Ludger Lieb and Ricarda Wagner

Dead Writing Matters?

Materiality and Presence in Medieval German Narrations of Epitaphs

In 16th century Heidelberg, Wilhelm Holtzmann, the then famous Professor of Greek and Logic and chancellor of the university, honoured the Early Modern humanist fashion of composing an epitaph—for himself.[1] Holtzmann's epitaph, in which the dead man speaks to his *fidissima coniunx*,[2] thanking her for her love and the commission of the tomb slab and its engravings, indeed became part of his grave when he died in 1576. The autographed epitaph also does not forget to mention that Holtzmann himself had composed these verses in order to fashion an eternal monument to himself and forestall death: *aeterna ipse mihi vivus monumenta paravi / praeveniens fati fila secanda mei.*

The inscription on Holtzmann's grave, located in St Peter's Church of the University in Heidelberg, is still legible today. In a way, Holtzmann is still speaking. As the author and the voice of the inscription, he had anticipated a later, "posthumous" communication between himself as a dead man, his wife and the readers of the inscription. The tomb slab as the artefact that bears the epitaphic writing is charged with the function of initiating this communication. It wants to do something with its onlookers by turning them into readers; it possesses agency. This potential of (particularly man-made) objects to affect the attitudes, actions, and practices of humans is termed "affordance" by the Collaborative Research Center (CRC) 933 at the University of Heidelberg, a concept borrowed from psychology of perception that overcomes the dichotomy of subject and object and allows for a view of artefacts as agents in their own right.[3] The affordance of inscribed artefacts is increased by the text they bear. Holtzmann's tomb slab displaying his epitaph invites every reader to interpret the writing and opt for a possible meaning of the text.

1 Ovid (Ov. trist. 3.3.73–76) may have been among the first writers to fashion his own epitaph; cf. McGowan 2009, 166. After Wilhelm Holtzmann, Paul Fleming, William Shakespeare, Thomas Jefferson, and many other literary and political figures also arranged the words for their own grave markers.
2 Holtzmann's entire epitaph can be found in Neumüllers-Klauser 1970, 195 f. no. 337. Cf. also Düchting 2016.
3 Cf. Fox/Panagiotopoulos/Tsouparopoulou 2015, 63–66.

Describing the communicative situation of an epitaph and the affordance of a tomb slab, however, is a mostly theoretical endeavour. For we do not only lack observations of how modern readers interact with Holtzmann's final words. Our knowledge of the 'real', historical receptions of the epitaph, of its readings and communications is scarce as well. How can we imagine what happened yesterday or a hundred years ago in front of this tomb slab as a churchgoer was passing by? This is where so called 'metatexts' might help us. The CRC 933 not only examines existing material script-bearing artefacts like the tomb slab of Wilhelm Holtzmann, but also focusses on fictional inscribed artefacts. There are projects within the CRC that analyse the reflections of writing matters in Augustan literature, for example, or projects that explore script-bearing artefacts in the Old Testament. The CRC thus not only investigates single words or entire texts inscribed on certain objects, but also surveys texts about these inscribed texts. The latter are called metatexts. Metatexts either make a mere mention of an inscribed text or directly quote it. They might also describe scenes of the production and reception of the text-bearing artefact and provide information on practices of writing and reading.[4]

Why might fictional metatexts be the ideal object of study for anyone interested in premodern societies and their relation to writing and its materiality? The obvious place to start such a study would be an examination of texts that feature 'real' inscribed artefacts that once existed or still do. The great collections of inscriptions from Antiquity such as the multi-volume *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*[5], begun in the 19th century, come to mind. While these volumes include drawings, transcriptions and descriptions of Latin inscriptions from the entire area of the former Roman empire, they provide little or no information on the practices involving the inscriptions, such as how they were read and produced, and what their functions were in a network of materials, spaces and agents. Historiographical metatexts and their narratives offer a little more insight into these practices and functions. However, if one would like to find out not only which role materiality and writing played in any social group, but also which (possibly additional) role(s) were *imagined* for them, it is to fictional metatexts that one must turn. The inscribed artefacts featured in fictional metatexts do not have any equivalent in reality; the texts written on them exist just within the metatext, whose confines are drawn only by the literary imagination.

