

# **Opitz's Anno**

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

**R. Graeme Dunphy**

**Scottish Papers in Germanic Studies 11  
Glasgow 2003**

**First published in 2003 by**

**Scottish Papers in Germanic Studies**

**8Crawford Crescent**

**Uddingston**

**Glasgow**

**G71 7DP**

**Great Britain**

**Copyright © R. Graeme Dunphy**

**ISBN 0 907409 11 3**

## *Contents*

Preface	vii
Introduction	1
1. Anno II of Cologne	1
2. The <i>Annolied</i>	7
3. The edition of Martin Opitz	12
4. The present edition	25
Bibliography	28
1. <i>Annolied</i> editions	28
2. Literature consulted by Opitz	29
3. Primary literature in modern editions	30
4. Secondary literature	32
Text and Translation	34
Notes	158
Index	183

## *List of Illustrations*

Fig. 1 Anno with his five monasteries	3
Fig. 2 Title page of the 1639 edition	13
Fig. 3 Martin Opitz	14
Fig. 4 Pages 22/23 of the 1639 edition	21
Fig. 5 Pages 24/25 of the 1639 edition	22



**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, Anno 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 Breitingers'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 Breitingers'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 *Altgermanisten* of the 16<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> 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, Swidbertswerth, on the Rhine. Here on what was then an island, now a northern suburb of Düsseldorf, her late husband Henry III had raised a 7<sup>th</sup>-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 intriguer, Archbishop Anno. It was a formative moment in the life of the young king, and the climax of the career of an ecclesiastical prince.<sup>1</sup>

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

---

<sup>1</sup> For general background, see Georg Jenal, *Erzbischof Anno II von Köln (1056-75) und sein politisches Wirken*, Stuttgart 1974-5; Ernst Wies, *Kaiser Heinrich IV: Canossa und der Kampf um die Weltherrschaft* Munich & Esslingen 1996; Frederick Wilhelm Oediger, *Das Bistum Köln von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts*, Cologne<sup>2</sup> 1972; Franz-Reiner Erkens, *Der Erzbischof von Köln und die deutsche Königswahl*, Siegburg 1987; *Monumenta Annonis: Köln und Siegburg. Weltbild und Kunst im hohen Mittelalter*, Cologne 1975; Hugo Stehkämper, *Köln, das Reich und Europa*, Cologne 1971; Eduard Hegel (ed.), *Geschichte des Erzbistums Köln*, vol 1, Cologne 1964.

he was called by the Emperor Henry III to the court chapel, an appointment possibly linked to a sinecure in Goslar, and the 4<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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 11<sup>th</sup> 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

<sup>2</sup> 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 Siegburg, 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 Annonis 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.<sup>3</sup> 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

<sup>3</sup> Joan A. Holladay, "Cologne, Art", in: John Jeep (ed.) *Medieval Germany: An Encyclopedia*, New York & London 2001.

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 Archbishopric of Trier in 1066, but on 1<sup>st</sup> 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 20<sup>th</sup> 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 (20<sup>th</sup> 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 high-handed 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 4<sup>th</sup> 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<sup>4</sup> – 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

<sup>4</sup> 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 4<sup>th</sup> December, the anniversary of his death, but was changed to 5<sup>th</sup> December in 1963. Devotional writings associated with his cult are known from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>5</sup> 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".<sup>6</sup>

## 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*.<sup>7</sup> It is no co-incidence 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.

<sup>5</sup> Mauritius Mittler, "Drei Zeugnisse für barocke Annoverehrung", in: Gabriel Busch (ed.), *Sankt Anno und seine viel liebe Stadt: Beiträge zum 900jährigen Jubiläum*, Siegburg 1975, pp. 561-576.

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

<sup>7</sup> There are two citable editions: Max Roediger, *Das Annolied*, in: *Momumenta 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<sup>8</sup> 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.<sup>9</sup> 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<sup>10</sup>) 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 33<sup>rd</sup> strophe specifically associates the sacred numbers 7 and 33 with Anno's investiture.<sup>11</sup> 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 *Kaiserchronik* (c. 1150) and continues into the 15<sup>th</sup> 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

<sup>8</sup> 878 in Roediger's edition.

<sup>9</sup> 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 *paraphrafi*) are too mundane, *canto* too idiosyncratic. *Section* is not available, as we use it for the three larger subdivisions of the poem.

<sup>10</sup> Max Ittenbach, “Aus der Frühzeit rheinischer Dichtung: Das Annolied”, *Dichtung und Volkstum (Euphorion)* 39 (1938) 17-28.

<sup>11</sup> 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<sup>2</sup>) strophes, of which 16 (4<sup>2</sup>) 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 11<sup>th</sup> 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 *Anno* 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.<sup>12</sup>

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.<sup>13</sup> Thus the priority which

<sup>12</sup> 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.

<sup>13</sup> 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: *Diutischemi 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 11<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup> He was followed in 1639 by Martin Opitz, whose *editio princeps* will be discussed shortly.<sup>15</sup> 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, and Vulcanius providing a useful point of control for one section of the text, with 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.<sup>16</sup> 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 14<sup>th</sup> century. However, more light can be shed on this thanks to a record from the 15<sup>th</sup> 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

<sup>14</sup> 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.

<sup>15</sup> Martin Opitz, *Incerti poetae teutonici rhythmus de Sancto Annone Colon. Archiepiscopo ante D aut ci[r]citer annos conscriptus*, Danzig 1639.

<sup>16</sup> Müller, *Vom Annolied zur Kaiserchronik*, provides a fascinating account of the 19<sup>th</sup>-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.<sup>17</sup> 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.<sup>18</sup> 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 11<sup>th</sup>-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 *Leithandschrift*. A comparison with Opitz's readings shows that Flandrin's manuscript was either identical to, or a close copy of this.<sup>19</sup> 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).<sup>20</sup> It was an unassuming little

<sup>17</sup> See Roediger's "Einleitung", p. 63f.

<sup>18</sup> 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 11<sup>th</sup> century, presumably because the identity with Breslau MS. 347 is assumed.

<sup>19</sup> See Opitz under *AL* 1.5 and 43.13, and my notes on these.

<sup>20</sup> 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.

*INCERTI*  
**POETÆ TEVTONICI**  
**RHYTHMVS**  
**DE SANCTO ANNONE**  
**COLON. ARCHIEPISCOPO**  
**ANTE L. AVT CÍCITER**

*annus conscriptus.*

**MARTINVS OPITIVS**  
 primus ex membrana  
*veteri editus.*

Et *Animadversionibus*  
*illustravit.*



**DANTISCI,**  
**Ex Officina Andr. Hünfeldii,**  
 cl<sup>o</sup> l<sup>o</sup>c<sup>o</sup> xixix.  
 CPM PRIVILEGIO REGIS.

*Lit. Germ. elegant.*

*Poet.*

*Rhythm.*

*p. 485.*

Fig. 2. Title page of the 1639 edition. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München.



Fig. 3. Martin Opitz. Illustration from: Kaspar Gottlieb Lindern, *Umständliche Nachricht von des weltberühmten Schlesiens, Martin Opitz von Boberfeld, Leben, Tode und Schriften ...*, Hirschberg 1740. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München.

volume of 80-odd pages measuring just 9x14 cm, not quite the size of a modern Reclam volume<sup>21</sup>; 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 Vulcanius 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.<sup>22</sup> Presumably it was still in his hands when he penned his dedicatory epistle on 12<sup>th</sup> 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 20<sup>th</sup> 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 *Anno* 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.<sup>23</sup> 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 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, for the last time by Bodmer and Breitingger in their abortive attempt at a complete works of Opitz in 1745.<sup>24</sup> 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 *Anno*. Precisely for this reason, however, they are important as a witness to the first tentative beginnings of

<sup>21</sup> The numbered pages run from 1-66 and contain the *Anno* 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.

<sup>22</sup> Ulmer, Bernhard, *Martin Opitz*, New York, 1971, p.36.

<sup>23</sup> W. Bulst, *Das Anno-Lied. Hrsg. von Martin Opitz*, Heidelberg 1946.

<sup>24</sup> Johann Jakob Bodmer & Johann Jakob Breitingger, *Martin Opitzens von Boberfeld Gedichte*, Zürich 1745, pp.155-350. Bodmer and Breitingger furnished the edition with a "Historisch-Critischer Vorbericht".

*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,<sup>25</sup> 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 Bunzlau, 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 *Fruchtbringende 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 17<sup>th</sup>-century academia, most significantly for the present purposes Melchior Goldast and Claude Saumaise. It is striking that in his edition of the *Anno* 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

<sup>25</sup> Particularly Szyrocki, also the first chapter of Ulmer.



the *Anno*lied, Bodmer and Breitinger speak of the *editio princeps* as Opitz's *opus emortuale*.<sup>26</sup> We therefore can no more read the *Anno*lied 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*<sup>27</sup>) in which he mentions his editorial work on the *Anno*lied. The first of these, dated 10<sup>th</sup> March 1639, anticipates the imminent publication, and the second, dated 7<sup>th</sup> August (less than a fortnight before his death) accompanies a complemented 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 abschiffung der Hamburger auß diesem hafen folgen; sampt einem schönen geticht so ein deutscher Poët von 500. jharen vndt drüber Zue gedechtniß des Cöllnischen Ertzbischoffs Anno auffgesetzt, bey welchem der Nährende viel wörter der alten Francken, Sachsen vndt in gemein gantz Deutschlands erkläret auß solchen schrifftten vndt gedechtnissen, die in das gemein nicht bekandt auch theils niemals noch an das liecht kommen sindt. Vndt wirdt hoffentlich der Nährende es sonderlich mitt gnädigen augen ansehen, alldieweil Ihm die art vndt lebhaftigkeit welche in der Vorfahren büchern Zue finden, iledesmal gefallen vndt beliebt hatt.<sup>28</sup>

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 beygefügt, ingleichen der Reim von Ertzbischoff Annen; bei dem der Nährende ihm die Außlegung hoffentlich darumb wirdt gnädiglich gefallen laßen, daß viel wörter der alten mutersprache auß schrifftten herfürgesucht worden, so entweder vnbekandt, oder auch noch vngedruckt sindt. In Holland vndt Britannien sindt etzliche gelehrte leute, von denen ich die hoffnung geschöpfft, daß sie noch ältere

<sup>26</sup> Bodmer and Breitinger, p.157.

<sup>27</sup> All members of the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* had an honorary title. Opitz was *Der Gekrönte* (the Crowned One), Ludwig *Der Nährende* (the Provider).

<sup>28</sup> "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 liveness 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 Zweiffele ich nicht, der Nährende köndte bey den h. Gesellschafftern, die sich allerseits in Deutschland befinden, durch sein ansehen vndt begehren hierinnen alles thun, wann es seine höhere sorgen Zueließen.<sup>29</sup>

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

<sup>29</sup> "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 *Fruchtbringende 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 *Annolied* 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.<sup>30</sup> But the *Annolied* 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 17<sup>th</sup> century as much as in the 11<sup>th</sup>, German patriotism was a complex and elusive phenomenon. Germany as such did not exist, and whereas the 19<sup>th</sup>-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 *Annolied'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 7<sup>th</sup> August 1639 that the members of the society might be inspired by his *Annolied* 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

<sup>30</sup> Whitesell p.21.

die Cyrus antz Darius Genuzin Chaldaisch  
 hus: Die zwene riche Künige: Si eystertis  
 Babilonis.

Cyrus] Cyrus imperium Medorum subvertisse, &  
 ad Persiarumtulisse, facti notum est, vt & Darii bu-  
 stori-  
 bus] pro regno vel imperio. Videtur tamen de Be-  
 bylonia intelligendum, quam Cyrus debellavit.

## XIV.

**D**As dritte dier was ein lebrute, Vier erbe-  
 vedertich her beruste; Der beechinote  
 den Orieschischen Alexanderin, Der mit vier  
 bern vñ spitz lantzin. Vnz her der werlt ein-  
 de di guldintn solis bitante. In India her die  
 wußt durchbrach. Mit zwein boumen her sich  
 als gesprach. Mit zwein grifen für her so  
 hieften. In eimo glase liezer sich in den se. Die  
 wunsch sus ungestraue man. Die Kestinnin  
 in dez meri vrom. Si quadin obi da wolle  
 siben wunter. So wulz icmir in demo gruntes.  
 Die sach her vure sich vlezin manigin vife  
 gezin, Half vife holf man. Daz dazbt an  
 wñ herte vrefsam.

ein viderich] aquilina abt. n. xlv. Aquila, Belg-  
 erant; Aug. erant. Germ. adler, à Gr. ἀετς. vnde  
 rich; als. Glossz Lipßi: Febreraco, Alkrum. Inde  
 Fures nostrum.

offer lantzin] Per prouincias & regna.  
 Si guldin solis] De termino expeditionis. à  
 vicinarum Alexandri Magi acturatum, vt solent  
 dispu-

## B 4

sili mare] celeberrimi. Vide sup. n. vl.  
 heritiz] vertheeren. Vid. & n. N.

## XI.

**I**N den cidin iz gesach Als der wise Danibel  
 Gesprach. Dñ her sin vrome segit wi her  
 gefin beruste Viere wunde dir werite In  
 dem mitchilin meri vebunde. Vnz sz dem  
 merrgingin vreislich dieri vieri. Viere  
 winde bzeichnenit vier engle. Die plegint  
 werlt allere; Die dier vier Küninriche Die  
 diu werlt soldin al ambegrißen.

In den cidin] Daniel. cap. vii.  
 In dem mitchilin meri] Sic ad verbum: in mari magno.  
 vreislicher dieri vieri] Beside terribiles. Schreckliche.  
 Germani Inferiores: Presz, Praszen, Preslich, à Gr.  
 φεζεν.

## XII.

**D**iz eristi dier was ein lewin. Si beruste  
 mennischlichen sin, Duz beechenit vns  
 alle Künige Die der warin warin in Babilo-  
 nis, Dere erapht ant ire wihelt Gidaden ire  
 riche vñ breiht.

Si beruste mennischlichen sin] Terribus: Et saepe pedes  
 quasi homo flectit; Et cor eius durum est ei.  
 gidaden] faciebant: à Thew.

## XIII.

**D**az ander dier was ein beri wilde, her  
 bewide drivale zeinde, Her eibrach al  
 doz her anegam, Vnt citrat iz vndir sinin  
 elavin. Der bizetehunte driu Küninriche  
 Duz eifamine al bigendin grifin, Bz den cidin





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. 17<sup>th</sup>-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*] Helden"; more often, however, a word is glossed only in Latin: "*dikke*] sæpè". 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.<sup>32</sup> This is unlikely, however: the classics were such a basic part of 17<sup>th</sup>-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 *Annelied*-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 17<sup>th</sup> 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,<sup>33</sup> 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

<sup>32</sup> Whitesell p. 18.

<sup>33</sup> 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.<sup>34</sup> 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 Hünefeld publishing house. This was a perennial problem for authors, and in an earlier letter to Prince Ludwig, dated 25<sup>th</sup> June 1638, Opitz had expressed his irritation at misprints in his Psalter.<sup>35</sup> An obvious example appears in the short title of the book which Hünefeld 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 Hünefeld'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 *Annelied*, 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

<sup>34</sup> See Anne Baade, *Melchior Goldast von Haiminsfeld: Collector, Commentator, and Editor*, New York, Berlin etc, 1992; Bernhard Hertenstein, *Joachim von Watt (Vadianus), Bartholomäus Schobinger, Melchior Goldast: Die Beschäftigung mit dem Althochdeutschen von St. Gallen in Humanismus und Frühbarock*, Berlin & New York 1975.

<sup>35</sup> Ebeling p. 198.



Opitz's error or Hünefeld'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 *bestén* reflects the influence of modern German, in which case *bistén* may be the original form. Similarly, *bekernin* in 8.1 is given as *bikernin* 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.<sup>36</sup> 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 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 11<sup>th</sup> and the 17<sup>th</sup> 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 *Annotied* 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, Hünefeld'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 Hünefeld 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 Breitingen edition, though its spelling and

<sup>36</sup> See my note on *AL* 1.8.

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 Hünefeld 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: [¶ Ø]. 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.<sup>37</sup>

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.

<sup>37</sup> Salone Solf, "Das Annolied: Textübertragung, Interpretation und kritischer Bericht zum Forschungsstand", in: Busch, *Sankt Anno*, pp. 230-330. The article contains reproductions of Opitz's title page and of his pages 64 and 65, all enlarged.

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 *Anmolied* 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 *Anmolied*, 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 *Anmolied* would require an annotated edition of his commentary.<sup>38</sup> 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.

---

<sup>38</sup> Hellgardt, p. 60.

## Select annotated Bibliography

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

### 1. Annotlied editions

(Complete to 1750 and the most useful modern ones, arranged chronologically.)

- Vulcanius, Bonaventura**, *De Literis et Lingua Getarum sive Gothorum*, Leiden 1597, pp. 61-64. [Sample text, Strophes 2.1-5.4. Important as a witness to a different manuscript. Reprinted 1618.]
- Opitz, Martin**, *Incerti Poetae Teutonici Rhythmus de Sancto Annone Colon. Archiepiscopo ante D aut ci[r]citer annos conscriptus*, Danzig 1639. [Editio princeps.]
- Fellgibel, Jesaias**, *Des berühmten Schlesiens Martini Opitii von Boberfeld, Bolesl. Opera Geist- und Weltlicher Gedichte*, Breslau 1689?, 1690. [A second edition of Opitz, with corrections, two print runs, the first undated.]
- Schilter, Johann & Scherz, Johann Georg**, *Poetae Anonymi Teutonici Rhythmus de S. Annone archi-Episcopo Coloniensi à Martino Opitio ex Membrana Veteris Bibliothecae Rhedigerianae Vratislaviensis primus editus et notis illustratus*, in: *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Teutonicorum*, vol 1, Ulm 1726-28. [Fellgiebel edition with parallel Latin translation of the MHG text, Opitz's commentary now arranged as footnotes at the bottom of the pages, numbered 1-58. The edition appears at the back of this volume, but the page numbering begins anew with 1 at the beginning of the *Annotlied*.]
- Bodmer, Johann Jakob, & Breitinger, Johann Jakob**, *Martin Opitzens von Boberfeld Gedichte*, Zürich 1745, pp.155-350. [Places Opitz's Latin notes at the end of the text and replaces them with new notes in German.]
- Roediger, Max**, *Das Annotlied* (MGH Deutsche Chroniken 1.2), Hanover 1895, 63-132. [Critical edition with glossary.]
- Bulst, W.**, *Das Anno-Lied. Hrsg. von Martin Opitz*, Heidelberg 1946. [Most recent of a number of more or less diplomatic reprints of Opitz, but laid out in verses and without Opitz's notes.]
- Maurer, Friedrich**, *Die religiösen Dichtungen des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 2, Tübingen 1965, pp.2-45. [Diplomatic reproduction of Opitz's MHG text with parallel normalised version laid out in long lines.]
- Nellmann, Eberhard**, *Das Annotlied*, Stuttgart 1975. [Reclam study edition based loosely on Bulst with parallel translation into modern German and extensive notes.]

Schultz, James A., *Sovereignty and Salvation in the Vernacular, 1050-1150*, Kalamazoo 2000, pp.56-103. [Nellmann's text with parallel English translation.]

## 2. Literature consulted by Opitz

(Including texts discussed in the notes to the present edition as indirect sources for Opitz. Names are listed in the most familiar forms, not necessarily that on the title page of the works concerned.)

- Barth, Caspar von, *Adversaria commentaria libri sexaginta*, Frankfurt 1624.
- Bertius, Petrus, *Commentarii rerum germanicorum libri tres*, Amsterdam 1616.
- Canis, Heinrich, *Antiquae Lectiones* (6 vols), Ingolstadt 1601-4.
- Chesne, André du, *Historiae Francorum Scriptores coetanei, Ab ipsius Gentis Origine, Ad Pipinum Usque Regum* (5 vols), Paris 1639-49.
- Clüver, Philipp, *Italia antiqua*, Amsterdam 1603.
- Clüver, Philipp, *Germania antiqua libri tres*, Leiden 1616. [Reprinted 1631.]
- Cromer, Martin, *De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum libri XXX*, Basel 1558.
- Freher, Marquard, *Germanicarum rerum scriptores*, Frankfurt & Hanau, 1600-1611.
- Gasser, Achilles P., *Otfridi Evangeliorum Liber. Evangelienbuch in altfränkischen reimen durch Otfriden von Weissenburg, Münch zu S. Gallen, vor sibenhundert jaren beschrieben*, Basel 1571.
- Goldast, Melchior, *Alamannicarum rerum scriptores aliquot vetusti*, Frankfurt 1606.
- Goldast, Melchior, *Paraeneticorum veterum Pars I*, Lindau 1604.
- Gruter, Janus, *Inscriptiones Antiquae totius orbis Romani, in Corpus Absolutissimum redactae. Inscriptionum Antiquarum Appendix, una cum XXIV Indicibus* [by J. J. Scaliger] *Accedunt Notae veterum Romanorum A. Senecae ac Tironis, Nunquam ante hoc editae*, Heidelberg 1602-3.
- Kilian, Cornelius, *Dictionarium teutonico-latinum*, Antwerp 1588.
- Lambarde, William, *Archaionomia sivi de priscis anglorum legibus libri*, London 1568.
- Lazius, Wolfgang, *De gentium aliquot migrationibus, sedibus fixis, reliquiis linguarumque inittis et immutationibus ac dialectis libri XII*, Basel 1557. [Reprints 1572, 1600.]
- Lazius, Wolfgang, *Commentariorvm Reipub. Romanae illius, in exteris prouincijs, bello acquisitis, constitutae, libri duodecim*, Basel 1551.

- Lindembrog, Friedrich**, *Codex legum antiquarum*, Frankfurt 1613.
- Lipsius, Justus**, *Iusti Lipsii Epistolarum selectarum centuria III ad Belgas*, Antwerp 1602.
- Meibom, Heinrich**, *Leveldi a Northof Origines Marcanæ sive chronica comitum de Marka et de Altena ....*, Hanover 1613.
- Meurs, Johannes van**, *Glossarium Graecobarbarum*, Leiden 1610.
- Merula, Paul (ed.)**, *Willerami Abbatis in Cantica Canticorum Paraphrases Gemina*, Leiden 1598.
- Pighius, Stefan**, *Hercules Prodicus seu principis iuventulis vita et peregrinatio*, Cologne 1605.
- Pistorius, Johann**, *Rerum Germanicarum veteres iam primum publicati scriptores VI*, Frankfurt 1607.
- Pontanus, Johann Isaak**, *Originum Franciarum libri VI*, Harderwijk 1616.
- Saumaise, Claude**, *C. Salmasii Plinianæ exercitationes in C. Julii Solini Polyhistora*, 1629.
- Saumaise, Claude**, *Historiae Augustae Scriptores VI*, Paris, 1620.
- Spelman, Henry**, *Archaeologus*, London 1626.
- Simmler, Josias**, *Aethici cosmographia. Antonii Augusti itinerarium provinciarum. Ex bibliotheca P. Pithoei. Cum scholiis I. S. Basel 1575;*
- Thomas, Hubertus**, *De Tungris et Eburonis*, Strasbourg 1541.
- Watt, Joachim von (Vadianus)**, *Faragine antiqq*, in vol 3 of Goldast's *Alamannicarum rerum*.

### 3. Primary literature in modern editions

- Adam of Bremen**: Bernhard Schmeidler (ed.), *Adamus Bremensis, Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte* (MGH *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi* 2), Hanover 1917 [reprinted 1993].
- Aethicus (Opitz's "Hister")**: Heinrich Wuttke (ed.), *Die Kosmographie des Istrier Aithikos*, Leipzig 1853. Otto Prinz (ed.), *Die Kosmographie des Aethicus* (MGH *Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters* 14) Munich 1993.
- Eckenlied**: Francis B. Brévert (ed.), *Das Eckenlied: sämtliche Fassungen* Tübingen 1999.
- Epistola ad Aristotelem**: Michael Feldbusch, (ed.), *Der Brief Alexanders an Aristoteles über die Wunder Indiens: Synoptische Edition*, Meisenheim am Glan, 1976.
- Flavius Josephus**: Franz Blatt (ed.), *The Latin Josephus*, Copenhagen 1958- .
- Florus, Lucius Annaeus**: Edward S. Forster (ed.), *Epitome Rerum Romanorum* (Loeb), London 1929.

- Friedrich von Hausen:** Hugo Moser, & Helmut Tervooren, *Des Minnesangs Frühling*, Stuttgart <sup>38</sup>1988, 73-96.
- Fuldaer Beichte:** Elias von Steinmeyer (ed.), *Die kleineren althochdeutschen Sprachdenkmäler*, Berlin 1916, 327-9.
- Gothic Bible:** Wilhelm Streitberg (ed.), *Die gotische Bibel*, Heidelberg 1908.
- Herodotus:** A. D. Godley (ed. tr.), *Histories* (Loeb, 4 vols), London 1920-24.
- Isidore of Seville:** Wallace Lindsay (ed.), *Hispalensis episcopi etymologiarum sive originum libri xx*, Oxford 1911.
- Julius Honorius (Ps-Aethicus):** Alexander Riese (ed.), *Geographi Latini Minores*, Heilbronn 1878 [Reprinted Hildesheim 1964], 24-55.
- König Tirol:** Albert Leitzmann & Ingo Reiffenstein (ed.), *Winsbeckische Gedichte nebst Tirol und Fridebrant*, Tübingen <sup>3</sup>1962.
- Levold von Northof:** Zschaeck, Fritz (ed.), *Levoldi de Northof Chronica comitum de Marka* (MGH *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, Nova series 6) Berlin 1929. [Reprinted 1984]
- Lipsius' Glosses:** Willem Lodewijk van Helten (ed.), *Die altostniederfränkischen Psalmenfragmente, die Lipsius'schen Glossen und die altsüdmittelfränkischen Psalmenfragmente*, Groningen 1902.
- Livy:** B. O. Foster, F. G. Moore, Evan T. Sage, A. C. Schlesinger, & R. M. Geer (ed. tr.), *Titus Livius, Ab urbe condita* (Loeb, 14 vols), London 1919-59.
- Lucan:** J.D.Duff (ed.), *Marcus Annaeus Lucanus, Pharsalia* (Loeb), London 1928.
- Otfrid von Weißenburg:** Oskar Erdmann & Ludwig Wolff (ed), *Otfrids Evangelienburch*, Tübingen <sup>6</sup>1973. Gisela Vollmann-Profe (ed. tr.), *Otfrid von Weißenburg, Evangelienbuch (Auswahl)*, Stuttgart 1987.
- Otto von Freising:** Adolf Hofmeister (ed.), *Ottonis episcopi Frisingensis Chronica sive Historia de duabus civitatibus* (MGH *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi* 45) 1912; Walther Lammers & Adolf Schmidt (ed. tr.), *Chronik, oder, Die Geschichte der zwei Staaten*, Darmstadt 1961.
- Statius:** J. H. Mozely, *Statius*, (Loeb, 2 vols.), London 1938.
- Virgil:** R.A.B.Mynors, *P. Vergili Maronis Opera*, Oxford <sup>5</sup>1980.
- Vita Annonis:** R. Koepke, (ed.), *Vita Annonis archiepiscopi Coloniensis*, in: Georg Heinrich Pertz (ed.), *Historiae aevi Salici* (MGH *Scriptores in folio* 11, 462-513) 1854.
- Walther von der Vogelweide:** Christoph Corneau, et. al. (ed.), *Walther von der Vogelweide: Leich, Lieder, Sangsprüche*, Berlin & New York, 1996.
- Williram von Ebersberg:** Erminnie H. Bartelmez (ed.), *The "expositio in cantica canticorum" of William Abbot of Ebersberg*, Philadelphia 1967.

- Winsbecke:** Albert Leitzmann & Ingo Reiffenstein (ed.), *Winsbeckische Gedichte nebst Tirol und Fridebrant*, Tübingen<sup>3</sup> 1962.
- Wirnt von Gravenberg:** J.M.Kapteyn (ed.), *Wigalois*, Bonn 1926.

#### 4. Secondary literature

(Fuller bibliographies of *Annolied* scholarship are included in the Nellmann edition and in the larger studies such as Knab, Müller.)

- Baade, Anne,** *Melchoir Goldast von Haiminsfeld: Collector, Commentator, and Editor*, New York, Berlin etc, 1992.
- Brunner, Horst,** *Die alten Meister: Studien zu Überlieferung und Rezeption der mittelhochdeutschen Sangspruchdichter im Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, Munich 1975.
- Busch, G (ed.),** *Sankt Anno und seine viel liebe statt: Beiträge zum 900jährigen Jubiläum*, 1975. [Article by Solf includes good photographic reproductions from Opitz' edition.]
- Dunphy, Graeme,** "Martin Opitz und die mittelalterlichen Alexander-geschichten: Wissenschaft und Polemik in der *editio princeps* des *Annoliedes*", *Daphnis*, in print. [On Opitz's discussion of strophes 14 & 15.]
- Ebeling, Friedrich W.,** "Sechs ungedruckte Briefe von Martin Opitz", *Weimarisches Jahrbuch für deutsche Sprache Literatur und Kunst 2* (1855) 193-205. [Prints two letters in which Opitz discusses his *Annolied* project and one in which Robertin refers to it.]
- Haverkamp, Anselm,** *Typik und Politik im Annolied. Zum Konflikt der Interpretationen im Mittelalter*, Stuttgart 1979.
- Hellgardt, Ernst,** "Die Rezeption des Annoliedes bei Martin Opitz", in: Peter Wapnewski (ed.), *Mittelalter-Rezeption: Ein Symposium*, Stuttgart 1986, 60-79. [Concentrates on identifying programmatic elements especially in Opitz's dedication and prologue.]
- Hertenstein, Bernhard,** *Joachim von Watt (Vadianus), Bartholomäus Schobinger, Melchior Goldast: Die Beschäftigung mit dem Althochdeutschen von St. Gallen in Humanismus und Frühbarock*, Berlin & New York 1975.
- Ittenbach, Max,** "Aus der Frühzeit rheinischer Dichtung: Das Annolied", *Euphorion* 39 (1938).
- Jenal, Georg,** *Erzbischof Anno II von Köln (1056-75) und sein politisches Wirken*, Stuttgart 1974-5. [The most comprehensive recent study on the historical Anno.]
- Knab, Doris,** *Das Annolied: Probleme seiner literarischer Einordnung*, Tübingen 1962. [Addresses historiography and the question of genre.]



