

Ovid's Amores III, iv: its reception in William of Aquitaine,
Sebastian Brant and Middle High German literature

In the Narrenschiff¹ (1498) we find a section entitled Von frowen huetten in which Sebastian Brant satirises the folly of those who lock up their wives thus:

Vil narren tag / vnd selten güt
 Hat wer synr frowen hütten düt
 Dann welch wol wil / die düt selb recht
 Welch vbel wil / die macht bald schlecht
 Wie sie zü wegen bring all tag
 Ir böss fürnemen vnd anschlag
 Leit man eyn malschloss schon dar für
 Vnd bslösst all ryge! / tor / vnd tür /
 Vnd setzt jns huss der hütter vil
 So gatt es denaht als es wil
 Was halff der turn dar jnn Dana ging
 Dar für / do sie eyn kynd entpfyng /
 Penelope was fry vnd loss
 Vnd hatt vmb sich vil büler gross
 Vnd was jr man zwentzig jor vss
 Bleib sy doch frum / jn irem huss

('Anyone who exercises surveillance over his wife will have many foolish days, but seldom a good one. For a good wife will do right of her own accord, a bad one will quickly find a way of achieving her evil intentions and plans as often as she wishes. Even if you put a padlock on the door and pull all the bolts on the gates and the doors across and bring guards into the house, it will all be of no avail. What use was the tower into which Dana had gone when she conceived a child? Penelope had complete freedom and was surrounded by many illustrious suitors, but though her husband was away for twenty years she nevertheless stayed at home alone and was a virtuous wife.¹)

In his footnotes Zarncke,² after noting some similarity between the opening lines and Gottfried von Strassburg's *Tristan* (vv.17872-76),³ suggests that the ultimate source of both these passages is Propertius II, 5, 31. To the best of my knowledge this line does not exist. Perhaps he meant Propertius II, 6, 37-40:⁴

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quos igitur tibi custodes, quae limina ponam,
quae numquam supra pes inimicus est?
nam nihil invitae tristis custodia prodest:
quam peccare pudet, Cynthia, tuta sat est.

('What guards and what thresholds shall I set you, beyond which an enemy's foot shall never pass? For harsh surveillance is no use if the lady does not wish it to be; only she who is ashamed to sin, my Cynthia, is truly safe.')

But it is Propertius's slightly younger contemporary, Ovid, who must be regarded as Brant's inspiration in the passage quoted above. In Amores III, iv,⁵ he implies that a wife's goodness of character is the only guarantee a husband has of her virtue and fidelity:

Dure vir, inposito tenerae custode puellae
Nil agis : ingeniosae quaeque tuenda suo

('You big bully, you achieve nothing by putting a guard on a pretty girl - she ought to be protected by her own instincts.')

and highlights the futility of surveillance, because a wife can not be made virtuous against her will by locking the doors:

Ut iam servaris bene corpus, adultera mens est:
Nec custodiri, ne velit, illa potest,
Nec corpus servare potes, licet omnia claudas

('Although you may guard her person strictly, her mind will be set on adultery; nor can she be kept safe unless she wishes it; you can not even guard her body, although you seal off all entrances.')

Ovid's remarks are specifically directed at the close keeping of wives. The dure vir is the husband of the tenerae puellae. We do not know whether Propertius's Cynthia, whom Apuleius identifies as a certain Hostia,⁶ is some one else's wife, a single lady belonging to high society or a courtesan.⁷ However, the factor which decides whether Ovid or Propertius is Brant's source in this instance is the German author's choice of stories from classical antiquity to illustrate his theme of the futility and perverseness of surveillance and the dictum that a good wife's instinct is her own best protection. Bobertag⁸ refers to a mention of Danae in Ovid's Metamorphoses in his note on these lines, but in a chapter on the surveillance of wives it is surely much more likely that Brant is using Amores III, iv, where Ovid employs precisely the same examples to illustrate exactly the same points:

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In thalamum Danae ferro saxoque perennem
Quae fuerat virgo tradita, mater erat:
Penelope mansit, quamvis custode carebat,
Inter tot iuvenes intemerata procos

('Danae, who had been put into her perpetual bower of iron and stone a virgin, became a mother: Penelope, although she lacked a guard, remained untouched, in the midst of so many youthful suitors.')

But *Amores* III, iv was also a source of ideas about surveillance at an earlier date. I hope to show that themes and motifs derived from this poem were known to poets writing in the medieval vernaculars for whom surveillance was often a target of abuse, rarely of approval, whether they be lyric poets, writers of romances or moralists. This should come as no surprise, for the contents of the handbooks on rhetoric by John of Garland, Matthew of Vendome, Geoffrey of Vinsauf and Gervais of Melkley⁹ indicate that Ovid was well known in the schools and Brinkmann¹⁰ cites correspondence from the eleventh century which suggests that the writers had read some at least of his works.

In *Amores* III, iv, the image of a sick man craving forbidden liquids is used as an illustration for human hankering after forbidden fruit:

Nitimur in vetitum semper cupimusque negata:
Sic interdictis imminet aeger aquis

('We always strive for what is prohibited and seek those things which are denied us; thus a sick man will crave forbidden liquids.')

These lines have been generally recognised as the source of:

ich sach daz ein sieche verboten wazzer tranc (MF. 137, 9)

('I saw a sick man drink forbidden water')

in a strophe attributed to Heinrich von Morungen in ms. p (Berner Bibliothek, cod. 260), which contains a warning that the lover should not be denied the sight of his beloved by surveillance, for this might have the opposite result to that intended. The use of similar imagery in this strophe and the final strophe and last line of a poem on surveillance by William of Aquitaine:¹¹

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Non i a negu de vos la.m desautrei:
 S'om li vedava vi fort per malavei
 Non begues enanz de l'aiga que.s laisses morir de sei?
 Chascus beuri'ans de l'aiga que.s laisses morir de sei

('There's not one of you would deny me her; if, because of sickness, she has been denied strong wine, would she not drink water rather than die of thirst?' 'Anyone would rather drink water than die of thirst')

has also been acknowledged, but any thought that William's poem Compaigno, non puosc mudar qu'eo no m'effrei is the source of Morungen's Die vil guote (MF. 136, 25-137, 9a) or any strophe of it has rightly been rejected.¹² But is Ovid's Amores III, iv a source for William as well as for Morungen or pseudo-Morungen?

D. Scheludko¹³ and J. Crosland¹⁴ have both argued that William's inspiration is wholly literary and that this inspiration is in fact Ovid's Amores III, iv. This view has recently either been rejected or ignored, for Pollmann¹⁵ simply sees the poem as a casteis, a warning poem, against a social abuse and his opinion is generally supported by Press¹⁶ and Topsfield.¹⁷ The latter sees Chascus beuri'ans de l'aiga que.s laisses morir de sei as a proverb and suggests that William assumes the role of a zealous disinterested mentor or castiador - which is ironical in view of his reputation - who pleads in debating style against surveillance.

