

**It's only Minnesang (but I like it)**

**Minnesang, Pop and Rock**



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## Preface

This paper was written as the basis of a briefer exposition on the similarities between the medieval German love lyric ('Minnesang') and rock music, given to the German Society, Goldsmiths' College, London, in the summer term of 1982.

The aim was to show how:

- Rock and Minnesang are based on a similar relation between composition, performance and text
- Rock and Minnesang depend on a similar relation between artists and audience
- Rock can help us to appreciate what is missing from Minnesang as it has come down to us.

Since it was intended for an audience with a knowledge of German and at least some familiarity with the poetry of medieval Germany, there will be a number of points and quite a few quotations which are not readily comprehensible to those who don't have this background. But even so, and even without translation of the medieval texts, I think the general argument can be followed by the non-specialist. The basic characteristics of Minnesang are more or less covered along the way, but the Wikipedia article on Minnesang summarises the main features of the tradition for those who want initial orientation. Wikipedia also has articles on several of the poets discussed and quoted.

Of course, the world of rock music was in many ways very different in 1982 — we were still recovering from Punk. We had yet to experience Live Aid, MTV, and all the other things that helped make Rock mainstream for pretty well everyone under 70. The idea that we might have a Prime Minister who was a fan of The Smiths would have seemed absurd in 1982, as would the possibility of teenagers and grandparents going to the same gig without either party being under duress. So I don't think the view of the Rock audience presented here is still accurate (it was a simplification, even then), though the connection between performer and audience fostered by social networking media suggests that the idea of a shared community, however mythical, is still part of the ideology of the Rock tradition.

In view of the likely difficulties of securing copyright clearance for the use of extensive quotations in an academic journal, I never made any attempt to publish this paper. For this version, the full texts of the eleven songs listed on the last page, which would have been necessary for an academic readership in 1982, have been removed: it is a trivial matter to locate copies online. Some of the ideas about the relation of text and music I pursued further in "Text and Music in Minnesang", *Forum for Modern Language Studies* (1989) XXV(4), pp. 344–355, though there I drew for comparison more heavily on ideas about how the Blues works.

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## INTRODUCTION

For the feudal élite of 12th and 13th Century Germany and their immediate dependents, Minnesang was the dominant form of lyrical expression. And for literary historians this is the start of a tradition which leads ultimately to the lyric poetry of our own century. The Minnesänger are talked of as poets and their lyrics referred to as poems, if not always at least very often.

① But of course, there is a fundamental difference between these texts and those of modern lyrical poetry. Minnesang, as its name suggests, was written for singing in public with musical accompaniment and not for silent reading in private. The cultural position of these two lyric forms is also different: lyric poetry simply does not have the same contemporary importance in post-war Western culture that Minnesang seems to have had in the High Middle Ages.

② If we want to find a modern cultural form that is closer to Minnesang both in its contemporary importance and in its form of consumption, then we must turn, I believe, to the form variously known as Rock 'n' Roll, Pop or Rock. For, like Minnesang, Rock is a major cultural form (and gets more coverage in 'The Times', for example, than poetry), it involves the singing of texts in verse to a musical accompaniment and it shares with Minnesang a preoccupation with love.

③ It may seem that, even so, the two forms have only a superficial similarity. It is obviously a long way from Dietmar's plucking a harp and singing about the birds and the flowers in front of the medieval upper classes to the thrashing electric guitars of the Sex Pistols and Johnny Rotten singing about concentration camps to a load of yobs with torn clothes and safety-pins through their noses. From art for the élite to

entertainment for the masses.

44 There even seems to be little in common in their treatment of the theme of love, with refined conventions of erotic sublimation on the one hand and the uninhibited celebration of sexual energy on the other. Rock may have its share of love-lorn males enslaved by heartless females, but the Minnesänger would have been horrified to hear Stephen Stills sing, "If you can't be with the one you love, love the one you're with."<sup>2</sup> And when Mick Jagger suggests, "Let's spend the night together"<sup>3</sup>, it is not only a more acceptable suggestion than it would have been in 1200, but also, as far as we can tell from the statistics, a proposition much more likely to be realistic.

5 Perhaps it is more satisfactory to place Dietmar and Walther alongside Goethe and T.S.Eliot after all. And there is a further indication of the probable futility of any comparison between Minnesang and Rock. Almost 20 years ago Ruth Harvey made the first attempt to compare Minnesang and modern popular music, in this case the "sweet lyric" of Tin Pan Alley.<sup>4</sup> She observed that Minnesang and the sweet lyric were unlike modern poetry in the conventionality of their motifs and diction and suggested that this was the inevitable result of their being intended for public performance and not for private reading. Dismissing Rock (presumably) as "the crazy mixed up song for hypnotized teenagers",<sup>5</sup> she observed that the "sweet lyric" had many motifs in common with Minnesang and observed that it was "no mere disreputable trash, but an art form, debased and vulgarized indeed, yet preserving many of the essential features of a long and glorious tradition."<sup>6</sup>

6 Why did Ruth Harvey dismiss this teenage music from her considerations? I think there were two reasons. Firstly, in the early 1960's, when Rock was still in its infancy, much of the

lyrical material was simply derivative of Tin Pan Alley. And secondly, that which was not was on the whole derived from the Negro traditions of the Blues and R & B, which were lyrically both unconnected with and utterly dissimilar from the tradition of Tin Pan Alley and thus of Minnesang.

⑦ By the late 1960's, however, Rock had rejected even this partial influence, and indeed everything connected with Tin Pan Alley, so that Rock, in the last 15 years, has been largely cut off from the tradition of the courtly love-lyric.

And yet, paradoxically, it is this very rejection of Tin Pan Alley that has led, in Rock, as I hope to show, to the development of a cultural form which has not less in common with Minnesang but much more, more in fact than any other form in contemporary culture.

#### OUTLINE

⑧ In this paper I shall try to do three things:

- (i) show how Rock and Minnesang are based on a similar relation between composition, performance and text;
- (ii) show how Rock and Minnesang depend on a similar relation between artist and audience;
- (iii) show how Rock can help us to appreciate what is missing from Minnesang as it has come down to us.

⑨ In what follows, although 'Rock'n'Roll', 'Pop' and 'Rock' have all been used for the music I shall be talking about, I shall be restricting 'Rock'n'Roll' to its original application to the music of the mid-1950's. Also, I shall be maintaining a clear distinction between Pop, which is a form of commercial entertainment, and Rock, where commercial motives are, at least in principle, secondary to creative ones. Although the boundary is not always clear in fact, the assumptions on which they are based are quite distinct.

# I. COMPOSER, PERFORMER & TEXT

## (a) Composer & Performer

10 Unlike a poem, a song needs not only someone to write it but also someone to perform it. In Minnesang we know that the composers performed their own songs - Gottfried von Straßburg, for example, explicitly mentions Walther's singing voice and instrumental skill.<sup>9</sup> But more than this, the individual Minnesänger seem to have been regarded as the prime exponents of their own material, so much so in fact that Walther or Oswald von Wolkenstein could refer to themselves by name in the first person in their songs. The identity of composer and performer is sometimes actually written in to the text.

11 This, however, cannot be the whole story. Our Minnesang MSS were written as much as 150 years after the probable date of composition of the older contents. And though it is possible that some, or even many, of the songs were handed down by continuous written tradition after composition, we must assume that most, if not all, survived instead or in addition by oral transmission. The Jena MS, with its melodies, suggests that early 13th Century ~~(and even 12th Century)~~ songs were still being sung in the 14th Century.

12 The songs of any Minnesänger were therefore not exclusively performed by the composer, even where the text of the song seemed to demand it. We have plenty of evidence that composers expected their songs to be sung by the court<sup>9</sup> and it seems inevitable that this would involve their being sung by other performers at other courts once a song became popular.

13 Unfortunately we have no evidence about the repertoire of an individual singer apart from his own songs, though the fictional hero of Gottfried's Tristan is shown performing both songs of his own composition and the works of others.<sup>10</sup> Not, however, on the same

occasion. Nonetheless, the survival of the tradition demands that self-composed songs should not be the sole content of performance repertoires.

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This lack of evidence, however, while frustrating in some respects, is helpful in others. I think I am right in saying that we have no reference to a Minnesänger who certainly did not compose. This suggests very strongly that, whatever the actual practice of Minnesang may have been like, the ideology of Minnesang was based on the identity of composer and performer.

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Now in the case of Tin Pan Alley things were different. The great songwriters, people like Cole Porter, Jerome Kern, George Gershwin, obviously could perform their songs, but they did not do so professionally. Their livelihood, unlike that of the Minnesänger, came from writing songs for others to sing. Even the lesser songwriters, who were generally more active as performers, seem to have been mainly songwriters and less regularly singers or bandleaders. It seems to have been fairly common for them to start out as performers but to give up performing as soon as songwriting became more profitable." In any case, since many of the songs were for musicals or revues, there was very little expectation that the composer would perform at all, let alone be the main performer of his work.

Conversely, the singers of this period are known not as composers but simply as singers and entertainers. I would not care to state categorically that Bing Crosby or Frank Sinatra never wrote or helped to write a song, but if so it is hardly common knowledge and has not contributed to their reputations. The clear demarcation between songwriters and singers is reflected in their other activities - the songwriters tended to get involved in the music publishing business, the singers in acting. Tin Pan Alley was based on the

division of artistic labour, the identity of composer and performer being not only exceptional, but also irrelevant.

Rock, on the other hand, is closer to Minnesang in this respect. Although in the early days of Rock'n'Roll the singers tended to perform songs written by others (with the notable exceptions of Chuck Berry and Buddy Holly), in the early 60's, under the influence of the Beatles and later Dylan (or the other way round in America), it became almost obligatory for Rock performers to use songs of their own composition. It is now difficult for any Rock singer or group to be taken seriously without a mainly self-composed repertoire. I think it is fair to say that in the first 25 years or so of Rock's history only one major performer, Elvis Presley, the very first, has not written his own songs. Even those who, like Eric Clapton or Jimi Hendrix, are prized above all for their instrumental virtuosity, are expected to display this mainly in songs of their own composition. Since the mid 60's the predominance of the composer-performer in Rock has been overwhelming.<sup>12</sup>

Now it is all very well to regard Bob Dylan, Elvis Costello or Bruce Springsteen as composer-performers of a type analogous to the Minnesänger. But what of the many cases in Rock where songs are written by more than one person and performed by a group? Well, even here there is a strong insistence on the identity of composer and performer, not musically, since each member of a group usually has a predetermined instrumental role, but with respect to the lyrics. There is a strong tendency for the writer of the lyrics to be the singer. This is obviously the case with most Beatles songs: all George Harrison songs are sung by him,<sup>13</sup> for example, and in the case of "A Day in the Life" John Lennon sings the verses, which he wrote, while Paul McCartney sings the middle section, which he wrote.<sup>14</sup> Or we can take the interesting example of Procol Harum.



The music for their songs was written by Gary Brooker, lead singer and pianist with the group, while the lyrics were by Keith Reid, who neither sang nor played with the group. And yet his relation to Procol Harum is quite different from that of a Tin Pan Alley lyricist to a performer: though not a performer, Keith Reid wrote exclusively for Procol Harum, his picture appears on LP covers and in publicity photographs, he accompanied the group on tour and on at least one occasion recited some of his writing as part of a concert by the group.<sup>15</sup> If the group is considered as a creative unit rather than simply as a performing unit, Keith Reid is clearly part of it.

Many groups, in fact, turn out on closer inspection to be a writer-singer with backing musicians (Ray Davies and the Kinks, Paul Weller and the Jam, Mark Knopfler and Dire Straits) or a songwriting team with backing musicians (Mick Jagger and Keith Richards, Chris Difford and Glenn Tillbrook with the Rolling Stones and Squeeze, respectively). And it is an almost universal rule that if a group has leaders or spokesmen at all, they are the songwriters, in particular the lyricists.

Quite unlike Tin Pan Alley, then, both Minnesang and Rock are based on the identity of composer and performer and in particular of lyricist and singer.

In Tin Pan Alley, like modern Pop, the singer<sup>is</sup> to all intents an actor playing a role created by someone else. However convincing the performance, the audience does not assume that the words of the song bear any necessary relation to the person of the performer. And because the song is performed by someone other than the composer the audience does not consider **any** possible relation to the composer. This is what Ruth Harvey called the song's objectivity.<sup>16</sup>

Much of Minnesang and Rock seems to be similarly objective.

