ANALYZING THE MANUSCRIPT CONTEXTS OF THE MEDIEVAL GERMAN VERSE NOVELLA *DIE KÖNIGIN VON FRANKREICH* (THE QUEEN OF FRANCE)

by

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Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

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Abstract

The expectation that a purchased or borrowed book will be essentially identical across all copies worldwide is a modern notion. Every textual witness, meaning every manuscript (handwritten book) of the Middle Ages has its own value, with unique, specific linguistic, cultural, and temporal conditions reflecting its origin and representing a time-bound cultural knowledge. Each medieval manuscript constitutes an invaluable cultural artifact that provides a window into a literary heritage markedly distinct from our own. The transmission of texts together with other texts compiled in one multi-text manuscript are essential characteristics of medieval textuality.

My dissertation contributes to our knowledge of fifteenth-century German language multi-text manuscripts, which are an essential element of pre-modern literary culture. I examine the multi-text manuscripts containing the Middle High German verse novella *Die Königin von Frankreich* (1400/1402), illuminating the insights they offer into the medieval German audiences' perceptions of their literary heritage. I study manuscripts containing *Die Königin von Frankreich* and other texts, treating each manuscript as a unified entity created for a specific purpose. My goal is to demonstrate that medieval manuscripts and their collections of texts can be a valuable resource for literary studies. By examining the selection and arrangement of texts in multi-text manuscripts, even works like *Die Königin von Frankreich*, which were previously considered artistically inferior, can be appreciated in a new way. One key argument is that the interpretation of individual texts, such as *Die Königin von Frankreich*, is inherently context-dependent, with these works assuming different shades of meaning when surrounded by specific co-texts. Based on the content of the various other texts I establish connections between the collected texts within the respective multi-text manuscript. This examination illustrates that

multi-text manuscripts, which might appear disparate to modern eyes, may have exhibited coherence or unproblematic organization to their original medieval audience.

Keywords: *Die Königin von Frankreich*, verse novella, variance, multi-text manuscript

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Dedication

For Lilli, Lois and Meatball.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The distinguished medievalist Stephen G. Nichols asks an important question when it comes to medieval manuscripts: "[D]o we really register what [medieval manuscripts] have to tell us about the role they played in shaping the culture of their own time? If we don't, it's because we've been conditioned to think of them not for what they actually are, but rather as archaic precursors of printed books, on the one hand, and unreliable witnesses of medieval works, on the other."[1] I agree with Nichols' notion that manuscripts are not mere receptacles but rather important cultural artifacts that can provide an insight into a rich literary heritage in a world different from our own. My dissertation will offer a glimpse into this literary landscape by looking at compiled manuscripts and all of their texts, rather than later created modern editions. The use of editions, which usually only depict individual medieval texts, often causes even literary scholars to forget that medieval texts are usually preserved together with other texts in compiled manuscripts. This also applies to Schondoch's *Die Königin von Frankreich* (The Queen of France), which can, with one notable exception, only be found in collections of texts.

The interest of medievalist research in the phenomenon of collectively transmitted texts, and thus the interest in compiled manuscripts as a significant and important medium of the pre-modern era, has so far remained limited. In this respect, a research gap can be identified. To date, there is a lack of a systematic perspective and a lack of sensitivity to the peculiarities and compilation techniques of manuscript culture. This also has to do with a specific distribution of tasks. Literary studies have the necessary tools to analyze collections of texts, but above all they

1. Stephen G. Nichols, "What is a Manuscript Culture?," in *The Medieval Manuscript Book: Cultural Approaches*, ed. Michael Johnston (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 34.

are interested in individual (and edited) texts. Historical bibliography is concerned with the production and reception of writing but is hardly interested in the poetological dimension of the content of their research objects.

The first guiding hypothesis of this dissertation, therefore, is that the transmission of texts together with other texts is an essential characteristic of medieval textuality and therefore a relevant object of study. In the Middle Ages, individually composed texts were overwhelmingly collected and compiled into manuscripts in which the texts were then read together. The relevance of the collected texts in each case only becomes apparent if the focus is not on authors and individual texts, but rather on the specific connection between co-texts in compiled manuscripts. Texts in compiled manuscripts are by no means always placed next to each other randomly and autonomously. Rather, separate texts or texts that have been removed from a specific transmission context are transferred into other contexts, so that significant connections and structures can develop. These connections and structures may be meaningful and all the texts within a compiled manuscript can form "one" autonomous text in themselves, even if the text compilation appears, to a modern reader or editor, to be inconsistent and disparate at first glance.

In early research, medieval verse novellas/*Mären* were often viewed as literary texts of inferior quality and were simply not recognized as having artistic complexity. This view of verse novellas fundamentally changed in the second half of the twentieth century. Haug's "thesis of the meaninglessness of Mären poetry" marks the transition from an older perspective that admits comparatively little complexity to Mären, to the young and recent Mären research that approaches Mären with a fundamental notion of complexity.[2] Today, medieval verse novellas

2. Silvan Wagner, "Grenzbetrachtungen. Paradoxie, Beobachtung und Sinn in Mären," in *Mären als Grenzphänomen*, ed. Silvan Wagner (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2018), 14f.

increasingly appear to us as complex, multi-layered and carefully composed works of art. This change of perspective has opened the door to a diverse range of research concerning verse novellas (as we will see in Chapter Two discussing research on *Die Königin von Frankreich*). However, there are still many verse novellas to explore further, and there is a wealth of research to be conducted with the manuscript contexts in which they can be found. As Bouwmeester points out, "to ignore works that are less prominently placed in the manuscript or that are less substantial in terms of length [such as verse novellas] is, at best, to miss an opportunity, and, at worst, to gain a distorted view of the multi-text codex."[3] Rather than dismiss such texts as *Die Königin von Frankreich* as miscellaneous filler or bad art, we might instead analyze their effects upon hypothetical readers as influenced by the larger codicological structures in which they appear.[4] Scholars working with medieval multi-text manuscripts have recently shown how quickly academic interest has moved away from the manuscript as a repository of information about a particular text and its author, to the medieval book as a cultural artefact which is worthy of study in its own right.[5] My research focuses on what the manuscript contexts of the verse novella, *Die Königin von Frankreich*, can tell us about medieval German audiences' understandings of their own literature, and thus contributes, in the broadest sense, to building knowledge of the past using a philological approach. It follows sanskritologist Sheldon Pollock's

3. Gerard Bouwmeester, "Size Does Not Matter: On Characterising Medieval Multi-Text Codices," in *The Dynamics of the Medieval Manuscript: Text Collections from a European Perspective*, ed. Karen Pratt et al. (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2017), 57f.

4. Arthur Bahr, "Miscellaneity and Variance in the Medieval Book," in *The Medieval Manuscript Book: Cultural Approaches*, ed. Michael Johnston (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 188.

5. Karen Pratt et al., "Introduction," in *The Dynamics of the Medieval Manuscript: Text Collections from a European Perspective*, ed. Karen Pratt et al. (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2017), 14.

arguments that "philology is, or should be, the discipline of making sense of texts"[6] and that "the sole criterion of interpretation is the data of the text and the conclusions drawn from them."[7] My research is positioned alongside these contemporary medieval scholars.

The second guiding hypothesis of my dissertation is that something in the story of *Die Königin von Frankreich* lends itself to creating meaning in diverse contexts and with many different co-texts, and that it is possible to discover what these "somethings" are by examining the manuscript contexts themselves. My dissertation will show that "an apparently insignificant, critically neglected text [can create] unacknowledged coherence in the seemingly miscellaneous collection of which it is part."[8]

At this point in time, *Die Königin von Frankreich* has not been researched in relation to the 21 different manuscript contexts within which it can be found. Thus, I have chosen *Die Königin von Frankreich* as the central reference text of my research in order to fill in this gap in knowledge. Compared to all other verse novellas, this is an unusually large number of textual witnesses. The newest edition of the *Deutschsprachige Versnovellistik des 13.–15. Jahrhunderts* (*DVN*) lists only three texts out of 176 edited texts that are found in more than ten manuscripts: *Der Sperber* (The Sparrowhawk) with eleven manuscripts, *Die Königin von Frankreich* with 21 manuscripts and *Der König im Bad* (The King in the Baths) with 25 manuscripts. Whereas 73 of the texts edited in the *DVN* are solely found in one manuscript, a further 74 have only survived two to four times, which corresponds to around 83% of the entire corpus. This makes *Die*

6. Sheldon Pollock, "Future Philology? The Fate of a Soft Science in a Hard World," *Critical Inquiry* 35, no. 4 (2009): 933f.

7. Pollock, "Future Philology," 937.

8. Bahr, "Miscellaneity and Variance," 186.

Königin von Frankreich and its 21 manuscripts the verse novella with the second most surviving textual witnesses in a corpus. In contrast, the majority of texts have only survived in one to four manuscripts. Additionally, almost all of the textual witnesses of *Die Königin von Frankreich* exclusively stem from the fifteenth century, which makes it a favorable surveyable time period for my corpus.

I am limiting my research to *Die Königin in Frankreich* in its manuscript contexts, meaning I am examining the texts included in the same multi-text manuscript. My aim is not to draw general conclusions about verse novellas from my individual findings on *Die Königin von Frankreich*. It is rather to highlight that the meaning of single texts like *Die Königin von Frankreich* fluctuates according to context because a work's immediate co-texts can highlight and reinforce the different messages present in these texts. Based on the content of the various other texts, and on genre attribution (medieval notions of genre in so far as these are pragmatically visible in medieval German multi-text manuscripts) I will establish connections between the collected texts within the respective multi-text manuscript. As previous scholars have argued, this analysis aims to show that a multi-text manuscript whose contents and organization appear miscellaneous today may have appeared coherent or at least unproblematic to its original medieval audience.[9] Medieval manuscripts were not mass-produced. Making books by hand was a labor-intensive process, and the creation of each individual book was the result of a conscious decision to make it. There may exist pragmatic reasons for inclusion or exclusion of certain texts (such as the availability of texts), but the very fact that a text was included in a manuscript strongly implies that every individual text should be studied by anyone aiming to understand the book as a whole.

9. Bahr, "Miscellaneity and Variance," 181.

1.1. Object of Study

The focus of my PhD research is a specific text, *Die Königin von Frankreich* (The Queen of France), a short Middle High German tale presumably written in the last decade of the fourteenth century. In this section of the introduction, I provide the reader with basic information about *Die Königin von Frankreich* including plot summary, information about the author and date of composition, previous scholarship and editions, and the manuscript transmission, in order to provide the background required for my detailed presentation and analysis of manuscript contexts.

In *Die Königin von Frankreich*, a good wife (the Queen of France), falsely accused of adultery by a would-be-lover (the marshal), flees her husband's (the King of France) murderous wrath under the protection of a virtuous knight, who the good wife's rebuffed suitor assassinates. This situation has come about because the Queen has rejected the marshal after his secret approach to her begging for her *minne* (love). As revenge the marshal put a dwarf in the sleeping Queen's bed so that the King is convinced his wife has committed adultery. In a rage, the King has killed the dwarf and has spared his wife only because his nephew, Duke Leopold of Austria, reminds him that the Queen is pregnant. Instead, the King orders a knight to lead the Queen into the forest and to burn her after giving birth. However, Duke Leopold has secretly instructed the knight to spare the Queen. The marshal then rides after the knight and murders him, but the Queen manages to escape into the forest and is taken in by a charcoal burner. There she earns her living with artistic embroidery, which the charcoal burner sells in Paris. Meanwhile, the knight's faithful dog does not budge from his master's corpse. Only occasionally does he run to the royal court to get bread from the table. He attacks the marshal every time, until the King finally orders the animal to be killed. The dog seeks refuge with Duke Leopold, who accuses the marshal of

murdering the knight. The King orders a judicial trial between the dog and the marshal, in which the marshal is defeated, proving his guilt. As punishment he dies a cruel death on the wheel. After four years of searching for his wife, the King finally receives a tip from a female merchant, who recognizes the Queen's artistic embroidery. The King goes into the forest and takes her and his son back home. The boy is baptized by the charcoal burner, who is rewarded with rich estates. Aghast at his harsh misjudgment, the husband repents, and the couple is reconciled.

The heart of the story then is a forensic one: the difficulty of discovering the truth. Deceit and dishonor dwell at the heart of the French kingdom because the King allows a perfidious, dishonorable villain to run his affairs. The marshal's wicked actions have taken place in secret, while the entire world openly refracts back onto him the honor that he displays to them. How then, can the marshal's authentic identity as a deceitful, murderous, power-hungry man be made visible in such a world? What can be done when the only witnesses to his crimes are dead, in hiding or of another species? It is indeed the dog who reveals the truth, because the dog is noble, loyal, and fearless. It knows the difference between the non-ambiguous virtue and vice displayed in this melodramatic tale and steps up to defend virtue. This dog's nobility and honor are integral to his nature. His virtue is an inner quality that must and does assert itself.

The many fascinating possibilities for interpreting this text, including its gender politics and melodramatic framing, which I explored in my master's thesis, are not, however, the focus of this dissertation.[10] Rather, it focuses on the ways in which the manuscript contexts, in which *Die Königin von Frankreich* appears, highlight different ways of interpreting it. For the purposes of

10. Jana Koepcke, "The Fifteenth-Century Middle High German Tale 'The Queen of France': Diplomatic Edition and Annotated Translation of Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Heid. Hs. 1012, fol. 249r-254v" (Master Thesis, University of Waterloo, 2018), http://hdl.handle.net/10012/13744.

following my analysis, I ask the reader to hold on to the motif of the falsely accused, long-suffering wife, the character of the good nobleman and only named character, Duke Leopold, and the happy ending which he brings about. These are the key structuring moments of the narrative that play a decisive role in how *Die Königin von Frankreich* is transmitted in the manuscripts.

Die Königin von Frankreich is composed in verse in rhymed couplets and approximately seven hundred lines long, depending on the manuscript version, making it a text of medium length for its time of origin. Research has classified it as a verse novella/*Märe*/short verse narrative. In this dissertation I will use the term verse novella. It survives in 21 manuscripts, in four of them as a fragment, most of them stemming from the fifteenth century:[11]

a: Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 2° Cod. 170, fol. 85r–89v. (616 verses)

b^{10}: Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. O III 15, fol. 17r–32v. (675 verses)

b^{8}: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, mgq 267, fol. 2v–17r. (668 verses)

b^{9}: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, mgq 478, fol. 97r–113v. (649 verses)

b^{5}: Bremen, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, msb 0042-02, fol. 137r–151r. (702 verses)

d^{7}: Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Hs. 724, fol. 108v–115r. (831 verses)

f^{2}: Frankfurt a. M., Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. germ. qu. 111, fol. 66r–70v. (622 verses)

h^{12}: Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. germ. 13, fol. 3–24. (653 verses)

h^{8}: Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Pal. germ. 373, fol. 131v–136r. (695 verses)

h^{9}: Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Pal. germ. 472, fol. 195r–200v. (700 verses)

11. Jutta Strippel, *Schondochs 'Königin von Frankreich': Untersuchungen zur Handschriftlichen Überlieferung und Kritischer Text* (Göppingen: Verlag Kümmerle, 1978), 3.

h[10]: Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Heid. Hs. 1012, fol. 249r–254v. (769 verses)

h[13]: Herzogenburg, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 69, fol. 121r–134v. (666 verses)

i[2]: Innsbruck, Bibliothek des Jesuitenkollegs, Cod. 40024, fol. 140r–144v. (fragment, 244 verses)

l[4]: Lindau, Ehemals Reichsstädtische Bibliothek, Cod. P II 68, fol. 10–22. (724 verses)

n[1]: Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Bibliothek, Hs. 5339a, 225r–240v. (662 verses)

p[2]: Philadelphia (Pennsylvania), University of Pennsylvania, Rare Book & Manuscript Library Collections, Ms. Cod. 824, fol. 48r–61v. (677 verses)

W[10]: Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2675*. (660 verses)

w[12]: Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2800, fol. 143v–147v. (653 verses)

w[13]: Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2880, fol. 167r–174r. (fragment, 447 verses)

w[6]: Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 10100[a], fol. 11v–17v. (fragment, 611 verses)

z: Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Ms. A 122, fol. 372r–382v. (fragment, 470 verses)[12]

Die Königin von Frankreich is missing from the major compilation manuscripts of the fourteenth century. According to Jutta Strippel, this reveals that the poem had not yet been written in the fourteenth century. The oldest known text witness was the Neidensteiner manuscript, which is dated 1402. This, unfortunately, lost Neidensteiner manuscript has been preserved through Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 10100[a], which is in part a copy of the Neidensteiner manuscript from around 1645. Bremen, Staats- und

12. I follow the manuscript abbreviations of Reinhard Berron, *Die Königin von Frankreich*. "Schondoch: Die Königin von Frankreich," in *Deutsche Versnovellistik des 13. bis 15. Jahrhunderts (DVN) Band 3: Nr. 81-124*, ed. Klaus Ridder and Hans-Joachim Ziegeler (Basel: Schwabe Verlag, 2020).

Universitätsbibliothek, msb 0042-02 is only slightly younger than the Neidensteiner manuscript as well (second quarter of the fifteenth century). From the beginning of the fifteenth century also comes a list of 44 books owned by Elisabeth von Volkenstorff, an Austrian noblewoman.[13] This booklist is itself a copy of an earlier list, which dates from around 1400. This document lists *Die Königin von Frankreich* as the last of its 44 entries. This all leads to the belief that *Die Königin von Frankreich* must have therefore been written just before or around 1400/1402.

In only one of the 21 surviving manuscripts is an author by the name *Schondoch* identified. Wien Cod. 10100[a] states on folio 11v in the title that *die chünigin von Frankreich hat geticht ein varunder man der hiez Schöndoch* (The Queen of France was written by a travelling man whose name was Schöndoch). This author name is repeated in the content overview on folio 31r: *Von der Chünigin von Frankreich des Schöndoch* (About The Queen of France by Schöndoch). Rassek confirmed that this Schondoch is the same person to whom the historical-legendary story *Der Litauer* (The Lithuanian) is attributed. *Der Litauer* only survives in one manuscript: Basel, Universitätsbibliothek., Cod. B VIII 27, which was probably written earlier than *Die Königin von Frankreich* because the conversion of Grand Duke Butawt in 1365 was identified as the source material for the conversion of the Lithuanian prince in the story.[14] Schondoch's creative period was therefore narrowed down to 1365–1402. However, his two texts are not transmitted together. Aside from the name and his two poems, not much else is known about Schondoch. This lack of knowledge of an author's identity conforms to the custom

13. Ann Marie Rasmussen and Sarah Westphal-Wihl, *Ladies, Whores, and Holy Women: A Sourcebook in Courtly, Religious, and Urban Cultures of Late Medieval Germany, with Introductory Essays* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2010), 103.

14. Udo Arnold, "Schondoch," in *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, Volume 8, ed. Kurt Ruh et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1992), 821.

that in late medieval German verse novellas and other rhymed couplet short form writing, anonymity is the norm, not the exception.[15]

We can also only speculate about the place of origin of *Die Königin von Frankreich*: Curt Rassek and Heinrich Heintz assumed that the author Schondoch came from the Alemannic region. Rassek settled on Northeastern Switzerland as the origin.[16] However, because of the figure of the Duke of Austria in *Die Königin von Frankreich* (presumably based on Leopold III, the Just, of the Habsburg dynasty), Heintz advocated for the poem to have been created in Further Austria, which Hanns Fischer confirmed in his *Studien zur Deutschen Märendichtung*.[17]

The large number of textual witnesses for a medieval German story suggests that *Die Königin von Frankreich* was very popular in German-speaking lands in the late Middle Ages. Supporting this assertion are further adaptations of the story, among them adaptations in other visual media and genres. Three cycles of visual images, all from the fifteenth century, tell the story visually: an Alsatian wall hanging, now in Nuremberg (1480–1490), frescoes in the great hall in a palace in Corredo, South Tyrol (ca. 1460), and wood cuts illustrating a late medieval poem by Hans Sporer, which was printed in Erfurt in 1498. There is also a tapestry dated 1554 showing sixteen scenes from the story, complete with inscriptions (now in Hamburg).[18]

15. Thomas Bein, *Textkritik: Eine Einführung in Grundlagen Germanistisch-Mediävistischer Editionswissenschaft* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2008), 66.

16. Curt Rassek, "Der 'Littauer' und die 'Königin von Frankreich': Zwei Gedichte von Schondoch" (Dissertation, Universität Breslau, 1899), 48.

17. Heinrich Heintz, *Schondochs Gedichte* (Breslau: M. & H. Marcus Verlag, 1908), 5; Hanns Fischer, *Studien zur Deutschen Märendichtung* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1968), 168f.

18. Walther Killy, *Killy Literaturlexikon: Autoren und Werke des Deutschsprachigen Kulturraumes*, Volume 10, ed. Wilhelm Kühlmann (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 552.

Other surviving versions of *Die Königin von Frankreich* are the prose chronicle version *Königin von Frankreich, Cronica* (1465) and the *Meistersang of Die Königin von Frankreich* by Hans Sachs from the mid sixteenth century.[19] Nicole Eichenberger was able to show that with the beginning of the tradition of the *Meisterlied Die Königin von Frankreich und der ungetreue Marschall* (1498), the tradition of the verse narrative decreased and eventually disappeared. Thus, one narrative form was replaced by the other in print form.[20]

1.1.1. Source Studies and Related Material

The story of *Die Königin von Frankreich*, the narrative material, can likely be traced back to the *Legend of Sibyl* and the Old French chanson de geste *Macaire*. Both revolve around a falsely accused Queen plot. The *Legend of Sibyl* revolves around Sibyl, the daughter of the Emperor of Constantinople, who is courted by Charlemagne. Sibyl eventually follows him to France and marries him. As the plot progresses, the motif of the unjustly rejected wife is taken up: an unsightly dwarf tries to sleep with the Queen but is fended off by her. The dwarf then crawls into Sibyl's bed while Charlemagne is away, so that when he returns, Charlemagne believes that his pregnant wife has committed adultery and first wants to have her burned, but ultimately banishes her. Accompanied by a loyal farmer, Sibyl endures many adventures in exile, gives birth to her son Ludwig, and finally returns to Constantinople. Her father leads his forces against France to force Charlemagne to take back his wife. After many complications, Charlemagne is finally convinced by Sibyl's friends that he has acted unjustly and that the

19. Killy, *Killy Literaturlexikon*, 552.

20. Nicole Eichenberger, *Geistliches Erzählen: Zur Deutschsprachigen Religiösen Kleinepik des Mittelalters* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), 526.

Queen's enemies deserve death.[21] The Old French *Macaire* (late twelfth century) tells the story of Macaire, an evil courtier whom the Queen rebuffs, taking his revenge by arranging that the Queen be found in bed with a dwarf. Charlemagne, her husband, discovers her in this compromising situation. Macaire urges that she be exiled. She undergoes various tribulations but is eventually vindicated, returning in triumph to her position at Charlemagne's side. Both stories (*Legend of Sibyl* and *Macaire*) are part of the European Charlemagne tradition, who was the first Holy Roman Emperor in the eighth and ninth centuries.[22]

Die Königin von Frankreich also shares motifs with the German *Genovefa Legend*, another plot featuring a falsely accused wife. Genoveva/Genovefa of Brabant, not to be confused with Genoveva/Genovefa of Paris, lived, according to legend, in the eighth century and was the daughter of a Duke of Brabant and the wife of Count Palatine Siegfried. It is, however, unlikely that she existed as a historical person. When Count Palatine Siegfried (as the King's liegeman) went to war, Genoveva was desired by Siegfried's governor Golo. However, his courtship was spurned by the faithful Genoveva. Golo then accused Genoveva of adultery with a cook and sentenced her to death. However, she was spared and released by the executioner. She then lived with her newborn son for six years in a cave, where the Blessed Mother Mary looked after them with a deer, that nursed them. Eventually, her husband Siegfried, who always believed in her innocence but accepted Golo's decision as governor, found her again during a hunt and built a pilgrimage church in thanks to Genoveva's salvation. After the true course of the story was revealed, Golo was quartered at the behest of Siegfried. Starting in the thirteenth century,

21. Hans Hugo Steinhoff, "Elisabeth von Nassau-Saarbrücken," in *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, Volume 2, ed. Kurt Ruh et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1980), 485.

22. Leslie Zarker Morgan, "The Reine Sibille/Macario Story and the Charlemagne Cycle throughout Europe: A Re-Examination of the Franco-Italian Macario," *Italica* 78, no. 1 (2001): 3f.

Genoveva was viewed as a saint and shortly after became a popular legendary figure in Germany, Belgium, France, and the Netherlands.[23]

The fact that the Queen in *Die Königin von Frankreich* is identified by her embroidery and subsequently found because of her craftsmanship is a new motif, but one that can also be found in another verse novella called *Der Bussard* (The Buzzard). *Der Bussard* (early fourteenth century) is about a young English prince who falls in love with the French King's daughter at the Paris court. Although she is already promised to the King of Morocco, she becomes engaged to the prince. They elope but are separated by a buzzard during their escape. The princess finds shelter in a mill, where she earns her living through fine needlework. A passing duchess recognizes her noble ancestry and takes her to her castle. While the feral prince, who has gone mad after their separation and has been living like a beast in the wilderness, is rescued and civilized again by the duchess' husband, the Duke. The lovers finally find each other again and seal their happiness with a celebratory wedding at the English court.[24] Just like *Die Königin von Frankreich*, *Der Bussard* also survives in other media: two Alsatian tapestries from the end of the fifteenth century show several scenes of *Der Bussard*.[25]

23. Frans van Molle, "Genovefa von Brabant," in *Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie: Sechster Band Ikonographie der Heiligen Crescentianus von Tunis bis Innocentia*, ed. Wolfgang Braunfels (Freiburg: Verlag Herder, 1974), 360f.

24. Hans-Friedrich Rosenfeld, "'Der Bussard' (früher 'Der Busant')," in *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, Volume 1, ed. Kurt Ruh et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1978), 1146.

25. Rosenfeld, "'Der Bussard'," 1147.

1.1.2. The Title

Modern scholarship has given this tale the title *Die Königin von Frankreich* (The Queen of France). While this title appears in some medieval manuscripts, more frequently other titles are used as well. Variations in the title are not unusual in the Middle Ages, an era characterized by its oral tradition long before manuscripts even existed so that stories were passed on from person to person and altered at their convenience.[26] The shifting titles also point to the editorial control exercised by the scribes who compiled the manuscripts. Most surviving manuscripts title the tale *Der König von Frankreich* (The King of France): *Des konings boich von franckrich* (The book of the king of France); *von ainem andern küng von frankrich vnd von sinem wib* (About another king of France and his wife); *vom künig Von franckrych* (About the king of France); *der künigk von franckhreich Vnd sein fraw* (The king of France and his lady); *Vom künig von franckreich* (About the king of France).[27] In fact, only a few of the medieval manuscripts call the text *Die Königin von Frankreich* (The Queen of France): *Vonn der kunegin vonn franckreich* (About the queen of France); *kingin zu franckenreich* (queen of France); *von der kuniginn von Franckreich* (About the queen of France); *Die Chünigin von Franckreich* (The queen of France).[28] One other medieval witness uses the title *Die Königin von Frankreich*: the earlier mentioned Elisabeth von Volkenstorff's list of 44 books lists *chunigin von Frankenreich* as the last of its 44 entries, meaning another contemporary textual witness.[29] And only one of the

26. Bein, *Textkritik*, 29.

27. Strippel, *Schondochs 'Königin von Frankreich'*, 211.

28. Strippel, *Schondochs 'Königin von Frankreich'*, 211.

29. Rasmussen and Westphal-Wihl, *Ladies, Whores, and Holy Women*, 103.

surviving manuscripts calls the tale *Der Hund von Frankreich* (The Dog of France): *Von dem hunt von franckreich* (About the dog of France).

The title *Der König von Frankreich* (The King of France) is plausible as well, because in many important ways the King, and not the Queen, is the main character. He is a just ruler with far-reaching influence, taking action and making decisions. Yet, he makes a terrible mistake in anger, which he bitterly regrets and corrects passionately. At the same time the dog marks the pivotal point of the tale. The dog's example of fierce and steadfast loyalty unto death sets a standard. The dog and the Queen, whose stories are intertwined, although they never meet in the story – at least we are not told of it, even though they presumably must have met on the trip through the forest when the knight is killed – are like one another in unexpected ways. Both communicate primarily through actions and not words: the dog through his attacks and the Queen through her embroidery. Both are steadfast, loyal, and in their own ways unyielding. The dog is a noteworthy character with clever but at the same time dog-appropriate behavior like snatching bread from the table. Yet, most versions, as we will see later, tell the tale in a manner that is focused on how the Queen remained steadfast and virtuous throughout all the turmoil. It is a good wife story. Hence, I have followed scholarly consensus by using the title *Die Königin von Frankreich*, in part because that makes it easier for modern scholars to know what I am referring to, but also because most manuscripts present a version of this text that makes this title plausible.

1.1.3. Existing Research and Editions

Recent research has examined *Die Königin von Frankreich* from very different angles. Joëlle Fuhrmann places the hinted-at punishments and the punishments carried out in the tale in their legal context and points out that pregnant women were under special protection, that to be

sentenced to the stake was an atypical punishment for adultery, and that the court battle was highly unlikely.[30] Hansjürgen Linke mentions the Queen as part of a list of characters who must earn their living.[31] For Andrea Schallenberg, the marshal courting the Queen as a man of lower social status is noteworthy.[32] Sibylle Jefferis has written an article related to integrating the newfound manuscript Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Heid. Hs. 1012 (h^{10}) within the other 20 earlier found and recorded manuscripts.[33] Jefferis' additional research focuses on other adaptations of *Die Königin von Frankreich* such as the Silesian prose adaptation *Cronica* and the Meisterlied of *Die Königin von Frankreich*.[34] Jefferis also compares *Die Königin von Frankreich*

30. Joëlle Fuhrmann, *La Représentation de la Femme dans la 'Nouvelle' Allemande du Moyen Âge Tardif: Description de quelques Schémas Normatifs de L'imaginaire Masculin et Patriarcal* (Lausanne: Peter Lang, 1996), 176-180.

31. Hansjürgen Linke, "Wertewandel im Widerschein Kleinepischer Versdichtung des Späten Mittelalters," *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum und Deutsche Literatur* 135, no. 4 (2006): 465f.

32. Andrea Schallenberg, *Spiel mit Grenzen: Zur Geschlechterdifferenz in Mittelhochdeutschen Verserzählungen* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2012), 174.

33. Sibylle Jefferis, "Die Neuaufgefundene Heidelberger Handschrift von Schondochs 'Königin von Frankreich und der Ungetreue Marschall': Ihre Einordnung in die Übrige Handschriftenüberlieferung," in *New Texts, Methodologies, and Interpretations in Medieval German Literature (Kalamazoo Papers 1992-1995)*, ed. Sibylle Jefferis (Göppingen: Verlag Kümmerle, 1999).

34. Sibylle Jefferis, "Die Schlesische Prosabearbeitung 'Cronica' von Schondochs 'Königin von Frankreich und der Ungetreue Marschall': Untersuchung und Neuedition," in *Medieval German Textrelations: Translations, Editions, and Studies (Kalamazoo Papers 2010-2011)*, ed. Sibylle Jefferis (Göppingen: Verlag Kümmerle, 2012); Sibyle Jefferis, "The 'Cronica von der Königin von Frankreich': The Prose Adaptation of Schondoch's Novella," in *Nu Lôn' Ich Iu Der Gâbe: Festschrift for Francis G. Gentry*, ed. Ernst Ralf Hintz (Göppingen: Verlag Kümmerle, 2003); Sibylle Jefferis, "'Das Meisterlied von der Königin von Frankreich': Ihre Geschichte in Text und Bildern," in *Current Topics in Medieval German Literature: Texts and Analyses (Kalamazoo Papers 2000-2006)*, ed. Sibylle Jefferis (Göppingen: Verlag Kümmerle, 2008).

to other medieval texts.[35] Nicola Zotz highlights the fact that the rare case of an individually transmitted short verse narrative text can be found in Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2675*.[36] Nicole Eichenberger examines the transmission context of *Die Königin von Frankreich* and shows that five of the 20 multi-text manuscripts are compiled of spiritual texts which highlight that the virtues of the Queen "are placed in both a secular and a spiritual framework of interpretation."[37]

There exist eight editions of *Die Königin von Frankreich* and two translations. Strippel's historical-critical text edition from 1978 used to be the most recent one.[38] In it, Strippel considered the 19 manuscripts available to her at the time. Heidelberg Heid. Hs. 1012 (h^{10}) and Lindau Cod. P II 68 (l^4) were not among them. Strippel's edition is a historical-critical edition based on Bremen msb 0042-02 (b^5) but takes into account all 19 manuscripts known to her at the time.[39] The most recent edition of *Die Königin von Frankreich* can be found in the *Deutsche Versnovellistik des 13. bis 15. Jahrhunderts* (*DVN*), which uses four different manuscripts as

35. Sibylle Jefferis, "Königin-Junger Prinz-Beziehungen in der 'Königin von Frankreich', in 'Parzival' und dem 'Nibelungenlied'," in *Current Topics in Medieval German Literature: Texts and Analyses (Kalamazoo Papers 2000-2006)*, ed. Sibylle Jefferis (Göppingen: Verlag Kümmerle, 2008); Sibylle Jefferis, "Schondochs Märe 'Die Königin von Frankreich und der Ungetreue Marschall' im Vergleich mit dem 'Sibillenroman' von Elisabeth von Nassau-Saarbrücken," in *Text Analyses and Interpretations: In Memory of Joachim Bumke (Kalamazoo Papers 2012-2013)*, ed. Jefferis Sibylle (Göppingen: Verlag Kümmerle, 2013).

36. Nicola Zotz, "Sammeln als Interpretieren: Paratextuelle und Bildliche Kommentare von Kurzerzählungen in Zwei Sammelhandschriften des Späten Mittelalters," *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum und Deutsche Literatur* 143, no. 3 (2014): 349, 362.

37. Eichenberger, *Geistliches Erzählen*, 334: "sowohl in einen weltlichen als auch in einen geistlichen Deutungsrahmen gestellt werden."

38. Strippel, *Schondochs 'Königin von Frankreich'*.

39. Terminology such as *historical-critical edition* is explained in detail in Chapter Two.

reference manuscripts: Bremen msb 0042-02 (b^5), Basel Cod. O III 15 (b^{10}), Frankfurt a. M. Ms. germ. qu. 111 (f^2) and Heidelberg Cod. Pal. germ. 373 (h^8).[40] Strippel also established the following manuscript groups, which form dialectal units: the Alemannic group (b^5, h^{13}, n^1, z, and l), the Austrian group (b^{10}, a, d^7, p^2, b^9, and h^{10}), the Rhine Franconian group (f^2, h^{12}, b^8, W^{10}, w^{12}, w^6, and i^2) and the Bavarian group (h^8, h^9, and w^{13}).[41] The two manuscripts h^{10} and l^4, which were unknown to Strippel, have been assigned to the existing groups by Jefferis (h^{10}) and by Berron in the *DVN* (l^4) respectively.[42] The four-column set of the edition in the *DVN* is based on this grouping of the manuscripts. Other older editions can be found here:

1829 — Eberhard Gottlieb Graff's *Diutiska: Denkmäler Deutscher Sprache und Literatur aus alten Handschriften* (uses Wien Cod. 2800)[43]

1833 — N. Meyer's and E. F. Mooyer's *Altdeutsche Dichtungen: Aus der Handschrift* (uses Bremen msb 0042-02)[44]

1850 — Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen's *Gesamtabenteuer: Hundert Altdeutsche Erzählungen* (uses Wien Cod. 2800)[45]

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40. Berron, "Schondoch: Die Königin von Frankreich."

41. Strippel, *Schondochs 'Königin von Frankreich'.*

42. Jefferis, "Die Neuaufgefundene Heidelberger Handschrift;" Berron, "Schondoch: Die Königin von Frankreich."

43. Eberhard Gottlieb Graff, *Diutiska: Denkmäler Deutscher Sprache und Literatur, aus Alten Handschriften*, Volume III (Stuttgart/Tübingen: J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung, 1829), 378-397.

44. Nicolaus Meyer and Ernst Friedrich Mooyer, *Altdeutsche Dichtungen: Aus der Handschrift Herausgegeben* (Quedlingburg: Druck und Verlag von Gotfried Basse, 1833), 52-62.

45. Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen, *Gesamtabenteuer: Hundert Altdeutsche Erzählungen*, Volume 1 (Stuttgart/Tübingen: J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung, 1850), 169-188.

1908 — Heinrich Heintz' *Schondochs Gedichte* (uses Bremen msb 0042-02)[46]

1912 — Franz Hotzy's "Eine Unbekannte Handschrift mit zwei Mittelhochdeutschen Gedichten" (uses Innsbruck Cod. 40024)[47]

2018 — Jana Koepcke's *The Fifteenth-Century Middle High German Tale "The Queen of France"* (uses Heidelberg Heid. Hs. 1012)[48]

There also exist two translations, one into Modern German and one into Modern English. Lemmer's *Deutschsprachige Erzähler des Mittelalters* provides a skillful translation from Middle High German to Modern Day German of *Die Königin von Frankreich*, while my master's thesis provides a translation from Middle High German to Modern Day English.[49]

1.1.4. Discussion of Genre

A large number of short medieval verse novellas in German such as *Die Königin von Frankreich* have been preserved to this day. With a few identifiable exceptions (especially *exempla* [German *Exempel*] and legends), these short narratives are written in rhymed couplets (like courtly epics). There are no cyclical compilations; each work stands alone. To date, scholars do not agree on the correct terminological name (*novella*, *verse novella*, *Märe*, etc.) of

46. Heintz, *Schondochs Gedichte*, 77-139.

47. Franz Hotzy, "Eine Unbekannte Handschrift mit Zwei Mittelhochdeutschen Gedichten," *Wiener Studien: Zeitschrift für Klassische Philologie; Supplement der Zeitschrift für die Österr. Gymnasien* 63 (1912): 1064-1070.

