

DAS LIED VOM HÜRNEN SEYFRID : THE PRINTERS AND ORTHOGRAPHY OF A SIXTEENTH-CENTURY GERMAN TEXT

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THE problems I propose to deal with in this article are those with which I found myself faced when I had to decide on the orthography to adopt in the critical edition of a German poem which I am preparing. The question of the origin of the poem is difficult and complicated and will be fully dealt with in the introduction to my edition ; what I am concerned with here is the form in which it has come down to us, namely in prints ranging over a period of roughly 100 years, of which the first can probably be dated in the 1520s and the last is of 1642. No manuscript has been discovered.

I might first be permitted to state briefly the salient features of the poem itself. Since the first critical edition¹ it has normally been known as the *Lied vom hürnen Seyfrid*. Although of little or no literary value, it is of great interest to the student of medieval German literature in general and to the student of the stories of Siegfried and the Nibelungs in particular, for it contains matter entirely unknown to our principal source for these stories, the *Nibelungenlied*, and deals more fully with other features only briefly touched on there. There Siegfried is the mature hero who becomes involved in an intrigue and falls a victim to it. In the *Lied vom hürnen Seyfrid* we read of his more youthful adventures : how he killed a dragon and acquired a horny skin, and how, after struggles with a giant and another dragon, he freed a maiden in distress. Its closing strophes deal in summary fashion with Siegfried's death. It contains 179 four double-line strophes, in the 'Hiltebrandes thon', a variation of the strophe in which the *Nibelungenlied* itself is written.

¹ *Das Lied vom hürnen Seyfrid nach der Druckredaktion, herausgegeben von Wolfgang Golther, Halle, 1889.*

The poem appears to have been frequently printed: ten complete, or nearly complete, copies—all with their particular variants—are known to have survived, and four pages from an eleventh. Others we know from bibliographical references; others again are required by the stemma. There is in addition a Czech version, printed in Prague in 1615. These editions come from widely separated parts of the German speaking area: Hamburg, Leipzig, Nürnberg, Straßburg, Frankfurt am Main, Basel, Bern. These ten prints fall into three main groups. I do not propose to amplify this statement here to any extent, for it would involve a detailed examination of the texts from another point of view than that with which I am concerned at present. My determination of the relationship of the prints and the construction of the stemma has been done entirely on the basis of textual variants; and I am still, after the examination of the prints from different points of view, of the opinion that other criteria are less reliable. Max Herrmann¹ made use of the evidence of the wood-cuts, but, as I hope to show, this can be no more than corroborative of the textual evidence. Herrmann's error lay, as I see it, in attempting to use artistic criteria in the evaluation of wood-cut evidence—e.g. greater or less degree of refinement in drawing, and influences. That I regard as completely unreliable. What can be important is whether the same blocks are used in more than one print, and, most important of all, the placing of the wood-cuts within the pages. Herrmann in the same article dismissed the possibility of using orthographical evidence for the construction of the stemma; I agree with this, but I nevertheless think that there are a few such features which may, with reserve, also be used as corroborative evidence, and I shall later adduce a few examples in support of this. As far as the actual classification of the prints is concerned I will limit myself to saying that it is apparent that none of those extant is the original from which all the others are descended; that all are so related that it can scarcely be doubted that all come, ultimately, from one common source, not far removed in time from the earliest extant print; that, as above, they fall into three main groups.

¹ *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, xlvi. 61 ff.

In the main the principles employed for classifying medieval manuscripts can be applied in the case of sixteenth-century prints; but there must be modifications. In the first place the possibilities of contamination are much greater. We do not know enough about the transmission of medieval manuscripts to be able to say how many copies may have been made, for example by dictation, from one manuscript; but we do know that there may have been anything up to about 1,600 copies issued of one edition of a print.¹ In the second place, although I would not wish to over-emphasize the conscientiousness and reliability of scribes, there is evidence that not all sixteenth-century printers were as scholarly as their predecessors in their craft had been. We know, for example, how Amerbach went to pains to print the best possible text, using other manuscripts to correct his model where necessary;² for the other side of the picture we have the evidence, also adduced by Faulmann, of how others, with no technical qualifications, turned their hands to the craft because it appeared to them to be a lucrative occupation. He quotes,³ in not always quite accurately modernized German, from the autobiography of Dr. Thomas Platter of Basel (1499 to 1582) a passage to illustrate the social position of the printer of the sixteenth century and his attitude to his work. Platter says he was attracted by the example of others, who as printers acquired great wealth with little effort. He set up in this business with others, forming a group of four men, of whom one knew nothing at all about printing, and two were scholars with no practical knowledge of the craft; in spite of their lack of experience they bring the concern to an end after a few years, at least without sustaining a loss. Particularly illustrative of the ulterior motives is the account of how Ruprecht Winter was induced to join the group by his wife, who, seeing the luxury in which printers' wives lived, wished to become one herself.⁴

¹ See K. Faulmann, *Illustrierte Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst*, Wien, Pest, Leipzig, 1882, pp. 321 and 336.

² K. Schottenloher, *Der Buchdrucker als neuer Berufsstand des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, Mainz, 1935, p. 20.

³ *Op. cit.* pp. 325 ff.

⁴ The most delightful passage reads in the original as follows: 'do ich aber gsach wie Hervagius und andre truckerherren ein gütte sach hatten, mit wenig arbeit groß gütt gewunnen, dacht ich, möcht ich ouch ein truckerherr werden . . .

This, I think, is of prime importance for our problem. We are dealing with business men who are not primarily scholars. There is evidence that not all are competent tradesmen, and that there is not always adequate scholarly supervision.¹ This will probably have the effect of producing more aberrant readings in transmission than arose by the earlier manuscript methods; and the vastly larger numbers of copies produced will greatly increase the chances of contamination. Nevertheless it is still possible, by the use of ingenuity in comparing readings to separate that which is purely carelessness on the part of the printer from a genuine variant reading, and to produce a reliable critical text.

But can the same be said of the actual spelling of that critical text? Here the possibilities for 'individuality' are greater, and the check less. As I see it, there are three possibilities open to the editor. These I will first consider from the point of view of principle, then later subject them to the test of the extant prints of our particular poem.

The first possibility would be to adopt a normalized spelling, as has been the usual practice with works of Middle High German literature. Whether there did exist in classical, or any other, Middle High German times a standard literary language is still a debatable point; and so the adoption, in the editions of these works, of standard forms and spellings is a procedure which cannot be ruled out as one which would reproduce a textual picture which never existed. There is, however, no doubt about whether there existed a standard Early New High German language which may have been adopted for literary, or other, purposes: there certainly was not one. The detailed account of the manifold variations of the forms and spellings of the language in the period in question is set forth in Virgil Moser's *Frühneuhochdeutsche Grammatik*.² Of the utmost importance for our particular do was Rûprecht Winter, des Oporini schwager, der hatt ein frowen, die wolt ouch gâren ein trukerherren frow gsin, gsach wie die trukerherren wiber so ein pracht triben, an welchem iren gar nûtz brast, dan sy hat gûtz gnûg, mûtz nur zwill' (Thomas und Felix Platter, *Zur Sittengeschichte des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, bearbeitet von Heinrich Boos, Leipzig, 1878, p. 88).