But again there is an important difference. The songs of Tin Pan Alley and Pop, because they aim above all to be popular, demand musical or lyrical features individual enough for the song to be recognisable and memorable, but the sentiments expressed must not be so individual or difficult that only a small number of listeners will be able to understand or identify with them. Popular music aims to "give the public what it wants", and the results of this for the lyrics of Tin Pan Alley were, as Charles Hamm puts it, "Popular music was for entertainment only and...anything difficult, troublesome or controversial was to be avoided; the role of a song was to help the listener forget the real world and its problems... Even the country's active participation in World War II brought no more than a flurry of superficially cheerful patriotic songs and a few others childishly ridiculing the enemy." "

With a Pop song questions of honesty or artistic integrity are simply not relevant. A good Pop song is well-written, well-performed and popular, and other criteria are inappropriate. For this reason it does not matter if composer and performer are different people and the <sup>very</sup> possibility any other approach is systematically excluded by the distinction between songwriter and singer.

Minnesang and Rock, too, aim to entertain, but their treatment of the theme of war shows how they differ from Tin Pan Alley. Neither the crusading songs of Minnesang nor the anti-war songs of Rock (whether by Dylan in the 60's or The Clash in the 80's) trivialise war in this way. Their intent is quite the opposite, not to avoid but to confront and deal with specifically the difficult, troublesome or controversial aspects of war, whether just or unjust. It seems likely that the success of this depends on the honesty of the performer, and that Minnesang and Rock seek to guarantee this by

expecting that performer to be the composer.

In Tin Pan Alley and Pop, the performer is very clearly playing a role not to be identified biographically with performer or composer. And it is true that <sup>in</sup> Rock and Minnesang too, many songs contain explicitly signalled roles which cannot be personally identified with the artist. In Minnesang this is most apparent in the Frauenlied, where the singer adopts the persona of a lady. This particular type of role seems to be rare in Rock - the Beach Boys apparently felt they could not get away with "And then he kissed me" so they changed the title of the Crystals' song to "And Then I Kissed Her".<sup>18</sup> But when David Byrne of Talking Heads adopts the role of a "Psycho-killer",<sup>19</sup> the audience does not take this as a confession to real crimes. And in the Who's classic "My Generation"<sup>20</sup> an inarticulate teenager is brilliantly characterized by having the singer stutter his way through the lyrics in a manner unlike his normal delivery.

But it is not always as clear as this. When the composer uses his own name in a song (as with Walther) or in its title ("Bob Dylan's 115th Dream", "The Ballad of John and Yoko"), then this is an obvious invitation to identify the role with the artist in a way that is not appropriate in Tin Pan Alley. This is not to say it is then legitimate to deduce biographical information from the song (though in some cases it may be) or even to assume an autobiographical basis to the song. It simply means that the artist can reasonably be held to be committed to the values expressed by an un-ironized persona. So that when Hartman debates the relative value of the love of women and the love of God in lyrical form and decides in favour of God,<sup>21</sup> then I think we are entitled to assume that he is doing more than simply presenting for our inspection a persona who makes such an evaluation. He is presenting his own commitment to this evaluation, albeit possibly via a persona.

The problem is that it is difficult for us to be sure how audiences reacted to songs. When Volker, in the Nibelungenlied, sings a Minnelied to his married hostess Gotelinde,<sup>22</sup> there is no suggestion that he intended, or she mistook, any protestation of undying love as more than a role, (though one could argue that if she understood the song metaphorically, as a promise of non-erotic friendship, then it would make perfect sense to hold the artist to a promise made by the role.) The Minnesänger frequently make reference to the use of songs in wooing their ladies. Ulrich von Lichtenstein does likewise in Frauendienst. And in Tristan the hero, sorrowful at being parted from Isolde the Fair, sings love songs to the court at Arundel which are mistaken by the princess, Isolde of the White Hands, for a protestation of Tristan's love for her.<sup>23</sup> All these examples are from literary works and therefore need to be treated with caution as guides to real life, but the prevalence of the motif and its apparent ambiguity as literally an offer of love and metaphorically an offer of service suggests that in real life the words of the persona must sometimes have been understood, or misunderstood, to express the feelings of the artist. The conclusive example, I believe, comes from Walther, who in a number of songs attacks views of love expressed in some of Reinmar's songs. When in his lament for Reinmar's death Walther later praises Reinmar's art while admitting reservations about the man himself,<sup>24</sup> this seems to suggest that the original attacks were attacks not just on a persona but on the views of the artist expressed through that persona. The artist is revealed by the persona rather than concealed by it.

In the case of Rock, we are on much safer ground. On the first LP by The Clash, a song called "I'm So Bored With The U.S.A."<sup>25</sup> complains about the domination of British culture by America.

A recent letter to the New Musical Express, addressed to Joe Strummer, songwriter and lead singer, asks bluntly, "I'm So Bored With The U.S.A. - so why live, record and tour there?"<sup>26</sup> Or to return to a song I have already mentioned, The Who's "My Generation" contains the line "Hope I die before I get old". The song was written by Pete Townsend, who has said, "I wrote the lines of 'My Generation' without thinking, hurrying them - scribbling them on a piece of paper in the back of a car. For years I've had to live by them, waiting for the day when someone says, 'I thought you said you hoped you'd die when you got old. Well, now you are old. What now?' Of course, most people are too polite to say that sort of thing to a dying pop star. I say it often to myself."<sup>27</sup> Not only does the audience identify a clearly characterized role with the artist, but the artist himself accepts this identification. The artist is expected and expects to have to live up to the values of the character, or to put it another way, the artist is expected to be honest.

And just as we can assume that medieval listeners sometimes mistakenly identified role and artist, so too it can be shown that the Rock audience, or parts of it, have sometimes done likewise. Ian Dury, in a recent interview, lamented the fact that his song "Sex and Drugs and Rock and Roll"<sup>28</sup> had been misunderstood.<sup>29</sup> Many had heard the lines

"Sex and drugs and rock and roll  
Are all my body needs  
Sex and drugs and rock and roll  
Are very good indeed."

and failed to appreciate that this role of mindless pursuit of physical pleasure was hardly likely to be subscribed to by someone as intelligent and perceptive as Dury. This is even more surprising since on the LP from which the song comes, it is sandwiched between the roles of "Billericay Dickie" and "Clever Trevor"<sup>29a</sup> whose qualities,

whose sexual adventures and inarticulacy no one would dream of identifying with Dury. Isolde of the White Hands and the modern Rock audience are capable of the same mistake.

Both Rock and Minnesang, then, are based on the identity of songwriter and singer and in both cases, even where there are clearly signalled roles, there is a tendency for the audience, not always correctly, to identify role and artist, usually in terms of values but sometimes also biographically. In Tin Pan Alley the audience is prevented systematically from making such an identification by the distinction between composer and performer.

#### (b) Cover-versions

But Rock does not involve only the performance of self-composed songs. It is fairly usual and quite legitimate for Rock artists to perform so-called "cover-versions" of songs by others. But there is a clear difference between these two parts of a Rock repertoire, as can be seen in relation to live performance and recording. It is unusual for a Rock artist not to make, at some point, a studio recording of a self-composed song which is part of his performance repertoire. On the other hand, since the mid 60's it has been equally unusual for Rock artists to make recordings of cover-versions even when the song is a regular part of their concert repertoire. It is a general rule that records of live performance contain more non-original songs than studio recordings do. On the live LPs of the Rolling Stones there are songs such as Chuck Berry's "Little Queenie" and Muddy Waters' "Mannish Boy" which do not appear on any studio LP.<sup>30</sup> The Beatles' studio recordings include 24 songs not of their own composition (the latest dating to mid 1965).<sup>31</sup> But, as Castleman and Podrazik remark, "Tracking down every song they ever performed anywhere would have resulted in a virtual

reprinting of the Top 100 songs of the 50's." <sup>32</sup> Castleman and Podrazik list all the songs the Beatles performed during the filming of "Let It Be" and this list includes 9 non-original songs that appear on earlier studio LPs and another 56 non-original songs which appear nowhere in their recorded repertoire. <sup>33</sup>

The reason for this clear distinction between original and non-original material has much to do with the fact that the songs of others already exist in recorded form, by the original artist, and therefore old songs do not depend for their historical survival on being performed or recorded by later artists. But this cannot be the only factor, otherwise there would be no call whatsoever for cover-versions of previously recorded songs. Here I think it is necessary to consider the purpose of a cover-version in Rock and its relation to the original.

The recording of a song written by someone else has a different purpose in Pop and in Rock and I think it is possible to draw a broad distinction between what we might call 'transparent' and 'opaque' cover-versions. 'Transparent' cover-versions would be those where the audience is expected or invited to 'see through' the cover-version to the original. 'Opaque' cover versions would be those that attempt to replace the original and where the audience is not expected or invited to see through to the source.

If this distinction is granted, then I think it is clear that Pop cover-versions are generally opaque or intended to be opaque. This is apparent from the way that songs are chosen for Pop cover-versions: whereas most Rock artists' cover-versions derive from their existing performance repertoire, in Pop the usual procedure is for the singer's producer to look for a song appropriate to the singer's style and likely to sell. And a song is not likely to sell if an original version is too well-known. A recent example of this

can be seen in Tight Fit's recent recording of "The Lion Sleeps Tonight"<sup>34</sup>. The song was originally a hit for The Tokens in early 1962<sup>35</sup>, but both the original group and the original record have been forgotten, so that the original is no threat to Tight Fit's version. And the new version is not intended to revive interest in The Tokens. The two versions can be seen as intended for different audiences, since it is unlikely any audience can need more than one version of this song. This is also clear from LPs like Classic Rock, where Rock tunes are presented in an orchestral arrangement without the lyrics. These versions are obviously intended for an audience which doesn't like the originals and might be disturbed by the lyrics, but which has no objection to the tunes in a safe and comfortable style.

Transparent cover-versions, on the other hand, ~~are~~<sup>are</sup> intended for the same audience as the original and are <sup>intended</sup> to stand alongside the original and not in competition with it. I am sure The Jam would be horrified if they thought anyone <sup>would</sup> regard their version of "Heatwave" as replacing the original by Martha and The Vandellas<sup>36</sup>. Transparent cover-versions are essentially a form of homage by later artists to the sources of their style and inspiration, and incidentally a test to see whether they can match up to the original. Far from attempting to replace the original, the transparent cover-versions of Rock lead back to them. And this has been of considerable importance in the development of Rock. After his death in 1959, Buddy Holly was largely forgotten by the American public, until in 1964 their attention was drawn to his work by the <sup>cover-</sup>versions of "Not Fade Away" by the Rolling Stones and particularly of "Words of Love" by the Beatles<sup>37</sup>. Likewise, by the early 60's many of the original Bluesmen who had influenced Rock'n'Roll were living in obscurity or had a small following. In the English



R&B boom groups like the Stones, the Animals and the Yardbirds by recording cover-versions of originals by the bluesmen drew the attention of a new generation to their music, giving rise to a revival in their fortunes and encouraging the Rock audience to listen to the originals alongside the later versions. Rock artists, being in principle creative, have nothing to fear by such comparison and Rock has room for both Muddy Waters and the Rolling Stones. Pop artists, on the other hand, being essentially derivative, tend to make their cover-versions opaque ones. A Pop cover-version signifies that the original has been forgotten. A Rock cover-version signifies that it has not, or that it should not have been. Opaque cover-versions signify the transience of Pop fashion. Transparent cover-versions stress the continuity of the Rock tradition.

Now, as I have said, we have no direct evidence of a particular Minnesänger performing the songs of others, even though the probability is very great. Can we tell whether Minnesang cover-versions were transparent or opaque? Obviously, in a tradition without recording, the terms cannot be used in quite the same way. In a pre-electronic culture a later performance could point back to an original still available, but it could also point back to an original no longer available because of a singer's death or retirement from Minnesang. In an oral culture, the terms 'transparent' and 'opaque' <sup>cover-versions</sup> must be slightly redefined as those which acknowledge and those which do not acknowledge the non-originality of a song.

We cannot tell how often a medieval audience knew who had composed a song or how often a singer of a cover-version announced the name of the composer. Walther, however, is only the first of many Minnesänger to refer to another, dead Minnesänger by name.<sup>31</sup> In a strophe by Der Marner,<sup>32</sup> dating probably to the second half of the 13th Century, there is mention of a number of dead Minne-

sänger, including Reinmar and Heinrich von Veldeke, who must have died at least 50 years before the strophe was composed. Reinmar von Brennenberg,<sup>40</sup> in the mid 13th Century, refers to Friedrich von Hausen, who died in 1192, and Heinrich von Rugge, who had died probably in 1191. Der Marner and Reinmar von Brennenberg could not have known these singers personally and though these lists of dead Minnesänger could have a literary life of their own, quite independent of the survival of the works of those mentioned, it is reasonable nonetheless to assume that the songs of these singers were known to the audiences of Der Marner and Reinmar von Brennenberg. The last line of Der Marner's strophe, "ich muoz uz ir garten und ir sprüchen bluomen lesen" suggests their continued influence.

It is in any case difficult to see how our 14th Century MSS could be arranged as they are, that is, despite all disagreements of attribution, as individual bodies of lyrics associated with individual singers, if songs did not continue to be associated with their composer even many decades after his death.<sup>41</sup> The evidence strongly suggests 'transparent' cover-versions with later Minnesänger presumably acknowledging the source of a song.