Scheludko is undoubtedly right to see Ovid as a source of William's poem and I hope to support his thesis with fresh evidence and argument. But it is open to doubt whether William's inspiration is wholly literary. We know from twelfth-century annalists and historians as well as the Provençal vida¹⁸ of William's reputation as a lover and a great trichador de dompnas, deceiver of ladies. The vida continues:

e bon cavalliers d'armas et larcs de domnejar; e saup ben
 trobar e cantar. Et anet lonc temps per lo mon per enganar
 las domnas ...

('and a good knight and grand and generous in his wooing of ladies and he was a good composer and singer of songs. And for a long time he travelled about the world in order to deceive ladies ...')

His talent as a composer of songs and as an entertainer is stressed elsewhere, notably by Orderic Vitalis,¹⁹ who tells us how William uses his own wretched

experiences in the Holy Land as a source of entertainment in the songs he composed and sings to amuse his peers and others. It is my contention that Compaigno, non puosc mudar is not only a poem against the surveillance of ladies but that it is also an emulation of Amores III, iv and a joke with a very personal note, particularly at the end.

Although Nelli's examples²⁰ for the surveillance of wives are mostly literary, a man of William's reputation is likely to have encountered this social abuse in the course of his life. He also condemns it in Companho, tant ai agutz d'avols conres. My translation of the last four lines of Compaigno, non puosc mudar, which differs from those of Press²¹ and Jeanroy²² in the translation of la (19) also that of Blackburn²³ in the translation of li (20) indicates that by the end of the poem William is certainly not posing as a disinterested castador.

If seeking poetic inspiration for personal vendetta against surveillance how could William do better than to turn to Ovid, Amores III, iv, which is a witty, sophisticated justification of freedom of movement and freedom from supervision for wives and sees nothing wrong in permissiveness and adultery? Might he have known the work? In the official letters from Urban II and the Abbot of Vendôme we find attributed to William the usual virtues expected of a good ruler at this time: prowess, physical beauty, magnanimity, compassion and praise of his scholarship. A scholar and a lover would indeed be interested in Ovid. And, as Brinkmann²⁴ has pointed out William probably inherited a considerable library from an ancestor. And yet William's emulation of Ovid is no facile reproduction of the latter's ideas followed by a little homely advice and conventional moralising, as is the case with Sebastian Brant's Van frowen hütten, but it is an altogether more original and humorous denunciation of the folly of surveillance. It differs from Ovid's poem in its style: the plainer, more down-to-earth approach of some of William's so-called burlesque poems with their distinctly personal note.

Ovid's argument in Amores, III, iv, can be briefly summarised as follows: adultery is in keeping with Roman fashion and to fret about it is both futile and counter-productive, for not only can a woman's mind and will not be imprisoned, but she will give her body to someone within her walls, a member of her household perhaps, if she is denied access to suitable company; surveillance is counter-productive because forbidden fruit is all the more alluring; a decent wife is her own best protection, but prohibition can only encourage vice; these arguments are illustrated by a series of examples - the sick man craving forbidden liquid, the checked horse bolting but stopping when the reins are relaxed - and allusions to the stories about Argus, Danae and Penelope from classical legend; furthermore a locked-up wife is a lure, a challenge and a temptation to any man who hears of her; and finally her

husband's action is illegal, as it is wrong to imprison a freeborn girl.

The meaning of William's poem depends mainly on the translation and interpretation of the last stanza. Chascun beuri'ans de l'aiga que.s laisses morir de sei looks proverbial and may even be a proverb, but it is also a variation of the last clause of the final two lines of the last stanza:

S'om li vedava vi fort, per malavei,
Non begues enanz de l'aiga que.s laisses morir de sei?

The li refers back to the la of the previous line:

Non i a negu de vos la.m desautreï.

In the English translations insufficient attention has been paid to the tense and mood of vedava. Blackburn has the present indicative and Press the conditional, whereas I use the perfect. In the protasis the text has an imperfect indicative, which is normal even in clauses of unreal condition,²⁵ but here William is talking about fact, the lady's plight, not a supposition. His alteration of Ovid's image of a sick man craving forbidden liquid to that of a sick woman drinking water if she is denied strong wine is conditioned by William's own reputation as a lover and the use to which he has put Ovidian motifs earlier in the poem.

After introducing and detailing the lady's complaint that he has heard - qu'ai auzidas - and sees - vei (v.2) - in the persons of the guards in the first three stanzas, he seeks to persuade the guards, and presumably the husband who has given the guards their orders, to give up surveillance. First, he argues that constant surveillance is impossible; a guard may fall asleep. The reader of Amores III, iv remembers that Argos's hundred eyes did not prevent the failure of his supervision of Io. Secondly, and crucially, we find two motifs from Amores III, iv combined in stanzas V and VI and adapted to suit the purpose and style of William's poem. Ovid has implied that a wife's decency and goodness are her own best protection and then argued that surveillance will corrupt her, as prohibition and denial of liberty will lead even a good woman astray, since forbidden fruit is sweetest. As we have seen, Ovid goes on to suggest that for want of better company a woman under surveillance will seek a lover from within her walls, from her own household. Such ideas are the source of:

Qu'eu anc non vi nulla domn' ab tan grand fei
.....
S'om la loigna de proessa, que ab malvestatz non plaidei.

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E si l tenez a curtat lo bon conrei,
 Adba.s d.aquel que troba viron sei;
 Si non pot aver caval ... compra palafrei.

('For I have never seen a lady, however great her loyalty be, who, if she was kept away from true valour, did not consort with baseness.'

'And if you set good produce at too high a price, she will make do with what she finds round her. If she cannot have a warhorse then she will buy a hack.'

In his final stanza William has changed the Ovidian image of the sick man craving forbidden water to support the Roman poet's argument that a lady under surveillance will seek a lover amongst her familiars, if denied the freedom to associate with people of quality, knights and warriors, and possibly choose a lover from amongst their ranks. Denied strong wine, denied a warhorse, she will associate with baseness, make do with a domestic, a hack, drink ordinary water rather than die of thirst. And the mocking warning to the guards and the suspicious husband who lurks behind the imposition of surveillance rings loud and clear in Chascus beuri'ans de l'aiga que.s laisses morir de sei. Also, William's quickening interest in the lady, which results in his challenge to the guards at the end demonstrates the truth of Ovid's contention that wives under surveillance attract the attention of potential lovers for whom they have greater charms and present a greater challenge:

Quidquid servatur, cupimus magis, ipsaque furem
 Cura vocat

('whatever is locked up we desire all the more, and security itself is a lure to the thief.')

The influence of other motifs from Amores III, iv is also detectable in the poem. Here it is the guards rather than the husband who are depicted as being hard of heart. They take the place of Ovid's dure vir. Just as this cruel fellow keep his puella locked up illegally, so we (and William) learn from the lady's complaint that she considers the imprisonment, to which she is subjected, to be illegal:

E diz que no volo prendre son dreit ni loi

('And says they will observe neither her rights nor the law.')

