Repeat the Sounding Joy: Hearing Communal Joy in Medieval German Literature

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Dedication

Dedicated to my husband Brian and our son Kent,
who both gave so much.

May those who sow in tears
reap with shouts of joy.
Those who go out weeping,
bearing the seed for sowing,
shall come home with shouts of joy,
carrying their sheaves.

Psalm 126:5-6 (NRSV)

Abstract

Expressions of joy in Western European literature of the central Middle Ages often aid in community formation. The historical study of emotional communities inspired by Barbara Rosenwein has allowed emotions to be reexamined as expressions defined by socio-cultural, linguistic, and gendered norms, yet joy remains overlooked. This dissertation delves into joy's literary depictions and perceived impacts—negative and positive—on religious and secular communities.

Despite their potential incompatibility, these communities portray similar intersections between joy and sound. A medical manual by Hildegard von Bingen and a moral treatise by Bernard of Clairvaux encourage a vocal control of emotion to protect the spiritual health of both the individual and the monastic community. Secularizing these values, Thomasin von Zerclaere exhorts young nobles in the pursuit of quiet moderation. Conversely, noisy festivity marks key narrative turns in Arthurian romances and indicates whether the hero, the community, and its king are in right relationship, as seen in *Erec* by Hartmann von Aue and *Erec et Enide* by Chrétien de Troyes. The aural images of these diverse texts underscore joy's bubbling, cackling, roaring ability to unite and divide.

Old Occitan troubadours and Middle High German *Minnesänger*—such as Guillaume IX, Dietmar von Eist, Reinmar von Hagenau, and Walther von der Vogelweide—position themselves as gatekeepers of a joyful, elite community by enforcing good taste and cultivating collective memory, which Gottfried von Strassburg overtly claims in his romance *Tristan*. To analyze joy's as a communal and artistic tool, I draw on literary criticisms proposed by Sara Ahmed and Will Hasty as well as medieval understandings of music.

This dissertation restores these songs, stories, and treatises to their original vocality: these texts' first audiences were largely illiterate, lending the aural imagery more emphasis. Most of the melodies for the troubadour and *Minnesang* corpora have been lost; nonetheless, troubadour scholars have applied techniques from musicology and sound studies to re-imbue their texts with sound. I propose similar methods for medieval German literature, rediscovering the aural and formative effects of joy on its audiences.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Abbreviations

Anthologies and Dictionaries

BMZ	*Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch,* eds. Benecke, Muller, and Zarncke
FEW	*Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*
KLD	*Deutsche Liederdichter des 13. Jahrhunderts,* ed. Kraus
MF	*Des Minnesangs Frühling,* eds. Moser and Tervooren
PL	*Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Latina* (The *Patrologia Latina)*

Journals and Series

AHR	*The American Historical Review*
AKG	*Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*
CSQ	*Cistercian Studies Quarterly*
DVLG	*Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*
GQ	*The German Quarterly*
KVHAA	*Kungliga Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien*
J. Ecol.	*Journal of Ecology*
JEPG	*The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*
JM	*The Journal of Musicology*
MLR	*The Modern Language Review*
NLH	*New Literary History*
PBB	*Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*
PMLA	*Publications of the Modern Language Association*
ZfdA	*Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur*

Manuscript Sigla

Middle High German Songbooks

MS A	*Die Kleine* (or *Alte*) *Heidelberger Liederhandschrift,* Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, Cod. Pal. germ. 357 (Alsace, late thirteenth century)

MS B	*Die Weingartner* (*Stuttgarter*) *Liederhandschrift*, Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, Cod. HB XIII 1 (Konstanz, early fourteenth century)
MS C	*Die Große Heidelberger Liederhandschrift (Codex Manesse)*, Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, Cod. Pal. germ. 848 (Zürich, early- to mid-fourteenth century)
MS G^x	Liederhandschrift, München Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 5249/74 (Bavaria, mid- to late-fourteenth century)

Der Welsche Gast

MS A	*Welscher Gast* (A), Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, Cod. Pal. germ. 389 (Bavaria or southeast Austria, c. 1256)
MS D	*Wer nicht weiß, was rechte Liebe sei*, Sächsische Landesbibliothek in Dresden, Mscr. M 67 (North Bavaria, c. 1450)
MS E	*Der Wälsche Gast*, The Morgan Library and Museum, MS G.54 (Trier, c. 1380)
MS G	*Der welsche Gast*, Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Cod. Memb. I 120 (Regensburg, c. 1340)

Chapter 1. Tidings of Comfort and Joy

Now to the Lord sing praises,
All you within this place,
And with true love and brotherhood
Each other now embrace;
This holy tide of Christmas
All others doth deface:
O tidings of comfort and joy, comfort and joy,
O tidings of comfort and joy.[1]

More than any other of his contemporary composers and singers of German love lyrics, Reinmar von Hagenau (c. 1150 – c. 1210) is considered a poet of sorrow. Yet in a song attributed to him, he makes a rather opposite claim:

> I delivered a hundred thousand hearts from sorrow, so I too was happy. Alas, truly, I was the comfort of the whole world; how would it suit her, if she does not also comfort me? She ought not make me pay for being so long apart from her. Besides, I already atoned for that.
>
> *Ich hân hundert tûsent herze erlôst*
> *von sorgen, alse vrô was ich.*
> *wê, jâ was ich al der werlte trôst;*
> *wie zaeme ir daz, sin trôste ouch mich?*
> *Sî ensol mich niht engelten lân,*
> *daz ich sô lange von ir was,*
> *dar zuo daz ichs engolten hân.* (Lied 35.I.1-7).[2]

Although currently sorrowful, the singer wishes to remind his audience of the many times he brought them consolation (*trôst*, I.3) and joy ("delivered from sorrow," *erlôst / von sorgen*, I.1b-2a). The word *trôst* is a common term in love lyric to refer to the hope and

[1] "God Rest Ye Merry, Gentlemen," 18th century English carol, stanza 7 and chorus. Text taken from *Carols Old and Carols New: For Use at Christmas and Other Seasons of the Christian Year*, ed. Rev. Charles L Hutchins, D. D. (Boston: The Parish Choir, 1916), Carol #722, p. 594. Online at *Hymnary.org*, accessed January 19, 2023, https://hymnary.org/hymn/COCN1916/722.

[2] Except where noted, I follow the numbering found in *Des Minnesangs Frühling*, eds. Hugo Moser and Helmut Tervooren, vol. 1, 37th ed. (Stuttgart: S. Hirzel Verlag, 1982), with the song, stanza, and line number provided. Karl Lachmann's original numbering for this song is *MF* 184, 31. All translations are my own.

comfort a lady can provide her lovesick suitor—whether that comfort takes the form of patronage or sex is often left deliberately vague; or, perhaps, *trôst* is a thinly-veiled reminder that remuneration from the audience is expected, pointing to the performed context of the song. It also recalls Boethius's *De consolatione philosophiae*, one of the pillars of medieval thought. Thus, *trôst* ranges from religious and philosophical to erotic and socio-economic connotations. Reinmar may be following this last meaning when he asks, "how would it suit her, if she does not also comfort me?" (*wie zaeme ir daz, sin trôste ouch mich?* I.4). The feminine singular pronouns may be referring back to *werlt*, a feminine noun, or forward to a not-yet-introduced lady. The ambiguity allows for both to be meant, but the entire song seems to focus more on his audience rather than on a lady.[3] The term *werlt* can refer to all people, to the secular segment of society, or most specifically, to the aristocratic court as distinct from the rural communities—his audience. His claims to have brought an end to sorrow (*erlôst / von sorgen*, I.1b-2a) through his past songs imply that he is accomplishing it again right now in this song and positioning the singing persona as a typological Christ, a secular deliverer of the court's emotional state through the songs that he sings.

This deliverance from sorrow is joy, so that the audience is brought to match the affective state of the composer singer (*vrô*). The assonance of the rhyme words *erlôst* and *trôst* is echoed in *vrô*, so that redemption, consolation, and joy form an affective triad,

[3] Cf. the similar observations made by Ingrid Kasten in her commentary on the song, numbered 147 in *Deutsche Lyrik des frühen und hohen Mittelalters*, ed. Ingrid Kasten, trans. Margherita Kuhn (Frankfurt a.M.: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1995), 881; and made by Albrecht Hausmann, "Die *vröide* und ihre Zeit. Zur performativen Funktion der Inszenierung von Gegenwart im hohen Minnesang," in *Text und Handeln. Zum kommunikativen Ort von Minnesang und antiker Lyrik*, ed. Albrecht Hausmann with Cornelia Logemann and Christian Rode (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2004), 170.

while simultaneously referring to the song itself and its effect on the audience.[4] Reinmar's song of joy calls upon its listeners to respond with joy in turn, much like the Christmas carol that opens this chapter, almost as a ritualized gesture. Joy is thus a self-generative and self-reflexive, signifying the song as well as the purpose and result of the song. In this way, we can begin to see how joy is not merely an aesthetic device, but a shorthand for commenting on the extratextual performance, the process of composition, and the relationship between composer-singer and audience.[5]

To better understand joy's literary depictions as a communal emotion in medieval German literature, I will reference in the upcoming chapters contemporary works that are representative of the various emotional communities the composers would have encountered. But first, in this chapter I will discuss a number of challenges such a study presents, as well as outline my methodology for literary analysis, which draws on techniques already being used in troubadour studies, sound studies, and musicology.

Reinmar von Hagenau belonged to a group of German-speaking composers and singers of love lyric in the central Middle Ages whom scholars call *Minnesänger*; they came from many different occupations and groups, but the earliest known individuals,

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[4] "Durch diese Begriffstransposition erhalten *vröide* und *trôst* eine metaliterarische Bedeutungskomponente und werden zu Chiffren für den Minnesang selbst. Sie stellen dabei programmatisch einen Zusammenhang zwischen dem Inhalt von Minnesang und seiner Wirkung im Vortrag her: Nicht irgendein Singen, sondern Minnesang kann *vröide* und *trôst* spenden" (Albrecht Hausmann, "Die *vröide* und ihre Zeit," 165-184, 171).

[5] In referring to the *Minnesänger* and troubadours, I use the term "composer," which encompasses both melody and text and which thus restores a musicality that many of the texts have lost in transmission. I also use "compose" with its Latin meanings close at hand: "to place together," which, as we will see below, reflects the way Reinmar understands his compositional methods in a subsequent stanza; see also Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 69-82. Unfortunately, in medieval scholarship the studies of text and melody are often not "placed together," but considered separately. A number of musicologists such as Susan Boynton, Emma Dillon, and Jennifer Saltzstein have endeavored to bridge the gap, though literary criticism lags behind.

living about 1150 to 1220, were members of elite society.[6] That is, they were largely comprised of princes, nobles, and courtiers, composing songs in court settings for court audiences in addition to their primary duties.[7] Especially for the earliest composers, whose songs are collected in the anthology *Des Minnesangs Frühling*, the acts of composition and performance were supplementary to their primary roles in court, whether as king, knight, or cleric; only in the thirteenth century do we have clearer evidence of professional *Minnesänger*.[8] We know that they may have performed their own works, although other singers may have also performed them. It is possible that *Minnesang* was heard by a variety of audiences in a variety of venues, by an intimate group in a smaller room or by feasting celebrants in large halls.[9] And—as we see in the stanza above—the performance of song was intended to contribute to the joy of the court community.[10]

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[6] Günther Schweikle, *Minnesang* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1989), 111. See also Olive Sayce, *The Medieval German Lyric, 1150-1300: The Development of Its Themes and Forms in Their European Context* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 4–10; Joachim Bumke, *Courtly Culture: Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991 [first published as *Höfische Kultur: Literatur und Gesellschaft im hohen Mittelalter*, Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1986]) 488–505; and Maria Dobozy, *Re-Membering the Present: The Medieval German Poet-Minstrel in Cultural Context* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 23-25 and n.53. James V. McMahon, *The Music of Early Minnesang* (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1990) remains a foundational work on the music of the *Minnesänger*.

[7] Dobozy, *Re-Membering the Present*, 24 and n.49. See also Elizabeth Aubrey, "Non-Liturgical Monophony: Introduction," in *A Performer's Guide to Medieval Music*, ed. Ross W. Duffin (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 107. The term "ministerial" is now often used to talk about many *Minnesänger* and refers to a retainer or courtier who is bound to a lord and who is not legally free but may be socially considered nobles and knights. However, the *Minnesänger* encompassed a larger range than this class. On the difficulties of translating *curialis*, *capellanus*, and *clericus*, see Stephen C. Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals, 939-1210* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 14-16.

[8] Dobozy, *Re-Membering the Present*, 24.

[9] D. H. Green, *Medieval Listening and Reading: The Primary Reception of German Literature 800-1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 65-67.

[10] The term "courtly" is a quite multipurpose term in medieval German studies, admittedly at the risk of being imprecise, as the courts involved might range from the high imperial court in Vienna, Wolfger von Erla's episcopal court at Passau, or a small provincial court. See Dobozy, *Re-membering the Present*, 16.

We do not know much about the *Minnesänger*, often only their name or their place of residence. Even the prolific Reinmar is known only through his songs and the songs of other singers lamenting his death; no surviving court documents mention him, though he may have been a knight, if his title *her* in three manuscripts is to be trusted.[11] The by-name *von Hagenau* is questionable: in the extant manuscripts—the majority of which were compiled in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries long after his death—he is referred to as *Reinmar der Alte*, or "the old Reinmar," to distinguish him from later singers with the same name.[12] His epithet *von Hagenau* was given by his contemporary Gottfried von Strassburg (d. c. 1215), who in a literary excursus to his Middle High German romance *Tristan* laments the death of a singer *von Hagenau*, which scholars take to mean *Reinmar der Alte*.[13] Furthermore, some scholars doubt whether the above song was originally composed by Reinmar, as its voice and style are uncharacteristic of his other songs.[14] Thus, the study of *Minnesang* is fraught with questions of attribution, authenticity, and accuracy on all levels: from a composer's biographical details to the recorded words. The positive reception of his work was a frequent concern of Reinmar's,

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On the multiplicity of meanings for "courtly" in medieval scholarship, see Peter Ganz, "Der Begriff des 'Höfischen' bei den Germanisten," in *Wolfram-Studien IV*, ed. Werner Schröder (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1977), 30.

[11] Dorothea Klein, "Reinmar (der Alte)," in *Handbuch Minnesang*, eds. Beate Kellner, Susanne Reichlin, and Alexander Rudolph (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021), 678.

[12] Klein, "Reinmar (der Alte)," 678.

[13] See J. W. Thomas, *Medieval German Lyric Verse in English Translation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968), 99; and Konrad Burdach, *Reinmar der Alte und Walther von der Vogelweide* (Halle: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1928), 266-267; and Reinhard Bleck, "Reinmar der Alte, Lieder mit Historischem Hintergrund," *Mediaevistik* 27, no. 1 (2014): 11–43.

[14] For a convincing argument in favor of Reinmar's authorship, see Helmut Tervooren, *Reinmar-Studien: Ein Kommentar zu den "unechten" Liedern Reinmars des Alten* (Stuttgart: S. Hirzel, 1991). For a concise overview of the scholarly opinion in favor of assigning the song to another composer, see Hausmann, "Die *vröide* und ihre Zeit," 167; and Kasten, "Kommentar: 147," 880-882. For a discussion of manuscript transmission, see Albrecht Hausmann, *Reinmar der Alte als Autor—Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung und zur programmatischen Identität* (Tübingen: A. Francke Verlag, 1999), 60-68.

but this song in particular makes the dynamics underlying composition and performance explicit, responding to and establishing a set of criteria of what it means to be a successful court composer. Whether or not this song was written by a historical Reinmar, it has a distinct style and themes that open interesting avenues for understanding how composer-singers thought about their relationship to an audience.[15]

Bringing Joy to the Community

Joy functions as an affective orientation for the singer: he (and sometimes she) is either happy or sad in love, included or excluded, content or lovesick. The persona of the singer treats song as the medium for sharing happiness with the audience. Thus, song may be described as a "kinship object," a term from queer literary theory that has useful implications for premodern studies. It was coined by Sara Ahmed, who in her book *The Promise of Happiness* examines the affective and social dimensions of happiness in modern and postmodern contexts and demonstrates how queer figures interact with the limits of heteronormative happiness.[16] In defining a kinship object, Ahmed uses the example of a family table, which enables each member of the family to have a place and allows conversation to flow. Remove the table, and the family no longer knows how to relate to or converse with one another. The family's relationships and discourses are thus oriented around and facilitated by the table, investing the shared object with a shared

[15] Indeed, Reinmar considers his audience's reception more than any of his contemporary *Minnesänger*. See Dorothea Klein, "Implizite Selbstthematisierung bei Reinmar," in *Formen der Selbstthematisierung in der vormodernen Lyrik*, eds. Dorothea Klein, et al. (Hildesheim: Weidmann, 2020), 416.
[16] Developing observations from Hannah Arendt and Janet Carsten, Ahmed first used the term "kinship object" in *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2006), 80-83, and developed it further in *The Promise of Happiness* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 46 and 110-111.

happiness, so that the object of happiness becomes synonymous with their family. Ahmed is careful to stress that such "objects" do not have to be physical:

> We could say that happiness is promised through proximity to certain objects. Objects would refer not only to physical or material things but also to anything that we imagine might lead us to happiness, including objects in the sense of values, practice, styles, as well as aspirations.[17]

A kinship object may be a shared experience: the performance of a song may also be a kinship object, as it is experienced together by the audience and singer, creating a bond. In other words, joy exists when everyone in the community is properly "aligned" with one another. A song about joy thus shares happiness and reinforces a communal identity, in which the audience can ratify the emotions that they experienced together. The performance of the song is an object around which the community is oriented, and the composer-singer facilitates this emotional exchange. The dark side of this communal happiness is that it excludes those who are not drawn to the kinship object and who "ruin the mood", or as Ahmed conceptualizes it, are "killjoys."[18] In Reinmar's stanza above, he elevates himself as a purveyor of kinship objects (joyful songs); yet this status is threatened now that he has lost his own source of joy. To avoid becoming a killjoy, he shifts the blame to his audience: the lady or the court have not returned like for like—they have been the killjoys.

In the second stanza, Reinmar's loss of joy is matched by social and discursive exclusion. To depict this emotional misalignment with the community, Reinmar inverts a *topos* more common to early *Minnesang*, the *locus amoenus*:

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[17] Ahmed, *The Promise of Happiness*, 29.
[18] Ahmed, *The Promise of Happiness*, 42-44 and 64-65.

> I wish to be by the good souls, for it is joyless there where I once was, where the tiny little birds do not comfort, where the flowers and grass do not comfort; where such sorrowful years are, that I screwed my face up and spoke, "Now get out, gray hair."
>
> *Ich wil bî den wolgemuoten sîn,*
> *wan ist unvrô, da ich ê dâ was,*
> *dâ entroestent kleiniu vogellîn,*
> *da entroestent bluomen unde gras;*
> *Dâ sint als jaemerlîchiu jâr,*
> *daz ich mich under den ougen rampf*
> *und sprach: "nu gênt ûz, grâwe hâr."* (II.1-7)

Negating his emotive keywords from the first stanza (*unvrô*, *entroestent*), Reinmar also negates the expected features of birdsong and flowers, so that absence and sensory deprivation define the experience of sorrow. The emotional and sensorial imagery makes social inclusion and exclusion more more somatically understandable. Moreover, this deprivation is metatextual: having once brought joy through song, he no longer experiences the joys that populate song, so that he is discursively barred from fulfilling his former role as singer in bringing joy. His song transforms into speech in the last line, as his own voice betrays him and banishes him. Thus, the level of joy and the level of discourse indicate who is *in* and who is *out*.[19] This pairing of joy and discourse creates communal boundary lines, which will be explored further in the second and third chapters, where both religious and secular writers use similar distinctions to define very

[19] The social boundary here, of course, is age-based, with Reinmar's "gray hair" and wrinkled face being enough to exclude him from the happy spring setting. Joy and youth are often linked together in medieval literature, especially among the troubadours. See A. J. Denomy, "*Jovens*: the Notion of Youth among the Troubadours, its Meaning and Source," *Mediaeval Studies* XI (1949): 1-22; and Erich Köhler, "Bedeutung und Funktion des Begriffs 'Jugend' (*joven*) in der Dichtung der Trobadors," in *Vermittlungen. Romanistische Beiträge zu einer historisch-soziologischen Literaturwissenschaft* (Munich: W. Fink, 1976), 45-62. For *Minnesang*, see Volker Mertens, "Alter als Rolle. Zur Verzeitlichung des Körpers im Minnesang," *PBB* 128, no.1 (2006): 409–430; and esp. Simone Loleit, "Lebensalter, Jahreszeiten, Generationen," in *Zeit- und Alterstopik im Minnesang. Eine Untersuchung zu Liedern Walthers von der Vogelweide, Reinmars, Neidharts und Oswalds von Wolkenstein* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2018), 155–80, where the connection between youth and springtime is further explored.

different communities. For Reinmar here, happiness is companionship with the "well-spirited ones" (*wolgemuoten*) in the time and space of a springlike paradise—from which Reinmar is excluded. As will be detailed in the fourth chapter, the idealized *locus amoenus* represents more than a season or an emotional state: it recalls the Christian imagery of Eden. This integration into and separation from the secular community continues the spiritual implications of the first stanza.

The springtime images of collective joy that open many love songs are so familiar that they are often taken for granted in the analysis of premodern love lyric. However, the study of the history of emotions shows that the ways an emotion was named, understood, and expressed varied from community to community. Barbara Rosenwein inspired this perspective among medieval scholars, coining the term "emotional communities" as an approach toward analyzing how various medieval communities permitted and imagined expressions of emotion.[20] These differences can be based on a community's knowledge systems and social customs. A twenty-first-century Western reader should not unquestioningly and unconsciously assume what Reinmar or his contemporaries meant by "joy," yet in the analysis of emotions, joy is often relegated to being a foil to other emotions, such as sorrow (not happiness), lust (delayed happiness), or anger (infringed happiness).[21] A more nuanced understanding of joy's premodern meanings will more accurately inform our understandings of the other emotions.

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[20] Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006).

[21] On the externality and internality of anger in epic and romance, see Klaus Ridder, "Kampfzorn. Affektivität und Gewalt in mittelalterlicher Epik", in *Eine Epoche im Umbruch. Volkssprachliche Literalität 1200-1300. Cambridger Symposium 2001*, ed. Crista Bertelsmeier-Kierst and Christopher Young (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2003), 240-241. On sorrow following social hierarchies, again see Urban Küsters, "Klagefiguren. Vom höfischen Umgang mit der Trauer," in *An den Grenzen höfischer Kultur:*

To do so, I turn to texts outside of *Minnesang* that offer competing and complementary perspectives on joys that are socially acceptable and ones that are not. In the chapters ahead, we will see how the religious distinctions between proper and improper joy informed the attitudes of the *Minnesänger* toward their own work; how the court community in a romance orbits around noisy merrymaking; and how the *Minnesänger* strategically position themselves as guardians of this joyful atmosphere. In applying a set of tools available to musicology, sound studies, and troubadour studies, I propose a method of literary analysis that assumes the musical performance of *Minnesang* and the vocality and aurality of many other contemporary texts. I also bring together the work of modern and premodern scholars to construct the beginnings of a comprehensive model for the literary analysis of joy in medieval literature, one which to my knowledge does not yet exist in the study of the history of emotions.

Although the pursuit of happiness is an old one, it remains elusive even today. No one can quite agree on how to go about becoming happy, or even what constitutes happiness, whether it be family, fame, or fortune or the relinquishment of them.[22] There

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Anfechtungen der Lebensordnung in der deutschen Erzähldichtung des hohen Mittelalters, ed. Gert Kaiser (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1991), 9-75. On fear, see Angelika Lehmann, "Angst, Gefahr und Angstbewältigung" in *An den Grenzen höfischer Kultur*, ed. Gert Kaiser, 211-236; and Mary Carruthers, "Terror, horror, and 'the fear of God'," in *"Truthe is the beste": A Festschrift in Honour of A.V.C. Schmidt*, eds. Nicolas Jacobs and Gerald Morgan (Bern: Peter Lang, 2014), 17-36. Compare also the list of emotions covered by Rüdiger Schnell in his book *Histories of Emotion: Modern—Premodern* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2021): "Depression," "Disgust and Aesthetics," "Fear, Dread, Anxiety," "Jealousy," and "Shame and Love" (pp. 191-222).

[22] For the ambiguity of happiness not only between individuals but within an individual, see none other than Immanuel Kant: "Allein es ist ein Unglück, dass der Begriff der Glückseligkeit ein so unbestimmter Begriff ist, dass, obgleich jeder Mensch zu dieser zu gelangen wünscht, er doch niemals bestimmt und mit sich selbst einstimmig sagen kann, was er eigentlich wünsche und wolle" (*Grundlegung zur Metaphysik der Sitten*, ed. J. H. von Kirchmann [Berlin: L. Heimann, 1870, originally published 1785], 40). Cf. the English translation by Thomas K. Abbot: "Unfortunately, the notion of happiness is so indeterminate that although every human being wishes to attain it, yet he can never say definitely and consistently what it is that he

is no watertight consensus on what differentiates happiness from joy: joy is an ecstatic, momentary elation while happiness is an enduring state of wellbeing; others will argue the exact opposite: that happiness is an unreliable response to shifting circumstances, while joy is lasting peace and contentment fueled by hope. Still others might argue that peace, contentment, and pleasure are separate emotions from joy altogether. Then there is the problem of counting and naming different emotions in general: one common model has the primary divisions of joy, anger, and sadness leading to secondary and tertiary emotions. However, others might differ on how the core emotions are named (e.g. "joy" vs. "happiness" vs. "ecstasy") or will divide the main emotions into six, twenty-seven, or even into the hundreds.[23] Thus, even modern psychologists and neuroscientists lack a definitive, universalized understanding of emotion, let alone happiness.

The study of the history of emotions is further complicated by the fact that current meaning of the term "emotion" did not begin to be used until the mid-nineteenth century and is therefore anachronistic in discussions of medieval literature. What English speakers read as "emotion" might be translated from medieval Latin *affectus*, *motus*, *passio*, or *perturbatio* or from Middle High German *muot*, *vernunft*, and *hüge*.[24] While I

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really wishes and wills" (*Groundwork for the Metaphysics of Morals*, ed. Lara Denis [Toronto: Broadview Editions, 2005], 78).

[23] On the difficulty in categorizing emotion, with varying methods and results, see e.g. Alan S. Cowen and Dacher Keltner (2017), "Self-Report Captures 27 Distinct Categories of Emotion Bridged by Continuous Gradients," *PNAS* 114, no. 38: E7900–E7909; Julien Dubois and Ralph Adolphs (2015), "Neuropsychology: How Many Emotions Are There?" *Current Biology* 25, no. 15: R669–R67; and Rachael E. Jack, Oliver G.B. Garrod, and Philippe G. Schyns (2014), "Dynamic Facial Expressions of Emotion Transmit an Evolving Hierarchy of Signals over Time," *Current Biology* 24, no. 2 (2014): 187–92. On scientists' attempts at measuring and subdividing happiness, see Michael Argyle, "How to Measure and Study Happiness," in *The Psychology of Happiness*, 2nd ed. (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2001), 8-23.

[24] For debates on the fraught use of "emotion," see Schnell, *Histories of Emotion*,166-176, which includes evidence that thinkers in the early and central Middle Ages used the Latin terms synonymously. See also Claudia Wassmann, "Forgotten Origins, Occluded Meanings: Translation of Emotion Terms," *Emotion*

acknowledge that the term can lead to inaccurate interpretations of premodern perspectives, I nonetheless use "emotion" for continuity with Rosenwein's "emotional communities" to refer to a subject's more conscious experience of happiness and to refer to the communal organization around joy. Where a text features more immediate, preconscious reactions to external stimuli, I also use the term "affect" in its more modern sense.[25] Lastly, I use the term "happiness" to refer to a temporary mental disposition governed by circumstances, while I use "joy" to refer to a more transcendental experience and an ideal that both secular and religious communities strive for.[26]

Joy in premodern contexts is not necessarily an emotion or even a virtue but is most of all an end result.[27] As Darrin McMahon puts it, Aristotle did not consider happiness "a fleeting feeling or an ephemeral passion. It is, rather, the product of a life well lived, the summation of a full, flourishing existence, sustained to the end of one's days, 'a complete life'."[28] Happiness is an enduring state that signals a successful alignment of one's life to the right moral code. In Christian teaching, joy is not a virtue, but it is counted second among the fruit of the Spirit; joy is not an attribute of God (a

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Review 9, no. 2 (April 2017): 163–71; Thomas Dixon, ''Emotion': The History of a Keyword in Crisis.' *Emotion Review* 4.4 (2012): 338–344; Thomas Dixon, *From Passions to Emotions: The Creation of a Secular Psychological Category* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); and Barbara H. Rosenwein, "Worrying about Emotions in History," *AHR* 107, no. 3 (2002): 821–45.

[25] For the relationship of modern *affect* to premodern *affectus*, see *Before Emotion: The Language of Feeling, 400-1800*, eds. Juanita Ruys, Michael Champion, and Kirk Essary (New York: Routledge, 2019) especially the introduction by the same, pp. 1-8.

[26] For two theoretical stances on the differences between joy and happiness, see Adam Potkay, "Narrative Possibilities of Happiness, Unhappiness, and Joy," *social research* 77, no. 2 (Summer 2010):532-537; and Ahmed, *The Promise of Happiness*, 214-215.

[27] Indeed, in almost a tautology, defining happiness as an end goal has remained the end goal of philosophy: "After all, the history of philosophy could be described as a history of happiness. Happiness could even be described as the one philosophical teleology that has not been called into question within philosophy" (Ahmed, *The Promise of Happiness*, 15).

[28] Darrin M. McMahon, "From the happiness of virtue to the virtue of happiness: 400 B.C. – A.D. 1780," *Daedalus* 133, no. 2 (Spring 2004): 6. See also Barbara H. Rosenwein, "Thinking Historically about Medieval Emotions," *History Compass* 8.8 (2010): 832.

virtue) but is the result of pursuing those attributes, a sign of proximity to God in anticipation of complete union with him in heaven.[29] Boethius and eventually Aquinas adapted Aristotle's ideas to a Christian framework, in which true, lasting happiness is the pursuit of alignment with God (the highest good), and the pleasures of the world, such as fame, power, and love (lesser goods), are only fleeting sources of happiness. For both the pagan and religious authorities that influenced intellectual life in the Middle Ages, joy is the result of a life lived in proper alignment.

The meanings of joy will vary not only from community to community but also from writer to writer and song to song. L. T. Topsfield has demonstrated in a survey of the troubadours that an individual composer may change what they mean by joy within their corpus of songs.[30] For example, the first named troubadour whose work survives today—Guillaume IX, Duke of Aquitaine (1071-1126)—writes of joy both with erotic—even explicitly orgasmic—meanings as well as with spiritual transcendence. *Joi*, the most frequent word for joy (and its etymological origin) in troubadour poetry, is able to carry that paradoxical range of meaning.[31] Its dominance in troubadour lyric over other synonyms for joy makes a study like Topsfield's possible. But in *Minnesang*, there is a greater variety of frequent terms for joy, making a parallel study challenging.[32]

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[29] Compare Galatians 5:22-23 to Gregory the Great's list of virtues in his exegesis on the *Moralia in Iob* regarding the end of Job, chapter thirty one, and those listed in his thirteenth homily on the *Song of Songs* (13.395.21-24). The virtues considered primary changed over time, as well, see István P. Bejczy, "Chapter 4: Fallen Man in Search of Virtue," in *The Cardinal Virtues in the Middle Ages: A Study in Moral Thought from the Fourth to the Fourteenth Century* (Boston: Brill, 2011), 223-284.

[30] L. T. Topsfield, *Troubadours and Love*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975).

[31] On the range of meanings for *joi*, see Carolyn Ruth Locher, "Terms for Joy in Old Provençal and Middle High German Courtly Poetry: Toward a Literary Appreciation of Courtly Terminology" (PhD diss., University of Oregon, 1973), 41-59. A summary of terms in Old Occitan for joy in addition to *joi* can be found on page 125, with a discussion on *joi*'s dominance on 128-131.

[32] Locher, "Terms for Joy," 183.

According to the online search engine *Mittelhochdeutsche Begriffsdatenbank*, which allows for linguistic and semantic inquiries across collections of Middle High German texts, the lyrics collected in *Des Minnesangs Frühling* anthology contain 386 instances of *vröide* ("joy") and its variants.[33] In addition to *vröide*, the other major terms that belong in joy's semantic web are *wünne* ("elation," 72), which often occurs with nature imagery, a kind of happiness glowing with sunshine and summertime; *saelde* ("bliss" or "blessedness," 102), a more spiritual happiness or righteousness; and *liebe* ("delight," 210), which fits somewhere between "joy" and "love". Another common term, *hôchgemuot* ("high-spirited," 16) appears as an adjective and noun, *hôher muot* ("high spirits," 23), and can evoke happiness, social refinement, and pride. Other related terms, such as *gemeite* ("liveliness," 8), might have a higher frequency in other genres or be specific to an author or dialect, such as *blîdeschaft* ("gladness," 33), which is characteristic of the Limburg composer Heinrich von Veldeke (1150-1184). Then there are the rather worldly terms "happiness" or "luck" (*gelücke*, 18), "pleasure" (*gelust*, 1), "ease" (*gemach*, 3, which is outweighed by its negative variant, *ungemach*, 23, in the *MF* corpus), and "enjoyment" (*behage*, 4), all of which a scholar might not categorize under happiness but rather under "love" or "contentment." The net may be thrown ever wider to include modifiers like *wol* ("well"), *gern* ("gladly"), and *ôsterlich* ("of Eastertide") or verbs like *spîlen* ("to play") and *schallen* ("to clamor"), which convey an affective

[33] Approximate counts are obtained through the *Mittelhochdeutsche Begriffsdatenbank*, Universität Salzburg, coordinated by Katharina Zeppezauer-Wachauer, managed by Peter Hinkelmanns and Daniel Schlager, accessed November 11, 2019, http://www.mhdbdb.sbg.ac.at/. Some duplication does occur if multiple manuscripts are included for the same author. Negated variants are also included in the counts (such as *unvrô*), except where indicated.

atmosphere or behavior, rather than a fully conscious state.[34] Like honey in a honeycomb, *Minnesang* practically drips with joy or—at least—the longing for it. Thus, a study on the meanings of happiness in the *Des Minnesangs Frühling* corpus alone presents an enormity of data, which may or may not be consistent between composers or even between individual songs.

There is also the problem of determining what constitutes joy or whether we are looking at a different emotional state: *saelde*, for example, can be "holiness," which is not necessarily happiness.[35] Similarly, *liebe*, which in the period represented by *Des Minnesangs Frühling* can mean "happiness," "delight," or "affection," does not fully equate to the modern German *Liebe*, "love" until the fifteenth century.[36] As a result, the word *liebe* been closer to "joy" for the composer and original audience of Middle High German texts, while it may have increasingly meant "love" to the compilers and owners of the manuscripts in which these texts have survived. As a more relational joy than *vröide*, MHG *liebe* represents an affection for another person, a delighting in them; of course, this can be called love, though a different love from *minne*. The ambiguity of

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[34] Indeed, the modifier *wol* ("well, good", 520) is so common it almost disappears, and because it intensifies what it describes, it can be used in sentences that are not discussing happiness. Furthermore, a song may not use a specific word for happiness at all yet still convey a sense of joy, as in another strophe by Reinmar: *Hôh alsam diu sunne stêt daz herze mîn* (Reinmar 32.I.1; 182,14). Such a strophe expresses joy through metaphor and negation and frustrates the use of a quick lexical search to identify all instances of joy in a particular corpus.

[35] *Saelde* and *liebe* in particular require a much more detailed discussion of their nuances in meaning (which at times step out of joy's range) than I can satisfactorily do here. Moreover, because of the relationship of the Middle High German *liebe* to modern German *Liebe* and the thematic dominance of *minne*, the valences of joy available in *liebe* are all too often effaced in German and English translations.

[36] See entry for "Liebe" in Wolfgang Pfeifer et al., *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Deutschen* (1993), online as *Digitales Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*, accessed October 26, 2022, https://www.dwds.de/wb/etymwb/Liebe. Compare to the entry for "Minne" in the same. See also Otfrid Ehrismann, *Ehre und Mut, Aventiure und Minne. Höfische Wortgeschichten aus dem Mittelalter* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1995), 139; and an in-depth discussion of *herzeliebe* by Eva Willms in *Liebesleid und Sangeslust. Untersuchungen zur deutschen Liebeslyrik des späten 12. und frühen 13. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Artemis Verlag, 1990), 185-92.

words like *saelde* and *liebe* allows for multiple interpretations of a love song, where a love affair might be hidden under the language of a more chaste delight.

A similar ambiguity is in the related words *hôchgemuot* and *hôher muot*, which—though meaning literally "high-spirited" and resembling "happy"—can also mean "noble," "lofty," "haughty," or "proud." This double meaning is hard to capture in English translation, and whether or not the term is positive depends largely on whether the text is secular or religious.[37] Returning to Reinmar's second stanza above, it is surprising to read that he wishes to be by the *wolgemuoten* instead of the expected term *hôchgemuoten*: the former term is very unusual for *Des Minnesangs Frühling* and is found in only one other song in the corpus, which is also attributed to Reinmar.[38] *Wolgemuot* is occasionally found in epics and sermons as an adjective, and is much more frequent as a substantive in love lyric dating from the mid-thirteenth century or later.[39] As a substantive rare to Reinmar's time period and genre, then, *wolgemuoten* might not be his wording but a later contribution, whether an improvised substitution for *hôchgemuoten* by a performer or an emendation by a later scribe.[40] If *wolgemuot* is a conscious choice, then perhaps Reinmar is intentionally avoiding the promotion of haughtiness or pride, preferring instead those with *wol* ("healthy" or "proper") spirits, a choice which reconciles the religious and secular attitudes toward elevated spirits by providing an alternative.

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[37] Ehrismann, *Ehre und Mut, Âventiure und Minne*, 150-51 and 245-48.
[38] The song is Lied 4, *ich lebte ie nâch der liute sage* (152,25), stanza I, line 4, and the stanza is sung from a woman's perspective.
[39] See, e.g., a lament that closely follows Reinmar's pattern: *Ôwe daz ich bi den wolgemuoten also lange muoz beliben ungemuot / und ich doch der grozen swaere bin ze chranc!* (Ulrich von Liechtenstein, KLD 58.XIV.1-2.)
[40] In MS Gx, the word is indeed *hohgemueten*, although approximately a generation after MS C.

The Christian rejection of present happiness to gain future joy conflicts with the secular court's need for happy halls in order to maintain social cohesion. On the religious side, true joy is found in God and not in earthly pleasures. For a medieval religious community, companionship also offers joy, anticipating the afterlife when they will be in perfect harmony with one another and with God. Sorrow in the interim is to be embraced as a means of refinement, leading to that final joy. For a medieval secular community, the proximity to particular social goods promises happiness—wealth and status to name a few—while courtiers and kings were expected to maintain a happy court. The excesses of secular feasts seem worlds apart from moralistic injunctions against immoderation and earthly pleasures. Nonetheless, the discursive boundaries between the emotional communities of clergy and laypeople were porous. Later *Minnesänger* and narrative poets show evidence of some form of church education in their knowledge of Latin and the liberal arts.[41] The presence of church-trained clerics at court and eventually of educated nobles and courtiers contributed to the overlap between secular and religious thought.[42] More importantly for the study of earlier *Minnesänger*, clerical poets educated in Latin were aware of and responded to songs attributed to Reinmar, showing that there was some exchange of ideas and attitudes between secular and religious composers.[43]

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[41] See Ingrid Kasten, "Walthers ‚Nachruf' auf Reinmar. Memoria, lyrische Form und der Diskurs über Trauer im mittelalterlichen Europa um 1200," in *Der achthundertjährige Pelzrock. Walther von der Vogelweide – Wolfger von Erla – Zeiselmauer*, ed. Helmut Birkhan (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2005), 181; and Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness*, 222.

[42] Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness*, 174-75 and 211. See also Martin Aurell, "The Court and Literary Social Life," in *The Lettered Knight: Knowledge and Aristocratic Behaviour in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, trans. Jean-Charles Khalifa and Jeremy Price (Budapest, New York: Central European University Press, 2017; originally published *Le chevalier lettré. Savoir et counite de l'aristocratie aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles* [Paris: Fayard, 2011]), 102.

[43] Jeffrey Ashcroft, "'Venus Clerk': Reinmar in the 'Carmina Burana'," *MLR* 77, no. 3 (1982): 618–28.

It is apparent that Reinmar reconciles the attitudes of both emotional communities toward joy in his song. As already mentioned, *wolgemuot* offers a more balanced contentment as an alternative to a purely hedonistic happiness. This term reappears in Reinmar's third stanza, where he promises that his reintroduction to happiness will benefit others in the community:

> Were I to return to my erstwhile joy, then that will be good for all the lovesick ones. No one is so miserable from sorrow—if he wishes, I will put him in good spirits. However, if he despairs of joys so much that he desires no remedy, then I don't care whether he laments forever.
>
> *Kume ich wider an mîne vröide als ê,*
> *daz ist den senden allen guot.*
> *nieman ist von sorgen alse wê,*
> *wil er, ich mache in wolgemuot.*
> *Ist aber er an vröiden sô verzaget,*
> *daz er enkeiner buoze gert,*
> *sô enruoche ich, ob er iemer klaget.* (Reinmar von Hagenau, 35.III.1-7)[44]

Already having positioned his songs as a consolation, Reinmar also offers a *buoze* ("remedy"), demonstrating his usefulness to the court. Not only does he prefer the companionship well-spirited ones, but he is able to heal hearts, making them well-spirited in turn and ushering them into the right community. His own joy is not only for himself but is to be shared with others. In bringing joy to the court, Reinmar is also providing a glimpse of heavenly community, in which all can rejoice in unity together.

Will Hasty in his book, *The Medieval Risk-Reward Society*, is also interested in the conflict and compromise between these very different emotional communities.

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[44] I deviate here from the stanza order given in *Des Minnesangs Frühling*, instead following the order as it is given in the *Große Heidelberger Liederhandschrift*, commonly known as the *Codex Manesse* (MS C). The song appears in only one other manuscript, the *München Bayerische Staatsbibliothek* Cgm 5249/74 (MS G^x). With MS C as the baseline, the stanza order in the modern *MF* is I II V III IV, and the order in MS G^x is III IV II V(vv.1-3). Thus, in MSS C and G^x, stanza III comes before IV and V. I find the editorial reasons for moving stanza V to third position on the basis of key words to be insufficient, as the order in MS C also can be justified with the same principles.

Between religious rejection of happiness in worldly goods and secular pursuit of those same goods, he finds a reconciliation through a gradual acceptance of worldly pursuits as a means of exercising the virtues:

> In an expanding, increasingly indeterminate cultural action, the courtly chivalric self speculates it will experience growth by investing itself absolutely in the temporal, perishable goods associated with adventure and love, without foregoing the play for its timeless heavenly reward. In this medieval poetic reiteration of the absolute investment of self, now in the interest of temporal goods, *we observe a culture of wagers and investments emerge from and begin to replace a culture based on sacrifice.*[45]

In other words, Hasty sees the beginnings of a shift in medieval literary attitudes that allows worldly goods to be an anticipation of heavenly joys rather than a distraction—if they are handled correctly. This shift can be seen in the second chapter, where a conduct manual by Thomasin von Zerclaere (1186-1235) attempts to teach virtuous behavior to young nobles, or in the concluding chapter, where religious language is used by Reinmar and Gottfried in a secular context to differentiate between those who experience joy rightly and wrongly. Similarly, Reinmar's salvific overtones throughout his song indicate that he is not contributing to *hôchgemuot*, but to a more virtuous (and thus happier) community under a different paradigm.

As will be argued in the next chapter, expressions of joy and happiness are permissible when they are useful to the greater community. This moral usefulness is developed further in Reinmar's fourth stanza, where he provides a recipe for his *buoze* ("remedy") first mentioned in the previous stanza:

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[45] Will Hasty, *The Medieval Risk-Reward Society: Courts, Adventure, and Love in the European Middle Ages* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2016), 4.

> Hear ye, what I do for the remedy (and not through consorting with magic): for it, I knock together lovely words; I outline the best desires; I must have dancing and singing; the fifth is delightful comfort. Thus, I can salve the wounds of the lovesick.
>
> *Hoeret, waz ich zuo der buoze tuo,*
> *daz ich mit zouber niht envar.*
> *minneclîchiu wort stôze ich dar zuo,*
> *den besten willen strîche ich dar.*
> *Tanzen unde singen muoz ich haben;*
> *daz vünfte ist wunneclîcher trôst:*
> *sus kan ich senden siechen laben.* (IV.1-7)

Reinmar makes his method of bringing consolation to the court explicit: his healing of his audience (and therefore his usefulness) is brought about through composition, performance, and a blend of emotions. With *buoze*, "remedy," and *laben*, "to salve," in the opening and closing lines, the clearest conceit of this stanza is a medicinal recipe. Moser and Tervooren gloss *stôze* as the blending of ingredients and *strîche* as the application of a resulting ointment.[46] They derive this reading from Erich Schmidt, who points to medieval recipes that use *stôzen* for the grinding action of the mortar and pestle.[47] The medicinal conceit bridges another common medieval metaphor, that of love as a kind of sickness with wounds from love's arrows. To promise the healing of these wounds, Reinmar uses the phrase *siechen laben,* which is found nowhere else in the *Des Minnesangs Frühling* corpus but carries both medicinal and religious connotations, even found in the Gospel of Matthew.[48] With this Christological phrase, the salvific overtones

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[46] *Des Minnesangs Frühling*, p. 361, notes on lines 5,3 and 5,4.
[47] Erich Schmidt, *Reinmar von Hagenau und Heinrich von Rugge*. *Eine litterarhistorische Untersuchung* (Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1874), 111-15. Online facsimile, MDZ, accessed May 21, 2022, https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/view/bsb11023435?page=3.
[48] The passage is "The Judgement of the Nations" (also known as "The Sheep and the Goats"); it is quoted in German in Priester Konrad's Sermon 15: "*swer so dehein hungergen / æzet unde den durstigen trenchet unde den nachenten vazet / unde* ***den siechen labt*** *unde den gast herberget unde den gevangen / troest, daz sint die sehs guotæte der waren erbarmunge*" (Priester Konrad, Sermon 15, "Der ander sunnentac:

from *wolgemuot, trôst, erlôst* and *buoze* are summoned once again. Just as in his claim to bring *trôst* to the whole world, Reinmar resumes a Christlike role in healing hearts. Moreover, he makes this recursive: he sings about effecting delightful consolation (*wunneclîcher trôst*) through his songs, indicating that even now he is working upon the audience.

Sounds and Songs of Joy

The fact that the persona of Reinmar is singing about singing is an important reminder that these words were once *sung* and *heard*. The central Middle Ages offer a particularly interesting moment for the study of aural perception: a period in which we have a greater number of texts, especially vernacular texts, that have yet to presume a silent reading audience. To varying extents, what we now term literature—epic, romance, and lyric—was most likely recited or sung to an audience in the early and central Middle Ages, a phenomenon which Paul Zumthor first coined as "vocality." This means that even though modern encounters with the texts are inherently visual and silent, the words were crafted at a time when most texts were read out loud, even at the moment of being written.[49] Yet there are limitations to the term "vocality," which places emphasis on the source of the utterance and restricts the types of utterance to that of the voice. Although there is much to be analyzed in texts that were indeed largely vocal, these limitations mean that other kinds of utterances and sounds, whether bestial or inanimate, are not

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Ewangelium," in *Altdeutsche Predigten*, ed. Anton E Schönbach, vol. 3 (Graz: Styria, 1891), page 36, lines 7-10, emphasis mine). This is nearly word for word taken from Matthew 25:31-40. However, those who are sick and those who are in prison are in their own categories, while in the Latin Vulgate, they are grouped together: *esurivi enim et dedistis mihi manducare sitivi et dedistis mihi bibere hospes eram et collexistis me nudus et operuistis me* ***infirmus et visitastis me in carcere eram et venistis ad me*** (Vulgate, Matthaeum 25:35-36, emphasis mine).

[49] My thanks to Mary Franklin-Brown for the reminder of this last point.

included. To better encompass the range of sounds present in a text, I use the term "aurality." A similar focus in sound studies in medieval literary analysis can be seen in the essays and articles that have been published in the past decade and that push past the human voice.[50] Thus, this study is an exploration in reading not only explicit sound images but also implicit sound images.

The term "aurality" also places emphasis on the experience of the listener. Indeed, for the religious texts to be covered in chapter two, aurality often preceded their being written down: it is well known that Hildegard von Bingen dictated her works to a monk, who transcribed and possibly edited them; while the treatise by Bernard of Clairvaux was first delivered as a set of sermons before being turned into a widely distributed letter; and the layout of the earlier manuscripts of Thomasin von Zerclaere's conduct manual, though perhaps not fully oral in origin, shows evidence of public readings.[51] The reception of the three romances covered in subsequent chapters—*Erec et Enide* by Chrétien de Troyes, *Erec* by Hartmann von Aue, and *Tristan* by Gottfried von Strassburg—was also likely first dominantly aural, as the stories were performed or read

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[50] A small sampling includes *Lautsphären des Mittelalters. Akustische Perspektiven zwischen Lärm und Stille*, eds. Martin Clauss, Gesine Mierke, and Antonia Krüger (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2020); Sarah Kay, "Siren Enchantments, or, Reading Sound in Medieval Books," *SubStance* 49, no. 2 (2020): 108-32; Emma Dillon, "Unwriting Medieval Song," *NLH* 46, no. 4 (2015): 595-622; Beth Williamson, "Sensory Experience in Medieval Devotion: Sound and Vision, Invisibility and Silence," *Speculum* 88, no. 1 (2013): 1–43; and *der âventiuren dôn. Klang, Hören und Hörgemeinschaften in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters*, eds. Ingrid Bennewitz and William Layher (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2013), see esp. Layher's introduction: "Doch sind nicht alle mittelalterlichen Klangspuren vollständig entschwunden. Tatsächlich vermitteln Handschriften des Mittelalters etwas von der Breite und Fülle einer von Mündlichkeit geprägten höfischen Gesellschaft; und in den Strophen der mittelalterlichen Lyrik wie auch in den höfischen Romanen und Heldenepen dieser Zeit lassen sich hier und da Andeutungen zu akustischen Bereichen finden" ("Hörbarkeit im Mittelalter. Ein auditiver Überblick," 11). For definitive directions in sound studies in general, see *The Oxford Handbook of Sound Studies*, eds. Trevor Pinch and Karin Bijsterveld (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) and *The Sound Studies Reader*, ed. Jonathan Sterne (New York: Routledge, 2012).

[51] Kathryn Starkey, *A Courtier's Mirror: Cultivating Elite Identity in Thomasin von Zerclaere's* Welscher Gast (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2013), 36-54.

out loud for mostly illiterate audiences.[52] Moreover, both for rhetoricians and secular composers, the success of a performance depended not only on the intended meaning of the orator or singer, but also on the discerning understanding of the audience.[53] Thus, it is consistent with medieval texts to consider their aurality even more than their vocality.

Because these texts existed in a more vocal environment than our own, more *things* were imbued with sound than modern and postmodern ears might assume, even virtues and ideals.[54] Musicologist Emma Dillon, who historicizes sound studies in her analysis of French *chansonnieres*, argues that sound should be read in song, "for it is through its sound that song's deep bonds with the spectrum of human feeling and experience are forged."[55] In other words, joy and its expression in behavior could easily have aural resonances. This approach in turn enhances the study of joy, because in both *Minnesang* and in medieval literature at large, joy appears to be large component of what medieval audiences expected from song. Due in large part to the Old Testament, music in medieval literature is nearly synonymous with expressions of joy.[56] In the hours between midnight and dawn, Psalm 95 opens the matins service with the words, "Come, ye; let us

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[52] Levilson C. Reis, "From Aural Reception to Visual Paratext: The Reader in the Manuscripts of Chrétien de Troyes's Romances," *Neophilologus* 94, no. 3 (2010): 377–89; and Green, *Medieval Listening and Reading*, 186-90 and 194-97.

[53] For an overview of medieval intellectuals' concerns about a discerning audience, unaffected by the physical and affective influences of music, see Elizabeth Eva Leach, *Sung Birds: Music, Nature, and Poetry in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press, 2007), 20-24. For Raimon Vidal's expectations of secular audiences in his treatise *Razos de Trobar*, see Christopher Page, "Listening to the Trouvères," *Early Music* 25, no. 4 (1997): 639–59.

[54] "As courtly values take hold in the twelfth century—in court life as in literature—they also, crucially, become audible. They manifest as eloquent, elegant behaviour: behaviour that was often musical in nature." Emma Dillon, "Song and the Soundscape of Old French Romance," in *Thinking Medieval Romance*, eds. Katherine C. Little and Nicola McDonald (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 159.

[55] Dillon, "Unwriting Medieval Song," 597.

[56] Sabine Žak, *Musik als "Ehr und Zier" im mittelalterlichen Reich. Studien zur Musik im höfischen Leben, Recht und Zeremoniell* (Neuss: Dr. Päffgen, 1979), 24. For the joyful emotions associated with the liturgy, and Isidore's and Augustine's differing attitudes toward it, see also Emma Hornby, "Musical Values and Practice in Old Hispanic Chant," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 69, no. 3 (2016): 596-606.

rejoice in the Lord; let us sing joyfully to God our savior" (*Venite, exsultemus Domino; jubilemus Deo salutari nostro*).[57] Thus, every day begins not with birdsong, but with a call to the faithful to sing songs of joy. Among the *Minnesänger*, Heinrich von Morungen particularly develops a poetics around joy, claiming, "Song is pallid without joy" (*sanc ist âne fröide kranc*, Lied 2.III.4; from *MF* 123, 10), indicating that joy not only serves as ornamentation but is the most suited to song.

This frequent conflation of joy and song is seen in listener response. Among music theorists in the early and central Middle Ages, much more weight was given to the effect of music upon the audience than to the expression of emotion from the performer: "Amongst the *emotive* effects attributed to music are experiences of ethical insight, moral activity (behaviour), devotional fervour, spiritual ecstasy, amorous delight or simply pleasure. Many of these figure amongst the commonplaces of medieval thinking."[58] In John Stevens's overview of medieval receptions of music, he notes, "The experience of music, which in the Middle Ages was obviously as intense as in any other period of history, is one which for them inevitably calls up words like *suavitas*, *dulcedo*, *gaudium*, and their vernacular equivalents."[59] Although song is capable of arousing anger, courage, or lust, its default mode is providing delight, pleasure, and joy. The link between *suavitas*

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[57] The Psalm is numbered 94 in the Vulgate and "persisted as the invitatory psalm at Matins in the Benedictine and Roman-Frankish Offices" (John Caldwell, "The Development of the Latin Liturgical Psalter in England," in *Music and Instruments of the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of Christopher Page*, eds. Tess Knighton and David Skinner [Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2020], 155). The Latin verse is taken from Ruth Steiner, "Tones for the Palm Sunday Invitatory," *JM* 3, no. 2 (1984): 142; the translation is my own.

[58] John Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance and Drama, 1050-1350* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 386. For more on Stevens's divisions of what he calls emotive effects, see pp. 391-399, in which he focuses primarily on joy. On the expressiveness of performance, see pp. 399-409, which includes a discussion on the inexpressibility caused by extreme joy.

[59] Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages*, 399. See also Edgar De Bruyne, *The Esthetics of the Middle Ages*, trans. Eileen B. Hennessy from the French *L'esthétique du moyen âge* (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1969), 190-97.

and *gaudium* is not only musical but also medical. Sweetness is a multisensory word, applicable to sight and sound as well as taste and smell. It is also a medicinal word, as honey and wine were used to make elixirs more palatable or to bring balance to the humours, especially as a purgative.[60] Medieval music theorists often claimed that music could heal the sick, often citing David's playing of the harp to soothe Saul's madness.[61] Thus, medicine and music are both sweet and can be beneficial as long as moderately and carefully used. The conjunction of emotion, song, and medicine attests to the power imbued in aurality. Song not only inspires emotion in the modern sense, but also motivates the will, translating into action and behavior. Therefore, joy and song together can play a role in the creation and control of community.

After all, it is not a lute or harp that Reinmar claims to play but *den besten willen*: these best desires and intentions—whether of the singer, of particular audience members, or of the entire audience—are like instruments to the singer.[62] Albrecht Hausmann interprets this line as a faint reference to rhetoric: "Mit dem *besten willen* dürfte die *intentio* gemeint sein, durch die das sprachliche Material zu einem zusammenhängenden, sinnvollen Text geformt wird; sie gibt ihm zugleich auch eine rhetorische Zielrichtung," adding in a footnote, "Die hier erkennbare 'Texttheorie' basiert vermutlich auf einer

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[60] Mary Carruthers, "Sweetness," *Speculum* 81, no. 4 (2006): 1010.

[61] E.g. Guido d'Arezzo in *Micrologus de disciplina artis musicae*, chapter XIV: "*Sic enim per fenestram corporis delectabilium rerum suavitas intrat mirabiliter penetralia cordis. Inde est, quod sicut quibusdam saporibus, coloribus & odoribus, vel etiam colorum intuitu salus tam cordis quam corporis vel minuitur vel augetur. . .. Item & David Saul dæmonium cithara mitigabat, & dæmonicam feritatem huius artis potenti vi ac suavitate frangebat. Quæ tamen vis solum divinæ sapientiæ ad plenum patet. Nos vero quæ in ænigmate ab inde percepimus, in divinis laudibus utamur. Sed quia de huius artis virtute vix pauca libavimus, quibus ad bene modulandum rebus opus sit, videamus*" (in *Kurze Abhandlung Guido's über die Regeln der musikalischen Kunst,* ed. and trans. Michael Hermesdorff [Trier: J. B. Grach, 1876], 78).

[62] This affective manipulation again recalls medieval music theory; see Boethius, *De institutione musica*, I.1; the citation and numbering system is by book and section, followed by the page number of Gottfried Friedlein's edition, *De institutione arithmetica libri duo, De institutione musica libri* (Leipzig, 1867).

lateinisch-gelehrten Vorgabe, deren Nachweise jedoch schwierig ist."[63] This possible reference to rhetoric is an important one, for training in rhetoric and oratory forms the basis of performance. With the reading of *intentio* as a part of Reinmar's recipe, we can reread the metaphor of *strîchen* as referencing the strokes of brush or quill, either for drawing lines on parchment or for writing and painting. Reinmar is metatextually referring to the act of composition, combining the physical media of *strîchen* with the mental processes of *den besten willen*. There may be yet a third metaphor folded into *strîchen*. Reinmar begins the stanza with the command, "hear ye what I do." If we take this command seriously, we remember that *strîchen* can refer to the plucking of stringed instruments, which commonly accompanied the kind of secular monophonic singing that Reinmar practices. The term *stôzen*, too, effects a pounding action not too far from the sound of stomping feet evoked by *tanzen* two lines later.

Especially for *Minnesang*, we must be careful not to divorce the poetic aspect of joy from the musical, for the modern divisions of word and melody did not yet exist, even though very few melodies have been recorded in the manuscripts that transmit their lyrics.[64] Any analysis of *Minnesang* must take its performed and musical contexts into account. Rather than be hamstrung by the lack of concrete musical evidence, we can explore the sonority of *Minnesang* through other tools, such as sound images and rhetorical gestures. William Layher posits,

> Minnesang offers fertile ground for an auditive approach. Not only do the sounds of the poets' performances fill the medieval court in spatial terms, their stanzas also conceptualize the challenges that they face at court in acoustic terms. Success

[63] Hausmann, "Die *vröide* und ihre Zeit," 168 and note 11.
[64] See Hubert Heinen, "Non-Liturgical Monophony: German Monophony," in Duffin, *A Performer's Guide to Medieval Music*, 173.