If in general, then Minnesang cover-versions seem to have been transparent, there is nonetheless some evidence of opaque ones also, or at least cases where the transparency, whether intentionally or accidentally, has become clouded. Whether or not one accepts that the songs under Dietmar's name, for example, can be divided into pre-Dietmar, Dietmar proper and post-Dietmar, it is fairly certain that some songs by later singers have been misplaced among the work of earlier ones they have been influenced by, and, just as important, there is no reason why knowledge of the original composer should not be lost because the tradition comes to associate a song with a later performer. In spite of recording and the great amount that has been

written about Rock and the fact that composing credits are always given on records, there are undoubtedly those who believe that "Twist and Shout" was written by the Beatles,<sup>42</sup> or that "Something Else" was written by the Sex Pistols.<sup>43</sup> And this sort of confusion is much more likely in a more purely oral tradition.

By the very nature of the problem, it is easier to show the existence of transparent than of opaque cover-versions in Minnesang.

But even so, in its consciousness and preservation of tradition,

*esp: present of composer's identity* Minnesang is, I think, much closer to Rock than to Pop, and we must assume that on the whole Minnesänger did not try to pass off others' songs as their own. Hugo von Montfort in the late 14th Century apparently felt the need to admit:

"die weysen zu den liedern, die han ich nicht gemachet. Ich wil euch nicht betriegen, es hat ain ander getan...Bürk Mangolt unser getrewer kneht."<sup>44</sup>

Although this is rather late and refers to a contemporary, there seems to be no reason to assume that Minnesänger were any more eager to deceive their audiences about the works of earlier singers. And their constant expressions of humility towards their predecessors can be matched by someone like Paul Weller's:

"We ain't trying to copy anything. We wouldn't try, because it's useless. You can't improve or beat the originals."<sup>45</sup>

The only difference is that Paul Weller does not need to preserve the music of his forebears that he admires.

### (c) Orality and the Definitiveness of the Text

The differences between Rock and Minnesang in their performance of cover-versions and the greater necessity for them in Minnesang are obviously a result of Rock's ability to preserve performances on record and Minnesang's ability to preserve older songs only by recreation in contemporary performance. In view of this it is

perhaps fair to ask whether a form based entirely on live performance and largely on oral tradition can be compared with one which is based largely on recordings, which might therefore be considered as "definitive" in a way which no Minnesang performance could ever be.

Critics and editors now agree that we cannot assume that any particular version of a song was definitive, not least because we can rarely establish the reasons for divergences in wording, strophic content or strophic order in the MSS and thus can rarely ascribe them with certainty to any particular link in the chain between composer and scribe. One thing we can be sure of in Minnesang: our MSS almost certainly do not go back ultimately to composers' autographs in every case, and perhaps not at all. In his fictional "autobiography" Frauendienst, Ulrich von Lichtenstein portrays himself as illiterate, so that his learning of a tune and composition of a text is entirely oral.<sup>46</sup> Under these circumstances textual variation at a very early stage in the transmission of a song must have been fairly common. Illiterate singers must, of course, have learnt the lyrics of others' songs in a similar way, with further variation resulting, until and no doubt after they <sup>were written down.</sup>

Now this is quite different from Tin Pan Alley, where the sheet music is the definitive result of the act of composition. The <sup>authoritative</sup> only text is the instructions for performance, for all performances, and not a random record of one particular performance. The sheet music is the song - it is both definitive and not liable to change in the course of history. The relation between composition, text and performance is thus the same as in art-music, and quite unlike Minnesang.

In Rock, however, there is not a similar literateness of tradition or definitiveness of text. Although a record may seem

to be the song in the way that sheet-music is the song for Tin Pan Alley, there is plenty of evidence to suggest that neither artist nor audience regard the recording of a song in the same light as a modern reader regards a printed poem.

To start with, musically speaking, Rock musicians are notoriously illiterate. The ability to read music is irrelevant to musical achievement in Rock. The most famous example of this must be the Beatles, who, because they were unable to read music, had to instruct their producer George Martin on string or brass arrangements for their songs by singing them or playing them on guitar or piano so that George Martin could transcribe the parts to give to the musicians. Very few Rock performers play from sheet music, and the biography of almost every major Rock artist seems to start with a period where they listen to records or the radio and attempt to copy, by ear, what they have heard. Although Rock sheet-music is sold and used, its use is in fact quite unnecessary to the continuance of Rock in a way that is not true of Tin Pan Alley.

Also, while a record obviously produces a complete and stable version of a song, it is easy to show that this does not make it definitive. It is not unusual to release, more or less simultaneously, two different versions of a song - usually one version on a single the other on an LP, or occasionally on either side of a single or both on the same LP. Admittedly the versions are often very similar, as for example the versions of Dire Straits' "Sultans of Swing" on single and LP.<sup>47</sup> But the Beatles' song "Revolution", for example, was released as the B-side of the "Hey Jude" single in August 1968 and on the LP The Beatles (the "White Album") the following November.<sup>48</sup> The lyrics and tune are identical, but the first is a fairly raucous and dirty blues with fuzz guitar and organ, while the second is a gentler, acoustic version with less electric guitar

Buddy  
Haley  
not used  
y. prof.  
inspiration.

and including brass and 'shoo-be-doo' backing vocals. The lead vocal in the first is sung straight and more or less angry. In the second, a gentler vocal expresses a more sarcastic contempt. The Rolling Stones song "Honky Tonk Women" was first released as a single in July 1969. In December 1969, on the LP Let It Bleed they released a different version under the title "Country Honk" in a different musical style and, more significantly, <sup>with</sup> a different first verse. A live recording of the song made in November 1969 (and released in September 1970 on the LP Get Yer Ya-Ya's Out) is in the musical style of the first release, but this time with a different second verse. The only other live version available on record so far is one recorded in 1976 or 77 (and released on the LP Love You Live in September 1977), which has the November '69 second verse and yet another different first verse.<sup>44</sup> Thus the 'song' comprises five different verses in various combinations and no verse occurs in more than two of the four versions released.

A slightly different sort of example, which leads us towards the question of printed texts, is provided by Procol Harum's "A Whiter Shade of Pale". The song is very well known, and yet the sheet-music contains an additional verse, which very few people will recognize. It seems to me clearly inferior to the other two and I have no doubt that a 28th Century Carl von Kraus would dismiss it as a later interpolation, or possibly might regard it as a rejected verse. However, neither of these will do as a bootleg of a concert performance from the late 70's contains the additional verse.<sup>50</sup> The additional verse is still 'part' of the song, apparently available for optional insertion in spite of its absence from the studio recording. The more familiar version of the song is without the additional verse, but of course 'more familiar' is not the same as 'definitive'.

In Tin Pan Alley a printed text is the basis for all performance. In Minnesang, assuming the songs were still being performed when the MSS were compiled, it is probable that some performances were based on written texts, but many were not. In Rock, sheet-music is <sup>generally</sup> prepared by transcription from recordings made by the composer and performer. Now one might assume that this would give printed texts an authority and 'correctness' unmatched by our Minnesang MSS. But this is not always the case. The reasons are not clear. In some cases mishearings may occur, in others it seems more likely that a transcription has been made from one version while a different version is actually released.

A comparison of the Rolling Stones sheet-music with the recorded versions of the songs shows that on the Beggars Banquet LP<sup>19</sup>, the published text of each of the ten songs contains at least one inaccuracy.<sup>61</sup> Many are trivial: 'so' for 'oh',<sup>62</sup> "And the bass player looks so nervous" in print, against "And the bass player he looks nervous" on record.<sup>63</sup> Some are less trivial. In a song called "Prodigal Son",<sup>64</sup> the printed text says at the point where the son returns home

The poor boy stood and hung his head and cried  
Said, "Father will you look on me as a child?"

whereas on the record the last line goes:

Said, "Father won't you look on me as your child?"

Or in "Sympathy for the Devil"<sup>65</sup> the printed text has

I was around when Jesus Christ  
Had His moment of doubt and faith

whereas the LP (and two live versions) clearly has "doubt and pain".

It is easy to imagine the sort of discussion such a discrepancy would give rise to if this were a medieval text!

As a last example, I should like to mention the song "Sister Morphine" from the Rolling Stones LP Sticky Fingers<sup>66</sup> (texts attached)

Here the two texts are so fundamentally different at many points, while nonetheless clearly the same song with much common material, that it is far from clear what an editor of the future would do faced with these two texts and no indication of their source and relative authority. Add to this the problems a critic in 7 centuries time would have with some of the drug terminology ('in the line' = 'in the vein', for example), and we have to all intents an exact modern analogue of the textual problems of some Minnelieder. The reconstruction of a definitive text is simply not possible on internal criteria alone, and even the variants in this case almost certainly derive from the original composers.

Rock texts, at source, so to speak, show that no single recorded version need be regarded as definitive and no version of the lyrics is necessarily definitive.

A further source of textual variation in Minnesang is undoubtedly the performance of a song by singers other than the composer. The discussion of cover-versions above suggests that there might be in Rock a respect for the original which might prevent or at least set limits to the amount of variation permitted. In particular the continued accessibility of the original on record might be normative in a sense in which the lost original performances of Minnesang could not be. In Rock's brief history to date there seems to be very little variation in cover versions compared to that found in the performances of the original artist. But nonetheless different versions of the same song do seem to show textual differences as well as the musical differences which are more inevitable. Though one would need to examine a wide range of cover-versions to generalize with any authority, it seems likely that some genres of Rock, particularly the 'looser', blacker styles like Soul and R&B, permit more variation than others. I suspect that the fairly tight style

and 1.17



of the Beatles' lyrics might be more resistant to variation. As a single example I should like to look at Wilson Pickett's Soul classic "In The Midnight Hour".<sup>67</sup> The amount of variation between the verses and the ad-libbing at the end of the song suggest a fairly loose style. The versions of this song by The Jam and by Roxy Music do not show much variation, most variants being at the beginning of the line before the first main beat and thus on unstressed syllables. Both versions substitute 'eye' for the 'eyes' of Pickett's version. The Jam's version shows very clearly the oral transmission of the text. It is impossible to misread 'twinkle' as 'sweet look', but Pickett's pronunciation of 'twinkle' could easily be misheard as 'sweet look'. And it is interesting that The Jam's version is clearly less faithful to the original than Roxy Music's, more of a recreation and less of a copy and perhaps, therefore, rather closer to the variation in an oral tradition without recordings. Weller's vocal suggests much more someone who knows the song so well that he can adapt it to his own style, whereas Ferry's vocal is altogether more careful.

We know so little about the relative importance of the sources of textual variation in Minnesang that it would be difficult to make a detailed comparison with Rock in this respect. However, Rock and Minnesang, unlike Tin Pan Alley, both have a largely oral tradition and Rock's texts and recordings have a lack of definitiveness which certainly has close parallels in the MS tradition of Minnesang: variation in wording (usually of small words but sometimes of important ones), variation in the number of verses and variation in which verses are included in a performance. In spite of the preservation of performances on record, Rock seems to present the same sort of textual problems as Minnesang and the two traditions seem to function in much the same way.

## II. FUNCTION, PATRONAGE AND AUDIENCE

If Rock and Minnesang have a similar relation between composer and performer and display similar textual variation, they nevertheless appear to be very different in their relation to contemporary culture and society. Not only are the two audiences 700 years apart in quite different social systems, their position relative to the whole of society also seems to be quite different. It will be appropriate, therefore, to consider the questions of social function, patronage, the nature of the audience and its relation to artist and song, and to see whether these surface differences remain under closer examination.

### (a) Social Function

In Rock we can distinguish three contexts for the music: recital, background and dancing. In recital (whether in live performance or on record) the song itself is the centre of attention; as background the song is only an accompaniment to other activities which are the centre of attention; in dance the music is used as a necessary stimulus and accompaniment to another activity.

All three contexts also apply to Minnesang. In the Nibelungenlied and in Tristan we have clear examples of 'recitals', where a performer is asked to play and is the centre of attention while he does so.<sup>88</sup> But while we tend to think of this as the main form of consumption in Minnesang and it is the one which our own critical approach most closely matches, there is plenty of evidence that it was not the only function, nor even perhaps the most important.

We know that many Minnesänger were present at the Mainzer Hoffest of 1184 from the eyewitness account of one of them, Heinrich von Veldeke,<sup>89</sup> and no doubt other courtly festivals were much the same. While their songs would often have been the centre of

attention, it seems likely that they would also have been simply background for those not paying attention, involved in other things. When Tristan gives a performance to King Mark at the Cornish court in Gottfried's Tristan, the courtiers in other parts of the court come running, not as a matter of course (they were not present when the court musician was <sup>60</sup>playing earlier) but because the music is so amazing on this occasion. The radio functions in a similar way for a Rock audience (if there can be said to be any Rock radio at all in this country): one can listen to the music attentively, but very often it is simply background and the listener stops what he is doing to listen attentively only when something interesting comes on.

