingemauerte Frau⁽¹³⁾. Indeed, one of the striking things about der Stricker's "Schwänke" generally is their balanced structure. But none of the eight "Schwänke" of Pfaffe Amis that we have considered in this chapter shows nearly so precisely balanced a structure as Rupp has demonstrated⁽¹⁴⁾, although it is true that Das unsichtbare Gemälde, Die Heilung der Kranken, Der Maurer und Bischof and Der Juwelenhändler do show more structural balance and even development of the main points of the tale than is the case generally with Der Hahn, Der Fischfang, Amis als Wahrsager and Amis als Wundertäter. In these four last-mentioned "Schwänke" the poet does not attempt to develop the situations and their potential comedy to the fullest, as he does very much through dialogue elsewhere simply for the main aim of comic effect, and much time is devoted in these four "Schwänke" to relative inessentials.

In Der Hahn a great deal of the narrative is devoted to a description of the mass that Amis holds (lines 988-1026). The description is in great detail, and great delight is taken in the husband-wife relationship of his two victims. This takes up almost half of the "Schwank" but it is not an element of this series of tricks that the poet emphasises elsewhere. In Die Kirchweihpredigt it was indeed the sermon that contained the trick, but in Der Hahn the comic element of the tale revolves around the chicken, and that, by comparison, is glossed over as quickly as possible. It is true that as a piece of comic descriptive poetry the lines devoted to Amis' mass are very successful, but they are not the part of the "Schwank" that contains the real element of comedy. Not only do they take much of the reader's (or listener's) attention away from where his enjoyment of the comedy and entertainment should be, but there is a danger that a certain amount of comedy, too much, may become attached to the elaborate religious celebration that is described, and this is apparently

not the poet's real intention within this group of "Schwänke". In Der Fischfang, where also, presumably, the selling of indulgences is at least as important as it is in Der Hahn, this is relegated to a very small constituent part of the whole. Here the greater number of lines is devoted to the conversation between Amis and his victim and the development of the comic element, but very little space is devoted to the probable real comic element, the discovery that the spring is full of fish after all. In Amis als Wahrsager this imbalance is taken to extremes, for half of the tale is devoted to the relative inessentials of the questions that Amis' servant puts regarding the background of Amis' victims, while, when it comes to the real comic element of the "Schwank", Amis' demonstration of his apparent miraculous powers of second sight, the poet seems to be only too ready to combine this with all the other elements that need to follow in as short a space as possible and let Amis pass on to another adventure.

The style of this section of the work seems often not so much to be that of narrative poetry as that of notes for projected narrative poetry, particularly as the "Schwänke" get progressively shorter in length and less conscientious concerning the content and the stylistic and poetic treatment of that content. It is almost as if the scribe were rushing to get the essentials down before the borrowed manuscript had to be returned to its owner or to meet the dead-line set for the completion of the work for its premiere performance.

We have seen in Chapter VI that the individual episodes of Pfaffe Amis come from the international fund of stories current at the time and that der Stricker has successfully unified the individual parts into the form of the whole work by means of various unifying elements and leitmotive. This in itself is argument against the idea that the last two "Schwänke" of the work were a later addition. But by further applying the criteria that Rosenhagen and Fischer apply to make their assertion regarding the last two "Schwänke" - similarity between the "Schwänke" and comparison between them and the rest - we have now in this chapter, Chapter VII, by considering the structures and

style of various of the individual "Schwänke" achieved a very different picture of the structure of the work. We now have a picture of four pairs of "Schwänke" with further similarities between these pairs so that they bracket together with one set of pairs enclosed within the other set of pairs. Ignoring the inconsistencies within the last two "Schwänke" (which among other things makes two journeys of this last section rather than one) we have further seen a three-fold division within the work corresponding to three journeys or three parts of the same journey. This itself corresponds to Fischer's three-fold division "Wortbetrug"/"Tatbetrug"/"Gewaltbetrug". Expressed graphically the following sort of basic structure would seem to exist:

journey (a)	<u>Das unsichtbare Gemälde</u>
	<u>Die Heilung der Kranken</u>
<hr/>	
journey (b)	<u>Der Hahn</u>
	<u>Der Fischfang</u>
	<u>Amis als Wahrsager</u>
journey (c)	<u>Amis als Wundertäter</u>
	<u>Der Maurer und Bischof</u>
	<u>Der Juwelenhändler</u>

In addition to the picture given above of the structure we must remember that the whole is again enclosed between Amis und der Bischof and Bekehrung und Ende, both of which sections take place in England and both of which have their thematic relevance to the whole. But even so, this picture still ignores Die Kirchweihpredigt, Das Tuch and Die Messe, and there are still various questions left unsolved, for instance the problem of the varying styles, particularly that of the middle section, and the question of the differing manuscript traditions. If we look at other aspects of the work from the point of view of structure, particularly if we examine certain of the leitmotive in detail, not only is the above picture of structure generally confirmed, but we will also be able to throw more light on the problems still outstanding and even clarify other aspects of the work.

CHAPTER VIII

"Es ist bekannt, welche Bedeutung die Dichter des Mittelalters der formalen Ausgestaltung ihrer Dichtungen zumessen, wie sie ihre Werke in ausgewogenen Proportionen planen und bauen. Erkennbarer planmäßiger Aufbau einer mittelalterlichen Dichtung ist deshalb neben anderem ein Kriterium für ihren literarischen Rang. Obwohl für die Schwankdichtung noch genaue Untersuchungen fehlen und obwohl die Art der Ueberlieferung solche erschwert, scheint mir doch, dass die formale Gestalt der Schwankdichtung neben der anderer Dichtungen bestehen kann."(1)

This is how Heinz Rupp prefaces his examination of the structure of a handful of individual "Schwänke" for which, as we have seen, he discovers a very precise and symmetrical underlying plan. He concludes:

"Die Sprachgestalt, die Form und die sinnvolle Zusammenfügung beider mit dem, was der Dichter erzählen will, führen in vielen Schwänken zu einer echten künstlerischen Einheit. Es gibt natürlich auch Schwänke, die nicht mehr sind als Reimereien, in denen der Inhalt keine dichterische Prägung gefunden hat, aber die Gattung als Ganzes ist keine dichterisch minderwertige Gattung, es finden sich in ihr Perlen mittelalterlicher Erzähl- und Formkunst."(2)

It may be that Rupp would exclude Pfaffe Amis from any more comprehensive consideration of "Schwankdichtung", just as Fischer and Schirmer excluded it from consideration in their works on "Märendichtung" and "Versnovelle" respectively. We have already seen that no rigid structural plan seems to underlie the individual "Schwänke" of Pfaffe Amis, but the underlying structure that we have discovered for at least part of the work justifies consideration further along the same lines in relation to the work as a whole. The literary merit of Pfaffe Amis is not to be disputed; we have discussed the comic elements of the work and the thematic unity; the question now is whether it is "eine echte künstlerische Einheit" from the point of view of structure or whether mere "Reimerei". We return to Fischer's initial question: "Zufällige Kompilation disparater Einzelgeschichten oder planvoll gefügtes Erzählgefüge?"⁽³⁾, but now with the emphasis very much more on the two words "zufällig" and "planvoll".

That Pfaffe Amis was not put together in haphazard fashion is clear from

the various unifying elements and the leitmotive which join the various sections of the work. The problem to be considered is therefore that of the underlying plan of the work, the plan according to which each individual section was put in the place that it occupies and in no other place. And this problem is immediately complicated by the fact that the two manuscript traditions put some of the individual "Schwänke" in a different order. And no obvious and easily discernible plan seems to underlie either of these versions of the work.

Previous commentators on the structure of Pfaffe Amis have already suggested that der Stricker amended an already existing work of one form or another and added various parts to arrive at the completed work as we know it. We have already argued greater unity to the work both thematically and structurally than previous commentators would allow, and what we propose to do now is to suggest the re-arrangement of the order of various of the "Schwänke", whose order is anyway confused between the two manuscript traditions, so that we arrive at a picture of an order and structure that might underlie the work and have been confused by the two different manuscript traditions.

Fischer's idea of the "Ur-Amis" is put forward with no evidence of the existence of this work or of the work Pfaffe Amis in this earlier form. It is put forward simply on the evidence of what he saw within the work itself as it exists in the various extant manuscripts. But rather than the "Ur-Amis" with the later addition of two more "Schwänke" and a concluding section, Lambel's Bekehrung und Ende, the basic structure suggested by the evidence of the work itself would seem to be the combination of two separate cycles of "Schwänke", each to some degree complete in itself and each with its own characteristics. Whether this was the poet's planned structure of his work or whether it would be justified to make speculation along similar lines to Fischer are separate questions. For the moment it is sufficient that these two separate cycles of "Schwänke" seem to be there.

The evidence for the suggestion that Pfaffe Amis is a combination of two

separate cycles of "Schwänke" is twofold: it would seem to be the only explanation of the differences between the two groups of pairs we identified in Chapter VII among eight of the "Schwänke"; likewise it would seem to be the only explanation of certain apparent discrepancies with regard to various of the leitmotive we have identified within the work. Of those unifying elements and leitmotive we identified in Chapter VI, of the leitmotive only those of "liegen unt triegen", "guot bejagen" and "wîs" are distributed throughout the work in such a way that there is no doubt that they are being used to unite the various "Schwänke" into one work. The other leitmotive, the precise chronology giving exact geographical location, the descriptions of Amis' journey where no place names are given, the internal connections of plot, Amis' concern for his "hûs", and the description "alwaere", are distributed in such a way that they also suggest or give support to the idea of the combination of two separate cycles of "Schwänke".

Let us consider the leitmotiv of the geographical details of Amis' movements. In Amis und der Bischof we are told:

"er het hûs in Engellant
in einer stat ze Trânîs," (lines 44-45),

and presumably the episode with the bishop takes place here also, for we are told of the bishop:

"er kom zem phaffen z'einer zît" (line 60)⁽⁴⁾.

Where Amis travels first is uncertain, for in Die Kirchweihpredigt we are told simply:

"hie mite vuor er in ein lant" (line 351).

But then the journey is described in great detail, in Das unsichtbare Gemälde:

"er reit ze Kerlingen.
in die stat ze Pârîs
quam der phaffe Âmîs" (lines 496-498)

and Die Heilung der Kranken:

"Dô der phaffe Âmîs
an guot erwarp sô grôzen prîs
in dem hove ze Kerlingen
dô reiter ze Lutringen," (lines 805-808),

and then this journey so far is confirmed at the end of Die Heilung der Kranken:

"dô wart es ein grôz schal
in dem hove ze Luterungen
als dâ ze Kerlingen" (lines 928-930).

But it is after this that difficulties begin to arise. At the beginning of Der Hahn we are told:

"Dô der phaffe von Lutringen quam,
swâ er kirchwîhe vernam
dâ predeget' er als ê. (lines 933-935),

so that we know that he has left Lorraine at least. But we are not told where he goes from Lorraine, and no more geographical detail is given for another five "Schwänke". Then at the beginning of Der Maurer und Bischof we are told:

"Dô er von Kerlingen
unz her ze Luterungen
und alsô wider ze Engellant
mit sînen listen überwant
beidiu arm und rîche," (lines 1553-1557).

After this great detail is once again given, lines 1595-1597, 1603-1605, 2043-2047, 2064-2065, and 2473-2477, and we can follow his exact movements every step of the way.

But the situation regarding this leitmotiv is strange in two ways. We know of Amis' precise whereabouts only in Amis und der Bischof, in the pair Das unsichtbare Gemälde and Die Heilung der Kranken, the final pair Der Maurer und Bischof and Der Juwelenhändler, and in the final section Bekehrung und Ende. Apart from this we are told in Der Hahn only that he had left Lorraine. Furthermore, it would appear from line 1555 ("alsô wider") that he had returned from Lorraine straight away to England. There is an element of contradiction here, and it may be that Fischer's "Frankreichschwänke"⁽⁵⁾ are therefore wrongly named. It would appear that the geographical locations of this middle group of "Schwänke" were not part of this journey, for if from Lorraine he returned straight home to England the evidence at the beginning of Der Hahn (line 933) contradicts this, unless of course the following "Schwänke" are to be regarded as taking place in England. In this case we may wonder why England is then not

mentioned again until Der Maurer und Bischof when he sets out for Constantinople. It may be that we are therefore to accept that the "Schwänke" following Die Heilung der Kranken did take place in England, and it may be that we must also assume this about Die Kirchweihpredigt. We are told "hie mite vuor er in ein lant" (line 351), and of course, if we think about it, this does not, as seems to be generally assumed, convey necessarily that this is the beginning of his French adventures, but neither is it precise enough an indication that this "lant" is still in England.

MS. K in one sense helps to clear up this problem, but in another serves also to complicate it. Towards the end of Die Heilung der Kranken MS. K has:

"do nam er des urloubes seggen,
Unde hub sich dannen zehant,
und reit gegen engelant." (lines K.910-912),

and Der Hahn begins in MS. K:

"Der pfaffe amys der quam,
do er ein kirwihe vernam," (lines K.931-932).

It would therefore appear from the evidence of MS. K that he does return to England immediately after the episode at the court of Lorraine. Furthermore, in MS. K this leitmotiv is now confined solely to Amis und der Bischof, Das unsichtbare Gemälde and Die Heilung der Kranken, Der Maurer und Bischof and Der Juwelenhändler, and Bekehrung und Ende. But the situation is now also even stranger, for we are not told either that any of the other "Schwänke" do take place in England or where they take place if not in England, and indeed, if we were to ignore these middle "Schwänke", the geographical details we are given by themselves form a journey that is complete in itself. The only way that the geographical details make sense is if we see the journey continuing from Lorraine to England then to Constantinople as a journey uninterrupted by any other event. And this picture of a complete and uninterrupted journey must also then imply that the middle section of "Schwänke" was in some way included from somewhere else into the middle of the first series of "Schwänke" with the first line of Der Hahn (line 933) amended in the MS. R tradition⁽⁶⁾

to give the impression in the work of continuation of the journey.

This idea is supported to some degree also by what we find in those "Schwänke" where no precise location is specified. As opposed to the precise detail of Amis' journey, what information we are given on location is uniformly vague: Die Kirchweihpredigt lines 351, 463, 474, Der Hahn lines 934-935, 1027-1028, Das Tuch line K.1289, Der Fischfang lines K.1075, K.1147-1148, Amis als Wahrsager lines 1241, 1288, Amis als Wundertäter lines 1289-1291, 1315-1316, Die Messe lines 1318, 1534-1535, 1545-1546. It is surely more than coincidence that not only is there no precision and detail but that there is such a uniformity and similarity in even the vagueness.

As further support for the idea of these two cycles of "Schwänke" some of the other important leitmotive show interesting and not dissimilar distributions. The reason for Amis' journey and for his tricks and deceit is, of course, that he must support those people who depend upon the hospitality of his "hûs" in England. Lying and deceit are forced upon him as a solution to those problems that are brought on him through no fault of his own, and this moral problem in the main character is one of the themes which help to link the individual "Schwänke". Often, by way of some sort of justification for Amis' dishonesty and to help keep this theme in sight, we are told that the proceeds from Amis' tricks are sent back to England. This is the direct point of connection between Amis und der Bischof and Bekehrung und Ende and is also an important consideration from the point of view of Amis' conversion and in this way an important link between the first and last sections of the work and the individual "Schwänke" at the core of the work. This leitmotiv is well distributed in certain sections of the work: Amis und der Bischof lines 328-336, Die Kirchweihpredigt lines 468-472, 489-490, Das unsichtbare Gemälde lines 737-742, Die Heilung der Kranken lines 910-914, Die Messe lines 1325-1327, Der Maurer und Bischof lines 1569-1574, 1602-1604, 1614-1615, Bekehrung und Ende lines 2479-2487; but there is no mention of Amis' "hûs" and hence no justification of his actions in the sense that this leitmotiv normally implies

in MS. R in the five "Schwänke" Der Hahn, Das Tuch, Der Fischfang, Amis als Wahrsager and Amis als Wundertäter. There are, however, three points in connection with this leitmotiv in need of mention and clarification. This leitmotiv is given expression in Die Kirchweihpredigt and Die Messe, but its inclusion in these two "Schwänke" must be discussed later when we consider the relationship between them and the work as a whole. This leitmotiv is also mentioned in Der Fischfang in MS. K, lines K.1149-1152, but its inclusion at this point in this manuscript tradition again betrays the poet's intent in the work, to knit together the various sections of the two cycles of stories, and the presence of these lines demonstrates that the process is a little more complete at this point in MS. K than it is in MS. R. On the other hand, however, we have seen that the process was more complete in MS. R as regards the joining of Der Hahn into the details of Amis' journey in the poem, even though the "Nahtstelle" there (line 933) built into the work elements of contradiction to the details already there. The leitmotiv of Amis' "hûs" is, however, absent from Der Juwelenhändler, but this does not invalidate the idea of the joining together of two cycles of "Schwänke"; the leitmotiv occurs in each case towards the end of the first four sections of the work, towards the beginning of Die Messe, towards the beginning and middle of Der Maurer und Bischof, and at the beginning of Bekehrung und Ende. The Lambel headings that we are using are, as has been pointed out before, artificial, that is to say they are not part of the poet's work but were supplied much later to label and identify the various obvious sections of the work, and there is some evidence to suggest that those very sections defined by Benecke and maintained by Lambel may again be artificial in the same way. The mention of Amis' "hûs" is often linked with information on Amis' arrivals and departures, and in Bekehrung und Ende these two leitmotives are directly connected. That the information regarding Amis' return from Greece is also a part of Bekehrung und Ende and not a part of Der Juwelenhändler underlines not the relevance of the headings to the sections but the relevance of the distribution of the leitmotives which in the case of Amis'

"hûs" cuts across Benecke's and Lambel's sections and Lambel's headings for those sections.

