

Markus Stock / Nicola Vöhringer (eds.)

Spatial Practices

Medieval / Modern





Transatlantische Studien zu Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit –
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Spatial Practices, Medieval/Modern

This volume contains a selection of papers from a conference on historical conceptions and practices of space, held at the University of Toronto in April 2010.¹ The conference took its cue from the resurging interest in space and place which originated both from cultural theory in the broader sense of the term² and from human geography.³ In recent decades, this interest has permeated many

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- 1 This conference was the third annual University of Toronto German Studies Symposium, sponsored by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), and a number of institutions within the University of Toronto: the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures, the Centre for Medieval Studies, the Thomas Fisher Rare Books Library, the Joint Initiative of German and European Studies, the Centre for Comparative Literature, and the Munk School of Global Affairs. The papers by Bent Gebert and Christopher L. Miller also included in this volume were originally presented at two Freiburg-Toronto graduate student meetings in 2011 and 2012.
 - 2 Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, trans. Maria Jolas, foreword by Étienne Gilson (New York: Orion Press, 1964); orig. *La poétique de l'espace* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1957); Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Malden, MA, and Oxford: Blackwell, 1991); orig. *La production de l'espace* (Paris: Éditions Anthropos, 1974); Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984); orig., *L'Invention du quotidien*, vol. 1: *Arts de faire* (Paris, Gallimard, 1980); Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," trans. Jay Miskowiec, *Diacritics* 16 (1986), 22–7; orig. "Des espaces autres," *Architecture, movement, continuité* 5 (1984), 46–9; *Thinking Space*, ed. Mike Crang and Nigel Thrift (London and New York: Routledge, 2000); *Raumtheorie: Grundlagentexte aus Philosophie und Kulturwissenschaften*, ed. Jörg Dünne and Stephan Günzel (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 2006); *Key Thinkers on Space and Place*, 2nd ed., ed. Phil Hubbard and Rob Kitchen (Los Angeles et al.: SAGE, 2011).
 - 3 Yi-Fu Tuan, "Space and Place: Humanistic Perspective," *Progress in Geography* 6 (1974), 233–46; Derek Gregory, "Human Agency and Human Geography," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 6 (1981), 1–18; Nigel Thrift, "On the Determination of Social Action in Space and Time," *Environment and Planning, D: Society and Space* 1 (1983), 23–56; Doreen Massey, *Spatial Division of Labour. Social Structures and the Geography of Production* (London: Macmillan, 1984); Edward W. Soja, *Postmodern Geographies. The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London and New York: Verso, 1989); Derek Gregory, *The Condition of Postmodernity. An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Cambridge and Oxford: Blackwell, 1990); Nicholas Entrikin, *The Betweenness of Place. Toward a Geography of Modernity* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1991); Peter Weichhart, "Vom

fields in the Humanities and Social Sciences, which have placed ever-increasing emphasis on the cultural analysis of space and place.⁴ The common denominator in this transdisciplinary focal shift is that many disciplines have been led to realize that space, place, and setting cannot be regarded as given and static, but

‘Räumeln’ in der Geographie und anderen Disziplinen. Einige Thesen zum Raumaspekt sozialer Phänomene,” in *Die aufgeräumte Welt. Raumbilder und Raumkonzepte im Zeitalter globaler Marktwirtschaft*, ed. Jörg Mayer (Rehburg-Loccum: Evangelische Akademie Loccum, 1993), 225–41; Gregory, *Geographical Imaginations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994); Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender* (Oxford and Cambridge: Blackwell, 1994); Soja, *Thirdspace. Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1996); Weichhart, “Die Räume zwischen den Welten und die Welt der Räume,” in *Handlungszentrierte Sozialgeographie. Benno Werlens Entwurf in kritischer Diskussion*, ed. P. Meusburger (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1999), 67–94; *Thinking Geographically. Space, Theory and Contemporary Human Geography*, ed. Phil Hubbard et al. (London and New York: Continuum, 2002); *Kulturgeographie. Aktuelle Ansätze und Entwicklungen*, ed. Hans Gebhardt et al. (Heidelberg and Berlin: Spektrum, 2003).

- 4 Dieter Läßle, “Essay über den Raum. Für ein gesellschaftswissenschaftliches Raumkonzept,” *Stadt und Raum*, ed. Hartmut Häußermann et al. (Paffenweiler: Centaurus, 1991), 157–207; Jürgen Osterhammel, “Die Wiederkehr des Raumes. Geopolitik, Geohistorie und historische Geographie,” *Neue Politische Literatur* 43 (1998), 374–97; Sigrid Weigel, “Zum ‘topographical turn.’ Kartographie, Topographie und Raumkonzepte in den Kulturwissenschaften,” *KulturPoetik. Zeitschrift für kulturgeschichtliche Literaturwissenschaft*, 2 (2002), 151–65; *Raum – Wissen – Macht*, ed. Rudolf Maresch and Nils Weber (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2002); *The Anthropology of Space and Place. Locating Culture*, ed. Setha M. Low and Denise Lawrence-Zúñiga (Malden and Oxford: Blackwell, 2003); Karl Schlögel, *Im Raume lesen wir die Zeit. Über Zivilisationsgeschichte und Geopolitik* (München and Wien: Hanser, 2003); cf. the discussion of problematic points in Schlögel’s approach by Jörg Döring and Tristan Thielmann, “Was lesen wir im Raume? Der Spatial Turn und das geheime Wissen der Geographen,” in *Spatial Turn. Das Raumparadigma in den Kultur- und Sozialwissenschaften*, ed. Döring and Thielmann (Bielefeld: transcript, 2008), 7–45, 19–24; Rudolf Maresch, “Empire Everywhere. On the Political Renaissance of Space,” in *Territories. Islands, Camps and Other States of Utopia*, ed. Kunstwerke Berlin (2003), 15–8; *Von Pilgerwegen, Schriftspuren und Blickpunkten. Raumpraktiken in medienhistorischer Perspektive*, ed. Jörg Dünne, Hermann Doetsch, and Roger Lüdeke (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2004); *Topographien der Literatur. Deutsche Literatur im transnationalen Kontext. DFG Symposium 2004*, ed. Hartmut Böhme (Stuttgart and Weimar: Metzler, 2005); *Topographien der Moderne. Medien zur Repräsentation und Konstruktion von Räumen*, ed. Robert Stockhammer (München: Wilhelm Fink, 2005); *Topologie. Zur Raumbeschreibung in den Kultur- und Medienwissenschaften*, ed. Stephan Günzel (Bielefeld: transcript, 2007); *Raumwissenschaften*, ed. Stephan Günzel (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 2009); *Geohumanities. Art, History, Text at the Edge of Place*, ed. Michael Dear, Jim Ketchum, Sarah Luria, and Douglas Richardson (London and New York: Routledge, 2011); *Orte – Ordnungen – Oszillationen. Raumerschaffung durch Wissen und räumliche Struktur von Wissen*, ed. Natalia Filatkina and Martin Przybilski (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2011); *Topographien der Grenze: Verortungen einer kulturellen, politischen und ästhetischen Kategorie*, ed. Christoph Kleinschmidt and Christine Hewel (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2011); *Geocritical Explorations. Space, Place, and Mapping in Literary and Cultural Studies*, ed. Robert T. Tally Jr. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Bertrand Westphal, *Geocriticism. Real and Fictional Spaces*, trans. Robert T. Tally Jr. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); orig. *La Géocritique: Réel, Fiction, Espace* (Les Editions de Minuit, 2007).

have always been culturally produced, socially negotiated, and historically shifting.⁵ ‘Spatial practices’ is a term often heard in these debates, and it is always used as an antidote against conceptualizing space as an abstract entity.⁶ The current interest in space as a historically variable productivity has stimulated what some scholars now call ‘the spatial turn’.⁷ The guiding principles of this re-evaluation have been that space and place are shaped and often even created by social practices, and that social practices tend to turn what at first could be perceived as the passive container of human action into a dynamic site of negotiation and appropriation. This argument builds on current discussions concerning the performative aspects of culture and literature and on studies indicating that, on all levels of culture, the spatial aspects of co-presence and representation are of fundamental importance. The new scholarly attitude towards spatial practices and the performative approach share a fundamental change of perspective: the shift from a focus on semantic correlations in cultural expressions (culture as text) to events, practices, and material, as well as medial embodiment in culture (culture as performance). In this sense, the interest is no longer directed towards the deciphering of meaning but instead towards the constitution and modification of meaning and cultural realities, including space and place. Thus, emphasizing performative acts and processes sharpens the view of space and place as a continuously changing cultural manifestation open to being invested with new meaning. Rather than assuming a stable and fixed entity

5 Pierre Bourdieu, “Espace social et genèse des ‘classes’,” *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales* 52/53 (1984), 3–15; Bourdieu, “Effets de lieu,” in *La misère du monde* (Paris: Seuil, 1993), 159–67; Bourdieu, “Espace social et espace symbolique,” in *Raisons pratiques. Sur la théorie de l’action* (Paris: Seuil, 1994), 15–29; Edward W. Soja, “The Trialectics of Spatiality,” in Soja, *Thirdspace* (see note 3), chapter 2; Martina Löw, *Raumsoziologie* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 2001); Markus Schroer, *Räume, Orte, Grenzen. Auf dem Weg zu einer Soziologie des Raumes* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 2006).

6 See *Kulturelle Räume – räumliche Kultur. Zur Neubestimmung des Verhältnisses zweier fundamentaler Kategorien menschlicher Praxis*, ed. Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin and Michael Dickhardt (Münster, Hamburg, and London: Lit Verlag, 2003); Nikolaus Hirsch and Markus Miessen, *Critical Spatial Practices 1. What is Critical Spatial Practice?* (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2012).

7 On the history of the term and its career see Döring/Thielmann, “Was lesen wir im Raume” (see note 4), 7–15; see also, among others, Karl Schlögel, “Kartenlesen, Augenarbeit. Über die Fälligkeit des spatial turn in den Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften,” in *Was sind Kulturwissenschaften: 13 Antworten*, ed. Heinz Dieter Kittsteiner (München: Wilhelm Fink, 2004), 261–83; Kirsten Wagner, “Raum und Raumwahrnehmung: Zur Vorgeschichte des ‘Spatial Turn’,” in *Möglichkeitsräume.. Zur Performativität sensorischer Wahrnehmung*, ed. Christina Lechtermann, Kirsten Wagner, and Horst Wenzel (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 2007), 13–22; Doris Bachmann-Medick, *Cultural Turns. Neuorientierungen in den Kulturwissenschaften*, 4th ed. (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 2010), 284–328; *Raum und Bewegung in der Literatur: die Literaturwissenschaften und der Spatial Turn*, ed. Wolfgang Hallet and Birgit Neumann (Bielefeld: transcript, 2009); *The Spatial Turn: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Barney Warf and Santa Arias (London and New York: Routledge, 2009).

of space, such inquiries focus on human action in manipulating and subverting space and thereby creating multiple coexisting and overlapping spatialities.⁸

This re-engagement with space and place has also raised anew vexing questions about continuities and alterities between medieval and modern. While we now seem better equipped to counter misunderstandings in some grand narratives regarding the conceptualizations of space through the ages, we have just begun to factor in the concrete historical circumstances under which such continuities and changes take shape.

Because Michel Foucault's short text, his 1967 lecture "Of Other Spaces," has been so often quoted as a reference text of this reconsideration, it might be helpful to start here, in part also to debunk one of the grandest, and in some ways most misleading, claims that this article poses. They concern Foucault's overarching statement about a – conveniently tripartite – general history of space, in which the medieval comes across as hierarchical and fixed, as opposed to the more open and abstract spaces of the modern era.⁹ The point here is not that one could not easily agree with Foucault about the historical occurrence of epistemic shifts in the conceptualization of space – "spatial thresholds," as Oliver Simons calls them in his essay in the present volume.¹⁰ As Simons and John Noyes (also in this volume) show, such thresholds are to be found in the years around 1800

8 *Grundlagen des Performativen. Eine Einführung in die Zusammenhänge von Sprache, Macht und Handeln*, ed. Christoph Wulf, Michael Göhlich, and Jörg Zirfas (Weinheim and München: Beltz Juventa, 2001); Erika Fischer-Lichte, "Vom 'Text' zur 'Performanz'. Der 'performative turn' in den Kulturwissenschaften," in *Schnittstelle. Medien und kulturelle Kommunikation*, ed. Georg Stanitzek and Wilhelm Voßkamp (Köln, 2001); *Theorien des Performativen*, ed. Fischer-Lichte and Christoph Wulf (Berlin: Akademie, 2001); *Ästhetische Erfahrung. Das Semiotische und das Performative*, ed. Fischer-Lichte (Tübingen: Francke, 2001); *Performanz. Zwischen Sprachphilosophie und Kulturwissenschaft*, ed. Uwe Wirth (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 2002); *Performativität und Praxis*, ed. Jens Kertscher and Dieter Mersch (München: Fink, 2003); *Performativität und Ereignis*, ed. Fischer-Lichte, Erika Horn, et al. (Tübingen: Francke, 2003); *Geschichtswissenschaft und 'performative turn'. Ritual, Inszenierung und Performanz vom Mittelalter bis zur Neuzeit*, ed. Jürgen Martschukat and Steffen Patzold (Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau, 2003); *Transgressionen. Literatur als Ethnographie*, ed. Gerhard Neumann and Rainer Warning (Freiburg: Rombach, 2003); *Möglichkeitsräume: Zur Performativität sensorischer Wahrnehmung* (see note 7); Fischer-Lichte, *The Transformative Power of Performance: a New Aesthetics*, trans. Saskya Jain (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008), orig. *Ästhetik des Performativen* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2004); *Performance and Performativity in German Cultural Studies*, ed. Carolin Duttlinger, Lucia Ruprecht, and Andrew Webber (Bern: Lang, 2009); *Theorien des Performativen*, ed. Klaus W. Hempfer and Jörg Volbers (Bielefeld: transcript, 2011); Fischer-Lichte, *Performativität. Eine Einführung* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2012).

9 Foucault, "Of Other Spaces" (see note 2); discussion in the contribution of Oliver Simons (in this volume).

10 Simons (in this volume), 25.

and around 1900.¹¹ One could argue that, right now, we find ourselves at a similar spatial threshold, which might also explain the surging interest in spatiality and human relation to it. Broadly speaking, globalization and the advent of the digital extensions of human experience¹² both have profoundly altered the way in which space is experienced and perceived; it has also changed the ‘rate’ of what John Noyes analyzes as the “time-space-conversion.”¹³ At the same time, however, the change of spatial perception and practice in what is commonly called the early modern period is not as readily graspable, at least not as easily as Foucault’s lecture seems to suggest. What exactly would such a threshold in the conceptualization of space be for the early modern period? Foucault, giving a rough summary of the development, characterizes this threshold as such:

One could say, by way of retracing this history of space (*espace*) very roughly, that in the Middle Ages there was a hierarchic ensemble of places (*lieux*): sacred places and profane places; protected places and open, exposed places; urban places and rural places (all these concern the real life of men). In cosmological theory, there were the supercelestial places, as opposed to the celestial, and the celestial place was in its turn opposed to the terrestrial place. There were places where things had been put because they had been violently displaced, and then on the contrary places where things found their natural ground and stability. It was this complete hierarchy, this opposition, this intersection of places that constituted what could very roughly be called medieval space: the space of localization (*espace de localisation*).

This space of localization was opened up by Galileo. For the real scandal of Galileo’s work lay not so much in his discovery, or rediscovery, that the earth revolved around the sun, but in his constitution of an infinite, and infinitely open space. In such a space the place of the Middle Ages turned out to be dissolved, as it were; a thing’s place was no longer anything but a point in its movement, just as the stability of a thing was only its movement indefinitely slowed down. In other words, starting with Galileo and the seventeenth century, extension was substituted for localization (*l’étendue se substitue à la localisation*).¹⁴

Clearly, oversimplified claims about the medieval *ordo* in opposition to the thinkability of an infinite space in the modern period are in danger of missing the mark. Two main issues are at stake here. First, the simplified concept of a

11 See Oliver Simons, *Raumgeschichten. Topographien der Moderne in Philosophie, Wissenschaft und Literatur* (München: Fink, 2007), 9–23; 53–94.

12 Martin Seel, “Medien der Realität – Realität der Medien,” in *Medien – Computer – Realität*, ed. Sybille Krämer (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1998), 244–68; Daniela Ahrens, *Grenzen der Enträumlichung. Weltstädte, Cyberspace und transnationale Räume in der globalisierten Moderne* (Opladen: Leske & Budrich, 2001); *Welt-Räume. Geschichte, Geographie und Globalisierung seit 1900*, ed. Iris Schröder and Sabine Höhler (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2005).

13 Noyes (in this volume), 47–61.

14 Foucault, “Of Other Spaces” (see note 2), 22–3.

medieval totality, a “complete hierarchy” of places, misrepresents the historical complexities of the premodern era. Secondly, and closely connected to this, it is only against the backdrop of such an overestimation of structural order in the Middle Ages that the claim of a “dissolution” of the “medieval place” would be justified. Again, this is not to say that the European expansion, the striving for new exactitudes in the representation of spaces and distances, and the reformulation of the cosmos did not create a shift in spatial conceptualization. But in its simplicity, the teleology presented in this lecture covers up complex processes of societal and economic opening-up. In the present volume, the papers by Arthur Groos, Sean Dunwoody, and Ulrich Ufer capture images of such complexities for the early modern city spaces of Nuremberg, Augsburg, and Amsterdam. What seems to be at stake here, is that medieval/modern discontinuities in the perception of space and time should neither be marginalized nor blown out of proportion.¹⁵

Foucault’s insistence on the static hierarchy of medieval space also threatens to overshadow those medieval spatial practices that can lead cultural historians to appreciate the dynamic, performative aspect of medieval spaces. By this, we do not mean to say that ideas of spatial hierarchy do not have a place in the study of medieval space – such hierarchies are at the core of social construction of space at any historical time and place –, but that the focus on these hierarchies might obstruct the view on a variety of such dynamic uses and practices. This is certainly true for literary and intellectual responses to such spatial complexities, as evident in the studies by Bent Gebert, Christina Lechtermann, Scott Pincikowski, and Christopher L. Miller in this volume. It is also obvious when looking at the intricate way in which sacred spaces received the symbolic overlays that made them into multivalent and highly overdetermined sites of signification, as becomes evident in Matt Kavaler’s contribution to this volume. This is a focal point of the re-evaluation of symbolic productivity in medieval Europe regarding spatial design and practice: sacred or religious spaces, such as churches or sites of worship as places of performing spatiality.¹⁶

15 See Christian Kiening, “Zeitenraum und *mise en abyme*. Zum Kern der Melusinegeschichte,” *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 79 (2005), 3–28, 3–9.

16 Friedrich Ohly, “Die Kathedrale als Zeitenraum. Zum Dom von Siena,” *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 6 (1972), 94–158; Veikko Anttonen, “Rethinking the Sacred,” in *The Sacred and its Scholars*, ed. Thomas A. Idinopulos and Edward A. Yonan (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 36–64; Paul Crossley, “The Man from Inner Space: Architecture and Meditation in the Choir of St. Laurence in Nuremberg,” in *Medieval Art: Recent Perspectives. A Memorial Tribute to C. R. Dodwell*, ed. Gale R. Owen-Crocker and Timothy Graham (Manchester and New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1998), 165–82; Helen Hills, “Architecture as Metaphor for the Body. The Case of Female Convents in Early Modern Italy,” in *Gender and Architecture*, ed. Louise Durning and Richard Wrigley (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2000), 67–112; Marilyn

An early attempt to theorize such dynamic and performative approaches to medieval space was made by the German medievalist Hugo Kuhn in 1949.¹⁷ While it predates Bachelard, Lefebvre, Foucault, and de Certeau, it is quite obvious that Kuhn's notion of medieval space as *Vollzugsraum* anticipates some of the concepts employed by later theorists. Since this text has never been translated into English and is virtually unknown beyond German Medievalist circles, a translation is appended to this volume.¹⁸

Raising the question of the specific nature of the medieval artistic form, Hugo Kuhn sets out to describe the 'different objectivity' present in medieval artistic form, and takes the visual arts and architecture as his prime examples. He argues that medieval spaces are not rigidly geared towards a beholder, but produced in the performance or consummation (*Vollzug*) of the participants who actively experience the spaces in movement.

In a medieval church, [...] space is always disproportionate to the observer – it is at once too great and too small. [...] This in no way means that medieval buildings,

Dunn, "Spaces Shaped for Spiritual Perfection. Convent Architecture and Nuns in Early Modern Rome," *Architecture and the Politics of Gender in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Helen Hills (Aldershot and Burlington, Ashgate, 2003), 151–76; Dawn Marie Hayes, *Body and Sacred Space in Medieval Europe, 1100–1389* (New York: Routledge, 2003); Christof L. Dietrichs, "Wahrnehmung des mittelalterlichen Kirchenraums," in *Kunst der Bewegung. Kinästhetische Wahrnehmung und Probehandeln in virtuellen Welten*, ed. Christina Lechtermann and Carsten Morsch (Bern: Peter Lang, 2004), 267–84; Sarah Hamilton and Andrew Spicer, "Defining the Holy: The Delineation of Sacred Space," in *Defining the Holy. Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Hamilton and Spicer (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 2–26; Kim Knott, *The Location of Religion. A Spatial Analysis* (London and Oakville: Equinox, 2005); Veikko Anttonen, "Space, Body and the Notion of Boundary. A Category-Theoretical Approach to Religion," *Temenos. Nordic Journal of Comparative Religion* 41, 2 (2005), 185–201; Jacqueline E. Jung, "Seeing through Screens. The Gothic Choir Enclosure as Frame," in *Thresholds of the Sacred. Architectural, Art Historical, Liturgical and Theological Perspectives on Religious Screens, East and West*, ed. Sharon Gerstel (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2006), 185–213; Thomas Lentz, "Ereignis und Repräsentation. Ein Diskussionsbeitrag zum Verhältnis von Liturgie und Bild im Mittelalter," in *Die Bildlichkeit symbolischer Akte*, ed. Barbara Stollberg-Rininger and Thomas Weissbrich (München: Rhema, 2009), 121–49; Marie-Luise Ehrenscheidtner, "Creating the Sacred Space Within. Enclosure as a Defining Feature in the Convent Life of Medieval Dominican Sisters (13th-15th c.)," *Viator* 41 (2010), 301–16; Jung, *The Gothic Screen. Space, Sculpture, and Community in the Cathedrals of France and Germany, ca. 1200–1400* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013). In 2012–13, a working group at the University of Toronto, entitled *Sacrality and Space*, funded by the Jackman Humanities Institute, discussed these questions in an interdisciplinary setting.

17 For bio-bibliographical information on Kuhn, see Markus Stock, "Hugo Kuhn," in: *Handbook of Medieval Studies. Concepts, Methods, Historical Developments, and Current Trends in Medieval Studies*, ed. Albrecht Classen, Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 2010, vol. III, pp. 2422–5.

18 We would like to thank Christopher L. Miller for his translation, and Margherita Kuhn for permission and guidance.

themselves the product of human hands, entirely lack human proportions in the way that natural objects, trees, rocks and so on do. Human proportion is implied in medieval buildings too, just as in antique and modern architecture. But in the Middle Ages, human proportion is not foundational in the sense of rigid, simultaneous proportion, which, being calculated upon the beholder, is primarily experienced quantitatively. Rather, it arises from the immediate, more primal yet more arbitrary concern of a feeling for spatial movement (*Raum-Bewegungsgefühl*), which manifests through rhythmic, successive processes. These do not allow themselves to be reduced, as in modern architecture, to purely quantitative experiences of distance, whose *purpose*, detached from this, would then become the ‘meaning’ of this space, for they themselves remain intermingled with the ‘quality’ of the performance of movement (*Bewegungs-Vollzügen*).

While these medieval spaces had yet to be proportionally based upon the observer, they are oriented toward the observer in other ways. First of all, the rhythmic progression of piers and columns draws the observer into the depths of the building, directly into space, anticipating his physical progression [...] It is not to the beholder, but rather to the immediate participant that such spaces speak, and it is thus that they establish their predominant religious function ‘qualitatively’ objectively: as spaces of essentially sacramental performance, not only of the mass, but of processional practices which were once far more important than they are today. Performative art rather than beholder’s art, performative space rather than beholder’s space [...].¹⁹

In this sense, Hugo Kuhn understands medieval space as a performative space and contrasts it to the modern museal observer space: just as medieval art was performed rather than passively observed, medieval spaces were there to be *vollzogen* – performed/consummated.

Now, these are two very different versions of medieval space: one hierarchical, fixed (Michel Foucault), the backdrop against which a radical modernity of movement and flux would shine in a more radiant light. The other (Hugo Kuhn) steers directly into the medieval paradox: where some suspect rigidity, others see movement, where some see an ensemble of hierarchical places, others see performative spaces and highlight the specific conditions of premodern mediality – the interplay of performative experience and cathedral space, for example.

As one can see, the step from such notions of medieval architectural space to the concepts of ‘practiced’ spaces that have gained much currency in the debate on space as social construct is but a small one. This seems especially true for the shift in notions of space and place over the past forty years or so: the move away from regarding space as a fixed, unchanging container and towards the realization that space is always inextricably linked to social practice and cultural signification. ‘Spatial practices’ is an expression often heard in these debates. Of

¹⁹ Kuhn (in this volume), 253 – 66.

course, it gained currency much later than Hugo Kuhn's 1949 lecture, but one can see it prefigured there.

The term 'spatial practice' has enjoyed a stunning career in the last decades. In his inquiry into urban uses of space, Michel de Certeau has sketched out practices of spatial appropriation as usage, employing the linguistic concept of *parole* as one central metaphor. 'Users' of a certain presystematized space, such as a city, can be constantly invested in the appropriation of space, in the acting-out or realisation of space, and in negotiating pragmatic contracts in the form of movements. This is the core of Michel de Certeau's conception of space, which rests on a distinction of space (*espace*) and place (*lieu*).²⁰

A place (*lieu*) is the order (of whatever kind) in accord with which elements are distributed in relationships of coexistence. It thus excludes the possibility of two things being in the same location (place). The law of the "proper" rules in the place: the elements taken into consideration are *beside* one another, each situated in its own "proper" and distinct location, a location it defines. A place is thus an instantaneous configuration of positions. It implies an indication of stability. A *space* (*espace*) exists when one takes into consideration vectors of directions, velocities, and time variables. Thus space is composed of intersections of mobile elements. It is in a sense actuated by the ensemble of movements deployed within it. Space occurs as the effect produced by the operations that orient it, situate it, temporalize it, and make it function in a polyvalent unity of conflictual programs or contractual proximities. [...] [S]pace is like the word when it is spoken, that is, when it is caught in the ambiguity of an actualization, transformed into a term dependent upon many different conventions, situated as the act of a present (or of a time), and modified by the transformations caused by successive contexts. In contradistinction to the place, it has thus none of the univocity or stability of a "proper." In short, *space is a practiced place (un lieu pratiqué)*.²¹

According to de Certeau, place (*lieu*) is a field in which elements coexist, each in its own distinct location, thus implying stability at any particular moment in time. Thus, place in de Certeau's words is an "instantaneous configuration of positions" (117). Space (*espace*), on the other hand, *occurs* when these elements intersect and deploy in movements such as orienting, situating, or temporalizing. Returning to his initial linguistic metaphor, he understands space, like the spoken word, to be contingent on "the ambiguity of an actualization," and thus involving different conventions, and temporal, cultural, and socio-political contexts (117). In other words, space is an "actualized" or "practiced" place. De Certeau famously exemplifies this notion of a "practiced" place by delineating spatial practice in cities based on a distinction between urban planning and the

20 For added dichotomies in de Certeau's thinking on space and place, such as 'carte' vs. 'parcours,' which coincide with the distinction of 'lieu' vs. 'espace,' see Christina Lechtermann (in this volume).

21 De Certeau, "Practice" (see note 2), 117.

actual uses of city space by pedestrians. The act of walking in a city transforms and manipulates the urban planning (place) into space just as the act of speaking actualizes a system of linguistic signs to transform it into the language of the individual user (*parole*). In both cases the basic elements of construction are manipulated and continuously transformed between the two alternating determinations (118). Both manipulate the basic elements of the spatial, and, in de Certeau's view, they function analogous to the structuralist linguistic dichotomy of *langue*, the language system, and *parole*, the concrete language usage. Just as language use is a constant interaction between *langue* and *parole*, the transformation of city space is a continuous back and forth between the two determinations of place and space (118).

To be sure, the distinct binary structure in de Certeau's terminology of 'space' and 'place,' 'official' and 'everyday,' 'strategies' and 'tactics,' to name but a few, did not go unnoticed by critics in the social sciences and humanities, and has provoked a feeling of unease.²² These oppositions entail power structures that de Certeau appears to perceive only unilaterally as top-down with the subaltern social players on the one hand, and the respective powers in place on the other.²³ Any possibility of "complicity in and acceptance of domination" is thus disregarded.²⁴ Thus, de Certeau's model, just like Foucault's is not immune to the tensions arising from applying a general cultural model to the particularity and multiplicity of historical specificity,²⁵ which is always in need of multidimensional approaches to grasp its complex dynamics.²⁶ But de Certeau's linguistically based spatial theory can be employed heuristically for historical analysis, his postmodern situatedness notwithstanding. In fact, de Certeau's model has

22 Brian Morris, "What we talk about when we talk about 'Walking in the City,'" *Cultural Studies* 18 (2004), 675–97, esp. 679. Ben Highmore, on the other hand, understands these terms in de Certeau's work as "non-oppositional binary terms," (154) and finds "this use of binary terms to challenge the structures of binary thought" (154) grounded in de Certeau's poetics, and elusive writing style that, in his opinion, corresponds well to its subject, namely the "hidden and evasive" (145) everyday. Ben Highmore, *Everyday Life and Cultural Theory: An Introduction* (New York, London: Routledge, 2002), 145–73, esp. 145–6, 154. De Certeau has also often been criticized for the opacity of his argument due to his writing style, which is rich in metaphors, and his eclectic and idiosyncratic use of theory. See Ian Buchanan, *Michel de Certeau: Cultural Theorist* (London: SAGE, 2000), 108–25, esp. 108–9; Marian Füssel, "Einleitung: Ein Denker des Anderen," in *Michel de Certeau: Geschichte – Kultur – Religion*, ed. Marian Füssel (Konstanz: UVK, 2007), 7–19, esp. 13.

23 Jeremy Ahearne, *Michel de Certeau: Interpretation and its Other* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995), 188–9, cited in Morris, "What we talk about" (see note 22), 681.

24 John Frow, *Cultural Studies and Cultural Value* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 56, cited in Morris, "What we talk about" (see note 22), 681.

25 Ben Highmore, *Everyday Life and Cultural Theory: An Introduction* (New York, London: Routledge, 2002), 145–73 ("Chapter 8: Michel De Certeau's Poetics of everyday Life"), esp. 170; Morris, "What we talk about" (see note 22), 677.

26 Morris, "What we talk about" (see note 22), 681.

one distinctive advantage for the analysis of the pre-modern era, in that it responds both to dominance and diversion in its societal and spatial structures: De Certeau's theory is uniquely positioned to align the descriptive model of spatiality with undeniably strict medieval hierarchical structures, but at the same time allows for spatial subversion and performance, which Hugo Kuhn's essay and the premodern contributions in this volume demonstrate.

One important aim of this volume is to gather a number of case studies in order to collect historically concrete evidence of such spatial practices, as reflected in literature and art as well as in sources pertaining to the social and political life of the premodern and early modern era.²⁷ In this sense, re-considering urban spaces, together with literary and artistic investments in the depiction, ideological foundation, and production of spaces bring to the fore new insights into historical developments and the diachronicity of literary, social and architectural sites and places. This volume probes these questions from a historically inclusive perspective. Of special interest to our discussions are historical changes and shifts in the construction and perception of space as well as aspects of *longue durée*. The main emphasis lies on German Studies, including cognate fields, such as the History of Art and Architecture, Historical Anthropology, History, and Cultural Studies.

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“If we are to speak of space and time in terms of conceptualization, we find ourselves in Kantian territory,” suggests John Noyes in one of the introductory essays of this volume. To mark this territory, and to stray away from it, the volume begins with two essays taking the “spatial turns around 1800” (Oliver

27 For the growing interest in premodern notions and practices of space see, among many others, *Raum und Raumvorstellungen im Mittelalter*, ed. Jan A. Aertsen and Andreas Speer (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1998); *Medieval Practices of Space*, ed. Barbara A. Hanawalt and Michal Kobialka (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000); *Virtuelle Räume. Raumwahrnehmung und Raumvorstellung im Mittelalter*, ed. Elisabeth Vavra (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag 2005); *People and Space in the Middle Ages, 300–1300*, ed. Wendy Davies, Guy Halsall, and Andrew Reynolds (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006); *A Place to Believe In: Locating Medieval Landscapes*, ed. Clare A. Lees and Gillian Overing (College Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006); *Imaginäre Räume*, ed. Elisabeth Vavra (Wien: Institut für Realienkunde, 2007); *Innenräume in der Literatur des deutschen Mittelalters*, ed. Burkhard Hasebrink et al. (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2008); *Topographies of the Early Modern City*, ed. Arthur Groos, Hans-Jochen Schiewer, and Markus Stock (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2008); *Rural Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age: The Spatial Turn in Premodern Studies*, ed. Albrecht Classen and Christopher R. Clason (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 2009); *Heilige, Liturgie, Raum*, ed. Dieter R. Bauer et al. (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2010); *Cities, Texts, and Social Networks, 400–1500: Experiences and Perceptions of Medieval Urban Space*, ed. Caroline Goodson, Ann E. Lester, and Carol Symes (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010); *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Era*, ed. Albrecht Classen (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 2011).

Simons) as their points of departure, and following through theories of space-time conversion from Kant to twentieth century theory (John Noyes).

Oliver Simons reads E.T.A. Hoffmann's *Princess Brambilla* as experimenting with different concepts of spatiality challenging Kant's epistemology of an a priori space. Beginning with a discussion of Kant's critique of figurative language especially in response to Emanuel Swedenborg, Oliver Simons illustrates how Kant distances himself from Swedenborg's extensive use of metaphors, which eventually led to a poetical turn also involving a transformation of Kant's concept of space. In opposition to literature, which is characterized by arbitrary metaphorizations, Kant aspires to clarity and concreteness in his writing, which he finds to be realized in figures of Euclidian geometry as signs with a concrete meaning that can be visualized at any time and place. Consequently, Kant's space of knowledge is three-dimensional, homogenous and consistent. In addition to that, space for Kant represents the common space of man's experience, and is thus a priori. With that said, Oliver Simons turns to literature and investigates the way in which literature deals with this three-dimensional a priori perception of space and develops different concepts of spatiality. Hoffmann's novel *Princess Brambilla* systematically explores the relationship between sensory perception and imagination, always keeping the reader in a state of uncertainty whether apparitions originate from the empirical or the imagined world. Through this confusion between the metaphor and the empirical world – an effect that Kant deplored and tried to evade – the novel, like a mirror, constantly demonstrates that metaphors are images. Oliver Simons concludes that Hoffmann's poetic strategy aims at transgressing and deserting three-dimensional perception by multiplying the readers' perspectives and thereby evokes the idea that space is always historical and is not to be conceived of as a priori.

Just like Oliver Simons, John Noyes takes Kant's conceptual space as his point of departure. After elucidating Herder's historical and anthropocentric argumentation against Kant's metaphysics,²⁸ he goes on to trace the critique of Kant's metaphysics of space and time into the 20th century. The most significant arguments in terms of a history of spatial theory have been formulated from the point of view of Deconstruction and Marxism: John Noyes sketches out Derrida's critique of the metaphysics of space and time as well as Lefebvre's production of space. As he shows, Lefebvre countered both the metaphysics of space and the reductionist return to a supposedly absolute knowledge in contemporary French theory. John Noyes then continues to question the over-emphasis the category of space has received in current spatial analysis. This has

28 It becomes obvious that Hoffmann's poetic response to Kant as described by Simons and Herder's argumentative response as described by Noyes have some common ground regarding a very significant problem of Kant's metaphysics.

led to a “one-sided view of space” after the so-called spatial turn. Instead, he calls for an analysis of the technologies by which space and time are managed, and argues in favour of putting time-space conversion and its foundational significance for subjectivity at the centre of the analysis. With recourse to Bakhtin and Bachelard, John Noyes situates art and literature among a wider array of human creative activities, which describe, try out and strategize means of time-space conversion.

After these elucidations of the theoretical foundations on which the analysis of spatial practices today rests, the essays move back in time to cultural representations and literary manipulations of space (and time) in the High Middle Ages. Bent Gebert investigates foundational conceptualizations of space in the Middle Ages: literary and cultural formulations of near-far paradoxes. He identifies the spatial paradox of home and exile as a central theme of medieval conceptualizations of space in literature and beyond. He employs the term *teleiopoetry*, the “literary production of proximity through distance,” to capture the “paradoxes of ‘close distance,’” and outlines their application in medieval culture. Taking two examples from medieval German love poetry, he analyzes the spatial paradox on different levels: conceptual, propositional, rhetorical and poetic. Bent Gebert proposes to distinguish the levels yet further through aspects such as time, media, and location to arrive at a detailed matrix for the analysis of teleiopoietic practices. With this analytical tool, traditionally isolated genres could be regarded with a more integral perspective, and thus might accentuate different spatializations than those seemingly predetermined by generic distinction. In this respect, he puts forward the supposition that paradoxical spatializations could be more fundamental to courtly poetry than various concepts of love. To demonstrate that teleiopoetry is neither limited to the erotic discourse of the troubadour’s love from afar, Bent Gebert explores a variety of sources ranging from vernacular courtly literature to Latin poems of monastic context, and other non-literary texts as well as different media. To conclude, he suggests that the concept of teleiopoetry could negotiate the paradox between embodied presence and the simultaneous production of distance, and steer a middle course between the deconstructive era, with its emphasis on spatialization and temporalization, and the recent discussions concerning presence cultures.

Bent Gebert’s approach sets the stage for the following essays, which continue the inquiry into the poetic creation of space and spatial practices in high medieval literature.

Christina Lechtermann considers the narrative representation of Alischanz, a major battlefield in Wolfram von Eschenbach’s thirteenth-century epic *Wilhelmalm*. This battlefield scene has been described as a series of jumbled fragments. She identifies space as the most cohesive element in the Alischanz scene, and centres her analysis on the question of the narrative constitution of space of

Alischanz. Following Michel de Certeau's concepts of *parcours/espace* (the constitution of space through movement) and *carte/lieu* (the shape of places resisting movement), she examines the way in which these constructional and perceptual aspects are involved in the constitution of space in the war scenes of *Willehalm*. She argues that the 'turn,' the movement of the warrior in battle or tournament, and the topographical design of narrative place work together in constituting narrative space. Showing that the battlefield of Alischanz is narratively shaped in an intricate and multi-layered way, Christina Lechtermann posits that this heterotopic and heterochronic site is determined by the interplay of resisting topography, characters' movements and a multiplicity of narrative focalizations. At the core of the spatial setup of Alischanz lie the protagonist's movements and their reorientation: his 'turn', which constitutes the spatial logic of the epic's structure.

Memory and the destruction of architecture have been deeply intertwined in rhetorical tradition since antiquity, but medievalists have only recently begun to study reverberations of this topic in medieval thought and literature. Scott Pincikowski investigates the way in which the destruction of architecture fashions noble identity and the memory of the nobility. He explores the destruction of architecture as a cultural practice in a wide range of sources such as legal treatises, fictional texts, and historical examples. Drawing upon the prominent example of the Germanic hall and the castle as spaces of courtly representation that reflect social ideology, power, and hierarchies ('place identity'), he demonstrates how their alteration could strongly affect the self-perception of the nobility and the image of the nobility in the medieval collective consciousness. His main focus lies on the way in which medieval poets stage scenes of destruction at 'memory locations' – spaces that are meaningful to the audience – to incite the audience's imagination and memory. These displays of violence at culturally significant locations could function as critique of the nobility, provoke critical self-reflection and often attempt to reevaluate and counter dominant cultural discourses such as the use of violence.

Similarly focusing on the status aspects of spatial practices in medieval literature, Christopher L. Miller investigates the significance of settings and the spatial staging of "status-generating displays" such as displays of *milte* and force in medieval epic. The comparison of the *Dukus Horant* narrative from the end of the thirteenth century and the twelfth-century bridal quest epic *König Rother* illustrates the poets' uses of the urban spaces of regal cities to stage their claim to power or influence. In both cases, the aim of such performative actions is the generation and justification of the protagonist's lordly status. However, it is in their specific uses of the urban spaces that Rother and Horant differ. While Rother and his entourage attack and assail their host through a direct violation of courtly spatial protocol, Horant operates primarily within intermediate spaces

of passage, thereby creating social and political movement, resulting ultimately in the ability to access rather than supplant the king. Thus, Horant's uses of spaces of urban passage result in his courtly integration whereas Rother creates dominance through disruption and upheaval.

Battlefield, hall/castle, and city: These are main chronotopes of the aristocratic narrative of the High Middle Ages.²⁹ Of these three, it might be the city that undergoes the most stunning transformation in the European imaginary towards the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern period.³⁰ This is the main topic of the final part of this volume. But another important pre- and early modern sphere of significance with regard to the symbolic productivity of spatial design and practice was that of sacred or religious spaces, such as churches or sites of worship.³¹ Matt Kavalier investigates the creation and symbolic design of sacred spaces in early modern German and Austrian churches. In the fifteenth century, late Gothic vaults appeared with significantly new designs such as geometric and vegetal forms, manipulating and marking the church space. Examining the late Gothic vaults of hall churches in Nuremberg, Freiberg, Augsburg, and other places, Matt Kavalier presents a range of different architectural devices that were employed as markers to generate sacred space. Unburdened by any technical function, the new designs were solely intended to produce a spatial experience that conveys the beyond. For example, a vault decorated with dynamic vegetal forms could suggest a heavenly garden, drawing on symbolism that highlights the sacrality of both the present and the represented spaces.

Arthur Groos investigates the distinction in the conception of the city as social space (*civitas*) focusing on social activities, and the city as architectural space (*urbs*) highlighting the aesthetic unity of its edifices traces back to the antiquity. In this context, depictions of idealized cities from the late Middle Ages and Early Modern period commonly illustrate the medieval city as *civitas* and the Renaissance city as *urbs*. In his comparative analysis of Renaissance *laudes urbium* and three examples of vernacular *Städte lob* from fifteenth and sixteenth-century Nuremberg, Arthur Groos re-examines the separation of Latin and vernacular encomia along linguistic, social, and discursive divides. He draws attention to the variances and the intertextuality between city encomia by Hans

29 On the term see Mikhail Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination. Four Essays by M.M. Bakhtin*, ed. Michael Holquist, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994); for the intellectual background of the term, see esp. Michael C. Frank and Kirsten Mahlke, "Nachwort," in Bakhtin, *Chronotopos*, trans. Michael Dewey (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 2008), 201–42.

30 See, for example, Groos, Schiewer, and Stock (eds.), *Topographies* (see note 28); Goodson, Lester, and Symes (eds.), *Cities, Texts, and Social Networks* (see note 28); Classen (ed.), *Urban Space* (see note 28).

31 See above, note 16.

Rosenplüt, Kunz Hass, and Hans Sachs and the Latin *laus urbis* by Leonardo Bruni. While the Renaissance Latin example originates from learned milieus and employs perspectives extending to the city's surroundings, most *Städte lob* stem from a commercial milieu and articulate an urban sense of community emphasizing the social practices within the city walls. At the same time, as Arthur Groos points out, the Nuremberg texts display a tendency to transport the vernacular *Städte lob* into a more learned discursive context. They achieve this by employing different visual perspectives and, above all, by highlighting Nuremberg's aesthetic appeal and aristocratic dimensions (*urbs*), while maintaining a strong focus on the community (*civitas*).

While these ideological texts, by their very genre, highlight coherence and community, the changing socioscaples of German cities being drawn into religious war reveal new complexities in policies of spatial order and the politics spatial practice. Sean Dunwoody unravels a particularly telling example from sixteenth-century Southern Germany: In 1555, after the reintroduction of Catholicism, a novel imperial framework committed the city of Augsburg to bi-confessionality. This new situation confronted the city with the challenge of accommodating the two Christian churches and of maintaining civic peace at the same time. Sean Dunwoody approaches peaceful denominational coexistence and religious violence in terms of their spatiality, and investigates the practices that were established to maintain civic peace in Augsburg during the second half of the sixteenth century. Drawing upon chronicles, juridical records, and correspondences, he examines a range of ordinances, political actions of magistrates, sermons and petitions of ministers and everyday actions of burghers, and identifies the strict distinction between religious and political space as one strategy to ensure civic peace. Examples of such spatial practices were alterations of the city's architecture to clearly distinguish communal buildings from private and religious ones, and a narrower definition of political space created by eliminating former political bodies, such as the guilds. He identifies the reasons for the willingness to strive for civic peace as pragmatic rather than confessional or ideological. For Augsburg as a city of commerce the main goal was to ensure uninterrupted commerce, and that meant maintaining good relations with catholic as well as protestant trading partners, and the prevention of any civic disturbance that would threaten production or domestic commerce.

The final essay of this volume approaches the concept of a public sphere from the perspective of the history of social distinction. Ulrich Ufer illustrates the emergence of an anonymous urban sphere and its effects on the private and public sphere in seventeenth-century Amsterdam. He identifies the development of an anonymous city sphere due to massive immigration and physical re-organization of urban spaces. At the same time he observes that the abolition of sumptuary laws due to the liberal market economy laid the foundation for the

possibility of identity role-play. With this new-found sartorial liberty, attire was no longer an effective status marker in an anonymous crowd where other means of social control were suspended. The conservative elites therefore tried to establish alternate status markers, such as the private home located in exclusive urban zones with grand front windows for the display of their luxury, and a sophisticated habitus in public places such as the coffee houses. It is the blurring of social distinction and the subsequent need of the elites to maintain hierarchies that engendered new sites of urban culture, such as the coffee house, and new forms of architectural self-expression.

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The broad and wide-ranging use of space and place as categories of analysis in a variety of disciplines has led to considerable criticism and concerns about their scholarly potential. The main point of criticism in the wake of the ‘spatial turn’ has been that space has been threatened to turn into a “konturenlosen”³² “metaphorischen Universalbegriff der akademischen Debatten”³³ (‘shapeless metaphorical universal concept of academic debates’). To be sure, this is partly due to the general complexity of the study of spaces and spatialities, of their overlapping, intersecting, coexisting and subversive potentials. And while there is no ready remedy for this, it seems to us that the focus on the concrete historical uses of space and place and the study of the conceptual understanding of spatial ‘theory’ involved in such human practice could be a way to sharpen the lens in this field of inquiry. This might be the reason why many of the contributions to this volume refer to Henri Lefebvre’s understanding of space as socially produced and generating social relations, concomitant with symbolic representations of space; and to Michel de Certeau’s emphasis on the variety of cultural practices involved in the creation of space. The term ‘spatial practice’ captures this interrelatedness, and serves as a reference point for many of these contributions. The study of spatial practices interrogates human action in different spaces, human agency in the production of space, and space in its capacity to prompt human action. It is through this recalibration in the study of the per-

32 Bachmann-Medick, *Cultural Turns* (see note 7), 302 (quotation), 307–8, 316–17.

33 Andrej Holm: *Sozialwissenschaftliche Theorien zu Raum und Fläche*. UFZ-Bericht 26 (Leipzig: UFZ, 2004), 18 <http://www.ufz.de/export/data/1/29295_ufz_bericht_26_04.pdf>; last accessed August 26, 2013; see also Bachmann-Medick, *Cultural Turns* (see note 7), 302–4; Roland Lippuner and Julia Lossau, “In der Raumfalle. Eine Kritik des spatial turn in den Sozialwissenschaften,” in *Soziale Räume und kulturelle Praktiken. Über den strategischen Gebrauch von Medien*, ed. Georg Mein and Markus Rieger-Ladich (Bielefeld: transcript, 2004), 47–63; Lippuner and Lossau, “Kritik der Raumkehren,” in *Raum. Ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch*, ed. Stephan Günzel (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 2010), 110–9.

formativity of space and place, that historical inquiry yields concrete and compellingly new results.

It is also obvious that this is a task that is not only enhanced by interdisciplinarity, but demands it as a *sine qua non*: only a collaboration of scholars from such fields as literary studies, social and cultural history, the history of art and architecture, or historical anthropology, can provide the plurality of perspectives necessary for an appropriate understanding of spatial practices in their historical dimension. This volume aims to contribute to this thriving interdisciplinary collaboration. It was produced with generous financial support from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) and the Dean of the Faculty of Arts & Science at the University of Toronto. We owe special thanks to the two peer-reviewers for their extremely helpful suggestions. And we would like to thank Christopher Liebttag Miller for his manifold linguistic and editorial help, as well as Susanne Franzkeit and Niina Borchers at Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Academic for their unwavering support.

Spatial Turns around 1800

Kant's A priori and E.T.A Hoffmann's *Princess Brambilla*

One reason why current literary criticism constantly returns to the idea of space is a short text by Michel Foucault, which is based on a lecture from 1967.¹ Foucault's analysis "Of Other Spaces" is a history of space in three parts: in antiquity, space was hierarchical; each thing had its natural place, towards which it strove. This epoch was followed by a space of observation similar to a stage, which shaped thought until the end of the nineteenth century. In the present, however, space must come to be seen as a complex set of relations: not as a coordinate system that functions like the structure of an interior, but as a topological space of relations.

In *The Order of Things*, which had appeared just prior in 1966, Foucault explains more thoroughly his conception of the nineteenth century, an era that he identifies with three-dimensional thinking. Although the coordinate system goes back to Descartes, it is Kant who describes it as a priori and anchors it, so to speak, in the subject. According to Foucault, this mode of thought was only able to change again around 1900, presumably due to the theory of relativity, which ultimately demonstrated that the natural sciences would be forced to leave Euclidean space in order to explain certain phenomena. The space described by Kant is consequently a historical a priori, a three-dimensional model of space which must henceforth be transcended.²

This essay will approach one of the spatial thresholds Foucault mentions, the beginning of the nineteenth century, from opposite directions. After a discussion of Kant's early philosophy and his institution of a spatial a priori, the second section will turn to a novel by E.T.A. Hoffmann, *Princess Brambilla*, and present a literary model of space that does not correlate directly with Kant, yet must nevertheless be read as a response to the episteme around 1800. Much sooner

1 I would like to thank Jillian DeMair for her generous help and translation of this essay. Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," *Diacritics* 16, no. 1 (1986), 22–7.

2 Cf. Oliver Simons, *Raumgeschichten. Topographien der Moderne in Philosophie, Wissenschaft und Literatur* (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2007), 25–49.

than modern physics of the twentieth century, let alone theories of space such as Foucault's, Hoffmann's romantic novel challenges Kant's epistemology.

I.

At the end of his *Dreams of a Spirit-Seer*, Kant brings himself to his senses. He no longer wants to invoke the fantastical ravings of the mystic Emanuel Swedenborg. Especially for pregnant female readers, these delusions could have dire consequences: "And as among my readers some might be just as likely in an interesting condition in regard to spiritual conceptions, I should be sorry if they had received a detrimental shock by anything I have told." Kant continues by saying that he hopes "not to be burdened with the moon-calves which their fruitful imagination might bring forth on this occasion."³

Kant's text about the 'spirit-seer' Swedenborg, which was first published in 1766, might be his most important treatise prior to his so-called 'critical turn'. It is one of his first sketches of a philosophical realm of knowledge that is to be understood literally as a specific space – a space in which the subsequent era would feel at home for a long time. It is worth noting that Kant defines the contours of this space in contradistinction to literature, especially to any literature that abandons itself to such rampant fantasies as Emanuel Swedenborg's, who had been so popular in his time. As Kant's polemic against Swedenborg reveals, philosophy might have been more similar to the practice of clairvoyance than it would have liked to admit. While Kant did not write about ghosts, he did write about the human spirit and its ability to represent abstract concepts and ideas. Just like the mystic, the philosopher, too, relies on the faculty of the imagination, making the threshold between philosophy and literature all the more precarious.

In introducing his *Critique of Pure Reason*, Kant writes that he wanted to avoid analogies or comparisons that are rich in images.⁴ Of course he uses metaphorical expressions when referring to the royal path of reason and the Copernican turn, which bring about his transcendental philosophy and are meant to guide his readers to the proper use of reason. But compared to the tactile descriptions of things like distant planets, which had occupied the younger Kant, his subsequent form of description is distinctly more restrained. Kant's critical turn is also a poetological turn, and as will be shown, this reform

3 Immanuel Kant, *Dreams of a Spirit-Seer Illustrated by Dreams of Metaphysics*, ed. Frank Sewall, trans. Emanuel F. Goerwitz (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. and New York: The Macmillan Co., 1900), 111.

4 Immanuel Kant, *Kritik der reinen Vernunft (Werkausgabe)*, ed. Wilhelm Weischedel (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1983), 3:A:xi.

in his style of writing goes along with the transformation of his concept of space. An especially impressive example of his earlier style can be found in the following passage from his 1755 *Universal Natural History and Theory of the Heavens*:

At a glance we see vast seas of fire which raise their flames to the sky; raging tempests whose fury doubles the violence of the flaming seas, and makes them swell and overflow their shores, till they now cover the elevated regions of the solar body, and again make them sink back into their bounds; charred rocks which stretch their fearful peaks up out of the flaming abysses, and which, when flooded or exposed by the waves of fire, cause the alternating appearance and disappearance of the sun spots; dense vapours which suffocate the fire, and which, lifted by the violence of the winds, produce dark clouds which plunge down again in sheets of raining fire, and then pour themselves as burning rivers from the heights of the solar land into flaming valleys.⁵

With just one sentence Kant seems to recreate the forces of nature syntactically. Each element literally flows into the next and each image is connected to another with the repetition of “and” and “and which.” In this imaginary landscape, the borders between individual images are blurred and elements morph into the next clause and into a different shape. One could speak of a metonymic shift, with which Kant evokes a constant metamorphosis. This may well be the most spectacular fantasy of the young Kant, but his other texts frequently contain speculations about peculiar spaces, distant creatures or higher dimensions – in other words, speculations about spheres that elude the empirical understanding of the subject. For something to be considered *anschaulich*, it must be possible to represent it within the coordinates of three-dimensional awareness. In other words, if something lies beyond one’s senses, the perceiving subject must attempt to envision it based on his powers of imagination. These speculative representations might be as concrete as Kant’s digressions on seas of fire and storms on distant planets; whether these fantasies are accurate, however, escapes one’s powers of reason. The three-dimensional space is thus always understood as a common space of man’s experience.

Space is for the young Kant still a kind of substance, a figure as concrete as stars. But at the same time, his early writing also includes examples of space as a thought form. These are the first indications of a model of space that Kant would later formulate in his transcendental philosophy with space as a priori. A “fourth power” is an “impossibility,” writes Kant in 1746. Not only is it impossible to calculate by a doubling of two dimensions, it is simply not conceivable: “In geometry no square can be multiplied by itself nor any cube by its root.”⁶

5 Immanuel Kant, *Universal Natural History and Theory of the Heavens*, trans. W. Hastie (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1969), 162–3.

6 Immanuel Kant, “Thoughts on the True Estimation of Living Forces (Selected Passages),” in

Whereas the natural forces of the elements on distant planets are an outgrowth of Kant's fantasy, the geometric cube – even if it is entirely a human construction that is not found in its ideal form in nature – follows universally valid laws in its design. Kant uses the example of geometry not so much because he is interested in space as a concrete entity, but rather because he wishes to demonstrate clarity as a method, insofar as geometry, at least of a three-dimensional Euclidean space, mediates a regularity and form of proof, which, because of its clarity, must be evident to everyone.⁷ For Kant, literary expression stands for a purely subjective fantasy, while the clarity of geometry represents an objective communal understanding. This communal sense is only possible because the spatial a priori itself guarantees that we can apply geometric figures to the world of our experiences.

The following discussion of a poetological turn in Kant refers more specifically to his attempt to replace the figurativeness of fantasy with the regulated clarity of geometry. After all, while literary fantasies do not exhibit any recognizable rules according to Kant, and can therefore hardly be considered poetological, geometry is concerned with nothing other than the production of spatial figures, restricted of course – in the geometry Kant considers – to a maximum of three dimensions. Only in the space of a three-dimensional coordinate system can the computational results of geometry be seen clearly.

Kant's treatise *Dreams of a Spirit-Seer*, cited at the outset of this essay, marks an important transition in this development of his poetology. Kant criticizes Swedenborg's excessive literary fantasy by means of a model of space that will henceforth be the foundation of his critical philosophy. In other words, Kant employs a model of space in order to distance himself from Swedenborg's literature. Yet at first glance it is striking that Kant cites, even downright imitates, so much of the imagery and inventiveness with which Swedenborg fascinated his readers. Kant uses a writing style in his critique of Swedenborg's texts that often irritated his readers for this very reason. Moses Mendelssohn, for example, hardly knew how to classify the literary form of Kant's text: "The droll profundity in which this short work is written often leaves the reader in doubt as to whether Mr. Kant wants to render metaphysics laughable, or make the seeing of spirits seem credible."⁸ Kant's *Spirit-Seer* resembles a satire that seems to delight in reproducing the imaginary that Swedenborg mastered so enticingly. Only when the mystic's chimeras threaten to grow into a "colossal and gigantic fancy"

Kant's Inaugural Dissertation and Early Writings on Space, trans. John Handyside (Chicago: Open Court Publishing Company, 1929), 3–15, 12.

7 Rüdiger Campe, "Shapes and Figures – Geometry and Rhetoric in the Age of Evidence," *Monatshefte* 102, no. 3 (2010), 285–99.

8 Willi Goetschel, *Constituting Critique: Kant's Writing as Critical Practice*, trans. Eric Schwab (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1994), 90.

that emerges when Swedenborg invokes a communion of spirits, ultimately creating a “Grand Man”⁹ out of this metaphor, does Kant break off his imitations. Reading Swedenborg is so seductive, because the spirit-seer seems to found a new *sensus communis*, a new spiritual community of readers, although their visions never correspond with the empirical world of experience. Thus Kant refrains from further quotations; he does not want to be responsible for the moon-calves that his pregnant readers could give birth to. After all, the danger of these fantasies is that Swedenborg’s readers tend to imagine such analogies entirely concretely. Swedenborg produces circuitous images that take on a life of their own, so that his readers no longer see them as metaphors, but as real objects. They forget that these similes are really only images. They lack a sense for the irony with which Kant cites Swedenborg. In 1764, only two years prior to the appearance of the *Spirit-Seer*, Kant describes very similar symptoms as “derangement” and “maladies of the head”:

One also finds that persons who show enough mature reason in other cases nevertheless firmly insist upon having seen with full attention who knows what ghostly shapes and distorted faces, and that they are even refined enough to place their imagined experience in connection with many a subtle judgment of reason.¹⁰

Daydreamers abandon themselves to their powers of imagination; they see images without any connection to reality, but their imaginative power is so overwrought that they misconceive their own conceits as real circumstances. Kant wants to protect his audience from these derangements. The rational reader must be able to realize at any moment that the fruits of his reading are only meant figuratively.

It has been said in Kant scholarship, and rightly so, that a search for a theory of language in Kant would be in vain.¹¹ Yet even if actual remarks on the semiotics of linguistic signs are only found sparingly in Kant’s oeuvre, it is nonetheless noteworthy that his observations on proper linguistic use go far beyond mere ornamental language. Kant constantly reflects on forms of writing as thought forms. In *Dreams of a Spirit-Seer*, for example, he writes that we are indeed dependent on imagery and analogies, even in philosophy: “How this is possible can be made intelligible by considering how our higher conceptions of reason, which approach the spiritual pretty closely, ordinarily assume, as it were, a

9 Kant, *Dreams* (see note 1), 110.

10 Immanuel Kant, “Essay on the Maladies of the Head,” trans. Holly Wilson, in *Anthropology, History and Education*, ed. Günter Zöllner and Robert B. Loudon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 65–77, 71.

11 Ludwig Jäger, “Das schreibende Bewusstsein,” in *Philosophie der Schrift*, ed. Elisabeth Birk and Jan Georg Schneider, *Germanistische Linguistik* 285 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2009), 97–122.

bodily garment to make themselves clear.”¹² For this reason, according to Kant, philosophers, just like writers, tend to personify moral characteristics, virtues or vices. This makes it all the more urgent for Kant to keep the figurativeness of philosophers in check, or to put it another way, to constantly reflect the limits of philosophical knowledge in view of philosophical forms of representation. Even in 1796, in his treatise *On a Newly Arisen Superior Tone in Philosophy*, Kant still criticizes a form of argument as a form of writing. The *Schwärmerei* (‘exaltation’)¹³ of philosophers who only express themselves in intuitions and philosophize with feelings, without ever being able to formulate certain knowledge, finds its direct expression in

[...] figural expressions [*bildlichen Ausdrücken*], which are supposed to make that intimation comprehensible; for example, ‘to approach so near the goddess wisdom that one can perceive the *rustle* of her garment,’ but also in the praising of the art of *pseudo-Plato*, ‘since he cannot lift up the veil of Isis, he can nevertheless make it so thin that one can *intimate* the goddess under this veil.’ Precisely how thin is not said; presumably, just thick enough so that one can make the specter into whatever one wants. For otherwise it would be a vision that should definitely be avoided.¹⁴

Here Kant exposes insufficient philosophical reasoning as a false manner of expression. In agreement with theories on the origin of language such as Rousseau’s, Kant’s critique of language assumes that linguistic signs have only gradually detached themselves from their former meanings. In his *Logic*, for example, Kant notes that the first philosophers still “clothed everything in pictures,” so that philosophy does indeed have a poetic origin, since the clothing of thoughts in images, according to Kant, is precisely the mark of poetic language usage.¹⁵ The underlying history of signs, which seems to be behind Kant’s infrequent remarks on semiotics, implies an originally very concrete metaphorical language, in which objects were taken for abstract circumstances. Yet while the meaning of metaphors still seemed certain to the first philosophers, the pure poetry of writers like Swedenborg had long since disengaged from this form of reference. Swedenborg does not use images in order to designate something else; his “clothing” stands for itself and is only subsequently filled with material. It is as if one would let ghostly spirits emerge from the human mind. Swedenborg seems to have inverted the very process of creating metaphorical language.

Consequently, Kant’s instructions for the proper use of reason are always at

12 Kant, *Dreams* (see note 1), 69.

13 Immanuel Kant, “On a Newly Arisen Superior Tone in Philosophy,” in *Raising the Tone of Philosophy. Late Essays by Immanuel Kant, Transformative Critique* by Jacques Derrida, ed. and trans. Peter Fenves (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 51–81, 62.

14 *Ibid.*, 64.

15 Immanuel Kant, *Logic*, trans. Robert S. Hartman and Wolfgang Schwarz (New York: Dover Publications, 1988), 32.

the same time instructions for the reasonable use of language. Philosophy in particular faces the difficulty of having to find terms for abstract mental concepts and having to explain things like moral law, which are only comprehensible in analogies, but no less forceful in directing human actions. And philosophy succeeds only when it is able to maintain control over its own metaphors and prevent them from taking on a life of their own like Swedenborg's thought-clothing.

But to what extent is Kant's critique of language connected to a critique of space? Perhaps the clearest example of the function of space at Kant's poetological turn can be found in the metaphors in the *Critique of Pure Reason*. His scarce use of metaphors and analogies can be understood as a counter model to Swedenborg's fantastic imagery. The book promises to trace a royal path of reason, and this metaphor of a path is in fact one of the most conspicuous in Kant's text. His transcendental philosophy is evidently concerned with a likewise step-by-step form of argumentation that chooses its images and analogies so carefully that the meaning of each expression cannot be missed. It is not by chance that Kant makes a geographical comparison of the limits of reason to the borders of a land,¹⁶ and the progress of knowledge to the progression across a landscape: "The sum of all the possible objects of our knowledge appears to us to be a plane, with an apparent horizon – namely, that which in its sweep comprehends it all, and which has been entitled by us the idea of unconditioned totality."¹⁷ Although by natural laws, the horizon can never be reached, it is nevertheless possible, step by step, working from one concept to the next, to constantly open up new horizons. But the restriction remains that one simply cannot leave the "field of experience."¹⁸ As these examples demonstrate, even in his critical philosophy Kant is unable to manage without metaphors. But he no longer makes leaps into other spheres, which Swedenborg seems to take so nimbly. The seas of fire appear to have dried out and given way to a style that constantly limits its own use of imagery.

As the example of the cube has already suggested, there is a second field of images to which Kant refers with particular fondness. In Euclidean geometry – already the ideal of a science that can always be certain of its findings – Kant finds numerous examples of terms that find their persuasiveness above all in their concreteness. Figures taken from Euclidean geometry are memorable and

16 Cf. Kant, *Kritik* (see note 4), B 294 – 5. See also Goetschel, *Constituting Critique* (see note 8), 113 and the essay by Franco Farinelli, "Von der Natur der Moderne: eine Kritik der kartographischen Vernunft" in *Räumliches Denken*, ed. Dagmar Reichert (Zurich: VDF, 1996), 267 – 301.

17 Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, trans. Norman Kemp Smith, 2nd rev. ed. (New York: Palgrave, 2007), 606.

18 *Ibid.*, 608.

instructive simply because they can always be visually presented. The geometric figure is an ideal sign because it was created by reason itself, rather than being copied from nature. But geometric figures are ideal signs above all because they follow clear rules instead of being a private language like that of Swedenborg; geometric figures are communal signs because they can be made visually apparent at any time and place. As such they provide a clear picture of how Kant imagined a regulated use of reason: geometric concepts can be visualized or drawn on a sheet of paper, at least when they are conceived of in three-dimensional space. They are evident and¹⁹ stand before one's eyes with a concrete meaning that cannot be altered.

This means of controlling space is possible not least because Kant, following his transcendental turn, defines space as a priori with a wholly concrete structure. The spatial a priori is that which precedes all perception and therefore never appears as an object itself. It can nevertheless be proven that this a priori has a three-dimensional structure. The a priori enables the propositions of geometry to be immediately evident, or conversely, the a priori predetermines the concreteness upon which Kant's imagery is dependent. Whether it is a philosophical landscape with a royal path or a geometric shape, Kant uses images that always fit into this space of knowledge. What is beyond its borders can be speculated or poetized with metaphors that have no equivalence in the world of experience.

The epistemological border, which begins to be clearly delineated in Kant's writing, is thus entirely concrete: the border of a three-dimensional coordinate system which is at the same time the border of the communal world. Even though this space as a priori cannot be substantiated by experience or anthropologically – since it is the very precondition for experience – it is nevertheless noteworthy that Kant thinks of space as a form of visualization, and thus a visualizable form, which in its structure is comparable to the space of human perception. In his *Dreams of a Spirit-Seer*, Kant therefore describes the delusions of spirit-seers concretely as a disturbance in perspective. Whereas in normal perception the intersection of the imaginary rays of sight emitted from each eye lies at a vanishing point, in a confused or intoxicated observer, this “focus imaginarius”²⁰ strays from the actual image into the observer's own head, with the consequence being that imaginary objects are taken for real things. Someone who is inebriated therefore has the same experience as someone who is insane: one sees the world inaccurately, projects images onto the world and imagines real situations that are actually only a figment of one's own imagination. The perception of space of such a person is like the false metaphor of the mystic or spec-

19 Cf. Campe, “Shapes and Figures” (see note 7), 295.

20 Kant, *Dreams* (see note 1), 78.

ulative philosopher: this perception produces purely imaginary images, and then understands them as literal representations of an object. Even sober philosophers can at least vaguely surmise what must be happening in such an illusory world. For upon awaking in the morning,

[...] we often regard – with drowsy and half-opened eyes – the variegated threads of the bed-curtains, or of the covering, or the small spots of the nearest wall, and easily form out of them figures of human faces and similar things. The delusion ceases at will and as soon as attention is aroused.²¹

II.

Kant defines his space of knowledge in distinction to literature – literature understood as an apparently arbitrary metaphORIZATION, as a form of figurative speech that has renounced the empirical appearance of the world of experience. In contrast to purely arbitrary use of images and analogies, as Kant points out in the spirit-seer Swedenborg, his own critical philosophy is indebted to a poeology, to a form of constitution of knowledge that prepares for the advancement of reason a field of view in which the accumulation of perceptions can be defined metaphorically by the logic of a homogenous, consistent space. Kant's space of knowledge is three-dimensional, homogenous, and consistent.

But how do literary texts around 1800 approach this model of space? How does literary poeology interact with this coordinate system established by Kant's theory of cognition? Or to put it differently, how does literature describe a space that Kant claims is inaccessible? These questions lend themselves to an investigation of romantic literature, particularly because the most explicit reception and treatment of contemporary idealist philosophy occurred within this literature. If Kant competes with Swedenborg in order to win over the faculty of imagination for philosophical purposes, then how do romantic texts formulate their poetics in distinction to Kant? How does literature interact with the three-dimensional enclosure that Kant describes as a priori? What spatial perspectives do literary texts conceptualize?

If Kant's philosophy can be considered paradigmatic of this philosophical discourse, a novel by E.T.A. Hoffmann is equally exemplary of the corresponding literary discourse. *Princess Brambilla: A Capriccio in the Style of Jacques Callot*, which first appeared in 1820, is regarded as one of Hoffmann's most peculiar texts. "But *Prinzessin Brambilla* is a delicious creature, and if there be a man whose head is not turned by her marvels, it is because that man has got no head

21 Ibid., 81n.

to turn,” wrote Heinrich Heine in 1822.²² It is clear from the programmatic first passage of *Princess Brambilla* that this is truly a novel that investigates the perspective of perception in a systematic way:

Twilight came on. In the convents the bells rang for the Ave. Then the lovely, pretty child, Giacinta Soardi by name, cast aside the sumptuous gown of heavy red satin, on the embroidery of which she had been busily working, and looked down with annoyance from the high window into the narrow alley devoid of people.²³

At first glance this appears to be a normal story opening told by a narrator observing at a distance. The view of the scene seems to illuminate the characters externally.²⁴ But viewed more carefully, the description of the diligent Giacinta is actually followed by an inconspicuous change in perspective; as she casts the gown aside and her glance out the window, the narrative perspective changes as well. Her ill-humored gaze down “from the high window into the narrow alley devoid of people” seems henceforth to convey her own perspective and to suspend the previous narrative distance. As a result, the reader is already faced with two perspectives in the first sentence: that of a distanced narrator and that of a figure in the narrative.

This impression is reinforced by the first remark by the elderly Beatrice, who sits together with Giacinta, embroidering clothes: “This time, Giacinta, we really have been industrious. It seems as if I were looking at half of the merry world of the Corso here before my eyes.”²⁵ Beatrice’s gaze is an imaginary one. Together with the narrator’s perspective and the figure-oriented point of view, this is a third mode of perception that plays an important role in the novel.²⁶ The relationship between sensual perception and pure fantasy is depicted by Hoffmann systematically; it is therefore a matter of the very same perceptual limit already described with regard to Kant. But how does Hoffmann designate the relationship between sensual perception and pure imagination? And how does his novel reflect this perceptual border semiotically? These questions emerge as early as the first page, and it is striking that the forms of perception cited occur in direct connection with the sewing of clothing, one of the motifs used metaphorically by

22 Heinrich Heine, *Heine in Art and Letters*, trans. Elizabeth A. Sharp (London: Walter Scott, 1895), 168.

23 E.T.A. Hoffmann, “Princess Brambilla,” in *Three Märchen of E.T.A. Hoffmann*, trans. Charles E. Passage (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1971), 111–250, 115.

24 Christiane Frey, “Anamorphose und Laune in E.T.A. Hoffmanns ‘Prinzessin Brambilla,’” in *Der entstellte Blick. Anamorphosen in Kunst, Literatur und Philosophie*, ed. Kyung-Ho Cha and Markus Rautzenberg (Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink, 2008), 157–71, 163.

25 Hoffmann, “Princess Brambilla” (see note 23), 115.

26 Cf. Gerhard Neumann, “Anamorphose. E.T.A. Hoffmanns Poetik der Defiguration,” in *Mimesis und Simulation*, ed. Andreas Kablitz and Gerhard Neumann (Freiburg: Rombach, 1998), 377–417, 377. According to Neumann, Hoffmann is one of the founders not only of fantastic literature but also of realism.

Kant to indicate the use of metaphor. Hoffmann, too, uses the dress to create an interplay between inside and outside, shell and contents. For Giacinta is not only busy with the “embroidery” of the gown, she desires nothing more than to be able to slip into a

[...] fine Spanish dress that fits tight above and then falls in rich, thick folds downward, full sleeves slashed and with magnificent lace sticking out, a little hat with pertly swinging plumes, a belt, and a necklace of glittering diamonds – that’s the way Giacinta would like to go out onto the Corso and get out in front of the Ruspoli Palace.²⁷

It is as if she would like to become one with her gown. With its rich embellishments and adornments, the dress might be compared to the weaving of a text that has been so seductively fashioned with fanciful adornment that its readers fall entirely under its spell. In fact, in the same chapter, the actor Giglio Fava appears, and upon seeing the gown, he is immediately reminded of the princess who appeared in his dream the previous night and regards her as so real that he not only falls in love with her but believes he is loved by her as well. Giglio displays all the symptoms that Kant had described as a derangement of the head, or more concretely, as a derangement of perspective. Accordingly, he believes Giacinta, because of her gown, to be the real princess. It initially seems that Giglio is the first victim of the text. But as will be seen in the course of the novel, Giglio in turn creates an image with his fantasy that will become deceptively real for Giacinta. Giglio believes he is the prince whose part he is only playing, and Giacinta will then immediately fall so much in love with the prince that she only casts disdainful glances at Giglio. Only the master tailor Bescapi, who is making costumes for the carnival in the background, seems to be immune to this dramatic confusion. In contrast to the characters in the text who identify with their images, he stands for a narrator who is exempt from the immediate action: “It was good Signor Bescapi, after all, with his creative needle, our faithful impresario now and the man who first put us on the stage in the form suited to our essential selves.”²⁸ Even the very beginning of the novel is thus part of a fiction and a narrative created by its own characters. Their masks and clothing are mere functions that the characters take on over the course of the text, and for which they exchange their own names.

At the outset of the novel, then, it is not just a matter of the metaphorical cloaking of thoughts; the gown does not stand for a metaphor or a particular connotation, but instead there is a very literal personification of the dress. One could summarize the plot of the novel as being primarily concerned with the question of how the texture of Hoffmann’s narrative brings forth its own

27 Hoffmann, “Princess Brambilla” (see note 23), 116.

28 *Ibid.*, 248.

characters and also how this form of animation is transferred onto Hoffmann's readers:²⁹

"Oh," said Giacinta, without looking up from the work which she had resumed, "oh, it's the dress, the nasty dress, I think, that has filled me with all sorts of silly ideas. Tell me, old woman, have you ever in your life seen a dress to compare with this one in beauty and splendor? In fact, I already feel as though all sorts of tiny faces were looking out at me from the shining gems and smiling and whispering, 'Sew, swiftly sew for our beautiful queen! We will help you, we will help you!' And as I intertwine the lace and the braiding I seem to see lovely little elves skipping about amid gnomes in golden armor, and – oh!"³⁰

With these words, and "just as she was sewing the bodice bracing," she pricks her finger, "so hard that the blood was spurting out of it like a fountain." Now she actually does become one with the dress; at least she cannot prevent a few drops of blood from falling onto the fabric, although, miraculously, neither she nor Beatrice can find any stains. Giacinta's apparent merging with the dress is further intensified by Beatrice's observation that it seems to be sewn exactly to her size, "as if Master Bescapi had taken the measurements from nobody else but you?"³¹ From this dress emerges the question of how the images that evoke certain characters are to be distinguished from the characters themselves in this novel.³² An initial conjecture about the poetic practices of this carnivalesque play of confusion can be stated here: the dress is described thoroughly, but then so literally interwoven into the plot that it is quite possibly no longer a metaphor, but a fabric with which the characters are joined together metonymically. Giacinta's blood becomes one with the fabric; she seems to literally melt together with the narrative material and to thereby obtain her shape. Hoffmann's text creates precisely the effect against which Kant wanted to warn his readers.

At the same time, *Princess Brambilla* might be a novel that Kant would have actually had to recommend to his readers, since compared to the spurned texts of

29 Neumann's reconstruction of the text's contents is more nuanced and sees the novel as being about cultural models of order and the question of the development of the romantic subject. The first chapter is said to be about drugs, the second about dreams, the third about philosophy and Fichte in particular, the fourth about psychiatry, the fifth about dance, the sixth about the doppelgänger, the seventh about myth, and the eighth about the carnival. Cf. Gerhard Neumann, "Glissando und Defiguration. E.T.A. Hoffmanns Capriccio 'Prinzessin Brambilla' als Wahrnehmungsexperiment," in *Manier-Manieren-Manierismen*, ed. Erik Greber and Bettine Menke (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 2003), 63–94.

30 Hoffmann, "Princess Brambilla" (see note 23), 117–8.

31 *Ibid.*, 118.

