"sper kriuz unde dorn":
GLORIFICATION AND MILLENARIAN CONCEPTS IN MEDIEVAL GERMAN LITERATURE

by

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ABSTRACT

The spear, cross and crown were not only symbols of the Holy Roman Empire's authority, but also symbols of glorification and the millennial rule of Christ. Medieval German literature has many references to the instruments of the Passion. They had specific meaning and importance.

The first chapter of the thesis deals with the Crucifixion, the Longinus legend and the symbolism associated with the spear used to stab Christ. The aura of magic surrounding the spear was heightened by the widespread belief that Christ was alive when speared.

The second chapter discusses the Crusades and is centred around the speech given by Pope Urban II in 1095 declaring the First Crusade. His references to the cross and to the rewards of crusading were to be repeated by poets for over two centuries. The simpler folk among the crusaders were millenarians who viewed Jerusalem, the physical city, as synonymous with the Heavenly Jerusalem. Crusaders sought an eternal reward, the crown, for their efforts in overcoming the "heathen."

The third chapter deals with the medieval conception of the eternal crown, glorification and eternal life. Since an eternal crown implies eternal life, medieval man sought to explore its characteristics. In discussing the motif of glorification, one must bear in mind that glorification is figuratively compared to a mirror, particularly in thirteenth-century German literature. As well, medieval authors seized upon the idea of man as God's

handiwork ("hantgetat") which was to undergo a change at the resurrection.

The fourth chapter has as its focus the crown of the Holy Roman Empire. The crown was a type of the eternal crown to be inherited by the glorified dead. The crown of the Holy Roman Empire is so structured as to reflect the description of the Heavenly Jerusalem in the Book of Revelation. Medieval man believed that the fourth kingdom foreseen by Nebuchadnezzar was the Holy Roman Empire which was to be succeeded by the Kingdom of God.

The fifth chapter explores The Last Emperor legend which brings together all three symbols since the Last Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire travels to Jerusalem to surrender the spear, cross and crown to Christ. The legend culminates in the defeat of the usurping Antichrist and the return of Christ and the Day of Judgement in which the spear, cross and crown are used to justify a transfigured Christ as supreme judge.

The conclusion drawn by the thesis is that the spear, cross and crown were not merely symbolic of the Passion of Christ but symbolized rulership and the millennium. They were employed by medieval poets to embody various aspects of salvation, reward and rulership.

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to illustrate and interpret glorification and millenarian concepts in a wide range of medieval German literature from the twelfth to the early sixteenth century with emphasis on the *Spruchdichtung* of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. A large body of primary sources will be examined. This body of works will include religious literature and *Spruchdichtung* typical of the period. This study will concentrate on the concepts rather than the form of the poetry.

The spear, the cross and the crown are in fact glorification and millenarian symbols as this thesis will show. The relevant themes relating to spear, cross and crown will be selected from the primary sources and discussed in the light of medieval religious beliefs, the medieval world view and societal issues of the time (i.e., antisemitism, attitudes towards crusading, expectation of the end of the world and the Day of Judgement, and belief in the immortality of the soul).

Medieval German literature revered the instruments of the Passion--spear, cross, and crown. They had specific meaning and importance. First, the instruments of the Passion would defeat the heathen. Walther von der Vogelweide says: "wol dir, sper kriuz unde dorn! / wê dir, heiden! deist dir zorn" (L 15,18-19).[1] The spear Walther refers to is of course the one used to stab Christ (John 19:34). The cross is the one on which He was crucified (John 19:17-18). The thorn refers to the crown of thorns which the Roman soldiers placed upon His head in derision (Matt. 27:29-30).

Walther's quote about the spear, cross and crown will serve as a leitmotif. In medieval poetry and plays, these three motifs are transformed into symbols of glorification and victory. The spear and the cross symbolize victory and the crown of thorns is transformed into a crown of rulership. The "spear, cross and crown" theme is not meant to relate solely to the Crucifixion but to glorification and millenarian concepts that co-incide with elements of the Crucifixion but also have a much broader scope. For example, glorification relates to Christians and to crusaders who sought a reward for their efforts in overcoming the "heathen."

How can the spear (used to stab Christ), the cross and the crown of thorns be symbols of the glorified Christ and hailed as tokens of victory over the heathen? The answer lies, in part, in the apocryphal Longinus legend. An examination of the Crucifixion and the Longinus legend that grew around it is the first step in explaining the paradoxical attitude of medieval man towards the instruments of Christ's Passion--the cross, the spear and the crown of thorns.

The spear was seen as a mystic weapon that opened the gates of salvation and glorification. There were numerous claims that the "true" spear had been found. It symbolized victory and salvation for the crusader. Of course, there was an ambivalent attitude towards the spear and towards Longinus, since the spear was an instrument of the Passion and Longinus had speared Christ. One of the purposes of this thesis is to study the spear of the Longinus legend as a glorification motif both historically and in a literary

framework. A central question for the thesis will be why the spear was so important and how that importance is illustrated by the frequent references to it in medieval literature.

Aspects of the Longinus legend will be examined with a view to explaining medieval man's ambivalent attitude towards Longinus, towards the Crucifixion and towards the spear itself. On the one hand, the Crucifixion recalled the suffering of Christ, but it also made salvation possible. Central to this analysis will be an examination of the chronology of the Crucifixion (whether Christ was dead or alive when stabbed) and its reflection in the portrayal of Longinus in medieval literature. In undertaking this examination of the chronology of the Crucifixion, historical, medical and Biblical evidence will be used. For example, Bishop, Blinzler, Wilson, Cohn, *Trial*, and the Bible will be used as historical and analytical texts and the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus will provide legendary material. Works by Barbet and Zugibe will provide medical evidence. The chronology of the Crucifixion is essential to an understanding of the ambivalent treatment of Longinus and the different versions of the Crucifixion in medieval literature.

There has been research on Longinus by Burdach (*Gral*)[3] and Dauven-van Knippenberg (*Longinuslegende*). Neither of these works considers the *Spruchdichtung* of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In large part, Burdach's work deals with issues that are collateral to literature. He dicusses some *Passionsspiele* but concentrates on legends and folklore, as well as religious associations connected with the Holy Lance and the Grail, and his

analysis is focused on the time period before the thirteenth century.

Dauven-van Knippenberg concentrates on an analysis of the character called Longinus in several *Passionsspiele* and some religious poetry. She does not deal with *Spruchdichtung* nor does she discuss the Holy Lance as a glorification motif as this is beyond the scope of her thesis. The purpose of her work is to compare the treatment of Longinus in the various plays.

The cross, as a symbol of glorification, predates the Crusades, but as a symbol of victory, it received a special impetus from crusading. The *cruciarius* was compelled to carry the transverse beam of the cross (*patibulum*) to the site of the crucifixion. It was a shameful death[3] reserved for slaves, criminals and rebels. Only non-Roman citizens could legally be crucified in the Empire. But the cross was also synonymous with the Christian way of life (I Cor. 1:17-18). In addition, taking up the cross, crusading, involved sacrifice and the promise of eternal reward.

The cross motif involves an analysis of Pope Urban II's call for a Crusade and how his words were reflected in medieval poetry. Recurrent themes in *Kreuzzugsdichtung*, such as the promise of reward, the need for self-sacrifice and martyrdom and the vilification of the heathen will be traced back to the words of Urban II.

Although there have been numerous studies of Crusade lyric,[4] there is none that relates the promises made and Scriptures cited

by Pope Urban II when he proclaimed the First Crusade in 1095 and the Crusade lyric of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[5] The ideas, and sometimes the very words used by Urban II in his proclamation, are reflected in poetry for at least two centuries thereafter. His words are echoed by Walther, Freidank, Hawart, Sigeher, Herger, der Kanzler, der Marner and others, yet this fact has not been discussed in scholarly works.

The crown of thorns came to designate real crowns and rulership promised to Christians in the Bible and promised to the crusaders by ecclesiastics. It was the symbol of martyrdom and self-sacrifice.[6] The crown of thorns worn by Jesus[7] was transformed by the Gospel writers into the crown of righteousness and glory.[8] A crown was the eternal reward promised the crusader if he took up the cross of religious warfare. Among the crusaders were not just wealthy knights but also the poor who felt themselves to be the elect of God. Many of the crusaders were simple folk who viewed Jerusalem, the physical city, as synonymous with the Heavenly Jerusalem.

Although there have been books and articles focusing on the symbolism of the crown of the Holy Roman Empire, few have done so from a literary perspective. Schramm's *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik*, which includes a section on the crown, is devoted to a description of symbols of rulership from an historical point of view. Schumacher's article, describing the crown of the Holy Roman Empire, is limited in its literary application to one poem by Walther von der Vogelweide.

The crown motif entails an analysis of the eternal crown promised to the crusaders and to the righteous glorified dead. The crown motif will also include a study of the Holy Roman Emperor's crown (as a type of the eternal crown to be inherited by the glorified dead) and the symbolism connected with it. The crown of the Holy Roman Empire was so structured as to reflect the description of the Heavenly Jerusalem as described in the Book of Revelation, chapters 21 and 22. Like Christ, the Emperor claimed to exercise the functions of both priest and king on the model of Melchizedek.

Although glorification is not directly linked to the "spear, cross, and crown" motif, it is indirectly connected. The idea of an eternal crown presupposes eternal life. The glorified saints were to inherit the Kingdom of God and thus be immortal. In discussing the motif of glorification, one must bear in mind that glorification is figuratively compared to a mirror, particularly in thirteenth-century German literature.[3] This study will give examples of the mirror metaphor as used by the *Spruchdichter* and in other medieval literature. Understanding the mirror metaphor is indispensible to a proper understanding of the medieval conception of glorification. As well, medieval authors seized upon the idea of man as God's handiwork ("hantgetat") which was to undergo a change at the resurrection. Both the mirror metaphor and the idea of man as the handiwork of God are essential elements in the medieval conception of glorification. A prime example of glorification is the Virgin Mary. Medieval man's conception of the tranfigured Mary

and her attributes will be explored. In contrast to other studies, this work will concentrate on the treatment of Mary by the *Spruchdichter*.[10]

In regard to the concept of millenarianism, Nebuchadnezzar's dream, as seen by the *Spruchdichter* and other medieval literature, will be analyzed. Medieval man believed that the fourth kingdom foreseen by Nebuchadnezzar was the Holy Roman Empire which was to be replaced by the Kingdom of God. Hence the dream was apocalyptic (Scholz 21). This prophetic interpretation of the dream will function as an introduction to the consideration of the Last-Emperor legend in which the Holy Roman Empire is overcome by the Antichrist. In addition, the dream was used tropologically by the *Spruchdichter* and others. The metals mentioned in the dream represented good and bad, worth and worthlessness, and virtue and vice. The prophetic and tropological interpretations are related in that medieval man believed that he was living at the time of the end of the Holy Roman Empire which was synonymous with belief that he was living at the time of the end of the world. This meant that the Empire would be succeeded by the realm of the Antichrist and ultimately by Christ. The *Spruchdichter* identified their time as the age of iron in which the moral quality of humanity had declined whereas the physical strength of the Empire had increased. Although Nebuchadnezzar's dream has been touched upon by Wangenheim,[11] there has been no thorough study of it until now.

The Last-Emperor legend involves the appearance of a messianic last Emperor who would introduce a golden age but would be replaced

by the Antichrist. The original Last-Emperor legend and the legend of the third Friedrich (who is Emperor Friedrich II risen from the dead as a deliverer of the Empire) eventually merged. The Last-Emperor legend brings together all three symbols, since the Last Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire travels to Jerusalem to surrender the spear, the cross and the crown to Christ. The importance of these symbols is underlined by this apocalyptic legend and it provides a basis for the conclusion that spear, cross and crown are indeed symbolic of rulership. The legend culminates in the return of Christ and the Day of Judgement in which spear, cross and crown are used to justify a glorified Christ as supreme judge.

The Last-Emperor legend also involves the appearance of the Antichrist. Parallels between the Antichrist's attempt to storm heaven and the Satanic rebellion will be drawn and the origins of the Antichrist legend will be investigated. The Satanic rebellion is an example of self-glorification and a forerunner of the rebellion attempted by the Antichrist. Moreover, as a counterpart to the Emperor, who purported to be the representative of God on earth, the Antichrist also claimed divinely sanctioned rulership. The Antichrist stood in opposition to the Emperor. He was the great usurper of the rightful rulership of the Emperor, taking the Emperor's crown. He stood in opposition to Christ and was a type of Satan. The claims of the Antichrist (as a focus of the theme of self-glorification and self-deification) will be compared and contrasted with those of the Holy Roman Emperor and his claim to be priest-king.

There has been no study focusing on the self-glorification motifs in poems and plays about the Antichrist. Rauh's extensive work does not focus on literature. Jenschke's thesis deals only with Antichrist plays, not poetry, and does not specifically concentrate on glorification motifs, but seeks to provide a description of the plays and how the plot and some recurrent themes fit into medieval theology and folklore. Aichele's work deals with the typology of motifs which occur in Antichrist dramas from the medieval period to the Reformation. He relates this typology to medieval theology. Kursawa, whose study encompasses some Antichrist plays and poems, also concentrates on how the Antichrist legend reflects medieval beliefs. No works deal with what the *Spruchdichter* of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries had to say concerning the Antichrist or the Emperor.

The conclusion will summarize what has been discussed in the work and reiterate how and why the spear, cross and crown function as glorification and millenarian motifs, thereby providing a deeper understanding of the functions of these symbols in the medieval world.

I

THE SPEAR: CRUCIFIXION AND GLORIFICATION

1.1 The Crucifixion

This study of the spear, cross and crown will begin with an historical analysis of the Crucifixion. In addition to the cross, the spear is identified with the crucifixion. Was the spear the instrument of Christ's death? This is a central question in the understanding of medieval man's attitude towards the spear.

Christ died after only about six hours on the cross. Victims usually took from three days to over a week to expire. Victims suffered pain, thirst, exposure to the sun and the elements, and were in a rigid position. Even given all the rigors of crucifixion, some victims actually survived long enough to starve to death on the cross (Wilson 153, 205 fn. 29). The loss of blood was never the cause of death in Roman crucifixion. Death came almost invariably through asphyxiation (Bishop 303; Barbet 72, 74).

Asphyxiation is the inability of a living organism to obtain sufficient oxygen to eliminate excess carbon dioxide or to sustain cell metabolism (Zugibe 80). Because the arms and chest were extended to a maximum degree, the pectoral muscles at the side of the chest were paralyzed and consequently it was necessary for the victim to raise himself slightly in order to breathe. Air would be drawn in, but it became trapped in the lungs, and only by raising his body could the victim exhale (Bishop 248-49; Barbet 75-77, 130).

The victim would have to raise his body with every breath. He

eventually became so exhausted that he was unable to raise his body sufficiently to expel air and consequently would be asphyxiated. In addition, the victim would suffer loss of blood and bodily fluids (hypovolemia), and experience shock, that is, a sudden lowering of blood pressure and greatly decreasing blood flow to the extremities of the body, including the head. The decreased blood flow eventually led to heart failure and circulatory collapse. This would occur after some days on the cross. The rationale for this type of execution was to prolong the suffering of the victim for days on end.

Before being crucified, the condemned man was scourged. This is also what happened to Jesus (Matt. 27:26; Mark 15:15). The scourging (*flagellatio*) prior to crucifixion was known as the "halfway death," stopping just short of death. Scourging was administered by an instrument called a *flagrum* which consisted of a short handle to which several leather thongs or straps were attached. The ends of the straps were studded with pieces of bone or bits of iron as well as lead balls (Barbet 48; Bishop 232). It tore the flesh and greatly weakened the victim.

The Jewish custom was to give a maximum of only forty stripes (Deut. 25:3) with a plain leather strap. This number was usually reduced to thirty-nine as a precaution against exceeding forty. Paul says that five times he received thirty-nine stripes from the Jews (II Cor. 11:24). Among the Romans, the soldiers administering the punishment decided how many stripes to give depending on such factors as their mood, how much they thought the victim could

endure, the nature of the crime and the wishes of the crowd (Zugibe 18). Even given the savage scourging, however, it is still a mystery why Christ died after only six hours on the cross.

Expert medical opinion is divided on the cause of Christ's death. Opinions are contradictory. Some believe He died of heart failure due to extreme shock caused by exhaustion and loss of blood. Some believe it was not loss of blood but asphyxia.[12]

Pilate was literally astonished to learn that Jesus had died after such a short time on the cross and he ordered that the death be confirmed before he released the body to Joseph of Arimathea (Mark 15:44).[13] He had probably ordered many crucifixions and this was, in all probability, the quickest death on the cross in his experience.

It was the Roman custom to leave the body on the cross until birds, wild animals, dogs and insects had devoured it. This served as a deterrent.[14] The Jewish custom by contrast was to remove the body of an executed man before nightfall on the day of execution (Deut. 21:22-23).

Pilate yielded to a request that the condemned men that day not remain on the cross because the next day was a High Day (John 19:31).[15] In order to hasten their deaths, Roman soldiers used a method called crurifaction (*skelokopia*), breaking of the legs. The reason that the legs were broken was that this would prevent the condemned from lifting their bodies to expel air and they would be asphyxiated. The same result would occur in the normal course of events as a consequence of exhaustion after several days on the

cross. Breaking the legs greatly accelerated the process (Barbet 77-78).

The soldiers broke the legs of the two robbers on either side of Christ. They did not break His legs because they saw that He was already dead (John 19:33). John, in his account, points out that this was to fulfill a Scripture which drew a parallel between the Passover lamb (whose bones were not to be broken) and Christ, the metaphorical Paschal Lamb.[16] From the ambiguous way one verse in John's account is written (John 19:34), it appears that a soldier either gratuitously stabbed Christ's lifeless body or wanted to make sure Jesus was not feigning death. But John clearly says that the soldiers saw that he was already dead and therefore there was no need to break His legs (John 19:36-37). Since they knew Jesus was dead, there was no reason to pierce His side with a spear, and if there were any doubt in the soldiers' minds that He was actually dead, they would have broken His legs as they did the robbers' legs.

The solution to this conundrum may lie in a half-verse omitted from many Biblical versions. Some versions add the following words to Matt. 27:49: "And another took a spear and pierced his side, and out came water and blood" (given in a footnote in the Revised Standard Version).[17] The context of this half-verse (which is omitted in the King James and Luther's versions) implies that Christ was alive when speared in contrast to the context of the corresponding verse from the Gospel of John (John 19:34) which appears to imply that he was already dead when stabbed: "But when

they came to Jesus, and saw that he was dead already, they brake not his legs: But one of the soldiers with a spear pierced his side, and forthwith came there out blood and water" (John 19:33-34).

The water that flowed from the wound was either an abnormal accumulaton of fluids in the lung tissue (oedema) (Blinzler 259) or a pleural effusion. A pleural effusion occurs when, as a result of injury, fluid accumulates in the space between the lung and a membranous sac called the pleura. The liquid may be clear or slightly yellowish. A pleural effusion may have resulted from the scourging (Zugibe 104).

There was a custom by which the *coup de grâce* would be given to a crucified victim by a fatal spear stroke through his right side to the right auricle of the heart. This could be done when he was near death, already dead or even immediately after crucifixion (Barbet 52-53, 120). The apocryphal *Acts of Pilate* (also known as the *Gospel of Nicodemus*) asserts that Christ was pierced through the right side ("Longinussegen," *Handwörterbuch*, vol. 5, 1334). Moreover, there is an ecclesiastic tradition that Christ was pierced through the right side (Barbet 115).[18]

If one considers the account of the spearing of Christ given by John in the light of the controverted verse in Matthew, it appears that Jesus was alive when stabbed. To reconcile the two accounts, John's comment: "But one of the soldiers with a spear pierced his side..." (John 19:34) should begin: "Since one of the soldiers...." The account given by John may be considered a

parenthetic retrospective explanation of why the soldiers did not break Christ's legs--i.e., because he had previously been speared and was already dead.

The proposition that Jesus was alive when speared is supported by the fact that blood and water flowed out of the wound. A considerable flow of blood from the wound would indicate that the heart was still beating (Dimont 110). In addition, Christ let out a final cry,[19] consistent with a reaction to the pain of being stabbed but inconsistent with death by exhaustion, shock or asphyxiation:

> The Synoptics emphasize that Jesus's life ended not quietly but with a shout. It seems surprising that there was strength remaining for such a forceful cry. It has been speculated that the quickness of Jesus' death, and the shout at the final moment, indicate that Jesus died not from exhaustion but from the rupture of some vital organ. (Wilson 159; see also Blinzler 259-61)

Matt. 27:46 reports that He said: "Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani?" This is the opening line of Ps. 22. Jewish custom was to cite a Scripture by its opening line. That is probably what Matthew was doing. Citing the first line was a way of saying the entire Psalm had been recited. It is most probable that Jesus recited the entire twenty-second Psalm moments before he died (Fromm 231-36). This would indicate that he was not in a stupor[20] and did not die of asphyxiation or shock. If he had succumbed to the rigours of a typical crucifixion his mental state would be so

clouded as a result of decreased blood flow to the brain that he could not have been so clear-headed as to recite a fairly long passage of Scripture. Since it was usual for those crucified to sink into unconsciousness prior to death, the fact that Christ uttered a final cry is a singular phenomenon:

> Even if the rapid death and last death cry of Jesus were not miraculous in the strict sense, nevertheless there was something extraordinary about them. For normally, as we know from ancient records, crucified persons went through a long period of complete exhaustion and unconsciousness before dying. (Blinzler 261)

Ps. 22 records many of the same events as Matthew chapter 27. For example, Ps. 22:17 speaks of a victim whose hands and feet have been pierced (cf. crucifixion). Matthew speaks of soldiers who mocked Him (Matt. 27:29) and Ps. 22:7 speaks of mockery. Matthew speaks of the crowd wondering whether God will deliver Him, while Ps. 22:8 also speaks of the rescue of the victim. Matt. 27:35 speaks of the soldiers casting lots and dividing Christ's clothes, which corresponds to Ps. 22:18.

The last words of Ps. 22 read: "...that he hath done this." These words correspond to the last words of Jesus recorded by John "It is finished" (John 19:30). The sequence of events leading to the moment of Christ's death can be clarified by examining all the Gospel accounts as complementary.

If we begin with the premise that He recited Ps. 22 moments before dying, we see that upon completing it He said that He was

thirsty (John 19:28) and was offered a sponge soaked in vinegar (Matt. 27:48; Mark 15;36; John 19:29) in conformity with Psalm 69:22. Immediately thereafter He screamed (Matt. 27:50; Mark 15:37). Why? Because of a sudden great pain caused by the intervening event recorded in the apocryphal half-verse of Matt. 27:49: He was stabbed.

The spear probably pierced His heart and caused a massive loss of blood. He then uttered His last words as recorded by John: "It is finished" (John 19:30), echoing the last verse of Ps. 22. Then He uttered His last words as recorded by Luke (Luke 23:46): "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit..." which was a recitation of Ps. 31:6. Immediately thereafter, He died.

It is important to recall that the Crucifixion occurred on the day of the Passover. On that day, the Passover lambs were sacrificed. Christ was metaphorically called the Passover Lamb.[21] It is probable that at the very hour of His death, the High Priest was sacrificing a Paschal lamb. The High Priest was also responsible for handing Christ over and the subsequent execution (viewed by Caiaphas as a type of prophylactic or atoning sacrifice; see John 11:49-53) of Christ, the figurative lamb. Like the Passover lamb not a bone of His body was to be broken (Ex. 12:46; John 19:33,36).

There could be no expiation without the shedding of blood (Heb. 9:22).[22] Literary and theological consistency would demand that Christ, the metaphorical lamb, die through the shedding of his blood (not through asphyxiation). The parallels to the binding and

aborted sacrifice of Isaac, whereby Abraham was about to kill Isaac with a knife but was stopped and sacrificed a ram instead, also suggest that Christ died as the result of the shedding of His blood.[23]

1.2 **The Longinus Legend**

Scripture does not record the name of the soldier who stabbed Christ. However, he was given a name and a considerable legend grew around him. The character, Longinus, was introduced by the apocryphal *Gospel of Nicodemus* first composed in Greek c. 600 A.D. The section involving Longinus reads:

> Deludebant eum [Christum] milites et accedentes acetum cum felle offerebant ei bibere dicentes: 'Si tu es rex Iudaeorum libera te ipsum.' Accipiens autem Longinus miles lanceam aperuit latus eius, et exiit de latere eius sanguis et aqua. (Kim 25)[24]

In this apocryphal work, Christ is pierced while still alive ("Introduction," Kim 4). The belief that Christ was still alive when speared was widespread in the early Middle Ages (Burdach, *Gral* 234-35).[25] Anecdotal evidence also indicates the belief that Longinus killed Christ was common in the Middle Ages:

> The belief that Christ was still living when his side was pierced is shown in all the early representations of the crucifixion, by his open eyes. This belief made the piercing and the instrument used in this last act of the sacrifice of supreme importance. So Longinus with his spear was never omitted in the presentation of the

subject. (Peebles 45; see also "Longinussegen," *Handwörterbuch*, vol. 5, 1337)

Consider this example of a medieval representation of the spearing of Christ bearing in mind the widespread belief at the time that he was alive when speared:

> In einer Basler Handschrift um 1300...ist auf eine recht unbeholfene Weise Christus am Kreuz gezeichnet; zu seiner Linken steht Longinus und sticht ihm mit dem Speer ins Herz;...Zur Rechten des Kruzifixes aber befindet sich eine unbekleidete weibliche Gestalt mit Flügeln, als Dämon durch den Vogelschweif gekennzeichnet..Das ist die böse Welt, die bei des Heilands Tod glaubte triumphieren zu können. (Stammler, *Frau* 58-59)

The glorification, in which the crown becomes real, inevitably follows the Crucifixion as expressed by "*In der brieff weis*": "Geseng mich heut der ursprung aller guetten art! / geseng mich heut got und auch sein engel tzart! / geseng mich heut sein selige himel vart! / geseng mich heut des himels dron, der als ertrich hat umfangen" (Wunderle 292; 52B,III,1-4). The glorification of Christ after the degradation of the Crucifixion is connected to the spear used to pierce His side:

> [D]er Speer, der die Seite des Gekreuzigten durchbohrte, eröffnete die Sakramente der Kirche, schuf die Gewißheit der Auferstehung und Unsterblichkeit, begründete das neue christliche Regiment über den *Erdkreis*. Es ist derselbe Gedanke, der sich später verdichtete zu der Überzeugung:

> der Speer des Longinus ist der Speer des *Konstantin*, ist der Speer des christlichen *Weltimperiums*! (Burdach, *Gral* 312; emphasis in the original)

The spear became associated with Constantine in legend because his mother reputedly found the true cross and the nails used in the Crucifixion while visiting Jerusalem (Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen*, vol. 13/II, 510). Longinus became a saint of both the Roman Catholic and the Greek Orthodox Churches. The *Golden Legend*, composed c. 1275, tells of various saints, including Longinus:

> Longinus, which was a puissant knight, was with other knights, by the commandment of Pilate, on the side of the cross of our Lord, and pierced the side of our Lord with a spear; and when he saw the miracles, how the sun lost his light, and great earthquaving of the earth was, when our Lord suffered death and passion in the tree of the cross, then believed he in Jesu Christ. (Jacobus de Voragine, vol. 3, 70; see also Matt. 27:45,50-53)[26]

In the course of time, the soldier who pierced Christ's side with a spear was mythologized. It has been suggested that he was often confused with the captain who was present at the death of Christ: "Now when the centurion, and they that were with him, watching Jesus, saw the earthquake, and those things that were done, they feared greatly, saying, Truly this was the Son of God" (Matt. 27:54).[27] The image of the soldier, Longinus, eventually became separate from that of the centurion. In addition to literature and sermons, medieval art was also largely responsible

for popularizing Longinus:

> The history of Longinus in art is interesting for still another reason. It explains, I think, one of the most puzzling points in the evolution of the legend....As the Crucifixion came to be the dominant inspiration of art...the spearman as the human instrument of this torture, the person most closely associated with the shedding of the blood of the living Saviour, naturally became more and more prominent. The rôle of the centurion, on the other hand, was less dramatic and would make far less appeal to emotions. (Peebles 54-55)

Medieval art kept the image of Longinus before the public and forcefully represented Christ's Passion. But instead of being vilified, the soldier who stabbed Christ became a hero in the folklore of the Middle Ages (Burdach, "Walthers Aufruf" 59). This Roman soldier was exalted, given the name Longinus (a Latinized form of the Greek 'lo(n)gXee' meaning 'spear' or 'lance') (Peebles 5),[28] and portrayed as a prototype of the crusader. He was transformed from a heathen into a Christian warrior and finally, into a martyr in the mind of medieval man: "Dieser Söldner mit dem Speer war aber nach der christlichen Legende zugleich der Typus religiöser Bekehrung, weil er der erste durch Christus erweckte Heide war" (Burdach, "Longinus-Speer" 60). Longinus also became a literary figure. This cross-fertilization of the religious and the literary was common for the medieval period (Peebles 81-82). Longinus was simply the lance personified: "La source du nom de

Longin est transparente: la lance se dit en grec *longkê*. Longinos ne serait qu'une lance personifiée" (Réau, vol. 2, pt.2, 496).

Medieval writers in Germany and elsewhere often mentioned Longinus (Peebles 121). The German poets of the Middle Ages appear to have believed that Jesus was alive when stabbed. Walther expressly calls the soldier who stabbed Christ Longinus in his poem L 36,31 and indicates Christ was alive when stabbed:

> Marjâ vor dem kriuze trûreclîche klage erzeiget;
> si verlôs ir varwe, ir kraft, in bitterlîchen noeten,
> dô si jaemerlîch ir [liebez] kint sach toeten
> und Longînus ein sper im in sîn reine sîten stach.
> si seic unmehtic nider, [daz] si [niht] hôrte noch
> /ensprach.
> in dem jâmer Kriste dez herze brach:
> daz kriuze begunde sich mit sînem süezen bluote roeten.
> (L 37,17-23)

Mary appears to be reacting to Christ's death as it is caused by Longinus' spear. In the same poem, he says of Longinus: "Der blinde sprach zuo sînem knehte 'dû solt setzen / daz sper an sîn herze: jâ wil ich die marter letzen'" (L 37,14-15). Walther is attributing a "humanitarian" motivation to Longinus in suggesting euthanasia. The lance was the instrument that cut short the suffering of Christ. Neither John nor the controverted verse in Matthew attributes any motive to the soldier (who may have acted out of pure sadism) but merely recites his actions.[29]

The use of the word *blind*, reflects the legend that the blood

of Christ opened the eyes of the blind Longinus. This myth is told in *The Golden Legend*:

> Some say that when he [Longinus] smote our Lord with the spear in the side, the precious bloud avaled by the shaft of the spear upon his hands, and of adventure with his hands he touched his eyes, and anon he that had been tofore blind saw anon clearly wherefore he refused all chivalry and abode with the apostles.... (Jacobus de Voragine, vol. 3, 70)

Symbolic blindness is spoken of by Isaiah: "Make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes; lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and convert, and be healed."[30] There was a tendency in the Middle Ages to make the symbolic literal. Thus Longinus' spiritual blindness as a heathen is reflected in his literal blindness (Peebles 41-42; "Longinussegen," *Handwörterbuch*, vol. 5, 1334-35). The miraculous restoration of Longinus' sight conforms to medieval lore which abounds in examples of blindness being healed by the blood of martyrs and saints (Peebles 42-43; Dölger 81-94).

From what Rumelant writes, it is probable that he believed that a spear stroke caused the death of Christ:

> Jo sol man Gotes arebeit gedenken z'allen ziten,
> waz er vil swaere hete von des menschen bruche;
> Er leit vil schemelichen tot, man stach in durch die siten,
> darzuo so muoz er liden manigen smahen spruche:

Des singet noch ein creatiur' der marterunge urkünde,
daz ist der han [cf. Matt. 26:34,74],
wie Jesus an dem kriuze hienk vür aller menschen sünde,
gedenket dar an,
er slaet sich selben unde ruofet: crucifixus!
daz Jesus an der hafte hienk des todes rixus.
(Hagen, vol. 3, 58-59; 20,IV,20,1-10)

Rumelant relates a parable of the Nativity and Passion of Christ in which an unnamed Longinus kills Christ:

Ein tier hat griuwelichen zorn,
des alle jegere gruwet, daz ist der ein horn;
man jagte in lange, in getorste nie man vahen.
Doch vieng in, als ist mir geseit,
ein edele, reine, luter, unbewollen meit,
seht, da begunde ez siner muede nahen:
Er leit' sich in der meide schoz,
unt gap sich ane wunden ir gevangen,
gewaltik stark unde also gros,
in mohten alle jegere niht erlangen,
wan do er sich ir gevangen bot,
sin vleisch wart mürwe geslagen,
in stach ein jegere tot:
do wart ein tiure wiltbrete uf gehangen.
(Hagen, vol.2, 368; 136,II,2,1-14; emphasis added)[31]

The unicorn, symbolic of chastity, symbolic also of Mary and of Christ, is used here to signify Christ. The maid is Mary who

bore Christ in her lap. The legendary unicorn was fierce and could not be caught except by a virgin. If she approached the animal it would become tame and lie in her lap. Christ, like the unicorn, was invincible but literally lay in the Virgin's womb, becoming human.[32] The hunters overcome him and one stabs him to death--an obvious parable of the condemnation of Christ, the Passion and Longinus' action.

Reinmar von Zweter, in his "Leich," also includes the spear wound as one of the five wounds of Christ:

Die hât Minne al überwunden
an dem criuze mit vünf wunden,
den si doch gesunden
unt lebende brâht ûz sînem grabe
ze himel in sînes vater habe.
(409; I,209-13)

Reinmar says that a considerable flow of blood resulted from the spear wound, thus indicating that Jesus was still alive and His heart was beating: "lêr uns umb sünde riuwe phlegen / durch dîner sîten bluotes regen..." (408; I,196-97). Heinrich von Meißen (also known as Frauenlob) agrees that there was a considerable flow of blood when he implores Mary: "erbarm dich durch daz bluot, daz von im vloz; / ûz sînen wunden ran ez vrôn, / hôch an dem kriuze starp der herre zu der nôn" (Heinrich von Meißen/Ettmüller 167; Spruch 291,3-5).[33] The inescapable implication of the words of Konrad von Würzburg is that Jesus was alive when stabbed:

Dîne wunden

uns enbunden
von des tôdes smerzen;
altiu missewende grôz
wart vertrochen,
dô gestochen
zuo dîm edeln herzen
wart ein sper scharph unde blôz.
(vol. 3, 11-12; 1,101-08)

"*Van der verloesunge minschlichs geslechts overmids die minschwerdunge Christi, und van sinem leven, van siner lere und van sinem bitteren ellendigen dode an dem cruiz vur alle sunder,*" one of the poems of the *Sibillen Boich*, printed in the early sixteenth century, mentions the spearing by Longinus but it is ambiguous as to whether this wound caused Christ's death (Schade 328; *Sibillen Boich* 911-24).[34]

In the *Erlösung*, which was a source for many *Passionsspiele*,[35] although Christ is dead when he stabs Him, Longinus, ignorant of this fact, acts to cut short His suffering and it is of interest to note that it is specifically stated that he stabs Christ's right side which was just the manner in which the traditional *coup de grâce* was given to those suffering on the cross (Maurer, *Erlösung* 5335-48). Michel Beheim, writing in the fourteenth century, tells the story simply in his poem, "*Die Passion,*" paraphrasing the Gospel of John (vol. 3, 81; 384,513-28).

1.3 **The Malevolent Motive**

In some Passion plays and religious poetry, Longinus appears

as malevolent, bearing a grudge against Christ; in others, he stabs Jesus merely to ascertain if He is dead. A third type of Longinus character stabs Christ to end His suffering and is thus being compassionate. This is the rubric that will be used in analysing Longinus' action.

Longinus appears as a character in the *Donaueschinger Passionsspiel*. The theme of this work is spiritual blindness,[36] so it is not surprising that the blind Longinus is more than a supernumerary. In a preparatory scene, Longinus learns that Jesus has restored the sight of the blind Marcellus but does not want to ask to be cured, reasoning that Jesus saw him and did nothing for him.[37] The Pharisees ask Christ to restore Longinus' sight as a sign, but Jesus refuses and predicts that eventually Longinus' sight will be restored (Hartl, *Donaueschinger* 1163-1190). Longinus stabs Christ out of a feeling of resentment and bitterness because Jesus has left him blind (3520-28).

Longinus has the same motive of revenge in the sixteenth-century *Villinger Passion*. Again, Christ is already dead as one of the soldiers has said: "Der Christus ist gwiss schon todt" (Knorr, 5163). The words and expressions used in Longinus' speech are similar to those used by the character Longinus in the *Donaueschinger Passionsspiel*:

LONGINUS:

Heb still, laß mich an ihm rechen

Vnnd im seine therm durchstechen!

Du hast vff erden nie geholffen mir,

Das soll nit woll ersprießen dir,
Du hast mich lassen blindt beleiben,
Drumb muß dir mein spehr dleib vffschneiden.
...
Darumb, knecht, setz mir mein lantzen an,
Darmit ich dreff den falschen man.
(Knorr 5179-5184, 5190-91)

Elements of ambivalence as to whether the spear stroke caused Christ's death appear later when the character of Nicodemus says: "O Gott, wie hastu dein tödt haupt gesenckht! / O, wie ist dein mundt mit gallen trenckht, / O, wie ist dein haupt mit dorn durchbrochen / Vnnd dein hertz mit einem speer durchstochen!" (Knorr 5395-98). This ambivalence is further strengthened when the character Ioseph says: "Dein hertz ist dir mit einem spehr ußdriben" (Knorr 5425).

In the *Mittelrheinisches Passionspiel (St. Galler Passionsspiel)*, again Longinus spears a dead Christ to obtain revenge (Schützeichel 1184-98).[38] In one of the untitled *Marienklage* collected by Schade, Longinus stabs a dead Christ out of malice:

do was im ein ritter alsoe gehaz
der woulde im doin sunderlich smerzen
ind stach im ein sper in sin hilge herze:
ind dair uiz vloiz clair wazer und bloit
dat uns sunderen bracht dat ewige goit.
(Schade 215; *Marien Klage* 48-52)[39]

In the English play, *The Passion*, Caiaphas orders Longinus to

stab a dead Christ to counter the confession of faith by the centurion (Lumiansky, vol. 1, 320-21; 368-75, 380-83). Longinus stabs Christ, recovers his sight, asks for mercy and confesses his faith (Lumiansky, vol 1, 321; 384-407).

Tilos von Kulm Gedicht Von siben Ingesigeln has an unnamed knight stabbing a dead Christ for no apparent reason (Tilo von Kulm 3717-27). Later, the story is repeated in brief and the unnamed knight is apparently angry because the spear wound is described as being bitter: "Uf gab er [Jesus] di sele snel; / Mit eime sper ein ritter / Stach eine wunde bitter / Cristo in di siete rein" (Tilo von Kulm 4620-23). The author in a third reference to the stabbing admits not knowing the motivation for it: "Do in durch des herczen creiz / Stach ein ritter mit dem sper, / Ich enweiz in welcher ger" (Tilo von Kulm 5266-68). Why would the knight be so angry as to inflict this "bitter" wound on Christ who had just died? This is another indication of the ambivalence of the story in which the author, although portraying Christ as dead, decided that the spear wound would be inflicted with as much vigour and vituperation as if Christ were alive.

1.4 **The Objective Motive**

In the fifteenth-century *Wiener Passion von St. Stephan*, Longinus is sent by Pilate to ascertain if Christ is already dead. Longinus uses the words identified with the centurion present at Christ's death according to Matthew. He states that he sees the glorification of Christ (Hadamowsky 124).[40] His confession that Jesus is the Son of God is almost identical to that of Matthew's

centurion. The centurion does not appear in this play and Longinus takes on the task of ascertaining Christ's death as an assignment directly from Pilate. Although it is unambiguous that Jesus is already dead, the spearing is lamented by Mary Magdalene: "Nach deinem Todt ein scharffen spiesß / Man dir O Jeßu durch dein hertz stiesß, / darinnen findet der Sünder sein Pasß, / zum himmelreich ein offne strasß" (Hadamowsky 124). The spear stroke somehow opens the way to Heaven according to this speech.

Das Passional indicates that Jesus was alive when stabbed by Longinus (again acting on Pilate's orders) because the stabbing takes place before the earthquake and the eclipse (cf. Matt. 27:51-53) which according to Scripture occurred immediately after the death of Christ (Köpke 215; 23,1,12-29,36-45). Another indication that Jesus was thought to be alive when stabbed appears in the line "der in in stach so bitter" (line 18), which indicates a deliberate act with intent to kill rather than the perforation of a corpse.

In the *Züricher Passionsspiel*, Longinus acts to assure himself that Christ is actually dead (Thoran, 4298-4312, 4320a). Longinus is not blind and there is no miraculous healing or confession of faith. The Longinus scene is intended to reproduce the situation described by John with the added rationalization that he wanted to assure himself that Jesus was actually dead. The scene is so consciously crafted in imitation of John that the margin quotes John 19:32-33 as to why the soldiers did not break Christ's legs. The idea of assuring that Christ is actually dead is the motive behind Longinus' act in the *Admonter Passionsspiel* also (Polheim,

vol. 1, 1117-1120). Longinus then miraculously receives his sight, begs forgiveness and professes faith (Polheim, vol. 1, 1121-36). Similarly, in Hans Sachs' mid-sixteenth-century *Der Gantz Passio* (which served as a model for the *Admonter Passionspiel*), a soldier (he is not named) stabs Christ to make sure He is dead. The scene is based on the Gospel of John (Sachs 1395a-1403). Here the soldier is not blind, and there is no healing or expression of faith. Longinus expresses amazement that blood flows from a corpse. The text follows the Gospel of John, again with the added rationalization (as in the *Züricher Passionspiel)* that the spear wound was inflicted to assure that Jesus was dead.

The anonymous long poem *Der Saelden Hort* specifically states (in two widely separated passages) that Longinus stabs a dead Christ on the model of John's Gospel (Adrian 1661-65; 9558-60). *Das Alte Passional* also omits most of the Longinus legend. Longinus appears as a nameless old knight, though not blind. There is no conversion and his actions follow the pattern of the Gospel of John. The description is brief:

nach dem do xpc tot waz
do nam ein alt ritter
eine gleuenie bitter
da mit er durch sin site in stach
iohannes der gute sach
als vnz kunt sine schrift tvt
beide wazzer vnde blut
daz vz der wunde nider ran

die vunfte wunde er sus gewan
die der ritter worchte an im
eya mensche nu vernim.
(Hahn 78; 72-82)

Although the extract clearly states that He was already dead, elsewhere Christ prays to the Father saying: "durch dich bin ich zustochen / vnde an dem cruce erbrochen" (Hahn 74; 65-66). So it is unclear if the spear wound was meant to be the cause of death.

Der Kreuziger says that the spearing occurred after the death of Christ (Johannes von Frankenstein 10568-78). The story goes on to recount the Longinus legend naming him as the blind knight who did not perceive that Christ was dead. He rubbed his eyes with the blood, recovered his sight and was converted and was martyred after living a Christian life for thirty-eight years (Johannes von Frankenstein 10589-632).

In an attempt to harmonize Matthew and John, an unnamed blind man (though obviously Longinus from the context) stabs Christ through the heart to assure the bystanders that He is dead in fourteenth-century *Christi Leiden in einer Vision geschaut* (Pickering 78-79; 20-30,35-4). Physical blindness and spiritual blindness are both removed at the same time and Longinus is converted. There is no ambiguity in that Christ is clearly dead when stabbed, so the writer has followed the account in John (with the additional detail of Christ being stabbed through the heart) while adding the supernatural signs that occurred at the time of Christ's death as recorded in Matt. 27:50-53.

In the *Passio Nova*, Longinus knows that Christ is dead, yet he stabs him thinking that he can obtain some use from the blood (Rosner 6395-6422). Longinus uses words similar to the centurion's saying that Jesus is the true God (6410-12). Longinus then goes on to kneel and ask for forgiveness for his sins. The centurion merely remarks that Christ died peacefully and is worthy of His Father's grace.

The motivation for the stabbing in this play is truly unique. Other plays either have Longinus wanting to make sure that Christ is dead or not knowing He is dead, wanting to end his suffering or seeing that Christ is alive, wanting to end His suffering. In this play, he anticipates that the blood will perform the miracle of curing blindness.

1.5 **The Compassionate Motive**

In the fifteenth-century *Bozner Passion*, Longinus acts to assure himself that Jesus is actually dead. There is also an element of Longinus wishing to end any suffering of the Saviour (Klammer 2243-90). He acts with some malice but there is no hint of revenge as a motive as there is in other Passion plays.

In *Gottes Zukunft*, Longinus acts to spare Christ pain, not knowing that he is already dead (Heinrich von Neustadt 2965-75). In the *Egerer Fronleichnamsspiel*, composed c. 1500, Longinus stabs a dead Christ, wishing to end His suffering but unaware that death has already occurred (Milchsack, *Egerer* 6749a-71). Longinus is blind and a nobleman, though not specifically called a knight. He acts not only to cut short Christ's and Mary's suffering but also

to prevent Christ hanging on the cross during the approaching holiday. Longinus has an unnamed servant to whom he addresses a request to guide the spear into Christ's right side and into the middle of Christ's heart with the explicit intention of killing Jesus (Milchsack, *Egerer* 6787a, 6792-95, 6806-08, 6814-21).[41]

Several legendary elements are present including the spear stroke through the right side penetrating to the heart, the servant guiding the spear and the miraculous restoration of sight, repentance, and the confession of faith (Milchsack, *Egerer* 6807-08, 6822-39). Both Longinus and the centurion profess faith in Christ (Milchsack, *Egerer* 6689a-95, 6800-35).[42]

In this play too there is an element of ambiguity that creeps in during the *Marienklage*. Although it is clear from the preceding action and stage directions that Christ was dead when stabbed, Mary bemoans the spear stroke that has separated her from her son:

MARIA canit:

Auwe, wer hat sein sper
Her zu dir geneiget,
Das er mich und auch dich
So jemerlichen scheidet?
(Milchsack, *Egerer* 6843a-47)

The ambiguity in this play is yet another illustration of the fact that medieval man could not decide if the spear stroke took place before or after death. Some plays opt for the first position, others for the second while still others attempt to reconcile the two or reveal inconsistencies that point to a conflicting opinion.