The question of the third function, dance, brings us to an important issue. Since dancing requires music rather than lyrics and such lyrics as there are receive very little attention during a dance, this question must be considered in connection with that of the relative importance of lyrics and music. The words of Rock are often difficult to make out and so it is a natural assumption that the music is more important and the words are of little (or at least less) significance. Conversely, because all that remains of most Minnelieder are the words, it is a natural assumption that, however <sup>good</sup> the music may have been, the words were more important. This would naturally be a very fundamental difference between Minnesang and Rock, but it is far from convincing.

The importance of Rock words is simple to demonstrate. The two reactions to The Clash and The Who discussed above show quite conclusively the importance of Rock words to audience and artists alike. The inclusion of the lyrics with an LP, which goes back to the mid 60's, the separate publication of the Beatles' and Dylan's lyrics in book form, and the fact that Rock criticism in general

devotes more attention to discussion of lyrics and ideas than it does to music - all this suggests that the words are no less important than the music, whether they are clearly audible or not.

Since Minnesang has been in the grip of literary scholars for over a hundred years and since we have so little information about the audience's use of Minnesang, it is less straightforward to establish the relative importance of words and music. But the two narrative texts which tell us most about musical performance make it clear that music was not simply an insignificant accompaniment.

I have already referred to Gottfried's discussion of Walther, and the context of this discussion makes one thing clear: the Minnesänger were regarded as literary artists, for they are discussed along with the narrative poets in Gottfried's literary excursus.<sup>61</sup> And this is confirmed by the large number of narrative poets who also indulged, at some point, in Minnesang: all those Gottfried mentions, Heinrich von Veldeke, Bligger von Steinach, Hartman von Aue and Wolfram von Eschenbach have some songs attributed to them, as does Gottfried himself. The importance of the words seems clear.

And yet what Gottfried says about Reinmar and Walther is striking. While he praises the narrative poets for their style and the appropriateness of words to subject matter, his comments on the Minnesänger refer exclusively to the musical aspect of performance, "der minnen melodie".<sup>62</sup> And if Taylor is right to suggest that "wie spaehes organieret" refers to "die Geschicklichkeit in der polyphonischen bzw. harmonischen Bearbeitung seiner Melodien",<sup>63</sup> it suggests that at least part of the audience expected instrumental virtuosity beyond a simple strumming accompaniment. This is underlined by the admiration aroused by the similar virtuosity of Tristan himself.

Ulrich von Lichtenstein's Frauendienst contains the classic

reference to the practice of contrafacture, that is, the composing of a new text to an existing melody.<sup>64</sup> We know in general that Minnesänger not only composed totally new songs but also set new words to French and Provencal songs.<sup>65</sup> Ulrich describes the process (text attached). A foreign text, it seems, is not suitable for performance to a German audience, so a new one is needed. The patroness does not, however, seem to want a translation of the original (and while some attested contrafactures are close to the original, some are not). All she requires is some text that will make the song performable. Under these circumstances it is difficult to argue that the text is always more important than the melody.

And the use of Minnesang for dancing also suggests that the music was often more important than the words. As Wolfgang Mohr has pointed out,<sup>66</sup> many of the songs which are not formally or metrically distinct from the others are headed 'tanzweise' - 'dance song'. Of the 40 songs in Frauendienst which have headings, about two thirds indicate the use of the song for dancing. And one of those which does not have such a heading nonetheless begins

"Disiu liet diu heizent vrouwentanz." (XLVI)

Lyrics obviously did matter in Minnesang but not so exclusively that the music was relegated to the status of mere accompaniment. It seems reasonable to assume for Minnesang what is clear in Rock: that in some songs, in the works of some artists and on some occasions the lyrics were more important than the music, but that just as often the music was more important.

The Minnesang and Rock audiences, then, use music in three contexts in which the relative importance of words and music are probably different. But the general purpose of Minnesang, which is clearly stated in a number of songs, is to give 'vreude' (joy) to the audience. The texts are in complete agreement on this. While Minnesang, as a purely acoustic and unamplified art, probably could not offer the visceral excitement of some Rock, there is little suggestion that it was primarily intended for aesthetic delectation in the way that modern critics treat it. Even Gottfried von Straßburg, an aesthete if ever there was one, says of the Minnesänger that they:

"gebent der werlde hohen muot  
und tuont reht indem herze wol" (4760-1)

And here there is an interesting and significant parallel between the music and its subject matter, for just as the music is meant to bring joy to the court, so love is meant to bring joy to the singer-as-lover. If the lady gives him joy, then he can spread it via music throughout the court. This, at least, is the ideal effect of love, though most of the songs are about the lady's failure to give joy. Paradoxically, this does not seem to mean that the audience is made miserable by the ensuing lament. And Gottfried wishes that the Minnesänger might eventually

".....ze vröuden bringen  
ir truren und ir senedez clagen." (4818-20)

that is, achieve the joy they have already given the audience.

The intended effect of Rock is more difficult to establish with such precision. In general one could suppose that much of Rock is intended to be exciting, but, although it would take detailed examination to demonstrate conclusively, it seems to me that Rock is more particularly concerned with 'liberation', or 'release'.

In 1965 The Lovin' Spoonful released "Do You Believe In Magic?",<sup>67</sup> a classic paean to Rock exhorting the listener to "Believe in the magic, it will set you free." And the strong association of Rock with Sex and Drugs is only partly a matter of random and excessive sensual indulgence. It can also be seen as a more or less coherent attempt to liberate the participant either physically (sex) or mentally (drugs) from the restraints both of everyday life and of mainstream Western Culture. Like sex, Rock is concerned with the uninhibited release of physical energy. The opponents of Rock'n' Roll saw this right from the start and thus condemned Rock as immoral. Like a drug, Rock frees the mind of the listener from the mental and emotional rigidity of Western society. The equivalence of Rock with these two is apparent in the words of "Let Go" by Dirty Looks (1980), in which the refrain runs:

"Don't you know that Rock and Roll is still the best drug  
If you want to find out what you are really made of  
Let go, let go, let go."<sup>68</sup>

Or in Brian Ferry and Andy Mackay's "Love is the Drug"(1975).<sup>69</sup> It is in this light, and not as sub-standard poetry in the tradition of Western Literature, that Rock lyrics must be seen. "Be-Bop-A-Lula"<sup>70</sup> is liberating<sup>or</sup> expresses liberation precisely because it is nonsense. Both words and music are in Rock, as Wilfred Mellers puts it, "a trigger for magical release."<sup>71</sup>

And like Minnesang, Rock is based to a considerable extent on an identity between the effect of the music and its ideal of the world. That is, its subject~~matter~~ is treated from the point of view of liberation. Just as Minnesang attacks love which does not bring joy, so Rock consistently attacks love which is not liberating. This is why Rock does not celebrate servitude nor accept it as Minnesang does. Likewise the politics of Rock has inevitably been left-wing

or anarchist. Rock, too, is inevitably often concerned with cases in which its ideal is thwarted or unattainable.

So although the ideals of Minnesang and Rock are different and to a certain extent opposed, both have for musical performance the same ideal as for subject matter, and both regard as their primary function not an aesthetic one but simply "making the audience feel good."

### (b) Patronage

In Tin Pan Alley the composers, in partnership with the music publishers, were more or less in control of the popular music industry. Income from the publication of sheet music, from mechanical and performing rights was automatically divided 50/50 between composer and publisher. They were under the control of no third party and themselves had considerable control over what happened to their songs, and how recordings of them were used.

Neither Minnesänger nor Rock artists are so fortunate. Though quite a few Minnesänger, such as Kaiser Heinrich and probably Friedrich von Hausen, must have been "amateurs" and therefore not dependent on any third party to support their musical activities, those whose sole livelihood was music depended upon the patronage of the greater nobles. Although Rock artists generally start out as amateurs, Rock is based on semi-professional and professional musicians who, for their livelihood depend on the patronage of club managers and record companies to reach their potential audience. The ideal for a professional Minnesänger was the permanent patronage of a great man, who would guarantee food and lodging at the very least, and preferably rather more, in return for musical services. The ideal for the Rock artist (and this includes many Punk groups, in spite of their opposition to the Rock establishment) is a



lucrative recording contract with an enlightened record company. At the very least they would expect an advance of cash or a weekly wage until the record royalties start to come in.<sup>72</sup>

There are, of course, rather considerable differences between medieval patrons and record companies, not least that the latter depend entirely on music for their existence and livelihood, which patrons did not. But both offer an artists access to a potential audience and offer material reward for "musical services", on which the professional musician is dependent for his livelihood. And Minnesänger and Rock artists alike complain about their respective sources of patronage in similar, material terms.

There seem to be four things a Minnesänger is likely to say about or to his patron: praise in the expectation of generosity, praise of generosity actually shown, criticism of meanness and lament at the loss of patronage. The first and third of these are closely related. Rock artists tend not to indulge in the first two - since their royalties are guaranteed by contract there is no need for this sort of flattery. But they do criticize their record companies, again not exactly for meanness but for something closely related, that is, pursuing the company's commercial and financial advantage at the expense of the artist. This may involve pressure on an artist to produce songs that will be financially more rewarding for the company than what he has been producing, as for example in Wreckless Eric's "Pop Song"<sup>73</sup> (text attached). Or it may also involve commercial exploitation of the songs produced in a manner that the artist does not agree with. This is the subject of The Clash's "Complete Control":

"They said, 'Release Remote Control'.  
But we didn't want it on the label..."

"They said we'd be artistically free

When we signed that bit of paper  
 They meant they'd get lots of money  
 Worry about that later."<sup>74</sup>

Thus Rock artists accuse their patrons of being greedy, while Minnesänger accuse theirs of being mean.

### (c) Audience and Artist

At the beginning of this paper I suggested that the dissimilarity of the Minnesang and Rock audiences might lead us to expect that the two forms would have very little in common. Beneath the superficial differences, however, it seems the forms have some important and fundamental similarities. It is now time to consider whether this is true of the audience as well.

The audience of Minnesang was a courtly audience. Most of the Minnesänger were knights and some were counts or kings or emperors. The audience was of the same station, and even those who were not actually knights will have shared the values of courtly society. The values of Minnesang itself are not surprisingly, therefore, the traditional courtly values that are praised also in the Romances. The songs also shun 'doerperheit' (rusticity) and anyone not equal to courtly standards in both behaviour and mentality.

This audience, therefore, is an exclusive one clearly set off, in principle, from the rest of society by its social position and more particularly its values. One function of Minnesang is to reinforce group solidarity through the constant rehearsal and examination of those values on which the exclusivity of the group is based. It is an exclusivity which is not taken for granted but constantly celebrated and tested. The songs show again and again members of courtly society who are concerned to show themselves worthy of the ideal for which they strive. To be unworthy of 'minne' is to be a

social outcast. Minnesang may be 'conventional' in its motifs and diction, but the conventions are significant ones, centring on the question of the individual's place in society. This is why Minnesang must be both personal and impersonal at once. There are good reasons, too, why the relation between the wooing knight and his lady are expressed in terms of feudal service.

But when these conventions are used to entertain a middle-class audience of the 20th Century, something very different is going on. Not only is the conventional diction "debased", as Ruth Harvey put it, through seven centuries of use, but even if it had not been so debased, it could not have the same value for the modern audience, since the conventions have lost the close relation with real life that they had in Minnesang and thus lost the source of their power. For if 'minne' is a game for the medieval audience, it is nonetheless a vital and gripping game. In this century, those same conventions of love in Tin Pan Alley are sentimental and escapist, realizable only in romantic fiction and divorced from real life in a way that they were not in the 13th Century. The triumph of Rock'n' Roll is proof of this.

Tin Pan Alley, as Ruth Harvey has shown, has preserved the outward form. But it has lost the substance. Rock, by rejecting the form, has recovered the substance. Not the same substance, of course - after all, the world has changed between then and now - but an equivalent substance. That is, in both diction and values, Rock has re-established a link between song and real life which the songwriters of Tin Pan Alley were possibly unable and certainly unwilling to provide for their audience.

Rock is anything but the music of the aristocracy or the ruling class. But its audience is not really a mass audience either. The audiences of Tin Pan Alley and Pop are mass audiences - they are

numerically vast and their members need have nothing in common, except perhaps the money to buy the products for which they are the market. In the mid-50's a Rock'n'Roll audience arose in direct opposition to this, an audience which rejected the music of the mass and the majority for a minority music. But not just any minority music, but that of the minority, the American Negro. This was the complete ~~antithesis~~<sup>thesis</sup> of the white middle classes socially and of Tin Pan Alley musically, in forms of expression, relation between artists and audience and in the relation of the songs to the audience's emotional, sexual and spiritual life. And the reason for the switch in cultural allegiance was that for many white teenagers the music of the negro, whether performed by black or white musicians, made much more sense and was much more exciting than the products of Tin Pan Alley.