32 The fact that this is a topos in literature can be observed in Jean Paul, in whose texts thoughts also show themselves as faces. Cf. Jean Paul, "Mutmaßungen über einige Wunder des organischen Magnetismus," *Jugendwerke, Vermischte Schriften* 1, ed. Norbert Miller (München: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1985), vol. 2, part 2, 884–921. To this cf. Neumann, "Anamorphose" (see note 26), 384.

the mystic Swedenborg, this novel is a text that constantly reflects upon its own creation and technique. Hoffmann's novel is not just about a semiotic relationship between signs and their referents, it is also a text about its own reading. Giacinta's fantasy appears at the programmatic outset of the novel not least because the reader of *Princess Brambilla* might be threatened with the same fate as Giacinta, who is engulfed in the contemplation of the dress she is making. The crux of Hoffmann's poetic techniques can be elucidated with the help of another example. The following passage from *The Sandman*, which had appeared just a few years prior, is an exemplary presentation of the mirror relationship between text and reader. After only a few pages, the narrator asks the reader:

Have you, kind reader, ever known a something that has completely filled your heart, thoughts, and senses, so as to exclude everything else? There was in you a fermentation and a boiling, and your blood inflamed to the hottest glow bounded through your veins, and gave a higher colour to your cheeks. [...] So take, gentle reader, the three letters, which friend Lothaire was good enough to give me, as the sketch of the picture which I shall endeavour to colour more and more as I proceed in my narrative. Perhaps, like a good portrait-painter, I may succeed in catching many a form in such a manner, that you will find it is a likeness without having the original, and feel as if you had often seen the person with your own corporeal eyes. Perchance, dear reader, you will then believe that nothing is stranger and madder than actual life, and that this is all that the poet can conceive, as it were in the dull reflection of a dimly polished mirror.³³

There is no doubt that the dimly polished mirror is to be understood entirely literally here. After all, a portrait of which the original is unknown, but which is nevertheless an exact replica thereof, is seen by anyone who looks in a mirror. It is the image of oneself, which, as deceptively real as it seems, is still just an image, because no one can see one's own self without the help of an intervening medium. The catch in Hoffmann's poetics is, of course, that such mirror images are not only thematized, but also reflect the structure and function of the narrative itself. The mirror image is not just a motif; it is further used to present the reflection of the act of reading within and by means of a novel. The reader of Hoffmann's *Sandman* looks into a mirror and sees his own fantasy and imagination. It is no different for the reader of *Princess Brambilla*.

Jacques Lacan famously described this dilemma very similarly with his "mirror stage." Between six and eighteen months of age, children learn with great enthusiasm to recognize their reflection. But according to Lacan, the child is at the same time never able to view his whole body without an intermediary. A complete image can only be found in the mirror.³⁴ For this reason, Lacan's

33 E.T.A. Hoffmann, *The Sandman. The Elementary Spirit. Two Mysterious Tales*, trans. John Oxenford (New York: Mondial, 2008), 17–9.

34 Jacques Lacan, "The Mirror Stage as Formative of the I Function," in *Écrits. The First Complete Edition in English*, trans. Bruce Fink (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2006), 75–81.

structural psychoanalysis differentiates the image-self, which henceforth becomes a projection surface for an idealized self-perception, from the self that can never become an image. The subjectification in this mirror stage is double-edged, just as the self-recognition is only possible due to a split, a fissure which remains inscribed in the subject. The observer sees his ideal self without ever being able to see the complete image of his self, and can therefore no longer be conceived as a unified person; Lacan instead sketches the self as a relational framework.

One also finds in Lacan a description of a different optical process that is related to the mirror scenario already discussed. Lacan uses the principle of anamorphosis known to the field of art history to describe a play with perspective in which an image is primarily oriented towards a single vanishing point, but at the same time contains pictorial elements that are only possible to detect by leaving one's viewing position.³⁵ By way of illustration, Lacan points to the famous painting by Hans Holbein the Younger, *The Ambassadors*, from 1533, which portrays two merchants in an interior filled with various gadgets. The foreground contains a strange amorphous structure, which does not fit with the perspectival frame. Only when the viewer leaves his position and kneels down on the left-hand side of the painting does he recognize the odd structure as a skull. It is a skull that is likewise portrayed with complete perspectival accuracy, but simply oriented towards a different vanishing point than the rest of the painting.

Hoffmann's *Princess Brambilla*, as has been justifiably noted, is organized similarly.³⁶ The text certainly evokes harmonious images of perception, though as suggested by the example of the text's opening, these images stem from varying perspectives. The reader can never be entirely certain which figure's perspective is being presented. It should be added that perception in this novel is not only directed by the points of view of the characters, but that the text is also invested in including the realm of the imaginary and the imagination itself in this play of confusion. This, too, is announced by the beginning of the novel. Beatrice, while sitting in the room with Giacinta, had the whole world of the Corso before her eyes. This form of imagination is taken up again in the numerous mirror scenes in the novel, for example, during the commencement of the carnival. A carriage, which everyone suspects is carrying Princess Brambilla, has

35 Jacques Lacan, *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psycho-Analysis*, ed. Jacques-Alain Miller, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Norton, 1998), 85.

36 Cf. Neumann, and also Frey, who emphasizes that the anamorphosis is logically correct and not the other of reason. The anamorph instead accentuates reason's very principles, according to Frey. Cf. Frey, "Anamorphose" (see note 24), 158. Neumann highlights three technical principles with which anamorphic art can be dissolved: 1. change of position, 2. catoptric mirrors, and 3. the prismatic telescope. Cf. Neumann, "Anamorphose" (see note 26), 397–8.

such mirrored glass that the curious citizens of Rome are presented only with the sight of themselves:

The crowd pressed around and tried to peep inside the coach, but they saw nothing but the Corso and themselves, for the windows were all mirrors. Many a one looking at himself in this way fancied for a moment he was sitting inside the magnificent coach himself and thus was quite beside himself with delight [...].³⁷

Hoffmann's reader is caught in a perpetual mirror stage and can never be quite sure which apparitions are merely imagined and which come from the empirical world. The reader is presented with a mirror that does not reflect real images, but instead, as per Lacan, ideal images.³⁸

Many more passages can be found to illustrate reflections and inversions of perspective. On their search for an Assyrian prince, the citizens receive a recommendation for "spectacles" previously cut by the Indian magician Ruffiamonte.³⁹ Not coincidentally, this magician is outfitted with books and reading glasses; he apparently represents a narrator within the text. And in the "Story of King Ophioch and Queen Liris," a *Kunstmärchen* interjected into the third chapter of the novel, the mage Hermod sails by on a cloud carrying a "prism of shimmering crystal" over his head.⁴⁰ The prism eventually begins to liquefy and drip onto the ground, spouting a "most splendid silvery spring" in which the royal pair can finally see each other – "their very selves in inverted reflection" – once again: "A splendid new world full of life and joy became clear in their eyes, and with the recognition of that world there was kindled within their hearts a rapture they had never known and never dreamed of before."⁴¹ Poetologically one of the key scenes of the novel, it repeats once again the process just described. The allegorical fairy tale describes not a core symbol or central metaphor, but a medium that serves the function of creating images with its reflections. Again the "spring" emerges from a metonymy.

Hoffmann's novel treats these distortions of perception at a motivic level, but also as a means of structural momentum and as a poetic principle. The figure of the actor Giglio is particularly notable in this regard. In one of his last performances, as he plays the prince and – afflicted with "chronic dualism" – dances with his reflection, he remarks on his own function in the text. He says he suffers "only from an eye disorder," which he brought on himself

37 Hoffmann, "Princess Brambilla" (see note 23), 126.

38 Cf. here also Detlef Kremer, *Romantische Metamorphosen: E.T.A. Hoffmanns Erzählungen* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1993), 272.

39 Hoffmann, "Princess Brambilla" (see note 23), 129.

40 Ibid., 167.

41 Ibid., 168.

[...] by wearing glasses too early. Something must have become disarranged in my retina, because unfortunately I see everything upside down most of the time, and thus it comes about that the most serious things often seem uncomfortably funny to me, and contrariwise, the funniest things often seem uncommonly serious to me. This often causes me horrible suffering and such vertigo that I can hardly stand upright.⁴²

If one describes the strange disposition of the prince as “chronic dualism,” then, as the text explains further, one would interpret the novel “allegorically.” But Giglio’s function is much more concrete. He is himself a medium introduced into the text that precipitates a break in perspective, much like a prism that allows for a different form of perception in the novel. If one follows Giglio through the novel and sees with his eyes, then one sees with different eyes. What that would mean concretely can be deduced in light of the semiotic equivalence of this play with perception. As an actor, Giglio is the one who puts the deliberate confusion of sign and meaning into motion. As early as his first performance, he does not know whether Giacinta’s appearance is real or deceptive, as if in a dream. Like a confused reader upon seeing her sewing, he asks himself, “what is the meaning of this magnificent costume?”⁴³ Upon viewing the fabric, he then tells of his fairytale dream of the princess, with whom he has fallen in love, and by whom he believes himself to be loved in return. Poetologically speaking, this dream narrative corresponds to the fabric that Giacinta is in the middle of sewing: “It was odd, how the blaze of the firearm stopped and shone upon me like glittering diamonds. And as the smoke cleared away more and more, I observed that what I had thought was the blaze from Truffaldino’s musket was nothing other than the precious jewels on the little hat of a lady.”⁴⁴ Just as Giacinta wants to slip into her dress, Giglio describes a dream image of the princess, who has the same distinguishing features as the dress that Giacinta is sewing so diligently. “Glittering diamonds,” namely, are also on the collar. It is characteristic of Giglio’s manner of speaking that he also compares the blaze of a musket with the glittering of jewels, and is so captivated by this comparison that he seems to confuse musket fire with a band of diamonds. The “dream image shot from Truffaldino’s musket” is nothing other than the creation of a metonymy.⁴⁵ The main poetic figure of the entire novel seems not to be the hermeneutic metaphor, but instead metonymy as a principle of image generation.

In one of the central passages of the novel, these poetics are explicitly addressed. In the artists’ discussion in the Caffè Greco, the painter Reinhold Franz reacts against the reproach that for Germans, jokes must always have an addi-

42 Ibid., 235.

43 Ibid., 120.

44 Ibid., 122.

45 Ibid.

tional meaning: “God be your comfort if you should credit us with the stupidity of tolerating irony only if it is allegorical!”⁴⁶ Yet to his description of the masked dance on the Corso he immediately adds a simile: The grimaces seem to him

[...] as if an archetype, which had become perceptible to him, were speaking though *he* did not understand the words and, as happens in real life when one is struggling to grasp the sense of strange and incomprehensible speech, as if he were involuntarily imitating the gestures of the speaking archetype, although in an exaggerated way on account of the effort it requires. Our sense of humor is the speech of the archetype itself, which sounds from within us and inevitably determines the gesture according to that deep-seated principle of irony, just as the submerged rock forces the brook flowing over it to produce rippling waves on its surface.⁴⁷

The painter Reinhold has found an allegory for the allegorical quality of speech. His understanding of language is obviously still anchored in the notion that there must be a connection between signs and their referents, just as a wave becomes visible moving over a rock. Compared to the watery images of the Urdar spring, which invariably involve reflection, Reinhold’s image evokes a natural bond between expression and meaning. In the pure play of signs of the carnival, however, this very anchoring of signs in a firm structure of reference seems to be suspended. Celionati is one character who harbors grave doubts about the connection between appearance and meaning:

I merely ask how you happen to be so convinced that I am actually sitting here among you, carrying on all sorts of conversations that you think you hear with your corporeal ears, though perhaps only a tricky spirit of the air is teasing you? Who will guarantee you that *the* Celionati whom you’re trying to talk into thinking that Italians don’t understand anything about irony, is not strolling right now beside the Ganges, picking fragrant flowers to make Parisian rappee for the nostrils of some mystic idol?⁴⁸

His speech is not an allegory, but a chain of signs that move from one semantic paradigm to the next without any metaphorical bridge for these jumps. Celionati speaks in metonymies just like Giglio. Only with the dissolution of metaphorical coherence is it possible for the characters to abandon themselves to the play of changing perspective of the carnival. And this dissolution is transferred in several ways onto the spatial relations of the novel.

Goethe also famously wrote a short text about the Roman carnival, but attempted to bestow the burlesque goings-on with logic and order. He describes the parade as an ordered, chronological and linear course of narrated events and divides his text into a series of scenes that seems to bring the happenings of the

46 Ibid., 158.

47 Ibid.

48 Ibid., 160.

carnival onto an imaginary stage.⁴⁹ In Hoffmann's text, the topography of the text and playacting also play an important role, though of course in an inverted perspective. When the narrator comments on the topography of Rome, it is only misleading. As far as a linear sequence of events is concerned, he simply diverges from what is possible considering the topographical relations of Rome.

Here, then, well beloved reader, you must put up with hearing a story which seems to lie outside the area of those events which I have undertaken to relate for you and which stands as an objectionable episode besides. But, just as it often happens that one suddenly arrives at the destination which had been lost from sight by vigorously following the road which seemed to be leading one astray, so it may perhaps also be that this episode is only apparently a wrong path and will lead straight to the core of the main story. Listen, therefore, O my reader, to the wonderful [...]!⁵⁰

The kind reader cannot possibly complain that the author is tiring him out in this story with over-long journeys back and forth. Everything lies nicely together in a little circle that can be traversed with a few hundred steps: the Corso, the Pistoja Palace, the Caffè Greco, etc., and, apart from the little jump over to the land of Urdargarten, everything stays within that little, easily traversable circle.⁵¹ Just as the prism served to dissolve perspective, it also constitutes a vectorial space in the medium of the narrative, from which any kind of linearity has been eliminated.⁵² The jumps from place to place are possible because the novel's logic of signs follows a metonymic principle of shifts in which each element is followed by another, without needing to have a related meaning. Hoffmann's text jumps across semantic paradigms and fields of meaning.

The particular role that stage metaphors play in the novel is not any less conspicuous. They, too, serve as meta-commentary on semantic space in the novel. Here again it is the actor Giglio who occupies a central role. As is said in

49 Cf. Andreas Hiepko, "Der Schwindel des Karnevals. Zu E.T.A. Hoffmanns Capriccio Prinzessin Brambilla," in *Schwindelerfahrungen. Zur kulturhistorischen Diagnose eines vieldeutigen Symptoms*, ed. Rolf-Peter Janz, Fabian Stoermer and Andreas Hiepko (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2003), 73–81; Gerhard Kaiser, "E.T.A. Hoffmanns Prinzessin Brambilla als Antwort auf Goethes Römisches Carneval. Eine Lektüre im Lichte Baudelaire's," in *Italienbeziehungen des klassischen Weimar* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1997), 215–41.

50 Hoffmann, "Princess Brambilla" (see note 23), 161.

51 *Ibid.*, 226.

52 This applies not only for the narrated space, but also for time; chronology has been revoked. Cf. Claudio Magris, *Die andere Vernunft: E.T.A. Hoffmann* (Königstein/Ts.: Hain, 1980), 28; and Christian Jürgens, "Luftschlösser träumen. Theatralität und ihre Überschreitungen in E.T.A. Hoffmanns Prinzessin Brambilla," in *"In die Höhe fallen." Grenzgänge zwischen Literatur und Philosophie*, ed. Anja Lemke and Martin Schierbaum (Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann, 2000), 23–54, 47. Neumann, too, writes that the underlying love story is not told linearly, not syntagmatically, but rather paradigmatically or stereomatically. According to Neumann, this is a completely new narrative technique. Cf. Neumann, "Glissando" (See note 29), 78.

the text, tragic dramas have become nonexistent.⁵³ And supposedly, this is all the fault of Giglio's poor acting. Allegedly, the Italians want to be fooled by a seemingly authentic stage play:

But that's the way we Italians are. We want what is overdone, what affects us powerfully for a moment, and which we despise as soon as we see that what we took for flesh and blood is only a lifeless puppet which was pulled by ingenious wires from the outside and which deceived us with its curious movements.⁵⁴

Yet Giglio ruins this by constantly breaking character because he is so fooled by his own acting: "But his Self stood opposite him, and dancing and leaping in exactly the same way and making just such faces as he did, kept dealing him blows through the air with his wooden broadsword."⁵⁵ Giglio does not play roles, he embodies them, and it is as if he were able to abandon his own self:

"Yes," he cried, completely beside himself as he arrived in his little room and caught a glimpse of the silly outfit in which he had struggled with his Self, "yes, that mad monster lying bodiless there, that is my Self, and these princely garments the dark demon stole from the greenhorn and hoaxed onto me, so that those most beautiful ladies in their unfortunate deception would take *me* for the greenhorn. I'm talking nonsense, I know, but that is correct, for I have actually become crazy because the Self has no body. Ho, ho! Up and at 'em! Up and at 'em, my dear, sweet Self!"⁵⁶

With this doubling, every form of conflation and merging into one is annulled. The self creates a distance from itself and in so doing, produces a space in which it unfolds various self-functions into a relational framework. At the level of language, this framework corresponds with the practice of irony. Instead of seeing images in the mirror, Giglio sees the reflection itself as a process. With this, however, the progress of the narrative is kept hanging in the balance, with the reflection of its own proceedings ensuring that the novel will never completely cease or come to an end, but will lose itself in endless reflections.⁵⁷ At the end of the novel Giglio becomes caught in a birdcage,⁵⁸ and while it almost seems as if this were an attempt to confine him to the space of the stage, the logic of his character actually lies in the transgression and desertion of the three-dimensional enclosure of perception.

It remains to be mentioned that at the center of the novel, the mage Hermod provides a formula that elucidates the foundational principle of Hoffmann's poetic practice: "Thought destroyed contemplation, but from the prism of the

53 Hoffmann, "Princess Brambilla" (see note 23), 143.

54 Ibid.

55 Ibid., 175.

56 Ibid., 210.

57 Cf. Jürgens, "Luftschlösser träumen" (see note 52), 39–40.

58 Hoffmann, "Princess Brambilla" (see note 23), 207.

crystal into which the fiery flood poured in marriage strife with the antithetic poison, contemplation streams forth newborn, itself an embryo of thought.”⁵⁹

Thought destroys contemplation [*Anschauung*], and man, once torn from his mother’s breast, staggers in confused illusion, in blind numbness, without a homeland, until thought’s own mirror image provides thought itself with the awareness that it exists and that it rules as master in the deepest and richest shaft that the maternal queen had opened for it, even if it must also obey as a vassal.⁶⁰

Thought destroys *Anschauung*: with this dictum Kant’s rule of knowledge appears to be inverted. If Kant’s goal was to develop conceptions and metaphors that could visually and concretely present their substance, then this connection is broken apart by Hoffmann. In the above formula, both thought and visual perception assume independent existences and overrule their reciprocal control. Kant establishes his philosophical space of knowledge in contradistinction to a literary text. Hoffmann’s novel, on the other hand, seems to follow a poetics that uses a literary text to make different forms of perception visible in a quasi-transcendental way. The carnival dissolves time and space, writes Mikhail Bakhtin, it is “a pageant without footlights and without a division into performers and spectators. [...] it is to some extent ‘life turned inside out,’ ‘the reverse side of the world’ (*monde à l’envers*).”⁶¹ This turning inside out, one could add, is implemented in Hoffmann’s novel in a literal sense, as the reversal of space.

One must never forget that the space of our experience is limited to three dimensions, and one must never forget that metaphors are images, Kant warns Swedenborg’s enthusiastic readers in his satiric essay on the spirit-seer, suggesting that the common reader lacks a sense of irony, that he confounds arbitrary signs with their referents and all too willingly transgresses the boundaries of our common world. Hoffmann’s Giglio and his companions seem to fare no differently, they experience similar confusions. At the same time, however, Hoffmann’s novel is like a chamber of mirrors, a text that ironically reflects upon its characters’ and readers’ fantasies and visions; it constantly shows that metaphors are just images, albeit in a far more radical way than Kant could have wished: Hoffmann’s novel even inverts the three-dimensional a priori, it undermines Kant’s *sensus communis*. With Hoffmann, one must conclude that Kant himself might have confused his a priori with a real space. *Princess Brambilla* reminds its readers that space is not a timelessly valid a priori, but has a history; it explores other spaces long before modern physics or current theories such as

59 Ibid., 165.

60 Ibid., 169.

61 Mikhail Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics*, ed. and trans. Caryl Emerson, Theory and History of Literature vol. 8 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 122.

Foucault's define concepts of spatiality beyond Euclidean coordinates. By entangling its readers in scenes of mirror images and by breaking and multiplying their perspective, the novel makes itself into the medium of a new perception of space.

Space-Time Conversion and the Production of the Human

One of the things that makes space and spatiality such an elusive topic, and that guarantees its lasting fascination is that spatiality is somehow always simply there, always present in the order of things. But at the same time, it makes little sense to speak of its presence without the dual acts of presentation and representation that are the domain of philosophy and literature. Literature and culture make it their business to represent space, but it is in their essence that this representation is also a presentation – a making present of space. To say this is to open up some fundamental questions about what might be called the temporal cost of the production of space. What needs to be forced into our conceptualization of time if we are to make space present? And the same question can be asked of the conceptualization of space required in presentations of time. What happens to the time of space and the space of time when we find them again, in representation – find them preserved, suspended, expanded on, negated?

To frame the question like this immediately points to a problem in the concepts of space and time. If we are to speak of space and time in terms of conceptualization, we find ourselves in Kantian territory, where the question of space and time becomes a matter of universal laws of representation capable of organizing experience a priori. While Kant's main point of reference was mathematics, and more specifically, geometry, there is a good argument to be made for understanding the function of representation in a wider sense to include language.¹ The problems that resulted from this move from mathematics to language were first recognized by Herder, who understood that if representation is to be given this wide a scope in knowledge, then knowledge must have a history and a cultural anthropology. In his unpublished "Versuch über das Sein" ("Essay on Being," 1765), Herder argued that logic needs to confine itself to

1 See Gordon Nagel, *The Structure of Experience. Kant's System of Principles* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 53; Joseph Simon, *Sprache und Raum* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1969), 123–5, 191–2.

the sphere of cognition, where it remains effective.² Aesthetic experience, as it comes closer to the experience of Being – the “most sensate of concepts” – recedes from the grasp of logic, and no attempt to bring it back will succeed. Herder insists that *Being* is not a logical category, it cannot be understood or explained, it is not subject to analysis and cannot be proven. It is the most abstract of concepts, but it can be experienced as the most sensate of all concepts (“den allersinnlichsten Begriff”).³ What remains for the philosopher is to investigate the genesis of concepts and the factors influencing aesthetic experience. This is what Marion Heinz and Heinrich Clairmont call the “anthropocentric turn” in Herder’s epistemology: “Pointless attempts to solve the problem of truth as the central task of classical epistemology are to be renounced in favor of meta-reflection on which kind of certainty is possible for which kind of subject.”⁴

In this connection, it is useful to remember that Derrida’s early discontent with metaphysics was closely connected to his suspicion that it was built upon a scam involving time and space. As Derrida pointed out in 1972, all attempts to think space since Aristotle require a concept of time based on space, and of space based on time. Derrida speaks here of an omission which constitutes the history of metaphysics.⁵

I’d like to remain with this for a moment, since I believe Derrida provides a conceptual grounding for the space-time interactions I am discussing. In reading Hegel’s conception of time as a solution to contradictions in his notion of space, Derrida concludes that the foundation of metaphysics must postulate the being of time as the same being as space. Metaphysical time is metaphysical space. The attempt to define one in terms of a negativity of the other cannot succeed, for three reasons:

1. First of all, the negativity out of which each is constructed is in itself contradictory. This was already recognized by Aristotle in his rejection of the drawn line as a representation of time. According to Derrida, the same contradiction applies to space. Because the coexistence of the component parts of space as well as of time is a theoretical impossibility as well as a theoretical necessity,

2 Johann Gottfried Herder, “Versuch über das Sein,” *Werke*, vol. 1, ed. Wolfgang Pross (Munich: Hanser, 1984), 575–87.

3 *Ibid.*, 577–8.

4 Marion Heinz and Heinrich Clairmont, “Herder’s Epistemology,” *A Companion to the Works of Johann Gottfried Herder*, ed. Hans Adler and Wulf Koepke (Rochester: Camden House, 2009), 46–7.

5 Jacques Derrida, “*Ousia* and *Grammē*: Note on a Note from *Being and Time*,” in *Margins of Philosophy*, trans. Alan Bass (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, and Sussex: Harvester, 1982), 29–67.

the dialectical method (which, Derrida notes, is employed identically by Hegel and Aristotle in the solution of this problem) requires a synthesis.⁶

2. It is here that Derrida proposes a second reason. Time and space are each dependent upon the other as the synthesis which permits the co-maintenance of the mutually negative moments out of which they are constructed or produced.⁷ The first two basic contradictions in the metaphysics of time and space arise immediately, as it were, from the argumentation of metaphysics. They are, however, just as quickly submerged again in various textual, narrative and rhetorical strategies which Derrida's methodology would seek to untangle.

3. This brings us to the third reason for the failure of a metaphysical theory of time and space. This reason cannot be thought within metaphysics, but must be seen as part of Derrida's untangling procedure, perhaps even its motivation. The assumption underlying the definition of space in terms of time or vice versa is that each possesses an essence when absent. Since the line as the first negation of the point can be thought only in terms of its extremities and not its parts, and since these extremities may be thought only as continuously disappearing and re-constituting themselves, the truth of space, time, can itself have no existence except as a closure whose every moment re-constitutes itself in the moment of its disappearance. And the dialectic production of space is also a production of closures through the disappearance and re-constitution of its parts.

The consequences for Derrida's theory of signification are well known. That which disappears when it is reached or focused on, but re-constitutes itself as soon as it is abandoned, ignored or left behind, can be granted presence only as that which signifies its own non-being by signifying itself as another. The presence of the sign is the presence of the point negated in space, or the moment negated in time, but negated in such a manner as to develop its potentiality. Thus the identity which seems to follow from a paradox in the metaphysical conception of space and time is at once the identity which allows signification.⁸

The negation of time and space in signification argued by Derrida, together with the anthropological and historical decentring of truth in representation argued by Herder, continues to raise important questions about time and space. Henri Lefebvre pointed to one such problem in 1974 when he criticized con-

6 "To speak Latin, the *cum* or the *co-* of coexistence has meaning only on the basis of its impossibility, and vice versa. The impossible – the co-existence of the two nows – appears only in a synthesis [...] the impossible comaintenance of several present nows [*maintenants*] is possible as the maintenance of several present nows [*maintenants*]. Time is a name for this impossible possibility. Conversely, the space of *possible coexistence*, precisely that which one believes is known by the name of *space*, the possibility of coexistences, is the space of the impossible coexistence." Ibid., 55. Emphasis in original.

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid., 60.

temporary French theory (he singled out Lévi-Strauss, Tel Quel and Derrida) for fetishizing “the philosophico-epistemological notion of space” thus allowing the “mental realm” to “envelop the social and physical ones.”⁹ As a result, “the problem of knowledge and the ‘theory of knowledge’ have been abandoned in favour of a reductionist return to an absolute – or supposedly absolute – knowledge, namely the knowledge of the history of philosophy and the history of science.”¹⁰ Lefebvre famously countered this tendency with a study of what he called the production of space, the process by which a society generates or produces “an appropriated social space in which it can achieve a form by means of self-presentation and self-representation.”¹¹ This process understands space in close connection with time (and energy): “When we evoke ‘space’, we must immediately indicate what occupies that space and how it does so: the deployment of energy in relation to ‘points’ and within a time frame. When we evoke ‘time’, we must immediately say what it is that moves or changes therein. Space considered in isolation is an empty abstraction; likewise energy and time.”¹² Conceptually, space and time cannot be divorced from one another, but from the point of view of social representation and the production of space, their relationship seems to be closer still.

In social production, space becomes a matter of time, and time becomes a matter of space. In a famous passage in the *Grundrisse*, Marx observed the tendency of capital “by its nature” to exceed and overcome all spatial barriers: “Thus the creation of the physical conditions of exchange – of the means of communication and transport – the annihilation of space by time – becomes an extraordinary necessity for it.”¹³ But the converse also held true in Marx’ analysis. He understood that one of the ways labour power could be pushed beyond the physiological limits of the individual labourer was to treat the temporality of labour spatially, whereby “the working day, regarded spatially – time itself regarded as space – *is many working days alongside one another*. The more working days capital can enter into exchange with *at once*, during which it exchanges *objectified for living labour*, the greater its realization at once. It can leap over the *natural* limit formed by one individual’s living, working day, *at a given stage in the development of the forces of production* (and it does not in itself change anything that this stage is changing) only by positing *another* working day alongside the *first* at the same time – by the spatial addition of *more si-*

9 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 5.

10 *Ibid.*, 6.

11 *Ibid.*, 34.

12 *Ibid.*, 12.

13 Karl Marx, *Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy*, trans. Martin Nicolaus (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973), Notebook V, 524–5.

*multaneous working days.*¹⁴ My understanding of this mutual annihilation of time and space in the production process and in the process of exchange is that the conversion of time to space and space to time is dependent on the technological management of all processes that are measured in terms of temporality or spatiality. Marx was pointing to an important aspect of the categories of time and space when he drew attention to the way technologies of time-space annihilation, or what I prefer to call time-space conversion, define subjectivity in terms of production and exchange. Considered from this point of view, space and time become meaningful in their mutual negation.

That is to say, there is a cultural and linguistic techno-politics of time and space. Not only is it in the nature of the human condition that all our acts are cast phenomenologically on a spatial and a temporal dimension – just as Kant argued in the *Critique of Pure Reason* – it is also integral to the structure of subjectivity that, in our actions, we are constantly converting time into space and space into time – as Marx argued in the *Grundrisse* and the *Critique of Political Economy*. This act of conversion escapes the Kantian understanding of cognition, but it is this position on the interface of the temporal and the spatial that makes our actions meaningful and productive, and that makes it possible for us to take up a place within presentation and representation, within the world of signs and of production, of history and the political. The conversion of time into space and space into time is what make us subjects, and subjects within the systems of production proper to our moment in history. For time-space conversion is not simply a matter of the imagination or of cognition, it is embedded in our technologies of production and recreation. In fact, these spatiotemporalizing processes are so deeply embedded in everyday life that we could almost speak of a psychoanalytics of the technologically spatio-temporalized subject: *Wo Es war, soll Ich werden*, “Es” being the force of technologically mediated nature.

In late capitalist production, people are becoming increasingly unable to say where their place of work is, or when their working hours are. The spatial value of work which was once measured within the spatial confines of the office, factory or job site is measured less by the spatial question: “are you there?” (which was answered beginning in the 1880’s by “punching the clock”) and more by the temporal one: “when will you receive this instruction or material? when will I hear back from you?” And the temporal value of work is measured less by the temporal question: “when will you be in the office?” or “what are your hours of employment?”, but by the spatial one: “are you somewhere where can you complete this task”? To be productive is to occupy a space that is coming increasingly to be measured in temporal terms and to work times that are increasingly measured in spatial terms.

14 *Ibid.*, 400.

But even given the class stratification of time-space conversion, it is possible to make general observations about the production of the human in the conversion of space to time and time to space. Increasingly, being human is dominated by technologies of transportation and communication. In technologies of transportation, the experience of space becomes a matter of time. The more efficient they become, the more effectively technologies of travel subject the experience of spatial distance to temporal judgments of times of departure, transit, arrival, delay, and so on. Speak to someone about to get on a plane. Ask how many miles they are traveling and you will probably only get the vaguest of answers. Ask what time they will arrive, and they will be able to tell you to the minute. And in the technologies of communication, the experience of time becomes a matter of space. Watch someone answer their mobile phone. Will you ever hear them ask: “when will you receive this message?” No, they ask: “where are you?” The more efficient they become, the more effectively technologies of communication subject the temporal experience of transmission time to spatial judgments concerning the location of sender and observer.

The changes in technologies that dominate globalization do not collapse time and space, they allow us to speak of, and to act as if the one were changing into the other. This is not a moral, legal, or epistemological development, it is a technological development with moral, legal, and epistemological ramifications. And it increasingly structures our experience of being human. The example of the spatiotemporal structure of the workplace makes it clear that this process has a marked class structure. The class structure of society brings with it an unevenness, an *Ungleichzeitigkeit*, whereby technology gives value to different modes of spatio-temporal transfer depending on the kind of work being done. If you work shifts at *Toyota*, *Walmart* or *Starbucks*, or if you are an immigrant child-minder or fruit-picker your productivity is measured on a different scale of spatio-temporal conversion. You are quite literally a different brand of humanity.

Paul Virilio is correct when, writing about the traveling body, he observes that “the internment of bodies [in moving trains, for example] is no longer in the cinematic cell of travel but in a cell outside time.” But he could just as well have said that bodies are interned in temporal processes outside space. And he is wrong when he concludes that this “authority of electronic automatism” reduces “our will to zero”, that the “development of high technical speeds would thus result in the disappearance of consciousness as the direct perception of phenomena that inform us of our own existence.”¹⁵ What we are dealing with is not an obliteration but a re-calibration of consciousness and a re-organization of the

15 Paul Virilio, *The Aesthetics of Disappearance*, trans. Philip Beitchman (New York: Semiotext (e), 1991), 104.

human condition – but this process still seems to be following the rules outlined by Kant and modified by Marx.

It would follow from this that any attempt to understand subjectivity in capitalism requires a model of how the subject becomes defined at that place where time is converted to space (the labour process), and in that period when space is converted to time (the process of exchange). My claim is that, if we look carefully enough at these processes, we see that the emergence of what we think of as the human depends on certain technologies of time-space conversion, and that it depends on representational stability within these technologies.

The much-cited spatial turn in the humanities has been underway now for more than three decades. Lefebvre's *Production of Space* (1974) and Michel de Certeau's *Practice of Everyday Life* (1980) found their way from the French to the English academic world in the 1980's, Neil Smith's *Uneven Development* appeared in 1984, David Harvey's *Condition of Postmodernity* in 1989, the same year Edward Soja published *Postmodern Geographies*, subtitled *The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*.¹⁶ Frederic Jameson asserted confidently in 1991 that, arguing empirically, "our daily life, our psychic experience, our cultural languages, are today dominated by categories of space rather than categories of time, as in the preceding period of high modernism."¹⁷ Quite apart from the one-sided view of space espoused here, it is necessary to ask what it means to claim that daily life can be dominated by a category. It is not surprising that, without a sound theory of technology and the technological management of space and time, analysis easily falls into this kind of error.

Once theories of spatiality manage to overcome the inherent bias toward idealism, they cannot avoid seeing space and time as the same problem. And even without this, it is too easy to bracket out time in order to talk about space. The reassertion of space and spatiality is usually explained, as in the introduction to a recent (2009) study on the spatial turn, as a reaction to the historicist tendencies of 19th century scholarship, "a despatialized consciousness in which geography figured weakly or not at all [...] Typically, historicist thought linearized time and marginalized space by positing the existence of temporal 'stages' of development, a view that portrayed the past as the progressive, inexorable ascent from savagery to civilization, simplicity to complexity, primi-

16 Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984); Neil Smith, *Uneven Development. Nature, Capital, and the Production of Space* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2008); David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity. An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford and Cambridge: Blackwell, 1989); Edward Soja, *Postmodern Geographies. The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London and New York: Verso, 1989).

17 Frederic Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham : Duke University Press, 1991), 16.

tiveness to civilization, and darkness to light. [...]”¹⁸ This account neglects to mention that the time of historicism was something that had to be struggled for, and it was itself not a submergence but a negotiation of the changing spatial order in the increasingly globalized world of the late 18th and 19th centuries. Anyone who has read Herder knows what kind of intellectual struggles this negotiation required. But more than that, it glosses over the real problem of time and space, which is how to conceive of them in both idealist and materialist terms.

My point here is not to deny the significance of the spatial turn. On the contrary, the ideas raised under that heading reflect as yet unsolved methodological problems across a whole range of disciplines, problems that have to do with our basic conceptualization of representation in modernity. But I’d like to put them into perspective as a negotiation of temporality and spatiality alike. I share with Jon May and Nigel Thrift an unease in the reassertion of space that would want to see spatiality pushed beyond the level of metaphor.¹⁹ And like them, I understand this de-metaphorization of space as linked to the question of time. The problems of the spatial turn can all be spoken about as problems of space, but they can equally be spoken of as problems of time. We could just as easily list the writers who, alongside the spatial turn, tried to think the importance of temporality in the constitution of the modern subject – Deleuze’s reading of Bergson (1966) and his writings on cinema (1983, 1985), just to mention one prominent writer as an example.²⁰

But why should this be of interest? There is no point in relativizing scholarship on space with the observation that it could just as well be talking about time. Unless – and this is my point – the question of temporality reminds us that the value of the spatial turn lies in its meticulous analyses of how space becomes a matter for material analysis through its presentation and suspension of time. Consider for example, John Frow’s argument that indigenous land rights claims in Australia, Canada and New Zealand produce the space of the land “as a knotting of diversely structured temporalities”²¹ or Sarah Radcliffe’s realization

18 Barney Warf and Santa Arias, “Introduction: The Reinsertion of Space into the Social Sciences and Humanities,” in *The Spatial Turn: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Barney Warf and Santa Arias (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), 1 – 10, 2.

19 *TimeSpace: Geographies of Temporality*, ed. Jon May and Nigel Thrift (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 1.

20 Gilles Deleuze, *Bergsonism*, trans. Hugh Tomlinson and Barbara Habberjam (New York: Zone Books, 1988); Gilles Deleuze, *Cinema*, trans. Hugh Tomlinson and Barbara Habberjam (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989); Gilles Deleuze, *Cinema 2: The Time Image*, trans. Hugh Tomlinson and Robert Galeta (London, New York: Continuum, 2005).

21 John Frow, “A Politics of Stolen Time,” *TimeSpace* (see note 19), 73.

that the spatial analysis of the Argentinian women's movement has to suspend linear history if it is to inquire into structures of private and public identity.²²

For my purposes, the most powerful tools the spatial turn has left us with all derive from a materialism of space and time. This is not to promote the kind of materialism Lefebvre identifies with the "mistaken belief that 'things' have more of an existence than the 'subject', his thought and his desires."²³ Rejecting the idealist faith in the power of the categories to shape action does not necessarily imply the kind of materialism Kant attempted to overcome in his critical theory. Instead, it means investigating how the categories are caught up in the production process. This, I am claiming, requires a theory of time-space conversion effected by technology. As mentioned above, Marx himself attempted to show how a materialism of space and time can explain the expansion of capital, and how the notion of space-time conversion is implicit in this explanation. Marx's writings on technology would allow the assumption that he saw it playing a crucial role in this process.²⁴ In fact, writing to Engels in 1863, he names the clock as one of the "material foundations on which were based the preparations for mechanised industry within manufacturing"²⁵ – the technology of the clock not only specializes time in the sense that it displays the passage of time through changes in space, but in the sense Marx indicated in the passage quoted earlier, that its use effects a spatialization of the temporality of labour.

David Harvey expanded on this idea in 1989 via the concept of space-time compression. In *The Condition of Postmodernity*, he uses this term to describe

22 Sarah A. Radcliffe, "Women's Place / El lugar de mujeres. Latin America and the Politics of Gender Identity," in *Place and the Politics of Identity*, ed. Michael Keith and Steve Pile (London: Routledge, 1993), 102 – 16, 103.

23 Lefebvre, *Production of Space* (see note 9), 29.

24 See Amy E. Wendling, *Karl Marx on Technology and Alienation* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), in particular the chapter on "Machines and Temporality: The Treadmill Effect and Free Time." See also Marcello Musto, "The Formation of Marx's Critique of Political Economy: From the Studies of 1843 to the *Grundrisse*," *Socialism and Democracy Online* 53: vol. 24/2 (July, 2010), <http://sdonline.org/53/the-formation-of-marx-s-critique-of-political-economy-from-the-studies-of-1843-to-the-grundrisse/>. Musto observes that "between September and November 1851, [Marx] extended his field of research to technology, devoting considerable space in Notebook XV to Johann H. M. Poppe's history of technology and in Notebook XVI to miscellaneous questions of political economy. As a letter to Engels from mid-October 1851 shows, Marx was then "in the throes of working out the economy," "delving mainly into technology, the history thereof, and agronomy," so that he might "form at least some sort of an opinion of the stuff." Musto makes reference to Hans Peter Müller, Karl Marx, *Die technologisch-historischen Exzerpte* (Frankfurt am Main: Ullstein, 1982), and to Wendling. The letter from Marx to Engels (13 October, 1851) is cited from *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Collected Works* (London: Lawrence & Wisbart, 1975 – 2005), vol. 38, 476.

25 Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Letters on 'Capital'* (London: New Park Publications, 1983), 82 – 4.

material processes “that so revolutionise the objective qualities of space and time that we are forced to alter, sometimes in quite radical ways, how we represent the world to ourselves.”²⁶ Harvey’s starting point is the same as Marx’s, that the spatial frame “within which the dynamics of a social process must unfold” tends to be relatively fixed in the materiality of “transport and communications, of human settlement and occupancy, all legitimized under some legal system of rights to spaces (of the body, of land, of home, etc).” The constraints this places on the expansion of capital necessitate Marx’s “annihilation of space through time.” Space time compression thus becomes “a sign of the intensity of forces at work at the nexus of contradiction and it may well be that crises of overaccumulation as well as crises in cultural and political forms are powerfully connected to such forces.”²⁷

For Harvey to state that cultural forms are “powerfully connected” to forces of time-space compression is a better depiction of the problem than when he speaks of radical changes in “how we represent the world to ourselves” as a response to – that is, caused by – changes in the objective nature of time and space. But this brings with it another problem, which is, I think, inherent in the concept of time-space compression. The concept of time-space compression works quite well in describing changes in the material production of space and time through the increased rate in the circulation of capital, the expansion of labour markets, the increasingly rapid transportation of commodities, and so on. However, it does little to resolve the contradiction Lefebvre observed between descriptions of changes in material production and changing representations of time and space as philosophical concepts or as relatively stable categories for apprehending phenomena. This is why I prefer to speak of technologies of time-space conversion. If we foreground the role of technology as enabling the annihilation of space by time and of time by space, it allows us to understand material representational objects (books, paintings, performance of music, etc.) as a particular kind of technology, as a special kind of machine for converting time to space and space to time. This idea is related to Bakhtin’s observation that “living artistic perception” is a product of thought, and is thus related to the abstract distinction between time and space, but that it depends on representational devices, such as the chronotope, that “makes no such divisions and permits no such segmentation.”²⁸ The chronotope is able to function as “the

26 David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 240. For an excellent discussion of the concept of space-time compression see Barney Warf, *Time-Space Compression: Historical Geographies* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 19–22.

27 Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity* (see note 26), 258.

28 Mikhail Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M.M. Bakhtin*, ed. Michael Holquist, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994), 243.

place where the knots of the narrative are tied and untied”²⁹ because of the way it suspends time through spatial representation and space through temporal representation. In this way, realist narrative makes use of time-space conversion to draw together diverse levels of temporal and spatial organization. In consequence, the referent of realist narrative acquires an ontological status with respect to the narrative. This has nothing to do with faithful representation, but with the way narrative strategies suspend the spatial and temporal axes of representation, defining positions which appear to reside outside of representation. In converting time to space and space to time, realist narrative produces agency both within and outside of representation. As a technology of time-space conversion, it defines subject positions where time becomes space and space becomes time.

Conceiving of narrative in this way allows us to conceptualize the interactions of both space and time within the materialist framework established by Marx, to defuse the dualism of time and space upon which the spatial turn turns, and to think about the time and space of literature and culture in the context of a materialism of human life. The first problem such a materialism must face is that time and space are most immediately accessible via a phenomenology, which is to say that the Kantian critique of materialist views of space and time must be taken seriously. It is supported by recent arguments that, the more we try to inquire into the nature of time and space without humans, the more we see nothing. There was some kind of consensus around this as early as Zeno’s paradoxes. And as Lyotard so beautifully illustrated in *The Inhuman*, for time to be meaningful, it must be the time of the human.³⁰

Without such a move, it is easy to arrive at paradoxical conclusions about human life within a time that is not there. In his book *The End of Time*, physicist Julian Barbour argues that the passage of time may be nothing but a very well founded illusion. Throughout his book, he confidently states that time itself “does not exist.”³¹ And because it is an illusion, that is, because it is phenomenologically founded in error, any aspects of human life founded in time are themselves illusory – birth, death, the changes in the body. Seen from this point of view, space and time as we view them in everyday speech could be described as the phenomenological and linguistic resistance to the nature of timelessness and spacelessness, or to the illusion of time and space, or to the fact that the noumenal world has to be imagined as one in which there is no difference between time and space. Barbour states: “If we could see the universe as it is, we would see

29 Ibid., 250.

30 Jean-Francois Lyotard, *The Inhuman* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998).

31 Julian Barbour, *The End of Time: the Next Revolution in Physics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 4, 14, 137, to name just a few examples.

that it is static.”³² But of course we cannot see the universe and observe its stasis, no more than we can stand outside the universe and observe that the dispersal of things in space is an illusion. To speak in the register Barbour adopts is not to say much more than Kant did when he situated causality, spatiality and temporality in the realm of phenomena (seeing), and left the noumenal world outside these categories (the universe as it is). Barbour demonstrates plainly the kind of paradoxes that ensues when one tries to speak of noumena in terms of phenomena.

Another way of looking at this emerges in Lyotard’s *The Inhuman*, where a world without time and space is similarly explored, but with more rigorous conclusions. Here, the human emerges as the negation of the god capable of hearing all vibrating matter outside any concept of time, and hence dwelling outside the realm of music, but also of sonorous matter itself, which can be called matter “only to the extent that, then and there, the subject is not there.”³³ The *we* of observation is embodied, and thus grounded in practices which resist the illusion (or the categories) of time and space; the production of space and of time is so grounded in human agency, in acting in the world as if the illusion were real, that the illusion ceases to be an illusion.

There is a well-made case for speaking about narrative in modernity as a response to the rapid changes in technologies of time and space. In this paradigm, modernism can be understood as a negotiation of the widening gap between conventions for representing time and space, and the mutual unsettling or annihilation of space and time in the expansion of capital.³⁴ We move, as Lyotard puts it, in the dual explosion of diachrony and synchrony, and “in both explosions, it is time that is born, opening both the possibility of synchrony and stories.”³⁵ To which we could add: space too is born. The “exploding” temporality and spatiality of action does not just enable stories. Narrative participates in the production of time and space, and this productive participation should be seen not only in idealist terms, through the resistance of consciousness to the timelessness and spacelessness of the noumenal world, but as a specific technology for converting time to space and space to time. Of course, narrative does function in idealist terms. It serves the work of consciousness resisting its own spatial and temporal negation, in the manner described by Goethe in *Faust*. In the *Prologue in Heaven*, he has the Lord say to humanity:

32 Ibid., 39.

33 Lyotard, *The Inhuman* (see note 30), 157.

34 Stephen Kern has made just such an argument in *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880 – 1918* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003).

35 Lyotard, *The Inhuman* (see note 30), 163.

DER HERR. Das Werdende, das ewig wirkt und lebt,
 Umfass' euch mit der Liebe holden Schranken,
 Und was in schwankender Erscheinung schwebt,
 Befestigt mit dauernden Gedanken. *Faust*. Goethe-HA 3, 19

The problem Goethe implicitly addresses here, and which he was to take on as one of the most important challenges of artistic production, involves the process that leads from the “schwankender Erscheinung” to the “dauernde Gedanken.” By the time Goethe wrote these lines, he had become convinced that, through various kinds of creative activity, individuals are able to experience forms of unity that are not imposed a priori on the natural world, but that are developed from an apprehension of the diverse appearances of nature. These forms of unity are, as Eckart Förster puts it, “objectively realized in the organism.” Unlike Kant, whose third critique Goethe had studied in the 1790’s, Goethe wanted to explore the form of universality that “manifests in countless spatiotemporal variations and forms, which each represent the idea empirically and therefore in a limited and incomplete form.”³⁶ The appropriate expressions of this creative activity are language, art and music, and scientific experimentation. In all these, the synthesizing and unifying forms of thought have the opportunity to develop in a manner appropriate to the diverse forms of its objects. As phenomena (*Erscheinungen*) begin to stabilize, thought also begins to acquire permanence (*Dauer*) through representation. Goethe thus put forward the proposition that phenomenological resistance to the negation of space and time only becomes meaningful in the artistic act, in artistic production.

Because of the way subjective processes overcome the paradoxes of time and space in representation, phenomenologies of space or time, no matter how eloquent, will only ever take us to that place Bachelard found himself when he wrote his wonderful *Poetics of Space*: where the speaking being’s creativity is indicated by the newness of the poetic image, where creativity guarantees the origin of the imagining consciousness, and where analysis is aimed at “bringing out this quality of origin in various poetic images.”³⁷ Bachelard is right, space and time are not simply categories organizing perception, they are also conceptualized and produced in human creative activity. But creative activity is not limited to poetry. The privileged forms in which humanity documents nature’s formative force are themselves all form-giving, and they include art, technology, politics and, most important, language.

The point is that the emergence of space in the negation of time and time in

36 Eckart Förster, “Die Bedeutung von Paragraphen 76, 77 der Kritik der Urteilkraft für die Entwicklung der nachkantischen Philosophie,” *Zeitschrift für philosophische Forschung* 56/2 (2002), 169–90, 189.

37 Gaston Bachelard. *The Poetics of Space*, trans. Maria Jolas (Boston: Beacon, 1969), xx.

the negation of space is not only a matter of metaphysics, as Derrida described. It is also a matter of the practice of everyday life. But, the place of signification is the same. By registering our place and time in the world through acts of signification, we are tying the metaphysical understanding of time and space to the technological mediation of nature.

Artists have noted again and again how the process of cultural production itself intervenes in time-space conversion. It's not just, as John Berger recently observed, that "you lose your sense of time when drawing. You are so concentrated on scales of space."³⁸ If, phenomenologically speaking, experiences of time and space are the resistance of the subject to the impossibility of time and space in the world without humans, the noumenal world, then cultural production could be seen as an attempt to redefine the human by seizing the process of time-space conversion and wresting it away from the technologies that control it and render it profitable.³⁹

This technological production of the human as a signifying being at the intersection of space and time is probably more marked in our time, but it is not new. It would be possible to write a history of the technological processes that allow subjectivity to emerge in the conversion of time to space, and space to time.⁴⁰ That is, literary production and consumption become a kind of machine for allowing imaginary spaces to be tried out in action, defining some kind of permanence for what might otherwise have been only fleeting, an image, one of the "schwankende Gestalten" Goethe mentions at the beginning of *Faust*.

Through the artistic process and through the reception of art, the space of the universe can be negated in the temporality of consumption / production, and the time of the universe can be negated in the space of the work. It is possible to think of the history of literature as changing strategies for effecting time-space conversion, or at the very least for describing the circumstances under which, in

38 John Berger, "The Company of Drawings," *Harpers Magazine* (February 2010), 40.

39 One of the strange experiences reading Ernst Jünger, for example, is the sense that his writing is always doing both – and I refer to Wolf Kittler's recent reading of Heidegger's reading of Jünger: "From Gestalt to Ge-stell. Martin Heidegger reads Ernst Jünger," *Cultural Critique* 69 (2008), 79–97. Alfred Döblin arguably does something similar, within a very different context – and I refer to Devin Fore, who notes how "Döblin argued that humans devise (or 'project') technological organs to redress their ontological lacks, to perfect their flawed organism, and, ultimately, to consummate the evolution of the species. It is in technology that culture becomes biology, that history becomes natural science." Devin Fore, "Döblin's Epic: Sense, Document, and the Verbal World Picture," *New German Critique* 99 (2006), 171–207, 177.

40 This was one of the things I was trying to do in my book on colonial space – to show how, in imagining spatialized relationships, the literature of Namibia at the time of German colonialism was engaging with the possibility of realizing these imaginary relationships. John K. Noyes, *Colonial Space: Spatiality in the Discourse of German South West Africa 1884–1915* (Chur, Switzerland; Philadelphia: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1992).

their world, such conversion can be effected. In this connection, to read literature in search of its spatiality or its temporality is to pursue the strategies of time-space conversion. When we look carefully at literary texts, there seems to be an ongoing dialectic of human production and dissolution around the narrative encounters with space-time conversions. In a certain sense, narrative partakes in, supports, cements the technological production of the human.

Bent Gebert

The Greater the Distance, the Closer You Get

On Teleiopoetry

For E.-M. with love from afar

I. Paradoxical Proximity: A Note on Travelling

Where exactly are we when we are going to the airport: are we still at home or already travelling afar? Does spatial distance from home, or from persons we feel closely attached to, decrease or actually increase the intensity of our social ties? If essayist Alain de Botton¹ or sociologists of globalized intimacy like Ulrich Beck and Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim² could have posed these questions to medieval writers concerning the experience of travelling, they might have replied with a paradox of proximity. In 1127, Hugh of St Victor advised those who seek proficiency in their studies to expand their home country to such an extent that it becomes a place of exile:

delicatus ille est adhuc cui patria dulcis est; fortis autem iam, cui omne solum patria est; perfectus vero, cui mundus totus exsilium est. ille mundo amorem fixit, iste sparsit, hic exstinxit.³

(Someone who finds his home country sweet, is still tender; someone who regards every country his home, is already strong. To the truly perfect one, however, the whole world is a place of exile. The tender has attached his love to a certain spot in the world, the strong has dispersed it, the perfect has extinguished it. Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon*, 3:19, 69)

1 See Alain de Botton, "On Going to the Airport," in *On Seeing and Noticing* (London: Penguin, 2005), 10–4.

2 See Ulrich Beck and Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim, *Fernliebe. Lebensformen im globalen Zeitalter* (Berlin: Suhrkamp, 2011).

3 Hugo de Sancto Victore, *Didascalicon. De studio legendi. A Critical Text*, ed. Charles Henry Buttner, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Latin Language and Literature* 10 (Washington: Catholic University Press, 1939), 3:19, 69. Unless stated otherwise, all translations in this paper are mine.

On a literal level, this passage plainly explains the manner in which studies are to be pursued: by seeking the greatest possible distance abroad. On a second, spiritual level, Hugh draws upon an anthropology of alienation prevalent in medieval religious culture: if, in ‘perfect’ perspective, earthly existence turns out to be mere exile, then detaching oneself from home and from terrestrial matters altogether is a crucial condition for turning one’s attention towards eternity.⁴ Less obvious (and more interesting) than this religious anthropology, however, is the rhetorical structure of Hugh’s argument. While the attributes which introduce the three phrases ascend from *delicatus* to *fortis* and eventually *perfectus* as their linear climax, the relative clauses invert this semantic climax. Spatial terms of social proximity proceed, from the closest (*patria*) to the furthest social distance (*exsilium*), yet not without a puzzling turning point. Hugh’s phrasing does not simply contrast increasing spiritual perfection with the binding love of worldly dimensions but seems to first parallel both aspects (by extending the love for a specific *patria* to the love for “omne solum” as *patria* in the course of strengthening) before finally opposing the concepts of worldly and spiritual home. This is further underpinned by the second sentence, where Hugh goes on to explain: Extinguishing your love for the world (“amorem [...] exstinxit”) presupposes its extension (*sparsit*) as an intermediary step. In relational terms, Hugh’s advice thus forms not only a contradiction, but a spatial paradox:⁵ being perfectly at home means to be the most distant from home.

Returning to our initial metaphor of travel, Hugh’s spatial paradox carries a remarkable amount of philological baggage. Most notably, Erich Auerbach quoted this passage in his seminal essay on “Philology and *Weltliteratur*” (1952) to underscore his attempt to counteract both universalist and national definitions of philology:

In any event, our philological home is the earth: it can no longer be the nation. The most priceless and indispensable part of a philologist’s heritage is still his own nation’s

4 As Jerome Taylor suggests, this reading is supported by Hugh’s commentary *In Ecclesiasten homiliae* (no. 15): “Omnibus mundus exsilium est iis quibus coelum patria esse debuisset [...]. Propterea [...] ut videat homo non esse hic stabilem mansionem, et assuescat paulatim abstrahere animum, et solvere a vinculis terrenarum delectationum” (All the world is a place of exile to those whose home country should be heaven [...]. Therefore [...] man may see that he has no stable home [*mansionem*] here in the world and may get used to gradually withdrawing his mind and freeing it from the chains of earthly pleasures. *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina*, ed. Jacques Paul Migne, 217 vols. [Paris: Migne 1844–1855], 175:221C–D). Jerome Taylor, *The Didascalicon of Hugh of St. Victor* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), 216n.83–4.

5 Here and in the following, I regard paradoxes not simply as logical contradictions (a = non-a) but propose to subsume by this term any conditions of possibility (expressed or presupposed by communication) which constitute the conditions of their impossibility: e.g., extension of relations with the world (Hugh’s *patria*) constitutes their total loss (*exsilium*).

culture and language. Only when he is first separated from this heritage, however, and then transcends it does it become truly effective. We must return, in admittedly altered circumstances, to the knowledge that prenational medieval culture already possessed: the knowledge that the spirit [*Geist*] is not national.⁶

It goes without saying that Hugh's anthropology of exile and its religious foundations pertain to these "altered circumstances" which separate Auerbach's post-war exile from "prenational medieval culture". After quoting the passage from Hugh's *Didascalicon* analyzed above, Auerbach ends by pointing towards the opposite direction: "Hugo intended these lines for one whose aim is to free himself from a love of the world. But it is a good way also for one who wishes to earn a proper love for the world."⁷ Yet Auerbach also draws on Hugh's paradox: rooted in the "indispensable" heritage of "his own nation's culture and language," the philologist needs to transcend the national focus; once *perfectus*, his heritage is both "truly effective" and distant at the same time – or more precisely: effective by virtue of distance. Clearly echoing Hugh's spatial paradox, Auerbach's cosmopolitan "home" of philology also turns out to be a paradoxical habitat of proximity and distance.⁸

As I hope to demonstrate in this paper, Hugh's spatial paradox of home and exile (as well as its reception by Auerbach) is by no means a singular example; in fact, we can find instances of this paradox in a plethora of medieval texts. As it can be traced across various genres, languages, discourses and media, we may assume that it fulfils an important function in the cultural production of space. If so, it has escaped comparative analysis to date. Literary scholars have detected this paradox in the spatial structure of particular genres – above all in the troubadours' praise of 'distant love'/'love from afar' ("amor de loing")⁹ and in travelogues such as the Middle High German *Herzog Ernst*. As Markus Stock has shown, the story of the protagonist's political rebellion against Emperor Otto

6 Erich Auerbach, "Philology and Weltliteratur," *The Centennial Review* 13 (1969), 1–17, 17.

7 Ibid.

8 Auerbach himself reflects this paradox as a fragile balance between contraction and extension of scope: "But the more our earth grows closer together, the more must historicist synthesis balance the contraction by expanding its activity. To make men conscious of themselves in their own history is a great task, yet the task is small [...] when one considers that man not only lives on earth, but that he is in the world and in the universe." Ibid.

9 See the classic study by Leo Spitzer, *L'amour lointain de Jaufré Rudel et le sens de la poésie des troubadours*, University of North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literature 5 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944); for recent discussions of this concept and its use in troubadour songs, see Ulrich Wyss, "Amour de loin" in *Projektion – Reflexion – Ferne. Räumliche Vorstellungen und Denkfiguren im Mittelalter*, ed. Sonja Glauch, Susanne Köbele and Uta Störmer-Caysa (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 2011), 161–71; Jan Söffner, "Liebe als Distanz. Die 'Fernliebe' bei Jaufré Rudel," in *Der Tod der Nichtigall. Liebe als Selbstreflexivität von Kunst*, ed. Martin Baisch and Beatrice Trinca, Berliner Mittelalter- und Frühneuzeitstudien 6 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009), 55–81 and section IV of this paper.

and his successive reintegration into feudal society unfolds a bipartite narrative structure of intertwined spaces.¹⁰ Ernst's rise and fall in the first part of the story take place in Bavaria. After his attempted assassination of the emperor, duke Ernst flees into an imaginary oriental exile; leaving the "world of history" behind, the tempest-tossed fugitive enters a "world of fable" where he encounters the wondrous monsters of the East.¹¹

However, instead of transporting the hero into an adventurous otherworld, the orient confronts Ernst with exactly the same problems he seemed to have left behind. After causing a massacre among the crane people of Grippia which echoes his former diplomatic failure and political attack, Ernst finally assists the cyclopes of Arimaspi in their war against a neighbouring tribe of monstrous creatures, thereby displaying the perfect loyalty and commitment (*triuwe*) he once lacked. For Ernst (and the reader alike), the monstrous "world of fable" serves as a "space of reflection" in Stock's phrasing, leading from the symbolic "repetition of the crisis" in an exotic space towards a successful "reflection on the empire."¹² Ernst and his companions are therefore far from being "Christian tourists," as Albrecht Classen suggested:¹³ while ostensibly leaving his problems behind, we might conclude, Ernst, in fact, symbolically returns to them as spatial distance grows. Or, to put it more paradoxically: the greater the distance, the closer you get.

It should be noted that this socio-spatial paradox is not exclusively dependent on the twofold narrative structure of the text, nor are the hybrid "liminal spaces" on which it relies unique to *Herzog Ernst*.¹⁴ On the contrary, Augustine, Isidore of Seville and other writers corroborate that the medieval discourse on monstrosity in general correlates topological distance with increased reflexive significance. Monsters can serve as symbolic media for anthropology, theology or epistemology, not despite the fact that they are located in the distant reaches of the world but because of it.¹⁵

10 See Markus Stock, *Kombinationssinn. Narrative Strukturexperimente im 'Straßburger Alexander,' im 'Herzog Ernst B' und im 'König Rother'*, Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters 123 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2002), 149–228.

11 *Ibid.*, 170.

12 *Ibid.*, 215, 217 (my translations).

13 Albrecht Classen, "The Crusader as Lover and Tourist. Utopian Elements in Late Medieval German Literature. From *Herzog Ernst* to *Reinfried von Braunschweig* and *Fortunatus*," in *Current Topics in Medieval German Literature. Texts and Analyses*, ed. Sibylle Jefferis, Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik 748 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 2008), 83–102, 85.

14 See Rasma Lazda-Cazers, "Hybridity and Liminality in *Herzog Ernst B*," *Daphnis* 33 (2004), 53–78.

15 However exceptional physical disabilities or deformations may appear in individual cases, for Augustine the existence of monstrous people confirms their status as a normal option of God's creation; monsters can serve as an argument against anthropological discontinuity, as they may form whole peoples in far-away countries; see Augustine, *City of God* (16:8). In

Consequently, I would like to suggest that we first widen our scope in search of these spatial paradoxes beyond single texts and genres and second, that we should develop analytical terms and concepts that can help us study their function in cultural perspective. The following remarks will try to explore some of these spatial concepts, practices and media that I find useful to subsume under the heading of ‘teleiopoetry’ – a term borrowed from Jacques Derrida, which resonates with spatial paradox and which can be reinscribed into a theoretical framework apt for this task. Defining teleiopoetry as the ‘literary production of proximity through distance’ (as provisional as this might be at this point), I hope to prove the theoretical power of such a concept. It may help us recognize not only general practices in the cultural production of space shared across texts and genres, languages or media which are usually separated by specialist analyses. Moreover, the concept of teleiopoetry could help us clarify why medieval cultures favour these paradoxes of ‘close distance’.

II. Love Songs as Teleiopoetry: Two Examples from German Minnesang

From the presumed beginnings of Middle High German love poetry in the twelfth century onward, distance and desire couple to form a potent, yet underestimated model of teleiopoetry.¹⁶ Older research considered German Min-

temporal perspective, Isidore also classifies monsters by means of distance-related terms: “Portents are also called signs, omens, and prodigies, because they are seen to portend and display, indicate and predict future events. The term ‘portent’ (*portentum*) is said to be derived from foreshadowing (*portendere*), that is, from ‘showing beforehand’ (*praeostendere*). ‘Signs’ (*ostentum*), because they seem to show (*ostendere*) a future event. Prodigies (*prodigium*) are so called, because they ‘speak hereafter’ (*porro dicere*), that is, they predict the future.” Translation quoted from *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, ed. and trans. Stephen A. Barney et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 243–4 (11:3:2–3). To be sure, the practice of relating monstrosity to spatial and/or temporal distance goes back to antiquity; see, for instance, Pliny, *Naturalis historia* (7:1:1–7:2:32). As Werner Röske noticed, medieval writers continue to locate monsters in distant places but, paradoxically (“auf eine höchst widersprüchliche Weise”), include the excluded in their discourse. Werner Röske, “Erdrandbewohner und Wunderzeichen. Deutungsmuster von Alterität in der Literatur des Mittelalters,” in *Der fremdgewordene Text. Festschrift für Helmut Brackert zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Silvia Bovenschen et al. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997), 265–84, 269.

16 Compared to the concept of *amor de loing* in Provençal poetry, *Fernliebe* in German Minnesang has traditionally been neglected: “Im Unterschied zur französischen Trobadordlyrik spielt [...] die eigentliche Fernliebe, die eine weite räumliche Distanz der Liebenden voraussetzt, im deutschen Minnesang keine Rolle.” Horst Wenzel, “Fernliebe und Hohe Minne. Zur räumlichen und zur sozialen Distanz in der Minnethematik,” in *Liebe als Literatur. Aufsätze zur erotischen Dichtung in Deutschland*, ed. Rüdiger Krohn (München: Beck, 1983), 187–208, 193. As I shall subsequently argue, this judgment is based on a narrow socio-

nesang and its subgenres to be characterized by two separate (and mutually exclusive) sets of spatial practices. The first set comprised singers and lovers insisting on irreconcilable spatial, bodily and communicative distance from their desired others. The place of courtly love in Minnesang is virtual: it occurs in dreams, in an ever expanding human interiority of the heart or *muot*.¹⁷ Since the object of desire, the Lady, is absent, Minnesingers are thrown back at themselves, their singing and their production of erotic discourse: “Si hât leider selten / mîne klagende rede vernomen. / des muoz ich engelten. / nie kunde ich ir näher komen” (alas, she never heard my lament, therefore I must suffer. I could never get closer to her), as Reinmar laments.¹⁸ Giving rise both to the joy of the singer and the referential conflict of the lover, the distance of the desired seems the dominant prerequisite of a proximity to the self, exhibited in the singer’s expression of interiority.

Contrarily, the second set, including the parodic songs of Hartmann, Steinmar and Neidhart and the Dawn Songs of Wolfram von Eschenbach, invokes or even displays fulfilled proximity.¹⁹ Here, love’s place was seen as excluded from social visibility or transported to liminal spaces – to rural scenarios (in Neidhart’s oeuvre) or to the break of day, which literally merges the lovers in an undisguised last sexual act (as in Wolfram’s Dawn Songs): even if there were three suns, they could not force a single ray of light between the two lovers (MF 8,28 – 9); even the best sculptor could not render their unity (MF 3,29 – 30). According to this older view, it was the achievement of Walther von der Vogelweide to unmask and overcome this dichotomy of distance and proximity and

functional concept of distance love that fails to grasp the general production of proximity through distance. For a revision of Wenzel’s approach, see Franz Josef Worstbrock, “Fernliebe. Allgemeines und Besonderes zur Geschichte einer literarischen Konstruktion,” in *Projektion – Reflexion – Ferne* (see note 9), 137 – 59, esp. 141 – 2.

- 17 In older research, this virtualization was discussed as an educational or sublimating function of love poetry; for a revision of this debate see Harald Haferland, *Hohe Minne. Zur Beschreibung der Minnekanzone*, Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie 10 (Berlin: Schmidt, 2000), 283 – 4.
- 18 Reinmar, *Ich wil allez gâhen*, in *Des Minnesangs Frühling. Unter Benutzung der Ausgaben von Karl Lachmann und Moriz Haupt, Friedrich Vogt und Carl von Kraus*, ed. Hugo Moser and Helmut Tervooren, 38th ed. (Stuttgart: Hirzel, 1988), 330 (no. XIX; 170,22 – 5). In the following, all references to “MF” refer to this edition.
- 19 See Hartmann’s song MF 216,29 – 217,13; Wolfram: MF 3,1 – 32; 4,8 – 5,15; 7,41 – 9,3; Steinmar: *Die Schweizer Minnesänger. Nach der Ausgabe von Karl Bartsch*, ed. Max Schiendorfer (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1990), no. 26. On Reinmar’s and Neidhart’s parodies see, with further references to the research history, Gert Hübner, *Minnesang im 13. Jahrhundert*, Narr Studienbücher (Tübingen: Narr, 2008), 45 – 61 and 125 – 31. For critical discussions of this (older) dichotomy between Dawn Songs and Minnesang see Christoph Cormeau, “Zur Stellung des Tagelieds im Minnesang,” in *Festschrift Walter Haug und Burghart Wachinger*, ed. Johannes Janota and Paul Sappeler, 2 vols. (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1992), 2:695 – 708.

their spatial metaphors: “wirb ich nider, wirb ich hōhe, ich bin versêret” (whether I am wooing low or high, I am wounded in any case).²⁰

In the last decades, research has begun to revise this (simplified) dichotomy of distance and proximity, because it excludes fundamental paradoxes. Peter Strohschneider has drawn critical attention to the fact that many songs deliberately play with the discrepancy between the joyful artistic expression of the singer and the distant emotions of the lover, thereby unveiling the purported distance of the desired as an act of simultaneous performative presence and referential distance²¹ – notably in Reinmar, as Jan-Dirk Müller has emphasized.²² Other studies have shed light on the paradoxical intimacy running through both classical Minnesang and Dawn Songs (albeit from different directions). Even for his artistic self-reference, Reinmar employs metaphors of sexual presence (e. g., *biligen* in MF 166,14–5) – the lover’s propositions of distance consequently rely on the singer’s rhetoric of proximity. Conversely, the lovers of Wolfram’s Dawn Songs reach physical and aesthetic extremes of proximity only under the condition of the imminent spatial distancing of the man and the intrusion of others.²³ Both subgenres, wooing songs like Dawn Songs, combine distance and intimacy, although on different levels. This can be witnessed far beyond the classical period, as Oswald von Wolkenstein’s Dawn Song *Ain tunckle farb von occident* vividly displays. With considerable rhetorical effort Oswald stages his desire for his absent lady Margarete – a lady he is, in fact, already married to (if we subscribe to the biographical portrait produced by Oswald’s songs). Even under the conditions of the closest legitimate relations, we may therefore conclude, lovers seek distance – the closer you are, the greater the need of distancing.

These are by no means scattered examples. On the contrary, many songs not only reflect these spatial paradoxes but even build their entire poetic strategies upon them. The German Minnesinger Rudolf von Fenis, documented as count of Neuchâtel between 1158 and 1192, offers a particularly interesting case for a more precise analysis.²⁴ In its first two stanzas, Rudolf’s *Mit sange wānde ich*

20 Walther von der Vogelweide, *Leich, Lieder, Sangsprüche*. 14., völlig neubearb. Auflage der Ausgabe Karl Lachmanns, ed. Christoph Cormeau (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1996), 96 (*Aller werdekeit ein füegerinne*, no. 23a).

21 See Peter Strohschneider, “‘nu sehent, wie der singet!’ Vom Hervortreten des Sängers im Minnesang,” in *‘Aufführung’ und ‘Schrift’ in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. Jan-Dirk Müller, Germanistische Symposien. Berichtsbände 17 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1996), 7–30.

22 See Jan-Dirk Müller, “Performativer Selbstwiderspruch. Zu einer Redefigur bei Reinmar,” *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 121 (1999), 379–405.

23 See Christian Kiening, “Poetik des Dritten,” in *Zwischen Körper und Schrift. Texte vor dem Zeitalter der Literatur* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2003), 157–75.

24 For biographical information, see Helmut Tervooren, “Graf Rudolf von Fenis-Neuenburg,” in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, ed. Kurt Ruh, 2nd ed., vol 8 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1992), 345–51. With particular reference to Rudolf’s reception of Romance poetry and the numerous borrowings of MF 81,30–82,25, see Helen Stadler, “Rudolf

mîne sorge krenken (MF 81,30–82,25) exposes well-established paradoxes of courtly love poetry. To soothe his sorrows (of rejection?) and to detach himself from them,²⁵ he starts singing; yet the more he sings and reflects on them, the less he can dispel them: “sô ich ie mêre singe und ir ie baz gedenke / sô mugent si mit sange leider niht zergân.” *Minne*, the personification of love, had raised his ambition and, as if it were a gift of honour, commanded him to enshrine his lady, who could turn his sorrow into joy, in his heart.²⁶ Since all verbal reflections (I,3: *gedenke*) hark back to their sole source of sorrow, poetry offers no *remedium amoris*.

To resolve this paradox, Rudolf refers to a meta-poetic solution: “Ich wil mînen kumber ouch minnen klagen” – you may cut across the opposition of joy and sorrow if you address your lament to love herself.

Although ostensibly solved, the paradox nevertheless remains, as illustrated by Rudolf’s spatial metaphors: while love includes the beloved in his heart (II,2), the singer, in turn, yearns to be introduced by her into the “house of joy” (II,7: “ze vröiden hûs”) by her. Paradoxically, the lover imagines himself both as including and (potentially) included.

This latent spatial paradox only becomes manifest in the subsequent stanzas III and IV:

Mich wundert des, wie mich mîn vrowe twinge
so sêre, swenne ich verre von ir bin.
sô gedenke ich mir – und ist mîn gedinge –,
mües ich sî sehen, mîn sorge waere dahin.
‘Sô ich bî ir bin’, des troestet sich mîn sin
unde waene des, daz mir wol gelinge.
alrêst mêret sich mîn ungewin.

von Fenis and his Sources”, *Oxford German Studies* 8 (1973/74), 5–19, and Volker Mertens, “Dialog über die Grenzen: Minnesänger – Trobadors – Trouvères. Intertextualität in den Liebesliedern Rudolfs von Fenis,” in *Kritische Fragen an die Tradition. Festschrift für Claus Träger zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Marion Marquardt, Stuttgarter Arbeiten zur Germanistik 340 (Stuttgart: Heinz, 1997), 15–41.

25 Lines I,2–3 are already deeply ambiguous: “dar umbe singe ich, daz ich sî wolte lân.” Does the pronoun “sî” refer to his aforementioned sorrows? Or should we read *sî* (and *ir* in line I,3) as a veiled reference to their source, i. e. his lady? Both options seem possible up to the 4th line which grammatically excludes the second option.

26 The motif of the ‘lady in the heart’ is central for reflections on metaphorical and physical space in courtly and religious literature alike; see Xenja von Ertzdorff, “Die Dame im Herzen und Das Herz bei der Dame. Zur Verwendung des Begriffs ‘Herz’ in der höfischen Liebeslyrik,” *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 84 (1965), 6–46, and Nigel Palmer, “‘Herzeliebe’, weltlich und geistlich. Zur Metaphorik vom ‘Einwohnen im Herzen’ bei Wolfram von Eschenbach, Juliana von Cornillon, Hugo von Langenstein und Gertrud von Helfta,” in *Innenräume in der Literatur des deutschen Mittelalters. XIX. Anglo-German Colloquium Oxford 2005*, ed. Burkhard Hasebrink et al. (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2008), 197–224.

(I wonder how my lady compels me so much whenever I am far from her. Then I think to myself, hopefully, if I could see her, my sorrow would be gone. ‘When I am near her’ – thus my mind consoles itself and hopes for success. Now this only increases my loss. MF 82,5–11)

Whenever he seeks distance, the poet notices to his own surprise (“mich wundert des”), his lady gains influence over him by attracting his thoughts (“gedenke”) and dominating his intentions (“gedinge”). In this case, the spatial paradox is articulated through the language of physical violence and power: How can the lady force or even besiege (“twinge”) the I if the singer is beyond her immediate spatial reach (“verre von ir”)? Second-order reflections on conditional, virtualized proximity promise comfort (III,5), but this option turns out to be deceptive as well, for it only increases the paradox: “alrêst mêret sich mîn ungewin” – thinking and singing about her presence simply intensifies the loss of absence, at least under the conditions of referential language and desire (“unde waene des, daz mir wol gelinge”).

Leaping from virtual to real proximity,²⁷ Rudolf now discusses the antithesis in overtly dialectical fashion:

Sô ich bî ir bin, mîn sorge ist deste mêre,
 also der sich nâhe biutet zuo der gluot,
 der brennet sich von rehte harte sêre.
 ir grôze güete mir daz selbe tuot.
 Swenne ich bî ir bin, daz toetet mir den muot,
 und stirbe aber rehte, swenne ich von ir kêre,
 wan mich daz sehen dunket alsô guot.

(When I am near her my sorrow grows even more just like someone who gets close to the fire gets severe burns, and rightly so. Her perfection does the same to me. Whenever I am near her, it kills my mind – but I die all the more whenever I turn from her, for viewing seems so good to me. MF 82,12–8)

Neither distance nor proximity seem advisable (or even possible) per se: while her absence draws my mind to her, her presence will burn my thoughts. Distance leads towards proximity, proximity in turn requires distance – but any single

27 Or, more precisely, from virtualized imagination to imagined reality. Of course, the punctuation of line 3,5 was introduced by earlier editors of *Minnesangs Frühling*, namely Karl Lachmann and Friedrich Vogt; it cannot be found in the manuscripts. In view of Rudolf’s abrupt transition from distance (3,2: “swenne ich verre von ir bin”) to proximity (3,5: “[s]ô ich bî ir bin”), Max Hermann Jellinek’s early vote for inverted commas is revealing: “ich empfinde es [...] als einen unerträglichen bruch, dass mit dem *so ich bî ir bin* [...] die situation sich jäh ändert. erst ist der dichter fern von der geliebten und stellt sich vor, wie es sein würde, wenn er bei ihr wäre, in zeile 9 ist er plötzlich in ihrer gegenwart;” Max Hermann Jellinek, “Zu Minnesangs Frühling,” *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und Literatur* 55 (1917), 372–7, 375. Modern punctuation thus reduces the spatial rupture documented in the medieval transmission of the text and witnessed by Jellinek.

position will be lethal. Again, we find Rudolf balancing a spatial paradox. But whereas the first stanzas are dominated by the performance of lament (I – II) and rational reflection (III), visuality (*sehen*) now comes to the fore as a medium to bridge the gap between the distant object and the experiencing self.

The last stanza (V) further elaborates the spatial paradox of proximity through distance and visuality by means of an allegorical comparison. Her beautiful, embodied presence caused such attraction, the poet-lover remembers, that it was like that of the proverbial flame for the moth: “diu vliuget dâr an, unze sî sich gar verbrennet” (it draws nearer to the fire until it burns to death). This is how her great *güete* seduced me, Rudolf concludes in exact structural parallel with the preceding stanza (IV,4), and continues to condemn his foolish heart for having driven him ‘that far’ (“sô verre”).

