

**Handbook of Stemmatology**



# **Handbook of Stemmatology**

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History, Methodology, Digital Approaches

Edited by  
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## 7.4 Mediaeval German

Ralf Plate

Scarcely less extensive than the variation in the mediaeval German textual tradition of the manuscript era is the multiplicity of types of editions which, from their beginnings in the early nineteenth century, have been grappling with these texts. Between the extremes of diplomatic documentation and reconstruction by means of arbitrary conjectural criticism lies the domain of stemmatics. In this context, there is, right from the start, a wide range of goals, methods, and forms of realisation that have survived even the “iconoclasm of the ‘New Philology’” (Heinzle 2003, 1; “der Bildersturm der ‘New Philology’”). The following short historical survey can only outline, by means of examples, the main stages and aspects, concentrating on the way in which variation is handled and the role that is assigned, or alternatively denied, to stemmatics. It focuses on the stemmatics of the courtly epic around AD 1200, since it is here that the great controversies have flared up, right up to the present day.

### 7.4.1. Lachmann’s *recensio* of the courtly epic ca. AD 1200

Lachmann, as is well known, never provided a stemma in his editions and was altogether sparing with the details he provided of the manuscript relationships – this applies not only to Lachmann the classical philologist (Timpanaro 2005) but also to Lachmann the Germanist (Sparnaay 1948; Ganz 1968; Fiesoli 2000, 269–358). In the case of Middle High German poetry, the reason for this was not so much Lachmann’s oracular style (Timpanaro 2005, 96, 117) but the result of his *recensio*. It was always directed at the oldest attainable text in the manuscript tradition; Lachmann was interested in the history of a textual tradition not in its own right but only insofar as it was necessary for the establishment of the critical text, just as in the case of classical texts (Timpanaro 2005, 72). Three texts with an extensive manuscript tradition may serve as examples.

In the case of the *Nibelungenlied* (1st ed. 1826, notes (with full variants) 1836, 2nd ed. 1841), the main problem with any assessment of the manuscript tradition is the transition from oral tradition to the book epic and its written tradition, which took place in various stages at the beginning of the thirteenth century (for an overview of the subject from a modern perspective, see Heinzle 2013, 998–1006). The complex problems cannot be explored here in detail. According to Lachmann’s *recensio*, the oldest stage of the text is represented by only one manuscript (*A*); all others go back to an adaptation, *\*B*, which appears in a subgroup in a further comprehensive adaptation, *\*C*. For the establishment of the text of *\*A*, the textual tradition of *\*B* and *\*C* is – because of their character as adaptations – only of limited value, that is to say, significant only when it allows the reading of *A* to be supported

or, in the case of deviations from it, allows corruptions of the archetype \*A to be established: “every word that is not in A is of no greater importance than a conjecture. All other manuscripts are teeming with obvious conjectures” (Lachmann 1841, x; “jedes wort das nicht in A steht, [hat] keine größere beglaubigung als eine conjectur. alle anderen handschriften wimmeln von augenscheinlichen conjecturen”). By this, Lachmann meant that emendations had been made to passages in the older text, \*A, “where readers and scribes of the thirteenth century took offence” (Lachmann 1841, x; “woran lesrer und schreiber des dreizehnten jahrhunderts anstoß nahmen”). Lachmann’s edition offers the reconstructed text of \*A. The apparatus contains the variant readings of adaptation \*B, as far as they could be reconstructed; otherwise, it gives the readings of individual manuscripts which could help establish the text of \*B. Whereas \*A is transmitted directly in only one manuscript, Lachmann had at his disposal eleven manuscripts for \*B and six for \*C (Lachmann 1841, x). Since Lachmann attempted to reconstruct the places where adaptation \*B varied from \*A, one might expect him to have provided details of the manuscript relationships in this group. However, we find only the conclusion that the manuscripts of \*B in part diverge substantially and then do not permit the reconstruction of \*B. Lachmann’s edition offers no more specific explanation of his findings regarding the manuscript tradition, probably because he assumed this to be obvious. As we learn from Lachmann’s 1817 review of von der Hagen’s edition of the *Nibelungenlied*, based on manuscript B (1816), he posited in the case of \*B (and, by analogy, probably also of \*C) an unstable archetype: at the beginning of the manuscript tradition of the adaptation \*B, there existed a manuscript with the text of \*A, in which the \*B adapter had noted his changes and additions in the margin; in part the copies of \*B took over the changes and additions, in part they ignored them, and in part they introduced their own (Lachmann 1876, 1:87).

