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STUDIES IN THE EROTIC MOTIF
OF EARLY MINNESANG

by

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INTRODUCTION

In his lecture *The Medieval Bases of Western Thought* which was delivered at the Goethe Bicentennial Convocation in Colorado in 1949, Robert E. Curtius made the following observation:

My experience in studying the Middle Ages has been that the orthodox view of medieval thought . . . tends to be onesided. If you view the development of medieval thinking mainly as a preparatory stage for the flowering of Thomistic philosophy, you will be likely to overlook much that is interesting in the 12th Century - even passionately interesting for a 20th Century mind . . . I would show you that such surprisingly modern problems as the value of sexual love and its place in a pre-ordained world were discussed about the time of the Second Crusade. Nor is this to be wondered at if we remember that the passion and sorrow of love were an emotional discovery of the French troubadours and their successors. ¹

Among these successors of the troubadours the Minnesänger of Germany stand out as the most prominent and have, therefore, bccn: accorded extensive literary analysis and investigation. In fact, the body of critical material on them has become so expansive over the last five decades that it can hardly be reviewed in its totality. It is all the more surprising, therefore, that the aspect of sexuality, its influence on and representation in the courtly literature should have been given as little scholarly attention to date as Curtius' statement implies. Upon

closer analysis two factors emerge prominently in accounting for this phenomenon. First, that the interpretation of eroticism in literature has been essentially a preoccupation of the 20th Century - it is a "modern problem" as Curtius puts it - and secondly that the tradition of German scholarship was steeped in the philosophy of the Romantic Age, and, therefore, tended to view only the ethical implications of Eros without due regard to its instinctual manifestations. Only since the turn of the century and the increasing awareness of the applicability of psychological principles to all aspects of human conduct has the thesis been accepted that in any period of radical transition and social pressure man returns to the problems of love as a key to self-discovery.

"Eroticism, it may be said, is assenting to life up to the point of death," intones Bataille, "it is the disequilibrium in which the being consciously calls his own existence into question." Eros as motivating force for creativity is now seen not only as permeating the intellectual sphere but the entire social fabric as well. Bataille suggests it as primary motivator for the mysticism of Meister Eckhart but also for Hegel's dialectics; Marcuse claims that the perpetual restrictions on Eros in

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2 See Curtius, p. 508.
4 Ibid., p. 72.
society will ultimately weaken the life instinct and de Rougemont pursues this thought by equating the evolution of the Western image of sexual love since Tristan and Isolde with a continuous death agony of man. As the study of erotic motivation, essentially an outgrowth of Freudian principles regarding dream symbolism, was applied to literature, the chronological barriers were gradually set aside. The question to what extent the erotic motif offers a legitimate approach to the interpretation of literature was gradually accepted as valid.

Properly speaking, all love poetry is erotic to some extent. Minnesang is no exception although its avowed purpose was the representation of love as an ethical force, a philosophy rather than an activity. It was composed for a select and specific audience sharing with the poet a knowledge of usages, artifices and literature which included erotic motifs as part of their common cultural heritage. Furthermore it fre-


7 See Albert Mordell, *The Erotic Motive in Literature* (New York, 1962), p. 123. Mordell contends that the interpretation of erotic motivation occurs as early as Ovid's *Amores* and increases through the ages with man's growing awareness of his sexuality and its influence on his creativity and as a determinant of his life.
quently served as literary vehicle for the dissemination of delicate information on amorous affairs at court and undoubtedly the poet's skill at singing on the subject of minne was as important in increasing his reputation as his ability to gossip sub rosa on current affairs. Despite being subjected to an excessive degree of stylization, however, the Minnesang retained the individualistic quality of its author, as will be shown. This subjectivity enables an approach to this historically distant period with a valuation already inherent rather than the application of extraneous standards. Specifically with regard to the Eros-minne problem in Minnesang, an inductive approach to the poet's psyche which attempts to distinguish between literary convention and personal declaration offers the most promising means of understanding the entire phenomenon. By way of justifying such an attempt one must accept the premise that Minnesang poetry not only mirrors the convention but also the emotional climate of the author and those impressions and repressions which he has emotionally experienced. For the written word is a projection of his personality; in fact, he is more in his opus than he suspects.

This awareness of all the possible ramifications of human sexuality in its impact on the interpretation of literature was not a part of traditional scholarship regarding Minnesang, as already pointed out.
Ranke's opinion characterizes the traditional approach which in its preoccupation with medieval teleology minimized the import of the Eros-minne relationship:

Der ritterliche Dichter sieht seinen Minnedienst und damit die ganze Ausrichtung seines sittlichen Strebens auf die eigene ethische Vervollkommnung im allgemeinen als im Einklang mit Gottes Willen stehend an: 'Ich danke Gott für seine Gnade, dass er mir die Minne zu meiner Herrin ins Herz gelegt hat.' Minnedienst - und im Minnedienst konzentriert sich die ritterliche Dieseitskultur - von Gott selbst dem Ritter aufgegeben; auch die Minne - durch die sittliche Veredelung, die sie dem Menschen schenkt - ein Weg zu Gott.  

Given this as overall guideline and standard for investigation, it is not surprising that motivation arising from human sexuality and reflected in the courtly poetry could be dispensed with as insignificant, as e.g. Korn did in this categorical fashion:

Es sei nur in einem Satz zusammenfassend daran erinnert, dass die Liebe in höfischer Zeit nicht mehr triebmässig erlebt wurde; sie war Kraft einer Weltanschauung, eine Kraft die zu sittlicher Veredelung führte und verborgene seelische Potenzen zur Entfaltung brachte.

The direction of inquiry was throughout motivated by the concept of medieval gradualism, the philosophy which viewed all of human activity


and its precipitate in literature "... als Bild einer riesigen, zu Gott zugespitzten Stufenpyramide."\(^{10}\) Within this grand design the motivating function of Eros was either patently neglected by scholarship until recently or emerged in a variety of vastly divergent views. Yet, quite obviously, neglecting this aspect for the understanding of a society which focused all its attention on a cult of love and chivalry must be as inadequate as characterizing the immediately preceding period of cluniac asceticism solely as a time of monotonously intoned 'memento mori'. Minne as a stylized form of love service could not have evolved except for a transformation of libidinal Eros into a code of social conduct. This is readily apparent from a study of references to the erotic motif prior to Minne-sang. It indicates a gradual shifting from a terminology of forthright sexuality to a vocabulary of disguised, indirect, erotic references. In this development the moral force of the Church, the increasing refinement of manners (primarily a cultural adjunct of the Crusades) as well as the cultural impact of Western literature had all contributed significantly by the middle of the 12th Century. In tracing the history of attitudes toward Eros one cannot but consider concupiscencia as well as amor intellectualis for the emerging minne concept, especially since

\(^{10}\) Ranke, p. 19.
"Minnesang ist die erste Dichtung in deutscher Sprache in der das Individuum seine eigensten, innersten Anliegen ausspricht..."

That the question of the function of Eros in life and literature was indeed a burning issue of the 12th Century, is attested to by the literary treatment it merited. Significantly the respective views were as dis-similar as the authors who voiced them. One Bernard of Morlaix in his satire De Contemptu Mundi (1140) reviled the force of Eros, yet Bernard of Clairvaux (d. 1153) saw fit to mystify it through mariolatry. A Latin parody called the Love Council at Ramiremont (ca.1150) highlighted the licentiousness of Eros while Bernard Silvestris propounded a religio-gnostic philosophy of Eros as a life-giving force.

Against this background modern scholarly investigation into the minne phenomenon, specifically the representation of Eros in courtly poetry, proved to be a vexing problem. The attempt at defining Minnesang merely in terms of its ethical aspirations at the expense of erotic motivations led to unconvincing definitions. Thus Isbasescu, speaking of the Minnesänger:

Er wendet sich deshalb jetzt einem Ideal der Vollkommenheit zu, dass er in seiner Nähe weiss, und diesem versucht er sich anzupassen. Er wählt sich eine Frau und erhebt sie in

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die Sphäre des Ideellen, indem er ihr die Strahlenkrone der Vollkommenheit auf das Haupt setzt. Er schmückt sie mit allen zum Superlativ gesteigerten geistig-seelischen und körperlichen Vorzügen und liebt sie; keineswegs aber in dem Sinn, in dem wir heute die Liebe verstehen. Seine Minne ist nicht Neigung zur Frau als solcher, sondern Neigung zum geistigen Wunschwesen; und keine sinnlichnatürliche Neigung sondern eine geistig seelische. Das Sinnliche ist aber dabei nicht ganz ausgeschaltet; es spielt mit hinein, aber nur insofern es zum "Erfassen" dieses Geistigen nötig ist.\textsuperscript{12}

The incongruity of accepting human sexuality as motivating force of the minne philosophy on one hand, while suggesting its complete abstraction in a platonic pursuit on the other, is quite evident.

On the other hand there was the school of thought which reversed the cause and effect relationship of minne and Eros because it could not accept the viability of a platonic arrangement on a large social scale. Thus for Wilmanns the minne conventions were merely an adumbration of erotic fulfilment, "... das letzte Ziel blieb doch immer haissen, triuten, bi gelegen; einen anderen befriedigenden Abschluss des Werbens als den sinnlichen Genuss kannte dieses Geschlecht nicht."\textsuperscript{13}

Naumann's opinion finally, representative of a third type of interpretation, was mediatory to the two extremes, by acknowledging Eros as equally significant as the didactic function of minne: "Wir haben die

\textsuperscript{12}Mihail Isbasescu, \textit{Minne und Liebe} (Stuttgart, 1940), p. 2.

Hohe Minne bekanntlich nicht als die reine sogenannte platonische Minne katexochen zu verstehen. Das kann sie sein, sie braucht es aber nicht. . . . Der Unterschied zwischen Hoher und Niederer Minne liegt nicht im Physiologischen, sondern allein darin, dass der Niederen Minne jedes erzieherische Ethos fehlt."\textsuperscript{14}

This latter division by scholarship of Eros into its physical and aesthetic manifestations as they appear in Minnesang merits some further consideration. It is, essentially, an artificial division which obscures rather than enlightens the true relationship of Eros and minne. Neumann's famous dictum "die Erotik als Frauendienst ist das Blut, das den Körper der höfischen Gesellschaft ernährt,"\textsuperscript{15} cannot satisfy as a definition when introducing such oversimplified termini as Triebminne and Hohe Minne,\textsuperscript{16} especially since they always overlap rather than polarize in the courtly literature. According to such categorization, the erotic impulse is reduced to serving as a mere conveyance for the attainment of ethical perfection. Yet this was clearly not the case.

\textsuperscript{14}Hans Naumann and Günter Müller, Höfische Kultur (Halle a. S., 1929), p. 21.


If, as Neumann contends, chivalry and minne made the individual a "Glied einer mit Erotik erfüllten Gemeinschaft," it seems absurd to conclude that a complete absorption of instinctual Eros into literature could take place without some reflection in social behaviour on that same level of society as well. By the same token it is not entirely correct to speak of a chivalric "Tugendsystem" under which Minnesang flourished, to the complete exclusion of Eros as Ehrismann does, particularly since he includes other ethical and aesthetic aspects which antedate the code of the 12th Century by several hundred years, such as certain ones of the system of vassalage, feudalism and their social ramifications.

One further aspect needs to be considered in accounting for the neglectful attitude of traditional scholarship toward Eros in Minnesang. That is the earlier scholarly emphasis on gleaning biographical information from this poetry in order to derive a more detailed picture of its author. In the ensuing revolt against this questionable practice the timelessness of the love experience as reflected in minne conduct and its interpretation per se was neglected as well. As a result,

17 Ibid.


19 For critique of this approach, see Konrad Burdach, Reimar der Alte und Walther von der Vogelweide (Halle a.S., 1928), pp. 24 ff.
by disparaging the erotic motivation the entelechy of the courtly society was presented as an end which it was not. For incorporation into Minnesang of personal experience, particularly the underlying erotic motivation, cannot be overlooked despite the repetitious language and the stereotyped images. Wechssler is undoubtedly correct in asserting "... dass die besten Dichter in der Mehrzahl Selbsterlebtes niedergelegt haben: denn anders wäre deren künstlerische Wahrheit und überzeugende Kraft nicht zu begreifen."\textsuperscript{20} All too often, however, the individual poetic contribution was suppressed by sweeping generalizations in interpretation, by insistence on the artificial separation of 'being' and 'function',\textsuperscript{21} as illustrated for example by Neumann's pathological approach to the entire courtly concept in two instances:

Erst die verheiratete Frau tritt... in das höfische Leben ein, erst die verheiratete Frau kann also leicht in der Gesellschaft von Männern umspielt werden.

Der Minner wandelt das Leben als erotischen Tanz ab, zu dem Tanzpausen gehören, zu dem Personenwechsel gehören kann.... Der Altersunterschied ist hier bedeutungslos, die Hohe Minne des Greises ist kein Problem.\textsuperscript{22}


\textsuperscript{21}For an attempt to separate minne and Eros according to the degree of emotion or display of ethical idealism, see Langenbucher, pp. 33 ff and Isbasescu, pp. 4 ff.

\textsuperscript{22}Neumann, "Hohe Minne," p. 188 and p. 193.
Although this purports to characterize the development of Minnesang at its peak rather than at its inception, which is the subject of the following, it can at best be a summation of specific instances rather than a generally true picture.

For one, there is the mistaken interpretation that only the married lady was a fit subject for minne attention. Rarely in Minnesang, however, is the knight satisfied with merely paying gallant homage to his mistress - he desires consummation. Whether this goal is attainable or illusory does not invalidate the intent of his quest. Yet the ennobling quality of minne dienest in service of a married lady could hardly be reconciled with a philosophy of adultery. As Becker\(^\text{23}\) has indicated, Mädchenminne was also a fact with vast social implications, not the least of which was a natural sexual competitiveness among women which manifests itself in overt aggressiveness by the vrouw in the love situation, particularly in the early Minnesang. Secondly, to characterize all of Minnesang, as Neumann does, in terms of disregard for age and individuality is tantamount to ascribing to it intellectual promiscuity, which, without the inspiration of Eros, would invariably have meant poetic sterility. Disregard for age in pursuing

\(^{23}\)Reinhold Becker, Der mittelalterliche Minndienst in Deutschland (Halle a. S., 1897), pp. 30 ff.
minne was, in fact, a poetic device characteristic of only a few of the later poets, those who were already approaching the period of decline of the chivalric age. If the social code rather than Eros had been the primary agent of the relationship between knight and lady and the sole criterion of their exchange, they would have lost their identity, and minne with a concomitant neglect of the glandular functions of Eros would not have retained its vitality.

At any stage of Minnesang, the sexual instinct was always sublimated to a degree in the intricate behaviour pattern of the ars amandi. The poet invariably incorporated into his praise of women elements of frank eroticism, partly personal desire, partly literary convention and heritage, which, as Milnes has pointed out, have all too often been misinterpreted by proponents of the platonic love theory, who refused to accept sexual symbolism under euphemistic references. That sexuality and eroticism were already part of the literary heritage will be shown by the following representative sampling.

Wherever the erotic motif appears in literature prior to Minnesang, it is in a mood and philosophy of unsophisticated sexuality rather

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lasciviousness or erotic double entendres. Eros is functional, didactic rather than self-indulgent; its introduction as a dramatic device is epically determinative, not stimulating to the reader. Descriptive passages are brief and devoid of elaboration. A few examples will suffice.

In the Germanic epic the portrayal of Eros is closely linked to its overriding political significance. Thus in the Nibelungenlied (whose oral tradition goes back to the Germanic Migrations) Eros is battle, and winning one's woman an act of conquest:

\[ (X, \text{v. 638}) \quad \text{ine truwe iu, schoeniu vrouwe, doch nimmer an gesigen...} \]

Often the wooing is brutal and socially defect by contemporary standards, as in the case of Gunther whose decline of reputation as man and king commences with his defeat at the hands of Brunhilde on their wedding night:

\[ (X, \text{v. 649}) \quad \text{Do rang er nach ir minne unt zerfûort' ir diu kleit.} \]

His unforeseen shameful debacle:

\[ (X, \text{v. 649}) \quad \text{do ich si wânde minnen vil sêre si mich bant.} \]

\[ ^{25} \text{Helmut de Boor, ed., Das Nibelungenlied, 15th ed. (Wiesbaden, 1939), pp. 110 ff.} \]
portends the very demise of his kingdom. The examples of violent con-
quest, of stolen love or of endangered love in a hostile world are inte-
grated into the heroic literary fabric because the Germanic ethos
rejoiced in violent action even in the pursuit of Eros, a motif ingredient
which, however altered, remained right into the time of Minnesang.

Of altogether different impact was the literature of the Church.
Its struggle against the traditional liberty enjoyed in erotic expression
even in its own ranks are a matter of historical record which requires
no elaboration. Suffice it to mention that as early as 865 Otfrid's
Evangelienbuch was written with the specific intent, according to its
author, of combating the distraction of licentious monks. 26 Usually
the introduction of a sexual motif in religiously inspired literature was
secondary to its didactic or informative intent. Yet one may easily
recognize the broadening of this spectrum by comparing passages from
two contemporary works, the Wiener Genesis 27 (1050) and the
Hohelied 28 (1060) of Williram, the abbot of Ebersberg. The Genesis

26 See Paul Englisch, Geschichte der Erotischen Literatur
(Berlin, 1927), pp. 92 ff.

27 Paul Piper, ed., Die Geistliche Dichtung des Mittelalters I,

28 Eduard Sievers, ed., Deutsche Sagversdichtungen des IX.-XI.
Jahrhunderts, Germanische Bibliothek, Nummer 16 (Heidelberg, 1924).
is 'natural' and concise in presenting sexuality without unnecessary embellishments:

\[(v. 1050ff)\]

\[\text{Adjâm sin wib erchande,}\\ \text{sô noch site ist in de no lande.}\\ \text{er hête mit ir minne,}\\ \text{so man noh spulget hinnen unt ennen.}\\ \text{daz nebenam ire ufrost noh hunger,}\\ \text{si newurde eines chindes swanger.}\]

and further:

\[(v. 1697 ff)\]

\[\text{. . . er negewunne wucher}\\ \text{von ire diuwe ãgé.}\\ \text{ze wibe si se imo gab,}\\ \text{eines chindes wart si nôthaft. . .}\]

The Hohelied on the other hand readily alludes to erotic intent of the symbolic figures of bride and bridegroom for the sake of illustrating the mysticism of doctrine,\(^{29}\) as for example:

\[(v. 85,1-4)\]

\[\text{Ih besuëron iuuih, jünk- fróuuen ze}\\ \text{Hierusalem,}\\ \text{ób ir mânen uoine vindet,}\\ \text{dâz ir imo kundet}\\ \text{daz ih sínero minnôn siechon.}\]

or as in this excerpt from Heinrich von Melk's Priestereben\(^{30}\) (1160), as exegesis:


\(^{30}\) Richard Kienast, ed., Der sogenannte Heinrich von Melk (Heidelberg, 1946).
Paulus sprichet, bezzer si gehien denne brinnen.
der rede sulen si sich versinnen
we er da mit maine.
er maine dehain minne wan die eine!

Whereas the Church was concerned with morality in general, the secular literature often employed erotic passages as Sittenspiegel of the respective segments of society. In the Ruodlieb (1050), for example, the grossness adherent to an exemplum malum manifests itself in Rufus' advance toward the farmer's wife and reflects the coarseness attributed to the peasants in such matters:

(Frag. VII, 117 ff) Rufus et in solium salit infeliciter ipsum,
Una manus mammae trahat et altera gambas,
Quod celat ea super expansendo crusenna...

Aristocratic courting as well is depicted as being of the utmost functionality and brevity although less uncouth. The legitimization of sex makes the blessings of the Church a post facto necessity as illustrated in the episode of Ruodlieb's nephew who dances with a young maiden like 'falcon' and 'swallow' in highly erotic fashion. Afterwards:

Unhappily the red-head leaped to the old man's chair;
one hand took hold of her breasts, the other her legs,
which she concealed with a fur garment
by spreading it out over her.
(frag. XI, 58f)

Insimul et resident et in alterutrum nimis ardent
Lege maritali cupientes consociari... 32

In most direct references to Eros either in ecclesiastical or
secular literature the term minne, by virtue of its innocuous additional
meanings, provided the camouflage which reference to such delicate
matters required. 33 Of particular interest because of its chronological
proximity to Minnesang is the Kaischerchronik 34 (1147-50) which utilizes
a number of the meanings of minne, including the sexual. Minne is
expression of salutation or even the gift itself (v. 10962ff; v. 13753ff); its reciprocal unminne is a sign of treachery or evil design (v. 11628ff).
But minne in the erotic meaning polarizes even sharper between virtue
and vice. Both the "Lucretialied" as well as the "Crescentialied"
revolve around the sexual tribulations of the respective heroines although
the political circumstances surrounding the crimes overshadow their
sexual significance. The meaning of minne experienced here is unmis-
takable, however, as Mechthild recounts:

32 Zeydel, transl., p. 113:
Together they sit down and are strongly aglow for one another,
Desiring to be united by the law of marriage...

33 See Matthias Lexer, Mittelhochdeutches Handwörterbuch
(Leipzig, 1872-78), v. 1, c. 2144ff.

34 Edward Schröder, ed., Kaischerchronik eines Regensburger
Geistlichen, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, I (Hannover, 1892), 1.
(27-4-15) unkūse suocht er mich an,
er gerte miner minne.

To summarize, not only was the erotic motif significant in the literature prior to the advent of Minnesang, but the term minne also denoting a range of political and social aspects was prominently used for sexual references. Early Minnesang, developing under the aegis of the Provençal value system, was consequently assimilating and interpreting this foreign courtly minne concept first in terms of its own native usage and literary tradition. Thus, this new minne too was viewed primarily as erotic attraction - initially with intent of actual sexual consummation - and always with emphasis on the personal rather than the stylized, 'courteous' relationship. Only gradually was the höhere frouwe transformed from desirable object for halsen and triuten into the symbolic and transcendant representation of the gradualistic ordo, a rôle she assumes at the height of the courtly Minnesang with Reimar and Walther.

From its inception until approximately the Third Crusade (1189-92), therefore, Minnesang was in the process of integrating these foreign customs and ethics into its own tradition. The state of non-fulfilment in minne in particular was not yet accepted as inexorable.
Quite on the contrary, erotic motivation appeared to vie with 'courteous' demeanor as the dominant theme, opening the question of their eventual synthesis.

The following study has as its objective an inquiry into the presentation of the erotic motif in minne, "die Lehre ... von der Minne als der hofisch stilisierten Form der Liebe." Specifically, it proposes to investigate to what extent the concept of the "feudalization of love" is applicable to the initial phase, the first generation of Minnensang, and what function the respective poets accord to Eros.

To set limits for this investigation, the generation of poets most directly exposed to the troubadour influence was chosen; and again within that group those poets who offer the widest spectrum in addressing themselves to the confrontation of society and Eros: Krenburch, Meinloh von Sevelingen, Regensburg and Rietenburg.

35 Naumann, p. 17.

36 Wechssler, p. 177.

37 The approach is organic rather than phenomenological as opposed to studies by Schultz (kiss, embrace, etc.) and Milnes (erotic language). See Paul Schultz, Die Erotischen Motive in den Deutschen Dichtungen des 12. und 13. Th. (Greifswald, 1907), and Humphrey N. Milnes, "Uber die Erotische Sprache in der Mittelhochdeutschen Höfischen Dichtung," Diss. Ohio State University 1949.
Dietmar von Aist, Hausen and Veldeke. In addition, cognizance will be taken of the acknowledged cultural influences from the West, as reflected in those passages in French and Provençal literature which parallel those of the Germans. This is to be construed as an attempt at comparison rather than a critical valuation of relative merits, for the Provençal philosophy emphasized aesthetic appreciation, whereas the German equivalent stressed its ethical function in addition.

In every instance the investigation will be guided by the questions: what does the individual poet understand by the term minne, how does the influence of traditional Eros and troubadour cortezia affect its conceptualization and what synthesis is finally achieved? Tangential to these questions is the changing representation of the frouwe, nature and the force of society.

In his fashion each one of the poets discussed addresses himself to these questions thereby contributing to our understanding of the phenomenology of early Minnesang.
CHAPTER I

THE TRADITIONAL MANIFESTATION OF EROS IN MINNESANG

DER VON KÜRENBERC

As for most of the Minnesänger, the biographical information on Kürenberg is fragmentary and speculative, particularly as far as the literary influences are concerned to which he was exposed. Fifteen of his poems have been handed down in the Manesse folio.

He resided in the region of Upper Austria, the so-called "Mühlviertel an der Donau", and the period of his activity is most likely around 1160, placing him at the beginning of German minne poetry and just within the sphere of Romance influence.¹ Within the scope of inquiry into the minne-Eros relationship, it is of some consequence to consider the question of his nobility, since the poet's relative position within the social hierarchy determined his approach and attitude to the noble or common woman. He was either a Freiherr (i.e. a descendant of Germanic nobility) or a Ministeriale (knightly vassal). The fact, that

his name was placed among the Freiherrn of ms. C and that he had himself addressed as "ritter edele" (8.20) speaks for the former. On the other hand, scribes of the mhg. manuscripts were not above confusing Freiherrn and Ministeriale of the same name.

In the fifteen stanzas constituting the entire literary output usually attributed to him, Klärenberg conveys a philosophy with regard to Eros, which stands in marked contrast to the restrained and formalized minne of subsequent courtly poetry. His style betrays a greater affinity for epic rather than the lyric expression, and parallels to the Kaiserchronik will be drawn to illustrate this point. His diction and phraseology are part of a largely unrefined courtly atmosphere which calls for an uncomplicated, sensual fulfilment of Eros away from the court's inquisitiveness. Klärenberg insists on a strict separation of the private sphere

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2 Carl von Kraus, ed., Des Minnesangs Frühling, 34th ed. (Stuttgart, 1967). Hereafter referred to as MF.

3 Carl von Kraus, Des Minnesangs Frühling, Untersuchungen (Leipzig, 1939), pp. 13f. Hereafter referred to as MFU.

4 See Karl Korn, Studien über "Freude und Tränen" bei Mittelhochdeutschen Dichtern (Leipzig, 1932), pp. 31f and p. 37.

5 Hellmuth Langenbuecher, in Das Gesicht des deutschen Minnesangs und seine Wandlungen observes correctly that the erotic approach in Klärenberg's poetry is "... auf anderer Ebene ... als im Minnesang, dass es hier nicht geistig übersinnlich, sondern lebendig sinnenhaft bestimmt ist." (p. 20), but he overstates his case when concluding that this is an expression of "lebendige, echte, wahre, Liebe."
from the court, thus avoiding two of the later elements of *Hohe Minne* altogether: the *minne dienest* to the noble lady with concomitant self-effacement of the knight as a man and the contemplation of *minne* as a mysterious phenomenon - the source of personal grief (*trüren*) rather than pleasure. Both knight and *frouwe* are free to declare their affection and do so, as will be shown, with many an oblique reference to the personal rather than the obligatory bond. The exquisite play on words, *double entendre* and skilful dialectics which characterize *Minnesang* at its height are entirely lacking. It is evident that erotic attraction, only barely concealed by chivalric proprieties, constitutes the *non plus ultra* of their relationship. The expression of love is a matter of mutuality, reminiscent in its unaffected sensuality of the early *Cambridge Songs* (1039-1050).

