

The Sources of *Wigamur* and the German Reception of the Fair Unknown Tradition

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The anonymous *Wigamur*¹ falls into that category of 'post-classical' Arthurian romances which has been largely ignored by scholars interested in the early works of the *Blütezeit*, namely, Hartmann's *Erec* and *Iwein* and Wolfram's *Parzival*. For more than a century scholarly responses to the work have remained consistent in their tone of faint praise. Gregor Sarrazin took the work to be a debased kind of Arthurian romance which was, nevertheless, somewhat better than other examples of the genre:

An poetischem Werth aber steht unser Gedicht durch seine naive, treuherzige, wenn auch unbeholfene Darstellung gewiss immer noch höher als die faden Romane des Pleiers.²

More recently David Blamires stated:

No one in his right mind would claim that *Wigamur* is a work of commanding literary significance, but after three readings of it I cannot feel it is as worthless as most writers on the subject have thought.³

The same critic suggests that a substantial reason for the poem's low reputation may lie in its unfortunate manuscript tradition. The main Wolfenbüttel manuscript teems with mistranscriptions and scribal omissions. Meanwhile the first editor of the romance did not have at his disposal the two further sets of *Wigamur* fragments which were discovered in the later nineteenth century⁴ and which, in some cases, throw light on the corrupt, main manuscript. In her new edition Danielle Buschinger prints the Salzburg and Munich manuscripts side

by side with the Wolfenbüttel one. All references below are to her edition.

Sarrazin thought that scribal sloppiness, together with the high incidence of 'anacoluthon, parataxis and 'απο xoivou' in the author's style identified him as a later bourgeois standing apart from the tradition inaugurated by the knightly Hartmann von Aue. The author's apparent ignorance of the refinements of *courtoisie* was apparent in his indiscriminate use of 'Du' and 'Ihr' forms as well as in various rather homely touches such as the scene where Arthur mounts a bench to address his knights. The author, though anonymous, was probably 'ein Fahrender von niederem Stande und geringer Bildung' (p.25), writing at a time when the courtly culture was in decline.

De Boor used a similar argument to support a fourteenth-century dating,⁵ but it must be stated that such subjective criteria are unsatisfactory as a means of dating the romance. The title is almost certainly calqued on that of Wirnt von Gravenberg's *Wigalois* but this cannot give us a secure *terminus a quo* since the date of *Wigalois* itself is still the subject of scholarly debate (Karl Lachmann's contention that *Wigalois* was completed before 1210 has recently been challenged by arguments advancing dates ranging from 1210/15 to 1228/35).⁶ Hugo Kuhn⁷ and Blamires have argued for a mid-thirteenth-century dating of *Wigamur*. The latter points out that the formation of the hero's name on the pattern provided by *Wigalois* pointed to a time when Wirnt's romance was fairly new. Furthermore, the numerous 'borrowings' from *Wigalois* indicate that Wirnt's work was fresh in the memory of the later author, and the debt which *Wigamur* owes to Ulrich von Zatzikhoven's *Lanzalet* (c.1194 - commonly regarded as the earliest German Arthurian romance)⁸ might also support a thirteenth-century dating. At least it may be said the relationship between *Wigamur* and these two earlier works is a close one, indeed so close that earlier scholarship took the romance to be essentially a conflation of its two principal sources (and of further, minor ones). Such positivist scholarship is now regarded as being anachronistic in its analysis of works to which modern notions of literary originality did not apply: in the thirteenth century greater store was set by that allusive technique by which a later poet would re-use his predecessors' material to some telling purpose.⁹ Before going on to analyse the nature and significance of the borrowings made by the poet of *Wigamur*, it may, then, be as well to give a short synopsis of its plot with special attention to the similarities with *Wigalois* and *Lanzalet*.