48. Koepcke, "The Queen of France," 27-74.

49. Manfred Lemmer, *Deutschsprachige Erzähler des Mittelalters Band 1* (Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1977), 370-383; Koepcke, "The Queen of France," 75-120.

this small epic genre. How one should define them as a group and even define their boundaries is an open question. As was noted earlier, I will mostly be using the term *verse novella*, because the term has less connotations associated with perceived genre attribution such as the term *Märe*.

German verse novellas began to appear in the second third of the thirteenth century. Together with other small poetic forms in rhymed couplets, rhyming speeches (which are called *rede*) and exempla (which are called *bispel*), verse novellas first appear in the work of *Der Stricker*. His name, which means *The Knitter*, is a pseudonym; his real name has been lost. Der Stricker was a traveling professional poet, most likely a commoner, from the second quarter of the thirteenth century, who probably created most of his work in Austria. He originally established verse novellas and shaped their image.[50] The type of verse novellas he created remained the reference point for a long time: stringently targeted storytelling, little concern for psychological verisimilitude, aimed at conveying fundamental insights into norm-conforming behavior, distant, third-person narrator who rarely takes a stance on the action, restrained comedy, which primarily comes from the uncommented and self-evident narrating of nonsensical behavior. Such medieval verse novellas, which were designed for their demonstrative purpose and illustrated the rules of human coexistence, as coined by Der Stricker, were continued in the thirteenth century. As with Der Stricker, and especially in verse novellas of later centuries, the preferred field of demonstration for the rules of human coexistence and their failure was the relationship between men and women. Verse novellas are also associated with the end of the Middle Ages as they do not extend beyond the fifteenth century.

50. Mike Malm, "Der Stricker," in *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon: Das Mittelalter. Band 5: Epik (Vers-Strophe-Prosa) und Kleinformen*, ed. Wolfgang Achnitz (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), 369f.

The first attempt at a comprehensive compilation of verse novellas was Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen's *Gesamtabenteuer: Hundert Altdeutsche Erzählungen*, published in 1850, which represented less of a complete documentation of a verse novella corpus (which had not yet been defined in terms of genre) than rather a collection of folkloric texts.[51] Hanns Fischer was the first to discuss verse novellas as a type of text separate from the other small-epic narrative forms in his 1968 published work *Studien zur Deutschen Märendichtung*.[52] Fischer's research for the first time examined verse novellas, or as he called them *Mären*, as a group of texts and wanted to establish this group as a genre. The term *Märe* comes from the Middle High German word *maere*, which meant news, report, or simply story. However, Fischer defines Mären as "an independent and self-serving narrative of medium scope (i.e., roughly 150 to 2000 verses), versified in rhymed couplets. The subject of which is fictional, worldly-profane events viewed from worldly aspects and presented with exclusively (or predominantly) human personnel."[53]

In his work, Fischer carried out a systematic investigation of the constitutive characteristics of the texts he described as Mären, which resulted in a much-discussed definition and in a not unchallenged but still largely established text corpus of verse novellas. According to Fischer there are three basic types and twelve themes of Mären: the moral-didactic Märe (demonstration of general human vices); the courtly, gallant Märe (knightly *aventiure*/adventures

51. Hagen, *Gesamtabenteuer: Hundert Altdeutsche Erzählungen*.

52. Fischer, *Studien zur Deutschen Märendichtung*.

53. Fischer, *Studien zur Deutschen Märendichtung*, 62f.: "eine in paarweise gereimten Viertaktern versifizierte, selbstständige und eigenzweckliche Erzählung mittleren (d.h. durch die Verszahlen 150 bis 2000 ungefähr umgrenzten) Umfangs, deren Gegenstand fiktive, diesseitig-profane und unter weltlichen Aspekten betrachtete, mit ausschließlich (oder vorwiegend) menschlichem Personal vorgestellte Vorgänge sind."

– loyal *minne*/love); the farce Märe (cunning arrangement of marriage fraud – clever rescue from impending danger; successful discovery and punishment of adultery; marital tests of strength and fidelity; seduction and erotic naivety – *priapeia*/central role of genitals; mockery of lovers and revenge of the mocked; mischievous pranks and clever deceptions; comical misunderstandings).[54] For Fischer, *Die Königin von Frankreich* is a courtly gallant Märe, representing a variant on the theme of loyal *minne*/love. He considers the tale "a story of the *femme chaste* type that describes the fate of a princess who has been unfairly slandered and persecuted because of her loyalty to her husband."[55] This is a definition with which I agree.

Although most researchers agree that the texts compiled by Fischer somehow belong together, his definition of the Märe as a genre is controversial. The medieval conception of genres is characterized by vagueness and openness, thus making it difficult for researchers to apply (modern) genre systems. This is apparent in the discussion about this category of verse novellas.[56] Arend Mihm, another scholar researching verse novellas in depth, rightly points out that the "small secular rhymed couplet tales … back then [in the Middle Ages] were not yet viewed as a separate genre in the way that they are now seen in literary history research."[57]

Since Hagen's *Gesamtabenteuer*, instead of a description of the design technique (including the question of basic models and principles of verse novellas), there has been a

54. Fischer, *Studien zur Deutschen Märendichtung*, 94-100.

55. Fischer, *Studien zur Deutschen Märendichtung*, 99: "eine Erzählung vom *femme-chaste*-Typ, die die Schicksale einer wegen ihrer Gattentreue ungerecht verleumdeten und verfolgten Fürstin schildert."

56. Zotz, *Sammeln als Interpretieren*, 350.

57. Arend Mihm, *Überlieferung und Verbreitung der Märendichtung im Spätmittelalter* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1967), 41: "kleinen weltlichen Reimpaarerzählungen … damals noch nicht in der Weise als eigene Gattung betrachtet wurden, wie es in der literaturgeschichtlichen Forschung üblich ist."

discussion of the problematic nature of the genre that was raised by Fischer's definition of the Mären-genre and the corresponding text corpus of Mären. This concept of Mären is problematic because it summarizes heterogeneous textual material without being able to specify concise characteristics. Hans-Joachim Ziegeler describes Fischer's Mären-corpus as "a kind of 'remainder' of medieval German literature…; It is a remainder that is … only distinguished by the fact that it no longer contains a number of literary forms, genres, types, types of texts, etc."[58] Fischer's text corpus is, therefore, not a genre in the positive sense as he defined it, but rather a collection of texts of relatively heterogeneous provenance, whose individual subgroups differ respectively concerning one feature of one of the genres, which Fischer distinguished his *Mären* from (*examplum/bispel*, verse novel and rhyming speech/*rede*—especially *Minnerede*).[59] The artificial and inadequate concept of *Mären* is among other things shown in its blurring boundaries with the *bispel* genre. All small epic literary genres such as *Mären*, *bispel*, legends, *exempla* or fables are closely related. Even though the term *maere* can be found in a wide variety of medieval texts since the middle of the thirteenth century, the term is used there rather in a very broad sense and can also mean "source, material" or "content of a story". And although Fischer utilized the medieval use of the term in his research, this generic designation is considered problematic because it leads to the idea of a medieval genre consciousness in the modern sense.

58. Hans-Joachim Ziegeler, *Erzählen im Spätmittelalter: Mären im Kontext von Minnereden, Bispeln und Romanen* (München: Artemis Verlag, 1985), 29: "eine Art 'Rest' der mittelalterlichen deutschen Literatur …; es ist ein Rest, der nicht positive wie in Fischers Märendefinition bestimmt, sondern nur dadurch ausgezeichnet ist, daß [!] in ihm eine Reihe von Gattungen, Genera, Typen, Textsorten o.ä. nicht mehr enthalten ist."

59. *exemplum* = moral anecdote/didactic moral teachings used to illustrate a point; *Minnerede* = form of late medieval short rhyming speech reflecting on courtly love (*minne*)

In addition, verse novellas make use of a wide variety of literary traditions and hardly reveal any tradition-establishing unity in their thematic design.

Given these discrepancies, verse novella research is faced with a variety of open questions to be answered. Ziegeler, for instance, in his *Erzählen im Spätmittelalter*: *Mären im Kontext von Minnereden, Bispeln und Romanen* in 1985, describes his collection of 268 texts as Mären, following Fischer's definition, without associating the status of a genre with this definition for the texts.[60] While Fischer's corpus consisted of 219 texts, Ziegeler examined 268 texts (219 texts that Fischer defined as Mären + 44 which Fischer referred to as borderline cases + 5 texts which Fischer defined as *bispel*). Ziegeler furthermore failed to come up with a general design technique of Mären as "[e]very attempt ... to reduce the design technique of these texts to a manageable formula no longer proved effective on the next text."[61]

The strongest opposition to Fischer came from Walter Haug in 1993. He did not believe in the existence of the genre Mären in general and even went so far as to place these texts in a completely "genre-free space."[62] However, in line with most other researchers, I do not want to completely abandon the concept of such a definition. There is a general consensus among medieval scholars that there existed something like Mären or novella-like storytelling in the Middle Ages. In 1999, Klaus Grubmüller was able to convincingly show that every medieval text

60. Ziegeler, *Erzählen im Spätmittelalter*, 33.

61. Ziegeler, *Erzählen im Spätmittelalter*, VI: "[j]eder Versuch … die Gestaltungstechnik dieser Texte auf eine handliche Formel zu bringen, bewährte sich am nächsten Text, den man einbezog nicht mehr."

62. Walter Haug "Entwurf zu einer Theorie der Mittelalterlichen Kurzerzählung," in *Kleinere Erzählformen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Walter Haug and Burghart Wachinger (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1993), 6: "daß [!] man es hierbei mit einem Erzählen im gattungsfreien Raum zu tun hat."

is to be understood in relation to other texts and therefore as part of one or more "text series."[63] I follow Grubmüller's understanding of Mären and do not think of it as a textual category that obeys established rules but rather understand medieval genres as the result of many texts that relate to each other.

Since Hagen's *Gesamtabenteuer* in 1850, various researchers have attempted either to bring order to this medley of texts or to present them in a better form based on more detailed studies of the manuscripts. As mentioned earlier, the most recent attempt is the *DVN*, for which Klaus Ridder and Hans-Joachim Ziegeler, together with a large team of researchers, have undertaken the task of editing German verse novellas from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century. They proceed in such a way that they edit the respective verse novella according to a reference manuscript. The edition includes over 100,000 verses. Unfortunately, which pattern and reasoning was used to organize or select the mass of texts is neither clear in terms of content nor chronologically, nor according to the manuscript as well.

1.2. Structure of Dissertation

I begin my dissertation by providing scholarly context for conducting the case studies of *Die Königin von Frankreich*. Chapter Two touches upon the fields and theories of medieval multi-text manuscripts, including compilation and variance, followed by a discussion of *textual criticism* versus *new philology* versus *überlieferungsgeschichtliche Methode*. I also briefly highlight the importance of codicological research, as well as of digital philology. The

63. Klaus Grubmüller, "Gattungskonstitution im Mittelalter," in *Mittelalterliche Literatur und Kunst im Spannungsfeld von Hof und Kloster. Ergebnisse der Berliner Tagung 9.-11. Oktober 1997*, ed. Nigel F. Palmer and Hans-Jochen Schiewer (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1999), 209.

methodologies and approaches mentioned in Chapter Two originated in the nineteenth century. They have since undergone continual refinement, often in response to methodological and theoretical discussions in the field. These include concepts such as authorship, manuscript and textual coherence and variance, and the significance of material studies in supporting assertions related to the medieval literary legacy. The segments within this chapter establish the scholarly frameworks necessary for comprehending the way I have conducted my analyses and arrived at my conclusions.

Chapters Three, Four and Five are the focus of my research work: the case studies of *Die Königin von Frankreich*. Each of these three chapters is organized in the following way as the investigation of manuscripts as a source for literary studies requires a two-step approach. First, I analyze the manuscripts and their materiality, that is, analyzing the layout, the quire and fascicle structures and the distribution of the texts on those quires and fascicles, etc. For this I have consulted existing library catalogue descriptions, which mostly identify the texts in multi-text manuscripts correctly, and I have conducted my own analysis of the digitized manuscripts. In this way, I can determine to what extent the manuscripts are conceptually planned text compilations or whether they are retroactively compiled parts that did not originally belong together. I have also investigated traces of use in the form of marginal notes, ownership notes and the like, as these offer important clues in the reconstruction of the environments in which the manuscripts were created and used.

Secondly, I follow this with an analysis of the texts in order to capture their content and possible thematic-semantic relationships between co-texts, which goes beyond the mere spatial proximity of the texts within one manuscript. The 20 multi-text manuscripts in which *Die Königin von Frankreich* is compiled represent a wide array of medieval German texts and

genres, including historical and religious writing. For this reason, my dissertation research has required me to familiarize myself with many different medieval German texts in what amounts to a source-based overview of the literary history of fifteenth-century German literature. For this research and analysis, I have consulted a multitude of reference works, such as the reference books of *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon* (a significant resource for scholars of medieval German literature), editions, and other relevant scholarship on the texts in my case studies.[64] One criterion for identifying connections between texts are the various communicative functions of the manuscripts. To do this, the manuscript as a whole must be taken into account, which makes what might be called a "communication offer" to readers based on a specific topic and editorial decisions. By communication offer I mean that manuscripts, by emphasizing or deemphasizing certain content, have a guiding effect on readers and their reception and meaning making. Where possible, I put these communication offers into cultural and institutional contexts by examining the practices of usage, the respective audience, and the connection to specific social groups to which the respective text collection is aimed. It is important for my research to find out how the texts within a compiled manuscript relate to each other and whether there are criteria according to which texts are selected and combined. Finally, I derive arguments from these respective findings and draw conclusions about the meaning of the coherences and differences I have found.

It is important to note that the compiler's or patron's intention is just one factor among many that possibly influenced the compilation of specific texts, because impulses for the

64. *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon* contains comprehensive encyclopedic entries and analyses dedicated to individual authors and anonymous works. Primarily focusing on German literature from the high and late Middle Ages, as well as certain Latin works from the same period, this encyclopedia provides invaluable insights into this important literary era.

selecting and combining texts could also have come from unifying situations and discourses. By this I mean that when specific texts encounter each other, meaningful structures and thus meanings can also be constituted beyond any compiler's or patron's will. These meanings are still symptomatically related to events, intentions, views, interests or habits of certain social groups and certain social milieux. As we will see, compiled manuscripts are able to reveal these socio-cultural connections.

The examination of text arrangements in multi-text manuscripts sheds new light on the understanding of texts such as *Die Königin von Frankreich*. My dissertation is therefore not limited to simply reconstructing the contexts of use. Rather, I examine and establish connections between a single text (*Die Königin von Frankreich*) and its co-texts in Chapters Three, Four and Five. In Chapter Three, I will show that, from a reception-oriented perspective, a text in the Middle Ages could be turned into a religious-didactic narrative not only through religious text elements, but also through its transmission context—Herzogenburg Cod. 69 (h^{13}), Berlin mgq 267 (b^{8}), Philadelphia (Pennsylvania) Ms. Cod. 824 (p^{2}), Berlin mgq 478 (b^{9}), Heidelberg Cod. Pal. germ. 472 (h^{9}), Wien Cod. 2800 (w^{12}), and Innsbruck Cod. 40024 (i^{2}). In Chapter Four, the focus lies on the understanding of *Die Königin von Frankreich* with a connection to historiographic texts—Zürich Ms. A 122 (z), Wien Cod. 10100^{a} (w^{6}), Frankfurt a. M. Ms. germ. qu. 111 (f^{2}), and Augsburg 2° Cod. 170 (a). Chapter Five delves into the representation of *Die Königin von Frankreich* in manuscripts with other texts crafted to engage and delight audiences through compelling narratives and storytelling techniques—Heidelberg Cod. Pal. germ. 373 (h^{8}) and Heidelberg Heid. Hs. 1012 (h^{10}). Unfortunately, I did not have the opportunity to thoroughly analyze five multi-text manuscripts missing from these chapters—Bremen msb 0042-02 (b^{5}), Darmstadt Hs. 724 (d^{7}), Hamburg Cod. germ. 13 (h^{12}), Nürnberg Hs. 5339a (n^{1}), and Wien Cod.

2880 (w^{13}). Nevertheless, I have identified an intriguing pattern of combining moral didactic and entertaining literature in these manuscripts, which is worthy of further research. The manuscripts feature various forms and genres of wisdom literature, including collections attributed to the poets Freidank and Teichner, as well as a substantial rhymed couplet text known as *Der Renner* (The Pawn), which is a lamentation of sins, sermon of repentance, moral teaching and popularizing knowledge compendium all in one, making it a popular vernacular encyclopedia — a form of proto-sociology.

Chapter Six discusses the meaning and implications of Chapters Three, Four and Five, and suggests directions for future research based on observations made during and after the case studies' analyses.

Chapter 2: Manuscript Studies

The purpose of Chapter Two is to situate my dissertation in the core fields of inquiry that are necessary for the scholarly study of medieval manuscripts. The practices and methods described in this chapter arose in the nineteenth century and have been refined continually since then, often in response to methodological and theoretical debates in the field around concepts such as authorship, manuscript and textual coherence and variance, and the value of material studies for advancing claims about the medieval literary heritage. The sections of this chapter provide the necessary scholarly contexts for understanding how I have undertaken my analyses and reached my conclusions, which is set out in Chapters Three, Four and Five. Examples from *Die Königin von Frankreich* are used throughout this chapter.

2.1. Medieval (Multi-Text) Manuscripts

Medieval manuscripts are handwritten books, so-called codices. These codices are our main source of knowledge of the history and culture of the Middle Ages, as they have survived in staggering numbers. But even so, what is preserved in archives today is only a small part of what must have existed over five hundred years ago.[65] Pascale Bourgain reminds us that "with much variation depending on the period and the type of work, we can estimate that about 10 percent of all copies have survived to this day."[66] Considering that only a few people could read

65. Raymond Clemens and Timothy Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007), 67.

66. Pascale Bourgain, "The Circulation of Texts in Manuscript Culture," in *The Medieval Manuscript Book: Cultural Approaches*, ed. Michael Johnston (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 155.

at the time, who were the owners of all these medieval manuscripts? There were, in fact, more people than one might think: royalty and aristocrats, churchmen and women, and at the end of the Middle Ages in the fifteenth century, there were even 'common people' such as doctors, lawyers, teachers, and businessmen, which means that *Die Königin von Frankreich* was accessible to a broad audience at the time.

However, many manuscripts were under widespread pressures that affected their chances of survival. On the one hand, there was the systematic destruction of books, either out of habit or due to changes in taste and ideology. Copies of medieval works designed for greater permanence tended to be influenced by changes in fashion. For example, a new script could lead to the destruction of an entire manuscript, because when a newly developed handwriting became popular, scribes generally updated their institution's library by creating new copies. On the other hand, the invention and spread of printing technology brought with it a new and rapid development. Printed texts were (and still are) considered more authoritative. Once a printer had published a printed version of a text, he may have felt that the manuscript on which the version was based was of no further use. In addition, when parchment was in short supply or too expensive, discarded manuscripts were washed or scraped off, and the parchment reused as material for new texts or recycled into book bindings or for other purposes.[67]

If a manuscript belonged to an individual it was inherited through several generations of family members. If it belonged to a monastery, it usually remained there for centuries. However, it is difficult to find a medieval manuscript today with a complete ownership history. Medieval manuscripts not only had the above-mentioned obstacles in their way to survival, they also tended to wander far from their original owner. In fact, only a few manuscripts still belong to the

67. Clemens and Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies*, 67.

institutions that owned them in the Middle Ages.[68] Various factors affecting the circulation of manuscripts have meant that although some manuscripts are still in their medieval homes, others have fallen into private hands, along with a large number of fragments. The vast majority are now to be found in national, regional, municipal, and university or college libraries. This phenomenon becomes visible by looking at the 21 surviving manuscripts containing *Die Königin von Frankreich*: the text survives four times as a fragment, and all 21 surviving textual witnesses are owned by university/college libraries like Basel's and Frankfurt's university libraries, national libraries such as the Berlin State Library or the Austrian National Library in Vienna, and municipal libraries like Lindau's Formerly Imperial City Library. [69]

Creating manuscripts from scratch was a time-, labor-, and resource-intensive business. Scribes, the ones who undertook the physical act of writing by hand, including those who took down dictation or notes, amateur scribes writing for themselves, professional copyists, and authors writing down their own works, were essential in the Middle Ages. Upon acquiring the necessary sheets of parchment or paper to create a manuscript, a scribe would organize them into usable writing units. This process typically involved assembling them into quires, similar to booklets. Manuscripts usually consist of several quires bound together. The size of the book depended on how many times the original sheet was folded when making a quire.[70]

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68. Clemens and Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies*, 68.

69. Telling the story of how individual manuscripts came to be incorporated into institutional holdings (often in the nineteenth century) is an important piece of intellectual history. However, that is not relevant to my dissertation. My dissertation is rather focussed on using philological and codicological lenses to explore and analyze what multi-text manuscripts containing *Die Königin von Frankreich* can tell us about concepts governing the pragmatic uses of literature in the fifteenth century.

70. Folded once = 2º (as seen in the shelfmark of Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 2º Cod. 170 discussed in Chapter 4); folded twice: 4º (as seen in the shelfmark of Carl of Rothschild's HS in 4º 127 that is now

In the context of manuscript production, it is important to note that manuscripts are typically foliated rather than paginated. Unlike modern books where each page is numbered, manuscripts feature numbered leaves. The term *folium*, deriving from Latin, denotes a leaf, with its plural form being *folia*. Notably, a particular writing space is indicated using the leaf number, for instance, 5, followed by either *recto*, which is abbreviated as *r*, or *verso*, which is abbreviated as *v*. In this context, recto denotes the right-hand page, which represents the first side of the leaf encountered when reading from left to right. Conversely, verso refers to the reverse or back side of the leaf.

Writing was a skill that was hard-earned and greatly valued, making being a scribe a profession that was highly respected. Writing well was a skill that took years to develop, and careful training was necessary. Even though it is rare to find, one of the manuscripts that contains *Die Königin von Frankreich* (Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. O III 15), showcases a student practicing writing, which we can tell by the noticeable change of scribes within the manuscript. The beginning was written by a good, steady hand that did not require any guidelines. Shortly afterwards another hand started writing. This scribe needed guidelines and the writing itself is erratic, irregular, and incorrect. This second scribe is interrupted on individual folios by the meticulous first scribe.

It was not until the second half of the fifteenth century (the end of the Late Middle Ages), with the invention of the printing press around 1450, that printed books, so-called *incunabula*, started to take over. Most of the manuscripts in which we find *Die Königin von*

Frankfurt a. M., Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. germ. qu. 111, discussed in Chapter 4); folded three times = 8°; folded four times = 16°.

Frankreich were produced during the late Middle Ages, in the fifteenth century, exactly the time that saw this revolution in the technology of the book. This period also witnessed the first substantial movement of book production outside of monasteries, when books came to serve both universities and the lay public; the growth of European vernaculars in literature; and the arrival of paper, which resulted in many more books because new techniques in paper milling allowed it to be much cheaper than parchment. In fact, most of the manuscripts containing *Die Königin von Frankreich* are made of paper.[71] Because printed texts were (and still are) considered more authoritative, since around the year 1500 the handwritten book sees a shift in usage. Manuscripts are still written but they tend to be personal notebooks rather than published books. At that point the proliferation of printed books had gained momentum, resulting in a shift of preference away from manuscripts.[72] The year 1500 also marks the end of the tradition of *Die Königin von Frankreich* in verse. As mentioned in Chapter One, Eichenberger was able to show that with the beginning of the tradition of the *Meisterlied Die Königin von Frankreich und der ungetreue Marschall* (1498), the tradition of the verse narrative decreased and eventually disappeared. Thus, one narrative form was replaced by the other in print form.[73]

Medieval manuscripts differed substantially from printed books as we know them today. Although modern scholars have tended to read medieval literary works in relatively fixed

71. 20 out of the 21 surviving manuscripts containing *Die Königin von Frankreich* are made out of paper, with the remaining illuminated manuscript made out of parchment.

72. Clemens and Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies*, 67; Michael Johnston and Michael Van Dussen, "Introduction: Manuscripts and Cultural History," in *The Medieval Manuscript Book: Cultural Approaches*, ed. Michael Johnston (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 2-3.

73. Nicole Eichenberger, *Geistliches Erzählen: Zur Deutschsprachigen Religiösen Kleinepik des Mittelalters* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), 526.

modern critical editions, medieval readers had a very different experience, for most works were available in multi-text codices, compiled and organized in a variety of different ways. In the high and late Middle Ages, there was a boom in the number and kind of vernacular texts (meaning those not written in Latin but rather in one of the first spoken tongues of Europe such as French, English, Dutch, and German) being copied into manuscripts for readers on topics ranging from secular to religious. Short texts (under 1500 lines) such as *Die Königin von Frankreich* were rarely copied in single-text manuscripts.[74] Rather, they were collected into multi-text manuscripts. Such multi-text manuscripts have traditionally either been called miscellanies or anthologies by scholars. A miscellany is understood as a collection of various pieces of writing, meaning a mixture or assortment of texts on many subjects and in a variety of different forms. Medieval miscellanies often include completely different types of text, mixing poetry with legal documents, recipes, music, medical and devotional literature, and other types of text. In contrast, an anthology is understood to give a selective and canonical view of a single type of text (e. My use of the term multi-text manuscript is discussed below.

My research deals with an individual text (*Die Königin von Frankreich*), whose transmission I have traced across 20 multi-text manuscripts.[75] My research has shown that these multi-text manuscripts fall broadly into two categories that are typical for manuscript-making practices in the late Middle Ages: homogenetic codices and composite manuscripts. In studying manuscripts, it is essential to differentiate between these two forms. The key consideration is whether various texts were originally chosen for compilation (homogenetic), even if different

74. Arend Mihm, *Überlieferung und Verbreitung der Märendichtung im Spätmittelalter* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1967), 14. Mihm points out that *Die Königin von Frankreich* is the only verse novella that has survived in a single-text manuscript, which is Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2675* (W^{10}).

75. *Die Königin von Frankreich* survives in 20 multi-text manuscripts and one single-text manuscript.

scribes copied the items, or if the combining occurred at a later stage or over time (composite).[76] Evidence of the planning stages, such as catchwords and continuous folio numbering, can be found in the homogenetic manuscripts themselves, allowing us to identify them as such. The term *miscellany* poses a problem as some scholars narrowly define it for homogenetic manuscripts, while others use it for any manuscript with miscellaneous content. It is valuable for manuscript analysis to retain the distinction between homogenetic and composite manuscripts, because it foregrounds two distinct and distinctive medieval approaches to vernacular literature that are seen broadly across late medieval cultures and that are exhibited in the transmission of *Die Königin von Frankreich*, thus valuable for its analysis. "[B]ecause the terms miscellany and anthology have too many negative and positive connotations associated with perceived hetero- or homogeneity respectively" I have chosen to follow recent research and use the more neutral term multi-text manuscript to refer to such manuscript compilations.[77]

For ages, scholars have pondered over the meticulous selection and arrangement of texts in such multi-text manuscripts. They have questioned how compilers and scribes have impacted the reception of the texts and the poetological implications. The study of verse novellas, mostly found in multi-text manuscripts, has provided a rich opportunity for research. These texts are particularly fascinating because their various transmissions often result in significant differences between editions or even multiple versions of the same text. This research is critical for my entire dissertation project and constitutes the tradition I am working within and contributing to. The study conducted by Sarah Westphal during the 1990s on late medieval German manuscripts

76. Ina Serif, *Geschichte aus der Stadt: Überlieferung und Aneignungsformen der Deutschen Chronik Jakob Twingers von Königshofen* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020), 114.

77. Karen Pratt et al., "Introduction," in *The Dynamics of the Medieval Manuscript: Text Collections from a European Perspective*, ed. Karen Pratt et al. (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2017), 13.

sheds light on the systematic approach to theme, composition, and design observed in these manuscripts. Westphal's research challenges the prior notion that these manuscripts were mostly haphazard compilations, arguing instead for a deliberate curation of texts. The arrangement of texts within the manuscripts is posited to reflect a deliberate choice, revealing features of late medieval poetics and influencing the interpretation of the included narratives. Westphal's work underscores the importance of considering the context of the text, cautioning against neglecting the historical production and placement of literary works. It serves as a significant reminder of the need to scrutinize our tendency to impose modern notions on the past. Through her study, Westphal exemplifies how codicology can serve as a valuable tool for comprehending the literary landscape of late medieval Germany. This research encourages scholars to maintain an awareness of historical context and challenges the modernization of past literary traditions. My dissertation builds on these key arguments made by Westphal that the arrangement of texts within compiled manuscripts reflect in many cases a deliberate choice that can reveal features of late medieval poetics.

Other scholars have also explored the wider phenomenon of text collections in the context of handwritten transmission. A new anthology called *The Dynamics of the Medieval Manuscript: Text Collections from a European Perspective* on medieval manuscript culture compiles the results of an international conference that took place in Utrecht in 2013, which concluded the project of the same name funded by the 'Humanities in the European Research Area' Foundation.[78] The investigations in the conference proceedings concern textual

78. *The Dynamics of the Medieval Manuscript: Text Collections from a European Perspective*, ed. Karen Pratt, et al. (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2017).

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communities, geographical and linguistic variability, authorship, discussions of genre, text distribution, audiences, manuscript typologies, text types or text groups and the history of compilations. Lyrical poems, short narrative poems and prose texts in Middle High German, Middle Dutch, Middle English, Old Norse (Old Icelandic), Latin, Old French and Italian are used for the analyses.

Other relevant research includes the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft research project *Predigt im Kontext* at the Catholic University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt, which began in 2008.[79] This project examines the functions and changes in the functionality of medieval German sermons. It includes all manuscripts that contain (real or attributed) texts by Meister Eckhart and/or Johannes Tauler. The focus here is on the change in the context of transmission and thus in the functionality of the individual sermons. Other studies, such as those conducted by Hans-Joachim Ziegeler regarding the Marian poetry in the codex Heidelberg Cpg 341, where Ziegeler surveys the distribution of Mariological texts within a variety of manuscripts, have paved the way for research on German epic poetry specifically.[80] The research by Bernd Schirok on the codex St. Gallen 857 also supports this.[81] Just as important are Marlen Grote's dissertation on early medieval collected manuscripts, and Nicola Zotz' work on the influence of the collection

79. "Gegenstand und Zielsetzung," Forschungsprojekt 'Predigt im Kontext': Katholische Universität Eichstätt-Ingolstadt, accessed June 5, 2024, https://pik.ku.de/projekt.html.

80. Hans-Joachim Ziegeler, "Der Literarhistorische Ort der Mariendichtungen im Heidelberger Cpg 341 und in Verwandten Sammelhandschriften," in *Die Vermittlung Geistlicher Inhalte im Deutschen Mittelalter: Internationales Symposium, Roscrea 1994*, ed. Timothy R. Jackson, Nigel F. Palmer and Almut Suerbaum (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1996).

81. Bernd Schirok, "Der Codex Sangallensis 857: Überlegungen und Beobachtungen zur Frage des Sammelprogramms und der Textabfolge," in *'Ist Mir Getroumet Mîn Leben?' Vom Träumen und vom Anderssein: Festschrift für Karl-Ernst Geith zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. André Schnyder (Göppingen: Verlag Kümmerle, 1998).

context and book design on the reception of the texts in two epic poetry manuscripts.[82] The manuscripts that Zotz examined are the closely related verse novella manuscripts, Wien, ÖNB, Cod. 2885 and Innsbruck, Ferdinandeum, Cod. FB 32001. Nicola Zotz' study aims to identify the contemporary understanding of texts that lay behind the compilation of the collections. Both manuscripts contain various shorter, mostly narrative rhyming couplet texts, which however, resist a more precise classification into individual genres. Nicole Eichenberger also addresses the respective context of the texts discussed within the tradition in her fundamental study on spiritual epic poetry.[83] Margit Dahm-Kruse examines verse novellas in context and thereby takes the step from looking at individual manuscripts to an entire corpus. She takes Konrad's of Würzburg verse novella *Herzmäre* as her central text.[84] Diana Müller's dissertation, "Textgemeinschaften Der 'Gregorius' Hartmanns von Aue in mittelalterlichen Sammelhandschriften" focuses on manuscript compilations as an important medium of pre-modern textual tradition and examines the effects of this transmission form.[85] Like Dahm-Kruse and Mülller, I follow the tracks of a single text through its manuscript transmission history to discover more about the ways in which medieval readers understood its multifaceted meaning. Also worth mentioning is Sara Rodefeld's

82. Marlen Grote, "Frühe Deutschsprachige Sammelhandschriften" (Dissertation, Universität Paderborn, 2011), https://digital.ub.uni-paderborn.de/hs/content/titleinfo/2795007; Nicola Zotz, "Sammeln als Interpretieren: Paratextuelle und Bildliche Kommentare von Kurzerzählungen in Zwei Sammelhandschriften des Späten Mittelalters," *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum und Deutsche Literatur* 143, no. 3 (2014): 349f.

83. Eichenberger, *Geistliches Erzählen*.

84. Margit Dahm-Kruse, *Versnovellen im Kontext: Formen der Retextualisierung in Kleinepischen Sammelhandschriften* (Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto Verlag, 2018).

85. Diana Müller, "Textgemeinschaften: Der 'Gregorius' Hartmanns von Aue in Mittelalterlichen Sammelhandschriften" (Dissertation, Johann Wolfgang Goethe Universität Frankfurt, 2013), https://publikationen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/frontdoor/index/index/docId/30069,%2017.7.2020.

dissertation, "Codex Weimar Q565: Konzeption–Funktion–Intention."[86] The codex Weimar Q565 contains texts from different genres from the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which often have one thing in common: obscene content. Rodefeld questions use, concept, status, and the compiler's intention. Additionally, there are also corresponding studies on fables by Kattrin Schlecht and Michael Schwarzbach-Dobson.[87]

2.2. Compilation and Variance of Multi-Text Manuscripts

Die Königin von Frankreich is extant, as mentioned, in 20 multi-text manuscripts. In order to fully understand the possibilities for further research inherent in this rich transmission, it is necessary to define what is known about the typical production circumstances of such multi-text manuscripts. By the fifteenth century, book production processes across Europe were, though hardly standardized in a modern sense, nevertheless consistent in following typical practices. Multi-text manuscripts originated at specific times, in specific places, and for specific reasons, and they were all affected by their society and economy.

Medieval scribes were not only prone to leaving their mark upon their work but there was also an absence of expectation for them to refrain from doing so. This was primarily due to the frequent scenario wherein scribes worked with versions of a literary work that the original

86. Sara Rodefeld, "Codex Weimar Q565: Konzeption – Funktion – Intention" (Dissertation, Technische Universität Chemnitz, 2015), https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:bsz:ch1-qucosa-176831.

87. Kattrin Schlecht, *Fabula in Situ: Äsopische Fabelstoffe in Text, Bild und Gespräch* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014); Michael Schwarzbach-Dobson, *Exemplarisches Erzählen im Kontext: Mittelalterliche Fabeln, Gleichnisse und Historische Exempel in Narrativer Argumentation* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018).

creator had never encountered. Consequently, it was not deemed problematic for scribes to incorporate additional examples or anecdotes if they saw it fit.[88]

Manuscripts were produced by the scribe(s) and compiler, but the choices leading to their ultimate design were not solely their own. They were also influenced by the individual for whom the book was made, the patron. Scribes left their personal stamp on the manuscript's design because of their training, cultural background, and geographical location. Similarly, the patron affected the design of the book through his/her cultural background and by the intended use of the manuscript. As Eric Kwakkel points out: "[t]he mannerisms of the scribe and the preferences of the reader ultimately produced the material book we hold today."[89] That is also why there are almost no two identical handwritten copies of the same text. Copying errors made by scribes can be witnessed in miscopied sentences or words, sometimes written twice or even left out (known as dittographies or omissions, respectively), while deliberate changes made by scribes/compilers can be witnessed in expanded or shortened texts, where scribes/compilers corrected what they thought wrong, and in mindful interventions, which were supposed to make the text more suited for the target audience.[90] Nicola Zotz correctly concludes that "[t]he way in which a text was presented on a folio is already an interpretation in itself, because that presentation was preceded

88. Stephen G. Nichols, "What is a Manuscript Culture?," in *The Medieval Manuscript Book: Cultural Approaches*, ed. Michael Johnston (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 35.

89. Eric Kwakkel, "Decoding the Material Book: Cultural Residue in Medieval Manuscripts," in *The Medieval Manuscript Book: Cultural Approaches*, ed. Michael Johnston (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 60.

90. Thomas Bein, *Textkritik: Eine Einführung in Grundlagen Germanistisch-Mediävistischer Editionswissenschaft* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2008), 33.

by decisions made by the scribe(s), compiler and/or patron."[91] Here lies a striking difference between the medieval manuscript and its printed successor: the latter was produced in batches of several hundreds and was made for the speculative market, a domain inhabited by anonymous readers. The printer had to guess who the potential buyers of a given edition would be, how much they would be willing to pay for the printed book, and what material format would appeal most to them. The handwritten book, in contrast, was commonly produced by an individual(s) who knew the identity of the object's future reader.[92]

Today, when we purchase a book in a store or check one out of a library, we expect it to be the same as any other copy anywhere in the world. As mentioned earlier, such expectations did not constitute the culture of the book until well into the eighteenth century.[93] Multi-text manuscripts containing short verse narratives like *Die Königin von Frankreich* were created throughout time when distinct production units were linked together to generate new types of units through addition, alteration, and accumulation.[94] For modern readers accustomed to finding virtually the same text of an author's work in editions published at different times, it is startling to discover the wide variation of treatments of a text by different manuscripts. More unsettling still is the great difference in the reading experience of a text from one multi-text manuscript to another. As Stephen Nichols argues: "[m]anuscripts, you see, situate their texts in contemporary

91. Nicola Zotz, "Sammeln als Interpretieren: Paratextuelle und Bildliche Kommentare von Kurzerzählungen in Zwei Sammelhandschriften des Späten Mittelalters," *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum und Deutsche Literatur* 143, no. 3 (2014): 349f.