Panzer's contention of existing close parallels between the *Altheimische Minnesang* and its Provençal counterpart will be further supported and extended by inquiring into the erotic motif as employed by Kürenberc. In comparing his verse to that of Guillaume IX, Panzer noted "Ähnlichkeiten genug im ganzen bis ins Einzelne hinein zwischen den so wenig umfangreichen

6 This displacement of "Personliebe" by "Liebe zur Idee person" is according to Korn (pp. 72 ff) the central problem of *Minnesang*.

Werken der Dichter," and corroborated his literatry findings by historical data as well. It will also become apparent that what has been described as the "künstlerische Individualität" of Kürenberc's choice of motifs strikingly resembles Provençal lyrics and French pastourelles - rather than the spirit of the following Minnesang. Comparisons with these Romance counterparts will trace the evolving interaction of erotic and formalized love.

The attempt to arrive at an all-encompassing minne-code for the poets of early Minnesang has been frustrated by the paucity of verse in general and one characteristic of Kürenberc's poetry in particular. There is often apparent lack of logical cohesion between individual verses, suggesting a fragmentary nature or even folkloric heritage extending into the motif as well. Thus, at first glance, the approach by the knight suggests a conventional plea for affection from an equally conventional lady:

9 Ibid., p. 143.
10 Hennig Brinkmann, Entstehungsgeschichte des Minnesangs (Halle, 1926), p. 111.
(9.21-28) Wip vile schoene
nu var du sam mir.
lieb und leide
daz teile ich sant dir.
die wil[e unz ich das leben han
so bist du mir vil liep.
munnest einen boesen,
des engan ich dir niet.

Yet the idea of the lady giving herself into the mercy of her knight is
e entirely alien to the later social and literary convention which decrees
that any such approach must be within formalized limits. Schönbach's
view that this could be a proposal of marriage must appear specious for
the same reason.\(^{12}\) It rather seems that the woman so addressed is
a magedin rather than a trouve and the enjoyment to be derived from
their association erotic rather than minne saelic, inasmuch as the
wooing of a 'low-born' carries the exclusive connotation of sexual
gratification until the time of Walther.\(^{13}\) There is no trace of humility,
no expression of mutuality of affection, nor does the knight proffer ser-
vice or expect equal ardor from her. His sensual experience is the
only goal. In offering to share "lieb und leide" with her, he voices no
chivalric commitment, for as Maurer has proven, the ethical valuation

\(^{12}\) See Anton E. Schönbach, "Beiträge zur Erklärung altdeutscher
(1898), II. Abhdl., pp. 5 f.

\(^{13}\) See Eugen Joseph, Die Frühzeit des Deutschen Minnesangs
(Strassburg, 1896), pp. 10 ff.
of "leide" does not occur until late Minnesang, rather it is a promise to keep away physical hardship or insult from the woman, a promise which is an enticement to a peasant girl but not for a woman from the secure milieu of the upper class. The seemingly true promise of love, a literary convention in all of Minnesang, thus emerges as a parody rather than as a minne-Werbestrophe. The cryptic half-line "wan minnest einen boesen" could logically conclude either a moral or a social sentiment: the knight admits to being 'boese' if he did not behave as a gallant knight should - thereby, of course, facilitating her seduction. The implied jealousy in these verses also occurs, with the exception of Morungen, only in early Minnesang (4.5f; 4.30f; 13.29f), giving rise to the assumption that its introduction on the German poetic scene was due to Romance literature where it was a favorite motif. At the court of Champagne, e.g., Capellanus contends: "Qui non zelat, amare non potest" (Rule XII, "De Regulis Amoris") and "Ex vera

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zelotypia affectus semper crescit amandi" (Rule XXI). Yet even more striking is the similarity of Kurenberc's stanza to the genre of the French pastourelle where the thesis of an essentially sexual encounter incorporates all the devices employed by Kurenberc - the motif of love to the lowly girl, the promise, and the use of euphemisms and irony to achieve the sexual conquest. Here, at least, elopement is clearly alluded to:

(1,19ff)

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Si tost come retornai} \\
&\text{vers la pucelete} \\
&\text{et je l'en porter cuidai} \\
&\text{par davant ma selle.}
\end{align*}
\]

as well as the promise of faithfulness:

(57,52f)

tose, je suis li vostre amis: \\
mon cuer vous otrai a tos dis.

The description of the encounter between knight and lady in Kurenberc's verse is, however, restricted to the woman in most instances.


The poet speaks through her as if to indicate that the expression of tenderness and longing is her domain alone.

In the critical edition of von Kraus, the sequence of poems opens with a Frauenmonolog, voicing the couple's grief at parting as expressed by her. She fears the loss of the knight's minne as result of their imminent separation:


Her open threat (7.15f) to seek public revenge on the liute (probably an allusion to the display of bad temper) if he should leave her indicates that she is more a mate than a subject in matters of affection, and will even break social proprieties rather than acquiesce to loneliness. She does not complain of the state of her liaison as such but only of its failure, since the relationship, fulfilling itself apart from the moral code, diminishes her reputation while enhancing his. The knight is by far less reliable in maintaining this constancy. The need for closeness emanates from her and she, therefore, dominates the relationship emotionally from the outset. Not surprisingly, a Frauenmonolog opens each one of Körenberc's Wechsel.

The Frauenstrophen, which according to von Kraus leave no doubt as to their creation by a single poet, all echo this plaintive
Kürenberc’s insight and sensitivity in projecting the woman’s view as well as her psyche are remarkable; there is no doubt that she is always the one more dependent on the happy outcome of the encounter.

Her desire for reunion is patently erotic:

(8.17–22)  
'Swenne ich stan alleine  
in minem hemede,  
und ich an dich gedenke,  
ritter edele,  
so erbluet sich min varwe  
als der rose in touwe tuot . . .

Similar sentiments are found in 8.25ff and 9.13ff. Stanza 7.1ff, which contains an admonition to the lover, illustrates Kürenberc’s closeness to the vernacular in the use of sententia, popular among the middle class:

(7.1–4)  
'Vil lieben friunt verkiesen  
daz ist schedelich;  
swer sinen friunt behaltet,  
daz ist lobelich.

This proverb had already been voiced in the Kaiserchronik:

(3961)  
guoten friunt alden  
sol man wol behalden . . .

Kürenberc’s lady continues with an allusion to the Dawn Song motif, to be discussed later.²⁰

(7.6–9)  
bit in daz er mir holt s[i,  
als er hie vor was  
und man in waz wir redeten,  
do ich in ze jungeste sach.'

¹⁹ MPF, p. 19.
²⁰ See ch. II C "Dietmar von Aist."
Again the parallel to a similar motif chain in the Provençal literature can hardly be overlooked. In a poem by Guillaume de Poitiers "Ab la dolchor del temps novel," the lover remembers the morning when he settled his quarrel with his mistress and received her ring as token of the resumed relationship.\footnote{Les Chansons de Guillaume IX, ed. Alfred Jeanroy, Les Classiques Francais du Moyen Age (Paris, 1927), pp. 24-26.} However, Kärlenberc's version, in addition, betrays a first glimpse of the German propensity to philosophize some of the truths of the human situation:

\begin{align*}
(7.19-29) & \quad \text{Leit machet sorge} \\
& \quad \text{vil liebe wünne}
\end{align*}

These sententia in their antithetical juxtaposition of vröide and leit are characteristic of the already established literary convention of Altheimische Minnesang, which was not as socially restrictive in scope as the following Minnesang. They also mark the beginning of the Minne-reflexion practiced by most poets. Dietmar's realization that "liep ane leit mac nipt gesin" (39.24) is a direct evolvement showing the increasing abstraction of physical love by the addition of ethical considerations. The purpose of the introductory sententia or maxim, was to provide a leit-motiv for a story to be told:

\begin{align*}
(7.21-26) & \quad \text{eines hübschen ritters} \\
& \quad \text{gewan ich künde:} \\
& \quad \text{daz mir den benomen hant}
\end{align*}
die merker und ir nit,
des mohle mir min herze
nie mere frô werden sit.

The motif of unfaithfulness is further enhanced by the functionally similar one of the merkaere. The failure of the affair is no longer from a lack of staete but because of the intervention of a third party — society — which punishes a violation of its hierarchical rules by a demeaning of the individual's character. Thus the woman is forced to renounce the "hübschen ritter" (7.21) for she never questions the code. The merkaere, as representatives and guarantors of the existing social order, threaten the personal intimacy of knight and lady. Their nit, in effect, robs the lady of her love.22 It is to be noted that these stanzas are already oriented toward a public; they are Gesellschaftsdichtung, since the frouwe does not engage in monologue but addresses a supposedly sympathetic public.23 The presence of merkaere and illegenaere not only provides dramatic tension but prevents consummation, thereby adding to the perpetuation


of the motif in a number of variations, all expressing hope: "der uns
zwei versuonde, vil wol des waere ich gemeit" (9.19).\(^{24}\)

The historical opposite to the *merkaere* is found in the Provençal
gardador. Already Guillaume de Poitiers complains of his inevitable
presence: "Compaigno, non puosc mudar qu'eo no m'effrei,"\(^{25}\) claiming
that the truly virtuous woman hardly requires the presence of a guardian
to remain so. It is uncertain if *merkaere* and *huote* (personal and abstract
representations of virtue were later combined simply as *huote*) were
borrowed from the *troubadour* tradition; Ehrismann, for one, feels that
the typical motif of the guardians of morality makes its appearance
already as a convention in the so-called *trutlieft*.\(^{26}\)

That Klärenberc was aware of an already traditional *frouwen
dienest* is apparent in the *Wechsel* 8.1ff and 9.29ff, yet he does not
follow the established pattern. He disdains to acknowledge the woman
who has been enchanted by his song. He lets her suffer - an impossible

\(^{24}\) Denis de Rougemont contends that the Western psyche demands
that the course of romance always be hindered - otherwise there would
be none. See *Love in the Western World*, pp. 50 ff.

\(^{25}\) *Les Chansons de Guillaume IX*, no. II, pp. 3-5.

\(^{26}\) See Lilli Seibold, "Studien über die Huote," *Germanische
Studien*, 123 (1932), pp. 22 ff., and Gustav Ehrismann, *Geschichte
der deutschen Literatur bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters*, II, Schluss-
band, pp. 218 ff.
situation in the eyes of later minne convention and further support for the possibility that he may be engaged in a liaison below his social standing. In 8.1 the minne of the frouwe is revealed as nothing more than an erotic preoccupation without ethical or formal pretensions.

To her demand that:

(8.7-8) er muoz mir rûmen diu lant
        ald ich geniete mich sîn.

the knight replies mockingly:

(9.31-34) wan ich muoz einer frouwen
        rûmen diu lant
        diu wil mich des betwingen
        daz ich ir holt sî.

Knight and lady do not defer to one another as etiquette would prescribe.\(^27\)

The playing at minne games is entirely absent, the confrontation between man and woman is elemental, and thus quite unique in all of Minnesang. Stanza 8.9ff, which may not be genuine since it is the only stanza in dialogue form, parodies 8.1ff. In content, although bordering at least in sentiment on some of the lyrics of Guillaume de Poitiers, it is implicitly sensuous but never bawdy.\(^28\) In the following 8.17ff, possibly a Frauenstrophe, Kûrenberc paints a delicate genre

\(^{27}\) Max Ittenbach, Der frühe deutsche Minnesang (Halle a. S., 1939), p. 37.

\(^{28}\) See Les Chansons de Guillaume IX, no. III, pp. 5-6.
picture of the pensive woman in her chambers, combining her erotic
dreaming effectively with a first, only symbolic, introduction of nature
where love-making is always possible:

\[(8.19-22)\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{und ich an dich gedenke,} \\
\text{ritter edele,} \\
\text{so erblühet sich min varwe} \\
\text{als der röse in touwe tuot}
\end{align*}
\]

The directness of the allusion reveals how different this artifice is
employed in the German usage; Wilhelm's troubadour canzone "La
nostr'amor vai enaissi / Com la branca de l'albespi"\(^{29}\) is delicate,
the sudden emergence of mutual affection is mirrored in the blooming
of the hawthorn tree. Kürenberc finds a similarly striking picture to
symbolize blooming affection, that of the dewey rose. In 8.23-24
"und gewinnet das herze vil mangen trûrigen muot," the act of trûren is,
characteristically, a manifestation of the woman's view. The poet
himself is not subject to the emotionality or grief to which later
Minnesänger are subject. He projects all suffering into the words
of the frouwe whose sensuality (8.1f) is countermanded by despair
over an impossible situation:

\[(8.27-30)\]

\[
\begin{align*}
daz mich des geluste \\
des ich niht mohte hân \\
noch niemer mac gewinnen. \\
daz ist schedelich.
\end{align*}
\]

\(^{29}\) Les Chanson de Guillaume IX, no. X, p. 25.
thus drawing again on the Provençal convention:

(VII, vv. 19f)\(^{30}\) Per tal n'ai meyns de bon saber
Quar vuela so que no puest aver

The most controversial of Kurenberg's minne songs however, is

the Falkenlied (8.33ff). The reason for the variances in interpretation
are less a matter of scholarly confusion, however, than due to the
uniqueness of the topical treatment.\(^{31}\) Thus a number of themes on
Kurenberg's symbolism have been matched by equally plausible ones,
motivating the dramatic development _per se_.

Excepting the opinion of von Kraus,\(^{32}\) none other has yet pointed
out the specifically erotic function of the song in the poet's minne con-
cept. For it is, in fact, not the mood of 'longing' or the expression
of _hoher mutz_ which provides the ground-note for this Frauenlied or
Wechsel, but the desire for sexual possession sublimated in a courtly
image. The primary approach to date has dealt with a positive identifi-
cation of the falconry symbolism as metaphor or simile, although there

\(^{30}\) Les Chansons de Guillaume IX, no. VII, p. 17. Transl:
If I have less joy than the others it is because I desire that which I
cannot have.

\(^{31}\) For the popularity of the motif see Hennig Brinkmann,
Geschichte der Lateinischen Liebesdichtung im Mittelalter (Halle
a.S., 1925), pp. 18 ff., and Peter Wapnewski, "Des Kurenbegrks

can be no doubt that behind the picture is the desire for erotic proximity as prime mover for the epic development.\(^{33}\)

The falcon has by some been viewed as the representation of a faithless lover or, literally, as messenger: on the other hand, this anthropomorphic interpretation has been criticized as well. It appears however, that the appeal of falconry itself provides the analogy to minne and the associative interplay of metaphors: the bird is sent by the lady on a love errand, after having been trained carefully for one year.\(^{34}\) As a sign of affection she has decorated his plumage, but when seeing him again, she is chagrined to find him even more lavishly adorned with "sidine riemen," possibly by a rival. Though her attempts at winning him again are frustrated, she concludes with a fervent prayer for the reunion of all lovers.


\(^{34}\) Cf. Wapnewski, the falcon 'escapes' (p. 6).
Von Kraus was undoubtedly correct in his reduction of the bird's embellishments to indicators of sexuality, yet the tone of the *Falkenlied* appears to be in an altogether different view with regard toward Eros, specifically, a relinquishing of the proud independence of the lovers. If taken on a metaphoric-erotic plane, the possession of the hunting falcon by the lady (8.33) and his complete submission (8.35) stand in strange contrast to 10.17f, where the haughty tone barely conceals a philosophy of amorous conquest in the heroic tradition. The apparent incongruity is not, however, the result of a break or development in Kürenberc's concept of Eros, but its presentation in a new guise, as *Wandermotiv*, as Wapnewski points out:

> Wie immer man "über die Filiation dieser Stücke denken, wie immer man die Einordnung insbesondere der gewichtigsten unter ihnen nehmen mag: Kriemhild's Falkentraum; das italienische Sonett des 13. Jh., die französischen Chanson des 15. Jhs.; die deutschen Verse aus der Braunschweigischen Reimchronik Heinrichs von Mugeln ... wie skeptisch man immer einen quellenmässigen Zusammenhang beurteilen mag: sie lassen keinen Zweifel daran zu, dass es sich um ein internationales "Wandermotiv" handelt, dessen Kern aus der Gleichsetzung Falke - Geliebter besteht und dessen Stimmung geprägt wird durch die Sorge und die Trauer vor dem Verlust. 36

In comparing 8.33f with these other variants of the *Wandermotiv* it becomes evident that erotic wishfulfilment rather than a new mode of

35 *MFU*, p. 26 and p. 27 (A2).

36 Wapnewski, p. 2.
literary embroidery of courtliness continues as Klurenberc's main theme in the *Falkenlied*, and is thus in keeping with his previously expressed ethos. The epic situation evolving out of the polarity of possession (*vrbide*) and loss (*leit*) is a clearly established sexual reference, enhanced by the act of "schouwen" (stanza 2) as indication of the woman's erotic longing which in itself is, as Milnes has indicated, a surrogate for *vrbide* and thus sexual desire.  

In addition, by extending consideration to similarities in a "Wandermotiv," an equally relevant parallel between *Falkenlied* and *Tagelied* cannot be overlooked. In both, the dramatic interplay of desired or consummated love (*vrbide*) is offset by non-fulfilment or parting (*leit*); the taming of the falcon is followed by his flight - the tryst is followed by dawn and separation. The social proprieties are maintained in that the *Tagelied* renders the physical picture of love in seclusion and after the tryst and the *Falkenlied* presents a metaphorical mirror image of it, yet the intent is sexual in either situation. Therefore the respective birds, falcon and cock, are not only guardians or

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intermediaries of the relationship, but symbols of strong sexual sugges-
tiveness in themselves. This spirit of erotic rather than socio-
ethical motivation leaves little doubt as to the function of woman in
Kürenberc's world. The _Falkenlied_ goes on:

(10.17-20) 
\[ \text{Wip unde vederspil} \\
\text{diu werdent lîhte zam;} \\
\text{swet si ze rehte lucket,} \\
\text{sû suochent si den man.} \]

Women - like falcons - become easy prey for one who is adept
at enticing them, for they will seek their man instinctively. Kürenberc
makes use of a traditional picture, such as the one in the _Kaiserchronik_,
where the Romans after battle recall the time of tournament, falconry
and beautiful women:

(4423-4429) 
\[ \text{An den selben stunden} \\
\text{redeten si von scônen rossen und von} \\
\text{guoten hunden,} \\
\text{si redeten von vederspil,} \\
\text{von ander kurzewîle vil,} \\
\text{sie redeten von scônen frouwen,} \\
\text{an den niene waere} \\
\text{nehainer slahte wandelbaere.} \]

The woman, not as abstruse entity of the _minne_ cult, but as
attainable sexual object, is at the heart of the conversation as the
men discuss their favorite topics after the hunt, yet even here she is

39 Brinkmann alone views the falcon merely as domesticated fowl
of undetermined erotic significance. See _Entstehungsgeschichte des
Minnesangs_, p. 108.
only listed as being 'among' rather than the first of all 'pastimes'. Once the talk turns from general to specific instances of a love affair, however, secrecy is quickly adhered to since it is the only means of safeguarding the personal attachment. Capellanus already advises:

"Amor raro consuevit durare vulgatus" (Rule XIII, "De Regulis Amoris")

and this sentiment re-echoes in the earliest Minnesang poetry:

(3.12-16) Tougen minne diu ist guot,
        si kan geben höhen muot.
der sol man sich vițen.
        swer mit triwen der niht phliget,
        dem sol man daz verwizen.

Kürenberc's 10.7ff also refers to tougen minne which "... einfach durch Ausschaltung der Gesellschaft dem schlichten Gegenüber von Mensch zu Mensch da ist und welche damit der Liebeserfüllung alle Hemmungen aus dem Weg räumt." 40 It is in pursuing Eros rather than minne that Kürenberc neglects social proprieties (9.35ff) which he chooses to observe on other occasions. He can be curt and arrogant to the socially superior lady, but for conquest he is finely attuned to compliments if the situation calls for it (9.21ff; 10.9ff).

Secrecy prevails regardless of the social class of the woman: in 10.1ff the poet voices concern that the woman should always act

40 Peter Schmid, "Entwicklung der Begriffe 'minne' und 'liebe',' ZfdPh, 66 (1941), p. 140.
in a socially acceptable fashion to save herself from leit; equally, in
the Botenstrophe the poet implies that he would have personally liked
to attend to this girl (10.9), who, although so desirable, is either
single or of low birth, and hence not a proper object for 'courtly' minne
at any rate; instead he sends a messenger in order to keep the affair
in secret (10.14). That his interest is again aesthetical rather than
ethical rings out clearly from his admiration for her attributes:

(10.9-16)

Aller wibe wänne
diu get noch megetin.
als ich an si gesende
den lieben boten min,
joh wurbe ichz gerne selbe,
waer ez ir schade niet.
in weiz wiez ir gevalle:
mir wart nie wip als liep.

With 9.21ff, already discussed, this is the only unmistakable
reference in Minnesangs Frühling to love for a woman of low birth.
The attitude displayed toward it is always patently erotic and invariably
reflects the dichotomy of their respective emotions toward it. Klurenberg
draws the mistress with soft and sensuous brushstrokes in keeping with
her trüger muot (8.24) and in contrast with the knight's demanding and
expedient flattery. The epithetic qualities of quot and schoene are not
viewed as conflicting with Eros but as integral part of it. Thus Klurenberg's
hoher muot distinguishes itself from troubadour and trouvere
influence from which a number of literary motifs had been derived.
To summarize then, Kūrenberc's verse, standing at the beginning of *Minnesang*, is marked by traditional as well as foreign influences. The poetry is audience-minded yet singularly unconcerned with courtly propriety and 'expected' behaviour as shown by the knight's deliberate refusal to do minne service as requested. The knight will remain independent at all cost, the lady would tie him into a firm liaison. Minne in terms of its ethical aspirations is secondary to its significance as physical, sexual bond (\(E \rho \omega \varsigma\)) and accepted as thus by both. Kūrenberc's characterization of the psyche of knight and lady with respect to Eros is along inflexible guidelines, however. The knight is cast in the mold of epic heroes: conquest-minded, crafty if required, without humility or a need to express affection. The portrayal of the woman, either of high or low birth, offers the only insight into human nature under the influence of this minne. She provides the feeling, sensuous and emotional balance to the knight's sternness, and it is only through her words that one learns of the nature of their relationship. As yet unaffected by social demands of etiquette, the poet's mention of merkaere nevertheless foreshadows the change minne (\(E \rho \omega \varsigma\)) will undergo with the increasing stratification of the courtly hierarchy.
CHAPTER II

EROS IN TRANSITION

A. Meinloh von Sevelingen

Meinloh von Sevelingen, who as a vassal of the Count of Dillingen stems from Suabia, must be considered as occupying an intermediate position between Klünenberg's uncomplicated love formulation and the sophistication of courtly conduct which was just emerging in verse. He blends distinct elements of both in his own poetry, thereby conveying a multiform picture of Minnesang in its transition.¹

The new conception of minne as humble service to the lady and the proliferation of courtly elements in the vocabulary are due to Romance influence, but the formal structure of the poetry remained unaffected. Considering the small body of verse, there is an astounding variation in the type of expression: Meinloh left Männerstrophen (9.9ff; 9.21ff; 10.1ff; 10.9ff; 10.17ff), Frauenstrophen (7.1ff; 7.19ff; 8.17ff; 8.25ff; 8.33ff (?) and 9.13ff), a Botenstrophe (8.1ff) as well as some gnomic verse reminiscent of Spruchdichtung.² In addition,

²Ibid., p. 331.
the poet displays an as yet rare talent for highlighting "die Verschiedenheit der Grundsituation," especially with regard to the privacy of love and its invasion by society, while avoiding mere stylized repetition.

Whereas Kürenberg paints a momentary genre picture of an amorous situation, Meinloh observes a continuity of development in which Vogt even saw a "fortschreitendes Liebesverhältnis." In view of the chronological placement of these verses, his view as well as that of Jungbluth that Meinloh's work represents an ars dictandi for other Minnesänger appears quite likely. As the following investigation will show, the erotic motivation based on actual experience not solely as "Beiträge zu einem tiefgründigen Gesellschaftsspiel in dem es für die Teilnehmer darauf ankam, das eine vorgeschriebene Thema um immer neue, geistvolle Variationen zu bereichern," is still relevant. Meinloh, in fact, makes a first attempt to bring into meaningful correlation the aesthetic-erotic appreciation of and the ethical approach to the venerated frauwe.

3 op. cit.


6 Jungbluth, p. 119.
It is in the Frauenstrophen that the greatest similarity to the Kurenberg poetry is evident, although social awareness is more pronounced: the frouwe replaces the megetin as center of attraction in every instance. In keeping with the increasing valuation of zuht at court, erotic pursuit is portrayed as more subdued, the blatant agressiveness of Kurenberg’s lady having been replaced by a refined emphasis on dienest. Its introduction as a specific function of Frauendienst is a significant contribution of Meinloh’s to Minnesang, particularly since he imbued it with an altogether new philosophy.

A prior reference to ‘service’ connoting the stern Germanic ethos of dutiful obligation appears in the Kaiserchronik: 7

(8348-50) er inbot der kuniginne
dienest und minne
al daz der sun der muoter inbieten solde.

In similar fashion, Veldeke echoes it in the Eneide: 8

(10795) het ontbudet Lavine Enease den riken
heren dienest inneclike.