But if the leitmotiv of Amis' "hûs" and the element of justification for Amis' behaviour that it implies are absent from the middle group of "Schwänke", this same group has its own leitmotiv which implies some element of justification. It is interesting to note, however, that the moral basis of these two leitmotives of justification are very different. The leitmotiv "alwaere" does not have any relevance until Der Hahn, where it is first mentioned in lines 942-944. It then appears in Das Tuch, lines 1029-1030, and Der Fischfang, lines 1168-1170. This pre-requisite in Amis' victims is not mentioned in Amis als Wahrsager and Amis als Wundertäter, but these are anyway very short sections and not really developed as narratives, and not even the name of the main character is mentioned in them. The same sort of pre-requisite necessary in Amis' victims in Der Hahn, Das Tuch and Der Fischfang and the end to which the tricks are directed correspond, however, between these three tales and Amis als Wahrsager and Amis als Wundertäter, so the idea at least of the pre-requisite of "alwaere" is common to these five tales. The word "alwaere" does, however, appear in Die Messe, lines 1318-1319 and line 1377, and this must be re-considered when we come to examine the more exact position of Die Messe within the work as a whole. The word "alwaere" again appears in Der Maurer und Bischof, lines 1695-1696. But its meaning here is different, for it does not imply an easily recognisable pre-requisite quality which has to do with the unquestioning acceptance of false miracles and it is not combined with the quality of riches expressly stated or implied in Amis' victims in the other contexts in which it occurs. The mason in Der Maurer und Bischof had already seen through the impossibility of the situation that Amis was suggesting, lines 1660-1663, and knows enough of the obvious objections to his becoming bishop, lines 1672-1675. It is only when the mason is told how both he and Amis can succeed in such a trick, lines 1676-1693, and when he realises how he can benefit from it, lines 1694 and 1699-1701, that he agrees to the arrangement.

The neat theory that we have so far put forward regarding the structure of Pfaffe Amis - only, however, as far as those "Schwänke" we have differentiated as pairs is concerned - is disturbed by the presence in the work of Die Kirchweihpredigt, Die Messe and Das Tuch. And if we are to justify the idea that two cycles of "Schwänke" were knitted together to constitute the work we now know as Pfaffe Amis it must be made clear to which of these two cycles these three "Schwänke" belong. It is not possible to discern within these three "Schwänke" another pair so obvious as those we have already pointed out, but they do quite clearly fit into the ideas that we have so far developed. All three of them belong to the cycle of "Schwänke" including Der Hahn, Der Fischfang, Amis als Wahrsager and Amis als Wundertäter, but it will be advantageous to look at them singly to begin with.

In Die Kirchweihpredigt the actual mechanics of Amis' trickery may be very dissimilar to that contained in the other "Schwänke" in the group, but there are enough similarities of theme to demonstrate its place there. If one looks at the preparations at the beginning of Die Kirchweihpredigt which apparently are made for the first part of Amis' journey, this is in fact only half the case. The singular characteristic of Die Kirchweihpredigt with regard to its relationship to the whole work is that it is the one tale that has been successfully amalgamated from one cycle of "Schwänke" into the other. The preparations described in lines 337-350 fit Die Kirchweihpredigt into group (a) along with Das unsichtbare Gemälde and Die Heilung der Kranken, but these preparations are in fact in two parts. The first part of the preparations is clearly for Amis in the rôle of a priest, lines 337-345, and the second part for his rôles in the following two "Schwänke" as artist and doctor, lines 346-350. If, by virtue of criteria we have already considered, we are going to consider Das unsichtbare Gemälde and Die Heilung der Kranken as belonging to a different cycle of "Schwänke" and if we regard lines 337-350 as preparation for at least the first three "Schwänke" and now ignore lines 346-350, considering them as being later additions for the purpose of affecting the join of these

two cycles of "Schwänke" in this place, then the remaining lines, lines 337-345, are preparation for not only Die Kirchweihpredigt but for Der Hahn and the following group of "Schwänke" as well.

After the preparations at the beginning of Die Kirchweihpredigt we are told:

"hie mite vuor er in ein lant" (line 351).

The vagueness of this information is identical with the vagueness of the information we are given in Amis als Wahrsager, line 1242, and Amis als Wundertäter, line 1289, as regards place and is mirrored in the vagueness of time of the information we are given in Der Hahn, lines 940-941, and Der Fischfang, line 1168.

There are, however, more important similarities, some of which have to do with chronology. The two essential elements of Die Kirchweihpredigt are probably the occasion on which Amis preaches:

"hie mite vuor er in ein lant
dâ er ein kirchwîhe vant" (lines 351-352)

and the visual aid he has to help him in his sermon:

"ich hân iu brâht in ditze lant
ein heilictuom alsô guot
daz alle tage zeichen tuot" (lines 368-370).

Not only are we told that Amis repeats and is asked to repeat his sermon at other churches, c.f. lines 462-463, 474-481, 484-488, but it is also these two elements that link Der Hahn with the stories that go before:

"Dô der phaffe von Lutringen quam,
swâ er kirchwîhe vernam
dâ predeget' er als ê.
dar zuo tet er ouch mê.
er vuort' ein schoene bâren
dâ sîn kefsen inne wâren
unt sîn heilictuom des er phlac." (lines 933-939).

"sîn heilictuom" is again mentioned in Amis als Wundertäter, lines 1298 and 1305, where it again is an essential part of performing miracles. If we have regarded the "Schwänke" in group (b), Der Hahn to Die Messe, as interrupting a chronology that links Amis und der Bischof, Das unsichtbare Gemälde, Die

Heilung der Kranken, Der Maurer und Bischof, Der Juwelenhändler and Bekehrung und Ende, then it may also be regarded as the case that Das unsichtbare Gemälde and Die Heilung der Kranken interrupt a chronology that links Die Kirchweihpredigt and Der Hahn and the "Schwänke" that follow it.

But there are other similarities, too. We have pointed out that the "Schwänke" in group (b) can only work if Amis is regarded as being a holy man, c.f. Der Hahn lines 947 and 959, Der Fischfang line 1227, and Amis als Wahrsager line 1286. In Der Fischfang and Amis als Wahrsager this discovery is made on the part of Amis' victims after the trick has been performed, but in Der Hahn his victim is convinced of his "holiness" before he has done anything, lines 947-949, and this can only be explained in one way. The impression of Amis being "ein heilic predgaere" is one that results from his repeated preaching in Die Kirchweihpredigt, lines 474-481, and this impression must result in Der Hahn from the fact that at the beginning of this story he again preaches in similar fashion as the opening lines tell us. Furthermore, all the following stories then take place against this background of continued preaching in the manner of Die Kirchweihpredigt, for Der Hahn opens with:

"dar zuo tet er ouch mē" (line 936)

and:

"ouch liez er nie deheinen tac
er sante einen kneht vür" (lines 940-941)

and Amis als Wahrsager with:

"swa er nahtes bî dem wirte saz" (line 1242).

There are also other thematic similarities. As the idea of the performance of miracles was important in the middle group of "Schwänke", c.f. Der Hahn line 987, Amis als Wundertäter line 1298, so is this an essential part of Die Kirchweihpredigt, c.f. lines 370, 372, 441; and just as forgiveness of sins is the all-important theme in the middle group of "Schwänke", more so in Die Kirchweihpredigt, c.f. lines 446-458 and 481-483, is it made clear that Amis' victims are no less sinful for their hypocritical show of faithfulness than it

is made clear that Amis' victims in the other "Schwänke" can achieve nothing through the buying of indulgences as opposed to the earning of indulgences. The little humorous touches regarding the husband-wife relationship that often play an important part in der Stricker's other "Schwänke" and that are found in Der Hahn, lines 1022-1026, and Der Fischfang, lines 1229-1234, are mirrored in Die Kirchweihpredigt in the whole dubious situation of the husband-wife relationship that the comedy of the "Schwank" relies on; and one may wonder whether the picture of "ein gebiurîn . . . bēdiu rîche und alwaere" (Der Hahn lines 943-944) is not mirrored in the phrase "manc edel künne von gebûren unt von vrouwen" (Die Kirchweihpredigt lines 358-359).

In some respects Die Messe is the most interesting of the "Schwänke" in Pfaffe Amis, for there is a lot in it to justify Schirmer's description of it as a parody along the lines of what he terms the "'non cogovi litteraturam'-Formel"⁽⁷⁾. Further, not only does it clearly belong to the work for the reasons of the clear similarities and parallels to other lines of the work in lines 1336-1370 and 1390-1405 that we have mentioned elsewhere; but there are elements in it which may remind us of other of der Stricker's poems, for instance the unflattering picture of the clergy in lines 1524-1527 or the almost political ring in lines 1540-1544 with the tension implied between various social classes; it adds trickery of the clergy, c.f. lines 1488-1499, to trickery of the two other estates of nobility and peasantry together with trickery of what presumably even at this early historical point may already be recognised as the new merchant middle class certainly in the large towns of the East. There is much in Die Messe which warrants literary discussion, but consideration along these lines would be of the literary merit of the tale as a tale in itself rather than as a part of the work, and it is the relationship of the tale to the work as a whole that is important in this chapter. It is, in fact, strange in the light of the literary merits of the tale that it is absent from the MS. K tradition of the work.

If the final form of Pfaffe Amis as we know it is in fact the result of

the combination of two distinct cycles of "Schwänke", then Die Messe must clearly be reckoned as belonging to that cycle also comprising Die Kirchweihpredigt, Der Hahn, Der Fischfang, Amis als Wahrsager and Amis als Wundertäter.

The descriptions of Amis' movements:

"er kom da er einen prôbest sach" (line 1318)

and:

"dô gâht' er harte starke,
daz er ân schaden hin quam." (lines 1534-1535)

share the same lack of detail, and clearly this episode is not part of the return journey to England via Paris, Lorraine and Constantinople. Similarly, in this tale the selection of Amis' victim is dependent upon his possessing the two important qualities of stupidity and wealth:

"er kom da er einen prôbest sach,
alwaere und einvaltic,
und iedoch was gewaltic
über ein vil michel guot." (lines 1318-1321).

Moreover, the meaning of "alwaere" here is again the lack of insight to recognise the deceit contained in the apparent miracle that Amis presents and the readiness to accept it at its face value, c.f. lines 1470-1472. In the same way as in the majority of the "Schwänke" in this cycle the trick depends upon a deception that has been carefully prepared to look as if a miracle has been performed, although in Die Messe God is to a greater sense more personally involved and all credit is attributable to him and not to Amis - Amis simply allows the credit and financial rewards of being the chosen vessel for the performing of this miracle to rub off on him.

Yet in addition to the tale being more greatly developed from the point of view of narrative style, the basic pattern of Amis' trickery in Die Messe is also at least differently developed, for the trick depends here - the only "Schwank" in the work where this is the case - upon the initial impression being created of Amis as a poor and simple man. Whereas in Der Hahn and Der Fischfang an element of comedy may perhaps lie in the fact that Amis' victims are peasants, c.f. lines 943 and 1169, here it is Amis who pretends to be a

peasant, line 1330, and the impression that this is meant to create is clear. Not only can he with greater ease claim to be and play upon the fact that he is a poor and simple man, but the impression he creates seems to suggest to the Probst that he is an ideal and stupid enough candidate for exploitation to the benefit of the Probst and the monastery. The whole situation implied here and the rather puzzling sentiments of lines 1540-1544 may well link this particular "Schwank" at least in sentiment to the later social-political poems of der Stricker.

The greater narrative and thematic development of Die Messe is, however, not the real point at issue here. If it has this in common with Die Kirchweihpredigt, it has also another very important similarity. The leitmotiv of Amis' "hûs" is also mentioned in Die Messe, lines 1325-1327, and, as in the case of Die Kirchweihpredigt, c.f. lines 468-473, this and the balanced narrative style imply a much more complete incorporation of this "Schwank" into the work as a whole. Indeed, a similar structural pattern begins to emerge in the relationship between Die Kirchweihpredigt and the pair that follow it, Das unsichtbare Gemälde and Die Heilung der Kranken, and Die Messe and the pair that follow it, Der Maurer und Bischof and Der Juwelenhändler. Enclosed within these groups are the two pairs Der Hahn and Der Fischfang, and Amis als Wahrsager and Amis als Wundertäter, and the final tale that we must consider, Das Tuch.

There is a quite clear and obvious connection between Das Tuch and the tale that precedes it, Der Hahn, for the point at which it begins is the successful repetition of the very same trick that had been performed in this preceding tale. All the important and characteristic elements of this middle group of "Schwänke" are contained: Amis' initial victim is described as "alwaere", line 1030; Amis had in the same way asked for accommodation, line 1032 (c.f. also Der Fischfang, lines 1177-1184, and Amis als Wahrsager, line 124²); the impression of Amis as a holy man is achieved, lines 1034-1035 and 1043, and the victim is convinced that a miracle has taken place, line 1042; this is de-

monstrated by a token gift to Amis, lines 1036-1038; and Amis makes good a quick escape, line 1039. The link with Der Hahn is clear and obviously intended, but this does not mean that Das Tuch must of necessity follow Der Hahn in the final and completed form of the work. Indeed, in the MS. K tradition of the work it does not, it is separated from Der Hahn by the two tales Amis als Wahrsager and Der Fischfang. But the most important part of these introductory lines is that concerned with the explanation of the woman's gift of the cloth to Amis. The trick with the chicken is unimportant for the trick that Amis plays on the knight except in as much as the cloth gives the two characters some contact and connection one with the other, and it is really at the point where the knight arrives home that Das Tuch really begins:

"nû quam der ritter iesâ" (line 1040).

What makes Amis' victim in Das Tuch, the knight, different in one respect at least from Amis' other victims in this middle set of "Schwänke" is that he appears, initially at least, to be undeserving in the same respect of the description "alwaere". In fact he is never described as such. He immediately sees through the trick that Amis had played on his wife:

"waz gewan er dir an?" (line 1044),

c.f. also lines 1071-1074, so that in this sense this tale fits into the middle group of "Schwänke" not so much by virtue of the fact that it is so like them but rather because there is this element of contrast. Amis is here forced to demonstrate his wit and powers of trickery in the same way as in the episode with the bishop, he is thrown back onto whatever resources he can muster in a sudden difficult situation. In this sense Amis' powers of trickery are underlined:

"nû was der phaffe Âmis
mit kargen listen alsô wîs
daz er sich vil wol versach
des selben daz ouch dâ geschach," (lines 1057-1060)

and this may well be the purpose of the inclusion of this "Schwank" in the work.

Yet the final irony of the tale is that the wily knight is eventually

tricked by Amis just as his wife had been. He becomes as convinced as his wife had been of Amis' "holiness" and of the direct intervention by God into the proceedings, lines 1106-1112; he is disposed likewise to making a token gift to Amis if not so much in recognition of this fact then certainly in fear of the possible consequences of not doing so, lines 1141-1159; and he also insists on the same celebration of confession and forgiveness of sins that seems to be an essential part not only of Der Hahn but also of Der Fischfang and Amis als Wahrsager, lines 1120-1130. And the irony is here taken further by the knight's inclusion of his neighbours into this same situation, lines 1160-1163. If the initial apparent contrast between this tale and the rest of the middle group of "Schwänke" singles it out from the group, in the last analysis the irony of the tale fits it firmly back into the group by virtue of the fact that all the essential and common elements are finally there and that the victim is finally no less deserving of the description "alwaere" - even though the word is not mentioned - in the specific sense in which it is applicable to all of Amis' victims in this middle group of "Schwänke".