92. Kwakkel, "Decoding the Material Book," 65f.

93. Seth Lerer, "Bibliographical Theory and the Textuality of the Codex: Toward a History of the Premodern Book," in *The Medieval Manuscript Book: Cultural Approaches*, ed. Michael Johnston (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 18.

94. Pratt et al., "Introduction," 13.

history."[95] In many cases, compiling manuscripts was a critical stage in the transmission of short verse narratives like *Die Königin von Frankreich*.[96] Short verse narratives like verse novellas, *fabliaux*, moral fables, saints' lives, and others, had to be transmitted in conjunction with other texts, since they could in general not fill an entire codex on their own.[97] It is sometimes hard to understand the reason why such texts were copied together, and genre is a modern category we are forced to reassess considering the evidence from multi-text manuscripts. Medieval multi-text manuscripts pose practical challenges for modern scholars, since modern readers tend to think in terms of author or genre, categories to which multi-text manuscripts may conform, but more often do not.[98] Texts which modern classification would identify as divergent are often juxtaposed and grouped together in manuscripts. "If we see genre as a sequence of texts, there is enough room for variance and openness of the texts, and at the same time, their connecting traits come to light."[99] I agree with Zotz' argument here that it is easier to look back and understand how texts are similar than to find criteria that texts must meet. Hence, my aim of this research is to understand the principles that determine the texts included in the 20 multi-text manuscripts containing *Die Königin von Frankreich*.

95. Nichols, "What is a Manuscript Culture," 36.

96. Pratt et al., "Introduction," 14.

97. Zotz, "Sammeln als Interpretieren," 349.

98. Arthur Bahr, "Miscellaneity and Variance in the Medieval Book," in *The Medieval Manuscript Book: Cultural Approaches*, ed. Michael Johnston (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 190.

99. Zotz, "Sammeln als Interpretieren," 351.

2.3. *Textual Criticism* Vs. *New Philology* Vs. *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Methode*

As *Die Königin von Frankreich* survives in different manuscript versions it is necessary to take a look at how variants of medieval texts have been previously researched as well as understanding the current state of this field of work. To understand and analyze different manuscript versions of medieval texts, scholars in the past have used the theory of *textual criticism*. Traditional *textual criticism,* developed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, was an academic norm prior to the 1980s, which focused on identifying textual variants in manuscripts and restoring the text to its original form as much as possible.[100] Nowadays, texts do not change. What an author finally publishes is a fixed text and standard publishing practice dictates that the existence of subsequent revisions or changes be disclosed through the use of terms such as *second edition, revised version*, and so on. None of this obtains in the medieval world of vernacular texts. The processes of creating handwritten books, which are highly sensitive to the needs and wishes of individual readers (not authors), create significant variation. This is made clear by the dialect variation of *Die Königin von Frankreich* in its 21 different manuscript versions. It was normal to change an author's text so that its German fit the intended audience's dialect and region. There was, however, no standard Middle High German language. That such a language appears to have existed is an illusion or a misunderstanding of the work of nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholars, who used linguistically sound, reconstructionist approaches to create editions of Middle High German works in standardized form. An example of this traditional approach can be found in Strippel's 1978 historical-critical edition of *Die*

100. Bein, *Textkritik*, 79.

Königin von Frankreich.[101] The most widely used modern reconstructionist method to eliminate this variation was the stemmatic method, which originated from the Latin term *stemma*, meaning genealogical tree. As described by Paul Maas in *Textual Criticism* (1958), the stemmatic method mainly involves the reconstruction of the oldest recoverable form of the text using evidence from existing manuscripts.[102] All the surviving witnesses of a text must be identified, dated, and located, and then the connection between them must be established by comparing and contrasting all the variants. The omissions, additions, and possible errors in these manuscripts provide the most effective resource for identifying these connections.[103] The connections of these witnesses are usually presented in the form of a genealogical tree, also called a *stemma codicum*, hence the name stemmatic method.[104] At the top of this tree, there is either an existing original manuscript from which all the other manuscripts originate, or a lost copy that can be reconstructed based on surviving witnesses. This missing copy is called the archetype.[105]

The critical edition thus transformed a medieval artifact into a printed book reflecting modern principles of textual scholarship.[106] This critical edition method is most often associated with the German philologist Karl Lachmann (1793–1851).[107] The Lachmannian method assumes

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101. Jutta Strippel, *Schondochs 'Königin von Frankreich': Untersuchungen zur Handschriftlichen Überlieferung und Kritischer Text* (Göppingen: Verlag Kümmerle, 1978).

102. Paul Maas, *Textual Criticism*, trans. Barbara Flower (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1958), 1.

103. Hilkert Weddige, *Einführung in die Germanistische Mediävistik* (München: Verlag C. H. Beck, 1997), 32.

104. Weddige, *Germanistische Mediävistik*, 34.

105. For a more in-depth description of the stemmatic method see Maas' *Textual Criticism* or Weddige's *Einführung in die Germanistische Mediävistik*.

106. Nichols, "What is a Manuscript Culture," 35.

107. Bein, *Textkritik*, 76f.

that scribes would have never independently made the same mistake, that each would have always copied from a single text only, and that they would have tended to copy their texts accurately. Historical-critical editions contain the text that has been determined to most closely approximate the original, and at the same time, document variant readings, so the relation of extant witnesses to the reconstructed archetype is apparent to a reader of the edition.

As just seen, modern scholarship on medieval texts is usually based on reading those texts in these modern, stabilized critical editions, which, as I have stressed above, present a putatively authorial text that, however, is not present in any single medieval manuscript. As also mentioned earlier, medieval readers had a very different experience, for most texts were available in multi-text codices, compiled and organized in a variety of different ways. That is why true textual traditions have often been questioned by textual critics in the past, the most famous being the French scholar Joseph Bédier (1864–1938). Bédier argued that more than one stemma can be assumed for many works, which shows that the method is not as clear as its proponents believe. Instead, he advocated for an editing method, choosing the single best text and reproducing it with as few modifications as possible. Although Bédier used something not completely different from the stemmatic method to identify families of related manuscripts, he avoided assuming an archetype.[108]

In the last four decades, a new method has been emerging, called *new philology*. *New philology* was initiated by Bernard Cerquiglini's essay "Éloge de la variante" (1989) and marked a turning point in the history of medieval textual studies.[109] The *new philology* theory distanced

108. Peter F. Dembowski, "The 'French' Tradition of Textual Philology and Its Relevance to the Editing of Medieval Texts," *Modern Philology* 90, no.4 (1993): 520.

109. Bein, *Textkritik*, 90.

itself decisively from Lachmannian *textual criticism* and its assumptions that there exists only one authoritative text. *New philology* recuperates variation, which Lachmannian *textual criticism* regarded essentially as error, and argues that variation is the main characteristic of medieval literature. The majority of medieval works are preserved in more than one manuscript, and this is where the old and the *new philology* tend to part – the old heading towards reconstruction and explanation, the new towards acceptance and description of the variation. *New philology* praises diversity and variance, and does not try to reduce a medieval tradition to one single text, but rather let the variation coexist, which is a truer representation of the medieval literary world. It is important to note here that this is due to the oral origins of many of the literary tales. The same does not apply to philosophical, theological, scientific, or legal works. Texts written for didactic purposes, especially in university contexts, did have a single authorial point of origin that can reconstructed based on the *textual criticism* methods.

Further, new philologists argue that the physical form of a text, far from being a mere container of meaning, is an integral part of meaning making.[110] The manuscript as a whole is considered, as well as the connection between the text and the paratext, such as the form and layout, illumination, rubrics and other characteristics of the paratext.[111] New philologists will not single out good manuscripts from bad manuscripts, but will instead assume that all manuscript variants of a particular text are equally worthy of academic attention, because each manuscript is unique, teaching scholars something about its creation, dissemination, and reception. We also need to keep in mind that medieval manuscripts were created through a series of time-consuming

110. Martin Baisch, *Textkritik als Problem der Kulturwissenschaft: Tristan-Lektüren* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2006), 32.

111. Bein, *Textkritik*, 90.

processes that involved many people. *New philology* emphasizes the importance of this collaborative character of literary production, dissemination, and reception, and the significance of the cultural, historical and ideological forces involved in these processes.[112] The philologist Martin Baisch claims that every medieval textual witness of the Middle Ages has its own value, representing a time-bound cultural knowledge, and can only be recognized when different manuscripts are not simply understood as incorrect variants of the true original.[113]

One of the most recent editions of *Die Königin von Frankreich*, which can be found in my master's thesis, follow these *new philology* principles and is a so-called diplomatic edition. Diplomatic editions differ slightly from following Bédier's best-text method. Bédier's best-text method reduces the damage to the text through subjective editing and modifications, while diplomatic editions are based on a single manuscript and usually follow it very closely in matters of orthography. In many cases, obvious mistakes are not corrected, but if at all only pointed out. A diplomatic edition can show that variance is common for medieval textuality and thus for fictional works written in medieval German.

Freimut Löser rightly points out that *new philology* is not a new concept, but that it rather draws on already existing German research sources and principles. *New philology* defines itself as a radical confrontation with the methods of their ancestors. However, this refers mainly to the German philology of the nineteenth century, meaning the Lachmannian method as outlined above.[114] In particular, *new philology* does not take into account twentieth-century German

112. Bein, *Textkritik*, 92.

113. Baisch, *Textkritik als Problem der Kulturwissenschaft*, 31-37.

114. Freimut Löser, "Postmodernes Mittelalter? 'New Philology' und 'Überlieferungsgeschichte," in *Kulturen des Manuskriptzeitalters: Ergebnisse der Amerikanisch-Deutschen Arbeitstagung an der Georg- August-*

research principles that had begun to emerge before the 1980s, such as the *überlieferungsgeschichtliche Methode*. Researchers such as Kurt Ruh and Klaus Grubmüller et al. had already developed and applied similar methods in the 1970s before *new philology* emerged.[115] As described by Löser, there are a number of overlapping principles between *new philology* and the *überlieferungsgeschichtliche Methode*. The focus is not on the text alone, but on the history of the text and the history of its transmission. There is an awareness of the possibilities of different versions. The liberation of the reader and the turn to manuscript culture/material philology.[116] However, according to *new philology*, researchers should not be primarily concerned about the work, nor its effect, but rather its reception. This is where it differs from the *überlieferungsgeschichtliche Methode*, which believes that all aspects should be viewed on an equal level. The *überlieferungsgeschichtliche Methode* assumes that the reception history of a text, the changes it undergoes, and its impact are just as interesting as the source text itself. That there were already different ways of reading a contemporary text in the Middle Ages, manifested itself in different versions, redactions and variants, but it also manifested itself in the transmission of manuscripts. The *überlieferungsgeschichtliche Methode* argues that there is no one historically correct reading. As Sheldon Pollock reminds us: "variation itself is still a textual

Universität Göttingen vom 17. bis 20. Oktober 2002, ed. Arthur Groos and Hans-Jochen Schiewer (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2004), 215f.

115. Kurt Ruh, "Überlieferungsgeschichte Mittelalterlicher Texte als Methodischer Ansatz zu einer erweiterten Konzeption von Literaturgeschichte," in *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Prosaforschung: Beiträge der Würzburger Forschergruppe zur Methode und Auswertung*, ed. Kurt Ruh (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1985); Klaus Grubmüller et al., "Spätmittelalterliche Prosaforschung. DFG-Forschergruppe-Programm am Seminar für Deutsche Philologie der Universität Würzburg," *Jahrbuch für Internationale Germanistik* 5 (1973).

116. Löser, "Postmodernes Mittelalter?," 229f.

truth, a real, hard truth that it is philology's business to capture."[117] Textual variants, such as we will discover by looking at the 20 surviving multi-text manuscripts containing *Die Königin von Frankreich*, are interpretively exciting precisely because they resist our attempts to reduce them to a single meaning, cause, or effect.[118]

2.4. Codicological Research

My research is focused on a medieval text that shows up in 20 multi-text manuscripts, and it is important to study the text from two perspectives: codicological and literary historical, because recent research has shown that multi-text manuscripts cannot be studied successfully without paying attention to codicology and the material aspects of manuscript culture, just as it would be limiting to consider the material aspects without regarding literary historical interpretations of individual texts and their co-texts.[119] Attention to such material aspects can illuminate the hidden logic of multi-text manuscripts.[120] Codicology is the study of books (Latin: codices). "codices" in Latin refers specifically to books made up of quires that are bound together with covers and a spine. Manuscript studies extend to anything written by hand (including single-leaf charters, rolls, etc.). Codicology studies the physical aspects of books rather than their written content. It is also known as "the archaeology of the book". It is not limited to manuscripts, since one can apply codicological techniques and methods to printed

117. Sheldon Pollock, "Future Philology? The Fate of a Soft Science in a Hard World," *Critical Inquiry* 35, no. 4 (2009): 953.

118. Bahr, "Miscellaneity and Variance," 182.

119. Pratt et al., "Introduction," 21.

120. Pratt et al., "Introduction," 23.

books as well. Codicology concerns itself with the materials, tools and techniques used to make bound books, along with their features. Sounds simple, but it is not quite so, because the boundaries of codicology are not well defined. Codicologists may study the history of libraries, manuscript collecting, book cataloguing, scribes, as well as parchment and paper making, ink formulations, writing instruments and their manufacture, and the trade in all the things mentioned.

The relationship between codicology and palaeography is a subject of some debate within the fields of manuscript studies. While some scholars assert that codicology encompasses palaeography, others argue that palaeography encompasses codicology. They are both distinct fields of research that are closely related. Both disciplines hold equal importance within the study of manuscripts. Palaeography is the study (and decipherment) of handwriting, whereas codicology focuses on the physical aspects of the book. One can apply palaeographical skills to texts written in bound codices, loose-leaf documents like charters or contracts. Palaeography also studies the evolution of written scripts over place and time. Palaeographical evidence can be combined with knowledge of book-making practices from codicology to verify the date and place of the writing vs. the time and place of the binding of a codex.

Codicology is technically solely concerned with the physical characteristics of texts. In turn, the study of the writing in surviving manuscripts, the hand, is known as palaeography. By analyzing the manuscript's hand, palaeographers can learn about a manuscript's origin, period, and other details.121 The process here is different compared to codicologists: the paleographer looks at something very particular (the writing style of the text's script), and uses that for the

121. Ralph W. Mathisen, "Palaeography and Codicology," in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies*, ed. Susan Ashbrook Harvey and David G. Hunter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 141.

purposes of dating and locating where the text was written, since scripts differ and evolve over time and space.

Recent scholars, such as Michael Johnston, Michael van Dussen and Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, insist that literary theory has a place in manuscript studies and in codicological research in order to communicate a more synthetic overview of manuscripts and how they work within culture, which already has and can further open the door to an entirely new world of research contributions in medieval studies. The Middle Ages may be over, but the work to understand its literary legacy has just begun.[122] In the early 1970s, a number of scholars began to argue that codicology should encompass not only the material features of manuscripts, but also their historical context, patterns of usage, and reception as a cultural and textual artifact. This broadened perspective gave rise to two distinct approaches within the discipline. Codicology *stricto sensu* is characterized by a focus solely on the analysis of the manuscript as a material object, without delving into broader questions. Conversely, codicology *lato sensu* takes a more comprehensive view, considering the manuscript as a historical, cultural, and textual entity, necessitating a more in-depth study that extends beyond mere material description.[123] Because it is "the basis for all other kinds of textual or historical analysis," as Javier del Barco argues, a

122. Johnston and Van Dussen, "Introduction: Manuscripts and Cultural History"; Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, "Afterword: Social History of the Book and Beyond Originalia, Medieval Literary Theory, and the Aesthetics of Paleography," in *The Medieval Manuscript Book: Cultural Approaches*, ed. Michael Johnston (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

123. Javier Del Barco, "From the Archaeological Turn to 'Codicologie Structurale'," in *Jewish Manuscript Cultures: New Perspectives*, ed. Irina Wandrey (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017), 6.

material description of manuscripts is essential either way, regardless of the connotation that each use of the term codicology implies.[124]

Because of this twofold understanding of the term codicology, its use generally must be explained in all its nuances. Explicit clarification of what is meant is needed when the term is used. Within this research project, I am working within the realm of *lato sensu codicology*, because my understanding of codicology is not limited to the material aspects of book production, which would ignore "not only what is the proper subject of the philologist – the history of the text and textual criticism – … but issues that concern book historians, such as the study of manuscripts as part of book collections, from their genesis and throughout their transformations, or the socio-economic and cultural aspects of a manuscript's production, use and transmission."[125] I agree with Ezio Ornato's fundamental idea that the study of the 'inner' part of the manuscript – the material and technological aspects of book production – cannot be separated from the 'exterior' part – the socio-cultural and economic aspects – because the latter has a decisive influence on the design of the former.[126] However, unlike in a quantitative approach like Ornato's, which seeks to identify general tendencies in large samples of manuscripts, I argue that the study of individual codices is essential. Like Colette Sirat's approach to the study of manuscripts, I consider the text and the medieval manuscript in which it is transmitted as a unique textual and historical object that must be studied in all the complexity of its forms and functions as well as in its cultural context; "[b]ecause each of them is an

124. Del Barco, "Archaeological Turn," 17.

125. Del Barco, "Archaeological Turn," 7.

126. Ezio Ornato, *La Face Cachée du Livre Médiéval: L'histoire du Livre Vue Par Ezio Ornato, Ses Amis et Ses Collègues* (Rome: Viella, 1997), xiii.

individual, different from all others, every manuscript adds to our knowledge of the medieval world."[127] That is why I am taking the 20 surviving multi-text manuscripts of *Die Königin von Frankreich* into account, looking at each one individually to decipher their codicological context. This approach allows me to give equal attention to the material, textual and historical features of the manuscripts, highlighting the individuality of each manuscript, both with respect to its form and its textual composition. I see codicology as auxiliary to *textual criticism* and transmission context, just like other researchers such as Jürgen Wolf. Wolf's *Buch und Text: Literatur- und Kulturhistorische Untersuchungen zur Volkssprachigen Schriftlichkeit im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert* was the first major book-length contribution by a scholar in German medieval studies to the research area of material philology.[128] It is a comprehensive statement about what was achieved in the German manuscript culture of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and it is a substantial contribution to this highly specialized subject, demonstrating significance of palaeography and codicology for issues of central importance to literary studies and cultural history. Interdisciplinary work on medieval manuscript culture, which combines literary, linguistic, codicological, illumination and tradition-historical areas, had up until then remained limited to single manuscripts, e.g. commentaries on facsimile codices, or to certain literary genres.

127. Colette Sirat, "New Catalogues for Medieval Hebrew Manuscripts?," in *Studies in Hebrew Literature and Jewish Culture: Presented to Albert Van der Heide on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifty Birthday*, ed. Martin F. J. Baasten and Reinier Munk (Dordrecht: Springer-Verlag, 2007), 27.

128. Jürgen Wolf, *Buch und Text: Literatur- und Kulturhistorische Untersuchungen zur Volkssprachigen Schriftlichkeit im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2008).

In this highly specialized dissertation, I will be using codicology to identify and study the individual texts in the 20 multi-text manuscripts containing *Die Königin von Frankreich* and finding the common, thematic threads uniting them.

However, there arise challenges when working with many different manuscripts scattered across Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and the USA. The most common way to study a manuscript remotely used to be to request photographs or microfilm copies of the archive where the manuscript is stored. However, working with microfilms can pose some challenges. First, most microfilms are black and white, which means that rubricated titles and other parts of the colored text can look almost the same color as the main text, making them difficult to distinguish. In addition, many manuscripts include at least some leaves with holes in the text area. Since these holes are difficult to see on microfilm, it can be particularly confusing when the text on the previous or following leaf is displayed through the holes. Lastly, when handling microfilms, attention needs to be paid to missing or duplicated pages on the film. When shooting a long manuscript, it is not uncommon for photographers to turn two leaves at once, skip an opening, or shoot an opening twice. Some leaves have dark blotches and/or faded ink, such that a single image is either underexposed for the faded parts, or overexposed for the darker parts.[129]

Today, thanks to the advent of new digital technologies and the growth in the use of the World Wide Web, many medieval manuscripts can be viewed online, either in their entirety or as selected pages. Libraries in Germany, for example, have been digitizing their collections for a couple of decades. Digitization centers, such as the Munich Digitization Center, have been digitizing and making their libraries' rich holdings accessible as early as 1997. The digital revolution of the last decades has been playing a significant role in revitalizing philology. This

129. Clemens and Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies*, 71.

has opened up new exciting research fields and topics, which often involve large amounts of data that would, using traditional methods, not be accessible – or only with great difficulty. In keeping with the value of being open and accessible, many digital humanities projects and journals are open access, which is designed to enable anyone with an internet-enabled device and internet connection to view a website or read an article without having to pay, as well as share content with the appropriate permissions.[130]

However, even though the availability of facsimiles and, more recently, digitized manuscripts has enhanced the study of manuscripts significantly, the quality and usability of available images vary widely, ranging from high-resolution color images easily accessible by folio number to poor black-and-white microfilm-based images that are difficult to access and cannot be downloaded. Even though the quality and usability of available images differ greatly from library to library, the study of multi-text codices has been greatly enriched by the availability of digitized manuscripts. They are an invaluable resource, complementing the information provided by existing printed catalogues and many online databases.[131] Without digitized manuscripts, this research project would not have been possible. Thankfully, 17 out of the 21 surviving manuscripts containing *Die Königin von Frankreich* are openly accessible digitally through their respective libraries. The missing four manuscripts (Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Hs. 724; Innsbruck, Bibliothek des Jesuitenkollegs, Cod. 40024; Lindau, Ehemals Reichsstädtische Bibliothek, Cod. P II 68; and Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Ms. A 122) have been forwarded to me partially as digitized versions privately.

130. Clemens and Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies*, 72.

131. Pratt et al., "Introduction," 18.

Chapter 3: *Die Königin von Frankreich* and Religious Didactic Writing

Religious didactic literature may be familiar to some modern readers. Indeed, *Die Königin von Frankreich* is one of the very few verse novellas that frequently turns up in collections of short religious texts in couplets.[132] The inclusion of *Die Königin von Frankreich* in such multi-text manuscripts may seem puzzling, because it is not an overtly religious text, such as a sermon, saint's life, or religious treatise or tract, as are many of the other texts in the manuscripts discussed in this chapter. Rather, it is a fictional tale that features people living in the secular world, and its heroine is a wife and mother. However, the hard and fast line that we might draw between religious and secular thought is modern. For the medieval world, the two overlap and the lines between them are blurred, often in ways that confound modern audiences. The manuscripts discussed in this chapter attempt to educate the reader on social ideals and on a Christian-based code of behavior for women. Chastity as witnessed in *Die Königin von Frankreich* was one of the noblest virtues known to the world in the Middle Ages. Female honor tended to focus on sexual purity, chastity, and modesty, while female reputation was often a primary determinant of the collective honor of the family. Purity of blood is of the utmost importance for the nobility. *Die Königin von Frankreich* fits in well with this context as the tale is focused on how the noble Queen remained steadfast, virtuous, and chaste throughout all turmoil.

132. Arend Mihm, *Überlieferung und Verbreitung der Märendichtung im Spätmittelalter* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1967), 114.

It is not surprising to find many saints' lives in the multi-text manuscripts containing *Die Königin von Frankreich*, which were almost all created during the fifteenth century. There are well over 3,000 saints' lives written in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that have survived. This very clearly shows that this genre was far more popular than the rest of the narrative literature of the time. In the fifteenth century popular piety prevailed, and the veneration of saints reached its absolute medieval peak. An insecure and at the same time deeply religious age looked to the saints as role models and helpers. They sought guidance from them for almost every aspect of everyday life.[133]

Moreover, *Die Königin von Frankreich* was written in the time of the High Middle Ages, when the Cult of the Virgin Mary was increasing in popularity. The key aspect of the manifold significance of Mary in the Middle Ages was that Mary presented a potent model for identification and imitation for the female individual. The story of *Die Königin von Frankreich* portrays a Queen, a good and faithful wife, being banished for alleged adultery by her husband, the King, who is burning with anger. Falsely accused by the King's marshal, whose advances she had turned down earlier, the pregnant Queen is saved from death by the intercession of the King's nephew. In the end, the King is overjoyed to discover that the Queen has lived a virtuous and pious life without him. *Die Königin von Frankreich* demonstrates heightened insistence on the Queen's virtue, making the tale an exemplar for the conventional medieval notion of female honor and virtue. *Die Königin von Frankreich* is not a comic tale of marital discord (as many other verse novellas are) but a serious story of suffering and endurance on the part of a wife, the Queen of France. We can assume that this story had a special significance for noble

133. Williams-Krapp, *Die Deutschen und Niederländischen Legendare des Mittelalters: Studien zu Ihrer Überlieferungs-, Text- und Wirkungsgeschichte* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1986), 1.

wives/women since it demonstrated that married life might demand the same degree of renunciation and self-control as monastic life. Without ever questioning God's will, the Queen entrusted the collier with her and her child's life and God rewarded her by keeping her out of harm's way. *Die Königin von Frankreich* is an exemplary good wife story, portraying the Queen as a powerful example of chastity, motherhood, and virtue, reminding a female audience of good female Christian qualities.

The multi-text manuscripts presented in this chapter are ordered starting with those manuscripts that most clearly demonstrate my thesis and ending with those manuscripts that have more open questions vis-à-vis their compilation strategies.

Herzogenburg, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 69 (h^{13})

Herzogenburg, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 69 is a rather small paper manuscript, with its folio size being 137–140mm by 105mm. This makes Herzogenburg Cod. 69 most likely a handbook for personal reading or devotion that could be carried around in one's pocket or garment. Herzogenburg Cod. 69 consists of 135 folios and shows extensive bookworm damage starting on folio 132, which is the last folio of *Die Königin von Frankreich*.

The dating of the manuscript can be determined to 1462 with the help of scribal comments on folio 1r: *Das puchel sagt von auslegung oder bezaichung der ganczen mess. Anno etc lxii°* (This book speaks of the interpretation or denomination of the whole mass. In the year etc. 62); and on folio 118v: *Anno domini etc. Nach Christi vnnsers lieben Herren gepurd als man zelt Tawsent vierhundert vnd dar nach jm zway und sechczigisten Jar am phincztag vmb vesper zeyt vor vnnser lieben frawentag Jr Schiedung Hat die Gemain zue Wienn den Rat gefanngen etc.* (Anno domini etc. After the birth of Christ, our dear Lord, when one counts one thousand four

hundred and after that in the second and sixtieth year on the day of Pentecost around the time of Vespers before the day of our dear Lady's parting, the congregation in Vienna caught the council, etc.).[134]

The manuscript begins with a fragment of a charter in German in a hand from the fifteenth century on folio 1*v, a recipe on folio 2*r and pen trials on folio 2*v. Modern foliation (page numbering) already begins with the German charter fragment, paginating it as folio 1. However, I will be following Mayo's and Strippel's foliation, which both start with Berthold von Regensburg's *Von den Zeichen der Messe* (About the Signs of the Mass) as folio 1, as the first folios appear to be paper that was reused from elsewhere to create Herzogenburg Cod. 69.[135]

The written language, Austro-Bavarian, can help us localize Herzogenburg Cod. 69 to southern Bavaria.[136] Apart from the Herzogenburg library stamp on the inside of the front cover of the manuscript, the only other information on provenance can be found on folio 2*r, folio 24r, folio 98r and on folio 118v. These folios all exhibit a stamp saying *Bibliothecae Ducumburgensis*. *Bibliothecae Ducumburgensis* can also be found handwritten on folio 1r at the top. *Bibliothecae Ducumburgensis* is a modern ownership note from the seventeenth or eighteenth century, simply meaning Library of Herzogenburg in Latin, which shows that Herzogenburg Cod. 69 has been in the possession of the abbey library at Herzogenburg since at least the seventeenth or eighteenth century.

134. Herzogenburg, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 69.

135. Hope Mayo, *Descriptive Inventories of Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Hill Monastic Library (Austrian Libraries): Volume 3 Herzogenburg* (Collegeville, Minnesota: Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Saint John's University, 1985), 253-255.

136. Jutta Strippel, *Schondochs 'Königin von Frankreich': Untersuchungen zur Handschriftlichen Überlieferung und Kritischer Text* (Göppingen: Verlag Kümmerle, 1978), 37.

Herzogenburg Cod. 69 was mostly written by one scribe using the bastarda script, in one column with 16 to 18 lines per folio. Bastarda is a black-letter script used during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[137] Most of the manuscript uses black guidelines. Initials and capital letters, which divide up the texts, are mostly marked with red ink. Interestingly, folios 119r–v, and 130r–132v (beginning and ending of *Die Königin von Frankreich*) do not exhibit these markers. Strippel points out that these folios have probably been written by a different (younger) scribe than the rest of the manuscript.[138] She goes on to agree with Heintz' observation that the four affected folios were presumably damaged, and that when the manuscript was bound the damaged areas were replaced following the manuscript version at hand, which does not affect the dating of *Die Königin von Frankreich*.[139]

Apart from Herzogenburg Cod. 69 having been written by one scribe, there are other clues that tell us that this multi-text manuscript was most likely intentionally compiled with the texts at hand at the time of being written down. When examining a medieval manuscript carefully, one of the first steps is to investigate the center of the folded pages in each quire, looking for the sewing threads and sketching out a physical plan of where each quire (a single sheet folded and then stitched together into the binding) begins and ends. Some of the texts' beginnings and endings are not congruent with the quire boundaries in Herzogenburg Cod. 69, which shows that this multi-text manuscript was crafted and compiled intentionally to contain these poems, rather than separate booklets that were bound together later. Moreover,

137. A more in-depth explanation of different scripts can be found in Joachim Kirchner, *Germanistische Handschriftenpraxis: Ein Lehrbuch für die Studierenden der Deutschen Philologie* (München: Verlag C. H. Beck, 1967).

138. Strippel, *Schondochs 'Königin von Frankreich',* 37.

139. Heinrich Heintz, *Schondochs Gedichte* (Breslau: M. & H. Marcus Verlag, 1908), 57.

Herzogenburg Cod. 69 is still bound with its original wooden cover in blue leather stemming from the fifteenth century. The fittings of two metal clasps are still visible. One metal clasp on a leather strap has survived. Herzogenburg Cod. 69 is a homogenetic manuscript, meaning the texts within it were originally chosen for inclusion in the compilation.

Herzogenburg Cod. 69 contains the following texts:

paper · 135 folios · 13.7–14cm x 10.5cm · Lower Austria · around 1462

fol. 1r–24r	Berthold's von Regensburg *Von den Zeichen der Messe* (About the Signs of the Mass)
fol. 24v–41r	Prayers
fol. 42r–47v	*Sprüche der Zwölf Meister von Paris* (Sayings of the Twelve Masters of Paris)
fol. 47v–49r	Religious Instruction against Pride
fol. 49r–50v	Religious Questions and Answers
fol. 51r–54r	Eucharistic Prayer
fol. 55r–97v	Ps.-Anselm of Canterbury: *Interrogatio Sancti Anselmi de Passione Domini*, ger. (Inquiry of Saint Anselm about the Lord's Passion)
fol. 97v	Prayers to Arma Christi
fol. 98v–101v	Marian Apparition in Prose
fol. 102r–105r	Marian Prayers
fol. 105v–106v	blank
fol. 107r–118r	Report on the Journey of Ladislaus the Posthumous to Prague in 1457

fol. 118v	Note on the Capture of the Council of Vienna by the Municipality in 1462
fol. 119r–132v	*Die Königin von Frankreich* (*Das ist der künigk von franckhreich / Vnd sein fraw gar mynnigkleich / Die so jämerlich verraten ward / Von irem pözen marschalkh*)
fol. 133r	Text of a Prayer in German (rendered illegible due to bookworm damage)

The main part of Herzogenburg Cod. 69—105 out of 135 folios—consists of texts that could be labelled religious, beginning with Berthold's von Regensburg sermon *Von den Zeichen der Messe* (About the Signs of the Mass) on folio 1r and ending with Marianic prayers on folio 105r. Berthold von Regensburg was a popular preacher in the thirteenth century, travelling around Southern German-speaking lands, France and Switzerland. He had a simple writing style seen in his German sermons, such as here in *Von den Zeichen der Messe*. He used examples from verse novellas and from everyday life and nature.[140] Berthold wrote at the beginning of the distinctive development in the history of Christianity. At this time, theology and devotional writing sought to guide lay persons on how to shape their lives in an effort to create a guiding normative center for Christians. Berthold's sermon depicts a traditional presentation of Mary as the paragon of all virtues, and frequently cites the Blessed Virgin as the model of chastity.[141] This interpretation of Mary can be found in Herzogenburg Cod. 69 multiple times throughout *Von den Zeichen der Messe*. For example on folio 4r: *Vnd süllen auch bitten/ Vnnser liebe frawen sanct marien sein Liebe muoter / Dasz sy sich erparm vber vnns / Vnd vnns gniedig sey*

140. Franz Georg Banta, "Berthold von Regensburg," in *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, Volume 1, ed. Kurt Ruh et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1978), 822.

141. Remo Joseph Iannucci, *The Treatment of the Capital Sins and the Decalogue in the German Sermons of Berthold von Regensburg* (Washington D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1942), 26.

(And we should also ask / our dear Lady Saint Mary, his dear mother / that she may have mercy on us / and be kind to us).[142] In the fifteenth century, written German sermons such as *Von den Zeichen der Messe* became the preferred reading among pious laypeople, especially nuns.[143]

The *Sprüche der Zwölf Meister von Paris* (Sayings of the Twelve Masters of Paris) are a collection of sayings on spiritual life that had been widely distributed since the fourteenth century.[144] The medieval passion treatise *Interrogatio Sancti Anselmi de Passione Domini* (Inquiry of Saint Anselm about the Lord's Passion) consists of a collection of questions posed by Saint Anselm of Canterbury and answered by the Virgin Mary. Saint Anselm asks the Virgin Mary to reveal the passion of her son Jesus Christ, beginning with the Last Supper and ending with his resurrection. The version here in Herzogenburg Cod. 69 is a German translation and was most likely not created by Saint Anselm himself but rather a pseudo-Saint Anselm. However, it is one of the most important surviving examples of the vernacular passion treatise.[145]

Die Königin von Frankreich appears at the end of Herzogenburg Cod. 69, following a text that could be referred to as historiographic in nature. A connection to the Habsburg dynasty can be observed here. The note on the capture of the council of Vienna by the municipality in 1462 on folio 118v, provides a hint that the manuscript was likely written down in the vicinity of the Viennese court, close to the Habsburg family. The report on the journey of Ladislaus the

142. Herzogenburg, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 69.

143. Dieter Richter, *Die Deutsche Überlieferung der Predigten Bertholds von Regensburg: Untersuchungen zur Geistlichen Literatur des Spätmittelalters* (München: Verlag C. H. Beck, 1969), 214.

144. Volker Honemann, "Sprüche der Zwölf Meister zu Paris," in *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, Volume 9, ed. Kurt Ruh et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1995), 201.

145. Georg Steer, "Anselm von Canterbury," in *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, Volume 1, ed. Kurt Ruh (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1978), 378f.

Posthumous to Prague in 1457 on folios 107r–118r details the engagement of King Ladislaus V (1440–1457) to Magdalena of France, his death, and his funeral. King Ladislaus V was a Duke of Austria and King of Hungary, Bohemia and Croatia. He was a Duke of Habsburg, the posthumous son of Albert II of Habsburg. The abrupt death of Ladislaus V in 1457 marked the conclusion of the historical lineage of the Albertinian branch within the Habsburg dynasty, as he did not have any offspring.

The motive for including *Die Königin von Frankreich* in Herzogenburg Cod. 69 was twofold. On the one hand, the patron, collector, or scribe of Herzogenburg Cod. 69 saw the connection of Austrian Dukes in *Die Königin von Frankreich* and in the Report of Ladislaus V as well as the noble women stemming from France (the Queen of France and Magdalena, the princess of France, daughter of Charles VII of France).[146] On the other hand, even though like its preceding texts, *Die Königin von Frankreich* was understood as a historiographic event report, the poem could also be related to the religious texts that make up the main part of Herzogenburg Cod. 69.[147] This becomes evident by the ending of the tale on folio 132v, where it says that the writer asks for one Hail Mary with a pious mind: *Scriptor mente pia petit unum Ave Maria*.[148] The same wording appears multiple times throughout the manuscript, more precisely at the end of some of the religious texts. During prayers on folios 26r–27v: *O du al lermechtigiste kayserinn aller wirdichait O du edle kunigin aller eren O du hochgeporne fiirstin aller giietigkait … mit dem du hast alle weyshait. Amen. Schriptor [!] mente pia petit unum Ave Maria* (Oh you

146. The connection between *Die Königin von Frankreich* and Austrian Dukes (Habsburg) will be explored in much more detail in Chapter Five.

147. *Die Königin von Frankreich* as a historiographic event report is further explored in Chapter Five on historiographic writing contexts.

