

A rediscovered manuscript with
the report of the chronicler Hans Fründ
on a witch hunt in Valais (1428)

Among others Richard FELLER and Edgar BONJOUR, history of Switzerland from the late Middle Ages to modern times. Second revised and expanded edition, vol. 1, Basel-Stuttgart, 1979, pp. 60-61; Guy P. MARCHAL, «Fründ, Hans», in *Medieval German Literature*.

The imaginary, S. 25-62.

The imaginary of the Sabbath. Critical edition of the oldest texts (1430 c-1440 cj, hg. von Martine Ostorero, Agostino Paravicini Bagliani und Kathrin Utz Tremp unter der Mitarbeit von Catherine Chêne,

Lausanne, 1999 (*Cahiers Lausannois d'Histoire Médiévale*, 26).

author dictionary. Second, completely revised edition, ed. by Kurt Ruh et al., Vol. 2, Berlin New York, 1980, col. 992-993, and Gregor EGLOFF, «Fründ, Hans», in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz* [electronic publication HLS] (access date: September 27, 2005); cf. also Michael JUCKER, «Vom clerical part-time clerk to the gracious chancellor. Aspects of the late medieval education of the town clerks in the Confederation», in *Traverse*, 9, 2002/3, pp. 45-53, here p. 50.

Assessment in MARCHAL, «Fründ», column 993; Edition by Christian Immanuel KIND, the chronicle of Hans Fründ, clerk to Schwytz, Chur, 1875.

"By the witches

who were burned in Valais"

Among the five different genres of texts written around 1430 to 1440 , in which newly emerging ideas about a witches' sect and a witches' sabbath were reflected in writing, is a report by the chronicler Hans Fründ. Born in Lucerne at the beginning of the 15th century, he learned the craft of writing in the chancellery there and became a signatory in 1427. He then served as clerk in Schwyz (from around 1437), repeatedly acting as an envoy and serving as a federal clerk in the field, and as clerk in Lucerne (1461), where he was probably in 1468, but definitely before March 10th 1469 died1 .

399

He left behind a chronicle

of the Old Zurich War, which was considered to be an "excellent source", covering the years between 1436 and 14472 . We also owe him a brief account of a massive witch hunt that afflicted the "land and diocese of Valais" in 1428, namely both the "walchen" and the " tütschen".

Together with the other four texts mentioned, of which it is the oldest, it was first published critically in 1999 by a working group at the Chair of Medieval Studies at the University of Lausanne (Prof. Dr. Agostino Paravicini Bagliani) 3. The annotated edition of Fründ's description comes from Kathrin Utz Tremp, Catherine Chêne got a translation into French4 . Chantal

Ammann-Doubliez wrote an on new source discoveries

Georg MODESTIN

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400

See the introduction by Kathrin Utz Tremp in *L imaginaire*, pp. 25-27; cf. also Leo WEISZ, "From a Lucerne manuscript", in *Journal of Swiss Church History*, 28, 1934, pp. 241-255, here pp. 241-243, 247-248 and pp. 254-255 (at the end of the manuscript).

VON LIEBENAU, «Von den Hexen», p. 138. Von Liebenau's indication of the year seems to have misled Andreas Blauert when he put the origin of Fründ's report at 1438; cf. DERS., *Early witch hunts. Heresy, magic and witch trials of the 15th century*, Hamburg, 1989 (Social History Library at Junius, 5), pp. 67-68 and 155, note 16.

Chantal AMMANN-DOUBLIEZ, "The first witch hunt in Valais (1428-1436?), in *L'ima ginaire*, S.63-98.

Theodor VON LIEBENAU, "About the witches that were burned in Valais in the days when Cristofel von Silinen was the lord and judge", in *Anzeiger für Schweizerische Geschichte*, 9 (NF), 1903, no. 1, p. 135-138, here 135-137.

The imaginary, S. 28.

WEISZ, "From a Lucerne manuscript", pp. 250-254.

The imaginary, S. 47-51.

Joseph HANSEN, *Sources and investigations into the history of witch craze and witch hunts in the Middle Ages*, Bonn, 1901, pp. 533-537, no. 39b (with the text sequence reversed compared to the original).