¹ Cf. Faulmann, *op. cit.* p. 331: 'Die Folgen der mangelhaften Ausbildung der Setzer und ihrer mangelhaften Kenntnisse waren dann zahllose Druckfehler'.

² Vol. I, 1st half, Heidelberg, 1929, and Vol. III, 3rd part, Heidelberg, 1951. Cf. particularly the introduction.

problem is the recognition of the freedom with which printing presses, through their proof-readers, adopted spellings which they favoured.¹

The second possibility, of producing a 'critical' spelling, in the way one produces a critical text, on the basis of the stemma, can scarcely—in principle—be separated from the first possibility, for it depends on a necessary minimum degree of conservatism and fidelity to an original on the part of the printers. Knowing, as we do, that printers did not always feel that compulsion, we can have no confidence that the spelling in one of the works issuing from their press gives any reliable indication of the spelling of the source.

The third possibility is to reproduce the spelling of one print; and this is in fact the choice made by Golther in his edition of the poem. This method, too, is open to the same objections as the first two: we can have no assurance that any one print, even the oldest, with any fidelity reproduces the spelling of the original print we are seeking to reconstruct.

These then are, as I see it, the three courses open to an editor. I shall now proceed to examine the prints of the poem I am concerned with to see how these possibilities can be applied in practice. I shall do this in two stages: first I shall discuss the external appearance of the prints and examine what is known of the individual printers themselves, and the relation of print to print and, where applicable, printer to printer. Secondly, I shall examine the spellings of certain selected words and the rendering of certain selected sounds in these prints.

¹ Moser, Vol. I, Einleitung, Anm. 4: 'Infolge der sich seit Beginn des 16. Jhs. immer weiter ausdehnenden Drucktätigkeit geht die Führung in der schriftsprachlichen Bewegung besonders seit dem zweiten Viertel fast ausschließlich an die Druckersprachen über, während die viel konservativern handschriftlichen Aufzeichnungen durchschnittlich ein viertel bis ein halbes Jh. hinter diesen zurückbleiben. Seit dieser Zeit bilden sich auch in den großen Offizinen sog. (an die ortsübliche Druckersprache sich anschließende) Hausorthographien aus (so bei dem Luther-Drucker Lufft in Wittenberg), deren Durchführung den (meist hochgebildeten) Korrektoren (bei Lufft Rörer u.a.) obliegt und nach denen das Druckmanuskript bei dem meist passiven Verhalten der Schriftsteller mehr oder minder umgemodelt wird.'

I

Of the three main groups into which, on textual grounds, the prints fall, the first is formed by the two prints from Nürnberg and the one from Hamburg. The last is a translation into Low German and is therefore too far removed from the original language to play any part in a discussion of orthography. Textually, too, it is of little importance for it is clearly derived from the Nürnberg prints. Neither of these is dated, but they both bear the name of the printer, namely (a) Kunegund Hergotin and (b) Georg Wachter, and the town, thus leaving to be solved the problem of their absolute, or, failing that, relative dating.

It has usually been assumed that the Hergotin print is the older,¹ presumably on the evidence of what was known about the printers themselves. This evidence is carefully examined by O. Clemen in his short introduction to the facsimile edition which was made in 1911 of the recently rediscovered Hergotin print,² and points to the priority of the Hergotin print; Clemen points out that the impress 'gedruckt durch Kunegunde Hergotin' can mean one of three things: printed by her while her husband was still alive but unable to print, between about 1524 and Hergot's death; secondly, printed by her after her husband's death while she carried on the business independently, to perhaps 1528; thirdly, printed over her name, but after her marriage to Georg Wachter. And finally he admits that the two names may well mean perhaps the same thing: Kunegund Hergotin and Georg Wachter being alternative names for the same press.³

¹ Cf. W. Golther, *Das Lied vom hürnen Seyfrid*, 2nd ed., 1191, p. v.

² Zwickauer Facsimiledrucke, No. 6.

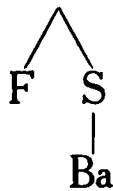
³ Further details of these family affairs are set out in two of the sources Clemen used: K. Schottenloher, *Die Entwicklung der Buchdruckerkunst in Franken bis 1530*, Würzburg, 1910, pp. 41 f., and *Archiv für Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels*, vi. 253. The information is now summarized in Josef Benzing's *Buchdruckerlexikon des 16. Jahrhunderts (deutsches Sprachgebiet)*, Frankfurt a/M., 1952. In this work Hergot is entered as printing from 1524 to 1527 and 'am 20. 5. 1527 öffentlich . . . hingerichtet'. Further: 'Seine Frau Kunigunde, die ihn auch vorher schon während seiner zahlreichen Reisen in der Werkstatt vertreten hatte, setzte die Druckerei unter ihrem Namen bis 1538 fort, obwohl sie bald nach dem Tode ihres Mannes den Drucker Georg Wachter geheiratet hatte.' Georg Wachter is entered as printing from 1526 to 1547.

The external appearance of the two prints is almost identical : the types are the same, the page and line arrangement is the same—with the exception of the omission of the two words 'der hürnen' in the twentieth wood-cut heading in the Hergotin print. Further, the arrangement of the wood-cuts in each page is identical, and the cuts themselves are the same. At first sight one would say that in both prints they were impressed from the same blocks. One knows¹ that copying of another printer's illustrations was common enough, even to the extent of such details that close examination fails at first to show that they were not printed from the same block. There is, in fact, such a case—although not an extreme one—in point among the *Hürnen Seyfrid* prints, which I will refer to later. In spite of this I would still maintain that for our two Nürnberg prints the same blocks were used. I have examined side by side the facsimile edition of the Hergotin print (which I call K) and a projection in a microfilm reader of a film of the Wachter (N) ; sufficiently exact comparison of size by that method is not possible, nor is it, I think, necessary in this case. For not only are all the pictures themselves to all appearances identical, but even imperfections in the black border lines, such as slight notches out of some of them, or not quite exact closing of the corners, are exactly identical in both. I would venture to say that the first impression is confirmed and that in fact the same blocks were used for both prints. But the resemblance of the prints goes even further than this : as I have stated before, the types are the same in both, and the layout and content of each page are identical. Further, biographical evidence shows that the two names are probably nothing more than alternative names for the same firm, and, with the exception of one small, but significant, textual variant, the texts too are identical. But there are differences between the prints ; these differences are, as Clemen noticed, 'mainly orthographical'. These orthographical differences, as I shall show in detail later, are not inconsiderable. Is there enough evidence here for us to