In both passages, which are introductions to letters, the offering of dienest expresses filial respect and amorous intent respectively, and goes far beyond the original meaning of vassalage. The formula-like

7 See also Introd., p. 18.
character of this type of offer lies in its salutatory nature ("er inbot" - "ontbudet Lavine") but does not detract from the fact that Meinloh was able to draw on a convention which had already established minne and dienest as termini technici in the literary tradition, particularly in the Latin Ruodlieb, where the association love - service already points to the controlling function of the woman:

Post ait: 'an servum nolim ludio superatum
Tessere quem vici sub talis fenore pacti,
Sen vincat, sen succumbat, soli mihi nubat.
S] erviat obnixe, volo, quo mihi nocte dieque
Quod tanto melius facit, est tanto mihi karus.'\(^9\)\(\text{Frag.XIV,52-56}\)

Whereas the concept of personal indebtedness or service to a female is entirely alien to Kürenberg's view, Meinloh accepts it as a prerequisite to love - a first acknowledgment to the demands of the courtly cult. Thus he sings:

\[(11,14-15)\quad \text{Dir enbiutet } \hat{\text{s}}\text{inen dienest }\]
\[\text{dem du bist, frouwe, als der üp.}\]

and professes increased enjoyment arising from it in the Lied vom Frauenlob:

\(^9\)\text{Ruodlieb, p. 125. Transl.:}
\[\ldots\text{then says: 'Is it possible that I should not want the slave I won in a game, whom I bested in dice, under the obligation of such an agreement that he marry me alone, whether he win or lose? I wish that he serve me steadfastly by night and day, and the better he does it, the dearer he will be to me.'}\]
(13.3-4) \[ \hat{S}t \ ich \ ir \ begunde \ d \ i \ e \ n \ e \ n, \\
\text{si geviel mir ie baz und ie baz.} \]

From here it is a mere step from service to service with design - the erotic implications are clear:

(14.3-5) \[ \text{weistu, schoene frouwe,} \\
\text{was dir ein ritter enböt?} \\
\text{verholne sînen d \ i \ e \ n \ e \ s \ t.} \]

The lady acclaims his knightly virtues, particularly his ability to please:

(14.36-37) \[ \hat{s}o \ wol \ mich \ sînes komenes'; \\
\text{wie wol er frowen dienen kann'} \]

The fact that the lady serves also shows Meinloh's relative proximity to the feudal tradition with a concomitant interpretation of *dienest* as a mutually observed arrangement:

(13.27-31) \[ \text{Mir erwélten mîniu ougen} \\
\text{einen kindesch en man.} \\
daz nîdent ander frouwen: \\
ich hän in anders niht getän, \\
wun ob ich hän gedianet \\
daz ich diu liebeste bîn. \\
dar an wil ich kîren \\
mîn herze und allen den sin. \]

The dalliances over granting or refusing favors are not yet in vogue. In fact, the lady is still obliged to grant *minne lôn* on the same terms as she has accepted *minne dienest*, be this strictly social or intimate. Wooing was on the knight's initiative, the staking of
limits, however, always the prerogative of the lady, as illustrated
as early as the Namenlose Lieder which introduce Minnesangs.

Frühling:

(6.5-8) 'Mir hät ein ritter' sprach ein wip
'gedienet nâch dem willen mîn.
ê sich verwandelôt diu zît
sô muoz im doch gelônet sîn.

(6.11-13) swenn ich in umbevangen hân.
und waerez al der welte leit,
sô muoz sîn wille an mir ergân.'

Both Kürenberc and Meinloh place into the words of women
the complaint over the continually threatened intimate sphere; the
knights are largely passive. Thus Kürenberc's lady:

(7.20-26) eines hübschen ritters
gewan ich künde:
daz mir den benommen hânt
die merker und ir nît,
des mohte mir mîn herze
nie mère frô werden sit.

(9.14-18) 'Ez gàt mir vonme herzen
daz ich geweine:
ich und mîn geselle
mûezen uns scheiden.
daz machent lûgenaere.
got der gebe in leit.'

Meinloh's frouwe is more concerned for her reputation:

(13.14-17) 'Sô wê den merkaeren:
die habent mîn ûbele gedâht:
sie habent mich âne schulde
in eine gröze rede brâht.'
In spite of it, however, the accent placed on the youthful qualities of the favorite (13.28 "ein kindescher man") which "nident ander frouwen" (13.29), leaves no doubt that at the right time the lady will prefer youthful passion (and the danger to her reputation) to proper manners. Significantly, the 

The probability of wrong-doing (in terms of the minne code), and thus the validity of the 

furnishes the 'underground climate' of every minne liaison that Meinloh can conceive of. Invariably this causes him to be caught up in the clash of opposing ideologies: the contemporary minne theory denies sexuality as a perversion of ethical aspirations and is thus pitted against traditional values which advocate the de facto love affair as the best remedy against loose talk (12.1f):

\[
(12.14-17) \quad \begin{align*}
\text{Ez mac niht heizen minne,} \\
\text{der lange wirbet umbe ein \text{"wip.}} \\
\text{die liute werdents inne,} \\
\text{und wirt zefueret dur nit.}
\end{align*}
\]

Paradoxically it is thus not only the natural inclination supported by a tradition of liberality which encourages physical involvement, but
the code of conduct as well. By taking a lover, the woman shares in
the conspiracy and is muted by it, the people will accept the overt
relationship without jealousy, and the problem of "unstaetiugriuntschaft"\(^\text{10}\) is obviated. Only the intimate situation, practiced
by many anyway can succeed against the merkaere:

\[
\begin{align*}
(12.20-26) & \quad \text{wan sol ze liebe gâhen:} \\
& \quad \text{deist für die merkaere guot;} \\
& \quad \text{daz es ëmen werden inne} \\
& \quad \text{ê ir wille sî ergan.} \\
& \quad \text{sô sol man sî triegen.} \\
& \quad \text{da ist gnûogen ane gelungen,} \\
& \quad \text{die daz selbe hânt getän.}
\end{align*}
\]

The lady's defense of the knight against the world, her frank
affirmation of their relationship (13.27f), the "hochgemute Gebärder der freien Entscheidung"\(^\text{11}\) are altogether within this spirit. She is
\textit{wip} first and \textit{frouwe} second voicing her sentiments emotionally yet
unequivocally, as opposed to the tone of the \textit{Männerstrophien}, and
she is aware of her power through Eros. Stanza 14.1ff in particular
establishes the erotic aura already by the setting ("sumer,""bluomen

\(^{10}\) v. Kraus' interpretation of "unstaetiug friuntschaft" as
"nicht erotische Freundschaft" (\textit{MFU}, p. 37) is less plausible than
"Liebe mit Pausen" which brings fear of estrangement with it, see

\(^{11}\) Max Ittenbach, \textit{Der frühe deutsche Minnesang}, p. 111.
alsô rôt") and the secrecy demanded for the first encounter (14.35).

It culminates in the bold assertion that only sexual fulfilment will return peace of mind to the lover:

(14.11-13)  frô enwirt er niemer,
              ê er an dinem arme
              sô rehte güetliche gelît.

This vacillation between two aspects of moral conduct is not resolved. For the poet, physical consummation is still an important facet of the knight's minne education regardless of social sanction and contributes directly to the achievement of hoher muot (14.9).

The ethical precept is twofold: as aesthetic appreciation of beauty and grace personified in the woman it instils staete and triuwe, and as enjoyment through the mutual exchange of affection it results in vroide. In the private sphere Eros takes precedence over minne etiquette, a corollary to which is the admonition never to publicize an old love affair (14.14f) since it impugns the knight's trustworthiness thereby spoiling future conquests (14.24f).

As a first rule of minne conduct Meinloh poses:

(14.22-25)  der dâ wol helen kan,
              der hât der tugende aller meist.
              er ist unnütze lebende,
              der allez sagen wil daz er weiz.
Meinloh's advice is not license for immoral conduct, but an appeal for the separation of minne (amor - ἀγαπάω) and civitas in a society in which this distinction was rapidly being lost.

An altogether new element pertaining to minne and directly related to the problem of vanishing privacy now makes its appearance, as the poet says:

(12.27-30) Ich lebe stolzliche,
in der wêrte ist niemanne baz.
ich trûre mit gedanken:
niemen kan erwenden daz

This reference to trûren points to the gradually increasing "Verinnerlichung" of the minne problem. Meinloh opens the phase of contemplative and philosophical thought in Minnesang.

The state of trûren is for the poet, as it was to a small degree for Kürenberg, a mourning over the loss of physical proximity to the beloved rather than mere longing for a finite state of existence characteristic of Reimar and other Minnesänger of his generation. Meinloh is concerned with the phenomenology and social implications of separation rather than the contemplation of its underlying causes (12.29f); he refers to a melancholic longing, "senelige swaere tragen" (12.6), which Brinkmann views in itself as a forerunner of Hohe Minne: "Beim Kürenberger der kurze Augenblicksschmerz der Trennung, bei
Meinloh schon so etwas wie schleichender Kummer, von klagender Liebessehnsucht genährt. Ist diese Vermutung richtig, dann regt sich hier zuerst das feminine Schmachten, das für den Minnesang von Walther so bezeichnend ist.\(^{12}\) Trüren manifests itself in a variety of contexts. In 11.14ff it is the focal point of a Minnedisskussion in which the lady is admonished to reciprocate the attention which she has been given:

\[
\begin{align*}
(11.24-26) & \quad \text{er hat dur einen willen} \\
& \quad \text{eine ganze froide} \\
& \quad \text{gar umbe ein trüren gegeben.}
\end{align*}
\]

In 12.7f it asserts itself as pride which has been wounded by love's disappointments; in 14.7 there is the grief over separation, conversely in 14.29 the transformation of trüren into joy at the reunion. Küren-berg's simple vroide-leit polarity is not only extended by means of the senelichen varen\(^{13}\) but by a second rule of minne conduct voiced in:

\[
\begin{align*}
(12.11-13) & \quad \text{ich waene, unkiuschez herze} \\
& \quad \text{wirt mit ganzen triuwen} \\
& \quad \text{werden wiben niemer holt.}
\end{align*}
\]


\(^{13}\)For summary of prevailing interpretations on "sêmeliche varen," particularly the substitution of "sûmelich" (mit sûme = slowly) see Jungbluth, p. 109.
Kiwsche retains its ambiguity in this context: to the world it connotes the moral purity of the relationship, to the lover, however, the assurance of personal loyalty. In the amorous encounter secrecy is the first 'natural' rule and kiwsche is its moral sequel.

A parallel in the Provençal De Amore of Andreas Capellanus substantiates the universality of this view at that time:

Praetera generali sit sibi regula comprehensum, quod, quidquid curialitatis ordo deposcit, eiusque doctrina svadet, illud non est ab amantibus omittendum sed sollicitioni studio faciendum. Retinetur quoque amor delectabilia et suavia carnis exercendo solatia, talia tamen et tanta, quae taeiosa non videantur amanti. Sed quoscumque actus vel corporis gestus amator suae cognoverit esse placablesa coamanti, eos pulchre et viriliter studeat exercere.  

(Lib. II, cap. 1)  

Capellanus' etiquette, finding equivalent expression in Meinloh's kiwsches herze, checks erotic impulsiveness without denying it in

Also he should always remember the general rule that lovers should not neglect anything that is prescribed by good manners or breeding, rather they should take great care to follow all these rules. Love may also be retained by the enjoyment of the sweet and delectable solace of the flesh, but only in such fashion that it may never seem wearisom to the beloved. Let the lover strive to perform with grace and manliness ["virility"] any act or deed which he has noticed to be pleasing to the beloved.
order to avoid social ostracism. This is best accomplished by a new concept introduced to Minnesang by Meinloh as Fernliebe. He courts an unknown lady merely on the strength of hearsay, which, of course, he can only do on the basis of information circulating about her at court. This transforms the lovesong into a panegyrical rather than a personal commitment, focusing the emphasis on tugende rather than Eros:

\[(11.1-4)\]

\[\text{D} \hat{\text{o}} \text{ ich dich loben hörte}
\text{dô het ich dich gerne erkant.}
\text{durch dîne tugende manige}
\text{fuor ich ie sende, unz ich dich vant.}\]

The idea already had a precedent in the troubadour lyrics. It may well have originated with Guillaume de Poitiers who proclaims in his song "Farait un vers de dreyt nien": Anc non la vi et am la fort. 15

In like fashion Jaufré Rudel, one of the first troubadours, emphasized the "amor de lonh" (Fernliebe) in his second canzone:

15 "Farait un vers de dreyt nien," in Les Chansons de Guillaume IX, ed. Alfred Jeanroy, Les Classiques Du Moyen Age (Paris, 1927), v. 31, p. 7. Transl.: Although I have never seen her, I nevertheless love her very much.
Amors de terra londhana
per vos totz lo cors midol

and by repeating it in every stanza of his fifth *canzone* as well. In his case the employment of the literary device of *Fernliebe* is said to have biographical reasons. For that reason, no doubt, it served as amplification of erotic wish-fulfilment rather than as etherealization of the feminine mystique (biblical metaphors notwithstanding):

Ben es selh, pagutz de mana,
Qui ren de s'amor guazanha.

Meinloh's *Fernliebe*, on the other hand, is presented in amorous context but supports the didactic function of *minne* nonetheless. The poet sublimes longing in a demand for appreciation on the basis of character:

(11.7-8)
er ist vil wol getiuret, 
den du wilt, frouwe, haben liep.

By honoring him with her love, the lady increases the moral worth of her suitor - foreshadowing the advent of *hohiu minne*.

16"Quan lo rius de la fontana," in *Les Chansons de Jaufre Rudel*, ed. Alfred Jeanroy, Les Classiques Du Moyen Age (Paris, 1924), vv. 9-10, p. 4. Transl.:
Beloved in the far distant country,
All of my heart yearns for you.


18*Les Chansons de Jaufre Rudel*, II, vv. 20-21, p. 4.
Wechssler already traced this philosophy back to its Provençal origins. One basic distinction between the troubadour and the Minnesänger view, however, is the shifting of values. Whereas Rudel appraises his Fernliebe only in terms of physical beauty while disregarding the concept of virtue, Meinloh admires primarily the inner qualities of his lady (11.3ff). In doing so he progresses beyond the Romance school where the literary motif of ennoblement through conduct was not expressed.

The Preislied as well is introduced to Minnesang by Meinloh. This form of poetry had been popular ever since the Classical Age and the poet now amends it to fit the specific requirements of Minnesang. Again it is difficult to pinpoint his source of inspiration, but in view of the already established parallels to the Provence, it appears that he combined the troubadour's admiration for physical beauty with a stermer, morally oriented ethos:

(13.9-10) sist saelic zallen êren,
der besten tugende pfligt ir lip.

19 Wechssler, Das Kulturproblem des Minnesangs, p. 342: "Übe amor! so hast du cortezia zu eigen und alle höfischen Tugenden: pretz e valor, onor e proeza, largueza e franqueza, gen parlar e conoissenza."

Outward physical beauty is relevant only as a mirror of inner perfection:

(15.11-12) si ist édel unde ist schoene, in rehter mâze gemeit.

The introduction of a standard set of 'behavioral virtues' which are expected of every frouwe to make her worthy of attention, forces a sublimation of the erotic motif into increasingly more abstract allusions. The epic scenery and picture-book setting of Kürenberc's style vanishes as the de-eroticized woman ascends her pedestal and "the injection of the ethical quality into courtship poetry removes it now quite distinctly from the aesthetic view of the Provençal poets."  

Two aspects dominate the depiction of Eros in Meinloh's poetry. First, there is a notable shift from the preoccupation with minne as to its consideration as a social and philosophical phenomenon.

Secondly, the relative position of knight, frouwe and society to each other have dramatically changed from the world of Kürenberc. Both changes as well as Meinloh's more polished style are the result of the increasing influence from the West. Most significant is the emerging function of society as sole arbiter of social conduct, a rôle which Meinloh cleverly enlists to advocate the overt, society-

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21 Ittenbach, p. 118.
sanctioned love liaison as opposed to the forbidden, secret one. Erotic encounters outside of the proper social class are no longer mentioned in *Minnesang*. The autonomy of the *frouwe* in matters of *minne* is now assured; the knight must serve in mutual *minne dienest* for her affection. With the introduction of the *Preislied* and the concept of *Fernliebe* these ties are further strengthened. The term *minne* has been broadened to include primarily, references to courtly behaviour and even contemplation (*trüren*), although Eros remains the primary motivating force for *Minnesang*.

B. Regensburg and Rietenburg

With Regensburg and Rietenburg one enters into that part of *Minnesang* investigation which seeks deeper psychological insight and motivation in the blending of native and Romance elements in *minne*. Burdach’s view of *minne* as “uralte, einfache Motive natürlicher Liebe”\(^{22}\) holds as true as Korn's analysis of the lyrics of Regensburg:

> Sie offenbaren das deutliche Bemühen aus dem Erleben heraus zu einer einsichtigen Klärung des eigenen inneren Zustandes zu kommen. Regensburg lässt die Frau erwägen, welches

Glück die Umarmung war, wie der gesellschaftliche gute Ruf ihres ritterlichen Geliebten ihm hohen Mut verleiht, wie die Nelder das Glück vernichten wollen und wie im Herzen der Frau selbst der entschiedene Wille, in der Liebe zu verharren, sich befestigt. Oder der Mann schaut zurück auf einen einsamen Winter, freut sich der Verheissung der Geliebten, klagt über den Neid der Merker und versichert, dass nur sie, die Frau, sein Leid lindern kann. In solchen Liedern erscheint das freudige oder leidvolle Erleben in Beziehung zu seinen bedingenden Ursachen gesetzt, rückschauend sucht der Dichter geschlossene Kausalreihen, die zu dem augenblicklichen Seelen-und Gefühlszustand führten, auf und stellt sie dar. 23

A closer look at the text will reveal that Regensburg views "das freudige oder leidvolle Erleben" as the resultant of the absence of formal dienest. The emphasis is on the personal interrelationship in the native tradition although he employs troubadour convention. "Die Form seiner Lieder bleibt das alte, nicht diskutierende, sondern vergegenwärtigende feiernde Umkreisen des einzigen Gehalts; der Darstellung des idealen Bildes der gelieben." 24 Inasmuch as Regensburg, in particular, stands closer to Kürnberc than to Meinloch in matters of style and philosophy, the character of the frouwe is one of unabashed sensuality rather than jejune courtliness.

23 Korn, Studien über "Freude und Trüren" bei Mittelhochdeutschen Dichtern, pp. 37 ff.

24 Ittenbach, Der frühe deutsche Minnesang, p. 121.
Always within the framework of her didactic function (16.1: "rehte staetekeit") as opposed to the knight's idealism (16.5: "tugenden guot"), she appears wooing and pleading for physical intimacy:

(16.3-4)    wie sanfte ez minem herzen tuot,
             swenn ich in umbevangen hân!

Stanza 18.25ff, however, in particular, illustrates the shift toward the formalized minne liet as the poet dispenses with the intimacy of the ritter-wîp relationship, turning to the public for acclaim:

(19.12-13)  nôch ist min rât
             daz ich niuwe minen sanc.

That this is indeed a 'sign of the times' rather than a choice of the poet's, echoes in the preceding lines:

(19.7-11)    Šit sich verwandelt hät diu zît,
             des vil manic herze ist frô,
             sô wurde ervaeret mir der lîp
taste ich selbe niht alsô,
             der betwungen stât.

In spite of the gradually increasing formalization of love, Regensburg emphasizes that minne is foremost a real consummation in sexual terms rather than service at court. Joy and enjoyment are given and taken with equal abandon by both parties, here the knight:

(16.15-18)  Ich lac den winter eine.
             wol trôste mich ein wîp
diu mir frôide wolde kunden
             vûr bluomen und vûr sumerzît.
For the poet Eros and minne run parallel courses under the watchful eyes of society, a fact which the frouwe acknowledges in sadness (16.8f) or in resentment (16.12f) but always in faithfulness to her gelieben:

(16.23-17.6) \[ \text{Nu heizent si mich mîden einen ritter: ine mac.} \]
\[ \text{swenn ich dar an gedenke daz ich sô guotlichen lac verholne an ëinem arme,} \]
\[ \text{des tuot mir senede wê.} \]
\[ \text{von im ist ein alse unsanftez scheiden,} \]
\[ \text{daz mac mîn herze wol entstên.} \]

Yet, only through the inclusion of the concept of tugende as already introduced by Meinloh and amplified by the addition of Eros can the lovers qualify for Regenburg's idea of hoher mut, lending support to Arnold's contention that already in the tradition "Hohe[r] Mut ist ein psychologisches Ergebnis der liebe und der ëre." 25

Equally important for the integration of the Eros motif and Provençal convention into Minnesang is Rietenburg, the brother of Regensburg. 26 His verse suggests in its form (introduction of Kreuzreim) and topical treatment an increased replacement of the


pre-courtly convention and directness by Western poetic convention. He emphasizes the reward of minne through hardship and sacrifice, thus bringing society and service into close proximity of the personal relationship. That this transition from liberality to stylization is a gradual process, however, is illustrated by stanza 18.1ff in which the unyielding, 'un-courteous' trouwe vehemently acclaims her mate - not her knight:

\[ (18.1-8) \]

'Nū endarf mir nieman wīzen, ob ich in iemer gerne saehe.
    des will ich mich harte vilīzen.
    waz drumbe, ob si von zorne jaehen,
    daz im si iemen alse liep?
    ich lāze in durch ir nīden niet,
    sie fliesent alle ir arbeit:
    er kan mir niemer werden leit.'

The immediately following Preisstrophe makes it clear that hoher muːt is achievable only through service, whereas for Rietenburg it had been through respectability in society, êre and tugende and the trouwe had readily acknowledged her dependence on her fītter (16.2). Western infusion dramatizes a changing in the character of the knight: before, êre and staetekeit were attributive qualities which could be maintained as long as society was deceived regarding the erotic liaison between knight and lady; with the projection of dienest into the forefront, however, the minne service becomes the court's prime
concern, since it was through the adherence to certain rules of conduct that the knight achieved the highest accolade, "hohes gemüete" (18.9).

At this stage the spirit of Minnesang has become highly fashion-conscious. The poet sings because his minneliet has become the artistic vehicle of society's enjoyment rather than one of private sentiment. From this initial beginning it is not all too far to Morungen whose complete estrangement from the original intent of Minnesang approaches an art-for-art's sake philosophy.  

Whereas interpersonal Eros and its implication for personal contact with the opposite sex was still a matter of prime concern for Regensburg, Rietenburg pushes this aspect into the background (as it was in the Provençal poetry). He assimilates troubadour terminology but his unimaginative employment of it is lackluster. "Es ist für deutsche Anschauungen charakteristisch, dass Rietenburc das 'dous rire' und den 'gai solatz,' also gesellschaftliche Vorzüge, durch das weiblicher klingende, in der Tat aber recht farblose 'güete' ersetzt hat." This is because the new dienest provides the basis for a thoroughly unerotic climate in which the poet's personal expression of

27 See MF 133, 17-20.

joy and grief succumbs to the influx of neutral, pat formulae. Whereas the troubadour's equivalent of "guete," "bontat," connotes social-mindedness and joie de vivre of the person thus distinguished, the German equivalent epithet of guete vrouwe now denotes a thoroughly desexualized apparition "die unbeweglich, fast wie ein Heiligenbild, in Ruhe dasitzt und Anmut kaum einmal entfaltet." 29

The demand for continuous rather than intermittent service to the lady at court (staete) has established itself as pattern. Already implied in Rietenburg's 18.12, it is explicit in his

(18.22-24)

ich wil ir niemer abe gegan
und biute ir staeten dienest mein.

The poet projects the graphic but emotionally unappealing picture of the service ideal: the knight who is desirous of serving a certain lady should undergo a catharsis, as gold is purified by fire. Even if his wishes will not be granted thereafter, his ethical worth will have been enhanced by the quest:

(19.17-26)

Sit si wil versusochen mich,
daz nime ich allez fur guot.
sô wirde ich goldé gelîch,
daz man câ brüevet in der gluat
und versûochet ez baz.
bezzer wirt ez umbe daz,
lûter, schoener unde clîr.

29 Wechssler, Das Kulturproblem des Minnesangs, p. 127.
swaz ich singe daz ist wâr: 
gluote si ez iemer mâ, 
ez wurde bezzer vil dan ê.

Again the borrowing from folkloric as well as the Provençal poetry is in evidence, particularly with regard to the fire-gold simile which had already been employed by Peirol, as well as in the awkwardness of literary borrowing which encumbers the style by repetition of the same motif (19.19f; 19.22 and 19.25). The concept of arebeit, a never achieved, always-to-be-completed process, makes the knight reach for the absolute ideal:

\[(18.25-28)\] Ich hôrte wîlent sagen ein maere, 
daz ist mâr aller bester trôst, 
wie minne ein saelic arbeite waere 
und unversuochten nie erkôs.

What Ittenbach refers to as "die ideale Haltung im hûfischen Erziehungssystem" has become for Rietenburg and Regensburg a somber task foreshadowing the hohiu minne of Friedrich von Hausen's complex code of ethical conduct. The old eroticism emanating from the woman almost exclusively, now (18.1ff), changes under social pressure and introduces a new vocabulary of erotic meaning which is concealed in spiritualized and stylized abstractions.

\(^{30}\) See Luderitz, pp. 48 ff.

\(^{31}\) Ittenbach, p. 132.
The body of verse attributed to Regensburg and Rietenburg is small, yet sufficient to demonstrate the gradual infusion of Provençal elements into minne poetry. The result is an admixture of native and foreign literary elements in accounting for the phenomenon of minne. For both poets minne in terms of sexual attraction is still center of focus; however, the minne-Eros relationship is regretfully conceded to be public domain. There can be no privacy in matters of love. Adherence to the spirit of tugende and ëre rather than its mere projection for the sake of public deception marks a break with the attitude taken by Kërenberg and Meinloh. Literary borrowings from troubadour literature are as yet artless but already foreshadow the suppressive effect of the Provençal view of minne ethos on the native minne (ëqwç) tradition.

C. Dietmar von Aist.

The ambiguity surrounding the figure of Dietmar von Aist stems from the fact that although some historical information is available, the literary work reflects a number of idiosyncracies which point to the existence of two poets instead. There is, however,

32 See de Boor, Die Höfische Literatur, pp. 244 f.
documentary proof for the existence of a Dietmar von Aist for the years 1139 to 1161 in the southeastern part of Germany.

The pseudo-Dietmar, author of 37.4ff; 37.18ff and 39.18ff, which are characterized by archaic form as well as ethos, relates directly to the unsophisticated attitude of the Kürenberg minne philosophy, and must be considered separately from the rest. The stanzas credited to him reflect a strong topical resemblance to the Cambridge Songs of the 11th Century, in which the motif of the yearning woman is a simple expression of erotic love. A claim for a direct connection between 37.4ff, 37.18ff and these Frauenklagen does not convince, however, primarily because of the different social milieu, yet undoubtedly Minnesang availed itself of motifs of a time-honored poetic form in order to camouflage its own erotic intent without offending social etiquette.

Stanzas 37.4ff and 37.18ff give voice to the elemental grief of the frouwe who is devoted to her knight in unmistakable personal love. In topical proximity to Kürenberg's wise 8.33ff, the falcon reappears, winging his way to the forest and freedom - a symbolic escape which is denied to the frouwe by personal enmity:

\[33\] See Alfred Romain, Die Lieder Dietmars von Eist (Halle a.S., 1911), pp. 81 f and Walter de Gruyter, Das Deutsche Tagelied (Leipzig, 1887), pp. 3ff.
(37.10-15) du erkiust dir in dem walde
einen boum der dir gevalle.
alsô hân ouch ich getân:
ich erkôs mir selbe einen man
den erwelten miniu ougen
daz nident schoene vrouwen.

The pre-courtly ideal with its emphasis on the woman's erotic wish-
fulfilment rather than formalized demeanor is supported not only by
this traditional Wandermotiv but also by the control she asserts over
her world: she actively seeks the relationship with the man (37.6),
exposing herself to the enmity of her own kind, in turn. Emotions
thus never range far beyond the erotic momentum.

