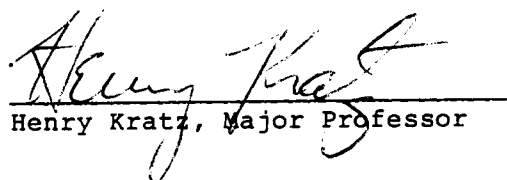


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THE ROSENGARTEN ZU WORMS

AND ITS ANALOGUES

A Thesis

Presented for the

Master of Arts

Degree

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Craig David Lemonds

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ABSTRACT

The Rosengarten zu Worms, a Middle High German Dietrichepos, is unique in the area of Middle High German literature, in that it is the only work to combine two very different motifs--the rose garden and single combat between the Germanic heroes Dietrich and Siegfried.

The two major versions of the Rosengarten zu Worms were analyzed in comparison with three analogous works: Laurîn, Biterolf and Thidrekssaga. Comparisons and contrasts were made on the basis of the following criteria: characters, designations, motifs and topoi which appear in two or more of the works in question. Passages showing similarities were taken from two or more of the works as well, and analyzed in order to determine what connections might exist between these works. The purpose of this investigation was an attempt to provide a possible answer as to the origin of the Rosengarten zu Worms, a problem which remains unsolved by scholars' previous studies.

The results showed a highly probable connection between one of the major versions of the Rosengarten zu Worms and Laurîn. In the past this connection has been denied by scholars. These results brought forth the conclusion that an earlier form or version of the Rosengarten zu Worms existed. Also concluded was that the earlier version of the Rosengarten zu Worms used Laurîn as a source, or that both of these works were derived from the same source, which has been lost.

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INTRODUCTION

The Rosengarten zu Worms, a Middle High German Dietrichepos, has survived in eighteen manuscripts and six early printings.¹ There are five recensions: (1) A, probably the oldest of the recensions (14th century); (2) D, presumably a longer reworking of A (15th century), and P, a derivative of D (14th century); (3) F, a derivative of A and D (13th-14th century); (4) C, a version believed to have been derived from both A and D (14th century); (5) a Low German fragment (14th century).²

Georg Holz contends that the poet of recension A, believed to be the oldest version available, was no talented poet, but a Spielmann who composed A for the lower classes. F and P were composed for knightly classes, though F is more complete than P. C is the contaminator. Holz considers D to be the best and most refined of all versions.³

The major problem encountered when analyzing the Rosengarten zu Worms stems from the use of two seemingly unrelated motifs: (1) the rose garden and (2) the battle between Siegfried and Dietrich with the addition of the Zwölfkampf. Holz believes it is most likely that

¹Joachim Heinzle, Mittelhochdeutsche Dietrichepik (München: Artemis, 1978), pp. 27-28.

²Heinzle, pp. 123-24.

³Georg Holz, ed., Die Gedichte vom Rosengarten zu Worms (Halle a.S.: Max Niemeyer, 1893), pp. xcic-c.

the composer of A was the first to combine these two motifs. This theory is disputed by Schneider and particularly Brestowsky, who presume the existence of some form of Ur-Rosengarten.⁴ From what source or sources did the composer of A (if A is indeed the oldest version) draw these two motifs to form such an improbable combination?

To find an answer to this question one must look at the analogues of the Rosengarten zu Worms in order to determine whether it is possible that the composer of A used, or even knew of other works from which these motifs might have been drawn. There are three other Dietrichepen which seem to have some relationship to the Rosengarten zu Worms: Laurîn, Biterolf, and the Norwegian Thidrekssaga.

Holz states that it is not likely that the composer of A knew of, or used Laurîn or Biterolf. He sees the rose garden in Laurîn as having few similarities to that in the Rosengarten zu Worms. In Laurîn the rose garden motif is combined with the motif of a dwarf king, which is not evident in the Rosengarten zu Worms. Holz believes that the composers of both works utilized the rose garden motif independently of each other and that this motif is derived from an earlier myth.⁵

There is evidence that supports this theory of the origin of the rose garden motif. In Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens the rose garden is said to have certain mythical relationships: rose gardens were supposedly places where heathen burial and worship took

⁴Heinzle, pp. 123-24.

⁵Holz, p. ci.

place, and also where springtime combat games (Frühlingskampfspiele) were held. Rose gardens were planted or the field of combat was encircled with wild roses or rose bushes.⁶

These Frühlingskampfspiele in rose gardens could easily be the basis for the battles which take place in the rose gardens of both Rosengarten zu Worms and Laurîn. Laurîn, the dwarf king, protects his roses from any intruder; the myth of dwarves protecting roses is attested in another source:

Throughout the Teutonic area the rose belongs to the dwarfs or fairies and is under their protection. In many places it is customary to ask permission of their king before picking lest one lose a hand or a foot.⁷

This seems to support Holz's assumption of an existing myth concerning the rose garden.

Holz denies that there is any direct connection between the Rosengarten zu Worms and Biterolf. Both have similar battle scenes between Siegfried and Dietrich, but the similarity ends here. Biterolf has no rose garden; it seems improbable that such an important motif would be excluded from Biterolf if its composer used the Rosengarten zu Worms as a source. That the composer of the Rosengarten zu Worms derived his story from Biterolf is also improbable. From where do both derive the battle between Siegfried and Dietrich?

⁶"Rosengarten," Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens, Vol. VII (Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1935-36), pp. 784-86. Numerous sources are cited as evidence of this fact.

⁷"Rose," Funk & Wagnalls Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend, Vol. II (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1950), p. 956. Numerous sources are cited as evidence of this fact.

Holz assumes that this motif existed before the development of either of these Dietrichepen. He believes that this is attested by a source independent of the Middle High German tales: the Thidrekssaga, which contains the motif of combat between Siegfried and Dietrich, as well as the Zwölfkampf, but makes no mention of a rose garden.⁸

The purpose of this study is to compare and contrast the motifs and topoi in the two major versions (A and D) of the Rosengarten zu Worms and in analogous works. Characters, designations and motifs common to the Rosengarten and its analogues will be the major points of discussion. At this point, however, it must be mentioned that a comparison of extant versions is complicated by the likelihood that oral versions of the various works existed.

⁸Holz, pp. ci-cii.