In the *Heidelberger Passionsspiel*, Longinus again acts to spare Jesus pain (Milchsack, *Heidelberger* 5623a-35, 5641a-53). It is unambiguous that Christ was dead before Longinus stabbed Him. Longinus has a servant and acts out of compassionate motives. But in the *Marienklage*, Mary makes special mention of the spear wound and laments it:

MARIA sprichtt:

O We mir armenn, o we!
Whe mir, hewdtt vnnd ymer me!
...
Was hoitt mein arme sele erliettenn,
Das du, her, alßo versnitten
Durch dein fronn seyttenn bist?
(Milchsack, *Heidelberger* 5654-55, 5670-72)

In the fifteenth-century *Frankfurter Passionsspiel von 1493*, Longinus acts to cut short the sufferings of a living Christ who unbeknownst to him is already dead (Froning, vol. 14.2, 525-26; 4180-4217).[43] Longinus utters words very similar to those of the centurion (Froning, 525; 4204-05). Although Christ is already dead when stabbed,[44] there is a great deal of ambiguity created by a speech which immediately follows Longinus' act and contrition in which the character Annas (the former High Priest and father-in-law of the High Priest Caiaphas [John 18:13]) asserts:

Ir Judden, wir han uns wol gerochen:
Jhesus ist zu dode gestochen!
darumb so gen wir in dieser stunt,

das iß dem folgk icht werde kunt!
ich fuchten: wurde iß das folgk gewar,
sie doten uns alle gar!
(Froning, vol. 14.2, 526; 4218-23)

In this play, there is little doubt left that the spear stroke caused the death of Christ, both because of the foregoing speech and a *Marienklage* which follows it bemoaning Christ's death and mentioning the spear stroke twice (Dauven-van Knippenberg, *Longinuslegende* 137).

The *Frankfurter Passionsspiel* is based on the fourteenth century *Frankfurter Dirigierrolle* which also has Longinus stabbing a dead Christ. It is unclear whether he knows that Christ is dead or what his motivation is, although one assumes that it is compassionate since this is the basis for Longinus' act in the *Frankfurter Passionsspiel* (Froning, *Die Frankfurter Dirigierrolle,* vol. 14.2, 362; 326a-30).

In the *Sündenfall und Erlösung* of the fifteenth-century *Berliner Handschrift*, Longinus wants to end Christ's suffering, not perceiving that He is already dead (Williams-Krapp 55-56; 300a-20). In the *Augsburger Passionsspiel*, Christ is dead at the time of Longinus' appearance (1788a). Longinus, unaware of this fact, intends to end His suffering (1845-88). The words used by Longinus' servant are similar to those in Walther's poem: "Der blinde sprach zuo sînem knehte 'dû solt setzen / daz sper an sîn herze: jâ wil ich die marter letzen'" (L 37,14-15). Compare:

Solan zuo longino

Herr, ich will euch eben weisen.
naigend den spieß mit dem eysen!
An sein hertz will ich in setzen,
das ir in wol mugend letzen
Und in in die seyten stechen
und im also sein hertz brechen.
(Hartmann 70; 1854a-60; emphasis added)

There is further ambiguity in the play over whether Jesus was dead when stabbed because the character Nathan later says of Christ: "dem man newlich thet ungmach / Und an dem creitz ersterben ließ" (Hartmann 76; 2030-31), while in the *Marienklage*, Mary says: "Ir iuden, was wōlt ir rechen, / das ir wend mein kind erstechen?" (Hartmann 60; 1594-95). A sequence which was a forerunner of the "Die Liechtenthaler Marienklage" has Mary lament the spear wound caused His death: ôwê wer hat sîn sper / alsô her geneiget, / daz er dich and ouch mich / jaemerlîchen scheidet?" (Froning, vol. 14.1, 250; XII,1-4).[45]

In the fifteenth-century *Luzerner Osterspiel*, Christ is dead but Longinus doubts that Christ is dead and wants to end His torment (Wyss, vol. 3, 218-19; 9402-37). In the fifteenth-century *Alsfelder Passionsspiel*, Longinus acts out of compassion for the sufferings of Christ, not knowing he is already dead (Froning, vol. 14.3, 796-97; 6360-6395). Again Longinus utters words similar to those of the centurion: "Edde werlich, dit ist goddes kynt!" (Froning, 797; 6382). The first note of ambivalence about Christ being dead when stabbed creeps in even before the Crucifixion when

Jesus says: "auch wiltu den schepper dyn / stechen durch das hercze synn!" (Froning, 765; 5518-19). Even though Christ was dead before Longinus appeared, the ambivalence is evident in Mary's grief at His having been stabbed and in Longinus' expressions of regret in this play as in many of the other plays: Et tunc recedunt. Maria plangit et circuit crucem et vadit hinc inde, donec cantat:

O we! wer hot syn sper alßo gereyde,
das hie dich und mich ßo jemmerlichen wel scheyden?
das spere em durch die sijten drangk,
blut und wasser daruß sprangk!
syn hercz wart eme entnommen:
das klagen ich hude der sonnen!
(Froning, vol. 14.3, 797; 6395a-6401)[46]

If he were already dead what difference would the spear wound make? Some Passion plays make it plain that Longinus stabs Christ while He still lives. This contrasts with the plays in which Christ is obviously dead when stabbed. The Passion plays opt either to follow Matthew's account or John's account or attempt to reconcile the two through the device of Longinus' blindness (Dauven-van Knippenberg, *Longinuslegende* 123-49). The fact that Christ is often portrayed as already dead when stabbed in most later medieval Passion plays stems in part from the decision of the medieval Church Council of Vienne in 1311/12 that Matt. 27:49 was merely an interpolation and that Christ was dead when stabbed (Happ 186). Pope Clement V settled the argument as far as the Church was concerned (Happ 187).[47] The Council of Vienne ratified a view long

held that Christ was already dead. However, the belief that Christ was alive when stabbed found expression *in spite of* the decision of the Council (Krōner 42; Dauven-van Knippenberg, "Vienner" 442-43; Réau, vol. 2, pt. 2, 495).

The older plays tend to show Longinus acting to relieve Jesus' suffering. Some plays have two versions, the older with Christ alive when stabbed and a later version with Christ already dead when stabbed. In the thirteenth-century *Benediktbeurer Passionsspiel*, Christ is already dead but Longinus does not notice and acts to spare Him pain (Hartl, *Benediktbeurer* 43; 471-76). In the older version of the *Benediktbeurer Passionsspiel*, based on the manuscript, it is apparent that Christ is alive when stabbed (Froning, vol. 14.1, 298; 263-70). The author has changed the order of Christ's last words as they were recorded in the Synopotic Gospels, putting "Ely, Ely" after the words "consummatum est!" probably because he felt they would have more dramatic effect as the last words (Hartl, "Entwicklung" 117).[48] He has also put the words of the centurion (who does not appear in the play) in the mouth of Longinus (Froning, vol. 14.1, 298; 268). This illustrates how the two were often confused because medieval authors conflated the two characters.

In the *Passion de Roman*, part of the fifteenth-century French *Passion d'Autun*, Longinus appears as a blind knight who stabs a living Christ (Frank, *Passion d'Autun* 1119-24).[49] Longinus acts out of pity for Christ, stabbing him in the right side, and the blood removes his blindness and Longinus begs forgiveness (Frank, *Passion*

d'Autun 1163-70, 1178-81). In this play, Christ, definitively alive at the time of the spearing, answers and forgives him (Frank, *Passion d'Autun* 1185-88).[50]

In Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Willehalm*, composed in the thirteenth-century, there is a speech by Berhtram in which he uses the word "erstach" indicating that the speaker believed that Jesus was alive when stabbed:

> "...ûfem esele man in komen sach [cf. Matt. 12:14; Zech. 9:9]
> aldar da in sît ein blinde erstach:
> er waern gesehenden wol entpfarn.
> swers kriuces segen wil wol bewarn,
> den jâmer wier am kriuce hienc,
> Jêsus, do ern tôt durh uns enphienc."
> (303,25-28)

In another passage, the speaker attempts to recreate the words that were spoken by Nicodemus when asking Pilate for Christ's body. There is no Scriptural record of the words used, however. The passage in *Willehalm* again reveals that the author believed that Christ was alive when stabbed: "doch gip mir sîn lîchnamen her, / des mennischeit vons blinden sper / starp,..." (68,23-25).

In the medieval period, people believed that Christ bore the five still bleeding wounds of the Crucifixion a millennium and a half after the Crucifixion as this extract from the poem "In der grunt weis," part of the sixteenth-century *Heidelberger Handschrift*, shows:

Jesus, der herr, stund auff frue vor der sunnen
so gar mit klerliche wune,
gewalticklichen von dem tod,
...
da behilte er im funff wunden tzaichen rot.
(Wunderle 257-58; 47,II,1-3,6)

Der Stricker, in his poem "*Passionsgebet*," expressed the view that the five wounds symbolized eternal salvation: "din haeilige funf wunden, / die sin mir ze allen stunden / ein ewich saelde unt ein heil!" (vol. 2, 166; 19,9-11). The spear wound, as one of the five wounds suffered during the Crucifixion, was used as a reason for repaying Christ through the Crusades. Medieval man believed that sacrificial death of Christ called for repayment. This was most evident in Crusade poetry. Berhtram in *Willehalm* says:

"wol in dier hât für sîniu kint!
daz wir schowen fümf wunden
die noch sint unverbunden!
sîn bluot er durh uns rêrte:
swer sich von got nu kêrte,
des ende wurde gesmaehet
und diu sêle der helle genaehet.
sîn verch hât uns den segen erstriten..."
(303,16-23)

Notice that the text says the wounds are still bleeding ("die noch sint unverbunden!"). This is a vivid image of the Crucifixion

and of the spear wound that still drips the blood of Christ's self-sacrifice. *Der Kreuziger* takes this idea further, saying that Christ will have the wounds until the Day of Judgement when He will display them for all to see:

hî bî mêr ze wizzen ist
daz unser hêre Jesus Christ
nâch der urstend, als im zam,
an sînem werden lîchnam
behîlt di vumf wunden sîn
sichticlich, gar zû schîn,
und behelt ouch se vurbaz
unz an den jungsten tac.
(Johannes von Frankenstein 10991-98)

Tannhäuser says that Christ received six wounds. The explanation could be that he believed that the spear penetrated one side of the chest and exited on the other side, making for a sixth wound. Tannhäuser says of the Crucifixion:

Der herr helye sang,
do er in lūften hing.
er was geslagen hart,
vnd gleych sich einem worn [cf. Ps. 22:7].
al von der slangen list warn wir verratten.
man bot ym essich, gallen drang,
ein bermiclichs geferte.
Sie waren fro, daz sie den herren hetten.
vmb vnser sunde will liesz er sich tōtten.

sie furtenn an eim strang,
da er zur martel ging,
sehs hundert tusent ser,
sehs wunden er enpfing;
vil grosze pin leit er in sinen nötten,
daz leben mit der mentschheit rang:
durch vns liess er sich tötten!
(217-18; 3,3,54-69)

The fact that Tannhäuser has Christ comparing himself to a worm (line 57, in an obvious reference to Ps. 22:7), indicates that Tannhäuser believed that Christ either recited Ps. 22 or was thinking of it while on the cross.

The stigmata or wounds of Christ held great significance for medieval man. Many medieval works illustrate the belief that Christ shows His wounds together with the instruments of the Passion on the Day of Judgement.[51]

1.6 **Longinus as a Jew**

In the *Alsfelder Passionsspiel*, when Mary repeats what has occurred, a new issue arises: "O we! Longinus, der Judde blint, / der stach Jhesum myn liebes kint! / hie stach eß dorch das hercze syn: / des ist nu groiß myns herczen pyn!" (Froning, vol. 14.3, 799; 6458-61). She asserts that Longinus was a Jew who stabbed Christ through the heart. Other literary works of the period also assert that Longinus was a Jew. In the poem *"Veronica,"* part of the *"Dichtungen des wilden Mannes"* series, composed c. 1180, Christ is alive when stabbed and again Longinus appears as a Jew:

daz sper brahte ein jude blint,
da mit her unsir herren stach.
he wart giloubich undi sach.
dat blut he an di ougin streich,
du virscit godis sun unde wart bleich.
(Maurer, *Die religiösen Dichtungen*, vol. 3, 515; 18,4-8)

The idea that Mary saw a Jewish Longinus stabbing Christ is repeated in the "Marienlegende":

Noch bete ich, liebe herre, dich,
Daz du wolles hôren mich
Und di getouften cristenheit
Durch di grôze jâmerkeit,
Di dîner mûter dô gescach,
Dô der jude Longînus stach
Ein sper in dîne sîten.
Dô sach si zu den zîten
Hin nider zu tale vlîzen
Und ûz den wunden gîzen
Beide wazzer unde blût.
(Bartsch, *Mitteldeutsche Gedichte* 38; 1320-30)

The order of the fluids ("water and blood," line 1330) is the same as that mentioned by Mattew. Longinus is specifically called a Jew (line 1325). The emphasis on Mary actually seeing the stabbing indicates a belief that Christ was alive when stabbed. If Christ were already dead, the stabbing would not have caused so much grief.

There were exceptions to the general tendency of the poetry of the later Middle Ages to portray Christ as already dead when stabbed. In a poem of the sixteenth-century *Heidelberger Handschrift*, "*von dem leiden unsers hern*," Longinus appears as a Jew and it seems that he cuts short the suffering of Christ on the cross rather than stabbing a dead Christ (Wunderle 19-20; 3,IV,1-18).

The sixteenth-century *Meisterlied*, "*in der brieff weis*," implies that Christ, again stabbed by Longinus as a Jew, was alive when speared:

> Geseng mich heut der pitter ganck, den er do gieng!
> geseng mich heut, das man got hoch an ain creutz auff
> /spieng!
> geseng mich heut weil und tzeit, die er dran hieng,
> do in ein plintter Judi stach mit einem scharffen spere!
> (Wunderle 291; 52B,II,1-4)

This leads to the formula "sper, nagl, creutz und kron" which is the precondition to glorification:

> Geseng mich heut sper, nagl, creutz und auch die kron!
> geseng mich heut das pluet, das aus sein ffunff wundenn ran!
> Geseng mich heut Maria und der lieb sant Johan,
> die unter dem creutz ir hent auff habn und klagten den
> /schöpffer sere!
> (Wunderle 291; 52B,II,5-8)

Another version of the same poem makes it clearer that Longinus acts before Christ dies since Christ's last words follow mention of

the spearing:

Geseng mich heut die nagl drei und auch di kron!
geseng mich heut das plut, das got auß seiner seitten ran!
geseng mich heut gotz muter und auch sand Johanns,
die under dem chreutz ir hendt auff wunden und clagten den
/schöpfer sere!
Geseng mich heut das man in an das kreitz auff spien!
geseng mich heut die czeitt und weil, die er dar ane hieng!
geseng mich heut der pitter swaiss, der von im gieng,
da in ain plinder Jude stach mit ainem scharffen spere!
Ely, ely, das wort das sei für allen meinen schmertzen,
da er rueft den vater in grossem ellendt an.
ach, mein got, wie hastu mich verlon!
zu handt der vater dich zu im selber nam.
da wart die prophicei volpracht mit auff getanem
/hertzen.

(Wunderle, 301-02; 52D,II,1-13)

Der Stricker, as illustrated by his poem, "Der ernsthafte König," believes that Christ was stabbed through the heart (though he does not say whether Longinus was a Jew or a Roman). Because other poems link the idea of stabbing Christ through the heart and the belief that Longinus was a Jew, der Stricker may be implying that Longinus was a Jew. The implication of what he says is that Christ was alive when stabbed:

vorn an minem herzen stet
ein sper, daz vaste drin get;

daz ist diu marter, die christ leit.
siner not und siner arbeit,
dern wart nie dehein kumber gelich.
(vol. 3/II, 365-66; 98,115-19)

Der Saelden Hort has Mary Magdalene lament the stabbing of a dead Christ with the following words:

ain blind, der Longinus haist,
nam ainen spitzigen, praiten spiess,
den er im also toten stiess
dur situn indaz hertz.
dis ist mines hertzen smertz....
(Adrian 9838-42)

Although she does not explicitly state that the Longinus was Jewish, the idea of stabbing Christ through the heart may be realted to the idea of Longinus as Jewish. The stabbing is the subject of more lamentation by Mary Magdalene than the death itself. Sometimes the idea of Christ being stabbed through the heart is combined with the assertion that this was meant to kill Him. *Das Redentiner Osterspiel,* written in 1464, has the character Sathanas say: "ik richtede dat sper in syn herte, / do let he des dodes smerte!" (Froning, vol. 14.1, 139; 411-12). "Die Liechtenthaler Marienklage" says: "Aube, wer / hat sein sper / also her gestochen, / Daz der dir / und auch mir / daz hertze hat zerbrochen?" (Froning, vol. 14.1, 253; 49-54).

In a poem attributed to Regenbogen, "Die siben herzenleit von unser lieben frowen," Longinus (unnamed but identifiable from the

context) appears as a Jew who stabs Christ through the heart:

dô dîn kint sô jaemerlîch
was an dem kriuze gestorben tôt:
êrst was dîn sêl verwunt mit grôzem smerzen.
Marjâ dîm herzen wê geschach,
dô du an saehe daz in ein jude sô blinde
mit sînem scharpfen sper dô stach
hin durch sîn herze, als ichz geschriben finde:
dar ûz ran wazzer unde pluot.
(Bartsch, *Erlösung* 211; VIII, 69-76)

Here again, the mention of Christ being stabbed through the heart (line 75) indicates a belief that He was still alive before being stabbed. The idea of Christ being stabbed through the heart and Longinus as a Jew are explicitly linked. Apparently, Regenbogen is relying on the apocryphal verse of Matthew because he says: dar ûz ran wazzer unde pluot" (line 76), the same order that Matthew uses; whereas John says: "...and forthwith came there out blood and water" (John 19:34), reversing the order of bodily fluids issuing from Christ's side.[53] In another poem attributed to him, Regenbogen gives a contrary view of Longinus as a heathen who stabs Christ through the heart:

Dô kam ein blinder heiden her
ze gote mit einem scharpfen sper,
er stach im abe daz herze sîn.
daz bluot gap im des tôdes schîn,
der mensch was tôt.

(Bartsch, *Meisterlieder* 390; LXXV,150-154)[53]

In *Gundackers von Judenburg Christi Hort*, the sequence of the bodily fluids flowing from Christ's side are in the order that Matthew names them, but the author is relying on John because Christ is already dead when stabbed by Longinus, who is unnamed though he is called a knight and uses a spear to cut through Christ's heart:

er [Jesus] sprach: 'ich enphilhe dir, vater mein,
den gaist mein in die hende din.'
mit geneigtem houpt er do lie
seinen gaist. zu im her do gie
ain reter mit ainem sper,
daz was groz; da mit stach er
Jesu durch die seiten
ein tîefe wunden weite
an der stat der hailichait.
daz sper al durch daz herze snait
unt macht durch da ein witen roum,
da von ain zwivaltic phloum
floz ouz sinem hercen guet,
der ain wazzer, der ander pluet.
daz geschach du er was tôt;
nu was vol der marter not.
(Gundacker von Judenburg 2065-80)

Notice line 2074 says that Christ's heart was pierced. The fact that Gundacker uses the order "water and blood," like Matthew,

leaves room for the supposition that Longinus could be a Jew. Matthew's version does not identify Longinus as a Roman soldier. This emphasis on the broken heart of Christ again indicates a belief that He was alive prior to the spear stroke. Although it is clear Christ is stabbed after death, ambivalence is indicated by the fact that the author stresses that He was stabbed through the heart and that water and blood flowed from the heart (lines 2074, 2078, 2079). He also says that the wound was deep (lines 2072, 2075). This ambivalence is reinforced when the character Veronica later says:

> nu was ouch chomen diu cît
> daz er die marter solde
> leiden als er wolde;
> an daz chriuce genagelt wart
> untz in den tot sein lip verschart
> pitterlichen und vil sere
> mit drin nageln unt mit dem spere,
> dar an er menshlichen starp;
> sein sterben uns ewic hail erwarp.
> (Gundacker von Judenburg 4734-42)

Christi Hort does not state that the man with a spear was a Jew but neither does it state that he was a Roman soldier. Heinrich von Meißen accuses an unnamed Jew (obviously Longinus from the context) of being responsible for the spearing:

> Maria, muoter reine,
> durch dînes lieben kindes tôt,

ich man dich dîner gûete,
al durch die manecvalten nôt,
dô in der blinde jude stach,
ob du mir armen wellest gnâde erzeigen.
Daz tet ein jude aleine.
du vergaeb im sîn missetât;
des bite ich dich vrouwe,
unt den, der uns erarnet hât
dort an dem kriuze, dô man sach
ein scharpfez sper gên sîner sîten neigen.
(Heinrich von Meißen/Ettmüller 163; Spruch 285,1-12)

Apparently Heinrich von Meißen, together with the other poets that portray Longinus as Jewish, relies on the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus and the controverted verse in Matthew (who does not specify who the perpetrator was) and discounts the corresponding verse in John which definitively identifies the man as a Roman soldier (Burdach, "Longinus-Speer" 321 fn. 2).

The fact that Heinrich von Meißen relies on Matthew's version supports the proposition that he believes that Jesus was alive when speared. The view that He was alive when stabbed helps explain the great importance given to the spear (or what was alleged to be the actual spear) as a revered relic in the Middle Ages. The spear that killed Christ was also associated with the Jews. Fegfeuer accuses the Jews in general of responsibility for stabbing Christ through the heart when he says: "Dar nâch über drî und drîzich jâr lie sich daz kint verkoufen unde verrâten. / dâ von die Juden vervluochet

sint unde alle die daz tâten. / Dô der Juden ungeloube daz kint durch sîn herze stach, / von der nôt die erde bebete unde manich stein zubrach" (Wangenheim 163; I,2,7-10; cf. Matt. 27:52).

It does not matter to Fegfeuer which individual stabbed Christ since for him ultimate responsibility rests with the Jews in general. Fegfeuer's and Regenbogen's emphasis on Christ being stabbed through the heart also implies that Christ was alive at the time. Otherwise, why emphasize the event; why add that Christ was stabbed through the heart (which is not recorded in Scripture); and why be so vituperative (Fegfeuer) or so mournful (Regenbogen and Heinrich von Meißen) about the stabbing of a corpse? One might also question why the character called Longinus in the German Passion plays and in the English play *The Passion* as well as the epic poem *Piers Ploughman* is so remorseful about "wounding" a corpse.

Medieval man viewed the legendary Longinus either as a Jew or as a heathen Roman soldier who stabbed Christ either out of pity or to obtain revenge for some unknown wrong:

> Bald ist dieser Schänder des toten oder dieser Mörder des noch lebenden Christus ein römischer Heide, bald ist er Jude. Bald erfolgt der Speerstich aus Mitleid mit dem Gemarterten, um seine Qual abzukürzen und zu enden, als Gnadenstoß, bald als letzter Ausbruch des Hasses. (Burdach, "Judenspieß" 184-85)

In the *Donaueschinger Passionsspiel*, Longinus appears as a friend of the moneychangers whom Jesus drove from the Temple. His spear became associated with the Jews and usury (Burdach,

"Judenspieß" 208). The spear used to pierce Christ's side was regarded with ambivalence. On the one hand, it had poisonous and destructive qualities because it was associated with Christ's suffering. But it was also the instrument of salvation and hence was blessed. Medieval man held both beliefs simultaneously as disparate as they were (Peebles 189-90, 192-93). Konrad von Würzburg, in his "Leich," captures the spirit of such ambivalence when he says:

> dô man rêch der lanzen ort,
> herre, in dîne sîten frôn;
> daz si wart darîn gebort,
> daz gaeb uns sô rîchen lôn,
> daz uns zûge an heiles port
> dînes grimmen endes dôn.
> (vol. 3, 12; I,119-24)

Other *Spruchdichter* are even more succinct. Walther says: "der unsern tôt ze tôde sluoc!" (L 4,28). Rumelant says: "do din lib koufte vri, din tot gab uns daz leben, / von todes eigenschaft wir sin gevrîet" (Hagen, vol. 3, 54; 20,II,9,2-3).[54] Reinmar von Zweter says: "sîn sterben hât uns leben erstriten" (401; I,10) and "du erstüende an dem dritten tage, dîn tôt den unsern übervaht" (413; II,6,6). Boppe says: "rein' ungemeilt, des tot von tode uns loste" (Hagen, vol. 2, 380; 138,I,14,8). Der Marner says: "von tôde, der den zwilhen tôt an uns ze tôde sluoc" (120; XV,8,155). Der Meißner says: "sin tot lost uns von tode... / Des vacht sige án dem kruze der sueze Jesu Krist / únde gab uns wider vurlornez leben" (208;

XII,4,5,7-8).[55]

In the Middle Ages, Church and Synagogue were often portrayed as two attractive women, Synagogue being blindfolded, symbolizing spiritual blindness. The spear used by Longinus became associated with Judaism in such works of art also. The lance and the blindfold are transferred from Longinus to the Synagogue (Ames 125-26).[56]

In medieval works of art angels are usually seen holding cups to catch blood from Christ's wounds. These images are a material representation of the theological belief that no drop of sacred blood was lost (Peebles 41; Seiferth 15-19). Medieval faith held that the lance wound inflicted on Christ brought salvation to the world (Réau, vol. 3, 813; Marotta 35). The lance became so identified with the female personification of the Synagogue that it became one of her attributes (Ames 125). In some Passion plays, such as the *Alsfelder,* Church and Synagogue are seen disputing (Froning, vol. 14.3, 732-55; 4480-5263).[57] In the *Sündenfall und Erlösung* of the Berliner Handschrift, *Cristenhait* says to *Jùtschait*:

> brich ab din cron, du vages wib!
> gehänt muoss iemer sin din lib.
> vnd deck bald din ougen.
> du muost ohne alles lougen
> din paner bald brechen.
> ...
> vnd wer and dich *geloubet*,
> der muosß sin beroubet

der frōden, die got wil geben

den cristen vmb jr recht leben.

do der Iùtschhait ir cron vnd paner ward ab genomen....

(Williams-Krapp 61; 453-57, 465-68a)[58]

The medieval writers probably felt that Scriptural basis for this loss of the Synagogue's crown and the breaking of her banner was Gen. 49:10: "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and unto him shall the gathering of the people be." In the Middle Ages, this was interpreted as a rejection of the Synagogue in favour of the Church (Wenzel 229).

Longinus is the patron saint of the knight and is sometimes represented as a knight on horseback at the foot of the cross. His attribute is the lance.[59] He is associated with the Church as opposed to the Synagogue. He is often contrasted with the legendary Stephanos, the name traditionally given to the soldier who offered Christ vinegar on a sponge, and who is associated with the Synagogue in iconography (Réau, vol. 2, pt. 2, 497).

The ambivalence associated with the deed performed by Longinus is obvious. If Longinus' act was viewed negatively, he was seen as Jewish. In keeping with a contemporary tendency to demonize Jews in the medieval period, Longinus was often portrayed as a Jew ("Longinussegen," *Handwōrterbuch*, vol. 5, 1335). The Scriptural passage that seems to indicate that the ones who pierced Christ were Jewish appears in Zechariah and reads:

And I will pour upon the house of David, and upon the

> inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and of supplications: and they shall look upon me whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn for him, as one mourneth for his only son, and shall be in bitterness for him, as one that is in bitterness for his firstborn. (Zech. 12:10)[50]

Der Kreuziger paraphrases Zechariah: "den selben werden schowen / beide man und di vrowen, / ouch di in gestochen haben / und brâcht zû des tôdes grabe" (Johannes von Frankenstein 11021-24; see also 10975-82). The passage from Zechariah gave rise to the medieval belief that Longinus was a Jew and that Jesus was alive when stabbed ("Longinussegen," *Handwörterbuch*, vol. 5, 1329-30).[51]

1.7 **The Holy Lance**

The instruments of the Passion are preconditions to the glorification of Christ as "Aber dru in der Briefe wise," makes clear. The crucifixion was a precondition to glorification:

> Gesegn mich hut daz sper, krutz, nagel und die kron!
> gesegn mich hut daz blut, uz gottez siten ran!
> gesegn mich hut gotz muter und auch sant Johan,
> der underm crutz sin hend uff want. er klagt den schopfer /sere.
> Gesegn mich hut ein ursprung aller guten art!
> gesegn mich hut gotz martel und sin himmel fart!
> gesegn mich hut sine heren fron engel zart!
> gesegn mich hut blut und sweiß switzt er am crutze here!
> Gesegn mich hut sin heiligen funff wonden!

gesegn mich hut sin angest und sin große not!
gesegn mich hut sin martel und sin bitter dot!
gesegn mich hut der win, waßer, daz himmel brot!
gesegn mich hut all priester gut in gotez wandelunge!
(Wunderle 288; 52A,II,1-13)

Longinus (and his spear) were viewed positively when not associated with the Jews. The paradox of the transformation of the instruments of torture and death ("sper kriuze unde dorn") to symbols of victory was an outgrowth of several beliefs that had developed in the course of the Middle Ages. The lance was seen as an apotropaic and a guarantor of the continuation of Christendom:

> Die Waffe des Longinus war...schon im siebenten Jahrhundert ein Palladium der christlichen Religion geworden. Sie wurde selbst eine Idee, die frei von Raum und Zeit und geschichtlicher Beglaubigung sich vervielfältigte, allerorten auftauchte und nun in den erregten Seelen frommer Gläubiger eine reale Existenz führte, eine zwingende Macht ausübte. (Burdach, *Gral* 379)

The lance allegedly used by Longinus, was revered as a talisman in the Middle Ages (Peebles 61; Ravenscroft 285). The worship of the lance was probably an old pagan custom that was christianized. In Rhegium, the ancient inhabitants worshipped a spear as the god Ares or Mars. The spear was seen as a symbol of the gods. The worship of a spear (used to represent the god of war) was also practiced by the Scythians, the Getae, the Goths, the Alans and the Sarmatians (Peebles 69 fn. 36, 175-76). Similarly,

The Holy Lance continued to be venerated, along with the nails and the crown of thorns as one of the instruments of the Passion (Bühler 92).

In addition to its religious associations, the lance was a Germanic symbol that betokened the worth of a man:

> Die Heilige Lanze wird erst seit dem 10. Jahrhundert erwähnt....Zunächst ist festzustellen, daß die Germanen ohne Speer und Lanze gar nicht zu denken sind. Die Lanze der Germanen ist nicht nur Waffe, sondern auch "Zeichen" des wehrhaften Mannes. (Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen*, vol. 13/II, 493)

The spear was a symbol of rulership that ranked with the cross and crown (Heer, *Tragödie* 216-26). Like the crown, the spear symbolized the legitimacy of the ruler (Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen*, vol. 13/II, 503-04). As he did in "Palästinalied," Walther again evokes the image of Longinus who attained salvation with his spear in the "Elegie": "ich wolte saelden krône êweclîchen tragen: / die mohte ein soldenaere mit sîme sper bejagen" (L 125,7-8). Burdach suggests that "selbe krône" replace the phrase "saelden krône" (L 125,7) thereby strengthening the tie to Longinus (Burdach, "Walthers Aufruf" 55). This reference to Longinus may have been topical:

> Inzwischen gingen seit dem Sommer 1227 Visionen durch Europa, in denen der von der Lanze des Longinus durchbohrte Christus erschien und nach der Errettung des Heiligen Landes rief. Auch in dem mahnenden Brief des

> Papstes an Friedrich vom Juli 1227 wird die heilige Lanze erwähnt, in deren Besitz Friedrich war und ihn zur Kreuzfahrt verpflichtete. (Haubrichs 24)

As the preceding quote suggests, Pope Gregory IX himself used the image of Longinus' spear as an inducement in urging Emperor Friedrich II to begin a Crusade, saying that the spear which had opened Christ's side would open the gates of paradise to Friedrich (Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen*, vol. 13/II, 517 fn. 2).

The Emperor was to use the spear as an instrument of the authority given to him (Burdach, "Longinus-Speer" 316 fn. 3). During the First Crusade a spear was found which was reputed and widely believed to be the one that killed Christ. A peasant, Peter Bartholomew, found the spear buried in the Church of St. Peter in Antioch in the year 1098. Its presence was believed to guarantee victory for the crusaders.

The saying associated with the lance was: "Ecce lancia quae latus ejus apervit totius mundi salus emanavit" (Payne 89).[62] The spear was the instrument of salvation as well as an instrument of the Passion. The ambivalence associated with Longinus' deed is evident in the *Wiener Passion von St. Stephan* where an angel announces that the spear stroke has opened the gates of paradise (Hadamowsky 125).

The Holy Lance came to be a religious and political symbol (Burdach, *Gral* 379-97). In addition, miraculous healing power was attributed to it (Burdach, *Gral* 294). It should be clear that Longinus' spear had a spiritual significance far beyond its value

as a relic. It became the symbol not only of degradation but of salvation and world rulership (Burdach, "Longinus-Speer" 316). The lance played its part in the glorification of Christ. Medieval man believed it would be used as one of the symbols of Christ upon His Advent.

1.8 **Summary**

There was a wide-spread belief in the Middle Ages that the soldier (traditionally known as Longinus) who stabbed Christ caused his death. This belief conflicted with a Church decision that Christ died before being stabbed. Medieval Passion plays either followed the Church's pronouncement or attributed Christ's death to the spear wound or attempted to reconcile the two views through an ambivalence which reflected both views. The Longinus legend contributed to the idea that the spear used to stab Christ had miraculous powers. Crusaders considered it a talisman of victory. The Holy Lance also became symbolic of the authority of the Emperor. As a religious and political symbol, it evoked ambivalence in that it was the instrument of Christ's death but as such it was also symbolic of salvation.

II

THE CROSS: POPE URBAN II AND THE POETS

2.1 The Call for a Crusade

The Prologue to Shakespeare's *Henry V* proclaims: "O for a Muse of fire, that would ascend / The brightest heaven of invention, / A kingdom for a stage, princes to act / And monarchs to behold the swelling scene!" (Shakespeare, *Henry V*, Prologue, 1-4).

Pope Urban II seems to have had a muse of fire and the speech he delivered before royalty and laymen alike affected the course of history. In 1095 at Clermont, Pope Urban II called upon the populace of Europe to help their Christian brothers in the east promising a full remission of sins for participation in a Crusade. He expressed contempt for the Seljuks as a fighting force while maintaining that it was necessary to fight a righteous war for which there would be an eternal reward. He said that God would be their leader and urged that nothing hinder his audience from participation. He pointed to the special sanctity of Jerusalem and accused the Seljuks of profaning the Holy Sepulchre and of persecuting Christian pilgrims. He said the times boded the appearance of the Antichrist (Munro 231-42).

When Pope Urban II finished speaking, the announcement was met with immeasurable enthusiasm and the crowd reacted as if a Crusade were the very will of God:

> As the assembly listened it was swept by emotion of an overwhelming power. Thousands cried with one voice: "*Deus le volt*!"--"It is God's will!" Crowding around the Pope

> and kneeling before him they begged leave to take part in the holy war....[M]any were seized with convulsive trembling. (Cohn, *Pursuit* 61-62; see also Krey 32)

Urban II's call was a milestone in history and the symbolism of his proclamation was inescapable: "Urban was like another Moses, proclaiming that the knights of France were true inheritors of the land of milk and honey, the only people deserving to be the guardians of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre" (Payne 34). Speaking of the reward to be expected, Urban II said: "Whoever wishes to save his soul should not hesistate humbly to take up the way of the Lord..." (Krey 28). He went on to state:

> Brethren, we ought to endure much suffering for the name of Christ--misery, poverty, nakedness, persecution, want, illness, hunger, thirst, and other (ills) of this kind, just as the Lord saith to His disciples: "Ye must suffer much in My name" [Matthew 10:22], and "Be not ashamed to confess Me before the faces of men; verily I will give you mouth and wisdom" [Matt. 10:32], and finally, "Great is your reward in Heaven" [Matt. 5:12]. (Krey 28-29)[63]

Medieval man was constantly being reminded of Christ's expiatory death as in these verses of Herger's:

> Crist sich ze marterenne gap,
> er lie sich legen in ein grap.
> daz tet er dur die goteheit.
> dâ mite lôste er die cristenheit
> Von der heizen helle.

er getuot ez niemer mêr.
dar an gedenke, swér sô der welle.
(Moser, *Minnesangs Frühling* 54; VII,VI,1,1-7)

Der Kanzler likewise writes:

Got schepfer al der welte,
Jêsus dîn eingebornez kint
bant sich ze grôzem gelte.
die buoze er sunder missetât
vil gar ûf sich geluot.
er wolt die armen loesen
die in der helle lâgen blint
von tiuvels raeten boesen.
(Kraus, *Liederdichter*, vol. 1, 188; 28,II,2,1-8)

The words of the *Annolied* are similar:

ce opfere wart her vur uns brâht,
dem dôde nam her sîni maht.
ce hellin vûr her âne sunden,
der herite si mit gewelde.
der tiuvel virlôs den sînin gewalt,
wir wurdin al in vrîe gezalt.
(Nellmann 4,7-12)

The idea of repaying Christ for His gift of salvation is also implicit in some poems. It is as if Christ's gift necessitated some type of repayment. In Walther's "Kreuzlied," compare, for example, "loeser ûz den sünden" (L 76,30) and the admonition of "erloesen wir daz grap!" (L 77, 23). The same root word *erloeser (erloesen)*

is used in both instances. One refers to what God did for man and the other tells (Christian) man what he can do for God. It was natural for medieval man to feel that he was obliged to repay Christ (Wagemann 72-73).

Rubin reminds his listeners that since Christ suffered for them, they are obliged to repay Him by winning back the Holy Land and liberating the Holy Sepulchre:

dâ leit er got durch uns den tôt.
...
Swer nû daz kriuze niht ennimt
der lîbes unde guotes hât
in vollen, daz ist missetân,
...
dâ mite wir hie ringen,
daz ist der sêle ein arebeit,
niwan daz wir si bringen
ûz grôzer liebe in leit.
...
dô dâchte ich nâch dem lône
der süezen êwe staetekeit,
ob iemer himelkrone
des lîbes arebeit
verdienen kunde umb in, der krône ob allen krônen
/treit.

(Kraus, *Liederdichter*, vol. 1, 344-45; 47,VIIA,1,5, 2,1-3,7-10, 3,7-11)

Gottes Zukunft portrays Christ sitting in judgement, showing the instruments of the Crucifixion and His wounds and asking how man has repaid His sacrifice:

Got sitzet in dem throne.
Daz cruece und die krone,
Daz sper und der wuenden meil,
Geiseln, besem und daz seil,
Und wo mit Crist gesmehet wart,
Daz wirt gezeiget an der vart.
Daz cruoce wirt so lieht gevar
Daz ez die liehte suonne clar
Von sinem liehte gelischet
Und ir clarheit mischet.
Dar nach der volle mane
Wirt auch sines liehtes ane.
...
Waz gebt ir mir zu lone
Umb die dornin krone
Die man mich fuor uch tragen sach,
Die mir min heubt gar zerstach
Tusent wunden oder me?
(Heinrich von Neustadt 6384-95, 6466-70)[64]

Medieval poets urge their audience to follow the example of Christ in self-sacrifice. When Walther says "got wolde dur uns sterben" (L 77,26), and "dîn bluot hât uns begozzen, / den himel ûf geslozzen" (L 76,34-35), we have a reference to Christ's mission--

to die for mankind.

The New Testament writers based the idea of Christ's atonement largely on Isaiah: "But he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities: the chastisement of our peace was upon him..." (Isa. 53:5). This is the argument Walther puts forth when he says: "got wolde dur uns sterben" (L 77,26). Walther also says: "nû heilent Kristes wunden, / sîn lant wirt schiere enbunden: / dêst sicher sunder wân" (L 77,9-11).

This is a direct reference to Isa. 53:5: "[A]nd with his stripes we are healed." For medieval man, the occupation of Jerusalem was also a "wound" to Christ. The occupation of the Holy Land, however, provided the opportunity for salvation. G. Wolfram says: "gott hat zum zweiten male unrecht und schmach erduldet, damit wir gelegenheit haben durch die befreiung der heiligen stätten unsere sünde zu büßen" ("Kreuzpredigt" 102).[65] The heathen occupation of the Holy Land had symbolically crucified Christ a second time. In the words of Innocent III: "ecce enim rursus in cruce sua crucifigitur crucifixus, rursus alapis caeditur, rursus etiam flagellatur..." (Wolfram, "Kreuzpredigt" 103 fn. 1).[66]

Medieval man felt it incumbent upon himself to rectify the situation through war. The idea of service to a feudal lord was ingrained in medieval society. Since Christ was Lord of Lords, should not the same principle apply (Ladenthin, "Walthers Kreuzlied" 53). Implicitly, Walther appealed to the noble and knightly classes. This is strongly suggested in the lines which read: "got wil mit heldes handen / dort rechen sînen anden" (L

77,40-78,1). These lines portray God as an avenger in the manner of a feudal warrior. In the Book of Revelation, we find Christ similarly depicted as a war lord (Rev. 19:11,15-16). Sigeher, in the mid-thirteenth century, implores God to become a warrior:

Got, dîn zorn der ist verschuldet.
schouwet, wie der touf nimt abe.
die heiden vaste dringen.
wachâ, herre, wache unt werâ, wer!
Kristen her kumber duldet
unde strebet nâch dîme grabe,
sô daz ir swert erklingen
mūezen, dem gelîche als ūber mer.
(89; 1,1-8)

Der Marner, in language reminiscent of the Bible, describes the power of God:

Wir haben nû einen meister,
dem ist wol wunder kunt,
der bindet ūbliu geister,
...
er berges slunt, swenn er beginnet wūeten [cf. Isa. 40:4].
...
ê er geboren wart,
des mânen und des sunnen
eclipsis und ir wandel art,
...
sît er der sternen zal, ir namen, ir art, ir breite weiz,

der himel wîte, der erde, wâges umbekreiz [cf. Ps. 147:4; Job 38:18].

(101; XlII,3,37-39,41,43-45,48-49)

Der Kreuziger calls Christ the first crusader (Johannes von Frankenstein 11429-36). Urban II had portrayed Christ as a warlord in his proclamation of the First Crusade:

> Under Jesus Christ, our Leader, may you struggle for your Jerusalem, in Christian battle-line, most invincible line, even more successfully than did the sons of Jacob of old--struggle, that you may assail and drive out the Turks, more execrable than the Jebusites, who are in this land, and may you deem it a beautiful thing to die for Christ in that city in which He died for us. (Krey 35)

This is a prime example of the *ecclesia militans*, a genuinely bellicose Church. The Church was heir to the military tradition of the Roman Empire (Martin 500). Christ sported the garb of a warrior, carrying a cross and spear, leading the battle against demonic powers.[57] The implication contained in any reference to Christ as an avenging warrior is that his followers should be worthy of him. It appears as if he were the perfect liege who inspires his retinue to emulate his nobility. Paul says: "Thou therefore endure hardness, as a good soldier of Jesus Christ" (II Tim. 2:3).

In his "Elegie" (L 124,1), Walther makes this chivalric duty explicit: "dar an gedenkent, ritter: ez ist iuwer dinc" (L 125,1). The Crusade poets believed that the Crusades were a high calling

and a prerequisite for participation was a prestigious social rank. In fact, it was the duty of the knight to take part in a Crusade (Ladenthin, "Walthers Kreuzlied" 53).

The crusader may expect God's help: "dîn kunft ist frônebaere / übr al der welte swaere" (L 76,26-27). Similarly, he may expect help from Mary, as Walther says: "küngîn ob allen frouwen, / lâ wernde helfe schouwen" (L 77,12-13). Walther here uses a circumlocution to refer to Mary as the "Queen of all women." This is the sole mention of her in the poem. Hawart, writing in the second half of the thirteenth century, also pleads with Mary, in her role as intercessor, to help the crusaders:

> Nû biut für uns dîne hende,
> reiniu muoter unde maget,
> dîme sun, des lop ân ende
> muoz belîben unverdaget,
> und gedenke waz dîn cristenheit nu dol
> von den juden und von den heiden:
> des gelouben itewîz tuot in vil wol.
> suln wir in daz selbe erleiden,
> sô muoz uns helfe komen von iu beiden.
> (Kraus, *Liederdichter*, vol. 1, 145; 19,II,4,1-9)

The heathen (*die heiden*) have disturbed the natural order by their presumption (*überhêre*) in seizing the Holy Land. Recall the belief prevalent in medieval Christendom that Christ's martyrdom had given Christians a right to the Holy Land. Hence this revolt against the divinely ordained order, as symbolized by the word

ūberhêre (Lat. *superbia*) had to be rectified. Urban II said:

> [A]n accursed race, a race utterly alienated from God, a generation, forsooth, which neither directed its heart nor entrusted its spirit to God, has invaded the lands of those Christians and has depopulated them by the sword, pillage and fire; it has led away a part of the captives into its own country, and a part it has destroyed by cruel tortures; it has either entirely destroyed the churches of God or appropriated them for the rites of its own religion. (Krey 30)

The rulership of the heathen has caused a cry of complaint and suffering from Christians: "ūbr al der welte swaere. / der weisen barmenaere, / hilf rechen disiu leit" (L 76,27-29). The crusaders' plaintive appeal to God for vengeance may have been inspired by a similar one in the Book of Revelation:

> And when he had opened the fifth seal, I saw under the altar of souls of them that were slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held: And they cried with a loud voice, saying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth? (Rev. 6:9-10; see also *Die Apokalypse* [Heinrich von Hesler 11759-86])

Like the martyred saints calling out for God to avenge them, the defeated crusaders call upon the Lord for help in their misery. But rescue of the victims and punishment of the heathen is certain according to Walther (L 77,40-78,1). In addition, the participant

was assured of a reward: "dâ wir daz himelrîche / erwerben sicherlîche" (L 77,37-38). Their first duty is to strive for the Kingdom of God ignoring temporal matters: "verzinset lîp und eigen" (L 76,38). As Christ said:

> Therefore take no thought, saying, What shall we eat? or, What shall we drink? or, Wherewithal shall we be clothed? (For after all these things do the Gentiles seek:) for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things. But seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness: and all these things shall be added unto you. (Matt. 6:31-33)

Walther also says that sacrifice is definitely necessary: "swer sich ze gote gesindet, / der mac der helle engân. / bî swaere ist gnâde funden" (L 77,6-8). Freidank agrees, speaking of the campaign in Accra in 1228-29, he says: "Akers ist des lîbes rôst / und doch dâ bî der sele trôst; / des sult ir âne zwîvel wesen, / swer dâ rehte stirbet, derst genesen" (163,25-164,1-2).