Like Lanzalet, Wigamur is abducted by a *mêrfeine* when still a small child. His abductress, Lespia, carries him off to a cave at the bottom of a lake, where he loses all memory of his natural parents. Lespia hopes that the young hero will later marry one of her daughters, but this is not to be. Wigamur is rescued by a centaur-like creature ('merswein', l.175) who teaches him the rudiments of horsemanship and reveals to the young man that Lespia is not his natural mother. Both Lanzalet and Wigamur are gauche and comically inept on reaching dry land, and both submit to the instruction of knightly mentors (Johfrit de Liez and the strangely named Glakotelosflöyr [W., l.555], respectively). But at this point the resemblance between the two knights ends, and their later careers take different directions. After his initiation into the world of chivalry, Wigamur befriends a distressed maiden, Pioles, with whom he enjoys a *chaste* friendship (in contrast to Lanzalet with his tally of four lovers). His sexual purity is symbolised by his successful passing of a chastity test - which takes the form of immersing himself in a miraculous bath made of the stone, 'aptor'. (The model for this episode was almost certainly the 'Tugendstein' to be found in *Wigalois* ll.1477ff., the touching of which by Wirnt's hero underlines his exemplary purity).

After receiving further tuition from Arthur's uncle, Yttra, Wigamur decides to continue onwards as a knight errant for, in what becomes a constant refrain, he shows himself to be keenly aware that he is an unknown knight and must therefore establish his name:

das ich von hinnen kere
das macht, das ich bin unbekant (11.1417-18)

[The reason that I must continue on my way is that I am unknown.]

In episodes reminiscent of Hartmann's *Iwein*, he gains his cognomen 'der ritter mit dem arn' by shooting a vulture which was attacking an eagle and by championing the cause of another maiden, Eýdes (Eudis) who is caught up in litigation with her aunt over the possession of a pleasaunce. When Wigamur triumphs against the aunt's champion, the maiden offers him her land and her hand in marriage, but Wigamur humbly refuses (ll.1947-1971). Even after winning Arthur's tournament, which the King had organised specifically in order to pick the successor to the kingdom of the land

Deleprosat, he declines the opportunity, this time even against the public acclamation of all the Arthurian knights. Despite his noble *deeds*, he repeats his sense of inadequacy at not having a noble ancestry to point to:

'Wie möcht ich ains lantz wert sein?
ich enwayß, wer ich bin' (W. 2260-1)

[How could I be worthy of a kingdom?
I do not know who I am.]

The next section is similar to the defeat of Lion by Wigalois and the other Arthurian knights in the last four thousand lines of *Wigalois*. Wigamur sets out, in the company of Arthurian knights, to free Queen Ysope from the unwanted attentions of Marroch, the pagan king of Sarzin. Having accomplished his mission, Wigamur makes Marroch receive his land from Arthur as a fief and pay tribute for it. Queen Ysope's people now want Wigamur as their king, but the hero turns down both queen and land. It is only after the next section of the narrative, where Wigamur encounters his father in combat and they become aware of their respective identities, that Wigamur agrees to marry Dulceflur, the maiden chosen for him by his father. Paltriot abdicates in his son's favour and Wigamur accepts the crown which he had previously put by three times.

Finally there follows a rather prolonged epilogue involving first a strangely inconclusive tournament called by the Queen Dinifogar (ll.4645-5262), followed by Wigamur's successful opposition to a rival suitor for his wife's hand, Lipondrigun, and by a reference to the hero's son, named Dulciwigar.

II

The above synopsis indicates that the distribution of borrowings from *Lanzalet* and *Wigalois* could hardly have been an arbitrary one. The author uses the model provided by *Lanzalet* to launch his narrative, but then switches to the model of *Wigalois*. He lets the immature Wigamur be as comically inept as the young Lanzalet (describing him as 'wilt' and 'törllich', l.425) but then makes him proceed to maturity according to the moral standards set by Wigalois. As with Wigalois, so it is with Wigamur, whose restrained sexual conduct contrasts with that of the womanising ('wîpsaelig', *Lanzalet*,

1.5529) Lanzalet. There is, furthermore, a conspicuous absence of casual violence in *Wigamur* (Lanzalet, by contrast, typically achieves his sexual conquests by murdering the maidens' fathers). A further notable similarity between *Wigamur* and *Wigalois* is the anonymous author's 'extension of the exploits of the Arthurian circle into the orbit of the epics which focus on the Near East and Islamic world' (Blamires, p.44), for the crusading theme was a distinctive innovation in Wirnt's romance, where two of the hero's opponents, Roaz and Lion, are pagans, giving to *Wigalois*'s confrontation with them a notable religious dimension. The appropriation of this Islamic material and the comparison with *Wigalois* which it invites clearly gives to *Wigamur*'s character a spiritual side which is not apparent in that of Lanzalet.

