Opitz's Anno

The Middle High German *Annolied*
in the 1639 Edition of Martin Opitz

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For my Parents
and for Anna
and in memory
of Christopher
Preface

My interest in the Annolied began with an honours dissertation in 1984, supervised by Prof. Brian Murdoch (Stirling), to whom I owe my enthusiasm not only for this poem but for the entire subject. Since then, Amo has been an “old friend” who cropped up again with remarkable regularity in my reading on other topics, and it has long been my intention to return to him more seriously. The proposal for a new edition was enthusiastically received by the series editors of SPIGS, Brian Murdoch and Mark Ward, whose support has been invaluable.

A new edition was planned to fill two main gaps: to present for the first time the Annolied as Opitz presented it in 1639, with all his supplementary material, and to make all of this available in English. Indeed, this was to have been the first published version of the Annolied itself in English, but the bilingual edition of James Schultz appeared in the very week that my translation of the Middle High German text was completed. However, Schultz’s edition serves a different purpose for a different readership, and may occasionally make an interesting point of comparison to the present one. What is new in this edition is its treatment of the Annolied and the Opitz commentary as a unity. Opitz’s Latin notes have not, to my knowledge, been reprinted since Bodmer and Breitinger’s attempt at a “complete works” in 1745, and have never been translated into any modern language. As a result, what should be an important point of intersection between mediaeval and baroque literatures has been largely neglected by the scholarship of both fields – Bodmer and Breitinger’s “Historisch-Critischer Vorbericht” and essays by Whitesell and Hellgardt being honourable exceptions. Yet the 1639 edition opens up fruitful possibilities for study. Among the interesting recent developments in Mediaeval German Studies has been a renewed interest in the history of the subject, as a growing number of lengthy works on the Altegermanisten of the 16th-19th centuries bear witness. Opitz’s understanding of the Annolied is a fine example of the kind of material with which these scholars are concerned, but until now it has mostly evaded their attention. Likewise, the relevance of the 1639 edition for Opitz’s programme in poetics and for his linguistic patriotism would be a suitable topic for undergraduate study, but the materials have not been available. This need, I hope, has now been filled.

This volume has reached its present form only with the co-operation of many friends and colleagues, whose help I value highly. Acknowledgements go first and foremost to Thielko Wolbergs (Regensburg) and to Marion Gindhart (Augsburg) who have spent a lot of time advising me on Opitz’s Latin constructions, which would be challenging even if they were not often incorrectly typeset, and to Matthew Carter (Oxford), who gave the whole translation a critical reading. Like Opitz, I find myself indebted to the constant interaction with far-flung
corners of the academic community, but brought closer today by technology. The members of the mailing-lists Mediaevistik and Medtextl were always on hand for smaller queries, and some, like Michael Fox (Western Ontario) and John Dillon (Wisconsin-Madison) made particular efforts. The convenience of e-mail put me directly in touch with such important informants as Per Øhrgaard (Copenhagen), who clarified the background to Opitz’s Danish citations, and Frieder Anacker, parish priest in Werigerode, who sent me a long letter describing the inscriptions in his church. Wolfgang Janka (Regensburg) helped me with Slavic etymologies; Hans Braungart (Regensburg) and Willie Kelly (Edinburgh) provided advice on the baroque period, Florian Schleburg (Regensburg) on Old English, while Robert Ing (London) was able to clarify several points when the last-minute corrections ran into difficulties. The Württembergische Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart, the Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek in Darmstadt and the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich made materials available. But above all, recognition and kudos are due to a select circle of Regensburg students who read the texts with me with great enthusiasm and in the process have become firm friends: Julia Hornfeck, Teresa Schirmbeck and Gregor Werner-Offenstetten. And finally, to my family, for putting up with yet another year of “Shh, Daddy’s trying to work” - thank you.

Graeme Dunphy
Regensburg, November 2001
Introduction

1. Anno II of Cologne

In April 1062, the Empress Agnes of Poitou travelled with her entourage from Utrecht, where she had celebrated Easter, to Kaiserswerth, or as it had once been known, Swidbertswethr, on the Rhine. Here on what was then an island, now a northern suburb of Düsseldorf, her late husband Henry III had raised a 7th-century royal castle to the status of imperial palace; a century later it would be expanded by Barbarossa, and the ruins of his fortifications are still to be seen. And here, Agnes and her 12-year-old son held court. They were joined by a party of nobles and churchmen, Count Ekbert, Duke Otto of Bavaria, and foremost among them an archbishop by the name of Anno. These spiritual and secular princes sought the trust of the adolescent King Henry. One day, when the boy was in a jovial mood after a fine banquet, Anno invited him to board a ship, ostensibly to admire its opulent fittings. No sooner was Henry on board than oarsmen appeared and the vessel was launched into midstream. Fearing an assassination attempt, the King leapt into the water and might well have drowned, had not one of the conspirators fished him out. And so he was conveyed against his will forty kilometres upstream to the Episcopal See of Cologne, his distraught mother helpless to do more than watch from the shore as the ship disappeared round a bend in the river. The boy who would one day be Emperor Henry IV had been abducted, his guardianship and with it the regency and the reins of power over the whole Salian empire passing forcibly from the Empress to the audacious intrigant, Archbishop Anno. It was a formative moment in the life of the young king, and the climax of the career of an ecclesiastical prince.¹

Anno was born, in all probability, in or around the year 1010, to Swabian parents Walter and Engela von Steußlingen, a free-born but not a high-born family. His career in the church began as might be expected for a member of his social class, with schooling at St. Steven’s in Bamberg. He must have been an exceptional scholar, however, for, after a short spell in Paderborn, he returned to Bamberg in 1035/6 as scholasticus at the cathedral school, an institution dedicated to the education of young men of the highest nobility, and there he remained for the next 14 years. In 1049

he was called by the Emperor Henry III to the court chapel, an appointment possibly linked to a sinecure in Goslar, and the 4th April 1056, the year of Henry’s death, saw his investiture to the archbishopric at Cologne, a position which combined the ecclesiastical oversight of the archdiocese with the temporal government of the city. He was the second incumbent to bear the name Anno. It was a remarkable achievement for one of such relatively humble origins, though it must be said that precisely because of his origins he was not warmly received when he first arrived in his new city.

Eleventh-century Cologne was a thriving centre of trade and industry, the most populous city on the Rhine, famous for its exports of wine, especially to England, and for its manufactured goods, metalwork, leatherwork, gold and ceramics. The accumulation of wealth led to the development of a strong and independently-minded citizenry, which practised self-government in many areas. The Archbishop was not only the spiritual ruler of the city but also held temporal authority, especially over the courts, where he acted as judge. However, the spiritual authority of the Archbishop went far beyond the city. The archdiocese at its height covered most of northern Germany from Friesland to Lorraine, with authority over the Bishops of Utrecht, Osnabrück, Minden, Münster and Liège, a position of supremacy which went back to the rôle of the city in Charlemagne’s campaign to Christianize Eastern Europe. The Archbishops were imperial princes, involved especially in the Emperor’s Italian affairs and bearing the title Chancellor of Italy from 1031 onwards. In 1052, Leo IX added to their accolades the right to preside over the provincial synod. Taken together, their municipal, archdiocesan and imperial prerogatives made the Archbishops of Cologne very influential figures, major players in all the twists and turns of Central European political life.

Anno’s biographers praise him above all for his defence of the interests of Cologne. Here they are thinking not of a loyalty specifically to the population of the city, with whom he was often in conflict, but rather to the Cologne church as it manifested itself in all the multifarious aspects of the Archbishop’s jurisdiction. Anno’s prime objective was to strengthen “his” church, internally by pressing through a programme of monastic reform, and externally by building on the power-base he had inherited. In this he was eminently successful. In the early years of his pontificate he succeeded in obtaining lands belonging to the Ezzonids, who in the first part of the 11th century had risen to be one of the most powerful families on the lower Rhine. Anno acquired these territories from Ezzo’s daughter Richeza, Queen of Poland, but the transaction was contested by her cousin

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2 Anno I was Bishop of Cologne from 711-15, before the diocese was raised to metropolitan status by Charlemagne in 794-5. The name Anno is familiar from Old High German records, where it exists also in the variant Hanno. However, the popular modern North German name Hanno is unrelated, being a short form of Johannes.
Fig. 1. Anno with his five monasteries, from the *Vita Annonis Minor*, painted c.1183. Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, Hs 945, fol 1v.
Henry, Count Palatine, and the ensuing conflict was resolved in Anno’s favour only amid allegations of foul play. Among the lands ceded by Richeza was the Sieberg, thirty kilometres south of Cologne, on which he established the Benedictine Abbey of Siegburg, by far the most important of his five foundations, and Saalfeld in Thuringia, where he also founded an abbey. A third abbey was built at Grafschaft, Westphalia, and in Cologne itself he was responsible for two new centres of worship, the Churches of St. Mary ad gradus and St. George. In the Darmstadt manuscript of the *Vita Arnonis minor*, produced in Siegburg around 1080, he is portrayed in a miniature surrounded by models of these five buildings (Fig. 1). He also renovated a series of Cologne churches, St. Mary in the Capitol, St. Gereon and Great St. Martin. These building works were intended not only to cater for the spiritual needs of the people of Cologne, but also to raise the city’s status in the wider church by deliberate architectural echoes of sanctuaries in Rome and Bethlehem.³ The reform of monastic life was an important plank of Anno’s programme, and Siegburg provided a platform for this, monks from the new model abbey being sent out to older establishments as harbingers of Cluniac ideals. As a result of these initiatives, the 19 years in which he functioned as Archbishop saw a steady consolidation of his ecclesiastical base.

However, it was in the macro-political, in the affairs of the empire, that Anno made his biggest impact. The reign of Henry III had been the high point of the Salian dynasty. A pious man and a strong king and emperor, he had presided over a secure and stable realm and seen important reforms of the church. His early death, however, led to an unhappy regency period which so weakened the position of his successor that Henry IV was destined to struggle for his throne all his life, to appear barefoot before the gates of Canossa in obeisance to a Pope, and ultimately to be betrayed by his own kith and kin; one more Salian emperor would follow, but the decline of the dynasty and the rise of the Hohenstaufen was almost pre-programmed by the events of Henry IV’s childhood. The regency fell first to Henry’s mother, Agnes, an indecisive and ineffectual ruler who made a series of fatal mistakes, granting titles generously but unwisely, apparently oblivious to the power-struggle going on around her, or helpless in the face of it. Passing over the powerful bishops Anno and Siegfried of Mainz, she had taken bishop Heinrich of Augsburg as her personal advisor, her close relationship with him causing political jealousies and spawning vicious and implausible rumours of an unchaste liaison. The accession of Pope Nicolas II in 1058 saw the beginning of a concerted attempt by the papacy to assert its supremacy over kings, the first tremors of the coming investiture contest, an onslaught which Agnes was ill-placed to resist. Amid rumours of a conspiracy on the life of the young Henry, the Empress was clearly out of

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her depth. This was the background to Anno’s *coup d'état*. At Kaiserswerth in April 1062 he took matters into his own hands. His friends saw it as the salvation of the empire, his enemies as a criminal example of political opportunism. The young King felt bitterly betrayed, but the Empress bowed to the inevitable and withdrew in dignity to a convent.

The years 1062-3 saw the climax of Anno’s power. The King was under his protection, though there was no warmth between them, and he himself held the balance of power among the German princes. He was able to use his influence to secure the advancement of his friends and family. In 1059, his nephew Burchard became Bishop of Halberstadt, his brother Werner Archbishop of Magdeburg in 1063. They in turn added to Anno’s consequence; his clan was a force to be reckoned with in the empire. In 1062 at the Synod of Augsburg, he became the patron not only of a King but also of a Pope when he swung the synod to support the claims of Alexander II against those of his contender, Honorius II. It was in no small part through the favour of the See of Cologne that Alexander was safely established in Rome. Oddly, Anno then appears as an opponent of Alexander in 1064, accusing him of simony, and then again as his supporter. Was this simply a demonstration of power? We cannot know exactly what was going on behind the scenes, but by diplomacy and intrigue, such power was Anno’s to wield.

By late 1063, however, the decline had already begun. The young Henry, who understandably had never trusted Anno after the escapade at Kaiserswerth, found a protector more to his liking in Anno’s rival, Archbishop Adalbert of Bremen. The next two years go down in history as the time of Adalbert’s regency, and in 1065 Henry came of age. Though Anno remained a powerful force for Henry to contend with, it may be indicative of a turning tide that a third attempt to place a family member on an important church throne failed tragically. Another nephew of Anno’s, Konrad, was appointed to the Archbishopsric of Trier in 1066, but on 1st June that year, before he could take up the appointment, he was killed in the city by those opposed to his investiture; like his more famous uncle, Konrad was later elevated to sainthood. The final years of Anno’s life saw him less active in imperial affairs. In 1073, the Saxon war broke out. Anno’s biographers record that it affected him deeply because of his compassion for the German people. It also affected him personally, of course, because his brother and nephew, Werner of Magdeburg and Burchard of Halberstadt, were among the Saxon conspirators. At this point we might expect to find him guiding and manipulating the affairs of state, but he barely appears in the annals of the war. On 20th October 1073 he was present at the King’s side, apparently in a mediating rôle, when the Saxon princes came to treat; then he disappears from the scene.

1074 was the year of the Cologne rebellion, the worst embarrassment of Anno’s career, which gave him the dubious distinction of being the object of the first popular uprising in Germany against a bishop with
temporal power. The hagiographers stress Anno’s innocence of the affair and his magnanimity in its aftermath, but in fact both the circumstances of the rebellion and the punishment he exacted on the city show him as a tyrant in his little realm. Anno had celebrated Easter (20th April) in his residence in the company of an important guest, his friend Bishop Friedrich of Münster. When Friedrich was minded to return home, Anno ordered the requisitioning of a merchant ship to carry him. The ship’s owner objected and soon members of the city’s trading fraternity were on the streets in protest. One must assume that resentments from many other perceived injustices now bubbled to the surface, for in the course of the evening an increasingly large and drunken mob gathered around the cathedral intent on the Archbishop’s blood. Anno was able to escape through a private gate in the city wall which he had had built only a short time before. Whether this was divine providence, as his supporters saw it, or a realistic foreboding on the part of an unpopular ruler, must be left to the imagination. An exile now from his city, Anno retreated to Neuß (near Kaiserswerth!), gathered troops and returned to subdue the rebels. If his biographers speak now of his merciful forgiveness, other records speak of the devastation of the city, and of a delegation of patricians dispatched to the King to petition his protection from the Archbishop’s fury. It may be a mitigating circumstance that Konrad had been murdered in Trier in a conflict which Anno may have seen as parallel to the resistance to his own investiture; however, if this goes some way to explaining his bloody vengeance, it does not make highhanded despotism seem any wiser. At any rate, he may have regretted his actions, for the following Easter he made his peace with some 600 merchants who had either fled or been banished from the desolated city. His biographers depict this as an act of pastoral grace, but it was also one of economic necessity: Cologne could not be great without its merchants.

The rising of Easter 1074 must have taken its toll on Anno, for thenceforth he showed little taste for government and politics, retiring instead to his monastery at Siegburg, where he died on 4th December 1075, aged perhaps 65. Shortly after his death, two important works were composed in his honour, the lengthy Latin prose of the Vita Annonis, and a compact and tightly structured verse account in German, the Annolied. Both are — thus the scholarly consensus — anonymous productions of the Siegburg monastery of the 1080s, perhaps commissioned by the abbot, Reginhard, who himself wrote a short account of Anno’s life, fragments of which came to light a number of years ago. These may be set alongside Lampert’s Annals, which give a parallel account to the Vita, and set against the histories of Adam of Bremen, who, being and adherent of Adalbert, takes a contrary view of Anno’s greatness and piety. Taken together, these

4 For a recent dissenting voice see Stephan Müller, Vom Annolied zur Kaiserchronik: Zu Text- und Forschungsgeschichte einer verlorenen deutschen Reimchronik, Heidelberg 1999, and my critique of this in Modern Language Review, in print.
works provide an impressive record of his life. If the *Vita* is the best source for reliable data on his biography, the *Annolied* has the virtue of reflecting poetically the veneration of his own people; already it affirms him to be a saint. His adherents prized him above all for his personal piety, which is of course a set-piece in hagiography, and for his indefatigable pursuit of Cluniac reform. His failures in the wielding of temporal power seem to have troubled them little, but they were aware that he was a controversial figure whose record had to be defended against such opponents as Adam, and they vindicated him enthusiastically, if sometimes with more loyalty than historical objectivity. Stories were soon in circulation of miraculous healings at his grave. He was canonized in 1183. His feast, when he is remembered as the patron saint of all who suffer from gout, was 4th December, the anniversary of his death, but was changed to 5th December in 1963. Devotional writings associated with his cult are known from the late 18th century, and indeed, the cult of veneration continues to the present day: in 1909 the St. Anno-Kirche in Siegburg was consecrated to his memory, and as recently as 1963 the new church congregation in the Cologne suburb of Holweide was dedicated as the “Katholische Gemeinde St. Anno”.

2. The *Annolied*

As an act of piety, then, and out of loyalty to his departed spiritual overlord, a Siegburg monk was inspired to commemorate Anno’s life in the German verse work which we know as the *Annolied*. It is no coincidence that the *Annolied* should have received intense scholarly attention: it is a work of formidable complexity and in many respects unique. Apparently written between 1077 and 1081 in the Rhenish-Franconian dialect of Early Middle High German, it combines an unusual dualistic history of the world with a biography of Anno. It is in fact a panegyric on the Archbishop, its programme to justify him in the face of widespread criticism and by theologically significant association to reinforce his political position, ultimately perhaps also to campaign for his canonization.

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6 Information kindly supplied by Prof. R. Haas of the Historisches Archiv des Erzbistums Köln.

7 There are two citable editions: Max Roediger, *Das Annolied*, in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Deutsche Chroniken I.2*, Hanover 1895, 63-132; Eberhard Nellmann, *Das Annolied*, Stuttgart 1975. Roediger’s is the standard critical edition, while Nellmann’s Reclam volume has a parallel German translation, notes and materials. Other early editions are listed in the bibliography.
The 880 lines of the poem\(^8\) are arranged in 49 short units which English-speaking scholarship still conventionally refers to as strophes, though they are not in the strictest sense strophic.\(^9\) Structurally, the Annolied falls into three sections: strophes 1-7, a history of the sacred world; strophes 8-33, a history of the secular world; strophes 34-49, a life of Anno. Each of the historical sections runs in a linear form from the beginnings (the creation, the foundation of civilization) to Anno, while the third presents the archbishop in an idealized form: three concentric circles (thus Ittenbach\(^10\)) with Anno as their common centre point. This already complex structure is underpinned by an intricate numerological pattern which has attracted a great deal of scholarly attention. Most obviously we see that Anno appears as the culmination of history in the symbolic strophes 7 and 33, and that the 33rd strophe specifically associates the sacred numbers 7 and 33 with Anno's investiture.\(^11\) Thus, although the life of Anno fills only 16 of the Annolied's 49 strophes, the main thrust of the entire work is clearly hagiographical.

This immediately makes the question of genre particularly complicated. The two historical sections look at first sight like two separate world chronicles, but clearly are meant to be read together. As such, these 33 strophes form the earliest world chronicle in the German language, for which reason the Annolied is a predecessor to the series of large-scale vernacular chronicles which begins with the Kaischerchronik (c. 1150) and continues into the 15th century. The Latin tradition of world chronicles is of course very much older, and the Annolied poet is clearly tapping into a familiar vein. The separation of sacred and secular history is not entirely unknown in this tradition – half a century later, Otto von Freising would structure his Historia (1146) on a "two-cities" model – but the historiographical approach in the Annolied, whereby the entire chronology of the world is traced twice, is a decidedly unusual feature, so that the

\(^8\) 878 in Roediger's edition.

\(^9\) The poem is composed in rhyming couplets, with varying numbers of couplets in a "strophe". Since strophes are, properly-speaking, lyrical units with a uniform metrical arrangement, German-language scholarship has abandoned its previous use of the word Strophen with respect to the Annolied; Nellmann speaks of Abschnitte. I toyed with the idea of introducing a new English term in the present edition, but chapter or paragraph (which has the virtue of reflecting Opitz's paragraphi) are too mundane, canto too idiosyncratic. Section is not available, as we use it for the three larger subdivisions of the poem.


\(^11\) The application of numerological exegesis was first worked out by Ittenbach, who in fact said almost all that could sensibly be said on the subject. Later attempts to build even finer constructions not only on strophe numbers but also on line numbers are mostly fanciful. It may or may not be significant that the poem has 49 (7\(^2\)) strophes, of which 16 (4\(^2\)) are devoted to Anno's biography.
historical sections of the poem are already a difficult form to define. However, it is the combination of these with the biography in the final section which poses the greatest difficulties. If we take the poem as a chronicle with an appendix, we do not do justice to the hagiographical element, but if we regard it primarily as a saint’s life with a historical preamble we underestimate the extent to which the chronicle section (two-thirds of the poem!) has independent statements to make. The three sections are too fully integrated to be treated in isolation, yet together they defy any simple classification.

Crucial to any understanding of the structure of the poem is the theology of creation expounded in the second strophe. In the course of the act of creation, we are told, God distinguished two spheres of created things, the physical and the spiritual worlds. Humankind, which is both physical and spiritual, transcends both worlds and, being fundamentally different from the rest of creation, must therefore be regarded as a third world. This concept, borrowed from the writings of the Irish church father John Scotus Erigena (c.810–877), is uncommon in the 11th century, when a simpler dualistic division of spiritual and physical realms was preferred. Its inclusion here at the beginning of the work is no coincidence. The Arnolied itself has three parts, sacred history, secular history, and a life of Anno which highlights both his sacred and secular functions. By analogy with the exposition of creation, the poet’s theology of history would also seem to be tripartite, the usual distinction between sacred and secular being superseded when the two streams flow together into the life of a single exemplary man who can embrace them both. Seen in this light, the “atypical structure” of the poem is revealed as a carefully crafted entity.12

The first section of the poem records biblical and ecclesiastical history and the stories of saints, beginning with Adam, reaching a climax in Jesus Christ and proceeding to a resolution in the person of Anno; as Adam is the most significant theological type of Christ in the Old Testament, the symmetry of the passage forces the reader to see Anno as the most significant imitatio Christi, of greater consequence than the saints who are named before him. Thus a theological context is established for a claim of Anno’s exceptional piety. In a similar but far more complex way the second section establishes his standing as a secular ruler. Ancient history is presented using the familiar schema of four empires from Daniel’s dream: Babylon, Persia, Greece and Rome. Then, by a sophisticated transposition these empires are linked with the foremost Germanic tribes, the Swabians, Bavarians, Saxons and Franks respectively.13 Thus the priority which

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12 A great deal of scholarly work has taken an almost deconstructionist line, seeking fractures in the texture of the poem which can then be interpreted as signs of a composite or multi-phased authorship. I would suggest that the organic unity implied by the tripartite theology makes such claims untenable.

13 This transposition in which the German peoples are associated thematically with the ancient empires in a one-to-one correspondence (but the Swabian link is
Rome enjoys over its predecessors in traditional historiography is transformed into a claim of Frankish supremacy over the rest of Germany. Likewise, the position of the city of Rome within the Roman empire is now transferred to Cologne as the centre of the Franconian realm. Just as we have had the pattern Adam-Christ-Anno, so we now find Nineveh-Rome-Cologne. By these and other correlations the bishop and his diocese are implicitly or explicitly associated with the most momentous events of the past, both sacred and secular events, as befits the holder of an office with authority in both spiritual and temporal government. The impression is given that all prior world history has been a preparation for the ministry of Anno. From here the poet can lead very naturally into the third section which is almost a set-piece *vita*. We read of Anno’s holiness, the monasteries he founded (principally Siegburg!), his political disputes, the theophany which preceded his death, and a miracle in which a certain knavish Volprecht loses his sight when he mocks the dead bishop, but is healed after praying at his grave. The biographical section of the poem is not overdone: other miracle stories were in circulation, and the much longer *Vita Annonis* contains a very great deal of material which would presumably have been available to our poet also. But extending the narrative would spoil the numerological pattern, and the underlying concept of the poem is in any case to let larger patterns in history speak for Anno. The most controversial events of Anno’s life, the Kaiserswerth kidnapping and the Cologne rebellion, are touched on with the skill of a master propagandist, and if any blame attached to him for his failure to prevent the Saxon war, it is forgotten in the description of his compassionate grief for the suffering of the German people. The poem leaves us with the image of Anno’s soul as an eagle circling above its nest to encourage its young to fly. The eagle was, from Roman times on, a symbol of Empire, so that even in the final and fundamentally spiritual message of the saint calling us from heaven to follow him in his discipleship, echoes of his political authority resound.

The *Annolied* is also of interest for a number of unusual incidental features. Being the first serious attempt in the German language to trace the rise of the German nation historically, it contains the earliest known reference in the language to Germany as a geographical unit: *Diutischeim lande* (AL 7.4 etc). The material on Julius Caesar is marked by a striking shift whereby the *Bellum Gallicum* takes place in Germany, and the Germans as Caesar’s allies help win the *Bellum civile*. There is an account of the origins of pluralis majestatis (AL 28.5f) and what appears to be by far the earliest reference to the Crimean Goths (AL 20.21f). As the poem was a rather tenuous) has been viewed in terms of the *translatio imperii* doctrine, though it is doubtful whether this doctrine circulated early enough to have been available to the *Annolied* poet. Others speak of patterns akin to the typological prefigurations which exegetes found in the Bible: Rome is a “type” of Franconia; however it is unwise to use the terminology of typology in non-biblical contexts.
source for the _Gesta Treverorum_ (late 11th century) and the _Kaiserchronik_, some of these motifs were passed on to later historical literature, the best evidence of the reception of the _Annolied_ in the Middle Ages.

No manuscript of the _Annolied_ survives. We know it through three witnesses, Bonaventura Vulcanius, Martin Opitz and Franciscus Junius. In 1597, Vulcanius became the first to attempt a print, but only a _Probetext_, representing what in the modern editions are some 60 verses (_AL_ 2.1-5.4), which he included in his anthology of Gothic literature. He was followed in 1639 by Martin Opitz, whose _editio princeps_ will be discussed shortly. The hand-written transcription of Junius, now in the Bodleian, was long thought to provide an independent witness, but it seems likely that he simply copied out Opitz’s edition. Opitz, then, is our principal source, with Vulcanius providing a useful point of control for one section of the text, and transmitting three probably genuine lines which are missing in Opitz (_AL_ 2.7a-c). In addition, one might mention the _Kaiserchronik_ at this point, which cites the _Annolied’s_ material on Julius Caesar; though the _Kaiserchronik_ poet alters the text freely, it is in at least one place possible to argue convincingly that a _Kaiserchronik_ reading has the original _Annolied_ wording, and to emend the Opitz text accordingly in the critical editions (_AL_ 26.9).

Little is known about the relationships of the lost mediaeval manuscripts which lie behind our early modern sources. Opitz and Vulcanius appear to have known different but closely related codices. How these relate to the manuscript behind the _Kaiserchronik_ has been the subject of much inconclusive discussion. The manuscript on which this adaptation was based may well have reached the hands of the _Kaiserchronik_ poet, a monk at the Scots monastery of St. Jakob in Regensburg, thanks to Kuno, who was abbot of Siegburg 1105-26 and Bishop of Regensburg 1126-32. Nothing definite is known about Vulcanius’ manuscript. As for Opitz, he tells us only that his codex was made of vellum (on his title page: _ex membrana veteri edidit_), which suggests an early copy, vellum being little used after the 14th century. However, more light can be shed on this thanks to a record from the 15th century which notes that the Rhediger library collection in Breslau had a codex in which a _Richmus (Rithmus) de sancto Annone theutonice compositus_ was bound together with a copy of

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[^14]: Bonaventura Vulcanius, *De literis et lingua Getarum sive Gothorum*, Leiden 1597, pp. 61-64. A diplomatic reprint of his text will be found in Nellmann’s edition, p.121f.


[^16]: Müller, *Vom Annolied zur Kaiserchronik*, provides a fascinating account of the 19th-century debates involving Lachmann, Maßmann, Grimm and others. Mathias Herweg (Würzburg) has a book in preparation which in part will cover similar ground.
Williram's Old High German paraphrase of the Canticles. Given that Vulcanius, Opitz and Junius all worked on Williram, and that in his note on AL 1.5 Opitz records receiving a Williram manuscript (or a transcription of one) from Michael Flandrin, his friend in Breslau, a connection seems likely. When two works appear in the same manuscript and this is copied, it is not unusual for both to be copied together, so that a manuscript tradition emerges in which they are linked. The evidence is scant, but it seems plausible that Opitz and Vulcanius both had codices from the same branch of our very tentative stemma, which furnished them with texts of both Williram and the Annolied, and that Opitz may have had his copy from Breslau. Against this, however, we must weigh the consideration that Opitz, who was something of a networker and social climber, delighted in praising his friends and potential supporters; that he credits Flandrin with the Williram manuscript but not with the Annolied calls into question the unity of the two. Could he have had both from Breslau, but through different channels? His personal connections would have made this possible. As a little postscript we might note that an 11th-century Williram manuscript survives in the Breslau Stadtbibliothek, today bearing the shelf-mark MS. 347, the quality of which is such that the 1967 critical edition by Bartelmez takes it as the Leithandsschrift. A comparison with Opitz's readings shows that Flandrin's manuscript was either identical to, or a close copy of this. However, Breslau 347 does not include the Annolied. This circumstance has led to some speculation about how and when the two parts of the codex might have been separated. More prudent would be to regard this a further reason to be wary of any neat solution.

3. The edition of Martin Opitz

The Annolied first appeared in print in July or the first week of August 1639, issued by the Danzig publishing house of Andreas Hünefeld, in an edition by that most significant of all German baroque poets and poetic theoreticians, Martin Opitz (1597-1639). It was an unassuming little

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17 See Roediger's "Einleitung", p. 63f.
18 Szyrocki (p.119) states confidently that the manuscript came from the Rhedigerana, and Ulmer (p. 36) follows him, adding spuriously that it was transcribed in the 11th century, presumably because the identity with Breslau MS. 347 is assumed.
19 See Opitz under AL 1.5 and 43.13, and my notes on these.
20 There have been only two scholarly studies of this edition: Frederick R. Whitesell, "Martin Opitz' Edition of the Annolied", Journal of English and Germanic Philology 43 (1944) 16-22; and Ernst Hellgardt, "Die Rezeption des Annoliedes bei Martin Opitz", in: Peter Wapnewski (ed.), Mittelalter-Rezeption: Ein Symposium, Stuttgart 1986, 60-79. General books on Opitz have only the barest discussions, as for example Marian Szyrocki, Martin Opitz, Berlin 1956, who has a paragraph on the etymologies in Opitz's prologue, p.119.
POETA TEUTONICI
RHYTHMVS
DE SANCTO ANNONE
ANTONIO OPITVS
MARTINVS OPITVS
primus ex membra
cruci editis
votis aedificavit
 ANIMADVERSIOMVS
illustret.

DANTSCI,
Ex Officina Andr. Hünfeldi,
et loc. xiii x
cum privilegio regis.

Lit. Gert. elegant.
P. 485.

Rhythm.

Fig. 2. Title page of the 1639 edition. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München.
Fig. 3. Martin Opitz. Illustration from: Kaspar Gottlieb Lindnern, Umständliche Nachricht von des weltberühmten Schlesiers, Martin Opitz von Boberfeld, Leben, Tode und Schriften ..., Hirschberg 1740. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München.
volume of 80-odd pages measuring just 9×14 cm, not quite the size of a modern Reclam volume; and yet as his was the only complete edition to have been made before the manuscript evidence was forever lost, it is not saying too much to claim that, with all due respect to Vulcamius for his fragment, it is to Opitz that we owe the survival of this poem. Praise might of course be tempered by the thought that, had he not borrowed it from its library, the manuscript itself could possibly have survived, but his biographers are quick to defend him from any charge of negligence. Presumably it was still in his hands when he penned his dedicatory epistle on 12th of July 1639, but nothing is known of it after that. It is possible that he did ensure the safe restitution of this treasure to its proper home, where it was later lost, but more probably it never left Danzig, for matters were now taken out of his hands. Within weeks of the publication of his edition, Martin Opitz was suddenly struck down with plague and died in his bed on the 20th of August that year. The house was sealed off for public health reasons, and before his family were able to retrieve his effects, intruders had ransacked his rooms and his papers were gone.

The Opitz edition of the *Annolied* is therefore of central importance as a textual witness, and diplomatic reprints, most importantly that of Bulst, make Opitz’s transcription of the Middle High German text itself available to students of mediaeval philology. These, however, cannot truly be described as diplomatic, for they rip the old German text from the scholarly context in which Opitz set it. In the 1639 edition, there is, besides conventional dedicatory material, an extraordinarily erudite prologue, and a detailed commentary which follows the mediaeval text strophe by strophe, all of this in Latin apart from an occasional German gloss. These accompanying texts were reprinted several times in the 17th and 18th centuries, for the last time by Bodmer and Breitinger in their abortive attempt at a compete works of Opitz in 1745. For the age in which they were written, these materials show a profound awareness of some of the problems with which we are still concerned today. Of course, many of the philological speculations must be discounted in the light of later discoveries in linguistic science, and Opitz’s notes can no longer serve by themselves to elucidate the difficult text of the *Annolied*. Precisely for this reason, however, they are important as a witness to the first tentative beginnings of

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21 The numbered pages run from 1-66 and contain the *Annolied* interspersed with Opitz’s commentary on it. These are preceded by 12 unnumbered pages containing the title page, one blank page, a dedicatory letter (3 pages), and a prologue (7 pages). There is one unnumbered page at the end, containing an erratum, and the final page is blank.


Altgermanistik in the centuries between the Renaissance and the Enlightenment. And since the edition is a carefully planned and integrated unit, it is at the same time a witness to a conception of philology which is important for understanding the mind of one of the leading figures in early modern German poetics.

Good biographies of Martin Opitz are available elsewhere, but a thumbnail sketch will serve us well here, because the interests and experiences of almost every phase of his life are reflected in this, his final project. He was born in 1597 in the Silesian town of Breslau, the son of a butcher, and attended school there and in nearby Breslau. At school began a life-long friendship with Bernhard Wilhelm Nüssler. He studied in Frankfurt an der Oder (1618), Heidelberg (1619) and Leiden (1620), sharing rooms with Caspar von Barth and making the acquaintance of such important scholars as his professor Jan Gruter, director of the Palatine library, who inspired his interest in Roman inscriptions, and Gerhard Johann Voss, the Dutch humanist theologian. A formative influence in his student years was Tobias Scultetus, whose sons he tutored and whose library he devoured. In the twenty years from then until his death, Opitz produced reflective works in verse and prose, large quantities of occasional poetry, the first German opera libretto, treatises on poetics, translations of Latin, French and Dutch literature, verse paraphrases of Bible books including Canticles (1626) and Psalms (1634-7), and essays on political and religious controversies. In 1629 he was adopted as a member of the Fruchtrbringende Gesellschaft, an élite society for German letters, and throughout the following decade corresponded with its leader, Prince Ludwig of Anhalt, with varying degrees of cordiality. He travelled widely, visiting Denmark in 1620, Transylvania (Siebenbürgen) in 1622, and in 1630 Paris, where he became familiar with the circles of the French literati. Throughout his life he was also active politically, representing various ruling houses in the delicate diplomacy of the 30-years war, among them the Duke of Brieg. In 1627 he was elevated to the nobility by the Emperor. He finally settled in Danzig in 1636 after entering the service of the King of Poland. Friendships in Danzig included the publisher Andreas Hünefeld and the royal secretary Robert Robertin. Opitz had a talent for making and keeping deep friendships with important men of letters, and his correspondents included many of the great figures in 17th-century academia, most significantly for the present purposes Melchior Goldast and Claude Saumaise. It is striking that in his edition of the Annolied Opitz either makes direct mention of or indirectly pays tribute to every person, place, loyalty and intellectual interest referred to in this résumé. Though he can hardly have anticipated his imminent death, he has allowed his entire life to echo through this last great work as though it were his own epitaph. Reflecting on the prospect of death and eternal life in the final strophes of

25 Particularly Szyrocki, also the first chapter of Ulmer.
Opitz’s Anno

the Annolied, Bodmer and Breitinger speak of the editio princeps as Opitz’s opus emortuæ.26 We therefore can no more read the Annolied commentary without an awareness of his life than we can assess his life’s work without consideration of this edition.