- Lindnern, Kaspar Gottlieb, *Umständliche Nachricht von des weltberühmten Schlesiens, Martin Opitz von Boberfeld, Leben, Tode und Schriften, nebst einigen alten und neuen Lobgedichte auf ihn*. I Hirschberg 1740.
- Löschin, Gotthilf, *Die Bürgermeister, Ratsherren und Schoppen des Danziger Freistaates und die Patricierfamilien, denen sie angehörigen*, Danzig 1868, reprint Hamburg 1974. [For the biography of Czirenberg.]
- Müller, Stephan, *Vom Annolied zur Kaiserchronik: Zu text- und Forschungsgeschichte einer verlorenen deutschen Reimchronik*, Heidelberg 1999. [Interesting on the history of *Annolied* scholarship in the 19<sup>th</sup> century but controversial on the stages of the poem's composition. Reviewed: Dunphy, *Modern Languages Review*.]
- Ohly, Friedrich, *Sage und Legende in der Kaiserchronik*, 1940. [The most influential single work of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, established a consensus on the relationship of *Annolied* and *Kaiserchronik*.]
- Schulz-Behrend, George (ed.), *Martin Opitz, Gesammelte Werke: kritische Ausgabe*, Stuttgart 1968- .
- Schwarz, Eberhard, "Neue Überlegungen zur Entstehung des Annoliedes", *Wirkendes Wort* 40 (1990) 304-23.
- Spahr, Blake Lee, "Opitz an Salmasius: Ein unbekannter Brief", *Jahrbuch der deutschen Schillergesellschaft* 15 (1971) 24-35. [Relevant especially to the Aethicus question.]
- Szyrocki, Marian, *Martin Opitz*, Berlin 1956.
- Thurlow, P.A., "Augustine's City of God, Pagan History and the Unity of the Annolied", *Reading Medieval Studies* 6 (1980) 44-67.
- Ulmer, Bernhard, *Martin Opitz*, New York, 1971. [Brief survey in English.]
- Whitesell, Frederick R., "Martin Opitz' Edition of the Annolied", *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 43 (1944) 16-22. [First attempt to study Opitz' sources.]
- Wies, Ernst W., *Kaiser Heinrich IV*, Munich & Esslingen 1996. [General introduction to the power struggles of the 11<sup>th</sup> century.]
- Zarncke, Friedrich, "Zum Annoliede", *Berichte der Königlichen Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig* 1887, 283-305.
- Zimmermann, Manfred (ed.), *Melchior Goldast von Haiminsfeld, Paraeneticorum veterum pars I (1604)*, Göppingen 1980. [Photographic reprint of the Tyrol and Winsbecke sections of Goldast's book.]

*INCERTI*  
POETÆ TEVTONICI  
**RHYTHMVS**  
DE SANCTO ANNONE  
COLON. ARCHIEPISCOPO  
*ANTE 12 AVT CICITER*  
*annos conscriptus.*  
MARTINVS OPITIVS  
primus ex membrana  
veteri edidit  
& *Animadversionibus*  
*illustravit.*

DANTISCI,  
Ex Officina Andr. Hünefeldii,  
c13 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.*

*MAGNIFICO NOBILIS-  
SIMOQVE VIRO*  
**IOH. CIRENBERGIO**  
SENATVS GEDANENSIS  
PRÆSIDI.

**Q**uod exteris omnibus tuam opem quærentibus præstare soles, Vir Nobilissime, vt benigne susceptis illam vitro exhibeas: idem petere nunc audeo, non pro me, cui iam dudum quidvis concessisti, sed pro uno priscae Teutoniae cive, qui dura exilii mala, situm, squalorem ac contemptum, carcerem immo longum passus ad te confugit, à tuo splendore lucem, à patrocinio salutem recepturus. Iacuit quippe libellus iste ab aliquot seculis abiectus, extorris & ignotus; neque illum asserere publico dignati sunt vel Agrippinenses quorum Antistitem optimum celebrat, vel Germani omnes, quorum prisca sermonis qualiscunque, rara certe, particula est. Debebam spectatissimo nomini Tuo dicare maiora: sed & huic opusculo pretium conciliabit semper & ubique veneranda iure antiqui- [¶ Ø] tas. Nam ut senectus, qualem benignum Numen tam florentem tibi ac vegetam largitur, auctoritatem ætatibus 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 & iudicio suo relinquenti: sed tu cum literas omnes ipse literatissimus diligis, tum istas præcipue amas, quæ humaniores ipsæ vocantur & nos faciunt. Hanc inscriptionis meæ causam dixisse nunc solam sufficiat: nam cæteras adducere si velim, tam numerosa est gloria tua, ut librum mereatur non præfationem. Testes sententiæ huius meæ producendi si essent, vel Patriam advocarem, amplissimam hanc & ornatissimam, quæ cum non alio sæpius quam ore tuo Regibus potentissimis, Proceribus Regni atque adeo domi forisque locuta sit, vno vicissim ore omniumque Ordinum decreto ob custoditam diligentissime rempublicam, ob eximium in cives amorem, ob singularem abstinentiam ac industriam, ob curam denique & sollicitudinem consularem, non [¶ Ø] aliud tibi quam Parentis Publici nomen læta libensque tribueret. Ad idem testimonium accederent viri toga & sago vbique locorum maximi, qui columnen te ac ornamentum urbis cui præfides consensu fatentur præclarissimo. Adestet populus exulum, tot viduæ, tot pupilli, tot sacerdotes, tot, qua pietate adversus Deum es, templa ipsa, quibus omnibus solatium apud te & auxilium hucusque fuit repositum. Sed neque tango constantiam in utraque fortuna, mansuetudinem, 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 domesticæ 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: sed ut verba excedit qua me prosequeris benevolentia, ita, licet illud in scribendo beatissimum, quod ad scribendum necessitate non cogor, Dei Regisque beneficiis affectus videar, aut ingratus tamen vivere, aut me plurimum tibi debere scribendi quadam lege testari cogor. Gedani, IV Id. Quintil. Ann. M.DC.XXXIX.

¶ Ø

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

**S**I prioribus libris suis contineri Livius fatetur res cum vetustate nimia obscuras, veluti quæ magno ex intervallo loci vix cernantur; tum quod raræ per eadem tempora literæ fuerint, una custodia fidelis, memoriæ rerum gestarum: apud nos Germanos nulla ultimæ vetustatis monumenta sermone nostro reperiri, minus admiratione eget, qui & serius ad literas accessimus, & postquam accessimus, Latine ut plurimum balbutire maluimus, quam nostris verbis quæ consignanda erant excipere. Ideo quamvis linguam Teutonicam per amplissima terrarum spatia, populosque plurimos uno Celtarum nomine comprehensos primo, diffusam, perpetua serie ad ævum usque nostrum translata esse certissimum sit: origines tamen vocabulorum plurimas, imo vocabula ipsa non pauca, aut amissa essa, aut ita mutata, ut nostra priscis dissimilia prorsus videantur, cum ea quæ post receptam religionem Christianam (alia enim vix reperire est) in literas relata sunt, aperte demonstrant, tum argumentis ostendi potest plurimis. Thracicas ¶ Ø plerasque gentes, barbaras Græcis finitimis aut cohabitantibus, Celticæ originis fuisse, nemo doctiorum ignorat. Earum aut similis notæ vocabula non pauca cum Pollux, Suidas, Etymologus aliique, literatorum imprimis eruditissimus Hesychius, recensent, quis nunc ex tam multis saltem unã alteramq~ ita agnoscit, ut sese veritate, non coniecturis niti affirmare audeat? Βρίγας esse gentem Thracicam Herodot. lib. VII. ait. Iuba vero, teste Hesychio in Βρίγες, tradit Βρίγα à Lydis dici τὸν ἐλεύθερον. Hinc Βρίγες, quasi die Vryen, liberos, vt fortissima Francorum gens, die Vrancken, eadem significatione, nominatos, ingeniosius forte asseratur 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, 12<sup>th</sup> 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 Βρίγες was a Lydian word meaning “the free”. Thus it is claimed that the Briges are named “the freemen” [German: *die Vryen*], as

*Βρυδείχα* Hefychio πρόσωπον γυναικείον, persona seu larva; quod haud dubie peregrinum est, ut plurima quæ talia esse non indicatur, culpa eius credo, qui Grammaticorum optimū mutilavit. Hinc aliquis me audacior brundelich aut vriendlich, amabilis, exculperet. Magis Germani iuris est quod statim sequitur: βρύττειν, ἐσθίειν vreten, fressen, vorare; item illud: Σκαλῖς, σκαφίον, eine schale. Σκαφίον vero pro vase potorio legimus ap. Athenæ. lib. IV. Eidem Hefychio ἀανάιμα est πολλαχῆ χάρις, gratia multiplex; quod aengenaem seu angenem, acceptum, gratiosum, sa- [¶ Ø] pere, nescio an non quibusdam videri queat. Ἀβράνας, inquit idem, Κελτοὶ τοὺς κερκοπιθήκους; Celtæ cercopithecus ἀβράνας vocitant. At si ἀλράνας legas, ut fortassean Hefychius debuit, hinc vocabulum Haliurinna (vti apud Iornandem in Ms. Codice Ampliſſimorum Fratrum Puteanorum scribitur) hodie Alraun, non longe discedit. Et cercopithecus formam mandragora herba, quæ Alraun nobis, tempore quo fructum fert utcunque repræsentat. Porro qui herbarum nomina Dacis Getisque (Thracibus & ipsis) usitata apud Apuleium medicum, (Galeno, si recte memini, citatum) interque Scholia Dioscoridis pervetusta aspiciet, tam illa cum hodiernis nostris deprehendet congruere, quam herbas cum piscibus. Idem de nominibus hominum propriis dixerim, quorum omnium rationem reddere velle, stultum est. Sic circa etymon vrbium quam multa nobis vulgo permittimus, sive iudicii imbecillitate, seu linguarum unde illud petendum erat ignorantia? Silesiæ meæ metropolim Bratefileam à traiectu Sclavorum dictam Reineccius aliique crediderunt: cum à Wratzlao conditore, ut à Bolizlao Boleslavia (Bolezlavez Bullæ Innocentii PP. IV.) cui natales meos debeo, nomen in Wratzlaw sive Breslaw, ut alterum in [¶ Ø] Bunzlaw, detortum traxerit. Brigam eiusdem Silesiæ ad Viadrum urbem à ponte nomen reperisse putat Phil. Chuverius: at brzeg Polonis, breg Sclavis, ripa est, & Brega in privilegiis veterum illius Ducum semper scribitur. Sagani oppidi nomen à Sacis Phil. Melanchthon, alii à postulatione quondam telonii Sag an, enumera merces tuas, derivant; ignari à voce itidem Sclavonica zagon, id est, lira agri, fluxisse. Roftochium rofarum Academia, quasi Nomen cum violis rosisque natum, iuventuti literatæ audit: cum Sclavis, habitatoribus illorum locorum priscis, quorum reliquiæ longo à Silesia ad extremum usque Albim tractu etiamnum superfunt, Roztok solutionem glaciei designet, vnde oppidum, Varnæ amni adsitum vicinumque mari, dictum vero est similis. Effent talia numero infinita: sed de Teutonismo nobis dissertatio instituta est, cuius crebra monosyllaba facile ad quodvis



are that mighty race the Franks [*die Francken*], which has the same meaning, an etymology which may be more ingenious than it is true. Βρυδελίχα, which is undoubtedly a loan-word, is glossed πρόσωπον γυναικεῖον [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 *brundelich* or *vriendlich*, "friendly". It is regarded as a matter of certainty that German *vreten*, *fressen* "to devour" comes from βρῦττειν "to eat". Likewise German *schale* [dish] from σκαλις, σκαφίον, used in Athenaeus book 4 for "drinking vessel". This same Hesychius writes that ἀναίμα is πολλοῦ χάρις "great favour"; it may be that some could imagine they know this to be *aengenaem* or *angenem*, "agreeable, favoured". Hesychius also gives ἄβρόνας as Κελτοὶ τοὺς κερκοπιθήκους, "Celtic for tailed monkeys". But if you read ἄλράνας, as perhaps Hesychius should have, then the word *Haliuruma* [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* [Żagań, Sagan] from the *Sacæ*, 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, *Roztok* 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

idioma applicantur; id quod causam viris eruditis præbere potuit, ut plerasque vocabulorum radices cum ipsis Orientalium linguarum verbis conciliare conati sint. Paulo liberius de Græcorum sermone sentiendum est, quem congrua plane cum nostro habere plurima, post aliorum diligentiam observavimus ipsi, qui [¶ Ø] per viciniam & convictum cum illis commutationes ut mercium ita vocabulorum factas credimus. Latent fortasse illic notis haud pauciora, quæ longinqua ævi vetustas & ipsa usui nostro exemit; ideoque nec agnosci queunt. Atque extarent nunc nonnulla illorum verbum, quibus Bardi, ἀοιδοί παρὰ Γαλάταις (ut corruptum Hesychie locum Notis ad Epochas Græcorum inter marmora Arundelliana extantes V.C. Ioannes Seldenus emendat) fortia virorum illustrium facta, testibus Diodoro, Strabone, Mela, Ammiano aliisque, ad dulces lyræ modos cantitarunt: non minus in intelligendis illis operam luderemus, quam C.Ælius olim in exponendis Saliorum carminibus, quem obscura multa non affectum Varro testatur. Illa tamen ut merito desideramus: ita particulæ quædam & reliquæ Teutonismi antiquioris comparent in Glossis priscorum, quales sunt quæ Isidori nomine (non falso, ut puto, cum inter opuscula eius recenset Honorius Augustodunensis) extant, & quas passim collegit Pitheous. Huic bono excuti possent etiam Suidæ, Photii, Zonaræ aliorumque Lexica ἀνέκδοτα, quæ in publicis privatisque bibliothecis latent, cuiusque generis Anfileubi Gothorum Episcopi Glossarium erutum ex veteri codice bibliothecæ Moysaciensis, in quo [¶ Ø] multa Gothorum aliorumque populorum barbara Vocabula explicentur, vidisse se affirmat Phil. Iac. Mauffacus dissertatione Critica ad Dictionarium Harpocratonis. Sed Gothorum (quos post aliud docentia Cluverii imprimis & Pontani argumenta, multa pluribus à nobis alibi, si otium erit, firmanda, cum Getis Dacisque exemplo posterioris ævi Scriptorum Latinorum viri doctissimi adhuc confundunt) & literas, & verba ipsa, præter specimina quædam à Bonav. Vulcanio & aliis edita, Norvagiæ, Daniæ, Islandiæ, cæteraque Septentrionis monimenta & inscriptiones, quarum editionem amplam illustrator patriæ Antiquitatis Olaus Wormius promittit, qualemque in marmore prægrandi, Albæ Iuliæ Transilvanorum ante aulam Principis proiecto, vidisse memini, repræsentare accuratius possunt. Carolus M. ut Imperii Germanici, ita linguæ assertor fuit. Post & alii Principes ac Imperatores non poetica minus quam equestria instituerunt certamina; iuventute nobili id agente, ut præmia victoriæ tam cantu acciperet quam hastiludiis. Parænetica eius nota nonnulla edidit Goldastus: alia etiam omnis argumenti passim adhuc reperiri non nescio, digna editione, abesset contemptus literarum, etiam inter illos qui literas iactitant.

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 ᾠδοὶ παρὰ Γαλάταις [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 Harpocraton'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- [¶ 8] ramus Episcopus Mersburgensis, cuius Teutonicam Cantici Canticorum expositionem editore Mercula habemus, ante 15L. annos claruit; circa quod tempus Anno Coloniensis Archiepiscopus excessit, cuius vitam ac virtutes æqualis illius, aut ætate non multo minor, celebrat, quem nunc publico damus Poeta Anonymus. Scio quid dicturi sint qui talia non æstimant quia ignorant: nos, qui linguæ Germanicæ cultum hodiernum cum laude aliqua iuvenes hucusque auximus & protulimus, veniam, ut speramus, merebimur, quod & nunc, post seposita quamquam hæc studia, priscam linguæ maternæ gloriam per ἀποσπασμάτιον hoc eius dilatare, ac Animadversionibus in illud nobis sub manu natis illustrare conati fuimus; à Spelmannis, Seldenis, Wormiis, Laetiis, Elichmannis, Teutonicæ veteris, Anglo-Saxonicæ Gothicæque linguarum monumenta ætate rebusque potiora expectantes.*

[¶ 1]

## RHYTHMVS DE S. ANNONE COLONIENSI ARCHIEPISCOPO.

### I.

**W***Ir horten ie dikke singen Von alten dingen, Wi  
snelle helide vuhten, Wi si veste burge brechen,  
Wi sich lieb in vuiniscefte schieden, Wi riche Künige al  
zegiengen. Nu ist ciht daz wir dencken Wi wir selve sül in  
enden. Crist der vnser héro güt Wi manige ceichen her vns  
vure düit, Alser uffin Sigeberg havit gedan Durch den  
diurlichen man Den heiligen bischof Annen Durch den sin in  
willen, Dabi wir uns sül in bewarin Wante wir noch sül in  
varin Von disime ellend in libe hin cin ewin Da wir imer sül in  
sin.*

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

	<i>Often have we listened to tales</i>	
	<i>of antiquity related in song;</i>	
	<i>how valiant heroes battled,</i>	
	<i>how powerful cities fell to them,</i>	
5	<i>how close friendships were broken</i>	5
	<i>and mighty kings brought down.</i>	
	<i>Now it is time for us to consider</i>	
	<i>how we ourselves shall end.</i>	
	<i>How many signs</i>	
10	<i>has Christ, our good master given us,</i>	10
	<i>as He did on the hill at Siegburg</i>	
	<i>in the person of that fine man,</i>	
	<i>the saintly Bishop Anno,</i>	
	<i>and for his sake,</i>	
15	<i>that we might be vigilant.</i>	15
	<i>For we shall yet journey</i>	
	<i>from this miserable life to an eternal one,</i>	
	<i>where we shall remain for ever.</i>	

*Wir horten]* Auctor recens Commentarioli in Alphabetum Gothicum, à Bonau. Vulcanio editus, initium huius Rythmi cum se producere asserat, omisso hoc exordio sequentes tantum tres paragraphos exhibet. Istud itaque à codice illius abfuit.

*dikke]* sæpè. Retinuerunt Belgæ.

*helide]* Helden. *Cheld*, siue aspiratione duplicata *Hheld*, idem fuisse veteribus quod nobis *Held*, asserere conatur is cui hæ literæ ac Germanum nomen omne haud parum debent, Melch. Goldastus olim noster. Quamuis credi possit, quod à Græcis κέληται, seu per syncopen κέλται dicti fuerint, quasi desultores, ob equitandi peritiam. Sed repugnant hæc Cæfaris verba initio lib. I. de bello Gallico: *Gallia est omnis diuisa in partes tres, quarum vnâ incolunt Belgæ; aliam Aquitani; tertiam qui ipsorum lingua Celtæ, nostra Galli appellantur.*

[¶ 2]

*vuhten]* Fuchten, pugnabant, dimicabant. Infra n. XVII. *Die sterrin vuhtin imi widir.* Item n. XXXIII. & XXXIX. n. X I. *In dem michilin meri vehtinde.* n. XXIII *Eneas irvaht imi Walilant.* Kero Monachus S. Galli interpretatione vocabulorum barbaricorum in Regulam S. Benedicti Abbatis, sæpius citanda: *Pugnabam, fehtun. Pugnare, fehtan.* Veteres autem τὸ c adspirationi ut plurimum non iunxerunt, ideoque *rehte, rihtere, girihtis, zuht, nahtis, maht, vorht*, ac talia scripsisse ita ac pronunciaſſe, quod vbique vel in hoc Poemate occurrit, femel notandum est.

*Burge]* Vrbes. In hoc Carmine aliquoties. Willeramus: *after thero borg*, per civitatem. Glossæ ex libro veteri à Wolfg. Lazio lib. III de migrationibus gentium adductæ: *Metropolis, hubetburge.* Tatianus Syrus Harmonia IV. Evangeliorum, cuius aliquot capita edidit Io. Isac. Pontanus lib. VI. Orig. Francicarum: *In thie burg Galileæ, thero name ist Nazareth.*

*liebin]* Kero: *Converſationis, libes. Converſatione, libe.* Vel de *vita* exponendum. Nam Otrifido S. Galli monacho in Evangeliorum libro, ante DCCLXXX. annos Rythmis lingua Francica conscripto, *lib* idem est quod nobis *leben*; Belgis *leven*; Anglis, *liue*; Danis, *liff, vita.*

*vuiniſceſte]* Freundschaft, liebe: Willeramus in paraphraſi in Canticum Canticorum abhinc annos DL. scripta, multoties: *Min wine*, pro, *Amica mea, mein Lieb, meine Freundinn.* Hoc insigne veteris Teutonicæ linguæ monumentum, à Paulo Merula cum notis viri docti editum, cum præfatione Auctoris hactenus careat, præclara sane & pro tempore illo non barbara, si eam ex Ms. libro, cuius vsum Amplissimo viro Michaeli Flandrinio Senatori Vratislaviensi eximio amicorum debeo, & ex quo textum locis infinitis emendaui, his

*Wir horten* [1a] When the author of a small Commentary on the Gothic Language, edited by Bonaventura Vulcanius, 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 κέλῆται, or by syncopation κέλται, 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 (*irvahrt*) Italy for himself". Kero, a monk of St. Gallen, in his vernacular interpretation of the Benedictine Rule, which I shall have to cite frequently: *fehūn*, "fought"; *fehuan* "to fight". The ancients did not for the most part link an aspirate with a *c*, for which reason *rehūte* [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.

*Burge* [4] "Cities." Also elsewhere in this song. Williram: *after thero borg*, "through the town" Glosses from an ancient book noted by Wolfgang Lazius *On Folk Migrations* Book 3: *hubetburge*, "capital city". The Syrian Tatian's *Gospel Harmony*, some chapters of which were edited by Johann Isaak Pontanus, *Origins of the Franks* Book 6: "In the city (*burg*) of Galilee which is named Nazareth."

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

*vuiniscefte* [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 time, I trust that the reader will not take it amiss if I include it in my present commentary, taking it from the manuscript, for access to which I

Animadverſionibus meis addam, non ingratham Lectori infertam fore  
exiſtimo. [¶ 3]

**PRÆFATIO WILLIRAMMI BABIN-  
BERGENSIS SCHOLASTICI FVL-  
DENSIS  
MONACHI IN CANTICA CAN-  
TICORVM.**

**C**VM MAIORVM STVDIA INTVEOR quibus in diuina pagina nobiliter  
ſlorre, cogore huius temporis fœces deſlere, cum iam fere omne  
litterale defecit ſtudium, ſolumque avaritiæ, inuidiæ &  
contentionis remanſit exercitium. Nam eſſi qui ſunt qui ſub ſcholari  
ferula Grammaticæ & Dialecticæ ſtudiis imbuuntur, hæc ſibi ſufficere  
arbitrantes diuinæ paginæ omnino obliuiſcuntur, cum ob hoc ſolum  
Chriſtianiſ liceat gentiles libros legere, ut ex his, quanta diſtancia ſit  
lucis ac tenebrarum, veritatis & erroris, poſſint diſcernere. Alii verò  
cum in diuinis dogmatibus ſint valentes, tamen creditum ſibi talentum  
in terra abſcondentes, ceteros qui in lectionibus & canticis peccant  
derident, nec imbecillitati eorum vel inſtructione, vel librorum  
emendatione quicquam conſulti exhibent. Vnum in Francia comperi  
LANTFRANCVM nomine, antea maxime valentem in Dialectica, nunc  
ad Eccleſiaſtica ſe contuliſſe ſtudia, & in epiſtolis Pauli & Pſalterio  
multorum ſua ſubtilitate exacuiſſe ingenia. Ad quem audiendum cum  
multi noſtratum confluant, ſpero quod eius exemplo etiam in noſtris  
provinciis ad multorum utilitatem indiſtriæ ſuæ fructum producant. Et  
quia ſæpe contingit, ut impetu fortium equorum etiam caballi ad  
curſum concitentur; quamvis ſegnitiſ ingenioli mei non ignorem,  
Deum tamen bonæ voluntatis ſperans adiutorem, decreui etiam ex mea  
particula ſtudioſo lectori aliqua emolumentum præbere adminicula.  
Itaque Cantica Canticorum, quæ ſui magnitudinem ipſo nomine  
teſtantur, ſtatui, ſi Deus annuerit, & verſibus & Teutonica planiora  
reddere, ut corpus in medio poſitum his utrimque cingatur, & ita  
facilius intellectui occurrat quod inueſtigatur. De meo nihil addidi, ſed  
omnia de Sancto- [¶ 4] rum Patrum diuerſis expoſitionibus eruta in  
vnum compegi, & magis ſenſui quam verbis, tam in verſibus quam in  
Teutonica, operam dedi. Eiſdem verſibus interdum utor: quia quæ  
Spiritus Sanctus eiſdem verbis ſæpius repetiuit, hæc etiam me eiſdem  
verſibus ſæpius repetere non indecens viſum fuit. Expoſitionis tenorem  
Sponſo & Sponſæ, ſicut in corpore, ſic & in verſibus & Teutonica,  
placuit aſcribi, ut maioris auctoritatis 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 stillare dignatur, interdum mea legens sic delectabiliter afficior, quasi hoc probatus aliquis composuerit auctor. Opusculum hoc quamdiu vixero, doctioribus emendandum offero. Si quid peccavi, illorum monitu non erubescō eradere: si quid illis placuerit, non pigritor addere.*

*selue*] selbst, ipfi.

*manage*] manche. Confessio veteris Alamannorum Ecclesiæ: *Thes alles inti anderer manages.*

*Sigeberg*] In ducatu Bergenfi oppidum, vbi splendidissimum & magnificum ordinis D. Benedicti monasterium Anno erexit, cuius foundationem Petrus Merfæus in Catalogo Archiepiscoporum Colonensium collocat in annum MLXVI. Diversum ab eo est *Sigeburgum* (Annalibus Francicis & Regioni *Sigisburgum*) ad Ruram fluuium, qui Rheno apud Dusburgum miscetur. Vtrumque locum à *Sigambris* nomen traxisse Hubertus Thomas asserit Comment. de Tungris & Eburonibus: *Sigambris* verò nomen à flumine *Sige* quæsitum, haud dubitare se dicit mansurum Gedani decus Phil. Cluuerius German. Antiq. lib. III cap. IX.

*havit*] Hatt. Sic §.2. *Havit er*, pro: hette er.

*diurlichen*] Vel, *tiurlichen*, ut §.XXXIV. charum, amicum. Ita & apud Otfridum, *diuri*, lieb; Anglis *deare*.

*Annen*] Hoc nomen *Anno* exhibet cap. I. & II. Catalogus nominum propriorum, quibus Alamanni [¶ 5] quondam appellati, ex vetustissimo codice Monasterii S. Galli editus à Goldasto. *Hannonem* vocant Hermannus Contractus & Marianus Scotus.

*hin cin ewin*] ad vitam æternam. Gr. αἰών. Kero: *In æternum*, in *euuin*. Glossæ à Iusto Lipsio è Pfalterio veteri excerptæ: *Euuethon*, *æternum*. Euangelia Otfridi:

*Fon euuon vnz in euuon,*

*Mit then drut felon.*

## II.

**I**N der werilde aneginne, Dü liht war vnte stimma, Dü diu  
vrone Godis hant Diu spehin werch gescuph so manigvalt,  
Dü deilti Got fini werch al in zuei, Difi werlt 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.

*selue* [8] "Self."

*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 Tungri 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 Clüver, who will always be the pride of Gdańsk, confidently declares (*Ancient Germania* 3.9).

*havit* [11b] "Had" [indicative]. The same form in *AL* 2.17: *Havit er* "he would have" [subjunctive].

*diurlichen* [12] or *tiurlichen* in *AL* 34.1, "dear, beloved". Likewise in Otfrid *diuri*; English *deare*.

*Annen* [13] This name *Anno* 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*.

*hin cin ewin* [17] "To the life everlasting." Greek αἰὼν. Kero: *in euuin*, "in eternity". Justus Lipsius' *Glosses from the old Psalter* has *Euuethon*, "eternity". Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch*: "From eternity to eternity (*euuon*) / with the beloved soul."