148. Herzogenburg, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 69.

most powerful empress of all kingdoms, Oh you noble queen of all honors, Oh you high-born princess of all goodness ... with whom you have the wisdom of all. Amen. The writer asks for one Hail Mary with a pious mind); on folios 28v–31v: *O aller hochste drivaltikait und ungemessnew giitigkait O aller genedigiste und aller loblihiste gothait ... O chiinnigin der himel muter der parmherczigkait ein ziiflucht der siinnder also seinen geist aufgeben so wiert er hayl wertig. Amen. Schriptor [!] mente pia petit unum Ave Maria* (Oh most high trinity and immeasurable goodness, Oh most merciful and most praiseworthy deity... Oh queen of heaven, mother of mercy, a refuge for sinners, so give up your spirit so that you will be worthy of salvation. Amen. The writer asks for one Hail Mary with a pious mind); at the end of the Prayers to Arma Christi on folio 97v: *Die spaichell die gaysell dy dro das chrawcz die nagell und das sper und die kron diirnem bescherm mich an dem ennde mein. Amen du lieber herre mein. Scriptor mente pia petit unum Ave Maria* (The spokes, the whip, the threat, the cross, the nails and the spear and your crown bring me to my end. Amen my dear Lord. The writer asks for one Hail Mary with a pious mind); as well as at the end of the Marianic prayer on folio 103r–105r: *O du unvermayl igtter sarh des lebentigen heyligtum christi ihesu [!] wann in dir verslossen ist gewesen das ewig hail aller eren die mueter aller parmherczigkait mit den du hast alle weyshayt. Amen. Scriptor mente pia petit unum Ave Maria* (Oh, you unbroken coffin of the living sanctuary of Christ Jesus, when locked in you was the eternal hail of all honor, the mother of all mercy with whom you have given all wisdom. Amen. The writer asks for one Hail Mary with a pious mind).[149]

These endings as well as the words following the end of *Die Königin von Frankreich* on folio 132v, which are *Ad sanctum spiritum ad trinitatis [!] ad patrem ad filium ad sanctum*

149. Herzogenburg, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 69.

spiritum unum Pater noster unum Ave Maria unum Credo (To the Holy Spirit, to the Trinity [!], to the Father, to the Son, to the Holy Spirit, one Pater Noster, one Hail Mary, one Credo), clearly connect *Die Königin von Frankreich* with these sacral texts.[150] This framing shows that the Queen's story can be interpreted within a Marian frame, and the Queen's virtue, tested through enduring a lot of suffering, is in agreement with Mary's, as they are both described as queens, empresses, and princesses.

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Mgq 267 (b^8)

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Mgq 267 is made of paper and the size of the folios is 182mm by 127mm, making it a rather small manuscript, with a small script. It is similar in size to a small paperback. This makes Berlin Mgq 267, just like Herzogenburg Cod. 69, most likely a handbook for personal reading or devotion. The manuscript was most likely compiled around 1465 to 1475 in Austria. This dating is based on the watermarks found on the paper. Eichenberger tells us that for Berlin Mgq 267 the watermark is a scale in a circle with straight pans, and above is a star. This watermark found on Berlin Mgq 267 is very similar to two watermarks originating from Graz, Southern Austria, in 1471.[151] This finding along with the writing dialect places the region of origin to Austria.

Berlin Mgq 267 consists of 34 folios which is rather short for a multi-text manuscript. In addition to the modern foliation the original medieval foliation can be found throughout the entire manuscript. The medieval foliation begins with 46 (xlvi) and ends with 79 (lxxix), which

150. Herzogenburg, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 69.

151. Nicole Eichenberger, *Geistliches Erzählen: Zur Deutschsprachigen Religiösen Kleinepik des Mittelalters* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), 339.

means that 45 folios are missing at the beginning, including the entire rhymed couplet text, of which only the last folio survives. Berlin Mgq 267's medieval foliation indicates that the manuscript had in fact more than twice as many folios as what has survived.

In Berlin Mgq 267, catchwords are seen on folios 3v, 15v and 27v. Catchwords are usually a word or phrase written by a scribe/compiler at the end of a quire to indicate which quire should follow next. Catchwords function as connecting elements by repeating the word or phrase found at the beginning of the next folio. This helps us identify that the quire boundaries in this manuscript are not congruent with the poem boundaries, which tells us that this multi-text manuscript was crafted and compiled intentionally to contain these poems, instead of combining pre-existing booklets, or independent units containing only whole texts that are self-contained regarding their content. This theory is also reinforced by the fact that Berlin Mgq 267 was written by one scribe with black ink in bastarda, except for the later addition of a prayer to Christ on the last folio from the sixteenth century. Berlin Mgq 267 is a homogenetic manuscript.

The medieval foliation, as well as the titles and initials were added with red ink by a rubricator all throughout Berlin Mgq 267. The two complete metrical texts in verse are written in a single column with 20 to 23 lines respectively.

The provenance can only be traced back to the 1820s, when it was moved from Vienna to Berlin. Berlin Mgq 267 belonged to Julius Max Schottky, who was a German writer and folklorist, until May 10th, 1820, when he gifted it to the "Königl. Hochlöblichen Bibliothek zu Berlin" (Highly Praiseworthy Royal Library in Berlin), which would later become the Berlin State Library.[152] An entry on the inside of the front cover tells us that Berlin Mgq 267 has remained in the possession of the Berlin State Library ever since. Berlin Mgq 267 has a modern

152. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Mgq 267, folio 2r.

book binding from the nineteenth century, made from brown cardboard with a leather spine and the golden coat of arms of the Kingdom of Prussia embossed on the front cover.

The following texts can be found in Berlin Mgq 267:

paper · I + 34 folios · 18.2cm × 12.7cm · Austria · around 1465–1475

fol. 2r	Didactic-Eschatological Rhymed Couplet Text (fragment)
fol. 2v–17r	*Die Königin von Frankreich* (*Von dem hunt von franckreich*)
fol. 17v–34v	*Legend of Margaret of Antioch*
fol. 35r	Prayer to Christ (added later, probably sixteenth century, fragment)

The texts in Berlin Mgq 267 can all be considered religious didactic as they are instructive tales that provide readers with moral guidance and encourage them to have faith in their God. These religious didactic poems depict the dos and don'ts of society from a Christian point of view and preach faith and spirituality. Furthermore, Berlin Mgq 267 has a strong focus on women. It portrays women as exemplary realizations of the demand that every good Christian woman should patiently endure her suffering for Christ's sake. These narratives were considered examples of appropriate Christian behavior for women. Piety, patience, chastity, and obedience to God were among the virtues strongly valued in women, and texts such as the legends of virgin saints and martyrs provided source material that described ideals of Christian behavior.

In Berlin Mgq 267, we first have a fragmentary didactic-eschatological poem, of which only the last folio survives. The text has been crossed out but is still legible: *Gar ainvaltige ding / Dy welt richtet nach strengikait / Und got nach gottlicher gerechtikait / Aber an dem Jungsten*

tag / Nyemant parmung gehaben mag / Wer hie parmung begert / Der wirt von got gewert / Der sol sein sund peichten und sagen / Der da parmung wil haben / Wann vert er an rew ungepeicht so mag er nymer / Erwerben und gewynnen / Göttlich genad und parmhertzikait / Und müeß ewichlich laiden arbait / Marter und pein inn der hell ymer / Da leyden hat chain end nymer (Quite a simple thing / The world is governed by strictness / And by God by divine justice / But on the Last Day / No one may have mercy / Whoever asks for mercy here / He is worthy of God / Let him confess his sins and say / He who wants to have mercy / If he feels remorse unconfessed, then he may never / Earn and win / Divine grace and mercy / And must eternally endure labor / Torture and torment in hell always / There is no end to suffering).[153] This poem has not yet been identified.

Die Königin von Frankreich follows this fragment in a dyad constellation with the legend of Saint Margaret, meaning they are two couplet poems that are connected by related themes or meanings. *Die Königin von Frankreich* also starts on the same folio that the *Legend of Margaret* ends on. The *Legend of Margaret*, as found here in Berlin Mgq 267, was one of the most widely read popular religious texts in medieval German-speaking lands.[154] In the Middle Ages, it was customary to seek the aid of saints as intermediaries. One such powerful intercessor was Saint Margaret of Antioch, who according to her legend was a Christian martyr. She was tortured and executed during the Diocletianic persecution by Olybrius, a wicked Roman official who wished to marry her or take her as his concubine. Having already dedicated her virginity to God, Margaret rejected Olybrius' unwanted attention and was not swayed by imprisonment, torture, or

153. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Mgq 267, folio 2r.

154. For a complete transcription of the text, as presented here in Berlin Mgq 267, see Moritz Haupt, "Die Marter der Heiligen Margareta" *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterthum* 1 (1841): 151-193.

threats of public execution.[155] In a notable episode from the legend, Margaret faces a daunting encounter with a dragon that engulfs her after she prays to unveil her true adversary. Unyielding in her resolve, she performs the sign of the cross and experiences a remarkable deliverance from the dragon's belly, which explodes and sets her free. Before receiving the crown of martyrdom, Margaret makes a prayer asking that women who call on her during childbirth be granted a safe delivery, and likewise that no child be born blind, dumb, possessed, or witless.[156] In Berlin Mgq 267 the prayer goes as follows: *Heut hilff mir her nieden / Vnd enpfach dj sel mein / Durch meyner grossen pein / Vnd pit dich auch herr mer / Wer mich jn deynem namen er / Mit welicher lay güete / Dem hilff aus seynen nöten / Jch pit dich herr mer / Des gewer mich durch dein er / Ob ain weyb jn jerer nöt / Mich nenn sand margareth / Vnd ob es vmb sey also stet / Das sy zw dem chindlein get / Oder ob sy mich nenn schyer / So erfül jr her ir pegir / Oder ob sy mein marter pey jr hab / Das sy dester senfter chöm des chindleyns ab / Puess jr aller grosser not / Vnd tue das her durch dein tod / Das sy jr purd senfft an werd / Des pit jch dich hewt auff erd* (Today help me down here / And receive my soul / Through my great torment / And ask you also, my Lord / Whoever honors me in your name / With all kindness / Help him out of his needs / I ask you, my Lord / Grant me that through your honor / whether a woman in her need / call me saint margareth / and whether it is like that with her / That she comes to the little child / Or whether she calls me quickly / Then fulfill her desire, Lord / or whether she has my torments, / That she may have a gentler birth of the little child / Repent her of all her great distress / And do

155. Williams-Krapp, "Margarete von Antiochien," in *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, Volume 5, ed. Kurt Ruh et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1985), 1240.

156. Allison Adair Alberts, "Spiritual Suffering and Physical Protection in Childbirth in the 'South English Legendary' Lives of Saint Margaret," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 46, no. 2 (2016): 294.

this through your death / That her birth may be gentle / That is what I ask of you today on earth).[157]

Saint Margaret's encounter with the dragon is widely interpreted by scholars as her primary connection to childbirth. She is a female dragonslayer, whose expulsion from the dragon is a symbolic form of the birthing process. The virgin saint's bodily suffering can also be interpreted as echoing women's labor pains in childbirth. Through her faith, Saint Margaret transforms this intense suffering into a triumphant experience of salvation.[158] Pregnancy and childbirth is one of the central concerns of many medieval Margaret texts. The significance of prayers for safe delivery has been and continues to be a crucial element of women's birthing rituals across numerous cultural traditions.[159] Saint Margaret is described as a brave, steadfast fighter who acts within her world and personally stands up for her faith. In doing so, she becomes an example for women who fight against temptations. Margaret actively earns divine grace through her actions.

The position of *Die Königin von Frankreich* between the fragmentarily preserved didactic-eschatological text and the *Legend of Margaret* again suggests a religious didactic perspective of the story here. There is an ideal pious female figure at the heart of the story in the *Legend of Margaret*; complementary to this in *Die Königin von Frankreich*, there is an ideal earthly female figure in the secular world, with the tale revolving around a loyal, sorely tested *minne* (love), and depicting unconditional fidelity of a long-suffering wife. Both female characters appear as exemplary figures of a chaste and Christian life, having to rebuff unwanted

157. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Mgq 267, folio 31v-32r.

158. Alberts, "Spiritual Suffering," 298.

159. Williams-Krapp, "Margarete von Antiochien," 1240.

suitors (Olybrius and the marshal) with virtue being rewarded in the end. Both women, Saint Margaret as well as the Queen of France, are also being connected to Virgin Mary. The prologue of the *Legend of Margaret* in Berlin Mgq 267 (verses 1–84) tells of the facts of salvation from a Mariological perspective.[160] While Duke Leopold of Austria in *Die Königin von Frankreich* in Berlin Mgq 267 tries to advocate for the Queen and her child by calling upon the Blessed Virgin Mary (verses 158–159): *Ert di edle chünigin / Dy rein magt dy got gepar* (Honor the noble Queen / the pure maiden, who gave birth to God) .[161]

Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Rare Book and Manuscript Library Collections, Cod. 824 (p^2)

Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Rare Book and Manuscript Library Collections, Codex 824, combines, on the surface, religious and secular texts. The entire manuscript was written by one and the same scribe in bastarda. As most of the manuscripts containing *Die Königin von Frankreich*, Philadelphia Codex 824 was also written on paper, with the folio size being 207mm by 141mm. An analysis of the paper's watermarks by Jefferis revealed that the first six quires each have a bunch of grapes, while the seventh has the much-used ox's head (with nostrils, eyes, ears, horns, and a star above the head).[162] These watermarks are very similar to

160. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Mgq 267, folios 17v-19r; Williams-Krapp, "Margarete von Antiochien," 1241.

161. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Mgq 267, folio 6r.

162. Sibylle Jefferis, *Ein Spätmittelalterliches Katharinenspiel aus dem Cod. Ger. 4 der University of Pennsylvania: Text und Studien zu seiner Legendengeschichtlichen Einordnung* (Göppingen: Kümmerle Verlag, 2007), 21.

others dating back to the first quarter of the fifteenth century. These watermark findings confirm that the period of origin must have been around 1400 to 1450, which can also be established by looking at the handwriting and the linguistic markers of Philadelphia Codex 824. The written language and its dialectal markers also put the regional origin of Philadelphia Codex 824 around the Lower Rhine region, and possibly from around Cologne.[163]

The light brown leather binding of the manuscript is from the eighteenth century and decorated on the front and back with larger and smaller pressed flowers as well as fine parallel lines. The 79 folios of Philadelphia Codex 824 consist of ten texts and are divided into seven quires, with varying folio count. The first three quires consist of twelve folios each (fol. 1–12, fol. 13–24, and fol. 25–36), the fourth quire of eleven folios (fol. 37–47), the fifth quire again of twelve folios (fol. 48–59), the sixth and seventh quires each of ten folios (fol. 60–69 and fol. 70–79). However, Springer argues that despite the variance of the quires' length, there is no reason to assume any textual loss.[164] This can be confirmed by the catchwords on folio 12v, folio 36v and folio 59v.[165] Philadelphia Codex 824 is a homogenetic manuscript.

Unfortunately, not much is known about the provenance of Philadelphia Codex 824, only that the manuscript was purchased by the University of Pennsylvania in 1955 from the antiquarian Emil Offenbacher in New York.[166] Jefferis speculates that Philadelphia Codex 824 was written in a St. Catherine's Monastery. She names, among others, the Dominican cloister of

163. Otto Springer, "Ein Unveröffentlichtes Spiel von 'Aristotiles und der Königin'," *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum und Deutsche Literatur* 111, no. 1 (1982): 24f.

164. Springer, "Ein Unveröffentlichtes Spiel," 23.

165. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Rare Book and Manuscript Library Collections, Codex 824.

166. Springer, "Ein Unveröffentlichtes Spiel," 22.

St. Catherine in Trier, with its significant literary tradition, as one place where Philadelphia Codex 824 could have been produced.[167]

The following texts can be found in Philadelphia Codex 824:

paper · III + 79 + III folios · 21.0cm × 14.0cm · Lower Rhine, maybe Cologne · around 1400–1450

fol. 1r–22r	*Moselfränkisches Katharinenspiel* (Legend of Catherine, play)
fol. 22r–24r	*Der Student von Paris* (The Student of Paris)
fol. 24va–24vb	*Lob der Heiligen Katharina* (Hymn in Honor of St. Catherine)
fol. 25r–30r	*Legend of Alexius*
fol. 30v–47r	*Aristoteles und Phyllis* (Aristotle and Phyllis, play)
fol. 47v	blank
fol. 48r–61v	*Die Königin von Frankreich* (no title)
fol. 62r–67r	Marian Sequence/*Ave Praeclara Maris Stella*, ger.
fol. 67v	*Der Geile Mönch* (The Horny Monk)
fol. 68r–69v	Marianic Hymn
fol. 70r–79v	Prose Devotional Text on Preparation for Confession

At first glance the constellation of Philadelphia Codex 824 might seem random. Mihm even argues that there are neither formal nor content-related ordering and selection principles. He further suggests that verse novellas were randomly combined with religious songs, legends of

167. Jefferis, *Ein Spätmittelalterliches Katharinenspiel*, 29-31.

saints and a secular play. He suggests that it stands to reason that this collection did not come about through selection from a larger literary stock, but merely represents the sum of all poetic products that the collector had accessible at the time of the creation of Philadelphia Codex 824.[168] Clark also describes Philadelphia Codex 824 as "a potpourri of religious literature and temporal farces which are most enlightening as to the literary taste of the time."[169] However, what the diverse texts in Philadelphia Codex 824 share, as Sara Poor has shown, is a focus on women, especially noble, educated, sainted, or spiritually elevated women.[170] In this manuscript, one of the key themes is the portrayal of strong and virtuous women who embody nobility and spiritual enlightenment. These women are presented as role models in the texts, emphasizing their strength and character. It could be argued that the intended reader or patron of the manuscript might have been a noblewoman, although this cannot be proven definitively. The clergyman who owned the manuscript likely had women to care for, potentially including students from aristocratic or upper-class families.[171]

In contrast to the seven quires, there are four fascicles altogether. Fascicles are, unlike quires, independent units/booklets, self-contained regarding content, containing only whole texts. The first fascicle contains the play *Moselfränkisches Katharinenspiel* (Legend of Catherine), the

168. Mihm, *Überlieferung und Verbreitung der Märendichtung im Spätmittelalter*, 120.

169. Richard C. Clark, "The Poem 'Van dem Scholer van Paryß'," *Modern Language Notes* 73 (1958): 285.

170. Sara Poor, "Sankt Katharina, Sankt Alexius und 'Der Scholer van Parijß': Ästhetische Form und Gender als Ordnungsprinzipien im Codex 824 der University of Pennsylvania," in *Ordnung und Unordnung in der Literatur des Mittelalters*, ed. Wolfgang Harms et al. (Stuttgart: S. Hirzel Verlag, 2003).

171. Sibylle Jefferis, "Das Spiel 'Aristoteles und die Königin' (University of Pennsylvania, Cod. Ger. 4): Ein Vergleich mit seiner Hauptvorlage der Märe 'Aristoteles und Phyllis'," *Fifteenth-Century Studies* 15 (1989): 167.

verse novella *Der Student von Paris* (The Student of Paris) and a Hymn in Honor of Saint Catherine (quires one and two). The second fascicle consists of the *Legend of Alexius* and the play *Aristoteles und Phyllis* (Aristotle and Phyllis) (quires three and four). The third fascicle contains *Die Königin von Frankreich*, a Marianic Sequence, the beginning of an obscene poem *Der Geile Mönch*, and a Marianic Hymn (quires five and six). Finally, the fourth and last fascicle is filled with a prose devotional text on the preparation for confession (quire seven).

The *Legend of Catherine* in Philadelphia Codex 824 is written in the form of a play, also called *Moselfränkisches Katharinenspiel*. The *Moselfränkische Katharinenspiel*, which comprises around 1,000 verses, is, together with the well-known *Thüringische Katharinenspiel* (fourteenth century), the only representative of its genre.[172] Saint Catherine is a Christian saint and virgin, who was martyred in the early fourth century at the hands of the Roman emperor Maxentius. According to legend, she was a highly educated young girl of noble birth. She protested the persecution of Maxentius, whose wife and several soldiers she converted while imprisoned, and defeated the most eminent scholars summoned by Maxentius to oppose her. During her subsequent torture, she professed that she had consecrated her virginity to Jesus Christ and was sentenced to death. Catherine's devotion to this marriage to Christ and her faith gave her the strength to withstand the trials she was put through. She was therefore held up as a great example to Christians – and most specifically Christian women – everywhere.[173]

Saint Catherine is the patron saint of young girls, students, and scholars. In the Middle Ages, Saint Catherine was considered the highest-ranking saint after Virgin Mary and, together

172. Jefferis, *Ein Spätmittelalterliches Katharinenspiel*, 237.

173. Poor, "Sankt Katharina, Sankt Alexius und 'Der Scholer van Parijß'," 201.

with Barbara, Dorothea and Margaret, one of the four main virgins.[174] In the *Moselfränkische Katharinenspiel* in Philadelphia Codex 824, however, the focus of the plot is primarily Catherine's high intelligence, beauty, courage, and care, and not her martyrdom. It is obvious that the play is aimed at reminding a female audience of good female Christian qualities and values rather than highlighting Catherine's martyrdom. In many conversations with the emperor, the masters, the empress, the knights and even with the executioner, Catherine proves that faith is the highest good.[175] Just as Berlin Mgq 267 depicted Saint Margaret as a female Christian role model, Philadelphia Codex 824 depicts Saint Catherine as a female Christian role model. The *Moselfränkische Katharinenspiel* was most likely used as a reading drama for educational purposes.[176]

Der Student von Paris, which follows the *Moselfränkische Katharinenspiel* in the same fascicle, is a rather short (~100 verses) verse novella that has survived in varying versions. The story revolves around the classic medieval theme of a clever wife replacing her lover, who has been caught, with an animal. In Paris, a student offers to make love to a married woman eight times in one night, but she falls asleep before being able to let him into the house. Instead, her husband, pretending to be her, lets the student in at night to later accuse her of infidelity in front of witnesses. The husband hides the student in a chest, but the wife discovers him and replaces him with a young donkey. When the donkey is revealed, the husband is forced to leave the woman with all their possessions. The moral of the story is that men are helpless against the wit

174. Peter Assion, "Katharina von Alexandrien," in *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, Volume 4, ed. Kurt Ruh et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1983), 1055.

175. Sibylle Jefferis, "Moselfränkisches Katharinenspiel," in *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, Volume 6, ed. Kurt Ruh et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1987), 703.

176. Jefferis, "Das Spiel 'Aristoteles und die Königin'," 169.

of women (*frawenlist*).[177] Westphal-Wihl argues that this version of *Der Student von Paris* in Philadelphia Codex 824 is a variation of Peter Schmieher's *Der Student von Prag* (The Student of Prague), which moves the plot from Prague to Paris.[178] The verse novella is followed by a Hymn in Honor of Saint Catherine, which ends the first fascicle on folio 24v: *O Kathrina hochgeborn frucht / synt dyn junffrauliche zucht etc.* (Oh Catherine, you high-born being / are your virgin way of life etc.).[179]

The second fascicle begins with the *Legend of Alexius* in verse. Throughout history, Alexius has been venerated as the patron saint of beggars and pilgrims. Alexius was the son of rich parents in Rome in the fifth century and married very lucratively. He flees from wealth and remains in poverty and misery in the Orient (Edessa) until he is sent back to Rome by divine decree, where he lives under the stairs of his father's palace. Unknown to his father or wife, he patiently suffers all humiliations as an ascetic. It is only with his death that his identity is revealed, and miracles confirm his holiness. The legend of Alexius is one of the most popular German legends in the Late Middle Ages. The transmission of the story can be divided into a 'papal' and a 'bridal' category, depending on whether the dead saint gives his biography (letter) to the pope or to his abandoned bride.[180]

The *Legend of Alexius* is followed by the second play of Philadelphia Codex 824, *Aristoteles und Phyllis* (Aristotle and Phyllis), which finishes the second fascicle. Just like the

177. Westphal-Wihl, "Vergesellschaftung in Mären Transmission: Peter Schmieher's 'Der Student von Prag'," *Modern Language Notes* 101, no. 3 (1986): 672.

178. Westphal-Wihl, "Vergesellschaftung in Mären Transmission," 679.

179. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Rare Book and Manuscript Library Collections, Codex 824.

180. Hans-Friedrich Rosenfeld, "Alexius," in *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, Volume 1, ed. Kurt Ruh et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1978), 226.

Moselfränkische Katharinenspiel on the first fascicle, *Aristotiles und Phyllis* as a play, which is based on the verse novella *Aristoteles und Phyllis*, has only been transmitted in Philadelphia Codex 824. Aristotle, appointed by King Phillip to teach his son Alexander, one day notices how the attention of his otherwise very zealous student is waning. The reason: Alexander is in love with Phyllis, a beautiful Queen. Unsuccessful in his rebuke, he reports to the King, and the two lovers are violently separated. The Queen seeks revenge. One day she dresses up nicely and walks up and down in front of the old philosopher's window with enticing gestures. He is immediately seized by *minne* (love), and in the burning desire to be able to sleep with the Queen for a night, he submits to her condition that she wants to use him as a riding horse. He is given a saddle and bridle and crawls through the garden on all fours with the beautiful Queen on his back. The entire court watches them. To escape the ridicule, Aristotle flees to the island of Galicia.[181] Jefferis argues that this play was also used as a reading drama for educational purposes, just like the *Moselfränkische Katharinenspiel*.[182]

The third fascicle begins with *Die Königin von Frankreich*, which is directly followed by a German versification of the Latin *Ave Praeclara Maris Stella*, a Marianic sequence. Marian poetry like this had a far-reaching influence throughout the Middle Ages with the central theme being the devotion to Mary in her role as virgin and mother. The Marianic Sequence is followed by the beginning of an obscene poem that only survives in Philadelphia Codex 824 and is crossed out by the scribe: *Der Geile Mönch* (The Horny Monk). The tale is about a monk who one day wants to leave his order due to lust. It is likely that the only surviving folio of the text is

181. Helmut Rosenfeld, "Aristoteles und Phyllis," in *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, Volume 1, ed Kurt Ruh et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1978), 434f.

182. Jefferis, "Das Spiel 'Aristoteles und die Königin'," 169.

probably crossed out in the manuscript due to the indecent content. The rest of the text of *Der Geile Mönch* is missing, making it a fragment. The last poem in the fascicle is another Marianic text, a Marianic hymn. It is a very short poem (43 couplets) that begins as a prayer to the Virgin Mary. Its placement here is similar to that of the Hymn in Honor of St. Catherine at the end of the first fascicle.

The fourth and last fascicle does not follow the same pattern as the others. It consists of one quire and contains only a prose text on the preparation for the confession, making the owner of the book probably a clergyman and at the same time a clerical teacher, likely a confessor or the like. Although written by the same scribe as the rest of Philadelphia Codex 824, this fascicle has a different appearance. It is more yellowed than the rest, which is perhaps a sign of heavier use. In addition, as mentioned earlier, the watermarks convey that the paper in this fascicle is older than that in the rest of the manuscript.[183] Westphal-Wihl even suggests that it perhaps existed as an independent booklet before the rest of the manuscript was produced.[184] However, as Poor has argued, this text still fits in well with all other co-texts. A dialogic form predominates in all texts in Philadelphia Codex 824. Two of the texts are plays, the other texts contain numerous dialogues. Even the preparation for the confession, which does not rhyme, is written dialogically. The text consists of a dialogue between a confessor and a daughter, some of which has clearly dramatic features.[185]

183. Jefferis, *Ein Spätmittelalterliches Katharinenspiel*, 26f.

184. Westphal-Wihl, "Vergesellschaftung in Mären Transmission," 682.

185. Poor, "Sankt Katharina, Sankt Alexius und 'Der Scholer van Parijß'," 199f.

The texts in the manuscript seem to have been organized in a way that contrasts positive and negative examples, particularly of women.[186] Philadelphia Codex 824 contains a variety of texts, but the arrangement seems to follow a pattern.[187] The structure of the manuscript is based on fascicles, and each of the first three fascicles presents religious and secular texts side by side.

In the first fascicle, Saint Catherine is portrayed as positive, while the wife in *Der Student von Paris* is portrayed as negative. Changes made to this version of Schmieher's *Der Student von Prag* support this idea, as they remove condemnation of the husband and praise for the wife's cleverness.[188] The addition of an unrhymed line on folio 22v calling the wife a "she-devil" (*valentynen*) increases the condemnation of her character.[189] These changes make the wife's character more extreme, similar to the black and white portrayals in the lives of saints included in the manuscript (Saint Catherine and Saint Alexius). The moral of *Der Student von Prag* is also rewritten in Philadelphia Codex 824 to remove the praise for female cleverness (*frauenlist*) and the mockery for the husband trying to deceive his wife. The moral that no one should consider himself witty enough to triumph over female cleverness does not appear in Philadelphia Codex 824.[190] Instead, Philadelphia Codex 824 presents the wife in *hogemoi* (high spirits) (l. 104). On top of that, such foolish female behavior is banished to a remote place: *Dis geschach zu paris /*

186. Westphal-Wihl, "Vergesellschaftung in Mären Transmission," 681.

187. Westphal-Wihl, "Vergesellschaftung in Mären Transmission," 680.

188. Westphal-Wihl, "Vergesellschaftung in Mären Transmission," 683f.

189. Richard C. Clark, "Two Medieval Scholars," *The German Quarterly* 32 (1959): 139.

190. Westphal-Wihl, "Vergesellschaftung in Mären Transmission," 684.

da machet man affen/ myt selichen schluraffen (This happened in Paris, where monkeys are made by means of happy idlers; fol. 24r).[191]

The pattern of contrasting positive and negative examples continues in the second and third fascicles. The second fascicle depicts the bride in the *Legend of Alexius* as positive, as she leads an exemplary chaste Christian life after being abandoned by Alexius, and Phyllis in *Aristoteles und Phyllis* as negative, as she ridicules the old philosopher. The venerable Aristotle finds himself outmaneuvered by a young woman, Phyllis, who leverages her youth and beauty to ensnare him. The calculated craftiness and seductiveness of the young woman serve as a poignant manifestation of a longstanding, misogynistic notion suggesting that women inherently possess an elusive erotic astuteness, strategically deployed to manipulate men.[192] The fact that both Phyllis and the wife in *Der Student von Paris* use such cleverness (*frawenlist*) to thwart and publicly humiliate the men who stand in the way of their amorous adventures may constitute another element in the pattern of repetition.

The third fascicle blurs the line between religious and secular stories. The story of *Die Königin von Frankreich* was to have been juxtaposed with the fragmentary *Der Geile Mönch*. The scribe, however, copied only the first twenty-two lines. Clark believed the scribe's reaction to the obscene verse novella as follows: "As he (or she) progressed … the ribaldry became more and more distasteful. Finally, at the end of the folio, he vented his pent-up distaste for the subject by disfiguring the folio with interlacing pen strokes and left the selection a torso."[193] By deciding

191. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Rare Book and Manuscript Library Collections, Codex 824.

192. Ann Marie Rasmussen, "Problematizing Medieval Misogyny: Aristotle and Phyllis in the German Tradition," in *Verstellung und Betrug im Mittelalter und in der Mittelalterlichen Literatur*, ed. Mathias Meyer and Alexander Sager (Göttingen: V & R Unipress, 2015), 199.

193. Clark, "Two Medieval Scholars," 134.

not to continue with the text the scribe disrupted the contrasting of positive and negative characters from fascicle to fascicle. Fischer's description of *Die Königin von Frankreich* as a "secularized story of an innocently persecuted woman (saint)" shows how well-suited *Die Königin von Frankreich* is to be the positive role model, which is also highlighted by the Marianic Sequence (a harmonious selection that introduces female piety) that immediately follows the verse novella.[194]

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Mgq 478 (b^9)

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Mgq 478 was written on paper around 1450 to 1480, or more broadly speaking during the third quarter of the fifteenth century.[195] Berlin Mgq 478 was likely bound together in the fifteenth or early sixteenth century, during which part of the headings and marginal decorations have been damaged by cropping (over-trimming) the folios.[196] The trimmed folio size is 195mm by 140mm. Berlin Mgq 478 was written by two scribes. The scribe/compiler of all texts of Berlin Mgq 478, except for the seventh text, *Über das Brief-Dichten* (About Writing Letters), was Matthias von Güntzburg, who names himself throughout

194. Hanns Fischer, *Studien zur Deutschen Märendichtung* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1968), 168: "säkularisierte Geschichte einer unschuldig verfolgten Frau (Heiligen)."

195. Paulus Mau, "Gydo und Thyrus: Ein deutscher Ausläufer des altfranzösisch-mittelenglischen Freundschaftsromans Guy von Warwick" (Dissertation, Universität Jena, 1909), 43.

196. Friedrich Zarncke, *Der Deutsche Cato: Geschichte der Deutschen Übersetzungen der im Mittelalter unter dem Namen Cato bekannten Distichen bis zur Verdrängung derselben durch die Übersetzung Seb. Brants am Ende des 15. Jahrh.* (Leipzig: Verlag Georg Wiegand, 1852), 115f.

the entire manuscript, including on the last folio of *Die Königin von Frankreich*.[197] The name *hanns* is written twice on folio 96v, right before *Die Königin von Frankreich* begins. It is written once upside down at the bottom of the page (*Hanns / gemacht sunntag*), and again following an alphabet of capital letters drawn horizontally on the left side of the folio.[198] In addition, individual syllables and word beginnings are scattered across folio 96v, probably stemming from "probation pennae" (breaking-in the pen).

Even though the eight texts in Berlin Mgq 478 were written on eight individual fascicles, the multi-text manuscript in its current bound form must have been in the possession of a young noble lady at the time of its production in the fifteenth century. A scribe from the fifteenth century wrote the following on the flyleaf: *Item dasz bvoch ist madalen lvpin* (item this book belongs to Madalen/Magdalen Lupin).[199] Mihm assumes that Magdalen Lupin was probably a lady who belonged to the Swabian nobility.[200] This fact would correspond with Strippel's observation that the written language is Eastern Swabian.[201] Berlin Mgq 478 is a homogenetic manuscript, which means that the texts within it were originally selected for compilation, even though two different scribes copied the texts.

The following texts can be found in Berlin Mgq 478:

197. Hermann Degering, *Kurzes Verzeichnis der Germanischen Handschriften der Preußischen Staatsbibliothek: Band II Die Handschriften in Quartformat* (Leipzig: Verlag von Karl W. Hiersemann, 1926), 85.

198. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Mgq 478.

199. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Mgq 478.

200. Mihm, *Überlieferung und Verbreitung der Märendichtung im Spätmittelalter*, 20.

201. Strippel, *Schondochs 'Königin von Frankreich'*, 39.

paper · I + 235 folios · 19.5cm × 14.0cm · around Ulm & Augsburg[202] · around 1450–1480

fol. 1r–21v	*Legend of George*
fol. 22r–78v	*Die Heidin/Wittich vom Jordan* (The Heathen)
fol. 79r–96r	*Cato*, ger.
fol. 96v–114v	*Die Königin von Frankreich (…und die kingin zu franckenreich vnd wie es ir ergien*)
fol.115r–142v	*Gydo und Thyrus* (Gydo and Thyrus)
fol. 143r–184v	*Legend of George*, taken from *Der Heiligen Leben* (The Lives of Saints)
fol. 185r–208v	*Über das Brief-Dichten* (About Writing Letters)
fol. 209r–235v	*Legend of Oswald*

Just like Berlin Mgq 267, Berlin Mgq 478, presents *Die Königin von Frankreich* among texts of martyrs and saints. Most of the texts in Berlin Mgq 478 are religious legends. In Berlin Mgq 478 and Berlin Mgq 267, the manuscript transmission suggests that *Die Königin von Frankreich* is being assimilated to religious stories of martyrs and saints. This means that the context of the entire manuscript asks the reader to notice the correspondences between the Queen's trials and tribulations and those of saints and martyrs. The manuscript context of Berlin Mgq 478 strongly implies that people living good Christian lives experience a happy ending, as the endings of the majority of texts in Berlin Mgq 478 have been altered from their original sources to finish with a happy ending, as well as to highlight chastity.

202. Mihm, *Überlieferung und Verbreitung der Märendichtung im Spätmittelalter*, 20.

The first four texts are written in verse (including *Die Königin von Frankreich*), while the following four texts are written in prose. The first text in Berlin Mgq 478, *The Legend of George*, revolves around the high-ranking warrior George from Cappadocia (Anatolia, Turkey), who died a martyr's death at the beginning of the fourth century. Saint George is the patron saint of knighthood. Central to the oriental type of legend is the indestructibility of the saint's life (he survives several attempts at execution before finally being beheaded). George saves the King's daughter, who is a virgin, from a beast, the dragon, by injuring him badly, after which the maiden leads the dragon tamely into the city. George convinces the King and people to be baptized and then slays the dragon. This version of the legend in Berlin Mgq 478 can be dated to the first half of the fourteenth century.[203]

Berlin Mgq 478 also transmits the Middle High German verse novella *Die Heidin/Wittich vom Jordan* (The Heathen), of which there are four versions. The story enjoyed great popularity, as a total of nine complete manuscripts and numerous fragments have survived. The version here in Berlin Mgq 478 belongs to the second text editing, which originates in Bavaria between 1270 and 1290.[204] The work's title *Die Heidin* comes from the female protagonist, the heathen beauty Libanet. In the version in Berlin Mgq 478, her male opponent, a Christian knight, bears the name "Wittich vom Jordan". In previous research, this version has therefore also been named after the male lead character.[205]

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203. Williams-Krapp, "Georg," in *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, Volume 2, ed. Kurt Ruh et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1980), 1195f.

204. Karl-Heinz Schirmer, "Die Heidin," in *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, Volume 3, ed. Kurt Ruh et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1981), 612.