Their hardness of heart is clear from the warning that,

Qui no vol prendre son pleit o sa merci

('if anyone refuses her plea or entreaty,')

she will drink water if denied strong wine.²⁶

Finally, Ovid's use of the bucking, tightly-reined horse as an illustration of the ineffectiveness of a husband's surveillance has suggested to William a means of ridiculing the guards. The three of them cause the lady distress with their loud and uncouth bickering, when they are unable to agree amongst themselves whether to tighten or slacken the reins. It is surely better to translate *l'estaca* (v.6) as 'reins' rather than Press's 'bond', since these guards are likened to rough carters:

L'us es compains gens a for mandacarei
 ('any one of them is as much a gentleman as a carter,')

when they make a greater din than all the king's company.

William has then written an emulation of *Amores* III, iv, which is both a warning against surveillance and an entertainment for others. His poem is of particular interest for students of vernacular literature in the Middle Ages because in it they find the first offshoot outside Latin literature of the Ovidian idea that surveillance will cause even a good and loyal wife to take a lover as well as the maxim that the virtuous wife is her own best protection. Some of the ideas and images of *Amores* III, iv are scattered in the medieval German romances and lyric poetry as well as the works of moralists such as Thomasin von Zirclaria, the author of *Dieu Winsbeckin*, and *Freidank*. It is immaterial whether this influence is direct and comes indirectly from other vernacular literature or medieval Latin literature. It is in the discussion and presentation of the effects of *huote*, surveillance, that such influence is found.

In Eilhart's *Tristrant* (ca. 1170-90), a work which, unfortunately, except for a few early fragments, is known to us only in a later adaptation, the poet has used the ideas in the lines:

Ut iam servaris bene corpus, adultera mens est:
 Nec custodiri, ne velit, illa potest
 ('Although you guard her body well, her thoughts are on adultery,
 and she can not be guarded, unless she wishes it,')

in a preface to his account of Kehenis's successful defiance of Nampetênis's surveillance of his wife, Garfôle. He ensures that his audience will condemn Nampetênis, not Garfôle, by writing the following commentary on events to be depicted:²⁷

der (Garfôle) hûte der wîgant
 sô freislîchen sêre,
 daz her sîn selbes êre
 dô mete hât gekrenkît.
 mich wundert, wes he denkît
 der sînes wîbes hûtet,
 wen stât ir ir gemûte
 nicht williglîchen dar,
 sô mag her nimmer sie bewarn
 mit allen sînen sinnen.
 wen, wil sie einen minnen,
 si tût ez âns sînen dang,
 ez were korz adîr lang:
 daz wart an desin dîngen schîn (7874-87)

('This warrior kept her under such dreadfully strict surveillance that it was a stain on his own honour. I cannot imagine what a person who guards his wife thinks he is achieving, for if she does not wish it in her heart, her husband will never be able to preserve her (virtue) in spite of all his cleverness. For if she is set on loving another, she will do so against his wishes, however long it takes her; this is quite evident in the tale that follows.')

A little further on he puts the blame fairly and squarely on Nampetênis, whom he depicts as a cruel and awful husband, who fails to consider the effect that his jealousy might have on his wife:

er enrûchte ab ir die hûte tochte,
 wen he was ein vreislich man.
 swen sô he ze hûs quam,
 si entorste nîman an sên. (7940-3)

('He did not care whether surveillance was any use, as far as she was concerned, for he was a horrific husband. Whenever he came home she did not dare look at anyone.')

That a good wife is the best guard of her virtue is a comment found in a romance that dates back to ca. 1190. This idea is used most inappropriately as a gloss on the behaviour of Salme in Salman und Morolf:²⁸

dâ von sol ein ieglîch frummer man
 sîn frouwe sich selber hûten lân,
 ez wart noch kein hûte nie sô gût
 wan die ein biderbe frouwe
 ir selber ane dôt; (578)

('For this reason every good husband shall allow his wife to be the protector of her own virtue; no surveillance was ever really effective except that which a good wife imposes upon herself')

for she is not a good and respectable wife, nor is Salman's surveillance the cause of her infidelity; indeed, if Salman was at fault it was because he trusted his wife too much. As Vogt convincingly argues in his edition, this strophe forms a clumsy and botched link between part of the old text and an interpolation (578-97) by a later adaptor.

This piece of Ovidian lore about huote is used much more relevantly of Arthur's queen in Ulrich von Zatzikhoven's Lanzelet (ca. 1193-1203).²⁹ It is found in the maiden's comments on Guinevere's modest imperfections that are the reason why the mantle she has brought rises above the queen's ankles and so cannot be given to her:

Ginovere ist hübsch unde guot,
 an den werken hât siu sich behuot,
 daz siu niewan wol getete.
 doch ist siu durch zwîfels bete
 an den gedenken missevern.
 ein saelic man sol wol bewarn
 sîn wîp mit allem guote.
 swer der kûnegîn minre huote,
 sô haet siu dicke daz getân,
 daz si sus durch êre hât verlân.
 starkiu huote und ungetriuwer muot
 diu machent staetiu wîp unguot:
 daz ist gewis sam der tât. (5869-81)

('Guinevere is courtly and good; she has kept watch over her actions, so that she behaved only in a good and proper fashion. Yet fickleness has caused her to do wrong in her thoughts. A good husband ought to protect his wife with every kindness. If anyone had guarded the queen in any worse way, she would often have done what she shunned for the sake of honour. Strict surveillance and a disloyal attitude make constant wives into evil women. This is as sure as death.')

Like the adaptor of Salman unde Morolf Ulrich refers to the figure of the good husband. He uses kindness as a way of trying to ensure the fidelity of his wife. It is feasible that he is included in didactic discussions on surveillance as a reaction to Ovid's dure vir. Ulrich shows us that the saelec man, the good husband, protects his wife's honour with kindness, mit allem guote,

whereas Nampetênis is, as we have seen, ein vreislich man, a terrifying example of the cruel and tyrannical husband.

An innovation of Hartmann's in his Iwein³⁰ shows how Ovidian lore on the subject of surveillance from Amores III, iv has become a fashionable topic in the German literature of the period. But in Gawein's advice to the newly-wed Iwein he qualifies Ulrich's (and Ovid's) condemnation of the futility of surveillance as follows:

ein wîp die man hât erkant
 in alsô staetem muote,
 diun darf niht mêre huote
 wan ir selber âren.
 man sol die huote kêren
 an irriu wîp und an diu kint,
 diu sô einvaltec sint
 daz si eins alten wîbes rât
 gebringen mac ze missetât. (2890-8)

('A wife whose constancy has been acknowledged needs no more surveillance than her own sense of honour. Surveillance should be kept for erring wives and young girls who are so simple that an old woman's counsel can induce them to err.')

This qualification will meet with the approval of the later moralists, as we shall see.