CHAPTER I

VERSIONS A AND D

The versions of the Rosengarten which are considered most important by scholars are A and D. Before other works can be compared, the differences between these versions must be discussed. Though there is little difference in the presentation of the motifs, there are discrepancies which must be taken into account.

In version A the owner of the rose garden in Kriemhilt, the daughter of Gibeck, king of the Burgundians. The rose garden is protected by twelve knights, including Kriemhilt's father, her brothers and her husband, Siegfried. The instigation of the battles is Kriemhilt's desire to have Siegfried meet Dietrich in single combat. Kriemhilt's motive is not made clear, but it is probable that she simply wishes to see the famous King Dietrich. Duke Sabîn is sent as a messenger to Dietrich at his court in Verona (Bern), with the promise of Lady Bersâbe's hand in marriage as a reward if he successfully completes his mission. When Sabîn arrives at Dietrich's court, Kriemhilt's letter is read. Dietrich and eleven of his knights are to come and do battle with the protectors of Kriemhilt's rose garden. As a reward each victor will receive a crown of roses and a kiss from Kriemhilt. Hearing this challenge made by a woman, Dietrich becomes so angry that he wants to have Sabîn and the other messengers killed. Hildebrant and Wolfhart calm him and Dietrich decides to accept the challenge.

Sabîn returns to Kriemhilt with Dietrich's answer and is given Bersâbe as wife. Hildebrant chooses the warriors who will participate, including Biterolf's son, Dietleib, and Hildebrant's monk brother, Ilsan. Sigestab is sent to find Dietleib, finds him in Vienna and brings him back to Dietrich's court. Dietrich then gathers an army of 60,000 men and they go to Ilsan's monastery. Ilsan agrees to accompany them to Worms and promises to bring each of his fifty-two brothers in the monastery a rose crown and to get a kiss from Kriemhilt for each of them.

When Dietrich and his men arrive in Worms, there is a short celebration before the battles begin. Hildebrant and Gibeck call the warriors out. In all of the battles, with the exception of the battle between Dietleib and Walther, which ends in a draw, Dietrich's men are the victors. The single combat between Siegfried and Dietrich is the last. Dietrich seems to be afraid to fight Siegfried because Siegfried is hûrnîn. Hildebrant becomes so angry with Dietrich for being such a coward that he strikes him in the mouth. Only after this does Dietrich go to meet Siegfried. Hildebrant puts Dietrich into a rage by having Wolfhart tell Dietrich that Hildebrant is dead. In a frenzy Dietrich defeats Siegfried and is ready to kill everyone in sight. Hildebrant then steps forward to quell Dietrich's rage. All of the victors receive the rose crown, but not all accept a kiss from Kriemhilt. Eckehart and Hildebrant refuse to kiss her, blaming her arrogance for the death and dishonor of brave knights.

Following Dietrich's victory there is a thirteenth battle, but it is not a single combat. Ilsan challenges fifty-two warriors to fight

him at the same time. Ilsan kills twelve of them and frightens the others so that they run for their lives. With this Ilsan wins the fifty-two rose crowns and the fifty-two kisses he promised his brothers in the monastery. He kisses Kriemhilt so hard that his beard scratches her and makes her face bleed. Gibeck must subject himself and his land to Dietrich's control, after which Dietrich and his men leave. After a celebration in Verona, the warriors return home and Ilsan returns to the monastery, where he puts the rose crowns on the monks' heads so fiercely that their heads bleed. Ilsan tells the monks that they must atone for the sins he committed in Worms. Though this topos certainly could be construed as a satirical reference to Christ's crown of thorns, it has nothing to do with the structure of A.

Version D is substantially longer than A. The major deviation between the two versions is the presence in D of the Hun king Attila and the fact that Siegfried is not Kriemhilt's husband, but instead seems to be a retainer of Gibeck. King Gibeck, not Kriemhilt, is the owner of the rose garden in this version. King Gibeck makes it known that he will subject himself to any person who can defeat the protectors of his rose garden. King Attila hears of this and goes to see Dietrich in Verona. Dietrich agrees to go with Attila to Worms. Dietrich receives a letter from Kriemhilt, which issues a challenge, as in Version A. Here again Hildebrant chooses the warriors who will participate, and Diether is sent to bring Dietleib and Rüdiger.

Dietrich and Hildebrant bring Ilsan from the monastery. All then go to Attila's home, where Queen Herche receives the guests well. They then journey to Worms. When they arrive at the Rhine, a ferryman named

Norpreht is encountered, who is said to demand a foot and a hand as toll. Ilsan fights the ferryman and forces him to take them across. They strike camp before Worms, and Rüdiger goes to Kriemhilt with Attila's and Dietrich's challenge. While on guard, Sigestab encounters Reinold von Mailand and wounds him. Hildebrant and Gibeck agree on the pairing for single combat. Again Dietrich's men are all victorious, with the exception of Hartnît, who stalemates with Walther. It is interesting that Walther is the only Burgundian who is not defeated in both versions.

Siegfried is called by Gibeck to go into single combat against Dietrich. This is the first time in D that it becomes obvious Siegfried and Kriemhilt are not husband and wife; Gibeck promises Kriemhilt as a reward if Siegfried defeats Dietrich.

Dô rief der künec Gibeche: "wa bist du, Sîvrit?
wâfen dich vil balde und tuo, des ich dich bit,
daz du mich hiute rechest und die lieben süne mîn:
Kriemhilt mîn tochter sol dîn eigen sîn."¹

Immediately after this generous offer from Gibeck, Kriemhilt reinforces it by kissing Siegfried before he goes into battle. This is curious, because he is defeated by Dietrich and never earns the kiss he has already received.

ûf stuont diu küneginne, tuot uns daz buoch bekant.
si gienc gezogenlîche vûr den künec ûz Niderlant.
si kuste in vriuntlîche an sînen rôten munt.
si sprach: "strîtet vrûmeclîche, ez wirt iu noch manec kunt."²

¹Holz, p. 142.

²Holz, p. 142.

Most of the characters in both A and D can be found in the Nibelungenlied. D has more characters from this work than A, which includes Attila and Rüdiger. Another major character from the Nibelungenlied also appears in D and not in A: Brünhilt. Though Brünhilt is only in the background in D, she does argue with Kriemhilt, which is reminiscent of the fight between these two characters before the church in the Nibelungenlied.

