

**THE KAISERCHRONIK AND THE ARTHURIAN ROMANCES
OF HARTMANN VON AUE**

APPROVED:

**THE KAISERCHRONIK AND THE ARTHURIAN ROMANCES
OF HARTMANN VON AUE**

by

MARY E. HODGINS, B.A.

REPORT

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Hartmann von Aue introduced the Arthurian romance in its complete form into German literature, just as his predecessor, Chrétien de Troyes, introduced it to French society. These romances can be taken as the starting point for literature governed by the courtly ethic. A comparison of the works of Hartmann with those of Chrétien proves that Hartmann was no slavish translator; a comparison of Hartmann's romances with German precourtly literature shows that he was not only original in the introduction of the romance, but also demonstrates his skill as an author and his development beyond earlier epics by the use of description and dialog. The influence of courtly life can be found, of course, in the epics before Hartmann, though the chivalric ethic is not yet dominant. The older heroic epics and "Spielmannsepen," while they may lack technical sophistication, are often carefully structured and make effective use of language; still a comparison of their style with

that of Hartmann shows his progress. Comparisons of content and style not only are possible between Hartmann von Aue and the earlier epics, but also between his romances and writings which were not intended to be strictly literary (e.g. the Latin and Middle High German chronicles). In this paper I will compare selections from the Kaiserchronik, a Middle High German rhymed chronicle of the mid-twelfth century with Hartmann's Erec and Iwein for content, i.e., reflections of courtly life and ethic, and, for stylistic elements, vocabulary, description and the use of direct speech.

The Kaiserchronik is a world chronicle written by a Regensburg cleric. It was intended as a history of the kings and emperors from the early days of Rome up to 1150. The original chronicle was broken off at 18,578 lines, and goes only to 1147, but, two different authors continued it later. The Kaiserchronik is chiefly a series of biographical sketches of the emperors: "iz chundet uns dâ/von den bâbesen unt von den chunigen/baidiu guoten unt ubelen,/ die vor uns wâren/ unte Romisches rîches

phlâgen/unze an disen hiutegan tac." (18-23).¹ It is a history, in two parts, of the rulers who continued the Imperium romanorum into the Middle Ages. The first half of the chronicle deals with fictive lives of the pagan emperors, and has proved a rich source of legend and saga.² The second part of the Kaiserchronik treats the Roman and German emperors after the conversion to Christianity and is largely historically accurate. The whole work is written with the concept of the two cities, the city of God and the worldly city, which appears in medieval historical writing (e.g., St. Augustine's De Civitate Dei and Bishop Otto of Freising's history of the world Historia de duabus civitatibus).

The first half of the Kaiserchronik is comparable to the romances of Hartmann von Aue. The individual lives of the emperors are written in such a way that they may be taken from the main body of the chronicle and studied as

¹Kaiserchronik eines Regensburger Geistlichen.
hrsg. v. Edward Schröder. Monumenta Germaniae Historica.
1. B. Hannover, 1895.

²E. F. Ohly, Sage und Legende in der Kaiserchronik.
München, 1940.

independent novellas. These sketches are often fabulous and may be considered as entertainment literature.

The biographies of the first part of the Kaiserchronik are modeled on a form of late Roman history which contained such fabulous material and was intended to entertain. The best Roman historians had written in a dramatic and vivid style; Livy's histories included speeches within the text in which the author's rhetorical skill was shown. In the writings of historians such as Tacitus and Suetonius the individual personality became the center of attention. Late Roman history emphasized the unusual and contained many piquant anecdotes which were taken over by medieval historians. These stories became favorites for entertainment reading and were gathered together in collections, of which the Gesta Romanorum from the early 14th century is the most famous. Further influence came from the late Hellenistic novel; it is seen in some of the stories from the chronicle, such as the Crescentia legend. These late Greek novels were mixtures of saints' lives, travelog and fantastic adventure story; most of these elements were taken over

by the legends, of which Kurt Ruh says that they were intended to entertain, as much as to satisfy religious requirements.³ Since they come from such sources, the biographical portraits in the first half of the Kaiserchronik do not aim for historical accuracy. The Latin source being unconditionally accepted as true, the adventurous and fantastic is allowed full play. The best of these stories show that the author was trying to create a literary work; the Lucretia story from the chronicle is carefully structured for dramatic force and shows considerable skill in its general composition.

I have selected the two "novellas" "Tarquinius" or "Lucretia" and "Narcissus" or "Crescentia" for comparison with Hartmann von Aue's romances, Erec and Iwein. "Lucretia" and "Crescentia" have a courtly background and are centered around a heroine. The importance of the heroine in these novellas allows us to study the relations between men and women and the role of Minne which lies at the heart of the courtly romances.

³Kurt Ruh, Höfische Epik des deutschen Mittelalters. 1. Band, Berlin, 1967, s. 30.

"Lucretia" and "Crescentia" are examples of two genres; "Lucretia" treats material from Roman antiquity in the manner of Heldendichtung and "Crescentia" is an example of the medieval saint's legend. Neither of these stories can be said to show a direct development from pre-courtly literature to the Arthurian romance. If the development of the romance were to be fully studied, many earlier and intermediate works would have to be included and the progress of the Arthurian cycle beyond Hartmann von Aue would have to be traced. The novellas from the Kaiserchronik, however, can be profitably compared with Hartmann for their courtly elements and for the development of descriptive technique and the use of dialog.