There are two medieval German romances which deal with the theme of the good wife moved to do wrong by the injustice of surveillance, but in vastly differing ways. These are Meister Otte's Eraclius (ca. 1210)³¹ and Gottfried von Strassburg's Tristan (ca. 1210). The first is based on the O. Fr. Éracle by Gautier d'Arras. It relates how Athanais, the constant and virtuous wife of Emperor Fôcas, who has been her own best protection (2774-75) is confused and angered at the imposition of an unjust surveillance and falls in love with young Parides. Though Athanais is judged by Eraclius to be guilty, to have been an Eve and therefore sinful (4176-85), the fault nevertheless lies mostly with Fôcas because of the utterly unmerited strictness of the surveillance that he has imposed against Eraclius's advice.

Meister Otte's romance features an addition to Ovidian lore on surveillance from Amores III, iv in medieval German literature: an interest in the angry confusion of the wife after the undeserved imposition of surveillance (2638-45). Gottfried too is interested in the psychology of the angry wife who, according to the Christian morality of medieval society, forsakes honour and commits adultery because of surveillance. His remarks on the subject

(17858-70) are to be found at the start of his so-called huote-excursus. The first part of this betrays considerable influence of Ovid's Amores III, iv, of which Gottfried probably had first-hand knowledge.³² Surveillance is linked with prohibition, and its demoralising effect on a good wife is thoroughly discussed. The futility of huote is stated in no uncertain terms. In his huote-excursus Gottfried is also coming to terms with the previous reception of ideas derived from Amores III, iv in medieval German literature. His audience will probably know Ulrich's Lanzelet and certainly Hartmann's lwein. His rejection (17872-74) of the opinion (Hartmann) that surveillance is useful in the case of evil wives is total and echoes Ovid. Like Ulrich he sees kindness as the only useful form of surveillance. Furthermore, he develops and elaborates his dislike of surveillance when he concludes that an unworthy husband such as Mark cannot compel his wife to love him by such an evil method. Although he can thus condemn Mark, this is the only benefit that ideas from Amores III, iv bring to his exemplary lovers and the cause of true love is the context of medieval Christianity.

Indeed, by introducing a discussion of such matter he has placed in jeopardy any sympathy or respect his audience might have for his heroine, because unlike Athanais or Ulrich's Guinevere, Isolde is an adulteress and certainly not a good and constant wife whose virtue can be undermined by surveillance. Also in his exploitation in the opening of his huote-excursus of the motif from Amores III, iv that prohibition can only make vice more alluring - Desine, crede mihi, vitia inritare a vetando ('if I were you, I would stop encouraging vice by prohibition') and Nititur in vetitum semper cupimusque negata ('we always strive for what is prohibited') - Gottfried runs the risk of tarring Tristan and Isolde and their love with the same brush as Mark. The latter he has condemned as a husband who lives a life of dishonour with his wife because of his geluste und gelange (17723-816). Prior to his excursus Gottfried had abused surveillance and regretted the pain that deprivation had caused the lovers because of gespenstige gelange (17820). The exemplary love praised in the prologue is in danger of being seen as vice and lust.

In his romance Gottfried, like Ovid in Amores III, iv, condones adultery, but whereas the Roman poet presents it lightheartedly as a peccadillo that is acceptable in metropolitan manners, for Gottfried it is the expression of a summum bonum of courtly literature: true love, which in the story of Tristan and Isolde contravenes the law and morality of conventional Christian society. For Gottfried, his lovers and the lovers in Minnesang, surveillance is the enemy of love. In the so-called huote-excursus Gottfried argues with a dazzling display of dialectical expertise and sleight of hand, as I have shown elsewhere, towards a position where his audience will not view Isolde as a bad wife caught out by surveillance, but as a good woman, as praised by the courtly Minnesänger, who shares a paradise of mutual love with her amts.³³

Thus, at the end of the 'Scheiden und Meiden' episode, he is able to present Isolde as a courtly Eve, driven irresistibly by der sene de muot (18133), that yearning that is the hallmark of a true and courtly love, who is instrumental in expelling her Adam from this temporal paradise by summoning him, when under the duress of surveillance, to a risky tryst in the orchard, where Mark discovers them.

In the light of Gottfried's difficulties it is not surprising if the courtly love lyric which praises the guotez or reinez wîp includes but few allusions to ideas derived from Amores III, iv. In the poem Staete ist ein angst unde nôt (L.96, 29-97, 33) Walther's lover alludes to the axiom that a good wife is her own best protection when ruefully appreciating his lady's staete, her constancy. This virtue is evidence of her capacity for that prudence and wisdom which is characteristic of good wives implied by Ovid and found in the romances:

Frouwe, ich weiz wol dînen muot:
 daz dû gerne staete bist,
 daz hab ich befunden wol.
 jâ hât dich vil wol behuot
 der vil reine wîbes list
 der guotiu wîp behûeten sol.
 alsus frôit mich dîn saelde und ouch dîn êre,
 und enhân niht mêre.
 nû sprich, bin ich dar an gewert?
 dû solt mich, frouwe, des geniezen lân,
 daz ich sô rehte hân gegert. (L.97, 23-33)

('Lady I am well acquainted with your intent: that you prefer to remain constant. I have found this to be only too true. Certainly that spotless feminine prudence, which is supposed to guard good wives, has protected you very well indeed. Thus your manners and your honour may gladden my heart, yet I have no other joy. Now, tell me, is this the sum of my reward? Lady you should allow me to profit from the fact that my suit is so right and so proper.')'

The last part of this quotation contains the sting. His petition and his love are just not only because of her perfection but also because of his own constancy:

daz wende, saelic frouwe mîn,
 daz ich der valschen ungetriuwen spot
 von mîner staete iht mûeze sîn. (L.97, 9-11)

('Change this (i.e. my lack of success), o blest mistress mine, so that I shall not be the mockery of false and treacherous men because of my constancy.')

Amores III, iv leaves a slightly greater mark on Reinmar's (or pseudo-Reinmar's) poetry. We find that the ideas involved are not used in a way that is detrimental to the lady and her reputation. In Als ich werbe unde mir mîn herze stê (MF. 179, 3-180, 27) it is the effect of surveillance on the lover that is portrayed:

mîr ist vil unsanfter nu dan ê:
 mîner ougen wunne lât mich nieman sehen,
 Diu ist verboten gar.
 nû verbieten alsô dar
 und hûeten,
 daz sie sich erwûeten! (MF. 179, 3-8)

('I suffer much more now that I did before. No-one will allow me to see my eyes' delight. She is totally out of bounds. Now let them forbid me her and guard her until they go mad with rage!')

The plural pronoun suggests the lover is venting his anger against the guards who bar the way to his lady. It is, of course, the association of prohibition with surveillance that betrays the influence of Ovid's poem. In the case of Âne swaere (MF. 199, 25-201, 11)³⁴ the wîp, who is her own best protection, is no longer the good wife but the good woman - gutez wîp can mean either - and she remains true to her vriunt, her lover, and such constancy is a source of honour.

Wîp mit gûeten
 sol ir êre hûeten
 schône zallen zîten,
 wider ir vriunt niht strîten.
 alsô wil ich sîn mit êren bîten. (MF. 200, 37-41)

('A lady must protect her honour with her goodness properly at all times, not be at odds with her lover. So I will await his return honourably.')