The latter author probably judged Lanzalet to be a young man driven less by principle than by the bias of his constitution and decided, accordingly, to graft on to his narrative the more moral example of Wirnt's hero, essentially rewriting Lanzalet's biography by analogy with that of *Wigalois*. This innovation would have had the advantage of providing a corrective to a work which was probably regarded as a *competitor* to *Wigalois* in the course of the German adaptation of the Fair Unknown tradition. For the German *Lanzalet* bears little relation to the better known Lancelot romance of Chrétien de Troyes with its celebrated Arthur-Guinevere-Lancelot triangle.¹⁰ Rather, *Lanzalet* is 'essentially a version not of the Lancelot legend as familiarised by Chrétien but of the Fair Unknown legend, from which it draws its primary plot as well as certain incidental matter,¹¹ so that it is better understood within the terms of that tradition than against the context of the Lancelot legend proper.

The Fair Unknown tradition comprises four versions: *Wigalois*, Renaut de Beaujeu's *Le Bel Inconnu* (c.1190), *Lybeaus Desconus* (c.1350, containing 2232 lines of tail-rhyme verses in a southern English dialect) and the Italian *Carduino*, a short poem containing two *cantari* of 35 and 72 stanzas respectively in *ottava rima* which is generally attributed to Antonio Pucci.¹² It has been a theme of universal popularity in world literature¹³ and had an indirect influence on many medieval romances. It has been plausibly argued for instance, that *Perceval / Parzival* is an elaborated offshoot of this tradition,¹⁴ for here too the young hero is initially ignorant of the polite world so that he has little but his handsomeness to recommend him when he first enters the Arthurian sphere. Meanwhile, a proleptic statement of

the narrator in *Lanzalet* makes it clear that the theme of the unknown knight in search of his identity plays an important role here too:

noch denne was im unbekant,
wie er selbe was genant
und welhes adels er waere,
unz daz der helt maere
geschuof mit sîner manheit,
daz im sîn name wart geseit
und dar zuo gar sîn künneschaft (11.31-37)

[The young man did not know what his name was or to what family he belonged; and he remained in ignorance of these things until his knightly prowess caused his identity to be revealed to him.]

Indeed, the major theme of the German version is not indomitable passion (Lanzalet's *affaires* are as casual as they are numerous) but the way in which the hero unlocks the secret of his birth.

Lanzalet also performs, *inter alia*, the *fier baisier* ('the audacious kiss' - the kissing of a serpent), which occurs in *Le Bel Inconnu* as well as in other European analogues, with the curious exception of *Wigalois*. Ulrich's use of this rather striking motif provides further evidence that he understood his work to be a contribution to the Fair Unknown tradition. It could even be argued that Lanzalet represents the vital sense of that tradition better than *Wigalois*, since it tells 'the story of the nameless, landless knight, who rose by sheer prowess to association with princes and kings and to wedding the heiress of Dodone' (Webster and Loomis, Introduction, p.8). It purveys the consoling message that an unknown man of lowly socio-economic status can achieve social and material success by the use of his own powers, without benefit of suitable family connections. For whereas *Wigalois's* father is the great Gawein, Lanzalet's father is the miserable Pant, king of Genewîs, who is so tyrannical and cruel that he is driven from his home by a revolt of his own people. Thus when Lanzalet comes to power at the end of the romance, he is obliged to assure his feudatories that he will inaugurate a considerably better rule than that of his father. The elected leader of the people of Genewîs during the interregnum insists that the new king should love his people better than did his father:

ob er uns baz triutet
dan sîn vater der künic Pant,
so mac er liute unde lant
nach sîme gebote handeln (ll. 8210-13)

[If he loves us better than did his father, King Pant, then he may have the whole people subject to his command.]

Lanzalet's régime, to be successful, must flourish in despite of his father's poor example: the eponymous hero must make it by his own efforts. This also *appears* to be the case in *Wigalois*, but a close reading of the text reveals that the Fair Unknown motif is irredeemably corrupt. Indeed, Wigalois can call his father by name even before he sets out to look for him. He tells his mother that he goes to see one whose valour has been impressed upon him repeatedly:

daz ist mîn vater, her Gâwein,
der ie in rîters êren schein,
als ichz von im han vernomen (ll. 1305-07)

[I refer to my father, Sir Gawein, a pillar of knightly honour, as I have heard tell.]

