

THE UNITY OF THE *WIENER HOFTON*

The following reflections take as their starting-point the view of Kurt Ruh, "daß sich bei einem Künstler vom Range Walthers die Annahme verbietet, er habe nach Zufall und Laune Strophen mit ungleicher Thematik, mit wechselnden Gesichtspunkten und mit verschiedenen Adressaten dieselbe metrisch-musikalische Form verliehen. Die Einheit des Tons fordert m.a. W. zum Verständnis anderer Einheiten auf".¹ For the *Wiener Hofton* the question of such "andere Einheiten" has in my opinion not yet been satisfactorily solved.

Let us look once again at the stanzas of this *Ton* as they are preserved in the oldest manuscript, D. Wilmanns thought that the 12 stanzas were "zu dreien nach dem inhalt geordnet"², a view which has been accepted by Halbach and Scholz.³ It seems to me, however, that the theory of a triadic structure is wrong: not the first three, but the first *five* stanzas are closely linked together, by the theme of "times have changed".

- D239, L23, 11⁴ Ez troumte, des ist manic jâr,
ze Babilône, daz ist wâr,
dem kûnege, ez wûrde bæser in den rîchen.
Die nû ze vollen bæse sint,
15 gewinnen die noch bæser kint,
jâ hêre got, wem sol ich diu gefîchen?
Der tievel wær mir niht sô smæhe,
quæme er dar dâ ich in sæhe,
sam des bæsen bæser barn.
20 von der geburt enkumt uns frum noch êre.
die sich selben sô verswachent
und ir bösen bæser machent,
ân erben müezen si vervarn!
daz tugendlöser hêren werde iht mære,
25 daz solt dû, hêre got, bewarn.
- D240, L23, 26 Die veter habent ir kint erzogen,
dar ane si bêde sint betrogen:
si brechent dicke Salomônes lêre.
Der sprichet, swer den besmen spar,
30 daz der den sun versûme gar:
des sint die ungeberten gar ân êre.
Hie vor dô was diu welt sô schœne,
nû ist si worden alsô hoene:
des enwas niht wilent ê.
35 die jungen habent die alten sô verdrungen.
nû spottent alsô dar der alten!
ez wirt iu selben noch behalten:
beit unz iuwer jugent zergê!
24,1 swaz ir in tuot, daz rechent iuwer jungen.
daz weiz ich wol, und weiz noch mē.
- D241, L24,3 Wer zieret nû der êren sal?
der jungen ritter zuht ist smal:
5 sô pflegent die knehte gar unhövescher dinge
Mit worten und mit werken ouch:
swer zûhte hât, der ist ir gouch:

- nemt war wie gar unfuoge für sich dringe.
 Hie vor dô berte man die jungen,
 10 die dâ pflâgen frecher zungen:
 nû ist ez ir werdekeit.
 si schallent unde scheltent reine frouwen.
 wê ir hiuten und ir håren,
 die niht kunnen frô gebâren
 15 sunder wibe herzeleit!
 dâ mac man sünde bi der schande schouwen,
 die maneger ûf sich selben leit.
- D242, L21, 10 Owê dir, Welt, wie übel dû stêst!
 waz dinge dû alz an begêst,
 diu von dir sint ze lidenne ungenâeme!
 Dû bist vil nâch gar âne scham.
 got weiz ez wol, ich bin dir gram:
 15 dîn art ist elliu worden widerzâeme.
 Waz êren hâst uns her behalten?
 nieman siht dich frôiden walten,
 als man ir doch wîlent pflac.
 wê dir, wes habent diu mîlten herze engolten?
 20 für diu lopt man die argen rîchen.
 Welt, dû stêst sô lasterlîchen,
 daz ichz niht betiuten mac.
 triuwe und wârheit sint vil gar bescholten:
 daz ist ouch aller êren slac.
- D243, L21, 25 Nû wachet! uns gêt zuo der tac,
 gein dem wol angest haben mac
 ein ieglich kristen, juden unde heiden.
 Wir hân der zeichen vil gesehen,
 dar an wir sîne kunft wol spehen,
 30 als uns diu schrift mit wârheit hât bescheiden.
 Diu sunne hât ir schîn verkêret,
 untriuwe ir sâmen ûz gerêret
 allenthalben zuo den wegen.
 der vater bi dem kinde untriuwe vindet,
 35 der bruoder sînem bruoder liuget,
 geistlich leben in kappen triuget,
 die uns ze himel solten stegen.
 22,1 gewalt gêt ûf, reht vor gerichte swindet.
 wol ûf! hie ist ze vil gelegen.