Vg\ The imaginary, S.28, Anm. 12.

so that in the Lausanne Fründ edition

from 1999 Theodor von Liebenau's version was reprinted¹². Due to some clarifications that this version contains compared to the Lucerne manuscript - such as the mention of Christoph von Silinen, documented in 1428 as Kastlan von Sierre, as "Lord and Judge" (while in the "Luzerner Fründ" a hitherto unidentified "Janchers, Richter ze Wallis » is mentioned) or the theologically correct «exclusion» of Mary from the Trinity - Kathrin Utz Tremp suspected that Liebenau's original was a later copy of Fründ's report than the Lucerne manuscript¹³.

Earlier, non-critical editions of the "Luzerner Fründ" were published in 1901 by Joseph Hansen⁷ and in 1934 by Leo Weisz⁸. Another Fründ version, differing from the edited version, was previously only known from an edition from 1903 provided by Theodor von Liebenau⁹. Unfortunately, his extremely unclear source was limited to "Copie of a chronicle written in 1438, which Justinger von Königshofen connects in the excerpt"^{1 *}, which means that the place of storage in particular remained obscure. Research into this was unsuccessful¹¹.

based treatise on the first witch hunt in Valais, in which she was able to prove that Fründ's report represents the chronic echo of actual persecutions⁵.

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It is thanks to chance that we came across a Fründ version in the Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire de Strasbourg (BNUS) that could be based on Theodor von Liebenau's original. This is included
For the new edition of Fründs, Kathrin Utz Tremp relied on a signature BB 335 fol. Collective manuscript kept in the Lucerne Central Library, in which the probably autograph report on the so-called "Constance World Chronicle" and its continuations by the copyist Johannes gen. zum Bach follows. The identification of Fründ as the historiographer of events in Valais is confirmed by a colophon written by someone else at the end of the description (Quis me scribebat, Iohannes Fründ nomen habebat). Based on internal clues, the report by Kathrin Utz Tremp was dated to the beginning of the 1430s at the latest, i.e. shortly after the events reported, during which the Lucerne manuscript was continued beyond the year 1438⁶.

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Cf. provisionally Adolf BECKER, *The German manuscripts of the Imperial University and State Library*

in Strasbourg, Strassburg, 1914, pp. 120-122, and Ernest WICKERSHEIMER, *Catalog général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements - tome XLVII: Strasbourg*, Paris, 1923, pp. 578-579.

See METZ, «Twinger von Koenigshofen», p. 3933.

The "Anonymous Chronicle" is available in the edition by Gottlieb Studer, cf. *The Berner Chronicle of Conrad Justinger*, Bern, 1871, pp. 314-466 (Appendix III). On Justinger, among others, Hans STRAHM,

The Chronicler Conrad Justinger and his Bern Chronicle of 1420, Bern, 1978 (writings of the Bern Burger Library, 13), as well as Hans FÜGLISTER and Christine STÖLLINGER, "Justinger, Konrad", in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittleren. Author's lexicon*, vol. 4, Berlin-New York, 1983, col. 934-BNUS,

MS 2.935, fol. 144r. The passage corresponds to Gottlieb Studer's edition of the "Anonymous City Chronicle" No. 70, p. 361, line 15.

There is a microfilm of this manuscript, which bears the signature MFL.D. 1,496 carries.

Twinger's German Chronicle is available in the edition by Carl Hegel, see *The Chronicles of the Upper Rhine Towns*. Strassburg, vol. 1-2, Leipzig, 1870-1871 (*The Chronicles of German Cities from the 14th to the 16th Century*, ed. by the Historical Commission at the Royal Academy of Sciences, 8-9). Most recently, on Twinger and his work, Olivier RICHARD, «Histoire de Strasbourg, histoire pour

Strasbourg. Sur la chronique allemande de Jakob Twinger von Königshofen», in *Revue d'Alsace*, 127, 2001, pp. 219-237, and Bernhard METZ, «Twinger von Koenigshofen Jakob», in *Nouveau dictionnaire de biographie alsacienne*, Strassburg, 1982- (Delivery of fascicles with continuous pagination), pp. 3932-3933.

BNUS, MS 2.935, fol. 162r; cf. STUDER, "Anonyme Stadtchronik", No. 97, p. 388.

Adolf Becker (1914) and Ernest Wickersheimer (1923) already pointed out that the chronicle parts depended on the German chronicle of the famous Strasbourg canon of Thomas Jakob Twinger von Königshofen (1346-1420)¹⁶. The latter himself seems to have already understood his work as a basis for other chroniclers, recommending that they - while retaining the first three chapters (including the history of the emperors and the popes) - replace the specifically Alsatian-Strasbourg records¹⁷.