Since Gawein has been held up as a model to his son, it strikes us as improbable that Wigalois can say in answer to Arthur's enquiry about his descent, 'Ichn kan iu niht gesagen wer / ich von mînem vater bin' (ll.1567-68), a contradiction which is compounded when Gawein is named as his special mentor at the court (ll.1591-96). Although Wigalois says later (ll.4807-09) that he did not know that his father Gawein and the Arthurian knight Gawein were the same person, that can only strike us as a rather desperate measure introduced to paper over an inconsistency.

This unsatisfactory situation brings further improbabilities in its wake. For Wigalois, unlike the heroes of the analogues, who are brought up innocent of paternal instruction, receives a 'second education' from his father (he had already been instructed by his mother). For whilst Wirnt maintains the somewhat improbable fiction that father and son remain ignorant of each other's identity in the course of that tuition, we are left in no doubt that Wigalois enjoys the

substance of a father-son relationship and that he benefits from the tuition of the foremost knight of the Arthurian court:

dô was under in zwein
 diu grôze triuwe unbekant
 die kint ie ze vater vant:
 ir deweder erkante den andern dâ.
 her Gâwein underwant sich dâ
 des knaben mit sîner lêre;
 des gewan er vrum und êre (11. 1597-1603)

[At this time neither party was aware of the overwhelming bond which links a father with his son; yet all unwittingly Sir Gawein imparted counsels to the lad from which he was to derive considerable advantage.]

Wigalois's prolonged contact with Gawein is, then, to some extent, a narrative flaw. An essential element of the Fair Unknown tradition is that the hero should discover his identity (and/or knightly and spiritual potential) after much searching. Wigalois's premature tuition advances him beyond the questing stage and gives to his initial exploits under the supervision of the female messenger Nereja an alternative direction, that of realising the skills and values which Gawein passed on to him at Camelot. He must strive to conduct himself 'nâch sînes vater lêre' (l 3019).

Wirnt appears to tell his story against the grain of his material. It is not enough for the German author that the hero be given the freedom to fulfil his *art* in a random series of challenges. His purpose is more specific. Having been educated by Gawein, the hero will, by fulfilling his mission as granted by Arthur, carry Gawein's influence into the wider world; he will prove himself and validate Gawein's teaching at one and the same time.

In *Wigalois*, even the remotest possibility that the hero could be an unsuitable *arriviste* is ruled out from the start by Wirnt's unorthodox treatment of the Fair Unknown content. We are not allowed to speculate that Wigalois could be anybody but the son of the great Gawein. Wirnt's political sympathies, inasmuch as they are deducible from his romance, would appear to be with the established nobility. An important difference between *Wigalois* and the other works forming the same cycle is that the hero of the German version is,

through his early identification as a man of noble and distinguished descent, little calculated to give solace to the obscure or those of little standing. He is not rough and violent (like Lanzalet) since he has enjoyed the benefit of his father's tuition before he sets out.

Wirt's idiosyncratic treatment of the Fair Unknown content might prompt the conclusion that the motif is *deliberately* corrupted in *Wigalois*. If the later author thought that to be the case, this might do much to explain his treatment of the same motif in *Wigamur*, a romance which is similarly preoccupied with high birth or, as it has recently been put, with the 'Unabdingbarkeit des dynastischen Prozesses' in contradistinction to the 'Leistungsprozess' and its associated 'Aufsteigerideologie'.¹⁵ For here, as we have observed, the hero declines a crown three times, even though his superlative feats of valour entitle him to kingship in the eyes of many of his peers. The import of this must be that no 'fair unknown' ought properly to rise to eminence through his own efforts. *Wigamur* maintains that his only legitimate role whilst he remains ignorant of his father is to continue to offer *dienest*, which here means his remaining a *ministerialis* or 'serving knight' indefinitely. Such is the import of his words to Arthur when the latter commands him to accept a crown in his own right:

ich sol an ewr schar
euch sein ymmer mer,
wa ich hin ker.
kungreich und land
war nit wol zu mir gewant:
mit diensten sol ich beraît sein,
wer dar zu geruochoet mein. (ll. 2307-13)

[Wherever I go it shall be within your retinue. A land and a kingdom are inappropriate to my station. I shall provide my services for the lord who wishes to make use of them.]