## 2

*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.*

20

*Daz ander ist geiftin: Dü gemengite dei wise Godis list Von den zuein ein werch, daz der mennisch ist, Der beide ist corpus unte geift, Dannin ist her na dim engele allermeift. Alle gescaft ist an dem mennischen, Soiz sagit daz Evangelium. Wir sūlin un cir dritte werilde celin, So wir daz die Crichen horin redin. Zden selben erin ward gescaphin Adam, havit er sich behaltin.*

*werilde] mundi. Ita semper scriptum in libris antiquis. Walther von der Vogelweide, eques & Poeta Philippi & Ottonis Regum tempore laudante auctore (Marq. Frehero, vt puto) Commentarii ad Donationem Constantini:*

*Das wirt der werlte hernach vil leit.*

*Otfridus: worolt. Kero: Sæculum, werolt. Sæculo, weralti. Sæcularibus, werultihchem. Glossariolum Liplianum: werol, Sæculum: & werold. werildi werildis, Sæculum, Seculi. [¶ 6]*

*aneginne] Glossæ eædem: Anageni, initio. Anagen, principium. Kero: Initium, anakin. Initio, anakinne. Willeramus: Dero dugathen altero anagina.*

*Dū] Cum, da.*

*liht] Kero: Lumen, leoth. Lumen lucernæ, daz leoth des leohtes. Otfrido lioth.*

*vrone] Sancta. Infra n.XXXI. XXXII. XXXVI. Inde nobis: Fronleichnam, Fronaltar. Glossa Speculi Saxonici lib. I. artic. LIII. Fronbote: heift der frone auß zweierley vrsachen. Zum ersten das er zu feinem ampt schweren muß. Zum andern das er Gottes recher ist. Fronarbeit Eugippio in vita S. Seuerini opus sacrale dicitur, ut ad cap. XIV. notat Scholiafles, Marcus Velferus fortè. Fronisga apud Otfridum honorabilis, venerandus. Frondiensft & feruitium significat. Frone, portorium, census foli. Frongewald, carcer, & familia.*

*spahin] Kero: Sapiens, spaher, Sapienti, spahemu. Sapientis, spahē. Sapientia spahii.*

*gescuph] Idem monachus: Creatori, sceffantin.*

*Godis list] In bonam partem. Idem: Ars, list. Artis, listi. Artifices, listara. Artificium, listaro. Tirol Rex Scotorum Parænesi ad Filium:*

*Du zwei sint rechtu ritter mal, vnd vf der brust der beste list.*

*na dim engele allermeift.] Angelis proximus. Respicit ad Pfalm.*

VIII.v.VI.

	<i>This world is one part,</i>	
	<i>the other is spiritual.</i>	25
	<i>Then God in His wisdom and skill blended</i>	29
	<i>the two to make a single work, the human being,</i>	30
10	<i>who is both body and spirit,</i>	
	<i>and for this reason is closest to the angels.</i>	
	<i>All creation is combined in humanity,</i>	
	<i>as it says in the Gospel.</i>	
	<i>We should regard it as a third world,</i>	35
15	<i>as the Greeks say.</i>	
	<i>To this very honour Adam was created,</i>	
	<i>had he only remained steadfast.</i>	

werilde [1a] "World" [gen]. It is always written this way in old books. Walther von der Vogelweide, knight and poet in the reigns of Philipp and Otto, cited by the author (Marquard Freher, I think) of the *Commentary on the Donation of Constantine*: "The time will come when the world (*werlte*) greatly regrets this." Otfrid: *worolt*. Kero: *werolt* "age" [nom]; *weralti* [dat]; *werultlichem* "worldly" [dat pl]. Lipsius' Gloss: *werol* "age"; and *werold*, *werildi*, *werildis*, "age" [nom, gen].

aneginne [1b] The same gloss: *anagenmi* "beginning"; *anagen* "origin". Kero: *anakin* "beginning" [nom]; *anakinne* [dat]. Williram: "The beginning (*anaginna*) of all virtue".

Dü [2a etc] "Then."

liht [2b] Kero: *leoth* "light"; *daz leoth des leohtes* "the light of a lamp." In Otfrid *lioth*.

yrone [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 Velserus, notes in chapter 14. In Otfrid, *fronisga* means "honourable, venerable". *Frondienst* also means servitude. *Frone* "tax, land survey". *Frongewald*, "prison", etc.

spehin [4a] Kero: *spaher*, "judicious" [nom]; *spahemu* [dat]; *spah*e [gen]; *spahii* "discernment" [gen].

gescuph [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].

Soiz] wie. Kero: *Tanquam, fofo. Velut, famo fofo, famo fo.*

Criechin] Græcos. Ita ferè veteres libri, aut cum K. *die Kriechen.* Differtationum verò de hominis præstantia referti omnes Philosophorum Græcorum libri. Videndi tamen imprimis Plato epist. VII. Xenophon memorabil. lib. I Plotinus passim. Ecphanta Pythagoricus apud Stobæum Serm. XLVI. Incertus de vita Pythagoræ apud Photium Codice CCLIX. Sextus lib. VIII. adv. Mathematicos, & in Aurea Carmina Commentarius auro magis aureus Hieroclis. [¶ 7]

zden] zu den. Semel istud monendum, contractiones has vocabulorum maioribus nostris multò fuisse usitatissimas. Sic, *Cirin, Cerist,* pro *zu ihrem, zu erft,* & talia in hoc Poemate multoties.

behaltin] Kero: *Saluus, heiler, kehaltaneer. Saluentur, kihaltan fin. Seruare, haltan, kehaltan.* Sic veteris Homiliarum libri fragmentum apud Ioach. Vadianum in Farragine Antiquitatum: *Vns ist erfchinen der guote wille, vndo die mennisheit vnferes hæltares.*

### III.

**D**U sich Lucifer du ce ubile gevieng, Vnt Adam diu  
 Godis Wort ubirgieng, Dü balch figis Got desti mer,  
 Daz her andere fini werch sach rechte gen. Den Manen vnten  
 sunnen die gebin ire liht mit wunnen: Die sterrin bihaltent ire  
 vart; Si geberent vrost vnte hizzle so starc: Daz fuir havit  
 ufwert finin zug; Dunnir unte wint irin vlug. Di wolken  
 dragint den reginguz: Nidir wendint wazzer irin vluz: Mit  
 blümin cierint sich diu lant: Mit loube dekkit sich der walt:  
 Daz wilt havit den finin ganc: Scone ist der vügilfanc. Ein  
 iwelich ding diu é noch havit Di emi Got van erift virgab, Ne  
 were die zuei gescephte, Di her gescuph die bezzifte: Die  
 virkerten sich in diu doleheit, Dannin hubin sich diu leiht.

Soiz [13] "As." Kero: *soso* "just as"; *samo soso, samo so* "just like".

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 Ephantus 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", *haltan, 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 (*hæltar*)".

## 3

- When Lucifer turned his hand to evil  
and Adam transgressed God's word, 40  
this angered God all the more  
as He saw His other creations follow their appointed paths:*
- 5 *the moon and the sun,  
they emit their light with joy;  
the stars maintain their courses, 45  
bringing extremes of frost and heat;  
fire draws upwards,*
- 10 *thunder and wind have their flight;  
the clouds bear the showers of rain  
and the waters pour downwards; 50  
the fields adorn themselves with flowers,  
the forest is covered with foliage;*
- 15 *the beasts live according to their kind  
and the song of the birds is beautiful.  
Everything would still have the order 55  
which God ordained from the beginning  
were it not for the two creations*
- 20 *which he made best.  
These turned away to folly,  
and this is the source of all suffering. 60*

*balch]* Excerpta Lipfii: *Abalgi, ira, Belgon, irafci, Bilgifuhti, irafcere. Farbelgeda, exacerbavit. Irbelgedon, exacerbarunt.* Notkerus versione Pfalmor. à Goldasto [¶ 8] laudata Notis in Valerianum Cimelens. Episc. de bono disciplinæ: *daz sih Cot étewenne ne belge: ne quando irascatur dominus.* Otfridus lib. II. Euangelior. cap. XVIII.

*Quit Got sih belge thrato  
Sulichero dato.*

*mit wunnen]* cum gaudio & oblectatione. Nithart citante Goldasto Animadv. ad Winsbekium:

*Blumen vnd kle,  
Manigerhande wunne me,  
Hat verderbet vns der fne.*

Porrò hæc descriptio diuinorum operum luculenta est, & comparanda meritò locis Græcorum Latinorumque Poetarum similibus. Imprimis huc facit metr. VI. libri IV. Boethii de Consol. Philosophiæ.

*vari]* cursum. Sic §.v. *varin*, pro, ire.

*Mit loube]* foliis. Winsbeke:

*Er (Got) git dir noch ein iemer leben,  
Vnd ander gabe mannicvalt,  
Me danne löbes habe der walt.*

*diu é]* legem, fœdus. Kero: *Tam veteris quam novi testamenti; fo dr altun euua fofama dr niuun.* Willeram: *Thiu austeritas thero ewo; austeritas legis.* Inde Ewarto, *faceros. Efago, curialis*, ac similia in rhythmis veterum. Capitula Karoli Calui: *Secundum legem & euuam;* vt cum Pithæo legendum censet Iac Sirmondus. Hinc nostrum *Ehe, fœdus nuptiale.* Vide Glossar. V.C. Frid. Lindenbrogii ad Codicem Legum Antiquarum & pluribus Goldastum ad Tiroleum. Dicit verò Poeta noster, omnia leges suas retinere, vt Boeth. lib. III de Consol. metr. II.

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

## IV.

[¶ 9]

**C**Unt ist wi der vient virspun den man, Zi scalke wolter  
un havin. So vürter cir hellin die vünf werlt alle, Vnze  
Got gefante finin fun, Der irlofte vns von den sünden: Ce



*balch* [3] Lipsius excerpts: *abalgi* "anger"; *belgon* "to grow angry"; *bilgiftuhti* "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 (*sih ... belge*)". Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch* 2.18: "It was said God was angered (*sih 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 (*wunne*) / 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.

*var* [7] "Course". Cf. *AL* 5.2 *varin* for "to go"

*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". Kero: *so dr altun euua sosama dr niuun*, "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 Lindenberg'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  
tiurvel virlos den finin gewalt, Wir würdin al in vrie gezalt: In  
der doufe würde wir Cristis man. Den Heirrin sülin wir  
minnan.*

*virspün]* seducebat. Apud Otfrid. *virspurnen*, verirren. *gifuoni*,  
irrthumb. Confessio Veteris Alemannor. Ecclesiæ: *Odo andran  
gespuoni so waz so ih widar Gotes willen getati; vel alios errores, si  
quid contra Dei voluntatem feci: ut vertendum erat Goldasto  
Alamannicar. Antiquitatum tom. II. parte II.*

*scalke]* Kero: *Seruus, scalch. Seruos, scalcha.* Canticum  
Simeonis, lingua Gothica: *Fra leitais scalck teinana. Nunc dimittis  
servum tuum.* Idem ex interpretatione Teutonica Harmoniæ  
Evangelicæ Tatiani: *Nu forlaz thu Truchtin thiman scalc.* Decretum  
Tassilonis Ducis Baioariorum: *Serui Principis, qui dicuntur Adelscalc.*  
Hinc vsitata Principibus Imperii nonnullis scribendi ad vafallos suos  
formula; *Vnserm Edelknecht.* Vide Glossar. Lindenbrogii.

*herite]* debellabat. Vnde nostrum, *verheeren.*

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

*Sun, minne minneklichen Got,*

*So kan dir niemer missegan;*

*Er hilfet dir us aller not.*

Sumunt pro Venere prisici vates nostri interdum. Friderich von  
Hufen, citante Goldasto: [¶ 10]

*Minne, Got mussen mich an dir rechen,*

*Wie vil du minem herze der fröde wendest.*

Retinent & Germani inferiores; at superioribus inter prætextata  
est ferè ac obscæna.

## V

**V***P hüf Crist 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*

10 *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.*

70

virspân [1] "Seduced." Otfred: *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.

scalke [2] Kero: *scalch*, "slave"; *scalcha*, "slaves". Simeon's song [Luke 2.29] in the Gothic language: *Fra leitais scalck teinana*, "Now dismiss your servant." The same in the German translation of Tatian's Gospel Harmony: "Now dismiss your servant (*scalc*), Lord". A decree of Duke Tassilo of Bavaria: "Servants of the Prince who are known as *Adelscalc* [noble vassal]." The same formula is frequently used by imperial princes and others writing to their vassals: *unserm Edelknecht* [our noble servant]; see Lindenbrog's glossary.

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 Criecken 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 biſtén; Iohannes dar in Epheſo, Vili süze konder predigin, Vz des grabi noch wehſit himilbrot, Daz dekkit manigirflahte noht; Andre mertirere manige, Soiz witin iſt ci ſagine, Mit heiligem irin blüde Irvüldin Chriſtis gemüde, Mit arbeiden quamen ſi cirin heirrin, Nu havit her ſi mit erin.*

*Vb hüf Crift finis crucis vanin] Vexillum crucis. Prudentius Pſychomachiae lib:*

*Vexillum ſublime crucis, quod in agmie primo  
Dux bona prætuleraſt, defixa cuſpide fiſtit.*

Venant. Fortunatus:

*Vexilla Regis prodeunt,  
Fulget Crucis myſterium.*

Et ita Conſeruator noſter triumphans de morte antiquitus depingebatur. Ionas Aurelianenſis Epiſc. lib. II. de cultu imaginum de vexillo crucis ſæpè; cum quo exhibent & Chriſtianos Imperatores devicto pa- [¶ 11] ganifmo nummi veteres. Conſtantinum M. ſignum crucis quod de cœlo ſibi fuerat demonſtratum in militaria vexilla transformalle, ac labarum, quem dicunt draconem, in ſpeciè crucis dominicæ exaptalle, idem Ionas refert. De vocabulo *vane* ſive *fane*, eiufque varia ſignificatione, accurate Lindenbrogius in Gloſſario ad Leges Veteres, & Henricus Spelmannus Eques Anglus in Archaiologo Londini ante hos XII. annos edito, cuius partem alteram adhuc defideramus.

*beſtén] Sepultus. Belgis, beſteden. D. Iacobi autem reliquias Hieroſolymis Romam latas aſſerunt literæ quæ feruntur, Leonis III. Papæ & Calliſti II. vt obſeruat in magno opere Baronius.*

*in Epheſo] Chryſoſtomum ac Theodoritum diverſæ ſententiæ eſſe, Iohannem nimirum in Patmo inſula exceſſiſſe, Iof. Scaliger ad Eufebii Chronic. annotat. Huc facientia videtis imprimis apud Baronium notationibus in Martyrol. Roman. ad d. xxvii. Decembr.*

- to overcome heathendom.
- 5 Rome was conquered by Peter,  
the Greeks by the wise Paul. 80  
St. Andrew in Patras,  
in India the righteous Thomas,  
Matthew in Ethiopia,
- 10 Simon and Judas in Persia,  
St. James in Jerusalem 85  
(now he is buried in Galicia)  
and John in Ephesus.  
John was a fine preacher;
- 15 still today manna grows from his grave,  
giving relief to many kinds of pain. 90  
Many other martyrs  
(proclaim it far and wide!)  
fulfilled the plan of Christ
- 20 with their holy blood.  
They came to their Lord suffering; 95  
now he holds them in great honour.

*Vb huf Crist 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.

*bestén* [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 Theodoritus 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 27<sup>th</sup>.

*manigirslahte]* mancherley. Willeramus: *Vnte manigslahtigen virtutibus. apud eund. allerslahto, allerley. witin]* weitleufftig. Ita infra aliquoties.

## VI.

**D**ie Troianifchen Vranken Si sülin is iemir Gode danken  
 Daz her un so manigin heiligin havit gefant, Soiz dar  
 in Koln ift gewant, Dadir restit ein sülich menige Van Senti  
 Mauriciin herige, Vnt eilf tufent 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 Troianifchen Vranken]* Nulli veterum auctorum, qui de rebus Troianis agunt, Francorum nomen audi- [¶ 12] tum: sed nec quicquã de illis qui ante labantes imperii Romani vires scripserunt. Aurelianus, quod sciam, primus nominatur Fl. Vopisco, qui tribunus legionis VI. Gallicanæ apud Maguntiacum illos repressit: Vnde cantilena militaris: *Mille Francos, mille Sarmatas semel occidimus.* Cuius versus Trochaici occasione alius 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 suos proscriptioni Antoninianæ subiecissent:

*De Germanis, non de Gallis duo triumphant Consules.*

*Francia* porrò mentionem Eumenius Panegyrico ad Constantinum facit. Item Hieronymus in Hilarionis vita his verbis: *Inter Saxonas quippe & Alamannos gens eius non tam lata quam valida, apud historicos Germania, nunc verò Francia vocatur.* At latissimis, vt demonstrari aliunde potest, finibus hæc gens circumscribatur, & credibile est Germanos libertatis amantissimos, quam ferro & virtute afferbant, nomen hoc ab ipsa, *Thi Franken*, die Freien, quasi immunes servitute ac metu, sumpsisse. Valeant igitur somnia de Francis ab ipsius Troiæ cineribus repetitis Hunibaldi, Adonis, aliorumque, quos tota armenta sequuntur; eruditi etiam nonnulli Poëtæ Galli cum Principe suo Ronfardo, quos professum

*manigirslakte* [16] "Sundry." Williram: "And multifarious (*manigirslakte*) virtues." In the same author: *allerslahto*, "of all kinds".

*witin* [18] "far-reaching"; likewise several times below.

## 6

- The Trojan Franks  
should always thank God  
that he sent them so many saints,  
as he did in Cologne.* 100
- 5 *Here rest so many  
of St. Maurice's army,  
and eleven thousand virgins  
slain for the love of Christ;  
likewise many noble bishops* 105
- 10 *who performed miracles there,  
as is also reported of St. Anno.  
For this we sing praise to Christ.*

*Die Trojanischen Vranken* [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 6<sup>th</sup> 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 Freeman", 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 Humibaldus, Adonis and others, who are still very influential; some of the most learned French poets, with their prince Pierre

tamen nomen absoluit. Ad vocabulum verò *Franc*, & nunc usitatum, pluribus agunt Lindenbrogius & Spelmannus. Franci pro liberis hominibus dicuntur in lege Ripuarior. Tit. XVIII. C. III ac locis aliis quæ non compilo. At Francos fero hoc nomine dictos, qui Germani vocitati fuerant, vel ex Procopio disce lib. de bello Goth.

*iemir*] Glossæ Lipsianæ: *Iemer, æternum*. Winsbeke:

*Du gebe in dort din iemer leben.*

*Koln*] Francos inferiorem Germaniæ limitem ad Rhenum tenuisse, ex tabula Peutingeriana, Aufonio, Agathia, Sidonio aliisque scriptoribus notum est. [¶ 13] Quos illis fines certis ductus argumentis assignet Phil. Cluverius, vide lib. III. Germ. Ant. cap. XX. Omnem autem gentis notitiam & quicquid huc facit magno studio congeffit in Originibus Francorum Ioan. Ifacius Pontanus.

*Ein süllich menige Van Santi Mauriciin herige*] Martyrol. Rom. X. Kal. Octobr. *Secundi in Gallia, in loco Agauno, natalis sanctorum martyrum Thebæorum, Mauricii, Exuperii, Candidi, Victoris, Innocentii & Vitalis, cum fociis eiusdem legionis, qui sub Maximiano pro Christo necati, gloriosa passione mundum illustrarunt*. De Mauricio Venantius Fortunat. lib. II.

*Quo pie Maurici ductor legionis opimæ*

*Traxisti fortes subdere colla viros.*

Eius lanceam Cracoviæ asseruari 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.

*megide*] Virgines. Infra n. XXXI. Chronicon antiquum à Meibomio citatum ad Northov. Origin. Marcan.

*Nam hernach Keiserlicher acht*

*Zu Northusen sin Iunckvrowlin*

*Beatricem das Megetin.*

*herin*] Herrlich; vt num. seq. *heror*, herrlicher.

*Ceichin haftig*] miraculis insignes.

*mer*] fama. num. X. & XXXVII. Otrido *mari*. Willeramo, *maara*, nuncium. Belgis hodie *maere*, pro fama & nuncio; nostratibus ferè pro fabula, *ein merlein*. *Vnmåre*, ignobile, minus gloriosum. Grauenberg laudante Goldasto ad Winsbekium:

*Im was dahaim vnmåre*

*Sich verligen ainen tak.*

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



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.

*iemir* [2] Lipsius' Gloss: *iemer*, "eternal". *Winsbecke*: "There you will give him your eternal (*iemer*) life".

*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* 22<sup>nd</sup> 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.

*herige* [6] "Cohorts, companies of soldiers." Here, "camp" or "army". Hence *Herzog*, "leader of armies"; *Herschild*, "military shield"; the Alemannic name *Herman*, etc.

*megide* [7] "Virgins." Cf. *AL* 31.6. An ancient chronicle, cited by Meibom in his notes on Northof's *Chronicle of the Grafen von der Mark*: "After this the Emperor's eye / fell on his maiden of Nordhausen, / the virgin (*megetin*) Beatrix."

*herin* [9] "Magnificent." Similarly *AL* 7.7 *heror*, "more magnificent."

*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". *Vnmáre*, "undistinguished, of slight renown". Goldast in his commentary on *Winsbecke*, citing Grafenberg: "At home he was loath (*vnmáre*) / 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.

**C**E Kolne was her gewihet bischof, Des sal diu stat iemir  
 loben Got, Daz in der sconiftir burge, Di in  
 Diutischemi lande ie wurde, Rihtere was der vrumigifti man  
 Der ie ci Rini biquam: Ci diu daz diu Stat desti heror diuhte  
 Wandt si ein so wise herdum irluhte, Vnte diu sin dugint desti  
 pertir weri Daz her einir so herin stedi plegi. Koln ist der  
 herifin burge ein, Sent Anno braht ir ere wole heim.

*Ce Kolne*] Ex schola Babinbergenfi, cuius magister fuerat, pertractus ab Henrico III. Imp. in aulam, exactis illic aliquot annis apud Confluentiam Colonienfis Ecclesiæ Episcopus lectus est, Hermanno nominis huius Præfule secundo ex hac luce subtracto; vt ait monachus Sigebergenfis Annonis æqualis, scriptor eius vitæ, quam exhibet Laur. Surius Tomo VI.

*gewihet*] A. C. MLV. V. Non. Martii, eodem auctore.

*in der sconifter burge*] vrbe pulcherrima Germaniæ. *Vrbem magni nominis eam vocat Amm Marcell. lib. XV. vrbem muuitissimam, lib. XVI. πόλιν ἐπικειμένην τῷ Ῥυνῷ μεγίστην, vrbem adfitam Rheno maximam* Zofimus lib. I. Notitia Ciuitatum & Provinciarum Gallicarum post Schobingerum, Bertium, Sirmondum, nuper ab Andr. du Chesne Tom. I. Hiftor. Franc. Scriptor. ex emendatione Iof. Scaligeri accuratius edita: *Metropolis* (Prouinciæ Germ. II.) *Ciu. Agrippinensium, id est, Colonia*. Ita primus illi locus in diuisione regni inter Karolum & Hludouicum Reges facta; ut & alibi.

[¶ 15]

*In Diutischemi lande*] Otfridus præfat. in lib. Euangelior. *Theotiscè conscriberem. Walafrid. Strab. lib. VII. de reb. Ecclef. Secundum nostram barbariem, quæ est Theotisca. Leg. Longobard. lib. I. tit. XIV. l. XV. Quod nos Teudisca lingua dicimus heriliz. Belgæ Duitfchen vel Duytschen, Saxones Dudschen, Dani Tydsker, Itali Tod.schi, Græci recent. τουτέσκοι.*

*rihtere*] Iudex, Præful.

*vrumigifti*] Frömeſte, pientiffimus.

	<i>He was consecrated bishop at Cologne.</i>	
	<i>For this, the city will praise God forever,</i>	110
	<i>that the most beautiful town</i>	
	<i>ever built in Germany</i>	
5	<i>was governed by the most able man</i>	
	<i>ever to come to the Rhine.</i>	
	<i>Thus the town was rendered all the more prestigious</i>	115
	<i>through being illuminated by such a wise ruler,</i>	
	<i>and his virtue shone all the brighter</i>	
10	<i>for his guardianship of such a magnificent city.</i>	
	<i>Cologne is one of the greatest of cities;</i>	
	<i>St. Anno made its honour complete.</i>	120

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: πόλιν ἐπικειμένην τῷ Ῥυνῷ 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 2<sup>nd</sup> 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.

In Diutischemi lande [4] Otfrid's Preface to the *Evangelienbuch*: "that I write in German (*Theoscè*)". Walahfrid Strabo *History of the Church* book 7: "In our crude vernacular, which is German (*Theotisca*)". The legal code of the Lombards, book 1 §14.15: "Which in the German (*Teudisca*) language we call *heriliz* [discharge from military service]" Belgian *Duitschen* or *Duytschen*, Saxon *Düdschen*, Danish *Tydsker*, Italian *Todeschi*, Modern Greek *τουτέσκοι*.

rihtere [5a] "Judge, president."

vrumigisti [5b] "Most pious."

*ci Rini] ad Rhenum. n. XXIII. Winsbeke.*

*Sun, hohgeburt ist an dem man  
Vnd an dem wibe gar verlorn  
Da wir niht tugenden kiesen an,  
Als in den Rin geworfen Korn:  
Swer tugende hat derst wolgeborn.*

Qui verfus propter singularem elegantiam adduci merentur.

*diuhte] dauchte, videbatur.*

*herdum] Willeramus: Wie luffam dine genge sint hertuomes  
dohter in dinemo gescuohe; vt habet Ms. Hertuom, nobis herfchafft; ab  
Her, herus, & particula tuom siue duom aut dom, ut Keisfertum,  
Herzogtum, Eigentum.*

*pertir] Quid hoc vocabuli sit ignorare me fateor, & erosa est in  
membrana illius medio litera, coniecturis vix revocanda. Forte,  
breiter, id est, maior, latior, legendum.*

### VIII.

**O***B ir willit bekennin Der burge aneginne, So virnemit  
vmbi die grimmin heidinscapht Dannin den aldin  
burgin quam diu crapht. Ninus hiz der eristi man Dedir ie  
volcwigis bigan. Her saminodi schilt unti sper, Des lobis was  
her vili ger. Halspergin [¶ 16] unti brunievn Dü gart er sic,  
ciih fturm Die helmi stalin heirti, Du stifter heriverti. Diu liute  
warin vnz andiu Vil ungeleidigete. Ir iwelich haviti sin lant,  
An din andirin sich niwihht ni want. Vngewenit warin si ci  
wige, Vili lieb was daz Nino.*

*bikennin] scire, novisse.*

*grimmin] Grimmige, fera, indomita. Sic apud Willeramum  
heitere, pro heiterkeit, serenitas: vinstre, pro, finsternis: smeiche, pro,  
schmeicheley; einvaltige, gehorsame, ut est in Ms. pro: einfaltigkeit,  
gehorsamkeit, quod edidit Merula. Et hoc notare debui propter*

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.

diuhie [7] "Seemed, appeared."

herdum [8] Williram: "How desirable are your ways, O prince's (*hertuomes*) daughter, in your shoes." The manuscript has *Hertuom*, our *herschafft*, [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".

## 8

- If you wish to know  
the origin of cities,  
hear now of the fierce heathens  
from whom the ancient cities had their might.*
- 5 *Nimus was the first man* 125  
*ever to engage in warfare.*  
*He gathered shields and spears*  
*(he longed for glory)*  
*hauberks and byrnies*
- 10 *(he girded himself for battle)* 130  
*and helmets of hard steel*  
*(he marched out to war).*  
*Until this time,*  
*people had suffered little.*
- 15 *Each had his own tract of land* 135  
*and no-one turned against the others.*  
*They were unused to battle,*  
*which suited Nimus nicely.*

bikernin [1] "Know, recognize."

grimmin [3] "Fierce, wild, indomitable." [Modern form:] *Grimmige*. Likewise, Williram has *heitere* for *heiterkeit*, "clarity"; *vinstre* for *finsterniss* [darkness]; *schmeiche* for *schmeicheley* [flattery]; *einvaltige*, *gehorsame*, in the manuscript where Merula's edition has *einfaltigkeit*,

magnum ex nobilissimo quodam fodalitio nostro heroa, qui ea parte qua sic loqui cum antiquitate in Psalmis 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 constantis, vellicare me clanculum videtur alibi impudens os Theologastri cuiusdam parvuli; cui cum auctoritatem ac diuersam summorum seculi virorum sententiam opponere possim, calcitronis afini stupor æstimandus mihi non est.

*Ninus hiz der eristi man*] Iustinus ex Trogo Pompeio lib. I. cap. I. *Primus omnium Ninus, rex Assyriorum, veterem & quasi avitum gentibus morem nova imperii cupiditate mutavit. Hic primus intulit bella finitimis, & rudes adhuc ad resistendum populos, terminos usque Lybiæ perdomuit.*

*volcwigis*] Glossæ Lipsii: *wige* prælium, bellum: *wigis*, belli: *wiga*, prælia. Otfrid. lib. II. Euangelior:

*Thie in herzen ni eigen nih einaz wig;*

id est, qui animo nullum bellum moliantur. Hinc apud Willeramum *wighuis*, castrum siue castellum, & [¶ 17] apud Poetas nostrates: *Küne wigant*, vt *küne degen*, *küne held*, *küne reken*, quæ synonyma sunt.

*faminodi*] congregabat. n. XXV. XL. Otfrid: *Samanoti*, *gefammet*. Kero: *Cænobitarum*, *Samanungono*. *Cænobiis*, *famanunga*.

*Des lobis was her vili ger*] Avidus erat laudis Idem Frater Sangallensis: *Defiderare*, *Keroon*. *Defiderium*, *Kirida*. Confessio vetus: *Oto thuruh anderes mannes gispensti*, *girida abunstes*; vel aliorum hominum suafione, concupiscentias, invidias. Ita *geren* pro *begeren*. Winsbekia ad Filiam:

*Swer hoher minne twingen gert*

*Der fol vnfüge lassen gar, vnd machen sich den werde wert.*

*halspergin*] Auctor de gestis Theoderici Bernensis:

*Da die zwen chuone man*

*Zü dem streit gesprungen,*

*Ir halsperg erklungen.*

Et iterum: *Blodleins Reken die waren allgar,*  
*Mit tausent halsperg huoben si sich dar.*

Vbi *Halsperg* idem esse quod *arcus* existimavit Lazius. Sed ego audiendum illos censeo, qui loricas sic dici asserunt, ac μετονομακῶς ipsos loricated & cataphractus in expeditionem ducendos. Inter hos Marq. Freherus Glossario ad Script. Rer. Germanicar. & Spelmannus

*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 pulpiter 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 hiz 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 einaz wig*, 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 *küne degen*, *küne held*, *küne reken*, which are synonymous.

