

# GERMAN ROMANCE

VII



## ULRICH FUETRER

*Iban*



EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY  
JOSEPH M. SULLIVAN

ARTHURIAN ARCHIVES

XXII

German Romance

Volume VII

Ulrich Fuetrer

*Iban*





**O** Raumb ich herre schreye Zue dem genaden  
 ueffen Durch dem künigman dreye Das du erhö-  
 ist vns das wir Zue dir rüeffen In dem sahe-  
 wt die so ellenke wo vns lang leyt der helle  
 wt Den wir den dinstat vater lech vns weend

Als zeuten den man lobet. wer nach uileen rangt  
 Iets dy welst daerum wbet. vnd etuet mit valsch  
 im menigen vnder schwingt. man wil in eer  
 vnd habe drumb pecheren. fram eer sagt wie  
 kumt das. merck vlsch dy erit. gebo der  
 helle scheyn.

10 Itz tiewtich wie yeder welle. Et wirt duumb lones  
warten. Ouy larduge hellte iacob du wärzt am  
süeßer rosen garten. Ertlicher dorft so seer schawn.  
nach die ringen. Duse lasse ich ligen wie es leytt.  
Vnd wil euch von den weiden lob fügen. 5

**K**rieg das von m sagen Das doch nicht sind  
damm wort Das er zu karmen tagen ließ essen  
nicht er man zu hof erhört Von irventre  
oder sunst am fiendes mere Ditz schwebet seines  
hofes er vnd wer seine grossen milt all zu neuere.

Adventure wie her kolograndt vor den rittern am  
awenturor sagt wie im gelumgen was pey dem  
prum zwischelun in dem vorecht prealien

**A**ls er fern red an vinge. dy chumgyn an stund En  
zue der thure ginge. Disz ward zum ersten kologran  
den bund. Es sprang auf diesem rarnen weib Zu  
eren. Darnach dy amdeern alle gar. Disz thiet kay  
zue vaz dem helliden keven.

**D**o wir et das mit sahen frau vnde künigin  
tuch allas zu vns nahen do mocht kelo-  
gramd auch gesessen sein vns erkaume dert  
zu gemaine doch allzeit so nach geyle tracht  
do fleist der vns allzeit ewr allame

**D**u suchst mich erlösen, du kramt mantrout  
des he doch amts tils aus foren, dem herzan  
vafsthat hat den vollen meg, was vernamdt  
deret fur wird ode: eren dem Jung gemalt  
debet durch neyd thuet das zum eyffen vn  
ferem

**K**unst pat si hologramme diß mae zu emd  
 n sagen/ Et iuch siaw durch mein sghamde/  
 hab iuch diß sehen ier allain vertragen/ Das  
 ich es manne nye mer zu gewuege/ Diß was si  
 auch mein heer kaye wol/ Das es an mir noch  
 ist am vnfuete

**D**ie chunng selb gesamigen. Sam auch zu dem  
schal. Do si mit witten lammigen. vil wechelut  
dort tiben auf dem sal. Et pat durch suchet der  
dmige si geringen. Auch patens all bi kologant.  
Das er dig mâr zue emd in zuechet sagen.

**D**ert res dann all geret So sag ich euch doch gu  
wie es mi laster meret. Es ist et yetz gentlichen ze  
hen iar. Das ich Sie walld aufstraet nach awen  
twere. Sie puezgly zu das vorrecht. Ich tham  
auf ainem weeg vil vngewere.

**D**ie tūet sie gesinen herinde / mich durch das  
wils geeret / des walds zu gar zu ende ich vamb  
am pūge dar auf vil weider leut / der wort selb  
vnd des tuchter gen mir gūgen / darnach dy mē  
seuer gar dy mich mit all gar wurdich ent

**D**u pot mit witschafft grosse londen haiget mich  
der mich/ Der wort gar schamden plosse/ welcher  
eind allus mem rause war/ Ich lachet sich suet  
et mich/ wem ardentwue/ wa ich dy wesset zu  
vnden/ Darvut ich ob si war gar vnterheue

German Romance

Volume VII

Ulrich Fuetrer

*Iban*

Edited and translated by  
Joseph M. Sullivan

D. S. BREWER



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First published 2022

D. S. Brewer, Cambridge

ISBN 978-1-84384-621-5 hardback

ISBN 978-1-80010-444-0 ePDF

D. S. Brewer is an imprint of Boydell & Brewer Ltd  
PO Box 9, Woodbridge, Suffolk IP12 3DF, UK  
and of Boydell & Brewer Inc.  
668 Mt Hope Avenue, Rochester, NY 14620–2731, USA  
website: [www.boydellandbrewer.com](http://www.boydellandbrewer.com)

A catalogue record of this publication is available  
from the British Library

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Cover image: Lady-in-waiting Lunete gives Sir Ywain a ring and presents him to her mistress, Laudine. From the *Malterer Embroidery* (circa 1320/30), Augustinermuseum, Freiburg im Breisgau. Photo by Axel Killian

To my wonderful father,  
Dr Henry Burk Sullivan (1929–2020)





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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My great thanks go to Norris J. Lacy, general editor of the Arthurian Archive series, and to Caroline Palmer of D. S. Brewer, for their invaluable encouragement in bringing this volume to fruition.