Walther also mentions the cross: "sîn kriuze vil gehêret / hât maneges heil gemêret" (L 77,28-29). One is reminded of Christ's words: "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me" (Matt. 16:24). Concerning taking up the cross, *Willehalm* says:

> ob wir liezen sôlhen segen
> des wir mit dem kriuze pflegen.
> wan sît sich kriuzewîs erbôt,
> Jêsus von Nazarêt, dîn tôt,

dâ von hânt flühteclîchen kêr
die boesen geiste immer mêr.
helde, ir sult des nemen war,
ir traget sîns tôdes wâpen gar,
der uns von helle erlôste:
der kumt uns wol ze trôste.
(17,9-18)

Obviously, in the thirteenth century and before, Christ's admonition was taken as a call to arms, hence the *miles christianus*. Pope Urban II had said:

> Let those who for a long time have been robbers now become soldiers of Christ....Accordingly, we speak with the authority of the prophet: 'Gird thy sword upon thy thigh, O mighty one.'Gird yourselves, everyone of you, I say, and be valiant sons; for it is better for you to die in battle than to behold the sorrows of your race and of your holy places. (Krey 30, 36)[68]

Paul had likened the Christian life to a military campaign (i.e., the Christian as *miles christianus*; cf. II Tim. 2:3).[69] He had said that the struggle was against wicked spirits (Eph. 6:12). Fighting the heathen was equated with fighting the tools of Satan. The inner spiritual struggle described by Paul was externalized in crusading (Heer, *Aufgang* 159). At the end of his speech, Urban II ordered that the cross become the symbol of the crusaders according to one witness:

> The most excellent man concluded his oration

> and...instituted a sign well suited to so honorable a profession by making the figure of the Cross, the stigma of the Lord's Passion, the emblem of the soldiery, or rather, of what was to be the soldiery of God. This, made of any cloth, he ordered to be sewed upon the shirts, cloaks and *byrra* of those who were about to go. (Krey 40)

The cross symbolized a Christian way of life. Thomasin said: "swen Kristes zeichn gezeichent hât, / den sol ouch kriuzen sîn kriuze" (11624-25). Historically, the cross was not, however, exclusively a Christian symbol (Chandler, vol. 2, 63-65).[79] It was adopted from pagan civilizations along with many of its attendant associations (Heer, *Das Heilige Römische Reich* 11). In the mind of medieval man, the cross was a symbol, not only of the religion of self-sacrifice, but also of war against non-believers. *Willehalm* speaks of the cross as a symbol that held tremendous importance for the crusaders (31,21-32). In *Willehalm*, the cross is carried as a religious symbol and as a pledge of Christ's help in warfare:

> helde, ir sult des nemen war,
> ir traget sîns tôdes wâpen gar,
> der uns von helle erlôste:
> der kumt uns wol ze trôste.
> nu wert êre unde lant,
> (17,15-19)

Hawart saw taking up the cross as a means of atoning for one's sins:

> Dulden muoz in dînen hulden,

got, dîn himelrîch gewalt,
daz wir scheiden von den schulden
unser sünde manicvalt.
hôh und enge ist dîner magenkrafte pfat [cf. Matt. 7:13-14].
iedoch müezen wirz erstîgen:
dir zimt niht in dînem rîche laeriu stat.
lâ der helle grunt besîgen,
hilf, herre, den die dîner muoter nîgen!
(Kraus, *Liederdichter*, vol. 1, 144-45; 19,II,3,1-9)

The cross was adopted by the crusader armies (*militia*) as a token of divine victory. Its use represented the first true military uniform (Cohn, *Pursuit* 64).[71]

2.2 **Day of Judgement**

During his speech at Clermont, Urban II expressed the view that the world had entered the last days, using that argument to justify a Crusade:

> With the end of the world already near, even though the Gentiles fail to be converted to the Lord (since according to the apostle there must be a withdrawal from the faith [see II Thess. 2:3]), it is first necessary, according to the prophecy, that the Christian sway be renewed in those regions, either through you, or others, whom it shall please God to send before the coming of Antichrist.... (Krey 39)

The idea of the end of the world implied an impending Day of

Judgement. The belief in the impending end of the world reached a crescendo as the year 1000 approached. People expected the imminent return of Christ (Fischer-Fabian 227). The popular conception of the Day of Judgement was being formed in the High Middle Ages: "Whatever prehistory the *Dies irae* may have had before 1200, it attained its classical shape and popular dissemination in the thirteenth century" (Morris, *Papal* 523). The mood surrounding Judgement Day is also ambivalent (Kochs 11-12).

Bruder Wernher spoke of the Day of Judgement as a day on which the angels would blow their horns: "die engel blâsent ûf ir horn ze jungest, alsô dunket mich, / dâ müezen wir ze buoze stân der sünden, daz ist reht" (Schönbach, vol. 148, 16; 4,2-3).[72] This idea is based on the seven angels which blow their horns in the Book of Revelation (Rev. 8:2, 8:7, 8:8, 8:9-10, 8:12, 9:1, 9:13, 11:15). It also has roots in Matt. 24:30-31. The Day of Judgement was considered the day on which the dead would be raised to appear before their judge in the Valley of Jehosophat, on the west slope of the Mount of Olives as the fifteenth-century play *Der jüngste Tag* says:

> Woluff alle, die ie sturben,
>
> ...
>
> gottes zorn muessent ir liden,
>
> das mag hút nieman vermiden.
>
> ir sond mich bald han vernomen,
>
> fúr den richter sond ir kommen.
>
> ...

nun gänd gen Josaphat,
dar komet got uff der statt,
ir sond öch ilen geschwind,
das úch der richter da sind.
(Mone, vol. 1, 282-83; 290, 294-97, 316-19)[73]

In "Palâstinalied," Walther also speaks of a Day of Judgement to occur in the Holy Land:

In diz lant hât er gesprochen
einen angeslîchen tac,
dâ diu witwe wirt gerochen
und der weise klagen mac
und der arme den gewalt
der dâ wirt an ime gestalt.
wol im dort, der hie vergalt!
(L 16,8-14)[74]

The spear, crown of thorns and cross, the symbols of the Passion, are used to justify Christ's position as Judge and His wrath at the Last Judgement. Consider this extract from the play, *Der jüngste Tag*:

Cristus wil hút gar zornig sin
und wil erzoegen aller marter pin:
da wirt gesehen das crútz breit,
da got der her den tod an leid,
das sper, das im sin hertz durchstach,
das Maria sin muoter wol sach,
die cron und die nagel gross,

das sicht man hút alles bloss.

(Mone vol. 1, 283; 300-07)

The crown of thorns is the ironic counterpart of the crowns Christ wears in the Book of Revelation. The mock crown becomes real after the Ascension. Reinmar von Zweter uses the same words to symbolize victory:

Er wil uns alle lâzen sehen,
swaz in grôzer marter durch uns sünder ist geschehen:
daz solten wir besorgen: sô waer sîn helfe gegen uns gar
/bereit.
Swenne er uns zeiget sper, criuze unt crône,
der gewaltic sitzet in dem trône,
sô kan im nieman widerstrîten:
erst gewaltic über elliu lant.
ir Cristen, dar an sît gemant
unt warnet iuch gein im in kurzen zîten!
(518-19; II,219,4-12)[75]

On Judgement Day, the angels display the instruments of the Passion as the *Berner Weltgerichtsspiel* says:

Denne so spricht vnser herr zuo den engeln, die da tragent das krücz und die nagel vnd das sper vnd die kron:
Ljeben engel, jr soend scheiden
Die guotten von den leiden!
(Stammler 362a-64; emphasis in the original stage directions)

The idea of the display of the instruments of the Passion

reaches back even to Old High German. At the end of the poem "Muspili," the cross is raised and Christ displays His wounds:

> uuirdit denne furi kitragan daz frono chruci,
> dar der heligo Christ ana arhangan uuard.
> denne augit er dio masun, dio er in deru menniski anfenc,
> dio er duruh desse mancunnes minna f(ardoleta)....
> (Es wird da auch das hehre Kreuz vorangetragen, an das der heilige Christus geschlagen worden war. Dann wird er die Wundmale betrachten, die er als Mensch empfangen, die er für seine Liebe zum Menschengeschlecht erhalten hat....)
> (Schlosser 204; 33,100-03)[76]

Das Hamburger Jüngste Gericht (c. 1140-50) also mentions the prominent display of the cross and the wounds shown by Christ on Judgement Day:

> So cumint die engele in den lufdin gevarin unde bringint ein /cruce gedragin.
> scone unde ludir dar nach cumit menscliche der himilsce /cunic
> unde sizit zu gerehde in sinir mancrefde,
> unde umbe in sine heiligin, daz si urdeilin
> igelichiz nach sinir andaht unde dar nach ez gelebit hat.
> So ougit er sine wundin an sinir sidin, an sinin fuzin, an /sinin handin.
> dann sal ein igelich ouge got unsirin herrin scowin,
> als in di judin vingin unde an daz cruce hingin,
> daz er swizide blut, daz man in bant, daz man in sluc.

so er ougit alle sine not, die er leit unde ouch den dot,
[unde sprichit:] "sich, mensce, waz ich durch dich gelidin
/han, sage, waz hasdu durch mich gedan?"
(Maurer, *religiösen Dichtungen*, vol. 1 413; 2,1-3,6)

Christ points to his suffering and his wound to emphasize the ingratitude of man. Implicit is medieval man's conception that crusading would repay Christ. Walther said: "wol dir, sper kriuz unde dorn! / wê dir, heiden! deist dir zorn" (L 15,18-19). The fact that God favoured Christians was taken as a matter of course. Der Meißner writes:

Zwibelèr an deme louben, sich an gotes wunder.
von wen kumt blitzen, donre, tac unde nácht, régen besunder?
von dem, der alle dinc vurmac, der ist ein got.
...
ir ketzer, juden, heiden sin der tiubel spot.
(197; VIII,1,1-3,16)

Like a powerful prince, Christ sits in judgement displaying the nails of the cross, the spear and the crown of thorns--all instruments of the Passion. Frau Ava's *Das Jüngste Gericht* says:

So chomen von Christe die vier evangeliste.
daz gebeine si chukent, die toten sie wekent.
so samenent sich mit eren lip unde sele.
daz ist vil wunnechlich, die guoten sint dem sunnen gelich.
die engel vuorent scone daz criuce unde die corone
vor Christe an daz tagedinch, daz werdent sorgichlichiu
/dinch.

(Maurer *Die religiösen Dichtungen*, vol. 2, 505; 18,1-6)[22]

The poem "Von den letzten dingen," ("Linzer Antichrist") also includes a scene in which the wounds of Christ and the instruments of the Crucifixion including the sponge dipped in vinegar, offered to Christ on the cross, are exhibited (Maurer, *Die religiösen Dichtungen*, vol. 3, 419; 61,1-12). In *Gottes Zukunft*, Christ shows His wounds and the instruments of the Passion: "Cruce, nagel und sper, / Die funf wunden zeigt er" (Heinrich von Neustadt 7330-31).[23] Der Meißner says: "Des viunfzenden tages got selbe gerichte sitzen sol. / da sicht man spér, kruze únde krone unde gotes wunden alle bluotes vol. / da váren die geréchten wol" (194; VI,10,9-11). Some medieval works expand the number of instruments of the Passion.[24] In the English play, *The Judgement*, Christ orders the angels to display the many instruments of the Passion to prove His devotion to mankind (Lumiansky, vol. 1, 439; 17-22). *Der Renner* by Hugo von Trimberg (written between 1290 and 1300) mentions the instruments of the Passion and the five wounds, still bleeding:

Sâ zehant
Kument sîn engel und bringent her
Besem, nagel, krônen und daz sper,
Mit den er gemartert wart.
Sô sprichet er ze der linken part
Und zeiget in ze den selben stunden
Mit bluote berunnen sîn fünf wunden:
"Diz hân ich durch iuch erliden,
Welhe sünde habt ir durch mich vermiden?"

(vol. 3, 24439-47)

Thomasin says that one should always keep Christ's wounds in mind: "der barmunge nagel sol / uns an daz kriuze heften wol, / daz man habe zallen stunden / vor den ougen sîne wunden" (11665-68). *Der jüngste Tag* says that God would be angry on that day: "ich koend uch niemer gezellen, / wie zorneklich got wil stellen / über wib und über man, / kein zung das erzellen kan" (Mone vol. 1, 275; 64-73). *Gottes Zukunft* says that God is so angry that the earth quakes:

Daz ertgrunde beginnet biben
Von siner grozen stimme
Beide zornig und grimme.
Cruce, nagel und sper,
Die funf wunden zeigt er.
Sin amblig wirt manigfalt:
Er wirt so gruelich gestalt
Den boesen daz sie wolten sin
Gerne in der helle pin
Dan daz sie suln an sehen.
(Heinrich von Neustadt 7327-36)

The formula "sper, kriuz, unde dorn" (Walther, L 15,18) is used to justify Christ's anger as the Judge on Judgement Day. As the *Erlösung* says:

Unser herre erzeiget sich
eime hôhen fursten glîch,
oben an von orient

biz niden an den occident
same ein hôch gewaldig got,
der himel und erden hât gebot.
...
Sîn crûce nagele und daz sper
und ouch sîn dornen crône,
die schouwent dâ gar schône.
Mildekeit wirt dâ verborn.
Die engele blâsent dâ ir horn.
(Maurer, *Erlösung* 6673-78, 6684-88)

Christ's stigmata (caused by the nails and the lance) justify his anger on that day, according to the *Berner Weltgerichtsspiel*: "Min wunden hand jr dik verschworn, / Darumb ist hût gros min zorn. / Sel vnd lib sôl hût sin vertroest, / Niemer me soend jr werden erloest!" (Stammler 536-39). The cross was considered a talisman that assured victory. It was also a symbol of the Judgement to come. Christ and the glorified saints judge the world. In the play, *Der jüngste Tag*, the sufferings of Christ during the Passion are used as justification for his anger on Judgement Day:

min botschaft úch des ermant,
das ir erstandint an dire stund,
won Jhesus her ab kunt
und wil lassen die wunden sechen gross,
von denen sin bluot an dem crútz floss,
in dem tal ze Josaphat.

...

min marter un min wunden gross

und min bluot, das von mir floss.

die nagel und das crútze breit

hand úber si urteil geseit.

(Mone, vol. 1, 281-82, 284; 263-68, 328-31)

In the fifteenth century, Michel Beheim wrote in "*Vom Jüngsten Gerichte*":

grausslichen wört sein angesichte,

kain âg macht es peschawen, es vergieng von schreken.

in grassem zarn

sicht man in siczen dart

mit seinen tieffen wunden rot.

kreücz, nagel, sper und ach die kran

sicht man auff dem gerichte,

als das da er hat gliten an.

(vol. 3, 338; 451,51-58)

The *Künzelsauer Fronleichnamspiel* says: "Appelliren versprechen, flihen, hilft nit. / Dy fewerin swert auß seinem munt gant [cf. Rev. 19:15], / Dy thun vns fur war bekant, / Das kain barmhertzickait me da ist" (Liebenow 5396-99). *Willehalm* also says that all are judged by the One whose sword proceeds from His mouth: "der daz swert in sînem munt / für treit ame urteillîchen tage, / dâ mite der küene und der zage / bêde geschumphieret sint" (303,12-15). *Gottes Zukunft* says: "Als wir die schrift hoeren jehen: / Ez schinet zu der stuende / Zwei swert in sinem muende" (Heinrich von

Neustadt 7337-39).[80]

The medieval poets felt that God's judgement would be so severe that they traditionally coupled the description of Judgement Day with a plea for intercession by Mary. Reinmar von Zweter expresses this idea when he pleads: "Ach edel muoter, reine magt Marîe, / nû bite dîn eingebornez kint durch sîner namen drîe / vür mich unt alle Cristenheit, daz er sich welle erbarmen / An dem gerihte unt uns sîn gnâde erzeige" (539; IV,260,1-4).[81] Frauenlob says: "Maria, muoter ûz erkorn, / rôs âme dorn, / dun helfst uns, wir sîn êweclîch verlorn" (Heinrich von Meißen/Ettmüller 166; Spruch 290,1-3). Similarly, Friedrich von Sonnenburg prays :

hilf, reine rose in himelrich,
mir sünden richen man,
...
Bite unde mane din kint vür mich dar zuo vür al die
/kristenheit,
swaz ich unz her gesündet han daz ist mir, vrouwe,
/leit.

(9-10; 13,3-4,11-12)

The late thirteenth-century anonymous collection of poems under the title of *Seifried Helbling* says: "ê daz die engel blâsen / ze geriht an dem lesten tag, / frou, daz mich dîn güete sag / ledic vor dînes sunes zorn" (Seemüller 231; X,33-36). The intercession of Mary, described in the *Berner Weltgerichtsspiel*, includes the mention of the effects of the instruments of the Passion on Christ's body:

Herre, din marter was so gros,
Das ich dich sach nakent vnd bloß,
Do din hend wurden dürstochen,
Vnd din hercz wart durbrochen.
Als ich selber wol an sach.
Mich wundert, das min hercz nit brach!
(Stammler 742-47)

One of Walther's apocalyptic poems, "Ich hoere des die wîsen jehen," also speaks of a judgement to come:

Ich hoere des die wîsen jehen,
daz ein gerihte sül geschehen,
daz nie deheinez mê wart alsô strenge.
Der rihter sprichet sâ zehant
'gilt âne borg und âne pfant.'
dâ wirt des mannes rât vil kurz und enge.
(L 148,1-6)[32]

The fact that man's opinion will count for little on that day ("dâ wirt des mannes rât vil kurz und enge" L 148,6), is a reference to the Apocalypse: "And I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God...and the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works" (Rev. 20:12). The idea that the words of the "judge" are absolutely true ("gilt âne borg und âne pfant" L 148,5) is a reflection of Revelation: "For true and righteous are his judgements..." (Rev. 19:2).

2.3 **The New Jerusalem**

Walther argues that man's *kranke sinne* (L 76,23) can be overcome through participation in a Crusade which is a debt to God and which Christ himself will help to pay: "der weisen barmenaere, / hilf rechen disiu leit" (L 76,28-29). The word *leit* refers to the loss of Jerusalem. Its capture has upset the natural order. The city has been debased and enslaved: "Ierusalêm, nû weine: / wie dîn vergezzen ist! / der heiden ûberhêre / hat dich verschelket sêre" (L 78,14-17).

G. Wolfram believes that the use of the word *vergezzen* in the extract quoted above was influenced by a statement made by Pope Innocent III to the Bishop of Narbonne: "si secundum prophetam Jerusalem obliti fuerimus, obliviscator nos dextra nostra" ("Kreuzpredigt" 100). The use of the word *vergezzen* in connection with Jerusalem, however, is ultimately derived from a Psalm: "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning. If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy" (Ps. 137:5-6). Urban II likewise spoke of the humiliation of losing Jerusalem to the Seljuks:

> Of holy Jerusalem, brethren, we dare not speak, for we are exceedingly afraid and ashamed to speak of it. This very city, in which, as you know, Christ Himself suffered for us, because our sins demanded it, has been reduced to the pollution of paganism and, I say it to our disgrace, withdrawn from the service of God....Woe unto us,

brethren!...We who are become the scorn of all peoples,
and worse than all, let us bewail the most monstrous
devastation of the Holy Land! (Krey 33-34)

Whoever does not answer the call is "forgetting" Jerusalem and is thus implicitly subject to the curses set out in the Psalm. Walther's words "der heiden ûberhêre / hât dich verschelket sêre" (L 78,16-17) may be taken to refer to a prophecy made by Christ: "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, which killest the prophets and stonest them that are sent unto thee...Behold, your house is left unto you desolate..." (Luke 13:34-35). Explicitly referring to the heathen, Christ said: "Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles [*gentes*], until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled" (Luke 21:24). By answering the call, the knights believed that they were defending the Holy Roman Empire itself (Heer, *Das Heilige Römische Reich* 13).

In *Willehalm*, the author says that the heathen pose a threat to the very existence of the Empire. Terramer, their leader aspires to massacre many Christians and capture the throne:

Terramêr den stuol dâ zAche
wolt besitzn und dan ze Rôme varn,
sînen goten prîs alsô bewarn,
die Jêsus helfe wolde lebn,
daz die dem tôde wurde gegebn.
sus wold er roemsche krône
vor sînen goten schône
und vor der heidenschefte tragen.

(340,4-11)[83]

In "Hêr Keiser, ich bin frônebote" (L 12,6), Walther says: "in sînes sunes lande broget / diu heidenschaft..." (L 12,10-11). The heathen *superbia* in occupying the Holy Land was thus still considered an affront to Christendom more than a century after Urban II's proclamation of the First Crusade. Medieval man felt that the heathen were the enemies of God and His Kingdom. Non-Christians were vilified as in the words of Rumelant:

Die Juden, kezzer unde heiden in daz swarze ab gründe
Got Jesus Krist gevluochet hat, daz ist ir erbe.
Getoufte(r) wuocherer[e], du schalk, begest vil groze sünde;
Got wil, daz al din wirdikeit mit dir verderbe.
Ein volk ist in der Kristenheit, dem Got noch swinder
/vluochet:
ipocrite,
der buozen schone pharisêi nimmer Got geruochet;
so we, in we!
sie tragen al in irme herzen bitter gallen,
unde in ir munde honikseim: o we den allen!
(Hagen, vol. 3, 57; 20,III,11,1-10)

Rumelant's contrast of honey and gall, the sweet and the bitter, was common among the poets of the time, especially in characterizing hypocrisy and deception.[84] The heathen will be defeated by the instruments of the Crucifixion. The "heathen" have demonstrated *superbia* in conquering Jerusalem. This is tantamount to a revolt against heaven since the earthly Jerusalem is a type of

the Heavenly or New Jerusalem. Jerusalem is also symbolically the Church. The New Jerusalem, described in the Apocalypse, is associated with heaven: "[The angel]...shewed me that great city, the holy Jerusalem, descending out of heaven from God..." (Rev. 21:10). It is the city built by God (Lurker 303).[85]

The "heathen" occupation of the Holy Land is an antitype of the Satanic revolt. It is the terrestrial counterpart of the celestial rebellion of Satan ('adversary'), formerly Lucifer ('light-bearer'). The heathen had upset the natural order by their occupation of Jerusalem. *Superbia* is the antithesis of *ordo*. The Satanic rebellion is in fact the root of the medieval concept of *superbia*: "Die Ursünde *superbia* ist in jeder Überheblichkeit, in jedem Ungehorsam, ja in jedem Vergehen überhaupt in ihrer ganzen Schwere gegenwärtig" (Hempel 37). The concept was definitively associated with the devil (Hempel 35). Hawart says that taking up the cross will overcome both *untriuwe* (strongly associated with "Vrô Werlt") and *übermuot* (associated with the devil and the heathen occupation of the Holy Land):

> Nû tuo, sünder, ûf dîn ôre,
> hoere süeze boteschaft:
> dir gît in dem zehenden chôre
> dîne stat diu gotes kraft.
> die verstiez her abe untriuwe und übermuot,
> die sint leider hie gesinde;
> dâ von ist daz zeichen mit dem kriuze guot,
> daz der tievel iht verslinde

sô grôzen teil an manger muoter kinde.

(Kraus, *Liederdichter*, vol. 1, 144; 19,II,2,1-9)

The Crusades were religious wars in a real sense. Jerusalem became symbolic of the Kingdom of God. Its capture was the quintessential goal of the Crusades. Such was their sacred duty:

> Jerusalem was also a "figure" or symbol of the heavenly city "like unto a stone most precious" which according to the Book of Revelation was to replace it at the end of time. No wonder that--as contemporaries noted--in the minds of simple folk the idea of the earthly Jerusalem became so confused with and transfused by that of the Heavenly Jerusalem that the Palestinian city seemed itself a miraculous realm.... (Cohn, *Pursuit* 64-65)

The idea that the Holy Land was sacred was given impetus by the Crusades (Erdmann, *Entstehung* 279-80). The fact that the Heavenly and the earthly Jerusalem were closely associated in the medieval mind, was implied by Pope Gregory VIII in his call for a third Crusade (Burdach, "Walthers Aufruf" 64; Heer *Tragödie* 172). The New Jerusalem would transform the world from a place of suffering into a paradise. So said Friedrich von Sonnenburg:

> So wol dir gotes wundertal, ich mein dich, tiure welt!
>
> ...
>
> Du zarte gotes garte, in dem got wunder wunders hat
> erwundert unde erbuwet manige tiure wundersat--
> Die himelschen Jerusalem man noch uz dir gezieret wol,
> uz dir al sine koere werdent sines lobes vol!

(2-3; 3,1,9-12)

Jerusalem came to represent more than a physical city. It had a spiritual dimension: "For the Jerusalem which obsessed their [the crusaders'] imagination was no mere earthly city but rather the symbol of a prodigious hope" (Cohn, *Pursuit* 64). During the Crusades especially, the concepts of the earthly and the Heavenly Jerusalem were merged. Jerusalem remained a bone of contention. It is ironic that the name of the city which has occasioned so much conflict should literally be translated as 'city of peace' or 'foundation of peace.'

2.4 **Summary**

In 1095 Pope Urban II proclaimed the First Crusade in a speech at Clermont. Medieval German Crusade poets reflected the ideas contained in the speech. These ideas included the belief that Christ would help them in their obligation to free the Holy Land from occupation by the heathen; the concept of Christ as a warrior, prototypical of the crusaders; the allegation that the heathen had upset the natural order of God by seizing the Holy Land and the necessity of rectifying that order as well as of repaying Christ for His sacrifice through the willingness to die for the cause of reconquest. The fact that the heathen ruled the Holy Land was taken by Urban II to be a sign of the imminent Day of Judgement on which Day Christ would show His stigmata and the angels would display the spear, cross and crown of thorns of the Passion as justification for His anger at humanity on that Day. Urban II made the cross the symbol of the crusaders' mission to liberate Jerusalem. However,

the city that the crusaders sought to liberate was identified not only with the physical but also with the Heavenly Jerusalem of the Book of Revelation.

III

IMMORTALITY

3.1 The Eternal Crown

A relic, reputed to be the crown of thorns worn by Jesus, was reverentially received by Europeans in the thirteenth century (Bremer 153). The instruments of the Passion (Lat. *passio*, 'suffering') are hailed as instruments of Christian salvation. Heinrich von Meißen says:

> Nu segen mich hiut got vater, sun und ouch heiliger geist,
> gotes muoter unt sîn trînitas, sîn heilige volleist,
> al himelischez her mich gar behüete.
> Nu segen mich ouch diu marter, die er durch den sünder leit,
> daz sper, diu krône, daz die zarten menscheit gar versneit;
> nu segen mich ouch sîn barmekeit, sin güete.
> Nu segen mich ouch sîn bitter tôt,
> daz kriuze, dâ sîn menscheit an wart vunden;
> nu segen mich ouch sîn bluot sô rôt,
> die negele drî, die heiligen vünf wunden;
> nu segen mich ouch daz heilic grap, dâ got selb inne
> /lac,...

(Heinrich von Meißen/Ettmüller 233; Spruch 419,1-11)

The sixteenth-century *Heidelberger Handschrift* contains a poem, "von dem leiden unsers hern," which speaks of the crown of thorns as part of the mocking of the soldiers: "Si machten im vonn scharpfen dorn ainenn krantz. / si spotten sein, si weisten in maning krummen tantz. / si begunden ob im gar mercklichen khallen"

(Wunderle 18; 3,II,1-3). Heinrich von Meißen says: "Got spranc uz sinem vater in sin ewekeit, / dar nach so spranc er in daz wort, / der dritte sprunc was in die meit, / der vierde quam in ales wise, spise, criuze, diner hohen werdekeit..." (Heinrich von Meißen/Stackmann, vol. 1, 310; II,13,1-4).

The symbols of the Passion were also symbols of political power as Walther says in speaking of the Donation of Constantine, a spurious document granting temporal power to the Pope: "Kûnc Constantîn der gap sô vil, / als ich ez iu bescheiden wil, / dem stuol ze Rôme, sper kriuz unde krône" (L 25,11-13).

The "Elegie" marks a sharp departure from Walther's verses extolling *minne* and the courtly virtues. Here we find another theme: gone is his pursuit of courtly love and in its place we find a concern for the eternal and in particular for eternal life. Walther maintains that the penance required to gain salvation is slight: "er wird mit swacher buoze grôzer sünde erlôst" (L 124,40). These words are similar to Paul's comparison of suffering required of and reward promised to the Christian: "For I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us" (Rom. 8:18). Walther says: "Ich wolte saelden krône êweclîchen tragen" (L 125,7). The glory and the reward of crusading are embodied in the "saelden krône."

The inspiration for the mention of the "saelden krône" may have come from the crown mentioned by Paul in his Epistle to the Corinthians: "And every man that striveth for the mastery is temperate in all things. Now they do it to obtain a corruptible

crown; but we an incorruptible" (I Cor. 9:25). In keeping with the beliefs which characterized the Middle Ages, Walther was convinced that this crown of salvation could be obtained by crusading to free the Holy Land. He is reflecting the contemporary sermons promising a reward for participation:

> Einen bildlichen ausdruck Rugges, Walthers und Rubins 'wir wollen die himmlische krone erwerben' gibt auch die predigt. so Innocenz 1213: "Qui vult me subsequi ad coronam, me quoque subsequatur ad pugnam....quam multi...quasi per agonem martyrii coronam gloriae sunt adepti," und öfter. Honorius 1220: paratus est dominus grandem offerre triumphum, qui multum iam attulit de paucorum labore coronam. (Wolfram, "Kreuzpredigt" 108)

Heinrich Von Rugge's "Leich," in referring to Barbarossa and those who had died with him on a Crusade, stated that they had received a heavenly crown: "Ir dinc nâch grôzen êren stât, / ir saelec sêle enpfangen hât / sunder strît und âne nît die liehten himelkrône" (Moser, *Minnesangs Frühling* 198; XV,I,VIIb,1-3). In his poem, "Die Weisheit Salomons," Der Stricker says that the sinner's reward for repentance is a heavenly crown:

> got welle in gernne enpfahen,
> swenne er sunde wil vermiden
> und immer buze liden.
> ...
> daz er gar wirt ein gotes trût.
> ...

und erwirbet des himels chrone.

(vol. 4, 167-68; 123,118-20,125,135)[86]

A crown is repeatedly promised to the saints and martyrs by the apostles. The words of Heinrich von Rugge are similar to those of James: "Blessed is the man that endureth temptation: for when he is tried, he shall receive the crown of life, which the Lord hath promised to them that love him" (Jas. 1:12). The winning of a crown through exertion fit right in with the crusader mentality. Paul uses such a military analogy (II Tim. 4:7-8). Rubin, speaking of the reward to be expected from crusading also says:

dô dâchte ich nâch dem lône
der süezen êwe staetekeit,
ob iemer himelkrône
des lîbes arebeit
verdienen kunde umb in, der krône ob allen krônen treit.

(Kraus, *Liederdichter*, vol. 1, 345; 47,VIIA,3,7-11)

The anonymous thirteenth-century book-size poem, *Die Warnung*, speaks of an eternal crown as a reward for obedience to God (Weber 1420, 1428-30, 1433-34, 1437-38; cf. II Tim. 4:8 and Rev. 2:10, 20:4). *Der Saelden Hort* says that John the Baptist led such a righteous life that he received a heavenly crown: "so hailenclich hie lept er / daz er des kuniges zepter, / lob und kron an werdekait / in himel vor in allen trait" (Adrian 3447-50). It should be remembered that John was martyred at Herod's command (Matt. 14:8-11). Wolfram von Eschenbach, in his epic poem *Willehalm* speaks of the reward of martyrdom: "swer sich vinden lât durch in

[Christum] in nôt, / der enpfaehetn unendelôsen solt..." (31,12-13). The poem, "Der Antichrist," composed by Frau Ava (died c. 1127), speaks of the reward of eternal life for those who are martyred by Antichrist (Maurer, *Die religiösen Dichtungen*, vol. 2, 493; 3,1-5,6; cf. Matt. 9:15; John 3:29; Rev. 22:17). In the poem "von dem leiden unsers hern," part of the sixteenth-century *Heidelberger Handschrift*, Christ speaks to Mary from the cross, promising her an eternal crown (Wunderle 19; 3,III,7-18).

In the "Marienlegende," Mary thanks Christ for her crowns: "'Liebiz kint, got lône dir, / Daz du hâs gegebin mir / Cleidir unde crônen'" (Bartsch, *Mitteldeutsche Gedichte* 19; 624-26). The motif of the eternal crown also appears in the sixteenth-century *Luzerner Antichrist*:

Salvator

Nun koment, ir vsserwellten, fürwar!
ûch ist bereytt von anfang har
die ewig kron jn minem rych.
(Reuschel 4285-87)[87]

In the "*Kreuzlied*," Walther promised those who took part in a Crusade the Kingdom of Heaven: "nû hellent hin gelîche / dâ wir daz himelrîche / erwerben sicherlîche..." (L 77,36-38). In the "Elegie" (L 125,7), he returns to the same idea of reward but expressing it metaphorically as a crown--the symbol of rulership (Rev.20:4). Regarding the mention of the crown in the "Elegie," Willson says that by gaining an everlasting crown, Walther would be richer than those with earthly wealth ("Walther 125,7," 57).

For Walther, the eternal reward is the everlasting crown. The fact that Walther could obtain this crown or, in other words, gain the Kingdom of Heaven, explains why he is so anxious to participate in a Crusade. He contrasts this eternal reward (the eternal crown, L 125,7) with the pleasures of this world. One excludes the other: "swer dirre wünne volget, hât jene dort verlorn..." (L 124,33). Here Walther echoes Christ's admonition not to lose the eternal crown: "Behold, I come quickly: hold that fast which thou hast, that no man take thy crown" (Rev. 3:11). The Kingdom of God is symbolic of great wealth and an eternal crown according to Walther: "sô wolte ich nôtic armman verdienen rîchen solt. / joch meine ich niht die huoben noch der hêrren golt: / ich wolte saelden krône êweclîchen tragen..." (L 125,5-7).

Christians are promised co-rulership over the nations: "And he that overcometh, and keepeth my works unto the end, to him will I give power over the nations: And he shall rule them with a rod of iron..." (Rev. 2:26-27). They are admonished many times that they are striving for a crown. For example, Peter says: "And when the chief Shepherd shall appear, ye shall receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away" (I Pet. 5:4). In addition there is the statement: "To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father in his throne" (Rev. 3:21). This quote makes it clear that the crown promised to the faithful is symbolic of rulership.

It was expected that Christ would soon take over rulership of the world (Rev. 11:15; see also *Die Apokalypse* [Heinrich von Hesler

10539-54; 16204-13]). Christians are warned not to lose their crown (Rev. 3:11). One cannot serve both God and Mammon. The crown of thorns, prefiguring the crown of rulership, occurs in "Palästinalied": "wol dir, sper kriuze unde dorn!" (L 15,18). The crown motif is present in "Palästinalied" in a different form--it is symbolic of the suffering that must precede rulership. This may explain the paradox of victory through martyrdom. As Walther says in "Kreuzlied": "swer sich ze gote gesindet, / der mac der helle engân. / bî swaere ist gnâde funden..." (L 77,6-8). The spear wound inflicted by Longinus is directed against the rulership of the world, according to Walther: "daz sper gein al der werlte hêrren wart geneiget" (L 37,16). In other words, His death as a martyr assured Christ world rulership. In *Christi Hort*, this idea of victory through martyrdom and self-sacrifice is expressed when Jesus appears to His disciples after the Resurrection:

> Jesus sprach: 'ir seit unfrût;
> hey, wie tump, wie traeg ir seit
> an dem gelauben iwer zeit,
> an aller der warhait
> die die wissagen habent gesait!
> mûs das *nicht* also sien
> daz Christ lit der marter pin
> unt also in sein ere chomen?
> (Gundacker von Judenburg 2642-49; cf. Luke 24:25-26;
> emphasis in the original)

The symbols of Christ's martyrdom ("wol dir, sper kriuz unde

dorn!" L 15,18 of the "Palästinalied") were transformed into symbols of victory in the popular mind:

> Ebenso wie das Kreuz, so werden auch die anderen Lebenswerkzeuge als Waffen Christi, arma Christi, und als Triumphzeichen angesehen; das Kreuz ist sein mächtiger Schild, die Passionslanze ist der Speer des himmlischen Königs, die Nägel sind die Geschosse Christi im Kampfe mit dem Teufel. (Heer, *Aufgang Europas* 155)

This transformation is true of the crown of thorns also. Christ's crown of thorns is transformed into the Imperial crown (Heer, *Aufgang Europas* 112). *Der Kreuziger* says that Christ's suffering was a prereqisite to defeat the devil (Johannes von Frankenstein 8065-76; cf. Isa., chapter 53).

Der arme Heinrich by Hartmann von Aue gives some insight into the psychology behind the concept of victory through martyrdom. The protagonist, Heinrich, finds a maiden willing to be sacrificed in order to cure his illness. The process, as explained by the doctor who is to perform it, is reminiscent of the Crucifixion:

> ich ziuhe dich ûz, sô stâstû blôz
> und wirt dîn schame harte grôz
> ...
> ich binde dir bein und arme.
> ob dich dîn lîp erbarme,
> so bedenke disen smerzen:
> ich snîde dich zem herzen
> und brichez lebende ûz dir.

(Hartmann von Aue 1085-86, 1089-93)

When Heinrich forbids the voluntary sacrifice, the girl complains bitterly because she will forfeit the heavenly crown:

vil bitterlîchen si schrê:
'wê mir vil armen und ouwê!
wie sol ez mir nû ergân,
muoz ich alsus verlorn hân
die rîchen himelkrône?
diu waere mir ze lône
gegeben umbe dise nôt.
nû bin ich alrêst tot.
...
Sus bat si gnuoc umbe den tôt.
do enwart ir nie dar nâch sô nôt,
sin verlûre gar ir bete.
(Hartmann von Aue 1289-96, 1305-07)[88]

Similarly, Thomasin says: "swer hie mit im [Christ] lîdet gern die nôt, / der lebt mit im wol nâch dem tôt" (8239-40). Christ is the prototypical martyr who overcomes the devil by non-violent sacrifice of His life. The crusaders rejected the non-violent aspect but retained the idea of victory through death in battle and the concept of an eternal reward. Medieval man believed that there would be a reward for martyrdom as *Die Warnung* says (Weber 1226-38). *Der Ritterspiegel* promises an eternal crown for martyrdom (Johannes Rothe 3145-52). *Die poetische Bearbeitung des Buches Daniel* (c. 1330) also speaks of the crown given to martyrs in the

Kingdom of Heaven:

Aller marterere tot,
Wie sie geliden in Got
...
Von der uncristen handen
Gebraten, geschindet vort,
Enthoubtit, wie sie irmort
Wurden durch Gotis namen.
...
Idoch was nicht verblichen
Cronen haben unde lon
In himelriche.
(Hübner 2195-96, 2200-03, 2210-12, see also 2390-94)

This is an eternal reward but we find a similar motif, the crown as symbolic of temporal rulership, in other medieval poetry. As an example, *Die Erlösung* speaks of the reason Herod sought to kill the infant Jesus. He feared the loss of his crown, meaning his rulership (Maurer, *Erlösung* 3861-71; cf. Matt., chapter 2).

The parallels between the reward Walther expects in "Kreuzlied" and the "Elegie" and the theme of world rulership by the saints contained in the Bible cannot be ignored. Christ's own disciples asked what their reward would be and the answer was consistent with this theme (Luke 22:30). Rulership would be commensurate with ability (Luke 19:16-26). John pictured the saints as ruling with Christ: "And I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them..." (Rev. 20:4). Paul said that

the saints would be joint heirs with Christ: "The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God: And if children, then heirs; heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ; if so be that we suffer with him, that we may be also glorified together" (Rom. 8:17; cf. Walther: "bî swaere ist gnâde funden" [L 77,8]).

The idea of co-rulership is illustrated by the parable of the pounds (Luke 19:13-27). In his poem, "Der geprüfte Diener," der Stricker paraphrases the parable of the pounds. A master gives his servant one Mark and the servant earns much more money with it: "im wart sin herre so holt, / daz er im gab zelone / chuniges gut und chrone" (vol. 5, 273; 165,30-32). In the poem, der Stricker tells of the temptations and deceptions of the devil that the saints must overcome (274; 165,33-62). Der Stricker then goes on to illustrate God's reward for His faithful servants (vol. 5, 275-76; 165,63,71-77). Deification was the reward to be expected (Heer, *Tragödie* 264-65; see also Rev. 1:6). Moreover, the inheritance of an eternal crown implied eternal life and glorification.

3.2 **Glorification**

Phrases such as "sunnen clar" and "spiegel" are descriptions of glorification in medieval poetry. These phrases are often combined with the idea of a *bilde* or image. In one of his poems, Walther speaks of a mysterious *bilde* in: "Ich hât ein schoenez bilde erkorn" (L 67,32). The view that Walther's *bilde* represents man as the image of God is expressed by McFarland:

This is the only instance in Walther's work...where

> *bild*...is used to refer to the biblical doctrine that man is made in the image of God. Here it is used to support the poet's prayer for redemption after death. The link between the creation of man as *imago Dei* and his ultimate redemption or resurrection is a natural one and occurs frequently in Christian literature. (197)[89]

Thomasin says: "des mannes muot ist sô edel / daz er ist gotes sedel" (13843-44). Der Meißner says: "Got der hat uns nach im gebildet. / von einen menschen zwene menschen worden gemachet, / Adam, Eva, man unde wib uz eime libe" (214; XV,1,1-3).[90] Man was created in the image of God from dust to which Abraham later adds ashes (cf. Gen. 18:27). Thomasin also states that man was created in the image of God:

> Got machet uns nâch sîner getât,
> do er uns gap des sinnes rât:
> solt wir danne daz verkêren
> ze boesen dingen und zunêren,
> daz an uns gotes bilde hât,
> sô volgte wir niht wîsem rât.
> (8623-28)[91]

Der Stricker, in his poem, "Die Tochter und der Hund," expresses the view: "diu sele, diu ist gotes chint, / die got nach im gebildet hat" (vol. 4, 275; 134,38-39; see also *Die Apokalypse* [Heinrich von Hesler 16684-86]).

In contrast to man's noble creation in the image of God, some *Spruchdichter* emphasize that man in mere dust. In his poem, "Die

irdenen Gefäße," der Stricker says: "daz diu vil werden gotes kint / gemachet von der erde sint" (vol. 5, 148; 151,95-96). *Der Renner* says: "Swaz geborn von erden ist, / Daz muoz ûf erden werden mist,"[92] and "Diu trêgen bein heizent uns gedenken / Daz wir uns gein der erden senken, / Von der wir bekumen sîn / Und müezen aber wider drîn" (Hugo von Trimberg, vol. 3, 24079-80, 23803-06). Hugo von Trimberg further says: "Wir sîn alle gemacht von erden / Und müezen wider ze erden werden" (vol. 1, 8487-88) and: "Bedenke, mensche, daz du bist / Ein kranc ertknolle, ein fûler mist, / Und daz durch dich gemachet doch ist / Swaz lebt ûf erden!" (vol. 1, 6447-50).[93]

Der Meißner maintains: "Vür alle wunder ist wunder groz, / daz erden kloz / des scheffers ist geselle" (182; IV,2,15-17). Similarly, Boppe agrees: "Ob allen wundern merket wol ein wunder groz, / daz ist geselle des schepfaeres erde kloz / und ouch ze rehter sippeschaft gebunden" (Hagen vol. 2, 380; 138,I,14,1-3).[94] Man is mortal as symbolized by dust and ashes, but spiritually he is transcendent as symbolized by the brightness of the mirror.

Konrad von Würzburg combines the images of a mirror and ashes to symbolize the essence of man: "bî der bluomen glitze / spür ich unstaeter wunnen schîn. / in dem spiegel ich erkenne daz ich asche bin als er..." (vol. 3, 64; 32,262-64).[95] A mirror symbolizes clarity, while ashes, like dust from the ground, symbolize the physical composition of man. As Friedrich von Sonnenburg avers:

> Gedenke, mensche, waz du bist und waz du werden muost,
> gedenke an got mit warer riuwe, daz ist diner sele ein

/trost;

...