The dichotomy of personal disappointment and great admiration
which she has for him nevertheless, are poignantly expressed in 37.18.
The frouwe's use of endearments (to cover her jealousy) and her
exhortation are well established epic convention:

(37.23-25) min trût, â du solt dîh gelouben
anderre wibe:
wan, helt, die solt du miden.

In the Natureingang, a stylistic advance over Kurenberc's Naturbild,
nature and the love lament are integrated: the somber expression of
loss is paralleled by an equal loss in the beauty of nature. "Natur
ist . . . nur Ausdrucksmöglichkeit des menschlichen Gefühlsls und

34Cf. Ruodlieb, Frag. XVII, p. 137.
Sie wird nur von diesem aus erlebensfähig . . . zunächst oft noch ohne einen sprachlichen Ausdruck der Beziehungsetzung, sozusagen parataktisch als Spiegelbild dem unmittelbaren Gefühlsausdruck vorangestellt.°

Once again, as with Kürenberg, minne is determined to be an emotional rather than a cerebral expression of love.

This attitude precipitates clearly in 39.18ff, the first of a number of Tagelieder in Minnesangs Frühling, in which, as Hatto says "by presenting their public with a pair of lovers at dawn, poets seem to achieve much at one stroke, saving by suggestion a deal of description. It is by what they omit, as much as what they add of events before and after dawn, or how they follow up and elaborate this striking opening, that poets reveal their attitude."° The influences of Provençal poetry on the German dawn song was refuted by Bartsch primarily on the strength of 39.18 and an anonymous poem written in the Austro-Bavarian manner, both of which lack refrain and watchman

35 de Boor, Die Höfische Literatur, p. 245.


37 See Karl Bartsch, Die Romanischen und Deutschen Tage-
lieder (Freiburg, 1883), pp. 4 ff.

38 Carmina Burana, I, ed. Alfons Hilka and Otto Schumann (Heidelberg, 1930), No. 183a, p. 308.
of the *alba*. However, it is most unlikely that the new concept of
*minne dienest* did not emulate the *alba* as well, especially since it
provided such a ready literary vehicle for erotic directness which was
characteristic of the German epic tradition.

In the Provençal *alba* the lovers invariably met in the open
air under a tree identified as a fixed prop of the tête-à-tête. By con-
trast the deeper erotic meaning of the tree in the German genre originated,
according to Hatto, in the lower social strata. The *linde* as center
of the village social activity was the scene of the rendezvous for
wooing and pairing off - in its simplest sexual connotation. The argu-
ments that such blatant sexuality could not be brought into agreement
with the views of the aristocracy of the *Minnesang* are merely

39 Dietmar's cryptic 39.19 "man weckt uns leider schiefe"
has given rise to a number of divergent interpretations of "(m/w/-)an";
thus as particle (Paul); as alemannic for "man," i.e. watchman (Scherer)
but also as verb "ich waen" by Jungbluth who summarizes the prevailing
views in "Zu Dietmars Tagelied," in *Festgabe fuir Ulrich Pretzel*,
ed. Werner Simon et al. (Berlin, 1963), pp. 118-27.

40 Arthur T. Hatto, "The Lime-Tree and Early German, Goliard
and English Lyric Poetry," *MLR*, 49 (1954), pp. 193 f. Also see
Dmitri Scheludko, "Zur Geschichte des Natureingangs bei den Troba-

41 Korn, *Studien über "Freude und Tränen" bei Mittelhoch-
deutschen Dichtern*, pp. 8 f.
specious in view of similar motif borrowings of later periods, where the 'playing at bucolic games' only served as subterfuge for erotic activity.  

Dietmar's liet (ca. 1165) establishes the German pattern: the lovers lie under the linden tree, the lady observes a little bird, a nightingale, which wakens the knight; he departs, leaving her to bemoan her fate. Again a central symbolism attaches to the image of the bird. As has been variously observed, the aristocratic class of Provence as well as Germany avoided the literary use of theock in spite of its image of proud fighter and biblical harbinger.  

For one, there was the social allusion - the cock crowing from the manure heap starts the peasant's day - for another, it was also the symbol of lust and adulterous conduct. To these Hatto adds the valid

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42 For parallels in the epic tradition see especially Eilhart's Tristant (1.3352, 3463, 8249) in Eilhart Von Oberge, ed. Franz Lichtenstein (Strassburg, 1877), and Ulrich's Lanzelet (1.4215) in Ulrich von Zatzikhoven, Lanzelet, ed. Karl August Hahn (Berlin, 1965).

43 In addition to the Passion of Christ etc., there is frequent reference to the cock in Church hymns, such as the Ambrosian "Aeterne rerum conditor" of the Fourth Century; cited from Eos, p. 276:

Praeco dies iam sonat
noctis profundae pervigil
nocturna lux viantibus,
a nocte noctem segregans.

The herald of the day is now calling
keeper of vigil in deep night
the light in darkness for wayfarers
parting night from night.
political reason, that the safety of the feudal community could not be entrusted to the cock's erratic crowing, thus causing his banishment from the 'dangerous' literary scene as well. Instead, the reference to sexual congress was again hidden euphemistically, its character purposely sketchy as "vogellîn so wol getân." The lyrical qualities associated with the bird stamp him as a symbol of Eros for "on a lower plane the discreet outward appearance of the nightingale, together with the passion of his song, well express the style of a clandestine amour." The Minnesänger has now found an ideal representation for his erotic interests, an outwardly insignificant bird, lacking the notoriety associated with cock or cuckoo.

(39.18-25)
'Sil'fist du, friedel ziere? man weckt uns leider schiere: ein vogellîn so wol getân daz ist der linden an daz zwî gegân.' 'Ich was vil sanfte entslâfen: nu rüfestu kint Wäfen. liep âne leit mac niht gesîn. swaz du gebiust, daz leiste ich, friundin min.'

Again the central topic is the irreconcilability of volition and duty (39.24), a dichotomy which runs through the entire literature of the Middle Ages, as the enjoyment of 'natural' love finds its antithetical

44 Eos, p. 794.
equivalent in the 'unnatural' restraints provided by society. Certain parallels to the alba tend to point out the independent development of the German tageliet despite these correspondences, as a comparison of Dietmar's 39.18 with a Provençal counterpart will illustrate:

I. En un vergier sotz fuella d'albespi
   Tenc la dompna son amic costa si,
   Tro la gayta crida que l'alba vi.
   Oy Dieus, oy Dieus, de l'alba tan tost ve.

II. Plagues a Dieu ja la nueitz non falhis
    Nil mieus amicx lonc de mi nos partis
    ni la gayta jorn ni alba no vis'  

III. Bels dous amicx, baizem nos yeu e vos
     Aval els pratz, on chantols auzellos,

IV. Bels dous amicx, fassam un joc novel
    Yns el jardi, on chanton li auzel,  


46 Cited in excerpts from Eos, p. 358, which credits it to Fonds francais 856, fol. 383, Bibl. nat., Paris. Transl.:

I. In an orchard under a leafy hawthorn,
   the lady holds her lover,
   Until the watchman cries that he has seen the dawn.
   Oh God! Oh God! The dawn! How soon it comes.

II. Would to God that the night might never end,
    My lover never leave me
    And the watchman never see either day-break or day...

III. Fair, sweet friend, let us kiss, you and I,
     Down in the meadows where the little birds are singing...

IV. Fair, sweet friend, let us seek new delights,
    Within the garden where the birds sing...
The anonymous Provençal poem above differs from Dietmar’s in the degree of its audience-orientedness. Whereas the German audience is left to draw its own conclusions from the minne liet, the alba seems to anticipate a stage play with the poet himself entering upon the scene after the knight’s departure to summarize the effect the alba was intended to convey: (V) "La dompna es agradans e plazens" – the lady is gracious and charming. Frequent expletives and references to the world of sight and sound enhance the impression that this amour is a matter for public presentation, whereas Dietmar is less explicit, more given to stylization and thus maintains the erotic aura of a liaison on an intimately personal level, opposed to the public. The Provençal lady is stylish and ostentatious in her lament; she is cast in a dramatic role in which she has no need of her lover’s repartee since the entire encounter is public. Dietmar, on the other hand, lets the lovers share in the separation equally: the man conveying the ethical sentiment ("liep âne leit mac niht gesîn") and the woman the emotional aspect of their trûren ("owê du fuérest mîn frôide sament dir!").

It is, thus, only in the situation, the motif of dawn and departure, that the alba and the tagellet coincide. The projection of the erotic motif as such experiences a dimension of sensitivity in the German lyric which is entirely lacking in its Provençal counterpart.
The poet known as the original Dietmar or as Dietmar II, reveals himself from the outset as a man of two worlds. The frank expression of erotic desire, which is characteristic of all of his poems, undoubtedly places him within the influence of the Altheimische Tradition:

(35.5-8) Ich hân der frowen vil verlân,
dâ ich niht herzeliebe vinden kunde.
swaz ich fröiden ie gewan,
deist wider disse liebe ein krankiu wunne.

But ranging beyond this is the consistently voiced concern for the implications of such conduct and an extensive elaboration of it. Dietmar is the first poet to treat the views of both knight and frouwe as equally valid although, of course, the conventions of insistence and refusal continue to dominate their exchange. The reason for this is that both parties are seemingly drawn together in an alliance against the force which rules their lives — minne.

Minne, more specifically, the physical aspect of Eros, is considered a disease to which both are equally vulnerable. The man's traditional aloofness falls, the woman speaks with uncommon frankness of her desires. Minne as a pathological phenomenon strikes with insomnia and trüren. Also, minne, for the first time in Minnesang
is personified, and She attacks with all the cunning of the sex through
which She is embodied:

(32.9-12) Sô al diu werlt ruowe hât,
sô mag ich eine entslâfen niet.
daz kumt von einer frauwen schoene,
der ich gerne waere liep.
an der al mîn frôide stât.
wie sol des iemer werden rât?
joch waene ich sterben.
wes lie si got mir armen man
ze kâle werden?

The entire cycle of poems is compacted around the polarity of
enjoyment (amplified by nature minne motifs and reminiscences of
both lovers) and its ethical ramifications. The nature of this enjoy-
ment and its account by Dietmar warrants a closer inspection.

At the beginning of 32.1ff is the implication of a lengthy and
soul-searching inquiry into the nature of the love situation by the
frouwe. As she and her lover part they have no answer to the question
"'Waz ist für daz trûren guot, daz wîp nâch lieben manne hât?!' (32.1),
only the unhappy assurance that theirs is a painful state of existence
beyond their immediate control:

(32.5-8) 'Genuoge jehent daz grôziu staete
sî der besten frouwen trôst.'
'des enmag ich niht gelouben,
sît mîn herze ist un_erlôst,'
alsô redeten zwei gelieben,
dô si von ein ander schieden.
'owê minne,
der dir âne mbûte sîn, daz waeren sinne.'
The five stanzas comprising 33.15ff through 34.18ff, all composed in the same Ton, illustrate the compelling quality of this minne "affliction" by showing in contrast its harmonious relationship with nature. Two stanzas open with a Natureingang (33.15ff, 34.3ff), another establishes the consonance of the two in the body of the stanza (34.11ff).  

Stanza 34.3ff in particular, emphasizes the very real aspect of physical love in these surroundings. The account in its sketchy and buoyant manner is reminiscent of the Vagantenlyrik:

(34.3-10)

\[
\text{Üf der linden öbené} \\
\text{dâ sanc ein kleinez vogellûn.} \\
\text{vor dem walde wart ez ût:} \\
\text{dô huop sich aber daz herze mûn} \\
\text{an eine stat dâ'z ê dâ was.} \\
\text{ich sach die rôse bluomen stân:} \\
\text{die manent mich der gedanke vil} \\
\text{die ich him zeiner frauen hûn.}
\]

Brinkmann takes this particular poem as basis for differentiating between the characters of man and woman respectively:

Dem Manne kommt noch die Verhaltenheit des germanischen Menschen zu . . . . Er bleibt beherrscht, Glied der Erfahrungswelt und im Einklang mit ihr. (p. 154f)


Ihr Verlangen ist starker und ihr Bekennen darum offener. Was in seinen erinnernden Worten nur zart und zeichenhaft angedeutet war, spricht sie nun wirklich aus: dass sie einmal in den Armen des Geliebten ruhte und seitdem unablässig nach seiner Liebe verlangt. (p. 153)⁴⁹

Although the characterization for the woman is true, that of the man is far less inflexible as Brinkmann would have it. Particularly, when the knight remembers his lady, he does so in sentimental terms which appear to refute rather than affirm his relative position in the Germanic Erfahrungswelt. Thus, just as the summer tends to evoke happy memories in Dietmar, so the imminence of winter elicits the fervent wish "daz ein wip getroste minen senden muot." (38.18+19) and even more explicitly:

(39.35)  
(40.1+2)  

der winter und sin langiu naht  
di ergétzen uns der besten zít,  
swà man bì liebe lange liht.

Equally eloquent, the frouwe complains of her enforced sexual abstinence caused by their separation:

(34.11-12)  
'Ez dunket mich wol ûsent jâr  
daz ich an liebes arme lac.

This undercurrent of barely concealed sensuality surfaces at the end of a number of Dietmar's poems as well, usually in a veiled plea for love:

(37.2) nu nim mich in dine genade

(33.23-24) Ich bin dir lange holt gewesen, frouwe biderb unde guot

(33.29-30) manchst duz ende guot, sô hast duz allez wol getân.

What distinguishes Dietmar from his predecessors, however, is that these expressed desires are extensively contemplated. The exchange between knight and frouwe over the relative merits and obligations of their affair marks a beginning tendency in the Minnesang to justify sexual conduct in terms of its ethical effects on the individual as well as on his standing in society.

This is particularly apparent in the poet's remembering the pleasure of the lady's company which in turn, causes him to extol her function as his 'moral guide':

(33.26-28) du hast getiuret mir den muot, swaz ich din bezzer worden sê, ze heile müeze ez mir ergân.

- as well as his lover who has taken him "in ir getwanc" (38.33):

(38.34-35) der bin ich worden undertân, als daz schif dem stierman,

(39.1-3) swanne der wâc sîn unde sô gar gelâzen hât. sô hûh òwî! si benîmt mir mange wilde tât.

Remarkably, this emancipated status of the frouwe is arrived at through insight on the part of both rather than through the pressures
brought on by the granting or the refusal of *hulde*. It marks a relationship which seeks a relevancy unconcerned with the maintenance of secrecy or social interference. In fact, the element of social coercion is never at issue for Dietmar. The emphasis is on the meaning of *staete* (38.11) for the personal involvement and *tugente* (34.34; 39.4f) for the outside world (36.14ff, 32.5f, 33.7ff).

This reversal of the customary pattern of courting reshapes the entire *minne* situation for Dietmar: having already enjoyed the pleasures of their love (for which the uncontrollable nature of *minne* must serve as an extenuating plea), knight and *frouwe* now proceed to reinforce the meaningfulness of their relationship with an ethical framework.

(35.32-36.4) 'Swer mëret die gewizzen mî, dem wil ich dienen, obe ich kan; und wil doch mannen fremede sin, wänd ich ein sende herze hân; ez waere mir ein grôziu nôt, wurd er mir âne mäze liep; so taete sanfter mir der tôt, liez er mich des geniezen niet.'

In the concept of *dienest*, here expressed by the *frouwe*, the poet is the first to integrate the fulfilment of erotic motivation into an ethical code of conduct, a synthesis which was not to be attempted again until the emergence of Veldeke.
To summarize, as has been pointed out, the verses of Dietmar I combine the uncomplicated *minne* (*minne*) concept of Kärenberc with a more sophisticated stylistic approach. In addition, the static *Naturbild* has been replaced by the *Natureingang* which offers greater breadth in preparing for the subsequent *minne* situation; it effectively mirrors the emotions of the *frouwe* whose aggressive attitude in love matters overshadows that of the knight altogether. Of special import for the continued presence of the erotic motif in *Minnesang* is the first *tageliet* (38.18ff) which, greatly influenced by the Provençal *alba*, blends courtly and traditional native elements (the ethical problem of volition and duty; the bird symbol). But whereas the *troubadour* poet presents a dramatic production geared to audience appeal, Dietmar's *tageliet* remains individual expression of the intimate situation to which society is entirely ancillary.

Dietmar's II conceptualization of *minne* (*minne*) rises from entirely different premises. The extensive contemplation of physical *minne* by both knight and *frouwe* is not intended as justification of conduct but stems from the realization that the erotic force is a sickness ("kraniku wunne") which must be born as decreed by fate.
This obviates any need for moral soul-searching. Just as nature is in harmony with minne (έρως) so man must accept physical love as integral part of his moral and ethical maturing.
CHAPTER III

THE CONFRONTATION OF EROS AND SPIRITUALIZED MINNE

FRIEDRICH VON HAUSEN

With the advent of the type of Hohe Minne represented in the poetry of Friedrich von Hausen, the spectrum of the courtly love experience and with it the function of Eros reaches its greatest multiplicity as shown by the variety of themes. First, there are the poems which, in the fashion of the new Minnesang court and glorify the frouwe and bemoan her recalcitrance. On a different level are those songs in which Hausen opens to view the dilemma of the duality of chivalric obligation - pleasing God and Woman - without finding an equitable solution. Finally those, which purport to resolve this conflict by rejecting Frauenminne and avowing Gottesminne in accordance with the gradualistic ordo.

Thus there is a gradual shift in emphasis from the portrayal of joy or desired union to a contemplative groping for the meaning of minne in one's life. The concern of poetic expression is no longer solely a passionate preoccupation with mundane love matters but a
search in subdued and refined diction for its spiritual implications.
The very nature of the tradition is undergoing a change: whereas the
Altheimische Minnesänger tended to see in minne a form of service
for achieving the concrete love experience, Hausen begins to view
adherence to the spirit of the code of minne without denying Eros as
the true goal in itself. Wessels succinctly summarizes the implica-
tions of this spiritual aspect for the new poetry:

Dem Gesang der hohen Minne war es vorübergehend gelungen,
im Bild der Kreatur den Schöpfer zu erkennen und sich ihm
zu nähern. Hausen z.B. singt, Gott habe die geliebte Frau
mit Schönheit ausgestattet und ihm den Gedanken eingegeben,
sie in sein Herz zu schliessen. So wird Gott zum tragenden
Untergrund der hohen Minne, die als ein bonum, als Quell
der Sittlichkeit gefasst wird; denn die Minne lehrt jene
Selbstbeherrschung, jene Verzichtbereitschaft, die den
Charakter stählt und nicht nur dem Ritter, sondern auch dem
Christen zugute kommt. ¹

Just as the epic literature of the last decades of the 12th
Century began to reflect man's spiritual crisis in relating his own
volition to God and society, so minne poetry too searches for similar
answers among its different topoi. ² With Hausen, hohiu minne

¹ P.B. Wessels, Der Höfische Ritter, Ein Wanderer Zwischen
Zwei Welten (Nijmwegert & Utrecht, 1952), p. 11.

² The problematic of Der Arme Heinrich, Erec and Parzifal
raise substantial doubt regarding Hans Naumann's contention of the
inner self-assurance and optimism of the entire period. See Hans
Naumann and Günther Muller, Höfische Kultur (Halle a. S., 1929),
p. 9 ff.
undoubtedly reaches a high ethical plateau, in spite of the fact that an actual separation of an erotic and a strictly intellectual conceptualization of minne is unrealizable. Both aspects continue side by side, although Hausen's emphasis gradually shifts from the aesthetic appreciation to the didactic function of minne.

The fact that the erotic motif remains viable is due to the influence of troubadour poetry. Their philosophy required love poetry, as a literary sublimate of sensual wishfulfillment, to convey a preceptive morality without negating Eros and this continues as the groundswell of all of Hausen's poetry as well.

On the question of the function of Eros within this type of poetry, Maurer considers biographical considerations to be negligible.³

However, there is for Hausen the question of the validity of a thematic grouping as opposed to one of chronology advocated by Brinkmann.⁴ The latter based his conclusions for poem-dating on aspects of form and structure, such as rhyme scheme, cadences and topical similarities and supported them with a sophisticated analysis


of literary indebtedness to Hausen by Horheim, Gutenburc and Veldeke.
The resulting scheme was inconsistent with any thematic grouping as

\[ \text{e.g. Brinkmann's chronological numbers 4 and 5 (49.13ff; 51.13ff)} \]

shared formal characteristics with the sequentially disparate numbers

\[ 15 \text{ and } 16 (48.23ff; 48.32ff) \]

while the supposedly early number 6

\[ (45.37ff) \]

actually presents the gradualistic solution of conflict

characteristic of Hausen's last group of poems. \(^5\)

This obvious incongruity recommends a thematic rather than

a chronological grouping for this study. Yet it must be understood

that this approach does not purport to trace Hausen's artistic develop-

ment on the strength of one *topos*, the functioning of Eros. The lack

of detailed information on the poet does not permit one to study his

poems as biographical markers; they are rather a chain of representa-

tive views on _minne_ by society. For Hausen as for his predecessors

the measure of artistic skill is not originality of thought but variation

of the time-honored literary _minne_ conventions. His extensive travels

in the West, including a conjectured stay at the court of the Empress

Beatrix in Burgund, exposed him extensively to the _troubadour_

\(^5\) For detailed critique, see Friedrich Maurer, "Zu den Liedern

Friedrichs von Hausen," Neophilologische Mitteilungen, 53 (1952),

pp. 152 ff.
philosophy of amors. In assimilating the Provençal lyrical formalism as well as its topoi, he introduced the tradition of Macabru with all its problems, metaphoric devices and possible solutions to German Minnesang and, being a person of considerable social prestige, influenced his contemporaries Veldecke, Bliiger von Steinach, Friedrich von Leeningen, Herger and others.

The implications of Hausen's literary indebtedness again raise the question of 'echte Dichtung' relevant to the erotic motif. Maurer views the problem as follows:

Dies würde aber bedeuten, dass der Dichter zu jeder Zeit etwa das Thema 'Hoffnungsloses Werben' oder 'Gnädige Herrin' oder 'Gottesminne und Frauenminne' zum Vorwurf nehmen und seine Form finden kann; ja dass sogar die Lösung des Themas 'Gottesminne und Frauenminne' in ihren verschiedenen Möglichkeiten, also gradualistische Lösung oder verzweifelte Unfähigkeit zur Lösung, schmerzvolle Zerrissenheit oder entsagender Verzicht u.a. vorgeformt und daher


7 Hausen's political career exposed him continually to Romance influence. Well documented is his position as member of the imperial familia which led to his participation in the meeting between Emperor Heinrich VI and King Philipp II in 1186 at Mouzon – Ivois (France), and his function of royal iudicator in the legal disputes regarding the Count of Hennegau. See Rieckenberg, pp. 168 ff.
jeder Zeit neu formbar, als formkünstlerische Leistung denkbar
ist . . .Das braucht noch nicht einmal zu heissen, dass echte
Erlebnisse, die den Dichter ausmachen, fehlen müssten.
Gewiss wird man manchem der Formkünstler des Minnesangs
Namen und Charakter des Dichters in diesem tieferen (und
modernen) Sinn absprechen; aber dass auch diese mittelalter-
liche Formkunst indirekt vom dichterischen Erlebnis getragen
sein kann, dass auch sie in diesem Sinne "echte Dichtung"
ist, begreift man, wenn man verstanden hat, wie diese in der
formalen Tradition lebenden Strophen mittelbar, unter
Verwendung der überlieferten Stücke die Empfindungen und
Erlebnisse ihres Dichters aussprechen. 8

In this context, the chronology which, according to Brinkmann,
is inevitably coupled to the interpretation of the poet's artistic develop-
ment, 9 is of secondary relevance here: Hausen varies a predetermined
repertoire of literary topoi, and a thematic grouping of his poems offers
the best approach to the subject at hand.

The opening poems, in their very individualistic formulation,
reveal the poet to be still in sympathy with the early tradition, although
a terseness of diction and refinement of expression hint at the Romance
influence. 10 These signs become increasingly prominent: the


9 Brinkmann, "Friedrich von Hausen," p. 3.

10 The Provençal poets to whom Hausen appears to be indebted
include Folquet de Marseille, Conon de Bethune, Bernard de Venta-
dorn, Gace Brulé and possible Chretien de Troyes (See MPU, pp.
392 ff); of these, Rieckenberg (see FN 6) suggests even personal
acquaintance between Hausen and Folquet, Conon, Guiot and Brulé.
traditional awareness of the knight as man first and courtier second is gradually supplanted by the troubadour's view. Now the knight's self-assurance defers to the will of the lady; she in turn undergoes a gradual metamorphosis from approachable female to a representation of the Divine Beauty incarnate who rejects any approach by the knight, be it emotional or physical. Hausen removes her altogether from human intercourse and thus from identification with personal, ego-centric motives.

Trüren pervades the emotional sphere as a state of being rather than as the episodic and tangible grief experienced by Kürenberg, Meinloh or Dietmar; conversely, vroide is reduced to serving primarily as expression of philosophical speculation within the 'unquestioned service' concept.

At the beginning there are three poems, 48.23ff, 49.13ff, and 48.32ff which stand markedly closer to the traditional ethos, in that Eros and its manifestations are undisguised and function autonomously. They are followed by those which were strongly influenced by the troubadour example resulting in the displacement of Eros to the subliminal strata and increasing spiritualization: 49.37ff, 50.19ff, 43.28ff, 51.13ff, 51.33ff, 44.13ff, 52.37ff and 42.1ff + 43.7ff.
Thirdly, there are those poems marked by further depersonalization through *gottes minne*, 45.37ff, 47.9ff and 48.3ff, all of which will be analysed sequentially.

1. First Encounter: Traditional Eros and Western Form.

   It seems again appropriate to detail the purpose for the study of Eros, particularly since with Hausen the erotic element is often suppressed and physical consummation is never actively pursued. De Boor characterizes this particular approach as a "Zergliedern der inneren Erfahrung, die dieser Dichtung bei aller grundsätzlichen Erlebnishaftigkeit das Theoretisierende, kühl Distanzierte der bewussten Selbstbeobachtung und Selbstanalyse gibt."\(^{11}\) But does this emphasis on reflection rather than experience conflict with the thesis of erotic motivation in Hausen's lyrics? Neumann, at least, insists that moral and ethical aspects supplant the sexual implications of courting entirely. He contends that "die zum Wunschbild erhobene, in ihrer Sonderart undurchschaubare Frau vom unglücklichen Liebhaber umkreist [wird] der in erfolglosem Werben seine seelische und

\(^{11}\) de Boor, *Die Höfische Literatur*, p. 256.
körperliche Gestalt zu einer Wunschform zu entwickeln sucht."\textsuperscript{12} This view now emphatically places the motivation and the mere act of courting rather than the basically erotic union, into the center of discussion.