When I began working on *Iban* in the summer of 2018 my goals were simple, namely, to keep my translating skills in practice between larger projects and to gain some knowledge about Ulrich Fuetrer's *Iban*. Like too many scholars who have spent a good deal of their careers working comparatively on the Ywain tradition that begins in Europe with Chrétien de Troyes's *Yvain*, I had, to my embarrassment, never read in depth either of the late medieval Ywain adaptations, that is, Pierre Sala's *Le Chevalier au Lion* from circa 1522 and Fuetrer's slightly earlier *Iban*, and I saw this as an opportunity to fill a lacuna in what I should have already known. However, what started as a project with modest goals soon became a far more consuming endeavour, as I began to discover how skilfully, and with what creative autonomy, Fuetrer executes his adaptation of the Ywain story; how important he is within the larger Arthurian tradition as an anthologizer of Arthurian tales; and how rich and complex his poetic language is. In fact, it soon dawned on me that translating Fuetrer's unique language would be no easy task, and that I would need at least twice as long to translate his *Iban* into English as I would to translate even the most linguistically complex text of comparable length from the earlier golden age of medieval German literature of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

That quite substantial challenge posed by Fuetrer's language has made this a most enjoyable and intellectually satisfying project. Carried out to a great extent during the height of the Covid-19 pandemic, the project has been a refuge in a difficult time. I am grateful for the escape it allowed me into the Middle Ages and to the idealized realm of King Arthur, Guenevere, and their Round Table knights whenever the events of the real world became just a little too real. To occupy many of the extra hours the pandemic forced us to spend at home, I also alternated work on *Iban* with the ongoing restoration of our century-old house. In exposing, polishing, and painting our home's original features, I have been struck time and again by how much the faithful and loving restoration of an old building is akin to the editing and translating of an old text; in each case, the artisan carrying out the work has a responsibility to recover and to preserve what is unique about the historical artifact, while at the same time that artisan must strive to make it fully accessible to the present generation. It is my hope that the *Iban* edition and, especially, the translation in this volume will both afford readers a true sense of the eloquence of Fuetrer's original romance as well allow them easy access to a text that has been inaccessible to all but the most skilled philologists for centuries.



For providing me with their forthcoming work on Ywain narratives, I would like to express my thanks to Evelyn Meyer and especially to Joan Grimbert, whose willingness to share with me over the last year her thoughts on Sala's *Chevalier au Lion* has inspired me to develop several of the insights into Fuetrer's *Iban* that I have included in this volume.

I am particularly indebted to my mother, Miriam Fenerty Sullivan, who, in spite of problems with her eyesight, generously offered me her services as a former professional proofreader and carefully read through the entire manuscript. Thanks also go to my sister Mimi, who ferried hard copies of the manuscript back and forth to my mother.

Norris J. Lacy was especially generous to me in helping to get this volume into its final form. He carefully read the English prose of my translation for clarity and smoothness, and made numerous recommendations for improvement.

My final appreciation goes to my anonymous reader, whose careful comments on the manuscript in March of 2021 were invaluable in preparing the final version of this volume. Needless to say, I take responsibility for all that appears in the volume, including its inevitable errors and mistakes.

This volume is dedicated to my beloved father, Henry Burk Sullivan, who lost his life in the early days of the pandemic. His passion for medieval philosophy and literature, and especially for Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, helped kindle my own interest in the Middle Ages, and his memory serves to remind me just how grateful I should be for the opportunity to share my knowledge of the period with others.

## INTRODUCTION

*Iban* is the story of a young Round Table knight who pursues adventure abroad, wins a land and its lady as his wife, loses both through his immaturity and negligence, and eventually regains his country and his spouse in a series of adventures that teach him to place the welfare of others above his own desires. Composed in the 1480s by the Munich painter and writer Ulrich Fuetrer, *Iban* is a retelling of Hartmann von Aue's circa 1200 Middle High German classic *Iwein*, itself an adaptation of Chrétien de Troyes's earlier *Yvain, le Chevalier au Lion*. Consisting of 297 stanzas of verse, *Iban* is approximately forty percent the length of Hartmann's *Iwein*, the action of which Fuetrer adapts to produce a faster-paced but nevertheless coherent and compelling reimagining of the tale.