> and failure, desire and denial are mediated through poetic scenarios related to the control of sound: the haughty lady commands performers to keep silent, the gossips at court spread rumors, the poets cease their singing in order to avoid further opprobrium. In sum, there is a great deal of desire and interdiction at play the courtly lyric that has not yet been heard in the scholarship.[65]

Thus, if the *Minnesänger* conceptualize emotion aurally in their songs, then we must also read—or rather, hear—joy's aural dimensions: *hear ye, what we do*. In response to this theoretical assumption, I consider sound as a medium of joy between personas within the text as well as between persons external to the text—the emotion, once made aural, is likewise made all the more effective in reinforcing communal identities. My close readings show that sound can serve to strengthen the meaning of the text. In the next chapter, the control of vocalization is part of a larger control of emotion and behavior. In the third chapter, the sounds of merrymaking demarcate the boundary lines of communities, while in the fourth chapter, sound images and their emotional resonances are the initial step in the process of memory formation. The analysis of the sound images present in the texts depends on the origin of the sound (whether human, bestial, or inanimate), whether or not the sound conveys meaning, and how hearers of the sound respond to the sound (whether through emotion or behavior).

Joy as a political and social emotion reflects the performed context of *Minnesang*, which was likely to have been performed on important social occasions that reinforced political power:

> The occasions when a medieval ruler held court provided an opportunity for joint deliberation, legislation, political decisions, but also for a festive display of the ruler's wealth and power. Court literature belongs to this festive display in the sense that it frequently depicts such festival, but more essentially in that this

[65] William Layher, "Acoustic Control: Sound, Gender and Öffentlichkeit at the Medieval Court," *DVLG* 86, no. 3 (2012): 339.

> literature is part of the festival itself, comes into its own when so many are gathered together to provide resonance for the renown of the ruler who commissioned it.[66]

Court literature, then, exists as a result of a ruler's display of wealth—whether through ongoing sponsorship or in response to a specific occasion. The real performances of song and story at festive occasions mean that the fictional court is most often depicted as in perpetual festivity, a utopia of aristocratic life.[67] In turn, courts were known to mimic the ideals proposed in story and song, so that festivity in literature also informed the symbolism of real ceremonies.[68] Consequently, joy in court literature can—even ought to—be read as reenforcing socio-cultural norms, fulfilling audience expectations, and contributing to communal cohesion. When a romance or a love lyric mentions joy, it is referencing itself and the occasion that inspired its composition or performance.

Joy, which a twenty-first-century Western reader might consider first and foremost an individual experience, is also interpersonal and communal in premodern contexts.[69] Within medieval German literature, there is an emphasis on the role of every member of the court to contribute to this happiness: the lord in particular must sponsor an atmosphere of joy through tournaments, feasts, and musical entertainment, while the courtiers conform to social codes in conduct and dress that add to this happiness and affirm their appropriate status:

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[66] Green, *Medieval Listening and Reading*, 63.
[67] The festival is, according to Bumke, the occasion when a real court came closest to the ideal, when etiquette and custom was most observed: "What makes the poetic vision so unreal is not so much the exaggeration as the fact that daily life simply does not appear in courtly literature, thus creating the impression that the feast was the norm of noble life" (*Courtly Culture*, 4).
[68] Hasty, *The Medieval Risk-Reward Society*, 66-71.
[69] There is, of course, the question of interiority in premodern emotion, or whether emotion is only socially felt. For an overview on this debate, see Schnell, *Histories of Emotion*, 112-30.

> From the early Middle Ages on we find that happiness, joy, and good fellowship (*laetitia*, *hilaritas*, *amicitia*) constitute an ideal court atmosphere; amiability and good fellowship create it; anger and resentment, openly expressed, destroy it. The king and his court were bright spirited, maintained gaiety and jocundity as the ground tone of social intercourse. . . The social virtue had a function in the power relations at court. . .. It was in [the ruler's] interest to maintain an atmosphere of modest restraint and bright good cheer among his retinue. This atmosphere is the palpable assurance that he is in command and in control. To violate it is to break an unspoken law and potentially to issue an insult and challenge to the prince himself. To laugh and joke in a restrained and amiable manner is to give proof of one's acquiescence to the ruler's will.[70]

Thus, joy is a sign of a ruler's effective maintenance of the community, while the members of the community are expected to align with and uphold that same joy, thereby strengthening social and political bonds.[71] Similarly, in Urban Küsters's examination of Middle High German narratives, he finds that both grief and joy begin with the king and then are shared by the entire court, lending emotion a communal dimension as well as a hierarchical one.[72] Sabine Žak argues that music is nearly synonymous with the public expressions of joy and honor.[73] The relationship between social status, joy, and song is also present in *Minnesang*; for example, the famous poet Walther von der Vogelweide (c. 1170 – c. 1230), says, "thus sing again of courtly things. Joy and song's day still come" (*sô sing aber von höfschen dingen. / noch kumt fröide und sanges tac*, L 25.1.8-9; 48, 19-

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[70] Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness*, 170.

[71] For a brief overview of the different qualities of acoustic words available in Middle High German and a reference to silence as audible peace, see Layher, "Hörbarkeit im Mittelalter," 15 and note 15.

[72] Küsters, "Klagefiguren," 33. See also Hans-Joachim Behr, *Literatur als Machtlegitimation. Studien zur Funktion der deutschsprachigen Dichtung am böhmischen Königshof im 13. Jahrhundert* (Munich: W. Fink, 1989), 131-36, where joy must be experienced collectively. On power being audibly understood, see Gesine Mierke, *Den Herrscher hören. Zu akustischen Phänomenen im* Reinfried von Braunschweig, in *Lautsphären des Mittelalters. Akustische Perspektiven zwischen Lärm und Stille*, eds. Martin Clauss, Gesine Mierke, and Antonia Krüger (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2020), 177-97.

[73] Žak, *Musik als "Ehr und Zier"*, 22-35. See esp. p. 24: "Musik und Klage als Gegensatzpaar--und dadurch Gleichsetzung der Musik mit Freudenbezeugung—stellt das Alte Testament mehrfach gegeneinander. . .. Die Selbstverständlichkeit, mit der die Bibel den Klang der Instrumente mit dem Ausdruck der Freude gleichsetzen kann, läßt manche dieser Wendungen für uns fremdartig klingen, während ihre Übernahme in die mittelalterliche Sprache keine Schwierigkeit bereitete, denn es war die gleiche Vorstellung lebendig."

20). This is also observable in texts beyond medieval German literature: in Cynthia Robinson's comparative analysis between Occitan and Andalusī courtly poetry, she demonstrates that songs of joy carry socio-political force in both cultures.[74] For example, Robinson notes in a song by Guillaume IX that *trobar* ("to compose") and *ricor* ("nobility") both appear in close proximity to *joi* ("joy"), so that joy comes with song and status. [75] Therefore, although my analysis centers on medieval German literature, the interpretation of joy as a socially organizing principle has implications for the analysis of literatures, cultures, and time periods outside the scope of this present study.[76]

Through this perspective, then, we can tangibly measure the effectiveness of a king and a community in the collective pursuit of happiness. To do so, I adapt the work by Hasty in applying the language of game theory to medieval texts. He interprets both individual and societal actions as taking risks for the hope of reward:

> Players venture themselves in the action with an exertion that manifests pain, corresponding to the status of a self and its resources placed at risk of decrease or loss. This pain is comingled [*sic*] to varying degrees with anticipatory happiness, corresponding to the prospects of success. The other significant moment punctuating the cultural action is the experience of joy accompanying rewards in the event of success and victory, or conversely, pain-magnified, shame, ignominy in the event of failure and defeat.[77]

Emotion serves as a measuring stick success and failure. Although the roles of pain and joy are only part of Hasty's entire system, I find that his concepts of risk and reward help explain why joy's pivotal appearance in medieval songs and stories. Joy reinforces an

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[74] Cynthia Robinson, *In Praise of Song: The Making of Courtly Culture in Al-Andalus and Provence, 1005-1134 A. D.* (Boston: Brill, 2002), 348-49. She writes, "*joi* [. . .] is associated with a patron and his court, and thus with the communal pleasures of 'courtly' society and of the singing of praises" (344).
[75] Robinson, *In Praise of Song*, 344; the song in question is *mout jauzens me prenc en amar*.
[76] On the socializing force of joy in the twentieth-century West, see Adam Potkay, *The Story of Joy: From the Bible to Late Romanticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 220-36.
[77] Hasty, *The Medieval Risk-Reward Society*, 11.

individual alignment with communal identity and power structures: a community can be oriented around the pursuit of happiness as a reward for risky investment, which is only achieved if each and every member participates successfully. This view is compatible with Rosenwein's vision of emotional communities as "shared vocabularies and ways of thinking that have a controlling function, a disciplining function,"[78] and as we will see in the next two chapters, the regulation of happiness coincides with the management of acceptable verbal expression.

The joy created by the song likewise is a measurement for the composer's success. Reinmar proclaimed in the first line of his song that he had freed a hundred thousand hearts from sorrow and could always free anyone willing to be happy. In his final stanza, he reminds the audience of their obligation to do the same for him:

> Likewise, I was never improperly happy. What even ought to be, has now come to pass. The people here still recognize me, they who have seen me another way. I was so rich with joys then, that I made myself happy and gave joy. How will someone do the same for me again?
>
> *Als unrehte vrô*[79] *enwart ich nie.*
> *daz solt eht sîn; nu ist ez geschehen.*
> *mich bekennent noch die liute hie,*
> *die mich anders hânt gesehen.*
> *Alse vröidenrîche was ich dô,*
> *daz ich mich vröite und vröide gap.*
> *wie tuot man wider mich nu sô?* (Reinmar von Hagenau, 35.V.1-7)

Reinmar depends upon the community to reciprocate his gift of joy. By reminding the audience that he once generously gave them joy, he asks for joy in return, creating a system of emotional exchange, with joy as the currency. This emotional currency is

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[78] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, 25.
[79] MS C reads *unrehte vro* while MS G^{x} reads *unlange vro*, yet in *MF*, it has been emended to *rehte unvrô*. See *Des Minnesangs Frühling*, vol.1, p. 360, note for 3.1.

underscored by the singer's declaration *I was rich with joys,* indicating the social value underlying joy. The plural ending of *vröiden* creates a diverse, summative effect: the singer was complete in joy. This is an economy of joy, where individuals make investments in the emotional quality of the community, under the assumption that there will be a return. Rather than being competitive, however, joy in Reinmar's song is a reward within an altruistic system of exchange and mutual benefit. This happens on the extratextual and metatextual levels as well; because the performer desires to please the audience, the audience plays a role in the fashioning of the song: "With medieval love songs, then, ascertaining the 'voice' is both a crucial and elusive enterprise: it is crucial to understanding the expressive gamut of these songs, and elusive insofar as 'voice' is always already 'voices'."[80] Although I often refer to composer, performer, and audience as if they are separate categories, the distinctions between them are permeable and multidirectional.[81]

Despite communal joy being a chief concern of historical and fictional figures alike throughout the ages, it has received comparatively little attention in literary studies, whereas other emotions have well-established bodies of scholarship. However, the prevalence of joy in medieval literature points to its centrality in medieval aesthetics and therefore to the need for an appropriate understanding of medieval constructs of joy. A

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[80] Judith A. Peraino, *Giving Voice to Love: Song and Self-Expression from the Troubadours to Guillaume de Machaut* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 28-29.

[81] "In short, I suggest that a song is less an object than a collaborative rhetorical process which binds the composer, notation, singers and listeners within a machine, whose workings—when going well—should mirror in sonic ratios those that medieval thinkers posited in the heavens." Elizabeth Eva Leach, "Nature's Forge and Mechanical Production: Writing, Reading, and Performing Song," in *Rhetoric beyond Words: Delight and Persuasion in the Arts of the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary Carruthers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 79. On audiences contributing to the composition of Arthurian romances, see R. W. Hanning, "The Audience as Co-Creator of the First Chivalric Romances," *The Yearbook of English Studies* 11 (1981): 1–28.

reexamination of joy's pervasive role in medieval German literary culture is overdue. This reexamination entails two approaches: one that complicates an absolutist understanding of joy—after all, it cannot mean exactly what a twenty-first-century reader might assume it to mean—and one that interprets these expressions of joy as being audible, because the texts in question originate from a vocal context. I consider joy as an exchange between composer, singer, and audience and as a medium for social cohesion within the literary space, made possible through its vocalization in song and story.

In the next chapter, I turn to religious and moral treatises to uncover the ways in which the emotional community neighboring that of the *Minnesänger* determined appropriate—and by extension, inappropriate—expressions of joy. Excessive joy is rooted in vice, whether pride or gluttony, while happiness in worldly goods is misplaced. Vocalizations of these kinds of joy result in empty boasting, likened to croaks, hisses, and squeaks. In contrast, good joy is moderate. This same moral-emotional paradigm transfers into Walther von der Vogelweide's own depictions of good song and bad song, yet now in a secular context. This chapter shows the aural range joy has, as well as the implications its expressions have on the surrounding community.

The third chapter traces Erec's journey in balancing his duties as knight, king, and husband in the eponymous romance by Hartmann von Aue. With substantial comparisons to Hartmann's source text *Erec et Enide* by Chrétien, I find that Erec's journey can be mapped aurally, as he struggles to integrate in noisy celebrations throughout the romance. In this way, his alignment or misalignment to sound further reinforces his alignment and misalignment to community. Although Erec's journey of integration, dis-integration, and

reintegration is already well-known, no one has yet interpreted the frequent moments of merrymaking that reflect and underscore his shifting relationship to the larger community.

In the fourth chapter, I read explicit and implicit sound images in medieval love lyric, especially those available to the joyful seasonal setting of the *locus amoenus*, replete with birdsong. Its rhetorical role in love song is often cursorily defined as an *exordium* to the song's themes, however, the symbols that populate the springtime *locus amoenus* reference a larger tradition not only as metatextual citations across songs, but as textual and extratextual references to the processes of memory and performance. The *locus amoenus* is a singing and sung space, a remembered kinship object for the formation of the listening community. Moreover, it asserts an exclusive community of elite aesthetics.

The conclusion returns to the question of Reinmar's relationship to his audience, as he straddles the moral line between festive joy and moderation. Resembling the moral depictions of excess in the second chapter, he fears that an excess of joy would damage his ability to sing well, yet he desires his song to be in a joyful mode. His deliberations strongly resemble those of Gottfried von Strassburg in his preface to *Tristan,* and a comparison between these two composers reveals that they create an alternative to the emotional communities depicted in chapters two and three. Gottfried places his and Reinmar's work within the landscape and soundscape discussed in chapter four, making real the metaphor of remembrance already present in the *Minnesang* tradition.

Chapter 2. Overjoyed and Underjoyed: The Harm in Disharmony

Still through the cloven skies they come,
With peaceful wings unfurl'd:
And still their heav'nly music floats
O'er all the weary world.

Above its sad and lowly plains
They bend on hovering wing,
And ever o'er its Babel sounds
The blessed angels sing.[1]

Not all forms of happiness are good. Rather, medieval writers are quite careful to distinguish between acceptable and unacceptable expressions of happiness, overtly linking a control of sound and voice to a control of mind and body. For the medieval religious, happiness can be a misplaced love of the world rather than joy in God, or it can reflect an inner imbalance. Even the virtues can turn into vices when immoderately followed. The visual aspects of improper happiness are already well-documented: sculptures of the angels and saints have gentle, close-mouthed smiles, while demons and the damned have wide-open, contorted grins, possibly in laughter.[2] However, the medieval imagination understands improper joy not only visually, but also aurally. For

[1] "It Came upon the Midnight Clear," by Rev. Edmund H. Sears (1849). Text taken from *Carols Old and Carols New: For Use at Christmas and Other Seasons of the Christian Year*, ed. Rev. Charles L Hutchins, D. D. (Boston: The Parish Choir, 1916), Carol #607, p. 491. Facsimile online at *Hymnary.org*, accessed January 19, 2023, https://hymnary.org/hymn/COCN1916/607.

[2] Laughter itself has received thorough and continuous attention in premodern scholarship, in part because laughter expresses a wide variety of emotions, conveys social relationships, and is accessible for study across a number of disciplines. Its history parallels that of the smile, in that both are permissible but only under restraint. The moral question of smiles and laughter has been of particular interest to art historians; see, e.g., Mia Åkestam, "'I Felt Like Jumping for Joy'—Smile and Laughter in Medieval Imagery," in Förnegård, et al., *Tears, Sighs and Laughter: Expressions of Emotions in the Middle Ages, KVHAA Konferenser* 92 (Stockholm: KVHAA, 2017), 214-238; and Winfried Wilhelmy, "Das leise Lachen des Mittelalters – Lächeln, Lachen und Gelächter in den Schriften christlicher Gelehrter (300-1500)," in *Seliges Lächeln und Höllisches Gelächter. Das Lachen in Kunst und Kultur des Mittelalters, ed. Winfried Wilhelmy* (Regensburg: Schnell und Steiner, 2012), 38-55. For a related analysis localized to Bamberg, Germany, see Brigit Ferguson, "Controlling Passions: Emotional Expression in Thirteenth-Century German Sculpture" (PhD diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 2015), 31.

example, prolific *Minnesänger* Walther von der Vogelweide (1170-1230) complains of another song style that has become popular at court:

> Out of anger, I must laugh at those who boast so impudently that they are well pleased with themselves, along with such improper matters.
>
> *Die sô frevenlîchen schallent,*
> *der muoz ich vor zorne lachen,*
> *daz si in selben wol gevallent*
> *mit alsô ungefüegen sachen.* (Lied 41.IV.1-4)[3]

The verb *schallen* ("boast", 1) can be used in moments of grief, anger, or joy, but it affectively leans more toward sounds of celebration or even boasting. It is always loud and often jumbled, coming from many throats or instruments as it does here.

In the stanza above, the adverb *frevellîchen*, "insolently," casts *schallen* in a negative light, as does the next line, where Walther's persona reacts in anger (*vor zorne*, 2) to the sound. Walther's chastisement of excessive celebration might have been expected from a religious writer, but not from a singer who himself regularly contributes to sounds of celebration at court. Indeed, in another song, Walther desires to contribute to the community's *schal*: "Lady, I wish to rejoice with superior people" (*Vrowe, ich wil mit hôhen liuten schallen*, 39.4.1). Thus, in two songs attributed to Walther, *schal* is noisy and happy, but its appropriateness is ambivalent and dependent on context.

An auditory reading of improper joy introduces exciting potentials for literary analysis, in that medieval hierarchies of sound supply useful affective tools to demarcate moral and social hierarchies. Wheresocially acceptable joy is present, song unfurls in a glory of melody and harmony. Where unacceptable happiness is found, there too are

[3] The Middle High German is taken from the edition by Christoph Cormeau, *Walther von der Vogelweide. Leich, Lieder, Sangsprüche*, 14th ed. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1996), 142-143. The citations follow the numbering in this edition and provide the song number, stanza number, and line number. All translations are my own.

squawks, croaks, and belches of the dehumanized revelers. With their expressions of bad joy being likened to sounds from animals, objects, and natural phenomena, the wrongly feeling person is shown to be irrational. In turn, these more immediately somatic forms of sounding joy are not only inferior but are also harmful, both to the individual and the community. As Horst Wenzel notes, "Die gemeinschaftsbildende Funktion des Gehörten [ist] größer als die des Gesehenen. Das Ohr kann eine Einheit schaffen, die weiter reicht und tiefer greift als das Auge es ermöglicht."[4] In the next chapter, we will look at how *schal* can be used in a positive sense to depict a secular community of one accord, but this current chapter will be devoted to examples of bad noises resulting from improper joy and harming the community, with improper joy represented either by misplaced happiness (the *Underjoyed* of the chapter title) or by displays of too much happiness (the *Overjoyed*).

To varying degrees, the *Minnesänger* belonged to two overlapping emotional communities, one that was suspicious of an outward sign of joy and one that demanded it. The clerics employed at secular courts and any knights and courtiers who received an education would have felt that the austerity and humility of a Christian rejection of the world conflicted with the frequent revelry at court that reinforced the presiding lord's power. And yet, the overlap of emotional communities is not wholly contradictory. The *troubadours* and *Minnesänger* are—like their more religious counterparts—also concerned with appropriate and inappropriate happiness, which not only adds dramatic value but also helps to distinguish themselves from other singers. As we saw in Walther's

[4] Horst Wenzel, *Hören und Sehen, Schrift und Bild: Kultur und Gedächtnis im Mittelalter* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1995), 142-143.

lines above, he claims to be a better singer because he is not like those who sing uncouthly. This distinction taps into the religious viewpoints contemporary to Walther, where happiness is carefully regulated and where excess is condemned. However much the *Minnesänger* might contribute to excessive, worldly happiness, they can also harness religious values to argue for their songs' moral utility. Seeking to legitimize their role in a secular court, the *Minnesänger* find a third option between self-denial and self-promotion.

Before returning to Walther's poem, we will trace various depictions of excessive joy that offer an emotional and aural backdrop to his work. These depictions come from medical and moral treatises and conduct literature, all written by members of monastic and clerical orders with an interest in education and community formation. Each has a different angle on the harmful effects excessive happiness may have on their communities. Rhenish *magistra* and visionary Hildegard of Bingen (1098-1179) writes at the intersection of medicine and theology, depicting happiness as a complex interaction between soul and body and capable of altering both, while Cistercian reformer Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) narrates the moral corruption causing and caused by misplaced happiness. For both Hildegard and Bernard, the sounds of bad joy are rooted in excess and resemble the spluttering and chattering of inanimate objects, evoking discord and irrationality. Their writings not only identify the irrationality inherent to improper joy, but urge their audiences to seek moderation, lest this joy's expression harms others.

Next, we will look at a conduct manual by the canon Thomasin von Zerclaere (1186-1235), who wrote in Middle High German to young aristocrats. Even Thomasin,

who does not use aural imagery as richly as either Hildegard or Bernard, nonetheless uses similar resonances in order to codify discourse within the systems of courtly and religious virtues; his application of religious values onto the courtly life represents a compromise between self-denial and the pursuit of happiness. His types of improper joy include excessive joy but focus even more on misplaced joy, that is, happiness found in worldly goods rather than heavenly ones. Finally, we will return to Walther von der Vogelweide's song introduced above. A contemporary of Thomasin, Walther uses the same moral, social, emotional, and aural categories as the other texts but transfers them more narrowly onto acceptable and unacceptable song. When these texts are taken together, a babbling medieval soundscape is revealed, one that crosses cultures, languages, and vocations but serves to separate the healthy from the unhealthy, the moral from the immoral, the courtly from the uncouth.

Unhealthy Happiness

Hildegard von Bingen (1098-1179) was a prolific creator who had interests in medicine, herbology, language, and music. Her predilection for music spills over into her other writings, offering a glimpse into how a German-speaking medieval intellectual understood the tangible effects of joy on the body, mind, and spirit. Her unique blend of physiological, theological, and musical perspectives helps us hear how joy—especially too much joy—sounded to a medieval ear.

In her medical handbook *Causae et curae,* Hildegard describes physiological imbalances that are both caused by and lead to thoughts, emotions, and their expression. Although a person's humoral constitution (which I also refer to as "physiology") may

incline the person to certain moral and immoral behaviors, Hildegard often talks about how the emotional and spiritual part of the person in turn influences the body. We can see this dynamic between the spiritual and somatic play out in her section on insomnia: "Moreover, it often happens that a person is awake and cannot sleep, when his spirit is possessed with conflicting thoughts, states, and oppositions or is detained by great happiness" (*Sepe autem euenit, quod homo uigil est et dormire non potest, cum animus eius diuersis cogitationibus et qualitatibus atque contrarietatibus occupatus est aut magna letitia detentus*, II. 124,4 - 125,2 ["De somni nimietate," 86]).[5] The body is physically altered by this mental preoccupation.

In a healthy mind and body, air from the lungs moves the blood in pulses; with a similar movement, the soul blows "a most pleasant and sweet wind" (*suauissimum et dulcissimum uentum*, II. 120,20 ["De somno," 81]) through the veins to initiate sleep and restore the marrow, which has been drained throughout the day. But a preoccupied person undergoes a negative physical change:

> For when someone is in sadness, fear, anguish, anger, or other such conflicts and thoughts, then the blood inside is often turned around into disorder; and the veins are slightly constricted, so that they cannot take up the sweet wind of sleep, which they ought to receive.
>
> *Nam cum in tristitia seu in timore seu in angustiis seu in ira seu in aliis huiusmodi diuersitatibus et cogitationibus est, tunc multotiens sanguis, qui in eo est, in inquietudinem uertitur; et uene, que suauem uentum soporis suscipere debebant, aliquantum contrahuntur, ita quod eum excipere non possunt.* (II. 125,2-6 ["De somni nimietate," 86])

[5] The Latin is taken from Hildegard von Bingen's *Causae et curae,* eds. Laurence Moulinier and Rainer Berndt (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2003). The older edition by Paul Kaiser (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1903) has also been consulted. My citations provide the book, page number, and line number of the Moulinier edition, followed in brackets by the section heading and page number found in the Kaiser edition. All translations are my own but are indebted to *Causes and Cures: The Complete English Translation of Hildegardis Causae et Curae Libri VI* by Priscilla Throop (Charlotte, VT: MedievalMS, 2008).

Negative emotions result in contraction, as the blood's regular motion is disrupted and the veins close off, while positive emotions—particularly overabundant happiness—seem to have the reverse effect on the veins, expanding them but rendering them equally useless:

> And likewise, at times when someone will have seen or heard something, or when any other thing will have happened to him, from which the person will be able to rejoice beyond moderation, then that person's veins are recalled to happiness and are too weak to hold fast to the sweet wind of sleep.
>
> *Et cum etiam interdum aliquid uiderit uel audierit uel aliud ei quicquam acciderit, unde ultra modum letari poterit, tunc uene eius ad letitiam referuntur nec suauem uentum soporis retinere ualent.* (II. 125,7-9 ["De somni nimietate," 86])

Even seemingly desirable experiences can result in negative effects. Due to an excess of emotion, sleep either cannot pass into the veins or cannot linger there. In other words, imbalanced happiness leads to an imbalanced physiology.

This balance and imbalance of bodily humors can be interpreted musically as harmony and dissonance. Although Hildegard does not overtly reference music or even voice in these above passages, she uses images that still evoke musical qualities. In the medieval conception of *musica*, the numerical principles of music underlie the heavens (*musica mundana*) and the human body (*musica humana*) as well as musical instruments (*musica instrumentalis*). The first two categories are inaudible to the human ear, although they retain inherently musical qualities and were considered the purest form of *musica*, untainted by wrong notes and inaccessible to corrupting human senses.[6] Audible music, in contrast, could tempt the listener to excessive delight or wrong loves. While *musica*

[6] Charles Burnett, "Sound and its Perception in the Middle Ages," in *The Second Sense: Studies in Hearing and Musical Judgment from Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century*, eds. Charles Burnett, Michael Fend, and Penelope Gouk (London: The Warburg Institute, University of London, 1991), 49-50.

humana represents the inner harmonies either within the soul or between the soul and the body, *musica instrumentalis* is also closely tied to the body, inspiring both emotion and action as well as healing.[7] Boethius considered a person's affective and mental responses to audible music as evidence that the human body is held together through these inaudible ratios.[8] In other words, the human's inner musical arrangement resonates with the outer perceptions of music, producing mental-emotional reactions, just as a struck instrument reverberates in kind, producing sound.

This description finds a similar movement in Hildegard's sentence quoted above, "*venae eius ad laetitiam referuntur*": *refero* when accompanied by the preposition *ad* is best translated as a physical or a more figurative turning, which is adjacent to musical movement and metered verse. However, in its more basic form, *refero* can also mean "to reply," even "to echo" or "to resound." This latent aural association with *refero* suggests that the image of the veins respond to—perhaps echo—the good news that the person has heard (*audierit*). It is as if the overjoyed body is preoccupied with echoing the external sounds and has no room for proper internal movements.

The medieval body is an inherently musical one, and that musicality is tied explicitly to the emotions. According to Cicero, "the emotions of the soul make the body

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[7] On disagreements among classical writers on what constitutes *Musica humana*, see Burnett, "Sound and its Perception," 49 and n. 62.

[8] See, for example, "*quod, cum aliquis cantilenam libentius auribus atque animo capit, ad illud etiam non sponte convertitur, ut motum quoque aliquem similem auditae cantilenae corpus effingat; et quod omnino aliquod melos auditum sibi memor animus ipse decerpat? ut ex his omnibus perspicue nec dubitanter appareat, ita nobis musicam naturaliter ess coniunctam, ut ea ne si velimus quidem carere possimus*" (Boethius, *De institutione musica*, I, 1; p. 187), and "*Humanam vero musicam quisquis in sese ipsum descendit intellegit. Quid est enim quod illam incorpoream rationis vivacitatem corpori misceat, nisi quaedam coaptatio et veluti gravium leviumque vocum quasi unam consonantiam efficiens temperatio? Quid est aliud quod ipsius inter se partes animae coniungat, quae, ut Aristoteli placet, ex rationabili inrationabilique coniuncta est?*" (I, 2; p. 188-89) The citation and numbering system is by book and section, followed by the page number of Gottfried Friedlein's edition, *De institutione arithmetica libri duo, De institutione musica libri* (Leipzig, 1867).

sound, just as if it were a string instrument plucked by the soul."[9] Bruce Holsinger has famously interpreted musicality in Hildegard's writing of the "winds of pleasure" and desire, which expand the body and stir the blood.[10] Beyond desire, there is a musicality in the rest of the Hildegardian affective body, as we can see if we return to the section on insomnia: the soul blows through the veins and like a wind instrument, requires properly sized openings. The excessive contraction [*contrahuntur*] or expansion [*nec retinere ualent*] of the interior deadens the sonority of a sounding instrument, as the passage of air is either impeded or diffused. Furthermore, Hildegard says that the process of sleep falters when happiness is *ultra modum*, exceeding its measure or, in musical terms, its mode, just as poorly composed hymns are those that use notes beyond the ones belonging to their modes.[11] If excessive happiness is playing upon the Hildegardian body like an instrument, then it is doing so in an ill-measured way, so that the notes of the body are wrongly pitched.

This musical analysis is certainly speculative, yet it is further reinforced by Hildegard's subsequent sentence, in which she uses two terms, *temperiem* and *modum* to describe the insomniac finding proper harmony again: "Therefore he does not have the proper balance, and continues sleepless all night, until, becoming satisfied in his mind

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[9] Burnett, "Sound and its Perception," 50.
[10] Bruce W. Holsinger, *Music, Body, and Desire in Medieval Culture: Hildegard of Bingen to Chaucer* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2001), 114-36.
[11] See, e.g., Guido d'Arezzo's complaint in *Micrologus de disciplina artis musicae*, chapter X: "*Dissonantia quoque per falsitatem ita in canendo subrepit, cum aut de bene dimensis vocibus parum quid gravantes demunt, vel adiiciunt intendentes: quod pravæ voces hominum faciunt, cum aut praedictam rationem plus iusto intendentes vel remittentes, neumam cuiuslibet modi aut in alium modum pervertunt, aut in loco, qui vocem non recipit, inchoant, vel quasdam faciunt subductiones in trito, quae dieses appellantur, cum non oporteat eas in usum admittere, nisi supervenientibus certis locis*" (*Kurze Abhandlung Guido's über die Regeln der musikalischen Kunst*, ed. and trans. Michael Hermesdorff [Trier: J. B. Grach, 1876], pp. 50-54).

with the matter, he recovers his senses, and if the veins return to the right measure, that person dozes" (*ita quod ille rectam temperiem in se non habet. et inde peruigil manet, usque dum re illa in mente sua contentus resipiscat, ac si uene ad rectum modum redeunt, et homo ille dormitat*, II. 125,9-12 ["De somni nimietate," 86]). Hildegard, like many a medieval writer, is concerned with moderation, with finding the proper balance in emotion, health, and virtue. As in the previous sentence, *modum* might also be musical, referring to the proper confinement to certain pitches, or more overtly to the proper size for the soul's wind to blow through. Thus, healthy sleep is achieved through a proper control of the veins' size and therefore a proper modulation of wind that blows through the body, almost as if the body were a musical instrument.

While *modum* more overtly references the medieval value of moderation, the noun *temperiem* refers to a proper mixture of humors or a moderate temperature that signifies a healthy person, but it can also be read morally as "temperance" or even musically as "rhythmic interval."[12] This is a word Hildegard seems to associate with the pulse: much later in *Causae et curae*, Hildegard describes a healthy pulse (*pulsus*) as ordered and temperate (*ordinatus et temperatus*) and pictures the pulse as waves moved by breathing.[13] With these passages taken together, breath is the source of the voice and

[12] As already quoted in footnote 8 above, Boethius uses the related term *temperatio* to describe a musical balance in the human body: "*Quid est enim quod illam incorpoream rationis vivacitatem corpori misceat, nisi quaedam coaptatio et veluti gravium leviumque vocum quasi unam consonantiam efficiens temperatio?*" (*De institutione musica*, I, 2; p. 188-89).

[13] The passage in question is about assessing the severity of a fever, in which breath and pulse are closely linked: "*In quacumque enim infirmitate homo in lecto iaceat, si in uena in dextro brachio eius pulsum ordinate et temperate dat ut homo, qui halitum suum ordinate et temperate introrsum trahit et emittit, uiuet et non morietur. Nam quamuis magna infirmitas de ardentibus febribus humorum in homine sit, anima tamen ordinate modum spiraminis sui in se retinet, cum de corpore exitura non est, et* ***ideo pulsus uene ordinatus et temperatus est****, quia anima uenam ad exitum non mouet*." (Hildegard von Bingen, V.272,17-23 ["De pulsu et vitae signis," 223], my emphasis added). Cf. a similar connection between the movements

the movement of the pulse; when all is properly balanced, the body courses with this rhythmic breath externally and internally. The pulse was widely associated with music in the Middle Ages, with Augustine seeing the pulse as the soul's expression of musical numbers.[14] Furthermore, the same Latin word, *pulsus*, was also used by Boethius in describing the essential properties of sound.[15] Therefore, it is possible that when Hildegard describes the change in movements of breath and pulse in the insomniac body (*non rectam temperiem*) and sleeping body (*ad rectum modum*), she is also aurally understanding them as moving from wrong rhythms and pitches to right ones.

The musical image of the body is no mere abstraction: imbalance in the Hildegardian body may result in real noise. In another passage, she outlines the features of individuals with a phlegmatic disposition, who are given to sudden changes in emotion. With a still-familiar simile, Hildegard describes the violent results:

> For when in these people, different phlegmatic humours are excited—because in the same people the same phlegms are thus agitated from immoderate food and drink; from improper happiness, sadness, and anger; and from immoderate lust—then like water in a cauldron placed on a fire, they boil over and spew seemingly burning drops and shoot them like arrows into people's flesh, blood, and veins, and infect them with extreme astringency, as if a bitter steam coats the eyes.
>
> *Nam cum in hiis hominibus diuersi humores flecmatum excitantur, ita quod eadem flecmata de inmoderato cibo et potu ac de inepta letitia, tristia et ira ac de inmoderate libidine in eisdem hominibus concutiuntur, tunc ebulliunt, quasi aqua*

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of breath and pulse: "*Quod si homo halitum ingredientem et egredientem se non haberet, tunc etiam corporali motione careret nec sanguis eius liquidus esset nec flueret, sicut etiam nec aqua fluit sine ductu aeris*." (II.123,15-17 ["De halitu," 84]).

[14] Saint Augustine of Hippo, *De Musica* 6.3, col 1165. See Holsinger's brief commentary in *Music, Body, and Desire*, 68-69. For a more detailed overview of the pulse in music, see Nancy G. Siraisi, "The Music of Pulse," in *Medicine and the Italian Universities 1250-1600* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 114-139; and Andrew Hicks, "Hearing the World: Sonic Materialisms", in *Composing the World: Harmony in the Medieval Platonic Cosmos* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 151-188.

[15] "*Consonantia, quae omnem musicae modulationem regit, praeter sonum fieri non potest, sonus vero praeter quendam pulsum percussionemque non redditur, pulsus vero atque percussio nullo modo esse potest, nisi praecesserit motus. . .. Idcirco definitur sonus percussio aeris indissoluta usque ad auditum*." (Boethius, *De institutione musica* I, 3; p. 189.)

> *in caldario igne supposito, et emittunt velut ignitas guttas et eas ut sagittas in carnem et in sanguinem et in uenas eorum mittunt atque homines tanta asperitate infigunt, uelut amarus fumus oculos confundit.* (II. 66,1-7 [“De flegmaticis,” 38])

This inanimate object—a pot boiling over and scalding bystanders—captures Hildegard’s concern over the harm of excessive emotions. A sonic aspect can be inferred here: splattering onto a fire, the drops from a cauldron would hiss, giving a high-pitched, intermittent sound. The simile (*quasi aqua*) sharpens into a metaphor (*ebullient et emittunt*), as the imbalanced people themselves boil over and spew drops. Although Hildegard does not specify what kind of human outburst is represented by the shooting drops, the word *emittunt*, which can be both “emit” and “utter,” may indicate that Hildegard is describing an outburst of speech. If so, then the imbalance of phlegmatic humors translates into noisy words that sputter and sting. In other words, just as “overjoy” (*magna letitia*, 125,2; *ultra modum letari*, 125,8) causes the inner workings of the body to be discordant, so can “underjoy” (*inepta laetitia*) result in discordant speech.

Hildegard is concerned that the individual’s humoural imbalance will affect the health of the surrounding community. Those noisy, hot words infect the bodies of the listeners, presumably resulting in their own humoural imbalances and spreading harm and disharmony to the larger community. In the same passage, she uses the analogy of a storm—another noisy, wet event that affects a large area and many people—to describe the intensity of the momentary outburst:

> And those who are of that disposition blaze up in anger more often, but loving virtue, they quickly hand anger over into oblivion, just as when a storm brews and then the sun appears. In like manner is the nature of their phlegmatic disposition, that they rise up easily to anger, easily to happiness.
>
> *Et qui istius conplexionis sunt, in ira sepius exardescunt, sed eam cito obliuioni tradunt bonitatem amantes, ut, cum tempestas oritur, deinde sol apparet; ita quod*

> *etiam talis est uis conplexionis flecmatis eorum, quod facile ad iram, facile ad letitiam insurgunt.* (II. 66,7-10 [“De flegmaticis,” 38])

Those who are given to self-indulgence are unpredictable and dangerously passing their affective states to others. As we can see in the example of the cauldron and the storm, the experience of emotion is not merely physical or individual, but implicates others, even altering their own physical makeup. Although the simile of the bubbling and hissing cauldron offers a range of emotions and vices including *inepta laetitia*, the simile of the storm explicitly represents anger, which roars and quakes. Here, *letitia* is not given the adjective *inepta* but is equated to virtue (*bonitatem*); it is proper happiness returned to moderation, pictured as a glowing and quiet calm after the storm. Rightly aligned joy, pursuing virtue, is quiet and temperate.

Hildegard refrains from chastising the phlegmatics: she is writing a manual for identifying symptoms and applying treatment. However, the moral-theological component is still present: as we saw in the passage above, these noisy imbalances may be inherent to a person’s physiological makeup but are aggravated by indulging in vices (*flecmata de inmoderato cibo et potu ac de inepta letitia, tristitia et ira ac de inmoderate libidine in eisdem hominibus concutiuntur*). The danger of unrestrained emotion—including improper happiness—is heightened by belonging in the same list as the deadly sins of gluttony, wrath, and lust. Hildegard follows the convention started by Gregory the Great in rooting the sin of *inepta laetitia* in the vice of gluttony.[16]

One last aural component of *inepta laetitia* is worth examining in depth here. Hildegard’s moral judgment on emotional outbursts includes laughter: “And so [the

[16] *“De ventris ingluvie, inepta laetitia, scurrilitas, immunditia, multiloquium, hebetudo sensus circa intelligentiam propagantur*” (Gregory the Great, *Moralium libri* 31, ch.45, n.88; *PL* 76, 621b).

internal wind] makes a person laugh and draws out his voice in cackles similar to the voice of barnyard animals" (*ac ita hominem ridere facit atque uocem eius similem uoci pecorum in cacynnis educit*, II. 189,12-13 ["De laetitia et risu," 149]). The term *pecus* can refer to any herd animal, be it cow, horse, donkey, or sheep.[17] When used in the plural, *pecus* means "beasts," in order to draw a sharp line between the animal and the human—this meaning is likely meant here, as that sharp line that has already been crossed with the simile between laughter and braying.

Early medieval moralists condemn laughter for its excess, often likening it to the barking of dogs or braying of asses. However, because the Aristotelian tradition considers laughter as one of the key distinctions between man and beast, medieval writers increasingly allow for laughter as a natural human impulse.[18] Hildegard seems to belong more to the older group, who see laughter negatively. As Olga Trokhimenko points out, "[Hildegard's] animalistic comparisons go against Aristotle's thesis about laughter as inherently human, subordinate it to intelligible speech, and brand it as aesthetically unpleasant."[19] Although laughter is human, its similarity to bestial braying implies an inherent irrationality. In this way, laughter is contradictory, simultaneously human and bestial, and is a lesser, irrational manifestation of the human voice. Like the inanimate cauldron and like the elemental storm, the simile for laughter also uses subhuman imagery. It is interesting that Hildegard uses plural "beasts" to describe a single person's

[17] Notker, quoting Boethius, makes an analogy between human laughter and horse whinnies; see Helen Adolf, "On Mediaeval Laughter," *Speculum* 22, no. 2 (1947): 251-252 and n.13.
[18] See Irven M. Resnick, "'Risus Monasticus:' Laughter and Medieval Culture," *Revue Bénédictine* 97 (1987): 90–100.
[19] Olga V. Trokhimenko, *Constructing Virtue and Vice: Femininity and Laughter in Courtly Society (ca. 1150-1300)* (Göttingen: V&R Press, 2014), 85.

laugh, not just capturing the repetition of each chuckle but also making the laughing person a mouthpiece for many voices, something unnatural or even demonic.

This irrationality is the key to our analysis of voice, both for this chapter and for those that follow. As Elizabeth Eva Leach outlines, medieval music theory was concerned with the difference between articulate and confused sounds while medieval grammar divided sounds based on whether or not they conveyed meaning and were writeable.[20] For music theorists, where *vox articulata* has discrete pitches expressed with proportions and ratios, *vox confusa* does not. For grammarians, a voice that comes from a place of understanding and conveys meaning depends entirely on the training and intention of the speaker or singer, while a writeable sound depends on whether letters can be used to depict it or if it is impossible to write out. The literacy of a sound therefore sets it at a remove from the voice itself, transposing it onto the written medium. These two systems, when reconciled to one another, create a fourfold division which was eventually systematized long after Hildegard—from the mid-thirteenth century onward—but had roots as far back as Augustine.[21] The most privileged sounds are those that are rational (meaningful) as well as articulate (writeable). A speech or a song is rational and articulate, while whistling is rational and inarticulate. Bird calls are articulate but irrational, while the wind rustling the trees is both inarticulate and irrational.[22] Of course, this is a simplified summary: exactly what may fall into the four categories varies for

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[20] See Burnett, "Sound and its Perception," 47-49; and especially Elizabeth Eva Leach, *Sung Birds: Music, Nature, and Poetry in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007), 28-35.
[21] Leach, *Sung Birds*, 32-36 and 51-54. See also Sarah Kay, "The Soundscape of Troubadour Lyric, or, How Human Is Song?" in "Sound Matters," by Susan Boynton, et al., *Speculum* 91, no. 4, (2016): 1002–1015.
[22] Leach, *Sung Birds*, 28–53; esp. p. 34, Table 1.1.

each grammarian and musician, and all of these neat categories are complicated by the question of understanding. After all, words can be repeated and melodies sung without the speaker understanding them or their underlying principles.[23] These distinctions create a hierarchy: speech over utterance, over discrete instrumental sound, over confused incidental sound. These divisions—though not yet systemized in Hildegard and Bernard's time—offer helpful parameters for analyzing instances of sound in literature from the central Middle Ages, parameters which will be frequently referred to throughout this study.

For example, in Hildegard's statement that human laughter resembles the voices of beasts, she may be tapping into the grammatical difference between kinds of voices. According to Leach's findings, laughter was considered by Probus (fourth century CE) and Aegidius of Zamora (the end of the thirteenth century) to be the lowest kind of voice: meaningless and impossible to be written, while Johannes (twelfth century) and Jerome of Moray (late thirteenth century) wrote that human laughter was musically inarticulate.[24] Under both grammatical and musical paradigms, then, human laughter is categorically inferior, grouped with animal voices. In Hildegard's passage—*uocem eius similem uoci pecorum in cacynnis educit*—the grammar of the Latin creates the parallel between the beasts' voices (*similem voci pecorum*) and the human's voice (*vocem eius*) rather than the laughter (*in cacynnis*)—it is the voice itself, not its laughter, that adopts bestial characteristics, so that the laughter is only the medium that conveys the already altered voice. Hildegard does not outright ridicule a laughing person, yet she still negatively

[23] Leach, *Sung Birds*, 44-45.
[24] Leach, *Sung Birds* Appendix 1.1a, pp. 297-98, and Appendix 1.2, pg. 299.

associates it with cacophony and irrationality. Nonetheless, voice (*vox*) comes from a living, breathing soul, while inanimate objects can only emit sound (*sonus*).[25] Therefore, a bestial laugh is still a higher form of sound than Hildegard's similes of cauldron and storm, which are inanimate and elemental, respectively, and which have a harmful impact on those nearby.

Utilizing these fundamental distinctions between articulate and inarticulate sound, we can better understand one further description of laughter, one that combines medicine, theology, and music in a way unique to Hildegard. She describes the physiology of laughter in a way consistent with other twelfth-century medical texts, in that she associates laughter with the spleen.[26] Laughter arises from the soul and settles into the spleen, from which it can spread to other parts of the body:

> And thus, when a person rejoices from either good or bad things that please him, then sometimes the wind exiting from the marrow arrives at his thigh first; and in this manner the wind settles in the spleen, fills up the veins of the same spleen, and spreads itself to the heart and replenishes the liver.
>
> *Et cum sic homo aut de bonis aut de malis, quae sibi placent, laetatur, tunc praedictas ventus interdum ex medulla exiens femur illius primum tangit et ita splen occupat atque venas eiusdem splenis implet et se ad cor extendit et iecur replet.* (II. 189,8-12 ["De laetitia et risu," 149])

Hildegard uses the word *femur*, which is more generally translated "femur" or "thigh," but which can also euphemistically refer to sexual organs, particularly among Christian Latin writers.[27] A sexualized sense of the word here would fit Hildegard's larger view on

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[25] Leach, *Sung Birds*, 25.
[26] Peter Jones, *Laughter and Power in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 51ff. Cf. Isidore, *Etymologiae* 11.1.125 and 127, where spleen is the seat of laughter and the liver is the seat of love, pleasure, and desire (ed. W. M. Lindsay [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911]).
[27] J. N. Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), 51. See the entry for "Femur" in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, vol. VI, 1:470-473, esp. 472.68 - 473.9, where only Christian authors are cited under heading c, "metonymice i. q. inguina, membra genitalia."

excessive happiness as not only sinful but also emblematic of original sin. In the two sections leading up to this one, she directly attributes laughter to postlapsarian conditions and sexual activity:

> In Adam's transgression, the sacred and pure nature of begetting offspring was transformed into another way: the delights of the flesh. In the same way, even Adam's voice of celestial joys was turned into a contrary way of laughter and cackles. Indeed, foolish happiness and laughter even have something like an affinity with the delights of the flesh, and so the wind that stirs up laughter exits from the marrow of the person and jostles his thigh and innards. And sometimes by excessive jostling, laughter draws out of the eyes the water of tears from the blood of the veins, just as in the same way the foam of a person's semen is finally driven out of the blood of veins through the heat of delight.[28]
>
> *Nam sicut in preuaricatione Ade sancta et casta natura prolem gignendi in alium modum delectationis carnis mutata est, ita etiam et uox supernorum gaudiorum, quam idem Adam habebat, in contrarium modum risus et cacynnorum uersa est. Inepta enim letitia et risus uelut quandam societatem ad delectationem carnis habent, et ideo uentus ille, qui risum suscitat, de medulla hominis exiens femur eius et interiora concutit. Ac interdum pre nimia concussione risus aquam lacrimarum de sanguine uenarum oculis hoc modo educit, quemadmodum etiam spuma seminis hominis aliquando de sanguine uenarum per ardorem delectationis excutitur.*(II. 188,14 - 189,4 ["De cachinno et risu," 148-49])

Because *natura* can be a euphemism for genitals, and because the passage overtly describes the corruption of reproduction, I read *femur* here as a euphemism for the reproductive organs, which in turn means that laughter, before leaving the body, passes through them and takes on their taint.

Throughout *Causae et curae*, Hildegard describes Adam's exile from the Garden of Eden with the metaphor of a fading light, particularly in reference to the transformation of Adam's prophetic vision into a clouded one. However, in the passage above, she describes an alteration of his "voice of higher joys" as well, adding a sonic

[28] Hildegard makes the same parallel between vocal emissions and semen when describing grief, sighing, and tears. Cf. II. 187,2-10 ["De suspiriis," 147].

dimension to the spiritual history of humanity beyond the visual and physiological.[29] The word *supernorum* ("of celestial things") is sometimes edited as *superiorum* ("of upper things"); either way, the meanings can include both "high" or "heavenly", so that these are joys found only in God rather than in the world. Moreover, the double genitive of *vox supernorum gaudiorum* intertwines perfect human sound with perfect happiness. The transformation of Adam's voice is therefore twofold: his voice changes into a different *modum* (188,15) as if he is exchanging one musical mode for another, while the *superna gaudium* is exchanged for *inepta laetitia* (188,17). Adam's fallen laughter resembles animal noises, is sexual, and comes in short outbursts, while his prelapsarian joy was angelic, divine, and expressed through music and singing.

Adam's prelapsarian voice is perfect, in that it encompasses a complete range of song types and pitches. Hildegard equates it to a musical instrument: "Likewise, Adam knew angelic song and all types of music before his transgression, and he had a resounding voice that sounded like a voice of a monochord" (*Adam quoque ante praeuaricationem angelicum carmen et omne genus musicorum sciebat et uocem habebat sonantem, ut uox monochordi sonat,* 188,8-9 ["De Adae prudentia," 148]). Adam's relationship to music was both theoretical and practical: he knew angelic and instrumental music and sang perfectly. His knowledge of angelic song is not a concept unique to Hildegard. Patristic writers describe Adam's ability to hear the Lord's voice, to join in singing with the angels (sometimes antiphonally), or to speak the first and perfect

[29] Hildegard brings Adam's loss of divine sight and hearing and the corruption of procreation together in another section, II. 107,4 – 108,10 ["Item de Adae exilio," 70-71].

language. [30] As a composer, Hildegard was interested in the implications of angelic song and returns to it frequently in her works: "Hildegard liked to contrast human beings, who were composed of soul and body so as to express God's image in both praise and work, with the angels, who were pure spirit and therefore pure song."[31] Angelic song for Hildegard is not so much audible to human ears as it is a spiritual expression, while the voice was a natural human sound, and musical instruments ("all types of music") were artificial and the lowest form of *Musica*; essentially this resembles Boethius's musical hierarchy of *mundana*, *humana*, and *instrumentalis* mentioned above. Applied to the passage on Adam's voice, this means that Adam knew all three levels of music: spiritual, human, and artificial music. In this way, his musical knowledge and his ability to demonstrate that knowledge was perfect.

Moreover, his voice being likened to a monochord meant that he knew the complete scale of pitches. This single-stringed instrument was used to teach musical intervals, notes, and the ratios between them—that is, the underlying mathematical principles of music as well as of the other disciplines.[32] Boethius himself devoted a significant portion of *De institutione musica* to the divisions of the monochord.[33]

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[30] Cf. excerpts from Methodius of Olympius and Gregory of Nyssa, translated by Marta Przyszychowska in her book *We Were All in Adam: The Unity of Mankind in Adam in the Teaching of the Church Fathers* (Warsaw: De Gruyter Open Poland, 2019), 35 and 47, resp.

[31] Barbara Newman, "Introduction," *Symphonia: A Critical Edition* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998), 21.

[32] There also existed double- and triple-stringed "monochords" in the Middle Ages, which better contrasted the notes of various ratios: see Hortense Panum, *The Stringed Instruments of the Middle Ages: Their Evolution and Development*, ed. and trans. Jeffrey Pulver (London: New Temple Press, [1939?]), 251-253. However, the single-stringed instrument seems to have remained dominant, see Walter Nef, "The Polychord," *The Galpin Society Journal* 4 (1951): 20–24.

[33] See Boethius, *De institutione musica*, IIII.5-12; pp. 314-335. Cf. the frontispiece to the Canterbury manuscript of this treatise, MS Ii.3.12, fol. 61*v*, housed at the University of Cambridge library, in which Boethius is depicted playing the monochord. For commentary on this illustration, see Elizabeth C.

Moreover, the monochord was the basic tool for learning and teaching chant, and Hildegard seems to have used it in the composition of at least one of her songs.[34] Thus the monochord was useful in helping a student not only to train her voice and learn musical intervals, but also to learn a wide range of concepts through hearing; it is not hard to imagine how music was considered to be at the heart of the universe.[35] For Hildegard, then, prelapsarian voice had sliding, precise scales, and its various abilities exhibited the singer's musical knowledge as well as his general knowledge. Note that Adam's voice needed no training on the monochord; it was already inherently rational, capable of explicating the underlying principles of the universe.

Hildegard continues this passage by describing how after original sin, Adam's musically adept voice changes to laughter:

> However, in [Adam's] transgression, a certain wind by the serpent's cunning hurled itself into his marrow and thigh and is also now in all people. And a person's spleen grows fat from the wind, and foolish happiness and laughter and cackles are driven out of a person.
>
> *In preuaricatione autem illius de astutia serpentis intorsit se in medullam et in femur eius quidam uentus, qui etiam nunc in omni homine est. Et de uento illo splen hominis impinguescit, et inepta letitia et risus atque cahinni in homine excutiuntur*. (II. 188,8-13 ["De Adae prudentia," 148])

Excessive laughter is an aural reminder of exile from God: under the four divisions of sound outlined above, laughter is considered inarticulate and irrational, the perfect

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Teviotdale, "Music and Pictures in the Middle Ages," in *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music*, eds. Tess Knighton and David Fallows (London: J. M. Dent & Songs Ltd., 1992), 186-187.

[34] Tova Leigh-Choate, William T. Flynn, and Margot E. Fassler, "Hearing the Heavenly Symphony: An Overview of Hildegard's Musical Oeuvre with Case Studies," in *A Companion to Hildegard of Bingen*, eds. Beverly Mayne Kienzle, Debra L. Stoudt, and George Ferzoco (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2014), 178-180.

[35] See, e.g., Guido d'Arezzo, *Micrologus*, chapter I: "*Igitur qui nostram disciplinam petit, aliquantos cantus nostris notis descriptos addiscat, in monochordi usu manum exerceat, hasque regulas saepe meditetur, donec vi et natura vocum cognita, ignotos ut notos cantus suaviter canat. Sed quia voces, quae hujus artis prima sunt fundamenta, in monochordo melius intuemur; quomodo eas ibidem ars naturam imitata discrevit, primitus videamus*" (p. 14).

inverse of Hildegard's prelapsarian voice that contained all practical knowledge. Thus, laughter is a sonic reminder of the Fall, representing the element of discord that has been introduced to the cosmic—and particularly human—harmony. Even though there is a patristic tradition around Adam's voice, I have been unable to find evidence of another theologian writing such an etiology for laughter or referring to Adam's voice as being like a monochord.[36] This is Hildegard's unique perspective as composer coming to the fore, enriching the body of knowledge surrounding pre- and postlapsarian creation.

Adam was able to participate in a perfected mode of singing now inaccessible to humanity. Every person has inherited the transformed voice, so that the spiritual state of each individual, as well as of all humanity, impacts the human body and the voice. The separation from God includes exile from the choirs of angels. But this loss of voice and loss of community with God has the possibility of redemption through Christ. William Flynn has analyzed how Hildegard musically adapts Gregory the Great's perspective on redemption. Gregory argues that humanity was created to fill in the gap left by the fallen angels who rebelled; Hildegard transfers this principle to the choir of angels praising God in his throne room.[37] With the choir incomplete, humanity was to join them in singing praises, and Hildegard sees the performance of the liturgy as part of the fulfillment of that original purpose: thus the redeemed "have not only restored humanity's knowledge of

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[36] On similar conclusions of Hildegard's originality here, see Leigh-Choate, et al., "Hearing the Heavenly Symphony," 178; Newman, *Symphonia*, pp. 25 and 31; and Miranda Lynn Clemens (Sister Maria Parousia), "That They Might Sing the Song of the Lamb: The Spiritual Value of Singing the Liturgy for Hildegard of Bingen" (M.A. Thesis, Trent University, 2014), 125.

[37] William T. Flynn, "Singing with the Angels: Hildegard of Bingen's Representations of Celestial Music," in *Conversations with Angels: Essays towards a History of Spiritual Communication, 1100-1700*, ed. Joad Raymond (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 222-24.

angelic song, but. . . also perfect that song by participating in it."[38] Each person is meant to join both a human community and a spiritual one in joyful song: the joy comes not only from individual sanctification, but also from restoration of membership in the heavenly community. Song for Hildegard enacts the aligned and total harmony of community and anticipates the joys of heaven.

Hildegard's *Causae et curae* is more than the meeting point between medical and theological perspectives: her knowledge as composer turns excessive and misplaced happiness—the result of both physical and moral imbalances—into poorly controlled, discordant outbursts capable of harming others, as aurally imagined through the hissing of hot words or the whistling of constricted winds blowing through bodies. But one of the improper expressions of misplaced happiness, laughter, was once perfect song: in its redeemed form as joyful music—controlled sound imbued with rationality and meaning—it is Hildegard's permissible, divine expression of joy.

Immoral Happiness

The next text to be examined here outlines more fully the moral and social consequences of overjoyed and underjoyed vocalizations, again using aural imagery to drive home the point. Contemporary to Hildegard von Bingen was the profoundly influential Bernard of Clairvaux. Hildegard wrote a letter to Bernard before she made her visions public, asking for his advice and blessing. Not only did he encourage her to continue, he gave the pope an endorsement of her, possibly contributing to her favorable public reception and burgeoning influence.

[38] Flynn, "Singing with the Angels," 224.

The Cistercian order was founded in Cîteaux as a reaction to a perceived lack of rigor in monastic life; as one of the monks there, Bernard championed for an even stricter reform, founding the daughter monastery at Clairvaux in 1115. Just over ten years later, his kinsman Godfrey de la Roche founded a daughter abbey at Fountenay, and Bernard wrote his first treatise, *De gradibus humilitatis et superbiae*, to advise Godfrey on maintaining discipline over himself and over the community.[39] The treatise is a didactic letter that was not merely personal but was shared with and read widely by many in Bernard's lifetime, as he attests in a later emendation.[40] The treatise thus offers an insight into Bernard's and his readership's conception of individual and communal formation. As a writer, Bernard is known for his characteristically vivid multisensory imagery, embodying religious depths through physical experience.[41] Even though he was less musically prolific than Hildegard, he was nonetheless particularly attuned to the instructional and spiritual value of music and took part in reforming his order's liturgy, and in this first treatise, he especially uses sound to depict improper happiness.[42]

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[39] See Wim Verbaal, "Bernard's Smile and the Conversion of Laughter," in Förnegård, et al., *Tears, Sighs and Laughter*, 206-209; Barton R. V. Mills, "Introduction," in *The Twelve Degrees of Humility and Pride* (New York: Macmillan, 1929), 7; and Halcyon C. Backhouse, "Introduction," in *The Twelve Steps of Humility and Pride and On Loving God* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1985), 8.