Recognizing the significance of the latter aspect, as well as the Romance example, Wechssler amends this and states more positively that "Hoffnung . . . erfüllt und trägt als positives lyrisches Thema einen grossen Teil des gesamten Minnesangs."\textsuperscript{13} He is seconded by de Boor's statement that "im unverdrossenen Ertragen und Ausharren, im Ringen danach, der Geliebten wert zu werden, erzieht sich der Mann zu mäze und Beständigkeit. Die spiritualisierte Minne verkörpert sich in der umworbenen frouwe, die den Lohn in Händen hält. Dieser bleibt erotisch, das letzte Ziel ist die liebende Hingabe, doch wagt man es kaum noch auch nur verhüllt auszusprechen."\textsuperscript{14}

That Hausen continues this tradition despite the progressive stylization through the Western literature is plain in 48.23ff, No. 15 of Brinkmann's sequence, which shares striking similarities with the


\textsuperscript{14} de Boor, \textit{Die Höfische Literatur}, p. 255.
traditional erotic frankness of Kurenberc and Dietmar, although Hausen's philosophy is decidedly more complex. There are no theoretical minne elaborations. The single stanza in its "epische Haltung" and "verhüllende Art des archaischen Stils" presents the lady's traditional anonymity in a setting reminiscent of the Dawn Song motif. There are no strikingly sensuous images, yet the circumstances are unmistakably erotic: a "harte schoene wip" (48.24), the source of the poet's vröide, visits him in his dream; when he awakens at daybreak (48.25) she vanishes and he blames his eyes for her disappearance (48.30).

The eyes are for Hausen the organs of world cognition par excellence, as transmitters from the sensed world to the heart of the knight, they are directly responsible for the effects of minne on him.

These complex mechanics of the Body (eyes) - Soul (heart) interaction are particularly prominent with Hausen and, as Ehrismann observes, the veiled allusions are traditionally of erotic import:

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16. Hausen employs both figurative as well as actual secrecy for his lady; see also the 'cloaked' lady of 43.1.

17. Also see 45.19; 45.1; 43.1.

18. Also see 47.9; 43.17.
Das Thema vom Streit zwischen Seele und Leib trifft den Kernpunkt der mittelalterlichen Psychologie, deren Inhalt ein anthropologischer Dualismus ist. Auch das Herz gehört zum Leibe und streng ist der Unterschied festzuhalten zwischen Herz und Seele: das Herz ist lediglich ein Körperteil ... ist Regent der niederer Sinne, es ist Sitz der Leidenchaften ... und ist gänzlich verschieden von der supranaturalen Seele. Durch die Sinne, bes. durch die Augen, wird die Außenwelt dem Herzen übermittelt."

Hausen utilizes the escape mechanism of the dream world to emphasize the erotic rather than the didactic role of the woman. This is a poetic borrowing which in view of his knowledge of the Classics which will be referred to again, may be traced back over early Minnesang as far as the classical example of Laodamia’s longing in Ovid’s Heroides:

Sive latet Phoebus seu terris altior exstat,
tu mihi luce dolor, tu mihi nocte venis,
nocte tamen quam luce magis-
nox grata puellis
quarum suppositus colla lacertus habet. (XIII, 103f)

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20 See Meinloh von Sevelingen, 13.27.
21 Ovid. Heroides and Amores, transl. Grant Shoverman (Cambridge, 1947), pp. 164 ff. Transl.: Whether Phoebus be hid, or high above the earth he rise, you are my care by day, you come to me in the night; and yet more by night than in the light of day - night is welcome to women beneath whose neck an embracing arm is placed.
Of more immediate significance for Hausen is the fact that the troubadour poet too employs the dream allusion as a convenient mask. It is his only 'uncontrolled' and therefore condoned vehicle for sexual reference. Armant de Mareuil, for example, actually creates the dream figment in order to enjoy the sexual encounter - only to be frustrated when excessive passion causes him to awaken. 22

The epic conciseness of diction in Hausen's 48.23ff on the other hand denies the wealth of descriptive images so popular in the expansive troubadour lyric. Hausen relies for effect far more on certain paradoxes which are made even more cryptic by the brevity of description in this lyrical vignette. Why is the woman so physically alluring (48.24) whereas the speaker is almost dispassionate? And why does she appear unsummoned, contravening minne etiquette? The answer is obviously that Eros is a continuing, although sublimated and therefore often subliminal force in this new minne poetry. Hausen draws on a traditional set of motifs, 23 and is obliged to relegate


23 Among those literary motifs and devices for which there are precedents in the Provençal lyric, de Boor includes: "... die Liebe von Kindheit an (50.11), die Traumminne (48.23), die Anwendung der ritterlichen Kampfterminologie auf die Minne (44.8; 46.9), der Disput mit der personifizierten Minne (53.23ff), die tiefe Verwirrung der Sinne durch das "überwältigende Erlebnis der Minne (45.37), das Fernerlebnis (45.1; 51.33), die Auseinandersetzung mit der huote (48.32) ...", Die höfische Literatur, p. 257.
those encounters with the beloved which could be compromising to the remoteness of poetic imagination, since the required objectivity and distance of courtliness could not permit otherwise.

Even more prominent is the mixture of traditional and Provençal characteristics in 48.32ff which relates to the farewell motif of 43.1ff and was presumably composed together with 48.23ff during Hausen's first Italian journey in 1175, accounting for the Romance 'tone' after Bernard de Ventadorn. The latter's formalism is somewhat mitigated, since Hausen emphasizes the native tradition, i.e. the resistance to the nidaere and even more so by utilizing the Wechsel which presupposes a relationship between man and woman against the world rather than against each other in the fashion of Rietenburg (18.7f) or Meinloh (13.14f).

In this song the knight regrets not having had the opportunity to declare himself to the trouwe before his departure because of the presence of others (48.36). The lady in turn disavows society by stating that the merkaere would sooner succeed in routing the Rhine river into the Po than destroy her affection (49.8f). The knight's curse on the interfering diet (48.36) as well as the lady's creed

\(^{24}\) See MFU, p. 117.
are, as previously illustrated, typically egocentric manifestations of the erotic bond. The scope of the Wechsel has been enlarged through the inclusion of the public, but the outward separation only emphasizes the inner, emotional mutuality.  

This secret mutual affection reaches a new degree of intensity in 49.13f, where the heart, as in Meinloh's 14.3f, is the center of emotion and functions in all three stanzas as the representative of the knight's sensuality. In stanza 1 it suffers like a sick man, in stanza 2 it acknowledges the loss of the beloved and seeks consolation, in stanza 3 Hausen again draws on a popular Provençal convention by employing personification (minne, herze vs. amor, cor) and, as a stylistic device, the distinct break in the fluidity by the interjection of a self-contained exemplum at 49.17. It is introduced by the knight's contemplation of his own folly: women are the cause of a man's heart-sickness, one should not be too involved with them - then follows Hausen's interlude:

(49.17-20)

der keiser ist in allen landen
kust er sie zeiner stunt
an ir vil röten munt,
er jaehe ez waere im wol ergangen.


26 See also the "Liebeswunde" (16.20f) suffered by Regensburg.
There is an unmistakable touch of mockery in the confrontation of Eros and society; the latter's eminent representative, the Emperor, would indeed be well off, if he were allowed to kiss the singer's lady. Hausen reverses the praise of Peire d'Auvergne who acclaims his lady as deserving to be worshipped by an emperor. That this is indeed an erotic observation rather than a social comment of Hausen's is affirmed by Brinkmann who says of the poet: "Die unausgesprochene Frage was ihn mit solcher Macht zur Frau zieht, beantwortet auf überraschende Weise die andere Vierheit der Strophe mit einer Eventual- anekdote: Sie soll an einem möglichen Fall die erotische Schönheit der Frau vergegenwärtigen . . . . Als Geliebte wäre sie also sogar dem Herren "über alle Länder, das heisst den höchsten irdischen Werten, ebenbürtig." 27 Undeniably the Provençal motif undergoes a shift in the German facsimile from mere à-la-mode love complaint to one with a heavy accent on denied Eros. After repeating in stanza 2 the feudal adage that the service accepted by the lady must receive equivalent recompense, Hausen, for the first time, injects in stanza 3 the concept of innate "social distance" which separates knight from frouwe as effectively as actual supervision, i.e. huote. His heart,

he claims, has been too ambitious in approaching such an elevated lady for solace (49.34). "Wirt mir diu minne unguot" (45.35), a hidden reference to the lady under the guise of personifying the abstractum, corresponds to troubadour custom as well, for "nicht immer . . . wurde die Herrin mit ihrem wirklichen Namen genannt, sondern oft genug, ja vielleicht öfter mit einem blos fingierten, einem senhal." 28 The significance of using such a cover name against detection in the erotic relationship, and consequently as a poetic device, has already been established for Hausen.

2. Poeta Viator: Spiritualized Minne

In the second group of Hausen's poems, the latent dichotomy within the erotic motif of 'vulgar' (πόνημα) and 'heavenly' (υἱόν Σωτή) Eros, according to the Platonic view, is always in evidence. Yet it appears just as clearly that Hausen does not differentiate between the one which relates through the physical and sensate modality, and the other which is evidenced through 'suprasensible' experience. The resulting 'spiritualized' minne poetry emerges not in opposition to the native erotic tradition but as a further development of it. The transference

28 Wechssler, pp. 206 f.
of terms and sentiments from the physical sphere of love predicates
Hausen's literary eroticism which is more veiled but of no less
appetitive nature than that of Kurenberc and Dietmar.

Despite this similarity, however, certain differences set this
group of poems apart from the preceding one. For one, although there
is continued possessiveness on the part of the speaker, there it no
longer requires an obligatory response from the frouwe. Eros does
not seek acceptance; rather it assumes an egocentric function for
the knight: the woman per se is now ostensibly no longer merely the
true center of attention but a summum bonum, a measure of ethical
quality.

With 49.37ff the separation from the altheimische spirit has
essentially been accomplished. Stanza 1 praises in polished diction
the frouwe whose person seems to have been especially blessed by
divine attention. The poet's natural wish, expressed in the "Tempus
der lyrischen Wirklichkeit,"29 is to remain forever with her and to suf-
fer willingly "den kumber den ich von ir lide" (50.3). The speaker's deci-
sion is firm, even aggressive, denying her any choice in the matter. He

desires in her more than "ze kurzen wîlen minne" (50.15), thereby opening a new perspective of permanency in which passion is quite subdued:

\[(50.11-14) \quad \text{ich hän von kinde an si verlân}
\quad \text{das herze mîn und al die sinne}
\quad \text{ich wart an ir nie valsches inne}
\quad \text{sît ich si sô liep gewan.}\]

The song foreshadows most of the articles of faith of the Hohe Minne: praise of the lady's beauty as an example of divine workmanship; suffering and denial as obligatory accompaniment of love; devotion in the feudal manner in which the time factor is inconsequent. Quite apparent is that the attributive qualities of female beauty - the only outward manifestation of a suppressed erotic interest - are de-emphasized here and that this worshipful attitude traps the trouwe in her inaccessible niche.

For minne, the poet implies, is sanctioned by God who has created feminine beauty as an object of worship.\(^{30}\) Brinkmann even proposes that Hausen experiences "ein bewunderndes Erstaunen über die Schönheit der Frau, die Gott schuf. Ein Ergriffener redet, der den ehrfürchtigen Aufblick kennt. Er sieht die Strahlen, die vom Überirdischen ins Irdische fallen und das Menschliche verklären."\(^{31}\) Yet this is not quite in accord with the text.

\(^{30}\) See Wechssler, p. 278.

For Hausen's apparently new religious emphasis is made somewhat incongruous by the continued presence of Eros. In stating that "ich wart an ir nie valsches inne" (50.13) the poet affirms on one hand his devotion to a faultless creature, but also, paradoxically, the presence of huote, a clear indication that "man vom Wert des Weibes noch nicht so unbedingt überzeugt war, denn sie war ein Akt des Misstrauens und der Geringschätzung."32 The predestined rôle of the woman denies her free choice in matters of minne as Hausen indicates: "min frouwe sehe waz si des tuo" (50.7 u. 17). In the absence of meaningful dialogue, the trend toward spiritualization finds ready support, but the poet must resort to literary devices in order to have a sounding-board for the continuing Eros-minne dilemma.

Particularly in 50.19ff in which Hausen closely follows Bernart de Ventadorn33 he resorts to one of his favorite literary devices, the antithetical presentation. First, the dilemma of ethical versus the aesthetical appreciation,

(50.22-23) 
wan si ist wol wert daz man si minne.
noch bezzer ist daz man ir hûete


and finally the hint of illicit affection,

(50.33–34) froimed ich si mit den ougen,  
si minnet doch min herze tougen.

This play on metaphors had already been effectively employed in 48.23f where the eyes conveyed the picture of physical beauty in a dream and were cursed when the dream was over. Bernart de Ventadorn had relegated the function of seeing (perceiving) to the heart, whereas Hausen now reverses the image - the eyes are forced (by the prevailing morality) to avoid the lady's pleasing appearance since the heart may only love in secret (50.33f). The fear that the gorgonizing effect of beauty upon the eyes might convey erotic impulses to the soul, is indicative of the fine line which separates the ethical from the unworthy pursuit. Hausen then returns to a panegyric on huote in stanzas 1–3 and follows it with an equally vehement refutation, since the knight cannot bear to learn of any possible unere through a third party. This vacillation between the various implications of huote is characteristic of this second period. The problem of 50.13ff is further elucidated by Seibold: "Huote and ere vertrugen sich so wenig wie Wasser und Feuer... weil huote eher dazu angetan war, ein Weib an ere wankend zu machen und es aus der rechten Bahn zu treiben, als es zu bewahren und es das
Ethos dieses Wertes erkennen zu lassen.\textsuperscript{34} For the first time the guardians of etiquette are not maligned. Their presence together with Hausen's explicit jealousy indicate the continued preoccupation of the poet with Eros.

The merkaere, of course, are only considered favorably as long as they prevent others from paying homage to the poet's lady and preserve the exclusivity of his rights to the frouwe's affections. Where there is huote there is by necessity tougen minne; in the absence of the former, Hausen states, the lady would be popular with the rivals thereby destroying his reputation, a thought which "die fröide gar zerstörte" (50.26). Even if the speaker should neglect to give his mistress familiar indications or signals for fear of detection, he nevertheless feels assured that "si minnet doch min herze tougen" (50.34).

Huote is also central to the thoughts of 43.28ff, which stands thematically and chronologically next to 50.19ff, but whereas Hausen sings the praise of huote in the former as a shield against rivals (50.23f), he reverses himself now, affirming, in Brinkmann's words, that "wer in das Reich der Huote eintritt, wird, hax und nît ausgesetzt sein, er wird eine Landschaft des Leidens betreten, in der kumber

\textsuperscript{34}Seibold, "Studien über die Huote," p. 13.
und *swaere* gedeihen, mitunter zu ängstlicher *nôt* gesteigert . . . "35

In a direct sequel to the suffering expressed in 51.33f, Hausen weighs the impact of *huote*:

(43.36-39) Mangen herzen ist von huote *wê*
und jêhent ez *sî* in ein angeslîchîn *nôt*:
sô engêrt daz *mîne* alrehte nihtes *mô*
wan mües ez *sî lîden unz an *mînen* *tôt*.

The sentiment is clear: reaching favor with the beloved lady will cause the knight pain until the end of his days so that the grief caused by the social arbiter will be negligible by comparison. Yet, he asks, who would have great joy without great sorrow? Hausen makes this question the fulcrum of an interesting dialectical postulate (44.1). Gladly would he bear the envy of his rivals were he only happily 'in love' - rather than to be denied their jealousy by his inability to find fulfillment (44.3f).

Although the erotic atmosphere present in the direct dialogue of man and woman in early Minnesang has been diminished for Hausen by the introduction of the various social elements, the attention of his speaker is nevertheless riveted to the lady and he dismisses the effectiveness of all obstacles in his pursuit -

35 Brinkmann, "Friedrich von Hausen," p. 54.
Indeed, he now credits the lady with equal autonomy in matters of love. Only whereas he is subject to outside pressures, she determines their relationship by herself and once bestowed, favors cannot be stolen by a rival.

To summarize, it is evident that whereas the earlier minne poetry finds in the social intercessors a ready target for its erotic frustration and attacks it accordingly, Hausen now introduces an apparent reversal of this tradition which will find acceptance by Veldeke, Reimmar and Walther. The lack of envy by others is an indicator of the knight's unworthiness in the eyes of the frouwe and explains therefore the nonchalance with which he meets, even desires, society's interference. Obviously Hausen's world is now a courtier's world in which personal and emotional involvements recede behind their psychological and political implications. The consequences for the poetic presentation of Eros are equally stringent. In this essentially gyno-

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36 References by the earlier poets to the merkaere is either by complaint (See Kurenberg 7.24; Regensburg 16.19; Meinloh 12.17; Dietmar 32.3 or Rietenburg 18.6) or by verbal attack (See Kurenberg 9.18 or Meinloh 13.14).

37 See Veldeke 60.4; Reimar 153.10; Walther 74.3.
centric society the need for messengers and love trysts has been
obviated since everything occurs in the open. Hausen, therefore, tends
more and more to withdraw with his love into spiritual and abstract terms.

This is particularly apparent in 51.13ff, which voices the
correlative emotion of the poet's grief and his desire to serve his
mistress. Stanza 1 presents these recurring sentiments in a new form.
Hausen states that a wise man could lose his mind over these oppres-
sive love troubles (51.13-14); if he could only guard against them,
his day would be beautiful. But the lady, conscious of "ir guete und
ouch der schoene die si hat" (51.19f) prolongs his misery out of all
proportion, effecting this hyperbole: if he would suffer for God as much
as the suffering for which she denies him reward, his soul would have
earned its redemption already (51.21f). Nonetheless he will continue
serving her, and if he must leave her, his heart will stay at home with
her (51.29f).38

Quite clearly this stanza is imitative of the Provençal style,
particularly in that the expressed thoughts are presented abstractly
rather than metaphorically. Contrasting with this new stylistic
influx is stanza 2, in which in its traditional affirmation of the time-

38 Also see 45.37; 47.9; cf. 42.7; 36.34; 49.21; 50.11.
honored feudal pledge of allegiance known to Arab and Provençal Minnesang as well confirms the duality of Hausen's minne: erotic desire hand in hand with spiritual sublimation. In the separation of heart and body, the verses

\[
(51.29-30) \quad \text{vert der ðip in enelende,} \\
\text{mîn herze belîbet doch aldâ}
\]

already foreshadow 45.37ff and 47.9ff which are considered the peak of Hausen's art, yet they also betray their indebtedness to lines such as those of Bernard de Ventadorn:

\[
\text{Mo cor ai pres d'Amor} \\
\text{que l'esperitz lai cor,} \\
\text{mas lo cors es sai, alhor,} \\
\text{lonh de leis, en Fransa.}
\]

This recurring motif in Hausen's lyrics (see 43.1ff; 45.10ff) is based on the dialectical incompatibility of heart and body. As Furstner observes: "In der Polarität von minne und Welt ist die Nähe im objektiven Raum nicht gestattet .... Nähe widerspricht der hövescheit, is der êre zuwider." The poet thus turns to intro-

\[39\] See Lawrence Ecker, Arabischer, Provenzalischer und Deutscher Minnesang (Bern & Leipzig, 1934), pp. 55 f.

\[40\] Nichols and Galm, eds., The Songs of Bernart de Ventadorn, p. 170, no. 44 (III). Transl. (p. 171): My heart is close to Love and my soul hastens there too; but my body is elsewhere: here in France, far from her.

\[41\] Hans Furstner, Studien zur Wesensbestimmung der Höfischen Minne (Groningen & Djakarta, 1956), p. 63.
spection for solace, as in 52.37, where he complains of having been
deserted by minne after she had compelled him to follow her wânh - an
unfulfillable desire which will surely cause his death. Still the
patent formula of devotion follows, ending in the appropriate allusion:

\[(53.11-14)\]
\[
dâ fur sô wil ichz hân,
und wil dienen lan
mit triuwen der quoten
diu mich dâ bliuwet vil sûre âne ruoten.
\]

Even more intense is Hausen's chagrin at the personified minne
in stanzas 3 and 4 where her effect on his life is compacted in the
outcry:

\[(53.15-17)\]
\[
Waz mac daâ ñin daâ diu werlt heizet minne,
und es mir tûot sô wë zaller stunde
unde ez mir nîmt alsô vil mîner sinne?
\]

Caught in the inexplicable antinomy of vroide-leit, Hausen conjures
a dual image of macabre intensity: "Minne, got mûeze mich an dir
rechen!" (53.23) is the dramatic resultant with the Highest as avenger
rather than as compassionate guide and minne herself as a cross-eyed
demon whom Hausen would gladly destroy (53.25).\(^{42}\) For the first time
since Dietmar's question regarding the conflict of propriety and emotion

\(^{42}\)The metaphor "krumbez ouge" may be purposely ambiguous:
(a) minne looks 'crookedly' upon the world, thus not recognizing the
speaker's merits, or (b) minne, not having done her duty to the satis-
faction of all, is thus punished by God as requested in 53.23.
(or society and Eros) (32.11), the poet again voices the fundamental dilemma directly - "wie sol des iemer werden rät" (32.11)?

For the heroic ethos of the Altheimische Minnesang, love was a matter of mutuality; it was to be born as a sickness if necessary. Hausen, however, is ostensibly faced with a world in which the woman can dispense with sexuality. The estrangement is in part predicated on the social situation, but also on the woman's unwillingness to reciprocate. While Hausen yearns for reunion and affection, she retreats into a distant objectiveness which manifests itself in the poet's few and vague descriptive flourishes at her "schoene." The erotic intent of minne is now solely concentrated in the person of the speaker, and the poetry becomes a mirror of egocentric thoughts, reflections and reveries. The gradual withdrawal of Hausen's rîter and frouwe into respective social and spiritual isolation from a traditionally shared sphere of experience is unmistakable by contrast with the situation which had favored the erotic encounter of the earlier Minesang poets:

Als erste Voraussetzung fanden wir ein glückhaftes Weltgefühl, in dem die Menschen aus ihrem Erfahrungskreis und aus ihrer gemeinschaftlichen Lebensordnung noch nicht herausgetreten

43 See Regensburg 16.17f and Dietmar 32.7f.
sind . . . zwischen Dichter und Hörer besteht eine selbstverständliche und fraglose Zusammengehörigkeit, die ein teilnehmendes Verstehen verbürgt. In diesem Kreis darf man es wagen, den eigenen Lebenszustand zu enthüllen, wenn auch in einer verhüllenden Form. Aus ihm kommt der Mut zum lyrischen Gedicht; der Dichter weiß, dass er vor Verkennen geschützt ist. Die Welt, aus der er heraus spricht, steht darum am Anfang seines Liedes.\(^44\)

Hausen's spiritualized world presents a quite different face:

Die Situation des Menschen hat sich verändert und das Weltgefühl, aus dem der Dichter spricht. Die beiden Partner gehören nicht mehr allein, sondern zugleich der Gesellschaft, in der sie sich begegnen . . . Der Dichter ist nicht durch eine gemeinschaftliche Erfahrung gesichert, an die er sich nur anzuschliessen braucht, sondern immer wieder von neuem auf sich selbst gestellt.\(^45\)

Hausen's 51.33ff is exemplary in showing the resulting "Vereinzelung:" it demonstrates a new vocabulary directed toward the "Self," the "Erfahrungsstil\(^46\) which encompasses not only the knight's attitude toward courtship but also the changed time-space relationship\(^47\) within minne. Already the opening verse "Ich denke under wilen" (51.33) indicates the further estrangement from the "Erfahrungswelt" in which

\(^44\) Hennig Brinkmann, Liebeslyrik der Deutschen Frühe in Zeitlicher Folge (Düsseldorf, 1952), p. 70.
\(^45\) Ibid., p. 157.
\(^46\) See Brinkmann, Liebeslyrik der Deutschen Frühe, p. 64.
\(^47\) See Furstner, pp. 119 f.
an actual consummation of erotic desires was at least thinkable. Now, the gulf between knight and trouwe can only be bridged by thought.

"Er aber errichtet sich in der Freiheit des Geistes ein eigenes Reich, in dem die Grenzen der Wirklichkeit überflogen werden. Es ist ein Reich des Alsob, ein Reich des Möglichen, nicht des Wirklichen." The actual practice of courting by the poet gives way to a repressive ruminating of the minne contradiction. The uncertainty of the life's goal finds an idiomatic equivalent in these conditional sentences:

\[
\text{(52.7-12)} \quad \begin{align*}
\text{Het ich só höher minne} \\
\text{nie mich underwunden,} \\
\text{mîn möchte werden rât.} \\
\text{ich tete ez âne sinne:} \\
\text{des ûde ich zallen stunden} \\
\text{nît diu nâhe gât.}
\end{align*}
\]

Minne is reduced to contemplation, detaching emotion from the physical world to the degree that the woman's defensive attitude engenders fremede between both parties. Stanza 1 presents this in a contrast of physical distance between the two and the knight's musing what he would tell her, if he were there. He claims that his demeanor,

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48 See Kürenberc 10.23; Regensburg 16.17.

often decried by the people as carefree (52.3-6), is a mere guise, which he is forced to display by his station in life. Actually he suffers because hohiu minne causes bondage without relief. Now it is the knight who is without choice. Brinkmann characterizes his dilemma and its resultant as follows:

Unbesonnen war es, dass er in Liebe eintrat; nun aber sieht er sich für immer gebunden. Höchste sittliche Eigenschaft ist der Wille zum Dauernden (staete). Er is unabhängig von Lohn und Zweck und Gegendienst; und dieser Wille hat sein Herz unlöschlich an die Frau gekettet. Er fühlt sich als Opfer seiner eigenen Sittlichkeit (nicht er selbst hat gehandelt, sondern die staete hat über ihn verfügt: min staete mir nu hat daz herze also gebunden). Darin aber, dass er wider alle schmerzliche Erfahrung an dem einmal gefassten Entschlusse festhalten muss, bewahrt er seine sittliche Unabhängigkeit. Er besitzt jenen Willen zur Dauer, ohne den kein Leben in Kultur bestehen kann. Die Minne aber wird so eine Schule des Willens zur Kultur. Der Entscheid zu hoher Minne liess ihn zum Opfer des Schmerzes, der Wille zum Dauernden zum Opfer seiner eigenen Sittlichkeit werden. Das ist die Ursächlichkeit seiner Lage.