The romance is one of fifteen narratives making up Fuetrer's massive Arthurian collection, *Das Buch der Abenteuer*, or *The Book of Adventures*, which the author compiled during the 1480s and 1490s for Duke Albrecht IV of Bavaria-Munich. While for over a century Fuetrer's collection has been the focus of considerable research in the German-speaking world – including, most recently, Rachel Raumann's 2019 monograph, *Kompilation und Narration. Ulrich Fuetrers ›Buch der Abenteuer‹ als epische Literatur-Geschichte* [Compilation and Narration: Ulrich Fuetrer's *Book of Adventures* as Epic Literary History] – the *Book* continues to remain far less known among scholars of the medieval Arthurian tradition outside Germany, who tend to concentrate rather narrowly on the more well-known German-language romances of Wolfram von Eschenbach and Hartmann von Aue. Fuetrer's *Iban*, which is among the last premodern retellings of the Yvain story – only Pierre Sala's circa 1518–22 *Le Chevalier au Lion* is later – offers modern scholars and students an invaluable window onto how the most beloved medieval tales were adapted at the end of the Middle Ages.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, *Iban* remains virtually unknown outside the German-speaking world and, indeed, scholarship on *Iban* even within the German-speaking world has been limited.

### AUTHOR, PATRON, AUDIENCE, AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Little is certain about Ulrich Fuetrer's early life. His exact birth year is unknown, but it seems likely that he was born no later than the 1420s and that he probably spent his youth in the town of Landsshut, northeast of Munich. We know nothing

<sup>1</sup> While Sala's *Le Chevalier au Lion* exists in a reliable edition (Servet, 1996), the absence of a translation into English or another modern language is probably responsible for the fact that it, like Fuetrer's *Iban*, is less known among researchers than it deserves to be. Indeed, a reliable translation of Sala's romance is perhaps the most pressing desideratum at present for comparative Yvain scholarship. For Sala's most important modifications of Chrétien's *Yvain*, see especially Grimbert (2021).

for certain about his education or professional training. From 1453 onwards, however, his biography comes into sharper focus. In that year, Munich city records identify him as a *Malermeister*, or master painter, and from 1460 until 1494, city documents repeatedly list him as one of the four board members of the Munich painters' guild. An artisan whom colleagues and patrons clearly held in high esteem, Fuetrer carried out important artistic assignments for the Munich city government, including, for instance, the decoration of the feast-and-dance hall of a new addition to the city hall and the painting within it of coats of arms. In addition to such work for the city, Fuetrer also carried out contracts for religious institutions like the Benedictine monastery of Tegernsee, for which he possibly painted frescoes. While the Wittelsbach ducal court of Albrecht IV in Munich does not seem to have ever employed him with a regular salary as a member of its household – that is, as a court painter or, for that matter, as a court poet – from no later than 1467, Fuetrer carried out many paid assignments for the court, including, for instance, the painting of coats of arms. Typical of artisans and professionals in that period who, next to their chosen vocation, also pursued literary endeavours – such as Fuetrer's Munich contemporary, the author and physician Johannes Hartlieb (d. 1486) – Fuetrer, in records from the time, is always identified by his primary profession and never as an author. Nevertheless, although such records list him exclusively as *Maler*, or painter, Fuetrer enjoyed a significant reputation in Munich and at the ducal court as an author up to the time of his death in about 1496.<sup>2</sup>

Fuetrer's considerable literary output, all produced under the patronage of Duke Albrecht IV of Munich-Bavaria over a period of nearly a quarter of a century, includes his *Prosaroman von Lancelot* [Prose Lancelot] from circa 1471–6; a historical work in prose, the *Bayerische Chronik* [Bavarian Chronicle] of 1478–81; and, of course, the literary work for which Fuetrer is best known, his three-part *Book of Adventures* from circa 1481–95.<sup>3</sup> Despite the long-enduring favour that Albrecht maintained towards Fuetrer as an author and as a painter, we do not know how Albrecht and the Munich court initially became acquainted with the artist.

As Bernd Bastert (1993, pp. 100–21) established in his seminal study on Fuetrer as author – *Der Münchner Hof und Fuetrers ‚Buch der Abenteuer‘* [The Munich Court and Fuetrer's *Book of Adventures*] – Fuetrer's literary patron, Duke Albrecht IV, was a rather typical German territorial prince of his age and not, as earlier generations of scholars (e.g. Riezler, 1889, pp. 643–8, and Bosl, 1974, p. 94) had maintained, either particularly well educated in the emerging Humanistic tradition or an especially enlightened ruler ahead of his time and able to run his state with efficiency in the manner of later, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century absolutistic rulers. Under his reign (1467–1508), as well as that of his family before him, the Munich court throughout the last seven decades of the fifteenth century actively patronized literary projects that were both voluminous in scope

<sup>2</sup> This biographical sketch is based on the discussion of Fuetrer's life by Bastert (1993, pp. 139–50).

<sup>3</sup> The proposed dating of his works is from Bastert (1993, pp. 295–6).

and wide-ranging in their generic and thematic variety, but which reflected, as Bastert (1993, pp. 98–9) has emphasized, relatively traditional aesthetic and ideological interests.<sup>4</sup> Thus, in addition to sponsoring chivalric literature, most notably Fuetrer's *Book*, the court also commissioned travel literature; didactic tracts such as Johannes Hartlieb's German-language translation of Andreas Capellanus's twelfth-century *De amore* [On love]; historical works, including, for instance, Fuetrer's *Bayerische Chronik*; and especially religious literature. Among the most important centres in the German-speaking world for literary production in the second half of the fifteenth century – a distinction that included also the courts at Rottenburg, Heidelberg, and Innsbruck, as well as the royal Hapsburg court in Vienna – the Munich Wittelsbach court likely intended the literary works that it commissioned, including Fuetrer's *Book*, for an audience that, as Bastert (1993, p. 137) observes, encompassed the ducal court, including the duke's extended family and his clerical administrators, the Munich city patriciate, and those members of the Bavarian landed aristocracy who regularly visited the court on business.