[40] "*Sed quia talem errorem meum multo post, quam a me idem libellus editus et a pluribus jam transcriptus fuit, deprehendi; cum non potui per tot jam libellos sparsum persequi mendacium*" (Bernard of Clairvaux, "Retractatio," in *De gradibus humilitatis et superbiae*, *PL* 939-940). The Latin is taken from the edition by J.-P. Migne in *PL* 182: 941-972 (Paris, 1859). All translations are my own, but with consultation of the translation by Barton Reginald Vaughan Mills (1929).

[41] Diane J. Reilly, *The Cistercian Reform and the Art of the Book in Twelfth-Century France* (Amsterdam University Press, 2018), 18-20, 189–94; Line Cecilie Engh, "Divine Sensations: Sensory Language and Rhetoric in Bernard of Clairvaux's 'On Conversion'," *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 22, no. 1 (2020): 59–64; Eric Palazzo, "Art, Liturgy and the Five Senses in the Early Middle Ages," *Viator* 41 (2010): 25-33; Rachel Fulton, "'Taste and See That the Lord Is Sweet' (Ps. 33:9): The Flavor of God in the Monastic West," *The Journal of Religion* 86, no. 2 (2006): 169–204; and Mary Carruthers, "Sweetness" *Speculum* 81, no. 4 (2006): 999–1013.

[42] Although a number of songs were attributed to Bernard, his authorship of many of them is unlikely; nonetheless, Bernard saw great importance in the design of the liturgy and was therefore involved in crafting a community's experience of and participation in music; see Helen Deeming, "Music and

Bernard is often held up by scholars as a staunch exemplum for monastic opposition to laughter, yet even he admitted that laughter from a sanctified heart was permissible.[43] In reality, Bernard was known for finding the middle ground with his quiet laughter that was never uproarious, showing saintly levels of self-control.[44] We saw in Hildegard that excessive or misplaced happiness is spiritually as well as physically unhealthy. A person may become less unpredictable and uncontrolled if they in turn control their desires and habits, thereby becoming healthier and benefiting those around them. Jean-Claude Schmitt dates an increased interest in the moderation of gesture at the beginning of the twelfth century under the Benedictine and Cistercian reforms, particularly beginning in the monasteries and operating as a form of control over the individual.[45] Similarly, Bernard is not merely concerned with laughter's moral prognosis for an individual; misplaced levity raises practical problems in the community as well, where jokes at the expense of other monks could cause discord in the monastery.

In this way, the control of outer behavior and expression mirrors the inner control of one's moral makeup. Roughly a third of *De gradibus* tracks the moral deterioration of a proud monk, whose inner vice is first externally noticeable when he begins to laugh uncontrollably. This descent includes an oft-discussed passage by scholars interested in medieval attitudes toward laughter, in which a vain, giggly monk is likened to a bladder

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Contemplation in the Twelfth-Century 'Dulcis Jesu Memoria'," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 139, no. 1 (2014): 1–5; and Chrysogonus Waddell, "Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, Sweet Singer of Israel: The Textual Reform of the Primitive Cistercian Breviary," *CSQ* 38, no. 4 (2003): 439–48.

[43] Jean-Claude Schmitt, "The Ethics of Gesture," in *Fragments for a History of the Human Body: Part Two*, eds. Michel Feher, Ramona Naddaff, and Nadia Tazi (New York: Urzone, Inc., 1989), 138; and Peter J. A. Jones, "Laughing with Sacred Things, ca. 1100-1350: A History in Four Objects," *Church History* 89, no. 4 (2020): 768.

[44] Verbaal, "Bernard's Smile," 194 and n.5.

[45] Schmitt, "The Ethics of Gesture," 136ff.

inflated with air; even in translation and divorced from its medieval audience, the analogy is still engaging, due to Bernard's strong grasp of rhetoric. Schmitt very briefly analyzes this passage as "remarkable for the liveliness and exactness of its observation; it also conveys a considerable subtlety in its psychological analysis and its recognition of repression as an effect of monastic education."[46] Although this irresistible passage is often cited, it usually stands on its own as an example of Bernard's opinion of laughter. However, the aural imagery and semantics Bernard employs merits a closer reading. The parallel between individual and social control that Schmitt points toward is apparent not only in this passage but in the greater context of the letter. The passage needs to be restored to its context of the monk's descent into pride; indeed, the first four stages surrounding this passage tie in closely to the monk's moral, rational, and vocal deterioration. Closely examined in context, the passage reveals that Bernard uses aural imagery, especially through the four grammatical and musical categories of sounds, to depict the moral and social problems of laughter and to argue for the need for verbal, emotional, and communal control. Bernard's depiction of the wayward monk shows the inner indulgence of vice as the origin of passions and their outward affective and verbal expressions. That is, certain human behaviors and vocalizations are categorized according to the level of moral depravity, lack of self-control, and the impact on the monastic community.

The second half of *De gradibus* derives its structure from chapter seven of the Rule of St. Benedict, but in reverse. The treatise's title alludes to Jacob's vision of the ladder ascending into heaven; the Rule of St. Benedict describes how a monk may ascend

[46] Schmitt, "The Ethics of Gesture," 137-138.

the ladder of humility, arriving at the twelfth and topmost rung. Bernard's *De gradibus* warns about the thoughts and actions that might cause a monk to descend from that height, succumbing first to vanity, then to pride. *De gradibus* explicitly cites and responds to the Rule's descriptions, so that it is best to read both together. It is important to note that the numbering is also reversed: for example, the Rule's twelfth rung of the ladder corresponds to *De gradibus*'s first. The twelfth and final step of humility in the Rule shows a monk whose posture externalizes his inner virtue: "Let a monk always be with bowed head, his vision fixed on the ground, at all hours his self-examination on the guilt of his sins," (*[monachus] inclinato sit semper capite, defixis in terram aspectibus, reum se omni hora de peccatis suis aestimans,* 52).[47] Meanwhile, the first step of pride in *De gradibus* has the monk moving away from these same external and internal postures: "At first, with roaming eyes and itching ears, the monk carries his head upraised. . .. Just as death entered the word through sin, so does it enter the mind through these windows," (*[monachum] oculis incipientem vagari, caput erectum, aures portare suspensas. . .. sicut mors per peccatum in orbem, sic per has fenestras intrat ad mentem*, Clairvaux, *PL* 182: 957b-c). Bernard is clearly citing the Rule, using the reverse image of a raised head to contrast with the humble monk's bowed head. In addition to expanding on the reasons for this posture, Bernard has added the image of the restless ears. Where Benedict's examples are rather sparse, Bernard expands upon each rung of the ladder, providing increasingly vivid descriptions of improper conduct.

[47] The Latin is taken from *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, ed. and trans. Bruce L. Venarde, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2011). All translations are my own, but they are indebted to this edition and to the translation by W. K. Lowther Clarke (1931).

Just as we saw in the analysis of Hildegard's aural images, rationality and self-control are the measurements for distinguishing good sound from bad. The Rule of St. Benedict establishes a parallel between humility and the control of one's tongue:

> The eleventh step of humility is, if a monk should speak, he does so softly and without laughter, humbly and with gravity; or speaks few and rational words; and is not rowdy in voice, as it is written: 'A wise man is made known by the fewness of his words.'
>
> *Undecimus humilitatis gradus est si cum loquitur monachus, leniter et sine risu, humiliter cum grabitate* [sic] *vel pauca verba et rationavilia* [sic][48] *loquatur, et non sit clamosus in voce, sicut scriptum est:* Sapiens verbis innotescit paucis.[49] (*The Rule*, 52)

Here laughter and raised voices are included only in the negative, describing what a humble man is not. In contrast, Bernard's description of the corresponding second step of pride—levity of mind—is five times as long and explores the inward character of the monk in much more depth. Alternating between envy and vanity, a monk "laments when he is upstaged, and rejoices when he upstages. . .. Moreover, words reveal these changes of the spirit: now few and biting; now many and vapid; full of jest, then full of grief; and indeed, always silly" (*quia et quod superari se dolet, et quod superare se gaudet. . .. Has autem animi vicissitudines nunc pauca et mordacia, nunc multa et inania, nunc risu, nunc luctu plena, semper vero irrationabilia indicant verba*, Clairvaux, *PL* 182: 963b). Bernard describes counterfeit joy that is misplaced and recursive, engendered by and reinforcing sinful desire. With added emphasis on the inner world underlying speech, tone of voice, and laughter, Bernard presents two emotional extremes in which the words

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[48] *cum grabitate vel pauca verba et rationavilia*] The expected spellings are *gravitate* and *rationabilia*; the error is found in the St. Gall text 941 and is retained in the standard edition.

[49] The quote, "sapiens verbis innotescit paucis," is likely from *The Sentences of Sextus*, sentence 145, "sapiens paucis verbis innotescit" (*The Sentences of Sextus: a Contribution to the History of Early Christian Ethics*, ed. Henry Chadwick [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959], 29).

are always imbalanced in quantity and quality: whether jesting or lamenting, the monk's words are always irrational.

This verbal, emotional, and immoral imbalance is more directly caused by sin than by the physiological imbalances Hildegard describes and is clearly a problem of self-control. In the second degree above, Bernard's monk is tossed between joy and sorrow; both emotions are caused by his comparisons to others, and both turn into the vices vanity and envy, respectively. His description indicates that the monk has no control over the extremes of joy and sorrow: he is constantly fluctuating between the two, unable to find a middle ground and take control of his emotions. In the third step of pride, the monk regains some control over his emotions but fails to moderate them. Wishing to avoid the uncomfortable and unbalanced states of sorrow experienced in the second step, a monk enters the third degree by completely avoiding thoughts of envy or sorrow and choosing to be perpetually happy: "and so it happens that improper happiness alone begins to possess him, whom joy and sorrow were once claiming in turn" (*Sicque fit, ut quem sibi vicissim vindicabant* ***gaudium*** *et tristitia, sola possidere incipiat* ***inepta laetitia*** [emphasis mine], Clairvaux, *PL* 182:963d). By consciously rejecting moderation through sorrow, he trades *gaudium* for *inepta laetitia*. Where Hildegard and Gregory the Great attribute *inepta laetitia* to gluttony, Bernard attributes it to pride. This foolish happiness is not just excessive but misplaced, resulting in a lesser kind of joy than that found in God.

Furthermore, the overjoyed and underjoyed soul finds outlet in increasingly irrational speech. As in the second step, where an inner overabundance leads to vocal

utterances that are "always silly," the third step toward pride results in inappropriately timed humor, sounding ridiculous: "He tends toward joking, ready and willing for laughter. . .. he is unable any longer to hold in laughter, to conceal improper happiness" (*Pronus ad iocum, facilis ac promptus in risu . . .. jam risum tenere, jam ineptam laetitiam dissimulare non valet*, Clairvaux, *PL* 182:963d-64a). Yet again, vocal expression is the natural externalization of moral corruption, in both cases as an inability to speak in ways appropriate to the situation. However, though the monk intentionally puts away thoughts of sorrow, he is unable to control his outward expressions: "Often, ashamed, he hides his face, shuts his lips, and clenches his teeth; nevertheless he laughs involuntarily; unwillingly, he cackles" (*Saepe vultum pudibundus abscondit, claudit labia, dentes stringit; ridet tamen nolens, cachinnat invitus, PL* 182:964a-b). A lack of inner emotional control in the second stage leads to a lack of outer vocal control in the third stage, as the monk cannot prevent his outbursts, even when he perceives their inopportunity.

It is not only self-control that is lacking but rationality as well. The second step may have meaningless chatter, but the third step ends in bursts of vocalization entirely devoid of words: "And when he will have stopped up his mouth with his fists, still he is heard to sneeze through his nostrils" (*Cumque os pugnis obstruxerit suis, per nares adhuc sternutare auditor*, Clairvaux, *PL* 182:964b). Both laughter and sneezing involve short, forceful bursts of air, devoid of words. That is, the monk progresses from verbalizations to vocalizations. Words represent rationality and point toward meaning, while voice is merely the vehicle; because laughter and sneezing are not speech but voice, the monk's

vocalizations depart from human rationality, drawing attention to the voice itself.[50] Without words, any pretense at rational thought is gone. The vocal expressions of the third step also reflect different levels of degradation: laughter uses the vocal cords and conveys some sort of emotion or intention, while sneezing is merely air pushed through the nostrils and has no communicative role. Laughter can be involuntary, and sneezing certainly is, so that they both lack rationality and control from the subject. Thus, we can track through the early steps of pride a decline in rationality, and therefore, in a major part of what distinguishes the human from the animal.

Indeed, the rational human all but disappears through Bernard's use of simile and metaphor. At the end of the third step, Bernard likens the monk to an inanimate and ludicrous object:

> Indeed, if a bladder, inflated with gathered wind and pierced with a small point, is pressed, it creaks until it deflates; and rather than spewed out everywhere, the departing wind is intermittently expelled, rendering plenty of particular sounds. Likewise, a monk, when his heart is full of vain and foolish thoughts, the wind of vanity is driven out between the straits of the throat as cackles, not finding a more satisfying departure due to the rule of silence.
>
> *Ut enim vesica collecto turgida vento punctoque forata exiguo, si stringitur, crepitat dum detumescit, ac ventus egrediens non passim effusus, sed strictim emissus crebros quosdam sonitus reddit, sic monachus, ubi vanis scurrilibusque cor suum cogitationibus impleverit, propter disciplinam silentii non inveniens ventus vanitatis qua plenius egrediatur inter angustias faucium per cachinnos excutitur.* (*PL* 182:964a)

Like Hildegard's overflowing cauldron, the bladder is an inanimate object capable of sustaining a build-up of internal pressure, an image that depicts the affective experience of intensifying emotion. Both objects emit a high-pitched, intermittent outburst. The words Bernard uses to describe the bladder obfuscate the divide between object and

[50] See Mladen Dolar, *A Voice and Nothing More* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2006), 13-32.

human, lending the bladder somewhat anthropomorphic—even verbal—attributes: the bladder "creaks" or "chatters" (*crepitat*), and its expelled air "emits," "declares," or even "recites" (*reddit*). *Turgida* can be "inflated" or "swollen," but can also describe bombastic speech, while the words for the small point (*puncto exiguo*) can also be used for human emotions as "strict," "vexed," or "grieved." With many of the verbs carrying the potential to describe either humans or objects, they anthropomorphize the bladder and blur the line further between it and the monk, as he loses his capacity for speech and as the bladder gains an approximation of discourse and interiority.

Above, the bladder's emissions are nearly scatological, conjuring up an immediate aural association with bodily expulsion. This grotesque physicality is heightened in the subsequent narration that extends into the fourth step of pride:

> But when vanity began to increase and the bladder to enlarge, it is necessary that the gas is belched by a wider opening, mouth having been loosened lest the bladder burst. Thus a monk with overflowing improper happiness is incapable of revealing it while laughing or gesturing and bursts out in the words of Elihu, *Behold my belly, like a new wine without vent, which bursts the new flasks.* Consequently, he must either speak, or else burst apart. *For he is plump with speech, and the spirit of his belly presses him.*
>
> *At postquam vanitas crescere et vesica grossescere cœperit, necesse est ut ampliori foramine, laxato sinu, ventositas eructetur, aliquin rumpetur. Sic monachus inepta redundante laetitia dum risu, vel signis eam aperire non sufficit, in Heliu verba prorumpit:* En venter meus, quasi mustum absque spiraculo, quod lagunculas novas dirumpit. *(*Job. *xxxii, 19). Aut loquetur ergo, aut rumpetur. Plenus est enim sermonibus, et coarctat eum spiritus uteri sui.*[51] (*PL* 182:964b-c)

The feelings of *inepta redundante laetitia*—foolish happiness overflowing—result in embarrassing vocalization. The root *rumpo* appears four times in this passage, its prefixes adding directionality and intensity, where *prorumpo* is "to burst out" and *dirumpo* is "to

[51] The second quotation is from the previous verse, Job 32:18, and changes the Vulgate's first person to third person to describe the monk: "*plenus sum enim sermonibus et coartat me spiritus uteri mei*."

burst apart": the monk's outbursts are external, affecting those around him, and internal, causing his own destruction. The belching gas and cited Biblical passage combine to paint a merry monk as ridiculous, grotesquely corporeal, and at the mercy of his urges.

Whereas the initial analogy only blurs human and object, here the monk is barely distinguishable from the bladder due a slippage of syntax. The statement, "But when vanity began to increase and the bladder to enlarge," indicates that both are happening simultaneously, or even that the former is causing the latter. The subsequent description applies to both at the same time: "it is necessary that the flatulence is belched by a wider opening, the cavity having been loosened." The *sinus*, which originally was a fold of clothing over the chest, can also refer to the bosom; from there, the article came to represent hidden feelings or thoughts. Thus, either the bladder's vent is loosening, or the bosom is opening up, allowing the inner feelings to escape. The simile in the third step of pride collapses into a metaphor in the fourth, as the monk becomes the object. Once like the bladder, now the monk is the bladder.

Laughter is thus a ridiculous sign of inner vice and useless to the monastic life. Being likened to a bladder—not even to an animal—is humiliating enough for its inanimate, irrational, and scatological nature, yet even worse this particular bladder is of limited utility. Air-filled bladders, including at monasteries, were used as balls in games or as bags for piped instruments; without a way to retain air, a punctured bladder is ineffective for sport, and it remains musically useless as long as its emitted air is unregulated by bellows or pipe. This bladder certainly emits sounds that are numerous (*crebros*) and fleeting (*strictim*), but without meaningful modulation or meter, its pitch is

controlled only by the size of the precise puncture ("*puncto. . . exiguo*") and by the pressure inside as it is squeezed ("*stringitur*"). The bladder is therefore only noisy, not even capable of participating in the lowest form of *musica*, instrumental music. Similarly useless, the vain monk's mind is full of "vain and foolish thoughts." Having lost control of his thoughts and morality, the monk also loses control of his outward deportment, despite the external reinforcement of the monastic rule of silence (*propter disciplinam silentii*). Rather than modulating him as an instrument, the rule of silence only serves to increase his internal pressure and add to the buffoonery of his sounds. The vain monk laughs loudly, breaking the rule anyway.

This moment marks a shift in the monk's descent. Not only is he internally corrupted, but he begins to disrupt the greater community. From here to the bottom of the ladder, the monk's irrationality and pride inverts the core of monastic practice. For example, in the third degree of pride, a relentlessly positive disposition points toward misdirected contemplation:

> You will seldom see this kind of monk weeping or never hear him groaning. If you are paying attention, you deem his faults either forgotten or forgiven. Foolishness is apparent in gesture, merriment in facial expression, vanity in gait. . .. Expectedly, recognizing everything in him that is contemptible and thus grievous, he erases it all from his memory and unites or invents good things to his mind's eye—if he feels any good in himself—until he meditates on nothing except what is pleasurable nor cares if it is permissible.
>
> *Illum qui eiusmodi est, aut raro, aut numquam gementem audies, lacrimantem videbis. Putes, si attendas, aut sui oblitum, aut ablutum a culpis. In signis scurrilitas, in fronte hilaritas, vanitas apparet in incessu. . .. Cunctis quippe quae in se contemptibilia, et ideo tristia noverat, a memoria rasis, bonisque, si qua sentit in se, adunatis vel simulatis ante oculos mentis, dum nil cogitat nisi quod libet, nec attendit si licet*. (*PL* 182:963d-64a)

Beyond laughter, a cheerful disposition (*in fronte hilaritas*) indicates that a monk has been contemplating his own stature and ability. Although he engages in meditation, it is inverted: his self-contemplation is a reversal of a monk's duty to contemplate God in humility. Penance—the sorrowful contemplation of one's own sins—ought to be observed before receiving the joyful recognition of divine grace, yet the monk skips this step and is all the more dangerous for appearing to be forgiven. As we saw above, the strictures of monastic life, rather than curing the monk of his laughing fits, exacerbate them. In succumbing to pride, the monk is unable to adequately submit to external monastic life—the rule of silence—nor to the internal posture that that life is meant to facilitate—contemplation of the divine. A proud monk is no monk at all.

This inversion of proper contemplation leads to the fourth step toward pride, in which all semblance of external and internal restraint is lost and his role in the community is further corrupted. The proud monk not only bursts from the restraint of the vow of silence, but openly complains of it and defies it, so that he can exhibit his breadth of knowledge:

> Moreover, when it is necessary to end conversation after the striking of the bell, he complains that the long hour is a short moment; he asks for the license to return to his tales after the hour, not in order to edify anyone, but to boast of his knowledge.
>
> *Cum autem, pulsato signo, necesse est interrumpi colloquium, horam longam, breve queritur intervallum; quaerit licentiam, ut ad fabulas revertatur post horam, non ut quempiam aedificet, sed ut scientiam jactet.*(*PL* 182:964c)

The sound of the bell interrupts the sound of conversation, marking a sonic bookend to the hour. By nature the two sounds are opposites of one another: a single note vs. plural speech, metallic percussion vs. human voice. Furthermore, the tolling of the bell is

paradoxically louder than the conversation yet calls for silence.[52] Rising up over the bell's tolls and the community's final words, the garrulous monk's petition for more time is yet louder, aurally opposing the order the bell brings. He privileges his voice over those who appropriately fall silent, making himself an exception to the rules they follow. His complaint disrupts the way in which the community measures time, the aural space needed for silent contemplation, and the value of their vow.

Just as the bladder is useless, the monk's interruptions have no educational value to the community. The monk fails to use his rhetorical ability and knowledge properly for instruction and edification, abusing the didactic model: "he interrupts while being asked a question and answers even when he is not. He himself posits a question, he himself solves it, and does not let his conversational partner finish his words" (*Praevenit interrogantem, non quaerenti respondet. Ipse quaerit, ipse solvit, et verba collocutoris imperfecta praecidit*, *PL* 182:964c). Requiring an audience, but unwilling to listen himself, the monk asserts himself above his fellow monks and destroys the utility of communication in a monastery.

Compared to the meaningless sneezing, laughing, and bursting bladder, it appears in the passage above that the monk has regained some semblance of rational control over his voice. However, the monk's words come not by thoughtful choice but out of bodily desperation. The need for an audience is an instinctual, even bestial, urge: "He hungers and thirsts for an audience, to whom he may brag about his vanities, to whom he may

[52] For an analysis on the bell's role in the regulation of the monastic soundscapes, see Sheila Bonde and Clark Maines, "Performing Silence and Regulating Sound: the Monastic Soundscape of Saint-Jean-des-Vignes," in *Resounding Images: Medieval Intersections of Art, Music, and Sound*, eds. Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 51-56.

pour all that he perceives: to whom he may broadcast his class and caliber" (*Esurit et sitit auditores, quibus suas iactitet vanitates, quibus omne quod sentit effundat: quibus, qualis, et quantus sit, innotescat*, *PL* 182:964c). Hunger and thirst recall the physicality of the human body, not the calm reason of the human intellect. Having an audience may lend his speeches purpose and meaning—he is at least communicating—yet even the acceptable ways of engaging with listeners is distorted: the audience is not being edified or educated. His vocalizations may appear rational, yet they are meaningless in the context of his community.

Moreover, the monk's vocalizations move from being useless to harmful in the fourth step, leading others to participate in the collapse of meaningful discourse: "If you hear the stream of his vanity, you might say his mouth is a torrent of folly, so that laughter rouses even strict and serious souls to levity" (*Dicas, si audias, rivum vanitatis, fluvium esse scurrilitatis os eius, ita ut severos quoque et graves animos in levitatem concitet risus*, *PL* 182:964d-65a). The monk's mouth becomes a disembodied opening, much like the *sinus* of the bladder, that has very little control over what comes out of it. His hearers are equally passive; as objects of *concitet*, they are acted upon, unable to resist the contagious levity. Even those who are exhibiting proper self-control give in. The monk is a cautionary example of behavior that undermines the community and inverts his role in it. He seeks exceptions to the community's rules, rejecting the external controls that have ceased to be effective for him. Thus, excessive happiness and unregulated speech, as symptoms of pride, disintegrate monastic order.

It is worth noting that the burlesque aural images of this garrulous monk are clearly humorous, seemingly contradicting Bernard's denouncement of laughter. With the ludicrous image of a bursting bladder, Bernard is bringing the reader to smile—perhaps even chuckle—letting the reader partake in the same laughter as the monk, in keeping with what Wim Verball calls "Bernard's satirical realism." [53] Verbaal argues that sarcastic humor was often a pedagogical tool in eleventh-century classrooms and that it was suitable here. Because the humorous aural image is useful for moral teaching and denigrates a pursuit of vice, the reader's laughter is encouraged, drowning out the harmful laughter of the proud monk. Indeed, the instructive value of this humorous analogy serves the purpose of Bernard's didactic letter, as well as his perspective as an abbot overseeing a community. With vividly aural and emotional images, he brings the community together in laughter and encourages a social reinforcement of values. After hearing that letter read aloud, who would want to be ridiculed as a squeaky bladder? The humor and collective laughter reinforce a certain way of living, much as "happiness involves a way of being aligned with others, of facing the right way."[54] Thus Bernard's treatise enacts an alignment within the community, even as it encourages that conformity.

Antisocial Happiness

Hildegard and Bernard offer a religious perspective on moderated joy, which seems worlds away from Reinmar's hyperbolic claim in the previous chapter, "I delivered a hundred thousand hearts from sorrows, so I too was happy" (*Ich hân hundert*

[53] Verbaal, "Bernard's Smile," 209.
[54] Sara Ahmed, *The Promise of Happiness* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 45. See also pp. 42-43 for the alienation that can be caused by crowd laughter.

tûsent herze erlôst / von sorgen, alse vrô was ich, 35.1.1-2). As we will see in the next chapter, knights, kings, and ladies were expected to contribute to a general atmosphere of joy and to avoid sorrow. However, for lay students in religious-run schools, their moral and philosophical education conflicted with their social duties at court; even those at court without a formal training might come up against the Christian teachings of moderation. For those belonging to a monastery or cloister, an avoidance of excessive happiness was consistent with the life of asceticism, and a person who has taken vows to be a part of a monastic community agrees to abide by these values. But how might these religious values translate into the secular communities, where no such mutual agreement exists?

Situating this conflict between emotional communities in his 2016 book, *The Medieval Risk-Reward Society*, Will Hasty sees the start of a cultural shift in the pursuit of happiness that accommodates these disparate but overlapping emotional communities:

> From the twelfth century, individual striving at the courts of households of nobility has ever more to do with this temporal, mutable world. At these courts, the cultural action is increasingly about the full and accurate assessment and exploitation of perishable goods, as a fixed or determinate culture based on sacrifice gives way to an ever more indeterminate culture of wagers and investments.[55]

Similarly, excessive displays of joy were still frowned upon, due to a long tradition of moderation, beginning with Plato and filtered through the Christian lens. But certain kinds of worldly happiness—"underjoys"—began to be allowed, as long as they did not replace happiness in God. Once eschewed as distractions, worldly goods offer a way for secular courtiers to pursue both court life and a transcendent purpose. This change can

[55] Will Hasty, *The Medieval Risk-Reward Society: Courts, Adventure, and Love in the European Middle Ages* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2016), 9.

also be seen in the moral treatises on laughter. Around the beginning of the thirteenth century, more allowance began to be given for positive instances of laughter, based on the logic that if laughing is part of human nature, then Christ was capable of laughter.[56] In what follows, we will see this transition firsthand, from the physiological and spiritual risks of too much happiness to the secular repurposing of these limitations to include some forms of permissible happiness.

Writing in the middle of this transition, Thomasin von Zerclaere was religiously trained but as part of an episcopal court encountered and worked with lay people. His conduct manual *Der welsche Gast* was written as an attempt to educate and reform young aristocrats, and it offers a glimpse at the overlap between secular and religious communities. An Italian writing in German, Thomasin possibly served under Bishop Wolfger at Aquileia who was also connected to Walther von der Vogelweide, whose song opened this chapter. [57] He appears to have known—or at least known of—Walther, and they seemed to be on opposing political sides.[58] Also bridging emotional communities,

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[56] Of course, I have oversimplified the situation, as views on permissible laughter depended on communities, social orders, and genders. See Peter J. A. Jones, "Preaching Laughter in the Thirteenth Century: The Exempla of Arnold of Liège (d. ca. 1308) and his Dominican Milieu," *Journal of Medieval History* 41, no. 2 (2015): 170; Winfried Wilhelmy, "Das leise Lachen des Mittelalters," 44; and Trokhimenko, *Constructing Vice and Virtue*, 63-89. The competing Christian traditions on laughter are broadly from a patristic interpretation that Christ never participated in laughter and an Aristotelian philosophy that laughter distinguishes man from beast. They are outlined by Resnick ('"Risus Monasticus'," 90–100), and analyzed by Jacques Le Goff (*Selections from* Un autre Moyen Âge; repr., *Das Lachen im Mittelalter* [Paris: Gallimard, 1999; repr., Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2004], 47-48). Peter Jones challenges Le Goff's tidy dating of 1200 as the turning point of laughter (*Laughter and Power*, 55 ff.), although Le Goff himself portrays the more positive tradition as manifesting before the 1200s.

[57] Kathryn Starkey concisely lays out the shaky biographical evidence in her book, *A Courtier's Mirror: Cultivating Elite Identity in Thomasin von Zerclaere's* Welscher Gast (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2013) 22-25; quoted here, 25.

[58] Both Walther and Thomasin may have been connected to Wolfger, Bishop of Passau. This connection is admittedly tenuous (see above note), though the information we have on the two writers is better than can be said for many of their contemporaries. Either way, Thomasin chastises Walther for his open critique of the pope, see lines 11191-11250; for commentary on this passage, see Marion Gibbs and Winder

Walther seems to have had some level of Christian education, and in his song he appears to reconcile his responsibility to bring joy to the court while conforming to the values of moderation and rejection of worldly joy.[59] Most importantly, Thomasin and Walther employ the same aural imagery to distinguish social and cultural groups, with an undertow from the moral divisions that Hildegard and Bernard employed.

In his book of manners, Thomasin adapts religious values of humility and restraint to a secular courtly context. Thomasin, however, would have been hard-pressed to impose the same restrictions on laughter in secular circles as in the monastic, so that he makes more concessions for some forms of happiness. Starkey finds that his manual "participates in the construction of an elite secular identity for an audience that was concerned with distinguishing itself socially and emancipating itself from clerical society."[60] In other words, Thomasin's goals were simultaneously opposed to and in line with his own audience's goals: aligning them to religious mores while solidifying the social distinctiveness of a nascent aristocracy. While Starkey examines the influence this book of manners had on elite society over several centuries, I take a close aural reading of a few key passages to observe an aesthetic and poetic transference of religious asceticism onto the seemingly incompatible *Minnesänger* ethos. Although not as musically minded as Hildegard or Bernard, Thomasin nonetheless creates similar aural distinctions that privilege certain sounds and voices over others in order to differentiate

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McConnell, "Introduction," 11; and "Notes," 245-46, nn. 17 and 18; to their edition of *Der Welsche Gast (The Italian Guest)*, (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2009).

[59] See Jeffrey Ashcroft, "'Venus Clerk': Reinmar in the 'Carmina Burana'," *MLR* 77, no. 3 (1982): 627; Ingrid Kasten, "Walthers 'Nachruf' auf Reinmar. Memoria, lyrische Form und der Diskurs über Trauer im mittelalterlichen Europa um 1200," in *Der achthundertjährige Pelzrock. Walther von der Vogelweide – Wolfger von Erla – Zeiselmauer*, ed. Helmut Birkhan with Ann Cotten (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2005), 177-191.

[60] Starkey, *A Courtier's Mirror*, 4.

between the wise and the foolish, the noble and the villain. These same aural images are also employed by Walther, who transfers this moral distinction into the poetic, conflating the "good" with "good taste," a gatekeeping of delight that Sara Ahmed characterizes as a conforming aspect of social happiness.[61] Thus, we will see in the final pages of this chapter how Walther privileges his mode of song over others' song styles in order to simultaneously reinforce the values of the elite as well as his place among them.

In the passages that follow, we can see how Thomasin uses a variety of measures to discourage excessive and misplaced happiness among secular nobility at the beginning of the twelfth century. Like Bernard, Thomasin is concerned that uncontrolled speech stemming from pride can affect the community and undermine one's social role. In other words, moral control is reflected in vocal control. Early in his handbook, he exhorts young nobles to avoid boasting or haughty behavior: "May yelling and frolicking be totally unheard of" (*schallen, geudn sî gar unmære*, I.339).[62] As established at the beginning of this chapter, *schallen* can be yelling, boasting, praising, or singing, but in all cases it is loud, vocal, and closely linked with elevated spirits—often, happiness; the synonym *giuden* is also associated with loud joy and bragging, but with a stronger leaning toward frivolity. Both words evoke self-promotion, festivals, and celebration. Boasting can form an important social function, not only in adding levity but also in reasserting the power structures present at the feast. More importantly, as we shall see in the next chapter, these words' typically positive connotations in Arthurian romances

[61] Ahmed, *The Promise of Happiness*, 33-34.
[62] The Middle High German is taken from *Der Wälsche Gast*, eds. Heinrich Rückert and Friedrich Neumann (Leipzig, 1852; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1965). All translations are my own, though indebted to Marion Gibbs and Winder McConnell's translation (2009).

reflect the secular court's need to maintain joy, a validation of the place of boasting, song, and general noise in the community. This is in stark contrast to Bernard's condemnation of loud expressions of pride. In keeping with Bernard, Thomasin wishes to undercut this secular definition of happiness, creating a clear divide between worldly joys and heavenly ones. He does so by using the negative of *mære*, whose root meaning is "story" or "news," so that *unmære* is more abstractly "unwelcome," but more literally "unheard." By wishing (or perhaps cursing) the frivolous boasts to be *unmære*, Thomasin neatly undoes their two essential aspects: their vocalization and their social value in being heard by an audience.

Thomasin further dismantles the social power of bragging in this passage by associating boastfulness with the peasantry and tradesman. He describes the young courtiers leaving court and visiting a tavern, where they boast loudly and gamble away their possessions. He adds that *schallen* and *giuden* "ought to be left to the taverners, for it is their office that they boast all the time" (*man sol ez dem bœsen tavernære / lân, wan ez ir ambet ist / daz si schallent zaller vrist*, I.340-42).[63] Thomasin sarcastically refers to the taverner's behavior as an *ambet*, or office, which reinforces a sense of social strata—nobles and courtiers on the one hand, and tradesfolk and peasants on the other, each to

[63] I deviate significantly here from Gibbs and McConnell's translation, where *tavernære* is given as "barflies," or the frequenters of taverns (59-60). In Lexer's *Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch*, the entry on "tavernaere" defines the word predominately as a tavernkeeper; this passage is the only example for frequenters of an inn (see the digital edition hosted by "Wörterbuchnetz," Trier Center for Digital Humanities, https://www.woerterbuchnetz.de/Lexer). In my own lexical searches, I have found no other instance of this word meaning "frequenter of taverns" but rather "tavernkeeper," which better fits with *ambet* and is more in keeping with Thomasin's overall strategy of distinguishing between social orders.

their *ambet*.[64] By leaving the space of the court and entering the space of the tavern, the young men have lost touch with the responsibilities of their own *ambet*.

This distinction is all the clearer in the lines immediately following, where through two different idiomatic phrases Thomasin again criticizes behavior that is out of line with social rank. In the first, just as the nobles are defined by the space of the court and the taverners by that of the inn, Thomasin continues to contrast cultural spheres defined by space:

> Whoever does not pay attention to what he sees [a good knight do] will not improve himself by it. It could be said of him that he was just as much in the woods as at court.
>
> *swer niht merket daz er siht,*
> *ern bezzert sich dâ von niht.*
> *im möhte sîn alsô mære*
> *daz er dâ ze holze wære*
> *sô dâ ze hove . . ..* (I.349-53)

A young courtier's poor choice in appropriate role models results in a displacement of socially distinctive behavior: even his behavior at court resembles that of the *tavernære*. The *holze/hove* dichotomy is a formulaic expression found elsewhere, and as an idiom should not be taken too literally; nonetheless, it clearly reinforces Thomasin's division between courtly and uncourtly behavior.[65] The woods are a space outside the court, unregulated and unrefined, the realm of boors and wild men. Meanwhile, the court ought to be the place of cultivation and oriented not around self-promotion, but self-improvement.

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[64] "The *Welscher Gast* participated in a dynamic and constructive social process of identity formation for the class of ministerials in the German-speaking Middle Ages. . .. The ministerials had a vested interest in establishing a noble identity and the *Welscher Gast*, the author of which was probably a ministerial himself, contributes in no small way to that project" (Starkey, *A Courtier's Mirror*, 9).

[65] See Rückert and Neumann, "Anmerkungen," 520, note for line 352: "Ein allgemein geläufiger sprichwörtl. Ausdruck." (*Der Wälsche Gast* [Leipzig,1852; repr. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1965]).

Still differentiating between social orders, Thomasin employs a second idiomatic expression that echoes the imagery of the woods from the first idiom: "the bear will never become a good singer. The ignoble children behave the same" (*der per / wirt nimmer ein guot singer. / Alsam tuont diu unedeln kint*, I.357-359). The bear, a denizen of the woods from the first idiom, adds a special divide to the already spatial divide: Thomasin has not only displaced swaggering youngsters from their social class and court walls, but also from their humanity. The idiom of the bear is quite intentionally aural: a musically frustrated bear corresponds to the boastful vocalizations of careless young nobles that initiated this passage.[66] As an animal, a bear is incapable of rational speech, only able to grunt or bellow; song, as an elevated form of rational speech, is at least two steps beyond the bear's abilities. Thus, Thomasin attributes an aural value to proper court conduct.

Once again like Bernard, Thomasin implicitly links irrationality with a lack of self-control. However, Thomasin's strategy for persuading his audience is not to expose inner vice as Bernard does but to tap into the courtly paradigm that Hasty identifies as "a culture of wagers and investments."[67] The image of a musically inept bear must have evoked the common entertainment of dancing bears that had no choice but to respond to music and no ability to produce it. Likewise, uncourtly children are lumbering wild animals at the mercy of their desires rather than in control of them. Thomasin concludes that ignoble children are like the bear: "the more they are at court, the more they become nothing; they pay attention to the bad, not to the good" (*swenn si ie mêr ze hove sint, / sô*

[66] The other forms of this idiom refer to a bear's inability to learn to play stringed instruments, rather than be trained as a vocalist. See Rückert and Neumann, "Anmerkungen," 520, note on line 357-58: "Das Sprichwort . . . wird gewöhnl. in anderer Wendung gegeben, z. B. *einen wilden bern noch senfter harfen lêrn Hagen* . . . oder *man leret einen bern ê den salter*."
[67] Hasty, *The Medieval Risk-Reward Society*, 4.

si ie mêr werdent enwiht; / si merkent daz bæs, daz guote niht, I.360-62). Their presence in the court rather than the tavern has no positive effect on them. They dissolve into non-being (*enwiht*) even as they attempt to assert themselves through boasting, so that vocal production undermines itself and the person that produces it. Thomasin paradoxically encourages humility in the young nobles even as he uses their interest in self-promotion to show how their behavior undermines it.

In the three examples of tavern, woods, and bear, Thomasin creates a clear divide in courtly and uncourtly behavior, placing loud speech and song outside the court and—in the idiom of the bear—making these modes of discourse irrational. Like Bernard, Thomasin situates restrained speech as a sign of inner control and outward submission to the rules for proper conduct. In the next chapter, speech and song maintain harmony within a community, but here we see that they define the boundaries of those communities, further stratifying the social hierarchies needed for the maintenance of exclusive power. Proper speech enables "its thirteenth-century target audience [in] developing an elite identity that distinguished it from nonnoble society."[68] By linking loud speech with pride, and both with a lack of cultivation and class, Thomasin makes these social divisions audible.

Fig. 1 "Gesangsunterricht für den Bären," Book I, Der welsche Gast *(A), miniature, Bavaria, c. 1256, Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, Cpg. 389, fol. 6v.*

[68] Starkey, *A Courtier's Mirror*, 4.

Although the idiom of the singing bear is not to be taken too literally, the accompanying marginal illustration found in the extant manuscripts of Thomasin's text turns the idiom into a parable and adds real music. Scribes and illustrators already play an authorial role in the transmission of medieval manuscripts, but the illustrations of *Der welsche Gast* can be more read directly as authored text, for it is generally agreed that Thomasin himself oversaw the illustrations in a rare example of direct authorial involvement.[69] In the lefthand margin in the oldest extant manuscript, known as Heidelberg Cpg 389 (MS A), the illustration next to Thomasin's two idioms depicts a man attempting to teach a bear to sing (see Fig. 1).[70] His left hand is on the bear's head, while his right hand holds a scroll or banderole containing musical notation. The bear is standing on its hind legs, and the man's right hand is either pulling the bear up or placing the knowledge of singing into the bear's mind. With either gesture, the emphasis is on the bear's bestial nature and the futility of making it resemble a rational human.

Fig. 2 "Ein Bär soll das Singen lernen," Book I, Der welsche Gast *(G), miniature, Regensburg, c. 1340, Gotha Forschungsbibliothek der Universität Erfurt, Cod. Memb. I 120, fol. 10v.*

[69] See Starkey, *A Courtier's Mirror*, 14, and Judith A. Davidson, "The Contamination of MS D of *Der Welsche Gast* (Dresden, Sächs. Landesbibl. M 67)," *Scriptorium* 36, no. 2 (1982): 174 and n. 1.

[70] For a full description of the corresponding illustrations across the manuscripts, see Friedrich Wilhelm von Kries, *Der welsche Gast, vol. 4: Die Illustrationen des Welschen Gasts: Kommentar mit Analyse der Bildinhalte. . .* (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1985), 56. The manuscript images may be compared online via "Welscher Gast digital," *Thomasin von Zerklaere: Welscher Gast. Text-Bild-Edition*, eds. Jakub Šimek, Peter Schmidt, and Christian Schneider (Heidelberg: Universitätsbibliothek, 2015), last updated 2019, https://doi.org/10.11588/edition.wgd. The images under discussion are accessible at http://wgd.materiale-textkulturen.de/illustrationen/motiv.php?m=13.

The interpretation of the illustration gains deeper meaning when we consider the song that the bear is attempting to learn. The banderole begins with the letter "A," followed by a series of staffless neumes, the oldest musical notation system in the medieval period, but still being used in Germany at the time of this manuscript. The last mark, almost joining up with the main body of text, is likely a compound neume, though it might be a rather cramped "m." The manuscript transmission allows the song to be

Fig. 3 "Ein Bär soll das Singen lernen," Book I, Der welsche Gast *(E), illuminated miniature, Trier, c. 1380, The Morgan Library & Museum, New York, G. 54, fol. 2v. Used with permission.*

Fig. 4 "Ein Bär soll das Singen lernen," Book I, Der welsche Gast *(E), detail of illuminated miniature, Trier, c. 1380, The Morgan Library & Museum, New York, G. 54, fol. 2v. Used with permission.*

identifiable. In later copies of *Der welsche Gast,* nearly all of the manuscripts have corresponding illustrations that represent the same song and divide the word in similar ways, that is, syllabically with the melody.[71] They update the musical notation system according to contemporary conventions, and they often divide the word "Alma" in half with the melody, so that an "m" follows musical notation, just as it might in MS A. The Gotha codex (MS G), which is the source for a number of later copies, clearly has

[71] Only one manuscript inscribes dialogue, rather than musical notation or lyrics in the banderole (see fol. 7v of *Der welsche Gast* (D), Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Mscr. M 67). Kries has provided the transcription, "mein ler ist an dir unbestat" (56), or, "my instruction is inaccessible to you." In this illustration, both the bear and the man hold the scroll of speech.

"Alma" divided by unstaffed neumes that resemble a Hufnagle or German Gothic style (see Fig. 2).[72] The Morgan Library's MS G.54 (called MS E in the *Welsche Gast* manuscript tradition) is dated just a few decades after the Gotha codex; it adds the word "redemptoris" to its illumination, leaving a space between "al" and "ma" (see fig. 3).[73] The space has visible staff lines (see fig. 4), presumably left blank for the musical notation to be filled in later. Only two marks of notation have been made. Each of these illustrations underscore the dichotomy between human and beast. The man holds the song very close to the bear's maw, as if attempting to place the song inside the bear's mouth. All the other manuscripts, if they include a song, reference *Alma redemptoris mater* either textually or musically, and often both. Thus, it is likely that the word and melody represented in MS A is also the great and joyful Marian hymn.

Placed next to the passage condemning drinking and gambling, Thomasin's bear might be presumed to be learning a secular, even bawdy, song. However, the illustration subverts this expectation, choosing instead an old and popular religious antiphon that eventually was used liturgically throughout Advent and the Christmas season as well educationally as an introductory song in grammar schools.[74] By being unable to sing, the bear is not cut off from mere worldly entertainment but from partaking in religious observances and education. With the popularity of this antiphon, it is possible that the reader of the manuscript, upon viewing the illustration's beginning notes and words,

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[72] Gibbs and McConnell, "Introduction," 5.
[73] The types of notations that each manuscript uses to represent the *Alma redemptoris mater* are worth their own article and unfortunately cannot be discussed here.
[74] Michel Huglo and Joan Halmo, "Marian antiphons," in "Antiphon," section 5.v., *Grove Music Online* (2001), accessed 1 Apr. 2022. https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.01023. Cf. Carleton F. Brown, "Chaucer's 'Litel Clergeon'," *Modern Philology* 3, no. 4 (1906): 475-78.

would have begun hearing the rest of the song in his or her mind, bringing the viewer to repeat audibly or inaudibly what the bear cannot: "Kind Mother of the Redeemer, who remains the penetrable gateway of Heaven and star of the sea, help a falling people who strive to rise up" (*Alma Redemptoris Mater, quae pervia coeli / Porta manes et stella maris, succurre cadenti / Surgere qui curat populo*).[75] As the reader's memory arrives at the third line of the antiphon, the remembered music overlaps with the present image: the emotions evoked by the phrase, "help falling people who strive to rise up," encourage compassion with the image of the bear, who needs the help of the instructor to stand on its hind legs. But there is a layer of tragic irony—because the bear is unable to learn the first line, it cannot progress to the third and thereby call upon the aid of the Virgin Mary. The illustrations add both aural and emotional impetus to Thomasin's exhortation, lest a student be in the same moral straits as the bear's physical ones. Thus, the illustrator interprets and deepens Thomasin's emphasis on upbringing and education by adding overt music and emotional associations to the text.

In the last passage by Thomasin to be examined in this chapter, he uses another kind of singing creature to warn his readership away from gaiety that can harm others and encourages self-restraint and refinement instead. He introduces the passage by warning against the appealing influence of poor role models:

> I can truly say that he laughs about what he instead ought to weep over, should he understand himself. For whenever he blathers all about, then all those near him are so disoriented that they cannot tell from where to take a good example. . .. For with his tales, he makes a fool overlook the fiend. . .. I also allow beautiful playing, but one shouldn't do it too much.

---

[75] Latin from *Invitatoria et antiphonae*, *Corpus antiphonalium officii*, vol. 3, ed. René-Jean Hesbert (Rome: Herder, 1968), p. 43, no. 1356. The English translation is my own.

ich mac des wol vür wâr gejehen
daz er lachet des er weinen solde,
ob er sich erkennen wolde.
wan swenner klaffet über al,
sô sint bî im verirret al,
daz si mugen niht vernemen
dâ von si guot bilde nemen
. . .
wan er macht mit sînem mære
daz ein tôre den vîent übersiht
. . .
ich erloube ouch schœniu spil:
man sol sîn doch niht tuon ze vil. (VIII.10408-10420)

According to Starkey, Thomasin "invokes the term *bilde* (images) much more broadly to refer to role models, examples, descriptions, scenarios, thoughts, memories, imagination, and dreams, as well as painted pictures." [76] To this list I would add aural imagery, which aids Thomasin's audience in discerning proper vocal behavior. In this passage, the imagined audience of the reveler is at risk for following the fool's vocal example. Just as Bernard's foolish monk does not use his speech for didactic purposes, the secular jokester desires only to create more noise, useless (*unnütz*) and dangerously misleading. Thus emotion and vice can be transmitted aurally. "Playing" (*spil*) can mean games, theatrics, or music, both of which can evoke frivolity. However, with the adjective "beautiful" (*schœniu*), it appears that Thomasin is referring to music. Thus, the passage conflates various grammatical categories of speech in ascending order: inarticulate laughter, meaningless chatter, constructed stories, and music. Only the last one may indicate non-human utterance (the playing of musical instruments), however, in succession with the other three, singing may also be implied. Altogether, the excessive, festive vocalizations are capable of leading their hearers astray.

[76] Starkey, *A Courtier's Mirror,* 13.

To redefine proper court behavior, Thomasin uses words evocative of courtly virtues. First, knowing that asceticism is a hard sell, he makes an allowance: "talking and laughing is good. . . for whomever will cultivate them with moderation" (*guot ist reden unde lachen, / . . . / swer ir mit mâze phlegen will*, VIII.10385, 10387). Unlike those who chatter indiscriminately, a refined person cultivates speech; *phlegen* evokes the courtly values of good breeding and intentional practice, while *mâze* reinforces the ubiquitous value of moderation. In contrast, those who intentionally pursue merriment lack social merit and moral worth:

> Many have a habit and fancy they are reputable for it, that they busy themselves over how to make people howl and laugh all the time. Truly, they are completely useless to them and to us.
>
> *sumelîche hânt einen site*
> *und wœnent sîn volkomen dâ mite,*
> *daz si sich vlîzent wie si machen*
> *die liute zannen unde lachen*
> *zallen zîten: si sint gar*
> *in und uns unnütz vür wâr.* (VIII.10391-96)

The term *vlîzen* (strive, endeavor) is a virtue similar to *phlegen*, emphasizing the value of diligent work for a worthy cause. Here, it has been inverted, as buffoons strive for idle entertainment, rendering them disreputable and useless. Just as Bernard's proud monk corrupts the spiritual practices of silence and contemplation, Thomasin's merrymakers invert the knightly practices of moderation (*mâze*), cultivation (*phlege*), diligence (*vlîzen*), and custom (*site*) for the sake of useless entertainment and self-promotion.[77] In both secular and sacred communities, those who tend toward excessive happiness are

[77] For a thorough explanation of these German terms and their Latin equivalents, see C. Stephen Jaeger, "The Language of Courtesy: Latin Terminology, Vernacular Counterparts," in *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals, 939-1210* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 127-75.

prioritizing their individual desires over the good of the larger community, in which their vocalizations are dangerously unavoidable, bringing others to laugh with them.

A phonological look at this passage reveals that Thomasin employs aural techniques to create unpleasant, subconscious associations with garrulity. Such a reading is all the more possible because Thomasin's work was likely both read aloud and silently, especially at the time when it was first copied.[78] Thus it is important to "hear" this didactic poem, as well as read it. The whole passage is noisy with stridants, which peak in concentration in lines 10393-95 with hissing sibilants of a higher pitch: "*da**z** **s**i **s**ich **v**lî**z**ent wie **s**i machen / die liute **z**annen unde lachen / **z**allen **z**îten: **s**i **s**int gar*." The stridants create the effect of an unpleasant, lisping laughter that is not dissimilar from Bernard's squeaking bladder. This phonetic mimicry of frog song escalates even as Thomasin's visual imagery develops:

> When someone has laughed well, and if anyone is there who understands himself, he has him for a fool nonetheless. Y'all should know that while walking, my ears turn away all the time from such fashioned frog song.
>
> *swenn man wol gelachet hât,*
> *ist dâ iemen der sich verstât,*
> *der hât in doch vür einen tôren.*
> *ir sult wizzen daz mîn ôren*
> *wendent wol dicke ane ganc*
> *von sô getânem vrosche sanc.* (VIII.10397-10402)

The adjective *getân* can be translated as "like" or "similar to," but more directly translates to "made" or "produced", somewhere in between a simile and a metaphor, so that the human laughter textually morphs into frog song, a multivocal, inarticulate

[78] "The Heidelberg manuscript is designed for the ear rather than the eye, and its target reader is one who translates the written text into voice. This is not to say that it was a manuscript necessarily designed for recital, but rather that the format reflects fairly closely Thomasin's mixed notion of reception in which aspects of oral performance and aural reception are integrated into the written text" (Starkey, *A Courtier's Mirror*, 46).

croaking. Meanwhile, phonetically the words start to resemble frog song, as guttural consonants (***ge**la**ch**et **h**ât*, *si**ch***, *do**ch***, ***g**a**nc***, ***ge**tânem*, *sa**nc***) pepper the lines. The lower-pitched hushing sibilants (*ver**st**ât*, *vro**sch**e*, perhaps *wi**zz**en*) start to replace the louder stridants from the previous passage as if the noise has quieted into the background, matching the image of Thomasin hearing the frog song at some distance while out for a walk. Moreover, these final lines end abruptly in the gulping guttural nasals of the rhyme pair *ga**nc**/sa**nc*** and an accumulation of back vowels (*w**o**l*, ***a**ne g**a**nc*, *v**o**n s**ô*** *get**â**nem* *vr**o**sche s**a**nc*). When read out loud, the text mimics the frog song it describes, forcing the reader's voice to enact the cacophony. The aural imagery thus becomes all the more visceral for the hearer, demonstrating the unpleasant nature of such sounds.

Notice again that Thomasin is criticizing group behavior. Thomasin describes a serious, rational observer among-yet-separate-from the group of merrymakers. Rather than laugh together, a wise man is better off ignoring someone's laughter. Uninfluenced by the general gaiety, he discerns the moral and intellectual degradation underlying the raucous behavior, and by refusing to participate in laughter, he limits the negative consequences of folly's exhibition and enforces societal and moral restraint on uncontrolled behavior. Thomasin's language assumes the morality of rational behavior that is laid out in Bernard and Benedict's conduct texts but secularizes it: the containment and proper expression of laughter is encoded as a display of proper courtly conduct that elevates the cultivated person above the noise of unrestrained revelers.[79] In so doing, Thomasin transfers moral distinctions into social ones, with vivid aural imagery that

[79] For an overview of the association between moral and cultural tastes in music, see Sabine Žak, *Musik als "Ehr und Zier" im mittelalterlichen Reich. Studien zur Musik im höfischen Leben, Recht und Zeremoniell* (Neuss: Dr. Päffgen, 1979), 191-212.

engages with the grammatical hierarchy of sounds in ways resembling Hildegard's spitting pot and Bernard's squeaky bladder.

We began this chapter with a passage from an unusual song by Walther von der Vogelweide. Just as Thomasin is concerned with courtly and uncourtly verbalization, Walther complains of a musical style that does not belong in the court:

> Out of anger, I must laugh at those who boast so impudently that they are well pleased with themselves, along with such uncouth matters. They act like the frogs in a lake; their own screeching suits them so well that the nightingale despairs, though she gladly would sing more.
>
> *Die sô frevenlîchen schallent,*
> *der muoz ich vor zorne lachen,*
> *daz si in selben wol gevallent*
> *mit alsô ungefüegen sachen.*
> *Die tuont sam die frösche in eime sê,*
> *den ir schrîen sô wol behaget,*
> *daz diu nahtegal dâ von verzaget,*
> *sô si gerne sunge mê.* (L 41.IV.1-8)[80]

As noted earlier, Thomasin may have been in the same social circles as Walther, and the passage about croaking frogs is reminiscent of this same song, in that both equate improper revelry with frog song.[81] The parallel imagery creates interesting possibilities for an aural reading. In Thomasin's passage, the frogs are used to demonstrate the

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[80] As stated above, the Middle High German text is taken from Cormeau's edition (1996), and I follow the edition's numbering of song, strophe, and line number. The translations are my own.

[81] In Middle High German, the use of frogs is relatively rare. This similarity does not necessarily suggest one was citing the other; the metaphor may be obvious enough to have been chosen independently, or both writers may have been separately influenced by the troubadours, who also use frogs (as well as many other creatures) to denote rival singers. Rivalry with singing frogs can also be found as far back as Aristophanes's play, *The Frogs*, lines 225-267, though there is little further resemblance. A more striking resemblance to Thomasin's and Walther's frogs can be found in the first strophes of songs by the troubadours Marcabru, Bernart Marti, and Arnaut Daniel. The frog is juxtaposed with the nightingale, and it carries an ambivalent value; indeed, the frog may be preferred to the nightingale (whether ironically or sincerely). A famous example of the frog being a negative representation is in a poem by Peire d'Alvernhe, *Cantarai d'aquestz trobadors*, in which he lampoons other poets and praises himself. The strophe about himself has two varying versions in the manuscript transmission: in one, he can sing "high and low," while in the other, he sings "like a frog." Whether Peire is mocking himself, or a later scribe has altered the song to mock the singer, the frog is certainly a negative association.

meaninglessness of loud laughter and bragging, while Walther uses frogs to target an uncouth style of music. There is some debate on what this uncouth music is—it certainly seems to be tied to social standing, as Walther complains that it doesn't suit lords and ladies and that it was brought into the cities. This has led scholars to think Walther is criticizing peasant music being played in court, or more specifically dance songs by the *Minnesänger* Neidhart, or the playing of the hurdy-gurdy, or a more metaphorical critique of the church or of a political faction.[82] Regardless of the historical identification of the music, it is indisputable that Walther sees himself in direct opposition to the "frogs", and that courtly song possesses aesthetically, affectively, and socially distinctive markers.

As we have seen at the beginning of this chapter, the verb *schallen* is usually associated with loud joy. The human *schallen* is paralleled by the frogs' *schrîen*, "screaming," but these vocalizations are grammatically disparate. Whereas the singers are the subject of *schallen*, the *schrîen* is the subject of its clause. The frogs are not in control of their sounds grammatically; rather, their produced sounds stand almost apart from them. This dissociative shift is anticipated by "*si in selben wol gevallent*," in which the singers are simultaneously the subject and object. Thus, we see a gradual descent in agency paralleled by a loss of humanity, much like Bernard's monk and Thomasin's bear.

[82] Hubert Heinen, "Walther's 'Owe, hovelichez singen': A Re-examination," in *Saga og Språk: Studies in Language and Literature*, ed. John M. Weinstock (Austin, TX: Jenkins Publishing Company, 1972), 274.

Walther von der Vogelweide, L 41

I. *Owê, hovelîchez singen,*
daz dich ungefüege doene
solten ie ze hove verdringen!
daz die schiere got gehoene!
Owê, daz dîn wirde alsô geliget!
des sint alle dîne friunde unfrô.
daz muoz eht alsô sîn, nû sî alsô:
frô unfuoge, ir habt gesiget.

Alas courtly singing, that improper melodies shall ever displace you at court. If only God could curse them quickly! Alas, that your worthiness is so ruined. All your friends are unhappy about this. What must be so, now is. Lady Impropriety, you have won.

II. *Der uns fröide wider bræhte,*
diu rehte und gefüege wære,
hei, wie wol man des gedæhte,
swâ man von im seite mære!
Ez wære ein vil hovelîcher muot,
des ich iemer gerne wünschen sol.
frowen unde hêrren zæme ez wol,
owê, daz ez nieman tuot!

If someone were to restore to us a joy that was right and proper—hey, how happy it would be considered wherever tales were told of him. It would be a very courtly sentiment, for which I ought to always earnestly wish. It would suit lords and ladies well. Alas, that no one does it!

III. *Die daz rehte singen stoerent,*
der ist ungelîche mêre
danne die ez gerne hoerent.
doch volge ich der alten lêre.
Ich enwil niht werben zuo der mül,
dâ der stein sô riuschent umbe gât
und daz rat sô mange unwîse hât.
merkent, wer dâ harpfen sül.

There are incomparably more of those who destroy good singing than those who gladly hear it, yet I follow the old teaching. I do not want to turn to the mill, where the stone goes so noisily about and where the wheel is so unmelodious. Take note, who shall play the harp there.