"Lucretia" and "Crescentia" are both stories of women who are actually dishonored or threatened with dishonor. Lucretia reacts in the heroic fashion by denouncing Tarquinius and committing suicide; Crescentia overcomes her trials through patience and Christian forgiveness, somewhat as Enite does in the more sophisticated romance. The Tarquinius-Lucretia story is based on Ovid, Livy and an unknown source; it is a swift-moving, compact

tragedy in 554 lines. It shows a surprising number of early scenes of courtly life, but operates according to the older heroic ethic of blood revenge. The story, in this version, has a tragic hero, Conlatus, a banished prince of Trier who takes service with the Romans and is bound to them through marriage. Tarquinius and Conlatus are equal in valor and worth, but the friendship between them is destroyed by an argument concerning the nobility and breeding of their wives. They publicly wager to put the wives to a test for hospitality and "zuht"; Lucretia passes the test while the queen fails. The queen hears of the wager and urges Tarquinius to avenge the insult by dishonoring Lucretia. The king receives Lucretia's hospitality a second time and rapes her. Lucretia keeps her dishonor to herself and asks her husband only for permission to invite all their friends and relatives to a feast. At the height of the entertainment Lucretia tells her story and stabs herself. The senate immediately deposes Tarquinius who is pursued and murdered by Conlatus.

"Crescentia," as mentioned, is influenced in theme and structure by the Hellenistic novel. Its leading motifs,

(attempted seduction, calumniated wife, drowning and divine vengeance through leprosy) are repeated in the course of the 1460 line story, which lacks the conciseness and dramatic impact of "Lucretia." The heirs to the imperial throne are twin brothers, both named Dietrich. The brothers court Crescentia, the daughter of an African king. She chooses the less handsome of the brothers, and he is made emperor. When the emperor goes to war he confides the care of wife and empire to his brother. "Der scône Dietrich" tries to seduce Crescentia, but by means of a ruse she tricks him into a tower where she keeps him imprisoned during the two years of the emperor's absence. When she hears of her husband's return Crescentia releases "den scônen Dietrich" and achieves an apparent reconciliation with him. "Der scône Dietrich" calumniates her to the emperor who orders her cast into the river. Crescentia is miraculously saved by a fisherman, but God strikes both brothers with leprosy. Crescentia is taken to the duke's court where she wins the favor of the duchess and is given charge of the latter's child. The viztum tries to seduce her and is repulsed. He murders the duke's

child and accuses Crescentia of the murder. After brutal mistreatment Crescentia is again cast into the river and the duke and the viztum are struck with leprosy. Crescentia is rescued by Saint Peter and given the power to heal those who openly confess to her. She heals the duke and is taken to Rome to heal the emperor and his brother. The emperor recognizes his wife by a birthmark and she obtains pardon for "den scônen Dietrichen." After a year the emperor and empress retire to a cloister.

The novellas from the Kaiserchronik will first be compared to the Arthurian romances for courtliness. "Courtly" life means here the ceremony and display necessary to the formal way in which a king's household is conducted. The courtly manner of living can be seen on such formal occasions as tournaments, descriptions of banquets and royal processions. The general descriptive technique of the Kaiserchronik is brief and dry, but it allows us to observe instances of courtly breeding and behavior.

The culture depicted in the Kaiserchronik is certainly not unsophisticated, though the descriptive technique of the chronicle may be crude. There is a taste

for luxury and an appreciation of ceremony and fine form. "Lucretia" gives a particularly good picture of courtly life of the time. The action takes place against a background of constant feuds between cities and individuals, but the work is not overburdened with the description of weapons and battle scenes. The reader's attention is drawn rather to the formal way in which life is conducted even in the midst of a battle; war, as seen in "Lucretia," has taken on something of the ceremonious nature of the duels between two combatants in the Arthurian romances. A tournament is depicted early in the Kaiserchronik in which the pagan Romans are shown honoring Mars. The men stage a number of races and contests which the ladies gather to see. The presence of the ladies is necessary; they have the function of encouraging the men in battle. This role is mentioned later in the story; a soldier remarks of his wife: "ih hân ain frumec wîp:/ si ist piderbe unde guot, frô machet si dikke minen muot." (4437-4440).

Conlatus in "Lucretia" first goes to the city of "Biterne" (Viterbo) to take part in tournaments. He

is threatened there by enemies from Trier and is forced to flee the city dressed in women's clothes. The Romans lay siege to Biterne to avenge the insult. During a lull in the siege the ladies of Biterne go out on the battlements to watch the Roman knights; the men, in turn, call for a truce in order to talk to the ladies. At this point in the story a dialog takes place between Almenia, a woman of Biterne, and Totila, a Roman. Almenia asks:

'weder dir lieber waere
 an dîne triwe:
 ob diñ ain scôniu frowe
 wolté minnen alle dise naht,
 ode dû morgen den tac
 in dînem gewaefen soltest gân,
 vehten mit ainem alsô kuonem man
 sô dû waenest daz dû sîst:
 waz dû tuon woltist,
 ob diu wal dîn waere,
 wederz dir baz gezaeme.' (4586-4597)

This passage poses one of the questions often asked in courtly literature: which is better, love or knightly service? It is clear from this dialog that the concept of Minne has already appeared in this society; its importance is recognized in Totila's answering speech:

'nehain frum man esol niemer verzagen,
 swâ er mit sînem swerte
 dehain sîn êre sol beherten.
 selbe nesol er sin vor ruomen der knehthait
 daz iz im dar nâh iht werde lait.
 umbe di minne iz aver sô getân:
 da nemac niht lebentiges vor gestân.
 swer rehte wirt innen
 frumer wibe minne,
 ist er siech, er wirt gesunt,
 ist er alt, er wirt junc.
 di frowen machent in genuoge
 hovesc unde kuone.
 im nemac niht gewerren.' (4602-4615)

Minne is recognized here as a supreme good; its influence is invaluable in shaping the character of a man. Its refining powers make a man hovesc, a goal which every knight should strive for.