Much could be added about Rudolf’s subtle metaphorical shifts from distant visuality to a perilous epistemology of beauty, from the lady’s “grôze güete” (IV,4; V,4) to her bodily appearance (V,1: “ir schoenen lîp”), from the heart as an interior space (II,2) to an organ of misled perception (V,5). With regard to spatial paradoxes, however, the overall structure of the song as a whole is more significant. Distance and proximity not only constitute the central topic on a propositional level, but also on rhetorical and conceptual levels. Rudolf’s song produces acts of distance as it substitutes the emotional involvement of the puzzled lover (especially in III) for argumentation, analytical comparison and evaluative judgement (IV – V); in its course, the song attempts to de-paradoxify the interrelation of distance and proximity by singing (I,3: “sing[e]n”), rational virtualization (III,3: “gedenke[n]”), and seeing (IV,7: “sehen”).²⁸

Opposed to this, we can observe highly self-referential structures that interweave the stanzas on the “poetic” level, as Roman Jakobson would have called it.²⁹ Certain linguistic elements run across the whole song and thereby produce proximity through the combination of signs, often supported by structural correspondences of the canzona form: “mîn[e] sorge” (I,1; III,4), “gedenke[n]” (I,3; III,3), “minne” (I,5; II,1), “herze” (II,2; V,5), the phrase “sô / swenne ich bî ir bin” (III,5; IV,1; IV,5) and “ir grôze güete” (IV,4; V,4) closely connect the stanzas. Semantic changes notwithstanding, we may find the paradox of distance and proximity reproduced in linguistic structures. Rudolf’s discourse on distance is supported by a poetics of proximity.

28 These models are frequently used in Minnesang, too – for the model of rational virtualization see, most concisely, Friedrich’s von Hausen *Ich denke underwilen*: “sô vrôwe ich mich doch sêre, / daz mir nieman kan / erwern, ich gedenke ir nâhe, / swar ich landes kêre” (I am truly happy that nobody can prevent me from getting close to her by means of thought wherever [to which country ever] I turn, MF 52,28 – 31).

29 See Roman Jakobson, “Closing Statement: Linguistics and Poetics,” in *Style in Language*, ed. Thomas A. Sebeok (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Print, 1960), 350 – 77.

We may draw at least three conclusions from this example. Firstly, Rudolf's song displays a complex strategy of producing social interrelations by means of symbolic space, with distance and proximity encoded on multiple levels (propositional, conceptual, rhetorical, and poetic). Secondly, these spatial aspects clearly exceed the mere production of social hierarchy and an idealized feminine position, as suggested by older research on the motif of *Fernminne*,³⁰ but also undermine the dichotomy of distance versus proximity. Therefore, and this is my third point, we need new theoretical approaches that could account for the intricate productivity of the spatial paradox.

Courtly love poetry demonstrates a remarkable variety and thereby the creative potential of this paradox. This is even the more remarkable in view of the fact that up to the thirteenth century, courtly literary communication is embedded in face-to-face interactions among persons co-present in space. Given these circumstances, Minnesingers are obsessed with paradoxifying this presence by referring to distant others, as my second example demonstrates.

Heinrich von Morungen favours many spatial concepts already observable in Rudolf, first and foremost the model of seeing. Ingrid Kasten, Christopher Young and Christoph Huber have pointed out that Heinrich's visual poetics of seeing and showing (*schouwen*) oscillate between imagination and the dissolution of its metaphorical images, between intensified sensuality and the spirituality of abstraction.³¹ I would like to argue that we can frame this well-established tension as a spatial effect, one which has thus far received less attention: descriptive proximity and discursive distance from the lady may be understood as another version of the spatial paradox exposed by language.³²

30 See, for example, Wenzel, "Fernliebe" (see note 16), 201.

31 See Ingrid Kasten, *Frauendienst bei Trobadors und Minnesängern im 12. Jahrhundert. Zur Entwicklung und Adaption eines literarischen Konzepts*, Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift. Beihefte 5 (Heidelberg: Winter, 1986), 319–29; Christopher Young, "Vision and Discourse in the Poems of Heinrich von Morungen," in *Blütezeit. Festschrift für L. Peter Johnson*, ed. Mark Chinca, Joachim Heinzle, and Christopher Young (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2000), 29–51; Christoph Huber, "Ekphrasis-Aspekte im Minnesang. Zur Poetik der Visualisierung bei Heinrich von Morungen mit Blick auf die Carmina Burana und Walther von der Vogelweide," in *Der Tod der Nachtigall* (see note 9), 83–104; with special emphasis on metaphor, see also Christoph Leuchter, *Dichten im Uneigentlichen. Zur Metaphorik und Poetik Heinrichs von Morungen*, Beiträge zur Mittelalterforschung 3 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2003).

32 Commenting on Heinrich's *Mir ist geschehen als einem kindelîne* (MF 145,1–32), Young notes "the inescapable paradoxical state of the singer" expressed by the song's imagery: "he must distance himself from his lady but at the same time he cannot let go of her." In Young's view, this still leaves us with a puzzle: "At this point the reason 'why' he must distance himself from his lady remains unclear." Young, "Vision and Discourse" (see note 31), 37. As Franziska Wenzel argued, this spatial paradox secures the reproduction of the lament and may therefore be regarded as a fundamental poetological condition: see Franziska Wenzel, "Die alte 'niuwe' Klage: Reflexionen über die Folgen narzißtischer Begierde in der Minneklage

We may apprehend this idea from a simple one-verse thought experiment that combines metaphors of killing and death with an argument on transcendence:

Vil sūeziu senftiu toeterinne,
 war umbe welt ir toeten mir den lip,
 und ich iuch sô herzeclîchen minne,
 zwāre vrouwe, vūr elliu wîp?
 Waenent ir, ob ir mich toetet,
 daz ich iuch iemer mêr beschouwe?
 nein, iuwer minne hât mich des ernoetet,
 daz iuwer sêle ist mîner sêle vrouwe.
 sol mir hie niht guot geschehen
 von iuwerm werden libe,
 sô muoz mîn sêle iu des verjehen,
 dazs iuwerre sêle dienet dort als einem reinen wîbe.

(Sweet gentle murderess, why do you want to kill me – even though I love you, my lady, truly more than every other woman? Do you believe that, by killing me, you would prevent me from ever setting eyes on you again? No, your love has made your soul my soul’s lady. If I receive nothing good from you here, my soul will vow to serve your soul as a perfect woman there. MF 147,4 – 15)

The pragmatic force of this song results from an interesting spatio-temporal projection. Rejected in this life (*hie*), the singer promises to court his lady’s soul in the hereafter (*dort*). As Christopher Young rightly notes, “[t]his is far from an innocent statement of undying love.”³³ “The singer is playing on the notion of eternal service to show the lady that he is in control: even if she wants to be rid of him, his soul will be waiting for hers on the other side of death.”³⁴ With regard to this life (*hie*), this implies no less than a threat: you better comply with my desire since you will not escape my transcendent double anyway – “aus diesem Kreis [...] gibt es kein Entrinnen,” as Sabine Obermaier comments.³⁵ As in other

Heinrichs von Morungen,” in *Institutionelle Ordnungen zwischen Verstetigung und Transformation*, ed. Stephan Müller, Gary S. Schaal, and Claudia Tiersch (Köln: Böhlau, 2002), 211 – 22.

- 33 Young, “Vision and discourse” (see note 31), 49; Young’s statement – and my reading – run contrary to traditional interpretations of this song; see the references to older scholarship mentioned in *ibid.*, 49 – 50n78; on the contrary, Kasten, *Frauendienst* (see note 31), 328 – 9 reads Heinrich’s argument about eternal continuity of service as directed towards transcendence: it displays “daß sich das Verlangen nach absoluter Liebe nicht *hie*, nicht im Diesseits, verwirklichen kann.” *Ibid.*, 239.
- 34 Young, “Vision and discourse” (see note 31), 49 – 50; with a similar conclusion (though without reference to Young) Leuchter, *Dichten im Uneigentlichen* (see note 31), 122.
- 35 Sabine Obermaier regards this as “ein perfektes Dilemma.” Sabine Obermaier, “Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der Interpretation von ‘Dichtung über Dichtung’ als Schlüssel für eine Poetik mittelhochdeutscher Lyrik. Eine Skizze,” in *Mittelalterliche Lyrik: Probleme der*

songs, Heinrich von Morungen thus extends the frame of wooing beyond the grave.³⁶ What makes *Vil süeziu senftiu toeterinne* a particularly revealing case, however, is that we can observe its spatial paradox in the making: the singer transcends the situation of communication both temporally and spatially, yet without loosening the connection to his lady, the implied addressee.³⁷ On the contrary, such virtual extension actually intensifies social relations by making acts of rejection less probable – or succinctly: the greater the distance you create (towards a transcendent *dort*), the closer your grip (*hie*).

These two examples only touch on a much broader phenomenon of teleiopoetry, or the production of proximity through distance, which still remains to be discovered – especially beyond the generic limits of love poetry. As my readings suggest, it could be useful to analyze its paradoxes on different levels, at least on conceptual (cognitive organization of information), propositional (exterior references of utterances), rhetorical (forms and practices of speech) and poetic levels of texts (combinations of signs). Furthermore, one needs to distinguish different aspects on each level, such as the time or duration, place or location, mode, frequency, media, limiting semantics and entities involved; since ‘spatial’ paradoxes as those observed in the previous examples involve more than the category of ‘space’ in the narrower, Cartesian sense. Combining these parameters, it becomes possible to create a matrix to analyze teleiopoietic practices on a wider scale. As a first (merely exemplary, not exhaustive) sample, we may draw on the corpus of twelfth-century German Minnesang collected in *Des Minnesangs Frühling* to identify some of the most prominent elements of teleiopoietic constellations:

- Time/duration: Singers may equally look back in remembrance or anticipate futures (MF 104,6); they refer to nights gone by and days approaching (Wolfram’s *Sîne klawen* in MF 4,8–5,15; Wolfram’s *Ez ist nu tac* in MF 7,41–9,3; MF 143,22–144,17); they long indefinitely “mit staeteclichen triuwen” (MF 159,13; 169,16–7) or deliberately instruct their sons or heirs to act on their behalf after they are gone (MF 125,10–8; Wolfram’s *Maniger klaget* in MF, line 2,10); their love-relations stretch from early childhood (MF 90,16–7; 134,29–30) to old age, death and beyond (MF 147,4–15; 168,30;

Poetik, ed. Thomas Cramer and Ingrid Kasten, *Philologische Studien und Quellen* 154 (Berlin: Schmidt, 1999), 11–32, 24.

36 See, for instance, *Sach ieman die vrouwen* (MF 129,35–130,8).

37 “Nähe in der Trennung” as an example of Heinrich’s “Poetik des Paradoxen” (to quote Sabine Obermaier) is thus established on the basis of ontological speculation that opposes soul versus body, contingent versus eternal proximity and mundane reality versus transcendence. See Obermaier, “Grenzen der Interpretation” (see note 35), 24. For the transcendent quality of desire in Heinrich von Morungen, see also Jan-Dirk Müller, “Beneidenswerter kumber,” *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 82 (2008), 220–36.

- 173,34 – 174,2; 175,27 – 8; 199,18 – 24), they or their ladies age and bemoan the passing of life (MF 152,15 – 24; 156,27 – 157,30), sometimes they are more specific and count the hours, days, seasons, up to 1,000 years of wooing (MF 75,32; 84,26 – 7; 104,6 – 8; 188,31 – 189,4; 197,35; 208,20 – 1; 209,13 – 4; 217,38 – 218,4); or they project open time spans (MF 135,9 – 10).
- Places/locations:³⁸ Minnesingers project foreign countries far from home (Kürenberger's MF 9,2 – 3; MF 52,25 – 31; 92,8; 116,1 – 4; 156,15; 211,20 – 6), beyond the raging sea (MF 87,16; 182,23 – 5), in Italy (MF 115,1), but also, especially though not exclusively in Dawn Songs, they imagine castle architectures (Wolfram's *Von der zinnen* in MF 6,10 – 1; Wolfram's *Ez ist nu tac* in MF 8,1 – 2; MF 138,31 – 2) and interiors (Wolfram's *Den morgenblic* in MF 3,12 – 3); sometimes they insist on places neither far nor near (MF 161,21 – 2) or they seek but cannot reach distance from their lady (MF 52,15 – 6; Hartmann's *Dir hât enboten, vrowe guot* in MF, line 3,5).
 - Modes: in creating such spaces, singers/lovers feel forced by their lady (*twingen, dienen*, etc.) or liberated by the mental freedom of thoughts (MF 51,33 – 52,36), they refer to realistic exterior topographies as well as to virtual spaces of dreams (MF 48,23 – 31; 145,9 – 12), wishes and fears (MF 145,17 – 24).
 - Frequency: they iterate and renew distances ("erniuwen," MF 133,15; 166,16 – 7; 187,31 – 2; 189,11 – 3) or reach their lady once (MF 159,37 – 40) or never (MF 158,8 – 10; 170,25).
 - Media: to produce and communicate proximity through distance they involve media such as writing and tombstones (MF 129,36 – 130,8), mirrors (MF 137,2 – 3; 145,1 – 4 and 22 – 4), windows (Wolfram's *Den morgenblic* in MF 3,12; Wolfram's *Sîne klâwen* in MF 5,6 – 7; MF 129,14 – 6; 144,24 – 5), glances (MF 129,14 – 6; 133,13 and 137,37 – 134,1; 164,26 – 9), voices and songs of others (Wolfram's *Sîne klâwen* in MF 5,8 – 9; Kürenberger's MF 8,3 – 6; MF 164,24; Gottfried's *Diu zît ist wunneclich*), intermediary messengers (MF

38 With Michel de Certeau, I distinguish the general production of space from places in the topological sense: "A place (*lieu*) is the order (of whatever kind) in accord with which elements are distributed in relationships of coexistence. [...] A *space* exists when one takes into consideration vectors of direction, velocities, and time variables. Thus space is composed of intersections of mobile elements." Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 117. This goes back to ancient distinctions between place (*topos*), magnitude (*megethos*) and gap (*diastêma*) and their close concomitant, time – concepts that are present in medieval philosophy via Aristotle; see John Emery Murdoch, "Infinite Times and Spaces in the Later Middle Ages," in *Raum und Raumvorstellungen im Mittelalter*, ed. Jan A. Aertsen and Andreas Speer, *Miscellanea mediaevalia* 25 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997), 194 – 205; Christoph Kann, "Der Ort der Argumente. Eigentliche und uneigentliche Verwendung des mittelalterlichen locus-Be-griffs," in *ibid.*, 402 – 18.

- 177,10 – 39; 178,1 – 179,2), opaque objects like clouds (MF 134,3 – 4) or various kinds of birds (MF 8,33 – 9,12; Wolfram's *Guot wîp, ich bitte dich minne* in MF 9,18 – 20; Kürenberger's MF 10,17 – 20; MF 156,13 – 4).
- Limiting semantic borders: these spaces can be limited by references to God (MF 47,27 – 8; 92,7 – 8), death (MF 87,5 – 6; 129,35 – 130,2) or other concepts.
 - Entities: by producing paradoxical spaces, speaker and addressee are often disintegrated into multiple conflicting entities such as body versus soul (MF 147,4 – 15; 173,34 – 174,2), body versus heart and/or will (Wolfram's *Sîne klâwen* in MF 5,5; MF 42,19 – 23; 47,9 – 16 and 25 – 32; 114,35 – 8; 194,31 – 3; 215,30 – 1) or other configurations such as singers versus lovers (MF 133,21 – 32).

By creating such a matrix of frequently used levels, aspects and elements of spatial paradoxes, we can reconstruct traditionally isolated genres as specific configurations of teleiopoetry. While functional, semantic or communicational approaches often raise serious doubts about the clear-cut distinctiveness of subgenres such as laments over absence or rejection, messenger songs, Dawn Songs or crusading songs, these types may become discernible (and more easily distinguishable) as different combinations of a shared set of spatializing features and aspects. This might enable us to read Minnesang from a more integrated perspective that detects characteristic possibilities and varieties of spatialization rather than categorial generic distinctions. From this perspective, we can not only account for the fact that Minnesingers build upon the same spatializing strategies (though filling them with different possibilities) in both religious and secular songs, such as crusading songs or erotic laments. But we can also understand why many singers seem equally worried about getting too far from or too close to their lady, as Reinmar reflects: “Sî enlât mich von ir scheiden / noch bî ir *bestên*” (she neither lets me leave her nor stay near her, MF 161,21 – 2). Close to his beautiful lady (“bî der schoenen”), Gottfried's singer finds his desire fulfilled but his mind so stupefied (“gar âne sin”) that – to his own embarrassment – he cannot speak; as he gains distance, however, his speech returns only at the price of absence (*Diu zît ist wunneclîch*, III). In Albrecht von Johansdorf, it is the lady herself who points to the paradoxical spatialization of mind and body so frequently employed by crusading songs: “wie wiltu nû geleisten diu beide, / varn über mer und iedoch wesen hie?” (now how do you want to manage both travelling beyond the sea and staying here at the same time? MF 87,15 – 6). We may therefore conclude that this paradoxical spatialization may in fact be more fundamental to courtly poetry than any particular concept of love.

III. 'Teleiopoiesis' – the Making of Proximity Through Distance

How can we then explain the fact that teleiopoetry flourishes to such a remarkable extent in medieval culture? A closer look at the theoretical sources of this question is required here. It was Jacques Derrida who first coined the term *téléiopoïèse*, in a seminar series on *Politics of Friendship*, to characterize a prediction from Nietzsche's *Beyond Good and Evil*:³⁹ "Ach! Wenn ihr wüsstet, wie es bald, so bald schon – anders kommt!" (Alas if only you knew how soon, how very soon, things will be – different!).⁴⁰ For Derrida, this utterance "gets carried away, precipitates and precedes itself, as if its end arrived before the end."⁴¹ It thus unfolds a 'teleiopoietic' quality which Derrida describes by way of a playful, yet precarious double etymology. On the one hand, referring to Greek *τέλος* (*télos*, 'end') or *τέλειος* (*téleios*, 'perfect', 'complete'), "[t]eleiopoios qualifies, in a great number of contexts and semantic orders, that which *renders* absolute, perfect, completed, accomplished, finished, that which *brings* to an end."⁴² On the other hand, the prefix 'teleiopoiesis' resonates with the Greek *τῆλε* (*têle*, 'far'), indicating the opposite aspect of distance:

But permit us to play too with the other *tele*, the one that speaks to distance and the far-removed, for what is indeed in question here is a poetics of distance at one remove, and of an absolute acceleration in the spanning of space by the very structure of the sentence (it begins at the end, it is initiated with the signature of the other). *Rendering, making, transforming, producing, creating* – this is what counts [...].⁴³

Hence, 'teleiopoiesis' comprises aspects both of closure and of open contingency, the projection of distant spaces, times, or others and the drawing near of those spaces, times, or others at the same time. Doing 'teleiopoiesis', in the words of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, means "to affect the distant in a *poiesis* – an imaginative making – without guarantees."⁴⁴ Derrida's paradoxical spin on

39 Branching from Derrida's analyses, the term inspired methodological debates on Comparative Literature and post-colonial theory; see, most notably, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *Death of a Discipline* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003). For a brief reconstruction of Derrida's and Spivak's use of the term see Corinne Scheiner, "Teleiopoiesis, Telepoiesis, and the Practice of Comparative Literature," *Comparative Literature* 57 (2005), 239–45; Eric Hayot, "I/O: A Comparative Literature in a Digital Age," *ibid.*, 219–26, and Ebrahim Moosa, *Ghazali and the Poetics of Imagination* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 40–3.

40 Friedrich Nietzsche, *Jenseits von Gut und Böse*, in *Sämtliche Werke. Kritische Studienausgabe*, ed. Giorgio Colli and Mazzino Montinari, 15 vols., 2nd ed. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1999), 5:9–243, 152 (no. 214); translation by George Collins in Jacques Derrida, *Politics of Friendship* (London: Verso, 1997), 31.

41 Derrida, *Politics of Friendship* (see note 40), 31.

42 *Ibid.*, 32.

43 *Ibid.*

44 Spivak, *Death of a Discipline* (see note 39), 31; see also Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Har-

the term could be instructive for medievalists' studies on teleiopoetry, as it highlights the productive dynamics of imaginative relations that both reach close and transport distant.

Furthermore, it is by no means an arbitrary choice that Derrida develops his concept in a study on the making of social collectives and friendship. Inverse to each other, collective relations and friendship deal with irreducible paradoxes of intimacy and distance. When medieval teleiopoets privilege the semantics of friendship and its erotic, socio-political or religious discourses, they simply radicalize the general production of social relations by means of literary projection and transport. It might be due to this general distribution of teleiopoetry (and perhaps less motivated by specific concepts of friendship or love) that epistolary literature from monastic contexts, *amor de loing* in Provençal poetry and *Fernliebe* in German Minnesang resemble one another to a remarkable degree in some of their poetic techniques and semantics.⁴⁵

This hypothesis links up with older observations and theories in the social sciences and cultural studies. Social relations reproduce in relational and symbolic spaces rather than in homogeneous, absolute container-spaces in the Euclidean or Cartesian sense.⁴⁶ As is also well-established, medieval societies in

lem," *Social Text* 81 (2004), 113–39 who briefly summarizes "teleopoiesis" as "a reaching toward the distant other by the patient power of the imagination," *Ibid.*, 116.

45 See Katherine Kong, *Lettering the Self in Medieval and Early Modern France* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2010), 15–54.

46 See, for instance, Georg Simmel: "Über räumliche Projektionen sozialer Formen," in *Gesamtausgabe*, ed. Otthein Rammstedt (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1995), 7:201–20. According to Henri Lefebvre, physical space constitutes only a precondition; social space, on the other hand, needs to be produced in order to enable perceptions ("espace perçu"), conceptions ("espace conçu") and living ("espace vécu"); see Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991); on meaningful spatial relatedness see also Ernst Cassirer, *Philosophie der symbolischen Formen. Zweiter Teil: Das mythische Denken*, in *Gesammelte Werke*, ed. Birgit Recki, 29 vols. (Hamburg: Meiner, 2010), 12:98–110. For overviews on spatial concepts in social sciences see Markus Schroer, *Räume, Orte, Grenzen. Auf dem Weg zu einer Soziologie des Raums* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2006), 17–181; Martina Löw, *Raumsoziologie* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2001); *Raumtheorie. Grundlagentexte aus Philosophie und Kulturwissenschaften*, ed. Jörg Dünne and Stephan Günzel (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2006), 289–368. For recent approaches towards medieval spatiality, see Marian Füssel and Stefanie Rüther, "Einleitung," in *Raum und Konflikt. Zur symbolischen Konstituierung gesellschaftlicher Ordnung in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. Marian Füssel, Christoph Dartmann and Stefanie Rüther, *Symbolische Kommunikation und gesellschaftliche Wertesysteme* 5 (Münster: Rhema, 2004), 9–18; Elisabeth Vavra, "Einleitung," in *Virtuelle Räume. Raumwahrnehmung und Raumvorstellung im Mittelalter. Akten des 10. Symposiums des Mediävistenverbandes, Krems, 24.–26. März 2003*, ed. Elisabeth Vavra (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2005), 7–16, and the contributions to *Projektion – Reflexion – Ferne* (see note 9). Although the social production of space is generally acknowledged in historically oriented scholarship, the container model of space is still used in analytical literary studies; as a recent example see Katrin Dennerlein, *Narratologie des Raumes*, *Narratologia* 22 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009).

particular have to (re)produce their social structure by means of symbolic spatial practices and performances, inasmuch as they are lacking institutional mechanisms to secure permanent relationships between places, people, and rules of action. Courts, monasteries or cities do not simply ‘have’ or ‘own’ fixed locations but need to produce their social space and its extension.⁴⁷

The concept of teleiopoetry can be linked to spatial aspects of socialization with two provisos. It would of course fall short (and only perpetuate a known pitfall of social history) to reduce teleiopoetry to a direct function (either formative or expressive) of social spaces. However, it could be regarded as a symbolic medium for the production of strategies, semantic options and communicative structures that can be used for social spatialization. Secondly, Derrida’s notion of ‘teleiopoiesis’ forgoes terminological precision for the sake of a laborious, “labyrinthine” strategy of reading.⁴⁸ It should be noted, for instance, that Derrida’s concept of ‘making towards the distant’ covers not only spatial, but also temporal and other aspects of distance. So the ‘nature’ of this space – and whether we should call it space at all – requires further theoretical scrutiny.⁴⁹

‘Teleiopoiesis’ is worth this effort, I would argue, since it surpasses many theories dealing with the social production of space and studies on literary spaces, in that it insists on the productivity of the spatial paradox: the greater the distance, the closer you get. In the case of Rudolf von Fenis this spatial paradox emerges in the interplay between propositional, rhetorical and conceptual distance on the one hand and self-referential poetic structures on the other; in Heinrich von Morungen, we find the spatial paradox emerging from a coercive ontology of limited bodies and unlimited souls. Hence the concept of teleiopoiesis could raise our awareness of the incessant work performed by medieval writers to maintain its balance through projection and approximation. Teleiopoetry may be studied as this production of related distance and its premises.

47 See Simmel, “Räumliche Projektionen,” (see note 46), 306–7; Nikolaus Staubach, “Einleitung,” in *Außen und Innen. Räume und ihre Symbolik*, ed. Nikolaus Staubach and Vera Johanterwage, Tradition – Reform – Innovation. Studien zur Modernität des Mittelalters 14 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2007), 7–9.

48 Spivak, *Death of a Discipline* (see note 39), 27.

49 It may be necessary to replace the (Kantian) categorial vocabulary of space with more integrative approaches; for a language of space allowing for higher phenomenal complexity see, for example, Günter Figal, *Erscheinungsdinge. Ästhetik als Phänomenologie* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 231–81.

IV. Teleiopoetry as Cultural Practice

In so doing we should not blur the difference between Derrida's generalizing term *téléiopoièse* and my usage of the term as a heuristic concept for literary practices.⁵⁰ But can we treat teleiopoetry simply as a literary phenomenon? I would like to argue that we can indeed, although teleiopoetry is not 'simply' or exclusively literary, but rather rooted in cultural practices of spatialization, as we can infer from at least four points.

First: Despite the fact that it is mostly treated within disciplinary confines and labelled by distinct concepts, teleiopoetry is a cross-linguistic and cross-generic phenomenon. This is prominently articulated in Provençal poetry, where the songs of Jaufré Rudel advocate a distant love in which, to recall Leo Spitzer's famous commentary, "l'éloignement est paradoxalement consubstantiel avec le désir de l'union" ("Distance is paradoxically consubstantial with the desire for union").⁵¹ Jaufré mentions this spatial paradox in several songs: "D'aquest' amor son tan cochos / Que quant eu vau ves leis corren, / Vejaire m'es c'a reüsos / Me'n torn e qu'ella m'an fugen" (for (by) this love I am so enflamed that when I go running towards her (it) it seems to me that backwards I turn and that she (it) continues fleeing me)⁵² – so the closer you get ("ves leis corren"), the greater the distance ("m'an fugen"). As in Rudolf von Feis (MF 82,5–11), the desire of Jaufré's lover in *Pro ai del chan essenhadors* experiments with mental approximation across spatial distance: "Ma voluntat s[e]n vay lo cors / La nueit e:l dia esclarzitz / Laintz per talant de son cors" (my will [desire] goes off immediately at night and in lighted day there [therein] through desire for her body).⁵³ Jaufré's *Lanquan li jorn son lonc en may* (written around 1150) unfolds the teleiopoietic

50 This distinction has become less visible in the course of translation. While Derrida's French term "téléiopoièse" combines the ambiguity of closure (*téleios*) and distance (*téle*) with the general term of 'making' (*poiesis*), George Collins's translation renders it as "teleiopoiesis", thereby reducing it to the concept of poesy (*poesis*) [my emphasis]; Spivak, on the other hand, keeps the broader term *poiesis*, yet reduces its first component to "teleiopoiesis" [my emphasis]; see Spivak, *Death of a Discipline* (see note 39), 31 and elsewhere. For the problems of transliteration and translation see Scheiner, "Teleiopoiesis" (see note 39), 242–4 and Hayot, "Comparative Literature" (see note 39), 221.

51 Spitzer, *L'amour de lointain* (see note 9), 21; see also Kasten, *Frauendienst* (see note 31), 83; for an overview on concepts and practices of love of/from distance in Provençal poetry, see Söffner, "Liebe als Distanz" (see note 9).

52 Jaufré Rudel, *Quan lo rossinhols el folhos*, 2,1–4; text and translation from Jaufré Rudel, *The Songs of Jaufré Rudel*, ed. and trans. Rupert T. Pickens, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies: Studies and Texts 41 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1978), 70–1. On this song, see Söffner, "Liebe als Distanz" (see note 9), 57–69, with further references.

53 Jaufré Rudel, *Pro ai del chan essenhadors*, 6,1–3; Jaufré Rudel, *Songs* (see note 52), 140–1.

paradox to a whole song.⁵⁴ The long days of May and the song of birds from afar remind the singer of a certain “amor de loing” (1,4), a love from afar:

Ja mais d'amor no'm gauzirai
 Si no'm gau d'est' amor de loing,
 Qe gensor ni meillor non sai
 Vas nuilla part ni pres ni loing.
 Tant es sos pretz verais e fis
 Qe lai el renc dels Sarrazis
 Fos eu per lieis chaitius clamatz.

(Never shall I enjoy love if I do not enjoy this love from afar, for fairer [more noble] nor better do I know anywhere near or far. So much is her [its] worth true and fine that there in the kingdom of the Saracens would I be called, for her sake, captive [wretched]. Jaufré Rudel, *Lanquan li jorn son lonc en May* II; Rudel, *Songs* [see note 52], 164–5)

To balance this middle ground “ni pres ni loing” (II,4), Jaufré imagines varying erotic impediments that cause different modalities of love: the singer’s depressed mood in remembrance (I), his joy about a love from afar that would withstand captivity in the hands of the infidels (II), frustrating topographical distance (III), that God’s grace alone could grant him imaginary conversation (IV), an approach in the guise of a pilgrim (V), his prayer to god (VI) and the hatred of his godfather, who prevents the fulfilment of his wishes (VII). Distance is present even in his wishes for immediate, joyful proximity:

Be'm parra jois quan li qerrai
 Per amor Dieu l'amor de loing,
 E s'a lieis plai, albergarai
 Pres de lieis, si be'm sui di loing.
 Adoncs parra'l parlamens fis
 Qand drutz loindas er tant vezis
 C'ab bels [digz] jauzirai solatz.

(Indeed, joy will appear to me [it will seem a joy to me] when I seek from her, for the love of God, the love from afar, and if it pleases [I please] her, I shall lodge near her, although I am far away [from afar]. Then will conversation seem noble when a far-away lover is so close that I shall enjoy solace with fair [words]. Jaufré Rudel, *Lanquan li jorn son lonc en May* IV; Rudel, *Songs* [see note 52], 166–7)

Even from his beloved he seeks “amor de loing”; even if he should get close to her (“pres de lieis”), this could only happen under the conditions of distance (“di loing”) – Jaufré thus carefully balances the teleiopoietic connection, its discursive figures of mediation (e.g., the pilgrim of the fifth *cobla*) and limiting semantics (for example, God). As Jan Söffner has shown in a seminal study, this

54 For full discussions of this song, see Söffner, “Liebe als Distanz” (see note 9), 69–77, and Wyss, “Amour de loin” (see note 9).

aims less at the ‘ennobling’ effects of love through longing and absence: “Stattdessen liegt es nahe, ‘amor de loing’ hier auf seine Räumlichkeit hin zu verstehen” (Instead, here, ‘amor de loing’ is obviously to be understood through its spatiality)⁵⁵ – a spatiality of bodily and intellectual extension renewed with each *cobla*, as further substantiated by Ulrich Wyss.⁵⁶ Clearly, the repetitive, infinite dynamics of Jaufré’s song, which have frequently been noted by scholars, experiment with the space of teleiopoetry.

Yet teleiopoetry is not confined to French or German courtly poetry. In the urban context of thirteenth-century Italy, Dante’s *Vita nova* recounts how *amore* inspires the narrator to produce poems as an intermediary dialogue with Beatrice from afar: “Queste parole fa che siano quasi un mezzo, sì che tu non parli a lei immediatamente, che non è degno” (let these words be as it were an intermediary so that you do not speak directly to her, for it is not fitting that you should).⁵⁷ As much as he desires Beatrice’s presence, he maintains his distance; he sees her, but no more. Even before, Dante had avoided direct, unmediated contact, using another lady as a shield (*schermo*) between him and Beatrice for several years:⁵⁸ a beautiful screen-lady who veils his secret and secures Dante’s teleiopoetry in the urban space as he writes sonnets on Beatrice from afar. Accordingly, Dante is deeply worried when the middle lady of his ‘proximity through distance’ eventually leaves the city:

La donna co la quale io avea tanto tempo celata la mia volontade, convenne che si partisse de la sopradetta cittade e andasse in paese molto lontano; per che io, quasi sbigottito de la bella difesa che m’era venuta meno, assai me ne disconfortai, più che io medesimo non avrei creduto dinanzi.

55 Söffner, “Liebe als Distanz” (see note 9), 76.

56 On this “Effekt der Verräumlichung”, see Wyss, “Amour de loin” (see note 9), 166–9.

57 *La vita nuova di Dante Alighieri. Edizione critica*, ed. Michele Barbi, (Florence: Bemporad, 1932), 12:8; translation from Dante Alighieri, *Vita nuova*, trans. Mark Musa (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 20. The following remarks can only briefly touch the model of mediation and the dynamics of veiled signification that shape Dante’s *Vita* on multiple levels throughout the whole text. They have received extensive critical attention; see, only as a selection, Paul J. Klemp, “The Women in the Middle: Layers of Love in Dante’s *Vita Nuova*,” *Italica* 61 (1984), 185–94; Winfried Wehle, *Dichtung über Dichtung. Dantes ‘Vita Nuova’: die Aufhebung des Minnesangs im Epos* (München: Fink, 1986), esp. 31–56; Giuseppe Mazzotta, “The Language of Poetry in the *Vita nuova*,” in *Dante: The Critical Complex*, ed. Richard Lansing, 8 vols. (New York: Routledge: 2002), 1:93–104; Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Seeing through the Veil: Optical Theory and Medieval Allegory* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 116–125; Andreas Kablitz, “Fiktion und Bedeutung. Dantes *Vita nova* und die Tradition der volkssprachlichen Minnelyrik,” in *Fiktion und Fiktionalität in den Literaturen des Mittelalters. Jan-Dirk Müller zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Ursula Peters and Rainer Warning (München and Paderborn: Fink, 2009), 339–62; Lorenzo Mainini, “Schermi e specchi: intorno a ‘Vita nova’ 2,6–9 e ad altre visioni dantesche,” *Critica del testo* 14 (2011), 147–78.

58 Dante Alighieri, *Vita nova* (see note 57), 5–6, 48.

(It became necessary for the lady who had so long helped me conceal my true feelings to leave the aforementioned city and to journey to a distant town; wherefore I, bewildered by the fact that my ideal defence now had failed me, became very dejected, more so than I myself would have previously believed possible. Dante Alighieri, *Vita nova*, 7:1, Musa, 11)

As the increased distance (“in paese molto lontano”) threatens to unbalance the fragile proximity of teleiopoetry, Dante is quick to find new screens (Chapter IX).

However, teleiopoetry is not limited to vernacular courtly literature, its erotic codes and its urban reception in the late Middle Ages alone. Even beyond lyrical genres, medieval literature seems obsessed with teleiopoietic strategies, semantics and figures such as letter-writing, vision through spatial obstacles, messengers and angels,⁵⁹ travelling, spatial hinges like birds which connect remote spheres and many other phenomena of spatial inclusion and exclusion that produce proximity through distance. Instead of leaving their marital problems at home, Erec and Enide take the task of balancing excess and moderation on an adventurous journey during which they experiment with not just sexual, but spatial and social distance and proximity again and again. All these are examples of teleiopoetry and they demonstrate that we can neither limit teleiopoetry to certain genres nor to the erotic discourse – it pervades political power and social relations of various kinds, from the construction of peripheries filled with monsters to the centres of sacred or urban spaces.

My second point takes one step further: teleiopoetry is not exclusively literary (in the narrower sense), but structures various types of non-fiction texts too, as Franz Josef Worstbrock has recently shown with regard to Latin epistolary literature: “Fernliebe [...] ist nicht auf Dichtung und nicht auf die Begründung einer Liebesbeziehung zu einer Frau beschränkt” (“Fernliebe is not restricted to poetry and to the substantiation of a love relationship with a lady”).⁶⁰ On the

59 Messengers and angels are perhaps prime examples of the cultural figure of teleiopoiesis: see Sybille Krämer, *Medium, Bote, Übertragung. Kleine Metaphysik der Medialität* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2008), 108–37; with regard to troubadour poetry, see Söffner, “Liebe als Distanz” (see note 9), 71n37; for the institution of messengers since early medieval diplomatic practice, see Volker Scior, “Bemerkungen zum frühmittelalterlichen Boten- und Gesandtschaftswesen,” in *Der frühmittelalterliche Staat – europäische Perspektiven*, ed. Walter Pohl, Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 16 (Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009), 315–30. Horst Wenzel has stressed the importance of the bodily presence of the messenger in medieval face-to-face communication, but also his capacity to cross distance: see Horst Wenzel, “Boten und Briefe. Zum Verhältnis körperlicher und nichtkörperlicher Nachrichtenträger,” in *Gespräche, Boten, Briefe. Körpergedächtnis und Schriftgedächtnis im Mittelalter*, ed. Horst Wenzel, Philologische Studien und Quellen 143 (Berlin: Schmidt, 1997), 86–105, and “Vom Körper zur Schrift. Boten, Briefe, Bücher,” in *Performativität und Medialität*, ed. Sybille Krämer (München: Fink, 2004), 269–91.

60 Worstbrock, “Fernliebe” (see note 16), 141. Against Wenzel’s “Fernliebe” (see note 16),

basis of ancient examples (e. g., Paris' letter to Helen in Ovid's *Heroides*, no. 16; letters by Saint Jerome and Quintus Aurelius Symmachus), the motif of 'love without contact' flourishes in Latin epistolography from early twelfth to the end of the seventeenth century, where it becomes a laudatory *topos* of the newly constituted art of letter writing (*ars dictandi*). In his *Praecepta dictaminum* (around 1115), Adalbertus Samaritanus writes: "Bonorum frequens astipulatio de tuis sanctis moribus in hoc me desiderium provocavit, ut amicitias tuas ardentem exoptem" (the common judgment of good people on your perfect manners has aroused my burning desire for your friendship).⁶¹ Boncompagno da Signa (around 1170 – 1240) instructs those who seek to love women they have never seen before ("quidam enim illas amare appetunt, quas nunquam vident") in the proper art of letter writing (*Rota Veneris*).⁶² Not all of the samples identified by Worstbrock as epistolary *Fernliebe* are cases of teleiopoetry – many of them constitute simple contradictions of distance and proximity, but not paradoxes (in Spitzer's sense). Even if the glory and perfection of the praised addressee become present and induce love in the mind of the writer over the greatest distance, the opposite does not necessarily hold true: presence does not generate the need for distance in turn.⁶³ Nevertheless, Worstbrock's remarkable examples clearly indicate that medieval rhetoric utilizes the interlacing of distance and proximity well beyond fictional discourse.

My third point on why we should investigate teleiopoetry as a cultural

Worstbrock objects: "Es ist im Gegenteil zweifelhaft, ob Fernliebe als ein signifikanter Liebestypus höfischer Epik [...] überhaupt gelten kann" (*ibid.*). This holds true only for the narrower concept of distance love – teleiopoietic practices in the wider sense are indeed present in the courtly romance.

61 Adalbertus Samaritanus, *Praecepta dictaminum*, ed. Franz-Josef Schmale, Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters 3 (Weimar: Böhlau, 1961), 43 (letter 1), quoted in Worstbrock, "Fernliebe" (see note 16), 150.

62 Magister Boncompagno, *Rota veneris. Ein Liebesbriefsteller des 13. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Friedrich Baethgen, Texte zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters 2 (Rome: Regenberg, 1927), 12.

63 This is also mirrored by the distinction Worstbrock proposes to distinguish between letters that speak of continuing distance ("die räumliche Ferne dauert an") and letters that look back on distance love after successful encounters: "In der anderen Version liegt die Fernliebe zum Zeitpunkt der brieflichen Gesprächsaufnahme bereits zurück, ist die ehemals ferne Person durch Reise oder gelungene Suche gefunden, der Schritt vom Hören zum Sehen getan, die vernommene Rühmung durch Augenschein bestätigt oder gar übertroffen." Worstbrock, "Fernliebe" (see note 16), 147. For this second type, distance is only transitory, not constitutive (and therefore: not paradoxical); it is not "Bedingung der Möglichkeit von Nähe" (Wyss, "Amour de loin" [see note 9], 162) or "Liebe als Distanz" (Söffner, my emphasis). Therefore, the song of Meinloh von Sevelingen (MF 11,1) Worstbrock quotes as a link between Latin epistolography and Minnesang does not refer to the paradox of teleiopoetry: "Verharren in gemessener Distanz ist dem Mann hier nicht auferlegt, im Gegenteil: das Gefunden- und Erblickthaben suggerieren Nähe der Begegnung." Worstbrock, "Fernliebe" (see note 16), 150 – 51.

practice: teleiopoetry represents only one special case of a general production of proximity through distance that is cross-medial. It can also be found in non-textual images. Splendid examples can be found in the Codex Manesse. While some images utilize architecture to depict pure distance (e. g., fol. 17r, 42r or 192v) and others completely dispense with separating architecture to depict pure intimacy (e. g., 70v, 179v or 249v), several images combine both options. In the images of Leuthold von Seven or Stamheim (fig. 1 – 2), lovers and ladies are positioned within close reach, but at the same time rendered remote by media of distance (birds, letters, towers). The images of Rubin and Kristan von Hamle utilize more sophisticated, even eccentric technology to produce this distant intimacy (fig. 3 – 4): lovers shoot their scroll by crossbow or get winched in a freight elevator by their lady, although their spatial distance is ridiculously small. This clearly exceeds spatial realism: as we can see in contrast to less ambivalent images, the Codex Manesse also highlights the spatial paradox in some of its images.



Fig. 1 – 2: Teleiopoiesis involving writing, architecture... (on the left: Leuthold von Seven; on the right: von Stamheim; Heidelberg, University Library, cpg 848, fol. 164v / fol. 261r)

My fourth point: teleiopoietic paradoxes govern not just the structure of teleiopoietic media (first-order perspective), but also practices and concepts of disciplines that govern their treatment (second-order perspective). From Hugh of St Victor to Erich Auerbach, from precepts for developing *memoria* in ancient

and medieval rhetoric⁶⁴ to Nietzsche, Derrida and Spivak: numerous strategies of speech, of reading and intellectual cultivation methodically rely on teleiopoiesis, or the production of closeness under the conditions of remoteness. A cultural history of teleiopoiesis becomes visible which – despite significant changes in media and semantics – has developed a remarkable *longue durée*.



Fig. 3–4: ... or more sophisticated technology (on the left: Herr Rubin; on the right: Kristan von Hamle; Heidelberg, University Library, cpg 848, fol. 169v / fol. 71v).

My fifth and last point may be articulated best in reply to universalist objections: Isn't medieval culture as a whole based upon the religious anthropology of human exile after the fall (as in Hugh) or upon the universal cosmology of correspondence, i. e. on premises that lend teleiopoietic aspects to all practices? And isn't all literature teleiopoiesis (going back to the primal figure of the messenger, as Jan Assmann⁶⁵ would have it)?⁶⁶ Isn't all communication based on paradoxes of distance and proximity?⁶⁷ I would argue that we should neither

64 For the spatialization of memory in medieval rhetoric, see Rolf Schönberger, "Der Raum der memoria," in *Raum und Raumvorstellungen im Mittelalter* (see note 38), 471–488; on the space of medieval topics, see Kann, "Ort der Argumente" (see note 38).

65 See Jan Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen*, 5th ed. (München: Beck, 2005), 22.

66 See Spivak, *Death of a Discipline* (see note 39), 34: "I am grateful to Jacques Derrida for the word [teleiopoiesis], which allows us to suspect that all poiesis may be a species of teleiopoiesis."

67 In particular, the concept of love from afar is often generalized: "Le lointain est un élément

overstretch the concepts of teleiopoetry/teleiopoiesis nor deny the differences of their textual (or other) representations. Mere contradictions or dialectics of distance and proximity do not necessarily have to take the form of paradoxes; conversely, not every paradox of desire is spatialized. Ancient versions of distant love appear less paradoxical than medieval teleiopoetry.⁶⁸ From a modern perspective, however, the media of medieval teleiopoets may seem more specialized (and their paradoxes therefore more easily visible) than the teleiopoiesis of modern global intimacy, standardized and made publicly available by Skype. If we acknowledge that teleiopoetry is rooted in cultural logic this does not imply that cultures of teleiopoiesis are invariant, that they display the same elements or that they keep their paradoxes constantly visible to the same degree.⁶⁹ This allows for different teleiopoietic phenomena and practices, of which literary communication is but a part – albeit a fascinating one.

V. Between Absence and Presence – Towards a Middle Ground

In conclusion, we may indeed expect new benefits from the study of teleiopoetry. With ever increasing distance both from the semiotics of deconstruction and from recent debates on ‘presence cultures’, we may begin to see that both projects equally misjudged medieval spatiality. While deconstruction over-emphasized the spatializing and temporalizing effects of signs, recent advocates of ‘presence cultures’ polemically narrowed our view to only the closest, if not immediate proximity in space. Theoretical desire for difference, however, like the desire for presence, evades the paradoxical spaces so forcefully articulated by the texts, images and practices examined above; or to recall Reinmar once more: “Si enlât mich von ir scheiden / noch bi ir *bestên*” (she neither lets me leave her nor stay near her, MF 161,21 – 2). Teleiopoetry offers an uncharted third option towards a literary theory of social space that could embrace this paradox – of embodied presences obsessed with the co-production of distance.

nécessaire de tout amour, aussi nécessaire que le contact – ces troubadours ont en somme senti la *selige Sehnsucht* de Goethe [...]” (Spitzer, *L’amour de lointain* [see note 9], 16); with an anthropological undertone, Worstbrock sees “die menschliche Spezies so anfällig” for love from afar. Worstbrock, “Fernliebe” (see note 16), 137.

68 See the comparative study by Patrizia Onesta, “L’amor de lonh de Jaufre Rudel e il longinquus amor di Properzio,” *Quaderni di filologia e lingue romanze* 12 (1997), 89 – 109; Söffner, “Liebe als Distanz” (see note 9), 69.

69 These differences become most evident in trans-cultural reception of specific models of teleiopoetry; see, for instance, Angelica Rieger, “*Amour de loin*. Über die Geschicke eines schicksalhaften Motivs: Amin Maalouf und Jaufre Rudel,” in *Raumerfahrung – Raumerfindung. Erzählte Welten des Mittelalters zwischen Orient und Okzident*, ed. Laetitia Rimpau and Peter Ihring (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2005), 291 – 312.

Christina Lechtermann

Topography, Tide and the (Re-)Turn of the Hero

Battleground and Combat Movement in Wolfram's *Willehalm*

The problem is how do you enter? Can it be something so simple as turning around, rolling over, entering a room, going around the corner? Each is an enormous change – facing north, south – things lined up a certain way rapidly perverted or left behind (put behind).¹

Knighthood, as depicted in Middle High German narrative literature, centres on movement. In addition to *hurt* and *tjost*, the collision and strike of the joust, it is the turn, which occupies the position of greatest importance whenever knights meet in combat. The term *turnieren* itself is derived from this motion. According to the Middle High German Dictionary, *turnei* ('tournament') is a game named after the turning of the horses, a term derived from the French *tour*, meaning 'turntable' or 'tour' in the sense of a circuit, originally from Latin *tornus*.² Descriptions of this movement, in which the combatants turn to face one another (*kehren*), change the courses of their destriers, and ride towards one another (*darwider*), are usually focused upon the opponents themselves. It is only incidentally that courtly literature occasionally reveals that in this instant space itself is reordered for each of the opponents – that with every twist and turn, back becomes front and left becomes right. The description of a joust generally alludes only very abstractly to the to-and-fro ("hin und her," "hier und da") of movement in space and does not expatiate upon it. Thus, it generally does not shape space – save for the occasional mention of scrunched flowers, bloody sand and raised dust. The location of a joust seems to be little more than set dressing, for while it may limit access to the field, symbolize its dimensions or indicate the goal of the fight, the landscape seldom affects the motion of combat itself. The

1 Bruce Nauman (1973), *Flayed Earth/Flayed Self* (Skin/Sink).

2 G.F. Benecke, W. Müller, F. Zarncke, *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, (Stuttgart: Hirzel, 1990), s.v. "Turnei": "ein ritterliches kampfspiel, von den wendungen mit den rossen so genannt [...] von fr. *tour* drehscheibe, umlauf, aus lat. *tornus* (gr. τόρνος) dreheisen" (a knightly game of combat, named after the turnarounds of the horses [...] from Fr. *tour* 'turntable', 'tour', from Lat. *tornus* (Gr. τόρνος) 'turning tool').

location in which combat occurs only gains relevance, so it seems, when it interrupts or impedes its progress – as when a gate suddenly obstructs Iwein’s pursuit of Ascalon, or bloodstains upon the snow attract Parzival’s attention, rendering him unfit to meet his opponents.

Although space is thus quite seldom described in detail, concepts of cultural anthropology like that of Hartmut Böhme and the terminology of *parcours* and *carte* developed by Michel de Certeau provide considerable help in illuminating the manner in which the ‘turn’ – that is, movement – and the topographic design of narrative place work together in constituting space. Both of these concepts rest upon a basis of space constituted by movement (*parcours, espace*) and space which (physically) resists movement by virtue of the manner in which it is formed (*carte, lieu*).

Space manifests itself as resistance because space is above all substantive, that is to say, it is oppressive and its passage necessitates exertion. [...] Space is thus spread out and is oriented primarily through movement. This spreading out and orienting of space emanates from the body itself. The body provides the initial structure of space – alongside the strain of the body’s own movement, and the awareness of the resistance and the weight of things unevenly filling the space. The body emanates, in the words of Michel de Certeau, not a *carte*, but rather a *parcours*: the latter means not only path, route, road or passage – and consequently a space of passage – but also a space of hindrance which must be overcome. It is the interaction of passage and hindrance, which generates the initial articulation of space [...].³

Michel de Certeau’s concept of *parcours*, derived from the idea of movement within urban symbolic space and closely related to narration, is also influenced by the assumptions of linguistic and cognitive science. Specifically, it is characterized by the belief that all verbal representations of spatial design function in two ways: first by describing a passage through space, and second by describing

3 Hartmut Böhme, “Raum – Bewegung – Grenzzustände der Sinne,” in *Möglichkeitsräume: Zur Performativität von sensorischer Wahrnehmung*, ed. Christina Lechtermann, Kristen Wagner, and Horst Wenzel (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 2007), 53 – 73, 60 – 1: “Raum zeigt sich als Widerstand. Denn Raum ist zuerst ein materieller, d.h. lastender und Anstrengung erfordernender Raum. [...] Raum wird also aufgespreitet und ausgerichtet primär durch Bewegung. Dieses Aufspreiten und Ausrichten des Raums geht vom eigenen Leibe aus. Er liefert die erste Raumlagerung – neben dem Kraftaufwand der Selbstbewegung und dem Gewahrwerden der den Raum ungleichmäßig füllenden Widerständigkeit und Schwere der Dinge. Der Leib emergiert, um mit Michel de Certeau zu sprechen keine *carte*, sondern einen *parcours*: letzteres meint nicht nur Laufweg, Strecke, Bahn, Durchfahrt, also einen Bahnungsraum, sondern auch einen Hindernis-Raum der überwunden werden muss. Beides, Bahnung und Hinderung spielt zusammen, um eine erste Artikulation des Raums zu erzeugen [...]” Michel de Certeau, *Die Kunst des Handelns* (Berlin: Merve-Verlag, 1988), esp. 179 – 238; de Certeau, “Pratiques d’espace,” in *L’invention du quotidien*, vol. 1 (Paris: Gallimard Folio, 1990), 139 – 91.

the arrangement of that space.⁴ *Parcours* and *carte*, *espace* and *lieu* may be defined in a manner reminiscent of the narratological debate surrounding the concepts of focalisation and perspective:

To the first belong the bird's eye view, the sense of sight, the distance from the world, fixed perspective, simultaneity; to the second, multi-sensorial perception, the ground perspective, incorporation into the world, the shifting viewpoint, sequentiality. Their relationship is thus not antagonistic; rather do they complement each other and merge. They function conjointly wherever space is represented and developed.⁵

Whether one understands the relationship between space constituted through movement and space arranged like a map in terms of strategy and tactics, as Michel de Certeau did,⁶ or sees them engaged in an antagonistic relationship, as Hartmut Böhme does, the terminology itself suggests a connection to fighting and battle. Understood in this way, space seems intimately connected to labour and hardship – and this holds true whenever bodies engage with space, not only when they do so in the midst of war and its *telos* of (spatial) conquest.⁷ This paper will explore the construction of narrative space within the context of *Willehalm's* battles, and consider the role played therein by the perceptual and constructional aspects connected to *parcours* and the constructional *carte*.

Space and its configuration, in addition to the relationship between space and time, has been a matter of interest in the study of Wolfram's *Willehalm* since the 1950s, when Joachim Bumke described the structure of the text as a climatic ordering of space-time; a "dynamic symmetry" in his words.⁸ In 1964, Hans-Hugo Steinhoff analysed the depiction of contemporaneous events in the por-

4 Jan Lazardzig and Kirsten Wagner, "Raumwahrnehmung und Wissensproduktion – Erkundungen im Interferenzbereich von Theorie und Praxis," in Lechtermann, *Möglichkeitsräume* (see note 3), 124–40, esp. 134–7.

5 Ibid., 135: "Zu dem einen gehören: Vogelperspektive, Gesichtssinn, Distanz zur Welt, fixer Standpunkt, Simultaneität; zum anderen hingegen multisensorische Wahrnehmung, Feldperspektive, Eingebundensein in die Welt, beweglicher Standpunkt, Sequentialität. Ihr Verhältnis ist dabei keines der Opposition, sie ergänzen sich gegenseitig und gehen ineinander über. Wo immer Raum erschlossen und repräsentiert wird, spielen sie zusammen."

6 de Certeau, *Die Kunst des Handelns* (see note 3), 85.

7 Böhme, "Raum – Bewegung" (see note 3), 61.

8 Joachim Bumke, *Wolframs 'Willehalm': Studien zur Epenstruktur und zum Heiligkeitsbegriff der ausgehenden Blütezeit* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1959), 92–8. For historiography and the current state of research see Joachim Bumke, *Wolfram von Eschenbach*, Sammlung Metzler 36, 8th rev. ed. (Stuttgart and Weimar: Metzler Verlag, 2004). For the topography of *Willehalm* see Elisabeth Schmid, "...der rechten franzoiser het er gern gehabet mêt: Zu einigen Scheidelinien auf der mentalen Landkarte zu Wolframs 'Willehalm'" in *Interregionalität der deutschen Literatur im europäischen Mittelalter*, ed. Hartmut Kugler (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995), 127–42; for movement and the constitution of narrative space in courtly literature in general and above all in Arthurian romance, see Uta Störmer-Caysa, *Grundstrukturen mittelalterlicher Erzählungen. Raum und Zeit im höfischen Roman* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007), esp. 34–63.

trayal of war in Middle High German literature, comparing above all the *Rolandlied* and the *Willehalm*. Concerning the latter, Steinhoff followed both Joachim Bumke and Bodo Mergell, who in 1936 called attention to a special *Zweischau*, a bifocal narrative perspective with one lens focused upon the Christian army and the other upon the heathen.⁹ Since the 1970s, *Willehalm* scholars have explored aspects of genre, social history, and mentality within the text's two campaigns. Studies such as those of Alois Wolf,¹⁰ Rose-Beate Schäfer-Maulbetsch,¹¹ Hans Henning Pütz,¹² Peter Czerwinski,¹³ and Carl Lofmark¹⁴ – the last of whom considered Wolfram's French model as well – have analyzed in great detail the specifics of Wolfram's battle depictions. In the late 1980s, Martin Jones¹⁵ examined the techniques and strategies of the *Willehalm* battles, revealing thereby a new arrangement both of campaign and narration established by Wolfram. Jones stressed an anti-heroic impetus in *Willehalm* running counter to the laws of heroic epic and the expectations of its audience. In contrast to the *Bataille d'Aliscans* and to its Middle High German predecessors he argued that *Willehalm* emphasizes mass combat over single combat. *Willehalm's* warfare, in

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- 9 Hans-Hugo Steinhoff, *Die Darstellung gleichzeitiger Geschehnisse im mittelhochdeutschen Epos: Studien zur Entfaltung der poetischen Technik vom Rolandlied bis zum 'Willehalm'* (München: Eidos, 1964), 19–43, 120–1; Bodo Mergell, *Wolfram von Eschenbach und seine französischen Quellen: Erster Teil: Wolframs Willehalm* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1936), 11. Cf. John Margetts, “ze bêder sit: Mengenbezeichnung oder visio mundi?” *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 23 (1985), 153–73.
- 10 Alois Wolf, “Kampfschilderungen in Wolframs *Willehalm*,” in Alois Wolf: *Erzählkunst des Mittelalters. Komparatistische Arbeiten zur französischen und deutschen Literatur*, ed. Martina Backes, Francis Gentry, and Eckart Conrad Lutz (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1999), 25–56 (first printed in: *Wolfram-Studien* 3, ed. Werner Schröder (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1975), 232–62).
- 11 Rose-Beate Schäfer-Maulbetsch, *Studien zur Entwicklung des mittelhochdeutschen Epos. Die Kampfschilderung in Kaiserchronik, Rolandlied, Alexanderlied, Eneide, Liet von Troye und Willehalm* (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1972), vol. 1, 111; vol. 2, 576.
- 12 Hans Henning Pütz, *Die Darstellung der Schlacht in mittelhochdeutschen Erzähldichtungen von 1150 bis um 1250* (Hamburg: Buske, 1971).
- 13 Peter Czerwinski, “Die Schlacht- und Turnierdarstellungen in den deutschen höfischen Romanen des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts: zur literarischen Verarbeitung militärischer Formen des adligen Gewaltmonopols” (Phd diss., Freie Universität Berlin, 1976). Czerwinski begins with an exemplary analysis of the battles in *Willehalm*, 11–34.
- 14 Carl Lofmark, *Rennewart in Wolfram's Willehalm: A Study of Wolfram von Eschenbach and his Sources* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972).
- 15 Martin H. Jones, “The Depiction of Battle in Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Willehalm*,” in *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood*, vol. 2, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill and Ruth Harvey (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1988), 44–69; Jones, “Die tjostiure uz vünf scharn (*'Willehalm'* 362,3),” in *Studien zu Wolfram von Eschenbach. Festschrift für Werner Schröder zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. Kurt Gärtner and Joachim Heinze (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1989), 429–41. For the siege not discussed here see: Jones, “Giburc at Orange: The Siege as Military Event and Literary Theme,” in *Wolfram's Willehalm: Fifteen Essays*, ed. Jones and Timothy McFarland (Rochester: Camden House, 2002), 97–120.

Martin Jones' view, is described in such realistic detail that the romance seems almost to take on the character of a tactical handbook set into verse.¹⁶ Alois Wolf showed how the tragic *Verflechtung* or 'interweaving' of the combatants is mirrored by the poetic techniques employed for the battle's depiction, and Christian Kiening explored the interweaving of narration and reflexion – two terms that became the *Leitmotiv* of his study – not only in the battles but indeed also throughout the text as a whole.¹⁷

All of these analyses, however diverse their subjects and methodologies, have two things in common: first, they distinguish the first campaign from the second, while focusing primarily upon the second. This choice is usually justified by an allusion to the seemingly greater independence of the second campaign in Wolfram's portrayal in relation to his French model. Here, so the widely accepted argument runs, his own "concerns and autonomy"¹⁸ are more easily discernable and his poetic program more clearly visible.¹⁹ Second, these analyses largely

16 Bumke, *Wolfram von Eschenbach* (see note 8), 325: "Willehalm almost [possesses] the character of a poetic handbook of tactical warfare." Cf. Jones, "The Depiction of Battle" (see note 15); Pütz, *Die Darstellung der Schlacht* (see note 12), 159.

17 Christian Kiening, *Reflexion – Narration: Wege zum 'Willehalm' Wolframs von Eschenbach* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1991).

18 Wolf, "Kampfschilderungen" (see note 10), 27, 31, see 41: "Bei der Schilderung der ersten Aliscans-Schlacht gibt auch Wolfram, seiner Vorlage folgend, eine im Grunde heldenepische Version der Kämpfe, indem er die Schlacht eben doch mittels der Einzelkämpfe hervorragender Krieger darstellerisch zu bewältigen sucht. Bei der Schilderung der zweiten Schlacht hat sich Wolfram, man möchte fast sagen, 'freigeschrieben' und seine andere Konzeption auch im Stofflichen zum Durchbruch gebracht." (Concerning the description of the first battle of Alischanz Wolfram, following his model, provides an essentially heroic rendering of the combats, seeking to manage the representation of the battle after all in terms of single combats between outstanding warriors. Concerning the description of the second battle, one might almost say that Wolfram 'liberated his writing' and allowed his own conception to break through into the material as well). See Lofmark, *Rennewart* (see note 14), 83–90 for a comparison of the battles in *Willehalm* and *Aliscans*.

19 Jones, "The Depiction" (see note 15), 53; John Greenfield, Lydia Miklausch, *Der 'Willehalm' Wolframs von Eschenbach*, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1998), 177: "A poetic program concerning the form of battle is clearly recognizable in this poem." Cf. Pütz, *Die Darstellung der Schlacht* (see note 12), 91–2, (see *ibid.*, note 5 for the sentiments of literary history), Pütz himself deals with the first battle only very briefly (151–8) compared to his analysis of the second (105–51) although he believes them to be very comparable: "Die beiden Schlachtschilderungen im 'Willehalm' sind nicht in allen stilistischen Merkmalen, wohl aber in den grundsätzlichen Gestaltungsmitteln einander ähnlich. Vor allem ist ein Kampfverlauf, der mit den Angriffswellen der Heiden einsetzt und in Einzelbegegnungen der Helden ausklingt, beiden Beschreibungen gemeinsam. [...] In ihrem Zeitgefüge, der Kette heidnischer Zuzüge, hebt sich die Erzählung jeweils deutlich von der Chanson und ihrer parataktischen Kompositionstechnik ab, während eine Beeinflussung Wolframs durch die Kampfberichte im Rolandslied wahrscheinlich ist." (The two battle descriptions in *Willehalm* do not resemble one another in all stylistic characteristics, but are indeed similar in the basic elements of their design. Above all, there is in both descriptions a progression of combat, which begins with the heathens' waves of attacking and which fades away in the solo encounters of the heroes.

ignore questions of space and its presentation – though the landmarks of Alischanz are quite commonly mentioned. Thus, for example, we find in Alois Wolf's study the remark that the 'realism' (*Wirklichkeitssin*) of Wolfram's battle depictions must be put into perspective: Indeed, he states that for all of Wolfram's efforts, the narrative struggles in its relation of contemporaneous incidents, and falters in its attempts to capture space. Viewed from this perspective, Wolfram's treatment of battle space appears sketchy at best when compared, for example, to the second half of the *Nibelungenlied*.²⁰ Concentrating mainly upon the first campaign, I suggest a somewhat complementary approach to the presentation of war in *Willehalm*,²¹ one that will consider the battlefield of Alischanz not merely as narrated space, but as the centre of Wolfram's narration itself.

I. The Topography of the Battlefield – the Coherence of Mapped Space

Wolfram's delineation of the first battle of Alischanz runs nearly 1500 verses (ca. 8,30–57); the roughly 800 verses following this detail, Willehalm's flight to Orange and the series of violent encounters which delay his advance. The fighting commences immediately after an encouraging speech by Willehalm, and begins with a perception of an 'uproar' (*galm*, 17,23–4). The approach of the battle's conclusion is announced by the narrator (50,10) after the wounded Vivianz has left the battlefield, and a mere fourteen Christians are left of the twenty thousand who entered the battle against overwhelming odds. A last short council is held among them, and at its end Willehalm leaves the battlefield for Orange. The first campaign proper is over, yet the fighting continues, for on his

[...] In their time structure, the chain of heathen incursions, the narration clearly distinguishes itself from the *chanson* and the para-tactical technique of its composition, while at the same time it is probable that Wolfram was influenced by the battle reports in the *Rolandslied*, *Ibid.*, 159), an exception to this concentration on the second battle is Hans-Wilhelm Schäfer, "Schlachtbeschreibungen im 'Willehalm' und im 'Jüngerer Titarel,'" in *La guerre au Moyen Âge. Réalité et fiction: Actes du Colloque du Centre d'études médiévales de l'Université de Picardie-Jules Verne, Héralien, 17–24 mai 1999*, ed. Danielle Buschinger (Amiens: Presses du Centre d'Études Médiévales de l'Université de Picardie-Jules Verne, 2002), 151–8, who sketches a rough comparison between the stylistic devices of Wolfram and Albrecht, focussing mainly upon the first battle.

20 Wolf, "Kampfschilderungen" (see note 10), 26.

21 Unless otherwise stated, all quotations are from Joachim Heinze's edition: Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Willehalm: nach der Handschrift 857 der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen; mittelhochdeutscher Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar* (Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1991). English translations are taken from: Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Willehalm*, trans. Marion E. Gibbs and Sidney M. Johnson (New York: Penguin Books, 1984).

flight back to Orange Willehalm encounters yet more heathen troops just arriving, and fights their leaders in single combat.

Upon the field of Alischanz, Willehalm's men, standing in a close phalanx, are beset by Terramer's army attacking in six waves. The last of these waves – led by the *Admirat* himself – proves decisive (39,9–11),²² and in its wake the cohesion of the Christian brigade is first weakened and then finally annihilated. In Wolfram's rendition, it is the disproportionate size of the opposing forces that is stressed – twenty thousand fighting against an uncountable number; Halzebier alone brings thirty thousand with him (18,12).²³ Three speeches made by Willehalm impart further structure to the battle (17,3–22; 39,9–30; 51,2–30), these mark its beginning, its end, and, in conceding defeat and praying for the souls of the Christian host, its turning point. In this manner, Wolfram not only marks the progression of the battle but also delineates it from Willehalm's flight to Orange.

Not only is the coherence of Wolfram's presentation disrupted by the prominent digression concerning Giburc's culpability concerning the suffering on both sides (30,21–31,4), but the cohesion of narration itself seems to be systematically destroyed by a narrator patching together scraps of action, divisive commentaries and asides to the audience, announcing facts without acquitting himself of his promises, and shifting perspectives. Accordingly, literary criticism has characterised the beginning of *Willehalm*, and at least the first part of the battle prior to the death of Vivianz, as “a fragmentation of narration” or even “a frustration of narration;” a stylistic device mirroring not only the entanglement of troops on the battlefield but also the senselessness of the massacre at hand.²⁴ As a result, the most cohesive element of the poem's first battle seems

22 Halzebier 17,26–18,25; Noupatri 22,6–29; Tybalt and Emereiz 28,23–29,6; Arofel with Terramer's sons 29,24–30,20; Josweiz 33,1–23; Terramer 34,4–35,19; Pütz, *Die Darstellung der Schlacht* (see note 12), 152–4; Jones, “Die tjostiure” (see note 15), 432.

23 Pütz, *Die Darstellung der Schlacht* (see note 12), 155: “Es kann sich kein ausgeglichener Kampf zwischen den ungleichwertigen Parteien entfalten, so daß die erste Schlachtphase weniger die Darstellung der Aktion, als der Macht und Größe der zuziehenden Verbände zum Inhalt hat: auf diese Weise will Wolfram die ungebrochene Tapferkeit der unterliegenden Christen vor Augen führen” (There can be no equal combat between unequal parties, and as a result the first phase of battle focuses less upon any representation of the action than it does upon the power and size of the coalescing forces: in this way Wolfram seeks to emphasize the unbroken valour of the defeated Christians).

24 Kiening, *Reflexion* (see note 17), 78: “Das erzählerische Prinzip ist charakteristisch: Sachverhalte ankündigend, aber nicht ausführend, bildet die *narratio* selbst die Verwirrung auf dem Schlachtfeld und die Fragwürdigkeit reflektierender Durchdringung ab [...] (The narrative principle is characteristic: announcing, but not explaining the situation, the *narratio* itself reproduces the confusion upon the battlefield and the dubiousness of reflexive penetration. [...]). Christopher Young, *Narrative Perspektiven in Wolframs 'Willehalm': Figuren, Erzähler, Sinngebungsprozeß* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2000), 140–9; Stephan Fuchs, *Hybride Helden: Gwigois und Willehalm: Beiträge zum Heldenbild und zur Poetik des Romans im frühen 13. Jahrhundert* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1997) 243–51; Bumke, *Wolfram von*

to be topographical. It is a unity of space – the battlefield of Alischanz itself – which grants cohesion to diversity.

Alischanz is situated on the waterside. Heinzle annotates the verse describing its environs, explaining that although the river bordering the plain is called *larkant*, one might best seek a historical counterpart in the estuary mouth of the Rhone.²⁵ In Wolfram's poem, in accordance with Alischanz's seaside location, the battle's narration begins at sea with the passage of the heathen army. In order to accomplish this, the narrator deliberately omits other events, like the abduction of Arabel and the subsequent warfare, which precede this encounter:

swaz dâ *enzwischen* bêdenthalp geschach,
 des gewîg ich von in beiden,
 den getouften und den heiden,
 und sage des heres überkêr.
 daz brâhte der künec *Terramêr*
 ûf dem mer z'einen stunden
 in kielen und in treimunden,
 in urssieren und in kocken.

(What happened in the meantime, what befell the Christians and the heathens, I shall not mention but shall tell instead of how the army crossed the sea. King Terramer brought it all at the same time across the water, in sailing ships and galleys [...], Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 8,26–9,3; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 21)

Once it has assembled, the vast heathen army covers *berge und tal* (hills and valleys, Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 10,12; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 22).²⁶ The usage of this formula indicates that the heathens were so numerous that they seemed to be everywhere, and seemingly does not allude to the actual landscape, which proves

Eschenbach (see note 8), 363–4: “Die Schlachtschilderung besteht aus Szenenfetzen ohne greifbaren Zusammenhang. Erst mit Vivanz' Todesweg kommt etwas mehr Kontingenz in die Erzählung. Der Sinn eines solchen zerstückelnden Erzählens ist nicht ohne weiteres klar. Soll etwa angedeutet werden, daß die Geschichte vom Tod Zehntausender eigentlich gar nicht erzählt werden kann, weil sie keinen ‘Sinn’ hat und sich daher in ihre einzelnen Bestandteile auflöst?” (The battle narration is composed of fragmented scenes without any concrete coherence. It is only when Vivianz rides to his death that somewhat more contingency enters the narrative. The meaning of this fragmented narration is, of course, unclear. Does it perhaps suggest that the tale of ten thousand deaths is virtually unnarratable, because it has no ‘meaning’ and thus disintegrates into its individual constituent?”).

25 Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Willehalm*, ed. Joachim Heinzle (see note 21), 855n10.17. The name *Alischanz* parallels that of a broad cemetery near Arles constructed in late antiquity.

26 “wie manec tûsent er gewan / der werden Sarrazine! / die man hiez die sîne, / die prüef ich alsus mit der zal: / er bedacte berge und tal, / dô man komen sach den werden / ûz den schiffen ûf die erden / durch den künec Tibalt [...]” (How many thousands of noble Saracens did he enlist! Of those who could be called his men let me indicate the number thus: when that noble King was seen coming ashore from the ships for the sake of King Tibalt, he covered hills and valleys with his men. Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 10,8–15; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 22).

to be a plain bordered not only by the sea but by steep mountains as well. Against this army, so large that it fills conceivable space completely, stands a Christian company, which, over the course of the battle, becomes so small that a hat could cover them.²⁷ The roughly sketched map of a plain near the shore, intersected by a river, persists like a very subtle *basso continuo* through the ever-changing configurations of *histoire* and *discours*.²⁸ Above all, through the repetition of the locale's name, "Alischanz," (10,17; 12,5/19; 13,5/20; 16,8) before the beginning of the battle, during the narration's focal shifts between heathens and Christians, from past to present, from heaven to earth, from woe to weal – Alischanz remains the pivotal point.

Being a broad field, Alischanz seems to offer a spatial structure suitable for mass combat and thus fulfils the exigencies of a battlefield (16,16; 38,1; 40,21; 53,12). Battlefields are determined by geographical preconditions, technical options and strategic array. Like Alischanz, they had to be quite large and rather flat, and thus allow for the manoeuvrability of armies.²⁹ Since the Roman invention of the cohort technique, it had been a requirement that they be readily comprehensible and offer a vantage point for the tactical gaze of a commander sending his patient and disciplined troops into battle.³⁰ A specific arrangement

27 "möht ein huot verdecken" (could be covered with a hat, Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 28,11; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 29).

28 "ze Alitschanz uf den plan" (on the field of Alischanz, Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 10,17; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 22); "uf daz velt Alischanz / kom manec niuwer schilt als ganz, / der dürkel wart von strîte" (On to the field of Alischanz came many a new shield, still quite intact but latter to be pierced with many holes in battle, Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 12,19–21; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 23); "uf des veldes breite" (16,16) (on the broad reaches of the field, Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 16,16; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 24).

29 Czerwinski, "Schlacht- und Turnierdarstellungen" (see note 13), 7–10, 64–72, 7: "Feudale Schlachten haben vorherrschend kollektiven Charakter. Die entwickelten Kampftechnik schwerer Panzerreiter besteht im geplanten und organisierten taktischen Einsatz geschlossener Einheiten, die bestimmte Manöver gleichzeitig und gemeinsam ausführen" (Feudal battles have a predominantly collective character. The developed battle technique of heavily armed riders consists of the planned and organized tactical deployment of compact units, which carry out certain manoeuvres simultaneously and collectively). Tactics of medieval warfare as mass combat have been described by Ferdinand Lot, *L'art militaire et les armées au moyen âge en Europe et dans le Proche-Orient*, 2 vols. (Paris: Payot, 1946); Jan Frans Verbruggen, *De Krijgskunst in West-Europa in de Middeleeuwen (IX e tot begin XIV e eeuw)* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1954).

30 Steffen Martus, Marina Münkler and Werner Röcke, introduction to *Schlachtfelder. Codierung von Gewalt im medialen Wandel*, ed. Steffen Martus, Marina Münkler and Werner Röcke (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2003), 7–18; Herfried Münkler, *Das Blickfeld des Helden. Zur Darstellung des Römischen Reiches in der germanisch-deutschen Heldendichtung* (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1983). Cf. Czerwinski, "Schlacht- und Turnierdarstellungen" (see note 13), 73: "Was den Platz der Anführer betrifft, müssen wir unterscheiden zwischen den Befehlshabern der taktischen Einheiten und dem Oberbefehlshaber des ganzen Heeres" (Where the position of the leader is concerned, we must distinguish between the com-

of fighting and telling, characteristic of the battles in *Willehalm*, and apparently representing an innovation in Middle High German narration, presents the battlefield of Alischanz from the perspective of an army commander, engaging the field as a map upon which strategic movement may be displayed.³¹ Hence, it is in a position of precisely the sort that we find the male protagonist in before the battle begins:

dô reit der schadehaften kêr
 der marcgrâve unverzaget.
 sus wart mir von im gesaget.
 wie er die heiden ligen sach?
 under manegem samîtes dach,
 under manegem pfelle lieht gemâl.

([...] when [the bold Margrave] took the road undauntedly in the direction of destruction. This is how he saw the heathens encamped, so I was told: under many a velvet roof, under many a beautifully coloured silk [...], Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 15,30–16,5; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 24)

“Under manegem samîtes dach” (under many a velvet roof, Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 16,3; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 24) indicates that *Willehalm* sees his foe from above. Yet the narrator, who knows even more, e.g. that the inside of the tents is covered with taffeta and that they are tied up with silk, immediately steps forward and adopts this perspective as his own, bringing to it not so much the knowledge of an omniscient author perceiving something, as that of one retelling a tale: conveying a little, knowing a lot, assuming a trifle.³²

This contrast seems linked to two different forms of spatial perception. Wolf writes, “the approach of the Heathen army, the beginning of hostilities, Vivianz’s death, *Willehalm*’s ride to Orange [...] are seen in Wolfram’s narrative perspective not only through the eagle eyes of the general – in opposition to the myopic but heroic perspective of the epic warrior,” before going on to demon-

manders of tactical units and the commander-in-chief of the entire army). Compare as well Schaefer, “Schlachtbeschreibungen” (see note 19), 151–8, esp. 153.

- 31 Jones, “Die tjusture” (see note 15), 429–30; Jones, “The Depiction” (see note 15), 51–3, Wolf, “Kampfschilderungen” (see note 10), 26–9; Nadia Abou-El-Ela, *Ôwê nu des mordes, der dâ geschach ze bêder sit: die Feindbildkonzeption in Wolframs ‘Willehalm’ und Usâmas ‘Kitâb al-i’tibâr’* (Würzburg: Ergon, 2001), 194–204. Concerning the second battle see Lofmark, *Rennewart* (see note 14), 85: “Wolfram observes the movements from the point of view of a general, who can see the battle as a whole and is interested in tactics, while the French poet sees them from the point of view of a soldier in the Christian army, whose involvement makes him one-sided and who sees only the significant individuals.” For the different terms Wolfram uses for the sub-divisions of the armies see Jones, “The Depiction” (see note 15), 54–5.
- 32 “innerhalb von zindâl / wâren ir hütte und ir gezelt, / ze Alitschanz ûf daz velt / geslagen mit seilen sidîn” (...and their huts and their tents were lined with taffeta and pitched with silken ropes on the field of Alischanz. Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 16,6–9; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 24).

strate the manner in which this “modern general’s perspective” (‘moderne Generalperspektive’) is blended with the commentary of a narrator deeply affected by the sorrow of his narrative.³³ Beyond this merging of reflexion and narration noted by Alois Wolf and Christian Kiening, and beyond the evidence of a more developed representation of strategic warfare and the “anti-heroic attitudes” discerned by Martin Jones,³⁴ the perspective employed by the narrator is also linked to a special kind of spatial perception: “as the general (‘Heerführer’) is defined in relation to the warriors at whose head he stands, so the field commander (‘Feldherr’) is defined by his relationship to the terrain in and upon which he deploys and moves his troops.”³⁵ Thus, in the case of the military leader, the general, space is composed from his *origo* by means of the directions that he chooses and the routes he takes. In the case of the captain, the field commander, space is constituted from a perspective overseeing a defined, flat area, resembling a map. While in the case of the former the centre of action is mobile and space constituted by motion, for the latter the topographical parameters are fixed and all action orientated in relation to them.