¹ Johannes Luther, 'Ideendiebstahl in dem dekorativen Bücherschmuck der Reformationszeit', in *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, Erster Jahrgang, Zweiter Band (1897/98), pp. 463 ff., where there are also a number of reproductions illustrating the point.

attempt a relative dating? If there were no other criteria, one would have to attempt this on the basis of these orthographical variants. Fortunately in this case we do not have to rely on these very unreliable criteria: the one variant reading referred to establishes, I maintain, beyond doubt, the priority of the Hergotin print, thus bearing out the external evidence adduced above. I think it may be sufficient if I confine myself here to this bare statement: the feature is fully dealt with in the appropriate place in the introduction to my edition. We are dealing here with two editions from the same firm, of which the second differs from the first by one 'correction' of an obscurity (the textual variant) and a considerable alteration in spelling.

Two other branches of the tradition have prints which stand in a relationship to one another similar in nature to that between the two Nürnberg prints, but the connection is less close. The first of these branches contains three prints: one printed by Weygandt Han at Frankfurt am Main (F), at a date not before 1555, in which year he began to print;¹ the second, printed by Thiebolt Berger at Straßburg (which I call S) in 1563; and the third by Johann Schröter at Basel (Ba) in 1592 or 1594.² Textual evidence, which, as with the other prints, I deal with fully in the introduction to my edition, shows the relationship of the prints to be as follows:



For our present purpose it is really only the Straßburg and Basel prints which will have to be considered, for it is they which, like K and N, are in a direct line of descent, although an occasional reference to that of Weygandt Han can be helpful. Although the relationship between these two is similar in kind to that of the two Nürnberg prints, the degree of closeness is incomparably

¹ Cf. E. Steinmeyer, *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, v. 105.

² At the bottom of the title-page is the date 1592. On the final sheet of the book as it at present appears (the intervening sheets containing the last 34 strophes of the poem are lacking) is printed: 'Getruckt zu Basel bey Johan Schröter. 1594.'

less : there is a difference in time of about thirty years, as well as a geographical difference of many miles.

The textual evidence of the dependence of Ba on S is supported by the external appearance of both books. The poem runs in S to sixty pages, not including the title-page ; and the page arrangement of Ba—only the first 145 strophes are preserved—is in most cases identical. The greatest differences are at the beginning, in connection with the choice and placing of the wood-cuts within the pages. Taking the actual text first, one finds that the contents of each double opening are identical throughout : from the first word on the left-hand page to the last one on the right. And in only two instances are the contents of each page not exactly the same : in one instance there are in Ba two more lines on the left-hand page, with correspondingly two fewer on the right, and in the other Ba has one more line on the left-hand page. This is the last page of text that is preserved in Ba. The one substantial difference is on the first two double openings of the book, i.e. pages two and three, and four and five, particularly on the second double opening. The detail of the arrangement of the relevant pages is complicated, but the general picture can be briefly stated. The first text-page of the book, containing the first four strophes of the poem, has neither wood-cuts nor headings. The next four pages (the first two double openings) should have five wood-cuts and the appropriate headings.¹ S has deviated from this arrangement and omits one of the cuts, and one heading (albeit the wrong one), thus giving a more symmetrical and less crowded appearance to the second double opening, which had had three wood-cuts crowded into it. The mistake in the omission of the heading is more understandable than the words 'wrong' and 'mistake', if used unqualified, would imply. In the normal arrangement headings four and five overlap : no. 4 mentions two separate actions, and no. 5 one (the second) of these ; of the wood-cuts themselves, no. 4 represents the first action, and no. 5 the second. The Straßburg printer's

¹ The statement that there should be five wood-cuts is based on the evidence of the other prints. That which in the other prints is the sixth wood-cut is at the top of page six in S, which would have made it necessary for S to crowd five wood-cuts into the two openings (which is what F did).

mistake consists in using the standard no. 4 heading, but the standard no. 5 picture. Schröter, of Basel, has copied the general plan, but has differed in detail: he has kept standard 4 and 5 headings and wood-cuts, but in order to keep the arrangement of only one wood-cut to a page he has omitted a different wood-cut (standard no. 2) but has kept the heading.

I hope this does not appear to be too much of a digression from the real theme, which is orthography, but I have dealt with this aspect in some detail because I think it is important from the point of view of the methods of the printers and their attitude to their models. We have already seen how in the case of the two Nürnberg prints the second printer kept closely to his original, in fact exactly so in the lay-out of his pages. That was perhaps as might be expected when one considers that the two prints can be regarded as two editions from the same firm, which had, however, changed its name. In the case of the Straßburg and Basel prints there is a long lapse of time and a great distance, and, as far as I know, no particular connection between the two houses of Schröter and Berger. It is, nevertheless, by no means improbable that some such contact existed, for there is plenty of evidence of movements of printers in this area. For example, Paul Heitz tells us¹ that Matthias Apiarius was known to be in Basel in 1525—having come from Nürnberg—that he was printing in Straßburg between 1533 and 1536, and that he went in 1537 to Bern ‘wo er die Buchdruckerei einführte, auch als Buchhändler und Buchbinder tätig war’. Secondly Adolf Fluri² mentions the complications caused in Switzerland by the printing, on 9 January 1564, by Diebold Berger of a lampoon on the defeat of the Swiss in a recent battle.

Whether or no there was any particular connection between the two houses, there is a correspondence in the lay-out of the two prints almost as exact as in the case of the two Nürnberg prints. The textual criteria, as I have already indicated, establish with certainty the descent of the Basel print from the

¹ *Basler Büchermarken bis zum Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Straßburg, 1895, p. xxviii.

² ‘Die Brüder Samuel und Sigfrid Apiarius, Buchdrucker in Bern (1554-65)’ in *Neues Berner Taschenbuch auf das Jahr 1898*, p. 189.

Straßburg one; the examination of the arrangement of the pages shows that Schröter of Basel must have had a copy of the earlier print open in front of him as he set up the type.