These five stanzas are constructed on the contrast between formerly and today, before and now; the little word *nû* is conspicuous:

23,11	<i>des ist manic jâr</i>	23,14	<i>nû</i>
23,32	<i>Hie vor dô</i>	23,33	<i>nû</i>
23,34	<i>wîlent ê</i>	23,36	<i>nû</i>
		24,3	<i>nû</i>
24,9	<i>Hie vor dô</i>	24,11	<i>nû</i>
21,18	<i>wîlent</i>		
		21,25	<i>Nû</i>

The repeated *Hie vor dô* in the same place in two consecutive stanzas and the *Nû* at the start of the last stanza emphasise the central significance of the motif. These formal repetitions and echoes, extending over several stanzas, underpin the connections of content: we are dealing with a severe

criticism of the present by comparison with the past.

A second, related contrast runs through these five stanzas: the conflict of the generations, expressed in the antitheses *alt |junc*, *vater |kint*:

		23,15	<i>kint</i>
		23,19	<i>barn</i>
		(23,20 <i>geburt</i> ; 23,23 <i>erben</i>)	
23,26	<i>veter</i>	23,26	<i>kint</i>
		23,30	<i>sun</i>
23,35	<i>alten</i>	23,35	<i>jungen</i>
23,36	<i>alten</i>	23,38	<i>jugent</i>
		24,1	<i>jungen</i>
		24,4	<i>jungen</i>
		24,9	<i>jungen</i>
21,34	<i>vater</i>	21,34	<i>kinde</i>

Times have changed, and changed for the worse, and the change is reflected in the relationship of the younger to the older generation. Let us now consider each of these stanzas in more detail, paying attention both to the form and content of each individual one and also the the links of form and content between them.

D239, L23,11

The Biblical reference to Nebuchadnezzar's dream in Daniel ii. provides a suitable opening for the sequence, with its tone of prophecy fulfilled, of apocalyptic doom, and its general statement of the theme: *ez würde bæser in den rîchen* (23,13). The stanzas which follow are going to elaborate on this theme. The contrast between past and present starts in the very first line (*des ist manic jâr*) with a formulation which reminds us of the start of so many stories: *Es war einmal . . .*

Also in these opening lines is the word *bæse*, which dominates the entire stanza, being used no fewer than seven times. Emphasis on the evil of the times, which is as bad as it could be (*ze vollen*, 23,14, cf. 23, 15-19), prepares us already for the end of the world allusions in the concluding stanza of the sequence (D243). I draw attention in passing to Walther's tendency to place key words in the rhyming position at the end of the line: in this stanza *kint* (23,15), *barn* (23,19) and *êre* (23,20).

D240, L23,26

In this stanza the conflict between the generations, already broached in the previous one, becomes central; this is expressed by the frequency with which Walther uses the words *alt |junc*. Underlying this conflict is the theme of change: *Hie vor dô, wilent ê : nû, nû*. Links with the previous stanza are the words *kint* and *nû* and the rhymes *êre, mère : lêre, êre* (*êre* again in the key position at the end of the line).

As far as the content is concerned, this stanza is linked to the previous as cause is to effect. Part of the cause of the evil state of the world is the disrespect shown by the young to the old, which in turn is itself partly caused by the over-lenient upbringing of children by their parents. But

Walther has a word of warning for the younger generation. Those who now scorn their parents will themselves become old and be scorned in their turn.

D241, L24,3

To the antithesis then/now (*Hie vor dô*, 24,9 : *nû*, 24,3; 24,11) is now added another, courtly behaviour and its opposite, linked to the previous stanza as an elaboration of the ill-behaviour of the younger generation expressed in 23,31, *des sint die ungeberten gar ân êre*:

24,4	<i>zuht</i>	24,5	<i>unhövescher dinge</i>
24,7	<i>zühete</i>	24,8	<i>unfuoge</i>
24,11	<i>werdekeit</i>	24,10	<i>frecher zungen</i>
24,14	<i>frô gebâren</i>	24,16	<i>sünde, schande</i>

There has been a change in standards of courtly behaviour, a decline in courtesy, a reversal of social values. Further links between this stanza and the previous are the rhymes *verdrungen*, *jungen* (23,35; 24,1): *jungen*, *zungen* (24,9; 24,10), cf. *verdrungen* : *dringe* (24,8), again a repetition of key words in this important position; the repetition of *êre(n)* (23,31; 24,3); and the motif of sparing the rod and spoiling the child (23, 29-30; 24,9). *Hie vor dô* (23,32; 24,9) occurs in each case in the same position in the seventh line of the stanza, stressing the importance of the theme of change.

D242, L21,10

Links with previous stanzas are *êren* (24,3; 21,16; 21,24); *dinge* (24,5; 21,11); *pflâgen* 24,10), *pflac* (21,18); *frô gebâren* (24,14, *frôiden walten* (21,17); *behalten* (23,37; 21,16) (in the rhyme). The *übel* of the first line reminds one of the *bæse* of the first stanza. The then/now motif is here represented merely by *worden* (21,15) and *wîlent* (21,18).

The theme of the stanza is another general statement of the total depravity of the world: *dîn art is elliu worden widerzæme* (21.15). There is one striking particular example of wrong values: the miserly rich are praised above the generous; the relevance of this will become apparent later.