The basic picture of the manuscript tradition in the case of *Iwein* presents itself to Lachmann in a scarcely more favourable light (the establishment of the text and the variants in this edition are by Lachmann; see Lutz-Hensel 1975, 337–342). He states:

The oldest manuscript, A, does not show a closer relationship to any of the others: changes that are clearly intentional are never shared with another manuscript. Thus, the critical rule of following this manuscript where it is not found to be in isolation established itself automatically, since it is nearest to the original source of the manuscript tradition. Each of the manuscripts used [...] has, through agreement with A, contributed something to our decisions. (Benecke and Lachmann 1877 [= 2nd ed. 1843], 362)

(Die älteste handschrift A ist mit keiner der andern näher verwandt: veränderungen die erkennbar absichtlich sind, hat sie niemahls gemein mit einer andern. so ergab sich von selbst die kritische regel, ihr, da sie der ersten quelle der überlieferung am nächsten ist, zu folgen, wo sie nicht allein steht. jede der gebrauchten handschriften [...] hat durch übereinstimmung mit A etwas zur entscheidung beigetragen.)

In his introductory remarks on the variants, Lachmann provides no further information about the genealogy of the manuscript tradition (he did, however, mention some

of his findings in his discussion of the variants; see Ganz 1968, 22–23, with a tentative stemma). The reason for this may be similar to that in the case of *Nibelungenlied \*B*, for, as Lachmann already knew (Ganz 1968, 23) and Henrici's study later showed (see 7.4.3), the manuscript tradition of *Iwein* eludes genealogical description.

Concerning Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival*, Lachmann in 1833 states: "The numerous manuscripts of *Parzival* fall [...] into two classes, which consistently display a different text" (in Schirok 1999, xiv; "die zahlreichen handschriften des *Parzivals* [...] zerfallen [...] in zwei klassen, die durchgängig einen verschiedenen text haben"), so that "in most cases, the reading of one class is of equal value to that of the other" (Schirok 1999, xvii; "in den allermeisten fällen [ist] die lesart der einen klasse mit der andern von gleichem werth"). Lachmann consistently compared the principal manuscripts of both classes (*D* and *G*); he compared others only in the case of disagreement between these two manuscripts. The constitution of the text rests largely on *D* – "admittedly a weakness of my text" (in Schirok 1999, xvii; "frei-lich eine schwäche meines textes") –, and the equally acceptable readings (presumptive variants) of *\*G* are emphasised, where appropriate, in the apparatus by placing the sign "=" before them. Lachmann gives no information about the internal division of both classes, most noticeably in the case of the considerably larger *G* class; indeed, he specifically rejects the suggestion: "to what end should one pursue the investigation in the minutest detail" ("wozu sollte man die untersuchung ins kleinliche führen") when the equally acceptable readings that both classes demonstrate display nothing but "negligence, arbitrariness, and a craving for improvement, without any particular skill" ("nur nachlässigkeit, willkür und verbesserungssucht ohne sonderliches geschick") – when, that is, they are innovations of the manuscript tradition, not authorial variants ("no difference going back to the poet"; in Schirok 1999, xvi; "keine von dem dichter selbst ausgehende verschiedenheit")?

According to Timpanaro, the typically "Lachmannian" procedure in works of classical philology is characterised by an aversion against the eclectic selection of variants according to internal criteria and a consequent preference for mechanical *recensio* (Timpanaro 2005, 88–89, 116). French philologists have understood "Lachmann's method" in this sense since Bédier (see 7.3.2), Italian philologists likewise since Timpanaro's teacher Pasquali (Trovato 2017, 70–75), and Germanists have understood it thus since Stackmann (1964; see 7.4.4 below) at the latest. As we have seen, this is at any rate not accurate with regard to Lachmann's actual procedure when editing Middle High German literature (see also Fiesoli 2000, 269–358): Lachmann's *recensio* led in all three cases to a preference for one manuscript as the basis for the reconstruction of the text (*Nibelungenlied A*, *Iwein A*, *Parzival D*); his assessment of the three manuscript traditions and his editorial goals did not permit a mechanical selection of variants by the elimination of singular readings (*eliminatio lectionum singularium*) using a stemma as guide. In the case of *Iwein*, where the possibility of using a mechanical selection procedure seemed most likely (according to Lachmann's rule, where *A* was in agreement with any other manuscript), internal

criteria (especially metre, grammar, and stylistics) in many cases break the rule of *recensio*, as the study of Lutz-Hensel (1975, 337–432) has demonstrated. The application of “Lachmann’s method” to the Middle High German classics remained the preserve of those who opposed Lachmann’s ideas and tried to refute his often acerbically and provocatively formulated findings about the textual tradition – by means of stemmatics.