If Walther uses a motif from Amores III, iv to highlight a major problem in courtly love and Reinmar succeeds in using ideas from this poem in a way that is not detrimental to the esteem in which his lady is held, Morungen (or pseudo-Morungen) cannot be said to have used material from the poem equally felicitously. In Minnesang the idea of deceiving the guards or spies and defeating surveillance is not viewed negatively. For the lover kindness

and mercy, genāde, is often an essential part of his lady's goodness. In such poetry a lady's goodness is a courtly goodness. Guot and gūete take on the overtones of O. Prov. bona and bonatz as found in the poetry of the troubadours.³⁵ In the eyes of a moralist a wife's adultery is the sign of woman's fickleness and frailty. The courtly lover is essentially concerned with praising good women and one lady in particular. A moralistic or misogynistic attitude towards women or wives and their frailties or vices is not in keeping with his aim. Yet in the strophe attributed to Morungen preserved only in ms. p, we read:

wê der huote,
die man reinen wîben tuot!
huote machet
staete vrouwen wankelmuot.
man sol vrouwen schouwen unde lâzen âne twanc.
ich sach daz ein sieche verboten wazzer tranc. MF.137,4-9)

('Alas for the surveillance which is imposed on fine ladies! Surveillance makes constant wives fickle. Ladies should be seen in society and free from all constraint. I saw a sick man drinking forbidden liquid.')

The poem to which the strophe belongs, Diu vil guote / daz si saelec mûeze stn (MF. 136, 25-137, 9a), has been handed down in very varied form in the mss. None has all five strophes. In the latest edition of Minnesangs Frühling the strophes are presented in the following order:

1 4A 60C p; 2 5A 62C p; 3 6A 61C p; 4 p; 5 7A

Many have been the attempts to deal satisfactorily with these strophes. The first three strophes circle round the use of light imagery that is so typical of Morungen. Lemcke claims that the last two strophes are both by a different author, who is inspired by Ovid.³⁶

I suggest that ms. A, Die kleine (oder alte) Heidelberger Liederhandschrift, which is widely acknowledged to give the best text for many poems because there are so few intentional alterations in it, contains the original poem. It is the only ms. to preserve the first three strophes in their logical sequence. Despite Kraus's objections there is no difficulty in seeing these first three strophes as one unit, for der vrouwen in swer der vrouwen hūetet (136, 37) is not plural as he claims it must be. It makes much more sense to see it as a genitive singular referring to Diu vil guote (136, 25) of the first line. This suggestion is vindicated by the singular pronoun in:

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wan durch schouwen
 sô geschuof si got dem man,
 Daz si waer ein spiegel, al der werlde ein wunne gar
(136, 39-137, 2)

('For God created her to be seen by man, that she should be a mirror of perfection, a source of joy for the whole world.')

If der vrouwen is singular, then the fourth strophe, found only in ms. p, is the odd man out; it alone has a generalisation where the plural is used. Although strophe 5 is not about surveillance it can be linked with the first three strophes. Ascholoie of strophe 5 (meant to be Helen as Lemcke has demonstrated) is Diu vil guote of the opening and the poet wishes to play the role of Paris. One of the meanings of saelic that Lexer³⁷ gives is 'glückbringend', and in classical Minnesang the lady is a source of happiness that she alone can bestow. It is then right for H. Tervooren to translate saelic wîp as 'gepriesene Frau, die auch Glück zu schenken vermag'³⁸ in his modern rendering of Vrouwe, mîn swaere sich (MF. 137, 17-26). Yet no one has argued that daz si saelic mûeze sîn in Diu vil guote might suggest 'may she be a source of bliss', which of course she would be for the lover in this poem, if surveillance did not prevent it. Also, if we turn to the ms. version (4A; 60C) of the first strophe rather than the emended strophe of Minnesangs Frühling we find in ms. A (and also in ms. C) not the reconstruction:

Diu der werlt so liechten schîn
 An ir hât benomen daz man si niht wan selten sêt

('which (i.e. surveillance) has robbed the world of so bright a lustre in her because she is but rarely seen'),

but the following:

Die man tuot der welte (welde C) schîn
 Die mir hât benomen daz man si wan selten siht (sêt C)

('which (i.e. surveillance) is so obvious to the whole world, and which has robbed me, because she is but rarely seen.')

Not only can siht be explained as the correction on the part of a southern scribe of sêt which rhymes with gêt, but more importantly the text here makes perfect sense with its contrast between the universal presence of surveillance and the absence of the beloved. Strikingly the poet uses a verbal construction with schîn, a word that suggests lustre, brilliance and brightness as well as appearance or visibility. It has the latter sense in schîn tuon and this phrase highlights the lover's complaint about surveillance and the darkness it brings him, for it robs him of his lady, the loss of whom is likened to the loss of the

sun when it sets at night and is no longer visible:

sô diu sunne, diu des âbendes under gêt. (136, 30)

The poem as found in ms. A has three unifying elements: the use of diu vil guote in the first and last strophes, the play on the senses of the word saelic and, in particular, the poet's skilful use of the sun image. We know from Gottfried's depiction of Riwalin as a ruler who is a vreude berndiu sunne (255) (a joybringing sun) that the sun was commonly associated with happiness. In the second strophe the poet develops the potential of his simile at the end of the first. The lady is now the lover's own dear sun and her absence brings him a long night of care and sorrow until towards morning she dawns in great beauty for him, so beautifully

daz mîn ouge ein trûbebez wolken wol verklaget

('that my eye has good reason to bring an action against a very dark cloud').³⁹

The legal ending to the second strophe is developed in the third where the impassioned lover adopts the role of judge, gives his verdict and banishes anyone who guards this lady because, as we have seen in the quotation above (136, 39-137, 1), God created her, a paragon, to be seen by man. If we now consider the fourth strophe (fifth in Minnesangs Frühling) we see why the lady merits the name Ascholoie/Helen. She is the one, diu mir sô wunnencftchen taget (136, 35), and whom God created as ein spiegel, al der werlde ein wunne gar (137, 2). Small wonder that the lover, still seen by the poet in the role of judge, would, were the apple not already awarded, be Paris to her Helen and award her the prize as the fairest woman alive.

There is then considerable reason why the four strophes preserved in ms. A should be regarded as a complete poem. It may not be one of Morungen's best, but it is neatly and logically constructed. Strophe four of Minnesangs Frühling, which is only found in ms. p, is the work of a bungler, who knows some Ovid and wishes to make his contribution to a poem about surveillance.