There is one very important feature in which the two prints do not correspond: the pictures themselves are entirely different. The question of the wood-cuts has been examined by Max Herrmann:¹ he points out with reference to Ba the lack of uniformity of execution, and the fact that two pictures are used twice, without regard for their suitability; he points out further that ten of the pictures are the same as those of another print of this poem, done by Sigfrid Apiarius in Bern in 1561, and that they were printed from the same blocks. I am dependent on Herrmann's statement that this is so—and that they are not very close copies—for the Bern print was sent for safe keeping during the war into what is now Poland and I have not been able to trace it.² In the circumstances it seems likely, for if the similar pictures were imitations, there seems to be no reason why only ten should be so treated and not all. Herrmann states: 'der Basler Schröter hat also zu erwerben versucht, was bei Apiarius noch vorhanden war'. I have subsequently been able to substantiate this indebtedness by information to which the staff of the University Library at Basel very kindly drew my attention. This is contained principally in two articles and in the unpublished *Basler Drucker- und Verlegerkatalog* of Dr. Rudolf Bernouilli. The first of these articles gives us biographical information based on the parish registers of the churches of St. Leonhard and St. Peter, that Johann Schröter on 6 December 1591 married the widow of Samuel Apiarius 'so daß Schröter durch seine Heirat in das weiland Apiariussche Geschäft kam. Eine Spur deutet darauf, daß Schröter schon 1592 unter eigenem Namen druckte, sicher fand ich das aber erst 1594'.³ In the next volume (p. 44) of the same periodical Koegler adduces further

¹ *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, xlvi. 61-76.

² For this information I am indebted to the Director of the Auskunftsabteilung of the Öffentliche Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek in Berlin, in which library the print was before the war.

³ Hans Koegler, 'Die Schrötersche Druckerei in Basel 1594 bis 1635' in *Anzeiger für schweizerische Altertumskunde*, Neue Folge, Band XXI (1919), pp. 222 f.

information on Schröter's indebtedness to Apiarius: ' . . . fühlte sich Schröter eigentlich heimisch in den ausgesprochenen Meß- und Jahrmarktschriften der Kalender, Schauspiele und Lieder, vor allem alter Schlachtenlieder, sowie der Volksbücher im engsten Sinn wie Herzog Ernst und hürnen Siegfried. Dies war die von seinem Vorgänger Samuel Apiarius überlieferte Richtung, für die "gering Druckerwerk", wie er sich selbst ausdrückt, hatte er das Rüstzeug an Texten und Holzschnitten reichlich vorrätig.' Schröter printed *Herzog Ernst* in 1610. And again, on page 55: 'Der Holzschnittvorrat endlich, der in Schröters Drucken zur Verwendung kommt, ist nur zum kleinen Teil ursprünglich, die Menge ist aus Beständen anderer Offizinen übernommen'.

I have—in quotation—referred to 'Apiarius' and 'Apiariussche Geschäft', as well as to Sigfrid and Samuel and Matthias Apiarius separately. A more detailed account of the relation and activities of the three members of the family may be helpful. Matthias (who introduced printing into Bern) died in September 1554. The printing press passed to his eldest son, Samuel, while Sigfrid took over the bindery.¹ Sigfrid, however, did print a few books,² including the *Hürnen Seyfrid*. The wording 'seinem Vorgänger Samuel Apiarius' may therefore sometimes include the brother Sigfrid and the father Matthias. Further evidence that Sigfrid may be included is available on purely technical grounds: there is in the University Library at Basel a book, to which Dr. A. Pfister drew my attention, printed by Sigfrid (Bern 1561), entitled 'Ein hübsch Christlich Lied . . .' in which the word *Maria* corresponds exactly to the same word in Schröter's printing. Finally, the 'wappenartige Verzierung' which Goltzer mentions as appearing on the final sheet of Schröter's print³ is in fact the printer's mark which was used by Matthias in 1546 and 1549.⁴

The result of this evidence for the method employed by Schröter in his print of the *Lied vom hürnen Seyfrid* is that he was just as dependent upon a model as had been Georg Wachter in Nürnberg fifty or sixty years earlier. Wachter had had the

¹ A. Fluri, *op. cit.* p. 168.

² Fluri, *op. cit.* p. 208.

³ *Op. cit.* p. viii.

⁴ Reproduced in P. Heitz, *Basler Büchermarken*, p. 75 (fig. 121).

material available as a whole before him and made, apart from one important textual variant, only orthographic alterations; Schröter used the text of one print and the pictures from elsewhere, some of them recognizably from the print of Sigfrid Apiarius. There are more textual variants between S and Ba than there were between the two Nürnberg prints: a number of these are shared by the Bern print (of Sigfrid Apiarius) alone, and I have no hesitation in attributing them to this source. On textual grounds alone I would not be so confident in my attribution: I am here using external criteria in support. The number of these variants is not large—not more than a dozen of any significance—so that the text of Ba is substantially that of S.

A third group which may throw light on our problem is formed by three prints, dated, but without the name of the printer or place where they were printed. They were printed in 1585, 1591, and 1642; Golther called the first two O and O¹ respectively, and I shall call the third O² (this print was not known to Golther). The textual evidence for the relationship of the first two of these is given by Golther in his edition: they are both descended from a common source, no longer preserved.¹ The important consideration for our present purposes is that the lay-out of the two prints is identical, for it stresses yet again the fidelity with which printers followed their models. A further relevant feature, and one which Bernhöft did not mention, is that this similarity extends to the wood-cut which these two prints have on the title-page. There are not wood-cuts in the text: only the headings remain. So close is the resemblance that when I first saw them, in a microfilm reader, and then on a photographic print, I thought they were printed from the same block. Closer examination, however, reveals that this is not so: this would appear to be a case of a minutely executed copy to which I referred earlier in this article (p. 67), or, more strictly, two minutely executed copies from a lost original. This is thus the third, or again more strictly, the fourth (since we are here dealing with two copies from a lost original) case in the *Hürnen Seyfrid* tradition of exact copying. This fidelity to his model did

¹ Pp. xvi f. See also Bernhöft, *Das Lied vom hörnenen Sigfrid*, Rostock, 1910, pp. 115 ff.

not, however, prevent the printer, at least of O, from modernizing the actual forms of the text. On textual grounds it is perfectly clear that O² is derived from O¹, but, as in the case of the other prints discovered since Golther's edition, I will reserve the full presentation of the evidence for the introduction to my edition. But, in spite of this close textual dependence, the lay-out is different, and, although O² has, in common with its model, a title-page wood-cut, this wood-cut is entirely different.

As a conclusion to this section I append a short summary on the general relation of the prints in respect of the wood-cuts.

The two Nürnberg prints have 27 (wood-cuts and headings); in the second group, F also has 27 and S 24 (wood-cuts and headings) (Ba is incomplete); the anonymous group has 28 (headings alone). Nos. 1-27 in K, F, O, O¹ correspond, with the exception of slight textual variants (omission of words, etc.). No. 28 in O and O¹ is, naturally, additional. In the case of S the reduction is progressive. We have already seen (p. 69) how one wood-cut was omitted from the first five (perhaps to avoid overcrowding). S then combines 15 and 16 (standard numbering), thus becoming two behind, and later omits nos. 22 and 23. It reduces the gap again to three by adding a heading and wood-cut after the one corresponding to standard 27 (thus agreeing with O and O¹ in having one extra here, but the heading is quite different from O and O¹, and the wood-cut is the same as had already been used for no. 8).