#### 7.4.2 Karl Bartsch’s *recensio* and *stemma* of the *Nibelungenlied* (1865, 1870)

The first printed graphical displays of manuscript relationships in a *stemma codicum* are thought to have appeared around 1830 and then to have spread rapidly in the field of classical philology (see 4.1.2). The device was even used by Lachmann’s pupils during his lifetime, whereas Lachmann himself did not make use of it, even in his last editions of Latin authors (Timpanaro 2005, 96). The technique of genealogical *recensio* had most likely been transferred from classical philology to that of the vernacular literatures. *Saint Alexis* by Gaston Paris (Paris and Pannier 1872) counts as the first edition of the new type in the field of Romance studies (see 7.3). It is known that Paris was influenced by Karl Bartsch’s works on the *Nibelungenlied* (see 7.3.1 above; Trovato 2017, 50): the *Untersuchungen* [Studies] (Bartsch 1865); the *editio minor* of 1866 (this edition, in the revised version by Helmut de Boor, is by far the most frequently used to this day, Bartsch and de Boor 1979; see 7.4.5); and the *editio maior* (Bartsch 1870–1880), which appeared in three volumes: 1870 (introduction and text), 1876 (variants), and 1880 (glossary). Bartsch distinguishes between two adaptations of an older text which cannot be reconstructed: \*AB (his siglum X) und \*C (his siglum Y), where the adaptation \*AB, best represented by manuscript B, remains closer to the lost “original”, whereas \*C is more distant from it. A is considered by Bartsch as an abbreviated adaptation of \*AB. In the text volume of the *editio maior*, as also in the *editio minor*, X = \*AB is reconstructed; the critical apparatus notes in comparison the variant readings of Y = \*C. Bartsch does not yet provide a complete genealogy and rules for a mechanical selection of variants based upon it, nor does he give a graphical depiction of the manuscript relationships in the *Untersuchungen*; only in the *editio maior* does he sum up his remarks about this in a simplified diagram of his findings, which he calls a “table” (“Tabelle”; Bartsch 1870–1880, 1:xviii; see fig. 7.4-1 below). But Bartsch does differentiate subgroups of the manuscripts of a version; he argues using indicative (mono-genetic) common errors, which he is able to distinguish from random agreements in secondary readings (polygenetic errors), and he discerns groups of manuscripts which alternately follow one version or another, or in some other way present “mixed texts” (Bartsch 1870–1880, 1:xviii–xxix; “gemischte Texte”).

Folgende Tabelle stellt das Verhältniss der Handschriften übersichtlich dar.

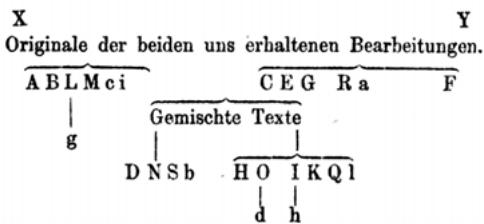


Fig. 7.4-1: Stemma for the *Nibelungenlied*. Source: Bartsch (1870–1880, 1:xviii).

#### 7.4.3 Neogrammarian genealogical reconstruction of the courtly epic between caution and mechanics (Paul and Braune, 1873–1901)

It is perhaps no accident that the most prominent representatives of what counts today as “Lachmann’s method” are two neogrammarians who were expressly opposed to the Lachmannian school, namely Hermann Paul and Wilhelm Braune. After having presented his own critical edition of the *Gregorius* of Hartmann von Aue in 1873 (replacing Lachmann’s edition from 1838, partly due to new finds), in 1874 Paul launched, in the first volume of the neogrammarian periodical (*Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*), a general attack on Lachmann’s text of Hartmann’s *Iwein* in its second edition (1843), which until then had counted as “the exemplary critical edition, having had the greatest influence on the development of editorial technique as an unrivalled role model” (Sparnaay 1948, 79; “das Muster einer kritischen Ausgabe, das als unerreichtes Vorbild auf die Entwicklung der Editionstechnik den allergrößten Einfluss gehabt hat”). Paul accuses Lachmann of “arbitrariness and violence” (Paul 1874, 289; “willkür und gewalttätigkeit”) in the establishment of the text. He claimed that Lachmann had failed “to employ an in-depth study of the mutual relationship of the manuscripts, which must be regarded as an essential prerequisite for the edition of a work that is contained in numerous manuscripts” (Paul 1874, 290; “eine eingehende untersuchung über das gegenseitige verhältnis des hss. anzustellen, was als notwendige vorbedingung für die herausgabe eines in zahlreichen hss. erhaltenen werkes angesehen werden muss”), and had instead evaluated the textual tradition on the basis of a system of metrical rules which totally lacked an adequate foundation but “according to which he constructed everything, leaving all other considerations aside” (289; “wonach er alles construierte mit hintersetzung jeder anderen rücksicht”). Paul’s study, which is dependent almost entirely on Lachmann’s critical apparatus, arrives in two steps initially “with tolerable accuracy” (“mit leidlicher bestimmtheit”) at a stemma for the second, longer part of *Iwein* (Paul 1874, 336; see fig. 7.4-2 below). In this, nine textual witnesses are traced back over three reconstructed intermediate stages to two hyparchetypes of an archetype; the positing of one of the hyparchetypes is,

Ich denke also, dass es gelungen ist für den von uns bezeichneten abschnitt mit leidlicher bestimmtheit das abstam-mungsverhältnis der hss. zu ermitteln, welches sich etwa in folgender figur darstellen würde, in der die griechischen buch-staben die nur erschlossenen mittelglieder bezeichnen:

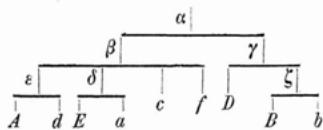
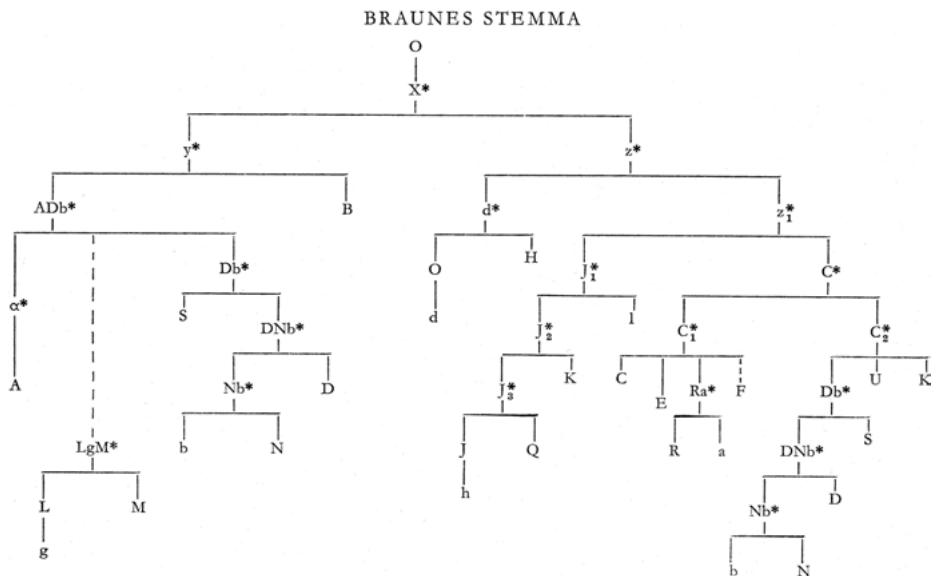


Fig. 7.4-2: Stemma for *Iwein*. Source: Paul (1874, 336).

however, designated as “dubious” (“zweifelhaft”), and further uncertainties are raised (Paul 1874, 337). For the first part of *Iwein*, an additional stemma is provided for the subsidiary sources of two of the manuscripts (*B* and *d*) which show contaminated readings (Paul 1874, 351). After formulating some critical key rules which he derives from this, Paul discusses, over more than forty pages, in detail and with reference to the constellations of the variant readings, the changes to Lachmann’s text which his *recensio* indicates (Paul 1874, 359–401).

Paul’s emphatic opposition to Lachmann’s “arbitrariness” does not lead in the opposite direction, that is, towards the dogmatism of a mechanical *recensio*; the restricted ability of the stemma to help when evaluating variant readings in individual cases, as well as its hypothetical nature and potential for falsification, are clearly emphasised. Matters were different with Braune, whose studies of the manuscript relationships of the *Nibelungenlied* (1900) fill an entire year’s volume of the *Beiträge*. Braune arrives at a stemma of the complete manuscript tradition without gaps, “right down to the individual manuscripts and fragments” (Braune 1900, 192; “bis zu den einzelnen hss. und fragmenten hinab”). Lachmann’s *A* is thereby reduced still further than with Bartsch to a secondary position, as a member of a subfamily of the hyparchetype which is best represented by *B*. The application of the stemma to the critical establishment of the text (Braune 1900, 212–215) as a rule permits the reading of the archetype to be recognised with pleasing accuracy; for the most part, the agreement of two manuscripts (*B* and *d*), which are not related and which each reproduce the text of one of the two assumed hyparchetypes *x* and *y* in a fairly conservative way, fully suffices for this purpose. When they stand together with a common reading, in opposition to a common reading of unrelated groups of the remaining manuscript tradition, a chance “secondary coincidence” (Braune 1900, 212; “secundäres zusammentreffen”) is only seldom the case with these two manuscripts, whereas it occurs “in the majority of cases” (“in der mehrzahl der Fälle”) with the others (213–214). Braune’s detailed complete stemma has to be assembled from the partial stemmata which occur throughout his work (as in Brackert 1963, 174; see fig. 7.4-3 below). It represents the pinnacle of unbridled faith in genealogical reconstruction (in the field of the manuscript tradition of the courtly



**Fig. 7.4-3:** Detailed complete stemma for the *Nibelungenlied* according to Braune (1900).  
Source: Brackert (1963, 174). © De Gruyter.

epic around AD 1200) that will then later, ironically, provoke fundamental criticism of “Lachmann’s method” (see 7.4.5). Braune himself did not produce an edition, but the results of his study had an effect on the revision of the *editio minor* of Bartsch by Helmut de Boor (from the 10th ed., 1940, onwards; see 7.4.5 below).