The CRC project C05[6] is assembling a corpus of such metatextual passages on fictional, text-bearing artefacts in order to examine 'inscriptionality' in medieval

---

4 Cf. Gertz et al. 2015, 209.

5 *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum, consilio et auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Berolinensis et Brandenburgensis editum* (1862–2012), originally founded by Theodor Mommsen. Digitalised volumes are accessible via: http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/drupal/?q=en/node/291 (last access 13 April 2015).

6 "Inscriptionality. Reflections of Material Text Culture in the Literature of the 12th to 17th Centuries", headed by Ludger Lieb.

German literature. This concept has already been examined with regard to 'real' inscriptions by scholars of Ancient History. Among them, Ramsay MacMullen in 1982 was the first to speak of the "epigraphic habit" of a society.[7] The term was defined anew by Angelos Chaniotis as "the position occupied by inscriptions in the public and private life of a particular period and area" which is dependent on specific "characteristics of the community which produces and displays inscriptions, such as mentality, [...] ideology and socio-political structure".[8] The CRC project C05 proposes to extend the study of the epigraphic habit into the realm of fictional inscribed artefacts by collecting all passages from medieval and Early Modern literatures that feature text written on artefacts. In order to emphasise that the object of study are not only practices and habits of epigraphic writing, but also reflections on the nature of material writing, the term 'inscriptionality' is favoured over 'epigraphic habit'. This paper offers three examples[9] from the corpus of the project to show the different roles and positions that fictional epitaphs can assume within a text. We shall argue that while tomb slabs are always about perpetuating a memory, they can do so with different degrees of affordance.

The first example, taken from the *Romance of Eneas* written during the last quarter of the 12th century by Heinrich von Veldeke, features a fictional inscription on the tomb of Dido, queen of Carthage.[10] She had ended her life by having a burning stake erected for herself and falling on the sword left behind by her lover Aeneas, who had found refuge in Carthage after the sack of Troy, but departed again to sail for Italy. Dido's sister collects the ashes of her burnt body and puts them into a golden urn, which in turn is placed in a precious coffin. Dido's tomb—consisting only of this coffin—is one of three graves of important characters in the romance, all of which are extensively described in the medieval adaptation, in contrast to parallel passages in Virgil's text.[11] The main element of Dido's grave is its epitaph (*Eneasroman*, 80,2–15):

---

7 Cf. MacMullen 1982, 233.

8 Chaniotis 2004, 75.

9 Cf. Haubrichs 1996, esp. 131–133 and note 29.

10 Heinrich von Veldeke's elaborate mode of describing tombs was not unprecedented in medieval literature, but became paradigmatic especially for the epic romances of antiquity that were written after Veldeke.

11 Virgil accords no tomb to Dido, and epitaphs are scarcely mentioned in ancient epic, with the exception of a one-liner for Pompey in Lucan's *Pharsalia* (Lucan. ph. 8,793). Veldeke might likely have been inspired by Dido's letter in Ovid's *Heroides*, in which the queen commands her sister to commission an epitaph for her that mentions Aeneas as the cause and helper and herself as the executor of her suicide (Ov. epist. 7,191–196). Cf. Wandhoff 2003, 73; Henkel 1992, 172.

ich sage û daz der sark was
ein prasem grûne alse ein gras,
wole meisterlîche ergraben
mit goldînen bûchstaben
was ir name dâ gescriben,
wie si tôt was beliben.
die bûchstaben sprâchen sô:
›hie liget frouwe Dîdô,
diu mâre und diu rîche,
diu sich sô jâmerlîche
dorch minne zû tôde erslûch.
daz was wunderlîch genûch,
sô wîse sô si was.[12]

I assure you that the coffin was made
of a gem as green as grass,
very expertly carved.
With golden letters
her name was inscribed on it,
and how she had come to die.
The letters said this:
›Here lies the lady Dido,
the famous and the mighty one,
who in such a miserable way
killed herself for love‹.
This was fairly strange,
for she had been quite reasonable.