Descriptions of topographic space, as well as of direction established by movement, can be rendered through different forms of focalisation, or more correctly by zero focalisation in addition to different forms of focalisation. The narratological term ‘focalisation’, first proposed by Genette in 1972, has become a rather complex problem, and the extent of its applicability has been a source of considerable controversy since that time, and remains so today.³⁶ A crucial point

33 Wolf, “Kampfschilderungen” (see note 10), 27–8: “Nahen des Heidenheeres, Beginn der Feindseligkeiten, Vivianz’ Tod, Willehalms Ritt nach Orange [...] werden in der erzählerischen Perspektive Wolframs nicht nur mit dem Adlerauge des Generals anvisiert – in Opposition zur kurzsichtigen, aber heroischen Kriegerperspektive der Heldenepik.” Cf. Kiening, *Reflexion* (see note 17).

34 Jones, “The Depiction” (see note 15), 64: “It is clear that Wolfram had a keen appreciation of the tactics appropriate for cavalry deployed in a pitched battle, and also a good sense of the way that such an encounter could evolve. It seems likely that his contemporaries would have recognized in his account a more accurate reflection of the practicalities of such a battle than that to which other literary texts of the time could aspire.”

35 Herfried Münkler, *Das Blickfeld* (see note 30), 78–82, 78–9: “[...] definiert sich der Heerführer im Hinblick auf die Krieger, an deren Spitze er steht, so der Feldherr im Hinblick auf das Gelände, in dem er seine Truppen aufstellt und bewegt.” Münkler stresses the decay of ancient tactics in the Germanic tribes of the Migration period and sees them in contrast to the disciplined organisation of Roman forces. For the medieval reception of the antique art of war in the high Middle Ages, see Christopher Allmand, “The *De re militari* of Vegetius in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance,” in *Writing War: Medieval Literary Responses to Warfare* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2004), 15–28.

36 Gérard Genette, “Discours du récit,” *Figures III* (Paris: Seuil 1972), 67–282, esp. 203–24. See also: *The Living Handbook of Narratology*, s.v. “Focalization,” by Burkhard Niederhoff, accessed May 15, 2011, <http://hup.sub.uni-hamburg.de/lhn/index.php?title=Fokalisation&oldid=1006>; Burkhard Niederhoff, “Fokalisation und Perspektive: Ein Plädoyer für

in this debate centres upon the way in which the relationship between perception and denotation is to be understood. The debate may be briefly summarized through the presentation of two opposing positions. On the one hand, the correlation between perceiving and telling is understood in terms of equivalences. Christopher Young followed Mieke Bal who connected the concept of focalization even more closely to perception than Gerard Genette intended to, and described the narrator of *Willehalm* as an eyewitness:

Rather, one experiences a fundamentally different dynamic, a dynamic that draws the reader into a new sphere of experience. These passages express the account of one actually present, attempting to directly relay and comment upon the events occurring before his very eyes, but who consequently cannot always keep pace with the racing tempo of the action and must occasionally break off in order to catch his breath. In such passages, the narrator explicitly takes on the role of a reporting eyewitness. This perspective is extended through the entire work by means of the phrase ‘one saw...’ (*man sach*).³⁷

Young provides a tabular overview of constructions utilizing *man* coupled with a verb of perception (e. g. hearing and seeing), revealing their increased frequency in the description of battle and consequently in the first, eighth and ninth books (ibid.). Joachim Bumke reached similar conclusions, when he noted the way in which *Willehalm*’s narrator channels both the audience’s gaze and attention. Heinze also describes a “Darstellungsfigur der zwei Stimmen” (double-voiced mode of representation) artfully combining the narrator’s own perspective with those of his characters.³⁸ This position assumes an equation – at least meta-

friedliche Koexistenz,” *Poetica* 33 (2001), 1–21; for medieval literature the concepts of perspective, point-of-view and focalisation are discussed by Gert Hübner, *Erzählformen im höfischen Roman. Studien zur Fokalisierung im ‘Eneas’ im ‘Iwein’ und im ‘Tristan’* (Tübingen: Francke, 2003), 10–103.

37 “Vielmehr spürt man dabei eine grundsätzlich andere Dynamik, die den Leser in eine neue Sphäre der Erfahrung zieht. Diese Partien stellen die Aussagen eines Anwesenden dar, der die sich vor seinen Augen abspielenden Ereignisse unmittelbar zu kommentieren und zu übertragen versucht, dabei aber wegen des rasenden Tempos der Aktion nicht immer mithalten kann und gelegentlich abbrechen muß, um Atem zu holen. Der Erzähler begibt sich an solchen Stellen explizit in die Rolle des berichtenden Augenzeugen. Diese Perspektive zieht sich durch das ganze Werk mit Hilfe der *man-sach*-Konstruktion [...],” Christopher Young, *Narrative Perspektiven* (see note 24), 9–13, 128–33, quotation 129. See also p. 131: “The audience is meant to believe that it learns of the events as if first hand, but does so only through the carefully fashioned perception of the narrator” (Das Publikum soll glauben, daß es das Geschehen wie aus erster Hand erfährt, tut es aber nur aus der sorgfältig gestalteten Wahrnehmung des Erzählers). The terminology employed is that of Mieke Bal, *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), and Irene J.F. de Jong, *Narrators and Focalizers: The Presentation of the Story in the Iliad* (Amsterdam: Grüner, 1987).

38 Bumke, *Wolfram von Eschenbach* (see note 8), 370–3; Joachim Heinze, “Die Heiden als Kinder Gottes. Notiz zum Willehalm,” *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Li-*

phorically – of perception and reception (by reading or hearing), which in several cases may be influenced by literary accounts.³⁹

In contrast to this position, Gerd Hübner and Andreas Kablitz, the latter of whom has discussed the problem of focalization from a more theoretical perspective, stress an unmistakable contrast between perception and reception:

Genette's objection to this conclusion [i. e. that it seems more appropriate to describe many forms of traditional narration as non-focalized – Chr.L.] is reasonable, with a proviso. Because ultimately, this conclusion adheres to the assumption that the narrator 'sees' the events he relates in a manner analogous to the *personnages*, the distance from the 'seen' events can only be a significantly increased distance measured on the *personnages*, and it is thus that the narrator gains the 'overview' of a panoramic viewpoint. Yet such parallelization conceals the categorical difference between representation and perception. The narrator is here imagined far too much as a person, and thus similarly to the characters of the narrated tale, and far too little understood in his role as an intermediary who always presents this event to a reader as representation, and who becomes visible to the reader in this function only. For this representation, however, the 'distance' from its content is not one of spatial *lointain*, but it is rather the transformation of perception into information, which henceforth is subject to the conditions and potentials of the semiotic system of speech. Thus, if a narrative has non-focalized components, this does not result from a narrator outdoing the modalities of perception, but rather results from the categorical difference between representation and experience, concealed by a metaphorical conception of space.⁴⁰

teratur 123 (1994), 301–8, 306–8; cf. Schäfer, "Schlachtbeschreibungen" (see note 19), 153: "Der epische Erzähler ist mit dieser überschauenden Distanz von vorn herein versehen. Er vermag vom erhöhten Standpunkt epischer Allgegenwart und Allwissenheit aus jeden Raum zu erfassen. Freilich hat er mit der Qual des Kameramanns fertigzuwerden; wählt er die Totale, so verschwindet der Mensch im ameisengleichen Getümmel. Holt er einzelne oder Gruppen mit dem Teleobjektiv heraus, so geht der Überblick verloren" (From the beginning, the epic narrator is provided with this over-looking distance. He is able to apprehend every space from the elevated vantage point of epic omnipresence and omniscience. Certainly, he has to take on the agony of the choice of a cameraman; if he chooses the whole, the individual human disappears into ant-like turmoil. If, as with a telephoto lens, he focuses in upon individuals or groups, the overview is lost).

39 See, with a review of relevant previous works: Hübner, *Erzählformen* (see note 36), 28–31, 39.

40 Andreas Kablitz, "Erzählperspektive—Point of View—Focalisation: Überlegungen zu einem Konzept der Erzähltheorie," *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 98 (1988), 237–55, 253: "Dem Ergebnis von Genettes Einwand [i. e. dass es für viele Formen traditionellen Erzählens angemessener scheint sie als nicht fokalisiert zu beschreiben, Chr.L.] ist nur zuzustimmen, von der Begründung läßt sich dies allerdings nicht uneingeschränkt sagen. Denn letztlich ist hier an der Voraussetzung festgehalten, daß der Erzähler die Ereignisse seiner Darstellung in analoger Weise zu den *personnages* 'sieht', nur kann die Distanz gegenüber den 'gesehenen' Vorgängen eine gemessen an den *personnages* erheblich vergrößerte sein, und so vermag der Erzähler den 'Überblick' eines Panoramastandpunktes zu gewinnen, doch gerade eine solche Parallelisierung verdeckt die kategoriale Differenz zwischen Darstellung und Wahrnehmung. Der Erzähler ist hier viel zu sehr als eine Person

Hübner, also critical of such anthropomorphism of the narrative, attempted to adapt and modify the concepts and terminology of focalisation to the study of courtly romance, yet in doing so, rendered focalisation a mandatory element, and not merely a facultative strategy. Nevertheless, Hübner shows an interest in the markers that intuitively lead the recipients of Middle High German literature to speak of ‘seeing’ what is reported, even in the absence of any internal focaliser.⁴¹ To solve this problem, Hübner proposes that the ‘camera-eye’ form of focalisation (*vision du dehors* – ‘external focalisation’) be utilized as a means to characterize the representation of perceptions that cannot be ascribed to a specific figure, and suggests the applicability of a verb of perception as a criteria for establishing its presence in a given work. Hübner’s ‘camera-eye’ is an impersonal centre of consciousness or an ‘empty centre’ – a form of ‘figuralization’ aloof from any given figure.⁴² Like internal focalisation, it bridges the gap between narrator and figure. Thus, for Hübner, focalisation is a set of strategies for “concealing, obscuring and ultimately erasing the difference between narrator and character.”⁴³

Concerning the quotation with which my short narratological digression began, one has to state quite the opposite: the distinction between character and narrator is made explicit by questioning what the character saw immediately after stating what the narrator had been told.⁴⁴ The ‘narrator’s’ second-hand

gedacht, die deshalb den Gestalten der erzählten Geschichte ähnlich wird, und viel zu wenig in seiner Funktion als Vermittlungsinstanz eines Geschehens begriffen, die dieses Geschehen immer schon als ein Dargestelltes einem Leser präsentiert und für den Leser nur in dieser Funktion in Erscheinung tritt. Für die Darstellung aber ist die ‘Distanz’ gegenüber ihren Inhalten nicht diejenige eines räumlichen *lointain*, sondern die Transformation von Wahrnehmungsinhalten in eine Information, die nun den Bedingungen und Möglichkeiten des semiotischen Systems der Sprache unterliegt. Wenn es nicht fokalisierte Teile von Erzählungen gibt, so liegt dies nicht an einer Überbietung der Wahrnehmungsmodalitäten durch den Erzähler, sondern an einer kategorialen Differenz von Darstellung und Erlebnis, die durch eine metaphorische räumliche Begrifflichkeit überspielt wird.”

41 Hübner, *Erzählformen* (see note 36), 42.

42 Ibid., 43–4. The terminology here is derived from Monika Fludernik, *Towards a ‘Natural’ Narratology* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996) and Ann Banfield, “Describing the Unobserved: Events Grouped Around an Empty Centre,” in *The Linguistics of Writing: Arguments between Language and Literature*, ed. Nigel Fabb et al. (New York: Methuen, 1987), 265–85.

43 Hübner, *Erzählformen* (see note 36), 55, 63. This includes a special *origo* attached to the ‘empty centre’, often responsible for the organisation of the space being evoked. Ibid., 59–61.

44 Ibid., 32–3, 33: “Dies führt zu einer Hypothese, die man durch die Verhältnisse im höfischen Roman immer wieder gestützt sehen wird, wenn man sich von den modernen Mimesiskonventionen erst einmal gelöst hat: Eine interne Fokalisierung kann nur durch die narrative Funktion der Erzählerstimme (also die ‘Informationspolitik’) wirklich gebrochen werden” (This leads to a hypothesis, which one sees supported time and again by the circumstances in courtly romance, once one abandons the modern mimetic conventions: an internal focali-

knowledge is explicitly contrasted with the hero's perspective by placing the actions of retelling and seeing into opposition: "sus wart mir vom im gesaget. / wie er die heiden ligen sach?" (This [much] I have been told by him. [Do you want to know] how he saw the heathens encamped? Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 16,2–3; trans. Lechtermann). Shortly after this very brief moment of focalisation, in which the character's viewpoint becomes prominent, the 'I' regains the dominant position and again discusses problems of telling rather than of seeing.

innerhalb von zindâl
wâren ir hütte und ir gezelt,
ze Alitschanz ûf daz velt
geslagen mit seilen sîdîn.
ir banier gâben schîn
von tiuren vremdeclîchen sniten
nâch der gamânje siten,
der *steine, dâ sôlh wunder
an *wahsen* kan besunder.
mit zal *ich iuch bereite:
ûf des veldes breite
ir gezelt, swenne ich diu prûeuen wil,
man mac der sterne niht sô vil
gekiesen durh die lûfte.
niht anders ich mich gûfte,
wan des mich diu âventiure mant.⁴⁵

([...] and their huts and their tents were lined with taffeta and pitched with silken ropes on the field of Alischanz. Their banners gleamed in costly and exotic stripes, just as the agate does. So many of these banners shone forth that I cannot, alas, tell exactly how many there were. If I want to estimate the heathen tents on the broad reaches of the field, I shall have to tell you that one cannot discern so many stars in the sky. I am not exaggerating any more than my source directs me to. Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 16,6–21; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 24)

Before the combat even begins, this contrast ostentatiously signals a new stylistic development in the depiction of battle, one in which the perspective of the participating heroes – the internal focalisation of a narrator bound to an in-

sation can only be truly broken through the narrative function of the narrator's voice [thus, the 'information policy']).

45 Cf. Werner Schröder's edition, Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Willehalm* (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1989), 16, 13–9: "an wahs enkan besunder / mit zal ich iu bereiten. / uf des veldes breite / ir gezelt, swenne ich diu prûeuen wil, / man mac der sterne niht so vil / gekiesen durh die lûfte." (One could see so many that, without a wax tablet, I can not give you the number with full detail. On the breadth of the plain their tents, if I probe them: on cannot find so many stars through the heavens).

dividual character – is ‘not’ the dominant element. This aspect of Wolfram’s account becomes especially clear when one contrasts his text with the *Rolandslied*. In the latter, single combat remains the narrative focus, and the long sequence of these encounters is broken only by very brief episodes of mass combat. These encounters are frequently introduced by dialogues presented in the mode of direct speech, which often include information concerning the combatants’ perception. For example:⁴⁶ “ich hoere an dinem kôse / du bist ain zage vil boese” (I can tell from your wretched prattle that you are just a wretched coward, Konrad, *Rolandslied*, 4047–8; Thomas, *Rolandslied*, 56); “dîn botech unrainen, / dîn golt unt dîn gestaine / wirfe ich in die phüzze” (Your life is of no value... I’ll throw your gold, precious stones, and evil corpse in the mud, Konrad, *Rolandslied*, 4257–9; Thomas, *Rolandslied*, 58); “dîn schilt ist vil dünne. / vil waich ist dîn brünne. / dîn gestaint helm alsô lieht, / der ne mac dir hiute gefrumen niet.” (Your shield is thin, your armor soft, and that bright helmet which is adorned with gems cannot help you today, Konrad, *Rolandslied*, 4407–10; Thomas, *Rolandslied*, 59); “ich bin hie genouc nâhen bi” (I am right here, close by, Konrad, *Rolandslied*, 4626; Thomas, *Rolandslied*, 63). The narrative is here so closely bound to the perspective of the fighting Christians which governs *histoire* and *discours* (4443–57) that even their body temperature plays a role.⁴⁷ In sharp contrast to this, Wolfram accentuates the line of demarcation between speaking ‘about’ and fighting ‘within’ the battle.

Nevertheless, while it is true that the narrative sometimes assumes a quality of relayed report, it also seems on occasion to establish the ‘empty centre’ of Hübner’s conception, which seems to be ‘observing’ movement upon the field. As a battlefield, Alischanz offers a spatial structure suitable not only for fighting, but also for the narrative representation of mass combat as well. This is due largely to the presence of the river Larkant, which provides a landmark by which advance and retreat may be measured. The topographical map charted in *Wil-*

46 Konrad der Pfaffe, *Das Rolandslied des Pfaffen Konrad*, ed. Dieter Kartschoke (Stuttgart: Reclam 1996). English translations are drawn from *Priest Konrad’s Song of Roland*, trans. J. W. Thomas (Columbia: Camden House, 1994). Cf. Claudia Brinker von der Heyde, “Redeschlachten – Schlachttreden. Verbale Kriegsführung im Rolandslied” in *Krieg und Frieden – Auseinandersetzung und Versöhnung in Diskursen*, ed. Ulla Kleinberger-Günther, Annelies Häcki-Buhofer and Elisabeth Pirainen (Tübingen: Franke 2005), 1–25.

47 This does not mean that there is no such thing as an overview perspective generated by *discours* or focalised through a figure in the *Rolandslied* but rather that it seems to have a different function, as its use differs. See Pütz, *Darstellung der Schlacht* (see note 12), 28–62. Regarding the *Bataille d’Aliscans*: Jones, “Die tjosture” (see note 15), 433: “Against the impressive evience fort he importance of collective action on the field of battle – a feature which distinguishes Wolfram’s work from his source, ‘Aliscans’, as also from the bulk of batle narratives in medieval epic – we have to set the much less extensive evidence which the text provides of those who are so eager to distinguish themselves in battle that they deliberately detach themselves from their units.”

lethalm possesses a centre around which all movement turns – it is called the *strîte* ('battle'), and the Larkant runs beside it, thus marking (in its relationship to the former) the margins of the battlefield.

von rabines *poinderkeit*
durh den stoup inz gedrenge reit
gein strîte ieslichez her
der künege von über mer.⁴⁸

(In the cloud of dust produced by the swiftness of the charge, they came riding into the throng and towards the fray, the individual armies of the kings from across the sea. Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 32,19–22; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 31)

The business of war is reported in a way insinuating a vantage point which is at once capable of registering the archers “die dâ gestreuet lâgen” (who were encamped round about, Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 18,18; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 25), spotting their *wenken* and *vliehen* (18,22) ('feinting' and 'fleeing', Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 18,22; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 25), and observing the movement of battle from a panoramic point of view, naming locations and directions all the while:

hie der stich, dort der slac:
jener saz, dirre lac.
die ze bêder sîte dâ tohten
gein strîte, die wâren gevlohten
in ein ander sêre.
dô gienc ez an die rêre
von den orsen ûf die erden.

(Here a thrust, there a blow; this one kept his mount, the other fell to the ground. The fighting men on both sides were closely interwoven with one another, as knights began to fall to the ground from their horses [...], Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 19,3–9; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 25)

'Someone' able to differentiate *hie* and *dort* ('here' and 'there'), also makes note of Terramer's arrival upon the battlefield⁴⁹ and later witnesses his de-

48 “mit maneger rotte swancte / Terramêres bruoder her” (the brother of Terramer, moved forward with many bands of men; Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 29,24–5; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 30); “dô kom in kurzer vrîste / der künece von Amatiste, / der hôch gemuote Josweiz. / sîn her dâ bluotigen sweiz / vor den Franzoisaeren rêrte. / in den strît er dô kêrte / selbe vûmfte sîner genôze” (Then, very soon after, came the King of Amatiste, the high-spirited Josweiz, whose army was dripping blood and sweat in combat with the Frenchmen. He entered the battle with four of his companions; Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 33,1–7; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 31).

49 “Terramêr kom gevorn / ûf einem orse, hiez Brahâne. / dô kêrt er gein dem plâne: / er wolde den buhurt wenden. / er vorhte, ez sold in schenden, / ob er von strîte kêrte” ([...] Terramer came riding up on a horse called Brahane and headed towards the battlefield. He feared he would bring disgrace upon himself if he were to turn from the battle; Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 21,16–21; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 26).

parture.⁵⁰ This cannot be his opponent Myle, for there is little possibility that so marginal a figure, named only once prior to the fight (14,22) and once more following his death (21,24) would be established as focalisator here. Thus, it is an unknown ‘someone’ who seems to record how the wounded Vivianz is pushed aside “gein dem wazzer Larkant / von dem velde Alischans [...] in diu rivier” (Towards the River Larkant [...] into the water, Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 40,20–3; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 34), how nine of the French assist him “in Larkant uf einem vurt” and how they are carried back onto the plain of Alischanz and into the centre of turmoil.⁵¹ ‘Someone’ seems to survey those landmarks (*lieu*) that limit the movements of heathen and Christian alike and to mark their directions upon an imaginary map (*carte*), that grants coherence within narrative diversity.

Even if one agrees with Kablitz’s statement that an anthropomorphization of the narrator presents serious methodological problems, one cannot help but notice that *Willehalm* does – as one option among others – at least play with such a concept, evoking the field commander’s perspective, surveying the map of Alischanz whenever spatial elements come into play. This does not automatically lead to an anthropomorphic figure-like narrator, because obviously the narration pretends to depend on perception and hearsay at the same time. In any case, in the citation above, the contrast between telling and perceiving is accentuated by the allusion to *Willehalm*’s elevated vantage immediately preceding the beginning of the first battle. As will be discussed, this vantage recurs at the first battle’s conclusion and at the opening of the second. Yet, before we can discuss the way in which this contrast is handled during the depiction of battle itself, we must first touch upon a further dimension of spatial design, prominent in the first battle.

II. Mass of Bodies – Like the Sea

As a battlefield, Alischanz is a very special place – it is a heterotopia, a microcosm which reaches outwards to the very edges of the world where the Morning Star dawns, to distant lands populated by horny skinned folk, and to the chambers of courtly ladies, soon to grieve, in occident and orient alike – a microcosm which even links heaven and hell, devil and god. Alischanz, like most heterotopias, is

50 “Terramêr reit wider in / zuo dem grôzen ringe sin.” (Terramer himself rode back into the midst of his great ring of men; Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 21,29–30; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 26).

51 “in Larkant uf einem vurt / Franzoisaere wâren niune dô / und wol ze sehen ein ander vrô / der strit gedêch wider uf den plân” (At a ford in the Larkant there were now nine Frenchmen, and happy to see one another they were. The fighting moved back on to the plain; Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 42,26–9; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 35).

also a heterochronia.⁵² It continues the Babylonian confusion and evokes the battles of Eneas (with explicit allusion to Heinrich von Veldeke) and Troy. During the second encounter between heathens and Christians upon that plain, the battlefield is again and again compared to events, people and places that allude to the narrator's own time: the Nürnberger Sand, the Landgrave of Thuringia, the trees of the black forest, a tournament at Kitzingen and the Tübinger feud.⁵³

Yet there is more to a battlefield's spatiality than heterotopia and chartable landmarks. As the varied elements of the battlefield intertwine, it is not only the topography of the landscape but also the mass of assembled bodies which constitute space. It is thus that we read of the manner in which the troops spread over the field ("dô breite sich diu reise," 27,30), of how the Christians are dispersed⁵⁴ and how the broad plains of Alischanz become too narrow for Terramer's great army:

was Alischanz, daz velt, iht breit,
des bedorften wol die sîne:
gedranc si lêrte pîne.

(However broad the field of Alischanz may have been, his men certainly needed the space: the close quarters caused them trouble. Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 36,28–30; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 33.)

Like topographical space, the space constituted by bodies *en masse* allows the Christian combatants to blaze a trail. The word *Raum* ('space') is derived from *räumen und roden* (to plough and clear)⁵⁵, and the French hew a path through the heathen army accordingly, like woodsmen clearing a glen. Once with the Christian troops, Willehalm alone repeats the action and cleaves his own way through the heathens:

52 Michel Foucault, "Von anderen Räumen" in *Raumtheorie. Grundlagentexte aus Philosophie und Kulturwissenschaften*, ed. Jörg Dünne, Stephan Günzel (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2006), 317–27.

53 Concerning these associations compare: Friedrich Ohly, "Synagoge und Ecclesia. Typologisches in mittelalterlicher Dichtung," in *Schriften zur mittelalterlichen Bedeutungsforschung* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1977), 312–37, 333; Kathryn Starkey, *Reading the Medieval Book: Word, Image and Performance in Wolfram von Eschenbach's Willehalm* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004), 23–46, 23 states that the narrator describes "the battlefield of Alischanz as a microcosm of the multilingual world created by God's destruction of the Tower of Babel" and stresses that the diversity of languages and battle-cries lend an acoustic dimension to this aspect of the war in addition to the visual one generated by multiple descriptions of exotic appearance and precious costumes. Kiening, *Reflexion* (see note 17), 102–11.

54 Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 34,1–4; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 31.

55 Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, Bd. 14 (Leipzig: S. Hirzel 1893), 275–83; see Otto Friedrich Bollnow, *Mensch und Raum* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2004), 33–7.

dürkel wart dô der heiden schar:
 zegegen, wider, her und dar
 wart mit manlichen siten
 Halzebieres her durhriten,⁵⁶

(The ranks of the heathens were in shreds. Forward and back, this way and that, the army of Halzebier [...] was ridden through in courageous actions. Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 22,1–4; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 26)

gesáht ir ie den nebeltac,
 wie den *der liechte sunne sneit?
 als durhliuhteclich er streit
 mit der suoche nâch sînem künne.
 an der dicke er'z machte dünne
 und rûm ame gedrenge
 und wît, swenne er'z vant enge.

(Have you ever seen the sun cutting through a foggy day? He fought just as radiantly in search of his relatives. Wherever the fighting was thick, he made it thin, made room where there was a throng and whenever things closed in on him, he spread them out. Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 40,10–6; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 34)

The path paved here does more than pass through the space formed by heathen bodies but, according to the narrator himself, simultaneously becomes a road to heaven and hell: “ouch vrumte der getouften wíc / daz gein der helle manec stíc / wart en strâze wís gebant” (On the other hand, the fighting of the Christians cut many paths as wide as streets, straight to hell. Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 38,25–7; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 33–4).

In accordance with the panoramic view employed for the description of landmarks, the mass of heathen bodies is represented in metaphors of landscape: the heathens in their splendiferous attire first appear like a blooming meadow (20,4–9), but soon become a carpet for the horses (20,20–1). When Vivianz rages like a hailstorm, the landscape that he batters is formed of heathen men (46,29). The metaphor employed to characterise the battle itself is extended to its aftermath: a cultivated field which once bore joy now lies trampled and crushed, with only few seeds of happiness remaining for the defeated Frenchmen (8,15–21, see citation below). Thus the metaphoric *mise-on-abyme* of the

56 Once *Willehalm* has decided to return to Orange he, together with the fourteen surviving Christians, encounters the troops of Poufameiz von Ingulie: “hurtâ, wie dâ gehurtet wart! / an der engen durhvar / des marcgrâven geverten / mit scharfen swerten *her*ten / muosen rûm erhouwen. / die heiden mohten schouwen / ir schar dâ durhbrechen” (Charge! And how they did charge! The Margrave’s comrades had to hack room for themselves with their hard, sharp swords, there were such close quarters there. The heathens could see the Christian troop breaking through. Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 54,9–15; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 40) – For the following quotation cf. Marion E. Gibbs, “Wolfram’s Use of Imagery as an Aspect of his Narrative Art in ‘Willehalm,’” in Jones, *Wolfram’s Willehalm* (see note 15), 191–209, 201.

plot and the metaphoric constitution of narrative space are interwoven from the poem's very beginning.

It is a well-known characteristic of Wolfram's poetic style that multiple levels of metaphor work together, commenting upon or contradicting each other in order to produce or unsettle meaning or allow for comic effects.⁵⁷ Closely bound to the battlefield with its plains of joy and sorrow is the sea.⁵⁸ Just after the ending of the prologue, it is the sea, which becomes the poem's first image, following the same metaphor discussed above:

des meres vluot der ünde
 mac sô *manige* niht getragen,
 als liute drumbe wart erslagen.
 nû wuohs der sorge ir rîcheit,
 *dâ vreuden urbor ê was breit:
 diu wart it rehten jâmer *sniten
 alsô getret und überrahten:
 von gelücke si *daz* nâmen,
 hânt vreude noch den sâmen
 der Franzoiser künne.

(The waters of the sea cannot contain so many waves as there were people slain because of this. Now a rich crop of sorrow grew up in the field where joy had been cultivated previously. This joy was so flattened and trampled down in truly wretched fashion that it was sheer luck if the Frenchmen have even the seeds of it left today. Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 8,12–21; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 21)

Sea and land are joined in sorrow, but above all we learn that those who came from the sea, and whose replenishment arrives from the shore, are like the sea themselves. Again and again the heathens are compared to the sea, they are the

57 Cf., with a special emphasis on the representation of fighting and war, Elisabeth Schmid, "Schneidende Wörter in Wolframs 'Willehalm,'" in *Blütezeit. Festschrift für L. Peter Johnson zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Mark Chinca, Joachim Heinzle and Christopher Young (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2000), 349–62; Beatrice Trınca, *Parrieren und undersniden. Wolframs Poetik des Heterogenen* (Heidelberg: Winter, 2008), 134–54; Marion E. Gibbs, "Visual Moments in Wolfram's 'Willehalm,'" in *Medium aevum* 59 (1990), 120–8; Marion E. Gibbs, "Wolfram's Use of Imagery" (see note 56), 191–209; Nigel Harris, "Animal, Vegetable, Mineral: Some Observations on the Presentation and Function of Natural Phenomena in Wolfram's *Willehalm* and in the old French *Aliscans*," in Jones, *Wolfram's Willehalm* (see note 15), 211–29; Thomas Ehlen, "Kampf der Ritter und Krieg der Sterne – Zum *poinder*, der *sippe* und der *hant* Gottes in Wolframs *Willehalm*," in *Als das wissend die meister wol: Beiträge zur Darstellung und Vermittlung von Wissen in Fachliteratur und Dichtung des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Martin Ehrenfeuchter and Thomas Ehlen (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2000), 169–94; Kiening, *Reflexion* (see note 17), 130–49.

58 See Kiening, *Reflexion* (see note 17), 133–9, for instances and their discussion.

“vluot von Arabi und von Todjerne.”⁵⁹ The sea is not merely a landmark upon the map of Alischanz, for in battle the Christians seem to fight against an elemental surge: “diu heidenschaft in *über bort / an allen orten ündet in*” (The heathens swamped them on all sides. Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 32,2–3; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 31). Like the flood, its power spares nothing.⁶⁰

But it is not only the rhetorical figures which implicate this equivalence, but also the descriptive act itself. Alois Wolf points out how the list of heathen names swells like a wave over the course of the first battle: “[...] if one thinks of the few heathen names which appear at the beginning (8,25 ff.), and to which even more are added (26,16 ff., 28,26 ff.), giving yet more importance to the quantitatively swelling, many thirty-line segments encompassing heathen names; the names of the small heap of Christians may be dispensed within a single breath.”⁶¹ No wonder Willehalm flees to a steep mountain when he leaves the battlefield as the last survivor of the Christian army:

dô kêrt er gein den bergen.
den wilden getwergen
waere ze stigen dâ genuoc,
dâ in sîn ors über truoc.⁶²

(He turned towards the mountains. The wild dwarfs would have had trouble to climb where his horse took him. Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 57,23–6; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 41–2)

There, once again from an elevated viewpoint, the hero turns to gaze back upon the field. Here, the field commander’s perspective, which the narrator himself assumed and modified at the start of battle and which the *discours* occasionally created from an ‘empty centre’, is restored to the protagonist – and, just as the narrating ‘I’ was stressed before, this shift is also marked. What Willehalm sees is a landscape stirred up like the sea:

Er enthielt dem orse und sach sich wider,
dez lant ûf und nider.
nû was verdecket berc und tal

59 28,22–3. Cf. “vor ander heres vluot” (18,7) (of the mass of the army; Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 18,7; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 25).

60 “wir hoeren von *sînem* *punder sagen, / es möhten starke *velse wagen*, / dar zuo die wûrze und der walt” (We hear it said of his charge that it could shake huge cliffs, and plants and forests within them. Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 37,3–5; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 33).

61 Wolf, “Kampfschilderungen” (see note 10), 30: “[...] wenn man an die paar heidnischen Namen denkt, die zu Beginn erwähnt werden (8,25 ff.) und zu denen dann weitere hinzutreten (26,16 ff., 28,26 ff.), was diesen quantitativ anschwellenden, viele Dreißigerabschnitte umfassenden Heidennamen auch noch mehr Gewicht verleiht; die Namen des Christenhäufchens können in einem Atemzug erledigt werden, [...]”

62 Marianne Wynn sees a hidden joke in this passage, “Der Witz in der Tragik. Das erste Buch von Wolframs ‘Willehalm’ und sein Schluß,” *Wolfram-Studien* 7 (1982), 117–31.

und Alischanz über al
 mit heidenscheffe *unbezalt,
 als ob ûf einen grôzen walt
 niht wan banier blüeten.
 die rotte ein ander müeten:
 die kômen her und dar gehurt
 ûf acker und in mangem vurt,
 dà Larkant, daz wazzer, vlôz.

(He reined his horse and gazed back, up and down across the land. Now valley and mountain and the whole of the plain of Alischanz were covered with countless heathens, as though in a huge forest there were nothing blossoming but banners. Bands of men were getting in each other's way, as they rushed hither and thither on the fields and at many fords on the River Larkant. Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 58,1 – 11; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 43)

This gaze and this perspective are picked up once more by Willehalm immediately prior to the second battle, and once again the narrator employs it to accentuate contrast.⁶³ Yet here this gaze is closely connected to a new impetus in *discours*, one that binds the narration more closely to the hero's perspective, allowing the narrator (and with him the recipient audience) to recede for a while.⁶⁴ This view of the field of Alischanz from above connects the first battle with the second, as does the repeated imagery of flood and sea: it is the continuity of the tide and not merely the contingency of the same seaside locale,

63 “*der marcgrâve was sô nâhe kômen: / ûf einen berc het er genomen / sîner helfaere vil durh schouwen. / ane halden und an ouwen / hiez er stille haben sîn her. / zwischen dem gebirge und dem mer / bi Larkant lac Terramêr, / der kreftige, von arde hêr / und von sîner hôhen rîcheit. / ûf Alischanz, dem velde breit, / sîne kraft man mohte erkennen. /solt ich's iu alle nennen / die mit grôzem here dà lâgen / und sunder ringe pflâgen, / liute und lant mit namen zil, / sô het ich arbeite vil*” (The Margrave had come so close to the enemy that he had taken many of his supporters up on to a mountain to have a look. He had ordered the army to halt on the slopes and on the meadows. Terramer, mighty by virtue of his lineage and his immense wealth, lay encamped by the river Larkant between the mountains and the sea. His forces could be seen spread over the broad field of Alischanz. If I were to name for you all those who were camped there with larges forces in their own individual camps and if I included names *and* countries, I would have my work cut out for me; Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 319,5 – 20; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 161).

64 Kiening, *Reflexion* (see note 17), 82: “Der Weg Willehalms in die Berge setzt einen Einschnitt. Er führt nicht nur aus dem Schlachtgetümmel heraus zu einem Panoramablick über die völlig mit heidnischen Kriegern bedeckte Ebene, er bringt auch eine neue Szenenregie und Darstellungstechnik ins Bild. Eine Hörer- oder Leserschaft ist für die nächsten knapp fünfhundert Verse überhaupt nicht präsent, und auch der Erzähler tritt nur sehr zurückhaltend in Erscheinung” (Willehalm's path into the mountains creates a caesura. He not only travels up out of the turmoil of battle and to a panoramic vantage point above the level entirely covered with heathen warriors, he also introduces a new form of direction and representational technique to the picture. A listening or reading audience is wholly absent for nearly five hundred verses after this point, and even the narrator himself only hesitantly makes an appearance).

which seems to establish the battles' coherence in *Willehalm*. This tide will overwhelm everything (392,6–9) – like the Rhine and the Rhone when dammed (404,22–7) – until the flood of heathens, which in the second battle bear fish and ships upon their arms as if to emphasize their true nature, is pushed back, over the Larkant, to the sea and onto their ships, forced at last to leave *römische[] erde* ('Roman soil', Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 443,28; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 215) behind.⁶⁵

III. The (Re-)Turn of the Hero

The heterotopic Alischanz is presented (among other things) as a battlefield with regard to its specific spatial formation. It is constructed from elements of topography, centripetal movement and moments of panoramic sight, incorporating not only the field itself but also space formed by bodies in movement. The description is characterised by the military technique of mass combat. Yet of course, in a poem, the matter is somewhat more complex, and this holds true not only concerning a very complex *diegesis* allowing for multiple perspectives and shifts from 'long-shot' to 'close-up', from a narrator pretending to witness the events to a narrator pretending to be a reflexive and frequently digressive author,⁶⁶ but also concerning the constitution of space as well.

65 Pütz shows, how the flight of the heathen army, which runs for nearly a thousand verses and thus two-fifth of the second battle, is structurally parallel to their echelon in the first: Pütz, *Die Darstellung der Schlacht* (see note 12), 138–43. Cf. Lofmark, *Rennewart* (see note 14), 85: "These movements [i. e. movements of flight and attack in the second battle] are antithetical to those of the first battle: in the first battle a period in which the Christians hold the Larkant is followed by their retreat and annihilation [...], in the second battle a period when the Christians retreat and cross the Larkant is followed by their steady advance as far as the Saracen ships." Abou-El-Ela, *Ôwê nu des mordes* (see note 31), 72–89, 125, stresses the symmetry of the *Willehalm* by pointing at the consistent distribution of portraits accentuation each battle.

66 Kiening, *Reflexion* (see note 17), 82–4, 68: "Auch mit dem Schlachtbeginn ist zunächst noch keine Erzähl- oder Handlungskontinuität erreicht, die Probleme der Darstellung werden nun im Angesicht von Massenszenen und blitzschnellen Einzelkämpfen, im häufigen Perspektivwechsel zwischen den beiden Lagern noch virulenter; szenische Präsentation und Reflexion folgen rasch, oft unvermittelt aufeinander. Erst mit dem Neueinsatz nach Kampfpausen [...] und einem schon dezimierten Personal gelangt die Erzählung langsam in ruhigere Bahnen und folgt kontinuierlicher den Hauptpersonen des ersten Kampfes: Vivianz und Willehalm" (Even at the commencement of battle there is at first still no continuity of narrative or plot, the problems of representation become still more virulent in the face of scenes describing massed fighting and lightning fast single combats, and in the frequent changes of perspective between the two positions; the staged presentation and reflexion follow one another quickly and often abruptly. It is only after a new deployment following a pause of battle [...] and with an already decimated company that the narration slowly steadies and begins to follow the primary actors of the first battle continuously: namely, Vivianz and Willehalm). Cf. Pütz, *Die Darstellung der Schlacht* (see note 12), 130–5, who

It has been argued (as mentioned above) that a recognizable narrative pattern of mass-combat is discernable only in the second campaign, for only there are both armies suitably organized and the presentation of single combat reduced to but a few highlights.⁶⁷ Indeed, the first campaign describes only the heathen army loosely arranged into cohorts, a formation which in the second campaign is ascribed to both armies – yet where the cadence of narration and the handling of space is concerned, both campaigns are fashioned alike. What might occasionally sound like the depiction of heroic single combat is simply the result of the fact that so few members of the Christian army remain,⁶⁸ and this holds true for the first campaign in general.⁶⁹ Although the narrator gives their initial number as 20,000 (15,24) the description of the battle focuses almost entirely upon that episode in which their number has already been reduced to but a “handful” (*hant vol*, Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 13,9; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 23). In both encounters mass combat remains the dominant concept of depiction, and while single combat does occur in the first battle (as indeed in the second as well), it is merely mentioned and scarcely embellished. When, for example, Pinel is killed by Willhalm or Myle by Terramer, when Willehalm kills many or Vivianz – already wounded himself – kills seven kings, when Halzebier captures eight Christians and kills Vivianz, we are only told ‘that’ these things happen; concerning ‘how’, the narrator remains silent. Even the fights that Willehalm must endure alone, when all his company has been killed in action, offer little more than a death toll.

speaks of a “crooked style” (‘krumben Stil’) and suggests extending the term “Simultan-technik” (‘simultaneous presentation technique’), which Max Wehrli coined for *Parzival* (“Wolfram von Eschenbach: Erzählstil und Sinn seines Parzival,” *Deutscherunterricht* 6, no 5 (1954), 17–40), to *Willehalm* as well.

67 Greenfield, Miklautsch, *Der ‘Willehalm’* (see note 19), 176–7 – in contrast: Wolf, “Kampfschilderungen” (see note 10), 250.

68 Czerwinski, “Schlacht- und Turnierdarstellungen” (see note 13), 19–20: “In der ersten kleinen Schlacht greifen die Heidenscharen in der Reihenfolge ihrer Aufstellung das Christenheer auch an. Dabei gibt es für die Untersuchung der taktischen Bewegungen eine Schwierigkeit: Wolfram betont immer wieder die ungeheueren zahlenmäßige Überlegenheit der arabischen Truppen. [...] Im Gegensatz dazu erscheint das Christen-Aufgebot so klein, daß es nur in seiner Gesamtheit geschildert werden kann” (In the first small battle the heathen troops also attack the Christian army in the sequence of their deployment. As a result, a difficulty arises in the appraisal of tactical movement: again and again Wolfram stresses the enormous numerical superiority of the Arab troops. [...] In opposition to which the Christian array seems so small that it can only be depicted in its entirety).

69 Jones, “Die tjesture” (see note 15), 432: “If we turn to consider the battle accounts in ‘Willehalm’ [...], we may remark first of all that it provides plentiful evidence for the view that the effectiveness of the knight was seen to reside in his forming part of a unit rather than in his capacity to fight as an individual. In both the battles at Alischanz the emphasis lies for much of the time on the concerted actions of the large battalions of which the two armies are composed.”

Just like Wolfram's new method of depicting battle, his accentuation of the heathens' courtliness and his interweaving of narration and reflection transgresses the conventions of his genre, the conception of space is modified: it abandons the "close vision" of the heroic. The narrative conventions of single combat are pared back to such an extreme that only the results are enumerated. The warrior's perspective is to a large extent neglected. The narrator seems to step in (even in an aesthetic sense)⁷⁰ from a distance to describe the war – only to render the commentaries more disturbing. The campaign could not be further from an anonymous crusade, for all upon the field are kin to one another and the battle line – in Alois Wolf's words – runs right through their hearts.⁷¹ Therefore, there are indeed several significant points at which the space of battle is perceived through the focal point of the combatants – at which *carte* becomes *parcours*. These points are even more noticeable because they are silhouetted

70 Bumke, *Wolfram von Eschenbach* (see note 8), 325: "Viele Einzelheiten der Kriegstechnik können auch als Mittel, den Krieg zu inszenieren, gelesen werden. Je mehr Details genannt werden, die die Kriegführung regeln, um so mehr wird der Krieg zum Ritual. Man kann im 'Willehalm' eine Ästhetisierung des Krieges beobachten, wobei die Ästhetik das Hässliche und Grausame nicht ausschließt" (The many tactical details may also be read as a means of staging war itself. The more details which are enumerated concerning the regulation of warfare, the more war comes to resemble a ritual. It is possible to observe in *Willehalm* an aestheticization of war, one in which the aesthetic does not exclude the ugly and the gruesome).

71 Wolf, "Kampfschilderungen" (see note 10), 27. Tobias Bulang and Beate Kellner, "Wolframs *Willehalm*: Poetische Verfahren als Reflexion des Heidenkriegs," in *Literarische und religiöse Kommunikation in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. Peter Strohschneider (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009), 123–60 expound the thesis that in *Willehalm* the problem of war and crusade cannot be reduced to a univocal appeal (ibid., 126). Bulang and Kellner are mainly concentrating on the paradigmatic relations of figures and episodes. Following Wolf's opinion that a sequence of single combats is presented within the reports of mass combat, they emphasize the connections between diverse motivational constellations (*minne*, crusade, revenge). Yet Bulang and Kellner do not differentiate between the relatively elaborate description of the *tjost* between Noupatris and Vivianz and the briefly noted combat between Willehalm and Pinel, Terramer and Myle (Bulang, Kellner, 129–36), which establish the rhythm of narration on the syntagmatic axis. The combat between Willehalm and Arofel or Willehalm and Thesereiz – at least in my opinion – occur after the first battle and are thus part of a different syntagmatic context. In short: though I share their view that the *Leitdifferenz* between the heathens and the Christians is destabilized by paradigmatic recombination and analogy (134–5), I would not go as far as to say that this is established by a sequence of single combats 'within' the battle descriptions, but rather within a syntagma twice linking battle and flight – for the reason that the "sequence of single combat" is primarily a part of the episode (and this is true concerning the second battle as well as the first) in which Willehalm escapes or the heathens head for their ships. Concerning the ambiguity of the construction of meaning in *Willehalm* cf. Annette Gerok-Reiter, "Die Hölle auf Erden: Überlegungen zum Verhältnis von Weltlichem und Geistlichem in Wolframs *Willehalm*," in *Geistliches in weltlicher und Weltliches in geistlicher Literatur des Mittelalters*, ed. Christoph Huber, Burghart Wachinger, and Hans-Joachim Ziegeler, (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2000), 171–94.

against a mode of narration which tends, as just described, to the opposite. It is these moments which mark significant turning points, and which serve to recapture the contrast of fighting and telling so ostentatiously established before the battle.

With the exception of the commander's perspective, taken from and later restored to Willehalm, it is Vivianz whose perspective becomes such a focal point:

der junge und der wise
sach gein im stolzlîche komen,
von des tjust wart *genomen
jâmer unde herzen nôt.

(The young but prudent man saw coming towards him proudly one whose jousting had brought about grief and heartache. Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 23,10–3; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 27)

The narrator establishes a close up, focusing upon the young knight and his combatant Noupatris, introducing the latter by telling about the company he is leading.⁷² Their joust, which leaves Vivianz mortally wounded, is the only single combat reported at any length within the first battle. The perspective of the Christian warrior is taken up again later, when Vivianz is pushed aside to the river Larkant and sees the cohort of Garhant riding toward him.⁷³ While in the *Bataille d' Aliscans*, Vivianz flees "the length of a lance" from the superior force,⁷⁴ Wolfram emphasizes that he *ungerne vloch* (refused to flee, Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 41,12; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 35) and instead allows the youth to cleave a path through the heathens as though driven by a storm. The desire to turn and flee is in *Willehalm* handed over to Bertram – and the point of focalisation switches accordingly. Bertram observes how Vivianz is pushed towards the Larkant, but as he perceives the painful sounds, he yearns to turn away. Nevertheless, once he hears *Monjoie* – the Christian battle cry – and sees Vivianz fighting, he rallies himself and attacks the heathens. The narrator reflects upon

72 "dô kom gervowetiu ritterschaft / an der selben zite / gevaren gein dem strîte / mit maniger sunder storje grôz. / die vuort ein man, [...] gein dem kom Vivianz" (Knights who had been resting came riding back to join the battle with many large units. Leading them was a man [...] riding towards him came Vivianz; Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 22,10–31; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 27).

73 "Vivians hôrt einen dôz / und sach daz her Gorhandes komen / von den sôlh stimme *was vernomen, / es môhte biben des meres wâc" (Vivianz heard a loud noise and saw Gorhant's army coming. Their voices produced such a sound as to make the waves in the sea shake; Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 41,4–7; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 34–5).

74 John Greenfield, *Vivianz: An Analysis of the Martyr-Figure in Wolfram von Eschenbachs 'Willehalm' and in His Old French Source Material* (Erlangen: Palm and Enke, 1991), 118–30; compare with manuscript M (Franco-Italian version); cf. Lofmark (see note 14), 161.

Bertram's decision to turn to battle and not to flight.⁷⁵ When Vivianz – after the struggle with Halzebier – is finally led away by an angel to die upon the banks of the Larkant, the *locus amoenus* is presented for a short moment through his eyes:

der junge helt vor got erkant
reit gein dem wazzer Larkant.
niht der sêle veige,
er reit nâch des *engels* zeige
unkreftic von dem *plâne*
gein *der *funtâne*.
ander boume und albernach
und eine linden er dâ sach.
durh den schate kêrt er dar.

(The young hero, recognized in the eyes of God, rode towards the River Larkant. He whose soul was not doomed to die rode exhausted from the battlefield towards a spring, following the directions of the angels. He saw a poplar grove, a linden and other trees there and turned to them for their shade. Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 49,1–9; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 38)

There is not much more for him to see, just as Willehalm's last glance upon the landscape and battlefield reveals no Christian army left for him to reorder and survey.

Within the comprehensive movement of battle, surveyed and orientated by topographical space, there are thus four moments where focalization is bound to specific characters. They all share – and not by accident, I believe – an aspect of potential rearrangement, a shift in the direction of movement on the part of the character concerned. They mark moments of twisting and (re-)turn.

But twist and turn gain their greatest prominence when Vivianz is wounded: the turning of Noupatris' cohort towards battle is marked as antagonistic movement (“gein dem strîte” – to join the battle, Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 22,12; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 27) and the frontal position which he and Vivianz occupy is stressed immediately prior to the lance thrust (“gein dem kom Vivianz” – towards him came Vivianz, Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 22,30; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 27). In this moment – as already discussed – the Christian youth sees Noupatris turn towards him (“gein in stolzlîche komen” – coming towards him, Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 23,11; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 27) and the heathen horse darts again “gein den jungen Franzois” (towards the young Frenchman, Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 24,8–9; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 27). At the crucial moment, it is the body of the young hero itself which becomes the axis of rotation, and suddenly what was at the sharp end of the cohort, in every sense of the meaning, is now seen behind the

75 Cf. Kiening, *Reflexion* (see note 17), 77–9.

Christian's back. Thus, the narrative perspective gains a view very rarely conceded in the presentation of the courtly knight⁷⁶:

Amor, der minnen got,
und des bühse und sîn gêr
heten durvartlichen kêr
in der baniere
durh in genomen schiere,
daz man si rückeshalp sach

(Amor, the god of Love, and his salve-jar and his spear on the banner of Noupatris had taken a penetrating route straight through him and could be seen protruding from his back..., Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 25,14 – 19; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 28)

While directional change ('kêr') is here merely implied by the description of the opponents' movement, it becomes explicit when the possibility of flight is discussed – in Wolfram's version of the tale, an unthinkable option for Vivianz and only a passing fancy even for Bertram. The instant in which the latter decides not to flee is marked by the narrator, who now claims to have no idea as to the warrior's reasoning,⁷⁷ and thus belies his omniscience concerning the sorrow, anger, eagerness, and pain of the characters even as he contradicts his former statement that Bertram refrained from flight for fear of disgracing the French. This marked distance between narrator and character established here for an instant by contradictory annotation, is coupled with a brief shift of focalisation:

werlichen kom geriten
der pfallenzgräve Bertram
dâ er den sùwern dôn vernam,
er wolde wider wenden,
wan er vorhte, ez solde schenden
al die Franzoise.
dô gehôrte *der* kurtoise

76 For example, to the best of my knowledge, Wolfram only mentions the 'back' of a figure in *Parzival* in connection with Cunneware and Cundrie (151, 20 und 27; 313, 13 und 20); in *Willehalm*, this occurs only during the episode referred to and when Schetis kills the fleeing Poydwiz (412,29). That he turns his back on his opponent is, however, the effect of an unlucky incident, which renders his horse uncontrollable. Cf. Manfred Kern, "Amors schneidende Lanze: zur Bildallegorie in 'Willehalm' 25,14 ff., ihrer Lesbarkeit und ihrer Rezeption im späthöfischen Roman," *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 73 (1999), 567 – 91.

77 "seht, ob in des mande / Munschoi div krîe! / oder *twanc's* in amie? / oder müet in Vivianses nôt? / oder ob sîn manheit gebôt / daz er pris hât bejaget? / hât *mir's* diu âventiure gesaget, / sô sag ich iu, durh wen er leit / daz er gein Gorhanden streit / und Viviansen löste dan" (Did the cry 'Monjoie!' urge him to do that? Or did a lady's love compel him? Or did Vivianz' predicament move him? Or did his manly nature order him to seek reknown there? If my source has told me, then I shall tell you on whose account he endured fighting with Gorhant and rescued Vivianz; Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 42,1 – 11; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 35).

‘Monschoi’ kreieren
 in den rivieren
 und sach ouch Viviansen streben
 nâch tôde, als er niht wold leben.

(The Count Palatine Berhtram came riding up, ready for combat, to where he heard that frightful noise. He wanted to turn back and would have done so, if he had not feared to disgrace all the French thereby. Then that chivalrous knight heard someone crying ‘Monjoie!’ from the direction of the river and saw Vivianz striving for death, as if he wanted to die. Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 41,20–30; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 35)

When the second turn takes Vivianz away from the battlefield’s centre towards the river Larkant, he no longer perceives Alischanz as a precarious battle site but rather as a *locus amoenus*. This second turn is a consequence of the “durhvar-tlichen kêr” (penetrating route, Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 25,16; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 28) as well as a mirror of the discarded possibility of flight, earlier considered by Bertram upon the very same spot, namely upon the banks of the Larkant.⁷⁸ Once again the perspective of the character concerned comes forward for an instant:

ander boume und albernach
 und eine linden er dâ sach.
 durh den schate kêrt er dar. (49, 7–9)

(He saw a poplar grove, a linden and other trees there and turned to them for their shade. Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 49,7–9; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 38)

However complex this symbolism – a river reminiscent of the Styx, a coat of arms reminiscent of Eneas and Lavinia, a *funtane* which evokes the *fons vitae* – the angel directing the wounded hero indicates clearly enough which direction this turn will lead.

Yet it is still another turn that will eventually prove decisive for the campaign at Alischanz, namely that turn which sees Willehalm leaving the battleground, and with this turn focalisation once more shifts to the active character. Gazing down from above, (57,23–6) the warrior’s last look at the battlefield – “Er enthielt dem orse und sach sich wider” (He reined his horse and gazed back, Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 58,1; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 43) – seems complementary to Vivianz’s own final gaze: the one looking at a quiet and beautiful *locus amoenus* upon the banks of a river and near a *funtane*, the other one looking down from a steep mountain and onto a field blooming with heathen troops, where “die rotte ein ander müeten : / die kômen her und dar gehurt” (Bands of men were getting

78 “*der junge helt vor got erkant / reit gein dem wazzer Larkant. / niht der sêle veige, / er reit nâch des engels zeige / unkreftic von dem plâne / gein *der funtâne*” (The young hero, recognized in the eyes of God, rode towards the River Larkant. He whose soul was not doomed to die rode exhausted from the battlefield towards a spring, following the directions of the angels; Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 49,1–6; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 38).

in each other's way, as they rushed hither and thither, Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 58,8–9; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 43). Prior to this final turn, there occurs a discussion between the fourteen surviving Christian knights. Hidden by a cloud of dust and "ûzerhalp des hers an eime gras" (outside the heathen army on a grassy spot, Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 50,30; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 39) they meet for a last council and discuss which way to turn.

nû welt *der zweier einiez*
 (der gît uns trôst deheinez):
 daz wir kêren wider in den tôt,
 oder wir vlihen ûz der nôt.
 [...]
 nû tuot schiere dem gelich.
 sweder vart ir kêren welt,

(Choose one of two alternatives now, neither of which will bring us any comfort: either we turn back to our death in battle, or we flee from our misery. [...] Continue now in that same spirit. No matter which path you wish to take..., Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 52,13–27; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 39)

A decision is reached unanimously and in favour of Gyburc: "dô kêrt er dan (sus hôrt ich sagen) / nâch sîner manne râte / gein Oransche drâte" (Then he turned away, as I heard tell, following his men's advice, and headed quickly towards Orange [...], Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 53,14–6; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 40), yet it proves that the centripetal forces of fight cannot be overcome easily. Willehalm wrongly believes himself to have escaped from combat "wânde er dô sîn *der vrie*" (Thus he thought that he had got away, Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 53,21; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 40) but in fact runs into Poufameiz of Ingulie, who with "gervowetem here" (a fresh army, Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 53,22–4; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 40) is just arriving from the shore. Thus, once again the Christians turn to fight: "die getouften riefen sân / 'Monschoi' und kêrten dar" (The Christians shouted 'Monjoie!' at once and turned to meet them, Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 53,30–1; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 40). The fourteen who were left behind are lost (55,28–9) and Willehalm is pushed back even further "wider under daz *êrste* her / von den komenden von dem mer" (Then he was chased away, back among the first army, by those coming from the sea, Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 56,1–2; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 41), again and again he must turn back ("sus streit *er* her und dâ" – he fought courageously here and there upon the plain, Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 56,16; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 41; "er warf sich gein dem poinder wider" – He wheeled his horse around to face the charge, Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 57,3; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 41) to fight Erkfiklant and Turkant of Turkanie, Tlimon of Bocant and Turpiun until finally he is able to flee – *unverzagetlich* ('undismayed', Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 57,8; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 41) as the narrator points out – and turns towards the mountains (57, 23–6).

There – as I have already stressed – the narration picks up his perspective once again; it is a viewpoint to which the narration hews increasingly close during the flight to Orange as well as on the journey to Munleun.⁷⁹ The monologue directed towards Puzzat accentuates this focal shift, and Willehalm's tending of the horse by establishing a hiatus serves to distinguish the battle from the movement of flight and return. The distinction is made yet more explicit through a doubling of the spatial order: that Willehalm flees to the mountains at all seems all the more remarkable (and the more irritating) for the fact that he quite rapidly returns to the Larkant to find the dying Vivanz. Willehalm first discovers his comrade's shield, inspecting it closely to see how it has been buckled and shattered, before finally perceiving Vivanz himself, lying beneath a lime tree near a fountain (59,20–60,17). Thrice in this passage Willehalm's point of view is made explicit (*sach* [59,18], *erkande* [60,5], *ersach* [60,7]) and another long monologue connects his perception to his thoughts. However – after handing the *viaticum* to Vivanz and after the narrator has cut short the subsequent olfactory miracle (“waz hilfet, ob ich'z lange sage?” – What is the point of making a long story about it? Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 69,17; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 48) – Willehalm must again seek the road to Orange.⁸⁰ The two departures, the flight from the battleground and from the *locus amoenus* parallel each other, for Willehalm now follows the Larkant and once more turns towards the mountains – which one would like to presume he has left, only to allow for this parallelization.

79 Verena Barthel, *Empathie, Mitleid, Sympatie. Rezeptionslenkende Strukturen mittelalterlicher Texte in Bearbeitung des Willehalm-Stoffs* (Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, 2008), esp. 87–93, tries to establish the control of empathy ('*Empathie lenkung*') as a crucial narratological element in medieval literature in order to revalue the differing tonal representations of foreignness offered in *Willehalm*, putting into perspective arguments of a new 'tolerance' or 'humanity' (27–9, 284, 289). Closely following the work of Hübner, she distinguishes three stages in the application of a 'spatial filter' within the first battle: she states that in the segments 8–38 “eine Fixierung auf bestimmte Einzelfigur nicht auszumachen ist” (a fixation upon a certain individual characters cannot be detected, 87), while in the next section (39–69) the narration becomes increasingly centred upon Vivanz and Willehalm before finally committing to them entirely: “Ein Raumfilter kann deshalb in eingeschränktem Maße für Vivanz, in seiner vollen Ausprägung jedoch für Willehalm von Abschnitt 69 bis 88 festgestellt werden” (A spatial filter can therefore be discerned in a limited sense for Vivanz, but fully so for Willehalm from passage 69 to 88,” *ibid.*), – Barthel does not differentiate between battle and flight and thus does not take into account the transitional point established by Willehalm's gaze back toward the battlefield (cf. Kiening, see note 17). Nevertheless, she stresses the new emphasis, following the first battle, upon and more frequent focalisation through the Christians and especially through Willehalm, and thus the exceptional form of Wolfram's battle depiction.

80 “er moht sich dô wol umbe sehen, / die strâze gein Oransche spehen” (Then he was able to look about him and seek out the way to Orange; Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 69,29–30; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 48).

die rehten strâze er gar vermeit,
 ûf bi Larkant er reit,
 gein der montânie er kêrte,
 als in diu angest lêrte.

(Avoiding the open highway altogether, he rode up-river, along the Larkant, and headed towards the mountain, in his anxiety to avoid the enemy. Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 70,11 – 4; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 48)

Carrying the dead body of his nephew, Willehalm is attacked once more, fights once more and once more must turn back: “dô kêrt er an die widervart / und reit, dâ er Vivianzen liez.” (Then he turned back the way he had come and returned to where he had left Vivianz, Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 70,26 – 7; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 48). During his nocturnal vigil over his nephew’s corpse, Willehalm reflects anew upon the problem of (re-)turning and leaving (71,1 – 19). At dawn, he breaks camp, only to run into another fight (71,21 – 76,1). Fifteen heathen Kings confront him in the absence of their followers, who have been left behind to care for the wounded, while their leaders strive “al umbz wal / vor’me gebirge unz an daz mer” ([...] over the battlefield, from the mountains to the sea [...], Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 72,13 – 4; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 49) to find and destroy whatever remnant of the Christians is to be found. He defeats them and leaves all of them dead or dying – save only Ehmereiz, Gyburc’s son. Although he then immediately rides *ûf niuwen haz* (into fresh hostility, Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 76,4; Gibbs, *Willehalm*, 51) against Tenebruns and Arofel of Persya (76,2 – 82,2), Willehalm will not turn back to Alischanz again before the beginning of the second battle. Yet the twists and turns reported up to this point, accentuated not only by explicit reflection but also by a sudden shifts of focalisation, make it sufficiently clear that the (re-)turn of the hero is precisely what fighting is all about, and that it is precisely this movement which establishes the structure of *Willehalm* itself,⁸¹ with its spatial logic leading far away from Alischanz to the untroubled court of France and back again, until the heathen army is repulsed into the sea. The topography delineated by the narrator with a few stable landmarks, the turns of those fighting – whether they may lead to death, to flight or back to the battlefield – and the flood of the heathen army lend cohesion to *Willehalm* and its first battle. Beneath all the unchallenged ambiguity, disruption and disjointedness, beneath the *Zweischau*, the controversial commentaries of the narrator, the irritating remarks about guilt and grace lies a cohesion based upon flight from and return to battlefield, a tidal wave, rising and falling, or a seed blooming and

81 And it seems to be a quite similar structure that Ulrich von dem Türlin picks up in his *Arabel* to unfold the story of Willehalm and Arabel/Gyburc.

decaying with the revolving planets.⁸² An accentuation of the symmetries of this movement might, if nothing else, be a reason – albeit surely a secondary and minor one – behind the bustle of a character named Rennewart who will require as many turns to reach Alischanz, as Willehalm requires to leave it.

82 Wolfram, *Willehalm*, 1,29 – 2,15; 216,1 – 15; 309,1 – 310,2 – cf. Ehlen, “Kampf der Ritter” (see note 57), 169 – 76.

Conflicted Memory Spaces

The Destruction of Architecture in Medieval German Literature

This paper investigates a spatial practice that has received little attention in literary studies: the destruction of the castle. Many studies consider related issues, such as the strategic implications of the siege, the importance of fortifications to warfare, and the development of warfare technology.¹ And while historians and archaeologists have conducted most of this research, it is notable that literary critics have just begun to investigate the meaning of architectural destruction.² My approach to this subject is to adopt the methodology of recent cultural analysis that investigates the representational function of physical space and the demonstrative nature of material culture to the nobility. In fact, the significance of architectural destruction is heightened when one considers that past research has emphasized the legitimizing function of descriptions of ar-

1 *The Medieval City under Siege*, ed. Ivy A. Corfis and Michael Wolfe (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1995); Peter Dinzelsbacher, "Burgen und Belagerungen. Ein Forschungsüberblick," *Mediaevistik. Internationale Zeitschrift für Interdisziplinäre Mittelalterforschung* 19 (2006), 51–104; *Wurfen hin in steine / grôze und niht kleine. Belagerungen und Belagerungsanlagen im Mittelalter*, ed. Olaf Wagener and Heiko Laß. Beihefte zur Mediaevistik 7 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2006); Richard L.C. Jones, "Fortifications and Sieges in Western Europe, c. 800–1450," in *Medieval Warfare. A History*, ed. Maurice Hugh Keen (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 163–85; Charles Coulson, *Castles in Medieval Society. Fortresses in England, France, and Ireland in the Central Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 31, 82, 121–2.

2 Burkhardt Krause, "'Da enbleip niht stein vf steine.' Stadtzerstörungen in mittelalterlichen Texten," in *Die zerstörte Stadt. Mediale Repräsentationen urbaner Räume von Troja bis SimCity*, ed. Andreas Böhn and Christine Mielke (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2007), 15–56, identifies the topic and places it in its historical and literary context; in the same volume, Simone Finkle, "Die Zerstörung und der Wiederaufbau Trojas in Konrads von Würzburg *Trojanerkrieg*," 57–82, explores the rhetorical strategies that Konrad von Würzburg employs in his depiction of the destruction of Troy in his *Trojanerkrieg*; and Olaf Wagener, "*die statt ward gar geschwachtet, / ein dorff daruss gemacht*: Überlegungen zur symbolischen Zerstörung von Befestigungen im Mittelalter," in *Die imaginäre Burg*, ed. Olaf Wagener et al., Beihefte zur Mediaevistik 11 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2009), 27–53, analyzes the symbolic potential of destruction in medieval German chronicles.

chitecture to the nobility's social identity, the so-called *Herrschaftsfunktion*.³ Moreover, such depictions constitute what Mary Carruthers has described as "memory locations,"⁴ physical spaces meaningful to the audience in which the medieval poet could shape noble identity and place useful ideas to help the nobility recollect, meditate, and learn. It follows that the destruction of these spaces reflects a similar, yet distinctive, narrative process. Concentrating on the relationship between destruction and memory, I want to show that the depiction of architectural destruction is a form of memory making; when the spaces of courtly representation are violently altered, it invariably shapes the cultural memory of the nobility.

The symbolic importance of space to the nobility helps to illustrate how the destruction of the castle is connected to cultural memory making. The castle, with its mighty walls and tall towers, played a crucial role in crafting a powerful image of the nobility in the medieval collective consciousness. The castle afforded the nobility what Chris Abel has termed "place identity," those architectural spaces that reflect social ideology, power, and hierarchy.⁵ In fact, the castle was so important to the fashioning of noble identity that it is found on a variety of media, including coins, seals, and badges that condense the castle to its most demonstrative architectonics: walls, towers, and gates.⁶ Given the representational function of the *burg*, 'castle', to the nobility, the destruction of the castle possessed a symbolic quality of its own, impacting the image of social identity in the collective consciousness as much as its construction did. Evidence for this belief is found in both legal and fictional texts. For example, the legal custom of the *Wüstung* meant to underscore an indicted person's loss of social identity.⁷ This practice of totally or partially destroying a castle occurred during

3 Joachim Bumke, *Höfische Kultur. Literatur und Gesellschaft im hohen Mittelalter*, 6th ed. (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1992), 145, 162–8. Also see Kunibert Bering, "Wort und Architektur als Instrumente der Selbstdarstellung in staufischer Zeit," in *Literarische Interessenbildung im Mittelalter. DFG-Symposium*, ed. Joachim Heinzle (Stuttgart and Weimar: J.B. Metzler, 1993), 216–34, who considers the depiction of architecture in courtly literature to be a form of *Selbstdarstellung*, 'self-representation'.

4 Mary J. Carruthers, "The Poet as Master Builder. Composition and Locational Memory in the Middle Ages," *New Literary History* 24 (1993), 881–904, 881–2.

5 Chris Abel, *Architecture and Identity. Towards a Global Eco-Culture* (Oxford: Architectural Press, 1997), 152.

6 Scott E. Pincikowski, "Mikroarchitektur als Ort der didaktischen Erinnerung in der höfischen Literatur," in *Mikroarchitektur im Mittelalter. Ein gattungsübergreifendes Phänomen zwischen Realität und Imagination. Beiträge der gleichnamigen Tagung im Germanischen Nationalmuseum Nürnberg vom 26. bis 29. Oktober 2005*, ed. Christine Kratzke and Uwe Albrecht (Leipzig: Kratzke Verlag für Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte, 2008), 335–53, 345–6.

7 L. Laubenberger, "Wüstung (als Strafe)," in *Handwörterbuch zur deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*, ed. Adalbert Erler and Ekkehard Kaufmann, vol. 5 (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1998), 1586–91.

the *Acht*,⁸ ‘imperial ban’, or was used to punish illegally built castles, robbery, murder, rebellion, high treason, and *Landfriedensbruch*, ‘violation of the public peace’. Images (D) and (E) from Eike von Repgow’s *Sachsenspiegel* (Figure 1),⁹ one of the most influential law treatises in central Europe from the thirteenth century, illustrate this process of deconstructing identity: The demonstrative symbols of a nobility’s social power, the crenellated tower and walls, are razed, and the entire castle is leveled to the ground, never to be rebuilt unless judicial permission was obtained, as one sees in part (B) of Figure 1.

Significant to the content of the images mentioned above is their performative and mnemonic nature. The ritual involved in the destruction of representational space is also connected to remembering. As image (D) and the corresponding text stress, the razing of the castle began with a judge hitting the condemned castle three times with a hatchet:

Die richtère sol zu deme êrsten mit eyneme bile drî slege slân an eyne burch oder an eyn bûw, daz mit urtêle virteilit is; dâ sollen die lantlûte zû helphen mit howen unde mit rammen. Nicht ne sol men iz bernern, noch steyne noch holt danne vûren, noch nicht des dâ upphe is, iz ne sî roufleke dâ ûph gevûret; tzût sech dâ ieman zû mit rechte, der vûrit dannen; den graben unde den berch sol men ebenen mit spaden. Alle die binnen deme gerichte gesetzen sîn, die sollen dâ zû helphen drî tage bî ires selbes spîse, ob se dâ zû geladen werden mit gerûchte.¹⁰

(The judge shall first of all hit the castle or building that is condemned with an axe three times. Then the people of the land shall help with the hacking and ramming. One shall not burn it down, nor carry wood or stone away, nor anything else that is found therein, unless it was brought there through theft. If someone can rightly claim something found there, he may take it away. The bulwark and trenches should be leveled with spades. All present at the court should help for three days, bringing their own food and drink, even if they are called; *Sachsenspiegel*, Landrecht III, 68, 1–2).¹¹

Just as this passage codifies the nobility’s exclusive authority to destroy a castle, the ritual described in the text imparts cultural meaning to the act, highlighting this authority. It is a judge, a nobleman, who strikes the castle to begin the ritual of razing a castle. Moreover, striking the castle also informs the collective memory by marking the event as significant, a demonstrative act not to be forgotten by the people. This remembering is underscored by the communal nature of *Wüstung*, with the *lantliute*, ‘people of the land’, expected to partic-

8 J. Poetsch, “Acht,” in *Handwörterbuch zur deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*, ed. Adalbert Erler and Ekkehard Kaufmann, vol. 1 (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1971), 25–36.

9 *Der Sachsenspiegel. Die Heidelberger Bilderhandschrift*, cod. pal. germ. 164, ed. Walter Koschorreck and Wilfried Werner (Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1989).

10 *Sachsenspiegel. Quedlinburger Handschrift*, ed. Karl August Eckhardt (Hannover: Verlag Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1966), 78.

11 All translations in this article are by the author unless noted.

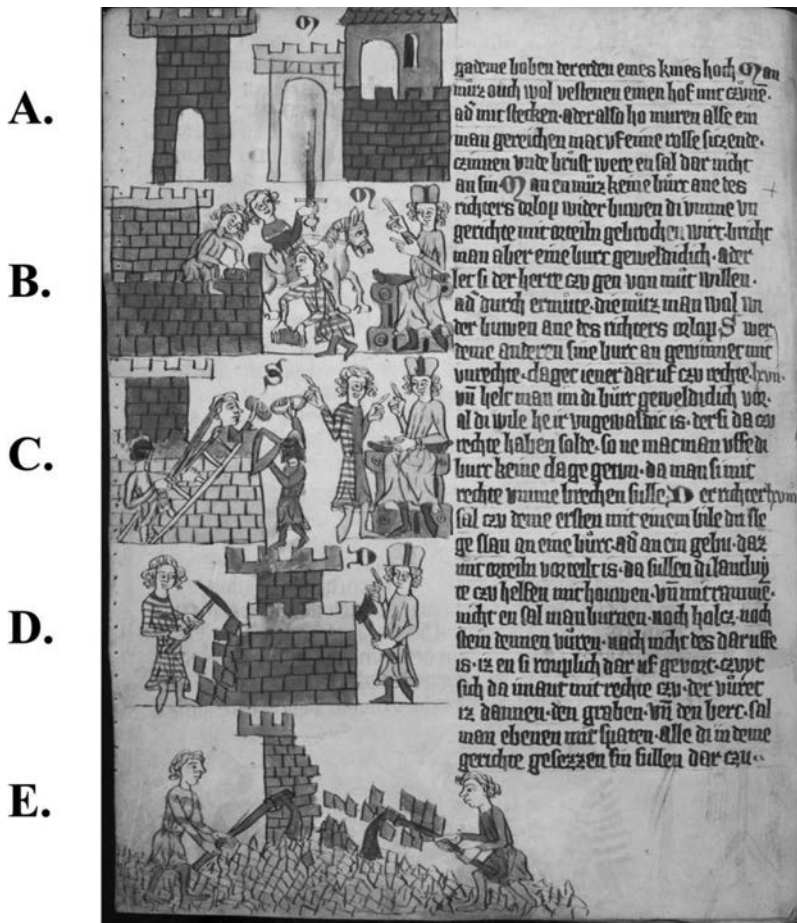


Figure 1. Der Sachsenspiegel (Heidelberg, University Library, Cod. Pal. Germ 164, 23v)

ipate. This memory making is also expressed materially. As the passage states, no one was allowed to burn a castle down or remove any wood or stones from the rubble. In those instances in which the castle was not rebuilt, the ruins left after the *Wüstung* were intended to recall the crime, the punishment, and the perpetrator, and act as a warning to others and a monument to the authority of the king.¹²

The destruction of architecture alters the cultural memory of the nobility. This may find its starkest expression in *damnatio memoriae*, the destruction of

12 For a discussion of this law in the *Sachsenspiegel*, see Werner Meyer, “Die Eidgenossen als Burgenbrecher,” *Der Geschichtsfreund. Mitteilungen des Historischen Vereins der fünf Orte Luzern, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden ob und nid dem Wald und Zug* 145 (1992), 5–95, 74.

buildings and even cities to erase social identity from the cultural memory. Informing this practice is the idea that architectural destruction represents taking control and changing the perception of place identity. The razing of Heinrich IV's Harzburg in 1074 by the Saxon peasants exemplifies this process.¹³ As Lampert von Hersfeld reports in his *Annales* (1078),¹⁴ Heinrich agreed to destroy the Harzburg under the terms set forth in the Peace of Gerstungen.¹⁵ However, Heinrich did not entirely fulfill this obligation, only destroying part of the castle walls. After years of oppressive rule under Heinrich, the peasants in the surrounding villages reacted by leveling every remaining structure. As Burkhardt Krause has demonstrated, the peasants did so because they wanted to remove the reminders of Heinrich's exploitative rule, those architectural elements that represented the source of their suffering and the "crudelitas suae patrociniū" (the bastion of his tyranny, 232,24) from the public memory.¹⁶ And the peasants were thorough in this endeavor: They not only razed the castle so that Heinrich could not refortify it, but also effaced all other physical remnants of his social power, including the church, which they burned to the ground. Indeed, as Lampert states, the Saxon peasants attempted to eliminate any identification of the place with Heinrich by even going as far as to remove the symbolic extensions of his physical self so that Heinrich would have no reason to rebuild the fortification (*Annales*, 234,1–4). In their anger, the peasants dug up the graves of Heinrich's brother and son, whom, according to Lampert, Heinrich buried at the castle "quos ille ad gratificandum popularibus locum ibi tumularat" (to make the place popular to the people, *Annales*, 234,3–4).

These historical examples imbue the depiction of the destruction of architecture with meaning, suggesting that when destruction occurs in the space of the text, it also shapes the cultural memory of the nobility. In fact, the portrayal of the destruction of architecture in literature has long been connected to memory. Since Antiquity, memory theorists such as Cicero (*De oratore*) and Martianus Capella (*De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*) have emphasized the mnemonic function of destruction. Drawing upon the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, they locate the origins of the art of memory in the legend of the poet Simonides, who was able to identify from memory the mangled victims of a collapsed

13 For discussions of the destruction of the Harzburg, see Gerd Althoff, *Heinrich IV.* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2006), 86–115; I.S. Robinson, *Henry IV of Germany, 1056–1106* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 97–8; and especially with regards to the practice of *damnatio memoriae*, Krause, 'Da enbleip niht stein vf steine' (see note 2), 40–2.

14 Lampert von Hersfeld, *Annalen*, trans. Adolf Schmidt, with commentary by Wolfgang Dietrich Fritz (Berlin: Rütten und Loening, 1957).