However, Braune is not representative for stemmatics at the end of the century. Henrici, in his *Iwein* edition (text 1891, notes and variants 1893), was the first person to compare independently the entire known manuscript tradition. As a result, he rejects not only Lachmann’s and Paul’s *recensio*, but any possibility of a genealogy: contamination is rife, not only in the first part, as Paul assumed; it also occurs throughout the entire text and manuscript tradition, including A, even where Henrici confirms its relatively conservative unique position. Henrici considers it to be possible that there were several authorial versions, “several genuine *Iweins*” (Henrici 1891–1893, 2:xxxii; “mehrere echte *Iweine*”) that are mixed together in the manuscript tradition.

Paul’s handbook article on textual criticism, or more precisely, a short section in it about the determination of manuscript relationships (Paul 1901, 192–194) remains decidedly reserved about the possibilities of a genealogical *recensio*. He warns sternly against an unthinking mechanical approach: “the process must [...] not become a mechanical one” (Paul 1901, 193; “das Verfahren darf [...] kein mechanisches werden”). Paul stresses the need to determine genealogical relationships on the basis of “particular shared deviations from the original” (1901, 192; “besonderer gemeinsamer Abweichungen von dem Original”), that is, significant common errors/innovations,

which indeed must “already be recognised on the basis of internal criteria” (193; “bereits auf Grund innerer Kriterien erkannt sein”). He points several times to the possibility of chance agreements in secondary readings (polygenetic errors/innovations), which can be assessed only according to probability (“to assess how much leeway may be attributed to chance is not an easy task”, Paul 1901, 193; “abzuschätzen, wieviel Spielraum man dem Zufall zuweisen darf, ist keine so einfache Aufgabe”). He mentions the need to bear in mind the possibility of contamination (“the use by the same scribe of several source manuscripts”, Paul 1901, 193; “Benutzung mehrerer Vorlagen durch den gleichen Schreiber”). He also determines that, all things considered, “there are enough cases where a decisive result is not reached” (Paul 1901, 193; “es Fälle genug gibt, in denen man zu einem entscheidenden Resultat nicht gelangt”) – where the genealogical method, then, cannot be used. If a positive result is achieved and the method can be applied, however, the difficulties that were already encountered when the manuscript relationships were established recur in the selection of readings. Here, again, it is a case of using internal criteria and assessing the possibility of chance common secondary features; these uncertainties are multiplied when lost connecting links from manuscripts dependent on them have “to be constructed” (Paul 1901, 193; “zu konstruieren”), as Paul demonstrates with different constellations (194). Paul’s reservations about the possibilities of a mechanical *recensio* are demonstrated by his own editions (first and foremost that of Hartmann von Aue’s *Gregorius*; see 7.4.5 below), and also by some of the critical editions by others in the Altdeutsche Textbibliothek series, founded by Paul and still in existence today (on the diverse programme of the series, see Kiening 2016).

A similar attitude with regard to Paul’s reservations was later adopted by the Middle Latin scholar Hermann Kantorowicz in his introductory monograph to textual criticism (1921). After the appearance of Maas’s account in 1927, which quickly achieved canonicity, both works, Paul (1901) as well as Kantorowicz (1921), unfortunately hardly enjoyed any further reception at all in the field of German philology.

#### 7.4.4 Editing post-classical and late mediaeval literature

**by printing “as good and as old a manuscript as possible”:  
The Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters (1904–)**

When Joseph Bédier, in his second edition of Jean Renart’s *Lai de l’ombre* in 1913, made a programmatic plea for the rejection of the genealogically reconstructive edition in favour of printing the “best manuscript” and accomplished this himself with an example (see 7.3.2 above), twenty-four volumes of the Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters (DTM) series of the Königlich Preußische Akademie der Wissenschaften, founded in 1904 and still in existence today, had already appeared. The DTM programme corresponded fairly exactly to Bédier’s demands (or the other way round): “As good and old a manuscript as possible should consistently be reproduced” (Roethe 1904, vi; “Es soll