This passage from the *Romance of Eneas* is a metatext featuring an artefact, the coffin, that was written on and whose inscription is cited directly, although the narrator does not quote in a plausible language for Dido's tomb inscription, Phoenician or Latin or some other ancient language, but imagines it in Middle High German.

Now how might the study of a fictional metatext like this example of Dido's tomb inscription contribute to the research aims of the CRC? These goals are to challenge familiar habits of interpreting texts and to contribute to a material perspective on societies which are not able to produce copies of vast amounts of texts; to look closely at the production and uses of materials in order to explore the ways societies stored, moved and destroyed written objects; to understand the premodern connotations of certain materials; and to investigate how the materiality of inscribed artefacts played into the genesis of cultural meaning. But does this metatext, the description of Dido's tomb and its inscription actually contribute to these aims? Probably not. For the metatext follows its own rationale: it is being directed by the specific intention of

---

[12] Heinrich von Veldeke 1986. All translations from Middle High German into English are by Ricarda Wagner.

the narrator. He does not wish to report on any practices of inscriptionality among the fictional Carthaginians, but rather uses the epitaph to put his own opinion of Dido and her erroneous, miserable love story on record for eternity. The inscription itself is not intended to operate, to be received or even to challenge the reader to an interpretation. It does not fulfil any function in the narrative world, but rather offers a final word on Dido's life by turning the Queen of Carthage into an exemplum for the readers of the medieval *Romance of Eneas*.

A metatextual passage from the beginning of *Parzival* by Wolfram von Eschenbach, in contrast, offers a more instructive illustration of the affordance of fictional epitaphs.[13] Wolfram's narrative starts with Gahmuret, Parzival's father, who leaves his wife for a military expedition to the Orient. Just before Parzival is born, a squire arrives to inform Parzival's mother at home of Gahmuret's death in combat and describes his funeral arrangements. In contrast to the brief, exemplary account of Dido's fate, Gahmuret's tomb inscription and his grave markers are more elaborate and singular. Before quoting his late master's epitaph, the squire describes Gahmuret's tomb (*Parzival*, 107,7f.):

> *ein tiwer rubîn ist der stein*
> *ob sîme grabe, dâ durch er schein.*[14]

> A precious ruby forms the tomb slab
> of his grave, through which he shone.

Gahmuret's embalmed body shines through the transparent ruby lid and thus establishes an eternal visual presence. The beautifully preserved remains of the famous knight are not merely illuminated by sunlight streaming in from outside the grave. Rather, the body itself emits light and is given agency even after death. The *soma* here is truly part of the *sema*. Gahmuret's grave is as personal as it could be, as are his grave markers: his epitaph is not inscribed on a conventional slab of stone, but on a helmet, the very one he wore when he was killed. This helmet was made of a single, large piece of diamond, which could only be smashed because blood from a goat was poured over it, softening the precious stone. Gahmuret's epitaph inscribed on this helmet is rather long and offers a personalised narrative rather than a standard funerary formula (*Parzival*, 107,29–108,29):