205. Schirmer, "Die Heidin," 614.

The tale's main theme is the pure, chaste *minne* (love) of women, and tells the following story: the Christian knight Wittich hears of the beauty of Libanet and falls in love with the heathen, who is married to King Beliant of Westerlande. Wittich moves to the Orient to win his beloved. Once there, he wins a tournament against King Beliant, who then gives him a friendly welcome and greets him with hospitality. Wittich takes advantage of a short absence of Beliant to confess his love for Libanet in a long conversation. But the Queen rejects him. Wittich then travels through the country for seven years to earn glory and honor in numerous battles and thus also the love of the heathen. Meanwhile, Libanet, troubled by her conscience, falls ill fearing for Wittich's life. An old woman recognizes the cause of her illness as unfulfilled *minne* (love). Libanet orders the knight to come back, but at the same time still feels indebted to her husband, King Beliant. She then gives Wittich the choice between the upper and lower part of her body. Wittich chooses the part above the belt. This decision has consequences for Libanet's marriage. Since the upper part of her body now belongs to Wittich, she refuses to look at her husband. The King is so angry at his wife's disobedience that he beats her. Libanet then finally and completely flees into Wittich's arms and bed. To escape Beliant's wrath, Wittich kidnaps his beloved, who is then also baptized. But Beliant gathers his troops and leads them to Wittich's kingdom by the Jordan. In the ensuing struggles, however, the pagans are defeated by the Christians. Beliant is captured, falls in love with Wittich's sister, is baptized and remarries. This version of *Die Heidin* in Berlin Mgq 478 adds the secret kidnapping and baptism of the heathen, the King's attempt to win her back through a vengeful campaign, and finally the reconciliation with the King, his baptism and marriage to the knight's sister. These additions highlight the conversion from heathens to Christians and make the text very clearly a religiously and morally motivated text.

The *Disticha Catonis* that follows *Die Heidin* in Berlin Mgq 478 is a German translation of the so-called *Latin Cato*, and is among the most popular collections of didactic aphorisms of the Middle Ages. The *Latin Cato* is the work of an unknown author of the third or fourth century.[206] The work begins with an introductory prose epistle, which presents the work as a collection of advice from a father to his son. In the Middle Ages, there was a gradual expansion of the *Latin Cato*, propagating the following qualities: composure, moderation, judgment, patience, and restraint. The work became very popular as it was a collection of moralisms and proverbial wisdom highlighting religious values, acting as a religiously moral compass. The so-called *Rumpfbearbeitung* of the German Cato (also *Rumpf-Cato*), as found here in Berlin Mgq 478, is of Austro-Bavarian origin in the late thirteenth century.[207]

As mentioned earlier, in contrast to the first half of the manuscript in verse, the second half of the texts in Berlin Mgq 478 are all written in prose, starting with *Gydo und Thyrus* (Gydo and Thyrus), a German chivalric prose narrative from the first half of the fifteenth century. The German versions of *Gydo und Thyrus* are adaptations from the popular story about the Guy of Warwick, which was a widespread tale in the Middle Ages. The German adaptations are limited to the heroic journey to the Holy Land from the second part of the narrative.[208] The story goes as follows: Shortly after his marriage, the English knight Gydo embarks on a journey to the Holy Land with Thyrus. Thyrus successfully supports the King of Dacia in battle and receives high honors as a result. However, Thyrus falls victim to a scheme. Gydo fights victoriously in the

206. Peter Kesting, "Cato," in *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, Volume 1, ed. Kurt Ruh et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1978), 1192.

207. Kesting, "Cato," 1194.

208. Udo Gerdes, "Gydo und Thyrus," in *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, Volume 3, ed. Kurt Ruh et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1981), 353.

Holy Land, and then restores Thyrus' reputation and honor by killing the defamer. Returning to England alone, Gydo is not recognized by his wife and his now seven-year-old son, whereupon Gydo lives the rest of his life as a hermit. Only after his death is he identified by his wife. This version of *Gydo und Thyrus*, as found here in Berlin Mgq 478, has been altered. While the tale parallels the original version in the main storyline, it differs fundamentally at the end. There is a happy reunion of Gydo with his wife. Additionally, Thyrus, who came home with him in this version, is also mediated into a happy marriage by Gydo.[209] The tale in Berlin Mgq 478 ends with the words: *Gott helf vns auch dz wir nauch disem leben die ewig froed besitzen! In gottes namen amen* (God help us also that after this life we have eternal joy! In God's name amen).[210]

The story of *Gydo und Thyrus* is also included in the *Gesta Romanorum*, which is a collection of short and long stories with moral tendencies. The *Gesta Romanorum* was very widespread in the later Middle Ages – used, translated, and modified in many ways. The stories always end in a *moralisatio*, which points out often quite vigorously the basic moral ideas of the Church.[211] Later the moralizations, especially in German manuscripts (including in the version of the story as found here in Berlin Mgq 478) were often omitted. This is most likely because the compilers thought those moralizations prevented the reader from following the material with a good flow of reading. The narrative material itself also pointed very heavily towards its moralizing character already anyway.[212]

209. Gerdes, "Gydo und Thyrus," 354.

210. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Mgq 478, fol. 142v.

211. Udo Gerdes, "Gesta Romanorum," in *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, Volume 3, ed. Kurt Ruh et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1981), 25f.

212. Mau, "Gydo und Thyrus," 13f.

The *Legend of George* also appears a second time in Berlin Mgq 478, this time in prose instead of verse. It has been taken from a bigger literary work, namely from *Der Heiligen Leben* (The Lives of Saints), which is the most widespread German-language collection of prose legends in the Middle Ages. Originating around 1400 in the Dominican monastery in Nuremberg, this German-language collection of prose legends has survived in around two hundred manuscripts and in more than forty medieval printed editions and contains two hundred and fifty-one legends of saints in its original corpus.[213] It can be assumed that it was originally intended as table reading material for the female readership of the monastery in Nuremberg, where *Der Heiligen Leben* originated.[214]

The following prose text in Berlin Mgq 478 contains another legend, the *Legend of Oswald*. Saint Oswald was an Anglo-Saxon King of Northumbria—an early medieval Anglo-Saxon kingdom in what is now Northern England and south-east Scotland. He was a martyr who introduced Celtic Christian missionaries to his kingdom and gained ascendancy over most of England. Nowadays Saint Oswald is a canonized Catholic saint. The storyline of the *Legend of Oswald* in Berlin Mgq 478 goes as follows: Oswald listens to the advice of a well-travelled man and courts the beautiful Paim, the daughter of the pagan King Aron. No one wants to woo her, since Aron cuts off the head of every suitor. Oswald then sends his tamed raven for the courtship instead, but Aron catches it. Paim pleads for the raven's freedom and hands the raven a ring for Oswald, with the message that he ought to gather a great army and bring back a golden stag. Oswald sets out with the army and the stag. While Aron chases the golden stag, Oswald sets

213. Kornad Kunze, "Der Heiligen Leben," in *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, Volume 3, ed. Kurt Ruh et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1981), 617f.

214. Kunze, "Der Heiligen Leben," 619.

Paim free and kidnaps her. Then a murderous battle ensues. Oswald makes a vow to grant any request made to him in the name of God. Thirty thousand pagans are killed in battle, with King Aron alone surviving. Oswald tells him that he is to be baptized or he will die. The King refuses unless Oswald brings the King's people back to life. Oswald then raises all the fallen pagans from the dead. But the pagan King has a second demand: Oswald must conjure up water from a stone. Oswald lifts his foot and kicks the stone. Refreshing water flows out, up to the knees of the men who are then baptized. Oswald and Paim then go on to lead a holy life.

The *Legend of Oswald* in Berlin Mgq 478 is a clear and lively version that redesigns the plot and rids it of repetitive motifs and (apparent) inconsistencies. In contrast to other older legendary prose Oswald versions, this text is almost entirely focused on the courtship theme. The outcome is altered accordingly: Oswald's courtship leads to a happy marriage blessed with children, instead of him dying a martyr's death.[215]

The manuscript context of Berlin Mgq 478 strongly suggests a thematic emphasis on the positive outcomes associated with living good Christian lives. This is evidenced by the alteration of endings in the majority of texts within Berlin Mgq 478, where the original sources have been modified to conclude with a happy ending. Furthermore, these alterations serve to underscore the importance of chastity within the narratives.

Included in Berlin Mgq 478 is also a text called *Über das Brief-Dichten* (About Writing Letters), which describes the correct way to write letters as a noble woman. This is in alignment with all other co-texts based on the intended female readership: *Über das Brief-Dichten* gives

215. Michael Curschmann, "Oswald (Prosafassungen)," in *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, Volume 7, ed. Kurt Ruh et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1989), 127f.

instructional knowledge of the sort that a noble lady such as Magdalen Lupin may well have needed as a member of the ruling class and as a prominent daughter or wife in a great household.

Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cpg 472 (h^9)

Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cpg 472 consists of 208 folios, which are about 282mm by 204mm in size. Existing research tells us that Heidelberg Cpg 472 is made of paper, with multiple watermarks. Miller and Zimmermann point out that there appears to be multiple different watermarks (ox's head with a single-contour stick with flower with suffixes; two varieties of grapes; ox's head with a single-contour stick with a star; and a tower).[216] All of these watermarks make it possible to date the manuscript to around 1450. The paper is heavily soiled and partly foxed.[217] The process of ink corrosion has begun as well.[218] Folios 136 to 193 also show water damage to the upper corner.

Folio 1 includes a note on provenance, in which the notary reports on the birth of Wollffgang Rechmyczer's daughter, Margareta, on March 6, 1501, in Selmecbánya/Schemnitz: *Item deß Wollffgang Rechmyczer* [!] *dochter Margareta ist gepornn wordem am sambstag Nach allermansfasthan tag auff den abent auff der Schemnycz zbischen sechssen vnd sÿbenn Im 1501 Jar etc. got geb vnss gelugk vnd haÿll* (Item Wollffgang Rechmyczer [!] daughter Margareta was born on Saturday after all men's day of fasting in the evening on the Schemnitz between six and

216. Matthias Miller and Karin Zimmermann, *Die Codices Palatini Germanici in der Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg (Cod. Pal. germ. 304-495)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2007), 519.

217. Foxing is an age-related process of deterioration that causes spots and browning on old paper.

218. Ink corrosion refers to the decomposition of paper caused by ink.

seven in the year 1501 etc. God grant us happiness and salvation).[219] This entry proves the presence of Heidelberg Cpg 427 at the time in medieval Hungary. The place name *Schemnycz* refers to the mining town of Schemnitz (Banská Štiavnica) in modern-day Slovakia. The possession of books was not uncommon among the German citizens of medieval Hungary. In their wills, citizens most often mention three to four books on subjects related to religious services, private religious practice, and practical theology. These are often edited based on a mixed, therefore non-uniform, principle.[220] Heidelberg Cpg 472 fits well into this trend since the manuscript mostly contains prayers and meditations used outside the Church service.

Heidelberg Cpg 427 consists of nineteen quires. On folio 4a of the second quire, there is a note on the purchase price on folio 4a (probably from the fifteenth or sixteenth century): *XXXXV Fl*. Between folios 188 and 189 is a blank folio 188a, which was probably added later together with folio 201 to make space to finish the last text, which is *Die Königin von Frankreich*. These two folios have a different watermark and on folio 200 a black-ink catchword appears, whereas the rest of the manuscript uses red-ink catchwords. Quires two through sixteen (folio 1 to folio 201) display a foliation from the seventeenth century, with a few exceptions. The first quire plus folio 4a from the second quire, folio 188a, and folios 202–204 display an even more modern foliation.

Heidelberg Cpg 427 was written by four scribes, consistently using bastarda and writing in a southern Bavarian/Austro-Bavarian dialect. This localizes Heidelberg Cpg 427 to southern

219. Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cpg 472.

220. Katalin Szende, *Otthon a Városban: Társadalom és Anyagi Kultúra a Középkori Sopronban, Pozsonyban és Eperjesen (*Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 2004), 223.

Bavaria.[221] Quires two through fifteen and quire seventeen (almost the entirety of the manuscript) were written by scribe A (fol. 1v–176v and fol. 189r–201r; this includes *Die Königin von Frankreich*). Quire sixteen is comprised of work by the other three scribes (fol. 177r-–188v). While scribes B and C wrote Jakob Engelin's *Aderlasstraktat* (scribe B: fol. 177ra–184ra; scribe C: fol. 184ra–184rb), scribe D wrote Peter Schmieher's *Die Wolfsklage* (fol. 184rb–186rb) and *Lob der Frauen und der Priester* (fol. 186va–188vb). There is also a scribal entry on fol. 186ra, naming scribe D as *Cunrat Juncreuter*.[222] Another scribal entry on fol. 188^{vb} has been partially erased and is presumably not to be understood as the text's dating, but it seems rather to be stating scribe D's (Cunrat Juncreuter's) date of birth on June 26, 1439.[223]

Even though Heidelberg Cpg 472 was technically written by four different scribes (the majority of the manuscript by scribe A, including *Die Königin von Frankreich*) and the manuscript has a parchment binding from the seventeenth century, we can still assume that the book, as we have it today, was intended to hold all the texts at hand at the time of creation around 1450. Margareta Rechmyczer (owner of the manuscript in 1501) was born just a few years after Heidelberg Cpg 472 was finished. And, as already mentioned, we can also find remnants of catchwords throughout Heidelberg Cpg 472. This makes Heidelberg Cpg 472 a homogenetic manuscript, meaning that the texts within it were originally chosen for compilation, even though four different scribes copied the texts.

The following texts can be found in Heidelberg Cpg 472:

221. Curt Rassek, "Der 'Littauer' und die 'Königin von Frankreich': Zwei Gedichte von Schondoch" (Dissertation, Universität Breslau, 1899), 15f.

222. Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cpg 472.

223. Miller and Zimmermann, *Die Codices Palatini Germanici*, 519.

paper · 208 folios · 28.23cm × 20.4cm · southern Bavaria · around 1450

fol. 1va–62ra	*Paradisus Animae*, ger.
fol. 62rb–66rb	Beichttraktat (Confessional Treatise)
fol. 66rb–70ra	Catechetical Collection
fol. 70rb–72rb	Requiems
fol. 72rb–81vb	Prayers and Exempla
fol. 82ra–116vb	Mönch's von Heilsbronn *Buch von den Sechs Namen des Fronleichnams* (Monk's of Heilbronn Book of the Six Names of Corpus Christi)
fol. 117ra–123ra	Prayers, Hymns and Reflections
fol. 123ra–126vb	Sterbelehre aus Heinrich Seuse's *Büchlein der ewigen Weisheit* (Doctrine of Death from Henry Suso's The Little Book of Eternal Wisdom)
fol. 126vb–127rb	*Herzklosterallegorie* (Allegory of the Heart as a Monastery)
fol. 127rb–129vb	Reflections and Prayers
fol. 130ra–136ra	Passionsbericht nach den Evangelien/Passionsharmonie (Report of the Passion according to the Gospels)
fol. 136ra–162vb	Heinrich's von St. Gallen *Passionstraktat* (Passion Treatise)
fol. 162vb–175va	Prayers (Maria, Christ, St. Catherine, for Communion)
fol. 175vb–176vb	Cantica Novi Testamenti, Veni Sancte Spiritus, Salve-Regina-Paraphrase, Requiem, ger.
fol. 177ra–184rb	Jakob Engelin's *Aderlasstraktat* (Phlebotomy Treatise)
fol. 184rb–186rb	Peter Schmieher's *Die Wolfsklage* (Laments of a Wolf)

fol. 186va–188vb	*Lob der Frauen und der Priester* (Praise of Women and Priests)
fol. 189ra–194ra	*Christus und die Sieben Laden* (Christ and the Seven Chests)
fol. 194ra–195rb	*Das Goldene ABC* aus dem Meisterbuch des Rulman Merswin (The Golden ABC)
fol. 195rb–200va	*Die Königin von Frankreich* (*Vonn der kunegin vonn / franckreich wie ez ir erging*)
fol. 200va–201ra	Morning Blessing

Heidelberg Cpg 472 contains almost exclusively religious texts – primarily prayers, tracts and treatises, and instructions. Strippel argues that among those religious texts, "the secular text *Die Königin von Frankreich* is the odd one out."[224] I would like to disagree, however. Heidelberg Cpg 472 unites basic Christian knowledge and instructions on right living for presumably female lay recipients, such as Margareta Rechmyczer. The religious didactic character of Heidelberg Cpg 472 is also being highlighted by its title, which can be found on the upper edge of the manuscript, written in the fifteenth century: *Von tugenden der menschen* (Of the virtues of people).[225] Eichenberger also points out that *Die Königin von Frankreich* and Peter Schmieher's *Die Wolfsklage* (Laments of a Wolf) are both not considered explicitly religious but can evidently be placed in a religious interpretive perspective as it is suggested here by the overwhelmingly religious contents.[226]

224. Strippel, *Schondochs 'Königin von Frankreich'*, 35: "so daß [!] der weltliche Text KvF ziemlich aus dem Rahmen der Sammlung fällt."

225. Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cpg 472.

226. Eichenberger, *Geistliches Erzählen*, 338.

Heidelberg Cpg 472 begins with the German *Paradisus Animae*, a moral theological treatise, which is often attributed to Albertus Magnus, who was a German Dominican friar and considered one of the greatest medieval philosophers. However, this German *Paradisus Animae* was also distributed under other names or anonymously, and is now considered pseudo-Albertian.[227] In Heidelberg Cpg 472 on folio 1v it is also falsely stated in the title that Albertus Magnus wrote it: *es schreibt der Groß Albert*.[228]

In the treatise *Buch von den Sechs Namen des Fronleichnams* (Book of the Six Names of Corpus Christi) by the Monk of Heilsbronn, the monk discusses six different names given to the Blessed Sacrament: Eucharist, Gift, Food, Communion, Sacrifice, Sacrament. The monk's treatise served primarily as Eucharistic piety and was therefore widespread in the monastic milieu.[229]

Heinrich Seuse (Henry Suso in English) is one of the greatest German speculative mystics. Suso's masterpiece is his *Büchlein der Ewigen Weisheit* (Little Book of Eternal Wisdom), which became one of the most popular religious treatise of its time. It consists of three parts. In an inner vision, the servant of eternal wisdom is given 100 considerations. Here in Heidelberg Cpg 472 we can find the second part, which is about physical and spiritual death. The

227. Werner Fechter, "Zur Handschriftlichen Überlieferung des Ps.-Albertischen 'Paradisus Animae' und seiner Übersetzungen ins Mittelhochdeutsche," *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum und Deutsche Literatur* 105 (1976): 66.

228. Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cpg 472.

229. Georg Steer, "Mönch von Heilsbronn OCist," in *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, Volume 6, ed. Kurt Ruh et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1987), 652.

insight into damnation gives the servant reason to meditate again on the death of Christ and thus prepare appropriately for death.[230]

The *Herzklosterallegorie* (Allegory of the Heart as a Monastery) was originally intended for anyone who was unable to perform monastic service as a layperson. That way they still had the opportunity to prepare their hearts for the monastery and participate in the reward that monastic people were certain to receive.[231] However, German Herzklosterallegories, as found in Heidelberg Cpg 472, were intended for convents of brothers or nuns and used by the priest responsible for their spiritual care.[232]

Heidelberg Cpg 472 also contains Jakob Engelin's extensive bloodletting publication *Tractatus de variis medicinalibus materiis multum vtilis*. From the form and language of all his works it can be concluded that they were written for the layman. These circles, with little or no medical training, read his texts and used them primarily for plague therapy and prophylaxis.[233]

Christus und die Sieben Laden (Christ and the Seven Chests) belongs to late medieval religious educational literature. Based on the biblical passage Lc 14:33, the traditional topic of an interpretation of the beatitudes is placed in the context of a story. A rich merchant gives up his property and lives as a hermit in the forest. Tempted by evil, he wants to return to the world. Then, unrecognized, he meets Christ as a carter, carrying seven chests in a cart. The chests

230. Alois M. Haas, "Seuse, Heinrich OP," in *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, Volume 8, ed. Kurt Ruh et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1992), 1122.

231. Gerhard Bauer, "Herzklosterallegorien," in *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, Volume 3, ed. Kurt Ruh et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1981), 1153f.

232. Bauer, "Herzklosterallegorien," 1162.

233. Heinz Bergmann, "Engelin, Jakob (Meister Jakob von Ulm)," in *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, Volume 2, ed. Kurt Ruh et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1980), 562.

contain seven noble treasures, which Christ shows the hermit one after the other. The hermit is eager to exchange the treasures for seemingly worthless items. But Christ explains to him, referring to the seven beatitudes (Christian virtues), that the treasures can only be acquired as an internal possession by God's chosen ones. Christ disappears and the hermit returns to the forest full of remorse.[234]

Das *Goldene ABC* (Golden ABC) in Heidelberg Cpg 472 stems from Rulman Merswin's *Meisterbuch*. Rulman Merswin's *Meisterbuch* is a treatise which was written in the form of a dialogue between a master of the Holy Scripture and a layman. In ten loosely linked chapters he demonstrates the successful conversion of a Pharisee priest and master by a gifted and advice-providing layman.[235] Das *Goldene ABC* is a so-called abecedarium. A wealth of so-called abecedaria emerged in the Middle Ages. What all abecedaria have in common is that each new text section begins with a word whose first letter corresponds to the order of the alphabet. In Rulman Merswin's *Goldene ABC*, rules for a true Christian life are taught.[236]

By taking a closer look at Peter Schmieher's *Die Wolfsklage* (Laments of a Wolf) in Heidelberg Cpg 472, clues can be found as to why it could, together with *Die Königin von Frankreich*, be considered religious. *Die Wolfsklage* is a didactic poem in the form of a mix between a verse novella and a fabliau in which a wolf laments his ostracism. The wolf complains that he is hated and persecuted by everyone because of his natural predispositions, and his search

234. Wieland Schmidt, "Zur Deutschen Erbauungsliteratur des Späten Mittelalters," in *Altdeutsche und Altniederländische Mystik*, ed. Kurt Ruh (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1964), 444.

235. Georg Steer, "Merswin, Rulman," in *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, Volume 6, ed. Kurt Ruh et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1987), 435f.

236. Peter Kesting, "Goldenes ABC," in *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, Volume 3, ed. Kurt Ruh et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1981), 77f.

for food. In this search, he encounters hostility everywhere and is then compared with the ruthless activities of merchants, nobles, and clergy.[237] The version found in Heidelberg Cpg 472 expands on the examples and concludes by putting renegades, adulterers and seducers of virgins on the same level as the wolf. The epimythium (a moral added to the end of many verse novellas) gives a religious interpretation of the tale that focuses on the *hellischen wolff* (hellish wolf) and god's help as *allerbest selfutter* (very best food for the soul).[238] Therefore, the version of *Die Wolfsklage* presented in Heidelberg Cpg 472 represents a religious didactic text in the guise of an animal fabliau.[239]

Die Königin von Frankreich follows all these texts at the end of Heidelberg Cpg 472, occupying the final position in the manuscript, right before the Morning Blessing. It could be argued that the position of *Die Königin von Frankreich* here is privileged, closing the compilation.

Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2800 (w^{12})

Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2800, is bound in an unadorned wooden cover, which appears to be the original from the fifteenth century. Five buttons and two clasps have been torn off. The binding was restored in 1912. The 176 folios are sized about 300mm by

237. Johannes Janota, "Schmieher, Peter," in *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, Volume 8, ed. Kurt Ruh et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1992), 766f.

238. Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cpg 472, folio 186r.

239. Janota, "Schmieher, Peter," 766f.

220mm.[240] The manuscript is made of paper, but the paper is not homogenous, meaning the watermarks alternate after the first four quires. Wien Cod. 2800 consists of sixteen quires, whereby the first four (folios 1–47; plus fol. 22*) contain three variants of one watermark, while the rest contain impressions of a different paper making mould.[241] The watermarks are only the first of many hints that the formation history of the Wien manuscript is rather peculiar and important.

The following texts can be found in Wien Cod. 2800:

paper · 176 folios · 30,3cm x 21,5cm · Vienna (?) · around 1410–1434

fol. 1ra–134rb	Johann's von Neumarkt *Hieronymus-Briefe* (Jerome Letters)
fol. 134v–135r	blank
fol. 136r–137r	Table of Contents for a Sermon Collection
fol. 137v–138r	blank
fol. 138v–143r	Sermon drafts
fol. 143v–147v	*Die Königin von Frankreich* (no title)
fol. 148ra–153va	Thomas Peuntner's *Kunst des Heilsamen Sterbens/Ars Moriendi, ger.* (The Art of Dying)

240. Martin Roland, "Ein Rätselhaftes 'Inhaltsverzeichnis': Das Büßerinnenhaus St. Hieronymus in Wien und der Frühe Einblattholzschnitt," in *Grundlagen: Forschungen, Editionen und Materialien zur Deutschen Literatur und Sprache des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Rudolf Bentzinger, Ulrich-Dieter Oppitz and Jürgen Wolf (Stuttgart: S. Hirzel Verlag 2013), 161.

241. Roland, "Ein Rätselhaftes 'Inhaltsverzeichnis'," 161.

fol. 153vb–156ra	Thomas Peuntner's *Betrachtungen über das Ave Marie* (Reflections on the Hail Mary)
fol. 156v–173v	blank
fol. 174r–v	Draft for an Intercession

All the religious texts surrounding *Die Königin von Frankreich* in Wien Cod. 2800 highlight the tale as a secular example of female morality, chastity, and virtue.

Wien Cod. 2800 was written by four scribes. Scribe A: fol. 1r–137r (Hieronymus-Briefe + index for a sermon collection); scribe B: fol. 138v–143r, 174r–v (sermon drafts + draft for an intercession); scribe C: fol. 143v–147v (*Die Königin von Frankreich*); scribe D: fol. 148r–156r (Peuntner texts). Eichenberger identifies the written language of the scribes as Austro-Bavarian with varying types of dialect.[242]

Eichenberger also differentiates three production phases. Dating the first phase to 1410 is possible as scribe A wrote the following statement at the end of the *Hieronymus-Briefe* on folios 134r–v: *In den eren des almechtigen gotes vnd seiner seligen müter mit allen gotes heÿligen, vnd zw getrew ein dinst dem erwirdigen sant Jeronimo. Dicz büch ist volbracht, do man czalt nach Cristi gepurt vierczehen hvndert jar dor nach in dem czehenden jar des nagsten Freitag vor der czehen tawsent Ritter tag. Der do hat besessen den obristen tron, der geb dem schreÿber sein lon. Amen.* (In honor of Almighty God and His Blessed Mother with all God's saints, and too faithful a service to the venerable Saint Jerome. This book is finished, since one counts fourteen hundred years after Christ's birth in the tenth year of the next Friday before the ten thousand

242. Eichenberger, *Geistliches Erzählen*, 336.

knights' day. The one sitting on the supreme throne, he pays the scribe his wages. Amen.).[243] Scribe A, however, only wrote on twelve quires (the majority of the manuscript), leaving the remaining four quires empty. It is likely that the collection of sermons was supposed to be written on these quires, for which scribe A noted the table of contents on fol. 136r–137r. This dating matches the watermark evidence of this part of Wien Cod. 2800, which is 1409–1416.[244]

In the second phase, Wien Cod. 2800 was probably in the possession of scribe B, who wrote both a set of draft sermons (fol. 138v–143r) and a draft of an intercession (fol. 174r–v). The texts suggest that this scribe was a cleric serving a lay congregation. The first sermon draft for Mt 7:14 describes the contrast between the broad way to hell and the narrow way to paradise. In addition to smaller notes, there are also two different drafts of the same gospel text (Lc 14:1), each emphasizing different aspects of the biblical text. At the end of the manuscript, on folios 174r–v, scribe B wrote down an intercession for the coming week, which was probably intended for use in church services. He began on folio 174r, but since there was not enough space, he continued the text on folio 174v. This intercession also includes a prayer for the (perhaps recently) deceased. Ten names are mentioned, one of them being the former pastor: *vmbz her Niclasen sel, der ewer prediger ist Geben* (for Mr. Niclasen's soul, who was your preacher).[245]

In the third phase, *Die Königin von Frankreich* and the two Peuntner texts were written by scribes C and D (fol. 143v–155v). The heading for Peuntner's *Kunst des Heilsamen Sterbens* (The Art of Dying) on folio 148r provides a clue for the dating, which is set about twenty-five years after the writing of scribe A's *Hieronymus-Briefe* (Jerome Letters): *Hye hebt sich an die*

243. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2800.

244. Eichenberger, *Geistliches Erzählen*, 336.

245. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2800.

künst von dez hailsamen sterbens, die zu deutsch pracht hat her Thoman, pharrer ze hoff anno domini m cccc xxx iiii (Here is die kunst des heilsamen sterbens, which Mister Thomas, pastor at court, translated into German, in the year of the Lord 1434).[246] The date 1434 refers to the creation of Peuntner's *Kunst des Heilsamen Sterbens*, but the manuscript does not appear to be much younger.[247] Although two different scribes were involved in this third production phase, the numbering of the texts, with 2 for *Die Königin von Frankreich* (fol. 143r) and 3 for the Peuntner texts (fol. 148r), was written in the same gray ink as *Die Königin von Frankreich*.[248] These numbers could have only been added by scribe C (working with the same ink) after the Peuntner texts had been written by scribe D. By the end of the 1430s, the manuscript had probably reached the form in which it remained until the two, now missing, woodcuts were removed (more than 100 years ago).[249]

The *Hieronymus-Briefe* (Jerome Letters) are three pseudepigraphical medieval letters, which claim to have been written by persons close to Saint Jerome. Eusebius of Cremona, Augustine of Hippo, and Cyril of Jerusalem, who were friends and contemporaries of Jerome, appear as the authors. However, today it is known that these letters were written in the twelfth or thirteenth century, and not in the fourth or fifth century during Jerome's lifetime.[250] Written in the form of letters, the *Hieronymus-Briefe* interweave Saint Jerome's biography and the legend

246. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2800.

247. Rainer Rudolf, *Thomas Peuntners 'Kunst des Heilsamen Sterbens' nach den Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1956), 14f.

248. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2800.

249. Roland, "Ein Rätselhaftes 'Inhaltsverzeichnis'," 162.

250. Erika Bauer, "Hieronymus-Briefe," in *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, Volume 3, ed. Kurt Ruh et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1981), 1233f.

surrounding him. The first letter (Eusebius) describes in detail the hour of the saint's death among his disciples. Jerome discusses questions that are essential to their lives and work after his death to strengthen and comfort them in this way: instructions about the nature of God and the necessity of death for salvation.[251] The second letter (Augustine) provides the justification of the entire veneration of Jerome. In an exuberant vision of the afterlife, the saint is given the same rank and esteem as John the Baptist and the prophets. The third letter (Cyril) takes up a theme from the first letter and expands on it. It describes apparitions and miracles that occurred through invocation of the saint and his work.[252]

Saint Jerome was a hermit, one of the four great Latin Church Fathers, and one of the most important theologians and writers of Christianity. His most famous work is the translation of the Bible into Latin. Jerome is considered the patron saint of translators, scholars, teachers, students, proofreaders, and theologians. Throughout his epistles Saint Jerome shows himself to be surrounded by women, and it is estimated that 40% of his epistles were addressed to females. He was also surrounded by a circle of well-born and well-educated women during his time in Rome. The German version of the *Hieronymus-Briefe*, as found here in Wien Cod. 2800, is the first complete German translation by Johann von Neumarkt, who brought the letters with him from a trip to Italy in 1368, edited them and then translated them into German.[253]

Peuntner's *Die Kunst des Heilsamen Sterbens* (The Art of Dying) was the first German *Ars moriendi*, offering advice on the protocols and procedures of a good death. The German

251. Bauer, "Hieronymus-Briefe," 1234.

252. Bauer, "Hieronymus-Briefe," 1235.

253. Werner Höver, "Johann von Neumarkt," in *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, Volume 4, ed. Kurt Ruh et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1983), 689.

Peuntner *Ars moriendi* as found here in Wien Cod. 2800 calls for the direct and personal commitment of the people.[254] Peuntner's *Betrachtungen über das Ave Maria* (Reflections on the Hail Mary) is a shortened version of a praise of Mary, which ultimately represents praise to God.[255]

As mentioned earlier, Wien Cod. 2800 originally contained two single-sheet woodcuts, one on the inside of the front cover, the other on the inside of the back cover. As it was common practice in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, these woodcuts had been removed and handed over from the Austrian National Library to the Albertina Museum in Vienna, where they can still be found today. Saint Jerome adorned the front and was placed right next to the beginning of the *Hieronymus-Briefe*. The inside of the back cover was decorated with a frontal seated Virgin Mary breastfeeding the infant Jesus. Next to her is Joseph, who is busy warming up a meal. This family scene is opposite folio 174v, which contains the draft for intercessory prayers. The connection between text and image is given by the fourth intercession: *Umb alle swÁnger krysten frawen, daz in Got der almechtig Her helff von yerer sbar und gebin ein lieppleichen anplik an yerer frucht* (For all pregnant Christian women, that God Almighty help them from their fruit of the womb and give them a lovely sight of their fruit).[256] This on the one hand connects Wien Cod. 2800 to a female audience and at the same time rules out a convent, argues Roland.[257] Roland was further able to connect Wien Cod. 2800 to the Saint Jerome house

254. Bernhard Schnell, "Peuntner, Thomas," in *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, Volume 7, ed. Kurt Ruh et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1989), 541.

255. Schnell, "Peuntner, Thomas," 541.

256. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2800.

257. Roland, "Ein Rätselhaftes 'Inhaltsverzeichnis'," 163.

of penitents in Vienna, founded in 1383. It was an institution that took care of the rehabilitation of fallen women and wanted to turn women away from their sinful lifestyle and provide accommodation.[258] This is where unmarried mothers were welcomed and prepared for reintegration into society.

In this context, *Die Königin von Frankreich* gains a special relevance due to its narrative material: The motif of the Queen wrongly accused of adultery, the penitent life of the pregnant Queen in the forest and her social rehabilitation served as an example for the women of the penitent house to identify with. It is precisely here that it becomes clear how the narrative could be functionalized both from a religious (penitent theme) and from a secular perspective (reintegration into marriage and society) at the same time.

Wien Cod. 2800 pushes back on the categories of homogenetic and composite manuscripts, because even though the manuscript was assembled over time (composite), the contents were also clearly originally chosen for compilation, which becomes obvious by looking at the intended audience of the female penitent house.

Innsbruck, Bibliothek des Jesuitenkolleg, Cod. 40024 (i^2)

Innsbruck, Bibliothek des Jesuitenkolleg, Cod. 40024 contains one of the fragmentary versions of *Die Königin von Frankreich*. Only verses 218 to 462 survive in Innsbruck Cod. 40024, for a total of 242 verses (slightly more than a third). The missing folios before and after

258. Roland, “Ein Rätselhaftes 'Inhaltsverzeichnis',” 163f.

the fragmentary *Die Königin von Frankreich* (verses 1–217 & verses 463–703) mean that originally the entire poem was included in the manuscript.[259]

Innsbruck Cod. 40024 is made of paper and consists of 144 folios that are all 220mm by 160mm in size. A note on folio 128v provides a clue for dating the manuscript: *sub anno domi LXX* (under the year of the Lord 70).[260] It is highly unlikely that Innsbruck Cod. 40024 originates from the fourteenth century (the handwriting appears too young) or the sixteenth century (book printing started in the fifteenth century, and incunables/printed books slowly took over from manuscripts/handwritten books), which would mean that Innsbruck Cod. 40024 was very likely written around 1470. [261]

Innsbruck Cod. 40042 was written by different scribes in bastarda in black ink. A rubricator had worked throughout the entire manuscript, adding initials, parentheses etc. in red ink. All texts are presented in one column with 21 to 25 lines. Innsbruck Cod. 40024 is bound with a wooden cover wrapped in calf leather with blind embossing. The manuscript has no foliation, meaning no folio numbers have been assigned to the folios. Unfortunately, Innsbruck Cod. 40024 is also no longer complete. Out of seventeen quires, only six are intact. The first and fifteenth quires are completely missing, and the third, fourth, fifth, eight, ninth and eleventh quire are missing varying numbers of folios.[262] Folios 25 to 32 have suffered badly from bookworm damage, but the text is still legible. The upper right corner of folio 102 is missing,

259. Franz Hotzy, "Eine Unbekannte Handschrift mit Zwei Mittelhochdeutschen Gedichten," *Wiener Studien: Zeitschrift für Klassische Philologie; Supplement der Zeitschrift für die Österr. Gymnasien* 63 (1912): 1063.

260. Innsbruck, Bibliothek des Jesuitenkolleg, Cod. 40024.

261. Hotzy, "Eine Unbekannte Handschrift," 1059.

262. Hotzy, "Eine Unbekannte Handschrift," 1057.

making the first five lines of Marquard's von Lindau *Dekalogerklärung* (Decalogue Exposition) illegible.[263]

There is no information about where or how the manuscript came to the Library of the Jesuit College in Innsbruck. There has not been much research on Innsbruck Cod. 40024 in general, and the manuscript is also not (yet) digitized, hence not easily accessible. It is difficult to define Innsbruck Cod. 40024 as either a homogenetic manuscript (originally intended for compilation) or a composite manuscript (combined at a later stage/over time) due to the considerable amount of missing codicological information. This complex manuscript requires further investigation.