durchweg eine möglichst gute und alte Handschrift wiedergegeben werden"). The programme represented "a deep incision in the methodology" (Fromm 1995, 77; "einen tiefen Einschnitt in der Methodengeschichte") of mediaeval German literary editions, by rehabilitating the principle of the base manuscript. But, unlike in the case of Bédier, the programme was not principally directed against the genealogically reconstructive edition. That type of edition would not have been suitable anyway for some of the texts that were edited in the DTM series (because of traditions with a narrow or unique manuscript basis, or because they represented late mediaeval utilitarian prose texts). In the other cases, where it would appear to have been fundamentally possible, pragmatic considerations meant that the initial priority was instead a rapid supply of textual editions for the still largely unresearched areas of post-classical and late mediaeval literature (Roethe 1904, v; see also the assessment in Roethe 1913, 55–58). At any rate, this meant, in Roethe's opinion, "only a partial abandonment" ("nur teilweise einen Verzicht"), because the prints of the manuscripts "at the same time maintained their lasting independent value, inasmuch as they exemplify approximately the form in which the works of the Middle Ages were actually read" ("haben [...] zugleich ihren dauernden selbständigen Wert, insofern sie annähernd die Gestalt veranschaulichen, in der die Werke des Mittelalters wirklich gelesen worden sind"); in this function, they perform "services that could never be supplanted by critical editions" (Roethe 1904, vi; "Dienste, die durch kritische Ausgaben nie ersetzt werden können"). The print of a manuscript should show editorial interventions as little as possible (minor normalisations and sparing punctuation, insofar as this appeared essential for readability), and only obvious errors should be corrected. The use of corrective manuscripts was allowed as necessary; "a complete collation" ("eine vollständige Kollation"), on the other hand, "was not in accordance with the Academy's intentions" (Roethe 1904, vii; "entspräche [...] nicht den Absichten der Akademie"). This "one-manuscript rule" was often abandoned, even in the first phase of the DTM under Roethe's direction, because it would not have produced a satisfactory text, and even more often later, but it was adhered to in principle (overviews: Fromm 1995, 77–79; Stackmann 2005, 12–17). Though intended merely as a provisional solution, in some cases it has promoted the manuscript text chosen for print to become the *textus receptus* for all ensuing literary-historical research, despite the fact that its status within the manuscript tradition has never been clarified. A spectacular case in point is the world chronicle in verse of Rudolf von Ems (Ehrismann 1915 = DTM 20), a text with an extraordinarily broad transmission from the 13th through the 15th centuries (see Plate 2020).

#### **7.4.5 Missing prerequisites of "Lachmann's method", vote for a renewal of the eclectic critical edition (Stackmann 1964)**

Works of the classical courtly period and later texts in this tradition remained, even after the establishment of the DTM, the domain of the critical edition, partly because

the DTM series of texts scarcely ventured into this field, and partly because when, contrary to the original plan, it did, critical editions were sometimes the result (Fromm 1995, 78–79; Stackmann 2005, 14–16), but first and foremost because people saw no reason to replace the old editions. Not until Stackmann in 1964 was their legitimacy discussed in depth, in what is today still one of the most frequently quoted essays about methods and problems of editing medieval German texts, albeit cited selectively by those who are opposed to critical editions in principle. The essay is dedicated to the question of the appropriate contemporary continuation of the critical edition. Stackmann seeks to connect with the methodological discussion that Bédier had initiated, principally concerning Romance and classical philology (Pasquali, Timpanaro), and takes from this discussion the picture of the “Lachmannian method” as that of mechanical stemmatic reconstruction as it was described by Maas (1927, 4th ed. 1960); he does not cite Paul (1901) or Kantorowicz (1921). Stackmann confronts this with a reference to its unquestioned prerequisites which, however, he maintains, are in reality rarely present. He states that the method rests on a “theory about a very special case” which is present only when the following criteria are satisfied (Stackmann 1964, 246–247): (i) the source of the manuscript tradition must be a single, clear-cut archetype; (ii) the manuscript tradition must follow an exclusively vertical path without contamination; (iii) the manuscript relationships must be recognisable on the basis of properly detected errors; and (iv) the manuscript tradition must be exclusively the work of copyists, and there must not be any unpredictable jumps between source and copy.

For confirmation that these conditions – at any rate in the tradition of the courtly epic – are rarely to be found, Stackmann could have appealed to Lachmann himself, as we have seen (7.4.1). In fact, Stackmann does not argue in terms of individual examples of unsuccessful genealogically reconstructive editions, so it remains unclear at what editorial practice the objection to the “Lachmannian method” is levelled; it is likely that Braune’s stemma for the *Nibelungenlied* (see 7.4.3) lies behind it, as the spectacular dissertation by Brackert (co-supervised by Stackmann and published in 1963) had shortly before shown it to be fundamentally lacking and inadequate in all its details.

The conclusion that a genealogical *recensio* could not feasibly be employed presented various possibilities for editorial practice: either, with Bédier (and an eye to the DTM series) to give up resignedly the reconstruction of a text that is better than the manuscript tradition, that is, restricting editing to a cleaned-up print of the “best manuscript” – or alternatively deciding in favour of an eclectic critical edition (in the positive sense of the term), that is to say, one that is based on a profound knowledge of the manuscript tradition and critically reflective in method. Stackmann (1964) votes decisively in favour of the second option; the greater part of his essay is devoted to the fundamentals of an appropriately modern eclectic critical edition. The main points are orientation towards a base manuscript where linguistic form is concerned; acceptance of recurring variants (relatively small variations in linguistic

usage that are insignificant for the sense of the text); elimination of obvious errors; in the case of competing variants, application of the criterion of *lectio difficilior*; in the case of equally acceptable variants, clear indication of the variants that do not appear in the reconstructed text by appropriate typographical means; and avoidance, as far as possible, of conjectural criticism, about which the most severe misgivings are voiced (Stackmann 1964, 256–265).