15 For a discussion of the Peace of Gerstungen, see I.S. Robinson, *Henry IV* (see note 13), 95–7.

16 Krause, 'Da enbleip niht stein vf steine' (see note 2), 41.

banquet hall.¹⁷ Memory scholars such as Mary Carruthers and Jody Enders have stressed a number of factors important to memory making in this scene, including the place, location of the victims, the order of events, and the shocking imagery.¹⁸ Mary Carruthers, for instance, finds that such *pictura*, textual images of violent destruction, set the “associative procedures of recollection into motion.”¹⁹ The purpose of these associations is not *memoria verborum*, rote memorization of words, but rather *memoria rerum*, the memorization of ideas.²⁰ In the case of medieval German literature, the poets depict the destruction of architecture to help the audience to remember the lessons about violence that the poets connect with these memory locations.

Important to the discussion at hand is the role that the memory location plays in this process. Indeed, by concentrating less on the content of the memory location, as Mary Carruthers does, and more on the condition of the architectural structure(s) that make up the memory location, the memory frame, it becomes apparent that the destruction of architecture is in itself a vehicle for recollection. For medieval poets, much in the manner of the art of memory, draw upon tropes for destruction that were significant to the audience, brief and precise locutions such as “diu burg wüesten,” “sîn hûs brechen,” “diu burc zerbrechen” (razing the castle or residence), “diu stat verbrennen” (burning the city), “mit roube und mit brande,” (plundering and burning), “diu stat zestören” (destroying the city), and “diu veste verbrennen” (burning the fortifications), to move their imagination and memory. Crucial to the recollective function of these motifs is their familiarity and meaning to the audience. As Lori Ann Garner has demonstrated in Old English literature, the medieval poet could invoke the cultural and social connotations of space in a short phrase for an audience who understood the “iconographic force” of “the compressed verbal images of architecture” found in medieval literature.²¹ Because the audience would have

17 Cicero, *De oratore*, ed. and trans. E.W. Sutton and H. Rackham, 2 vols., Loeb Classical Library (London: Heinemann, 1942–1948), vol. 2, 86–7. As Mary J. Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought. Meditation, Rhetoric and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 285n53, points out, the Simonides story was also known throughout the Middle Ages through Martianus Capella’s *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*.

18 Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought* (see note 17), 27–8; Carruthers, *The Book of Memory. A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 22; Jody Enders, *The Medieval Theater of Cruelty. Rhetoric, Memory, Violence* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1999), 111–3.

19 Carruthers, “The Poet as Master Builder” (see note 4), 881–2.

20 *Ibid.*, 881.

21 Lori Ann Garner, “Returning to Heorot: *Beowulf*’s Famed Hall and its Modern Incarnations,” *Parergon* 27.2 (2010), 157–81, 158–9 and 164. See also Garner’s *Structuring Spaces. Oral Poetics and Architecture in Early Medieval England* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2011), 13–4. In her discussion of the associative nature of architecture in Old English texts, Garner draws upon John Miles Foley’s notion of “traditional referen-

recognized the cultural significance of these tropes to social identity, as well as the remembered patterns of architectural destruction common to the *Burgenbruch*, ‘razing of the castle’, *Wüstung*, warfare, or the feud, the poets were able to highlight the message associated with those familiar ‘memes’. This process is an inventive one by which the poet portrays destruction not only to help the reader recollect, but quite possibly to influence reality, using these images to prompt the audience to think critically about the violence connected to these tropes.

This idea is evinced by moments in medieval texts in which the destruction of architecture prompts a critique of the nobility. A case in point is the fiery destruction of the great hall in the *Nibelungenlied* (Figure 2).²² Indeed, instead of an image of the castle that represents the bastion of civilization and social stability, one that reinforces the social identity of the nobility in the cultural memory, the poet confronts the audience with a traumatic image of the hall to suggest just how precarious noble identity is. The *Nibelungenlied*-poet is able to do this because the audience of the text would have readily identified with this memory location. In fact, the Germanic hall is a memory location in the truest sense of the word: it is the space inscribed with great cultural meaning to the nobility, the space where the audience of the text fashioned their social identities, evoked memories, and told stories.²³ The audience, listening to a tale in a hall about nobility in a hall, would have immediately made this association, moving them to think critically about themselves as the events in the *sal*, ‘hall’, unfold. In essence, the poet draws upon the audience’s collective memory of this space in reality, and in the *Nibelungenlied* and other tales. He recalls the representational function of the hall and those rituals that attempt to maintain social harmony and peace, such as “politische Beratungen, höfische Feste, und, immer wieder, Empfänge von Gästen und Boten” (political counsel, courtly festivals, and repeatedly, the reception of guests and messengers).²⁴ More importantly, the poet distorts the ideal image of the nobility in the hall. Indeed, as the conflict in the *Etzelnburg* reaches its frenzied climax, the body count soars, blood pools and

tiality,” those “value-added phrases, scenes and other patterns [that] resonate in a network of signification, with the singular instance dwarfed—but implicitly informed by the whole.” John Miles Foley, *Homer’s Traditional Art* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 23.

22 *Das Nibelungenlied*, nach der Ausgabe von Karl Bartsch, ed. Helmut de Boor, 20th rev. ed. (Wiesbaden: F.A. Brockhaus, 1972).

23 Introduction in *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture*, ed. Setha M. Low and Denise Lawrence-Zúñiga (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 1–49, 13–4. The authors develop the idea of “inscribed spaces” and discuss how space and place play an important “role in constructing identity and holding memory.”

24 Elke Brüggem, “Räume und Begegnungen. Konturen höfischer Kultur im *Nibelungenlied*,” in *Die Nibelungen. Sage-Epos-Mythos*, ed. Joachim Heinzle, Klaus Klein, and Ute Obhof (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2003), 161–88, 173.

pours forth from the hall, and the flames consume the *sal*, the very framework of civilization appears to be coming apart. In effect, with the destruction of the hall the poet prompts the audience to reflect upon what memory they want to have eventually recalled about themselves in their hall: Do they want to embrace the self-destructive heroism embodied in the collapse of the hall or do they want to consider alternative forms of conflict resolution?



Figure 2. Der Saalbrand, Hundeshagenscher Kodex (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, mgf 855, 138v)

The destruction of the hall is not a static image. In fact, the hall is a conflicted space in the cultural memory. The destruction of the hall is a reoccurring *topos* in epic literature that is invested with conflicting meanings depending upon the cultural context or ideological purpose. The tenuous nature of the meanings ascribed to this heroic space in epic literature is best expressed in *Beowulf*.²⁵ Indeed, the narrator describes the fiery fate of Heorot even as he portrays the

25 *Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg*, ed. Friedrich Klaeber (Lexington, Massachusetts: D.C. Heath and Company, 1950).

construction of this “healærna mæst” (greatest of hall-buildings, 78): “Sele hlífade / hēah ond horngēap; heaðowylma bād, / lāðan līges” (The hall towered high, cliff-like, horn-gabled, awaited the war-flames, malicious burning, 81 – 83).²⁶ As Lori Ann Garner and others have argued, the Beowulf-poet exposes with this passage the heroic ideals associated with the hall as “unsustainable.”²⁷ This unsustainability occurs, in part, because the hall was the center of power in this heroic culture, and was therefore bound to become a target of attack during warfare, making it ultimately destined for destruction. In other words, the space of the hall at once represented the heroic ideal and also the difficulties of maintaining that ideal when violence is the main vehicle of social power. This may help to explain why the meaning of the destruction of the hall changes over time. When tracing the conflicted meaning of the destroyed hall from the Norse-Icelandic *Atlakviða* and *Volsunga Saga* to the *Nibelungenlied*, *Diu Klage*, and beyond, it becomes apparent that the hall and its later representational architectural counterparts, the castle and fortified cities, become memory locations in which the poet reevaluates and attempts to counter a dominant cultural narrative, calling for the restraint of violence.²⁸ For example, in the *Atlakviða* the narrator depicts the fiery destruction of the hall to glorify Gudrun’s successful completion of blood revenge:

Eldi gaf hon þá alla,
 er inni vóro
 ok frá morði þeira Gunnars
 komnir vóro ór Myrkheimi.
 Forn timbr fello,
 fiarghús ruko,
 boer Buðlunga,
 brunno ok skialdmeyjar
 inni, aldrstamar—
 hnigo í eld heitan.

(She gave to the fire all who were inside and had come from Gunnar’s murder from Myrkheimr. The ancient rafters fell, smoke rose from the temples, the homestead of

26 Translation in *Beowulf. A Dual-Language Edition*, trans. Howell D. Chickering Jr. (New York: Anchor Books, Doubleday, 1977).

27 See Lori Ann Garner, “Returning to Heorot,” (see note 21), 166 – 7; Norman E. Eliason, “The Burning of Heorot,” *Speculum* 55, no. 1 (1980), 75 – 83, 82 – 3. The Germanic hall was particularly susceptible to destruction by fire, given that it was constructed of wood. The archeological evidence confirms this fact. See Karl P. Wentersdorf, “The Beowulf-Poet’s Vision of Heorot,” *Studies in Philology* 104, no. 4 (2007), 409 – 26, 409 – 11.

28 The anthropologists, Setha M. Low and Denise Lawrence-Zúñiga, *The Anthropology of Space* (see note 23), 18, describe the struggle to redefine the meaning of space in terms of “contested spaces,” emphasizing that these spaces “give material expression to and act as loci for creating and promulgating, countering, and negotiating dominant cultural themes.”

Buðli's clan, and the shieldmaids were burnt in the hall, their flow of life stanch— they sank into the hot flames. *Atlakviða*, 43)²⁹

The positive emphasis upon revenge in this passage is also found in the twelfth-century *Volsunga Saga*.³⁰ After exacting revenge upon Atli, Gudrun sets the hall on fire, killing all of his followers (40). In stark contrast to these texts, the *Nibelungenlied*-poet alters the memory of destruction, highlighting instead how self-destructive blood revenge is. As Kriemhild sets the hall aflame, the poet emphasizes the tragic limitations of heroic ethos, for it is this very ethos that fans the flames that lead to the destruction of the hall, the likely waning of Etzel's power symbolized by this destruction,³¹ and the unnecessary downfall of over 20,000 warriors.

And yet even with all this death and destruction, the hall remains a conflicted memory space. This occurs because the *Nibelungenlied*-poet cannot entirely remove those heroic ideals from the image of the hall that make up the fabric of the epic narrative. As the flames consume the hall, remnants of the heroic ethos found in the earlier variants of the tale of the destruction of the hall come to the foreground. The narrator extols the Burgundians' feats in battle and their bravery in enduring the flames in the hall:³²

Daz fiuwer viel genôte ûf si in den sal.
dô leiten siz mit schilden von in hin zetal.
der rouch und ouch diu hitze in tâten beidiu wê.
Ich wæne der jâmer immer mêr an hêldén ergê.
Dô sprach von Tronege Hagene: "stêt zuo des sales want.
lât niht die brende vallen ûf iuwer helmbant.
tret si mit den fûezen tiefer in daz bluot.
ez ist ein übel hôhzit, die uns diu küneginne tuot."

(The fire fell upon them from all sides in the hall. They kept the fire away with their shields and deflected it to the floor. The smoke and also the heat hurt them badly. I believe that heroes never again experienced such misery. Hagen of Trony then said: "Stand close to the walls. Do not let the brands fall onto your helmet straps. Tread them deeper underfoot into the blood. What a foul feast the Queen is giving us," *Nibelungenlied*, 2118–9)

29 Translation in *The Poetic Edda. Volume 1: Heroic Poems*, ed. and trans. Ursula Dronke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969).

30 *The Saga of the Volsungs*, ed. and trans. R.G. Finch (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1965), 74.

31 Siegrid Schmidt, "Der Nibelungenstoff und seine 'architektonischen Machtzentren'," in *Die imaginäre Burg* (see note 2), 139–58, 149–50.

32 Edward R. Haymes, "Heroic, Chivalric, and Aristocratic Ethos in the *Nibelungenlied*," in *A Companion to the Nibelungenlied*, ed. Winder McConnell (Columbia, S.C.: Camden House, 1998), 94–104, 103.

This tension between heroic and tragic associations of the hall even appears in the thirteenth-century *Diu Klage*,³³ which is often interpreted as a warning against the brutal heroism found in the *Nibelungenlied*.³⁴

Daz hûs daz lac gevallen
 ob den recken allen,
 die durch striten kômen drin.
 dem wirte gie diu zît hin
 mit leide und ouch mit sêre.
 sîn hôhez lop und êre
 wâren beide nider komen.

(The hall lay in ruins on top of all the warriors who had entered it to do battle. The host spent his time in sorrow and despair. The high reputation and honor he had enjoyed had come down along with the hall. *Diu Klage* B, 587–93)³⁵

No longer does the hall embody heroic valor in this passage; instead, the ruins spatially convey the great loss of life and Etzel's loss of social power, with the downward movement of the collapsed roof mirroring this twofold loss. But even as the tragedy of the burning hall is repeatedly evoked in the tale,³⁶ the memory of destruction is altered, this time for political reasons. Swemmel's selective retelling of the events in Worms is a case in point. As Joachim Bumke has pointed out, Swemmel leaves out all of the negative aspects of the event that are connected with Kriemhild, including the burning of the Burgundians in the hall (*Diu Klage* B, 3774–3947).³⁷ This certainly demonstrates Swemmel's capability as a messenger and shifts the blame to Hagen, underscoring how the conflict arose out of Hagen's slaying of Etzel and Kriemhild's son (*Diu Klage* B, 3811–3814). More importantly, however, it underlines how malleable memory is, something the audience of the text, very familiar with the events in the *Nibelungenlied*, would not have failed to notice. This suggests that while the destruction of the

33 *Die Nibelungenklage. Synoptische Ausgabe aller vier Fassungen*, ed. Joachim Bumke (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1999).

34 Albrecht Classen, "The Bloody Battle Poem as Negative Examples: The Argument against Blood Feud and Images of Peaceful Political Negotiations in German Heroic Poetry," *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 53 (2000), 123–43, 138.

35 In the C- and D-versions of *Diu Klage*, the narrator describes the destruction of the hall in this manner: "Daz hûs was verbrunnen gar / ob der vil hêrlîchen schar" and "Daz hûs was verbrant gar / ob der vil hêrlîchen schar" (the hall was entirely burned down on top of the great warriors, ll. 603–604 and 639–640).

36 Marie-Luise Bernreuther, *Motivationsstruktur und Erzählstrategie im 'Nibelungenlied' und in der 'Klage'*, Greifswalder Beiträge zum Mittelalter 26 (Greifswald: Reineke-Verlag, 1994), 147.

37 Joachim Bumke, "Die Erzählung vom Untergang der Burgunder in der *Nibelungenklage*. Ein Fall von variierender Überlieferung," in *Erzählungen in Erzählungen: Phänomene der Narration in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. Harald Haferland and Michael Mecklenburg (Munich: Fink Verlag, 1996), 71–83, 75–76.

hall in each of these sources is a conflicted memory, it is very much the conflicted nature that moves the reader to reflect upon the consequences of destruction.

These examples indicate that tropes for architectural destruction possess a didactic function. The poets depict such violence to prompt the nobility to reflect upon the repercussions of destruction and at least to consider using violence judiciously. This is further demonstrated in *Kudrun* and *König Rother*,³⁸ two epics that also belong to the same family of texts as the *Nibelungenlied*. In *Kudrun*, for instance, the destruction of architecture often expresses the superiority of the victors in battle. Destruction is considered a means by which social power and the trauma of defeat could be ‘inscribed’ onto the collective consciousness of the conquered. This explains why Wate suggests destroying the palace and towers of Kassîâne, structures that embody Hartmuot’s social power, and why Wate sets fire to Hartmuot’s land and razes over twenty-six of his castles (1535–1537 and 1547). It is therefore significant that there are moments in *Kudrun* in which the consequences of destruction are at least considered. For example, it appears that Hartmuot is concerned about the retribution that would occur if he were to burn the fortress of Matelâne down: “die guoten Matelâne wolten si verbrennen. / swaz in dâ von geschæhe, des wolten niht die von Ormanîe erkennen” (They wanted to burn down strong fortress of Matelâne, but the men from Normandie were afraid of that, knowing what would happen to them as a result, 798, 3–4). In fact, Hartmuot initially orders his men not to (800, 1–4). Unfortunately, Hartmuot acquiesces to his father, Ludewic, razing the castle, burning the city, and plundering the surrounding lands: “Diu burc diu was zerbrochen, diu stat diu was verbrant” (the city was razed and the city was burned to the ground, 801, 1). And because of this act, Hartmuot pays the price. His kingdom is destroyed by Wate at the end of the tale: “daz fiur allenthalben hiez man werfen an. / dô begunde ir erbe an manigen enden brinnen. / dem edelen Hartmuote wart êrste leit von allen sînen sinnen” (Orders were given that the land be set on fire, and the kingdom began to blaze in all directions. Only now did noble Hartmuot feel anguish in the very core of his being, 1545, 2–4). Hartmuot’s poor decision makes Hagen’s measured use of destruction earlier in the tale significant. Like Hartmuot, Hagen is depicted as a powerful king. But unlike Hartmuot, Hagen is portrayed as powerful because he knows when to use destruction and when not to. For even as he uses destruction to express his social power – his foes call him the “Vâlant aller künige” (the devil of all kings, 196, 4) –

38 *Kudrun*, ed. Karl Bartsch, neue ergänzte Ausgabe der fünften Auflage überarbeitet und eingeleitet von Karl Stackmann (Wiesbaden: F.A. Brockhaus, 1980). *König Rother: Mittelhochdeutscher Text und neuhochdeutsche Übersetzung*, ed. Ingrid Bennewitz, Beatrix Koll, and Ruth Weichselbaumer, trans. Peter K. Stein (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam, 2000).

Hagen spares die *armen*, ‘the poor’, refraining from setting the countryside on fire:

Nu schuof er [Hagen] herverte in sîner vînde lant.
 durch die armen wolter fûeren deheinen brant.
 swâ ir mit übermüete deheiner wart erfunden,
 dem brach er die bürge und rach sich mit den tiefen vérchwûnden.

(Now he organized forays into the lands of his enemies. For the sake of the poor people he did not set fire to the countryside. However, if anyone dared to resist, he razed the fortified towns and took revenge by striking them with deep mortal wounds. *Kudrun*, 195,1–4)

The above examples demonstrate that the medieval poets portray architectural destruction to express their concern about the devastation resulting from warfare and feuds. In fact, the depiction of destruction sometimes indicates a critique of these forms of violence. The narrator in the *Annolied*,³⁹ for instance, openly criticizes the devastation of war when he describes the destruction of churches and lands during the Saxon wars from 1073 to 1075, exaggerating the chaos into which Heinrich IV’s realm is thrown by extending the conflict to the entire empire:⁴⁰

Dar nâh vîng sich ane der ubile strît,
 des manig man virlôs den lîph,
 dû demi vierden Heinriche
 virworrin wart diz rîche.
 mort, roub unti brant
 civûrtin kirichin unti lant
 von Tenemarc unz in Apuliam,
 van Kerlingin unz an Vngerin.

(The horrible struggle began thereafter through which many men lost their lives when Heinrich the IV’s empire was brought into disarray. Murder, pillaging, and fire destroyed churches and lands from Denmark to Apulia and from France to Hungary. *Annolied*, 40,1–8)

Moreover, the narrator may even be leveling a veiled critique against the weakness of Heinrich IV’s rule here, characterizing the conflict as a self-destructive event, with the empire turning its weapons against itself: “diz rîche alliz bikêrte sîn giwêfine / in sîn eigin inâdere” (The entire empire turned its weapons against its own bowels. *Annolied*, 40, 13–14). In other instances, this critique is more subtle, such as when Hartmann von Aue depicts at the beginning of *Erec* the *altez gemiure* (old ruin, 252) in which the good and courtly Koralus

39 *Annolied*, ed. and trans. Eberhard Nellmann (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam, 1986).

40 Ernst von Reusner, “Das *Annolied*: Historische Situation und dichterische Antwort,” *DVs* 45 (1971), 212–36, 215.

resides, thereby emphasizing Koralus' loss of social power and wealth because of destruction resulting from a feud: "in enhete dehein sîn bôsheit / in dise armuot geleit: / ez was von urliuqe komen" (No dishonorable actions had led him [Koralus] to this poverty. It had resulted from a feud, 406 – 408).⁴¹ The Truce and Peace of God movements of the late tenth century and the *Landfrieden*, 'territorial peace', of the twelfth and thirteenth heighten the meaning of these examples. These accords intended, among other things, to check the rampant destruction caused by warfare and feuds, creating conventions limiting when, how, and who could unleash the power of destruction.⁴² It follows that these examples may be a part of an emerging discourse, underscoring a wider cultural concern about the negative effects of unrestrained violence, a hypothesis that becomes more plausible when considering that examples exist in a variety of genres and types of texts, including the epic, courtly romance, chronicles, and legal treatises.

In *König Rother*, the poet is both critical and affirming of the nobility's use of destruction. The poet creates this ambivalence to explore how the nobility's use of destruction fashions their social identity in the cultural memory. The poet expresses this process through Rother and the giants. Through the giants, the poet highlights the difficulty of keeping violence in check. Throughout the tale the giants represent older and uncourtly modes of behavior, the wielders of what Christian Kiening has termed "archaische Gewalt" (archaic violence).⁴³ The giants embody the destructive impulse that literally has to be restrained by chains as Rother and his men engage in courtly modes of behavior that avoid violence at Constantine's court. The urge to use archaic violence is best exemplified in the giant Grimme's desire to lay waste to Constantinople, to barricade its gate, to set fire to the city, and burn everyone alive:

"dar moz he," sprach Grimme,
 "in der burich brinnen!
 nu neme wir die thochter sin,
 na der wir gevaren sin,
 unde tragen daz vur an,
 Widolt sal vor die dure stan.
 swer dan dar uz gat,
 wie wol uns de gericht dat!"

41 Hartmann von Aue, *Erec*, ed. Albert Leitzmann, fortgeführt von Ludwig Wolff, 6th edition, ed. Christoph Cormeau and Kurt Gärtner (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1985).

42 For a general discussion of these secular and religious accords, see *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France Around the Year 1000*, ed. Thomas Head and Richard Landes (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1992), Richard W. Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 99 – 100.

43 Christian Kiening, "Arbeit am Muster. Literarisierungsstrategien im *König Rother*," *Wolfram-Studien* 15 (1998), 211 – 44, 231.

“He (Constantine) must without a doubt,” said Grimme, “burn in his city. We will free his daughter, for whom we traveled here, and then we will set fire (to the city), and Witold shall stand in front of the gate. If anyone should come out that way, how well Witold will avenge that!” *König Rother*, 4387 – 4394)

Fortunately for Constantine, though, this “violent fantasy” is never fulfilled.⁴⁴ Through Rother, the poet underscores the role of the king to maintain peace and keep the power of destruction under control. Indeed, the poet depicts Rother as a *rex iustus*, or ‘just king’ who knows when it is proper to unleash the power of violence and when to hold it in check.⁴⁵ For example, Rother lets the giants loose against the heathen Ymelot while he refrains from allowing them to destroy Constantinople (4249 – 4292). And like a good ruler, Rother takes council, carefully weighing the consequences of using violence, such as when he discusses destroying Constantinople with his liegemen Luppold and Berchter (4459 – 4481). Rother is concerned with how the state of his soul and *ere*, his ‘social prestige’ (4464 – 4465), would be impacted by destroying a Christian city. In effect, the poet stresses with Rother’s decision to use destruction justly that this would leave a positive impression of Rother in the collective memory.⁴⁶ And because the poet depicts Rother as a model of restraint, he uses the Rother character for didactic purposes. The poet teaches the audience that the ruler who learns to use the power of destruction judiciously is remembered in a positive light in the cultural memory. And the ruler who does not learn is remembered negatively.

A particularly effective way for the medieval poet to teach lessons about the dangers of destruction is to echo an actual historical event. These echoes are not unlike memory; they are fragmentary and refer to something that has to be recalled. Indeed, medieval poets often depict destruction in an incomplete and selective manner, fictionalizing the destruction of the castle and the events leading up to its destruction for social or political purposes. And because the audience can discern moments of historical reality within the fictionalized events, the destruction of architecture in the text makes a greater impression upon them. Representative of this type of remembering is the architectural destruction in *Herzog Ernst*.⁴⁷ It is well established that the characters and the

44 Stephan Fuchs-Jolie, “Gewalt—Text—Ritual. Performativität und Literarizität im *König Rother*,” *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 127, no. 2 (2005), 183 – 207, 201.

45 Kiening, “Arbeit am Muster” (see note 43), 230.

46 Hubertus Fischer, “Gewalt und ihre Alternative. Erzähltes politisches Handeln im *König Rother*,” in *Gewalt und ihre Legitimation im Mittelalter. Symposium des Philosophischen Seminars der Universität Hannover vom 26. bis 28. Februar 2002*, ed. Günther Mensching (Würzburg: Verlag Königshausen & Neumann, 2003), 204 – 34, 232.

47 *Herzog Ernst, ein mittelalterliches Abenteuerbuch, in der mittelhochdeutschen Fassung B*

depictions of destruction in this text are an amalgamation of historical figures and events. When Otto destroys Ernst's castles and lands, scholars have pointed to at least two historical conflicts as the possible textual foundation. Joachim Bumke has highlighted, for instance, Ernst von Schwaben's rebellion in 1026 against his stepfather, Konrad II, and his subsequent death, together with his banned friend, Werner von Kyburg in 1030, at the hands of Konrad's troops.⁴⁸ Wipo of Burgundy reports the widespread destruction that resulted from this rebellion in his *Gesta Chuonradi II. Imperatoris* in a positive manner: "Imperator pertransiens Alamanniam cunctos, qui sibi rebelles fuerant, in deditionem recepit et munitiones / eorum deiecit" (On his way through Schwabia all who had risen up against him capitulated to the emperor, and he destroyed their fortifications, section 21, 27–28).⁴⁹ For his part, Bernhard Sowinski has pointed to Konrad III's *Ächtung* ('banishment') of Heinrich des Stolzen of Bavaria and Saxony in 1138 and 1139 for the source of this story of destructive conflict in *Herzog Ernst*.⁵⁰ And while scholarship has emphasized that these events would have resonated with the audience because of their historical immediacy,⁵¹ not enough attention has been paid to the complicated stance the *Herzog Ernst*-poet takes regarding destruction.

In his inventive retelling of these historical events, the *Herzog Ernst*-poet, in a similar move found in *König Rother*, both criticizes and approves of the nobility's use of destruction. He expresses this ambivalent attitude through the figures of Otto and Ernst, exploring the causes of unwanted destruction and suggests correct modes of behavior for the audience. Through Otto, the poet highlights the crucial role of the king to maintain peace and keep the power of destruction in check. At the beginning of the work the narrator stresses how a good king does just that: Otto builds a strong relationship with his stepson Ernst, providing Ernst with castles and lands to help Otto prevent the unchecked pillaging and burning of his lands (580–601). The peaceful harmony, which Ernst is supposed to help maintain, stands in stark contrast to the destructive chaos in which Otto's realm is thrown after he heeds the misleading advice of his power-hungry nephew, Heinrich. Heinrich convinces Otto to attack Ernst pre-

nach der Ausgabe von Karl Bartsch mit den Bruchstücken der Fassung A, ed. and trans. Bernhard Sowinski (Stuttgart: Phillip Reclam, 1979).

48 Joachim Bumke, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur im hohen Mittelalter* (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1993), 76–7.

49 Wipo, *Gesta Chuonradi II. Imperatoris*, in *Quellen des 9. und 11. Jahrhunderts zur Geschichte der Hamburgischen Kirche und des Reiches*, trans. Werner Trillmich (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2000), 507–616, 576.

50 Bernhard Sowinski, "Nachwort," in *Herzog Ernst* (see note 47), 403–27, 407.

51 Bumke, *Geschichte* (see note 48), 77. Bumke stresses that it is Ernst's very resistance to the emperor's authority that would have fascinated the twelfth-century audience.

emptively because he believes Ernst possesses too much power and will lay waste to the empire (784–796):

Der künic volgte drâte
 des phalzgrâven râte
 und tet nâch sîner lêre.
 daz gerou in sît vil sêre,
 wan er des harte genôz.
 er gewan ein her, daz was grôz:
 ûf den herzogen er dô sande.
 mit roube und mit brande
 widersaget er [Otto] sînem stiefsun.
 dâ wider kunde er [Ernst] niht getuon
 wan daz er sîn hûs besazte.
 mit schaden er in ergazte
 der liebe der er dem keiser truoc.
 der phalzgrâve im genuoc
 schaden in sînem lande tete
 beide an bürge und an stete,
 der er im manige an gewan
 und besazte die mit sînen man.
 daz ander man verbrennen sach.
 von grôzer lüge daz geshach.

(The king immediately followed the palsgrave's advice and did according to his plan. He later regretted this much, because he felt the consequences. He mobilized a great army and sent it against the Herzog. With plundering and burning he renounced his stepson. Through the destruction one made him [Ernst] forget the love that he felt for the emperor. Herzog Ernst could not do anything against this other than to defend his castle. The palsgrave caused much damage to the castles and cities in his [Ernst's] land, many of which he took and occupied with his troops. One saw the rest burning. This occurred because of a great lie. *Herzog Ernst*, 853–872)

From this passage it is clear that the narrator is critical of Otto's ability as a ruler. Otto is unable to see through Heinrich's malicious plans and distinguish good advice from bad. The narrator stresses how *drâte* (853), 'quickly', Otto decided to lay waste to Ernst's castles and lands, something which Otto later regrets because of the resulting destruction. He also underscores just how destructive Heinrich's lie was to Ernst and the empire: "von grôzer lüge daz geshach" (this occurred because of a great lie, 872).

In contrast, through Ernst the poet underscores the correct attitude towards destruction. Indeed, Ernst is depicted as a loyal servant to the empire who uses restraint and does everything in his power to avoid escalating the conflict with Otto: he takes good advice from his friend Wetzel, at first letting Heinrich lay waste to his villages, residences and cities "mit roube und mit brande" (with

plundering and with burning, 905) so that Otto could have no legitimate reason to attack Ernst (903–948); he attempts to reconcile with Otto through mediators, his mother, Adalheid, and other nobility (949–1014 and 1093–1176). Moreover, when it becomes clear to Ernst that there is nothing he can do to protect his *Erbrecht*, ‘title of inheritance’, but retaliate, the narrator is sympathetic to his cause, even after Ernst kills Heinrich and attempts to assassinate Otto (1243–1326). The narrator describes Ernst’s fierce retaliatory destruction of Otto’s castles and lands in positive terms, as *manlich* (1190) and *ellentrich* (1726), ‘brave’ and ‘daring’, emphasizing twice how amazing it was that Ernst was able to defend himself for many years (1190–1196 and 1701–1738). More importantly, it is Ernst’s use of force that contributes to his ability to eventually return to social power, perhaps as much as his later fabulous journeys do. For Ernst heeds his mother’s earlier warning that Otto “in des libes ergetze / und vil gar entsetze / aller siner êren” (wants to make him and all of his honor a distant memory. 1037–1039), very much in the sense of *damnatio memoriae*. Ernst resists Otto’s attempts to eradicate his presence from the empire and is able to secure his place in the collective consciousness by establishing his fame. Ernst’s brave resistance, his wise acceptance of defeat at the siege of Regensburg that saves all of the inhabitants of the city (1599–1634), in addition to his recognition of the importance of the *Reichsidee*, ‘imperial concept’, when he finally admits defeat and accepts Otto’s authority (1793–2122), leave a lasting impression upon the people of the empire.

Architectural destruction and memory are interconnected in medieval German literature. The destruction of architecture informs and shapes the image of the nobility in the cultural memory. Given the didactic content of this memory location, the portrayal of destruction is more instrumental and less functional in nature, suggesting that moments of destruction do not simply reflect medieval military practices, but intend to explore the consequences of such practices to noble identity. And while these destructive practices were not a common occurrence in medieval reality, the exploration of the meaning of architectural destruction in the space of these texts indicates that when they did occur in reality they impacted the cultural consciousness in a significant way. These events became larger than life to the audience and could be used to move them to reflect upon the meaning of violence. Sometimes the poets are explicit in this endeavor, stressing that a good ruler knows how to maintain peace and use the power of destruction justly. Other times the poets are more subtle, drawing upon the audience’s collective memory, its ability to recognize and then react to tropes of architectural destruction, to move the audience to reflect upon itself, how it wields the power of destruction and the negative consequences when violence is not correctly regulated. Moreover, as the poets depict destruction, they confront the nobility with an image of itself in the cultural memory that they hope will

influence reality. In fact, the associative power of destruction is so great that the medieval poets use these tropes to shape moral behavior, an idea that gains significance when one considers that the art of memory moved from a subset of rhetoric to a subset of ethics in the Middle Ages under the scholastics. Both Albertus Magnus (*De Bono*) and Thomas Aquinas (*Summa Theologiae*) discuss how the art of memory belongs to the virtue of prudence.⁵² As Frances Yates states, “memory can be a moral habit when it is used to remember past things with a view to prudent conduct in the present, and prudent looking forward to the future.”⁵³ Two brief examples suffice to demonstrate how architectural destruction possesses a moralizing function. First, the depiction of the destruction of Troy on Helmbrecht’s hat in Wernher der Gartenære’s *Helmbrecht*⁵⁴ serves to underscore Helmbrecht’s *superbia* (45–56). The depiction of falling towers and walls on the hat also foreshadow his violent demise at the end of the tale because of his poor conduct (52–53).⁵⁵ Second, when the *Annolied*-poet entreats the audience to recall tales of heroes and the “veste burge” (strong castles, l, 4) they destroyed, the many friendships that ended, and the powerful kings who perished (1, 1–6), he moves them through a familiar association of destruction to contemplate the inevitability of their own demise, the state of their souls, and the manner in which they conduct themselves: “nû ist cît, daz wir dencken, / wî wir selve sulin enden” (now it is time to think about how we, ourselves, shall end, *Annolied*, 1, 7–8).

52 Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), 57–76. As Yates points out, it is important to note that this transition from rhetoric to ethics did not originate with Albertus or Thomas. Yates locates this shift in the early Middle Ages, 57–8.

53 *Ibid.*, 62.

54 Wernher der Gartenære, *Helmbrecht*, ed. Friedrich Panzer and Kurt Ruh, 10th rev. ed by Hans-Joachim Ziegeler (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1993).

55 Erika Langbroek, “Warnung und Tarnung im *Helmbrecht*. Das Gespräch zwischen Vater und Sohn Helmbrecht und die Haube des Helmbrecht,” *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 36 (1992), 141–68, 156–7.

Christopher Liebttag Miller

In di gasen gan

Aristocratic Display and the Generation of Status in *König Rother* and *Dukus Horant*

Since having been made widely available to scholars in the middle of the twentieth century, the narrative fragment known as *Dukus Horant* has attracted a substantial body of scholarly research. For many decades, this study has been dominated by questions of source and philology raised by the unique nature of the poem's survival and presentation. In contrast to these, what follows will entail a close-reading of the poem, focusing upon the performative, status-generating displays which figure prominently in the *Dukus Horant* narrative, with frequent comparison to parallel actions represented in the twelfth-century bridal quest epic *König Rother*. This juxtaposition will serve to illustrate the importance of spatial staging in the interpretation of performative actions and thereby highlight the *Horant* poet's emphasis upon the fluidity and liminality of his protagonist, as demonstrated by the hero's negotiation of urban and courtly space, and his deliberate moderation of hostility in contrast to his twelfth-century counterpart.

The poem in question appears as the final text in a codex discovered in the late nineteenth century within the *Genizah* of a Cairo synagogue, composed in what appears to be a Middle High German dialect but recorded in Ashkenazic cursive.¹ The manuscript was brought to England by Charles Taylor and Solomon Schechter in 1896, who deposited the text in the Cambridge Library. Although not wholly unknown to scholars during the early twentieth century,² its contents were not widely accessible until the 1957 publication of a critical edition by Lajb

1 For a recent discussion and overview of the scholarship and continuing arguments surrounding Old Yiddish and its relationship to Middle High German see Jerold C. Frakes, *The Politics of Interpretation: Alterity and Ideology in Old Yiddish Studies* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), concerning *Dukus Horant* in particular, see 49–103.

2 Professor Ernest-Henry Lévy of the University of Strasbourg is known to have prepared an edition of the text, but this remained unpublished during his lifetime and appears to have been lost or destroyed following his death in 1940. Peter F. Ganz, "Dukus Horant: An Early Yiddish Poem from the Cairo Genizah," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 9 (1958), 47–62, 47.

Fuks, entitled *The Oldest Known Literary Documents of Yiddish Literature*.³ The manuscript, written on paper, is today unfortunately in quite poor condition, and the slow disintegration of its pages has rendered large portions of the text illegible. In addition to *Dukus Horant*, the codex now designated by the Cambridge Library as T.-S. 10.K.22 contains four biblical poems (concerning Moses, the Garden of Eden, Abraham and Joseph respectively), an animal fable concerning a sick lion, and a list of the chapter-titles of the weekly readings from the Pentateuch, together with a glossary of the stones of the high-priest's breast-plate. The *Horant* narrative, being the final poem in the codex, survives in an especially degraded and fragmentary state. In keeping with the heroic tradition, and standing in contrast to the other poems of the codex, the text of *Dukus Horant* names neither author nor scribe.

The T.-S.10.K22 codex itself dates from the late-fourteenth century,⁴ yet the composition of *Dukus Horant* in a form closely resembling the surviving narrative is likely to have occurred nearly a century prior. Thematically and stylistically the poem is closely bound to Middle High German heroic narratives of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and many scholars, based in large part upon the linguistic, stylistic and intertextual investigations of Walter Röhl and Manfred Caliebe, now date its composition to the end of the thirteenth century.⁵

The narrative itself is a variant of the well-known Hilde Saga, to which references – some of them oblique – survive in medieval German,⁶ Scandinavian,⁷

3 Lajb Fuks, *The Oldest Known Literary Documents of Yiddish Literature* (C. 1382), (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1957). Concerning the many problems present in this edition, see the review by Peter F. Ganz in *Journal of Jewish Studies* 8 (1957), 246–9. Citations from *Dukus Horant* within this paper refer to the text as edited by Ganz, Frederick Norman, and Werner Schwarz: *Dukus Horant* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1964). Unless otherwise noted, all translations (of this text and others) appearing in this paper are my own.

4 The fifth and sixth texts of the manuscript, namely the fable of the sick lion and the list of Pentateuch chapters and the glossary of the stones in the high-priest's breast-plate, both contain the date [5]143, corresponding in the Jewish calendar to 1382/3 CE. Fol. 19v provides the even more specific date of 3 Kislew 143, corresponding to November 9, 1382. For discussion of the paleographic evidence supporting this date, see the excursus by Salomo A. Birnbaum in *Dukus Horant*, 7–14.

5 Manfred Caliebe, *Dukus Horant: Studien zu seiner literarischen Tradition* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1973); Walter Röhl, "Zur literarhistorischen Einordnung des sogenannten *Dukus Horant*," *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 41 (1967), 517–27.

6 The earliest of these may be found in Pfaffe Lamprecht's *Alexanderlied*. Here there is mention of a battle upon the *Wolfenwerde* between Hagen and Wate, and of the resulting death of Hilde's father. *Vorauer Alexander 1321–4* in *Alexanderroman*, ed. Elisabeth Lienert (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2007). The figure of Wate receives further mention in the *Rolandlied* of Pfaffe Konrad, 7799–807, *Das Rolandlied des Pfaffen Konrad*, ed. Carl Wesle, 3rd ed. Peter Wapnewski, *Altdeutsche Textbibliothek* 69 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1985).

7 Snorri Sturluson briefly summarizes the tale in the Prose Edda (*Skáldskaparmá*, C. 50). The eternal battle between Hogni (=Hagen) and Hethin (=Hétel/Etene) is also mentioned by Saxo

and English⁸ sources. The most fully formed rendition of the tale to survive may be found in the so-called *Hildeteil* of the Middle High German *Kudrun*, thought to have been composed during the early-thirteenth century.

The core narrative of this tale is the hero's journey to a foreign land, where he woos a princess (Hilde) in disguise, ultimately snatching her away from her kingly father (Hagen) and departing across the sea. The enraged father gives chase, and finally catches up with his daughter's captors upon an island, where a battle ensues. So far as can be re-constructed, the outcome of this battle in all of the early references appears to have been tragic – either Hagen is slain by one of the captors (as referenced in the *Alexanderlied*) or, as Snorri reports, the battle rages eternally, with the combatants fighting and dying throughout the day, only to be resurrected by the magic arts of the daughter upon the following morn. The Middle High German *Kudrun* differs markedly in this regard, for here Hagen and his daughter's suitor reach a settlement, albeit after much bloodshed, and all part amicably. The ultimate fate of *Dukus Horant's* characters is unknown, for the text breaks off not long after the duke's wooing of Hilde.

Of the surviving variants, it is the *Kudrun* narrative that most closely mirrors that of *Dukus Horant*, yet the latter poem also incorporates a number of characters and motifs, otherwise alien to the Hilde tale, which are known from the twelfth-century Middle High German bridal quest epic *König Rother*. These include the presence of giant vassals (two of whom, Asprian and Witolt, share the names of their counterparts in *Rother*, while the third, Wate, appears as a human in *Kudrun*),⁹ and a series of episodes that incorporate what I have termed status-generating displays. It is upon the latter of these, and the important differences in their staging, that this paper will focus.

As a result of the unique status of the poem, memorably described by Gabriele Strauch as a “wanderer between two worlds,”¹⁰ the bulk of the scholarship which has accrued to it has been devoted to establishing the poem's proper standing within German and Yiddish literary traditions. Notable amongst these studies is the work of Manfred Caliebe, who focused in large part upon the poem's rela-

Grammaticus in Book Five of the *Gesta Danorum*. Although derived from Low German tradition, another version of the Hilde narrative (*Bátr af Herburt ok Hildi*) appears in the *Thidrekssaga*.

8 In what is likely the earliest evidence of the tradition to survive, the Old English poem *Widsith*, contained within the *Exeter Book*, makes mention of Hagen, Wada (=Wate) and Heoden (=Heðinn/Hetel/Etene). *Deor*, also known from the *Exeter Book*, contains references to both Heoden and Heorrenda.

9 Concerning the complicated and fascinating character of Wate and his appearances in various literary traditions, see Winder McConnell, *The Wate Figure in Medieval Tradition* (Berne: Peter Lang, 1978).

10 Gabriele L. Strauch, *Dukus Horant: Wanderer zwischen zwei Welten* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1990).

tionship to Middle High German *Spielmannsepen* ('minstrel epics') and bridal quest epics, and that of Strauch, who has endeavored to illuminate the influence of Jewish culture and context upon the poem's development.¹¹

Such studies, though certainly significant in their extensive investigation of the poem's origin, language, and diverse intertextual relationships, have at times served to obscure the significance of the poem as literature, even threatening to reduce the narrative to little more than the sum of its documentable influences.

Recent scholarship has furnished several notable exceptions to the established trend, which hopefully stand as an indicator of things to come. One such work is Joseph M. Sullivan's 2004 paper "The Merchant's Residence and Garden as *Locus Amoenus* in the Yiddish *Dukus Horant*," which considers the spatial construction of the narrative's central wooing scene in the context of medieval romance and the expectations of a courtly audience.¹²

Sullivan's work is especially worthy of note, in as much as it calls attention to one of the *Horant* poem's most striking characteristics, namely its careful and considered constitution of space. Yet more remains to be said, in particular concerning the poet's engagement with space as a stage for status-building aristocratic display. It is from this perspective that the narrative will be considered here, with a particular focus upon the poet's engagement with spaces of passage within an urban environment, the utilization of this space as a stage for the generation of honour and status through performative action, and the significance of spatial context in the interpretation of symbolic action.

In *Horant*, as in the better known *König Rother* and *Kudrun* narratives (and indeed, in bridal quest epic generally),¹³ a disguised protagonist seeking a foreign bride crafts a false identity for himself, asserting lordship and status through a series of calculated symbolic displays; common to both *Rother* and *Horant* are the display and distribution of wealth, the performance of courtly song, and the barely controlled, violent excess of giant vassals.

The importance of such symbolic display within the intensely visual culture

11 Caliebe, *Dukus Horant* (see note 5); and Strauch, *Dukus Horant: Wanderer zwischen zwei Welten* (see note 10). For an alternative view to that of Strauch, see Wulf-Otto Dreeßen, "Hilde, Isolde, Helena: Zum literarischen Horizont deutscher Juden im 14. /15. Jahrhundert," *Jiddische Philologie. Festschrift für Erika Timm*, ed. Walter Röhl and Simon Neuburg (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1999), 133–55.

12 Joseph M. Sullivan, "The Merchant's Residence and Garden as *Locus Amoenus* in the Yiddish *Dukus Horant*," in *Courtly Arts and the Art of Courtliness: Selected Papers from the Eleventh Triennial Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society*, ed. Keith Busby and Christopher Kleinhenz (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2006), 651–64.

13 For recent discussions of *Rother* and Bridal Quest scholarship, see Thomas Kerth, *King Rother and his Bride: Quest and Counter-Quests* (Rochester: Camden House, 2010), 1–44; and more generally, Claudia Bornholdt, *Engaging Moments: The Origins of Medieval Bridal-Quest Narrative* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005).

of the aristocratic court has been a subject of intense interest and scrutiny amongst medievalists for several decades. As Horst Wenzel has written:

In einer Gesellschaft, in der es noch keinen Ausweis gibt, muß der Mensch sich durch die Darstellung dessen ausweisen, was er ist oder zu sein beansprucht. Repräsentatives Herrschaftshandeln verlangt die sinnlich erfahrbare, sichtbare, hörbare, fühlbare und greifbare Darstellung von sozialem Rang, von tatsächlichen oder auch angemäßen Statuspositionen, die unter den vorbürokratischen Bedingungen des mittelalterlichen Personenverbandsstaates nicht ausreichend gesichert sind und sich deshalb in der öffentlichen Demonstration als 'wahr' erweisen müssen.¹⁴

(In a society in which there exists no proof of identity, man must establish himself through the portrayal of what he is or claims to be. Representative lordship requires the meaningful, experienceable, seeable, hearable, feelable and corporeal portrayal of social rank, of actual or arrogated status positions which are insufficiently secured under the pre-bureaucratic conditions of the medieval state as association of persons and must therefore be manifested as 'true' through public demonstration.)

Recent studies concerning these performances and their symbolic currency within medieval society owe a great deal to the work of Gerd Althoff, who has striven to identify and delineate the unwritten conventions (*Spielregeln* or 'rules of the game' in his terminology) which underpinned all social and political interaction of the period and rendered performance interpretable.¹⁵ These conventions have in turn been seized upon by literary scholars in their efforts to interpret and contextualize the narrativized actions of fictional (or fictionalized) characters within "imagined cultures" and imagined spaces which, for all their non-materiality, remain inextricably bound to the context of their creation. The literary representation of display, "the representation of representation" in Wenzel's words,¹⁶ enables a form of dual staging. Context and performance function together as a form of symbolic communication which speaks at once to the internal audience of the poem, that is to say the characters of the narrative, and to its external audience, that is, the reader or listening audience of the poem itself.

Performative theory, ultimately derived from the pioneering work of John L. Austin and his conception of "speech acts,"¹⁷ has been employed by many

14 Horst Wenzel, *Höfische Repräsentation: Symbolische Kommunikation und Literatur im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2005), 11.

15 Gerd Althoff, *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter: Kommunikation in Frieden und Fehde* (Darmstadt: Primus, 1997).

16 Horst Wenzel, *Hören und Sehen, Schrift und Bild: Kultur und Gedächtnis im Mittelalter* (Munich: Beck, 1995), 10. For Wenzel's conception of "representation" within the courtly sphere, see Wenzel, *Höfische Repräsentation* (see note 14), 11 – 13.

17 J. L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words*, ed. J. O. Urmson and Marina Sbisa (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975).

scholars as a means to further engage these representations within their literary and cultural context. The concept of speech acts, utterances which “at once state and execute an action through the spoken words of the actor” has long since been refined by literary scholars to include a much broader spectrum of gesture and unspoken communication.¹⁸ In Tennant’s words,

[First], for a performative to succeed, there must exist an underlying cultural convention the characteristics of which are sufficiently unambiguous to permit members of the culture in which it obtains to recognize individual realizations of the convention as belonging to the performative category of that convention. Second, any individual realization of a performative convention must exhibit enough recognizable features of that convention for members of the culture in which it obtains to identify it and assign it to the same convention.¹⁹

Regarding the significance of such actions, Tennant comments

The particular inflections or realizations of performative categories within individual societies can unlock unique cultural dynamics of those societies, whether they be historical or imagined. If we know what a society curses and blesses, how it transfers authority, which of its members it excludes, we already know a great deal about how that society works.²⁰

The actions considered in this paper are both performances, defined by Kathryn Starkey as “self-conscious presentation or action undertaken with the knowledge that someone is watching ... calculated and choreographed to have a certain effect, and possibly to elicit a certain response,” and performatives, in that they “function to affect socially recognized states of affairs, changing the status of someone or something.”²¹

Status-altering or -generating performance depends upon visibility and observation to obtain its validity. Although it hardly needs to be said, the same actions, the same performance, will be read very differently depending upon the space and context in which they occur. The wearing of a sword, or of armor, represents a claim to lordly or knightly status – regardless of spatial context – but the significance of that claim and the manner in which it is likely to be interpreted may vary drastically. When done upon the battlefield, upon the open road or anywhere within the wilderness, it is easy to view such an action as relatively neutral – commenting primarily upon the actor. True, it may assert a

18 Elaine C. Tennant, “Prescriptions and Performatives in Imagined Cultures: Gender Dynamics in ‘Nibelungenlied’ Adventure 11,” in *Mittelalter: Neue Wege durch einen alten Kontinent*, ed. Jan-Dirk Müller and Horst Wenzel (Stuttgart: S. Hirzel, 1999), 273–316, 288–9.

19 *Ibid.*, 288.

20 *Ibid.*, 289.

21 Kathryn Starkey, “Brunhild’s Smile: Emotion and the Politics of Gender in the *Nibelungenlied*,” in *Codierungen von Emotionen*, ed. C. Stephen Jaeger and Ingrid Kasten (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003), 159–73, 163–4.

claim of superior status to any witness incapable or unwilling to make a similar claim through representative action, but to those of equal or greater rank, it can only assert a claim of equality. This is the space in which the knightly and lordly classes bear their arms openly.

Different spaces may provide a different coloring: when Rother bears his arms into Constantine's court, he claims not only lordly status but immunity from the understood conventions and restrictions of the court into which he has entered. These restrictions flow from the central authority of that court (here, Constantine) and are only valid so long as that authority is itself understood as legitimate. Rother's display is therefore to be read as antagonistic and hostile not merely because of the proximity of arms, the presence of violent implements within an ostensibly peaceful and ordered space, but also because his conscious violation of courtly convention explicitly challenges the validity of his host's authority. Rother's symbolic language, his visual display, is that of unordered space, not of the court. By communicating in this fashion within the court, he challenges its order – indeed, he asserts that it is *disordered*.

Though his actions are similar, the *Horant* poet's protagonist makes no such claims. Horant's performances (with the notable exception of the lion-slaying to be discussed below) do not occur within the context of the court, yet neither do they occur within a wholly disordered space. The *Horant* poet has seen fit to stage his protagonist's most important displays within the city – a public environment, in which these displays are visible both to the duke's courtly host and his retinue and to the common folk of the city alike. Horant's displays are indeed courtly in both appearance and content – but they do not occur at court. The streets upon which they occur, whatever their trappings, are in fact something else entirely. The poet's city is liminal; neither fully occupied by its lord nor ordered by him, consequently, the disorder engendered by Horant and his giants remains on the periphery of Hagen's court.

The urban environment, with its narrow streets and densely packed populace, allows the poet the freedom to craft a performance space which is at once a stage and a space of passage, at once public, transitional and courtly. The street, in effect, enables the *Horant*-poet to incorporate both city and populace as elements within the staging of aristocratic and lordly display, and to underline, thereby, one of the protagonist's principle virtues – the ease with which he traverses multiple planes of social and political interaction. Beyond this, the space of the Greek capital, standing on the periphery of the court and yet not fully incorporated into the aristocratic space ordered by Hagen, provides the hero with a space of performance in which his status-claims are not fundamentally antagonistic to his host, are not claims of superiority, but rather of the right and privilege to royal 'access'.

In both *Dukus Horant* and the corresponding portion of *König Rother*, status-

generating performance occurs largely within an episodic structure. Each episode comprises the construction and arrangement of a performance space and context, the performance, and the reaction of the immediate audience, sometimes followed by a report of the incident to a spatially distanced party. These displays do not occur in isolation, for their effect is cumulative and their messages frequently overlapping and intertwined. Taken sequentially, their ultimate effect is the generation and justification of the protagonist's lordly status, according to established conventions of lordship and noble virtue. Broadly speaking, they may be broken down into four categories: the display of force or potential force, the display and sharing of resources, the cultivation of courtly skill and courtesy, and, above all, the ostentatious employment of cunning and deception.

Before continuing, it may be of some utility to summarize the action of the poem as it has come down to us:

King Etene, the young ruler of all the German lands and most of Western Europe, is advised by his closest advisors that he must take a wife. He tasks his oldest friend Horant, duke of Denmark, to procure the princess Hilde, daughter of the wild Greek King Hagen for the purpose. Horant agrees to do so, but has heard it said that Hagen will not tolerate any suitors for his daughter's hand. Consequently, the duke determines to travel in the guise of a merchant and to win the lady from her father by cunning. He takes with him a host of Etene's vassals, including three remarkable giants: Witolt, Asprian and Wate.

After sailing for twenty-eight days, Horant and his men reach Hagen's capital and seek lodging with one of the city's merchants. Beyond this accommodation, Horant also requests the loan of thirty thousand marks. Eventually, a "most courtly merchant" who is capable of meeting the duke's needs is found, and there is an extensive excursus concerning the wonders of the merchant's home and garden.²² Once settled, Horant and his men set about making a name for themselves in their temporary home, claiming to be merchants themselves, exiled from their own land by King Etene. Through a series of choreographed performances, Horant gains considerable renown, and manages to attract the attention of Princess Hilde herself during a royal procession. Horant, through the power of his remarkable singing, soon draws the princess to his lodging, where he reveals both his identity and his mission. Horant secures the princess' word that she will journey back to Germany with him, and a ring is exchanged as a pledge. Hilde returns to her father's palace, and Horant remains within the merchant's lodging. Shortly afterwards, Horant, though still unknown to Hagen, participates in a tournament arranged by the king and wins a considerable

22 For more concerning "courtly" or "knightly" burghers and the *civis nobilis* in Middle High German literature, see Caliebe, *Dukus Horant* (see note 5), 56–60.

victory. The duke donates his prize, a white horse and a wondrous saddle, to a local minstrel, who later boasts of his gift to King Hagen. Hagen is eager to learn who this generous lord might be, and invites Horant to meet with him. Hagen offers Horant anything he might desire, but the duke asks nothing, and responds by offering his service to Hagen as a vassal. The king eagerly accepts, much marveling at the strength of the ruler who could have forced so princely a lord from his lands. Sadly, beyond this point almost nothing is legible.

Throughout the surviving narrative, the Horant-poet shows a marked interest in intermediate space as a potential *locus* for performance. This first becomes apparent in the text during the hero's journey to Greece across the Mediterranean Sea. On board the ship, Horant seizes the opportunity to display his courtly prowess:

si vuren al gerichte uf daś wilde mer
 Horant unde sin geselen, ein groś kruftiges her.
 Horant hup uf unde sank,
 duś ės durck di wolken klank.

ër sank ime else loute „nu kome und dër zu trošte
 an diseme tage hoite, dër di juden uf dëme mer erlošte.
 in goteś namen varn wir,
 siner genader gërn wir.“

da begunde ër else lute unde else suśe singen,
 daś di mermine zume shife begunde ale dringen,
 unde di vische in dëme bodeme
 śwumen ale obene.

Si vuren mit grośen vrouden uf deś mereś tran.
 da sante in got von himele ein wëter wunesan,
 daś si dar komen in acht unde zwenzik tagen,
 else wirś ime lide horen sagen.

(They journeyed straight upon the wild sea, Horant and his companions, a great and mighty host. Horant rose up and sang, so that it sounded through the heavens. Loudly, he sang thus: "Now come to our aid upon this day, You who delivered the Jews upon the sea. In God's name we fare, we long for His grace." Then he began to sing so loudly and sweetly, that the mermaids all began to throng the ship, and the fish in the depths all swam to the surface. They fared with great joy upon the water of the sea. Then God in heaven sent them delightful weather, and as a result they arrived in twenty-eight days, as we hear the song to say. *Dukus Horant*, 56,1 – 52,2)

This performance, whose aquatic internal audience can hardly be considered aristocratic, seems primarily directed at the narrative's external audience. It establishes Horant as a courtier *par excellence*, one whose command of song and melody is such that it proves capable of enthralling not only humans, but even

supernatural creatures and dumb beasts. That Horant's authority, as representative of his lord, extends beyond the human sphere has already been suggested by the presence of giants amongst his retinue, but here the scope and power of that authority is more fully revealed. Here, he not only succeeds in extending his courtly and lordly influence into an intermediate space between courtly centers, but in so doing actually enables his own passage through this space.

The second status-building performance of note occurs within the city walls of Constantinople: immediately after having situated himself and his men within the merchant's lodging and having secured the loan of thirty-thousand marks, Horant announces his intention to enrich the city's poor. The means by which he does so, and thereby proclaims his presence and status within the city, is remarkable. The poem reads:

nu horet michel hofart von Horant dēme kunen man.
 ēr hiś pferder al geliche mit guldinen isen ane ślan,
 unde hefte si mit eime nagel an,
 daś si balde vilen von dan,

daś si di armen uf lēsen unde di varnde dit.
 Horant unde sin geselen also us dēr herbērgē schit.
 di risen liś man vore gan.
 daś waś durch eine liśt getan.

da śprach dēr burgēre zu Horant dēme kunen man
 „wērtir vor tribune loiter, ir liśet uwer schalen śtan.
 uch gezēme, śtolzer wigant,
 daś uch dinten ale tutsche lant.“

(Now hear of the bold man Horant's great courtliness: He had all his horses shod alike with golden horseshoes and attached them each with a single nail, so that they would quickly fall off and that the poor and the itinerant might collect them. Thus, Horant and his companions left their lodging. The giants were allowed to go before them; this was done through cunning. Then the burgher spoke to the bold man Horant, "If you are exiled folk, let your lamentation be. It would befit you, proud warrior, that all the German lands should serve you." Ducus Horant, 60,2 – 60,4)

This performance, executed in motion, with no specific destination mentioned and spatially far removed from the aristocratic trappings of the court, differs dramatically from the corresponding display of generosity which figures in *König Rother*.

Dieterich der hēre
 vōr zō den herbergen
 unde gebārte verzēn nacht
 also her were unstagehaft,

alwante ime die ellenden
 got begunde senden,
 den wâren die porten ûf getân;
 sie liezen si ûz und in gân.
 selve her iz in wol gebôt:
 her bôttin vliûzelîche ir nôt.
 Berther unde Aspriân
 unde andere Dieterichis man,
 wol entfêngen sie die armen
 ande lêzen sich er nôt erbarmen.

(The lord Dietrich went to the lodging and acted for fourteen nights as though he were dispossessed, until God began to send him wretched men, the gates were opened for them; they let them pass in and out. He himself ordered it for them: he assiduously looked after their needs. Berther and Asprian, and others of Dietrich's men, received the poor well and took pity upon their need. *König Rother*, 1291 – 1304)

In *Rother*, the gifts are distributed at Rother's lodging. Here the hero, calling himself Dietrich, presides over what is functionally an anti-court within the Greek capital, standing in opposition to that of his host and adversary, Constantine. The beneficiaries of the hero's largess are almost exclusively aristocratic: for many are *riche*, 'powerful,' despite their poverty,²³ and bear the name of knight.²⁴ Ostensibly Constantine's vassals, they are men of great title and social standing, but also of limited means. Rother provides these downtrodden nobles with arms, with wealth and with honour. In this context, such largess is both practically and symbolically adversarial. Rother's performance serves as a demonstration of his enormous resources, a signifier of his honour and a further legitimation of his lordship through the establishment of 'right order'. Here, 'right order' is derived from the fulfillment of the lord's duty to be generous to his followers, thereby elevating (or at least maintaining) their honour and generating loyalty. In *König Rother*, this loyalty is purchased at Constantine's expense, for the giving of gifts to Constantine's vassals engages more than merely giver and receiver – the gift is indeed both enticement and obligation to service, but it is also a claim of dominion, a flaunting of the established order and a direct attack upon the Greek emperor's honour.²⁵

23 *König Rother: Mittelhochdeutscher Text und neubochdeutscher Übersetzung*, ed. Ingrid Bennewitz, Beatrix Koll, and Ruth Weichselbaumer, trans. Peter K. Stein (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2000), 1319.

24 *Ibid.*, 1339.

25 For a considered examination of the manner in which medieval aristocrats engaged in competitive giving as a means of establishing and maintaining social identity, see Andrew Cowell, *The Medieval Warrior Aristocracy: Gifts, Violence, Performance and the Sacred* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2007); on the intimate relationship between gift-giving and violence in a specifically Middle High German context, see Marion Oswald, *Gabe und Gewalt*.

In *Horant*, the urban context of the performance, spatially removed from the trappings of the aristocratic court, ensures that the lesser participants in this performance – the immediate but not ultimate, audience and mediators of its import – are not exclusively noble. They, unnamed Greeks all, are not warriors. They may be Hagen's subjects, but they are not his vassals, and Horant takes nothing away from the Eastern lord in granting them gold, nor does he imply any fault in Hagen's own lordship. The performance is a form of status cultivation, but because it is staged in a space outside of the royal court, one not directly ordered by Hagen's presence, it is not overtly antagonistic. It generates renown, but no material resources. Its staging reveals the duke, to effectively remain in passage – unlike Rother, he is not a rival lord lodged within the Greek court, but an outsider preparing his entrance. Within this context, the poor are not Hagen's men; they are simply receptors through whom Horant may generate honour without diminishing that of his host.

The next symbolic status display to occur in *Dukus Horant* follows immediately upon the heels of the previous. It is the first of three performances involving Etene's giant vassals, whose action is paralleled by a series of performances in *König Rother*, though their staging differs on several significant points, as shall be discussed.

In both poems, the giants are principally characterized by their fierce loyalty, their eagerness for battle and their uncouth, frequently violent behavior.²⁶ This violence, both real and potential, transgresses understood norms of aristocratic behavior, and, in the case of *König Rother*, the near-sacred relationship between host and guest. Through both their behavior and their very presence, the giants stretch and occasionally break the broadly understood but unwritten rules of interaction that govern the aristocratic culture of their world. In *Horant*, the hero's calculated placement of the giants, by which he both encourages and restrains their excess, is repeatedly described as *list* or cunning. Such considered violations of protocol closely resemble the threat displays identified by William Ian Miller within Scandinavian saga. Long before the modern formula of game theory, Miller writes,

Studien zur Logik und Poetik der Gabe in der frühhöfischen Erzählliteratur (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004).

26 For more concerning the giants of *Dukus Horant* and *König Rother*, see Tina Boyer, "König Rother and *Dukus Horant*: Germanic Giants in Exotic Realms," in "Er ist ein wol gevriunder man." *Essays in Honor of Ernst S. Dick on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday*, ed. Karen McConnell and Winder McConnell (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2009), 25–41 and Winder McConnell, "Ritual and Literary Tradition: The Bobbingnagian Element in *Dukus Horant*," *Mediaevalia* 7 (1981), 209–19.

[medieval people] were masters of threat, and spent, at least among those playing in the high-stakes honor game, a good portion of their social lives cultivating threat advantage, or undermining that of their opponents and competitors.²⁷

One of the most important strategies for gaining threat advantage discussed by Miller is what he terms “rational irrationality” – the deliberate cultivation of the ‘appearance’ of irrationality and the attendant suggestion of imminent violence.²⁸ Viewed in this light, what are the giants of *Rother* and *Horant* but threat personified? From the moment of their arrival upon eastern shores, these monsters smash stones, swing monstrous weapons about, threaten to kill any and all Greeks in their path, jump, leap, spring and behave fundamentally irrationally, ever on the verge of exploding into violence, held in check only by the authority of their – remarkably unperturbed – earthly lord, that is, by Horant and Rother respectively.²⁹

In *Horant*, the first of these performances plays out upon two levels. In the background lies a ceremonial procession arranged by King Hagen for the purpose of displaying his daughter’s beauty and the depth of his resources. In advance of a great Whitsuntide festival, Hagen invites all his vassals to the capital and receives them with great honour. When Whitsunday arrives, as the princess prepares to ride to church in the company of her retinue, the poem reports:

di gaßen wurden bespreitet mit manegem pfelil rich
gewirket also schone mit golde lobelich.
in dër gase drungen vrouen unde man,
da di kunegine zu dër kirchen scholde gan,

man horte groś gedone von manegeme spile man.
man mochte daś gedone uber ein mile gehoret han.
di witen gaßen wurden enge
von also grośeme gedreng.

27 William Ian Miller, “Threat,” in *Feud Violence and Practice: Essays in Honor of Stephen D. White*, ed. Belle S. Tuten and Tracey L. Billado, (Farnham: Ashgate Press, 2010), 9–27, 14.

28 Ibid.

29 Fuchs-Jolie has seen in both the giants and in Constantine’s lion an extension of the ritualized, courtly interactions by which the two rulers distance themselves from open aggression and avoid open conflict. Stephan Fuchs-Jolie, “Gewalt – Text – Ritual: Performativität und Literarizität im ‘König Rother,’” *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, 127 (2005), 183–207, 194–6 (see also note 43 below). For an alternate view of the giants as “archaische Relikte, lebendige Fossilien heroischer Vorzeit” (archaic relics, living fossils of heroic prehistory), see Christian Kiening, “Arbeit am Muster – Literarisierungsstrategien im ‘König Rother,’” *Wolfram-Studien* 15 (1998), 211–44, 230–2. Concerning the role played by this restraint in defining the ruler’s authority and power, see Markus Stock, *Kombinationssinn: Narrative Strukturexperimente im Straßburger Alexander, im Herzog Ernst B und im König Rother*, Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters 123 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2002), 258–9.

di kunegine wart gekleidet in einen sámít rich.
 dër waś von gruner varbe, von golde unde von gešteine lobelich.
 di kunegin alse schone
 truk uf ein guldin krone.

(The streets were covered with many a rich brocade, beautifully worked with praise-worthy gold. Men and women thronged the streets where the princess would journey to the church. A great sound was heard from many minstrels. One could have heard the sound over a mile away. The wide streets became narrow from the great throng. The princess was clothed in rich velvet of a green color, [worked] with praiseworthy gold and gems. The beautiful princess bore a golden crown. *Dukus Horant*, 61,4–61,6)³⁰

With the preparations for Hagen's status-building display completed, Horant steps to the fore, not as a participant, but rather as an observer. At the suggestion of Horant's merchant host, the hero determines to attend the procession, where he and his men will stand together among the thronging masses of urban dwellers. The duke and his retinue, including the fearsome giants, clothe themselves in their richest apparel. Even from the outset, the giants are desirous of conflict:

Witolt dër ungehoire sin šteheline štange ěr nam.
 mit eime grośen śprunge ěr vor Horanden kam.
 er śprach „ich unde min bruder Aśprion
 wolen hoite in di gaśen gan

unde wolen machen eine wite da du, here, scholt beśtan.
 ich wil mit miner štangen dër krichen vil zu tode erślan,
 daś sumelicher vluchen mak děn tach,
 daś ěr mich mit ougen ie gesach.“

da lachte alse sere Horant dër kune man.
 „neina, děgen Witolt, du scholt din věchten lan
 unde štant gezogenliche
 vor děr edelen kunegine riche.“

(The monstrous Witolt took up his staff of steel. With a great leap he came before Horant. He said: “My brother Asprian and I wish to go into the streets today, and would like to make a space for you, my lord, to stand. I will strike many of the Greeks to death with my staff, so that they might curse the day that they ever beheld me with their eyes.” Then Horant the bold man greatly laughed. “No, warrior Witolt – you should lay aside your fighting and stand properly before the rich and noble queen.” *Dukus Horant*, 62,4 – 62,6)

30 The motif of decorated urban streets covered with costly fabric as part of an aristocratic procession in Middle High German literature is discussed by Caliebe as dating criteria for *Horant's* composition: *Dukus Horant* (see note 5), 72–3.

Once Horant has come within view of the procession path, the promised conflict arises almost immediately. From the throng appears a certain duke, who stands before Horant with all his assembled host, both eclipsing his view and diminishing his visibility as observer. Witolt becomes exceedingly angry at the presence of this troop, and strikes the duke, sending him flying over the heads of the crowd. The duke's men immediately ready themselves for combat, and Witolt seizes his great staff, eager for blood, yet here Horant restrains his vassal and puts an end to the fight. An old count is heard to remark that his people must allow the stranger his will, for he travels with the devil's companions.³¹

At this, the procession arrives, and the focus returns to the Greek King's own performance. Three hundred maids and twelve kings precede the princess, each beautifully clad, and behind her travels Hagen himself. As the royal pair passes Horant's position, Hagen's attention is attracted by the giants, and he remarks that they are so fearsome, they might well withstand an army. Hilde's eyes, meanwhile, are drawn to the handsome Horant, and she wonders to herself who the stranger could be.³²

Within the "imagined culture" of the poem, a term borrowed from the work of Elaine C. Tennant, who has written extensively concerning the application of performative theory to medieval literature,³³ the performance space occupied by Horant and Witolt is secondary. The primary performance space is that staged and occupied by Hagen and the princess, yet from the perspective of the poem's audience, the order of precedence is reversed, and it is Horant who occupies the primary position – at once a space of performance and of observation. This is fitting, given the intermediate spaces of passage and exchange within which both of the performances play out. At the outset, the poet calls attention to the fact that Horant is eagerly observed by those gathered, noble and burgher alike. This sets the stage for the ensuing display, in which Horant's vassals defend his ability to see and be seen by forcefully removing a competitor in the game of status. The audience of this action is both the assembled populace, among them the ten thousand men over whom the duke has been knocked, but is also drawn from the other nobles present – potential rivals for the princess' attention. The ultimate success of this performance is indicated first by the comments of the old count, and second by the attention paid to Horant and his men by the royal pair.

Rother's staging of the same performance, the public killing of a rival noble by one of the protagonist's giant vassals over a matter of symbolic spatial status, plays out within a markedly different context. Here, the giant's violence occurs during the preparations for a feast in Constantine's hall. The giant Asprian is

31 *Dukus Horant*, 60,5–61,6 and 63,1–64,1.

32 *Ibid.*, 64,1.

33 Tennant, "Prescriptions and Performatives" (see note 18).

eager to ensure that his lord is accorded a position at table commensurate with his status, and kills a duke's chamberlain who also lays claim to the seat of honour. Following a general melee, one of Constantine's men escapes and informs his lord of the events in the hall. Constantine blanches at the thought of punishing or resisting the giant, and it is Rother who offers to bring his vassal before Constantine for judgment, at which point the duke drops his suit for fear of being made to encounter the giant again.³⁴ In *Horant* the dispute occurs within the non-ordered space of the city streets, a space whose order does not explicitly depend upon the authority of the ruler – the space of Hagen's rule is confined to the procession proper; those who observe it stand outside his order. That a dispute should arise in this space is fundamentally of no account to Hagen, who observes only its result, and consequently, that conflict should arise does not directly reflect upon his status as ruler. In *Rother*, both because the protagonist has already been accepted into the bounds of the court, and because the dispute arises within the king's hall over a matter of proximity to the king, the conflict cannot help but reflect upon the ordering authority of the space in which it occurs. The actions of Rother's giant at once directly assail Constantine by challenging the established order of his hall and call the authority, which has established that order into question.

In *Dukus Horant*, following Hagen's procession, the hero returns to the lodgings of the courtly merchant, and to the linden tree that stands at the centre of his garden. There he begins to sing once more, and the wondrous sound attracts the attention of all nearby, whether human or beast or bird. Hilde herself hears it, and determines that the unknown singer should be offered ten thousand marks and a concubine for his bed, if only he be willing to visit her chamber. Hilde dispatches one of her ladies to the linden tree, but Horant refuses the invitation, stating that he already has a wife at home and insisting that should Hilde wish to hear more of his song, she must come to him. Hilde's desire is so great that she does indeed journey to the merchant's courtyard, where she is once again delighted by Horant's singing.³⁵ This scene is notable in that it is the only performance of Horant's staging in which the duke does not himself travel, but rather attracts his audience to a stage of his own choosing. Yet even here, where Horant himself seems at first curiously static, movement remains of paramount importance. Horant, who moves with such ease through space and society, compels others to do the same. He first persuades Hilde to leave the space of her influence (and that of her father) and to journey herself through the city streets to the site of wooing. With this accomplished, the duke then con-

34 *König Rother*, 1601–1773.

35 *Dukus Horant*, 66,3–72,4.

vinces the maiden to journey further still – to leave Greece entirely and cross the sea to Etene’s lands.

After this point, the text becomes illegible for long passages. It is clear that a ring possessed of wondrous powers is given by one party to the other, but by whom it is received and to whom it is given is not clear.³⁶ Horant evidently explains his mission, and the position of his master, who he insists sings still better than he. As a result, Hilde agrees to depart with him, though at a later date, however dearly it might cost her.

With this accomplished, there follows a further performance paralleled by the action of *König Rother*: Having received word of a great feast to be held by King Hagen, Horant determines to attend with his retinue. He arranges, for the second time in the narrative, to have his horses shod with golden shoes, attached by a single nail, that they might fall during the journey and be collected by the city’s poor. “Durch eine list” (through cunning),³⁷ he also ensures that the giants will precede them during their passage. The giant Witolt assumes the point position, alternately brandishing his great staff and using it to aid in bounding down the city lanes in the manner of a pole-vaulter. Witolt’s brother Asprian seizes two stones and begins to smash them together, causing sparks and flames to appear. It is reported that, as a result, “both man and woman fled from the streets there.”³⁸

Witolt mit dër stangen al da hine gink.
di steheline stange ër zu beiden handen vink.
ër stís si in di ërde zwolf kloftern lank.

ër zoch si us dër erden unde warf si das si hoch uf gink.
unde also si kam her nidere mit einer hant ër si vink.
ër swank si ume das houbet sin
rëchte also ës were rutelin.

Asprian sin bruder sach vor ime stan
zwei steine di ër mit beiden handen nam.
ër reip . . . si dër kune man.
das ein starke vlame her us bran.

36 *Dukus Horant*, 70,2: “da hende ein guldin vingerlin. / kune, das school din eigen sin. / von des steines kraft wil ich dir wunder’s sagen. / du m..... also gerne tragen” (There ... hand a golden ring. / ... bold, that should be your own. / I will tell you wonders about the stone’s power. / You ... thus eagerly wear.) Strauch sees evidence of Jewish influence upon the text in this exchange: *Dukus Horant: Wanderer zwischen zwei Welten* (see note 10), 78–83 and “Wer gab wem den Ring? Ein textkritischer Beitrag zum *Dukus Horant*,” in *Semper Idem et Novus: Festschrift for Frank Banta*, ed. Francis G. Gentry (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1988), 307–19. For a contrary argument, see Dreeßsen, “Hilde, Isolde, Helena,” (see note 11) 142–5.

37 *Dukus Horant*, 73.7.

38 “da vluhen us dër gasen beide man unde wip.” *Dukus Horant*, 74.5.

da vluhen ús dër gaßen beide man unde wip.
 si wonden vor lisen vor den risen iren lip.
 Horant dër úser welte man
 hísi

(Witolt went there with his staff. He took the steel staff in both hands. Twelve fathoms long, he stuck it into the earth. With so long a leap he sprang to! He pulled it out of the earth and threw it so that it went up high, and as it came back down he caught it with one hand. He swung it about his head as easily as if it were a reed. Asprian saw his brother standing before him. He took two ... stones in both hands. He, the bold man ... struck ... them so that a strong flame arose. Both man and woman fled from the streets there, they would have lost their lives to the giants. Horant, the chosen man, commanded them *Dukus Horant, 74,2–74,5*)

At once welcoming and threatening, this display is strongly reminiscent, perhaps even a parody, of the pomp commonly associated with the arrival of noble companies at feasts and festivals during the medieval period. Common to most of these processions was the display of great wealth, with opulent clothing and shining armor, frequently accompanied by dancing, drums and pipes.³⁹ In *Horant*, Witolt may be interpreted as dancing with the aid of his great staff while Asprian drums upon the stones.

König Rother too features a giant drawing flame from great stones during a procession, but here the display occurs at the moment of entry into Constantinople, evoking not mere festive pomp, but rather a ceremonial *adventus regis* and a corresponding claim to dominance and supremacy.⁴⁰ At its end, Rother enters Constantine's great hall with a sword upon his belt and a helm upon his head.

Once again, the difference in staging is striking. Though Horant repeats his earlier display of largess, and is once again in passage, the naming of a specific destination alters the character of his performance. Horant is here at last entering into royal, aristocratic space – though only just. The poet remains at pains to distance his protagonist from his kingly host – unlike Rother's entrance into Constantinople, Horant's approach to the tournament occurs in company with other nobles. No royal reception awaits the duke, but rather a public table. Horant, in contrast to Rother, performs precisely as expected – his rivals are the unnamed guests who have also arrived for the tournament, and not yet his kingly host.

The third and final display of force common to both texts involves one of the giants killing a lion during a feast, and here the aristocratic space is common to

39 Joachim Bumke, *Höfische Kultur: Literatur und Gesellschaft im hohen Mittelalter*, vol. 1 (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1986), 290–4.