I have used the word overcrowding in connection with F. This leads to a further interesting feature which, again, I would not use for constructing a stemma, but the corroborative evidence of which I would, and do, welcome. K (and N) have three strophes to the first page, and so have O and O¹ (one cannot carry this comparison any farther because of the absence of wood-cuts themselves in the latter), but F and S (and Ba) have four. This is in accordance with the stemma, where frequently K readings agree with O and O¹ against F and S. There is a further agreement between these two groups: in the placing of the wood-cut headings in relation to the text (the crowding in F, with, e.g. four strophes to the page instead of three, would naturally throw the balance out). I find it significant that, in spite of the absence of

the wood-cuts themselves, the placing of the headings agrees to a very high degree. Only three differ (nos. 19, 23, 27). I regard this as strengthening my contention, based on textual evidence, that all our prints go back to one source, that the anonymous group, in spite of the lateness of its preserved prints, is a good witness, and that the Frankfurt-Straßburg group permits itself considerable liberties.

II

The next part of the problem is the spellings adopted in these same prints. The features which, under this heading, most obviously require examination are the rendering of the diphthongs which developed from Middle High German \bar{i} and ei and whether any attempt is still made to keep them distinct ;¹ the use and interchangeability of i and y ;² and certain consonant doublings and combinations. These I will now examine in detail, and for the purpose of this examination I will treat each of the groups of prints separately, and in the same order as in the previous section.

The most frequent word under the heading of the Middle High German diphthong ei is the word for rock. This occurs sixty-nine times, including compounds and derivatives, and is spelt *steyn* (or rarely *stein*) every time in K. N, with only three exceptions, spells *stayn* (rarely *stain*). In view of the earliest practice of rendering the diphthong from Middle High German \bar{i} as ei and that from MHG. ei as ai ,³ one might be tempted to regard this distinction between our two prints as an indication of the earlier date of N ; but I maintain that it would be wrong to allow this consideration to prevail in the face of a definite indication to the contrary from textual evidence.

There is a subsidiary problem to this : the use of y for i (or i for y). K has only twice *stein*, and in both cases N has substituted ai ; in addition there are four other *stain* spellings in N, and one *stein*. The problem can, however, best be dealt with later, in connection with the question of the choice between i and y .

¹ V. Moser, *Frühneuhochdeutsche Grammatik*, I, § 77, 1.

² Moser, *op. cit.* § 18, 1.

³ Moser, *op. cit.* § 79, I, 1.

The problem is much less clear-cut in the case of the other words with Middle High German *ei*; there is less consistency, and at first sight little sign of a policy. Closer examination, however, reveals one interesting example of a calculated distinction. It would not be helpful to list all the words under this heading, and a few examples can adequately illustrate the point. The word *keyn* is so spelt in both prints almost without exception: such an exception is in strophe 39, 4, where N has *kayn*; *beyde*, *reyn*, *zwey*, *meyster*, and others, are all so spelt in both prints on every occasion. There are only two words which are always spelt with *ay* in both: *ayd(e)* and *waynen*. Of words with Middle High German *ei* from *-age* and *-ege* *mayd* is so spelt in both prints on three occasions; *meyd* in both on one occasion; and twice (69, 7 and 97, 4) *mayd* in N and *meyd* in K. On one occasion both prints have *gesayt*, on another *geseyt*, and on a third *verzeyt*; *angeleyt* appears once, in both prints. There are enough examples to show that the trend is the same as with the word for rock: a preference in N for *ay* spellings; in fact in two consecutive strophes (23 and 24) there are, apart from one *stayn/steyn* four *ei* words, and in each case the spelling is *ay* in N and *ey* in K. There are other cases of the same nature, but scattered.

I come now to the particular example of a calculated distinction referred to in the previous paragraph: the word for one, or the indefinite article. The distinction is here not between the two prints, but within the prints themselves according to grammatical case. With only three exceptions the word is spelt *ein* when used in the uninflected form (nom. sing. masc., nom. and acc. sing. neut., and once as acc. sing. masc. contracted), and *eyn-* in inflected cases, in derivatives, and in compounds. The exceptions are 81, 8, where K has *ein*, but N *eyn*, 125, 5 with N *ein* and K *eyn*, and the first wood-cut heading, where K has *einem* and N *eynem*.

One may summarize and say that as far as K is concerned the picture is similar to that of *stein*: a predominance of *ey*, but with N there is not the evidence of the same deliberate substitution of *ay*.

The spelling of the Early New High German diphthong which developed from Middle High German \bar{i} is uniform in both

prints to the extent that there are no cases of *ay(ai)*. It is therefore purely a question of *ey* or *ei*. By far the most frequent spelling in both prints is *ey* : cases of both prints having *ei* are rare and confined to unaccented final syllables. There are several cases where N has *ei* and K *ey*, and others again where N has *ey* and K *ei*. Is this deliberate ?

It is difficult to see any pattern : for example, there are ten cases of variation up to and including strophe 63, and in all except two of these, N has the *ey* spelling and K the *ei*; from 73 (the next occurrence) onwards these cases are more frequent, and the procedure would at first sight appear to be a reversal. There are namely numerous cases of N having *ei* and K *ey* (e.g. 85, 6 and 87, 4 *sein/seyn* (pronoun) ; 110, 2 ; 111, 2 ; 162, 4 *leib/leyb* ; 111, 4 ; 112, 2 ; 162, 2 *weib/weyb*) ; but against this we have in the ninth wood-cut heading, in 42, 6 ; 152, 8 ; 168, 5 for the pronoun *sein* in K and *seyn* in N. We even find in 118, 6 *speiß* in K, *speyß* in N, and in 155, 4 *speyß* in K and *speiß* in N. Although the third person singular pronoun shows considerable variation, the second person singular is more constant and has only three cases (*deyn* (K)/*dein* (N) in 103, 2 ; 161, 5 ; 161, 8) and the first person only one (*mein* (K)/*meyn* (N) in 176, 2).

There are altogether two more cases of K having *ey* to N *ei* than vice versa, so that one certainly cannot say that there was a consistent policy of spelling adopted as in the case of the word *steyn/stayn*. The fact, however, still remains that the spelling *ey* is by far the predominant one. It is worthy of note, and perhaps significant, that the words *deyn leyb* (alone and in combination with each other), which are of frequent occurrence, are invariably so spelt down to strophe 68, and afterwards vary as shown above.