Gedenke daz din schepfer dich uz erden gemachet hat,

gedenke daz er dinen lip zer erden wider werden

gedenke wie dir sünde an stat,

...

Gedenke, mensche, hie also daz dort der sele werde rat:

diu stige diu ist worden breit, diu zuo der helle gat! [cf. Matthew 7:13].

(14-15; 20,1-2,5-7,11-12)

Die poetische Bearbeitung des Buches Daniel likens man's state before the fall to a mirror while after the fall he is comparable to ashes: "Wir waren ein spiegel clar, / Nu ein glas nach aschen var / Werden wir in kurtzer vrist" (Hübner 991-93) and: "Den menschen schuf er im glich, / Erbe in dem himelrich / Gab er da ewiclichen" (Hübner 457-59). Friedrich von Sonenburg also refers to the origin of man when he says: "daz wort [cf. John 1:1] uns machte unde ouch den man / nach sinem bilde gestalt" (34; 50,3-4). Since man was created in the image of God--"nâch dir gebildet" (L 123,30)--*imago Dei*--he has a greater destiny. Der Marner adumbrates such a destiny: "Ez hât diu starke gotes kraft / mit winderlîcher meisterschaft / gezirket wol der sternen kreiz, den sunnen und die mânen. / Dû bist gebildet, mensch, nâch im..." (81; I,2,14-17).[96] Frauenlob calls man the mirror image of God (Heinrich von Meißen/Stackmann, vol. 1, 423; V,59,1-6).[97] Man's destiny is elucidated in a poem by Reinmar von Zweter:

Nû seht, wie listic daz er was,
der ûz trüeber aschen worhte ein lûter spiegelglas,
sô lûter unt sô reine, daz er sîn selbes bilde drinne
/ersach.
Unt was daz niht ein wunder grôz,
daz erz von aschen worhte, unt was doch selbe ein erdenclôz?
dâ von sô wart gemachet unser vater...
Den liez sîn schepher zaschen wider werden:
nû wil er aber ûz der selben erden
vil manegen reinen spiegel machen,
der immer muoz ân ende sîn
noch lûterr dan der sunnen schîn...
(504-05; II,189,1-11)[38]

Reinmar sees man as potentially greater than dust and ashes. Man is compared to a mirror. Many "mirrors" (189,9) will be made immortal ("ân ende," line 10) and will shine more brightly than the sun (189,11). Freidank, like Reinmar (in words remarkably similar to Reinmar's line 189,11), also speaks of the future state or appearance of the glorified saints:

Himel und erde noch zergânt,
sô daz s' in bezzerm werde stânt.
êst wol, daz himel und erde
mit fiure geliutert werde.
der tiuvel hât des himels luft
geunreint unz in der helle gruft;
so ist diu erde sünden vol,

daz man si beide reinen sol.
die muoz daz fiur erwaschen,
ân koln und âne aschen;
dar nâch suln die erwelten sîn
noch liechter dan der sunnen schîn.
(179,4-15)[99]

Freidank is referring to the purity of character of the just after the resurrection (179,14-15). Reinmar says: "...Got sîn antlûtze clâr..." (518; II,218,10), portraying God's face as shining (presumably as brightly as the sun). In the *Egerer Fronleichnamsspiel*, Lucifer says: "Hoert, ich pin schoen und darzu klar.... / Ich leicht recht, als der sunnen glanz. / In die gothait ich plicket ganz" (Milchsack, *Egerer* 93, 95-96). In the *Frankfurter Passionsspiel von 1493*, Mary says to Jesus: "a herre und vater myn, / du spigel und sonnenschin" (Froning, vol. 14.2, 527; 4265-66). Frau Ava's *Das Jüngste Gericht* expresses the view that the dead will be awakened and assemble before Christ (Maurer, *Die religiösen Dichtungen*, vol. 2, 505; 18,1-4) and the good will resemble the sun: "...die guoten sint dem sunnen gelich" (18,4). Bruder Wernher says: "Diu sêle ist lûter alse ein glas, sô sie der touf erwaschen hât" (Schönbach, vol. 150, 39; 52,1). *Der Ritterspiegel* by Johannes Rothe combines the idea of ashes and the mirror in speaking of man:

Uz aschin werdit eyn glaz gemacht
und heißis bli gegoßin darin,
So gewinnet ez danne solche macht
daz ez gebit den wedirschin.

Waz man darkegin heldit,
daz sehit man wol darynne;
Dez gudin gesichtis ez weldit
und sterkit ouch di synne.
...
Von deßem spigil muez ich baz
mit gotis hulffe nu sprechin.
Von aschin machit man daz glaz,
gar licht ist sin zcubrechin.
Her bedutit dez menschin licham
der von aschin ist gemacht,
Darin eyn sele von gote quam
weich also daz bli geslacht.
Waz man darkegin heldit glich,
ez si bose adir si gud,
Eyn jungir mensche bildit ez in sich
daz her vel gerne darnach tud.
(77-84, 93-104)

When the author, Johannes Rothe, says: "Uz aschin werdit eyn glaz gemacht" (line 77), he is referring to potash which is used to produce glass that is combined with lead to form a physical mirror (Okken 73). Johannes Rothe is drawing a parallel between the manufacture of a real mirror and the creation of man, the mirror image of God, composed of dust and ashes. The author of *Der Ritterspiegel* maintains this association of mirror and ashes when he says:

Dit ist dez glasis luttirkeid
daz dir gebit den wedirschin.
Nu sich in den spigil andirweid
und bedenke waz her ouch mag gesin.
Von der aschin ist her wordin
und werdit lichtlichin zcubrochin.
Du heldist ouch den selbin ordin
also hi vor ist gesprochin.
Von aschin bistu kommen
und werdist zcu aschin wedir,
Din schonde werdit dir benommen
und vellit zcumale darnedir.
(Johannes Rothe 169-80)

Bartsch, commenting on this extract, speaks of the relationship between ashes and the mirror:

Wie man aus asche glas macht und hinten blei daran gießt, damit es das bild zurückstrahle (spiegel), so sei auch dieß gedicht ein spiegel, worin sich der ritter beschauen solle. Die entstehung des glases führt den dichter auf die vergänglichkeit des menschen, der auch aus asche gebildet, mithin gar keinen grund zum hochmut habe.
("Einleitung," Bartsch, *Mitteldeutsche Gedichte*, xxv)

Der Marner (speaking of a metaphoric mirror) says:

Der êren spiegel ist diu scham:
swer sich dar inne ersiht,
der wirt unzaemen blicken gram.

diu schame hât mit kiusche ir pfliht:
scham ist argen worten vînt, untriuwen haz, unstaeten
/fluoch.

(121; XV,10,181-85)

Frauenlob uses the image of a mirror to symbolize purity (Heinrich von Meißen/Stackmann, vol. 1, 432-33; V,74,1-19). Der Stricker, in the poem, "Von Edelsteinen," writes that a mirror (meaning a metaphoric mirror) is more valuable than precious stones because it gives a person the ability to see his spiritual condition (vol. 4, 206-07; 127,11-15,20-37). The use of the metaphor of the mirror by the poets is reminiscent of how James uses it when he says: "For if any be a hearer of the word, and not a doer, he is like unto a man beholding his natural face in a glass: For he beholdeth himself, and goeth his way, and straightway forgetteth what manner of man he was" (Jas. 1:23-24).

Konrad von Würzburg conjures up a metaphoric mirror: "diz merke ein herre, der nu sehe in êren spiegel sêre: / ob er drinne erkennen müge, / daz sîn râtgeb im niht tüge, / sô versmâhe er sîne cranken lêre" (vol. 3, 36; 18,37-40). *Der Ritterspiegel* also refers to such a metaphoric mirror (Johannes Rothe 4101-08). Johannes Rothe, author of *Der Ritterspiegel,* makes it clear that he is speaking of human character:

Bistu danne ußin gecleidit bunt,
ynnewenig doch eyn stinkindir mist;
Deßir spigil tud dir daz kunt
daz du eyn sag vol dreckis bist.

...

Wan du danne gesterbist,

dinen licham di worme freßin.

Waz hilffit daz du nu irwerbist?

din werdit gar snel vorgeßin.

(209-12, 217-20)

Thomasin also used the mirror metaphor to represent character traits:

wir suln uns gar an iu [herren] schouwen:

ir sît der spiegel, wir die vrouwen.

ist der spiegel ungelîche,

man siht sich selben wunderlîche:

man dunkt ze kurz sich od ze lanc,

ode ze breit, ode ze kranc.

...

ist der spiegel lieht als er sol,

ganz, sinwel, man siht sich wol.

ein herre der sol vil lieht sîn,

daz er an guotem bilde erschîn.

er sol sîn ganz an staetekeit,

(1761-66, 1785-89)[100]

Freidank uses the same metaphor when he says: "Swie dicke ein tôre in spiegel siht, / er kennet doch sîn selbes niht" (123,2-3). Frauenlob says: "Triuwe ist ein spiegel, den der man / vor im gein aller werlte treit" (Heinrich von Meißen/Stackmann, vol. 1, 551; XIII,29,5-6). Similarly, Walther von Prisach says: "Diu triuwe ist

lieht ein spiegel..." (Kraus, *Liederdichter*, vol. 1, 577; 63,I,6,1). A mirror was the symbol of clarity and purity and represented a paragon (Rittersbacher 69, 70).

In the fifteenth-century *Künzelsauer Fronleichnamspiel*, Satan describes his appearance before the fall: "Ich was ein engel schon... / Noch clerer dan dy licht sonne" (Liebenow 173, 176). The Prologue to the collection of legends of the saints called *Das Passional* (composed c. 1300) also describes Lucifer (literally: 'light-bearer') before the rebellion as "luter als ein spigel glas" 'brighter than a mirror' ("Prologus," Köpke 1; 60, see 52-61) and the *Kaiserchronik* says that he was a "liehtvaz" (Schröder 8803). Michel Beheim in "Von Luzifers Fall," described Lucifer similarly as shining as brightly as the sun (vol. 1, 17; 4,13-19). The sixteenth-century poem, "VII Lieder von der geschopfft und von dem val der engel" describes Lucifer before the fall: "Vin, luter als ein spiegel glass. / da mit wolt er den schopfer sin versuchen" (Wunderle 74; 12,III,9-10). *Der Saelden Hort* says that John the Baptist shines like the angels in Heaven (Adrian 3672-83). *Tilos von Kulm Gedicht Von siben Ingesigeln* uses a metaphor, saying that Christ is a shining mirror: "An dem cruce, do nu was / Tot daz clare spigel glas," (Tilo von Kulm 3719-20). The same poem says that the just would glow like sunshine on the Day of Judgement: "Di gerechten, di dort sin / Licht clar als der sunnen schin" (Tilo von Kulm 4965-66). In *Willehalm*, the reward of the Crusaders is glorification in Heaven: "ûf erde ein flüsterlîcher tac / und himels niuwe sunderglast / erschein, dô manec werder gast / mit

engelen in den himel flouc" (14,8-11).

From where did these medieval poets derive such an idea? Why does Reinmar von Zweter say that the "mirrors" will be "lûterr dan der sunnen schîn" (189,11)? Why does Freidank also say that the chosen will shine more brightly than the sun? On the one hand man is mere dust, but he has a supernatural dimension. Paul speaks of a transformation from mortality to immortality at the time of the resurrection of the dead (I Cor. 15:51-53).

The Book of Revelation says of Christ: "[A]nd his countenance was as the sun shineth in his strength" (Rev. 1:16). The "Marienlegende" says of Christ: "Ir sult des wol gloubin mêr, / Daz sîn herze reine was / Als ein lûter spîgelglas, / Vor aller missewende vrî" (Bartsch, *Mitteldeutsche Gedichte* 14; 468-71). An addendum to the fourteenth-century *Elsässische "Legenda aurea"* also compares Christ to a mirror (Kunze, vol. 2, 285) and to a lantern (Kunze, vol. 2, 285-86). Paul declares that Christians will shine like Christ (Phil. 3:20-21; II Cor. 3:18; cf. I Cor. 13:12). Christ similarly says: "Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father" (Matt. 13:43; cf. Dan. 12:3).[101] It is clear therefore, that these "mirror images" are to shine like Christ himself.

Die Erlösung, an anonymous poem about the prophets, the life of Christ, the Antichrist and the Day of Judgement, composed in the early fourteenth century, speaks plainly about the resurrection of the dead:

Ezechiêl sprach ouch zustunt:

"Multi de his qui dormiunt.
Vil lûde erwecket werden,
die restent in der erden.
Der wirt iedoch ein deil gegeben
in daz êweclîche leben,
daz ander deil in êwec leit
Dâ blîben sie ân underscheit."
(Maurer, *Erlôsung* 6575-82)[102]

Although the author of the *Erlôsung* attributes the prophecy to Ezekiel, the wording is actually that of Daniel: "And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever" (Dan. 12:3).[103] These ideas, expressed by Daniel, concern the resurrection of the dead. Like Daniel, using an image of brightness, Freidank says of those resurrected:

Got hât geschaffen manegen man,
der glas von aschen machen kan
und schepfet'z glas, swie er wil:
nû dunkt die ketzer gar ze vil,
...
sin wellent niht gelouben hân,
daz ieman mûge nâch tôde erstân:
daz got den man geschaffen hât,
deist groezer, dan daz er erstât.
(25,19-22, 25,25-26,3)

Here again the mirror symbolizes pure character. The righteous

were to be raised as immortal beings like God, while the unrighteous would be resurrected to mortal life again on the Day of Judgement (Wadstein 41).[104] The idea of the resurrection of the dead was connected to the rulership motif found in Crusade poetry and the divine origin of man. Not only the Emperor was created in the image of God. Medieval man believed that every person was considered *imago Dei* and deification was the goal of everyone. In the Heavenly Jerusalem, all would shine (Heer, *Tragödie* 211, 260).

Medieval German poetry reflects the prevailing Catholic dogma concerning the resurrection of the body, that there would be a Last Day during which the dead would be raised (Morris, *Discovery* 144). Friedrich von Sonnenburg speaks of the bodily resurrection of man: "Der mensche muoz zer werlde hie vleisch und gebeine lan / und dar nach ewiclich der lip mit sament der sele erstan / Da si iemer me an ende lebent in ewiclicher ewicheit-- / vro werlt, al solhe staete hat got selbe an dich geleit!" (2; 2,9-12). The resurrection, which traditionally occurs at the end of the world, looks toward a new world (Rev. 21:1; Isa. 65:17). The world is transformed from an unstable place of suffering into paradise. Thus the word *staete* is an appropriate quality for the new world.

The *Spruchdichter* use the metaphor of a mirror to express a righteous man's destiny as a glorified, shining being as opposed to a mortal being created from dust.

3.3 **The Meaning of '*hantgetat*'**

The underlying idea of man's being fashioned or undergoing a transformation (glorification) figures prominently in the thinking

of the time:

> Nun und für die Folgezeit bedeutsam war die Gottesebenbildlichkeit des Menschen, die in der augustinischen Psychologie zur Auffassung der Seele als eines Abbildes des trinitarischen Gottes geführt hat. Die Bildung des Menschenleibes aus Lehm legte sodann den Vergleich Gottes mit einem Töpfer nahe, der schon bei *Jes.* 29,16 anklingt...(Curtius 527)[105]

Curtius, in the foregoing quote, refers to a passage in Isaiah in which man is compared to clay in the hands of a potter (i.e., God). Metaphorically, man is being moulded by God and thus is God's handiwork. Isaiah uses this metaphor when he writes: "But now, O Lord, thou art our father; we are the clay, and thou our potter; and we all are the work of thy hand" (Isa. 64:8; cf. Isa. 45:9; Jer. 18:6; Rom. 9:20-21). Job says: "Thine hands have made me and fashioned me together round about" (10:8; cf. 10:3). The thirteenth-century poem, *Die Warnung*, restates this metaphor when it says:

> Lobt got seiner chreffte
> vnt aller seiner gescheffte,
> Daz erz so wert gemachet hat,
> dar vmbe ez iv ceherzen gat:
> So zvrnet der werch man nicht,
> swer sein werch also sicht,
> Daz er im lobes ere lat
> fvr alle sein hant getat.

(Weber 2061-68)

The *Wiener Genesis* likens God to a workman, creating man in His image, implying that man is God's workmanship (Smits 93; 108-11, 113-14).[106] In the same vein, Bruder Wernher also says: "Des sol der wercman gêret sîn, der elliu bilde schepfen kan: / daz reine wîp, ir liebez kint, dar zuo den wol gemuoten man" (Schönbach, vol. 148, 31; 9,4-5)[107] Konrad von Würzburg says that Christ (the "wercman") allowed himself to be killed by his creation:

durch sîn tougenlich geberc
slouf ein rise in ein getwerc,
dô dîn bilde almehteclich
hal in kindes forme sich.
wercman hôch, du woltest dich
lân versêren dîn antwerc.
(vol. 3, 14; 1,191-96)[108]

Job asked: "If a man die, shall he live again?" (14:14). Job then went on to answer the question saying that God will have a desire for the work of His hands (i.e., man; Job 14:14-15). Man was created mortal out of dust, but would be resurrected with a glorious body. Man, God's *unfinished* handiwork, would be resurrected to eternal life. Paul speaks of the resurrection of the dead: "[T]here shall be a resurrection of the dead, both of the just and unjust" (Acts 24:15). Such belief in resurrection on the Last Day was, of course, also held in the Catholic Middle Ages (Morris, *Discovery* 144-45).

Walther, in "Ir reinen wîp, ir werden man" (L 66,21), says

the *bilde* must decay ("...wart sô karkelvar" L 68,2) but he will be reunited with it at the resurrection: "daz wir ein ander vinden frô: / wan ich muoz aber wider in" (L 68,6-7). On the one hand man was a mere clay vessel but he had a transcendant destiny. Paul says:

> And that which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that shall be...So also is the resurrection of the dead. It is sown in corruption; it is raised in incorruption: It is sown in dishonour; it is raised in glory: it is sown in weakness; it is raised in power: It is sown a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body. (I Cor. 15:37,42-44)[109]

This moulding of man which is likened to the work of a potter by Isaiah corresponds to what Job meant by the expression: "[T]hou wilt have a desire to the work of thine hands" (Job 14:15). Walther viewed man as the handiwork of God. In his "Leich," Walther addresses Mary with the following words: "Und gebe uns rât / sît er uns hat / sîn hantgetât / geheizen offenbâre" (L 7,17-20; cf. Job 14:14-15). Rumelant says: "er schuof den menschen mit der hant" (Hagen, vol. 3, 67; 20,IX,2,13).[110] Der Meißner says: "...uns macheten sine hende. / Her meistert allez, daz da lebet" (188; V,1,8-9). Der Kriek von Wartberk wrote a poem in which Satan says: "Ja warn' ich Gotes hant getat: / ein brot, daz er [i.e., got] im selben glich gemachet hat, / daz wellent valsche pfaffen nu verkoufen," (Hagen, vol. 3, 173; 29,II,20,1-3). Der Stricker deals with the metaphor of man as God's clay vessel at great length in

his poem, "Die irdenen Gefäße." He says:

Ein kunic machet erdiniu vaz.
daz chunde er und niemen baz.
...
diu machet er mit sin selbes hant.
swenne er si hete gebrant,
swelhez er danne ganz vant,
daz uber guldet er zehant
und machet ez also lobesam,
daz ez sinem hus wol gezam.
...
dem chunege tut geliche
der groze got, der riche,
der edel unt der werde.
der machet uns von der erde.
wir sin alle erdiniu vaz.
(vol. 5, 143-44; 151,1-2,5-10,15-19)

Der Stricker maintains the metaphor when he speaks of character development (vol. 5, 144; 151,20-30). Freidank also uses Isaiah's metaphor when he says: "nû dunkt die ketzer gar ze vil, / daz got mit sînre geschepfede tuot / allez, daz in dunket guot" (25,22-24).[111] Bruder Wernher used the same metaphor when he wrote:

Sît got ûz sîner hantgetât
wol schaffet, swaz er hêrre wil,
(und nieman des sîn meister ist und nie sîn meister wart)
und doch des nieman gît ein zil,

(sît ichs in sinne hân die stat)...

(Schönbach, vol. 148, 58; 24,1-5; cf. Isa. 45:9; Jer. 18:6; Rom. 9:20-21)

Friedrich von Sonnenburg not only calls man God's handiwork, he harkens back to Genesis, saying that man was created good:

Man schiltet got noch siniu wunderwerc dar umbe niht,
ob man der werlde bresten unde grozer missewende giht:
got leite an si vil starken vliz,
nu wirt si leider kranc;
Da von der schepfer ist unschuldic ob sin hantgetat
mit willen swachet wan er si schone unde wol gebildet hat.
(5; 7,1-6; cf Gen. 1:31; Eph. 2:8-10)

Boppe uses the expression to mean humanity which God redeemed after Adam's sin:

Got wolte siner hantgetaete samen
uf lesen, den er hete gesat
unde er da viel durch die vil tiefe schrunden,
ich meine, sine hantgetat
die wolde er viuhten do mit tiefen wunden.
(Hagen, vol. 3, 406; 138,I,7,10-14)

Von siben Ingesigeln says in referring to man: "Gemolt nach dinem bilde, / Irner in mit dem schilde / Diner hoen majestat, / Wen er ist din hantgetat!" (Tilo von Kulm 623-26). Gyburc uses the same expression when she pleads for mercy for the heathen in *Willehalm*: "hoert eins tumben wîbes rât, / schônt der gotes hantgetât. / ein heiden was der êrste man / den got machen began"

(306,27-30). The word is used in the "Marienlegende" to signify humanity in general from which Mary was singled out: "Nie maget noch wîp wart ir genôz, / Sint si got irwelt hât / Uz aller sîner hantgetât / Zu mûter und zu kinde" (Bartsch, *Mitteldeutsche Gedichte* 16; 545-48). The poem also says: "Der mich und alle hantgetât / Von nichte gar gemachit hât, / Bî dem wil ich blîben" (Bartsch, *Mitteldeutsche Gedichte* 24; 827-29). Another extract from the "Marienlegende" says:

> Sô got in sîner majestât,
> Komet zu sîner hantgetât,
> Di sîn creftic hant geschûf,
> Daz wir rûfin sulchen rûf,
> Den daz volc von Israhêl,
> Daz ich zu den besten zel,
> Zu Jêrusalêm gerûfin hât.
> (Bartsch, *Mitteldeutsche Gedichte* 37; 1263-69)

Herger also uses the expression to mean mankind:

> An dem ôsterlîchen tage
> dô stuont sich Crist von dem grabe.
> künic aller keiser,
> vater aller weisen
> *sîne hántgetât erlôste.*
> in die helle schein ein lieht:
> sô kom er sînen kinden ze trôste.
> (Moser, *Minnesangs Frühling* 55; VII,VI,2,1-7; emphasis added)

This is also how it is used in *Der Renner* (Hugo von Trimberg, vol. 3, 20021-24, 22220-24). Der Kanzler uses the word in the same way when he says: "hilf, herre, dîner hantgetât, / dîn alt erbermde werde an uns erzeiget. / gedenc daz an dem kriuze hât / dîn güetlich houbet sich gen uns geneiget" (Kraus, *Liederdichter*, vol. 1, 210; 28,XVI,9,13-16).[112] *Seifried Helbling* says: "got, ich bin dîn hantgetât, / dîn menscheit mich erarnet hât" (Seemüller 232; X,54-55). In the *Egerer Fronleichnamsspiel*, Adam says to God: "Herr, ich pin deiner hant gethat" (Milchsack, *Egerer* 347). Der Hinnenberger also uses the expression to mean humanity when he says: "Vil suezer Got, nu sich hernider ze diner hantgetat, / wie jaemerliche[n] ez in der Kristenheit nu stat" and "vil sueze(r) vater, sich an ir ellende; / gedenke an dine hantgetat, unt sich an dine wunden rot, / waz du durch menscheit hast erliten, unt hilf dem armen sünder uz der not!" (Hagen, vol. 3, 39; 12,3,1-2 and 40; 12,8,10-12).

Paul teaches that the elect will be glorified as the Son of God was: "For whom he did foreknow, he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son, that he might be the firstborn among many brethren" (Rom. 8:29). Deification of every man in the Heavenly Jerusalem was the reward for which the medieval world hoped (Heer, *Tragödie* 211).

The common theme among the *Spruchdichter* is that of the transformation of man who was created in the image of God out of earth (Gen. 2:7; cf. Isaiah's use of the word "clay," chapter 45:9) and that man would be transformed into a spiritual being after the

resurrection.

3.4 **Marian Devotion**

Walther uses a typical expression of the age when in the "Leich," he says of Mary: "dû sunnevarwiu klâre" (L 7,24; cf. II Cor. 3:18). In the same way, Reinmar refers to Mary as "Dû sunnenglast, dû morgenrôt" (518; II,218,4). In *Mariendichtung*, it was quite common to portray Mary as shining like the sun or a star. In Frauenlob's "Leich," the author says in reference to Mary: "er [got] worchte ein spehez spiegelvaz" (Heinrich von Meißen/Stackmann, vol 1., 266; I,14,20-21). Tannhäuser uses the word 'mirror' in connection with the brightness of the glorified Mary: "Mary, der tugent ain folles fas, / ain krön ob allen wiben, / din schön licht durch ain spiegelglasz / uss dinem zarten libe" (223; 5,4,75-78). Similarly *Der Renner* says of Mary: "Diu aller tugent ein spiegelglas," and "Und reiniu magt sol immer sîn / Und aller meide spiegel schîn" (Hugo von Trimberg, vol. 2, 12083, 13091-92). *Die Erlösung* speaks of Mary, wearing a crown and shining like the sun (Maurer, *Erlösung* 6159-69).

Mariendichtung was popular in the Middle Ages. This was the result of centuries of devotion to Mary. She was believed to be free from original sin. She was looked to as mediatrix between man and God. She was the mother of God. A verse from the Gospel of Luke seems to set the tone for those who practiced this Marian devotion. Mary says: "[B]ehold, from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed" (Luke 1:48).

Walther refers to Mary as a queen: "ob allen magden bist dû,

maget, ein magt, ein küneginne" (L 4,37; cf. L 36,30, 37,2, 77,12). Heinrich von Meißen says: "du engelkrôn" (Heinrich von Meißen/Ettmüller 166; Spruch 289,6). Reinmar von Zweter salutes her: "Gegrüezet sîstû, künigîn" (421; II,22,1). She is known as the "Queen of Heaven." This is what Reinmar calls her: "Marîa, muoter unde magt, / in himel küniginne, waz uns saelden ist betagt..." (521; II,226,1-2). So also says Kelin: "Vil edele süeze künigîn, / berichte al mîne sinne" (Wangenheim 65; I,4,9-10). Ruodolf von Rotenburc likewise says: "Du tohter schône von Siône, keiserinne, künges hort" (Kraus, *Liederdichter*, vol. 1, 382; 49,VI,51).

Sigeher in his "Marienlied," calls her: "der tugende keiserinne," "heilberndiu küniginne" and "du hoch swebendiu krone" (86; 3, 6, 28). Heinrich von Meißen calls Mary: "du künigîn" and the crown of all women: "du liep, du zart, du krône ob allen vrouwen" and metaphorically calls her the most high throne: "Marîa, hôhster himeltrôn" (Heinrich von Meißen/Ettmüller 41; Spruch 20,8, 166; Spruch 289,16; 165; Spruch 289,1). Freidank calls her: "Marjâ, megde krône!" (13,7). He also says: "der reinen megede kiuscheheit / krône ob allen megeden treit" (7,16-17). Der tugenthafte Schrîber says: "Ich sprach tzuor megede wandels vry... / Krone vnde kleit ist alliz golt" (Rompelman 227; 16,1,4). Der Marner calls her: "aller heilegen frouwe und in himel künigîn" (98; XII,1,2).

3.5 **Mary as *Stella Maris* and Luminescent Figure**

The star, *stella maris,* is symbolic of Mary (Kesting 14; Hepperle 137). A poem by Marbod of Rennes (died 1123) is typical of Mary in that it addresses Mary as the star of the sea: "Stella

maris, quae sola paris sine coniuge prolem, iustitiae clarum specie super omnia solem, gemma decens, rosa nata recens, perfecta decore..." (Raby 150).

The metonymic star associated with Mary may have influenced at least one metaphor that Walther uses in his *minne* lyric. Kelin says : "Mârîâ, meres leitestern!" (Wangenheim 145; III,12,15). Frauenlob in his "Marienleich" has Mary say: "ich binz der lebende leitestern" (Heinrich von Meißen/Stackmann, vol. 1, 260; I,12,11). Sigeher, in his "Marienlied," says: "Du lieht ob al der werlde lieht, / die sternen sich dir glichen nieht" (87; 21-22). Der Marner says: "Marîâ, meres leitestern, / Marîâ, in der vinsternisse ein lûter lieht lucern" (100; XIII,1,15-16). Frauenlob, in his "Marienleich," says: "die siben liecht lucerne / uz diner sele liuchten sam die sterne" (Heinrich von Meißen/Stackmann 248; I,7,2-3). Kelin also compares Mary to a lantern: "Mârîâ, in der dinsternis ein glanze liechtlatern! / Mârîâ, *vaz der gotheit und ein lûter lucern*! / dich hânt erliuhtet gotes drî persône" (Wangenheim 145; III,12,16-18; emphasis in the original).

Reinmar von Zweter says that she shines like the sun: "du erliuhtest vinster naht, als si mit sunnen sî betagt, / dû gruntvest staeter triuwen, du schirmaerinne Gotes hantgetât!" (421; II,21,5-6). Again here the word 'hantgetât' is used to signify humanity in general. Note the phrase *staeter triuwen*. The use of the adjective *staete* and the noun *triuwe* provides a direct contrast with "Vrô Werlt" whose basic characteristics are *unstaete* and *untriuwe*.

Reinmar emphasizes that Mary has been glorified through metaphors connecting her to the sun (518; II,218,1,4,7,8). Heinrich von Meißen calls her pure sunshine: "du werder sunnen schîn" (Heinrich von Meißen/Ettmüller 166; Spruch 289,14). In his "Leich," Mary says: "der sunnen glenzen ist mîn kleit" (Heinrich von Meißen/Ettmüller 6; Leich 10,11), and in another poem, he calls her: "...liehtiu sunne..." (Heinrich von Meißen/Ettmüller 201; Spruch 349,7). Sigeher, in his "Marienlied," says : "du sunnenglast..." (87; 19). Herman Damen also compares her to sunshine: "Sie ist alles wandels bar, / unt vor dem sunnen schine klar" (Hagen, vol. 3, 160; 28,I,19,1-2). Bruoder Eberhart von Sax characterizes her as: "sam diu sunne dur daz glas" (Bartsch, *Schweizer Minnesänger* 30; 4,1,164). The "Marienlegende" says: "Dez morgenrôt wart nie sô clâr, / Sô di sunne nâch ir ger / Dringet durch di wulken her, / Daz si durchlûchten wil den tac" (Bartsch, *Mitteldeutsche Gedichte* 17; 564-67). Tannhäuser's poem celebrating Mary, uses phrases reminiscent of *minne* poetry, and includes a tribute to her brightness which is comparable to the sun, the moon and the stars:

Ich han mir eyne ausderkorn,
der schein ist lichter dann die sunne,
die ist edel vnd hoch geborn
vnd hat eyn kindelein gewunnen.
...
ir leucht der mon vnd auch die stern,
da vind wir rechtes hoffgesinde.

(226; 8,11,5-8,11-12)

Sigeher, in his "Marienlied," using Diana as a metonym for the moon, addresses Mary: "Du liehter stern Dîane" (88; 58).[113] In this way, he associates Mary with the moon.[114]

Marian poetry emphasizes her brightness. Kelin says: "Mârîâ klar ob allen maget besunder!" (Wangenheim, 145; III,12,10). Tannhäuser also compares Mary's brightness to that of a mirror: "Mary, der gnaden fasz,... / die namen dry daz warn die liepsten geste, / vil clarer wan ein spiegelglasz" (216-17; 3,2,24,35-36). Frauenlob, in his "Marienleich," has Mary say of herself: "Ich binz ein spiegel der vil klaren reinekeit, / da got von erst sich inne ersach" (Heinrich von Meißen/Stackmann 260; I,12,3-4). Sigeher, in his "Marienlied," also uses the image of a mirror to describe her: "gote liebiu spiegelschouwe" (87; 10). The author of the *Erlösung* says of her: "Daz ûzerwelde megedîn, / die aller sêlikeide schrîn / und aller zuhte ein spiegel..." (Maurer, *Erlösung* 2645-47) and "der spiegel und exempel / ist aller lûderkeide gar" (Maurer, *Erlösung* 2232-33). *Gottes Zukunft* compares the conception of Jesus to light shining through glass:

Die magt eins kindelins genaz.
An allen meil daz waz:
Als die sonne durch daz glaz
Schinet und dannoch blibet ganz,
Der megede bleip der kusche kranz.
Ir magtum rein und klar
Wart nie gehaltzet umb ein har.

(Heinrich von Neustadt 1406-12; emphasis in the original)

An anonymous poet of the thirteenth century says something similar: "nu merket, wie diu sunne durchschîne ganzez glas: / alsô swanger wart diu muoter reine / diu Krist gebar und dannoch maget was" (Kraus, *Liederdichter*, vol. 1, 265; 38h,2,4-6). Walther also employs this image of Christ's conception: "alsô diu sunne schînet / durch ganz geworhtez glas, / alsô gebar diu reine Krist, diu magt und muoter was" (L 4,10-12).[115] *Der Arnsteiner Marienleich*, composed c. 1140-50, compares Mary's conception of Christ to glass through which sunlight comes (Maurer, *Die religiösen Dichtungen*, vol 1, 439; 16,1-17,5).

Frauenlob says that she shines like the angels: "Vil reine magt, du schîn der engel" (Heinrich von Meißen/Ettmüller 200; Spruch 349,1). Der von Wengen says: "ze himelrîche ein werdiu küniginne, / ein spiegelglanz der engelschar" (Bartsch, *Schweizer Minnesänger* 267; 23,1,40-41). Der Marner says she lights up God's throne: "dîn schoene gît dem trône glast, / alsô daz in dîn schoene überschoenet" (98; XII,1,3-4). Frauenlob calls her: "...du trônes glast..." (Heinrich von Meißen/Ettmüller 200; Spruch 349,3). He says that she outshines all thrones: "wan din gestalt, din schône / durchschônet alle trône. / ir gelf, ir lut ist: 'crôna, künig, crône" (Heinrich von Meißen/Stackmann, vol. 1, 250; I,8,3-5).

The twelfth chapter of Revelation symbolically portrays a woman pursued by a dragon (symbolic of Satan). The description of the woman is evocative of the picture of Mary as Queen of Heaven who is crowned with twelve stars and bears a son (Rev. 12:1,13; see

also *Die Apokalypse* [Heinrich von Hesler 17274-79]). The woman of Revelation chapter twelve was traditionally seen as Mary. Consider the similarity of the woman of Revelation to a description of Mary by Bruoder Eberhart von Sax:

> Swer nu rechte wil erkunnen,
> wer diu ist, diu mit dere sunnen
> ist bekleit, mit rîchen wunnen,
> gecroenet mit zwelf sternen clâr,
> Und ir schâmel ist der mâne:
> (Bartsch, *Schweizer Minnesänger* 31; 4,1,193-97)[116]

Der Kanzler was influenced by the idea of Mary as Queen of Heaven because he says:

> Jôhannes in dem trône
> sach got in sîner majestât,
> ...
> Er sach sô vil der wunder,
> wie sich die himel hânt geschiben,
> ...
> dâ sach er aber fürebaz
> ein got in drin persônen
> und ouch die meit diu sîn genas.
> der êwikeit ein krône
> diu wart ir ûf gesetzet.
> Marîa, himelrîches funt,
> (Kraus, *Liederdichter*, vol. 1, 194; 28,II,15,1-2, 16,1-2,11-16)

John, however, does not say that he saw Mary at the throne of God (Rev. 4:1-11), but Mary, known as Queen of Heaven, is identified with a succession of ancient goddesses ("Maria hl.," *Handwörterbuch*, vol. 5, 1649).[117]

3.6 **Summary**

The reward promised to the saints and to the crusaders was the eternal crown and co-rulership with Christ. An eternal crown implied eternal life and glorification. The *Spruchdichter* of the thirteenth-century used the mirror as a metaphor of purity and glorification. The metaphor of glorified man as a mirror was taken from various Scriptural passages. Man was created mortal, of dust, but at some future time would be recreated with a spiritual body. This is the idea behind man as God's handiwork or 'hantgetat' as expounded by the *Spruchdichter*. God is compared to a potter by Isaiah and Jeremiah. Man, His unfinished creation, would at some future time be transformed into a spiritual being. The glorification of the Virgin Mary is a prime example of the glorification of the saints and crusaders. The thirteenth-century poets viewed Mary as a crowned, luminescent eternal figure.

IV

THE CROWN: GLORIFICATION OF THE EMPEROR

4.1 The Symbolism of the Imperial Crown and Regalia

The importance of symbolism in the medieval period cannot be overlooked. Words, objects and events were not interpreted solely literally or historically but allegorically, tropologically and anagogically. For example, Jerusalem was historically a city, allegorically, the Church, tropologically, the soul of the believer, and anagogically, the New Jerusalem, the Heavenly City of God (Ohly 10-11). The medieval period produced dozens of allegoric dictionaries illustrating, among other things, numerical symbolism. The literature of the period cannot be correctly interpreted without a knowledge of Biblical allusions and symbolism (Ohly 11).

In *Willehalm*, a heathen king is described as wearing a crown. From its description this crown together with a helmet, reminiscent of the Emperor's regalia, has a spiritual significance:

der hiez Nôurpatrîs:
er het ouch jugent und liehten schîn.
ze Oraste Gentesîn
truoc er krône: ez was sîn lant.
...
von rubîn ein krône
ûf sînem liehten helme was:
lûter als ein spiegelglas
was der helm unverdecket glanz.
(22,18-21, 26-28)

The clarity of the crown is similar to the description of the clarity of the New (Heavenly) Jerusalem in Revelation:

> And he carried me away in the spirit to a great and high mountain, and shewed me that great city, the holy Jerusalem, descending out of heaven from God, Having the glory of God: and her light was like unto a stone most precious, even like a jasper stone, clear as crystal. (Rev. 21:10-11)[118]

The crown worn by the Emperor was meant to be symbolic of the New Jerusalem and thus was associated with the idea of a peaceful reign evocative of the Millennium:

> Die Krone des mittelalterlichen Deutschen Kaisers, welche heute in der Schatzkamer der Wiener Hofburg aufbewahrt wird, weist in ihrer quadratischen Grundlage, auf der sich ein Achteck aufbaut, auf den quadratischen Grundriß des himmlischen Jerusalem hin. (Günther 66)

The reference is to John's words in Revelation: "And the city lieth foursquare, and the length is as large as the breadth...." (Rev. 21:16). The glory of the Emperor's throne was meant to be a reflection of the glory of God's throne. The light shining from God's throne was also mentioned in the *Erlösung*:

> ...alle goldes wirdekeit,
> aller sunnen klârheit,
> mâne und aller sterren glast,
> steine und aller berge last,
> wêr daz allez samen schîn,

sô schône kunde doch niht sîn,...

(Maurer, *Erlösung* 425-30)

Schumacher agrees that the crown is symbolic of the New (Heavenly) Jerusalem: "[D]ie Krone des Reiches ist Abbild und Sinnbild des himmlischen Jerusalem, der *civitas Dei. Et fundamenta muri civitatis omni lapide pretioso ornata, fundamentum primum: jaspis*" [Offenbarung 21:19] (Schumacher 186).[119] The use of jasper in the throne was meant to be symbolic. In the Book of Revelation, John says that God's countenance shone like jasper. Consider the description of God's throne: "[B]ehold, a throne was set in heaven, and one sat on the throne. And he that sat was to look upon like a jasper and a sardine stone: and there was a rainbow round about the throne, in sight like unto an emerald" (Rev. 4:2-3). There is a description of God's throne in *Die Erlösung* which specifically states that it is fit for an Emperor:

Der thrôn was gemachet wol,
als dâ ein keiser sitzen sol,
von golde und ouch von rîcher hort,
gedeilt in vierundzwenzig ort,
von silber, von gesteine,
von klârem helfenbeine,
von gimmen, margarîden;
jâ, ûz allen sîden
schinen aller hande wes:
perlin fîn und agathes,
truchmus unde adamas,

turkes unde crisopras,
alamanden, ascalamus
pintes, allectôrius,
jaspis und thopasion,
corellen und elitropion,
barillen unde gamahî.
(Maurer, *Erlösung* 393-409; cf. Rev. 4:2-3)

The Emperor's crown symbolised rulership of the world. The fact that the crown was eight-sided also lent it a spiritual dimension as symbol of the Heavenly Jerusalem (Kampers, *Werdegange* 27).[120] The crown was a visible symbol of God's favour: "Der *weise* ist wie die Krone insgesamt ein *signum sanctitatis* und ein Zeichen der Überwinder. An dem weißen Stein, den Gott spendet, erkennt er seine Auserwählten" (Schumacher 186). Four plates of the crown symbolize the Heavenly Jerusalem as described by John in Revelation:

> Nichts, was der Apostel schildert, ist ohne Abbildung auf der Krone geblieben...umgekehrt ist auf beiden Platten kein Stern und keine Perle, die nicht aus der Apokalypse einfach und sinnvoll gedeutet werden kann. Wir können die beiden Seitenplatten der Reichskrone schlechthin bezeichnen als das *Abbild des himmlischen Jerusalem.* (Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen,* vol. 13/II, 609; emphasis in the original)[121]

Each of the two plates, front and back, has twelve outer pearls which symbolize the twelve gates of the city: "And the

twelve gates were twelve pearls: every several gate was of one pearl..." (Rev. 21:21). The foundation stones of the Heavenly Jerusalem are listed by John:

> And the foundations of the wall of the city were garnished with all manner of precious stones. The first foundation was jasper; the second, sapphire; the third, a chalcedony; the fourth, an emerald; The fifth, sardonyx; the sixth, sardius; the seventh, chrysolyte; the eighth, beryl; the ninth, a topaz; the tenth, a chrysoprasus; the eleventh, a jacinth; the twelfth, an amethyst. (Rev. 21:19-20)

Each of these stones is represented in the Emperor's crown: "Die zwölf Steine der Stirnplatte mit dem Waisen and der Spitze, die in ihrer Farbskala die Grundsteine des himmlischen Jerusalem wiederholen, sollen gar nicht anders sein als diese Steine selbst..." (Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen,* vol. 13/II, 600-01). Other precious stones surrounding the throne are also mentioned in the *Erlösung*:

> Gemischet wâren under die,
> gesetzet wol nâch listen
> granât und amatisten,
> crisoliton und rubîn,
> saffîr unde ouch sardîn,
> smaragden, jachande,
> gesteine maneger hande.
> Dâ lûhten ouch vil schône

kristallen, calcidône,

karbunkel und maneg edel gestein.

(Maurer, *Erlösung* 410-19)

The side plates, each portraying a tree, correspond to the trees lining the river in the New Jerusalem (Rev. 22:1-2; Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen,* vol. 13/II, 608-09). The New Jerusalem symbolized Heavenly peace. The Holy Roman Empire symbolized earthly peace (Heer, *Tragödie* 161). Both the front and back plate of the crown contained twelve large precious stones. The incorporation of these twelve stones was also a conscious attempt to symbolize the twelve foundation stones of the Heavenly Jerusalem (Nellmann, "Philippe" 91).

The four picture plates depict scenes from the Old Testament. One plate shows David with the inscription: "Honor regis judicium diligit" (Ps. 98:4). A second portrays Solomon, with the words: "Time Deum et recede a malo" (Prov. 3:7). A third pictures the calling of Isaiah with a vision of Christ and the angels as recorded in Isa. 6:1ff. with the inscription "Per me reges regnat" (Prov. 8:15). The fourth illustrates God's promise to King Hesekiah with the words: "Ecco ego adjiciam super dies tuos quindecim annos" (Isa. 38:5). Schramm believes that Emperor Otto I conceived of the crown in the year 958, in gratitude, after being healed of an illness (Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen,* vol. 13/II, 616-17). The imperial crown symbolized the divine authority which had been conferred upon the Emperor. The throne of God was directly comparable to the throne of the Holy Roman Empire as stated in the

Erlösung:

Ich sage, daz kein dinster
dâ iht ane wêre;
iz wêre unsagebêre,
sulde dâ vinsternusse wesen,
dâvon die schônheit ist gelesen,
dâ ist êweclîcher schîn,
dâ mûz êwec lieht ouch sîn.
Ein spiegel was der esterîch,
dâ saz der keiser hêrlîch
an sîme tribunâle.
(Maurer, *Erlösung* 460-69; emphasis added)

The Emperor's crown and regalia corresponded to the symbolic crowns and regalia worn by ancient kings (Heer, *Das Heilige Römische Reich* 11). The Emperor was the sun king (*lux mundi*) and was identified with the sun (Heer, *Tragödie* 189). Any disturbance in the sun reflected a disturbance of world order. Medieval man viewed an eclipse as an apocalyptic event: "Daß sich die Sonne schwarz färbt und der Mond blutig wird, erinnert an Apoc. 12,3.4. Mond- und Sonnenfinsternis sind im Anschluß an Luk. 21,25 Vorzeichen des Weltendes" (Siebert 142).

An eclipse of the sun was believed to be a portentous event, an omen of the death of the Emperor. That is one reason why Walther's poem "Nû wachet! uns gêt zuo der tac" (L 21,25) is considered apocalyptic (Burdach, "Walther" 24 and Hepperle 38-39). It contains the line "Diu sunne hât ir schîn verkêret" (L 21,31)

and thus was a contemporary allusion to the murder of the Byzantine Emperor, Alexios IV.