Generally speaking, Amores III, iv has been of little use to the poets of courtly love. By one of the quirks of fate the Roman advocate of permissiveness has provided medieval moralists such as Thomasin of Zirclaria, the author of Diu Winsbeckin and Freidank - albeit indirectly in most instances - with more ammunition on the subject of surveillance than he does the advocates of true love. Yet the occasional use in classical Minnesang of motifs derived from this source does suggest that the object of a lover's affections in this genre can be a married lady. This qualifies O. Sayce's recent claim that there is no evidence in Minnesang of an adulterous love.⁴⁰

Conventional moralists wrote of course against pre-marital and extra-marital love, fornication and adultery. They could praise love as a source of virtue, if it is kept within the bounds of propriety. But any wife who transgresses does evil. All the three authors named have harsh things to say about surveillance. In Der Wälsche Gast⁴¹ (ca. 1216) Thomasin suggests that kindness is the only possibility of ensuring a wife's constancy. The locking up of a wife is futile, for you cannot imprison her mind or her heart. A husband earns only his wife's enmity by such methods (1201-11). Later (4031-42) Thomasin is concerned, not to stress that every good woman is her own best keeper, but instead to argue that both husbands and wives should be judged by the same standards. A man who guards his wife and her virtue whilst himself seeking love outside marriage stands condemned. There must be no double standards. By way of postscript he returns to the old Ovidian argument that surveillance is useless as it never prevented adultery:

wan swer sich selben schänden wil,
 der mac ervinden tousent list
 daz erz tuot zettlicher vrist. (4050-52)

('for if anyone wishes to disgrace himself he will invent a thousand stratagems in order to achieve his aim at some time or other.')

For the author of Diu Winsbeckin⁴² Ovid is a source of information about Lady Love, who is called Venus (35, 1-2), but Ovidian influence on matters relating to huote is probably indirect. In his poem it is the lessons of Eraclius, Ulrich's Lanzelet and Hartmann's Iwein that are repeated: surveillance undermines the constancy of a good wife, who is her own best protection and, from Iwein, foolish or erring wives should be guarded (30, 5-7). As a legacy from Gottfried we find the motif that no true love which is the source of höher muot can be compelled by such evil methods as surveillance. However, in contrast to the paragon of wiplicher güete (18084) of Gottfried's huote- excursus, who resolves the conflict between lîp and êre by giving her love to one man, the daughter in Diu Winsbeckin is exhorted by her mother not to give her love to any woøer, not even to one:

der saelden ist und êren wert (27, 8)
 ('who is worthy of such bliss and honour.')

Constancy and Christian virtue are what the author of Diu Winsbeckin most highly prizes in a woman.

Freidank, too, shows in his Bescheidenheit, that he is familiar with earlier writers' discussion of matter from Amores III, iv. Like the author of Diu Winsbeckin, he takes up a theme that Gottfried treats: that a husband

cannot compel love from his wife. He also rejects the injustice of surveillance. He repeats the commonplace that a wife is her own best keeper (101, 7-8), but, according to ms. B, agrees with Hartmann that evil wives need surveillance.⁴³

Later in the thirteenth century we find a motif from *Amores* III, iv in religious allegory too. The second rule of *Die sieben Vorregeln der Tugend*⁴⁴ by the Franciscan David of Augsburg (ca. 1215-71), who was the *magister* and teacher of theology, first in Regensburg and then in Augsburg, is *daz der mensch unnütze gedanke und boese begirde niht lâze twalen deheine vrist in sînem herzen* ('that a man should not let idle thoughts and desires dwell for a moment in his heart'). For otherwise, as he explains, *virwitzte*, curiosity, will be his downfall, just as it was the downfall of Dinah, the daughter of Jacob and Leah, who, when eager to see the women of Canaan, was abducted and violated by Schechem (Genesis, 34, 1ff). This event is interpreted allegorically:

Dîna ist diu alwaere sêle, diu ûz ir selber huote verstolne gêt unnützen gedanken nâch durch virwitzte. Die zucket der boese gelust waerlîchen und krenket ir ir êre, daz ist die reine gewizzen. Etwenne wert si sich halben wec unde volget halben wec, als der sieche, der dem trinken nâch luoget daz im der arzât verboten hât.

('D. is a foolish soul, who, from curiosity, furtively pursues idle thoughts beyond the limits set by a proper surveillance of her own conduct. Truly, evil desire seizes her and destroys her honour, which is purity of conscience. Sometimes she half resists and half follows like a sick man, who peeks at the drink that the physician has denied him.')

For David, then, the silly soul, as represented by Dinah, is like the married woman, who left to guard her own virtue, is led astray by curiosity. As the latter, not prohibition or surveillance, is the vice he is attacking, he has altered Ovid's text. The introduction of the verb *luogen* moves the spotlight away from lust and prohibition and on to inquisitiveness, thus enabling the author to use an image from *Amores* III, iv to illustrate a theological interpretation of a story from Genesis.

Ovidian motifs and lore about surveillance do not disappear from German literature as the Middle Ages approach their end. In the fifteenth century there is evidence that they have continued to shape writers' views on this topic. The commonplace that a good wife is her own best protection is very aptly used in that most famous of all medieval memorials to wifely excellence: *Der Ackermann aus Böhmen* (ca. 1401).⁴⁵ To counter Death's

argument in chapter 20 that the love of beautiful women affords no joy or pleasure since their favours are sought by many, Johannes von Tepl makes his Ackermann, in chapter 27, combine this idea with the claim that a husband's kindness is his best hope of ensuring his wife's fidelity in order to suggest that goodness in a wife merits husbandly kindness and loyalty and that a good and happy marriage, based on mutual trust between men and woman, is possible:

Wunnesam, lustsam, fro vnd wolgemut ist ein man, der ein biderb weib hat, er wandere wo er wander. Einem jeden solchen man ist auch lieb nach narung zu stellen vnd nach eren zu trachten. Im ist auch lieb, ere mit eren, trewe mit trewen, gut mit gute zu bezalen vnd zu widergelten. Er bedarf ir nicht hutten, wann sie ist die beste hut, die ir ein frumes weib selber tut.

('Joyful, gay, happy and contented is the man who has an honest wife, let him wander where he will. For such a man it is a pleasure to earn a living and aspire to honour. It is also a joy to repay and requite honour with honour, loyalty with loyalty, goodness with goodness. He need not guard her, for that is the best surveillance which a decent woman exercises over herself.')

The motif that ein reinez wîp - a good woman in this context, not a good wife as we shall see - is the best guard of her own virtue is found in the second half of strophe eight of Meisterlied LV of the Kolmarer Handschrift.⁴⁶ Its title is Von Filius bilde ze Rôme, dar inne man swuor. At first sight it seems a clumsy and bewildering poem. If this statement about surveillance refers to the empress, as will be argued, it contradicts the opening lines of the same strophe, which contain an attack on wicked wives who deceive their husbands. As in Gottfried and Ovid surveillance is wasted on such swachen frouwen (base women), for they will do wrong whatever restrictions are imposed on them. However, a reinez wîp, the splendid and good woman of the courtly love lyric and courtly literature generally is to be praised above all possessions, for she can be a source of freude (joy) and hâher muot (self-confidence, noble aspiration and exaltation of spirit) and no better creature has been created by God.⁴⁷ The start of the ninth and final strophe sees an anti-feminist elaboration of the first half of strophe eight: let all men be on their guard against evil women. Such women, we now read, can make fools of the wisest and the strongest: men such as Affelus Filius, the builder of the brazen statue which is seen as an instrument of surveillance in the poem itself, a certain Antelôn, Alexander, Solomon, Aristotle, and Samson.⁴⁸ However, once again a common topic of medieval misogyny is countered by praise of the role that frouwen and reine wîp play in courtly life for

Durch frouwen willen gschilt vil âventiure,
 durch frouwen willen wirt vil manic man gemeit,
 durch frouwen willen komet man in arebeit,
 diu reinen wîp vertriben kûnnen herzeleit:
 wîp liep, wîp zart, wîp hoechste frucht, wîp hœchgeborn
 gehiure.