Scholars prior to the 1990s, characterizing what they saw as a sudden interest in older chivalric literary genres in the second half of the fifteenth century – and exemplified, for example, by Fuetrer's *Book* and Emperor Maximilian I's biographical chivalric romance, the *Theuerdank* from circa 1505<sup>5</sup> – postulated the existence of a *Ritterrenaissance*, or Chivalric Renaissance.<sup>6</sup> Based largely on the notion proposed by Johan Huizinga in his influential 1919 monograph, *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen* [*The Autumn of the Middle Ages*], of a Middle Ages in its final death throes by the fifteenth century, the phenomenon, also referred to in scholarship as the *Ritterromantik* [Romance for the Chivalric], describes a perceived short-lived revival of interest in chivalric literature by members of the knightly aristocracy in the latter decades of the fifteenth century, that is, before the martial, political, and aesthetic values cherished by the martial nobility supposedly became irrelevant. As Bastert (1993, e.g. pp. 1–7) has convincingly shown, however, there is little compelling evidence for such a Chivalric Renaissance.<sup>7</sup> Although we are, for example, certain about the writing of only three new Arthurian romance projects in German between 1300 and 1500 – that is, the *Rappolsteiner Parzival* from circa 1331–6 of Philipp Colin and Klaus Wisse; an anonymously authored prose reworking from 1472–83 of Wirnt von Grafenberg's *Wigalois*; and Fuetrer's *Book* –

<sup>4</sup> From 1465 to 1467, Albrecht ruled alongside his brother Siegmund as co-regent of Bavaria-Munich before becoming sole ruler in 1467. Although Bavaria was divided during much of his reign and beset by conflicts between Albrecht, his brothers, and the landed aristocracy, Albrecht ultimately succeeded in 1505 in becoming duke of all of Bavaria.

<sup>5</sup> First mentioned in 1505, *Theuerdank* appears in printed form in 1517, that is, two years before Maximilian's death in 1519.

<sup>6</sup> In support of the existence of the Chivalric Renaissance, see, for instance, the standard literary history of German literature through the sixteenth century by Wehrli (1984, p. 812).

<sup>7</sup> Already by the mid-1980s, major scholars of fifteenth-century chivalric literature who had worked within the paradigm of the Chivalric Renaissance – including, for example Peter Strohschneider (1988, p. 71) – had begun to doubt the validity of the paradigm's central assumptions.



twelfth- and thirteenth-century chivalric epics and romances were, as Koppitz (1980, pp. 123–43) has documented, avidly copied and received throughout the Late Middle Ages and well into the sixteenth century.<sup>8</sup> For instance, of the source text for Fuetrer's *Iban*, Hartman von Aue's *Iwein* from circa 1200, at least eight of its rather robust transmission of sixteen complete manuscripts date from 1400 to 1540.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, the massive 164-volume personal library of primarily chivalric literature that Jakob Püterich von Reichersthausen (d. 1469), Fuetrer's near-contemporary at the Munich court, reports in his circa 1462 *Ehrenbrief* [Honour Roll] as having assembled over a period of more than forty years,<sup>10</sup> is but one indication that a passionate appetite for the collection and enjoyment of chivalric classics characterized the expanse of the Late Middle Ages in Germany and was not a phenomenon of only its final decades.

Although there have been attempts – most notably by the distinguished literary historian Jan-Dirk Müller (1980, e.g. pp. 11, 15, and 20–2) – to show direct correlation especially between the plot alterations vis-à-vis his source texts that Fuetrer undertakes in his *Book* and real-world political tensions between Albrecht IV and the Bavarian territorial nobility, and while there have also been efforts to locate Fuetrer's alterations in the rise of Humanism or in the conflicts between the nobility and Fuetrer's own social class, the bourgeoisie (e.g. Killer, 1971, pp. 101–2), Bastert (1993, pp. 13, and 15–17) is certainly correct in recognizing that there are no compelling reasons to associate with real-world social or political conditions any of the more significant accents that Fuetrer gives the romances that he adapts.<sup>11</sup> Indeed, we might note that some of Fuetrer's more important alterations – for example, making the principal Arthurian characters less problematic and more positive than they had been in his sources, or recasting the relations between political leaders and their counsellors and feudal subordinates as more harmonious – had been typical alterations since about 1200 when the first generation of German adapters, including, for instance, Hartmann von Aue, had begun reworking the twelfth-century romances of Chrétien de Troyes into German.

<sup>8</sup> For a concise discussion of the *Rappolsteiner Parzival* in English, see Bastert (2000, pp. 167–72), and in German, Achnitz (2012, pp. 138–47).