I hesitate to draw any but the most tentative conclusions from this, but I do nevertheless consider it a significant feature that from strophe 70 onwards both prints show a greatly increased preference for *ei* ; and that N shows an even greater liking for it, a liking which runs counter to his preference in the earlier strophes (down to 62). It may be due to a different compositor, or it may have been due to shortage of types (not enough *y*'s), or it may be due to quite fortuitous circumstances ; but whatever

the cause, the result should act as a warning to an editor who wishes his critical text to appear as genuine as possible not to adopt too consistent a spelling.

The problem of the rendering of Middle High German short *i* is connected with that of the spelling of the diphthongs, in that the choice between *i* and *y* is a part of both problems; the use of *j* is another part. The latter is in one way of less concern to us, for its use is fairly uniform, being confined to the pronouns *jn*, *jm*, *jr*, *jch*; on the other hand the regularity of its use is important for the contrast it makes with the, at least comparatively, erratic and arbitrary procedure in the other cases we have dealt with. The use of the letter *j* for the initial sounds of the pronouns *jn*, *jm*, *jr* is in accordance with common Early New High German usage.¹ Normal Early New High German practice too is the use of *i* in *ist* and the preposition *in*. Both prints, however, tend to run counter to this practice in the case of the pronoun of the first person singular: this is regularly spelt *jch* in K, while N has in several cases substituted *i*.² This might be regarded as another instance of what we saw in the case of the rendering of the word *stein*: K regularly has the abnormal spelling, which N seems to have set out to 'correct' but fails to carry out this 'correction' completely.

Within the word the choice is only between *y* and *i*. Here there is no such regularity; or rather, in the case of words where alternative spellings are used there is no such regularity, but there are words where *i* alone is used, apart from *ist* and the preposition *in*, such as *dich*, *sich*, *schilt*. In fact it is the words which have the alternative spellings which are the exception. They can be listed: *hin* (and compounds), *sin*, *riß*, *nimpt*, *grimmig*, *innig*. And all possible combinations are found: *i* in both, as in *hin* (strophes 6, 3; 9, 5; 35, 2), *y* in both, as *hyn* (3, 2), *i* in N, *y* in K (*hinache/hynache* in 35, 3), *y* in N and *i* in K (*hynumbe/hinumbe* in 140, 5). Similarly with *grimmigklich* (both with *i* in 57, 2), *grymmig* (both, 127, 5), *grymmigklich* (N)/*grimmigklich* (K) (65, 2), and *innigklichen* (N)/*ynnigklichen* (K) (117, 3).

The word for giant is consistently spelt with *y* in both prints; while the Early New High German preterite singular of the verb

¹ Moser, *op. cit.* § 12.

² Cf. Moser, *op. cit.* § 12, Anm. 2.

to tear is spelt *ryß* in N and *riß* in K (8, 8). *Gybich* is spelt with *y* on all occasions in both, and *Krimhilt* with *i* in the first syllable.¹

As far as the consonants are concerned, both our Nürnberg prints show the freedom from excesses which we so frequently meet in the second quarter of the sixteenth century.² Features shared by both are double *ff*, finally as in *auff*, *lieff*, *warff*, etc., medially in *klaffter*, *rúfft*, *helffen*, frequent but by no means invariable final *dt* as in *begundt*, *schwerdt*, etc. ; *-gk-* is normal for the suffix *-ig* when followed by *-lich* (e.g. *grymmigklich*), but single *g* when final (e.g. *der grymmig Hagen* in 175, 1). A strophe taken at random can illustrate better than a detailed description the general restraint ; strophe 34 appears as follows :

Und do derselb Seyfride Gewüchs zû eynem man
 Er wolt eyns morgens jagen Und reyten zû dem than
 Mit Habich und mit hunden Der stoltze degen bald
 Er het den starcken thieren Verzogen da den wald.

Our main concern is the differences between the two prints, and this in practice means more or fewer complications. A few examples will suffice. The form with single *n* for the preposition *in* is normal in both prints (e.g. 1, 8 ; 7, 8 ; 8, 1). There are, in addition, numerous cases where K has the spelling with single *n* but N with *nn*, e.g. 11, 5 ; 21, 2. Similarly with *syn/synn* in 2, 7. In these cases the simple form is that of K. Less consistent is the final *t*. Here, as with the alternation of *i* and *y*, all combinations are met with : both have single *t* (*rot*, 88, 8, *not*, 98, 6), both have *dt* (*todt*, 88, 6 and frequently, both for adjective and noun), K has the simple form and N *dt* as, for example 17, 8 *magt/magdt* (also 25, 2 ; 37, 8 ; 50, 2 ; 94, 6), and fourthly, N has the simple form and K has *dt*, as, for example, 151, 6 *stund/stundt*, 179, 6 *wirt/wirdt*. There are cases (tenth wood-cut ; 48, 4 ; 154, 5 ; 161, 2 ; 175, 3) where K has the simple form *wil* and N *will* ; *erlößt* (N) against *erlóst* (K) in 32, 8 and 50, 8 ; and *schall* (N) against *schal* (K) in 120, 2 show the same tendency.

¹ This latter is, of course, not a Middle High German short *i* ; it is, however, presumably intended to represent a short sound, since, as is usual in Early New High German, the long single vowel which normally develops from Middle High German *ie* is still so spelt (*lieff*, *lieb*, etc.).

² Moser, *op. cit.* § 28.

The impression gained is that the earlier print, K, has the simple forms, while N favours doubling and combination. In the case of the *ey/ay* alternative there is clear evidence of a conscious and deliberate policy, and moreover one which is carried out with a high degree of consistency, but one cannot say the same here: there are too many examples of a final *dt* in K corresponding to a single final consonant in N.

I have dealt fully with the two Nürnberg prints because the evidence of their relation is so good and because this relation is so close. It would not be profitable to repeat in anything like the same detail the agreements and disagreements between the Straßburg and Basel prints. I shall, of course, disregard obvious modernizations, such as the use of capital initial letters, use of *h*, or *e* after *i*, as length signs, and confine myself to the more prominent features in the rendering of vowels and diphthongs.

Agreement between the two prints is close. In the case of the initial short *i*, we find it spelt with *j* in the pronouns *jn*, *jm*, *jr*, in accordance with the general Early New High German practice (see above) and in agreement with the Nürnberg prints. Both prints (S and Ba), as well as the related Frankfurt one, are equally consistent in their adherence to Early New High German practice in their spelling of *ich* with *i*. In this case, as we saw above (p. 78) one of the Nürnberg prints consistently spelt with *j*.