D243, L21,25

A fitting climax to the sequence. So much wickedness must indicate the end of the world; the apocalyptic tone of the first stanza is resumed. The first and last lines contain a summons to prepare for the end, an appropriate response to the wickedness described in the previous stanzas and an effective conclusion to the sequence. The final *Nû* is given a position of emphasis, as the climax of this set of motifs, and this also emphasises the actuality of the end of the world.

The stanza is linked to the previous one by the rhymes *pflac*, *mac*, *slac* (21,18; 21,22; 21,24) : *tac*, *mac* (21,25; 21,26) and by *wârheit* (21,23; 21,30); *triuwe* (21,23) : *untriuwe* (21,32; 21,34). It is linked to the second stanza by *vater*, *kinde* (21,34) : *veter*, *kint* (23,26).

The evidence of both form and content outlined above seems to me to be

sufficient to allow one to claim that in these five stanzas we are dealing with a carefully constructed unity, with an effective beginning and ending and a logical progression of ideas throughout. It does not seem to me to be exaggerating to use some such expression as ‘*liedhafte Einheit*’.⁵

One further point is worth making at this stage. One cannot fail to be struck by echoes in the last stanza (D243) of the first stanza in the *Reichston*:

8,23	<i>stîg unde wege</i>	21,33	<i>wegen,</i>	21,37	<i>stegen (< stec)</i>
8,24	<i>untruwe</i>	21,32;	21,34		<i>untruwe</i>
8,25	<i>gewalt</i>	22,1	<i>gewalt</i>		
8,26	<i>reht</i>	22,1	<i>reht</i>		

It would not be surprising if both reflected the same period of civil upheaval during the time of the two kings, Philipp and Otto. When one adds to that the reference to the eclipse of the sun in 21,31, usually taken to refer to the eclipse in November 1201⁶, and the reference to deceitful clergy in 21,36, which might relate to the period between July 1201, when the papal legate, Cardinal Guido de Praeneste, proclaimed Otto as the legal king and January 1202, when Philipp’s supporters protested in Halle about the legate’s interference in the struggle for the German throne⁷, there would seem to me to be reasonable grounds for dating our sequence of five stanzas to, say, early 1202.

II

Let us now examine the second five stanzas of the *Wiener Hofton* as they are preserved in D (D244-248) to see whether there is any evidence that they show a similar unity.

D244, L22,3	Swer âne vorhte, hêre got, wil sprechen dîniu zehen gebot 5 und brichet diu, daz ist niht rehtiu minne. Dich heizet vater maneger vil: swer min ze bruoder niht enwil, der spricht diu starken wort ûz krankem sinne. Wir wahsen ûz gelichem dinge: 10 spîse frumet uns, diu wirt ringe, sô si dur den munt gevert, wer kan den hêren von dem knehte scheiden, swa er ir gebeine blôzez fûnde, het er ir joch lebender kûnde, 15 sô gewûrme dez fleisch verzert? im dienen kristen, juden unde heiden, der elliu lebenden wunder nert.
D245, L20,16	Waz wunders in der werlte vert! wie manic gâbe uns ist beschert von dem der uns ûz nihte hât gemachet! Dem einen gît er schônen sin, 20 dem andern guot unt den gewin,

- daz er sich mit sîn selbes muote swachet.
 Armen man mit guoten sinnen
 sol man für den rîchen minnen,
 ob er êren niht engert.
 25 ja enist ez niht wan gotes hulde unt êre,
 dar nâch diu welt sô sêre vihtet:
 swer sich ze guote alsô verpflihtet
 daz er der beider wirt entwert,
 dem habe ouch hie noch dort niht lones mære,
 30 wan si eht guotes hie gewert.
- D246, L22,18 Swer houbetsûnde unt schande tuot
 mit sîner wizzende umbe gut,
 20 sol man den für einen wîsen nennen?
 Swer guot von disen beiden hât,
 swerz an im weiz unt sichs verstât,
 der sol in zeinem tôren baz erkennen.
 Der wîse minnet niht sô sêre,
 25 alsam die gotes hulde unt êre:
 sîn selbes lip, wîp unde kint,
 diu lât er ê er disiu zwei verliese.
 er tôre, er dunket mich niht wîse,
 und ouch der sîn êre prise:
 30 ich wæn si beide tôren sint.
 er gouch, swer für diu zwei ein anderz kiesel!
 der ist an rehten witzten blint.
- D247, L22,33 Junc man, in swelher aht dû bist,
 ich wil dich lèren einen list:
 35 dû lâ dir niht ze wê sîn nâch dem guote.
 Lâ dirz ouch niht zunmære sîn.
 und volges dû der lère mîn,
 23,1 sô wis gewis, ez frumt dir an dem muote.
 Die rede wil ich dir baz bescheiden.
 lâst dû dirz ze sêre leiden,
 zergêt ez, so ist dîn frôide tût;
 5 wilt aber dû daz guot ze sêre minnen,
 dû maht verliesen sêle unt êre.
 dâ von volge mîner lère:
 leg ûf die wâge ein rehtez lôt
 und wig ouch dar mit allen dînen sinnen,
 10 als ez diu mâze uns ie gebôt.
- D248, L24,18 Mit sælden müeze ich hiute ûf stên,
 got hêrre, in dîner huote gèn
 20 und rîten, swar ich in dem lande kêre.
 Krist hêrre, lâz mir werden schîn
 die grôzen kraft der guete dîn,
 unt pflic mîn wol dur dîner muoter êre.
 Als ir der heilig engel pflæge,
 25 unt dîn, der in der krippen læge,
 junger mensch unt alter got,
 dêmuetic vor dem esel und vor dem rinde,
 und doch mit sældenrîcher huote
 pflac dîn Gabriël der guote
 30 wol mit triuwen sunder spot,
 als pflig ouch mîn, daz an mir iht erwinde
 daz dîn vil götelich gebot.