Among Opitz’s surviving letters are two to Ludwig of Anhalt (der Nährende 27) in which he mentions his editorial work on the Annolied. The first of these, dated 10th March 1639, anticipates the imminent publication, and the second, dated 7th August (less than a fortnight before his death) accompanies a complementary copy. Both were printed in full by Ebeling, who discovered them in 1855. The relevant excerpts are worth citing here. In the first, Opitz refers to himself in the third person:

Seine [des Gekrönten] Epigrammata sollen mitt ehister abschirfung der Hamburger auß diesem hafen folgen; sampt einem schönen geticht so ein deutscher Poët von 500. jharen vnnd drüber Zue gedechniße des Cöllnischen Erztbischoffs Anno auffgesetzt, bey welchem der Nährende viel wörter der alten Francken, Sachsen vnnd in gemein gantz Deutschlands erklärat auß solchen schrifften vnnd gedechnissen, die in das gemein nicht bekandt auch theils niemals noch an das liecht kommen sindt. Vnnd wird hoffentlich der Nährende es sonderlich mitt gnädigen augen ansehen, alldieweil Ihm die art vnnd lebhaftigkeitd welche in der Vorfahren büchern Zue finden, iedesmal gefallen vnnd beliebet hatt.28

The August letter is similar in theme:

Die Epigrammata so viel deren noch Zur Zeit gedruckt (wie es dann auch vermutlich darbey verbleiben wirdt) sindt allhier beygefuget, ingleichen der Reim von Erztbischoff Annen; bei dem der Nährende ihm die Außlegung hoffentlich darumb wirdt gnädiglich gefallen laßen, daß viel wörter der alten mutersprache auß schrifften herfürgesucht worden, so entweder vnbekandt, oder auch noch vngedruckt sindt. In Holland vnnd Britannien sindt etzliche gelehrte leute, von denen ich die hoffnung geschöpfft, daß sie noch ältere

26 Bodmer and Breitinger, p.157.
27 All members of the Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft had an honorary title. Opitz was Der Gekrönter (the Crowed One), Ludwig Der Nährende (the Provider).
28 “His Epigrams will follow with the first Hamburg ship to leave this harbour; along with a fine poem which a German poet of more than 500 years ago composed in memory of the Cologne archbishop Anno, in which the Provider (will find) many words of the ancient Franks, Saxons and generally from all over Germany explained by reference to writings and memories of a kind which are not generally known and some of which have never come to light before. And I hope that the Provider will view it with gracious eyes, since after all the style and liveliness which is found in the books of our ancestors have always pleased and satisfied him.” Friedrich W. Ebeling, “Sechs ungedruckte Briefe von Martin Opitz”, Weimarisches Jahrbuch für deutsche Sprache Literatur und Kunst 2 (1855) 193-205, here p. 201.
vndt mehr wichtige Bücher an das tageliecht bringen werden. In
stifften vndt libereyen ist hin vndt wieder viel dergleichen Zue
finden, vndt Zweiffle ich nicht, der Nährende könnt bey den h.
Gesellschaftern, die sich allerseits in Deutschland befinden, durch
sein ansehen vndt begehren hierinnen alles thun, wann es seine
höhere sorgen Zueließen.29

These passages encourage the suspicion that this publication was more
important to Opitz than simply a piece of scholarly opportunism on the
fortuitous discovery of a manuscript, for he links it directly to linguistic and
cultural objectives which are leitmotifs throughout his life’s work.

Opitz’s programme in poetics was laid out first in the tract
Aristarchus, sive de Contemptu Linguae Teutonicae (1618), and then
formulated more fully in the Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey (1624).
Considering the brevity of these works and the speed at which he claimed to
have composed them (2 and 5 days respectively), their influence was
astounding; the rules which he laid down and exemplified in his own belles
lettres were almost universally acknowledged and remained the major
authority until the time of Goethe, a century and a half later. Their starting
point was a frustration with the poor quality of contemporary German verse
and with the rejection of the German language in favour of Latin by serious
writers, twin problems which fed each other. Opitz argued for the increased
use of German as a medium for poetic expression, but insisted that to be
worthy of this, both German poetics and the language itself had to be
refined. Above all, this meant looking to Latin and Greek models, but
modifying them to accommodate the different speech-patterns of German,
with the emphasis placed on syllable stress rather than vowel length. It also
meant looking to parallel literatures in France and Italy, which, pioneered
by Petrarch and Ronsard, were further advanced in these respects; he seems
to have been less aware of England, but one might reflect that
Shakespeare’s mature plays coincided with Opitz’s school years. And most
significantly for our present purposes it meant looking back to the
mediaeval foundations of German literature, which he does not perhaps

29 “The Epigrams, as many of them as have so far been printed (which is
presumably all there will be), are enclosed, likewise the Rhyme of Archbishop
Anno; I hope the Provider will graciously be pleased with the commentary on this,
that many words of the old mother tongue have been excerpted from texts which
either are little-known or have never even been printed. In Holland and Britain
there are a number of learned people who have given me reason to hope that they
will bring even older and more important books to the light of day. Such things
are occasionally to be found in monasteries and libraries, and I have no doubt that
the Provider could achieve a great deal in this direction through the esteem in
which he is held and the influence he has among the members of the society who
are scattered all over Germany, if his higher duties allow.” Ebeling p. 202f.
Other correspondence of members of the Fruchbringenende Gesellschaft which
relates to the Anmolied Edition is cited by Hellgardt, note 28.
characterise as a golden age, but at least as one of respectable literary endeavour. It is not difficult to see the publication of a long-forgotten German poem of real literary merit in the context of this reform of German poetics. Not that the *Anmolied* necessarily models the poetic techniques which Opitz wishes to see flourish in his own century: on the contrary, its metrics are the predecessors of those which Opitz rejected, and it is possibly to disguise this fact that he lays the text out on the page as if it were prose.  
But the *Anmolied* does demonstrate that the “ancients”, *veteres* as he calls them, saw German as a vehicle not only for doggerel but even for sophisticated compositions of serious intent. It contributes to a sense that the new thrust towards literature in German grows out of a long and dignified tradition. It allows Opitz to justify the revival of archaic forms of language which he employed in his translation of the Psalms. And it provides a vehicle for the myriad of comparisons with classical and mediaeval poets which fill the pages of his commentary, which his more attentive readers would certainly have recognised as reinforcing arguments based on similar citations in the *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey*.

The drive for quality vernacular verse is of course linked to a sense of patriotism. In the 17th century as much as in the 11th, German patriotism was a complex and elusive phenomenon. Germany as such did not exist, and whereas the 19th-century nationalists could at least be inspired by a vision of what unification might bring, earlier centuries could hang nationalistic feeling only on their appreciation of the language and of elements of common culture. Just as the *Anmolied*’s patriotism is an avowal of Franconian pride combined with a healthy respect for Germanic neighbours, so Opitz displays both a strong Silesian local-patriotism and a sense of ownership of the cultural heritage of all the German-speaking territories he has travelled through. Thus in this respect too, the interests of the mediaeval poet and of the baroque editor harmonize nicely, and we repeatedly see Opitz praising German cities and reminding us of his origins in Silesia. The idea of a German “national literature”, that is, a literature which is not just in the German language but also German in its essence, was much in keeping with the spirit of the age. The *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft*, founded in 1617, knew this alongside the purification of the language as one of its desiderata. That Opitz should suggest to Prince Ludwig in the letter of 7th August 1639 that the members of the society might be inspired by his *Anmolied* edition to search through their own local archives all over Germany for other lost verse surely reflects a desire that the new German poetics should also have a prehistory in a distinctively German tradition of ancient writing.

However, it is to pure philological questions that Opitz dedicates the largest part of his commentary, and both of the letters cited above refer to the prehistory of the language itself as the most interesting part of the

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30 Whitesell p.21.


Die crifist dier was ein leharte. Si besehten, menschlicihn fin, Die bicehenint unde Küninriche Die der marin warin in Babilonio. Dere craphs, aus, ime, das der Gidadan, si trium vili breite.

Si bisehten menschlicihn fin] Textus: Et saper putes, quasi homin, fecit; & eva enus datum et es. gidadan] faciebant: à Thum. XII.

Da ander dier was ein beri wilde, her havide drivalde zeinde. Her cibzech al dez, her anquam Pusi citrat in undir sininc slawin. Der biceheinint drie Künirickeh Die cisamine al bigondin grifs, Es den cidin.
Fig. 4. Pages 22/23 of the 1639 edition. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München.
RHYTHMIUS DE S. ANNONE
disputat Salmasius in nat. caput Solini xxxviii.
At quæ Postea nofler hic de illa narrat, fabulat olere &
flecta mirum non est cim illos ipfos qui comites
eius itineris fuerant, in gratiam Regis gloriam cupiendam
funt multa comminudo datas confitter. De geteritibus
aflis antiquissium eorumque mendaciti, Onecurtis,
Nearcho alisque sequentibus: Strabo lib. ii. Geogr.
precipitque fidem Darmachio & Megatheni derogandam
sit, quomus magnus compendio verborum recenset.
Et fieri est, quæ in manus omnia extendit, hanc paucorum
addit ilium potius quam fidem merentia. Hinc fari none
sunt quæ de gentibus ab Alexandro inter aitiffimos montes in parte Aquilonis conclusis
epitoma Presbyteri Iohannis exhibet in peregrinatio-
ne Joannis Hefei, qui illa ex Hefri compilatore,
depromptis max laudeando, quasque in Ms libro meo
ita de Alexandro non est; atque e Hefri Epis-
folis affusa videantur ab Hefei. Librum quoque, quæ
Callilithemis nomine de vita Alexandri Graeci Latini-
que in bibliothecis lateat, ambas nugas utere: scio
qui impexerunt. An iste, quem Franc. Intreitus
Nouts in Symmachi lib. x. epiptl. liv. & Adversariu-
lib. iii. cap. x. Nobilissimus Cap. Barhius nofler
manuscriptum fe habere aitum, equidem necio: pe-
nes me codex chartaceus est titulus, Excerpta de vita
Alexandri Magni; lectione quidem indigentia produ-
cedamtamen hic ne subvenias; nullo studio nugas
garrirre videamur. De columnis, autem in fine Orbis
terrarum quod hic dicit, ininde neque Herculio no-
que Baccho columnam repetas ete Strabo lib. iii. ex
fama afferret, nihilominus Macedones demonstrata
quodam loco, ex vestigii eorum quis de Hercule aut
Baccho memoria tradita fuerint, columnas ess esse
credisse. Polemamus vitia Caesaris Colchicum fuit
columnas Alexandri, terminum itineris & expe-

COLUMBIANI ARCHEPISCOPO. 25
ditionum. Sed ad Indicum potius Caucasium, vbi arat
Alexander, tale Plut. lib. vi. Hist. Nat. cap. xvi. tantum
ad mundi mundi collocandum, referri debuit
magnus quem indigentia amicus nofiter idem illis
evincit. Obiit indicandum, scriptura de Alexandro
& Euphorionem; ut alam Stephanu in Saliem
explenda est. Ita enim Ms. liber: die Egypto erat
Alexander. Sed de Alexandro, Crateri Fr. rege Eu-
bore, hoc intelligenstium est hae dubie, cuius vixri
Nicius Euphorionem Chalcedonem animum fuisse:
Suadet indicio feclmus:

bikante] agnozebat. Supra n. viii. Ob ir disit be-
kenen Der burfe ausgebrenn.
piece laudation. Almost at once, however, the synthetic parallelism of the clause becomes clear, and the glossing of *lux* with *salus* reveals that *lux* is also to be understood in its rarer secondary meaning of "help". Thus both semantic elements are present together, the one flashing through the mind even as the other becomes established as the current crystallisation of the lexeme. Opitz is, after all, a poet, and loves to play with language. There are intricate puns and figures of speech, and hidden allusions to classical verse which reward the careful reader's erudition. Once the actual commentary begins, however, the register changes to a straightforward functional Latin, soaring to rhetorical heights only for occasional praise or mockery of other writers or rebuttal of the author's own critics. The use of modern German (i.e. 17th-century German: *caveat lector!*) to gloss the Middle High German vocabulary is interesting. Usually a German gloss stands alongside a Latin one, as in "vuhten] Fuchten, pugnabant, dimicabant", but it can stand by itself: "helide] Heldens"; more often, however, a word is glossed only in Latin: "dikke] sæpe". These examples are all from the first strophe, but the use of German, and especially of German alone, accelerates markedly in the second half of the volume. Whitesell has suggested that half-way through, Opitz's perception of the readership changed, and he began to write for those without a knowledge of Latin. This is unlikely, however: the classics were such a basic part of 17th-century education that it is difficult to imagine a reader without Latin skills being accomplished enough to take an interest in mediaeval verse, and if such a person did exist, Opitz's *Annolied*-commentary would, even with these few glosses, prove virtually unusable. Rather, the German glosses may be seen as a nod in the direction of the acceptance of the vernacular not only as the object, but also as the medium of literary studies; a hint, dropped with increasing urgency as the book progresses, to a scholarly world which is not quite ready to hear it.

The material which Opitz cites in his commentary falls roughly into two categories: Germanic citations used, as has been seen, to provide a basis for etymological comparisons, and Latin citations intended to elucidate historical contexts and provide contrasting data. No purpose will be served by pursuing the editions or manuscripts of the Latin texts, as these were mostly very widespread reading in the 17th century; it is enough to note here that, as we would expect from the allusions in his poetical work, Opitz proves to be admirably well-read. More interesting is the question of the sources for quotations in the older Germanic languages, as these were still very much the province of specialists. In many cases Opitz himself names his informants; Whitesell has identified these and others more precisely, and this is taken further in the notes at the end of the present volume. The most important figure here by far, a man whom Opitz

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32 Whitesell p.18.
33 Whitesell p.18ff.
obviously admired, was Melchior Goldast (1578-1635), who styled himself Goldast von Haiminsfeld, a lawyer and historian who published a number of interesting editions.\(^{34}\) Goldast was particularly active in St. Gallen, where he had access to many important Old High German manuscripts. Some of these, it must be said, he stole, smuggling pieces of ancient parchment out of the monastery tucked down inside his trouser legs. He also had access to the Manesse Manuscript (die große Heidelberger Liederhandschrift "C") and was the first to make known to the reading public a number of Middle High German lyricists including Walther von der Vogelweide. Goldast's influence on Opitz's edition was immense and would bear further study. I have charted some of the patterns of citation, but more significant is the very style of commentary which leans heavily on the manner in which Goldast handled König Tirol and the Winsbecke poems in the Paranaeticorum veterum of 1604.

Opitz's edition contains a significant number of typographical errors, which may occasionally go back to oversights in Opitz's own hand, but more frequently have their origins demonstrably in the Hünfeld publishing house. This was a perennial problem for authors, and in an earlier letter to Prince Ludwig, dated 25\(^{th}\) June 1638, Opitz had expressed his irritation at misprints in his Psalter.\(^{35}\) An obvious example appears in the short title of the book which Hünfeld printed at the top of each page, "RYTHMVS DE S. ANNONE" on the left-hand pages, "COLONIENSI ARCHIEPISCOPO." on the right. On page 2 we have instead "RYTHMVS DE S. ANNOLE" – which can only be a printer's error. Likewise to be laid at the printer's door are, for example, the misspelling of circiter in the title, the numbering of strophe 16 as XIV instead of XVI, or the frequent substitution of the letters u and n, which in Hünfeld's typeface are the same character inverted. Blame for other errors may lie with Opitz himself or, as in the corrupt Aethicus citation in strophe 14, with his source. Errors of this sort are of no great consequence when they occur in the Latin text, the Latin of this period being sufficiently standardised that most of them are obvious, but they become significant if they appear in the German, as we are almost entirely dependent on this print for our knowledge of the language of the Annolied, and the spellings are sufficiently idiosyncratic that few conclusions can be drawn from isolated unexpected forms. Here, however, Opitz's commentary can give us a useful second take on the manuscript. In AL 5.12, for example, Opitz's text has the word bistén, which appears thus in critical and diplomatic editions alike. In his commentary, however, he has bestén, which critical editions therefore note as a textual variant. Whether


\(^{35}\) Ebeling p. 198.
Opitz’s error or Hündesfeld’s, a form has been copied wrongly, and we cannot be certain whether the correct form is that in the text or that in the note. In this particular case we may infer that besten reflects the influence of modern German, in which case bisten may be the original form. Similarly, bekernin in 8.1 is given as bikermin in the footnote and as bekennen when the verse is cross-referenced in the note on 14.6; there are no less than 66 such cases, mostly reflecting minor variations of spelling.\footnote{See my note on \textit{AL} 1.8.}

The problem is no different to that of variant manuscript traditions. Unfortunately only a small proportion of lexemes are taken up in the notes, and we must assume that there is a similar scope for error in the bulk of the text, for which we have no such control. In this way, the edition bears silent witness to a weakness in its own textual accuracy. Conversely, of course, when the commentary repeats a form without variation, we have a double access to the source and may be all the more confident that at least in this phase of transmission, no error has occurred. Generally, modern scholarship is satisfied that that the quality of Opitz’s text is mostly high. Nellmann’s 1975 edition, for example, irons out much of the unevenness in spelling, but only very rarely does he propose an emendation which would affect the wording of the text.

The Opitz edition, then, is a very significant milestone in Old German studies, important for our understanding of the literature of both the 11th and the 17th centuries. It is offered here in an annotated reprint in the hope of re-igniting scholarly interest in both circles.

4. The present edition

The present edition reproduces Opitz’s \textit{Anmolied} text and commentary, with a parallel English translation and notes.

The Latin and Middle High German text on the left-hand pages is a diplomatic reprint based on the Stuttgart and Munich copies of Opitz’s edition, the bulk of the work being dependant on a microfiche of the Stuttgart copy. As we have seen, Opitz’s Latin text contains a considerable number of smaller errors which are no doubt mostly misprints by the publisher. As far as possible, the text has been reproduced here exactly as it was in 1639, that is to say, misprints have been left unchanged, though of course the correct text is the basis for the parallel translation. Typographical errors are dealt with in the notes only when they are not obvious. In many places, however, Hündesfeld’s print is difficult to read, especially when text is in italics. It is often difficult to distinguish a from æ, i from t, f from f, etc. In cases of uncertainty, I have assumed that Hündesfeld has the correct Latin form though a misprint may be suspected. Where the 1639 print could not easily be deciphered, it was useful to compare the 1745 Bodmer and Breitinger edition, though its spelling and
punctuation are often very different. I have attempted to imitate Opitz’s use of large and small print, which was of course a deliberate highlighting technique and therefore important, and italics have been retained. However, the variations in size of typeface could not be imitated precisely. Three words in Opitz’s notes on strophe 34 were typeset by Hünfeld in *fraktur* but appear in the present volume in bold print. No attempt could be made to retain Opitz’s lineation or pagination, but his page breaks are indicated thus: [¶ 1]; unnumbered pages at the beginning and end of the volume, thus: [¶ 0]. A facsimile of the Opitz print such as that which Zimmermann has made of Goldast’s *Paraeneticorum* would be a useful adjunct to the present volume and may be noted as a desideratum for the future. Meanwhile, photographic reproductions of five pages are offered in the present volume (Figs. 2, 4, 5), and three more are to be found in the article by Solf.37

The translation of the Middle High German *Annolied* text has been laid out in lines to give some feeling of the verse, though it is a prose translation. Where Opitz’s MHG text appears to be corrupt, the translation reflects modern thinking on the text, the linguistic points being explained in the notes. The work of translating the *Annolied* was carried out without reference to existing translations, but in the final stages of preparation of the notes, comparisons were made with the translations of Nellmann and Schultz. It is striking how often Schultz’s English corresponds exactly to the wording of the present translation; this is to be explained partly by the terse style of much of the *Annolied*, short syntactic units which allow the translator only limited flexibility in construction, and partly by the fact that familiar phrases from the English Bible suggest lexical choices to us. In controversial or ambiguous passages, however, Schultz follows Nellmann consistently, as for example in 3.21 or 20.16, where Nellmann’s translation, though arguably not without some merit, is certainly adventurous. Where I differ substantially from Nellmann’s understanding of the text, this is highlighted in the notes.

Line numbering systems vary. The principal factor is whether to number the lines continuously throughout the work as Roediger does, or to count them within strophes like Nellmann. Other editions have numberings which vary from Roediger and Nellmann by up to five lines depending on how they deal with the three lines missing after 2.7 and how they divide up the lines 14.11ff. I use the strophe-by-strophe system found also in Nellmann’s edition and in most recent scholarly literature, and give these numbers on the left of the translation; the continuous numbering of Roediger is printed on the right.

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In order to keep the notes at the back of the book to a minimum, my translation of Opitz’s Latin text is to some extent also a commentary, it being assumed that the reader is working primarily with the Latin text and using the translation only as a key. In some places, names which Opitz abbreviated appear in full in the translation. Cross-references within the _Anmoliad_ have the verse numbers added, and other supporting data is included in square brackets. In philological discussions, terms which are under examination are placed in italics in the translation, in the same form which they have in the original text except that Latin nouns are resolved to the nominative. If the Latin text provides a translation of a term, this follows in the translation in inverted commas; if not, I provide it in square brackets. For consistency the term always precedes the translation in the English version, though this varies in Opitz’s text, influenced in part by the varying practices of his sources. I have not, however, added translations of the head-words to Opitz’s commentaries, as they are translated above anyway; instead I give line numbers, again in square brackets.

The notes at the end of the volume aim principally to clarify the thinking behind my translation of the more difficult passages in the _Anmoliad_, and to resolve as many as possible of the puzzles in Opitz’s text. The Latin text abounds in obscure references, most but not all of which I have been able to elucidate. For purposes of orientation, birth and death dates of the many poets and scholars cited by Opitz have been given; these are taken from the biographical dictionaries, and could not all be independently verified.

In his 1986 article, Hellgardt suggested that a “vollgültige Erschließung” of Opitz’s work on the _Anmoliad_ would require an annotated edition of his commentary. This edition is hereby provided. However, the analysis is far from exhaustive, and any expectation that work on this topic might now be complete must be disappointed. Rather, I have made the materials available: the discussion can begin.

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38 Hellgardt, p. 60.
Select annotated Bibliography

(MGH = Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Hanover & Leipzig 1826- )

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INCERTI
POETÆ TEVTONICI
RHYTHMVS
DE SANCTO ANNONE
COLON. ARCHIEPISCOPO
ANTE I. AVT CICITER
annis conscriptus.
MARTINVS OPITIVS
primus ex membrana
veteri edidit
& Animadversionibus
illustravit.

DANTISCI,
Ex Officina Andr. Hūnfeldii,
elio b c xxxix,
CVM PRIVILEGIO REGIS.
AN ANONYMOUS
GERMAN POET'S
VERSE ACCOUNT
OF ST. ANNO
ARCHBISHOP OF COLOGNE.

Composed
500 OR SO YEARS AGO.
Edited for the first time by
MARTIN OPITZ
from an ancient vellum manuscript
& furnished
with a commentary.

DANZIG,
Publishing house of Andreas Hünefeld,
1639
BY ROYAL APPROVAL.
Q Uod exteris omnibus tuam opem quærantibus præstare soles, Vir Nobilissime, vt beneigne susteptis illam vtrro exhibeas: idem petere nunc audeo, non pro me, cui iam dudum quidvis conceissisti, sed pro uno prifcae Teutonise cive, qui dura exilii mala, situm, squalorem ac contemptum, carcerem immo longum paffus ad te confugit, à tuo splendore lucem, à patrocinio salutem recepturus. Iacuit quippe libellus íste ab aliquot feculis abiectus, extorris & ignotus; neque illum afferere publico dignati sunt vel Agrippinenses quorum Antistitem optimum celebrat, vel Germani omnes, quorum prisci sermonis qualificunque, rara certe, particula est. Debebam spectatissimo nominis Tuo dicere maiora: sed & huic opusculo pretium conciliabit semper & ubique veneranda iure antiqui- [¶ $]$ tas. Nam ut senectus, qualem benignum Numen tam florentem tibi ac vegetam largitur, auctoritatem etatibus conciliat ac reverentiam: ita doctrinae monimenta quo vetustiora sunt, eo maiori in honore ab intelligentibus talium habentur. Erunt qui patienter his carere nos posse vociferabuntur, homines inepte docti & judicio suo reliquen-di: sed tu cum literas omnes ipsae literatissimus diligis, tum iftas praevipue amas, que humaniores ipsae vocantur & nos faciunt. Hanc inscripitionis meae cauflam dixiße nunc folam súfficiat: nam caeteras adducere fi velim, tam numerofa est gloria tua, ut librum mereatur non praefationem. Testes sententiae huius meæ producendi fi essent, vel Patriam advocarem, amplissimam hanc & ornatissimam, que cum non alio læpiss quam ore tuo Regibus potentiissimis, Proceribus Regni atque adeo domi forisque locuta sit, vno vicissem ore omniumque Ordinum decreto ob custodiam diligentissime rempublicam, ob eximium in cives amorem, ob singularem abstinentiam ac industriam, ob curam denique & follicitudinem consularum, non [¶ $]$ aliu tibi quam Parentis Publici nomen læta libensque tribueret. Ad idem testimonium accurrerent viri toga & fago vbique locorum maximi, qui columna te ac ornamentum urbis cui præfides conuenit patentur præclarissimo. Adestet populus exulum, tot viduae, tot pupilli, tot facerdotes, tot, qua pietate adverfus Deum es, templai ipsa, quibus omnibus foliatum apud te & auxillium hucusque fuit reposi tum. Sed neque tango conftantiam in utraque fortuna, manfueteudinem, sociatam comitati gravitatem,
TO THE MAGNIFICENT
AND MOST NOBLE MAN
JOHANN CZIRENBERG
MAYOR OF
GDAŃSK.

Since it is your custom, most noble gentleman, to grant to all strangers who seek your help that, when they have once been taken so graciously under your wing, you also continue to support them, I now make bold to bring the same plea, not for myself, to whom you have long since made all kinds of concessions, but for a citizen of ancient Germany who, suffering the harsh trials of exile, the filth, misery and contempt, and indeed long imprisonment, flees to you to receive light from your splendour, sanctuary from your patronage. For this little book has lain discarded for centuries, homeless and unknown; and neither the people of Cologne, whose finest high priest it celebrates, nor all the Germans, of whose disparate ancient writings it is certainly an extraordinary part, thought it worthwhile to make it public. I ought to have dedicated something far greater to your distinguished name: but the justly venerable antiquity of this little work will confer value on it at all times and in all places. For just as old age, which has been granted to you with such prosperity and vigour by benign divinity, bestows authority and respect because of its years, in the same way the older a learned work is, the greater the honour in which it is held by those who are informed in such matters. There will be those who will cry that we could easily do without this, people of inadequate learning who, on account of their poor judgement, are to be ignored: but you, because as a vastly well-read man you value all writings, you particularly love those which declare themselves — and make us — cultured. Let it suffice that I give this alone as a reason for this inscription; for if I wished to list others, your praises would deserve a book and not a preface, so numerous are they. If I had to produce witnesses for this assertion, I would surely summon our fatherland in its vastness and grandeur, which, having spoken to powerful kings and to the great men of the empire through no other mouth more often than through yours, and this both at home and abroad, now in turn would with a single mouth and by universal decree joyfully and bountifully accord to you no lesser name than Father of our People, on account of your conscientious stewardship of the state, your great affection for the citizens, your extraordinary selflessness and industriousness, and last but not least the meticulousness and commitment of your mayorship. Men of high and low estate, the greatest of every locality, would rush to testify to this, with glorious unanimity declaring you to be the pillar and the crown of the city over which you preside. A great band of exiles would gather, so many widows, so many orphans, so many priests, so many churches even (you being a man of piety before God), all of whom have before now received
aliasque virtutes domesticas tuas: si domesticae sunt, quæ exemplo tam illustri ad imitationem invitant omnes; cum civitati rectos mores instillandi ratio una sit, bonus Consul. De me solum, quantumque privatim tibi obstrictus sim, dicendum erat: fed ut verba excedit qua me proferequis benevolentia, ita, licet illud in scribendo beatissimum, quod ad scribendum necessitate non coger, Dei Regisque beneficiis affecutus videar, aut ingratus tamen vivere, aut me plurimum tibi debere scribendi quadam lege teftari cogor. Gedani, IV Id. Quintil. Ann. M.DC.XXXIX.

MART. OPITII
AD RHYTHMVM DE S. AN-
NONE PROLEGOMENA.

S I prioribus libris suis contineri Livius fatetur res cum vetustate nemia obscuras, veluti quae magnó ex intervallo loci vix cernuntur; tum quod ræ per eadem tempora literæ fuerint, una custodia fidelis, memoriae rerum gestarum: apud nos Germanos nulla ultimæ vetustatis monumenta fermone nostro reperiri, minus admiratione eget, qui & serius ad literas acceffimus, & posquam acceffimus, Latine ut plurimum balbutire maluimus, quam nofris verbis quæ consignanda erant excipere. Ideo quamvis linguam Teutonicam per amplissima terrarum spatia, populosque plurimos unu Celtarum nomine comprehensos primo, diffusam, perpetua fere ad ævum usque nofrum translatam esse certissimum sit: origines tamen vocabulorum plurimas, imo vocabula ipsa non paucæ, aut amissæ essæ, aut ita mutata, ut nostra priscæ diffimilia prorfus videantur, cum ea quæ post receptam religionem Christianam (alia enim vix reperire etsi) in literas relata sunt, aperte demonstrantium, tum argumentis ostendi potest plurimas. Thracias [¶ 0] plerique gentes, barbaras Græcis finitimis aut cohabitantibus, Celtice originibus fuisse, nemo doctorum ignorat. Eorum aut jnimis notae vocabula non paucæ cum Pollux, Suidas, Etymologus alique, literarum imprimis eruditissimum Hefychius, recensent, quis nunc ex tam multis saltem una alteramq– ita agnoscit, ut se se veritate, non coniecturis niti affirmare audeat? Brigaç esse gentem Thracicam Herodot, lib. VII. ait. Iuba vero, tefte Hefychio in Brigeç, tradit Briga à Lydis dici τον ἔλεοθερον. Hinc Brigaç, quasi die Vryen, liberos, vit fortissima Francorum gens, die Vrancken, eadem significatione, nominatos, ingeniosius forte afferatur quam verius.
consolation and support from you. I shall not mention your steadfastness in all circumstances, your clemency, your combining of dignity and affability, nor all your private virtues: which, even though they be private, yet by their shining example invite all to imitate them; for this is one method of influencing the citizenry towards sound conduct, good Mayor. It was enough that I say how much I myself am personally obliged to you: but just as words cannot express how greatly you have bestowed on me your favour, so – though by the grace of God and of the King I have received the highest joy in writing, namely that I am not of necessity forced to write – yet I must either live ungratefully or be compelled by a certain obligation to admit that I owe the greatest part of my writing to you.

Gdańsk, 12th July 1639.

MARTIN OPITZ’S PROLOGUE TO THE ANNOLIED.

If Livy admits that there are things in his earlier books which are “obscured by their very great age, like things which can scarcely be recognised because of their vast distance, all the more so as literary endeavour, which is the only reliable guardian of the memory of historical events, was rare in those times”, it is no surprise that we Germans have no such memorial to ancient times in our language, since we were rather late in turning our hands to letters, and when we did turn to them we preferred to stammer most of the time in Latin than to say what we meant in our own words. As a result, although it is absolutely certain that the German language spread out over vast stretches of land and to many peoples who had previously borne the single name of the Celts, and that it has come down to our age in an unbroken line, yet the origins of many words, indeed not a few of the words themselves, have either been lost or they have changed so completely that our forms seem utterly different from the ancient ones, as is clearly demonstrated by those words which have been attested in writings since the introduction of the Christian religion (for others are scarcely to be found), and can be even more clearly shown by a multitude of evidence. Most of the Thracian peoples, barbarians in the eyes of the Greeks who bordered on or lived together with them, were of Celtic origin, as every scholar knows. Although their vocabulary and that of similar tongues are frequently listed in Pollux, Suidas, Etymologus and others, especially that erudite philologist Hesychius, who nowadays knows at least one or other of this multitude so well as to dare to claim that his own conclusions are based on truth rather than conjecture? According to Herodotus 7, the Βρίγες [Briges] were a Thracian people. Juba however, as Hesychius records under the lemma Βρίγες, reports that Βρίγας was a Lydian word meaning “the free”. Thus it is claimed that the Briges are named “the freemen” [German: die Vryen], as
B Commodius Heufchicium nostrum gynaeceum, persona seu larva; quod haud dubie peregrinum est, vt plurima que tale esse non indicatur, culpa eius credo, qui Grammaticorum optimi mutilavit. Hinc aliquis me audacior brundelic aut frigidel, amabilis, exculp et. Magis Germani iuris est quod statim sequitur: brevissim, est quidem vires, freellen, vorare; item illud: Σκαλις, σκαφίς, eine ichale. Σκαφίν vel pro vaso potorio legimus ap. Athenae. lib. IV. Eodem Heufchicium ἀναίμα est πολλαχία χάρις, gratia multiplex; quod aegenaem feu angene, acceptum, gratiolium, sa- [¶ 0] pere, necio an non quibusdam videri queat. Ἀβράανα, inquit idem, Κελτόi των κερκοπιθήκων; Celtae cercopithecos αβράανας vocant. At si αλράανας legas, ut forte ann Heufchius debuit, hoc vocabulum Haliurunna (vit apud Iornandem in Ms. Codice Amplissimorum Fratrum Puteanorum scrivitat) hodie Alraun, non longe discedit. Et cercopithecis formam mandragora herba, quae Alraun nobis, tempore quo fructum fert utcumque reprezentat. Porro qui herbarum nomina Dacis Getisque (Thracibus & ipsis) usitate apud Apuleium medicum, (Galeno, si recte memini, citatum) interque Scholia Dioscoridis pervertuita aspiciet, tam illa cum hodiernis nostris deprehendet congreure, quam herbas cum pificibus. Idem de nominibus hominum propriis dixerim, quorum omnium rationem reddere velle, futili est. Sic circa etymon virium quam multa nobis vulgo permittimus, fiti iudicii imbecillitate, feu linguarum unde illud petendum erat ignorantia? Silefiae meae metropolim Brateileam in triaeuct Sclavorum dictam Reinecius aliique crediderunt: cum à Wratzliao conditore, ut à Bolizliao Boleslavia (Bolezlavez Bullae Innocentii PP. IV.) cui natales meos debo, nomen in Wratzlaw five Breslaw, ut alterum in [¶ 0] Bunzlau, detortum traxerit. Brigam eiusdem Silefiae ad Viadrum urbem à ponte nomen reperisse putat Phil. Cluverius: at brzeg Polonis, breg Slavis, ripa est, & Brega in privilegis veterum illius Ducum semper scritur. Sagani oppidi nomen à Sacis Phil. Melanchthon, alii à postulationem quonam telonii Sag an, numeram merces tuas, derivant; ignari à voce itidem Sclauonica zagon, id est, lira agri, fluxisse. Roffochium rofarum Academia, quafi Nomen cum violis rosisque natum, iuventuti literate audit: cum Sclavis, habitatoribus illorum locorum prisci, quorum reliquiae longo à Silefia ad extremum usque Albin tractu etiamnum superfunt, Roztok solutionem glaciei desiget, vnde oppidum, Variae amni adfimus vicinumque mari, dictum vero est similius. Offent talia numero infinita: sed de Teutonismo nobis dissertatio instituta est, cuius crebra monofyllaba facile ad quodvis
are that mighty race the Franks [die Vrancken], which has the same meaning, an etymology which may be more ingenious than it is true. Брошёл, which is undoubtedly a loan-word, is glossed προσώπον γυναικείον [female face] "persona" or "mask" by Hesychius; that most such loan-words are not indicated is, I believe, the fault of the one who has mutilated the best grammarians. Thus one who is more audacious than I am would derive from this the words брундельich or vriendlich, "friendly". It is regarded as a matter of certainty that German vreten, fressen "to devour" comes from βρύτειν "to eat". Likewise German schale [dish] from σκολίς, σκωφίον, used in Athenaeus book 4 for "drinking vessel". This same Hesychius writes that ἀναντία is πολλαχή χάρις "great favour"; it may be that some could imagine they know this to be aengenaem or angenem, "agreeable, favoured". Hesychius also gives ὅρφανος as Κελτοὶ τῶν κερκοκριθέων, "Celtic for tailed monkeys". But if you read ἄρανος, as perhaps Hesychius should have, then the word Halituruma [Gothic: "herb woman, sorceress"] (as attested by Jordanes in the codex belonging to the illustrious fraternity of Claude Dupuy), modern [German] Alraun, is very similar. And the mandrake, which we call Alraun, is reminiscent of the shape of a monkey whenever it bears fruit. Yet, anyone who considers the herb names of the Dacians and Getae (likewise Thracians) used in the physician Apuleius (cited, if I remember correctly, by Galenus) and in the ancient Scolia on Dioscorides, will recognise that our words are as like them as herbs and fish. I could say the same of personal names, that it is foolish to try to explain them all. Is this also true of the etymologies of cities, where we have allowed many vulgarisms, be it in weak judgement or in ignorance of the languages from which they were to be derived? Reineke and others were of the opinion that my Silesian home town Bratesilea [Breslau] takes its name from a Slavic word meaning "ford": however the name, changed to Wratzlaw or Breslaw, derives from its founder Wratizlaus [Wrocislaw]; just as my place of birth, Boleslavia [Boleslawiec] (Bolezlavez in the Bull of Pope Innocent IV), distorted to Bunzlaw [Bunzlau], is named after Bolizlaus [Boleslaw]. Philipp Clüver believes that the Silesian city of Briga [Brzeg, Brieg] on the Oder is named after a bridge: indeed brzeg is Polish for river bank, breg Slavic, and in the charters of its ancient princes the name is always written Brega. Philip Melanchthon derives the place-name Saganus [Zagan, Sagan] from the Saxe, others from the old challenge at the toll-booth Sag an [speak up], "declare your wares"; they are unaware that it in fact comes from Slavic zagon [Polish: field], i.e. "ridge between furrows". To educated young people, Rostochium [Rostock] is the university of roses, being "a name born with violets and roses": to the Slavs, however, the former inhabitants of these places, the remnants of whom are still to be found today in a vast tract of land stretching from furthest Silesia to the Elbe, Rzo tok signifies the melting of ice, whence the name of the town situated on the River Warnow near the sea more probably originates. The examples are endless: but our
study is dedicated to the German language, whose frequent monosyllables are easily assembled into any linguistic peculiarity we please, precisely the feature which might cause learned men to attempt to link the roots of most of our words to the vocabulary of these oriental languages. We must think a little more openly about Greek; after the labours of others, we have observed ourselves that it clearly has the most similarities to our own language, and we believe that words have been exchanged like goods, through geographical proximity and social interaction. It is possible that other things of equal importance lie hidden in these letters, lost to our language because of their great age; for which reason they cannot be recognised. And some of the verses in which the bards, the ἄνυδοι ποιήται Ἰαλατέων [Galatian bards] (as the illustrious John Selden emends a corrupt text of Hesychius in his Notes on Greek Chronology according to the Arundel Marbles), sang the brave deeds of famous men to sweet melodies on the lute, as Diodorus, Strabo, Mela, Ammianus and others bear witness, might still exist today: in studying these things, we would be wasting our effort, as was C. Aelius, who according to Varro misunderstood many hidden things when he expounded the Salian songs. Nevertheless, we long for them as we should: so, for example, certain snippets and remnants of ancient Teutonic language appear in the early glosses such as those which still exist under the name of Isidore (not wrongly, I believe, for Honorius Augustodunensis lists them under his works), and those which Pithou gathered far and wide. To this end, we could also examine the unpublished Lexicons by Suidas, Photius, Zonaras and others, which are hidden in public and private libraries, and likewise the Glossary of the Gothic Bishop Ansileubus, rescued from an ancient codex of the library of Moissac, in which many barbarous words of the Goths and other peoples are explained, as Philippe Jacques de Maussac, in his treatise A Critical Inquiry into Harpocranon’s Dictionary, claims to have seen. But, a more accurate representation of both the alphabet and the vocabulary of the Goths (whom, according to studies by Pontanus and especially Clüver which if time allows we shall confirm more fully elsewhere, the most erudite scholars still confuse with the Getae and Dacians, following the example of the Latin writers of the past) can be gleaned not only from certain samples edited by Bonaventura Vulcanius and others, but also from Norwegian, Danish, Icelandic and other Nordic relicts and inscriptions of which Ole Worm, that exponent of his country’s heritage, has promised a comprehensive edition, like those which I can remember seeing towering in gigantic marble in front of the prince’s hall at Alba Iulia [Karlsburg] in Transylvania. Just as Charles the Great was the protector of the German Empire, so he was of the language too. After him, other Princes and Emperors patronised poetic contests no less than equestrian ones; young nobles took part in these in order to receive the victor’s prize for singing just as they did for jousting. Goldast has published a number of his famous exhortations: I know too that others are everywhere to be found with all kinds of content which are
Wille- [O] ramus Episcopus Mersburgensis, cuius Teutonicam Cantici Canticorum expositionem editore Mercula habemus, ante I. c. annos claruit; circa quod tempus Anno Colonienfis Archiepiscopus excefsit, cuius vitam ac virtutes æqualis illius, aut ætate non mulflo minor, celebrat, quem nunc publico damus Poeta Anonymus. Scio quid dicturi sint qui talia non æstimant quia ignorant: nos, qui linguae Germanicæ cultum hodiernum cum laude aliqua iuvenes hucusque auximus et protulimus, veniam, vt speramus, merebimur, quod & nunc, post seposita quamquam hæc studia, priscam linguae maternæ gloriæ per ἀποκαλυπτόν hoc eius dilatare, ac Animadversionibus in illud nobis sub manu natus illustrare conati fuimus; & Spelmannis, Seldenis, Wormsiis, Laetiis, Elichmannis, Teutonicæ veteris, Anglo- Saxoniceæ Gothiceæque linguarum monimenta ætate rebusque potiora expectantes.