Siegfried and Dietrich do not fight the last single combat; Hildebrant and Gibeck are the last two combatants. Ilsan does not fight a large number of men after fighting single combat with Studienfuhs as he does in A; in D he fights only Volkêr. With the defeat of Gibeck, Attila and Dietrich become lords over Gibeck and his land. Each victor receives a kiss from a maiden, not Kriemhilt. Attila and Dietrich, with all of their knights, return home.

The instigation of the battles in version D is not actually by Kriemhilt; instead it is King Gibeck who issues the initial challenge. Again, the motive of this challenge is not made clear, but the most probable motive is King Gibeck's arrogance. This and other differences are apparent between A and D, but the most interesting is the different pairing of combatants. The following is a list of the pairs of combatants as they appear chronologically in version A.

1. Wolfhart and the giant Pusolt
2. Sigestab and the giant Ortwin
3. Heime and the giant Schrutan
4. Witege and the giant Asprian
5. Ilsan and Studienfuhs
6. Dietleib and Walther
7. Ortwin and Volker
8. Eckehart and Hagen

9. Helmschrot and Gernot
10. Amelolt and Gunther
11. Hildebrant and Gibeck
12. Dietrich and Siegfried³

In version D:

1. Wolfhart and Hagen
2. Witege and the giant Asprian
3. Heime and the giant Schrutan
4. Dietleib and Stüefing
5. Frute of Denmark and Gunther
6. Rüdiger and Gernot
7. Hartnit and Walther
8. Dietrich of Greece and Herbort
9. Sigestab and Reinold
10. Ilsan and Volker
11. Dietrich and Siegfried
12. Hildebrant and Gibeck⁴

Only four of the pairings are the same in both A and D: Witege and Asprian, Heime and Schrutan, Hildebrant and Gibeck, and Dietrich and Siegfried.

There are also certain topoi which appear in one version, but not in the other. The description of the rose garden does not at first seem different in A and D. However, if one compares the initial descriptions of the rose garden in both, there is one element that stands out. The description in A is accomplished in only the first three lines of the fifth strophe:

Si hête einen anger mit rôsen wol gekleit,
der was einer mîlen lanc und einer halben breit.

³Heinzle, p. 29.

⁴Heinzle, p. 30.

darumbe gienc ein mûre von eim vadem sîdîn.
 sie sprach: "trutz sî allen vürsten, daz keiner kome darîn."⁵

The only physical protection surrounding the garden is a vadem sîdîn, a silk thread. This is quite divergent from the description of the rose garden in D:

. . . ez gienc umb den garten ein borte was spannen breit:
 sô vil des rôten goldes was darane geleit

Und manec edel gesteine was darîn getragen
 in den selben borten, der umb den garten was erhaben.
 dô was in dem garten vröude und wünne kluoc:
 wizzet, daz der garte truoc rôter rôsen genuoc.⁶

This first description of the garden in D makes no mention of a silk thread as a boundary for the garden. The garden of D is instead protected by a border a span wide and covered with gold and precious gems. Silk is mentioned twice again in D, but neither instance has anything to do with the garden itself. When Attila gives a description of the garden to Dietrich, he tells of a magnificent throne under an enormous linden tree in the garden which is made of ivory and marble and decorated with pfeller und sîde.⁷

The width of the garden in both A and D is said to be einer halben mîlen breit, a half mile wide. The length, however, is only given in A.

Another difference in the description of the garden in the linden tree described in detail by Attila. No such tree is mentioned in A.

⁵Holz, p. 3.

⁶Holz, p. 72.

⁷Holz, p. 76.

The linden tree seems to be more of a wonder in D than the garden itself. Several strophes are devoted to describing the tree, the birds living in it, the shade it brings and the throne previously discussed.

The importance of these differences will be made clear when versions A and D of the Rosengarten are compared to analogous works.

CHAPTER 2

ROSENGARTEN ZU WORMS AND LAURÎN

Laurîn is the only other Dietrichepos which employs the motif of the rose garden. Often Laurîn is designated as der kleine Rosengarten, while Rosengarten zu Worms is called der grosse Rosengarten.

The oldest version of Laurîn begins with Hildebrant telling Dietrich about the rose garden of the dwarf king Laurîn. Dietrich, who has never heard of this before, is persuaded to go to the garden with Witege. When they arrive they trample the silk thread and gold border which serve as a boundary for the garden, and tread the roses into the ground.

Almost immediately Laurîn comes mounted and demands a right foot and a left hand as payment for the damage done to his garden. He quickly defeats Witege in battle. As Dietrich prepares to fight Laurîn, Hildebrant, Wolfhart and Dietleib arrive. Hildebrant tells Dietrich how he can defeat Laurîn, who is protected by magical devices: an indestructible coat of mail, a cloak of invisibility and a magic belt, which gives Laurîn the strength of twelve men. There are other magical devices as well, which seems appropriate to the folklore concerning dwarves.

It should be noted that Dietrich is ever unwilling to seek adventure or take risks which he deems unnecessary. Both Hildebrant and Witege must persuade Dietrich before he will act. The following

incidents are very similar to Hildebrant's chastising, goading and even striking Dietrich in both A and D.

At the beginning of Laurîn, Hildebrant tells Witege that Dietrich has never before sought adventure, and that Dietrich's seeking Laurîn's rose garden and defeating him would be a noble deed. Dietrich hears the story of Laurîn and says that he does not believe Hildebrant's story.

Die wîle was der Berner komen
und hete ir beider rede vernomen.
er sprach: "meister Hildebrant,
von Garte ein wîser wîgant,
und waer diu rede ein wârheit,
du hetest mirz lange vor geseit."¹

This naturally angers Hildebrant, who answers quickly:

Hiltprande tete diu rede zorn.
er strâfte den fürsten hêchgeborn
'swer wil sîn ein biderbe man,
der sol sîn rede verborgen hân
unz er merke wie manz kêre:
sô hât er tugent unde êre.²

In both A and D, Dietrich is unwilling to fight Siegfried in single combat because Siegfried is hûrnîn. It is only after Hildebrant goads Dietrich that he meets and defeats Siegfried. Another interesting element of Laurîn, though unrelated to the Rosengarten, is the tarnkappe, cloak of invisibility, which Laurîn has. This reminds one

¹Karl Stackmann, ed., Deutsches Heldenbuch, Vol. I (Berlin and Zürich: Wiedmannsche, 1963), p. 202.