He uses a similar argument when he turns down the offer of Eýdes:

er sprach: 'ich bin nit so reich,
noch so mächtig und gleých
guottes und eren,
das ich solte kerren
zu eúch, frawe grofß;

wer ich halt ymmer so genoß,
 und das ich war bekannt.
 sunst han ich weder burg noch land,
 das ich ir sey genosen dan;
 was ich ir gedient han,
 da mit sey ir genygen
 und des mit ir huld verzigen;
 gnade hab mein fraw her,
 ditzt solt ich dienen ymmer mer.
 zu lane wil ich haben das,
 das ich ewr huld dester baß
 hab, wo ich hin kere;
 lones beger ich nicht mere'. (ll. 1954-1971)

[I am not sufficiently rich and powerful for you, Lady. If castles and kingdoms are my inheritance I know nothing of such things yet. Your salutation is the only boon due to me. My only reward shall be to have your favour wherever I travel: that is all I ask.]

Elsewhere he gives to understand that his opinions are not unusual but rather the common currency of his age. Without an accredited name and a title to legitimate succession, he asserts, he would be scorned and harried by those many lords who might (quite understandably) dispute his title:

neme ich das kunigreich nu,
 vil leicht kem es dar zuo,
 so dy hern in den landen
 mein geburt nit erkanten,
 sye hetten mich schwewchlich,
 und begunden mein reich
 wider rauben und heren,
 und ich mich dan solt weren,
 so het ich ungemach und kumer;
 wan ich dan da von entrunne,
 so het ich schaden und schant.
 zu krone und zu land
 han ich weder fründ noch guot. (ll. 2261-73)

[If I were to accept the kingship of this land without my ancestry being known, then the (indigenous) nobles would deride and harry me and despoil me of all my possessions. I would have to defend myself against their depredations, which would be bad enough in itself; but if I were then forced to flee from them, that would be the greatest ignominy imaginable. I am neither rich enough nor well-connected enough to bear a crown.]

These verses contain a clear statement that a pretender's claim to a crown must be based on regal ancestry.

Only when he finds that his father is a member of the established nobility does he feel qualified, as Paltriot's son, to accept the privileges and obligations of kingship, which includes taking a wife:

der jung kunig herr
mercket seines vaters ler
und behielt sy zu allen zeiten.
secht, nu wolt er reiten,
seinen gemahel schawen,
Dulceflur die junckfrawen,
des küniges tochter von Reratt;
seinen vater er do batt,
das er im schuoff sein fart. (ll. 4321-4329)

[The young king now observed his father's advice at all times. When he wished to travel to see the maiden, Dulceflur, the daughter of the king of Reratt, he first asked his father whether he would permit him the journey.]

For Wigamur's father, Paltriot, is no unworthy tyrant (like Lanzalet's father, Pant) but rather a man noble both in descent and in conduct. (Whereas Lanzalet is abducted during the upheavals following Pant's overthrow, Lespia is only able to abduct Wigamur because Paltriot is away paying his respects to King Arthur). In a striking parallel to *Wigalois*, ll.11521-568, where Gawein gives his son parting advice, Paltriot also advises Wigamur in words whose main function must be symbolic since they are directed towards an experienced and battle-hardened son (ll.4285-4320). The very

redundancy of Paltriot's advice underlines the idea that the father is, ultimately, the sole author and guarantor of the son's nobility.

III

The Fair Unknown romances may have become popular throughout medieval Europe because they satisfied the insecurity of the knights errant and the anxieties of the established nobility at one and the same time.¹⁶ That is, they provided for knightly aspirants a fictional demonstration of how an unknown quantity could enter what was, at this time, the open class of knighthood.¹⁷ Gingelein, the hero of *Lybeaus Desconus*, is a bastard, 'begotten be a forest side', whilst Carduino is described as a wild man ('un uon selvagio'). However, the misgivings of the established nobility would have been satisfactorily dispelled when it appeared that the new man was not really rough and strange (Gingelein, it is later revealed, is the son of Gawein). The same holds good for Lanzalet, whose behaviour is boorish and whose father is a scoundrel, but whose mother, Clarine, is related to King Arthur. Lanzalet, we are assured, will ultimately be able to fulfil the obligations of kingship.