RHYTHMVVS DE S. ANNONE COLONIENSI ARCHIEPISCOPO.

I.

Ir horten ie dikke fingen Von alten dingen, Wi fnelle helide vuhten, Wi fi vesfe burge brechen, Wi fisch liebin vuinifcetfe schieden, Wi riche Kunige al zegiengen. Nu ist ciht daz wir dencken Wi wir selve sülín enden. Crixt der vnser héro güt Wi manige ceichen her vns vure düü, Alser uffin Sigeberg havit gedan Durch den diurlichen man Den heiligen bschof Annen Durch den jinin willen, Dabi wir uns sülín bewarini Wante wir noch sülín varin Von difime ellendin libe hin cin ewin Da wir imer sülín fin.
worthy of an edition, if only a contempt for literature were not present even among its exponents. Bishop Williram of Merseburg, whose German commentary on the Song of Songs we have in an edition by Merula, was famous 550 years ago, about the time of the death of Archbishop Anno of Cologne, whose life and virtues were celebrated by an anonymous poet of the same age as himself, or not much younger, whom we now present to the public. I know what will be said by those who in their ignorance place no value on such things; but we, who since our childhood have with some recognition nourished and expanded the cultivation of our contemporary German language, deserve indulgence, we hope, as we now endeavour to enlarge the former glory of our Mother Tongue by publishing this fragment of it, and to shed light on it by a commentary from our own hand; from Spelman, Selden, Worm, de Laet and Elichmann we hope for monuments in the ancient German, Anglo-Saxon and Gothic languages which can outlast their own times and circumstances.

SONG OF ST. ANNO
ARCHBISHOP OF COLOGNE.

1

Often have we listened to tales of antiquity related in song;
how valiant heroes battled,
how powerful cities fell to them,
how close friendships were broken and mighty kings brought down.
Now it is time for us to consider how we ourselves shall end.

How many signs has Christ, our good master given us, as He did on the hill at Siegburg in the person of that fine man, the saintly Bishop Anno, and for his sake, that we might be vigilant.
For we shall yet journey from this miserable life to an eternal one, where we shall remain for ever.


helide] Helden. Cheld, sive aspiratione duplicata Hheld, idem fuiffe veteribus quod nobis Held, afferere conatur is cui haec literæ ac Germanum nomen omne haud parum debant, Melch. Goldaftus olim nofier. Quamuis credi posfit, quod à Græcis κέλται, seu per syncopen κέλται dicti fuerint, quasi defultores, ob equitandi peritiam. Sed repugnant hæc Caesarius verba initio lib. I. de bello Gallico: Gallia est omnis diuïsa in partes tres, quarum non incolunt Belgæ; aliam Aquitanii; tertiam qui ipsorum lingua Celtae, nostra Galli appellantur.


liebin] Kero: Conversionis, libes. Conversione, libe. Vel de vita exponendum. Nam Otfrido S. Galli monacho in Evangeliorum libro, ante DCLXXX. annos Rhymis lingua Francica conscripto, lib idem est quod nobis leben; Belgis leven; Anglis, liue; Danis, liff, vita.

vuinfçete] Freundschafft, liebe: Willeramus in paraphrafi in Canticum Canticorum abhinc annos DL. scripta, multoties: Min wine, pro, Amica mea, mein Lieb, meine Freundinn. Hoc insigne veteris Teutonice linguae monimentum, à Paulo Merula cum notis viri docti editum, cum praefatione Auctoris hactenus careat, praeflara fane & pro tempore illo non barbaræ, sì eam ex Ms. libro, cuius vium Amplissa viro Michaeli Flandrinio Senatori Vratislauienfì eximio amicorum debeo, & ex quo textum locis infinitis emendavi, his
Wir horten [1a] When the author of a small Commentary on the Gothic Language, edited by Bonaventura Vulcarius, recently undertook to publish the beginning of this poem, he omitted this opening section and printed only the following three. This part was therefore missing from his manuscript.

dikke [1b] “Often.” Still used by the Belgians.

helide [3a] “Heroes.” Our late friend Melchior Goldast, to whom the present work and the whole German people owe no small debt, was so bold as to assert that Cheld, or with reduplicated aspirant Hheld, was for the ancients what Held [hero] is for us. Yet it is conceivably what the Greeks called κέλται, or by syncopation κέλτα, that is, horse-vaulters, because of their skills in riding. But this stands in contradiction to Caesar’s words in the opening lines of his Gallic War. “The whole of Gaul is constituted by three parts, of which one is inhabited by the Belgians, another by the Aquitanians, and the third by a population who in their own language are called Celts, in ours, Gauls.”

vuhten [3b] “Fought, battled, struggled.” Cf. AL 17.4: “the stars fought (vuhtin) it back”; likewise 33.5, 39.1; 11.6: “fighting (vehtinde) amidst the great ocean”; 23.13: “Aeneas won (irvah) Italy for himself”. Kero, a monk of St. Gallen, in his vernacular interpretation of the Benedictine Rule, which I shall have to cite frequently: fehtun, “fought”; fehtan “to fight”. The ancients did not for the most part link an aspirate with a c, for which reason rehte [right, AL 36.13], rihtere [judge, 37.5], girihtis [court, 37.2], zuht [good conduct, 18.4] nahtis [by night, 33.13], maht [power, 4.8], vorht [fear, 25.14] etc. were written as they were pronounced; as this occurs elsewhere in the poem it need only be noted once.


liebin [5a] Kero: libes “monastic life” [genitive]; libe [ablative]. Or it can be taken to mean “life”. For according to Otfrid [von Weiβenburg], a monk of St. Gallen, in his Evangelenbuch, a poem written in Franconian 780 years ago, this same word lib is our leben, Belgian leven, English liue, Danish liif, “life”.

vunitiscefe [5b] “Friendship, love.” In his paraphrase on the Song of Songs, written 550 years ago, Williram frequently has: Min wine, for “my beloved”. As this remarkable monument of early German literature, edited by Paul Merula and with notes by this learned man, has so far lacked the author’s preface, which is admirable and not unschooled by the standards of the present commentary, taking it from the manuscript, for access to which I
Animadversionibus meis addam, non ingrata Lectori interfata fore ex istimo.

praefatio willirammi babin-bergensis scholastici fuldensis monachi in cantica canticorum.

CVM MAIORVM STVDIA INTVOR quibus in divina pagina nobiliter florire, cogere huius temporis facies deflere, cum iam fere omne litterae deficit studium, foliumque avariae, imiidiae & contentionis remanant exercitium. Nam eti quid qui sub scholari ferula Grammaticae & Dialecticae studiis imbuentur, haec fibi sufficere arbitrantes divinæ paginæ omnino obluiuiscuntur, cum ob hoc solum Christianis liceat gentiles libros legere, ut ex his, quanta distantiæ fit lucis ac tenebrarum, veritatis & erroris, possint discernere. Alii verò cum in divinis dogmatibus sint valentes, tamen creditum fibi talentum in terra abcondentes, ceteros qui in lectionibus & canticis peccant derident, nec imbecillitati eorum vel instructione, vel librorum emendatione quicquam consulti exhibent. Vnum in Francia comperti LANTFRANCVM nomine, antea maxime valentem in Dialectica, nunc ad Ecclesiastica se contulisse studia, & in epistolis Pauli & Psaltero multorum fuit subtilitate exacuisse ingenia. Ad quem audiendum cum multi notratium confluent, spero quod eius exemplo etiam in nostris provinciis ad multorum utilitatem industriae fœræ fructum productum. Et quia fœpe contingit, ut impetu fortium equorum etiam caballis ad cursum concitentur; quamvis fregitini ingenioli mei non ignorem, Deum tamen bonæ voluntatis sperans adiutorem, decreui etiam ex mea particula studiofo lectori aliqua eloquentia praebere adminus. Itaque Cantica Canticorum, quæ fui magnitudinem ipso nomine testantur, istai, si Deus annuerit, & versibus & Teutonica planiora reddere, ut corpus in positum his utrimque cingatur, & ita facilius intellectui occurrat quod investigatur. De me nihil addidi, sed omnia de Sancto- rum Patrum diversis expositionibus era in vnnum cempegi, & magis fœnfuli quam verbis, tam in versibus quam in Teutonica, operam dedi. Eisdem versibus interdum utor: quia quæ Spiritus Sanctus eisdem verbis sæpius repetivit, haec etiam me eisdem versibus sæpius repetere non indecens vifum fuit. Expeditionis tenorem Sponfo & Sponsæ, sic in corpore, sic & in versibus & Teutonica, placuit ascribi, ut maioris auctoritatise videatur, & quivis legens
am indebted to that illustrious gentleman Michael Flandrin, Breslau town councillor and best of friends, with whose help I have emended the text in innumerable places.

Preface to the Canticles
by Williram [von Ebersberg]
Scholar of Bamberg
Monk of Fulda

When I consider the work of the fathers by which they won renown in the sacred books, I can but bemoan the degeneracy of this present time, for it lacks almost all literary endeavour, and only the pursuit of greed, envy and strife remain. For even if there are those who, under the rod of their teachers, are instructed in grammar and dialectics, they believe that these disciplines are sufficient for them and quite forget their study of the Scriptures; yet Christians may be permitted to read heathen books for the sole reason that they might learn from them how far light is removed from darkness, truth from error. Then there are those who have a firm grounding in sacred teaching but bury their borrowed talent in the earth, and so deride others who make mistakes while reading or chanting, yet show no resolve to help them in their weakness, either by instruction or by use of improving books. I have heard of a man in Franconia named Lanfranc who was first highly proficient in dialectics, then turned his mind to ecclesiology, and by his sensitivity in the study of the Pauline epistles and the Psalms has finely honed the intellectual faculties of many. Since our people gather in their hordes to hear him, I hope that, by his good example, his efforts will bear fruit in our region too, to the benefit of many. And because it often happens that the onslaught of strong horses can bring even poor palfreys to the gallop, I, knowing full well the lethargy of my feeble mind, yet trusting in merciful God as my helper, have for my part also decided to offer the studious reader certain profitable aids. Therefore I have determined, if God approves, to render the Cantica Canticorum — the title testifies to the greatness of the work — both in a verse paraphrase and in German prose, in such a way that the text of scripture, placed in the middle, will be flanked by these on either side, so that whatever is sought will be found more easily. I have added nothing of my own, but I have brought together into a unified whole all I could find about the diverse interpretations of the Church Fathers, concentrating more on the sense than on the words, both in the verse and in the German. Occasionally I reuse the same verses, for it did not seem unbecoming that I should repeat often in the same verses what the Holy Spirit has repeated often in the same words. I decided that the substance of the narrative should be included in the “Bride and Groom”, both in the verse and in the German, as it is in the text of Scripture, as this
personarum alterna locutione delectabilius afficiatur. Nescio an me
ludit amabilis error, aut certe qui Salomoni pluit, mihi etiam vel
aliquantulum siillumare dignatur, interdum mea legens sic delectabiliter
afficior, quasi hoc probatus aliquis compoferit auctor. Opusculum
hoc quamdiu vixero, doctioribus emendandum offero. Si quid peccavi,
illorum monitu non erubescò eradere: si quid illis placuerit, non
pigrorit addere.

felue] selbst, ipsi.
manage] manche. Confessio veteris Alamannorum Ecclesiae:
Thes alles inti anderes manages.
Sigeberg] Iu ducatu Bergenfi oppidum, vbi splendidissimum &
magnificum ordinis D. Benedicti monasterium Anno erexit, cuius
fundationem Petrus Merfæus in Catalogo Archiepiscoporum
Colomensium collocat in annum MLXVI. Diversum ab eo est
Sigeburgum (Annalibus Francicis & Regioni Sigisburgum) ad Ruam
fluvium, qui Rheno apud Dusburgum miscetur. Vrumque locum à
Sigambris nomen traxisse Hubertus Thomas affert Comment. de
Tungris & Eburonibus: Sigambris verò nomen à flumine Sige
quaefitum, haud dubitate fe dictit manfurum Gedani decus Phil.
Cluuerius German. Antiq. lib. III cap. IX.
diurlichen] Vel, tiurlichen, ut §.XXXIV. charum, amicum. Ita
& apud Otfridum, diuri, lieb; Anglis deare.
Annen] Hoc nomen Anno exhibit cap. I. & II. Catalogus
nominum prorsorum, quibus Alamanni [¶ 5] quondam appellati, ex
vetustissimo codice Monasterii S. Galli editus à Goldafto. Hannonem
vocant Hermannus Contractus & Marianus Scotus.
hin cin ewin] ad vitam æternam. Gr. ætòv. Kero: In æternum, in
euun. Glossæ à Iusto Lipsio è Psalmio veteri exerptæ: Èuuthon,
æternum. Evangelia Otfridi:

Fon euuon vnz in euuon,
Mit then drut felon.

II.

In der werilde aneginne, Dü liht war vnte stimmma, Dü diu
vrone Godis hant Diu spehin werch gescuph so manigvalt,
Dü deilti Got fini werch al in zuei, Difl werlts ist daz eine deil,
will increase its authority and allow all those who read it to be more pleasingly edified by the couple’s dialogues. I do not know if some amusing error disgraces me, and certainly, what pours forth for Solomon deigns only to drip a little for me, yet sometimes as I read what I have written I am as pleasingly edified as if some experienced author had composed it. I offer this little work while I still have life in me, that those who are more learned might improve it. If I have made any mistake, I will not be ashamed to scratch it out when they admonish me; if anything pleases them, I will never be slow to add it.

manage [10] “Many.” The confession of the old Alemannic Church: “All these and many (manages) others.”

Sigeberg [11a] A town under the authority of Berg, where Anno erected the most splendid and magnificent Benedictine monastery, the foundation of which Peter Mersaeus dates to the year 1066 in his Catalogue of Archbishops of Cologne. It is to be distinguished from Siegburg on the Ruhr, which joins the Rhine at Duisburg (cf. the Annals of the Franks and of the region of Siegburg). In his book on the Tungrī and Eburones, Hubert Thomas notes that both of these places take their name from the Sigambri: they in turn are named after the river Sieg, as Philipp Cluver, who will always be the pride of Gdańsk, confidently declares (Ancient Germania 3.9).

havít [11b] “Had” [indicative]. The same form in AL 2.17: Havit er “he would have” [subjunctive].
diurlíchen [12] or tiurlíchen in AL 34.1, “dear, beloved”. Likewise in Otfrid diuri; English deare.

Anmén [13] This name Anmo appears in chapters 1 & 2 of the Catalogue of proper names used in the past by the Alemanns edited by Goldast from the oldest manuscripts in the monastery at St. Gallen. Hermann the Lame and Marianus Scotus say Hanno.


In the beginning of the world,
when there was light and voice,
when the holy hand of God
fashioned the marvels of His so manifold creation,

God divided all His work in two.


Das wirt der werte hernach vil leit.


Dü] Cum, da.


ge/cuph] Idem monachus: Creatori, fceffantin.


Du zwei sint rechto ritter mal, vnd vf der brust der beste lift.

na dim engele allermeist.] Angelis proximus. Repicit ad Pfalm. VIII.v.VI.
This world is one part, 
the other is spiritual. 25
Then God in His wisdom and skill blended 
the two to make a single work, the human being, 29
who is both body and spirit, 
and for this reason is closest to the angels. 30
All creation is combined in humanity, 
as it says in the Gospel.  
We should regard it as a third world, 35
as the Greeks say.
To this very honour Adam was created,  
had he only remained steadfast.


Dü [2a etc] “Then.”

vrone [3] “Holy.” Cf. AL 31.8, 32.1, 36.11. Hence our Fronleichnam [Corpus Christi]; Fronaltar [high altar]. The gloss on the Sachsenspiegel 1.53: Fronbote: “name given to a lord (frone) for two reasons; first that he takes up his office under oath, and second that he is God’s avenger.” Fronarbeit is said by Eugippus in his life of St. Severin to mean “sacred work”, as an anonymous commentator, perhaps Marcus Velerus, notes in chapter 14. In Otfrid, fronisga means “honourable, venerable”. Frondienst also means servitude. Fron “tax, land survey”. Frongewald, “prison”, etc.

spehin [4a] Kero: spaher, “judicious” [nom]; spahemu [dat]; spah [gen]; spahii “discernment” [gen].

gescuphy [4b] ibid: sceffantin “creator” [dat].

Godis list [8] In the positive sense. Thus: list “skill” [nom]; listi [gen]; listara “skillful workers”; listaro “works of art” [gen pl]. The exhortations of König Tirol, King of the Scoti, to his son: “These two are the signs of a true knight; and with them a heart with the best of skill (list).”

na dim engele allermeist [11] “Closest to the angels.” Alludes to Ps 8.6 [Ps 8.5].

III.

U sich Lucifer du ce ubile gevieng, Vnt Adam diu Godis Wort ubirgieng, Dû balch figis Got defti mer, Daz her andere fini werch sach rechte gen. Den Manen vnten funnen die gebin ire liht mit wunner: Die sterrin bihaltent ire vart; Si geberent vroft vnte hizze fo starc: Daz fur havit ufwert finin zug; Dunnir unte wint irin vlug. Di wolken dragint den reginguz: Nidir wendint watzer irin vluz: Mit blümin cierint sich diu lant: Mit loube dekkit sich der walt: Daz wilt havit den finin ganc: Scone ift der vügilsanc. Ein iwelich ding diu é noch havit Di emi Got van erift virgab, Ne were die zuei gefcepte, Di her gescumph die bezzifte: Die virkerten sich in diu doleheit, Dannin hubin sich diu leiht.

Criechin [15] The Greeks. Thus or similar the ancient books, or spelled with a k: die Kriechen. Indeed all the books of the Greek philosophers are full of discourses on human excellence. See especially Plato, epistle 7; Xenophon, Memorabilia Book 1; Plotinus, various writings; the Pythagorean Euphantus in Stobaeus Sermon 46; anonymous life of Pythagoras cited by Photius, codex 259; Sextus Empiricus Against the Professors Book 8; Hierocles’ Commentary on the Golden Songs, which is more golden than gold.

zden [16] zu den. It should be noted once that these contractions of many of our words were used very frequently by our forefathers. Thus: Cirin [5.21], Cerist [32.23], for zu ihrem, zu erst, and similarly in many other places in this poem.

behaltin [17] Kero: heiler, kehaltaneer “saved”; kihaltan sin “they are healed”, haitan, kehaltan, “to save”. Thus the fragment from an old book of homilies cited in Joachim von Watt’s Medley of Antiquities: “Good will has been revealed to us, and the incarnation of our saviour (healtar)”.

When Lucifer turned his hand to evil
and Adam transgressed God’s word,
this angered God all the more
as He saw His other creations follow their appointed paths:

the moon and the sun,
they emit their light with joy;
the stars maintain their courses,
bringing extremes of frost and heat;
fire draws upwards,
thunder and wind have their flight;
the clouds bear the showers of rain
and the waters pour downwards;
the fields adorn themselves with flowers,
the forest is covered with foliage;
the beasts live according to their kind
and the song of the birds is beautiful.
Everything would still have the order
which God ordained from the beginning
were it not for the two creations
which he made best.
These turned away to folly,
and this is the source of all suffering.

quit Got fih belge thrato
Sulichero dato.

mit wunnen] cum gaudio & oblectione. Nithart citante
Goldasto Animadw. ad Winsbekium:
Blumen vnd kle,
Manigerhande wunne me,
Hat verderbet vns der fne.

Porror hae descriptio diuinorum operum luculenta est, &
comparanda meritò locis Graecorum Latinorumque Poetarum
similibus. Imprimis huc facit metr. VI. libri IV. Boethii de Confol.
Philosophiae.

Mit loube] foliis. Winsbeke:
Er (Got) git dir noch ein iemer leben,
Vnd ander gabe mannivalt,
Me danne løbes habe der walt.

diu e] legem, fœdus. Kero: Tam veteris quam novi testamenti; so
der altun euua fofama dr niuin. Willeram~: Thiuiiusteritas therow ewo;
austeritas legis. Inde Ewarto, facerdos. Esago, curialis, ac similia in
rhythmis veterum. Capitula Karoli Calui: Secundum legem & euuam;
v cum Pithæo legendum cenit Iac Sirmondus. Hinc nostrum Ehe,
fœdus nuptiale. Vide Gloßar. V.C. Frid. Lindenbrogii ad Codicem
Legum Antiquarum & pluribus Goldaftum ad Tirolem. Dicit verò
Poeta nofter, omnia leges fiuas retinere, vt Boeth. lib. III de Confol.
metr. II.

Quantas rerum flectat habenas
Natura potens, quibus immensum
Legibus orbem provida servet.

IV. [¶ 9]

Unt ift wi der vient virfpun den man, Zi fcalke wolter
un havin. So värter cir hellin die vürf werlt alle, Vnze
Got gesante finin fun, Der irloße vns von den sünden: Ce
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*balch* [3] Lipsius excerpts: *abalgi* “anger”; *belgon* “to grow angry”; *bilgifuhti* “to fly into a rage”; *farbelgeda* “he has annoyed”; *irbelgedon* “they annoyed”. Notker’s version of the Psalms, cited by Goldast in his notes on Bishop Valerian of Cimiez’s *On the virtue of Discipline*: “That God should never become angry (*sigh belge*)”. Otfrid’s *Evangelienbuch* 2.18: “It was said God was angered (*sigh belge*) greatly / by such a deed”

*mit wunnen* [6] “With joy and delight”. Neidhart, cited by Goldast in his notes on *Winsbecke*: “Flowers and clover / and all kinds of other delights (*wumme*) / have driven the snow away for us.” Indeed, this description of God’s creation is excellent and deserves to be compared with similar passages of the Greek and Latin poets. For this purpose see especially Boethius, *Consolation of Philosophy* 4.6.


*Mit loube* [14] “With foliage”. *Winsbecke*: “He (God) will yet grant you eternal life, / and many other gifts, / more than the forest has leaves (*lob*).”

*diu é* [17] “Law, covenant”. Ker: *so do altun eua sosama dr niuin*, “in the Old Testament as much as in the New”. Williram: *Thiu austeritas thero ewo*, “the severity of the law”. Hence *ewarto*, “priest”; *esago*; “of the curia”, and similar words in the old poems. Capitulary of Charles the Bald: “According to law and treaty (*euuam*)”, as Jacques Sirmond, following Pithou, believes it has to be read. Cf. our *Ehe*, “covenant of marriage”. See the glossary in the illustrious Friedrich Lindenbrog’s *Ancient Legal Codes*, and various passages in Goldast’s commentary on *Tirol*. Indeed, our poet writes, everything abides by its own law, as Boethius says in the *Consolation of Philosophy* 3.2: “How mighty Nature directs the reins / of the world, and by what law / she bountifully provides for the whole vast orb.”

4

*It is well known how the enemy enticed the man,*
*wanting him as a bondsman,*
*and thus led*
*all five worlds to Hell,*
*until God sent his son,*
*who redeemed us from sin.*
opfere wart her vür uns braht, Dem dode nam her fini maht, 
Ce hellin vur her ane funden, Her herite fi mit gewelde, Der 
tiuvel virlos den finin gewalt, Wir würdin al in vrie gezalt: In 
der doufe würde wir Criftis man. Den Heirrin sülin wir 
minnan.

virspin] seducebat. Apud Otfrid. virspurnen, verirren. gispuoni, 
irrthumb. Conffelio Veteris Alemannor. Ecclesiae: Odo andran 
geispuoni fo waz fo ih widar Gotes willen getat; vel alois errores, fi 
quid contra Dei voluntatem feci: ut vertendum erat Goldafto 
Alamannicar. Antiquitatum tom. II. parte II.

Simeonis, lingua Gothica: Fra leitaiz socalch teinana. Nunc dimitis 
servum tuum. Idem ex interpretatione Teutonica Harmoniae 
Evangelici Tatiani: Nu forlaiz thu Truchtin thinan socalc. Decretum 
Tasillonis Ducis Baioariorum: Serui Principis, qui dicuntur Adelcalc. 
Hinc vfitata Principibus Imperii nonnullis scribendi ad valsallos fuos 
formula; Vnferm Edelknecht. Vide Glossar. Lindenborgii.


minnan] Kero: Amare, minnoon. Diligit, minoot. Dilexit, 
Keminota. Dilectionis, minna. Winsbeke:

Sun, minne minnekliken Got,
So kan dir niemer mifsegan;
Er hilfet dir us aller not.

Sumunt pro Venere prifci vates nofrti interdum. Friderich von 
Hufen, citante Goldafto: [¶ 10]

Minne, Got mufse mich an dir rechen,
Wie vil du minem herze der fröde wendeist.

Retinent & Germani inferiores; at superioribus inter prætextata 
eft ferè ac obfcaena.

V

V P huf Crift finis crucis vanin, Die zueilf bodin hiz her 
in diu lant varin: Vane himele gaf her un diu craft,
He was offered as a sacrifice for us, 
divesting death of its power.
Sinless, he marched against Hell 
and took it by storm.
The Devil lost his dominion
and we were all declared free.
In baptism we were made vassals of Christ;
we have reason to love this liege lord.

virspün [1] “Seduced.” Otfrid: virspurnen, “to lead astray”; gispuoni, “error”. Old Alemannic Church Confession: Odo andran gespuoni so waz so ih widar Gotes willen getati, “or other errors, if I have committed such against the will of God”, as it was translated by Goldast in his Alemannic Antiquities 2.2.


herite [10] “Defeated.” Hence our verheeren [to lay waste].
minnan [14] Kero: minnoon, “to love”; minoot, “he adores”; keminota, “he adored”; minna, “delight”. Winsbecke: “My son, love the God of love (minne ... minneklich), / so that no harm may befall you; / He will help you out of every trouble.” Some of our earliest poets use it for Venus. Friedrich von Hausen, cited by Goldast: “Minne, may God let me be revenged upon you, / how greatly you deprive my heart of joy!” The North Germans still use this word, and among the South Germans it is almost salacious and obscene.

Christ raised up the banner of his cross.
He sent the twelve apostles to the nations.
From Heaven he bestowed on them the power
Daz si ubirwunden diu heidinscapht. Rome ubirwant Petrus, Diu Criechen der wise Paulus, Seint Andreas in Patras, In India der güde Thomas, Matheus in Ethyopia, Symon unte Iudas in Persia, Seinte Iacobus in Hierusalem, Nu is her dar in Galicia bißén; Johannes dar in Ephefo, Vili süze konder predigin, Vz des grabi noch wehfit himilbrot, Daz dekkit manigirflahte noht; Andre mertirere manige, Soiz witin ift ci jagine, Mit heiligem irin blüde Irvüldin Chrístis gemüde, Mit arbeiden quamen si cirin heirrin, Nu havit her si mit erin.

\[Vb húf Críst finis crucis vanin\] Vexillum crucis. Prudentius Plyphomachiae lib:
\[Vexillum sublime crucis, quod in agmnie primo Dux bona prætulerat, defixa cupide fíßtít.\]

Venant. Fortunatus:
\[Vexilla Regis prodeunt, Fulget Crucis mysterium.\]


Rome was conquered by Peter,
the Greeks by the wise Paul.
St. Andrew in Patras,
in India the righteous Thomas,
Matthew in Ethiopia,
Simon and Judas in Persia,
St. James in Jerusalem
(now he is buried in Galicia)
and John in Ephesus.
John was a fine preacher;
still today manna grows from his grave,
giving relief to many kinds of pain.
Many other martyrs
(proclaim it far and wide!)
fulfilled the plan of Christ
with their holy blood.
They came to their Lord suffering;
now he holds them in great honour.

Vb hác Críst sinis crucis vanin [1] The ensign of the cross. Prudentius’ Psychomachia: “She [Sobriety] has raised high the ensign of the cross, its foot planted firmly in the soil; / like a worthy leader, she has caused it to be carried ahead in the advance guard.” Venantius Fortunatus: “The banners of the King march out ahead, / the mystery of the Cross shines forth.” And thus was our Redeemer described in ancient times, triumphant over death. Bishop Jonas of Orléans frequently mentions the Banner of the Cross in Book 2 of his Cult of Icons; after the overthrow of paganism Christian Emperors, too, were depicted on ancient coins with this symbol. This same Jonas records that Constantine the Great transformed the sign of the Cross, which had been revealed to him from Heaven, into a military ensign and adapted the Labarum, previously described as a dragon, into the form of the Cross of the Lord. The word vane or fane and its various meanings are discussed fully by Lindenbrog in his Glossary on the Ancient Law, and by the English Sir Henry Spelman in the Antiquities of London, published 12 years ago, a part of which we are still awaiting.

bestedén [12] “Buried”. Belgian: besteden. However, the writings of Popes Leo III and Calixtus II, as Baronius observes in his great work, are said to assert that the relics of the Apostle James were taken from Jerusalem to Rome.

in Epheso [13] Joseph Scaliger comments in his notes on Eusebius’ chronicles that Chrysostom and Theodoretus were of a differing opinions, but that John undoubtedly died on Patmos. On this, one should refer to his biography, especially in Baronius’ notes on the Roman Martyrology for December 27th.
manigislahte] mancherley. Willeramus: Vnte manigislahtigen
virtibus. apud eund. allerslahto, allerley.
witin] weitleufftig. Ita infra aliquoties.

VI.

Die Trojanischen Vranken Si sülin is iemir Gode danken
Daz her un fo manigin heiligin havit gefant, Soiz dar
in Koln ist gewant, Dadir refsit ein sülich menige Van Senti
Mauriciin herige, Vnt eilf tusent megide Durch Cristis minn
irslagene, Manige bischof also herin Die dir ceichin haftig
warin, Als iz mer ist vane Sent Annin; Des love wir Crist mit
fange.

Die Trojanischen Vranken] Nulli veterum auctorum, qui de
rebus Trojanis agunt, Francorum nomen audi- [¶ 12] tum: sed nec
quicquâ de illis qui ante labantes imperii Romani vires scripserunt.
Aurelianus, quod siciam, primus nominatur Fl. Vopisco, qui tribunus
legionis VI. Gallicanæ apud Maguntiacum illos repreffit: Vnde
cantilena militaris: Mille Francos, mille Sarmatas femel ociddimus.
Cuius verüs Trochaici occasione aliqu non vifus hucusque apud Vell.
Paterc. lib. II. viris doctis, aut neglectus faltem, addendus est in
Lepidum ac Plancum, cum ille Paullum, hic Plancum Plotium fratres
furos proscriptioni Antoninianæ subiecifent:

De Germanis, non de Gallis duo triumphant Confules.

Franciæ porrò mentionem Eumenius Panegyrico ad
Constantinium facit. Item Hieronymus in Hilarionis vita his verbis:
Inter Saxonas quippe & Alamans gens eius non tam lata quam
valida, apud historicos Germania, nunc verò Francia vocatur. At
latissimis, vt demonstrari aliunde potest, finibus haec gens
circumscripteatur, & credibile est Germanos libertatis amantissimos,
quam ferro & virtute allerebant, nomen hoc ab ipfa, Thi Franken, die
Freien, quasi immunes servitute ac metu, fumpfiße. Valeant igitur
fomnia de Francis ab ipfius Troiæ cineribus repetitis Hunibaldi,
Adonis, aliorumque, quos tota armenta sequuntur, eruditi etiam
nonnulli Poëte Galli cum Principe fuso Ronfardo, quos professum
manigirslahte [16] “Sundry.” Williram: “And multifarious (manigslahtag) virtues.” In the same author: allerslahto, “of all kinds”.

witin [18] “far-reaching”; likewise several times below.

The Trojan Franks
should always thank God
that he sent them so many saints,
as he did in Cologne.

Here rest so many
of St. Maurice’s army,
and eleven thousand virgins
slain for the love of Christ;
likewise many noble bishops

who performed miracles there,
as is also reported of St. Anno.
For this we sing praise to Christ.

Die Trojanischen Franken [1] None of the ancient writers who record the history of Troy had heard the name of the Franks; nor indeed had anyone who was writing before the decline of the military power of the Roman Empire. I happen to know that Aurelian was first named by Flavius Vopiscus as the tribune of the 6th Gallic legion who subdued them at Mainz. Hence the soldiers’ song: “We have killed a thousand Franks, a thousand Sarmatians at one go.” Another trochaic verse by Vopiscus in Velleius Paterculus (Book 2), which scholars have so far not chanced to discover or have simply neglected, should be taken to refer to [Aemilius] Lepidus and [Munatius] Plancus, who each betrayed their brothers to proscription under Mark Antony, the former Paullus, the latter Plotius Plancus: “Two consuls were triumphant, not over the Gauls but over the Germans.” Furthermore, Eumenius makes mention of Franconia in his Panegyric on Constantine. Likewise Jerome, in his life of St. Hilarion wrote these words: “Between the Saxons and the Alemanns, however, lies a people mightier than the extent of their land suggests, known by historians as Germania, now however as Franconia.” And this nation was marked off by the widest possible boundaries, as can be demonstrated elsewhere, and it is plausible that these Germans were the greatest lovers of liberty, which they asserted with steel and with courage, whence this name, Thi Franken, “The Freemen”, is derived, so to speak: they who are exempt from servitude and fear. Much nonsense is told about the Franks originating in the ashes of Troy, spread by Hunibaldus, Adonis and others, who are still very influential; some of the most learned French poets, with their prince Pierre
tamen nomen absolvit. Ad vocabulum verò Franc, & nunc usitatum, pluribus agunt Lindenbrogius & Spelmannus. Franci pro liberis hominibus dicuntur in lege Ripuarior. Tit. XVIII. C. III ac locis alis quæ non compilo. At Francos fero hoc nomine dictos, qui Germani vocitati fuerant, vel ex Procopio dicte lib. de bello Goth.

iemir] Glottæ Lipstiana: Iemer, æternum. Wimsbeke:

Du gebe in dort din iemer leben.


Quo pie Maurici ductor legionis opimæ
Traxios furtex subdere colla viros.

Eius lanceam Cracoviae afferuari narrat Cromerus lib. III. de rebus Polonor.

herige] cohortes, manipulos. Here. castra five exercitus. Vnde Herzog, dux copiarum; Herschild, clipeus militaris; nomen Alamannicum Herman, alia.


Nam harnach Keiferlicher acht
Zu Northufen fin lunckvrowlin
Beatricem das Megetin.

herin] Herrlich; vt num. feq. heror, herrlicher.

Ceichin haftig] miraculis insignes.


Im was dahaim vnndre
Sich verlegen ainen tak.

Retinent Silefii, ut vocabula veterum plurima, quorum usus iam alibi vel rarus, vel nullus.

[¶ 14]
de Ronsard, also lay claim to the name. Lindenbrog and Spelman discuss the word *Franc* [free], which is now also common, in many places. The free peoples are called Franks in the Ripuarian Law Code § 18.3 and in other passages which I shall not list. And later the French were given this name by which the Germans had been called, as we learn from Procopius’ book on the Gothic war.