---

13 Cf. Haubrichs 1996.
14 Wolfram von Eschenbach 1965.

In sînen helm, den adamas,
ein epitafum ergraben was,
versigelt ûfz kriuze obeme grabe.
sus sagent die buochstabe.
›durch disen helm ein tjoste sluoc
den werden der ellen truoc.
Gahmuret was er genant,
gewaldec künec übr driu lant.
ieglîchez im der krône jach:
dâ giengen rîche fürsten nâch
er was von Anschouwe erborn,
und hât vor Baldac verlorn
den lîp durch den bâruc.
sîn prîs gap sô hôhen ruc,
niemen reichet an sîn zil,
swâ man noch ritter prüeven wil.
er ist von muoter ungeborn,
zuo dem sîn ellen habe gesworn:
ich mein der schildes ambet hât.
helfe und manlîchen rât
gap er mit stæte'n friunden sîn:
er leit durch wîp vil schärpfen pîn.
er truoc den touf und kristen ê:
sîn tôt tet Sarrazînen wê
sunder liegen, daz ist wâr.
sîner zît versunnenlîchiu jâr
sîn ellen sô nâch prîse warp,
mit ritterlîchem prîse er starp.
er hete der valscheit an gesigt.
nu wünscht im heiles, der hie ligt‹.
diz was alsô der knappe jach.

Into his helmet, the Diamond,
an epitaph was inscribed,
affixed to the cross above the grave.
This the letters say:
›Through this helmet a joust has slain
the worthy and brave man.
Gahmuret he was called,
mighty king over three kingdoms,
each land assigned him the crown,
and there mighty princes followed him.
He was born in Anschouwe
and he lost his life at Baldac
in the service of the Bâruc.
His honour propelled him so high
that no one can match his standing,
wherever anyone will put knights to the test.
No woman has yet born the man

whose strength is equal to Gahmuret's –
I mean him who has taken up knighthood.
Help and doughty counsel
did he give steadily to his friends.
He suffered much sharp grief for women.
He had received baptism and the Christian religion:
the Saracens mourned his death
without hypocrisy, this is the truth.
All the years of his life, for as long as he was conscious,
his strength strove for fame
and he died with knightly fame.
He had defeated dishonesty.
Wish him well, who lies here‹.
This the squire said.

While Gahmuret's grave commemorates its occupant in a more personalized, presentic and individualistic way than Dido's, the squire's report of the knight's funeral arrangements suggests that he became something even more than a unique, outstanding knight. His inscribed helmet is fixed on top of a cross erected at the head of Gahmuret's grave, mirroring the position of the inscription affixed to the cross of the dying Christ. This significant *imitatio* contributes to the affordance of Gahmuret's tomb, which is not a passive object, but has the power to move its onlookers to perform actions; the squire is incited to recount his master's grave in great detail and, so he reports, the pagans whom Gahmuret lived among stopped at his grave and "prayed to him as if to their god",[15] which suggests an apotheosis after death.[16]

Furthermore, it is not an uninvolved narrator who reports these funerary arrangements, but a character from the story who knew Gahmuret and who, by reciting his epitaph and describing his grave in loving detail, mourns him as a friend. In contrast to the quick stylisation of Dido, this elaborate treatment speaks of a desire to—on the one hand—keep the dead as personally present as possible, and—on the other hand—sustain the belief that death has lifted him onto a higher plane—a paradox that can be played out in fictional epitaphs and fictional funerary arrangements, which are not subject to the laws of nature. As his body and a piece of his personal possession are turned into commemorative objects, his grave, his epitaph, and—ultimately—the metatext not only immortalise Gahmuret as the unique person he was, but ennoble and even deify him.[17]

---

15 Wolfram von Eschenbach 1965, *Parzival* 107,19f.: *ez betent heiden sunder spot / an in als an ir werde got*.

16 Cf. Wandhoff 2006, 75.

17 Heiko Hartmann discusses the other *epitafum* of Wolfram's text, the one on the Grail, another object of great affordance. He notes the difference of its inscription to Gahmuret's epitaph: while the latter is retrospective in listing Gahmuret's past deeds, the former gives the names of prospective servants of the grail and foresees the coming time of redemption by announcing the name of the new

While Gahmuret did not directly provide for his own remembrance—he did not stipulate as to how he should be buried, he did not even foresee his death—examples from medieval German literature in which those doomed to die reflect on the future affordance of their inscribed tomb slabs also exist. A poem written by the German *Minnesänger* Heinrich von Morungen in the early 13th century has a lovelorn speaker address his audience:

> *Sach ieman die vrouwen,*
> *die man mac schouwen*
> *in dem venster stân?*
> *diu vil wolgetâne*
> *diu tuot mich âne*
> *sorgen, die ich hân.*
> *Si liuhtet sam der sunne tuot*
> *gegen dem liehten morgen.*
> *ê was si verborgen.*
> *dô muost ich sorgen.*
> *die wil ich nu lân.*
>
> *Ist aber ieman hinne,*
> *der sîne sinne*
> *her behalten habe?*
> *der gê nach der schônen,*
> *diu mit ir krônen*
> *gie von hinnen abe;*
> *Daz si mir ze trôste kome,*
> *ê daz ich verscheide.*
> *diu liebe und diu leide*
> *diu wellen mich beide*
> *vürdern hin ze grabe.*
>
> *Wan sol schrîben kleine*
> *reht ûf dem steine,*
> *der mîn grap bevât,*
> *wie liep sî mir waere*
> *und ich ir unmaere;*
> *swer dann über mich gât,*
> *Daz der lese dise nôt*
> *und ir gewinne künde,*
> *der vil grôzen sünde,*
> *die sî an ir vründe*
> *her begangen hât.*[18]

Grail King. Cf. Hartmann 2006, 140. Interestingly, the reference to the Grail is the only instance in Middle High German literature in which *epitafum* is used for an inscription that is not an epitaph in the funerary sense.
18 MF 129,14.

Did anyone see the lady
whom one can observe
standing in the window?
The beautiful one,
she takes away
the sorrows that I have.
She shines as does the sun
at about the time of dawn.
Before, she was hidden.
During that time, I had many sorrows.
These I will now discard.

But is there anyone in here
who has kept his senses
up until now?
He shall go to the beautiful one,
who with her crown
has gone from here;
May she come to comfort me
before I die.
Love and agony,
they both want
to send me to my grave.

May they write finely
right onto the stone
that encompasses my grave
how dear she was to me
and I loathe to her;
Whoever then steps over me,
may he read these woes
and learn of
the very great sin
that she has committed
against her lover until now.

The lover's object of desire is a beautiful lady. She can be seen and looked at from a distance and as long as she is present, she takes away the lover's sorrow—as does the sunrise in the morning. The second stanza expands the situation by asking for a third person, someone who is able to bring together the lover and the lady who has gone away—as does the setting sun in the evening. A third person is needed because of the announced death of the lover (*ê daz ich verscheide*). Love and grief threaten to take him to his grave. This threat is intended to enforce oral communication between the lover and the lady. But instead of imagining a future conversation the third stanza pictures an epitaph on a tomb slab.

The described affordance of this tomb slab is noteworthy. We learn of a stone which encompasses (*bevât*) the grave, but are not informed about the exact spatial positioning. The speaker then imagines passers-by walking over the grave, tomb slabs

on the floor being common in the late Antique World and in the European Middle Ages. But the poem not only describes the possibility to use the grave as a footpath; the text establishes this practice of walking over someone's grave as a special and effective event. That is why the writing on the stone should be small and fine (*kleine*) and attached right onto the stone—not onto the edge or onto a hidden location. This small and fine writing contributes to the tomb's affordance; it may force the passer-by not only to stop but also to lean forward, to bow or even to kneel down. The inscription on the tomb slab is designed to affect bodies, to influence their movements and to incite them to read, to speak for the dead lover who had never been able to express his affection while alive. The fictional tomb slab thus creates an exceptional form of presence by connecting material and spatial positioning, the writing and the potential receiver.

In fact, the imagined tomb and epitaph constitute an instance of continuous communication and agency which overcomes the difficulties and conditions of oral forms of expressing love and affection. Death makes the lover an author.[19] The epitaph provides a chance of expression by giving the lover a voice he did not have before. But the written words not only enable unlikely communication after death; both the longevity of poetry and the materiality of the tomb slab it imagines make it possible to address a reader permanently. While the Bible states that "the letter killeth",[20] in Morungen's poem it is death that gives birth to the letter.[21] As an epitaph, the imagined written lines also double and repeat the poem. The epitaph and the poem are closely connected not only thematically, but also as similar forms of practice. Writing poetry equals making an inscription, a more powerful practice than writing on paper because it is the expression of one sovereign voice permanently speaking; there is no equivalent answer to an inscription, effective because it is both monophonic and material.