40 *Ibid.*, 294–7.

both texts. In *Dukus Horant*, whilst the hero and his giants sup, a lion appears and begins to wander among the tables. Shortly thereafter, it attempts to steal a piece of bread from the giants, one of whom immediately strikes the beast dead in full view of the assembled nobles. The beast's unnamed *meister* runs quickly to King Hagen and laments his loss. It is unfortunately unclear whether the lion ultimately belongs to Hagen or merely to one of his vassals. The king, seemingly more impressed than frightened, advises against antagonizing his mysterious guests for fear of the giant's wrath.⁴¹

In *König Rother*, by contrast, Constantine's lion is explicitly a royal possession and the scene provides an opportunity for comparison between the rival monarchs.⁴² The lion may be read as an Eastern analog to the Western giants – it stands outside of the expected courtly milieu, introduced into the staged environment of the hall as a representation of its owner's power.⁴³ Where the giants serve as vassals to their lord, the lion is named Constantine's *vederspil* (“hunting falcon”) by the queen.⁴⁴ In *Horant*, the connection between the two is underscored by the poet's application of the adjective *vreischan* (“fearsome”) to each.⁴⁵ Yet unlike the giants, the lion seems wholly uncontrolled, terrorizing all who are present. The giant, in dispatching the animal, demonstrates not only the superior strength of his lord's resources, but also the greater legitimacy and efficacy of his lordship, for the Eastern beast runs wild, the Western lord easily brings his own, more formidable, beasts to heel.⁴⁶ The audience of this performance includes all the nobles assembled in the hall, but also the King himself, for although he may not witness the account directly, it occurs within his hall, at a spectacle of his own staging. In this context, the inability of the ruler to govern and regulate conflict within his space of dominance stands as a serious criticism and an open invitation to usurpation. In *Rother*, because the beast is, in effect, a personal emissary and representation of Constantine's power, the challenge may be seen to have been accepted more or less openly.

41 *Dukus Horant*, 75,4–76,6.

42 *König Rother*, 1128–97.

43 In reference to *Rother*, Fuchs-Jolie has commented that “... ‘liminale’ Figuren auf der Grenze zwischen Natur und Kultur – Löwen und Reisen – das Gewaltpotential vorab und stellvertretend ausagieren” ([these] ‘liminal’ figures on the border between nature and civilization – lions and giants – act out potential violence preliminarily and by proxy). This allows the rulers to avoid the outbreak of open conflict despite considerable provocation. Fuchs-Jolie, “Gewalt – Text – Ritual” (see note 29), 195.

44 *König Rother*, 1176.

45 “ime komen us deme walde dri risen vreischan, [...]” (three fearsome giants came to him from the forest, *Dukus Horant*, 43,2) and “[...] einen lewen vreischan” (a fearsome lion, *Dukus Horant*, 75,4).

46 For further comment upon Constantine's imperfect domestication and control of the lion in comparison with *Rother*'s mastery of the giants, see Fuchs-Jolie's “Gewalt – Text – Ritual” (see note 29), 194–6.

In *Horant*, the conflict between host and guest is less apparent, and we are left with a far simpler display in which Horant's control of the seemingly uncontrollable is emphasized together with the great force at his disposal. Because the lion is not immediately connected with Horant's host, the violation of courtly decorum is less apparent, there is only the restoration of order.

König Rother and *Dukus Horant* both participate in a tradition in which a disguised protagonist must create and exert his lordly status at a foreign court. *König Rother*, owing in large part to the political context of the late-twelfth century, strongly evinces a vision of the Western protagonist's lordly status as superior to that of his eastern counterpart. Rother's lordship at Constantine's court comes at the expense of his host; this is not unambiguously true in the case of *Horant*.

In the end, where Rother's performances are without exception not only targeted and fundamentally antagonistic, but actively damaging to the hero's host and enemy Constantine, Horant's performances remain ambiguous. Horant is constantly moving, his performances more broadly perceived; ultimately, that which they achieve is not royal dominance, but royal access.

More important still is the *Horant*-poet's marked predilection for staging his protagonist's status-generating performances within spaces of passage. This tendency is especially striking when one examines those performances common to both *Horant* and *Rother*. The *Horant*-poet appears to be at pains not only to distance his hero's performances from a royal context, which might mark them as explicitly hostile, but also to establish the fluidity with which his protagonist moves between vastly differing geographical, social and political locales. The strategy of situating Horant's performances within intermediate spaces and moments of movement, persistently visible throughout the surviving fragment, is an ideal means of doing so. Yet as these displays, required of any courtly lord, are fundamentally oriented towards the generation and cultivation of status, they must obtain as performatives amongst both the internal and external audiences of the narrative. The at once enclosed but open space of the walled metropolis provides the *Horant*-poet with an innovative solution. Within the city, Horant may move through urban space and yet never truly travel. He may at once lay claim to a position within ritualized aristocratic space and yet remain outside the close ring of the king's authority. The city allows the *Horant* poet to localize his action within a restricted sphere, but one which nevertheless incorporates genuinely different orders of space. Unlike the Constantinople of *König Rother*, *Horant*'s city contains not merely a royal court, but also the bourgeois but courtly space of the merchant's lodging and the intermediate space of the city streets. Here, Horant gradually approaches his goal by stages, his performances become more and more focused as he both moves between places and compels others to do likewise. Where Rother's performances attack and assail his host

through their violation of courtly spatial protocol, Horant's do nothing of the kind. Occurring primarily within intermediate spaces of passage, Horant's performances enable social and political movement, resulting ultimately in the ability to access rather than supplant the king. Royal favor and courtly integration are the fruits of his cunning, in contrast to the disruption and upheaval engendered by Rother's *list*.

Ethan Matt Kavalier

The Late Gothic German Vault and the Creation of Sacred Space

One of the great contributions to the construction of both ecclesiastical and urban space in the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were the monumental churches of major German and Austrian cities and towns.¹ The experience of interior space was frequently marked by the perception of exuberant church ornament that marked boundaries and signaled sacrality. Chief among these features were the new highly decorated church vaults that extended like canopies over choirs, naves, chapels, and cloisters – sheltering all within. Significantly, these vaults were ‘imprinted’ with complex geometric patterns of ribs, which might be read as indexes of divine thought – of the abstract and pre-material language of creation before God’s ideas were actualized in the world. Such Platonic readings remained quite common in northern European culture around 1500.

It must be stressed that all of these structures were erected in the Gothic mode – that is, with features such as ribbed vaults, pointed arches, and traceried windows. They have consequently been relegated to the purview of medievalists, who tend to regard these buildings as examples of a ‘late style’ of design and construction – a vestigial and moribund phenomenon. It is, indeed, difficult to escape the conventional categories of periodization, according to which these churches are cultural marginalia. And this is even more the case for scholars of the early modern period, who easily conflate the name for their era, ‘Renaissance,’ with the identical term that signals stylistic features associated with antiquity or notions of realism. Dominant models of periodization before the late twentieth century favoured a conveniently linear progression, an orderly sequence of artistic manners, each of which supersedes its predecessor and

1 The authoritative surveys of German and Austrian Gothic architecture covering this period are by Norbert Nussbaum, *German Gothic Church Architecture* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), and Günter Brucher, *Gotische Baukunst in Österreich* (Salzburg: Residenz Verlag, 1990).

embodies a distinct worldview.² Although stylistic pluralism is occasionally acknowledged, it rarely challenges this governing schema. This has particular relevance for these ecclesiastical edifices of the early sixteenth century. Nurtured by the most prominent patrons and prestigious artists, innovative Gothic approaches thrived until around 1540, decades after Italianate forms had entered the local repertory.³

For all but a few sub-specialists, a sense of trespass on Renaissance territory has long made it difficult to accept these Late Gothic creations as legitimate products of their own culture – and this problem is not restricted to the German lands.⁴ Many students of the sixteenth century, for instance, still have difficulty finding a place for the looping-rib vaults at Annaberg in Saxony, the transept façades of Senlis Cathedral, or the whole of Segovia Cathedral – Gothic structures that all slightly postdate Michelangelo's frescoes for the Sistine ceiling. Part of the unease stems from a Burckhardtian enshirement of the Renaissance as the birthplace of the modern world and of Italy as its primary site. This position

2 On the issue of period style see Lawrence Besserman, "The Challenge of Periodization: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives," in *The Challenge of Periodization: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives*, ed. Lawrence Besserman (New York and London: Garland, 1996), 3–27; Karl-Georg Faber, "Epoche und Epochengrenzen in der Geschichtsschreibung," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 44 (1981), 105–13; Martin Gosebruch, "Epochenstile – historische Tatsächlichkeit und Wandel des wissenschaftlichen Begriffs," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 44 (1981), 9–14; F. Schalk, "Über Epoche und Historie," in *Studien zur Periodisierung und zum Epochenbegriff*, ed. H. Diller and F. Schalk, Akademie der Wissenschaft und deutschen Literatur in Mainz, Abhandlung der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaften 4 (Mainz: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, 1972), 12–38; Robert Suckale, "Die Unbrauchbarkeit der gängigen Stilbegriffe und Entwicklungsvorstellungen. Am Beispiel der französischen gotischen Architektur des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts," in *Stil und Epoche: Periodisierungsfragen*, ed. Friedrich Möbius and Helga Scurie (Dresden: Verlag der Kunst, 1989), 231–50; Götz Pochat, "Der Epochenbegriff und die Kunstgeschichte," in *Kategorien und Methoden der deutschen Kunstgeschichte 1900–1930*, ed. Lorenz Dittmann (Stuttgart and Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1985), 129–67.

3 There is little analysis of specifically sixteenth-century traits of Gothic architecture. For a critical and historiographical consideration of the Late Gothic, see Jan Białostocki's review article, now four decades old but still useful when supplemented by more recent studies: Jan Białostocki, "Late Gothic: Disagreements about the Concept," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd ser. 29 (1966), 76–105; Ulrich Coenen, *Die spätgotischen Werkmeisterbücher in Deutschland als Beitrag zur mittelalterlichen Architekturtheorie* (Aachen: Günter Mainz, 1989); Ute Germund, *Konstruktion und Dekoration als Gestaltungsprinzipien im spätgotischen Kirchenbau Untersuchungen zur mittelrheinischen Sakralbaukunst*, Mauskripte zur Kunstwissenschaft in der Wernerschen Verlagsgesellschaft 53 (Worms: Wernerschen Verlagsgesellschaft, 1997); Franz-Josef Sladeczek, "Was ist spät an der Spätgotik? Von der Problematik der kunstgeschichtlichen Stilbegriffe," *Unsere Kunstdenkmäler* 42 (1991), 3–23.

4 François Bucher, "Fifteenth-Century German Architecture, Architects in Transition," in *Artistes, artisans et production artistique au moyen âge*, ed. Xavier Barral I Altet, (Paris: Picard, 1987), vol. 2, 416. Bucher, for example, insists that "the Gothic style began to lose its patronage around 1500," a situation that would not arise for several decades.

simultaneously imparted an identity crisis to many northern European nations. As regional historians following a nationalist agenda tried hard to locate the reception of antiquity on their own soil, the apparent survival of their medieval past became little more than an embarrassment. Certain German writers around 1900, for instance, chief among them August Schmarsow, tended to view these buildings as the northern equivalent of one of Leon Battista Alberti's Italian basilicas and thus a fitting representative of Germany's Renaissance.⁵

These monumental churches, so inattentive to the wishes of later cultural historians, dominated the northern European landscape. Indeed, Gothic architecture witnessed a burst of creative development at the end of the fifteenth century, a dramatic renewal of an authoritative manner of design. In many cultural centres of Europe there arose at this time highly refined and fertile Gothic idioms.

A significant set of these new techniques involved the manipulation and marking of space. Such spatial innovation has been understood in a rather obvious way – chiefly in terms of the capacious hall churches of Germany and Austria – those churches in which the side aisles, raised to the height of the central vessel, generated a vast and unified interior space. Kurt Gerstenberg's immensely influential *Deutsche Sondergotik* of 1913 cast these hall churches as the paradigm of German architecture of this time, a notion that has generally dominated analysis until Norbert Nussbaum's relatively recent deconstruction of Gerstenberg's arguments.⁶ The enormous hall churches of the fifteenth century were, nonetheless, indisputably significant. As an example we might look at the interior of the nave of Freiberg Cathedral in southern Saxony, rebuilt as a hall church after 1484 (figure 1).⁷ The thin octagonal piers, their mass optically reduced with concave faces, permit the viewer to easily scan the extensive space contained by the nave. There is no arcade to distinguish the side aisles from the

5 August Schmarsow, "Zur Beurtheilung der sogenannten Spätgotik," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 23 (1900), 290–8. See also Erich Haenel, *Spätgotik und Renaissance. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutschen Architektur vormehlich im 15. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Paul Neff Verlag, 1899), 109–10; Białostocki, "Late Gothic" (see note 3), 81–3. In recent years, Hubertus Günther has endorsed this line of argument, seeing these sixteenth-century hall churches as legitimate Renaissance creations. See Hubertus Günther, "Die deutsche Spätgotik und die Wende vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit," *Kunsthistorische Arbeitsblätter* 7, no. 8 (2000), 49–68; Günther, "Die ersten Schritte in die Neuzeit. Gedanken zum Beginn der Renaissance nördlich der Alpen," in *Wege zur Renaissance: Beobachtungen zu den Anfängen neuzeitlicher Kunstauffassung im Rheinland und den Nachbargebieten um 1500*, ed. Norbert Nussbaum, Claudia Euskirchen, and Stephan Hoppe (Cologne: SH-Verlag, 2003), 31–87.

6 Kurt Gerstenberg, *Deutsche Sondergotik. Eine Untersuchung über das Wesen der deutschen Baukunst im späten Mittelalter* (Munich: Delphin Verlag, 1913); Nussbaum, *German Gothic Church Architecture* (see note 1), 157–61.

7 *Ibid.*, 192–4. Its roots are in the architecture of earlier years, in churches at Schwäbisch Gmünd in Swabia and the parish church at Amberg in Bavaria, for instance.

central vessel, only thin ribs that do little to differentiate areas within the compound. A gallery that winds its way around the walls on three sides, closed by the heavy jubé in the east, further contributes to a sense of spatial unification. The impression is of a vast open interior, a container for the multitude that dwarfs the individual.

We should remember that a church was experienced as a series of views and perspectives rather than as architectural fact, an abstract ground plan. We might, in following Michel de Certeau, opt for a tour of these churches rather than a map.⁸ Certainly the extensive dimensions of these hall structures were notable – yet the boundaries of this space equally impressed themselves on the beholder’s consciousness – and these limiting fields were carved with dense geometrical and vegetal forms so as to register as significant events in the perception of the church interior. The beholder’s eye was directed in specific ways. Inside these buildings, the perambulating visitor was confronted with a confusing mix of open spaces and obstructions.

Barriers such as choir screens and western galleries established geometry itself as a sign of privilege, of inclusion or exclusion. Visitors to Augsburg Cathedral, for example, would be met with the broad stone enclosure, marking off the west choir and directing them down the aisles (figure 2).⁹ This barrier, signaling the holier ground of the choir beyond, was carved with a series of concentric arcs completely filling the surface with a wave-like pattern. Even the openwork balustrade is given a distinctive ornamental motif. This sort of rich ornament was a sign of prestige, of a prominent commission; in the church interior it might also signify the magnificence of heaven to which the earthly church granted entry.

By the end of the fifteenth century, the invention of complex, self-contained geometric and vegetal forms had become a conspicuous aspect of ecclesiastical interiors. This amounted almost to a process of drawing on architecture, of creative inscription on available surfaces. The balustrades to galleries and pulpits, the fames of altarpieces, the backs of choir stalls and other areas came to bear distinctive geometric configurations. This ornamental carving from around 1500 develops principles introduced in the later fourteenth and fifteenth century but differs from earlier decoration in its greater prominence and complexity of design, its predilection for incomplete and interpenetrating forms that involve the eye in acts of interpreting. The visual puzzles presented by these structures might also be intuited as an indication of the opacity of divinity, a

8 Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 118–22.

9 Franz Bischoff, *Burckhard Engelberg: “Der vilkunstreiche architector und der Statt Augspurg Wercke Meister”* (Augsburg: Bernd Wissner, 1999), 294–7.



Figure 1. Freiberg Cathedral, Nave



Figure 2. Augsburg Cathedral, West Choir Enclosure

geometrical equivalent of the notion of “through a glass darkly.” Thus, these elaborate designs that marked off the limits of available space might be read as emblems of the building’s sacred as well as social status.

Nowhere were these geometric patterns more conspicuous than on the shells of church vaults in central Europe. Visitors were made instantly aware of the containing ceiling to these structures by the elaborate composition of ribs. Although variants would occasionally adorn secular structures, these florid geometric designs were in general reserved for religious spaces. A typical example of this genre is found in the Church of St. George at Nördlingen, vaulted around 1500 by Stephen Weyrer in consultation with the Augsburg architect Burckhard Engelberg.¹⁰ Over the choir, Weyrer has deployed single- and double-

10 Ibid., 331–4; Norbert Nussbaum and Sabine Lepsky, *Das gotische Gewölbe: eine Geschichte seiner Form und Konstruktion* (Munich and Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1999), 249, 253–4; Elmar D. Schmid, *Nördlingen – die Georgskirche und St. Salvator* (Stuttgart and Aalen: Konrad Theiss, 1977), 70–3; Werner Helmberger, *Architektur und Baugeschichte der St. Georgskirche zu Dinkelsbühl (1448–1499). Das Hauptwerk der beiden spätgotischen Baumeister Nicolaus Eseler, Vater und Sohn* (Bamberg: Lehrstuhl für Kunstgeschichte und Lehrstuhl für Denkmalpflege an der Universität Bamberg, 1984), 89–98. The Church of St. George at Nördlingen was begun in 1427 by Hans Felber and Hans Kun under the direction of the well-respected Konrad Henzelmann. The vaulting, which was constructed by Stephen Weyrer from 1495–1505, is in a way a more sophisticated development of the vaulting of the Church of St. George at Dinkelsbühl, executed by the younger Nikolaus Eseler during the 1490s. The elder Eseler, who began the church at Dinkelsbühl, was also active at Nördlingen.

curved ribs (curved both in plan and in elevation), creating a complex assembly of lines and arcs across the crown of the vaults (figure 3). These ribs form a distinctive figure in each bay, a hexagon containing a four-pointed star. Further, the ribs of the polygon protrude slightly at intersections like wooden beams, a detail that optically detaches them from their surroundings and suggests the act of their physical construction.

The optical aspect of vault design is central to these creations. Much like painters fashioning interesting compositions with human figures, architects perfected the art of composing arresting relations between geometric elements. Many of these motifs have names today: rhomboids, cones, parallelograms, and so on – though they were just beginning to receive their appellations by the end of the fifteenth century. Simple cylindrical or octagonal piers replace the earlier compound piers with multiple shafts that slowly channeled the eye upward. Attention is now directed immediately to the decorative pattern of ribs in spectacular figured vaults that become increasingly divorced from basic structural requirements.

We might view these configurations as pictures of geometry. They are contained by arcade ribs, transverse ribs, and moldings that act as frames, defining an image and isolating it for regard. This is not a matter of geometric planning, a process common to architecture of nearly all cultures. It is not the same use of geometry that contributed to the plotting of a Gothic choir. These designs are discontinuous with the rest of the structure. They stand apart as illustrations of basic geometric figures that have undergone a series of operations. Such detached patterns can signify the science of geometry itself, or more specifically, geometric construction, which conveys the role of creative intelligence. On one level the master craftsman thus proclaimed his skill. Yet the architect could also act as a temporary stand-in for the ultimate creator.

Platonic currents in late medieval and early modern culture encouraged a reading of geometric figures as archetypal identities, as essential forms. Reducing objects to mathematical properties purged them of the specifics of their material manifestation and approached the divine blueprint. Nicholas of Cusa, for instance, voices this concept when he speaks of ideal forms descending to enjoy a limited existence in matter. Nicholas, typically, expressed cosmological relations in geometric terms. For him, the curve and the straight line were indicative of the dual nature of the universe, while the circle was the ‘perfect figure of unity and simplicity.’¹¹ Ornament thus helped convey the sacred nature

11 Nicholas Cusanus, *Of Learned Ignorance*, trans. Germain Heron, with an introduction by J. B. Hawkins (New York: Pantheon, 1954), bk. 1, ch. 21, 46. Kepler much admired Nicholas of Cusa for his mystical elaborations on geometry. See Ferdinand Hallyn, *The Poetic Structure of the World: Copernicus and Kepler* (New York: Zone Books, 1993), 175–8. Nicholas’s works were published in a reliable edition by Martin Flach at Strasbourg in 1488.

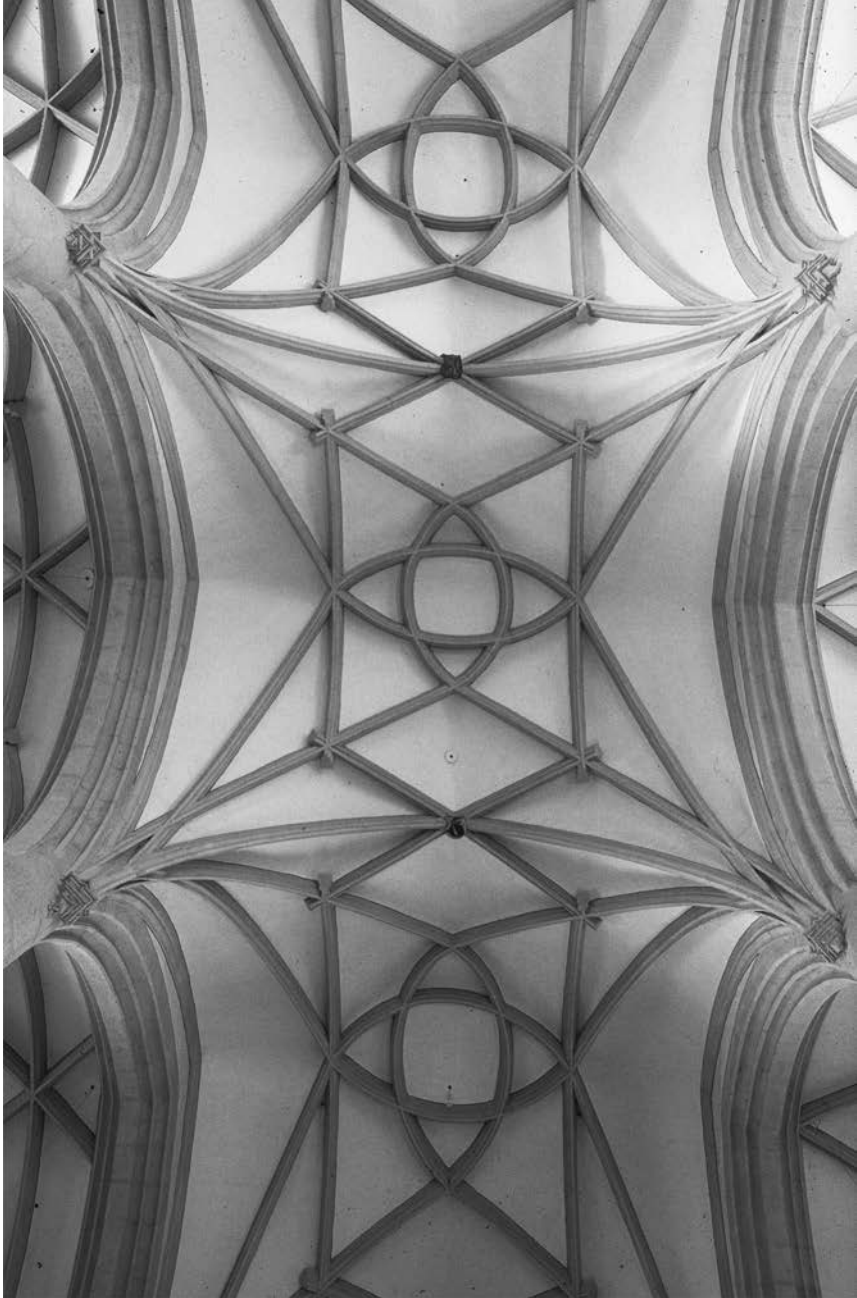


Figure 3. Church of St. George, Nördlingen, Choir Vaults

of religious structures, offering a commentary on their relationship to divine authority.

Although there were precedents for these vaulting techniques in the fourteenth century, especially in England, the majority of churches from the period around 1400 still employed simple quadripartite vaults with a pair of diagonal crossing ribs, a plan that had existed for two hundred years. Transverse ribs and arcade arches clearly marked the boundaries of each bay. The expansive hall choir of the Church of St. Sebald in Nuremberg testifies to the survival of this basic scheme. It was designed in the 1360s in accordance with recent inventions by the Parler family (figure 4).¹² Termed Late Gothic as well, the Nuremberg choir alerts us to the limitations of conventional categories as an indication of spatial experience.

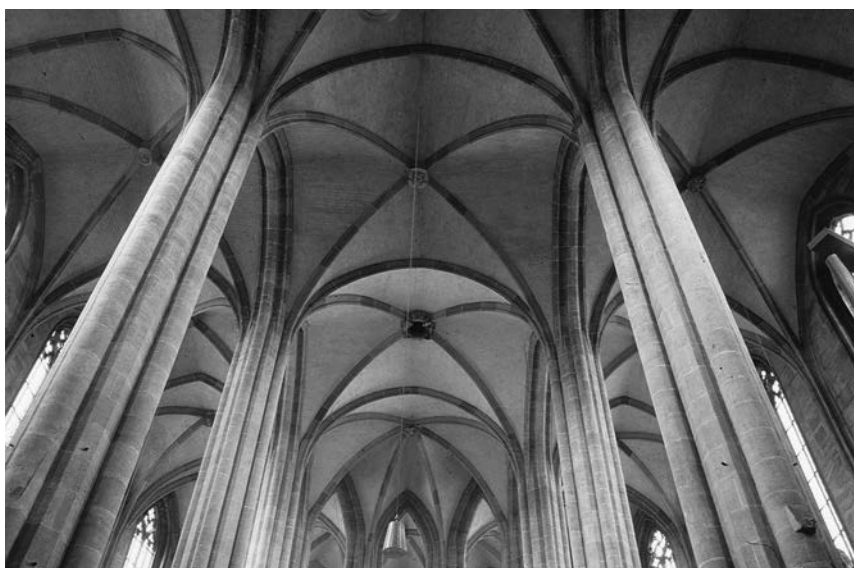


Figure 4. Church of St. Sebald, Nuremberg, Choir Vaults

One hundred years later, the situation was decidedly different. The Church of St. Anne at Annaberg is also a hall structure, yet its ornate vault is perhaps its dominating feature (figure 5). The architect was Jakob Heilmann, who overtook construction of the church after 1517 and completed the project by 1525.¹³ The

12 Nussbaum, *German Gothic Church Architecture* (see note 1), 118–9.

13 For a discussion of the career of Jakob Heilmann and the vaults at Annaberg and related sites, see Stefan Bürger, “Ebenmaß und Kontraste – Die hoch spezialisierte Raumkunst Jakob Heilmanns von Schweinfurt (1517–1525),” in *Werkmeister der Spätgotik: Personen, Amt und Image*, ed. Stefan Bürger and Bruno Klein (Darmstadt: WBG, 2010), 216–31.

ribs seem like tendrils that splay outward from their central support across the webbing of the nave and aisles. There is little intuitive reason to distinguish the various parts of the interior; all seem to merge in a single space. Indeed, the piers seem to grow into the vault, casting their ribs about the ceiling like a tree elevating its unruly branches. The vegetal simile is strengthened by the painted sprigs of foliage that emit from the intersections of ribs and from the iconography of the tree of Jesse in the aisles. Busts of Old Testament kings and prophets emerge from rib joinings, providing a literal foundation for the arboreal metaphor. The dynamic vaults of the nave and aisles at Annaberg immediately arrest attention and appear as a miraculous vital baldachin over the space of the church. The central vaults at Annaberg and related churches are unusually pictorial. Six-petal stars are isolated in at the crowns of the vault where they stand independently as objects of regard. The role of such profuse ornament changed significantly during this pivotal period.



Figure 5. Church of St. Anne, Annaberg, Vault

The number of churches with dynamic vault designs is curiously greater in the Austrian territories than in the northern German lands. Several factors have been identified by Günter Brucher and Walter Buchowiecki that may help account for this state of affairs, including a sudden and significant rise in the wealth of many towns and villages in the Austrian provinces, coupled with political

disunity that set many of the smaller towns on their own.¹⁴ But at any rate, the spatial effect of these churches is more extreme, since the vaults are much lower than those in the large German urban churches.

Indeed the spatial consequences of this type of design were more fully realized in a smaller building like the parish church of Weistrach in Upper Austria (figure 6).¹⁵ Here, the piers of the nave reach little more than half the height of those at Annaberg. The sinuous double-curved ribs form looping patterns that hover just above the head of the beholder. The hall nave as originally built was a mere three bays long; two additional bays were added at the west during the nineteenth century. The short piers are octagonal with slightly concave sides, as at Annaberg and many other Saxon churches. The ribs appear to be fastened to the piers rather than emerging from them; the springers rise from small sculptural trefoils. This peculiar form of capital rises block-like into the webbing above, while the pier expands like a funnel and merges with the vault.



Figure 6. Parish Church, Weistrach, Vaults

Near the entrance to the aisleless choir, the ribs descend along cone-like projections that are unsupported by any pier and hang in mid-air (figure 7). Their cantilevering in the nearby piers is effectively disguised. Here engineering

14 Brucher, *Gotische Baukunst* (see note 1), 123–4; Walther Buchowiecki, *Die gotischen Kirchen Österreichs* (Vienna: Deuticke, 1952), 264 n1.

15 Brucher, *Gotische Baukunst* (see note 1), 210–1.

techniques are used to convey a sense of the miraculous and mystical – a fitting property for a church interior.

At Königswiesen in Upper Austria the visitor is covered by an even more complicated pattern of curvilinear ribs (figure 8).¹⁶ The low vault is subdivided into so many individual fields that few distinct figures are apparent. The surface of the shell extends like a giant carpet over the beholder, flowing around its lace-like configuration of ribs. These rise from the piers like flames up the side of a torch – or are they again closer to vegetal forms? The effect of the heavy vault is overwhelming and suggests some heavenly landscape just out of reach of the visitor.

The latest pictorial vault designs seem to have been exceedingly well known throughout the German lands and became almost obligatory elements of church architecture. The effect of being covered by a curving field of abstract geometrical figures came to be associated with the modern experience of church-going. Their popularity was so great that they spread to the smallest village churches; in some cases inexpensive ribs made of stucco were used to imprint geometric designs on otherwise spare surfaces. One example is Weigersdorf, a village so small and isolated that today it has no regular priest. Here the nave is supported by two central piers that divide the double aisles.¹⁷ From these supports springs an intricate web of plaster ribs (figure 9). The west gallery is likewise fronted with intersecting curvilinear tracery made from the same material. Clearly the desire for decorative surfaces and for geometric design has prompted this fiction – the application of complex vaulting patterns without any pretense to function.

An even more emphatic demonstration of the use of these geometrical rib patterns as a sign of sacred space is found in the parish church of SS. Peter and Paul at Lavant in the Tirol. Here the church has no vaulting at all. The nave is covered instead by a perfectly flat wooden ceiling composed of narrow boards (figure 10).¹⁸ Yet fixed to the ceiling, which is dated 1516, are rows of intersecting ogival arches, superimposed over a grid of crossing diagonal bars that form large squares. Lavant shows the priority placed on geometric patterning divorced from any technical function and hypostatizes tendencies that are less fully realized at countless other sites.

Novel engineering techniques of vault construction contributed to the appreciation of the distinctive space of church interiors – especially when they

16 Ibid., 209–10; Nussbaum, *German Gothic Church Architecture* (see note 1), 209.

17 Brucher, *Gotische Baukunst in Österreich* (see note 1), 211; Buchowiecki, *Die gotischen Kirchen Österreichs* (see note 15), 303. The vaulting scheme comprises two parallel grids of circles and squares. The choir, which is vaulted in stone and reveals a less elaborate geometric figure, dates from the end of the fifteenth century.

18 *Die Gotik*, ed. E. Schubert et al., *Tiroler Ausstellungsstrassen* (Milan: Charta, 1994), 128–9.



Figure 7. Parish Church, Weistrach, Ribs and Cone



Figure 8. Parish Church, Königswiesen, Vaults



Figure 9. Weigersdorf, Nave Vault

radically defy expectations of the relation between pier and shell. At Sankt Valentin and Krenstetten in Upper Austria, the anonymous architect developed an unusual solution to the joining of the supporting piers to the web of the vault (figure 11).¹⁹ The overall design of the net vault over the hall nave is peculiar to Upper Austria. Its most extraordinary aspect, however, is its interface with the tall cylindrical columns that support it. The vault appears to pour down to form a type of capital, a box-like structure that surrounds the column like a clamp gripping a wooden dowel. The ribs of the vault continue down the sides of the capitals, which thus appear to be an extension of the shell. On the other hand, the square capitals mark a break with the round piers to which they are attached. These capitals are hollowed on the side facing the nave, stripped of the plaster surface. In this hollow, an underlying skeleton construction of the capitals becomes visible – one that reveals the continuation of ribs that would otherwise have remained hidden. The vault with its capitals at Sankt Valentin is a strange and fascinating conceit. It presents the vault as a fluid field, descending to meet its columnar supports yet sharply divorced from them. The vault thus seems to hover mysteriously above the observer, displaying its intricate geometric pattern as a concentrated sign of the church itself.

19 Günter Brucher, “Architektur von 1430 bis um 1530: die Eingangsphase der Spätgotik,” in *Geschichte der Bildenden Kunst in Österreich*. Vol. 3, *Spätmittelalter und Renaissance*, ed. Artur Rosenauer (Munich: Prestel, 2003), 237. The vault at Sankt Valentin bears the initials “HS” next to the year 1522.



Figure 10. Church of SS. Peter and Paul, Lavant, Nave



Figure 11. Sankt Valentin, Nave

In smaller chapels, novel technology could again create complex and innovative spatial properties that might produce a sense of the otherworldly. In certain elite examples it was possible to erect double-layer vaults that featured a register of ribs that seem to float beneath the surface of the shell. The most impressive examples of this technique are perhaps seen at Ingolstadt in Bavaria, where the six western chapels off both sides of the nave comprise a set of demonstration pieces of this technique.²⁰ Beneath a complex surface pattern of ribs, the architect, Erhard Heydenreich, has suspended a second level of flying ribs, carved to simulate pruned vines and flowers in bloom (figure 12).

A view into one of the chapels, the first on the south side, shows that even from some distance the unusual aspects of the vaults are discernable. The complex tracery patterning of the shell of the vault registers from afar, as do the suspended flying ribs carved like branches that emerge beneath. In one of these chapels we find a latticework of circular branchwork; in another, three enormous floral bosses make an appearance. The bosses, like monstrous flowers in bloom, hang several feet from the chapel ceiling and are covered with nubs, further simulating botanical forms. Both vaults suggest a departure from the pure geometric forms of the upper ribs, a seemingly miraculous sign of the *Potentia Absoluta* of God or perhaps of corruption that accompanies the transformation of the geometrical into natural forms.

Vegetal imagery comes to inhabit church vaults almost oppressively in a species of designs by the Kärnten architect Bartlmä Firtaler.²¹ At Kötschach, built from 1518 to 1527, the broad expanse of the nave vault is covered by an intricate net of vines, too fine to be taken for ribs, that intermesh and end in clover-like buds (figure 13). The decoration is entirely in stucco; molded creepers cling to the undulating shell. The church is experienced as a kind of supernatural garden, with successive floral nodes or knots coming into view above as the nave is traversed.

As we have seen in these very Late Gothic buildings, the borders of space are filled with lush and complex linear ornament. We might even say that ornament can be understood as the sensory presentation of a building – the building as phenomenon. This notion of ornament as the outward or sensory trapping of architecture tallies with older notions of ornament as dress. A number of early commentators refer to ornament precisely as the clothing of the building, a necessary adjunct to its inner properties. The fourteenth-

20 Ethan Matt Kavaler, "Nature and the Chapel Vaults at Ingolstadt: Structuralist and Other Perspectives," *The Art Bulletin* 87 (2005), 230–48.

21 Brucher, *Gotische Baukunst in Österreich*, 282–4; G. Biedermann, "Der Beitrag Kärntens zur Entwicklung gotischer Baukunst," *Acta Historiae Artium* 23 (1977), 40–1; Siegfried Hartwagner, "Neue Beiträge zur Baugeschichte der Pfarrkirche von Kötschach im Gailtal," *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* 10 (1956), 149–56.



Figure 12. Ingolstadt, Chapel Vault



Figure 13. Kötschach, Nave Vault

century Parisian author Jean de Jardun waxes ecstatic over the Cathedral of Notre Dame in these terms: “Where indeed, I ask, would they find two towers of such magnificence and perfection [...] clothed round about with such a multiple variety of ornaments?”²² The idea of ornament as the dress of an edifice was equally appealing to proponents of the new Italianate or *Welsch* mode in the early sixteenth century. Below, the Nuremberger Hans Sachs describes a woodcut of a triumphal arch designed by his compatriot Peter Flötner for the entry of Emperor Charles V into the city in 1544. This ephemeral structure was decorated in the Italianate manner, which was understood as a distinctive “clothing” of the intrinsic structure – a “garment of style” in the words of Andrew Morrall:²³

Zierlich bekleydet hin und her,
 Als ob sie merbelstaynen wer,
 Mit welsch columnen und capteln,
 Mit schoen gesimsen und holkeln.

(Decoratively clothed here and there / As though they were marble, / With welsch columns and capitals / With beautiful cornices and fluting.)

Even in Italy we find an echo of these sentiments. Alberti insists that buildings are to be first constructed “naked” before they are dressed in ornament. The metaphor of ornament as dress is complemented by that of ornament as the “flesh” of a building that provides the external or epidermal layer, the surface, to the internal skeleton of the structure. Veronica Biermann remarks that Alberti was most likely following rhetorical models in adopting this vision.²⁴ Classical authors such as Quintillian and Tacitus had referred to rhetorical ornament as the flesh or muscles that filled out the skeleton of verbal argument. This, too, was an appealing metaphor. It is likewise applied to architecture in the famous letter

22 Erik Inglis, “Gothic Architecture and a Scholastic: Jean de Jandun’s *Tractatus de laudibus Parisius* (1323),” *Gesta* 42, no. 2 (2003), 65, 67: “Ubi enim, queso, reperient ipsi duas talis magnificentie turres perfectas sic excelsas, sic latas, sic fortes, tali et tam multiplici decorum varietate circumamictas?”

23 Andrew Morrall, “The Italianate or ‘Welsch’ as a Stylistic Category in 16th Century South German Art: Some Uses and Problems of Interpretation” (Paper presented in the session “Antiquity and Italian Mediation in Northern Europe, 1400–1700” at the Meeting of the College Art Association of America, Atlanta, GA, February 17, 2005). I thank Andrew Morrall for allowing me to cite his unpublished paper.

24 Joseph Rykwert, “Inheritance or Tradition,” *Architectural Design* 49 (1979), 3; Veronica Biermann, *Ornamentum: Studien zum Traktat “De re aedificatoria” des Leon Battista Alberti* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1997), 144–5. Earlier, Alberti refers to the building as the skeleton minus the flesh, or ligaments of ornament; see Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, trans. Joseph Rykwert, Neil Leach, and Robert Tavernor ([1988] Reprint, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), book 3, chap. 12, 79.

to Pope Leo X that bemoans the destruction of ancient buildings: “but without ornament, and as such, the skeleton of the body without the flesh.”²⁵

It is worth noting that Alberti’s treatise may well have impressed learned and professional circles in Germany and the north, offering them some intellectual basis for a consideration of their own architecture. Copies of the first published edition of 1485 were owned by the prominent humanists Conrad Peutinger in Augsburg and Hartmann Schedel in Nuremberg – the latter with notable professional ties to Albrecht Dürer.²⁶

The space of early modern churches can be understood in many ways. There is the hierarchal space of the traditional basilicas with their elevated central vessel mirroring the elevated status of ecclesiastical processions conducted down their course. There is the monumental unified space of hall churches. But in all these structures, the boundaries of movement and vision intruded into the experience of space, cutting it off and containing it. These borders were frequently appointed with rich geometric and vegetal ornament, covering their surface. Choir enclosures and lofts, chapel screens, and galleries blocked access to the many and redirected passage along other interior thoroughfares. But the most immediately appreciable boundary was the vault of the church. The eyes of the visitor were immediately directed upward toward the decorated containing shell. This might be likened to the vaults of heaven with Platonic geometric inscription or to the heavenly garden with vegetal incrustation. In either case, the vault distinguished the church interior as a special place, a locus appropriate to ritual and prayer.

25 *Scritti d’arte del cinquecento*, ed. Paola Barocchi (Milan: Riccardo Ricciardi, 1977), 2972: “ma non però tanto che non vi restasse quasi la maccina del tutto, ma senza ornamenti, e per dir così, l’ossa del corpo senza carne.” The letter is presumed by some to have been written by Baldasare Castiglione. See also Biermann, *Ornamentum* (see note 25), 146–8.

26 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Sig. 2° Inc.c.a. 1540 m; Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Sig. 2° Inc.c.a. 1541. Peutinger studied at the universities of Bologna and Padua before returning to his home town of Augsburg, where he served as town clerk and advisor to the emperor. His enormous library was famous in its day. On Peutinger’s antiquarian activities and his relationship with the Emperor Maximilian, see Christopher S. Wood, “Maximilian I as Archeologist,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 58 (2005), 1128–74, 1130–8.

Arthur Groos

The City as Community and Space

Nuremberg *Stadtlob*, 1447–1530

For Claudia Lazzaro

The literary genre devoted to the praise of cities, usually referred to as *laudes urbium* for classical antiquity and *Städtelob* for the early modern vernacular, is often thought of as having few, if any, modern counterparts.¹ It might therefore be helpful to begin with a prominent exception: Hans Sachs's *Wahn*-monologue at the beginning of Act III of Wagner's *Meistersinger von Nürnberg*. This famous scene has attracted substantial scholarly attention, in part for the Schopenhauer-laden discussion of *Wahn* or delusion, and in part for its seminal musical representation of ambience. What interests me here, though, is something less obvious but no less intriguing – Sachs's sudden interruption of his train of thought to evoke his beloved Nuremberg as a counter-example to the madness underlying human history:

Wie friedsam treuer Sitten,
getrost in Tat und Werk,
liegt nicht in Deutschlands Mitten
mein liebes Nürenberg!²

(How peaceably, with faithful customs, secure in acts and deeds, lies my beloved Nuremberg in the middle of Germany!)

Scholars frequently assume that the monologue as a whole derives its inspiration from the prominent folio volume that Sachs has balanced on his lap since the beginning of Act III ([Sachs] “*hat vor sich auf dem Schoße einen großen Folianten und ist im Lesen vertieft,*” a presence also re-emphasized by the stage direction after David leaves his master's studio: “[Sachs] *immer noch den Folianten auf dem Schoße, lehnt sich, mit untergestütztem Arm, sinnend darauf*”

1 For a survey with earlier literature, see Hartmut Kugler, *Die Vorstellung der Stadt in der Literatur des deutschen Mittelalters* (Munich: Artemis, 1986), 17–37, and more recently, Nikolaus Thurn, “Deutsche Neulateinische Städtelobgedichte: Ein Vergleich ausgewählter Beispiele des 16. Jahrhunderts,” *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch* 4 (2002), 253–70.

2 Richard Wagner, *Die Musikdramen, mit einem Vorwort von Joachim Kaiser* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1971), 461–2.

(*Sachs, with the folio volume still on his lap, leans on it broodingly, supported by his arm*). Some interpreters suggest that this book is from the folio edition of Hans Sachs's own works, though the appropriate volume appeared decades after the period in which the opera is set;³ others suggest that he is reading Schopenhauer, though to my knowledge Schopenhauer wasn't widely read in the sixteenth century, let alone in folio format. But inasmuch as Sachs's initial words in the *Wahn*-monologue reveal that he has been looking "in city- and world-chronicles,"

Wahn! Wahn!
Überall Wahn!
Wohin ich forschend blick
In Stadt- und Weltchronik [...]

(Delusion! Delusion! Delusion everywhere! Wherever I search in city and world-chronicles[...])

it seems more likely, if not obvious – at least to a medievalist – that he has been reading the most famous example of Nuremberg printing, the *Nuremberg Chronicle* or *Schedelsche Weltchronik*, edited by Dr. Hartmann Schedel and printed by Anton Koberger in 1493.

Folios 99v – 100r of this world-chronicle famously present a two-page illustration of Nuremberg (Figure 1), the largest image and one of the best-known in the entire volume.⁴ The slightly elevated view from the south towards the Frauentor emphasizes – typically for medieval city-views – an extraordinarily fortified, double-walled city, appropriating a conceptual and iconographic tradition associating the city synecdochically with its protective walls.⁵ The display of Hapsburg eagles in several places further identifies this as an Imperial city. From the right the River Pegnitz runs past the Hadermühle, the first paper mill north of the Alps, emphasizing the artiginal/mercantile basis of Nuremberg's wealth and power, and dividing the city into two parishes, whose churches of St. Sebald and St. Laurence are identified to the lower left of the Imperial Castle that dominates the upper right center of the illustration. This image defined the iconography of Nuremberg for decades, before it was replaced by perspectively

3 Cf. Barbara Könniker, *Hans Sachs* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1971), 13.

4 Cf. Hartmut Kugler, "Nürnberg auf Blatt 100. Das verstädterte Geschichtsbild der Schedelschen Weltchronik," in *Stadt-Ansichten*, ed. Jürgen Lehmann and Eckart Liebau (Würzburg: Ergon, 2000), 103 – 23.

5 See Peter Johaneck, "Die Mauer und die Heiligen: Stadtvorstellungen im Mittelalter," in *Das Bild der Stadt in der Neuzeit 1400 – 1800*, ed. Wolfgang Behringer and Bernd Roeck (Munich: Beck, 1999), 26 – 38.

improved images with a Protestant and Council ideology, and it remains today the most famous visual representation of the early modern city.⁶



Figure 1. Nuremberg (*Nuremberg Chronicle*)

More relevant for our concerns is the fact that the ensuing folios present a detailed history and description of Nuremberg, which includes the statement that the city lies “schier in dem mittel teutschs lands” (right in the middle of Germany, *Nuremberg Chronicle*, fol. 101r, lines 16 f.). This is, apparently, the very page that Wagner’s Sachs has turned to “with a loud noise” (*mit starkem Geräusch*) at the beginning of Act III, and that has provided him with the crucial phrase for his praise of the city. Although Wagner is unlikely to have known other examples, the assertion that Nuremberg lies in the center of Germany and by extension Europe is a commonplace ‘fact’ in Renaissance Latin geographies and encomia of Nuremberg.⁷ An epigram by Conrad Celtis, for example, praises

6 Jeffrey Chips Smith, “Imaging and Imagining Nuremberg,” in *Topographies of the Early Modern City*, ed. Arthur Groos, Hans-Jochen Schiewer, and Markus Stock, *Transatlantische Studien zu Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit 3* (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2008), 17–41.

7 Cf. the pilgrimage map by Erhard Etzlaub, published for the jubilee year of 1500, with Nuremberg at its center, discussed by Brigitte Englisch, “Erhard Etzlaub’s Projection and Methods of Mapping,” *Imago Mundi* 48 (1996), 103–23, esp. 112. The topos of Nuremberg’s centrality seems to have originated with Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, *Europa* (chap. 39); it was then taken up by Hartmann Schedel’s *Buch der cronicken* (Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493), fol. ci^r; by the first German poet laureate, Conrad Celtis, in his *Norimberga* (chap. 2), in *Conrad Celtis und sein Buch über Nürnberg*, ed. Albert Werminghoff (Freiburg: J. Boltze,

the city as lying “in medio Europe mediaque in Teutonis ora” (in the center of Europe and in the middle of Germany’s borders). Wagner appropriated this topos with particular effectiveness as part of the opera’s attempt to represent Nuremberg not just as the ‘central’ German city in an extended metaphorical sense, but also as a paradise (another Renaissance topos, to which we will return), which Hans Sachs advises the heroine – symbolically named Eva – not to leave in his Act II shoemaker’s-aria, “Jerum! jerum!”

I.

Thanks to the extremely useful index of medieval and early modern city descriptions in Hartmut Kugler’s *Die Vorstellung der Stadt in der Literatur des deutschen Mittelalters* (1986), a wide variety of *laudes urbium* or *Städtelob* can be accessed for contemporary debates on historical representations of space.⁸ In the following discussion, I want to examine the earliest fifteenth and sixteenth-century Nuremberg examples of the genre, but with somewhat different methodological considerations than Kugler’s pioneering study.⁹ Two preliminary methodological considerations seem necessary, first on city representations in general, and then on the genre of *Städtelob* in particular.

To begin with, any discussion of poems in praise of cities needs to be inflected by an often overlooked distinction in the conception of cities themselves, one between the city as a social space or *civitas*, and as an architectural space or *urbs*.

1921), 107, as well as the epigram “In Norimbergam” (V, 80), in *Fünf Bücher Epigramme*, ed. Karl Hartfelder (Hildesheim: Olms 1963), 119, and by humanists such as Johannes Cochlaeus, *Brevis Germaniae descriptio* (1512), chap. 4 (“De Norinberga, Germaniae centro”), ed. Karl Langosch (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1960), 74. On Nuremberg as the imagined “capital” of Germany, see Stephen Brockmann, *Nuremberg: The Imaginary Capital* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2006).

8 The basic text is Henri Lefebvre, *La production de l’espace* (1974), trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991). For the medieval period, see esp. *Medieval Practices of Space*, ed. Barbara A. Hanawalt and Michal Kobińska (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000). Also, for example, *Raum und Raumvorstellungen im Mittelalter*, ed. Jan A. Aertsen and Andreas Speer (Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, 1998); *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Mayke de Jong and Francis Theuvs (Leiden: Brill, 2001); Dawn Marie Hayes, *Body and Sacred Space in Medieval Europe, 1100–1389* (New York: Routledge, 2003); John Rennie Short, *Making Space: Revisioning the World, 1475–1600* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 2004); *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Andrew Spicer and Sarah Hamilton (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2005); *Women’s Space: Patronage, Place, and Gender in the Medieval Church*, ed. Virginia Chieffo Raguin and Sarah Stanbury (Albany: SUNY Press, 2005); *People and Space in the Middle Ages, 300–1300*, ed. Wendy Davies, Guy Halsall, and Andrew Reynolds (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006); *Topographies of the Early Modern City* (see note 6).

9 Hartmut Kugler, *Die Vorstellung der Stadt* (see note 1).

This distinction goes back to classical antiquity and was neatly formulated in the first medieval encyclopedia, Isidore of Seville's seminal *Etymologiae*.¹⁰

Civitas est hominum multitudo societatis vinculo adunata, dicta a civibus, id est ab ipsis incolis urbis pro eo quod plurimorum consciscat et contineat vitas. Nam *urbs* ipsa moenia sunt, *civitas* enim non saxa, sed habitatores vocantur [...] Vrbs vocata ab orbe quod antiquae civitates in orbe fiebant; vel ab urbo parte aratri, quo muri designabantur [...] (XV.ii,1 – 3)

(A city [*civitas*] is a multitude of people united by a bond of community, named for its citizens [*civis*], that is, from the residents of the city because it has jurisdiction over and 'contains the lives' [*contineat vitas*] of many. Now *urbs* is the name for the actual buildings, while *civitas* is not the stones, but the inhabitants [...] 'City' [*urbs*] is from 'circle' [*orbis*], because ancient cities were made circular, or from 'plow-handle' [*urbus*], a part of the plow by which the site of the walls would be marked out.)

Two famous representations of ideal cities will help illustrate this distinction. The first is the image of the good city republic (Figure 2) from Ambrogio Lorenzetti's allegorical frescoes in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena (ca. 1340).¹¹ This aggregation of buildings is not primarily a particular architectural space or an *urbs* in Isidore's sense, since the only identifiable Sienese building, the Cathedral, is literally marginalized to the upper left corner of the scene. Instead, this fresco represents the city as an ideal social space or community, whose citizens benefit from the *Buon Governo* of the ruling council. At the left, there is what is commonly interpreted as a wedding procession; slightly above and to the right under an arch, men and children talk and play – both images of the harmony uniting the inhabitants of the city. To their right ten young people,¹² slightly larger than other figures, are dancing in the street, something forbidden by Sienese law – they are usually interpreted allegorically as another symbol of civic unity, or even an icon of the city itself, since when viewed anamorphotically from a perspective above the street they form an intricate letter 'S'.¹³ In the loggias to the right Lorenzetti presents a representative visual list of the crafts, professions, and trades that drive the economic dynamo of the city and enable

10 *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarvm sive originvm*, ed. W. M. Lindsay (Oxford: Clarendon, 1911), the translation is adapted from Stephen A. Barney, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (West Nyack, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 305.

11 On the following, see Chiara Frugoni, *A Distant City: Images of Urban Experience in the Medieval World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), esp. 158 – 63; Randolph Starn, *Ambrogio Lorenzetti: The Palazzo Pubblico, Siena* (New York: Braziller, 1994); Mariella Carlotti, *Il bene di tutti. Gli affreschi del buon governo di Ambrogio Lorenzetti nel Palazzo Pubblico di Siena* (Florence: Società editrice fiorentina, 2010), 67 – 74.

12 See Quentin Skinner, "Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Buon Governo Frescoes: Two Old Questions, Two New Answers," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 62 (1999), 1 – 28.

13 Christine Milner, "The Pattern of the Dance in Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Peaceful City," *Bullettino senese di storia patria* 90 (Siena: Accademia Senese degli Intronati, 1994), 232 – 48.

the leisure activities to the left: a shoe-maker, a law professor (note that in the ideal city every teacher has an attentive audience), a shop for wine and cured meat, and to the right of that a tanner, surrounded by other citizens conveying the agricultural products from the villas outside the city that supply it with provisions. This city is a *civitas*, whose visual space foregrounds harmonious social activity.



Figure 2. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *The Good City Republic*, Palazzo Pubblico, Siena

My second example is a Renaissance image from the late fifteenth century, now in the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore, variously attributed to Fra Carnevale or Piero della Francesca (Figure 3).¹⁴ It emphasizes a radically different conception of the ideal city, the buildings that distinguish the *urbs* as cityscape. What invests this city with a sense of unity is not its populace and their activities, which are barely present, but the harmonious perspectival layout of various types of geometrically designed buildings *alla antica* around a central square, in whose corners allegorical statues of the cardinal virtues allude to wise rulership. To the sides are two private residences or palazzi; in the background from left to right a baptistery, triumphal arch (*à la* Constantine), and colosseum represent the principal components of a humanistically conceived city, and the values, respectively, of religion, military security, and a major sports franchise.

These two idealizing city views obviously comprise the extremes in a spectrum of possibilities, and perhaps even suggest the epistemic changes that perceptions of the city have undergone between the Middle Ages and the modern

14 See Richard Krautheimer, "The Panels in Urbino, Baltimore and Berlin Reconsidered," in *The Renaissance from Brunelleschi to Michelangelo: The Representation of Architecture*, ed. Henry A. Millon and Vittorio Magnago Lampugnani (New York: Rizzoli, 1994), 233–57; Philip Jacks, "The Renaissance Prospettiva: Perspectives of the Ideal City," in *The Cambridge Companion to Piero della Francesca*, ed. Jeryldene M. Wood (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 115–33.



Figure 3. Fra Carnevale or Piero della Francesca, *The Ideal City*, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore

industrial period. Our perspective, conditioned in large measure by Renaissance visual culture, tends to privilege a conception of the city as *urbs*, i.e., as a physical architectural space, whereas in early modern *Städte lob* themselves the conception of the city as a community or social space often predominates.¹⁵ In this regard it is significant that Johann von Soest's treatise, *Wie men wol eyn statt regyrn soll* (How a City Should be Ruled, ca. 1494), begins with an obvious gesture towards Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*, but paraphrases it only partially in order to emphasize the city as *communitas*:

Eyn statt ist eyn communitett
 In lyeß und frontschaftt vest und stett.
 Da yn men lebt myt eern und nutz
 In fryd und tughend schyrm und schutz [...]
 Das wort, merck, statt hot das off ym,
 Das eynigkeit myt aller tzym
 In eyner statt behafft sol syn [...]
 Dan das wort statt heyst civitas,
 Quasi civium unitas.
 Das ist zu teutsch so vil gerett
 Als burgerlich vereynung stett.¹⁶ (23–4)

(A city is a community firm and constant in respect and friendship, in which one lives honorably and usefully in peace, righteousness, and security [...] Note that the word implies that unity should rule in a city [...] For the word 'city' means *civitas quasi civium unitas*. In German that means: constant civil unity.)

15 For a stimulating perspective on the coexistence of 'communal' and 'choreographic' maps and views, see Richard L. Kagan, "Urbs and Civitas in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Spain," in *Envisioning the City: Six Studies in Urban Cartography*, ed. David Buisseret (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 75–108.

16 Johann von Soest, *Wie men wol eyn statt regyrn sol*, ed. Heinz-Dieter Heimann, Soester Beiträge 48 (Soest: Mocker & Jahn, 1986), 23–4.

II.

My second general methodological point has to do with the fact that the florescence of *Städtelob* in the fifteenth century testifies to two rather different origins, whose interrelationship still needs further research: 1) the re-emergence of the classical *laudes urbium* in humanistic circles and 2) the desire of a new class of city dwellers to represent early modern urban experience in their own language. Scholarship in general has tended to separate Latin and vernacular encomia on account of presumed linguistic, social, and discursive differences,¹⁷ but this distinction may unreflectingly repeat ahistorical assumptions by earlier scholars that need to be re-examined.

The principal reason underlying the need for a reassessment lies in the urban cultural context from which analyses of individual encomia have often been divorced. For genres like the *Städtelob*, which crucially involve the reputation of a city and its public relations, there existed a sophisticated discourse network with a complex horizon of expectations, especially within the ruling city council, which preserved earlier encomia of the city and commissioned, rewarded, and in most cases permitted the publication of new poems. In the broader reading circles within a city these poems originally circulated as manuscripts, then as booklets: for example, there are no fewer than nineteen manuscripts and two printings of Hans Rosenplüt's *Spruch von Nürnberg*. Moreover, as we know from related genres such as imperial entries, similar publications in other cities were not only read and collected in Nuremberg, but also translated (from Italian as well as Latin) and published, both as vernacular prose broadsides and as verse adaptations (*Spruchdichtung*).¹⁸ Among these overlapping readerships of city councilors, writers in Latin and German, and literate readers in general, the discourse network of city literature extended not only diachronically within the city but also diatopically between other cities, social classes, and languages.

It therefore seems essential to preface any discussion of early modern Nuremberg *Städtelob* with a Renaissance Latin example, in this instance 'the' Ren-

17 See, e. g., Albrecht Classen, "Hans Sachs and his Encomia Songs on German Cities: Zooming Into and Out of Urban Space from a Poetic Perspective. With a Consideration of Hartmann Schedel's *Liber Chronicarum* (1493)," in *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age*, ed. Albrecht Classen (Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, 2009), 567–94, 577; Kugler, *Vorstellung der Stadt* (see note 1), 212–9; Jean Lebeau, "L'Eloge de Nuremberg dans la tradition populaire et la littérature humaniste de 1447 à 1532," in *Hommage à Dürer: Strasbourg et Nuremberg dans la première moitié du XVIe siècle*. Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg (19–20 novembre 1971), (Strasbourg: Istra, 1972), 15–35, 21–2.

18 Cf. Arthur Groos, "Negotiating Nuremberg: The Entry of Charles V into Nuremberg (1542)," in *Constructions of Textual Authority in German Literature of the Medieval and Early Modern Periods*, ed. Claire Baldwin and James Poag (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 135–56.

aissance example: Leonardo Bruni's *Laudatio Florentinae urbis* of 1403/04,¹⁹ which in turn models itself on Aelius Aristides' second-century praise of Athens (*Panathenaikos*) to establish a parallel between Athenian and Florentine republicanism, grounding the city's sense of community in its foundation during the Roman republic. In presenting the geographical setting of the city, Bruni appropriates a series of similes from Aristides to evoke the visual experience of Florence as an urban environment. The second of these, in particular, an ekphrasis of a round shield or buckler, provides an analogy for envisioning Florence by proceeding concentrically outward (emphasizing the geometrically 'perfect' shape of the circle) from the center to suggest how one might 'see' the city and its environs:

Urbs autem media est tanquam antistes quedam ac dominatrix; illa vero circum adstant, suo queque loco constituta. Et lunam a stellis circumdari poeta recte diceret quispiam fitque ex eo res pulcherrima visu. Quae admodum enim in clipeo, circulis sese ad invicem includentibus, intimus orbis in umbelicum desint, qui medius est totius clipei locus, eodem hic itidem modo videmus regiones quasi circulos quosdam ad invicem clausas ac circumfusas, quarum urbs quidem prima est, quasi umbelicus quidam totius ambitus media. Hec autem menibus cingitur atque suburbis. Suburbia rursus ville circumdant, villas autem oppida; atque hec omnis extrema regio maiore ambitu circuloque complectitur.²⁰

(The city itself stands in the center, like a guardian and lord, while the towns surround Florence on the periphery, each in its own place. A poet [i. e., Aristedes] might well compare it to the moon surrounded by the stars, and the whole vista is very beautiful to the eyes. Just as on a round buckler, where one ring is laid around the other, the innermost ring loses itself in the central knob that is the middle of the entire buckler. So here we see regions lying like rings surrounding and enclosing one another. Within them Florence is first, similar to the central knob, the center of the whole orbit. The city itself is ringed by walls and suburbs. Around the suburbs, in turn, lies a ring of country houses, and around them the circle of towns. The whole outermost region is enclosed in a still larger orbit and circle.)²¹

Bruni's proto-perspectival point of view becomes explicit in later appropriations, such as Enea Silvio Piccolomini's description of Basel (1434),²² which

19 See Hans Baron, "Imitation, Rhetoric, and Quattrocento Thought in Bruni's *Laudatio*," in *From Petrarch to Leonardo Bruni: Studies in Humanistic and Political Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 151–71.

20 Leonardo Bruni, *Laudatio Florentine urbis*, ed. Stefano U. Baldassarri, *Millennio Medievale* 16 (Florence: SISMEL, 2000), 11.

21 The translation is by Benjamin Kohl, *The Earthly Republic: Italian Humanists on Government and Society*, ed. Benjamin G. Kohl and Ronald G. Witt (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978), 135–75, here 144–5. On this passage, see Baron, "Imitation," (see note 19), 156–9.

22 Enea Silvio Piccolomini, *Papst Pius II, Ausgewählte Texte*, ed. and trans. Berthe Widmer (Basel and Stuttgart: Schwabe, 1960), 348–70.

famously introduces the changing perspective of a moving observer on the river flowing through the city, and profoundly influenced other descriptions for more than a century.²³

Vernacular German *Städte lob*, in contrast, originate not in a learned but in a commercial milieu, which often features a characteristic mercantile technique in praising cities, that of the list or inventory, and articulate an indigenous middle-class sense of community,²⁴ keeping the focus within the city walls rather than extending outward to the surrounding environs. Nonetheless, vernacular *Städte lob* can also be equally intertextual and represent the city not only as a community ruled by a wise council, but also as a spatial system, including even the Latin tradition and other concerns into its narrative purview. The following discussion considers the discursive network linking the three earliest examples of Nuremberg *Städte lob*, using Hans Rosenplüt's *Spruch von Nürnberg* (1447), Kunz Has's *Eyn new gedicht der loblichen Stat Nürnberg* (1490/92), and Hans Sachs's *Ein lobspruch der statt Nürnberg* (1530).²⁵

The oldest German vernacular city encomium (1447), Hans Rosenplüt's *Spruch von Nürnberg* (Poem about Nuremberg), self-consciously dates and advertises the new genre in its opening verses:²⁶

Do vierzehenhundert vierzig und siben
Mit datum ward in brive geschriben,
Do ward gemacht ein newes geticht,
Das von der stat zu Nurmberg spricht:
O Nurmberg, du edeler fleck [...] ²⁷ (1–5)

(When letters were dated fourteen hundred and forty-seven, a new poem was made that speaks about Nuremberg: O Nuremberg, thou noble place [...])

In spite of the opening gesture towards space, the poem generates its praise not – as would eventually become the case – by evoking the Nuremberg cityscape, but rather by asserting its uniqueness vis-à-vis other cities. It does so by structuring the poem as a series of lists, which are indicated like *items* in an inventory by deictic markers, such as “noch eins” or “noch ein ding,” etc.²⁸ The first list (15–

23 See Baron, “Imitation” (see note 19), 152; Kugler, *Vorstellung der Stadt* (see note 1), 195–210.

24 Cf. the visual list in Lorenzetti's representation of Siena, discussed above.

25 On Nuremberg encomia, see: Jean Lebeau, “L'Eloge de Nuremberg dans la tradition populaire et la littérature humaniste de 1447 à 1532” (see note 17).

26 Rosenplüt also uses this device later in his praise of Bamberg (1491), verse 1: “Hort ein schon neües gedicht.” *Hans Rosenplüt: Reimpaarsprüche und Lieder*, ed. Jörn Reichel (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1990), 235.

27 *Ibid.*, 220–34.

28 Not surprisingly, what begins as the fifth of Rosenplüt's series of lists (“noch find ich ein ding,” 347), does not contain a list, but a singularity, “das allerweisslichst wergk / das ich in keiner stat nie vant” (348–9), the wise city council, whose rule – superior to that of ari-

82) distinguishes Nuremberg by drawing attention to five charities managed by the Council: the Zwölfbrüderhaus, two orphanages, the care of lepers at Easter, the endowment of poor girls with dowries, the weekly distribution of provisions to the homeless. Secondly (83–188), it is adorned by seven jewels or “cleinot” (83): the walls and moat, the surrounding forest, a quarry, the Kornhaus, the Schöner Brunnen, the river Pegnitz, and relics of Christ’s crucifixion. The third and most extensive list (189–296) is devoted to the city’s unparalleled assortment of artisans: Rosenplüt proudly boasts that if the emperor scoured the earth for the products of all the various *artes*, he would discover that everything everywhere can be found in this one city, “die kunst vindt er in Nurmberg all” (215), thanks to its industrious citizens. And fourthly (297–334), the city is one of five holy cities (“heilig stet”): Jerusalem, Rome, Trier, Cologne, Nuremberg. As is often the case in pre-Reformation *Städtelob*, the framing first and fourth lists emphasize the city’s piety, beginning with individual local charitable institutions and ending by placing Nuremberg in a world hierarchy of Christian cities.

Except for naming the Schöner Brunnen and two buildings (the Zwölfbrüderhaus and the Kornhaus), Rosenplüt’s encomium is remarkable in that it conveys little sense of Nuremberg as a distinct spatial topography, i. e., the city as *urbs*. The second list of “jewels,” for example, somewhat strangely for modern readers, commingles natural features of the surroundings with buildings and monuments. To be sure, those natural features – the forest, the quarry, and the River Pegnitz – are exploited commercially by the city’s inhabitants, and the pragmatic emphasis on use-value suggests that Rosenplüt’s imagined city is primarily a middle-class social community or *civitas*. This in turn may explain why the first list of charities commingles both specific institutions and particular activities, the common denominator being charitable social ‘practice’ in general rather than the ‘buildings’ in which charitable activities take place. Given this focus on the community, it seems logical that the central and longest list focuses on the city’s artisans, who surpass those of all other cities: “Dorumb ich Nurmberg preise und lob, / Wann sie leit allen steten ob / Mit hubschen kunstreichen mannen” (Therefore I praise Nuremberg, because it leads all cities in its clever, inventive men [285–7]).

Rosenplüt’s poem was printed in 1488 and again in 1490.²⁹ In the latter year, Kunz Has, who is later documented as a copyist in the brewery and as a honey and nut measurer (*Honig- und Nußmesser*),³⁰ published *Eyn new gedicht der*

stocratic courts or guilds – collectively shepherds all its citizens, and guarantees the peace that is the foundation of communal prosperity.

29 Markus Ayryer, ca. 1488, and Hans Hoffmann, 1490. See Reichel (see note 26), xviii.

30 See Ernst Matthias, “Der Nürnberger Meistersänger Kunz Has,” *Mitteilungen des Vereins für*

loblichen Stat Nürnberg (A New Poem Praising Nuremberg); an expanded version followed two years later.³¹ The introduction explicitly refers to Rosenplüt (“der schneperer,” 10), conceding that his poem has already praised the wise Council of Nuremberg, and the city, and its ‘jewels’, “den weisen rat / czu nürnberg vnd auch die stat, /Vnd die kleinet auch darynnen” (11–3). However, Has faults his predecessor for not having accounted adequately for the mercantile activities of the city and their supervision by the ruling Council:

Jedoch so hat er nit verzelt,
Was die von nürnberg enthelt,
Das in irem stand beleiben
Vnd solchen grossen handeln treiben
Dardurch ir nam wirt weit genent:
Das macht ir treflich regiment,
Als sy regieren ir gemein
Von dem grossen bis auff das klein,
Als das man wigt, miszt oder zelt
Seind amptleut auch darzu bestelt,
Die all guter schetzen vnd schawen. (17–27)

(Nonetheless he has not written about those in Nuremberg who remain in their estate and pursue such extensive trade that their names are mentioned far and wide: that is made possible by the splendid government with which they rule their community from high to low, so that whatever is weighed, measured or counted has officials hired to evaluate and examine all merchandise.)

As might be expected, the ensuing poem consists largely of a detailed list with descriptions of materials and products sold in Nuremberg, along with a description of their markets and the ways they are weighed, measured, and controlled for quality.³² The conclusion, however, an extended encomium of the Council, begins with an invocation of the city that resonates with the larger history of Nuremberg *Stadtlob*:

Frew dich, du keyserliche stat,
Das du sollich regirer hast [...]
Darumb so nenn ichs pillich weis,
In allen dingen thond sy vleis,

Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg 7 (1888), 169–236, esp. 170 f.; and Helmut Weinacht, „Has, Kunz,“ *Verfasserlexikon*, vol. 3 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1981), col. 538–44.

31 No date and place are given. See K. A. Barack, *Ein Lobgedicht auf Nürnberg aus dem Jahre 1490 von dem Meister-Sänger Kuntz Hass* (Nürnberg: Bauer & Raspe, 1858), 4. The following references are to Barack’s edition. The additions from 1492 are printed in Ernst Matthias, “Kunz Has” (see note 30), 180–2.

32 These include the task of measuring and weighing nuts and honey, a position Has later filled (114–21). As whimsical as it might seem at first glance, this job is crucially associated with the production of Nuremberg *Lebkuchen*.

Die stat behalten sy in paw,
 Das sy vor sorgen werden graw.
 Maur vnd graben thond sy schmucken
 Sicht man da zwelf schöner prucken,
 Aus grundt gebawt von den fal.
 O nürnberg du schöner sal!
 Wer kan dein statut vergelten?
 Er ist nit weis, der dich thut schelten.
 Behüt dich got vor valschen zungen, Weisheit ist in dir entsprungen
 Recht als ein rosengart geplümbt,
 Vor andern stetten hoch berümbt. (596–614)

(Rejoice, imperial city, that thou hast such rulers [...] Therefore I say it is appropriate that they are diligent in all things; they keep city in such good repair that they become grey with worry. They adorn the walls and moat; one can see twelve beautiful bridges erected from the ground up. O Nuremberg, you beautiful residence! Who can gainsay your laws? He is not wise who reproaches you. May God protect you against slanderers; wisdom arises in you as in a rose-garden in blossom, exalted above all other cities.)

This *captatio benevolentiae* does more than praise the Council, the primary audience for *Städte lob*. In mentioning the Council's maintenance of the city's physical infrastructure, Has begins to evoke it as an architectural space or *urbs*. This space is represented synecdochically by the 'ornate' walls and moat that provide for its outward defense and by the bridges – 'beautiful' bridges – that unify its interior spaces. Nuremberg has not only artisans and merchants, but also an aesthetic cityscape, it is – as defined by Isidore – not only a *civitas* but also an *urbs*.

A number of passages reveal that Has studied Rosenplüt's poem carefully,³³ and even attempts to outdo him, evoking the city not just as a geographical locus ("O Nurmberg, du edeler fleck," 5) but as a 'beautiful' edifice ("O nürnberg du schöner sal!"), the maintenance of which not only causes some grey hair ("manig hawpt wil vor wunder graen," 94) but general ageing ("Das sy vor sorgen werden graw"). Above all, Rosenplüt's concluding metaphor of the city as a garden of peace ("frides garten," 388) becomes more specific and elaborate in Has's poem: a blossoming rose-garden, "ein rosengart geplümbt" – which is also a pun on the name Rosenplüt itself. As we will see, this metaphor of the rose-garden in turn provides a point of departure for Hans Sachs's attempt to surpass his predecessors by transposing their encomia of Nuremberg into a larger and more learned discursive context.

33 Cf. Rosenplüt's "er ist nicht weys der Nürnberg flucht" (335) or "die warheit ist in dir entsprossen" (8).

III

Hans Sachs's *Ein lobspruch der statt Nürnberg* (Praise of the City of Nuremberg), the first of his many city encomia,³⁴ had a contentious and extended genesis. In 1527 Sachs wrote two Meisterlieder in his *Neuer Ton*, "Der lieblich draum" (The Pleasant Dream) and "Aufschluss des draums" (Explication of the Dream), i. e., an allegorical dream about Nuremberg and its decoding.³⁵ In the same year, the Council – much preoccupied with the diplomatic aftershocks of the city's conversion to Protestantism – censored the cobbler on account of his antipapal writings. Sachs's *Lobspruch*, dated 20 February 1530, transposes the two Meisterlieder into an extended narrative, which is ostensibly written "Zu ehren meynem vatterland" (to honor my fatherland),³⁶ and is usually interpreted as an attempt to win back the good graces of the Council, which is praised extensively in the conclusion.

The poem features an introductory frame frequently encountered in Sachs's narrative poems, that of a walk in which the perambulating narrator observes and comments on the events in the city. It begins, unusually, in a forest and initially follows the conventions of dream allegory: the cobbler's persona wanders into a plaisance and falls into a "surpassingly sweet" ("ubersüss") sleep,³⁷ dreaming of a marvelous landscape with a rose-garden next to a round mountain ("runder berg"), surrounded by a hedge, through which a stream flows; all of this is surrounded in turn by the circle ("ringweis") of an encompassing forest (189,29 – 190,4) – an obvious allegory of Nuremberg, and one that is generically quite complex. At the beginning we encounter not only the preference for geometrical forms, especially the circle, that characterize Renaissance Latin encomia, but also the rose-garden from Kunz Has's German text, with its evocation of Rosenplüt's poem – a pointed appropriation of a central intertextual

34 His other poems include the cities of Salzburg (1549), *Werke*, vol. 22, ed. Adalbert von Keller, Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart 201 (Tübingen: Litterarischer Verein, 1894), 479 – 86; Munich (1565), *Werke*, vol. 23 Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart 207 (Tübingen: Litterarischer Verein, 1895), 264 – 6; Vienna (1567), 304 – 8; Regensburg (1569), 325 – 7; Frankfurt (1568), 399 – 402; Nördlingen (1569), 412 – 4; Lüneburg (1569), 445 – 7; Lübeck (1569), 450 – 52; Hamburg (1569), 464 – 7. For a paraphrase of Hans Sachs's city encomia, see the prolix and not always accurate survey by Albrecht Classen, "Hans Sachs and his Encomia Songs on German Cities" (see note 17), 567 – 94.

35 They are printed and interpreted by Hartmut Kugler, "Die Stadt im Wald," in *Hans Sachs: Studien zur frühbürgerlichen Literatur im 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. Thomas Cramer und Erika Kartschoke (Bern, Las Vegas: Lang, 1978), 83 – 103, esp. 85 – 9.

36 Cited by page and line number according to: Hans Sachs, *Werke*, vol. 4, ed. Adalbert von Keller, Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart 105 (Tübingen: Litterarischer Verein, 1870), here: 198,37.

37 Hans Sachs, *Werke*, vol. 4 (see note 36), 189,1 – 191,12 (here 189,27); further references are to page and line number.

image.³⁸ The following verses outdo Has in turn through the further elaboration of the garden as Eden-like, containing all the exotic fruits that human hand can plant: “Ich dacht: es ist das paradeiss” (190,15). And there is another allegory that will not further concern us here: in one of the rose-bushes, a large black (imperial) eagle, its left side blazoned in red and white bars with Nuremberg’s ‘Small Coat of Arms’ and attended by four diversely clad and armed maidens, fends off attacks from a zoo of enemy animals (190,19 – 191,2). At this point the narrator is awakened by an ancient pursuivant or herald, who promises to decode the dream, indicating from the outset the identity of the paradisaical garden and the imperial city:

Ich zeyg den garten dir geleich.
 Ein stat ligt im römischen reich.
 Die selb ein schwartzen adler füret,
 Mit rot und weiss fein dividieret,
 Ist gantz ehlich deynem gesicht,
 Wie ich von dir bin unterricht.
 Die ligt mitten in diesem wald. (191,26 – 32)

(I’ll show you the garden immediately – there’s a city in the Holy Roman Empire. It is led by a black eagle with red and white blazon that is very similar to your vision, as you have informed me. It lies in the middle of this forest.)

While this is happening, however, something rare in early modern German narrative occurs: Sachs’s persona and the herald walk out of the forest towards Nuremberg, an element of narration that places the herald’s explanation in the context of an ongoing spatial experience. Unlike the conventionally static decoding of allegorical landscapes, the herald and narrator move through a terrain that appears measurable (and thus knowable topographically) to the city three-quarters of a mile in the distance (“drey-vierteyl meyl,” 191,35). Indeed, the ensuing verses attempt to make the city accessible to the reader in a way unimagined by Rosenplüt and Has, but commonplace in Latin city descriptions from Enea Silvio Piccolomini on: as a visual experience of moving through an urban space.³⁹ That experience begins with an emphasis on differences in elevation, as the herald and narrator move upwards, “auffwertz” (191,39), to the imperial castle and from there across a drawbridge to a point from which they can gaze down on the entire city enclosed within its circle of protective wall:

38 The intertextual connection could simplify the problems with the “rosen-garten” that puzzled Kugler (see note 35), 92 *passim*.