If we accept the idea of Pfaffe Amis being in the general form in which we know it as the result of the combining of two cycles of "Schwänke" - and even if this idea is not accepted - the question still remains as to what the underlying structure and plan of the work is. There are certainly in Pfaffe Amis two different "sets" or "types" of "Schwank" as differentiated by the arrangement of certain of the leitmotive we have identified, to some degree by narrative style, and to a certain degree by virtue of the moral justification (or lack of it) for Amis' actions; and the structure must be seen as an arrangement of these two different cycles or "types". The two cycles we have defined, in the order of MS. R, are:

(continued over)

(a)

(b)

Amis und der Bischof

Die Kirchweihpredigt

Das unsichtbare Gemälde

Die Heilung der Kranken

Der Hahn

Das Tuch

Der Fischfang

Amis als Wahrsager

Amis als Wundertäter

Die Messe

Der Maurer und Bischof

Der Juwelenhändler

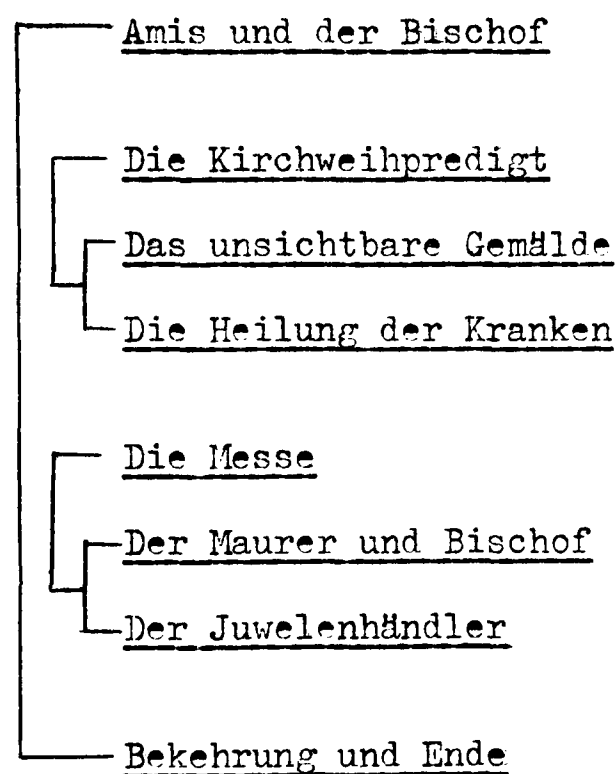
Bekehrung und Ende,

the MS. K tradition differing in two respects: firstly, that the order of the middle group of "Schwänke" differs; and secondly, that Die Messe is not included in this manuscript tradition. Nevertheless a certain structural balance is already discernible. If we bear in mind the pairing that we have noticed between various of the individual "Schwänke" and for the moment ignore Das Tuch, the structure of the two cycles of "Schwänke", again in the order of MS. R, is identical:

<u>Amis und der Bischof</u>	<u>Die Kirchweihpredigt</u>
<u>Das unsichtbare Gemälde</u>	<u>Der Hahn</u>
<u>Die Heilung der Kranken</u>	<u>Der Fischfang</u>
<u>Der Maurer und Bischof</u>	<u>Amis als Wahrsager</u>
<u>Der Juwelenhändler</u>	<u>Amis als Wundertäter</u>
<u>Bekehrung und Ende</u>	<u>Die Messe</u>

It may be pointed out that Die Kirchweihpredigt and Die Messe are not a pair that we have recognised and defined as such, but neither are Amis und der Bischof and Bekehrung und Ende. In both groups above Amis und der Bischof and Bekehrung und Ende in (a) and Die Kirchweihpredigt and Die Messe in (b) serve only to bracket the two pairs between them. It must be recognised that Amis und der Bischof and Bekehrung und Ende are clearly connected thematically in a way that Die Kirchweihpredigt and Die Messe are not, but this is a question of theme and not of plan or structure.

The narrative style and the connection through the inclusion of the leitmotiv of Amis' "hûs" suggest the more successful and complete combining of Die Kirchweihpredigt and Die Messe into cycle (a) from cycle (b) so that again a certain symmetry is maintained:



Between these two groups of three the middle group of "Schwänke" now belongs.

We have described the process of combining these two cycles of "Schwänke" as incomplete. This is suggested in a variety of ways: the middle group of "Schwänke" lack real development of narrative style; the order of the middle group of "Schwänke" is confused between the two manuscript traditions and MS. K does not contain Die Messe so that it seems not really fixed what should or should not belong to the work or where it should belong; the various leitmotive are not uniformly distributed throughout the work; and various "Nahtstellen"

are still noticeable - for instance in the above plan Die Kirchweihpredigt is joined more closely with the pair Das unsichtbare Gemälde and Die Heilung der Kranken by lines 346-350 than is Die Messe with its following pair, Der Maurer und Bischof and Der Juwelenhändler, where no such connecting thread exists. As the order of the middle group of "Schwänke", themselves combined to cycle (a) in confusing manner by line 933 in MS. R, shows a confusion between the two manuscript traditions, we may feel justified in rearranging the order somewhat to continue this symmetry of structure. The order of the individual "Schwänke" in the two manuscript traditions is:

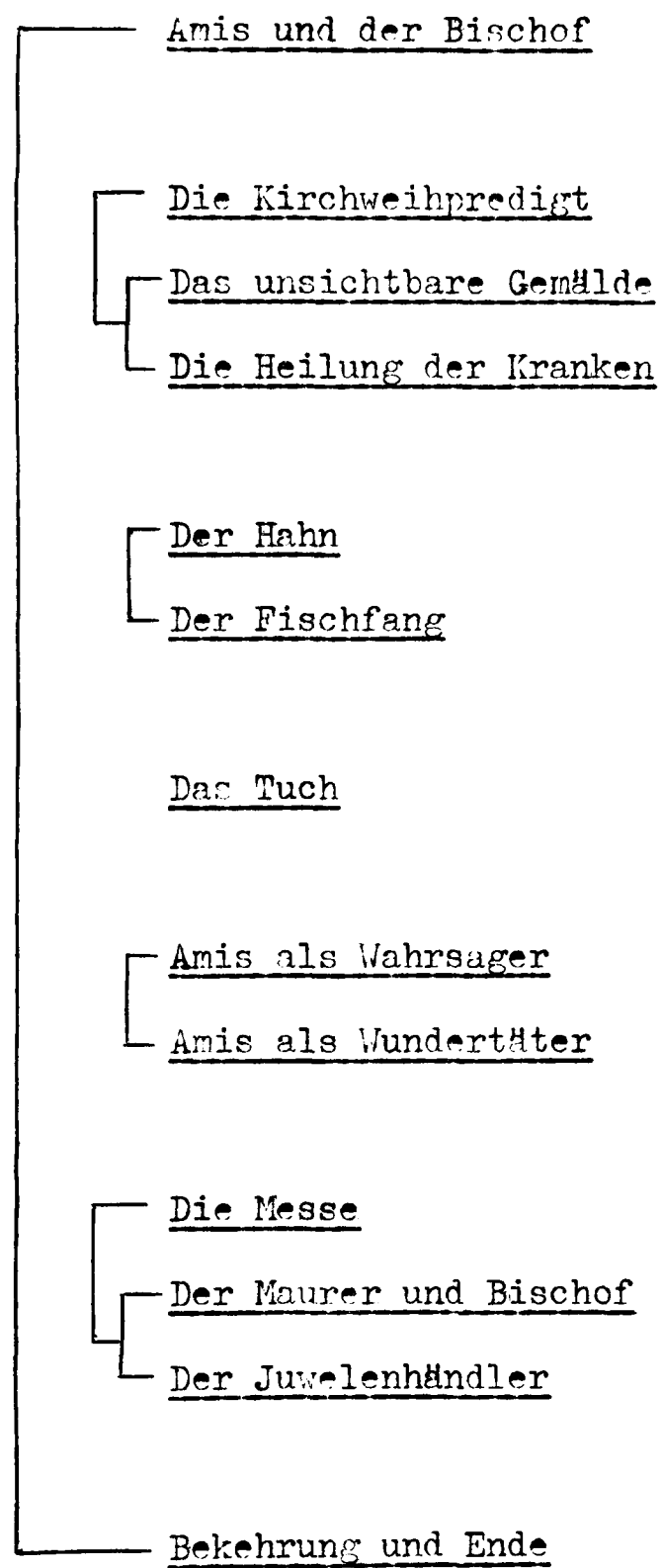
<u>MS. R</u>	<u>MS. K</u>
[<u>Der Hahn</u>	[<u>Der Hahn</u>
[<u>Das Tuch</u>	[<u>Amis als Wahrsager</u>
[<u>Der Fischfang</u>	[<u>Der Fischfang</u>
	[<u>Das Tuch</u>
[<u>Amis als Wahrsager</u>	[<u>Amis als Wundertäter</u>
[<u>Amis als Wundertäter</u>	

and in both manuscript traditions a certain symmetry is interrupted by the position of Das Tuch. If we were to change the position of Das Tuch slightly a symmetry could be achieved:

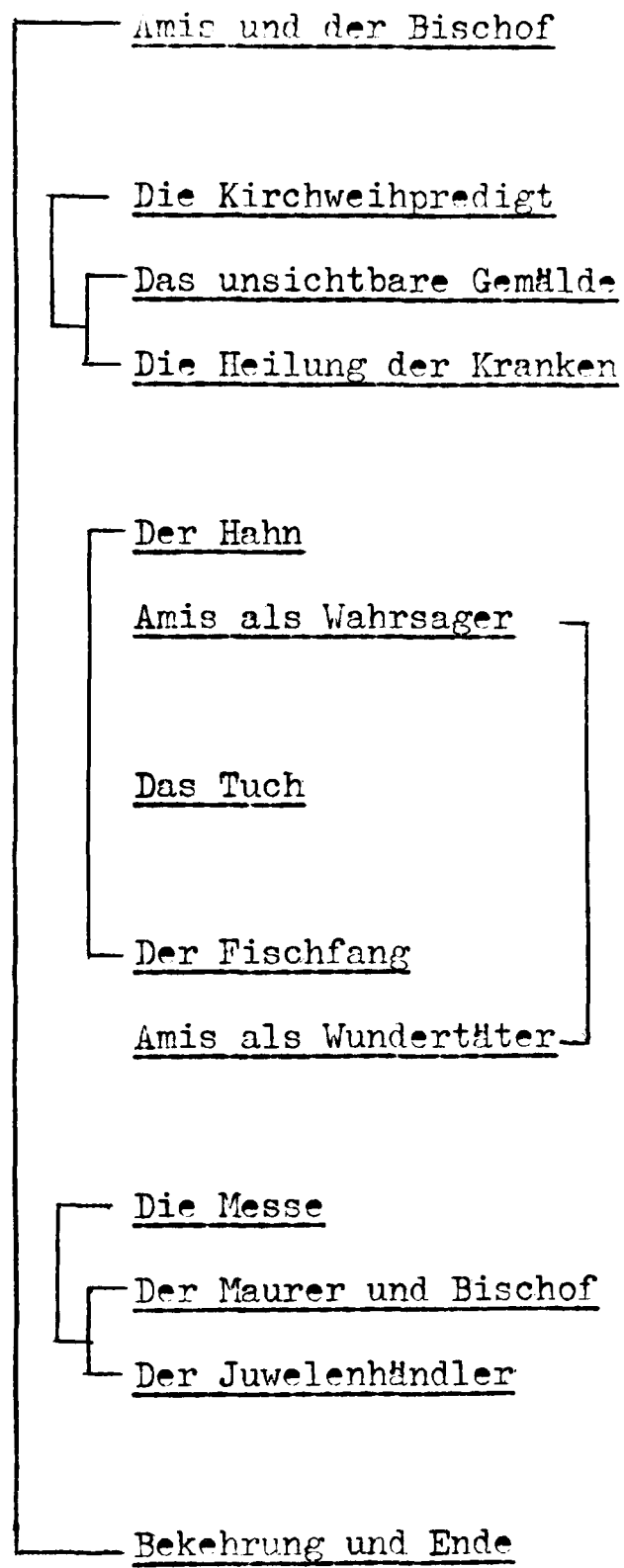
<u>MS. R</u>	<u>MS. K</u>
[<u>Der Hahn</u>	[<u>Der Hahn</u>
[<u>Der Fischfang</u>	[<u>Amis als Wahrsager</u>
	[<u>Das Tuch</u>
[<u>Das Tuch</u>	[<u>Der Fischfang</u>
[<u>Amis als Wahrsager</u>	[<u>Amis als Wundertäter</u>
[<u>Amis als Wundertäter</u>	

If we now look at the structure of the work in terms of a symmetrical plan based on our pairings and the repositioning of Das Tuch the following possibilities exist:

(i) based on MS. R:



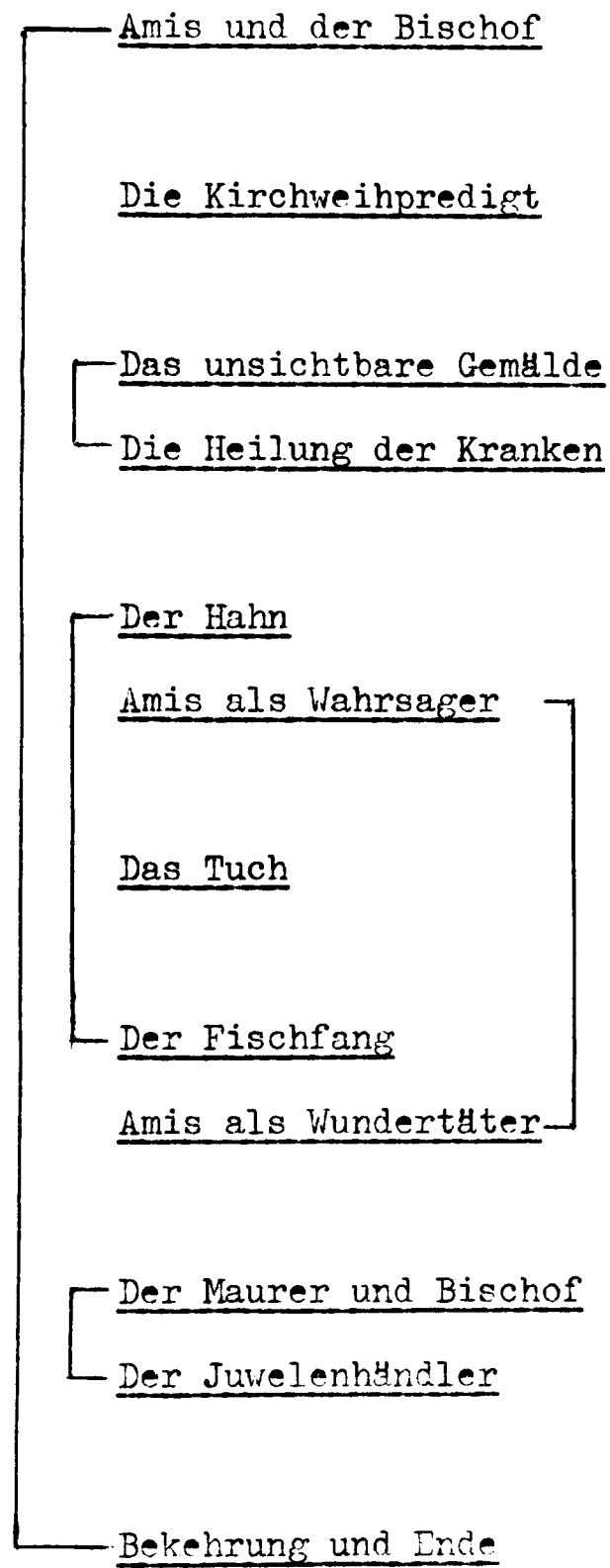
(ii) based on MS. K but with Die Messe included:



(iii) based on MS. R but with Die Messe left out:

- Amis und der Bischof
- Die Kirchweihpredigt
- Das unsichtbare Gemälde
 - Die Heilung der Kranken
- Der Hahn
 - Der Fischfang
- Das Tuch
- Amis als Wahrsager
 - Amis als Wundertäter
- Der Maurer und Bischof
 - Der Juwelenhändler
- Bekehrung und Ende

(iv) based on MS. K:



There is in the structure of Pfaffe Amis in the two manuscript traditions in which we know it no readily discernible and obvious structural plan to justify the application of Rupp's phrases "erkennbarer planmässiger Aufbau" in the sense of "in ausgewogenen Proportionen" or to justify calling the work, in Fischer's phrase, a "planvoll gefügtes Erzählgefüge". But yet neither is the work worthy of the description "zufällige Kompilation disparater Einzelgeschichten". If we are justified in seeking a rigid underlying structural plan, then we can only proceed from what is in the work itself. The obvious pairing of "Schwänke" that exists does point to some underlying structure or to some structural concept in the mind of the poet, but the discrepancies of developed and apparently undeveloped narrative styles of various of the "Schwänke" and the confusion of structure between the two manuscript traditions point to the incomplete realisation of that structural concept. The work seems to have potential for a structural plan and seems to be striving towards such a plan but does not seem to realise that potential. And from the pairing of the "Schwänke" that we have already noticed the problem seems to be that of bringing order to bear among the pairs and the single unpaired "Schwänke" in the work along the various lines of symmetrical structure that we have put forward.