The eclectic critical type of edition favoured by Stackmann continues to be cultivated in the field of classical epics up until the present day, albeit with significantly decreasing popularity. Prominent examples of various kinds are Wolff's revision of Benecke and Lachmann's *Iwein* edition (1968), Brackert's edition of the *Nibelungenlied* (1970–1971), de Boor's revision of Bartsch's *editio minor* of the *Nibelungenlied* (most recently, 21st ed. 1979), and Schröder's edition of Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Willehalm* (1978). Werner Schröder has been a continually present figure in the recent history of mediaeval German editions, also as a reviewer, and has supported the position of the eclectic critical edition in some sharp exchanges; a series of reviews, which are worth reading, and review-essays from the 1990s, are reprinted in the anthology Schröder (1999). In addition, the formulation of decisive opposition to the now-common editorial resignation of Grubmüller (1993) must be mentioned and – as an example of further revisions of older editions in the Altdeutsche Textbibliothek – Wachinger's adaptation of Paul's *editio minor* (1st ed. 1882) of Hartmann von Aue's *Gregorius* (most recently, 15th ed. 2004). Wachinger, who was also the head editor of the series for many years, notes, with regard to *Gregorius*,

that the combinations of manuscript readings that contradict the stemma, whether they occurred through mixing, through independent, but parallel, alterations, or through correct scribal conjectures, are so numerous and so weighty that the stemma on no account can be regarded as a secure basis for individual text-critical decisions. (Wachinger 2004, xix)

(daß die dem Stemma widersprechenden Lesartenkombinationen, mögen sie nun durch Kreuzung, durch unabhängige aber gleichgerichtete Veränderung oder durch richtige Schreiberkonjekturen zustandegekommen sein, so zahlreich und so gewichtig sind, daß das Stemma keinesfalls als gesicherte Grundlage textkritischer Einzelentscheidungen angesehen werden darf.)

Wachinger then evaluates the advantages and disadvantages resulting from both the alternatives faced by the editor in view of these findings: to edit from a base manuscript or to opt for an eclectic critical edition. He concludes: “Both procedures, when performed competently, seem to me equally legitimate” (Wachinger 2004, xx; “Beide Verfahren, kompetent durchgeführt, scheinen mir gleich legitim”). Wachinger himself stays with Paul's cautious, eclectic critical procedure.

#### **7.4.6 The history of textual tradition and the edition of late mediaeval utilitarian prose in the *Texte und Textgeschichte* series (1980–)**

The genealogically reconstructive edition, which has been banished since Stackmann's article in 1964 from the field of the courtly epic (in which, however, it was

hardly ever realised in its pure form), found its most comprehensive application in a Würzburg research group, begun in 1973, and its research into the history of the textual tradition of prose works (according to the title of the group's volume on methodology, *Textgeschichtliche Prosaforschung*; Ruh 1985). Its results are published in the series *Texte und Textgeschichte*, in which fifty-six volumes of studies and editions have appeared since 1980, including extensive multivolume editions of texts with extraordinarily broad and variable manuscript traditions in the late Middle Ages and beyond. An example can perhaps best illustrate the methodology and results achieved. The manuscript tradition of the *Rechtssumme* (a summa of ecclesiastical law and Christian life) by an otherwise unknown Dominican Friar Berthold, probably from the second half of the fourteenth century, begins at the end of the fourteenth century and is extant in approximately eighty-nine manuscripts and twelve early prints. The edition (Steer and Hamm 1987–2006) is based on a complete *recensio* of the entire manuscript and print tradition and a computerised collation. It leads to the assumption of four main versions (three redactions A, B, C and an adaptation of the third redaction, Cy), which have taken shape in the manuscript tradition and in turn appear in numerous post-redactional stages of the text. These stages are genealogically reconstructed in the traditional way (using significant common errors/innovations), as lost links between the versions and the surviving textual witnesses. The complete stemma is shown on a five-page pull-out (vol. 1, preceding p. 219\*); only a few textual witnesses are to be classified as pre-redactional (preceding the redactions B and C). The edition does not aim at the archetype of an authorial text that lies at the heart of the versions, but at the four versions themselves. They are, admittedly, not directly preserved in the manuscripts, but are reconstructed from the post-redactional stages of the text (Steer 1985, 48–49); the edition offers the texts of the reconstructed versions synoptically on double pages in four columns, and the four apparatuses document the variant readings of the versions' textual traditions.

#### **7.4.7 Stemmatics of equivalent parallel versions of the courtly epic (Bumke 1996): New aporias, digital perspectives**

After Stackmann's article in 1964, there appeared to be, for editions of courtly epics, only two alternatives: the base manuscript or the eclectic critical method. In 1996, in a surprising turnaround, Bumke seemed to rehabilitate reconstructive stemmatics in this area – albeit under completely different conditions. Bumke draws the conclusion, from the critical study of the manuscript tradition since Lachmann, that the courtly epics of the period around AD 1200 existed from the very beginning in (critically) equivalent parallel versions that can neither have arisen from each other as adaptations nor are capable of being traced back to a fixed authorial text. He considers that the manuscript tradition, at least approximately for the first half of the

thirteenth century, is fundamentally unstable. Not until the increase in vernacular literacy towards the end of the century did it stabilise and thus achieve the quality that makes it accessible to the genealogically reconstructive method.