The spelling of the names of the maiden and her father is instructive. That of the maiden occurs four times; in S it is spelt *Grymhilt* the first three times and the fourth time with *i* (in the first syllable), while in Ba the first two occurrences have *y* and the third *i* (there is no fourth, for that part of the text is missing). The father is mentioned seven times; in S the form *Gibich* is always used, while of the four mentions which occur in Ba three have *i* and one *y*. Eleven cases is but little upon which to base a conclusion, but one may perhaps tentatively regard this as a lessening of consistency with the passage of time—especially if one looks at the print in the other branch of this group of the stemma, the Frankfurt one. This may well be older than S, and it has *i* for *Gibich* each time, and *y* for *Grymhilt*.

For these names the Nürnberg prints have *y* for *Gybich* each time and *i* for *Krimhilt*.

Medial short *i* in other than proper names is usually spelt *i* (*sinn*, *hinnen*, etc.); *riß* (past participle of *reißen*) is so spelt, in both prints and in F. In the case of the word for giant, S spells *Ryß*, *Ryse(n)*. Ba is less consistent: it usually keeps the spelling of its source, but in 59, 2 and 90, 1 it uses the spelling *Riß*, and again in the heading of the seventeenth (standard numbering) wood-cut, whereas immediately after (107, 2) he uses *Ryß*. F uses *riß* for the past participle of *reißen* and *Ryß*, etc., for giant, so that here, and with the two names just dealt with, it looks as if the common source of F and S had a consistent spelling, that this was adhered to in F, fairly closely adhered to in S, but much more carelessly treated in Ba. That one cannot generalize on these lines is revealed by three words with peculiar spellings: in 3, 1 F spells *Rethe*, S *Rhâte*, Ba *Râhte*; in the tenth (standard numbering) wood-cut heading F spells *rheit*, S *rheit*, Ba *reit*; and in 36, 4 F *ruhe*, S *rhuhe*, Ba *ruhe*. Here it looks almost as if S were working to a principle. Perhaps the source of F and S may have introduced the *h*, and S, several years later, found that this was a popular practice¹ and extended the use, and that Ba disliked it and removed the *h*—its use in *Râhte* could be regarded as an indication of vowel length.

The question of the Early New High German diphthongs from Middle High German *ī* and *ei* really resolves itself into a question of the choice between *i* and *y*—there are no *ai* or *ay* spellings, only *ei* and *ey*; and *ei* is the more common. The preposition *bey* is regularly so spelt in both S and Ba, but *beim* in 57, 3; and *ey* is favoured for *drey*, *Eyde*, *beyde*, *Keyser(in)*. The spelling *bey* seems quite firm, and not to be at all influenced by neighbouring words, as the following examples show: 13, 4 *bey keinem Keyser*; 39, 3 *bey seinen zeiten*; 51, 2 *bey dem Rheine*. In these cases F has the same spelling, except that he prefers *Keiser*.

The word *Eisen* is instructive. It occurs three times within a few lines at the beginning of the poem (4, 7; first wood-cut heading; 5, 1); F spells *Eisen* in all three cases (although it has *Eysen* in 132, 3), S has *Eisen* in the first case and *Eysen* in the other two, Ba has *Eysen* in all three.

¹ Moser, *op. cit.* § 29, 2.

Finally the third, anonymous, group. With the exception of the Basel print, all three in this group are by far the latest prints, and this is reflected in the spelling—in the case of O and O¹ in relation to earlier prints, and in that of the still later O² in relation to its model O¹. O and O¹, for example, use the spelling *jhr*, *jhn*, *jhm*; this *h* had occurred in F and S, but much less commonly, and not so obviously as a sign of vowel length. O² regularly spells *Ries(e)*, for the older prints' *Ryß*, *Rys(e)*, *Ris(e)*, and employs capital initial letters in the modern German manner.

An examination of the spelling in O and O¹ shows a pattern based on individual words and not on any etymological or phonological basis. A few examples will suffice: *bey* is regularly so spelt, *beyde* also, and the numerals *zwey*, *drey* (*drey Eyde*), *Eysen*, *Heyden*; but *sein* and oblique cases, *leib*, *zeiten*, *Rein*, etc. Usually the two prints agree in each attested case, but there are deviations, e.g. O¹ *leysten*/O *leisten*, O¹ *leyder*/O *leider*, O¹ *beyten*/O *beiten*. Particularly significant for the prints' dependence on their model is the case of the three occurrences of the word *reit(en)* in 34, 4; 35, 3; and the tenth wood-cut heading: both prints have *reiten*, *reyt*, *reit* respectively (O² has *reiten*, *reit*, *reit*). In the spelling of the names of the heroine and her father, both prints are consistent and agree with each other: *Gybich* and *Krimhilt* (except O¹'s reading *Trinhuden* in the ninth wood-cut heading). This agrees with the spelling of the Nürnberg prints, as opposed to the FSBa group. In view of the consistency of the spelling of these names, I am inclined to attach significance to this, for it is in accordance with the distribution of textual variants; it is noticeable how often the readings of the oldest print, K, and the most modern, O and O¹, agree against those of the FSBa group. In these cases the stemma demands that these readings be adopted, and the sense supports this choice. Should one act on the same principle in the choice of the spelling for a critical edition? O² here has broken the consistency, and has *Gibich* in the first three cases and *Gybich* in the last four, but *Krimhilt* each time.

III

This, then, is the evidence. It has been, I think, necessary to devote so much space to the minutiae, for it is only by an exact comparison that any conclusions about an individual printer's spelling policy can be formed. What are the conclusions that we may draw?

One might be tempted to say that there was complete arbitrariness in the spellings adopted, not only in respect of the relation of one print to another, but within individual prints themselves. And to an extent that judgment remains after close examination. We have seen how the earliest print quite clearly prefers, and with great consistency carries out, the spelling *ey* for the sound from the Middle High German *ī*, but that Wachter, when copying from it, not infrequently deviated, so that we find several examples of the spelling *dein* and *leib* in his print, which clashes with his generally adopted spelling and clashes with that of his model; and even within K we find deviation, such as, for example, *grymmig* in 143, 2 and *grimmig* in 175, 1. On the other hand the judgment would not appear to be justified in the case of the Hergotin print. Furthermore, there are other words where complete consistency is maintained. For example, *diser*, and its inflected cases, is always spelt with *i*; and this is common to all the prints, except where they show the modern spelling with length sign *dieser*.