The "Lucretia" story is surprisingly full of such courtly features. The concept of zuht, breeding is highly important in the novella. The argument between Tarquinius and Conlatus is essentially concerned with the breeding of their wives rather than their personal beauty. Tarquinius and Conlatus ride to Rome late at night to test the women on their hospitality and breeding. Lucretia receives the men graciously despite the late hour:

der frowen kom ze maere
 daz der wirt komen waere.
 uzer dem pette si spranc,
 duo lief si des hoves lanc:
 'willekomen sîstu, lieber herre!' . . . (4481-85)
 Duo sprach der hêrre:
 'frowe, waz wil du daz mîn werde?
 ih en az hiute bî disem tage niet.'
 'en triwen (sprah si) hêrre, daz ist mir liep.
 sô lâze mih got leben.
 wir suln dir genuoc geben.' (4489-96)

At the court the queen is unwilling to rise and serve the
 guest:

der cunginne kom ze maere
 daz der kunic komen waere.
 'des muoz er, sprach si, haben undanch,
 der tac was noh hiute sô lanch,
 daz er hât gemachet
 daz ih alsô unsamfte bin erwachet.'
 diu frowe lac stille.
 sie newolte durh sînen willen
 nie von dem bette komen.
 der gast hête diu rede vol vernomen.
 der kunic an daz bette zuo ir gesaz.
 'frowe,' sprach er, 'wie clagest dû daz?
 wir bîn gevarn verre
 und aezen noh gerne.'
 'woltestû iz, herre,' sprah si, 'bedenken:
 ih enpin weder truchsaeze noh schenke,
 kamerâre noh koch
 uber allen disen hof.
 ich en waiz waz dû mir wîzest:
 ich enruoch ob dû iemer ihtis enbîzest.' (4531-50)

Tarquinius gladly concedes the wager to Conlatinus, only the anger of the queen forces him to rape Lucretia. In this version of the story Tarquinius is not overcome by Lucretia's beauty; the rape is no crime of passion, but the coldly calculated revenge which the queen demands from her reluctant husband.

A feast is used as the occasion for the king to observe Lucretia's worth. It is such a useful means of presenting the heroine in the light of courtly values that it is repeated twice. At the first banquet Lucretia's breeding is put to the test by Conlatinus who flings a goblet of wine in her face; she proves equal to the test, changes her clothes, and returns to personally serve the guest:

si schancte dem wirte den wîn.
 si bāt den gast vrô sin.
 si entphie im daz goltfaz.
 daz tet diu frowe umbe daz,
 daz der wirt frô waere
 unde des gastes mit êre phlaege. (4511-4516)

These lines are repeated twice in the first banquet scene and once, with some variation, in each of the other two

banquet scenes. Repetition of lines at the banquet scenes and during the two rides from Biterne to Rome and at the house of Conlatinus and the king's palace serve to connect the whole; the same words, slightly varied, lead from the test of Lucretia to the second feast and the rape. At the final banquet the lines in which Lucretia passed the wine at the first banquet are repeated with the additional lines: "ja nemähte nieman getruwen/ daz iz also bösen ende nam." (4758, 4759) which anticipate the tragic ending and accentuate the contrast between the first and final occasions. At the third and most public banquet Lucretia takes a golden goblet and goes among the guests as at the first feast. Dramatic tension has built up through the repetition of the banquet scenes and Lucretia appears a truly heroic figure as she passes among the guests, smiling and concealing her decision to die:

du diu froude aller maist was,
 diu frowe nam ir goltvaz,
 si scancte alumbe,
 si bat die furstern alle bisunder,
 daz si frô waeren.
 mit scônem gebaeren,
 mit lachenden ougen.
 ja nemähte niemen getrûwen

daz iz alsô bôsen ende nam.
 die frowen lobete manic frum man.
 Alsô das wazzer wart gegeben,
 daz man die tiske solte heven,
 si bat Rômaere,
 daz si ir ain luzel vernaemen.
 si hiezen ir aine stille tuon,
 vil willeclîche hôrten si dar zuo:
 wie iz ir mit dem kunige was ergangen.
 Alsô si daz jungiste wort volsprach,
 mit dem mezzter si durh sih selben stach.
 diu frowe fiel nider tôt.
 dâ wart michel clage und not.
 vur wâr wizzet daz
 al daz in der wirtschaft was,
 di begunden alle clagen unde wainen. (4751-4775)

The climatic scene has the controlled, severe force found in much heroic poetry. Wolfgang Mohr has noted the similarity of the banquet scenes in "Lucretia" to those in the Nibelungenlied and some of the Icelandic sagas; heroic literature often repeats motifs and wording to build up dramatic tension for the high moment. The general tone of this climatic scene in "Lucretia" is in keeping with the older heroic ethic; the Roman story is adapted to the heroic code which also replaces courtly manners. Lucretia appears as a heroine from the older literature as she passes among her admiring guests, composed, and concealing her decision to die.