Wigalois and *Wigamur*, on the other hand, implicitly reject Ulrich's reassurance in that regard. Both romances do away with the nice ambiguity which characterises the other works in the Fair Unknown cycle, siding unequivocally with the aristocratic prejudice which views worth and birth as being synonymous. Wirnt von Gravenberg is strident in his denunciation of knightly *parvenus* (ll.2339-2348), and Wigamur, in several strikingly disinterested defences of the dynastic principle, refuses a crown until such time as he can establish his noble birth; we might even claim that the moral of *Wigamur* approaches that of Wernher der Gartenaere's *Helmbrecht* (c.1250), the classic homily against upward social striving in medieval German verse. The narrator puts over that moral largely by contradicting the expectations of his audience. The sequel to the lake incident contains no story of amorous conquests achieved by violent means (as a contemporary audience might reasonably have anticipated from the analogy with *Lanzalet*), but rather a more rigorous restatement of the ethics of *Wigalois*. The hyper-correct Wigamur provides a striking contrast to Lanzalet, whose morals have been aptly termed 'preposterous and unworthy' (Loomis).

Although it appeared just before Hartmann's romances, *Lanzalet* clearly did not absorb the same courtly influences which are evident in

Erec and *Iwein* and attempts to prove that it did, and that it contains a 'thesis' or 'programme' have been received sceptically in recent scholarship. Brogsitter commented on this point:

Natürlich will ich unseren Roman keineswegs schlecht machen, ... aber man muß doch einfach sehen, daß es sich hier nach Art und Intention um einen völlig anderen Typ von Artusroman handelt als er bei Chrétien und Hartmann vorliegt.¹⁸

Wigamur, appearing well within a century of the composition of *Lanzalet*, appears to give near-contemporary support to that verdict when it demotes *Lanzalet* from the ranks occupied by *Wigalois* and his Arthurian peers and so, effectively, removes Ulrich's romance from that literary canon: in his *Auseinandersetzung* with *Lanzalet* and *Wigalois*, the narrator of *Wigamur* gives all the laurels to the latter romance. This adjudication documents the presence of a considerable backlash against the potentially egalitarian notions surrounding the inception of the Fair Unknown story in medieval Germany. Ironically, it appears that this tradition was modified in the course of its establishment on German soil so as to silence its emancipatory undertones and so bring it into line with a more dynastic political ideology.

Critics committed to a 'rise and fall' model for the spread of Arthurian legends in Germany have taken *Wigamur* to be an example of the period of decline. They have therefore been predisposed to view the anonymous author of *Wigamur* as a later bourgeois concerned with the values of the former, courtly culture. Yet whatever may have been the social origins of the author, a close reading of his text reveals him to have been a vigorous apologist for the feudal status quo. Like his near contemporary, Der Pleier who, in his *Garel von dem blühenden Tal*, sought to create a chivalrous corrective to the work of his predecessor, Der Stricker,¹⁹ the author of *Wigamur* attempted to create a more acceptable alternative to the romance of *Lanzalet* according to feudal dynastic standards. *Wigamur* testifies to the enduring popularity of the essentially aristocratic Arthurian ideal throughout the thirteenth century. It provides evidence that this class-based ideal remained curiously unaffected by changes in society in the later medieval period. The glamour of the ideal appears to have captured the imagination of many writers belonging to the thirteenth-century urban

bourgeoisie as effectively as it was later to appeal to writers in the modern, democratic era.