*Koln* [4] It is noted in the Peutinger Table, and in Ausonius, Agathias, Sidonius and other writers, that the Franks hold the lower reaches of Germany as far as the Rhine; Philipp Clüver ascribes this information to them in *Ancient Germania* 3.20. However in the *Origins of the Franks*, Johann Isaak Pontanus gathers together most assiduously all that is known of this people and their customs.

Ein sülich menige Van Santi Mauriciin herige [5f] Roman Martyrology 22nd September: “At Sitten [Sion en Valais] near St Moriz [St Maurice d’Agaune] in Gaul, the anniversary of the birth of the holy martyrs of the Theban legion, Maurice, Exsuperius, Candidus, Victor, Innocent, Vitalis and their comrades in arms, who died for Christ under Maximian and gave the world a glowing example by their glorious suffering.” On St. Maurice see Venantius Fortunatus Book 2: “How completely, pious Maurice, leader of the finest legion, / did you lead brave men to lay down their lives!” Cromer (*Polish History* book 3) notes that his lance is to be found in Cracow.


*Ceichin haftig* [10] “Miraculous signs.”

*mer* [11] “Fame.” Cf. *AL* 10.22; 37.6. Otfrid, *mari*; Williram: *maara*, “message”. The Belgians today say *maere* for “fame” and “message”. The people of our country generally say *merlein* for “tale”. *Vnmâre*, “undistinguished, of slight renown”. Goldast in his commentary on *Winsbecke*, citing Grafenberg: “At home he was loath (*vnmâre*) / to be idle for a day.” The Silesians still use this, like many ancient words which elsewhere are used either rarely or not at all.
VII.

CE Kolne was her gewiheet bischof, Des fal diu stat iemir lochen Got, Daz in der sconistir burge, Di in Diutischemi lande ie wurde, Rihtere was der vrumigifti man Der ie ci Rini biquam: Ci diu daz diu Stat defti heror diuhte Wandi si ein fo wife herdum irluhte, Vnte diu fin dugint defti pertir weri Daz her einir fo herin fiedi plegi. Kohn ist der heristin burge ein, Sent Anno braht ir ere wole heim.

Ce Kolne] Ex schola Babinbergenfì, cuius magister fuerat, pertractus ab Henrico III. Imp. in aulam, exactis illic aliquot annis apud Confluentiam Colonienfìs Ecclesfìae Episcopus lectus est, Hermanno nominis huius Præfule secundo ex hac luce subtracto; vi ait monachus Sigebergenfìs Annonis æqualis, scriptor eius vitae, quam exhibet Laur. Surius Tomo VI.


[¶ 15]


rihtere] Iudex, Praeful.

vrumigifti] Frømefte, pientiffimus.
He was consecrated bishop at Cologne. For this, the city will praise God forever, that the most beautiful town ever built in Germany was governed by the most able man ever to come to the Rhine. Thus the town was rendered all the more prestigious through being illuminated by such a wise ruler, and his virtue shone all the brighter for his guardianship of such a magnificent city. Cologne is one of the greatest of cities; St. Anno made its honour complete.

*Ce Kolne* [1a] From the school at Bamberg, of which he was master, he was summoned to court by the Emperor Henry III, whence he was sent to Koblenz for a number of years before being chosen as Bishop of Cologne, its ruler Hermann II having passed away. This is recorded by a Monk of Siegburg who was contemporary with Anno, the author of his biography, which was published by Laurentius Surius vol. 4.

gewihet [1b] 3 March 1055, according to the same author.

*in der sconister burge* [3] “In the most beautiful town in Germany.” Ammianus Marcellinus writes: “a city of great renown” (book 15) and “a heavily defended city” (book 16). Zosimus *New History* book 1: καὶ πάλιν ἐπικειμένην τῷ Ῥωμαίῳ μεγίστην, “a great city situated on the Rhine”. In the “Notes on the Cities and Provinces of Gaul taken from Schobinger, Bertius and Sirmond”, recently edited comprehensively by André du Chesne in vol. 1 of his *Writers of the History of the Franks*, using emendations by Joseph Scaliger: “The large city (of the 2nd Province of Germania) Civitas Agrippinensium, i.e. Cologne.” Thus it took first place at the division of the Kingdom between Kings Charles and Ludwig; there are other references elsewhere.

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**VIII.**

_O_ ir willit bekennin Der burge aneginne, So virnemit vmbi die grimmin heidin[s]capht Dannin den aldin burgin quam diu crapht. Ninus hiz der erifti man Dedir ie volcwigis bigan. Her faminodi schilt unti sper, Des lobis was her vili ger. Halspergin [¶ 16] unti brunievn Dü gart er síc, ciíh sturm Die helmi stalin heirti, Du stiffer heriverti. Diu liute warin vnz andiu Vil ungeleidigete. Ir iwelich haviti sín lant, An din andirin sich niwiht ni want. Vngewenit warin sí ci wige, _Vili lieb was daz Nino._

_bikennin_ [sicre, noville.

_grimmin_ Grimmige, fera, indomita. Sic apud Willeramum heitere, pro heiterkeit, ferenitas: _vinfre_, pro, finsternis: _fmeiche_, pro, schmeicheley; _einvaltige, gehorfname_, ut eft in Ms. pro: _einfalligkeit, gehorfamkeit_, quod edidit Merula. Et hoc notare debui propter
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*ci Rini* [6] “To the Rhine.” Cf. *AL* 23.18. *Winsbecke*: “Son, nobility of birth is as much lost / to that man and to that woman / in whom we can detect no virtue, / as a grain of corn thrown into the Rhine (*Rin*): / those who have virtue are high-born.” Which verses deserve to be included here on account of their singular elegance.


*herdum* [8] Williram: “How desirable are your ways, O prince’s (*hertuomes*) daughter, in your shoes.” The manuscript has *Hertuom*, our *herschaft*, [dominion]; from *Her*, “master” and the particle *tuom* or *duom* or *dom*, as in *Keisertum* [empire]; *Herzogtum* [duchy]; *Eigentum* [property].

*pertir* [9] What this word might be, I confess I do not know, and the manuscript is damaged at the middle letter, which a conjecture can scarcely restore. Perhaps we should read *breiter*, i.e. “larger, broader”.

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If you wish to know
the origin of cities,
hear now of the fierce heathens
from whom the ancient cities had their might.

Nimus was the first man
ever to engage in warfare.
He gathered shields and spears
(*he longed for glory*)
hauberks and byrnies

(he girded himself for battle)
and helmets of hard steel
(*he marched out to war*).
Until this time,
people had suffered little.

Each had his own tract of land
and no-one turned against the others.
They were unused to battle,
which suited Nimus nicely.

*bikennin* [1] “Know, recognize.”

*grimmin* [3] “Fierce, wild, indomitable.” [Modern form:] *Grimmige.* Likewise, Williram has *heitere for heiterkeit*, “clarity”; *vinstre* for *finsterniss* [darkness]; *schmeiche* for *schmeichley* [flattery]; *einwältige, gehorsame*, in the manuscript where Merula’s edition has *einfältigkeit,*
magnum ex nobilissimo quodam sodalitio nostro heroa, qui ea parte qua sic loqui cum antiquitate in Psalms à me editis confueui, emendari loca quædam, quamvis imperare Princeps optimus potuisset, rogavit. Ob alia illius operis, tantis laboribus ac diligentia, quod absque iactatione dixerim, mihi confiantis, vellicare me clanculum videtur alibi impendens os Theologaftri cuiu ddam parvuli; cui cum auctoritate ac diu eramfummmorumseculeviromrimentam opponere possum, calcitronis alini flupor æstimandus mihi non est.


*Thie in herzen ni eigen nih einzaz wig;*

id est, qui animo nullum bellum moliuntur. Hinc apud Willeramum wighuis, castrum siue castrulum, & [¶ 17] apud Poetas nostrate: Kûne wigant, vt kûne degen, kûne held, kûne reken, quæ synonyma sunt.


*Des lobis was her vili ger] Avidus erat laudis Idem Frater Sangallenis: Desiderare, Keroon. Desiderium, Kirida. Confessio vetus: Oto thuruh anderes mannes gipsteni, girida abunftes; vel aliorum hominum suafione, concupiscientias, invidias. Ita geren pro begeren. Winsbekia ad Filiam:

*Swer hoher minne twingen gert
Der fol vnfuge lassen gar, vnd machen sich den werde wert.*

*halfspergin] Auctor de getis Theoderici Bernenfis:

*Da die zwen chuone man
Zü dem freit gefprungun,
Ir halfsperg erkluungen.*

Et iterum: Blodleins Rekhen die waren allgar,
Mit taufent halfsperg huoben fi fisch dar.

gehorsamkeit [simplicity, obedience]. This I had to note because of a great hero belonging to our most noble fraternity, who asked me (although as the best of all princes he could have commanded it) to emend certain passages in my edition of the Psalms where I was in the habit of speaking thus, as the ancient texts do. Concerning other things in that work, which I composed with great care and effort, as I can claim without boasting, it seems that somewhere the shameless mouth of some petty pulpiteer should secretly berate me; given that I could oppose him with the authority and diverse opinions of the greatest men of the century, I need pay no heed to the foolishness of a recalcitrant donkey.

Ninus his der eristi man [5] Justin’s Pompeius Trogus 1.1: “Ninus, King of Assyria, was the first ever to replace the ancient and so to speak inherited customs regarding foreign nations with a new lust for dominance. He was the first to declare war on neighbouring lands and brought under his control all the peoples who were unable to resist, pushing back his boundaries as far as Lybia.”

volcwigis [6] Lipsius’ Glosses: wige, “battle, war” [nom]; wigis [gen]; wiga [plural]. Otfrid, Evangelienbuch Book 2: Thie in herzen ni eigen nih einz wag; i.e. “who undertake no war in their hearts”. Thus in Williram: wighuis, “camp” or “fortress”; and in our poets, Küne wigant, [brave warrior], like künge degen, künge held, künge reken, which are synonymous.


Des lobis was her vili ger [8] “He was greedy for praise.” Likewise the monk of St. Gallen [Kero]: Keroon, “to desire”; Kirida, “desire” [noun]. Old Confession: Oto thuruh anderes mannes gispensiti, girida abunstes, “or through the advice of other men, lust or envy.” Similarly, geren for “desire”. “Winsbeckin” to her daughter: “Whoever wishes (geri) to master courtly love / he should abandon folly completely and make himself worthy of those who are worthy.”

halspergin [9a] Author of the life of Dietrich von Bern: “As the two valiant men / leapt into the fray, / their hauberks (halsperg) rang.” And again: “Bloedelins’s warriors were all armoured, / with a thousand hauberks (halsperg) they took to the field.” Lazius believed Halsperg to be the same as “bow”. But for my part, I feel we ought to listen to those who contend that breastplates are intended, and these breastplates and suits of armour march metonymically into battle. On these, see Marquard Freher, Gloss on German historical writings, and Spelman on the particle Hauber. The
ad particulam Hauber. "Ετώμον vocabuli est ab hals & bergen.
Winsbeke:

Swer sich vor schanden wil befrieden
Der mag gebergen niht den lib, er müs enblanden an den liden.

Et vulgo dicimus: Er ist geborgen, fervatus est. Sic hereberga,
cætorum statio, vbi exercitus ab hostium iniurii conservatur. Hodie
pro omni diverforii loco, vt Gallis quoque & Italis, in quo
peregrinantes ab iniuria tempestatum ac latronum defenduntur; vt
animadverterit Goldaftus.

[¶ 18]

brunieyn] Sunt qui galeas sic dictas putant. At quia de illis verfui
sequenti, placet pro thorace potius accipere. Glosslar. Latino-Theotis:
Thorax militare munimentum, lorica, Brunia. In LL. Æthelhtani Regis
Anglo-Saxon. cap xxvi. Byrne, and Helm, and ofergildene fweord.
Quæ loca Lindenburgius adducit. Anonymus à Gold. laudatus in
Ecken Vsfart de filiiis Ruzinæ gigantis;

Die rifen waren beide wol
Gewapnet, als man recken sol,
Da in wro brinne veste.

herivert[i] Heerfarten; expeditiones bellicas, ὀδοιπορίας.

Chronicon ineditum, quod penes me elt, Merborti cuiusdam:

Do der Kayfer heyem kart,
Zuhant bot er ein hervart.

Vbi obiter obserues licet, bot er ein hervart ita dici vt nunc:
Auffgebieten; das auffgebot ergeben lassen. Here, exercitus. Inde
maiorum Herebannum, indictio exercitus: Herecibert, clypeus
militaris, ut auctor Chronici Laurishamenfis explicat: Herireta,
equitatura: Herifelli, locus castrorum, & quo adhuc vti confuevimus,
Herold, fecialis.


vil ungeleidigete] f. agrestes, indomiti: aut, illæfi, intacti. Planè
autem repsecit Poeta ad luftini locum: Populus nullis legibus
tenebatur: arbitria principum pro legibus erant. Fines imperii tueri
magis, quam proferre, mos erat: intra suam cuique patriam regna
finiebantur.

niwiht ni want] Niemand sich kehrete.
origin of this word is from hals [neck] and bergen [to protect]. Winsbecke: “Whoever wishes to free himself from disgrace / should not protect (gebergen) his body, he must embrace suffering.” And in common speech we say: Er ist geborgen, “he is saved.” Likewise hereberga, a fortified place where an army can be safe from the onslaught of the enemy. Today for any hostel, also in France and Italy, where travellers are defended from the ravages of the storm and of robbers, as Goldast remarks.

bruniev [9b] There are those who think this means “helmets”. But since these follow in the next verse, it seems better to take it to mean “brazen breastplate”. Latin-German Glossary: Brunia, “Breastplate, military armour, loricā”. In the law codes of the Anglo-Saxon King Aethelstan chapter 26. “Breastplate (Byrne) and helmet and gilded sword.” This text is cited by Lindenburg. The anonymous poet, cited by Goldast, in the romance Ecke’s Journey, with reference to the sons of the giant Ruzina: “The giants were both / armed as warriors should be / in two solid breastplates.”


vil ungeleidigete [14] Often meaning “Savage, indomitable” or “unharmed, uninjured.” However, the poet is clearly referring to the passage in Justin: “The people were bound by no law: decisions of their princes served as laws. It was the custom to defend the boundaries of the empire rather than to expand them; the dominion of every ruler was restricted to his own realm.”

niwiht ni want [16] “No-one turned.”
IX

Inus leirti ﬁni man Ariberti lidin, In gewefinir ritin, 
Daz ﬁ vreisir gidorstin irbidin, Schiezin unti schirmin: 
Her niliz [¶ 19] ﬁ nigeirmin, Vnz er gewan ci ﬁner hant 
Elliu Asianischi lant; Da ﬂiphter eine burg ﬁnt Einir 
dageweidi wiht, Driir dageweidi lank. Michil was der ﬁn 
gewalt, Diu burg nanter nah imo Ninive Dasint der merevisch 
Jonam usfpe.

gewefinir] n. xxiv. Gloßariolum Lipsianum; Giwepene, arma. 
gidorstin] durﬀten, auderent. 
irbidin] arbeiten. Sic Gloßae Lipßii: intlœc, aperuit; anlucon, 
apuerant. Irquicke, prœ, erquicke. 
ghirmin] Eædem Gloßæ: Gehirmon, quiescere. Vngëhirmelick, 
incessabilis.

eilliu Asianischi lant.] Totam Asiam. Tyrol: 
Dagegen ift elli lere blint.

Winsbeke: Ob mir Got ﬁner helse gan
Du elliu dinc wol enden kan.

Inf. n. xx. Ad mentem Rhythmi L. Ampelius: Ninus Rex, qui primus 
exercitu propè totam Asiam sub Je rededit.

Einer dageweidi wiht] Huius vrbis magnitudinem hinc æstimari 
polfte Eultathius ad Dionysium Periegeten ait, quod historici scribant, 
Ninum per xiv. myriades hominum viii. annorum ipacio illam 
extruxisse.

michil] Inf. læpius. Exercpta Lipßii: Mikil, magnus, multa, 
copiafa. Mikilo, magnus. Mikile, magnificantia. Kero: Multò magis, 
michilu mer. multitò minus, mihhilu min. Canticum B. Virginis L. 
Gothica: Mikileidfai wala meina fan. Id. L. Teuton. Vetuuta: Mikikofo 
min fela Truchtin. Cantica Danica longë antiquíllima: 
Spanie land oc Mycklegaard 
De lige fœa lang aff lee;

Vbi Mycklegaard noftrum Mechelburg eft, Latinorum [¶ 20] 
Metropolis. Et sic Septentrionalibus Constantinopolim dictam, obiervat 
Carminum illorum compiler. Hinc & provinciam ad litus
Ninus taught his men
to suffer trials,
to ride in armour,
to look danger in the face,
to use bow and sword;
he did not let them rest
until he had conquered
all the lands of Asia.
There he later built a city
a day’s march wide
and three days’ march long.
Great was his dominion.
He named the city after himself, Nineveh.
This was where the fish would later spew out Jonah.

gidorstin [4a] “Dared.”
anluon, “they had opened”; irquicke, “revive”.
gehirmen [6] The same gloss: Gehirmon, “to rest”; vngehirmelick,
“incessant”.

eilli Asianische lant. [8] All Asia. Tirol: “Against this, all (ellig) teaching is blind.” Winsbecke: “If God grant me his aid, / which can bring all (ellig) things to a satisfactory end.” Cf. AL 20.14. This calls to mind the poem of Lucius Ampelius [Liber Memorialis 1,1]: “King Ninus, who was the first to subdue nearly all Asia with his army.”

Einer dageweidi wiht [10] Eustathius, commenting on Dionysius Periegetes, says that it is possible to estimate the dimensions of this city, as the historians wrote that with 140 000 men Ninus built it in eight years.

michil [12] More frequently below. Lipsius lists: Mikil, “large, many, copious”; Mikilon, “large”; Mikile, “magnificence”. Kero: michilu mer, “many more”; mihhilu min, “many less”. The song of the blessed virgin in the Gothic language: “My soul magnify (mikileidsai) the Lord.” The same in Old German: “My soul magnify (mikkilos) the Lord.” A very old Danish ballad: “Spain and Myklegaard, / They lie so far away.” Here Myklegaard is our Mechelburg, which translates into Latin as Metropolis. And the compiler of these songs observes that it is known as the Constantinople of the North. There can be no doubt that the Germanic name was also brought here to the province on the coast. It seems, however, that the word michil or mikil (Danish magla, as Ole Worm
Germanicum nomen trahere, non dubitandum est. Videtur autem vocabulum michil feu mikil (Danis magla, ut Olaus Wormi~ in Faætis patriæ fuæ obseruant) originem trahere à Graeco μεγάλη.


X.

S

Opitz's Anno

observes in his chronology of his homeland) comes from Greek μεγάλη [big].

*dasint der merevisch Jonam vzspe* [14] Josephus records in the *Jewish Antiquities* 9.11 that Jonah embarked on his journey at Joppa and after three days was vomited out by the whale in the Black Sea.

10

His wife was named Semiramis.
She built ancient Babylon
from ancient bricks
fired by the giants

5
when the great Nimrod
foolishly advised them
against the command of God
to build a tower
from earth to Heaven.

10 For this reason God
in his might cast them down,
dividing them utterly
into seventy languages;
this is still the state of the world today.

15 From these building materials,
Semiramis fashioned
the walls of the city,
sixty-four miles square,
for the tower had stood

20 four thousand fathoms high.
The kings of this city
were later very famous;
it was the seat of
the fierce Chaldeans,

25 who devastated land after land
until they had razed Jerusalem.

*Div alten Babilonie stihpti si* [2] Herodotus, Ctesias, Diodorus, Trogus, Solinus, Ampelius and others record that Babylon was founded by Semiramis. Claude Saumaise lists various peoples’ opinions in a work of inexhaustible erudition on Julius Solinus’ *Polyhistor*. Of the temple of Bel in that city Solinus writes: “The temple of Jove, then called Bel, whom that religion, believing him to be a god, has traditionally seen as the inventor of the cult.” Isidore writes in *Etymologies* 8.11: “Bel is an idol of Babylon which means ‘old’.” However, I think we should read “... which means

gigand[i] Gigantes, die Riesen.
un dumphicho] In thorheit Glossæ Lypiæ: Dumba, stultus: dumheide, insipientia. Sic n. XXXV. tumbin.
Tyrol: Der tumber tor sich felben hecht.
Winsbekia: Kint dir mag wol alfam geschehen.
Haft in der jugende wifu wort, vnd laft dich tump an werken sehen.

Silef[i]: Du stellst dich tumptich.

In zungen zibenzog] Tirol:
Welt ir wissen wir es vmb die kammen stat?
Zwo vnd zibenzug sprache dü wertt hatt.

Vetus Poeta in Hörmn Súfrid.
Ia hettest du betwungen
Das halbe teil dirre erdn,
Vnd zwo vnd zibenzig zungen
Das fi dir dienten gern.

Hanc opinionem de septuaginta linguis inde esse, quod per LXXII. interpretat exstitimatum fuit verbum Dei in orbem totum emanasse, non malè coniicit Goldastus ad hunc Tirolis locum.

Von deym gezuge des stiptis] Ex materia operis, fabricae, turris dirutæ.

die burchmura] muros vrbis, de quibus multa nos docet, quæque nemo alter posset, is quem dixi vir fummas ad Solinum. [¶ 22]
vili mere] celeberrimi. Vide sup. n. vi.

XI.

In den cidin iz gescach Als der wife Danahel gesprach, Dü her fini tróume sfagiti Wi her gesin havite Viere winde disfr werlte In dem michilin meri vehtinde, Vnz uz dem meri giengin Vreislichir dieri vieri. Viere winde biceichenint vier
'god'." For shortly afterwards it is written: \textit{`whence also in the language of Carthage Bal means `god'.'}


\textit{un dumplicho} [6] "In folly." Lipsius' gloss: \textit{Dumba}, "foolish"; \textit{dumphide}, "foolishness". Cf. \textit{AL} 35.7: \textit{tumbin}. Tirol: "The stupid (tumber) fool devours himself." \textit{Winsbeckin}: "Child, it may be the same with you, / in your youth you have wise words, yet in your deeds you expose yourself as foolish (tump)." Silesian: "You're pretending to be stupid (tumplich)"

\textit{worhtin} [8] "They made, constructed". Cf \textit{AL} 23.7, 29.9. Also found in English.

\textit{In zungen sibenzog} [13] Tirol: "Do you wish to know the interpretation of the teeth? / The world has 72 languages." The ancient poet of \textit{Der hürnen Seyfried}: "indeed you would have defeated / half of this earth, / and 72 tongues, / that they should serve you willingly." In connection with the Tirol text, Goldast has conjectured, one supposes rightly, that the idea of the 70 languages originated from the fact that the 72 translators carried the Word of God into all the world.

\textit{Von deme gezuge des stiphits} [15] "From the materials of the work, of the construction, of the demolished tower."

\textit{die burchmura} [17] "The city walls." Of which the most excellent man of whom I have spoken [Saumaise] teaches us many things in his book on Solinus which no-one else could know.


\textit{In those days was fulfilled}
what the wise Daniel had prophesied
when he told of his dreams,
and how he had seen
the four winds of this world
fighting amidst the great ocean,
until four terrible creatures
emerged from the sea.
\textit{The four winds represent four angels}
engele. Die plegint werilt allere; Die dier vier Künincrinche
Die diu werilt foldin al umbegrifien.

In den cidin] Daniel. cap. VII.
In dem michilin mere] Sic ad verbum: in mari magno.
vreislicher dierì vierì] Bestiae terribiles. Schreckliche. Germani
Inferiores: Vrefe, Vreesen, Vreeselick, à Gr. φριξείν.

XII.

D
Iz erísti dier was ein lewin, Si havite mennislichin fin,
Diu beceichenit vns alle Küninge Die der warin warin
in Babilonia, Dere crapht unt ire wisheit Gidadun ire riche
vili breiht.

Si havite mennislichin fin] Textus: Et super pedes quasi homo
fetit; & cor eius datum est ei.
gidadun] faciebant: à Thun.

XIII.

D
Az ander dier was ein beri wilde, her havide drivalde
zeinde, Her cibrach al daz her anequam, Vnti citrat iz
vndir finin clawin. Der bizeichinote driu Künicrinche Diu
cifamine al bigondin grifin, Bi den cidin [¶ 23] dì Cirus unti
Darius Gewunnin Chaldeischi hus: Die zwene riche Küninge
Si cistortin Babilonie.

Cirus] Cyrum imperium Medorum subuertisse, & ad Perfas
transtulisse, fatis notum est; vt & Darii historia.
hus] pro regno vel imperio. Videtur tamen de Babylonia
intelligendum, quam Cyrus debellavit.
who have the whole world in their care;
the creatures four kingdoms
which would encompass the world completely.

vreislicher dieri vieri [8] “Terrible beasts.” Low German: Vrese,
Vreesen, Vreeselick, from Greek φρίζειν [to fear].

The first creature was a lioness
which had human understanding.
She represents all the kings
who were enthroned in Babylon.
Their power and their wisdom
made their empires very large.

Si havite mennislichin sin [2] Daniel 7.4: “And it stood on legs like a
man; and the heart of one was given to it.”

The second creature was a wild bear.
He had three sets of teeth.
He destroyed everything he came across
and trod it under his claws.
He represented three kingdoms
which came together
in the days when Cyrus and Darius
defeated the Chaldean Empire.
These two mighty kings
destroyed Babylon.

Cirus [7] That Cyrus vanquished the Empire of the Medes and
transferred it to Persia is amply recorded, as for example in the History of
Darius.

hus [8] “Reign” or “Empire.” However, it seems this must be
understood to mean Babylon, which Cyrus defeated.
As driti dier was ein lebarte, Vier arin vederich her havite; Der beceichinote den Criechiskin Alexanderin, Der mit vier herin vür aitir lantin, Vnz her dir werilt einde Bi güldinin siulin bikante. In India her die wüsti durchbrach, Mit zuein boumin her sich da gesprach, Mit zuein grifen Vür her in lüften. In eimo glafe liezer sich in den se. Dü wurfin sin vngetruwe man Dié Kettinnin in daz meri vram, Si quadin; obi du wollis fihen wunter, So walz iémir in demo grunte; Du sach her vure sich vлизin manigin vifc grozin, Half vifc half man, Dad diuht un uili harte vreißam.


after lantin] Per provincias & regna.

Bi güldinin siulin] De termino expeditionis ac victoriarum Alexandri Magni accuratissime, vt folet, [¶ 24] disputat Salmatisch ó πάυν ad caput Solini XXXVIII. At quæ Poeta nofer hic de illo narrat, fabulas olere & figmenta mirum non est; cum illos ipfos, qui comites eius itineris fuerant, in gratiam Regis gloriae cupidissimi multa coninxisse fatis confert. De scriptoribus alias antiquissimis eorumque mendaciiis, Onesicrito, Nearcho aliisque conqueritur Strabo lib. II. Geogr. præcipuœque fidem Daimacho & Megatheni derogandum ait, quorum nugas compendio verborum recenset. Et feror ætas, quæ in maius omnia extendit, haud paucas addidit riferum potius quam fidem merentia. Huius farinæ sunt quæ de gentibus ab Alexandro inter altissimos montes in parte Aquilonis conclusi epiftola Presbyteri Johannis exhibet in peregrinatione Joannis Hefei; qui illa ex Hiftri compilatore depromptit mox laudando; quamuis in Ms libro meo ifta de Alexandro non extent, atque ex Hiftro Epiftolæ afflata videantur ab Hefeo. Librum quoque, qui Callisthenis nomine de vita Alexandri
The third creature was a leopard.
He had four eagle's wings.
He represented Alexander of Greece,
who marched with four armies through land after land
until he reached the end of the world,
which he recognised by the golden pillars.
In India he penetrated the desert,
where he spoke with two trees.
With two griffins
he took to the air,
and he had himself let down
into the sea in a glass.
Then his unfaithful vassals
threw the chains out into the water.
They said "If you want to see miracles,
you can roll around forever on the seabed."
There he saw many large fish
swimming past him,
half fish, half man.
He thought this quite terrifying.


Bi güldimin siulin [6a] With his usual profound insight, the great Saumaise, commenting on chapter 38 of Solinus, discusses the end of the victorious expedition of Alexander the Great. But it is not surprising that what our poet narrates about him here should smell of fiction and falsification; for it is common knowledge that even those who had accompanied him on his journey invented much to the honour of the glory-seeking king. In Book 2 of his Geography, Strabo complains about other ancient writers and their lies, Onesicritus, Nearchus and others, and in particular he says that we should abandon all faith in Daimachos and Megasthenes, of whose prattling he provides a summary. And a later age, which greatly elaborated everything, added much that is more deserving of laughter than of belief. Of such a nature are the things which the "Letter of Prester John" reports about the peoples who were shut in by Alexander between the highest mountains of the north, in the Travels of Joannes de Hese; who took these things from the compiler of Hister, who will be cited shortly. But these claims about Alexander are not to be found in my manuscript and the letters seem to have been taken from Hister by Hese. In the same way, those who have examined the biography of Alexander

bikante] agnoscebat. Supra n. VIII. Ob ir willit bekennen Der burge aneginne.

ascribed to Callisthenes, which lies hidden in libraries in Greek and Latin versions, know that it gushes with old women's gossip. I do not know, however, whether this is the same work of which François Juret in his *Commentary on Symmachius* 10.54, and our most noble Caspar von Barth in the *Adversaria Commentaria* 2.10, claim to have a manuscript: I have in my own possession a paper manuscript entitled *Excerpt from the life of Alexander the Great*, which is not worth reading, yet which must be presented here, lest the [Armolied] poet appear to chatter nonsense without the authority of a source. As far as what is written here about the golden pillars at the end of the earth is concerned, Strabo asserts in Book 3 from oral tradition that neither the pillars of Hercules nor of Bacchus are to be found in India. Nevertheless, when the Macedonians were shown particular places the ruins of which were associated with the memory of Hercules or Bacchus, they believed these were the columns. Ptolomy placed the columns of Alexander beyond the Colchian Caucasus, marking the end of journeys and military campaigns. But it was in India rather than in the Caucasus that Alexander set up altars, as Pliny notes in *Natural History* 6.16, at the end of the world so to speak, and as our respected friend whom I mentioned before has clearly shown [Saumaise]. We should also mention in passing that Euphorion also wrote about an Alexander, as the lacuna in Stephanus under the lemma *Soloi* should be filled. For the manuscript contains a work entitled: *As Euphorion in his 'Alexander'*. But we should surely understand this to mean Alexander the son of Craterus, King of Euboea, whose wife, Nicia, was Euphorion of Chalcis' lover, as we know from a remark by Suidas.

*bikante* [6b] "Recognised." Cf. *AL* 8.1f above: "If you wish to know (bekennen) / the origin of cities."

*mit zuein boumin her sich dar gesprach* [8] My excpector says one was the Tree of the Sun, the other of the Moon. Hear the conversation he had with them: "Alexander began," writes the thoroughly barbarous author, "to think to himself whether he could return in triumph to his homeland, to his beloved mother and sisters. At once the tree answered him in Indian: 'Alas, that you have asked me this, Alexander. You will be master of the whole circle of the world but you will not return to your homeland alive; for Fate has ordained this for you.' And when he asked the Indians whom he had brought with him, they translated the words for him. Then his three most faithful friends, Perdicca, Cliton and Philotas, began to lament this response." Of the Tree of the Moon, the same passage says: "In the evening however, the King came to enquire of the Tree of the Moon, and when he was standing beside the tree he asked where he would die. And when the light of the Moon touched the tree, it answered in Greek: 'You have almost reached the limit of your days, Alexander. This very year at the beginning of May you will die in Babylon, betrayed by one from whom you would least expect it.' One is embarrassed and ashamed to transcribe more of this fine conversation. Yet the monk babbles on with all too many

Mit zuein grif en vur her in luften] Id ad mare rubrum accidisse ait homo fabulator, ad explorandum cœlum. Addit postea: Divina verò virtus obumbrans gryphes deiecit eos in terram in loco campestri longè ab exercitu, itinere dierum decem. Nullam tamen laestionem sùstituit Alexander in cancellis istis. Cum magna verò angustia redditus est militibus suis, quem videntes lactati sunt, collaudantes eum.

of these marvellous details which he remembers as having come from a letter written by Alexander himself to his mother, Olympias, and his schoolmaster, Aristotle. We know that only one soundly attested letter from the King to Aristotle exists, together with his reply, which Plutarch reproduces in his Lives, Themistius in his Paraphrase on Aristotle's Physics, book 1, and Gellius from the philosopher Andronicus 20.5. And Bishop Otto von Freising remembers a fictitious letter of his in the Annals 2.25.

*Mit zuein griffen vor her in luften* [9f] The inventor of fables says this happened by the Red Sea, for the exploration of the Heavens. Later he adds: “But the power of God concealed the griffins, bringing them to the ground on a plain far away from the army, a ten-day march. Yet Alexander sustained not a single injury in this basket. But when he returned to his soldiers from these dire straits, they rejoiced to see him and praised him.”

*In eimo glase* [11] This mythical tale too is recorded by the purveyor of tittle-tattle. But this time he has an even greater informant, in whose text perhaps the other things would also stand, if it were complete. This is Hister, or Lister, whose by-name is Aethicus, a very ancient writer whose *Cosmographical Proclamations*, in a partial translation from Greek by Jerome, are in de Thou's library in Paris; I also have a copy in my own possession in a very old script. To doubt Jerome in the absence of alternatives is forbidden us by Hrabanus Maurus, who wrote in his book *On the Origins of Languages*: “For we have found the writing of the philosopher and cosmograph Aethicus, a Scythian by race, of noble ancestry, books which the venerable Presbyter Jerome has passed straight down to us, explaining them in his own words.” However in order to prove beyond doubt the age of these writings which were almost unknown, it is necessary that I myself restore the author's name in two places in Isidore. *Etymologies* 14.5 is commonly read: “The *Historia* relates that Philomelus and Plutus were the sons of Ias[ion].” The words and facts which are identical in his citation and in Aethicus clearly show that we should emend this text to “Hister relates”. In the common edition of the same book of *Etymologies* 19.10, we read: “On these matters, the *Historia* says: the Saxons depend more on small ships than on foot-soldiers; they are more ready for flight than for battle.” But Jerome’s Hister (whose name must be understood instead of the word *Historia* here too) has: “And the tribe of the Saxons, quite unexpectedly, used these ships which they had from the Meoparotes, who were by nature very skilled at using them.” But also the chapter in Isidore on the ships of the Lydians and others, as well as various other sections, are based on this source. Plutarch also cites him in the *Life of Alexander*. However, since there have been various different men with the name Hister who have been cited so often by others, as the illustrious Gerhard Johann Voss has shown in his most erudite work on Greek history, it must be left to others to judge which of them should be credited with this *Cosmography*; or perhaps we ourselves shall do it, having in passing made a number of contributions which may be useful. In the mean time let us

**Die kettinin** Vnimas ferreas in manuum vel digitorum similitudinem curvatas, cum catenulis ferreis miro ingenio productis, colymphis aptatas fuíisse, ex illeem Hiftri Sophici, vt eum vocatum Hieronymus afferit, Edictis dicimus.

*Si quadin* aiebant. Ita n. XXV. XXVI. Gloﬀæ Lipﬁi: *Quat*, dixit; *Quethè*, dicat; *Quit*, dic. Kero: ait, qhuad; fententia, kaqhuït; fententiam, keqhuït. Inde nostrum, quavitovel, garrulus.

walz] walzen, Lat. volutare.

*Du fach her* Excerpta Mls. Hoc audiens Alexander, ivβit talia fieri, & hoc modo perquirens profundum mare, vidit diverfas ﬁguras diversi coloris pícium, & quasi terrestrialium animalium, profundum maris perambulantum, multaeque quæ dici non possunt.

**XV.**

Dü gedachten der lïstige man, Wi her fïch mohte generian: Der wåg vurt in in demo grunte, Durch daz glas fach her manige wunter, Vnz er mit einim bluote Daz scarpe meri
believe that the learned men when they take up this book with a sense of reverence for its age, will accept this small contribution. Now let us hear what Jerome has reported from Hister on this episode about Alexander. “He (sc. Hister) says that Alexander the Great made his way there (sc. to the island-dwellers of the great northern sea) by means of hostage treaties for the sole reason that he wanted to observe their industry and prowess in naval matters. And more amazing stories are told about them than you would believe. For they say that Alexander himself went into the same submarines (colimphae) and descended into the depths as far as the seabed, so that he should know the depths of the ocean and the difference between the sea and the abyss. But we cannot believe this.” Colimphae, from the Greek κολύμβω “to swim”, are the little diving boats of the inhabitants of that place, which are so assiduously contrived utilising the properties of mirror, amber and glass that they do not lack light amidst the flood. This most holy man [Jerome] describes at length what he learns of them from Hister, which however the ineptitude of a scribe has copied quite wrongly and which cannot be emended by powers of reason – at any rate not by mine – except with great audacity. Possibly the copy belonging to the illustrious de Thou is more reliable, or the other one belonging to Pierre Daniel, which Simmler mentions in the preface to Aethicus’ Cosmographia (not this Hister, but rather, the one who is in general circulation); unless the latter has been removed to that [de Thou’s] most excellent library.

Die kettinin [14] From the Cosmography of this same philosopher Hister, as reported by Jerome, we learn that the submarines were fitted with “iron hooks curved in the form of hands or fingers, with small iron chains produced with great ingenuity.”


walz [16] [German:] walzen; Latin: volutare [to roll around].

Du sach her [17] The Excerptum manuscripts: “When Alexander heard this, he commanded that such things be done, and exploring the deep sea in this way he saw fish of many shapes and colours, walking around on the seabed like animals on land, and many things which cannot be expressed in words.”