Instead of the genealogy of the tradition of the authorial text, therefore, there appears, in Bumke's case, the genealogy of the tradition of the various versions. However, in this way, the authorial text creeps in again through the back door: this occurs where the manuscript tradition of a version diverges and comparison with the other versions tips the balance in favour of a particular reading (Bumke 1996, 605–608), for in this way it is acknowledged that a common source for the versions can be reconstructed (see Schröder 1998, 295–296). Admittedly, Bumke did not draw this conclusion in his editorial work. Instead, in the edition of the four versions of the *Nibelungenklage* that he had ascertained, he decided to edit according to the base-manuscript principle; he deviates from the base manuscripts only in the case of obviously erroneous text (Bumke 1996, 608; 1999, 19–28, with detailed discussion of variants in the tradition of version \*B). In this, he was followed by Mertens (2004) in his base-manuscript edition of *Iwein* (after B) and Heinzle (2013) in his base-manuscript edition of the *Nibelungenlied* and *Klage* (after B).

The goal of limiting the genealogically reconstructive edition to a certain early stage in the history of the textual tradition (not necessarily with the quality of a version in Bumke's terms) has been realised without fundamentally departing from the idea of a fixed authorial text. The new edition of Stricker's *Karl der Große* by Singer (2016) can be mentioned as a recent example. Singer's *recensio* of the manuscript tradition led to five genealogically defined groups of manuscripts, beyond which it is not possible to penetrate further back in order to reach an archetype (Singer 2016, lxiv). From these five families, the text of the best one, relatively speaking, is edited, based on four manuscripts, for which a serviceable “recension formula” (“Rezensionsformel”) can be derived from the “stemmatic structure” (“stemmatische Struktur”) of the group; in the cases where the *recensio* leads to equally acceptable readings, “decisions are based on editorial judgement” (“entscheidet das editorische Urteil”), not least on the basis of the readings of the other groups (“die Konsultation der Lesartenverhältnisse der übrigen Gruppen”; Singer 2016, xxiv).

New methods of presentation are offered by digital editions. A salient example, with which we conclude, is the *Parzival* project by Michael Stolz (see the project website, [parzival.unibe.ch/home.html](http://parzival.unibe.ch/home.html)). The project relates directly to the intensive efforts of twentieth-century research on the internal classification of Lachmann's manuscript classes \*D and \*G. They are viewed as versions in Bumke's terms and have, in the two studies of the manuscript tradition emanating from the project (Schöller 2009; Viehhauser 2009), been supplemented by two further manuscript groups suspected of representing versions (see, in agreement, but with implied reservations, Schirok 2011, 313–314; Chlench and Viehhauser 2014). The aim, which has already been realised to a considerable extent, is a comprehensive documentation of the manuscript tradition with digital facsimiles, manuscript transcriptions,

and synoptic readings of individual lines, which are linked together; the synoptic edition of the four versions according to the base-manuscript principle with apparatuses for each version; and, finally, still at an experimental stage (Stolz 2016), a reading text of version \*D (which Lachmann had already favoured) according to the base-manuscript principle, with variant readings of the other versions in the margin and a multilevel apparatus below the text.

Whereas in the early presentations of the project, attempts to elucidate manuscript relationships by means of tools which apply bioinformatic methods of cladistics/phylogenetics to textual relationships (see 5.1.3) were strongly emphasised (Stolz 2003), they are now more likely to be introduced in support of the results of research “according to strictly philological yardsticks” (Stolz 2016, 355; “nach streng philologischen Maßstäben”), in other words, stemmatics. Apart from the methodological problem of the transformation of an unrooted phylogenetic graph into an archetype-directed stemma (discussed in the case of *Parzival* by Chlench and Viehhauser 2014; in general, see Trovato 2017, 185–216; 5.5 above), which is indispensable (see the two illustrations in Stolz 2016, 356–357), the application of cladistics comes up first and foremost against practical limits, since it assumes the graphic normalisation of the manuscript texts that are to be compared (Chlench and Viehhauser 2014, 70–71) – an effort that can probably be made only in the case of smaller sections of text (in the case of Stolz 2016, 210 lines in twenty-one textual witnesses); compare the experiences in Romance studies (7.3.4).

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### Further reading

The following publications offer further insights into the questions dealt with above: Bumke (1996, 1–88; on the tradition history and textual criticism of the courtly epic in the thirteenth century), Schröder (1998; opposing Bumke 1996 from the point of view of reconstructive editing), Heinze (2003; basic questions in the edition of mediaeval German texts between reproduction and reconstruction), and Chlench and Viehhauser (2014; relationship between stemmatics and cladistics as exemplified by *Parzival*).

## 7.5 Ethiopic

Alessandro Bausi

The scholarly edition of Ethiopic (Gə‘əz) texts can be taken in many respects as a paradigmatic example of practices common in other linguistic and cultural areas of

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