²Stackmann, p. 202.

of the tarnkappe used by Siegfried in the Nibelungenlied to help Gunther win Brünhilt.

After great difficulty Dietrich succeeds in depriving Laurin of his protection and defeats him. Dietrich wants to kill the dwarf king, but Laurin begs Dietleib for help, saying that they are related because Dietleib's sister, Künhilt, is in Laurin's mountain as his wife. Dietleib pleads for Laurin's life, but Dietrich ignores this. Dietleib then forcefully takes Laurin and hides him in the forest. A battle ensues between Dietrich and Dietleib and the others must intervene to stop them. All, including Laurin, are reconciled.

Laurin then invites them to his mountain where they are well received and greeted by Künhilt. Künhilt assures Dietleib that she is in want of nothing, but nevertheless would like to be taken from the mountain, as Laurin and his dwarves are heathens.

Laurin treats his guests well, but plans revenge for his humiliation and the destruction of the rose garden. He attempts to lure Dietleib to his side, but Dietleib refuses to betray Dietrich. As a result, Dietleib is imprisoned and the others are drugged, disarmed and also imprisoned.

When the dwarves go to sleep, Künhilt releases her brother. Dietleib arms himself and throws the weapons of the others into their cell. The ensuing noise wakes the dwarves and, while Dietleib is fighting them off, Hildebrant frees himself and the others. There is a fierce battle, in which five giants take part, who have come to the aid of Laurin. Dietrich and his men defeat the dwarves and the giants;

Laurîn is captured. They then return to Verona with Laurîn as a captive and tell everyone of their adventure.

The motif of the rose garden plays a more central role in Laurîn than in either A or D. The incitement of the battle in Laurîn is Dietrich's and Witege's entry into the garden, which includes the destroying of the silk thread and roses. In both A and D the incitement of the Zwölfkampf motif, which is not present in Laurîn, is a letter of challenge issued from Worms. Here the motif of the rose garden, which serves as an arena for combat, is only in the background.

Once again the silk thread presents a curious problem. As stated previously, version A of Rosengarten describes the border of the rose garden as a silk thread, but D does not.

If the description of the rose garden in Laurîn is compared to those of A and D, certain similarities and contrasts can be found. Again the description of the garden in A:

Si hête einen anger mit rôsen wol gekleit,
 der was einer mîlen lanc und einer halben breit.
 darumbe gienc ein mûre von eim vadem sîdîn.
 si sprach: "trutz sî allen vûrsten, daz keiner kome darîn."³

This is very much like the description of the garden's border in Laurîn.

. . . daz diu mûre solde sîn,
 daz ist ein vadem sîdîn.
 swer im den zebraeche,
 wie balde er daz raeche!⁴

³ Holz, p. 3.

⁴ Stackmann, p. 202.

This vadem sîdîn is lacking in D.

. . . ez gienc umb den garten ein borte was spannen breit:
sô vil des rôten goldes was darane geleit

Und manec edel gesteine was darîn getragen
in den selben borten, der umb den garten was erhaben.
dô was in dem garten vröude und wünne kluoc:
wizzet, daz der garte truoc rôter rôsen genuoc.⁵

The rest of the description of the rose garden in Laurîn, however, bears a great resemblance to the above passage from D.

. . . ûf einen anger grüne
für einen rôsengarten.
mit guldînen borten,
mit golde und mit gesteine
hete Laurîn der kleine
die rôsen schöne behangen.⁶

From this alone, however, it is difficult to conclude which composer was the first to use Laurîn as a source, if in fact either composer even used Laurîn at all.

There are, however, several other similarities in Laurîn, A and D which seem to point to the possibility that both composers may have independently used Laurîn as a source.

The topos of silk (sîdîn, "silken," and pfeller, a kind of rich silken cloth, are the designations used) appears as an important element of both Laurîn and D; A has the silk thread. In Laurîn silk first appears in the form of a banner that Laurîn is carrying on the end of his spear when he rides into the rose garden:

⁵ Holz, p. 72

⁶ Stackmann, p. 203.

. . . ein sper fuort ez in sîner hant
 bewunden wol mit golde,
 als ez ein fürste solde.
 vorne an dem spere sîn
 dâ swebete ein banier sîdîn, . . . ⁷

In D the word banier, "banner or standard," is used often in the description of Dietrich's warriors. Only once, however, is a banner described as being made of silk cloth.

Dô huop er bî dem kûnege under einer banier guot:
 daz rat vuorte von Riuzen Hartnît der hôchgemuot.
 sîn banier was von pfeller, dâ er ez vuorte an⁸
 dô sprancte in den garten der unverzaete man.

It is difficult to determine what importance Hartnît has in regard to this silk banner. What does seem important, however, is that he carries this banner into the rose garden.

Silk is used only once more in Laurîn to describe Laurîn's battle garment.

. . . sîn wâpenroc was sîdîn,
 von gesteine gap er liechten schîn . . . ⁹

In D Kriemhilt has many maidens in the rose garden, twelve of whom are designated as those who will kiss the victors of single combat. When Rüdiger speaks of these women, he describes their clothing as made of silk.

⁷Stackmann, p. 204.

⁸Holz, p. 132.

⁹Stackmann, p. 205.

. . . dâ sint vrouwen inne und wünneclichiu kint,
 daz ez aller ougen ir trûren abe nimt.
 Dâ schînet ûz der sîden vil manec rôter munt.¹⁰

Though these do not seem analogous, the topos of twelve maidens leads one to an interesting point in Laurîn. It seems logical that the twelve maidens should be present in D, as they are the ones to kiss the victorious warriors. This topos does not appear in Laurîn, but twelve maidens are present. After Dietrich defeats Laurîn, they all journey to Laurîn's mountain. At the entrance to this mountain, twelve beautiful maidens greet them.

. . . dô si kâmen an daz türîlîn,
 dâ stuonden zwelif juncfrouwelîn,
 die wâren schoene und wol getân,
 si gruozten die recken sân.¹¹

Another element that is present in both Laurîn and D is an extremely important one. When Laurîn arrives in the rose garden, he demands the right foot and left hand as payment for the damage done by Dietrich and Witege.