A glance at the rhymes of these five stanzas reveals the following points:

- 1) The first rhyme of the first stanza is the same as the last rhyme of the last stanza, and indeed two of the words are the same:
got, gebot (22,3; 22,4) : *got, spot, gebot* (24,26; 24,30; 24,32)
(cf. *gebôt*, 23,10).
- 2) Four of the stanzas have *êre* in the rhyme:
êre, mêre (20,25; 20,29) : *sêre, êre* (22,24; 22,25); *êre, lêre* (23,6; 23,7);
kêre, êre (24,20; 24,23).
- 3) Three of the stanzas have *minne|sinne* in the rhyme:
minne, sinne (22,5; 22,8); *sinnen, minnen* (20,22; 20,23) (cf. *sin*, 20,19);
minnen, sinnen (23,5; 23,9).
- 4) Other rhyme links are
 - a) *gevert, verzert, nert* (22,11; 22,15; 22,17): *vert, beschert* (20,16; 20,17), linking stanzas D244 and 245;
 - b) *tuot, guot* (22,18; 22,19): *guote, muote* (22,35; 23,1): *huote guote* (24,28; 24,29);
 - c) *scheiden, heiden* (22,12; 22,16): *bescheiden, leiden* (23,2; 23,3);
 - d) *sîn, mîn* (22,36; 22,37): *schîn, dîn* (24,21; 24,22).

All in all this seems to constitute sufficient evidence of stanza-linking to encourage one to investigate whether the content of the stanzas is also related and whether the above formal links illuminate or underline the content.

The subject-matter of these five stanzas is clearly different from that of the previous five. The theme of change, with the antithesis of then and now, is conspicuously absent. So too is the conflict of the generations, although there is one striking link in the line *junger mensch unt alter got* (24,26) (cf. *Junc man*, 22,33), which will receive attention later. What then is the content of these stanzas? Let us again look at each of them in turn.

D244, L22,3

The stanza opens with a general statement, which will then be elaborated and exemplified in what follows; again this is an appropriate way to start a sequence.⁸ “If a man has the temerity to pay lip-service to God’s commandments and then breaks them, that does not show true love”. The love in question, as the next three lines show, is love of one’s neighbour, which although not explicitly dealt with in the Ten Commandments is one of the two elements in Christ’s “Summary of the Law” (Matt. xxii, 37-39); Wilmanns-Michels have shown by a quotation from Freidank⁹ that the New Testament summary could be referred to as the Ten Commandments: *Diz sint diu zehen gebot, diu uns gebôt der wâre got: dînen got soltu minnen mit herzen und mit sinnen, dînen ebenkristen, sich, daz dû den minnest alsô dich* (note the rhyme-words *minnen |sinnen*, which are also important for Walther). If a man says he loves God and does not love his neighbour, he does not understand what the commandments are about (*ûz krankem sinne*, *sin* here meaning “understanding, judgment”) (cf. 1 John iv, 20). In these first six lines Walther expresses, as we shall see, the theme of the whole sequence: the need for a man to discern

correctly the meaning of that love of his neighbour which is God's commandment for him (note how this theme is summed up in the three rhyme-words *gebót, minne, sinne*: another example of form illuminating content). The basis for this love of one's neighbour is the common brotherhood of man, which is the subject of the rest of the stanza. All men are equal in the sight of God: that they are all made of the same physical substance (or out of nothing, cf. 20,18) is indisputable (*wir wahsen ûz gelîchem dinge*); that they are all equal in death is also indisputable (22, 12-15); it is only in the period when they are alive, between the equality of their origins and the equality of death, that the equality is disputed. But that equality is there, because the miracle of life in all its forms is created and sustained by God (*der elliu lebenden wunder nert*): in him there are no distinctions of class (*hêrren, knehte*, 22,12) or religion (*kristen, juden unde heiden*, 22,16). It is God whom all men serve (*dienent*, 22,16).