Little space is devoted to actual description of the feasts and tournaments in the Kaiserchronik. We learn nothing of customs at a banquet, except that it was a stately affair, and that the goblet passed by Lucretia was of gold. Precise descriptions of objects play a greater role in Hartmann von Aue; as seen in the descriptions of Enite's dress, Erec's shield and, especially, Enite's horse. More detailed descriptions are devoted to the feasts, such as Erec and Enite's wedding and the feast at Pentecost in Iwein. These scenes, however, though more detailed, make almost no use of color or of specific sensual imagery. The clothing of the wedding guests is described in terms of costliness and rarity, e.g. silks from the East and sables. Of the actual feast we are told that everything man and horse needed was there (E. 2137, 2138), and that after the meal there was dancing, conversation, story-telling and music performed by three thousand musicians, all of them masters. Almost the same list of amusements appears in Iwein.⁴ Hartmann's descriptions

⁴Hartmann von Aue, Erec. hrsg. v. A. Leitzmann, 4. Aufl. Tübingen, 1967.

show an increased use of detail above that of the Kaiserchronik, but for real color and description of the manners of the times one must turn to Wolfram von Eschenbach in Parzival. At the feast at Munsalvaesche, the Grail bearer is preceded by twenty-four ladies who carry candles, the king's table and silver knives. They all wear garlands upon their flowing hair, the first four are dressed in gowns of brown wool, the next eight are dressed in green silk and the last twelve wear silk interwoven with gold. We also learn details of the food and the table service; there were one hundred couches each seating four knights, the fires were made of the wood called "lign aloe," all the dishes were of gold and the king's table was made from a single precious stone set on four ivory stools (P. 229, 23-240, 20).⁵ From the sparse detail of the Kaiserchronik, through Hartmann to Wolfram an enormous increase in the art of description and a delight in the outward details of courtly life is seen.

⁵Wolfram von Eschenbach, Parzival, hrsg. v. A. Leitzmann, 1. H. 7. Aufl. Tübingen, 1961.

"Crescentia," by comparison, has fewer vignettes of courtly life, although it is set at the emperor's court. There are no descriptions of feasts or tournaments, but there is a single descriptive passage telling how Crescentia and her ladies ride in procession to meet the returning emperor:

sie nam vil manich wîp
 in Rôme unt in Lâterân.
 si hiez si mit ir gân
 an daz velt warten
 mit golde joch mit borten
 wâren si gebunden
 dâ gie diu frowe under,
 sam der maenîn vor den sternen.
 si chunde sich ze den êren vol gewarnen.
 (11,47-11,755)

This passage contains no elaborate hundred line description of horse, trappings and rider such as is found in Erec, but it does show a royal progress done in a courtly manner; a development beyond the older heroic epics where one or two lines are all that is devoted to describing a journey.

The role of Minne in the Kaiserchronik has already been mentioned in connection with tournaments and the Armenia-Totila dialog. It deserves a fuller discussion

since the problem of Minne relationships lies at the heart of the courtly romances. The ideal of Minne as expressed in "Lucretia" seems to be as fully developed as it is in the later courtly literature. Minne gives a man valor in battle, it refines him; in the words of Totila, there is nothing better or more enobling than Minne. The concept of Minne seems to be completely evolved in the Kaiser-chronik, but it does not seem to have entered all the different relationships between men and women. In "Crescentia" the emperor expresses the warmest affection for his wife, but immediately accepts his brother's accusations and orders her put to death. The theme of calumniation is repeated at the duke's court and here Crescentia is brutally treated before she is cast into the river. The relationship of Conlatus and Lucretia does not seem to be governed by the courtly ideal of love; the marriage serves to unite Conlatus to the Romans and is based on duty as much as affection. The real discussion of the Minne problem is found in the dialog between Almenia and Totila. This conversation is interesting in that it not only discusses the idea and value of Minne,

but also deals with the important problem of love versus knightly service. The episode itself seems very loosely related to the rest of the story, it seems to represent a sort of word game in which difficult questions are asked and answered--similar anecdotes are found in Latin-German literature two centuries earlier.⁶

Almenia's opening speech to Totila contains the question which seems essential to many of the courtly romances; whether love or honor in battle is to be preferred:

'sage mir des ih dih frâge,
weder dir lieber waere
uan dîne triwe:
ob dih ain scôniu frowe
wolte minnen alle dise naht,
ode dû morgen den tac
in dînem gewaefen soltest gân
vehten mit ainem alsô kuonem man,
sô dû waenest daz dû sîst
waz dû tuon woltist,
ob diu wal dîn waere
wederz dir baz gezaeme.'
Der helt Tôtila
der antwurte ir sâ
'ih enwaiz, ob ih dîner rede

⁶Wolfgang Mohr, "Lucretia in der Kaiserchronik,"
Deutsche Vierteljahrschrift, 26 (1952), p. 440.