*saminodi* [7] "Gathered." Cf. *AL* 25.2, 40.10. Otfrid: *Samanoti*, "gathered". Kero: *Samanungono*, "of the monks"; *samanunga*, "in monasteries".

*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 gispenti, girida abunstes*, "or through the advice of other men, lust or envy." Similarly, *geren* for "desire". "Winsbeckin" to her daughter: "Whoever wishes (*gert*) 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: "Bloedelin'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 participle *Hauber*. The

ad particulam *Hauber*. Ἐτρομον vocabuli est ab *hals & bergen*.  
Winsbeke:

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

Et vulgo dicimus: *Er ist geborgen*, servatus est. Sic *hereberga*, castorum statio, vbi exercitus ab hostium iniuriis conservatur. Hodie pro omni diverforii loco, vt Gallis quoque & Italis, in quo peregrinantes ab iniuria tempestatum ac latronum defenduntur; vt animadvertit Goldastus.

[¶ 18] *brunievu*] Sunt qui galeas sic dictas putant. At quia de illis verfu sequenti, placet pro thorace potius accipere. Glossar. Latino-Theotisc: *Thorax militare munimentum, lorica, Brunia*. In LL. Æthelstani Regis Anglo-Saxon. cap XXVI. *Byrne, and Helm, and ofergildene fweord*. Quæ loca Lindenbrogius adducit. Anonymus à Gold. laudatus in Ecken Vsfart de filiis Ruzinæ gigantis;

*Die risen waren beide wol*  
*Gewapnet, als man recken sol,*  
*Da in zwo brinne veste.*

*heirti*] härtete. Kero: *Dura, hertiu. Duros, herteem.*

*heriverti*] *Heerfarten; expeditiones bellicas, ὁδοιπορίας.*  
Chronicon ineditum, quod penes me est, Merborti cuiusdam:

*Do der Kayser heym kart,*  
*Zuhant bot er ein hervart.*

Vbi obiter obserues licet, *bot er ein hervart* ita dici vt nunc: *Auffgeboten; das auffgebot ergehen lassen. Here*, exercitus. Inde maiorum *Herebannum*, indictio exercitus: *Herechildt*, clypeus militaris, ut auctor Chronici Laurishamensis explicat: *Herireita*, equitatura: *Heristelli*, locus castrorum, & quo adhuc vti consuevimus, *Herold*, feccialis.

*vnz andiu*] Kero: *usque, unzin.*

*vil ungeleidigete*] f. agrestes, indomiti: aut, illæsi, intacti. Planè autem respicit Poeta ad Iustini 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.

*brunievn* [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, lorica". In the law codes of the Anglo-Saxon King Aethelstan chapter 26. "Breastplate (*Byrne*) and helmet and gilded sword." This text is cited by Lindenbrog. 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."

*heirti* [11] "Hardened." Kero: *hertiu*, "hard" [fem]; *herteem*, [masc acc pl].

*heriverti* [12] "Military expeditions, ὀδοπορίας." An unedited chronicle which is in my possession, by a certain Merbort: "When the emperor returned home / he at once ordered an expedition." Whereby we might observe in passing, *bot er ein hervart* means "decreed, gave the command". Here, "army." Whence our forefathers' *Herebannum*, "summoning of an army"; *Hereschildt*, "military shield". As the author of the Chronicle of Lorsch expounds: *Herireita*, "cavalry"; *Heristelli*, "position of a camp"; and as we have now become accustomed to saying: *Herold*, "ambassador."

*vnz andiu* [13] Kero: *unzin*, "until".

*vil ungeleidigete* [14] Often meaning "Savage, indomitable" or "unharmful, 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 wart* [16] "No-one turned."

## IX

**N**Inus leirti fini man Aribeyti lidin, In gewefinin ritin,  
 Daz fi vreisfin gidorftin irbidin, Schiezin unti fchirmin:  
 Her niliz [¶ 19] fi nigehirmin, Vnz er gewan ci finer hant  
 Elliu Afianifchi lant; Da ftiphter eine burg fint Einir  
 dageweidi wiht, Driir dageweidi lank. Michil was der fin  
 gewalt, Diu burg nanter nah imo Ninive Dafint der merevifch  
 Jonam uzspe.

gewefinin] n. XXIV. Glossariolum Lipfianum; *Giwepene, arma.*

gidorftin] durfften, auferent.

irbidin] arbeiten. Sic Glossæ Lipfii: *intlouc, aperuit; anlucon,*  
*aperuerant. Irquicke, pro, erquicke.*

gehirmin] Eædem Glossæ: *Gehirmon, quiescere. Vngehirmelick,*  
*inceffabilis.*

elliu Afianifchi lant.] Totam Afiam. Tyrol:

*Dagegen ist ellü lere blint.*

Winsbeke: *Ob mir Got finer helfe gan*  
*Dú elliu dinc wol enden kan.*

Inf. n. xx. Ad mentem Rhythmi L. Ampelius: *Ninus Rex, qui primus*  
*exercitu propè totam Afiam sub se redegit.*

*Einer dageweidi wiht]* Huius urbis magnitudinem hinc æstimari  
 posse Eustathius ad Dionysium Periegeten ait, quod historici scribant,  
 Ninum per XIV. myriades hominum VIII. annorum spacio illam  
 extruxisse.

*michil]* Inf. sæpius. Excerpta Lipfii: *Mikil, magnus, multa,*  
*copiofa. Mikilon, magnus. Mikile, magnificentia. Kero: Multò magis,*  
*michilu mer. multò minus, mihhilo min. Canticum B. Virginis L.*  
*Gothica: Mikileidfai wala meina fan. Id. L. Teuton. Vetus: Mikkilofa*  
*min fela Truchtin. Cantica Danica longè antiquiffima:*

*Spanie land oc Mycklegaard*

*De lige faa lang aff lee;*

Vbi *Mycklegaard* nostrum *Mechelburg* est, Latinorum [¶ 20]  
 Metropolis. Et sic Septentrionalibus Constantinopolim dictam, observat  
 Carminum illorum compiler. Hinc & provinciam ad litus

	<i>Ninus taught his men to suffer trials,</i>	140
	<i>to ride in armour,</i>	
	<i>to look danger in the face,</i>	
5	<i>to use bow and sword;</i>	
	<i>he did not let them rest until he had conquered</i>	145
	<i>all the lands of Asia.</i>	
	<i>There he later built a city</i>	
10	<i>a day's march wide and three days' march long.</i>	
	<i>Great was his dominion.</i>	150
	<i>He named the city after himself, Nineveh.</i>	
	<i>This was where the fish would later spew out Jonah.</i>	

gewefinin [3] cf. *AL* 27.1. Lipsius' Gloss: *Giwepene*, "arms".

gidorstin [4a] "Dared."

irbidin [4b] "Work." Likewise Lipsius' Gloss: *intlouc*, "he opened"; *anlucon*, "they had opened"; *irquicke*, "revive".

gehirmin [6] The same gloss: *Gehirmon*, "to rest"; *vngehirmelick*, "incessant".

elliu Asianischi lant. [8] All Asia. Tirol: "Against this, all (*elliu*) teaching is blind." *Winsbecke*: "If God grant me his aid, / which can bring all (*elliu*) 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: *michilumer*, "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 (*mikkiloso*) 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* seu *mikil* (Danis *magla*, ut Olaus Wormi- in Fastis patriæ suæ observat) originem trahere à Græco μεγάλη.

*dafint der merevisch Jonam vzspe*] Jonam apud Joppen navigium concendisse, & post triduum in Euxinum Pontum à ceto revomitum, Josephus narrat lib. IX. Antiq. Judaic. cap. XI.

## X.

**S***In wif diu hiz Semiramis, Diu alten Babilonie stipti fi,  
Van cigelin den alten Die die gigandi branten, Dü  
Nimbrot der michilo Geriht un dumplichö Daz fi widir Godis  
uortin Einen turn worhtin Van erdin uf ce himele, Des dreif fi  
Got widere, Dü her mit finir gewalt Gedeilti fi so manigvalt  
In zungin fibenzog, So steit iz in der werlti noch. Von demi  
gezugi des stiptis Worti diu Semiramis Die burchmura  
viereggehtich, Vieri milin lank unti fescihg; Des turnis bistunt  
dannoch Vieri dusent lafterin hoch. In der burch sint warin  
Diu Künige vili mere Da havitin ir gefez inne Chaldei die  
grimmin, Die heritin af der lanten, Vnzi fi Hierusalem  
virbranten.*

*Diu alten Babilonie stipti fi*] A Semiramide conditam Babyloniam testantur Herodotus, Ctesias, Dio- [¶ 21] dorus, Trogus, Solinus, Ampelius, alii. Diversas quorundam opiniones recenset Cl. Salmasius in opere inexhaustæ eruditionis ad Solini Polyhistora. De Beli templo in hac vrbe Solinus: *Beli ibi Iouis templum, quem inventorem cælestis disciplinæ tradidit etiam ipsa religio, quæ deum credit.* Isidor. lib. VIII. Orig. cap. XI. *Bel idolum Babylonicum est,*

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* 155  
*fired by the giants*
- 5 *when the great Nimrod  
foolishly advised them  
against the command of God  
to build a tower* 160  
*from earth to Heaven.*
- 10 *For this reason God  
in his might cast them down,  
dividing them utterly  
into seventy languages;* 165  
*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* 170
- 20 *four thousand fathoms high.  
The kings of this city  
were later very famous;  
it was the seat of* 175  
*the fierce Chaldeans,*
- 25 *who devastated land after land  
until they had razed Jerusalem.*

Diu alten Babilonie stiphti si [2] Herodotus, Ctesias, Diodorus, Trogu, 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

*quod interpretatur vetus. Vbi legend. puto: quod interpretatur Deus. Sequitur enim statim: vnde & lingua Punica Bal Deus dicitur.*

*gigandi] Gigantes, die Riesen.*

*un dumplich] In thorheit Glossæ Lipsii: Dumba, stultus: dumpheide, insipientia. Sic n. XXXV. tumbin.*

Tyrol: *Der tumber tor sich selben hecht.*

Winsbekia: *Kint dir mag wol alsam geschehen.*

*Haft in der jugende wifu wort, vnd laßt dich tump an werken sehen.*

Silesii: *Du stellst dich tumplich.*

*worhtin] faciebant, exædificabant. Inf. n. XXIII. XXIX. Ita adhuc*

Britanni.

*In zungen fibenzog] Tirol:*

*Welt ir wissen wir es vmb die kammern stat?*

*Zwo vnd fibenzeg sprache dü werlt hatt.*

Vetus Poeta in Hörnin Súfrid.

*Ia hettest du betwungen*

*Das halbe teil dirre erdn,*

*Vnd zwo vnd fibenzig zungen*

*Das si dir dienten gern.*

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

*Von deme gezuge des stiphitis] Ex materia operis, fabricæ, turris dirutæ.*

*die burchmura] muros vrbis, de quibus multa nos docet, quæque nemo alter possit, is quem dixi vir summus ad Solinum. [¶ 22]*

*vili mere] celeberrimi. Vide sup. n. VI.*

*heritin] verheereten. Vid. & n. IV.*

## XI.

**I**N den cidin iz gescach Als der wise Danihel sprach, Dü her fini tróume sagiti Wi her gesin havite Viere winde disir werilte In dem michilin meri vehtinde, Vnz uz dem meri giengin Vreislichir dieri vieri. Viere winde biceichenint vier

'god'. For shortly afterwards it is written: "whence also in the language of Carthage Bal means 'god'."

*gigandi* [4] "Giants."

*un dumplich* [6] "In folly." Lipsius' gloss: *Dumba*, "foolish"; *dumpheide*, "foolishness". Cf. *AL* 35.7: *tumbin*. Tirol: "The stupid (*tumber*) fool devours himself." *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 (*tümplich*)"

*worhtin* [8] "They made, constructed". Cf. *AL* 23.7, 29.9. Also found in English.

*In zungen sibenzog* [13] Tirol: "Do you wish to know the interpretation of the teeth? / The world has 72 languages." The ancient poet of *Der hürnen Seyfrid*: "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.

*Von deme gezuge des stiptis* [15] "From the materials of the work, of the construction, of the demolished tower."

*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.

*vili mere* [22] "Celebrated." Cf. *AL* 6.11 above.

*heritin* [25] "Destroyed." Cf. also *AL* 4.10.

## 11

- In those days was fulfilled  
what the wise Daniel had prophesied  
when he told of his dreams,  
and how he had seen  
5 the four winds of this world  
fighting amidst the great ocean,  
until four terrible creatures  
emerged from the sea. 185  
The four winds represent four angels*

*engele. Die plegint werilt allere; Die dier vier Künincriche  
Die diu werilt foldin al umbegrifen.*

*In den cidin] Daniel. cap. VII.*

*In dem michilin mere] Sic ad verbum: in mari magno.*

*vreislicher dieri vieri] Bestiæ terribiles. Schreckliche. Germani*

*Inferiores: Vrese, Vreesen, Vreeselick, à Gr. φρίξειν.*

## XII.

**D***Iz erifti dier was ein lewin, Si havite mennislichin fin,  
Diu bezeichnenit 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  
stetit; & 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 Künicriche Diu  
cifamine al bigondin grifin, Bi den cidin [¶ 23] dü Cirus unti  
Darius Gewunnin Chaldeifchi hus: Die zwene riche Küninge  
Si ciftortin Babilonie.*

*Cirus] Cyrum imperium Medorum subuertisse, & ad Perfas  
transtulisse, satis notum est; vt & Darii historia.*

*hus] pro regno vel imperio. Videtur tamen de Babylonia  
intelligendum, quam Cyrus debellavit.*



- 10 *who have the whole world in their care;  
the creatures four kingdoms  
which would encompass the world completely.* 190

In den cidin [1] Daniel 7.

In dem michilin mere [6] Daniel 7.2: "in the great sea."

vreislicher dieri vieri [8] "Terrible beasts." Low German: *Vrese*, *Vreesen*, *Vreeselick*, from Greek φοβέειν [to fear].

## 12

- The first creature was a lioness  
which had human understanding.  
She represents all the kings  
who were enthroned in Babylon.*
- 5 *Their power and their wisdom  
made their empires very large.* 195

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."

gidadun [6] "Made", from *Thun*.

## 13

- 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.* 200
- 5 *He represented three kingdoms  
which came together  
in the days when Cyrus and Darius  
defeated the Chaldean Empire.  
These two mighty kings* 205
- 10 *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.

## XIV.

**D**As dritti dier was ein lebarte, Vier arin vederich her  
 havite; Der beceichinote den Criechiskin Alexanderin,  
 Der mit vier herin vür aftir lantin, Vnz her dir werilt einde Bi  
 güldinin fiulin bikante. In India her die wüfti durchbrach, Mit  
 zuein boumin her sich da gesprach, Mit zuein grifen Vür her  
 in liuften. In eimo glase 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 vlizin manigin visc grozin, Half visc half  
 man, Dad diuht un uili harte vreißfam.

*arin vederich*] aquilinas alas. n. XLV. Aquila, Belg. *arent*; Angl. *arnt*. Germ. *adler*, à Gr. ἀετός. *vederich*; alæ. Glossæ Lipfii: *Fetheracco*, Alarum. Inde *Fittich* nostrum.

*after lantin*] Per provincias & regna.

*Bi güldinin fiulin*] De termino expeditionis ac victoriarum Alexandri Magni accuratissime, vt solet, [¶ 24] disputat Salmasius ó πόνυ ad caput Solini XXXVIII. At quæ Poeta noster hic de illo narrat, fabulas olere & figmenta mirum non est; cum illos ipfos, qui comites eius itineris fuerant, in gratiam Regis gloriæ cupidissimi multa confinxisse satis constet. De scriptoribus alias antiquissimis eorumque mendaciis, Onesicrito, Nearcho aliisque conqueritur Strabo lib. II. Geogr. præcipuèque fidem Daimacho & Megastheni derogandam ait, quorum nugæ compendio verborum recenset. Et serior ætas, quæ in maius omnia extendit, haud pauca addidit rifum potius quam fidem merentia. Huius farinae sunt quæ de gentibus ab Alexandro inter altissimos montes in parte Aquilonis conclusis epistola Presbyteri Iohannis exhibet in peregrinatione Joannis Hesei; qui illa ex Histri compilatore deprompsit mox laudando; quamuis in Ms libro meo ista de Alexandro non extent, atque ex Histri Epistolæ affuta videantur ab Heseo. 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* 210  
 5 *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* 215  
 10 *he took to the air,*  
*and he had himself let down* 216  
*into the sea in a glass.*  
*Then his unfaithful vassals* 217  
*threw the chains out into the water.*  
 15 *They said "If you want to see miracles,*  
*you can roll around forever on the seabed."* 220  
*There he saw many large fish*  
*swimming past him,*  
*half fish, half man.*  
 20 *He thought this quite terrifying.*

*arin vederich* [2] "Eagle's wings." Cf. *AL* 45.4. Eagle: Belgian *arent*; English *armt*, German *adler*, from Greek ἀετός. *Vederich*, "wings": Lipsius' Gloss: *Fetheracco*, "of wings". Whence our *Fittich*.

*after lantin* [4] "Through regions and kingdoms."

*Bi güldinin 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



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 [Anno] 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. Ptolemy 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 zwein boumin her sich dar gesprach* [8] My excerptor 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

magistrum Aristotelem epistola hausta ef- [¶ 26] se, blaterat monachus. Nos vnicas Regis, ac fanioris argumenti, literas ad Aristotelem, cum huius responso extare novimus, quas Plutarchus in vita ipsius, Themistius ad lib. I. Physicor. Arift. & ex Andronico Philofopho Agellius, lib. XX. cap. v. exhibent. At fictæ illius epistolæ meminit quoque Otto Frising Episc. lib. II. Annal. cap. XXV.

*Mit zuein grifen vur her in liuften]* 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 læsionem sustinuit Alexander in cancellis istis. Cum magna verò angustia redditus est militibus suis, quem videntes lætati sunt, collaudantes eum.*

*In eimo gláfo]* Et hanc historiam mythicam nugigerulus refert. At maiorem auctorem habet, apud quem & reliquæ forsan extarent, si integer ipse. Is est Hister siue Ister Æthici cognomento, scriptor antiquissimus, cuius Edicta Cosmographica è Græco ab Hieronymo saltuatim versâ in Thuanæa bibliotheca Lutetiæ, penes me quoque, extant, litera sane antiquissima. De Hieronymo, si alia desint, dubitare nos vetat Hrabanus Maurus, qui in libello de inventione linguarum; *Literas enim, inquit, Æthici Philosophi Cosmographi natione Scythica, nobili profapia, invenimus, quos venerabilis Hieronymus Presbyter ad nos vsque cum suis dictis explanando perduxit. Vt tamen Vetustatem scripti hactenus tantum non incogniti magis probemus, reddendum est auctori mea opera bis suum nomen apud Ifidorum. Lib. XIV Originum cap. V. ita vulgò legitur: Historia dicit, ex lasone natum fuisse Philomelum & Plutum. Vbi, Hister dicit, emendandum esse, verba & res in Æthico ab his non diuersa, satis ostendunt. In iisd. Originibus lib. XIX. cap. X. sic vulgatæ editiones: De qualibus Historia, Gens, inquit, Saxo- [¶ 27] num mioparibus non viribus nituntur; fugæ potius quam bello parati. At Hister Hieronymi (quod nomen & hic, loco vocabuli historiæ, recipiendum est) ita: Et Saxonum genus inopinatifimum, à meoparotis ingenio valdè peritifimum. Sed & eod. cap. de Lydiis aliisque navibus pleraque omnia ex hoc fonte hausta sunt. Citat eum & Plutarchus in Alexandro. Cum vero diversi fuerint Histri, & à diversis sæpenerò laudentur, vt V. C. Ger. Ioan. Vossius opere elaboratissimo de Historicis Græcis ostendit, cui hæc Cosmographia illorum assignanda sit, alii observabunt, & fortè nos ipsi, qui non pauca huc facientia obiter iam notavimus. Interea viris eruditis, si qui*

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 zwein grifen vur her in liuften* [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 glas* [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 Ister, 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[i]on." 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

reverentia vetustatis libellum hunc contingent, & hoc πάρεργον acceptum fore confidimus. Nunc quid Hieronymus ex Histro de Alexandri hoc facto referat audiamus: *Afferit (Hister) Alexandrum magnum illuc per obsidum fœdera peraccesisse, ob hoc tantum, ut hac causa navalium industriam* (apud gentes infulas Oceani magni Borici, vt ait, habitantes) *consideraret & astutiam. Et ultra quam credi potest de eo famosissimas fabulas inquirunt. Aiunt enim, in ipsas colimphas ipsum Alexandrum introisse, & profundum conscendisse usque ad imum, ut sciret Oceani profundum & differentiam maris & abyssi. Nobis verò incredibile videtur. Colimphas nominat naviculas vrinatorias (à κολυμβῶ, nato) incolarum eo loci industria ita excogitatas, vt speculi electri & vitrei beneficio in media inundatione lumine non indigeant. Magno verborum ambitu eas describit ex Histro vir sanctissimus, sed mendosissimè ab inepto librario scriptorum, quæque ex ingenio, meo quidem, citra audaciam castigari nequeunt. Vitiosum fortè minus est exemplar Illustris Thuani, aut alterum P. Danielis, quod præfatione ad Æthici Cosmographiam (non Histri istius, sed manus omnium per- [¶ 28] ambulantiem) citat Simlerus; nisi hoc in exquisitissimam bibliothecam illam translatum fuit.*

*Die kettin] Vncinas ferreas in manuum vel digitorum similitudinem curvatas, cum catenulis ferreis miro ingenio productis, colymphis aptatas fuisse, ex iisdem Histri Sophici, vt eum vocatum Hieronymus asserit, Edictis discimus.*

*Si quadin] aiebant. Ita n. XXV. XXVI. Glossæ Lipfii: Quat, dixit; Quethe, dicat; Quit, dic. Kero: ait, qhuad; sententia, kaqhuit; sententiam, keqhuiuit. Inde nostrum, quatvogel, garrulus.*

*walz] walzen, Lat. volutare.*

*Du sach her] Excerpta Mfs. Hoc audiens Alexander, iussit talia fieri, & hoc modo perquirens profundum mare, vidit diversas figuras diversi coloris piscium, & quasi terrestrium animalium, profundum maris perambulantium, multaque quæ dici non possunt.*

## XV.

**D**ü gedacht der listige man, Wi her sich mohte generian:  
Der wág vurt in in demo grunte, Durch daz glas sach  
her manige wunter, Vnz er mit einim bluote Daz scarphe 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 κολυμβῶ "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."

*Si quadin* [15] "They said." Cf. *AL* 24.3; 26.10. Lipsius' Gloss: *Quat*, "he said"; *Quethe*, "he says"; *Quit*, "say!" Kero: *qhuaad*, "he says"; *kaqhuit*, "utterance" [nom]; *keqhuit* [acc]. Hence our *quatvogel*, "chatterbox".

*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."

## 15

	<i>Then the cunning man considered how he might save himself.</i>	225
	<i>The current carried him along in the depths (through the glass he saw many wonders)</i>	
5	<i>until with a little blood he provoked the hostile sea.</i>	230

*gruozte. Alfi diu vlüt des bluotis inpfant Si warf den heirin  
aniz lant. So quam her widir in fin riche, Wol intfingin un die  
Criechen. Manigis wunderis genihte sich derfelbe man, Driu  
deil her der werilte zume gewan.*

*liftegi]* sapiens, Vid. n. II.

*generian]* f. fervare, liberare.

*Der wág]* Fluctus, die wafferwage. Gall. *vague*; Angl. *vawe*.  
Schwabenspiegel, Keiserl. Lehenrecht: *Die vifch in dem wag, die thier  
in dem wald.* ¶ 29]

*Mit einem bluote]* Quid hoc vocabuli, aut quæ auctoris mens fit,  
ignorare me non diffiteor. Neque de hac re Excerpta mea. Docere nos  
poffunt, fi res tanti est, qui illam Alexandri vitam nulla parte mutilatam  
affervant. *Bluote* tamen languinem notare puto, ut n. XX.

*In fin riche]* ad imperium suum & copias; non in patriam. Nam  
Babylone mortuum vel pueri norunt.

*Genihte]* Fruebatur spectaculo. Otfridus: *Genuhti*: voluptas, &  
habes inf. n. XXI. Belg. *genucht*. Nos *genügen*; & verbum, *geniten*.  
*zume]* zu ihm.

#### XIV.

**D***Az vierde dier ein ebir was Die cünin Romere meindi  
daz, Iz haviti ifirne clawin, Daz ne condi nieman  
gevan; Ifirni ceine vreisam; Wi sol diz iemir werdin zam?  
Wole biceichinit vns daz waltfuin Daz did riche ci Rome fal  
vri fin: Der ebir cin horn trüg Mit ten her fini vianti  
nidirflüg; Her was fo michil unti vorhtsam, Ci Rome wart diu  
werlt al gehorfam.*

*Die cünin Romere]* Otfridus de Francis:

*Sie fint fo fama kuani*

*Selpfo thio Romani.*

tam audaces, tam strenui sunt, vt Romani ipsi.

*When the waters sensed the blood  
they threw the lord onto the land.  
Thus he returned to his realm.*

- 10 *The Greeks gave him a splendid reception.  
This same man feasted his eyes on many other wonders. 235  
He won the three continents of the world for himself.*

listegi [1] "Shrewd." Cf. *AL* 2.8.

generian [2] Often means: "rescue, liberate."

Der wág [3] "Billow, surge of water." French *vague*, English *wave*.  
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].

zume [12] *zu ihm*.

## 16

*The fourth creature was a boar.  
It stood for the courageous Romans.  
It had iron claws*

- 5 *(no-one could capture it) 240  
and terrible iron teeth  
(how could that ever become tame?).*

*The wild boar clearly shows us  
that the Roman Empire will be free.*

- 10 *The boar bore ten horns 245  
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] Fahren, fangen  
 waltfain] Sic infra n. XL. lupos vocat canes filvaticos;  
 walthunde.  
 vortfam] terribilis; activè.

## XVII.

**C**In horn meintin cin Künige, Di mit Romerin rittint ci  
 sturme: Daz eilfti horn wus vnz an den himil, Die sterin  
 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 Antichrift, Der  
 noch in diese werlt künftig ist, Den Got mit finir gewelti Cir  
 hellin sal gefendin. Der troum allir so irging, Son der engil  
 vane himele geschiet.

meintin] significabant, indicabant, vt n. priori.

ougin] Inf. n XLVIII. Herzoge Heinrich von Prefslla, citante  
 Goldasto Animadv. ad Winsbekiam:

*Swenne si stet gegen im ze angefiht  
 Vnd si in mit ir ögen giht  
 Das si in von herzen meine,  
 Swer difen zwein geverig si  
 Vnd wone mit valfcher hüte bi  
 Der werde zeinen steine.*

Qui suavissimi versus eo tempore, quo Poësis ante aliquot secula inter  
 ornamenta Equestris Ordinis non non minus erat atque bellica virtus,  
 conscripti, impatienter desiderare nos cogunt Principis à tot Regibus  
 ortum trahentis carmina alia, nequicquam fortassè quærenda. Nam  
 Goldastus ó μακαρίτης, semel iterumque à me de his monitus, dubio  
 me semper responso dimisit. Itaque vera esse puto, quæ ad Tob.  
 Scultetum aliquando Gruterus: *De Germanicis illis ita est vt scripsi.*  
*Quicquid inde profert Goldastus, defumuntur è Palatina. Cur*  
*permittimus? Cur non permitteremus? eo defuncto nihil tale*  
*reperietur inter eius libros. Itaque satis se vindicaverit illa temporis*

gevan [4] "Catch."

waltsuin [7] See below, *AL* 40.20: wolves are called *walthunde*, "dogs of the forest".

vortsam [11] "Terrible", in the active sense.

## 17

- Ten horns stood for ten kings  
who rode into battle with the Romans.* 250  
*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,* 255  
*which he quickly avenged.*  
*It represents for us the Antichrist,*  
10 *who is still to come in this world,  
whom God in his might  
will send to Hell.* 260  
*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].

ougin [5] Cf. *AL* 48.12 below. Duke Heinrich von Breslau, cited by Goldast in his notes on *Winsbecke*: "Whenever she stands facing him / and her eyes (*ögen*) 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 iuuare possit & exornare. ¶ 31]*

## XVIII.

**R***omere scrivin cifamine In einir güldine tavelin  
Driuhunterit altheirrin, Di dir plegin 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 Künige heizzint  
Keifere. Si gavin imi manige fcar in hant, Si hiezin un vehtin  
wider Diutsche lant, Da aribeiti Cefar daz ist war Mer dan  
ein ihar, So her die meinstreinge man niconde nie biduingan.  
Ci iungift gewan hers al cigedinge, Daz soltin cin erin  
brengin.*

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

*In einer güldene tavelin]* De aureis tabulis nemo antiquorum scribit: an eburneæ, an æreæ, an marmoreæ fuerint, diversis pugnatur sententiis.

*Driuhunterit altheirrin]* Senatores primum ex instituto Romuli fuere centum: idem, vna cum Tatio in societatem regni adscito, ducentos postea constituit: Tarquinius verò Priscus, ad captandam auram popularem, centum è plebe selectos Patriciorum primò ordini, dehinc Senatorum numero addidit; quæ omnia præter cæteros diligentè 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.

## 18

- The Romans wrote  
on a golden tablet  
the names of three hundred senators,* 265  
*men of courtly conduct and good reputation,  
5 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.* 270  
*Then they sent out the noble Caesar,  
10 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* 275  
*– this is true! –  
15 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.* 280

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 güldene 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.

*scar]* Otfridus Evangel. lib. IV. cap. XVI.