<sup>9</sup> For the dating of *Iwein*'s manuscripts, see Gamper *et al.* (<http://www.handschriftencensus.de/werke/150>). Koppitz (1980, pp. 126–7) puts the number of *Iwein* manuscripts from the period even higher than do I and observes that nine or ten of our extant *Iwein* manuscripts date from 1400 to 1531, and that a full six of these are from the 1460s, that is, from the very decade before Fuetrer began writing his *Book*.

<sup>10</sup> See the *Ehrenbrief* edition by Behrend and Wolkan (1920, strophes 97–116, esp. 120–2). In addition to chivalric works, Püterich von Reichertshausen's library consisted also of religious texts.

<sup>11</sup> While Mertens (1978, e.g. p. 77) is also overly willing to attribute to real-world political and social conditions several changes that Fuetrer's *Iban* makes to its source text, Hartmann's *Iwein*, Mertens' concise treatment of the romance (1978, pp. 74–80) nevertheless remains what is probably the best single analysis of *Iban*. Because of pandemic travel restrictions in 2020 and 2021, I was not able to consult two unpublished doctoral theses on *Iban*, namely, Kübler's 1924 University of Tübingen and Wiedemann's 1975 University of Innsbruck Ph.D. dissertations, both of which have found little resonance in *Iban* or Fuetrer scholarship. For a brief description of Kübler's and Wiedemann's findings, see Behr (1986, pp. 4–5).

## MANUSCRIPT TRANSMISSION AND EDITING HISTORY

*Iban* is transmitted in two manuscripts, both of which contain all three parts of the *Book of Adventures*.<sup>12</sup>

The first, MS A (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 1), is a luxury, large-format (21.5 x 14.2 inches = 545 x 360 mm) manuscript on parchment that was probably prepared for the *Book's* patron, Albrecht IV, and his wife, Kunigunde, about 1500 and very likely at the Tegernsee monastery. According to Kurt Nyholm, who conducted the most complete study of the *Book of Adventure* manuscripts (1964, p. XXXVII), at least seven principal hands worked on MS A in addition to at least three corrector scribes and several rubricators. While Fuetrer's unique, highly artificial literary language prohibits easy classification, the manuscript's German-language dialect is closest to contemporaneous Middle Bavarian. The script throughout is Bastarda, a late-medieval Gothic calligraphic script with elements of cursive. The manuscript contains 348 folio pages.

One principal scribe is responsible for *Iban*, which is located in MS A between folio pages 104r and 112v. Additionally, a corrector scribe (or possibly scribes), writing over the principal scribe's dark brown ink in a darker, more blackish ink, has made several emendations. The scribal work in *Iban* is characterized by its visual beauty, neatness, and accuracy; indeed, there are few conspicuous errors in the text.

MS b (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 3037 and 3038), the other complete *Book of Adventures* manuscript, consists of two codices totalling 534 folio pages. Unlike MS A, MS b is written on paper and is in a smaller format (16.1 x 11 inches = 410 x 278 mm). Otherwise, it has much in common with MS A, including, for example, its language (i.e. Middle Bavarian), its consistent Bastarda script, and the neatness and accuracy of the presented text. So close is MS b to MS A in appearance that Nyholm (1964, pp. LXV–LXVI) concluded that MS b must have originated in the same Tegernsee scriptorium as MS A and that both were produced at roughly the same time. MS b, which is the work of five principal scribes in addition to rubricators and illustrators, was probably intended for the then king and later emperor (from 1508), Maximilian I.

Within MS b, *Iban* is transmitted in the first codex on folio pages 169v to 181r. One scribe copied *Iban*. There are no obvious signs of the intervention of later corrector scribes. The *Iban* text of MS b differs only slightly from that transmitted in MS A. Thus, MS b and MS A frequently feature different spellings for the same word; the two texts, for example, vary significantly in their use of diacritical marks over vowels. Additionally, the word order of phrases frequently

<sup>12</sup> Three additional, contemporaneous manuscripts transmit complete narratives from the *Book of Adventures*: (1) MS c (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 247) transmits Part I of the *Book*; (2) MS d (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2888) contains *Merlin* from Part I; and (3) MS e (Karlsruhe, Landesbibliothek, Cod. Donaueschingen 140) transmits *Poytislier* and *Flordimar*, both from Part II. A further manuscript, MS F (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. germ. fol. 757), contains on folio pages 11–12 a short fragment of Part III's *Lannzilet*. For this fragment, see the edition of Fuetrer's *Lannzilet* by Lenk (1989, pp. XII–XX).

differs in the two texts, although this only occasionally changes the fundamental meaning of a given phrase. Finally, the two *Iban* texts sometimes use completely different words in the same position, thereby changing the meaning of the phrase in which they are embedded.<sup>13</sup>

While MS b presents a text of *Iban* that is, then, every bit as careful and coherent as that which MS A transmits, the present volume nevertheless follows the convention for editing *Book of Adventures* narratives and, therefore, uses MS A as its main manuscript, that is, as its *Leithandschrift*.<sup>14</sup>