. . . ir müezt mir swaeriu phant lân.
 wer hât iuch esele her gebeten
 daz ir mir habet nider getreten
 die mîne lieben rôsen rô?e
 des kumet ir in grôze nô?e
 ietweder gebe mir ein phant
 den zeswen fuoz, die linken hant"¹²

¹⁰ Holz, p. 109.

¹¹ Stackmann, p. 220.

¹² Stackmann, p. 206.

This payment is analogous to the payment demanded by the ferryman Norpreht in D, except that the foot and hand are not specified.

. . . Jâ ist der selbe verge ein ungevüeger man.
 er hât swêne süne, die sint sô vreissam.
 den er sol über vüeren," sprach meister Hildebrant,
 "von dem wil er hân vergen solt einen vuoz und eine hant."¹³

The giants who come to the aid of Laurîn after Dietrich and his men escape could be compared to the giants fighting for Gibeck in both A and D. In Laurîn there are five giants, all of whom remain unnamed. In A there are four giants, but they are named, as are the two giants in D.

In Laurîn Witege takes part in the defeat of the five giants. Witege's sword is designated in Laurîn as Mimminc and in A and D as Mîming. In Laurîn the name of Witege's sword is not mentioned until he does battle with the giants; in both A and D Witege's sword is named as he battles his opponent, the giant Aspriân, whom Witege defeats in both versions. In Laurîn Witege carries another sword as well-- Nagelrinc. This sword is named in the same line as Mimminc, when the giants are being fought. Nagelrinc is designated in both A and D, but not when Witege battles Aspriân. This sword is named in the only other battle between one of Dietrich's men and a giant which is the same in both A and D: this is the battle between Heime and Schrûtan. Here Heime carries Nagelrinc. It does not seem likely that it is mere coincidence that both of Witege's swords from Laurîn appear in both A and D when giants are defeated.

¹³Holz, p.96.

Another topos which is analogous in Laurîn and D is helfenbein, ivory. Laurîn and Kriemhilt both have tables made of ivory, decorated with gold and precious gems. Kriemhilt's tables are described in D as follows:

Goldes und edels gesteines was darîn getragen vil.
man vant under gem gezelte manec schoenez spil.
die tâveln wâren helfenbein, klâr also ein spiegelglas.
obene in dem knopfe der liehte karfunkel was.¹⁴

The description of Laurîn's table is remarkably similar, though shorter.

. . sîn tisch von helfenbeine,
guldîn an den slozzen
sam si waern gegozzen.¹⁵

Kriemhilt's throne in D and Laurin's saddle are also made of ivory, but here the similarity ends.

The linden tree which appears in the rose garden of D is present also in Laurîn. Apart from the things found under the linden tree in D, there are only the birds which sit on its branches and sing. The linden tree in Laurîn is on a plain whose description brings forth an interesting fact.

. . . ûf einen wûnneclîchen plân
under eine linde grüene,
da erbeizten die helde küene.
ir ros sluogen si ûf den plân.
der was sô rehte wûnnesam.
ûf dem plân stuont bluotes vil,

¹⁴Holz, p. 93.

¹⁵Stackmann, p. 223.

maneger leie swes man wil
 oder imer erdenken mac:
 die gâben alle sûezen smac.
 swaz vogeles stimme haben sol,
 des was der plân aller vol.
 daz was ein michel wunder.
 ieglicher sanc besunder,
 (man hôrte si wol singen,
 ir kel suoze erklingen,)
 daz ez under einander hal
 ûf dem anger über al.¹⁶

The description which the above passage brings to mind is that of a garden. Though roses are not mentioned, there are flowers present, as well as the linden tree and birds. The resemblance between this and the rose garden of D is striking. Also the use of the word anger to signify what seems to be a garden is analogous to the usage of this word in both A and D, where anger always signifies the rose garden.

There is another element of Laurîn which must be considered. When Laurîn's equipment is described, his coat of mail is said to have been hardened in dragon's blood and, therefore, is indestructible.

. . . sîn brünne was unmâzen guot,
 si was gehert in trachenbluot,
 von golde gap si liechten schîn:
 kein swert moht nie sô guot sîn
 daz si möhte gewinnen;
 si was geworht mit sinnen.¹⁷

This is the same manner in which Siegfried became hürnîn; the fact that Siegfried is hürnîn is the cause of Dietrich's reluctance to do battle with him in both A and D.

¹⁶Stackmann, p. 218.

¹⁷Stackmann, p. 204.

The last important similar element of A, D and Laurîn is that of Dietrich breathing fire when enraged in battle. In Laurîn, this happens during Dietrich's last confrontation with Laurîn.

. . . her Dietrîch wart ein zornec man,
und lief in ernestlîchen an:
zuo der selben stunde
man sach von sînem munde
einen dunst gân der was heiz,
dâ von Laurîne der sweiz
vaste durch die ringe ran.¹⁸

In A, a strikingly similar description is given in the battle between Dietrich and Siegfried.

Her Dietrîch von Berne wart gar ein zornec man.
man sach im eine vlammen ûz sîme munde gân,
als von der essen tuot daz viur. Sîvrîde dem wart heiz,
daz von sîme lîbe durch die ringe ran der sweiz.¹⁹

Dietrich's breathing fire in D takes on a new importance, as this actually weakens Siegfried's hûrnîn protection and, therefore, he can be wounded:

Her Dietrîch wart erzûrnet, riechen er began,
als ein hûs, daz dâ dimpfet und ist entzündet an.
Sîvrîde ûz Niderlande wart sîn gehürne weich.
er gap im nâch dem bluote vil manegen herten streich.²⁰

¹⁸Stackmann, p. 230.

¹⁹Holz, p. 63.

²⁰Holz, p. 152.

At first glance one might consider the passage from Laurin and that from A to have more in common than either has with D. It is interesting to note, however, the actual words used in all three passages. The words vlammen and viur are employed in A, meaning "flame" and "fire," respectively. In Laurin and D, however, the noun dunst and the verbs riechen and dimpfen are used; these mean "smoke" and "to smoke."

CHAPTER 3

ROSENGARTEN ZU WORMS AND BITEROLF

Biterolf is a long and complex Dietrichepos. The attempt to compare Rosengarten zu Worms and Biterolf as analogous works poses several problems. The motif of combat between Dietrich and Siegfried as well as many characters are present in both works, though D contains more similarities with Biterolf than A does. Also a few analogous topoi are present, but the similarity ends here. The rose garden motif and the Zwölfkampf do not appear in Biterolf.