*Skara filu breita*

*Ioh sie thara leita.*

Hincmarus Remensis Epist. V. *Bellatorum acies, quas vulgari sermone scaras vocamus.* Fragmentum Annal. Francicor. edit. à Canif. tomo. III. Antiq. Lectionis: *Et filium suum dominum Carolum dimisisset unà cum Scara contra Westvalos.* Willeramus: *Alfo wolgedrangetiu zeltscara.* Plura alii collegerunt.

*meinstreng]* Sic *armstrangigh* apud Willeramum. *Strangigk, fortis, gravis, strenuus.* Vnde nostrum *Streng, Gestreng.*

### XIX.

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

*Suaben]* Hinc nomina propria virorum apud Alemannos: *Suap, Suab, Suuabinc. Suuabizho. Suuabolt, Suabolt;* in Catalogo quem ex vetusto Codice Monasterii S. Galli edidit Goldastus. Otfridus ad Salomon. Episc:

*Lekza ich theara buachi*

*Iu sentu in Suaborichi.*

*vorderin]* Vorfahren: maiores. Kero: *Anteriores, fordroron.* Otfrid. *furira; führer* Argentinenfibus, besser. Idem Otfrid. *Zi thero furisteno ringe;* in dem fürsten oder obristen Kreisse. Inde Fürst, Princeps. Id Otfrid. *Thio furiston, io thie heroston;* die [¶ 33] fürsten vnd die herresten. Id. *Ther furisto Ewarto,* Princeps sacerdotum. Quæ loca schedis ad Otfridum suis mandasse video Mufarum & nostras delicias Robertum Robertinum Electori Brandenb. à Secretis. A *vorderin Fordro,* anterior, advocatus rei venditæ ulterior. L. Ripuar. Tit. XXXIII. *Fordronem suum nescire.*



scar [11] Otfrid, *Evangelienbuch*, 4.16: "They led in / a large army (*skara*).” Hincmar of Reims, Letter 5: "The ranks of the soldiers, which in the common tongue are called *scaras*." A fragmentary *Annal of the Franks*, edited by Heinrich Canis, *Classical Reader*, vol. 3: "And he sent his noble son Charles with an army (*scara*) against the Westphalians." Williram: "Such well-ordered encampments (*zeltscara*)". Others have gathered further examples.

meinstreng [15] Likewise Williram's *armstrangigh*. *Strangigk*, "strong, heavy, vigorous". Whence our *Streng*, *Gestreng*.

## 19

*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.*

5 *With fighting men from many nations,* 285  
*they pitched their tents  
on Mount Suevo;*

*this is why they are called Swabians.  
A people of wise counsel,*

10 *thoroughly eloquent,* 290  
*who often distinguished themselves  
as intrepid warriors,  
marshalled and belligerent.*

*Yet Caesar overcame all their might.*

Suaben [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: *Suuap*, *Suab*, *Suuabinc*, *Suuabizho*, *Suuabolt*, *Suabolt*. Otfrid to Bishop Solomon: "The text of this book / which I sent you in Swabia (*Suaborichi*)."

vorderin [3a] "Ancestors, forebears." Kero: *fordron*, "former things". Otfrid *furira* (in the Strassburg dialect: *fürher*) "better". Better than those of Strasburg. Otfrid again: *Zi thero furisteno ringe*, "in the leading or highest circles". Whence *Fürst*, "prince". Again Otfrid: *Thio furiston*, *io thie heroston*, "The princes and the most noble." Ibid. *Ther füristo Ewarto*, "The highest priest." I see that our dear friend, and friend also of the Muses, Robert Robertin, Privy Councillor to the Elector of Brandenburg, has cited these passages in his notes on Otfrid. From *vorderin* comes *fordro*, "previous royal counsel responsible for selling things." Ripuarian Law § 33 *Fordronem suum nescire* [not to know one's *fordro*].

*wilin]* quondam, vorweilen.

*mislichemo]* Kero: *Diverfis, mislichem. Diverfas, missilihho. In qua latera diverfos gradus, in diem hleiterpaumum missilihhe stiagila.*

*Ane dem berge Suedo]* Hunc montem nemo nobis ostenderit, puto. Tamen Isidor. lib. X. Orig. cap. II. *Dicti autem Suevi putantur à monte Suevo, qui ab ortu initium Germaniæ facit, cuius loca incoluerunt.*

*Ein liuht]* Populus. Kero: *Populi, liuteo.*

*Redispen]* Nec mentem sententiæ, nec rationem vocabuli me percipere fateor.

*Rekkin]* n. XXI. helden, heroas. Heldenbuch. part. III.

*Do sprach der Bernere;*

*Ir habent reken genüg,*

*Darumb sint úch unmere*

*Alle reken ze ungefüg;*

*Darumb mus ich herbringen*

*Min rekin die ich han;*

*Ir redent von den dingen*

*Si turent nieman bestan.*

Vide latius de vocabulo Rekken Goldastum Animadv. ad Tiroleum.

*wichast]* strenui, bellicosi, à wige, bellum. V. sup. n. VIII.

## XX.

**D**ü 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 Knechti dir werin, Deist in heidnischin büchin meri.  
 Da lifit man Noricus ensis, Daz diudit ein fuert Beierisch,  
 Wanti si woldin wizen Daz ingemimi 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 sagit daz dar in halvin noch sin Die dir

wilin [3b] "Once."

mislichemo [5] Kero: *mislichem*, "diverse" [dat. pl.]; *misslihho* [acc. pl.]; *In diem hleiterpaumum missilihhe stiagila*, "In which ladder there are bars of different lengths."

Ane dem berge Suedo [7] I think no-one has yet identified this mountain for us. Notwithstanding Isidore, *Etymologies*, 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."

Ein liuht [9] "A people." Kero: *liuteo*, "people".

Redispen [10] I confess I understand neither the point of the sentence nor the meaning of the word.

Rekkin [12] Cf. *AL* 21.19. "Heroes." *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 (*rekin*); / you speak of things / which no-one would dare to attempt." On the word *rekken*, see also Goldast's commentary on *Tirol*.

wichaft [13] "Vigorous, warlike." From *wige*, "war". See above, *AL* 8.6.

## 20

- |    |  |     |
|----|--|-----|
|    | <i>When Bavaria dared to rise against him,</i>           | 295 |
|    | <i>he at once besieged the famous Regensburg.</i>        |     |
|    | <i>Here he found</i>                                     |     |
|    | <i>helmet and byrnie,</i>                                |     |
| 5  | <i>and many bold heroes</i>                              |     |
|    | <i>who were defending their city.</i>                    | 300 |
|    | <i>The heathen books tell</i>                            |     |
|    | <i>what kind of warriors were there:</i>                 |     |
|    | <i>there we read "Noricus ensis",</i>                    |     |
| 10 | <i>which means, "a Bavarian sword",</i>                  |     |
|    | <i>for they believed</i>                                 | 305 |
|    | <i>that no other blade had a better bite,</i>            |     |
|    | <i>often slicing through a helmet.</i>                   |     |
|    | <i>This was always a brave people.</i>                   |     |
| 15 | <i>Their tribe came long ago</i>                         |     |
|    | <i>from the magnificent Armenia,</i>                     | 310 |
|    | <i>where Noah came out of the ark</i>                    |     |
|    | <i>when he received the olive twig from the dove.</i>    |     |
|    | <i>The remains of the ark</i>                            |     |
| 20 | <i>are still to be found in the highlands of Ararat.</i> |     |
|    | <i>It is said that in those parts</i>                    | 315 |

*Diutifchin fprecchin, Ingegin India vili verro. Peiere vurin ie ciwige gerno: Den figin den Cefar an un gewan Mit bluote mufter in geltan.*

*Die mere Regensburch]* Celebrem urbem Reginoburgum. At ea tempore Cæſaris aut nulla, aut Romanis ignota. Vetusior eius memoria vix eſt apud auctores quam in Tabula Itineraria cui *Reginum*, & in Notitia Imperii, ſive Breviario Theodoſii Iunioris, cui *Cafira Regina* dicitur. A *Regino* amne dictam, cuius ori oppoſita eſt, crediderim non dubitanter. Ratiſponæ poſtea nomen accepit. Norici ducatus metropolim vocat Otto Frifing. lib. II. cap. VI. de reb. geſtis Frid. I. De eadem Guntherus lib. I.

— *hac Noricus urbe ducatus Præcipua gaudet.* —

*Wiliche knehti]* Nobis: Weidliche (hurtige) knechte, foldaten: manu ſtrenui. Ita dicimus: knechte werben. V. ſup. n. IV. in *Scalke*. Britannis nunc quoque *knight* militem aut equitem auratum deſignat.

[¶ 35]

*De iſt]* Das iſt.

*meri]* bekandt.

*Da liſit 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 enſe pectus Norico recludere.*

*Daz ingeini baz nibizzin]* Nuſquam meliores enſes eſſe. Plin. lib. XXXIV. cap. XIV. *Ferro, inquit, in Noricis vena ipſa bonitatem præſtat aliubi factura. ingeini, keine: nibizzin, niergendt, vel, nicht.* Interpres Regulæ Benedicti: *Nihil, neoweht; Otfridus, niwiht.* v. Goldaſt. ad Winsbekium, n. II.

*Die man]* quos enſes

*Demo liute]* huic populo.

*Ellen]* V. n. IX. in Elliu.

*Wilinere]* Eherweilen, olim.

*Olizui]* Oelzweig.

*Vf den bergen Ararat]* Ifidor. Orig. lib. XIV. cap. VIII. *Ararat mons Armeniæ, in quo arcam hiftoriæ poſt diluuium reſediſſe teſtantur, five, vt habet Ms. liber vetuſtatis maximæ; in quo arcam hiftorici poſt diluuium ſediſſe teſtantur. Idem caput explemento lacunæ fanabimus ex Codice eodem. Legitur vulgò: Hoc & textrinum vocatur. Portus autem locus eſt, &c. At membranæ: Hoc & textrinum vocatur.*

*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.*

320

Die mere Regensburch [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 *Reginum*, 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 Norican leadership". On this, see Guntherus book 1: "In this city the nobility of Norica rejoices in their greatness."

Wiliche knehti [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."

Daz ingeini baz 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.

Die man [13] sc. the swords.

Demo liute [14a] "This people" [dat].

Ellin [14b] See above AL 9.8 under the headword *elliu*.

Wilinere [15] "Long ago, in the past."

Olizui [18] "Olive twig."

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 fimi aver widiri. Die lifit man [¶ 36] daz fi wilin werin al Des wunterlichin Alexandris man, Der diu werlt in iarin 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 Künige fin; Dandere vürin irre, Vuzir ein deil mit scifmenigin quamin nidir cir Eilbin, Da die Düringe dü fazin, Die sich wider un vermazin. Cin Düringin dü dir fiddi was Daz fi mihhili mezzir hiezin fahs, Der di rekkın manigis drügin, Damidi fi die Düringe slugin, Mit untruwin ceiner sprachin Die ci vridin fi gelobit havitin: Von den mezzerin also wahfin Wurdin fi geheizzin Sahfin, Svie fi doch ire ding ane vingen Si müstin Romerin alle dienin.*

*Der Sahfin]* Saxonum.

*wand]* putabat. Wehnen, meinen: wahn, meinung.

*Die lifit man]* Fabellam hanc de Saxonibus ex Alexandri M. militia, deridet meritò & refutat Alb. Krantzius in Saxoniae Prooemio.

*Irvür]* Durchfuhr, durchzog, peragrabat.

*scifmenigen]* expeditione navali.

*cir Eilbin]* Ad Albim. Ab *eilfe*, undecim, putavit dictum hunc fluuium vir doctissimus 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."

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

## 21

- 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.*
- 5 *It is written that they were once all bondsmen* 325  
*of the wondrous Alexander,  
who travelled the whole world  
to its end in twelve years.  
When he died in Babylon,*
- 10 *four of his vassals divided the empire,* 330  
*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,*
- 15 *home of the Thuringians,* 335  
*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*
- 20 *treacherously when they had met* 340  
*to discuss peace.  
From these extraordinarily sharp knives  
they came to be known as Saxons.*
- 25 *Yet determinedly as they began their resistance,* 345  
*they all had to serve the Romans.*

*Der Sahsin* [1] "Of the Saxons."

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

*Die lisit man* [5] Albert Krantz, in his *Saxonia*, justly derides and refutes this tale of the Saxons coming from Alexander the Great's soldiers.

*Irvur* [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 persuaderi sibi passus est. Ego ab accolis loci veriora habeo; nempe in confinio Silesiæ meæ non longè ab oppido Schmideberg ad vallem Teufelsgrund, quasi dicas Vallem diaboli (ob famam de spe- [¶ 37] ctris illic grassantibus) ex eo montium iugo profluere, quod hodie quoque Alpis summa (die hohe Elbe, vel Albe) dicatur. Quin igitur Alpis (Straboni ac Ptolemæo Ἄλπις, Dioni Ἄλβιος, 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 Bremensis ait in historia Ecclesiastica. Et vocabulum Alben siue Alpen, antiquitus Celtis montes fuisse dictos, iam ostenderunt alii, nosque plura collegimus, in maiori forsan opere producenda.

*Die sich wider un virmazin*] Anonymi Historia Erphersfordens. à Ioan. Pistorio tom. I. script. Germ. publicata (siue Chronica de Origine Thuringorum, Francorum & Saxonum, vt meum exemplar manuscriptum habet) quinque annis Iulium Cæs. in Thuringia pugnasse ait, quod rideas, & ibi moram traxisse.

*Daz si michili mezzir hiez in fahs*] Vt prægrandes cultros *faxas* vocarent. Gotfridus Viterbiensis parte XV.

*Ipse brevis gladius apud illos Saxa vocatur.*

Vide Glossarium præstantissimi viri Ioan. Meurfii in Σαξμοδέξιμον. Inde *osterfachs*, sica Paschalis, quo festis diebus cingebantur. Göli, citante Goldasto:

*Bint das osterfachs zer segen siten.*

Glossæ Lipfianæ: *scarfahs*; *novacula*. Glossæ aliæ: *Flebotomum*, *blodfachs*. Ab his autem cultris Saxonas nomen accepisse, & Witikindus lib I. asserit; vbi & hanc Poëtæ nostri historiam, ac quicquid huc facit, prolixius inuenies. Errat igitur, suo more, Isidorus Origin. lib. IX. cap. II. qui durum hoc & validissimum genus hominum à saxo dictum putat. Hrofuitha item nobilis fœmina, dum ita canit: [¶ 38]

*Ad claram gentem Saxonum, nomen habentem*

*A Saxo, per duriciem mentis benè firmam.*

## XXII.

**C***Esar 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 Ptolemy, Ἄλβις; Dio, Ἄλβιος; Vopiscus and Spartianus, *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 Gōtaälv, 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 copy 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 sahs* [18] "That especially large knives were called *saxæ*." 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 Σαξιμοδέξιμον. 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 Hrosvit, when she sings: "To the famous Saxon people, who have their name / from *Saxum*, because of the strength of their intellect."

## 22

*Caesar now approached  
his old cousins,  
the noble Franks.*

5 *The ancestors of both of them  
came from ancient Troy  
at the time when the Greeks destroyed the city,*

350

*diu heri beide Got sin urteil so irfcheinte Daz die Troieri fum  
intrunnin, Die Criechin ni gitorstin 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 irslagin 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.*

*Magin] cognatos, necessarios. Et Cæsar genus suum ad Aeneam  
ac Anchifen retulit. Hinc apud Suetonium ipse: Nam ab Anco Martio  
sunt Marcii Reges, quo nomine fuit mater: à Venere Iulii, cuius gentis  
familia est nostra.*

*vorderin] maiores, V. n. XIX.*

*civaltin] niederfelleten, destruebant.*

*gitorstin] durfften, audebant. Silefii: Ich torfte nicht; non aufus  
fum.*

*fazin] Belagerung: vt Latinis Obfessio, Obfidium. Saten: vetus,  
sedere, confidere.* ¶ 39

*dandero] Die andern, reliqui.*

*also hó so cim poume] Virg. III. Aen:*

*Cernimus astantes nequicquam lumine torvo  
Æteos fratres, cælo capita alta ferentes,  
Concilium horrendum; quales cum vertice celfo  
Aeriæ quercus aut coniferæ cyparißi  
Constitierant, silva alta Iovis, lucusve Dianæ.*

### XXIII.

**T**Roieri vurin in der werilte 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,* 355  
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.* 360  
15 *Thus King Agamemnon was slain.  
The others became wanderers,  
until the Cyclops in Sicily  
devoured Ulysses' retinue;  
Ulysses avenged himself with spears* 365  
20 *with which he pierced his eye while he was sleeping.  
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.* 370  
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."

vorderin [4] "Ancestors." See AL 19.3.

civaltin [6] "Razed, destroyed."

gitorstin [10] "Dared." Silesian: *Ich torste nicht*, "I didn't dare".

sazin [12] "Siege." As Latin *obsessio*, *obsidium*. The archaic *satén*, "to be sitting, to take a seat".

dandero [16] *die andern*, "the rest".

also hó 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 Helemus  
took the widow of the bold Hector,*

*genam, Mit ter da ci Criechin Bifz finir vianti riche. Si worhtin dar eini Troie Di man lange fint mohte fcowen. Antenor was gevarn dannin ér, Dur irchos daz Troie solti eigen, Der stifted vns diu burg Pitavium, bi demi wazzere Timavio. Eneas irvaht im Wialilant, Dar diu sú 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 dü mit vrowedin eini lüzzele Troie, Den bach hizin fi Sante Na demi wazzere in iri lante, Den Rin havitin fi vure diz meri, Dannin wuhfin fint Vreinkifchi heri, Di wurden Cefari al unterdan, Si warin imi idoch forchfam.*

*after fedele] Extorres vagabantur longéque à fuis fedibus. n. XLII. gefidele. Sedele, fitz. Item, ftul. Otfrid~:*

*Ther bifcof ift nu ediles.*

*Koftenzero fedales.*

[¶ 40]

*Cantic. Mariæ lirkua vet: Nidar gifatta machtige van fedale. Kero: Sedilia, fedalum. Nos adhuc: Eine fidel. Inde fella equi, Sattel, fiue, vt Belgæ melius, SäddeI.*

*vir herit] Fürtrefflich. Sic n. VII:*

*Koln ift der heriften burge ein.*

*irchos] Erkoht, deftinabat.*

*Patavium] leg: Patavium; Padua. Conatur hanc originem patriæ fuæ afferere T. Livius initio lib. I. illique affenfum præbent Virgilius, Mela, Ælianus, alii.*

*Timavio] Diverfas doctorum de Timauo fententias recenfet, fluviumque inter Aquileiam & Tergefte collocandum pluribus demonftrat Cluver. Ital. Antiq. lib. I. cap. XX*

*Walilant] Italian.*

*Dar diu sú mit trizig iungin vant] Virg. III. Aeneid.*

*Cum tibi follicito fecreti ad fluminis undam*

*Littoreis ingens inventa fub ilicibus fus*

*Triginta capitum fetus enixa iacebit,*

- 5     *through whom he gained  
the realm of his enemies in Greece.  
There they built a Troy  
which could be seen long afterwards.* 380  
*Antenor had left earlier,*
- 10    *when he realised that Troy would fall.  
He founded the city of Padua for us,  
by the river Timavus.  
Aeneas won Italy for himself* 385  
*where he found the sow with thirty piglets.*
- 15    *There they built the city of Alba,  
from where Rome was later founded.  
Francus and his men  
settled by the distant Rhine.* 390  
*There they took delight in building*
- 20    *a little Troy.  
They named the stream Sante  
after the river in their own land;  
the Rhine served them as the sea.* 395  
*This was the origin of the Franks.*
- 25    *They were all subjugated by Caesar,  
but they caused him great trouble.*

after sedele [2] The exiles wandered for a long time from their homes. Cf. AL 42.3, *gesidele*. *Sedele*, "seat". Thus [modern German] *stul*, "chair". Otfrid: "Who is now Bishop on the exalted / throne (*sedales* [Gen]) at Constance." The Magnificat [Luke 1.52] in Old High German: "he has deposed rulers from their throne[s] (*sedale*)". Kero: *sedalum*, "thrones". Furthermore, we say: *eine sidel* [seat]; hence for "saddle" *Sattel*, or as the Belgians prefer, *Säddel*.

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

irchos [10] "Chose, resolved."

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 sú mit trizig iungin vant [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 solo recubans, albi circum ubera nati,  
Is locus urbis erit.* —————

[int] Postea, darfeit. Siles. darfint.

Franko] Fabula de Franco non adeò recens est ac quibusdam videtur. Hiftri Cosmographia Ms. interprete & compilatore Hieronymo: *Cum Franco & Vasso, qui ex regia profapia remanserant, certando dimicavit; (Romulus) ipfos quoque superatos, Ilium denuò captam remeavit ad urbem. Francus enim & Vassus fœdus apud Albanos impetraverant, mutuò moventes exercitum contra Romulum: montana Hiftriæ transeuntes fixerunt tentoria, contra quos Romulus castra opponit, cum Franco & Vasso denuò bellaturus.* Recenset deinde, Francum & Vassum victos per Rhetiam ad deferta Germaniæ pervenisse, urbem Sicambriam construxisse, aliaque quæ loci huius non sunt. Fidem penes auctorem esse patiamur, vel ob antiquitatem indubitata iure suspiciendum. [¶ 41]

Eine lüzzele Troie] Paruam quandam Troiam. Commentum hoc de Troia ad Rheni ripam, Xantho illic fluuio (qui in rerum natura non est) & vrbe Xanthi nomine dicta abundè refutat Stephanus Pighius in Hercule Prodigio suo. Coloniae Vlpiae Traianæ nomen error sæculi rudioris Troianam fecit: & Traiani Principis Opt. nomen inepti librarii sæpissimè corruerunt. Tabula Itiner. in ea parte quæ Daciam concernit: *Castra Tragana*, pro, Traiana. Sic Aethicus Ms. diversus multifariam ab edito hactenus, cuius mihi copiam fecit Cl. Salmasius, nunquam sine honore dicendus, *Troianopolim* quandam exhibet. Pari errore Walachi ad Zeugmæ coloniae Dacicæ ruinas *Prat de Troian* porrectos eos campos propè Apulum amnem nominant, quos *pratium Traiani* indigitandos esse, alibi ostendemus. *Lüzzel* parvum designat. Kero: *Parvi, luzzel. Parvo intervallo, luzzileru vntarstantu, Modicè, lucic, vel luzilo. Modicè melioris, luzilemu pezzirum.* Excerpta Lipsii: *Luzzilon, parvulis. Willeramus: Vahent uns die luzzelon vohon; capite nobis vulpes parvulas.* Albertinus Muxatus de gestis Henrici VII. Imp. lib. I. Initio: *Lucemborc oppidum est Francorum fines ab Germanis distinguens, à telluris sterilitate nomen accipiens. Lucel quidem lingua Germanica pauper, vel parvum; & borg castrum.* Ornavit hoc opere in membrana eleganter exarato supellectilem librariam meam V. A. Bernh. Guil Nüßlerus amicus fraterno amore mihi iunctus.

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

*sint* [16] "Later." Silesian: *darsint*.

*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 luzzile 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 Pighius in his *Hercules Prodicus*. 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 be mentioned without honour), which is often different from the modern edition, mentions a certain *Troianopolis*. 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 Troian*, which goes back to *pratum Traiani*, as we have shown elsewhere. *Luzzil* 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.

**D**ü Cefar 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 urluf fo lange havite. Mit zorne her dü widir wante Ci  
 Diutifchimo 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 wolte gern irgezzin Obir un ieht ci leide gedan hetti.

*Dü Cefar]* Hæc quamvis veritati congrua non sunt omnia,  
 maxima tamen parte consentiunt cum iis, quæ apud Dionem,  
 Suetonium, Velleium aliosque de Imp. fummo leguntur. Conferre illa  
 inter se, & vera testimoniis firmare, falsa convellere, instituti nostri non  
 est.

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

## XXV.

**D**ü fi virnamin finin wille Si faminotin sich dar alle: Vzir  
 Gallia unti Germania Quamin imi scarin manige, Mit  
 schinintin helmen, Mit vestin halspergin. Si brahtin manigin  
 sconin schiltrant, Als ein vlut vurin fin daz lant: Dü ci Rome  
 her bigondi nahin Dü irvohtini dar manig man, Wanti fi sagin  
 schinin So breite scarin fini, Vanin ingegin burhtin, Des libis  
 fi alle vorhtin. Cato unti Pompeius rumiti Romifchi hus,



## 24

- When Caesar then returned to Rome,  
 they didn't want to receive him. 400  
 They said that his ambition  
 had lost them a large part of the army,  
 5 and that he had remained all this time  
 in foreign lands without permission.  
 Furiously he returned 405  
 to Germany  
 where he had made the acquaintance  
 10 of many able heroes.  
 He sent messengers to the nobles  
 of that realm, 410  
 complaining of the wrong he had suffered  
 and offering them fine red gold.  
 15 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."

## 25

- When they heard his request, 415  
 they all gathered there;  
 from Gaul and Germania  
 they rallied to him in droves,  
 5 with shining helmets  
 and sturdy hauberks. 420  
 They brought many a fine shield.  
 They flooded into the land.  
 As he approached Rome,  
 10 many there became afraid,  
 for they could see 425  
 his vast throngs gleaming  
 as they bore their banners before them.  
 They all feared for their lives,  
 15 Cato and Pompey  
 fled from Rome 430*

*Alder Senatus mit sorgen vluhin ſi diuruz: Her vur un nâh  
iaginta Witini ſlahinta, Vnz in Egypti lant; So michil ward  
der herebrant.*

*halſpergin] V. n. VIII.*

*Als ein vlu] Lucan. lib. VI: ——— armaque latè*

*Spargit, & effuſo laxat tentoria campo,  
Mutandæque iuvat permiſſa licentia terræ.*

[¶ 43]

*Sic pleno Padus ore tumens ſuper aggere tutas  
Excurrit ripas, & totos concutit agros.*

*Irvorthini] Timebant, Furchteten.*

*libis] Des lebens.*

*herebrant] V. n. VIII in Heriverti.*

## XXVI.

**W***Er môhte gecelin al die menige Die Ceſari iltin  
in geginne Van Oſtrit allinthalbin, Alſi der ſne  
vellit uffin alvin. Mit ſcarin unti mit volkin, Alſi der hagil  
verit van den wolkin. Mit minnerigem herige Genanter an die  
menige, Dû ward diz heriſti volcwig Alſo diz bûch quit, Daz  
in diſim merigarten Ie geurumit wurde.*

*Die Ceſari iltin] Ad Cæſarem concurrentes.*

*Alſi der ſne] Statius Thebaid. VIII.*

*At poſtquam rabies, & vitæ prodiga virtus  
Emiſere animos, non tanta cadentibus hædis  
Aëriam Rhodopen ſolida nive verberat Arctos,  
Nec fragor Auſoniæ tantus, cum Iupiter omni  
Arce tonat.*

*uffin alvin] In Alpes. Sidon. Apollin. Carm. IX:*

*luxta frondiferæ cacumen Alpſis,*

*Iun. Philarg. III. Georg: Gallorum autem lingua alti montes alpes  
vocaluntur. 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.*
- 435

halspergin [6] Cf. AL 8.9.

Als ein vlt [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 oversteps whole districts."

Irvorthini [10] "Were afraid": German *Furchteten*.

libis [14] "Of life."

herebrant [22] Cf. AL 8.12 under the headword *heriverti*.

## 26

- 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?*
- 440
- 5 *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,*
- 445
- 10 *so the book tells us,  
 that was ever fought  
 in this world.*

Die Cesari iltin [2] "Hurrying towards Caesar."

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 alvin [4b] "In the Alps." Sidonius Appollinaris, Song 9: "At the summit of a leafy Alp." Junius Philargyrius, *Georgics* 3: "However, in the language of the Gauls, high mountains are called 'Alps'". Cf. AL 21.14.

## XXVII.

**O**Y wi di wifini clungin, Da di marin cisamine sprungin,  
 Herehorn duzzin, Becche blütis vluzzin, Derde  
 diruntini diuniti, Di helli ingegine gliunte, Da di herifstin in  
 der werilte Sühtin sich mit fuertin. Dū [¶ 44] gelach dir  
 manig breiti scari Mit blüte birunnin gari, Da mohte man fin  
 douwen Durch helme virhouwin Des richin Pompeiis man Da  
 Cefar den fige nam.

*Di marin*] Equi. N. von Grauenberg in Wigolais.

*So nemen ain örſch das ich han*

*Besser denne hundert marck.*

Idem: *Do trüg in ſin ſchön marck.*

Lex Alamann. tit. LXIX: *Et ſi ille talem equum involaverit, quem Alamanni marach dicunt, ſic eum ſolvat, ſicut & illum admiffarium. A Celtis markam equum dici Paufanias lib. X. annotavit. Nobis adhuc equa fæmina, eine Mähre. Inde Mariſcalck, præfectus ſtabuli.*

*Herehorn*] Scuta ex nervis. Heldenbuch de Wolf Dieterich:

*Den ſchild von horen veſte*

*Den hüb er do für ſich.*

Nomen inde Sigefrido Gibichi Vangionum Regis genero, *Hörnin Súfrid*; non quia corneus erat, verum quod arma geſtaret ex nervis contexta; vt notavit Goldaſtus.

*diunite*] Thönete, erthönete, reſultabat, reſonabat.

Virg. ————— *reſonat clamoribus æther.*

## XXVIII.

**D**ü vrouwite ſich der iunge man Daz her die riche al  
 gewan: Her vur dü mit gewelte Ci Rome fui fo her  
 wolte. Romere dü ſin inſiengin Einin nuwin ſidde aneviengin,  
 Si begondin igizin den Heirrin, Daz vundin ſimi cerin,  
 Wanter eini dü habite allin gewalt Der é gideilit was in

- Oh, how the weapons rang  
 when the stallions leapt at each other!* 450  
*Battle horns blared,  
 blood flowed in streams,*  
 5 *the earth beneath thundered,  
 Hell flared up to meet them  
 as the noblest warriors in the world* 455  
*came at each other with their swords.  
 Whole cohorts of warriors lay there*  
 10 *drenched in blood.  
 The bondsmen of the mighty Pompey  
 could be seen dying there,* 460  
*their helmets hewn through,  
 When Caesar was victorious.*

*Di marin* [2] "Horses." The knight Wirmt 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 *Hürnen Seyfrid*, not because he was made of horn, but rather because his armour was made of interwoven leather, as Goldast has pointed out.