39 Indeed, the verbs *schawen* or *sehen* occur five times in verses 192.8 – 24. Kugler, “Die Stadt im Wald” (see note 35), notes parallels to Renaissance encomia in passing (94, 99, 101) but insists on a differentiation of Latin and vernacular genres (102 – 3).

“abwertz auff eym platz, / Darauff da lag der edel schatz / In einer rinckmawren im thal” (192,11 – 13).

Sachs emphasizes that this experience is shared by two viewers, the narrator and the herald, and we might pause briefly to consider the differences in their manner of viewing the city. The former simply takes pleasure in being able to encompass the entire city in his field of view, which appears to his unpracticed eye as an immeasurable multitude of buildings of different sizes and styles:

Do sach ich ein unzelich zal
 Heuser gepawen hoch und nieder
 In dieser state hin und wieder
 Mit gibel-mawern undterschieden,
 Vor fewer gwalting zu befrieden,
 Köstlich tachwerk mit knöpffen, zinnen. (192, 14 – 9)

(There I saw an innumerable multitude of houses built high and low all around this city, differentiated by gable-works, massively protected against fire, splendid roofs with capitals and merlons.)

The omniscient herald, however, shifts the mode of perception from unreflected seeing to a more accurate gaze, updating and upgrading Has’s evocation of the city as a beautiful edifice (“schöner sal”) to a princely one in Italian Renaissance style (“auff wellisch monier, / Geleich eynes fürsten saal!” 192,22 f.).⁴⁰ He then proceeds to survey all the streets and inventory the city’s contents:

Schaw durch die gassen ublich,
 Wie ordenlich sie sein gesundert
 Der sein acht und zwaintzig fünff hundert
 Gepflastert durch-auss wol besunnen,
 Mit hundert sechzehnen schöpff-brunnen,
 Wellich stehen auff der gemein
 Und darzu zwölff rörprunnen fein,
 Vier schlag-glocken und zwo klein hor.
 Zwey thürlein und sechs grosse thor
 Hat die stat und eyloff stayner prucken,
 Gehawen von grossen werck-stucken.
 Auch hat sie zwölff benandter bergk
 Unnd zehen geordneter märck
 Hin unde wieder in der stat,
 Darauff man find nach allem rat
 Allerley für die gantze menig
 Zu kauffen umb ein gleichen pfennig,

40 The association of Nuremberg architecture with regal residences goes back at least as far as Enea Silvio Piccolomini; see *Deutschland: Der Brieftraktat an Martin Mayer*, trans. Adolf Schmidt (Köln, Graz: Böhlau, 1962), 103.

Wein, korn, ops, saltz, scmaltz, kraut, ruben,
 Auch dreyzehen gemein bad-stuben,
 Auch kirchen etwan auff acht ort,
 Darinn man predigt gottes wort. (192,24 – 193,5)

(Look at how all the streets are organized, there are five-hundred twenty eight of them, carefully paved and laid out, with one hundred sixteen public wells, and twelve fountains, four clock-towers and two smaller clocks. The city has two small entrances and six large gates, and eleven stone bridges quarried from large stones. It also has twelve named hills and ten supervised markets throughout the city, where one can find everything to buy at fixed prices: wine, grain, fruit, salt, lard, cabbage, turnips; there are also thirteen bath-houses, also churches at eight places where God's word is preached.)

The two types of viewing imagined here form a sequence. The narrator's first, and more general (or more naïve) purview evokes the sensual pleasure of seeing an entire city from the elevated perspective that became popular in sixteenth-century birds'-eye city-views, most famously with Jacopo de' Barbari's large composite woodcut of Venice (Figure 4; 1500),⁴¹ knowledge of which was transmitted to Nuremberg during Barbari's sojourn there in 1500–1501 and is later reflected in Erhard Etzlaub's *Nürnberg im Reichswald* (1516).⁴² Although familiarity with this image may not necessarily be implied by Sachs's beginning his poem in the larger context of the imperial forest,⁴³ he could hardly have been ignorant of similar representations or the theoretical presuppositions for rendering spatial experience that had just been published in Dürer's *Underweysung der Messung* (1525) and *Etliche Underricht zu Befestigung der Stett, Schloss und Fleck* (1527). In a general sense, then, the narrator's aerial view of his city represents not only a sophisticated synthesis of the genre conventions of Latin and vernacular *Stätelob*, but also a reflection of Nuremberg culture's visual modernity.

Of course, from the ramparts of the imperial castle it is not really possible to view Nuremberg from a conventionally much higher bird's-eye perspective, and Sachs may also be asking his audience to engage in some other mode of seeing.

41 See Jürgen Schulz, "Jacopo de' Barbari's View of Venice: Map Making, City Views, and Moralized Geography before the Year 1500," *The Art Bulletin* 60 (1978), 425–74, and for more recent literature, Deborah Howard, "Venice as a Dolphin: Further Investigations into Jacopo de' Barbari's View," *Artibus et Historiae* 18/35 (1997), 101–11, and Simone Ferrari, "Gli anni veneziani di Jacopo de' Barbari," *Arte veneta* 59 (2002), 66–83.

42 See Fritz Schnelbögl, "Life and Work of the Nuremberg Cartographer Erhard Etzlaub (†1532)," *Imago Mundi* 20 (1966), 1–26 (here 20). The plan is preserved in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nürnberg (S.P. 10 419), and reproduced in Eugen Kusch, *Nürnberg, Lebensbild einer Stadt* (Nuremberg: Verlag Nürnberger Presse, 1958), 11, and in Kugler, "Die Stadt im Wald," (see note 35), 95. For an assessment of Etzlaub's maps, see Brigitte Englisch, "Erhard Etzlaub's Projection" (see note 7).

43 See Kugler, "Die Stadt im Wald" (see note 35), 94–5.



Figure 4. Jacopo de' Barbari, *View of Venice*, British Museum, London

Indeed, if we shift our attention from the narrator's vague impressions to the herald's detailed and precise inventory, something else stands out. As we have already seen from the decoding of the dream's allegorical imagery, heralds are experts in conventions of blazon, i. e., reading the signs that reveal lineage and heredity. Inasmuch as the venue for his survey of the city is the imperial residence, this perspective is also an implicitly regicentric one, the view that a newly-crowned emperor would have while convening his first Diet in Nuremberg, as stipulated by the Golden Bull of 1356. Inasmuch as an outbreak of plague had forced Charles V to shift his first Diet of 1521 to Worms, and the outbreak of the Reformation made him reluctant to visit Nuremberg, Sachs's poem of 1530 represents in part an open invitation to the emperor – who would travel to Germany that spring for the Diet of Augsburg – to visit his other free imperial city, a visit that continued to be postponed until 1542.⁴⁴

It might also be tempting to speculate about the extent to which the herald's imperial gaze looks forward to other developments, indulging in the practice of measuring and inventorying that was to have such a profound impact on technologies of power in the ensuing decades.⁴⁵ However, this view of the city

⁴⁴ See note 18.

⁴⁵ Helmut Puff, "The City as Model: Three-Dimensional Representations of Urban Space in Early Modern Europe," in *Topographies of the Early Modern City* (see note 6), 193–219. Sachs's and Jost Amman's *Eygentliche Beschreibung Aller Stände auff Erden* (Book of Trades), written several decades later (1568), would explicitly associate the art of perspective ("Kunst der perspectiff") with the ability to reproduce the precise locations of "Stätt / Schlösser / Wasser / Berg und Wäld" (cities, castles, rivers, mountains and forests), and even "Ein Heer / sam lig ein Fürst zu Feld" (an army, as if a ruler were in the field). *Eygentliche Beschreibung Aller Stände auff Erden* (Frankfurt am Main: Feyeraband, 1568), fol. Gii. This is the first occurrence of the term in Sachs's oeuvre. See Walter Tauber, *Der Wortschatz des Hans*

from a purview of imperial power does not form the climax of the poem, but rather establishes a perspective for focusing on the inhabitants of its buildings, and thus for a moment of didactic instruction affirming *communitas*:

Ich sprach: Wer wondt in dieser stat,
Die so unzalbar heuser hat?
Er sprach: Inn der stat umb und umb
Des volkes ist on zal und sumb,
Ein embsig volck, reich und sehr mechtig,
Gescheyd, geschicket und fürrechtig. (193,14 – 19)

(I said, “who lives in this city with its innumerable houses?” He said, “the inhabitants throughout the city are without number and sum, an industrious people, rich and very powerful, clever, adroit, and cautious.”)

Among these inhabitants it is above all the artisans whose labor produces the products signified by the dream’s paradisaical fruits (“Da wol deins garten frucht bedeudt”):

Auch seind da gar sinreich werckleut
Mit trucken, malen und bild-hawen,
Mit schmeltzen, giessen, zimmern, pawen,
Der-gleich man find in keynen reichen,
Die ihrer arbeyt tun geleichen, [...] (193,34 – 9)

(There are also very clever artisans with printing, painting and sculpting, with smelting, casting, carpentering, building: one can find no equal to their labors in any other realm.)

For an urban audience not far removed from its peasant origins, the decoding could hardly be more flattering, transposing the dream’s paradisaical garden into its early-modern, real-life equivalent, an urban center of business and trade: “Darum diss edel gewerbhauss / Gleich wol dem garten uberauss, / Den du hast in dein traum gesehen” (Therefore this noble house of trade is just like the garden you saw in your dream, 194,9 – 11).

This image of Nuremberg as a noble house of commerce, along with the earlier one equating the city with a princely palace (“gleich als eyne fürsten saal,” 92,23), suggests the extent to which the conception of the city in Nuremberg *Städte lob* has developed – and has not – since Rosenplüt’s invention of the genre eighty years before. To be sure, our three encomia reveal an increased awareness of the city as an architectural space, one with aesthetic and even aristocratic dimensions. At the same time, however, the overriding importance of Nuremberg as a community still predominates: its buildings provide a simile

Sachs (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1983), II. s.v. Cf. *Frühneuhochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, ed. Ulrich Goebel and Oskar Reichmann (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1986 ff.), III, col. 1536.

for expressing civic unity through the image of a single edifice rather than suggest a diversified cityscape – that would have to wait for the rediscovery of ‘old’ Nuremberg in German Romanticism.

Sean F. Dunwoody

Civic Peace as a Spatial Practice

Calming Confessional Tensions in Augsburg, 1547–1600

Religious violence and the peaceful coexistence of various religious groups continue to occupy the attention of modern scholars. The much-trumpeted ‘return of religion’ in the social sciences has been a salutary rejoinder to a too-long dominant discourse of Western modernization that understood religion and its artifacts to be unbecoming residuals of less enlightened times or, more cynically, little more than retrograde tools instrumentalized by conniving elites to pacify oppressed masses. Scholars of pre-modern Europe have joined in this reconsideration of religion by shifting emphasis towards consideration of the social and cultural practices of religion, towards consideration of religiosity as a set of lived practices.¹

The emergence of Luther’s and the evangelical movement’s challenge of the interpretive monopoly of the Roman Catholic church in the sixteenth century has justifiably been among the favored moments for this reconsideration. For it is here, for the first time since the end of Arian Christianity (small pockets of heretics and Jews notwithstanding), that Europe was faced with the inescapable reality of two faith communities on the territory of once-undivided Christendom. This new reality, though rarely accepted as immutable by contemporaries, has shaped the history of Europe up to this day. How Europeans learned to deal with this new reality and how religion and religiosity factored into that process, especially in the first several generations after the Reformation, has sharpened our understanding of how and why religious violence broke out and adopted its

1 This emphasis on the social expressions of religion takes its lead from Martin Riesebrodt, *Cultus und Heilsversprechen: eine Theorie der Religionen* (Munich: Beck, 2007); now in English as *The Promise of Salvation: A Theory of Religion*, trans. Steven Rendall (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010). For an example of how this played out in the Reformation, cf. Natalie Zemon Davis’s “The Sacred and the Body Social in Sixteenth-Century Lyon,” *Past & Present* 90 (1981), 40–70, esp. 59–60, where Davis highlights how Calvinists differed from Catholics through their “redefining the tie between the sacred and usage, between the sacred and assigned purpose...” (ibid., 60) a formulation that resembles Riesebrodt’s praxis and tradition.

particular forms. At the same time, scholars have also begun to ask how religiosity and how understandings of religion could be among the ways in which peaceful coexistence was maintained. Yet, there has been relatively sparse attention given to the ways in which peaceful coexistence and, when it failed, religious violence were also practices involving the setting and guarding of boundaries between certain categories of actions, involving the configuration and exercise of authority, and involving the regulation and enactment of certain forms of social interaction. This essay lays out the ways in which civic peace in one city was established and challenged through the elaboration of a series of these social practices, and especially of religion, as articulated in ‘spatial’ terms.²

The German city of Augsburg provides telling examples of peaceful coexistence and religious violence as spatial practices. Like a few other southern German towns – for instance Ravensburg and Dinkelsbühl – Augsburg was shaped by a novel imperial framework wrought in 1555 that prescribed biconfessionality, that is, the legal coexistence of two, equally legitimate Christian churches. Like other commercial metropolises such as Amsterdam, London, or Venice, it housed a relatively large, influential religious minority. Forced by legal and pragmatic realities to accept this biconfessional status quo, Augsburgers had to devise a number of practices to ensure inter-religious and, with it, civic peace. In this essay, I will be focusing on one element crucial to Augsburg’s maintenance of civic peace: an insistence on a distinction between religious space and political space. The city’s success at keeping its religiously diverse populace at peace at a time when much of Europe was mired in religious conflict cannot be put down exclusively to spatial practices alone.³ However, any full explanation of Augsburg’s peace in this period cannot overlook the significance of the city’s insistence on keeping political space and religious space separate.

In this essay, I examine the emergence of these spatial practices in the wake of the reintroduction of Catholicism into the city in 1547 and, with it, enforced biconfessionality. I show how these practices were established, entrenched, and occasionally challenged but, in the end, accepted by the turn of the seventeenth century. I consider the ordinances, police practices, and political actions of the magistrates, the sermons and petitions of ministers, and the everyday actions of burghers – in as far as they are recorded in chronicles, judicial records, and correspondence – to show how the particular delineation of political and religious space in Augsburg was the result of negotiations. Such biconfessional

2 See Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); and William H. Sewell, “Refiguring the ‘Social’ in Social Science: An Interpretivist Manifesto,” in *Logics of History: Social Theory and Social Transformation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 318–72.

3 I examine this larger context in my dissertation, “Conflict, Confession, and Peaceful Coexistence in Augsburg, 1548–1600” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2012).

arrangements did not always lead to peace in Europe,⁴ but in Augsburg, it was through a successful negotiation of these elements that civic peace was ensured.

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Historians have in recent years returned their attention to the importance of space for the social, economic, political, and cultural realities of the past.⁵ The most effective analytic deployment of space as category begins with Lefebvre's starting point: "social space is a social product."⁶ What is more, even as social space can be seen as the product of the cumulative actions of social actors, social space is also the starting point of social action, enabling and constraining certain actions of individual social actors.⁷ People understand that certain social spaces allow them to perform certain actions, anticipate certain expectations and responses from others, and interact with others in a certain way, whether those social spaces are churches, marketplaces, private homes, or halls of government. A crucial element to all of this is the differentiation of one space from another.⁸ For instance, the economic space of the stock-exchange and the po-

4 Daniela Hacke, "Church, Space and Conflict: Religious Co-Existence and Political Communication in Seventeenth-Century Switzerland," *German History* 25, no. 3 (2007), 285–312.

5 Recent works on space in the early modern period include *Zwischen Gotteshaus und Taverne: öffentliche Räume in Spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. Susanne Rau and Gerd Schwerhoff (Cologne: Böhlau, 2004); *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Will Coster and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Andrew Spicer and Sarah Hamilton (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005); *Geschichte in Räumen: Festschrift für Rolf Kießling zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Johannes Burkhardt, Thomas Max Safley, and Sabine Ullmann (Konstanz: UVK Verlagsgesellschaft, 2006); *Voisinages, coexistences, appropriations: Groupes sociaux et territoires urbains (Moyen Age-16e siècle)*, ed. Chloé Deligne and Claire Billen (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007); and *Topographies of the Early Modern City*, ed. Arthur Groos, Hans-Jochen Schiewer, and Markus Stock, *Transatlantische Studien zu Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit* 3 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008). I thank Arthur Groos for this last reference.

6 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), XII, XV.

7 Anthony Giddens, "Time, Space, Social Change," in *Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure, and Contradiction in Social Analysis* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 198–233. My own reading of Giddens is heavily indebted to William Sewell, "A Theory of Structure: Duality, Agency, and Transformation," in Sewell, *Logics of History* (see note 2), 124–51. Martina Löw has recently undertaken a revision of Giddens's approach. See her *Raumsoziologie* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2001); Löw, "The Constitution of Space: The Structuration of Spaces through the Simultaneity of Effect and Perception," *European Journal of Social Theory* 11, no. 1 (2008), 25–49.

8 That spatial practices are relational is central to a social conception of a theory of space. See Pierre Bourdieu, "Social Space and Symbolic Power," *Sociological Theory* 7, no. 1 (1989), 14–25; Gerd Schwerhoff, "Sakralitätsmanagement. Zur Analyse religiöser Räume im späten Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit," in *Topographien des Sakralen: Religion und Raum-*

litical space of the parliament enable relatively efficient allocation of capital and relatively efficient determination of political will, respectively. But that efficiency depends on doing one sort of thing in one place and not in the other, and vice versa. Even if some spaces are sometimes polyvalent, they contain at least a starting point of expectations, rights, and obligations. Each space signals sets of social roles, political powers, cultural expectations, or economic rights that pertain to it and by which it is defined. At the same time, and especially in extraordinary moments, such roles, rights, and expectations can shift, be revoked or evolve, since they are always caught up in the relatively contingent action of social actors, in the flux of history.⁹

In early modern Augsburg, there were, of course, many kinds of social spaces. However, in the years after 1547, the city witnessed a large number of rather significant developments that precipitated a renewed process of differentiation, of articulating what roles, rights, and expectations were appropriate in which spaces. These developments included the reintroduction of Catholicism, the co-presence of multiple religious communities, a change in the constitutional order of the city, a period of sustained economic decline, and the desultory politics of the Holy Roman Empire in the so-called Confessional Age. All of these demanded the articulation of a new set of spatial practices. Most important among them were those which pertained to the relationship between political space and religious space, for these were key to keeping civic peace in a tumultuous time.

* * * *

Augsburg, like other early-modern cities, was defined by its many spaces.¹⁰ There was the political space of the territory, created and recreated through acts like oath-taking and elections, boundary rituals, and receptions for the emperor.¹¹ Likewise there were the legal spaces of the courtrooms and of the gal-

ordnung in der Vormoderne, ed. Susanne Rau and Gerd Schwerhoff (Hamburg: Dölling und Galitz, 2008), 38–67.

- 9 See Andreas Reckwitz, “Grundelemente einer Theorie sozialer Praktiken. Eine sozial-theoretische Perspektive,” *Zeitschrift für Soziologie* 32, no. 4 (2003), 282–301.
- 10 Fundamental to any consideration of the city’s late-medieval roots: Eberhard Isenmann, *Die deutsche Stadt im Spätmittelalter, 1250–1500: Stadtgestalt, Recht, Stadtr Regiment, Kirche, Gesellschaft, Wirtschaft* (Stuttgart: E. Ulmer, 1988); for Augsburg: Detlev Schröder, *Stadt Augsburg*, *Historischer Atlas von Bayerisch-Schwaben* 10, ed. Wolfgang Zorn, Hans Frei, Pankraz Fried, and Franz Schaffer, 2nd ed. (Augsburg: Verlag der Schwäbischen Forschungsgemeinschaft, 1975).
- 11 Cf. Antje Diener-Staeckling, *Der Himmel über dem Rat: zur Symbolik der Ratswahl in mitteldeutschen Städten*, *Studien zur Landesgeschichte* 19 (Halle an der Saale: Mitteldeutscher Verlag, 2008); Robert Scribner, “Symbolising Boundaries: Defining Social Space in the Daily

lows, spaces where the legal authority of the municipality (and occasionally, the emperor) was made powerfully manifest in the broken corpses of those who had challenged the legal norms of the city. There were the spaces of the religious orders in Augsburg – the monasteries, the churches and their courtyards, and the residences of many of the clergy – where municipal jurisdiction did not reach and where authority was structured in ways radically different from the republican environment that surrounded them. There were the economic spaces of the guildsmen, of the itinerant merchant, and of the well-connected patrician, who conducted their business in certain municipal buildings and whose shops were often located just below their residences. Within the city, there were also the additional economic spaces of the markets, where only certain people were entitled to truck, barter, and trade.¹² In each case, these spaces had been formed over decades or centuries as the consequence of social practices enacted within the tensions between established institutional, legal, and political structures, the know-how of agents, and the relatively open-ended nature of their interactions over time.

These spaces were quite evident in the physical layout of Augsburg. Even in an age of relatively imprecise cartographic science, the boundaries of the city were part of the everyday stocks of knowledge held by contemporaries and were physically represented in the maps created with increasing regularity from the beginning of the sixteenth century.¹³ The boundaries of the city were also clearly embodied in the still respectable municipal walls of Augsburg – a sign par excellence of city-hood at least since John of Viterbo. They were an important marker of that space's boundary and of the political independence and municipal self-sufficiency that were bound up in their existence.¹⁴ As for the physical boundaries between the jurisdiction of the city and that of the clergy within Augsburg, they too were evident in the borders separating municipal

Life in Early Modern Germany," in *Religion and Culture in Germany (1400 – 1800)*, ed. Lyndal Roper (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 302 – 22.

12 Donatella Calabi, *The Market and the City: Square, Street and Architecture in Early Modern Europe*, trans. Marlene Klein (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004). See also James Masschaele, "The Public Space of the Marketplace in Medieval England," *Speculum* 77, no. 2 (2002), 383 – 421.

13 For Augsburg, see Lee Palmer Wandel, "Religion, Raum und Ort," in Burkhardt, Safley, and Ullmann, *Geschichte in Räumen* (see note 3), esp. 282 – 3, 286 – 8; and Wandel, "Locating the Sacred in Biconfessional Augsburg," in *Enduring Loss in Early Modern Germany: Cross Disciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Lynne Tatlock (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 307 – 25. See also Joseph Monteyne, *The Printed Image in Early Modern London: Urban Space, Visual Representation, and Social Exchange* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); and Bernd Roeck, "Die Säkularisierung der Stadtvedute in der Neuzeit," in *Bild und Wahrnehmung der Stadt*, ed. Ferdinand Oppl (Linz: Österreichischer Arbeitskreis für Stadtgeschichtsforschung, 2004), 189 – 97.

14 John of Viterbo, "On the Government of the Cities" in *Readings in Western Civilization*, vol 4, *Medieval Europe*, ed. Julius Kirchner and Karl F. Morrison (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 102 – 4, here 102.

jurisdiction from the areas of clerical immunity – in the case of Augsburg, around the cathedral and the city’s more important foundations. These physical boundaries were powerful social realities that dictated whether a fugitive from justice could be dragged before a municipal court or whether lengthy negotiations with clergy had to first be entertained.¹⁵ Similarly, the social spaces of patricians and artisans were clearly articulated in the former’s right to enter the drinking hall of the society of patricians and the exclusion of the latter from the same.

None of these spaces were immune to change; modifications were regular occurrences. For example, in 1538, because of the large-scale extinction of native patrician families in Augsburg the emperor promoted thirty-eight non-patrician families into the patriciate, largely on the basis of their intermarriage with the patricians and very much on the basis of their financial clout.¹⁶ Such legal change opened access to the drinking hall of the patricians to the newly ennobled and simultaneously enabled access to certain key political spaces previously closed to them.¹⁷ A change of this magnitude was noteworthy, but hardly unparalleled. What befell Augsburg in 1547/1548 occasioned far wider-reaching changes to the social spaces in the city.

* * * *

The precipitant of the significant changes in Augsburg was the disastrous military defeat of the city at the hands of Emperor Charles V, a defeat that had become inescapable by the end of 1546.¹⁸ With defeat all but certain, the city endeavored to make peace with the emperor on whatever decent terms it could

15 Mair’s *Diarium (passim)* gives a taste of the ways in which debtors could escape the sometimes very short arm of municipal justice by removing themselves but a short distance into clerical asylum. See also Stadtarchiv Augsburg (hereafter cited as “StadtAA”), Reichsstadt (hereafter cited as “RS”), St. Ulrich und Afra, Nr. 5: Asyl, 1501–1758, esp. the case of Marquard Rosenberg: “Ein Kay: Rescript d. ult. Mart. 1565 mit 3 Beylagen u andern Schrifften a n. 1–7 einen in S Ulrichs Freyung entwichenen Kaufmann Marquard Rosenberger...”

16 StadtAA, RS, Rat, Literaliensammlung (hereafter cited as LitSamml), 1538.

17 On these changes with the Augsburg elites in the course of the sixteenth century, see Mark Häberlein, “Sozialer Wandel in den Augsburger Führungsschichten des 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhunderts,” in *Sozialer Aufstieg. Funktionseliten im Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Günther Schulz (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2002), 73–96.

18 There is still no modern monograph on the War of Schmalkalden; a good, albeit brief, overview is provided by Gabriele Haug-Moritz and Georg Schmidt, “Schmalkaldischer Krieg” in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* vol. 30, ed. Horst Robert Balz, Gerhard Krause and Gerhard Müller (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1999), 228–31.

obtain.¹⁹ However, Augsburg had chosen sides against the emperor and now found itself subject to military justice. The emperor exercised his imperial rights and upended the social and political structures of the city and saddled the rebellious commune with crushing reparations.

Amongst the emperor's first actions was the abolition of the guild-based constitutional order of the city and removal of all municipal office holders. In their place, the emperor installed a new, patrician, oligarchic constitution, headed by a new Privy Council as the supreme executive and legislative municipal organ, reserved for patricians alone. Guildsmen found themselves removed from office and from almost all positions of political power. All key municipal officers – the mayors and *Baumeister* – were elected from the ranks of patricians.²⁰ The Privy Council, whose members were drawn from a very small number of families,²¹ was responsible for all executive decisions and presided over the daily administration of the city. The formerly powerful electoral and constitutional position of the artisans was abolished with a single stroke of the emperor's pen. The crippling of the guilds as a political force was total.

A second key component of the emperor's strategy for dealing with faithless Augsburg was the imposed reintroduction of Roman Catholicism. Catholic clergy had been banned from the city since 1537, when the city council had ordered the final reformation of the city, the prohibition of the mass, and an end to Catholic services. From the moment of his return to Augsburg in the emperor's company in the summer of 1547, Cardinal Otto, bishop of Augsburg, was intent on regaining all that had been lost to his predecessor, including property, rights, and jurisdiction. Shortly after the new constitutional regime had been installed, the council received a list of petitions from the Catholic clergy now back in the city.²² And if the presence of those who were considered by many Augsburgers to be idolaters and heretics were not enough, the emperor imposed a set of religious regulations, the so-called Interim, intended by Charles to pave the way for the reintegration of his aberrant Protestant subjects and vassals back into the Catholic communion. The result of these changes in the religious make-

19 Welsch and Herbrodt to the Council in Memmingen, 16 Jan 1547 in StadtAA, RS, LitSamml, 1547.

20 A listing of the officers can be found in *Kaiser Karl V. und die Zunftverfassung. Ausgewählte Aktenstücke zu den Verfassungsänderungen in den oberdeutschen Reichsstädten (1547–1556)*, ed. Eberhard Naujoks, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg, Reihe A: Quellen, vol. 36 (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1985), 54–5.

21 See David Langenmantel, *Histoire des Regiments in des Heil. Röm. Reichs Stadt Augspurg* (Frankfurt: David Raymund Mertz und Johann Jacob Mayer, 1725) for an overview.

22 In StadtAA, RS, LitSamml, Reformations-Acten 1530–1554, edited in Friedrich Roth, *Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte*, 2nd ed., 4 vols. (Munich: T. Ackermann, 1901–1911), here 4:384–6.

up of the city was de-facto religious pluralism, an arrangement that was confirmed and solidified in the Peace of Augsburg in 1555. The consequence was the creation of an historically novel situation: two religious groups settled in a single city as legally established faiths required to coexist in peace under the guidance of a reconstituted magistracy.

In the newly biconfessional Augsburg, this was a framework that threatened to shatter the peaceful covenant of the commune. For some, especially for those who most clearly understood themselves in confessionalized terms, the presence of members of the other “religion,” as contemporary usage put it, was deeply disturbing. Not only were the rituals and teachings distasteful; the sufferance of such iniquity within the city walls threatened to bring God’s wrath upon the entire populace. Even if the overwhelmingly Protestant citizenry of Augsburg were not all as rabidly anti-Catholic as some of the more colorful Reformation-era pamphlets, the very presence of members of the other faith created the potential for turning workaday conflicts over rounds of beer in the tavern or the petty grievances of neighbors into something far more dangerous: religious conflict. If these threats were to be stayed, new ways of interacting with neighbors, new procedures in the council house, and new ordinances in the churches had to be elaborated.

It was the civic authorities and elites who took the first step. A number of strategies for differentiating between religious matters and political ones emerged. Many of these were entirely harmonious with the pragmatism of merchants and the ideologies of communalism that constituted the political awareness of guildsmen. Others were novel attempts to create distinctions where there had been none or where distinctions had been only very partial. Religious matters and political matters were never rendered wholly distinct. However, in the practices and in the thought of Augsburgers after 1547, there was a difference between the two, asserted regularly by contemporaries in the service of maintaining peace (and social order). In Augsburg, in the service of peace, there was a shift towards greater emphasis of the political and towards a bounding off, a sort of enclosure movement, of religious space.

* * * *

Where did these ideas and practices of politics and of religion as enacted in the second half of the sixteenth century come from? They were born in equal parts of tradition, pragmatism, and opportunism. The municipal regime that instituted the full reformation of the city in 1537 and underwritten the war against the emperor was one in which there had been a populist mixing of religion and

politics.²³ This proved not only to have been detrimental to the city's constitutional traditions, it brought about the city's disloyalty to its rightful lord, impoverished many in the city, depleted the city coffers to the brink of bankruptcy, and led to a painful succession of imperial occupations that taxed and humiliated the populace. At least, this was the argument made by some Augsburgers at the time.

With the emperor's victory imminent, a group of disgruntled Augsburg patricians who had been largely excluded from municipal power in the previous years sent an embassy to the emperor, in which the emperor was presented with their notion of what constituted good governance.²⁴ Relying upon justifications from classical and humanist thought, and advantaged by a structural opening made by the convergence of opinion among Emperor Charles, his brother Ferdinand, some imperial advisors, and Duke Wilhelm of Bavaria, politics became asserted and defined through its exclusivity and its almost complete limitation to patricians.²⁵ In their view, the artisans currently ruling (and, by their telling, ruining) Augsburg were "an inappropriate, inexperienced, and incapable lot," who were "far better off tending to their craft and their daily trade than to the administration and provision of the common good, especially in such a reputable commune...."²⁶ Their agenda was quickened by the new opportunities opened by the triumphant emperor. When the emperor arrived in Augsburg and set about his restructuring of the city's government, his advisor, Georg Sigmund Seld, enumerated the same list of guildsmen inadequacies as part of the

23 Jörg Rogge, *Für den gemeinen Nutzen: politisches Handeln und Politikverständnis von Rat und Bürgerschaft in Augsburg im Spätmittelalter*, Studia Augustana 6 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1996); Christopher W. Close, *The Negotiated Reformation: Imperial Cities and the Politics of Urban Reform, 1525–1550* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

24 "Ratschlag, warumb und aus was ursachen die kay. mt. bewegt worden ist, die zünften zü Augsburg abzüthun und ain anders regiment zü setzen anno 1548," in Mair's *Chronik in Chroniken der deutschen Städte*, vol. 32, ed. Friedrich Roth (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1917), 115–49. See also "Vorstellung an Kayserliche Majestät der ältern Geschlechter in Augspurg, und stattliche Ausführung der Ursachen, warum das Regiment der Stadt Augsburg von der Gemeind zu nehmen, und wider auf die Geschlechter zu wenden," in Langenmantel, *Histoire des Regiments* (see note 21), 68–83.

25 A tactic in harmony with Charles' own general strategy towards cities throughout his many domains; cf. Wolfgang Reinhard, "Governi stretti e tirannici. Die Städtepolitik Karls V. 1515–1556," in *Karl V., 1500–1558: neue Perspektiven seiner Herrschaft in Europa und Übersee*, ed. Alfred Kohler, Barbara Haider, and Christine Ottner (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2002), 407–34. Reinhard's consideration of the pan-Habsburg context renders Charles' primary concerns far more clearly than is the case when only the imperial context is considered; cf. Naujoks, *Zunftverfassung* (see note 20), 343.

26 "...ungeschickte, unerfarne, untaugliche Leut...vil baß auf ir Handwerck und täglich Gewerch, dann auf Regierung und Fursehung des gemainen Nutz, sonderlich in ainer solchen ansehnlichen Commun..." Seld's speech edited in Naujoks, *Zunftverfassung* (see note 20), 52–3.

proclamation undoing the guild-based constitution.²⁷ What started as an ideological stance was enshrined institutionally and underlined through a series of spatially articulated practices.

For one, politics truly became an arcanum, especially as the executive Privy Council withdrew into shut-off quarters, pushing the day-to-day business of political authority and governance out of the public eye. This new spatial aspect of politics – one aspect of a process often called *Verobrigkeitlichung*, a closing-off of civic rule with a tendency towards lordship – entailed instituting strict secrecy and exclusivity in municipal elections.²⁸ While this process had had its start at the end of the fifteenth century, with the Caroline reforms of 1548, it took on a force and an extent hitherto unknown.²⁹ Political space became focused on the council house with its many closed-door chambers. Older traditions of political spaces outside of the council house also underwent a shift.

Previously, burghers had participated in the making of political decisions; now the council made its decisions known to the citizenry through its ritual of issuing pronouncements, either from the *Erker* of the council house or by the herald-crier and a trumpeter in the city's various squares. Politics had become what one was told and what one heard.³⁰ Previously, burghers assembled in the symbolically prominent council house square to reenact the core constitutional act of the city as a band of equal burghers in the annual taking of the civic oath. Now, the oath was removed from this central space and relegated to far less symbolically significant sites throughout the city.³¹ The effect was not a multiplication of political space, but an accentuation of the difference between this once crucial political space in front of the council house before and the exclusivity of that political space after 1548. Previously, burghers had reasserted their common purpose, their common goals, and their common interest on an annual basis in a rite that symbolized the establishment of the commune. Now the magistrates legislated universal participation in an oath that symbolized a

27 Seld's speech is reproduced in StadtAA, RS, Selekte ("Schätze"), no. 130, 151a–154 b.

28 Cf. "Copia der Carolinischen Wahl-Ordnung de Ao 1548" in Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg (hereafter cited as "SStBibAugsburg"), 8° cod. Aug. 10, Statuta und Ordnungen, Regiments- und Wahlsachen der Stadt Augsburg betr. 1548–1719. See also copies of the addenda of 1549 and 1551, *ibid.*; and StadtAA, RS, Schätze, 54, fol. 19–23; edited in Naujoks, *Zunftverfassung* (see note 20), 100–4.

29 On the earlier trends, from the 15th century, see Rogge, *Für den gemeinen Nutzen* (see note 23).

30 Rainer S. Elkar, "Kommunikative Distanz: Überlegungen zum Verhältnis zwischen Handwerk und Obrigkeit in Süddeutschland während der frühen Neuzeit," in *Geschlechtergesellschaften, Zunft-Trinkstuben und Bruderschaften in spätmittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Städten*, ed Gerhard Fouquet et al. (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2003), 163–80.

31 Cf. "Copia der Carolinischen Wahl-Ordnung de Ao 1548" in SStBibAugsburg, 8° cod. Aug. 10, Statuta und Ordnungen, Regiments- und Wahlsachen der Stadt Augsburg betr. 1548–1719. See also copies of the addenda of 1549 and 1551, *ibid.*

new, exclusive kind of politics, an oath that no longer had the same symbolic function of bringing the body of the citizenry together in one place as a re-instantiation of the ideal of the city. In all of this, as the average artisan-burgher was removed from the former central political space – procedurally and spatially – the council house became the site of an oligarchic political sphere.³² The council house retained its functions as a marker of civic ostentation, as a hub of civic commerce, and as a jail, but it was no longer where burghers went to participate in the crafting of politics.³³ Instead, it was the place where politics was made for the citizens and then promulgated to them.

While political space was being defined by an ever more exclusive exercise of administrative and legislative decisions and through the one-way patterns of communicating those decisions, the reforms of 1547/1548 also destroyed other older, burgher-centered political spaces. The guilds were eliminated as political bodies on the emperor's authority while they were simultaneously removed from their prior position of constitutional precedence. The guilds became mere trade associations, stripped of their modes of political influence and social distinction. This demotion was, crucially, rendered spatially when the emperor declared the seizure and auctioning off of the guildhalls and their holdings.³⁴ The tradesmen were no longer to gather or meet for any reason; contravention would be met with severe penalties.³⁵ The only exception to this rule was the continued use of

32 See Christopher R. Friedrichs, "Das städtische Rathaus als kommunikativer Raum in europäischer Perspektive," in *Kommunikation und Medien in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Johannes Burkhardt and Christine Werkstetter (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2005), 159–174; Bernd Roeck, "Rathaus und Reichsstadt," in *Stadt und Repräsentation*, ed. Bernd Kirchgässner and Hans-Peter Becht (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1995), 93–114. For a similar imposition of lordly (*obrigkeitliche*) authority by a city council through domination of the space of the council house, cf. Thomas Weller, "Der Ort der Macht und die Praktiken der Machtvisualisierung. Das Leipziger Rathaus in der Frühen Neuzeit als zeremonieller Raum," in *Machträume der frühneuzeitlichen Stadt*, ed. Christian Hochmuth and Susanne Rau (Konstanz: UVK Verlagsgesellschaft, 2006), 285–307.

33 On the multifunctionality of early-modern spaces, see Susanne Rau and Gerd Schwerhoff, "Öffentliche Räume in der Frühen Neuzeit. Überlegungen zu Leitbegriffen und Themen eines Forschungsfeldes" in Rau and Schwerhoff, *Zwischen Gotteshaus und Taverne* (see note 5), 11–52, esp. 40–4.

34 Declaration of the Emperor, 18 August 1548; see Naujoks, *Zunftverfassung* (see note 20), 60–1.

35 Charles's wrath against the guilds was plain to see: "And from this point forward, the guilds of this our imperial city of Augsburg shall be abolished, utterly eliminated and never again reestablished. Moreover, nobody, no matter of what estate, office, or status, shall contravene this, neither in word nor deed, under no pretenses whatsoever. Rather, each and every person shall observe this obediently and willingly" (Und sollen nun hinfuran die Zunften in diser unser und Reichs Statt Augspurg also aufgehebt, gar abgethon und nimmermehr aufgericht werden, das auch niemands, er sey was Stands, Wirden oder Wesen, er wölle sich mit Worten oder Wercken, in was Schein es immer beschehen möcht, darwider setzen, sonder men-

guildhalls by the weavers and butchers, which use was strictly limited to commercial purposes and regulated by municipal officers.³⁶ Though these two trades retained their buildings, they were warned not to entertain any feasting, carousing, or other sorts of gatherings. The residences located within the halls were turned over to the council for its free disposal.³⁷ Whereas in the past, the guildhalls had been the site for festive drinking, feasting, and social engagements of the guildsmen – all constituent of an older, burgher political space – the two guildhalls that remained became sterilized sites of the regulated market.³⁸ The Society of Merchants, the premier site of sociability and social prestige for Augsburgers who were not themselves patricians or married into the patrician families, suffered a similar blow at the hands of the victorious Charles: their illustrious banquet hall was also sequestered and sold off.

The elimination of the meeting-houses of the guilds and the destruction of the drinking hall of the Society of Merchants erased the political spaces of the artisans and merchants who had underwritten the introduction of the Reformation in Augsburg and the city's accession to the Schmalkaldic League.³⁹ With the erasure of these meeting places, where sociability, trade-matters, and politics had gone hand-in-hand,⁴⁰ the city's political space became far more narrowly defined and more exclusively centered on the closed-off chambers of the council house. The guildhalls which had previously dotted the urban landscape of late medieval Augsburg were closed, passing into municipal ownership and then, largely, into private hands, netting the city some 60,000 fl.⁴¹ The scattered spaces

igelig demselben gehorsamlich und gutwilliglich geleben und nachkomen soll). Naujoks, *Zunftverfassung* (see note 20), 58.

36 Both the butchers' and the weavers' produce were subject to regular quality control by municipal inspectors, which was made easier by the centralization of the production and retailing of their wares in the guildhalls. On the weavers and their inspectors, see Claus Peter Clasen, *Die Augsburger Weber: Leistungen und Krisen des Textilgewerbes um 1600*, *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Stadt Augsburg* 27 (Augsburg: H. Mühlberger, 1981), 73–85.

37 Charles' declaration on 18 August 1548 in Naujoks, *Zunftverfassung* (see note 20), 61.

38 Clasen, *Augsburger Weber* (see note 36), 70–1 cites evidence that the Weavers' Hall was occasionally the site of tradesmen dinners, but this seems to have been relatively uncommon.

39 Roth, *Reformationsgeschichte* (see note 22); Andreas Gössner, *Weltliche Kirchenhoheit und reichsstädtische Reformation: die Augsburger Ratspolitik des "milten und mitleren weges" 1520–1534*, *Colloquia Augustana* 11 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1999); Rolf Kießling, "Evangelisches Leben in Augsburg in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts: die Pfarrgemeinden als Träger der Reformation," *Zeitschrift für bayerische Kirchengeschichte* 76 (2007), 106–25; Michele Zelinsky Hanson, *Religious Identity in an Early Reformation Community: Augsburg, 1517 to 1555* (Boston: Brill, 2009).

40 Cf. B. Ann Tlusty, *Bacchus and Civic Order: The Culture of Drink in Early Modern Germany*, *Studies in Early Modern German History* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001).

41 Marcus Welser, *Chronica der weitberüemten keyserlichen freyen und deß H. Reichs Statt Augspurg in Schwaben: von derselben altem Ursprung, schöne, gelegene zierlichen Gebäwen*

of an older guild-centered politics, the feast-halls and trade gatherings, were closed and the political practices that were part of it – guild elections and council elections – removed from these manifold spaces. Whereas politics had earlier been spread throughout the city, after 1548 it was drawn back and limited to the council house at the city's center.

At the same time, all of these corpora, which had had a storied tradition of self-governance before 1548, were now subject to direct, constant council supervision. In fact, in the reorganization of the guilds into trade and craft associations, the authorities in Augsburg demonstrated that their greatest concern was with how to best keep the trades under their control and to limit the emergence of oppositional political space.⁴² Burghers meeting together in small numbers in the privacy of a back chamber of a craft hall was perceived as a real potential threat to the council monopoly over politics. Since craftsmen had to occasionally meet, no matter how paranoid the magistracy might be, the council ensured that meetings of the reorganized trade associations were presided over by council-appointed supervisors and were held in council-administered quarters.⁴³

These moments were key steps in the process towards a more exclusive political space. While these former political spaces were abolished, every effort was made to ensure that no new political spaces evolved. Conventicles of heterodox religious groups, whose secret meetings were perceived as a threat to the magistracy and its political monopoly, were crushed. Though at first blush a religious measure, these actions were in fact taken out of concern that the new exclusive and narrow understanding of politics would be rejected. Especially in the immediate aftermath of the Caroline reforms, but throughout the second half of the century as well, the magistracy feared the emergence of an uprising along the lines of the Schilling Uprising of 1524.⁴⁴ In that year, Johann Schilling, the lector at the Franciscan monastery, mobilized the economically and politically disenfranchised of Augsburg's poorer districts, who saw in Schilling a marriage of

und namhaften gedenckwürdigen Geschichten ... [facsimile of: Frankfurt: Egen[olffs] Erben 1595 – 1596], ed. Bernd Roeck and Josef Bellot (Neusäß: Kieser, 1984), III, 72.

42 The pointedness of questions concerning supervision of the guilds is wholly evident in Augsburg's legations to Nuremberg from mid-1548 through spring 1549; see Naujoks, *Zunftverfassung* (see note 20), 67–71, 92–6, esp. 93: where Rehlinger, one of the Augsburg envoys, indicates that the council in Augsburg “is most interested in the crafts ordinances and how to establish the same and, also of the utmost importance, how to act peaceably in the matter” (jetz am meisten an der Handtwerckordnung und wie dieselben anzerichten gelegen, auch hoch von nöten, friedlich darin zu handeln) and how Nuremberg organized the craft foremen.

43 Cf. e.g. StadtAA, RS, EWA, no. 149 “Varia”, doc. no. 56.

44 On Schilling, see Wilhelm Vogt, “Johannes Schilling, der Barfüßer-Mönch und der Aufstand in Augsburg im Jahr 1524,” in *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Schwaben und Neuburg* 6 (1879), 1–32.

both their social grievances and desires for religious reform. The episode marked the beginning of a 'popular' phase to the Reformation in Augsburg and was recollected later as a reminder of the dangers inherent in uncontrolled religious movements. In the context of deep disappointment over the Schmalkaldic League's defeat and the occupation of the city, magisterial fears of the danger of such movements were far from unfounded. For there were wide parts of the citizenry who felt that not only the city, but right religion, too, had suffered defeat at Mühlhausen.

All of this gives us some sense of how political space was increasingly defined in the years after 1547/1548. What, then, were the reasons for this stricter definition of political space, for this exclusivity of access to those spaces that defined the new politics after 1548? As mentioned above, the ideology of some of Augsburg's leading patricians, who seemed to have genuinely believed the arguments made before the emperor, was certainly a crucial part of this. As for other motives, we can likely rule out religious prejudices. While they certainly played a certain role in the emperor's decisions, the magistracy in Augsburg was patrician and oligarchic, but it was not confessionally defined. On the contrary, of the new municipal officers appointed by Emperor Charles in 1548 (and, tacitly, in the years that followed), a majority can be identified as Protestants. Far more important than the confessional or even the social or ideological motives were the pragmatic ones. Augsburg was a city defined by its commerce. With little landed territory under its direct administration, the city's residents had but little choice to trade and deal with Augsburg's neighbors. The Schmalkaldic War had been financially disastrous for the city, which had to pay hundreds of thousands of florins – many years' revenue – in reparations to the emperor, his brother Ferdinand, the bishop of Augsburg, and the duke of Bavaria.⁴⁵ Moreover, the hostilities had led to the sequestration of Augsburgers' goods travelling south through Hapsburg lands and the territory of the bishop of Trent. Trade, and with it, private and public income, had suffered. In order to re-establish the city's and the citizens' liquidity, the magistracy had to ensure that the city remained on good terms with its neighbors to the east, south and west, which demanded adherence to the terms of the Peace of Augsburg and, with it, the accommodation of both Catholics and Protestants in the city. Second, the magistracy had to ensure that Augsburg's citizens were back at their looms, their anvils, and their workbenches. Civic disruptions of any sort threatened to disrupt the production of the wares that Augsburg's merchants sold throughout the region and beyond. Protestants and Catholics alike were equally attractive customers; as long as the buyer could pay, Augsburg's merchants' foremost concern was uninterrupted commerce. Because commerce was important for a relatively large part of the political populace – the

45 Cf. StadtAA, RS, Chroniken, no. 4, f. 655a–659a.

full citizens for whom membership in a trade was a prerequisite – there was broadly based acceptance of this, even if sometimes only begrudgingly. After the disruptive years of the late 1520s, the 1530s, and the open war of the 1540s, Augsburg's burghers craved peace and stability and the economic well-being that depended on that peace. In sum, on pragmatic, ideological, and economic grounds, there were good reasons for the creation of a novel kind of political space that helped to maintain civic peace.

* * * *

Just as Augsburg's political spaces were being redefined, its religious spaces had to be significantly changed from what had existed before. With the re-introduction of Catholicism into the city in 1547 and with the establishment of a magistracy containing a large number of Roman Catholics, the Reformation's alliance between a pious magistracy and a godly Protestant ministry was impossible.⁴⁶ After 1555, the council was beholden to the terms of the Peace of Augsburg, which dictated equitable treatment of members of both faiths and the maintenance of peace between the citizens of the two religious groups.⁴⁷ How could there be a 'godly magistracy' when Catholic clergy were back in the city, reasserting clerical jurisdictions and privileges? How could the magistracy be deemed just and pious, how could it be entrusted with the selection of godly ministers of the Word when Catholics were invested with some of the city's highest offices? The logic of the Reformation commune was broken and in its place a new ordering of the relationship between magistrates and the faith, between the commune and the congregation had to be established.

From the moment of this new regime's establishment, there was genuine trepidation and, occasionally, resentment, about the new reality. For some, it heralded an existential threat to their ability to live as godly burghers. Because the reformation of the city had brought about a convergence of urban governance and ecclesiastical administration, the presence of Catholics in the city government augured not only the possible demise of a true Christian church, but it was also feared that such arrangements would bring upon the city God's wrath.

46 Cf. Lyndal Roper, *The Holy Household: Women and Morals in Reformation Augsburg*, Oxford Studies in Social History (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989); Thomas A. Brady, Jr., "In Search of the Godly City': The Domestication of Religion in the German Urban Reformation," in *The German People and the Reformation*, ed. Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), 11 – 31.

47 *Der Augsburger Religionsfriede vom 25. September 1555. Kritische Ausgabe des Textes mit den Entwürfen und der königlichen Deklaration*, ed. Karl Brandt, 2nd ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1927), article 14 (=27).

As a consequence, the initial years of the Caroline constitution saw a spate of such fears expressed in song, deed, and occasional anonymous texts posted in the streets, which the magistracy was at some pains to squelch.⁴⁸ Catholic priests and Protestant ministers took turns excoriating the godlessness and depravity of their neighbors, business partners, and occasionally, family members who happened to attend services in the other church.⁴⁹ More, the colorful register of insults that had developed over the course of nearly three decades of religious differences offered a wide array of means to slander one's neighbor – Lutheran dog here, monk's whore there. Occasionally these workaday outbursts were rendered more menacingly, as in the heated atmosphere of August 1551 following the particularly controversial dismissal of nearly all of the Protestant ministers and schoolteachers from their positions. In these early days of the biconfessional arrangement, the sureness of the magistracy's response was particularly wanting. As the uncertain magistrates saw it, the atmosphere was thick with the specter of sedition. When menacing leaflets were found posted around the city, a high bounty was set by the consuls (*Stadtpfleger*).⁵⁰ In time, the magistracy grew more able in its command over illicit forms of expression, just as the populace settled into the new arrangements. Increasingly, the magistracy saw itself policing not only the language employed in the streets, on penny sheets, and in the drunken boasts of the taverns, but even the polemics issued from the pulpit. As far as the Catholic priests were concerned, the council could only lodge its concern with the bishop or the abbots in the monasteries. Ministers, by contrast, could be ordered by the council to keep their incendiary rhetoric, which wandered casually and with a regular frequency into barely veiled criticism of the civic and imperial authorities, in check. This difference in treatment underlines the differences in the relationships between the magistracy to the two faith communities, and we will return to it in a moment. The new reality took some habituation – it is clear that those ministers who had started their service during the years of the “godly commune” were most prone to polemic and to council censure – but it seems to have established itself by the end of the 1550s.⁵¹

48 Allyson F. Creasman, *Censorship and Civic Order in Reformation Germany, 1517–1648: “Printed Poison & Evil Talk”* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012); and Hanson, *Religious Identity* (see note 39), 146–71.

49 StadtAA, RS, EWA, no. 51.

50 Cf. *Briefe und Akten zur Geschichte des Sechzehnten Jahrhunderts mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Bayerns Fürstenhaus*, ed. August von Druffel, Karl Brandi, Walter Goetz, and Leonhard Theobald, 7 vols. (Munich: M. Rieger'sche Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1873–1913), 3:212, 214 n5.

51 Cf. StadtAA, RS, LitSamml, Reformations-Acten 1530–1554, “Furhalten so ainem ers thumbkapittl beschechen 11 aprilis 54”; *ibid.*, Report of the Church Custodians, [October/

Perhaps the most important means of articulating the divide between religious spaces and political spaces was the redefinition of the relationship between civic leaders and religious ones. As a consequence of the processes of church reform that had taken root in Augsburg in the 1520s and 1530s, municipal officers were responsible for a number of religious affairs, from maintenance of church buildings, to selection and appointment of ministers, to oversight of religious education. While these processes had roots in traditions reaching back to medieval Christianity,⁵² they took on overwhelming force as church reformers dismantled clerical jurisdiction and authority in the years after 1517.⁵³ This responsibility for Protestant churches, congregations, and teaching now fell to a mixed Catholic-Protestant magistracy; new arrangements had to be made. Again, these arrangements hinged on a differentiation of political spaces from religious spaces.

Political spaces were now defined by certain types of action, concerned with certain goals, and carried out in certain places; this was paralleled by the notion of religion as another kind of action, pursuing different goals, and carried out in different places. The boundaries between political spaces and sacred spaces, between the highest municipal officers and the ministers, were drawn according to function and rendered spatially in the places – in the council house, city squares, and pulpits – where these practices were enacted. Therefore, oversight and responsibility as municipal authority for construction on municipal buildings such as city churches fell to the magistracy,⁵⁴ but their function as sites of confessional orthodoxy fell to the ministers charged with pastoral care. The orthodoxy of the preaching offered from the pulpit was overseen by the ministers, while appointment of the ministers was overseen by the magistracy. The remuneration of ministers, representation of the ministers, especially relative to other lords (emperor, bishop, etc.), and authority over congregation and minister qua citizen all fell within the purview of the magistracy's authority.⁵⁵ The

November]1554; StadtAA, RS, LitSamml, Nachträge, 1556–1561, no. 55, dated 20 Nov. 1556; Druffel et al., *Briefe und Akten* (see note 50), 3:220.

52 Cf. Rolf Kießling, *Bürgerliche Gesellschaft und Kirche in Augsburg im Spätmittelalter. Ein Beitrag zur strukturanalyse der oberdeutschen Reichsstadt*, Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Stadt Augsburg (Augsburg: H. Mühlberger, 1971).

53 As elsewhere, the municipal authority served in situ as territorial lord in the classic *Summepiskopat* of confessionalized Lutheranism; cf. Johannes Heckel, *Cura religionis: Ius in sacra, ius circa sacra*, 2nd ed. (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1962).

54 Cf. Emily Fisher Gray, "Good Neighbors: Architecture and Confession in Augsburg's Lutheran Church of Holy Cross, 1525–1661" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2004).

55 Vis-à-vis the emperor, cf. e.g. StadtAA, RS, EWA, no. 51: "Kurtze Beschreibung was sich In der statt Augspurg von anfang der Augspurgische Confession biss auff gegen wert hat Zue getragen vnd wass fir lehrer auff ein ander gefolgt sein vom 1517 Jar an"; StadtAA, RS, LitSamml, Reformations-Acten, 16 Sept. 1549; 12 Oct. 1549; 14. Oct. 1549; 4 Dec. 1549; 26

ministers' purview encompassed the interpretation of the Word of God and the pastoral care of their congregants.

One central issue – magisterial selection and appointment of ministers and negotiations of ministerial duties – can serve as a particularly illustrative example of the careful differentiation of political spaces from religious spaces. In the earliest years of the Reformation, the hiring of reform-minded preachers was an occasional, piece-meal process, commissioned, it appears, at least in part by the magistracy, though on precisely whose authority decisions were made is not clear.⁵⁶ In any case, by 1535, the ministers' employment had become more formalized. Ministers were now being appointed to their offices like all other municipal officers.⁵⁷ The council's dual concerns of maintaining civic control over the churches and of instigating true religious reform were equally responsible for these procedures.⁵⁸ Augsburg's first reformed church ordinance, from 1537, reflects this relatively stable procedure for hiring and firing ministers.⁵⁹

With the end of a purely Protestant magistracy in 1547/1548, this procedure was cast into question. In the first years of de-facto biconfessionality, the council took upon itself the task of locating and soliciting potential preachers for service in Augsburg's Protestant churches.⁶⁰ However, once the city had settled into official biconfessionality, it appears that day-to-day control and supervision of the ministers in Augsburg passed to the lay church custodians commissioned to this office by the council. In all likelihood, these commissioned custodians made their decisions in close consultation with the ministry and with the acquiescence of the council.⁶¹ However, although formal authority for the selection and day-

Aug. 1551; StadtAA, RS, LitSamml 13 Aug. 1548. Vis-à-vis the Catholic clergy, cf. e. g. Roth, *Reformationsgeschichte* (see note 20), 4:384–7.

56 Roth, *Reformationsgeschichte* (see note 22), 1:127–8, 296; Roth, “Zur Berufung des Ambrosius Blarer, des Wolfgang Musculus und des Balthasar Keufelin nach Augsburg im Dezember 1530,” *Beiträge zur bayerischen Kirchengeschichte* 8 (1902), 256–65.

57 Roth, *Reformationsgeschichte* (see note 22), 1:358n43, though here Roth erroneously dates the first contract to 1538, a mistake he corrected in the second volume of his Reformation history. On the question of the status of ministers as civil servants or civil functionaries see Ernst Riegg, *Konfliktbereitschaft und Mobilität. Die Protestantischen Geistlichen zwölf süd-deutscher Reichsstädte zwischen Passauer Vertrag und Restitutionsedikt*, Schriften zur südwestdeutschen Landeskunde 43 (Leinfelden-Echterdingen: DRW-Verlag, 2002), 223n88 with relevant references.

58 See Riegg, *Konfliktbereitschaft* (see note 57), part 3.

59 Cf. *Die Augsburger Kirchenordnung von 1537 und ihr Umfeld: wissenschaftliches Kolloquium*, ed. Reinhard Schwarz and Rudolf Dellsperger (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1988).

60 Cf. letters from the magistracy to Philipp Melancthon in StadtAA, RS, LitSamml, Reformations-Acten 1530–1554, nos. 42–4.

61 The source base for this procedure in the next two decades is very sparse, making definitive claims difficult. Nonetheless, all parties to the Vocation Controversy in the 1580s were of one mind that the selection of ministers was exercised by the church custodians.

to-day oversight rested in the hands of these custodians, this did not mean ministerial independence from the magistracy. On the contrary, these church custodians (*Kirchenpfleger*) became an instrument of magisterial control over the ministers: The church custodians were appointed by the council and bound to take an oath to it.⁶² Moreover, the men who served as church custodians were all members of the highest municipal elite, drawn from the same pool of candidates as the highest municipal officers. The custodians were certainly more vigilant about ensuring the 'purity' of religious space; they were responsible for ensuring that no heterodoxy found its way into the teachings of the city's preachers. On the other hand, they also served to guard the boundaries of political space. The ministers were obliged to meet only in council-owned chambers and under the watchful eye of the custodians, and the custodians ensured that the ministers hewed to matters pertaining to religion and eschewed those pertaining to politics.⁶³ Here, the spatial organization of religious spaces as distinct from political spaces is rendered vividly.

Occasionally, the magistracy did get involved in cases of egregious disagreement between ministers – especially when their nasty polemics spilled out from the relative secrecy of the ministry's meetings into public. In these cases, the religious spaces of the churches and of the ministers' meetings had been breached and questions of orthodoxy had spilled over into spaces in which they had no place. In such a case, civic peace could be threatened by such ruptures of religious space. Similarly, as mentioned, the magistracy also called the ministers to account when they preached too ardently against the Catholics in neighboring churches. In these condemnations from the pulpit, in the church, and occasionally on the street, the boundary surrounding religious spaces was threatened, since what was heard by congregants in the religious space of Sunday services – the condemnation and vituperation of the disbelievers – could be carried out of the religious space when those congregants left services and interacted with their fellow burghers as citizens.

This watchful vigilance over the boundaries of religious space and of political space was reflected in the ways in which the contractual obligations of the ministers were set down. In these contracts, required for all ministers, the magistracy's monopoly over political space is especially powerful articulated. We can best appreciate this again by comparing the situation before 1547 with the situation after 1547.

In the earliest employment contract for a minister in Augsburg, from 1535, the spheres of politics and religion knew of no absolute boundary between them;

62 An early form of this oath can be found, undated and without file memoranda, in StadtAA, RS, LitSamml, Reformations-Acten 1530 – 1554.

63 Cf. e.g. StadtAA, RS, EWA, no. 149 "Varia", doc. no. 56.

the language evidences a very clear expectation of political involvement by the minister. He was expressly bound not only to offer advice to the political authorities when it was sought of him, but rather “if it should happen that the authorities act against God in a dangerous and public way ... then [the minister] shall and will ... bring the matter before [the magistracy].”⁶⁴ Like some Nathan to a David, the minister was to ensure that the rule of the secular authorities stayed upon God’s path. In these earlier employment contracts, we see that the minister, in effect, was required to be on call should the civil authorities ever be in need of counsel: “then I will answer my lords’ query and request at any hour and with the truth of Scripture, according to my best understanding; I will strive as best I can to advise and act as faithfully as possible.”⁶⁵ Any notion of a boundary between political space and religious space is gone. While the obligations also bound the minister to obey the rule and administration of the secular authorities, the magistracy was assumed to require the vision of a man of the Lord in order to administer political space.

The contracts issued by the new patrician magistracy after 1547 introduce a marked boundary between political space and religious space. Whereas above, interference in the matters of politics by the men of God was welcomed, indeed contractually required, after 1548 the ministers’ sphere of action is explicitly limited to the pulpit and the altar. Whereas in the employment contract of 1535, the minister spoke as a voice of authority both in religious space and political space, now, his pastoral duties were restricted to religious space. As an extant contract from 1551 has it, the focus is still on orthodoxy, but now in the service of peace, quiet, and obedience to rightful authorities.⁶⁶ Now, the minister is at the service of the council; now the minister has become just another municipal employee, bound to the same set of rules of obedience, subject to the magistracy’s monopoly over political space.

Whereas orthodoxy was the governing logic in religious space – a point that is underlined by the role of the church custodians and by the language of the ministers’ employment contracts – the common weal was the governing logic of

64 StadtAA, RS, Urkunden 264 – 6 (language identical), “Should it come to pass, that the lords in their administration (may God mercifully forefend) should cross God publically and dangerously, then I shall and will call the lords mayor to account on this” (Ob sich aber begeben, das die Obrigkeit in Jr Regierung (Gott gnediglich verhalten wöll) wider got offentlich vnd geuerlich handln wurd, soll vnd will Jch das... den herren Burgermaistern... furhalten). These earliest obligations serve as the model for throughout the period of Reformed Augsburg and even serve as the startint point for obligations thereafter; cf. StadtAA, RS, Rat, Bestallungsurkunden, 1531 – 1547, nos.1010, 1011, 1423, 1429, 1430, 1433.

65 Ibid.

66 See obligations for Hieronymus Hertel and Thomas Widenmann (both 15 Dec. 1551) in StadtAA, RS, Rat, Bestallungsurkunden. I owe thanks here to Simone Herde for bringing these documents to my attention.

political space. In contrast to earlier reformed interpretations and even in contrast to earlier medieval Christian interpretations, the common good could no longer be understood as coherent with the tenets of any one confessional group. Augsburg remained a community that was defined by Christianity – Jews had been expelled from the city in the fifteenth century and now only resided in towns surrounding Augsburg that were under the bishop’s jurisdiction – however, political space was not permitted to be influenced by the logic of religious space or by claims of orthodoxy. This was reflected in the language employed by the magistracy, where the newfangled word *politisch* (‘political’) was employed regularly to define magisterial competency over civil and criminal jurisdiction, over foreign affairs, and over the economic and commercial well-being of the city. These practices contributed to the coalescence of distinct political space here and religious space there. We could point to many further instances where political space and religious space were carefully kept separate and bounded. For instance, there was a pragmatic reformulation of the wording of the civic oath in the late 1550s, in such a way that confessional orthodoxy was not permitted to infiltrate this crucial ritual of civic community.⁶⁷

Similarly, efforts at revitalizing the architecture of the cityscape were characterized by a steadfast avoidance of confessional sentiments, lest, again, the logics of confessional orthodoxy escape the boundaries of religious space. Instead, these municipal building projects and artistic embellishments were used as an opportunity to express particular political sentiments.⁶⁸ For instance, the monumental fountains that were installed along the city’s main road, the *Reichsstrasse*, avoided any confessional affiliation and instead emphasized imperial, aconfessional themes: the three figures of Augustus, Mercury, and Hercules were replete with the symbolism of Augsburg’s imperial history, commercial significance, and confessional sensitivity.⁶⁹ In Augsburg’s public space, as Julian Jachmann has shown, municipal buildings constructed in this period, like the *Beckenhaus*, increasingly manifested a distinct aesthetic, serving to distinguish communal buildings from private buildings and religious structures.⁷⁰ In the iconography of the new courthouse and in the city generally from

67 Documents pertaining to Ferdinand’s visit, dated 5 January 1559 in StadtAA, RS, Geheimer Rat, Ceremonialia, 2a, Kaiser, 1530 – 1653.

68 For a very interesting consideration on how style of governance could influence the architecture of a pre-modern city, see also Charles Burroughs, “Spaces of Arbitration and the Organization of Space in Late Medieval Italian Cities,” in *Medieval Practices of Space*, ed. Barbara Hanawalt and Michal Kobialka (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 64 – 100.

69 Lars Olof Larsson “Die großen Brunnen und die Stadterneuerung um 1600,” in *Elias Holl und das Augsburger Rathaus*, ed. Wolfram Baer, Hanno-Walter Kraft, and Bernd Roeck (Regensburg: F. Pustet, 1985), 135 – 46.

70 Julian Jachmann, *Die Kunst des Augsburger Rates 1588 – 1631: kommunale Räume als Me-*

the end of the sixteenth century to the beginning of the seventeenth, there was an emphasis on concord, justice, and the common good – all confessionally neutral, civic values. But this also served to deemphasize the guilds, underlining the new Caroline regime's monopoly over political space.⁷¹

This careful maintenance of the boundaries of political space and prevention of the intrusion of the logics of orthodoxy into it was not always easy.⁷² Foreign affairs, in particular, were fraught with the danger of confessional flag-waving. Tellingly, therefore, the magistracy entered into regional alliances only on the condition that they served political goals – the protection of subjects, maintenance of order, coordination of intelligence – and endeavored to ensure they remained free of the logics of religious space, as, for instance, in the city's involvement in the League of Landsberg. When the city perceived that the alliance had become a vehicle of confession, that politics had been infiltrated by religion, Augsburg withdrew from the league.⁷³ Similarly, the magistracy avoided any identification with one confessional group at the imperial diets, as it did, stubbornly, against the entreaties of the Count-Palatinate Philipp Ludwig of Pfalz-Neuburg. Where confessional orthodoxy stood to debate, as when the count-Palatinate's envoy presented the Augsburg council with a copy of the Formula of Concord in the council chambers, the magistracy removed the issue from this political space, leaving it instead to the ministers to decide in their own chambers whether the document articulated confessional orthodoxy.⁷⁴

dium von Herrschaft und Erinnerung (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2008), 100. See also Jürgen Zimmer, "Die Veränderungen im Augsburger Stadtbild zwischen 1530 und 1630," in *Welt im Umbruch. Augsburg zwischen Renaissance und Barock*, vol. 3 (Augsburg: Augsburg Druck- und Verlagshaus, 1981), 25–65. Bernd Roeck emphasizes the confessional aspects of some late sixteenth-century buildings: *Eine Stadt in Krieg und Frieden: Studien zur Geschichte der Reichsstadt Augsburg zwischen Kalenderstreit und Parität*, Schriftenreihe der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 37 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), 2:186.

71 Jachmann, *Kunst* (see note 70), 137–8, 200–1.

72 Roeck, in particular, is careful to suggest that some of the iconography of the late sixteenth century – for instance, the image of St. Michael on the imperial garrison in the city – could be both confessional *and* reference aconfessional themes, in a delicate balancing act he terms the "intellectual sublimation" of confessional logics; Roeck, *Eine Stadt*, 188.

73 See e.g. Christoph Peutingen and Sebastian Christoph Rehlinger to the Augsburg Council, 28 May 1556, in StadtAA, RS, Rat, LitSamml.; cf. Instructions to envoys, 21 May 1557 in StadtAA, RS, Rat, LitSamml.; minutes of the deliberations, edited in Druffel et al., *Briefe und Akten* (see note 50), 5:72; Instructions to envoys, 7 August 1557 in StadtAA, RS, Rat, Lit-Samml.

74 See council minutes from 2 January 1578 in StadtAA, RS, Ratsprotokolle 1578, f. 1r: "In response to Count-Palatine Philipp Ludwig's letter regarding the Concordia, the ministers have been informed that insofar as the Concordia accords with the Confession of Augsburg and there is nothing in the Concordia that contradicts the imperial recess and religious peace, then they should sign it" (Auff pfgf Philipp Ludwig schreiben der Concordia halben ist den Herrn Predicanten vermelt worden, wofern die Concordia der Augspurgischen Con-

This containment of religious polemic and the potential for popular unrest the city elites feared from it was one aspect of the new articulation of religious space and its separation from political space. However, before this boundary could be articulated, traditions of religious space that vitiated such separation had to be reformed. Luther had famously rejected the notion that there was anything in the consecrated church, or in the rite of consecration itself, that made it an inherently sacred place.⁷⁵ Churches as structures were not inherently sacred, but were rather sacralized through the actions – the sermons, the Lord’s Supper, baptism – that were carried out there. This was further underlined by the reformed emphasis on the de-localized nature of God’s grace through the Word.⁷⁶ These positions were deeply at odds with the traditions of medieval Christianity, a difference that was often at play in the early outbursts of iconoclasm in the Reformation.⁷⁷ Yet, in Lutheran territories, it often amounted to a remarkable degree of aesthetic continuity.⁷⁸ Indeed, even many aspects of the ritualized sacralization of church spaces familiar from medieval Christianity were retained within Lutheran churches or at least returned to them within the lifetime of Luther.⁷⁹ Even though Lutheran theologians were successful in rooting out ‘idolatrous’ practices like genuflection and the use of votive candles, many of

fession gemäß, vnd nichts darInnen sey, wider die kay Mt Reichs-abschid vnd Religions-
friden, mögen sie dieselb vnderschreiben). See also council instructions for city lawyers, 22
April 1561 in StadtAA, RS, LitSamml, wherein the city reiterated the obligations it imposed
upon its ministers to serve in accordance with the Confession of Augsburg, while also
reiterating their political position as indifferent to such confessional self-identification on
account of the requirements of the Caroline arrangements; and Paul von Stetten, *Geschichte
der Heiligen Roemischen Reichs Freyen Stadt Augspurg / Aus Bewährten Jahr-Büchern und
Tüchtigen Urkunden gezogen / Und an das Licht gegeben* (Frankfurt am Main: Merz- und
Mayerischen Buch-Handlung, 1743 – 58), 1:542.

75 For a study on the evolution of both Luther’s and Melancthon’s thought on the relationship
between secular and church affairs, cf. James Martin Estes, *Peace, Order and the Glory of God:
Secular Authority and the Church in the Thought of Luther and Melancthon, 1518 – 1559*
(Leiden: Brill, 2005).

76 Christian Grosse, “Places of Sanctification: The Liturgical Sacrality of Genevan Reformed
Churches, 1535 – 1566,” in Coster and Spicer, *Sacred Space* (see note 5), 60 – 80.

77 Lee Palmer Wandel, *Voracious Idols and Violent Hands: Iconoclasm in Reformation Zurich,
Strasbourg, and Basel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 195 – 7.

78 Susan C. Karant-Nunn, “Ritual, Ritualgegenstände und Gottesdienst: Revision der Sa-
kralumgebung in der Reformation,” in Rau and Schwerhoff, *Topographien des Sakralen* (see
note 8), 90 – 9; Robert J. Christman, “Gottes Haus, Werckstadt des Heiligen Geistes. Lutheran
Understandings of Church and Cemetery Space, c. 1570 – 1620,” in Rau and Schwerhoff,
Topographien des Sakralen (see note 8), 221 – 37; and Renate Dürr, “Zur politischen Kultur
im lutherischen Kirchenraum. Dimensionen eines ambivalenten Sakralitätskonzeptes,” in
Kirchen, Märkte und Tavernen: Erfahrungs- und Handlungsräume in der Frühen Neuzeit, ed.
Renate Dürr and Gerd Schwerhoff (Frankfurt: Klostermann, 2005), 497 – 526, with recent
literature.

79 Vera Isaiaz, “Lutherische Kirchweihen um 1600. Die Weihe des Raums und die Grenzen des
Sakralen,” in Rau and Schwerhoff, *Topographien des Sakralen* (see note 8), 103 – 17.

the markers of medieval sacrality, like Marian images and sacramental adornments, remained.⁸⁰

In Augsburg, prior to 1547, Protestant theologians and the church and municipal officials, both Reformed and Lutheran, who saw to the execution of the new Protestant church ordinances, were quite keen on generating and maintaining both reverential solemnity and – implicitly or explicitly – social order. Certainly, there was a continued sense that church spaces (and church time) were worthy of greater reverence than the street beyond the churchyard's walls or the hours outside of services, as innumerable police ordinances, municipal penalty registers, and visitation records of officials' frustrations attest. Even with the changes of 1547, the churches retained their relative austerity and the ministers and congregations alike continued to treat the religious space of churches in a particular manner. "[P]recisely those who strove for a desacralization of churches and cemeteries were paradoxically just as vigorously committed to preventing their profanation."⁸¹

For their part, the Catholics, and especially the Catholic clergy who returned to Augsburg from 1547, were not entirely of a different mind on the particular sacredness of religious space. To be sure, Catholicism fostered a tradition of spatial practices that did comprehend sacrality as a localizable phenomenon, even if in practice medieval churches were famous for their pell-mell of often very profane activity.⁸² The same level of diversity of use can be seen in cemeteries.⁸³ Independent, however, of whatever confusion there might have been in churches, for Catholics religious spaces retained their sacrality, at least until they were in some way polluted or profaned. Then, elaborate rituals had to be performed in order to re-inaugurate the use of these spaces as sacred space. Catholic bishops relied upon consecration, and, therefore, when the Catholic clergy returned to Augsburg in 1547, one of the first things they did was reconsecrate religious spaces that had, by their understanding, been profaned by the Protestants' use of the churches for their own services. For, "locus, in quo missa est

80 For a recent overview of Lutheranism's attitude towards space and image, see Bridget Heal, "Sacred Image and Sacred Space in Lutheran Germany," in Coster and Spicer, *Sacred Space* (see note 5), 39–59. Things were different in Reformed territories, at least if Lyon can be considered a reliable guide; see Davis, "The Sacred," (see note 1), 40–70, esp. 58–9.

81 Rau and Schwerhoff, "Öffentliche Räume" in Rau and Schwerhoff, *Zwischen Gotteshaus und Taverne* (see note 5), 38.

82 John G. Davies, *The Secular Use of Church Buildings* (London: S.C.M. Press, 1968). See also Jeanne Nuechterlein, "The Domesticity of Sacred Space in the Fifteenth-Century Netherlands," in Spicer and Hamilton, *Defining the Holy* (see note 5), 49–80.

83 Cf. Sarah Hamilton and Andrew Spicer, "Defining the Holy: The Delineation of Sacred Space," in Spicer and Hamilton, *Defining the Holy* (see note 5), 1–23, esp. 12, with further literature there.

celebranda, debet esse sanctificatus” (the place in which the mass is celebrated must be sanctified), as Bishop Otto declared in 1547, citing Canon Law.⁸⁴

While the Protestant ministers and Catholic clergy did agree – if not necessarily in theology, at least in practice – that certain spaces, religious spaces, were more sacred than others, there was still opportunity for confessional disagreement.⁸⁵ With disagreement – not merely between the clergy, but also between Protestant and Catholic burghers and visitors – there was the chance that the boundary between religious space and political space might not hold against the force of confessionally motivated civic unrest. Even absent violence, protracted legal wrangling,⁸⁶ especially in cases pertaining to family graves in churches and cemeteries that had been ‘lost’ to the other confession, could prove ample cause for concern⁸⁷

Theologians’ understandings of the nature of religious space and burgher litigation over family gravesites were certainly important as part of this process of articulating the boundary between political space and religious peace. The role of the magistracy in supporting the peaceful resolution of these disputes – especially in its support of the (often Lutheran) citizenry’s claims to properties against Catholic (clerical) imputations – underlines the importance of keeping legal disputes over religious space from becoming conflicts that threatened civic peace. Though it was far from simple, and though there was doubtlessly disagreement within the municipal elites over the precise balance that had to be struck, it is nonetheless clear from general trends that political space and religious space were understood, articulated, and guarded as distinct. Augsburgers seemed to have understood that such careful maintenance of the boundaries between the two was necessary to ensure civic peace.

Competing claims to churchyards and gravesites was one sort of threat, however, far more menacing was the threat posed by those who sought to overtly challenge the boundary that kept Augsburg’s divided populace at peace. This happened when the careful articulation of different kinds of authority expressed in different places was rejected and religious authority was used as a foundation to assert political authority, or vice versa. Normally, such cases were episodic and were mitigated through magisterial suppression and, at least implicitly, a

84 Cited in Wandel, “Religion” (see note 13), 279.

85 An excellent array of examples of some of these differences as they played out over the duration of the early-modern era in Augsburg can be found in Wandel, “Locating the Sacred” (see note 13), 307–25. Here, too, Wandel gives a sense both of the theological differences in spatial understanding and of the Protestant practice of valuing certain spaces as more important, even in the face of a theology that foreswore any hierarchy of sacred space.