The orb that the Emperor carried was also symbolic: "[D]er staufische Reichsapfel verkörpert das Attribut Jupiters, den Erdball in der Hand des Kaisers: Machtzeichen der universalen Herrschaft. Auf ihm ruhte einst die Siegesgöttin Nike, im Heiligen Römischen Reich ruht darauf das Kreuz" (Heer, *Das Heilige Römische Reich* 377). The orb represented the earth and the Emperor's rulership over it as *vicarius Dei* (Schramm, *Sphaira* 179).

The Emperor's palace and court were thought of as the image of heaven. He was clothed in purple, the regal colour. He was shielded by a veil, in the same way as God was hidden in the clouds. Incense was burned in his honour, just as it had been burned anciently in the worship of God (Schneider, *Geistesgeschichte*, vol. 2, 325).

The symbolism of the Emperor's regalia was frankly religious and was designed to underline the divine attributes of the Emperor (Heer, *Das Heilige Römische Reich* 377). The Emperor was believed to uphold the divine order. The Holy Roman Empire was considered the Kingdom of God on earth. Hence the Emperor was seen as possessing divine authority (Heer, *Tragödie* 159).

4.2 **Quasi-Deification of the Emperor**

Both the Empire and the Emperor were surrounded with an aura of sacred tradition: "Der König ist ursprünglich Magier, Zauberer...Er ist "Gott" auf Erden, Hoher-Priester (wie Melchisedech). Er trägt die Kraft und die Attribute der Gottheit, der Priester, der Zauberer" (Heer, *Das Heilige Römische Reich* 24;

Günther 51). The author of the Book of Hebrews, quoting the Psalms, says of Christ: "Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec: By so much was Jesus made a surety of a better testament" (Heb. 7:21-22; cf. Heb. 7:17; Ps. 110:4). He invests Melchizedek (literally, 'King of Righteousness') with the mystique of Christ:

> For this Melchisedec, king of Salem, priest of the most high God, who met Abraham returning from the slaughter of the kings, and blessed him; To whom also Abraham gave a tenth part of all; first being by interpretation King of righteousness, and after that also King of Salem, which is, King of peace; Without father, without mother, without descent, having neither beginning of days, nor end of life; but made like unto the Son of God; abideth a priest continually. (Heb. 7:1-3; see also Gen. 14:18-20; *Die Apokalypse* [Heinrich von Hesler 11870-78])

In their struggle against Papal authority, the Hohenstaufen Emperors used the image of Melchizedek (who was both priest and King of Salem, literally, 'king of peace') to justify their spiritual as well as their temporal authority as representatives of Christ and priests (Heer, *Tragödie* 229). Just as Christ was both a king and a priest (Heb. 4:14; Rev. 19:16), so the Emperor sought to unite both offices. Just as Christ was both man and God, so the Emperor considered himself both king and vicar of God, thus uniting *regnum* and *sacerdotium*. The priest-king became synonymous with Melchizedek for medieval man:

> Es genügt, die Formel "rex et sacerdos" anzuführen, die im Alten Testament für Melchisedek gebraucht ist und seit alters diese sowohl germanischen wie auch spätantiken christlichen Ausprüche deckte. Besser als die Bezeichnung "geweihtes Königtum" ist daher die des Priesterkönigtums. (Schramm, *König*, vol 1., 156)[122]

The Emperor execised both a temporal and a spiritual function (Georgi 72). By combining the offices of priest and king, the Emperor's authority suggested the rule of the kingdom of God on earth. The Emperor, as priest-king, took on a supernatural dimension through the association with Melchizedek, a type of Christ (Bloch 66; Heer *Tragödie* 143, 228-29).

The office of Emperor was a type of the reward promised the crusader in the sermons of the Middle Ages based on the words in Revelation: "Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection: on such the second death hath no power, but they shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years" (Rev. 20:6; cf. Rev. 1:6, 5:10). The coronation robes of the Emperor showed an affinity with priestly robes and were reminiscent of Melchizedek, combining the offices of priest and king (Schramm, *Geschichte* 133).

Since the Emperor administered the Kingdom of God on earth and was believed to be the representative of Christ, it is little wonder that he was given divine titles and idealized. This was an old custom (Wapnewski 158). All earthly authority was believed to flow from God. Medieval man took Paul literally and very seriously

when he said: "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God" (Rom. 13:1).[123] Similarly, when Pilate told Jesus that he had the power to crucify him, Christ answered: "Thou couldest have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above..." (John 19:11). The Emperor bore the symbols of rulership associated with Christ--the spear and the crown. This is mentioned in Rumelant's poem about the crowning of Rudolf I which ended the Interregnum:

> Nu seht daz wunder Got vermak:
> sper unde krone uf Drivels was vil manigen tak
> behalten, e sich ie man sin vermaeze.
> Nach keiser Vrideriches zit
> waren künige vünve, der nie keiner sit
> ze Ache wenik küniges stuol besaeze.
> Swie vil sie truogen arebeit,
> mit kost, mit koufe unde ouch mit gabe,
> daz riche was in unbereit:
> nu hab' ez im von Havekesburk der grabe,
> der milte Ruodolf unverzaget;
> in also grozen eren wart nie künik betaget:
> kum heil dem Gotes uz erwelten Swabe!
> (Hagen, vol. 3, 61; 20,V,7,1-13)

The Emperor was believed to be crowned by God Himself.[124] Emperors claimed to be the elect of God. As an example, when Rudolf I was crowned in Aachen on October 24, 1273, there was a rumour

that a cross miraculously appeared during the ceremony as a token of God's favour. This rumour became the subject of a poem by Friedrich von Sonnenburg:

> Si vragent wie der kūnic von Rome Ruodolf mir behage--
> er behaget mir als er sol sit daz er got behagete an dem
> /tage
> dor in ze vogete (als ich iu sage)
> gap aller kristenheit;
> Unde als er got behagete...
> ze Ache überm münster daz geschach:
> hoch, lanc, wit unde breit
> Ein schoene kriuze swebete ob im die wile daz er saz
> gekroenet und die wihe enpfienc--hie bi so weiz ich daz,
> Daz in got durch der vürsten munt uns zeinem vogete hat
> /erwelt.
> nu si er dir, almehtic got, in dinen vride gezelt.
> (21; 30,1-5,7-12)[125]

Bruder Wernher compares the Emperor's crown to Christ's crown of thorns exhorting the Emperor to listen to the cries of the poor for justice:

> Got durch der werlde missetât êr eine dürnîn krône truoc,
> dô in diu ungetoufte diet mit nagelen an daz kriuze sluoc:
> ...
> Sît ir der kristen krône traget, den er ze trôste gôz sîn
> /bluot,
> sô merket, waz ir saelden habet und waz er wunders durch

/iuch tuot,

sô rihtet mit der krône ouch, daz der sêle werde rât!

Hoeret ir die armen schrîen 'wê'

von ungerihte? wie stât daz dem rîche?

(Schönbach, vol. 148, 32-33; 10,1-2,4-8)

The king is the guarantor of peace and freedom. He carries the insignia of rulership: "Da Wernher Nägel und Kreuz eigens erwähnt, liegt der Gedanke an weitere Reichsinsignien, besonders das Reichskreuz nahe, das die Kreuzreliquie und die Heilige Lanze mit einem Nagel des Kreuzes Christi barg" (Gerdes, "Zeitgeschichte" 139).[126] Schönbach says: "Der Spruch geht aus von einer Parallele zwischen Christus=Gott und dem Kaiser Friedrich II., ihnen ist die Krone gemeinsam: die Christi ein Zeichen des Leidens, die des Kaisers ein Symbol seiner irdischen Herrlichkeit" (Schönbach, vol. 148, 33). This poem equates the symbols of the Passion with the Imperial insignia of rulership. Like Christ, the Emperor is the King of Kings (Rev. 19:16). The office of the Emperor has much in common with the rulership exercised by Christ as king, priest and judge.[127] Der Stricker takes a differing view of the value of the Imperial crown in his poem, "Von Edelsteinen":

ich han von sagen vernomen,

es si der stein, swer in habe,

sin gu(o)t genem nimmer abe.

daz muz mir gar ein luge sin.

...

dan noch sage ich iu mere:

die zerome voget sint gewesen,
die hiezzen uz allen steinen lesen
die edelisten und die besten,
die si in der werlde westen,
und hiezen die vil schone
setzen in des riches chrone.
swie groze tugent die steine han,
sine mohten doch nicht understan,
der chunich pfilippe wrde erslagen.
wem suln sie danne wol behagen?
so ist ouch der cheiser otte
zeschaden und zespotte
mit den selben steinen chomen.
swaz ich maere han vernomen
von der tugent der steine,
der gloube ich harte chleine.
(vol. 4, 208-09; l27,64-67,76-92)

The symbolic value of the *weise*, the other jewels and the crown itself had not even saved the lives of Philipp or Otto (Herkommer 58-59).

At the end of the twelfth century, when there were several claimants to the throne, Walther von der Vogelweide maintained that Philipp was entitled to the crown. The Emperor and the crown were made for each other and the Emperor was God's elect. In "Diu krône ist elter danne der künec Philippes sî" (L 18,29), Walther asserts his belief that the two were destined for each other:

Diu krône ist elter danne der künec Philippes sî:
dâ mugent ir alle schouwen wol ein wunder bî,
wies ime der smit sô ebene habe gemachet.
sîn keiserlîchez houbet zimt ir alsô wol,
daz si ze rehte nieman guoter scheiden sol:
ir dewederz daz ander niht enswachet.
(L 18,29-34)

The crown symbolized authority. So when Walther says "Philippe setze en weisen ûf, und heiz si [die armen künege] treten hinder sich" (L 9,15), he is, in effect, saying that Philipp should be given the position of rulership of the world as *vicarius Dei*. Walther says of the *weise*: "der stein ist aller fürsten leitesterne" (L 19,4). This could be an attempt to associate the stone with the star of Bethlehem which guided the *magi* (Matt. 2:9).[128] Ruck asks: "Kann man sich dem Eindruck entziehen, daß diese Parallelen zu einem wunderbaren Gipfel geführt werden, wenn wir Z 12 [i.e., L 19,4] nun so interpretiern, daß die Fürsten ihrem Leitstern (18,29) nun wirklich wie die magi gefolgt sind" (Ruck 13).

The *weise* was meant to show the lesser kings the way to follow: "swer nû des rîches irre gê, / der schouwe wem der weise ob sîme nacke stê: / der stein ist aller fürsten leitesterne" (L 19,2-4). The fact that other kings would follow him, reinforces the concept that the Emperor is King of Kings (cf. Rev. 19:16). Attempts to glorify the Emperor include associating him with Scriptures praising God or Christ. For instance, the seventy-

second Psalm:

> In his days shall the righteous flourish; and abundance of peace so long as the moon endureth. He shall have dominion also from sea to sea [cf. Canada's motto: *A mari usque ad mare*], and from the river unto the ends of the earth....*Yea, all kings shall fall down before him: all nations shall serve him.* (Ps. 72:7-8,11; emphasis added)

Walther was familiar with this Psalm. Wapnewski says: "Daß der 71. [bzw. 72.] Psalm Walther wohlvertraut war, zeigt auch die Nutzung des Bildes des 6. Verses vom Regen der fürstlichen Gnade im Spruch 20,31" (Wapnewski 170 fn. 64). The *weise* was also associated with *die wîsen,* the *magi*. Considering that Walther's poem was written to commemorate a Christmas celebration in 1199, the association with the *magi* could be expected (Wapnewski 173).

Walther's poem "Ez gienc, eins tages als unser hêrre wart geborn" (L 19,5) represents a glorification of Philipp, an attempt to make him appear worthy to assume such an office. The number three plays a prominent role in the poem. Philipp is described as "...der künec Philippes schône... / ...eins keisers bruoder und eins keisers kint / in einer wât, swie doch die namen drîge sint..." (L 19,7-9). Walther has also followed an old Germanic custom in linking the ruler to the *magi* (Heer, *Tragödie* 246-47).

Unlike the situation in our day, the association of the earthly and the heavenly was quite common in the Middle Ages: "Das Mittelalter indes begriff die *civitas Dei* auch in der *civitas terrena* verwirklicht und vermochte Diesseits und Jenseits in

vertrauter, ja fast vertraulicher Nähe zu sehen" (Wapnewski 156-57; see also Brunner 309-33; Georgi 141-50). The Emperor was to be chosen of God (Heer, *Tragödie* 218).

In "Ez gienc, eins tages als unser hêrre wart geborn" (L 19,5), Walther makes a point of saying that Philipp carried the symbols of rulership: "er truoc des rîches zepter und die krône" (L 19,10). The sceptre represents the divine world tree which is symbolic of kingship.[129] The entire regalia of the Emperor symbolized rulership (Heer, *Tragödie* 219).

Philipp's consort, Maria, is likened to Mary by the use of epithets associated with the mother of God: "im sleich ein hôhgeborniu küneginne nâch, / rôs âne dorn, ein tûbe sunder gallen" (L 19,12-13). A rose without thorns and a dove without gall were the common epithets associated with Mary. Walther himself uses such appellations in the "Leich" with reference to Mary: "dû frîer rôse sunder dorn" (L 7,23). The association of the Emperor's consort with Mary was a familiar motif of the Middle Ages. In the case of the Byzantine Emperor, this motif was combined with the image of the Patriarch of Constantinople to portray an earthly trinity:

> Neben dem Kaiser steht die Kaiserin oder die Mutter des Kaisers, wie Maria neben Christus steht, und schließlich, aber wohl erst nach dieser Epoche, sind Kaiser, Kaiserin und ökumenischer Patriarch [cf. Melchizedek] Abbild der himmlischen Trinität, untrennbar, unzerreißbar, unvermischt und unverwandelbar ineinander--drei und doch einer. (Schneider, *Geistesgeschichte*, vol. 2, 325)

Mary herself was often associated with the Trinity. Der Meißner calls Mary the temple of the Trinity: "du gotes sedel, tempel der drivaldicheit" (170; II,1,3).[130] Boppe says: "Ave Marîa! tempel der drivaltikeit" (Hagen, vol. 3, 406; 138,I,5,1). Sigeher, in his "Marienlied," calls her: "du drîvaltic sagraere" (87; 18). Heinrich von Meißen says: "Marîa, hôch drîvaltec slôz, / der tugende grôz" (Heinrich von Meißen/Ettmüller 166; Spruch 291,1-2). Friedrich von Sonnenburg says: "Ouch hat uns wol gewaeret des diu hohe trinitas, / daz si an anegenge her mit gote in siner gotheit was" (10; 14,5-6). The fact that Mary's pregnancy was divided into three phases--*ante partum, in partu, post partum*--was symbolic of the Trinity.

Just as the Emperor was portrayed as a semi-divine ruler, so Jesus and Mary were portrayed as similar to an earthly King and Queen in the *Erlösung*:

> Der kunig ist der herre Crist,
> von deme hie gesaget ist.
> Die kuneginne ist die maget
> Marîa, von der ist gesaget,
> die hât sô grôze wirdekeit
> mit ir kinde ân underscheit.
> (Maurer, *Erlösung* 6191-96)

Was the Emperor attempting to imitate God or to mould God into his image? It is with a touch of irony that Hans Diesenberg says of Walther's poem "Ez gienc, eins tages als unser hêrre wart geboren" (L 19,5): "Es ist doch ein beachtlicher und nicht zu verwischender

Unterschied in der Haltung, ob Gott im Bilde des Kaisers oder der Kaiser im Bilde Gottes gesehen wird!" (Diesenberg 15 fn. 19).[131] In fact, the Emperor did model the image he projected on the popular conception of what God looked like:

> *Deus imago regis*--so we are inclined to think while twisting the Christian maxim of *rex imago Dei,* a concept responsible also in Christian art for occasional facial similitude between the deity and the ruler, between Christ and his vicar on earth. (Kantorowicz, *King's* 504)

The affinity between the Emperor and God is again demonstrated in Walther's poem "Hêr keiser, ich bin frônebote" (L 12,6), which closely associates the two (Ruck 30).[132] The Trinity was a feature of medieval belief which was often associated with Mary or the ruling Emperor in order to glorify them in their proximity to the divine.

4.3 **Nebuchadnezzar's Dream**

A favourite theme of the Middle Ages was Nebuchadnezzar's dream. The way in which medieval man viewed the dream reflected his world view. Medieval man believed that he was living at the end time. Interpretations of the dream conformed to this belief. The dream is recorded in the second chapter of Daniel:

> Thou, O king, sawest, and behold a great image. This great image, whose brightness was excellent, stood before thee; and the form thereof was terrible. This image's head was of fine gold, his breast and his arms of silver, his belly and his thighs of brass, His legs of iron, his

> feet part of iron and part of clay. Thou sawest till that a stone was cut out without hands, which smote the image upon his feet that were of iron and clay, and brake them into pieces. Then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold, broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of the summer threshingfloors; and the wind carried them away, that no place was found for them: and the stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth. (Dan. 2:31-35)

Nebuchadnezzar sees four successive great kingdoms (Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Greco-Macedonian and Roman), each symbolized by a metal--gold, silver, brass and iron. Finally they are replaced by the kingdom of God.[133] Nebuchadnezzar's empire was pictured as the head of gold.[134] In the Middle Ages, this dream and the four kingdoms pictured had a special significance: "Very early in Christian history had the belief formed itself that the Roman Empire--as the fourth beast of Daniel's vision, as the iron legs and feet of Nebuchadnezzar's image--was to be the world's last universal kingdom" (Bryce 112).[135] This last kingdom was believed to be the Holy Roman Empire. In the twelfth-century poem, "Veronica," a version of the dream is given:

> do was der heilige geist heimlich gisant,
> den ouch Daniel hadde bikant,
> da er Nabuchodonosor irscein.
> dat was dir driechete stein,
> den er in sime slafe gesach,

unde dat groze bilde zebrach,
dem dat howet an den himel ginc.
der stein al ertriche bivinc.
dat was di wisheit undi gedanc,
di von himile in ertriche spranc
unde von der megide wart giborn
zerlosene di da waren virlorn.
(Maurer, *Die religiösen Dichtungen*, vol. 3, 495; 4,7-18)

This refers to the part of the dream in which a stone smashes the image and grows into a mountain (symbolic of the Kingdom of God) which fills the earth (Dan. 2:34-35, as cited above).[13b] Rumelant echoes Daniel, when he says:

Der künik Nabuchodonosor sach in eime troume
ein bilde von erden an den himel reichen,
Dem was daz houbet guldin wunderlich, des nam (er) goume,
brust und arme silberin dem selben zeichen,
Der buch erin geschaffen was, diu diech von hertem stale,
isenin diu bein,
die vueze erdin.....daz brach ze male
ein grozer stein,
der kam uz einem berge, an'elliu werk, aleine,
der stein zereip daz bilde unt zebrach ez kleine.
(Hagen, vol. 2, 369; 136,IV,3,1-10)

Der Marner gives his version of the dream:

Der künc Nabuchodonosor
in einem troume sach

ein bilde hôhe stân enbor,
daz houbt was guldîn, als er jach,
silberîn arm unde brust, ein teil êrîn und îsenîn.
Die fûeze wâren schirbîn hor,
die sît daz îsen brach.
der troum gienc sînen sinnen vor.
bediuteclîch ein wîssag sprach:
"künc, der troum ist nû bî dir, und wirt nach dir der werlte /schîn.
Künec, dû der wernden bist des bildes houbetgolt,
nâch dir ein rîche bringet silberînen solt,
ein êrînz der nâch kumt,
dar nâch daz êrîn îsen bringt und schirbîn vuoz ze stücken /drumt."
hie bî sô mugt ir merken, wie ez nû der werlde stê:
daz golt was ê,
silber dar nâch mê,
nû hân wir ein îsnîn wê,
daz witwen unde weisen machet mangen jaemerlîchen schrê:
des suln sich die fürsten schamen, sunt sie schirbîn fûeze /sîn.

(122-23; XV,11,201-20)[137]

Wizlav von Rügen also deals with Nebuchadnezzar's dream:

Dem Kuning Nabugodonosor
quam an sîme troume vor,
wê her ein bilde vor em sach,

daz dûchte em lanc und scône.
Sîn hôhe unz an den himel dranc,
daz hôbet was em guldîn blanc,
de arme wêren em sulberîn,
--daz sprech ich âne hône.
Em dûchte, ân lust êrîn de brust
was em al zû mâle,
de bûch kopf'rîn, de dê stâlîn
dûchte em in dem twâle.
De vôz erdîn vor em schein.
Dâ lêf ûz dem berge ein stein,
de rêf ez al zû mâle klein,
daz selbe bilde kône.
(Werg 94; Spruch 7,1-16)[138]

The dream was used not only to signify a succession of empires but also tropologically to signify different grades of character, from virtuous to vicious. The metaphoric and allegoric use of the various metals to signify human character was quite common (Sayce 420). Wizlav offers a tropological interpretation of the metals--each symbolizing an age less spiritually valuable than its predecessor:

Daz guldîn hôbet zeiget daz:
de werlt zût sich nider baz,
und is se worden sulberîn,
dô stunt se wol bî beiden.
Darnâch sô wart se êrîn gar,

nû ist se worden kopfer var,
diz ist bî unsen zîten schên,
daz klagen kristen, heiden.
Darnâch se birt stâl, îs'n se wirt
ûf eine nûwe scande.
Darnâch erdîn se doch môz sîn;
sô 'st se maniger hande,
sus kumpt got, de grôzer stein,
rîft den sunder erdenklein,
sô het wir gerne wol getân,
sus môz wir von em scheiden.
(Werg, 94; Spruch 7,17-32)

In the poem "Ez troumte, des ist manic jâr" (L 23,11), Walther von der Vogelweide uses Nebuchadnezzar's prophetic dream as a parable of the social situation in his day:

Ez troumte, des ist manic jâr,
ze Babilône, daz ist wâr,
dem künge, ez wurde boeser in den rîchen.
Die nû ze vollen boese sint,
gewinnent die noch boeser kint,
jâ hêrre got, wem sol ich die gelîchen?
Der tievel waer mir niht sô smaehe,
quaeme er dar dâ ich in saehe,
sam des boesen boeser barn.
von dér geburt enkumt uns frum noch êre.
die sich selben sô verswachent

und ir bôsen boeser machent,
ân erben mûezen si vervarn.
daz tugendelôser hêrren werde iht mêre,
daz solt dû, hêrre got, bewarn.
(L 23,11-25)

Each metal is stronger than the preceding one. However, each metal is also less valuable than the one it follows. This is symbolic of the contention that each successive empire is stronger but less valuable than its predecessor (Rudolf von Ems 15555-67, 15605-28).[139] Walther uses this devaluation to symbolize the moral decline evident in his time.[140] Walther thus laments the baseness of his generation. Walther's words recall those of Paul in decrying a future generation (Rom. 1:22,29-30).[141]

Walther hopes that this generation will not come into its inheritance and calls upon God to prevent evil men from multiplying: "ân erben mûezen si vervarn. / daz tugendelôser hêrren werde iht mêre, / daz solt dû, hêrre got, bewarn" (L 23,23-25). Walther's views on what should befall an unworthy generation closely parallel those expressed in Scripture. He was referring to the deterioration of character in the end time (Scholz 21). *Die poetische Bearbeitung des Buches Daniel* also expresses the idea that each successive kingdom is less virtuous but stronger (Hübner 809-28). *Der Renner* says that the world is deteriorating:

Welch rât sol denne der armen werden,
Bî den diu werlt noch stehelîn
Sol werden und adamantîn?

Si ist iezunt halp kūpferîn
An triuwen, und halp stūpfelîn
An hilfe, an sippe, an reinikeit,
An aller tugende stêtikeit.
(Hugo von Trimberg, vol. 2, 13800-06)

In his poem, "Die Frauenehre," der Stricker compares the relative value of the metals to human virtues:

swie rot ein chuppher were,
man mochte ez noch ensolde
niht gelichen zu dem golde:
si wurden noch gelich nie.
sam taten ouch der werlde die,
die werltliche tugent nident
untz ouch vil gar vermident.
(vol. 1, 56-57; 3,I(H159),1034-40)

Der Renner says simply: "Nieman ûf erden ist wandels frî: / Silber ist doch bezzer denne blî" (Hugo von Trimberg, vol. 2, 14465-66). Hugo von Trimberg uses the metals of the dream tropologically to refer to the successive debasement of character:

Doch ist diu werlt îsenîn,
Blîîn worden und irdîn,
Diu gūldîn was und silberîn.
Diz hât bediutet ouch hie vor
Diu siule, die *Nabuchodonosor*
Eines nahtes vor im stênde sach,
Als mir *Danîêls* buoch verjach:

Diu hete ein houbet, daz was gūldîn,
Brust und arme silberîn,
Bûch und hüffe wâren êrîn,
Knie und schenkel îsenîn,
Die füeze wâren halp irdîn,
Daz ander teil was îsenîn:
Als nimt diu werlt an tugenden abe
Von tage ze tage biz ze dem grabe.
Gūldîn, silberîn und kūpferin
Mac doch diu werlt noch wol sîn,
Sît kupfer, silber unde golt
Sô wert sint, daz in allez daz holt
Ist, daz haller nu bekennet,
Vor dem man golt und silber nennet.
Tugent ziert alter und jugent:
Nu gêt untugent vūr die tugent
Sô verre, daz herren und rîche liute
Untugent sich nimmer schement hiute.
(vol. 1, 9166-90; emphasis in original)[142]

Der Renner also uses the metals to represent varying degrees of justice:

Swie gereht des armen sache sî,
Doch muoz sîn silber werden blî
Und kupfer werden sîn rôtez golt,
Ist der rihter im niht holt,
Des herze mêre nâch boesem gewinne

Stêt denne nâch der wâren minne.
Blî, nazzer sant wart nie sô swêr
als ein gîtic, übel rihter:
Des sprach der wîssage Osêê
Wîlent in der alten ê:
"Diu werlt unrehte rihter hât
Von des volkes missetât."
(Hugo von Trimberg, vol. 1, 8703-14)[143]

Friedrich von Sonnenburg uses copper to represent ill-will and disloyalty:

Abgunste unde untriuwe ist sele und libe ein wernder slac,
abgunste unde untriuwe ie unde ie bi valsches mannes herzen
/lac,
abgunste unde untriuwe swer iuch mac vermiden, daz ist guot!
Abgunste unde untriuwe blecket sam daz kupfer durch daz
/golt,...
(30; 44,1-5)

Rumelant says that the quality of princes of the land has deteriorated and should be exemplified by copper and not gold:

Missink unde kopfer,
der daz werket,
der ist ouch ein hamerklopfer;
doch so wirt gemerket
missink bi dem golde,
swer daz prueben kan.
Luter guldin smide

vürsten zieret,
herren brust[e] niht erlide
kopfer, wirt gewieret;
missink meister solde
wichen baz hindan.
Die vürsten sint des kopfers worden inne,
wie daz gemischet ist mit kalemine,
die tragent ez noch vür guot in irme sinne,
gemischet valsch bi goldes liehtem schine;
cunterfeiter bringe
vin zimirde,
missink unde kopfer dringe
her mit valscher wirde:
daz din herze wolte, dar hastu niht an.
(Hagen, vol. 3, 53; 20,I,8,1-21)[144]

Rumelant also uses the metals seen in the dream to illustrate the failure of Christians to practice Christianity down to the end time. The poem represents a reinterpretation of the dream. He specifically mentions the head of gold and the feet of clay and relates the succession of metals given in the dream:

Daz houbet guldin ist diu Kristenheit und alle Kristen:
swen[ne] so der mensche in sime toufe wirt gereinet,
So ist er luter, als ein golt; wil Got sin leben vristen,
so nidert in diu sünde, sam daz silber meinet;
Unde ist er danne sünden vol in sinem mitten jare,
eriner var;

ob er sich selben liutert niht, er wil verharten z'ware
in sünden gar,
so kumt sin alter uf die bein, murbrüchig isen,
so brechent im die vueze erdin, daz er muoz risen.
(Hagen, vol. 2, 369; 136; IV,4,1-10)[145]

An anonymous poet of the thirteenth century agrees that his contemporary generation may be compared to the clay feet of Nebuchadnezzar's dream image:

Ein künic in sîme troume sach
ein bilde daz was harte grôz,
dâ von sît wunders vil geschach,
daz sich von einem berge entslôz
ein stein, derz gar zebrach.
gólt sílber îsen
kopfer erde was sîn schîn:
uns entríegen gar die wîsen, wir mügen wol die füeze
/sîn.
(Kraus, *Liederdichter*, vol. 1, 265-66; 38h,4,1-8)

Rudolf von Ems' *Alexander* says that bad as the iron age (the Holy Roman Empire) is, it is to be succeeded by an age of clay with no virtue whatsoever:

ôwê! wie sol ez ergân
sô wir daz stahel müezen lân
und daz irdensche rîch behabe?
wie wir denne nemen abe
sô diu welt die êre lât

der si noch ein wênec hât!

(15623-28; cf. Dan. 2:33-35, 41-44)

Kelin takes up the theme with a poem that takes dramatic license with the dream (restricting the number of metals to three) in order to emphasize his tropological interpretation:

Ein kūnic in sîme troume sach
eine werlt, die was sô schône
von golde, daz er dicke jach,
sie hete nicht schanden meil.
Die ander lûter silber was
vil gar *ân alle* hône,
gelûtert also ein spiegelglas
und hete ouch saelde ein teil.
Die dritte was sich îsenîn,
die erschract in ûz deme troume.
Sô mac sie nû wol kopfer sîn,
des nemet dâ bî goume:
Manich edele jugent gît liechten schîn
unt zamt an schanden zoume.

(Wangenheim 49; I,1,1-14; emphasis in the original)

Kelin is drawing a parallel between the succession of increasingly baser metals and the succession of increasingly baser younger generations (Wangenheim 56-57).[146] Reinmar von Zweter also leans towards a tropological interpretation of the metals of the dream:

'Ich bin edel,' spricht manic man,

an dem man tugent noch êre, zuht noch wirde erkennen kan;
ich wolte daz der waere niht wol geborn noch edeles mannes
/sun,
Durch daz er phlaege edeler site,
unt daz die edeln swachen ir edel êrten noch dâ mite
unt daz man zallen zîten die edeln saehe edellîchen tuon.
Der edel stein zimt wol in rôtem golde:
swer edeln stein in kupher legen wolde,
dâ mite sîn wirde waere vermachet,
alsô geschiht eime edeln man,
der edele niht erkennen kan
mit reinen siten: des edele wirt geswachet.
(451-52; II,82,1-12)

It is apparent that gold and copper settings for gems are to be taken metaphorically (Wangenheim 51-56). Such a metaphor appears to be thematic with Reinmar. Consider this poem:

Vergüldet kuphr, versilbert zin,
diu mugen wol gelîche in einer arte gesellen sîn
unt swer in schoenem lîbe grôz valsch unt ungevuoge
/verborgen hât.
Ez sî ein wîp, ez sî ein man,
viures gluot ist schoene: swer si ze gâhes grîfet an,
der mac des schaden gewinnen: dâ vor hüetet iuch, daz ist
/mîn rât [cf. Prov. 6:26-29].
(452; II,84,1-6)[147]

The conclusion Reinmar draws is that just as precious metals

cannot hide the presence of base metals so the outward appearance of good character cannot hide an evil nature. When reading the words of Reinmar von Zweter in another poem, one cannot resist the feeling that Reinmar is again referring to the same source and has once more borrowed the same Biblical metaphor to symbolize blameless character:

> Junc man, ich wil dir einen spiegel zeigen:
>
> ...
>
> Waz möhte bezzer spiegel sîn?
>
> wan golt daz gît gar liehten schîn
>
> unt kupher schône glîzet.
>
> man sol den vrumen bî dem boesen erkennen.
>
> Got selbe spricht: "Swer tugende phligt, den sol man edel /nennen."
>
> ein küneges kint ist edel niht, daz sich untugende /vlîzet."
>
> (537; IV,255,1,7-12)[148]

Notice that both Kelin and Reinmar use the mirror ("spiegel") as a symbol of purity. Kelin uses the adjective "gelûtert" and Reinmar uses the words "liehten schîn" in this connection. Reinmar draws a parallel between the purity of gold and the clarity of a mirror. Gold is the Biblical symbol of purity.[149] Reinmar is using copper, by contrast, as a symbol of false coin or false appearances ("schein"). Hugo von Trimberg repeats a popular proverb of the Middle Ages: "ûzen golt und kupfer inne / Betriuget tummer liute sinne" (vol. 1, 6685-86).[150]

Heinrich von Meißen says: "der toren golt mac immer / der wisen kupfer sin genant" (Heinrich von Meißen/Stackmann, vol. 1, 477; VII,18,3-4). In his poem, "Die beiden Zimmerleute," der Stricker also contrasts the value of gold and copper when he says: "din rede ist schone als daz golt, / din triwe ist aber chopher var" (vol. 3/I, 170; 63,68-69). Gold and lead are used as metonyms of wealth and poverty by Thomasin: "der ist ein tugenthafter man / der alsô wol mit blîe kan / sô mit golde..." (8203-05).

Thomasin condemns those who shirk crusading with these words: "swer sîn dienst und sîn arbeit / verliust durch ruom und üppekeit, / der gît umbe blî golt, / im solde niemen werden holt" (11585-88). He compares the outward uniform of an unworthy crusader with the inner qualities which he may lack:

> swer daz zeichn des kriuzes hât
> gestricket an sîne wât,
> daz ûzer zeichn bezeichent wol
> daz man daz kriuze innen haben sol.
> hât erz innerthalben niht,
> sô ist sîn münze gar enwiht,
> wan dâ ist kuphers übergulde:
> man solde im tuon durch die schulde
> daz man tuot dem valschaere.
> (11645-53)[151]

Der Renner says: "Valschiu êre hât ûzen goldes schîn / Und ist doch innen kupferîn" (Hugo von Trimberg, vol. 3, 21605-06).[152] Walther von Prisach says: "verzagt an aller guoter dinge taete, /

si gar getriuwe und des betrogen, / mit golde kupfer überzogen, / ein slange in buosme, ein fiur in lieber waete" (Kraus, *Liederdichter*, vol. 1, 580; 63,III,6,6-9). Konrad von Würzburg says:

> Wie sol ich rîchen edeln schalc mit valschem muote
> /erwaschen?
> von kupfer scheidet man daz golt mit eines unkes aschen:
> hei daz mîner taschen
> vil nâhe ein pulver nie gelac,
> dâmite ich guldîn adel schiede ûz kupferînem willen!
> (vol. 3, 62-63; 32,226-30)[153]

Der Ritterspiegel sees a knight's good qualities in his golden clothes:

> Eyn ritter sal also frome blibin
> daz man en lieb gewinnet.
> Gedult und schone wißheit
> wo di zcusammen werdin gewerkit,
> Daz bedutit wol eyn guldin cleit,
> deße bedutunge ebin merkit.
> (Johannes Rothe 1605-10)

Elsewhere, *Der Ritterspiegel* says: "Er golt daz ist mit kupphir gemengit / daz sy an erin cleidirn tragin" (Johannes Rothe 1013-14) and "Dit ist alz er kupphirn golt / do valscheit und untad ligit ynne" (Johannes Rothe 1025-26).[154] Der Marner uses the metals to illustrate the evanescence of physical objects as opposed to spiritual qualities:

Ein tac, ein woche, ein mânt, ein jâr gânt nâch einander
/hin,
der âbent, diu naht und der morgen.
golt, silber, mõschinc, blî und zin,
kupfer, stahel und îsen daz verswindet ouch.
swer alliu dinc nû wil besorgen,
dunket mich der sinne ein gouch.
zît hât êre, zuht hât zierde, mâze ist guot:
êre wert gewin, gefüeger schimpf gît senften muot.
(112; XIV,16,249-256)

Thomasin uses the metaphor to condemn the spirit of acquisitiveness: "du bist gewinnunge holt / und gîst doch umbe kupher golt" (8121-22). *Der Renner* similarly says: "Virwiz wehselt durch gewin, / Biz daz er nimt vür silber zin" (Hugo von Trimberg, vol. 1, 1855-56).[155] Another proverb of the Middle Ages says: "Ir habet mir gegen golde / kupfer unde blî gewegen" (Zingerle 58). Hugo von Trimberg's *Renner* uses the base metals as symbolic of mercenary values as opposed to spiritual values, represented by the precious metals:

Kupfermünze in goldes schîn
Machent manigen einveltigen liuten pîn,
In silbers varwe blî und zin
Betriegent tummer liute sin:
Die münze sint nu sêre genge worden,
Si triegent die werlt und klôster orden.
(vol. 2, 13811-16)[156]

Heinrich von Meißen also uses the metaphor to denigrate worldly possessions as opposed to spiritual values:

> Man mac gewinnen gut, daz ez niht heizet guot.
>
> ...
>
> Ere unde pris, wunne unde lust, heil wirdikeit
>
> daz gut erstreit.
>
> man willet got mit gute.
>
> ...
>
> von gut entrin!
>
> din golt hat zin:
>
> du bist sin got und effest in,
>
> daz honig da in gallen rinn.
>
> der gut hat kein schult, wan der muot stat, swie sin craft /in twinget.
>
> (Heinrich von Meißen/Stackmann, vol. 1, 418; V,50,1,7-9,15-19)[157]

In a reference to alchemy, Klingsor of the *Wartburgkrieg* says: "Von babilone basiant, / der mit sinen listen an den sternen vant, / wie man vs kupfer clares golt gewinnet, / der ist ein blafuos vf der vart" (Rompelman 213; 87,1-4). Changing copper to gold is a metaphor for spiritual conversion as used in the poem, "Vom himmlischen Jerusalem":

> Nu sul wir werden inain, waz pezaichenet der stain
>
> [Topazius]
>
> also mare? ainen offenen suntare.
>
> den riwent sine sculde, unte er gotes hulde

mit noten gewinnet, also daz viur brinnet
uz tem chofer daz golt: so wirt ime got vil holt
unt minnet in mere den ander bezzere.
(Maurer, *Die religiösen Dichtungen*, vol. 2, 150; 21,1-6)[158]

Der Kanzler compares the purification of gold to the perfecting of the human heart:

Swâ golt geliutert wirt alsô
daz ez niht mêre gunters hât,
dâ minret sich sîn tugende niht
von keiner brünste schaden.
...
dem golde glîche ich wol den man
des herze ist sô geliutert und sô reine
daz in der bôsheit hitze enkan
niht brennen sô daz er iht arges meine.
(Kraus, *Liederdichter*, vol. 1, 208; 28,XV,4,1-4, 9-12)

Der Renner also uses the metals in reference to human character: "Manigem ich ofte dienen muoz / Ûm sînen halp küpferînen gruoz, / Des ich âne zwîfel niht entête / Vörhte ich niht sîne valsche rête" (Hugo von Trimberg, vol. 2, 14191-94). *Der Renner* uses the same metaphor to say that Scripture can be rendered useless if it is distorted: "Sô man die heiligen schrift vor in / Rüerte, sô wirt ir silber zin / Und wirt ir kunst ein kunterfei, / Diu vor sêre krieget unde schrei" (Hugo von Trimberg, vol. 2, 16597-600).[159] Freidank also uses the metals of the dream and their succession from head to foot to represent a decline in moral

qualities:

> Ich hân vil manegen man erkant,
> der golt suochte und kupfer vant.
> Manic houpt hât goldes schîn,
> dem doch der zagel ist kūpferîn.
> Obe silber, enmitten zin
> dâ gît ein stücke dez ander hin.
> (125,19-24)

Meister Zilies von Seine also explicitly draws a parallel between the metals and human character:

> Ein kupfer so verguldet was, daz ez gar guldin schein,
> des valsch betrouk vil manigen man, e man sin wart gewar;
> Do daz solde sin, daz kupfer wart gestrichen an den stein,
> al da ougete sich der valsch also, er was kupfer var.
> Daz bezeichent einen schoenen man, uzen, unde innen niht,
> vul unt valsch unde ungetriuwe; maniger mir des jiht,
> daz wir vil schoener boeser liute han bi unse(r)n tagen
> gewunnen, wan wir der guoten biderben han: helf[e]t alle mir
> /daz klagen.
> (Hagen, vol. 3, 25; 4,II,1,1-8)

Klingsor mixes the metals of Nebuchadnezzar's dream with the image of a debased, decaying and reprehensible "Vrô Werlt": "Welt, swer dich lobt, ich schilte dich, du bist wol scheltens wert, / sit daz din houbet guldin ist, unt boeser vueze gert / von erden, die durch nagen hat / mank giftik wurn mit ir unreinen münden" (Hagen, vol. 3, 330; 72,3,1-4).[160] *Die poetische Bearbeitung des Buches*

Daniel also supplies a tropological interpretation of the dream as a gloss to the prophetic one. Tropologically, the dream image represents the fall of man and the loss of paradise (Hübner 974-93).

Rumelant takes the metaphor farther using the example of a cheap copper coin:

Slan die Franzoise
vil tornoise [Silbermünze]
groz von silber, ob ich ruegen türste,
der weiz ich sumelichen valsch,
ich han daz kopfer meil an im gesen:
Ob er guot waere,
nach der swaere,
die er hat, so hiez' er wol ein vürste,
durch sine munze walsch,
ob man die richeit sol bi herren spen.
Ich enruoch', daz berner kopfer sin,
unde ouch die heller in so lihter munze,
diene bergent niht ir kopfer schin;
ze koufe engeltent sie niht vil, ich waene, ir wügen
/drizik kume ein unze.
diu kleine munze ist arm, als ich bescheiden wil,
der valscheit hat vil kleine maht: der grozen herren
/valsch vermak ze vil.
(Hagen, vol. 3, 64; 20,VII,5,1-16)[161]

Copper and silver coins are used to represent abstract

personal qualities. The symbolism of the coins has its roots in the medieval symbolism of the metals which make up the image in Nebuchadnezzar's dream. Prophetically, Rumelant ("Daz houbet guldin ist diu Kristenheit und alle Kristen" Hagen, vol. 2, 369; 136,IV,4,1; see above) views the stone as Christ who smashes the image and destroys it together with the sinners who inhabit the last world empire:[162]

> So erzürnet sich der stein, der uz dem berge kumt geloufen,
> er loufet uf den sünder, daz er gar zerbrichet.
> Welh[ez] ist der stein? daz ist der Got, der sich liez Jesus /toufen;
> der berg ist Marîa, von der man wunder sprichet:
> Got was ane aller sünden meil in ir, von ir ze kinde
> wart er geborn;
> er ist der stein, si ist der berk; sin loufen wirt vil /swinde:
> der ist verlorn
> gar eweklich, swer also lange in sünden belibet,
> daz in der stein, alsam daz bilde, gar zeribet.
> (Hagen, vol. 2, 369-70; 136,IV,5,1-10)

Die poetische Bearbeitung des Buches Daniel also identifies the stone as Christ (Hübner 1060-67).[163] Nebuchadnezzar's dream was interpreted prophetically, as four successive kingdoms and tropologically as a successive degeneration of kingdoms or of individual character. It also served, by way of the metals which were successively less valuable, to designate and differentiate

that which any particular poet thought was morally commendable from that which he considered useless or even harmful.

4.4 **The Four Kingdoms**

Closely allied to Nebuchadnezzar's dream was John's vision of a beast rising from the sea. Heinrich von Meißen speaks of this:

> Johannes sach ein tier ûz meres grunde gân,
> dar ûffe stân
> zehn horn unt siben houbet.
> daz tier hât betoubet
> die meiste menge der kristenheit, swer nu dran geloubet;
> daz tier daz widersaget got und al die zuo zim pflihten.
> Daz tier daz sol gebern ein wîp, deist mir wol kunt:
> nu rüer den grunt
> mit dînes sinnes vüezen.
> ê wolt ich gebüezen,
> ob smers vluz waere galle gar, mit honec ez
> /übersüezen,
>
> (Heinrich von Meißen/Ettmüller 117; Spruch 170,1-11)

Heinrich von Meißen bases this poem on John's words:

> And I stood upon the sand of the sea, and saw a beast rise up out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns, and upon his horns ten crowns, and upon his heads the name of blasphemy. And the beast which I saw was like unto a leopard, and his feet were as the feet of a bear, and his mouth as the mouth of a lion: and the dragon gave him his power, and his seat, and great authority. (Rev.

13:1-2).[164]

Notice that the four animals mentioned by John, the leopard, bear, lion and the unspecified terrible beast, are the same as those mentioned by Daniel (Dan. 7:1-7). The ten crowns signify rulership. The honey-gall comparison, in this case, is also drawn from Revelation: "And I took the little book out of the angel's hand, and ate it up; and it was in my mouth sweet as honey: and as soon as I had eaten it, my belly was bitter" (Rev. 10:10).