*diunite* [5] "Echoed, resounded;" German: *thönete*. Virgil: "The Heavens resound with screams."

- Then the young man rejoiced  
 that he had won every realm.  
 He rode in majesty* 465  
*to Rome, as it pleased him.*  
 5 *When the Romans received him,  
 they instituted a new custom:  
 they addressed their overlord as "ir".*  
*They invented this in his honour,* 470  
*as he alone now had all the power  
 which previously had been divided among many.*

*manigvalt: Den sidde hiz er dü cerin Diutifchi liute lerin;  
 [¶ 45] Ci Rome deddir uf daz fcazhus, Manig cieri nam her  
 dan uz, Her gébite finin holdin Mit pellin ioch mit golte: Sidir  
 warin Diutifchi man Ci Rome lif unti wertfam.*

*Einen nuwin sidde] Novum morem.*

*holdin] Freunden. n. XLVI. XLVIII. lib. III. Evang. cap. XX:*

*Er ift quad Godes holde.*

*Holde, amafia. Heinrich von Frowenberg, citante Goldafto: Das min  
 holde Lange bi mir Muge fin. Vnholde, inimica, infesta, quales fagæ  
 & veneficæ. Holden fiue hulden, fidem præftare magistratui: huldung,  
 huldigung, homagium.*

*mit pellin ioch mit golte] Donabat amicos fuos gemmis ac auro.*

## XXIX.

**D**ü Cefar fin einti genam Vnte der fin neve güt diu richi  
 gewan, Augustus der mere man Owisburg ift na imi  
 geheizan, Diu stifte ein fin stiffun Drufus genanter, Dü ward  
 gefant 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, Awespurch. Aethicus  
 Salmatii: Augusta Vindeliacum. Nobis Augfpurg. [¶ 46]*

- He ordered that the Germans  
should be honoured by being taught the custom.  
In Rome he opened the treasury  
and took out many valuables.* 475
- 15 *He presented those he loved  
with furs and with gold.  
Ever since, German warriors  
have been loved and valued in Rome.* 480

Einen nuwin sidde [6] "A new custom."

holdin [15] "Friends." Cf. AL 46.18; 49.24. [Otfrid] *Evangelienbuch* 3,20: "He is called 'Beloved (*holde*) of God.'" *Holde*, "beloved" [fem]. Heinrich von Frauenberg, cited by Goldast: "That my beloved (*holde*) / may long / be with me." *Unholde*, "inimical, hostile woman; some kind of witch or sorceress." *Holden* or *hulden*, "to place trust in a magistrate." *Huldung*, *huldigung*, "homage".

Mit pellen ioch mit golte [16] "He gave his friends gems and gold."

## 29

- 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),* 485
- Lord Agrippa  
was dispatched to rule the land,  
and to build a fortified city*
- 10 *so that the people would fear him.* 490
- He named the city Colonia  
(since then it has been ruled by many lords);  
it is also called Agrippina,  
after his own name.*

Neve [2] "Nephew." At Wernigerode at the church of St.Silvester and St.Gregory: "Duke Heinrich, the dear cousin of the Duke of Stolberg, died."

der mere man [3] "Famous" [gen].

Owisburg [4] *Notes on the cities of the provinces of Gaul*, edited by Schobinger: "The city of Augusta Vindelicum, Awespurch." Saumaise's *Aethicus: Augusta Vindeliacum*. Our *Augspurg*.

*Drufus genanter*] *Augustam Drufi* à Strabone nominari urbem hanc Germaniæ splendidissimam, Wolfg. Lazius scribit lib. I. Reip. Rom. cap. VIII. Sed de illa apud Geographum nihil leges, & Lazius cum in his, tum in citandis Inscriptionibus antiquis, multos interdum committit errores.

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

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

## XXX.

**C***I dere burg vili dikki quamin Di Waltpodin vane Rome,*  
*Di dir oug er dar in lantin veste burge havitin, Wurmiz*  
*unti Spiri Diefi worhtin al die wili Dü Cefar dar in lante was*  
*Vnter die Vrankin unter faz Dü worhter da bi Rine Sedilhove*  
*sine: Meginza was du ein Kastel Iz gemerhte manig helit snel,*  
*Da ist nu dere Künige wichtum, Dis Pabis fenit stul. Mezze*  
*stifte ein Cefaris man Mezius geheizan, Triere was ein burg*  
*alt, Si cierti Romere gewalt, Dannin man unter dir erdin Den*  
*win fanti verri Mit steinin rinnin Den herrin al ci minnin Die*  
*ci Kolne warin sedilhaft; Vili michil was diu iri craft.*

*waltpodin*] Gewaltboten, legati; Præfides, Curatores. Inde *walten* & nomen proprium *Waltarius* in [¶ 47] capit. Karoli M ac alibi. Inter Curatores M. Marius in Inscr. Beneventana ap. Grut. p. CCCCXXXVI:



*Drusus genantier* [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."

## 30

	<i>Regents from Rome</i>	495
	<i>came regularly to this city,</i>	
	<i>men who had also previously commanded</i>	
	<i>other strongholds in that country:</i>	
5	<i>Worms and Speyer,</i>	
	<i>which they had built during the time</i>	500
	<i>when Caesar was in the country,</i>	
	<i>locked in battle with the Franks.</i>	
	<i>At that time he had built</i>	
10	<i>his fortifications by the Rhine.</i>	
	<i>Mainz was a castle</i>	505
	<i>which brought forth many a brave hero;</i>	
	<i>today it is the place where kings are crowned,</i>	
	<i>and seat of the papal court.</i>	
15	<i>A vassal of Caesar,</i>	
	<i>called Mezius, founded Metz.</i>	510
	<i>Trier was an ancient city,</i>	
	<i>an adornment to the grandeur of Rome.</i>	
	<i>From there, wine was sent</i>	
20	<i>under the earth</i>	
	<i>far along stone channels</i>	515
	<i>to the lords who sat in Cologne,</i>	
	<i>as a token of esteem;</i>	
	<i>great was their power.</i>	

*waldpodin* [2] "Regents, legates; governors, guardians." Hence *walten* [to govern] and the proper name *Waltarius* in the capitulary 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

*Wurmiz]* Wormbs. Ptolem. *Borbetomagus.* Libellus  
 Provinciarum Galliæ: *Civitas Vangionum, id est, Wormatia.*  
*Spira]* *Civitas Nemetum, id est, Spira;* id. libellus. *Augusta*  
*Nemetum, Aethic.*

*Sedilhove]* fedem, aulam, Sitz, hofftat.

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

*ein Kastel]* Florus lib. IV. cap. ult. de *Druso Nam per Rheni*  
*ripam quinquaginta amplius castella direxit: Bonnam & Mogontiacum*  
*pontibus iunxit, classibusque firmavit.* Et urbis hæc statio copiarum  
 superioris Germaniæ ad labantes usque res Romanas semper fuit,  
 ducisque illarum fedes. Notit. Imperii: *Dux Mogontiacensis.* Hæc  
 quoque metropolis fabulas de Troianis effugere non potuit, è quorum  
 numero Magantium quendam illi initium dedisse Iac. Philippus  
 Bergomas auctore nescio quo Carino memorat lib. VI. Supplem.  
 Chronic.

*Iz gemerhte]* Celebrem reddebat.

*wichtum]* Kero: *Benedicat, wiche. Benedicere, wihan. Reliquiæ*  
*wihida, jc. Sanctorum. Sacrum, wiho. Sanctæ Trinitatis, dr wihun*  
*driniffu.* Cantic. Zachar. lingua [¶ 48] vet. v. I: *Giwhit fi truchtin Got*  
*Ifraelo.* De re ipfa, vt & aliis ad urbem nobilissimam pertinentibus,  
 Auctor Incertus (forte Sigewardus) Actorum S. Albani Martyris, tom. V.  
 Antiq. Lect. Henr. Canifii.

*Dis Pabis fenit stul]* Primatus dignitatem Romanæ sedis præfules  
 Gregorium & Zachariam S. Bonifacio & Moguntinæ fedi Apostolica  
 autoritate consecrallæ, idem scriptor fufius narrat.

*Mezze stifte ein Cefaris man Mezius geheizan]* Eadem fabula in  
 Catalogo Mediomatricensium episcoporum extare perhibetur his  
 verficulis:

*Tempore quo Cæsar sua Gallis intulit arma,*  
*Tunc Mediomatricum 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 AGRIPPINENSIMUM [i.e. Cologne].

Wurmiz [5a] "Worms." Ptolemy: *Borbetomagus*. The *Book of the Provinces of Gaul*: "The City of *Vangienum*, i.e. *Wormatia*."

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 *Mogus*. St. Hildegard calls it *Mogus* 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.

Iz 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 Sigewardus) in *Classical Reader* of Heinrich Canis vol 5.

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

Mezze stifte 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

*Diiodurum* antiquitus dictum, quæ *civitas Mettis* in divisione Regni Lotharii, quam Caroli Calvi capitula exhibent, nunc *Mets* appellatur, Itinerarium Antonini & Tabula Peutingeriana indicant.

*Triere*] COL. AVG. PAT. (Patricia) *TREVIRORVM*. ut est in nummo Vespasiani apud Golzium. *Clarum domicilium Principum* Ammiano lib. XV. Vetus interpret Geographi Græci à V. C. Iac. Gothofredo editi: *Civitatem autem maximam dicunt habere, quæ vocatur Triveris, vbi & habitare Dominus dicitur*. Imperatores qui illic constiterunt aliquos ad hunc locum recenset idem editor. De lugenda vrbis opulentissimæ everfione verbis flebilibus queritur in lib. de Gubernatione Dei sanctissimus & raræ facundiæ Salvianus. Huius civitatis Auctorem Semiramidis filium Trebram five Trebetam monachales, ut solent, fabulæ faciunt, idque in quadam Historia dici scribit Mart. Polonus. Videndum est imprimis Alberti Stadenfis Chronicon, ubi & bellum, si diis placet, Trebetæ epitaphium habes.

*Jedilhaft*] *fitzhafft*.

### XXXI.

[¶ 49]

**I***N des Augufsti citin gefcahc Daz Got vane himele nider  
gefach Dü ward giborin ein Künig Demi dienit himilfchi  
dugint, Iefus Christus Godis Sun Von der megide Sente  
Mariun: Des erfchinin fan ci Rome Godis zeichin vrone, Vzir  
erdin diz luter olei spranc, Scone ranniz ubir lant, Vmbe diu  
Sunnin ein creiz ftunt, Alfo roht fo viur unti blut, Wanti dü  
bigondi nahin, Dannin uns allin quam diu genade, Ein niuwe  
Künincrichi, Demi müz diu werilt al intwichin.*

*Vzir erdin*] Mart. Polonus lib. IV. *Hoc ipfo die quo natus fuit (Christus) trans Tiberim de taberna meritoria fons olei è terra emanavit, ac per totum diem largiffimo rivo fluxit. Tunc etiam circulus ad speciem cœlestis arcus circa Solem apparuit.*

Lothar's *Civitas Mettis* after the partition of the kingdom, as the capitulary 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."

## 31

- In the days of Augustus it came about  
that God looked down from Heaven. 520  
Then a king was born  
who was served by the angels of Heaven:*
- 5 *Jesus Christ, the Son of God,  
born of the Virgin, St. Mary.  
At once, God's sacred signs 525  
appeared at Rome.*
- 10 *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. 530  
For a new kingdom  
was approaching,  
bringing God's grace to all of us.  
The whole world must succumb to it.*
- 15

*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.

**S**enti Petir dir boto vrono Den diuvil ubirwantir ci Rome,  
 Her rethi da uf dis heiligin crucis ceichin, Her screif diu  
 burg ci Cristis eagine; Dannin fantir dri heilige man Ci  
 predigene den Vrankan, Eucharium unti Valerium, Der dritti  
 geinti uffin leige; Da kerdin di zvene widere, Senti Petri daz  
 ci clagine, Dari fanter dü finin staf, Den legitin si uff  
 Maternis graf. Si hizin un wider von dem tod erstan, In Senti  
 Petiris gibote mit un ci Vrankin gan. Dü her finis meisteris  
 [¶ 50] namin virnam Her ward un san gihorsam, Dü intoich  
 sich diu molta Als iz Got wolta, Her vieng sich ci demi grafi,  
 Schiere ilter us demo gravi: Dar vircig dagi hatti gilegin, Dü  
 muster vircig iar lebin, Cerift si du ci Trierin lertin, Darná si  
 Kolni bikertin, Da bischhof ward derfelbe man Der vane demi  
 todi was irstantan.

*Her rehte da vf dis heiligin crucis ceichin]* Respicit ad morem  
 veteris Ecclesiæ. Iustinian. Novel. V. *At ille (Episcopus loci) manus  
 extendat ad cælum, & per orationem locum consecret Deo, figens in  
 eo Salutis nostræ signum. Et Novell. LXVII. Sancimus igitur præ  
 omnibus quidem illud fieri, & nulli licentiam esse neque monasterium,  
 neque ecclesiam, neque orationis domum incipere ædificare,  
 antequam Civitatis Deo amabilis Episcopus orationem in loco faciat,  
 & crucem figat. Capitula Karoli & Ludovici Imp: Nemo Ecclesiam  
 ædificet antequam civitatis Episcopus veniat, & ibidem crucem figat  
 publicè. Hinc apud Græcos Σταυροπήγιον, dioecesis universa  
 Episcopi, in qua ille crucis figende ius habebat; & ipsa quoque fixio  
 crucis. Vide Meurfii Glossarium Græcobarb.*

*Eucharium]* Vide Greg. Turonens. in vit. SS. Patrum in Nicetio  
 Trevir. Episc. c. XVII. aliosque.

	<i>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.</i>	535
5	<i>From there he commissioned three holy men to preach to the Franks: Eucharicus and Valerius; the third died on the cliffs. The two returned</i>	540
10	<i>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.</i>	545
15	<i>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</i>	550
20	<i>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,</i>	555
25	<i>where the same man became bishop who had risen from the dead.</i>	560

*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 Σταυροπήγιον, 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-vernacular Glossary*.

*Eucharium* [7a] See Gregory of Tours, *Lives of the Church Fathers*, book 17 on Nicetius, Bishop of Trier, and elsewhere.

*Valerium]* Vfuard. 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 sin. 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 passibus, sed leugis itinera meti- [¶ 51] untur.* Ad quem locum plura conquisiuit eruditissimus Lindenbrogius. Maternum Glossa authentica in Decretal. de sacra unctione cap. Vnic. Martialem vocat, interque alia hæc verba habet: *Et rediit collega ad Petrum, & Petrus ait; Accipe baculum, & tangens eum dic, ut in nomine Domini furgat & prædicet. Et iuit, & quadragesimo die à tempore mortis tetigit eum: & resurrexit & prædicavit.* Qui locus idem dicit cum nostro. De historia audi differentem Baronium Notationib. ad Martyrologii Rom. d. XIV. Septembr.

*Dari santer dū finin staf]* Marner citante Goldasto:  
*Sagt mir der Bapst von Rome, was sol ú der krumbe stab,*  
*Den Got dem gūden Sant Peter uns ze binden gab?*

*intloich]* Kero: *Aperire, intlohhan. Apertis, intlohaneem.*

*diu molta]* puto hoc de sepulchro intelligendum quamvis vocabulum mihi alibi non obvium sit.

### XXXIII.

**D**ü gewunnin si da ci Vrankin Ci Godis dienisti vili  
manigin man Mit beizzirimo wige Dan si Cesar  
gewanne wilen. Si lertin si widir funde vehtin, Daz si ci Godi  
werin gūde Knechte. Dere lere fint wole plagin Di bischove  
na hin warin Dri unti drizig gezalt Vns ane Seint Annin  
gewalt; Dere fint nu heilig sibine Die schinint uns von himele  
Als iz sibirin sterrin nahtis dunt. Seint Anno lieht is her unti  
güt: Vntir dandere brahter finin schim. Alfi der jachant in diz  
guldini vingerlin.



*Valerium* [7b] Usuard, 29<sup>th</sup> 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: *kientot 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 40<sup>th</sup> 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 14<sup>th</sup> 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"; *intlohaneem*, "open".

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

## 33

- 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, 565  
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. 570  
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.*
- 15 *He added his radiance to that of the others 575  
like a hyacinth in a golden ring.*

*beizzirimo wige] meliori bello.*

[¶ 52]

*Dere lere sint wole plagin] Diefes lehre pfligten darfeit wol.*

*her] herrlich*

*der iachant] Hyacinthus gemma. Absque aspirata. Willeramus: Sine hente sint guldin famo finewel alfe gedrat sin beide volle iechande. Notæ Tyronis, quæ dicuntur, & Senecæ : Iacinctum, Iacinctinum.*

*in diz guldin vingerlin] In annulo aureo. Winsbeke:*

*Sun, du folt finnelicken tragen*

*Verholn din núwes vingerlin.*

Walther von der Vogelweide, citante ad Winsbeck. Goldafto:

*Swas si 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 anefin Die tugint unti warheiti  
wollen plegin. Dü der dritte Keifer Heinrich Demi selbin  
heirrin bival sich Vnti der godis willo was irgangin, Dar her  
ci Kolne ward mit lobe intfangin, Dü gieng her mit liut crefte  
Alfi diu Sunni düht in den liufte Diu in zufchin erden unti  
himili geit Beiden halbin schinit; Also 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 hertumi gezalt.*

*Dü der dritte Keifer Heinrich] Annonem ab Henrico [¶ 53] in palatium assumptum, primum præ omnibus clericis gratiæ & familiaritatis gradum obtinuisse, Lambertus Scafneburgensis refert, & iisd. planè verbis Auctor Vitæ Annonis lib. I. cap. II.*

beizzirimo wige [3] "A better war" [dat].

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*: *Iacinctum, Iacinctinum*.

in diz guldini 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."

## 34

- 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.* 580
- 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,* 585
- 10 *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.* 590
- 15 *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.* 595
- 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. Otrifido *Palinza*. Eid. *Palinzhus*, lib. IV. cap. XX.

*Giang er felbo in gegin uz*

*Thar zi themo palinzhus.*

Belg. **Paltz** : nobis **Pfaltz** : Gall. *le Palais*. Inde **Pallenzgrefe** Spec. Sax. Comes Palatii; de cuius officio Hincmarus Remensis Epist. ad Episcopos Franciæ.

*beident halb]* Vtrimque; & in aula & in Ecclesia.

*hertumi]* herrschafft. v. n. VII.

### XXXV.

**S***In güte bekanti vil un manig man. Nu virnemit Wi fini  
siddi warin gedan; Offen was her finir worte, Vure dir  
warheite niemannin her ni vorte, Als ein lewo faz her vur din  
vurifstin, Als ein lamb gin her untir diurftigin: Den tumbin  
was her sceirphe, Den gütin was er einfte: Weifin unti  
widewin Die lobitin wole finin fidde, Sini predigi unti fin  
ablaz Nimohiti nichein dün baz, Also gotliche dad iz mit rehte  
solte lichen Allir irdifchir diet. Gode was her vili liep.  
Selicliche stunt Kolnijchi werlt Dü fi sülichis 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 noster 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 secius quam nonnulli æquum putent ab ipso gesta, facere videntur, magno studio Eminentissimus Conditor Annalium congeffit tom. XI. Nobis ea libare saltem in hoc libello animus præcipuè fuit, quæ ad verba & linguæ veteris notitiam faciunt.

*Den tumbin]* n. XLV. XLVI. stolidis, refractariis.

*In der Phelinzin* [15] "In the imperial palace." Otfrid: *Palinza*. Otfrid 4.20: "He himself went out / of the palace (*palinzhus*)." Belgian: *Paltz*; our *Pfaltz*; French: *le palais*. Whence, in the *Sachsenspiegel*: *Pallenzgrefe*, "prince of the Palatinate"; on whose office see the letter of Hincmar of Reims to the bishops of Franconia.

*beident halb* [19] "On both sides; both in the palace and in the church."

*hertumi* [20] "Dominion"; cf. *AL* 7.8.

## 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.* 600
- 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* 605
- 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* 610
- 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.

*Den tumbin* [7] *AL* 46.20; 47.7. "Obtuse, obstinate" [dat pl].

*einste] lenis, mitis.*

*nimohti nichein bischof] Nullus Episcoporum poterat.*

*diet] Otfrido Thiete, volck, populus.*

*Kolnische werlt] Dioecesis Colonienfis; eleganter.*

## XXXVI.

**S**O diz liuht nahtis ward slafin al, So stunt imi uf der vili  
güte man, Mit luterer finir venie Suhter münistere  
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 scono; So her  
mit rehte mohte heizin Vtir aller weifin, So harte was er in  
genedig; Nu havitis imi Got gelonit.

*münistere] münster, monasteria; vt Kloster, claustra.*

*Da diz arme wif] Auctor vitæ Annonis lib. I. c. IX.*

## XXXVII.

**V**lli felicliche diz riche alliz stunt Dü dis [¶ 55] girihtis  
plag der heirre güte, Dü her zo ci demi richi Den  
iungen Heinriche: Wilich rihtere her were, Das quam witini  
mere, Van Criechin unt Engelantin Die Künige imi gebi  
Santin; So dedde man von Denemarkin, von Vlanterin unti  
Riuzilanti. Manig eigin her ci Kolni gewan, Di münister  
cierter ubiral Ci demi tiurin Gotis lobe Stiftir selbo vier  
münister, Diz vunfti ist Sigeberg sin vili liebi stat, Dar uff  
steit nu sin graf.

einste [8] "Lenient, kind."

nimohti nichein bischof [12] "No bishop was able."

diet [15] Otfrid: *thiete*, "a people."

Kolnische wert [17] "The diocese of Cologne"; elegantly put.

## 36

- At night when all the people were sleeping,* 615  
*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* 620  
*and homeless people*  
*who were waiting for him.*  
*Where the poor woman lay with her child,*  
 10 *cared for by no-one,*  
*there the pious bishop went* 625  
*and personally found her a modest bed,*  
*so that he could rightly be known*  
*as the father of all orphans,*  
 15 *so very merciful he was to them.*  
*Now God has rewarded him for this.* 630

münistere [4] "Monastic churches; monasteries."

Da diz arme wif [9] *Vita Annonis* 1.9.

## 37

- 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* 635  
*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.* 640  
*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;* 645  
*his grave is now to be found there.*

*Dü her zo ci deme riche Den iungen Heinriche.] Cum Henricum IV. puerum à matre Agnete Imperatrice abductum educaret. Cauffas abstractionis huius diverfas alibi legas.*

*witini mere]* weites gefchrey, ampla fama.

*gebi]* gaben, munera.

*Riuilanti]* Reusland, Ruffia.

*eigin]* eigenthumb. Lambertus: *Et plane apud omnes indubia fide conftitit, ex quo Colonia fundata est, unius nunquam Epifcopi ftudio tantum opes & gloriam creviffe Coloniensis Ecclefiae.*

*vier munifter]* Coloniae Agrippinae Monafterium ad Gradus & S. Georgii Ecclefiam. Aliud in Grafcaf in regione Weftfalorum; item Salefeldæ in confinio Turingorum & Sclavorum, ut ait Auctor eius vitæ.

### XXXVIII.

**N***I avir diu michil ere Iewiht würrre finir felin, So dede  
imi Got also dir goltfmid dü, Sor wirkin willit eine  
nufchin gü; Diz golt ftudit her in eimi viure, Mit wehim  
[¶ 56] werki dü her fi tiure, Mit wierin also cleinin Wole flift  
her die goltfteine, Mit manigir slahtin gigerwa Gewinnit er in  
die variwa: Also sleif Got Seint Annin Mit arbeidin manigin.*

*diu michil ere]* ingens honos.

*eine nü/chin]* Defidero vocabuli fignificationem.

*ftudit]* fchmeltzet. Nos hodie *fieden*, coquere.

*gigerwa]* opere: à verbo gaerewen, aut gerwen, præparare, conficere; vnde dicimus, Leder gerben, pelles macerare, fubigere. Otfrid. *garawan*. Willer. *gegarewet*.

*variwa]* Kero: *colore, farawy*. Ita & Otfridus. Gloffæ à Lazio collectæ: *infucati, Vngevarwotis*.



*Dū her zo ci deme riche Den iungen Heinriche.* [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."

*Riuzilanti* [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.

## 38

- 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 hones 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.*
- 650
- 655

*diu michil ere* [1] "The greatest of honour."

*eine mīschin* [4] I am at a loss for the meaning of this word.

*siudit* [5] "melts down." Today we say *sieden*, "to boil".

*gigerwa* [9] "To work." From the verb *gaerewen*, or *gerwen*, "to prepare, produce." Whence we say *Leder gerben*, "to tan, work leather". Otfrid: *garawan*. Williram: *gegarewet*.

*variwa* [10] Kero: *farawy*, "colour". Likewise Otfrid. Lazius' collection of glosses: *vngevarwotis*, "uncoloured".

## XXXIX.

**D**Ikki im anevuhtin di Lantheirrin, Ci iungis braht iz Got  
 al ci finin erin, Vili dikki un anerietin Di üne soltin  
 bihütin, Wi dikki üne di virmanitin Di her ci heirrin braht  
 havite. Ci iungis niwart daz niht virmidin Her niwurde mit  
 gewefinin uze dir burg virtribin, Als Abfalon wilin virtreib  
 vater finin Den vili gütin David. Difi zuei dinc harti fi warin  
 gelich. Leidis unte arbeite genüg Genihte sich der heirro güt,  
 Al näh dis heiligin Cristis bilide Dü fúnt iz Got van himele.

Ci iungis] novissimè, endlich.  
 anerietin] prodebant, verriichten. Otfrid. lib. IV Evang. c. XII.

[¶ 57]

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

## XL.

**D**Ar nah ving sich ane der ubile strüt 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  
 eigin inadere, Mit siginuftlicher cefwe Vbirwant iz sich selbe,  
 Daz di gidouftin lichamin Vmbigravin ci worfin lagin, Ci ase

- Repeatedly the nobles attacked him:  
 in the end God turned this to his honour. 660  
 Many times he was betrayed  
 by those who should have protected him.  
 5 How many times was he derided  
 by those whom he had elevated to lordship!  
 In the end they did not stop 665  
 until they had driven him from the city by force of arms,  
 just as Absalom once  
 10 drove out his father,  
 the excellent David.  
 These two events were indeed very similar. 670  
 The virtuous lord suffered  
 many trials and tribulations  
 15 just like the example of the holy Christ.  
 God compensated him for this from Heaven.

*Ci iungis* [2] "Recently; finally."

*anerietin* [3] "[They] betrayed." Otfrid, *Evangeliensbuch* 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, 675  
 in which many men lost their lives,  
 when Henry IV's Empire  
 was reduced to chaos.  
 5 Murder, robbery and arson  
 devoured the churches and the land 680  
 from Denmark to Apulia,  
 from France to Hungary.  
 No-one could resist it,  
 10 though they would gladly have remained united in loyalty,  
 they conducted great campaigns 685  
 against their kith and kin.  
 The entire Empire turned its weapons  
 against its own intestines.  
 15 With a victorious right hand  
 it vanquished itself, 690  
 so that the corpses of Christians  
 lay discarded and unburied,

*den bellindin, Den grawin walthundin: Dū daz ni trüite  
bisünin Seint Anno Dū bidroz üne lebin langere.*

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

*Kerlingen] Carinthia.*

*heriverte] V. n. VIII.*

*bikerte] kehrte, wendete, vertebat*

*In sin eigen inadere] In propria viscera.*

*Siginfilicher cefwe] Victrice dextera. Oftrido zefue, recht, dexter. Symbolum veteris Alemanno- [¶ 58] rum Ecclesiae: 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.*

*trüite] getrawte.*

*hisünin] versöhnen.*

*bidroz] verdroz, tædebat.*

## XLI.

**H***Er reiht ci Salivelt in Düringe lant Da irbaritimi Got  
diu fimi hant; Einis dagis ingegin none Dir himil  
indedde sich scone, Da sach her inne diu goteliche wunne Di  
her nidorfsti kündin Nicheinimo weritlichim manne, Dū her  
uffe finim wagene lag Vnter finis gebeddis plag, Süllich  
mancraft un umbevieng Daz man fefcein ros cidemo wagine  
spien, Dū düht hun daz her sege Suad fodor iemir künftig  
were; Vili harte untir quam figis der heilige man, Dū  
bigondir dannin fichen.*

- as fodder for the howling,  
 20 grey wolves.  
*When St. Anno saw no hope of reconciliation*  
*he had no desire to live any longer.* 695

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".

heriverte [11] see AL 8.12.

bikerte [13] "Turned, reversed."

In sin eigin inadere [14] "Against its own intestines."

Sigimfilicher 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."

bellindin [19] "Baying dogs" [dat].

den grawin walthundin [20] "The wolves" [dat]. Cf. AL 16.7: *waltsuin*.

trüite [21a] "Trusted."

hisünin [21b] "To reconcile."

bidroz [22] "Scunnered, wearied."

## 41

- He rode to Saalfeld in Thuringia;*  
*there God revealed himself to him.*  
*One day around noones,*  
*Heaven opened magnificently.* 700
- 5 *In it he saw*  
*the delights of God,*  
*which he dared not impart*  
*to any man in the world.*
- 10 *As he lay on his cart* 705  
*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.* 710
- 15 *The holy man was greatly shaken by this;*  
*as a result he became sick.*

*irbaritimi]* offenbahrte, aperiebat.