IV. *Die sô frevenlîchen schallent,*
der muoz ich vor zorne lachen,
daz si in selben wol gevallent
mit alsô ungefüegen sachen.
Die tuont sam die frösche in eime sê,
den ir schrîen sô wol behaget,
daz diu nahtegal dâ von verzaget,
sô si gerne sunge mê.

Out of anger, I must laugh at those who boast so impudently that they are well pleased with themselves, along with such improper matters. They act like the frogs in a lake; their own screeching suits them so well that the nightingale despairs, though she gladly would sing more.

V. *Der ungefüege swîgen hieze*
—waz man danne fuoge funde!—
und si von den bürgen stieze,
daz unfuoge dâ verswunde!
Wurden ir die edelen habe benomen,
daz wære allez nâch dem willen mîn.
bî den gebûren lieze ich sî wol sîn,
dannen ist si her bekomen.

If only someone commanded Impropriety to be silent—which would then be found proper!—and drove her from the castles, so that Impropriety would vanish there! If the noble properties were taken from her, that would be all according to my will; I would leave her to be well among the peasants, from whom she has come here.

Just as Thomasin contrasts the silent, rational observer with the collective revelry, Walther juxtaposes the group of frogs with a solitary nightingale. However, Thomasin contrasts between the bestial and the human, while Walther creates a contrast fully within the animal realm. Where the frogs are in the water, the nightingale is high above in the trees yet still unsafe from the noise that reaches it. Harmful in its disharmony, the noise drowns out more elegant music. While Thomasin commends the more discerning man for being silent, Walther laments that individual song is silenced. For Walther, the solution to improper happiness and music is not Thomasin's reticence, but another kind of sound production. Although we cannot know exactly which frog song Walther was imagining, still it is safe to assume the frog song is a rising and falling chuckling sound, performed continually as a chorus but with individual interruptions, so that each individual frog song competes with the others.[83] In contrast, the solitary nightingale's song is full of distinct notes, high and piercing. As a traditional symbol for a singer (or rather, the lyrical *I*), the nightingale's desire to sing represents a modulated performance that requires intention and artistry. Thus, Walther juxtaposes collective song against individual song, confused noise against articulated sound, and thoughtless gaiety against artistic production.

[83] It is worth noting, however, that one of the frog species found in France, Germany, and Italy is the *Seefrosch* or marsh frog, which is consistent with Walther's setting for the frogs. Their Latin name *Rana ridibunda*, or the laughing frog, comes from Peter S. Pallas: "Froesche, . . .deren Stimme dem menschlichen lauten Lachen nicht unaehnlich klingt, die gemeinsten und merkwuerdigsten sind" (*Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des Russischen Reichs. Erster Theil* [Saint Petersburg, 1771], 428). He later called the frog *Rana cachinnans*, the cackling frog (*Zoographia Rosso-Asiatica*, vol. 3 [Saint Petersburg, 1811, ed. 1831], 7), though *ridibunda* has remained the frog's classification. All that tells us is that in the same Alpine regions where Thomasin lived and traveled, the frogs found there a few centuries later also had calls that sounded to another man like laughter. Another irresistible note, and more relevant to this dissertation, comes from Hildegard von Bingen's *Physica*, where she considers most frogs to be useful medicinally, while the tree frog is used in witchcraft and spawns from the same vernal atmosphere that leads people to "*in vanitatem ludendi et ridendi*" (*PL* 197:1342a), associating tree frogs with careless revelry and laughter.

In the preceding strophe, Walther uses a similar metaphor to frog song that equates improper song with a continuous, discordant noise:

> I do not want to turn to the mill, where the stone goes so noisily about and the wheel is so unmelodious. Take note, who shall play the harp there.
>
> *Ich enwil niht werben zuo der mül,*
> *dâ der stein sô riuschent umbe gât*
> *und daz rat sô mange unwîse hât.*
> *merkent, wer dâ harpfen sül.* (III.4-8)

This mill may be another reference to the peasantry from which Walther claims the uncouth songs have come, neatly creating an acoustic space contrasting with the halls of the court.[84] On the other hand, the millstone may refer to the early-twelfth-century theorist Johannes Affligemensis, whose treatise greatly influenced German musical education.[85] He describes a singer uneducated in the mathematical ratios underlying music as no better than a drunkard or a millstone—in a word, a producer of articulate song but lacking in rational understanding.[86]

However, the combined imagery of the frogs and the millstone may be a reference to a specific instrument. Indeed, the aforementioned rise and fall of frog song is a circular aural motion, much like the physical rotation of a millstone and the reflexive self-enjoyment of uncouth performers. Hubert Heinen reads the mill and harp as a literal

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[84] This is a more surface level reading of the poem, which Hubert Heinen resists ("Walther's 'Owe, hovelichez singen'," 276). However, Heinen argues that the hurdy-gurdy originated in the church (276), not from the peasantry. Nonetheless, the emphasis remains on the music style belonging outside the court walls (278-279).

[85] See J. Smits van Waesberghe, "Introduction," in *Johannis Affligemensis: De musica cum tonario* (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1950), 31-37.

[86] "Nam cum musicus semper per artem recte incedat, cantor rectam aliquotiens viam solummodo per usum tenet. Cui ergo cantorem melius comparaverim quam ebrio, qui domum quidem repetit, sed quo calle revertatur penitus ignorat? Sed et molaris rota discretum aliquando reddit stridorem, ipsa tamen quid agat nesciens, quippe quae res est inanimate," (Johannes Affligemensis, *De musica cum tonario*, ed. J. Smits van Waesberghe [Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1950], 52). For commentary and historical context, see Leach, *Sung Birds*, 44-45 and 217.

reference to the mechanics of playing the hurdy-gurdy, while also being a pun on the idiom, *harpfen in der müll* (to waste time).[87] In this interpretation, Walther attacks an instrument that requires little artistry to play—at least compared to the fiddle that typically accompanies monophonic secular song—and that requires a singer to immoderately shout over its drone. Like the nightingale, a proper singer would give up.[88] This layering of voices also resembles the hocket, a type of musical performance in which words are fragmented and voices staggered, further obscuring the meaning of the words being sung, and which had its beginnings in motets contemporary to Walther, eventually being used to mimic animal voices.[89] Whether or not Walther is thinking of a proto-hocket or a hurdy-gurdy, he is certainly responding to shifting tastes. Heinen later revised his position: rather than an aesthetic critique with political overtones, Walther's song is first and foremost a political critique under the guise of a musical one: "since the hurdy-gurdy in Walther's time was primarily used in churches, its choice as an emblem of boorishness may relate to the one or the other struggle Walther's patrons had with the Papal factions of the Church."[90] It is impossible to argue that Walther is directly responding to Thomasin (or vice versa) by turning his frog analogy against him, and yet it is certainly interesting that both writers may be using the same analogy to critique each

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[87] Heinen, "Walther's 'Owe, hovelichez singen'," 275-278.
[88] Heinen, "Walther's 'Owe, hovelichez singen'," 278. Heinen interprets Walther's attack to be against the hurdy-gurdy or *organistrum*, which required "relatively little effort" (276) to play and was "almost as incapable of modulation as the bagpipe" (277).
[89] See Sean Curran, "Hockets Broken and Integrated in Early Mensural Theory and an Early Motet," *Early Music History* 36 (2017): 31–104; Thomas Schmidt-Beste, "Singing the Hiccup—On Texting the Hocket." *Early Music History* 32 (2013): 225–75; Leach, *Sung Birds*, 36-54; and William Dalglish, "The Origin of the Hocket," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 31, no. 1 (1978): 3–20. Notably, some moralists opposed to the hocket contrasted it with Bernard of Clarivaux's style of singing, including Bernard himself; see Schmidt-Best, "Singing the Hiccup," 231-32 and note 31.
[90] Hubert Heinen, "Making Music as a Theme in German Song," in *Music and German Literature: Their Relationship since the Middle Ages*, ed. James M. McGlathery (Columbia, SC: Camden House, Inc, 1992), 31.

other's emotional communities. At the heart of any of the possible interpretations of "boorish song," Walther is ultimately concerned about being replaced by unmoderated noise and a degeneration of social hierarchies. Together, the two strophes fashion an aural landscape of a noisy millstone next to an equally noisy millpond, a more explicitly acoustic environment than Thomasin's tavern and woods, yet for both writers, these spaces are external and opposed to the court.

Just as Thomasin's passage begins to resemble croaking frogs, Walther's song rhetorically and poetically mimics improper song. Their song production has influenced Walther's own vocalizations (*Die sô frevenlîchen schallent, / der muoz ich vor zorne lachen*, IV.1-2), the raucous jubilation creating self-indulgent pleasure in merrymakers yet leading Walther to laugh out of anger. Not only has his singing been silenced, but it has been replaced by short, harsh outbursts not wholly dissimilar to the frogs' croaking that inspired it. There is a danger in the sound influencing even the bystander; there is a cacophony in sound—their grinding and croaking mixing with his bitter laughter—just as there is discord in emotion, as some celebrate and others rage.

The uncouth singers destroy proper singing, not only preventing other singers from singing well, but also preventing others from hearing it:

> There are incomparably more of those who destroy proper singing than those who gladly hear it, yet I follow the old teaching.
>
> *Die daz rehte singen stœrent,*
> *der ist ungelîche mêre*
> *danne die ez gerne hœrent.*
> *doch volge ich der alten lêre.* (III.1-4)

The rhyme pair *stœrent / hœrent* further reinforces the contrast between the producers of noise and the hearers of music. Furthermore, the two styles of songs generate different

affective and moral states. The nightingale's song, or the old singing tradition, is not described with sounds but with virtues, being worthy, right, courtly, and suitable to nobility; it inspires joy and comes from a "very courtly mind" (*ein vil hovelîcher muot*, II.5). By implication in its contrast to uncouth song, it is also wise and restrained. Altogether, these descriptions evoke measured, moderate discernment needed for elevated song production yet lacking clear aural descriptors. Joined to the virtues, courtly song is less corporeally heard than it is spiritually felt. As we saw in Hildegard, the lowest form of *musica* in the cosmos is audible; courtly song seems to transcend its own audible category into that of the inaudible.

The expressions and vocabulary Walther uses in his song to describe improper and proper joy have marked differences. There are those who gladly listen to proper songs (*die [rehte singen] gerne hoerent*, III.1, 3) and a person who would gladly sing them (*si gerne sunge mê*, IV.8); the adverb *gerne* softens the emotion, evoking a quiet enjoyment and transferring more focus to the activity, rather than to the feeling. The loss of the courtly singing style results in the unhappiness of its friends (*des sint alle dîne friunde unfrô*, 1.6); the erstwhile joy, lost but recoverable, resembles the *topos* of a lover lamenting the loss of his lady's favor but hoping for restoration, and the word *friunde* could be translated as "lovers." Thus, the song turns self-referential: Walther laments the loss of love songs that often lamented the loss of love. Moreover, proper song is interchangeable with joy (*Der uns fröide wider brœhte / diu rehte und gefüege waere*, II.1-2), so that music is indistinguishable from the emotion it inspires. Notice, too, that all three passages are in the first and third persons plural, implying that song is the vehicle

for communal joy, so that the stakes are higher than Walther's offended taste. In contrast to the overt references to proper *fröide*, the happiness of those who produce uncouth song is only implied, rather than named. They are pleased (*si in selben wol gevallent*, IV.3) and delighted (*den ir schrîen sô wol behaget*, IV.6) with their own noise. These two verbs of enjoyment contrast with the adverb *gerne*, which only modifies the actions of listening and singing. By directly deriving pleasure in their own sounds, the merrymakers are grossly self-absorbed with little regard for those outside of their song production. Similarly, because the verb in *Die sô frevenlîchen schallent* (IV.1) tends to be associated with happiness, but does not explicitly denote it, it can be translated as boasting. Thus, the word *vrô/vröide* in this song is reserved only for those with good taste in courtly song; those who enjoy baser music are merely pleasure seekers.

The only time happiness might be associated with the uncouth singing is in the first strophe and is achieved only by a play on words. The strophe begins and ends with two apostrophes, first to courtly song and last to Lady Impropriety, so that the latter's conquest of the former is reflected in the structure of the strophe. Importantly, however, is the possible variant spellings of *vrôwe* (Lady). In this song, the spelling for lady is *frô*, identical to the root of the word for unhappy (*unfrô*) two lines above:

> All your friends are unhappy about this. What must be, now is. Lady Impropriety, you have won.
>
> *des sint alle dîne friunde unfrô.*
> *daz muoz eht alsô sîn, nû sî alsô:*
> *frô Unfuoge, ir habt gesiget.* (I.6-8)

Moreover, Walther repeats the sound pattern f-u-f, contrasting ***fr****iunde* ***unfr****ô* with ***fr****ô* ***unf****uoge*, and linking the two affective images. Line 8 is often translated as "Lady

Uncouthness," but with the proximity of *unfrô,* a listener might first interpret the *frô* of line 8 to mean "happy." Indeed, this suits the line just as well, translating to "Happy Uncouthness, you have conquered." This would be the only time that *fröide* is associated with the uncouth songs but is only in an abstracted apostrophe and a play on words.

Walther finds small consolation in being on the side of nobler entertainment. Although in other songs he sees himself as one who has brought joy to others, in this song he does not explicitly claim to save court culture with his song, only that he belongs in the same category as those who do. He wishes for someone who could restore proper song to the courts again.

> If someone were to restore to us a joy that was right and wholesome—hey, how happy it would be considered wherever tales were told of him. It would be a very courtly sentiment, for which I always ought to earnestly wish. It would suit lords and ladies well. Alas, that no one does it!
>
> *Der uns fröide wider brœhte,*
> *diu rehte und gefüege wære,*
> *hei, wie wol man des gedœhte,*
> *swâ man von im seite mære!*
> *Ez wære ein vil hovelîcher muot,*
> *des ich iemer gerne wünschen sol.*
> *frowen unde hêrren zæme ez wol,*
> *owê, daz ez nieman tuot!* (II.1-8)

It appears Walther needs others to help him take up the mantle of proper singing in order to produce sounds more suitable to the court, lest the solitary nightingale drowned out by the chorus of frogs. Walther claims that the joyful courtly song would "suit lords and ladies well," reinforcing the social exclusivity of this type of song and its elite audience.[91] Thus, Thomasin and Walther both adhere to a model that excludes certain kinds of song

[91] Similarly, see Michael Waltenberger, "Kuckuck und Nachtigall. Stilfragen an Hugo von Montfort," in *Literarischer Stil. Mitelalterliche Dichtung zwischen Konvention und Innovation*, eds. Elizabeth Andersen, Ricarda Bauschke-Hartung, Nicola McLelland, and Silvia Reuvekamp (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), 371-388.

and behavior from the court community, and that privileges the discerning individual who has true joy in the right things.

The structure of this stanza foreshadows the structure of the last stanza, as Walther wishes for a savior of the court. Just as the second stanza begins with a relative clause in the subjunctive, so does the last stanza express a grammatically parallel wish:

> If only someone commanded Impropriety to be silent—which would then be found proper!—and drove her from the castles, so that Impropriety would vanish there! If the noble properties were taken from her, that would be all according to my will; I would leave her to be well among the peasants, with whom she is very agreeable.
>
> *Der ungefüege swîgen hieze*
> *- waz man danne fuoge funde! -*
> *und si von den bürgen stieze,*
> *daz unfuoge dâ verswunde!*
> *Wurden ir die edelen habe benomen,*
> *daz wære allez nâch dem willen mîn.*
> *bî den gebûren lieze ich sî wol sîn,*
> *dannen ist si her bekomen.* (V.1-8)

Throughout the song, Walther has contrasted the terms *ungefüege* and *fuoge* and has used related terms and phrases, such as "well" (*wol*) and "to suit" (*zæme*) to express the sense of belonging. Here, the motif coalesces into a banishment of uncouth behavior, which has started to be associated with the court and is better suited among lower classes. This is the only stanza of the song to appear outside of the Codex Manesse (MS C); it is found alone in the *Weingartner* manuscript (MS B) but with significantly different lines:

> If only someone commanded Impropriety to be silent—which would yet be sung about with joy!—and drove her from the castles, so that she would not force us from there. If the great courts were taken from her, that would be all according to my will; I would leave her to be well among the peasants, from whom she has come even here.
>
> *Der ungefuoge swîgen hieze*
> *- waz man noch von vröiden sunge! -*

und si abe den bürgen stieze,
daz si <uns> *dâ von niht twunge.*
Wurden ir die grôzen höve benomen,
daz wær allez nâch dem willen mîn.
bî den gebûren liez ich sî wol sîn,
dannen ist si och her komen. (V.1-8)

The interjection in the second line is the first major change, from wishing for propriety to wishing for sung joys. In other words, in MS C it is enough that impropriety is silenced, while MS B calls for the sounds of impropriety to be replaced with songs of joy. On the social level, the change in the fourth line emphasizes the threat that impropriety has on the court community, and the fifth line features the "great courts;" in other words, even the highest seats of power have been under impropriety's sway. In the variation found in MS B, this final stanza thus neatly resolves together the triad of status, conduct, and song styles that had been developed throughout.

Just as Thomasin repurposes aural imagery that marks inner morality and outward conduct to distinguish between classes, Walther applies the same aural image of frog song to a type of musical sound, replete with all the connotations of class distinction and moral comportment. The good and the good taste become indistinguishable, as Walther imposes a monophonically resounding joy over the frogs' noisy happiness. The two men may have disagreed with one another, yet they both agree that the frogs have no place at court and even threaten the emotional as well as aural harmonies therein.

The Harm in Disharmony

Excessive and misplaced happiness is discerned through the sounds emitted by base, inanimate objects or beasts, in other words, through unregulated sounds devoid of meaning. The first two texts we considered come from spiritual leaders who were

intimately involved in community formation and thought about the role of music in that formation: Hildegard von Bingen and Bernard of Clairvaux both participated in liturgical reform and lyrical composition, while founding and overseeing their religious communities. Hildegard in particular provides a valuable perspective on the physiological dangers of excessive happiness, while Bernard focuses on its social and moral dangers. The tendency toward excessive happiness is a symptom of sin—either pride or gluttony—and is dangerous in the lack of control in the inner and outer person and its tendency to spread to other people. In the last two texts considered, the aural distinctions extend even further to social stratification and musical production: first, Thomasin constructs a pronounced social divide between noisy revelers and restrained observers, while Walther employs a similar moral and social divide to song production. The sounds of improper joy most often manifest as laughter, but in Thomasin's and Walther's texts, boasting and singing are also used. All three vocalizations of immoderate or misplaced joy are loud, corporeal, and self-oriented, capable of infecting the larger community. Thus, the writers in this chapter call for control—whether of oneself or of others—in order to counteract the uncontrolled vocalizations. This indictment of revelry is in direct contradiction to the excessive celebration at the heart of the Arthurian romance's secular court, as we will see in the next chapter.

Chapter 3. Making a Joyful Noise in Hartmann von Aue's *Erec*

Joy to the world! the Lord is come;
Let earth receive her King;
Let every heart prepare Him room,
And heaven and nature sing.[1]

In the previous chapter, excessive and misplaced forms of vocalized happiness required control, lest they disrupt or mislead other members of the community. In this chapter, noisy joy is a means of bridging the individual and the community. The Middle High German *schal* is a loud sound, often of voices, of any emotional weight but often a happy one. It manifested in the previous chapter as frogs' croaks and revelers' boasts, yet in romance and epic, the emotional image of *schal* frequently indicates a happy, festive atmosphere that is the height of court life and that marks important narrative shifts. This chapter uncovers how the titular character of *Erec* by Hartmann von Aue goes on an individual journey set up against a backdrop of collective voices: how he aligns with the *schal*—or fails to align—indicates his growth as a member of the court community and eventually its king.

In Arthurian romances, *schal* encompasses both cacophonous shouting and the more melodious singing or playing of instruments, often in celebratory settings such as a feast. This setting lends the sound a social function, so that the members of the community are determined by who hears the music and who does not. The sound also indicates status: the numbers of guests and of hired performers at a huge feast

[1] "Joy to the world! the Lord is Come," by Isaac Watts (1719), stanza 1. Text taken from *The Common Service Book of the Lutheran Church* (Philadelphia: The Lutheran Publication Society, 1918), Carol #34, p. 33. Facsimile online at *Hymnary.org*, accessed January 19, 2023, https://hymnary.org/hymn/LHTC1918/34.

demonstrate the host's wealth through an extravagant display of largesse, while private after-dinner performances among nobles maintain a sense of elite exclusivity and refinement.[2] As Layher notes:

> On an acoustic level, *schallen* is representational in the same way that courtly spectacle exploits the hierarchies mediated through vision. But there are crucial differences too, for sound at court can fill the ears to an extent far surpassing the precise and monofocal aspect of the gaze. The same courtly space can be filled with multiple sounds that each convey a specific political message. [3]

The festal soundscape reflects and acts upon the socio-political dimensions of the community, whether by highlighting gender and social divisions and thus reinforcing the community's structures or by transcending those divisions for greater communal cohesion.[4]

The auditory aspects of the romance genre have already received recent attention. Musicologist Emma Dillon proposes to "'turn up the volume' on romance" in order to find "the significance of musical sound as an event linked to a phenomenological reality, and to its socializing and emotional potential."[5] She calls for scholars "to listen in on their texts, and to be attentive to the sonic qualities of the materials of romance."[6] Dillon has uncovered the theoretical potential for the aural analysis of the Old French romances and

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[2] Peter Noble, "Music in the Twelfth-Century French Romance," *Reading Medieval Studies* 18 (1992), 17-31.
[3] William Layher, "Acoustic Control: Sound, Gender and Öffentlichkeit at the Medieval Court," *DVLG* 86, no. 3 (2012): 331–64, here, 341.
[4] Emma Dillon, "Song and the Soundscape of Old French Romance," in *Thinking Medieval Romance*, eds. K. C. Little and N. McDonald (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 164-65.
[5] Dillon, "Song and the Soundscape," 157.
[6] Dillon, "Song and the Soundscape," 158. Dillon also notes here that the adaptation of Old French romance into other vernacular languages reveals how composers from different communities aurally understand mass celebration. Of course, the level of sonority in a text may vary even within an author's corpus: Peter Noble finds that Chrétien shows the most interest in music in his first romance, *Erec et Enide*, and hardly any in his later romances ("Music in the Twelfth-Century French Romance," 23-24), while Hans-Werner Eroms finds crucial differences in depictions of celebratory joy between Hartmann von Aue's *Erec* and *Iwein* (*Vreude bei Hartmann von Aue* [Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1970], 134-35 and 155-57).

dits, particularly those with excerpts of lined music or direct quotes of known songs.[7] However, inserted songs are not necessary for hearing a sounding text, as Maureen Boulton argues, "since most medieval narrative in our period was read aloud, the social circumstances of its presentation added an element of performance even to the narrative, and moved it closer to drama than contemporary reading habits allow."[8] The medieval romance—much more proximate to oral tradition, improvisational performance, and the multisensory and festive context—resounds with aural and affective meanings. Although Dillon encourages future inquiry into a broader understanding of festive soundscape, such as the noise of tournaments, she only has room in her article to explore more explicit musical moments. Therefore, I expand Dillon's work on musicmaking by listening to merrymaking, that is, a highly marked communal vocalization of celebration. In a more recent volume of essays, Silvan Wagner and John Greenfield demonstrate in their respective chapters on medieval German narratives that a character's response to loud sounds can determine the course of the narrative or the inner growth of that character.[9] Likewise, my analysis of merrymaking in *Erec* reveals how every person in the community is expected to contribute to an atmosphere of joy and how merrymaking functions within the power dynamics of a court and a kingdom.

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[7] See, for example, her work in *Medieval Music-Making and the* Roman de Fauvel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

[8] Maureen Barry McCann Boulton, *The Song in the Story: Lyric Insertions in French Narrative Fiction, 1200-1400* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993) 8-9.

[9] Silvan Wagner, "Lärm als akustisches Rezeptionssignal in Mären des 13. Jahrhunderts," in *der âventiuren dôn. Klang, Hören und Hörgemeinschaften in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters*, eds. Ingrid Bennewitz and William Layher (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2013), 141-46; and John Greenfield, "*waz hân ich vernomn?* Überlegungen zur Wahrnehmung von Schall im *Parzival* Wolframs von Eschenbach," also in *der âventiuren dôn*, 164-168. See also Claire Taylor Jones's review of the volume published in *Seminar: A Journal of Germanic Studies* 52, no. 2 (2016): 245-47. muse.jhu.edu/article/619786.

The very real importance of joy in a medieval court is linked to status and power, and the songs and stories occasioned by feasts also contributed to that power. Will Hasty reads ceremonial joy as the endgame of a successful court: "Joy is supposed to accompany effective political leadership in representational events."[10] The combination of religious and political representation heightens the power of the ruler; the sponsorship of festivity is an investment in that display of power: "The maximum representational investment of medieval emperors, kings, and princes, outside of warfare and ransoms is made to underwrite court festivals."[11] Festivals often coincided with religious holidays, linking secular and religious power, or with weddings and coronations, turning the private into the public.[12] Disparate elements of a feast work together to associate the ruler with a synesthesia of the senses and emotions: the guest list, the physical layout of the hall and seating plan, and the amount and type of food and entertainment all place focus on the ruler and engage the senses in comprehending the ruler's power in a very tangible way.[13] With musical performance as a common component of feasts and celebration, the

[10] Will Hasty, *The Medieval Risk-Reward Society: Courts, Adventure, and Love in the European Middle Ages* (Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University Press, 2016), 63.
[11] Hasty, *The Medieval Risk-Reward Society*, 66.
[12] Bumke, *Courtly Culture*, 208.
[13] See Horst Wenzel, *Horen und Sehen, Schrift und Bild: Kultur und Gedächtnis im Mittelalter* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1995), 180-92; and Bumke, *Courtly Culture*, 114, 179, 183-209. On the power dynamics inherent to communal meals, see Elke Brüggen, "Von der Kunst, miteinander zu speisen. Kultur und Konflikt im Spiegel mittelalterlicher Vorstellungen vom Verhalten bei Tisch," in *Spannungen und Konflikte menschlichen Zusammenlebens in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters*, eds. Kurt Gärtner, Ingrid Kasten, and Frank Shaw (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1996), 235-49; Gerd Althoff, "Der frieden-, bündnis- und gemeinschaftstiftende Charakter des Mahles im früheren Mittelalter," in *Essen und Trinken im Mittelalter und Neuzeit. Vorträge eines interdisziplinären Symposions vom 10.-13. Juni 1987 an der Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen*, eds. Irmgard Bitsch, Trude Ehlert, and Xenja von Ertzdorff (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1987), 13-26. On food coloring as a status symbol, see C. M. Woolgar, "Medieval Food and Colour," *Journal of Medieval History* 44, no. 1 (2018): 1–20. For a long historical view on the study of feasting, see Brian Hayden and Suzanne Villeneuve, "A Century of Feasting Studies," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 40 (2011): 433–49.

singing of songs and recitation of adventure stories contribute to the joyful festivity and ultimately reinforce the ruler's power.[14]

Thus, regular festivals were a high priority in the maintenance of a ruler's power, and everyone was expected to add to the joyful atmosphere.[15] After all, joy cannot be achieved if there is even one openly dissenting person. Understanding the event of the feast as a "kinship object" is especially useful here. Sara Ahmed considers the modern family at mealtime: "Being together means having a place at the table. . .. The table is what we could call a kinship object. . ., which gives form to the family as a social gathering, as the tangible thing over which the family gathers"[16] and around which the family orients itself. Thus, a kinship object organizes, occupies, and defines a group of people, not only at the level of a nuclear family, but also at the larger social level. A kinship object need not be tangible but may also be an event, such as a feast: "Objects would refer not only to physical or material things but also to anything that we imagine might lead us to happiness, including objects in the sense of values, practice, styles, as

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[14] "Much medieval literature sustained a sense of social and political community (it praised and reinforced the power of a ruler or patron) and praise was conceived as a public occasion, advertising its object by the means best known to a society without widespread literacy, by public communication. Public communication presupposed a public assembly by those who heard what was proclaimed" (Wenzel, *Hören und Sehen*, 213).

[15] On the rulers' part in contributing joy, see Hugo Bekker, *Nibelungenlied: A Literary Analysis* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), 15-17. On examples of the ladies' part, see Rüdiger Schnell, "Gender und Gesellschaft. Hartmanns 'Erec' im Kontext zeitgenössischer Diskurse," *ZfdA* 140, no. 3 (2011): 316-21; and Joachim Bumke, *Courtly Culture: Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 335-36 [first published as *Höfische Kultur: Literatur und Gesellschaft im hohen Mittelalter* (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1986)]. See also Kathryn Starkey, "Brunhild's Smile: Emotion and the Politics of Gender in the Nibelungenlied," in *Codierungen von Emotionen in der Kultur und Literatur des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit: Paradigmen und Perspektiven*, eds. C. Stephen Jaeger and Ingrid Kasten (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003), 164. Olga Trokhimenko complicates this picture in the episode of Enite's deception of the lovesick count, in which the lady's role in bringing joy has the risk of undercutting her character as a truthful and faithful wife, in *Constructing Virtue and Vice: Femininity and Laughter in Courtly Society (cs. 1150-1300)* (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2014), 93-99.

[16] Sara Ahmed, *The Promise of Happiness* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 46.

well as aspirations."[17] For a court community, the feast promises happiness for its partakers, creating a shared experience around which they can bond. As smaller, supporting events at the festival, the performances of songs and stories are also kinship objects, as an audience laughs and weeps together.

This affective complex comprised of synesthesia and cultural and religious associations is further reinforced by the variety of self-representational discourses present at the feast. As William Layher notes,

> The medieval court was not supposed to be a quiet place. In German courts of the 12th and 13th centuries, the proper exercise of lordship was signified in large part by the public orchestration of expressive sound, or *schallen*. . .. The performative use of *schallen* marked the court, as Wenzel describes it, as a 'resonant space [*Resonanzraum*]' that allows for the proper exercise of legitimate rule through the instrumentalization of sound.[18]

It is important to remember that these noisy soundscapes are also intended to be joyful ones: Hasty adds that "court festivals of the twelfth century" are "investments in joy" which "[intermingle with] politics, poetry, and performance arts."[19] Taking Ahmed, Layher, and Hasty together, we can analyze the festal soundscape as a kinship object that is an investment in the joy of the community and the stability of its power structures. But there is a complex interaction between the noises at court. The performance of song and story did not have a guaranteed captive audience:

> All performers of medieval secular song, whether they were dilettantes or minstrels making their living from their songs, strove to entertain. They had to hold their listener's attention, especially since, from all the information we can glean from scant documentation, romances, and the songs themselves, they

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[17] Ahmed, *The Promise of Happiness*, 29.
[18] Layher, "Acoustic Control," 340. Layher quotes and translates here a term from Wenzel, *Hören und Sehen*, 143. See Wenzel's entire section on *schal* in the same book, pp. 152-145, where he focuses on the relationship between *schal* and lordship.
[19] Hasty, *The Medieval Risk-Reward Society*, 67.

> sometimes had to compete for it in a great hall or a courtyard filled with tellers of tales, jugglers, dancers, wrestlers, and the like. Even when there was less commotion, for instance after dinner, their performance had to create an audience for itself. There were no "concerts" of medieval secular song; there was no captive audience. Singers sang directly to their listeners, they interacted with them, and they were probably in close proximity to them.[20]

In other words, the *schal* within the story both competes with the *schal* of the feast occasioning it and also contributes to that same *schal*, fulfilling the social obligation to contribute to the community's system of joy. Textual moments of joy and its resonances are therefore self-referential, pointing toward its real setting as well as engaging with it.

Because the feast was often the occasion for song and storytelling, courtly celebration bridges the real and the imaginary. According to Bumke, court feasts were the only occasions where "the nobility exhibited . . . a social behavior that was considered particularly courtly" and where the hosts "were often driven by the desire to outdo all previous feasts through the most extravagant lavishness."[21] In this way, real court feasts were aligning with—even attempting to exceed—idealized, fictional depictions of the court feasts. Though this chapter deals only with literary courts and personas, the real courts who listened to these stories and songs are not far off but hover nearby, tinting the meaning.[22] Hasty adds:

> When and where do *pretend* events stop and *real* ones begin? If the actual live performances of rival poets at courts were to be understood in some way as unreal, would the same not be true of chivalric tournaments (as pretend warfare

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[20] Hubert Heinen, "Non-Liturgical Monophony: German Monophony," in *A Performer's Guide to Medieval Music*, ed. Ross W. Duffin (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 178-179.
[21] Bumke, *Courtly Culture*, 4.
[22] Simply put, the vivid engagement of the senses makes the story feel more real. Hasty cites a neurological study that shows that storytelling excites the same regions of the brain that real experiences do. The study posits that one of the keys to this brain activity is "the use of sensory and motor representations during story comprehension" (Nicole K. Speer, et al. "Reading stories activates neural representations of visual and motor experiences," *Psychological science* vol. 20,8 [2009]: 989-99. Cited in Hasty, *The Medieval Risk-Reward Society*, 121).

> along the lines of chivalric contests in the romances), or perhaps also of courtly festivals such as Barbarossa's in Mainz in 1184 (as a staged show of imperial unity under the banner of chivalry that seems in many ways to bring the action of the romances to life)?[23]

Of course, the feasts depicted in the Arthurian romances are fictional, subject to elaboration and exaggeration; nonetheless, they were part of stories that responded to and influenced real court rituals.[24] The singing of songs, then, has a social and cultural role at the fictional court feast in ways similar to their roles at real feasts. Fictional and real festivities informed one another, reflected one another, and represented the best of courtly society—a utopia. It is in this idealization of the festive court that the quality of joy is a literary tool for evaluating and critiquing the effectiveness of the ruler and thereby the health of a court within a romance.

This usefulness on the romance's textual level means that joy also marks key events on the structural level.[25] Admittedly, many emotions play key roles in Arthurian romances, such as the anger of the king or the grief of the widow. But consider the *telos* of the narrative, in which the characters strive for the "happily ever after" ending that the audience expects. Consider, too, the typical paradigm of romance: the hero's journey opens with integration into a court, then a crisis of disintegration from that community, resolving only with reintegration.[26] This is coupled with emotional changes: the

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[23] Hasty, *The Medieval Risk-Reward Society*, 119.
[24] For a discussion on the relationship between fiction and reality, see Bumke, *Courtly Culture*, 3-5 and Dillon, "Song and the Soundscape," 166-9. For spiritual and cognitive angles on this issue, see Hasty, *The Medieval Risk-Reward Society*, 118-123.
[25] For a similar argument for premodern Arabic narratives, see Lale Behzadi, "Standardizing Emotions: Aspects of Classification and Arrangement in Tales with a Good Ending," *Asiatische Studien - Études Asiatiques* 71, no. 3 (2017): 811-831, where stories with happy endings are considered healing.
[26] See James Simpson, "Derek Brewer's Romance," in *Traditions and Innovations in the Study of Medieval English Literature: The Influence of Derek Brewer*, eds. Charlotte Brewer and Barry Windeatt (Boydell & Brewer, 2013), 166. For a parallel analysis of Erec's reintegration into the community represented through

integration is characterized by harmony and happiness, the disintegration by sorrow and discord, and the reintegration by a more perfect joy than before (unless, of course, the author is directly subverting this trope, an exception that proves the rule). As Derek Brewer notes, the happily-ever-after ending is the "paradoxical reconciliation of individual self-realisation with social harmony and responsibility, of private with public interests," so that "goodness and joy, the individual and society, are all united in celebration."[27] Joy is an important diagnostic in the medieval hero's journey and the health of the community. To demonstrate the narrative role of joy, we will listen closely to *Erec* by Hartmann von Aue, a Middle High German adaptation of Chrétien's *Erec et Enide*, which Dillon describes as "a template for the 'classic' festal soundscape, one frequently emulated and alluded to in later generations of romance authors."[28] An aural reading of the narratives is not only possible but also necessary for an authentic interpretation of *Erec*, as Wenzel points out that Hartmann's two romances of *Erec* and *Iwein* "included evidence for listeners, but not for readers,"[29] which suggests that sound images would be all the more prominent to a listening audience. Hartmann's romance offers a sonorous map of Erec's journey as a knight, husband, and king, as communal celebration forms a vivid counterpoint to the individual man. [30] It is important to clarify

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food, feasting, and fasting, see Lisa Pychlau-Ezli, "Höfische Speisen: Erecs Aventiurefahrt," in *Essen und Trinken im Mittelalter: der alimentäre Code in der mittelhochdeutschen Epik* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2018), 125-135.

[27] Derek S. Brewer, "The Nature of Romance," (*Poetica* 9, 1978), 33.

[28] Dillon, "Song and the Soundscape," 161.

[29] Wenzel, *Hören und Sehen*, 208

[30] Hartmann von Aue is also quite interesting for his intentional depictions of communal joy. The study by Eroms has uncovered not only narrative progression, but also authorial progression. Eroms examined the linguistic valences and narrative contexts of various words for joy in the corpus of Hartmann von Aue and determined that Hartmann's idealistic portrayal of absolute joy in *Erec* is problematized in his later works, to the point that joy in his other Arthurian romance, *Iwein*, serves a different narrative function. (*Vreude bei*

that although this study focuses primarily on Erec's (male) roles in contributing to sound, Hartmann's portrayal of Enite's (female) vocality is equally interesting, and in some ways more overtly connected to the movement of the narrative, so that her voice has already invited much scholarly attention.[31] The clear narrative purpose underlying Enite's voice indicates that there may be more fruitful inquiry into the sonorities embedded in the romance, and her capacity for and modality of speech have important gendered differences from Erec's.[32] As a result, his much more subtle relationship to communally generated sound remains overshadowed and as yet unexplored.

First, we will turn to the introductory episode, King Arthur's unfortunate hunt of the White Stag, as a paradigm for the ways a king affects and is affected by the sounds of his court. Secondly, we will look at the first cycle of the romance and the ways Erec is exemplary for his moderation and control amid noisy celebration. We will then see in the second cycle how his inability to adapt to his new roles of husband and king leads to his separation from communal celebration; this disintegration is resolved only when Erec learns how to initiate celebration.

Arthur and His Court

King Arthur's hunt of the White Stag begins Chrétien's first romance, *Erec et Enide*, revealing a court in an emotional and discursive crisis and one from which Erec

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Hartmann von Aue, 158-59). Furthermore, Karina Ash finds that Hartmann reinforces the woman's role in contributing to a court's joy in *Gregorious* by having the main female character remain at court, rather than join a convent (*Conflicting Femininities in Medieval German Literature* [New York: Routledge, 2016], 35-8).

[31] See Susanne Knaeble, "Politisches Hören und Sprechen: Die zweigeteilte Stimme der *vrouwe* Enite in Hartmanns Erec," in Bennewitz and Layher, *der âventiuren dôn*, 81-101; and Patrick M. McConeghy, "Women's Speech and Silence in Hartmann Von Aue's *Erec*," *PMLA* 102, no. 5 (1987): 772-83. For the role of Enide's voice in Chrétien's romance, see Elizabeth S. Leet, "Becoming Object/becoming Queen: The Marital Contact Zone in Chrétien de Troyes' *Erec et Enide*," *Postmedieval* 11, no. 1 (2020): 45–56.

[32] Joachim Bumke, *Der* Erec *Hartmanns von Aue: eine Einführung* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2006), 113-28.

wisely absents himself. Although the initial circumstances of this hunt are missing from the extant manuscripts and fragments of Hartmann's adaptation, there are nonetheless noticeable differences in the two portrayals of King Arthur and his management of the court. Both writers present the custom of the White Stag as a threat to the harmony of the community, diminishing the potential for joy at the feast; however, they diverge both in Arthur's level of blame for the discord and in the nature of that discord.

In Chrétien, King Arthur sets out to hunt the White Stag, knowing that the victor wins a kiss from the court's most beautiful woman. His personal success is overshadowed by the threat of discord at the ensuing feast. Gawain openly contradicts Arthur for proactively endangering the peace of the court, "You (pl.) will have neither goodwill nor grace from this hunt" ("*Sire," fet il, "de ceste chace / n'avroiz vos ja ne gré ne grace,"* 41-42).[33] Gawain warns not necessarily against Arthur's personal dissatisfaction, but against incurring the immediate disapproval (*ne gré*) and ongoing resentment (*ne grace*) of the court, as every man will object to whomever Arthur chooses, believing their own beloved to be fairer. The terms *gré* and *grace*, can mean approval and gratitude, respectively, which indicate particularly relational exchanges: Arthur's actions will undermine the system of obligations and loyalty that his authority depends upon.

Hartmann, meanwhile, has lessened Arthur's responsibility for the court's disunity. Although Gawain's warning is missing from Hartmann's version, because the first pages of the narrative have been lost, it is nonetheless clear that Arthur is only indirectly at fault. When Arthur successfully kills the White Stag, the language paints it

[33] The Old French is taken from Carleton Carrol's edition (New York: Garland Publishing, 1987). All translations are my own but are indebted to Carrol's. Wendelin Foerster's edition was also consulted: *Kristian von Troyes*. *Erec und Enide*, 2nd ed. (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1909).

as a stroke of fate: "Now it happened thus that King Arthur seized the stag" (*Nû was ez alsô ergangen / daz den hirz het gevangen / der künec Artûs mit sîner hant,* 1105-7).[34] The phrase "so it happened" subjects Arthur to the turn of events. In Chrétien, Arthur proactively outstrips his companions, even as they collectively overcome the stag: "The king came like none of the others; they did the white stag in and seized it" (*Vint que nus des autres li rois; / Le blanc cerf ont desfet et pris,* 280-81). Chrétien's Arthur is the most aggressive of the whole group and leads them in the final slaying. In contrast, the active role of Hartmann's Arthur is more ambiguously situated, so that he earns less direct blame for the outcome.

Similarly, the two versions differ in the extent of the disharmony at court and the role the hunt plays in that disharmony. For Chrétien, the resulting discord is made all the worse for coming at the height of festivity and communal happiness:

> Everyone set to return, they carry the stag; in this way they conduct themselves, and they arrive at Caradigan. After supper, the nobles were all happy throughout the house.
>
> *Au repeirier se sont tuit mis,*
> *le cerf an portent, si s'an vont;*
> *a Caradigan venu sont.*
> *Aprés soper, quant li baron*
> *furent tuit lié par la meison . . .* (Chrétien 282-86)

The entire male community contributes to overtaking the stag, carrying it from the wild woods into the cultivated court, and consuming it together. Reading this passage through Ahmed's theory of kinship objects, we can see the stag as a tangible object at the locus of the current joy and impending discord. Celebration and unity fill the *meison*, or house, a

[34] The Middle High German and line numbering is taken from *German Romance V: Erec*, ed. Cyril Edwards (Boydell & Brewer, 2014). The 2017 edition and critical apparatus by Andreas Hammer, Victor Millet, and Timo Reuvekamp-Felber (Berlin: de Gruyter) was also consulted. All translations are my own.

term which describes both the physical building and the familial ties associated with that house. The kinship is strengthened by the consumption of the stag, though the audience knows through Gawain's prediction that this meal will soon sour in their stomachs. Indeed, the choice of describing the male members as *li baron* is a meaningful one that looks back upon the hunt and the feast and forward to the threat of discord. *Baron* can denote "nobles," "brave ones," or "husbands"—the first translation emphasizes their place at court, reiterated by their participation in a royal hunt and banquet; the second emphasizes their courageous deeds at the hunt; and the third predicts the ensuing discord, as each husband will rise to the defense of their lady's inevitable humiliation for not having been chosen by the king as the most beautiful. At King Arthur's preparation to make his selection, the court is filled with malcontent muttering: "throughout the court they utter great grumblings: one promises and swears to another . . ." (*Par la cort an font grant murmure: / li uns a l'autre afie et jure* . . . , 291-2). It is significant that the naming of the space shifts from *meison*—a physical and familial space—to *cort*, a space that encompasses socio-political relationships rather than familial. This shift in terms emphasizes a breach in Arthur's role as king: he ought to show a degree of impartiality toward his entourage which is made impossible by his own insistence on this beauty contest. Note too, that the emotional and social shift that has taken place is depicted through sound: where happy feasting first filled the *meison* and facilitated kinship, grumblings now fill the *cort* and threaten kingship.

The growing discord and eventual resolution are depicted through varying types of discourse. The *murmure* in the quote above carries connotations of disapproval and

can be used to describe either distinct speech or inarticulate noise; either way, these are not the sounds or speech proper to a feast following a successful hunt, carrying none of the expected emotional resonances of festivity. This generalized muttering coalesces into individuated words, even oaths of violence. Chrétien declares, "Much is this ill speech" (*molt est ceste parole male*, 298), showing that the court has reached the peak of an unhealthy state both in type of speech and amount. This negative discourse is alleviated first in Arthur's overdue recourse for advice, and Queen Guinevere's unexpected intervention, asking him to wait until Erec returns. Then, upon hearing that Erec will be returning with a surpassingly beautiful lady—declared so by a vanquished opponent, no less—she indirectly rebukes Arthur for his neglect of advice: "I gave you very good advice yesterday, when I advised you to wait, because taking the advice resulted in good" (*Mout vos donai buen consoil ier, / Quant jel vos loai a atandre. / Por ce fet il buen, consoil prandre*, 1220-22). The *mal parole* filling the hall has been resolved by *buen consoil*. Arthur's arc throughout this episode has been colored by the speech of others, as he learns his duty as king is to seek good counsel to avoid making decisions that may divide the community.

In stark contrast to Chrétien's noisy hall, Hartmann's hall remains aurally harmonious and no blame is attached to Arthur. The mutterings of jealous husbands and lovers are entirely absent, as is Queen Guinevere's rebuke. Instead, all that is said on the matter is that the whole community agrees that the kiss is Arthur's right, "when it was said to be his right" (*dôz im ze reht wart geseit*, Hartmann 1115). The impersonal and elided *ez* and the passive *wart geseit* make it unclear *who* has affirmed Arthur's right but

imply generalized and verbalized agreement; they are locked into the tradition regardless of personal feeling, whereas each male individual at Chrétien's court was on the verge of mutiny. There is no discord that forces Arthur to seek counsel; what delays the kiss is Guinevere's interruption and explanation for Erec's absence:

> That you do not take your right until you receive word how his affair turns out for him. It would be a joy to me, if he were also present.
>
> *daz dû dîns rehtes niht nemest*
> *ê daz dû danne vernemest*
> *wie im sîn dinc ergangen sî.*
> *Mir wære liep, er wære ouch dâ bî.* (1145-48)

The discord does not come from jealousy, but from the fact that the celebration is incomplete without Erec's redress and participation, and Arthur should refrain from completing the ceremony until all members of the hunt are present. The problem of an incomplete court is only tangential to Arthur's slaying of the stag, thereby removing blame from the king.

When Erec and Enide join the court, Chrétien's Guinevere advises Arthur to kiss Enide. Beneath the narrative's explicit declaration that she deserves the prize, there is an implicit otherness to Enide and Erec that bypasses the web of social obligations: Erec is the son of an allied king, rather than a direct vassal to Arthur, and Enide is similarly from another country. Enide offers an avenue for impartiality, so that none of the king's subjects are favored over others. Arthur makes a lengthy speech declaring his responsibilities as king to uphold truth and custom and asks his assembly for their counsel. He is now properly exercising his role, balancing both his power and responsibility on the one hand while submitting to the court's advice. Their affirmation of his choice in Enide is delivered loudly in one voice (*Tuit s'escrïent a une voiz*, 1785),

followed by direct speech spoken in unison. The low and confused muttering from before has been transformed into a loud, clear cry; this unified speech not only reflects the emotional unity of the community but also evokes a ritualized call-and-response. Thus, Arthur's submission of his individuality to the need for harmony in the court is depicted verbally, as his speech and the court's response are dressed in ceremonial language. Similarly, Enide also submits to proper courtesy: "The maiden was not at all a fool; she desired rightly that the king would kiss her; she would have been uncouth if she had fretted about it" (*La pucele ne fu pas fole: / bien volt que li rois la beisast; / vilainne fust s'il l'an pesast,* 1796-98). However, her perspective is provided only by the narrator; her voice is absent from this ritual acted out by males.

In Hartmann's version, Arthur's individuality also yields to the community—this time not through an intentional act but by the shifting language of the narration that ultimately removes Arthur's choice in the matter. At first, the community affirms Arthur's personal right to choose for himself (1116, as quoted above), but as the narrative progresses, Arthur's choice is gradually stripped away. Subsequently, the terms of the kiss are that it is to be with whomever "would be the most beautiful there according to equal report" (*diu mit gelîchem mære / diu schœniste dâ wære,* 1758-9)—in other words, according to communal agreement, rather than Arthur's personal preference. This is repeated at the moment of the kiss, placed "nowhere else than where the good lads said it was his right" (*niender anderswâ / wan swâ ez die guoten knehte / gesageten im ze rehte,* 1789-91), so that the choice is entirely the (male) community's. Arthur's individual

choice diminishes in the narrative, until the kiss happens by group consent in keeping with the ideals of the egalitarian Round Table.

Similarly, the ceremonial aspects of Chrétien's court diminish Arthur's potentially erotic declaration that ends the episode:

> My sweet beloved! My love I give to you without discourtesy. Without wickedness and without folly, I will love you from a good heart.
>
> *. . . Ma dolce amie,*
> *m'amor vos doing sanz vilenie;*
> *sanz mauvestié et sanz folage*
> *vos amerai de boen corage*. (1801b-4)

These words are striking, appearing to be inappropriate, in that they are by a married man directed toward a woman already committed to another man, in the presence of that man. At first glance, they appear rather inappropriate. Though evocative of personal love service, the words' public setting and formulaic nature make them appear to be more ceremonial than sincere, repeating without fully intending the standard love declarations. More importantly, after this declaration, Chrétien declares the episode over. Arthur's speech-act concludes the custom of the White Stag and resolves the narrative tension that had overshadowed the entire episode.

On the other hand, Hartmann's narrator completely omits Arthur's declaration of love service to Enite as well as any question of eroticism in Arthur's kiss. Avoiding the ambiguity of Chrétien's "*Ma douce amie!*" the narrator positions Enite as the sweetheart not of Arthur but of his nephew:

> He took his right from his nephew's girlfriend in such a way that it might be well without hate, for Erec was his kin."
>
> *sîn reht nam er sâ*
> *von sînes neven vriundîn.*

daz mohte wol âne haz sîn,
wan Êrec was sîn künne. (1794-97)

This perhaps indicates that the ceremonial trappings of the scene in Chrétien were not evident enough for Hartmann's tastes. With the removal of Arthur's declaration, the ludic and erotic origins of the kiss fall away, purified by tradition and ceremony and warding off any questions Hartmann's audience might have regarding the appropriateness of the kiss. The kiss has now lost the connotations of frivolity and sexuality that a beauty contest might imply; it instead is a performative act, initiating Enite into the social sphere of the court as well as into kinship with the Pendragon line.

Because the narrative tension in Hartmann's version does not rest on a divided court but on an incomplete court, he ends the episode not with Arthur's speech-act, but with the community's emotional and verbal response to the kiss. Enite's introduction into the court's community is witnessed by all: the narrative has slowed down to dwell on the kiss, and it is at this breathless, frozen moment that the scene erupts into joy:

> Now in the house at Karadigan a great merriment took off. That was done out of delight for him and his girlfriend. Where might greater joy be than what was always had there? All those who were there strove to outdo one another in joyful conduct.
>
> *Nû huop sich michel wünne*
> *ûf dem hûse ze Karadigân.*
> *Daz was ze liebe getân*
> *im und sîner vriundîn.*
> *Wâ möhte grœzer vreude sîn,*
> *dan man dâ hâte ze aller zît?*
> *Si vlizzen sich enwiderstrît,*
> *alle die dâ wâren,*
> *vrœlîchen gebâren.* (1798-1806)

The kiss's ceremonial attributes increase as the court welcomes Enite into it with a united, vocal, and joyful response.[35] To convey the perfection of everyone's joy, the narration employs multiple synonyms that gain in intensity: *wünne, liebe*, and *vreude*. While *wünne* is more concrete and natural, being associated with springtime, *liebe* is social, being in the transition between meaning joy and love, or delighted affection. These more worldly joys culminate in *vreude*, pure joy. This final joy manifests into action and is sustained as each court member contends in having the most *vrœlîchen* conduct. The passage follows the pattern [JOY], [CAUSE OF JOY], [JOY], so that Erec and Enite are rhetorically at the center of the joy, just as in the story they are enfolded into the joyful community. In Chrétien, the verbal affirmation of the court is *before* the kiss, so that the episode ends on Arthur's declaration, resolving the subplot as Arthur heals the disunity he engendered. Here in Hartmann, the episode ends on the court's celebration, a communal high point, an eruption of wordless joy from the entire court, resolving on the integration of individuals into a community.

Throughout the episode of the White Stag, Hartmann's language around King Arthur has smoothed away troubling critiques or erotic declarations; this may indicate a difference in German and French attitudes toward sovereignty and the language that can be used about it.[36] There are imperfect courts in Hartmann's *Erec*, but they are not found

[35] This is a rare moment in the narrative where Enite is responsible (if only partially) for a noisy, public joy. Indeed, Eroms finds that Hartmann associates Enite less with a communal *vröide* and more with a personal *liep/liebe* (*Vreude bei Hartmann von Aue*, 68-81). Similarly, McConeghy argues that Hartmann portrays Enite's speech as belonging within her private relationships rather than a public setting ("Women's Speech and Silence in Hartmann Von Aue's Erec," 780-781). In this way, Enite's speech and experiences of joy largely remain private and internal. See also Britta Bussmann, "*dô sprach diu edel künegîn*... Sprache, Identität und Rang in Hartmanns 'Erec'," *ZfdA* 134, no. 1 (2005): 1–29.

[36] For a similar grappling with the translation of emotions across cultural as well as linguistic boundaries in a Norse adaptation of Chrétien's *Yvain*, see Sik Rikkhardsdottir, "Translating Emotion: Vocalisation and

under Arthur.[37] This indicates that for Hartmann's German audience, the ideal Arthurian court is a joyfully harmonious one, whereas for Chrétien, that court can be complicated by jealousy and dissent. However, a more telling difference is in the authors' narrative strategies**:** Chrétien shows a model that Erec will one day surpass, while Hartmann shows the ideal that Erec will strive for. As we have seen in "The Custom of the White Stag" episode, both Chrétien's and Hartmann's portrayals of emotional community, sovereignty, and festivity are dramatized through the sonic presence or absence of joy. In other words, the sounds of joy are a diagnostic, indicating that the court is whole again and that the king has a healthy, right-ordered rule over it. This episode foregrounds Erec's own participation in and generation of festivity, particularly in Hartmann. The threatened stability of Arthur's court and its ultimate emotional restoration become a mirror for Erec's journey into and outside of the aural, social, and emotional spheres that he encounters along his growth as husband, knight, and king.

Erec and King Arthur's Court

Just as we used joy to measure the health of Arthur's court in the episode of the White Stag, we can trace the developments of a character's and a community's experiences of joy throughout the romance. If we accept the assessment that a romance's "structure [of episodes] carefully defines what events, in what order, are necessary to

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Embodiment in Yvain and Ívens Saga," in *Emotions in Medieval Arthurian Literature: Body, Mind, Voice*, eds. Carolyne Larrington, Corinne Saunders, and Frank Brandsma (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2015), 161–80.

[37] The idealization of Arthur's court is common to Middle High German adaptations. See Urban Küsters, "Klagefiguren. Vom höfischen Umgang mit der Trauer," in *An den Grenzen höfischer Kultur: Anfechtungen der Lebensordnung in der deutschen Erzähldichtung des hohen Mittelalters* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1991), 34.

achieve that happy ending,"[38] then joy must be considered the pivotal element to the romance. The narrative of *Erec* is structured around soundscapes of joy and sorrow, as Erec struggles to find a balance between personal joy, marital joy, and communal joy. Indeed, Hartmann portrays Erec's personal growth through his impact on the collective celebration of his surrounding communities. In the first cycle of the romance, he moves out of and into aural spheres of celebration, the sounds of which represent his exclusion or inclusion in the communities. In the second cycle, he absents himself entirely from court life, unable or unwilling to contribute to their joy, while striving for satisfaction in his reputation. In the final episode, he ultimately embraces his part as king in giving joy to others. In all of these communities, their sounds of celebration are described as *schallen*, and Erec is either excluded from or included in those sounds; in the end, he finally contributes to the *schal*.

In the first cycle, Erec seeks out alternate society three times: first accompanying Guinevere rather than joining in Arthur's hunt, then accepting hospitality from a poor noble rather than the lavish Duke Imain, and finally himself offering more modest hospitality at the tournament then his more experienced peers. In the first example, the prologue of the hunt has been lost, so that evidence of sound must be inferred from Chrétien's text. As Guinevere and Erec follow the hunt at a distance, they gradually lose any trace of the hunting party:

> They could hear nothing of them, neither horn, nor hunter horse, nor dog. Though they seek to hear and listen for them, they could not hear man's speech nor the cry of the hound from any direction.
>
> *que d'ax ne pueent oïr rien,*

[38] Simpson, "Derek Brewer's Romance," 169.

ne cor, ne chaceor, ne chien.
Por orellier et escouter,
s'il orroient home parler[39]
ne cri de chien de nule part. (131-35)

Their distance from the hunt is imagined aurally, underlining how separated the two parties are. Erec shows moral superiority in not participating in the hunt, instead protecting Guinevere: Penny Sullivan argues that Chrétien inverts a white stag motif more typically found in Breton romances that results in a relationship with a domineering otherwordly lady.[40] Instead, placed outside of the sounds of the hunt due to his service to Queen Guinevere, Erec is the only man who is present when the real adventure arrives in the form of Iders and his companions and is the only man who wins a young bride in the cycle, a bride who is much more virtuous than a faerie bride. Thus, excluded from the sounds of the hunt, Erec is free to pursue a loftier adventure.

In the latter two instances of Erec's alternate companionship, joyful sound reflects Erec's exclusion, then inclusion, in the community. When Erec pursues Iders, he sees his opponent welcomed fittingly (*als dem wirte wol gezam*, 180) by his host, Duke Imain, who is putting on a festival. As a king's son, Erec ought to have also been welcomed into the castle, but he does not wish to be seen by Iders, so he must find hospitality among the lower ranks. At the base of the castle, a market square is full of people, and Erec's search for lodging is impeded by their celebrations: "now he found on the way a great hubbub from the people" (*nû vant er an dem wege / von den liuten grôzen schal*, 231-232), for

[39] Foerster's edition (1909) has "corner" (l. 134) instead of "parler," so that the line reads "the man winding the horn." Although *parler* is in the manuscript generally preferred by scholars (MS Paris BNF français 794), *corner* is attested in MS Paris BNF fr. 375 (Anc. 6987), 281v; in MS Paris BNF fr. 1420, 1v; and in MS Paris BNF fr. 1376, 95v.
[40] See Penny Sullivan, "The Presentation of Enide in the 'Premier vers' of Chrétien's 'Erec et Enide'," *Medium Aevum* 52, no. 1 (983): 84-5.