A sense of morality and the knowledge of being inalienably tied to the social system prevents the poet from leaving the antagonistic frauwe, in fact, he hopes in stanza 3, that she may never suffer "solhen kumber" (52.20) as separation, for it is as he knows, three times more difficult to bear abroad than at home. Antithetically, he acclaims in

the last stanza, a certain benefit of such grief for himself since its mere joyless presence hints at closeness to the beloved no matter where he might be traveling (52.27f). He is obliged to continue serving:

\[(52.32-36)\]
\[
den \ ^\text{Hr} \ \text{st} \ \text{sol} \ \text{si} \ \text{mir} \ \text{l\ae}n\]
\[
wil \ \text{siz} \ \text{fur} \ \text{guot} \ \text{empt\ae}n,\]
\[
daz \ \text{fr\oe}ut \ \text{mich} \ \text{iemer} \ \text{m\ae}re,\]
\[
wan \ \text{ich} \ \text{fur} \ \text{alle} \ \text{man}\]
\[
ir \ \text{ie} \ \text{was} \ \text{undert\ae}n.\]

Quite clearly the traditional obeisance lacks the impassioned voice. It is a lyrical flourish in a disharmonious world in which the intimate contact with the opposite sex has been destroyed on the social plane. Since the promise of physical proximity which for Dietmar (34.3ff) and Regensburg (17.1ff) were the sine qua non of praise, can no longer be achieved, Hausen also dispenses with the visual imagery. Descriptive adjectives on the fruwe's beauty, in particular, are notably lacking. Mutuality of feeling is no longer expressed, in fact, the poet's rôle is reduced to that of an egotist ("mine swaere;" "mine staete" (52.1 + 13)). Even the function of time changes; formerly it had been a reference to the enjoyed past and indicated hope for the future, now it is an indefinite "under wil\ae" (51.33) or "mange\ae\age" (52.3), the process of suffering through passion being extended into an interminable "des l\ae\oe ich zallen stunden" (52.11).
Hausen bares the inconsistency of his situation in a series of opposing metaphors: the poet's emotional upheaval (52.7ff) clashes with his outward appearance (52.4ff); his devotion to the lady contrasts with her enmity (52.19); the misfortune of his binding choice opposes the obligation of his *staete* - but most graphically the longing for home (*heim* (52.25)) is always contrasted with the actual physical presence (*nu; hie* (52.24 + 26)) in the strange land.

It is a conflict which characterizes Hausen as *poeta viator*, vacillating between the stern demands of society's prescribed conduct and the liberality of the Germanic literary tradition and one's own desires. The pendulum swing between the desire for the *minne lânn* and the dread of rejection could only be made acceptable by *humilitas*, the basic ethical concept of Christianity, which, according to Wechssler, was placed "... in bewussten Gegensatz zur Lebensstimmung des vornehmen, ritterlichen Mannes, die auf hohes Standesbewusstsein, *orguîlh*, hohen *muot*, Stolz eingestellt war..." 51 This new awareness of Hausen's, introduced through the *troubadour* literature, also gives rein to the expansion of literary expression such as portrayal of fear and dread which were tabooed by the heroic literature as sentiments

51 Wechssler, p. 392.
unworthy of manliness. For the first time a *Minnesänger* follows closely
the Provençal example which had introduced poetic subjectivism into
the chivalric love poetry as expressed in the *dictum* of Capellanus:
"Amorosus semper est timorosus" (Rule XX, "De Regulis Amoris").
Thus already Cercamon had spoken in tones of almost servile humility:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Tal paor ai, qu'ieu mesfalhis} \\
\text{No m'aus pessar cum la deman . . . 52}
\end{align*}
\]

and similarly, Guillaume de Poitiers declaiming:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ren per autruy non l'ans mandar,} \\
\text{tal paor ay qu'ades s'azir,} \\
\text{ni ien mezey, tan tem falhir,} \\
\text{no l'ans m'amor fort assemblar. 53}
\end{align*}
\]

is considered antecedent of Hausen's:

\[
(44.17-18) \quad \text{min ander angest der ist kleine,} \\
\quad \text{wan der den ich von ir hân.}
\]

52 "Quant L'aura Doussa S'Amarzis," in *Les Poesies de Cercamon*,
ed. Alfred Jeanroy, Les Classiques Francais Du Moyen Age (Paris, 1922), p. 2. Transl.: I am in such fear that I die and do not dare approach her with my requests.

Alfred Jeanroy, Les Classiques Francais Du Moyen Age (Paris, 1927), p. 24. Transl.: I don't dare send her a message through someone else, for fear that she would be angry right away, nor do I myself dare to show my love plainly for fear of transgressing.

For a continuation of this style cf. Vildeke 63.10ff also Morungen
140.1ff and 135.29ff.
This professed fear is partially a fashionable expression but also an attempt to dramatize the speaker's love of the *frouwe* through God who had endowed her with such excellent qualities of character (*quate*) and appearance (*getat*). In this respect the dialectics of insistence and refusal continue to provide the lyrical tenor: the knight demands the lady's *hulde* since, as God is his witness, he has never loved anyone else equally well (44.19f) and as bearer of God-given talents she is obliged, as he sees it, to atone for her "grozen sunde" (44.29).

Venturing close to outright mariolatry, Hausen follows closely in the steps of Meinloh's *Fernliebe*. Just as the former, he cannot help but think of the beloved especially since the most accomplished knights are praising her (44.14f). Ironically, the lack of trust on the part of the lady, her *hut* of him, stems from the fact that he had been pursuing her "vil lange zit" (45.19). *Staete* no longer brings reward - familiarity, on the other hand, has bred contempt! His discomfiture could have been alleviated by the mistress a year ago if she had not been so capricious (45.29ff); now he is only sustained in his *wân* for affection through his gaze, i.e. euphemistically, his desire:

$$\begin{align*}
(45.33-34) & \text{ swanne si } \hat{\text{i}} \text{ min ougen } \hat{\text{s}} \hat{\text{n}} \\
& \text{ daz was ein } \hat{\text{fröide für die swâre}}
\end{align*}$$
yet even here he is frustrated:

\[(45.35-36) \quad \text{alleine wil sis glouben niet} \]
\[\text{daz si min ouge gerne siet.}\]

The entrapment of the knight's psyche is depicted as a process of gradual loss of the inner freedom. The individual steps are particularly well marked by the sequence of 51.33ff which shows the knight's awareness of freedom in the strange land and the subsequent 42.1ff which illustrates, in terms of a classical metaphor, his assessment of his relationship to any frouwe.

Veldeke's influence, already demonstrated by Brinkmann in the rhyme patterns of 45.1ff and 45.19ff is quite obvious in 42.1ff. This together with the wide-spread popularity of the French Aeneas epic alluded to here, in court circles, points to Hausen's addressing a highly sophisticated segment of society such as did gather at the famous Reichstag of Emperor Frederick in Mainz (1184). Parenthetically, Hausen's friendship with Christian of Mainz, as well as his standing in the royal household, makes his presence there quite likely, although this event falls within the chronologically unsubstantiated period of Hausen's life.

54 See Brinkmann, "Friedrich von Hausen," pp. 1 ff.

55 See Rieckenberg, p. 169.
In 42.1ff the poet, significantly, would like to identify with the proud Trojan Aeneas, whose reputation for seduction and love was well established. However, the frouwe refuses to be his Dido. The poet's envisioned minne is, in fact, the reverse of that of the heroic couple. Whereas Aeneas spurned Dido, the frouwe is now shunning the poet. She has cast a spell over him which Hausen alludes to in the theft motif concluding stanza 1 "sie hät iedoch des herzen mich beroubet . . ." (42.8-9). The close imitation of the Provençal school, such as represented by Raimbaud de Vaqueiras, is again clearly evident:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mon corasso m'avetz treito} \\
\text{e mot gen favlan furtado}
\end{align*}
\]

In stanza 2 the musing to pass the time echoes the traditional dilemma of non-comprehension "trüren unde sorge pflegen" (42.13), the association in thought to 51.14f; 52.5f; 45.30f and 47.31f being readily apparent. Hausen continues with the reference that he had avoided all other ladies and that his heart is as solitary as a

56 See MPU, p. 139.

57 "Eras Quan Vey Verdeyar," in Provenzalische Chrestomathie, 5th ed., ed. Carl Appel (Leipzig, 1920), p. 78. Transl.: You have stolen my heart, and speaking with courtesy, you have stolen it secretly.

58 The motif of "trüren in gedanken" appears already in Meinloh's 12.29.
monk's cell (stanza 3). One needs only look to Folquet de Marseille who exclaims "Cor gardatz si qom vostra maizo" to show that even this emotionally charged metaphor had been borrowed by Hausen. To him the thought that he had once served her faithfully (stanza 4) offers little comfort in the present loneliness. Now, in classical allusion, possibly to Medusa, the frouwe is described for the first time as a picture of danger rather than promise:

\[
(43.15-18) \quad \text{ir schoener lîp} \\
\text{der wart ze sôrgen mir geborn.} \\
\text{den ougen mîn muoz dicke schaden} \\
\text{daz si sô rehte habent erkorn.}
\]

The observance of mîze had heretofore been guarantee for the knight's proper conduct and served as restraint for all too ardent implorations. He is forced to break this barrier, however, to remind her to live up to her part of "their social contract" of mutuality. Yet it is all in vain, for, as he says farewell she seems glad at his parting - a fact he had never observed before (43.24ff).

At this point Hausen has reached the greatest possible estrangement from his frouwe. It is the impact of the Crusade, which Hausen

\[59\] "En chantan m'avent a membrar" in Le Troubadour Folquet de Marseille, ed. Stanislaw Stronski (Cracovie, 1910, rpt. Genève, 1968), v. 19, p. 28. Transl.: Look at my heart as your house.
was able to assess in all its political, social and personal implications, however, which forces him into a final re-evaluation of the minne concept.

3. The Crusading Lyrics.

Nowhere in Minnesang is the immanence and transcendence of human desire in the courtly world rendered as clearly as in the cycle of Hausen's poems in which Frauenminne appears to vie with Gottes-minne for recognition as the ultimate purpose. This dualism supersedes the second stage of Hausen's work which had pointed to the developing estrangement between the sexes and to increased spiritualization of the minne relationship. The consideration of the erotic motif comes under yet another aspect, the influence of learning on the poetic representation of Eros. One cannot fail to take into account Hausen's intellectual acumen since several of Hausen's classical allusions which have already been mentioned clearly indicate a relevance to the subject. Notably, he is one of the first of the Minnesänger who establish themselves as 'educated' knights in the traditional sense. In this he represents the Hohe Minne ideal which places great emphasis on the educated man's gratia eloquii as well as his intellect in order to achieve the desired ethical standard. The guide lines
contained in the contemporary *Gregorius* serve as a representative illustration of the prevailing attitude:

\[(253ff)\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{die dînen solt du êren} \\
\text{die vremeden zuo dir kêren} \\
\text{wis den wisen gerne ën} \\
\text{vliuch den tumben swâ er sî} \end{align*}
\]

"Wenn der geistliche Schriftsteller mit seinem Werk die Liebe des Menschen vornehmlich zu Gott hin lenken will, als zu dem im allerhochsten Masse liebenswürdigen Gegenstand, so ordnet der weltliche Dichter und Schriftsteller auch die Beziehungen zwischen den einzelnen Menschen nach der leitenden Idee: liebenswert ist der wohl Gebildete." \[61\] Quite naturally the display of *eruditio* which comes more and more into vogue tends to obscure or embellish the frankness of erotic poetry as well.

The process of learning, together with *mâze* and *discretio*, which was demanded of a court poet, spiritualizes these lyrics even further. To this must undoubtedly be added the influence of the teaching clergy, for, as stated in *Phyllis and Flora* "Miles est per clericum factus Cythereus." \[62\]


However, erotic and spiritual poetry are by no means mutually exclusive. What Müller says regarding his *co-existential oppositorum* in many literary works applies equally to the continued presence of the erotic motif in Hausen's spiritualized poetry:

Die Schneekindsequenz und Notkers kultische Sequenzen, Walthers Leich und sein Lindenlied, Konrads Schmiede und Partonopier erscheinen in der Fassung des herkömmlichen Dualismusbegriffs als ausschliessende Gegensätze, willkürlich und ohne inneren Zusammenhang. Begreift man sie mit dem Denkmittel der Gradus, so verstehen sie sich als sinnvolle Einheit, die sich in einschliessenden, einander ergänzenden Verschiedenheiten entfaltet . . . . Es handelt sich nicht um einen Gegensatz des Entweder - Oder, sondern des Hier und Dort, um den Übertritt aus einer Realitätsschicht in die andere.63

Thus Eros continues even into the *Kreuzzugslyrik* of Hausen's:

(46.14-18) ich bin ir holt. swenn ich vor gote getar, so gedenke ich ir.
daz ruoche auch er vergeben mir:
ob ich des gröze sünde solde hân,
zwiu schoof er si sô rehte wol getân?

"Tiefere Beseeligung aus der grösseren Nähe zu Gott, eine im Wesen
der Seinsgrade liegende Gesetzmässigkeit, ist da ausgesprochen,
aber nicht wird die niedrigere Stufe negiert."64 Earthly and divine love
(Eros and Agape) do not separate dualistically for Hausen but are

64 Ibid., p. 703.
integrated. The woman's rôle as symbolic functionary of ethical values continues to be balanced by her physical appeal, "die geistig-sinnliche Besessenheit durch die Minne schwingt eben zwischen Devotion und Begehren, zwischen Minnedienst und Minnelohn, zwischen Agape und Eros." 65

This equilibrium is at times a precarious one, as shall be shown in the following, for Hausen does not attempt the finality of Hartmann's renunciation (see 218.25-27). Thus, 45.37f reflects a much more tempered minne complaint. The impact of the crusade is unmistakable. In the reference "nu wil ich dienen dem der Œnen kan" (46.38), the intent of the entire poem is declared. The divine reward of the crusade is pointedly set against the convention of minne, and a significant conclusion is reached. Stanza 1, which again closely follows similar sentiments expressed in the troubadour poetry, 66 sketches the obligatory minne situation with new insight. Not unlike Hartmann's Erec, the knight "verliget sich," his preoccupation with minne has led to confusion and detachment from reality, violating even zuht:

(46.3-5) ich quam sîn dicke in solhe nôt, daz ich den liuten guoten morgen bôt engegen der naht.

65 Ibid., p. 709.

66 See MFU, pp. 143 f.
a situation which is not unfamiliar to Folquet de Marseille:

qu'om mi parla, manthas vetz s'esdeve,
qu'ieu no sai que,
e.m saluda qu' ien no.n aug re;\textsuperscript{67}

Placing this improper fascination in relation to the \textit{divinum} (stanza 2), the poet confesses his difficulty in breaking the bond with his beloved. Understandably so, for how can his \textit{minne} be sinful or false, since God himself had created the woman in her enticing beauty "so rehte wolgetan" (46.18). The hierarchy of values must prevail, however; as Agape dominates Eros, so the crusade precedes the \textit{minne dienest} (stanza 3). The enjoyment of sensual pleasures, the love of the aesthetic and beautiful, find their justification only in the proper niche within the \textit{gradus} concept. Since the poet has been disappointed in his hope for \textit{minne lön} (stanza 4), he now contrasts the deceitful \textit{wan} with \textit{Gottesminne} and praises spiritual happiness over worldly desires. The infusion of "memento mori" (46.28) is quickly dispelled by the realization that \textit{minne} and \textit{minne nôt} remain as justifiable elements of the knight's world. Both the erotic and the spiritual aspect of \textit{minne} relate in a matter of precedence rather than conflict.

\textsuperscript{67} \textit{Le Troubadour Folquet de Marseille}, No. V, v.26, p. 29.

Transl.: And often it occurs that people talk to me,
and I know not what about
and that people greet me
and I do not hear it.
In the spirit of the theocentric teleology of the gradualistic medieval world the knight's erotic approach has the same validity as the *frouwe's kiusche* which compels her aloofness, unfortunately to excess. Since Eros is not sinful in itself, merely its excess, a complete abnegation is never demanded; it is, however, relegated to its proper place in the hierarchy of values:

(47.1-8) swaz schaden ich dâ von gewunnen hân,
so friesch nie man
daz ich ir spræche iht wan guot,
noch mîn munt von frouwen niemer tuot
doch klage ich daz
daz ich sô lange gotes vergaz:
den wil ich iemer vor in allen haben,
und in dâ nach ein holdez herze tragen.

Now, after the continued validity of the erotic motif has been affirmed, the impact of the crusades on Hausen and the resulting revaluation of the *minne* concept in terms of its ethical purpose can best be seen in the historical framework. Particularly since the poet as a trusted member of the royal *familia* and as one of the prominent "homines domini imperatoris iudicatores" had the political perspective of the unfolding crusading panorama of the 1190's.

The year after the ill-fated Second Crusade marked the rise of Saladin, who concentrated the Islamic forces in attacks against the Frankish Empire of Jerusalem in a "Holy War" of his own. The petty
political squabbles of European princes did not cease until the terrible
defeat of the Franks at Hattin in 1187 brought home the point of
imminent Christian extirpation in the Near East unless concerted
help was forthcoming. The popes Urban III and Gregory VIII urged
another crusade. Their emissary cardinal Henry of Albano employed
Gottfried von Würzburg to preach the new campaign and through him
Hausen undoubtedly heard of it. His previous rôle as the Emperor's
trusted aid in the meeting with the French king Philipp II at Ivois
and Mouzon is well documented: also, that as a result of this
meeting the illustrious "Hoftag zu Mainz" (March, 1188), known as the
Curia Jesu Christi for its religio-political importance, had been held,
which led to the reconciliation of Emperor and several dissenting
princes and made the following crusade a reality. Hausen took the
cross with the Emperor at the same time.

It is at this point that one must return to the lyrics of Hausen.
The ensuing political difficulties and military ramifications of the
campaign in which Hausen met his death are of no consequence for
the sentiments expressed in the Kreuzzugslieder. Far more important
was that Hausen shared in the spirit of the momentous achievement
which had fired the imagination of all of European knighthood prior

68 Rieckenberg, p. 166.
to the crusade, the settlement of continuous warring all over Europe for the purpose of organizing the crusade in the first instance.

The impact of this event led the individual not only to re-assess his chivalric obligation within the gradualistic fabric, but the prospect of years of hardship, possibly death in battle, called for an honest re-examination of the knight's relationship to his lady in all frankness without false trappings, formalism and courtesy. The bitter awareness that the gulf between the sexes can no longer be bridged because of the alienation created by social etiquette marks the climax of Hausen's 47.9ff which will be treated in extenso below.

With the exception of 53.51ff the appellation Kreuzzugslyrik to the group comprising 45.37ff; 47.9ff and 51.3ff is a misnomer - the thought of the crusade merely impels the poet to 'put his house in order,' to come to terms with his frouwe. In this sense the so-called crusading lyric, e.g. 47.9ff, places the accent much more on minne than is generally assumed; Jungbluth even acclaims it as "Minnegedicht par excellence." Of the three minne liet, 53.31ff is the only one primarily concerned with the ethical implications of the crusade. It represents an adhortatio to the cowardly ones who did

not take up the Cross. As the poet says, not only have they lost the
rewards of the heavenly kingdom (53.36ff) but that of knightly virtue
as well, in consequence of which the lady is forced to reject any suitor
who has soiled his honor:

(48.13-18) Ich gunde es guoten frouwen niet
das iemer mère quaeme der tac
dazs ir deheinen heten liep
der gotes verte alsô erschrac.
wie kunde in der gedienen iet?
wân ez waere ir êren slacz!

In accepting such service the frouwe would dishonor herself as well
as her kind. The social position of Hausen's frouwe is in this respect
much more inflexible than that of the Provençal domna. She represses
her emotion unlike her Western counterpart. Guiot de Dijon, e.g.,
permits his lady free voice to lament the sexual hardship which will
befall her because of separation:

De ce sui molt decelle
Quant ne fui au convoier,
Sa chemise qu'ot vestue
M'envoia por embracier:
La nuit, quant s'amor m'argüe,
La met avec moi couchier
Molt estrait a ma char nue,
Por mes maus assoagier.70

70 "Chanterai Por Mon Corage," in Les Chansons Attribuées A
Guiot de Dijon et Jocelin, ed. Elisabeth Nissen, Les Classiques
Francais Du Moyen Age (Paris, 1929), p. 2. Transl.:
I have been greatly cheated
Hausen's trouwe, on the other hand, is exclusively concerned with the ethical implications. Not surprisingly so, for the poet concludes sternly that denying one's obligation to the call of the Cross will undoubtedly be followed by the knight's condemnation on judgment day:

\[(53.31-32) \quad \text{Si welnt dem töde entrunnen sin,} \\
\quad \text{die gote erliegent sine vart.}\]

This warning from the mouth of a committed crusader must have carried more weight than the appeal of the preaching clergy. There was to be no honor for those staying behind to practice minne. The motif of jealousy is cleverly coupled to the idealistic meaning of the mission. Hausen, thus, affirms the value system of the gradualistic order in a final appeal before the imminent decline in the 13th Century. But on the other hand, faced with the absolutes of his code which portend separation and sacrifice, he also demands comfort and personal warmth from his lady before leaving for the Middle East, a tenderness she can no longer reciprocate. In the monolog 47.9ff, the traditional timbre of wooing has been replaced by a questioning and acerbic urgency. Speaking to his heart, he asks:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{By not being able to accompany him.} \\
\text{The shirt which he has worn,} \\
\text{He sends me to embrace:} \\
\text{In the night when love makes me seek him} \\
\text{I put it close to me} \\
\text{Very close to my nude body} \\
\text{In order to alleviate my anguish.}
\end{align*}
\]
(47.30-33) wie torstest eine an solhe nôt ernenden?
wer sol dir dine sorge helfen enden
mit solhen triuwen alsich hân getân?

This cryptic rumination which characterizes the entire song
together with the conjectures regarding stanza sequence 71 and a
number of interpretative ambiguities open the possibility for
a reevaluation of this song in terms of its minne-Eros meaning.

Should, in fact, the crusade topic be ancillary to Hausen's
philosophical search for meaningful minne, tradition is rebuked for
forcing the knight into taking the Cross. Hausen anthropomorphizes
Eros as the heart; Eros is the realization of desire as autonomous
function of the soul.

Already in the textual summation of stanza 1-3 it becomes
clear that the poet is in turmoil, affected by the crusading dilemma
as later was Aimeric de Belenoi:

71 For support of the sequence in MF, see Hermann Paul,
"Kritische Beiträge zu den Minnesängern," Beitr. Halle, 2 (1876),
p. 446; Ingeborg Ipsen, "Strophe und Lied im Frühen Minnesang,"
Beitr. Halle, 57 (1933), pp. 373 f and Helmut de Boor, "Zu
Supporting the sequence 47.9 + 47.25 + 47.17 are notably Günther
Jungbluth, "Mîn herze und mîn lîp diu wellent scheiden," Euphorion,
47 (1953), pp. 241 f, and Richard Kienast, "Hausens Scheltliet
(MF 47.33) und der Sumer von Triere," Sitzungsberichte d. Deutschen
Akademie d. Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Kl. f. Sprachen, Lit. u.
Kunst, No. 3 (1961), pp. 5 ff.
Hausen conveys similar vexation in his metaphors: in stanza 1 (47.9-16) heart and body of the speaker want to separate in order to follow their respective desires - the body to war against the infidel, the heart to remain with the mistress. This antinomy creates a conflict within the poet which can only be resolved by God; in stanza 2 (47.17-24) he declares that he will rid himself of his swaere "dó ich daz kriuze in gotes ère nam" (47.18), but since the selfish heart does not cease its desiring even while he is journeying in such a just cause, he could not do his duty with all his faculties, as "ein lebendic man" (47.21); addressing himself to the heart in stanza 3 (47.25-32) the speaker finally says: since I can't change you and you have decided to leave me in sorrow, I ask God that I may send you where you will be welcomed. But what will befall you in your bold enterprise? Who will help you as faithfully as I did?

In the central motif of the separation of herze and lip is implicit the final reduction of the dilemma:

Transl: Saddened as if divorced of Love,
I sing in a mixture of joy and crying.
(47.11-13) der łip wil gerne vehten an die heiden;
so håt iedoch daz herze erwelt ein wîp
vor al der werlt.

The problem is split into its dichromatic elements. *Herz*
and *łip* as *termini technici* of conflicting emotions are brought into
climactic confrontation. One recalls that already previously the heart
had been the cause of love pain for the poet. In 49.13ff Hausen
complained:

(49.13-15) Mir ist daz herze wunt
und siech gewesen nu vil lange
(deis reht: wan ez ist tump)

Also that it had been imprisoned by the speakers own constancy
as in 52.13f or had itself served as a prison metaphorically, the
stationary point opposed to the wanderings of the poet's *łip*:

(42.19-20) Min herze muoz ir klûse sîn
al die wîle ich habe den łip;

*Herze* and *minne* are linked in several instances affirming the
poet's continual preoccupation with Eros even in the crusading lyrics
and indicate the *conflictus* of *herze* and *łip*. Again the eyes are the
fated intermediaries⁷³ through whom the lady was chosen. But the
*conflictus* is already the peak of the dramatic development. Initially,
there is only the separation of the personified *herze* from the body

⁷³ Thus in 48.23f; 45.32f; 43.15f. Also see *MPU*, p. 155.
while they still function in physical proximity to each other (disagreement stage) but with stanza 3 the physical separation is achieved, the lip serves "in gotes êre," the heart's "tumber wille" is enslaved by minne.

Ludwig has pointed to the four parties of the conflict as Speaker - Herze - Lip - Audience and observes: "Diese Konstellation und die hier vorausgesetzte Situation sind der eines mittelalterlichen Rechtsverfahrens so ähnlich, dass man zu der Annahme gedrängt wird, Friedrich von Hausen habe eine solche bei der Konzeption bzw. dem Vortrag seiner Lieder vor Augen gestanden." Yet even if the lip were the accuser and the herze the defendant, the latter is there merely by proxy, the innocently seduced one, as it were, by the immovable trouwe, on whom Hausen turns with all his fury in stanza 4.

This herze-lip antinomy and its consequences equally dominate the majority of other crusading lyrics - always striving for a harmonious solution yet never finding one. The total commitment required by the crusade demanded peace of mind for the individual, but the courtly perspective on minne in its impersonal autonomy and transitoriness proved ineffectual as a personal commitment. The woman as a

transcendentally elevated being had gradually lost all her essence and individuality as shown by her steadily progressing etherealization in Hausen's poetry. The increasing neglect for the attributes of her physical beauty and grace which had dominated the early minne poetry, the emphasis on her 'typical' rather than her individual demeanor and staeter dienest remaining as the only means to approach her physically, show this clearly. The break with such an enforced and sterile situation was inevitable. Kienast summarizes the psychological problem as depicted before stanza 4 (47.33f):

Der Entschluss in den Glaubenskampf zu ziehen führt die Spaltung der Person herbei unabweichlich (I). Der weitere dienest des herzen ist aussichtslos... Am Ende ist nichts anderes zu erwarten als Not, Sorge und Trostlosigkeit (II). Dennoch bleibt es dabei: das Minneleid ist nicht überwunden mit der Kreuznahme. Nur ein halber Mann führt über See. 75

With stanza 4, the so-called scheltliet (canticum vituperancium), one reaches one of the most controversial lyrics in all of Minnesang, one whose significance for the Eros-minne relationship of Hausen has not been fully appreciated.