*ingegin none]* Instante iam iam hora nona. Lib. II. de vita eius, cap. XXIV.

*intedde]* entthatt, that auff.

*wagene]* Hefych: ἄγαννα, ἄμαξα, vt vetustatem vocabuli agnoscas.

*Nicheinimo]* Keinem, nulli. v. n. XXXV.

*mancraft]* Excerptiones Lipfianæ: *mancrefte*, maieftas. Ipsa vox tamē viri robuor magis significat. Sed alibi, ait Lipfius, *Megincraft*, maieftas, & *Megincrefsti*, maieftatis.

*Dü düht un]* Da dauchte ihn.

*Suad fodor]* Quicquid.

*dü bigondir dannin fichin]* Da begann er zu fiechē. ¶ 59]

## XLII.

**E**Inis nahtis der heirro dü gefach Wi her quam in einin  
vili Küniglichin fal Ci wuntirlichimi gefidele, Soiz mit  
rehti folde fin ci himele, Dü düht un in fumi troume Wiz  
allint halvin were bihangin mit golde, Di viuli tiurin steini  
liuhtin dar ubiral, Sanc unti wunne was dir groz unti  
manigvalt, Dü fazin dar bifchove manige Si fchinin also die  
sterrin cifamine, Dir bifchof Bardo was ir ein, Senti Heribret  
gleiz dar als ein goltstein, Andere heirin genüg Vn was ein  
lebin unt ein muht. Dü ftunt 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 also gefach. O wi gerne her dü  
gefexe, Den libin ftul wi gerner bigriffe, Dad ni woltin  
gelobin di vurftin Durch einin vlekke vure finin bruftin.

*Eines nahtis]* Vita Ann. lib. II. cap. XXV.

*gefidele]* V. n. XXII.

irbaritimi [2] "Revealed, opened."

ingegin none [3] "Shortly before the ninth hour." *Vita Annonis* 2.24.

intedde [4] "Opened."

wagene [9] Hesychius: ἄγωνα, ἄμαξα, that you may discern the age of the word.

Nicheinimo [8] "None" [dat], German: *keinem*. Cf. *AL* 35.12.

mancraft [11] Lipsius excerpts: *mancrefte*, "grandeur". This word, however, signifies the strength of a man. But elsewhere Lipsius has: *megincraft*, "grandeur"; *megincrefti* [gen].

Dū düht un [13] "Then he thought."

Suad sodor [14] "Whatever."

dū 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.* 715
- 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.* 720
- 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;* 725
- 15 *they acted and thought as one.  
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.* 730
- 20 *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.*

Eines nahtis [1] *Vita Annonis* 2.25.

gesidele [3] Cf. *AL* 23.2.

*Dir bischof Bardo]* Archiepiscopus Moguntinus.

*Senti Heribret]* Heribertus Colonienfis Archiepiscopus, cuius vitam à Ruperto Abbate Tuitienfi in literas relatam Surius Tom. II. exhibet. Sigebertus in Chron. eum ex humanis decessisse refert A. C. MXXI. Nomen hoc variè scribitur; *Heribert, Heribret, Heripret, Herebret, Heripreht*, vt videre licet ex Catalogo Nominum propriorum Alamannicar. Antiquit. à Goldasto editar. tom. II.

*geweiht]* n. XLVII.

[¶ 60]

*Dad ni woltin geloben di vurstin]* Patres eum à confessu prohibuisse ait, donec macula, qua vestis ea parte quæ pectus tegebat fœdata erat, ablueretur. Id significasse memoriam iniuriæ Annoni à civibus Colonienfibus illatam, Scriptor vitæ illius annotat.

### XLIII.

**V***F stunt dir heirrin ein hiz Arnolt Ci Wurmizi was her wilin Bischof, Seint Annin nam her mit handin, So quamin si dar bihalvin Mit süzir redin her un dü bistunt, Her sprach; trosti dig heirro Godis drüt, Disin vlekkin wisi hine gedun, Ci ware dir is gereit der ewigi stul, Daz sal sin in curtin stundin, So bistu disin heirrin willicumin. Vntir un nimaht tu nu blivin Wi lutir iz sal sin dad si willin lidin: Crist havit tir disî 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 so gewant Durch alle diusi werilt ni rümiter daz Paradyfi lant, Sülich is diu himilfschi wunne, Dar fule wir denkin alt unti iungin, Von demi slafe dir heirro dü gestunt, Wole wister wad her folde dun Kolnerin virgab her fini hulte, Daz her si hazzite wi groz daz warin ere sculte.*



Der bischof Bardo [11] Archbishop of Mainz.

Senti Heribret [12] Heribert, Archbishop of Cologne, whose biography, written by Abbot Rupert of Deutz, was published by Surius vol 2. In his chronicle, Sigebert dates his death to 1021. This name is written in a variety of ways: *Heribert*, *Heribret*, *Heripret*, *Herebret*, *Heripreht*, as can be seen from the *Catalogue of Alemmanic Proper Names*, in Goldast's *Antiquities* vol 2.

geweiht [16] AL 47.2.

Dad ni woltin geloben di vurstin [21] He says that the fathers barred him from sitting with them until the mark on his breast where his garment was soiled had been washed away. The author of the *Vita* notes that this represented the memory of the injustice perpetrated on Anno by the citizens of Cologne.

## 43

- One of the lords named Arnold stood up.* 735  
*Once he had been Bishop of Worms.*  
*He took St. Anno by the hand*  
*and led him aside.*
- 5 *He spoke to him kindly*  
*and said, "Take comfort, my lord, beloved of God!"* 740  
*Bid this stain be gone!*  
*Truly, the eternal throne is prepared for you.*  
*This will shortly come to pass,*
- 10 *then these lords will welcome you.*  
*You cannot remain among them now.* 745  
*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!"*
- 15 *It distressed him very greatly*  
*that he had to return to earth;* 750  
*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;*
- 20 *we should ponder on this, old and young alike.*  
*The lord awoke from his sleep* 755  
*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 drüt]* Amice Dei; à drouu, (trew) fides. Winsbekia:

*Trut kint, du sin hoh gemüt,*

*Vnd darunter in zühten leben.*

[¶ 61]

Willeram: *Sulich is min drut.* Episcoporum Remensis & Rotomagensis Provinciarum capitula ad Hludowicum Regem: *Et sine solatio & comitatu drudorum atque vafforum.* Incertus auctor vitæ S. Vdalrici: *Et drudes fuos donis congruis sibi complacare satagebat.* Inde *druchte* pro sponfa. Lex Salica Tit. XIV. § X: *Puellam, quæ druchte ducitur ad maritum.* Et nomina propria foemina: *Drudhilt, Drudhoh, Drudpreht;* in Catalogo veteri quem Goldastus produxit. Item *Vilitruht,* ap. Venant. aliaque.

*Difin vlekkin wife hine gedun]* Hanc maculam noris eluere.

*wi lutir]* Quàm libenter.

*irougüt]* eräugēt. Willeram: *Das er sich mir in dirro werlt erougade* (Ms. oigte) sicuti est, Vbi doctus interpret *erougade* aliter quam debebat, vertit: *verhoogde,* siue, *erhöhete:* Nam Paraphasis Lat. ita habet: *Aut hic præsentem seclorum cernere regem.*

#### XLIV.

**D**ü dat cit dü bigonde nahen Daz imi Got wolte lonin,  
 Dü ward her gikeiftigit Alfi dir heiligi Iob wilin. Vane  
 vüzin vns an diz hoibit So harti al bitoibit: So schit diu tiure  
 sela Von menniflichimo fera, Von difimo fiechin libi In das  
 ewigi paradyfi: Diz vleifc infinc du erda, Dir geift vur up ci  
 berga: Dari fule wir iemir nah imo deinkin Wa wir ci iungift  
 fulin leintin.

*Gekeiftigit]* Gloffæ Lipfii: *Kestegoda,* anxit: à castigando. Nobis, *kafteien.*

*hoibit]* Winsbekius:

*Maria Magdalena was*

*Mit hobitfünden vberladen.*

[¶ 62]

heiro Godis drūt [6] "Friend of God" [voc]; from *drouu*, "faithful" (German: *trew*). *Winsbeckin*: "Dear (*trut*) child, be of good spirits, / and live a disciplined life among them." Williram: "Thus is my beloved (*drut*)". 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 *druchte* 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*, *Drudpreht*, in the old catalogue reproduced by Goldast. Likewise *Vilitruht* in Venantius and elsewhere.

Disin vlekkin wise hine gedun [7] "May you know this mark to be washed away."

wi lutir [12] "How willingly."

irougit [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 *erhöhet*: 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,* 760  
*he was tormented*  
*as once the holy Job had been;*  
5 *from his feet to his head*  
*he was afflicted everywhere.*  
*Thus the precious soul departed* 765  
*from human suffering,*  
*from this ailing body,*  
10 *to the eternal Paradise.*  
*The earth received the flesh,*  
*the spirit soared up on high.* 770  
*Our thoughts should always follow him there,*  
*where we too will land in the end.*

Gekeistigit [3] Lipsius' Gloss: *Kestegoda*, "he caused distress to"; from *castigando*. Our *kasteien* [castigate, chastise].

hoibit [5] *Winsbecke*: "Mary Magdalene was / submerged in mortal sins (*hobitsünden*)."

*Von menschlichem Jera] Ab humana miseria, calamitate. Otfrido Jera, weh, leiden. Belgis feer, dolor. Inde nostrum, verfehren. Migravit Anno ex hac vita A. D. MLXXV. fedis fuæ An. XXI.*

## XLV.

**A**lfer dü ci Godis antwurte quam Cin ewigin ginadin,  
 Dü dedde dir heirro edile gemut Also dir ari finin  
 iungin dü Sor si spanin willit uz vliegîn: Her fuemit obin ce  
 cierin, Her wintit sich uf ci berge, Daz sint dint die iungin  
 gerne: Also woldir uns gespanin Wari wir na imi foldin varin.  
 Her zoigît uns hinidine Wilich lebin si in himile; Ci demi  
 gravi da fini woltin doht havin Da worhtir scone ceichin, Die  
 sichin unti die crumbe Di wurdin da gefunte.

*antwurte] gegenwart. Kero: Præfens, antwurti. Præfentis vitæ, des antwartan libes.*

*ari] aquila. Belg. arent. Angl. arnt. Nobis adler, quod ad Gr. ἀετός propius accedit.*

*spanin] Kero: Suademus, spanames. Suafione, kspanst. Suggestere, spanan. Suggestitur, ist kifpanan. Otfridus lib. v. c. xx. Evangel:*

*Ioh er thie liuti alle*

*Spani ci gewerre;*

*vbi, spanan ci gewerre, est, ad prælium incitare: à veteri werra, bellum, Gallis la guerre. Silefii: Er macht ein gewerre; turbas dat.*

Von mennislichimo 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.

## 45

- When he came into God's presence,  
 to eternal grace,  
 the noble-minded lord did  
 as the eagle does* 775  
 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.* 780  
*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.*  
 10 *By his grave, where people thought he was dead,  
 he wrought great miracles:* 785  
 15 *the sick and the lame  
 were healed there.*

antwort [1] "Presence." Kero: *antworti*, "present"; *des antwartan libes*, "of the present life".

ari [4] "Eagle." Belgian *arent*, English *arnt*, our *adler*, which is very close to Greek *ἀετός*.

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

## XLVI.

**A**rnolt hiez ein vollin güt kneht Der havit einin  
 vogitman hiez Volpreht, Der durch [¶ 63] werltliche  
 sculde Virlos finis heirrin hulte, Dü bigonder Godi  
 mißfitruwin Helphe sühter an din tiuvil, Her kós vn imi ci  
 vogite wider Arnolde. Einis abindis ginc her einin ganc Na  
 finimo roffe einis veldis lanc, Da irscheine imi der tiuvil  
 offene; Her virbot imi alle Cristis é, Vnt her nimanni daz ni  
 sagite 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 Virleitler dü den tumbin man Daz her geliz sich cis  
 vianis truwin: Daz ward imi fint ci ruwin.

*ein vollin güt kneht*] vollin, sehr. *Kneht*, vir nobilis, acer; ut n.  
 XX. Auctor Vitæ Annon. lib. III. cap. XX ubi hæc proluxius explicantur:  
*Arnoldus vir strenuus & dives, Dollindorpenfis castri dominus.*

*Volpreht*] Ibid: *Accusabatur tum coram illo Volebertus homo  
 nequissimus quod non perfolvisset æs alienum.*

*vogit*] Ibid. *Volprehti verba: Alius mihi iudex & patronus  
 quærendus est. Vogit*, curator, protector, herus; quasi vocat, ut vult  
 Goldastus, ab *Advocatus*. Reinmar von Zweter, citante Goldasto.

*Das riche daft des Keifers niht,*

*Er ist sin pflieger vnd sin voget.*

*Römsch vogt* etiam Imperator dicitur à Tirole, n. XIII. ubi vide  
 laudatum iam Scholiaften.

é] v. sup. n. III.

*giwuge*] Otrf. *gihuge*; 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.* 790
- 5 *He despaired of God  
 and sought the help of the Devil,  
 choosing him as his governor  
 in place of Arnold.* 795
- 10 *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.* 800
- 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.* 805
- 20 *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.* 810

*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]."

*Volpreht* [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 (*voget*)."  
 Therefore the Emperor is called *Römsch vogt* by Tirol, strophe 13; see also the other references which the scholar [Goldast] has gathered there.

*ê* [12] See above AL 3.17.

*giwuge* [15] Otfried, *gihuge*, "thought"; *huggen*, "to notice".

*holtin* [18] "Amicable." Cf. AL 28.15.

## XLVII.

**D***Es andren tagis her mit Arnolde reiht Dis tiviuilis  
geheizi was her vili gemeit, Mit miffelichin redin her  
dar zu quam Daz her Godis bigonde virouchinan, Godis  
heiligin bigonder lafterin, Daz niman nifolti gebaldin, Vnzi  
dü der vili tumbe man Bigondi lafterin Seint Annin; Her quad  
dad her iz al wol irkante, Iz wer al triugeheit unti fcante,  
Anno lebit ié mit funtin, Wad ceichine her getuon folte? Dere  
vreblichin schelti Müfter fan intgeltin; Da ciftede fin ouge  
winifter Vür imi uz als ein wazzer; Dü der ungeloubige man  
Ni woltt fich irkeinnin, Her niwolti Seint Annin fceltin, Dü  
müfte hers mer intgeltin, Durch fin hoibit quam ein slag Daz  
her dir nidiri gelach; Als ein gefcoz daz ouge cefwe Spreiz uz  
imi verre: Dü vil her nidir andid gras, Her fchrei als imi was:  
Harti irquamin fi fich des ubiral, Si bedditin ci Gote in cruce  
ftal.*

*gemeit*] n. XLII.

*winifter*] Linck. Glossæ: *Winifter*, *finifter*. Dani, *venstre hand*.  
Willeram: *So ist fin winstra vnter minemo hoibete, unte fin zefewa  
umbegriphet mih.*

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

*Harti irquamin fi fich 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.*
- 5 *He went on to slander God's saints, 815  
which no-one should dare to do,  
and finally the enormously foolish man  
also slandered St. Anno.  
He said that he knew full well*
- 10 *that it was all deception and scandal; 820  
Anno had always lived in sin;  
what miracles would he ever do?  
At once he had to pay  
for this wanton calumny.*
- 15 *There on the spot, his left eye 825  
spurted out like water.  
When the unbelieving man  
would not come to his senses  
and desist from defaming St. Anno*
- 20 *he had to pay even more dearly for it. 830  
A shock went through his head  
causing him to fall to the ground;  
like a shot his right eye  
squirted out far before him.*
- 25 *Then he fell down on the grass, 835  
screaming as befitted his plight.  
People everywhere were very frightened by this.  
Lying with outstretched arms, they prayed to God.*

*gemeit* [2] Cf. 42.16.

*winister* [15] "Left." Glosses: *winister*, "left". Danish: *venstre hand*. Williram: "His left hand (*winstra*) is under my head, and his right hand (*zesewa*) embraces me."

*ouge ceswe* [23] "Right eye." Williram in the verse just cited. See also *AL* 40.15.

*Harti irquamin si sich des ubiral* [27] "They hastened together from all directions because of this."

## XLVIII.

**A**rnolt his dradi rennin Paffen imi dari gewinnin, So  
vürhtin si in ceinir kirichin, Si lertin un fini pigihtu tun,  
Vnzi dü der feregi man Sent Annin anedingin bigan, Her bat  
finir genadin, Daz her den gefunt imi virgabi: Michil wunter  
sagin Alli di dü da warin; In den itilin ougistirnin Wuhfin  
niuwe ougin widere, Daz her fan ci stundin woli gefach: So  
scone ist diu Godis craft.

dradi] statim. Willer: *Desde draher stinkent sine pimenton.*  
Item : *Mit famo draten terroribus.* Chronicon Ms. Merborti:

Vnd kart do geng Welherad  
Wider umb gar wundern drat.

pigihit] beicht. Confessio vetus Alemannica: *Ich wirdu Gote  
almahtigen bigihtig.* Kero: *Sponsione, pigihtu.*

## XLVIII.

**V**on altin ewin ist daz kunt Wi sich wilin uf tedde der  
merigrunt Dü Moyfes das liut Ifrael Mit trukkenim  
wegge leite ubir se Ci demi allir bezzistin lante Des die gütin  
ouch fulin waltin, Da die becche miliche vluzzin, Diz süze  
honig dar inzufchin, Diz olei uz eime steine sprunge, San dir  
bi der süze brunne, Diz brot vane himele reginete, Allis gudis  
si seide habiten, Mit wüntirlichin ceichinin Erete Got Moyfen  
den heiligin, Vnz ein sin selbis fuster Bi- [¶ 66] gondimi  
sprecchin lafter. O wi starche si di misilfuht bistunt, Vnz iri  
gewegete der brüder gut: Also gewegete Seint Anno difim

## 48

- Arnold quickly sent  
for priests to come* 840  
*and lead him to a church.*
- They urged him to make confession,*  
5 *until the suffering man*  
*called on the name of St. Anno.*
- He asked him for mercy* 845  
*and that he should restore him to health.*
- All who were present*  
10 *witnessed a great wonder.*
- New eyes grew*  
*in the empty sockets,* 850  
*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*)."

*pigihti* [4] "Confession." *Old Alemannic Confession*: "I shall confess (*bigichtig*) to God almighty." Kero: *pigihti*, "covenant".

## 49

- We know from the Old Testament*  
*how once the ocean floor was opened*  
*when Moses led the people of Israel* 855  
*on a dry path across the sea*
- 5 *to the best of all lands*  
*which the righteous shall also possess,*  
*where the streams flowed with milk,*  
*the sweet honey between them,* 860  
*the oil sprang from a stone,*
- 10 *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,* 865  
*with miraculous signs*
- 15 *until only his own sister*  
*spoke slander against him.*  
*Oh how terribly the leprosy afflicted her*  
*until her good brother came to her aid.* 870

*man Daz her fini gefunt gewan, Ci diu daz wir virftuntin Des  
richin Godis gûte, Wi her fo lonit unti ricchit Suaz man finin  
holtin fpricchit, Der fo sûze leidit albihanten Ci demi fconin  
paradyfi lante.*

*ewin*] v.n. I.

*das liut*] die leute, das volck.

*fuster*] fororem; ita Belgæ adhuc. Angl. *a fister*. Dan. *fofter*.

*di misilfuht*] Aufzatz, Lepra. Glossariolum speciminis de lingua  
Gothica. Gall. *mefellerie; mefeau, mefel*. Leprofus. Germ. *maltzig*.  
Papulæ, *mafelen; vel mafern*.

## FINIS.

[¶ Ø]

**A** *Mice Lector, Erratis, si qua oculos nostros fugerunt, ignosces.  
Albim apud Adamum Bremensem Gotthelbam esse, p. 37.  
memoriolæ lapsus est. Nam fluvium Sueoniæ ita dictum ex Adamo &  
Scholiis ad illum antiquis apparet.*

- 20 *Likewise St. Anno came to the aid of this man,  
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,*
- 25 *who so gently leads us directly  
to the beautiful land of Paradise.*

875

*ewin* [1] Cf. AL 1.17.

*das liut* [3] "The people."

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

*di misilsuht* [17] "Leprosy." The gloss of specimens of the Gothic language. French: *mesellerie* [leprosy]; *meseau, mesel*, "leprous"; German *maltzig* [leprous]. *Maselen* or *masern*, "spots".

**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 *Anmolied* and to elucidate some of the puzzles in Opitz's discussion. A fuller commentary on the *Anmolied* itself will be found in the notes to Nellmann's edition.

### Title page

See also Fig. 2. It is interesting that the title page uses the form *Dantisci*, "Danzig", and the stylized early Roman numerals (cI5 = M; I5 = 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 Hünefeld'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, Hünefeld 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 councillors 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 *Anmolied* 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 *Anno* 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 18<sup>th</sup> century. Rather, it sets the scene for later philological discussions of the *Anno*'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 17<sup>th</sup> 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 ævi vetustas* may be an allusion to Virgil, *Aeneid* 3.415. Other authors in order of appearance are:

- Julius Pollux, 2<sup>nd</sup>-century Greek sophist and lexicographer, author of the *Onomasticon*.
- Suidas, the name given by the humanists to the author of the *Suda*, an anonymous 10<sup>th</sup>-century Greek lexicon.
- Etymologus, presumably the anonymous author of the *Etymologicum magnum*, a 12<sup>th</sup>-century dictionary based on an earlier 9<sup>th</sup> or 10<sup>th</sup>-century work now called the *Etymologicum genuinum*.
- Hesychius (6<sup>th</sup> century), Greek lexicographer; see note on 41.9.
- Herodotus (c.490-c.425 BC), Greek historian; here Herodotus 7.73.
- Athenaeus (fl. c. 200) Greek author of a book on banqueting.
- Jordanes (not Jornandes!) (6<sup>th</sup>-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 Puteaneus of Livy, now Paris lat. 5730, saec. V.
- Apuleius Celsus, ancient physician.
- Claudius Galenus (c.131-200), Greek medical theorist.
- Dioscorides or Dioskurides Phakas (1<sup>st</sup>-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 (1<sup>st</sup> 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 (1<sup>st</sup> half of 12<sup>th</sup> century), theologian, author of *Imago mundi*.
- Pierre Pithou (1559-1596), French scholar.
- Zonaras, Byzantine chronicler, to whom a 12<sup>th</sup>-century Greek lexicon was misattributed.
- Ansileubus (late 8<sup>th</sup> century), lexicographer.
- Valerius Harpocraton (1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> century) author of *Lexicon decem oratorum*.
- Philippe Jacques de Maussac (c.1590-1650), edited Harpocraton.
- Bonaventura Vulcanius (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.

## 1

*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 Siegburg. 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 *Diutischi*, 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 *h*" 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 *Annolied*'s vocabulary. The 2<sup>nd</sup>-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 *Annolied* 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 17<sup>th</sup> 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 *flornre*, *cogore* and *segnitim* read *floruere*, *cogor* and *segnitiem*, errors which Bodmer and Breitingner 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 transubstantiation.

#### 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. Steinmeyer). 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 Sieberg from Sieburg, which it places on the Ruhr. In fact Sieberg and Sieburg are effectively identical, while it is Siegen which lies on the Ruhr. The monastery at Sieburg 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 (*quod* 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

*Annotied*

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: *danmiri lisit man daz zua werilte sin / Diu eine, 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 *Annotied* 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 *Sangspruch* "Künic Constantin der gap sô 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 *allero*; 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 13<sup>th</sup>-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 *König Tirol*. The "two" are shield and helmet, and by "skill", skill at jousting is intended.

15. Plotinus (c.205-70), Greek philosopher; Epphantus (4<sup>th</sup> century BC), philosopher; Stobaeus (John of Stobi), 5<sup>th</sup>-century Macedonian anthologist; Photius, 9<sup>th</sup>-century Byzantine lexicographer; Sextus Empiricus (fl. 200), Greek physician; Hierocles, 2<sup>nd</sup>-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 *sunnen* (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.*

6. Goldast *Para*. 437.

14. Goldast *Para*. 290.

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 Alemanns, Ripuarians 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 pato quicquid ego contra Dei voluntatem egi*.

2. The Gothic Bible, here and in 9.12, is cited from Vulcanius 35-42; for *leitais*, Vulcanius 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 Vulcanius 55-57. *Adelshalc* is from Lindenbrog 440 and 1348.

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

## 5

## Opitz

1. Aurelius Prudentius Clemens (c.348-post 405), Christian Latin poet, author of the *Psychomachia* ("Battle for the soul"), here 347f. Venantius Honorius Clementianus Fortunatus (c.540-c.600), Christian Latin poet; Jonas of Orléans (d.843/4), bishop and ecclesiastical writer. For *agmine* read *agmine*.

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 9<sup>th</sup>-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

*Annolied*

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 *totam armeniam sequuntur* are an allusion to Virgil, *Aeneid* 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 13<sup>th</sup> century copy of a Roman map of the 1<sup>st</sup> 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 *Secundi* 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. Heinrich Meibom the elder (1590-1655), German historian. Levold von Northof (1279-1359), chronicler.

11. Wirmt von Grafenberg in Goldast *Para.* 403.

## 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. *peritir* ⇨ *berht*, "bright".

## Opitz

1a. Laurentius Surius (1522-78), German hagiologist. On the *Vita Annonis* see my note on 34.2.

1b. Actually 4<sup>th</sup> April 1065.

3. Ammianus Marcellinus (c.330-95), Roman-historian; Zosimus, 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> 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*

6. Goldast *Para.* 300.

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. *ciih* – 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 Hünefeld 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. gedencckt 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 3<sup>rd</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup>-century Justin.

8. *Winsbecke* from Goldast *Para.* 332.

9a. *Winsbecke* from Goldast *Para.* 306. For μετονομικῶς read μετωνομικῶς; 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 *hauberk* and *byrnie*, 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 *Norðleoda 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 *Eckenlied* 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 Herburt (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 2<sup>nd</sup>-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 *Mechelburg*. In Danish (and Old Norse) verse, *Mykelgaard* always refers to Constantinople, as, often, does Latin *Metropolis* when used as a proper noun. *Mechelburg*, on the other hand, would seem to be Mecklenburg; the earliest form of the name is *Mechelenburg*, attested from 995. Thus Opitz, apparently unconscious of the Scandinavian usage, is suggesting an etymology for the name *Mecklenburg*.

14. for *concondisse* 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 3<sup>rd</sup>-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 disputation 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 30<sup>th</sup> 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 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, author of a history of Persia.

6. *Winsbeckin* from Goldast, *Para.* 326. Opitz takes *un* ( $\Leftrightarrow$  *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 4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century BC; the 13<sup>th</sup>-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 8<sup>th</sup>-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 19<sup>th</sup>-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 16<sup>th</sup>-century bibliophile who saved the library of the Abbey of St.-Benoît-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 *Annotied* 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 *compiler* (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 Euphron (3<sup>rd</sup> 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, 1<sup>st</sup> century AD), whose *Parallel Lives* included a book on Caesar and Alexander; the 4<sup>th</sup>-century Themistius, a Greek rhetorician who wrote paraphrases of Aristotle, here of the *Physics*; the 1<sup>st</sup>-century AD Aulus Gellius (Agellius being a mediaeval misreading of A.Gellius); Andronicus of Rhodes, the philosopher of the 1<sup>st</sup>-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 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> century, whereas we now place the Aethicus *Cosmography* in the 8<sup>th</sup>; 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 Saxonum 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 *Anno*lied. 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 *vawe* 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 13<sup>th</sup>-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 *Genîten* “to enjoy, to thole” (in the negative sense in *AL* 39.40) can mean “to have one’s fill”; but *genügen* is not cognate.

## 16

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

*Anno*lied

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 Lindembrog 1473. Heinrich Canis (1557-1610) was the nephew of the theologian Peter Canis.

## 19

*Annotied*

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 *Střibo* (Bohemia) or *Argentine* (Savoie), among others. The Ripuarian law is cited from Lindembrog 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 & Breitingen add *weylant*.  
 12. *Heldenbuch* citation from Goldast, *Para.* 363; on *rekken*, *ibid* 362. See Zimmermann p. 10 on Goldast's use of the *Heldenbuch*.

## 20

*Annotied*

16. *hêr*, see my note on 6.9. Nellmann (and with him Schultz) has “das hochgelegene Armenien”, an adventurous translation; *hêr* 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. Otfrid from Goldast, *Para.* 391.

## 21

*Annotied*

13. for *vuzir* read *vuz 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 Spartianus are two of the six

possibly fictitious authors to whom the 4<sup>th</sup>-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 Spartianum 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 (11<sup>th</sup>-century), see Opitz's erratum at the end of his volume; the river Götaålv, 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 Nymphen 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, 12<sup>th</sup>-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 (10<sup>th</sup> century) wrote a *Saxon History*, which was published by Meibom in 1621. Hrosvit of Gandersheim (10<sup>th</sup> century), German Latin poet.

## 22

## Opitz

2. Suetonius, *Caesar* 6.1. For *Martio* read *Marcio*.

23. Virgil, *Aeneid*, 3.677; for irregularities, consult the Mynors edition.

## 23

## Annotied

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 *Annotied* text. Presumably the printer "corrected" unhelpfully. Claudius Aelianus (c.170-235), stoic Greek rhetorician.

14. *Aeneid* 3.389.

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 (Ulpi) 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 *Anmolied* 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

### *Anmolied*

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

## Opitz

8. Lucan (39-65 AD), *Pharsalia* or *Civil War*, 6.269-73. Translation from the Duff edition.

## 26

### *Anmolied*

8. *genanter* ⇔ *geneden* + *er*.

9. *heristi*, splendid, implies enthusiasm for the fray. Most commentators emend to *hertiste*, hardest, fiercest, following *Kaiserchronik* 499.



## 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 Lindembrog.

4b. On Sidonius, see 6.4 above. Philargyrius: 4<sup>th</sup>-century *scholia* on Virgil.