401

where the

Version, which we are editing for the first time after our contribution, in a composite manuscript kept under the call number MS 2.935 (formerly All. 727)¹⁴ where it fol. 162r-164r occupies.

The German-written volume (185 fols., approx. 31.5 cm high and 21.3 cm wide), protected

by a wooden cover and leather spine, calls for a thorough investigation, which cannot be carried out in the present context¹⁵. Various (rhyming) prayers follow an old statistic narration from the creation of the world to the prophet Isaiah. The sequel is a "book of Christian kings and from kings" to Sigismund (f 1437), which ends in 1457 with the depiction of an earthquake "in Straßburg and in Bern and in Basel and in all Tutschen lands". ; This is followed by a "book of the best" up to Eugene IV (1431-1447) and a description "... of the first king after the süntfluot and how Elses is uff kumen...". The latter is followed by a "History of the Confederation", which leads seamlessly into Fründ's report. The conclusion is a collection of fables.

A closer look at what Adolf Becker called the history of the Swiss Confederation in the Strassburger Manuscript (fol. 144r-162r) reveals that it is an excerpt from the "Anonymous Bern City Chronicle" that begins suddenly, which was an early private work of the Chronicler Konrad Justinger (f 1438) is the author of the first of the official Bern chronicles of the 15th century¹⁸ commissioned by the council. The "Strassburger Justinger" begins in the middle of the "strite von Loupen" (1339)¹⁹ and ends just as abruptly with Junker Wolfhart von Brandis acquiring citizenship in Bern (1355)²⁰, the order of the individual sections does not match that in the Zurich manuscript

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402

Vgl. WICKERSHEIMER,

Catalogue, S. I-II.

The idea of a continuation of Königshofen with a local historical work goes back to Konrad Justinger himself, who is documented in 1388 and 1390 in Strassburg, most recently as a student of Twinger, whose chronicle he personally copied around 1395²¹.

As for the dating of the volume kept in the BNUS, we suggest the second half of the 15th century, ie after the earthquake of 1457, which ends the «Book of Kings and Emperors». Determining its origin is made more difficult by the fact that the Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire de Strasbourg is not a library that has grown over time, but was completely rebuilt to replace the city library that burned down in 1870, along with its invaluable holdings of manuscripts, during the siege of Strasbourg²⁵. The library of the old Strasbourg Academy, which had survived the war unscathed, formed the basis for the current collection of manuscripts, supplemented by purchases and donations²⁶.

agrees with which Gottfried Studer's "Anonymous" edition is based. Then Fründ's report on what is happening in Valais follows seamlessly.

As we have seen, he responded to an invitation from his teacher, who found further imitators in Haguenau, Weissenburg, Speier, Augsburg, Cologne, Constance, Basel, Zurich and St. Gallen²². By linking Königshofen to the «Anonymous Bern Chronicle», the Strassburg manuscript belongs to a whole group of manuscripts with the same content, but as far as we know it seems to have remained unknown²³. What makes it unique is the connection with Fründ's report, which was previously only known in the Lucerne version. Regarding the question of whether Theodor von Liebenau used the Strasburg copy, his "source information", namely a copy that "Justinger von Königshofen connects in the excerpt", speaks for it, as does the comparison of the manuscript with von Liebenau's edition, which results in a literal match (The differences relate to orthographic problems, especially Liebenau's tendency to modernize the

typeface24). The only thing that has not been clarified is when the original was dated 1438. Nevertheless, we can assume that von Liebenau used the "Strassburger Fründ" or a closely related manuscript.

Comparing the Lucerne version with the Fründ version in Strasbourg does not yield any clear findings: on the one hand, the Strasbourg copy is "worse" in that it contains passages whose meaning only becomes clear with the help of the

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STRAHM, The Chronicler Conrad Justinger, pp. 14,42-46.

For the Strasbourg library fire, see the shocking testimony of Rodolphe REUSS, *Les bibliothèques publiques de*

Strasbourg incendiées dans la nuit du 24 août 1870. Lettre à M. Paul Meyer, l'un des directeurs de la *Revue critique*

d'histoire et de littérature, Paris, 1871. The durch The new German administration promotes the new construction

of the collections documented, for example

STRAHM, The chronicler Conrad Justinger, p. 50.