"the alleys were full of playing, as it ought to be at a festival" (*Die gazzen wâren spils vol, / als ez ze hôchzîten sol*, 248-249). *Spil* likely refers to the playing of games or instruments, though it can also refer to plays or competitions, all of which are also noisy. Chrétien also describes the town being full of *grant joie* (348) with potentially noisy activities—tending to hawks, playing board games, and dressing up—yet there is no explicitly aural description that resembles Hartmann's *schal*. In contrast, Hartmann's merry commotion is tangible: it is so loud as Erec encounters the *schal* "on the way" and filling the alleys that it becomes an almost physical barrier. Indeed, it acquires even more physicality in Erec's memory. Later, he wonders "what the hubbub from the people might mean, which he had seen in the marketplace" (*waz der schal von den liuten / möhte bediuten, / den er in dem markte hete gesehen*, 448-450)—the *schal* is something that Erec sees, rather than hears. One might translate *sehen* more abstractly as "witness," or even disregard it as merely utilitarian for the purposes of rhyme. Nonetheless, the *schal* is embodied by the people emitting it, creating a larger, tangible manifestation of the collective crowd.[41] Stylistically, *sehen* puts Erec at a remove from the commotion, whereas *hœren* would have implied an even more physically immediate experience of the sound. The sound is on every street and alley but does not immerse him. Even though Erec is surrounded by sound and comradery, he is nonetheless an outsider to them. Using Ahmed's terminology, the sounds of celebration, as a kinship object in proximity to

[41] For a similar visual *schall* in *Parzival*, see John Greenfield, "*waz hân ich vernomn?*" 171. This phenomenon is made all the more remarkable in that it flies in the face of the "hierarchy of the senses," in which lower senses can be synesthesically employed to describe the higher ones. According to this rule, hearing is traditionally considered the second sense and can be described as "sweet," but not as "seen." See Alon Fishman, "The Picture Looks like My Music Sounds: Directional Preferences in Synesthetic Metaphors in the Absence of Lexical Factors," *Language and Cognition* 14, no. 2 (2022): 208–27. doi:10.1017/langcog.2022.2.

happiness, is an exchange between the individual and the community, a kinship object around which they can gather but also exclude those who do not hear it.

Likewise, he is excluded from the display of hospitality around him. Just as in the old Christmas story, Erec finds everywhere he goes that there is no room at the proverbial inn:

> The houses were everywhere fully occupied: someone who would take him up as a guest was nowhere to be found.
>
> *Diu hiuser wâren über al*
> *beherberget vaste:*
> *Der sich sîn ze gaste*
> *wolde underwinden,*
> *den enkunde er niender vinden*. (233-237)

The syntax heightens the drama: as the relative clause starts the sentence in line 235, the reader and listener anticipate the answer to its implied question: the one who will be Erec's host is. . .? The main clause in line 237 answers in the negative, releasing the tension of the relative clause but not of the narrative. In the Middle High German, this main clause is in the active voice—Erec is unable to find such a host at all—which hints at the extent of Erec's effort. This exclusion from hospitality is not merely a result of too many people, but stems from his inability to pay for lodging (*Ouch was er habelôs dâ gar*, 238), his lack of reputation in the area (*Ouch was er dâ unerkant*, 245), and most prohibitively, the lack of moral character in the townspeople: he sought someone "who through his virtue would take him into his care for the night" (*wer in durch sîne vrümekeit / des nahtes næme in sîne phlege*, 229-230) but "no one spoke to him nor looked benevolently at him" (*daz im niemen zuo sprach / noch ze guote ane sach*, 246-7). Not merely was Erec prevented from staying in the homes, he was even thrown out of

them: “For he feared the customary treatment, that [Koralus] would have driven him out, as was done to him before” (*wan er vorhte die gewonheit, er solde in ûz getriben hân, als im vor was getân,* 293-5). This happy community, which has no room for him and even physically rejects him, betrays the sacred relationship between host and guest. Just as Erec was excluded from the *grôzer schal,* he is excluded from hospitality. Thus, Hartmann uses sound to establish communal boundary lines; noisy celebration joins the community together but pushes Erec out of it.

Just as Erec earlier chose an alternate path by remaining with Guinevere, he finds a quieter, alternate companionship with the poor nobleman Koralus, who aids him on his quest and becomes his father-in-law. In contrast to the busy marketplace, the ramshackle house is simple and inhabited only by Koralus, his wife, and his daughter. Koralus’s character is revealed in his hospitality toward Erec, despite not possessing much (*er rîches muotes wielt, / daz er den gast sô arm enthielt,* 314-5; *er den gast sô wol emphie, / und er es niht durch sîn armuot lie,* 398-99). Koralus is virtuous and self-sacrificial, unlike those who refused Erec because he was a poor unknown. Like his choice to refrain from the hunt, Erec’s new companionship is a morally superior one, in that upright company is better, even when material comfort is lacking. Erec reciprocates Koralus’s virtuous hospitality by remaining a virtuous guest. Once Erec defeats Iders, Duke Imain offers him hospitality that night: he is invited into the same festivities that he was first excluded from. Erec refuses, properly understanding his obligations to Koralus. Whereas Erec was first forced into Koralus’s alternate community out of desperation, he now

chooses that alternate community out of a sense of honor. Erec has exhibited an important respect for the code of hospitality, actively making a moral choice.

That night, there is a great celebration. In Chrétien, the celebration circles around Erec, ("Never [was there] such a joy as they did here for Erec," *Onques, ce cuit, tel joie n'ot / . . . /con l'an feisoit d'Erec iqui*; 1247, 1250), as the people follow him, embrace him, and sit around him. The festivities take up an entire scene, including a lengthy dialogue between Erec and Enide's family regarding her transportation to Arthur's court. Surprisingly, Hartmann's description of the festivities is much shorter and barely includes Erec:

> There was magnificent entertainment for any man who never had enough of joys. At the lodgings there was a great hullabaloo. There that evening he must have seen the best of countless knights and ladies: for only those they invited all came to the festival there.
>
> *Ein man den vreuden nie verdrôz,*
> *des kurzwîle was vil grôz.*
> *Zuo den herbergen was grôzer schal.*
> *Dâ muoste er die besten âne zal*
> *under rittern unde vrouwen,*
> *den âbent schouwen:*
> *wande si ladeten dar*
> *alle die eht kâmen dar*
> *zuo den hôchzîten*. (1387-95)

Erec presumably participates; however, the narrative seems to distance him. The narration, rather than being from Erec's perspective, uses a nearly impersonal *man* to describe the scene.[42] The "er" in line 1390 might refer to Erec, but could just as easily refers back to the indeterminate observer, which is the closer antecedent. Though the

[42] Although *man*, "one," is an impersonal pronoun, here it is accompanied by the indefinite article, *ein man*, so that it is a noun, "a man." A few lines later, this *man* is referred to as *er*, "he," which again personalizes the *man*. The *er* might refer to Erec, but the narrative does not provide clear evidence for this interpretation.

celebration was inspired by Erec's victory, he is conspicuously absent from the description of it, swallowed up by the assembly of unfamiliar knights and ladies. Furthermore, at the crack of dawn, Erec prepares to leave and return to King Arthur's court, uninterested in lingering any longer. Erec is still outside of the *schal*, neither adding his voice to nor emotionally invested in it. The emphasis in the Old French on Erec's centrality to the celebration makes his absence in the Middle High German all the more notable.

Upon Erec's return to King Arthur's court, Hartmann intentionally inverts the audible quality of Erec's reception at Duke Imain's town. While Erec remains outside of the *schal* at Duke Imain's festivities, he is explicitly welcomed upon his return to King Arthur's court into the *schal* by a male fellowship of more experienced knights:

> With chivalrous clamor, they all received him, congenially and well, as one ought to with a dear friend who was lost, but now is found.
>
> *daz sîn emphiengen alle*
> *mit ritterlîchem schalle,*
> *geselleclîchen unde wol,*
> *als man lieben vriunt sol,*
> *der verlorner vunden ist.* (1519-23)

The fellowship includes him with affection and as a united whole, *alle*, that envelops Erec in sound. Unlike the *grôzen schal* of Imain's community, this *schal* is given the adjective "knightly." It is a more virtuous noise, because it hospitably reaffirms Erec's part in the community and appropriately displays friendship and joy. Erec's return in Chrétien lacks this emphasis on the sound of the greeting; in fact, the welcome is much more orderly. The residents of Caradigan rush to the windows to see Erec and experience complete joy (*de joie est tote la corz plainne,* 1524), but only Arthur and Guinevere are

mentioned greeting Erec and Enide. Just as Hartmann adds aural descriptions to the *schal* of Duke Imain's festivities, he adds a noisy tumult to Erec's arrival.

Erec is ushered into Arthur's community according to properly ordered social standing. Those who greet him are named according to rank and prestige, beginning with the king of the court and ending with the cupbearer and the complete household, which includes (nameless) servants:

> Riding out from the house with King Arthur were Gawain, Peresevaus, and a lord named King Iels of Galoes, and Torz son of king Ares. Lucans the cupbearer appeared in the crowd, along with the entire household.
>
> *Mit dem künege Artûse*
> *riten von dem hûse*
> *Gâwein unde Persevâus*
> *und ein herre genant alsus,*
> *der künec Yels von Gâlôes,*
> *und Torz* fil roi *Ares.*
> *Lucâns der schenke schein in der schar,*
> *dar zuo diu massenîe gar.* (1511-18)

As host, Arthur and his named retainers welcome Erec back into their fellowship, and this gesture is affirmed by all who live in the court. This is not merely a warm welcome, but a reflection of Arthur's sovereignty, the community's social structures, and Erec's place in it. Whereas Chrétien's Arthur and Guinevere act as a royal couple in a symbolic gesture that affirms the new couple's place at court, Hartmann's Guinevere arrives only after the male clamor carries Erec into the courtyard. There, she more quietly and privately welcomes him (1524-28). Thus the noisy, public sound that Hartmann has added to the narrative is distinctly male, reflecting and reinforcing male social structures.

Just as the *schal* has been inverted to include Erec, Hartmann reverses the reasons Erec was excluded. In Duke Imain's land, Erec was excluded because he was *unerkant*

("unknown," 245), here Erec's companions know him like an old friend. Whereas Erec could not find hospitality at Duke Imain's kingdom because he was *habelôs* ("penniless," 238), at King Arthur's court he can rely on Arthur's generosity. In this way, Arthur's court undoes the wrongs done to Erec by Duke Imain's. Indeed, Erec's return to Arthur's court alters the character of his prior exclusion, where there was no one "who through his virtue would take him into his care for the night" (*wer in durch sîne vrümekeit / des nahtes næme in sîne phlege*, 229-230). Because the indefinite pronouns in this clause and in the surrounding passage are all paired with masculine pronouns (cf. *Der sich sîn ze gaste / wolde underwinden, / den enkunde er niender vinden*, 235-37), it is unclear if *sîne vrümekeit* is referring to the *wer* (the potential host), or to the *in* (Erec). Thus, it may be that a man might host Erec out of his own virtue, or on account of Erec's virtue. This problem is overtly resolved at Arthur's court, where "he benefited from his virtue" (*Dô genôz er sîner vrümekeit*, 1510). Here, it seems clear that whereas Erec once did not receive accommodations proper to his character, he now is justly treated. In this way, Hartmann resolves the three factors that led to Erec's semi-permanent absence from Imain's *schal*. At Arthur's court, Erec can be more fully integrated.

The *schal* under Arthur takes on not only characteristics of gender and social rank, but also merit. In honor of Erec and Enite's wedding, Arthur sponsors a tournament. The night before the games are to begin, the accomplished knights celebrate. The narrative emphasizes that this joyful noise is suitable for Arthur's court:

> [King Arthur] brought his entire household. Now the best were lodged there in the way as they were accustomed. They pursued a chivalric din. Indeed, all night long the lodgings were everywhere bejeweled with lights.
>
> *Er brâhte sîne massenîe gar.*

> *Nû wurden die besten dâ zewege*
> *beherberget nâch ir phlege.*
> *Die uopten*[43] *ritterlîchen schal.*
> *Die herberge wâren über al*
> *mit liehten bestaht,*
> *deiswâr alle die naht.* (2372-78)
>
> Whoever had done much for himself could have leave for boasting.
> *Giudens urloup möht er hân, / der ez dicke vür in hete getân.* (2387-88)
>
> Now this company of knights lived with customary intense joy.
> *Nû lebete disiu ritterschaft / mit gewonlîcher vreuden kraft.* (2405-6)

As with Erec's welcome into the community, the *schal* is "knightly," and therefore appropriate. Here, *schal* (2375) is semi-synonymous with *giuden* (2387); while the basic meaning of *schal* is "sound" and can be used to describe general noise of various affective resonances, *giuden* is always happy and is associated with boasts and praise, a characteristic (*gewonlîch*, 2406) of the experienced knights who have earned renown. Joy in *Erec* is stratified according to social rank and gender and now to merit. As we will see below, this merit-based joy excludes Erec, who is as yet inexperienced. Thus, it seems that there are certain categories of joy: Erec can be included in the communal *schal* on the basis of his manhood and knighthood but not of his prowess.

Finally, we have arrived at the third instance of Erec's belonging to alternate community. His integration into Arthur's community is incomplete, although Hartmann portrays this in a positive light. Aware of his lack of experience, Erec absents himself from the festivities:

> Erec found lodging in a place away from the others. He started nothing resembling noise: he lived as a fully frugal man, diffident, and he did not wish to liken himself to a good squire, and rightly so.

[43] The De Gruyter edition (eds. Hammer, et al.) has *uebten* (3365).

> *Êrec beherbergete dort*
> *von den anderen an ein ort.*
> *Deheines schalles er began—*
> *er lebete als ein wol karger man*
> *ungiudeclîchen*
> *und enwolde sich nicht gelîchen*
> *einem guoten knehte,*
> *und von allem rehte.* (2379-86)

Again, this passage is not in the Old French; Hartmann has added a soundscape to further emphasize Erec's otherness as a modest knight. Erec places himself physically away from the other tents, therefore outside the circle of sound and the companionship it represents. Furthermore, he abstains from producing *schal* (2381), out of recognition that he has not earned the right to self-promotion. Thus he remains *ungiudeclîchen* (2383), even as the others have *giudens urloup*. Although the narrator does not disapprove of the experienced knights' carousing, indeed expects it, the narrator still praises Erec for his moderation (*von allem rehte,* 2386). Just as Erec found a higher path in abstaining from the hunt and accepting hospitality from Koralus, he pursues proper conduct here, too.

This is not to say that Erec avoids companionship entirely. Indeed, Erec still provides hospitality but in an alternate mode:

> Whichever of his friends desired out of camaraderie to find Erec's lodgings, he was pleasantly received there with a greeting better than elsewhere.
>
> *Swelher der gesellen sîn*
> *durch geselleschaft geruochte*
> *daz er sîne herberge suochte,*
> *der wart schône emphangen dâ,*
> *mit gruoze baz dan anderswâ.* (2392-96)

Rather than pursuing revelry and the *schal* of the rest of the encampment, Erec is pursued by those who have real affection for him. The generalized *schal* and *giuden*, though permissible and appropriate, is nonetheless of a lower quality than the companionship

Erec attracts. Indeed, the revelers are described as a nonspecific group, while Erec's visitors are individualized with the singular pronouns *swelher, er,* and *der*. Erec is not promoting himself in front of a crowd, but has personal, one-on-one interactions with his guests. As the son of a king, Erec is an esteemed guest, but as a foreigner, he has little without Arthur's support. Arthur is generous in giving, Erec is moderate in taking, and so both maintain a healthy guest-host relationship (2248-2284). This moderation in his vertical relationship with his host is paralleled by his moderation in his lateral relationships with his peers.

The faithfulness of his friends is rewarded: he bids them a fairer welcome than the other revelers offer. While others' speech is oriented toward themselves, Erec's speech is oriented toward his guests. This better *gruoz* is reminiscent of the compassionate welcome he received from his eventual father-in-law Koralus, whose eloquent greeting was in stark contrast to the rejection Erec had faced. Erec emulates this courtesy as well as Koralus's virtuous conduct:

> Notwithstanding whatever else he could not provide, Erec's intentions were so apparent that each of the companions was happy whenever he had occasion to praise Erec; all who saw him loved him. He behaved like a blessed one ought: otherwise he wouldn't have been spoken of so well.
>
> *an swelhen andern dingen*
> *er ez niht mohte bringen,*
> *dâ schein sîn wille alsô*
> *daz ir iegelîcher was vrô,*
> *swâ er im ze lobenne geschach.*
> *In minnete allez, daz in sach.*
> *Er tet alsam der sælige sol—*
> *man enspræche im anders niht sô wol.* (2397-2404)

Like the impoverished Koralus, Erec has very little to offer besides pleasant conversation and thoughtful attention, but he is deemed all the better for it. He acts as though he is

sælic (2396), which carries connotations of secular fortune as well as of holiness: *sælde* is an enduring state of well-being, a joy that is intransient, contrasting with the worldly *giuden* of the other revelers. This state is morally superior, all the more so because it results in the happiness of Erec's guests (*was vrô,* 2400), who love him and delight in talking well of him. Erec's virtuous joy spreads happiness and love to others. Rather than promoting himself (*giuden*), Erec is praised (*lob*) by others; *lob* is of a higher caliber than *giuden* and is all the more authentic for being spoken by others, rather than by himself. In this way, Erec's articulate *gruoz* generates further speech, just as his *sælde* generates *vröide*. Two spheres of emotional sound emerge: the first is self-oriented, confused, and non-productive, while Erec's is oriented toward others, articulate, and generative.

Thus, Erec is admirable for his ability to find alternate communities: both involuntarily, when he is excluded from Imain's first festival and stumbles across Koralus's house, as well as voluntarily, when he chooses to remain with Koralus and to offer quieter hospitality during Arthur's tournament. Indeed, Erec is rewarded for his restraint when he is able to rise earlier than the revelers, engage in battle sooner, and earn greater honor and reputation. Subtly, however, Erec's reserved behavior indicates that he still has room for growth. Though he integrates well into Arthur's court as a guest and fellow knight, but he is not fully integrated, nor can he contribute productively in the same mode as the *schal*.

New Roles

Erec's pursuit of alternate communities is admirable only while he is a prince and a knight. After his return home and he is crowned king (notably, this takes place at this

point in the narrative only in Hartmann's version), his role in the community shifts. His inclinations for quieter, alternative companionship are no longer suitable for the public role of a king, yet he pursues these inclinations to the extreme; he seeks only Enite's society—at church, at table, and in bed: "He loved her so much that he no longer cultivated any honor, on her account alone" (*Die minnete er sô sêre / daz er aller êre / durch si eine verphlac,* 2969-71). He neglects pursuing honor in favor of immoderately pursuing love, with the result that his court's joy is diminished:

> Knights and squires grew despondent there at court; those who once cultivated joy grieved greatly there and emptied the place straight away.
>
> *ritter unde knehte*
> *dâ ze hove betrâgen.*
> *Die vor der vreude phlâgen,*
> *die verdrôz vil sêre dâ*
> *unde rûmten imz sâ* (2976-2980)

Erec, who has had little practice in contributing to the community's *schal*, thoroughly neglects his role as king in promoting it. As a result, his court lacks happiness, which leads to a lack of people and a lack of noise. The court is emptied, the hallways now echoing with the hushed disapproval of those who remain.

The decrease in joy is coupled with a change in sound and discourse of Erec's court, as the loud *schal* that had permeated the first cycle of the romance has changed to *schëlte*, or mockery:

> That he was ever spoken so well of was turned to shame among those who knew him; the whole world mocked him. His court was bare of all joy and stood in disgrace.
>
> *daz man im ê sô wol sprach,*
> *daz verkêrte sich ze schanden.*
> *wider die, die in erkanden.*
> *In schalt diu welt gar.*

Sîn hof wart aller vreuden bar
unde stuont nâch schanden (2986-2991)

The verbs *schallen* and *schëlten* are related linguistically, and although Hartmann most certainly was not thinking of Proto-Indo-European roots, he strengthens their phonetic parallel by using the latter's preterite form, *schalt*.[44] The ridicule of the world is unanimous, and results in a collective lament (*si sprâchen alle*, 2997), again unified, but now with Erec on the outside of the discourse, and therefore, on the outside of the community. The discourse is about him but is not directed to him. Speech and mockery finally intensify into curses (*vluochen*, 2994); the court's fall in fortunes leads to its desire for Erec's fortunes to also diminish. In this way, the emotional health of Erec's court and his relationship to it is played out in a shifting discursive soundscape.

Erec's failure in his role as king extends to that as host. The news of Erec's tarnished reputation spreads in concentric circles: first to his retainers, then to his guests, and then to the surrounding lands. The *schëlte* is spoken by *diu werlt* in line 2989; "the world" can be translated broadly as the secular realm, as the surrounding kingdoms, or as a metonym for court society. In this context, *werlt* appears to be broader than Erec's *hof*, as does the statement "those who knew him." It seems that news of Erec's disordered love has reached other lands, perhaps even to his friends at Arthur's court. Indeed, it is widely known that Erec is unable to hold court in the same way as King Arthur or even Duke Imain. While Erec was once a foreigner in both men's courts, now his court is

[44] Walther von der Vogelweide makes a similar play on words, even without the stem vowel change: "si schallent unde scheltent reine frowen." (L 10.X.10, from the song also known as the *Wiener Hofton*; the Middle High German is taken from *Leich, Lieder, Sangsprüche*, ed. Christoph Cormeau, *Leich, Lieder, Sangsprüche*, 14th ed. (New York: De Gruyter, 1996). The citations follow the numbering in this edition and provide the song number, stanza number, and line number. All translations are my own.

undesirable, let alone inhospitable, to foreigners: "no one from foreign lands had any reason to seek out [his court] for joy" (*In endorfte ûz vremden landen / durch vreude niemen suochen*, 2992-3). Erec, who benefited so much from Koralus's and Arthur's virtuous hospitality, fails to show that same hospitality to strangers. The second cycle resolves this failure only when Erec has learned to balance personal *êre*, relational *minne*, and communal *vröide*, the last of which is his primary responsibility as king and host.[45]

Just as the first cycle of *Erec* depicts the hero's journey of gradual integration into community, the second cycle of the romance is characterized by his inability to contribute to those communities. Much of the conflict, when not combat, circles around breaches in rightly ordered social relationships, which in turn are breaches in communally shared joy. Erec refuses the full hospitality of three different men—a strange count, Guivreiz, and Arthur himself—to whom he has varying levels of obligation, and his refusals of their offers reveal problems in his understanding of hospitality and membership in a community. Early in their journey, Erec and Enite are welcomed by a strange count who offers them hospitality for the night, and it is in this episode that Erec first fully reveals an incomplete understanding of guest-host conduct. With no preexisting social ties or obligations, Erec refuses the offer, claiming that they are unfit for courtly society: "the long way has made us uncourtly, we are heavy with fatigue" (*Uns hât der lange wec / getân unhovebære. / Von müede sîn wir swære*, 3636-8). This decision is fortuitous, as

[45] On the connection between hospitality and community joy, see Ulrich Jänecke, *Gastaufnahme in der mittelhochdeutschen Dichtung um 1200* (PhD Diss. Ruhr-Universität Bochum, 1980), 121-25 and 209-12. See also Ernst Scheunemann, *Artushof und Abenteuer. Zeichnung höfischen Daseins in Hartmanns Erec* (Breslau: Maruschke & Berendt Verlag, 1937), 99-106. On hospitality's interaction with shame and etiquette in *Erec*, see also Siegfried Christoph, "Hospitality and Status: Social Intercourse in Middle High German Arthurian Romance and Courtly Narrative," *Arthuriana* 20, no. 3 (2010): 48-58.

the count turns out to be treacherous, but this treachery is exposed and averted only through Enite's faithfulness. Erec's refusal of hospitality is correct, but not due to his own proper discretion.

Furthermore, his reaction to the count's breach of hospitality is rather lacking. The narrator condemns the host for attacking his guest:

> That was however unjust that he wanted to take the good squire's wife, as he had come into his land, where he should harbor him if anyone wanted to harm him.
>
> *Daz was doch wider dem rehte,*
> *daz er dem guoten knehte*
> *sîn wîp wolde hân genomen,*
> *dô er in sîn lant was komen,*
> *dâ er in bevriden solde,*
> *ob im iemen schaden wolde.* (3679-84)

With such a moral indictment initiating this episode, one would expect Erec to address it as well, confirming the narrator's position. Instead, Erec focuses on the count's uncourtly speech. The count catches up with them and addresses Erec: "he spoke very unchivalrously with unseemly rage in an unfriendly voice" (*vil unritterlîch er sprach / mit ungezæmen grimme / nâch unvriuntlîcher stimme*, 4169-71). All of the adjectives in this sentence emphasize what the count is *not*—not knightly, not emotionally well-bred, and not friendly—particularly in his speech and tone of voice. Erec reprimands him:

> You, sir, grievously render yourself discourteous to me; from whom have you learned to slander a man who has ever earned the name of knight? You were brought up in a measly court. Now for shame: you have lied. I am nobler than you.
>
> *Ir enthovewîset iuch. . .*
> *an mir vil sêre.*
> *von wem habet ir die lêre*
> *daz ir scheltet einen man,*
> *der ie ritters namen gewan?*
> *Ir sît an swachem hove erzogen.*

Nû schamet iuch. Ir habt gelogen.
Ich bin edler dan ir sît. (4197-4204)

Erec is still smarting from the *schelten* he earned while a newlywed and uses the same word in describing the count's verbal abuse (4200). Erec detects that the count has breached his relationship with Erec on equal terms as a knight and on unequal terms as a count speaking to a king. It is surprising, however, that Erec does not chastise the count for betraying his guest and transgressing his role as host. His silence on this front is glaring. It appears Erec's understanding of hospitality is greatly lacking, or at least, is overshadowed by his concern for his honor and reputation. It is not Erec's initial refusal of hospitality that is at fault in this episode, but rather, his incomplete recognition of the count's breach of hospitality.

Erec's disordered estimation of guest-host obligations is even more evident in the next two instances of hospitality. Erec defeats the valiant Guivreiz, who then honorably offers the married couple hospitality and entreats Erec to stay and recover from the duel. Erec refuses to recuperate from his wounds and leaves the next morning, despite his receiving the best treatment he had ever had (4614-16) and despite Guivreiz's every attempt to serve him (4633-36). He is indiscriminate, refusing treacherous count and honorable Guivreiz alike. It is only much later in the narrative that Erec's behavior toward Guivreiz receives explicit critique, when Erec confesses that his early departure in pursuit of honor was foolish (7069-80). Although Erec had once pursued moderation in merrymaking and socializing, he has now gone to an extreme in avoiding it. He intentionally dis-integrates himself from all society and is thus unable to progress to reintegration.

This foolish drive for adventure and rejection of hospitality is thrown into greatest relief when Erec encounters Arthur's court encamped nearby on holiday, which he is tricked into rejoining. Erec ought to feel some sort of obligation in accepting Arthur's invitation and rejoining the brotherhood, but instead he protests that he cannot join them because he is emotionally and physically unsuitable for courtly society. Elaborating on his similar refusal of the strange count, Erec states that the role of the courtier is to contribute to the community's joy:

> He whom joy well suits and who does the court justice is the one who ought to be there. I cannot go there now, and I must hold off bringing my wayfaring to an end. You see well enough that right this minute I am tired and wounded, and so uncourtly that I would gladly have forsaken the court, if you had allowed it.
>
> *Swer zuo hove wesen sol,*
> *dem zimet vreude wol,*
> *und daz er im sîn reht tuo.*
> *Dâ enkan ich nû niht zuo*
> *und muoz mich sûmen dar an,*
> *als ein unvarnder man.*
> *Ir sehet wol, daz ich zuo dirre stunt*
> *bin müede unde wunt*
> *und sô unhovebære*
> *daz ich wol hoves enbære,*
> *hetet irs mich erlân.* (5116-26)

In this passage, Erec is unprepared to give up his wanderings and remain at court. The adjectives *unvarnder* and *unhovebære* are set up as a binary: either a non-wanderer or a non-courtier. The unusual term *unvarnder man* requires some explanation here: *varend liute* includes pilgrims and beggars but often refers to performers, including musicians, who may or may not have been hosted at a particular court.[46] In the last two lines here,

[46] Maria Dobozy, *Re-Membering the Present: The Medieval German Poet-Minstrel in Cultural Context* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 16-25. See also Jänecke, *Gastaufnahme in der mittelhochdeutschen Dichtung*, 84-6. Also note that the term *varndez volc* appears during Erec's wedding celebrations (l. 2170).

there is a pun with *unhovebære* that is nearly impossible to translate into English: because Erec is "un-court-able," he is "unable to be at court" (*hoves enbære*). Erec's protestations echo his prior refusal of the count's hospitality, in which he claims that he and Enite are "*unhovebære*" and "*müede*." But this time, Erec emphasizes his unjoyful spirit that renders him unsuitable for refined society. Erec has seen Arthur's court at its best, full of joy, and he knows that he is unable to contribute to it.

Unlike the prior refusals of hospitality, where Erec's fault is only implied or explained much later, here it is immediately evident. Despite the court's entreaties for him to remain, Erec leaves at the crack of dawn, causing sorrow to enter Arthur's community; whereas before they were united in joy, they are now united in disapproval: "To them all this seemed to be poorly done" (*diz dûhte si alle missetân,* 5331). They give Erec and Enite a tearful sendoff, and Arthur is so distraught that he ends the court's encampment in the woods. Erec is correct in saying that a joyful disposition is necessary at court, but he is wrong to let that be an excuse for his departure against Arthur's wishes. By attempting to avoid sullying the court's joy, Erec brings about its sorrow.

Erec's behavior is in direct contrast to that of Guivreiz from the previous episode. When Guivreiz and Erec arrive at his castle, the vanquished king is welcomed with a joyous din (*Dâ emphiengen si in vor / mit vrœlîchem schalle,* 4596-97). Rather than quelling this joy, he honorably tells his retainers of his own defeat and asks them to be hospitable to Erec. Guivreiz demonstrates how a vanquished knight might still joyfully participate in the castle's celebrations without any wounded pride. Moreover, he is happy to host Erec (*Der künec was des gastes vrô,* 4582), and this happiness is shared by his

community (*Ouch tâten si gerne daz*, 4613). He models to the community a way to respond to defeat with joy and honor. Erec, on the other hand, is too concerned about his personal reputation to properly attend to his social obligations, leading to further sorrow in Arthur's court.

This communal disjuncture carries over into his personal life, as he and Enite are estranged from one another. His avoidance of society parallels his love life, entirely avoiding Enite to the point that they eat and sleep at a distance from one another (3660-68, 3948-54, 3969-71), in contrast to when as newlyweds they ate and slept only together. Whereas he was once entirely a husband and hardly a knight, now he is entirely a knight and hardly a husband. He forces her into the role of squire, which the narrator repeatedly stresses is an ill-suited task (. . . *ez wider vrouwen site / und wider ir reht wære*, 3446-7). In contrast, while Erec ignores Enite, Guivreiz helps her mount her horse with proper manners (*Mit schœnen zühten tete er daz*, 4588) and leads it to his castle. Again, Guivreiz demonstrates a nobler behavior in his relationships, not only toward the greater community but also toward Erec's own wife.

The middle of the second cycle is the turning point for Erec's relationships, with a marked change of heart toward Enite, Guivreiz, and his own role in communal joy. When Erec finally succumbs to the number of wounds he has received in his various adventures and falls down as if dead, a nearby count recovers his body and compels Enite to marry him. This pivotal episode results in Enite's ultimate display of loyalty to Erec and in Erec's seeming resurrection. As H. B. Willson has noted, Erec's Christ-like resurrection

"marks the beginning of a fuller and richer life."[47] According to Willson, Enite's love is *caritas,* "of the same order as the *triuwe* of God Himself, Who so loved the world . . .. But until Erec displays a degree of *triuwe* and *minne* towards Enite comparable to that which she displays, no *vreude* is possible."[48] The union of the virtues of faithfulness and love result in joy and in Erec's redemption. Joy, therefore, is what the virtues lead toward—much in line with Christian theology—and is the culmination of Erec and Enite's growth.

Erec's transformation bridges both his private and public lives. The love, faithfulness, and joy he shares with Enite impacts his roles as knight and king, because these virtues are tied to interpersonal relationships. Willson argues that it is possible to read *minne* as both *eros* and *caritas*:

> *minne* is fellowship, whether it be between the sexes, between man and his neighbor, or between man and God. In the "worldly" context, the sexual relationship cannot be ruled out, since man is carnal. Therefore it must be harmoniously integrated into the scheme of *caritas*-fellowship.[49]

The spiritual overlap between *eros* and *caritas* is mirrored in a secular valuation of ordered relationships. In other words, as James Schultz has argued, a happily paired couple adds to the overall happiness of their court: "the fact that joy and, to a lesser extent, high spirits and honor are well known to represent the emotional goals both of public courtly culture and of private courtly lovemaking links them inevitably."[50] Thus

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[47] H. B. Willson, "Sin and Redemption in Hartmann's Erec," *Germanic Review* 33, no. 1 (1958): 9.
[48] Willson, "Sin and Redemption," 13.
[49] Willson, "Sin and Redemption," 13 and note 18.
[50] James A. Schultz, *Courtly Love, the Love of Courtliness, and the History of Sexuality* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006), 156.

the romantic relationship between Erec and Enite is not a distinct sphere separate from their social relationships but is fluidly connected to their public-facing lives.

Their reconciliation is intimately tied to Erec's proper submission to Guivreiz's hospitality. When they reunite with Guivreiz, their host makes arrangements for them to sleep together again, first in a paradisical *locus amoenus* (7156-69) then at his castle (7255-63), where he allows them time to physically recuperate and to be physically close again, after their long separation at bed and table (7152-55). Their sexual and marital restoration coincides with Erec's physical and social restoration: he is now able to accept the hospitality and medical attention he had once refused, staying at Guivreiz's castle for two weeks. Although Erec still wishes to undergo hardship and adventure (7308-16), Enite's journey is eased, now that her horse provides her comfort (7847-50). Erec's pursuit of honor is no longer in direct conflict with his wife's wellbeing, their shared happiness, or his ability to accept hospitality.

In the final episode in Erec's quest, the last aspect of his growth is complete: having finally rightly ordered his personal reputation, his relationship with his wife, and his duty to the court, he is equipped for the final episode, in which he can be an active participant in communal joy. The night before his final battle, Erec and Enite make love together till dawn (*dâ si ensamet lâgen / und guoter minne phlâgen, / unz in erschein der morgen*, 8672-74). Their intimacy, cultivated in the *locus amoenus* as companionship (*gesellescheft phlâgen*, 7154), they now cultivate as love (*minne phlâgen*, 8617), yet they do not revert to their days as newlyweds where their relationship was all absorbing: even while making love to Enite, Erec dreads the upcoming battle (*Manlîcher sorgen /*

was sîn herze niht gar vrî, 8675-76). In the same way, while fighting his opponent, he remembers Enite, which aids him in winning the battle (9238-43). Erec's roles as husband and knight are pursued at their proper times in their proper ways, but they also interact with and enhance one another. Rather than ordered in separate spheres, the roles work together harmoniously.

Erec's maturity as a husband and a knight parallels his maturity as a member of the community. After winning the battle against Mabonagrin, he learns his opponent has been living with only his lady in an idyllic garden. Erec, who once withdrew from society to remain in bed (*er dô zôch / ze bette von den liuten*, 2950-51) demonstrates he has at last learned his lesson by advising his opponent that he and his lady would benefit from being occasionally apart, "for it is so good to be among the people" (*Wan bî den liuten ist sô guot*, 9494)—he has exchanged the preposition *von* for the preposition *bî*. He wonders how Mabonagrin tolerated his solitude, "how did you two pass the time, if you were nevermore by the people? however delightful it is even here. . ." (*wie vertribet ir die zît, / iu enwære mê der liute bî? / Swie wünneclîch eht hinne sî*, 9471-74). In other words, the delights (*wünne*) of paradise are still incomplete without the fellowship of other knights and ladies, where true goodness and *vröide* can be found. Now that Erec has learned how to love Enite with virtue, he can also relate properly to the greater community:

> However 'perfect' their union may be in itself, it can only become 'ordinate' within the wider framework of *caritas*, that is, when the lovers are in harmony not only with each other, but also with their fellow-men and with God, when their *geselleschaft* is not narrowly limited, but all-embracing.[51]

[51] Willson, "Sin and Redemption," 13.

This analogical parallel between the couple's relationship and their roles in the wider community is evident: after his reconciliation with Enite, Erec learns that neither his husbandly duties nor knightly deeds should conflict with his communal role, or in other words, the pursuit of personal *minne* and *êre* should not be at odds with communal *vröide*. Now, he is in such a place that he can advise a fellow knight on balancing these roles.

The last step for Erec is to put these lessons into practice, enacting—or rather, re-sounding—that communal *vröide*. Mabonagrin bids him:

> joyfully go blow that same horn. . . [as my victor] would inform the people in that he would blow it three times.
>
> *vrœlîchen gân*
> *blâsen daz selbe horn*
> . . .
> *dâ mite tete den liuten kunt,*
> *daz er bliese drîstunt* (9667-68, 9673-74)

That is, Erec translates his great joy into a correspondingly great sound, which then transforms again into joy for the listeners. Those who hear the sound (*Als si dô überal / hôrten disen hornschal*, 9684-85) respond with various emotions: with a need for solidarity, seeking one another's interpretations of the blast (*nû sâhen si alle einander an*, 9688); with suspicion (*daz ez ein getrügenus wære*, 9695); and finally with joy: "Now they all rushed with a joyful noise," (*Nû îlten si alle / mit vrœlîchem schalle*, 9708-9). The horn's throbbing notes elicit both an emotional and communal response, so that sound, joy, and social relationships are inextricable from one another. Erec's individual joy is spread through the horn's sound to its hearers, resulting in a greater communal bond as the *hornschal* (9685) summons them into the garden and as the people respond to

it almost in echo *mit vrœlîchem schalle* (9709). Erec's arc is complete: first he was excluded from the *schal* in Duke Imain's town, then he was included but did not contribute to the *schal* at Arthur's tournament; here, he finally initiates the *schal*.

The *schal* is generative, spreading to others and ultimately returning to Erec. The disorganized *schalle* of the horn and the people coalesce into articulate speech and song: the two warriors are "well greeted" (*schône gesalûtieret*, 9714), and everyone sings "with happy battlesong" (*mit vrôem wîcgesange*, 9716). Both genders are included in this celebration, as man and woman alike praise Erec, bidding him to be "gladdened and praised" (*gefreuwet und geprîset*, 9729) and thus echoing the vocal joy back onto him. Summing up, Hartmann writes, "here was the delight manifold" (*Hie was diu wünne manecvalt*, 9735), implying that joy can be multiple and thereby referring to the varied-yet-unified responses; that is, the crowd's greeting, song, and praise are all audible manifestations of collective joy. Whereas the horn was merely instrumental sound, the sound has transformed into human, articulate speech that is to Erec's benefit. By giving *schal*, Erec receives it back in a better form.

Erec's initiation of the community's *schal* carries significance beyond a mere belonging to the community: it signals that Erec is ready to step into the role of king. In the episode of the Custom of the White Stag, total joy is possible only when the individuals of the community are reintegrated. Then, in the first cycle, Erec begins on the outside of the *schal* and gradually enters into it, although he does not contribute to it. This detachment from *schal* is negative only once he becomes king, a role which requires a proactive investment in communal joy. At the end of the second cycle, once Erec has

learned how to contribute to *schal*, he is rightly positioned within the *ordo* and is ready to return to his kingdom. This sovereign aspect of Erec's *schal* is further evidenced in the final episode by three foils to his character: the people of Brandigan, Mabonagrin, and King Ivreins.

Kingship at Brandigan

When Erec and Enite first arrive at the idyllic castle of Brandigan, the community seems to be pursuing perfect joy: "There was within many joys, dance and all manner of playing that well suits young people" (*dâ was inne vreuden vil, / tanz und aller slahte spil / daz jungen liuten wol gezam*, 8117-19). The sight of the valiant knight and beautiful lady entering their society ought to have augmented their joy, but instead they begin to grieve:

> at once right away, they all, woman and man both, began to abandon their joys out of sorrow close at hand
>
> *sô daz zuo den stunden*
> *si alle begunden,*
> *wîp und man beide,*
> *von nâhegândem leide*
> *ir vreuden entwîchen*. (8131-35)

The noisy enjoyment is dramatically silenced and replaced with a different verbal and emotional expression: "they all lamented as one; this did not happen with noise: it was done with murmuring" (*Si klageten et alle. / Diz geschach niht mit schalle— / ez wart mit murmel getân*, 8163-65). This grief is spoken in unison, and the narrator particularly emphasizes that this sound is not *schal*. The joyous commotion from before has now turned into hushed, synchronized speech.

What transpires next is an understated conflict between feminine and masculine verbal expressions of emotion. The *murmeln* has distinctly feminine qualities. Though the narrator describes the lament as originating from the entire "assembly" (*diet*, 8214) and "people" (*liute*, 8158; *volc*, 8197), it nonetheless is associated with women and opposed to Erec, who "wished neither to repay nor profit from the women's soothsaying" (*Er enwolde der wîbe liezen / engelten noch geniezen*, 8179-80). Femininity is conflated with fear as well as with superstition, a form of belief that is deviant, in contrast to the orthodox religion that Erec later upholds when he attends Mass. Moreover, this quiet lament acquires shape through the female body, being accompanied by the percussion of women beating their breasts and crying bitterly (*Manec wîp sich zuo den brüsten sluoc; / die andern sêre weinten*, 8168-69). This grief is viscerally female. The striking of the breast is percussive, the thorax providing a complex blend of muffled and resonant sound. The *weinen* can denote tears as well as a wail, thus both a physical manifestation as well as an aural one. Wailing is vocal, non-articulate, and continuous, a drone that rises and falls above the percussion of beaten breasts. The sounds of lamentation, then, are rhythmic but irrational. In contrast, Erec's masculinity is expressly emphasized. The narrator describes Erec in this episode as "such a resolute man" (*ein alsô vester man*, 8196) and his resistance to sorrow as "manly constancy" (*manlîchen stætikeit*, 8199)—Erec's refusal to be swayed by communal grief is a sign of masculinity. Erec counteracts the womanly grief "with laughing mouth; then and there in that moment he raised a very joyful song" (*mit lachendem munde. / Nû huop er dâ ze stunde / ein vil vrœlîchez liet*, 8211-13); his joyful song displays a masculine courage that loudly defies the womanly

murmuring. The difference is not only emotional and gendered, but also formal: the people's prosaic lament (*klagen*, 8137; *si sprâchen*, 8141; *rede*, 8167) and nonmensural crying (*weinten*, 8169) is countered by his monophonic song, a measured, discrete, and modulated expression. The contrasting aural images are similar to that of Walther von der Vogelweide's articulate nightingale and the multivocal drone of frogsong.

A battle of emotional discourses emerges; the responses from both sides are immediate, responsive, clashing. The narrative positions these types of gendered emotional sound directly against each other: the people's lament is lifted up *zuo den stunden* (8131), and in parallel idiom, Erec sings *dâ ze stunde* (8212), as if in a vocal duel. Unable to silence his loud song with their quiet sorrow, the people warn that his voice will nonetheless be silenced within a day. They mutter (*Nû murmelte*, 8214) that Erec's "happy song promises a very sorrowful end" (*dîn vrœlîch gesanc / ein vil riuwic ende gît*, 8218-19). His demanded voicelessness anticipates Erec's death: "you shall not have your bright life for long, so let your singing grow still" (*dû dînen gelphen lîp / solt als unlange hân, / so liezest dû dîn singen stân*, 8222-24). The word *lîp* can be translated more abstractly as "life" or more concretely as "body;" thus song is a metonym for Erec's merry body and spirit, its silence a representation of his death. Just as the lament was given a female body in beaten breasts and women's tears, his joyful song is synonymous with his male body. This final warning echoes through rhyme and close rhyme, ominously following him into the castle and the next episode of the plot:

> *solt als unlange* ***hân****,*
> *sô liezest dû dîn singen* ***stân****."*
> *Alsô reit von in* ***dan***
> *der vil unverzaget* ***man***

> *ûf daz hûs ze* ***Brandigân***.
> *Dâ wart im sîn reht* ***getân***, (8223-28, emphasis mine)

Nonetheless, though the murmuring crowd has the final word, Erec remains "the very undespairing man" (*der vil unverzaget man,* 8226), emotionally impervious to the affective atmosphere of the crowd. He retains his masculine joy, the individual man triumphing over collective womanly fear. Moreover, Erec functions in this scene as a herald for joy. Throughout the second cycle of the romance, he has resisted rejoining into courtly society because he is emotionally unable to participate in and contribute to the court's joy**.** Here he enters into a society that is already sorrowful; he does more than enter into the community—he actively battles to change its emotional makeup and discourse into *schal,* foreshadowing his eventual success. This joyful, singing posture is not only that of a hero but also of a king ready to lead the emotional community, which finds its ultimate expression in the moment of Erec's winding of the horn.

This sovereign posture is in contrast to Mabonagrin's and King Ivreins's failures to promote joy and hospitality, making it abundantly clear that the joy of the court is not merely a spirit of festivity but also dependent upon a healthy kingship. Before he bids Erec to wind the horn, Mabonagrin recognizes that his pursuit of personal joy has impacted the joy of his community:

> Because my youth and my high birth were buried alive, the joy of the court was thus laid low.
>
> *Durch daz in lebende was begraben*
> *mîn jugent und mîn geburt,*
> *sô ist eht* Joie de la curt
> *genzlîchen nider gelegen.* (9655-58)

Much as Erec first failed to balance his marriage and his kingship, Mabonagrin fails to bring joy to his community because of his love for his lady. His presence and absence in the court is felt so strongly because he is the nephew of the king and presumably the heir: his youth and high birth represented a secure promise of succession, and with his absence, the future of the kingdom remains uncertain, while all visiting knights are imperiled. Similarly, Erec's own *verligen* as a new king has caused sorrow for his own court (*Sîn hof wart aller vreuden bar / unde stuont nâch schanden*, 2990-91). Due to their absence, these two young heirs fail to contribute to the community's sense of security and camaraderie. Now that Erec has learned to pursue honor and love in moderation and to contribute to the community's joy, he is also capable of leading Mabonagrin to do the same. The heir of Brandigan says:

> It is a great blessing that you have come here to this court, for all its delights were taken completely away along with me, and it was bare of lovely joys.
>
> *ir sît zuo grôzer sælekeit*
> *disem hove her komen,*
> *wan mit mir was im benomen*
> *elliu sîne wünne gar,*
> *und was eht schœner vreuden bar*. (9647-51)

Whereas Mabonagrin took away pleasures (*wünne*) and joys (*vreuden*), Erec's arrival brings a higher joy, *sælekeit*. Mabonagrin, through Erec, is now ready to return to the people and restore their joy.

Erec's contest against Mabonagrin does not culminate in his victory but in his announcement of it to the waiting people. When Erec first entered Brandigan, his *vrœlichen liet* was contradicted by the *volc*, he is now bidden to just as joyfully (*vrœlîchen*, 9667) sound the horn in order to inform the people (*liuten*, 9672) that he has

won. In Chrétien, the horn neatly ties the beginning and ending of the narrative together: Erec, who at the beginning of the story did not join in winding the hunting horn (*cor*, Chrétien, 132) now takes the *cor* (6107) in the garden to signal his victory. Carved from animal horn, the small hunting horn was a mark of a knight, and its playing was governed by rhythm patterns, rather than melodies.[52] Specialized Old French terms for horns also indicate usage, size, and therefore sound, from the smaller, fresh signal of the *graisle* to the warlike blare of the *moinel*.[53] Likewise, a trumpet (*trompe*) was used for hunting, warfare, and pronouncements, as well as heralding royalty and announcing the start of a high feast.[54] Horns made from expensive elephant ivory were introduced in the ninth century and from metal in the twelfth; both materials could change the quality of the sound and especially on the part of the ivory, communicate status.[55] The varying sounds of horns and trumpets, therefore, could communicate the arrival of high status personages or of enemies, and could elicit a physical response (*come join the hunt*, *come hear the news*) as well as an emotional one, as it does in both Chrétien's and Hartmann's versions. According to Chrétien, Erec "used up all his strength, so that its sound went very far. When it reached Enide, she rejoiced very much," *tote sa force i abandone* / *si que molt loing an va l'oïe.* / *Molt s'an est Enyde esjoïe*, 6114-16). It is impossible to satisfactorily

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[52] Edmund A. Bowles and Albert Reimann, "Unterscheidung der Instrumente Buisine, Cor, Trompe und Trompette," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 18, no. 1 (1961): 56-57, and 71.
[53] Bowles and Reimann, "Unterscheidung der Instrumente," 58-60 and 71.
[54] Timothy J. McGee, "Instrumental Usage: Untexted Repertoire," in Duffin, *A Performer's Guide to Medieval* Music, 448; and Bowles and Reimann, "Unterscheidung der Instrumente," 60-62. See also Sabine Žak, *Musik als "Ehr und Zier" im mittelalterlichen Reich. Studien zur Musik im höfischen Leben, Recht und Zeremoniell* (Neuss: Dr. Päffgen, 1979), 37-80 and 121-148.
[55] Bowles and Reimann, "Unterscheidung der Instrumente," 54. For a brief analysis of the contrast between types of horn in the *Rolandslied* and their varying audibilities determined by material and hearer, see William Layher, "Hörbarkeit im Mittelalter. Ein auditiver Überblick," in Bennewitz and Layher, *der âventiuren dôn*, 24-25.

identify the type of horn Erec used, as Chrétien does not provide a description of the horn nor of the quality or timbre of its voice; however, he does describe its force and reach, as well as its emotional impact.

Hartmann similarly describes the horn's voice, affect and reach; but first, we ought to note a significant addition he makes to the horn itself: "the horn's blare became very great, for it was long and large" (*vil michel wart der horndôz, / wan ez was lanc unde grôz*, Hartmann, 9682-83). The emphasis has shifted from Erec's great effort in Chrétien to the great dimensions of the horn in Hartmann, allowing us to make a few conjectures about the type of horns. As the beginning of Hartmann's *Erec* is missing, we cannot make the same tidy parallel that we can for Chrétien's *cor*, where the hunting horns bookend the romance. However, the emphasized length and girth of Hartmann's horn makes it unwieldy and unlikely to be a portable hunting horn.[56] Furthermore, because metal horns began to be produced in the twelfth century and most predominantly in what is now Germany, it is possible that this large and powerful instrument was also made of metal.[57] If so, then two different aural images are evoking two different affective associations: Chrétien may have been imagining a husky, rough sound from an instrument made of horn, signaling the knightly prowess that Erec had first set out to prove, while Hartmann may have been imagining a clear, blaring sound from metal, announcing triumph in battle or the arrival of royalty. Either of these metallic resonances

[56] For a similar conclusion, see Gertrud Höhler, "Der Kampf im Garten. Studien zur Brandigan-Episode in Hartmanns *Erec*," *Euphorion* 68 (1974): 396.
[57] Bowles and Reimann, "Unterscheidung der Instrumente," 54-56, which also includes contemporary excerpts describing the quality of sounds from horn and metal.

can deepen the horn's message in Hartmann, signaling simultaneously the restoration of Brandigan's heir and Erec's victory and readiness for returning to his own kingdom.

The sounding of the horn signals not only the completion of Erec's growth and the restoration of Brandigan's succession, but also the redemption of King Ivreins's conduct as king. Buried amidst the communal joy is a subtle critique of Ivreins. At the beginning of the episode, Ivreins seems a model host and lord compared to the two evil counts who violated their roles as hosts of Erec and Enite. Ivreins appropriately rides out to meet them along with his retinue (8228-41). Unlike the counts, he is concerned for Erec's safety and shows proper attention to his companions, providing entertainment (8243-49), company with refined women (8276-81), a feast (8415-21), and comfortable accommodations (8647-8669). But all of Ivreins's efforts to properly host his guests are undermined by his woe and the woe of his people. In Erec, the grief of the court is described in ever tightening circles: the general woe of the commoners when they first enter Brandigan, the noblewomen's secret sorrow (8288-8310), and Ivreins's woeful countenance (8345-8460). As Erec investigates the source of the general woe, he finds the despondent king at the center. Emotion in medieval German literature is, as Küsters argues, organized around social hierarchies and familial ties.[58] Thus, the king is the locus of a community's emotion; whether the king rejoices or grieves, it flows out into the community. The suggestion of Ivreins's fault is made more evident after Erec's victory: here the king "is compensated for [the sorrow] and in exchange it goes well for him with

[58] "Ein weiterer Aspekt wird in der Zeile benannt: Ir vröude was zergangen (11528). Sie stellt nämlich den Bezug her zur Hoffreude, die sich in den Epen insbesondere in den Hoffesten manifestiert. Wie die kollektive Hochstimmung des Festes ist auch die Hoftrauer um den Herrscher zentriert" (Küsters, "Klagefiguren," 33).

very delightful power" (*der wirt er hie ergetzet / und ist im wol ersetzet / mit vil wünneclîcher kraft*, 9832-34). Both rhyme words *ergetzen* and *ersetzen* evoke renumeration, that the king has been paid back for what he had lost. The implication is not only that Mabonagrin had robbed Ivreins of personal happiness, but also that Ivreins can now properly host with an atmosphere of joy, in a demonstration of his power.

Just as the court forms concentric circles of grief around the king, the ability to understand and emotionally react to Erec's horn travels up the hierarchy with each blast. The entire people (*si dô überal*, 9684) hear the first blast, but do not know how to interpret it. The courtiers (*die burgære*, 9694) hear the second blast and misinterpret it. But when Erec has blown the horn three times, all doubt is gone and King Ivreins leads Enite (and thereby everyone else) into the garden to greet Erec and Mabonagrin (9699-9714). While his subjects are immobile with uncertainty and misunderstanding, King Ivreins responds with action. The king who was once at the center of the kingdom's grief now reopens paradise, and he is the only one who can usher everyone into the garden of delights, a joy that was heretofore physically and metaphorically inaccessible. Then, as the group leaves the garden, the social circle widens yet again as the news of Brandigan's deliverance spreads to the surrounding countryside, "as soon as this resounded in the land overall, from such a report" (*wan alsô schiere diz erschal / in daz lant überal, / von selhem mære,* 9812-14). The joy resulting in Erec's victory again follows a social hierarchy, resembling the outward pulses of the horn's blast. Once the surrounding countryside hears the news, the country nobles come to Brandigan to celebrate: "the king's relatives and vassals, with the country noblewomen, all then went to court" (*des*

küneges mâge und dienstman, / die vuoren ze hove alle dan / mit den lantvrouwen, 9818-20). Both genders and those with familial or political ties are included in this celebration, lending a sense of complete harmony in shared joy. The sound draws them toward the political center, preparing for the festivities to come.

The aural aspect of joy lends the emotion spatial dimensions, as well as social: note that Hartmann writes, ***hie*** *was diu wünne* (9735, emphasis mine), stressing the spatiality of emotion. The dimensions of a space impact the quality and reach of a sound (i.e., the acoustics) and therefore the emotion evoked by that sound. It has long been posited that parish boundaries were determined by the reach of a particular church's bells.[59] Alain Corbin documents the fraught history of bells in parishes in France in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; deeply tied to religious and community identities, bells marked social boundaries as well as temporal ones.[60] Following Corbin's proposal, Sheila Bonde and Clark Maines measured the reach of parish bells under the domain of the abbey of Saint-Jean-des-Vigne and found that the parishes and priories had largely distinct sonic boundaries.[61] The physical reach of a bell's soundwaves, constrained by elevation and humidity, translated into political, social, and religious boundaries and identities. Through this lens, we notice a similar use of the sound of Erec's horn to denote

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[59] R. Murray Schafer, *The Tuning of the World* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977), 215.
[60] Alain Corbin, *Village Bells: Sound and Meaning in the 19th-Century French Countryside*, trans. Martin Thom. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 73-80 and 95-158. For a parallel analysis for England, see Della Hooke, "Sound in the Landscape, a Study of the Historical Literature. Part 2: The Medieval Period," *Landscape History* 41, no. 1 (2020): 36-39.
[61] The measurements took into account distance and elevation, although atmospheric factors would have also been at play. The region under consideration encompassed roughly the lower third of the Aisne department of France, with the city of Soissons at the northernmost end. See Sheila Bonde and Clark Maines, "Performing Silence and Regulating Sound: The Monastic Soundscape of Saint-Jean-des-Vignes," in *Resounding Images: Medieval Intersections of Art, Music, and Sound*, eds. Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 63-65.

social identities and ratify communal bonds. The *schal* from Erec's horn, which grows into a collective *schal* in the garden, continues to spread spatially as the entire kingdom resounds (*erschal*, 9812) with joy. This *schal* takes on a distinct form, *selhem mære* (9814), tidings or report, another verbal and audible medium that is added to the greetings, songs, and blessings that were in the garden. As the *schal* moves outward spatially and socially, passed from one person to another, the sound of the horn and by extension the news of it is heard by all who are subject to Ivreins. Brandigan's regional influence is organized by the reach of the sound, as the community hears it and spreads it to one another. Thus, the joy is linked to political and social space; the emotion is felt by whomever is in the radius of the sound's reach. In this way, the people of Brandigan, Mabonagrin, and King Ivreins serve to underscore the sovereign's role in bringing joy to the community. As his final test, Erec facilitates the joyful ordering of Ivrein's kingdom, a sign that Erec is ready to return as king to his own land. Thus, joy can be communally heard and felt, affirming and reifying the power structures that generated it.

Happily Ever After

The happily-ever-after ending is so common, so second-nature for anyone who grew up with fairy tales or romantic comedies that it is taken for granted. Yet happiness and joy can indicate important shifts in the plot or in the characters' relationships to themselves and to one another. It is exactly because the utopic ending is so ubiquitous that we should investigate the deep-rooted longing for joy and what it shows about the author's (and culture's) definition of true happiness. Chrétien's and Hartmann's versions of the romance end in very different places and times. Chrétien closes with Erec and

Enide's coronation at Christmastide, so that the pair's earthly journey is tied to a spiritual one. Indeed, the narrative follows the liturgical year with the major celebrations occurring on the high feast days, with the Hunt of the White Stag taking place at Easter (27) and the couple's wedding at Pentecost (1892). In this way, the powers of the crown and the church reinforce one another, while the progression with the liturgical (and therefore musical) calendar suggests a deeper cosmic significance to the couple's journey. Meanwhile, Hartmann makes no explicit mention of particular holidays but of a great and joyful festival that Erec hosts upon his return to his kingdom (*er hât es wol begunnen / mit vreuden und mit wirtschaft*, 10,131-32). Erec's personal journey in learning how to be king and husband culminates in offering joyful hospitality. His long reign brings peace to his kingdom as well as to his wife, and at the end of their days, Erec and Enite enter into heaven, exchanging their worldly crown (*der werlde krône*, 10,183) for eternal life (*dem êwigen lîbe*, 10,185). Although Erec and Enite's spiritual journey is more individual in Hartmann than in Chrétien, both versions of the romance depict ultimate happiness as rightly ordered relationships within a community and with God.[62]

Erec's journey of integration into King Arthur's court, dis-integration, and finally a more perfect reintegration is aurally imagined through the *schalle* of the various communities he encounters along the way. This structure so typical to Arthurian romance is evocative of the Christian cosmology: humanity walked with God in paradise, but upon sinning, was exiled. Christians participate in an incomplete reintegration with God and the community (most pronounced in the sacrament of Communion or the Eucharist) on

[62] Ruth H. Firestone, "Chrétien's Enid, Hartmann's Enite, and Boethii *Philosophiae Consolatio*," *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 26, 1 (1987): 76.

Earth, awaiting perfect reintegration in Heaven. The medieval romance overlays this Christian understanding of the cosmos onto rather worldly concerns:

> The stories begin with a secular situation—typically, the medieval court, that literary Earthly Paradise of medieval secular writers—and the heroes first withdraw and then return to it. Whatever the religious undertones, pagan or Christian, the concern is with joy, 'ordinary joy', so to say, in *this* world, joy in food and drink, love, beautiful women, palaces and clothes, the company of one's king and one's friends. . .. Romance implies a redeemed world. . . with heaven on earth.[63]

Happiness, as defined by the medieval romance, is communal harmony and internal harmony—that is, the personal attainment of virtues and the community's attainment of courtly paradise. Alois Wolf argues that the kind of joy found in Chrétien's *Erec et Enide* closely resembles the *joi* found in the lyrics of the troubadours and in Old French understandings of Christmas liturgy.[64] As we will see in the next chapter, the community's pursuit of a festive paradise is not only self-referentially invoked in love lyric but is also considered the most characteristic aspect of that genre: the spring opening.