CHAPTER IX

If Pfaffe Amis is judged as a work of literature, then certain criticisms of an adverse nature must be made. The style of the middle section of "Schwänke" is poor in that the narration is unbalanced and lacks the skill of the technically good narrative poet; the work as a whole is similarly unbalanced - even though sections of it may be very skilfully and successfully composed - and the too widely varying lengths of the "Schwänke" disturb the listener's or reader's enjoyment, for there seems to be no obvious reason for these varying lengths. The work is very poorly constructed and lacks the meticulous care usually shown by mediaeval poets, and if the structure of the work is one of the criteria for determining the literary merit or worth of a poem, then that of Pfaffe Amis cannot be valued very highly. If one accepts that the work as we know it is of little merit judged by these certain criteria, then in a sense there is nothing more to be said, and that must be the final summing up on the work. But one must proceed beyond this rather superficial judgement of the work and ask why the work merits such criticism when all the indications are that der Stricker was a capable and very popular mediaeval poet. And we must remember that we have a very unsatisfactory set of manuscripts of the work which may not give a fair picture of the true merit of the work.

It must be admitted that there is no really concrete evidence to suggest that the work is a combining together of two cycles of "Schwänke" as we have suggested, if by concrete proof we demand examples of the work in its various stages of combination. But similarly there is no proof that the last two (or three) sections of the work were a later addition to the first ten sections. There is simply the evidence of the various problems and inconsistencies within the work and the conclusions that consideration of these problems and inconsistencies lead us to. There is no evidence of the two separate cycles of "Schwänke" as such, and we have no real justification for supposing that a more final form of the work was ever achieved; the work simply seems to have

potential for being tidied up and rounded off to form a stylistically and structurally, poetically and artistically more satisfying whole. Whereas the differences between certain of the sections of the work were for Gustav Rosenhagen indications that the work was based on a Northern French model, for the existence of which similarly no proof exists, these same differences for us lead on to a very different conclusion. It is a conclusion that also adequately explains the inconsistencies that Rosenhagen found, and it is a conclusion that explains inconsistencies that Rosenhagen does not mention. Furthermore, it is probably the only explanation that can be offered to explain all of the inconsistencies.

The similarities between the two sets of pairs, Das unsichtbare Gemälde, Die Heilung der Kranken and Der Maurer und Bischof, Der Juwelenhändler on the one hand and Der Hahn, Der Fischfang and Amis als Wahrsager, Amis als Wunder-täter on the other, show two very different types and styles of "Schwank", and the need for some explanation is clear. If one adds to this the distribution of certain of the essential leitmotive, these themselves reflecting two apparently very different types of trickery, the tales are split into two very distinct sets. If it is also within these two sets that the differences of narrative style occur, there must be a simple and obvious reason. As there seems to be no explanation for why the poet should have deliberately and consciously composed the work in this way, the only explanation would seem to be that the two groups of "Schwänke" were originally distinct and were joined together without any attempt being made to reconcile the different narrative styles. In this sense the joining together cannot be regarded as complete and satisfactory. When one considers those "Schwänke" in the work which are not paired, this conclusion is reinforced by the recognition that they show far greater similarity to one group of the paired "Schwänke" than to the other and by the recognition that they show similarity to one group rather than an obviously different character of their own. Furthermore, the contradictions of chronology lead us again to this conclusion, and certain of the "Nahtstellen" can be fairly easily still

picked out.

That this joining together of the two cycles is incomplete is likewise the only explanation of certain other of the contradictions and differences between the manuscripts. The fact that line 933 in MS. R links Der Hahn and the following five "Schwänke" into the chronology of Amis' movements as indicated in the first and final pairs of the work, and the fact that lines K.1147-1152 give expression to a leitmotiv which otherwise is foreign to the middle group of "Schwänke", both suggest attempts to join the two cycles in various ways. That the two cycles are still easily recognisable as such is again ample indication that the joining process is incomplete and unsatisfactorily done. The very fact that there are two manuscript traditions and the inconsistencies of style between the two cycles, even those inconsistencies within the last pair of "Schwänke" which retain the two episodes as two different journeys rather than a continuing journey, indicate that the poet ideally had a lot of re-working of his material to do before the different sources of its various parts were no longer noticeable and the work became recognisable as a fully complete and consistent whole.

These problems and inconsistencies need explanation. It is most unlikely that they were planned by the poet and the work consciously written with their inclusion in mind. But these are inconsistencies that could not have become features of the relatively few manuscripts we possess of Pfaffe Amis as a result of those manuscripts being poor and inaccurate copies of the work in the form of its original composition. The only possible explanation is one that sees these features in extant manuscripts as a reflection of the work as it existed in a form contemporary with der Stricker himself and a form that can only be regarded as reflecting the work in a state of incompleteness. The question of whether attempts towards reaching this goal represented by the two examples of lines R.933 and K.1147-1152 were ever successfully completed is, however, a question that cannot be answered. Yet these very lines indicate that the poet was aware that a certain amount of joining up of the two cycles was

necessary, and the pairs of "Schwänke" retained in the work together with the rearranging of the order of the middle group of "Schwänke", suggest some consciousness of the lack of but yet the need for a more satisfying planned structure to the work.

There are, however, still perhaps two elements of contradiction in some of the suggestions that we have made regarding the structure of Pfaffe Amis. In contradiction to the ideas of Rosenhagen and Fischer we have suggested both a greater structural and thematic unity to the work, have shown the whole to fit better together than either of these commentators would allow, and have shown the last two "Schwänke" to be a part of the work rather than a later addition. This we have done, however, in part by suggesting that it is firstly largely the leitmotive that unify the work, and later we have suggested that it is precisely certain of these leitmotive that suggest the work to be the joining of two cycles of "Schwänke". If there seems to be a contradiction here it can only be pointed out that it does exist, but that it does not seem to invalidate the conclusions we have drawn from it. But there may also be a contradiction in our acceptance on the one hand that the individual stories of the work are a selection from probably an oral tradition of the international fund of stories and our recognition on the other hand that the assumption that the work is a joining of two cycles of "Schwänke" may suggest that the two cycles were already in written form. And this raises the whole question of the composition of "Schwankdichtung" and the manuscript history of Pfaffe Amis in particular.

The exact relationship between the extant manuscripts of Pfaffe Amis has never apparently been explored. While a certain relationship does obviously exist between MS. H and MS. K, commentators have still not been able to agree on the exact relationship between these two manuscripts; and what is more, it would even appear to be the case that the relationship between the various individual works contained in these manuscripts differs, so that the relationship generally speaking of MS. K to MS. H with the former a possible copy of the

latter may not be the picture that the evidence of an examination of Pfaffe Amis in these two manuscripts would corroborate. The earliest manuscript, MS. R, dating from about 1280 was written something like forty or forty-five years after the composition of the work and something like thirty years after the poet's death. MSS. H and K were written again something like forty years after MS. R, but whether these can be regarded as deriving from MS. R or not is a question that has as yet not been answered. The indications would seem to be that they cannot. MS. G and the Arnstadt MS. agree sometimes with MSS. H and K, sometimes with MS. R, but only in more minor details, so that a manuscript version somewhere between that of MSS. H and K and MS. R may be discernable. It seems impossible to discover anything about MS. S without recourse to Jundt's copy of 1806/7, but if the original manuscript did originate from the hand of Diebolt Lauber, one wonders what form the perhaps more reliable manuscript that Lauber worked from had. With the first thirty-eight lines absent from this manuscript version, one wonders in what way - if any - it may have been related to earlier known manuscripts, MSS. R, H, K, and possibly G, or whether it again represents a significantly different manuscript tradition. And if the Arnstadt MS. and MS. A owe any debt to MS. S, one wonders where they acquired their prologue of the first thirty-eight lines. Yet in the identification of these relationships and in the identification of the various manuscript traditions as they may be related to one another or not could well lie a more reliable answer to the problems that we have had to discuss in consideration of the structure of the work.

APPENDIX I

The form of MSS. G,K,H according to the Benecke edition.

The first five sections of the poem - 1. Amis und der Bischof (lines 1-38, 39-336), 2. Die Kirchweihpredigt (lines 337-490), 3. Das unsichtbare Gemälde (lines 491-804), 4. Die Heilung der Kranken (lines 805-932), 5. Der Hahn (lines 933-1028) - are the same in both manuscript traditions.⁽¹⁾

6. Das Tuch
(lines 1029-1164)

8. Amis als Wahrsager
(lines K.1027-1044)

(blank 26 lines)

7. Der Fischfang
(lines 1165-1240)⁽²⁾

7. Der Fischfang
beginning:

"Sust fur er mit ir hulden.
an sin selbes schulden.
geschach yme liebe vnd wol.
als ich uch bescheiden sol.

R.1167 "und warp aber nach bejage"⁽³⁾ = der hup sich nach bejage." K.1075

ending⁽⁴⁾:

"als er daz gut zu sich genam.
do schied er vrolichen dan.
daz gut sant er haim der herre amis.
sin hus hielt man in grozem pris.
und hiez den gesten gnuc geben.
die wile er were under wegen."

8. Amis als Wahrsager
(lines 1241-1288)⁽⁵⁾

[6. Das Tuch
(136 lines)]

9. Amis als Wundertäter
(lines 1289-1316)⁽⁶⁾

[9. Amis als Wundertäter
(lines K.1293-1320)]

10. Die Messe
(lines 1317-1552)⁽⁷⁾

No no. 10 in MS. K.

lines 1547-1552

lines K.1321(-1326)

The last three sections of the poem - 11. Der Maurer und Bischof (lines R.1553-2042), 12. Der Juwelenhändler (lines R.2043-2472), 13. Bekehrung und Ende (lines R.2473-2510) - are the same in both manuscript traditions.

APPENDIX I - NOTES

- (1) Benecke footnote line 1028: "Nach dieser Zeile folgt in GKH die Geschichte, die in R mit z. 1153 anfängt." R.1153 is a line in the middle of a sentence in No. 6 Das Tuch, and the footnote is therefore confusing if not meaningless. - c.f. Zarncke below.
- (2) Benecke footnote lines 1165-1166: "Statt dieser zwei Zeilen 'Sus (sust KH) fur er mit ir hulden. wider (an KH) sin selbes schulden. geschach yme liebe vnd wol. als ich uch bescheiden sol' GHK."
- (3) Benecke footnote line 1167: "in K z. 1075, und in derselben Zeilenfolge in GH."
- (4) Benecke footnote line 1240: "Nach dieser Zeile in GKH 'als er daz gut zu yme (sich KH) genam. do schied er vrolichen von (von fehlt KH) dan', und darauf nur in KH 'daz gut sant er haim der herre amis. sin hus hielt man in grozem pris. und hiez den gesten gnuc geben. die wile er were under wegen.' - Z. 1241-1288 ist in K 1027-1044, und dieselbe Stelle gibt auch GH diesen Zeilen."
- (5) Benecke footnote line 1240 (see above) says that lines R.1241-1288 (i.e. Amis als Wahrsager) = K.1027-1044. Benecke footnote line 1167 says this is line K.1075. Therefore Amis als Wahrsager must come before Der Fischfang in MS. K. That Der Hahn ends with line 1028 and Amis als Wahrsager begins with line 1027 (in MS. K.) is obvious because of lines missing earlier in MS. K. and is no contradiction. There would appear, however, to be a gap in MS. K. between Amis als Wahrsager (K.1027-1044) and Der Fischfang (beginning K.1071) of 26 lines.
- (6) Benecke footnote: "Z. 1289-1316 = Z. 1293-1320 K, und in der selben Folge in GH."
- (7) Benecke footnote: "Z. 1317-1546 fehlen GKH." But lines 1547-1552 are obviously in MSS. GKH.
Benecke footnote: "Z. 1547 = 1321 K." Therefore line 1547 (K.1321) follows the last line of Amis als Wundertäter.

But Benecke tells us nothing of the order of Nos. 6 and 9. This must be done by a process of deduction.

The blank 26 lines between Amis als Wahrsager and Der Fischfang do not in fact exist. Amis als Wahrsager is not 16 lines long (K.1027-1044) but 48 lines long (R.1241-1288) and this mistake adequately provides enough lines to fill in this apparent gap. Benecke's footnote to line 1240 should presumably have read R.1241-1288=K.1027-1074. This would also include the four lines K.1071-1074 into Amis als Wahrsager as the closing lines rather than making them the opening lines of Der Fischfang. These divisions and headings are, of course, artificial, but one does wonder about the paragraphs in the

various manuscripts.

No. 6 must go between No. 7 and No. 9 because if line R.1240 is approximately line K.1150 (last line of No. 7) and if the first line of No. 9 is K.1293, this leaves approximately the right number of lines to fit No. 6 in. No. 9 will then follow, followed in its turn by lines R.1547-1552 (K.1321-1326), followed then by the last three sections of the work.

This is the order that Zarncke confirms (Zum Pfaffen Amis, ZfdA. 9 (1853), pages 399-400). Pointing out that the Benecke footnote to line 1028 (see note 1 above) should really read: "Die nach dieser Zeile im Text folgende Geschichte beginnt in K erst mit z. 1153", he clarifies the line numberings:

R.1029-1164 = K.1153-1292

R.1165-1240 = K.1075-1152

R.1241-1288 = K.1027-1074

R.1289-1316 = K.1293-1320

and the order of the "Schwänke" in MS. K.:

"Benennen wir der Uebersichtlichkeit wegen die Geschichten, wie sie in R auf einander folgen, I - XII, so ist die Anordnung in GKH diese, I - V, VIII, VII, VI, IX - XII, wobei nur zu beachten ist, dass X in GKH fehlt."

It is to be regretted that this picture of MS. K confirmed here is, albeit only in detail, wrong.

APPENDIX IIThe order of "Schwänke" in MS. R and MS. K compared.1. Amis und der Bischof

R.1-38 = K.3-40
 R.39-336 = K.41-336

The division in R. indicated by Benecke and Lambel between lines 336 and 337 is not a division of paragraphs in K. The preparation for the journey (lines 337-349) is part of the paragraph beginning with line 311. The next paragraph begins with line 351: "hie mite vuor er in ein lant" (R.), "Hie mite reit er in daz lant" (K.).

2. Die Kirchweihpredigt

R.337-490 = K.337-496

The division indicated in R. between lines 490 and 491, the end of Die Kirchweihpredigt and the beginning of Das unsichtbare Gemälde is not a division in K. The paragraph is K.465-508 (R.459-504).

3. Das unsichtbare Gemälde

R.491-804 = K.497-804

The division between lines 804 and 805, the end of Das unsichtbare Gemälde and the beginning of Die Heilung der Kranken, agrees in R. and K.

4. Die Heilung der Kranken

R.805-932 = K.805-930

The division between lines 932 and 933 in R. agrees with the paragraph division between lines 930 and 931 in K., the end of Die Heilung der Kranken and the beginning of Der Hahn.

5. Der Hahn

R.933-1028 = K.931-1026

The division between lines 1028 and 1029 in R. agrees with the paragraph division between lines 1026 and 1027 in K., the end of Der Hahn and the beginning of Das Tuch in R. and Amis als Wahrsager in K.

6. Das Tuch

(R.1029-1164)

1029 "Im wart erspeht eins
ritters wîp,....
....daz ez dem phaffen
sanfte tet" 1164

7. Der Fischfang

(R.1165-1240)

1165 "Als er da michel
guot gewan
....daz si des antlâz
haeten." 1240

8. Amis als Wahrsager

(R.1241-1288)

1241 "Nû reit er aber
vûrbaz
....do beleip er dâ
niht mêre." 1288

9. Amis als Wundertäter

(R.1289-1316)

1289 "Hôrt' er von einer
stat sagen
....dô kêrt' er danne
drâte" 1316

10. Die Messe

(R.1317-1552)

1317 "Nû hoeret waz im dô
geschach....
....doch was er wol hin
kommen." 1546

last lines of No. 10:

1547 "wolt' ich die trûgen"
alle sagen
die er begienc bî
sinen tagen,
der wûrde mêr dan
ze vil;
durch daz ich mich's
mâzen wil.
er was der êrste man
1552 der solhes amtes ie
began."

Amis als Wahrsager

(K.1027-1074)

1027 "Sust fur er aber fur baz,....
....do beleip er do niht mere." 1074

Der Fischfang

(K.1075-1146)

1075 "Der hup sich nach bejage
....daz sie des antlaz haten." 1146

followed by:

1147 "Als er daz gut zu sich genam,
do schied er vrolichen dan,
Daz gut sant er haim der herre amis,
Sin hus hielt man in grozem pris,
Und hiez den gesten gnuc geben
1152 die wile er were under wegen."

immediately followed by:

Das Tuch

(K.1153-1288)

1153 "Nu wart verspehet eins ritters
wip
....daz iz dem phaffen sanfte tet."
1288

immediately followed by:

1289 "Sust fur er mit ir hulden.
an sin selbes schulden,
Geschah im liebe uñ wol,
1292 als ich uch bescheiden sol."