NOTES

- ¹ In *Deutsche Gedichte des Mittelalters*, ed. Friedrich von der Hagen and J.G. Büsching, Vol. 1 (Berlin 1808); *Wigamur*, ed. Danielle Buschinger, Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 302, ed. Ulrich Müller, Franz Hundsnurscher and Cornelius Sommer (Göppingen 1987).
- ² Gregor Sarrazin, *Wigamur: Eine Litterarhistorische Untersuchung*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprache und Culturgeschichte, 35, ed. B. Ten Brink, E. Martin, W. Scherer (Strassburg 1879), p.33.
- ³ 'The sources and literary structure of *Wigamur*', in *Studies in medieval literature and languages in memory of Frederick Whitehead*, ed. W. Rothwell, W.J. Barron and others (Manchester 1973), pp.27-46, here p.27.
- ⁴ R.M. Werner, 'Fragmente einer Pergamenthandschrift des *Wigamur*', *Zfda*, 23 (1879), 100-111; Friedrich Keinz, 'Wigamur, Münchener Bruchstücke', *Germania*, 27 (1882), 289-330.
- ⁵ 'Die ganze hölzerne und armselige Erzählweise, der ungepflegte Stil, die Hilflosigkeit in Vers- und Reimkunst würden eher auf einen jener späten Dichter des 14 Jahrhunderts weisen, die zu der höfischen Dichtung nur noch über den Stoff Zugang haben'. See *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, Vol. 3, part 1: *Die deutsche Literatur im späten Mittelalter, Zerfall und Neubeginn*, 1250 - 1350 (Munich 1962), p.80.
- ⁶ *Wigalois, Der Ritter mit dem Rade*, ed. J.M.N. Kapteyn (*Rheinische Beiträge und Hilfsbücher zur germanischen Philologie und Volkskunde*, Vol. 9, part 1 (Bonn 1926); Friedrich Neumann, 'Wann verfasste Wirnt den Wigalois?', *Zfda*, 93 (1964), 31-62; Volker Mertens, 'Iwein und Gwigois - der Weg zur Landesherrschaft', *GRM*, 31 (1981), 14-31
- ⁷ Hugo Kuhn, 'Wigamur' in *Verfasserlexikon*, Vol. 4 (Berlin 1953), cols 962-964.
- ⁸ K.A. Hahn, *Lanzalet, Eine Erzählung von Ulrich von Zatzikhoven* (Frankfurt am Main, 1845), reprinted with 'Nachwort' and bibliography by Frederick Norman (Berlin 1965). The question of dating is discussed by Loomis in *Ulrich von Zatzikhoven, Lanzalet, A Romance of Lancelot*, trans. K.G.T. Webster with additional notes and an introduction by R.S. Loomis (New York 1951).
- ⁹ The most thorough analysis of this technique, here with reference to *Der Pleier*, is Peter Kern, *Die Artusromane des Pleier*, Philologische Studien und Quellen, 100, ed. Wolfgang Binder, Hugo Moser, Hugo Steger and Hartmut Steinecke (Berlin 1980).
- ¹⁰ See Ernst H. Soudek, 'Lancelot und Lanzalet. Zur Verbreitung der Lancelotsage auf deutschem Sprachgebiet', *Rice University Studies*, 57 (1971), 115-121.

- ¹¹ D.D.R. Owen, *The Evolution of the Grail Legend* (Edinburgh 1968), p.186.
- ¹² *Le Bel Inconnu*, ed. G. Perrie Williams (Paris 1929); *Lybeaus Desconus*, ed. Maldwyn Mills (Oxford 1969); *Carduino*, ed. Pio Rajna (Bologna 1873).
- ¹³ Ante Aarne and Stith Thompson, *Motif Index of Folk Literature*, six vols, second edition (Copenhagen 1955/8), section D735.
- ¹⁴ William H. Schofield, *Studies in the Libeaus Desconus*, Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature, 4 (1895), especially p.146.
- ¹⁵ Alfred Ebenbauer, 'Wigamur und die Familie' in *Artusrittertum im späten Mittelalter*, ed. Friedrich Wolfzettel (Giessen 1984), pp.28-46, here p.40. See also Ann G. Martin, 'The concept of *reht* in *Wigamur*', *Colloquia Germanica*, 20 (1987), 1-14.
- ¹⁶ See Stephen Knight, *Arthurian Literature and Society* (London 1983), especially p.84.
- ¹⁷ See Arno Borst, article 'Das Rittertum im Mittelalter' in Arno Borst (ed.), *Das Rittertum im Mittelalter*, Wege der Forschung, 349 (Darmstadt 1976), 212-224.
- ¹⁸ K.O. Brogsitter, 'Der Held im Zwiespalt und der Held als strahlender Musterritter', in Wolfzettel (see note 15) pp.16-27, here p.18.
- ¹⁹ Cf. H. de Boor, 'Der Daniel des Stricker und der Garel des Pleier', *Beiträge* (Tübingen), (1957), 67-84.