The *Annolied* also treats the same concept of four world kingdoms but with a difference. Instead of using Nebuchadnezzar's dream as a starting point, it paraphrases a vision of four beasts by Daniel as recorded in Daniel, chapter seven (Nellmann, *Annolied* 11,1-14,6; 16,1-12).[165] The four beasts, lion, bear, four-winged leopard (which according to Daniel also had four heads) and boar (the fourth beast, which Daniel does not name, was "dreadful and terrible"), represent the same four kingdoms (empires) as were in Nebuchadnezzar's dream--Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Rome (Adamek 27-51).[166] Note that the author of the *Annolied* has changed the nature of the fourth beast. This is what Daniel had to say concerning the fourth beast:

> After this I saw in the night visions, and behold a fourth beast, dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly; and it had great iron teeth: it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it: and it was diverse from all the beasts that were before it; and it had ten horns. (Dan. 7:7; see also

Jenschke 21-22; Nellmann, *Reichsidee* 42-57)

The reason for the change was the ambivalence of the author towards the fourth empire, Rome. The author was living during the time of the Holy Roman Empire, in the latter half of the eleventh century:

> Im AL [*Annolied*] erscheint das 4. der Tiere im Traume Daniels ganz anders als in der ursprünglichen Version der Bibel. Dieses Tier is im AL nicht so abschreckend dargestellt, weil es das Reich bedeutet, dem der Dichter selbst angehört. (Fritschi 24 fn. 108d)[167]

The *Kaiserchronik* also describes Daniel's vision (calling it Nebuchadnezzar's dream) but takes license with it by calling Rome the third empire:

> Daz dritte ain fraislich eber was,
> den tiurlîchen Juljum [Julius Caesar] bezaichenet daz.
> der selbe eber zehen horn truoc,
> dâ mit er sîne vîande alle nider sluoc.
> Juljus bedwanch elliu lant,
> si dienten elliu sîner hant.
> wol bezaichenet uns daz wilde swîn
> daz daz rîche ze Rôme sol iemer frî sîn.
> (Schröder 571-78)[168]

The eschatological and chiliastic overtones of Nebuchanezzar's dream and Daniel's vision--interpreted both anagogically (as a succession of kingdoms culminating in the Kingdom of God) and tropologically (as a successive degeneration in Christian

qualities)--provided a background to the ever-present medieval expectation of the appearance of the Antichrist.

The Antichrist of the Middle Ages glorifies himself and claims to be God. This self-glorification stands in contrast to the glorification of God and is similar to the Satanic rebellion. Whereas the Emperor claimed that his glorification was legitimate since he was the vicar of Christ, the Antichrist had no such justification. The literary works of the period reflected these beliefs about the Emperor and the Antichrist.

4.5 **Summary**

The crown of the Holy Roman Emperor symbolized divine sanction of his rule. The crown itself symbolized the Heavenly Jerusalem. The Emperor claimed to be both priest and king on the example of the Biblical Melchizedek. This claim brought the Emperor into conflict with Papal claims. Poets of the thirteenth century promoted a form of quasi-deification of the Emperor by comparing him to Christ. For example, one of the Emperor's titles was that of *imago Dei*. In addition, Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the four world empires was used by the *Spruchdichter* to legitimize the Holy Roman Empire and its Emperor. The four metals of the dream--gold, silver, copper (brass, bronze) and iron--were seen prophetically as four successive empires each stronger but morally inferior to its predecessor. Tropologically, the four metals symbolized the successive degeneration of human character which would culminate in the advent of the Antichrist, the end of the Holy Roman Empire and the millennial rule of Christ.

V

THE ANTICHRIST AND THE LAST-EMPEROR LEGEND

5.1 The Legend of the Third Friedrich

Emperor Friedrich II, in particular, found it necessary to glorify his office to oppose Papal claims of superiority. He even spoke of his birthplace Jesi as Bethlehem and compared his birth to that of Christ with an implied identification of his mother with the Virgin Mary.[169] According to Friedrich, he, not the Pope, was the heir of Christ (Heer, *Das Heilige Römische Reich* 106-07).

Joachim of Fiore (c.1135-1202) wrote of three ages--those of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost characterized respectively by law, faith and love. He taught that the third age would arise 42 generations after the second in the year 1260 and that a *novus dux* would arise to lead humanity into the third age. This *novus dux* was often associated with the Last Emperor who, according to legend, would precede the appearance of the Antichrist. Friedrich's feud with the Papacy, his excommunication and his arrogance made him a candidate for Antichrist (Cohn, *Pursuit* 111; Adamek 120-21). The personality of Friedrich II was a factor in his being considered a potential Antichrist:

> Frederick II has been called the first modern man, a precursor of the great figures of the Renaissance, a humanist and a skeptic. To his friends he appeared as the Messiah, the herald of universal peace, the god-emperor of a new age, while his enemies saw in him a ruthless tyrant and the incarnation of the antichrist whose coming

> spelled ruin and the end of the world. The modern historian recognizes in Frederick the antagonistic elements of a historic constellation in which two epochs meet and clash: the ecclesiastical civilization of the Middle Ages and the secularized modern world. (Reinhardt, vol. 1, 93; see also Bryce 204-07)

His style of rulership led to the public perception of him as self-aggrandizing (cf. *superbia*). In this, he was the imperial counterpart of the arrogant Pope Innocent III (Huillard-Bréholles 225). Friedrich's delay in beginning a Crusade led to his excommunication. When the crusaders took Jerusalem in the year 1099, Godfrey of Bouillon refused to wear a crown and be King of Jerusalem, maintaining that despite the crusaders' victory over the "heathen," he would not wear a regal crown in the city in which Christ wore a crown of thorns. Friedrich II, considered a candidate for Antichrist, not only accepted the rulership of the Holy City, but also crowned himself in Jerusalem in 1229 (Kantorowicz, *Frederick* 199).[170]

After his feud with Gregory IX, Friedrich fought with Innocent IV. Der von Wengen wrote a poem c. 1246, during the pontificate of Innocent IV, which criticized Friedrich II without specifically naming him:

> Got hât ûf erde an zwêne man die kristenheit gelân:
> der bâbest, der sol unser sêle in sîner huote hân,
> sô sol den lîb und unser guot
> ein vogt von Rôme schirmen mit gerihte.

nu hât uns einer sô gerihtet, daz diu kristenheit
an allen orten, hie und dort, hât kumber unde leit.
daz er niht gotes willen tuot,
des scheidet er in dan von sîner pflihte.
(Bartsch, *Schweizer Minnesänger* 266; 23,1,16-23)

Not all poetry, however, was directed against Friedrich. After his death legend had it that he would return and lead a renewal of the Empire and of Christendom. As a sign of his power, he would hang his shield over a withered tree in Jerusalem and it would again bear leaves. These events are described in the poem, "Van keiser Frederich der dat heilge graf gewinnen sal und ouch van der bekerunge aller ungelouviger zo dem christen gelouven," contained in the *Sibillen Boich*:

Sibilla sprach 'it kompt noch darzo wail,
dat got einen keiser geven sal.
den hat he behalden in siner gewalt,
he gift im kraft manichfalt.
sin nam wirt genant Frederich,
und vergadert dat christenvolk an sich.
he wirt sere striden in godes ere
und gewint dat heilge graf over mere.
dair steit ein durre boum der is groiz,
und sal dair stain loifelos
biz dat keiser Frederich dairan
sinen schilt gehangen mach und kan:
so wirt der boum weder groin gar.

(Schade 314-15; *Sibillen Boich* 507-19)

The poem goes on to say that all Jews and heathen would be converted (Schade 314-15; *Sibillen Boich* 520-32). Regenbogen gives a version of these events:

So wirt daz urliug' also groz, niemant kan ez gestillen:
so kumt sich keiser Vrid(e)rich der her' und ouch der milt',
er vert dorther durch Gotes willen,
an einen dürren boum [so] henkt er sin[en] schilt.
...
so wirt der vrid' danne also guot
in [den] landen und uf [den] vesten,
einz grift daz ander nindert an,
so gewint diu werlt dan vröuden also vil.
Er vert dorthin zem dürren boum an' allez widerhap,
daran (so) henkt er sinen schilt: er gruonet unde birt;
so wirt gewun(nen) daz heilig' grap,
daz nimmer swert darumb gez(ogen wirt).
(Hagen, vol. 3, 349; 126,II,13,15-18; 126,II,14,11-18)[171]

The legend of a resurrected (or third) Friedrich was kept alive for centuries following his death. He was to return from the dead to chastise and reform Christendom.[172] Regenbogen's poem about Friedrich includes the idea that he would subdue the Jews and the clergy and establish universal peace (Hagen, vol. 3, 349; 126,II,15,1-18). A Friedrich *redivivus* was to hang his shield on a withered tree, reconquer the Holy Sepulchre and usher in a time of universal peace.[173]

5.2 **The Last-Emperor Legend**

During the Hohenstaufen period, a play composed in Latin called the *Ludus de Antichristo*, was performed. It is believed to have originated circa 1160 at Tegernsee. Its purpose was to support the Emperor's claim to legitimacy (Heer, *Das Heilige Römische Reich* 95).[174] The play was meant to uphold the claims to the Emperor above those of the Pope to be the legitimate representative of God on earth. The play portrayed the Emperor as invincible:

> Viriliter agens ab hoste sis securus,
> adpropinquat enim ab hoc te redempturus,
> quem debes in proelio constans praestolari.
> Per hunc te gaudebis in brevi liberari.
> (Zeige dich tapfer und habe keine Furcht vor dem Feind,
> denn es naht, der dich von ihm befreien wird;
> tapfer kämpfend sollst du den erwarten,
> durch den du das Glück der Befreiung erfahren
> /wirst).
>
> (Vollmann-Profe 139-42)

At the beginning of the *Ludus*, there is a scene illustrating the Last-Emperor legend. There was a legend that the Last Emperor would come to Jerusalem and either lay his crown on a tree on the Mount of Olives or stop at Golgotha and place his crown on the cross on which Christ was crucified[175] or leave it in the Temple (which of course was destroyed in 70 A.D. and was not rebuilt) in Jerusalem. The Last Emperor would lay down the crown after ushering in a time of peace which would precede the reign of Antichrist.[176]

This would happen when the Antichrist appeared and would constitute a surrender of power to Christ who would then destroy the Antichrist who had previously usurped the Emperor's power.[177]

According to some versions of the legend, the Emperor would hang his sceptre and crown or spear, shield and eagle on a withered tree which would blossom forth with leaves.[178] The renunciation scene in the *Ludus* was based on this old medieval legend of the Last Emperor: "Das Mittelalter kannte die Prophezeihung, der letzte Kaiser vor dem Weltende werde die Heiden besiegen und bekehren, zuletzt nach Jerusalem ziehen, dort seine Krone niederlegen und das Reich in die Hand Gottes legen" (Erdmann, "Endkaiserglaube" 384).[179] Some accounts of the story involve the sacred lance:

> [I]m zwölften Jahrhundert [erzählt] das deutsche Gedicht vom Antichrist aus Gleink im Trauntal (um 1170), daß der letzte deutsche Kaiser vor dem Weltende auf dem heiligen Grabe zu Jerusalem seine kaiserliche Gewalt und ihre Abzeichen, das kaiserliche Gewand, die Reichslanze, Krone, niederlegt. Alsbald erscheint Christus begleitet von den Werkzeugen der Passion, als Weltrichter. Er trägt die Dornenkrone, das Kreuz, sowie die Lanze des Söldners. Die vom Kaiser abgelegte Reichslanze, die...mit der Lanze des Longinus identifiziert wurde, wird nun in der Hand Christi die Lanze der Weltherrschaft und des Weltgerichts. (Burdach, *Gral* 445-46; see also Riezler 69)[180]

The poem, "Von den letzten Dingen" ("Linzer Antichrist"), also

known as the "Gleinker Antichrist," composed c. 1170 relates the version of the legend of the Last Emperor to which Burdach refers:

> Ze jungist er [der Vranchin chunic] sich wol bewart,
> so gebiutit er eine hervart
> ze Jherusalem in daz lant.
> daz keiserliche gewant,
> sper, swert unt crone
> unt das cruce vrone
> bringit er mit dar.
> ...
> in Monte Oliveti,
> daz keiserliche dyadema
> daz opferet er gote da
> mit sin selbis henden:
> so ist romisces richis ende.
> (Maurer, *Die religiösen Dichtungen*, vol. 3, 373; 12,1-7,14-18)[181]

The symbols of rulership are left on the Mount of Olives. Notice the formula "sper, swert unt crone / und das cruce vrone" (lines 5-6) which is similar to Walther's formula "sper kriuz unde dorn" (L 15,18). These are the symbols of the Empire and the fact that the Emperor possesses them demonstrates how closely the Emperor was identified with Christ. Burdach says:

> Der irdische Kaiser legt die Lanze des Imperiums, die Lanze des Constantin, nieder, und diese verwandelt sich gleichsam zurück in die Lanze, die einst dem Heiland die

> tiefste Erniedrigung brachte und nun die Aufrichtung seiner ewigen Weltregierung einleiten soll als Lanze des Weltrichters und Weltherrschers. (Burdach, "Der heilige Speer" 348)

The poem, "Von dem Anticriste," believed to date from either the fourteenth or fifteenth century,[182] expresses a version of the Last-Emperor legend in which a Frankish King, the last Holy Roman Emperor, lays down the symbols of rulership, the crown and sceptre, on the Mount of Olives:

> der lêraer sprechent etelîch
> daz ein künc von Frankenrîch
> wirt besitzen gänzlîch
> daz selbe roemische rîch.
> der wirt gewaltic unde grôz,
> der leste under sîn genôz.
> swann er nu wol beschirmet hât
> daz rîch nâch êrlîchem rât,
> sô kumet er mit sînem her
> gên Ierusalêm über mer
> gevarn ûf den ölberc.
> er würket wunderlîchiu werc.
> er leit von im gar schône
> den zepter und die krône.
> dâ endet sich daz cristenlîch
> und daz roemische rîch.

(Haupt 380-81; 409-24; see also Konrad, *De Ortu* 15, 88, 104-

13).[183]

The legend of the Last Emperor who would lay his crown down in the Temple in Jerusalem, presaging the appearance of the Antichrist, also contributed to the belief that Jerusalem would be the site of the Day of Judgement. According to the Last-Emperor legend, Jerusalem and not Rome was to be the focus of decisive religious and political events culminating in the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire (Konrad, "Jerusalem" 537).

Contemporary thought held that the events surrounding the rule of the legendary Last Emperor, the appearance of the Antichrist, his death and the subsequent Judgement, would make Jerusalem the focal point of world attention. It was believed that the death of the Antichrist would be the signal for the beginning of the Judgement: "Auf dem Höhepunkt der endzeitlichen Ereignisse tötet der Herr den Antichrist. Jerusalem wird zum Schauplatz seines Sieges! Gleich nach der Tötung des Antichrist beginnt das Gericht im Tale Josaphat" (Joel 4,2,12) [English versions Joel 3:2,12] (Konrad, "Jerusalem" 540).[184]

The dissolution of the Empire and the appearance of Antichrist signaled the time of the end according to the *Luzerner Antichrist* (Reuschel 2686-92).[185] This characterization of the end time corresponds to the medieval belief that the Roman Empire was holding back the forces of Antichrist. Once the Emperor renounced his throne in favour of Christ, it was up to Christ to contend with the Antichrist and his baneful influence. The Legend of the Third Friedrich was combined with the Last-Emperor Legend and grafted

onto the Antichrist Legend. Friedrich, who was to return, was viewed either as the Last Emperor or the Antichrist because he would chastise the Church.[186] Both the Last-Emperor Legend and the Antichrist Legend were intimately connected with visions of the end of the age and the return of Christ.

5.3 **The Emperor "*In Corona*"**

At the beginning of the *Ludus*, the Emperor removes his crown and offers it to Christ, in a scene reminiscent of the Last-Emperor legend. The stage directions read:

> ...Imperator cum suis intret templum, et postquam ibi adoraverit, tollens coronam de capite et tenens eam cum sceptro et imperio, ante altare cantet:
> Suscipe quod offero. Nam corde benigno
> tibi regi regum Imperium resigno,
> per quem reges regnant, qui solus imperator
> dici potes, et es cunctorum gubernator.
> (Dort soll er anbeten und dann die Krone vom Haupt nehmen und, sie zusammen mit Szepter und Reichsapfel in Händen haltend, vor dem Altar singen:
> Nimm mein Opfer gnädig an! Denn mit frommem Herzen gebe ich mein Kaisertum zurück, dir, dem König der Könige, durch den die Könige regieren, der du allein Kaiser genannt werden kannst und der du der Lenker bist von /allem, was ist).
> (Vollmann-Profe 146c-150)[187]

This scene seems to be a conscious attempt by the author to

imitate the scene in the Apocalypse in which crowns are thrown at Christ's feet: "The four and twenty elders fall down before him that sat on the throne, and worship him that liveth for ever and ever, and cast their crowns before the throne..." (Rev. 4:10). Parallels to the Biblical scene of the casting down of crowns were found in imperial Rome (Aichele, "Glorification" 430).

The word '*corona*' may also refer to the retinue of a prince or king (Aichele, "Glorification" 429). The Roman Emperor was considered *in corona* and was so depicted when he received homage or gifts, delegated powers and when he was sitting in judgement (Aichele, "Glorification" 430; Rauh 410). In several scenes of the play, the Antichrist is *in corona* receiving the homage of his subjects. He commands his subjects to assemble in order to worship him (Vollmann-Profe 402d-08).

One of the poems of the *Heidelberger Handschrift* of 1635, "von dem äntikrist," says: "Manger furst khumpt tzu im / geritten und gefaren" (Wunderle 84; 14,II,15-16). Michel Beheim's "Vom Antichrist" speaks of many prominent people assembling to worship Antichrist (vol. 2, 783; 355,323-30). In the *Künzelsauer Fronleichnamspiel*, an apostle of Antichrist says:

> Ich wil euch sagen newe mere,
> Das messias geborn ist,
> Den man nennet den Endcrist.
> Ir solt jn fur got betten an
> Vnd solt jm wesen vnder than.
> (Liebenow 5158-62)

In contrast to the presumption of the Antichrist, the renunciation scene of the German Emperor seems particularly suited to further the position of the Hohenstaufen Emperors since they could be seen in this fictional representation to be vicariously renouncing their right to rule and thus seeming humble, while keeping power and regal splendour in reality. The play seemed an appropriate instrument in their power struggles with the Popes. The words of the Emperor asking Christ to accept his sacrifice of the crown exude unctious humililty.

In *Ludus de Antichristo*, the Emperor embodies righteousness while the Antichrist is the quintessence of evil. This juxtaposition of opposites was typical of the time (Couch 273). In glorifying the Emperor, the play was also representative of contemporary attitudes towards the German Emperor (Adamek 103). The real Emperor, as opposed to his fictional counterpart, had no intention of giving up power, either to God or the Pope. As Walther had said (L 12,8; cf. Psalm 115:16): "ir [der Kaiser] habt die erde, er [Gott] hât daz himelrîche." In other words, the Emperor was supreme on the earth. His power was symbolically divine. Any challenge to his authority seemed ominous. In almost every reign, there was an attempt to portray the ruling Emperor as the Last Emperor who would contend with the forces of Antichrist (Cohn, *Pursuit* 35; Heer, *Tragödie* 189).

5.4 **The Appearance of Antichrist**

The appearance of the Antichrist virtually always takes place in Jerusalem. The scene of imperial splendour enjoyed by the Roman

Emperors is transferred to the Holy City. The Antichrist is the great usurper and his appearance signals the end time and the approaching Day of Judgement. Sigeher announces the birth of the Antichrist:

Sibillen spruch muoz werden wâr,
den si von künigen sprach, deist âne wende:
si jach, diu rîche würden fürsten bar--
owê der jâr!--
seht, sô nâhet es dem ende.
Die wîsen prüevenz an der zît:
die kirchen sprenzen hôch ûf ir gebende.
si hân daz rîche in hônschaft vil gevrît.
solher strît
machet mangen noch ellende.
Er ist geborn,
bî dem in lambes munde wahsen wolfes zende.
sînen zorn
müezen künige fürhten. ungerochen sint die brende.
diu buoch uns sagen, bî im werden elliu reht verlorn.
sprechet horn [cf. Dan. 8:8-12]!
bî dem roche kûme stêt ein vende!
(96-97; 15,1-17)

The appearance of the Antichrist was considered a harbinger of the end of the world and exemplified a decline in the human condition. Thus Reinmar von Zweter could say:

Wes sûmestû dich, Endecrist,

daz dû niht kumst? dun darft niht mêre beiten keine vrist.
dû vindest vürsten veile, veile grâven, vrîen, dienestman.
...
der meisten menege herze hât besezzen
des übelen künc Pharônes herte.
rehtes gelouben sint si vrî,
in wont unrehtiu witze bî,
sin volgent niht dem der si gerne nerte.
(478; II,133,1-3,8-12)

In the next stanza, Reinmar repeats his question, thus emphasizing his perplexity and names the clergy as especially corrupt:

Wes sûmestû dich, Endecrist,
daz dû niht kumst, sît al diu werlt sô gar schazgîtec ist?
...
kum, Endecrist, dû rehter gouch!
den phaffen zuo der kirchen ouch,
diu vindestû nû veile unt Roemisch rîche!
(478-79; II,134,1-2,10-12)[188]

Here Reinmar states that the time of the end is contemporaneous with the Holy Roman Empire. The appearance of the Antichrist heralds the end time and even the name of the Antichrist (grk. *anti*='against') in Middle High German, "Endecrist," provides a word play: the time of the end being part of his name and thus the end is synonymous with Antichrist. This was the result of popular etymology which reflected the Antichrist's eschatological

role of preceding the appearance of Christ (Preus 14-15).[189]

Der Renner, by Hugo von Trimberg, also asks why, given the deteriorating circumstances, the Antichrist's appearance is delayed:

Disiu werlt wil sô verzagen
An unserm herren, daz zuht und êre,
Der heiligen tugent und ir lêre
Nieman schier ûf erden gert,
Wenne diu zwei worden sint unwert.
Sô sûme dich niht, *Endekrist*,
Wenne alliu diu werlt dîn eigen ist!
(vol. 3, 21504-10; emphasis in original)[190]

Freidank says that the Antichrist will appeal to the greedy: "Bringt der Endekrist uns schatz, / er gewinnet kleinen widersatz / dem gelouben maneger widerseit / durch des schatzes girekeit" (172,14-17).[191] The expectation that Antichrist will deceive many is expressed by dem wilden Alexander. He would be a threat to both Emperor and Pope:

Der man, der in dâ kūnftic ist,
daz ist der trūgenhafte Antichrist,
dem alle sūnden lieben.
Er wirt in liep, er wirt in wert;
Owê dir stôle; owê dir, swert!
wie wiltu sus verderben?
(Haller 110; 7-12)[192]

Hugo von Trimberg says that deceivers would prepare the way for the

appearance of the Antichrist:

Sô sûln noch kumen glîchsener,
Hôchfertiger und gîtiger,
Zouberer, goukeler, trûgener,
Krieger, twinger, lûgener,
Smeicher, valsche prediger
Und aller untugent nâchvolger,
Die mit des endekristes lêre
Der werlde vil beginnennt verkêre,
Sît wir alle nâch êren streben.
(vol. 3, 17027-35)[193]

The poem, "Der Antichrist," by Frau Ava also says that the appearance of the Antichrist and the end time are linked: "In dem jungisten zite so nahet uns des Antechristes riche. / so besizet (er) diu erde, da nesol niht ane werden. / vil michel wirt diu not, daz vihe lit allez tot. / diu harmscare get uber al, des liutes wirt ein groz val" (Maurer, *Die religiösen Dichtungen*, vol. 2, 493; 1,1-4). The *Künzelsauer Fronleichnamspiel* links the appearance of the Antichrist with Judgement Day: "Der dewffel furtt jn mit jm hin / Alle dy jm vndertenig sin. / Wan das alles geschicht, / So nahet es dan dem jungsten gericht" (Liebenow 5151-54).

The fifteenth-century chiroxylographic Blockbook (*Antichrist (Endkrist) - Bildertext*), c. 1440-50,[194] which details the actions of Antichrist speaks of the expectation of the Day of Judgement (Musper, vol. 1, 15; Blatt 15v). The *Annolied* speaks of Rome as the last world empire and of the appearance of the Antichrist

(Nellmann, *Annolied* 16,1-17,12). The author paraphrases Daniel, chapter eight, in which Daniel describes the might of the fourth beast, signifying the final world empire. This fourth beast was generally interpreted to be the Holy Roman Empire in the Middle Ages.[195] The author of the *Annolied* believes that Antichrist will dare to challenge Rome's might. A similar view is expressed by Heinrich von Meißen who bases his poem on the corresponding writings of John, Revelation, chapter thirteen:

Johannes sach ein tier ûz meres grunde gân,
dar ûffe stân
zehn horn unt siben houbet.
...
daz tier daz widersaget got und al die zuo zim pflihten.
...
Diz tier hôchvart diutet, alsô giht mîn list.
den endekrist
bediutet uns sîn meinen.
swenn sichz wil vereinen,
seht keiser, künege, grâven, vrîn, dienestman erscheinen.
des tieres houbet unt sîn horn, sich, diu wil ich dir
/zeigen:
Toetlîcher sünden siben hôchvart ûf ir hât.
in sündes stât,
...
ein tier verschamt unt gar unreine, daz Krist widerbiutet.
...

Diu horn bediutent, hoerâ waz:
den hellehunt der durch sîn haz
gît widersaz
dem gotes maz.
(Heinrich von Meißen/Ettmüller 117-18; Spruch 170,1-3,6, 171,1-8,11,13-16)

The *Kaiserchronik* describes the Antichrist as the fourth empire of Daniel:

Daz vierde tier was ain lewin,
iz hête mennisclîchen sin,
iz hête mennisken ougen unt munt:
sulhes tieres newart uns ê niht kunt.
im wuohs ain horn gegen dem himele,
die sternen vâhten im ingegene.
daz bezeichinet aver den Antichrist,
der noh in die werlt kunftich ist,
den got mit sîner gewelte
hin ze der helle sol senden.
der troum alsô regienc
als in der wîssage Dânîêl besciet.
(Schröder 579-90; cf. Dan. 8:9-10)[196]

The twelfth-century poem, "Von den letzten Dingen" ("Linzer Antichrist") also identifies the Antichrist as the Beast described by John in Revelation (Maurer, *Die religiösen Dichtungen*, vol. 3, 383, 385; 25,1-16, 27,1-4). The coming of the Antichrist has a chiliastic resonance. His arrival presages the Day of Judgement, as

Freidank says: "Wir hân lange daz vernomen, / daz der Endekrist sol komen / noch vor dem urteile / ze guote und zuo unheile" (172,10-13). The author of the *Luzerner Antichrist* states the purpose for which it was composed: "Vnns sünderen zum trost, heyll, fürdernus / Vnd besserung zuo spilen die glichnus / Des iüngsten grichts, so künfftig ist, / was daruor soll bschen durch den entcrist" (Reuschel 105-08).

5.5 **The Abomination of Desolation**

Antichrist's very presence in the Holy City represents its spiritual contamination. The *Ludus* portrays the Emperor as the leader of a successful Crusade against the King of Babylon (Vollmann-Profe 146a-d). The subsequent presence of the Antichrist and his army in Jerusalem represented a challenge to the Emperor's claim to be *vicarius Dei* and a threat to the purported "divine order" of the Empire. The thought of the end of the Holy Roman Empire was viewed by medieval man as equivalent to the end of the world (Adamek 19). The words of Christ in the Olivet prophecy concerning "the abomination of desolation" were interpreted as a reference to the Antichrist (Matt. 24:15-16,21).[97]

The play was intended to portray the Hohenstaufen Emperors in a heroic light. The lesser kings (*reguli*) are seen as deceived and submissive to the Antichrist. Only the German Kaiser successfully resists him. Ironically, the Emperor's renunciation of the crown is the portent of the ascent of the Antichrist. Is this isolated act of humility on the part of the Emperor paradoxically to be considered *hubris*?

The abdication of the Holy Roman Emperor, in favour of Christ, was in violation of Walther's dictum which reflected contemporary belief: "ir [der Kaiser] habt die erde, er [Gott] hât daz himelrîche" (L 12,8). The abdication provides the occasion for the emergence of Antichrist. The obvious conclusion was that only the might of the Holy Roman Empire and its Emperor could hold back the forces of the devil (*Die Apokalypse* [Heinrich von Hesler 18895-900]). In the play, the abdication is labelled a mistake that allowed the Antichrist to seize power (Vollmann-Profe 191-94; see also Konrad, "Jerusalem" 536).

5.6 **Self-Glorification of the Antichrist**

The poets of the time emphasized the pride of the Antichrist and his use of persecution, black magic and bribery. Compare the humility of Christ with what Freidank says about Antichrist:

Mit hôchvart kumt der Endekrist,
der aller sünden meister ist;
er wil got und keiser wesen:
nieman guoter mac genesen.
Vor disen drîn dingen,
als er die werlt wil twingen,
deist martel, zouber unde schatz,
er vindet kleinen widersatz.
den fürsten gît er alsô vil,
daz si glouben, swaz er wil;
mit zouber er manc wunder tuot,
sus verkêrt er armer liute muot;

die rehten kristen lîdent nôt,
der wirt vil gemartelôt.
(172,20-173,9)[198]

Freidank contrasts the *superbia* demonstrated by the Antichrist with the humility of Christ:

Der wâre Krist kam niht alsô:
ân hôchvart unde âne drô
kam er durch sîne güete
mit grôzer dêmüete.
mit gewalt er niemen twanc
ze glouben über sînen danc;
ern gap ouch nieman schatzes ort,
er lêrte uns gotelîchiu wort.
(173,10-17)

This contrast of arrogance and humility is also present in the fifteenth-century *Fastnachtspiel, Des Entkrist Vasnacht* (also known as the *Zürcher Antichrist*). The Antichrist says:

Einen esel rait eur got,
Darzu wart er verspot:
Ain groß ros reit ich.
Sehent alle an mich!
Ich pin groß und nit clain.
Eur got rait alters allain:
Ich pin reich und auch stark.
...
Ich will ain got gewaltig sein.

(Keller, vol.1, 596; 20-26,31)[199]

The *Wiener Genesis* says: "Der gihurnter wurm daz ist des Antichristes zorn,... / der zi jungist chumit sô diu werlt ente nimit. / des giwalt wirt sô grôz daz er niwil haben niheinin gnôz. / Michil wirt sîn ubermuot: er wil wesin got" (Smits 327; 2863; 2865-67). In a similar vein, *Gottes Zukunft* says: "Als er kuempt zu den tagen, / So lebt er in hohfart (Heinrich von Neustadt 5093-94; see also *Die Apokalypse* [Heinrich von Hesler 19208-09]). "Von dem Anticriste" says:

Christus quam ûf ertrîch
gar diemüeteclîch:
er kumt mit solher hôchvart
diu nie mêr gesehen wart.
Christus quam ze rihten
die sünder und ze slihten
swaz unrehte was:
für wâre schült ir wizzen daz,
der Anticrist niht also tuot,
wan sîn grôzer übermuot
die guoten nidert swâ er mac:
der bôsheit ie und ie phlac,
den êret er und ist im holt.
(Haupt 369-70; 11-23)[200]

In the Middle Ages, it was believed that the Antichrist would gain power by false doctrines (deception), false miracles, threats, persecution and bribes (Emmerson/Herzman 377).[201] These were

considered the tools by which he would gain his ends: "Sein letztes Ziel ist die universale Glaubensherrschaft....'Munera, miracula et terror' sind Mittel des Antichrist, seinem Anspruch Nachdruck zu verleihen" (Jenschke 56). In the plays and poems, he employs each of these methods in succession. He even feigns a resurrection in imitation of Christ.[202]

5.7 **The Satanic Rebellion**

The prime analogy for the rule of Antichrist is the Satanic rebellion. The aspirations of Antichrist remind one of the rebellion of Lucifer: "Der erste Fall der *superbia* geschah in Luzifer, dem obersten der Engel, der eigene Macht zu errichten versuchte. Aus Neid verführte der gestürzte Teufel den Menschen zur gleichen Ursünde der Egozentrik" (Hempel 11-12; cf 29-37; 140-44 and *passim*).[203] The case of Lucifer involved an angel who aspired to divine status. Lucifer was the archetypal rebel and the originator of *superbia*. Lucifer, an angel who aspired to replace God (thus becoming Satan--i.e., 'the adversary') was a type of the legendary Antichrist who claimed to be God incarnate. Isaiah, speaking of Lucifer, says:

> How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the Morning!...For thou hast said in thine heart, I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God...I will ascend above the heights of the clouds; I will be like the most High. (Isa. 14:12-14)[204]

If we posit a continuity of symbolism throughout the Bible, then we may interpret this "morning star" as an angel on the basis

of a passage in the Book of Revelation:

> And he [Christ] had in his right hand seven stars...Write the things which thou has seen...The mystery of the seven stars which thou sawest in my right hand...The seven stars are the angels of the seven churches... (Rev. 1:16,19-20)

If we accept this interpretation, then we see that Isaiah was using symbolic language to describe an angelic rebellion. The introduction to Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Willehalm* appears to describe the same scene:

> dîner hoehe und dîner breite,
> dîner tiefen antreite
> Wart nie gezilt anz ende.
> ouch louft in dîner hende
> der siben sterne gâhen,
> daz sin himel wider vâhen.
> (1,29-2,4)

Der Marner gives a fairly detailed account of the Satanic rebellion and its consequences:

> Ein strît ze himelrîch geschach
> ê got her abe sich lie:
> got dô an Lûcifer sich rach,
> sîn gwalt in selben umbevie.
> ûz der majestât von sînen freuden dranc ern êweclîch.
> Den sînen gwalt er im zebrach,
> ouch in und alle die

mit ime wârn: sô wê in, ach,
der gotes zorn sie niht verlie.
grôziu nôt sich huop in himel an Lûcifer und sîme gelîch.
Zuo ir lîden vielen sie gar einen bittern val,
in vinsternisse und in jâmer âne zal;
daz macht ir übermuot
daz sie her abe alle sigen: got wolt in haben niht für guot.
ir mûl ist krump und spannen wît: ê wârens engel klâr,
nû sint sie gar
aller freuden bar...
(139-40; XV,19f,1-17)

God commands loyal angels to put down the rebellion, as the *Wiener Genesis* says (Smits 87; 28-33). Michael does put down the rebellion (Smits 87; 34-38). The words used in the *Wiener Genesis* are based on the struggle described in Revelation:

> And there was war in heaven: Michael and his angels fought against the dragon; and the dragon fought and his angels, and prevailed not; neither was their place found any more in heaven. And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world: he was cast out into the earth, and his angels were cast out with him. (Rev. 12:7-9)

Michel Beheim, writing in the fifteenth century, described the rebellion and the reasons for it ("Von Luzifers Fall," vol. 1, 17; 4,13-36). In the *Alsfelder Passionsspiel*, Lucifer himself describes

the rebellion and its cause (Froning, vol. 14.2, 571-72; 145-62). But in the play, he is still rebellious and still aspires to his former glory: "ich werde widder als ee / viel schoner dan die sonne / und luchte als eyn rostrige phanne!" (Froning, 572; 172-74).

Freidank also spoke of arrogance causing the Satanic rebellion: "Lucifer verstôzen wart / von himele durch die hôchvart" (29,14-15). The poem, *Die Warnung*, says the same (Weber 2471-76). The result of such *superbia* is a battle which pits the forces of good against evil: The symbolic "dragon" is plainly revealed as Satan: "And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world..." (Rev. 12:9; cf. Gen. 3:1). Friedrich von Sonnenburg takes up the theme of the angel who rebelled: "...also tete Lucifer, / der was ouch gotes wunderwerc: sit wart verschepfet er, / Durch sine schult wart er ein swarzer tiuvel uz eime engele fin-- / seht, strafe ich den, da mite mac got niht bescholten sin!" (5-6; 7,9-12).

If war could break out in Heaven, little wonder then that there is strife on the earth, as Freidank says: "Sich huop nît unde strît / ze himele bî der êrsten zît; / dâ von istz ein wunder niht, / ob ûf der erden strît geschiht" (60,19-22). Der Kanzler believes that envy lay at the root of the Satanic rebellion:

> Nît sünde stiftet âne zal,
>
> ...
>
> nît schuof des êrsten engels val,
>
> sich huop dur nît der êrste mort,
>
> dur nît wirt meines vil gesworn,

nît füeget ubermuot.

(Kraus, *Liederdichter*, vol. 1, 214; 28,XVI,20,1,5-8)

Reinmar von Zweter says that arrogance caused the rebellion and that man lost paradise through disobedience (506; II,192,1-4,7-12). *Der Renner* says: "Dô hôchfart *Lucifern* vertreip" (Hugo von Trimberg, vol. 2, 12068), and "Daz *Lucifer* ein tiufel wart, / Daz kom von sîner hôchfart" (Hugo von Trimberg, vol. 3, 21325-26).[205] Der Stricker, in the poem, "Frau Ehre und die Schande," has Schande personified say: "ich bin des tivels bote, / der durch sine hohfart / von himel verstozzen wart" (vol. 5, 249; 161,494-96). Arrogance and its manifestations were considered Satanic, as *Der Renner* says: "Swer sich durch hôchfart wil begeben, / Daz er sanfte müge geleben / Und enbor in êren sweben, / Der wil gern von gote streben" (Hugo von Trimberg, vol. 1, 4281-84). The *Kaiserchronik* also attributes the fall to "ubermuot" (Schröder 8800-08; see also Hempel 143-46) as does *Die Apokalypse* (Heinrich von Hesler 13335-43; 17717-18).

Der Marner finds derision at the root of the rebellion (137-38; XV,19d,6-20). Frauenlob attributes the rebellion to *untriuwe*:

untriuwe, ist so freislich,
tiufelheftig, eislich;
ir zunge und der helle hamer die sint gar unmeizlich
als ein gesmide, daz man slecht, unt wirt so ser betwungen:
Untriuwe was der erste val,
von ir quam übermut ane zal,
sie warf ze tal
der engel schal,

der was so ringe als ein bal:
des ist ir noch die helle zu smal.
uf erden nie nicht veigers wart wan untriuwe und ir
/zunge.

(Heinrich von Meißen/Stackmann, vol. 1, 446; V,96,9-19; see also Kissling 115)

In his poem,"Processus Luciferi" (103-33; 13,1-540), der Stricker uses the words 'gitecheit' (line 31), 'hohfart' (lines 16, 22 and 43) and 'uber mut' (lines 17 and 22) in describing Lucifer. In the fifteenth-century *Künzelsaer Fronleichnamspiel*, Lucifer laments his fall saying how he shone above all others but fell through arrogance (Liebenow, 173-94). In the same way, Der Kriek von Wartberk has Satan say:

Sich, meister, waz hie si geschriben;
ich bin ein geist, der von den himelen wart vertriben,
unt ste doch helleviures immer eine.
...
hoert, wie daz jamer mir geschach:
ich wiste den übermuot; daz ich'n niht widersprach,
davon schiet ich uz engelischer pflihte.

(Hagen, vol. 3, 173; 29,II,19,1-3,8-10)

The desire of Lucifer to be like God prefigures the same impulse of the Antichrist. The sixteenth-century poem, "VII Lieder von der geschopfft und von dem val der engel," part of the *Heidelberger Handschrift*, describes the origin of Lucifer, who was to be the crowning achievement of the Creator (Wunderle 71-73;

12,I,1-12,II,1-8). The desire of Lucifer's to be like God is expressed in the poem, "Van dem val des schoenen engels Lucifer mit aller siner gesellschaft in den afgrunt der hellen," contained in the *Sibillen Boich*:

> Ein engel der schoinste under in allen
> der begunde im selver wail gefallen,
> und der was Lucifer genant.
> dem quam hoverdie in sin gedank,
> wie he gode woulde sin geleich.
> he gewan ein groize geselschaft an sich
> die im alle wail gonten der ere
> dat he gode in dem hemel gelich were.
> (Schade 297; *Sibillen Boich* 23-30)

Lucifer, like the Antichrist after him, attempted to glorify himself, attempted to be God, as expressed in "VII Lieder von der geschopfft und von dem val der engel" (Wunderle 73-74; 12,II,9-15,20-23). In fact, Lucifer resembled God before his rebellion. He, however, did not want merely to resemble God but to *be* God, as expressed in "VII Lieder von der geschopfft und von dem val der engel" (Wunderle 74-75; 12,III,1-4,9-10,13-15,18-23).

Lucifer, as a free-willed creation of God, chooses to rebel out of pride, arrogance and jealousy. Although beautiful to begin with (cf. Isaiah 14:12), his rebellion causes God to label him a dragon (cf. Rev. 12:3). Even the fall of man in the garden of Eden has overtones of the archetypal Satanic rebellion since Satan tells Eve "you shall be as gods" (*eritis sicut deus*; Dreyer 8; Gen. 3:5).

The fall of Lucifer is the archetypal punishment of *superbia*. The *superbia* demonstrated by the Antichrist is the same as that shown by Ezekiel's prince of Tyre (a type of Satan):

> Son of man, say unto the prince of Tyrus, Thus saith the Lord God; Because thine heart is lifted up, and thou hast said, I am a God, I sit in the seat of God, in the midst of the seas; yet thou art a man, and not God, though thou set thine heart as the heart of God...Wilt thou yet say before him that slayeth thee, I am God? but though shalt be a man, and no God, in the hand of him that slayeth thee. (Ezek. 28:2,9)[206]

Superbia was the primeval sin. The cosmic rebellion disturbed the order of nature and caused Adam's sin (Heer, *Tragödie* 183). Lucifer's rebellion and attempt at self-deification set the pattern for the Antichrist. Satan's attempt to storm Heaven was also a model for the actions of the Antichrist.

5.8 **Storming Heaven**

Another model for Antichrist was reputed to be the legendary Simon Magus, who appears in the eighth chapter of Acts, enthralling Samaria and attempting to buy the gift of the Holy Spirit.[207] Like the medieval Antichrist, Simon claimed to have risen from the dead (i.e., a parody of the Resurrection), performed false miracles, such as flight with the aid of demons, and even attempted to storm Heaven but was struck down and fell to earth (Emmerson, *Antichrist* 27-28, 124; cf. Lucifer: Luke 10:18; Rev. 12:7-9).[208] The story of Simon attempting a flight to Heaven is contained in the apocryphal

Acts of Peter which probably dates from c. 200 A.D. Peter and Simon are contending in Rome. Simon attempts to fly to Heaven but crashes back to earth as a result of Peter's prayer to God to stop the flight (James, *Apocryphal* 331-32).[209] In medieval legend, the Antichrist, held up by demons, also unsuccessfully attempts to storm Heaven.[210] The chiroxylographic Blockbook pictures the Antichrist attempting to ascend to Heaven:

> HJe furt der endkrist fursten und hern dy kristen dye hayden und Juden und ander all dy an In glauben gegen den perg Oliveti und spricht er wol vor In gen hymel varen. HJe wil der endkrist auff dem perg oliveti zu hymel faren und hayst sich dy tewffel in dy luffte furen. So slecht in unser Hergot mit dem gayst seines mundes und spricht dy glos uber Apoclipsis Im XIII capitel Sand Michel, der slah in zu tod. wen got wil seins unrechten nicht lenger vertragen das stet geschriben in Compendio. (Musper, vol. 1, 14; Blatt 13vb, Blatt 14r)

"Von dem Anticriste" repeats the story (Haupt 386; 611-30). *Die Erlösung* also recreates this scene as a parody of the Satanic rebellion:

> Die dûfele hebent in zuhant,
> sie fûren in gein der hôhe wert.
> Dirre affenheit der dôr begert.
> ...
> Die engele kument sâzustunt
> unde slahen die dûfele abe.

Sâ lâzen sie in ûzer habe
und lâzen in gewerden.
Er vellet zû der erden,
vil gar er zubristet.
(Maurer, *Erlösung* 6438-40, 6460-65)

Michel Beheim's "Vom Antichrist" also contains a similar picture of the Antichrist unsuccessfully attempting to ascend to Heaven from the Mount of Olives in imitation of the Ascension (vol. 2, 786; 355,421-48). In the poem, "Von den letzten Dingen" ("Linzer Antichrist"), the death of the Antichrist is also described. Again, he unsuccessfully attempts an imitation of the Ascension from the Mount of Olives (Maurer, *Die religiösen Dichtungen*, vol 3, 405-07; 47a,3-48,12, 48,15-21). This attempt to storm Heaven (this time from Mount Sinai, based on another traditional belief) is adumbrated in the sixteenth-century poem, "von dem āntikrist":

Ein perckh der haisset der Siner,
darauff khumbt er mit schallen.
und wer im dinet mit gefer,
mit im so mus er vallen
tieff in der haissen helle grunt,
tun uns di wiesen maister khunt.
der engel schlecht in wider tze tall
in fegefeures qualen.
(Wunderle 87; 14,VI,9-16)

In the *Luzerner Antichrist*, the Antichrist attempts to fly to Heaven in imitation of Enoch and Elijah[211] who are lifted up to

Heaven in a cloud (Reuschel 241-50, 1312-44). The poem, "Van des Endechrists doit," in the *Sibillen Boich*, tells of the Antichrist's attempt to storm Heaven (Schade 318-19; *Sibillen Boich* 625-40). *Der Saelden Hort* says that the archangel Michael would kill Antichrist: "Michahel tút: 'als Got ist wer?' / den diefel traib von himelrich er. / er wirt tódent och den endcrist, / so wirt dú cristenhait gefrist" (Adrian 3481-84). So does *Gottes Zukunft* (Heinrich von Neustadt 5924-41, 5945-50) and *Die Apokalypse* (Heinrich von Hesler 19800-01). The storming of Heaven by Antichrist is related to the earlier stoming of Heaven by Lucifer in the Satanic rebellion.

The stories of the Antichrist flying to Heaven are based on the Satanic rebellion and the Simon Magus legend. Simon Magus also attempted to imitate Christ's power and wanted to be worshipped as a god. He was the embodiment of false magic as opposed to the true saints whose miracles were of divine origin.[212]

5.9 **Death of the Antichrist**

One source of the Antichrist legend used by the medieval authors was Second Thessalonians which speaks of the Advent that is to be preceded by the death of the wicked one who sits in the Temple, claiming to be God:[213]

> Let no man deceive you by any means for that day shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition; Who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God. (II.