Originally the audience was strictly a youth audience (as is shown by the large number of songs about school, for example) and the advent of Rock'n'Roll divided first American and then British society into two - those who participated in Rock'n'Roll or were in sympathy with it and those who were opposed to it. Rock'n'Roll both created and was created by a social group conscious of the correctness of its own values and bound by a solidarity against the majority of society, admittedly in a more belligerent way than the courtly class. Rock'n'Roll both expressed the values of the social group and was used by the group to delineate itself from the rest of society.

Because of this opposition to the majority culture, Rock lyrics often express animosity towards the rest of society. In the Middle Ages the feudal élite was dominant, and presumably for that reason it could afford to express this opposition in a fairly subtle way - not by attacking outsiders but simply by enjoining its members to

keep up courtly values and maintain the distinction between courtly and non-courtly. Rock'n'Roll, though similarly exclusive, was not originally the music of a dominant social group. And more problematically, it was not in control of the means of reaching its audience. Minnesang was produced in a physically distinct and self-contained environment. Those who did not subscribe to its values had no contact with it. <sup>as if they did, were no threat to it</sup> But Rock'n'Roll had to face the problem that the very social group it was opposed to had almost complete control of the dance-halls, radio stations and record companies on which it depended for dissemination and contact with its audience. The conservative music industry was in a position, therefore, to threaten Rock'n'Roll in a way that Minnesang could not be threatened. And at the end of the 50's, according to the traditional mythology of Rock, the music industry succeeded in providing rather more harmless substitutes for real Rock'n'Roll. The Beatles saved Rock by reminding the audience what Rock could be and making it so immensely profitable that the music industry could swallow its objections.

One of the results of this is that unlike Minnesang, which has a single message, Rock often, explicitly or implicitly, has a double message, one for its adherents and one for its opponents. Rock flaunts its opposition to Tin Pan Alley in volume, in vocal and musical styles based not upon purity of tone but upon expressiveness, and on lyrics which are <sup>sometimes</sup> intentionally shocking. The last thing the Rock audience wants is for the conservative music industry to say, "Great! Why didn't we think of that!" And Rock lyrics can be addressed directly to the non-audience. The Who's "My Generation" says,

"Why don't you all fade away  
Don't try and dig what we all say."<sup>75</sup>

Dylan's "The Times They Are A'Changing" is addressed not to his audience but to "writers and critics; senators and congressmen;

mothers and fathers."<sup>76</sup> And much of Rock is intended to be overheard by those who oppose it, whether it's the Stones' "Let's Spend The night Together"<sup>77</sup> in 1967 or the Sex Pistols' "God Save the Queen/ A fascist regime" in 1977;<sup>78</sup> *both songs being thought of as a single whole by the youth of the audience who heard.*

The medieval court was a community both objectively, since a certain social position guaranteed membership, and subjectively, since the members <sup>were</sup> bound by shared ideals and values regardless of internal social gradation. The present Rock audience is clearly not an objective community and even the original Rock'n'Roll audience, though generally objectively defined by age, did not include the whole of youth and exclude all others. Nonetheless, its shared values, broadly based on opposition to mainstream white culture, meant that it was subjectively a community. As the first and second generations of the Rock audience grew older, the audience changed in two ways: it became much larger and it lost most of its remaining objective characteristics of age and social position. As a subjective community it has also grown much more diffuse, so that the <sup>present</sup> Rock audience could at best be described not as a single community but as a collection of closely interrelated and overlapping communities or sub-cultures.

This may not seem very different from the mass audience of Tin Pan Alley and Pop. But though Rock may have a large audience and depend on the mass-media for its dissemination, there is much to suggest that it still based on the idea of a subjective community. It is still, for example, to a large extent in conflict with those in control of record companies and radio. I have already given examples of the former. Examples of the latter include notably The Clash's "Capital Radio"<sup>79</sup>, an attack on a particular station, and Elvis Costello's "Radio Radio", which includes the lines:

"And the radio is in the hands

Of such a lot of fools who're trying  
To anaesthetize the way that you feel" <sup>40</sup>

Here, things have changed very little since the mid-50's.

The most decisive evidence, however, comes from Punk Rock. Although there had been changes in musical taste in Rock before, the Punk revolution of 1976/77 was significant in that it not only attacked mainstream middleclass culture but also attacked Rock itself. It is true that the Beat music of the early 60's was a reaction against the music of the lean years 1959-62, but this was not its intention, merely the cause of its overwhelming success. Punk, however, set out to reject consciously everything that Rock had become by the mid-70's. Groups like Genesis, Pink Floyd and Led Zeppelin were rejected as pompous, self-absorbed, 'arty' groups obsessed with instrumental virtuosity and elaborately staged performances but with nothing left to say to a significant part of the Rock audience. Punk rejected this sort of Rock as irrelevant to its concerns, just as Rock'n'Roll <sup>had</sup> rejected Tin Pan Alley. Punk created a new community within the Rock audience which rejected what Rock had become.

But Punk did not, as the Sex Pistols claimed, destroy Rock. Quite the opposite: Punk saved Rock, by making clear how far some artists had strayed from the basis of Rock. And while, after Sgt. Pepper, some had seen the possibility of Rock developing into forms reconcilable with Western high Art, Punk showed that such a movement had been pursued to the detriment of the community of artist and audience on which Rock was based. In the pursuit of self-expression at the expense of the audience (in both senses) these artists had forgotten what Rock really was.

One rather extreme but legendary example of what Punk achieved will have to suffice, the rise to 'stardom' of Siouxsie Sioux. In

the words of Pete Frame: "Until September 76 Siouxsie...was one of the Bromley Contingent...who had seen the Pistols locally the previous January and had followed them devotedly thereafter. On September the 20th, at the 100 Club punk festival, she became a Rock star after performing an impromptu 20 minute medley."<sup>61</sup> (A fan at a Genesis concert would have difficulty getting on to the stage, let alone being allowed to perform!) It is striking how most of the Rock of the last five years which has been of any interest has been produced by those associated with or following on from this Revolution. While Jethro Tull or Genesis are still hugely popular and still sell millions of records, they have not added anything to the development of Rock in the last five years, even where they have added anything to their own earlier work.

The clearest evidence of the audience as a community of which the artist is a part comes from the songs themselves. Even if we had no historical evidence about Minnesang apart from the texts, these would suffice to show that the audience was a community which included the Minnesänger and that there was a close relation between artist and audience. In Minnesang this appears in two main ways: the motif of the singer and lady as part of the audience's community, and the artist's assumption of knowledge on the part of the audience about his own person and works and the persons and works of others.

Kaiser Heinrich's song "Ich grüeze mit gesange die süezen",<sup>62</sup> with its request to others to carry the song to the lady he has been unable to make contact with in person, depends on the inclusion of singer, lady and audience in a single community. Morungen's song "Sach ieman die frouwen"<sup>63</sup> expects the audience to be able to see the lady and be affected by her in the same way as the singer. Obviously such motifs are fictions if the lady is a fiction and the persona is utterly separate from the composer, but they depend for



their effect on the possibility of their being true.

Where a song presupposes certain knowledge, however, we are on safer ground. The song by Kaiser Heinrich mentioned above, though it could be sung without any problem by anyone else, seems to have a heightened effect if one knows, as the courtly audience will have done, that the singer has real political power outside the persona of the song:

"Mir sint diu rîche und diu lant undertân...  
so ist mir al mîn gewalt und mîn rîchtuom dâ hin."<sup>84</sup>

Heinrich von Morungen can apparently quote from his own songs and expect the audience to recognize the quotation without any explicit indication in 132,3:

"Ich enweiz, wer dâ sanc:  
'ein sitich unde ein star âne sinne  
wol gelerneten, daz siu sprâchen "minne".  
wol, sprich daz unde habe des iemer danc."

Walther's reference in L 34,33 to "min alter klôsenære" assumes that the audience will remember and recognize this character from the earlier Spruch "Ich sach mit mînen ougen", (L 9,16). His parody of Reinmar's "Ich wirb umb allez daz ein man" (L 111,22 and MF 159,1) makes similar assumptions about the audience's knowledge.

The œuvre of a Minnesänger is cumulative and part of a developing tradition. Because this is the tradition of a community, a singer can suppose that the audience will know it as well as he and bring this knowledge to bear during performance. A Pop song is an individual item. It belongs, likewise, to a tradition, but it cannot actively engage with that tradition because to suppose knowledge of any particular part of it would be to limit the potential commercial success of a song. Consequently, while the order in which Walther's songs were composed is significant, as is their relation to the rest of the tradition, the date and order of the Bay City Rollers' singles

is completely immaterial to their comprehension or appreciation.

Rock, on the other hand, as the music of a community, however geographically and sociologically diffuse, can exploit the artists' membership of that community and the audience's knowledge in the same manner as Minnesang. The use of a persona which is both an ordinary member of the community and a singer is possible because the singer is part of the community. This is clear in a song such as Dire Straits' "Eastbound Train"<sup>55</sup> (text attached). Here the first person is revealed only in the last verse as a Rock singer. And like the Minnesänger he can use his professional ability to reach the woman, with the radio here taking on the function of the court in Kaiser Heinrich's song. The singer and the woman have an ambiguous relationship, as man and woman and as singer and member of the audience. The Rolling Stones' "It's Only Rock And Roll (But I Like It)"<sup>56</sup> depends on a similar, here more confused interchangeability between the roles of ordinary person and participant in Rock. The star:audience and man:woman relationships seem to be able to be regarded as metaphors for each other, hence the ambiguity of the song.

A Rock artist can also expect knowledge of his other works in a way that a Pop singer does not, and even a modern novelist would be unwise to. David Bowie's "Ashes to Ashes" begins:

"Do you remember a guy  
In such another song  
I heard a rumour from Ground Control..."<sup>57</sup>

And this is quite sufficient for the audience to know that this song will be about Major Tom, the astronaut from Bowie's earlier "Space Oddity"<sup>58</sup>. It is particularly interesting that the new song claims to tell the truth about Major Tom (that he's a junkie) which was not revealed in the earlier one. The audience is not only asked to

remember the earlier song but also to reinterpret and re-evaluate it.

Bob Dylan in "Sara" can even mention as an autobiographical detail the writing of a previous song, likewise adding subsequently to its original meaning:

"Sitting up in the Chelsea Hotel

Writing 'Sad-Eyed Lady of the Lowlands' for you."<sup>89</sup>

And, like the Minnesänger, Rock singers can presuppose a knowledge of the rest of the tradition also. When John Lennon, in "Yer Blues", sings,

"The eagle picks my eye

The worm he licks my bone

I feel so suicidal

Just like Dylan's Mr. Jones."<sup>90</sup>

he assumes that the audience knows enough about Dylan's "Ballad of a Thin Man" to understand the alienation and confusion Lennon wishes to express. The most extreme example of this sort of expectation is probably Don McLean's "American Pie",<sup>91</sup> a cryptic history of Rock quite incomprehensible to anyone outside the Rock audience. But the member of the community, in spite of much remaining obscurity in the text, should have little difficulty in identifying: The Beatles ('sergeants' v. 4, 1.8), The Rolling Stones, in particular Mick Jagger ('Jack Flash' v.5, 1.5), Elvis Presley ('the king' v.3, 1.7), Bob Dylan ('the jester' v.3, with reference in v.4 to the motorbike crash which kept him 'on the sidelines in a cast') and most important of all Buddy Holly ('This'll be the day that I die').

"American Pie" is intentionally cryptic, but even a song such as "God" by John Lennon,<sup>92</sup> while perfectly open, depends on detailed knowledge of the Rock tradition and the work of the artist himself. While it is true that many millions of people outside the Rock audience must know who the John and Yoko referred to in the text are, this is not sufficient for its understanding. The text is

intended, however, for those who know why Elvis comes after 'Kings' in the atheist litany of the song, who know that Zimmerman is the real name of Bob Dylan, and above all those who know what it means not to be a Walrus any longer. Knowing that Lennon once sang a song called "I Am The Walrus"<sup>43</sup> is not enough. For the song to be correctly understood, the hearer needs to know that the Walrus of the earlier song was a persona of John Lennon, which the singer is now abjuring. The members of the audience who can complete this obstacle course will then be in a position to realize that they are the 'dear friends' referred to in the song and that Lennon is trying to make clear that he is here (on his first solo LP) dissociating himself completely from his former self as a member of The Beatles and disclaiming any responsibility for his former audience ("you'll just have to carry on"). He is trying to wake them up to reality, signified by the use of his own name, and those who understand the references will know what the 'dream' was and that it is over not just for the singer but for them as well. The song, then, involves the singer's autobiography, the tradition of Rock, earlier songs by the singer, <sup>and</sup> the relation between artist, persona and audience in a <sup>complex</sup> concise way, to shattering effect, in a manner that simply would not be possible for a mass audience. The relation between artist and audience has here become problematic and the centre of attention, just as it does, for example, in Morungen's "Leitliche blicke" (MF 133,13).