As a compiler and adapter, Fuetrer relied on manuscript copies of his source texts, but, unfortunately, we know nothing definite about the individual or individuals from whom Fuetrer might have borrowed those manuscripts. While it is not unlikely that he relied for some of the manuscripts that he consulted on the extensive library of chivalric works held by the Bavarian nobleman and ducal counsellor Jakob Püterich von Reichertshausen, and which Püterich von Reichertshausen listed in his circa 1462 *Ehrenbrief*, this tantalizing possibility must remain conjectural at best. Indeed, we possess no compelling evidence that Fuetrer and the older man – despite their mutual interest in chivalric literature – knew each other well, let alone that Püterich von Reichertshausen was, as Klein (1998, p. 135) has insisted, ‘a kind of mentor’ [*eine Art Mentor*] for Fuetrer in his literary development, or that he was, as Killer (1971, p. 100) has argued, the actual ‘initiator’ [Initiator] of the *Book* who provided Fuetrer the impetus for undertaking the project. Instead, the fact that von Püterich von Reichertshausen died in 1469 – that is, only two years after Fuetrer is first mentioned in court records – would more readily indicate that they did not have time to become well acquainted.<sup>15</sup>

While nearly a century ago Carlson (1927, pp. 41–2) convincingly established Hartmann von Aue’s *Iwein* as the single source romance for Fuetrer’s *Iban*, we do not know which *Iwein* manuscript – or *Iwein* manuscript tradition – Fuetrer relied upon. Carlson’s hypothesis, which most succeeding *Iban* scholars (e.g. Mertens, 1978, p. 74 and Bastert, 1993, p. 187) have rather uncritically repeated – namely, that Fuetrer relied on *Iwein* MS f or on a manuscript closely related to it – is, in my opinion, poorly supported by the evidence that she presents.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> The Notes following the edition and translation discuss the most important of such differences between the *Iban* of MS A and of MS b.

<sup>14</sup> As Edlich-Muth (2014, p. 165) notes, MS A ‘is currently considered the best text and [therefore] forms the basis of current editions’. The intimate familiarity that I have gained in editing *Iban*, however, suggests to me that scholarship’s assumption of a qualitative difference between the transmitted texts in MS A and MS b is perhaps misplaced and in need of reevaluation.

<sup>15</sup> As Bastert (1993, pp. 92–3) observes, the notion that Fuetrer and Püterich von Reichertshausen were friends is based on two rather unconvincing pieces of evidence: (1) the latter man is briefly mentioned twice in Fuetrer’s *Book*, i.e. once in the *Trojan War* (strophe 256 in the *Book* edition by Thoelen) and once in the *Lannzilet* (strophe 1023 in the edition by Lenk); and (2) both men are listed in an extensive register of names recording individuals who made Christmas gifts to the Tegernsee monastery in 1466.

<sup>16</sup> For her evidence, see Carlson (1927, pp. 52–4 and 59–62). I discuss the problems with her conclusions here below in the Introduction in the section Artistic Achievement, and in the

Over the first nine decades of the last century, most of the individual narratives of the *Book of Adventures* were edited.<sup>17</sup> Among the major milestones of such effort is Kurt Nyholm's magisterial edition of Part I from 1964.<sup>18</sup> The major breakthrough in editing the *Book*, however, had to wait until the end of the twentieth century, a period that witnessed both Karl Eckhard Lenk's 1989 edition of the beginning, and Rudolf Voß's 1996 edition of the remainder, of Part III (containing Fuetrer's strophic *Lannzilet of the Lake*), as well as Heinz Thoelen's comprehensive 1997 edition, completed with the assistance of Bernd Bastert, of Parts I and II.<sup>19</sup> The Lenk, Voß, and Thoelen editions greatly simplified the study of the *Book of Adventures* by allowing scholars to consult the entirety of the *Book* and its fifteen narratives in just four volumes.

*Iban* has been edited twice previously, first by Alice Carlson in 1927 and more recently by Heinz Thoelen in 1997.

Carlson's edition, completed as her University of Munich doctoral dissertation, made *Iban* widely available to scholars for the first time. The edition contains much that is commendable. For example, Carlson thoroughly summarizes and analyzes earlier *Iban* scholarship; she disproves the claims of earlier researchers that Fuetrer might have consulted sources other than Hartmann's *Iwein*; she identifies most of the major correspondences and divergences between *Iban* and three of the more important manuscripts of Hartmann's *Iwein* (i.e. MS A, MS B, and MS f); and she works out the meaning of some of the romance's more difficult linguistic formulations. Nevertheless, her edition does not provide a definitive presentation of Fuetrer's *Iban*. For instance, in preparing her edited text, Carlson consults only one of the two manuscripts transmitting *Iban*, MS A. Furthermore, her edited text has a considerable number of transcription errors. Lastly, Carlson chooses to leave unexpanded the typical late-medieval scribal abbreviations that appear regularly in MS A's presentation of *Iban*, which makes her edition difficult for even experienced scholars to use.