Impressions of Europe. Trésors de la BNUS entre France et Allemagne, catalog for the exhibition of the same

name from November 6, 2003 to January 24, 2004, ed. under the direction of Christophe Didier with the

collaboration of Daniel Bornemann, Strasbourg, 2003.

He preferred to replace ß with s and overwritten vowels with umlauts.

Cf. Aimée PERRIN, "Index of the handwritten copies of Konrad Justinger's *Berner Chronik*", in *Berner Zeitung für*

Geschichte und Heimatkunde, 12, 1950, Issue 4, pp. 204-229: From the 15th century manuscripts of the "Anonymous Chronicle» contain B1, B2, B3, B5, B6 and B7 excerpts from Twinger.

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We refer to the variants that we have listed in the text apparatus of our edition, here, for example, variants c

(«magician» instead of «magic»), d («judged and burned» instead of «burned and judged»), g (where in the

Strassburger version a whole sentence is omitted), i (relative pronoun wz instead of the conjunction das) or l

(conjunction daz instead of or).

For example variants n and x.

Cf. above and *L'imaginaire*, p. 28. Further additions concern the variants cc, dd and ii.

The historical context of the Strasbourg version makes it clear that the description of the Valais witch hunt in 1428 was received less because of its demonological content than as a historical record, which must have been entirely in the spirit of its author.

The Strasbourg version claims additional interest due to the traces of reading it contains, ie the red underlining, which is reproduced in bold in our edition. Since these

underlinings are also widespread in the other parts of the manuscript - there sometimes also in green ink - we assume that they can be attributed to the copyist, without wanting to completely rule out the hypothesis of a particularly keen reader. The attention of the "underliner" was conspicuously focused on places and numbers, the means by which the evil spirit duped people, and the misdeeds attributed to witches. If the text consistently speaks of sorcerers and witches, was the binomial *froüwen* marked or only the word *froüwen* was marked on one occasion. However, this highlighting only affects one of several similar passages, which makes us cautious with regard to an interpretation.

After completing the editing of our contribution, we became aware of the following essay relevant to Fründ: Konrad WANNER, "Scribes, chroniclers and early humanists in the Lucerne City Chancellery of the 15th century", in *Yearbook of the Historical Society of Lucerne*, 18, 2000, pp. 2-44, here pp. 8-12, 17-18 and 21-23. Among other things, the author goes into Fründ's personal connection with Christoph von Silinen, whom he sees as a possible client of the report on the events of 1428 (our thanks go to PD Dr. Kathrin Utz Tremp, Freiburg iU, for this bibliographical reference).

addendum

All in all, the Strasbourg manuscript is a noteworthy testimony to the dissemination and reception of Hans Fründ's report, which - if our dating approach is correct - was still considered worth a copy in the second half of the 15th century, i.e. a generation after it was edited. and that presumably outside of its closer central Swiss origin area. presumed autographs by Fründ²⁷; on the other hand, it is characterized by streamlining, which in part makes the Lucerne text appear somewhat redundant²⁸. In addition, a number of clarifications can be identified in the Strassburg manuscript, of which Kathrin Utz Tremp has already highlighted the most significant in terms of content²⁹ and which convey an impression of the independence with which a scribe approached his original.

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* The words have been connected according to today's usage (i.e. from of for of from). Overwritten e and o are reproduced true to handwriting, other diacritical marks on the u are indicated by ü. We put i before consonants and j before vowels.

Matthias LEXER, *Middle High German Hand Dictionary*, reprint of the Leipzig edition 1872-1878, 3 vols., Stuttgart, 1992, vol. I, column 2204.

Tal Ering bzw. Val d'Herens.

Christoph von Silinen is documented as Kastlan von Sierre in 1428, the year in which Fründ's report begins the events described (Hans Anton VON ROTEN, «Die Grosskastläne von Sierre im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert [bis 1451]», in *Vallesia*, 33, 1978, pp. 115-131, here pp. 124-125). In the Luzerner MS., the headline for Fründ's report mentions "Janch[er]s, Richter ze Wallis", who has not yet been clearly identified; see *L'imaginaire*, pp. 30 and 90-92. mort Middle High German also neuter, here in the sense of "killing on a large scale"; see. Eifischtal or Val d'Anniviers.