Aspects of the other epitaphs discussed in this paper, then, are brought together in Morungen's poem. Like the humanist scholar Wilhelm Holtzmann, who also composed his own epitaph and was laid to rest in St Peter's Church, Morungen's speaker

---

19 Michel Foucault notes how the idea or even the imminent threat of death once gave rise to the production of literature: while the Greek epic heroes have Homer's songs celebrate their eternal glory and Sheherazade strings together story after story to ward off her execution, modern literature including Flaubert, Proust, and Kafka, in contrast, has allowed a writer's work (with its universal significance) to be the death of its (particular, singular) author; cf. Foucault 2001, 1624. Morungen's text, however, suggests that this dichotomy is not chronological. His medieval *Minnesänger*, too, in fictionalizing his death has to become "a victim of his own writing" (Foucault, ibid.) as do to modern authors, but at the same time he preserves his individuality by linking his story (*dise nôt*) to his own grave.

20 King James Bible, 2 Cor 3.6: "Who also hath made us able ministers of the new testament; not of the letter, but of the spirit: for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life".

21 Volker Mertens reads this reversal as an ironic commentary on the Biblical dictum that advocates for the veneration of the lady in the here and now, cf. Mertens 2005, 46 f.

takes care to perpetuate his voice in order to stay present and effective even after death. Like Dido's funerary inscription in Heinrich von Veldeke's *Romance of Eneas*, his epitaph stylises him as a model, unhappy lover, identified with this fate for eternity. Like Gahmuret's in *Parzival*, however, his eternalisation is also personalised: it is Gahmuret's own face that shines through the transparent grave, and Morungen's specific lady and her faults that always recall this unique instance of fatal love. While the inscription on Dido's coffin is purposefully given very little affordance and is not interacted with in order to allow the narrator to close the door on her character, Gahmuret's peculiar grave arrangement takes over his agency and thus permits him to shine on. His tomb and its inscription make votaries of the pagans and an elaborate narrator of the squire. Gahmuret needs to be kept alive in this manner to provide a powerful paradigm for his son Parzival, himself also a figure of light and redemption, validating the text's emphasis on genealogy. Morungen's lovelorn speaker also offers a literary model by imagining writers as the ones who can bestow affordance on an artefact. His love story can be walked over again and again with every new reading of both the poem and the epitaph.

With this paper we hope to have illustrated some instances of how complex narratives can imagine and construct practices of writing that transcend the ordinary and possible customs associated with texts. Hopefully, this area of inquiry will also prove to be inspiring for those academic disciplines that primarily deal with 'real' material artefacts and not metatexts taken from medieval poems and romances.

Bibliography

Chaniotis, Angelos (2004), "From Communal Spirit to Individuality. The Epigraphic Habit in Hellenistic and Roman Crete", in: Ilaria Simiakaki and Moniaca Livadiotti (eds.), *Creta Romana e Protobizantina*. Atti del Congresso Internazionale. Iraklion, 23–30 settembre 2000, Padova, 75–87.

Düchting, Reinhard (2016), "Der Tote spricht aus dem Grab. Zum Epitaph des Wilhelm Xylander (gest. 1576)", in: Ekkehard Felder and Ludger Lieb (eds.), *Texte. Seit 1386. Gedichte – Kurzprosa – Sprachdaten. Von Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftlern der Universität Heidelberg in der Akademischen Mittagspause vorgestellt und erläutert*, Heidelberg, 223–228.

Foucault, Michel (2001), "What is an Author?", transl. by Donald F. Bouchard and Sherry Simon, in: Vincent B. Leitch (ed.), *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*, New York/London, 1622–1636.