Amis als Wundertäter

(K.1293-1320)

1293 "Er horte von einer stat
sagen,....
....da schied er danne
drate" 1320

immediately followed by:

1321 "Sol ich die trugeheit alle sagen,
die er bi sinen tagen
Alle begangen hat
Mit werken, und ouch mit rat,
Der rede wurde aller ze vil,
da von ich iz kurtzen wil.
Er was der erste man,
der sulches triegens ie began,
Man was sin dannoch ungewon,
1330 des wart er rich da von."

11. Der Maurer und Bischof

R.1553-2042 = K.1331-1824

12. Der Juwelenhändler

R.2043-2472 = K.1825-2250

13. Bekehrung und Ende

R.2473-2510 = K.2251-2296

The only real difference between these two pictures of the manuscript differences is that lines K.1289-1292 come between Das Tuch and Amis als Wahrsager rather than at the beginning of Der Fischfang or between Amis als Wahrsager and Der Fischfang. The reason for the confusion is Benecke's footnote lines 1165-1166 (see note 2 in Appendix I). Lines 1165-1166 (i.e. lines K.1289-1292) belong to Das Tuch not to Der Fischfang as both Benecke and Lambel suggest. The cause of all the confusion is simply bad editing at this point by both Benecke and Lambel. Lambel's headings are, of course, artificial, but the sections they head follow the breaks in the text indicated by Benecke. Yet Benecke's "paragraphs", for instance the breaks between Amis und der Bischof and Die Kirchweihpredigt and between Die Kirchweihpredigt and Das unsichtbare Gemälde, do not agree with what the Mailath/Köffinger copy suggests about MS. K. If, as is the case in Pfaffe Amis, the structure of a work is important, it is necessary to have a clear idea of the exact structure of the work in this respect. In Pfaffe Amis one important question, among others, is how the individual episodes of the work were fitted together, and to help answer this a clear idea of the paragraph structure of the work could be very important.

The essential difference between the two manuscript traditions can also be simplified and is two-fold:

(a) Das Tuch and Amis als Wahrsager have become reversed;

(b) lines R.1317-1546 (Die Messe) are missing in MS. K., lines R.1289-1552 have been condensed to K.1293-1330.

NOTES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Where necessary, quotations from secondary literature in the preceding pages have been given a modern German orthography. This will also be the case in the notes that follow. With regard to the bibliography, however, where catalogues may need to be consulted, the original orthography of the titles of the works is retained.

The following abbreviations are used in the notes and bibliography:

ATB	Niemeyer's Altdutsche Textbibliothek
Anz.fda.	Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum
DVjs.	Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift
PBB	Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur (where necessary the abbreviation PBB (H) is used to indicate the Halle publication)
ZfdA.	Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum
ZfdPh.	Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie

NOTESChapter 1

- (1) Franz Pfeiffer (Germania II (1857), page 498) gives seventeen various forms of "der Stricker", and even with that he has not exhausted the forms, for with regard to Pfaffe Amis alone he does not mention the variations of MS. G and the 1481-1482 early printed version of the work. This number does include two similar examples of misunderstandings of the proper noun, and MS. S of Pfaffe Amis has something again different, but obviously as a result of the same misunderstanding.
- (2) Karl der Grosse von dem Stricker, herausgegeben Karl Bartsch, Quedlinburg and Leipzig 1857, reprinted Berlin 1965.
- (3) Daniel von dem Blühenden Tal, ein Artusroman von dem Stricker, herausgegeben Gustav Rosenhagen, Breslau 1894.
- (4) Frauenehre von dem Stricker, herausgegeben Franz Pfeiffer, ZfdA. 7 (1849), pages 478-521.
- (5) Pfaffe Amis, herausgegeben Hans Lambel, Leipzig 1883.
- (6) Rudolf von Ems, Alexander, herausgegeben Victor Junk, Leipzig 1928.
- (7) Rudolf von Ems, Willehalm von Orlens, herausgegeben Victor Junk, Berlin 1905.
- (8) Karl Goedeke, Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung, Hanover 1857, page 32.
- (9) Karl Bartsch, Karl der Grosse von dem Stricker, Quedlinburg and Leipzig 1857, Einleitung page I; and Franz Pfeiffer, Germania II (1857), page 498.
- (10) Franz Pfeiffer, Germania II (1857), page 499; John Meier, Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie XIII, 1892, column 220; and Ludwig Jensen, Ueber den Stricker als Bîspel-Dichter, Marburg 1886, page 22.
- (11) Franz Pfeiffer, Germania II (1857), page 499 ("Nicht unmöglich, dass dieser Heinricus Strichaere unser Dichter war" !)
- (12) John Meier, Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie XIII, 1892, column 220.
- (13) Ludwig Jensen, Ueber den Stricker als Bîspel-Dichter, Marburg 1886, page 23.
- (14) Franz Pfeiffer, Germania II (1857), page 498.
- (15) Karl Bartsch, Karl der Grosse von dem Stricker, Quedlinburg and Leipzig 1857, Einleitung page I.
- (16) Pfaffe Amis, MS. G, according to the edition of George Friedrich Benecke, Beyträge zur Kenntniss der altdutschen Sprache und Litteratur, zweyte Hälfte, Göttingen 1832, line 39.

- (17) 1481-1482 early printed version of Pfaffe Amis, c.f. Der Pfaffe Amis von dem Stricker. Ein illustrierter Strassburger Wiegendruck, herausgegeben K. Heiland, Munich 1912, line 39.
- (18) Franz Pfeiffer, Germania II (1857), page 498.
- (19) Karl Bartsch, Karl der Grosse von dem Stricker, Quedlinburg and Leipzig 1857, Einleitung page II.
- (20) Kleinere Gedichte von dem Stricker, herausgegeben Karl August Hahn, Quedlinburg and Leipzig 1839, No. XII.
- (21) Ludwig Jensen, Ueber den Stricker als Bîspel-Dichter, Marburg 1886, page 31; Gustav Rosenhagen in Stammer/Langosch, Verfasserlexikon, Bd. IV, Berlin 1953, column 292; and Helmut de Boor, Die deutsche Literatur im späten Mittelalter. Zerfall und Neubeginn I 1250-1350 in Helmut de Boor and Richard Newald, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart, Bd. 3 Tl. 1, Munich 1962, page 232.
- (22) Karl Bartsch, Karl der Grosse von dem Stricker, Quedlinburg and Leipzig 1857, Einleitung page III.
- (23) c.f. Jacob Grimm, Reinhart Fuchs, Berlin 1834, page CLXXXI.
- (24) Ludwig Jensen, Ueber den Stricker als Bîspel-Dichter, Marburg 1886, pages 23-28.
- (25) Kleinere Gedichte von dem Stricker, herausgegeben Karl August Hahn, Quedlinburg and Leipzig 1839, No. XI.
- (26) c.f. G.F. Benecke and K. Lachmann, Iwein von Hartmann von Aue, Berlin (4. Ausgabe) 1877, page 500.
- (27) Joseph Seemüller (in a review of Gustav Rosenhagen's Untersuchungen über Daniel vom blühenden Tal von Stricker, Anz.f.d.A. 19 (1893), pages 247-253) refers to Rosenhagen's similar acceptance of comes Namurcensis Heinrichus caecus as the one meant (page 249) and points to his own arguments on the subject presented in Deutsche Literaturzeitung 1886, page 1527f. (I have been unable to see a copy of this - the copy in the British Museum was destroyed by bombing in the war.) Seemüller prefers to accept Heinrich Dandolo (died 1205) as the one mentioned. But the situation that now arises, like that with the various Strickers, serves only to offer confusion to the problem.
- (28) Ute Schwab, Die bisher unveröffentlichten geistlichen Bîspelreden des Strickers, Göttingen 1959, No. 105.
- (29) c.f. the controversy between Johannes Schmidt, Untersuchungen zu den beiden literarhistorischen Stellen Rudolfs von Ems, PBB III (1876), pages 140-181 particularly page 156ff. and Karl Bartsch, Die beiden literarhistorischen Stellen bei Rudolf von Ems, Germania XXIV (1879), pages 1-9. c.f. also Hans Lambel, Erzählungen und Schwänke (Deutsche Classiker des Mittelalters No. XII), Leipzig 1883, pages 3-4.
- (30) Karl Bartsch, Karl der Grosse von dem Stricker, Quedlinburg and Leipzig 1857, Einleitung pages III-VIII.
- (31) Gustav Rosenhagen in Stammer/Langosch, Verfasserlexikon, Bd. IV, Berlin 1953, column 293 paragraph 2.

- (32) Helmut de Boor, Die deutsche Literatur im späten Mittelalter. Zerfall und Neubeginn I 1250-1350 in Helmut de Boor and Richard Newald, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart, Bd. 3 Tl. 1, Munich 1962, page 232.
- (33) Helmut de Boor, Die deutsche Literatur im späten Mittelalter. Zerfall und Neubeginn I 1250-1350, Munich 1962, page 221.
- (34) Barbara Könneker, Strickers Pfaffe Amis und das Volksbuch von Ulen-spiegel, Euphorion 64 (1970), page 244.
- (35) Gustav Rosenhagen, Untersuchungen über Daniel vom Blühenden Tal vom Stricker, Dissertation Kiel 1890, page 33 - quoted by Joseph Seemüller in a review of the work in Anz.f.d.A. 19 (1893), page 248. Indications point to Rosenhagen's dissertation having been published, but I have been unable to see a copy of it, the British Museum appears to have no copy. Pages 33-47 apparently deal with the poet's Franconian language and evidence of his having spent much of his life in Austria.
- (36) Karl August Hahn, Kleinere Gedichte von dem Stricker, Quedlinburg and Leipzig 1839, No. XII. - c.f. also Franz Pfeiffer, Germania II (1857), page 499.
- (37) Franz Pfeiffer, Das Maere von den Gähühnern, Germania VI (1861), pages 457-466.
- (38) Franz Pfeiffer, Germania II (1857), page 499.
- (39) Ute Schwab, Die bisher unveröffentlichten geistlichen Bispelreden des Strickers, Göttingen 1959, pages 7-8 and Anmerkungen zu Nr. 147, 186-207, pages 273-274. Nr. 85 in Ute Schwab's edition, Die schreiende Klage, also mentions "Oesterriche" (lines 11, 15, 17). With regard to Austria c.f. also Karl Bartsch, Karl der Grosse von dem Stricker, Quedlinburg and Leipzig 1857, Einleitung pages I-II.
- (40) Joseph Seemüller, in a review of Untersuchungen über Daniel vom blühenden Tal vom Stricker von Gustav Rosenhagen, Anz.f.d.A. 19 (1893), page 250.
- (41) In his later edition of Daniel - Gustav Rosenhagen, Daniel von dem Blühenden Tal, ein Artusroman von dem Stricker, Breslau 1894, page VI.
- (42) Gustav Ehrismann, Untersuchungen über das mhd. Gedicht von der Minneburg, PBB XXII (1897), page 337.
- (43) Konrad Zwierzina, Mittelhochdeutsche Studien 9, ZfdA. 44 (1900), page 351.
- (44) Konrad Zwierzina, Mittelhochdeutsche Studien 10, ZfdA. 45 (1901), page 27.
- (45) Konrad Zwierzina, Mittelhochdeutsche Studien 10, ZfdA. 45 (1901), page 59.
- (46) Arnold Schirokauer, Studien zur mhd. Reimgrammatik, PBB 47 (1923), pages 25-26.
- (47) Franz Pfeiffer, Frauenehre von dem Stricker, ZfdA. 7 (1849), pages 478-521. - For an explanation of the import of these lines c.f. Konrad Burdach, Reinmar der Alte und Walther von der Vogelweide, Leip-

zig 1880, page 131f.

- (48) Ludwig Jensen, Ueber den Stricker als Bîspel-Dichter, Marburg 1886, pages 31-32.
- (49) c.f. Helmut de Boor, Die deutsche Literatur im späten Mittelalter. Zerfall und Neubeginn I 1250-1350, Munich 1962, pages 232 and 246, and Ute Schwab, Die bisher unveröffentlichten geistlichen Bîspelreden des Strickers, Göttingen 1959, pages 235-242.
- (50) Gustav Rosenhagen, Daniel von dem Blühenden Tal, ein Artusroman von dem Stricker, Breslau 1894, page VIff.
- (51) Franz Pfeiffer, Das Maere von den Gähühnern, Germania VI (1861), page 457. It is after all "der Stricker" not "der Streicher".
- (52) Ute Schwab, Beobachtungen bei der Ausgabe der bisher unveröffentlichten Gedichte des Strickers, PBB 81 (1959), pages 62-65.
- (53) Hermann Menhardt, Der Stricker und der Teichner, PBB 84 (1962), pages 266-267. Hanns Fischer's judgement on this biography is couched in far less condemning terms but is in effect no less so: ". . . H. Menhardt in seiner einfallsreichen und anregenden biographischen Skizze, in der sich nur leider (in einer für Menhardt bezeichnenden Weise) immer wieder denkbare Möglichkeiten unversehens in Realitäten verwandeln . . ." (Hanns Fischer, Studien zur deutschen Märendichtung, Tübingen 1968, page 147.)
- (54) Hermann Menhardt, Zu Strickers kleinen Gedichten, PBB 82 (1960), pages 342-343.
- (55) Hermann Menhardt, Der Stricker und der Teichner, PBB 84 (1962), pages 266-267.
- (56) Paul Piper, Höfische Epik III, Stuttgart 1892(?), page 99.
- (57) c.f. Hermann Degering, Kurzes Verzeichnis der Germanischen Handschriften der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek, Graz 1970, Volume 1 page 149.
- (58) Franz Pfeiffer, Zwei ungedruckte Minnelieder, Germania 12 (1867), page 49-55.
- (59) c.f. also Hanns Fischer, Studien zur deutschen Märendichtung, Tübingen 1968, pages 233-234.
- (60) c.f. Moriz Haupt, Neidhart von Reuenthal, Leipzig 1858, page VII. Hermann Degering, Kurzes Verzeichnis der Germanischen Handschriften der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek, Graz 1970, Volume III page 98 also mentions a copy of MS. R by Wilhelm Grimm, now preserved as Ms. Germ. Octav. 308.
- (61) Gustav Könnecke, Bilderatlas zur Geschichte der deutschen National-literatur, Marburg 1887, page 44.
- (62) Hanns Fischer, Studien zur deutschen Märendichtung, Tübingen 1968, page 232.
- (63) c.f. Friedrich Wilken, Geschichte der Bildung, Beraubung und Vernichtung der alten Heidelbergischen Büchersammlungen, Heidelberg 1817.