Oliver LANDOLT, «' Judge with the Für zuo ir and burn si zuo Bulfer'. Magic mania and witch persecution in late medieval Schaffhausen», in *Schaffhauser Contributions to History*, 78, 2004, pp. 161-185, here pp. 170-171. sortilegium, -logium proper «fortune telling», development of the concept of «magic»; cf. Jan Frederik NIERMEYER, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*, Leiden-Boston-Köln, 1976, reprint 2001, p.981. In the resolution of abbreviations, the shortest variant was chosen (e.g. around and not around, when and not tub or walls). Additions on our part are in pointed brackets, redundancies in the manuscript in square brackets. The punctuation is modern; for the sake of better comparability, we have adapted it to the present edition of the Lucerne Fründ version {*L'imaginaire*, pp. 30-44).

Their division into sections was also adopted. In order not to overload the text apparatus, we have decided to emphasize the words underlined in red ink in the original in bold. Since the edition mentioned is already a historically annotated edition of Fründ's report, our comments are limited to identifying people and places and to the linguistic description of the text. Variants of the Lucerne manuscript are only indicated insofar as they are useful for understanding or contain significant differences. In particular, orthographic deviations and different word orders were not taken into account.

Until now, a Lucerne reference from 1419 was considered the oldest mention of the term "witchcraft" in a court case (it should be remembered that Hans Fründ himself came from Lucerne). It has recently become known that the designation "hegsen" was already used in a comparable context in the city accounts of Schaffhausen for the year 1402/03, namely when quantifying wood expenses "to° the hegsen fire". "Witch" had been in circulation as a swear word in Schaffhausen since the end of the 14th century ; see.

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Paper, sheet approx. 31.5 cm high by 21.3 cm wide; Text area fluctuating, approx. 24 cm high by 16 cm wide, two columns*

Inb the jor, do you count of God's birth at <M> CCCCXXVIII jar, do the country and diocese of Wallis evidently have the malice and the mort³¹ and the heresy of the witches³² and ouch the zoue brieç sent sortei³³ to°

Latin. And would find the first in two plates in Wallis, one is called Enfis³⁴ the other Urens³⁵ . The wart ettwan vil born and off inen

judged . Then in the same jar ward ira vil found in the same lant ze Wallis , sinful of the first in the walchen and then under tütschen in the sel-

National and University Library of Strasbourg (BNUS), MS 2.935

(ehemals All. 727), fol. undSp. 162b-164a.

von Silinen³⁰ lord and judge wasa

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From the witches that were burned in Valais in the days of Cristofel

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Ed. VON LIEBENAU, "Von den Hexen", pp. 135-137 (based on an unnamed source), reprinted in L'imaginaire, pp. 47-51.

bede wib and man, they are hot

Hans Fründ: Report on a witch hunt in Valais (1428)

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What is meant is the Lower Valais, Savoy until 1476. The duke mentioned is Amadeus VIII, Count (from 1391) and Duke (1416-1434) of Savoy, between 1439 and 1449 Pope Felix V. "confessed", "known". ; cf.

LEXER, hand dictionary III, column 137. "worse made"; cf. LEXER, hand dictionary I, column 758.

Here probably in the sense of "frivolous"; cf. LEXER, hand dictionary I, column 1956 (under lös). «mortify», «make penance»; cf. LEXER, Dictionary of Hands , I, Col. 1561.

«to prove»; cf. LEXER, hand dictionary I, column 977.

"any thing", "something"; cf. LEXER, Dictionary of Handbooks I, column 1419.

"threatening"; cf. LEXER, Hand Dictionary I, column 469.

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gane still ze bredig still ze mass, and ouch, that you should n't see the same things with a priest, and that I syj mitt the arts volbrechtent, that you don't know for any priest , that you didn't know it inen⁴¹ . If they were caught, the same lue tten <were> vil , then they conden vil mer talk then others roughly lût and god and sin holy vil firmer call then other lût; That's all there is to it, that's nobody in between, when that's innocent . And even if I lose a part of it, I would let myself be martyred to death there that I wanted to give up. Quite a lot, they also gave up and had great regrets about their sins, which they had accomplished. And denied that you had given the little people something to eat and that you were poisoned and bad at the thing that you wee did, and that you died from it and quite a bit became lame and unjust, that the evil spirit loosened you up so much and you became angry and angry gave violence that si the people whom si vyent weret or who angered them, oder I inen troe - /fol. 163r, column a / uwetten⁴³