Thess. 2:3-4)[214]

In contrast to other plays and the poems, the Antichrist of the *Ludus* does not meet his death attempting to storm Heaven. Prior to his death, the Antichrist of the *Ludus* claims victory over all divine forces:

> Haec mea gloria, quam diu [mei praedicatores] praedixere,
> qua fruentur mecum, quicumque meruere.
> Post eorum casum, quos vanitas illusit,
> pax et securitas universa conclusit.
> (Dies ist der Tag meines Ruhms, den sie [meine Prediger]
> /lange vorausgesagt haben,
> den zusammen mit mir alle die genießen werden, die dies
> /verdient haben.
> Nach dem Untergang derer, die eitler Wahn betört hat,
> umschließt nun Friede und Sicherheit alles).
> (Vollmann-Profe 411-14)

The stage directions read: "Statim fit sonitus super caput Antichirsti et eo corruente..." ("In diesem Augenblick ertönt ein lautes Krachen über dem Haupt des Antichrists; er stürzt zu Boden..."; Vollmann-Profe 414a-414b).[215] The irony that he should die after saying that peace and safety (Friede und Sicherheit) encompassed everything is borrowed from Scripture: "For when they shall say, Peace and safety; then sudden destruction cometh upon them, as travail upon a woman with child; and they shall not escape" (I Thess. 5:3).[216]

The climax of the *Ludus*, the Antichrist's death is an ironic

moment. Just as the Antichrist feels he has achieved peace and safety, he is struck down at the height of his *hubris*.[217] This irony, borrowed from the Scripture quoted above, is based on the paradox that destruction follows the proclamation of peace and safety--the deceitful Antichrist has deceived even himself. The Antichrist's death at the moment he revels in the arrogance of power and the conceit of divinity is reminiscent of a similar occurrence, the death of Herod Agrippa I, King of Judea (reigned 41-44 A.D.), who persecuted the early Christians. He was the grandson of Herod the Great, who ordered the massacre of all children under two years of age in Bethlehem at the time of Christ's birth (Matt. 2:16), and the nephew of Herod Antipas, who was king at the time of the Crucifixion. Just as he is hailed as a god, Herod Agrippa dies. The incident is recorded in the Book of Acts:

> And upon a set day Herod arrayed in royal apparel, sat upon his throne, and made an oration unto them. And the people gave a shout, saying, It is the voice of a god, and not of a man. And immediately the angel of the Lord smote him, because he gave not God the glory: and he was eaten of worms, and gave up the ghost. (Acts 12:21-23)[218]

The Antichrist of the *Ludus* is struck down just as he is about to conduct his version of the Last Judgement. His words and actions often parody those of Christ.[219] He will punish those who commit blasphemy by denying his divinity (Vollmann-Profe 392a-98; cf. Rom. 8:36). The Antichrist's death heralds the end of the world and the

coming of Judgement Day.[220]

5.10 **Origins of the Antichrist Legend**

The medieval picture of the Antichrist represents a conflation of the Antichrist briefly mentioned by John (I John 2:18,22, 4:3) and the Beast of Revelation with an admixture of the attributes of Simon Magus (the prototypical magician), Antiochus Epiphanes (who desecrated the Temple and sought to eradicate Judaism) and Nero (notorious for his persecution of Christians). Alexander the Great was also a forerunner of Antichrist because of his ambition.[221] The facts and myths associated with these historical characters became part of the lore surrounding the Antichrist.

The legendary Antichrist was partly modelled after the historical Antiochus Theos Epiphanes (i.e., 'God made manifest'). He was the Seleucid, Syro-Greek Emperor, Antiochus IV (ruled, 175-164 B.C.) who tried to Hellenize Judea.[222] He was considered a megalomaniac, who tried to extirpate Judaism through prohibition, persecution, and massacre. He introduced the worship of Zeus (Jupiter Olympius) in the Temple in Jerusalem, set up an idol altar, instituted temple prostitution and offered swine's flesh on the altar.[223]

Antiochus also looted the Temple of its gold and silver vessels and generally stole whatever valuables he found in Jerusalem (I Macc. 1:23). He ordered many people to be killed there (I Macc. 1:24).[224] In the Middle Ages, Antiochus' actions in the Temple were associated with the "abomination of desolation" spoken of by Daniel and Christ.[225] He issued a decree that all his subjects

were to become one people and that each was to abandon its distinctive laws and religion (I Macc. 1:41). Michel Beheim's poem, "Bestrafung der Hoffärtigen," says of Antiochus:

> Und der gross mochtig, gwaltig, reich
> chung Antiochus, der wütreich,
> starb auch durch hochvart jemerleich.
> wann in frassen die maden.
> Und der da wolt herschen dem mer
> und all perg wegen nach der swer,
> van dem hymel reissen die sper
> und die welt mit einander,
> Diemutigt Allexander.
> (vol. 2, 91; 164,79-87)[226]

Alexander died over a century before the rule of Antiochus. The poem says that Alexander's ambition was eclipsed by that of Antiochus whose end was lamentable.[227] The moral is that arrogance and ambition would be punished. Notice the use of the word *sper* in this context which can be used "als zeichen der reichsmacht" (Lexer 204) and is so used here.

Even Roman Emperors were prototypical of the Antichrist. For example, Nero (reigned 54-68 A.D.) was blamed for starting a fire which destroyed most of Rome in the year 64. Modern historians absolve him of responsibility but in shifting the blame to the Christians, Nero took on the attribute of persecutor. Thus came an identification with Antichrist.[228] He tortured and burned many Christians to death. Christendom feared a Nero *redivivus* in the

person of the Antichrist.[329] The return of a Nero was reminscent of the Beast with the deadly wound that healed (Rev. 13:3). The idea that a Roman Emperor could be considered the Antichrist made Rome and all that was associated with it suspect to some in the Middle Ages (Kursawa 54).

Another Roman Emperor, Hadrian (reigned 117-138 A.D.), by his actions against Jerusalem, was reminiscent of Antiochus and thus of Antichrist. After crushing a rebellion in Judea in 135, Hadrian ordered that the Temple be dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus, that Jerusalem be renamed Aelia Capitolina and that Jews be banned from the city and barred from re-entry. Like Antiochus, he attempted to suppress Judaism.[330]

Another prototype of the Antichrist is the Beast. The Beast of Revelation refers both to an empire (Rome) and to an individual. The empire is described in chapters thirteen and seventeen. It corresponds to Daniel's fourth world empire (Dan. 2:40, 7:19-27). The individual called the Beast together with the false prophet (whose miracle-working was also incorporated into the picture of the medieval Antichrist) fight against Christ at the Second Coming and are destroyed (Rev. 19:19-20). Another type of the character of Antichrist is the end-time king spoken of by Daniel:

> And the king shall do according to his will; and he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods, and shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished...And he shall plant the tabernacles of his

palace between the seas in the glorious holy mountain;
yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him.
(Dan. 11:36,45; see also Dan. 7:25-26; Dan. 8:23-26)[231]

The author of "Von den Letzten Dingen" ("Linzer Antichrist") implies that he used the Book of Daniel, among other sources, for his story (Maurer, *Die religiösen Dichtungen*, vol. 3, 409; 50,14-20). In many aspects, the actions of the Antichrist can be traced to the Roman Emperors Nero and Hadrian. The Holy Roman Emperors claimed that their rule was a continuation of that begun by Augustus. Since Christ was the prince of peace (cf. Melchizedek, Heb. 7:1-2), it was reasoned that his ostensible representative on earth, the Emperor, was the king of peace (*rex pacificus*). Just as the ancient Roman Emperors were given the title *Pontifex Maximus*, the Emperors of the Holy Roman Empire, who bore the same title, were also seen as the link between God and man and were considered protectors of the Church.[232] Considering the actions of the Roman Emperors, a question arises as to whether the Holy Roman Emperor, their successor, could be regarded as wholly flawless.

5.11 **Antichrist and the Holy Roman Emperor**

Emperor and Antichrist shared many characteristics. By a process of projection, the worship which the Holy Roman Emperors traditionally demanded was imputed to the unidimensional figure of the Antichrist in the *Ludus*. The Emperor, by contrast, is portrayed as humble and submissive in his renunciation of the crown. The words of the Antichrist demanding worship, however, go beyond the claims of any Emperor: "Cum me totus orbis studeat adorare, / ius

mei nominis quis audeat negare?" ("Da der ganze Erdkreis mich eifrig anbetet, / wer könnte es da wagen, die meiner Person zustehenden Rechte anzufechten?"; Vollmann-Profe 375-76). In the play, the French King describes the homage demanded by the Emperor (Vollmann-Profe 95-100).

The demand to be recognized as *imago Dei* was characteristic of the Holy Roman Emperors: "Daß der Antichrist göttliche Verehrung verlangt, ist auch als Reminiszenz an dem römischen Kaiserkult gedacht, den die historische Apolalypse-Erklärung seit je herangezogen hatte" (Rauh 409). The Antichrist stood in opposition to the Emperor. He was the great usurper of the rightful rulership of the Emperor. But the claims made by Antichrist in *Ludus de Antichristo,* in fact, represent a vilification of the very pretensions and titles of the Holy Roman Emperors themselves.

Were the Emperors humble? The Emperor, who bears titles proclaiming his semi-divinity (i.e., *vicarius Dei, christus Dei, imago Dei, adoptivus filius Dei*), is engaged in a struggle with the Antichrist who claims actual divinity. The Emperor appears as humble and not as the haughty ruler he really is (as, for example, Friedrich II). The Emperor is portrayed as all good (cf. God) while the Antichrist is shown as entirely evil with no redeeming qualities (cf. Satan):

> Der Herrscher soll also primär in seiner heilsgeschichtlichen Stellung gezeigt werden; er ist der "augustinische" rex iustus, der Vertreter des Gottesreiches,im Gegensatz zum tyrannus. Als imago Dei,

und als Typus Gottes, tritt er dem tyrannus, der imago diaboli, dem Sohne des Teufels und der superbia-amor sui, entgegen. (Heer, *Tragödie* 201)[233]

The "real" crime of the Antichrist is affronting the Emperor's status ("God's annointed"), rather than an act of blasphemy against God. The Antichrist committed an act of *lèse-majesté* against the authority of the Emperor by usurping his power, authority, titles and status. The Emperors claimed to be acting in the name of Christ (*vicarius Dei*). Reinmar von Zweter, speaking of the actual Emperor, notes that the Emperor is a representative of God and the throne does not actually belong to him:

Daz rîche dast des keisers niht,
er ist sîn phleger unt sîn vogt: ir vürsten, seht ir iht
an im sô schuldehaftes, dâ von er süle des rîches abe
/gestân,
Sô nemt iu einen, der iu zeme
unt ouch dem rîche baz dan er, unt wartet alle deme:
sît ir dem keiser gram, die râche lât niht über daz rîche
/gân.
Ir sult des rîches wol von rehte schône:
swenne ir dem keiser nû genemt die crône,
swelch iuwer si dan ûf gesetzet,
der sol daz rîche wol entladen
beidiu von unrehte unt von schaden:
sô werden wir des keisers wol ergetzet.
(484; II,146,1-12)

Reinmar believes that the Emperor should exercise his powers for the good of the downtrodden and not for self-aggrandizement:

> Ein künec, der wol gecroenet gât,
> unde daz sîn crône verre baz geküneget stât,
> dâ ziert der künec die crône baz, dan in diu crône
> /gezieren müge.
> Ein wol geküneget crônetrage
> tuot dannoch mêre, er stillet witwen unde weisen clage,
> er süenet unde vridet unt ist bî liuten wol in êren
> /hüge.
> (485; II,148,1-6; see also Georgi 150-51)[234]

Such was the ideal of what the Emperor should be. Emperors, however, exercised power for selfish purposes and gloried in being God's anointed and having godlike authority like that of Christ. The Antichrist declares himself God and world ruler without claiming God's blessing. The powers exercised and titles claimed by both Antichrist and Emperor are remarkably similar otherwise.[235]

Christ does not actively take over rulership of the earth in the play as He does in the Biblical narrative (cf. Rev., chapter 19). The major conflict in the *Ludus* is between Emperor and Antichrist (i.e., man versus man). The irony is that both men aspire to the God-like position of world ruler. Only the Antichrist is stigmatised, however, and his rebellion against the established order resembles the Satanic rebellion and thus the two are examples of type and antitype. The image of the ruler is divided into two characters--one entirely good, the other entirely evil. It has been

argued that the roots of this split may be psychological:

> Psycho-analytic work has shown that a ruler, whether king, emperor, president, or what not, is in the unconscious mind a typical father symbol and in actual life he tends to draw to himself the ambivalent attitude characteristic of the son's feelings for the father. On the one hand, a ruler may be piously revered, respected, and even loved as the wise and tender parent; on the other, he may be hated as the tyrannical authority against whom all rebellion is justified. (Jones, *Hamlet* 137)

The two main characters, the Antichrist and the Emperor ostensibly represent conflicting philosophies. In the play, the Pope is a mere supernumerary. Did this portend that the Pope was to be a supernumerary on the political and religious stage of the Empire? Was Antichrist so threatening because he sought to unite the functions of both Emperor and Pope in one man who claimed both temporal and spiritual authority? Was this claim perceived to be a challenge to the bipolar world of Emperor and Pope which existed during the time? Didn't the Emperor put forth the same claims as the Antichrist?

Because the two main characters of the *Ludus* are portrayed as black and white with no gray areas, there is an obvious inference that the character traits of an actual ruler, who, being human, would possess both good and bad facets to his personality, have been divided between two characters--one angelic, the other

demonic. In this melodrama, the noble Emperor is victorious and the evil Antichrist is justly destroyed. If, for example, Emperor and Antichrist were conflated into one character, the play would take on the aspect of a tragedy in which a seemingly good man yielded to *hubris* and died as a result. This is not the case, however. The Emperor is all good, his adversary, all bad. The *Ludus de Antichristo* is an example of a politically tendentious story recounted in the form of a religious parable (Grünberg 78).

The Antichrist's death by the supernatural intervention at the end of the play is, in effect, the result of the action of a *deus ex machina*. The parallels between Emperor and Antichrist are more perceptible if, in reading the play, one is mindful of the fact that the Emperor was considered God's representative on earth (Heer, *Tragödie* 260). When Friedrich II died in 1250, without fulfilling the popular expectation that he was to be the Antichrist, Friedrich von Sonnenburg wrote a poem about him, the theme of which was that self-glorification was mere vanity:

Waz hilfet nu des riches guot
dem keiser? er ist erstorben
von dem die edelen kristen liten not unde arebeite!
Waz half im ouch sin wiser muot,
hat er dort niht erworben
daz himelriche daz got al der werlde hat bereite?
Ob er hie durch die richen habe
hat gar die werlt verirret,
So wirt im dort ein sure labe

da ez der sele wirret.
So hat daz golt den sin betrogen
und muotwiln sines herzen,
Unt hant die pfaffen niht gelogen
er lide ouch dort den smerzen!
(40-41; 59,1-14; cf. Matt. 16:26)

The real Emperors did practice a type of *imitatio Christi* but not in the sense of imitating the life of the humble carpenter of Nazareth, the man of sorrows, but in the sense of imitating the Christ pictured in the nineteenth chapter of Revelation--the God-King, the avenger of the blood of the saints, the destroyer of His enemies and the ruler of the world.

5.12 **Summary**

Medieval man believed that there would be a Last Emperor who would travel to Jerusalem to lay down the symbols of his rulership, the spear, cross and crown. This would lead to the ascension of the Antichrist whose prime characteristic is *superbia*. Like Satan, he glorifies himself, claims divinity and attempts to ascend to Heaven. The origins of the Antichrist legend may be found in the Books of Daniel and Revelation as well as in legends surrounding Simon Magus, Antiochus, Alexander and Nero among others. Although the Emperor in the play, *Ludus de Antichristo*, is portrayed as humble, the real Emperor claimed many of the titles of Christ. Thus it may be said that he shared the presumption of the Antichrist but was not stigmatized as was the Antichrist.

CONCLUSION

The spear, the cross and the crown are intimately connected with images of glorification. Whether the medieval poets conjure up images of Christ sitting in Judgement on the Last Day with the angels displaying the instruments of the Passion, or the crowned Emperor enthroned as *vicarius Dei*, or the eternal crown to be given to the glorified saints who have followed the way of the cross, or the same reward promised to the crusaders, spear, cross and crown were never far from the mind of medieval man. These instruments of the Passion are symbols of glorification.

The medieval Longinus legend endowed the spear used to stab Christ with miraculous powers. The Holy Lance also became symbolic of the authority of the Emperor. As a religious and political symbol, it evoked ambivalence in that it was the instrument of Christ's death but as such it was also symbolic of salvation. The cross, the spear and the crown of thorns all symbolize victory through martyrdom. By extension, the saints who were martyred would shine like the glorified Christ. The crusaders were promised the same reward if they would become soldiers for Christ and liberate the Holy Land. They were seen, and viewed themselves, as soldiers of Christ who would sacrifice themselves and thus gain glorification.

Medieval German Crusade poets reflected the ideas contained in the speech in which Pope Urban II proclaimed the First Crusade. Urban II made the cross the symbol of the crusaders' mission to liberate Jerusalem. He preached that Christ would help them in

their obligation to free the Holy Land from occupation by the heathen. He portrayed Christ as a warrior, prototypical of the crusaders. These ideas where taken up by medieval German poets who, like Urban II, alleged that the heathen had upset the natural order of God by seizing the Holy Land and proclaimed the necessity of rectifying that order as well as of repaying Christ for His sacrifice through the willingness to die to reconquer the Holy Land for God. The city they were to liberate, Jerusalem, became for them not merely the physical city but the Heavenly Jerusalem in which they would rule with God.

The spear, cross and crown are also emblems of the Last Judgement which precedes the millennium. On that Day Christ would display His stigmata and the angels would display the spear, cross and crown of thorns of the Passion as justification for His anger at humanity. In medieval belief, the Day of Judgement followed the overthrow of the Antichrist. Urban II associated the occupation of Jerusalem by the Seljuks with the imminent appearance of Antichrist. The elimination of the Seljuks by the crusaders was to be followed by the defeat of Antichrist by Christ, the millennium and the advent of the Heavenly Jerusalem.

The reward promised to the saints and to the crusaders was the eternal crown and co-rulership with Christ. An eternal crown implied eternal life and glorification. The reward for saints, martyrs and crusaders, glorification and eternal life, as portrayed by the *Spruchdichter* is compared to the shining of a mirror, an image borrowed from the Bible. Glorification is a reward promised

to the saints and associated with Christ who ascended to Heaven and was glorified after suffering the martyrdom of the Crucifixion. As such, glorification is closely associated with the cross. Christ's crown of thorns is transformed into a crown of glory. So the saints and martyrs who suffer are depicted in medieval literature as wearing crowns (like that of the Emperor) and ruling with Christ.

The *Spruchdichter* of the thirteenth century used the mirror as a metaphor of purity and glorification. The metaphor of glorified man as a mirror was taken from various Scriptural passages. Although man was created mortal, of dust, at some future time he would be recreated with a spiritual body. The idea behind man as God's handiwork or 'hantgetat' as the word is used by the *Spruchdichter* is that man is the work of God's hands. God is compared to a potter by Isaiah and Jeremiah. Man, His unfinished creation, would at some future time be transformed into a spiritual being. The glorification of the Virgin Mary is an example of the glorification of the saints and crusaders. The thirteenth-century poets viewed Mary as a crowned, eternal and shining figure, prototypical of the reward to be expected.

The crown that the saints and crusaders were to inherit was like that of the Holy Roman Emperor. The crown symbolized divine sanction of his rule and it also symbolized the Heavenly Jerusalem. The Emperor claimed to be both priest and king on the model of the Biblical Melchizedek. Poets of the thirteenth century encouraged quasi-deification of the Emperor by comparing him to Christ. He ruled as Christ's representative. In addition, Nebuchadnezzar's

dream of the four world empires was used by the *Spruchdichter* to legitimize the Holy Roman Empire and its Emperor. The four metals of the dream--gold, silver, copper (brass, bronze) and iron--were seen prophetically as four successive empires each stronger but morally inferior to its predecessor. Tropologically, the four metals symbolized the successive degeneration of human character which would culminate in the appearance of the Antichrist, the end of the Holy Roman Empire and the millennial rule of Christ.

The Emperor, as God's representative on earth, partook of the symbols of glorification--the spear, the cross and the crown --which all became symbols of his rulership. They were symbols of his semi-divine status. He was the mediator between God and man--the new Melchizedek--with titles such as *vicarius Dei* and *imago Dei*. Symbolically, he shared in the glory of the apotheosis through the spear, the cross and the crown. These were the visible symbols of his legitimate rule.

According to medieval belief, there would be a Last Emperor who would travel to Jerusalem to lay down the symbols of his rulership, the spear, cross and crown. This would inexorably culminate in the rule of the Antichrist whose prime characteristic is *superbia*. Like Satan, he glorifies himself, claims divinity and attempts to ascend to Heaven. The origins of the Antichrist legend are to be found in the Books of Daniel and Revelation as well as in legends surrounding the semi-mythic Simon Magus and such historical figures as Antiochus Epiphanes, Alexander the Great and Nero among others. Although the Emperor in the play, *Ludus de Antichristo*, is

portrayed as humble, the real Emperor bore many of the titles of Christ. Therefore it may be said that he glorified himself like the Antichrist but was not generally stigmatized as was the Antichrist. As Emperor, he bore the symbols of legitimate rulership--spear, cross and crown. In surrendering them to Christ, as in the Last-Emperor legend, the Emperor was at least pretending to be humble and attempting to imitate Christ (*imitatio Christi*) who gave up his heavenly throne in order to become human, suffer and die.

The Antichrist, by contrast, was a parody of Christ and hence a parody of the Holy Roman Emperor. He had no cross, spear or crown but attempted to usurp rulership (i.e., the crown) from the Emperor and ultimately from Christ. He mimicked Christ's miracles, His death and Resurrection (i.e., spear and cross), as well as the Ascension (i.e., an attempt to seize universal rulership [Christ's crown] as Satan had tried to do). However, he was unsuccessful. Instead of seeking glorification through suffering and humility, the Antichrist was presumptuous, falsely claiming to be God. He failed in his attempts at world rulership and was destroyed because of his presumption. This makes him an antitype of the devil and his efforts at self-glorification culminate in the storming of Heaven, a repetition of the Satanic rebellion.

Nebuchadnezzar is a prototype of the Antichrist but he also shares the attributes of the Holy Roman Emperor. He was the King of Babylon and was given his kingdom by God. However, in refusing to acknowledge this fact and in glorifying himself he resembled the Antichrist. Nebuchadnezzar glorified himself, as for example, in

erecting a golden image of himself and demanding that it be worshipped, thus being considered a forerunner of the Antichrist. Nebuchadnezzar's proclamation to his subjects to worship the gigantic golden image of himself and his order to throw Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego into a fiery furnace for refusing to do so (Dan., chapter 3)[236] was prototypical of the Antichrist's need to be worshipped. Nebuchadnezzar was a forerunner of the Holy Roman Emperor who also glorified himself and claimed divine sanction.

The path to glorification led through suffering. The symbols of the Crucifixion are almost invariably associated with glorification. All three are associated with the glorification of Christ. The Emperor is glorified through the crown and his self-proclaimed association with Christ as His legitimate representative on the earth. The Antichrist is invariably portrayed as the great usurper and the evil counterpart of Christ. He imitates Christ and attempts to replicate Christ's miracles in order to glorify himself.

From the Longinus legend, medieval man established the glorification of the spear used to stab Christ. It would assure victory and open the gates of paradise. The cross symbolized the crusaders' defeat of the heathen. The crown of thorns used to mock Christ's claim to be a king (John 18:37), was transformed by the medieval imagination into the real crown of the Holy Roman Empire just as the mock crown Christ wore becomes real in the Book of Revelation (Rev. 4:10-11, 19:16). This was a model of the crown to be inherited by the saints and the crusaders. The suffering of the

crusaders, like Christ's sufferings on the Cross, were to lead to eternal rulership. Such an eternal reward necessitated eternal life and glorification. This required a glorified body like that of Christ whose glory the *Spruchdichter* likened to the brightness of a mirror.

Medieval German writers and poets portrayed the images associated with the spear, cross and crown motifs in a variety of ways. They revered the spear, cross and crown of thorns which were originally palpable objects associated with the degradation and torment or Passion of Jesus and transformed those objects of suffering into symbols of glorification. The aim of this work has been to demonstrate this fact.

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NOTES

1. Kraus. All references to Walther's poems are drawn from this edition unless otherwise noted. All references to this edition are henceforth cited in the body of the text.

2. Among Burdach's other works on the subject are "Der "Judenspieß" and "Der Longinus-Speer" which deal with antisemitism and the spear's association with usury.

3. Deut. 21:23 says that whoever hangs on a tree is accursed. All scriptural quotations, unless otherwise indicated, are from The Authorized King James Version.

4. Among the well known research on Crusade lyric is work done by Wentzlaff-Eggebert, "Hartmann von Aue"; Kreuzzugsdichtung; "Kreuzzugsidee"; "Ritterliche Lebenslehre und antike Ethik." There is also work done by Wisniewski, *Kreuzzugsdichtung;* "Walthers Elegie (L 124,1ff.)."

5. Sources to be used for the speech include Munro; Krey.

6. See Matt. 10:38; Mark 8:34; Luke 9:23.

7. Matt. 27:29; Mark 15:17; John 19:2,5.

8. II Tim. 4:8; Jas. 1:12; I Pet. 5:4; I Thess. 2:19; Rev. 2:10, 4:4,10, 12:1, 14:14.

9. See particularly the article by Okken.

10. Kesting deals with descriptions of Mary prior to the time of Walther.

11. Wangenheim is used both as a primary and a secondary source.

12. The opinion of P.J. Smith is death caused by heart failure due to extreme shock brought on by exhaustion, pain and loss of blood (Barbet 176). In the opinion of Pierre Barbet, death was caused by asphyxia (Barbet 72-77). Frederick T. Zugibe rejects the theory of asphyxiation and asserts death was due to cardiac and respiratory arrest caused by three types of shock--traumatic shock, brought on by hemorrhage from the violent scourging; hypovolemic shock as a consequence of low blood pressure resulting from loss of blood and bodily fluids; and cardiogenic shock, a failure of the heart as a result of the two other types of shock (Zugibe 113-17). For other medical theories as to the cause of death, see Blinzler 259-62.

13. The New Jerusalem Bible version reads: "Pilate, astonished that he should have died so soon, summoned the

centurion and enquired if he had been dead for some time...(var. 'if he was already dead.')." The Revised English Bible version of the same verse says: "Pilate was surprised to hear that he had died so soon, and sent for the centurion to make sure that he was already dead."

14. Cohn, *Trial* 221, 230; Bishop 258; Barbet 51.

15. In fact, it was the first day of the Feast of Unleavened Bread. See Exod. 12:16; Lev. 23:5-8. Johannes von Frankenstein 10,549-575 mentions the fact that a holiday was approaching as the reason for breaking the robbers' legs to hasten their death.

16. John 19:36; Exod. 12:46; I Pet. 1:19. The "*Marienlegende*" says: "Glîch einem lamme, / Daz dîn munt nî gesprach / Obelîchen wê unt ach" ("Marienlegende," Bartsch, *Mitteldeutsche Gedichte* 37; 1291-93. See Johannes von Frankenstein 126-432; 1605-1720; 10961-69 for comparisons of Christ with the Passover lamb of the Exodus story (Exod., chapter 12) and 5235-56 for a comparison of Christ as the lamb spoken of by Isaiah (Isa. 53:7).

17. The Holy Bible, Revised Standard Version. The Irish and Anglo-Saxon versions of the Vulgate say: "*Alius autem accepta lancea pupungit latus eius et exiit aqua et sanguis.*" See Dauven-van Knippenburg, *Longinuslegende* 124. An older Greek version of this controverted verse reads: *"allos de laboon logXeen enuksen autou teen pleuran, kai ekseelthen hudor kai haima."*

18. See also Burdach, "Der Judenspieß" 196 fn. 2. Burdach also mentions the custom of stabbing a crucified man through the armpit as an act of euthanasia. See Burdach, *Der Gral* 245. See also Dauven-van Knippenberg *Longinuslegende* 64, 91. For a reflection of the tradition that Christ was stabbed through the right side, see Krôner 42.

19. Matt. 27:50; Mark 15:37; Luke 23:46.

20. Those condemned to be crucified were usually offered a narcotic drink composed of wine and myrrh. See Cohn, *Trial* 217-18; Wilson 153-54. Jesus was offered such a drink before being crucified, but refused it (Mark 15:23). This indicates that He wanted to keep a clear head to the end.

21. Isa. 53:7-8; John 1:36; I Cor. 5:7.

22. See also Heb. 9:12-14; Ex. 12:3-13; Lev., chapters 3, 16 and 17.

23. Gen. 22:9-14; Dimont 58-61; Cohn, *Trial* 205.

24. There are several versions of *The Gospel of Nicodemus*. Kim bases his edition on the Late Latin Recension known as 'Form D(b),' also called the *codex Einsidlensis*. Other versions have Longinus appear after Christ is dead. See "Introduction," Kim 1-10; Dauven-van Knippenberg, "Vienner" 441-42; Dauven-van Knippenberg, *Longinuslegende* 39-41.

25. One example of the belief that Christ was alive when speared is the "*Tenebrae*"*-Gesang*, which is part of the Good Friday liturgy. There are several versions. One version, which dates back to the ninth century, has Longinus stabbing a living Christ. See Dauven-van Knippenberg, "Vienner" 442.

26. The corresponding sentences from the fourteenth-century German translation known as *Die "Elsässische Legenda Aurea"* reads as follows:

> Longinus was ein ritter, der stunt mit anderen rittern vnder dem crúce do vnser herre gecrúciget wart. Dirre durch stach die site vnsers herren mit einem spere, noch dem also ime gebotten wart von Pylato. Do aber er die zeichen sach die do beschohent, do sich die sunne fúrwandelte vnd die erde erbidemet vnd er von dem bluote daz von dem sperstiche abe flos clore gesith nam, do von wart er gelobig.... (Williams 235)

27. Another version of what he said is given by Luke: "Now when the centurion saw what was done, he glorified God, saying, Certainly this was a righteous man" (Luke 23:47). In regard to the identification of Longinus with the centurion, see Peebles 25-26; Schneider, "Hauptmann."

28. For a discussion of the various forms of the name see Peebles 27-31; "Longinussegen," *Handwörterbuch*, vol. 5, 1338; Kröner 19-20.

29. "Die Frage nach den Motiven der Tat des Longinus und damit nach dem Maß seiner Schuld bleibt...umstritten, wenngleich große Einhelligkeit herrscht über die Begnadung, ja Verherrlichung dieses waffentragenden Sünders" (Dorn 92).

30. Isa. 6:10; cf. Isa. 29:10; Mark 8:18; Rom. 11:8.

31. See Nowak 255-56 and Teschner 179-80 for a discussion of Rumelant's sources for this poem. Rumelant's use of the unicorn image is part of a series of animal parables used by the *Spruchdichter* (Hellmich 25-27).

32. "Unicorn," Cirlot 357-58. Konrad von Würzburg similarly compares Christ to a unicorn:

man jagte dich ûf kiusche grôz,
als ez dîns vater minne enbôt,
des suochtest dû der megde schôz,
alsam der wilde einhürne in sîner nôt
ze der juncfrouwen fliuhet.
(vol. 3, 13; I,172-76)

Hugo von Trimberg also refers to this image of Christ:

Wie der *einhürne* werde empfangen
Von einer meide und ouch gevangen,
Wen daz bediute, daz weiz man wol:
Nieman daz ofte sagen sol
Daz allen liuten ist bekant,
Man strâfte in anders sân zehant.
(vol. 3, 19441-46; emphasis in the original; see also Schlicht 52-53)

33. This and all other poems attributed to Frauenlob not appearing in Stackmann/Bertau are cited according to Ettmüller.

34. The *Sibillen Boich* comprises a chapter of Schade's collection of poems.

35. "Einführung," Maurer, *Erlösung* 20; Bergmann 127.

36. Tashiro 5-23. For an alternative view that the play represents a reflection of medieval antisemitism, see Könnecker 12-42. For a discussion of antisemitism in the medieval German Passion plays, see Bremer; Wenzel.

37. The restoration of the sight of Marcellus is probably based on the healing of blind men as recorded in Matt. 9:27-31; 20:29-34; Mark 8:22-26; 10:46-52; Luke 18:35-43; John 9:6-12.

38. There is also a malevolent motive for Longinus' action in the *Heliand*, composed in the tenth century. Otherwise, the author follows John's version. An unnamed soldier stabs a dead Christ and there is no suggestion that the soldier was blind (Rückert 5704-15).

39. The *Marien Klage* form a chapter of Schade's collected poems.

40. The lines of this play are not numbered, hence the page number is cited.

41. Stabbing of Christ through the heart (line 6808) occurs in a number of works and is indicative of the belief that He was alive when stabbed. See below under the heading **Longinus as a Jew**.

42. The fact that the centurion also says: "er ist ein heliger man," recalls what Luke's centurion says: "Certainly, this was a righteous man" (Luke 23:47).

43. All plays cited under the name of Froning are contained in his collection *Das Drama des Mittelalters*.

44. Christ has made His last speech commending His spirit to the Father (524; 4149-50) and the stage directions read: "Jhesus inclinato capite mortuus appareat" (524; 4150a). This occurs before Longinus appears on the scene. Of course, the word "appareat" may be key. He appears to be dead.

45. See "Einleitung," Froning, vol. 14.1, Part III, 247-49; Kummer 276-79.

46. Note that in line 6400 above, Mary says that Christ's heart was taken from him, implying a stab wound through the heart. This motif is discussed further under the heading **Longinus as a Jew** below.

47. See also Burdach, "Judenspieß" 186-87.

48. See also Dauven-van Knippenberg, "Vienner" 439-40.

49. *La Passion de Roman* together with *La Passion de Biard* make up *La Passion d'Autun*.

50. In *La Passion du Palatinus*, a fourteenth-century Passion play, there is a similar exchange between Longinus and Christ (Frank, *Passion du Palatinus* 1044-70).

51. In the English play *The Judgement*, (part of the Chester Mystery Cycle) illustrating the Day of Judgement, Christ shows the wound in His side still bleeding (Lumiansky, vol. 1, 453; 421-28a).

52. *Die Apokalypse Heinrichs von Hesler* (a literary treatment of the Book of Revelation written early in the fourteenth century) says: "Do Crist gab ans cruce sich / Und Longinus stach den stich, / Dar wazzer uz ran und blut..." (Heinrich von Hesler 16437-39). It is unclear whether the spear stroke caused death. The order of the fluids, however, corresponds to the order ("water and blood") recorded by Matthew.

53. Regenbogen's acknowledged antisemitism probably influenced his transformation of Longinus (generally seen as a Roman soldier) into a Jew. Obviously Regenbogen could view Longinus both ways. In one of his poems, Regenbogen says: "Ich hazze iuch Juden sunder maze" (Hagen, vol. 3, 351; 126,V,2,1).

54. See Nowak 121.

55. See Nowak 121.

56. In the fourteenth-century English epic *Piers Ploughman* the act of spearing Christ is attributed to a Jew called Longies. He regrets "wounding" Christ when his sight is restored (Langland, Passus XVIII, 91). Konrad Burdach speaks of this scene in *Piers Ploughman,* wherein a blind knight jousts with Christ. He says that this scene reflected the medieval belief that Longinus was an agent of the Jews (Burdach, "Longinus-Speer" 318-19).

57. See Wenzel 153-56; Bremer 167-92; Seiferth 56-59, 63-65, 94 for a history of this dispute and Wenzel 156-74 for a discussion of the dispute within the context of the *Alsfelder Passionsspiel.*

58. For representations of Church and Synagogue, see Réau, vol. 2, pt. 2, 744-47; Weber, *Geistliches;* Seiferth 47-51, 141-48, 180-92.

59. Réau, vol. 3, 813-14; Burdach, *Der Gral* 222; Burdach, "Judenspieß" 196 fn. 1.

60. cf. John 19:36-37; Rev. 1:7.

61. See also Cohn, *Trial* 233.

62. There were several lances reputed to be the one used by Longinus. For other discoveries of the "true" lance see Peebles 56-61; "Longinussegen," *Handwörterbuch,* vol. 5, 1336; Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen,* vol. 13/II. Burdach relates the story of the transfer of the purported true lance from Constantinople to Rome in 1492. See Burdach, *Gral* 396-97.

63. The Scriptural passages in brackets are cited by Krey in his endnotes.

64. *Willehalm* also speaks of the sacrifice of Christ (331,27-332,4).

65. G. Wolfram is a secondary source.

66. See also Wentzlaff-Eggebert, "Kreuzzugsidee" 75.

67. Such a portrayal occurs in a medieval mosaic in the palace of the Archbishop of Ravenna (Martin 500). See also Georgi 104.

68. The phrase *miles Christi* came into use with the First Crusade. See Morris, *Papal Monarchy* 152-53.

69. See also Wentzlaff-Eggebert, "Kreuzzugsidee" 74.

70. See also Kampers, *Kaisermystik* 159.

71. Erdmann, *Entstehung* 318-19.

72. Schönbach is both a primary and a secondary source.

73. Speculation about the time and place of the Day (i.e., in the Valley of Jehosophat, meaning literally, 'God is judge') was rife in the Middle Ages:

> In diesem Zusammenhang ist der Versuch zu vermerken, die Pilgerfahrten nach Jerusalem zu Anfang des 11. Jhs. mit dem Glauben an das nahe Gericht im Tale Josaphat in Verbindung zu bringen. Am Ende des 12. oder Anfang des 13. Jhs. könnnten sich ähnliche Vorstellungen ausgewirkt haben. Dem Dichter ermöglicht die Prophezeihung, auch das Siegel *judicium* auf das Hl. Land zu beziehen...So könnte in der Strophe eine indirekte Aufforderung zur Pilgerfahrt, wenn auch nicht zu einem Kreuzzug gesehen werden. (Schupp, *Septenar* 139; cf. Wilmanns 86; Konrad, "Jerusalem" 536, 540)

74. Regarding the meaning of "in diz lant," Wilmanns says: "nämlich in das Tal Josaphat, östlich von Jerusalem zwischen der Stadt und dem Ölberge, nach der Prophezeihung des Propheten Joel c. 3, namentlich von v. 12 an" (98). Joel speaks of nations gathering in the Valley of Jehosaphat for battle. See also *Die Apokalypse* (Heinrich von Hesler 18350-64; 19050-66; 19760-79); Nowak 157.

75. See also Nowak 70-71.

76. For a discussion of the Day of Judgement as described in "Muspili," see Kettler 163-69.

77. Christ showing His wounds and the display of the instruments of the Passion were almost invariably depicted in representations of the Day of Judgement. Réau says:

> L'ostension des plaies...se prolonge autour du Christ par le geste des anges qui portent, dans leurs mains voilées, les *Instruments de la Passion*: la Colonne de la Flagellation, la Couronne d'épines, la Croix, les Clous, la Lance;...Les Instruments de la Passion ne sont pas autre chose que les *Armes du Christ* (Arma Christi). (vol. 2, pt. 2, 739-40; emphasis in the original)

78. See also Nowak 71 fn. 65, 155-56.

79. Kursawa writes:

> So deutet z. B. die 'Historia scholastica' Kreuz, Nägel und Lanze als Zeichen der Wiederkunft....Spätere Darstellungen folgen diesen Anregungen und erweitern in oft übertriebener Weise die Anzahl der Marterinstrumente bei der Parusie. So zeigt die Illustration des Weltgerichts im 'Hortus deliciarum' Kreuz, Lanze, Dornenkrone, Essigschwamm und Nägel als Symbole der Wiederkunft Christi. Eine von Greishaber edierte Predigt schließlich nennt gleich acht solcher Anzeichen des wiedererscheinenden Gottessohnes, und zwar Kreuz, Speer, Nägel, Dornenkrone, Speichel, Geißel, Schimpfworte und Schläge. (208)

80. See Rev. 19:15 which speaks of a sharp sword proceeding from Christ's mouth at the Second Coming.

81. For Mary's role as intercessor, see Hepperle 140-41.

82. This poem is not included in the Kraus/Kuhn edition and is cited according to Wilmanns/Michels. Some scholars doubt that Walther wrote this poem.

83. There was a seventh-century legend that the armies of Islam would invade Europe but would be defeated by the Greek and Roman kings (Adamek 60). See also Kampers, *Kaiseridee* 33-34; Riezler, 70. This event would be the prelude to the appearance of the Last Emperor who would precede the Antichrist. (See below under the heading **The Last-Emperor Legend**). Medieval man associated Islam with Babylon, the traditional birthplace of Antichrist (Rauh 383-84).

84. See Fechter 107-42; Ilgner 85-86.

85. Medieval man believed that Jerusalem was the center of the world (Rauh 157; Konrad, "Jerusalem" 530-33). This belief was probably induced by what Ezekiel had written: "Thus saith the Lord God; This is Jerusalem: I have set it in the midst of the nations and countries that are round about her" (Ezek. 5:5). Similar sentiments are expressed in Isa. 2:2-3 and Jer. 3:17. A reflection of the belief that Jerusalem was the center of the world and an example of the fusion of the Heavenly and the earthly Jerusalem can be seen in Urban's speech when he says: "Jerusalem is the navel of the world; the land is fruitful above others, like another paradise of delights....This royal city, therefore, situated at the

center of the world, is now held captive..." (Krey 31-32).

86. See Wailes 108-09.

87. The *Luzerner Antichrist* is appended to Reuschel's work. The title he gives is *Das Antichristdrama des Zacharias Bletz samt dem Rollen- und Spielerverzeichnis für die Luzerner Aufführungen vom Jahre 1549*.

    Despite its late date, the *Luzerner Antichrist* reflects medieval beliefs and is unaffected by the Reformation. Aichele says: "Das Spiel ist, völlig unberührt von der Reformationspolemik, die bis dahin umfänglichste Zusammenfassung der volkstümlichen mittelalterlichen Überlieferung über die letzten Dinge in dramatischer Form, die uns erhalten ist" *(Antichristdrama* 78).

88. She considered such a death sweet because of the reward of a heavenly crown and is even eager to suffer (1165-70; cf. Matt. 5:11-12; II Cor. 1:6-7; II Tim. 2:12). See also Fiebach 286-87.

89. Walther also uses the word *bilde* in reference to the female form but even here there are reminiscences of its religious connotation: "er [got] solt iemer bilde giezen, / der daz selbe bilde gôz" (L 45,25-26).

    The idea that man is created in the image of God not only appears in the works of thirteenth-century German poets but also is present in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*:

> What a piece of work is a man! how noble in reason! how infinite in faculties! in form and moving, how express and admirable! in action, how like an angel! in apprehension, how like a god! the beauty of the world! the paragon of animals! and yet, to me, what is this quintessence of dust? (II, ii, 303-08)

90. The idea that God created man in His image also found expression in Old High German poetry. See Hepperle 60.

91. See Siegert 35.

92. *Gottes Zukunft* says: "Nu bist du doch ein fuoler mist / ein obtach, ein ziegel. / Siech an der dugende spiegel, / der gute ein tuorteltuobe!" (Heinrich von Neustadt 2304-07).

    The word 'ziegel' is use to denote moral inferiority. See Stackmann, "Gold" 123. Hugo von Trimberg also contrasts *spiegel* and *ziegel*: "Schoene wât ziert ofte manic wîp, / Diu inlachens hât unwerden lîp. / Waz sol ein gemâlter spiegel,

/ Der minner hât glastes denne ein ziegel?" (vol. 2, 12699-702; see also Schlicht 56).

93. The idea that man was formed from the earth was popular among the *Spruchdichter* (Johannes Rothe 197-202; Hellmich 29-30).

94. Nowak says that Boppe has copied Meißner (254).

95. See Rittersbacher 69; Hellmich 82-83.

96. See Nowak 53-54.

97. Frauenlob often uses the word *spiegel* (Hellmich 102, 152).

98. See Rittersbacher 70. She says: "Reinmars Vergleich Gottes mit einem Spiegelfabrikanten ist eines der im Mittelalter so beliebten handwerklichen Bilder für Gott..." (71). See also Nowak 55-56, 82-83. Man's spirit was compared to a mirror in the Middle Ages (Curtius 340 fn. 1).

99. Compare II Pet. 3:10-13; Isa. 65:17; Rev. 21:1; Dan. 12:3. *Die Apokalypse* says "Swie wir siben werbe sin / Liechter dan nu die sunne" (Heinrich von Hesler 20390-91; see also 18165-82).

100. The round mirror represents Thomasin's image of desirable and undesirable human character traits (Siegert 73-75).

101. See Nowak 198 fn. 41.

102. See also *Willehalm* 402,10-16.

103. See also Dan. 12:2. The error of attributing the words of Daniel to Ezekiel is so blatant that it may not have been committed by the author but by later tradition (Kursawa 304).

104. cf. I Cor. 15:22-24; I Thess. 4:16-17; Rev. 20:4-6,12-13; Ezek. 37;1-14. *Der Kreuziger* also speaks of two different types of resurrection, one to mortal, the other to immortal life:

> wan 'erstên' ist anders nicht
> dan zû dem leben wider komen,
> daz nâch dem tôde ist genomen,
> und geschicht zwîvalticlich:
> etlich nemen wider an sich
> ein ander tôtlich leben
> ...
> di vor Christi tôde erstûnden
> tôtlichs lebens si enphunden

und mûsten alle sterben wider.
aber Jesus zem êrsten sider
erstûnt gar untôtlich
und nam ein sulchez leben an sich
daz nimmer sturbe vurbaz.
...
di ander lêre dar an lît,
daz die heiligen von der zît
und si vom tôde erstûnden
mit Christo, si dô kunden
vurbaz nicht mêr sterben
noch lîdlich nôt erwerben
noch in den aschen wandeln sich.
...
di dritte lêre kumt dâ von,
daz di lîchnam an sich schôn
nâmen ganze klârheit
wunniclicher wirdikeit.
wan von der ubervluzzikeit
der sêlden und der heilikeit
di in di sêle erdûzet,
von den dar nâch vlûzet
di klârheit in di corporî
(ir lîchnam al mein ich hî bî)
und heizt glorificatio
(Johannes von Frankenstein 10356-61; 10363-69; 10389-95; 10403-13; see also 10396-413; *Die Apokalypse* [Heinrich von Hesler 17932-8312; 19964-66]).