- (64) For a summary of how this particular manuscript fared throughout the whole episode of exile to Rome c.f. Gustav Rosenhagen, Kleinere mittelhochdeutsche Erzählungen, Fabeln und Lehrgedichte. III Die Heidelberger Handschrift cod. Pal. germ. 341, Berlin 1909, page I.
- (65) Graf J.N. Mailath and J.P. Köffinger, Koloczaer Codex altdeutscher Gedichte, Pest 1817, page IX.
- (66) Hans-Georg Richert, Kálocsa Cod. I, PBB 88 (1967), page 348.
- (67) Alois Bernt, Zur Heidelberger Handschrift Cod. Pal. Germ. 341, ZfdA. 52 (1910), page 245.
- (68) Hans-Georg Richert (Kálocsa Cod. I, PBB 88 (1967), page 348) fortunately reports: "Nach einer privaten mündlichen Auskunft aus Ungarn ist dort etwas mehr über die Hintergründe des Abhandenkommens bekannt. Erfreulich daran ist die Tatsache, dass man offenbar nicht alle Hoffnungen fahren zu lassen braucht, diesen berühmten Codex wieder benutzen zu können."
- (69) Gustav Rosenhagen, Kleinere mittelhochdeutsche Erzählungen, Fabeln und Lehrgedichte. III Die Heidelberger Handschrift cod. Pal. germ. 341, Berlin 1909, page XVII.
- (70) c.f. Hans-Georg Richert, Kálocsa Cod. I, PBB 88 (1967), page 347; Edward Schröder, Diu Mâze, ZfdA. 52 (1910), page 58; Konrad Zwierzina, Die Kalocsaer Handschrift, Festschrift Max H. Jellinek, Vienna and Leipzig 1928, page 209.
- (71) c.f. Gustav Rosenhagen, Kleinere mittelhochdeutsche Erzählungen, Fabeln und Lehrgedichte. III Die Heidelberger Handschrift cod. Pal. germ. 341, Berlin 1909, page XVII; Alois Bernt, Zur Heidelberger Handschrift Cod. Pal. Germ. 341, ZfdA. 52 (1910), page 254; Hans-Georg Richert, Kálocsa Cod. I, PBB 88 (1967), page 352 - c.f. also Edward Schröder, Diu Mâze, ZfdA. 52 (1910), pages 58-59, where he puts forward the idea that the scribe of MS. K could also have been the scribe of MS. *KH.
- (72) The first twenty lines of this manuscript are given by Gräter in Bragur II (1792), page 448, and lines 1-49 and the last 33 lines by F.H. von der Hagen and J.G. Büsching in Literarischer Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Poesie von der Ältesten Zeit bis in das sechzehnte Jahrhundert, Berlin 1812, pages 350-353 - c.f. also Fr. Jacobs and F.A. Ukert, Beiträge zur Ältern Literatur oder Merkwürdigkeiten der herzogl. öffentlichen Bibliothek zu Gotha, Leipzig 1836, Volume 2 pages 326-327. The reference that Jacobs and Ukert give: "Der 'Pfaffe Amis' befindet sich in H. Weber's Metrical Romances Vol. III p. 364ff. unter dem Titel: Amis and Amiloun" not only spells the English incorrectly but is incomplete or wrong enough to refer the reader to notes rather than to the poem itself and, of course, in the main notes in Vol. I it is discovered that the poem is about "the knightly brothers Amis and Amiloun" (Henry Weber, Metrical Romances of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Centuries, Edinburgh 1810, Volume I page liv) and relates an incident "said to have happened in the reign of King Pepin" (Volume I page liii). One could also point to the Egyptian Amasis as an equally inapt parallel (in fact it may be even a more apt one).
- (73) Böckh and Gräter, Bragur II (1792), pages 447-448.

- (74) Herman Menhardt in his Verzeichnis der altdutschen literarischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Berlin 1960/61, describes this manuscript in Volume III, pages 1469-1478. No. 23 on the manuscript is der Stricker's Pfaffe Amis and this section is described on page 1476.
- (75) c.f. Karl Goedecke, Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung, Bd. I Das Mittelalter, Dresden 1884, page 175 No. 12.
- (76) The possibility of this being Diebolt Lauber is mentioned by A. Clemens Schoener (Der jüngere Sigenot, Heidelberg 1928, page X). - c.f. also Werner Fechter, Das Publikum der mittelhochdeutschen Dichtung, Darmstadt 1966, page 60.
- (77) Johann Schilter, Thesaurus Antiquitatum Teutonicarum, Ecclesiasticarum, Civilium, Litterariarum Tomis Tribus, Ulm 1727-1728, Volume III pages XXXIX-XL.
- (78) Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen and Johann Gustav Büsching, Literarischer Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Poesie von der ältesten Zeit bis in das sechzehnte Jahrhundert, Berlin 1812, pages 353-355 - c.f. also Kin'ichi Kamihara, Miszellen zur Ueberlieferung des Pfaffen Amis, ZfdA. 102 (1973), page 193.
- (79) A. Clemens Schoener, Der jüngere Sigenot, Heidelberg 1928, page XI - Schoener says that it is in Berlin, Ms. Germ. 4o 768. The copies mentioned by Georg Holz (Die Gedichte vom Rosengarten zu Worms, Halle 1893, page V) taken for W. Grimm, Berlin kgl. Bibliothek Ms. germ. quart. 921 (in 1893) presumably are of only the "Rosengarten" section of the manuscript.
- (80) Kin'ichi Kamihara, Miszellen zur Ueberlieferung des Pfaffen Amis, ZfdA. 102 (1973), page 193. c.f. also Hermann Degering, Kurzes Verzeichnis der Germanischen Handschriften der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek, Graz 1970, Volume II page 137. Whether it is Ms. Germ. Quart. 768 or Ms. Germ. Quart. 781 is not clear from Degering's Verzeichnis. The possibility that both are the copies in question cannot be excluded. Part III of Ms. Germ. Quart. 781 is a copy of Pfaffe Amis from the Gotha manuscript. Degering's Ms. Germ. Octav. 104 (Volume III page 43) is also a copy of Panzer's Gotha manuscript. Degering gives its Gotha No., however, as Ch. A. 823, not as fol. 102 as we have done.
- (81) J.A. Schmeller, Die deutschen Handschriften der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek zu München, Munich 1866, Volume I page 115.
- (82) c.f. note 80 above.
- (83) c.f. E. Einert, Pfaffe Amis 1-72, Germania XXXIII (1888), page 46, and Gustav Ehrismann, Eine Handschrift des Pfaffen Amis, Germania XXXIV (1889), pages 251-252.
- (84) Kin'ichi Kamihara, Miszellen zur Ueberlieferung des Pfaffen Amis, ZfdA. 102 (1973), page 190, and Hermann Degering, Kurzes Verzeichnis der Germanischen Handschriften der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek, Graz 1970, Volume I page 109.
- (85) Bernhard Joseph Docen, Miscellaneen zur Geschichte der teutschen Literatur, Munich 1809, Bd. I page 76.

- (86) c.f. Hanns Fischer, Studien zur deutschen Märendichtung, Tübingen 1968, page 238.
- (87) Friedrich Zarncke, Zum Pfaffen Amis, ZfdA. 9 (1853), pages 399-400.
- (88) Elias Steinmeyer, Der alte Druck des Pfaffen Amis, ZfdA. 30 (1886), pages 376-379.
- (89) Edward Schröder, Der alte Druck des Pfaffen Amis, ZfdA. 38 (1894), page 112.
- (90) Karl Heiland, Der Pfaffe Amis von dem Stricker. Ein illustrierter Strassburger Wiegendruck nach dem Original in der Münchener K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek, Munich 1912.
- (91) c.f. Friedrich Zarncke, Zum Pfaffen Amis, ZfdA. 9 (1853), page 400, and Kin'ichi Kamihara, Miszellen zur Ueberlieferung des Pfaffen Amis, ZfdA. 102 (1973), page 191.
- (92) c.f. Elias Steinmeyer, Der alte Druck des Pfaffen Amis, ZfdA. 30 (1886), page 377, and Kin'ichi Kamihara, Miszellen zur Ueberlieferung des Pfaffen Amis, ZfdA. 102 (1973), pages 190-191.
- (93) Karl Heiland, Der Pfaffe Amis von dem Stricker. Ein illustrierter Strassburger Wiegendruck nach dem Original in der Münchener K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek, Munich 1912, page 10.
- (94) c.f. Böckh/Gräter, Bragur II (1792), pages 447-448. - c.f. also previous section, "Manuscripts", on MS. G and MS. M.
- (95) Graf Johann (Janos) Nepomuki Mailath (Majlath) and Johann Paul Köfinger, Koloczaer Codex altdeutscher Gedichte, Pest 1817.
- (96) George Friederich Benecke, Beyträge zur Kenntniss der altdeutschen Sprache und Litteratur, zweyte Hälfte, Göttingen 1832, pages 493-608.
- (97) c.f. previous section, "Manuscripts", on MS. R, and Moriz Haupt, Neidhart von Reuenthal, Leipzig 1858, page VII.
- (98) George Friederich Benecke, Beyträge zur Kenntniss der altdeutschen Sprache und Litteratur, zweyte Hälfte, Göttingen 1832, page 496.
- (99) George Friederich Benecke, Beyträge zur Kenntniss der altdeutschen Sprache und Litteratur, zweyte Hälfte, Göttingen 1832, page 497.
- (100) It is not unlikely that this copy is identical with Berlin Ms. Germ. Quart. 941 mentioned by Hermann Degering, Kurzes Verzeichnis der Germanischen Handschriften der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek, Graz 1970, Volume II page 160.
- (101) Friedrich Zarncke, Zum Pfaffen Amis, ZfdA. 9 (1853), pages 399-400.
- (102) Perhaps this is to split hairs; but it can be argued that where Zarncke has R.1165-1240 = K.1075-1152, this should be R.1167-1240 = K.1075-1146. The whole problem revolves around lines found in one manuscript and not in the other. But the central point stands - the resulting situation of the first attempt to produce points of cross-reference between the two manuscripts led to confusion; moreover, the notes published to deal with this situation only led to a much more un-

wieldy set of reference material for the "prüfenden Leser".

- (103) c.f. Peter Kobbe, Funktion und Gestalt des Prologs in der mittelhochdeutschen Epik des 13. Jahrhunderts, DVjs 43 (1969), page 410.
- (104) Hans Lambel, Erzählungen und Schwänke, Leipzig 1883, pages 1-102.
- (105) Hans Lambel, Erzählungen und Schwänke, Leipzig 1883, page 20.
- (106) All quotations in this paper are, unless otherwise indicated, taken from the Lambel edition, and the headings used for denoting the constituent "Schwänke" are his.
- (107) Paul Piper, Höfische Epik III, Stuttgart 1892(?), pages 99-164.

Chapter II

- (1) As we have seen Pfaffe Amis was described as "bisher noch ganz unbekannt" in 1792 by the literary magazine Bräur (vol. II, page 448).
- (2) Chapters VI - IX will explore the unity and similarity of the "Schwänke" in much greater detail.
- (3) c.f. Gustav Rosenhagen in Stammler/Langosch, Verfasserlexikon, Bd. IV, Berlin 1953, column 295. - The group includes Das Bloch (Der Gevatterin Rat in Hanns Fischer, Der Stricker, Verserzählungen I (ATB. 53) and II (ATB. 68), Tübingen 1967), Leben und Tod (Das erzwungene Gelübde in Fischer, Ehe im Leben und im Tode in Gustav Rosenhagen, Mären von dem Stricker (ATB. 35), Halle 1934) Scheidung und Sühne (Ehescheidungsge-spräch in Fischer, Die Wette in Rosenhagen), Die drei Wünsche, Der be-grabene Ehemann, Das heisse Eisen - to which one might also add Die eingemauerte Frau and Der kluge Knecht.
- (4) The common element in most of these "Ehestandsmären" is the opening line "ein man sprach ze sînem wîbe".
- (5) c.f. Erich Strassner, Schwank, Stuttgart (Sammlung Metzler No. 77) 1968, pages 2-4.
- (6) Hanns Fischer, Studien zur deutschen Märendichtung, Tübingen 1968, page 101.
- (7) Gustav Rosenhagen, Mären von dem Stricker (ATB. 35), Halle 1934.
- (8) Hanns Fischer, Der Stricker, Verserzählungen I (ATB. 53) and II (ATB. 68), Tübingen 1967. Originally printed as Der Stricker. Fünfzehn kleine Vers-erzählungen (ATB. 53), Tübingen 1960.
- (9) Hanns Fischer, Studien zur deutschen Märendichtung, pages 101-116.
- (10) Hanns Fischer, Studien zur deutschen Märendichtung, pages 58-59.
- (11) Karl-Heinz Schirmer, Stil- und Motivuntersuchungen zur mittelhochdeutschen Versnovelle, Tübingen 1969, page 245.
- (12) c.f. also Helmut de Boor, Die deutsche Literatur im späten Mittelalter. Zerfall und Neubeginn I 1250-1350 in Helmut de Boor and Richard Newald,

Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart, Bd. 3 Tl. 1, Munich 1962, page 221.

- (13) Hanns Fischer, Zur Gattungsform des Pfaffen Amis, ZfdA. 88 (1957/1958), page 299.
- (14) Fischer's term is "Roman" or "Schwankroman" (ZfdA. 88 (1957/1958), page 299).
- (15) c.f. Werner Fechter, Das Publikum der mittelhochdeutschen Dichtung, Frankfurt am Main 1935 and Darmstadt 1966, who investigates the public of the major works of mediaeval literature by means of an investigation into the owners of the manuscripts, extant or not, that contain or are known to have contained those works.
- (16) c.f. Ute Schwab, Die bisher unveröffentlichten geistlichen Bispelreden des Strickers, Göttingen 1959, pages 7-8.
- (17) c.f. Hans Lambel, Erzählungen und Schwänke, Leipzig 1883, pages 17-20; Gustav Rosenhagen, Der Pfaffe Amis des Strickers, Festgabe Gustav Ehrismann, Berlin and Leipzig 1925, page 152; Hanns Fischer, Zur Gattungsform des Pfaffen Amis, ZfdA. 88 (1957/1958), page 295.
- (18) see Chapters III and VI - IX.
- (19) see Chapter III.
- (20) Hermann Bausinger, Schwank und Witz, Studium Generale II (1958), page 700.
- (21) Siegfried Neumann, Schwank und Witz, L'etopis. Jahresschrift des Instituts für serbische Volksforschung 6/7 (1963/1964), page 331.
- (22) Siegfried Neumann, Der mecklenburgische Volksschwank, Berlin 1964, page 45.
- (23) Gustav Rosenhagen, Der Pfaffe Amis des Strickers, page 153; Hanns Fischer, Zur Gattungsform des Pfaffen Amis, page 296.
- (24) Hanns Fischer, Studien zur deutschen Märendichtung, page 104.
- (25) Robert Petsch, Wesen und Formen der Erzählkunst, Halle 1934, page 242.
- (26) J. Huizinga, Wege der Kulturgeschichte, Munich 1930, page 143.
- (27) Erich Strassner, Schwank, Stuttgart 1968, page 6.
- (28) The concept of the "'Schwank'-hero" is dealt with in the opening paragraph of Chapter III.
- (29) Hermann Bausinger, Bemerkungen zum Schwank und seinen Formtypen, Fabula 9 (1967), pages 118-136, here particularly page 133. Bausinger's article is a brave attempt to classify types of "Schwank", but when applied to Pfaffe Amis it seems not to work. The "Spannungstyp" (page 133), in which two parties look at something in a very different way, may be the right type-definition for Die Kirchweihpredigt, Der Hahn, Der Fischfang, Amis als Wahrsager and Amis als Wundertäter, for Amis' victims in these tales do look at something in a very different way to Amis and are apparently quite happy with the situation. But Bausinger's

example of this type (page 133) tends to suggest that there must be two possible ways of considering the central point in question. And from the public's point of view there is only one possible correct way of interpreting the facts. Bausinger's system does not allow for a difference of interpretation being possible through the complication of a happily ignorant victim looked at by a knowing public. Similarly, one may ask how in Das unsichtbare Gemälde and Die Heilung der Kranken we are to interpret the king and duke wishing to take advantage of Amis' skills - do these then count as "Schrumpftyp" (page 134) or "Steigerungstyp" (page 127) ? For the very complicated interaction between the various characters in Der Maurer und Bischof and Der Juwelenhändler Bausinger's types are probably not detailed enough and one would inevitably have to talk in terms of "Schwänke" within a "Schwank". It is interesting, however, that of the "Schwänke" in Pfaffe Amis only Das Tuch seems to fit happily into the more normal types of the "Schwank". But even then there is the question of whether the episode with the knight's wife is only introductory and whether it is then "Ausgleichstyp" (or a developed "Ausgleichstyp") (page 126) or whether (probably more likely) it is a pure "Steigerungstyp" (page 127).

- (30) Derek Brewer, Medieval Comic Tales, Cambridge 1972, page 141.
- (31) Karl-Heinz Schirmer, Stil- und Motivuntersuchungen zur mittelhochdeutschen Versnovelle, pages 245-246.
- (32) Benecke indicates that it is not included in MSS. H, K and G; it is certainly not in the Mailath/Köffinger copy of MS. K; it is not in MS. A to judge by the photograph of the manuscript in the Taylor Institution Library in Oxford; it is not apparently in the Arnstadt MS.; but there seems no easy way of ascertaining whether it was in MS. S.
- (33) Hanns Fischer, Zur Gattungsform des Pfaffen Amis, page 298.
- (34) Karl-Heinz Schirmer, Stil- und Motivuntersuchungen zur mittelhochdeutschen Versnovelle, page 245.
- (35) The whole of this problem will be dealt with in Chapters VI - IX.
- (36) c.f. footnote (29) above.

Chapter III

- (1) Gustav Rosenhagen, Der Pfaffe Amis des Strickers, Festgabe Gustav Ehrismann, Berlin and Leipzig 1925, page 152.
- (2) Hanns Fischer, Zur Gattungsform des Pfaffen Amis, ZfdA. 88 (1957/1958), pages 297-298.
- (3) Hanns Fischer, Zur Gattungsform des Pfaffen Amis, page 294.
- (4) Barbara Könneker, Strickers Pfaffe Amis und das Volksbuch von Ulen-spiegel, Euphorion 64 (1970), pages 245-246.
- (5) J. N. Graf Mailath and J. P. Köffinger, Koloczaer Codex altd deutscher Gedichte, Pest 1817, lines 2268-2270. - c.f. Benecke line (R)2941 -

K,H = "die levte".