Then the cunning man considered
how he might save himself.
The current carried him along in the depths
(through the glass he saw many wonders)
until with a little blood
he provoked the hostile sea.
gruozte. Alfi diu vlüt des bluotis inpfant Si warf den heirin aniz lant. So quam her widir in fin riche, Wol inftingin un die Criechen. Manigis wunderis genihte sich derfelbe man, Driu deil her der werilte zume gewan.

\[lt\]\[h\]\[n\]\[f\]\[s\]\[p\]\[i\]\[e\]\[n\]s, Vid. n. II.
\[g\]\[e\]\[n\]\[e\]\[r\]\[i\]\[a\]\[n\]\[i\]\[t\]\[o\]\[n\]\[s\] f. servare, liberare.
\[D\]\[e\]\[r\]\[w\]\[a\]\[g\]\[l\]\[v\]\[u\]\[c\]\[s\]\[t\]\[u\]s, die waßerwage. Gall. vague; Angl. vawe.
Schwabenpiegel, Keiferl. Lehenrecht: Die visch in dem wag, die thier in dem wald.

\[M\]\[i\]\[t\]\[e\]\[i\]\[m\]\[e\]\[i\]\[n\]\[b\]\[l\]u\[o\]\[t\]e Quid hoc vocabuli, aut quæ auctoris mens fit, ignorare me non diffiteor. Neque de hac re Excerpta mea. Docere nos poßunt, fi res tanti eft, qui illam Alexandri vitam nulla parte mutilatam asßervant. Bluote tamen fanguinem notare puto, ut n. XX.

\[I\]\[n\]\[f\]\[i\]n\[n\]\[r\]i\[c\]\[h\]e\]\[r\] \[a\]d imperium suum & copias; non in patriam. Nam Babylonem mortuum vel pueri norunt.

\[G\]\[e\]\[n\]\[i\]\[h\]\[t\]\[e\]\[t\]\[e\] Fruebatur spectaculo. Otfridus: Genuhti: voluptas, & habes inf. n. XXI. Belg. genucht. Nos genügen; & verbum, geniten.
\[z\]\[u\]\[m\]\[e\]\[t\] zu ihm.

XIV.

Az vierde dier ein ebir was Die cūnin Romere meindi daz, Iz haviti isirne clawin, Daz ne condi nieman gevan; Isirni ceine vreifam; Wi fol diz iemir werdin zam? Wole biceichinit vns daz waltfuin Daz did riche ci Rome fal vri fin: Der ebir cin horn trūg Mit ten her fini vianti nidirflüg: Her was fo michil unti vorhtsam, Ci Rome wart diu werlt al gehorfsam.

\[D\]\[i\]\[e\]\[c\]\[ū\]\[n\]\[i\]n\[n\]\[r\]o\[m\]e\[r\]e\] Otfridus de Francis:
\[S\]\[i\]\[e\]\[f\]\[i\]\[n\]\[t\] fo fama kuani
Selpfo thio Romani.
tam audaces, tam strennui sunt, vt Romani ipfi.
When the waters sensed the blood
they threw the lord onto the land.
Thus he returned to his realm.

The Greeks gave him a splendid reception.
This same man feasted his eyes on many other wonders.
He won the three continents of the world for himself.


In the Schwabenspiegel, the book of imperial feudal law: “The fish in the sea (wag), the beasts in the forest.”

Mit einem bluote [5] I do not deny that I do not know the meaning of these words, or the author’s intention. And my Excerptum sheds no light on this. If it is important, those who have preserved a biography of Alexander unmutilated will be able to help us. However, I believe that bluote means “blood”, as in AL 20.26.

In sin riche [9] “To his generals and his army.” Not to his homeland, for every child knows that he died in Babylon.

Genihte [11] “He enjoyed the spectacle.” Otfrid: Genuhti, “pleasure”, which you also have in AL 21.2 below. Belgian genucht. Our genügen [to suffice], and the verb geniten [to enjoy].


The fourth creature was a boar.
It stood for the courageous Romans.
It had iron claws
(no-one could capture it)

and terrible iron teeth
(how could that ever become tame?).
The wild boar clearly shows us
that the Roman Empire will be free.
The boar bore ten horns

with which he hewed down his enemies.
He was so large and frightening:
the whole world paid tribute to Rome.

Die cūnin Romere [2] Otfrid on the Franks: Sie sint so sama kuani / Selpso thio Romani, “They are every bit as brave, as vigorous as the Romans themselves.”
gevan] Fahen, fangen
walt[fun] Sic infra n. XL. lupos vocat canes silvaticos;
walthunde.
vort[am] terribilis; activè.

XVII.

C

In horn meintin cin Küninge, Di mit Romerin rittint ci
thurme: Daz eifti horn wus vnz an den himil, Die stierin
vuh- [¶ 30] tin imi widir: Iz hat ougin unti munt, Süllich ni
wart uns é kunt; Manigi wort iz widir Gode sprach, Daz her
vieli schiere gerach: Daz biceichinit uns den Antichrist, Der
noch in diefe werlt künftig ist, Den Got mit finir gewelti Cir
hellin fal gefendin. Der troûm allir fo irging, Son der engil
vane himele gefchiet.

meintin] significabant, indicabant, vt n. priori.
ougin] Inf. n XLVIII. Herzoge Heinrich von Přešla, citante
Golfafto Animadv. ad Winsbekiam:

Swenne fi fiet gegen im ze angefiht
Vnd fi in mit ir ögen giht
Das fi in von herzen meine,
Swer disen zwein geverig fi
Vnd wone mit valfcher hüte bi
Der werde zeinen fteine.

Qui suavissimi verius eo tempore, quo Poësis ante aliquot fecula inter
ornamenta Equestris Ordinis non non minus erat atque bellica virtus,
conscripti, impatien ter desiderare nos cogunt Principis à tot Regibus
ortum trahentis carmina alia, nequicquam fortasse quærenda. Nam
Goldatus ò μακαρίτης, femel iterumque à me de his monitus, dubio
me semper responfo dimisit. Itaque vera esse puto, quæ ad Tob.
Scultetum aliquando Gruterus: De Germanicis illis ita est vt scripsi.
Quicquid inde profert Goldatus, defumuntr è Palatina. Cur
permittimus? Cur non permitteremus? eo defuncto nihil tale
reperietur inter eius libros. Itaque fatis se vindicaverit illa temporis
Ten horns stood for ten kings
who rode into battle with the Romans.
The eleventh horn grew until it reached Heaven;
the stars fought it back;
5
it had eyes and a mouth;
we never heard anything like it before.
It said many things against God,
which he quickly avenged.
It represents for us the Antichrist,
who is still to come in this world,
whom God in his might
will send to Hell.
Thus was the course of the dream
as the angel from Heaven interpreted it.

meintin [1] “Represented, declared.” As in the previous section [AL 16.2].

Goldast in his notes on Winsbecke: “Whenever she stands facing him / and
her eyes (ōgen) tell him / that she loves him with all her heart, / may anyone
who would come between these two / and impose a false guard on their
chastity / be turned to stone.” These verses, which were so pleasantly
compiled a number of centuries ago at a time when the poetic muse was no
less a part of the equipment of the knightly order than the art of war, arouse
in us an impatient desire for other songs by a prince who is descended from
so many kings; they will perhaps be sought in vain. For the late Goldast,
whom I repeatedly reminded of these things, always left me with an
indecisive reply. Therefore I believe that what Jan Gruter once wrote to
Tobias Scultetus is true: “Concerning these lines of German, it is as I have
written. No matter what Goldast claims, they are taken from the Palatine
Library. Why do we affirm this? Why shouldn’t we? After his death,
nothing of the sort will be found among his books. It is enough that this
daughter of the age has been rescued.” The famous Lucas Holsten has
filia. Viderit Clarissimus Holsteinius, à quo rara veteris ævi monimenta ex promisso speramus alia, num & sic Germaniam nostram ex thesauro Romam partem maximam traducto iuvere possit & exornare. [§ 31]

XVIII.

Romere scrivin cisamine In einir güldine tavelin Driuhunterit altheirrin, Di dir plegen zuht unt erin, Die dagis unti nahtis riedin Wi fi ir erin bihildin: Den volgedin die Herzogin al, Wanti fi ni woldin Künig havin. Dü fantin fi den edelin Cefarem, Dannin noch hiude Küninge heizzint Keifere. Si gavin imi manige scar in hant, Si hiezin un vehtin wider Diutsche lant, Da aribeiti Cefar daz iš war Mer dan ein ihar, So her die meinstreinge man niconde nie biduingan. Ci iungift gewan hers al cigedinge, Daz foltin cin erin brengin.

Romere scrivin] Quæ de Romanis eorumque ac Germanorum rebus gestis dehinc Poëta recenset, ad fidem historicam exiuxenda non sunt: sequitur enim eos quos post interitum literarum & sepultas diu scientias quidvis pro lubitu excogitasse, veraque fabulis miscuuisse, non ignorantus.

In einer güldene tavelin] De aureis tabulis nemo antiquorum scribit: an eburnœ, an ææææ, an marmoreæ fuerint, diversis pugnatur sententiæ.

Driuhunterit altheirrin] Senatores primum ex instituto Romuli fuere centum: idem, vna cum Tatio in societatem regni addicit, ducentos postea constituit: Tarquinius verò Prificus, ad captandum auram popularem, centum è plebe selectos Patriciorum primò ordini, dehinc Senatorum numero addidit; quæ omnia præter cæteros diligenter explicat Dionys. Halicar. lib. III. [¶ 32]
promised us other rare and ancient texts, which we keenly await; he will have been considering whether he can bring joy and honour to our Germany, since the largest part of the [Palatine] treasure has been carried off to Rome.

The Romans wrote
on a golden tablet
the names of three hundred senators,
men of courtly conduct and good reputation,
who would deliberate day and night
how the honour of Rome might be upheld.
All the princes obeyed them,
for they did not want to have a king.
Then they sent out the noble Caesar,
after whom kings today are still called "Kaiser".
They gave him command of many divisions
and told him to wage war against Germany.
There Caesar struggled for more than a year
— this is true! —
as he could not defeat
the valiant men.
In the end, he won them all over to a treaty;
this was going to bring him glory.

Romere scrivin [1] What the poet now writes about the Romans and their deeds, as well as those of the Germans, is not to be judged by standards of historical accuracy: for we know full well that the writers he follows here made up whatever pleased them and blended truth with fiction, long after the death of classical literature and the burial of learning.

In einer galdene tavelin [2] None of the ancient writers mention tablets of gold: there are various conflicting reports, whether it was ivory, bronze or marble.

Driuhunterit altheirrin [3] When first established by Romulus, the senate had 100 members. Then, when he was acknowledged as joint ruler with Tatius, he raised the number to 200. Later, in the hope of winning popular approval, Tarquinius Priscus appointed to the ranks of the patricians 100 selected representatives of the common people, who were thus added to the number of the senators. All this and more is assiduously recorded by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, book 3.
Osfridus Evangel. lib. IV. cap. XVI.

Skara filu breita
Ioh fie thara leita.

Hincmarus Remensis Epift. V. Bellatorum acies, quas vulgari fermone
III. Antiq. Lectionis: Et filium fuum dominum Carolum dimississet vnà
cum Scaras contra Westvalos. Willeramus: Alfo wolgedrangetiu
zeitscara. Plura alli collegerunt.

XIX.

V

Ndir bergin in gegin Suaben Hiz her vanin uf haben
Deri vorderin wilin mit herin Dari cumin warin ubir
meri, Mit mislichemo volke Si slugen iri gecelte Ane dem
berge Suedo, Dannin wurdin fi geheizin Suabo. Ein liuht
ciradi vollin gut Redifpen genug, Die sich dikke des vure
namin Daz fi güde Rekkin werin, Woli vertig vnti wichaft;
Doch bedwang Cefar al iri craft.

Suaben] Hinc nomina propria virorum apud Alemannos: Suanap,
Suab, Suubinc. Suuabizho. Suuabolt, Suabolt; in Catalogo quem ex
vetufto Codice Monasterii S. Galli edidit Goldaftus. Otfridus ad
Salomon. Epifc:

Lekza ich theara huachi
In fungtu in Suaborichi.

Otfrid. furira; führer Argentinensibus, beßer. Idem Otfrid. Zi theri
furisten riinge; in dem füreften oder obriften Kreiffe. Inde Fürf,
Princep. Id Otfrid. Thio furifton, io thie herofton; die ¶ 33] fürften
vnd die herreften. Id. Ther furifio Ewarto, Princep sacerdotum. Quæ
loca fchedis ad Otfridum fuis mandaffe video Mufarum & nostras
delicias Robertum Robertinum Electori Brandenb. à Secretis. A
vorderin Fordro, anterior, advocatus rei venditæ ulterior. L. Ripuar.
Tit. XXXIII. Fordronem fium nescire.


5 He ordered flags to be hoisted at the foot of the mountains which lie towards the land of the Swabians, whose ancestors had once come with their armies from beyond the seas.

10 With fighting men from many nations, they pitched their tents on Mount Suevo; this is why they are called Swabians. A people of wise counsel, thoroughly eloquent, who often distinguished themselves as intrepid warriors, marshalled and belligerent. Yet Caesar overcame all their might.

Swaben [1] Hence the masculine personal names of the Alemanns in the catalogue which Goldast edited from the old codex at the monastery of St. Gallen: Sunap, Suab, Sunabinc, Sunabizho, Sunabolt, Suabolt. Otfrid to Bishop Solomon: “The text of this book / which I sent you in Swabia (Suaborichi).”

wilin] quondam, vorweilen.
Ane dem berge Suedo] Hunc montem nemo nobis ostenderit, puto. Tamen Ilidor. lib. X. Orig. cap. II. Dicti autem Suevi putantur à monte Suevo, qui ab ortu initium Germaniae facit, cuius loca incoluerunt.
Redispen] Nec mentem fententiae, nec rationem vocabuli me percipere fateau.
Rekkin] n. XXI. helden, heroas. Heldenbuch. part. III.
   Do sprach der Bernere;
   Ir habent reken genüg,
   Darumb sint ich unmere
   Alle reken ze ungefug;
   Darumb mus ich herbringen
   Min rekin die ich han;
   Ir redent von den dingen
   Si turent nieman bestan.
Vide latius de vocabulo Rekken Goldaftum Animadv. ad Tirolem.
wichafs] strenui, bellicosi, à wige, bellum. V. sup. n. VIII.

XX.

Dü sich Beirelant wider in virmaz, Die merin Reginsburch her se bifaz, Da vanter inne helm unti brunigen, Manigin [¶ 34] helit güdin, Die dere burg huhdin. Wiliche Knechtli dir werin, Deif in heidnischin büchlin meri. Da lisit man Noricus ensis, Daz diudit ein suert Beierisch, Wanti si woldin wizzen Daz ingemini baz nibizzin, Die man dikke durch den helm slug; Demo liute was ie diz ellen gut. Dere geslehte dare quam wilin ere Von Armenie der herin, Da Noe uz der arkin ging, Dur diz olizui von der tuvin intfieng: Iri ceichin noch du archa havit Vf den bergin Ararat. Man sagt daz dar in halvin noch fin Die dir
\textit{wilin} [3b] "Once."
\textit{mislichemo} [5] Kero: mislichem, "diverse" [dat. pl.]; misslitho [acc. pl.]; \textit{In diem hleiterpaumum missilithhe stiagila}, "In which ladder there are bars of different lengths."
\textit{Ane dem berge Suedo} [7] I think no-one has yet identified this mountain for us. Notwithstanding Isidore, \textit{Erymologies}, 10.2: "However, the Swabians are believed to be named after Mount Suevo, the foot of which marks the beginning of Germania, where they lived."
\textit{Redispen} [10] I confess I understand neither the point of the sentence nor the meaning of the word.
\textit{Rekkin} [12] Cf. \textit{AL} 21.19. "Heroes." \textit{Heldenbuch} III: "Then [Dietrich] of Bern said: / 'You have warriors (reken) in plenty, / and so you are unloved / by all hostile warriors (reken). / Therefore I must bring / my own warriors (reken); / you speak of things / which no-one would dare to attempt." On the word \textit{rekken}, see also Goldast's commentary on \textit{Tirol}.

\textit{When Bavaria dared to rise against him,}
\textit{he at once besieged the famous Regensburg.}
\textit{Here he found}
\textit{helmet and byrnie,}
\textit{and many bold heroes}
\textit{who were defending their city.}
\textit{The heathen books tell}
\textit{what kind of warriors were there:}
\textit{there we read "Noricus ensis"},
\textit{which means, "a Bavarian sword"},
\textit{for they believed}
\textit{that no other blade had a better bite,}
\textit{often slicing through a helmet.}
\textit{This was always a brave people.}
\textit{Their tribe came long ago}
\textit{from the magnificent Armenia,}
\textit{where Noah came out of the ark}
\textit{when he received the olive twig from the dove.}
\textit{The remains of the ark}
\textit{are still to be found in the highlands of Ararat.}
\textit{It is said that in those parts}
Diutischin fprecchin, Ingegin India vili verro. Peiere vurin ie ciwige gerno: Den sigin den Cesar an un gewan Mit bluote muster in geltan.


— hac Noricus urbe ducatus Præcipua gaudet. —


[¶ 35]

De ist] Das ist.
meri] bekant.
Da lfit man Noricus ensis] Horat. lib I. Od. XVI.

—— quas neque Noricus

Deterret ensis, nec mare naufragum.

Id. Epod. XVII. Voles modò altis defilire turribus,
Modò ene pectus Norico recludere.


Die man] quos enfes
Demo liute] huic populo.
Ellen] V. n. IX. in Elliu.
Wilinere] Eherweilen, olim.
Olivii] Oelzweig.

there are still those who speak German,
far towards India.
The Bavarians always loved to go to war.
25 Caesar had to pay in blood
for his victory over them.

Die mere Regensburg [2] “The famous city of Regensburg.” But in Caesar’s time it either did not exist or was unknown to the Romans. Its memory among the authors is not older than the Tabula Itineraria, where it is called Regimum, and the Notitia Imperii or Breviario of Theodosius the Younger, where it is called Castra Regina. I should imagine it is bound to have been named after the river Regen, the mouth of which is opposite the city. Later it received the name Ratispona. Otto von Freising, in his life of Frederick I [Barbarossa] 2.6, calls it “a city under Norian leadership”. On this, see Guntherus book 1: “In this city the nobility of Norica rejoices in their greatness.”

Wiliche kneht [7] We would say: weidlich, hurtig, “sturdy, nimble fellows, soldiers”. We also say knechte werben [to recruit soldiers]. See above at AL 4.2 under the head-word Scalke. In English, knight also signifies a soldier or mounted combatant whose armour is decorated with gold.

de ist [8a] das ist.
meri [8b] “Known.”
Da lisit man Noricus ensis [9] Horace, Odes 1.16: “...which can be deterred neither by a Norican / sword, nor by the ship-wrecking sea.” Horace, Epodes 17: “You will wish to throw yourself down from high towers, / or for a Norican sword to split open your breast.”

Da zingeiners bez nibizzin [12] “That there was nowhere a better sword.” Pliny says (34.14), “In Norica it is the lode itself which gives the iron this good quality; in other places it is the method of manufacture.” Ingeini, “none”, nibizzin, “nowhere” or “not”. The translator of the Benedictine Rule [Kero]: neoweht, “nothing”. Otfrid, niwiht. See Goldast on Winsbecke Strophe 2.

Demo liute [14a] “This people” [dat].
Ellin [14b] See above AL 9.8 under the headword elliu.

Vf den bergen Ararat [20] Isidore, Etymologies 14.8: “Mount Ararat in Armenia, where, as the histories record, the ark came to rest after the flood.” Or, as the large old codex has it: “... where, as the historians record, the ark lay after the flood.” We will repair this same chapter by filling the gap from this same codex. In the common edition it reads: “This is also called a ship-yard. Nevertheless, the place is a harbour... etc.” But the manuscript reads: “This is also called a ship-yard. It is an anchorage, where
Statio est, vbi ad tempus stant naves. Portus, ubi hiemant. Importunum autem, in quo nullum refugium, quasi nullus portus. Portus autem locus est, &c.

In gegin] Hin gegen.
Geltan] Bezahlen, à Geldt, pecunia.

XXI.

D

Er Sahfin wankeli mut Dedimo leidis genug: Sor fi
wand al ubirwundin havin, So warin simi aver widiri.

Die lift man [¶ 36] daz si wilin werin al Des wunterlichin
Alexandris man, Der diu werlt in iarun zuelevin Irvür uns an
did einti. Dü her ci Babilonie fin einti genam, Dü cideiltin diz
richi viere fini man, Di dir al dü woltin Küninge fin; Dandere
värin irre, Vuzir ein deil mit scifmenigen quamin nidir cir
Eilbin, Da die Düringe dü fazin, Die sich wider un vermazin.

Cin Düringin dü dir fiddi was Daz si mihhili mezzir hiezin
sahs, Der di rekkin manigis drügin, Damidi si die Düringe
slugin, Mit untruwin ceiner sprachin Die ci vridin si gelobit
havitin: Von den mezzerin also wahsin Wurdi si geheizzin
Sahfin, Svie si doch ire ding ane vingen Si műstín Romerin
alle dienin.

Der Sahfin] Saxonum.

Die lift man] Fabellam hanc de Saxonibus ex Alexandri M.
Irvür] Durchfuhr, durchzog, peragratabat.
scifmenigen] expeditione navali.
cir Eilbin] Ad Albim. Ab eilfe, undecim, putavit dictum hunc
fluuium vir doctillimus G. Fabricius, atque vndecim fontes ac
ships rest for a time. A harbour, where they spend the winter. However, it is unsuitable, offering no refuge, as though it were not a harbour. Nevertheless, the place is a harbour... etc."

In gegin [23] "Towards."

Gelian [26] "To pay"; from Geldt, "money".

The inconstancy of the Saxons was a cause of great trial to him: no sooner did he think he had subjugated them than they were resisting him again.

It is written that they were once all bondmen of the wondrous Alexander, who travelled the whole world to its end in twelve years. When he died in Babylon, four of his vassals divided the empire, as all of them wanted to be king. The others wandered the world until some of them came with a fleet of ships down to the Elbe, home of the Thuringians, who proudly marched out against them. It was the custom in Thuringia to call large knives "sahs". The warriors carried many of these, and slaughtered the Thuringians with them treacherously when they had met to discuss peace. From these extraordinarily sharp knives they came to be known as Saxons.

Yet determinedly as they began their resistance, they all had to serve the Romans.

Der Sahsin [1] "Of the Saxons."

wand [3] "He thought." Wehnen, "to believe"; wahn, "belief".


Irur [8] "Travelled, marched, wandered through."

scifmenigen [13] "By a naval expedition."

cir Eilbin [14] To the Elbe. The most learned man Georg Fabricius thinks the name of this river comes from eilfe, "eleven", and he has allowed
scaturigines, vnde oriatur, esse perfuaderi fibi passus est. Ego ab accolis loci veriora habeò; nempe in confinio Silefiæ meæ non longè ab oppido Schmideberg ad vallem Teufelsgrund, quasi dicas Vallem diaboli (ob famam de spe- [¶ 37]ctris illic graffantibus) ex eo montium iugo profluere, quod hodie quoque Alpis summa (die hohe Elbe, vel Albe) dicatur. Quin igitur Alpis (Straboni ac Ptolemæo Ἀλβίς, Dionis Ἀλβίος, Vopisco & Spartiano Alba, posterioris ævi scriptoribus Albia) ex eodem loco originem pariter ac nomen trahat, nullatenus dubito. Gothelbam, qua per medios Gothorum populos currit in Oceanum dici, M. Adamus Bremenfis ait in historia Ecclesiastica. Et vocabulum Alben siue Alpen, antiquitus Celtis montes fuísse dictos, iam ostenderunt alii, nosque plura collegimus, in maiori forfan opere producenda.


Ipse brevis gladius apud illos Saxo vocatur.
Vide Glossarium præstantissimi viri Ioan. Meurii in Σαξιμοδέξιμον. Inde oferfachs, sica Paschalis, quo festis diebus cingebantur. Göli, citante Goldasto:

Bint das oferfachs zer fegen iften.

Ad claram gentem Saxonum, nomen habentem
A Saxo, per duriciem mentis benè firmam.

XXII.

Efar bigonde nahin Zu den finin altin magin, Cen Franken din edilin; Iri beidere vorderin Quamin von Troie der altin, Dü die Criechin diu burch civaltin, Dü ubir
himself to be persuaded that it rises from eleven sources and springs. I have
better information from the inhabitants of the area: namely, that in
the region of my Silesian homeland not far from the town of Schmiedeberg
[Kowary] in the valley called Teufelsgrund, which means the “Valley of the
Devil” (because of stories of ghosts haunting the area), it flows forth from
that chain of mountains which today is also called Alpis summa (“the high
Elbe” or “Albe”). So I have no doubt whatsoever that the Alps (Strabo and
Ptolomy, Ἀλβις; Dio, Ἀλβιος; Vopiscus and Spartanus, Alba; later
writers Albia) have their origin and name from the very same place. In his
History of the Church, Master Adam of Bremen calls it the Götaälven, which
is said to flow through the lands of the Gothic peoples and out into the sea.
And others have already shown that the words Alben or Alpen were already
used by the ancient Celts to designate mountains; we shall collect more
examples for a larger work which may be published later.

Die sich wider un virmazin [16] The anonymous History of Erfurt,
edited by Johann Pistorius Writers on German History vol. 1 (or Chronicle
of the origins of the Thuringians, Franks and Saxons, as my manuscript
抄 has it) records that Julius Caesar fought in Thuringia for five years,
which is laughable, and that he was delayed there for a long time.

Daz si michili mezzir hiezin saks [18] “That especially large knives
were called saxe.” Gottfried of Viterbo, 15, “They called even a short
sword Saxa.” See the glossary of that most excellent man Johann van
Meurs under the head-word Σωσιμοδέξιον. Hence ostersachs, “Easter
sword”, used in preparation for Holy Week. Goeli, cited by Goldast: “Gird
on the Easter sword for the sacred rite.” Lipsius’ Gloss: scarsahs,
“dagger”. Other glosses: blodsachs, “lancet”. Widukind book 1 also asserts
that the Saxons take their name from these knives; he also has this same
story which our poet tells, and the other details which he produces. So
Isidore, Etymologies 9.2, is wrong as usual when he believes that this hard
and most robust people is named from the word saxum [rock]. Likewise the
noble woman Hrotsvit, when she sings: “To the famous Saxon people, who
have their name / from Saxum, because of the strength of their intellect.”

Caesar now approached
his old cousins,
the noble Franks.
The ancestors of both of them
5 came from ancient Troy
at the time when the Greeks destroyed the city,
diu heri beide Got sin urteil so irsceinte Daz die Troieri sum intrunnin, Die Criechin ni gitorftin heim vindin, Want in den cin iarin, Dü fi cidere fazin warin, So gehietin heimi al iri wif, Si rieten an iri manni lif; Des ward irlagin der künig Agamemno, Irri vurin dandero, Vns Vlix gefindin Der Ciclops vraz in Sicilia, Das Vlixes mit spiezin wol gerach, Dür slafinde imi sin ouge uzstach. Das geslehte deri Ciclopin Was dannoch in Siciliin, Also hó cim poume, An dem eindo hatten fi ein ouge. Nu havit fi Got van vns virtribin hinnan In daz gewelde hine half India.


vorderin] maiiores, V. n. XIX.
civaltin] niederfelleten, destruebant.
gitorftin] durfften, audebant. Silefii: Ich torfte nicht; non ausus fum.

dandero] Die andern, reliqui.
also hó fo cim poume] Virg. III. Aen: 
Cernimus astantes nequicquam lumine torvo
Æneos fratres, cælo capita alta ferentes,
Concilium horrendum; quales cum vertice celfo
Aeris quercus aut coniferæ cyperiβi
Confiterant, silva alta lovis, lucusve Dianæ.

XXIII.

T Roieri vurin in der werlute Widin irri after fedele, Vns Elenus ein vir herit man Des Künin Ektoris witiwin
when God's judgement so fell
upon both armies
that some of the Trojans fled,
10 while the Greeks did not dare to make their way home.
For during the ten years
they were quartered there,
all their wives at home had remarried
and were plotting against the lives of their husbands.
15 Thus King Agamemnon was slain.
The others became wanderers,
until the Cyclops in Sicily
devoured Ulysses' retinue;
Ulysses avenged himself with spears
with which he pierced his eye while he was sleeping.
20 At that time the race of the Cyclopes
was still living in Sicily;
they were as tall as pine trees
and had a single eye on their forehead.
25 Now God has driven them away from us,
to the forests which lie towards India.

Magin [2] "Relatives, relations." Caesar too traced back his
genealogy to Aeneas and Anchises. This is to be found in Suetonius: "For
the house of King Marcius traces its descent from Ancus Marcius, a name
which their mother also bore; the Julians, to which line our family belongs,
came from Venus."

civaltin [6] "Razed, destroyed."
gitorstn [10] "Dared." Silesian: Ich torste nicht, "I didn't dare".
sazin [12] "Siege." As Latin obsessio, obsidium. The archaic saten,
"to be sitting, to take a seat".
dandero [16] die andern, "the rest".
also hō so cim poume [23] Virgil, Aeneid, 3: "There we now saw
them, helpless despite their threatening looks, / the brothers of Etna, their
high heads raised towards heaven, / a gruesome crew, standing around like
lofty oaks / towering on high, or like cone-laden cypresses; / in the forest of
Jupiter, in the grove of Diana."

The Trojans roamed the world
far and wide in search of a home.
The defeated Helenus
took the widow of the bold Hector,
genan, Mit ter da ci Criechin Bifiz finir vianti riche. Si worhtin dar eini Troie Di man lange fint mohte scowen. Antenor was gevarn dannin ér, Dur irchos daz Troie solti eigen, Der stifed vns diu burg Pitavium, bi demi wazzere Timavio. Eneas irvaht im Wialilant, Dar diu su mit trizig iungin vant, Da worhten fi diu burg Albane, Dannin wart fint gestiftit Roma. Franko gefaz mit den fini Vili verre nidir bi Rini, Da worhtin fi du mit vrowedon eini lüzzele Troie, Den bach hizin fi Sante Na demi wazzere in iri lante, Den Rin havitin fi vure diz meri, Dannin wuhfsin fint Vreinkischi heri, Di wurden Cefari al unterdan, Si warin ini idoch forscham.

after fedele] Extorres vagabantur longéque à suis fedibus. n. XLII. gefidele. Sedele, fitz. Item, šul. Otfrid~:

Ther biscof ift nu ediles.
Koftzenzero fedales.

[¶ 40]

vir herir] Fürtrefflich. Sic n. VII:
Koln ift der heriften burge ein.

irchos] Erkohr, destinabat.


Timavio] Diversas doctorum de Timaou fententias recenset, fluviunque inter Aquileiam & Tergeste collocandum pluribus demonstrat Cluver. Ital. Antiq. lib. I. cap. XX
Walilant] Italian.

Dar diu su mit trizig iungin vant] Virg. III. Aeneid.
Cum tibi follicito secreti ad fluminis undam
Littoreis ingens inventa sub illicibus fus
Triginta capitum fætus enixa iacebit,
through whom he gained
the realm of his enemies in Greece.
There they built a Troy
which could be seen long afterwards.
Antenor had left earlier,
when he realised that Troy would fall.
He founded the city of Padua for us,
by the river Timavus.
Aeneas won Italy for himself
where he found the sow with thirty piglets.
There they built the city of Alba,
from where Rome was later founded.
Francus and his men
settled by the distant Rhine.
There they took delight in building
a little Troy.
They named the stream Sante
after the river in their own land;
the Rhine served them as the sea.
This was the origin of the Franks.
They were all subjugated by Caeser,
but they caused him great trouble.


vir herit [3] “Excellent.” See AL 7.11: “Cologne is one of the greatest (heristen) of cities.”


Patavium [11] Read: Patavium; “Padua.” Livy attempts at the beginning of his first book to claim this as the origin of his home town, and this is confirmed by Virgil, Mela, Aelian and others.

Timavio [12] Clüver, Italian Antiquities 1.20, lists diverse opinions of scholars about the Timavus, and demonstrates by many proofs that it is the river located between Aquileia and Trieste.

Walilant [13] “Italy.”

Dar diu su mit trizeg hungin vart [14] Virgil, Aeneid 3: “When at a time of anxiety by the waters of a remote river / you see under the holm-oaks an enormous white sow / lying on the ground with thirty new-born
Alba folo recubans, albi circum ubera nati.
Is locus urbis erit. ——— ———

sint] Poleta, darfeit. Siles. darfint.

Franko] Fabula de Franco non adeò recens est ac quibusdam videtur. Histri Cosmographia Ms. interprete & compilatore Hieronymo: Cum Franco & Vaffo, qui ex regia profapia remanferant, certando dimicauit; (Romulus) ipsos quoque superatos, Ilium denuò captam remeauit ad urbm. Francus enim & Vaffus fædus apud Albanos impetraverant, mutuò moventes exercitum contra Romulum: montana Histriæ transeuntes fixerunt tentoria, contra quos Romulus castra oppone, cum Franco & Vaffo denuò bellaturus. Recenset deinde, Francum & Vaffum victos per Rhetiam ad deferta Germaniae pervenisse, vrbeb Sicambriam confruxisse, aliaque quæ loci huius non sunt. Fidem penes auctorem esse patiamur, vel ob antiquitatem indubitatum iure sufficiendum.

piglets, / white like her, lying at her udder, / that will be the site for the city."


Franko [17] The story of Francus is certainly not so recent as some think. In the manuscript of Hister’s Cosmography, translated and anthologized by Jerome: “He (Romulus) fought with Francus and Vassus, both of whom were of royal blood; when he had also defeated them and recaptured Ilium, he returned to the city. For Francus and Vassus had made a treaty with the people of Alba that each would take to the field against Romulus in defence of the other. Crossing the Istrian mountains, they pitched their tents, opposite which Romulus set up camp in order to do battle with Francus and Vassus a second time.” Next he claims that Francus and Vassus came through Rhetia to the wasteland of Germania after they had been defeated, and that they built the city of Sicambria; he also asserts other things which are not relevant here. We shall grant that the author is trustworthy, or that the account is to be believed because of its indubitably great age.

Eine lŭllisle Troie [20] “A certain little Troy.” This invention about a Troy on the banks of the Rhine, about the river Xanthus (which in reality does not exist) and the city called Xanthus is abundantly refuted by Stephan Piglius in his Hercules Prodicius. A most ignorant age erroneously read the name Colonia Ulpia Traiana as Troiana; indeed the name of the great Emperor Trajan has often been corrupted by incompetent copyists. The Tabula Itineraria, in the section on Dacia, has Castra Tragana for Traiana. Likewise the Aethicus manuscript made available to me by Claude Saumaise (who cannot mentioned without honour), which is often different from the modern edition, mentions a certain Trojanopolis. By the same error, the Walachians at the ruins of the Dacian Colonia Zeugma call this area which stretches out near the river Apulus Prat de Trojan, which goes back to pratum Traiani, as we have shown elsewhere. Lŭzil means small. Kero: luzzel, “small”; luzzileru vntarstantu, “at a short distance”; lucic or luzilo, “slightly”; luzilemu pezzirum, “a little better”. Lipsius excerpts: luzzilon, “very small”. Williram: Vahent uns die luzzelon vohon, “catch us the fox cubs.” Albertino Mussato, Life of the Emperor Henry VII, at the beginning of book 1: “The city of Luxembourg belongs to the French but marks the border with Germany, and has its name from the barrenness of the soil. Lucel is certainly the German word for ‘poor’ or ‘small’, and borcg is ‘castle.’” That great man Bernhard Wilhelm Nüssler, a friend bound to me in brotherly affection, furnished the collection in my library with this work, written on a very fine parchment.
XXIV.

Dü Cesar dü widere ci Rome gefan, Si ni woltin fin niht intfan, Si quadin daz her durch fini geile Haviti virlorin des heris ein michil deil, Daz her in vremidimo lante An urlof so lange havite. Mit zorne her dü widir wante Ci Diutischimo lante, Da her hat [\(42\) irkunnit manigin helit vili gut. Her fante zu den Heirrin Die dar in riche warin, Her clagitin allin fini noht, Her bot un golt vili rot, Her quad daz her fi wolti gern irgezzin Obir un ieht ci leide gedan hetti.

Dü Cesar] Hæc quamvis veritati congrua non sunt omnia, maxima tamen parte confessiunt cum iis, quæ apud Dionem, Suetonium, Velleium aliosque de Imp. summo leguntur. Conferre illa inter se, & vera testimoniiis firmare, falsa convellere, instituti nostrì non eft.

Obir un ieht ci leide gedan hetti] Si illos aliqua re læsiflet.

XXV.

Dü fi virnamin finin wille Si saminotin sich dar alle: Vzir Gallia unti Germania Quamin imi scarin manige, Mit schinintin helmen, Mit vestin halfpergin. Si brahtin manigin fconin schiltrant, Als ein vlut vurin fin daz lant: Dü ci Rome her bigondi nahin Dü irvohtini dar manig man, Wanti fi fagin schinin So breite scarin fini, Vanin ingegin burhtin, Des libis fi alle vorhtin. Cato unti Pompeius rumiti Romischi hus,
When Caesar then returned to Rome,
they didn't want to receive him.
They said that his ambition
had lost them a large part of the army,
and that he had remained all this time
in foreign lands without permission.
Furiously he returned
to Germany
where he had made the acquaintance
of many able heroes.
He sent messengers to the nobles
of that realm,
complaining of the wrong he had suffered
and offering them fine red gold.
He said that he would gladly compensate them
if he had caused them any hardship.

Dü Cesar [1] Even if not all these things correspond to the truth, for
the most part they agree with what we can read about the great emperor in
Dio Cassius, Suetonius, Velleius and others. It is not our intention to
compare these with each other and establish truth on the basis of evidence
or refute falsehood.