The Rock audience, then, though very different from the Minnesang audience in many respects, is similarly exclusive and, since it is based on shared values and a shared knowledge of the musical tradition, with the singer indistinguishable from the audience except during performance, I think it is reasonable to regard both audiences as communities.

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In view of the crucial importance of the communal nature of the Rock audience and the largely oral nature of the Rock tradition, I think it is not surprising that Minnesang and Rock, though they differ in the treatment of their subject matter, show a number of very striking and significant similarities. While Tin Pan Alley can show parallels in literary motifs, which are the result of genuine historical connections with the medieval lyric, because of the very different nature of its audience and its mode of transmission, it is not surprising that the parallels do not extend any further. A modern form of mass entertainment based on printed words and music and on a conception of the composer's role drawn from art-music cannot be expected to show any great similarity with the music of the medieval courts. Rock, which has grown out of a rejection of Tin Pan Alley and a rejection of many features of post-Renaissance Western culture, or at least the mainstream of that culture, inevitably displays features strongly reminiscent of Minnesang, with which it nonetheless has almost no historical connection. Rock has recreated in entirely modern forms and terms of reference a musical and literary culture closer to Minnesang both in manifestation and essence than any other artistic form of this century.

While we must be very careful about drawing from Rock any conclusions about Minnesang, it should be clear that Rock is probably a better basis for an approach to Minnesang than a knowledge of modern literature or other forms of modern music. It may be that an understanding of Rock can be of assistance in the understanding of Minnesang. As a first step, I should now like to examine how an understanding of Rock texts without their music might help us to appreciate what we are missing as a result of the loss of Minnesang performance.

### III. Understanding Songs Without Music

Minnesang has not been treated kindly by history. Of the original totality of text, melody, vocal style and instrumental accompaniment, all that has come down to us are a few melodies and a substantial but nonetheless incomplete and imperfect body of texts. Critics who deal with Minnesang acknowledge this with regret but in fact seldom pay more than lip service to the incompleteness of the songs. Usually the songs are treated as poems, in spite of certain knowledge that this is inappropriate. This is not the place to examine what the illogical logic of Rock lyrics might tell us about how to read Minnesang, but I would like in this section to examine the relation between words and music in a few Rock songs, to show how Rock lyrics might be difficult to appreciate for the readers of the future if Rock was preserved under the same conditions as Minnesang, and to suggest what we might be missing in Minnesang as it has survived.

#### (a) Derek and the Dominos: "Layla" (1970)<sup>44</sup>

This song (text attached) is, by common assent, one of the greatest Rock tracks ever, doted on by fans and critics alike. Any history of Rock not giving due place to this song would be sadly misguided. And yet, on the basis of the text alone, it is far from clear what this greatness consists in.

The meaning of the song is clear enough. The singer wants a woman to accept him back. This is a fairly ordinary situation and the words themselves are not particularly 'poetic' nor, even in Rock terms, particularly remarkable. The song uses a number of traditional phrases: "turned my world upside down" (a Pop cliché), "ease my worried mind" (a Blues phrase) and "all my love's in vain" (from the song "Love in Vain" by Robert Johnson,<sup>45</sup> one of Eric Clapton's heroes). The song depends on a neatly expressed tension: he admits

suffering because of her, but she won't admit to needing him, which would seal their bliss. There is a contrast between his begging and her pride, both of which, however, are foolish. She has made life hard for him but refuses to admit she's making it hard for herself as well.<sup>96</sup> The text is competent and concise, but hardly brilliant.

Does this mean that esteem for the song is misplaced and that future literary critics would see it, correctly, as a rather ordinary song?

The answer to that question is given by the record itself. If the audience at the Cornish court appreciated Tristan's musical virtuosity and if Gottfried can praise Walther's, then surely they would have appreciated the guitar-playing of Eric Clapton and Duane Allman. The song is great because of the music. The tension and passion expressed rather ordinarily in the lyrics are expressed eloquently in the music. It does not say anything the words do not, it simply expresses it better. Without the music it would be impossible to understand the esteem in which this song is held by the Rock audience.

Is there any evidence that a similar fate has befallen some Minnelieder? We cannot, of course, tell from the words alone. But if we look at the contemporary reputations of some Minnesänger, they do not always seem to be justified by the remaining texts. Partly this may be the result of losses, just as Bliigger von Steinach's narrative poetry, so highly praised by Gottfried,<sup>97</sup> has not survived. But it would be reasonable to assume that the better rather than the less good would have the greater chance of survival.

In fact there is no doubt about the best: the medieval tradition both explicitly (by mentioning him more than others)<sup>98</sup> and implicitly (by preserving more of his songs than others') puts Walther in first place, with which modern scholarship is in full agreement.

But modern readers have difficulty in accepting that Reinmar, the second greatest for the medieval audience, is superior to Heinrich von Morungen. And scholars have paid scant attention to Heinrich von Rugge who is nonetheless mentioned more than anyone except Walther and Reinmar and whose 48 strophes outnumber the 41 of Albrecht von Johansdorf, who is far superior in our eyes. Now it is true that audiences can be mistaken, but when contemporary practitioners of an art and its later collectors are in agreement on the excellence of a Minnesänger, there is obviously something impeding proper appreciation on our part. Changes in literary taste are no doubt significant, but the loss of music must also be assumed an important factor, just as it would be with "Layla".

(b) Elvis Costello: "Alison" (1977)<sup>99</sup>

Eric Clapton may be rather average in terms of verbal art and difficult to appreciate without music. But no one could accuse Elvis Costello of being short on verbal skill, whether in terms of expressiveness or wit. Elvis Costello's reputation as the best songwriter of the post-Punk generation would be easily understood by future readers. His words are imaginative, original and concise, with a distinctive style that could easily survive the loss of music and the other elements of performance.

But is that enough? I think not, because there are some songs where the music says something the words do not, not because of the writer's inarticulacy but because he is aiming at something more complex. "Alison" falls into this category. (Text attached)

The words have a vicious wit and biting sarcasm fairly typical of Costello, here directed towards an ex-girlfriend. The distance and understatement do not conceal but intensify the feeling of disillusion and bitter resentment at what the girl has become. This,



at least, is what the words say. But it is not what the song says. The tune and accompaniment contain no element of criticism or mockery, nothing of the vitriol of the text. The music here expresses a deeply felt sorrow and a melancholy disappointment which has no parallel in the words. A response towards words or music alone is a response to a much simpler emotion than Costello has here expressed. And while it is clear that a critic with only the words to go on would have an excuse for the inadequacy of his appreciation, it is nonetheless true that more would have been lost than just a good tune.

(c) The Jam: "A Town Called Malice" (1982)<sup>100</sup>

My final example is even more complex because it depends not just on the survival of the tune, but on the style of accompaniment and an understanding of the cultural significance of that style. It may seem that this is all very well for a modern song, where the accompaniment can be complex and we have former musical styles preserved in recordings. But there seems to be sufficient evidence that the medieval courtly audience was also exposed to and conscious of stylistic variation.

When Tristan arrives at the Cornish court for the first time, Gottfried tells us that the tune played on the hunting horn with which he leads home the hunt is 'vremede'<sup>101</sup>, 'strange' not merely in the sense of 'unknown' but meaning rather 'exotic'. Tristan actually sings in four different languages (Breton, Welsh, Latin and French)<sup>102</sup>, and these four traditions did not 'presumably' have identical musical styles. This is strongly suggested by the fact that Isolde is able to play,

"in franzoiser wise

"von Sanze und San Dinise" (8059-60)

i.e. in a recognizably distinct and geographically locatable style.

No doubt Minnesang did not have the stylistic range and diversity of Rock, which can draw on any part of the white or black musical traditions, not to mention those of other cultures such as India, but the co-existence of a number of distinct styles is highly probable.

In "A Town Called Malice" we have a text that is perfectly clear. There is no uncertainty as to what the song is about and it seems to pose no problem for future readers. But in 1982 one might legitimately object that we've really had enough of this desolate suburban landscapes business. Paul Weller, who wrote the song, is here doing nothing very original, and I think he was right when he admitted in a recent interview that the words were "a little indulgent maybe",<sup>103</sup> which is indeed half admitted in the song itself: "I could go on for hours and I probably will". This is not a bad song, but it does not seem to particularly noteworthy.

The music also appears to be not particularly noteworthy - in fact it is clearly derivative of the Tamla Motown sound of the 60's. It is particularly close to the Supremes' "You Can't Hurry Love"<sup>104</sup> (1966), with an almost identical introduction, very similar backing, a 'second introduction' in the middle and especially the build up of tension where Diana Ross sings about how much she wants love to come is very close to the build up of Paul Weller's verse towards its climax.

Paul Weller is quite open about the source of the sound: "The thing is, I always wanted to do a song with that Motown beat."<sup>105</sup> But he continues, "You can't improve or beat the originals...we do it out of the utmost respect, but we are trying to do something different with it, utilise it and do something with it."<sup>106</sup> It seems we are entitled to ask what the point might be of putting post-Punk words with the black music of the 60's.

The text on its own is a call to forget dreams of the past and face up to the realities of the present. It is a song about disillusion. The singer has shared the dreamworld of the audience he's addressing, but is advocating that he and they do something to make the world a better place. In the last verse he snaps out of reminiscence to affirm he would rather do something positive. But this is offset within the song by the oppressive restrictions of the present life portrayed: "It's enough to make you stop believing", "I'm almost stone cold dead". The "I'd sooner put some joy back" is rather powerless after all this. And it is far from clear at first sight what the point can be of talking about the depression of the present and the all but impossible joy of the future over music which seems unrelated to the text.

Tamla Motown was "the sound of upwardly mobile black America". The artists were all black, but the music itself was whiter than R&B or Soul and this was associated with a basic optimism (whatever individual songs were about) concerning the assimilation of the negro into the mainstream of American culture. (Diana Ross, the lead singer of the Supremes, seems to have achieved this for herself at least.) In England, while very popular in general, Tamla was particularly associated with the Mods, whose modern equivalents (with similarities in style of clothing and taste in music) form a significant part of the audience of The Jam, and the group could themselves be regarded as a post-Punk Mod group. As such, their music is steeped in the musical styles of the 60's including Tamla, Soul (cf. their cover versions of "Heatwave" and "In the Midnight Hour") and the Beatles (cf. "Start").<sup>107</sup>

Part of what Weller is doing here, then, is drawing on his own musical roots. But in particular the song achieves an association between the pessimism of the present and the optimism of the 60's.

The dream of the 60's is over and has replaced by depression, the pessimism and realism but not quite defeatism of the songs lyrics, which are as typical of their age as the music is of the mid 60's. But why should the music represent the dream that Weller is asking his audience to reject, particularly since the music is in no way ironized or mocked? The music however, no matter how discredited the dream of the 60's may have become, still enshrines its original optimism, whereas most purely contemporary styles of the late 70's and 80's naturally express contemporary depression (in particular Joy Division, for example). These modern styles are not styles which express hope for the future, whereas the Tamla style still expresses hope in the future and points to the future in a way that is as potent for the unemployed of the 80's as it was for the 60's.

The function of the music in relation to the text is twofold: it is both the past dream which should be rejected as unrealistic (cf. John Lennon's "God") and the hope which should inspire a constructive attitude to the future. The optimism of the music forms a sort of musical sandwich surrounding the depression of the present, just as the lyrics themselves allude to both past and future dreams. The music expresses something the words could not honestly do, as well as giving precise contemporary meaning to what could appear as a general complaint of disillusion. It is worth noticing, too, how this song uses the musical resources of "You Can't Hurry Love" slightly differently. Here there is no reassuring calm section where mother tells you it will all be all right. Weller says, "It's up to us to change a town called Malice", not, "Everything will get better, if we just sit it out." Consequently the tension, which alternates with calm and release in the Supremes' song, is never released in "A Town Called Malice".

Obviously this is quite a complex message. It might seem

difficult to establish whether or not such an interplay between words and music was possible in Minnesang. One might argue that in principle it is likely that there were musical features associated with the crusades, <sup>for example,</sup> and that the use of any of these in the performance of an otherwise straight love-song would modify its meaning in an important way. But I think this not only could be done in Minnesang but in fact was done, once at least.