wol geantwurten mege.
 ih wil dir waerlîchen sagen:
 nehain frum man nesol niemer verza gen,
 swâ er mit sînem swerte
 dehain sîn ere sol beherten.
 selbe nesol er sih niht vor ruoumen der knehthait,
 daz iz im dar nâh iht werde lait,
 umbe di minne ist iz aver sô getân:
 da nemac niht lebentiges vor gestân.
 swer rehte wirt innen
 frumer wîbe minne,
 ist er siech er wirt gesunt,
 ist er alt, er wirt junc.
 die frouwen machent in genuoge
 hovesc und kuone;
 im nemac niht gewerren.
 dû frâgest mih ze verre.
 ih pin ain tump man.
 dînir rede ih niht geantwurten kan.' (4585-4618)

In his article on "Lucretia" Wolfgang Mohr tries to interpret the "Almenia-Totila conversation"; he finds it to be the central point of the story, the trouble between Tarquinius and Conlatus lies in the fault of verruomen. According to Mohr's interpretation Totila answers the question by saying that neither love nor knightly service is to be preferred above the other:

Das Bedenkliche an der Frage scheint darin zu liegen, dass sie ein Entweder-Oder fordert, wo nur ein Sowohl-Als-Auch anstünde. Den höchsten Minnelohn abzulehnen, ziemt sich nicht--aber er könnte billigerweise nur einem ebenbürtigen Ritter bewährt

werden, der um nicht in der Welt auf Kampf mit einem ebenbürtigen Gegner verzichtet.⁷

Totila avoids a direct answer to the question because there is no choice between Minne and knightly honor. The two ideals can be realized in the perfect knight and their perfect blending should be the aim of every knight.

With the discussion of the conflict of love and knightly duty the author of the Lucretia story seems to be bringing in one of the important themes of courtly literature some fifty years before its golden age in Germany. Chrétien and Hartmann are essentially concerned with the problem; Erec and Iwein discuss the different sides of the question. Erec shows the effects of verligen, neglect of duty, and the corresponding fault of an exaggerated attention to adventure and fighting, while Iwein shows an excess of knightly duty. Neither Chrétien nor Hartmann shows the problem reconciled in one work, it was necessary for them to devote two works to the question. The conflict between love and the knight's

⁷Mohr, op. cit., s. 442.

duty of fighting and seeking adventure seems to be the simplest form of the problem. The inability to reconcile love and duty reaches more complex, tragic proportions, as in the story of Lancelot and Guenevere where the failure to reconcile love and duty to the king leads to the destruction of both the kingdom and the Round Table. "Lucretia" in the Kaiserchronik stands out amidst pre-courtly literature in its early courtly features and this clear statement of one of the fundamental themes of courtly romance.

In a general comparison of the Kaiserchronik and the romances of Hartmann von Aue one can see that the society of the chronicler was little less sophisticated than that of the poet of the romances. "Lucretia," in particular, depicts a highly-developed society in which the code of courtly love is already fully evolved. The society appears sophisticated, but the literature which portrays it seems stylistically crude beside the refinements made by the courtly poets. Hartmann von Aue, as an early courtly poet, shows significant advancement

beyond the pre-courtly epics. This progress is not so much due to a steady development in literary technique as to the genius and originality of the author. His achievement is clearly seen when his vocabulary, descriptive technique and use of direct discourse are compared with older literature, such as the Kaiserchronik.

Hartmann wrote at a time when literature was beginning to show a general refinement and "courtliness" in vocabulary and technique. New heroic terms were coming into use and standard formulas were replaced by those of individual authors. Hartmann's work shows a departure from the older conventions which argues for his originality as an author. In Hartmann's romances the nouns and adjectives used in the description of characters show an almost complete change in vocabulary, e.g. terms used for soldiers in the case of men and adjectives describing beauty in the case of women. The transition from the old terms used in the heroic epics and the Kaiserchronik to the vocabulary of the courtly poets is seen to be almost complete in Erec. The word ritter was not often used in poetry before the courtly

epics and, when used, appeared interchangeably with man and kneht. Ritter appears more frequently in poetry toward the end of the 12th century. The increasing frequency becomes especially noticeable from the time of Heinrick von Veldeke's Eneit. The term no longer means merely a mounted soldier, but is beginning to carry more precise poetical and ethical associations. In Veldeke's Eneit ritter is the word used most after helt and it gradually becomes the most frequent heroic word in poetry. ritter replaces the older terms, recke, wigant, degen and helt. In Erec it appears four times as much as any other word used for a hero.⁸ The words ritter, ritterschaft and ritterlich occur only fifteen times in the whole Kaiserchronik, and five times in "Lucretia" (4309, 4350, 4565, 4592, 4710), as opposed to one hundred and sixty-nine times in Erec. The older heroic terms, as counted by Bumke, appear in the following relationship: ritter appears ten times in the Kaiserchronik, one hundred and

⁸Joachim Bumke, Studien zum Ritterbegriff im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert, Beihefte zum Euphorion, 1. Heft, Heidelberg, 1964, s. 28. All figures are from the Bumke tables, ss. 26-34.

thirty-four times in Erec and eighty-three times in Iwein. Degen appears five times in Kaiserchronik, eleven times in Erec and four times in Iwein. Recke is found eleven times in Kaiserchronik, and not at all in Erec or Iwein; wigant appears six times in Kaiserchronik and does not appear in Hartmann's Arthurian romances; quoter kneht appears twenty-four times in Kaiserchronik, twenty times in Erec and five times in Iwein.