Obir un ieht ci leide gedan hetti [16] “If he had offended them in any
way.”

When they heard his request,
they all gathered there;
from Gaul and Germania
they rallied to him in droves,
with shining helmets
and sturdy haubers.
They brought many a fine shield.
They flooded into the land.
As he approached Rome,
many there became afraid,
for they could see
his vast throngs gleaming
as they bore their banners before them.
They all feared for their lives,
Cato and Pompey
fled from Rome
Alder Senatus mit forgen vluhin fi diuruz: Her vur un nāh iaginta Witini slahinta, Vnz in Egypti lant; So michil ward der herebrant.

hal[pergin] V. n. VIII.
Als ein vluf] Lucan. lib. VI: ——— armaque latè
Spargit, & effuso laxat tentoria campo,
Mutandæque iuvat permissa licentia terræ.
Sic pleno Padus ore tumens super aggere tutas
Excurrit ripas, & totos concutit agros.

Irworthin[)] Timebant, Furchteten.
libis] Des lebens.
herebrant] V. n. VIII in Heriverti.

XXVI.

VV Er möhte gecelin al die menige Die Cefari iltin in geginne Van Ofirit allinthalbin, Alfi der fne vellit uffin alvin. Mit sclarin unti mit volkin, Alfi der hagil verit van den wolkin. Mit minnerigem herige Genanter an die menige, Dū ward diz heristi volcwig Alfo diz büch quit, Daz in disim merigarten Ie geurumit wurde.

Alfi der fne] Statius Thebaid. VIII.

At postquam rabies, & vitae prodiga virtus
Emiferæ animos, non tanta cadentibus hedis
Aēriam Rhodopen solida nive verberat Arctos,
Nec fragor Außonæ tantus, cum Iupiter omni
Arce tonat. ———

uffin alvin] In Alpes. Sidon. Apollin. Carm. IX:
Iuxta frondiferae cacumen Alpis,
Iun. Philarg. III. Georg: Gallorum autem lingua alti montes alpes vocantur. V. n. XXI.
and the whole senate
absconded in consternation.
He pursued them, hunting them down
and slaying them
all the way to Egypt,
so great was the rout.

Als ein viut [8] Lucan 6, “He scattered his forces far and wide, /
enlarging his bivouac on the broad plane, and taking advantage of the
opportunity / to shift his ground. Thus the river Po, / swollen with
brimming estuary, overflows its banks though defended by dykes, / and
oversets whole districts.”
herebrant [22] Cf. AL 8.12 under the headword heriverti.

Who could count all the hordes
who rushed to meet Caesar
from all the lands of the East
like the snow falling on the Alps?

With divisions and with armies
like the hail falling from the clouds?
With a smaller army
he dared to face the larger one.
It was to be the fiercest battle,
so the book tells us,
that was ever fought
in this world.

Alsi der sne [4a] Statius, Thebaid 8: “But when fury and valour
prodigal of life give rein to passion, Arctos lashes not airy Rhodope so
fiercely with hardened snow when the Kids are falling, nor does Ausonia
hear so loud an uproar when Jupiter thunders from end to end of heaven,
nor are the Syrtes beaten with such hail when dark Boreas hurls Italian
tempests upon Libya.”

Uffin adlin [4b] “In the Alps.” Sidonius Appollinaris, Song 9: “At the
summit of a leafy Alp.” Junius Philargyrius, Georgics 3: “However, in the
XXVII.

O

Y wi di wifini clungin, Da di marin cifamine sprungin,
Herehorn duzzin, Becche blütis vluzzin, Derde
diruntini diuniti, Di helli ingegine gliunte, Da di heriftin in
der werilte Sühtin sich mit fuertin. Dü [¶ 44] gelach dir
manig breiti fcare Mit blüte birunnin gari, Da mohtte man fin
douwen Durch helme virhouwin Des richin Pompeiis man Da
Cesar den fige nam.

So nemen ain örsch das ich han
Besser denne hundert marck.
Idem: Do trüg in fin schön marck.
Lex Alamann. tit. LXIX: Et *si* ille *talem equum involaverit, quem*
Alamanni march dicunt, *sic eum solvat, fict & illum admissarium.* A
Celtis *markam equum dici Paulianias lib. X.* annotavit. Nobis adhuc
equa *fæmina,* eiae *Mähre.* Inde Marifcalck, praefectus *fabuli.*

Herehorn] Scuta ex nervis. Heldenbuch de Wolf Dieterich:
Den *schilt von horen vefte*
Den hüb er do für sich.
Nomen inde Sigefrido Gibichi Vangionum Regis genero, *Hörnin
Süfrid;* non quia corneus erat, verum quod arma gestaret ex nervis
contexta; vt notavit Goldaftus.
diuniti] Thöne te, erthöne te, refultabat, refonabat.
Virg. ———— refonat clamoribus øther.

XXVIII.

D

dü vrouwite sich der iunge man Daz her die riche al
gewan: Her vur dü mit gewelte Ci Rome fui fo her
wolte. Romere dü fin infiengin Einin nuwin fidde aneviengin,
Si begondin igizin den Heirrin, Daz vundin jimi cerin,
Wanter eini dü habite allin gewalt Der é gideilit was in
Oh, how the weapons rang
when the stallions leapt at each other!
Battle horns blared,
blood flowed in streams,
the earth beneath thundered,
Hell flared up to meet them
as the noblest warriors in the world
came at each other with their swords.
Whole cohorts of warriors lay there
drenched in blood.
The bondsmen of the mighty Pompey
could be seen dying there,
their helmets hewn through,
When Caesar was victorious.

Di marin [2] "Horses." The knight Wirnt von Grafenberg, Wigalois: "Take one horse of mine / worth a hundred steeds (marck)." Ibid: "Then his fine steed (marck) bore him." The Alamannic law code § 69: "And if he has stolen such a horse, which the Alamanns call marach, let him release it, as with the stallion." Pausanias book 10 notes that it comes from Celtic markam, "steed". Thus we call a female horse eine Mähre. Whence: mariscalck, "stable overseer".

Herehorn [3] "Leather shields." Heldenbuch of Wolf Dietrich: "The shield of tough horn (horen) / he raised before him." Hence the name given to Siegfried by King Gibich of Worms in Hürnem Seyfrid, not because he was made of horn, but rather because his armour was made of interwoven leather, as Goldast has pointed out.


Then the young man rejoiced
that he had won every realm.
He rode in majesty
to Rome, as it pleased him.

When the Romans received him,
they instituted a new custom:
they addressed their overlord as "ir".
They invented this in his honour,
as he alone now had all the power
which previously had been divided among many.
manigvalt: Den fisde hiz er dü cerin Diuifchi liute lerin;

[¶ 45] Ci Rome deddir uf daz fcachus, Manig cieri nam her
dan uz, Her gébite finin holdin Mitvellin ioch mit golte: Sidir
warin Diuifchi man Ci Rome lfs unti wertsam.

Einen nuwin fisde] Novum morem.
holdin] Freunden. n. XLVI. XLVIII. lib. III. Evang. cap. XX:
Er ëf quad Godes holde.
Holde, amasia. Heinrich von Frouwenberg, citante Goldafto: Das min
holde Lange bi mir Muge fin. Vnholde, inimica, infesta; quales fagae
& veneficæ. Holden fiue hulden, fidem præfatae magistratui: huldung,
huldigung, homagium.
mit pellin ioch mit golte] Donabat amicos suos gemmis ac auro.

XXIX.

dü Cesar fin einti genam Vnte der fin neve güt diu richi
gewan, Augustus der mere man Owisburg ist na imi
geheizan, Diu stifte ein fin stiffin Drufus genanter, Dü ward
gesant heirro Agrippa Daz her diu lant birehta, Daz her eini
burg worhte, Ci diu daz in dad liuht vorte, Die burg hiz her
Colonia, Da warin fint herrin maniga; Avir na felbe demo
namin finin Ift fi geheizin Agrippina.

Neve] nepos. Wernigerodæ in templo SS. Silvestri & Gregorii:
Starf Henrich Greve der von Stolberg leve neve.
der mere man] Celebris.
Owisburg] Notitia Civitatum Provinciarum Gallicarum à
Schobingero edita: Civitas Augusta Vindelicum, Avespurc. Aethicus
He ordered that the Germans should be honoured by being taught the custom. In Rome he opened the treasury and took out many valuables.

15 He presented those he loved with furs and with gold. Ever since, German warriors have been loved and valued in Rome.


Mit pellin ioch mit golte [16] “He gave his friends gems and gold.”

When Caesar died and his excellent nephew, the famous Augustus, inherited the empire (Augsburg is named after him, founded by none other than his stepson, called Drusus), Lord Agrippa was dispatched to rule the land, and to build a fortified city so that the people would fear him. He named the city Colonia (since then it has been ruled by many lords); it is also called Agrippina, after his own name.


Agrippa] At Colonia Vbiorum, quæ fuit exitum Augusti à Tacito lib. I. Annal. memoratur, deducta eò iussu Iulii Aprippinæ, Germanici Filiæ, Claudii uxoris Colonia veteranisque, ab ipsis demum Colonia Agrippinensis appellari cœpit.

ci diu daz in dat liuht vorte] Vt populum five colonos eo deduceret.

XXX.

C
dere burg vili diki quamin Di Waltpodin vane Rome,
Di dir oug er dar in lantin vesfe burge havitin, Wurmiz unti Spiri Dieß worhtin al die wili Dü Cesar dar in lance was Vnter die Vrankin unter faj Dü worhter da bi Rine Sedilhove fîne: Meginza was du ein Kastel Iz gemerhte manig helit fnel, Da ist nu dere Kûninge wichtum, Dis Pabis fent fîlul. Mezze stîfte ein Cesaris man Mezius geheizan, Triere was ein burg alt, Si cierti Romere gewalt, Dannin man unter dir erdin Den win fangi verri Mit fteinin rinnin Den herrin al ci minnin Die ci Kolne warin fedinhaft; Vili michil was diu iri craft.

Drusus genaner [6] Wolfgang Lazius writes in his Roman Republic 1.8 that according to Strabo, this splendid German city was named after Augusta by Drusus. But nothing of this is to be found in the Geography, and Lazius has made many errors from time to time, sometimes in these things, and especially in citing ancient inscriptions.

Agrippa [7] However, Colonia Ubiorum, which as Tacitus remembers (Annals 1) was colonized there after the death of Augustus on the orders of Julia Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, wife of Claudius, began to be called Colonia Agrippinensis by the town itself and by the veterans.

ci diu daz in dat liuht vorte [10] “So that he might lead a whole people or colonists there.”

Regents from Rome came regularly to this city, men who had also previously commanded other strongholds in that country:

Worms and Speyer, which they had built during the time when Caesar was in the country, locked in battle with the Franks. At that time he had built

his fortifications by the Rhine. Mainz was a castle which brought forth many a brave hero; today it is the place where kings are crowned, and seat of the papal court.

A vassal of Caesar, called Mezius, founded Metz. Trier was an ancient city, an adornment to the grandeur of Rome. From there, wine was sent

under the earth far along stone channels to the lords who sat in Cologne, as a token of esteem; great was their power.

waldpodin [2] “Regents, legates; governors, guardians.” Hence walten [to govern] and the proper name Waltarius in the capitolary of Charles the Great and elsewhere. Among the governors was M. Marius, mentioned in an inscription at Benevent [Italy], in Gruter p.436:
M. MARIO.M.F.
STEL. TITIO. RVFINO
COS
LEG. LEG. I. MINER. P. P.
CVR. COL. CLAUD. AVG.
AGRIPPINENSIVM

Provinciarum Galliae: Civitas Vangionum, id est, Wormatia.

Spira] Civitas Nemetum, id est, Spira; id. libellus. Augusta
Nemetum, Aethic.

Sedilhove] sedem, aulam, Sitz, hofflatt.

Meginza] Libellus Provinciarum: Metr. Ciu. Megonciacensium,
vit Sirm. edidit, Magontiacensis, vit Bertius: Moguntiacum, vit Æthicus
Salmalianus, Notarum vetus liber ac alii. A Moguntiaco Moeni amnis
nomen posterioris ævi scriptores mutarunt in Moganum. Mogum
appellat S. Hildegardis lib. I. Physic. cap. VII.

ein Kaftel] Florus lib. IV. cap. ult. de Drufo Nam per Rheni
ripam quinquaginta amplius caftella direxit: Bonnam & Mogontiacum
pontibus iunxit, classibusque firmavit. Et urbis hæc statio copiarum
superioris Germaniæ ad labantes ulque res Romanas semper fuit,
quoque metropolis fabulas de Troianis effugere non potuit, ë quorum
numero Magnantium quendam illi initium dedisse laco. Philippus
Bergomas auctore necio quo Carino memorat lib. VI. Supplem.
Chronic.

Iz gemenhte] Celebrem reddebat.

wihida, fc. Sanctorum. Sacrum, wiho. Sanctæ Trinitatis, dr wihun
Israelo. De re ipfa, vit. & aliiis ad urbem nobilissimam pertinentibus,
Auctor Incertus (forte Sigeardus) Actorum S. Albani Martyris, tom. V.

Dis Pabis fenit ëwl] Primatus dignitatem Romanæ sedis praefules
Gregorium & Zachariam S. Bonifacio & Moguntiæ sedi Apostolica
authoritate confecrâla, idem scriptor fufius narrat.

Mezze fitfe ein Cesaris man Mezius geheizan] Eadem fabula in
Catalogo Mediomatricensium episcoporum extare perhibetur his
verificulis:

Tempore quo Cæsar sua Gallis intulit arma,
Tunc Mediomaticium vicit Metius urbem.
TO MARCUS MARIUS TITIUS RUFINUS, SON OF MARCUS, OF THE TRIBE OF STELLATINA; CONSUL; LEGATE OF THE FIRST MINERVAN LEGION, THE FAITHFUL; GOVERNOR OF COLONIA CLAUDIA AUGUSTA AGrippinensium [i.e. Cologne].


Spira [5b] The same Book [of the Provinces of Gaul]: "The city of Nemetum, i.e. Spira"; Aethicus: "Augusta Nemetum".

Sedilhove [10] "Residence, palace; seat, court."

Meginza [11a] Book of the Provinces: "Metropolitan city of Megonciacensium", or as Sirmond emends: Magontiacensis; according to Bertius: Moguntiacum; likewise Saumaise's Aethicus, the Book of ancient Records and elsewhere. By analogy with Moguntiacum, ancient writers altered the name of the river, Moenus [Main], to Mognus. St. Hildegard calls it Mognus in the Physica 1.7.

Ein Kastel [11b] Florus, last chapter of book 4, on Drusus: "For along the banks of the Rhine he built more than 50 fortresses; he built bridges at Bonn and Mainz, which he reinforced with his fleets." And these positions of the troops by the city in Upper Germania were maintained until the fall of the Roman Empire, and were the headquarters of their commander. Imperial Notes: "The commander of Mainz." This city too was unable to escape the tales about the Trojans, whereby one of their number, a certain Magantius, is supposed to have founded it, as Jacobo Filippo da Bergamo records in his Supplement to the Chronicles book 6, citing some author called Carinus.

Lz gemerhte. [12] "Made famous."

Wichtum [13] Kero: wiche, "he blesses"; wihan, "to bless"; wihida, "relics" (sc. of the saints); wiho, "sanctuary"; dr wihun drinissu, "the Holy Trinity". The song of Zechariah in old German, first verse [Luke 1.68]: "Blessed (giwihit) be the Lord, God of Israel". On this and other things relevant to the noble city, see the anonymous Acts of St. Alban the Martyr (perhaps by Sigwardus) in Classical Reader of Heinrich Canis vol 5.

Dis Pabis senit stil [14] The same author records at length that the praesul of the Roman see, Gregory and Zacharia, accorded by apostolic authority the highest honour to St. Boniface and to the see of Mainz.

Meze stitfe ein Cesaris man Mezius geheizan [15f] This same story is said to be reflected in these little verses from the Catalogue of the Bishops of Metz: "At this time when Caesar attacked the Gauls, / Metius conquered Metz." The city which is called Divodurum by the ancients, and
Diuodurum antiquitus dictum, quae civitas Mettis in divisione Regni Lotharii, quam Caroli Calvi capitula exibent, nunc Mets appellatur, Itinerarium Antonini & Tabula Peutingeriana indicant.


[edilhaft] fitzhaft.
Lothar's Civitas Mettis after the partition of the kingdom, as the caputary of Charles the Bald records, is now known as Mets, as the Itinerarium Antonini and the Peutinger Table reveal.

Triere [17] Col(onia) Aug(usta) Pat(ricia) Trevirorum, as it is called on a coin of Vespasian, reported by Goltzius. Ammianus 15: "a famous princely dwelling". The ancient translator of the Greek geographers, edited by the illustrious Jacques Godefroy: "But they are said to have a very large city called Triveris, which is also the residence of their lord." The same editor mentions emperors who pronounced various edicts at this place. The most holy and eloquent Salvianus laments the tragic decline of this affluent city with doleful words in his book on Divine Guidance. As usual, the monkish tales make Trebra or Trebeta, a son of Semiramis, the founder of the city, and Martin of Troppau has written this in a certain History. Above all, one should consult the Chronicle of Albert von Stade where, if it please the gods, there is an epitaph to the "Trebetan" war.

sedilhaft [23] "Resident."

In the days of Augustus it came about that God looked down from Heaven.
Then a king was born who was served by the angels of Heaven:

Jesus Christ, the Son of God,
born of the Virgin, St. Mary.
At once, God's sacred signs appeared at Rome.

Pure oil sprang from the earth and ran everywhere across the ground.
Around the sun there appeared a circle, bright red like fire and blood.
For a new kingdom was approaching,


Vzir erdin [9] Martin of Troppau, book 4: "The same day that he (Christ) was born, a spring of oil burst forth from the earth on the bank of the Tiber opposite the inn, and flowed in a broad river all day long. Then there even appeared a circle resembling a rainbow around the sun."
XXXII.

Enti Petir dir boto vrono Den diuviul ubirwantir ci Rome, Her rethi da uf dis heiligin crucis ceichin, Her sreif diu burg ci Cristis eigine; Dannin sanciir dri heilige man Ci predigene den Vrankan, Eucharium unti Valerium, Der dritti geinti uffin leige; Da kerdin di zvere widere, Senti Petri daz ci clagine, Dari santer dü finin staf, Den legitin fi ufie Maternis graf. Si hizin un wider von dem tod erftan, In Senti Petiris gibote mit un ci Vrankin gan. Dü her finis meisteris [¶ 50] namin virnam Her ward un fan gihofam, Dü intloich sich diu molta Als iz Got wolte, Her vieng sich ci demi grafi, Schiere ilter us demo gravi: Dar vircig dahi hatti gilegin, Dü muster vircig iar lebin, Cerist fi du ci Trierin lertin, Darnä fi Kolni bikertin, Da bifchof ward derfelbe man Der vane demi todi was irstantin.


St. Peter, the sacred apostle,
defeated the Devil at Rome.
He set up the sign of the holy cross there;
he declared the city to be in the vassalage of Christ.

From there he commissioned three holy men
to preach to the Franks:
Eucharius and Valerius;
the third died on the cliffs.
The two returned
to tell St. Peter of the loss.
At this, he sent his staff;
they laid it on Maternus' grave.
They commanded him to rise from the dead
and accompany them to the Franks as St. Peter instructed.

When he heard his master's name
he obeyed them at once.
Then the dust parted
as God intended it to.
He took hold of the grass
and quickly pulled himself out of the grave
where he had lain for forty days.
He was to live for another forty years.
First they taught in Trier,
then they converted Cologne,
where the same man became bishop
who had risen from the dead.

Her rehte da vf dis heiligin crucis ceichin [3] This looks back to the
traditions of the early Church. Justinian Novels 5: "But he (the bishop of
the place) raises his hand towards Heaven and pronounces the place
consecrated to God, erecting there the sign of our salvation." And Novels
67: "We therefore decree that this should be done before anything else and
that no-one should be permitted to begin building a monastery or church or
house of prayer until the bishop of the city, whom God loves, has offered a
prayer on the site and erected a cross." The capitulary of the emperors
Charles and Ludwig: "No-one shall build a church until the bishop of the
city has come and publicly erected a cross there." Hence the Greek
Σταυροστῆγαν, signifying the whole diocese of a bishop in which he had
jurisdiction to erect a cross, and also indicating the erection of the cross
itself. See Meursius, Greco-vermacular Glossary.

Eucharium [7a] See Gregory of Tours, Lives of the Church Fathers,
book 17 on Nicetius, Bishop of Trier, and elsewhere.
Valerium] Viuard. d. XXIX. Ianuar: Eodem die Treveris
depositio Beati Valerii Episcopi, discipuli S. Petri Apostoli. Ita &
Martyrol. Rom.

Der dritti geinti vffin leige] geinti, moriebatur ; n. I. Kero:
Finiantur, Kientot fin. leige, via, iter. Ley viam exponit & Corn.
Kilianus in Etymol. Teuton. Ling. Inde forte leuga vetus pro milliari.
Ammian. lib. XV. de Gallis: Non millenis paffibus, fed legis itinera
meti- [¶ 51] untur. Ad quem locum plura conquisivit eruditissimus
Lindenbrogius. Maternum Glossa authentica in Decretal. de sacra
unctione cap. Vnic. Martialem vocat, interque alia haec verba habet: Et
rediit collega ad Petrum, & Petrus ait; Accipe baculum, & tangens
eum dic, ut in nomine Domini surgat & prædicet. Et ivit, &
quadragésimo die à tempore mortis tetigit eum: & refurrexit &
predicavit. Qui locus idem dicit cum noatro. De historia audi
differentem Baronium Notationib. ad Martyrologii Rom. d. XIV.
Septembr.

Dari fanter dü finin staf] Marner citante Goldafto:
Sagt mir der Bapft von Rome, was fol ú der krumbe stab,
Den Got dem güden Sant Peter uns ze binden gab?
diu molta] puto hoc de sepulchro intelligendum quamvis
vocabulum mihi alibi non obvium fit.

XXXIII.

Dü gewunnin fi da ci Vrankin Ci Godis dienifti vili
manigin man Mit heizzirimo wige Dan fi Cesar
gewanne wilen. Si lertin fi widir funde vehtin, Daz fi ci Godi
werin güde Knechte. Dere lere fiint wole plagin Di bishove
na hin warin Dri unti drizig gezalt Vns ane Seint Annin
gewalt; Dere fiint nu heilig fibine Die schinint uns von himele
Als iz fibin fierrin nahtis dunt. Seint Anno lieht is her unti
güt: Vntirandere brahter finin schim. Alsi der jachant in diz
guldini vingerlin.
Valerium [7b] Usuard, 29th January: "The same day at Trier the interment of the blessed Bishop Valerius, a disciple of the Apostle St. Peter." The same in the Roman Martyrology.

Der dritti geinti vffin leige [8] geinte, "died" AL 1.8. Kero: kieintot sin, "they are terminated". leige, "way, journey". Cornelius Kilian also translates ley as "way" in his Etymologies of the German Language. Hence perhaps old leuga for "mile". Ammianus book 15 on the Gauls: "The journeys were measured in [Gallic] leagues, not in [Roman] miles." The learned Lindenbrog has researched this thoroughly. The authentic Gloss on the Decretal on Holy Unction, only chapter, refers to Maternus as Martial, and has, among other things, these words: "And his colleague returned to Peter and Peter said: 'take this staff, and touch him and say that he should arise and preach in the name of the Lord'. And he went and on the 40th day after his death he touched him; and he rose from the dead and preached." This passage says the same as ours. I have heard this story discussed in Baronius' commentary on the Roman Martyrology for 14th September.

Dari santer dü sinin staf [11] Der Marner, cited by Goldast: "Tell me, Roman Pope, what are you doing with the crook / which God gave to the good St. Peter, with which to bind us?"

intloich [17a] Kero: intlohan, "to open"; intlohhaneem, "open".

diu molta [17b] I think this must be understood to refer to the grave, though I have never met the word before.

There in Franconia they won over many men to God's service in a better war than that in which Caesar had previously won them. 5

They taught them to battle against sin, so that they would be good bondsmen to God. This teaching was later practised diligently by the bishops who came after them, thirty three in all 10

until the reign of St. Anno. Seven of these are now saints. They shine down on us from Heaven as seven stars do in the night. St. Anno is shining, noble and good. He added his radiance to that of the others like a hyacinth in a golden ring.
beizzirimo wige] meliori bello. [¶ 52]
Dere lere sint wole plagin] Dieser lehre pflegten darfeit wol.
her] herrlich
der iachant] Hyacinthus gemma. Absqué aspirata. Willeramus:

in diz guldiri vingerlin] In annulo aureo. Winsbeke:
Sun, du folt sinnelicken tragen
Verholn din núwes vingerlin.

Walther von der Vogelweide, citante ad Winsbeck. Goldafto:
Swas sí redent, ich bin dir holt
Vnt neme din glefin vingerlin für einer Kuniginne golt.

XXXIV.

D
En vili tiurlichin man Müge wir nu ci bispili havin,
Den als ein spiegel anesin Die tugint unti warheitit wollen pegin. Dù der dritte Keifer Heinrich Demi selbin heirrin bival sich Vnti der godis willo was irgangin, Dar her ci Kolne ward mit lobe intfangin, Dù gieng her mit liut crefte Alfi diu Sunni däht in den liufte Diu in zuschin erden unti himili geit Beiden halbin schinit; Alfo gieng der bischof Anno Vure Gode unti vure mannen: In der Phelinzin sin tugint sülich was Daz un daz rich al unterfaz, Ci Godis dienfti in den gebérin Samir ein engil weri: Sin ere gihilter wole beidint halb, Dannin ward her ci rehtimi hertum gezalt.


Dere lere sint wole plagin [7] "(They) later practised this teaching well."

her [14] "Magnificent" (German: herrlich).

der iachant [16a] "Hyacinth, the gemstone." Without aspiration.

Williram: "His hands are golden, as round as though they were both inlaid with hyacinths (iechande)." In Seneca's so-called Tironian Notes: lacinctum, lacinctimum.

in diz guildini vingerlin [16b] "In a golden ring." Winsbecke: "Son, you should wear / your new ring (vingerlin) secretly, with reverence."

Walther von der Vogelweide, cited by Goldast in his commentary on Winsbecke: "No matter what they say, I love you, / and accept your glass ring (vingerlin) as if it were a queen's gold."

Let us now take this excellent
man as our exemplum;
let those who wish to live in virtue and truth
regard him as a mirror.

5 When the Emperor Henry III
placed his trust in this lord
and the will of God was fulfilled
that he should be received with honour in Cologne,
he went with his entourage,
as the sun does in the sky,
passing between earth and Heaven,
shining on both of them;
thus walked Bishop Anno
before God and before men.

10 So powerful was he at court
that the whole empire was subject to him.
His conduct in God's service
was like that of an angel.
He was honoured right and left.

20 For this reason he rated among those who were truly great.

Dü der dritte Keiser Heinrich [5] Lampert von Aschaffenburg [von Hersfeld] records that Anno was elevated to the court by Henry and attained the highest degree of favour and friendship of all the clerics; also recorded in identical words by the author of the Vita Annonis 1.2.
In der Phelinzin] In palatio Imperatoris. Otfrido Palinza. Eid. Palinzhus, lib. IV. cap. XX.

Giang er felbo in gegin uz
Thar zi themo palinzhus.

Sax. Comes Palatii; de cuius officio Hincmarus Remenfis Epift. ad Episcopos Franciæ.

beident halb] Vtrimque; & in aula & in Ecclesia.
hertumi] herrschaft. v. n. VII.

XXXV.

In güte bekanti vil un manig man. Nu virnemit Wi fini
fiddi warin gedan; Offen was her finir worte, Vure dir
warheite niemannin her ni vorte, Als ein lewo fæz her vur din
vuristin, Als ein lamb gin her untir diurftigin: Den tumbin
was her fceirphee, Den gütin was er einfte: Weifin unti
widewin Die lobitin wole finin fidde, Sini predigi unti fin
ablaz Nimohi nichein dün baz, Also gotliche dad iz mit rehte
folte lichen Allir irdischir diet. Gode was her vili liep.
Selicliche üntn Kolnischi werlt Dü fü süllichis bischovis warin
werht.

Vure die warheit] Idem de ipso Lambertus: In iudicandis, inquit,
causis subditorum nec odio, nec gratia cuiusquam à vero abducebatur.
Cæterum quæ Rhythmus noifter de Annone dehinc continet, ab iis
quibus [§ 54] otium est cum Lamberto, Scriptore Vitæ Annonis,
aliisque temporum illorum Historicis conferri possunt. Et iam cum
hæc, tum ea quæ ad defendendum Annonem, ob quædam fecius quam
nonnulli æquum putent ab ipso gesta, facere videntur, magno studio
Eminentiissimus Conditor Annalium congesst tom. XI. Nobis ea libare
faltem in hoc libello animus præcipuè fuit, quæ ad verba & linguæ
veteris notitiam faciunt.

Den tumbin] n. XLV. XLVI. folidis, refractariis.
Opitz's Anno


_beident halb_ [19] “On both sides; both in the palace and in the church.”


35

_Few people really knew his goodness._
_Hear now what his custom was._
_His words were frank,_
in the face of the truth he feared no-one._

5  _Like a lion he sat before the princes;_  
_like a lamb he went among the needy._
_With the recalcitrant he was strict,_
_with the righteous he was merciful._
_Orphans and widows_  

10    _praised his manner highly._
_His preaching and his absolution_  
could not be bettered by any bishop,_
being so godly_  
_that all people on earth_  

15    _should by rights be satisfied._
_He was very dear to God's heart._
_The people of Cologne were greatly blessed_  
_when they were found worthy of such a bishop._

_Vure die warheit_ [4] The same is said of him by Lampert: “In passing sentence on those under his authority,” he writes, “he was never diverted from the truth by enmity nor favour.” The rest of what our poem reports about Anno up to this point can be gleaned at leisure from Lampert, from the author of the _Vita Annonis_ and from other history books of that time. And already they appear to be twisting and turning in defence of Anno, because of certain things which he did less well than some might think right; the most eminent compiler of the _Annals_ [Lampert] has put great effort into gathering this (vol 11). At any rate, in this little book we are mainly interested in exploring those things which bear witness to the ancient words and language.

XXXVI.

SO diz luiht nahtis ward slafin al, So stunt imi uf der vili
güte man, Mit luterer finir venie Suhter münfistere
manige: Sin oblei her mit imi drüg, Dir armin vant her
genüg, Die dir felide niht hattin, Vnt imi da ware dadin, Da
diz armi wif mit demi kindi lag Der dir nieman ni plag, Dari
gienc der bischof vrono, Her gebettidi iri felbe fcono; So her
mit rehte mohte heizin Vatir aller weisfin, So harte was er in
genedig; Nu havitis imi Got gelonit.

münfistere] münster, monasteria; vt Kloster, claustra.

XXXVII.

Vili felicliche diz riche alliz stunt Dü dis [¶ 55] girihtis
plag der heirre güt, Dü her zo ci demi richi Den
iungen Heinriche: Wilich rihtere her were, Das quam witini
mere, Van Criechin unt Engelantin Die Küninge imi gebi
Santin; So dedde man von Denemarkin, von Vlanterin unti
Riuzilanti. Manig eigin her ci Kolni gewan, Di münfistere
zierter ubiral Ci demi tiurin Gotis lobe Stiftir felbo vier
münfter, Diz vunfti ist Sigeberg fin vili liebi stat, Dar uffe
stieit nu sin graf.
At night when all the people were sleeping,
this exemplary man would rise
and seek out many churches
in which to kneel and pray earnestly.

5 He carried the offering with him.
He found plenty of poor
and homeless people
who were waiting for him.
Where the poor woman lay with her child,
cared for by no-one,
there the pious bishop went
and personally found her a modest bed,
so that he could rightly be known
as the father of all orphans,

10 so very merciful he was to them.
Now God has rewarded him for this.


The whole empire was in a happy state
when this good gentleman held court
during the time when he was regent
for the young Henry.

5 Far and wide it was known
what kind of ruler he was.
From Greece and from England
the kings sent him gifts,
as they did from Denmark,

10 Flanders and Russia.
He won many vassals for Cologne.
He decorated church buildings everywhere.
For the precious honour of God,
he himself founded four monasteries:

15 the fifth is Siegburg, the place which he loved;
his grave is now to be found there.
Dū her zo ci deme riche Den iungen Heinrique.] Cum Henricum IV. puerum à matre Agneta Imperatrice abductum educaret. Caussas abtractiohnis huius diversâs aliibis legâs.

witini mere] weites geschrey, ampla fama.
gebi] gaben, munera.
Riuzilanti] Reusland, Russâ.


XXXVIII.

I avir diu michil ere ieiuiiën würre sinir felin, So dede

imi Got alfo dir golstmid düt, Sor wirkin willit eine

nuschin gütt; Diz golst fiudit her in eimi viure, Mit wehim

[¶ 56] werki düt her fi tiure, Mit wierin alfo cleinin Wole slift

her die gollsteine, Mit manigir slaitin gigerwa Gewinnit er in
die variwa: Alfo sleif Got Seint Annin Mit arbeidan manigin.

diu michil ere] ingens honos.

eine nüschin] Defidero vocabuli significationem.


gigerwa] opere: à verbo gaerwen, aut gerwen, præparare,
conficere; vnde dicimus, Leder gerben, pelles macerare, subigere.
Otfred. garawan. Willer. gegarewet.

collectæ: infucati, Vngevarwotis.
Dü her zo ci deme riche Den iuungen Heinrich. [3f] When he abducted the infant Henry IV from his mother, the Empress Agnes, and raised him himself. Various reasons for this abduction can be read elsewhere.

*witini mere* [6] “widespread recognition; great acclaim.”
*gebi* [8] “Gifts, presents.”
*Riuuzlanti* [10] “Russia.”
*eigin* [11] “Property.” Lampert: “And he plainly stood in unquestioned good faith with all those from whom Cologne draws its wealth; no other bishop has by his own efforts so increased the riches and reputation of the Church at Cologne.”

*vier munister* [14] The Cologne monastery *ad gradus* [“by the steps”] and the Church of St. George. Another in Grafschaft in Westphalia, also Saalfeld on the border between Thuringia and the Slavic lands, as the author of the *Vita* records.

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However, lest this great honour
should in any way tarnish his soul,
God treated him as a goldsmith does.
If he wishes to produce a fine brooch,
he melts the gold in a fire;
with great skill he ornaments it,
with the finest of gold wire.
Carefully he hone the topaz
and, by preparing it in many ways,
gives it the desired colour.
In the same way God honed St. Anno
with many trials.

*diu michil ere* [1] “The greatest of honour.”
*eine nüschn* [4] I am at a loss for the meaning of this word.
*siudit* [5] “melts down.” Today we say *sieden*, “to boil”.
XXXIX.


Ci iungis] novillimè, endlich.  
anerietin] prodebant, verrieheten. Otfrid. lib. IV Evang. c. XII.  

[¶ 57]

Thoh habet fumilih thaz muat  
Mir hinahit anarati duat.  
harti] valdè, fehr. n. XXXVI: So harte was her in genedig.

XL.

Ar nah ving sich ane der ubile frit Des manig man virlos den liph, Dü demi vierden Heinriche Virworrin wart diz riche, Morht, roub unti brant Ci vurtin kirichin unti lant, Von Tenemarc unz in Apuliam, Van Kerlingin unz an Vngerin, Den niman nimohte widir stén, Obi fi woltin mit truwin un samit gen, Diz stiftin heriverte groze Wider nevin unti hufgenoze. Diz riche alliz bikerte fin gewefine In fin eigen inadere, Mit siginufflicher cefwe Vbirwant iz sich felbe, Daz di gidouftin lichamin Vmbigravin ci worfin lagin, Ci afe
Repeatedly the nobles attacked him: in the end God turned this to his honour. Many times he was betrayed by those who should have protected him. How many times was he derided by those whom he had elevated to lordship! In the end they did not stop until they had driven him from the city by force of arms, just as Absalom once drove out his father, the excellent David. These two events were indeed very similar. The virtuous lord suffered many trials and tribulations just like the example of the holy Christ. God compensated him for this from Heaven.

*Ci tungen* [2] “Recently; finally.” *aneriitin* [3] “[They] betrayed.” Otfrid, Evangelienbuch 4.12: “Yet some are minded / to betray me because of this.” *harti* [12] “Very”; cf. AL 36.15: “...so very (*harte*) merciful he was to them.”

After this, the bitter strife arose, in which many men lost their lives, when Henry IV’s Empire was reduced to chaos. Murder, robbery and arson devoured the churches and the land from Denmark to Apulia, from France to Hungary. No-one could resist it, though they would gladly have remained united in loyalty, they conducted great campaigns against their kith and kin. The entire Empire turned its weapons against its own intestines. With a victorious right hand it vanquished itself, so that the corpses of Christians lay discarded and unburied,
den bellindin, Den grawin walthundin: Dü daz ni trúite
bisünin Seint Anno Dü bidroz üne lebin langere.

Darnach ving sich ane] De caulis huius belli liber Apologeticus
multis agit, pro Henr. iv. scriptus ab eius temporis Theologo, poxt
Hutteni editionem Rerum Germanicarum scriptoribus additus à Marco
Frehero.

Kerlingen] Carinthia.
heriverte] V. n. VIII.
bikerte] kehrte, wendete, vertebat
In sein eign inadere] In propria vicera.
Siginuftlicher cefwe] Victrice dextera. Otfrido zefue, recht,
dexter. Symbolum veteris Alemanno- [¶ 58] rum Ecclesiæ: Ich geloub
das er da fizit zu der zefuin fines Water im ebun gewaltig vnt ebun
ewig.

bellindin] Canibus latrantibus.
den grawin walthundin] Den wölffen, lupis, vt n. XVI. waltfuin.
trúite] getrawte.
ishünin] versöhnen.
bidroz] verdrofz, tædebat.