Fox, Richard/Panagiotopoulos, Diamantis/Tsouparopoulou, Christina (2015), "Affordanz", in: Thomas Meier, Michael R. Ott and Rebecca Sauer (eds.), *Materiale Textkulturen. Konzepte – Materialien – Praktiken* (Materiale Textkulturen 1), Berlin/Munich/Boston, 63–70.

Gertz, Jan Christian/Krabbes, Frank/Noller, Eva Marie/Opdenhoff, Fanny (2015), "Metatext(ualität)", in: Thomas Meier, Michael R. Ott and Rebecca Sauer (eds.), *Materiale Textkulturen. Konzepte – Materialien – Praktiken* (Materiale Textkulturen 1), Berlin/Munich/Boston, 207–217.

Hartmann, Heiko (2006), "Gahmurets Epitaph (Pz. 107,29ff.)", in: *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 61, 127–149.

Haubrichs, Wolfgang (1996), "Memoria und Transfiguration. Die Erzählung des Meisterknappen vom Tode Gahmurets ("Parzival" 105,1–108,30)", in: Harald Haferland and Michael Mecklenburg (eds.), *Erzählungen in Erzählungen. Phänomene der Narration in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit* (Forschungen zur Geschichte der älteren deutschen Literatur 19), Munich, 125–154.

Heinrich von Veldeke (1986), *Eneasroman, mittelhochdeutsch/neuhochdeutsch*. Nach dem Text von Ludwig Ettmüller ins Neuhochdeutsche übersetzt, mit einem Stellenkommentar und einem Nachwort von Dieter Kartschoke (Reclams Universal-Bibliothek 8303), Stuttgart.

Henkel, Nikolaus (1992), "Die Stellung der Inschriften des deutschen Sprachraums in der Entwicklung volkssprachiger Schriftlichkeit", in: Renate Neumüllers-Klauser (ed.), *Vom Quellenwert der Inschriften. Vorträge und Berichte der Fachtagung Esslingen 1990*, Heidelberg, 161–187.

MacMullen, Ramsay (1982), "The Epigraphic Habit in the Roman Empire", in: *The American Journal of Philology* 103 (3), 233–246.

McGowan, Matthew (2009), *Ovid in Exile. Power and Poetic Redress in the "Tristia" and "Epistulae ex Ponto"* (Mnemosyne Supplements 309), Leiden/Boston.

Mertens, Volker (2005), "Fragmente eines Erzählens von Liebe. Poetologische Verfahren bei Heinrich von Morungen", in: Martin Baisch, Jutta Eming, Hendrikje Haufe and Andrea Sieber (eds.), *Inszenierungen von Subjektivität in der Literatur des Mittelalters*, Königstein im Taunus, 34–55.

MF (1988[38]): *Des Minnesangs Frühling*, vol. 1: *Texte*, ed. by Hugo Moser and Helmut Tervooren, Stuttgart.

Neumüllers-Klauser, Renate (1970), *Die Inschriften der Stadt und des Landkreises Heidelberg* (Deutsche Inschriften 12), Stuttgart.

Wandhoff, Haiko (2003), *Ekphrasis. Kunstbeschreibungen und virtuelle Räume in der Literatur des Mittelalters* (Trends in Medieval Philology 3), Berlin/New York.

Wandhoff, Haiko (2006), "»sie kusten sich wol tusent stunt« – Schrift, Bild und Animation des toten Körpers in Grabmalbeschreibungen des hohen Mittelalters", in: Patrick Eiden, Nacim Ghanbari and Tobias Weber (eds.), *Totenkulte. Kulturelle und literarische Grenzgänge zwischen Leben und Tod*, Frankfurt a. M., 53–79.

Wolfram von Eschenbach (1965), *Parzival. Studienausgabe*. Nachdruck der 6. Ausgabe von Karl Lachmann, Berlin/Leipzig 1926, Berlin.