Walther's elegy <sup>10\*</sup> (text attached) is an extraordinarily close parallel to "A Town Called Malice". The singer describes in great detail the unpleasantness of the world, contrasting it with what he knew before, which now seems like dream. And Walther, too, includes a call to the knights in the audience which amounts to "It's up to us to change..." And in exactly the same way as Paul Weller 754 years later, Walther has used an archaic musical accompaniment (as is shown by the metre), that of the heroic epic. This accompaniment, like Weller's use of Tamla, is used to suggest on the one hand the great heroic past associated with the lost dream which opens the song. But also, through its heroic associations with the great knights of old, it suggests and tries to inspire a heroic future which it is up to the knights of the present to bring about through their own efforts. Although Walther seems more positive about the past there is some suggestion that, just as the dream of the 60's was eclipsed by the reality and depression of the 70's, Walther's dream of the past has been revealed as illusory, so, that the world now appears in its true light. In this song the unusual metre gives us a clue to this elaborate interaction of words and music. We could not do the same for "A Town Called Malice" if only the words were preserved, and we cannot guess how many songs of the Minnesänger relied on a similar interplay which is not apparent from the metre or strophic structure.

In these two songs, two composer-performers centuries apart but both performing for communities which they belong to, are seeking extraordinarily similar effects. Walther, the acoustic performer before a refined courtly audience in the 1220's, and Paul Weller, the electric guitarist with his backing group playing to the unemployed youth of the 1980's are trying to communicate similar messages by the use of an almost identical interaction between words and music.

It seems to me that if Walther were reborn in the 20th Century, he would not be a poet, crawling to the Arts Council for a grant towards the publication of a slim volume, nor a songwriter for the Frank Sinatras of this world. He would be a Rock singer.

Peter Christian, June 1982.

## NOTES

This paper is intended as a preliminary essay and is concerned to sketch out an area of study rather than to attempt exhaustive or definitive treatment. Consequently, I have made no attempt to cover the secondary literature nor to give references for general remarks about Minnesang or Rock.

My thanks are due to Ken Ashton for discussion and the loan of innumerable records over the last 20 years; to Roland Clare for criticism and discussion at great expense (over the phone) during the writing of this paper and for much information on Procol Harum; to my colleague Dr. Cyril Edwards for suggestions, criticism and general encouragement; and finally to the German Society of Goldsmiths' College, which, by fixing a date for me to present an abbreviated version of this paper, caused it to be completed much more quickly than would otherwise have been the case.

The following abbreviations are used:

- MF     Des Minnesangs Frühling, ed. Moser & Tervooren, 36th ed., Stuttgart 1977.
- KDL   Deutsche Liederdichter des 13. Jahrhunderts, ed. Carl von Kraus, 2nd ed. Gisela Kornrumpf, Tübingen 1978.
- MM     Melody Maker, London.
- NME   New Musical Express, London.

Full discographical details have been given where possible. Figures in parenthesis after an LP catalogue number indicate the position of the song in question on that LP: (2-5) means (Side 2, Track 5). Texts reproduced in the Appendix (pp. 61-75) are followed by: (Text: p. no.)

1. Dietmar, MF 34,3; Sex Pistols, "Holidays in the Sun" (1977), Virgin VS 121.
2. Stephen Stills, "Love The One You're With" (1971), Atlantic 2091 046.
3. Rolling Stones, "Let's Spend The Night Together" (1967), Decca F 12546.
4. Ruth Harvey, "Minnesang and the 'sweet lyric'", GLL 17 (1963/4), pp. 14-26.
5. Op. cit., p. 15.
6. Op. cit., p. 15.
7. Recently 'Rock' has been used as a term for the heavier, riff-based forms in contrast with the styles derived from Punk and New Wave. I shall not be making this distinction.

8. Gottfried von Strassburg, Tristan und Isolde, ed. F.Ranke, 14th ed., Dublin/Zürich 1969, ll. 4802-6.
9. E.g. MF 5,20; 146,3; 127,18. Mr David McLintock has pointed out that this last strophe could mean performance by another Minnesänger.
10. Tristan, ll.3547-3633 and 19200-14.
11. The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, ed. S.Sadie, 1980, Vol. 15, p.107. Grove names 11 minor songwriters alongside the greats, 9 of whom receive biographical entries elsewhere in the work. Of these, only 3, Hoagy Carmichael, Duke Ellington and Jimmy McHugh, devoted a significant amount of time to performance.
12. The importance of this principle can be seen from the fact that those who write songs feel some obligation to perform them personally, regardless of a possible lack of performing talent, as with many of the 'singer-songwriters' of the early 70's.
13. E.g. "Don't Bother Me" on With The Beatles (1963), Parlophone PCS 3045 (1-4); "Here Comes The Sun" on Abbey Road (1969), Apple PCS 7088 (2-1). However, not all songs sung by George Harrison are his own compositions.
14. On Sergeant Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band (1967), Parlophone PCS 7027 (2-6).
15. I have to thank Roland Clare for the information about Procol Harum's tours and concerts.
16. Op. cit., p. 25.
17. Grove, Vol. 15, p.107, col. b.
18. The Crystals, "Then He Kissed Me" (1963), London HLU 9773; The Beach Boys, "Then I Kissed Her" (1967) Capitol CL 15502.
19. Talking Heads, "Psychokiller" on Talking Heads '77 (1977), Sire 9103 328.
20. The Who, "My Generation" (1965) Brunswick 05944.
21. E.g. MF 218,5.
22. Das Nibelungenlied, ed. K.Bartsch/H.de Boor, Wiesbaden 1972, str. 1705.
23. Tristan, ll. 19213-21.
24. Die Gedichte Walthers von der Vogelweide, ed. Lachmann/Kraus/Kuhn, 13th ed., Berlin 1965, L 82,24.
25. On The Clash (1977) CBS 82000 (1-2).
26. NME, 8th May 1982, p. 50, col. 1.
27. Quoted in D. Marsh & K. Stein, The Book Of Rock Lists, London 1981, p. 6.



28. Ian Dury and the Blockheads, "Sex and Drugs and Rock and Roll" on New Boots and Panties (1977). The song is not on the British pressing (Stiff SEEZ 4), but is on the Import (Stiff IMP 002), which enjoyed considerable sales because of the inclusion of the song (2-1).
29. Interviewed by Brian Matthews on Radio 2's "Round Midnight", 31st August 1981.
- 29a. Op. cit., 1-5 and 2-2, respectively.
30. In the week this paper was completed The Rolling Stones released a new live LP, Still Life, containing two more non-original songs not found elsewhere in their recorded repertoire.
31. For full details of all Beatles' records, with catalogue numbers, recording and release date, composition credits and many other details, see H.Castleman and W.J.Podrazik, All Together Now. The First Complete Beatles Discography 1961-1975, 2nd printing, New York 1977. Non-original material, excluding songs recorded with Tony Sheridan, appears on Please Please Me, With The Beatles, Beatles For Sale, Help! and the Long Tall Sally EP.
32. Op. cit., p. 238.
33. Op. cit., p. 261.
34. Tight Fit, "The Lion Sleeps Tonight" (1982) Jive 9.
35. The Tokens, "The Lion Sleeps Tonight" (1961) RCA 1263.
36. The Jam's version is on Setting Sons (1979) Polydor 2442 168 (2-5); the original on Heatwave (1963) Tamla STML 11005.
37. J.J.Goldrosen, Buddy Holly. His Life and Music, London 1979, p. 222.
38. L 83,1.
39. XIV, 18 in Der Marner, ed. P.Strauch, Strassburg and London 1876. (Text: p.61.)
40. KDL 44,IV,3. (Text: p. 61.)
41. The small number of anonymous songs suggests than it was unusual for a strophe not to be associated, for whatever reason, with a named Minnesänger.
42. "Twist and Shout" (recorded by the Beatles on Please Please Me) was written by Bert Russell and Phil Medley and originally recorded by the Isley Brothers (1962), Wand 124.
43. "~~Some~~thing Else" was written and originally recorded by Eddie Cochran (1959), London HLU 8944.
44. Quoted in the Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturgeschichte,

- ed. P. Merker & W. Stammer, 1st ed., Berlin 1925, article 'Ton'.
45. Interviewed in MM, 13th March 1982, p. 38.
46. Ulrich von Lichtenstein, Frauendienst, ed. R. Bechstein, Leipzig 1888, str. 358-9. (Text: p. 62.)
47. Vertigo 6059 206 and on Dire Straits (1979) Vertigo 9102 206.
48. Apple R 5722 and on Apple 7067/8 (4-1).
49. The Rolling Stones, "Honky Tonk Women": single Decca F 12952; as "Country Honk" on Let It Bleed (1969) Decca SKL 5025 (1-3); on Get Yer Ya-Ya's Out (1970) Decca SKL 5065 (2-4); on Love You Live (1977) Rolling Stones Records COC 89101 (1-2). (Texts: p. 65)
50. Procol Harum, Five and Dime. Chamber Music Extraordinaire, recorded early 1976, London. Kornophone TAKRL 1990 (Bootleg). Information supplied by Roland Clare.
51. The Rolling Stones Songbook, with translation of the texts into German by T. Schwaner, J. Fauser and C. Weissner, Frankfurt/Main 1977. This edition is superior to the equivalent English edition as the editors have appended notes of major textual variations from the recorded versions, including those which derive from the song publishers' wish to make some songs less offensive. The editors, however, do not notate every variant and those discussed here are based on detailed comparison of the printed texts with the recorded versions. Beggars Banquet (1968) Decca SKL 4995. The texts are on pp. 182-202 of the Songbook.
52. "Dear Doctor" (1-3), Songbook, p. 186.
53. "Jigsaw Puzzle" (1-5), Songbook, p. 190.
54. "Prodigal Son" (2-2), Songbook, p. 196.
55. "Sympathy for the Devil" (1-1), Songbook, p. 182. Live versions on Ya-Ya's and Love You (see note 49.).
56. The Rolling Stones, "Sister Morphine" on Sticky Fingers (1971) Rolling Stones Records COC 59100 (2-3), Songbook, p. 236. (Texts: p. 66.) See also Addendum, p. 76.
57. "In The Midnight Hour", recorded by Wilson Pickett (1965) on Atlantic AT 4036; by The Jam on This Is The Modern World (1977) Polydor 2383 447 (2-6); by Roxy Music on Flesh and Blood (1980) Polydor 2302 099 (1-1). (Texts: p. 67.)
58. Nibelungenlied, str. 1705; Tristan, ll. 3547ff.
59. Henric van Veldeken, Eneide, ed. G. Schieb & T. Frings, Berlin 1964, ll. 13222ff.
60. Tristan, ll. 3573-5.

61. Tristan, ll. 4751-4820.
62. Tristan, ll. 4802-20. (Text: p. 62.)
63. R.J.Taylor, Die Melodien der weltlichen Lieder des Mittelalters. Darstellungsband, Stuttgart 1964, p. 61.
64. Frauendienst, strr. 358-9. (Text: p. 62.)
65. Contrafacture does not seem to be very common in Rock. The Rolling Stones Songbook mentions a contrafacture of "As Tears Go By" under the title "Es ist so schön, verliebt zu sein" by G.Buschor. The two songs (Songbook, pp. 56f.) have no similarity of content. The Songbook also contains a number of translations of the songs by Helmut Salzinger, which attempt to reproduce the original rhyme and metre and therefore could be used for performance. Otherwise foreign language versions of English songs have generally been produced at the request of the original composers to be specially recorded for the foreign market. The earliest examples of this are The Beatles' "She Loves You" and "I Want To Hold Your Hand", which were translated into German as "Sie liebt dich" and "Komm gib mir deine Hand". These were recorded by The Beatles and released in Germany (on Odeon O 22 671) as an expression of gratitude to the German audience for support early in their career. David Bowie has recorded a number of his own songs in translation, notably "Heroes" (1977), which is available in both French and German. A most remarkable example is Peter Gabriel's LP Peter Gabriel (1980) Charisma CAS 4019. All the songs on this LP were translated into German and the LP remixed in its entirety with German vocals by Peter Gabriel, who took German lessons in order to be able to sing convincingly in German. The German group Kraftwerk, whose songs are lyrically rather minimal, have also released English language versions of some of their LP's.

The Beach Boys have written and recorded two contrafactures of songs in English. Their "Surfin' USA" (1963) was written to the tune of Chuck Berry's "Sweet Little Sixteen", and their "Student Demonstration Time" (1971) updates the lyrics of Leiber and Stoller's "Riot in Cell Block No. 9" by substituting reference to the Kent State University shootings of 1970 for the jail riot lyrics of the original. Here knowledge of the original is presupposed and the song thus draws an implicit analogy between the government's treatment of student demonstrators and the rioting prison inmates of the original.