Part of his comprehensive 1997 edition of Parts I and II of the *Book of Adventures*, Thoelen's *Iban* is a solid presentation of Fuetrer's romance, and it is currently the standard edition of the text. While Thoelen's edition, like Carlson's, is based on MS A, Thoelen thoroughly consulted both *Iban* manuscripts, MS A and MS b, in the preparation of his edited text. Additionally, and in keeping with more modern editing practices, Thoelen – unlike Carlson – expands manuscript abbreviations and thereby succeeds in creating a very user-friendly text. Thoelen's edition is also admirable for the accuracy of its transcription. Several practices that Thoelen follows in editing his *Iban*, however, are perhaps less in line with the most current practices for editing medieval texts that have evolved in the

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comments for lines 4157,4–4158,7 and 4407,5–4408,7 in the Notes following the edition and translation.

<sup>17</sup> For a full list of those editions, as well as the Fuetrer editions that have appeared since, see the items authored by Fuetrer in the Bibliography.

<sup>18</sup> Conspicuously absent from his edition is Fuetrer's *Trojan War*, which Nyholm (1964, p. V) maintained did not fit the overarching Grail-themed programme of Part I.

<sup>19</sup> The *Iban* edition in this volume is the first new edition of any of the *Book's* narratives since Thoelen's edition of Parts I and II appeared in 1997.



quarter-century since Thoelen's edition appeared. For example, many of the corrections that Thoelen makes to the text as presented in the manuscripts are, arguably, of the type that most editors working in the 2020s would choose not to make. For instance, his edition often corrects usages that were uncommon but nevertheless are attested especially in the fifteenth-century German of Fuetrer's own time. Furthermore, the edition tends to make uniform the spellings of common words that appear frequently throughout Parts I and II, which avoids the representation of the unique spellings of many words in their given places in the manuscripts. Additionally, the edition makes no attempt to represent most of the diacritical marks that appear over vowels in the manuscripts, and consequently misses out on the opportunity to present the full complexity of spelling practices employed by the scribes. The edition also frequently adds an additional 'e' or 'en' to a word or makes other editorial interventions in order to make the metre of a line conform more perfectly to an ideal form, although Fuetrer and the *Iban* scribes seemed to have cared little if a line as written scanned perfectly or not. Lastly, the explications that the edition gives in the textual apparatus for editorial interventions are limited in scope and, therefore, do not provide great insight into the editor's reasons for those interventions.

#### ARTISTIC ACHIEVEMENT

##### *The Book of Adventures*

With a length of about 81,000 lines of verse, Fuetrer's massive project consists of fifteen narratives distributed between three distinct parts:

##### Part I

*Senebor and Anfortas*

*The Trojan War*

*Merlin*

*Gaudin, Galoes, and Gamareth*

*Tschionachtolander and Sigun*

*Parcival and Gaban*

*Lohengrin*

##### Part II

*Floreis and Wigoleis*

*Seifrid de Ardement*

*Meleranz*

*Iban*

*Persibein*

*Poytlisier*

*Flordimar*

##### Part III

*Lannzilet of the Lake*

The seven narratives of Part I concern themselves with the origins of the Britons, the rise of the Arthurian state, and, most centrally, the story of the Grail.<sup>20</sup> Although Fuetrer, as Raumann (2019, e.g. pp. 62–3 and 75–6) has recently stressed, does not come close to following anything like a strict chronology over the course of his *Book*, we may nevertheless roughly characterize Part I, which is greatly concerned with the origins of the Arthurian and Grail dynasties, as the ‘beginning’ of the *Book of Adventures*. The *Book*’s ‘middle’, Part II, consists also of seven narratives, each one – including *Iban* – about a preeminent, up-and-coming Round Table knight. Although the narratives of Part II, as Raumann (2019, pp. 184–208) has shown, contain intertextual references to each other (as well as to the narratives of Parts I and III) and while some of the Part II romances share important motifs with other Part II romances, the seven Part II narratives are – as, for example, Behr (1986, p. 3) observes – essentially independent, standalone texts. Additionally, the Part II romances have no true temporal relationship to the narratives of Parts I or III. Instead, they take place in a ‘timelessness’ (Edlich-Muth, 2014, p. 64), a *Pax Arthuriana* during which a fully established Arthurian empire is flourishing and has not yet begun its decline. Part III contains only the story of the knight Lannzilet. Based on the thirteenth-century Middle High German *Prose Lancelot*, itself a translation of the Old French *Lancelot en prose*, Fuetrer’s *Lannzilet of the Lake* concludes with the destruction of the Arthurian world. As such, one might view Part III as the ‘end’ portion of the loose overall beginning–middle–end temporal organization of the *Book of Adventures*.<sup>21</sup>

While most of the *Book*’s fifteen narratives are based on known thirteenth-century source texts, for four of the romances from Part II – *Seifrid de Ardement*, *Persibein*, *Poytlisier*, and *Flordimar* – we do not know who the original poet was. While Fuetrer names the otherwise unknown Albrecht von Scharfenberg as the original author behind his own *Seifrid*, there are no corroborating sources from the period indicating that an Albrecht composed a *Seifrid* romance.<sup>22</sup> Given the absence of a reliable paper trail for all four of these romances, we are likely