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[63] Brewer, "The Nature of Romance," 34.

[64] Alois Wolf, "Die 'Große Freude'. Vergleichende Betrachtungen zur Eros-*exsultatio* in Minnekanzonen, im 'Erec' und im 'Tristan'," in *Literaturwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch* 34, eds. Theodor Berchem, Eckhard Heftrich, Volker Kapp, Franz Link, Kurt Müller, and Alois Wolf (1993); repr. in *Erzählkunst des Mittelalters. Komparatistische Arbeiten zur französischen und deutschen Literatur*, eds. Martina Backes, Francis G. Gentry, and Eckart Conrad Lutz (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1999), 381-84.

Chapter 4. Memories of Paradise in Medieval Love Lyric

. . .Pour effacer la tache originelle,
Et de son père arrêter le courroux.
Le monde entier tressaille d'espérance,
À cette nuit qui lui donne un sauveur.
Peuple, à genoux, attends ta délivrance.

Long lay the world in sin and error pining
Till He appeared and the soul felt its worth.
A thrill of hope, the weary world rejoices,
For yonder breaks a new and glorious morn.
Fall on your knees! oh hear the angel voices![1]

While Arthurian romances may utilize the entire liturgical year—for example, the feasts of Easter, Pentecost, and Christmas mark key moments in Chretien's *Erec and Enide* —early love lyrics allude to two specific festal celebrations: Christian Easter and pagan May Day, holidays which are suggested through a device that has formed the backdrop of love lyrics for millennia: the *locus amoenus*.[2] This powerful multisensory symbol of rebirth rituals, the pursuit of love, and the increase of activity after a long sleep, is apparent in this stanza by early *Minnesänger* Dietmar von Eist:

> There upon the linden tree above, a tiny little bird sang. It grew loud before the forest. Then, my heart lifted itself again to a place, there where it was before. I saw rose blossoms standing there, which remind me of many thoughts, which I have towards a lady.
>
> *Ûf der linden obene dâ sanc ein kleinez vogellîn.*
> *vor dem walde wart ez lût. dô huop sich aber daz herze mîn*

[1] "Minuit, chrétiens," by Placide Cappeau (1843), stanza 1, lines 2-6. Translated and adapted into English as "Cantique de Noël," by John S. Dwight (1855), given here; commonly known as "O Holy Night." Both the French and English texts are taken from Adolphe Adam, *Cantique de noël (Christmas song)* (New York: G. Schirmer, 1871). Facsimile online at the *Library of Congress*, accessed February 21, 2023, https://www.loc.gov/item/sm1871.12762/.

[2] On an overt reference to Easter by a *Minnesänger*, see Manfred Eikelmann, "Stildifferenz im Minnelied. Zum Verhältnis von iterativer Rede und geistlichen Assoziationskontexten in Heinrichs von Morungen *In sô hôher swebender wunne* (MF 125,19)," in *Literarischer Stil. Mittelatlerliche Dichtung zwischen Konvention und Innovation*, eds. Elizabeth Andersen, et al. (Berlin: DeGruyter, 2015), 74 and note 47.

an eine stat, dâ ez ê dâ was, ich sach dâ rôsebluomen stân,
die manent mich der gedanke vil, die ich hin zeiner vrouwen hân. (Lied 3.IV.1-4)[3]

The scenic elements are spare but precise: in the linden tree's spreading branches above, a small bird sends its melody down to the ears of the singing persona. This monophonic song-within-a-song is echoed by a chorus of warbles, a call and response that captures the experience of an early morning, when only a few solitary birds sing and then are joined by others as the light grows, dropping off again after dawn.[4] Capturing this, the impersonal construction *wart ez lût* (IV.2) makes the sound general, even confused, while the adjective *lût* (related to English *loud*, German *laut*) carries a specific sonority: it can be used for both aural (clear, loud) and visual (clear, perceptible) descriptions, just as "bright" in English can describe a sound as well as a sight.[5] This dual meaning perfectly suits the scene, as the crescendo coincides with the sun's rays breaking over the horizon onto the distant trees. Even though no word for joy is present here—not even an adverb

[3] Dietmar's Middle High German text and numbering is taken from *Des Minnesangs Frühling*, eds. Hugo Moser and Helmut Tervooren, vol. 1, 37th ed. (Stuttgart: S. Hirzel Verlag, 1982). Karl Lachmann's original numbering for this song is *MF* 33, 15, although this stanza is often known separately as 34, 3. All translations are my own.

[4] It is impossible to know exactly what birdsong the audience of Dietmar's song would have imagined here, due to influences from the local topography, time of year, and evolutionary changes; nonetheless, if modern songbird behavior can be any guide, then the first birds to sing in German-speaking lands are the redstarts, at about an hour and a quarter before dawn. The first big increase in variety of bird songs is at forty-five minutes before dawn as robins and blackbirds join in, while the majority of bird species are singing by thirty minutes before dawn. For an interactive online graphic to hear a sample of the different birdsongs over time, see the *NABU-Vogeluhr-Grafik* by Kerstin Arnold, Carolin Oelsner, and Ottilie Keppler, at "Morgens ein Konzert erleben. Stellen Sie Ihren Wecker nach den Piepmätzen!", *NABU Federal Association*, created May 2016, https://www.nabu.de/tiere-und-pflanzen/voegel/vogelkunde/voegel-bestimmen/20663.html. For an example of various methods for determining a history of birds, see D. W. Yalden and U. Albarella, *The History of British Birds* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 115-51.

[5] See the entry for the adjective "lût" in Matthias Lexer's *Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch* (digital edition hosted by "Wörterbuchnetz," the Trier Center for Digital Humanities, https://www.woerterbuchnetz.de/Lexer). William Layher notes that *lût* is a more resonant sound in "Acoustic Control: Sound, Gender and Öffentlichkeit at the Medieval Court," *DVLG* 86, no. 3 (2012): 340 and note 22. See also his introduction, "Hörbarkeit im Mittelalter. Ein auditiver Überblick," to the book *der âventiuren dôn. Klang, Hören und Hörgemeinschaften in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters*, eds. Ingrid Bennewitz and William Layher (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2013), 15.

wol or *gerne* to aid in the study of joy—still an atmosphere of delight pervades the stanza, and it increases along with the birdsong until at the climax of both, the persona of the singer is transported to a memory of a trysting place. Thus, the aurality of the stanza interlaces with the affectivity of the singing persona, while the seasonal setting evokes more complex associations of religion, memory, and sexuality.[6]

The above stanza from Dietmar is quite characteristic of what is called the *Natureingang*, or "nature entrance," in medieval German studies. Yet the stanza is hardly an *Eingang*, coming fourth in the song. Its imagery resembles the *locus amoenus* of classical and medieval Latin songs and stories, though its form and function in epics differs from that found in lyric poetry and differs still further from that available to medieval vernacular texts. Scholars rightly wishing to avoid the implication of a homogenous historical continuity with the Latin *locus amoenus* choose instead to call the vernacular *topos* the "*Natureingang*," "spring opening," "spring *exorde*," or "spring *exordium*."[7] This terminology, however, places an artificial constraint on the analysis of a

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[6] Claudia Lauer asks similar questions of the *locus amoenus* in late *Minnesang* in her article, "Von den Blumen zum Blümen: Sinnliche Liebescodierung und -inszenierung im Minnesang," in Bennewitz and Layher, *der âventiuren dôn*, 63-79. She also notes that emotional and synesthetic images play a role in communal formation, although the focus of her study is on a plurality of textual voices and the extratextual effect on the audience. I largely agree with her analysis, though I find there are more aural and rhetorical images available to the *locus amoenus*.

[7] The extent of the influence of Latin love lyric on vernacular songs varies from author to author and is debated by scholars. For a recent argument on the intersection of Latin love poetry and hymns—particularly joyful springtime greetings—with vernacular lyric, see Daniel Eder, "Diskurstechniken literarischer Rede als Kunst der Möglichkeiten. Kulturwissenschaftliche Überlegungen zum Natureingang im Minnesang," *Poetica* 48, no. 1/2 (2016): 37-48. Eder also clarifies the differences between portrayals of nature in Latin and vernacular love lyric in *Der Natureingang im Minnesang. Studien zur Register- und Kulturpoetik der höfischen Liebeskanzone* (Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto Verlag, 2016), 116-19. For use of *exordium*, see Jennifer Saltzstein, "Relocating the Thirteenth-Century Refrain: Intertextuality, Authority and Origins," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 135, no. 2 (2010): 277; and Christopher Davis, "'Chascus en lor lati': Guilhem IX, Birdsong, and the Language of Poetry," *Tenso* 30, no. 1 (2015): 13. For use of "spring opening", see Sarah Kay, "Siren Enchantments, or, Reading Sound in Medieval Books," *SubStance* 49, no. 2 (2020): 126 and 129; or similarly *debut printanier* in Simon Gaunt, "Sexual

song, often limiting studies to only the beginning stanza. Moreover, the term "spring opening" suits the troubadour lyrics that often document the first leafing of trees during the *temps novel*, while "summer opening" is more appropriate for the nature imagery of *Minnesangs Frühling*, which often includes wide swathes of flowers already blooming. More importantly, summer is often named in contrast to winter in *Minnesang*, while May is explicitly invoked—the first of May being the start of summer in the Julian calendar. Thus, "spring opening" is not a perfect substitute when studying *Minnesang*. For this reason, I will use *Natureingang* only for the first stanza and to distinguish it from the later iterations of the *locus amoenus*.

Even though the term *locus amoenus* misleadingly implies straightforward continuity, it nonetheless allows for more intertextual and intercultural comparisons to be made—for example, the distinction observed above between spring and summer—without being limited by the terms "spring" or "opening."[8] The ubiquity of the *locus amoenus* across genres and eras can obscure its individualizing features in a particular song. For Dietmar's song above, the singer revisits the nature imagery throughout, undergoing meaningful transformations that comment on the initial presentation. Likewise, Jennifer Saltzstein compares the use of the *locus amoenus* by *trouvères* known to be aristocratic and by those known to be clerical. She finds that the nature descriptions used by aristocratic *trouvères* are consistent with their local landscapes, which they

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Difference and the Metaphor of Language in a Troubadour Poem," *MLR* 83, no. 2 (1988): 311; and Rupert T. Pickens, "Jaufre Rudel et la poétique de la mouvance," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 20 (1977): 327.

[8] Jennifer Saltzstein, "Songs of Nature in Medieval Northern France," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 72, no. 1 (2019): 128-29. For a broadly sketched comparison of *Natureinänge* across a sampling of *Minnesänger*, including Dietmar and this song, see Barbara von Wulffen, *Der Natureingang in Minnesang und frühem Volkslied* (Munich: Max Hueber Verlag, 1963), 37-51.

themselves played a role in shaping into exclusive gardens and parks.[9] Meanwhile, cleric *trouvères* prefer to not use nature imagery, and when they do, they do so with irony or as a conscious rejection of it as "a key motivator for song composition," which in turn is consistent with their lives in urban centers with little access to gardens or parks.[10] Within a love lyric tradition that neighbored—and often mediated—the troubadour and *Minnesang* traditions, then, the *locus amoenus* as a metaphor for song production reflects socio-cultural lines that were legible even in the landscape:

> The evidence from the repertoire suggests that the springtime opening was not merely a rhetorical trope or a cliché. Rather, the identities these composers formulated through their songs were more likely shaped by their personal experiences in the landscapes of northern France.[11]

The frequent and formulaic presence of the *locus amoenus* is often dismissed as descriptive, decorative, or even stale, yet such a view does not do justice to the emotional and rhetorical power of the device.[12] To highlight this power, I will analyze Dietmar's song in comparison to the song *Ab la dolchor del temps novel* by the earliest troubadour known to us, Guillaume IX, Duke of Aquitaine (1071-1126). Although composing independently of one another's traditions, both reconfigure the *locus amoenus* to strengthen the songs' thematic underpinnings and lasting significance, in turn alluding to their real contexts.

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[9] Jennifer Saltzstein, "Songs of Nature in Medieval Northern France," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 72, no. 1 (2019): 135–41. My use of *locus amoenus* is a little inaccurate in describing Saltzstein's argument; she uses the term *Natureingang*, as her focus is on the opening stanzas, but she also applies the term to nature imagery found in subsequent stanzas. Her book on the same topic is forthcoming. See also Marc Bloch, *French Rural History: An Essay on its Basic Characteristics*, trans. Janet Sondheimer, originally published in French as *Les caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966), 5-17.
[10] Saltzstein, "Songs of Nature," 169, see also 148-68.
[11] Saltzstein, "Songs of Nature," 169.
[12] For a brief survey of the most prominent dismissals, see Saltzstein, "Songs of Nature," 116-117.

The transition from winter to summer is one of the most emotionally charged moments of the year, both according to Christian and pagan customs. Winter represents the loss of the Garden of Eden, while spring anticipates a return to heavenly paradise, the heavenly Jerusalem, where city and garden are no longer separate. The *locus amoenus* embodies a simultaneous looking back and looking forward, both with longing. This emotional and religious understanding of the cosmos finds a reflection in the seasonal cycles through the liturgical calendar: spring begins with bare branches and depleted food stores, adding to the hard fasting and waiting of Lent. For example, in the first line of *Ab la dolchor del temps novel* ("in the sweetness of the new time"), the adjective *novel* also evokes a plethora of socio-cultural associations. The phrase *temps novel* is typically translated as "springtime," but the literal translation, "new time," more explicitly references new beginnings and the rebirth after a long winter, as well as the beginning of ploughing and preparing the thawing ground. The agricultural season generally coincided with March 25, which was the Feast of the Annunciation—the celebration of Christ's conception—and which also often fell during the time of either Lent or Easter Week, so that Christ's birth, death, and resurrection were often celebrated close together.

> After months of shortened days, cold weather, and barren branches, the Vernal Equinox marked the point when day became longer than night, when the weather became warm, and when leaves began to bud and flowers to bloom. Similarly, after nine weeks of penitential liturgy, which gradually intensified during the Septuagesima and Lenten seasons until churches lay in complete darkness on Holy Saturday, Easter Sunday marked the return of bright candles to the sanctuary, of the Gloria to the Mass, and of the word "Alleluia"—that timeless expression of joy that would pervade the liturgy for seven weeks to come—to all liturgical services. In the explosion of joy and vitality that they brought, spring and Eastertide were one and the same season.[13]

[13] David J. Rothenberg, "The Marian Symbolism of Spring, ca. 1200-ca. 1500: Two Case Studies," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 59, no. 2 (2006): 321.

Upon the arrival of Easter morning, joy at mass is all the greater for the deprivation preceding it. The longing and anticipation of Lent finds consummation, reminding participants of the ultimate joy that will be experienced in heaven. Easter, the most important of Christian feast days, closely precedes May Day and other pagan celebrations of spring and summer. Over the course of the medieval period, the division between pagan and Christian celebrations becomes blurred, so that it is possible to read the *locus amoenus* both as a place of enjoyment and sexuality as well as a place of heavenly joy.[14]

These religious and spiritual connotations are most clearly invoked in love lyric by the flora that commonly populate it: in troubadour lyric, the violet, the gladiolus, and the hawthorn tree; and in *Minnesang*, the rose, the heath, and the linden tree.[15] The flowering branches of the hawthorn and the site of the linden tree were part of May celebrations in what is now France and Germany, respectively, and their presence in love lyrics immediately conjures up affective associations with fertility rites and religious symbolism.[16] The purpose of these powerful symbols is not only meaning-making but

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[14] On the overlaying of sacred Paschal songs with secular love songs in the musical form of the motet, see David J. Rothenberg, *The Flower of Paradise: Marian Devotion and Secular Song in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 58-91, in which the hope for joy plays an important thematic link. For the distinction between secular and sacred feasts, see Reinhard Sprenger, "Bäuerliches Feiern im spätmittelalterlichen Deutschland: Gründe und Voraussetzungen – Formen und Verlauf," *Mediaevistik* 2 (1989): 216. For the growing overlap, even in the early Middle Ages, see especially Hans-Werner Goetz, "Kirchenfest und weltliches Alltagsleben im früheren Mittelalter," *Mediaevistik* 2 (1989): 132-33.

[15] The list of the most common flowers of the troubadours are from Roger Dragonetti, *La technique poétique des trouvères dans la chanson courtoise: Contribution à l'étude de la rhétorique médiévale* (Bruges: De Tempel, 1960), 173. The word "nature" presupposes a specific culturally constructed concept that juxtaposes the human with the non-human; nonetheless, the terms "nature" and "landscape" are in keeping with the perspectives of the medieval composers discussed in this chapter, who would have seen themselves as an elevated part of creation. For a similar stance, see Saltzstein, "Songs of Nature," 118.

[16] A. T. Hatto, "The Lime-Tree and Early German, Goliard and English Lyric Poetry," *MLR* 49, no. 2 (1954): 198 and 205-209. The hawthorn is among the first trees to flower in spring, usually coinciding with

also memory-making. Memory formation requires strong images, such as sweet smells or loud birds, as is evident in the last half of Dietmar's stanza, where the aural image inspires a related memory: *die manent mich der gedanke vil*. On the extratextual level, the strong images in turn help the performer to recall the rest of the stanza and for the audience to retain a lasting impression. The rhetorical role of memory, then, has implications both for the interpretation of the song and the extratextual performance.

Although there will always be a degree of uncertainty regarding the circumstances of the medieval love songs' composition and audience, it is now generally accepted that most *Minnelieder* and troubadour lyrics were originally performed for social and cultural elites, sometimes by the original composers.[17] More about music and performance is known for the *troubadours* and *trouvères*, in part because of the ending *tornadas* that often address the performer, in part because some lyrics are accompanied by musical notation; nonetheless, there are still many unknowns in the study of troubadour music.[18]

Medieval love lyrics have been transmitted to us through the filters of performance and transcription, and these two modes have led to important variations in the extant versions of the songs discussed in this chapter. Even the attributed composer

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May 1 under the Julian calendar and therefore deeply connected to May Day rituals, while the linden tree was at the heart of a village and of May Day dances.

[17] On the debate, see Timo Reuvekamp-Felber, "Fiktionalität als Gattungsvoraussetzung. Die Destruktion des Authentischen in der Genese der deutschen und romanischen Lyrik", in *Text und Kultur. Mittelalterliche Kultur 1150-1450*, ed. Ursula Peters (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2001), 377-402; Thomas Cramer, *Waz hilfet âne sinne kunst?: Lyrik im 13. Jahrhundert. Studien zu ihrer Ästhetik* (Berlin: E. Schmidt, 1998), 9-23, esp. 9 note 1; the essays collected in *"Aufführung" und "Schrift" in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. Jan-Dirk Müller (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1996); and Günther Schweikle, *Minnesang* (Stuttgart: Metzler 1989), 24-26. On *Minnesänger* performing their own work, see Maria Dobozy, *Re-membering the Present: The Medieval German Poet-Minstrel in Cultural Context* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2005), 24; and Erich Kleinschmidt, "Minnesang als höfisches Zeremonialhandeln," *AKG* 58 (1976): 48-68.

[18] Scholars once argued there was a rather strict divide between composer and performer of *troubadour* lyric; however, such a clear divide has been called into question, allowing more fluidity between the roles. See, e.g., Elizabeth Aubrey, *The Music of the Troubadours* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), xix and 80-83.

might vary: *Ab la dolchor del temps novel* is attested four times in two manuscripts, once attributed to Guillaume, and once to Jaufre Rudel (d. 1147). The stanzas are in the same order in its four attestations, but a number of variant spellings or words alter the interpretation of the line, as well as the song. The first half of the song thematically fits Jaufre Rudel, as he was best known for loving the distant lady, while the latter half of the song focuses on physical consummation, a much more common topic for Guillaume IX, who preferred candidly and raunchy themes; thus, the attribution can affect the interpretation of the song, as well as affect scholarly claims of a composer's style.[19] Similarly, Dietmar's *Ahî, nu kumt uns diu zît* is attested in all three major collections of *Minnesang*—the *Kleine Heidelberger Liederhandschrift* (MS A); the *Weingartner Liederhandschrift* (MS B); and the *Große Heidelberger Liederhanschrift* (MS C), more commonly known as the *Codex Manesse*. There are few changes in word choice that would affect the meaning of the song, yet the structural changes to the order of stanzas as presented in each manuscript significantly alter the focus of the song.[20] These variations attest to the songs having been performed, as improvisations altered words or as the requirements of the performance determined the song's length.[21]

The shifting stanza order in *Ahî, nu kumt uns diu zît* is consistent with the more flexible and internally discrete arrangements of the earliest *Minnelieder* such as

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[19] Cf. L. T. Topsfield's analysis of Guillaume, whom he also compares to Jaufre Rudel and Bernart de Ventadorn in *Troubadours and Love* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 33-39.
[20] For a side-by-side comparison of the strophes in their various arrangements, see the synopsis at *Lyrik des deutschen Mittelalters, Digitale Edition*, https://www.ldm-digital.de/strophensynopse.php?li=571&mode=0x600. For the arrangement with the additional strophes in MS C, visit "Dietmar von Aist, ›Ahy, nu kumt uns dȕ zit der kleinen vogelline sang‹ (C 7–13)," also at *Lyrik des deutschen Mittelalters,* https://www.ldm-digital.de/show.php?au=Dietm&hs=C&lid=654.
[21] Elizabeth Aubrey, "Non-Liturgical Monophony: Introduction," in *A Performer's Guide to Medieval Music*, ed. Ross W. Duffin (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 107.

Dietmar's.[22] The scribes, too, had varying involvement in the presentation of the songs, both in stanza order and in the arrangement of the songs and singers.[23] This leads to an overlay of oral and scribal *mouvance*, which even extends into modern critical editions and translations. In MS A, the only stanzas included are II, V, IV in that order; they are attributed in that manuscript to the prolific writer and singer from Limburg, Heinrich von Veldeke (1150-1184), who also favored the *Natureingang*, although this attestation has been rejected by scholars.[24] MSS B and C agree in their attribution to Dietmar and agree in the order of the stanzas, yet MS C, which demarcates songs through the color of the initial letter of each stanza, includes two additional strophes that match in neither meter nor rhyme scheme. This inclusion of these two strophes may be due to an aesthetic choice or an oversight on the part of the MS C scribe, so that it is defensible to reject them in favor of grouping only the first five stanzas as an entire song, as it is in MS B.[25] Yet, over the past one hundred and fifty years of *Minnesang* scholarship, these five main strophes themselves have been spliced apart according to prevailing assumptions of what

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[22] Manfred Günter Scholz, "Das frühe Minnelied. Dietmar von Aist: 'Hei, nû kumet uns diu zît'," in *Gedichte und Interpretationen: Mittelalter*, ed. Helmut Tervooren (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1994), 59.

[23] See Michel-André Bossy and Nancy A. Jones, "Gender and Compilational Patterns in Troubadour Lyric: The Case of Manuscript N," *French Forum* 21, no. 3 (1996): 272-74; and Christiane Henkes-Zin, "Überlieferung und Rezeption in der Großen Heidelberger Liederhandschrift" (PhD Diss., RWTH Aachen, 2004), 181-90.

[24] Gertrud Weindt, "Die Lieder Heinrichs von Veldeke. Studien zu einer Zykluskonzeption des Minnesangs und zu Veldekes Auffassung von ›rechter‹ und ›unrechter‹ Minne" (PhD Diss., Universität Gießen, 1975), 4. There are structural similarities in this song to another by Dietmar; see the comments for 32, 1 in *Des Minnesangs Frühling: Kommentare, Anmerkungen von K. Lachmann, M. Haupt, Fr. Vogt, C. von Kraus*, vol. 3.2, eds. Helmut Tervooren and Hugo Moser, 30th ed. (Stuttgart: S. Hirzel Verlag, 1981), 369. On Heinrich von Veldeke's exceptional use of the *locus amoenus*, see Ludger Lieb, "Die Eigenzeit der Minne. Zur Funktion des Jahreszeitentopos im Hohen Minnesang," in *Literarische Kommunikation und soziale Interaktion. Studien zur Institutionalität mittelalterlicher Literatur*, eds. Beate Kellner, Ludger Lieb, and Peter Strohschneider (Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 2001), 191.

[25] Henkes-Zin, "Überlieferung und Rezeption," 115 and 150. Although there is not enough space to consider the effect of the two final strophes in MS C, they offer a thematic counterpoint to *Ahî, nu kumt uns diu zît*, both through the use sensory impression, memory, and emotional experience and in representing the voice of a lady afraid of losing her lover to rivals.

constitutes a song.[26] As a result, the song is rarely regarded as a whole, so that the changes in Dietmar's portrayals of the *locus amoenus* are taken for granted and underexplored.[27]

Although we know very little about the actual music or delivery of *Minnesang*, the lyrics' relationship to musical performance must inform the literary analysis of its text.[28] One method for understanding *Minnesang* as performance is to apply the principles of medieval rhetoric.[29] The techniques used by medieval singer-composers

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[26] Derk Ohlenroth, *Sprechsituation und Sprecheridentität: Eine Untersuchung zum Verhältnis von Sprache und Realität im frühen deutschen Minnesang* (Göppingen: A. Kümmerle, 1974), 150-53. Cf. Olive Sayce's *Poets of the Minnesang* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 13, where the first two stanzas are one poem, and the last two are a separate poem, with the didactic third stanza entirely missing; or J. W. Thomas's anthology, *Medieval German Lyric Verse in English Translation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968), 60, where only the last two stanzas are printed.

[27] An important exception to this is Scholz, "Das frühe Minnelied. Dietmar von Aist," 56-70, where the various possible interpretations of the entire song are given, as is a defense of the thematic unity of the five stanzas. The analysis remains on the textual level, yet the differences Scholz highlights has interesting implications for performance.

[28] There has been particular interest in the acoustics of late *Minnesang*; see Christoph Schanze, "Minneklang," in *Lautsphären des Mittelalters. Akustische Perspektiven zwischen Lärm und Stille*, eds. Martin Clauss, Gesine Mierke, and Antonia Krüger (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2020), 199-231; Almut Suerbaum, "Paradoxes of Performance: Autobiography in the Songs of Hugo von Montfort and Oswald von Wolkenstein," in *Aspects of the Performative in Medieval Culture*, eds. Manuele Gragnolati and Almut Suerbaum (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2010), 143-164; and Markus Stock, "Das volle Wort—Sprachklang im späteren Minnesang. Gottfried von Neifen, *Wir suln aber schône enpfâhen* (KLD Lied 3)," in *Text und Handeln. Zum kommunikativen Ort von Minnesang und antiker Lyrik*, eds. Albrecht Hausmann, Cornelia Logemann, and Christian Rode (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2004), 185 note 1, and 194-195. For phonetic soundscapes in *Minnesang*, see Christopher Leo Hench, "Resonances in Middle High German: New Methodologies in Prosody" (PhD Diss. University of California, Berkeley, 2017). For a textual approach to composition, see Stephen H. Wedgwood, "Three Songs of Reinmar der Alte: A Formal-Structural Interpretation" (PhD Diss. The Ohio State University, 1965).

[29] Barbara Thornton, "The Voice in the Middle Ages: Poetics as Technique," interview by Lawrence Rosenwald in Duffin, *A Performer's Guide to Medieval Music*, 264-292. For the broader rhetorical aspect of flower imagery across genres in medieval German literature, see Gert Hübner, *Lobblumen. Studien zur Genese und Funktion der "Geblümten Rede"* (Tübingen: A. Francke Verlag, 2000). For rhetorical principles in troubadour poetry, see Mary Abraham, "The Rhetoric of the Troubadours," *Musical Offerings* 1, no. 1 (Spring 2010): 1-9; and Joel Francis Nesvadba, "The Authenticity of Song: Performance Practice and Rhetoric in the Music of the Troubadours" (MA thesis, University of Southern California, 2017). For rhetorical figures and physicality, see Harald Haferland, "Minnesang als Posenrhetorik," in Hausmann, *Text und Handeln*, 83-88. For the rhetorical underpinnings of the illuminations in the *Codex Manesse*, see Marisa Galvez, *Songbook: How Lyrics Became Poetry in Medieval Europe* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2012), 141-157; for reading musicality in the same, see Henry Hope, "Miniatures, Minnesänger, Music: The Codex Manesse," in *Manuscripts and Medieval Song: Inscription, Performance,*

were less informed by treatises on music, which were largely devoted to the underlying mathematical principles of *musica* and which were more informed by treatises on grammar and rhetoric, because oration requires practical performance techniques:

> In view of the fact that medieval musics were, in all performance aspects, oral traditions, we often look more to authoritative sources (treatises) which deal with performance-oriented 'sciences' for guide-lines to our research than we do to contemporary treatises on music, [. . . and these sciences include] rhetoric. . . and its corollary, memorization.[30]

If we think of the *locus amoenus* as a rhetorical tool in composition and performance, then we can also consider how it functions within the different aspects of rhetoric, including its fourth canon: memory.[31] Memory is fundamental to a successful oration or even musical performance, not as rote regurgitation but in dynamic composition and improvisation.[32] Because memory informs the performance of a song, it must also inform its poetics, and through rhetoric and the process of memory, we can understand *Minnesang* as a performed text, even though its music has largely been lost. My analysis of aural and memorial images thus reflects the inherently vocal and performed nature of the songs, revealing new perspectives on an old trope, and I read the *locus amoenus* as tapping directly into the song's nature as remembered performance. Indeed, the *locus amoenus* is a site for memory, acting as a mnemonic for the performer, serving to encode the song into a repertory, and inviting the audience members to participate as a community in the song's memory-making.

Context, eds. Helen Deeming and Elizabeth Eva Leach (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 163–92.

[30] Thornton, interviewed by Rosenwald, "The Voice in the Middle Ages," 264.

[31] On memory's ability to reconcile the studies of music, text, and performance, see Jody Enders, "Music, Delivery, and the Rhetoric of Memory in Guillaume de Machaut's *Remède de Fortune*," *PMLA* 107, no. 3 (1992): 450–64.

[32] Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 8-9.

In this chapter, we will walk together through the space of the *locus amoenus* in two early love songs, where aural forms of joy are not merely present or prerequisite but are especially recollective, extending through the textual, extratextual, metatextual, and contextual levels of the songs. Both Dietmar and Guillaume begin with a declaration of seasonal change, with the temporal words *temps* and *zît* both prominent in the first line. Both describe birds singing and trees burgeoning, and both close with a statement on the human affective response. But the commonalities obscure the subtle differences that impact the overall themes of the songs. Moreover, the *locus amoenus* reappears in subsequent stanzas, changing in quality and perspective and destabilizing the singer's initial position. Through this comparison, I demonstrate that the *locus amoenus* is a dynamic feature under the hands of a skilled composer, determining the course of the entire song. Moreover, the affective, aural presence of the *locus amoenus* in the song forms a site for memory. This memorial function is explicitly acknowledged in both lyric texts, serves a practical function for the performer and audience, and interacts with the greater repertory. Finally, I return to

how the implicit aural images in the *locus amoenus* interact with the audience's memories of real sounding spaces in the local topography.

Guillaume IX de Poitiers, Chanson 10

I. Ab la dolchor del temps novel
foillo li bosc, e li aucel
chanton, chascus en lor lati,
segon lo vers del novel chan;
adonc esta ben c'om s'aisi
d'acho don hom a plus talan.

II. De lai don plus m'es bon e bel
non vei mesager ni sagel,
per que mos cors non dorm ni ri,
ni no m'aus traire adenan,
tro que eu sacha ben de la fi
s'el' es aissi com eu deman.

III. La nostr' amor va enaissi
com la branca de l'albespi
qu'esta sobre l'arbre tremblan,
la nuoit, a la ploia ez al gel,
tro l'endeman, que·l sols s'espan
par la fueilla vert el ramel.

IV. Enquer me membra d'un mati
que nos fezem de guera fi,
e que·m donet un don tan gran:
sa drudari' e son anel;
enquer me lais Dieus viure tan
c'aia mas manz soz so mantel!

V. Qu'eu non ai soing de lor lati
que·m parta de mon Bon Vezi;
qu'eu sai de paraulas, com van
ab un breu sermon, que s'espel,
que tal se van d'amor gaban;
nos n'avem la pessa e·l coutel.

I. In the sweetness of the new time, the woods leaf out, and the birds sing, each one in his Latin, according to the verses of the new song. Then it is good for a man to enjoy himself with whatever he desires most.

II. From there—where the good and beautiful is most to me—I see neither messenger nor seal, which is why my heart/body neither sleeps nor laughs, nor do I dare to move forward, until I am sure about the end, if he/she/it is just as I ask.

III. This love of ours goes just like a hawthorn limb that is trembling [other mss. "remaining"] on the tree with rain and frost at night, until the next day, when the sun spreads himself through the green leaf and the branch.

IV. I still remember the one morning when we made an end to war and when she gave me a gift so great: her love and her ring. May God let me live until again I have my hands under her cloak.

V. I do not care about their Latin that would separate me from my Good Neighbor, for I know about the talk, how they go with a little tale that is spread about. For some go about boasting of love, of which we have the piece and the knife.

Dietmar von Eist, Lied 3

I. Ahî, nu kumt uns diu zît,
der kleinen vogellîne sanc.
ez grüenet wol diu linde breit,
zergangen ist der winter lanc.
nu siht man bluomen wol getân,
an der heide üebent sî ir schîn.
des wirt vil manic herze vrô,
des selben troestet sich daz mîn.

II. Ich bin dir lange holt gewesen,
vrowe biderbe unde guot.
vil wol ich daz bestatet hân
du hâst getiuret mînen muot.
swaz ich dîn bezzer worden sî,
ze heile müez ez mir ergân.
machest dû daz ende guot,
sô hâst du ez allez wol getân.

III. Man sol die biderben und die guoten
ze allen zîten haben liep.
swer sich gerüemet alze vil,
der kan der besten mâze niet.
joch sol ez niemer hövescher man
gemachen allen wîben guot.
er ist sîn selbes meister niht,
swer sîn alze vil getuot.

IV. Ûf der linden obene
dâ sanc ein kleinez vogellîn.
vor dem walde wart ez lût.
dô huop sich aber daz herze mîn
an eine stat, dâ ez ê dâ was,
ich sach dâ rôsebluomen stân,
die manent mich der gedanke vil,
die ich hin zeiner vrouwen hân.

V. “Ez dunket mich wol tûsent jâr,
daz ich an liebes arme lac.
sunder âne mîne schulde
vremedet er mich menegen tac.
sit ich bluomen niht ensach
noch enhôrte der vogel sanc,
sît was mir mîn vröide kurz
und ouch der jâmer alzelanc.”

I. Oh, now comes to us the time of the song of tiny little birds. The broad linden is made all green, the long winter has melted. Now well-fashioned flowers can be seen; they tend to their shine upon the heath. Because of this, very many a heart becomes happy, just as my own consoles itself.

II. I have long been favored by you, lady worthy and good. How well I have stood by it, that you have refined my spirit. However I were to become better of you, it would be to my wellbeing. If you make the end good, then you have done all of it well.

III. A person ought at all times to hold dear the worthy and the good. He who boasts all too much knows nothing of the best measure. Even a courtly man ought never to make it good to all women. He who does all too much is not master of himself.

IV. There upon the linden tree above, a tiny little bird sang. It grew loud before the forest. Then my heart lifted itself again to a place, there where it was before. I saw rose blossoms standing there, which remind me of many thoughts, which I have from here of a lady.

V. “It seems a full thousand years to me, since I lay in love’s arms. Through no fault of mine he estranges himself from me many a day. Since I neither saw blossoms nor heard the bird’s song, so was my joy short and also the sorrow all too long.”

Sweetly Persuading the *Sensus Communis*: Forming Memory through Sound

The joyfully sounding space of the *locus amoenus* functions as a rhetorical site for memory on textual, extratextual, and metatextual levels. Before we explore how the *locus amoenus* interacts with the moment of performance and with the broader repertory, we will undertake a close reading of the aural and affective elements in the above songs as ingredients for the formation of memory. The vivid, synesthetic imagery is more than an ornamental feature but is the beginning point of making and recalling a memory. The stronger the image, the better the memory:

> The Aristotelian description of how a memory-image is formed after data from all five external senses is processed in the *sensus communis* already implies a large degree of synaesthesia, and this — while according pride of place to visual factors — is reflected in mnemonic procedure. Memory images must 'speak,' they must not 'be silent.' They sing, they play music, they lament, they groan in pain.[33]

Synesthesia is foundational to memory formation under the practice of medieval rhetoric, in that vivid imagery and vivid affective power, not vague associations, leave more powerful imprints on the mind.[34] Nearly all the senses are available in Dietmar's *Natureingang*: sound (*sanc*, I.1b) and sight (*grüenet*, I.2a; *siht man*, I.3a; *schîn*, I.3b)—and even touch (*zergangen ist der winter lanc*, I.2b), in that *zergân* can be translated as "melted," creating a brief but multisensory image of warming weather and flowing water.[35] The flowers on the heath (I.4) imply the sense of smell, the sweetness of which is also synesthetic, as will be explained in more detail below. I should clarify here that the term "image" is not limited to vision. When Dietmar remembers rose blossoms, he is

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[33] Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, 1st ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 78.
[34] Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 149 and 201.
[35] See the entry for "zergân" in Lexer.

remembering their smell as well as their color, or when he remembers the bird in the linden tree, he remembers the sound even more than the sight. Then, as a host of sounds, smells, and emotions are conjured up, they help to both recall and create memories, as seen in Dietmar's fourth stanza. The trysting place is built upon a cluster of distinct, multisensory images that are helpful aids in anchoring memory.

Although the visual elements of the *locus amoenus* are often most apparent to modern readers of *Minnesang*, the primary aural image of birdsong is nonetheless particularly dominant. In both *Ab la dolchor* and *Ahî, nu kumt*, the *locus amoenus* is filled with and shaped by birdsong while simultaneously being sung about: Guillaume spends nearly half of the first strophe describing birdsong

, while Dietmar equates the new season to it (*diu zît der kleinen vogellîne sanc*). With *sanc* in grammatical apposition to *zît*, the seasonal change is synonymous with its aural characteristics. Thus, even though Dietmar's singer moves on to describe other sensory images for the rest of the stanza, the aural image remains most fundamental to the season. As a song-within-a-song, the aural imagery is recursive, pointing simultaneously to the internal imagined acoustics and the medium of the song itself as an external real performance. For a silent reader, this may not be immediately evident, yet once the words are spoken—better yet, sung—aloud, the voiced descriptions of birdsong are aurally compounded and even the other sensory images acquire an aurality. It is well accepted that birds—especially nightingales—represent the composer-singer in both the

troubadour and *Minnesang* traditions.[36] This means that birds in love lyric are more than mere requisite elements of the *locus amoenus*, imbuing a seemingly non-human environment with human presence and further transforming the scene into a metaphorical and self-referential space.

Beyond the overt image of birdsong, there are implied aural images whose aurality is accentuated in performance. When Guillaume declares, *ab la dolchor del temps novel*, he employs a rather synesthetic adjective: "sweet" is commonly used in medieval literature to identify the aural sense (birdsong) as well as the gustatory and olfactory (honey and blossoms) and even tactile (mild, warm temperatures).[37] Here, it characterizes the entire season, neatly and concisely conjuring up synesthetic associations in the imaginations of the audience. It can also have affective meanings: a person can "sweeten" the mood of another, to make the person more amenable.[38] It is in this meaning that "sweet" is related to rhetoric, as Mary Carruthers explains:

> *Dulcis eloquentia*, *verba dulcia*, *vox suavis* are medieval tropes as commonly in use as *dulce carmen*, and indeed the phrase 'voces dulces/suaves' can refer to voices singing or speaking, to the words spoken or sung, and especially to the well-crafted words of oratory. Sweet-talking is 'sweet' because it persuades, by reason (one hopes), but essentially persuasion must invigorate the will, enabling it to act. That is of course its great power.[39]

Of course, love lyric is meant to persuade the lady to reciprocate the singer's attentions, as well as persuade the audience or patron to reward the singer handsomely. By invoking

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[36] See Elizabeth Eva Leach, *Sung Birds: Music, Nature, and Poetry in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007), 90–107, for a much deeper exploration of the nightingale and other birds as symbols for singers.
[37] See Mary Carruthers, "Sweetness," *Speculum* 81, no. 4 (2006): 999–1013.
[38] This usage is attested in Old French, see entry "dulcis" in *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (FEW), 176. Hosted online by ATIL. Last updated 2022. lecteur-few.atilf.fr/index.php/page/view.
[39] Carruthers, "Sweetness," 1009.

"sweetness," the composer draws attention to the rhetorical nature of the song and its intended effect on the audience. Carruthers elaborates:

> Therein resides the communal energy of sweetness, not alone in the individual affects that we so strongly associate with later medieval affective piety. The quality of sweetness, which is at the linguistic root of persuasion, functions rhetorically to persuade another person to an action.[40]

Dietmar lacks the adjective "sweet," but does include moments that hint at pleasant persuasion, whether an approving eye is cast upon a "well-greening" linden (I.2a), upon "well-made" flowers (I.3a) or upon the flowers' cultivation of their appearance (I.3b). Upon sensing these pleasant images, the singer's heart is comforted (*træstet*, I.4b), or in other words, he has been persuaded, as have many others whose hearts are happy: "for rhetoric is as essentially social as sensory affect is individual."[41] Thus, the springtime setting, in its synesthetic sweetness, has affective and rhetorical power, bridging the individual and the communal.

Decorum: Aligning Discursively and Emotionally with the Community

Both Guillaume and Dietmar address the emotional alignment or misalignment of the individual to the community, using the rhetorical value of suitability to justify their songs. Guillaume declares that the song (*chan*) and (*talan*) are fitting for the season. This idea of suitability references a principle of rhetoric—this time to the principle of decorum—in that the content and delivery should be appropriate to the occasion and theme of the piece.[42] The birds' individual songs are *segon lo vers* (I.4), "according to the

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[40] Carruthers, "Sweetness," 1008.
[41] Carruthers, "Sweetness," 1007.
[42] Cf. Guido d'Arezzo guidelines for music's suitability in *Micrologus de disciplina artis musicae*, chapter XV: "*Item ut rerum eventus sic cantionis imitetur effectus, ut in tristibus rebus graves sint neumae, in*

verse," or in other words, they are singing in the correct mode for the correct season. Similarly, the persuasive time of spring is formally parallel to the birdsong: the noun *temps novel* is semantically and grammatically linked with *novel chan*. Both the new time and the new song are parts of prepositional phrases, their lines mirror one another, and both fall at the end of their respective lines, carrying more weight.[43] They also form a structural unit, with *temps novel* starting the strophe and *novel chan* ending the description of the external setting and beginning the human response to it. Thus, the semantics, grammar, and structure of the strophe correlate newness, time, and song, making the connection audible and therefore more inherently understood for the audience. Guillaume is highlighting the suitability not only of the birdsong but also of his own song, defending the genesis of the song as well as its design. Through his construction of the *locus amoenus*, Guillaume is commenting on the medium of love songs.

Guillaume continues the motif of suitability in the subsequent lines: just as the new birdsong is well suited to the new time, it is "good for a man to enjoy himself with whatever he desires most" (*adonc esta ben c'om s'aisi / d'acho don hom a plus talan*, I.5-6). The phrase *adonc esta ben c'* again makes explicit that the value of suitability—this

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tranquillis rebus iucundae, in prosperis exultantes & reliquae" (*Kurze Abhandlung Guido's über die Regeln der musikalischen Kunst*, ed. and trans. Michael Hermesdorff [Trier: J. B. Grach, 1876], 88). E. R. Curtius suggests that this medieval aesthetic value, so alien to modern tastes, is one of the reasons for his contemporaries' dismissal of the *locus amoenus*: "Merely from the rhetorical character of medieval poetry, it follows that, in interpreting a poem, we must ask, not on what 'experience' it was based, but what theme the poet set himself to treat. This is especially distasteful to the modern critic when he has to criticize poems on spring or nightingales or swallows. Yet these very themes were prescribed by rhetoric." *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Willard R. Trask (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013, originally published as *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter*, Bern: A. Francke Verlag, 1948), 158.

[43] A new song may also be an allusion to the Psalms; see Geoff Rector, "Courtly Romance, the Vernacular Psalms and Generic Contrafaction," *Viator* 45.2 (Summer 2014): 131-132.

time, however, the appropriate response is not vocal, but affective: songs and pursuits of desire both suit the season. In this way, the aural images within Guillaume's first stanza become an externalization of human desire. The thematic link between male desire, birdsong and springtime is strengthened through the structure of the stanza. Even as *temps* and *chan* are structurally linked, now song and desire are linked through rhyme—*chan / talan*—so that a triad forms between springtime, birdsong, and human desire. Moreover, *talan* is the last word of the stanza, acquiring significant weight in the stanza's affective tenor. Similarly, Dietmar concludes his *Natureingang* by declaring that both he and the general community experience a natural affective response: "Very many a heart becomes happy because of this, just as mine consoles itself" (*des wirt vil manic herze vrô, des selben troestet sich daz mîn*, I.4). Where Guillaume alludes to the consummation of male desire (*hom a plus talan*), Dietmar only claims that many hearts are happy (*vrô*): here, happiness is desexed and desexualized: many hearts, regardless of the bodies they are housed in, respond to the general atmosphere of delight. Nonetheless, like Guillaume, Dietmar justifies individual emotions through their alignment to the general joy. Unfulfilled desire in love lyric is partially due to the conventions of the genre: songs of love longing would not be as interesting—or indeed exist—if they were always about successful trysts. The unreciprocated or frustrated love makes for more interesting content. As a result, the singing personas of love lyric must always be suspended, hoping for not-yet experienced joy. The song, existing only because of desire, becomes synonymous with desire.[44] Yet we see in these two excerpts that the time of song can

[44] Much has already been said on the relationship between desire and song. For a few notable examples for *Minnesang*, see Susanne Köbele, "Rhetorik und Erotik. Minnesang als 'süßer Klang'," *Poetica* 45, no. 3-4

correspond to a fulfillment of desire as well. Thus, song is synonymous not only with longing but also with the joy that follows.

In each of their opening stanzas, Guillaume and Dietmar relate birdsong directly to human affectivity, but Guillaume's language emphasizes a particularly male, individualized affective experience, while Dietmar dwells on a communal affectivity that ignores gender. Compared to the somewhat static prepositional phrases in Guillaume's line *ab la dolchor del temps novel*, Dietmar's *nu kumt uns diu zît* creates a sense of dynamic movement and transformation: it is the time itself that is the subject of the sentence, and it "comes," followed by a string of short independent clauses with a declarative force that is interrupted only in the last line of the stanza, when Dietmar introduces genitive demonstratives that more smoothly join the clauses. Because winter is past, the activity has sped up, as captured in Dietmar's grammatical choices. This sense of quickening, however, removes agency from male persona. All the images that populate the conventional *locus amoenus* of *Minnesang* are the subjects of their clauses or are the objects of impersonal constructions (*ez grüenet*, I.2; *man siht*, I.3). The human is situated as passive recipients of this flurry of activity (*nu kumt uns diu zît*, I.1; *des wirt vil manic herze vrô*, I.4,) as if the joy is acting upon people's hearts. Only once he has established the broader community's experience does he then add an experience individual to himself (*des selben troestet sich daz mîn*, I.4). This makes the arrival of spring primarily an event that is generally known and experienced rather than something that is specific to the male singer, who is merely a passive participant, and even when the singer expresses a

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(2013): 299-331; and Peter Frenzel, "Minne-Sang: The Conjunction of Singing and Loving in German Courtly Song," *GQ* 55, no. 3 (1982): 336–48. Among troubadour scholars, see Amelia E. Van Vleck, *Memory and Re-Creation in Troubadour Lyric* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 17-25.

personal subjective experience, he is being acted upon by his heart's consolation. For Guillaume, the reflexive verb *aizinar* translates to "enjoy for oneself," in the sense of "to make use of." It is a proactive, largely conscious response that is being described here, with the subject benefiting from the action. On the other hand, Dietmar pairs a reflexive pronoun with the verb *troesten*, which carries religious connotations of consolation as well as often serves as a euphemism in lyric for the reward of love service: *des wirt vil manic herze vrô, des selben troestet sich daz mîn* (I.4). The subject of the verb is the singer's heart, as if it is the active agent separate from the singer. The summery *topos* is a reflection of human subjectivity, for the individual as well as for the group. Guillaume affirms an active, individual response, while Dietmar depicts a more passive, yet more communally oriented, reaction.

Nonetheless, Dietmar's emphasis on communal experience does not preclude an individual affective experience within that group. James Schultz shows that in Middle High German romances the affective vocabulary (namely *vröude*, *hôher muot*, and *êre*) used to describe trysts between individual lovers is the same used to describe festive communal moments of joy.[45] In the realm of love lyric, Markus Stock reads a conflation between individual love and communal joy in the *Natureingang* of a song by Gottfried von Neifen.[46] Moreover, Dietmar's singing persona manipulates the generic sensory imagery of the *locus amoenus* to distinguish his particular relationship from the general

[45] "When they consummate their love alone they feel the same joy and exhilaration all courtly men and women hope to feel at the consummate courtly social event, the festival" James A. Schultz, *Courtly Love, the Love of Courtliness, and the History of Sexuality* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006), 157. Similarly, Will Hasty observes, "Even as an individual experience, love is supposed to be joyful for the court as a whole, that is, for the noble households of *principes*," in *The Medieval Risk-Reward Society: Courts, Adventure, and Love in the European Middle Ages* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2016), 114.
[46] Stock, "Das volle Wort," 197-199.

atmosphere of lovemaking. After spending a stanza petitioning the lady and then a stanza propounding on moderation in the pursuit of ladies, the singer's returns to the *locus amoenus* in the fourth stanza, where the features gain sharper specificity from the *Natureingang*:

> There upon the linden tree above, a tiny little bird sang. It grew loud before the forest. Then, my heart lifted itself again to a place, there where it was before. I saw rose blossoms standing there, which remind me of many thoughts, which I have from here of a lady.
>
> *Ûf der linden obene dâ sanc ein kleinez vogellîn.*
> *vor dem walde wart ez lût. dô huop sich aber daz herze mîn*
> *an eine stat, dâ ez ê dâ was, ich sach dâ rôsebluomen stân,*
> *die manent mich der gedanke vil, die ich hin zeiner vrouwen hân.* (IV.1-4)

The open heath (*bluomen wol getân, an der heide*, I.3) in the first stanza is abandoned for a more intimate location in the fourth (*an eine stat. . . rôsebluomen stân,*, IV.3), while many birds (*kleinen vogellîne*, I.1) and sweeping seasonal transformations are replaced by a single bird (*ein kleinez vogellîn*, IV.1) in a single linden tree, with an indistinct forest in the background. This narrowing of focus is also an aural one, as the lone bird's warbling is distinct from the loud forest. Altogether, this is suggestive of a private trysting place, with individual elements in the foreground separate from a blurry background. By revisiting the imagery of the *locus amoenus*, Dietmar builds a more individual place within the larger generic space.

The community's joyful response to the season, gesturing toward the festive circumstances that have called for the performance of a joyous song. As we saw in *Erec*, the utopic court in medieval literature is always at festival, a secular paradise full of dancing, jousting, and singing, and that each member of the court has responsibility in contributing to the overall joyful atmosphere; the *Minnesänger*'s particular method is

through song. The performance of song was a staple of court entertainment; in literary depictions of court festivals, song is so central that "Sometimes *höveschеit* referred specifically to the artistic forms of courtly conviviality, especially singing and instrumental music."[47] Song in a festive atmosphere is nearly synonymous with social and cultural elite ideals. At first glance, however, the *Minnesangs Frühling* corpus does not seem to be self-aware of feasts as its motivation, for there is little explicit mention of festivals in general nor does the term *hochzît* appear at all. But if we consider festivity as a joyful atmosphere, we can see that it is evoked again and again through the summertime *topos* that is common to love lyric as well as to Arthurian romance. The secular utopia of an always-festive court merges with the Christian conception of a heavenly paradise, in which human souls are at union with God as well as one another. I am hardly the first to note that the idyllic *locus amoenus* is a metaphor for the utopic courtly community. Such an argument can be found throughout medieval German studies, from scholars such as Hugo Kuhn, who parenthetically asserts that "die 'Natureingänge' vieler Minnelieder die Naturstimmung als symbolischen Stimmungsträger der gesellschaftlichen Bindung aufrufen,"[48] to more recent scholars such as Ludger Lieb, who singles out Dietmar's stanza quoted above as a prime example: "Der Sommer erzeugt gesellschaftliche Freude, Liebesverlangen und Gesang, d. h., der Sommer ist selber die Ursache eines gesellschaftlichen wie individuellen Befindens und Handelns."[49] In songs like

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[47] Joachim Bumke, *Courtly Culture: Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991, first published as *Höfische Kultur: Literatur und Gesellschaft im hohen Mittelalter*, (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1986), 308.
[48] Hugo Kuhn, *Dichtung und Welt im Mittelalter*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1969, originally published 1959), 32. For Kuhn's reworking of these ideas, see also *Minnesangs Wende*, 2nd ed., (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1967), 74-75.
[49] Lieb, "Die Eigenzeit der Minne," 186-87.

Guillaume's and Dietmar's, the allusion of a greater community's joy points toward a utopia, in which nature and human hearts are in harmony. The intrinsically joyful *locus amoenus* is self-referential, as it becomes a metaphor for the idealized court in which and for whom the song is performed.[50] When Dietmar declares, *des wirt vil manic herze vrô*, he not only states that the entire community within the song is impacted by the setting, but also that the extratextual community is impacted by the song itself. He sings into existence the fulfillment of the role of song and singer.

Although the season, song, and male desire are aligned in Guillaume's first stanza, his singing persona immediate complains in the second stanza that he is misaligned, excluded from these joyful, spiritually-charged celebrations:

> From there—where the good and beautiful is most to me—I see neither messenger nor seal, which is why my heart/body neither sleeps nor laughs, nor do I dare to move forward, until I am sure about the end, if she/it is just as I ask.
>
> *De lai don plus m'es bon e bel*
> *non vei mesager ni sagel,*
> *per que mos cors non dorm ni ri,*
> *ni no m'aus traire adenan,*
> *tro que eu sacha ben de la fi*
> *s'el' es aissi com eu deman.* (Guillaume II.1-6)

It has often been noted by troubadour scholars that "there" (*lai*) is a common reference to the lady, who is physically (and perhaps emotionally) distant; often "there" also refers to a garden, even the lady's private garden.[51] In the previous stanza, the singer has just

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[50] Similarly, see Markus Stock, "in den muot gebildet. Das innere Bild als poetologische Metapher bei Burkhart von Hohenfels," in *Im Wortfeld des Textes. Worthistorische Beiträge zu den Bezeichnungen von Rede und Schrift im Mittelalter,* eds. Gerd Dicke, Manfred Eikelmann, and Burkhard Hasebrink (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2006), 211-230.

[51] See Van Vleck, *Memory and Recreation*, 156-57, where the protected lady and garden are synonyms not only with each other, but with the song as well; and see Charlotte Gross, "*Loc Aizi/Anima Mundi*: Being, Time, and Desire in the Troubadour Love Lyric," in *Desiring Discourse. The Literature of Love, Ovid through Chaucer*, eds James J. Paxson and Cynthia A. Gravlee (London: Associated University Presses,

declared that every man ought to enjoy whatever he most desires; now the singer laments that he himself cannot, and therefore, he is prevented from appropriately responding to the season; therefore, I read the spatial *de lai* as simultaneously referring to the *locus amoenus* in the previous stanza (*d'acho don hom a plus talan*) as well as Guillaume's personal place of delight (*don plus m'es bon e bel*). In this way, the lady is analogous both to the *locus amoenus* experienced by many birds, yet as one that is individual to the singer. This analogy is strengthened by the pronoun *el'* in the last line—it may be referring back to "the end," *la fi*, or to the lady; that is, the lady is the result and *telos* of his desire. The singer has been waiting for a sign from his beloved that he can continue to pursue her. It seems as though she might not reciprocate his love, and so Guillaume is unable to consummate his desire. Therefore, he cannot enter into the natural order of the first stanza, where bird and man alike consummate their longings.

The sudden shift of tone serves to provide variation and contrast, which contributes to the rhetorical vividness of the song. Indeed, an entire song about springtime without any conflict would be monotonous, a quality to be avoided in rhetoric: "In a composition without ornament, the mind is without landmarks."[52] Compared to the first stanza, this second stanza is peppered with negatives, with silence, deprivation, and stagnation: *non vei* (II.2), *non dorm ni ri* (II.3), *ni no m'aus traire adenan* (II.4). This is a subtle invocation of winter, which is everything that spring is not: gray, silent, and bitter,

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1998), 111-22. On the gendered nature of gardens in elite spaces, see Oliver H. Creighton, *Designs upon the Land: Elite Landscapes of the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2009), 175-79. The poetic imagery of the female garden comes from the Song of Songs, where religious and sexual overtones converge, as well as from its reincarnation and sanctification in the Virgin Mary, whose virginity is described through the *hortus conclusus*.

[52] Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 130.

characterized by absence rather than presence. In order to depict this stymied love, the verdant, noisy scene of the opening stanza will not do. Instead, in the third stanza, Guillaume revisits and revises nature imagery that better suits his deprivation, calling upon the hawthorn branch that endures the long spring when the temperatures still drop below freezing at night:

> This love of ours goes just like a hawthorn limb that is trembling [other mss. "remaining] on the tree with rain and frost at night, until the next day, when the sun spreads himself through the green leaves and the branch.
>
> *La nostr' amor va enaissi*
> *com la branca de l'albespi*
> *qu'esta sobre l'arbre tremblan,*
> *la nuoit, a la ploia ez al gel,*
> *tro l'endeman, que·l sols s'espan*
> *par la fueilla vert el ramel.* (III.1-6)

Guillaume rejects neither joy nor sorrow but upholds the paradox of the two together. Notice that the flowers of hawthorn—notoriously abundant and pungent—are absent; there are only small green leaves. This is the Lent before Easter, the time of waiting, as their relationship is assailed by the gossip of others. But the prolonged waiting only prolongs desire, making the eventual consummation and joy all the greater, just as Easter's joy is the greater for the fasting. By subverting the typical imagery of late spring, Guillaume claims to have a love and a song that is more complex, more rewarding, perhaps even more sacred, than the earthier love and songs typically associated with springtime.

Whereas Guillaume's singer finds his emotions poorly matching the season and the sentiments of his community, Dietmar's singer seems to be well-aligned, as the last line of the first stanza and the entire fourth stanza indicate. But misalignment appears in

the final stanza, when the *locus amoenus* transforms a third time in Dietmar's song with imagery resembling the Lenten waiting found in Guillaume's. The final stanza returns to an inverted *locus amoenus* that has been reduced to its most essential visual and aural features, and this time, it is presented from the perspective of the beloved lady:

> It seems a full thousand years to me since I lay in love's arms. Through no fault of mine he estranges himself from me many a day. Since I neither saw blossoms nor heard the bird's song, so was my joy short and the sorrow also all too long.
>
> *"Ez dunket mich wol tûsent jâr, daz ich an liebes arme lac.*
> *sunder âne mîne schulde vremedet er mich menegen tac.*
> *sit ich bluomen niht ensach noch enhôrte der vogel sanc,*
> *sît was mir mîn vröide kurz und ouch der jâmer alzelanc."* (V.1-4)

Here, the woman rephrases, reorients, and negates the man's generic engagement with the *locus amoenus*: like the lovers in Guillaume's song, the lovers are spatially separated, but in Dietmar's song, we have a glimpse into the woman's perspective. Unlike the male persona, she experiences sensory deprivation—she can neither see nor hear the signs of spring. Instead, she resides in an inverted *locus amoenus*. The lady's sensory deprivation is consistent with depictions of winter conventional to *Minnesang*, where winter is portrayed primarily through absence: the heath lacks color—that is, gray and desaturated—while the birds fall silent. By not hearing and not seeing the change in seasons, she casts doubt on the man's claims to be experiencing spring and on his own interpretation of his senses. She is completely unaware that he also thinks of her: "Through no fault of mine he estranges himself from me many a day" (*sunder âne mîne schulde vremedet er mich menegen tac*, V.2). The lover is wandering in the *locus amoenus* alone (either physically or mentally), far from the beloved who ought to be by his side, never fully utilizing the trysting place. This means that the lover is unable to

correctly interpret the signs of her regard and act on them. While the lover's happiness is increased by the anticipation of reunion with the lady, her sorrow is increased by deprivation. Or, in liturgical terms, she does not see the end to her Lent, while the singer does.