XLI.

Er reiht ci Salivelt in Düringe lant Da irbaritimi Got
diu fimi hant; Einis dagis ingegin none Dir himil
indedde sich scone, Da fach her inne diu goteliche wunne Di
her nidorfti kündin Nicheinimo weritlichim manne, Dü her
uffe finim wagene lag Vnter finis gebeddis plag, Sülich
mancraft un umbevieng Daz man jefcein ros cidemo wagine
špien, Dü düht hun daz her fege Suad fodor iemir künftig
were; Vili harte untir quam šgis der heilige man, Dü
bigondir dannin sîchen.
as fodder for the howling,
grey wolves.

When St. Anno saw no hope of reconciliation
he had no desire to live any longer.

Darnach ving sich ane [1] The book of Apologia, written for Henry IV by a contemporary theologian, deals with many of the causes of this war; following Hutten’s edition it was added to the Writers of Germanic History by Marquard Freher.

Kerlingen [8] “Kärnten”.
In sin egin inadere [14] “Against its own intestines.”
Sigismuthlicher ceswe [15] “With a victorious right hand.” Otfrid: zesue, “right”. The Symbol of the Old Alemannic Church: “I believe that he sits at the right hand (zesuin) of his Father, as mighty and eternal as he.”

trüte [21a] “Trusted.”
hisùmin [21b] “To reconcile.”

He rode to Saalfeld in Thuringia;
there God revealed himself to him.
One day around nones,
Heaven opened magnificently.

In it he saw
the delights of God,
which he dared not impart
to any man in the world.
As he lay on his cart
and attended to his prayers,
he was embraced by a mighty force
as though sixteen stallions had been harnessed to the cart.
Then it seemed to him that he could see
everything that was to occur in the future.
The holy man was greatly shaken by this;
as a result he became sick.
irbaritimi] offenbahrte, aperiebat.
ingegen none] Instante iam iam hora nona. Lib. II. de vita eius, cap. XXIV.
tededde] entthat, that auff.
Nicheinimo] Keinem, nulli. v. n. XXXV.
Dū dūht un] Da dauchte ihn.
Suad foder] Quicquid.
dū bigondir dannin fichin] Da begunnte er zu sfechē. [¶ 59]

XLII.

E

Inis nahtis der heirro dū gefach Wi her quam in einin
evili Königlichin fal Ci wuntirlichimi gesidele, Soiz mit
rehti folde fin ci himele, Dū düht un in siumi troume Wiz
allint halvin were bihangin mit golde, Di viuli tiurin steini
liuhtin dar ubiral, Sanc unti wunne was dir groz unti
manigvalt, Dū fazon dar bischove manige Si fichin alfo die
fierrin cifamine, Dir bischof Bardo was ir ein, Senti Heribret
gleiz dar als ein goltstein, Andere heirin genüg Vn was ein
lebin unt ein muht. Dū fiunt dir ein ftul ledig unt eirlich, Seint
Anno wart finis vili gemeiht, Her was ci finin erin dar gefat;
Nu lobit hers Got dad iz alfo gefach. O wi gerne her dū
geseze, Den libin ftul wi gerner bigriffe, Dad ni woltin
gelobin di vurftin Durch einin vlelke vure finin brustin.

Eines nahtis] Vita Ann. lib. II. cap. XXV.
gesidele] V. n. XXII.
wagene [9] Hesychius: ἀγαννα, ἔμοι ἅ, that you may discern the age of the word.  
du bigondir dannin sichin [16] “Then he became sick.”

42

One night the lord dreamt  
how in a hall befitting a king  
he came upon wondrous thrones,  
as should by rights be in Heaven.  

5  
In his dream he perceived  
how it was decorated with gold on all sides.  
Precious stones glistened everywhere,  
there was great singing and rejoicing of every sort.  

10  
There were many bishops seated there,  
shining like the stars together.  
Bishop Bardo was one of them,  
St. Heribert gleamed like a topaz,  
and many other lords;  
they acted and thought as one.  

15  
One magnificent throne stood there empty.  
St. Anno was filled with joy;  
it had been placed there in his honour.  
Now he praised God that this had happened.  
Oh, how he would have loved to take his place there;  
the pleasant seat, how he wished he could claim it!  
The princes would not grant this  
because of a stain upon his breast.

Dir bishof Bardo] Archiepiscopus Moguntinus.


geweih] n. XLVII.

[¶ 60]

Dar ni woltin geloben di wurfni] Patres eum à confessu prohibuifte ait, donec macula, qua velitis ea parte quæ pectus tegebat fœdata erat, ablueretur. Id significatione memoriam iniuriae Annoni à civibus Colonienfibus illatam, Scriptor vitae illius annotat.

XLIII.

Fstunt dir heirrin ein hiz Arnolt Ci Wurmizi was her wilin Bischof, Seint Annin nam her mit handin, So quamin fi dar bihalvin Mit süzir redin her un dü biftunt, Her sprach; trofni dig heirro Godis drüt, Disin vlekkin wisi hine gedun, Ci ware dir is gereit der ewigi ftul, Daz fal fin in curtin stundin, So biflu disin heirrin willycum. Vntir un nimaht tu nu blivin Wi lutir iz fal fin dad fi willin lidin: Crift havit tir diði ding irougit, O wi heirro wad tir erin unti genadin volgit. Harti ginc iz Imi ci hercin Daz her widere kerin folde zir erdin. Ni werit dü ci stundin fo gewant Durch alle diuñi werilt ni rûmiter daz Paradyfi lant, Sûlich is diu himilfschi wunne, Dar fule wir denkin alt unti iungin, Von demi slafe dir heirro dü gestunt, Wole wifst wad her folde dun Colnerin virgab her fîni hulte, Daz her fi hazzite wi groz daz warin ere sculte.
One of the lords named Arnold stood up. 735
Once he had been Bishop of Worms. 740
He took St. Anno by the hand
and led him aside.

He spoke to him kindly
and said, "Take comfort, my lord, beloved of God!
Bid this stain be gone!
Truly, the eternal throne is prepared for you.
This will shortly come to pass,
then these lords will welcome you.
You cannot remain among them now.
How pure a thing must be for them to tolerate it!
Christ has shown you these things.
Oh, my lord, what honour and grace awaits you!"

It distressed him very greatly
that he had to return to earth;
had things not stood at that moment as they did,
he would not have left Paradise for all the world,
such is the joy of Heaven;

we should ponder on this, old and young alike.
The lord awoke from his sleep
and knew well what he had to do.
He granted the people of Cologne his pardon;
it was entirely their fault that he had been in conflict with them.
heiro Godis drút] Amice Dei; à drouu, (trew) fides. Winsbekia:
Trut kint, du fin hoh gemüt,
Vnd darunter in zählen leben.

Willeram: Sulich is min drút. Episcoporum Remensis & Rotomagensis
Provinciarum capitula ad Hludovicum Regem: Et sine folatio &
comitatu drudorum atque vassorum. Incertus auctor vitæ S. Vdalrici:
Et drudes fuos donis congruis fíbi complacere fatagebat. Inde druchte
pro fponfa. Lex Salica Tit. XIV. § X: Puellam, quæ druchte ducitur ad
maritum. Et nomina propria fœminina: Drudhilt, Drudhoh, Drudpreht;
aliaque.

Disfin vleckin wife hine gedun] Hanc maculam noris eluere.
wi lutir] Quèm libenter.

irougit] eräuget. Willeram: Das er sich mir in dirro werlt
erougade (Ms. oigte) ficuti eft, Vbi doctus interpres erougade aliter
quam debebat, vertit: verhooqde, fiue, erhöhete: Nam Paraphasis Lat.
ita habet: Aut hic præsentem fectorum cernere regem.

XLIV.

Dü dat cit dü bigonde nahen Daz imi Got wolte lonin,
Dü ward her gikeifigit Alfi dir heiligI lob wilin. Vane
vüzin vns an diz hoibit So harti al bitoibit: So schit diu tiure
fela Von menniflichimo fera, Von disimo fiechin libi In das
ewigi paradyßi: Diz vleijc intfinc du erda, Dir geift vur up ci
bergà: Dari fule wir iemir nah imo deinkin Wa wir ci iungiif
fulin leintin.

Gekeifigit] Gloflæ Lipfii: Keftegoda, anxit: à caftigando. Nobis,
kafteien.

hoibit] Winsbekius:
Maria Magdalena was
Mit hobitsünden vberladen.
heiro Godis drüt [6] “Friend of God” [voc]; from drouu, “faithful” (German: trew). Winsbeckin: “Dear (truit) child, be of good spirits, / and live a disciplined life among them.” Williram: “Thus is my beloved (druti)”. The capitulary of the bishops of Reims and Rouen to King Ludwig: “And without the solace and companionship of friends (drudorum) and vassals.” The author of the anonymous life of St. Ulrich: “And he won the love of his friends (drudes) with suitable gifts.” Hence drucht for “bride”. The Salian Law 14.10: “A girl who is given as a bride (druchte) to a husband.” And in feminine personal names: Drudhilt, Drudhoh, Drudprehnt, in the old catalogue reproduced by Goldast. Likewise Velituht in Venantius and elsewhere.

Disin vlekin wise hine gedun [7] “May you know this mark to be washed away.”


iroygit [13] “Revealed.” Williram [83]: “That he revealed (erougade, but the manuscript: oigte) himself to me in this world, so to speak.” A passage in which the learned translator wrongly alters erougade to verhoogde or erhöhte: for the Latin paraphrase at this point has: “Or here to behold the king of the ages in person.”

44

When the time approached
when God planned to reward him,
he was tormented
as once the holy Job had been;
from his feet to his head
he was afflicted everywhere.
Thus the precious soul departed
from human suffering,
from this ailing body,
to the eternal Paradise.
The earth received the flesh,
the spirit soared up on high.
Our thoughts should always follow him there,
where we too will land in the end.

from castigando. Our kastieien [castigate, chastise].

hobit [5] Winsbecke: “Mary Magdalene was / submerged in mortal sins (hobitsünden).”
Von menislichimo fera] Ab humana miseria, calamitate.
Migravit Anno ex hac vita A. D. MLXXV. fedis fue An. XXI.

XLV.

A
Lfer dü ci Godis antwurte quam Cin ewigin ginadin,
Dü dedde dir heirro edile gemut Alfo dir ari finin
iungin düt Sor fi fspanin willit uz vliegin: Her fuemit obin ce
cierin, Her wintit fisch uf ci berge, Daz fînt dînt die iungin
gerne: Alfo woldir uns gespanin Wari wir na imi foldin varin.
Her zoigit uns hinidine Wilich lebin fi in himile; Ci demi
gravi da fîni woltin doht havin Da worhtir fcone ceichin, Die
fîchin unti die crumbe Di wurdin da gefunte.

antwurte] gegenwart. Kero: Præsens, antwurti. Præsentis vitae,
des antwartan libes.
αετος propius accedit.
Evangel:

Ioh er thie liuti alle
Spuani ci gewerre;
vbi, /spuanan ci gewerre, eft, ad prælium incitare: à vebrii werra,
bellum, Gallis la guerre. Silefii: Er macht ein gewerre; turbas dat.
Von mennischlichimo sera [8] "From human misery, suffering."
Otfrid: sera, "pain, suffering". Belgian seer, "grief". Hence our versehren [to injure]. Anno departed from this life in 1075 after 21 years in office.

When he came into God's presence,
to eternal grace,
the noble-minded lord did
as the eagle does

5
when it wishes to entice its young to fly.
It hovers above them majestically,
it circles up on high,
and the young are then pleased to do likewise.

775
In this way he wished to entice us
to follow him where we should go:
he showed us here below
what life is like in Heaven.

780
By his grave, where people thought he was dead,
he wrought great miracles:

785
the sick and the lame
were healed there.

antwurte [1] "Presence." Kero: antwurti, "present"; des antwartan libes, "of the present life".

ari [4] "Eagle." Belgian arent, English arnt, our Adler, which is very close to Greek ἄετος.

spanin [5] Kero: spanames, "we exhort"; kspanst, "exhortation"; spanan, "to advise"; ist kspanan, "advised". Otfrid, Evangelienbuch 5.20: "Indeed he encouraged all the people / to go to war," whereby spuanan ci gewerre is "to incite a war", from old werra, "war", French la guerre, Silesian: Er macht ein gewerre, "he causes a rumpus."
XLVI.

Ahnolt hiez ein vollin güt kneht Der havit einin
vogitman hiez Volpreht, Der durch [¶ 63] werltliche
sculde Virlos finis heirrin hulte, Dü bigonder Godi
mißftruiwin Helphe sühter an din tiuvi1, Her kós vn imi ci
vogite wider Arnolde. Einis abindis ginc her einin ganc
Na
finimo roffe einis veldis lanc, Da irschein imi der tiuvi
offene; Her virbot imi alle Cristis é, Vnt her nimanni daz ni
säge Wi her un gefin havite. Her quad, giwuge hers
eincheinim manne Her cibrechin ci stükkelini allin: Wolter
avir imi volgin So hetter imi gewiﬀin holtin. Mit drón unti mit
geheizan Virleitter dü den tumbin man Daz her geliz siccis
viantis truiwin: Daz ward imi fınt ci ruwin.

1 vollin güt kneht] vollin, fehr. Kneht, vir nobilis, acer; ut n.
XX. Auctor Vitæ Annon. lib. III. cap. XX ubi hæc prolixius explicantur:
Arnoldus vir strenuus & dives, Dollindorpenensi castrī dominus.
Volpreht] Ibid: Accusabatur tum coram illo Volebertus homo
nequissimus quod non per solviisset æs alienum.
vogit] Ibid. Volprehti verba: Alius mihi iudex & patronus
querendus est. Vogit, curator, protector, herus; quas vocat, ut vult
Goldeaus, ab Advocatus. Reinmar von Zweter, citoante Goldesto.
Das riche daßt des Keisers niht,
Er ift sin pfleger vnd sin voget.
Römsch vogt etiam Imperator dicitur à Tirole, n. XIII. ubi vide
laudatum iam Scholiaen.
ed] v. sup. n. III.
giwuge] Otfr. gihige; gedächte. Huggen, mercken.
holtin] amicum. v. n. XXVIII. [¶ 64]
There was a worthy knight whose name was Arnold.  
As governor, he had a liegeman named Volprecht, who, by neglect of his feudal duty, had lost his overlord's goodwill.

5 He despaired of God 
and sought the help of the Devil, choosing him as his governor in place of Arnold.

One evening as he was walking to his horse, the length of a field, the Devil appeared openly to him, proscribed the whole Christian faith for him and forbade him to tell anyone how he had seen him.

15 He said if he should mention it to anyone he would utterly break him to pieces; should he obey him, however, he would certainly be kind to him.

With threats and with promises he lead the foolish man astray, so that he took the fiend at his word.
The time would come when he would regret this.

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ein vollin güt kneht [1] vollin, “very”; kneht, “noble, brave man”, as AL 20.7. Vita Annonis 3.20, where this is explained at length: “Arnold, a powerful and rich man, master of the city of Dollendorf [by Blankenheim].”

Volprecht [2] Ibid: “The good-for-nothing Volebertus was then publically accused by this man of not having paid his debts.”

vogit [7] Ibid: Volprecht says: “I must seek for myself another judge and master.” Vogit, “overseer, protector, master”, related to vocat according to Goldast, from Advocatus. Reinmar von Zweter, cited by Goldast: “The empire does not belong to the Emperor, / He is its custodian and its governor (vogel).” Therefore the Emperor is called Römsch vogt by Tirol, strophe 13; see also the other references which the scholar [Goldast] has gathered there.


XLVII.

Es andren tagis her mit Arnolde reiht Dis tiviulis geheizi was her vili gemeit, Mit mifselichin redin her dar zu quam Daz her Godis bigonde virlouchinan, Godis heiligin bigonder lafterin, Daz niman nisolti gebaldin, Vnzi dü der vili tumbe man Bigondi lafterin Seint Annin; Her quad dad her iz al wol irkante, Iz wer al triugeheit unti šcante, Anno lebit ié mit Šuntin, Wad ceichine her getuon folte? Dere vrebelichin šchelti Müſter Šan intgeltin; Da cifsteđe sin ouge winifter Vür imm uz als ein waszer; Dü der ungeloubgie man Ni woltt šich irkeinnin, Her niwolti Seint Annin Šceltin, Dü müſte hers mer intgeltin, Durch sin hoibit quam ein slag Daz her dir nidiri gelach; Als ein gescoz daz ouge cefwe Spreiz uz imi verre: Dü vil her nidir andid gras, Her šchrei als imi was: Harti irquamın Ši šich des ubiral, Si bedditin ci Gote in cruce Štal.

gemeit} n. XLII.


ouge cefwe] Oculus dexter. Willeramus verbis iam citatis. v. & n. XL.

Harti irquamın Ši Šich des ubiral] Valdè concurrebant undique propterea.
The following day he was riding with Arnold. He was delighted about the Devil’s promise. He made various remarks in which he blasphemed against God.

He went on to slander God’s saints, which no-one should dare to do, and finally the enormously foolish man also slandered St. Anno. He said that he knew full well that it was all deception and scandal; Anno had always lived in sin; what miracles would he ever do? At once he had to pay for this wanton calumny.

There on the spot, his left eye spurted out like water. When the unbelieving man would not come to his senses and desist from defaming St. Anno he had to pay even more dearly for it. A shock went through his head causing him to fall to the ground; like a shot his right eye squirted out far before him.

Then he fell down on the grass, screaming as beftitted his plight. People everywhere were very frightened by this. Lying with outstretched arms, they prayed to God.

gemeit [2] Cf. 42.16.


ouge ceswe [23] “Right eye.” Williram in the verse just cited. See also Al 40.15.

Harti irquamn si sich des ubiral [27] “They hastened together from all directions because of this.”
XLVIII.

Arnolt his dradi renninh Paffen imi dari gewinninh, So vürhtin fi in ceinir kirichin, Si lertin un fiini pigihti tun,
Vnzi dü über feregi man Sent Annin anedingin bigan, Her bat finir genadin, Daz her den gesunt imi virgabi: Michil wunter
fajgin Alli di dü da warin; In den itilin ougifirnin Wuhfin
niuwe ougin widere, Daz her fan ci stundin woli gesach: So scone ift diu Godis craft.

Item: Mit famo draten terroribus. Chronicon Ms. Merborti:
Vnd kart do geng Welherad
Wider umb gar wundern drat.
pigihti] beicht. Confessio vetus Alemannica: Ich wirdu Gote

XLVIII.

On altin ewin ift daz kunt Wi sich wilin uf tedde der
merigrunt Dü Moyfes das liut Ifrael Mit trukkenim
wegge leite ubir fe Ci demi allir bezziftin lante Des die gütin
ouch fulin waltin, Da die beche miliche vluzzin, Diz süze
honig dar inzuschin, Diz olei uz eime fteine fprunge, San dir
bi der süze brunne, Diz brot vane himele reginete, Allis gudis
fi feide habiten, Mit wünkcichin ceichinin Erete Got Moyfes
den heiligin, Vnz ein fin felsbis fuster Bi- [¶ 66] gondimi
fprecchin lafter. O wi fiarche fi di misilfuht bißtunt, Vnz iri
gewegete der brüder gut: Alfo gewegete Seint Anno disim
Arnold quickly sent
for priests to come
and lead him to a church.
They urged him to make confession,
until the suffering man
called on the name of St. Anno.
He asked him for mercy
and that he should restore him to health.
All who were present
witnessed a great wonder.
New eyes grew
in the empty sockets,
and that very hour he could see properly.
So marvellous is the power of God!

*dradi* [1] “Suddenly.” Williram: “That its fragrance should smell all
the more (*draher*) strongly”; and also “with such great (*draten*) terrors”
Merbort’s chronicle manuscript: “And Welherad then turned / back at a
wondrous speed (*drat*).”

confess (*bigichtig*) to God almighty.” Kero: *pigihti*, “covenant”.

We know from the Old Testament
how once the ocean floor was opened
when Moses led the people of Israel
on a dry path across the sea
to the best of all lands
which the righteous shall also possess,
where the streams flowed with milk,
the sweet honey between them,
the oil sprang from a stone,
and right beside it a source of fresh water.
Bread rained from Heaven
and they had their fill of all good things.
God honoured Moses, the saintly man,
with miraculous signs
until only his own sister
spoke slander against him.
Oh how terribly the leprosy afflicted her
until her good brother came to her aid.
man Daz her fini gefunt gewan, Ci diu daz wir virftuntin Des richin Godis güte, Wi her fo lonit unti ricchit Suaz man finin holtin spricchit, Der fo süze leidit albihanten Ci demi fconin paradyfi lante.

ewin] v.n. I.
das liut] die leute, das volck.

FINIS.

[? Ø]

Likewise St. Anno came to the aid of this man,
20 so that he regained his health
in order that we might discern
the goodness of Almighty God,
how he rewards and recompenses
whatever is said about his favoured one,
who so gently leads us directly
to the beautiful land of Paradise.

**suster** [15] “Sister.” The same form in Belgian even now. English a sister; Danish soster.

**END.**

Dear reader, if any errors have evaded our eyes, please overlook them. The statement on p. 37 that according to Adam of Bremen the Elbe is the Götaälv is a slip of the memory. For it is well known that both Adam and the ancient Scholia use this name [Götaälv] to designate a river in Sweden.
Notes

These notes are intended mainly to support my translation of the Annolied and to elucidate some of the puzzles in Opitz's discussion. A fuller commentary on the Annolied itself will be found in the notes to Neillmann's edition.

Title page

See also Fig. 2. It is interesting that the title page uses the form Danitisci, "Danzig", and the stylized early Roman numerals (cIβ = M; Iβ = D), whereas the dedication has Gedanensis, "Gdańsk", and the date in standard Roman numerals. This may indicate that the title page is the work of Hűnefeld's offices, and not of Opitz; which would exonerate the author from the ignominy of a misprint in the title: for ciciter read circiter. Lines 2, 4, 5, 8, 11, 13 and 16 are printed in red ink. In the space between lines 12 and 13, the print has an emblem depicting a wild plant with three flowers, and the motto: Sicut flos agri · sic floret homo, a little momento mori reminiscent of Ps 102.15 (=103.15). From 1634 onwards, Hűnefeld published a stream of works by Opitz, including his German translations of Pibrac's Les Quatrains and of Sophocles' Antigone, his paraphrase of the Psalms, the 1634 edition of the Prosodia Germanica, and a posthumous edition of the Deutsche Poemata (1641).

Dedication

The volume is dedicated to Johann Czirenberg (the less correct spelling Cirenberg is attested elsewhere), mayor of Danzig, scion of a family which had produced a series of councilors and mayors in Bremen and Danzig, and father of the celebrated Konstanze Kerschenstein, who was much admired as a singer and painter. Already an elderly man at this time, he was a stout defender of Calvinism, but also a follower of the arts. (On his biography, see Löschin p. 25f.) The dedication serves the dual purpose of cementing Opitz's good relations with the city's mayor generally and enlisting his interest in the present project by means of unashamed flattery. The Annolied is personified as a German citizen and identified on the one hand with Opitz, like whom it is a persecuted wanderer, and on the other hand with Czirenberg, like whom its age and its enduring vigour deserve respect. The passage has many of the conventional features of a baroque dedicatory epistle, not least the obsequious, effusive praise of the addressee. Hellgardt has pointed to similarities in the reports of Czirenberg's character and activities to be found in the diaries of the French diplomat Charles Ogier and concludes that this dedication is personally tailored to Czirenberg, and therefore is more than a set-piece. Nonetheless, it would be ingenuous to take it entirely at face value, for it was always Opitz's custom to dedicate his works strategically to influential personalities in the locality, an observance of social status which presumably would not have
disadvantaged him in his rise from butcher's son to nobleman. Opitz did not come to Danzig as a refugee seeking asylum through the personal indulgence of the mayor, but rather, was brought there by the Polish King, in whose service and under whose protection he already stood.

Prologue

Opitz's prologue does not contain the kind of preliminary data on the *Annolied* which one would expect from the introduction to a modern edition, the discussions of *realia* (dating, authorship, transmission, language), the descriptions or attempts at interpretation. These conventions were only firmly established in the 18th century. Rather, it sets the scene for later philological discussions of the *Annolied*’s vocabulary by surveying contemporary philological dilemmas in general, thus reflecting Opitz's declared priorities, in which the mediaeval text is primarily a vehicle for the schooling of German linguistic awareness.

He therefore opens with the premise that, although the German language lacks a recorded history in pre-Christian times, it has nevertheless come down to the present age *perpetua serie*, in an unbroken line, a position he had adopted as early as 1617 in the *Aristarchus* (Schultz-Behrend edition I 60). Hellgardt (p.65) has related this to contemporary theory of the “Adamic origin” of languages, whereby some languages are pure, others corrupt, depending on whether they enjoy a continuous pedigree which can be traced back to the earliest times, or have been distorted by foreign influences. This then is a statement of linguistic nationalism, and the bulk of the prologue is taken up with the attempt to bolster it by discrediting the more adventurous attempts of early humanistic philologists to derive Germanic vocabulary from non-Germanic roots. Although Opitz occasionally leaves uncertainty about which tentative etymologies he regards as plausible and which he rejects completely, the thrust is very clear: wild philological speculation should be treated with scepticism, but etymologies which relate modern German words to forms in older Germanic languages are generally more soundly based than links to non-Germanic forms. However relationships with Latin and Greek are more welcome than with Slavic or Celtic languages, and in particular, Opitz does want to explore the possibility that many German words may be of Greek origin. While this weakens his argument for the purity of German, it strengthens the case for its antiquity. Perhaps more immediately pertinent, it also allows him later in the volume to show off a little with some of his own discoveries.

The particular interest in Gothic which recurs throughout Opitz's commentary must be seen in this context, a Gothic cognate being proof of the indigenous prehistory of a word. It should be remembered that in the 17th century the Scandinavian languages were regarded as Gothic, hence the citation of Danish antiquarian Ole Worm. However Opitz was ahead of many of his contemporaries in recognizing that the same was not true of the
Getae. The confusion of the Goths and the Getae, who like the Dacians were an ancient Thracian tribe, led early scholars to seek Gothic history in Transylvania. Since his visit to Transylvania, Opitz had been working on a study to be entitled Dacia Antiqua, which was never published and presumably was among the papers lost after his death. He was able to draw on his collection of Transylvanian material for the present project both here in the prologue and in his commentary on strophe 23.

In the prologue Opitz sets an impressive standard of scholarship by citing a wide range of authorities; no fewer than 35 classical, mediaeval and contemporary authors are named, a density of citation which will continue throughout the commentary. Courtesy formulae such as the frequently appended initials V.C. (vir clarissimus) express respect for the source. The opening sentence contains a citation from Livy (59BC-17AD) Ab urbe condita VI.1, the opening sentence of the second part of his history. The "earlier books", then, are Livy's first five books, dealing with the pre-history of Rome. The line of Latin verse set off from the paragraph in the middle of the prologue ("Nomen cum violis...") is from Martial, Epigrams, 9.11, and the words longinqua aevi vetustas may be an allusion to Virgil, Aeneid 3.415. Other authors in order of appearance are:

- Julius Pollux, 2nd-century Greek sophist and lexicographer, author of the Onomasticon.
- Suidas, the name given by the humanists to the author of the Suda, an anonymous 10th-century Greek lexicon.
- Etymologus, presumably the anonymous author of the Etymologicum magnum, a 12th-century dictionary based on an earlier 9th or 10th-century work now called the Etymologicum genuinum.
- Hesychius (6th century), Greek lexicographer; see note on 41.9.
- Herodotus (c.490-c.425 BC), Greek historian; here Horodotus 7.73.
- Athenaeus (fl. c. 200) Greek author of a book on banqueting.
- Jordanes (not Jornandes!) (6th-century), historian of the Goths.
- The Fratres Puteani, apparently the intellectual circle, or perhaps the sons, of French humanist Claude Dupuy (1545-94). The most famous of Dupuy's manuscripts is the Codex Puteanus of Livy, now Paris lat. 5730, saec. V.
- Apuleius Celsius, ancient physician.
- Claudius Galenus (c.131-200), Greek medical theorist.
- Dioscorides or Dioskurides Phakas (1st-century AD), Greek physician.
- Reiner Reinecke (1541-95), humanist.
- Philipp Clüver (1580-1622), Danzig-born geographer and historian, also Klüver, Cluver etc.
- Philipp Melanchthon (1497-1560), Lutheran reformer and humanist.
- John Selden (1584-1654), Oxford antiquarian.
- Diodorus (fl. 60-30 BC), Sicilian Greek historian.
- Strabo (64 BC-post 24 AD), Greek geographer.
Pomponius Mela (1st century AD), Spanish geographer.

Ammianus Marcellinus (c. 330-95), Roman historian, wrote a history of his own time in 31 books.

Lucius Aelius Stilo (c.152-74 BC), Roman grammarian; possibly he is being confused with the Roman jurist C. Aelius Gallus.

Marcus Terentius Varro (116-27 BC) studied at Rome under Lucius Aelius.

Isidore of Seville (c. 560-636), Church father, author of Etymologies.

Honorius Augustodunensis (1st half of 12th century), theologian, author of Imago mundi.

Pierre Pithou (1559-1596), French scholar.

Zonaras, Byzantine chronicler, to whom a 12th-century Greek lexicon was misattributed.

Ansileubus (late 8th century), lexicographer.

Valerius Harpocratus (1st or 2nd century) author of Lexicon decem oratorum.

Philippe Jacques de Maussac (c.1590-1650), edited Harpocratus.

Bonaventura Vulcianiis (1538-1614), actually de Smet, Gothic scholar.

Jacobus Pontanus (1542-1626), actually Jakob Spanmüller, historian.

Ole Worm (1588-1654), Danish antiquarian.

Melchior Goldast (1578-1635), lawyer and Old German scholar; the allusion is to his Paraeneticorum veterum (Ancient Exhortations), an edition of the Tirol and Winsbecke poems. See notes on 1.3a.

Williram von Ebersberg (not Merseburg!) see notes on 1.4.

Paul Merula (1558-1607), linguist, edited Williram.

Henry Spelman (1562-1641), London antiquarian.

Johann de Laet (1581-1649), Dutch philologist and historian.

Johann Elichmann (c.1600-1639), orientalist.

I

Annolied

1. In the 1639 print, each strophe begins with a majuscule which is just under twice the height of the rest of the MHG text and is set down to occupy the beginning of the first two lines.

4. I prefer the translation "cities" because of the Annolied's interest in cities elsewhere, as Opitz also recognises, but "castles" or "fortifications" would be equally possible.

11. The monastery sits on a small hill overlooking the rest of the old town. In mediaeval usage we must distinguish the town, Siegburg, from the hill, the Siegberg. Cf. Opitz's note.

14. Though most verses begin with a capital letter in the print, there are six which stand out because this letter is slightly larger and is not italicised, though it is in no way comparable with the majuscules at the beginning of
the strophes. This occurs in lines 1.14, 11.10, 23.16, 28.12, 43.24, 47.22. In the case of 28.12, there may be significance in the highlighting of the word *Diutisci*, but otherwise these larger capitals appear to be distributed arbitrarily.

**Opitz**

1a. On Vulcanius and his 1597 edition, see introduction, p. 11.
1b. “Belgian” is of course Dutch or Flemish; also in 1.5a, 5.12, 6.11, 7.4, 14.2, 15.11, 23.2, 34.15, 44.8, 45.4, 49.15.
3a. Goldast (died 1635, hence *olim noster*) is introduced here as the principal informant for the whole work. Opitz cites copiously from both the *Paraeneticorum veterum* (1604) and the *Alamannicarum rerum scriptores aliquot vetusti* or *Alamannicarum Antiquitatum* (1606), hereafter abbreviated as *Para.* and *A.A.* On the hypothesis of an etymological connection between *Held* and *Celt*, Opitz shows the same interested ambivalence we saw in the prologue.
3b. i.e. “Germanic *χ*” is to be pronounced /χ/ like German *ch*. An almost identical note is to be found in Goldast, *Para.* 354. “Kero” is Goldast’s name (based on a manuscript corruption) for the author of the OHG glosses on the Latin Benedictine Rule. Opitz has it from Goldast’s *A.A.* II 94ff.
4. This note establishes the method which will form the bulk of Opitz’s commentary, seeking Old and Middle High German parallels for the *Annullied’s* vocabulary. The 2nd-century Tatian’s Syriac *Diatessaron* was translated from a Latin version into Old High German at Fulda, c.830. The Viennese humanist Wolfgang Lazius (1514-65) reappears in Opitz’s notes on *AL* 8.9a, 29.6, 38.10.
5a. Opitz presumably knows Otfrid from the edition by Achilles Gasser, though he twice cites him from Goldast’s *Para.* Is it possible that the erroneous linking of the word complexes *lieben* and *leben* in this note may in part be explained by the ambiguity of *conversatio*? English lexemes are cited also in 1.12, 10.8, 14.2, 15.3, 20.7, 45.4, 49.15; Danish lexemes also in 7.4, 9.12, 47.15, 49.15.
5b. Williram’s school book on the Old Testament Canticles presented three parallel texts for comparative study, the Latin of the Vulgate, a Latin verse paraphrase/commentary and an OHG prose translation of this. The critical edition by Bartelmez shows well how these should be read together. Opitz generally cites Merula’s 1598 edition, but appears here and in 7.8, 8.3 and 43.13 also to be using Flandrin’s manuscript. Merula had used the rather idiosyncratic Leiden codex (Rijksuniversiteit MS. B.P.L. 130), but omitted the prologue, though the manuscript had it. Flandrin’s manuscript may have been the surviving Breslau codex (Stadtbibliothek, MS. 347, Bartelmez’s *Leithandschrift*) or a transcription made from it; at any rate it was very close. The theory that this manuscript at that time also contained the *Annullied* must be treated with care. Flandrin figures highly elsewhere
in Opitz's biography; on the death of Flandrin's young son, Opitz composed the poem "Als wie ein edler Löwe".

**Williram Preface**

The insertion of Williram's preface at this point may seem to contribute little to Opitz's study of the *Annolied* as he does not develop ideas from it or relate them to the rest of his volume. Cited 18 times in Opitz's notes as a witness to OHG vocabulary, Williram is an important source, but less so than Otfrid or "Kero", and thus does not in fact have the central position which this highlighting of his preface might imply. Besides the 17th century penchant for gathering (compare the alignment of unrelated texts in Goldast's *A.A.*), we might suggest three reasons for the inclusion of this preface here: Opitz himself had made a very successful German verse translation of the Canticles and may therefore have taken more than just a linguistic interest in Williram; if he was indeed using the same manuscript for Williram and the *Annolied*, their publication together might have seemed natural; and finally we may note echoes of Opitz's own dedication and prologue in Williram's. Opitz's version contains a number of printing errors: for *florire, cogere and segniitum* read *floruerne, cogor and segniitem*, errors which Bodmer and Breitinger corrected in the 1745 edition. Apart from these and a large number of differences of spelling and punctuation, the text is identical to that in Breslau 347 (see Bartelmez p.1, and contrast p.38). As the Williram preface is to be found in the modern editions, it requires no detailed commentary here. Lanfranc (c.1005-89) was the Italian-born Archbishop of Canterbury known especially for his work on the doctrine of transsubstantiation.

**Opitz (continued)**

8. Where the text had *selve*, the heading to the note has *selue*. Differences between text and note occur in 66 places, mostly minor variations of spelling which are nevertheless relevant for critical editions: 1.8, 1.10, 2.15, 4.1, 5.1, 5.12, 7.3, 8.1, 9.10, 10.13, 10.15, 11.6, 11.8, 14.4, 14.8, 14.9f, 14.11, 14.14, 15.1, 15.5, 16.11, 18.2, 18.15, 19.3a, 20.2, 20.7, 20.8a, 20.12, 20.15, 20.20, 20.23, 21.8, 21.13, 21.16, 21.18, 22.23, 23.11, 23.13, 23.20, 25.10, 28.6, 29.10, 30.5b, 32.3, 32.8, 33.16a, 34.19, 35.4, 35.12, 35.17, 36.9, 37.3f, 38.4, 40.1, 40.8, 40.21b, 41.4, 41.13, 41.16, 42.1, 42.16, 42.21, 43.6, 43.7, 44.3, 46.7. Only three of these result in a difference of wording: 22.23, 35.12 & 42.16.

10. This confession is our *Fuldaer Beichte* (ed. Steinhmeyer). Opitz has it from Goldast's *A.A.* II.174. Also cited under 4.1, 8.8, 48.4.

11a. The note distinguishes Anno's Siegberg from Siegburg, which it places on the Ruhr. In fact Siegberg and Siegburg are effectively identical, while it is Siegen which lies on the Ruhr. The monastery at Siegburg was in fact founded in 1064. The Tungri, Eburones and Sigambri were the mainly Celtic inhabitants of the region in Roman times. For *Iu* read *In*: the
interchange of “u” and “n”, which in this typeface are the same character inverted, is the most common typo in the book. As this is usually fairly obvious (gnod for quod, etc) it will not be noted each time. Inconsistent bracketing likewise reflects on the printer.

13. Catalogue of names in Goldast’s A.A. II. Hermanus Contractus (Hermann the Lame, 1013-54), theologian at the Reichenau; Marianus Scotus (c. 1028-83), Irish chronicler at Fulda and Mainz.

17. Belgian humanist Justus Lipsius, actually Joest Lips (1547-1606). Lipsius discovered a manuscript of Old Franconian psalm translations and excerpted 670 lexemes which he arranged alphabetically and sent in a letter to Andreas Schott (1557-1629) in 1598. Both the manuscript and the original of the letter were subsequently lost, but a published collection of Lipsius’ letters from the year 1602 preserves the “glosses” in a less-than-reliable print. Modern edition by van Helten. Opitz cites these in 1.17, 2.1a, 3.3, 6.2, 8.6, 9.3, 9.4b, 9.12, 10.6, 14.2, 14.15, 21.18, 23.20, 41.11, 44.3.