('many an adventure is undertaken for the sake of ladies; many a man becomes gay and mettlesome because of ladies; men endure toil and tribulation because of ladies; for fine ladies can dispel all sufferings of the heart: delightful women, beloved women, women who are the highest perfection, lovely women of noble birth.')

The first strophe and the story told in the rest of the poem will enable us to judge clearly the use to which the theme of surveillance is put in strophe eight. The poet announces in his first strophe that his poem is about staete minne (constancy in love). He contrasts Paris, a hero who zertrante staeter minne bant (broke the ties of constant love),⁴⁹ with an exemplary pair of lovers, Isôt and Tristerant, whose staete minne is no longer emulated, to the sorrow and shame of the fair sex, who are often forsaken for mercenary reasons. It is against this background that we must judge the story of another pair of lovers, an empress and her sweetheart.

In defiance of Filius's statue, which uncovers adultery by causing horns to sprout on cuckolds' heads and biting off the fingers of adulteresses who perjure themselves when swearing an oath that they are innocent with their fingers in its mouth, the empress resolves, on the occasion of the emperor's absence, on a distant campaign, to defy death and enter into ties of staete minne with her lover and thus allez sendez trûren lâzen underwegen (put an end to all the sadness of yearning) that existed between the two. The lover too is ready to defy death and danger for love's sake (53-6). Following his mistress's instructions he disguises himself as a fool and embraces her and drags her to the ground as she is on her way to her ordeal. As blows rain down on him he clasps her tighter, for to him she is both chaste and very precious (kiusche und ... vil werde).

Resemblances between this story and one episode of Gottfried's Tristan: the trial by ordeal, are by now obvious. Both the story of the empress's false but literally true oath when she places her hands in the statue's mouth and that of Isolde's oath and trial by the ordeal of the red hot iron are medieval German descendants of the old stories of the Act of Truth in Sanskrit literature.⁵⁰ These show the perversion of justice by a trick that enables an adulteress to swear an oath that is the literal truth and thus survive the test of an ordeal. It is this ordeal and the statue itself and its various properties

that the poet wishes us to see as an instrument of surveillance in the final two strophes.

These offer two contradictory commentaries on the story that has been told: an orthodox condemnation of the empress with a strong admixture of misogyny in a fierce attack on women's wiles and a courtly viewpoint. From a conventional Christian standpoint the empress's victory over Filius and his statue, which the emperor has removed, is that of a deceitful and wicked woman who perverts the course of justice and brings about the downfall of a clever man. And yet the poet shows us how he wishes us to judge this opinion. He gives Filius's first name: Affelus. Affe, in MHG as in NHG, can mean 'fool'. He is clearly in favour of the empress, of ending senelîchez trûren between lovers, and biased towards the joys of true love, for diu reinen wîp vertriben kûnnen herzeleit. Thus the heroine of this poem who guards her repute in this way is a literary descendant of the lady of Reinmar's (or pseudo-Reinmar's) Âne swaere and Gottfried's Isolde. The poet has therefore managed to exploit both possible uses to which medieval lore about surveillance derived from Amores III, iv can be put. He has used the commonplaces of such lore not only to provide ammunition for the moralists and critics of the empress and women but also to refute opponents of true love and denigrators of courtly ladies and to champion a pure and chaste true love that is also adulterous and which inspires the courtly emotions of freude and høher muot and also a lady who is, in her lover's eyes, vil reine (53).

PETER A. THURLOW
UNIVERSITY OF READING

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NOTES

1. I quote from the edition by M. Lerner, Tübingen 1968, 79, in the series Neudrucke deutscher Literatur under the general editorship of R. Alewyn, where it is Neue Folge 5. In the quotation Roman ss always represents a Gothic letter in Lerner's edition.
2. There is some justification for suggesting that Propertius may have been known north of the Alps ca. 1500 or even earlier, in the Middle Ages, despite the fact that E.R. Curtius, Europäisches Mittelalter, Bern 1963, p.140, denies Dante a knowledge of his works. In the Elegies of Propertius, eds. Butler and Barber, Oxford 1933, lx, a manuscript of the poems is thought to have existed in the environs of Metz since the seventh century. But it is much more likely, as will become evident in the course of this essay, that poets writing about huote in the German Middle Ages will have been influenced directly or indirectly by Ovid, whose works were much more widely disseminated and read.
3. The line references are as in the edition by R. Krohn, Stuttgart 1980.
4. I quote from the edition of Propertius's elegies by M. Schuster, Leipzig 1954, p.42.
5. I quote from the edition by R. Ewald, Leipzig 1916, pp.51-52.
6. M. Schuster, op.cit., XXIII.
7. R. Musker, The Poems of Propertius, London 1970, pp.7-10.
8. F. Bobertag, Sebastian Brant's Narrenschiff, Deutsche National-Litteratur, vol.16, 85.
9. J.J. Wilhelm, Seven Troubadours, London 1970, p.51.
10. H. Brinkmann, Entstehungsgeschichte des Minnesangs, Halle 1926, p.33.
11. I quote from Les Chansons de Guillaume IX, ed. and transl. by A. Jeanroy, Paris 1913, Les classiques français du moyen âge, vol.IX, 3-5.