The interchange of ritter and kneht is clearly seen in "Lucretia"; Tarquinius is at first reluctant to injure Conlatinus and Lucretia: "er ist des libes ain quot kneht/ diu frowe ist ain frumec wîp" (4664, 4665). The queen advises him if Lucretia resists to accuse her of adultery "Mit ainem Kneht" (4687). When the moment comes the kneht is spoken of as ritter: "Der kunic tet alsô man in hiez:/ ainen rîter er darîn stiez." (4709-4710). The same interchanging of terms occurs in Erec in the first encounter with robbers. Enite speaks of them as ritter (3186), elsewhere they are referred to as roubaere.

Hartmann also uses different words as adjectives to describe warriors in the heroic epics. The older adjectives küene and balt which appear frequently in "Lucretia" are replaced with unverzagt, mannhaft, ellenhaft and staete. Other adjectives used in heroic literature; vri, hêre, bîderbe, wert, quot and tiure, are not used more than a few times by Hartmann and the courtly romances make equal use of edel and riche which have become formulaic for all medieval poets.

Women in medieval literature are generally described in terms indicative of beauty. This beauty is often of a conventional type and sometimes follows a stock enumeration of their charms such as is found in Heinrik von Veldeke's description of Camilla in the Eneit. In the Kaiserchronik Lucretia is described through her virtues rather than her beauty; the adjectives used are more attributes of moral character than of beauty. In "Lucretia" the words scône frowe appear three times, (4427, 4588, 4632), hovisc frowe twice (4351, 4567) and manic frowe lussam (4576) appears once, while frume wip is used five times (4437, 4444, 4560, 4610, 4665).

Lucretia herself is never described as beautiful, she is called "aine frowe, diu sîner edelichait wol gezaeme." (4334). The beauty of the heroine is of greater importance in "Crescentia" where it is evidently the cause of the two attempted seductions. Lussam, an older word found in Judith and in the heroic epics, is the adjective mainly used for feminine beauty: aine tohter lussam appears in line 11,383, daz lussame wîp is used three times (11,558 and 11,860, 11671) and ir lussam lîp appears in line 12,021, while diu frowe quote is used only four times (11,410, 11,688, 12,613, and 12,637).

Hartmann uses different adjectives to describe beauty than those in the Kaiserchronik and the heroic epics. Lussam is the adjective most used in the older chronicle, schône is the second most common adjective and hovesc frowe is used several times, apparently with reference to breeding rather than in the sense of belonging to a court. In Erec and Iwein Hartmann departs from the older descriptive adjectives. Lussam is replaced by schône which is used twenty-six times in Erec, wünneclîch used five times, wohlgetân used twice, lobelîch used once and süeze which appears for the first time in epic poetry.

Hartmann on the whole avoids the descriptive formulas of pre-courtly literature. He is original in his description and avoids the extreme use of hyperbole found in the older epics. Battle scenes in the heroic epics give occasion for the fullest and most colorful descriptive passages; metaphor and hyperbole are used extensively--e.g., the hero appears often as a raging lion or blood pours like torrents of rain. A good deal of emphasis is still placed in Erec upon battles, armor, weapons and horses, but Hartmann's exaggerations come much closer to reality than in the precourtly epics. Large-scale battle has changed to duels between two opponents, and the whole combat has become ceremonious and abstract as opposed to the concreteness of the heroic epics. Hartmann mentions few colors or sensual images and avoids hyperbole, especially the uncourtly comparison of the combatants with wild beasts. Most of the descriptive passages in Erec are devoted to Enite; Laudine in Iwein is not given the attention which the author pays to the youthful beauty of Enite. Here, too, Hartmann has either avoided the trite standard formulas or has

given them a new turn. In the Kaiserchronik Crescentia's beauty gives occasion for the most elaborate metaphor used in the two novellas; she appears among her ladies as the moon among the stars. The comparison of masculine or feminine beauty with sun, moon or stars is common in the precourtly epic; it had become formulaic by the time of Hartmann. The sun and moon are used only twice in extended description in Erec and Hartmann's usage is more finely detailed than the standard formula. Enite is first indirectly compared to the sun upon her presentation at Arthur's court:

als diu sunne in liehtem tage
 ir schîn vil volleclichen hât,
 und gâhes da vür gât
 ein wolken dünne und niht breit,
 sô enist ir schîn niht so bereit
 als man in vor sach. (1718-1722)

Here the sun is not made to stand for the radiance of Enite's beauty, but her changing color is compared to the sun disappearing behind a cloud. She is also compared to other women as the moon to the stars; a comparison that is more fully developed than in the heroic epics:

wan ich sage iu rehte wie
 ir schoene vür die andern gie:
 als ob an einer vinstern naht
 die sterne waeren unbedaht,
 daz man si möhte wol gesehen,
 sô müeste man von schulden jehen,
 si waeren wol genaeme
 ob in schoeners niht enkaeme.
 und sô den mânen sîn zît
 in der naht her vür gît,
 sô hat mân die wohlgetânen
 ze nihte bî dem mânen:
 si dûhten lobebaere,
 ob der mâne niene waere
 und ob er si hiht enlaschte
 mit sînem liechten glaste. (1766-1781)