<sup>20</sup> All seven narratives of Part I do not correspond in one-to-one fashion with single-source romances, but rather for most of them, Fuetrer used material from more than one source text, especially in his transitions from one of his narratives to the next. Those source texts include Konrad von Würzburg’s *Trojanerrieg* [Trojan War], Heinrich von dem Türlin’s *Diu Crône* [The Crown], the anonymous *Lohengrin*, at least one story of *Merlin*, Wolfram’s *Parzival* and, perhaps most importantly, Albrecht’s *Jüngerer Titurel* [Later/Younger Titurel], whose chronology Fuetrer uses as a kind of overall temporal frame for Part I. For the importance of its various source texts to Fuetrer’s Part I narratives, see, for example, Edlich-Muth (2014, p. 166), Achnitz (2012, p. 345), and especially Killer (1971, p. 39) and Nyholm’s comments in his edition of Fuetrer’s *Gralepen* (1964, pp. XXIX–XXX and XCVI–XCVII).

<sup>21</sup> For arguments for and against the existence of such a loose chronological organization in the *Book*, see Edlich-Muth (2014, pp. 96–102), and esp. Bastert (1993, pp. 164–78) and Raumann (2019, pp. 133 and 316).

<sup>22</sup> Fuetrer also claims this same Albrecht as the author of the source text for his *Merlin* of Part I. On the authorship of the four romances, see, for example Achnitz (2012, pp. 344–5) and Bastert (2000, p. 174). For a synopsis of scholarship speculating on the authorship of the source romance for Fuetrer’s *Merlin*, see Bastert (1993, p. 184).

never to know conclusively whether Fuetrer based the romances on now-lost exemplar texts or if he, more intriguingly perhaps, might have composed the four romances himself.

In assembling into a single collection numerous pre-existing Arthurian narratives – or at least narratives that he claimed were pre-existing – Ulrich Fuetrer created a work that has much in common with other contemporaneous *summa* of Arthurian narratives, including – as, for example, Miriam Edlich-Muth has recently written about in her 2014 monograph, *Malory and His European Contemporaries: Adapting Late Arthurian Romance Collections* (e.g. pp. 2–5) – Sir Thomas Malory's *Morte Darthur* from 1469/70; the French priest Micheau Gonnot's circa 1463–76 Arthurian collection in manuscript BN.fr.112; the Italian *Tavola Ritonda* from the second quarter of the fourteenth century; and the 'flagship' (Pallemans, 2007, p. 352) of Middle Dutch Arthuriana, the *Lancelot Compilation* from about 1320. As with the Dutch *Lancelot Compilation* – the collection with which the *Book of Adventures* has perhaps most in common in terms of organization – Fuetrer's *Book*, as Raumann (2019, p. 77) has emphasized, is not a unified, single grand romance, but rather a true compilation. More particularly, it is a collection that primarily anthologizes rather than synthesizes its sources and consciously allows its individual romances to retain the most important plot elements from the *Book's* source texts, even when doing so – as is often the case in the *Book* – introduces plot discrepancies and temporal discontinuities among the *Book's* fifteen narratives. While such discrepancies and discontinuities have led Edlich-Muth (2014, e.g. pp. 33–4 and 167) to argue quite forcefully that Fuetrer did not plan out in advance the organization for all three parts of the *Book* before starting Part I, the current weight of scholarly opinion (Bastert, 1993, pp. 173 and 176, and Raumann, 2019, pp. 117–18 and 310–17) favours the idea that Fuetrer conceived his overall plan before beginning his project.<sup>23</sup>

Thus, despite the rather frequent internal conflicts between the *Book's* narratives, several distinctive elements – elements which, importantly, run throughout the *Book* – indicate that Fuetrer envisioned all three parts as constituting a single, coherent work. For example, the prologues to Part I and Part III, as well as the prologues to each of the seven romances of Part II, follow a similar pattern of generally featuring a prayer-like appeal to God or Mary, an expression of the poet's lack of ability, a praise of the *Book's* patron, Albrecht IV, and a brief introduction of the narrative material contained in the romance that follows.<sup>24</sup> Also common to the entirety of the *Book*, and thereby tying all its disparate narratives together, is the active presence of the narrator figure 'Ulrich'. Adding comic relief to what would otherwise be rather earnest narratives, Ulrich – whom, as Bastert (1993, pp. 248–9) cautions, we should not identify as one and the same with the author, Ulrich Fuetrer – typically presents himself as a fool and

<sup>23</sup> Edlich-Muth's argument for Fuetrer's lack of prior planning for the overall project rests upon what she sees as the poor fit specifically between Part III and the more closely related Parts I and II.

<sup>24</sup> On the content of the prologues, see Bastert (1993, pp. 235–45, esp. 235) and Raumann (2019, pp. 249–77, esp. 251).