By its very nature, it raises doubts as to its positioning in Hausen's opus. Already Lachmann, Haupt and Vogt 76 were against

75 Kienast, "Hausens Scheltliet (MF 47.33) und der Sumer von Triere," p. 35.
76 See MFU, pp. 154-55.
attaching it to 47.9ff and found support in Kienast who attacked "... die Nichtbeachtung des krassen Stilunterschiedes zwischen den ersten drei und der letzten Strophe des Tones VI, noch verstärkt durch das formale Element der fehlenden Auftakte in 47.33-35-38."77 Brinkmann, too, voiced doubt as to the connection and viewed in it a possible 'Gegenstrophe' to another song. Kraus and Jungbluth, on the other hand, based their assertion for a plausible continuity of 47.9-17-25-33 on equally valid observations.78 To them not the prosodic but the thematic continuity was decisive. For one, the separation of lip and herze, with the concomitant swaere in stanzas 1-3 is not presented until stanza 4 (motif of faithlessness). Since each one of Hausen's other lyrics is proven to be a "ein kleiner Kosmos"79 in which all aspects of the lyrical situation are always present, the separation of stanza 4 from stanzas 1-3 must appear unlikely. Ludwig who favored this view even suggested that the changing function of the minne-speaker

77 See Kienast, "Hausens Scheltlied und der Sumer von Trieren," p. 59.
79 Jungbluth, p. 256.
(st. 1-3) to parodist (st. 4) in fact supported a continuous "Vortragssituation."\(^8\)

In terms of this study of the erotic motif in Hausen's work, the relative chronology of 47.33ff is of greater significance than its textual placement. For it negates in a mere eight verses the sham of the minne dienest which permitted no interpersonal contact for the knight in his hour of greatest spiritual need. Thus, the frouwe, as figurehead of the cult, bears the brunt of Hausen's attack although it is evident that he attacks the system behind her. De Boor regards the vituperative timbre of 47.33ff altogether as a "Verteidigungsrede" to justify the discontinuance of the courtly service. However, the tone is much too acerbic merely to break a minne bond. Hausen is on the attack. He speaks out against the minne tradition in order to point out its human inadequacies.

He achieves this already in the ambiguity of the opening line "Nieman darf mir wenden daz zunstaete" (47.33), since "wenden" may imply "to be accused" as well as "to turn, change." Indeed this 'turning from' is a fait accompli, the frouwe "diech dâ minnet ê" (47.34) no longer receives the protection or adoration demanded by

\(^8\) Ludwig, p. 132.
the code for she had turned a deaf ear to his impassioned pleas for recognition, closeness, and erotic proximity:

\[(47.34-36) \quad \text{swie vil ich sie gefiêhet oder gebaete} \\
\quad \text{sô tuot si rehte als ob sis niht verstê.}\]

Four stages of rejection are discernible, first of which is the emotional antithesis of 47.34: "ob ich die hazze diech dâ minnet ê." Hausen's attack on a lady with "hazzen" is unprecedented. Formerly, it was the frouwe who, in determining the extent of any involvement, dispensed haz as she dispensed minne. "Des gehazze got den dînen lip" (8.13) curses Kurenberc's frouwe in retrospect of the missed love tryst with her fainthearted lover. The earlier Hausen had accepted her haz humbly for his shortcomings (44.10) but there are already the first doubts in

\[(52.17-19) \quad \text{Ez ist ein groțez wunder;} \\
\quad \text{diech aller sêrest minne,} \\
\quad \text{diu was mir ie gevê.}\]

Haz and nit of the world combining against the lovers is, of course, a stereotype motif of the early Minnesang. Hausen, pointing to the disintegration of the chivalric microcosm dramatizes the need of the entire system: strength of chivalric ethics as well as personal warmth in the hour of spiritual crisis. In this the lady has

\[81\] See Kurenberc, 7.24; Meinloh, 12.17; Regensburg 16.19; Rietenburg 18.6; Dietmar 36.6.
failed, the courtly idolatry having crippled her function as a viable helpmate. This opens Hausen's second charge:

\[(47.37-38) \quad \text{Mich dunket wie mîn wort geliche gé als ez der summer vor ir ôren taete.}\]

As always, the only word she is capable of uttering is the monotonous "No" to his advances; her answer demanded by courtly propriety, is noncommittal.\(^{82}\) This leads to her characterization in terms of the controversial metaphor of the "sumer von Triere" which has variously been interpreted as a meteorological reference,\(^{83}\) a loosening of the frouwe's tongue due to inebriation,\(^{84}\) a description of her recalcitrance as that of a pack mule,\(^{85}\) or her voice which sounds like a martial drum\(^{86}\) or the peasant jew's harp.\(^{87}\) Regardless of the exact interpre-

\(^{82}\) See MFU, p. 152.

\(^{83}\) See Brinkmann, "Friedrich von Hausen," pp. 19 f and pp. 107 f.

\(^{84}\) See Hans Sperber, "Der Sumer von Triere (MF 47.36 [sic])," Monatshefte Wisconsin, 45 (1953), p. 272.

\(^{85}\) Jungbluth interprets sumer as soumaere ("Saumt" - pack-horse) but fails to account for the reference to Triere. See "Mîn herze und mîn lip diu wellent scheiden," p. 251. Also see H.B. Wilson, "Der Sumer von Triere (Hausen MF 47.38)," MLR, 51 (1956), pp. 4-5. Here the reading is "rehte als ez von stummem tiere taete" thereby obviating the emendations of von Kraus and Jungbluth.

\(^{86}\) See MFU, p. 153.

\(^{87}\) Kienast's arresting study is predicated not only on the fluidity of the liquida 'l-r' in the assimilation of 'Trier = triel, i.e. mœul (mouth)' but also on the comparable monotony of the frouwe's repetitive 'No' with the monotone of the plucked jew's harp. See "Hausens Scheltliet und der Sumer von Triere," p. 50.
tation, the pejorative tone toward the lady is always clear and in this context, most revealing. The professed "hatred" of the poet for the frouwe was primarily an expression of hatred for society which had created a bloodless minne-system; however, the charge of tumbheit leveled at her now (48.1f) is a personal accusation, cleverly enveloped in the reversal of an established topos. Hausen had referred to his own "tumber willen" (47.22) and "tumber herzen" (49.15) previously, now his parody utilizes the reversal of the subject - object relationship.

De Boor puts it succinctly:

Der Wille des Herzens war töricht, weil es einem aussichtslosen Unterfangen galt. Die Dam übt 'tumbheit,' weil sie dies Unterfangen zur Aussichtslosigkeit verdammt. Sind beide Partner dieses HöhenMinneverhältnisses töricht, so liegt darin eine Kritik an der Sache als solcher. Sich vom Minnedienst abwenden, hiesse einer Torheit absagen.88

The frouwe's continued "No" thus, in final analysis, betrays a lack of intelligence. She is not foolish in matters of love as the knight had occasionally claimed, but stupid and thus hardly deserving of praise.89


89 See Kienast, "Hausens Scheltliet," p. 58.
Hausen's final antithesis "ez geschiht mir niemer me" (48.2) summarily parodies the traditional minne view and the attitude toward the knight who was obliged to suffer the whims of his lady without complaint. Hausen distances himself from this once and for all.

To summarize, Hausen's Minnesang is characterized by a questioning of the relative merits of Eros and its implications for the practice of courtly minne. His introspective approach to minne phenomenology and his attempt to achieve a synthesis of its ethical and aesthetic values mark him as an exceptional individual. The poet was, in fact, not only a well-traveled, well-educated cosmopolitan but also an influential politician with great insight into the incisive events of his time, especially the crusade.

Against this background the gradual depersonalization of formal minne practice and the concomitant estrangement between individuals, as reflected in his own poetry, remained the central and most vexing problem. Three stages of his poetry are discernible, all of which disclose the strong impact of Provençal literature. First, there are poems of conventional minne praise, followed by a group which indicates the increasing spiritualization of minne and the withdrawal of the individual into a contemplative groping for meaning. Finally,
those poems which accept the call of the Cross and, under the impact of this momentous decision, demand a return to the personal, meaningful relationship with the frouwe. From its outset Hausen's poetry reflects the unsatisfactory minne situation in the juxtapositioning of traditional and Provençal elements: the frouwe's anonymity is protected (senhal) on one hand, yet the Wechsel is spoken as to include the public; huote is praised as well as villified; erotic allusions to the frouwe are implicit but pale with increasing contemplation as she is transformed from desirable prize into an ethical standard. Professed fear and dread make their first appearance in Minnesang, emotions which were previously not mentioned indicating the psychological effects of the dilemma. Finding a meaningful solution to the problem of integrating minne and Eros finally results in acerbic attacks on the concept of minne as portrayed by the frouwe.

The impact of the crusade has brought about the realization that the artificial separation of Eros from minne is futile and in violation of the natural ordo. The poet boldly speaks out for change, for a new synthesis which, however, must spring from different sources than the Provençal or the native tradition. For this first generation of Minnesänger it will be achieved only by Heinrich von Veldeke.
CHAPTER IV

THE RE-INTEGRATION OF EROS AND MINNE

HEINRICH VON VELDEKE

In his expansive study on Hausen's lyrical works, Brinkmann has consistently pointed to Hausen's and Veldeke's mutual interrelationship in terms of versification and shared motifs.¹ The support which he receives in this by the probability of the two poets' personal knowledge of each other² tends to obfuscate the fact, that they did not, in fact, draw together in a common approach to the problem of minne–Eros, but treated it quite differently and revealed divergent philosophies and temperaments in their treatment of it.

To Hausen, the grief of separation, the lack of acknowledgment by the lady, culminates in an ironic rejection of the system which denies the possibility of personal closeness. His acerbic scheltliet lashes out at the individual and particularly at the failure of the frouwe to be ṛip as well. By contrast, Veldeke's attitude betrays greater equanimity and, seemingly, a return to the traditional praise:

¹See Brinkmann, "Friedrich von Hausen," pp. 28 f.
(64.22-25) got âre sî dî mich dat dût
alsô verre al over Rîn,
dat mich dî sorgen sîn gebût
al dâ màn îf sich verellenden mût.

Altogether new, however, is the touch of realistic humor which portends an innovative spirit and contrasts so refreshingly with Hausen's elegiac casuistry. Thus, e.g. the mundane combination of greying hair and minne and the problem of wisdom of choice for the lady:

(62.11-17) Men seget vorwâr nû manech jár,
dî wît dî haten grâwe hâr.
dat is mich swâr
dende is here misprîs
dî ûver hebben heren amîs
dump dan wîs.

Already Gottfried praises Veldeke's refreshing infusion of Flamish esprit into the saturnine formalism of the German minne ethos. Not only for placing "das erste ris in tiut [i] scher zungen,"3 but also for Veldeke's poetic and imaginative buoyancy which he praises: "ich waene, er sine wisheit / uz Pegases urspringe nam."4