66. W.Mohr, "Minnesang als Gesellschaftskunst", in H.Fromm (ed.), Der deutsche Minnesang, Darmstadt 1969, pp. 197-228. Here p. 207.
67. The Lovin' Spoonful, "Do You Believe In Magic?" on Do You Believe in Magic? (1965) Pye 28069.
68. Dirty Looks, "Let Go" on Dirty Looks (1980).
69. Roxy Music, "Love Is The Drug" (1975) Island WIP 6248.
70. Gene Vincent, "Be-Bop-A-Lula" (1956) Capitol CL 14599.
71. W.Mellers, Twilight of the Gods. The Beatles in Retrospect, London 1976, p. 27.
72. The growth of small, independent record labels in the aftermath of Punk may suggest, particularly in view of their general success, that eventually the artists themselves might have complete control over the manufacture and marketing of their records. This may happen, but it should be noted that independent record labels of earlier periods, which have been similarly influential and successful in their time, have tended to be short-lived and either go bankrupt or are bought up by the majors. Cf. Charlie Gillett, The Sound of the City, London 1971, Chapters 4 & 5 on the majors and independents respectively.
73. Wreckless Eric, "A Pop Song" on Big Smash (1980) SEEZ 6 (1-1). (Text: p. 68.)
74. The Clash, "Complete Control" on The Clash (1977) CBS 82000 (1-4). This follows the song "Remote Control" which was the subject of dispute.
75. See note 20. above.
76. Bob Dylan, "The Times They Are A'Changing" on The Times They Are A'Changing (1964) CBS 62251 (1-1).
77. See note 3. above.
78. The Sex Pistols, "God Save The Queen" (1977) Virgin VS 181.
79. The Clash, "Capital Radio" on The Cost of Living EP (1979) CBS 7324.
80. Elvis Costello, "Radio, Radio" (1978) Radar ADA 24.
81. P.Frame, Rock Family Trees, London 1979, p. 29, top right.
82. MF 5,16.
83. MF 129,14.
84. MF 5,23.
85. Dire Straits, "Eastbound Train" (1978) Vertigo 6059 206. (Text: p. 69.)
86. The Rolling Stones, "It's Only Rock And Roll" on It's Only

- Rock and Roll (But I Like It) (1974) Rolling Stones Records  
COC 59103 (1-3). (Text: p. 70.)
87. David Bowie, "Ashes To Ashes" (1980) RCA Bow 6.
  88. David Bowie, "Space Oddity" (1969) Philips BF 1801. The song was reissued in 1975 on RCA 2593.
  89. Bob Dylan, "Sara" on Desire (1975) CBS 86003 (2-4). The reference is to "Sad-Eyed Lady of the Lowlands" on Blonde on Blonde (1966) CBS 66012 (4-1).
  90. The Beatles, "Yer Blues" on The Beatles (1968) Apple PCS 7067/8 (3-2). The reference is to Bob Dylan, "Ballad of a Thin Man" on Highway 61 Revisited (1965) CBS 62572 (1-5).
  91. Don McLean, "American Pie" on American Pie (1972) United Artists UAS 28295 (1-1). The single version United Artists UP 35325 does not contain the complete text. (Text: pp. 71f.)
  92. John Lennon, "God" on John Lennon/Plastic Ono Band (1970) Apple PCS 7124 (2-5). (Text: p. 73.)
  93. The Beatles, "I Am The Walrus" (1967) Parlophone R 5655.
  94. Derek and the Dominos, "Layla" on "Layla" and Other Assorted Love Songs (1970) RSO 2671 110 (4-3). The shorter version released as a single on Polydor 2058 130 in 1972 is several minutes shorter but contains the whole text in the same version. (Text: p. 74.)
  95. Robert Johnson, "Love In Vain" on King Of The Delta Blues Singers Volume II (1970) CBS M 64102 (2-8).
  96. The text has (and was known to have at the time of its original release for at least part of the audience) an autobiographical background. Eric Clapton was trying to persuade Patti Harrison, wife of his close friend George Harrison, to leave her husband for him again. The second line of the second verse seems to refer to this. (The printed text, as it stands, seems to make little sense and is in any case not what is sung on any recorded version I have heard. However, since it is not easy to make out exactly what is sung on record, I have let it stand.) Enquiry among those who know and esteem this song suggests that only a part of the audience knows this background, and appreciation of the song does not seem to have any correlation with such knowledge.
  97. Tristan, ll. 4691-4722.
  98. See G.Schweikle (ed.), Dichter über Dichter in mittelhoch-deutscher Literatur, Tübingen 1970, esp. pp. 132-4, on which

the following remarks are based.

99. Elvis Costello, "Alison" on My Aim Is True (1977) Stiff SEEZ 3 (1-5). (Text: p. 74.)
100. The Jam, "A Town Called Malice" (1982) Polydor POSP 400 and on The Gift Polydor POLD 5055. (Text: p. 75.) The contemporary significance of the lyrics can be seen from the fact that the single spent three weeks at the top of the Chart (February - March 1982) and its title was apparently scrawled on a wall in Belfast, where its distortion of the title of Nevil Shute's book provoked a brief editorial in the Ulster Morning View, which said that the inscription "causes some shock and arouses pensive reflections in the minds of passers-by." The editorial is reproduced in NME 6th March 1982, p.7.
101. Tristan, l. 3224.
102. Tristan, ll. 3626ff.
103. MM 13th March 1982, pp. 28f. & 38. Here p. 29, col. 5.
104. The Supremes, "You Can't Hurry Love" (1966) Tamla Motown TMG 575.
105. MM, loc. cit.
106. MM, loc. cit., p. 38, col. 5.
107. For The Jam's versions of "Heatwave" and "In The Midnight Hour", see notes 36. and 57. above, respectively. "Start" (1980) Polydor 2059 266, for example, is very similar to The Beatles, "Taxman" on Revolver (1966) Parlophone PCS 7009 (1-1).
108. L 124,1. (Text: p. 63.)

## APPENDIX: MINNESANG AND ROCK TEXTS

### I. Minnesang

- A. Der Marner, XIV, 18. Text reproduced from the edition of P. Strauch, Strassburg and London, 1876.
- B. Reinmar von Brennenberg, IV, 13. Text reproduced from Carl von Kraus, Deutsche Liederdichter des 13. Jahrhunderts, 2nd ed., Tübingen 1978.
- C. Ulrich von Lichtenstein, Frauendienst, str. 358-9. Text reproduced from the edition of R. Bechstein, Leipzig, 1888.
- D. Gottfried von Strassburg, Tristan und Isolde, ll. 4801-20. Text reproduced from the edition of F. Ranke, 14th edition, Dublin/Zurich, 1969.
- E. Walther von der Vogelweide, 124,1. Text reproduced from the edition of K. Lachmann/C. von Kraus/H. Kuhn, Berlin, 1965.

A.

Lebt von der Vogelweide  
noch mîn meister hêr Walthêr.  
der Venis, der von Rugge, zwêne Regimâr.  
Heinrich der Veldeggere, Wahsmuot, Rubin, Nîthart!  
Die sunge von der heide,  
von dem minnewerden her,  
von den vogeln wie die bluomen sint gevar:  
sanges meister lebent noch: si sint in tôdes vart.  
Die tôten mit den tôten, lebende mit den lebenden sîn!  
ich vorder ie zuo ze geziuge  
von Heinbere den hêren mîn  
— dem sint rede, wort und rîme in sprûchen kunt —,  
daz ich mit sange nieman triuge.  
lihte vinde ich einen vunt  
den si vunden hânt, die vor mir sint gewesen:  
ich muoz ûz ir garten und ir sprûchen bluomen lesen.

B.

Wâ sint nu alle die von minnen sunge ô?  
si sint meist tût, die al der werlde frôide kunden machen.  
von Sente Gallen friunt, dîn scheiden tuot mir wê:  
du riuwes mich, dîns schimpfes manger kunde wol gelachen.  
Reinmâr, dîns sanges manger gert.  
ich muoz dich klagen und mînen meister von der Vogelweide.  
von Niuwenbare ein herre wert  
und ouch von Rucke Heinrich sunge wol von minnen beide.  
von Johansdorf und ouch von Hûsen Friderich  
die sunge wol; mit sange wâren hovelich  
Walther von Metz, Rubin und einer, hiez Wahsmuot.  
von Guotenbare Uolrich, der liute vil dîn singen dûhte guot.

E.

- 124, 1 **O**wê war sint verschwunden  
 ist mir min leben getroumet,  
 daz ich ie wände ez wære,  
 dar nâch hân ich geslâfen  
 5 nû bin ich erwachet,  
 daz mir hie vor was kündic  
 liut unde lant, dar inn ich  
 die sint mir worden frömde  
 die mine gespilen wâren,  
 10 † bereit ist daz velt,  
 wan daz daz wazzer fluzet  
 für wâr min ungelücke  
 mich grüezet maneger träge,  
 diu welt ist allenthalben  
 15 als ich gedenke an manegen  
 die mir sint enpfallen  
 iemer mêre ouwê.  
 Owê wie jâmerliche  
 den ê vil hovelichen  
 20 die kunnen niuwan sorgen:  
 swar ich zer werlte kêre,  
 tanzen, lachen, singen  
 nie kein kristenman gesach  
 nû merket wie den frouwen  
 25 die stolzen ritter tragent an  
 uns sint unsenfte brieve  
 uns ist erlobet trûren  
 daz müet mich inneclichen  
 daz ich nû für min lachen  
 30 die vogel in der wilde  
 waz wonders ist ob ich dâ von  
 wê waz spriche ich tumber man  
 swer dirre wünne volget,  
 iemer mêr ouwê.  
 35 Owê wie uns mit süezen  
 ich sihe die gallen mitten  
 diu Welt ist ûzen schœne,  
 und innân swarzer varwe,  
 swen si nû habe verleitet,  
 40 er wirt mit swacher buoze  
 125, 1 dar an gedenkent, ritter:  
 ir tragent die liechten helme  
 dar zuo die vesten schilte  
 wolte got, wan wære ich  
 5 sô wolte ich nôtic armman  
 joch meine ich niht die huoben  
 ich wolte sâlden krône  
 die mohte ein soldenære  
 möht ich die lieben reise  
 10 sô wolte ich denne singen wol,  
 niemer mêr ouwê.
- alliu miniu jâr!  
 oder ist ez wâr?  
 was daz allez iht?  
 und enweiz es niht.  
 und ist mir unbekant  
 als min ander hant.  
 von kinde bin erzogen,  
 reht als ez si gelogen.  
 die sint träge unt alt.  
 verhouwen ist der walt:  
 als ez wilent flôz,  
 wände ich wurde grôz.  
 der mich bekande ê wol.  
 ungenâden vol.  
 wünneclichen tac,  
 als in daz mer ein slac,  
 junge liute tuont,  
 ir gemüete stuont!  
 ouwê wie tuont si sô?  
 dâ ist nieman frô:  
 zergât mit sorgen gar:  
 sô jâmerliche schar.  
 ir gebende stât:  
 dörpelliche wât.  
 her von Rôme komen,  
 und fröide gar benomen.  
 (wir lebten ie vil wol),  
 weinen kiesen sol.  
 betrüebet unser klage:  
 an fröiden gar verzage?  
 durch minen böesen zorn?  
 hât jene dort verlorn,  
 dingen ist vergeben!  
 in dem honege sweben:  
 wiz grünen unde rôt,  
 vinster sam der tôt.  
 der schouwe sinen trôst:  
 grôzer sünde erlöst.  
 ez ist iuwer dinc.  
 und manegen herten rinc,  
 und diu gewihten swert.  
 der sigenünfte wert!  
 verdienen richen solt.  
 noch der hêrren golt:  
 êweclichen tragen:  
 mit sime sper bejagen.  
 gevaren über sê,  
 und niemer mêr ouwê,



## II. Rock

The following Rock texts are in some cases based on printed versions, but have in every case been checked and, where appropriate, amended by listening to the recorded versions. In view of the essentially oral nature of these texts, I have omitted all punctuation except where the sense would be unclear without it. Printed Rock texts are in any case only sparsely punctuated. Full discographical details of the recordings on which these texts have been based can be found under the footnotes indicated by each text.

- F. The Rolling Stones, "Honky Tonk Women". Written by Mick Jagger and Keith Richards. See footnote 49.
- G. The Rolling Stones, "Sister Morphine". Written by Mick Jagger, Keith Richards and Marianne Faithfull (1971). See footnote 56. *See also Addendum, p. 76.*
- H. Wilson Pickett, The Jam, Roxy Music, "In The Midnight Hour". See footnote 57.
- J. Wreckless Eric, "A Pop Song". Written by Wreckless Eric (1980). See footnote 73.
- K. Dire Straits, "Eastbound Train". Written by Mark Knopfler (1978). See footnote 85.
- L. The Rolling Stones, "It's Only Rock And Roll (But I Like It)". Written by Mick Jagger and Keith Richards (1974). See footnote 86.
- M. Don McLean, "American Pie". Written by Don McLean (1971). See footnote 91.
- N. John Lennon, "God". Written by John Lennon (1970). See footnote 92.
- P. Derek and the Dominos, "Layla". Written by Eric Clapton and Jim Gordon (1970). See footnote 94.
- Q. Elvis Costello, "Alison". Written by Elvis Costello (1977). See footnote 99.
- R. The Jam, "A Town Called Malice". Written by Paul Weller (1982). See footnote 100.