With good health one should know that the same people, ate werent fröüwen or one, who were guilty of the same malice and had done it because they had learned it from the evil spirit. And when the idiot warns the people about the sickness of the holy Christian faith and even lets it go³⁹, he tries the people and gives them permission , he wants to do it in rows and powerfully and darby artists and do it yourself calculate damage and do penance and punish the people⁴⁰ who feel sorry for him; and with all sorts of deceitful things he overcomes man through hope and kindness and through nid and hate and through vigor, which he performs against his fellow Christians . Who is inclined towards all kinds of things and is afraid of gods , and he had overcome that wickedness quite a lot in the land of Wallis , which they call malice itself. And if he wanted to learn the same things , they had to unite before the evil spirit and deceive God and all his saints and the holy Christian touffes and the holy churches and always make themselves interestable every year with something - one with a black schaff or laemp that /fol. 162v, col. b / another measurer, the third with a glide from your Hb after your death, the four with other services than you and the agreement with you and he with you, when you then agree on that yourself. And when the evil spirit of the Merteil appeared in a black animal wise, ettwen in a form of a beren, ettwan in a repulsive wise and in a greenish evil ser form and had talked to them about the formeh ass dan before.

ben land ze Wallis, and öüch vil lütten, who belonged to the same diocese , who were sitting there under the duke of Sauey³⁶ /fol. 162v, col. a / . And that hand has done quite a lot of bad things³ 'and vil murderous and heretical beliefs and much better things, which you have done by hand, which is called sorteleya, and quite a few of the things that have been pushed hereafter, ouch some will keep quiet about it, so that nobody will be saved from it³⁸ .

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And when he then overwhelms you, he forbids you that you shouldn't

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«was released»; cf. LEXER, Dictionary of Hands , I, column

856. "barren"; cf. LEXER, hand dictionary II, column 1760.

"up to"; cf. LEXER, hand dictionary II, Col. 1992.

"something"; cf. LEXER, Dictionary of Handbooks

I, Column 1419. «sotten», «cooked»; cf. LEXER, Hand

Glossary II, Col. 911. luoder: actually "lure food", "temptation" (LEXER, Hand Dictionary I, Col. 1985), here in the sense of "animal

carcass" (originally as bait). tôtenboum: coffin (LEXER, Handchester II, Sp. 1472), here in the diminutive, since it is about children's coffins. The mention of the coffins in which carcasses are

carried into the church instead of the eaten children serves to clarify the facts in the Strassburger MS.

In the Luzerner MS., on the other hand, it says: and wear then ludern or other boe ß geschefft (here probably in the sense of "creature" or "shape" [LEXER, Handchester I, col. 897]) ze kilchen (L'imaginaire, p .36).

«withered away»; cf. LEXER, hand dictionary II, column 892.

and when you

got the best win in something, you drank the

best wine and drank the whole thing and then fu°rent again üffP stue llen, prepared, and

fu°rent uff the stue llenP, si was the si of the devil

learned to anoint and to

Ouch so we weren't among them that the evil spirit emptied , that they would open to the woe , that they themselves thought and didn't know otherwise when that would happen.

or cursed1 that they then ff the hour started a little more sorrowfully: One became ill, the other lame on their gliding, the third was nonsensical, and some blinded, and some lost their children, which sin wip enjoyed to° wrong 44 . Fair war that he didn't want to create with his wip. Ouch they spoiled vil froüwen that they would be surprised45 , and vil blessed things" that they would use", of which no one would say nitz46 at the hour. And how the evil spirit of the night deceived you from a mountain over the others came together in the Lütten cellar

Quite a few of us went to the school at night in secret instead of together, and then the evil spirit came to us in a schoolmaster's wise and bredigotted there against the Christian beliefs and forbade us to teach and ruwen and had to report to them what they had said well, it was done with little bells or with other good words or works, and then the evil spirit gave them repentance and other evil articles, the si da tribenv . Of course, there were quite a few among us, who had children of our own and bred and sated48 and then wore them together as one and who assent to one another; and then led ludren49 or other things into the dottenboemli50 and carried them to the kilchen, as if we were eating children sigentx . Quite often there were ouch ass boe ß that si ir child or other lue tt child of the morning ^ attacked and deceived those that si serwten51 quite day and died. The children then let sy ire nachbüren schouüwenz . So they had contacts with Irish /fol. 163v, Sp. a / boe sen henden, the children had turned black and also bloüw, because they had boe ß poisoned matters in their hands

wanted. And they were asked whether the wine's taste47 minders were in the fesseren, since they were drinking. They said: Yes, we were less and we would also be weaker if we were doing bad things in it that we didn't feel the air.