One might mention in passing that although with this stanza a new set of ideas is introduced, it is linked to the previous stanza by the words *kristen, juden unde heiden* (21,27; 22,16), *vater* (21,34; 22,6) and *bruoder* (21,35; 22,7) and by the idea of a lack of brotherly love (21,35; 22,7) (there is perhaps also an echo in *angest, vorhte*, 21,26; 22,3).

D245, L20,16

This stanza is formally linked to the previous one by the rhymes already mentioned and by the word *wunder* (22,17; 20,16) and the idea of the common origin of men (22,9; 20,18). Although all men are equal in their total dependence on God, God does give them different gifts (*gâbe, gît*, 20,17; 20,19– the motif will need comment later): to some he gives a right judgment (*schâenen sin*, 20,19; *guoten sinnen*, 20,22), to others material possessions (*guot*, 20,20). In man's struggle to please God (*vihtet*, 20,26), to attain *gotes hulde und êre* (20,25), possessions may be dangerous, because they can warp one's judgment (cf. *ûz krankem sinne*, 22,8) and lead one to pursue the wrong goals, so that one might in the end forfeit eternal life. Wealth brings with it the responsibility to use it rightly.

In this stanza there is another echo of the previous sequence: *Armen man mit guoten sinnen sol man für den rîchen minnen, ob er êren niht engert* (20,22-23) reminds one of the *argen rîchen* (21,20).

D246, L22,18

The theme of a right judgment in respect of material possessions is central to this stanza, which is constructed on the antithesis wise man/fool:

22,20	<i>wîsen</i>	22,23	<i>tôren</i>
22,24	<i>wîse</i>	22,28	<i>tôre</i>
22,28	<i>wîse</i>	22,30	<i>tôren</i>
22,32	<i>rehten wîzen</i>	22,31	<i>gouch.</i>

The fools are both those who place possessions above *gotes hulde* and *êre* and those who praise them for this (again there is a link with D242, *für diu lopt man die argen rîchen*, 21,20). The stanza is firmly linked to the

preceding one by the triad of *gotes hulde*, *êre* (including once as a rhyme-word) and *guot* and by *minnet/minnen* (22,24; 20,23) and *rehten witzen/quoten sinnen*, *schænen sin* (22,32; 20,22; 20,19).

There is a further link with the previous sequence in *houbetsûnde*, *schande* (22,18) and *sûnde*, *schande* (24,16).

D247, L22,33

The right attitude to possessions is seen to be moderation (*diu mâze*, 23,10, placed in the last line of the stanza to sum up its whole meaning), caring for them neither too much nor too little. The stanza is firmly linked to the preceding ones by the rhymes already mentioned, with the key words *guote*, *minnen* and *sinnen* occurring in the rhyme, and by the triad *gotes hulde* (here represented by *sêle*, 23,6), *êre* and *guot*. *muote* (23,1) is another link with *muote* (20,21). The expression *in swelher aht* (22,33) points again to the common brotherhood of all social classes of D244. *Junc man* (22,33) provides a link with a major theme of the previous sequence, as does perhaps *fröide tôt* (23,4) with *frô gebâren* (24,14) and *fröiden walten* (21,17).

D248, L24,18

The poet's response to the need to keep God's commandments and the difficulties and dangers inherent in this is a prayer to God to protect him so that he will not fail to do his duty. The stanza is constructed in the form of a comparison, with the same words and ideas and a parallel structure in both elements of the comparison:

Just as the angel Gabriel in his goodness (*guote*, 24,29) looked after (*pflæge*, 24,24; *pflac*, 24,29) with his blessing-rich (*sældenriker*, 24,28) protection (*huote*, 24,28) you, Lord Christ, and your mother, so too

May you, Lord God, in your goodness (*die grôzen kraft der güete din*, 24,22) look after (*pflig*, 24,23; *pflig*, 24,31) with blessings (*sælden*, 24,18) and protection (*huote*, 24,19) me.

The right attitude for the poet is the humility (*dêmüetic*, 24,27) which Christ showed by becoming man. The theme of Christ's birth echoes the theme of birth in D244 (22,9) and D245 (20,18), with the implication that Christ, by becoming man, became our equal, and we must imitate his humility.

But there is more to it than this. Christ became a *junger mensch* (24,26) (cf. *Junc man*, 22,33), but he was at the same time old in his godhood. In other words in him the conflict of the generations is resolved, he is constancy in change, and thus he is the answer to the problems of the first sequence of stanzas too. Just as Gabriel showed *triuwen sunder spot* (24,30) so too will God, and this will solve the question of *triuwe/untriuwe* of the previous sequence.

In this last stanza of the second sequence the words *guote/güete* and *êre*, which have been so important throughout the sequence, are given by Walther strikingly more profound meanings than in the other stanzas, to

reflect the greater depth given to these values in a religious context. This stanza thus provides an appropriate conclusion to the sequence, which ends as it began, with God and his commandments.