Stemming from the Southern Netherlands which, through the cultural _porte_ at Cologne, had vastly influenced the development of _Minnesang_ by passing on the literature, _frouwen dienst_ and chivalric ethos of the West, Veldeke was heir to a highly esteemed tradition. The Lower Franconian region, particularly Brabant and the Hennegau, epitomized the acme of chivalry in this day. Hartmann von Aue, for example, lets young Gregorius dream of becoming the ideal knight in these terms:

```
swelch ritter ze Henegouwe
ze Brabant und ze Haspengouwe
ze orse ie aller beste gesatz,
so kan ichz mit gedanken baz.
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This reputation undoubtedly furthered the acceptance of Veldeke's new and individual style. His lyrical contributions included not only stylistic innovations but, in terms of this topic, a new approach to the function of Eros within _minne_.

Already a cursory view of his work illustrates the divergence from the traditional pattern. For instance, he insists on his own _minne_ terminology, as if to remove himself from the stereotyped language employed by his literary contemporaries of French as well as German

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extraction. On the surface the polarity vroide-trüren appears merely to change to Veldeke's own blitscap-rouwe, however, the terms of this new jargon have a meaning all their own and transcend their traditional fixation in the German minne language discussed so far. In this way Veldeke not only pays homage to his own lyrical tradition but also divorces himself from the encumbrances of a stifling language which had all but atrophied in spiritualization. Yet he remains traditional in his choice of motifs, and adheres to the patterns within the strictly defined limits of Minnesang convention. Although 'courteous,' he is not given to adulating the minne system. In fact, he rejects the abstraction of minne and its culmination sênende nôt, and once again acclaims erotic fulfillment as a goal rather than as a furtive dream. Even the Altheimische Minnesang with which Veldeke reties the thread of an emphatic Eros, had to present it in constant opposition to the courtly concept; "courtesy" and "love"-consummation had remained dichotomous because of the ethical conflict. Veldeke rejects this transparent illusion of hohiu minne, and proposes blitscap instead, which, as expression of joie de vivre, demands the personal involvement. That this is not to be equated with nideriu minne, is clearly pronounced:

(60.18–20)  
we bit êren kan gemêren  
sine blîtscap, dat is âût.
Veldeke's motto shows him to be less interested in polemics and problematical speculations than Hausen but much more so in a realistic code of conduct. Whereas in Hausen's thinking, absolute power was granted to huote, resulting eventually in the complete estrangement of the 'lovers' in their schizoid environment, Veldeke views the erotic proximity to the frouwe not as moral issue in defiance of society, but as integral part and due reward of proper service.

The issue for Veldeke is simply stated: patience and restraint are virtues to be expected as much from the knight as from the frouwe (67.33ff); in addition, the minne lōn to be gained rejects social interference.

\[
\begin{align*}
(67.32-35) & \quad \text{We wale gedīnen ende erbeiden mach,} \\
& \quad \text{deme ergelt et wale te spūde.} \\
& \quad \text{dār ane gedachte ich manegen dach.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(68.4-5) & \quad \text{lōnet mich's ðî gûde,} \\
& \quad \text{wir twē bedrigen unse hûde.}
\end{align*}
\]

The courtly spil (58.9) demands strict adherence to its rules, and the umbevān (57.1ff) can, accordingly, not be a matter of mere eischen (57.23) but must be the peak of the didactic process within this ordo. It is voiced as such by the frouwe in Veldeke's only Frauenlied:

\[6\text{See Brinkmann, "Friedrich von Hausen," p. 60.}\]
(57.34-37) Ich wände dat' er hovesch wäre:
des was ich heme van herten holt.
dat segge ich üch al openbære:
des is' er van mich êne scolt.

(58.3-6) He ûsch mich al te lôse minne,
dî ne vant' er ane mich nît.
dat quam van sînen cranken sinne,
want et heme sîn dumpheit rît.

Veldeke's espousal of the 'naturalness' of interpersonal conduct finds
its complementary expression in the re-introduction of nature as a
meaningful correlative to minne. In the Altheimische Tradition, the
Naturbild did not escape the stereotype of its identification with minne
(i.e. freedom vs. courtly confinement); Veldeke, however, individual-
izes nature, so that "ein reines Naturbild ohne unmittelbare Gefühlsl-
äusserung nicht mehr auftritt; die gehobene Gemütsstimmung des
Liebenden [wird] durch Besitz der rechten Minne, jeweils aus
gleichgestimmtem Naturbild entwickelt."\(^7\) Wessels elaborates on this
association and its importance for later Minnesang:

Veldeke verminniglicht die Natur; d.h. er "übertragt die
Minnemetapher auf Tiere und Pflanzen. Somit wird er zum
Begründer eines neuen Stils, den zwar seine Zeitgenossen
nicht zu schätzen wissen, der aber im späten Minnesang,
etcha bei Windstetten Schule machen wird. Anders ausgedrückt:
in Veldeke lebt schon etwas von dem kosmischen Gefühl des

\(^7\) Theodor Frings and Gabriele Schieb, "Heinrich von Veldeke,
die Entwicklung eines Lyrikers," in Festschrift Paul Kluckhohn und
Hermann Schneider, ed. Felix Genzmer et al. (Tübingen, 1948), p. 104.
From the preceding it is quite clear that Hausen and Veldeke are of entirely opposite character as regards their poetic inclination. Hausen is all too often stifled by the diffidence and effeteness of courtly mores and feels obliged to reduce his longing to terms of abstract contemplation, while Veldeke depurates his philosophy from the rules of sterile minne by asserting that, first, personal happiness is a valid goal and, secondly, that it can be achieved only through a spiritual as well as physical interaction. To achieve the happy state, both knight and trouwe are faced with the moral task of creating rather than submitting to a prevailing ethical climate.

It is interesting to note, that in contrast to this self-determinate minne ideology in the lyrics, Veldeke's philosophy expressed in his Eneide is in the Ovidian tradition, i.e., characterized by passive subjectiveness to deterministic numina. In the epic, man is controlled, the course of his minne unalterably pre-

determined; there is no room for individual expression. The involuntary physical and emotional duress of the love relationship emphasizes the compulsion of minne, whereas the lyrics stress the ethical perfectability of the relationship through arebeit:

(61.18-21) Dü men der rechter minnen plach, 
            du plach men auch der êren.
            nu mach men beide nacht ende dach
            di böse seden ëren.

The final reward, blitscap "sunder rouwe ende ane wanc" (59.31) transcends the meaning of the German vorde by combining the aesthetic with the ethical ideal. "Durch die Erziehung und das Vorbild der Frau hat der Mann die innere Heiterkeit des in höfischer Sitte und Sittlichkeit gefestigten Gemüts, die blitscap, die schon zu Beginn ersehntes Ziel war, zurückgewonnen." In the opposite attributes of dumpheit and rouwe Veldeke only finds confirmation that rehte and falsche minne are unequivocally aligned with êre and leid, respectively.


11 Festschrift für Paul Kluckhohn und Hermann Schneider, p.113.

12 See Maurer, Leid, p. 113.
Hausen could not find solace in the unfulfilled state; Veldeke, on the other hand, accepts it as a very necessary aspect of achieving hohen mutt. Rouwe, therefore, may be engendered by a feeling of justified guilt, but as a sign of anticipation rather than regret it can also be the hallmark of the striving knight.\textsuperscript{13}

Regarding the chronology of Veldeke's poems, it is already faulty in the manuscripts,\textsuperscript{14} and will, therefore, not likely ever be corrected. Yet, as Schieb observes, "l"ässt sich doch, mit aller Zur"ückhaltung, eine entwicklungsgeschichtliche Folge aufstellen, die psychologisch-k"unstlerischen M"oglichkeiten, einem Weg des Reifens entspricht, und die ihr Gegenst"uck in der Entwicklung der Lyrik "überhaupt hat."\textsuperscript{15} Although minne is the basic theme of all of these verses, Veldeke has devoted particular effort to demonstrate its interaction with society and nature, each one of which will be treated separately in the following.


\textsuperscript{14}See Gabriele Schieb, \textit{Heinrich von Veldeke}, Sammlung Metzler, 42 (Stuttgart, 1965), pp. 24 f.

\textsuperscript{15}Ibid., p. 25.
1. Minne and Nature.

 Appropriately the study of Eros in Veldeke's lyrics must begin by considering the primary function of nature as setting rather than as a mirror for the love liaison. Especially in the lyrics 66.1ff; 65.28ff; 64.17ff; 59.23ff and 57.10ff, the mood of the lovers is developed directly out of the Naturbild, and in comparison with the Donauländische Tradition, it is consistently drawn in a more detailed and realistic vein.  

 16 In 66.1ff, which may be incorrectly attributed to the poet, one finds, nevertheless, the unsophisticated blending of Natureingang and Tanzlied which Veldeke prefers in order to set the mood for the following personal encounter. In fact, the strophe provides for 65.28ff the visual and descriptive frame. Frings and Schieb point to the universality of this opening sequence by stating that "In der Abfolge Tanzlied - Naturbild 66.1, Natureingang oder eingewobenem Naturbild liegt eine Entwicklung Veldekes wie der frühen Lyrik überhaupt vor uns."  

 17 For the employment of the Naturmotif in early Minnesang, cf. especially Meinloh 14.1ff; Regensburg 16.15ff; Rietenburg 19.14ff and Dietmar 32.17ff; 33.15ff; 37.30ff and 39.30ff.


 19 Ibid., p. 83.
From the outset the contiguousness of love and nature sets the tenor of the entire cycle: "Der schöne somer get uns ane" (66.1). Veldeke employs this approach throughout, turning from the visual impact of resurgent nature (65.28-32) after the winter to thoughts of minne (65.34-35). However, he goes beyond mere description; his artful blending of the pictorial setting with the emotional appeal heralds a new style. Already it has been pointed out, that Veldeke does not use new motif elements. He is not innovative, preferring to vary the established pattern according to the Provençal precedent,\(^{19}\) which "sich erschöpft in Anwendung der teils parallel, teils antithetisch gefassten Ausdrucksformen eines so seit dem Altertum vorhandenen empfindsamen Naturgefühls."\(^{20}\) This kinship is easily demonstrated as, e.g., Bernart de Ventadorn sings:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Le gens tems de pascor} \\
\text{ab la frescha verdor} \\
\text{nos adui folh' e flor} \\
\text{de diversa color,} \\
\text{per que tui amador} \\
\text{son gai e chantador . . .}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^{19}\) Thomas even suggests similarities in the tradition of rhyming, see "Zu den Liedern und Sprüchen Heinrichs von Veldeke," p. 246.


\(^{21}\) The Songs of Bernart de Ventadorn, XXVII, vv. 1-5, p. 121. Transl., p. 123: The gentle season of spring
and similarly Veldeke:

(62.25-26)   In den aprilren so dî blûmen springen,  
sô louven dî linden ende grûnen dî bûken

(63.6-8)     mîn mût stëit ouch alsô  
dat ich wîlle wesen vrô. recht is dat ich  
mîn gelucke prîse.

Despite this obvious congruity Veldeke maintains poetic individuality.

He views the function of the Natureingang not only as setting, as it  
is for the troubadours, but also as portent of the emotional relationship  
between rîter and frouwe, and varies it accordingly. This is illustrated  
in 64.17ff and in 64.26ff where nature is brought into conjunction with  
minne, initially on a complementary level but finally as a means of  
mood contrast. Thus, the blooming trees and the singing birds of  
64.17ff are cause for the poet's jubilation, yet the frouwe dwelling  
"al over Rin" (64.23) is a source of anguish since he cannot remedy  
their separation. Conversely, the following picture of nature's  
"kalte nechte" (64.26) which indicates the waning of the summer months  

with its fresh greenery  
brings us leaves and flowers  
of various colors;  
therefore all lovers and singers  
are gay . . .

Veldeke's reference to "April" rather than the traditional German "May"  
further evidences his indebtedness to troubadour convention such as  
Bernart's "Lo gens temps de pascor."
would traditionally be equated with the loss of love. 22 Veldeke however, takes this occasion to affirm his conviction:

(64.29-33)  
der minnen hadde ich gâten wân  
ende weit es nâ ein live ende:  
dat't mich ten besten sal ergân  
dâ ich dâ minne gûde vinde  
ende ich mich here al underwonde.

The poet's concept of minne is prominently developed in the strophes 56.1ff - 57.10ff - 59.23ff, 23 particularly in the last "in denen Naturbild und gleichgestimmte Minnezeilen mit wachsender Gewichtsverschiebung zugunsten des Hôfischen und mit von Stück zu Stück steigender Kunst verflochten sind." 24 This shifting emphasis from the opening nature setting to the social situation reintroduces the 'natural' order of things into the courtly world. The poet endows the speaker with the ability to comment critically on the psychological and ethical aspects of the minne spel while it is left to the frauwe to control the extent of their relationship, a fact which is charmingly illustrated by the knight's praise of God for "rehte minne" (57.14) whereas the lady praises Luck (57.14) for her good fortune.

22 See MF 4.1ff.

23 See Friedrich Maurer, "'Rechte' Minne bei Heinrich von Veldeke," pp. 1 ff. Also see MFU, p. 167.

Veldeke's *leitmotif* "rehte minne sunder rouwe ende ane wanc"

(59.30f) highlights the new moral rôle for the *frouwe*. The knight is *blîde* only if properly instructed by his lady:

\[(59.32-35)\]

\[\begin{align*}
&\text{Ich bin blîde dore here êre} \\
&\quad \text{dî mich hevet dat gedân} \\
&\quad \text{dat ich van den rouwen kêre,} \\
&\quad \text{dê mich wîlen irde sûre.}
\end{align*}\]

But always is the praise of the feminine tutelage coupled with the desire for sexual union:

\[(57.5-6)\]

\[\begin{align*}
&\text{ich bat here in der caritâten} \\
&\quad \text{dat si mich muste al umbevân.}
\end{align*}\]

\[(59.36-60.3)\]

\[\begin{align*}
&\text{dat is mich nû also ergân:} \\
&\quad \text{ich bin ûike ende grîte hêre,} \\
&\quad \text{sint ich müste al umbevân} \\
&\quad \text{dî mich gaf rechte minne} \\
&\quad \text{sunder wîc ende âne wân.}
\end{align*}\]

The learning process is inevitably part of a catharsis which may be painful to the tyro since it exposes him to the envy of others:

\[(60.4-9)\]

\[\begin{align*}
&\text{dî mich drumbe willen ŋîden} \\
&\quad \text{dat mich ŋîves ŋit geschît,} \\
&\quad \text{dat mach ich vele sachte ŋîden} \\
&\quad \text{noch mîne blîtscap ŋîwet mîden,} \\
&\quad \text{ende ne wille drumbe ŋît} \\
&\quad \text{nâ gevolgen den unblîden}
\end{align*}\]

In contrast to Hausen, then, Veldeke does not view sublimation or even a Platonic relationship adequate recompense. He proposes a balanced relationship of didactic Ethos and passionate Eros which can only come about after proper apprenticeship. The question as to the
nature of his blitscap is elaborated on in 56.1ff and 57.10ff in the form of an exemplum. The stanza 56.1ff opens with a Natureingang which contrasts with the mood of the speaker: nature is in bloom but the speaker is unable to respond because of his minne grief. Uneducated as yet, his dumes herte had brought him to leid (56.7-10) because his affection "was al te hoge gerende" (56.19) - immoderate, without mâze thus causing the loss of blâtscap and êre as well. Stanza II provides the details: his impetuousness had cost him her huilde (56.15). Stanzas III and IV describe the fact that her physical beauty had wounded him with suiter dumpeit so that he had denied his manners (56.20-25). His desire for physical consummation had not been contra bonos mores in itself, but he had succumbed to his sensual impulses without having undergone the necessary ethical maturing. Veldeke demands this etiquette since the lack of mâze causes ostracism and, in due course, rouwe over the unfulfilled existence for the offender.

The knight’s belated insight is amplified by the lady’s own commentary in the only Frauenlied (57.10ff). In keeping with her

25 See Maurer, Leid, p. 108. The connection of rehte minne with êre is also a matter of particular emphasis in Veldeke’s Eneide.

superior role as teacher of *rehte minne*, the introductory *Natureingang* emphasizes her serenity:

\[(57.10-13)\]

\[
\text{Ich bin bliede, sint di dage} \\
\text{lichten ende werden lanc,} \\
\text{sprac ein vrouwe al sunder clâge} \\
\text{vrîlke ende âne al gedwanc.}
\]

She chastises the man's turbid emotionalism, his "cranker sinn" (58.5), which had spoiled their relationship; despite her insight that she might have been affected herself and her expression of gratitude at having been spared "boesen cranc ane miner blitscap" (57.17-18), she shows little empathy for the foolish knight.

Her brusk treatment of him is partially due to her fear of falling prey to *lose minne* (58.3): it makes her rather priggish with regard to the emotional aspect of Eros. It is especially due to this fear that their respective attitudes are worlds apart: she is able to enjoy *blitscap* by herself while the knight is unfulfilled by himself and seeks her affection. He errs subjectively in being led by passion rather than reason, she is equally at fault for not allowing for his emotions. The contemptuous charge of *dorperlike* conduct (57.31) which she hurls at him, carries with it the connotation of sexual directness, a propensity she cannot share. In fact, by accusing the knight of violating the rules of the game (58.9), she exposes the flatulence of her own
erotic motivation. She is a shrewd chess player who acknowledges her feminine weakness by insisting that he win only in accordance with the rules:  

(58.8-10) des brenge ich heme vele wale in inne dat he sîn spîl te unrechte ersît de't breket êre hêt gewinne.

She shares with Dietmar's and Hausen's trouwe the didactic function, but lacks the spontaneity of the former nor does she show the absolute aloofness of the latter.

Veldeke renews the emphasis on the ethical qualifications of achievable minne thereby setting it off in spirit from the Romance form he had utilized frequently. The sciolistic codes of amorous conquest proposed by Rudel, Vidal or Ventadorn suggest nothing of this fulfillment through arbeit; although patience was obligatory for the troubadour as well, it was not considered as a period of ethical matur- ing but as an expedient of eventual conquest:

Qu'eu ai be trobat legen que gota d'aiga que chai fer en un loc tan soven tro cha la peira dura.  

27 For the significance of the "game of kings" to its Provençal antecedent and to Veldeke, see Lüleritz, Die Liebestheorie der Provençalen bei den Minnesingern der Stauferzeit, p. 49.

28 The Songs of Bernart de Ventadorn, XVI, vv. 37-40, p. 84. Transl., p. 85: For I have learned in my reading
In this spirit the _domna_ remained an object rather than a person. She was admired for _beutat_, _joven_, _mezura_ and _sen_ but not for her subjective response which Veldeke's knight would elicit from his lady. Vidal compares the _sang-froid_ prior to conquest to the patience of the falconer in training his wild bird; Veldeke, on the other hand, is constantly made aware that he is the one being trained.

In 62.25ff the _Naturbild_ culminates in a new synthesis of nature and _blitscap_. The mingling of a cheerful spring mood and personal happiness is established after a lengthy description of applied _blitscap_ in the out-of-doors:

(62.29-33)  
_fô heyen bit willen dî vogele here singen,  
sînt sî minne vinden al dâ sî sî sûken  
anhe heren genôt, want here blitscap is grôt_

All this is to appeal to the lady since the poet's 'life' is in the balance.

Making use of legal terminology not unlike Hausen's confrontation between heart and body, he adjores her:

> that a drop of water continually falling and striking the same spot may pierce the hard stone.

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29 See _Luderitz_, pp. 44 ff.

(63.13-19) ich sal noch verderven al dore êne sculde,
sê ne wolde gerûken dat sê van mich êne
bûte âne dët up genâde ende dore nêt,
want et gôt êne gebût dat negein man gerne solde
sterven.

The last part is undoubtedly paronomastic humor in the exuberance of spring. Veldeke takes an irreverent swipe at the rigid social code, for, how can minne possibly demand death for social failings if not even God requires man to die willingly (63.18f)? The implication is that one should imitate the 'natural' happiness of verdant creation and animals seeking their mates (62.30f), and restore eroticism to the human relationship as well for the perfect synthesis of minne and mâze.


In all songs the mood of the anticipated encounter with the vrouwe was generally in harmony with the respective Natureingang. 31

The emphasis in the following grouping of Veldeke's poems, however, rests with the gradual encroachment of society into the personal relationship to which the poet reacts angrily and in discordant tones. These poems are specifically, 58.11ff, 65.13ff; 60.29ff and 66.24ff as well as the Spruchdichtung.

The song 58.11ff, in particular, indicates in the strongest terms Veldeke's dislike of interlopers. It is a blatant warning to the

31 With the exception of 64.26ff, which is a contrastive study.
merkaere in the unvarnished language of the common man, thereby
dramatizing their common behavior: if you harm my standing with my
lady, may you be cursed like a thief hanging from the gallows!' (58.11ff).
Conversely, he who would enhance the poet's reputation would be
blessed by him in the symbolic gesture of fealty "ende valde heme mine
hende" (58.16).

The refreshing breath of a different tradition from that of the
German Minnesang is unmistakable if one compares this passage with
those reflecting the gradually increasing frustration of Hausen's
rhetoric. Veldeke declines to engage in dialectics and metaphorical
flourishes. His language exudes a homespun quality which stands
in direct contrast with Hausen's courtly world. Veldeke accepts the
world as a reality - Hausen accepts it as a contingency. This colors
their respective views of the luegenaere and merkaere as well. For
Hausen they are extensions of an inimical fate, but for Veldeke they
are personal rivals for the affection of his frouwe. For that reason,
he declines to identify his lady, deflecting idle curiosity with the off-
handed reference "het is di wale gedane" (58.19). In masking her

32 Exceptions are Hausen's 48.32ff and Veldeke's 58.11ff.
identity he follows the troubadours' use of the *senhal*, by which a lady's name was kept from undue exposure. The identification of the lady with the sun, and her lover with the moon (58.21ff) denotes the impact on his life in "antithetische [r] Ausdrucksweise [die] das Lied in Moll verklingen lasst..." It ends in a *Naturbild*, which, in this antithetical form, appears for the first time in *Minnesang*:

(58.23-31)  
\[ ^* \text{Wi m\c{s}n n\c{u}t gev\c{u}ger \c{a}re,} \]
\[ s\c{u} gewunne ich \c{l}if n\c{a} leide \]
\[ ende bl\c{u}tscap manechfalde, \]
\[ want ich weit vele \c{l}ive m\c{a}re: \]
\[ bl\c{u}men springen ane der heiden, \]
\[ vogele singen in den walde. \]
\[ d\c{a} wilten lach der sn\c{s}, \]
\[ d\c{a} steit n\c{u} gr\c{a}ne c\c{a}, \]
\[ bedouwet ane den morgen. \]

From the consideration of personal *leid* it is but a small step to its contemplation as a factor in the corruptness of the world, with its *l\c{a}sheit* and *b\c{o}sen seden* (61.5; 60.7). The poet turns to the *Spruchdichtung* as his most effective literary vehicle and employs it to sketch the courtly world he lives in. The single stanza 66.1ff


35 Frings and Schieb, "Heinrich von Veldeke," *Festschrift Kluckhohn und Schneider*, p. 106.
sets the tone for the entire group comprised of 60.29ff, 61.1ff, 61.9ff, 61.18ff, 65.13ff and 65.21ff. In didactic terms it deplores the vanishing of manners in pursuit of a type of minne which cannot satisfy:

(61.1-4)

\[\text{Di werelt is der lichte, cheide} \\
\text{al te rûmelike balt.} \\
\text{harde cranc is here geleide,} \\
\text{dat der minnen dût gewalt.}\]

In like fashion, 65.13ff presents antithetically, ".. .unter Einfluss des Tanzliedes, gegensätzlich aus Naturbild entwickelt ...",\(^{36}\) the lament over the decline, but also a simultaneous attack on the apostate knights of the minne doctrine (65.17f). In 60.29ff the poet details his excoriation: not the merkaere, who at least perform their duty impersonally in the name of etiquette, are to be feared, but the blide-losen who are envious of those practicing the rehte minne and seek to taint their reputation at every turn:

(60.29-34)

\[\text{In den tiden dat ði rôsen} \\
\text{tounen maneuch scône blat,} \\
\text{so vlûket men den blûdelôsen} \\
\text{ði vrûgere ðin ane maneger stat,} \\
\text{want ði der minnen ðin gehat} \\
\text{ende den minneren gerne nôsen} \]

(35.36)

\[\text{van den bûsen mûte got uns ðosen.}\]

Enmity of minne practice from within the ranks of the gentry rather than the customary envy of someone’s good fortune, introduces an

\(^{36}\text{Ibid., p. 107.}\)
ominous element of disintegration into the courtly picture. The
blidelosen seek the ladies' affection as well but they are not idealists
willing to serve in rehter minne to achieve their reward. To Veldeke's
thinking, they erode the social fabric. He dramatizes this in the
contrast of the idyllic Naturbild in 60.29ff with the concluding metaphor:

(65.7–8) want sê warden ende lûken
     alse dê sprenket in den snê.

which likens their intrigues to snares in the snow to catch fieldfare.
Despite Veldeke's disparagement of their craftiness, "want sê sûken
peren up den bûken" (65.11 + 12), their detrimental influence is an
everpresent danger. Veldeke not only inveighs against new dangers
however, but also against archaic customs. He speaks out against the
profitless huote (65.21), concluding with sagacity that

(65.23–27) vele manech man dê dreget dê rûde
     dê he sich selven mede sleit.
     sê wê ten bûsen seden veit,
     dê geit vele dicke unvrô bit irren mûde.
     des ne pleget nît der wîse ende vrûde.

As opposed to the other poets, Veldeke voluntarily surrenders the
power of setting the standards of conduct to his lady. A figurative
whip serves the ethical purpose:

(63.25–27) mich binden vaste dê eide,
     minne ende trouwe dê beîde:
     des vórchte ich dû gûde
     alse dat kînt dût dê rûde.
Violating this self-imposed zuht, the bildelesen even have the temerity to rebuke the frouwen (61.26), thereby, of course, denigrating themselves.37 Veldeke affirms his opposition to these knights in 61.9ff, his acerbic polemic on the nidegen:

(61.9-13)  
Des bin ich getrist dê mère 
dat dê nidegen mich nîden. 
nêt ende alle bôse lêre 
mûte hen dat herte snîden 
[dat sê sterven des dê ère.]

As for himself, he proposes to remain steadfast:

(61.14-17)  
ich wille leven bit den bûden, 
dê here tît in bûden lûden. 
ich ne wille dore here nîden 
mûne blêtsçap nîwet mîden.

thus presenting a final affirmation of the sentiments expressed especially in 61.1ff, 61.18ff and 61.9ff and rejecting the negativism of the idle nîder, in fact, identifying it with the graceless demeanor of the lowborn (dorperheit). For erotic fulfillment continues to be inseparable from the qualities of ère, zuht and their application through rehte minne.

3. The Power of Minne.

The power of minne as an aesthetic as well as an ethical motivator is highlighted in the poems 64.34ff, 66.9ff,

37 See MFU, p. 171.
66.16ff and 67.25ff. They may be thematically grouped to illustrate Veldeke's *minne* philosophy. In 64.34ff the poet employs the picture of the wounding through *minne* which also figures prominently in Veldeke's *Eneide*. Significantly, the emphasis is not the same in both. In the lyric, the victim of Minne's archery is wounded for life although his lot can be improved through *arbeite*, which always finds reward. In the *Eneide*, on the other hand, Amor's golden (*hilsucap*) or leaden (*leid*) arrows carry with them the meaning of inevitable fate and the loss of all personal volition:

> Love is generated and directed toward its object by forces completely beyond the control of man's faculties. Omnipotent numina, Venus and Cupido, ignoring the refinements of psychological persuasion, ignite a fiery and irresistible passion.... Veldeke's *minne* runs its course with terrifying inevitability. There is an overwhelming necessity to it all and Veldeke's lover is utterly incapable of resisting this passion of foreign origin, which presses itself upon him in opposition to his express will and against his obvious inclinations (En. 1481ff, 10102ff, 10150ff, 11165ff).\(^{38}\)

Thus in the epic, man endures in fatalistic passivity a condition he would gladly escape.\(^{39}\) Quite the reverse is the case in the lyrics.

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\(^{39}\)Ibid., p. 727.
In the joining of 64.34ff and 66.9ff into a two-stanza poem, proposed already by v. Kraus, it becomes quite clear that the poet admits to a different power of minne which cannot be described to someone not affected by it. It causes one to be reduced to insignificance in the presence of one's trouwe "dan der ^âne [schînet] bî der sunnen" (65.4). Veldeke addresses himself to personified minne:

(66.9-12)
\[
\begin{align*}
\hat{D}i \text{ minne bidde ich ende m\text{"a}ne}, \\
\hat{d}i \text{ mich hevet verwunken al}, \\
\text{dat si } \hat{d}i \text{ sc\text{"o}ne d\text{"a}r t\text{"u} sp\text{"a}ne} \\
\text{dat si } \hat{m}\text{\`ere m\text{"i}n geval.}
\end{align*}
\]

This "Bitte . . . im Aufgesang . . . Mahnung . . . im Abgesang" reflects a striking ambiguity in the bidden which connotes not only 'pleading' but also 'summoning before court.' Indeed, strengthened by his conviction, Veldeke challenges minne to aid his just cause rather than try to enslave him. Anticipating Walther's famous "stirbe ab ich, so ist si tot" (73.16), Veldeke metaphorically links his own demise to the lady's loss of reputation and thus perpetuates

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40 MFU, p. 185.
41 MFU, p. 186.
42 Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch, I, ed. Matthias Lexer (Leipzig, 1872), col. 286.
a simile already fashionable with the *troubadours*. As a swan sings before his death, the poet's appeal to his *frouwe* is to her a warning of her own oblivion, since the fate of both is inextricably tied. Those who perceive this and live accordingly are *wra*, those failing are the *tumben*. To the *Minnesänger*, however, should go praise for this warning as Veldeke himself demands:

(67.25-29)

\[\text{Di dâ hören mânen sanc,}
\text{ich wille dat sî mich's weten danc}
\text{stâdelike ende âne wanc.}
\text{di i geminden ofte noch minnen}
\text{di sîn blîde in manegen sînen.}\]

The power of *minne* is of such a nature that no one can escape it.

This is suitably demonstrated by the example of Salomon "der aller wiste man" (66.16ff) who became a victim despite his sapience. Tristan, as well, "mûste âne sînen danc / stâde sîn der koninginnen" (58.35-36). Should then a simple man like the poet be immune? The answer is an implied negative, returning to the original contention that the only salvation from the "bôsen cranc" is through ethical striving.

After Hausen's 42.1ff, Veldeke is only the second poet to take for granted the sophistication of his audience with regard to literary

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45 See also Morungen 139.15.
motifs. And he tailors these ancient lays to his own literary requirements. Thus he deviates from the original Tristan story as well as from the version of Chretien de Troyes, after whom 58.35ff seems to have been generally patterned.\footnote{Frings and Schieb, "Heinrich von Veldeke," \textit{Festschrift Kluckhohn und Schneider}, p. 112.} He agrees with the French poet in rejecting emphatically the effect of a figurative 'love potion.' Chretien states "mes plus me fet amer que lui / fins cuers et bone volantez,"\footnote{Chrestomathie De L'Ancien Francais, eds. Karl Bartsch and Leo Wiese, 12th ed. (New York, 1958), Pc. 32, vv.30-31, p. 113. Transl.: Rather than through it [the potion], Love was induced through my sensitive heart and my strong will.} but Veldeke goes beyond this by claiming the \textit{frouwe}'s gratitude, not for a magically imposed \textit{minne}, but for the \textit{minne} which he radiates as a result of his ethical preparation. By rejecting both the Tristan thaumaturgy and Chretien's veiled euphemisms, Veldeke's \textit{minne} poetry remains clearly erotic expression of personal volition. He only accepts "diu kraft der minne" which is destined, and must be born in mutuality in accordance with the ethical precepts:

(59.7-10) \begin{center} wale gedâne, valsches âne, \newline lât mich wesen dîn \newline ende wis dû mâin. \end{center}

Realizing that \textit{blitscap} itself is an emotional and erotic rather than an ethical and rational state of being, the \textit{frouwe} is compelled to
consider only the tangible and visible evidence of its presence.
"Blitscap sunder rouwe" (60.13) is concomitant with \(\hat{\text{ere}}\) and, by implication, also with \(\hat{\text{schoene}}\). The true knight is, therefore, also a paragon, "\(\hat{\text{he is edele ende vrút}}\)" (60.17). His counterpart, the \(\hat{\text{bliedelose}}\) knight, unwilling to follow \(\text{minne}\) etiquette, is, by the same token, stripped of all accolades of chivalry (60.15ff) and physical appeal.

Veldeke establishes the pursuit of Eros as a \(\text{quid pro quo}\) of social intercourse. He insists on the mutually non-exclusive inter-relationship of erotic and ethical values for the ideal \(\text{minne}\) situation. Accordingly, the \(\text{frouwe}\) is assured of the attention of a 'noble' rather than an 'ignoble' lover, the knight of sexual favors as a possible goal and reward. The significance of the poet's philosophical antinomy \(\hat{\text{blitscap-rouwe}}\) is all-encompassing. It delineates personal ethical development (character); secondly, it affects \(\text{minne}\) conduct (society); and finally, it guides in the area of personal intimacy (Eros).

To conclude, Veldeke's contribution to the determination of the function of Eros in \(\text{minne}\) conduct is in part due to his introduction of a new uncompromised \(\text{minne}\)-vocabulary, a down-to-earth and at times humorous appraisal of its idiosyncrasies, the emphatic inclusion
of nature as representing 'natural' minne but most of all because of his concept of due reward in terms of the erotic relationship after proper preparation through arbeit. The forces of society and minne, although formidable, are ancillary to the issue of one's own perfectability. Personal happiness is a valid goal incorporating both physical and spiritual aspects. In this sense, ethical striving is not a stage of spiritual frustration as it is for Hausen but one of anticipation. Veldeke's indebtedness to the Provençal school exhausts itself in his adherence to certain limited conventions (parallel and antithetical nature-minne descriptions). The frouwe emerges as sole mistress of the young knight's education. She is the strongest figure of all the frouwen introduced so far in Minnesang: shrewd and seemingly unaffected by the impetuous knight's emotional appeal, she is a constant reminder that sexual reward may only come after he has proven himself to be worthy.

The forces of society and of minne as sexual compulsion do not emerge prominently or interferingly in the didactic process. Merkaere and blidelose represent opposite sides of the social spectrum. The former traditionally seek to destroy by interference, the latter undermine the social fabric by only paying lip-service to the demands of ethical conduct. Veldeke rejects both in graphic detail.
The power of *minne* is unquestioned (the poet alludes to the fate of Salomon and Tristan) yet Veldeke does not meekly accept the potion cup. He challenges "Minne" to support him in his quest, for, with his demise as a poet will also end the *frouwe*'s reputation. Constant striving for ethical perfection holds the only remedy for the "bösen cranc," and will be rewarded in due time.
CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

This study was undertaken with the intent of demonstrating the historically neglected relevancy of Eros to the concept of courtly minne, to trace its development, and to illustrate the attitude of the respective poets and their society (as described by them) toward it.

Before the summary, however, it seems appropriate to account for the scope of the investigation and to place it into its historical perspective. The time-span between Kurenberc and Veldeke can only be approximated (ca. 1150-1190). It is a very short period, however, which justifies the contention that the different aspects of the minne-Eros problem presented by the selected poets are concurrent in this generation and not taken from the entire spectrum of Minnesang.

Projected on the historical scale, this period extended from the death of Bernhard of Clairvaux (1153) to the high-point of Emperor Frederick's Mainzer Hoffest (1184) and ended abruptly with the fateful Third Crusade (1189-92). In other terms, the period surveyed ranged from the end of Cluniac asceticism to the height of the early chivalric period. It may be well to remember the impact of these and
other events of religio-political significance during Emperor Frederick's reign upon the shaping of the philosophy of the times since these Minnesänger as court poets were intimately affected by it. Hausen, a special case, even wielded great political power.

With reference to this topic, each one of these poets attempted in his own fashion to establish a correspondence between the ethical dictates of his courtly world and an aesthetic appraisement of Eros without which minne poetry would not have been popular.

Since no definition of the word "erotic" has any real meaning except in relation to a definite historical period, minne poetry has to some extent remained enigmatic to the modern reader who, following contemporary standards of culture and appreciation and the guidance of traditional scholarship equated minne with erotic sublimation. As this study has pointed out, however, the lack of direct reference to erotic conduct and the avoidance of a code language of objective terminology did by no means attest to the absence of Eros. Minnesang is by and large not original composition but variation on pre-established themes. The poets of this first generation were shown not to be agapet but individuals who employed the mechanism of their art to convert libido into creative activity. In this sense it is hoped, therefore, that this study has helped to some degree to
dispel the mistaken notion of Minnesang as a monotonous panegyric on
the virtues of the frouwe or as poetry of sexual frustration.

On the contrary, the preceding analysis has attempted to point
out that each poem reveals itself to be as individualistic in character
as its author and, more importantly, serves as a link toward the evolve-
ment of a sexual code which, as proposed by Veldeke, could be com-
bined with the precepts of society.

With the latter this inquiry was appropriately concluded since
Heinrich von Morungen and Rudolf von Fenis already exhibit a notable
affinity for the marniére and precious aspects of the courtly poetry,
dwelling more on scopophiliac aspects and dream visions than any of
their predecessors. On the other hand, frequent references to trouba-
dour poetry seemed indispensable. Their example was fashion and
inspiration not only for form and expression but also especially for
the infusion of a new ethos into the native tradition.

In the treatment of the erotic motif within the framework of
minne practice, a definite development could be discerned. It was
invariably predicated on the respective attitude of knight and frouwe
toward each other as well as on court etiquette. This attitude, in
turn, determined the extent of free erotic expression in the poetry.
Three distinct phases of the attitude toward sexuality which were independent of any chronology could be isolated, and permitted the following categorization. ^Kürenberc and Dietmar I may be said to represent the 'naive' or primary phase which emphasized the erotic at the expense of social considerations. The second phase, marked by the encroachment of social convention and interference to the detriment of free erotic expression, is represented by Meinloh, Rietenburg and Regensburg. In the third stage, Hausen was identified with the spiritualization of minne; Veldeke, finally, completed the cycle by re-integrating the concepts of Eros and minne in the ethical pursuit. During all of these phases it was noted that minne in pursuit of its Eros-actualization was never solely directed toward an Eros of self-gratification per se. It always stood under the auspices of "werben umbe werdekeit." The early poetry, closer to the native tradition, conveyed the expression of physical desire only through the woman. As the poet began to pattern himself more and more after the Provençal courtier, however, the knight assumed the active rôle and the frouwen assumed didactic functions while retaining their erotic appeal.

It became evident that the striving for ethical values as represented in this early Minnesang was not a matter of spiritual motivation coupled with an incidental interest in physical love, but that the
promise of physical love led the individual to assess his ethical commitment. That the bond between the knight and früwe, however tenuous, was a personal one, was evinced by the expression of fear and jealousy which characterized Kürenber's lady as well as Veldeke's foolish knight.

In essence, the confrontation of personal and socially acceptable 'love' was shown to be the result of the following paradox: living in an epoch of political and religious upheaval, the Minnesänger realized minne to be an essential fiction for the purpose of containing and refining the barbarous social customs of his and an earlier age. Yet at the same time minne could not be expressed without the inclusion of Eros which society tended to deny. By his own references, complaints and attempts at secrecy each poet attested to society's interference. This was least in evidence on the periphery of the Minnesang discussed: Kürenberc rejected it out of his spirit of independence, Veldeke opposed it because minne-conduct was already a sham to many blidelosen and could, therefore, only mature in the private liaison. Hausen, however, was confronted with a social code so rigid that even his impassioned pleas for recognition were rejected by the früwe - she had, in fact, become 'society'.
As stated, erotic motivation rather than the courtly spirit determined the tenor of this Minnesang. This was particularly in evidence in Kùrenberg’s poetry, since his propinquity to a less refined society stressed the virtues of conquest (also in sexual terms), freedom from social interference, and a concomitant free exchange of sensual sentiments between man and woman. For this reason he rejected Frauendienst - although he was well aware of it - and his mistress could be either magetin or frouwe, unaffected and passionate, a characterization proscribed by later courtly standards. But already with Meinloh a shift from frank eroticism to sublimated minne dienest was becoming apparent. The unhappy state of separation between the lovers was extensively alluded to (trûren) and deplored in the verses of Fernliebe and the Preislied. Service to the frouwe had become an established feature; sexual attraction was secreted from the outside world as much as possible. A political element was introduced by Meinloh’s suggestion that the frouwe take a lover officially in order to silence wagging tongues. The brothers Regensburg and Rietenburg offered studies in attempting to integrate sexual values into the court etiquette; society could, if necessary, even be deceived. The clandestine affair had become the rule rather than the exception.
With Dietmar II (Dietmar I is essentially in the Kürenberc tradition) began the period of intense reflection on the function and interrelation of Eros and minne. The poet permitted equal voice to both man and woman on this issue, since both were equally infected with the minne-disease. Thus the social considerations receded once again in importance behind attempts to justify the sexual liaison.

Hausen, in the third part of this study, displayed the disconcerting effects of increasing sublimation of the erotic impulse. Under intense pressure of society and convention he suppressed desire. The depiction of his frouwe underwent a metamorphosis from approachable female to heavenly ideal. The abstraction of a real into an imaginary relationship created the perverse desire for the nit of rivals as assurance of the frouwe's continued affection but resulted only in fremede - complete estrangement. The spuriousness of such a situation was finally brought home by the events of the crusade. Hausen took stock and returned to a philosophy in which physical and personal contact were restored to their proper place in the minne practice. The frouwe had to descend from the pedestal from which she had ruled the riter's life. It fell to Veldeke, however, to firmly re-integrate the erotic motif into the minne concept. Rejecting sênedê not as the acme of courtly love poetry, he infused his own philosophy of minne
with a touch of the humorous, a new vocabulary and proposed in his  
^blitscap the proper amalgam of ethical schooling and erotic enjoyment 
for the individual.

It was "rehte minne sunder rouwe ende ane wanc" (59.30f) 
which, appropriately, closed the cycle from Kürenberc to Veldeke and 
thus established the motif of Eros in early Minnesang as equally valid 
to and as integral part of the concept of courtly minne.
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Geistesgeschichte
GLL - German Life and Letters
GR - German Review
GRM - Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift
JEGP - Journal of English and Germanic Philology
MLR - Modern Language Review
ZfdA - Zeitschrift f. dt. Altertum u. dt. Literatur
ZfdPh - Zeitschrift f. dt. Philologie

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