And if you then do it twice, you wouldn't think otherwise, and you'd find out , goat and liver and you'd be in the shape of a wolf. And if you want people than before. Oüch the evil spirit had quite a few tens, so they would be re-learned

that they had quite a few crue

t-/o/. 163r, sp . There were quite a few young people who had to pay for the damage that others had done to the people, whether it was lamb days or seven days of slaughter, and led it to other people and thus managed the people's lives for someone else. There were öüch ettlich ones who con dent atone for what the lue t angiengl in victory days.

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And all of aaaaaaaa murder and a lot of great malice have we done to people who don't know, and nobody would have liked it if it hadn't been evaluated by them⁵³, and they themselves rejected all the word signs⁵⁴ and side, what it was, and all a lot of harm is gone from you.

kondent the pflue g or züg⁵⁶ make still ston üffdd the acher⁰⁰ liked gesin. Ir was ouch vil under inenee denied the useful, and yet one had vil küntschaft⁵⁷ uff si, and si had blamed others there and the word signs aside; and they said it was done to them that they didn't want to be there. And the other witches, how much one asks them with great torment, so they chase them well and allow themselves to be tortured so that they die[^].

understand , the blessed had been fetched, hept;

and admitted to the liars and then almost

felt bad about the children. And if it was the night, then you would go out there and then the children would dig up against you and the children would secretly share it with each other.

And worth the court over the same lütt well I] jar, and was in the country and 11 court" ze Wallis burnt with court and with judgment , probably a hundred people , it was then one or web. And were ir vil, di es bi nun jaren, who amaze midi st, had done it, and quite a few people who had eaten before vil jorenkk and vil jaren had read about it.¹¹ And what irens considered vil that they mean, they don't want me another jar then If they were in court , they wanted to have a king thrown at them. And if the evil spirit gave them an outcast, they should therefore become strong, so that they do not need to rule or judge and fear that they should have a court of justice themselves and the Christians / fol. 164r, col. a / means to force. And thought that they hadn't been caught that year"1 " 1 sense werent become lord and master in the land of Wallis ; and but fifty years weren't left in the land of fry, and thought of that I think whoever became great before and after, when I want even now⁵⁹ a great deal, when si jachentt that I socialize I'll probably be seven hundred. Two hundred of these have been burned in a year and a half, and one burns and judges them every day, whatever one may understand . And is in French lands and in the valleys nid Wallis and down the Wallis and by Sant Bernhartzberg⁶⁰ öüch vil burnt - but I don't know the number, so I can't write or hum it - when you think that I'm so vil sige spirit, which [si] god obviously wanted to let go of my malice and my false, impure life and false beliefs, before God all Christian people

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Öüchbb is ir vil gesin, who were guilty with equal great malice and heresy and murder and that they sinfully acted against other malice and so overly committed and öüch would then be convicted and burned . Ouch were we quite a few who denied that they cursed and with other malice

spoiled the fruit of the yield - sinfully spoiled the wind and the grain of the land - and thought they had the power⁵⁵ of the evil spirit, that you want to do that when you have declared yourself to be your own. Ouch so were quite a few of them, who called the little people iremcc vechcc the milk, which I vech nit milk gave /fol. 163v, col. b / or that the milk wasn't of any use to them, so that's what. Ouch were quite a lot of people who weren't of any use

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Cf. Gehbede: "behaviour", "behaviour"; cf. LEXER, Hand Dictionary I, column 785.

"Proofs"; cf. LEXER, hand dictionary III, column 980.

violence Middle High German also masculine; cf. LEXER, hand dictionary I, column 972.

"teams"; LEXER, Dictionary III, Col. 1164.

actually 'granted' (LEXER, Hand Glossary I, col. 256), here in the sense of 'granted'.

"statement", "information", "testimony"; see LEXER, I, col. 1784-1785.

«ruled», «governed»; cf. LEXER, Dictionary of Hands II, column 420 (under rîchesen, richsen).

"just now"; cf. LEXER, hand dictionary I, col. 1417-1418.

Grosser St. Bernhard.