Consideration of the evidence of both form and content thus leads one to the view that the second five stanzas, like the first, are a close-knit sequence, carefully constructed, with a consistent line of thought which is reflected in the formal elements. Again the term ‘*liedhafte Einheit*’ seems to me appropriate.

The two sequences of five stanzas thus represent two unities within the *Ton*, each distinct in itself but linked to the other not only by metrical structure and melody but also by a number of echoes in language and content.

In addition to demonstrating a pentadic rather than a triadic structure, the above evidence strongly supports the view that the order of stanzas preserved in D is original. It also leads to the conclusion that Ruh’s opinion: ‘*Walther hält ausnahmslos an der Selbständigkeit der Einzelstrophe fest*’¹⁰ must be revised in line with Maurer: ‘*Auch in den politischen Liedern gibt es Strophen, die ihren vollen Sinn erst im Zusammenhang erhalten . . .*’¹¹.

III

Two more stanzas in D remain, 249 and 250. Let us consider them in turn.

- D249, L24,33 Der hof ze Wiene sprach ze mir:
 “Walther, ich solte lieben dir,
 35 nû leide ich dir: daz müeze got erbarmen.
 Mîn wirde diu was wilent gröz:
 dô lebte niender mîn genöz,
 25,1 wan künec Artûses hof: sô wê mir armen!
 Wâ sint nû ritter unde frouwen,
 die man bî mir solte schouwen?
 seht wie jâmerlich ich stê.
 5 mîn dach ist fûl, sô risent mîne wende.
 mich enminnet nieman leider.
 silber, golt, ros unde kleider
 diu gab ich, unde hât ouch mê:
 nun hab ich weder schappel noch gebende
 10 noch frowen zeinem tanze, owê!”

Immediately one is struck by the threefold *nû – nû – nun* (24,35; 25,2; 25,9) contrasting with the *wilent – dô* of 24,36-37. We have returned to the theme of the first pentad, the contrast between then and now, the theme of change. The court at Vienna laments the contrast between the splendour of courtly life as it once was and the wretched decay of the present.

This fundamental link in content with previous stanzas is hardly reflected in other linguistic links. There are no verbal links with the immediately preceding stanza, and verbal links with other stanzas are too weak to be of

importance (e.g. *leide*, 24,35; *leiden*, 23,3; *wirde*, 24,36: *werdekeit*, 24,11; *ritter*, 25,2 : 24,4; *frouwen*, 25,2 : 24,12). An exception to this would be *gab* (25,8) which looks back to the theme of generosity in D242 (*die argen rîchen*, 21,20) and the *gâbe* of D245 (20,17) and forward to the next stanza.

D250, L20,31 Mir ist verspart der sælden tor:
 dâ stên ich als ein wise vor;
 mich hilfet niht swaz ich dar an geklopfe.
 Wie möht ein wunder græzer sîn:
 35 ez regent bêdenthalben mîn,
 daz mir des alles niht enwirt ein tropfe.
 21,1 Des fürsten milte üz Österrîche
 frôit dem süezen regen gelîche
 beidiu liute unt ouch daz lant.
 er ist ein schoene wol gezieret heide,
 5 dar abe man bluomen brîchet wunder.
 und bræche mir ein blat dar under
 ein vil milte rîchiu hant,
 sô möhte ich loben die liehten ougenweide.
 hie bi si er an mich gemant.

Just as the previous stanza has links with the first pentad, so too this is linked in subject-matter to the second. Its theme is an appeal by the poet to the Prince of Austria to be generous to him, to show him brotherly love, to use his material possessions rightly.

There are some verbal echoes of the second sequence: *sælden*, 20,31: *sælden*, *sældenrîcher*, 24,18; 24,28 (the Prince's favour is a blessing the poet is still without); *wunder*, 20,34; 21,5: *wunder*, 22,17; *wunders*, 20,16. The theme of generosity also provides one striking link with the first pentad: *wê dir, wes habent diu milten herze engolten? für diu lopt man die argen rîchen*, 21,19-20, is echoed in *milte*, 21,1; 21,7, and *loben*, 21,8.

There are thus strong thematic links between D249 and the first pentad and between D250 and the second pentad, and also between D249 and D250 (the court of Vienna: the Prince of Austria; generosity), but less important formal links than there are within each of the pentads and between the pentads.

IV

An examination of the stanzas of the *Wiener Hofton* preserved in D has shown that taken in the manuscript order they show various forms of unity. Most closely unified are the two pentads in themselves; secondly, the two pentads are linked together, the strong formal links between them suggesting that they are in the correct order in the manuscript; thirdly, each pentad is linked to one individual stanza which comes after it in the manuscript; fourthly, the two concluding individual stanzas are linked together.