In this way, Dietmar von Eist subtly turns formulaic symbols into meaningful affective contradictions that express the beloved's heartbreak. The insertion of the lady's voice in a song is a technique distinctive of *Minnesang* and is called the *Wechsel*, or exchange, by scholars.[53] The *Wechsel* is a common tool to depict memory:

> A major characteristic of the static *Wechsel* is its retrospective focus. Whether poems merely use the narrative preterite as a reflection of the so-called *Erfahrungsstil* or look backward in time to the fulfillment of a love relationship (rather than being preoccupied with its future realization, as is the case with the classical lyric), the *Wechsel* frequently concerns itself with past events.[54]

Appropriately, the *Wechsel* in Dietmar's song is introduced by the male persona's memory, yet the woman's perspective is dominated by the present; memory in her stanza is evoked only as a contrast to her current estrangement. As we will see in the next section, the vividly emotional and temporal properties of song make it an ideal medium for depicting memory.

Affectus and Tempus: The Overlap between Memory and Song

Emotion plays a key role in the formation of memory. As mentioned above, stronger emotional and sensory images leave stronger imprints on memory and aid in recollection. However, there is an additional overlap between emotion, memory, and

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[53] This exchange is a technique characteristic of medieval German lyric, and it allows a female perspective to be positioned against a male one. It is unknown whether both perspectives were voiced by one singer, or if they were performed as a duet.

[54] Arthur Groos, "Modern Stereotyping and Medieval Topoi: The Lovers' Exchange in Dietmar von Aist's 'Ûf der Linden obene'," *JEPG* 88, no. 2 (1989): 160.

music. Memory is made up of *similtudo* and *intentio*, the latter of which includes *affectus*.[55] In other words, emotions play an integral role in the fashioning of memory. Mary Carruthers notes that the word *intentio* allows for musical metaphors, in that a well-tuned mind could better create memories.[56] Therefore, the stronger an emotion in memory formation, the higher the mental tension, like a string being tightened to the correct (and higher) tone. In this way, memory and the emotions that comprise it can be played like an instrument. By using the synesthesia of sensory images and strong emotional and religious resonances evoked by the *locus amoenus*, the songs create stronger memories both for the performer and for the audience.

The affective associations of the feast days contribute in turn to the temporality of the setting, in much the same way as Christians simultaneously remember the past paradise and hope for the future paradise. For example, Dietmar's temporal description of winter in the first stanza, *lanc*, emphasizes the monotony of the winter season, in which the cold and inactivity seem to lengthen the hours, which coincides with his quickening phrases. This in turn alludes to the medium of song's fundamentally temporal nature, as Augustine explains: "What we perceive with the eyes is portioned through space, with the ears, through time" (*quod oculis sentimus, per locum; quod auribus, per tempus dividitur*).[57] Thus song, as a much more complex manifestation of sound, is also temporally dimensioned through the discrete movements, repetitions, and cycles seen in both lyric and melody together. Almut Suerbaum outlines how this temporal aspect pervades the song at the levels of text, melody, performance, and reception:

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[55] Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 14; see also 117.
[56] Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 15 and 280-81, nn.17-19.
[57] Augustine of Hippo, *De quantitate animae*, *PL* 32:1072-73.

> The present moment, re-presented in a performative act, stands in a certain tension to the most common formal feature of these songs: they are, first of all, songs, performed to a set melody and clearly, judging by the evidence of the material manuscript transmission, performed more than once and collected beyond the lifetime of the poet-singer. Moreover, they are strophic songs in which an identical melody is sung with a succession of different words. It is this tension between the performative present on the one hand and the circular movement of the strophic musical form on the other which makes these songs significant in the context of temporal experience.[58]

The song, then, is temporally defined on the textual and melodic levels as well as on the performative. Guillaume and Dietmar use birdsong as an aural marker of time. Guillaume's term *vers* can indicate a whole song, a line of verse, or the measure of that verse, so that the temporal dimensions of song are indicated just as much as the singsong characteristics of time progressing. Similarly, Dietmar refers to springtime appositively as "the song of tiny little birds," (1.1) making season and song indistinguishable from one another.

The temporal layout of the songs is hardly unidirectional. Time is cleverly manipulated in these two songs until the distinctions between past, present, and future collapse. For example, the singing personas of Guillaume and Dietmar both undergo the passage of time in their respective songs. Guillaume uses past and present time to indicate anticipation for a future tryst. His metaphor of the hawthorn branch indicates that his present time is at night, and that he hopes for a future daybreak. This daybreak is described in the subsequent stanza, yet as a memory of a morning in which the lovers were united. The past morning conflates with a hoped-for future morning. Even as this memory is a move backward in time, the song moves forward from night to day, forming

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[58] Almut Suerbaum, "Time and Temporality in Mystical Lyric and Strophic Song," in *Medieval Temporalities: The Experience of Time in Medieval Europe*, eds. Almut Suerbaum and Annie Sutherland (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2021), 111.

two simultaneous and continuous temporal progressions. Similarly, Dietmar's mental space seems to be simultaneously past, present and future, as the present springtime reminds him of a tryst with a lady and inspires a hope to bring her there.

Meanwhile, Dietmar's lady experiences time rather differently. At the beginning of the song, the lover claims the long winter is over, alluding to winter's long, cold nights and implying a liveliness to the spring atmosphere. The lover claims that the long, cold nights of winter are past (*zergangen ist der winter lanc*, I.2b), yet the lady says that her sorrow has been going on for far too long (*der jâmer alzelanc*, V.4b), so that she appears to be in a kind of emotional winter. For her, many days are the same as a thousand years (the lover has ignored her both *wol tûsent jâr*, and *menegen tac*, V.1a, 2b), so that time has little reliable meaning. The woman's experience of gray, silent days lengthened by sorrow is sharply contrasted with the lover's joyful, sensory-packed days. These two seasons are experienced by the pair simultaneously, showing that the experience of time is subjective and nonlinear, completely shaped by the individual's emotions. In this way, Dietmar von Eist uses temporal inconsistencies to express the breakdown of communication between lovers.

The blurring of past, present, and future in song captures the experience of memory. Just as sound is primarily temporal in nature, so too is memory characterized temporally:

> Because time is bound into their nature—memories are presently existing images of things that are past—memories differ from other sensorily produced images. . .. Their temporal nature also means that memory's re-presentation is less importantly mimetic, or objectively reiterative of the original perception, than it is temporal, because it makes the past perception present.[59]

[59] Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 76.

Likewise, in her consideration of Augustine's *Confessions*, Carruthers finds that memory also has jurisdiction over the future.[60] Thus, memory, like song, is a present expression that recollects the past and informs the future. Because memory is also temporally measured, song is particularly suited to depicting it; similarly, Guillaume and Dietmar use temporal variations of the *locus amoenus* to depict human emotion and remembrance. As we will explore further below, the *locus amoenus* as a metaphor for memory extends throughout the song on textual, extratextual, and metatextual levels, interacting with the song's rhetorical underpinnings and relationship to the repertory, as well as on a contextual level with memories of real places that resemble the *locus amoenus* in the minds of the audience.

Memory in the Text and Extratext

Memory plays a key thematic role in many songs from the troubadours and *Minnesänger*. In both of Guillaume's and Dietmar's songs, the singers' memories are of trysts in the *locus amoenus*, so that it is both a remembered space and a memory space, explicitly introduced with the phrases *me membra* (Guillaume IV.1) and *die manent mich* (Dietmar IV.4). Comparing Dietmar's first and fourth stanzas, we see how the vivid *Natureingang* transforms into a memoryscape in the fourth stanza. The disparate elements of the fourth stanza are simultaneously vivid sensory images and vague scenes: though the setting's details are concretely described, the space itself is unclear. The relationship between the trees is not stated. Is the linden incorporated into the forest, or does it stand separate? A small bird is mentioned before the speaker notes the noise rising

[60] Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 193.

out of the forest. This metonymy implies that the tree and birdsong must be somewhat closer to the speaker and creates some dimension to the aural and visual space but only marginally. We are not told where the speaker is in relation to the trees and birdsong; he could be outside under the linden or inside near a window listening to the birdsong outside. While the space that the speaker actually occupies is ambiguous, the emphasis remains on the song of a bird in the linden and on the many jumbled sounds of birds in the more distant forest, so that the sensing subject is subsumed to the sensory objects. His real environment left indeterminate, the male singer instead occupies a mental space that feels much more specific and tangible, as the sounds of spring trigger both an emotional experience—joy—and a memory, transporting his heart to the trysting place (*eine stat . . . dâ rôsebluomen stân*, 15). In this way, although the setting is springtime, it is merely a gateway to experiencing the mental landscape.

The often-introductory position of the *locus amoenus* and the way it matches or fails to match with the singer's emotions provide a blueprint for the rest of the song's thematic underpinnings:

> The beginning of the text is very often (always in some genres like courtly love lyric) the part of it most heavily marked by the presence of strongly formalized types; the exordium shows all the signs of being the generative kernel, from which the rest of the utterance proceeds as a web of typified strands attached to that kernel.[61]

As such, it resembles Mary Carruther's discussion of the *Bildeinsatz*, in that it has "the rhetorical quality called *enargeia*" and "acts as the elementary foundation, the *dispositio* of what follows. Introductory rhetorical pictures serve as orienting maps and summaries

[61] Paul Zumthor, *Toward a Medieval Poetics*, trans. Philip Bennett (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1992 [Originally published as *Essai de poétique médiévale*, Paris: Editions de Seuil, 1972]), 65.

of the matters which are developed within the work."[62] The *locus amoenus* is a fixed thematic and discursive entry point: by opening with a description of birdsong, Guillaume and Dietmar also declare it is time for human song—or rather their specific songs—to begin. As Amelia Van Vleck observes, even subtle alterations to the highly formulaic spring opening determine the form and thematic content of the rest of the song:

> The first stanza of a song carries with it a whole set of unspoken rules, a decorum, which the song establishes for itself and then follows. Rhyme, well known as a powerful mnemonic, makes its entrance here, and the poem's metric scheme also sets up in the *exordium* a pattern from which the rest, with greater or lesser determination, follows in a prescribed form. The dependence of the whole development of a song on its beginning was well known, for the troubadours readily applied the maxim 'All's well that begins well' to their own work.[63]

Indeed, although medieval songs experience *mouvance*—that is, the order of the stanzas and the content may change with each performance—the beginning strophes, where the *locus amoenus* is most likely to be found, are subject to much less movement, making them an anchor for the text's form and performance.[64]

The features of the *locus amoenus* is a representation of memory's role in rhetoric: that is, the *locus amoenus* is a memory aid in performance. Carruthers categorizes imagined visuals, particularly mental spaces, as architectural mnemonics: "[mental spaces] are designed for ease in perception as one walks through one's places in memory, seeing images on backgrounds."[65] These spaces are often likened to buildings but also include open natural settings, such as the *silva* ("forest") or the *pratum*, which

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[62] Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 199.
[63] Van Vleck, *Memory and Re-Creation*, 49.
[64] "The beginning of a song is the most stable, and its stability weakens progressively" (Van Vleck, *Memory and Re-Creation*, 108, see also p. 99). As an exception that proves the rule, Heinrich von Veldeke shows a preference for putting his nature strophes in the middle of his songs, as an intentional overturning of expectations: see Cramer, *Waz hilfet âne sinne kunst?*, 64-71, 75.
[65] Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 138

might be a field, meadow, or heath, as well as the monastery's inner garden, usually used as a mnemonic for joy.[66] Knowledge is depicted as fields of flowers, whose nectar is harvested and stored in the mind's honeycomb. The *locus amoenus*, then, is a mnemonic *topos* in which other memories (represented by birds and flowers) are populated and stored. When Dietmar is reminded of a lady through the sight of rose blossoms, he taps into this well-known metaphor for memory processing.

On the extratextual level, the *locus amoenus* can be considered a self-referential mnemonic for the performer, who mentally walks through a memory field and identifies the flowers and birds within.[67] A well-trained orator or performer knows how to store phrases using these mnemonics and to recall them again, just as a hunter can navigate the forest or a bee the meadow.[68] The performer must both recall the right words and elements at the right time and be able to flexibly improvise and rearrange them according to the situation and the audience. Thus, the position of the *locus amoenus* helps to mark the introductory stanza and serves as a metrical and rhyming space for a performing singer to progress along, aiding him or her in recalling the rest of the song during a performance: "performers had to learn or create a sense of the argument's progression, because only the beginning and the end of a song were clearly marked to indicate their position and function, but stanzas in the middle were not."[69] Thus, even as singing

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[66] Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 14, 138-39, and 272-76.
[67] On marginalia functioning as mnemonics, see Sylvia Huot, "Visualization and Memory: The Illustration of Troubadour Lyric in a Thirteenth-Century Manuscript," *Gesta* 31, no. 1 (1992): 3–14.
[68] The Occitan word *trobar* ("to compose") is the root of the word "troubadour," and can be translated "to find." Van Vleck gives an overview of the link between *amor*, *trobar* and rhetorical *inventio*, including its connection to the motivating will (*Memory and Re-Creation in Troubadour Lyric*, 17-25). For a recent argument complicating these meanings, see William D. Paden, "The Etymology of Old Occitan *Trobar* and *Trobador*," *Tenso* 34, no. 1-2 (2019): 1–54.
[69] Van Vleck, *Memory and Re-Creation*, 200.

personas hear the birdsong and see rose blossoms that send them into a reminiscence, so do the same images help the performer remember the lyrics and melody. Because the *locus amoenus* is a sung space, this textual anchor becomes an extratextual one, a mnemonic for oration. We have already observed that birdsong simultaneously signals the genre of the song while reflexively calling attention to the medium itself; similarly, the space of the *locus amoenus* engages with memory making even as it signifies it.

On the textual level, Guillaume and Dietmar reference the memory-making features of the *locus amoenus* by enacting the process of memory formation throughout their songs, first in their failure to navigate the memory space and then in their utilization of the songs to overcome that failure. The performer's skill in navigating the memory-space of the *locus amoenus* is explicit for both Guillaume and Dietmar, although the singing personas appear to fail in this capacity. In the second stanza, Guillaume complains:

> From there—where the good and beautiful is most to me—I see neither messenger nor seal, which is why my heart/body neither sleeps nor laughs, nor do I dare to move forward, until I am sure about the end, if he/she/it is just as I ask.
>
> *De lai don plus m'es bon e bel*
> *non vei mesager ni sagel,*
> *per que mos cors non dorm ni ri,*
> *ni no m'aus traire adenan,*
> *tro que eu sacha ben de la fi*
> *s'el' es aissi com eu deman.* (II.1-6)

Like the *hortus conclusus*, the place of his "best and most beautiful" is closed off to him through a discursive silence (*non vei mesager ni sagel*, II.2). He is immobile, unable to navigate without knowledge of the end or the message or the lady nor daring to make progress (*no m'aus traire adenan*, II.4) until he knows that "it" (*el'*, II.6) is how he wants

"it" to be. This pronoun is ambivalent, possibly referring to the lady, the message, or the end. Of course, all may be meant, and the resulting meaning amounts to the same: Guillaume wants to know whether he may approach the lady once more. If he had certainty about a joyful conclusion, he would be able to move forward to the place most pleasing to him, his own *locus amoenus* of the song. But the closest antecedent to *el'* is "the end" (*la fi*), and this seems to me to be a reference to the rhetorical and memorial processes. He does not know how to finish the song. The lady's discursive silence threatens to silence him, too. Similarly, in the second stanza, Dietmar encourages the lady, who is "worthy and good" (*biderbe und guot*, II.1) to also fashion a right ending: "If you make the end good, then you have done all of it well" (*machest dû daz ende guot, sô hâst du ez allez wol getân*, II.4). Dietmar places more overt pressure on the lady to intervene in the song's composition and the satisfaction of his desires. In order to sing well and end their songs well, the male personas must be able to navigate this place, identifying the birds and flowers, the rhetorical figures of song, yet the stymied lovers of both songs express uncertainty about how it will all end and are dependent on the lady to help them navigate to *the locus amoenus*, that is, to the place of memory for the proper delivery of song. The end, therefore, is a reference on the textual level to the consummation of their pursuit of the lady, an extratextual reference to the end of the song, and a metatextual reference to the navigation of memory.

Beside this reference to navigation in the two songs' second stanzas, the metaphor for memory is more subtly reflected in the progression of the remaining stanzas. Although I have not found any other scholar who approaches the *locus amoenus* as an

overt mnemonic, memory itself is already a well-established feature of love songs.[70] Arthur Groos has identified the medieval process of recollection in Dietmar's fourth and fifth stanzas:

> The pattern of reminiscence. . . with its procession from past to present and from the external landscape to the realm of the heart, is also tripartite and recapitulates this division of cognition into *sensus*, *memoria*, and *ratio* with striking poetic precision.[71]

Groos outlines how the images of the linden and the bird are perceived by the *sensus* and are carried to *daz herze* (IV.2) and trigger the *memoria* of previously experienced images, and in turn, the *ratio*, named by Dietmar as *gedanke vil* (IV.4). These many thoughts result in the singer falling more in love: "As in the final stage of cognition, frequent recollection ('aber,' 'vil') motivates the will toward the sole object of its desire, 'hin zeiner frouwen'."[72] Thus, Groos finds that Dietmar's fourth stanza walks through the process of memory-making.

If we apply Groos's observation to Guillaume's fourth stanza, we find a similar enactment of memory processes. After having already contemplated natural images in the first and third stanzas, the male persona reminisces in the fourth, "I still remember the

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[70] The scholarship closest to my approach is Margaret Goehring, *Space, Place and Ornament: The Function of Landscape in Medieval Manuscript Illumination* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), esp. 29-48, in that she notices the mnemonic function of the *locus amoenus* in rhetoric. However, she applies this to visual depictions of landscape in the illustrations and marginalia of manuscripts, rather than to the composition and performance of the accompanying words. On memory in love lyric, see particularly Emma Dillon, "Unwriting Medieval Song," *NLH* 46, no. 4 (2015): 595-622; and Van Vleck, *Memory and Re-Creation*, esp. 26-55.

[71] Groos, "Modern Stereotyping and Medieval Topoi," 163. Groos finds that this memory process maps only onto the male voice in the song; the female voice lacks this clarity, coinciding with medieval assumptions about the female brain, which, being moister, cannot be as strongly imprinted with memory images.

[72] Groos, "Modern Stereotyping and Medieval Topoi," 164. As an example of a contemporary understanding of song's motivating force, Raimon Vidal in his *Razos de trobar* "promotes poetry as a form of moral memory and an
inspiration to courageous acts" (Adrian Armstrong and Sarah Kay, *Knowing Poetry: Verse in Medieval France from the "Rose" to the "Rhétoriqueurs"* [Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011], 7).

one morning" (*Enquer me membra d'un mati,* IV.1). The verb *membrar* is impersonal and the first-person pronoun is an object, so that a more literal translation would be "It reminds me again of one morning;" the passivity of the singer is paralleled by Dietmar's *die manent mich*. Both singing personas are acted upon by the sensation of springtime and transported to the memory of a trysting place. The adverb *enquer,* if translated as "still," creates a sense of distance from the remembered moment; but it can also be translated "again," which implies that the memory has been reawakened by the springtime imagery. Earlier in the second stanza, the heart of Guillaume's singer (one possible meaning of *cor*), unlike Dietmar's *herze,* was at a standstill because the singer did not know how to move forward. Groos describes the heart as "the central organ in the perception of time."[73] The heart was also the seat of memory, although the health of the entire human body was also associated with a healthy memory.[74] Therefore, Guillaume's experience of time and memory is frozen. However, the recollection of the memory *enquer*, "again," like Dietmar's "again" (*aber*) and "many thoughts" (*gedanke vil*), strengthens the Guillaume's will toward his desired lady, breaking him out of the stagnation, for it is from this stanza through to the end of the song that the singer's tone shifts toward one of overt eroticism.[75] The memorial progression in the fourth stanza lends Guillaume's singer confidence and makes the erotic underpinnings increasingly explicit. The singer's memory is of "when we made an end to war and when she gave me a gift so great: her love and her ring" (*que nos fezem de guera fi, / e que·m donet un don tan gran: / sa drudari' e son anel*, IV.2-4). The terms *drudaria* and *anel* evoke feudal

[73] Groos, "Modern Stereotyping and Medieval Topoi," 164.
[74] Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 59-61.
[75] My thanks to Ann Marie Rasmussen for pointing out to me the repetitive nature of *aber*.

connotations, although they quickly turn into a double entendre with the final lines of the stanza, "May God let me live until again I have my hands under her cloak" (*enquer me lais Dieus viure tan / c'aia mas manz soz so mantel*, IV.5-6).[76] The reappearance of *enquer* links the past recollection with the future hope, inspiring his will and moving him toward a confident end of the song, which is exactly what frequent recollection should do. In other words, although Guillaume claims to not know how to progress to the end, the act of remembering their love and remembering how to sing his song enables him to finish.

Memory and the Realignment of Emotional Discourse

This deliverance is discursive, not only in the rhetorical use of memory, but in the linguistic and generic boundaries that Guillaume draws around the *locus amoenus*. Indeed, not everyone is included in the joyful paradise; after all, Guillaume himself cannot enter his *locus amoenus* without a messenger or seal—an oral or written sign of permission. The *locus amoenus* is available only to those with compositional understanding and the ability to properly enjoy it. As already mentioned, the birds in the opening stanza are metaphors for composer-singers, able to compose according to established measures and rhymes suitable to the circumstances, displaying a level of artistry and knowledge of rhetoric: "The birds sing, each one in his Latin, according to the verses of the new song" (*li aucel / chanton, chascus en lor lati, / segon lo vers del novel chan,* 1.2b-4). The term *lati* indicates the birds have words and the underlying rational knowledge necessary to communicate. A bird's *lati* is already a contradiction: as

[76] Gerald A. Bond, "Textual Notes," in *The Poetry of William VII, Count of Poitier, IX Duke of Aquitaine*, ed. and trans. Gerald A. Bond (New York: Garland Publishing Co., 1982), 77 and note 22.

we saw in a previous chapter, animals and birds may have voice but not speech, which requires human rationality, although the ontological problem of birds singing in *lati* is lessened, of course, when the bird is acting as a metaphor for a human singer.[77] The term *lati* can be translated broadly to "language," distinguishing speech from nonverbal utterance; to "Latin," as opposed to the vernacular; and by extension, to "unintelligible speech," that is, language unknown to the subject. As Simon Gaunt determines, by Guillaume's time, *lati* was used "for the singing of the birds, presumably because each species has its own distinct song," understandable only to those who belong to that group.[78] Birdsong can therefore connote exclusive discourse rather than irrational utterance.

If birds capable of proper *lati* are metaphors for composer-singers, then these singers also belong to a select group capable of truly understanding one another:

> In fact, this common lyric motif promotes unintelligibility as an aesthetic value. Like the birds' song, the language of poetry is hermetic and obscure, yet still harmonious and accessible to its practitioners. The birds thus provide a model of transcendent understanding, wherein the voices of different birds, "chascus en lor lati," are unified in a single song, "segon lo vers del novel chan." . . . Like the birds, each poet may sing in his own distinctive *lati*, but the practice of *trobar* provides a common measure.[79]

Therefore, Guillaume situates skilled composer-singers within a smaller community who can share the language of good composition.

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[77] The issue is not completely smoothed over, even so, as Augustine draws a distinction between those who perform music by imitation and those who understand the mathematical ratios underlying it (see *De musica*, book I, chapter 4). Leach comments on the ambiguity of birds as metaphors: "The highly trained singer employing his knowledge of the *scientia* or *ars* of *musica* was employing his natural rationality in support of his natural instrument. Although birds have the latter, they lack the former: their nature is irrational. Comparisons between medieval human singers and birds, between human music making and birdsong, are thus potentially double-edged and sometimes difficult to read" (*Sung Birds*, 3).

[78] Gaunt, "Sexual Difference," 309. It should be noted that Gaunt uses *ab la dolchor* as one of the pieces of evidence for this claim.

[79] Davis, "'Chascus en lor lati'." 19.

> The word *lati* thus becomes a metaphor for a type of understanding which could be described as metalinguistic (in other words, as transcending language), but perhaps the important point of the metaphor is that only the lovers or pairs of birds understand each other and that their language is incomprehensible to others.[80]

Whereas Dietmar's season unites a remembering community of "many hearts," Guillaume's season is for an exclusive smaller set.[81] To use Sara Ahmed's concept of the kinship object, the language of composition becomes a shared object that unites the singing community, adding to its joy:

> If the same objects make us happy—or if we invest in the same objects as if they make us happy—then we would be directed or oriented in the same way. To be affected in a good way by objects that are already evaluated as good is a way of belonging to an affective community. We align ourselves with others by investing in the same objects as the cause of happiness.[82]

Alignment with the community represents happiness. While Dietmar is well-aligned with his happy community and his lady was misaligned, Guillaume establishes in the first stanza a smaller community happy in its exclusive, discursive alignment.

By extension, the birds' *lati* is incomprehensible to those outside of their group, fashioning a barrier between those who are *in* and those who are *out*. Indeed, though Guillaume complains of being excluded from joining the time of consummation—he is misaligned due to his lady's discursive silence—he also excludes others who stand in the way of his love. In the last stanza, he boasts,

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[80] Gaunt, "Sexual Difference," 310.
[81] Cf. Cramer: "Der Appell an die literarische Kennerschaft schließt die Möglichkeit der Rezeption durch ein größeres Publikum nicht aus, unterstellt aber eine Doppelfunktion der Gedichte, wie sie für die mittelalterliche Kunst überhaupt charakteristisch ist: als gesellschaftlicher Gebrauchsgegenstand und als Kunstwerk eigenen aesthetischen Anspruchs" (*Waz hilfet âne sinne kunst?*, 17).
[82] Sara Ahmed, *The Promise of Happiness* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 38.

> I do not care about their Latin that would separate me from my Good Neighbor, for I know about the talk, how they go with a little tale that is spread about. For some go about boasting of love, of which we have the piece and the knife.
>
> *Qu'eu non ai soing de lor lati*
> *que·m parta de mon Bon Vezi;*
> *qu'eu sai de paraulas, com van*
> *ab un breu sermon, que s'espel,*
> *que tal se van d'amor gaban;*
> *nos n'avem la pessa e·l coutel.* (V.1-6)

The phrase "de lor lati" creates a link to the beginning strophe, when the birds sing "en lor lati" (I.3). But now, rather than being sung by songbirds who follow their natural desires, a different class of *lati* is spoken by rivals, active antagonists, seeking to estrange the couple through their "talk" (*paraulas*, V.3) and "little tale" (*breu sermon*, V.4). Both of these words have a range of connotations, from simply "words" to the more threatening "tall tales" and "insinuations", respectively; of course, their original meanings, "parables" and "sermons", reference religious didactic modes.[83] These modes of speech are no longer the versified songs of the birds (*lo vers del novel chan*, I.4) but are prose. While the birds' verses are temporally defined, these lower forms of discourse are spatial, made all the more threatening by their mobility as the rumors are spread widely (*que s'espel*, V.4), with the intention to separate the lovers through shame and ridicule.[84] By talking of shameful things, the rivals have leverage over Guillaume's status in society.

For all the gossips' malice, their attempts to shame and separate the couple are ineffective, as Guillaume resists those attempts by outright announcing successful

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[83] My thanks to Mary Franklin-Brown for her comments on the shifting meanings of these terms.
[84] Roger Boase, *The Origin and Meaning of Courtly Love: A Critical Study of European Scholarship* (Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1977), 102.

physical intimacy and his continued desire for her, showing that he is unafraid of what they might say. Though others merely boast of love, he and his beloved have a piece (of bread or meat) and a knife (*n'avem la pessa e·l coutel*, V.6)—this expression can mean both sexual intercourse as well as having mastered a skill.[85] This double declaration of ability and fertility connects to the *lati* of the birds: Guillaume and his lady share sexual and discursive understandings that are more substantial than his rivals' vapid talk. He has twice described details of his relationship in previous stanzas—one of which being the hawthorn branch—opening up a discursive space that contradicts the versions spread by the gossipers. Guillaume undermines their speech—simultaneously showing that their own boasts are empty (no bread or knife to show for their words) while disempowering their gossip by boasting of his own success. In this way, he critiques the restrictions and hypocrisy of his rivals present in the community.

Clearly, the gossips' and braggarts' modes of speech as well as their approach toward love are antithetical to Guillaume's, and he constructs a hierarchy of discourse that preemptively excludes those who would shame and silence him. The *lati* of the birds and the *lati* of the gossips and braggarts are mutually unintelligible, marking divisions both discursively and relationally. Unlike the prosaic gossips, the birds sing verses; like the singer, the birds belong in the realm of lyric. While the gossips can only elaborate on old material, the birds create their own new verses and are therefore capable of *inventio*:

> The quality of a song—its sounding performance—does not differentiate the bird-brained imitator from the rational, thinking artist. To the extent that the words of a song are just sounds, these too may be imitated without intention or reason. Ultimately the practitioner of *musica harmonica* is distinguished by his ability to

[85] Bond, "Textual Notes," in *The Poetry of William VII, Count of Poitiers, IX Duke of Aquitaine*, 77-78.

> *understand* the measure and numbers of music, something he may implicitly demonstrate, but not explicitly prove, in the act of singing.[86]

Because the rivals are incapable of versified production, they are also unable to fundamentally understand Guillaume's lyrics as well as interpret the birdsong. They lack the discernment of either composer or audience. As we saw with Hildegard von Bingen, Bernard of Clairvaux, and Thomasin von Zerclaere in a previous chapter, bad forms of joy and discourse are characterized by their lack of useful edification, harming the greater community. Here, Guillaume has converted the measurement of utility into a sexual paradigm, one which the three religious writers would have decried. Bernard and Thomasin condemn gossip and loud boasts as examples of misplaced joy and excessive behavior; Thomasin explicitly condemns boasting about erotic conquests, of which Guillaume himself boasts.[87] Nonetheless, Guillaume claims that his words have real substance, while those with empty boasts are a form of lower discourse. This distinction between affective and musical registers—those who love rightly, sing rightly, while those who envy and hate can only prosify—resembles the distinction between nightingale and frogs in *Owê, hovelîchez singen* by Walther von der Vogelweide (c. 1170 – c. 1230) where aesthetic preference maps on to social and moral divisions.

In the final stanza, Guillaume ridicules others for empty boasts, claiming that he has a real relationship, yet the audience knows that he cannot move forward to again consummate it, and that the real, tangible aspect of his relationship is one that is now only in memory. It is hard to see how his relationship is more real than the empty boasts.

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[86] Leach, *Sung Birds*, 43.

[87] Thomasin speaks against both men and women who boast about love affairs, though it is an even worse offense for women. See Book I, lines 247-296 in *Der Wälsche Gast*, eds. Heinrich Rückert and Friedrich Neumann (Leipzig, 1852; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1965).

Nonetheless, the memory's existence is his deliverance, and in returning to it *enquer*, he can progress through the song and end it. Through the promise of the hawthorn branch leafing out, he creates a different discursive space in his song, demonstrating his sexual and compositional success, allowing him to join the birds who each has his own *lati*, within the *locus amoenus* he was originally unable to enter. Song becomes a way not only to defend against social pressures but also to add his own voice to the public discourse and to navigate to the end of the song, entering paradise.

Dietmar also contains a critique of expectations for courtly behavior in his song. As we have seen in the male persona's passive experience of the idealized *locus amoenus* in the first stanza, the man has followed too closely the ideals of his community. In the second stanza he encourages his lady to finish well what they have started.

> I have long been favored by you, lady worthy and good. How well I have stood by it, that you have refined my spirit. However were I to become better of you, it would be to my wellbeing. If you make the end good, then you have done all of it well.
>
> *Ich bin dir lange holt gewesen, vrowe biderbe unde guot.*
> *vil wol ich daz bestatet hân du hâst getiuret mînen muot.*
> *swaz ich dîn bezzer worden sî, ze heile müez ez mir ergân.*
> *machest dû daz ende guot, sô hâst du ez allez wol getân.* (II.1-4)

Consistent with the passivity of the singer established by the *Natureingang*, this petition is rather passive: he is depending on her to act, rather than himself taking an active part. This is indeed the stance of a stereotypical courtly lover, who waits patiently for his lady's good favor. But the fifth stanza reveals that the lady is unable to lead him to a good end, because she herself cannot experience the sights and sounds of spring. Due to his claims that many hearts are happy, the lady seems to be the only one excluded, deepening her loneliness. Her abandonment is twofold: he no longer embraces her;

therefore, she is estranged both from him and from the happy experiences of the rest of her community. Her negated *locus amoenus* contradicts his, showing how greatly he has misjudged the situation and casting the previous stanzas into an entirely different light. She ends the song on the words *jâmer alzelanc*, hardly the end the singer was hoping for.

Similarly, the lady contradicts the lover's position in the third stanza, where he declares a series of maxims in praise of moderation in love service and aligns himself with the ideals of courtly love:

> A person ought to hold the worthy and the good dear at all times. He who boasts all too much knows nothing of the best measure. Even a courtly man ought never to make it good to all women. He who does all too much is not master of himself.
>
> *Man sol die biderben und die guoten ze allen zîten haben liep.*
> *swer sich gerüemet alze vil, der kan der besten mâze niet.*
> *joch sol ez niemer hövescher man gemachen allen wîben guot.*
> *er ist sîn selbes meister niht, swer sîn alze vil getuot.* (III.1-4)

Yet the woman's situation reveals he has followed moderation too well. We learn at the end of the song that the woman finds his attentions to her have been inadequate: she desires to lie in his arms and perceives his distance not as discretion but as hostility. His passive approach is the barrier to their mutual happiness. To use Guillaume's phrasing, she has the piece, he does not have the knife. Rather than serving only one woman, he has failed to serve her at all. He is a parody of the courtly lover, and thus Dietmar calls into question styles of courtship normalized in *Minnesang*.

The divisions of the male and female singing personas are discursively positioned through the *locus amoenus*. It is clear that the man is unaware of the lady's neglect, just as she is unaware of his intentions to pursue her. Her declarations undermine his: despite the man claiming that the *locus amoenus* is universal, her exclusion shows that it is not.

Yet she is also discursively disadvantaged: she says that she can neither see the flowers nor hear the birdsong: and if the bird is a metaphor for the singer, then she cannot hear *his* song. The man waits for the lady to guide him to the end—of the song and of erotic longing—while she waits for him to lead her into the *locus amoenus*. In Guillaume's song, the discursive threat is prosaic, capable of silencing the singer. In Dietmar's song, the singer himself prosifies—as a result, what began as a love song becomes didactic. The stability of the love song is so threatened that *Minnesang* scholars often separate the song into two or three distinct songs, with the didactic stanza as the breaking point.[88] However, if read as a whole, the song does not fracture but rescues the singer: he returns to contemplating the *locus amoenus* in the fourth stanza, so that the memory of a memory space reorients him. For he is not entirely a fool: he is right, at least, in being confident the lady will reciprocate. If the male singer turns his thoughts and desires into action, then we as an audience know that he will be successful, that the lady is ready to receive him. In this way, the *locus amoenus* functions both as a division between the man and the lady as well as a site for hope of reconciliation, just as Guillaume finds discursive resolution through his recollection of the *locus amoenus*.

The two songs by Dietmar and end before the couples' reunions can be realized. Yet the form of Dietmar's song itself provides hope: although the lovers are unable to communicate directly, the device of the *Wechsel* positions their isolated experiences so that they are now adjacent to one another. Monologues turn into dialogues, with the song

[88] Groos accepts contemporary consensus that stanzas IV and V constitute a separate poem; although he does not consider the other stanzas in his analysis of memory processes, he does consider the subtle effect of *mouvance* in MS A, where the man is not merely reminded of a lady, but dwells constantly on a specific lady ("Modern Stereotyping and Medieval Topoi," 166).

as the mediator. Structurally, the song links the two perspectives together: the song's very first and very last lines rhyme with *sanc / lanc*, so that the lady begins to echo the lover's description of the *locus amoenus*, creating the possibility of a return. Although there are two other instances in the song of identical rhyme, this is the only example of a rhyme pairing that is repeated, forming intentional bookends to the song. In other words, although the woman cannot hear the man's song, she nonetheless echoes it, showing they still share a bond in their division. Therefore, the man's and the woman's voices intertwine, together forming a complete song in their inverted-yet-harmonized desire for one another.

This reconciliation is enacted on the extratextual level, embodied through the physical presence either of one performer, with two voices united in one body, or of two performers standing next to one another, physically present if emotionally distant. The descriptions of space within the poems are thus transposed onto the performance space, as Paul Zumthor argues: "performance projects the poetic work into a *setting*."[89] The performance space also provides an acoustic bridge, as the voices echo off of court walls. Indeed, the lyrics aid this acoustic overlap as the male voice introduces the female voice. He has barely finished describing his thoughts "which I have of a lady" (IV.4b) before the lady has begun singing. Even as the internal experiences of the characters are externalized by the voices of the performers, so that they are no longer estranged but side-by-side, they are musically connected by the repeated melody. Lastly, the personas are connected within the audience's memories: even though the man and the woman

[89] Paul Zumthor, *Oral Poetry: An Introduction*, trans. Kathryn Murphy-Judy (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990), 124.

cannot hear one another, the audience has heard both and, knowing that there is still hope, begins to imagine their reconciliation after the song has ended. In his many readings of French, Italian, and German love poetry, Frederick Goldin often situates the song in an imagined performance with an imagined audience. He explains his approach thus:

> On paper, and read, the courtly love lyric is a form filled with clichés, lacking in coherence. . .. But when this lyric is played. . .when it is set in motion before an attending audience, then it takes on a life that no other body of lyric poetry has ever shared. Then it even becomes a kind of life itself, uniting the poet and his audience into one joyful community inspired by this play of love and courtliness.[90]

In this way, the performed song becomes a kinship object for the audience, a shared experience that they collectively remember. The song reaffirms its festive origins, singing of joy while simultaneously creating joy for the audience, thus fulfilling the role of composer-singer in contributing to the community's joy. The spatial-temporal setting of the *locus amoenus* becomes an imagined space for this communal memory to form.[91]

The question of audience is somewhat more complicated in Guillaume's song: how can a song that ought to bring joy to its audience also set out to divide them? Frederick Goldin navigates around this paradox by considering the audience as described in lyrics: the textual gossipers and vain braggarts are an amorphous "other" against which

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[90] Frederick Goldin, *Lyrics of the Troubadours and Trouvères: An Anthology and a History* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Press, 1973), 120-121.

[91] Cf. Zumthor's erotic description of vocal performance: "Uttering the spoken word thereby takes on within itself the value of a symbolic act: by reason of the voice, it is exhibition and gift, aggression, conquest, and hope for victory over its adversary; manifest internalization overcome by the necessity to physically invade the object of its desire: the vocalized sound goes from the inside out and, without any other mediation, links together two lives. The oral poem, therefore, unlike the written poem, cannot become an end in itself. The 'enclosure' of the text (in the way we speak of the enclosure of a garden, *hortus conclusus*, *hortus deliciarum*) breaks apart, and through the breach comes something else that is no longer discourse and which crosses over the boundary lines of ordinary language. The referential force of the poem derives largely from its focusing upon the contact between the people bodily and together present at the performance" ("The Text and the Voice," trans. Marilyn C. Engelhardt, *NLH* 16, no. 1 [1984]: 76).

the community can unite through a shared cause.[92] This resembles Ahmed's statement on alignment, where the joy of community is formed in part around shared love, even shared hatred:

> The social bond is binding insofar as feelings are deposited in the same object, which may then accumulate value as happy or unhappy objects: a group may come together by articulating love for the same things, and hate for the same things, even if that love and hate is not simply felt by all those who identify with the group.[93]

Guillaume creates an inclusive *us* in the audience, aligned in their shared hatred for *those* critics, who in the conceit of the song are not included in the audience. Moreover, the bonds are strengthened through a new, collective memory: though Guillaume's song ends and is silenced, the song lingers on the highly tangible image of "the piece and the knife" in the minds of the audience, imprinting a lasting memory that they all share.

This is how the *locus amoenus* functions as a memory space on the extratextual level for the audience. The song's images and themes bring springtime to the minds of the audience: even as the persona of the singer reminiscences, so do members of the audience, their own experiences of springtime awakened by the sensory imagery.[94] By evoking the *locus amoenus*, the song transports them to the song-filled woods, to the bed of roses, to the long and cold winter nights. Thus, remembered sensory perception overlaps current perception of music, voices, bodies, and performance space, so that the

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[92] Frederick Goldin often characterizes the performer's audience as comprising friends and enemies and interprets the shifting tones in the song as addressing these varying perspectives. See, e.g., his characterization of Heinrich von Morungen's stance in *German and Italian Lyrics of the Middle Ages: An Anthology and a History* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Press, 1973), 36-41; and his comparison of Bernart de Ventadorn's posture to Guillaume IX's in *Lyrics of the Troubadours and Trouvères*, 108-125.
[93] Ahmed, *The Promise of Happiness*, 38.
[94] On the identification of the audience with the singing persona, and the resulting social cohesion for the elite members of the audience, see Timo Reuvekamp-Felber, "Kollektive Repräsentation als soziale Funktion von Minnesang? Zur Pluralität und Variabilität der Ich-Figurationen in der Minnekanzone am Beispiel Friedrichs von Hausen," in Hausmann, *Text und Handeln*, 203-224.

song is doubly synesthetic. Furthermore, the memories, in resembling one another, lose their individuality and blur into the generic signs described in the song, so that the stock imagery is the reduction of their common experience. The sensory imagery is vague enough to be identified with the listener, sharp enough to invite sympathy. A mere mention of rose blossoms will conjure up sights and smells individual to each audience member yet defines what is common to all of them.

As these past individual memories in the text are made present in the performance and as the audience is reminded of their own experiences of springtime, a new collective memory is being formed, a memory of the song's performance. The song therefore becomes a kingship object, helping reinforce a sense of community. Thus, by recalling together with the audience an idealized *locus amoenus*, the singers enter the songs into communal memory. The textual community, invoked by *des wirt vil manic herze vrô*, merges with the extratextual audience, who in hearing of happiness together become unified in their own joyful response. Remembering the imagery within the song as it is sung and later recalling the song itself, the audience forms a shared identity around the common experience.

If spring is a time for song, then winter represents a silencing of both birdsong and human song; perhaps it is appropriate that Dietmar's song ends in the midst of the lady's affective winter. Indeed, winter represents discursive interruption, a silencing of both birdsong and human song, which in turn captures the ephemerality of performance.[95]

[95] Alison Cornish, "Words and Blood: Suicide and the Sound of the Soul in Inferno 13," in "Sound Matters," by Susan Boynton, et al., *Speculum* 91, no. 4, (2016): 1016; Mladen Dolar, *A Voice and Nothing More* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2006), 30-32; and Jonathan Shull, "Locating the Past in the

A song is heard, and then is no more. In the silence after the performance ends, that particular iteration of the song dies. No performance can replicate the experience of the song again. Even in our current age, where recordings can capture a performance, the environment and affective state of the listener will be different during each subsequent replay. However, the song does not completely disappear, but is stored in the memory of the hearer. The experience of the song is altered by being remembered. Because the synesthesia of images is necessary for memory making, a performed song inherently employs synesthesia, in that the audience hears the voice and instrumentation, sees the gestures of the singer, feels the pulse of the music, and overlays the invocation of images with their own memories of related images. The nature *topoi* act as a mnemonic for remembering the song, both in the mind of the audience and of the performer. In this way, the presence of the *locus amoenus* has an extratextual function in the performance of the song.

Memory in the Metatext

Through the repetition of this extratextual use of memory in performance, the trope of the *locus amoenus* interacts with memory metatextually as a type of citation. There is a strong impetus among troubadour scholars and musicologists to consider citation as a literary technique in medieval song that utilizes intertextual memory in order to acquire authority or advance an idea.[96] Incipits, refrains, and *tornadas* are all instances

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Present: Living Traditions and the Performance of Early Music," *Ethnomusicology Forum* 15, no. 1 (2006): 89.

[96] Notable examples include Dillon, "Unwriting Medieval Song," 595-622; Sarah Kay, *Parrots and Nightingales: Troubadour Quotations and the Development of European Poetry* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013); Yolanda Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song: Citation and Allusion in the Age of Machaut* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013); Jennifer Saltzstein, *The Refrain and the Rise of*

of citation yet are features largely missing from *Des Minnesangs Frühling*. Nonetheless, there is one particular feature common to love lyrics of many languages and eras that may still offer insight into *Minnesang*'s potential for citation, memory, and communal formation: the *topos* of the *locus amoenus*. Though motifs and idioms are indirect quotes at best, they are nonetheless metatextual citations of preexisting ideas and expressions, adding validity to the work and evoking the associations of prior performances. Musicologist Jennifer Saltzstein, who has been at the forefront of citation in French song, writes,

> Quotation was arguably the foundation of medieval composition; a medieval author often created a new text through a process of gathering together and reinterpreting authorities. . .. Further, a new composition itself became authoritative through the process of quotation and citation: only once it was repeated in the compositions of other authors would it acquire *auctoritas*.[97]

In this framework, the *locus amoenus* not only cites itself internally, as the aural imagery of nature refers to the song itself but also cites the preexisting corpus externally, returning the listener to the memories of former songs with similar images. The images link the song with future songs that will recapitulate the imagery of the *locus amoenus*, ensuring that this song too will be remembered in later iterations. Thus, tropes bridge the momentary, lending a remembered performance a reincarnated life. Fashioning a genealogy of images, words, and notes, the nature setting of medieval love lyric enables composers to cite the repertory, to enter their song into the ranks, and to transcend the threat of the transitory, the silent death of the song once it is no longer performed.

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the Vernacular in Medieval French Music and Poetry (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2013); and Suzannah Clark, "'S'en dirai chançonete': Hearing Text and Music in a Medieval Motet," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 16, no. 1 (2007): 31–59.

[97] Saltzstein, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular*, 29.

This promise to live beyond the performance is best seen in the ways *Minnesänger* are remembered through the memory space of the *locus amoenus*. The recurring presence of the *locus amoenus* throughout medieval literature is in part due to the rhetorical expectations for settings to suit the content. However, the *locus amoenus* is not as requisite as it appears: in reality, its presence depends on shifting tastes and trends. A spring introduction is relatively rare in classical Latin love songs, while nature imagery is found in only a handful of early *troubadour* lyrics and *Minnelieder* and hardly at all in the *trovére* corpus; it regains popularity among *Minnesänger* only in the mid-thirteenth century.[98] Even though not all troubadours or *Minnesänger* utilize the *locus amoenus*, the trysting place becomes synonymous with the genre as a whole. In other words, the *locus amoenus* becomes the vehicle with which the *Minnesänger* are remembered.

For example, Gottfried von Strassburg (d. 1215) famously refers to the *Minnesänger* as nightingales in his literary excursus found in the romance of *Tristan*:

> They all well know their office, and for renown they sing well their sweet summer melodies. Their voice is clear and good, they give the world high spirits, and they properly make the world's hearts well. The world would be full of carelessness and would live without purpose, if it weren't for the very dear birdsong, which very often reminds the man, who once earned delighted spirit, of both delight and good and of many moods, which softens [pleases] noble hearts; it wakens friendly spirits, hence come inner thoughts. Thus, the very dear birdsong begins to recount to the world its delight.
>
> sî kunnen alle ir ambet wol
> und singent wol ze prîse
> ir süeze sumerwîse.
> ir stimme ist lûter unde guot,

[98] On Latin love lyric, see James J. Wilhelm, *The Cruelest Month: Spring, Nature, and Love in Classical and Medieval Lyrics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), 3. On the waning and waxing popularity of the *locus amoenus* in *Minnesang*, see Ludger Lieb, "Die Eigenzeit der Minne," 191-192; and Wolfgang Adam, *Die "wandelunge". Studien zum Jahreszeitentopos in der mittelhochdeutschen Literatur* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 1979), 35-36.

si gebent der werlde hôhen muot
und tuont rehte in dem herzen wol.
diu werlt diu wære unruoches vol
und lebete rehte als âne ir danc
wan der vil liebe vogelsanc.
der ermant vil dicke den man,
der ie ze liebe muot gewan,
beidiu liebes unde guotes
und maneger hande muotes,
der edelem herzen sanfte tuot;
ez wecket vriuntlîchen muot.
hie von kumt inneclîch gedanc,
sô der vil liebe vogelsanc
der werlde ir lieb beginnet zalen. (4754-71)[99]

By calling the singers nightingales, Gottfried uses a term already embraced by the *Minnesänger* and troubadours themselves, while simultaneously evoking the content of their songs. In this way, he affirms their self-fashioning as nightingales.[100] Their songs are inherently sweet summer melodies (*süeze sumerwîse*, 4756): even though the *locus amoenus* is not present in all of early *Minnesang*, the multisensory images of sweetness, warmth, and light still pervade Gottfried's memory of the songs as a whole. A few lines later, he depicts his contemporary Walther von der Vogelweide as one of these nightingales (a feminine noun in German), "hey, how she warbles with a high voice over the heath!" (*hei wie diu über heide / mit hôher stimme schellet!* 4800-1). The heath, one

[99] The Middle High German is taken from Gottfried von Straßburg, *Tristan*, eds. Karl Marold and Werner Schröder, vol. 1, 5th ed. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004), 82. All translations are my own, though they benefitted from A. T. Hatto's translation of *Gottfried von Strassburg: Tristan, with the surviving fragments of the Tristran of Thomas* (Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books, 1960, repr. 1974), 106-107.

[100] The sincerity of this passage is well-debated. According to W. T. H. Jackson, Gottfried admires only those who can achieve the balance of joy and sorrow, namely Reinmar and Walther ("The Literary Views of Gottfried von Strassburg." *PMLA* 85, no. 5 [1970]: 995). Here, Jackson also notes that Gottfried appears to privilege aural imagery over the visual and music over narrative. For the use of structural analysis to support an argument of his low opinion of Reinmar and other "nightingales," see Lida Kirchberger, "Gottfried on Reinmar," *Monatshefte* 56, no. 4 (1964): 172. For a positive opinion, see Alois Wolf, "Die 'Große Freude'. Vergleichende Betrachtungen zur Eros-*exsultatio* in Minnekanzonen, im 'Erec' und im 'Tristan'," in *Erzählkunst des Mittelalters. Komparatistische Arbeiten zur französischen und deutschen Literatur*, eds. Martina Backes, Francis G. Gentry, and Eckart Conrad Lutz (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1999), 365-397.

of the common springtime places invoked in *Minnesang*, is now the space which Walther flies through and fills with his voice. The *locus amoenus* is not a merely static decoration but a place of memory and artistry which Walther deftly navigates.

Gottfried's affirmation of the whole group of nightingales appears to pale in comparison to his praise of Hartmann von Aue, Bligger von Steinach, and Heinrich von Veldeke, who can join words together with skill and craft. But there is something the nightingales can do that they do not: the nightingales are skilled at influencing their audience's emotions, memories, and behaviors. Gottfried describes their "sweet summer melodies" (*süeze sumerwîse*, 4756) as being capable of softening hearts (*der edelem herzen sanfte tuot*, 4767), using adjectives that are frequently found in *Minnesang*. The sweet and soft images of *Minnesang* transform their hearers' hearts—which again are the seats of emotion and memory—into their own likeness. The nightingales' songs edify their hearer: "for the very dear birdsong, which very often inspires the man who once earned a spirit of delight" (*wan der vil liebe vogelsanc. / der ermant vil dicke den man, / der ie ze liebe muot gewan*, 4762-64); *ermanen* means both "admonish" and "remember," so that the song simultaneously triggers constructive memories of the listener in a process of refinement.[101] Moreover, the songs motivate their audience's will (*diu werlt diu wære unruoches vol / und lebete rehte als âne ir danc / wan der vil liebe vogelsanc*, 4760-62), as properly utilized memories should do. Similar to Hildegard, Bernard, and Thomasin, Gottfried categorizes good joy as one that builds up the moral compass of the community through song; but now, that community is a spiritualized version of the secular court (*diu*

[101] See the entry "ermane" in the *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch* by G. F. Benecke, W. Müller, and F. Zarncke (BMZ), vol. 2, pt. 1 (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1854), 57b, the digital edition hosted by "Wörterbuchnetz," the Trier Center for Digital Humanities, https://www.woerterbuchnetz.de/.

werlt). The songs act upon "noble hearts" (*edelem herzen*, 4767), collating social distinctions and good taste, just as Guillaume's love songs are only for select, discerning hearers. This social and aesthetic exclusivity is a dominant theme for Gottfried; here, it is the "office" (*ambet*, 4754) of the singers to refine already refined hearts. As Ahmed notes, "What 'tastes good' to us can reveal whether we have 'good taste'," or in other words, what we enjoy has much to do with aligning with others' enjoyment.[102] By teaching its listeners what to enjoy, the songs create the world of which they have sung.

Similarly, Gottfried uses the *locus amoenus* in his literary excursus as a metaphor for rhetoric and memory. He likens a poor composer to a hare that "would spring high upon the word-heath and would wish to graze widely with hack words" (*und ûf der wortheide* / *hôchsprünge und wîtweide* / *mit bickelworten welle sîn*, 4637-39). By referring to the *wortheide*, Gottfried explicitly evokes the metaphor of the *locus amoenus* as a navigable mental place, populated with the words needed for composition and performance. This hare appears quite clumsy, compared to the expert flight of the "Nightingale from Vogelweide" who soars with a loud voice over the heath (*diu von der Vogelweide. / hei wie diu über heide / mit hôher stimme schellet!* 4799-4801). Hares communicate by drumming loudly upon the ground, as this hare may be doing.[103] Their vocalizations are grunts, snuffles, or distressed shrieks, none of which carry the measured musicality that the nightingale does. It is up to the expert to know how to navigate this *wortheide*, and the bird is quite literally far above the hare. Gottfried describes Walther's

[102] Ahmed, *The Promise of Happiness*, 34.
[103] Hares and rabbits were also used as metaphors for promiscuity and cowardice. Their warrens were also maintained by the nobility for hunting and as status symbols. See Goehring, *Space, Place and Ornament*, 74-76, 186 notes 55-58, and 187 note 63.

abilities with explicit references to song styles: "how marvelously she harmonized! How she varied her song" (*wie spæhe si organieret! / wie si ir sanc wandelieret,* 4803-4). The technical term *organieren*, that is, composing and singing in *organum*, is to "organize," to put together memorized formulas with improvisation using multiple voices, which may include an accompanying instrument.[104] It was a complicated form, which scholars take as an indication that Walther had formal instruction in singing or had high voice, though we must be careful to not take Gottfried's abundant praise too biographically.[105]

Because of this contrast between two animalian composers populating a rhetorical *topos*, it is tempting to read Gottfried's wording as intentionally bringing attention to the topographic surname *von der Vogelweide*, as a continuation of the landscape imagery. The first three writers named in the excursus—Hartmann von Aue, Heinrich von Veldeke and Bligger von Steinach—are presented with both sets of their names, while Walther and Reinmar are identified only by their surnames and the association with nightingales. The feminine demonstrative *diu*, which refers to the feminine nightingale, helps to identify Walther and Reinmar by indicating they are composer-singers, yet it also blurs their masculine identities, so that the avian metaphor becomes more real than their actual names. All of this combines to shift weight to the topographic surname, with which Gottfried may be making poetic wordplay. The first part of the name, *Vogel* ("bird") joins with *Weide* ("pasture, place of sustenance") to evoke the practice of training falcons, an

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[104] Anna Maria Busse Berger, "Teaching and Learning Music," in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Music*, eds. Mark Everist and Thomas Forrest Kelly, vol.1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 492-496. See also Peter Williams, "The Meaning of *organum*: Some Case Studies," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 10.2 (2001): 112-14, for the ambiguities present in the term, including a less formal meaning that also may be meant by Gottfried.

[105] R. J. Taylor, "The Musical Knowledge of the Middle High German Poet," *MLR* 49, no. 3 (1954): 333-34.

aristocratic sport and closely associated with hunting.[106] *Weide* is also closely associated with *wunne* ("delight, ecstay, joy") in idiom, as Gottfried himself uses in a later passage, implying that pastureland is pleasurable.[107] In contrast, the hare only wishes to be *wîtweide* ("far afield" or "grazing widely," 4638), unfocused and not necessarily successful in those desires. The hare desires wrongly—to graze widely on this pleasure-space without discernment—while the nightingale has musical knowledge (*spæhe organieret*). The nightingale from Bird-Pasture has been trained for the rhetorical hunt in a sheltered, nourishing, joyous, and elite space and is able to better navigate the heath.

A similar play on topography may be evident in the other named nightingale, *diu von Hagenouwe* (4777). As mentioned in the first chapter, this surname may have been invented by Gottfried, and scholars assume that it applies to the oldest and most prolific of the Reinmars named in German songbooks. In this way, the surname takes on even more potential for a metaphorical interpretation, as it may not be biographical at all and serving to contrast with and highlight the meanings available in *Vogelweide*. An *ouwe*, or *Aue*, is a waterlogged meadow useful for grazing herd animals; less cultivated and aristocratic than a *weide*, this space is nonetheless more exclusive and protected with the suffix *hagen* ("hedge").[108] These features of a *hagen* correlate to Gottfried's ode to Reinmar's marvelous talents, which now after his death are forever out of reach:

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[106] See entries for "vogelweide" and "weide" in Lexer, BMZ, and Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (digital edition hosted by Wörterbuchnetz, the Trier Center for Digital Humanities, last modified January 2021, https://www.woerterbuchnetz.de/).

[107] See entries "Weide" in Grimm and Grimm and "wünne" in Lexer. The lines in *Tristan* are 16754-61 and are in reference to birdsong in another *locus amoenus* in the *Minnegrotte* episode. The word *wunne* appears to have been an ancient word for pasture, although the evidence is uncertain. See Ulrich Goebel, "Mittelhochdeutsch 'wunne-zehende'," *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur Älteren Germanistik* 11 (1976): 169-171.

[108] See entry for "Aue" in Grimm and Grimm.

> [von Hagenau] is thus silent to the world, who carried the highest art of all melodies sealed up in her tongue.
>
> *der werlde alsus geswigen ist,*
> *diu aller doene houbetlist*
> *versigelt in ir zungen truoc* (4779-81)
>
> Where is she, who would take so much, so many variations when the wonder would come to her—I mean, the tongue of Orpheus, who knew all melodies, who melodized from her mouth.
>
> *wâ sî der sô vil næme,*
> *wannen ir daz wunder kæme*
> *sô maneger wandelunge.*
> *ich wæne, Orphêes zunge,*
> *diu alle dœne kunde,*
> *diu dœnete ûz ir munde.* (4785-90)

Like the mysterious Orpheus, Reinmar's voice had nearly divine inspiration (*daz wunder*), but now that he is nowhere to be found (*wâ sî*), the secrets of his music are "sealed up" (*versigelt*).[109] Like a garden with a hedge and locked door, Reinmar's music is inaccessible. By imprinting on their surnames, the memory space of the *locus amoenus* converges with the identities of the composer-singers.