- (6) Barbara Könneker (Strickers Pfaffe Amis und das Volksbuch von Ulen-spiegel, pages 242-280), however, has regarded them as very important and based her whole interpretation of the work upon them. But she has interpreted the prologue in a particular way; and, as her interpretation of Pfaffe Amis rests wholly upon her interpretation of the prologue, Chapter IV which concerns itself exclusively with lines 1-38 and their relevance to the work is the better place to consider her arguments.
- (7) c.f. Hans Lambel, Erzählungen und Schwänke, Leipzig 1883. The sources of these and similar riddles are given on pages 11-16, the episode of teaching the donkey to read is treated on pages 16-17.
- (8) J. N. Graf Mailath and J. P. Köffinger, Koloczaer Codex altdeutscher Gedichte, lines 2268-2270. - c.f. Benecke line (R)2941.
- (9) The interpretation of these two passages, lines 800-804, 805-807, as well later as lines 928-932, is not clear. The word "spot" (line 800) can mean either "Spott, Verspottung" or "Scherz, Spass" (Lexer) and the word "schal" can be the noise of "Gesang, Gelächter, Jubel" or "Klage" (Lexer), the phrase "mit schalle" meaning either "froh" or "jammernd" (Lexer). Elsewhere in Das unsichtbare Gemälde, lines 610 and 702, and elsewhere in the work, lines 402 and 1308, it is the noise of excitement and rejoicing that is meant. I incline to the interpretation that Amis' victims are amused and impressed that Amis has shown them the silliness of their ways and that they feel that the deflation of their egos in Das unsichtbare Gemälde was probably, though embarrassing, a good thing. This also gives ambiguity to the word "prîs":
 "Dô der phaffe Âmîs
 an guot erwarp sô grôzen prîs
 in dem hove ze Kerlingen . . ." (lines 805-807).
- (10) Hans Lambel (Erzählungen und Schwänke) says of the adjective "karc" used of the knight in line 1053: "das Gegenteil von 'milte': geizig".
- (11) Barbara Könneker, Strickers Pfaffe Amis und das Volksbuch von Ulen-spiegel, page 252. Barbara Könneker's interpretation of Pfaffe Amis based on the prologue will be dealt with in Chapter IV.
- (12) Erhard Agricola, Die Prudentia als Anliegen der Stricker'schen Schwänke, PBB 77 (H) (1955), page 207.

Chapter IV

- (1) Hans Lambel, Erzählungen und Schwänke, Leipzig 1883, page 7.
- (2) Gustav Rosenhagen, Der Pfaffe Amis des Strickers, Festgabe Gustav Ehrismann, Berlin and Leipzig 1925, page 157.
- (3) Helmut de Boor, Die deutsche Literatur im späten Mittelalter. Zerfall und Neubeginn. I 1250-1350, in Helmut de Boor and Richard Newald, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart, Bd. 3 Tl. 1, Munich 1962, pages 237-238.
- (4) Barbara Könneker, Strickers Pfaffe Amis und das Volksbuch von Ulen-

spiegel, Lufhorion 64 (1970), page 250.

- (5) Hanns Fischer, Studien zur deutschen MHrendichtung, Tübingen 1968, pages 104-106. The underlinings are my addition.
- (6) Hanns Fischer, Studien zur deutschen MHrendichtung, pages 102-103. The underlinings are again my addition.
- (7) c.f. Hennig Brinkmann, Der Prolog im Mittelalter als literarische Erscheinung, Wirkendes Wort 14 (1964), pages 1-21, here particularly pages 7-8; and Peter Kobbe, Funktion und Gestalt des Prologs in der mittelhochdeutschen nachklassischen Epik des 13. Jahrhunderts, DVjs. 43 (1969), pages 405-457, here particularly pages 413-414.
- (8) Neither Lambel nor Benecke reproduces the paragraphs except to leave a gap in the text between lines 38 and 39; the Mailath/Kbffinger reproduction of MS. K reproduces the paragraphs as K.3-22 (R.1-20), K.23-40 (R.21-38), K.41-72 (R.39-70); the Strassburger Wiegendruck facsimile also reproduces the paragraphs as 1-20, 21-38, 39-70; MS. A has 1-20 and 21-70 with no gap between lines 38 and 39.
- (9) Kobbe gives the prologus ante rem of Pfaffe Amis as extending from line 21 to line 54 (Tabelle, page 435). I can not agree. It is true that the prologus ante rem tends to overlap into the paragraph, lines 39-70; the beginning of the paragraph, line 39, "nû saget uns der Strickaere . . .", clearly is not separated from the preceding paragraphs but forms a link by means of the idea of "triegen" (line 38) and "liegen unt triegen" (line 41). There is no obvious dividing line to separate the prologus ante rem from the beginning of the work proper, and perhaps it is unimportant where we see it as existing. But by the end of line 43 the prologus ante rem has already performed its essential functions "als erklärend-andeutende Ueberschau, als Anpreisung und Verheissung, als eine Umschreibung der leitenden Motivkomplexe" (Kobbe, page 411). The naming of the hero that follows really belongs to the work proper, for the situation described is that which the bishop later destroys and has to be repaired in Bekehrung und Ende. The important thing for the function of the prologus ante rem is the mention of the theme of "liegen unt triegen". It may in this respect be significant that von der Hagen in reproducing lines 39-60 (Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen and Johann Gustav Büsching, Literarischer Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Poesie von der Ältesten Zeit bis in das sechzehnte Jahrhundert, Berlin 1812, pages 353-354) of MS. S reproduce one capital in the middle of this paragraph - at the beginning of line 44. Even to set the beginning of the work proper at line 47 would be a better dividing line than that between lines 54 and 55, as the sentence beginning line 55 seems to follow on too closely from the previous one ending line 54 regarding the theme of Amis' "miltekeit". Yet these arguments only underline the "meisterliche Manier" (Kobbe, page 418) in which der Stricker achieves his join between prologue and work.
- (10) Walter Veit, Toposforschung. Ein Forschungsbericht, DVjs. 37 (1963), page 132.
- (11) Eberhard Lämmert, Bauformen des Erzählens, Stuttgart 1955, page 148.
- (12) Peter Kobbe, Funktion und Gestalt des Prologs in der mittelhochdeutschen nachklassischen Epik des 13. Jahrhunderts, page 411.
- (13) Hennig Brinkmann, Der Prolog im Mittelalter als literarische Erschei-

nung, page 1.

- (14) Peter Kobbe, Funktion und Gestalt des Prologs in der mittelhochdeutschen nachklassischen Epik des 13. Jahrhunderts, page 425.
- (15) Gustav Rosenhagen, Der Pfaffe Amis des Strickers, page 149 and pages 153-154.
- (16) Hanns Fischer, Zur Gattungsform des Pfaffen Amis, ZfdA. 88 (1957/1958), pages 297 and 299.
- (17) Helmut de Boor, Die deutsche Literatur im späten Mittelalter, page 238.
- (18) Barbara Könneker, Strickers Pfaffe Amis und das Volksbuch von Ulen-spiegel, pages 242-280.
- (19) Gustav Rosenhagen, Der Pfaffe Amis des Strickers, page 149.
- (20) Hanns Fischer, Zur Gattungsform des Pfaffen Amis, page 297.
- (21) Barbara Könneker, Strickers Pfaffe Amis und das Volksbuch von Ulen-spiegel, page 245.
- (22) Recourse to any dictionary at hand will demonstrate the point, for example Richard Pekrun, Das deutsche Wort, Stuttgart and Hamburg 1967: "anti-" - c.f. Antiabolitionist: Gegner des Abolitionismus; Antialkoholiker: Gegner des Alkohols; Antibolschewismus: Bekämpfung des Bolschewismus, dem Bolschewismus feindliche Geisteshaltung; antikonstitutionell: verfassungswidrig; antimetaphysisch: der Metaphysik abgeneigt; antinational: dem Wesen eines Volkes widersprechend; Antipapismus: Feindschaft gegen das Papsttum; "gegen-" - c.f. Gegenabdruck: das Spiegelbild zeigender Abdruck; Gegenblick: erwidender Blick, Rückstrahlung des Spiegels; Gegenhall, Gegenklang: Echo; Gegenstück: zu einem anderen in Beziehung stehendes Stück; (but of course next also to examples like: Gegenmacht: feindliche Macht).
- (23) Gustav Rosenhagen, Der Pfaffe Amis des Strickers, page 149.
- (24) Hanns Fischer, Zur Gattungsform des Pfaffen Amis, page 297.
- (25) These are in fact contrasts rather than parallels and consist of the differences in the main character, i.e. instead of being a knight pursuing honour and virtue and displaying all virtues and courage and rescuing the distressed in an idealised Arthurian world, Amis is a deceiver out to secure his own material enrichment and getting involved with people in all stations in life, the world portrayed in the poem seen as representing rather the reality of the everyday (page 245). These comparisons or contrasts are no less true, but this is the point where the "Humor der Sache" (Rosenhagen) begins to come into its own, this is where the idea of the "Gegenbild" becomes apparent as such and where the whole begins to differ from being pure "Ritterroman". Könneker seems to ignore the intent behind the main character as a "Schwank"-hero and neglect part of the necessary element of the "Schwank". If knights pursuing honour and virtue are in their own literary context the epitome of human endeavour and achievement, then it follows that Könneker's interpretation of Amis is as a similar epitome of lying and deceit towards the sole aim of material gain. This may be the direction in which her interpretation is to proceed, but as such it develops from her arguments here, and there is no evidence here that this is the intent in the

poet's portrayal of his main character. Certainly these parallels or contrasts seem insufficient to justify her next assertion.

- (26) Barbara Könneker, Strickers Pfaffe Amis und das Volksbuch von Ulen-
spiegel, page 246.
- (27) Peter Kobbe, Funktion und Gestalt des Prologs in der mittelhochdeutschen
nachklassischen Epik des 13. Jahrhunderts, also sees the prologue as
"eine genaue Artus-Prolog-Kontrafaktur" (page 431, c.f. also Tabelle,
page 450), but - unfortunately without making himself clear with re-
gard to his interpretation of the work - also talks in terms of "Um-
schlag in Parodie 39ff. " (Tabelle, page 451) and "Das höfische Publi-
kum; (fiktiv - und mögliche Abkehr: 16-20 ?)" (Tabelle, page 452).
- (28) Barbara Könneker, Strickers Pfaffe Amis und das Volksbuch von Ulen-
spiegel, page 246.
- (29) Hans Lambel, Erzählungen und Schwänke, page 7.
- (30) Gustav Rosenhagen, Der Pfaffe Amis des Strickers, page 157.
- (31) Helmut de Boor, Die deutsche Literatur in spätem Mittelalter, page 237.
- (32) Barbara Könneker, Strickers Pfaffe Amis und das Volksbuch von Ulen-
spiegel, page 248.
- (33) Barbara Könneker, loc. cit., pages 248-249.
- (34) Barbara Könneker, loc. cit., page 250.
- (35) Barbara Könneker, loc. cit., page 250.

Chapter V

- (1) For perhaps the best short yet thorough analysis of the main features
of der Stricker's work c.f. Helmut de Boor, Die deutsche Literatur im
spätem Mittelalter. Zerfall und Neubeginn. I 1250-1350, in Helmut de
Boor and Richard Newald, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von den
Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart, Bd. 3 Tl. 1, Munich 1962, pages 221-247;
for attempts to date der Stricker's works c.f. Karl Bartsch, Karl der
Grosse von dem Stricker, Quedlinburg and Leipzig 1857, pages III-VIII,
Ludwig Jensen, Ueber den Stricker als Bîspel-Dichter, Marburg 1886,
pages 32-37, Hans Lambel, Erzählungen und Schwänke, Leipzig 1883,
pages 4-8, and general literature; for material on the argument as to
whether Daniel von dem blühenden Tal or Karl was der Stricker's first
work c.f. Gustav Ehrismann, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur bis zum
Ausgang des Mittelalters, 2. Teil Schlussband, Munich 1935, page 14.
- (2) Willehalm von Orlens, lines 2230-2233, ed. Victor Junk, Berlin 1905.
- (3) c.f. Helmut de Boor, Der Daniel des Stricker und der Garel des Pleier,
PBB 79 (1957), page 67. Lambel points out, however, that the number of
manuscripts extant of Karl would suggest that this work did win the
approval of his contemporaries, Erzählungen und Schwänke, page 4.
- (4) Alexander, lines 3257-3258, ed. Victor Junk, Leipzig 1928.

- (5) Helmut de Boor, Die deutsche Literatur im späten Mittelalter, page 232.
- (6) Gustav Rosenhagen in Stammer/Langosch, Verfasserlexikon, Bd. IV, Berlin 1953, column 294.
- (7) Hans Lambel, Erzählungen und Schwänke, page 5.
- (8) Gustav Rosenhagen, Der Pfaffe Amis des Strickers, Festgabe Gustav Ehrismann, Berlin and Leipzig 1925, pages 149-158; Hanns Fischer, Zur Gattungsform des Pfaffen Amis, ZfdA. 88 (1957/1958), pages 291-299.
- (9) Gustav Ehrismann, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters, 2. Teil Schlussband, page 108.
- (10) G. G. Gervinus, Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung, Bd. II, Leipzig 1853, page 289 (1871 edition Bd. II, pages 516-518).
- (11) c.f. Gustav Rosenhagen, Kleinere mittelhochdeutsche Erzählungen, Fabeln und Lehrgedichte. III Die Heidelberger Handschrift cod. Pal. germ. 341, Berlin 1909, page XIV: "Es sind drei ernsthafte, erbauliche oder belehrende Reihen, denen jedesmal eine unterhaltende folgt. . . . So kann man sie, um ihnen einen Namen zu geben, als geistliche und weltliche Beispielsreihe bezeichnen. Es geht also die Belehrung der Unterhaltung, das Religiöse dem Weltlichen voran." Pfaffe Amis belongs to the second of the six groups. c.f. also page XV: "K hat dieselbe beabsichtigte Ordnung wie P (i.e. H); es sind dieselben sechs Reihen und sie folgen ebenso aufeinander. Auch die Reihenfolge der einzelnen Gedichte ist im ganzen gleich."
- (12) Alfred Biese, Deutsche Literaturgeschichte, Munich 1930, Bd. I, page 177.
- (13) c.f. Gustav Rosenhagen, Der Pfaffe Amis des Strickers, pages 151-152 and page 157, and Hanns Fischer, Zur Gattungsform des Pfaffen Amis, pages 293-294. It is Fischer who coins this word. These interpretations will be examined a little later.
- (14) Gustav Ehrismann, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters, 2. Teil Schlussband, page 109.
- (15) Heinz Rupp, Schwank und Schwankdichtung in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters, Der Deutschunterricht 14 (1962), page 40.
- (16) Erwin Gustav Gudde, Social Conflicts in Medieval German Poetry, Berkeley California 1934, page 28, c.f. also page 47.
- (17) Alfred Biese, Deutsche Literaturgeschichte, Bd. I, page 177.
- (18) Wolfgang Golther, Die deutsche Dichtung im Mittelalter 800 bis 1500, Stuttgart 1922, page 270.
- (19) Gustav Ehrismann, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters, 2. Teil Schlussband, page 108.
- (20) G. G. Gervinus, Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung (1853), page 289.
- (21) Gustav Ehrismann, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters, 2. Teil Schlussband, page 109.

- (22) G. G. Gervinus, Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung (1853), page 290.
- (23) Alfred Biese, Deutsche Literaturgeschichte, Bd. I, page 177.
- (24) Erich Strassner, Schwank, Stuttgart 1968, page 6.
- (25) Gustav Rosenhagen, Der Pfaffe Amis des Strickers, pages 151-152 and page 157.
- (26) Hanns Fischer, Zur Gattungsform des Pfaffen Amis, page 294.
- (27) Hanns Fischer, Studien zur deutschen Märendichtung, Tübingen 1968, page 102.
- (28) Hanns Fischer, Studien zur deutschen Märendichtung, page 108.
- (29) Hermann Bausinger, Bemerkungen zum Schwank und seinen Formtypen, Fabula 9 (1967), pages 118-136. c.f. also Chapter II, note 29.
- (30) Siegfried Neumann, Schwank und Witz, Lětopis. Jahresschrift des Instituts für serbische Volksforschung 6/7 (1963/1964), page 329.
- (31) c.f. Barbara Könneker, Strickers Pfaffe Amis und das Volksbuch von Ulenspiegel, Euphorion 64 (1970), page 250. c.f. also Chapter IV.
- (32) Heinz Rupp, Schwank und Schwankdichtung in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters, page 39.
- (33) Gustav Rosenhagen, Der Pfaffe Amis des Strickers, page 151.
- (34) Hanns Fischer, Zur Gattungsform des Pfaffen Amis, page 294.
- (35) Heinz Rupp, Schwank und Schwankdichtung in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters, page 37.
- (36) Heinz Rupp, loc. cit., page 39.
- (37) c.f. notes 17 and 19.
- (38) c.f. note 18.
- (39) Helmut de Boor, Die deutsche Literatur im späten Mittelalter, page 234.
- (40) Helmut de Boor, loc. cit., page 234.
- (41) c.f. Helmut de Boor, loc. cit., pages 235-236.
- (42) Hermann Bausinger, Schwank und Witz, Studium Generale II (1958), page 706.
- (43) Helmut de Boor, Die deutsche Literatur im späten Mittelalter, page 238.
- (44) Hermann Bausinger, Bemerkungen zum Schwank und seinen Formtypen, page 125.
- (45) Hermann Bausinger, loc. cit., page 126.
- (46) Heinz Rupp, Schwank und Schwankdichtung in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters, page 37.