Hartmann further compares Enite's youthful beauty to roses and lilies, the first flower comparison found in courtly epic and describes her blushing.⁹ No one blushes in any of the older epics and chronicles; this detail serves effectively to indicate the shyness and girlishness of Enite's character throughout the epic:

der wunsch was an ir garwe
 als der rôsen varwe
 under wîze liljen gûzze,
 und daz zesamene vlûzze
 und daz der munt begarwe,

⁹Bumke, op. cit., s. 46.

waere von rôsen varwe,
dem gelîchete sich ir lîp. (1700-1706)

A study of Hartmann's descriptive technique shows that he had progressed far beyond earlier writers, whether the authors of epics or chronicles. Hartmann abandoned the older formulas and created his own new and original form of poetic expression. Similarities between Hartmann and other authors have proved to be mostly common, stock features of medieval poetry; only Eilhart von Oberg's Tristrant and Heinrik von Veldeke's Eneit could have served him as models and Hartmann has developed the stylistic features much further.

The Arthurian romances show an equal development in the use of dialog. Hartmann not only uses dialog more successfully than the older epics, but also developed the monolog which had been first introduced in Eilhart von Oberg's Tristrant and Heinrik von Veldeke's Eneit. Hartmann's advance in handling direct speech can be seen simply by comparing the amount of direct discourse used in the Kaiserchronik and the amount used in the romances. The Kaiserchronik contains many long passages of direct

speech together with many speeches of two or three lines. The first direct speech occurs at line 738 of the Veronica legend. The Faustinianus story contains two very long passages of dialog, one of 400 lines and the other nearly 900 lines in the form of theological arguments. The use of direct speech in the Kaiserchronik shows most of the faults common in direct discourse in epics before Hartmann. Dialogs take place in which one speaker after another says a few lines without any natural interweaving of the speeches. The long theological discourses in "Faustinianus" and the Sylvester legend are tedious and the transition from indirect to direct speech is often clumsily managed. There are a number of short, choppy speeches where indirect discourse would have served as well, at other times, in a dramatic situation, indirect speech is used where direct speech would have been more effective. In general the Kaiserchronik, as a supposed piece of historical writing, shows little difference in the use of discourse from the purely literary works.

The Lucretia story in the Kaiserchronik, in keeping with its general excellence, shows a skill in the use of

direct discourse which places it above most of the precourtly works. The passages of direct speech occur at the main points of the story and are well handled. The first direct speech occurs at line 4431 during the seige of Biterne. Two of the men directly state their opinions of their wives; Conlatinus and Tarquinius argue about the merits of their wives and verbally conclude the wager. The testing of the wives contains effective speeches, that of the queen is particularly natural and to the point. The wager is verbally conceded by the king. The next direct speech is the dialog between Almenia and Totila. This exchange is particularly interesting as an example of a type of courtly word game.¹⁰ The conversation in bed between Tarquinius and the queen determines the subsequent tragic ending of the story. Dialog is used at all the high points of the story until we come to the final banquet scene. The third banquet scene is narrated indirectly so that the final passage of direct speech in the novella is Conlatinus' expression of sorrow as he is

¹⁰Mohr, op. cit., s. 441.

forced to take vengeance upon Tarquinius and go into exile. The striking failure in "Lucretia" is the failure to use direct speech at the climatic moment. The third banquet scene is carefully presented for dramatic effect; the two preceding banquets have served to build up tension, and repetition of the same phrases from one occasion to another has served to build up tension and has served to interlink the three scenes. The figure of Lucretia is effectively high-lighted at the climax, then in one line of indirect speech she tells her story and stabs herself. The failure to understand the dramatic function of direct speech spoils the impact of this well-told story; it is evident that the full possibilities of direct discourse are not yet well understood. A comparison with Hartmann von Aue's use of dialog shows what progress has been made in this direction in the transition from heroic to courtly literature.

Hartmann von Aue's works offer a fine example for the development of dialog in the courtly epic; considerable advancement in the use of direct speech can be seen

from Erec to Iwein. Erec contains 3,150 lines of direct speech out of a total of 10,192 lines; these lines fall into about 150 separate dialogs and 38 monologs.¹¹ The dialogs are rather simple in structure and only involve two speakers. The true purpose of direct speech is often forgotten and the dialogs serve more as an ornament than as an integral part of the structure. Indirect speech is sometimes used where direct speech would have been more dramatic, as, for example, when Erec's command of silence to Enite is indirectly expressed (3098-3105).

Hartmann became more skillful in the use of dialog in his works written after Erec and reached his high point in Iwein. By contrast, the monolog is already very highly developed in Erec. The monolog was introduced into medieval German literature in Eilhart von Oberg's Tristrant and Heinrik von Veldeke's Eneit: Hartmann developed it fully into a complicated and effective form. The most striking monolog in Erec is Enite's three hundred and thirty-four line speech (5775-6109) when she

¹¹Herda Zutt, "Die Rede bei Hartman von Aue," Deutscheunterricht, Vol. 14, 1962, ss. 67-79.

believes Erec dead. The monolog forms a dramatic, highly structured whole. The speech is a sophisticated piece of rhetoric which follows a circular path returning to the original starting point. Hartmann made a further development in the monolog by introducing several lines of direct speech into Mabonagrin's story, lines 9491-9492 and 9534-9561).