This work is about Biterolf, the king of Toledo, who has left his wife Dietlint and his young son Dietleib to seek adventure. When Dietleib is grown, he leaves Toledo to search for his father. He comes to the Rhine at Worms, where he encounters Gunther, Gêrnôt and Hagen, with whom he is forced to do battle. After this unprovoked incident he goes to Attila and serves him in the war against Poland. His father Biterolf fights for Attila in this war also. After the return to Attila's court, Rüdiger recognizes the two as father and son. The major event of the work follows: the journey to the Rhine to seek revenge for the earlier attack on Dietleib. Almost all of the characters of the Nibelungenlied appear in this work. A battle takes place in which Biterolf, Dietleib and Dietrich defeat Gunther, Gêrnôt and

Siegfried. Attila and the Huns return home and Biterolf and Dietleib return to Toledo.¹

One of the most interesting features of Biterolf is that scholars have recognized that this work was very strongly influenced by the Nibelungenlied, as well as the battles which occur in A and D.² The instigation for battle is unlike that in A and D; here battle occurs in order to avenge the hurt suffered by Dietleib at the hands of the Burgundians. The outcome of the battle between Dietrich and Siegfried is unlike that of any analogous work. Dietrich is the victor, but Siegfried has not even been wounded, as Kriemhilt says when addressing Dietrich: "'hât er von iu niht wunden . . . '"³ It is strange that Dietrich and Siegfried ride together as friends after doing battle.

. . . Sîfrit von Niderlant
der reit geselliclîche
mit dem herren Dietrîche,
sam si wurden nie gehaz.⁴

There are indeed many common designations and topoi shared by Biterolf, A and D. Witege and Heime both take part in the fighting in Biterolf and their swords are designated with the same names given to them in A and D: Mimminc (or Mimming) and Nagelrinc. In both Biterolf and D, Rüdiger is sent as Attila's representative to Worms, which is

¹Gustav Ehrismann, Geschichte der deutschen Literature bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters, Vol. II. (1935; rpt. München: C. H. Bech'sche, 1959), p. 163.

²Ehrismann, p. 163.

³Stackmann, p. 183.

⁴Stackmann, p. 188.

also the case in the Nibelungenlied. Hildebrant and Dietleib play central roles in Biterolf and are also important characters in A, D and Laurîn. Also missing from Biterolf is the ferryman, Norpreht.

Dietrich shows a great reluctance to fight Siegfried in Biterolf, as was the case in A and D. There are similar passages concerning this reluctance in all three of these works; most scholars believe that these analogous passages are meant to show Dietrich's lack of arrogance, and not fear of Siegfried's being hürnîn.

The passage in Biterolf is spoken by Dietrich:

. . . 'bestên ich in unde er mich,
wie kan ich dan vor im genesen?
möht ichs mit êren abe wesen,
daz si mich schüefen anderswar,
ê bestüende ich drî schar, 5
ê den Sigemundes suon . . .

In both A and D, similar passages are spoken by Siegfried. In A:

Sîvrit von Niderlande reit ûf den grünen plân:
'wâ ist nu der mîne, der mich sol bestân?
vürhtet er sich sô sêre oder trûwet er niht genesen?
jâ solten wir von rehte die êrsten sîn gewesen.⁶

The passage in D is quite similar:

Hervür spranc Sîvrit ûf den wîten plân.
er sprach: 'wâ ist der mîne, der mich wil bestân?
wie vürhtet er sich sô sêre? trûwet er niht genesen?
nu waeren wir mit rehte die êrsten wol gewesen.⁷

⁵ Stackmann, p. 116.

⁶ Holz, p. 57.

⁷ Holz, p. 148.

The character of Ilsân the monk, which is common to A and D, is not at all present in Biterolf.

The discrepancies which exist between Biterolf, A and D seem to show that these works actually have little in common. Here Holz's conclusion that there is no direct connection between Biterolf and Rosengarten appears to be valid.

CHAPTER 4

ROSENGARTEN ZU WORMS AND THIDREKSSAGA

The final analogue of the Rosengarten zu Worms to be considered is the Thidrekssaga. Scholars contend that this Norwegian work was composed about 1250 A.D. and was taken from North German works of the time. This work is extremely long, containing twenty-six divisions. The section which shows similarities to the Rosengarten is titled Leiðangr Thiðreks til Bertangalands. This deals with King Thiðrek's (Dietrich) journey to Bertangaland, where Sigurór (Siegfried) is in the service of King Isung.

Thiðrekr is led by his banner bearer (merkismaðr) Herbrand to Bertangaland, the land of King Isung. They arrive at a forest called Bertangaskóg, where Herbrand tells of a giant called Eðgeirr, who lives in this forest. The only way to King Isung's land is through this forest and Viðga (Witege) offers to go alone to meet the giant, believing that he and the giant are kinsmen. Viðga finds the giant sleeping and demands passage through the forest. The giant refuses to lift his legs to let them pass, and a battle results in which Viðga is the victor. There is an interesting element in this battle scene which reminds one of the battle between Witege and Aspriân in D. In the Thidrekssaga, the giant Eðgeirr has no weapons and tries to kill Viðga by falling on him, but Viðga escapes by running through his legs.

. . . Ok fyrir því at hann hefir þá ekki vǫpn, þá veit hann, at hann mun eigi sigrast í þessu einvígi, ok lætr hann nú fallast til jarðar, því at hann hyggir, at Viðga mun verða undir honum ok drepa hann svá. En Viðga hleypr aftr í millum fóta honum, þa er hann reiðir sik til falls, ok svá helt Viðga sínu lífi.¹

In D, Witege not only runs through the giant's legs, but he also cuts off one of the giant's feet:

Der rise der sluoc Witegen, daz er viel ûf diu knie.
ez was ime bî sinen tagen vor geschehen nie.
ûf spranc der helt Witege dem risen zwischen diu bein:
er schriet im abe einen vuoz, dem risen gar unrein.²

Viðga then forces Eðgeirr to take him to a hidden cache of treasure, promising the giant that he will not kill him if he does so. Viðga kills the giant nevertheless, after he is shown the fortune. After Viðga shows the fortune to Thiðrekr and the others, they decide to leave it there and retrieve it on the way back home. They then travel through the forest and come to King Isung's fortress.