The following texts can be found in Innsbruck Cod. 40024:

paper · 144 folios · 22.0cm × 16.0cm · Austro-Bavarian language region · around 1470

fol. 1r–128r	Marquard's von Lindau *Dekalogerklärung* (Decalogue Exposition)
fol. 128v	Probatio pennae (text written to test a newly cut pen) + Dating Note
fol. 129r–130v	*Kreuztragende Minne* (Crossbearing Love)
fol. 130v–135v	Ablässe an den Hauptkirchen Roms (Indulgences in the Main Churches of Rome)
fol. 135v–139v	Beschreibung der Heiligen Stätten Jerusalems für Pilger (Description of the Holy Places of Jerusalem for Pilgrims)
fol. 140r–144v	*Die Königin von Frankreich* (fragment; no title)

263. Hotzy, "Eine Unbekannte Handschrift," 1058.

Most of the texts in this manuscript attempt to educate the reader on social ideals and on a Christian-based code of behavior. *Die Königin von Frankreich* fits in well with this context as the tale is focused on how the Queen remained steadfast and virtuous throughout all turmoil. The main part of Innsbruck Cod. 40024 is the *Dekalogerklärung* (Decalogue Exposition), which is a moral-theological interpretation of the ten commandments in prose by Marquard von Lindau, who was a popular fourteenth-century Franciscan mystic.[264] Although mainly written for nuns and friars, his works were used for instruction of the laity for several generations.[265] Just like Berthold von Regensburg, Marquard von Lindau wrote during the distinctive development in the history of Christianity, in which theology and devotional writing sought to guide lay persons in how to shape their lives in an effort to create a guiding normative center for Christians.[266] German Franciscans, like Marquard von Lindau among others, explored, among others, classical sources copiously to find examples from ancient history and mythology suitable for Christian moralization. Written as a master-pupil dialogue, the *Dekalogerklärung* contains eleven such examples and was a medieval bestseller, with about 140 surviving manuscripts. [267] The *Dekalogerklärung* is as much about the ethical issues arising from the ten commandments as it is about the Virgin Mary. After a detailed discussion of every commandment, the question is asked

264. Nigel F. Palmer, "Marquard von Lindau OFM," in *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, Volume 6, ed. Kurt Ruh et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1987), 81.

265. James M. Clark, "Marquard von Lindau and His 'Dekalogerklärung'," *The Modern Language Review* 34, no. 1 (1939): 72.

266. Stephen Mossman, *Marquard von Lindau and the Challenges of Religious Life in Late Medieval Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 32.

267. Palmer, "Marquard von Lindau OFM," 89.

how the Virgin Mary has obeyed it and then how friends of God have obeyed it.[268] Marquard was a significant contributor to the Marian cult in late medieval Germany, and his *Dekalogerklärung* is considered his principal Marian work.[269]

After the *Dekalogerklärung* follows the *Kreuztragende Minne* (Crossbearing Love), an edifying poem of 72 lines in dialogue-form between Christ and the soul, the subject of which is the rejection of the world and the assumption of the burden of Christ. The poem is designed as a dialogue between Jesus and a female interlocutor. Jesus calls on her to accept the cross, but the woman points out her youth, her weakness, and the ridicule of people. She is admonished to renounce the world and self-will and not to wait too long. In response to the woman's decision, Jesus offers help and points out his suffering. At the end there is a request that every Christian should suffer for the sake of Jesus Christ.[270]

The religious texts directly preceding *Die Königin von Frankreich* (the topographical descriptions of the churches of Rome and the holy places of Jerusalem in prose) also set the religious interpretative framework for *Die Königin von Frankreich*. *Die Königin von Frankreich*, positioned at the end of Innsbruck Cod. 40024, can be understood as an example of fulfillment of the demand made in the *Kreuztragende Minne* that every believer should patiently endure her suffering for Christ's sake.

268. Clark, "Marquard von Lindau and His 'Dekalogerklärung'," 77.

269. Mossman, *Marquard von Lindau*, 244.

270. Volker Mertens, "Kreuztragende Minne'," in *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, Volume 5, ed. Kurt Ruh et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1985), 376.

Discussion/Conclusions

The texts surrounding *Die Königin von Frankreich* in this discourse intersect with the tale in various ways. On the one hand, the manuscript transmission suggests that *Die Königin von Frankreich* is being assimilated to religious stories of martyrs and saints. This story portrays a serious narrative of suffering and endurance on the part of a wife, the Queen of France, who is unjustly accused of adultery. This indicates that the entire manuscript context asks the reader to notice the correspondences between the Queen's trials and tribulations and those of saints and martyrs. Although hardly a saint's life itself, as is made clear by the story's happy ending in this world and not the next, reading *Die Königin von Frankreich* from this perspective highlights a very interesting interpretive turn. It suggests that married life might demand the same degree of renunciation and self-control as monastic life. In other words, although in the medieval world the monastic or religious way of life enjoyed higher prestige than marriage, *Die Königin von Frankreich* assimilates marriage to religious ideals and by so doing elevates it. It is a good wife story above all in the manuscripts presented in this chapter.

Some of the manuscripts even frame *Die Königin von Frankreich* in such a way that the Queen's story can be interpreted within a Marian context. The Queen's virtue, tested through enduring ample suffering, is in agreement with the Blessed Virgin Mary's. Multi-text manuscripts such as Innsbruck Cod. 40024, Wien Cod. 2800, Herzogenburg Cod. 69 and Philadelphia Codex 824 include Marianic prayers, Marianic hymns, Marianic sequences etc., highlighting that *Die Königin von Frankreich* is an exemplar of a good wife story, portraying the Queen as a powerful example of chastity and motherhood. As the mother of Christ, Mary was a channel for Christians to be saved. The accompanying texts in these manuscripts further highlight the Queen of France's connection to the Blessed Virgin: the *Interrogatio Sancti*

Anselmi de Passione Domini (Inquiry of Saint Anselm about the Lord's Passion), a collection of questions posed by Saint Anselm of Canterbury and answered by the Blessed Virgin Mary in Herzogenburg Cod. 69, Peuntner's *Betrachtungen über das Ave Maria* (Reflections on the Hail Mary), a shortened version of a praise of Mary in Wien Cod. 2800, and Marquard's von Lindau *Dekalogerklärung* (Decalogue Exposition), which is as much about the ethical issues arising from the ten commandments as it is about Mary, in Innsbruck Cod. 40024. Although, as we will see in the following two chapters, both men and women admired this story, a few clues hint that it might have had special significance for women. One clue is, simply, that the heroine is a noblewoman herself, a blameless model of virtue suffering terribly at the hands of an intemperate husband whose judgement is flawed.

Another clue is the previously discussed booklist of Elisabeth von Volkenstorff. Half of the books are religious writings of various kinds. Of the rest, roughly a quarter could be classified as books of instruction and general knowledge: law books, books about nature (herbals, cures, natural lore), and wisdom literature. The final quarter consists of elevated variety, such as romances produced around 1200 (e.g., Hartmann's von Aue *Erec*, Wolfram's von Eschenback *Parzival*, and Wirnt's von Grafenberg *Wigalois*). Such is the reading matter that a highly educated and wellborn woman kept at hand. And, as it is known, she owned a copy of *Die Königin von Frankreich*, whose date of original composition cannot precede the creation of the original booklist by more than two decades. The story was new, not old, when she collected it, suggesting that it resonated deeply with what she knew of the conditions and possibilities of noblewomen's lives.

The final clue that *Die Königin von Frankreich* was understood as being especially relevant to the lives of medieval women stems from its inclusion in the manuscripts discussed in

this chapter. Philadelphia Codex 824 depicts a text selection that highlights a form of femininity that stresses the nobility and strength of character of learned, spiritually enlightened, and steadfast women. Berlin Mgq 267 portrays strong women as exemplary realizations of the demand that every good Christian woman should patiently endure her suffering for Christ's sake. Wien Cod. 2800 is connected to a female audience and, as Roland has shown, is also connected to a house of penitents, an institution that took care of the rehabilitation of fallen unmarried mothers and prepared them for reintegration into society. Two of the manuscripts even specifically name their female owners: Heidelberg Cpg 472 (Margareta Rechmyczer) and Berlin Mgq 478 (Magdalen Lupin, from Swabian nobility). What some of these manuscripts share is a focus on women.

Chapter 4: *Die Königin von Frankreich* and Historiographic Writing

The four manuscripts discussed in this chapter select and compile a range of texts treating the past. These range from regional and city chronicles describing events immediately related to the milieux in which the manuscript was written to texts about the chronologically and geographically more distant crusades. Additionally, they include legends and stories about members of great noble dynasties. *Die Königin von Frankreich* falls squarely into this latter category. The characters in the story, with one notable exception, belong to the nobility. The key protagonists belong to its highest ranks of the elite: the King and Queen of France, and Duke Leopold of Austria, who is the neighboring prince who acts as an advocate for the Queen and for the dog. Interestingly, Duke Leopold is the only character in the entire story to have a name. Why is the reader's attention being drawn to an exemplary nobleman in this fashion? The manuscript distribution of *Die Königin von Frankreich* provides a clue. The tale is overwhelmingly copied and distributed in southern, German-speaking lands, in territories within or adjacent to those ruled by the Habsburg dynasty at the time.

The House of Habsburg, also referred to as the House of Austria, stands out as one of the most significant dynasties in European history. The name of the house is derived from Habsburg Castle, a stronghold located in what is now Switzerland. Otto II (died 1111) was the first to take the fortress name as his own, adding "Count of Habsburg" to his title. In 1273, Rudolph I of Habsburg (1218–1291), became German king and emperor-in-waiting. The establishment of the Habsburg dynasty's power base in Vienna led to the appointment of his sons Albert and Rudolph, who were all Swabian Counts, as Dukes of Austria.[271] This marked the beginning of

271. Paula Sutter Fichtner, *The Habsburgs: Dynasty, Culture and Politics* (London: Reaktion Books, 2014), 29f.

the family's rule under the name House of Austria, which lasted until 1918. The usage of the Habsburg name among the members of the family was not consistent, as they frequently prioritized their more esteemed princely titles. As a result, the dynasty was primarily referred to as the House of Austria. The Habsburgs maintained control of the Holy Roman Empire from 1440 until their male line became extinct in 1740.[272]

The Habsburg dynasty favored the name Leopold for its princes. In fact, there are two Duke Leopold whose lifetimes match up well with the dates of the manuscripts containing *Die Königin von Frankreich*: Leopold III (1351–1386) and Leopold IV of Austria (1371–1411). In other words, this tale of a virtuous ruler is being deliberately grounded in recent history by attributing the deeds of one of the characters to a well-known historical figure, Duke Leopold.

Most modern readers would classify the texts in these four manuscripts as being either fact or fiction, but the manuscripts themselves strongly suggest that this very distinction is modern, not medieval. Brinker reminds us that our current idea of history as a representation of what happened differs greatly from the understanding of history in the Middle Ages. In the Middle Ages, history was understood as a linear process with a beginning and an end. History began with the creation of the world by God and would end with the Final Judgement. God was understood to be the creator of and ruler over the world and time. In historiography, the primary goal was not solely to recount past events, but also to serve as a vehicle for moral and ethical instruction. Historiography aimed to impart knowledge, inspire virtuous behavior, and caution against immoral actions. The real task of historiography before the eighteenth century was that history should be a mirror of virtue and vice in which one can learn what to do or what not to do

272. Fichtner, *The Habsburgs*, 49f.

through other people's experiences.[273] That is why to its medieval compilers and patrons, *Die Königin von Frankreich* also belongs alongside chronicles and historiographic-didactic texts, which are largely devoted to describing and evaluating the behavior of elites. This is because it is a story that showcases the exemplary, chivalric virtue of a known German prince, and that reflects and instructs on the hazards of rule.

The order of the multi-text manuscripts presented here in Chapter 4 is based on which manuscripts support my argument the strongest. Chapter 4 begins with those manuscripts that demonstrate my thesis most clearly and ends with those manuscripts that have more open questions vis-à-vis their compilation strategies.

Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Ms. A 122 (z)

The Zürich manuscript, Zentralbibliothek, Ms. A 122, was written on paper by one scribe in bastarda with black ink. The scribe names himself (Melchior Rupp) and the time and place of writing (canton of Schwyz, 1469) twice. Once on folio 30r* (beginning of codex): *Item diß buoch ward uffgeschriben an Samstag zuo mittag naechst nach mathie anno Mcccclxix von Melchior ruoppen was schuolmeister zuo Switz* (item this book was completed on Saturday at noon after Matthias in the year 1469 by Melchior Ruppen, who was a schoolmaster in Switzerland); and once on folio 401v (ending of codex): *Und ist abgeschriben und hier in verzeichnet durch melchior ruoppen der zit Schuolmeister … zuo Swytz … in dem viertzigosten yar sins alters vnd an dem viertzehenden tag des monotes aberellen ward es geendett in dem yar*

273. Claudia Brinker, *Von Manigen Helden Gute Tat: Geschichte als Exempel bei Peter Suchenwirt* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1987), 180.

von der geburt Cristi gezallt thusend vierhundert sechtzig und dar nach im nünden yare (And is copied and recorded here by Melchior Ruppen, currently schoolmaster … in Schwyz … in the fortieth year of his age and on the fourteenth day of April it was finished in the year after the birth of Christ, numbering one thousand four hundred sixty and after that in the ninth year).[274] An analysis of the five different watermarks has shown that while the fly leaves, which were added later, were made in the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries, the rest of the manuscript's watermarks are similar to others that can be found between 1441 to 1480, which is congruent with the scribal note of 1469.[275]

Zürich Ms. A 122 consists of 494 folios, each folio being about 270mm by 200mm in size. It is a rather long multi-text manuscript. All texts are written in a single column with red initials and titles. A rubricator has added letters in the text with red ink, as well as the original foliation (page numbering). Green and red ink was used in the table of contents. The foliation of the register was added later. Folio clx (160) is followed by folio clxv (165) (probably a scribal error as the text is continuous).

Zürich Ms. A 122 is bound with a strong, slightly worn fifteenth-century wooden cover wrapped in leather with blind embossing. The fittings of metal clasps are still visible, including the initials WS. The fact that there was only one scribe, as well as the same consistent original medieval foliation throughout the entire manuscript, and the fifteenth-century binding, are all clues that this multi-text manuscript was intentionally crafted and compiled to contain these texts combined in one codex, making it a homogenetic manuscript.

274. Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Ms. A 122.

275. Aimée Perrin, "Verzeichnis der Handschriftlichen Kopien von Konrad Justingers Berner Chronik," *Berner Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Heimatkunde* 12 (1950): 224.

We can also find some clues on the provenance of Zürich Ms. A 122, as Melchior Rupp was merely the scribe and not the patron. Previous owners are mentioned on folio 1*: *Hans Fries ist dis buch* (Hans Fries owns this book); on the inside of the back cover of the manuscript: *Casper Keller burger zu Luzern 1608 Jars* (Casper Keller, citizen of Lucerne in 1608); and on folio 459: *Jacobus Keller*. After these several changes of ownership, the manuscript passed from the possession of Zurich councilor (Johann) Conrad Nüscheler to the Zurich City Library at the end of the eighteenth century.[276] This manuscript history, while interesting, does not impact my argument.

Verses 1–43 and verses 504–681 of *Die Königin von Frankreich* have been lost in Zürich Ms. A 122. After folio 371, one folio has been torn out, which would have been the beginning of *Die Königin von Frankreich* (v. 1–43). Since all folios of the Zürich manuscript are aligned in one column with 21–23 lines, we can assume that at the end between folio 381 and 382 there are about six folios (v. 504–681) missing. Even though this makes *Die Königin von Frankreich* a fragment in the Zürich manuscript, we can still learn a lot about the manuscript and how it is organized by taking a closer look at the texts it is compiled of:

paper · 494 folios · 27cm x 20cm · Switzerland · 1469

fol. 1*r–35*v	Table of Contents for *Twinger Chronik* & *Berner Chronik*
fol. 1r–259v	*Twinger Chronik* (Jakob Twinger von Königshofen)
fol. 260r–261v	blank

276. Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Ms. A 122.

fol. 262r	"S Menradt /Sonnenradt auss Schwabenland gebürtig ain Heilig" + capital S initial
fol. 262v–264v	blank
fol. 265r–366v	*Anonyme Berner Chronik* (Anonymous Bernese Chronicle)
fol. 367r	Note from 1667
fol. 367v–371v	blank
fol. 372r–382v	*Die Königin von Frankreich* (fragment; no title)
fol. 382v–387v	*Zwölf Meister über die Früchte der Messe* (Twelve Masters on the Fruits of the Mass)
fol. 387v-401v	*Legend of Meinrad*
fol. 402r–458v	blank
fol. 459r–459v	Owner's Note

The main part of Zürich Ms. A 122, with 366 folios, consists of chronicles. Jakob Twinger's von Könighofen famous and popular German *Twinger Chronik* combines world, Diocesan and city history up to 1415, with a focus on the history of the Upper Rhine and the city of Strasbourg (northeastern France). It contains the history of Rome and the Roman-German emperors, the popes, the bishops of Strasbourg and of the city of Strasbourg and an alphabetical register.[277] The *Twinger Chronik* consists originally of six chapters. Chapter 1 covers world history until Alexander the Great. It includes detailed explanations of the Trojan War and the founding of Trier, as both topics later provided a bridge to regional history. Chapter 2 focuses on

277. Gert Melville, "Twinger, Jakob, von Königshofen: II Die Chroniken," in *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, Volume 9, ed. Kurt Ruh et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1995), 1184f.

the history of Rome up to the German Kings Wenzel and Ruprecht. Chapter 3 delves into the history of the popes, while chapter 4 discusses the deeds of the Strasbourg bishops. Chapter 5 explores the history of the municipality of Strasbourg and its regional environment. Finally, chapter 6 presents an alphabetical register that enables direct access to individual topics.[278] The *Twinger Chronik* here in Zürich Ms. A 122 comes after a table of contents at the beginning (fol. 1*r–35*v). The chronicle in Zürich Ms. A 122 was continued until 1431 (from 1415) and abridged in some places (chapter 4 is somewhat abridged, chapter 5 is greatly abridged).

Other chroniclers were inspired by the *Twinger Chronik*. Ina Serif examined the appropriation and use of the 128 manuscript versions of the *Twinger Chronik* and the handling of the text inside and outside the city of Strasbourg. She concludes that Twinger's work offered readers multiple points of contact for the understanding of the world and history beyond the place where it originated, namely the city of Strasbourg.[279] Twinger's work was frequently revised and continued with additions about local historical events. Such an addition can be found here in Zürich Ms. A 122. Written around 1430 as an addition to the *Twinger Chronik*, the *Anonyme Berner Chronik* (Anonymous Bern Chronicle) describes the history of Bern from 1191 (city founding) to 1424. The text has survived in ten manuscripts from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century, and there are great similarities with Konrad Justinger's *Berner Chronik* (Bernese Chronicle). Research so far has even assumed Justinger to be the author of the *Anonyme Berner Chronik*.[280] However, it remains uncertain whether the shorter chronicle, as

278. Melville, "Twinger, Jakob, von Königshofen," 1185.

279. Ina Serif, *Geschichte aus der Stadt: Überlieferung und Aneignungsformen der Deutschen Chronik Jakob Twingers von Königshofen* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020), 209f.

280. Hans Füglister and Christine Stöllinger, "Justinger, Konrad," in *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, Volume 4, ed. Kurt Ruh et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1983), 935.

found here in Zürich Ms. A 122, is to be regarded as the first draft or as a subsequent summarizing work of the *Berner Chronik*.

The last text in Zürich Ms. A 122 describes the *Legend of Meinrad*, which was especially widespread in the German-speaking south-west. Meinrad of Einsiedeln was a German Benedictine hermit and is revered as a Catholic and Orthodox saint. According to historical accounts, Meinrad, also known as the Martyr of Hospitality, hailed from the renowned family of the Counts of Hohenzollern and received his education at the abbey school of Reichenau, situated on an island in Lake Constance. It was at this institution that he pursued a monastic life and eventually received ordination. Around the year 829, after spending a number of years at Reichenau, Meinrad chose to lead an eremitic existence and established his hermitage on the slopes of Etzel Pass. Due to the high number of individuals seeking his counsel, in 835 he sought seclusion in the forest, where the present-day monastery in Einsiedeln, Switzerland, now stands. Meinrad practiced a strict asceticism. Gifts presented to him at the shrine he passed on to the poor. According to legend, he was killed in 861 by two vagabonds who wanted the treasures which pilgrims left at the shrine. Two ravens are said to have pursued the murderers and led them to court, where they were sentenced to death.[281]

The *Legend of Meinrad* in Zürich Ms. A 122 is partially expanded to include the legend of the dedication of the Shrine of our Lady in Einsiedeln (Einsiedler Engelweihe), the Einsiedler Engelweihe consecration bull of Pope Leo, and a prayer of intercession for Saint Meinrad. Remembering his exemplary life as a monk and priest, other men followed Meinrad's example and lived as hermits in the forest. Consequently, the Einsiedeln Abbey was founded in 934. In

281. Klaus Klein, "Meinrad", in *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, Volume 6, ed. Kurt Ruh et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1987), 319.

948, the monks of the young monastery asked Bishop Konrad von Konstanz to solemnly consecrate their new monastery church. According to legend, the night before the consecration, Bishop Konrad went to the chapel to pray. There he had a vision of Christ descending from heaven. In a solemn service, Christ is said to have consecrated the chapel in honor of his mother Mary (Einsiedler Engelweihe). The monks did their best to spread this story of the sacred event and obtained confirmation of the miraculous event from the Pope several times (Einsiedler Engelweihe consecration bull of Pope Leo).

The attentive reader might be wondering why *Die Königin von Frankreich* is included in Zürich Ms. A 122. There seem to be two factors at play. On the one hand, the idea in the Middle Ages was that the history of one's own area should not be written down unembedded and without context, but should be anchored in world, imperial, and papal history. As Serif states "the processual nature of urban historiography can be grasped, as an ensemble of individual texts and text communities that influence the memory of the city or are part of the memory."[282] The appropriation of a historiographic text for one's own time and space could occur for various reasons and serve different purposes. In the foreword to the *Twinger Chronik* (which is missing in Zürich Ms. A 122), Twinger refers to the need of the *klugen legen* (educated laymen) to read about the past just as much as the *gelerten pfaffen* (educated priests).[283] This implies that such educated laymen, who wanted to preserve the past and history of their surrounding area, were the intended recipients/patrons of Zürich Ms. A 122. There seems to be a great emphasis on

282. Serif, *Geschichte aus der Stadt*, 12: "Anhand der vielfältigen Überlieferung der Chronik Jakob Twingers kann die Prozesshaftigkeit städtischer Geschichtsschreibung erfasst werden, als Ensemble einzelner Texte und Textgemeinschaften, die die Erinnerung bzw. das Gedächtnis der Stadt mit beeinflussen bzw. ein Teil des Gedächtnisses sind."

283. Serif, *Geschichte aus der Stadt*, 6.

describing urban and surrounding history as well as contemporary events and people. A clue for this assumption is given by the additions to the *Legend of Meinrad* in Zürich Ms. A 122. These additions try to anchor the legend with historical facts, while at the same time the legend functions as a regional/local historical story for Einsiedeln in Switzerland. Moreover, in the table of contents at the beginning of Zürich Ms. A 122, the city of Strasbourg, which was originally the focus of the fifth chapter in the *Twinger Chronik*, is replaced by Bern: *Hie hebt an das 5. Kapitel und seit von der stat Bern, wie si gestuft ward und von der eidgenossen kriegen, zum teil was vor etwevil jaren vergangen ist und von vil striten* (Here begins the 5th chapter and deals with the city of Bern, how it was founded, and about the Confederation's wars, partly what happened some years ago, and about many disputes).[284] On folio 265r the title states: *Hie hebt an die die [!] stifft der stat Bern* (Here begins the founding of the city of Bern).[285] This change moves the historiographic context away from Strasbourg towards Switzerland, and therefore closer to Einsiedeln, which was adjacent to Austria, ruled by the Habsburg monarchy. This is another connecting thread of the texts in Zürich Ms. A 122.

Zürich Ms. A 122 seems to focus strongly on themes and texts connected with noblemen from the Habsburg dynasty, which is a form of local historiography. Twinger in his *Twinger Chronik* focused heavily on the disputes with Habsburg Austria, which also explains why the chronicle was widespread in southern German speaking lands. Furthermore, the following Austrian rulers (Habsburg) are named in the *Anonyme Berner Chronik*: Leopold III of Habsburg (1351–1386) and his sons Ernst, Wilhelm, Friedrich IV of Habsburg, and Leopold IV of Habsburg (1371–1411). These descendants of Leopold III and their descendants form the

284. Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Ms. A 122., folio 19*v.

285. Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Ms. A 122.

Leopoldine line of the Habsburgs. The mention of Duke Leopold of Austria in *Die Königin von Frankreich* favored the inclusion of the text in Zürich Ms. A 122, as it could have been seen as another text about a Habsburg Duke.

Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 10100[a] (w^6)

Another fragmentary version of *Die Königin von Frankreich* can be found in the Wien manuscript, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 10100[a]. With a paper folio size of 323mm by 205mm, Wien Cod. 10100[a] is of a similar size as Zürich Ms. A 122. Verses 381–514 of *Die Königin von Frankreich* are missing, as folio 15v is blank and folio 15r and folio 16r are only half-written. These missing verses are probably due to an already defective exemplar. On folio 15r, the scribe noted: *defectus unius folii* (defect of one leaf).[286] But once again even a fragment can provide plenty of insight based on its codicological context.

Wien Cod. 10100[a] is a peculiar manuscript. It can be dated to around 1645, which is about 150 to 200 years later than all the other surviving manuscripts containing *Die Königin von Frankreich*. The fact that it has been handwritten on paper is interesting as well, since the printing press had been around for about 200 years and was well established in the seventeenth century. However, folios 1 to 31 are in fact all texts copied from a more extensive and older manuscript unfortunately lost since the seventeenth century. Notes on folio 31r, which contains a table of contents of the lost exemplar, show that these texts are copies of a manuscript dated to 1402, which was owned by Wolf Christoph Velderndorfer zu Neidenstein.[287] This makes *Die*

286. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 10100[a].

287. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 10100[a].

Königin von Frankreich in Wien Cod. 10100ª the oldest surviving version of the tale. Wien Cod. 10100ª is also the only surviving codex naming the presumed author of *Die Königin von Frankreich* as Schondoch. The name appears once in the title: *Die Chünigin von Frankreich hat geticht ein varunder man der hiez Schöndoch* (The Queen of France was written by a wandering man whose name was Schöndoch); and once listed in the table of contents on folio 31r: *Von der Chünigin von Frankreich des Schöndoch* (About The Queen of France by Schöndoch).[288]

Wien Cod. 10100ª was bound together in the nineteenth century with a half-parchment cover by the Austrian National Library, where the manuscript is still residing today. On the spine and on one of the flyleaves pieces of information on provenance can be found: Wien Cod. 10100ª was compiled around 1645 by one Christoph Adam Fernberger von Egenberg, who was an official who checked the collection of taxes, did auditing during the Habsburg monarchy, and was a deputy of the knighthood.[289] The paper of Wien Cod. 10100ª features thirty different watermarks as well as 39 different scribes, most of which can be dated to the seventeenth century.[290] For the first part of the manuscript, one watermark and three scribes have been identified. Scribe A: fol. 1r (line 1–9); scribe B: fol. 1r (line 10)–fol. 24v; scribe C (the collector

288. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 10100ª.

289. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 10100ª, III: "VARIA POETICA COLL. A C. A. Fernberger".

290. Hermann Menhardt, *Verzeichnis der Altdeutschen Literarischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Volume III (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961), 1201. Because the physical manuscript is from the seventeenth century, the descriptions of its physical make-up are not relevant to my argument, but in the interest of consistency can be found here: The different watermarks belong to the sixteenth century (1559, 1590, 1591) and the seventeenth century (1603, 1609, 1611, 1616, 1620, 1645). The numerous verse and prose texts that start on folio 33r are all much younger than folios 1-31.

Fernberger himself): fol. 24v–fol. 31r + notes on earlier folios (fol. 6r & 15r).[291] A complete list of the poems included in the lost Neidenstein manuscript can be found there at the end. A binding error occurred with folio 24, which is numbered correctly, but comes before folio 31.

Wien Cod. 10100[a] itself seems to be a composite manuscript, which means that it was combined at a later stage and compiled over time, while the lost Neidensteiner manuscript might have been a homogenetic manuscript (originally intended for compilation). Due to the missing codicological information, it cannot be categorized definitively.

The following other texts can be found in Wien Cod. 10100[a]:

paper · 242 folios · 32.3cm x 20.5cm · Austro-Bavarian · around 1645

fol. 1r–6r	*Albert's III, Duke of Austria, Journey to Prussia 1377* (Peter Suchenwirt)
fol. 6v–7v	*Von der Fürsten Teilung* (Peter Suchenwirt)
fol. 7v–10r	*Von Fünf Fürsten* (Peter Suchenwirt)
fol. 10r–11v	*Albert III, Duke of Austria, † 1395* (Peter Suchenwirt)
fol. 11v–17v	*Die Königin von Frankreich* (fragment; *Die Chünigin von Frankreich hat geticht ein varunder man der hiez Schöndoch*)
fol. 17v–23v	Konrad's von Würzburg *Heinrich von Kempten/Kaiser Otto*
fol. 23v–25r	*Von Zwei Päpsten* (Peter Suchenwirt)
fol. 25r–26v	*Krieg mit den Reichsstädten* (Peter Suchenwirt)
fol. 26v–27v	*Rede vom Teichner* (Peter Suchenwirt)
fol. 27v–29r	*Rede von Hübscher Lüge* (Peter Suchenwirt)

291. Menhardt, *Verzeichnis der Altdeutschen Literarischen Handschriften*, 1201.

fol. 29r–29v	*Der Freund Sinn* (Peter Suchenwirt)
fol. 30r–30v	*Der Umgekehrte Wagen* (Peter Suchenwirt)
fol. 31r	Table of Contents (Poems) of the Lost Neidenstein Manuscript
fol. 31v	blank
fol. 32r	Drawing of an Hourglass with the Inscription *Memento Mori*
fol. 32v	blank
fol. 33r	*Reis-Uhr* (Johannes Christophorus Teufel von Guntersdorf)
fol. 33r–242r	Verse and Prose Texts from the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries
fol. 242v	blank

The physical manuscript is from the seventeenth century. Because my research looks at multi-text manuscripts that were intentionally compiled in the fifteenth century, the verse and prose texts from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are not relevant to my argument. Only the first 31 folios of Wien Cod. 10100[a], which were copied from the lost 1402 Neidenstein manuscript, are being analyzed. They contain eleven poems by the Austrian poet Peter Suchenwirt (1320–1395), a contemporary countryman of Schondoch. Suchenwirt's thematic spectrum is broad, with so-called heraldic arms poetry and speeches in praise of Kings, Dukes, Counts and lowly nobles of the fourteenth century being particularly numerous. The activities of Suchenwirt included delivering eulogies upon hearing of the passing of a prominent individual, as well as delivering speeches on the first anniversary of their death. His orations often encompassed commendations regarding tournament outcomes, as well as praising the virtues and accomplishments of monarchs and members of the nobility. As a rule, the speech ended with the

description of the deceased person's arms.[292] The selection of those honored by Suchenwirt's speeches (most owned homes in the Herrenviertel in Vienna, the district of the gentry around the court, and were close confidants of the Dukes), his interest in Habsburg politics, and his account in one of the poems of his own presence among the princes of Austria, leave no doubt that he worked mainly in the vicinity of the Viennese court. It has even been speculated that Duke Albert III was his benefactor.[293] Political historiographic contemporary events are also at the center of several of Suchenwirt's poems. In Wien Cod. 10100[a] we can find the following of his poems:

1. *Von Herczog Albrechts Ritterschaft in Prewssenland Anno Domini M°CCC°LXXVII* (Albert's III, Duke of Austria, Journey to Prussia 1377). In 1377, Peter Suchenwirt accompanied Albert III of Austria on his crusade in Prussia and wrote this poem about the journey.[294]

2. *Von der Fürsten taylung in Osterreich Herzog Albrecht vnd Herzog Lewppolt* (The Dukes' Splitting) is a parable of a mighty father who, on his deathbed, shows his two sons the advantages of unity with a piece of wood that cannot be broken if it is not split. At the end, the princes are directly reminded to think of this example before it is too late, which makes it clear that the parable refers directly to the disputes between the Habsburg brothers Albrecht III and Leopold III during Suchenwirt's lifetime. The two brothers Albrecht III and Leopold III shared government affairs after the death of their older brother. The differences of character between the two brothers soon led to increasing tensions. In 1373, Albrecht and Leopold, mediated by their

292. Claudia Brinker-von der Heyde, "Suchenwirt, Peter," in *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, Volume 9, ed. Kurt Ruh et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1995), 486.

293. Brinker, *Von Manigen Helden Gute Tat*, 5.

294. Brinker, *Von Manigen Helden Gute Tat*, 109.

estates, concluded a contract in Vienna for the first time in which the administration of their dominions was divided between them.[295]

3. *Von Fünf Fürsten, von dem von Maylan, Von Marchgraf Sigmund, von Karlus, Von Hertzog Wilhalm von Osterreich vnd von Herczog Lewppold von Osterreich* (About Five Dukes). Suchenwirt describes the year 1386 as a disaster for five Austrian Dukes, among them Leopold III, who tried to expand his position in the West, and suffered a defeat and fell in battle himself. The purpose of the speech is to offer a warning through the fates of those five unfortunate Dukes and to inculcate a lesson that whoever is in high honor today, their happiness can turn into misfortune tomorrow.[296]

4. *Von Herczog Albrecht seeligen Von Osterreich* (About Duke Albert III of Austria) is a heraldic poem in honor of Duke Albert's III death in 1395.

5. *Von zwayn Påbsten* (About Two Popes). Suchenwirt describes the Schism of 1378, which was a split within the Catholic Church lasting from 1378 to 1417 in which bishops residing in Rome and Avignon both claimed to be the true pope. The speech describes the calamity that this division spread throughout all of Europe.[297]

5. *Von der Fursten Grieg vnd von Reichsstetten* (About the War of the Dukes and the Imperial Cities). Suchenwirt refers to the War of the Cities (Städtekrieg), which began as a war between

295. Alois Primisser, *Peter Suchenwirt's Werke aus dem Vierzehnten Jahrhunderte: Ein Beitrag zur Zeit- und Sittengeschichte* (Wien: Verlag von J. B. Wallishausser, 1827), 292.

296. Primisser, *Peter Suchenwirt's Werke*, 278.

297. Primisser, *Peter Suchenwirt's Werke*, 293.

the Swabian League of Cities and the Bavarian Dukes in 1387. Duke Leopold of Austria placed himself at the head of the imperial cities against the nobility.[298]

6. *Daz ist di red vom Teichner* (About Teichner). Heinrich Teichner was the author of a number of the most excellent moral descriptions and didactic poems and a contemporary poet of Suchenwirt. This is a short but touching eulogy for Teichner. [299]

7. *Ein red von Huebscher lug* (About a Pretty Lie) and 8. *Die red haizzt der froind sin* (The Friendly Mind). These poems address the contemporary poets' taste for artificiality.[300]

9. *De Red haizt der vmbgecherte Wagen* (The Upside Down Cart) tells of military conflicts in Northern Italy in the 1380s.[301]

It is noteworthy that Wien Cod. 10100[a] does not include any of Suchenwirt's so-called *Minnereden*—a form of late medieval rhyming speech, which didactically treats the topic of love between the sexes—even though Minnereden had their heyday during Suchenwirt's lifetime in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Instead, Suchenwirt's poems in Wien Cod. 10100[a] can be considered historiographic-didactic texts. Suchenwirt often gave these pieces a didactic twist, mostly appealing to the Habsburg Dukes or to rulers in general.[302] After the brilliant rise of the Habsburgs in the Holy Roman Empire at the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth century, they were unable to take over government power in the empire for almost 150 years. The fourteenth century was characterized by a struggle for supremacy between the

298. Primisser, *Peter Suchenwirt's Werke*, 296.

299. Primisser, *Peter Suchenwirt's Werke*, XII

300. Primisser, *Peter Suchenwirt's Werke*, 307f.

301. Primisser, *Peter Suchenwirt's Werke*, 294f.

302. Brinker, *Von Manigen Helden Gute Tat*, 175.

nobility and the sovereign.[303] Albert III, in particular, very purposefully appropriated property from Austrian nobles, mostly under dubious circumstances. The traditional image of the Duke as a Prince of Peace began to crack, and it most likely took a lot of effort to present him as such and to make him credible as a ruler in the country. One means of achieving this were the panegyric speeches by Suchenwirt. Suchenwirt's poems helped to legitimize Habsburg rule, because they offered the opportunity to illustrate the societal priority of rank.[304] The journey of Albert III to Prussia, for example, was stylized as an outstanding political event that demonstrated the Duke's ability to rule.

Suchenwirt was the first to take up the genre of the saint's legend and turn it into a knight's legend.[305] It was no longer saints setting an example, who were in fact never quite within the reach of ordinary mortals, but men and women belonging to the nobility audience who acted in and for the world.[306] Historiographical data then increases royal credibility and serves to portray the people in Suchenwirt's poems. Historiography here is being used as an example of how to live a good life how to behave in society.

The only other text, apart from *Die Königin von Frankreich*, on folios 1–31 in Wien Cod. 10100[a] is *Heinrich von Kempten*. It is one of four short verse narratives by Konrad von Würzburg, likely dated around 1270. *Heinrich von Kempten* is a double historical anecdote about Heinrich and Emperor Otto with his red beard. The narrative recounts the historical conflict and subsequent reconciliation between Emperor Otto and his vassal, Heinrich von Kempten.