Are the two final stanzas in the correct position in the manuscript? The question of the genesis of the *Ton* is intriguing. Each pentad is so tightly knit within itself that it seems to me most likely that each was composed from

the outset as a unity, and not unlikely that they were composed very close together in time. Were the two final stanzas composed before or after the pentads? It seems more probable that the original core of the *Ton* was the two stanzas with the most specific references to people and places and to the poet's position in society, verses arising out of a particular "occasion", the themes of which (change in the one case and brotherly love expressed through a right use of wealth in the other) were subsequently developed in the pentadic sequences. The order of D again seems most appropriate, with the more general reflections leading to the climax of the specifically occasional verses and with the personal appeal by the poet to his patron, *hie bî sî er an mich gemant* (21,9) in its most usual and fitting position, at the end.

My conclusion is that the order of stanzas in D is without exception original. Whether the overall unity of the *Ton* is such that one can talk of one "politisches Lied" I leave to the reader to decide!

What can be said about the date of the *Ton*? I have argued above that there is evidence for dating the first pentad to, say, early 1202. There is no internal evidence to allow one to date the second pentad (the *Junc man* of 22,33 might or might not be Duke Leopold VI), but again there are links with the first *Reichston* stanza (particularly the triad *guot, ère, gotes hulde*) and there is every likelihood that it was composed around the same time. If, as I have argued, the two concluding stanzas preceded the pentads in time, the latter must have been composed before early 1202. Is there evidence in them to support this view? Both Klein and Beyschlag have argued convincingly that the complaint of the Viennese court in D249 most likely reflects the move of the court from Vienna to Klosterneuburg after the accession of Duke Leopold VI in 1198.¹² The development of Klosterneuburg took some time, and Vienna continued to be used for major court functions.¹³ So the decline reflected in the stanza was unlikely to have set in from the very beginning of the new duke's reign. Perhaps a date in 1200 or 1201 would be reasonable.

D250 is an appeal by Walther for acceptance into the entourage of Leopold. The *terminus ante quem non* is again 1198, but it is impossible to decide whether the stanza was composed before or after Walther left Vienna. But again a date not too long after the new duke's accession would seem most likely.

Thus although conclusive proof is not possible, I would argue on the basis of the above evidence and of inherent probability that the whole of the *Wiener Hofton* as transmitted by D was composed within a comparatively short time-span, say 1200-1202.¹⁴

V

Finally a word on the two *Wiener Hofton* stanzas found in C but not in D, L25,11 and 25,26.

- L25,26 Ob ieman spreche, der nû lebe,
 daz er gesæhe ie græzer gebe,
 als wir ze Wiene haben dur ère enpfangen?
 Man sach den jungen fürsten geben,
 30 als er niht lenger wolte leben:
 dâ wart mit guote wunders vil begangen.
 Man gap dâ niht bî drîzec pfunden,
 wan silber, als ez wære funden,
 gab man hin und rîche wât.
 35 ouch hiez der fürste durch der gernden hulde
 die stelle von den mârhen læren:
 ors, als ob ez lember wæren,
 vil maneger dan gefüeret hât.
 26,1 ez engalt dâ nieman sîner alten schulde:
 daz was ein minneclîcher rât.

There are many echoes between this stanza and others of the *Ton*: *nû* (25,26); *gebe*, *geben*, *gap*, *gab* (25,27; 25,29; 25,32; 25,34); *ère* (25,28); *jungen fürsten*, *fürste* (25,29; 25,35); *guote* (25,31); *wunders* (25,31); *silber*, *wât*, *ors* (25,33; 25,34; 25,37) (cf. *silber*, *ros*, *kleider*, 25,7).

The theme of the stanza is thanks for generosity shown. I wondered at one time whether the whole might not be heavily ironical and belong before D250.¹⁵ In other words Walther would be saying that everyone else except himself, including those who did not deserve it (*ez engalt dâ nieman sîner alten schulde*, 26,1), was being showered with generosity, in a way which demonstrated an immoderate disregard for material possessions (cf. D247). But in view of the coherence of the D tradition I now agree with the majority of critics who see the stanza as meaning what it says and reflecting the generosity shown by Leopold to Walther on a subsequent visit to Vienna, perhaps for Leopold's marriage in 1203.¹⁶ The stanza would thus be a later addition to the *Ton* written in the same metrical-musical form because of the thematic similarity and provided with an abundance of formal links with the rest of the *Ton*, but not integrated into it more closely.

- L25,11 Kûnc Constantîn der gap sô vil,
 als ich ez iu bescheiden wil,
 dem stuol ze Rôme: sper, kriuz unde krône.
 Zehant der engel lûte schrê:
 15 "owê, owê, zem dritten wê!
 ê stuont diu kristenheit mit zûhten schône:
 Der ist nû ein gift gevallen,
 ir honec ist worden zeiner gallen:
 daz wirt der werlt her nâch vil leit."
 20 alle fürsten lebet nû mit èren,
 wan der hœhste ist gewachtet:
 daz hât der pfaffen wal gemacht.
 daz sî dir, sûezer got, gekleit.
 die pfaffen wellent leien reht verkêren.
 25 der engel hât uns wâr geseit.