Sigurðr sees them and goes to find out who they are and what they want. After Thiðrekr and his men are met and recognized, Sigurðr is given a gift to take to Isung: Ömlung's shield and horse. Ömlungr does not like this and wants to win his horse back, offering Viðga his land and inheritance if he will let him have Viðga's horse, Skemming. This horse appears in A and D, but in both the horse is given to Witege by Dietrich as a reward for defeating the giant Aspriân. The passages from A and D are very similar. In A:

¹Guðni Jónsson, ed., Þiðreks Saga af Bern (Reykjavík: Isledingas-agnaútgáfan, 1961), p. 267.

²Holz, p. 121.

Daz quote ros Schemminc dô wart im [Witegen] undertân.
 den Valken ouch her Dietrich ze ime dô genam.
 in stürmen und in strîten was ez niht ein wiht,
 ez enliez sînen herren in keinen noeten niht.³

In D Valken is not mentioned:

Dô schiet er ûz dem garten, Witege der wîgant.
 Schemminc daz quote ros gap im der Berner an sîne hant.
 darûf was schiere gesezzen der degen lobelîch.
 er sprach: "nu vûrhte ich niemer kûnec noch keiser rîch."⁴

Ömlungr rides Skemming to meet Sigurðr where there is a tall
 linden tree. This topos has already been attested in D and Laurîn.
 Its presence here seems important:

. . . Nú stígr Ömlungr á bak Skemmingi ok ríðr nú sem mest má
 hann, þar til er þeir finnast, en þat er skamt frá konungs,
 ok þar er í hjá eitt linditré. Ok nú kallaði Ömlungr á
 manninn ok bað hann bíða sín, en hann gerir svá.⁵

The linden tree is not mentioned again.

Name refusal, another topos analogous to the Rosengarten appears
 in this scene with Ömlungr and Sigurðr. In D, when Dietrich's man
 Sigestab meets Rienholt while on night watch, Sigestab refuses to give
 his name.

"Ich bin geheizen Rienolt dâher von Meilant.
 sage, degen kûene, wie bist du genant?"

³ Holz, p. 44.

⁴ Holz, p. 122.

⁵ Jónsson, p. 277.

Sigestap der junge im sîns namen niht enseit.
dô widerseiten sie einander ûf der heiden breit.⁶

Ömlungr also refuses to give his name to Sigurðr, though Sigurðr believes he knows who Ömlungr is related to.

. . . Nú svarar Sigurðr: "Hvat manna ertu, er svá djarfliga mælir til þessa hests, er ek sit á baki, ok eigi varir mik, at þú munir hann fá, hvárt sem þú átt hann eða eigi."

Nú mælir Ömlungr: "Stíg af hestinum, en ef þú gerir eigi svá, þá muntu láta líf þitt ok svá þann hest."

Nú grunar Sigurðr, at þessi maðr mun vera son Hornboga jarls, er hans var frændi, . . . ⁷

The final outcome of the meeting between Ömlungr and Sigurðr is Ömlungr's return to Thiðrekr's camp with his own horse as well as Skemming. Sigurðr gives up the horse when he learns who Ömlungr is.

Thirteen single combats take place, the final one being between Thiðrekr and Sigurðr. The battle pairs in order of appearance are as follows.

Heimir-	youngest son of Isung
Herbrandr-	second son of Isung
Vildifer-	third son of Isung
Sistram-	fourth son of Isung
Fasold-	fifth son of Isung
Ömlungr-	sixth son of Isung
Hornboga-	seventh son of Isung
Högni-	eighth son of Isung
Thettleif-	ninth son of Isung
(Dietleib)	
Hildibrand-	tenth son of Isung
Gunnar-	King Isung
(Gunther)	
Viðga-	eleventh son of Isung
(Witege)	
Thiðrekr-	Sigurðr

⁶ Holz, p. 111

⁷ Jónsson, p. 277.

Almost all of Thiðrekr's men are defeated by Isung's sons, with the exception of Ömlungr, Thettleif, and Viðga. After each victory, those previously defeated are released; all who have lost are forced to give up their weapons and to submit to having their hands and feet bound.

The battle between Viðga and Isung's eleventh son includes an interesting element which appears in a passage from D previously cited: Viðga cuts off a foot of the eleventh son.

. . . Ok enn annat sinni reiðir hann sverðit ok hart ok höggr á hans fótlegg svá hart, at í sundr tók treyjuhosuna ok svá brynhosuna ok svá fótinn, at litlu loðir við . . . ⁸

In D Witege cuts off the giant Aspriân's foot.

Sigurðr is protected in the Thidrekssaga as he was in A and D. The great difference in this work, however, is that Sigurðr is not defeated by Thiðrekr's strength acquired by rage, but by treachery.

Thiðrekr's sword will not cut Sigurðr's skin and is in fact broken because of this. The battle goes on for two days with neither defeating the other. Before the beginning of the battle on the third day, Thiðrekr asks to use Viðga's sword Mimung, which he believes will wound Sigurðr. Viðga reluctantly gives in. Before battle is to begin, Sigurðr says he will not fight unless Thiðrekr swears an oath that he does not have Mimung. Thiðrekr swears this oath, but falsely, for he indeed has Mimung.

⁸ Jónsson, p. 295.

. . . En Þiðrekr konungr brá á bak sér aftr sverðinu ok stingr nú í jörðina niðr oddinum, en hjaltinu styðr hann við bak sér, ok nú tekr hann ok vinnr þenna eið ok biðr svá guð hjálpa sér, at eigi veit hann Mímungs odd fyrir ofan jörð ok eigi veit hann hans meðalkafla í nokkurs manns hendi. Ok nú þykkir Sigurði vel, ok bregðr hann sverði sínu, Gram. En Þiðrekr konungr tekr Mímung, ok ganga nú saman ok berjast. En er þeir hafa eigi lengi barizt þessu sinni, þá höggr Þiðrekr hvert högg eftir annat, ok sníðr Þiðrekr konungr æ nokkut af skildi Sigurðar eða hjálmi eða brynju, ok fengit hefir Sigurðr nú fimm sár á lítilli stundu. Ok nú kemr Sigurði í hug, hversu Þiðrekr vann eiðinn, ok þat at vísu hefir hann nú Mímung.⁹

The only remaining significant events are the retrieval of the treasure won from Eðgeirr and the return to Bern.