303. Brinker, *Von Manigen Helden Gute Tat*, 233.

304. Brinker, *Von Manigen Helden Gute Tat*, 234.

305. Brinker, *Von Manigen Helden Gute Tat*, 220.

306. Brinker, *Von Manigen Helden Gute Tat*, 224.

Heinrich von Kempten is thought to derive ultimately from a story told in the Pantheon (c. 1191), a Latin work written by the chronicler Godfrey of Viterbo, which tells of an incident supposedly occurring during the life of the Holy Roman Emperor Otto I (912–73).[307] However, the poem by Konrad contains little that pertains to the era of Otto I, but rather reflects the courtly world of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The poem's epilogue emphasizes the ideals of bravery and fearlessness, calling for knights to emulate the heroic example set forth in the text.[308]

Furthermore, it is important to note that the title *Heinrich von Kempten* is attributed to the poem by modern German scholars based on the fact that the knight Heinrich is the central figure in the narrative. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that the headings in the majority of the extant manuscripts link the narrative to Otto instead.[309] In Wien Cod. 10100[a] on fol. 17v it is: *Die Redt haizt Chaiser Ott vnd hat geticht maister Chunrad von Wirczpurckh* (The tale is called Emperor Otto and was composed by Master Konrad von Würzburg).[310] The reference to the emperor is not unimportant. One can explain it by pointing to the beginning of the text, where the emperor is prominently referred to. But we can also gain a different, probably more

307. Horst Brunner, "Konrad von Würzburg," in *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, Volume 5, ed. Kurt Ruh et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1985), 293.

308. Brunner, "Konrad von Würzburg," 293; For a comprehensive exploration of further compelling research on Konrad von Würzburg, please refer to Markus Stock, ed., *Konrad von Würzburg: Ein Handbuch* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2023). This handbook documents the rich, enduring international research that has been conducted on Konrad as well as new methodological approaches to his oeuvre.

309. Alan V. Murray, "The Wicked Emperor and the Knight in the Bathtub: An Annotated Translation of the Middle High German 'Heinrich von Kempten' by Konrad von Würzburg," *Leeds Medieval Studies* 1 (2021): 62.

310. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 10100[a].

medieval, perspective on the text if we read it with the emperor as its main figure in mind.[311] Just like Leopold, Otto was also a popular name within the Habsburg family. Otto II, who died in 1111, was a Count of Habsburg, and one of the founding members of the Habsburg dynasty. Otto, known as the Merry (1301–1339), was Duke of Austria and Styria, as well as Duke of Carinthia, and a member of the House of Habsburg. Dukes Albert II and Leopold I were his brothers.

Wien Cod. 10100[a] clearly displays a strong historiographic interest, which has already been noticed by other researchers as well.[312] *Die Königin von Frankreich* aligns well with this notion. Surrounded by these historiographic (didactic) Suchenwirt texts and preceding Konrad's von Würzburg *Heinrich von Kempten*, *Die Königin von Frankreich* was very clearly used in a historiographic context. Wien Cod. 10100[a] has a notable underlying interest in collecting stories surrounding Austrian Dukes. The motivation to include *Die Königin von Frankreich* in Cod. 10100[a] most certainly stems from Duke Leopold of Austria being the only one that is named in the tale. While the name Leopold already appears in the title of some of Suchenwirt's poems (*Von der Fürsten taylung in / Osterreich Herzog Albrecht / und Herzog* ***Lewpolt*** *+ Von Fünf Fürsten von dem von Mylan / Von Marchgraf Sigmund von Karlur / Von Herczog Wilhalm von Osterreich* / *Und von Herczog* ***Lewppold*** *von Osterreich*), as discussed above, the other poems—without exception—also deal with Austrian Dukes.

311. Matthias Meyer and Nicola Zotz, "How to Name a Story? Rubrics – Headings – Titles," in *The Dynamics of the Medieval Manuscript: Text Collections from a European Perspective*, ed. Karen Pratt et al. (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2017), 212.

312. Gustavo Fernández Riva, "Critique of Courtliness in Konrad von Würzburg's 'Heinrich von Kempten'," *Viator* 49, no. 1 (2018): 188; Jutta Strippel, *Schondochs 'Königin von Frankreich': Untersuchungen zur Handschriftlichen Überlieferung und Kritischer Text* (Göppingen: Verlag Kümmerle, 1978), 46.

Frankfurt a. M., Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. germ. qu. 111 (f^2)

The Frankfurt manuscript, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. germ. qu. 111, consists of 178 folios, which are about 300mm by 207mm in size. Frankfurt Mgq 111 is made of paper with five different watermarks. An analysis of these watermarks has shown that they are very similar to others dating back to the 1460s.[313] These watermark findings are consistent with scribal notes on folio 65r (ending the first text *Daniel von dem Blühenden Tal*): *Gott lausse vns in sin riche kome / 1464 / Amen* (God let us enter his kingdom / 1464 / Amen); and on folio 174r (ending the last text *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ger. and with that the entire manuscript): *Also / behübn die cristenn / dz haillig gelopt land / In der ere gottes vnd / mitt siner hilff vnd / erten do fürbatz das / haillig grab mit mang / lay gottes dienst tag / vnd nacht rt 1469* (So / the Christians preserved / the holy promised land / in the honor of God and / with his help and / continued to honor the / holy grave there with lots / of worship day / and night 1469).[314] With this information we can pinpoint the period of origin of Frankfurt Mgq 111 to around 1464 to 1469.

The provenance of Frankfurt Mgq 111 can only be traced back to the 1840s. Frankfurt Mgq 111 belonged to a monastery in Bronnbach till 1844.[315] It then moved to the Royal

313. Weimann, *Die Mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Gruppe Manuscripta Germanica* (Frankfurt a.M.: Verlag Vittorio Klostermann, 1980), 78.

314. Frankfurt a. M., Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. germ. qu. 111.

315. Karl Frommann, Einige Handschriften der Fürstl. Bibliothek zu Klein-Heubach." *Anzeiger für Kunde der Deutschen Vorzeit* 1 (1853/54): 212.

Löwenstein-Rosenberg court library in Kleinheubach.[316] In 1930 the Baron Carl of Rothschild's library acquired the manuscript at an auction of the antique shop Joseph Baer in Frankfurt am Main.[317] The shelfmark of Baron Carl of Rothschild's library can still be found on the spine of the manuscript: *HS in 4º 127*.[318] After the Second World War, Baron Carl of Rothschild's library's holdings were transferred to the Frankfurt University Library, where the manuscript resides today with the shelfmark: Ms. germ. qu. 111.

Frankfurt Mgq 111 consists of mostly sexternions (quires consisting of twelve folios). Only the last quire consists of ten folios.[319] Frankfurt Mgq 111 has a modern binding from the eighteenth or nineteenth century, made of gray marbled cardboard with a red spine label, as well as one modern flyleaf.

The entire manuscript was written by one scribe in bastarda with black ink. A rubricator has also worked on Frankfurt Mgq 111, with red ink up to folio 165r. The first couple of leaves and folio 75r show signs of usage and water stains. There are illegible remnants of catchwords on folios 121v, 157v, and 169v that were most likely cropped off when the manuscript was bound together. These details identify that the quire boundaries in Frankfurt Mgq 111 are not congruent with the poem boundaries. This means that this multi-text manuscript was crafted and compiled intentionally to contain these poems, instead of combining preexisting booklets which

316. Handwritten note on ownership (around 1900) on the front cover: *Zur Fürstlich Löwenstein-Rosenbergischen Hofbibliothek in Heubach gehörig* (belongs to the Royal Löwenstein-Rosenberg Court Library in Heubach).

317. There is a book plate of the Rothschild library on the inside of the front cover.

318. Weimann, *Die Mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, 78.

319. Friedrich Kraft, *Heinrich Steinhöwels Verdeutschung der Historia Hierosolymitana des Robertus Monachus: Eine Literarhistorische Untersuchung* (Straßburg: Verlag Karl J. Trübner, 1905), 48.

act as independent units containing only whole texts and are self-contained regarding content. This theory is also reinforced by the fact that there is writing from only a single scribe. Frankfurt Mgq 111 is a homogenetic manuscript.

Frankfurt Mgq 111 contains the following texts:

paper · 178 folios · 30cm x 20.7cm · Swabia · 1464 to 1469

fol. 1r	Modern table of contents of manuscript
fol. 1v–2v	blank
fol. 3ra–65rb	Stricker's *Daniel von dem Blühenden Tal* (Daniel of the Blooming Valley)
fol. 65v	blank
fol. 66ra–70vb	*Die Königin von Frankreich* (*Vom kunig Von franckrych*)
fol. 71r–74v	blank
fol. 75ra–174rb	Heinrich Steinhöwel's *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ger. (The History of Jerusalem)
fol. 174v–178v	blank

The metrical texts in verse (*Daniel von dem Blühenden Tal*; *Die Königin von Frankreich*) are aligned in two columns with 30–44 lines, while the prose text (*Historia Hierosolymitana*, ger.) consists of 26–33 lines. Here we see a similar guiding principle as in Wien Cod. 10100[a] at work: regional authors with connections to Habsburg princes. Clearly, Frankfurt Mgq 111 is another one of the manuscripts from southern, German-speaking lands, in a territory within those ruled by the Habsburg dynasty, and is organized around local authors (Stricker, Schondoch, Steinhöwel) and connected to the Austrian nobility.

Daniel von dem Blühenden Tal (Daniel of the Blooming Valley) by Stricker is a post-classical Arthurian romance from the first half of the thirteenth century.[320] Arthurian romance is a literary genre that includes the works of different authors, with the French poet Chrétien de Troyes being the forerunner of the genre. These numerous works by various authors are united by the fact that the legendary King Arthur and his knights of the Round Table always form the central reference point of the plot. *Daniel von dem Blühenden Tal* tells the fictional story of the hero Daniel, who wants to stand by King Arthur in the fight against his enemy, King Matur. His goal takes him through the wondrous and exotic realm of Cluse, where he must face various monsters and beasts to protect the people of the threatened village.[321]

Stricker's *Daniel von dem Blühenden Tal* represents an innovation in the world of Arthurian romance. While the classic ideal Arthurian hero was strong and brave, Daniel is intelligent and clever. The monsters, often originating from Greek mythology, cannot be killed by brute force and muscle power, as is the case in the classic Arthurian novels. Daniel can only defeat them by being clever and crafty. This is not surprising since, as one of the four great verse novella writers of the Middle Ages, Stricker always wrote with a didactic tendency, and tried to convey religiously based moral teachings with clearly defined virtues and vices.[322] Müller-Uneka, for example, points out that medieval Christian ruler typology should be assumed as the basis for the design of the antipodes Arthur and Matur. Important mannerisms of the prototypes of the good and the bad ruler determine the character and rulership of the Kings. The virtues of

320. Elke Uneka-Best, "Der Stricker: II 'Daniel von dem Blühenden Tal'," in *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, Volume 9, ed. Kurt Ruh et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1995), 423.

321. Uneka-Best, "Der Stricker," 424f.

322. Mike Malm, "Der Stricker," in *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon: Das Mittelalter. Band 5: Epik (Vers-Strophe-Prosa) und Kleinformen*, ed. Wolfgang Achnitz (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), 371f.

King Arthur in *Daniel von dem Blühenden Tal* come from "the area of value norms of the rule typology that was binding in the Christian Middle Ages, contaminating ancient, Germanic and biblical traditional elements, as found in mirrors for princes and coronation ordinations and contemporary historiography."[323]

The chronicle *Historia Hierosolymitana* (The History of Jerusalem) in German makes up the main part of Frankfurt Mgq 111—104 out of 178 folios. A chronicle such as the *Historia Hierosolymitana* represents a comprehensive and continuous record arranged in chronological order, commonly expressed in prose or verse, typically without a focus on literary aspirations. In addition to presenting details about past events, it serves as a vessel for communicating the historical, political, and cultural viewpoints of its compiler as well as their medieval readership. Based on the *Gesta Francoru*m the *Historia Hierosolymitana* is a chronicle of the First Crusade written in Latin in the early twelfth century by Robert, a French monk (Robertus Monachus). The *Gesta Francorum* reports on the events of the First Crusade in ten books. Since the work interprets the crusade as a pilgrimage of the *milites Christi* to the Holy Land and thus emphasizes the pilgrimage motif, it moves conceptually close to Christian pilgrimage literature.[324] The First Crusade (1096–1099) was the first of a series of religious wars, initiated, supported, and at times directed by the Latin Church to 'recover' the Holy Land (Jerusalem) from Islamic rule. The great success and popularity of the *Historia Hierosolymitana* can be judged by the large number of

323. Elke Müller-Uneka, "Rex Humilis – Rex Superbus: Zum Herrschertum der Könige Artus von Britanje und Matur von Cluse in Strickers 'Daniel von dem Blühenden Tal'," *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie* 103 (1984): 31: "dem Wertnormenbereich der im christlichen Mittelalter verbindlichen, antike, germanische und biblische Traditionselemente kontaminierenden Herrschaftstypik, wie sie in Fürstenspiegeln, Krönungsordines und zeitgenössischer Geschichtsschreibung überliefert ist."

324. Barbara Haupt, "Robertus Monachus (Robert von St. Remi) OSB," in *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, Volume 8, ed. Kurt Ruh et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1992), 115f.

surviving textual witnesses. With around a hundred handwritten Latin text witnesses from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, the *Historia Hierosolymitana* was the most popular medieval crusade chronicle.

Robert converted the prosaic, diary-like report of the *Gesta Francorum* into an almost novel-like chronicle, into which he wove numerous Bible quotations, with the result that the events of secular history were revealed to be true within the history of salvation as well. In a prologue, Robert explained that he wanted above all to strengthen hope in God, and that is why he wrote his historical text in the tradition of biblical (salvation) historiography.[325]

The chronicle also demonstrates Robert's interest in geographical descriptions. He included descriptions of places and situations, mostly from a strategic point of view, and above all an exact trace of the route taken by the crusaders on their journey to Jerusalem. This topographical aspect of the *Historia Hierosolymitana* was one of the reasons that prompted the extensive translation work into the vernacular in the late Middle Ages. The translations were fueled by the increased interest in secular and religiously edifying travel literature.[326] The German translation as found here in Frankfurt Mgq 111 has been attributed to Heinrich Steinhöwel. Friedrich Kraft already noted in 1905 that many circumstances "justify the assumption that the best of five medieval German translations of Robertus' Monachus Historia

325. Georg Strack, "Wie der Kreuzzug zum Abenteuer wurde: Die Chronik des Robertus Monachus," in *Abenteuer: Zur Geschichte eines Paradoxen Bedürfnisses*, ed. Hiram Kümper and Nicolai Hannig (Paderborn: Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 2015), 85.

326. Haupt, "Robertus Monachus", 115f.

Hierosolymitana does indeed come from Heinrich Steinhöwel."[327] Steinhöwel is considered one of the most successful authors in early German humanism, and his oeuvre is characterized by a wide variety of literary genres and material traditions.[328]

Frankfurt Mgq 111 combines historical texts that are both chronologically and geographically more distant from the reader with stories about members of great noble dynasties. The written dialect in Frankfurt Mgq 111 has been identified as Swabian, which was a region in southern German speaking lands, adjacent to Austria. All three texts were therefore presumably written by local authors. Stricker's texts indicate a good knowledge of Austria, where he may have stayed for a long time. Due to his references to Austrian political and religious circumstances, Austrian nobles and perhaps clerics are assumed to have been his main audience.[329] A connection of Stricker to the Viennese court (the center of power of the Habsburg dynasty for many centuries) and to Duke Leopold VI (1176–1230) (House of Babenberg) is sometimes assumed but is purely speculative.[330] Linguistic markers suggest northeastern Switzerland as Schondoch's productive home. Moreover, as mentioned earlier, Duke Leopold is the only named character in the entire story of *Die Königin von Frankreich* and could be referring to Leopold III (1351–1386) or Leopold IV of Austria (1371–1411) (House of Habsburg). Born in Swabia (Weil der Stadt) Steinhöwel was a local author as well, and even a

327. Kraft, *Heinrich Steinhöwels Verdeutschung*, 151: "Das Zusammentreffen so vieler Umstände berechtigt wohl zu der Annahme, daß die beste von fünf mittelalterlichen Verdeutschungen der Historia Hierosolymitana des Robertus Monachus in der Tat von Heinrich Steinhöwel herrührt."

328. Gerd Dicke, "Steinhöwel, Heinrich," in *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, Volume 9, ed. Kurt Ruh et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1995), 275f.

329. Michael Resler, *Der Stricker 'Daniel of the Blossoming Valley' (Daniel von dem Blühenden Tal)* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1990), xiif.

330. Malm, "Der Stricker," 369.

contemporary one to Frankfurt Mgq 111, as he presumably lived from 1411/12 to 1479. He went to university in Vienna and worked in Ulm.[331]

All three texts end with references to God. *Daniel von dem Blühenden Tal* on folio 65r with *Gott lausse vns in sin riche kome / 1464 / Amen* (God let us enter his kingdom / 1464 / Amen), *Die Königin von Frankreich* on folio 70v with *Hilff uns hie un dort usz all not / Und vor alln schantliche dingn / Got wölle dz uns wol muge gelinge / Amen* (Save us here and there out of every misery / And from all shameful things / God may we succeed in this / Amen), and the *Historia Hierosolymitana* in German with *Also / behübn die cristenn / dz haillig gelopt land / In der ere gottes vnd / mitt siner hilff vnd / erten do fürbatz das / haillig grab mit mang =/ lay gottes dienst tag / vnd nacht rt 1469* (So / the Christians preserved / the holy promised land / in the honor of God and / with his help and / continued to honor the / holy grave there with lots / of worship day / and night 1469).[332] All three texts must have been understood as historical event reports that at the same time encouraged the audience to be virtuous and loyal, and to do the right Christian thing.

Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 2° Cod. 170 (a)

The Augsburg manuscript, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 2° Cod. 170 is a rather short multi-text manuscript with 91 folios made of paper. Augsburg 2° Cod. 170 can be dated to 1474 through three different watermarks found on the paper as well as through a scribal comment on folio 63r: *ist vollpracht am fritag in der vasten oculi im m cccc lxxiiii jar Amen* (is accomplished

331. Dicke, "Steinhöwel, Heinrich," 259.

332. Frankfurt a. M., Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. germ. qu. 111.

on the Friday before the third Sunday of Lent in the 1474th year Amen).[333] With a folio size of 310mm by 210mm, Augsburg 2° Cod. 170 is an average sized multi-text manuscript, just like the previous three manuscripts. The binding seems to be the original brown leather binding with three individual stamps and a hallmark of the fifteenth century. The clasp has been torn off. The title plate on the front cover was restored in 1934.[334] The provenance of Augsburg 2° Cod. 170 can only be traced back to Roggenburg Abbey near Neu-Ulm in Bavaria, where the manuscript was housed before it came to the Augsburg State and City Library.[335]

Augsburg 2° Cod. 170 was written by one scribe in bastarda with black ink. A rubricator has made additions in the form of initials, titles and parentheses to all five texts with red ink. All texts are also written in two columns with 31 to 39 lines respectively. We can also find illegible remnants of catchwords on folios 35v and 59v that were probably cropped off when the manuscript was bound together. Due to the manuscript having been written by one scribe, the remnants of catchwords and the original binding, Augsburg 2° Cod. 170 is a homogenetic manuscript.

The following texts can be found in Augsburg 2° Cod. 170:

paper · 91 folios · 31cm x 21cm · Augsburg · 1474

fol. 1ra–24rb Heinrich Steinhöwel's *Tütsche Cronica*

333. Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 2° Cod. 170.

334. Herrad Spilling, *Die Handschriften der Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg 2º Cod 101-250.* Volume 3 (Wiesbaden: Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg, 1984), 111f.

335. There is a stamp on folio 1r : "Dem Kloster Roggenburg" (Belongs to Roggenburg Abbey).

fol. 25ra–56va	Thomas Peuntner's *Büchlein von der Liebhabung Gottes* (Book about Loving God)
fol. 57ra–63rb	Thomas Peuntner's *Kunst des Heilsamen Sterbens/Ars Moriendi, ger.* (The Art of Dying)
fol. 64ra–85ra	*Die Königin vom Brennenden See* (The Queen from the Burning Lake)
fol. 85ra–89va	*Die Königin von Frankreich* (*Hie nach volgt von ainem andern kung von frankrich und von sinem wib*)

Once again, a manuscript containing *Die Königin von Frankreich*, assembles texts from and around the Viennese court and is organized around local authors (Steinhöwel, Peuntner, Schondoch) and is connected to the Austrian nobility. Both Steinhöwel and Peuntner were local Swabian contemporary authors for Augsburg 2° Cod. 170. Peuntner was also preacher at the Viennese court and father confessor to Duchess Elisabeth, wife of Duke Albrecht V of Austria, another Habsburg ruler. He even dedicated one of his three versions of *Das Büchlein von der Liebhabung Gottes* (Book about Loving God) to Duchess Elisabeth.[336]

The *Tütsche Cronica* is an abridged German version of the *Flores Temporum* continuing up until 1473. The *Flores Temporum* is a Latin chronicle starting with the creation of the world and describing the time after Christ, structured according to the reigns of emperors and popes. There is a strong emphasis on its practical and morally didactic inspiring nature.[337] A scribal note on folio 56v tells us that the *Tütsche Cronica* is in fact a handwritten copy of a print from Ulm:

336. Bernhard Schnell, "Peuntner, Thomas," in *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, Volume 7, ed. Kurt Ruh et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1989), 538-540.

337. Peter Johanek, "'Flores Temporum' ('Martinus Minorita')," In *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, Volume 2, ed. Kurt Ruh et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1979), 755f.

gedruckt zu Ulm von Johanne Zainer von Rütlingen Anno domini M CCCC LXXIII (printed in Ulm by Johanne Zainer von Rütlingen in the year 1473).[338]

Just like the German translation of the chronicle *Historia Hierosolymitana* in Frankfurt Mgq 111, this German translation of the *Flores Temporum* has been attributed to Heinrich Steinhöwel (1412–1480). Steinhöwel here concentrates on what can be assessed morally and on what proves the work of divine providence and especially on the history of his region. The short biographies are reduced to contemporary docile or vice-like features. The course of the world is made to be experienced as more regular through translation, especially the Latin *exempla*. The history of the immediate surroundings has moved into the foreground of imperial and universal history (shortened to keywords). The *Tütsche Cronica* aims to orient the reader in the story, with the emphasis on its practical, morally edifying relevance.

Thomas Peuntner (1380–1439), the author of *Das Büchlein von der Liebhabung Gottes* (Book about Loving God) and *Die Kunst des Heilsamen Sterbens* (The Art of Dying), belongs to the Viennese School of theologians. The goal of those Viennese theologians was to use the vernacular to pass on their reforming ideas to those who did not know Latin. All of Peuntner's texts revolve around the central idea why and how we should love God. *Das Büchlein von der Liebhabung Gottes* became one of the most popular catechetical devotional books of the late German Middle Ages, while *Die Kunst des Heilsamen Sterbens* was the first German *Ars moriendi*. Two Latin texts from about 1415 and 1450 were the original compositions dealing with the *Ars moriendi*. These offer advice on the protocols and procedures of a good death, explaining how to die well according to Christian precepts of the late Middle Ages. Peuntner's German *Ars moriendi* as found here in Augsburg 2° Cod. 170 addresses devout/religious people

338. Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 2° Cod. 170.

themselves, instead of primarily being intended as a catechetical handout for the priest. Both of Peuntner's texts call for the direct and personal commitment of the people.[339]

Die Königin vom Brennenden See (The Queen from the Burning Lake), a short text in couplets (2923 verses) that follows the Peuntner texts has survived only here in Augsburg 2° Cod. 170 and no author is named. *Die Königin vom Brennenden See* forms a dyad together with *Die Königin von Frankreich*, meaning they are two couplet poems that are connected by related themes or meanings. As Westphal's research has shown, such dyad constellations usually link lesser known with better known texts, thus illustrating "how the compiler [or patron] satisfies his interest in new materials within a traditional codicological pattern."[340] This suggest that *Die Königin von Frankreich* here was also used to introduce *Die Königin vom Brennenden See* to its audience.

Earlier research was in fact not even aware of this version of *Die Königin von Frankreich* since it was not noticed until later that *Die Königin vom Brennenden See* and *Die Königin von Frankreich* are two separate stories. *Die Königin vom Brennenden See* ends with two "amen" on folio 85r, whereas the second "amen" does not stem from the scribe but from a rubricator (it is written in red ink, contrary to the black ink used by the scribe) and was probably intended to draw attention to the beginning of the next poem. The transition to *Die Königin von Frankreich* follows immediately: *Hie nach volgt von ainem andern kueng von Frankrich und von sinem wib* (Here after follows about another king of France and his wife). It fills the last rows of the left column of folio 85r. *Die Königin von Frankreich* begins without a title on the first line of the

339. Schnell, "Peuntner, Thomas," 541.

340. Sarah Westphal, *Textual Poetics of German Manuscripts 1300-1500* (Columbia, South Carolina: Camden House, 1993), 57.

right column of folio 85r. Since the handwriting does not change either one could overlook the transition from one story to the next easily.[341]

The narrative material of *Die Königin vom Brennenden See* bears resemblance to *Die Königin von Frankreich*. The story relates how a King of France (his name is Hans) on an adventurous journey to distant lands, accompanied by his dog, regains his wife, a fairy, whom he had previously lost because he stained her with a drop of her blood. King Hans of France gets lost while hunting, ends up in an intermediate realm between this world and the next, and marries the Queen. However, the condition imposed on him as a taboo is that he will lose his wife forever if he hurts her so that she bleeds. After ten years of marriage, he accidentally causes her to prick herself with a pin. She and their two sons are transported to a realm called 'der brennende See' (the burning lake). King Hans returns to France, but soon embarks on a long and difficult search for his wife and sons. A griffin helps him over a mountain and a giant helps him over the burning lake. The couple's eventual reunion is designed as a homecoming narrative: King Hans, unrecognized, wins a three-day tournament organized by his wife, the Queen of the country, because she is being pressured to remarry. They stay in the Queen's kingdom and later pass on the two lands to their two sons. The tale demonstrates what suffering a sincere lover can and should take on.

As a reminder, the four manuscripts presented here in this chapter select and compile a range of texts delving into the past. These include regional and city chronicles, texts about crusades, as well as legends and stories about members of great noble dynasties. *Die Königin von Frankreich* and *Die Königin vom Brennenden See* clearly belong to this latter category. Most of the characters in the stories belong to the nobility, and key protagonists to its highest, elite ranks.

341. Strippel, *Schondochs 'Königin von Frankreich'*, 28.

Duke Leopold of Austria (*Die Königin von Frankreich*) and King Hans of France (*Die Königin vom Brennenden See*) are the only characters in their respective stories to have a name. Just like the previous three manuscripts, Augsburg 2° Cod. 170 was created in a territory adjacent to those ruled by the Habsburg dynasty, which favors the name Leopold, Albrecht and Otto for its princes. The same goes for the name Hans, which is a short form of Johann. All texts in Augsburg 2° Cod. 170 take the form of instructions for Kings, princes, or lesser rulers on successful governance and behavior.

Discussion/Conclusions

The texts in this chapter relate to *Die Königin von Frankreich* in different ways. First, the manuscripts' contexts in Zürich Ms. A 122 and Wien Cod. 10100[a] strongly suggest that *Die Königin von Frankreich* was read as a quasi-biographical legend about a Habsburg Duke, which is accentuated throughout the story. There is a heavy focus on themes and stories surrounding Austrian Dukes.

Secondly, manuscripts such as Frankfurt Mgq 111, Wien Cod. 10100[a] and Augsburg 2° Cod. 170 are strikingly compiled of texts by regional authors with some of them even said to have connections to Habsburg princes: Stricker, Schondoch, Peuntner, Steinhöwel, Suchenwirt. Stricker's texts indicate a good knowledge of Austria. Austrian nobles and perhaps clerics are assumed to have been his main audience. Steinhöwel as well as Peuntner and Suchenwirt were local Swabian contemporary authors. Steinhöwel, an important early humanist, attended university in Vienna. Peuntner was a preacher at the Viennese court and father confessor to Duchess Elisabeth, wife of Duke Albrecht V of Austria. Suchenwirt also worked mainly in the vicinity of the Viennese court. It has been speculated that Duke Albert III was his benefactor.

Thirdly, *Die Königin von Frankreich* in this chapter shows up alongside chronicles and historiographic-didactic texts, which are largely devoted to describing and evaluating the behavior of elites. The texts collected in Wien Cod. 10100[a], Zürich Ms. A 122, Frankfurt Mgq 111, and Augsburg 2° Cod. 170 showcase texts that not only relate to what has happened, but also educate, encourage good deeds, and warn against wrongdoing. They are mirrors of virtue and vice in which one can learn what to do or what not to do through other people's experiences. *Die Königin von Frankreich* fits in well within these multi-text manuscripts as it is a story that not only showcases the exemplary, chivalric virtue of a known German Duke and that reflects and instructs on the hazards of rule, but that also demonstrates that an angry King can perhaps be a good King. By turns enraged, heartbroken, and exuberantly happy, the King is the most emotional character in the story, wearing his feelings on his sleeve. Everyone else contrasts him: the marshal, who successfully conceals his true feelings; the Queen, who is the epitome of reason and contained suffering; Duke Leopold of Austria, who thinks things through and makes arguments based on reason; even the collier, who labors uncomplainingly doing difficult, dangerous work while sheltering and honoring the Queen. Modern readers may experience a kind of gender reversal here, because in modern conventions of gender and emotion, women are supposedly more emotional and irrational than men, but the medieval story never impugns the King's masculinity. We glimpse here the outlines of a different mode of organizing gender and emotion. In the universe of the story, an impulsive, passionate, feeling-driven King is not a bad King or a weak man. Rather, this emotional profile appears to be appropriate to his gender because of his high station. These traits are necessary because they sway others, giving the King a charisma necessary to his station. The problem is that his impulsiveness and feeling-first way of being and deciding in the world must be moderated by reason, a task that can and should be

delegated to his peers. The marshal is a peer in this sense, a Lord and vassal to whom administrative tasks are delegated. The King's peers would be Lords of similar station to himself, ruling lordships on their own. The King appears to have lacked such a trusted advisor, but the crisis precipitated by the marshal's deception brings him one: Duke Leopold.

It has been established that the King acts appropriately kingly. Yet his way of being in the world compares somewhat unfavorably to the collier's virtue. The collier is the King's foil. We might want to remind ourselves of the contrast in station here. The work of making charcoal was indeed incredibly hard: living in the most primitive conditions deep in the forest in order to be close to the raw material, trees, from which charcoal is produced; endlessly cutting and hauling huge amounts of wood; managing the dirt and intense heat of the charcoal-making furnace. The collier's probity and fortitude come close to a heroic stoicism. His choice to shelter and protect the Queen, to enter into a kind of community with her, is prompted, it would seem, simply by a good heart. Although nothing is narrated directly, the story's ending makes it clear that this lowly man has in effect been the young prince's foster father. The King recognizes this aspect of the collier's status when he makes him the prince's godfather, giving the collier social recognition of the paternal role he fulfilled for four years. Further, the collier, who has over the course of living beside the Queen for four years proven that he is utterly immune to the siren voice of courtly love, can take over the marshal's place as well. The noble peasant is imagined possessing innate virtue, a form of honor that the King can use his powers to elevate and make visible to the entire world. This means that *Die Königin von Frankreich* not only gives its audience one male role model, but three.

Chapter 5: *Die Königin von Frankreich* and Entertaining Writing

As has been shown in the previous chapters, *Die Königin von Frankreich* presented medieval compilers with a multi-faceted text that could resonate within different discourses. This chapter discusses two multi-text manuscripts in which *Die Königin von Frankreich* coexists with German-language texts of a literary nature intended to entertain: on the one hand late medieval heroic epics with at times a decidedly comic take, and on the other hand melodramatic entertaining short rhymed couplet tales resembling, as we shall see, *Die Königin von Frankreich*. Whether the readers laugh or cry, they are entertained in some fashion by these stories, transported away from the cares and triumphs of everyday life. This chapter probably represents a way of understanding *Die Königin von Frankreich* that makes intuitive sense to modern readers. Put another way, the medieval understanding of fictional texts around which these manuscripts are compiled is similar to the way we read fiction nowadays.

Die Königin von Frankreich also explores melodramatic features such as an improbable plot, stock characters such as noble heroes, a long-suffering heroine, and a treacherous villain, and a moralizing happy ending, in which virtue prevails. Melodramatic stories such as *Die Königin von Frankreich* contain elements such as "the indulgence of strong emotionalism; moral polarization and schematization; extreme states of being, situations, actions; overt villainy, persecution of the good, and final reward of virtue."[342] It is a universe in which good and evil confront each other.

The order of the two multi-text manuscripts presented here in Chapter Five is chronological. Starting with the older manuscript, Heidelberg, Universitätsbiblitohek, Cpg 373

342. Peter Brooks, *The Melodramatic Imagination: Balzac, Henry James, Melodrama, and the Mode of Excess* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1976), 11f.

(~1420), followed by the younger manuscript, Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Heid. Hs. 1012 (~1460).

Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Pal. germ. 373 (h^8)

Heidelberg, Universitätsbiblitohek, Cpg 373 is made up of quires. The first four quires consist of 12 folios each, followed by one quire with 13 folios, one quire with 11 folios, another five quires with 12 folios each, and one quire with four folios. There are remnants of catchwords on folios 36v, 48v, 72v, 96v and 120v. The missing catchwords, which were probably cropped off when the manuscript was bound together, demonstrate that the quire boundaries in this manuscript are not congruent with the poem boundaries. This means that this multi-text manuscript was crafted and compiled to intentionally contain these poems, rather than combining preexisting booklets or independent units that each held only complete, self-contained texts. This hypothesis is reinforced by the fact that Heidelberg Cpg 373 was written by one scribe with black ink in bastarda. Heidelberg Cpg 373 is a homogenetic manuscript. The written language is Low Alemannic, which points towards the Upper Rhine Region as the place of origin of Heidelberg Cpg 373.[343]

Heidelberg Cpg 373 contains three texts that are aligned in two columns of 35–37 lines. A rubricator made additions in form of initials, titles and capital initial letters crossed out to all texts with red ink. The paper shows strong signs of wear. It is unclean and has stained edges (especially folio 1r). The bottom edge of folio 25 is even torn. Heidelberg Cpg 373 can be dated

343. Matthias Miller and Karin Zimmermann, *Die Codices Palatini Germanici in der Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg (Cod. Pal. germ. 304-495)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2007), 260.

to around 1420 through seven different watermarks found on the paper; the pigskin binding is from the seventeenth century.[344]

There is some information available on the provenance of Heidelberg Cpg 373. It is one of the Codices Palatini Germanici, the German-language manuscripts of the Bibliotheca Palatina (Palatinate State Library), which, after an eventful history, have been almost entirely kept in the Heidelberg University Library since 1816. The Bibliotheca Palatina traces its origins to the year 1386, coinciding with the establishment of the University of Heidelberg. At that time, libraries were established around the high Faculties of Theology, Law and Medicine, in addition to the Arts Library. Other, originally independent institutions absorbed into the Bibliotheca Palatina over time include the so-called monastery library in the Church of the Holy Spirit and the book collection of the Electors Palatine whose chief dwelling was in Heidelberg Castle. Heidelberg Cpg 373 was one of the books kept at Heidelberg Castle, which is known because it is mentioned during the cataloging in 1556/1559.[345]

The Bibliotheca Palatina, by the sixteenth century the most famous book collection in Germany, came to a temporary end with the conquest of Heidelberg during the Thirty Years' War. The manuscripts, including Heidelberg Cpg 373, were looted in 1623 and ended up in the Vatican Library in Rome. Most are still housed there today. Only the German-language manuscripts, such as Heidelberg Cpg 373, were returned to Heidelberg in 1816 and have been kept in the university library ever since.

Heidelberg Cpg 373 is compiled of the following texts:

344. Miller and Zimmermann, *Die Codices Palatini Germanici*, 260.

345. Miller and Zimmermann, *Die Codices Palatini Germanici*, 260.

paper · 136 folios · 27.2cm x 20.3cm · Upper Rhine Region · around 1420

fol. 1ra–25va	*Ortnit*
fol. 25vb–131rb	*Wolfdietrich*
fol. 131va–136rb	*Die Königin von Frankreich* (*Gnad got*)
fol. 136v	blank

The two texts preceding *Die Königin von Frankreich* in Heidelberg Cpg 373, *Ortnit* and *Wolfdietrich*, belong to a branch of epic poetry termed *âventiurehafte Dietrichepik* (fantastical Dietrich epics) in German scholarship, which contrast with the *historisiche Dietrichepik* (historical Dietrich epics). Both treat the great figure of Germanic legend, Dietrich. Those belonging to the genre of fantastical Dietrich epics generally revolve around Dietrich's ancestors and kin or heroes at his court, and their battles against various mythological creatures. The character Ortnit is King of Lombardy; his kingdom passes to Dietrich's grandfather Wolfdietrich when Wolfdietrich marries Ortnit's widow. The term *âventiurehaft* (fantastical) refers to the thematic similarity between the stories of the Dietrich epics and those of Arthurian romance, in which the protagonist must pass a series of often fantastical tests.[346]

Almost all surviving versions of *Ortnit* and *Wolfdietrich*, whether as manuscripts or printed books, are transmitted together. *Ortnit* is the first text and *Wolfdietrich* the second, an order predicated on the chronology of the plot linking the two stories. This is the case in

346. Elisabeht Lienert, *Mittelhochdeutsche Heldenepik: Eine Einführung* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 2015), 117–120. For a comprehensive exploration of further compelling research on all of the Dietrich epics, please refer to Elisabeth Lienert's works. Lienert has conducted groundbreaking work on this genre, as well as provided modern editions of the epics.