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12. C. von Kraus in his Untersuchungen zu 'Des Minnesangs Frühling', Stuttgart 1939, which is reprinted as vol. III/1 of the latest edition of Des Minnesangs Frühling by H. Tervooren and H. Moser, Stuttgart 1981, echoes on pp.315-6 Lemcke's rejection of Michel's claim that William of Aquitaine is a source of Morungen's poem, though Kraus wrongly suggests that strophes I-III are under discussion, when it is IV-V that are involved. Lemcke's contention that Ovid is the source of both IV-V is upheld both here and in Kraus's own edition and translation of Morungen's poetry, Munich 1950, pp.96-7.
13. D. Scheludko, 'Ovid und die Troubadours', Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, LIV (1934), 128-74, especially 131-3.
14. J. Crosland, 'Ovid's contribution to the conception of love known as 'l'amour courtois' ', Modern Language Review, XLII (1947), 199-206.
15. L. Pollmann, Trobar Clus, Bibelexegese und Hispano-Arabische Literatur, Münster 1965, p.12.
16. A. Press, Anthology of Troubadour Lyric Poetry, Edinburgh 1971, p.10.
17. L. Topsfield, Troubadours and Love, Cambridge 1975, p.20. This author assumes a mingling or entrebecamen of the two moods sen and foudatz in this poem, but concentrates on its serious aspects.
18. J. Boutière and A.H. Schultz, Biographies des troubadours, Paris 1964, p.7.
19. Ordericus Vitalis, Historia ecclesiastica, ed. and transl. by M. Chibnall, Oxford 1975, vol.V, Bk.X, 343: 'Pictavenis vero dux peractis in Ierusalem orationibus, cum quibusdam aliis consortibus suis est ad sua reversus, et miserias captivitatis suae ut erat iocundus et lepidus, postmodum prosperitate fultus coram regibus et magnatis atque Christianis cetibus multotiens retulit rithmicis versibus cum facetis modulationibus.' Orderic has also stressed elsewhere (Bk.X, 328) that William could outdo all entertainers with his jests. The point to be made here is that William amuses his audience with poems relating to his own feelings and experiences.
20. R. Neilli, L'érotique des troubadours, Paris 1974, vol.1, 208-9, fn.14.

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21. A. Press, *op.cit.* translates vv. 19-22 as follows: there's not one of them would deny me this: if for some sickness he were forbidden strong wine he would drink water rather than die of thirst.
22. A. Jeanroy, *op.cit.*, pp.4-5, translates vv.19-22 as follows: Nul parmi vous ne nierait ceci: si pour cause de maladie, on lui défendait le vin fort, il boirait de l'eau plutôt que de se laisser mourir de soif. Certes, chacun boirait de l'eau plutôt que de se laisser mourir de soif.
23. D. Blackburn, *Proensa*, ed. G. Economou, Los Angeles 1978, pp.3-4, translates vv.19-22 as follows: there is no one of you can dissuade me from her. Wine, they say, is prohibited for reasons of health. Die of thirst? No, I think, then, one would drink water rather than die of thirst.
24. H. Brinkmann, *op.cit.*, p.34.
25. See O. Schultz-Gora, *Altprovenzalisches Elementarbuch*, Heidelberg 1924, p.136.
26. R. Nelli, *op.cit.*, 160 and 165 suggests two things: that the lady might take a lover from amongst the guards and that in v.14 she is depicted as a typically courtly dame who is the source of courtly grace and favours. I think otherwise. First, the guards are the flinty opposition whom the lady detests, and secondly, in v.14 I, like Press, see her as a supplicant begging for mercy from hard-hearted guards.
27. I quote from the edition by E. Lichtenstein, *Quellen und Forschungen* 19, 1877, 351-2.
28. I quote from *Die deutsche Dichtungen von Salomon und Markolf*, eds. F. Vogt and W. Hartmann, Halle 1880, vol.1, 122.
29. I quote from Ulrich von Zatzikhofen's *Lanzelet*, ed. K.A. Hahn, republished with a postscript and a bibliography by F. Norman, Berlin 1965, pp.137-8.
30. I quote from Benecke and Lachmann's edition of Hartmann von Aue's *Iwein*, Berlin 1959, p.91.

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31. I have used H. Graeff's edition of Meister Otte's Eraclius, Quellen und Forschungen 50, Strassburg 1883. As Wolfram refers to Eraclius or Ercules in Parzival, Bk.XV, 773, 22 - he does not seem quite sure of the name - in connection with great expertise in precious stones, it is reasonable to assume that he is alluding to the first of Eraclius's miraculous adventures (vv.895-1210), which tests Eraclius's claim to have an astounding knowledge of precious stones (vv.802-3).
32. P.F. Ganz, 'Tristan, Isolde und Ovid, Zu Gottfrieds Tristan Z.17182 ff.' in Medievalia Litteraria, Festschrift H. de Boor, München 1971, pp.397ff.
33. P.A. Thurlow, 'Some reflections on huote and âre in the "Scheiden und Meiden" episode of Gottfried's Tristan', in German Life and Letters XXXV (1982), 329-42.
34. Like H. Moser and H. Tervooren, the most recent editors of Des Minnesangs Frühling, I have reservations about C. von Kraus's editorial methods, particularly in respect of Reinmar. For reasons which I hope to give elsewhere I see no reason why Reinmar, as F. Maurer has already suggested, could not have written Âne swaere.
35. G. Cropp, Le vocabulaire courtois des troubadours de l'époque classique, Geneva 1975, p.153.
36. E. Lemcke, Textkritische Untersuchungen zu den Liedern Heinrichs von Morungen, Jena and Leipzig 1897, pp.87ff.
37. M. Lexer, Mittelhochdeutsches Taschenwörterbuch, Leipzig 1944, p.175.
38. H. Tervooren, Heinrich von Morungen - Lieder, Stuttgart 1975, pp.98-9.
39. Ibid., pp.92-3. Tervooren translates 136,36 as follows: 'dass mein Auge wohl aufhört, über eine dunkle Wolke zu klagen'. Here a less usual meaning of MHG verklagen is used. This verb can simply mean 'verklagen, anschuldigen' and this fits in well with the legal terminology of the opening of the third strophe.
40. O. Sayce, The Medieval German Lyric, Oxford 1982, p.19.

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41. I have used Der Wälsche Gast des Thomasin von Zirclaria, ed. H. Rückert, reprinted in Berlin 1965, with an introduction by F. Neumann, pp.33-4 and 110.
42. I quote from Kleine mittelhochdeutsche Lehrgedichte, Halle 1928, ed. A. Leitzmann, pp.47-8.
43. I have used Freidank's Bescheidenheit, ed. H. Bezzenberger, Aalen 1962, a reprint of the 1862 edition, p.159.
44. I quote from Deutsche Mystiker, vol.1, ed. Fr. Pfeiffer, 1845, reprinted in 1907 in Göttingen, p.312.
45. I quote from the edition by K. Spalding, Oxford 1950, p.20.
46. I have used and quote from Meisterlieder der Kolmarer Handschrift, ed. K. Bartsch, Hildesheim 1962, pp.338-42. This is a reprint of Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins, Bd.LXVIII, Stuttgart 1862. Many of the poems in this manuscript (fifteenth century) will be older than the compilation itself.
47. This idea is also found in the second strophe of a love poem attributed to Gottfried von Strassburg in the manuscripts:
- Wîplîche werdekeit
got hât vor aller créatiure
dich gemachet also wert.
- ('Feminine excellence, God has made you nobler than all other creations.')
- Minnesangs Frühling, eds. H. Moser and H. Tervooren, Stuttgart 1977, vol.1, 433.
48. The identity of Antelôn is unknown. The others are well known kings, heroes and philosophers who are duped and humiliated by the wiles of women.
49. This is presumably an allusion to Paris's desertion of Oenone for Menelaus's wife Helen, a story which will have been known to the Middle Ages from Ovid's Heroides.
50. See H. Newstead, 'The Growth of the Tristan legend' in Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages, ed. R.S. Loomis, Oxford 1974, pp.130-131.