Again there are formal links with other stanzas: *ê*, *nû*, *ist worden*, *nû* (25,16; 25,17; 25,18; 25,20); *gap* (25,11); *bescheiden* (25,12); *engel* (25,14;

25,25); *fürsten* (25,20); *êren* (25,20); *geswachtet* (25,21; cf. 23,21); *reht* (25,24); *zûhten* (25,16). Again the theme is the contrast between formerly and now, and the wrong sort of giving.

Again the date would be right, if the *pfaffen wal* (25,22) refers to the papal support for Otto in 1201.¹⁷

But the thematic links are fairly superficial, and again the stanza cannot easily be integrated into the order in D, so we probably have here a stanza which, if genuine, was not composed as other than an individual stanza, which shared a metrical-musical form with the others because of certain affinities of content and perhaps because it was also composed at around the same time.

The University of Leeds

C. D. M. COSSAR

Notes

1. K. Ruh, "Mittelhochdeutsche Spruchdichtung als gattungsgeschichtliches Problem", *DVJS*, 42 (1968), 309-24 (pp. 310f.). There too the reference to F. Maurer: "Es ist eben unsere Aufgabe, diese Töne in ihrer inneren Einheit zu verstehen" (*Die politischen Lieder Walthers von der Vogelweide*,²1964, p. 7).

2. W. Wilmanns, "Zu Walther von der Vogelweide", *ZfdA*, 13 (1867), 217-88 (p. 223).

3. K. H. Halbach, *Walther von der Vogelweide* (Stuttgart, 1965) (Sammlung Metzler, Band 40), p. 91, "Die inhaltlich fest geschlossenen Triaden...", cf. his review of Maurer, *Die politischen Lieder ... in ZfdPh*, 76 (1957), 107-23 (p. 122), "Beim Wiener Hofton wird man sowohl aus handschriftlich-kritischen als aus reim-ornamentalen Gründen nicht von der Anordnung der D-Überlieferung abgehen dürfen! Die Reimbeziehungen der 4fachen Triadenkette sind außerordentlich kunstvoll".

M. G. Scholz, "Die Strophenfolge des 'Wiener Hoftons'", *ZfdPh*, 92 (1973), 1-23 (p. 12).

4. The text is quoted from *Die Gedichte Walthers von der Vogelweide*, hrsg. von K. Lachmann: 12th edition revised by Carl von Kraus (Berlin, 1959), with minor alterations, chiefly of punctuation.

5. F. Maurer, *op.cit.*, p. 5, "... liedhafte, äußerlich und innerlich zusammengehörige Einheiten".

6. Suggested first by F. Zarncke in *PBB* 7 (1880), pp. 597-9.

7. See the notes on the historical background in *Walther von der Vogelweide: Gedichte*, Ausgewählt und übersetzt von Peter Wapnewski (Fischer Bücherei, 1962), p. 244.

8. Cf. *Walther von der Vogelweide*, hrsg. von W. Wilmanns: 4th edition revised by V. Michels (Halle, 1924), p. 119.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 120.

10. K. Ruh, *op.cit.*, p. 319.

11. F. Maurer, "Zu den frühen politischen Liedern Walthers", *Frühmal. Stud.* 3 (1969), 362-6 (p. 366).

12. K. K. Klein, "Walthers Scheiden aus Österreich", *ZfdA* 86 (1955/56), 215-30 (esp. pp. 220f.); S. Beyschlag, "Walther von der Vogelweide und die Pfalz der Babenberger (Walthers Scheiden von Wien)", *Jb.f. fränkische Landesforschung*, 19 (1959), 377-88, reprinted in *Walther von der Vogelweide*, hrsg. von S. Beyschlag (Darmstadt, 1971) (*Wege der Forschung*, Band CXII), pp. 584-607.

13. Beyschlag, p. 591.

14. Maurer's view that a verse referring to the eclipse of 1201 might have been written several years after the event (*Die politischen Lieder*, p. 31) I find unconvincing; cf. H. Thomas: "Auch hier kommen Bedenken, ob sich ein etwa fünf Jahre zurückliegendes Naturereignis noch gut als Zeichen des Jüngsten Gerichts denken läßt, vor allem, wenn seiner nur mit den Worten *diu sunne hat ir schin verkeret* gedacht wird; hier deutet die Formulierung doch allem Dafürhalten nach auf die Nähe des Eindrucks" ("Eine neue Waltherausgabe", *DVJS*, 33 (1959), 324-34, here p. 328).

15. Cf. Maurer, *Die politischen Lieder*, p. 29.

16. Cf. Beyschlag, pp. 598f.

17. Cf. Wapnewski, p. 253.