Words such as this present no problems to the editor: the earlier Early New High German practice agrees exactly with Middle High German, and so, naturally, this spelling will be adopted. The state of the tradition being such that we cannot hope to reconstruct the Middle High German original of our poem—even if there were one, which is by no means certain—our difficulties arise when there is a change of practice between Middle High German and Early New High German. The alternation of *i* and *y* for the short vowel sound is well enough known from Middle High German manuscripts, so that the variation in our prints, at least in the earliest, in such words as *syn/sin* is of no particular significance and may well have Middle High German manuscript authority. One might be tempted to

normalize and choose for editing purposes either one or the other, were it not for the fact that there are some words where the printers do not permit themselves any variation. If, for example, an editor decided to spell the Middle High German short *i* in open syllable—which later became lengthened—*i*, this would work perfectly well with *diser* (in fact it would accord exactly with the earliest print), it would do no particular violence to *syn/sin*, but it would involve spelling the word for giant *ris(e)* or *riß*. The objection to this is that the word would then be spelt the same way as the Early New High German form of the preterite singular of *reißen*. There would be no occasion in our particular poem where this would cause ambiguity, but it would conflict with what appears to be a policy on the part of the earliest printer, who spells with *y* for the giant and *i* for the verb.

Still greater violence would be done if we tried to normalize in the case of the diphthong *ei*. Should we adopt the 'standard' *ai(ay)*? This would mean spelling *stain* all the way through, a spelling, in the variant form *stayn*, which seems to be consciously aimed at by Wachter, but goes against the completely consistent spelling *steyn* of the older, Hergotin, print. In view of the consistency with which Hergotin has carried through the *ey* spelling in this word, and in many others too (*ayd* and *waynen* alone are regularly spelt with *ay*) I should hesitate to do this, especially as it would not be supported by any of the other prints, except N. If we chose to use regularly the spelling with *e* we should have more support, but then there would still remain the problem whether the second element should be *i* or *y*. For the word for rock *steyn* would be in accordance with the oldest print, and this would apply for most other words too, but it would mean spelling *weynen* and *eyd*, spellings which K avoids.

Most serious, however, is the objection in the case of the indefinite article, for here, as we saw in the examination of the Nürnberg prints, a consistent policy is followed, with a distinction between *ei* and *ey* according to grammatical case. It is true no ambiguity would result, and, as we have seen, the later prints abolish this distinction, but it would, and I stress this, mean undoing something which the earliest known print deliberately either introduced or copied from a source which had introduced

it. This is not the original print—if it were there would be no occasion for a critical text—and we cannot tell whether the original print had this distinction, but it seems fairly evident from our examination of the extant *Hürnen Seyfrid* prints that variations within a particular print were normal.

The spelling of the diphthong arising from Middle High German \bar{i} is really subsidiary to the question of the choice between i and y , for the ay/ai rendering is unknown in the two Nürnberg prints for this sound, although it is used for Middle High German ei , as we have seen, both in these prints and in the later ones. But, throughout, its use remains infrequent.

We must now take another look at the proper names, partly because they form a part of our problem in any case, and partly because they have obtained in the study of this poem a prominence which they should never have obtained (I refer to the building up of the stemma on the basis of the name of the hero). The significant names for our purpose are those of the hero, the heroine, her father, and the owner of the treasure. The owner of the treasure is named nine times. In the Nürnberg prints the spelling each time is the same: *Nybling*, with the appropriate ending. In the Frankfurt, Straßburg, and Basel branch, the y is also prevalent: in each case in F, and in S (in S only eight times, for one of the wood-cut headings where the name occurs is omitted); in Ba (which is incomplete) only the first six cases occur, and of these one has the spelling *Nibling*. Thus a lessening of consistency with age. In the group of the three anonymous prints, y also predominates: in O¹ (not the oldest in date of printing, but the print which retains the oldest forms) there is one occurrence with i , otherwise always y , but in O there are four i to five y spellings. O² has improved on its model and removed the one aberrant spelling and has in all nine cases *Nybling*. It has also corrected its model in another respect: on two occasions O¹ has *Nymbing* which O² has corrected to *Nybling* (strophe 134, 1 and 5).

The heroine and her father are named four and seven times respectively. In K and N they are consistently spelt *Krimhilt* and *Gybich*. The Frankfurt print is equally consistent in spelling the heroine *Grymhilt* and the father *Gibich*. S also has

Gibich each time, *Grymhilt* three times and *Grimhilt* once. In the Basel print only the first four cases of the father's name occur and the first three of the daughter's. Of the four, three are according to the pattern of the group, *Gibich*, and one *Gybich*; of the three of the heroine, two are according to pattern, and one against. Again a lessening of consistency with age. In the anonymous group, O and O¹ are entirely consistent, spelling *Gybich* and *Krimhilt*. O² in this case has deviated from its model and spells *Gibich* the first three times, otherwise *Gybich*, and always *Krimhilt* (with, of course, the exception of *Trinhuden*). It is, I think, worthy of note that this agreement of the oldest prints (K and N) with the youngest (the anonymous group) against the intermediate group (F and S) has numerous parallels in actual textual variants.

Finally the name of the hero. In this case each print is consistent, but there is one significant difference in the grouping. As above, O and O¹ differ from F and S, the former having *Sewfrid*, the latter *Seyfrid*. K spells *Sewfrid*. It was formerly customary to divide the prints into two main groups according to the spelling of the name of the hero; the only Nürnberg print then known (that of Wachter) had *Seyfrid*, and hence the grouping NFBa (S was also unknown) against O and O¹. Our examination of the spelling of selected words has shown how drastically Wachter (N) altered his model (K), and he did the same in the rendering of the name of the hero, changing *Sewfrid* to *Seyfrid*. The arrangement is thus the same as with the heroine and her father: K agreeing with O and O¹ against F and S. The aberrant spelling of N does not in any way affect its connection, almost identity, with K for textual purposes; but it emphasizes the danger of relying on orthographical criteria for the construction of a stemma.

My final conclusion therefore is that of the three possibilities I envisaged at the beginning of this article, namely: (a) to adopt a normalized spelling, (b) to establish a critical spelling, and (c) to adopt the spelling of one print, the first is inadmissible, if only on account of the deliberately adopted abnormalities. In support of the second possibility it can be said that in the case of certain proper names it would work, for the distribution of variants

agrees with that of numerous textual variants; but, apart from these names, there is too little consistency to justify its adoption. This leaves us with the third possibility. It may be objected that to adopt the spelling of any one print is arbitrary, even though it be the oldest, but I maintain that the evidence from within the branches of the stemma, F : S-Ba and O : O¹-O², shows in numerous instances a quite slavish following of a model; the only evidence of the contrary is the one feature of N substituting *ay* for *ey* in *steyn* and some other words. Consequently I maintain that it is not unreasonable to act on the assumption (it cannot be more than this) that the earliest print may have followed the spelling of the original equally slavishly. I shall therefore in my edition adopt the spelling of K, the Hergotin print; where the critical reading differs from that of K, I shall spell as K would have spelt it if it is one of those words where this print uses a consistent spelling, e.g. indefinite article; if the word is one where K fluctuates, my choice will have to be arbitrary. Fortunately, as the examination has, I think, shown, these cases will not be numerous.