⁹ Jónsson, pp. 300-1.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study was to compare and contrast the motifs and topoi of the two major versions of the Rosengarten zu Worms with analogous Dietrichepen: Laurîn, Biterolf and the Thidrekssaga. It has been shown that the Rosengarten zu Worms and the analogues discussed have certain elements in common: characters, designations and motifs. The questions remain unanswered, however, as to which composer was the first to combine the two major motifs, the rose garden and the single combat between Dietrich and Siegfried, and from what source these motifs were drawn. Previous studies do not agree as to how these questions should be answered.

The similarities as well as the differences between versions A and D when compared and contrasted with each other shed little light on the problems of origin and development of the Rosengarten zu Worms. As stated in the introduction to this study, one of the most important theories of the origin and development of the Rosengarten zu Worms is that of Georg Holz. He believes that the composer of A was the first to combine the motifs of the rose garden and the battle between Dietrich and Siegfried. He sees no connection between the Rosengarten zu Worms and Laurîn, believing that the composers of these works utilized the rose garden motif independently. He also sees no connection between Rosengarten zu Worms and Biterolf.

This study has shown that there is indeed a probable connection between Laurîn and at least one of the versions, version D. The absence of the dwarf motif in D is understandable when one considers that Laurîn is in agreement with a pre-existing myth: the rose is under the protection of the dwarves and it is customary to ask permission of the dwarf king before picking a rose, or a hand or foot is forfeit. Laurîn demands a right foot and a left hand as payment for the damage done to the rose garden by Dietrich and Witege. There is an analogous scene in D which is not at all present in A: the incident with Norpreht the ferryman. Here a foot and a hand are also demanded as payment. It is at this point that other facts make apparent the possibility that the composers of either A or D may have indeed used Laurîn as a source. Witege's battling giants in Laurîn, A and D with the same sword, Mîming, is an important element which seems to support the above hypothesis.

There are many minor topoi evident in all three: silk, predominantly in D and Laurîn; banner or standard, again in D and Laurîn; ivory, in D and Laurîn; twelve beautiful maidens, in D and Laurîn; and finally, the use of words meaning "smoke" to describe Dietrich's breathing fire in D and Laurîn, where A employs the words "flame" and "fire" for the same description. The last and probably most important analogous topos present in D and Laurîn, but not in A, is the linden tree. This seems more important than the others because the linden tree appears in the Thidrekssaga as well.

The great number of similarities between D and Laurîn brings questions to mind. If A is an earlier version than D and if A and

Laurîn employed the rose garden motif independently of each other, then why does D, which is supposedly a reworking of A, have so much in common with Laurîn? If, in fact, D is a reworking of A, where did D derive the topoi which are present in D and Laurîn, but not in A?

It seems improbable that the composer of D would use A as a model for his version, and then draw topoi from Laurîn which are not present in A. At this point Schneider's and Brestowsky's assumption of an older form of the Rosengarten appears to hold water. But Brestowsky's reconstructed Ur-Rosengarten is too short and does not include many of the topoi present in A and D.

Biterolf contains certain elements which are analogous, but on the whole it sheds little light on the origin and development of the Rosengarten zu Worms. If one assumes that the motif of combat between Dietrich and Siegfried existed long before the composition of any of these works, then the most important analogous element common to Rosengarten zu Worms and Thidrekssaga is the Zwölfkampf motif, which is present only in these works. One should keep in mind, however, that both Biterolf and Thidrekssaga are believed to have been composed after Rosengarten zu Worms and Laurîn.

The confusion of motifs and other elements of the various works considered in this study leads to several conclusions. The first analogous element which raises certain questions is the impetus for the expeditions in each work. In both A and D the expeditions follow challenges issued from Worms by Kriemhilt and Gibeck, respectively. The motives of the instigators are not clear in either, but arrogance and mere curiosity certainly play a part. In Biterolf the impetus for

the expedition to Worms is clear: Dietrich and the others go to avenge Dietleib. In the Thidrekssaga, and particularly in Laurîn, the impetus is an element which does not seem to fit the pattern. Here there seems to be a need for Dietrich and his men to prove themselves and they brag about their abilities in both works.

The rose garden motif in Rosengarten zu Worms is not actually a central element as one would suppose from the title of the work alone. The Zwölfkampf is the central motif of both A and D. The rose garden is only the background for the single combats to take place; the rose garden itself is not the impetus for the battles which occur there. In Laurîn the rose garden and its desecration by Dietrich and Witege is the only apparent incitement of the battle, although this is somewhat confused by the presence of Dietleib's sister, Künhilt, in Laurîn's mountain. It seems most likely that the rose garden motif was indeed taken from Laurîn or some other source, perhaps from Laurîn's source.

Another confusing element of the Rosengarten zu Worms is Dietrich's hostile approach to Worms, particularly in D. This is not consistent with the invitation sent to Dietrich, which is unique to the Rosengarten zu Worms. This mood would be more appropriate if approaching an enemy, such as Ermenrîch or Odoaker, Dietrich's traditional enemies. This raises the question of why Siegfried is present and why the single combat between Dietrich and Siegfried occurs; the combat between Dietrich and Siegfried is not even present in the Nibelungenlied. The origin of this element remains uncertain, but does appear in both Biterolf and Thidrekssaga. As it is believed that both of these works were composed after the Rosengarten zu Worms, one

could conclude that the combat between Dietrich and Siegfried present in Biterolf and the Thidrekssaga was derived from either the Rosengarten zu Worms or from an earlier work, from which all three derive this element. It seems probable that Siegfried has replaced one of the traditional enemies mentioned above.

If one considers that many characters and the location of Worms are probably derived from the Nibelungenlied, then all that remains as an original element in the Rosengarten zu Worms is the Zwölfkampf motif. This motif is not apparent in earlier works.

The final conclusion that can be drawn from this study is that an earlier form of the Rosengarten zu Worms did exist. The similarities between Rosengarten zu Worms (particularly version D) and Laurîn, as well as the apparent amalgamation of motifs and elements in the Rosengarten zu Worms, suggest that the earliest version of Rosengarten zu Worms used Laurîn as a source, or that both of these works are derived from an earlier source, which has been lost.

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VITA

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