105. The idea of man as God's handiwork has a long history (Curtius 527-29).

106. Rittersbacher says: "Die metaphorische Darstellung der Handwerkstätigkeit Gottes behauptet ihren Platz schon in zahlreichen Berichten der Schöpfungslegende des Abend- und Morgenlandes" (71). See also Curtius 528.

107. See Gerdes, *Bruder Wernher* 97.

108. See also *Die Apokalypse* (Heinrich von Hesler 11590-603); Nowak 232.

109. Teschner 142-43 discusses the metaphor of sowing and reaping in connection with the resurrection.

110. See also Nowak 53-54. *Die Apokalypse Heinrichs von Hesler* says: "Wen du Crist irslagen bist /... Und din hantwerk hast irlost..." (Heinrich von Hesler 9810, 9812). For similar use of the word *hantgetat*, see 5282, 10225, 16619, 16715, 17207, 20069.

111. Freidank, speaking of those resurrected, adumbrates the idea of God as workman who forms his creation (the metaphoric mirror) according to his will: "Got hât geschaffen manegen man, / der glas von aschen machen kan / und schepfet'z glas, swie er wil..." (25,19-21; cf. Isa. 45:9).

112. Der Kanzler also says: "minn diu ist gotes hantgetât" (Kraus 216; 28,XVII,4,8).

113. See Nowak 218.

114. The association with the moon is reminiscent of Artemis (to the Romans, Diana, from the Indo-European root '*deiw' meaning 'sky god' and '*deiw-yo' meaning 'luminous' or 'shining'), a goddess also identified with the moon. Kesting suggests that Mary may be associated with the moon because it is cool and is thus a symbol of virginity (Kesting 71).

115. One aspect surrounding Marian poetry is particularly striking. The idea that Christ was conceived in Mary's ear is repeated by the *Spruchdichter*. Walther refers to the conception as taking place through the ear: "ein wort ob allen worten / entslôz dînr ôren porten" (L 5,23-24). Elsewhere, in the poem (L 36,31), he says more explicitly: "durch ir ôre enpfienc si den vil süezen" (L 36,36). Frauenlob says: "gegrüezet sî daz wort, daz durch ir ôren brast..." (Heinrich von Meißen/Ettmüller 220; Spruch 389,12). Reinmar von Zweter says:

> Daz dû sô reine ein reinez kint
> gebaere hêrren über alle, die nû hêrren sint!
> den brâht ouch dir vil ebene ze dînen ôren în der
> /heilic geist.
> Des lâ dû, süeze muoter, mich geniezen
> unt tuo dîn heilic ôre sich entsliezen
> gein mîner bete unt hilf mir armen,
> daz ich von sünden werde erlôst!
> (521-22; II,226,4-10)

See also Diesenberg 39 and Nowak 230.

This image of conception through the ear can be traced back to beliefs in the ancient pagan world (Conybeare 230). Psychologically, the legend itself shows how the emphasis had shifted from God as the dominant male father figure to Mary, the primal mother (Jones, "*Madonna's*" 356).

116. Since Mary was often likened to the sun, the moon and the stars, such an interpretation is understandable (Kesting 40-41). Some interpreters believe that this scene from Revelation harks back to an old myth that has had many manifestations (Buttrick, vol. 12, 452; Cohn, *Cosmos* 214-

15). In its Greek version, the myth concerns the goddess Leto who is pregnant by Zeus. She is pursued by the dragon Python who seeks to kill her because of a prophecy that she will bear a child who will vanquish him. Zeus orders Boreas, god of the North, to take Leto to Poseidon who provides her with refuge on an island where she gives birth. The child is Apollo who later kills the dragon (Buttrick, vol. 12, 452). The Egyptian version of the myth concerns Isis and the birth of Horus. Isis is identified with the constellation Virgo. Her consort is Osiris, the sun god. Osiris is killed by Set, who is frequently depicted as a red crocodile and identified with constellation Hydra or the dragon. He pursues Isis and her child Horus, the son of Osiris. They escape to an island in a boat (Buttrick, vol. 12, 452).

117. Mary was declared *theotokos*, "the mother of God" at the Council of Ephesus in 431. The Ephesians kept a cult object, a meteorite said to resemble Diana (Acts 19:35). When Paul was in Ephesus, there was a near riot when it was learned that he wanted to abolish idol worship. Demetrius, the goldsmith who earned his living from the cult of Diana, stirred up the citizenry (Acts 19:25-28). The crowd repeated the chant, begun by Demetrius, shouting the refrain: "Great is Diana of the Ephesians" for a full two hours (Acts 19:34). Ephesus was the site of the cult of Artemis (known as Diana to the Romans). The parallels with Mary are striking. Artemis (Diana) was a virgin and all her attendants were virgins. She was also associated with the moon goddess, Selene (Luna). Her temple at Ephesus was one of the Seven Wonders of the ancient world, built c. 600 B.C. There are parallels between the cult of the Virgin Mary and the cult of Diana and the worship of other oriental goddesses.

118. The precious stones that adorn the New (Heavenly) Jerusalem are described in Rev., chapter 21. For a treatment of this theme in medieval literature, see *Die Apokalypse* (Heinrich von Hesler 20705-3254); Ehrentraut; Hepperle 109-15.

119. The bracketed citation is given in a footnote by Schumacher.

120. Heer says of the number eight in relation to the Emperor: "[D]ie byzantinische Achtzahl aber darf geradezu als Sakralzahl des Kaisertums angesehen werden" (Heer, *Tragödie* 99).

121. See also Herkommer 52.

122. Pope Gelasius I (492-96) stated that God had established two powers for human government, the *regnum* and the *sacerdotium*. See Morris, *Papal Monarchy* 17.

The Emperor received the title *Dives* and retained the title *Pontifex Maximus*, possessed by the ancient Roman Emperors. The Holy Roman Emperor claimed to be both king and priest, uniting the offices as Christ had done. The Popes, however, maintained that the two offices were to be kept distinct until the end of the world when Christ would return and again assume both titles (Bryce 21-23; Schramm, *Kaiser* 99 fn. 3).

123. See also Berges 25-27; Heer, *Tragödie* 142.

124. Einen alten Topos der Panegyrik zu Ehren der Herrscher bedeutet die auf 2. Timotheus 2,12 gestützte Verknüpfung von irdischer Herrschaft und himmlischer Mitherrschaft....In der Formel zur *impositio coronae* des westfränkischen Königsbrauchs heißt es daher: *Coronet te Dominus corona gloriae atque iustitiae, honore et opere fortitudinis, ut...ad coronam pervenias regni perpetui*. Aus der Zeit Karls des Kahlen stammt ein Buchbild, das zeigt, wie einem heiligen Könige eine aus den Wolken herabreichende Hand eine Krone aufsetzt--ein aus der Spätantike stammendes Motiv, das die mittelalterliche Kunst auch sonst noch benutzt oder dahin abgewandelt hat, daß Christus selbst oder seine Mutter dem Herrscher die Krone aufsetzen. (Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen*, vol. 13/II, 385)

125. See also de Boor, "Wandel" 19.

126. The Emperor rules by God's grace (*Dei gratia*) but all Christians can attain an eternal crown through crusading as Pope Gregory wrote to Emperor Friedrich II on July 22, 1227 urging him to begin a Crusade and promising him an eternal crown ("*corona immarcessibilis glorie coroneris in regno, quod numquam ullo tempore corrumpetur*," cf. I Peter 5:4) and a crown of righteousness ("*corona iustitie*," cf. II Timothy 4:8). See Gerdes, "Zeitgeschichte" 142 fn. 107. In regard to Gregory's letter to Friedrich see above under the heading **The Holy Lance**.

127. See Gerdes, "Zeitgeschichte" 139-45; Gerdes, *Bruder Wernher* 40-46; Heer, *Tragödie* 162.

128. Ruck 10. The star of Bethlehem could also be symbolically interpreted as an angel. See Rev. 1:16,20.

129. See Dan. 4:17-24. The hewing down of the tree symbolized the Babylonian king's loss of the ability to rule.

130. See Hellmich 28.

131. Medieval man believed that the Emperor ruled on earth with the same authority that God ruled in heaven (Wells 494-96,

500-02).

132. See Ruck 30-31 which lists the affinities beween God and the Emperor contained in various lines of the poem "Hêr keiser, ich bin frônebote" (L 12,6).

133. See Dan. 2:36-45 and Werg 44-46. (Werg is used as both a primary and secondary source). A lengthy version of the dream is given by Rudolf von Ems 15377-628. *Die poetische Bearbeitung des Buches Daniel* paraphrases the Biblical interpretation adding ideas that were typical of medieval eschatology, such as the inclusion of Alexander, representing the head of the Greco-Macedonian Empire, and the idea that stability would continue as long as the Germans ruled the Holy Roman Empire (Hübner 1138-64). The Holy Roman Empire under German rulership was seen as the last of the four empires (Hübner 1155-64; *Die Apokalypse* [Heinrich von Hesler 18873-900]).

The four metals referred to in Nebuchadnezzar's dream are reminiscent of those used by Hesiod in the seventh or eighth century B.C. to describe the five ages of man (Hesiod, *Works and Days* 26-28; 129-30, 148-50, 164-681, 201-06).

Allegory seems also to have played a part in the crowns worn by the Holy Roman Emperor. The Frankish king wore four crowns--one as ruler of the Frankish kingdom, two as king of Italy (representing *urbis et orbis*, or, alternatively, spiritual and temporal authority), and one as king of Burgundy (Bryce 190). The composition of these crowns is reminiscent of the metals of Hesiod (and of Nebuchadnezzar's dream). Bryce says:

> These four crowns furnish matter of endless discussion to the old writers; they tell us that the Roman was golden, the German silver, the Italian iron, the metal corresponding to the dignity of each realm....There seems to be no doubt that the allegory created the fact, and that all three crowns were of gold (or gilded silver)... (190-91)

Bryce adds: "One would expect some ingenious allegorizer to have discovered that the crown of Burgundy must be, and therefore is, of copper or bronze, making the series complete, like the four ages of men in Hesiod. But I have not been able to find any such" (190 fn. d).

134. Daniel himself says that Nebuchadnezzar was the head of gold:

> Thou, O king, art a king of kings: for the God of heaven hath given thee a kingdom, power, and strength, and glory. And wheresoever the children of men dwell, the beasts of the field and the fowls of the heaven hath he given into thine hand, and hath made the ruler over them all. Thou art this head of gold. (Dan. 2:37-38)

Die poetische Bearbeitung des Buches Daniel says:

> Kunic der kunge du bist,
> Wand dir hie gegeben ist
> Von des himeles Gote
> Gewalt dime gebote.
> Die crone aller riche,
> Macht, wirde hastu gliche
> ...
> Da von bistu, herre min,
> Daz guldine houbit phin.
> (Hübner 795-800, 807-08)

Der Marner says: "Künec, dû der wernden bist des bildes houbetgolt" (122; XV,11,211). See below for the entire poem. Rudolf von Ems says that the golden head symbolizes Nebuchadnezzar's power (15523-28). *Die poetische Bearbeitung des Buches Daniel* tells of how Nebuchadnezzar set up a golden image to be worshipped: "Nabuchodonosor nu / Machen liez ein sule zu / Guldin, sechszic claftern hoch; / Sechs eln sich ir breite zoch" (Hübner 1173-75; cf. Dan. 3:1).

When Shadrach, Meschach and Abednego refused to worship it, Nebuchadnezzar ordered that the furnace be heated seven times its normal temperature. *Die poetische Bearbeitung des Buches Daniel* says:

> Do diz der kunic horte,
> Er quam in zornis orte.
> ...
> Balde gebot er springen
> So hin den oven gluen,
> Siben stunt en me muen
> Dan e sin gewonheit was,
> Und irhitzen michels bas.
> (Hübner 1295-96; 1300-04; cf. Dan. 3:19)

The entire story is related 1165-642 (cf. Dan., chapter 3). The fact that in his dream image, Nebuchadnezzar was the head of gold (Dan. 2:37-38), inspired a certain degree of *superbia* in him. This led Nebuchadnezzar to set up the large image of gold (Dan. 3:1) which probably represented a form of self-deification.

135. See also Heer, *Tragödie* 176; Adamek 26; Konrad, *De Ortu* 34-35, 90-91.

136. In *Die poetische Bearbeitung des Buches Daniel*, Daniel describes and interprets the dream (Hübner 721-868).

137. Schlageter says of the clay feet of the image: "Im Buch Daniel (2,41-43) gelten diese Füße symbolisch für das letzte Zeitalter: da werde das Reich geteilt und morsch sein, und das Ende der Welt bevorstehen" (158). Schlageter believes that Der Marner is drawing a comparison between the troubles of his time and the evils which were expected to occur at the end time (157ff.).

Teschner, in his discussion of the poem (110-13), identifies the Imperial princes as the feet of clay in that they seek to prevent the election of a strong king. He says that this interpretation is "der Dreh- und Angelpunkt der Strophe" (112). He sees the poem as a political and moral allegory whose purpose is to condemn the princes:

> Die Reichsfürsten, die die Wahl eines starken Königs zu verhindern trachten, werden nicht eigentlich politisch, sondern moralisch verurteilt: durch den Aufschub und Verzug der Königswahl berauben sie die Witwen und Waisen ihres traditionellen Schutzes und tragen dadurch noch zu den Unbilden der Zeit bei. Diese Unbilden...werden wie die tönernen Füße des Standbildes dem Eisen, also der Härte der Zeit zum Opfer fallen. (112-13)

Rittersbacher agrees that Marner is presenting an allegory of his time. See Rittersbacher 75, 76, 131.

138. Werg believes that Wizlav based his poem on those of Rumelant (cited above) and Kelin (cited below). See Werg 44.

139. See also Ittenbach 23; Werg 46; Weber, *Studien* 78; Götting 5.

140. Rudolf von Ems similarly says: "diz ist ouch wol bezeichenlich / dar an daz die liute sich / boesernt alle stunde..." (15605-07).

141. Plato's *Republic* speaks of people's character in terms of metals:

> [W]e shall tell our people in this fable, that all of you in this land are brothers; but the god who fashioned you mixed gold in the composition of those among you who are fit to

> rule, so that they are of the most precious quality; and he put silver in the Auxiliaries, and iron and brass in the farmers and craftsmen. Now, since you are all of one stock, although your children will generally be like their parents, sometimes a golden parent may have a silver child or a silver parent a golden one, and so on with all the other combinations. So the first and chief injunction laid upon by heaven upon the Rulers is that...they must show themselves good guardians...If a child of their own is born with an alloy of iron or brass, they must, without the smallest pity, assign him the station proper to his nature and thrust him among the craftsmen or the farmers. If, on the contrary, these classes produce a child with gold or silver in his composition, they will promote him, according to his value, to be a Guardian or an Auxiliary. They will appeal to a prophecy that ruin will come upon the state when it passes into the keeping of a man of iron or brass. Such is the story; can you think of any device to make them believe it? (106-07; III. 415)

142. The succession of baser metals, after the golden age, symbolizes a deterioration of the world and its people. See Schlicht 44 and Götting 5. Speaking of the successive degeneration in human character, *Der Renner* also says:

> Dô ich von êrste ze *Babenberc*
> Kam, dô vant ich milter liute
> Vil mêre dâ denne ich vinde hiute:
> Die fleisch dô wâren und gebein,
> Die sint nu holz, erde und stein;
> Die güldîn wâren und silberîn,
> Die sint nu kupferîn und îsenîn
> Und anders denne ir veter wâren.
> (Hugo von Trimberg vol. 3, 21454-61; emphasis in the original)

Apollonius von Tyrland by Heinrich von Neustadt begins with a version of Nebuchadnezzar's dream (11-87) and gives a similar tropological interpretation as a successive degradation in moral qualities through the generations:

> Den trawm pedewtet Daniel
> Im hette der engel Gabriel
> Den trawm da vor gerawmt zu.
> Was dise geschicht pedewtet nw,
> Das will ich euch pekennen lan:

Auff der sewle der gulden man
Das ist die pluende jugentt.
Wan die wechsett in grosser tugent,
So wirt ir wol zu lone
Ein guldein kron.
Ist aber das sie sinckett
Und an den tugenden hinckett,
So wirt silber schir ir gold,
Darnach kupfer wirt ir sold,
So wirt es denne waiches pley.
.....[line missing in original]
Dem sust zu poßhait ist so gach,
Und er der alles volgett nach,
Der mag wol schier werden
Zu ainer ploden erden.
So sein nicht mer will leyden Gott,
So kompt schier sein gepott,
Das zerstôrett nnd zerprichett:
Allsust den zoren er richett.
(63-86)

In the story (a *Versroman*), later on, Apollonius says to Antiochus: "Dein got verplaichet vaste, / Es hinked an dem gelaste. / Dein silber das wirt kupfer" (873-75).

143. Hugo von Trimberg also says that advice can lose its value: "Welch rât sol mîner kinde werden, / Diu von silber kument in zin, / Von golde in kupfer?" (vol. 2, 10496-97).

144. The metals symbolize worth and worthlessness. See Rittersbacher 74. Gold is a type of what is true, while brass is a type of what is false. See Panzer 24.

145. Teschner, in his brief discussion of the poem as a *bispil* (178-79), says: "In dieser ersten allegorischen Auslegung dient Nebukadnezars Traum also als moralisches Exempel, das die Sündhaftigkeit des Menschenlebens verdeutlicht" (178). In the category of *bispil*, Teschner includes "Sprichwort, Gleichnis, Fabel, Parabel, [und] Novelle" (8).

Der Stricker, in his poem, "*Das Bild*," uses the metals to describe the successive degeneration of a monk (vol. 3/II, 252-59; 80,28-34,44,53-59,67-79,87-89,92-94,138-46,156-63). See Wailes 68, 70, 162, 246-47.

146. Schlageter says: "Der Dichter verwendet das biblische Motiv des Weltaltertraumes Nebukadnezars, den er sich für seinen besonderen Zweck zurechtstutzt....Aus dem verbreiteten Motiv des Nebukadnezartraumes wird die Ehrlosigkeit und Schandenhörigkeit des (jungen) Adels entwickelt" (53, 57).

147. See Rittersbacher 76. Der Stricker, in his poem, "*Der Krämer*," tells of a merchant who gilds copper, thereby cheating his customers, and compares this practice to a man who seems virtuous but is not, and who thus deceives many women. (vol. 3/I, 70-74; 54,26-27,84-88,103-10,127-36).

    Thomasin uses the same metaphor to describe a woman: "valsch schoeniu wîp man ahten sol / ze kupher überguldet wol / daz an im lützel goldes hât" (959-61).

148. See Wangenheim 54-56.

149. Prov. 17:3; 27:21; Zech. 13:9; Mal. 3:2; I Pet. 1:7; Rev. 3:18.

150. This quote coincides with Zingerle 58. Zingerle does not number the lines, hence the page number is used. See Wagner 117 and Wangenheim 54. *Der Renner* also says: "Wê dem, der ungehôrsam ist, / Der ûzen ist golt und innen mist!" (Hugo von Trimberg vol. 1, 3439-40).

151. See Siegert 52.

152. Hugo von Trimberg again contrasts appearance and reality with reference to women when he says: "ûzen golt und innen zin / Sint wîp unde meide ân zuht, ân sin" (vol. 2, 12593-94). See Schlicht 55 and Wagner 58-59. The idea that gold, i.e., apparent virtue, conceals copper, i.e., vice, was a popular idea of the time (Ilgner 84).

153. See Hellmich 23.

154. The knight's clothing is a metaphor for inner qualities. See Rittersbacher 30-31. *Der Ritterspiegel* uses the metals as an illustration of the worth of the sun, the moon and the various planets and their respective contribution to the knight's equipment (Johannes Rothe 1583-84, 1588-1602). The metals that comprise the knight's equipment are symbolic of his spiritual value:

> Ab eyn man mit manheit ader mit list
> irwerbit der ritter ordin,
> Daz silbir daz in sime schilde ist,
> ist darumme nicht guldin wordin.
> Gehorit ouch daz golt darin
> und gebruchit her nicht der ritterschaft,
> Di gele farwe sal vor daz golt sin,
> di bedutit ez mit er craft.
> (Johannes Rothe 645-52)

Even if the knight carries a gold shield, if he is unworthy of knighthood, the shield is then just yellow. Yellow was

the colour used to identify Jews, witches and prostitutes in the Middle Ages (Wangenheim 53).

155. Hugo von Trimberg condemns greed with these words:

> Alle gîtiger sint beteler:
> ...
> Swer den gîtigen bitet sîns guotes,
> Der rêmet sînes fleisches und sîns bluotes
> ...
> Swer in bitet, dem gibt er niht
> Und wirt im dar zuo nimmer holt,
> Und möchte er sîns liumuntes golt
> Ze kupfer sinder mit nîdes zungen
> Verwandeln, sô wêr im gelungen.
> (vol. 1, 7885, 7893-94, 7902-06)

156. This proverbial saying concerns appearance and reality. Outward appearance is deceptive. The quote also emphasizes the difference between spiritual and worldly values (Wagner 38, 43, 58-59).

Hugo von Trimberg is metaphorically decrying the general concern with earthly goods and carnal lusts as opposed to eternal values. He says that people are neglecting the promise of eternal life to their detriment (vol. 2, 13819-24).

157. See Hellmich 96.

158. See also Kettler 368-69.

159. See also vol. 1, 8410-17 in regard to corrupt judges. In reference to the Pope, *Der Renner* says:

> Der bâbest ist sînen kinden holt:
> Er nimt ir silber und ir golt
> Und tuot in genâde, diu bezzer ist,
> Mit ganzen triuwen ze aller frist.
> Silber und golt treit man hin în:
> Und wêre sîn bulle silberîn,
> Welch strâze wêre denne morder frî?
> Wenne silber ist bezzer denne blî:
> Als hât des bâbstes heilikeit
> Bedâht wol alle die kristenheit
> ...
> *Rôme* teilt in manic lant
> Ir blî, als uns ist wol bekant.
> Si ist ân gâbe nieman holt,
> Si gît vür silber und vür golt
> Blî: die wîle diu werlt stêt.
> (Hugo von Trimberg, vol. 1, 9121-30, 9157-61; emphasis

in the original)

For a discussion of Hugo's views on the Church, see Behrendt 40-50.

160. See Ilgner 192.

161. See also Höver 381-82; 1-15. The comparison between gold and copper symbolizes the contrast between morality and immorality (Rittersbacher 58). *Der Renner* uses the analogy of a copper coin that is mistaken for gold to criticize the greed and worldliness which the author feels pervades his society:

> Kupfermünze in goldes schîn
> Machent manigen einveltigen liuten pîn,
> In silbers varwe blî und zin
> Betriegent tummer liute sin:
> Die münze sint nu sêre genge worden,
> Sie triegent die werlt und klôster orden.
> Scheme dich, gotes crêatûre,
> Pfaffe, ritter und gebûre,
> Daz fleischlich gelust und irdisch guot
> Von im sol wenden dînen muot,
> Der lîp und sêle dir hât gegeben
> Und gern dir gêbe daz êwige leben,
> Wöltestu leben nâch sînem willen
> Und dînen muotwillen durch in stillen!
> (Hugo von Trimberg, vol. 2, 13811-24)

162. die vueze erdin.....daz brach ze male
ein grozer stein,
der kam uz einem berge, an'elliu werk, aleine,
der stein zereip daz bilde unt zebrach ez kleine.
(Hagen, vol. 2, 369; 136,IV,3,7-10)

163. See also Hübner 1000-116; Réau, vol. 2, pt. 1, 407; Adamek 65-66, 75. Rudolf von Ems says that the stone represents Christ (15568-90). *Apollonius von Tyrland* interprets the stone as God (Heinrich von Neustadt 37-39, 77-86; cf. Dan. 2:34-35, 2:44-45). Teschner says that the dream serves as an allegory with the purpose of providing a moral lesson (178). In reference to the last part of Rumelant's poem, he says:

> Als Lehrziel dieser Strophe erkennen wir wiederum, diesmal freilich unausgesprochen, die Aufforderung an den der Sünde verfallenen Menschen, Buße zu üben. Die heilsgeschichtlichen Reminiszenzen der letzten Strophe werden konsequent dieser geistlichen Absicht untergeordnet, indem Christus nicht,

> wie zu erwarten, als Erlöser des sündigen Menschen, sondern als Richter des Unbußfertigen dargestellt wird. (179)

164. A speech, based on this and related Scriptures of Revelation, is given by a character named John in the *Luzerner Antichrist* (Reuschel 1572-1675). The creature of Revelation can be identified with the four beasts of Daniel, chapter 7 (Adamek 33).

165. For a discussion of this part of the *Annolied*, see Gellinek 9-14.

166. *Die poetische Bearbeitung des Buches Daniel* paraphrases the seventh chapter of Daniel and indicates four kingdoms. See Hübner 5709-976. These four kingdoms may be considered the same as the four mentioned in Daniel, chapter 2. See Adamek 33 fn. 3 and 56; Wells 498. Other works which touch on the interpretation of the four kingdoms include:

    Fritschi 24 fn. 108d; Heer, *Tragödie* 176; Nellmann, *Annolied* 42-57; Bryce 112; Gellinek 5-26; Jenschke 21-22; Kampers, *Alexander* 13-14 and *passim;* Konrad, "Jerusalem" 536; Rauh 38-39; Réau, vol. 2, pt. 1, 409; Wangenheim 57; Werg 44.

167. There were other reasons that Rome was often portrayed as a boar including an old tradition (Adamek 29; Gellinek 16, 19).

168. See also Gellinek 14-19. Daniel's vision parallels Nebuchadnezzar's dream (Gellinek 8 fn. 14).

169. Kantorowicz, *Frederick* 5, 512, 522, 572; Bryce 206 fn. d.

170. Napoleon acted in a similar manner when, on December 2, 1804, he seized the crown from the hands of Pope Pius VII, who was about to crown him, and crowned himself "Emperor of the French." Self-coronation may be viewed as the logical result of the tendency of the ruler to assume the mantle of divinity (Kampers, *Alexander* 23). Ironically, the Holy Roman Emperor assumed more divine right the more he freed himself from dependence on Papal approval and became subject to the vote of the Electors (Bryce 244).

171. See also Müller 84,I,15-18, II,11-18.

172. Reeves 337; Kampers, *Kaiseridee* 104; Weber, *Studien* 79; Adamek 120; Bryce 178 fn. y; Töpfer 119-21; Kantorowicz, *Frederick* 685-89; Heer, *Tragödie* 184-90.

173. Riezler 64-65; Voigt 154; Adamek 122; Kantorowicz, *Frederick* 687-88. See also Töpfer 154ff.; Kampers, *Kaiseridee* 69-109, 154-55.

174. The rule of the Emperor was said to prefigure the rule of Christ. See Günther 66. The play was based on a work by the French monk, Adso, written c. 950. See Adso's "*Epistola Adsonis ad Gerbergam Reginam de Ortu et Tempore Antichristi*," in Sackur 97-113. Adso compiled a traditional portrayal of the Antichrist who was to be born in Babylon, the symbol of *superbia*. The Antichrist's adherents were to be magicians and witches and he was to gain a popular following through bribes, threats, persecution and the performance of miracles. The Last Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire was to travel to Jerusalem and lay down his crown after establishing universal peace. The Antichrist would then begin his reign (Rauh 153-64).

175. Riezler 66-68; Reeves 324 fn. 3. The cross and crown would then both ascend to Heaven (Adamek 60; Günther 295-96; Rauh 390; Kampers, *Werdegange* 121-22).

176. Töpfer 177-78; Konrad, *De Ortu* 42-53. The *Ludus de Antichristo* is generally held to be based on the writings of the tenth-century French monk Adso. The portrayal of the Last Emperor Legend in the *Ludus* parallels the description given by Adso (Sackur 110). There was a long-held expectation of a Last Emperor (or a Third Friedrich) who would usher in a Golden Age (Bernheim 97).

177. Riezler 72; Reeves 324 fn. 3; Adamek 59-60, 80-81. The Last Emperor legend corresponds to the Jewish expectation of the appearance of a Messiah at the end-time (Kampers, *Alexander* 16; Heer, *Tragödie* 187).

178. Adamek 108, 118; Riezler 66; Kampers, *Kaiseridee* 102-05, 154-55; Kampers, *Alexander* 102-03.

179. See also Jenschke 43, 53; Wadstein 33-34; Kursawa 68-76; "Antichrist," *Handwörterbuch*, vol. 1, 483-85, 498.

180. *Die Apokalypse* says that Christ Himself just prior to Judgement Day will lay down the emblems of rulership as the Last Emperor had done:

> Als iz urteil danne nat
> Und iz dan zum ende gat,
> So tut Got von himelriche
> Dem keiser wol gliche:
> Der lezet daz cruce vrone,
> Sper, sceptrum und die crone
> Mit den regalien allen

Die dem riche zu gevallen,
Vuren in des riches sal,...
(Heinrich von Hesler 19861-69)

The angels display the spear, cross and crown on Judgement Day. See above under the heading **Day of Judgement**.

181. Kampers points out that this poem and others, which feature the Last Emperor renouncing his rulership by leaving his crown either in the Temple in Jerusalem or on the Mount of Olives, are based on the *Libellus de Antichristo* (i.e., "*De Ortu et Tempore Antichristi*"), written by the French monk, Adso in the tenth century. He contrasts such works with *Muspilli* which arose in the ninth century and was based on German legend and lore (Kampers, *Kaiseridee* 55).

182. Wang 399 states that the poem dates from the early fourteenth century, while the entry "Antichrist," *Handwörterbuch*, vol. 1, 486, dates the poem at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Adamek also gives the date as the thirteenth century (138).

183. *Die Apokalypse* tells a similar story (Heinrich von Hesler 19060-92). *Gottes Zukunft* (written c. 1300) says that the Last Emperor would be Frankish (Heinrich von Neustadt 5396-461). See also Töpfer 177 fn. 109; Heer, *Tragödie* 254-57.

184. The idea that Jerusalem would be considered the site of the Day of Judgement coincides with the belief that the Judgement would take place in the Valley of Jehosophat, just west of the Mount of Olives. See above under the heading **Day of Judgement**.

185. *Von dem Anticriste* says: "daz roemisch rîch zem lesten wart" (Haupt 379; 377), meaning the last empire before the appearance of Christ.

186. Riezler 69, 74; Töpfer 119-21, 128 and *passim*; Kantorowicz, *Frederick* 685-89. This fusion of the two legends may have been the result of nostalgia for Friedrich II who was considered the last "real" Emperor. See de Boor, "Wandel" 19; Kantorowicz, *Frederick* 685; Baethgen 9.

187. The Latin 'Imperium' is rendered 'Reichsapfel' ('imperial orb') in German since the orb represented the Emperor's rulership of the Empire (Günther 180).

188. The poem probably dates from 1239 or 1240 (Schupp, "Reinmar von Zweter" 234-35).

189. *Gottes Zukunft* defines 'Endecrist':

> Er ist geheißen Endecrist,
> Wan er wider Got ist:
> 'Endecrist,' der 'wider got.'
> Wider Crist ist sin gebot
> Und waz Crist an gehoeret:
> Daz ewangelium er stoeret
> Und der zwelf boten drift.
> Er zer fuert die rehten schrift,
> Des heiligen Cristes glauben.
> (Heinrich von Neustadt 5140-5148)

Der Renner implies there could be many Antichrists: "Swer wider sînen orden strebet / Und niht nâch gotes willen lebet, / Wizzet der ist ein endecrist: / Waz ir denne leider ûf erden ist!" (Hugo von Trimberg vol. 1, 4485-88). This is reminiscent of what John said: "[E]ven now are there many antichrists..." (I John 2:18). See also Wagner 34.

190. See also Hugo von Trimberg, vol. 1, 4476-88. *Der Renner* says that Christian leaders are so bad that the time is ripe for Antichrist (Hugo von Trimberg, vol. 1, 8685-99).

191. See Eifler 149-50.

192. See Biehl 88-107; de Boor, "Antichrist" 346-51.

193. See also Hugo von Trimberg, vol. 3, 17107-14; Schlicht 36-37.

194. See Steer 400. Steer gives a brief history and interpretation of the Blockbook (400-01).

195. Heer, *Tragödie* 176; Riezler 71; Adamek 27-51, 100, 102, 105-16, 108, 113-14, 118 and *passim*. Regarding the purpose of his thesis, Adamek states:

> Zweck unserer Untersuchung war, zu zeigen, wie die auf Bibel und Bibelerklärung gestützte Weissagung, daß das Römerreich das letzte der Weltreiche Daniels, bis zum Ende der Tage dauere, daß nach seinem Falle der Antichrist erscheine, in der mittelalterlichen Welt allgemein verbreitet war und allgemein geglaubt wurde. (127)

196. See also Gellinek 17. Line 583 corresponds to Dan. 8:9. The author of the *Kaiserchronik* has adopted elements of Dan. 7:7 (which was generally seen as a description of the Roman Empire) to portray the Antichrist. Compare Dan. 7:7 and line 582.

197. cf. Mark 13:14; Luke 21:20; Dan. 11:31, 12:11.

198. Arrogance is one of the Antichrist's basic traits. *Die poetische Bearbeitung des Buches Daniel* says of the end-time king identified as the Antichrist:

> Er wirt tun daz *nie* gedacht
> Wart vor manichen jaren
> Sines uranen baren;
> ...
> Da bi so wirt er vunden
> Cluc wesen in rede, vint
> Kein gedanken die im sint
> Wider, an allen sachen.
> Disse craft wirt im machen
> Sin herze vil hochmutic...
> (Hübner 7076-78, 7086-91; emphasis in the original)

199. cf. Matt. 21:7; Zech. 9:9.

200. Arrogance was considered the primeval sin. It induced Lucifer to rebel (Günther 188).

201. See also Jacobus de Voragine, vol. 1, 16-17; Wadstein 130-31; Bernheim 83; "Antichrist," *Handwörterbuch*, vol. 1, 498; Preus 18-22.

202. See Musper, vol. 1, 13-14; Blatt 13rab; Maurer, *Die Erlösung* 6419-24; Heinrich von Neustadt 5758-63; "Linzer Antichrist," Maurer, *Die religiösen Dichtungen*, vol. 3, 389, 391; 31,1-31a,1-16; *Antichrist*, Lumiansky, vol. 1, 413; 121-33, 165-68.

203. See also Bernheim 16-17; Kissling 111-12.

204. cf. *Die Apokalypse* (Heinrich von Hesler 13335-43); Ezek. 28:12-19; Rev. 12:7-9; Jude 6.

205. See Vomhof 59; Götting 72-74.

206. The theme of man aspiring to be God is also employed by other prophets. Compare the end-time king spoken of in Dan. 11:36-45, as well as the Beast seen by John (Rev. 13:5-8).

207. See Acts 8:9-25 where Simon attempts to buy the Holy Spirit and is rebuked. It is from this incident that the word 'simony' (designating the practice of buying and selling ecclesiastic positions) originates. Simony became a symbol of the illicit mixture of *regnum* and *sacerdotium*--the temporal and the spiritual powers (Rauh 395; Ilgner 175). *Der Renner* also denounces simony (Hugo von Trimberg, vol. 1, 803-06; Götting 75).

Simony was considered a serious sin in the Middle Ages: "There are fashions in sin, as in everything else. In our own age the prime offence is racial discrimination, but in the second half of the eleventh century simony came to hold the position of the thing abhorred above all others by scrupulous men" (Morris, *Papal Monarchy* 101).

208. See also Wadstein 135; Kursawa 47; Dorn 137-39.

209. This fictitious incident is also celebrated in art. See Emmerson, *Antichrist* 122-24; Morris, *Papal Monarchy* 101.

210. Preus 22-23; Wadstein 132; "Antichrist," *Handwörterbuch*, vol. 1, 499.

211. The Book of Revelation tells of two witnesses (Rev. 11:3) who will oppose the Beast, later be killed and then resurrected and lifted to heaven (Rev. 11:3-12). Medieval man named them Enoch and Elijah because of the belief that both Biblical figures were translated and did not die (cf. Gen. 5:21-24; II Kings 2:11). They were to return to earth to die. See Emmerson, *Antichrist* 95-101 and *passim*; Sackur 111-12; Konrad, *De Ortu* 42, 56-57, 75-76, 86.

212. Cook 29; Emmerson, *Antichrist* 122-23; Flint, 19, 340-41; Wadstein 136; Bernheim 94; Rauh 157-58; Günther 202.

213. Regarding the basis for the *Ludus*, Kamlah says:

> Die biblische Grundlage der verarbeiteten Tradition ist 2. Thess. 2. Auch Adso, die unmittelbare Vorlage des Ludus, entwickelt seine Darstellung im Anschluß an dieses Kapitel. Es wurde durch die herkömmliche Exegese im Sinne der Antichrist-Tradition interpretiert. Für die Augen des mittelalterlichen Lesers enthält es die ganze im Ludus dargestellte apokalyptische Geschichte. (56)

214. See also Jenschke 56; Günther 38 fn. 11. The falling away ("*Abfall*," "*discessio*") mentioned by Paul was seen, in the Middle Ages, not only as an apostacy from Christianity but also as a departure from loyalty to the Holy Roman Empire which was believed to be the force restraining the Antichrist. See Nellmann, *Reichsidee* 92-94; Rauh 158, 397; Sackur 110; Konrad, *De Ortu* 14, 40, 95-96; 123; Konrad, "Jerusalem" 536, 538-39; Morris, *Papal Monarchy* 130; Heer, *Tragödie* 176-77; Adamek 31 fn. 22, 35-36, 43, 46-48, 57, 62-63, 94-95, 117-118, and *passim*. *Von dem Anticriste* says:

> Swen wundert umb den Anticrist,

zuo welher zît er künftic ist,
oder umb den jüngsten tac,
ob er iht schiere komen mac,
der frâg sant Pauls epistel des
ad Thessalonicenses.
ez sî dann daz entwîche
vor von dem rîche
und ouch daz man künde
den menschen der sünde
und den sun der verlust,
sô wirt die frâge umbe sust.
(Haupt 359-70)

See also *Die Apokalypse* (Heinrich von Hesler 18885-900, 19200-15). *Gottes Zukunft* also speaks of Paul's prophecy in Second Thessalonians in the context of linking the end of the Holy Roman Empire and the appearance of Antichrist (Heinrich von Neustadt 5386-93).

215. Paul describes the death of the tyrant in II Thess. as follows: "And then shall that Wicked be revealed whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming" (II Thess. 2:8). See Sackur 112-13; Konrad, *De Ortu* 86-87. Compare what Adso says: "[A]d ultimum veniet iudicium Dei super eum, sicut beatus Paulus scribet dicens: *Quem dominus Iesus interficiet spiritu oris sui...*" (Sackur 112-13; emphasis in the original).

216. The allusion is definitely to this verse. Günther points out that the pairing of 'peace and safety' in this context occurs only in this verse. See Günther 34-35.

217. See Rauh 410-11; Aichele, *Antichristdrama* 194.

218. Der Kanzler also alludes to these verses. See Kraus 186; 28,I,4,1-16 and Krieger 79. Herod the Great was also viewed as a model for the Antichrist. See Kursawa 52. The poem, "*Von dem Anticriste,*" includes Herod as an Antichrist which the poem defines broadly (Haupt 370-71; 43-68).

219. Jackson 2, 6; Aichele, *Antichristdrama* 204-05; Heer, *Tragödie* 180.

220. Preus 23. See above under the heading **Day of Judgement**.

221. See Biehl 57-58; Cary 151-52. Der Stricker, in his poem, "*Vom heiligen Geist,*" also speaks of Alexander as ambitious (vol. 2, 48-49; 11,847,849,852-67). The *Kaiserchronik* mentions Alexander as one of the beasts in Daniel's vision:

Daz êrste tier was ain liebarte;

der vier arenvetech habete,
der bezaichinet den Chrîchisken Alexandrum,
der mit vier hern vuor after lande,
unz er der werlt ende rechande.
(Schröder 536-40; cf. Dan. 7:6)

Rudolf von Ems identifies Alexander as the brass part of Nebuchadnezzar's dream image traditionally associated with Greece (15541-54; cf Dan. 2:32, 39). Dan. 7:6 corresponds to Dan. 8:6-8, both portraying the rise of Greece and Alexander in particular, as was believed in the Middle Ages. Alexander appears allegorically as a four-winged, four-headed leopard (Dan. 7:6), symbolic of swift conquest and, in the next chapter, he appears as a swift-moving goat that defeats a two-horned ram, symbolic of the duality of the Medo-Persian Empire (Dan. 8:6-8; Gellinek 19-20; Cary 120).

222. Emmerson, *Antichrist* 28; Rauh 31-32, 154, 410; Cary 121-22, 124 and "Antichrist," *Handwörterbuch*, vol. 1, 487.

223. The setting up of any image in the Temple was considered a sacrilege by the Jews. Roman governors after Pilate attempted to introduce busts of the Emperor into the Temple but met with opposition (Cohn, *Trial* 10).

224. All references to I Macc. are drawn from The Revised English Bible with The Apocrypha.

225. I Macc., following Daniel's wording, says that Antiochus set up "the abomination of desolation" on the a altar of the Lord (I Macc. 1:54). See Emmerson, *Antichrist* 28; Kursawa 51-52; Sackur 105; Konrad, *De Ortu* 79-80; I Macc. 1:47-48; Dan. 11:31; 12:11; Matt. 24:15. *Die poetische Bearbeitung des Buches Daniel* does not name Antiochus but the description of some of the actions of an end-time king, which it identifies as the Antichrist, are reminiscent of what Antiochus did:

Da sin herze wirt vil vro,
So hin zu Gotis templo,
Den er roubit und die stat
Jerusalem. nach der pfat
Kumet er in sin riche,
Vloc richtum in im gliche.
(Hübner 7115-20)

226. For a discussion of Antiochus' actions, see Tcherikover 175-203; "Antiochus IV; Epiphanes," *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, 634-35; "Antiochus," *Encyclopedia Judaica*, vol. 2, 74.

227. The first chapter of I Macc. recounts the story of Alexander as a predecessor of Antiochus. Of Alexander's successors, the book says: "They brought untold miseries on the world" (I Macc. 1:9). Antiochus is characterized as an "offshoot of Alexander's successors" (I Macc. 1:10). See Cary 119, 121.

228. Emmerson, *Antichrist* 28-30; Jenschke 49; Wadstein 136; Kursawa 52; Bernheim 73; "Antichrist," *Handwörterbuch*, vol. 1, 487; Adamek 51-55; Rauh 154; Sackur 105; Konrad, *De Ortu* 22, 30, 56, 80, 81-82, 91; Kampers, *Kaiseridee* 9, 14; Kampers, *Alexander* 39.

229. Emmerson, *Antichrist* 28-30; Günther 284-85; Kursawa 53; Kampers, *Kaiseridee* 9, 14. The parallels between the expectation of the return of Nero and the expectation of the return of Friedrich II, either as the Antichrist himself or as an agent of the Antichrist, are discussed by Voigt 143-44 and mentioned by Adamek 121.

230. Attempts by Roman Emperors to suppress Judaism go back as far as the reign of Tiberius, the second Roman Emperor (Cohn, *Trial* 13-14).

231. Pope Urban II referred to this passage in 1095 when he invoked the idea of the Antichrist to justify a Crusade:

> According to Daniel and Jerome, the interpreter of Daniel, he [the Antichrist] is to fix his tents on the Mount of Olives; and it is certain, for the apostle teaches it, that he will sit at Jerusalem in the Temple of the Lord, as though he were God....And the man of sin, the son of perdition, will find some to oppose him. (Krey 38-39)

232. Adamek 17. See also Bryce 21-23, 197; Rauh 160, 390.

233. See also Schlageter 42.

234. Walther, in his poem, "*Fürstenspiegel*" (L 36,11-20), condemns arrogance and maintains that a prince should be generous, peaceloving, loyal, God-fearing and open to the cries of the poor.

235. In the wake of the Reformation many Protestant theologians began to view the Holy Roman Emperor either as the Antichrist himself or as his champion (Bryce 381-82).

236. The poem, "Nabuchodonosor," part of the "Historia Judith," also relates this story. See Maurer, *Die religiösen Dichtungen*, vol. 1, 402-04; 2,1-6; 4,1-7. *Die Erlösung*

contains another anonymous author's version of the same story. See Maurer, *Erlösung* 1847-1902. A story similar to that of Nebuchadnezzar's golden image is told of the Antichrist in the poem, "Von den letzten Dingen" ("Linzer Antichrist"). See Maurer, *Die religiösen Dichtungen*, vol 3, 403; 44,7-18. Michel Beheim's "Vom Antichrist" also relates such a story (vol. 2, 782-83; 355,309-22). The image of the Beast is a common motif in poems and plays dealing with the Antichrist. It is based on Rev. 13:11-18.

In the *Künzelsauer Fronleichnamspiel*, the Antichrist threatens the same punishment to those who will not worship him: "Falt nyder vnd bet mich an,... / Wer das nit thut an diser frist / Ein fewerin off jm berait ist" (Liebenow 5183, 5185-86). The poem, "Von dem Anticriste," has the Antichrist himself threatening everyone with the same punishment as Nebuchadnezzar inflicted on Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego (Haupt 230-36).

Notice that the penalty for refusing to worship the Antichrist or the image is death in a fiery furnace heated to an unprecedented degree, reminiscent of the punishment devised by Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. 3:19). The similarity of the stories underlines why Nebuchanezzar was considered a forerunner of the Antichrist by medieval man.