## 27

## Opitz

2. *Wigalois* from Goldast, *Para.* 408f; in the Kapteyn edition, the lines are 6063f & 5092. Pausanias was a 2<sup>nd</sup>-century Greek geographer.

3. This note is lifted more or less verbatim from Goldast's *Para.* 377.

5. Cf. *Aeneid* 5.227f. and 5.140.

## 28

*Annotied*

12. (11 in the translation) See 1.14

## Opitz

15. Frauenberg from Goldast, *Para.* 386.

## 29

*Annotied*

5. *ein* "only"; *sun* is singular. Contrast Nellmann. Cf. 49.15.

## Opitz

2. Correctly: *straf hinrich greue des vā 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 *furchtete*, 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

*Annolied*

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 Inscriptiorum 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(ionis) 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 2<sup>nd</sup>-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.

17. Hubertus Goltzius (1526-83), Dutch numismatist. For Gothofre- fredo read Gothofredo, dittography caused by hyphenation where the name is split between two lines. Jacques Godefroy (1587-1652), French lawyer and historian; Salvianus, 5<sup>th</sup>-century Latin Christian writer. The 13<sup>th</sup>-century Martinus Polonus or Martin of Tropau wrote a *Chronica Pontificum et Imperatorum*. The 13<sup>th</sup>-century Albert von Stade wrote a world chronicle, edited by Reinecke in 1587.

## 31

*Annolied*

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 Unction* 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

*Annolied*

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 *Amin*: "The light of St. Anno is noble and good."

## Opitz

16a. Williram on Canticles 5.12. The Latin shorthand system, known as Tironean 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.

16b. *Winsbecke* from Goldast, *Para.* 292; Walther, *ibid.* 395. The Walther citation is from the poem "Herzeliebez vrowelin", Cormeau 26 IV.

## 34

*Annolied*

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

*Annolied*

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

## Opitz

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

## 38

*Annolied*

9. *gigerwa* ⇔ *gerwe*.

## 40

*Annotied*

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

*Annotied*

2. *irbaritimi* ⇒ *erbarn* + *im*.  
8. For *weritlichim* read *weriltlichim*

**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 5<sup>th</sup>-century Greek, in this case the obscure ἀγάμμα (Opitz has misplaced the accent with the more familiar ἀμαξία, "cart". The older form, particularly with the wrong accent, sounds a little like German *Wagen*).

## 42

**Opitz**

3. For XXII read XXIII; Bodmer & Breitingner 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

*Annotied*

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

**Opitz**

6. *Winsbeckin* from Goldast, *Para.* 324; cf. 5.1f. in the Leitzmann edition. Bodmer & Breitingner rightly emend to *sult sin* in the first line, but Opitz has followed Goldast accurately.

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 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

4. Cf. 14.2.

5. Otfrid in Goldast *Para.* 394

46

*Annotied*

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

*Annotied*

27. *irquamin* – preteritum ⇒ *erkommen*, “to take fright”. Perhaps Opitz understands *herkommen*?

48

*Annotied*

4. *pigihti* ⇒ *bihite*

9. (10 in the translation) *sagin* – preteritum ⇒ *sehen*.

Opitz

1. Williram, both phrases from 72G (on Canticles 4.16). On Merbort, see 8.12.

## 49

*Annelied*

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-11<sup>th</sup> century, *selbis* is familiar as a non-inflecting adjective, but *sin* would normally take the strong declension in oblique cases. Furthermore, the *Annelied* 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.

## *Index*

- Absalom 138  
Adalbert of Bremen 5, 6  
Adam 9, 52  
Adam of Bremen 6, 7, 104, 156,  
175  
Adonis 62  
Aelian 108, 175  
Aelius Gallus, C. 161  
Aelius Spartianus 105, 174  
Aelius Stilo, Lucius 42, 161  
Aeneas 106, 108  
Aethelstan, legal code 72, 165,  
168  
Aethicus [Ps-]: see Julius  
Honorius  
Aethicus of Istria [Hister] 24, 82,  
86, 88, 110, 170-172, 176  
Agamemnon 106  
Agathias 64, 166  
Agnes of Poitou [Empress] 1, 4,  
136  
Agrippa 118, 120  
Alba Iulia [Karlsburg] 42  
Albert von Stade 124, 178  
Alexander II [Pope] 5  
Alexander of Euboea 84  
Alexander the Great 82-90, 102,  
170, 171  
Alps 104, 114, 175  
Ammianus Marcellinus 42, 124,  
128, 161, 167  
Ampelius, Lucius 74, 76, 169  
Andrew, St. 60  
Andronicus of Rhodes 86, 172  
Anno I of Cologne 1  
Anno II of Cologne 1-10, 34, 44,  
50, 62, 66, 128-156  
*Annoted* 6-12; manuscripts 11,  
15, 162; editions 11-26, 28-29  
Ansileubus 42, 161  
Antenor 108  
Apuleius Celsus 40, 160  
Apulia 138  
Aristotle 86, 172  
Arnold of Dollendorf 150-154  
Arnold of Worms 144  
Athenaeus 40, 160  
Augsburg 5, 118  
Augustus 120, 168  
Aurelian 62  
Ausonius, Decimus Magnus 64,  
166  
Babylon, Babylonian empire 9,  
76, 80, 84, 90, 102  
Bacchus 84  
Bamberg 1, 48  
Bardo of Mainz 142, 144  
Baronius, Cesare 60, 128, 166  
Barth, Caspar von 16, 84, 170  
Bavarians 9, 98, 100  
Benevent 120, 178  
Bergamo, Jacobo Filippo 122, 178  
Bernard of Parma 178  
Bertius, Peter 66, 167  
Bethlehem 4  
Bodmer, Johann Jakob 15, 17, 25,  
163, 174, 180  
Boethius 56  
Boniface, St. 122  
Breitinger, Johann Jakob 15, 17,  
25, 163, 174, 180  
Bremen 158  
Breslau 11, 16, 40, 48, (92)  
Brieg 16, 40  
Bunzlau 16, 40  
Burchard of Halberstadt 5  
Calixtus III [Pope] 60  
Callisthenes [Ps-] 84, 170, 172  
Canis, Heinrich 96, 122, 174  
Canossa 4  
Canticles 12, 16, 48  
Carolingian capitularies 120, 126,  
146, 165  
Cassius Dio 112, 175  
Cato 112  
Catullus 166

- Celts, Celtic 38, 40, 46, 104, 114,  
 116, 159  
 Charles I of England 169  
 Charles I, the Great 2, 42 120  
 Charles the Bald 56  
 Chesne, André du 66, 167  
*Chronica Thuringorum* 104, 175  
*Chronicle of Lorsch* 72  
 Chrysostom, John 60  
 Claudius [emperor] 120  
 Cluniac reform 4, 7  
 Clüver, Philipp 42, 50, 64, 108,  
 160  
 Cologne 1, 2, 4-7, 10, 62, 66, 118,  
 120, 126, 130-136, 144  
 Cologne rebellion [1074] 5, 6, 10,  
 (144)  
 Constantine 60  
 Cromer, Martin 64, 167  
 Ctesias 76, 170  
 Cyclopes 106  
 Cyrus 80  
 Czirenberg, Johann 36, 158  
 Dacia: see Transylvania  
 Daimachos 82, 170  
 Daniel [Bible] 9, 78  
 Daniel, Pierre 88, 171  
 Danish 20, 43, 46, 66, 74, 152,  
 156, 169  
 Danzig 15, 16, 34, 36, 38, 50, 158  
 Darius 80  
 Darmstadt 4  
 David [Bible] 138  
 Denmark 16  
 Dietrich of Bern: see *Heldenbuch*  
 Dio Cassius: see Cassius Dio  
 Diocletian 166  
 Diodorus 42, 76, 160  
 Dionysius of Halicarnassus 94,  
 174  
 Dionysius Periegetes 74, 169  
 Dioskurides [Dioscorides] Phakas  
 40, 160  
 Drusus 118, 120  
 Duchesne: see Chesne, André du  
 Dupuy, Claude 40, 160  
 Düsseldorf 1  
 Dutch, Belgian 16, 20, 46, 60, 64,  
 66, 82, 90, 108, 132, 148, 156,  
 162  
*Eckenlied* 72, 168  
 Ecphantus 54, 165  
 Eike von Reggow 164  
 Ekbert 1  
 Elbe 40, 102, 104, 156, 175  
 Elichmann, Johann 44, 161  
 England 2, 17, 18, 134  
 English 20, 46, 50, 78, 82, 90,  
 100, 148, 156, 170, 173  
*Epistola ad Aristotelem* [Opitz's  
*Excerpta*] 84-90, 171, 172  
*Etymologicum genuinum* 160  
*Etymologicum magnum*  
 [Etymologus] 38, 160  
 Eucharius 126  
 Eugippius 52  
 Eumenius 62  
 Euphorion of Chalcis 84, 172  
 Eusebius 60, 166  
 Eustathius 74, 169  
 Ezzo 2  
 Fabricius, Georg 102, 174  
 Flanders 134  
 Flandrin, Michael 48, 162, 163,  
 180  
 Florus, Lucius Annaeus 122, 178  
 France 16, 18, 2; [Kerlingen] 138,  
 180  
 Francus 108, 110  
 Frankfurt a.d.O. 16  
 Franks, origins of 9, 40, 62, 64,  
 104, 108, 120  
 Fratres Puteani 41, 160  
 Frauenlob: see Heinrich von  
 Meissen  
 Frederick I [Barbarossa] 1, 100,  
 170  
 Freher, Marquard 52, 70, 140, 164  
 French 16, 20, 73, 90, 132, 148,  
 173



- Friedrich von Hausen 58  
 Friedrich of Münster 6  
 Friesland 2  
 Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft 16-19, 70  
 Fulda 48, 162, 164  
*Fulda Confession* 50, 58, 70, 154, 163, 165  
 Galenus, Claudius 40, 160  
 Gasser, Achilles 162  
 Gellius, Aulus 86, 172  
 German 15, 18, 20, 23, 44, 66  
*Gesta Treverorum* 11  
*Glosses on Benedictine Rule* [Kero] 46, 50-58, 70-74, 88, 96-100, 110, 128, 136, 148, 154, 162  
 Godefroy, Jacques 124, 178  
 Goeli 104, 175  
 Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von 18  
 Goldast, Melchior 16, 24, 26, 42, 46, 50, 56, 58, 64, 72, 78, 92, 96-100, 104, 118, 128, 130, 144, 146, 150, 161, 162  
 Goltzius, Hubertus 124, 178  
 Goslar 2  
 Götaälv 104, 156, 175  
 Gothic 11, 20, 40, 44, 156, 159; Gothic Bible 58, 74, 166  
 Goths 10, 160  
 Gottfried of Viterbo 104, 175  
 Grafschaft [Westphalia] 4, 136  
 Greek 18, 20, 66, 80, 82, 148, 159  
 Greek empire [Alexander] 9; [Byzantine] 134  
 Gregory of Tours 126, 178  
 Gregory XIII [Pope] 166  
 Gruter, Jan 16, 92, 120, 173, 179  
 Guntherus 100  
 Harpocraton, Valerius 42, 161  
 Hector 106  
 Heidelberg 16  
 Heinrich von Breslau 92, 173  
 Heinrich von Frauenberg 118  
 Heinrich von Meissen [Frauenlob] (92), 173  
*Heldenbuch* 70, 98, 116, 174  
 Helenus 106  
 Henry III 1, 2, 4, 66, 130  
 Henry IV 1, 4, 5, 134-140  
 Henry of Augsburg 4  
 Herbut, Jan Felix 168  
 Hercules 84  
 Herdesian, Christian 168  
 Heribert of Cologne 142, 144, 180  
 Hermann II of Cologne 66  
 Hermann the Lame [Hermannus Contractus, of Reichenau] 50, 164, 175  
 Herodotus 38, 76, 160  
 Hese, Joannes de 82, 170  
 Hesychius 38, 40, 42, 142, 160  
 Hierocles 54, 165  
 Hilarion 62  
 Hildegard of Bingen 122, 178  
 Hincmar of Reims 96, 132, 165, 174  
 Hister: see Aethicus  
*Historia Augusta* 169, 171, 175, 176  
 Historiography 8-10  
 Holstein, Lucas 92, 173  
 Holweide [Cologne] 7  
 Homer 176  
 Honorius Augustodunensis 42, 161  
 Honorius II [Pope] 5  
 Horace 100  
 Hrabanus Maurus 86, 172  
 Hrosvit of Gandersheim 104, 175  
 Hünefeld, Andreas 16, 24-26, 34, 158, 168  
 Hungary 138  
 Hunibaldus 62  
 Iasion 86, 172  
 India 60, 100  
 Innocent III 178  
 Isidore of Seville 42, 76, 86, 98, 100, 104, 161, 165, 172, 174

- Celts, Celtic 38, 40, 46, 104, 114,  
 116, 159  
 Charles I of England 169  
 Charles I, the Great 2, 42 120  
 Charles the Bald 56  
 Chesne, André du 66, 167  
*Chronica Thuringorum* 104, 175  
*Chronicle of Lorsch* 72  
 Chrysostom, John 60  
 Claudius [emperor] 120  
 Cluniac reform 4, 7  
 Clüver, Philipp 42, 50, 64, 108,  
 160  
 Cologne 1, 2, 4-7, 10, 62, 66, 118,  
 120, 126, 130-136, 144  
 Cologne rebellion [1074] 5, 6, 10,  
 (144)  
 Constantine 60  
 Cromer, Martin 64, 167  
 Ctesias 76, 170  
 Cyclopes 106  
 Cyrus 80  
 Czirenberg, Johann 36, 158  
 Dacia: see Transylvania  
 Daimachos 82, 170  
 Daniel [Bible] 9, 78  
 Daniel, Pierre 88, 171  
 Danish 20, 43, 46, 66, 74, 152,  
 156, 169  
 Danzig 15, 16, 34, 36, 38, 50, 158  
 Darius 80  
 Darmstadt 4  
 David [Bible] 138  
 Denmark 16  
 Dietrich of Bern: see *Heldenbuch*  
 Dio Cassius: see Cassius Dio  
 Diocletian 166  
 Diodorus 42, 76, 160  
 Dionysius of Halicarnassus 94,  
 174  
 Dionysius Periegetes 74, 169  
 Dioskurides [Dioscorides] Phakas  
 40, 160  
 Drusus 118, 120  
 Duchesne: see Chesne, André du  
 Dupuy, Claude 40, 160  
 Düsseldorf 1  
 Dutch, Belgian 16, 20, 46, 60, 64,  
 66, 82, 90, 108, 132, 148, 156,  
 162  
*Eckenlied* 72, 168  
 Ecphantus 54, 165  
 Eike von Reggow 164  
 Ekbert 1  
 Elbe 40, 102, 104, 156, 175  
 Elichmann, Johann 44, 161  
 England 2, 17, 18, 134  
 English 20, 46, 50, 78, 82, 90,  
 100, 148, 156, 170, 173  
*Epistola ad Aristotelem* [Opitz's  
*Excerpta*] 84-90, 171, 172  
*Etymologicum genuinum* 160  
*Etymologicum magnum*  
 [Etymologus] 38, 160  
 Eucharius 126  
 Eugippius 52  
 Eumenius 62  
 Euphorion of Chalcis 84, 172  
 Eusebius 60, 166  
 Eustathius 74, 169  
 Ezzo 2  
 Fabricius, Georg 102, 174  
 Flanders 134  
 Flandrin, Michael 48, 162, 163,  
 180  
 Florus, Lucius Annaeus 122, 178  
 France 16, 18, 2; [Kerlingen] 138,  
 180  
 Francus 108, 110  
 Frankfurt a.d.O. 16  
 Franks, origins of 9, 40, 62, 64,  
 104, 108, 120  
 Fratres Puteani 41, 160  
 Frauenlob: see Heinrich von  
 Meissen  
 Frederick I [Barbarossa] 1, 100,  
 170  
 Freher, Marquard 52, 70, 140, 164  
 French 16, 20, 73, 90, 132, 148,  
 173

- Friedrich von Hausen 58  
 Friedrich von Münster 6  
 Friesland 2  
 Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft 16-19, 70  
 Fulda 48, 162, 164  
*Fulda Confession* 50, 58, 70, 154, 163, 165  
 Galenus, Claudius 40, 160  
 Gasser, Achilles 162  
 Gellius, Aulus 86, 172  
 German 15, 18, 20, 23, 44, 66  
*Gesta Treverorum* 11  
*Glosses on Benedictine Rule* [Kero] 46, 50-58, 70-74, 88, 96-100, 110, 128, 136, 148, 154, 162  
 Godefroy, Jacques 124, 178  
 Goeli 104, 175  
 Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von 18  
 Goldast, Melchior 16, 24, 26, 42, 46, 50, 56, 58, 64, 72, 78, 92, 96-100, 104, 118, 128, 130, 144, 146, 150, 161, 162  
 Goltzius, Hubertus 124, 178  
 Goslar 2  
 Götaälv 104, 156, 175  
 Gothic 11, 20, 40, 44, 156, 159;  
     Gothic Bible 58, 74, 166  
 Goths 10, 160  
 Gottfried of Viterbo 104, 175  
 Grafschaft [Westphalia] 4, 136  
 Greek 18, 20, 66, 80, 82, 148, 159  
 Greek empire [Alexander] 9;  
     [Byzantine] 134  
 Gregory of Tours 126, 178  
 Gregory XIII [Pope] 166  
 Gruter, Jan 16, 92, 120, 173, 179  
 Guntherus 100  
 Harpocration, Valerius 42, 161  
 Hector 106  
 Heidelberg 16  
 Heinrich von Breslau 92, 173  
 Heinrich von Frauenberg 118  
 Heinrich von Meissen [Frauenlob] (92), 173  
*Heldenbuch* 70, 98, 116, 174  
 Helenus 106  
 Henry III 1, 2, 4, 66, 130  
 Henry IV 1, 4, 5, 134-140  
 Henry of Augsburg 4  
 Herbut, Jan Felix 168  
 Hercules 84  
 Herdesian, Christian 168  
 Heribert of Cologne 142, 144, 180  
 Hermann II of Cologne 66  
 Hermann the lame [Hermannus Contractus, of Reichenau] 50, 164, 175  
 Herodotus 38, 76, 160  
 Hese, Joannes de 82, 170  
 Hesychius 38, 40, 42, 142, 160  
 Hierocles 54, 165  
 Hilarion 62  
 Hildegard of Bingen 122, 178  
 Hincmar of Reims 96, 132, 165, 174  
 Hister: see Aethicus  
*Historia Augusta* 169, 171, 175, 176  
 Historiography 8-10  
 Holstein, Lucas 92, 173  
 Holweide [Cologne] 7  
 Homer 176  
 Honorius Augustodunensis 42, 161  
 Honorius II [Pope] 5  
 Horace 100  
 Hrabanus Maurus 86, 172  
 Hrosvit of Gandersheim 104, 175  
 Hünefeld, Andreas 16, 24-26, 34, 158, 168  
 Hungary 138  
 Hunibaldus 62  
 Iasion 86, 172  
 India 60, 100  
 Innocent III 178  
 Isidore of Seville 42, 76, 86, 98, 100, 104, 161, 165, 172, 174

- Itinerarium Antonini* 124  
 James, St. 60  
 Jerome 62, 86, 169, 171  
 Job 146  
 John Scotus Erigena 9  
 John, St. 60  
 Jonah 74, 76  
 Jonas of Orléans 60, 166  
 Jordanes 40, 160  
 Josephus, Flavius 76, 172  
 Jude, St. [Judas] 60  
 Julius Caesar 10, 11, 46, 94, 96,  
 100, 104, 106, 112, 114-122,  
 128  
 Julius Honorius [Ps-Aethicus] 88,  
 110, 118, 120, 169, 171, 176  
 Junius Philargyrius 114, 177  
 Junius, Franciscus 11  
 Juret, François 84, 170  
 Justin 70, 72, 168  
 Justinian 126, 178  
*Kaiserchronik* 8, 11  
 Kaiserswerth 1, 2, 6, 10  
 Karlsburg: see Alba Iulia  
 Kärnten 140, 180  
 Kero: see *Glosses on Benedictine  
 Rule*  
 Kerschenstein, Kostanze 158  
 Kilian, Cornelius 128, 178  
 Koblenz 66  
*König Tirol*: see *Tirol*  
 Konrad [Anno's nephew] 5, 6  
 Krantz, Albert 102, 174  
 Kuno 11  
 Laet, Johann de 44, 161  
 Lambarde, William 168  
 Lampert von Hersfeld 6, 130, 132,  
 136, 175, 179  
 Lanfranc 48, 163  
 Latin 15, 16, 18, 20, 23, 24, 159  
 Lazius, Wolfgang 46, 120, 136,  
 162  
 Leiden 16  
 Leo III [Pope] 60  
 Leo IX [Pope] 2  
 Lepidus, Aemilius 62  
 Lepidus, Paullus 62  
 Levold von Northof 64, 167  
 Liège 2  
 Lindenbrog, Friedrich 56-60, 64,  
 72, 128, 165-167, 174, 177  
 Lipsius, Justus 50, 52, 56, 63, 70,  
 74, 82, 88, 104, 110, 142, 146,  
 164  
 Livius, Titus [Livy] 38, 108, 160  
 Local patriotism 9, 19, 173  
 Lorraine 2  
 Lucan, Marcus Annaeus 114, 176  
 Ludwig of Anhalt 16, 17, 19, 24,  
 168  
 Luxembourg 110  
 Mainz 62, 120, 122, 164  
 Manesse manuscript 24, 173  
 Marbode of Rennes 168  
 Marcellinus, Ammianus 66  
 Marianus Scotus 50, 164, 175  
 Mark Antony 62  
 Marnier, der 128  
 Martial 160  
 Martin of Tropau [Polonus] 124,  
 178  
 Maternus 126, 128  
 Matthew, St. 60  
 Maurice, St. 62, 64, 166, 168  
 Maussac, Philippe Jacques de 42,  
 161  
 Maximianus 167  
 Mecklenburg 169  
 Megasthenes 82, 170  
 Meibom, Heinrich 64, 167, 175  
 Mela, Pomponius 42, 108, 161  
 Melanchthon, Philipp 40, 160  
 Mersaeus, Peter 51  
 Merula, Paul 44, 46, 68, 161, 162  
 Metz, Metzius 120-124  
 Meurs, Johann van 104, 126, 175  
 Milton, John 169  
 Minden 2  
 Moissac, monastic library 42  
 Moses [Bible] 154

- Münster 2  
 Mussato, Albertino 110, 176  
 Nearchus 82, 170  
 Neidhart 56  
 Netherlands 17  
 Neuß 6  
 Nicolas II [Pope] 4  
 Nimrod 76  
 Nineveh 10  
 Ninus 68, 70, 74  
 Noah 98  
*Norðleoda laga* (72), 168  
 Norica 98, 100  
 Notker of St. Gallen 56  
 Nüssler, Bernhard Wilhelm 16,  
 110, 176  
 Ogier, Charles 158  
 Olympias 86  
 Onesicritus 82, 170  
 Opitz, Martin, biography 15, 16;  
 programme 11-27, 158-160  
 Osnabrück 2  
 Otfrid von Weißenburg 20, 46, 50,  
 52, 56, 58, 66, 70, 90, 96, 100,  
 108, (118), 132-140, 148, 150,  
 162  
 Otto IV 52  
 Otto of Bavaria 1  
 Otto of Freising 8, 86, 100, 172,  
 180  
 Paderborn 1  
 Padua 108  
 Palatine library 16, 92, (94), 173  
 Paris 16, 86  
 Paul, St. 60  
 Pausanius 116, 177  
 Persian Empire 9  
 Peter, St. 60, 126, 128  
 Petrarca, Francisco [Petrarch] 18  
*Peutinger Table* 64, 124, 166  
 Peutinger, Konrad 166  
 Philipp of Swabia 52  
 Photius 42, 54, 165  
 Pibrac 158  
 Pighius, Stephan 110, 176  
 Pistorius, Johann 104, 175, 179  
 Pithou, Pierre 42, 56, 161  
 Plancus, Munatius 62  
 Plancus, Plotius 62  
 Plato 54  
 Pliny the elder 84, 100, 169, 174  
 Plotinus 54, 165  
 Plutarch 86, 172  
 Pollux, Julius 38, 160  
 Pompey 112  
 Pontanus, Johann Isaak 42, 46, 64,  
 161, 166  
 Prester John 82, 170  
 Procopius 64, 166  
 Prudentius Clemens 60, 166  
 Psalms, Opitz's 16, 70, 158, 168  
 Ptolemy 84, 122  
*Pythagoras, Life of* 54  
 Regensburg 11, 98, 100  
 Reinecke, Reiner 40, 160, 178  
 Reinmar von Zweter 150  
 Rhine 50, 64-68, 108, 110  
 Richeza [Queen of Poland] 2, 3  
 Robertin, Robert 16, 96, 168, 174  
*Roman Martyrology* 128, 166  
 Rome [city] 4, 10, 94, 108, 116,  
 120-126  
 Rome [empire] 9, 90  
 Romulus 94, 110  
 Ronsard, Pierre de 18, 62, 166  
 Rostock 40  
 Rupert of Deutz 144, 180  
 Russia 134, 136  
 Saalfeld [Thuringia] 4, 136, 140  
*Sachsenspiegel* 52, 132, 164  
 Sagan [Poland] 40  
 Salvianus 124, 178  
 Saumaise, Claude [Salmasius] 16,  
 76, 78, 82, [84], 110, 118, 169,  
 170, 175  
 Saxon war [1073] 5, 10  
 Saxons 9, 102, 104  
 Scaliger, Joseph Justus 60, 66,  
 166, 169  
 Schobinger 66, 118

- Schott, Andreas 164  
*Schwabenspiegel* 90, 173  
 Scultetus, Tobias 16, 92  
 Selden, John 42, 44, 160  
 Semiramis 76, 124  
 Seneca 130, 179  
 Severin 52  
 Sextus Empiricus 54, 165  
 Shakespeare, William 18  
 Sicambria 110  
 Sidonius Apollinaris 64, 114, 166  
 Siegburg, Sieberg 4, 6, 7, 10, 44,  
 50, 134, 161, 163  
 Siegen 163  
 Siegfried [Germanic hero] 116  
 Siegfried of Mainz 4  
 Sigewardus 122  
 Siegebert 144  
 Silesia, Silesian 19, 20, 64, 78,  
 104, 106, 110, 148  
 Simmler, Josias 88, 171  
 Simon, St. 60  
 Sirmond, Jacques 56, 66, 165  
 Solinus, Julius 76, 78, 82, 169  
 Solomon [Bible] 51  
 Sophocles 158  
 Spartianus: see Aelius Spartianus  
 Spelman, Henry 44, 60, 64, 161  
 Speyer 120, 122  
 St. Gallen 24, 46, 50  
 Statius, Publius Papinius 114, 177  
 Stade, see Albert von Stade  
 Stephanus 84, 172  
 Steußlingen, Walter & Engela 1  
 Stobeus, John 54, 165  
 Strabo [geographer] 42, 82, 120,  
 160, 170  
 Strabo [theologian] see: Walahfrid  
 Strabo  
 Strassburg 96  
 Suda [Suidas] 38, 160  
 Suetonius 106, 112  
 Surlus, Laurentius 66, 144, 167,  
 180  
 Swabians 9, 96  
*Tabula Itineraria* 100  
 Tacitus, Publius Cornelius 120  
 Tarquinius Priscus 94  
 Tassilo of Bavaria 58, 165  
 Tatian 46, 58, 162, 166  
 Themistius 86, 172  
 Theodoritus 60  
 Theodosius the Younger 100  
 Thomas, Hubert 50  
 Thomas, St. 60  
 Thou, Jacques-Auguste de 86, 88,  
 171  
 Thuringia, Thuringians 102, 104,  
 136, 140  
 Tirol 24, 52, 56, 74, 78, 98, 150,  
 161, 170  
*Tironian Notes* 130, 179  
 Trajan 110, 175  
 Transylvania 16, 42, 110, 160,  
 176  
 Trier 5, 6, 120, 124, 126  
 Trogus, Pompeius 70, 76, 168  
 Troy, Trojans 62, 104-108, 175  
 Ulrich, St. 146  
 Ulysses 106  
 Usuard 128, 166  
 Utrecht 2  
 Vadianus: see Watt, Joachim von  
 Valerian of Cimiez 56, 165  
 Valerius 126, 128  
 Varro, Marcus Terentius 42, 161  
 Vedel, Anders Sørensen 169, 171  
 Velleius Paterculus 62, 112, 166  
 Velserus, Marcus 52  
 Venantius Fortunatus 60, 166  
 Vespasian 124  
 Virgil 106, 108, 116, 160, 166,  
 171, 177  
*Vita Annonis* 6, 7, 10, 66, 130-  
 136, 142, 144, 150, 179  
 Volprecht 150-156  
 Vopiscus, Flavius 62, 174  
 Voss, Gerhard Johann 16, 86, 172  
 Vulcanius, Bonaventura 11, 12,  
 42, 46, 161, 164, 166

- Walahfrid Strabo 66, 167  
Walther von der Vogelweide 24,  
52, 130, 164, 179  
Watt, Joachim von [Vadianus] 54,  
165  
Werner of Magdeburg 5  
Wernigerode 118, 177  
Widukind of Corvey 104, 175  
Williram von Ebersberg 12, 20,  
44, 46, 48, 52, 56, 62, 68, 96,  
110, 130, 136, 146, 152, 154,  
161-164, 180, 181.  
*Winsbecke poems* 24, (52), 56, 58,  
64, 68-74, 78, 130, 146, 161,  
164  
Wirnt von Grafenberg 64, 116  
Worm, Ole 42, 44, 76, 159, 161  
Worms 120, 122  
Xanten 176  
Xenophon 54  
Zonaras 42, 161  
Zosimus 66, 167