2

Annolied

1. By opening the narration with an allusion to the Biblical creation in Genesis 1.1, and probably also John 1.1, the poet sets the theme for the first section of the poem, strophes 1-7 on sacred history; cf. 8.1, 34.1.

7. In the Vulcanius text, there follow 1½ long lines (i.e. 3 verses) omitted by Opitz, which are probably original: dammiri lissit man daz zuwa werile sin / Diu einc, da wir inne birin, diu ander ist geistin “For this reason we read that there are two worlds, / the one in which we are living / and the other [which] is spiritual.”

8. On the structural significance of these lines for the Annolied as a whole, see introduction, p. 9.

11. engele – generic singular.

17. havit – subjunctive; see Opitz’s note on 1.11.

Opitz

1a. The line from Walther is from the Sangespruch “Künig Constantin der gap só vil” (Corneau 10 XIII). Elsewhere, Opitz cites (33.16) Walther from Goldast. Marquard Freher (1565-1614) did indeed write a book entitled Donatio Constantini; elsewhere, Opitz uses his Germanicarum rerum scriptores (8.9a; 40.1).

1b. In the Williram quotation, for altero read alero; in the Bartelmez edition this is 69G; altero is not a known variant (cf Bartelmez p. 278).

3. The Sachsenspiegel of Eike von Repgow is a 13th-century German legal handbook.

8. The verse is in fact from the Winsbecke; Opitz has been misled by a typesetting error in Goldast’s Para, where a misplaced page heading on
p. 296 gives the impression that p.297 is part of Königin Tirol. The “two” are shield and helmet, and by “skill”, skill at jousting is intended.

15. Plotinus (c.205-70), Greek philosopher; Ecphantus (4th century BC), philosopher; Stobæus (John of Stobi), 5th-century Macedonian anthologist; Photius, 9th-century Byzantine lexicographer; Sextus Empiricus (fl. 200), Greek physician; Hierocles, 2nd-century stoic philosopher.

16. There is a parallel note in Goldast, Para. 355.

17. Watt’s Faragine appeared in Goldast’s A.A.

3

Annolied

3. balch ⇔ belgen; sigis ⇔ sich ez

5. manen and sumnen (both masculine) are accusative; despite Opitz’s punctuation, they are objects of sach, in apposition to werch.

17. havit – probably subjunctive, cf. 2.17; otherwise translate: “everything has the order ... except the two...”

21. doleheit ⇔ tol; Nellmann’s translation with Vermessenheit reflects the mediaeval view that the protoplasts’ fundamental sin was superbia, and depends on taking tol in its secondary sense of “recklessly courageous”.

22. leiht is plural, probably with the sense “all kinds of...”

Opitz

3. The sermon by the fifth century St. Valerian of Cemenelum (Cimiez) was published by Goldast in 1601 together with an Isidore fragment, and again in 1604 as the first work in the Para. Notkers Psalms are cited from Watt’s collection, in Goldast’s A.A.


17. The Hamburg lawyer and legal historian Friedrich Lindenbrog (1573-1648). published his collection of legal codes, with a glossary, in 1613; Opitz cites principally from his glossary, but other citations from early legal documents come from this volume too, principally Tassilo’s Decretum, the Lex Salica, the legal codes of the Alemans, Ripurians and Lombards, the Carolingian capitularies, including the writings of Hincmar, and the law-code erroneously ascribed to Aethelstan. A capitulary is a Carolingian law code; Opitz refers to those by Charles the Great and his sons Charles the Bald and Ludwig (cf. 30.2, 30.15, 32.3, 43.6). In this note, the link with Ehe and Ewart is from Lindenbrog 1396. Jacques Sirmond (1559-1651), French classicist.

4

Opitz

1. On the confession, see 1.10. However, this is Opitz’s own translation; Goldast translates: aut alio puto quicquid ego contra Dei voluntatem egi.
2. The Gothic Bible, here and in 9.12, is cited from Vulciarius 35-42; for leitais, Vulciarius has leitai (p.42). Possibly Tatian is cited from the same source, though in 1.4 he was cited from Pontanus. Likewise in 9.12, 23.2 and 30.13, the OHG Magnificat and Song of Zechariah are actually Tatian, and could well be cited from Vulciarius 55-57. Adeishalc is from Lindenbrog 440 and 1348.

14. Winsbecke in Goldast’s Para. 289; Friedrich von Hausen, ibid. 455.

5

Opitz


12. Cardinal Cesare Baronius (1538-1607) was responsible for the 1586 edition of the Roman Martyrology, which he published with a commentary (Notationes and a Tractatio). The Martyrology first appeared in 1583 at the instigation of Gregory XIII, to standardize the plethora of mediaeval martyrologies. Drawing particularly on the 9th-century Martyrology of Usuard, it lists the names of Christian martyrs associated with each day of the year for liturgical use.

13. The French scholar Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540-1609) was important for his editions of Catullus, Eusebius and others.

6

Annoled

9. herin – noble or holy; but despite the fact that we are speaking of bishops, the feudal sense is probably more in line with the poet’s perspective.

Opitz

1. On Vopiscus see 21.14 below. Gaius Velleius Paterculus (c.19BC-c.30AD), Roman historian. On the etymology of the name Frank, see also Opitz’s prologue. The words tota armenta sequuntur are an allusion to Virgil, Aenid 1.184f. Pierre de Ronsard (1524-85), French poet. Procopius of Caesarea (d. 565).

2. Goldast, Para. 319.

4. The Peutinger Table, named after its 1508 editor Konrad Peutinger (1465-1547), is a 13th century copy of a Roman map of the 1st century BC, and is roughly 6m x 30cm in size. Decimus Magnus Ausonius (c.310-c.395) and Sidonius Apollinaris (c.430-c.480) were Gallo-Roman poets; Agathias (c.536-c.582) was Byzantine.

5f. For Secundis read Seduni. The story goes that an Egyptian legion from Thebes, led by Maurice (Mauritius, Moritz), was sent by Diocletian to Gaul
to quell a rebellion; the entire legion was martyred there by Maximianus for refusing to sacrifice to idols. Martin Cromer (1512-89), Bishop of Ermland, was author of a history of Poland.

7

**Annolied**

4. This verse is the first occurrence in the German language of any form of the word *Deutsch* used to refer to land or ethnicity; prior to this it apparently meant only the language. The translation “Germany” is justified as we do speak loosely of “mediaeval Germany”, but this should not be taken to imply a modern sense of nationhood; it may be to avoid this implication that Nellmann and Schultz translate with “in einem deutschen Land” and “on German soil” respectively. But these also have misleading associations. Cf. 18.12 and 24.8.
9. *perrir* ⇔ *berht*, “bright”.

**Opitz**

1a. Laurentius Surius (1522-78), German hagiologist. On the *Vita Annonis* see my note on 34.2.
1b. Actually 4th April 1065.
3. Ammianus Marcellinus (c.330-95), Roman-historian; Zosimus, 5th-6th century Greek historian, wrote *Historia Nova*. Peter Bertius (1565-1629), Dutch geographer; André du Chesne, or Duchesne (1584-1640), French historian.
4. Walahfrid Strabo (c.809-849), theologian. Lindenbrog (1410) derives *heriliz* from *her + lassen*, and glosses it with *deposito armorum*.
5b. for *pietissimus* read *pietissimus*
8. Williram on Canticles 7.1.
9. There are six places in all where Opitz admits uncertainty as to the meaning of the MHG text: cf. 7.9, 15.5, 19.10, 32.17, 38.4.

8

**Annolied**

1. By taking us back to the beginnings of urban life, the poet introduces the second section of the work, strophes 8-33, on secular history.
2. * burge* – singular, probably generic (cf. 2.11), though it could refer to Cologne.
10. *cih* – Nellmann emends to *cim*.
Opitz

3. The absence of the suffix -ig is explained by analogous examples. This is by way of self-justification, for in his verse translation of the Psalms, published by Hünfeld in 1637, Opitz had used such antiquated forms in his own German, apparently to avoid dactyls in iambic alexandrines. This incurred the rebuke of Ludwig of Anhalt, as their correspondence bears witness: see Szyrocki p.116, and with specific reference to the present text, a letter of Robert Robertin to Ludwig’s secretary Christian Herdesian (Ebeling, p.203) reporting on Opitz’s death, which notes: “Opitius sel. gedenckt sonst in seinem letzlich an tag gegebenen Rhythmus de S. Annone einer Fürstlichen person die etwas in seinem Psalter erinnert, welches Ihr Fürstl. Gn. Fürst Ludwig seyn...” Having raised the subject, Opitz cannot resist the opportunity for a rather more vitriolic rebuttal of another less esteemed critic of his Psalms.

5. Trogus was a Roman historian in the reign of Augustus (27BC-14AD) whose Historia Philippicae survives only in an epitome by the 3rd or 4th-century Justin.

8. Winsbecke from Goldast Para. 332.

9a. Winsbecke from Goldast Para. 306. For μετονυμικός read μετονυμικώς; for castorum, castrorum. The verse distinguishes two pieces of armour which can both be rendered “breastplate”. Opitz attempts to distinguish between lorica and thorax, which in classical usage designated leather and metal breastplates respectively, but the literature he cites is not consistent in this. The historical English forms are hauberkerk and byrne, the former covering neck and shoulders, the latter the torso, both usually of chainmail.

9b. The Anglo-Saxon legal code cited here is not in fact one of the six codes of Aethelstan (ruled 924-5-939) but rather, from the Nōrdleoda Laga (North people’s law) in the Liebermann edition p.460, §10. Of the three versions given in the modern edition by Liebermann, the wording is closest to that of Lambarde’s print (London 1568), where it appears on p.70, immediately after the fifth Aethelstan code (p.69), hence presumably the confusion: Lindenbrog cites Lambarde, and Opitz has the quote from Lindenbrog’s gloss on brvnea, 1365. The Eckenlief quotation is from Goldast Para. 364.

12. Merborti (also in 48.1) is a puzzle, as no Middle High German chronicler has a similar name. Conceivably Opitz has misread Herborti; the Polish lawyer and diplomat Jan Felix Herbut (c.1524-77) wrote a chronicle of the kings of Poland. Or he may have found the MHG verses in a manuscript which also contained a Latin work which might have been confused, such as the writings of Marbode of Rennes (1035-1123), who wrote a verse legend of Maurice and the Theban Legion (cf. 6.5f above). It should be noted that when Opitz refers to a manuscript in his library this
appears sometimes to refer to a mediaeval codex which he has borrowed, but sometimes to a contemporary transcript of a work.
14. Abbreviation “f.” is probably for frequenter, also in 15.2.

9
Opitz
3. For XXIV read XXVII; this is the first of three places where Opitz cross-references Annolied verses incorrectly; see 14.15 and 35.7.
8. Goldast Para. 281, 312. Ampelius was a Roman poet, fl. 200 AD.
10. Eustathius of Thessalonica (c.1115-95) wrote a paraphrase of the 2nd-century geography of Dionysius.
12. On OHG and Gothic Bibles, see 4.2. The Danish couplet is the opening of a ballad published the Danish collector of antiquities Anders Sørensen Vedel (1542-1616). Opitz translates Mykelgaard (his spelling is inconsistent) into Latin as Metropolis, and into German as Meichelburg. In Danish (and Old Norse) verse, Mykelgaard always refers to Constantinople, as, often, does Latin Metropolis when used as a proper noun. Meichelburg, on the other hand, would seem to be Mecklenburg; the earliest form of the name is Mecheleburg, attested from 995. Thus Opitz, apparently unconscious of the Scandinavian usage, is suggesting an etymology for the name Mecklenburg.
14. for concendisse read conscendisse.

10
Annolied
7. vortin ⇔ wort; or meaning “fear”, ⇔ vorht.
19. dannoch – probably conjunction; if it is an adverb, translate: “the tower still stood”; this cannot, however, refer to the remaining height of a ruin, as the figure derives from the same tradition as Jerome’s 40,000 passuum, which is clearly the height of the whole tower.

Opitz
2. French humanist and jurist Claude Saumaise, or Claudius Salmasius (1588-1653) receives Opitz’s highest praise for his 1629 study of the 3rd-century historian Julius Solinus, which becomes important in the notes on strophe 14. Solinus’s Polyhistor, or Collectanea rerum memorabilium, is an epitome of Pliny. Elsewhere, Opitz uses Saumaise’s edition of the Historia Augusta. Saumaise, who succeeded Scaliger at the University of Leiden in 1631, is known for his dispute with John Milton on the question of Charles I and the English succession. A correspondence between Saumaise and Opitz is attested, and a surviving letter dated 30th September 1637, which was discovered and published by Spahr in 1971, is particularly relevant. In it, Opitz notes that both he and Saumaise have manuscripts of Aethicus, and proposes a collaboration, the result of which, presumably, was that Saumaise sent his manuscript, or a copy or detailed
description of it, to Opitz, as attested in 23.20 below. Ctesias was a Greek physician of the 4th century BC, author of a history of Persia.

6. Winsbeckin from Goldast, Para. 326. Opitz takes un (⇔ in), "them", as a preposition, and dumplicho, "foolishly", as a noun.

13. Tirol from Goldast, Para. 279. The strophe is an allegorical interpretation of a mill; the gear wheel which turns the millstones has 72 teeth; see strophes 15 & 20 in the Leitzmann edition. The rest of the note is lifted more or less directly from Goldast's commentary on these lines, Para. p.369

12

Annolied

4. warin warin – dittography.

14

Annolied

9-12. Roediger reads these as two long lines.

Opitz

2. As an English form, armt (also in 45.4) is erroneous; Middle English earn (modern erne, "sea eagle") might have been familiar, but the form with -t would seem to be a confusion with Low German or Dutch.

6a. As the Annolied moves into the more remarkable episodes of the Alexander stories, Opitz responds with the longest digressions in his commentary. Taking Saumaise (see 10.2 above) and Strabo (Greek geographer, 64BC-24 AD) as his authority, he dismisses as nonsense the stories found in this strophe of the Annolied. It is interesting, though, that he seeks to justify the Annolied poet by insisting he was a victim of a received tradition, yet condemns other writers in the same tradition as gossips and liars. A number of writers are discounted immediately: Onesicritus and Nearchus were members of Alexander's expedition who later wrote accounts of it; Daimachos and Megasthenes were Greek historians of the 4th-3rd century BC; the 13th-century Prester John legends contained material adapted from the Alexander tradition; the Peregrinatio of Joannes de Hese dates from c. 1389; the Greek historian Callisthenes, another member of Alexander's expedition, was not in fact the author of the Life of Alexander later ascribed to him. Opitz appears to link the fictional letters of Prester John to Barbarossa and others with the letter of Alexander (see below). Cited as authorities here are contemporary scholars Caspar von Barth (1587-1658) and François Juret (1553-1626). Having dealt with these cursorily, Opitz now builds his exposé on a closer examination of two texts, "Hister" and the Excerptum.

The anonymous 8th-century Cosmography of Aethicus purports to be the work of a classical Greek geographer named Aethicus of Istria, and to have been partially translated or paraphrased into Latin by the church father
Jerome, an ascription which was still accepted by the 19th-century editor, Wuttke. The modern edition by Prinz (from which I cite by page and line number) has a good discussion of this. Opitz has taken the toponym “Hister” (⇒ Istria) as a proper name, and regards Aethicus as a cognomen, apparently his own error which was then taken up by other humanists. Opitz has his own manuscript of the work, but also has Simmler’s 1575 edition, which has quite a different text; as we now know, what Simmler erroneously printed under the name of Aethicus was in fact a different Cosmography, that of the early mediaeval Julius Honorius, which today is often referred to as Ps-Aethicus. Opitz is aware that a confusion has taken place and hopes to unravel it by comparing manuscripts. Having read in Saumaise’s Historia Augusta (1620) that Saumaise claims to have a good manuscript he asked in his 1637 letter (see 10.2 above) if Saumaise would collaborate with him. Apparently (23.20 below) Saumaise responded by making his manuscript available, so that Opitz now has three witnesses; Saumaise’s manuscript is apparently also Ps-Aethicus (Julius Honorius). Opitz is keen to track down another manuscript which Simmler mentions in the third page of his prologue as belonging to Pierre Daniel, the 16th-century bibliophile who saved the library of the Abbey of St.-Benoit-sur-Loire when the city was plundered by soldiers, bringing the largest part of it to Orléans and making it available to scholars. In the 1637 letter, Opitz wondered whether Daniel’s manuscript was the same which now belonged to Saumaise. Obviously it was not, for now in his Annoled commentary (14.11, last sentence) he postulates that the manuscript of Jacques-Auguste de Thou might be olim Daniel. And indeed, the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris has two manuscripts from the former de Thou collection which contain both Aethicus and Ps-Aethicus. Although, in the end, Opitz is not able to clear up the confusion entirely, he does attempt to make a distinction, using the name “Hister” when referring to his own manuscript (Aethicus), but “Aethicus” when working with Simmler or the manuscript of Saumaise (Ps-Aethicus).

The designation of Jerome as a compilator (here translated “compiler”; cf. 23.17) could be taken to be rather negative; in classical texts the word is commonly translated “plagiarist”. It was used as a facetious epithet for Virgil, on account of his reworking of Homer. However, when Opitz uses it of the Danish ballad collector, Vedel, in 9.12, it is certainly not disparaging. Opitz is very keen to defend the both the antiquity of “Hister” and the integrity of Jerome.

The second text on which Opitz builds his discussion of the strophe is a Latin Alexander book which has not been precisely identified; of this too he owns a manuscript. The title Excerptum de vita Alexandri Magni does not greatly help us, but from the names of Alexander’s friends and the reference to letters to Olympias and Aristotle in Opitz’s next section on 14.8 we can establish that it stands generally in the tradition of the Epistola ad Aristotelem; this account of Alexander’s travels in India, going back
ultimately to Ps-Callisthenes, is couched in the fictional narrative framework of a letter, hence often in the first person; Opitz takes the letter literally and seeks to refute it in the last part of his note on 14.8. He suggests that the Excerptum has borrowed from "Hister", but does not thereby excuse it; the Excerptum author is tribarbaros.

The aside on the poet Euphorion (3rd century BC) at the end of this note is not relevant to the argument, but reflects Opitz's philological interest per se. Stephanus of Byzantium was a Greek lexicographer who produced a catalogue of place-names. However, Opitz is not working with the text of Stephanus here; rather, he is picking up on a different argument from the same section of Saumaise.

For noque read neque

8. Opitz includes longer quotations from the Excerptum. To discredit the notion of Alexander's letter, he cites Plutarch (Greek, 1st century AD), whose Parallel Lives included a book on Caesar and Alexander; the 4th-century Themistius, a Greek rhetorician who wrote paraphrases of Aristotle, here of the Physics; the 1st-century AD Aulus Gellius (Agellius being a mediaeval misreading of A.Gellius); Andronicus of Rhodes, the philosopher of the 1st-century BC who edited Aristotle; and the German chronicler Otto von Freising (c.1111-1158).

The words non meum make limited sense. Read perhaps heu me?

11. Turning now more seriously to "Hister", Opitz gives more data on this author than he usually does. Some of this information he cites from Hrabanus Maurus, if Hrabanus really was the author of the short tract De inventione linguarum which Goldast had printed in A.A. II.i. 68f. To establish the antiquity of Aethicus, Opitz first discusses two passages which are not directly relevant to the Alexander story, comparing them with parallel passages in Isidore. His theory that Isidore borrowed from "Hister" is of course belied by the dates; Isidore was 6th-7th century, whereas we now place the Aethicus Cosmography in the 8th; in fact the source which Isidore called Historia is the Latin Josephus. Nevertheless, Opitz's proposed emendation of "historia" to "Hister" in Etymologies 14,6,29 & 19,1,21 was followed by other humanists. The first of these passages, on the sons of Iasion, (for Iason read Iasion, Isidore's error) is apparently being compared with Aethicus 222.5ff. On the Saxons, the citation is from Aethicus 147.15ff., but Opitz's text is corrupt and makes little sense. In the Prinz edition, the sentence reads: Scithae et Griphes, Taracontas et Saxonom genus inopinatissimum a Meoparotis ingenio valde peritis mioparo ad similitudinem navium illarum... – hence my translation. Which Germanic people bears the designation Meoparotes is unclear; Wuttke would have us think of the Danes. Having thus made a contribution to the study of his source, pointed (with an acknowledgement to Dutch humanist theologian Gerhard Voss, 1577-1649) to the desiderata of Aethicus scholarship and hinted that he may return to the question in a future work, Opitz now moves to his main point, concerning Aethicus 129.14ff, the passage about the
submarines which parallels that of the *Annolied*. Lamenting its deficits, he points hopefully to other manuscripts – see 14.6a above.  
14. Citation from Aethicus 127.13ff.  
15. for XXV read XXIV

15

Opitz

3. For *wawe* read *wave*; a corruption of Middle English *wawe* is conceivable, but a simple printing error is more probable. French forms appear also in the notes on 34.15, 45.5 and 49.17. The *Schwabenspiegel* is a late 13th-century legal code based on the *Sachsenspiegel*; both are composed of two volumes, *Landrecht* (common law) and *Lehnrecht* (feudal law).

9. Presumably *imperium* and *copiae* in their military sense; or “to his empire and his wealth”, if Opitz is expounding not the narrative but the semantic range of *rich*.

11. MHG *Geniten* “to enjoy, to thole” (in the negative sense in *AL* 39.40) can mean “to have one’s fill”; but *genügen* is not cognate.

Strophe number: for XIV read XVI.

17

Opitz

5. It is possible that Opitz’s delight in this poem, and his desire to have more lyrics by the same poet, is inspired by local patriotism, but in fact the lines are not by Heinrich von Breslau, but rather by Heinrich von Meissen (Frauenlob). The misattribution originates with Goldast, *Para.* 447. Hellgart (footnote to p. 63) points out that the two Heinrichs come almost together in the Heidelberg Manesse manuscript, which was Goldast’s immediate source. Despite correspondence with Goldast, Opitz’s quest for more material by the Breslau poet is unfruitful. The Heidelberg *Bibliotheca Palatina* had been removed to Rome in 1623, and Opitz may have been under the misapprehension that the Manesse manuscript went with it. As former librarian of the *Palatina*, Opitz’s old professor Jan Gruter (1560-1627) might once have been able to help, but now he must appeal to Lucas Holstein (or Holste, Holsten, Holstenius, 1596-1661), a German scholar working at the Vatican library. *non non* – dittography at a line break.

18

*Annolied*

4. Nellmann and Schultz have a different reference.  
14. *ein ihar* – the major editions all emend to *cin ihar* “10 years”; but Opitz’s one year is unproblematic, and preferable especially in view of his note on 21.16
Opitz

3. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Roman Antiquities, c. 30 BC.
11. Hincmar of Reims, c. 806-882, cited from Lindenbrog 1473. Heinrich Canis (1557-1610) was the nephew of the theologian Peter Canis.

19
Annolied

7. Suedo – the editions emend to Suevo, as in the Isidor passage which Opitz cites below. But note that the form Suedo is repeated in the headword to Opitz’s note, and is therefore unlikely to be a printer’s error; this will have been in the manuscript.
10. redespen – emend to redespeh.

Opitz

3a. Argentina is a variant of Argentoratum, “Strassburg”, though it could also refer to Stříbo (Bohemia) or Argentine (Savoie), among others. The Ripuarian law is cited from Lindenbrog 455 and 1403, where fordro is glossed with Vordersman. Robert Robertin’s friendship with Opitz is on record. Robertin (1600-48), a high-ranking official at the Prussian court is better known as a sponsor of literati than as a writer himself.
3b. Bodmer & Breitinger add weyland.

20
Annolied

16. hër, see my note on 6.9. Nellmann (and with him Schultz) has “das hochgelegene Armenien”, an adventurous translation; hër can be rendered “high” in the sense of social rank, but meaning altitude this would be a hapax.

Opitz

7. Opitz reads wiliche as modern willige, rather than welche.
12. The passage is Pliny the Elder, Natural History 34.145. Otfried from Goldast, Para. 391.

21
Annolied

13. for vuzir read vnz ir.

Opitz

5. The Saxonia of Krantz (1448-1517) appeared posthumously in 1520.
14. Fabricius (1516-1571) worked on the etymology of place-names. Flavius Vopiscus (also 6.1 above) and Aelius Spartanus are two of the six
possibly fictitious authors to whom the 4th-century *Historia Augusta* is attributed. Opitz cites these from the 1620 Saumaise edition, borrowing some of his observations unacknowledged from Saumaise’s commentary, in particular p.132F and possibly 140A of the section *In Aelium Spartanum Notae*, the same section in which Saumaise boasts of his Aethicus manuscript (see 14.2 above). Cocceianus Cassius Dio (c.150-235), Roman historian. On Adam of Bremen (11th-century), see Opitz’s erratum at the end of his volume; the river Götaälv, in Sweden, flows into the North sea at Göteborg. The derivation of Elbe from Alp is also to be found in Opitz’s *Schaefferey von der Nimpfen Hercinie* (1630). On the Alps, see also Opitz on 26.4. The hint at a future discussion may refer to the proposed *Dacia Antiqua*.

16. Today this is usually referred to as the *Chronica Thuringorum*; in the Pistorius edition it is entitled *Historia Erphesfordensis anonymi scriptoris de landgraviis Thuringiae*. Johann Pistorius (1546-1608), German historian. Pistorius’s anthology will also be Opitz’s source for Lampert of Hersfeld (whom both call Lampert of Aschaffenburg – cf. 34.5), Hermanus Contractus and Marianus Scotus.

18. Gottfried of Viterbo, 12th-century German historian; Johannes van Meurs (1579-1639), Dutch lexicographer. Goeli, a lyric poet from the Manesse manuscript, here cited from Goldast, *Para.* 430. Widukind of Corvey (10th century) wrote a *Saxon History*, which was published by Meibom in 1621. Hrosvit of Gandersheim (10th century), German Latin poet.

### 22

**Opitz**


### 23

**Annolied**

10. *eigen* – emend to *cigen* ⇒ *zergân*.

### Opitz

2. For *lirgua* read *lingua*. On the Magnificat see 4.2.

3. Opitz’s error stems from his reading of *virherit* (devastated) as two words.

11. The note makes more sense if we read the head-word as *Pitavium*, as in the *Annolied* text. Presumably the printer “corrected” unhelpfully. Claudius Aelianus (c.170-235), stoic Greek rhetorician.


17. Aethicus 230.8ff. On the Franks, see also the notes on 6.1.

20. As Opitz observes, Roman settlements named after the Emperor Ulpius Trajan were often associated with Troy in mediaeval popular etymology.
Two Roman towns with the same name, Colonia (Ulpia) Traiana, are discussed in the note, one situated near modern Xanten, North of Cologne, the second in Dacia, now Transylvania, which Opitz visited in 1622. As in the prologue, Opitz cites material which he has no doubt collected for the *Dacia Antiqua*.

The mutation of the Rhenish *Traiana* led to the association of Xanten itself with Troy, and indeed it is likely that the modern form of the name Xanten (originally called Ad Sanctos, because it was built around an early oratory) arose by interference from the river Xanthus, or Scamander, in Homer; though there is no river with a related name near Xanten. This is almost certainly the constellation which lies behind the *Annolied* passage. Opitz now lists other examples as parallels for this process: Troianopolis is in both Aethicus (181,2) and Ps-Aethicus; Colonia Traiana in Dacia has been mentioned; Prat de Traian (Romanian: "Trajan's Plain") is in neighbouring Walacia; the name of the river Apulus will be connected with the Roman Castra Apulum (Alba Julia).

On the Aethicus manuscripts, we might observe that there is a different form of reference in this note and in the previous one; in 23.17 we had *Histri Cosmographia* Ms, here Aethicus Ms; since Opitz apparently uses these terms to differentiate Aethicus (whom he calls "Hister") from Ps-Aethicus / Julius Honorius (whom he calls "Aethicus"), it would appear that the manuscript mentioned in this note is not his own "Hister" as described in 14.6a and must be that of Saumaise; this allows us to identify Saumaise's manuscript as Ps-Aethicus, a similar but not identical text to that of Simmler.

The book by Pighius (1520-1604) is a description of an Italian journey. The reference to Mussato (1261-1329) is to his *Historia Augusta*. Nüssler was a friend of Opitz from their schooldays. Interestingly, Opitz’s Dacian poem “Zlatna” (1622-3), which contains references to most of the Transylvanian localities mentioned in this note, was dedicated to him.

*V.A. = vir amplissimus.*

**25**

*Annolied*

7. *schiltrant* – actually rim of the shield, *pars pro toto*.

**Opitz**


**26**

*Annolied*

8. *genanter* ⇒ *geneden + er*.

Opitz’s Anno

Opitz
4a. Publius Papinius Statius (c.45-96 AD), Roman poet. The reference is to his *Thebaid*, 8.406-410; translation from the Mozely edition. Opitz may be using the edition by Lindenbrog.

27

Opitz
2. *Wigalois* from Goldast, *Para.* 408f; in the Kapteyn edition, the lines are 6063f & 5092. Pausanias was a 2nd-century Greek geographer.
3. This note is lifted more or less verbatim from Goldast’s *Para.* 377.

28

Annolied
12. (11 in the translation) See 1.14

Opitz

29

Annolied
5. *ein* “only”; *sun* is singular. Contrast Nellmann. Cf. 49.15.

Opitz
2. Correctly: *straf hinrich greue des vä stalbarch leve neue / van wernigrode...* The text, seven long lines with internal rhyme, accompanies an epitaph painting for Heinrich, last duke of Wernigerode before the succession passed to the Stolbergs, and is thus datable to 1429. The painting is still to be seen in the “Evangelische Stiftskirche St. Georgii und St. Sylvestri”, as is his grave-stone. Opitz visited Leipzig and Gotha in 1630, and could conceivably have passed through Wernigerode at that time.
4. Opitz means Ps-Aethicus, which he had in manuscript form from Saumaise; see 23.20 & 29.4 above. In fact, the form is not to be found in either Aethicus or Ps-Aethicus. It is, however, in the *Itinerary of Antony*, which Simmler edited in the same volume as Ps-Aethicus, and which may also have been in Saumaise’s manuscript. Likewise in 30.5b and 30.11a below.
7. for *Aprippina* read *Agrippina*
10. Opitz has taken *vorte* as *führte* rather than *fürchtete*, possibly influenced by the Tatitus quotation in the previous note; *deduco*, then, in its specific sense of “to colonize” (to “lead” settlers to a colony).
30

Annulled

18. or: “the grandeur of Rome enhanced it.”

Opitz

2. The Benevent inscription is from a memorial stone, the first six lines of a 14-line dedication; cf. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinorum IX, 1584. For P.P. in the fourth line read P.F. Expanded: “M(arco) Mario M(arci) F(ilio) / Stel(latina tribu) Titio Rufino / Co(n)s(uli) / Leg(ato) Leg(ioniis) I / Miner(vae) P(iae) F(idelis) / Cur(atori) Col(oniae) Claud(iae) Aug(ustae) / Agrippinensium.”

11a. Hildegard of Bingen (1098-1179), scholar and visionary.
11b. The citation is from the 2nd-century Lucius Annaeus Florus’ Epitome of Roman History 2.30.26. Though Opitz gives a different chapter number, the chapter does indeed deal with Drusus. But where Opitz has Bonna(m) & Mogontiacum, the modern edition has Borma(m) et Gesoriacum. Jacobo (or Giacomo) Filippo Foresti (1434-1520), who styled himself da Bergamo or Bergomas, wrote the Supplementum chronicarum in 1491.

13. Song of Zechariah from Tatian; cf. 4.2.


31

Annulled

4. dugint ⇔ tugent; besides its general sense of “personality trait” or “virtue”, this is also a title for angels of the second choir.

32

Opitz

3. Roman Emperor Justinian (reigned 527-65) instituted a recodification of Roman law. The “Novels” are his Novellae constitutiones.

7a. Gregory of Tours (c.538-594), Frankish historian.
7b. On Usuard, see under 5.12.

8. Cornelius Kilian (c.1530-1607), Dutch lexicographer. The Decretal on Holy Uction is the “Cum uenisset” of Innocent III, which dates from 1204 and deals with anointing by bishops of the Greek Church, an issue that became important after the creation of the “Latin Empire of Constantinople”. The Gloss on it may be that of Bernard of Parma (c.1250).

11. Der Marner from Goldast, Para. 426f.
33

Annoled

14. The translation assumes a comma after *is*. Alternatively, a comma after *Anno* allows *her* to be read as a pronoun: “St. Anno: shining is he, and good.” Rödiger emends to genitive *Annin*: “The light of St. Anno is noble and good.”

Opitz

16a. Williram on Canticles 5.12. The Latin shorthand system, known as Tironian Notes after Cicero’s secretary Marcus Tullius Tiro, was codified into a kind of shorthand dictionary, reputedly by Seneca. A version of this was published by Gruter in 1603.

34

Annoled

1. The final section of the poem, strophes 34–49, on the life of Anno.

Opitz

5. For his notes on the biography of Anno, Opitz uses the same two works which are our principal sources today: Lampert (or Lambert) von Hersfeld’s *Annals* (c.1078) and the *Vita Annonis* (before 1088). Lampert was ordained in Aschaffenburg in 1058, hence the less usual toponym which Opitz presumably has from the Pistorius edition; see 21.16 above.
15. The words *Paltz, Pfaltz* and *Pallenzgrefe* (printed in this edition in bold type) are in Fraktur in Opitz’s print. This is presumably to highlight the fact that they are German words in an otherwise Latin sentence, but it is inconsistent, as the convention is used no-where else in the volume. This seems to be a flight of fancy on the part of one of Hünefeld’s typesetters. On Hincmar, cf. 3.17 above.

35

Annoled

12. read *nichein bischof* as in Opitz’s note.

Opitz

7. for XLV. XLVI. read XLVI. XLVII.

38

Annoled

9. *gigerwa* ⇒ *gerwe*. 
40

**Annolied**

4. *virworrin* – or: divided in two.

**Opitz**

8. Kerlingen is that part of the Carolingian empire which fell to Charles the Bald after the treaty of Verdun (843), i.e. France; obviously, this is obscure for Opitz, who tips on the Austrian province of Kärnten (Carinthia).

15. The "Symbol" is Goldast's title for the OHG creed and confession which he publishes in *A.A.* II (see Baade 135). On the confession see 1.10 above.

41

**Annolied**

2. *irbaritimi* ⇒ *erbarn + im*.

8. For *weritlichim* read *weritlichim*

**Opitz**

1. The *Apologia pro Henrico IV* by Otto von Freising, a fragment from a life of Pope Hildebrand, was published by Goldast in 1611.

9. Hesychius glosses archaisms and dialect forms into his own 5th-century Greek, in this case the obscure άγαίνα (Opitz has misplaced the accent) with the more familiar άμοξο, "cart". The older form, particularly with the wrong accent, sounds a little like German *Wagen*.

42

**Opitz**

3. For XXII read XXIII; Bodmer & Breitinger add a reference to 43.8.

12. Heribert of Cologne (970-1021); Rupert of Deutz (c.1075-1129); German hagiologist Laurentius Surius (1522-1578).

16. For *geweiht* read *gemeiht*, as in the text.

43

**Annolied**

4. or: and they approached it (the throne) together.

**Opitz**


7. Opitz has mistaken MHG *wisen*, "to bid" for *wizzen*, "to know".

13. The Williram citation is from section 83G, on Canticles 5.6. Note that the Latin *sicuti est* is part of the quoted text, despite the italics. Apparently comparing the Merula edition with the manuscript he has from Flandrin,
Opitz's Anno

Opitz notes a textual variant. On this, see the Bartelmez edition, pp. 20 & 328: here again, Flandrin's manuscript corresponds to Breslau 347. Opitz now compares this passage with the corresponding lines in Williram's Latin verse, section 83L, and perceives a difference of emphasis, though they are not in fact so very different, and it is hard to see how his proposed emendation can improve the OHG text.

44
Opitz

5. Goldast, Para. 318.

45
Opitz

5. Otfred in Goldast Para. 394

46

Annolied

2. vogitman — liegeman of a vogit, a governor or representative placed in charge of a territory by his feudal superior. By establishing Arnold as vogit in verse 2, the poet prepares the way for the inversion in verse 7.
3. sculde — may mean debts, as is suggested by the version of the story in the Vita Annonis, but the adjective wertlich invites a specifically feudal interpretation.
7f. Volprecht chose the Devil as vogit in place of (or possibly to protect him from) Arnold.

Opitz

7. Reinmar from Goldast, Para. 358; Tirol, ibid 277.

47

Annolied

27. irquamin — preteritum ⇒ erkommen, "to take fright". Perhaps Opitz understands herkommen?

Opitz

48

Annolied

4. pighiti ⇒ bihte
9. (10 in the translation) sagin — preteritum ⇒ sehen.

Opitz

1. Williram, both phrases from 72G (on Canticles 4.16). On Merbort, see 8.12.
15. *ein* – best read as an adverb, perhaps with the sense “his sister of all people”, “ausgerechnet sie”; similarly in 29.5. The translation “one of his sisters” (Nellmann, Schultz) falls through the absence of a genitive plural form. From the mid-11th century, *selbis* is familiar as a non-inflecting adjective, but *sin* would normally take the strong declension in oblique cases. Furthermore, the *Anmolied* poet has a preferred word order for this construction, always placing *ein* after the noun; cf. *AL* 7.11, 42.11, 43.1. Besides, Moses only had one sister.

**Erratum**

Page 37 in Opitz’s pagination; refers to his note on 21.14.
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