Hartmann developed his use of direct speech from Erec through Der arme Heinrich and Gregorius to Iwein, a work in which direct speech has become vitally important. Iwein has a total of 8,166 lines with 4,370 lines of direct speech; fifty-five dialogs and nineteen monologs. The dialogs have become more complex and natural; more than two speakers may take part in a conversation; as in the passage (113-240) before Kalogreant's story where the conversation moves smoothly between Queen Guinevere, Kalogreant, Keie and Iwein. In Iwein the action is not merely advanced, but determined by direct speech. The course of the adventure is given in the beginning of Kalogreant's story which is directly told. The story itself is complex in form; it is told in what Herta Zutt

has described as three degrees of reality: first Kalogreant hears about the magic well from the people in the forest; Kalogreant tells his adventure at the fountain; and finally, within the time and space of the romance, Iwein carries out the adventure. Dialogs or monologs precede all the important actions of the romance and the final denouement hinges upon a word; Lunette catches Laudine in her own words by making her promise to help the Knight of the Lion win his lady's favor. Direct speech in Iwein not only grows more natural and more complicated, but also becomes an important structural element in the romance. In her study of speech in Hartmann's work Herta Zutt finds that Hartmann has used direct speech inside of a narrative poem to the point where it borders on dramatic writing.¹² She has called Iwein "ein Spiel mit Worten und um Worte," meaning that through words the characters guide and influence the actions of their fellow actors; as when Lunette holds to the letter of her promise. Direct discourse in Iwein

¹²Herta Zutt, op. cit., s. 78.

serves not only to present a set of facts, but serves to shape and interpret the entire spirit of the romance. Iwein does not speak at all during the period of his madness. Speech returns to him with sanity when he is again able to take his place in society:

Es sind seine ersten Worte seit Lunetes Anklage vor der Artus Gesellschaft. Solange er ein "tore" war, fehlt jede in Worte geformte Äusserung; die nur erzählenden Teile zwischen der Anschuldigung und dem Kommen der drei Damen setzen diesen Teil seines Lebens merklich und wirkungsvoll gegenüber den anderen ab. In drei Phasen, die sich jeweils in einem Monolog ausdrücken, findet sich Iwein zur Wirklichkeit zurück: Das frühere Leben als Traum--der Traum als Lehrmeister: Gesinnung und äusserer Zustand passen nicht zueinander--Eintritt ins ritterliche Dasein mit den gefundenen Kleider.¹³

Here speech is made the expression of human rationality; when Iwein is incapable of speech he is beyond the pale of society and is reduced to the state of an animal. The ability to speak is the symbol of his return to sanity and his reentry into society. Hartmann von Aue here seems fully to have realized the meaning of speech in human life

¹³Herda Zutt, op. cit., s. 76.

and to have given it eloquent expression in Iwein where direct speech serves not only as a dramatic ornament to the narrative, but becomes the symbol of man in society.

In comparing the two novellas from the Kaiserchronik and Hartmann's two Arthurian romances for the depiction of courtly society and for formal features, the reader finds that the striking difference between the older literature and the new courtly literature is largely a matter of greater perfection of style. Society in the Kaiserchronik is not lacking in sophistication; it has a fully developed sense for nobility of conduct and luxurious living. The courtly ethic is already seen in the ideal of Minne, although it is not as dominant in all the relationships between men and women as in the golden age of courtly literature. The achievement of the courtly poets lies in the great advances they make in the manner in which they portray society. "Lucretia" from the Kaiserchronik stands out from the main body of pre-courtly literature; it is a well-rounded independent work in which the author has understood the dramatic possibilities of the story. By contrast much of the older literature is faulty in structure, uses

trite formulaic description and fails to make effective use of direct discourse. Hartmann von Aue stands at the beginning of the period of courtly literature and he can be given credit for creating the basis of the chivalric world as it evolved in the courtly epic. The progress which Hartmann made in the development of formal features of style can be appreciated by comparison with the older literature. Such comparison demonstrates the extent of Hartman's originality; he stands far above the authors of the heroic epic and shows little direct influence from them. The only direct influences upon Hartmann can have come from Chrétien de Troyes, Eilhart's Tristrant and Veldeke's Eneit; Eilhart and Veldeke show only the beginnings of the formal features which Hartmann developed and studies show his general independence from Chrétien.¹⁴ Hartmann's increase in skill can be seen from Erec to Iwein; according to Anthony van der Lee, it can be seen within Erec; he finds evidence in the composition of Erec

¹⁴Anthony van der Lee. Der Stil von Hartmanns Erec verglichen mit dem der älteren Epik. Utrecht, 1950. s. 53.

that Hartmann made conscious effort to achieve a smoother and more vivid style after verse 7,000, just before the description of Enite's horse.¹⁵ Hartmann's achievement lies in the originality which he gives to his romances and in the skill with which he composes them. A study of precourtly works such as "Lucretia" and "Crescentia" shows much that is admirable in itself and shows the beginnings of later developments of style; on the whole, however, the reader finds that Hartmann has made a great leap forward in literary technique independent from his predecessors. Hartmann stands at the beginning of a period of heightened author awareness where the poet occupies himself fully with the problems of literary excellence.

¹⁵van der Lee, op. cit., ss. 152-154.

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