In a similar fashion to Gottfried, the late thirteenth-century singer der Marner (d. c. 1287) laments that Walther, Reinmar von Hagenau, and other former composers are dead and that few like them can be found in his time. He recalls, "they sang of the heath, of the birds, how the blossoms are colored; I must read from their gardens and their flowers of their sayings" (*die sungen von der heide / . . ./ von den vogeln wie die bluomen sint gevar / . . . / ich muos us ir garten und ir spruchen bluomen lesen*, 5, 7, 16).[110] Der

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[109] Whether or not Gottfried is sincere in his praises of Reinmar remain debatable. See Lida Kirchberger, "Gottfried on Reinmar," *Monatshefte* 56, no. 4 (1964): 172-73; and Konrad Burdach, *Reinmar der Alte und Walther von der Vogelweide* (Halle: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1928), 179-80.

[110] The Middle High German is adapted from Günther Schweikle, ed., *Dichter über Dichter in mittelhochdeutscher Literatur* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1970), 33. All translations are my own.

Marner conflates the *locus amoenus* with the rhetorical, so that gardens and flowers can be "read" (*lesen*).[111] The word *lesen* offers multiple interpretations: it can be translated as "read out loud" or "presented;" as "collecting" or "gathering," especially of flowers; in combination with *das herze*, the verb acquires cognitive valences: "to take notice" or "to remember."[112] With *lesen*, der Marner simultaneously laments that he must read—rather than hear—skilled poets, takes on the responsibility to read their works out loud for others, and proposes to collect and recollect their sayings. Thus, der Marner and Gottfried use the memory space of the *locus amoenus* to memorialize other composer-singers. Even though the *locus amoenus* is featured in only a fraction of love poetry, it becomes representative of *Minnesang* in its later reception as the early *Minnesänger*'s claimed role in contributing joy to the community is attested not only in their own songs but also in the eulogies for them. The summertime imagery is so linked to *Minnesang* in later memory that it even influences how current scholars define the genre, as seen in the title of the anthology *Des Minnesangs Frühling*.[113]

Memory in Context

Thus, the *locus amoenus* can be considered a site of memory on the textual, extratextual, and metatextual levels. Moreover, it is a soundscape: textually resounding with birdsong, extratextually being sung about, and metatextually resonating with the larger love lyric tradition. There are a number of ways scholars define soundscape; this chapter's analysis follows Emma Dillon's approach to soundscape as "a sonority specific

[111] Cf. Cramer, *Waz hilfet âne sinne kunst?*, 159-177.
[112] See the entry for "lësen" in Lexer.
[113] For a similar observation, see Jan-Dirk Müller, "Jahreszeitenrhythmus als Kunstprinzip," in *Minnesang und Literaturtheorie*, eds. Ute von Bloh, et al. (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2001), 133.

to a particular place, at a given time, and which participates in shaping the meaning of that environment, and the way its inhabitants define their community."[114] Thus, the idyllic setting has a characteristic sonority based on its location and time period, and that sonority orients an audience of love lyric toward the song and toward each other. Of course, the *locus amoenus* is metaphorical, mental, and memorial, a place of dream visions and idealizations. As a result, the *locus amoenus* in *Minnesang* is often treated by scholars as symbolic, too typified to be a real scene.[115] Nevertheless, the features of the *locus amoenus* shift across language traditions and composers, indicating that it is more than a meaningless device. In other words, to understand the unique soundscape of the *locus amoenus*, we must consider its context for its audience, not as a rhetorical device, but as a fictional place that conjures up memories of real places.

Although the *locus amoenus* is a trope with characteristics specific to the aesthetics of the Middle Ages at large, it also is filled with differing aural images that depend on the language, culture, and era, as well as periodic trends, individual composers' preferences, and the particular song's themes. The sonorities in troubadour lyrics have a greater variety of animals available to them than in *Minnesang*.[116] In Medieval Latin love lyric, aural imagery is created by birdsong, a babbling brook, and even a breeze rustling the leaves.[117] Among the *trouvéres*, bubbling water is a rare

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[114] Emma Dillon, "Song and the Soundscape of Old French Romance," in *Thinking Medieval Romance*, eds. Katherine C. Little and Nicola McDonald (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 160-1.
[115] Cramer, *Waz hilfet âne sinne kunst?*, 163.
[116] See especially Sarah Kay's analysis of Marcabru's use of animate and inanimate sounds in "The Soundscape of Troubadour Lyric, or, How Human Is Song?" in "Sound Matters," by Susan Boynton, et al., *Speculum*, vol. 91, no. 4, (2016): 1011–1015.
[117] Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, 195.

sonority.[118] In *Minnesang*, birdsong is the most prominent acoustic image, while the word *brunne*, "fountain," occurs only five times in the *Des Minnesangs Frühling* corpus and once in a song by Walther von der Vogelweide. Bees and rustling leaves are entirely absent, although Walther does allude to a cold winter wind in one love song.[119] In this way, the sonority of the summer setting is specific to the love lyric traditions delineated by language and time period.

Memory is of course individual, but it is also communal, a characteristic which comes from "the shared activity of recollecting stories about that time and that place in this time and this place, stories that are individually different from one another and yet share the authoring *res* of the *locus* itself."[120] In these terms, then, this generic, idealized trysting place is simultaneously an authoring *res* common to love lyrics that span languages and centuries, while also taking up unique characteristics of a particular community (e.g. the species of trees present) or satisfying the demands particular to each poem (e.g. the arrangement of details in order to establish a desired rhyme scheme or meter). As mentioned earlier, Saltzstein has found that the seemingly generic features of the *locus amoenus* map accurately onto the composers' real landscapes.[121] Furthermore, if we consider the audience, the commonly shared elements are specific enough to awaken real associations. To understand the associations these sonorities might have awakened in the various audiences' memories, we must imagine the *locus amoenus*

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[118] Saltzstein, "Songs of Nature," 135.
[119] Adam, *Die 'wandelunge'*, 46-47 and note 61. For the cold wind in Walther, see Lied 15.IV in Christoph Cormeau, *Walther von der Vogelweide. Leich, Lieder, Sangsprüche*, 14th ed. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1996).
[120] Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 37.
[121] Saltzstein, "Songs of Nature," 120-135.

within more localized contexts. Therefore, acknowledging that these natural settings are not real geographical places, but idealized and representative, we should nonetheless interrogate how this representative space reminds the song's audience of real landscapes and their associated sonorities.

For example, a hawthorn is a common shrub in troubadour lyrics but not in medieval Latin lyric nor *Minnesang*, and it carries vivid sensory, affective associations for French- and Occitan-speaking audiences. Guillaume's "sweetness of the new time," refers to the mild temperatures, birdsong, and the smell of flowers. But "sweetness" may specifically evoke the early blossoming of hawthorn on the first of May, which made the hawthorn an important symbol in May Day celebrations. The common hawthorn, *Crataegus monogyna*, is so pungently sweet that its scent is also associated with sex and death—adding a forbidden, even ominous connotation to *la dolchor del temps novel*, yet suitable to the quivering, frosty branch that represents Guillaume's more tangible love.[122] Beyond the sight of its flowers, Guillaume's invocation of the hawthorn triggers strong olfactory memories of the first day of summer. Aural memories are also evoked. In what is now France, hawthorn would have been found alone in a field or heath as a boundary marker or in clumps growing along the edges of woodland, bridging human settlement and forest and making a natural border between different habitats.[123] Its dense foliage,

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[122] The smell comes from trimethylamine. See Geoffrey Grigson, *The Englishman's Flora* (London: Phoenix House Ltd., 1955), 168. The common hawthorn is found in more central and northern France, including Poiters where Guillaume grew up. The sweeter smelling and less thorny *Crataegus azarolus* is more common to the milder climates found in Provence and Italy.

[123] French regions did not widely use living hedges to divide property during Guillaume's time; however, naturally occurring hedges including hawthorn might have sprouted from or grown around dead fences or formed a border around a woodland. For the shifting uses of hedges (and types of shrubs within hedges) throughout the medieval period in England, see Oliver Rackham, *Trees and Woodland in the British Landscape*, rev. ed. (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1995, first published by J. M. Dent, 1976), 184-96.

smaller size, and autumn berries make it attractive to a large number of bird species, especially the nightingale.[124] This means the hawthorn is often noisy with birdsong: when Guillaume describes many birds singing and likens his own love to a hawthorn branch, these two images overlap to recall the aural images of the noisy, liminal hawthorn. It is at first surprising to see Guillaume choose a branch rather than a bird to represent his love for the lady, because the more typical self-representation for a composer is of course the nightingale. But the relationship between songbird and hawthorn suggests that Guillaume identifies his love as a liminal living structure in which other singers, including himself, can find shelter, nourishment, and a place to speak their *lati*.

Dietmar's mention of roses in the fourth stanza evokes a similar natural boundary and aural image. While roses were already being cultivated in gardens, often symbolizing the aristocracy, their wild cousins could be found along forest edges or in manmade hedges. Before the late Middle Ages and the rise in emparkment, hedges were long used in German-speaking regions as living fences to help defend villages as well as the property of the nobility and the church, who could afford the extra expense of planting and maintaining a hedge.[125] Hedges planted on steep earthen banks added to their

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For the general habitats that lead to natural hedges, see Richard Mabey, *Flora Britannica* (London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1996), 92-3.

[124] A. Fichtner and V. Wissemann, "Biological Flora of the British Isles: *Crataegus monogyna*," *J Ecol*. 109 (2021): 541– 571; and R. J. Fuller, P. Stuttard, and C. M. Ray, "The Distribution of Breeding Songbirds within Mixed Coppiced Woodland in Kent, England, in Relation to Vegetation Age and Structure," *Annales Zoologici Fennici* 26, no. 3 (1989): 265–75.

[125] For regions in what is now Germany, this defense increased in the ninth century following outside invasions, and the need for boundary markers increased in the eleventh century due to population growth and the need for more land (Georg Müller, *Europe's Field Boundaries: Hedged Banks, Hedgerows. . . and traditional wooden fences*, vol. 1 [Stuttgart: Neuer Kunst Verlag, 2013], 53, 55, and 336). Similarly, hawthorns were likely used for fencing in England, see Oliver Rackham, *Ancient Woodland: Its History, Vegetation and Uses in England*, 2nd ed. (Colvend, England: Castlepoint Press, 2003), 352-53.

fortification, and the use of dense, thorny shrubs such as hawthorn and rose made the hedge nearly impassable.[126]

Because the noisy hedgerows provide shelter from predators for many creatures, including birds, it is fitting that they also provide shelter for trysts. Indeed, Dietmar's roses appear to grow in a smaller place that is somewhat sheltered or private (*an eine stat, dâ ez ê dâ was, ich sach dâ rôsebluomen stân*, IV.3). It is in the memory of this sheltered, song-filled place that the singing persona recovers his song from its didactic leanings and is able to give space to the lady's song. Hedges were a common enclosure for gardens, being a cheaper option than stone.[127] Furthermore, gardens were sites of pleasure and signified status. They could be exclusive, either as an elite access to nature in an increasingly urban environment or as a secure location for the lady to be outdoors. Thus, the enclosed garden could connote nobility and femininity; a singer's boast of access to such a place was lofty indeed. And yet again, these socially and culturally significant spaces, if surrounded by a hedge, would have been contained by a wall of sound, as well.

These protective and aural aspects of these green spaces are socially significant. It is all too tempting to read the liminality of hawthorn and wild roses as an expression of the singer's liminal role in society, for itinerant performers had no single court community and were on the outskirts of the law.[128] But this does not apply to Guillaume, one of the most powerful people in his time, nor does it apply to the *Minnesänger* of

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[126] Julius Caesar writes of the challenging living hedges built by the Nervians in *De bello Gallico*, II.17.4, as cited in Müller, *Europe's Field Boundaries*, vol. 1, pp. 50-51. In modern warfare, the *bocages* in France also significantly hampered Allied efforts to retake France in 1944.
[127] John Harvey, *Medieval Gardens* (London: Batsford, 1981), 110.
[128] Dobozy, *Re-Membering the Present*, 17-36.

Dietmar's time, who were instead members of courts as knights and clerks first and composer-singers second. Nor would even an itinerant singer flaunt their ostracized place in society—after all, Walther von der Vogelweide himself complains that he needs a fixed home, but does not use his unfixed state as a point of pride. Rather, a composer-singer would argue for their valuable contributions to court life, just as in *Owê, hôvelîchez singen*, Walther argues that his type of song offers a better class and caliber to the court. Similar to Walther's profession to preserve court values through his songs, Guillaume offers a sheltering branch for productive singers and lovers, while Dietmar considers the *locus amoenus* a place of solace and joy, where the singer has a hope of restoring his song and his relationship. Whether implicitly or explicitly, the *Minnesänger* position themselves as a defensive cultural—and aural—line around the court community by influencing its modes of enjoyment and good taste, showing that their role at court is both useful and moral.[129]

Cultivating Joy

Through the joyful aurality of the *locus amoenus*, we have uncovered its role as a sounding, memorial space on the textual, extratextual, and metatextual levels, as well as its role in community formation. The aural images of the *locus amoenus* are explicit, such as birdsong; implicit, such as the multisensory adjective "sweet;" and contextual, found in landscape features like hedges. Textually, the *locus amoenus* is an anchor for the singing persona in his or her navigation of memory, motivation, and desire in an attempt

[129] "Insofern wird auch hier wieder für Dichtung und Dichter geworben und versucht, das Publikum zum richtigen Geschmack zu erziehen. Eine ähnliche Funktion . . . [ist,] was ‚in' und was ‚out', was gut und was schlecht ist" (Sabine Obermaier, *Von Nachtigallen und Handwerkern. "Dichtung über Dichtung" in Minnesang und Sangspruchdichtung* [Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1995], 360).

to reach a place of consolation and resolution. This navigation is a self-referential acknowledgement of the extratextual performance, in which the real singer uses the *locus amoenus* as an anchor as well, but this time as an anchor that governs meter, rhyme scheme, and thematic postures and that fulfills the festive expectations of the audience. The audience in turn forms a memory of the *locus amoenus* and the song itself, strengthening their bonds in a shared experience, so that the song contributes to the socializing function of communal festivity. Because of these expectations for a joyful song to match a joyful event, such songs form a common repertory, citing one another and increasing the likelihood for the songs to be remembered; and through that stronger memory, ultimately resulting in the *locus amoenus* becoming synonymous with *Minnesang*.

For composers near the end of the period covered by the anthology *Des Minnesangs Frühling*, the *locus amoenus* largely disappears. As we will see in the following chapter—the conclusion to this project—Reinmar makes oblique nods to the joyful atmosphere of the *locus amoenus* without ever fully describing it, yet an echo of it lingers in his descriptions of joy. The more conscious acknowledgement of the singer's role in contributing to joy among later composers mean that they have a dominant place in scholarly discussions of *Minnesang*'s communal function. Yet through the *locus amoenus*, even the earliest *Minnesänger* had access to techniques that comment on the medium of song itself, its festive context, and its societal obligations.

Conclusion. Unrivaled Joy

In dulci iubilo,
singit und sit vro!
aller unser wonne
layt *in praesepio;*
sy leuchtit vor dy sonne
matris in gremio,
qui Alpha est et O![1]

We return at last to the question: how did a *Minnesänger* like Reinmar von Hagenau reach both types of emotional communities present in his audience, reconciling his secular responsibility of bringing joy to the courtly community with the religious injunctions against excessive happiness? At first glance, the singers do not provide their songs for instruction, as Bernard and Thomasin would have them do, but for entertainment. Rather than contemplating the sufferings of Christ, the personas of the singers contemplate the lady—and themselves even more so. The conventions of *Minnesang* depict their ultimate goal as worldly joy free from sorrow, not necessarily happiness in God. This attitude seems very far removed from the monastic life and clerical education, yet as the emotional communities of church and court begin to increasingly overlap, the later *Minnesänger* risk presenting an obsolete, even unacceptable, type of emotional expression.

[1] "In a sweet *jubilus*, sing ye and be joyful! All our delight, laid in a manger, shines more than the sun in the lap of the mother, [he] who is the Alpha and Omega." My translation and transcription, which is taken from the earliest written version of the carol *In dulci jubilo*, found in MS 1305 (c. 1400) Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, 116r; https://digital.ub.uni-leipzig.de/mirador/index.php. I have modified my transcription to reflect editorial conventions, such as expanding a few abbreviations. The song, an early macaronic of Latin, middle German, and a little Greek, is often attributed to Dominican friar Heinrich Suso (1295-1366), who hears it sung by a dancing angel in a vision in 1328. *Dulci jubilo* is often translated as "sweet rejoicing," but may also be a reference to the musical term *jubilus*, a long, joyful, and wordless melisma of the *Alleluia* in Christian liturgy.

To reconcile these tensions, composers offer a third solution, claiming to be different from those who only pursue worldly happiness in their ability to endure sorrow for the sake of greater joy. A discursive posture that elevates the singer's joy and song over others' has already been seen in the songs *Ab la dolchor del temps novel* by Guillaume IX and *Owê, hovelîchez singen* by Walther von der Vogelweide. In the romance *Tristan* by Gottfried von Strassburg and in the song *Ich bin niht tump mit also wîsem willen* by Reinmar von Hagenau, the superiority of some forms of song and story is not measured by status or style but by spiritual virtue. In order to legitimize their secular roles as joy-bringers, both Reinmar von Hagenau and Gottfried von Strassburg utilize moral language that resembles the language of Bernard of Clairvaux and Thomasin von Zerclaere, which in turn elevates their work. They demonstrate that a balance between joy and sorrow can be achieved even in the production and reception of secular songs and stories; this balance is in fact preferable to a state of unmitigated happiness.

Reinmar von Hagenau, Lied 39

I. *Spraeche ich nu, daz mir wol gelungen waere,*
sô verlüre ich beide sprechen unde singen.
waz touc mir ein alsô verlogenz maere,
daz ich ruomde mich alsô vremeder dinge?
Daz wil ich den hôchgemuoten lân,
den dâ wol geschiht; die nemen sich des an.
ich klage iemer mînen alten kumber,
der mir iedoch sô niuwer ist,
den sî mir gap, dô sî mir vröide nan. wê, ich vil tumber!

II. *Wil diu vil guote, daz ich iemer singe*
wol nâch vröiden, mac sî mich danne lêren
alsô, daz sî mir mîne nôt geringe.
ân ir helfe triuwe ich niemer sî verkêren.
Mac si sprechen eht mit triuwen jâ,
als ê sprach nein, sô wirt mîn wille dâ,
daz ich singe vrô mit hôhem muote.
dâ bî sô ist diu sorge mîn,
daz man ze lange beitet. daz kumet niht wol ze guote.

III. *Ich bin niht tump mit alsô wîsem willen,*
daz ich sô reine noch sô staete minne;
wan daz si sint vil lîhte ze stillen,
den dâ liep âne leit geschiht, als ich es sinne.
Sô verlius ich niemer vröiden vil,
sît diu guote mich niht sanfte stillen wil.
sol mîn dienest alsô sîn verswunden,
sô sîn doch gêret elliu wîp,
sît daz mich einiu mit gedanken vreut an manegen stunden.

IV. *Ez bringet mich in zwîvel eteswenne,*
daz ich lônes bîte in alsô langer mâze.
an der ich aber triuwe und êre erkenne,
waene ich des, daz mir diu ungelônet lâze,
Sô geschaehe an mir, daz nie geschach.
guot gedinge ûz lônes rehte nie gebrach.
des habe ich hin zir hulden ie gedinget.
ouch ist ez wol genâden wert,
swâ man nâch liebe in alsô lûterlîcher staete ringet.

I. If I spoke now, that I had had good success, then I would lose both speaking and singing. What good is such a dishonest tale to me, that I bragged of such unknown things? I wish to leave that to the highspirited ones, to whom it happens well there; they attend to that. I lament ever my old grief, which is nonetheless so new to me, which she gave me when she robbed me of joy. Alas, I the very foolish!

II. If the very good one wants for me always to sing well joyfully, if she can then teach me thus, then she will have lessened my troubles. With her help I hope never to destroy her. If she can speak only with a trusty “yes,” as she spoke “no” before, then my wish will be there, that I sing happy with high spirits. Therefore, my trouble is this: that one endures too long. That would not come well to the good.

III. I am not dumb with such wise intentions, that I so purely nor steadfastly love; except that they are very easy to silence, those to whom delight without sorrow happens, as I understand it. So I would never lose many joys, since the good one will not gently silence me. Even if my service shall thus have vanished, still all women are yet desired, since that one makes me happy in my thoughts for many an hour.

IV. It sometimes brings me to doubt, that I wait for reward in so long a measure. However, I recognize faithfulness and honor in her; if I thought that she would let me go unrewarded, then it would be the first time it ever happened to me. Good hope never broke with just reward. Thus, I have ever relied on her kindness here. Also is it well worthy of grace to struggle for delight in such bright steadfastness.

Reinmar and Gottfried create similar distinctions between proper joy and immoderate happiness, yet the former uses the division to elevate certain kinds of composer-singers, while the latter is concerned about audience reception. Compare the first few lines from Reinmar's song to a similar excerpt from Gottfried's prologue:

> I am not dumb with such wise intentions, that I so purely nor steadfastly love; for those who experience delight without sorrow there are very easy to silence, as I understand it.
>
> *Ich bin niht tump mit alsô wîsem willen,*
> *daz ich sô reine noch sô staete minne;*
> *wan daz si sint vil lîhte ze stillen,*
> ***den dâ liep âne leit geschiht**, als ich es sinne.*
> (Reinmar 39.III.1-4, my emphasis added)
>
> Why would a noble spirit not gladly endure an evil for the sake of a thousand goods, a discomfort for many joys? Those who never experienced sorrow from delight also never experienced delight from delight.
>
> *War umbe enlite ein edeler muot*
> *niht gerne ein übel durch tûsent guot,*
> *durch manege fröude ein ungemach?*
> ***swem nie von liebe leit geschach**,*
> ***dem geschach ouch liep von liebe nie**.*
> (Gottfried, *Tristan,* 201-205, my emphasis added)[2]

While Reinmar denounces fellow composers who are always happy, Gottfried rejects an audience who is only interested in happiness. Their similar language invites a comparison: both talk of "those to whom delight (*liep*) happens without sorrow (*leit*)," even using the same verb, *geschehen*.[3] Reinmar and Gottfried are both attentive to the nuances of different terms for joy in the contexts surrounding these excerpts, ultimately

[2] Reinmar's text and numbering is taken from *Des Minnesangs Frühling*, eds. Hugo Moser and Helmut Tervooren, vol. 1, 37th ed. (Stuttgart: S. Hirzel Verlag, 1982); Karl Lachmann's original numbering for this song is *MF* 189, 5. Gottfried's text is taken from *Gottfried von Straßburg. Tristan*, edited by Karl Marold with Werner Schröder, vol. 1, 5th ed. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004). All translations are my own.
[3] As mentioned in the introduction to this study, the term *liebe* has a complicated history, standing between the meanings of *vröide* and *minne*, but in these two excerpts, its opposition to *leit* makes *liebe* more likely to be "delight" or "joy."

preferring *liebe* over the other forms of happiness. Nevertheless, both argue that the pursuit of wholesale *liebe* is to be avoided. Just as moralists like Bernard encourage a moderation between joy and sorrow, warning against a pursuit of happiness alone, so do Reinmar and Gottfried reject a life of immoderate joy.

Reinmar views emotional moderation as a generative tension between extremes that allows him to continue to sing. Claiming to be moderate in love, he rejects the conventional wisdom of courtly love service, under which the singing persona would be in a form of stasis, rejected by his lady and unable to sing about loving another because of "pure and steadfast love" (2). Nor is he like those who only experience delight and are easily silenced (*vil lîhte ze stillen*, 3), because they lack the tension needed for song. By not wholeheartedly devoting himself to joy in love, Reinmar considers himself to be wise, able to continue singing and finding a better path than the one prescribed by court values. In this way, Reinmar's persona uses the moral value of moderation to position himself above the alleged rival singers who brag about their happy conquests in love.

Similarly, Gottfried explicitly introduces his romance with language evocative of moral training. Throughout his prologue, Gottfried uses three different words of volition to characterize those who pursue only happiness: the adverb *gerne* and the modals *mügen* and *willen*. In the passage quoted above, those who want only happiness do not eagerly (*gerne*) undergo trials for the sake of goodness and happiness: their will is short-sighted. Many lines earlier, Gottfried also describes this group of people with modal verbs:

> I do not intend those of the world that—I hear tell—could not bear any burden and would wish to float in nothing but joys: let God allow them to live with joy, too!
>
> *ine meine ir aller werlde niht*

als sie, von der ich hære sagen,
diu ***keine swære müge getragen***
und ***niwan in fröuden welle sweben:***
die lâze ouch got mit fröuden leben! (Gottfried 50-54, emphasis mine)

Those who are incapable (*[en]müge*) of bearing burdens are lacking in the mental fortitude acquired from self-discipline. They also wish (*welle*) to be only joyful: their will is wrongly oriented. In this way, the words *gerne*, *müge*, and *welle* show that people pursuing happiness have not trained the appetitive part of the soul to submit to unpleasant experiences in pursuit of an even greater happiness. Thus, Gottfried presents a spiritual kind of self-discipline that can still be practiced in a secular life, even in the enjoyment of song and story.

Whereas Reinmar distinguishes between types of composer-singers and their affective and aesthetic abilities, Gottfried applies this distinction to audiences: this group of people who never endure sorrow are not Gottfried's rival composers but potential listeners. We will see later how Gottfried differentiates between good and bad composer-singers; in this passage, it is the audience who must practice self-discipline. Gottfried wants an audience of a specific emotional capacity: "I intend another world, which carries together in one heart its sweetly bitter, its delightful sorrow" (*ein ander werlt die meine ich, / diu sament in eime herzen treit / ir süeze sûr, ir liebez leit,* 58-60). With *werlt* also meaning the court, Gottfried distinguishes between two kinds of courts, ones that are defined by their emotional capacities, which in turn affect their discernment of good stories.

This discipline results in a right emotional reaction. Whereas Reinmar prefers *liebe* over *minne*, Gottfried prefers *liebe* over *vröude*. He intends for his story to bring

"delight to the world" (*der werlt ze liebe,* 46), leaving behind the other world "that only wants to float in joys, may God let them also live in joys" (*niwan in fröuden welle sweben / die laze ouch got mit fröuden leben*, 53-54). In other words, one world will strive for *liebe*, and the other will rest in *vröude*. Will Hasty points out this contrast between terms for joy:

> Gottfried invests in a *higher* love—a love that only a *specialist* courtly population of noble hearts is able to appreciate—and thereby gives *high* a new and very different sense (vis-à-vis the Christian parameters of love). But he also hedges his bets by conceding *vröuden*—"courtly joys," though doubtless less refined and valuable ones than those to which the noble hearts have access, to the "world of the many". . .. The two populations with their different levels of joy in love remain connected by virtue of a consequential poetic move that Gottfried makes in the very first verses of his romance.[4]

Thus, Gottfried spiritualizes *liebe* over *vröude*, one set apart for an exclusive set of people. H. B. Willson argues that Gottfried is fashioning a shared identity in his audience, using a religious paradigm. Just as Bernard encourages humility by having compassion for others, this greater happiness according to Gottfried is found in a courtly form of *caritas* that manifests in *compassio* and *misericordia*:

> In the story he is about to tell his hero and heroine, Tristan and Isolde, are the *senedaere* with whom his audience of *senedaere* must suffer, for whose *passio* they must have *compassio* (123 ff.). In telling a story concerning the sorrows of these two, who love ardently and strive to achieve perfect love, he is giving his audience the opportunity to find joy in the suffering they share with them and in the vision of the union of perfect love which they enjoy.[5]

Thus, this exclusive group has specific emotional responses to discourse, pursuing the virtue of *compassio* through hearing the story.

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[4] Will Hasty, *The Medieval Risk-Reward Society: Courts, Adventure, and Love in the European Middle Ages* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2016), 115.
[5] H. B. Willson, "Gottfried's 'Tristan': The Coherence of Prologue and Narrative," *MLR* 59, no. 4 (1964): 599.

In the same way, the songs of the *Minnesänger* can inspire *compassio* in their hearers' hearts. The personal associations created by the songs and stories would have resonated within the audience, a vicarious way for real couples in the audience to introspectively explore their own misunderstandings. The fictional scenario becomes grounded in real experiences, playing on real court dynamics and acquiring the tint of different responses within the audience members. Some of the relationships in the court would have been secret to the rest, while others painfully public. Even those who are fully happy and free from sorrow learn *compassio* by hearing of another's suffering. Thus, the song functions as a bridge between these two emotional existences, allowing the happy ones to hear, know of, and experience the sorrow the singer feels. The performance encourages *compassio,* rather than the rivalry, crafting a joyful unity that lays aside the complexities of status and politics within the court to focus simply on the complex-enough emotions of love. This is why Reinmar is able to claim in the song that opened the first chapter, "I was indeed the consolation of the whole world" (35.I.3).

Pride and Joy

The indictments against excessive happiness discussed in my second chapter are clearly present in these two texts. H. B. Willson argues that Gottfried's prologue shows a strong relationship to Bernard's *De gradibus humilitatis et superbiae,* the same treatise in which a vain monk spiritually and discursively descends into the mortal sin of pride.[6] Although Gottfried mentions envy, not pride, in his prologue, Willson believes that pride might be assumed, in that both Gottfried and Bernard condemn "those who do their

[6] Willson, "Gottfried's 'Tristan'," 595 and note 2.

utmost to avoid the sorrow of seeing others praised. Their whole joy lies in their own imagined worth and excellence. They make no attempt to overcome the original sin of pride," which both Bernard and Gottfried see as a source of envy and the opposite of *caritas*.[7] Willson finds ample links between Gottfried and Bernard, even without the inference of an allusion to pride, but Reinmar makes pride much more identifiable in his song, in that he takes advantage of the ambivalent meanings of the closely related Middle High German terms *hôher muot* and *hôchgemuot*. Reinmar declares,

> I wish to leave that [bragging] to the highspirited ones, to whom it happens well there; they attend to that. I lament ever my old grief, which is nonetheless so new to me and which she gave me, when she robbed me of joy. Alas, I the fool!
>
> *Daz wil ich den hôchgemuoten lân,*
> *den dâ wol geschiht; die nemen sich des an.*
> *ich klage iemer mînen alten kumber,*
> *der mir iedoch sô niuwer ist,*
> *den sî mir gap, dô sî mir vröide nan. wê, ich vil tumber!* (39.I.5-9)

Just as Bernard's vain monk seeks only joy through vocal self-promotion, this bragging is a vocalization characteristic of those who are only joyful. The *hôchgemuoten* are the same group of people who are then described in the third stanza as those "to whom delight without sorrow happens there" (*den dâ liep âne leit geschiht*, 39.III.4); the connection is made even clearer by the parallel phrasing with the verb *geschehen* and the modifier *wol*.

Furthermore, the relationship between happiness and pride is present in the terms *hôher muot* and *hôchgemuot*. As mentioned in the introductory chapter, the former term translates literally as "high spirits" or "lofty mind," carrying connotations of happiness as well as social elevation and refinement, from which the meanings "haughtiness" or

[7] Willson, "Gottfried's 'Tristan'," 597.

"arrogance" emerge. The latter term, *hôchgemuot*, can also translate to "happy" or "arrogant" but tends toward the negative. The ambivalent meanings of these two variants ultimately require context and tone for a better interpretation and translation: if the text is religious, such as a sermon, then the author condemns *hôher muot* as pride; if secular, such as a romance, then the author praises the elevation of disposition that matches the elevation of rank. But even this seemingly reliable division breaks down in secular texts from writers such as Reinmar and Gottfried, whose clerical and moral influences are evident: whether or not Reinmar is directly referencing Bernard's *De gradibus*, he is certainly responding to a moral tradition in which pride, excessive happiness, and poor vocal control are linked. As discussed in the second chapter, Bernard describes a monk on the second step of pride as one who "laments when he is upstaged and rejoices when he upstages" (*quia et quod superari se dolet, et quod superare se gaudet*, Clairvaux, *PL* 182: 963b).[8] Then on the third step of pride, the monk rejects the sorrow caused by envy in favor of being continually happy (*Sicque fit, ut quem sibi vicissim vindicabant gaudium et tristitia, sola possidere incipiat inepta laetitia*, 963d). Likewise, Reinmar's singing persona escapes the envy and rejection of sorrow that lead to pride by not wishing to be like the *hôchgemouten* and embracing *liep* mixed with *leit*.

To differentiate himself from this negative category, Reinmar offers a type of emotion and song production that is antithetical to the *hôchgemuoten*. In love songs across cultures and eras, one will always find many oppositions: opponents, and rivals who frustrate the pursuit of love, whether as rival suitors, envious gossips, or jealous

[8] Bernard of Clairvaux, *De gradibus humilitatis et superbiae*. The Latin is taken from the edition by J.-P. Migne in *PL* 182: 941-972 (Paris, 1859). All translations are my own, but with consultation of the translation by Barton Reginald Vaughan Mills (1929).

guardians, as we saw in *Ab la dolchor del temps novel* by Guillaume IX. In *Minnesang*, happier individuals occasionally appear, serving as a useful contrast to the singer's own sorrowful state. These luckier figures may be hostile to the singer, they may be merely oblivious to his plight, or they may be operating in a mode of existence utterly alien to the singer.[9] Even the song can become a point of division, as the other singers or audience members complain if the singer is too often sad, reducing the enjoyment of those he ought to please.[10] Caught between his audience's expectations and his own experience, the singer must lie or quit singing altogether. Reinmar von Hagenau seems to be responding to this pressure in the first stanza:

> If I said now that I had had good success, then I would lose both speaking and singing. What good is such a dishonest tale to me, if I were to brag of such unfamiliar things?
>
> *Spraeche ich nu, daz mir wol gelungen waere,*
> *sô verlüre ich beide sprechen unde singen.*
> *waz touc mir ein alsô verlogenz maere,*
> *daz ich ruomde mich alsô vremeder dinge?* (39.I.1-4)

The verb *ruomen* (I.4) with a reflexive pronoun can also be translated as "to be happy, to rejoice" and carries a social dimension, implying that there is an audience expecting to hear his bragging.[11] Thus, joy and speech converge.

Yet this joyful speech is useless to Reinmar if it is without truth (*waz touc mir ein alsô verlogenz maere*, 3), implying that only joyful speech (or song) has proper utility when it is also truthful. This value in discursive utility resembles Hildegard's privileging

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[9] Cf. Reinmar von Hagenau, Lieder 14 (*MF* 165, 10), 25 (*MF* 175, 1), and 48 (*MF* 195, 3); Heinrich von Veldeke, Lied 34.
[10] Cf. Reinmar von Hagenau, Lieder 27 and 33.
[11] See the entry for "rüemen, ruomen" in Matthias Lexer's *Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch*, the digital edition hosted by "Wörterbuchnetz" at the Trier Center for Digital Humanities, version 01/21. Accessed August 20, 2022. https://www.woerterbuchnetz.de/Lexer. The verb is attested in all three of the song's manuscripts.

of the didactically useful monochord, Bernard's ridicule of the useless bladder, and Thomasin's complaint of vapid frog song. Reinmar's singer avoids Bernard's third step of pride—vocal self-promotion—by refusing to falsely brag about having success with the lady in order to promote himself. Instead, he concedes songs of joy to those who never grieve, while singing his own songs of lament. For the sake of truth, he is even willing to go against the pressure of his secular audience, who expects their entertainment to always be joyful. In this way, the emotional experiences of the singer dictate the type of song he is able to sing, lest he lie and reduce the quality of his song. The reverse is also true: lying causes a loss of speech and song for Reinmar (I.2-3), so that paradoxically, speech leads to speechlessness. Just as Bernard's monk's moral and emotional states are reflected in a loss of vocal control and rationality, Reinmar claims a better mode of song production than the *hôchgemuoten* that is governed by the moral values of truth and moderation.

Too Happy for Words

Not only does Reinmar use truth as a value for his song production, but he also uses moderation. He does not object to the sorrow, but its excess: "Thereby thus is my sorrow, that one endures too long. That would not come well to the good" (*dâ bî sô ist diu sorge mîn, / daz man ze lange beitet. daz kumet niht wol ze guote*, II.8-9). Similarly, he laments the long wait in the fourth strophe: "It sometimes brings me to doubt, that I wait for reward in so long a measure" (*Ez bringet mich in zwîvel eteswenne, / daz ich lônes bîte in alsô langer mâze*, IV.1-2). Unlike those who only experience joy, he accepts the sorrow; it is its imbalanced duration that he rejects. This display of apparent

inequality creates mental uncertainty, disrupting his expectations for regularity and balance. With expressions like *ze lange* and *alsô langer mâze*, the singer indicates that the moderation so carefully established in the rest of the song is threatened by the lady's continued refusal of him. With his hope for her reward, the implication is that the joy will be all the greater for the long measure of sorrow. Thus, Reinmar employs the value of moderation to argue for his right to worldly happiness. Subverting his expected role of joyful entertainer, he takes the higher moral ground, drawing on contemporary theological and philosophical values of moderation to claim a professional advantage over those who otherwise appear to be better off.[12] Reinmar deftly navigates the competing moral and emotional standards faced by Christian-educated members of secular courts by basing his ultimate values not on joy but on truth and moderation, and this moral superiority translates to compositional superiority. Though his limitation to songs of lament appears to be a disadvantage for someone who faces pressure to sing joyfully, Reinmar turns his sorrowful state into an advantage.

Even though there was an expectation to bring joy via entertainment, the *Minnesang* tradition is rife with lament and longing. Reinmar metatextually references this characteristic shared by other love songs—including many of his own—by "always lamenting my old grief" (*ich klage iemer mînen alten kumber*, I.7). The contradictory newness of the old lament refers to its perpetuity in the persona's experience and to its

[12] By broadcasting his moral superiority through song, the singer exhibits another form of pride that Thomasin and Bernard would consider insidious, recalling Thomasin's statement, *Wan swelch herre rehte tuot, / der minnert dâ mit sîn guot, / tuot erz dar umbe daz er wil / daz man sage von im vil* ("For whichever lord does right, he lessens his goodness by doing it because he wants others to talk much about him," III.3715-18). The Middle High German is taken from *Der Wälsche Gast*, eds. Heinrich Rückert and Friedrich Neumann (Leipzig, 1852; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1965). All translations are my own, though indebted to Marion Gibbs and Winder McConnell's translation (2009).

evergreen presence in *Minnesang*. Even as the singer regrets his situation, his sorrow at least provides him with endless material: he is "lamenting ever" and still able to sing, which is more than what the others can do, who "are very easy to silence, to whom joy without sorrow happens" (III.3-4). The experience of sorrow strengthens his emotional endurance and gives him fodder for song, while unmitigated happiness leads to feeble verbal expression. Reinmar rejects the simple extremes common to *Minnesang*, discerning that his lady's rejection of him continues to generate his songs. On the textual level, the reference to *alten kumber* alludes to his persona's enduring trouble, while on the extratextual level it comments on the ironic pleasure his grief may bring to the audience in the form of voyeurism or catharsis. Without the tension and conflict of unrequited love, a song loses interest—even gains tedium—so that Reinmar must perform songs of sorrow in order to bring pleasure to his audience. By achieving a balance in joy and sorrow, Reinmar recognizes a moderation of emotions as a better muse than unadulterated joy, complicating the simple dichotomy of happiness and sadness. At the same time, he overturns a seemingly disadvantageous situation into one in which he has primacy in both spheres of his life: he is superior on moral grounds, having better emotional moderation than his peers, and he is superior on secular poetic and professional grounds, able to fulfill his professional duties by continuing to sing when others have not.

Whereas Bernard and Thomasin value silence as a display of rational self-control and submission to communal control, Reinmar's persona treats immoderate sorrow as a lesser evil and silence as the greater evil. This difference stems from tropes common to the *Minnesang* tradition, where the fear of silence is intrinsic to the form. On the textual

level, the I-persona can only exist in the production of his own song, and silence is a form of death. The first stanza ends with the interjection, "Alas, I the very foolish!" (*wê, ich vil tumber*, I.9), showing that the threat of rational dissolution is present and real in this song. Furthermore, on the social level, a silenced singer has no recourse to woo his lady or entertain his audience, creating a crisis of identity. Although her consent opens up new possibilities for song, it will also ultimately extinguish it: "So I would never lose many joys, since the good one will not gently silence me" (*Sô verlius ich niemer vröiden vil, / sît diu guote mich niht sanfte stillen wil,* III.5-6). With her consent, his lament will end, and he will join the ranks of the blissfully silent, too busy with lovemaking to worry about songwriting. Joy in its excess is dangerous here, not on a moral level as in Bernard and Thomasin, but on a professional level; it is only in its moderation that Reinmar can continue to sing. Thus, he finds paradoxical joy in being able to sing of sorrow, in the consolation that because the lady has not yet reciprocated his attentions, he can continue to sing.

Despite the framework of consolation the singer has built for himself, Reinmar cannot escape the conventional binaries of sorrow/joy and folly/wisdom. He has acquired a type of professional knowledge yet still refers to himself as foolish. The lament that ends the first strophe leads into the second, in which the singer posits a cure for both his grief and foolishness simultaneously: "If the very good one wants me to always sing well joyfully, if she can then teach me thus, then she will have lessened my troubles" (*Wil diu vil guote, daz ich iemer singe / wol nâch vröiden, mac sî mich danne lêren / alsô, daz sî mir mîne nôt geringe,* II.1-3). With instruction, he can leave behind his sorrow and his

folly together: Reinmar's knowledge of sorrowful song is thus subordinate to the knowledge of joyful song. The continuation of his sorrow would harm both of them and must end (II.9). Although he is happy he is not silenced, the silencing would be gentle, and therefore pleasant (III.6). Throughout the song, then, the singer contradicts himself, fluctuating between rejection and acceptance of his sorrowful state.

The textual uncertainties and inconsistencies find an echo in the *mouvance* of manuscript transmission. The song is attested in the *Codex Manesse* (MS C) and *Kleine Heidelberger Liederhandschrift* (MS A) in the same sequence of stanzas with the exception of the fourth stanza, which is only attested in MS C. The addition of this stanza brings a nearly religious triumph over the wavering seen throughout the song, resolving what would otherwise be a lingering uncertainty:

> It sometimes brings me to doubt, that I wait for reward in so long a measure. However, I recognize faithfulness and honor in her; if I thought that she would let me go unrewarded, then it would be the first time it ever happened to me. Good hope never broke with just reward. Thus, I have ever relied on her kindness here. Also is it well worthy of grace to struggle for delight in such pure steadfastness.
>
> *Ez bringet mich in zwîvel eteswenne,*
> *daz ich lônes bîte in alsô langer mâze.*
> *an der ich aber triuwe und êre erkenne,*
> *waene ich des, daz mir diu ungelônet lâze,*
> *Sô geschaehe an mir, daz nie geschach.*
> *guot gedinge ûz lônes rehte nie gebrach.*
> *des habe ich hin zir hulden ie gedinget.*
> *ouch ist ez wol genâden wert,*
> *swâ man nâch liebe in alsô lûterlîcher staete ringet.* (IV.1-9)

The fourth stanza has a sudden shift in language, using a battery of terms that carry ethical and religious registers. The term *lône* connotes heavenly reward for ascetic discipline, earthly reward for service to a lord, or sexual reward for promoting a lady's reputation without openly propositioning the lady. By conflating spiritual and erotic

reward, the euphemism offers a form of discipline and deprivation reminiscent of monastic life. Other terms with both sacred and secular valences that appear close together in the fourth strophe are *triuwe* ("faithfulness"), *êre* ("honor"), and *staete* ("constancy"), while *genâden* ("graces") is even more strongly religious. These religious associations undergird the singer's movement from wavering between joy and sorrow to a more certain pursuit of a semi-religious refinement.

Having doubted his assumptions of the lady's eventual acceptance, the singing persona places his hope in a grace that rewards pure or clear steadfastness (*lûterlîcher staete*, IV.9) in striving for *liebe*. This striving for delight is an interesting choice to end the song. Derived from the verb *lûtern* ("to lighten, to clean, to purify"), the meaning of *lûterlîch* is not far from religious images.[13] With this valence, *stête* depicts a reward of a heavenly emotional state after faithfully serving for so long; as the song ends, the listeners are left with these utopic visions. In a way, the singer has fallen into the same trap he professes to avoid: declaring faithfulness in love service, he adopts the mantle of *staete* and *triuwe minne* he rejected in the previous strophe, and finding complete joy in his hope, all the doubts and sorrows resolved, his voice halts, enraptured, but silent nonetheless. But perhaps the singer has found an alternative path after all. Whereas he refuses to *sô staete minne* (III.2), he ends the song extolling *liebe in also lûterlîcher staete* (IV.9). Instead of serving *minne*, Reinmar instead strives for *liebe*.[14]

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[13] See entry for "liutern, lûtern" in Matthias Lexer's *Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch*, the digital edition hosted by "Wörterbuchnetz", the Trier Center for Digital Humanities, version 01/21. Accessed August 20, 2022. https://www.woerterbuchnetz.de/Lexer

[14] For similar contrasts between *liebe* and *minne*, cf. Heinrich von Morungen, Lied 11 (*MF* 131, 25), and Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival*, Book VI.291.15-18, in *Wolfram von Eschenbach. Parzival. Studienausgabe*, eds. Karl Lachmann, 2nd ed. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), 295.

The Flowers of Rhetoric

Although in the prologue Gottfried is concerned about having a rightly oriented audience, much later in his romance he ranks authors and composers based on not only their skill but also their emotional influence on their audiences. This passage is known as Gottfried's literary excursus, which occurs at the point when Tristan is about to be knighted. Gottfried interrupts himself, lamenting that he may not be up to the task of describing the knighting ceremony, and proceeds to describe the skill of (or the lack thereof) other writers and composers. Thus, if we are to understand Gottfried's concerns in the prologue about performance and reception, we must also take into account this literary excursus, where he makes his evaluation of successful court composition explicit. As we saw in the previous chapter, Gottfried lauds the *Minnesänger* for successfully bringing joy to the world, figuring them as nightingales able to navigate the memoryscape of the *locus amoenus*. Hasty writes regarding this passage:

> The measure of success for events in the political action at court is the experience of pleasure or joy, and Gottfried here indicates—though feigning the posture of someone too discouraged to exert himself—that the realization of *vröude*, pleasure, joy—would also be the way to assess whether a poetic performance has risen to the necessary level.[15]

In other words, just as in the romance of *Erec*, joy was the measurement of a healthy king and community, so is it a measurement of a successful song or story.

According to Gottfried, a bad composer fails to provide his audience with shade, "not with the green May leaves, with branches nor with boughs" (*niht mit dem grüenen meienblate, / mit zwîgen noch mit esten*, 4672-3); as a result, his stories fail to make noble

[15] Hasty, *The Medieval Risk-Reward Society*, 86.

hearts laugh (*ir rede ist niht also gevar, / daz edele herze iht lache dar*, 4679-80). These words are nonproductive, failing to generate further vocalization. Unlike Thomasin, who condemns stories that lead to laughter, Gottfried prefers stories that lighten the burdens of the world.

In contrast to this bare tree, Gottfried praises the compositions of Heinrich von Veldeke, who not only offers shade, but increases it through grafting:

> He grafted the first sprig in German tongues; as a result boughs have sprung up, from which the blossoms came. . . so that all who now speak break them at will there from blossoms and from sprigs, in words and in melodies.
>
> er inpfete daz êrste rîs
> in tiutscher zungen:
> dâ von sît este ersprungen
> von den die bluomen kâmen
> . . .
> daz alle, die nu sprechent,
> daz die den wunsch dâ brechent
> von bluomen und von rîsen
> an worten unde an wîsen. (4736-4748)

Gottfried envisions good composition as leading to more composition, the metaphorical branches providing for others. This is not so distant from Guillaume, who also envisions his love to be a sheltering branch. The reference to grafting connotes artificiality, cultivation, nobility, as the process of creating and maintaining a grafted limb was an expensive process, leading to grafted trees becoming a status symbol.[16] Thus, Gottfried is

[16] Judith A. Peraino, "Monophonic Motets: Sampling and Grafting in the Middle Ages," *The Musical Quarterly* 85, no. 4 (2001): 656. On grafting metaphors for citation and composition, see Judith A. Peraino, "The Hybrid Voice of Monophonic Motets," in *Giving Voice to Love: Song and Self-Expression from the Troubadours to Guillaume de Machaut* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 186–234; Sarah Kay, "Grafting the Knowledge Community: The Purposes of Verse in the *Breviari d'amor* of Matfre Ermengaud," *Neophilologus* 91, no. 3 (2007): 361–73; and Francesca M. Nicholson, "Branches of Knowledge: The Purposes of Citation in the *Breviari d'amor* of Matfre Ermengaud," *Neophilologus* 91, no. 3 (2007): 375–85. For gendered and queer readings of grafting, see Liz Herbert McAvoy, Patricia Skinner, and Theresa Tyers, "Strange Fruits: Grafting, Foreigners, and the Garden Imaginary in Northern France and Germany, 1250–1350," *Speculum* 94, no. 2 (2019): 467–95.

not only describing artistry here but also status. In the third chapter, we saw how Erec as king must learn how to not only participate in merrymaking but also contribute to it; likewise, and Gottfried argues that good compositions ought to be generative, leading to other compositions.

After this literary excursus about other composers, we might expect Gottfried to offer a metaphor to describe his own work. He does do so, but only in the subjunctive. Gottfried laments that he himself doesn't know how to begin to describe Tristan's attire (*Nune weiz ich wies beginne*, 4851), as if he—like the hare—cannot navigate the *locus amoenus*. He refrains from indulging in the customarily elaborate ekphrasis, even if the Muses grant his petition for inspiration, from which his words might "soften all ears" (*senfte allen ôren*, 4910) and provide "shade for each heart with the very green linden leaves" (*iegelîchem herzen schate* / *mit dem ingrüenen lindenblate*, 4911-12), able to navigate unfalteringly "over clover and bright blossoms" (*ûfem klê* / *unde ûf liehten bluomen gê*, 4919-20). That is, the gift of inspiration would help him to confidently navigate the *locus amoenus* of composition and memory, yet he refrains from embarking.[17] Even as he contradicts his audience's expectations for an elaborate description of Tristan's knighting, he refrains from offering a real description of his own literary work, demonstrating apparent humility and a lack of self-promotion—if his use of the subjunctive is taken sincerely—of which moralists such as Thomasin and Bernard would approve.

[17] See Kathryn Starkey, who argues this passage is intentionally subverting genre expectations as an anti-ekphrasis moment in "Time Travel: Ekphrasis and Narrative in Medieval German Literature," in *Anschauung und Anschaulichkeit: Visualisierung im Wahrnehmen, Lesen und Denken*, eds. Hans Adler and Sabine Gross (Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink, 2016), 191-92.

A Hedge of Protection

Nonetheless, Gottfried may have used a botanical metaphor for his work, in keeping with the ones he gave other composers. To find it, we must return again to the prologue. Other romances often begin with vivid and self-referential extended metaphors that purport to describe the work, like the crown of jewels found at the beginning of *Diu Crône* by Heinrich von dem Türlin (c. 1220) or the repeated contrasts between darkness and light in *Parzival* by Wolfram von Eschenbach (c. 1160 – c. 1220). Lacking this, Gottfried instead begins with a gnomic acrostic and a treatise on proper aesthetics. He opens this treatise by declaring, "I have taken upon myself an endeavor for the delight of the world and for a pleasure for noble hearts" (*Ich hân mir eine unmüezekeit* / *der werlt ze liebe vür geleit* / *und edelen herzen zeiner hage*, 45-47). The word *hage* is an interesting choice here: as already mentioned, it literally translates to "hedge," but it often has the more abstract meaning, "pleasure" and "joy."[18] Elsewhere, Gottfried uses the related and more abstracted *behagen* in the sense of pleasing others, especially a fellow conversant or an audience.[19] The only other places where *hagen* appears without a prefix is in Gottfried's naming of Reinmar and in the sequence when Tristan and Isolde are invited back to King Mark's court and must leave their *locus amoenus*.

In this latter passage, Gottfried digresses by complaining that overprotective husbands and guardians concerned about a woman's virtue will only raise up "hedges and

[18] See the entry for "hage" in Lexer. For the relationship between *hagen* and *behagen*, see the entries for each in the Grimms' *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (Digital edition, Wörterbuchnetz des Trier Center for Digital Humanities, accessed January 2021, https://www.woerterbuchnetz.de/DWB).

[19] See lines 4596, 9496, 10660, 12629, and 15704; for the negated version *missehage*, see lines 138, 1855, and 7952, where the ears are particularly at risk of displeasure. Notably, the first instance of the negation is used in the prologue when referring to other adaptations of the Tristan story; Gottfried does not wish to call these adaptations *missehage*, but still finds them lacking. This parallel deepens the weight of his declaration that he is composing a *hage*.

thorns" around her (*den hagen unde den dorn,* 17865). Here, it is clear that *hagen* means "hedge." This term becomes an extended metaphor, illustrating that this overprotection will harm the woman's desire for virtue:

> For as soon as the bitter hedge is immediately rooted in such sweet ground, it is harder to be torn up again than in the drylands and elsewhere.
>
> wan iesâ sô der sûre hagen
> in alsô süezem grunde
> gewurzet zeiner stunde,
> man wüestet in unsanfter dâ
> dan in der dürre und anderswâ. (17890-94)

However, a man who is able to receive a lady's love, of her own choosing, has "the living paradise planted in his heart" (*daz lebende paradîs / in sînem herzen begraben*, 18070-71), a paradise "that would be so full of joys and so like May" (*ahî, ein sô getân pardîs, / daz also fröudebære / und sô gemeiet wære*, 18091-94) where "the rose-like atonement has struck all down, thorn and thistle and hedge" (*diu rôsîne suone / diu hât ez allez ûf geslagen / dorn unde distel unde hagen,* 18080-82). Here, the thorny hedge of unwilling constraint is opposed to a rose-filled *locus amoenus* of reciprocated love. The bodies of the woman and the man are both sites of emotional planting: reconciliation is full of blossoms and without angry thorns (18072-76), a metaphor made aural by the end rhymes *dorn / zorn*. Thus, in *Tristan,* Gottfried uses the word *hagen* to mean "hedge" and the related term *behagen* to mean "pleasure" or "joy" in response to discourse.

Although Gottfried uses the concept of a hedge in a negative sense in romantic relationships between men and women, its related meaning of "pleasure" points to positive associations. As mentioned in the previous chapter, in German-speaking regions at Gottfried's time, hedges might be found surrounding the places of power, such as

castles or monasteries, as well as surrounding an entire settlement. These dense, living boundary lines offer shelter from the wind as well as from watchful eyes, thus being a convenient trysting place. Hedges were often used by elites across Europe to mark out pleasure gardens or to provide an exclusive space for their women.[20] Even in the more abstract meaning of "joy," "pleasure," or "protection," the root meaning of *behagen* might still be present in the mind's eye of a Middle High German speaker, just as in modern English parlance, references to a favorite place or social circle as a "haven" or an "oasis" conjure up emotions of safety or restoration just as much as mental images of quiet waters. With this association with pleasant protection, we might interpret Gottfried as offering his romance as a hedge for noble hearts (*edelen herzen zeiner hage*, 47).

The metaphor of the narrative as a hedge would support the mental and emotional landscape of Gottfried's prologue. A person's "inner delight" can help the heart endure the same woe it caused (*swer inneclîche liebe hât, / doch ez im wê von herzen tuo, daz herze stat doch ie dar zuo*, 108-110), so that *liebe* itself functions as a point of emotional inner stability, much as the protected *locus amoenus* is a site of stability in the song and in memory. Gottfried intends for the story to console, to inspire, to edify—he is entirely concerned with the inner world of his audience. He proposes to alleviate their suffering for a little while, "that with my tale I might lighten halfway their present and ongoing burden" (*daz [ich] sî mit mînem mære / ir nâhe gênde swære / ze halber senfte bringe*, 73-75). Thus, Gottfried envisions his story as a site of safety and pleasure for a select few who love and listen rightly, just as Guillaume IX offers his hawthorn branch to a

[20] John Harvey, *Mediaeval Gardens* (Oregon: Timber Press, 1981), 12-13.

particular group of lovers and singers and as Walther seeks a place where his nightingale can sing in peace for a discerning audience.

Unrivaled Joy

This exclusivity, however, need not be entirely closed off from others. As we saw in Guillaume's and Dietmar's songs in the previous chapter, exclusive language is not meant to divide the audience but to invite them into that exclusivity. Similarly, Hasty does not see the exclusivity promoted by Gottfried as damaging to the entire community:

> The joy in the love of Tristan and Isolt is not for *everybody* at court, he tells us in the cited passage, but for a more limited and specific group, the *edele herzen*—"noble hearts." This poetic move intends not to exclude anyone at court, but rather to identify, cultivate, and extol a more limited population that is capable of accomplishing something of value *for everyone.* The noble hearts are capable of realizing a special, higher joy in love, because they are prepared to accept the pain that always goes along with it, which makes love all the more joyful and sweet.[21]

In other words, the *edele herzen* can introduce a better joy into the community at large by improving it. This better joy is defined by its moderation—a blend of happiness and sorrow that avoids the excessive happiness of the *hôchgemuoten.* As we learned in second chapter, excessive happiness is audible in unmodulated, discordant vocalizations that threaten the harmony of the community, while proper happiness resembles music—rationally governed and edifying. Identifying with this latter category, Reinmar and Gottfried claim to offer a moderate happiness that improves the individual as well as the audience. Furthermore, they claim that they are successful in adding to the joy of the community through their compositions, just as Erec eventually learns to do in chapter three. Reinmar finds consolation that his voice is not yet silenced, and verbally models to

[21] Hasty, *The Medieval Risk-Reward Society*, 115.

his audience the process of consolation. Similarly, Gottfried offers his story—whether heard or read (*wan swâ man hœret oder list*, 177)—as a consolation to his audience.

This process is made literal in song and story through the protected *locus amoenus*, a joyful memory space for audience, singer, and singing persona. Though Guillaume, Dietmar, Reinmar, and Gottfried all stylize the *locus amoenus* as a space that excludes as well as includes, they ultimately usher the audience into the shared space. Hasty emphasizes in the passage above that reconciliation is possible in the competition between rivals, yet Ahmed's concept of the kinship object is helpful here in articulating how this is possible. The joy itself becomes a kinship object around which the entire community can orient itself, even if individuals in the community do not themselves feel the same type of happiness. Vocal composition can contribute to the joy of its audience, reinforcing community boundaries. Thus, in the production of song and story, Reinmar and Gottfried participate in the greater project of promoting communal joy.

My own project has been an exploration in how the knowledge and methods available to musicology and sound studies can enrich the literary analysis of medieval texts. Because these texts were first composed in a vocal environment, at the transition between orality and literacy, the aural components are more prominent than is first apparent to a twenty-first-century Western reader. Through an understanding of vocality and therefore through presumed aurality, we can hear the aural and emotional hierarchies created by medieval thinkers and composers: from meaningful, measured monophony to confused, corrupting cacophony; or from refined melodies that protect elite values to

excessive self-indulgent songs; or from presence within an emotional soundscape to absence from it. Finally, here in this chapter, Gottfried and Reinmar navigate these conflicting aural hierarchies to offer joy and consolation to their entire communities, beginning with the elite center and spreading outwards. Music can more immediately access the affective and somatic responses of its hearers, carrying emotional and spiritual resonances that trigger memories, much like the Christmas carols with which I have begun each of the chapters. One of the only remaining access points of the overlap between liturgical and lay emotional communities, carols such as these are layered with individual and cultural memories; they invite the listener into the festive communal space, describing joyful song while also calling upon listener and singer alike to participate in that joyful song. In this way, the harmonies of music reflect and create the emotional alignment of the community.

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