86 Emily Fisher Gray, “Good Neighbors: Architecture and Confession in Augsburg’s Lutheran Church of Holy Cross, 1525–1661” (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2004).

87 A sense of the number of such cases is offered in Wandel, “Religion” (see note 13), 285–6.

lack of popular sympathy.⁸⁸ Even if it was only popular apathy that prevented these episodes from becoming more disruptive, it suggests that the boundaries were increasingly becoming part of everyday life in Augsburg.⁸⁹

However, one kind of challenge was especially destabilizing in this situation: when the magistracy was in the position of defending what it understood to be its political rights and political authority over certain space against the assertion of religious authority by the Lutheran ministers. It was equally destabilizing when the magistracy was suspected of using political authority in political space in the service of religious motives. In both cases, the boundary dividing political space and religious space, the boundary that was so crucial to the maintenance of civic peace in the city, appeared to be cast in doubt. And in such cases, all parties were energized in the defense of what they saw to be their prerogatives in their space. This is precisely what happened in the so-called Calendar Controversy and the related Vocation Controversy.

By the late 1570s, the relationship that we sketched out above between ministers and the council as enshrined in the ministers' employment obligations – a relationship that helped ensure civic peace – threatened to lose its validity. Starting as early as 1576, the language governing the relationship between the magistracy and the ministry changed. There are certain elements that remained constant: the minister was still barred from interference in political space and a minister's portfolio was clearly confined to the pulpit and the altar, and even there, he was bound to preach due obedience to the political authorities. However, in 1576, the contract stated that the municipal authorities had now laid some claim to the right to examine the orthodoxy of ministers – a sphere into which the municipal authorities had hitherto not ventured. By the contract, the minister was required to “obediently appear before my lords upon their summons and when [he is] spoken to in regards to [his] teachings, that [he] shall give

88 An overview of some of these episodes can be found in Carl A. Hoffmann, “Konfessionell motivierte und gewandelte Konflikte in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts – Versuch eines mentalitätsgeschichtlichen Ansatzes am Beispiel der bikonfessionellen Reichsstadt Augsburg,” in *Konfessionalisierung und Region*, ed. Peer Frieß and Rolf Kießling (Konstanz: UVK Universitätsverlag Konstanz, 1999), 99 – 120.

89 For instance, in one case of a conflict between a minister and a Jesuit, the minister attempted to represent his actions, which earned him a citation before the council and censure for threatening the civic peace, as something private, as something that did not impinge upon political space, or, as he put it: “one Jemandts schenden oder schmech obgegangen, das auch dardurch der gemein Religions frid oder ains E. raths Pollicey ordnung, oder einiche andere Politische Satzung nit offendiert, oder Belaidigt sey worden...” ([it] happened without any slandering or insulting of anyone, which likewise never injured the communal religious peace nor any magisterial ordinance, nor any other political statute); a copy of Berlocher's letter to the council can be found in SStBibAugsburg, 4° cod. S 95, Johann Voelckl, Jesuit, wider den Prediger Johann Berlocher bei Heilig-Kreuz, 1581.

truthful testimony of the same.”⁹⁰ Suddenly, it appears, the council was involved in those questions of orthodoxy and right faith that had previously been entrusted to the ministers (as supervised by the church custodians) in the confines of their pulpits and collegial exchanges. This was, after all, the inverse of the ministers’ remaining outside of political space by refraining from opining on political decisions and from infiltrating the spaces outside of the religious spaces with hierologically based claims to authority. While the precise motives for this change are unclear, this move by the secular authorities into a realm that had been the uncontested religious space of the ministers was part of an atmosphere of growing tension between the authorities and the Protestant clergymen. This change signals a redefinition of the relationship between religious and political space and seems to have been generated out of the friction between the consuls (*Stadtpfleger*) and Georg Müller, minister and de-facto leader of the Protestant community in Augsburg. The change in the relationship between the ministers and the council as outlined in the minister’s obligation from 1576 is a telling indicator of how religious and political space were no longer regarded as wholly separate by the end of the 1570s. This suggests a heightened willingness to entertain conflict in the city. The council raised the stakes by asserting a new relationship between political authorities and religious space. The ministers, especially under the direction of Müller, responded by challenging the political authorities in matters of political space. These tensions might have grown only incrementally had it not been for a curious incident. As it happens, the long-overdue correction of the calendar proved to be the unlikely trigger to open conflict.

For some time before the sixteenth century, scholars had been aware of the gross and growing disparity between the solar year and the lunar calendar, used to determine the occasion of Easter.⁹¹ In turn, because of its reliance on the church calendar, there were significant consequences for the civil calendar. The cause of this was the Julian Calendar, which, though itself an improvement upon the ancient Roman calendar, was nonetheless longer than the astronomical tropical year, specifically a bit more than eleven minutes too long. Over the centuries, these minutes accumulated, such that the vernal equinox of civil calendars, used to calculate Easter throughout Christendom in adherence to a decision of the Council of Nicea (325), was wildly out of sync with astronomical

90 “Jch soll und will auch mer vorgedachten meinen hern Jeder Zeit vff erfordern gehorsamlich erscheinen vnd da ich meiner leer halb angesprochen wurd, derhalb warhafften bericht thun...,” in StadtAA, RS, EWA, no. 540, doc. 4.

91 On the calendar reform, especially from a German perspective, see Felix Stieve, “Der Kalenderstreit des 16. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland,” in *Abhandlungen der historischen Classe der königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* vol. 15, no. 3 (Munich: Verlag der K. Akademie in Commission bei G. Franz, 1880), 1–99.

realities. As a result, Easter was slipping back ever further into winter. By 1582, the calendrical vernal equinox fell on 11 March, ten days earlier than the astronomical equinox. The recognition of the disparity had given birth to many suggestions for improvement (for instance, from Francis Bacon in the thirteenth century and Nicholas of Kues in the fifteenth), but no accepted solutions. The solution that was finally proposed called for skipping ten days on the calendar. On 24 February 1582, Pope Gregory XIII decreed the implementation of the reform in the night from 4 October 1582 (so that the next day was reckoned as 15 October). The papal bull in which the decree was included, *Inter gravissimas*, threatened excommunication as the penalty for all who failed to institute the reform. At first, the new calendar was implemented only in the Papal States; but the Papacy invested considerable efforts in seeing that it was adopted everywhere.

Though recognition of the calendrical inaccuracies was ecumenical, the fact that the order for the change came not from civil authorities, for instance from the Imperial Diet in the empire, but from the pope, with the threat of excommunication from a communion over which the Protestants felt the pope held no authority, was an egregious affront. Adoption could suggest the extension of papal authority into Protestant territories; it could imply papal authority over civil and their derivative liturgical calendars. As a consequence, in a short time, a unified, theological opposition among the Protestants formed.

Augsburg, as ever, was in a particularly difficult position. Inhabited by both Protestants and Catholics and surrounded as it was by Catholic powers already committed to the new calendar, Augsburg necessarily had to apply a different calculus. The council, Protestants and Catholics alike, thus decided to implement the new calendar, despite the protests of theologians in other territories. The city pointed to the potential repercussions of different calendars on the important Augsburg commerce with the Italian and Iberian peninsulas. Moreover, the city argued, logistical difficulties would arise if Augsburg used a calendar different from its environs, from which it drew so much of its alimentation. Hence the decision was made to implement the reform. Despite the council's arguments for the new calendar's astronomical accuracy and despite a resolution of support by a (mostly Protestant) Diet of Cities in Heilbronn in 1583, a front formed in Augsburg opposed to the new calendar. This group – comprising key figures of the lay Protestant elites, the ministers, and, most importantly, the superintendent of the Protestant churches in Augsburg, Dr. Georg Müller – not only voiced their opposition from the pulpit but also filed an injunction before the Imperial Chamber Court to block the calendar's introduction. Meanwhile,

within the city, each side disputed the legitimacy of the other's claim to speak with authority in the matter.⁹²

The magistracy felt itself confronted with fundamental challenges to its position of political authority and to its right to administer the commerce, the governance, and the foreign affairs of its burghers. In a letter to the council, Emperor Rudolf himself informed the council of disturbing news that had come to his attention. He had learned that Müller, in intercepted correspondence, bragged that he had driven a virtual wedge between the citizens of Augsburg, working one side up against the other, indeed, that he sought to start an uprising.⁹³ But Müller's challenges to the political authority of the council and his open disregard for the boundaries that kept Augsburg at peace in the previous generation proved more than the council and its allies abroad could accept. In a letter to the council of Cologne, Müller even went so far as to claim that the citizenry was empowered to change the magistracy according to its own will. When this letter was discovered, Augsburg's council was pressed by the emperor himself to move quickly before revolution came to the city.⁹⁴ What had begun as a relatively unexciting question of ensuring the relative correspondence of civil and church calendars with astronomical realities had become a question crucial to both the Protestant community in Augsburg and the civil magistrates. Both political authorities and religious authorities – and their respective supporters in the wider populace – saw the other encroaching on their space; the boundaries between religious space and political space threatened to fall altogether. The magistrates were the first to move against the threat; in doing so, they only seemed to confirm suspicions that the political authorities were insinuating themselves unduly into religious space.

On 4 June 1584, in the quiet of the lunch hour, when most artisans sat at home or in the tavern enjoying a large meal, the council attempted to kidnap Müller from his home and bring him out of the city. The attempt was discovered, a cry was raised and the calm of the lunchtime repast was broken. The angry reaction

92 See for instance the exchange between the theologians and jurists reproduced in SStBib Augsburg, 2° cod H 18, *Augsburgischer Calender-Streit von anno 83 bis 90*, fols. 52–68 and 69–92, respectively.

93 StadtAA, RS, EWA 509, Emperor Rudolf to Augsburg Council, dated 1583 October 18: “that he in a variety of ways exerted great efforts to rouse the entire citizenry and the members of both confessional groups against one another, and that he, together with his mates, sought to instigate an uprising” (...sich in vil weeg hochlich bemuhet vnnd beflissen, wie Er die Burgerschafft vnnd baider Religionsverwandten daselbsten ainander hetzen, vnnd sambt seinen Gesellen ain aufflauff erweckhen möchte...).

94 Stadtpfleger Rehlinger had been warned about Müller by the Landvogt, Johann Achilles Ilsung, earlier in the summer. The council's failure to act may be regarded as the reason for the letter from the emperor himself. Letter in StadtAA, RS, EWA 509, Ilsung to Rehlinger, dated 1583 August 23.

of a portion of the populace was swift. Within hours a mob of several thousands had gathered, armed, in the city center around the council house, where panicked authorities trapped inside feared an overthrow of the government and even worse. In the end, the mob refrained from open assault upon the authorities, but they were only quieted by the arrival of the remaining Protestant ministers, who persuaded the populace to return to their homes. For all of the tension that had built in the months leading to 4 June, there was remarkably little actual violence when the moment came. The mob was a mass of force, but it was undirected and ultimately dispersed before it evolved into a destructive one. Yet, this relatively peaceful outcome did not mean general acquiescence in the original dispute. The boundary between religious space and political space had been fractured and genuine resolution of the civil unrest demanded redress of this fracturing. The relationship of religion to politics and the questions about who was responsible for what and for which space remained deeply contentious, and it took years of imperial commissions and negotiations to finally settle all of the disputes.

In the course of the years it took for final arrangements to be agreed upon, contractual rearticulation and public recognition of the boundary between religious space and political space, between religious authority and religious authority, was again a cornerstone of the arrangements that enabled and undergirded the peaceful coexistence of Catholics and Protestants in the city until the coming of the Thirty Years' War. The council understood that the 'mistrust' in the city had arisen out of the insinuation that the council's actions were driven by religion sensibilities, by the suspicion that the magistrates trespassed into religious space. Therefore, regaining the citizenry's trust was crucial. Accordingly, the council reasserted what it understood to be its proper authority and what its boundaries were. It repeatedly highlighted its efforts to support Protestant congregations and establishments financially, and it emphasized its faithful representation of Augsburg's citizens, including its Protestant ones, vis-à-vis other imperial estates in trade, property, and rights disputes. Further, it had invested considerable sums in the material support of the churches and their staff.⁹⁵ Finally, it had ensured that the education of Augsburg children – both in the merchant's concerns of reading and arithmetic and in the believer's concern of right faith – was protected and well financed. In all of these cases, the political authorities presented themselves as responsible stewards of the citizens and their religious faith. At the same time, the council emphasized its diligence in political matters, now rearticulated and clearly defined to include the admin-

95 These claims can be found in the "Protocol vnd sumarische verzeichnus was der Predicanten vnd kirchendiener der Augspurgischen confession, auch Jrer verordneten Pflieger, vnd mit-Verwandten halben alhi Jn der Statt Augspurg furgangen vnd gehandelt worden ist," dated 28 March 1582 in StadtAA, RS, EWA, Nr. 509, Kalenderstreit und ius vocationis betr, 1584.

istration of justice, provision for the needy, and service of the community's daily needs.⁹⁶ Here, the council was careful not to repeat its mistakes of the late 1570s and early 1580s: the maintenance of orthodoxy, exegesis, and the like were excluded from the council's enumeration of its responsibilities. As the council asserted, it "had, beyond all of these [political] matters, consistently and laudably maintained the freedom of religion and of conscience and intended to continue doing the same..."⁹⁷ This was not a confessional peace, but one that demanded an aconfessional understanding of politics and political space (which is why more zealous voices rejected it).⁹⁸

In the end, for peace to be re-established, the delegates of the citizenry likewise needed to acknowledge the differentiation of religious space and political space. These delegates made similar, ceremonious declarations on several occasions, signaling their recognition of and agreement to the distinctions between religion and politics, between religious space and political space. In addition to the agreements reached in the 1580s, another set of agreements, reached between the municipal authorities and representatives of parts of the citizenry in 1591, again underlined the distinction between political space and religious space, between the responsibilities of the political authorities and those of the

96 SStBibAugsburg, 2° cod. Aug. 195, Acta Augustana d.i. Amtshandlungen und amtliche Correspondenz der Stadt Augsburg 1566–1745, vol. 2, fol. 2r–4r.

97 "Even more, the honorable council has provided to this day, steadfastly and [laudably], for the freedom of religion and of conscience and intends to continue to do the same" (...Vber dz hat ein Rath bisßher die freyhait der Religion vnd gewissenß beständiglich vnd [lößlich] erhalten, vndgedenckht solches noch zuthon...) SStBibAugsburg, 2° cod. Aug. 195, Acta Augustana d.i. Amtshandlungen und amtliche Correspondenz der Stadt Augsburg 1566–1745, vol. 2, fol. 6v.

98 For one example of a rejection of the assumptions underlying the peaceful coexistence in Augsburg from a Catholic voice: "Such has it ever been with religion that neither a prince's authority nor unity among the people nor the public peace and quiet can be maintained for long, if there are religious divisions or if religion is left for everyone to decide for himself according to his own opinion and inclination. And this has always been understood, maintained, and declared among all of the nations of the world, that not only Catholic princes who for the sake of the true, Catholic faith have undertaken to defend the religion, but so too among the heathens and barbarians, who on account of human reason and understanding have done just this in the maintenance of their own invented, false religions" (So ist solches je der Religion dermassen verwandt / vnnd zugethan / daß weder der Fürsten autoritet / noch der Vnterthanen einigkeit / auch gemeiner fried vnd ruh / nicht bestendiglich erhalten / vnd bestellet werden kan / wann inn der Religion eine spaltung / oder sonst auff jrgend eine weiß vnd gelegenheit dieselben einem jeden frey / vnd nach seinem willen gelassen wirt. Vnd dieser weg vnd weiß ist zu allen zeiten also bestendig angenommen / vnd erklärt / vnd mit aller Nationen consens bestetiget worden / daß nicht allein die Catholischen Fürsten / die umb des waren Catholischen Glaubens willen / die Religion zu verteidigen fürgenommen / sondern auch die Heiden vnd Barbari / auß mernschlicher vernunft vnd bedencken / eben diesen schlag / jhre erdichte falsche Religion zuerhalten / einhelliglich geführt haben). From the pamphlet "Antwort Der Catholischen Königlichen Maiestet..." SStBibAugsburg, 4° Gs. Flugschr. 420.

ecclesiastical authorities.⁹⁹ Though it took time, in these agreements the civic peace that had prevailed in Augsburg until 1581 was reinstated in terms similar to those which held sway prior to the Calendar Controversy, but now made more explicit.

* * * *

These events and their solutions highlight some of the ways in which political space and religious space were defined as a pragmatic resolution of the struggles between the municipal council, the ministers, and the citizenry of Augsburg. Inasmuch as daily life in Augsburg in the second half of the sixteenth century comprised more than what the episodes sketched above reveal, it should not be surprising that there are many other ways in which political space and religious space were articulated, as may be seen, for instance, in burial practices,¹⁰⁰ religious processions, education, charitable concerns,¹⁰¹ and commercial interactions. The resolution of tensions and disputes in each of these areas, especially as those resolutions were effected by the magistracy in its dealings with the Catholic clergy and especially Protestant ministers, likewise served to reveal the

99 Cf. the copy of the agreement, “New forma: Wie die Herren Stattpfleger, an stat eines ganzen Ersamen Rathes, die pfarrer und kirchendiener in Augspurg iezo zu berueffen pflegen,” doc. no. 33 in StadtAA, RS, EWA, no. 149. This had already been anticipated by at least the ministers of Augsburg in 1586: In one of the responses by the ministry to the council: “Of the ecclesiastical regime it is taught that nobody may publically teach, preach, or distribute the sacrament in churches, who have not been properly called to serve. In this two offices are distinguished, the worldly from the spiritual and the political from the ecclesiastical, which one like the other has its own regime and procedures...” (Vom kirchenregiment wird geleret / das nimand in der kirchen öffentlich leren / predigen / oder Sacrament reichen soll / ohne ordentlichen beruff. Hiemit werden ja zwey ämpter angedeutet, weltliches vnd geistliches vnterschieden / vnd das Politisch vom Kirchewesen abgesondert, welches nicht weniger als dasjenige sein eigen Regiment vnd ordnung hat...), in “Etlliche Schrifften / So die Euangelische aus Augspurg verstossene Prediger / zu besserm bericht der sachen / in Druck verfertigt” (1586), a copy of which can be found in SStBibAugsburg, 4° cod. Aug 735, Schrifften zum Kalenderstreit, I, dated 13 July 1586, here article 13. This argumentation is made to suggest that the calling of ministers to serve is a matter of church affairs; yet, the distinction between two forms of rule is upheld.

100 Craig Koslofsky, *The Reformation of the Dead: Death and Ritual in Early Modern Germany, 1450–1700* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2000); *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

101 Thomas M. Safley, “Konfessionalisierung der Kinder? Routine und Rituale im Alltag in der Augsburger Armenfürsorge und -disziplinierung der Frühen Neuzeit,” in Burkhardt, Safley, and Ullmann (see note 5), 241–59; on charity generally in early-modern Augsburg: Thomas M. Safley, *Charity and Economy in the Orphanages of Early Modern Augsburg* (Atlantic Highlands: Humanities Press, 1997).

boundaries between the two as the outcome of contentious, relational, spatial practices. While this did not amount to some pre-modern example of modern, Enlightenment tolerance,¹⁰² it did enable the city's population to remain largely at peace. Augsburg's particular situation forced it to adopt a solution at odds with the general trends evident in contemporary European settings.¹⁰³ What we have sketched out above does offer some sense of the ways in which politics and religion were understood as spatial practices. It also shows the ways in which the two were conceived of as significantly distinct spheres of human activity and, as such, contributed to the securing of civic peace in Augsburg in a 'Confessional Age', when large parts of Europe were embroiled in internecine, fraternal wars of religion.

Augsburg remained resilient against these influences, but it was not entirely immune. With the arrival of war in Western Europe in 1618 and especially the occupation of Augsburg by imperial forces in 1629 and then with the new constitutional arrangements of Westphalia, Augsburg's spaces and the social practices that shaped and were in turn shaped by them changed for good. The radical break of the war – with renewed constitutional, social, and political changes imposed from outside – fundamentally undermined so many of the delicate and yet successful practices of peaceful coexistence, of which the regulation of space was one.¹⁰⁴

102 I will forego any sustained discussion of whether "tolerance" is, in fact, a good term for these kinds of arrangements; it was certainly tolerance as Luther meant it, in the sense of *Duldung* ('sufferance'), when he introduced the word to the German language; see Grimm's *Deutsches Wörterbuch*. In her work, Emily Fisher Gray uses the phrase "good neighborliness" for a guiding principle of the relations in Augsburg, a term that shows up with great frequency in the sources. Good neighborliness, for Gray, was not tolerance, but a mutually suspicious relationship of negotiation, cooperation as needed, and peace. See Emily Fisher Gray, "Good Neighbors: Architecture and Confession in Augsburg's Lutheran Church of Holy Cross, 1525–1661" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2004).

103 For examples of a "confessionalized civic religion" in the "Confessional City", see Heinz Schilling, "Die konfessionelle Stadt – eine Problemskizze," in *Historische Anstöße: Festschrift für Wolfgang Reinhard zum 65. Geburtstag am 10. April 2002*, ed. Peter Burschel et al., (Berlin: Akademie, 2002), 60–83, esp. 73–8. For a case where the Bourbon monarchy's efforts undermined a confessionally neutral civic space, see Amanda Eurich, "Sacralising Space: Reclaiming Civic Culture in Early Modern France," in Coster and Spicer, *Sacred Space* (see note 5), 259–81.

104 The arrangements instituted by the Peace of Westphalia – with the stipulation of a confessional parity in the civic governance – dismantled much of the motivation for the differentiation between political space and sacred space; see Duane Corpis, "Mapping the Boundaries of Confession: Space and Urban Religious Life in the Diocese of Augsburg, 1648–1750," in Coster and Spicer, *Sacred Space* (see note 5), 302–25. On the spaces and spatial practices after 1648, see Etienne François's *Die unsichtbare Grenze: Protestanten und Katholiken in Augsburg 1648–1806* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1991) for an overview and Thomas Max Safley's *Matheus Miller's Memoir: A Merchant's Life in the*

Yet, the new ordering and especially the new practices of urban life after the war do not change the significance of the some eighty years in which a not-yet confessionalized society maintained civic peace in the face of real potential for civic unrest. It was spatial practices that helped ensure the social stability of Augsburg in the later sixteenth century, when the city garnered the praise and admiration of visitors from places where the mix of religious space and political space had brought religious war.

Seventeenth Century (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000) for the spaces of one seventeenth-century merchant's life.

Ulrich Ufer

Urban Space and Social Distinction

The Rise of the Public, Private and Anonymous Spheres

This essay will discuss the rise of an urban ‘public sphere’ well before the eighteenth century in the context of the concomitant emergence of both an ‘anonymous’ and a ‘private sphere’. This three-tiered transformation of urban life will be approached from the perspective of the history of social distinction in the emerging market society of seventeenth-century Amsterdam.

1. The Origins of the Public Sphere

While discussions of urban space have been strongly influenced by the Habermasian concept of the public sphere, spatiality itself only played a minor role in Habermas’ oft-quoted work. *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* primarily concerned the merger of civil society and a political sphere that had formerly been exclusively dominated by the non-public institutions of the state.¹ Historians and sociologists have given the original concept a spatial turn by focusing attention on the locations where a politicized public convened, including such informal institutions as theatres, coffee-houses, clubs, academies and salons.² Over the course of its application, Habermas’ proposed genealogy of the public sphere has been criticized for recognizing the emergence of a public sphere only in the eighteenth century.³ Historians have noted that the first coffee-houses and public theatres, which Habermas refers to as locations of the public sphere’s development, had appeared in Amsterdam and London during the last decades of the seventeenth century. What is more, widespread voicing of public opinion

1 Jürgen Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* (Neuwied: Luchterhand, 1962).

2 See Peter Burke, *History and Social Theory* (Cambridge: Polity, 2005 [1992]), 79–80.

3 See David Zaret, “Religion, Science, and Printing in the Public Spheres in Seventeenth-Century England,” in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992), 212–35. See also Rietje van Vliet, “Print and Public in Europe 1600–1800,” in *A Companion to the History of the Book*, ed. Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 247–58.

and political debate can be antedated to the pamphlet campaigns of the Thirty Years' War, or even to the public discourses and debates of the Reformation.⁴

As Richard Sennett noted, the meaning of 'public' changed over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. While 'the public' had traditionally referred to either the public good or to a select group administering it, the notion of what constituted 'the public' would soon come to include a diverse group of urban dwellers, independent of their social backgrounds. More and more, the word was defined in opposition to the realm of the private, i. e. life not on the streets but rather in the household.⁵ Antoine Furetière in his *Dictionnaire Universel* of 1687 defined 'public' in part as "opposé à particulier."⁶

The binary distinction between 'public' and 'private' can be extended to three tiers with the incorporation of the 'anonymous' sphere. Anonymity plays an important role in the organization of everyday urban life, as has been shown, for instance, by Marc Augé's study on urban *non-lieux* ('non-places').⁷ While 'the public' in its modern sense came to be defined by the mutual engagement of social actors, it was also defined by mutual scrutiny and observation. By contrast, the private sphere would develop into a retreat obscured from the gaze of the public. Yet urban life also enabled the development of an anonymous sphere that allowed for solitude and unnoticed activity amidst the jumble of the urban crowd.

The development of an anonymous sphere was of particular importance for the commercialization of urban *Lebenswelten* ('Lifeworlds') as well as for the processes of modern individuation. Urban anonymity actually opened up possibilities for identity role-play in everyday life which previously had only been available during particular festivities such as carnival, when the world was turned 'upside-down'. Anonymity enabled individuals to imagine themselves in a different social position. In the context of an increasingly commercialized and economically liberal society, the possibility to consume free from the restrictions of sumptuary laws provided the basic conditions necessary for turning such reveries into practice. However, without the relatively unrestricted field of experimentation provided by the anonymous sphere, such role-play would soon have been revealed as ridiculous pretention by the gate-keepers of the social

4 On the public sphere and the Thirty Years' War see Jeffrey Sawyer, *Printed Poison. Pamphlet Propaganda, Faction Politics, and the Public Sphere in Early Seventeenth-Century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990). On the public sphere and the English Reformation see David Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture. Printing Petitions and the Public Sphere in Early-Modern England* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000).

5 Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man* (New York: Knopf, 1977), 16–7.

6 Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire Universel* (Amsterdam: Desbordes, 1687).

7 See Marc Augé, *Non-lieux : introduction à une anthropologie de la surmodernité* (Paris: Seuil, 1992).

hierarchy. In a free consumer society, the gate-keepers had to resort to more sophisticated methods than simply outlawing conspicuous consumption for the lower classes. Henceforth, habitus and sophisticated codes of civilized conduct were to play an increasingly important role in differentiating social status within the public and the private spheres and in restricting unchecked social role-play to the anonymous sphere.

2. Urban Anonymity

An anonymous sphere can only come into existence within an environment in which the sheer size of the citizenry, as well as its rate of fluctuation, has outgrown the individual's capacity to establish a meaningful relationship with his or her co-habitants. The urban environment of Amsterdam underwent dramatic change during the seventeenth century, ultimately succeeding the city of Antwerp in economic importance after the latter city's position had been severely compromised over the course of the Dutch War of Liberation during the final decades of the sixteenth century. By the early 1600s, Amsterdam had become the booming centre of the European economy. It drew to itself not only investors and capital, but also a huge lumpenproletariat workforce from Germany, England, Poland and Scandinavia to work in its finishing and service industries, as well as in its maritime trade ventures. In addition, religious and ethnic groups such as the Huguenots as well as both Sephardic and Ashkenazic Jews sought freedom from persecution elsewhere within the bounds of the liberal United Provinces. As a result, Amsterdam experienced a sevenfold increase in population during the seventy years leading up to 1660, when the number of its inhabitants reached 200,000. Consequently, about 45 % of the men and 32 % of the women signing marriage contracts during the first half of the seventeenth century had not been born in Amsterdam. Even towards the end of the century, still 35 % of the men and 20 % of the women officially entering wedlock were non-natives.⁸ In addition to those registered newcomers, tens of thousands of seasonal labourers, arriving not only from the surrounding rural areas, but also from foreign countries, populated the city. This sudden demographic rise also necessitated a physical expansion of the city, a transformation of urban space which contributed to the breakdown and reorganization of traditional structures within the neighbourhoods of Amsterdam. Under the circumstances of massive im-

8 Erika Kuipers and Maarten Prak, "Gevestigden en Buitenstanders," in *Geschiedenis van Amsterdam*, vol. 2,1, ed. Willem Frijhoff and Maarten Prak (Amsterdam: SUN, 2004), 189–240, 191.

migration, widespread construction and social change, existing conventions and social coherence were disrupted.

One of the most prominent commentators upon the emerging anonymous sphere and its interconnectedness with the urban public and private sphere during the first half of the seventeenth century was René Descartes. Between the early 1620s and his death in 1650, Descartes had been an itinerant on the routes that connected the capitals of the European ‘Republic of Letters’. Amongst other cities, he lived in Paris, Poitou, Amsterdam, Leiden, The Hague and Stockholm, as well as other towns in Germany and Denmark. However, his relationship to these urban sites was fraught with tension, for while on the one hand he cherished the comforts and stimulation to be found in the great cities and towns, yet on the other he sought solitude and withdrawal from common opinion and the boring conversations that distracted him from his philosophical writings. While he found it impossible during his stays in Paris to escape the public sphere where his notoriety obliged him to engage in endless conversations which produced in him “chimeras instead of philosophical thoughts”,⁹ the ambience he found in Amsterdam, by contrast, provided the perfect conditions for retreat and solitude within the city itself. In 1639 he wrote to his friend Guez de Balzac in Paris, that

in this great city where I am, containing not a single man except me who doesn’t pursue a career in trade, everyone is so attentive to his own profit that I could live here my entire life without ever being seen by anyone. I take walks every day amidst the confusion of a great multitude [...]. Even the noise of their bustle does not interrupt my reveries.¹⁰

Besides people being busy and simply attending to their own affairs, the commercialization and monetization of everyday life in Amsterdam also helped to create an anonymous atmosphere. Money, as Keith Hart has argued convincingly, is both personal and impersonal. It serves as a social memory, but also allows one to conduct economic transaction anonymously, thus reinforcing the trend of modernizing societies towards individuation and social atomization. Anonymity is inscribed into the very means by which transactions in a monetized economy take place.¹¹

9 Stéphane Van Damme, “‘The world is too large’: Philosophical Mobility and Urban Space in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Paris,” *French Historical Studies* 29, 3 (2006), 379 – 406, 383.

10 Quoted in Kevin Dunn, “‘A Great City is a Great Solitude’: Descartes’s Urban Pastoral,” *Yale French Studies* 80 (1991), 93 – 107, 96.

11 Keith Hart, “Money in an Unequal World,” *Anthropological Theory* vol. 1, no. 3 (2001), 307 – 30.

3. Social role-play in the Anonymous Sphere

Depending upon one's perspective, Amsterdam's anonymous sphere and its anonymous spaces had both a liberating and a threatening quality to them. In contrast to many other European cities, by the early seventeenth century, Amsterdam as a place of liberal market economy did not know any sumptuary laws which would have prevented the widening diffusion of formerly restricted status markers. Thus, a contemporary traveller could remark in 1664 that "there was a free and liberal way of life [in Amsterdam], so that everyone, without any difference, was free to wear whatever clothing he desired and was permitted by his wallet."¹² In fact, people in Amsterdam dressed according to purchasing power and not according to the divisions of estates still prevalent in most parts of Europe. Beyond the possibility of freely expressing monetary wealth through conspicuous consumption, the anonymous sphere and anonymous spaces facilitated this new consumerism on a wider level still, since they allowed consumers to dress up in excess of their actual social standing without being immediately identified as impostors by neighbours or other acquaintances.

The impostor was a much debated phenomenon in early modern Amsterdam, frequently mentioned in Dutch literature of Descartes' time. Of the numerous contemporary sources the theatre play *Den Spaanschen Brabander* of 1617 and a moralizing story from the end of the century may illustrate how pretensions to social rank within urban anonymity caused social concern. The theatre play, by the Dutch popular author Bredero, features the main character Jerolimo, a refugee from the Spanish occupied province of Brabant in the southern Netherlands – today a part of Belgium. Jerolimo is actually a penniless have-not, but tries to pass as rich merchant loaded with cash and in possession of both East India Company shares and valuable goods. Conscious of the city's anonymity and of the possibilities for social role-play which he intends to exploit, Jerolimo self-reflectively proclaims at the beginning of the play that "even though you can see people, you never know their heart or their qualities."¹³ Pretending to be a gentleman of renown, he puts on display an ostentatious identity marked by elegant clothing and gesture, eloquent speech, and stylish manners, though he is in fact bankrupt, possessing not even enough money to furnish his room or to pay his rent. The play ends with Jerolimo's various creditors gathering at his home, but Jerolimo has already fled the city. The bystanders complain about their losses and comment regretfully upon a changing urban society in which

12 D. van Nispen, *Den verkeerden Parnassus, of De gehoonde à la mode, Gebilde werelt, Hemelvaart der waerhey, en De gespoiljeerde post*, ([s.l.]: Momus Knapen, 1664), 142.

13 C. Stutterheim, G.A. Bredero's *Spaanschen Brabander* (Culemborg: Tjeenk Willink / Noorduijn, 1974), 156.

mutual relations of trust and recognition have been replaced by anonymity, insecurity and the ever present threat of deceit. The play closes with the moral advice: “Remember, even though you see people, you do not know them.”¹⁴

A similar case of constructing an imposturous identity through ostentatious display within the anonymous sphere was recounted in a pamphlet of unknown authorship, published at the end of the seventeenth century: Here a young girl tries to escape her poor social background by dating army officers. Such men were generally considered to be a good match for a middle-class woman, since they received a regular income and their position accorded them some standing in society. She meets them during her evening strolls and for her rendezvous, dolls up in a Japanese Gown – the latest fashion of the day, very expensive and well beyond her actual financial means. She duly impresses her date but, careful to ensure that her fake identity does not collapse, she knows that she must restrict her presentation to the anonymous sphere of the street: “as she lived in a room as dark as a coal cellar, she was cautious enough not to ask any gentleman to come to her place after he had addressed her during an evening promenade.”¹⁵ Her efforts to get promoted in the social hierarchy eventually fail and the story ends with the moral advice that she should dress according to her social rank, return from the anonymity of the city to her parents’ home and take up an appropriate occupation as a maidservant.

From the point of view of the conservative elites, the impostor who benefited from the new sartorial liberalism of the anonymous sphere was perceived as a threat to the moral order of the city. Numerous criticisms were raised that “not the wallet but social standing should determine a person’s clothing,”¹⁶ or that “today everyone dresses up with clothes and embellishments so that you cannot tell the difference any longer between a burgher, a peasant or nobleman.”¹⁷ In a theatre play towards the end of the century, a female character from the higher ranks of society asked quite desperately how the difference between herself and a woman from the lower classes should be made visible, if clothing did not respect the social order.¹⁸ In the expanding economy of seventeenth-century Amsterdam, rising living standards, the growing consumerism of the lower classes and an expanding group of up-start nouveaux riches began to have an erosive

14 Ibid., 323.

15 *Wonderlyke levensbeschryvingen, van elf extra schoone juffers na de mode, geboortig van Amsterdam, s’ Hage, Rotterdam en elders. Doormengd met zeer raare en wonderlyke kluchten*, ([s.l.], 17xx).

16 Willem Telinck, *Den spiegel der zedicheyt, daer in alle soorten van menschen haer selven besierende, bemercken mogen oft sy oock niet geweken zijn van de eenvoudicheyt die sy in hare kleedinge behoorden te betrachten*, (Amstelredam: Mart. Jansz. Brandt, 1626), 24.

17 Quoted in A. Deursen, *Mensen van klein Vermogen. Het Kopergeld van de Gouden Eeuw* (Amsterdam: Bakker, 1991), 217–8.

18 Pieter Bernagie, *De Goe Vrouw* (Amsterdam: Albert Magnus, 1686), 32–3.

effect upon the display and recognition of traditional social hierarchies. It was particularly the rise of an anonymous sphere within the city, its manifestation in street life as well as its overlap with and intrusion into places of the public sphere, such as theatres and coffee-houses, which provided the conditions necessary for such experiments in social role-play.

4. Status Display in the (Semi)-Private Sphere

Individuals in urban society constantly move between the anonymous mass and spaces of stronger social cohesion like those found within the public and the private spheres. In response to the questionable validity of status displays among an anonymous crowd, it became increasingly important to back up status display in the streets with complementary proofs of social rank at home. In addition to the overcrowded living conditions of most urban dwellers, the peculiar mixture of work space, family space and, at times, space for animals in most early modern households generally left little room for a sophisticated private sphere. By contrast, as a result of its demographic increase and economic boom, the city of Amsterdam experienced successive phases of expansion, including a ring of spacious modern merchant houses surrounding the narrow medieval city centre. While the centre and some of the peripheral districts, housing the large majority of workers, lesser shopkeepers, and clerks, bustled with artisanal or mercantile activity, by the 1660s a small minority, comprising around ten percent of Amsterdam's 200.000 citizens, lived in the newly built residential areas. The extent to which these novel urban zones were a particularly fertile ground for the development of refined domesticity is witnessed by the numerous paintings of interiors produced by seventeenth century Dutch painters and which were accorded high value and importance by contemporary art buyers.¹⁹

Renting or owning one of the new houses on the Herengracht, Prinsengracht or Kaisergracht greatly added to a family's social prestige. Commercial traffic was guided away from these privileged streets, seamed with trees and spaciouly laid out along wide channels. In these areas of reduced traffic and modernized housing a whole new bourgeois culture developed around the idea of the home. Simon Schama has discussed with great skill the Dutch moral preoccupation

19 See Jeroen Dekker, "A Republic of Educators: Educational Messages in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting," *History of Education Quarterly* 36,2 (1996), 155 – 82. See also Martha Peacock, "Domesticity in the Public Sphere," in *Saints, Sinners, and Sisters: Gender and Northern Art in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Jane Carrol and Elison Stewart (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2003), 44 – 68.

with an impeccable household.²⁰ In contrast to street life in the bustling commercial centre of the town, where anonymity and the ever-present possibility of meeting an impostor called into question the validity of any rank or virtue displayed, the home was seen to function as a place that more reliably displayed its tenant's status and the virtuous or immoral aspects of his character.

In fact, contemporaries self-reflectively and at times self-mockingly took note of their increased interest in a distinct private space, as witnessed, for example, in a 1708 theatre play by Jacob van Rijkdorp. In *Derde Meydag of Verhuys Tyd (May 3rd or Time for Moving House)* a woman demands that her husband install a nice kitchen in their new house and that he furnish a salon where she might have tea with her friends. More precisely, the tea salon should face the street and feature a large window pane, so as to allow the tea party to watch passers-by outside on the streets and at the same time to be seen by them while conducting their tea ceremony.²¹

This anecdote points to the double role of the window as the moral interface between the public, private and anonymous spheres and places of the city. Often, large window panes in Dutch urban culture have been interpreted as semi-public spaces, providing a means of public control by making it possible to witness from the outside what is going on in the interior of the building.²² However, at the same time, the large windows made of the street facing room a semi-private space, presenting to the world outside a kind of show case, or cabinet which allowed residents to display their social prestige. If placed correctly, furniture, wall tapestries, murals, ceiling frescos, lustres and cabinets with porcelain could all be seen from the outside. Occupants could therefore present themselves surrounded by a context of prestige items and thereby raise their appearance in the anonymous streets beyond the doubt of imposture.

While this semi-public function of the emerging private sphere answered the need for a confirmation of social status imposed by the opaque anonymous sphere, it also posed serious moral questions. Vanity and exaggerated, conspicuous consumption were among the serious moral reproaches raised against those nouveaux-riches who attempted to turn their rapid monetary ascent into recognized status. Thus, merely being able to afford a spacious private sphere did not necessarily testify to established social rank and civilized behaviour. On the contrary, similar to the moral doubts which accompanied the emergence of private reading in the eighteenth century, whatever happened in the private

20 Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches. An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (London: Collins, 1987).

21 Jacob van Rijkdorp, *Derde Meydag of Verhuystyd* ('s Gravenhage: Gerr. Rammazeyn, 1708), 16.

22 Schama, *Embarrassment* (see note 20), 603.

sphere, withdrawn from the public gaze, could provoke allegations of devious behaviour.

One example, which illustrates the narrow line between a private home regarded as reinforcing elevated, civilized and virtuous status and a private home regarded as a den of debauchery is the seventeenth-century Dutch tea ceremony. When close trade relations between the Dutch East India Company and Japan brought the first imports of tea to the Netherlands around the middle of the seventeenth century, the new beverage was soon adopted as a mark of prestige among the elites. Coffee was introduced at about the same time, with an analogous social function. However, it was not long before the elites were joined by the *nouveaux-riches* and soon, with the dissemination of tea through a wider consumer market a few decades later, larger segments of society enjoyed drinking tea and coffee at home as well as in public places.

Inspired both by courtly customs and by reports from their countries of origin, the introduction of those new beverages was accompanied by a whole array of instructions concerning how they should be consumed in a civilized manner: the ownership and correct use of appliances and utensils such as Chinese teapots, saucers, cups, stoves and spoons were essential to civilized private tea parties. Yet, while all this refinement could theoretically distinguish the elegant connoisseur from the unaccustomed imitator, it was in practice a question of making but measured use of the tea ceremony. All too often, congregations of women in private salons were anathema to the keepers of morality. The latter accused devotees of the new drinks of being debauchers, literally 'time wasters,' who indulged in leisure instead of working arduously. *Zaletjuffers* ('Salon Madams') was the reproachful name given to those dubious women who, instead of managing their households with parsimony, enjoyed long *praatjes* ('conversations') over laced coffee and tea.²³

The private sphere of the prestigious houses in Amsterdam's modern residential areas during the seventeenth century comprised more than just the street-facing tea room. Travellers from other parts of Europe commented with astonishment upon the abundance of private space in some of the wealthy households which allowed residents to reserve one of their salons for special occasions only. Private space also included backyard gardens which were completely sheltered from the public gaze, often cultivated in the French style and which alluded to the peaceful ambiance of a country mansion. However, once more it was a difficult enterprise to bolster social rank through a prestigious private home and yet not fall prey to the critical observation of a moralizing public. The very idea that a small number of people should live in such an

23 Ulrich Ufer, *Welthandelszentrum Amsterdam. Globale Dynamik und Modernes Leben im 17. Jahrhundert* (Köln: Böhlau, 2008), 218–9.

abundance of private space in the new residential quarters could seem morally dubious in itself. As the encumbrance of private households and the sudden bankruptcy of businessmen whose ventures had proven too risky was a well-known side effect of the city's booming economy, contemporaries expressed doubts about how many of the prestigious households were running into large debts. From this point of view, not only had many of these inhabitants failed to prove their social distinction and virtuousness by having moved into a prestigious new residential house, they had become subject to moral reproach by having extended their pretensions to social rank from sartorial embellishment to the occupancy of a fancy private home.

5. Social Distinction in the Public Sphere

The preceding discussion has made it clear that the emergence of a public sphere needs to be viewed as structurally related to the concomitant rise of both a private sphere and an urban anonymous sphere. Returning to the developing public sphere of the later seventeenth century, this essay will finish by discussing forms of social distinction in the newly introduced coffee-houses. Coffee-houses very quickly developed into locations where the urban bourgeoisie and merchant classes assembled and where discussions about politics could take place in a liberal environment alongside business negotiations and everyday talk. As such, they introduced an equalizing spirit well captured by a treatise on the seventeenth-century coffee-houses of London, which stated that "that great privilege of equality is only peculiar to the Golden Age, and to a Coffee-house."²⁴ From the point of view of the traditional elites concerned with the maintenance of a visible social order, the coffee-house, as a place of public convention, was subject to reproach. Like the anonymous street, it blurred the distinctions of social rank. Yet whereas the anonymous sphere did not allow for any social control at all, since individuals could spontaneously appear from and disappear into the crowd, the coffee-houses of the public sphere allowed for closer mutual observation and engagement.

The equalizing atmosphere of the coffee-houses spread fear that the established social order would be upset. From the perspective of the traditional elites, the liberal bourgeois market society permitted the wrong people to make use of status consumption and hence it was important to find other means of identifying the lesser ranks. While money could buy consumer goods, it could not as easily purchase the nonchalance of accustomed elite habitus. The following

24 Quoted in Steve Pincus, "Coffee Politicians Does Create': Coffeehouses and Restoration Political Culture," *The Journal of Modern History* 67 no. 4 (1995), 807–34, 815.

anecdote concerning pretenders to social rank in a public coffee-house was recounted in a treatise on the consumption of tobacco: A group of smokers engaged in sophisticated conversation about the superiority of certain sorts of tobacco, but their pretension to connoisseurship was ridiculed when the herb they had lauded most for its excellence was revealed to be of the cheapest quality.²⁵

The concern of the traditional elites with social habitus as a marker of social standing that became necessarily complementary to the mere purchasing power to acquire status goods influenced behaviour in the public sphere. However, as Georg Simmel remarked, all status markers in a market society are prone to emulation,²⁶ and so the concern for civilized behaviour, too, was subject to a trickledown effect. For even if the public sphere of the coffee-house could be reproached for leading *ad absurdum* the virtues and codes of civilized conduct by spreading them to the masses who practiced them in the wrong ways, coffee-house clients themselves established codes of conduct and ostracised those who would not conform to them.

Two Dutch joke books of the 1670s and 1680s provide an interesting source for the history of manners by illustrating how the strategy of seeking social distinction by ridiculing the inappropriate manners of lower social ranks worked on different echelons of society. For want of better knowledge and education, servants and peasants were portrayed as behaving unseemly in a civilized urban environment. Servants were laughed at because they did not know how to prepare coffee, and farmers were ridiculed for mistaking the fashionable beverage for the boorish Jenever-schnaps: Having bought a cup of coffee, the farmer, for want of knowledge about how to drink it, asks the bourgeois bystanders for advice. They tell him to gulp it all down just as he would do with his Jenever. Tongue and lips burnt, the farmer runs out of the coffee-house, leaving behind a laughing crowd of townsmen who find amusement in this form of social ostracism.²⁷

6. Conclusion

Interest in the Habermasian 'public sphere' has sometimes led to analyses giving little attention to the interrelatedness of this sphere with urban anonymity, with the private sphere and with the fact that all these developed concomitantly and in

25 Cornelis Bontekoe, *Gebruik en Misbruik van den Thee, mitsgaders een Verhandeling wegens de Deugden en Kragten van de Tabak* (s'Gravenshage: Pieter Hagen, 1686), 56.

26 Georg Simmel, "Philosophie der Mode," *Moderne Zeitfragen* 11 (1905), 5–41.

27 Ufer, *Welthandelszentrum* (see note 23), 179–80.

mutual dependence. The example of Amsterdam in the seventeenth century has served to illustrate the complementary connections between the emergence of anonymous, private and public spheres within urban contexts. Where an anonymous sphere is strongly developed, as in a metropolitan context, the private sphere will gain in importance as a check on pretentious identity display, but at the same time it can provoke allegations of undue ostentation. The public sphere and public places like the early modern coffee-houses could be viewed from a conservative perspective as dangerously equalizing social hierarchies, but at the same time they also developed their own logic of distinguishing social status through adequate and inadequate habitus. Habitus as a status marker in the public sphere can thus be understood as operating on different social levels of urban society and must be viewed in relation to the practices of status display in the public, private, and anonymous spheres.

Hugo Kuhn

On the Interpretation of Medieval Artistic Form

Translated by Christopher Liebtag Miller

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Studium Generale 2 (1949): 111 – 21.

The interest in and understanding of medieval art that predominates today does not stem directly from the re-discovery of the Middle Ages by German Romanticism around a century and a half ago.¹ Even though scholarship on the subject, once taken up, was steadily advanced, it did not take long before the romantic image of the Middle Ages fell from general consciousness in the face of empirical realities during the nineteenth century, alongside all the other longed-for ideals of Romanticism. If the nineteenth century dreamed of anything in its final years, it was of the art and culture of the Renaissance.

Yet misgivings concerning this world-view, having grown ever stronger since the eighteen-nineties and having subsequently received gruesome confirmation over the course of two catastrophic world wars, inspired a renewed interest in the medieval period. Beginning in the twenties, this interest became fashionable for the broader public, joined with its own uncertainties to the ideal of religious, philosophical, and political renewal. This was especially true for medieval art.

Beginning at the end of the nineteenth century, modern *visual art* turned ever more markedly away from seeking to create the illusion of objects through color and spatial perspective, a goal which had ordained its forms from the Renaissance all the way through the birth of Impressionism. Visual art, Expressionism above all, sought a new, immediately objective form – an art of meaning in place of an art of representation. It sought new, objective relationships for the artist, a congregation for the work, and walls for its images.² In medieval art, however, all of this was seen to be fulfilled, for here were forms – in Romanesque miniatures, and still present even in late-Gothic wood-cuts – which gave immediate expression to their religious content, without any interference from the illusion of spatial perspective; here the artist was still in his ‘order’, in the workshop, a

1 See the lecture by Hans Hirsch: “Das Mittelalter und wir,” in *Das Mittelalter in Einzeldarstellungen*, ed. Otto Brunner et al. (Leipzig: F. Deuticke, 1930), 1 – 12.

2 Although undervalued today, this awareness is expressed with especial clarity in the writings of Julius Meyer-Graffe.

member of the guild and a participant in its traditions; here, the audience was still, in the truest sense of the word, a congregation. Thus, medieval art came to be conceptualized in almost the same manner as contemporary art, a view that has since gained acceptance even amongst the general public.

The same tendency, however, functioned differently with regard to *literature*. Beginning in the eighteen-eighties, literature also turned against sentiment and illusion in a revolutionary fashion, seeking more pertinent content and more 'objective' form. Yet literature turned away from rather than toward the medieval, despite the fact that medieval literature functioned no less 'objectively' than did visual art, as demonstrated by religious drama – perhaps the most revitalized form. Like the visual artist, the medieval poet was still wholly bound to the traditions of his position as cleric, knight, or burgher. His audience too remained a closed 'congregation,' whether in the sense of religion, class or society. Against whatever elements of the romantic discovery of medieval visual art survived, worn out through decorative employment, revolutionaries at the end of the nineteenth century could offer, in a manner of speaking, a newly discovered vision of the medieval. In place of a 'sentimentalized' bourgeois conception, they offered the bold 'Expressionism' of Romanesque and late-Gothic art, and the austere grandeur of the 'classic' early-thirteenth century. Yet with regard to literature, such new discoveries remained almost entirely absent. Most notably, if religious drama is disregarded, literature lacked the impulse provided by the *form* of medieval visual art. Middle High German literature, for example, was yet more widely known in the nineteenth century than it is today. To the psychological understanding of that age, medieval literature seemed more accessible than visual art. The supreme example of this perspective, embraced by Romanticism, Hebel, and Wagner, is the *Nibelungenlied*; even at the dawn of the First World War, the expression *Nibelungentreue* endured. As a result, one might today feel rather inclined to turn away from this literature, away from the *Nibelungenlied*, *Tristan*, and *Parzival*; they seem almost too infected by the 'nineteenth century'. At the same time, those elements of medieval literature, and especially of Latin literature, which might more easily accord with the inclinations of the day present too many difficulties to be generally accessible.

The relationship between modern music and that of the Middle Ages is almost the reverse. Within the last decades it is precisely here that the same shift – the shift toward objective forms, toward a renewal of tradition and the revival of audience as congregation – has drawn an ever broader audience away from the 'subjective' music of the nineteenth century. Here, however, this tendency does not reach all the way back to the Middle Ages proper. Rather, it is inspired by the music of the Baroque, and it is extremely characteristic that in order to satisfy a need for 'medieval' form, the catch phrase of Bach's 'Gothic' art arose. Even the widespread interest in ancient song only just touches the very edge of the me-

dieval, reaching back only into the sixteenth century, and consequently never ventures outside the boundaries of modern Major/Minor tonality. Where the attempt is made to perform true medieval music publicly, it often seems startling – wholly in contrast to the liturgical revival of Gregorian music – an effect resulting from its lack of melodic direction and the utterly unresolved sound of its polyphony, at once sharp and flat.

Thus, two conclusions may be drawn from a survey of the modern attitude toward medieval art, literature, and music, 1. From the perspective of its own crisis, modern consciousness sees fully realized in all three forms of medieval art the same basic elements that are today everywhere lacking and sought anew: first, a different relationship between form and content: the objectivity of form; second, a different relationship between the artist and the work: traditionality; and third, a different relationship between the work and its audience: the communal unity of a congregation. Similar ideals also govern the modern return to the medieval: the flight from subjective freedom into objective bonds, from rationality into irrational meaning, from the philosophy of consciousness into ontology, and from immanence into transcendence. Does this reflect an attempt to overcome the modern? Or is it nothing more than escape? 2. These basic elements, however, each embrace the real, the historical Middle Ages in a different manner. While today nearly the whole development of medieval visual art has been assimilated, from its Romanesque beginnings to the classical works of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and up through the late-Gothic period, it seems that at least vernacular medieval literature no longer satisfies modern inclinations. Medieval music, in contrast to the others, has yet to be touched at all.

Thus, the modern emotional perception of medieval form is put to the test of historical truth. What was artistic form in the Middle Ages, really? Three major points of difficulty present themselves.

First: are the elements of objectivity, traditionality and congregational unity broad enough to encompass the manifold historical actualities of medieval forms? Do they hold true for the whole of the medieval period? Is there even a 'medieval' form? For the essential, exploratory incisions into the development of medieval form, our perception has been sharpened by the field of art history.³ Similar epochs, like those of Romanesque and Gothic form, are identifiable within the two other arts, poetry and music, as indeed within all areas of me-

3 See Georg Weise, "Der Begriff des Mittelalters in der Kunstgeschichte," *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 22 (1944), 121 – 37.

dieval life.⁴ Does it make sense, in the face of such abundant development, to speak of a consistent ‘medieval’ character of form at all?

In contrast to this, a second problem presents itself: the same fundamental elements, which here appear too narrow, seem in other respects much too broad. The art of almost all naïve and primitive epochs, whether we speak of the ancient Egyptians or of indigenous peoples, manifests what may be called ‘objective’ forms. Certainly, the medieval artistic form shares crucial traits with such primitive early-stages of development. Dagobert Frey has demonstrated an extensive concordance between medieval image development and the development of drawings produced by children.⁵ Despite this, the enormous gulf which divides medieval art from any ‘primitive’ art is obvious, and requires no further consideration. How then do *specifically* medieval forms differentiate themselves from other, more general forms of ‘objectivity’?

The third problem can likewise only be hinted at with a catchphrase; the analogy of the three arts. Their forms are of different origin, they are the products of different materials, different crafts, different traditions – what do they hold in common? Certainly, their cultural and spiritual backgrounds – yet these still provide no form. The ‘mutual illumination of the arts’ has until now furnished nothing but formal analogies which have, if anything, served to obfuscate the issue. Are there nevertheless fundamental elements of artistic form common to all?

For the purely historical question, the artistic forms of the Middle Ages thus remain historical actualities, which one seeks to differentiate and to classify ever more precisely – but only seldom knows how to read coherently.⁶ It is for precisely this reason that the multiplicity, rather than the unity of forms is always foregrounded here. Despite this, no historical science can dispense with general interpretation, yet such interpretation is always derived, covertly or openly, from one’s own temporal context, and it is thus with medieval art. Indeed, the modern inclination toward a new objectivity of form has long influenced the study of the Middle Ages in manifold forms.⁷

Is our historical awareness thus restricted in the end to nothing more than *geistesgeschichtliche* interpretation, capable only of observing the single side of

4 On this point see Dagobert Frey, *Gotik und Renaissance als Grundlagen der modernen Weltanschauung* (Augsburg: B. Filser, 1929).

5 *Ibid.*, 59 – 63.

6 Art historians have been most active on this point, most decisively Dagobert Frey.

7 Günther Müller’s “Gradualismus” deserves mention here (*Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 2 [1924], 681 – 720), as does Worringers Expressionism-inspired catchphrase, “Abstraktion und Einfühlung,” apart from older manifestations such as the relationship between Wöfflin and the Marées circle.

the past which faces us?⁸ Must we, faced with the entirety of medieval reality, resign our understanding? I do not believe so. Indeed, as the oft-repeated metaphor tells us, it is impossible to see more than three sides of a cube at once – the three others will always remain in darkness, turned away from view. Yet, to extend the metaphor: if it were ever given to a human mind that it might see all six sides at once – would it then see a cube at all? Only the perspectival restriction placed upon a ‘viewpoint’ provides our imagination with the geometric *construction principle* that, precisely by means of perspectival sight, makes the cube a cube for us in the first place. It is only through the supplementation of perspective – unconsciously learned in our youth – that our field of vision first becomes a space of vision in which we blindly move but can never find exact reality.

Speaking plainly: we all, historians included, derive our active perception of the past from our own time, our own feelings, and our own biases. Yet this perception remains blind when uncorrected by *concepts* derived from the study of history; it can only touch historical actualities in the same vague manner in which the modern fashion for objectivity comprehends medieval art. Conversely, these historical concepts remain empty as long as we hesitate to consciously connect them with our own temporally limited perception. Amidst this perspectival relativism, we must seek a methodologically critical self-awareness, one which dares to construe a holistic perspective of the subject from our temporally qualified perceptions. It is only when we cease to seek historical actualities alone,⁹ but rather search simultaneously for a methodological ‘*construction principle of their actuality*, that we are able to convey real, living, and dare we say, absolute understanding. If we ask therefore: what are the Middle Ages? What is medieval art? Then we simultaneously question ourselves. Conversely: whenever we question ourselves, we must at the same time question the *validity* of our perspectives and of our historical ideals.

Given this, what, precisely, comprises the modern conception of the ‘objectivity’ present in medieval artistic form? What about this conception is correct? Taken literally, it is at first wholly one-sided, for it is possible to call medieval art subjective in comparison with that of the modern age with every bit as much if not greater right, as was once done. Yet only modern visual art provides real, tangible and measurable objective subjects! This is precisely the significance of the discovery of linear perspective. The joyful construction of perspective, which set the style from Mantegna up through the mannerism of

8 Cf. Eduard Spranger, *Der Sinn der Voraussetzungslosigkeit in den Geisteswissenschaften* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1929), 2 – 30; and Hermann Martin Fladieck, *Kunstwerk und Gesellschaft* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1948).

9 Whether I mean positivist actualities or intellectual, aesthetic, mystic, etc. is in this respect essentially the same.

Tintoretto, stems from a deep delight experienced through genuine discovery of the world and of man within the measurable space it contains. Since Galileo, a similar joy has pervaded all the natural sciences, and even the modern philosophy of consciousness, provided with its classical foundation by Kant. Equally, modern literature too provides 'real' human situations first, and only modern music grants 'real' obtainable tonal movements, through a consistent harmonic framework.

Yet compared to the *quantitative*, measurable and tangible objectivity of modern art, medieval art possesses the advantage of a *qualitative* objectivity. Medieval art achieves an immediacy of objective *meaning* excluded from art since the Renaissance, but has yet to achieve a concrete reality of man and his world within time and space. It remains beholden to types, it provides 'universals' in place of real objects, and places them arbitrarily within a subjective schema. This is equally true for all three arts respectively. As a result, medieval artistic forms, and indeed medieval forms of life in general, cannot be said to be objective *per se* in comparison with modern subjective forms. Rather, they are differently objective. Today, escape from the modern objectivity of consciousness is once again sought everywhere, not only in art, but also in philosophy, where Existentialism is a symptom of this, in religion, as manifested by the inclination toward 'objective' liturgy, and so on. Yet does this return to the Middle Ages provide the rescue perceived by so many?

Looking closer, what is this 'different' objectivity? We shall seek it first in visual art. The architecture of the Renaissance and the Baroque utilizes forms derived from antique sources, most prominently columns and beams, to visually express the basic architectural relationship of load and force within the composition of its walls. It is true, that these forms are also employed decoratively, but this relationship is always present as an underlying, rational principle of purpose, resulting from the juxtaposition of calculating object and given purpose. And when these forms were replaced by new ones at the end of the nineteenth century, enabled by new technological possibilities of balancing load and force within the homogenous mass of the building, so too did these new forms stem, albeit in a more decisive fashion, from rational and functional considerations, in no way suggesting the possibility of a new metaphysics of space, as some would like to believe.

The composition of Renaissance and Baroque walls, alongside the space they enclose, correlates explicitly in measure to a human scale. While in Renaissance architecture this is accomplished by means of simple proportion, especially through the use of rectangular and circular patterns, coffers, and so on, all made to scale, the Baroque seeks through excess to return to that space the transcendence which it had lost during the Renaissance. Yet even here, transcendence is only achieved by banishing the human, the beholder, to the plinth-zone, which

remains expressly comparable to *his* scale. It is through their scale that the 'colossal' excess of columns, pilasters and beams gains its potency. Similarly, the Baroque building obtains its 'forceful' illusion of space through the ingenious disguise of real spatial relationships, which is to say that it does so once again through the exaggeration of the comparable, as seen from the viewpoint of the observer. It is thus that the overall effect of man's smallness and the transcendent greatness of the church and its events emerges, precisely as the architect desired and achieved – though admittedly only by means of deceptive illusion.

In a medieval church, whether Romanesque or Gothic, one seeks in vain for reference points by which one's own scale might be measured. True, the altar at least is made to human scale – necessarily so – but even it exists just as the observer does, outside of any rational relationship to the scale of the wall structure and of space. In neither Romanesque nor Gothic architecture may one find a pedestal, a window, a cornice, a pier, nor even a door or chair which might provide a subjective standard for comparison – not even where antique forms appear. Here, space is always disproportionate to the observer – it is at once too great and too small. It is characteristic of both the Romanesque and the Gothic periods, that the same architectural forms are utilized, as corbels, tabernacles and choir stalls among others, for both the largest and the smallest scale. How intolerably modern, scale-specific choir stalls alter the space of a medieval church!

This in no way means that medieval buildings, themselves the product of human hands, entirely lack human proportions in the way that natural objects, trees, rocks and so on do. Human proportion is implied in medieval buildings too, just as in antique and modern architecture. But in the Middle Ages, human proportion is not foundational in the sense of rigid, simultaneous proportion, which, being calculated upon the beholder, is primarily experienced quantitatively. Rather, it arises from the immediate, more primal yet more arbitrary concern of a feeling for spatial movement (*Raum-Bewegungsgefühl*), which manifests through rhythmic, successive processes. These do not allow themselves to be reduced, as in modern architecture, to purely quantitative experiences of distance, whose *purpose*, detached from this, would then become the 'meaning' of this space, for they themselves remain intermingled with the 'quality' of the performance of movement (*Bewegungs-Vollzügen*).

While these medieval spaces had yet to be proportionally based upon the observer, they are oriented toward the observer in other ways. First of all, the rhythmic progression of piers and columns draws the observer into the depths of the building, directly into space, anticipating his physical progression – Romanesque space often accentuates this through the rhythmic alteration of columns, Gothic space by their ordering. The similarly rhythmic structure of load and force leads upward, utterly disproportionate to human scales. In the Ro-

manesque building, this is accomplished by the upward motion of homogenous masses: column area, wall area, window area, ceiling – frequently ordered symbolically as a pattern of ascent and expansion through pilasters, arched friezes and dwarf galleries, and filled with symbolic content by means of ornamental images and sculptural adornment. In Gothic buildings, however, these lines of force and guidance are not merely ‘symbolically’ impressed upon the walls, but are now physically realized: the wall itself is resolved into structured components and layers, the lines of force rise up into the arch from below as piers and struts, while the now functionless wall dissolves into the immaterial transcendence of stained glass. It is not to the beholder, but rather to the immediate participant that such spaces speak, and it is thus that they establish their predominant religious function ‘qualitatively’ objectively: as spaces of essentially sacramental performance, not only of the mass, but of processional practices which were once far more important than they are today. Performative art rather than beholder’s art, performative space rather than beholder’s space likewise enclose medieval sculpture and painting. Indeed, it is not for nothing that medieval sculpture, even in the classical twelfth century, is always wholly dependent upon architecture, for sculpture is here the vestments of that architecture. It does not stand freely in the same three-dimensional space occupied by the beholder, but rather *produces* the space by actively incorporating its architectural performance into its very folds: still circular in the magical symbolism of the folds of Romanesque figures and images, more realistically three-dimensional in the Gothic style through S-lines, hair-pin folds, and so on. The so-called ‘continual illustration’ of medieval book-, wall- and panel-images, wherein multiple events, although differing in time and space, appear within a *single* image-plane, is likewise grounded upon the fact that these images are not to be ‘beheld’ as measurable window sections, but rather to be ‘read’ performatively. Medieval visual art knows nothing of the coherent space, always oriented towards the onlooker, which predominates in the modern era. It encloses a space that contains time itself, a space, which desires to be performed actively and temporally.

This distinction, for the moment, still provides no explanation. Indeed, the deep connection between medieval form and religious ‘purpose’, although much lauded today, more complicates than illuminates our understanding. Therefore, we would like to approach our subject from another sphere, as yet little considered in this discussion.

In the twelfth century there arose in Provence a knightly poetry, whose form and content spread over the whole of Europe, and which subsequently set the fashion for centuries to come: Minnesang. It is as little ‘poetry’ as medieval images are ‘art’ in our modern sense. These poems are songs, artistic songs, and the poet was equally a composer of melody, but they are not artistic songs in way that *durchkomponierte* music savors every nuance of feeling and poetic voice, as

in the songs of Hugo Wolf for example, nor are they songs in the sense of a modern objective form, like the protestant choral. They are rather, although it is here impossible to demonstrate this in any detail, forms of spatio-temporal performance of a structure consisting of parallel layers of thought, language, metric and music.¹⁰ They are love songs in content, and their tone is one of most personal and immediate emotional expression. Consequently, it is almost startling when one observes that these confessions of love are in truth the product of conventional formulae, repeated and varied a thousandfold.

How can this riddle be solved? In order to explain both content and form at the same time, we must take a closer look at the *character of this love*. These poems are never addressed to maidens, and the poet's own wife is also statutorily excluded; the Minne is always directed towards the wife of another. Yet this love is always unfulfilled and unhappy – it is a love lament. This is not necessarily in order to avoid adultery, which would occur should such love be reciprocated, for this actually presents no problem at all; Minne and marriage occupy entirely different, unrelated spheres within the same person. Even when the Minnesinger desires to sing of the happiness enjoyed through the secret fulfillment of such love, he does so only in the moment of departure, in the sorrow of separation: this is the milieu of the *Tagelied*, visible as late as Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*. In all the songs of *trûren*, the lament over unanswered love, the love song never sublimates itself to a coherent situation, sentiment and voice – let alone to the realization of renunciation as the highest necessity of love as occurs in Goethe's deepest love poems or in Rilke. Rather, it always expresses itself as a plea, indeed as a demand for bodily union, for the bodily *performance* (*Vollzug*) of love.

Here we may readily find the answer to Minnesang's riddle. For the Minnesinger, love has yet to become a treasured, subjective sentiment, which he, whether happy or unhappy, can proclaim as all poets since the Renaissance have done. Rather, it remains exclusively a compulsion to performance (*Vollzug*), and that indeed means physical consummation (*körperlichen Vollzug*). Yet should this performance be achieved, then the *I* would perish thereby; it would coalesce with the object of love into a new double-entity, an entity which in historical practice would have been fit into church, profession, class and state through the institution of marriage. As a result, for the Minnesinger, marital love is excluded. Yet if the *I* should preserve the declaration during consummation (*Vollzug*), in a *free* union of love, then the consummation (*Vollzug*) remains merely one-sided: it becomes *voluptas*, which utilizes the partner as nothing more than a tool of its own desire. This was indeed the case when *joyful* love was sung in the Middle Ages: from the Latin poems of the *Carmina Burana*, to the French pastourelles

10 See Hugo Kuhn, "Mittelalterliche Kunst und ihre 'Gegebenheit.'" *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 14 (1936), 224–45.

and right up to the *Decameron*, it is exclusively as *voluptas* that we encounter love, crafted after the patterns inherited from the antique, and especially from Ovid. This is also, generally speaking, the manner in which love manifests within Old Arabic love poetry, with which European Minnesang shares many crucial features. Only the *Provençal* troubadours discovered a poetry of love which was, to be sure, still incapable of understanding love as anything beyond its bodily consummation (*Vollzug*), but now as a negative: as a performance (*Vollzug*) of deprivation. This love poetry embraces the beloved, the lady, in a proper, ethical and worthy relationship. Indeed, it elevates her as a symbol of the international culture of the knightly class – if one does not consider Plato's *Symposium* and the Christian concept of the love of God as models,¹¹ for here too one finds that the highest form of love represented as deprivation, as want, as suffering. Yet, in a specifically medieval fashion, Minnesang only achieves this insight through concrete performance (*Vollzug*). This lament of deprivation, which became a performable, lasting bond of love as knightly 'service', established itself as a central social convention which lies at the very heart of courtly culture; the service of Minne, the service of ladies, free and unfettered, became the highest manifestation of courtly culture and of feudal service.

The Minnelied does not therefore speak of subjective, personal love itself. Rather, love is here nothing more than performance (*Vollzug*). Minnesang is not a declaration to the beloved of actively experienced love, however much it may seem to be so at first glance. Understanding its phrases and expressions, its place in life and its story requires closer inspection. Minnesang, in all cases, is an address to courtly society about the courtly role of love, which is both depicted and performed (*vollzogen*) in the form of personal service. The paradoxes of Minnesang – happiness through suffering, morality through 'adultery', social bonding through the social deceit of concealed love-relationships – these paradoxes stabilize the *ur*-compulsion of the sexes towards one another, as yet without any sublimation into the spiritual, or into feeling, it stands purely as a 'negative' performance (*Vollzug*), as the practice of service, and thus became a central formula for actual relationships within the courtly world.

Thus, in Minnesang, content and form are very tightly bound together, indeed they are actually identical – and here we strike at the deeper reason for the objectivity of medieval form. This art is not objective because it was made to represent a more objective (e.g. religious) content than it would be today. Indeed, the Minnelied has as yet, generally speaking, no content, in the proper

11 On this point see the consideration of Gottfried von Straßburg's *Tristan* and Bernard of Clairvaux by Julius Schwietering, *Der Tristan Gottfrieds von Straßburg und die Bernhardtische Mystik* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1943). The Christian roots of the oldest troubadours are considered by Dimitri Sheludro, "Über die Theorien der Liebe bei den Trobadors," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 60 (1940), 191 – 234.

sense of the word, which it could depict. It has no love, no feeling of love to declare, but rather constructs love through the performance (*Vollzug*) of its formal metrical-musical structure as Minne-service, as the highest, almost cultish form of performance (*Vollzugsform*) within its social context. Its performance (*Vollzug*) is therefore identical to its content, because this content is itself nothing but performance (*Vollzug*), the manifestation of courtly service – one might even call it a class-cult.

As a result, this form, like all medieval art, contains a substantial concentration and objective intensity of the love bond which no modern poem can ever again achieve due to the separation of subject and object, of form and content. Yet it becomes clear that this objectivity comes at the expense of its content. In as much as love, as such performance of service (*Dienst-Vollzug*), establishes for the first time a real bond between man and woman – the more objective, almost metaphysical its reality, the more impersonal it becomes. Thus, it remains entirely impersonal, entirely schematic. There is still no You and I, who recognize themselves as unique persons in this love. As a result, this ‘Minne’ still retains something stiff, something inhuman, it remains a purely physical love drive. The beloved is only ever visible as the goal of the performance of love (*Liebesvollzug*), she is still not a distinctive person, loved for her own sake. This love is still incapable of conjoining the lover to the unity and entirety of the person. For the singer, one might say that ‘high Minne’ exists only during the performance (*Vollzug*) of its form and only insofar as the singer is himself a member of courtly society. There are other classes, who had no share in this, peasants, for example, to whom the special genre of knightly poetry known as the pastourelle permitted all the motifs of love as *voluptas*. And there are diverse other layers which exist within the knight himself, untouched by this ethically sublimated form of service. This multilayered essence, and the ever more radical contrast between the different layers – religious, political, playful, private – was developed with great naturalism during the later Middle Ages – just like the medieval motet, which blended texts of different forms, different content, and even different languages into a whole, unified only in performance (*Vollzug*).

With this, we have already come near to the goal of our discussion. It is not possible here to expressly develop the same connections for other forms of art – for courtly epic, Latin literature, or medieval music – and thus it remains only to briefly draw a few general conclusions.

If we understand a medieval ‘objective’ form, Minnesang, from its content as performance (*Vollzug*) – because its ‘content,’ sexual love, is here rendered an objectively performable (*vollziehbar*) ‘service’ in the absence of possession – the analogy, which binds this secular form of life and social culture to the religious sphere, becomes immediately clear. *The* love, which in the greatest and broadest sense, can only and must only be *performed* (*vollziehen*) ‘negatively’, that is to

say, through constant service, for the reason that its object can *never* be possessed, is the love of God. The idea of Christ as bridegroom of the non-possessing, of virgins – continues to function as a very concrete and sensual figure of service, with ever renewed intensity, throughout the whole of the Middle Ages.

The explanation for the metaphysical spatiality of all medieval art is related to this. Medieval performative space (*Vollzugsraum*) and modern beholder's space have yet to be assessed against each other. Yet space, according to its essence, is immaterial, the non-existing 'between' the walls, 'between' things- not the air between them, but rather an actual, functional 'nothing'. Space is, abstractly speaking, the non-existing place of all existing, which apporitions and makes possible all existence. This concept obtains from Aristotle's designation of space as *μηδὺν* through all philosophical definitions right and up to Kant's concept of space as the form of subjective *reine Anschauung*.

Yet God Himself – as the medieval union of Christian and antique philosophy sought to understand Him – is the unseeable, or more accurately the never appearing, the never-being, because he is being itself. God only gains potency the more I perform (*vollziehe*) earthly deprivation, perform (*vollziehe*) the want of him as service¹² – and at the same time, as decisively formulated by Augustine, recognize myself as known by Him – and it is thus that performed medieval space encloses an immediate metaphysical quality: it becomes the place, the performance of God Himself. Hence, the *spatiality* of architecture and images, but also of language arts and of music in the Middle Ages, gains its foundation within the religious sphere of which it is a secular analog. A space oriented toward the beholder, toward the subject, can most assuredly comprehend greater feeling and meaning – yet it will always objectively remain mere illusion – not *μηδὺν*, but rather a *οὐχὺν*, an objective nothing. It is for this reason that, ever since the Renaissance, objective spatiality has disappeared from art altogether, and that space in art, as in philosophy, has borne the awkward accent of illusion.

Religious performance (*Vollzug*) and the space of religious art thus encompass the most powerful forces among medieval forms. They apprehend *all existence*, for their performance contains *all men* as a *congregation*, and as a result have retained the most vitality even up the present day in religious worship.

All other medieval forms are analogous to them, but are more restricted, for they concern merely a portion of existence and the world – just as Minne-service and Minnesang constitute a cultish analogy to religious service, but only for a limited sphere of existence and a class-restricted 'congregation'. Yet it must be stressed that in only the rarest of cases does such an analogy have anything whatever to do with the religious meaning and saturation of these forms. In the

12 These relationships would also be especially recognized and extrapolated upon in the development of medieval doctrine concerning the sacraments.

Early and High Middle Ages such 'gradualism', such conscious 'piety' in secular life, rooted in the consciousness of religious analogy, was scarcely ever intended – and thankfully so, because otherwise these practices and poems would not be the works of art which they are. The analogy of performative forms (*Vollzugsformen*), which runs throughout the whole of medieval existence, certainly did not remain unrecognized. Quite the contrary, for it may be seen to constitute the primary theme of courtly epic, as is manifest in the works of Chrétien de Troyes, Hartmann von Aue and Wolfram von Eschenbach; in the *Tristan* of Gottfried von Straßburg, its usage is almost blasphemous. Yet this is never anything beyond an analogy of form, it never bestows upon knightly practice a directly religious meaning. One must only think on the paradoxes of Minnesang, which seem almost intentionally to maintain the separation between the formally analogous spheres of religion and knighthood. Generally speaking, the formal unity of these analogous worlds within a medieval context almost necessarily excludes any true unity of meaning. Throughout the Middle Ages, even religious performance itself was not distinctly recognized in its *meaning* – this holds true even for philosophical metaphysics – even it could only become realized in its highest form, almost magically, through sacramental performance (*Vollzug*).

Thus, even in the properly religious sphere the performative reality of the Middle Ages connotes a restriction of meaning. God, in the Middle Ages, was indeed present, with almost magical force, in his own worship. Yet what Augustine himself conceived of as performance (*Vollzug*) yet had nevertheless also understood as knowledge beyond performance (*Vollzug*), was in effect only understood throughout the whole of the Middle Ages, indeed since Gregory the Great, in a naïve and barbarized fashion. The same holds true for the understanding of antique philosophy. This limitation remained evident even at the heights of medieval metaphysics; which had more substance as a world form (*Weltform*) than as understanding. Scholasticism set the existence of all things into 'universals', and thereby established typological and generic terms as forms of existence – be they substantive, as the realists held, or substance-less, as the nominalists believed. These universals are like the space of a pure order, they are not-being being; and rightly so. That they are nevertheless not directly relatable to being in the Platonic or Augustinian sense, but rather, like medieval space, could only be performed (*vollzogen*) through an Aristotelian method of abstraction remains a crucial deficiency in the medieval awareness of being. During the Middle Ages, the almost magical intensity of medieval spaces and performative forms (*Vollzugsformen*) is contrasted on all sides by a deficiency of content and grounding in reality – an all-too naïve optimism and schematism of the bond between time and eternity, between the worldly empire and that of God, and indeed, between reality and idea.

If many today look back marveling, desirous of the objectivity of medieval

forms, of the medieval substance of space and performance, they must never be allowed to forget this almost foundational deficiency of grounded reality in the Middle Ages. Despite all catastrophe, modern presuppositions are necessary for the further development of our own forms – especially if they are to become once again newly ‘objective’.

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