- (47) Erhard Agricola, Die Prudentia als Anliegen der Stricker'schen Schwänke, PBB 77 (H) (1955), pages 197-220.
- (48) Erhard Agricola, loc. cit., page 207.
- (49) Erhard Agricola, loc. cit., pages 207-208.
- (50) For instance, in a section of his article headed "Thema Betrugerei (Amis-Zyklus)" he writes:
 "Der Geistliche (i.e. Amis) begreift den Mangel an Einsicht bei seinen Mitmenschen und weiss ihn zu seinem Vorteil auszunutzen. . . . Auch die Fesseln der Konvention oder die der Trunkenheit kommen ihm, indem sie andere hindern, zu Hilfe." (page 203).
 But Amis nowhere meets anyone whose drunkenness works against him and to Amis' advantage. In a later paragraph he talks of "der Leichtgläubige, der Trinker, die Treulose" (page 203). One wonders whether this "Trinker" is the non-existent character in Pfaffe Amis who is handicapped there by his inebriation or whether this is an inebriate from another "Schwank". Agricola has in the meanwhile mentioned "das aus seinen (i.e. der Stricker's) übrigen Werken bekannte Lehrbedürfnis" (page 203), and one similarly wonders whether his observation:
 ". . . die Konflikthanlässe sind nach lehrhaften Gesichtspunkten ausgewählt (nur solche Fehler und Schwächen, die durch Erziehung behebbar sind; kein Spott auf Kosten körperlich Verunstalteter, keine Obszönitäten)" (page 203)
 is meant to refer to other works or to Pfaffe Amis. If to Pfaffe Amis only, then an obvious objection is that the merchants in the last two "Schwänke" of Pfaffe Amis seem to suffer from the weakness only of trusting a fellow man after adequate show of (apparent) honesty and sincerity, and trust as a human failing is one that is nowhere explained.
- (51) Erhard Agricola, loc. cit., page 207.
- (52) Erhard Agricola, loc. cit., page 203.
- (53) Erhard Agricola, loc. cit., page 208.
- (54) Erhard Agricola, loc. cit., page 208.
- (55) Erhard Agricola, loc. cit., page 216.
- (56) The main contribution of Agricola's article, however, lies in his allying the central didactic theme in der Stricker's "Schwänke" and Pfaffe Amis to contemporary Dominican philosophy. This, the theme of "Prudentia" that is mentioned in the title of the article, lies somewhat outside the scope of our own examination and has anyway been argued against by Spiewok - Wolfgang Spiewok, Der Stricker und die Prudentia, Wiss. Zs. der Ernst-Moritz-Arndt-Universität Greifswald 13, gesellsch.- und sprachw. Reihe 1/2, pages 119-126.

Chapter VI

- (1) Gustav Rosenhagen, Der Pfaffe Amis des Strickers, Festgabe Gustav Ehrismann, Berlin and Leipzig 1925, pages 149-158, and Hanns Fischer, Zur Gattungsform des Pfaffen Amis, ZfdA. 88 (1957/1958), pages 291-299. Fischer provided a different set of headings to the various sections of

the work: 1. Die Weisheitsprobe, 2. Die Reliquienpredigt, 3. Das unsichtbare Gemälde, 4. Die Krankenheilung, 5. Die wunderbare Wiederbelebung des Hahnes, 6. Das Wunder des brennenden Tuches, 7. Der wunderbare Fischfang, 8. Das Wahrsagewunder, 9. Die wunderbare Blinden- und Lahmenheilung, 10. Die wunderbare Laienmesse, 11. Der Betrug des Tuchhändlers, 12. Der Betrug des Juwelenhändlers, 13. Spätere Lebenszeit (page 292 of the article). To some degree they reflect some of Fischer's ideas on the structure of the work, but apart from that they seem to add little in their variance from the Lambel headings. For the sake of clarity it will be wiser to continue to use Lambel's headings and to continue to make quotations from his edition of the work.

- (2) Gustav Rosenhagen, loc. cit., page 149; Hanns Fischer, loc. cit., page 295.
- (3) c.f. Erich Strassner, Schwank, Stuttgart 1968, pages 26-37; c.f. also Derek Brewer, Medieval Comic Tales, Cambridge 1972.
- (4) c.f. Thomas Frederick Crane, The Exempla or Illustrative Stories from the Sermones Vulgares of Jacques de Vitry, London 1890, Nos. CCLIV and CCLXIV respectively.
- (5) Carl Zipperling, Das altfranzösische Fabel du Vilain Mire, Halle 1912.
- (6) c.f. the list in Carl Zipperling, loc. cit., pages 50-52. No. CCLXIV of Jacques de Vitry's Sermones Vulgares (Crane, page 111) is in so many ways different to Amis als Wahrsager that it would be impossible to prove and unrealistic to suggest that one were a model for the other. The same is also true of the parallels to Die Heilung der Kranken, No. CCLIV of the Sermones Vulgares of Jacques de Vitry (c.f. Crane, pages 107 and 241-242), where the cripples come to the shrine of a certain saint ("ad tumulum cujusdam sancti") and where one of the cripples is to be burnt and his ashes sprinkled on the rest, and Le Vilain Mire, where the sickest is to be burnt and a drink made from his ashes. These two show greater similarity with each other perhaps than either does with Die Heilung der Kranken, where it is the blood of the sickest sufferer that is to heal the others; but Zipperling's very thorough analysis of the theme in the works in which it is known (loc. cit., pages 50-57) leads him to the conclusion:

"Jede der drei Gruppen . . . enthält eine Form der Episode, die in den Anfang des 13. Jahrhunderts zurückreicht. Eine genauere Datierung ist bei keiner von ihnen möglich . . . Alle Schwierigkeiten lassen sich am einfachsten beseitigen, wenn man annimmt, dass alle drei Gruppen auf eine gemeinsame Urform zurückgehen, entweder direkt oder wahrscheinlich durch die Vermittlung uns nicht bekannter Zwischenformen." (pages 56-57).

With regard to the Jacques de Vitry "exemplum" and Le Vilain Mire Frenken (Goswin Frenken, Die Exempla des Jacob von Vitry, Munich 1914) agrees with this conclusion (page 51), and speaking specifically about Die Heilung der Kranken and Amis als Wahrsager from Pfaffe Amis further comments:

"Die erste dieser Episoden (i.e. Die Heilung der Kranken) stimmt aber mit dem entsprechenden französischen Fabel (i.e. Crane No. CCLIV) genauer überein, ohne aber dass man dieses Fabel als Quelle des Strickers ansehen müsste, und die zweite (i.e. Amis als Wahrsager) behandelt einen sehr naheliegenden und jedenfalls häufig angewendeten Gaunertrick. Beide werden vom Stricker mündlicher Tradition ent-

nommen sein." (page 83).

Indeed there is a great deal of difference between Amis als Wahrsager and No. CCLXIV (Crane) of Jacques de Vitry's Sermones Vulgares in as much as der Stricker develops much more the comedy inherent in the means of deceit and Jacques de Vitry's "exemplum" relies much more on the "buying" of something specific rather than a general selling of forgiveness of sins and the promise of longevity and prosperity.

The question of similar tales and parallels of theme is treated in far greater breadth in Hans Lambel, Erzählungen und Schwänke, Leipzig 1883, pages 11-20, Gustav Rosenhagen, Der Pfaffe Amis des Strickers, page 152, and Hanns Fischer, Zur Gattungsform des Pfaffen Amis, page 295.

- (7) Hanns Fischer, loc. cit., page 295.
- (8) Gustav Rosenhagen, loc. cit., page 152.
- (9) Gustav Rosenhagen, loc. cit., page 155.
- (10) Gustav Rosenhagen, loc. cit., page 154.
- (11) This whole question of chronology and geographical detail is one that must concern us in greater detail in a later chapter. Rosenhagen's thesis that the last two "Schwänke" were a later addition to the work presumably leads him to consider the setting of Amis und der Bischof in England as being of minor importance. The names "Kerlingen" and "Lutringen" are of far greater importance for his arguments in favour of a Northern French model for Pfaffe Amis. But the last two "Schwänke" do describe a return to England, and it seems to me that the return to England at the end of the work gives far greater significance to this setting in England than Rosenhagen is prepared to admit. Or, alternatively expressed, it does not justify the importance of the names "Kerlingen" and "Lutringen" to the degree that Rosenhagen wishes to single them out to support his thesis.
- (12) Gustav Rosenhagen, loc. cit., both passages page 157.
- (13) Gustav Rosenhagen, loc. cit., page 153.
- (14) Hanns Fischer, loc. cit., page 295.
- (15) Hanns Fischer, loc. cit., pages 295-296.
- (16) Gustav Rosenhagen, loc. cit., page 153; Hanns Fischer, loc. cit., page 296.
- (17) Hanns Fischer, loc. cit., page 295.
- (18) Gustav Rosenhagen, loc. cit., page 156.
- (19) Gustav Rosenhagen, loc. cit., page 152.
- (20) Gustav Rosenhagen, loc. cit., page 156.
- (21) Hanns Fischer, loc. cit., pages 297-298. It is interesting to note that although quoting from the Benecke edition he nevertheless leaves line 1552 according to its form in MS. R, where the word "triegen" does not occur - it does, however, occur in MSS. G, K, H.

- (22) Hanns Fischer, loc. cit., pages 292-293.
- (23) There are two known forms of the work Pfaffe Amis:
 (a) that contained in MS. R and used for the Benecke, Lambel, and Piper editions of the work;
 (b) that known to Benecke and Fischer to be contained in MSS. H, K, G. (It is also the form of MS. A and the Arnstadt MS. What is contained in MSS. S and J is not apparently ascertainable without recourse to the actual manuscripts, and it is better to disregard the early printed book.) This form Fischer termed the "Vulgatafassung". Since the Mailath/Köffinger copy of MS. K exists, the whole position can be simplified and we can say that there are two known forms of Pfaffe Amis:
 (a) MS. R
 (b) the "Vulgatafassung", (represented by) MS. K.
 All comparisons of the various forms of the work in the following chapters will be between MS. R and MS. K.
 Benecke's notes on what is contained in the "Vulgatafassung" are confusing because, to judge from what other information is available concerning MS. K, the information that he gives is often wrong. The picture that Benecke presents is given in Appendix I for the sake of interest and clarity, but it must be emphasised that this is an incorrect picture. The Mailath/Köffinger copy of MS. K gives (as far as one can judge) a true picture of the second version of the work which is almost identical to Fischer's picture of the contents of the "Vulgatafassung". This is given in Appendix II.
 To these two known forms of the work Fischer added his own supposed "Ur-Amis", a form of the work for which there is no known evidence of existence, it is therefore an unknown work.
- (24) Hanns Fischer, loc. cit., page 298.
- (25) Hanns Fischer, loc. cit., page 298. This "Einarbeitung alter und neuer Versatzstücke" refers to the final lines of No. 10 now after No. 9, the final lines of No. 8 coming before No. 7, and the two new sets of verse between Nos. 6 and 9 and between Nos. 7 and 6. c.f. Appendix II.
- (26) Hanns Fischer, loc. cit., page 298.
- (27) c.f. Chapter II.
- (28) There are of course numerous examples of lines in one manuscript but not in others and numerous examples of different lines in the various manuscripts at certain given points. But Benecke's edition explains that in the case of lines 35, 569, 689, 925, 1301, and 1331-1332 not only are these lines lacking, but space is left where they should be. In the case of lines 1331-1332 they cannot be supplemented from other manuscripts because they occur in Die Messe which is included only in MS. R. In the case of lines 1895-1916 lacking in MS. R the situation is again different and Benecke remarks: "da aber nicht nur der Gang der Erzählung sie fordert, sondern ausser KH auch G sie hat, so mussten sie aufgenommen werden."

Chapter VII

- (1) Gustav Rosenhagen, Der Pfaffe Amis des Strickers, Festgabe Gustav Ehrismann, Berlin and Leipzig 1925, pages 155-156.

- (2) Hanns Fischer, Zur Gattungsform des Pfaffen Amis, ZfdA. 88 (1957/1958), page 297.
- (3) Hanns Fischer, loc. cit., page 293.
- (4) Gustav Rosenhagen, loc. cit., page 151.
- (5) It is unclear from the text whether as priest and artist or doctor, or in disguise as artist or doctor hiding his position as priest.
- (6) Gustav Rosenhagen, loc. cit., page 156.
- (7) Any objection to this statement based on lines 933-935 will be answered when the chronology of the work is dealt with in Chapter VIII.
- (8) c.f. Appendix II. The division in MS. R implied by the Benecke and Lambel editions of the work between lines 336 and 337 is not a natural (i.e. paragraph) division in MS. K according to the Mailath/Köffinger copy. It may therefore be arguable that this preparation for Amis' journey is not a part of Die Kirchweihpredigt but is a part of Amis und der Bischof, the section that Lambel has headed Die Kirchweihpredigt beginning then with line 351: "hie mite vuor er in ein lant."
- (9) c.f. note No. 9, Chapter III.
- (10) We have already suggested in Appendix II that lines 1165-1166 really belong to the previous section Das Tuch if we accept, as we must according to the sense of both sets of lines, that they are replaced in MS. K by lines K.1289-1292 as Benecke suggests and as the Mailath/Köffinger copy of MS. K shows. This therefore leaves only line 1167 in this first section. It is a part of the sentence represented by lines 1165-1167 in R, but in K is rendered as "Der hup sich nach bejage . . ." and is the first line of the sentence continued in the following lines, K.1075ff.
- (11) The geographic chronology will be examined in detail in Chapter VIII.
- (12) Heinz Rupp, Schwank und Schwankdichtung in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters, Der Deutschunterricht 14 (1962), pages 42-43.
- (13) Stephen L. Wailes, Immurement and religious experience in the Stricker's "eingemauerte Frau", PBB 96 (T) (1974), page 95.
- (14) The one possible exception is Amis als Wundertäter but probably more by accident than design.

Chapter VIII

- (1) Heinz Rupp, Schwank und Schwankdichtung in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters, Der Deutschunterricht 14 (1962), pages 42-43.
- (2) Heinz Rupp, loc. cit., page 44.
- (3) Hanns Fischer, Zur Gattungsform des Pfaffen Amis, ZfdA. 88 (1957/1958), page 292.
- (4) One wonders with what real justification Gustav Rosenhagen (Der Pfaffe Amis des Strickers, Festgabe Gustav Ehrismann, Berlin and Leipzig 1925,

page 154) can write.

"Auch 'Engellant', wo der Pfaffe Amis, wie es im Anfang heisst, sein Haus hatte, steht in keiner innern Verbindung mit dem, was erzählt wird, auch nicht mit der Vorgeschichte, die sich daran anschliesst: auch deren Schauplatz ist 'Jingendwo'."

- (5) Hanns Fischer, loc. cit., page 297. I think it is true to say that every commentator on Pfaffe Amis to date has stated or implied that this middle section of "Schwänke" is understood to be set in France.
- (6) According to the Benecke edition of the poem Lorraine is mentioned in both MS. R and MS. G, MS. G therefore agreeing with MS. R in this respect rather than MSS. H and K as it usually does. It is interesting to note also (if one reads Benecke's notes correctly) that in lines 910-912 MS. G has:
- "Er enphie des urloubes segē,
unt hub sich dannen zehant,
als kerte er widir in Engellant."
- MS. G seems here to hold a mid-point between MS. R and MS. K (and H), if we understand this "als" as "als ob". But why should he wish to give the impression of returning to England? The answer must be presumably that this was intended to suggest that he was returning home to his priestly duties rather than continuing on a journey of trickery. This only further confuses the apparent inconsistency in Das unsichtbare Gemälde and Die Heilung der Kranken of how Amis' victims could know his real identity, c.f. lines 803-804, 931-932, when Amis had appeared in the guise of an artist and a doctor respectively.
- (7) Karl-Heinz Schirmer, Stil- und Motivuntersuchungen zur mittelhochdeutschen Versnovelle, Tübingen 1969, page 245.

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