Heidelberg Cpg 373, which transmits what is known as the D version of these linked stories. The two stories are also linked formally through their use of a specific strophic form, known as Hildebrandston, which resembles the strophic form used in the *Nibelungenlied* and in *Kudrun*.[347]

Ortnit is divided into chapters, called *âventiuren* (a series of fantastical adventures), which here in Heidelberg Cpg 373 are titled in black in the margins. King Ortnit of Lambarten (Lombardy, Italy) tells his vassals that he means to seek a wife, and one vassal, his uncle Ilyas, King of Russia, mentions Liebgart, the beautiful daughter of Machorel of Muntabur (Mount Tabor), a heathen King. Machorel kills any suitor for his daughter, intending to marry her himself once his wife is dead. Ortnit sets his heart on Liebgart and abducts her. Under the guise of an attempt at reconciliation, Machorel sends Ortnit two dragon eggs, and the dragons terrorize the kingdom after they hatch. Ortnit undertakes a personal quest to defeat the dragons after a year of failed attempts by his peers. Before departing, Ortnit shares an emotional parting with his wife, informing her that should he not return, the knight who retrieves his armor, ring, and the dragon's tongue would avenge his death. Alberich, refusing to accompany Ortnit, cautions him against succumbing to sleep. After aimless wandering in search of the dragon, Ortnit eventually yields to fatigue and falls asleep. When the dragons approach, Ortnit's dog attempts to wake him, but without success. The dragons kill Ortnit. The dog returns to court, and the Queen eventually realizes that Ortnit is not following it and must be dead. For two years the Queen mourns and refuses to remarry except to the knight who avenges Ortnit. Her rejection leads to her deprivation of wealth and subsequent imprisonment in a tower. The tale culminates with the observation that the killing of the dragon is a distant prospect, as the individual destined to kill the creature is yet

347. Wolfgang Dinkelacker, "Ortnit," in *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, Volume 7, ed. Kurt Ruh et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1989), 63.

to be born – a figure who would later become the grandfather of Dietrich of Bern.[348] The version of *Ortnit* in Heidelberg Cpg 373 ends with the dragons terrorizing the lands. Ortnit's pursuit of the dragons and his death are instead integrated into the tale of *Wolfdietrich*, which follows.[349]

Wolfdietrich is also divided into chapters called *âventiuren*. The narrative of *Wolfdietrich* begins with his birth as the third son to Hugdietrich, the King of Greece, and unfolds with the intricate dynamics of power, betrayal, and redemption. The treacherous machinations of the King's malevolent counselor, Sabene, set the stage for Wolfdietrich's harrowing journey. Saved from the brink of death by the benevolent intervention of Duke Berchtung of Meran, Wolfdietrich navigates a tumultuous path marked by exile, conflict, and ultimately, triumph.[350]

Following the demise of Hugdietrich, Sabene's resurgence and manipulative influence prompt the banishment of Wolfdietrich's mother and the deprivation of his rightful inheritance. Undeterred, Wolfdietrich embarks on a valiant military campaign against his own brothers, culminating in a courageous quest for aid from King Ortnit. However, fate takes a poignant turn as he encounters Ortnit's bereaved widow. Wolfdietrich defeats the dragons, marries Ortnit's widow, and becomes King of Lambarten. This epic tale reaches its climax as Wolfdietrich, disguised as a humble pilgrim, orchestrates a daring reconnaissance of Constantinople, liberating Berchtung's captive sons and exacting retribution upon his treacherous siblings through a triumphant siege. His subsequent return to Lambarten is a testament to his unwavering resolve and commitment to justice. The latter part of Wolfdietrich's life unfolds against a backdrop of

348. Dinkelacker, "Ortnit," 60f.

349. Dinkelacker, "Ortnit," 61f.

350. Wolfgang Dinkelacker, "Wolfdietrich," in *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, Volume 10, ed. Kurt Ruh et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1999), 1317.

introspection and spiritual redemption as he seeks solace in a monastery, striving to atone for his past transgressions by engaging in nightly battles with the ghosts of those he had vanquished. This poignant tale culminates in his eventual passing after a lifetime of heroism and repentance, leaving behind a legacy that endures through the annals of time.[351]

Heroic epics such as *Ortnit* and *Wolfdietrich* likely have their roots in oral traditions, in which these grand narratives were recited or sung to audiences during important communal events. Among other things, they are poems that describe war, politics, love, lust, and longing for home. As mentioned, the German notion that these stories are *âventiurehaft* seeks to highlight their proximity to Arthurian Romance and fairytale-like stories. However, they do not share the ethical implications of Arthurian *âventiure*, and they lack the sense of crisis that is often constitutive of Arthurian storytelling. The fantastical Dietrich epics like *Ortnit* and *Wolfdietrich* are characterized by a fascination with the wondrous and the magical: dwarves, giants, and dragons are as essential to these tales as Dietrich's superhuman ability to spit fire when he is enraged.[352] They are late medieval heroic epics with at times a decidedly comic take and so entertain their audience in one way or another. [353]

351. Dinkelacker, "Wolfdietrich," 1317f.

352. Elisabeth Lienert, Elisabeth, "Aspekte der Figurenkonstitution in Mittelhochdeutscher Heldenepik," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 138, no. 1 (2016): 64.

353. An English translation of *Ortnit* and *Wolfdietrich* can be found here: *Ortnit and Wolfdietrich. Two Medieval Romances*, trans. J.W. Thomas (Columbia, South Carolina: Camden House, 1986).

Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Heid. Hs. 1012 (h^{10})

Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Heid. Hs. 1012 has a complicated history. It was long believed to be lost.[354] The manuscript first appears in the modern record in nineteenth-century England. It belonged to the collection of English Lord Ashburnham (1797–1878) who had acquired it from J. Barrois (1785–1855).[355] The old shelf mark was Ashburnham Place, Cod. 486. Subsequently, the manuscript became part of the collection of Charles Fairfax Murray (1849–1919).[356] It is not known what exactly happened to Heidelberg Heid. Hs. 1012 after the dispersal of the Ashburnham collection but the manuscript must have changed hands quickly. It was donated by the Portheim Foundation as a gift to the Heidelberg University Library in 1936.[357] Scholars back then knew of the manuscript's existence, but few were familiar with its whereabouts. For instance, in 1968 Hanns Fischer, the eminent scholar of Middle High German verse novellas, was not aware of the existence of the manuscript at all.[358] By the time Janota published a second edition of Fischer's *Studien zur Deutschen Märendichtung* in 1983 (Fischer having died before being able to complete the second edition), the manuscript appears as *Heidelberg, Cpg 1012* along with all other manuscripts of *Die Königin von Frankreich*, without

354. Sibylle Jefferis, "Die Neuaufgefundene Heidelberger Handschrift von Schondochs 'Königin von Frankreich und der Ungetreue Marschall': Ihre Einordnung in die Übrige Handschriftenüberlieferung," in *New Texts, Methodologies, and Interpretations in Medieval German Literature (Kalamazoo Papers 1992-1995)*, ed. Sibylle Jefferis (Göppingen: Verlag Kümmerle, 1999), 209.

355. Wilfried Werner, *Cimelia Heidelbergensia: 30 Illustrierte Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg* (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 1975), 94.

356. Werner, *Cimelia Heidelbergensia*, 94.

357. Werner, *Cimelia Heidelbergensia*, 94.

358. Hanns Fischer, *Studien zur Deutschen Märendichtung* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1968).

any indication that it was the long-lost Ashburnham manuscript.[359] The manuscript was mis-catalogued by Janota as one of the Codices Palatini Germanici (Cpg) instead of describing the manuscript as the lost Ashburnham.[360] Strippel was also not aware of the manuscript, which she would have otherwise considered in her historical-critical text edition of *Die Königin von Frankreich* from 1978.[361]

Heidelberg Heid. Hs. 1012 has an auburn stamped leather binding, which was added in the nineteenth or twentieth century.[362] Heidelberg Heid. Hs. 1012 consists of 250 folios and a continuous but younger foliation. All texts are arranged in two columns. The columns of the second text, *Loher und Maller* (Loher and Maller), are separated by ink lines and the text's line numbers vary between 35 at the beginning and 22 at the end. The first text, *Der Herzog von Braunschweig* (The Duke of Brunswick), and the last text, *Die Königin von Frankreich*, must have featured vertical and horizontal pricking to determine the columns and lines, which means that the scribe used a sharp implement to mark out the ends of the columns and lines. The pricking, however, is missing today and must have been cropped off later during binding.[363] The two texts' line numbers range from 30 to 36. All three texts are written in bastarda by two different scribes. The second text, *Loher und Maller*, was written by Johann von Worms OP in Trier in 1463, who signed his work on folio 248v: *in den iaren M°cccc° lxiii von mir bruder*

359. Hanns Fischer, *Studien zur Deutschen Märendichtung*, ed. Johannes Janota (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1983), 398.

360. The Codices Palatini Germanici are German manuscripts from the Bibliotheca Palatina, which are kept in the University Library of Heidelberg, like Heidelberg Cgp 373, discussed earlier.

361. Jefferis, "Die Neuaufgefundene Heidelberger Handschrift," 209f.

362. Werner, *Cimelia Heidelbergensia*, 94.

363. Werner, *Cimelia Heidelbergensia*, 94.

Johan von Wormße prediger Ordens wonhafftig do czu male czu Treren (in the year 1463 by me, Brother Johann von Worms, of the Dominican Order living in Trier at the time).[364] The scribe of *Der Herzog von Braunschweig* and *Die Königin von Frankreich* remains unknown. However, considering the similarities in the handwriting of the two texts, it can be concluded that they were written by the same scribe. The date of transcription for these two texts can only be estimated. Werner argues that all three texts were written separately around the same time and then bound into a book early on, as all red initials come from the same rubricator's hand.[365] Werner's observation and the fact that all three texts were written in bastarda supports the conclusion that Heidelberg Heid. Hs. 1012 must have been written sometime around 1460. Just like Wien Cod. 2800, Heidelberg Heid. Hs. 1012 pushes back on the categories of homogenetic and composite manuscripts. Even though the manuscript was written by two different scribes and not immediately bound together it can be assumed that the three texts were created and bound together in a timely manner, as Werner has suggested.

Heidelberg Heid. Hs. 1012 contains the following texts:

paper · 257 folios · 28.5cm x 20.6cm · maybe Trier · around 1460

fol. 1r	blank
fol. 1v–20ra	Augustijn's *Der Herzog von Braunschweig* (The Duke of Brunswick)
fol. 20v–23v	blank
fol. 24ra–248vb	Elisabeth's von Nassau-Saarbrücken *Loher und Maller* (Loher and Maller)

364. Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Heid. Hs. 1012.

365. Werner, *Cimelia Heidelbergensia*, 94.

fol. 249ra–254vb	*Die Königin von Frankreich* (*Des konings boich von franckrich geit hijr ain*)
fol. 255r–257v	blank

Die Königin von Frankreich is the final text in Heidelberg Heid. Hs. 1012. It is preceded by *Der Herzog von Braunschweig* (The Duke of Brunswick), which survives uniquely in Heidelberg Heid. Hs. 1012 and is embellished with twelve slightly colored pen and ink drawings (yellow, blue and pink), and by *Loher und Maller* (Loher and Maller). *Der Herzog von Braunschweig* is considered a verse novella like *Die Königin von Frankreich*. The text has twelve initials, stretching over seven to ten lines, each at the beginning of the page following an ink drawing (folios 2r, 3v, 5v, 7r, 8v, 10r, 11v, 13r, 14v, 16r, 17v and 19r), either including acanthus foliage, dragon bodies or uncial letters. The protagonists remain unchanged throughout the entire sequence of images: the Duke of Brunswick as an elegant youth in a short blue doublet (snug-fitting jacket) with pattens on his feet, blond curls and three feathers as a hair decoration, the Queen with a fashionable, high bonnet (until she flees) and her servant accompanying her in a red dress. The typified figures and their careful execution suggest that they were the product of a professional workshop at the time.[366] The illustrations mainly show conversation or negotiation scenes in which only individual details or gestures refer to the content of what is being spoken, such as the flower in the conversation of love (folio 12v) or the barrel (folio 18v).

366. Kristina Domanski, "Herzog von Braunschweig'," in *Katalog der Deutschsprachigen Illustrierten Handschriften des Mittelalters (KdiH)*, Volume 6, ed. Ulrike Bodemann et al. (München: Verlag C. H. Beck, 2015), 421.

An exception is the illustration of the fight against the pagans (folio 5r), in which the poses of the fighters repeat common motifs. The love conversation (folio 12v), in which the couple sits opposite each other in an elegant position outdoors, also corresponds to a conventional pictorial formula. The choice of image themes, which allows the young Duke to be presented throughout as an elegant youth, is clearly geared towards aristocratic representation and courtly ceremonial.[367]

The tale of *Der Herzog von Braunschweig* (The Duke of Brunswick) probably goes back to a Dutch original, which refers to the author's name as Augustijn.[368] The focus is on a love story. The young son of the Duke of Brunswick goes to Spain to help the King in the fight against the pagans. The pagans are defeated and offer their services to the young Duke. At the Spanish court, the Duke falls in love with the Queen and finds love in return. Out of consideration for the King, he goes to the land of the defeated pagans for a year to carry out deeds of arms there. When he returns, the Queen persuades him that they should escape together. The couple shares a brief period of happiness while everyone else believes they are dead. The lovers live hidden in Venice for a year. One day they are sitting on the beach and they each blame themselves for alienating the other from their homeland. When the Duke falls asleep, the Queen decides to leave and travels with a pagan merchant to Baghdad, where she becomes the governess of his children. On a trip to Spain, the merchant is shipwrecked and receives help from the Duke, who has now become the successor not only of his father, but also of the late King of Spain. As a thank you gift, the Queen makes six precious tapestries that show her love story and

367. Domanski, "Herzog von Braunschweig'," 422.

368. Volker Zapf, "Augustijn," in *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon: Das Mittelalter. Band 5: Epik (Vers-Strophe-Prosa) und Kleinformen*, ed. Wolfgang Achnitz (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), 1397f.

has the merchant deliver them to the Duke. He recognizes himself and his lover on them, after which the lovers are reunited at a celebration. Thus happily reunited, the royal couple lives in Spain for a long time. After her death, one of their sons receives Brunswick, while the other succeeds them on the Spanish throne.[369]

The second text in Heidelberg Heid. Hs. 1012, *Loher und Maller*, is a German prose translation by Elizabeth of Lorraine-Vaudémont, Countess of Nassau-Saarbrücken (1393–1456), or by someone at her court of a chanson de geste, meaning an Old French heroic epic, from the first half of the fourteenth century (*Lohier et Malart*).[370] Heidelberg Heid. Hs. 1012 contains the shortest surviving version of *Loher and Maller*.[371]

The epic is about scheming, betrayal, fights and, above all, friendship.[372] Loher is the son of Charles of France and the younger brother of Ludwig. His friend Maller is the son of King Galien and Rosemonde. The first two-thirds of the epic deal with Loher's seven-year banishment from his father's court because of his numerous romantic affairs. His friend Maller immediately agrees to accompany him. This is how they get to Constantinople, to the court of King Orscher. There, Loher and Maller face a battle against pagans who are besieging King Orscher. Because Loher was so successful in this battle, he gets permission from King Orscher to marry his

369. Domanski, "Herzog von Braunschweig'," 417.

370. Hans Huga Steinhoff, "Elisabeth von Nassau-Saarbrücken," in *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, Volume 2, ed. Kurt Ruh et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1980), 482f.

371. Ute von Bloh and Bernd Bastert, *Loher und Maller, Herzog Herpin: Kommentar und Erschließung* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 2017), 223f.

372. A modern edition of *Loher and Maller* can be found here: Ute von Bloh, Ute, *Loher und Maller: Kritische Edition eines Spätmittelalterlichen Prosaepos*, ed. Silke Winst (Berlin: Erich Schmid Verlag, 2013).

daughter Zormerin and become the future King of Constantinople. When Loher later fights for the Pope against other pagans in Rome, his wife Zormerin dies giving birth to their son Marphone. During these fights, Loher also met his brother Ludwig, who had himself crowned King of France after the death of their father King Charles. This creates an inheritance dispute between the two brothers, which the Pope settles by appointing Loher Emperor of Rome, which Ludwig initially supports. However, Ludwig's councilors change his mind, which is why Loher is treacherously castrated. The councilors do not know that Loher has a son, and after a few years there is a war between Ludwig and Loher because Loher wants to take revenge on the councilors. His son Marphone also fought in this war. After the victory, Maller turns his back on life as a warrior and decides to live as a hermit. When Loher hears no more from Maller, he returns to Rome after a long search and mourns the loss of his friend Maller. When Maller shows up in Rome after some time, Loher accidentally kills him because he does not recognize him. Maller's relatives then declare war on both Loher and Ludwig. Loher also ends this war victoriously with the help of Marphone.

The last third of the epic reports on Ludwig's dispute with his nephew Isenbart, who previously fought for Loher. This argument arises because Ludwig wants to marry Isenbart's sister to a descendant of the man who was responsible for Loher's castration. Isenbart therefore does not agree to his sister's wedding and is banished from all Christian countries. That is why he flees to pagan territories, where, like Loher, he gains fame and honor. There he marries the King's daughter Margelij, who is pagan, and converts to her faith. Isenbart then goes to war with his father-in-law King Gorman against his uncle King Ludwig. King Ludwig wins this war because Isenbart, Gorman and Ludeman are killed, and the pagans are forced to flee. However, Ludwig also dies as a result of the war, as the fight was physically very strenuous for him, and

the councilors also poisoned him. The text ends with the death of Ludwig, with the Carolingian dynasty coming to an end as Ludwig leaves no heir.[373]

This heroic epic features sensational events and has an entertainment value that should not be underestimated. Transgressions of limits are repeatedly acted out in the text with pleasure. In addition to the friendship between Loher and Maller, the surviving versions of the tale in print also promote a scandal in the text, which they recommend reading on their covers as very entertaining and funny: the castration of the protagonist Loher.[374]

Discussion/Conclusions

The co-texts in this chapter intersect in different ways with *Die Königin von Frankreich*. They deal with nobles, not mirroring reality but rather depicting ideals. This is pure illusionistic poetry, most of the time commissioned by nobility to legitimize their status and standing in society, illustrating courtliness and aristocratic representation. The texts in these two manuscripts also all have several specific kinds of adventures featuring betrayals, scheming, fights and treachery, containing elements such as overt villainy, persecution of the good, and final reward of virtue. They are universes in which good and evil confront each other.

373. Bruno Jahn "Elisabeth: Gräfin von Lothringen und Nassau-Saarbrücken," in *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon: Das Mittelalter. Band 5: Epik (Vers-Strophe-Prosa) und Kleinformen*, ed. Wolfgang Achnitz (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), 1495f.

374. Ute von Bloh. *Loher und Maller: Übertragen aus dem Französischen von Elisabeth von Nassau-Saarbrücken. Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek. Cod. 11 und 11a in scrinio. Farbmikrofiche-Edition* (München: Ed. Lengenfelder, 1995), 22.

Dogs seem to have piqued the interest of the compiler of Heidelberg Cpg 373; dogs play a crucial part in *Ortnit* just like in *Die Königin von Frankreich*. From the perspective of Heidelberg Cpg 373, the dog in *Die Königin von Frankreich* is a memorable figure, whose canny and utterly recognizable dog-appropriate behavior of snatching a loaf of bread from the table must surely have garnered a smile from medieval readers just as it does from modern ones. The compiler of Heidelberg Heid. Hs. 1012 must have seen the thematic similarities between *Der Herzog von Braunschweig* and *Die Königin von Frankreich*. Both stories end in a happy reunion of husband and wife, which is only possible due to the wives being recognized through their craftsmanship (tapestry in *Der Herzog von Braunschweig* and embroidery in *Die Königin von Frankreich*).

Naturally, there are elements in the co-texts that apparently do not fit well with *Die Königin von Frankreich*. There are the differences in strophic forms: in Heidelberg Cpg 373 the co-texts *Ortnit* and *Wolfdietrich* use of a specific strophic form known as Hildebrandston, while *Die Königin von Frankreich* is written in rhymed couplets. However, this is not an unusual occurrence of co-texts having different forms and still clearly being intended to be transmitted together. The *Nibelungenlied* is always transmitted together with *Die Klage*, a Middle High German heroic epic, which is appended to the end of the *Nibelungenlied* as if it were a final episode. *Die Klage* describes the laments for and burial of the dead from the *Nibelungenlied*. Although the poem seems to have been written in close proximity to the *Nibelungenlied*, stylistic and linguistic differences make it clear that it was not written by the same author. *Die Klage* is written in rhymed couplets, rather than the strophic form of the *Nibelungenlied*.

The texts compiled together with *Die Königin von Frankreich* in the manuscripts in this chapter also display gender differences. In most of them men are the focal point of the tales,

while the Queen in *Die Königin von Frankreich* is clearly one of the main characters. The Queen never changes. Rather, she endures, which is only possible because she is steady, unchanging and calm. Thanks to the presence of *Die Königin von Frankreich* in these multi-text manuscripts, the reader gets a story that has an important female character compared to its co-texts' important male characters. All these similarities and differences create a kind of web of thematic echoes and contrasts, as well as add variety and allow readers to choose a text for a specific occasion as desired.

Chapter 6: Synopsis and Discussions

The medievalist Sarah Westphal states in her *Textual Poetics of Germanic Manuscripts, 1300–1500* that "[m]edieval literature is no 'arbitrary sum of its parts'"[375] and goes on to unpack some of the poetics governing the creation of multi-text manuscripts containing medieval German literature. Westphal's understanding of the Middle Ages as a sophisticated literary world has guided me as I have been using empirical research to explore the rich literary heritage in a world different from our modern one. The aim of this dissertation was to focus on multi-text manuscripts as an important medium of pre-modern literary culture. I have analyzed manuscripts containing *Die Königin von Frankreich* and other texts as if each manuscript were a single entity, composed with a purpose in order to open up medieval manuscripts with their text ensembles as a source for literary studies. As my chapters show, this analytical practice produced new observations about the textual history of *Die Königin von Frankreich*, and as well as new insights into collection contexts typical of the time and into the interests of medieval patrons, compilers, and readers.

Chapter Two argued that texts within medieval book culture were usually recorded and handed down together with other texts in multi-text manuscripts. Chapter Two contextualized my dissertation within the fundamental fields of inquiry essential for the scholarly examination of medieval manuscripts: book history, codicology, and recent scholarship on multi-text manuscripts. Chapter Two provided the reader with a wealth of information necessary for understanding my approach, methods, and conclusions.

375. Sarah Westphal, *Textual Poetics of German Manuscripts 1300-1500* (Columbia, South Carolina: Camden House, 1993), 7f.

The focus of this dissertation is the examination of the medieval multi-text manuscripts in which *Die Königin von Frankreich* is preserved. The period under consideration extends from 1400 to 1500. The multi-text manuscripts in which *Die Königin von Frankreich* is compiled represent a wide array of medieval German texts and genres of the fifteenth century, including saints' lives, chronicles, prayers, heroic epics, texts about crusades, heraldry, scientific texts such as for bloodletting, etc. The core of my analytical approach was that the *Die Königin von Frankreich* was not viewed in isolation from its transmission contexts, but rather in connection with the texts that accompany this popular verse novella and form a collective transmission. Broadly speaking, the manuscripts share certain key characteristics. All texts accompanying *Die Königin von Frankreich* in its multi-text manuscripts were written in German, rather than Latin. There are no mixed language multi-text manuscripts surviving that contain *Die Königin von Frankreich*. This strong affinity for the vernacular is highlighted even more by the inclusion of texts such as the German translation of the Latin chronicle *Historia Hierosolymitana* by the humanist Heinrich Steinhöwel. The manuscripts were also overwhelmingly created in southern, German-speaking lands.

Chapter Three discussed the first of the three key categorical groupings that I have identified as being characteristic for the medieval the reception of *Die Königin von Frankreich*: religious didactic writing. In this chapter, I have identified *Die Königin von Frankreich* as being transmitted with a moralizing, religious aim. To this grouping belong the following seven manuscripts: Herzogenburg, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 69 (h^{13}), Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Mgq 267 (b^{8}), Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Rare Book and Manuscript Library Collections, Codex 824 (p^{2}), Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Mgq 478 (b^{9}), Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cpg 472 (h^{9}), Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2800 (w^{12}), and Innsbruck, Bibliothek

des Jesuitenkolleg, Cod. 40024 (i^2). In Chapter Three, I explored how the story of *Die Königin von Frankreich* portrays a narrative of suffering and endurance, assimilating the Queen's trials to those of saints. The manuscripts' multi-text contexts serve to highlight the correlation between the Queen's trials and religious ideals, thereby implying that married life necessitates comparable renunciation and self-discipline as observed in monastic life. Notably, certain manuscripts in this chapter situate *Die Königin von Frankreich* within a Marian framework, accentuating the Queen's virtue and presenting her as a formidable exemplar of chastity and motherhood. Furthermore, the manuscripts indicate the possibility that *Die Königin von Frankreich* held particular significance for medieval (noble)women.

The understanding of *Die Königin von Frankreich* through a range of texts treating the past is the subject of Chapter Four. To this grouping belong four manuscripts: Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Ms. A 122 (z), Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 10100^a (w^6), Frankfurt a. M., Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. germ. qu. 111 (f^2), and Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 2° Cod. 170 (a). These manuscripts share a focus on stories about Austrian Dukes. Some of the manuscripts are compilations of texts by regional authors with connections to Habsburg princes. The manuscripts suggest *Die Königin von Frankreich* was read as a quasi-biographical legend about a Habsburg Duke named Leopold, who in the story of *Die Königin von Frankreich* plays the role of a just and moral nobleman who uncovers a crime and brings about a happy ending. In this chapter, *Die Königin von Frankreich* shows up alongside texts largely devoted to describing and evaluating the behavior of elites. It fits well within these manuscripts as it showcases exemplary virtue and instructs on the hazards of rule, demonstrating, for example, that an impulsive King can still be a good King. The emotional profile of the King is seen as appropriate to his high station but must be moderated by reason. *Die Königin von*

Frankreich gives its audience not just one positive male role model but three: the King, the Duke and the collier. The crisis precipitated by the marshal's deception brings Duke Leopold as a trusted advisor to the King, while the *collier* is imagined possessing innate virtue.

Chapter Five treated the transmission of *Die Königin von Frankreich* with texts of a literary nature intended to entertain. Two multi-text manuscripts belong to this grouping: Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Pal. germ. 373 (h^8) and Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Heid. Hs. 1012 (h^{10}). In Chapter Five, I explored texts that aim to entertain readers by evoking emotions such as laughter or sadness and by providing an escape from the mundane aspects of daily life. Heidelberg Cpg 373, among other things, achieves this by drawing attention to the role of dogs, while Heidelberg Heid. Hs. 1012 highlights joyful reunions of husbands and wives, made possible by the wives being identified through their craftsmanship. The texts compiled in these two multi-text manuscripts mainly focus on noble characters and depict idealized versions of reality rather than mirroring actual life. They also feature specific adventures, as well as betrayals, schemes, fights, and treachery, including elements such as overt villainy, persecution of the virtuous, and the eventual reward of virtue, creating universes where good and evil are in conflict.

It needs to be noted here that the respective manuscript groups, as established by Jutta Strippel, seem to not correlate with the groupings I have carved out in this dissertation, which can be seen in the table below.

Table 1. Overview of manuscript groups, as defined by Strippel, in correlation to the groupings identified in my dissertation

MANUSCRIPT	GROUP	TITLE	VERSES
RELIGIOUS DIDACTIC			
Herzogenburg, Cod. 69 (h^{13})	1 Alemannic	*Das ist der künigk von franckhreich / Vnd sein fraw gar mynnigkleich / Die so jämerlich verraten ward / Von irem pözen marschalkh*	666
Berlin, Mgq 267 (b^{8})	3 Rhine Franconian	*Von dem hunt von franckreich*	668
Philadelphia, Ms. Cod. 824 (p^{2})	2 Austrian	No title	677
Berlin, Mgq 478 (b^{9})	2 Austrian	*…und die kingin zu franckenreich vnd wie es ir ergien*	649
Heidelberg, Cpg 472 (h^{9})	4 Bavarian	*Vonn der kunegin vonn / franckreich wie ez ir erging*	700
Wien, Cod. 2800 (w^{12})	3 Rhine Franconian	No title	653
Innsbruck, Cod. 40024 (i^{2}) (fragment)	3	No title	244

	Rhine Franconian		
HISTORIOGRAPHIC			
Zürich, Ms. A 122 (z) (fragment)	1 Alemannic	No title	470
Wien, Cod. 10100[a] (w^6) (fragment)	3 Rhine Franconian	*Die Chünigin von Frankreich hat geticht ein varunder man der hiez Schöndoch*	611
Frankfurt a. M., Mgq 111 (f^2)	3 Rhine Franconian	*Vom kunig Von franckrych*	622
Augsburg, 2° Cod. 170 (a)	2 Austrian	*Hie nach volgt von ainem andern kung von frankrich und von sinem wib*	616
ENTERTAINING			
Heidelberg, Cpg 373 (h^8)	4 Bavarian	*Gnad got*	695
Heidelberg, Heid. Hs. 1012 (h^{10})	2 Austrian	*Des konings boich von franckrich geit hijr ain*	769
WISDOM?			
Darmstadt, Hs. 724 (d^7)	2	No title	831

	Austrian		
Bremen, msb 0042-02 (b^5)	1 Alemannic	*Dis ist der künig von franckrich*	702
Hamburg, Cod. germ. 13 (h^{12})	3 Rhine Franconian	*Von dem vngetrewen marschal*	653
Nürnberg, Hs. 5339a (n^1)	1 Alemannic	*Vom künig von franckreich*	662
Wien, Cod. 2880 (w^{13}) (fragment)	4 Bavarian	No title	447
Lindau, Cod. P II 68 (l^4)	1 Alemannic	No title	724
Basel, Cod. O III 15 (b^{10})	2 Austrian	No title	675
Wien, Cod. 2675* (W^{10})	3 Rhine Franconian	*Hebt sich an ein hystori von der kuniginn von frannkchreich der hochgeborn furstinn von Baiern*	660

A major achievement of my dissertation is the surveying of a substantial body of medieval literature, amounting to a source-based overview of the literary history of fifteenth-century German literature. Instead of projecting a modern perspective onto the pre-modern age

of manuscripts, I have taken the specific conditions of manuscript culture into account. These specific features include the collective transmission of multiple texts in one manuscript. By considering the arrangements of texts in the multi-text manuscripts, even texts such as *Die Königin von Frankreich*, which in the past have been perceived as lacking artistic complexity, can be appreciated in a different light. My dissertation is therefore not limited to simply reconstructing the contexts of use. Rather, I examined and established connections between variants of a single text (*Die Königin von Frankreich*) and its co-texts that have been transmitted jointly. In addition, I reveal interpretations that take the historicity of texts into account. Using interpretations that incorporate the co-texts and the concepts of the arrangements of texts made it possible to show how the meaning of *Die Königin von Frankreich* can narrow and shift.

Future Research

I firmly believe that there is not just one way to interpret these manuscripts. I infer that by examining a manuscript in its entirety, as it was originally designed and organized, a deliberate pattern of interconnected topics can emerge. By taking the time to contextualize these texts from a codicological perspective, we can gain insights not only into how seemingly disparate types of texts were intended to complement each other, but also into specific medieval ways of thinking.

It would also be interesting to find out if the attributed dimensions of *Die Königin von Frankreich*, which I have carved out with my dissertation, are achieved and highlighted by editorial interventions. This is something Diana Müller also looked at with Hartmann's von Aue *Gregorius*. Müller argues that the medium of the multi-text manuscript determines the concrete form of texts and creates text variations because texts are fitted into the respective text

environment and thus reformulated, shortened or expanded.[376] I believe that such an investigation with *Die Königin von Frankreich* might prove fruitful.

The attentive reader might have noticed that my dissertation has only investigated 13 out of the 21 manuscripts containing *Die Königin von Frankreich*. There are multiple reasons for this. First, one of the manuscripts is a beautifully illuminated parchment single-text manuscript: Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2675* (W^{10}). Because it is not a multi-text manuscript, Wien Cod. 2675* does not fit the criteria for my study. Examining the relationship between the images and the text, which would constitute a valuable addition to scholarship, would require a different set of analytical and scholarly tools that also fall outside of the purview of my dissertation.

Second, one of the multi-text volumes is an incunabulum printed in 1486 rather than a manuscript, with later added handwritten additions: Lindau, Ehemals Reichsstädtische Bibliothek, Cod. P II 68 (l^4). The printed part of Lindau Cod. P II 68 consists of the *Gmünder Chronik*. The handwritten additions are *Die Königin von Frankreich* from 1492 with a brief overview of the classes of the Holy Roman Empire attached, and an oath *More Judaico* (By the Jewish Custom) of Nuremberg from 1499. Lindau Cod. P II 68 is stored at a rather small municipal library and has not yet been digitized. To analyze this fascinating combination of incunabulum and manuscript one would have to do extensive research work with it on a first-hand basis, a possibility that was not open to me, in part due to the pandemic. I do, however, have a hypothesis regarding this multi-text work. The co-texts strongly suggest that this incunabulum and manuscript combination could be considered historiographic in nature.

376. Diana Müller, "Textgemeinschaften: Der 'Gregorius' Hartmanns von Aue in Mittelalterlichen Sammelhandschriften" (Dissertation, Johann Wolfgang Goethe Universität Frankfurt, 2013), https://publikationen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/frontdoor/index/index/docId/30069,%2017.7.2020.

A third multi-text manuscript not mentioned so far is Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. O III 15 (b^{10}) from the first half of the fifteenth century. Basel Cod. O III 15 consists of two German poems: *Sibyllenweissagung* (Prophecy of Sibyl) and *Die Königin von Frankreich*. The *Sibyllenweissagung*, or so-called *Sibyllen Buch* (Book of Sibyl), is about the female prophet Sibyl, who visits King Solomon and foretells the entire future until the end of days. It might be considered a history of mankind in rhyming couplets, in which the prophecies of the fortune teller Sibyl take center stage. As in medieval world chronicles, the work begins with the creation of the world and continues until the end of the world.[377] Here yet again, a historiographic character of the multi-text manuscript can be assumed. However, I cannot definitively make a strong argument that these two texts were intended to be combined. Scholars have not been able to agree about the assembly of the manuscript. Some have argued that the two texts in Basel Cod. O III 15 have been written by the same scribe; others say that there are two different ones,[378] and there are no other clear signs (such as original binding, catchwords, etc.) that would help determine whether the texts were originally intended to be compiled together. Even though Basel Cod. O III 15 has been digitized, research work with the manuscript on a first-hand basis would be necessary to build a strong argument. In this instance the digitization of manuscripts shows its limits.

The five remaining multi-text manuscripts do not fall into the groupings I have carved out and analyzed in this dissertation: Bremen, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, msb 0042-02 (b^5),

377. Bernhard Schnell, "Sibyllenweissagungen (Deutsch)," in *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, Volume 8, ed. Kurt Ruh et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1992).

378. Arend Mihm, *Überlieferung und Verbreitung der Märendichtung im Spätmittelalter* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1967); Jutta Strippel, *Schondochs 'Königin von Frankreich': Untersuchungen zur Handschriftlichen Überlieferung und Kritischer Text* (Göppingen: Verlag Kümmerle, 1978).

Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Hs. 724 (d^{7}), Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. germ. 13 (h^{12}), Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Bibliothek, Hs. 5339a (n^{1}), and Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2880 (w^{13}). However, I have discerned an interesting pattern of combining moral didactic and entertaining literature in them. They share a number of characteristics. They are from the fifteenth century and written in German by one scribe each, which could hint that the various texts included in these manuscripts were originally chosen for compilation, making each of them a homogenetic manuscript. These five multi-text manuscripts contain entertaining texts similar to those in Chapter Five. What distinguishes them from purely entertaining manuscripts is the inclusion of wisdom literature, a kind of German-language writing that provides guidance and instruction in basic social and theological concepts and moral precepts. Deeply conservative and traditionalist, wisdom literature was wildly popular in German-speaking lands in the late Middle Ages. It appeared in different kinds or genres of writing, the most popular of which are represented in the five manuscripts mentioned: proverbial sayings and wisdom poetry transmitted in collections attributed to the poets Freidank and Teichner; a massive rhymed couplet text explaining the way the secular world is organized (a kind of proto-sociology) called *Der Renner* (The Pawn) after the figure in chess, the game providing the text's organizing metaphor for human society. That *Die Königin von Frankreich* was selected to be included in manuscripts focusing on wisdom and on notions of good conduct and moral instruction might seem difficult to evaluate at first glance. Yet, I believe that these manuscripts indicate that another way to read *Die Königin von Frankreich* is as an example of virtue and steadfastness in the face of suffering rewarded, and not just for the one who suffers injustice but for all whose lives are linked to hers. I have not had time to develop these insights into a full chapter that can validate my informed guess about the

kind of multi-text manuscript discourse these five manuscripts represent, but the principles and processes I have followed in Chapters Three through Five of this dissertation can certainly be applied here. These five manuscripts offer ample opportunities for future research.

Other possibilities for future research are represented in the huge corpus of narrative material that is related to *Die Königin von Frankreich*. The manuscripts discussed in my dissertation show how important the historiographic way of thinking must have been for understanding *Die Königin von Frankreich* and its related tales, such as the German Genovefa legend, the legend of Sibyl (not to be confused with the prophet Sibyl), and the Old French chanson de geste *Macaire*. As mentioned in Chapter One, this web of narratives (which also includes non-textual sources such as tapestries) always revolves around a chaste wife/queen who has been falsely accused of adultery. My dissertation opens the door to a new way of approaching this line of adaptations, which appears to have been very popular and is virtually unstudied as a body of adaptations across languages and cultures in the high and late European Middle Ages.

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