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407

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1-1

in the Luzerner MS. the sentences are structured differently: ...dz sy nit want to forgive from the other hexsen. And how

much one asks you... (L'imaginaire, p. 38) follows in the Luzerner Ms. and yet you

were convicted and burned , quite a few dead and quite a few alive (L'imaginaire, p. 40)

Lucerne ms. who had learned and practiced quoting it many years ago (L'imaginaire, p. 40 and 42)

follows in the Lucerne

ms. and started viiiij jaren again (L'imaginaire, p. 42)

PP is correspondingly missing in the Lucerne manuscript.

sic

follows a reference sign without reference

Luzerner Hs. Ouch is iro vil gesin, who were not guilty of such great malice, heresy and murder, because dz sy sust had

committed other malice and heresy and zou berye, and who were sentenced and burned (L'imaginaire, p. 38) only in the

Strassburg ms. only in the Strassburg ms. iinen or imen ms.

the headline, written in red ink and in spaced form, follows directly on the preceding one

Lucerne ms. badness (L'imaginaire, p. 32) in the
 Lucerne ms. clearer wz (L'imaginaire, p. 32) corr. from sm Luzerner
 Ms. about that
 one had sy for innocent (L'imaginaire, p. 34) in the Luzerner Ms. more clearly that sy those
 troewtten and tlu°chtent (L'imaginaire, p. 34) sic in the Luzerner Ms Bad things that sy related and
 were brought
 to
 sy and that sy ouch veriahen themselves, and many other things that sy veriahen themselves
 (L'imaginaire, p. 34) in the
 Lucerne manuscript follows and how he sy lert make ointment(s), dz sy the stue l ointment and then
 thereupon we rode
 from one village to the other and from one castle to the other, and then came seeds in the Lüten cellar
 (L'imaginaire, p. 34)
 gg
 (L'imaginaire, p. 32) g
 compared to the Lucerne manuscript, a whole sentence has been omitted at this point: And then the boe
 se vigent (enemy)
 overcomes the moe nschen, who (L'imaginaire, p. 32)
 Luzerner ms. me denn (L'imaginaire, p. 40) only in the
 Strassburger ms. ü Lucerne ms.
 me denn (L'imaginaire, p. 40)
 "•"
 the text to the
 ornate initial is in red and extends over four lines zoue brie actually «magic», «magic
 means» (LEXER 111, col. 1155); in the Luzerner ms. logically zu°brern (L'imaginaire, p. 30) in the
 Luzerner ms. logically
 gericht und verbroe nt (L'imaginaire, p. 30) in the Luzerner
 ms. the pronoun der stands at this point ; in the present ms. the "evil spirit" is interpreted as "devil" ,
 which is possibly to be interpreted as an expression of a somewhat more mature demonology
 (L'imaginaire, pp. 28 and 32)
 the same fluctuation between singular and plural is also found in the Lucerne Hs.
 <M Luzerner MS. the desert isn't different, one or a wolff were uff the hour (L' imaginaire , p . 36) in
 the Lucerne MS <nder>,
 covered by an ink stain
 only in the Strassburger ms., unlike in the Lucerne ms., where it says in
 one meysters wyse , here - in accordance with the idea of
 heretic schools - the talk is of a
 schoolmaster (L'imaginaire , p. 28 et 36) in the Lucerne ms. follows the nit to write sint (L'imaginaire,
 p. 36) in the Lucerne
 ms. illogically follows and assen (L'imaginaire, p. 36) in the Lucerne ms. somewhat redundant and
 deserted because no one
 else
 would use it, then it would be a child; so sis had left home and ate sy then, so sy woltten
 (L'imaginaire, p. 36) y Luzerner Hs. at night (L'imaginaire, p. 36)
 408
 protect tte°°, and gave them strength and knowledge that they believe in the
 holy Christian00 and protect and protect the divine right there, which we
 thereby possess after this life eternal life, the PP gave us god the fathers
 and the sins and the holy spiritPP. Amen^

With

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woden

ms. only in the Strassburg

ms. 00-00 missing in fer Lmerner ms., correspondingly the following verbs are shielding and sterckent there in the singular (L'imaginaire, p.

42 and 44) pppp Lucerne ms. des helff us god and Maria maget, the mother sin, through the name of the holy trival, which is ye wz and iemer at the end, amen

(L'imaginaire, p. 28 and 44) <w in the Luzerner ms. follows from another Scribe's hand Quis me scribebat, John's friend nomen habebat (L'imaginaire, p. 44)

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409

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